

**ARCHAEOLOGY  
OF WESTERN ANATOLIA 1**  
Proceedings of the First International Symposium

Archaeology of Izmir and its close environs  
during the Middle Ages

November 18, 2022 / Izmir, Turkey



Edited by  
Ergün Laflı

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**Scientific referees of the proceedings** (in alphabetical order): Robert D. Leonard Jr. (Winnetka, IL) and Werner Seibt (Vienna).

**Text corrections and revisions (in alphabetical order):** Robert D. Leonard Jr. (Winnetka, IL) and Werner Seibt (Vienna).

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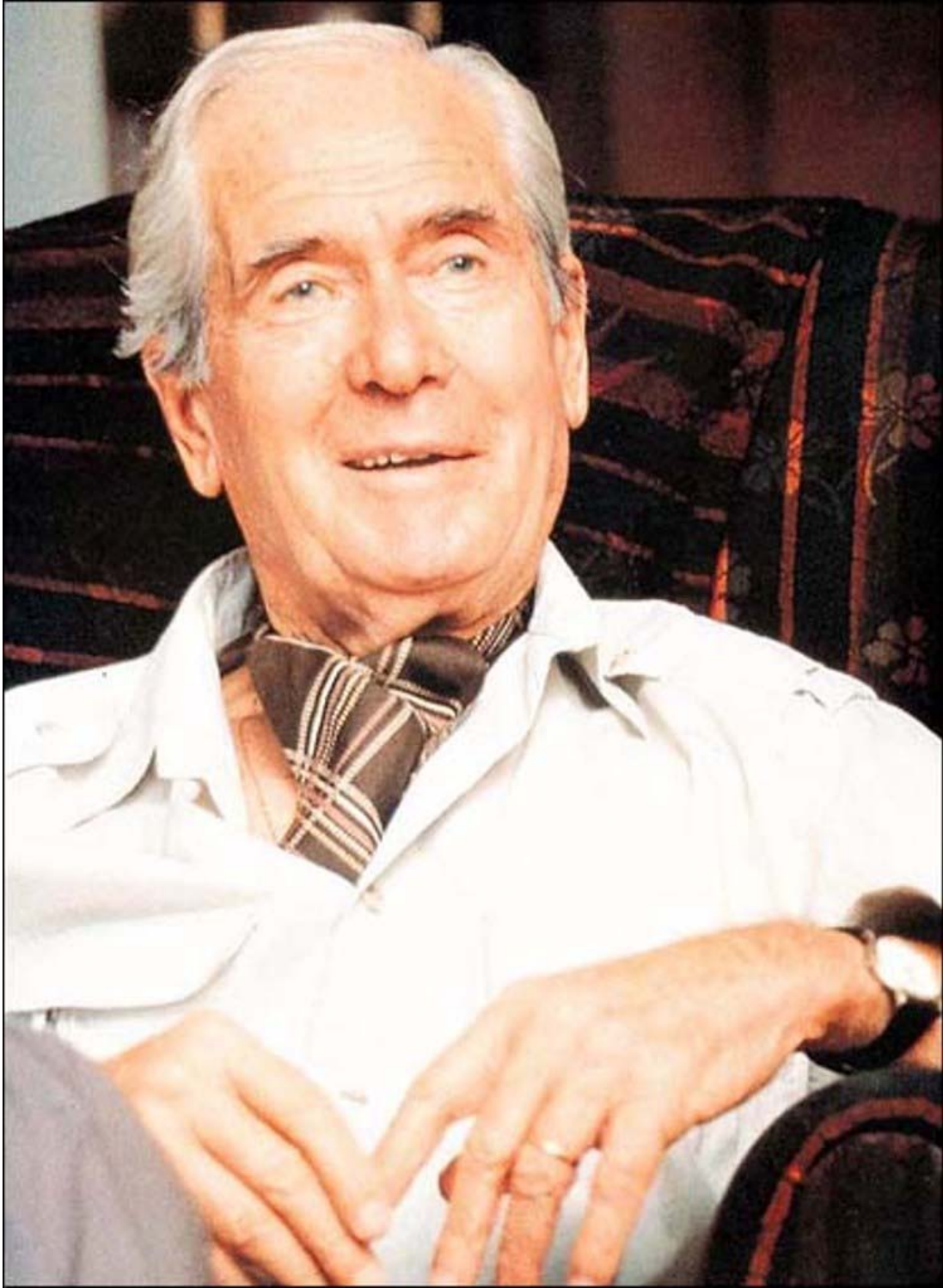
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Papers, presented at the international video conference, entitled “First international symposium on the archaeology of western Anatolia” on November 18, 2022 in Izmir, Turkey.

Ten papers with 59 pages and numerous colourful figures. All papers and key words are in English. 21 x 29,7 cm; paperback; 110 gr. quality paper.

**Frontispiece.** *A Byzantine lead seal from Izmir (photo by E. Laflı, 2010).*

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*Ekrem Akurgal  
(1917-†2002)*

*This symposium is dedicated  
to the 20th death anniversary  
of Professor Ekrem Akurgal.*

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**An introduction to the studies concerning archaeology of Izmir  
during the Middle Ages: editorial remarks  
about the proceedings of the first symposium**

Ergün Laflı

Professor Ergün Laflı (Izmir)  
Ege Perla A Rezidans Kule, 21. Kat, Daire 82, Çınarlı Mah., Ankara Asfaltı Cad., No. 7,  
Konak, TR-35110 Izmir, Turkey.  
**Phone:** +90.539.577 07 33; **e-mail:** <elaflı@yahoo.ca>.  
**Website:** <<https://deu.academia.edu/ErgunLAFLI/>>.  
**Orcid ID:** 0000-0002-4722-5018

The purpose of this first international video conference was to create an analytical framework for understanding the archaeology of Izmir and its environs in western Anatolia during the Middle Ages, i.e. a period between the fifth and fifteenth centuries AD, with its social and material contexts (**fig. 1**). We intended thus to bring together researchers who can present especially new syntheses of archaeological, historical, numismatic and sigillographic data concerning Medieval Smyrna and its environs. In this online conference we have also included three papers on the archaeology of Smyrna in the ancient Greek and Roman periods which composed our first session (*cf.* the program below).

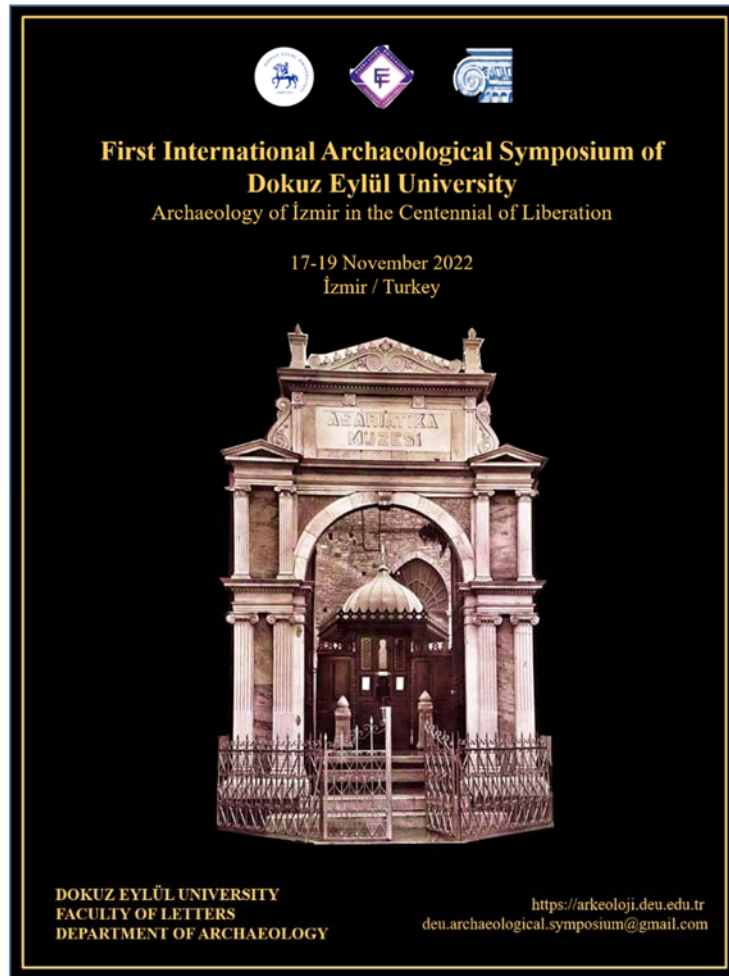
This video conference took place on November 18, 2022 in Izmir, Turkey with an archaeological excursion to the sites and museums within the city of Izmir on November 19. All the lectures and discussions in our e-conference were on Zoom and in English, and were recorded for later viewing on YouTube for participants who were unable to attend the live performance presentation. The YouTube links of the e-conference can be found on p. 8 below. The symposium was first announced in May 2022 (**fig. 2**). Between May and September 2022 there were more than ten paper applications from six countries, including – in alphabetical order – Austria, Czech Republic, Italy, Russia, Turkey and U.S.A., ten of which were accepted. Three speakers held their lectures both physically in Izmir and virtually on Zoom (**fig. 3**); the rest of the papers were presented on Zoom. Session 1 was organized in the Main Conference Hall of the Faculty of Letters in Tınaztepe Campus (in Block C), and Session 2 was organized in the office of Professor Laflı. This book was arranged mainly in November 2022 where papers were placed in order by speakers' turns at the conference. It was constantly being updated in its online version on our *Academia* account. It is also published by the Press House of the Dokuz Eylül University in December 2022.

This first symposium on the archaeology of western Anatolia is dedicated to the 20th death anniversary of Professor Ekrem Akurgal, founder of modern Turkish archaeology, who passed away on November 1st, 2002.

I would like to thank following colleagues for preparation of this book and for their assistance before, during and after our conference (in alphabetic order): Professor Engin Akdeniz (Izmir), Dr Maurizio Buora (Udine), Ms Alev Çetingöz (Izmir), Professor Basema Hamarneh (Vienna), Dr Gülseren Kan Şahin (Sinop), Dr Özgün Koşaner (Izmir), Dr İclal Özelce (Izmir), Dr Sami Patacı (Ardahan), Dr Helen Perdicoyianni-Paleologou (Chestnut Hill, MA) and Professor Werner Seibt (Vienna).



**Fig. 1:** Map of the sites presented at the first video conference on the archaeology of western Anatolia (by S. Pataçı, 2022).



**Fig. 2:** Poster of the first video conference on the archaeology of western Anatolia (by A. K. Öz, 2022).





**Fig. 3:** Participants of the conference, from left to right, Mr Robert D. Leonard Jr. (Winnetka, IL), Professor Ergün Laflı (Izmir), Mr Errikos Maniotis (Brno) and Dr İclal Özelce (Izmir) (by O. Çağlı, November 18th, 2022).

# Program of the international video conference

## PROGRAM / PROGRAMME

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

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

**Web links to join to the live meeting on Zoom**  
*/ Liens Web pour rejoindre la réunion à distance sur Zoom:*

**Link for the introductory section / Lien pour la section d'introduction:**

<https://zoom.us/j/9426365008?pwd=T0YybkIMdGYyLzI4MjJkU1RNYzF3dz09>

**Meeting ID / ID de conférence:** 942 6365 5008

**Password / Mot de passe:** 561467

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

<https://zoom.us/j/97047895835?pwd=UHNDcjhqd2Z4SGRITk0rSIVyVnVJUT09>

**Meeting ID / ID de conférence:** 970 4789 5835

**Password / Mot de passe:** 825772

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

<https://zoom.us/j/99133280965?pwd=MUFNcjZnZUEwdFlFeGV5VlkzSHZWZz09>

**Meeting ID / ID de conférence:** 991 3328 0965

**Password / Mot de passe:** 064155

## November 18 / 18 novembre

**10 h 00** Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey)

Introduction: technical information about the symposium.

**10 h 30 – 12 h 00: Session 1 – Chairman / Présidence:** Helen Perdicoyianni-Paleologou (Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA)

**Three papers on the archaeology of ancient Smyrna before the Middle Ages / Trois présentations sur l'archéologie de l'ancienne Smyrne avant le Moyen Âge.**

**Opening lecture / Conférence d'ouverture**

**10 h 00** Paolo di Benedetto (Università degli Studi della Basilicata, Potenza, Italy)

The foundation accounts of ancient Smyrna: constructing and reconstructing a city's identity and history.

**10 h 30** Gabriella Tassinari (Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy) (read by E. Laflı)

Gem markets of Smyrna.

**11 h 00** Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey) and Maurizio Buora (Società Friulana di Archeologia, Udine, Italy)

Some evidence on the monuments of the Roman Tetrarchic period in Izmir.

**11 h 30** Discussion.

**12 h 00 – 13 h 45:** Lunch break / *Pause déjeuner.*

**13 h 45 – 17 h 00: Session 2 – Chairwoman / Présidence:** Basema Hamarneh (Universität Wien, Austria)

**Archaeology of Izmir and its environs during the Middle Ages / Archéologie d'Izmir et ses environs au Moyen Âge.**

**13 h 45** Elvin Akbulut Dağher (Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey)

Contextualizing Late Antique floor mosaics of secular contexts from Izmir.

**14 h 15** Maurizio Buora (Società Friulana di Archeologia, Udine, Italy) and Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey)

Euethios: a Bishop of Smyrna in the Early Byzantine period.

**14 h 45** Doğukan Çağlayan (University of Istanbul, Turkey) and Werner Seibt (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria) (read by E. Laflı)

A preliminary report on Byzantine sigillographic evidence from Izmir.



- 15 h 00** Nikolai Aleksandrovich Alekseienko and Vadim Vladislavovich Maiko (both from the Russian Academy of Sciences) (read by E. Laflı)  
The molybdothron of Methrophanes of Smyrna from Byzantine Cherson.
- 15 h 15** Engin Akdeniz (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir, Turkey), Muhittin Çeken (Adnan Menderes University, Aydın, Turkey) and Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey)  
A hoard of coins of Frankish Greece from Thyatira (western Turkey).
- 15 h 30** Robert D. Leonard Jr. (Winnetka, IL, U.S.A.)  
Who issued the “K Class” imitation Venetian ducats?
- 16 h 00** Errikos Maniotis (Masarykova univerzita, Brno, Czech Republic)  
Mongol siege warfare in Anatolia: the siege of ancient Smyrna in 1402.
- 16 h 30** Discussion.
- 17 h 00** Closing / *Clôture*.

### **November 19 / 19 novembre**

#### **Post-Symposium excursion – Visit of Izmir / *Excursions après le symposium – Visite d’Izmir***

- 10 h 00** Meeting in front of the campus entrance of Tinaztepe/Kaynaklar of DEU / *Rendez-vous devant l’entrée du campus de Tinaztepe/Kaynaklar de DEU*.
- Address / Adresse :** Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Tinaztepe/Kaynaklar Yerleşkesi Girişi, Buca, TR-35160, Izmir, Turkey.  
**Phone / Tél. :** +90.539.577 07 33.

#### **Itinaries / *Itinéraires***

- Guide** Ergün Laflı (Izmir, Turkey).
- 10 h 45** The Archaeological Museum of Izmir in Bahribaba / *Le Musée Archéologique d’Izmir à Bahribaba*.
- 12 h 00** The Museum of History and Art of Izmir in Kültürpark / *Le Musée d’Histoire et d’Art d’Izmir dans le Kültürpark*.
- 12 h 30** Kadifekale (citadel at Pagos) / *Kadifekale (citadelle de Pagos)*.
- 15 h 00** Roman theatre / *Théâtre romain*.
- 15 h 30** The Agora of Smyrna and Kemeraltı / *L’Agora de Smyrne et Kemeraltı*.
- 16 h 00** Alsancak (Punta).
- 16 h 30** Closing / *Clôture*.

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

To be announced / *à préciser*.

# Papers

**SESSION I:**

**THREE PAPERS ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF  
ANCIENT SMYRNA  
BEFORE THE MIDDLE AGES**

# The foundation accounts of ancient Smyrna: constructing and reconstructing a city's identity and history

Paolo di Benedetto

Dr Paolo di Benedetto (Università degli Studi della Basilicata, Potenza)  
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici (DiSU) dell'Università degli Studi della Basilicata,  
Via Nazario Sauro 85, I-85100 Potenza (PZ), Italy.  
**E-mail:** <dibenedettopaolo90@gmail.com>.

In the Ancient Greek world, the myth of a city's foundation, which can be traced mainly in literary sources, is an essential element of the city's cultural and historical heritage and contributes to the birth of a sense of identity. Mythical accounts, in the perception of the ancients, take the form of the history of an *ethnos* and it is the instrument through which the *polis* would construct its identity. The elaboration of an *ethnos* heritage is a complex phenomenon, which also implies a process of identity construction and reconstruction in each period of the polis' life, which varies according to the historical context and specifically ethnic factors: each community, in fact, represents its origins, at a certain point of its history, through the *archaiologiai*. Such traditions are attested in local accounts and are often connected with traditions of migration and eponymy, especially in the Ionian and Aeolian cities of Asia Minor (**map 1**).

It is possible to take as example of that case the traditions about Smyrna, originally an Aeolian city but later became Ionian after the conquest by Colophon, as documented by Hdt. I 149-151: Smyrna was, in fact, part of the so-called Aeolian Dodecapolis. The origins of this city – both in terms of accounts and on a more properly historical level – are closely connected with the 'Aeolian migration', i.e. the mass movement of populations made by Aeolian stock (Thessalians, Boeotians, Locrians, Spartans, Argives, Peloponnesians in general), who, around the 11th century B.C., left mainland Greece and migrated to Asia Minor to found new cities: some settlers founded Smyrna, although in the main literary sources (Hdt. I 150,1-2; Strab. XIII 1,3 582) there is no mention of this tradition, but it is taken for granted that Smyrna was founded by Aeolians. The historiographical tradition preserved several accounts relating to the foundation of Smyrna, which seem to have different mechanisms of elaboration behind them. The oldest source that refers to the Aeolian origins of Smyrna are a fragment of Mimnermus (fr. 3 Gentili-Prato), handed down by Strab. XIV 1,4 634, and the account reported by Paus. VII 5,1. In addition to an 'Aeolian' account, at least five other types of accounts are attested:

- a 'Thessalian' account, whereby the foundation of the city is attributed to the Thessalian hero Theseus, a descendant of King Admetus (Ps-Hdt., *Vita Hom.* 2);
- an 'Ephesian' account, which refers to inhabitants of Ephesus who founded the city on a site previously occupied by Leleges (Strab. XIV 1,4 634);
- an 'Amazonian' account, according to which the city was named after an Amazon called Smyrna, who had exercised lordship over Ephesus (Strab. XIV 1,4 634; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σμύρνα; *s.v.* Ἐφεσος);
- an 'autochthonous' account, according to which the city was founded by some indeterminate inhabitants on Sipylus (Ael. Arist. *or.* 17,2-5);
- a more generically 'Greek' account, according to which Tantalus, Pelops and Theseus were the founders of the city (Ael. Arist. *or.* 21,3-4; Tac. *ann.* IV 56).

Therefore, the literary sources refer to different phases of Smyrna's *archaiologia* and different accounts, based on heterogeneous traditions (cf. **fig. 1**). From these accounts, it is not always possible to reconstruct the real origin of the cities from a strictly historical point of view, but from them we can understand that each tradition would seem to be related to a precise historical and

political context and to identity processes: these elements would have influenced the elaboration of traditions about the foundation of the *polis*, and these traditions can be modified, reworked, reconstructed.

The aim of this contribution is to examine the literary sources, according to the current historiographical methodology, based on the 'Intentionale Geschichte' made by a population group and the concept of Greek identity and ethnicity, and will investigate the myth-making process of the Smyranean accounts in the construction of the history of the city identity. Moreover, it will focus on understanding in which ways the perception and the representation of the city could influence the historiographic elaboration and the traditions of the *polis*.

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**Keywords:** foundation of Smyrna, history of Smyrna, Ionia, literary sources, ancient Greek history, ancient Greek historiography.



**Map 1.** Smyrna, between Aeolis and Ionia  
 (after N. G.L. Hammond, *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity*, Noyes Press, 1981).



**Fig. 1.** Bronze coin from Smyrna, depicting Amazon of Smyrna crowned by Nike  
 (AD 198-202); The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, acc. no. 59.249.



## Gem markets of Smyrna

Gabriella Tassinari

Dr Gabriella Tassinari (Università degli Studi di Milano)

Dipartimento di Beni culturali e ambientali, Università degli Studi di Milano, Via Morosini 27A, I-20135 Milan, Italy.

**Phone:** +39.02.551 910 42; **e-mail:** <gabriella.tassinari8@libero.it>.

**Website:** <<https://unimi.academia.edu/GabriellaTassinari>>.

During the second half of the 18th and 19th centuries A.D. Smyrna was a big center of the trade of Classical antiquities which were found in the city, its surrounds and the interior of Anatolia. In particular it is described as a numismatic capital. That is: in the town are gathered the coins from Asia Minor and the islands; some celebrated numismatists and numismatic collectors settled in Smyrna, where they were actively engaged in the usual process of exchanging and selling coins.

But what role Smyrna played in the history of the gems trade? The subject has not received considerable scholarly attention; so there is no exhaustive study on the argument. In this contribution we will try to fill this gap, to trace original documents, to extrapolate elements for our research's purposes, to follow the most different threads and knot them in order to delineate a panorama as complete as possible.

Unfortunately it is hard to answer several questions, because it causes an involvement in many problems.

The primary impediment consists in the state of the documentation. Private and public collections of engraved gems from Asia Minor are largely unpublished; gemological finds from the rescue or systematic excavations and surveys undertaken in Turkey have never been published, often only sparsely or not sufficiently reported or published in the Turkish books and periodicals that are not always easy to see. Further complicates the recognition the Turkish language, generally difficult to understand for the scholars.

The catalogues of glyptic collections known to be exclusively from Turkey, likewise the Yüksel Erimtan, and the one of the Museums of Izmir, are unhelpful in regard to specify the original find-spot or offer no more specific information about the circumstances or context in which the object was found.

And even when the gems come from a secure archaeological context, may to be doubted about the very provenance. In fact gems have always travelled throughout space and time, passing from owner to owner by inheritance, trade, lost... Consequentially, the circulation of gems flows beyond their manufacturing place; the scholars can identify with uncertainty an *atelier* and assign an item to it. Therefore another problem is to recognize workshops (single or several) in Smyrna, that produced ancient and modern intaglios and cameos, to demonstrate local production in the city and in the region, such as generally all over the Classical world, and to state the distribution patterns.

The local manufacture nearest to Smyrna is Sardis. Many indications testify the existence of a school of gem engravers, beginning from the later sixth century B.C. until likely Early Byzantine times. Glass-working workshop is suggested by good evidence, as the unfinished state of glass intaglios, in the Augustan reign / earliest years of Tiberius's, although excavations have not yet revealed the specific placement.

One last obstacle to the research. Some travel journals describe the Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire's lands in the 18th and 19th centuries. The collectors looked for gems and jewels, that were among the favorite souvenirs, but regrettably they give us very few information about where and how they acquired the precious pieces.

This brief overview, this short selection of examples with only minimal references, is devoted to give an idea of glyptic situation in Smyrna, an idea of these precious objects that may be found, brought, collected, donated.

The first British traveller and collector to bring home predominantly Greek antiquities: Sir Richard Worsley (1751 - 1805), the 7th Baronet of Appuldercombe, Isle of Wight, rich, learned, man of taste, notable *connoisseur*, antiquary and politician. Full accounts of Worsley's travels are preserved in his manuscript journals. During his extensive tour through Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor (1785-1786), sparing no expense, Sir Worsley assembled the most outstanding and splendid collection – at that period – of Greek statues, reliefs and gems, collection now housed at Brocklesby Hall (Lincolnshire). His large gem cabinet was created from manifold sources. In Worsley's travel journal manuscript (1785-1787) there is a catalogue of the gems taken on his journey. Found near Smyrna are the amethyst intaglio (in the year 1785), in the antique gold setting, with Cupid standing before an herma of Mercury, and a cock, and the onyx cameo with a Greek inscription.

Especially in Smyrna acquired the items of his antiquarian eclectic extensive collection, housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum, composed also by engraved gems (several of uncertain authenticity, or dating to Renaissance and Neo-classical periods or forgeries), the Revd. Samuel Savage Lewis (1836-1891), cleric, teacher, antiquary, Fellow and Librarian of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge.

Another meaningful testimony that reflects the multiple aspects of the background of local gem finds and purchases: Colonel William Martin Leake (1777-1860), who describes in journals his travels in Greece and in Asia Minor, purchasing gems and coins, and the circumstances in which he obtained them; his collections are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. In his *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (1824), he writes that ancient coins and gems may be collected in considerable number in the bazars of Kütahya, that is ca. 400 km away from Izmir.

One of the most important French numismatist of his generation, Louis Allier de Hauteroche (1766-1827), during his travels and diplomatic career in Levant built up a big and wonderful collection of Greek coins. A considerable significance in providing us with an exceptional opportunity about the craftsman of gem cutting in those places is given by the sale (1828) of his cabinet of ancient and modern engraved gems. There is a sardonix cameo with three strata, set in chiseled gold, with the image of Zeus holding patera and scepter; at his feet the eagle. This cameo is remarkable for its extraordinary size (7,9 x 5,6 cm) and the beauty of the colors and the strata. Bought in Smyrna, it is said be found among old ruins in Ephesus. A noteworthy detail: it seems that the cameo is in an unfinished state.

In the *Catalogue of the collection of antique gems formed by James Ninth Earl of Southesk K.T.*, edited by his daughter Lady Helena Carnegie (London 1908), the intaglios and cameos display a wide range of subjects and stones, including magical gems: some of them came from Smyrna.

A fruitful gift offers a clear indication both of the potential of the glyptic Smyrna market both of the opportunity to acquire gems from the surrounding area. The Venetian influential politician and collector Girolamo Zulian (1730-1795), patron of artists, great friend and protector of Antonio Canova, during the years of his mandate in Constantinople (1783-1788) received one of his most loved pieces: the famous cameo depicting the bust of Jupiter Egioco, now preserved in the National Archaeological Museum of Venice. It was Luca Drigon Cortazzi, Venetian consul in Smyrna, who gave it to Zulian, in the successful attempt to be reconfirmed in the office. This cameo – a masterpiece, although fragmented – unearthed in Ephesus, shortly before 1787, met with great appreciation and popularity, as evidenced from the numerous post-classical versions of it and the dissertations, like that by Ennio Quirino Visconti, with the engraving by Raphael Morghen. For his special value, the Zulian cameo was among the works of art requisitioned by Napoleon and then returned.

In response to the great interest in collecting gems and the related demand, engravers skillfully copied classical gems, worked in a style very close to the authentic stones and made works that in many cases passed as ancient and were probably sold as such. Forgeries intended to deceive, modern copies, post-classical items, uncertain works, in large quantities flooded the European markets. We acquire an invaluable occasion to better understand the local glyptic milieu, thanks to the following passage by Duffield Osborne, the author of *Engraved gems, signets, talisman and*

*ornamental intaglios* (New York 1912): “Though the signets of the Turks are usually cut in metal, the wealthy still use a ring-stone, and the skill necessary to cut the graceful lines of their script is available for disreputable purpose [...]. I know of but one forger in Constantinople, a Greek, who is reputed to make occasional trips to Asia Minor where, in exchange for genuine finds, he distributes his work among the peasants who bury it to be dug up for the delectation of missionaries and tourists. Also there is a small factory at Panderma on the other side of the Bosphorus, and, at Tyre, a Syrian, Najib Saadi, has during the last three years made copies of a few intaglios that must be scrutinized rather closely to fix their provenance, but the only establishment of any size in Northern Asia Minor is that of a Turk at Caesarea. He has in his employ several Greeks and Armenians who turn out gems, cameos and coins which go, for the most part, to Smyrna for marketing”.

And Smyrna has supplied with gems cabinets and public institutions, widespread throughout Europa and America.

Only to mention two examples, that have a particular significance.

Count Michael Tyszkiewicz (1828-1897), a Polish collector of antiquities and amateur Egyptologist, was one of the leading experts on intaglios and cameos at that time, in relations with the dealers of the classical countries of the East; his dactyliothea was admired and famous. But shortly after Count's death his cabinet was auctioned and dispersed; many gems were acquired by Edward Perry Warren (1860-1928) and stored in his property (Lewes House, Sussex); they are now in the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

Therefore in this American museum, according to Perry Warren's records, all bought in Smyrna are intaglios – also magical and probably modern – dated to the periods Achaemenid, Greek Hellenistic, Roman Imperial.

It is very interesting the analysis of the provenance of gems in the Museum of Fine Arts collection, according to Museum archival card. Said to be from the Smyrna art market, acquired from merchants by the Museum or gift to the Museum a scarab intaglio (East Greek Archaic period; sixth century B.C.); a scaraboid (Near-Eastern? Hellenistic period; second–first century B.C.); Hellenistic and Roman intaglios; and finally a gold bracelet (Greek Hellenistic; late fourth-third century B.C.) with an engraved gem in rock crystal (depicting a female head wearing earrings and necklace), found near Smyrna by Telemachus Thomas Timayenis (1853 - 1918) and sold by him to “a class of young ladies”.

Particularly strong in terms of cases of gems and rings, published and found/excavated/acquired in Smyrna, is the considerable amount of the British Museum; the acquisitions date 1874, 1888, 1889, 1897. Attested from fourth century B.C. to 16th century A.D. are gold, bronze, iron, chalcedony and glass finger-rings in which is inserted an intaglio, a cameo, a paste; or with bezel ornamented; with engraved design; with precious stone.

Stands out from the others for his quality a gold ring; on the oval bezel is engraved the figure of a woman at an altar. Ascribed to East Greek production, dated ca. 350 B.C., excavated at Phocaea, it was purchased very probably at Smyrna.

In this intentional selection deserves our attention a Byzantine cameo (12th century A.D.) in green jasper, with the Virgin standing, holding the child in her arm and some letters in the field.

A tangible proof of cosmopolitan Smyrna's market, the widespread circulation and trade: a Late Byzantine (13th century A.D.) cameo, in opaque red glass, with the figure of St Christopher and a Latin inscription, made in Venice, but acquired in Smyrna.

The results of this summarized representation provides new and clear evidence of the variety of the picture emerged. Certainly, we may assume that the intended research will give further precious indications, considerable advancement of our knowledge and fundamental achievements to state the existence in Smyrna of gems dealers, gems collectors and even unscrupulous forgers.

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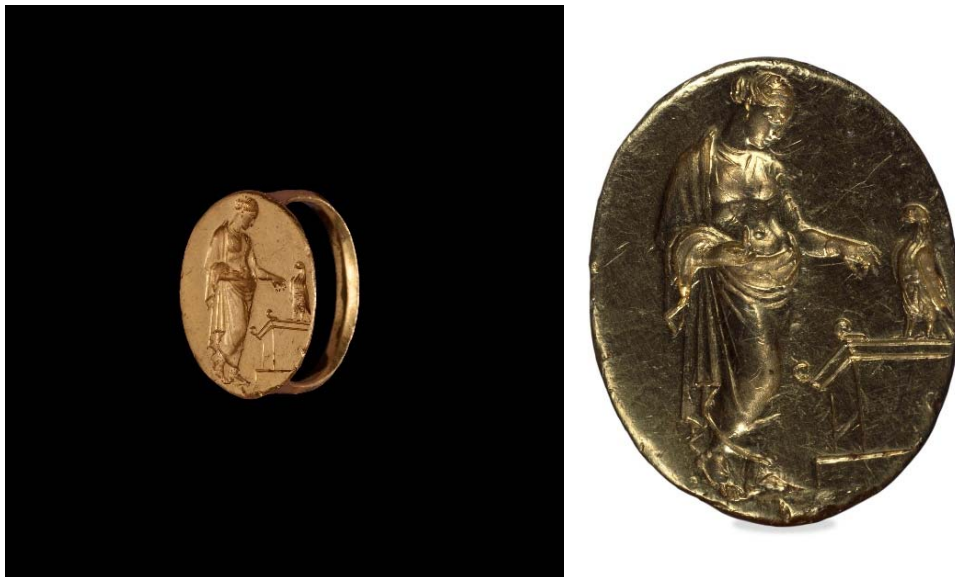
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**Keywords:** gemology, gem carving, gem manufacture, Smyrna, Sardis, cultural history of Smyrna, archaeo-gemology, Hellenistic period, Roman period, 18th century, 19th century, museum studies.



**Figs 1a-b:** Gold ring engraved with a woman at an altar. Ca. 350 B.C. Found at Phocaea, purchased very probably at Smyrna. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



**Figs 2a-b:** Gold-plated bronze finger-ring with portrait head of a Ptolemaic queen in relief. Ca. second century B.C. Findspot at Smyrna. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



**Figs 3a-b:** Gold finger-ring in which is inserted a sardonyx intaglio engraved with Fortuna with cornucopia and steering oar. Third century A.D. (or later). Findspot at Smyrna. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



**Fig. 4:** Cameo in green jasper with Virgin standing and holding the child in left arm; some letters in the field. 12th century A.D. Acquired at Smyrna. London, British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

# Some evidence on the monuments of the Roman Tetrarchic period in Izmir

Ergün Laflı and Maurizio Buora

Professor Ergün Laflı (Izmir)  
Ege Perla A Rezidans Kule, 21. Kat, Daire 82,  
Çınarlı Mah., Ankara Asfaltı Cad., No. 7, Konak, TR-35110 Izmir, Turkey.  
**Phone:** +90.539.577 07 33; **e-mail:** <elafli@yahoo.ca>.  
**Website:** <<https://deu.academia.edu/ErgunLAFLI/>>.  
**Orcid ID:** 0000-0002-4722-5018.

Dr Maurizio Buora (La Società Friulana di Archeologia, Udine)  
c/o Via Gorizia 16, I-33100 Udine, Italy.  
**E-mail:** <[mbuora@libero.it](mailto:mbuora@libero.it)>; **website:** <<https://independent.academia.edu/mauriziobuora/>>.  
**Orcid ID:** 0000-0002-5746-8312.

## Introduction

In Izmir we know very few figural monuments between the fourth and sixth centuries AD: there are some figural stone monuments in the local museums of Izmir which might be assigned to a honorary arch in the surroundings of ancient Smyrna that resembles iconographically to the Arch of Constantine in Rome (**figs 1a-b**). As basic studies on the relationship of artistic developments to historical events of this period in entire western Asia Minor are lacking, for the iconography of these few monuments a holistic approach is essential to find out the historical subjects which are featuring on them and the messages of their sculptural image (**map 1**). Most probably these monuments with a certain composition pertaining to the prosopography of the person whom it was dedicated, were used as a medium of social communication.

## Ancient Smyrna in the Roman Tetrarchic period

The Tetrarchy was the system instituted by Diocletian in AD 293 to govern the Empire by dividing it between two senior emperors, the *augusti*, and their juniors and designated successors, the *caesares*. The tetrarchic system ended by 313 as there remained only two emperors, Constantine in the West and Licinius in the East, although it took until 324 for Constantine to finally defeat Licinius, reunite the two halves of the Roman Empire and declare himself sole *augustus*.

As the port of Izmir, ancient Smyrna was usually one of the most important harbours of the eastern Mediterranean, the city was an influential centre during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. After a destructive earthquake in AD 178 Smyrna was rebuilt under Marcus Aurelius which was, however, resulted with a sudden downsizing. Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the late third and early fourth century AD provides us some evidence on Smyrna in this period. A Christian church and a bishopric existed in Smyrna also in the late third century AD, probably originating in the considerable and quite well attested Jewish community of Smyrna. During the mid-third century AD, most of the population in Smyrna became affiliated with the Greco-Roman churches. Some milestones evidence that the roads radiating from Smyrna to Pergamum, Sardis and Ephesus were maintained by the Tetrarchy and into the reign of Arcadius. In the beginning of the fourth century AD, when Constantinople became the seat of government, the trade between Anatolia and the West diminished in importance, and Smyrna declined.

The period from the late third to the early fourth century AD is still little known in Smyrna through literatural, historical and hagiographic sources; the administrative, civil and religious role of the city as well as artistic techniques, historical events, politics, economics and social change in this period are therefore not well-known. Our information about Smyrna is limited to few written sources as well as to mostly archaeological field work carried out in various parts of today's Izmir, especially in the Agora of Smyrna.





Map 1: Map of western Anatolia with the places referred to in the text (by S. Patacı, 2021).

### Late Antique and Byzantine architectural and decorative elements in Izmir

The Archaeological Museum of Izmir was inaugurated in 1920 and is one of the oldest museum in Turkey. It stores a large collection of Byzantine material, especially a rich collection of Late Antique and Byzantine ecclesiastical architectural and decorative stone elements. Several monuments were brought to this museum from outside of Izmir in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. Most of the architectural elements belong to the sixth century AD. A part of these finds was already published by the Greek architect Anastasios K. Orlandos (1887–1979).<sup>1</sup> So far three graduate theses were written in Turkey on Late Antique and Byzantine architectural and decorative elements in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir.<sup>2</sup> A paper has already been appeared on this material group as well.

<sup>1</sup> A. K. Orlandos, Χριστιανικά γλυπτά του Μουσείου Σμύρνης [Christian sculptures of the Museum of Izmir], in: A. K. Orlandos (ed.), Αρχαίον των Βυζαντινών μνημείων της Ελλάδος, Εξαμηνιαίον περιοδικόν σύγγραμμα 3 [Archive of the Byzantine monuments of Greece. A six-monthly periodical], Athens 1937, 128-152.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Mercangöz, İzmir ve Manisa İllerinde Bizans Yapılarına Ait Mimari Plastik Parçaların Saptanması ve Değerlendirilmesi [Detection and evaluation of architectural plastic elements of Byzantine buildings in the provinces of Izmir and Manisa], unpublished doctoral thesis, Ege Üniversitesi, Izmir 1996; A. Andıç, İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi'ndeki Bizans Dönemi Taş Eserleri [Byzantine stone monuments at the Archaeological Museum of Izmir], unpublished master's thesis, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, Çanakkale 2012; and O. Ergil, İzmir Müzesindeki



**Figs 1a-b:** Two lictors on the *Liberalitas* scene on the Arch of Constantine, Rome  
(photo by William Storage, GNU Free Documentation License).

### Notes and acknowledgements

For the study of these monuments at the Archaeological Museum of Izmir three authorisations have been issued to E. Laflı by the Directorate of the Museum of Izmir on 11th January 2012, 18th January 2012 and 23rd February 2012 and numbered as B.16.4.KTM.0.35.14.00-155.99/150, 233 and 604. Documentation was done in 2012 and all the photos were taken by E. Laflı in 2012. Map 1 was arranged by Dr Sami Patacı (Ardahan) in 2022, for which we would like to express our gratitude.

**Keywords:** relief plates, relief sculpture, arch, Işıkkent, Izmir, Smyrna, Ephesus, Tetrarchic period, Roman sculpture, Roman archaeology.

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**SESSION II:**

**ARCHAEOLOGY OF  
IZMIR AND ITS CLOSE ENVIRONS  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES**

# Contextualizing Late Antique floor mosaics of secular contexts from Izmir

Elvin Akbulut Dağlier

Mrs Elvin Akbulut Dağlier (Koç University, Istanbul)

**Phone:** +90.532.464 42 43; **e-mail addresses:** <edaglier18@ku.edu.tr>, <elvindaglier@gmail.com>.

Floor mosaics are functional with their durability and insulating aspect, decorative with their designs, and informative with respect to the cultural, economic and social life of their makers. As a legacy of Greco-Roman past, Byzantines continued this practice in Late Antiquity. With many prominent Byzantine cities in its territory embellished with mosaics, Izmir provides a good example for this phenomenon. Accordingly, this paper is concerned with Late Antique floor mosaics in secular structures of modern-day Izmir with a view to contextualize the city in Byzantine Anatolia through its mosaics.

As a part of the Byzantine province of Asia, Izmir is among the top-five cities of Anatolia in terms of the number of floor mosaics including the fragments found in its Byzantine cities: Ephesus (10), Erythrae (6), Nymphaeum (6), Smyrna (3), Phocaea (1), Dioshieron (1), Clazomenae (1) (**fig. 1**). These 28 mosaics and one opus sectile come from 16 separate secular structures, which are predominantly residential. There is no bath or public portico among these structures with mosaics and sites also display differences. For example, all the mosaics of Nymphaeum come from a single rural villa. Erythrae, Phocaea, Dioshieron and Clazomenae mosaics all cover residential spaces while no villa mosaic is assigned to Smyrna so far.

Dating of mosaics is always problematic in general and this holds true for the mosaics of Izmir too with less than half of them dated to a single century. More than half of the mosaics are dated to the 5th century (**fig. 2**), implying a construction boom possibly driven by population growth and rising wealth in the region. Excluding the fragments and those that lack size data, most of the mosaics cover spaces of 11 to 40 sqm, which can be considered of medium size. The largest mosaic floors of Izmir are found in Ephesus, the administrative capital of Asia and pilgrimage centre in the early Byzantine period: Hall mosaics of Alytarchenstoa (285 sqm) and the house in the south of Celsus Library (130 sqm).

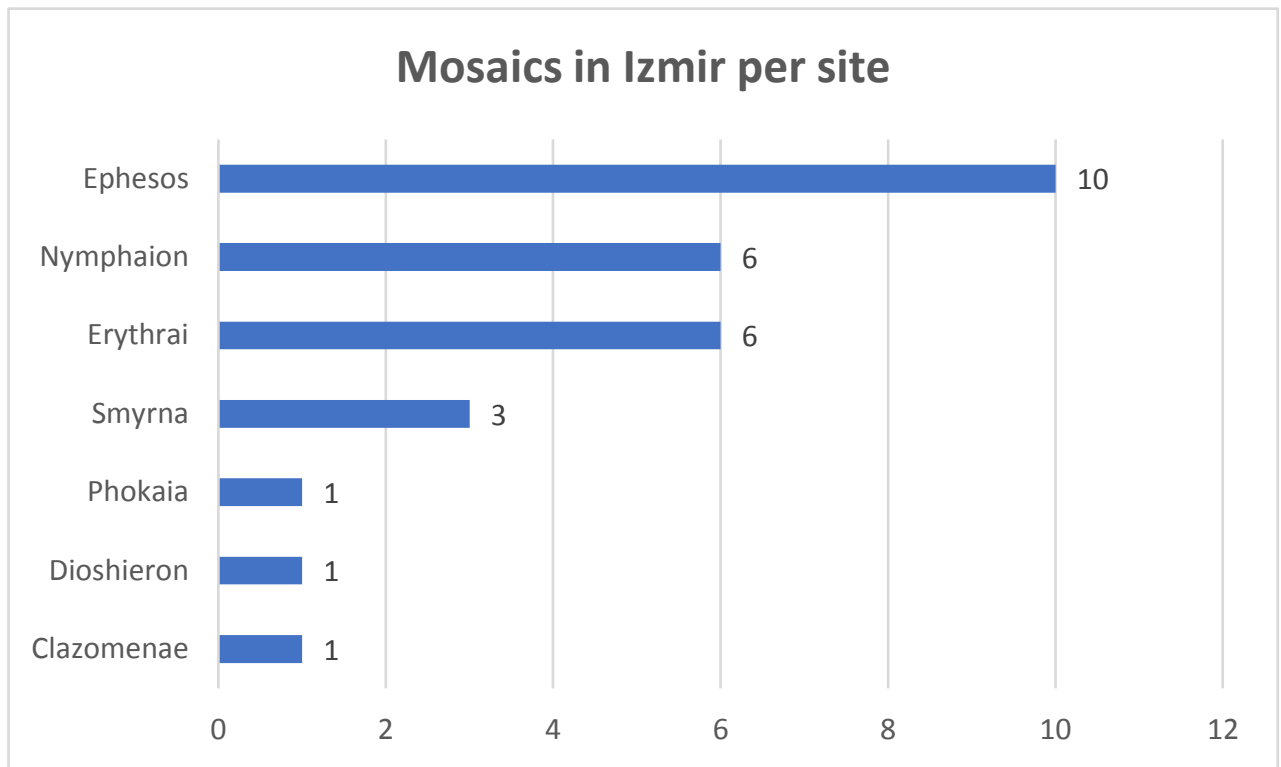
The basic material for the tesserae is stone, mainly limestone, but other materials like marble, glass, terracotta are used alongside with stone and the case of Izmir is no different. In the Animal Album Mosaic of Rural villa in Nymphaeum, all these materials are juxtaposed. Striking is the rate of occurrence of bricks and terracotta in these mosaics. The use of different materials provides the mosaics with a variety of colours and different reflections of light. Except for three bichrome mosaics, all are polychromatic and significant portion of them have more than three colours.

These colourful tesserae are combined in order to create different motifs (**fig. 3**). Excluding those with indiscernible motifs, geometric motifs are the most popular among Izmir mosaics, followed by the floral motifs, especially ivy scrolls and heart-shaped leaves. Hall mosaic from the building in West Agora of Smyrna, which can as well be a bouleuterion (city senate house), is one such example. The inanimate objects, especially cantharus and crosses, are also preferred in Izmir's mosaics, which raises questions as to the motive for this choice. Considering the cross-over of this iconography to the Christian context and the dating of these mosaics largely to the 5th century, a question may rise as to whether they are religious symbols. Christianity disapproved the use of Christian symbols on the ground and a decree that banned depiction of crosses on the floor was issued in the 5th century. More likely scenario is they are apotropaic in nature or simply allude to the fertility of the lands or wealth of the commissioner. The cruciform and cantharus mosaics of peristyle house in Erythrae, for example, depict geometric motifs apotropaic in nature such as stars or Solomon knots along with cross or ivy scrolls sprouting from a cantharus.

Meanwhile, one in every four mosaics portray animals. The Animal Album Mosaic of Nymphaeum mentioned above contains 77 panels with animal portraits, many of which are identified as

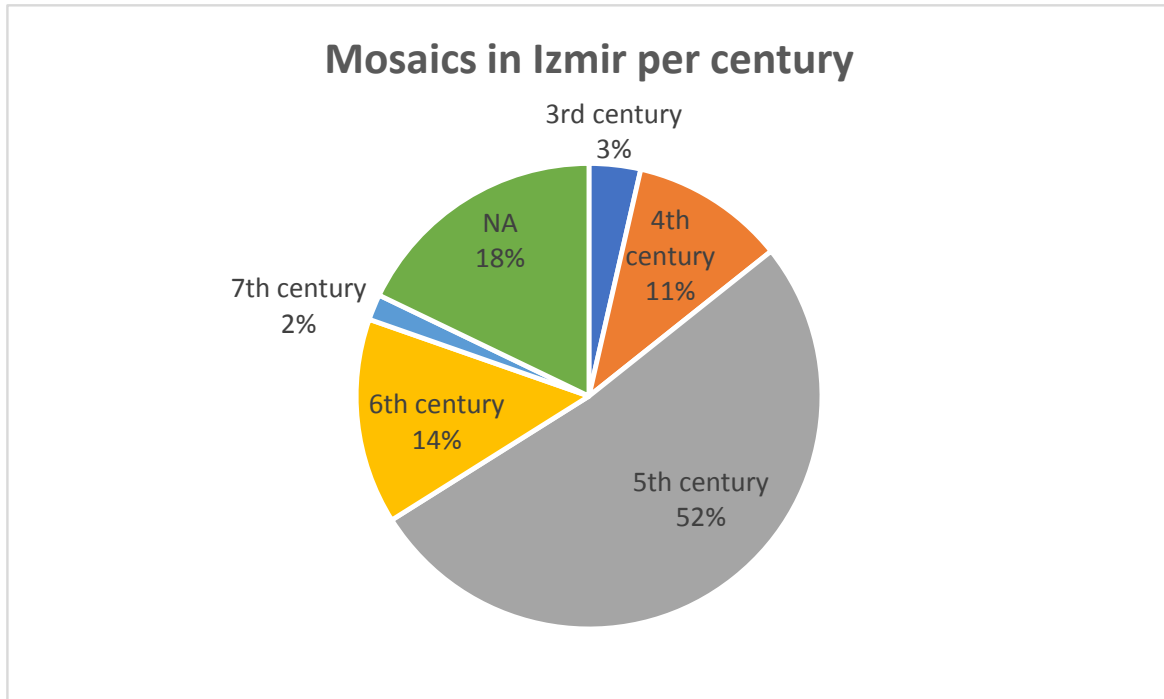
belonging to the Anatolian fauna such as the now extinct Anatolian tigers.<sup>1</sup> The high number and diversity of animals might be referring to the fertility of the rustic villa's premises. There are only two mosaics with inscriptions. In a fragmented boar mosaic from Tetraganos Agora in Ephesus, the boar is identified by inscription and the mosaic's donor Helsperos is proclaimed in Greek. The Late Antique mosaic in the Diana Thermal of Smyrna is also dedicatory naming some dokites of femina clarissima Ganymede as the commissioner. Interestingly, there are no deities, heroes or ordinary people or any personifications of abstract ideas, cities, rivers etc. in these mosaics. Merely Eros, the god of love, riding a chariot is depicted in a medallion, which is the only remaining piece with a human figure from a mosaic floor in Izmir. Excluding the faunal representations, it can be said that Izmir mosaics are largely aniconic in this respect.

Based on this general overview of the floor mosaics of Izmir in secular context, this paper aims to compare them with mosaics of the Roman period, floor mosaics in the ecclesiastical structures and contemporary mosaics found in other parts of Anatolia and contextualize these mosaics. Through this inquiry, possible answers to questions on the drivers of the mosaic choices and hence the social, economic and cultural milieu in Izmir will be sought.

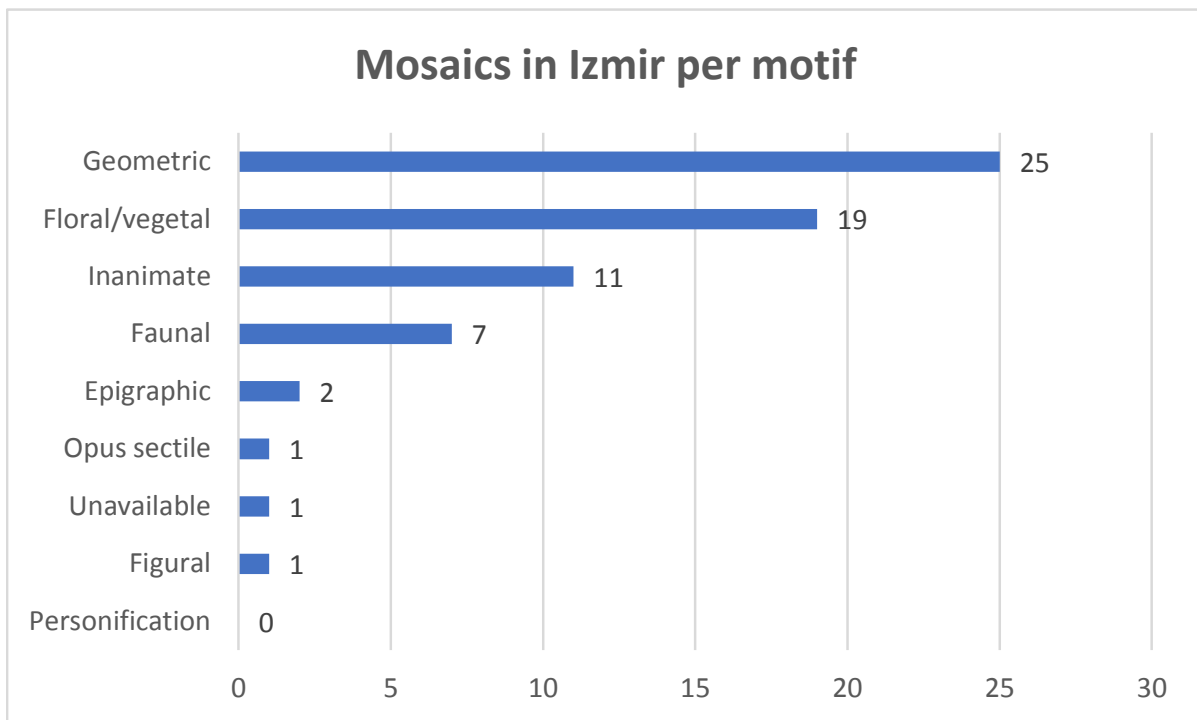


**Fig. 1:** Sites with Byzantine floor mosaics in secular contexts in the province of Izmir.

<sup>1</sup> Tok-Talaman-Atıcı 2013.



**Fig. 2:** Chronology of floor mosaics in Izmir.



**Fig. 3:** Type of motifs on floor mosaics in Izmir.

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**Keywords:** mosaics, secular contexts, Ephesus, western Anatolia, Early Byzantine period, Byzantine mosaics, Byzantine archaeology.



## Euethios: a Bishop of Smyrna in the Early Byzantine period

Maurizio Buora and Ergün Laflı

Dr Maurizio Buora (La Società Friulana di Archeologia, Udine)  
c/o Via Gorizia 16, I-33100 Udine, Italy.

**E-mail:** <mbuora@libero.it>; **website:** <<https://independent.academia.edu/mauriziobuora>>.

**Orcid ID:** 0000-0002-5746-8312.

Professor Ergün Laflı (Izmir)

Ege Perla A Rezidans Kule, 21. Kat, Daire 82,  
Çınarlı Mah., Ankara Asfaltı Cad., No. 7, Konak, TR-35110 Izmir, Turkey.

**Phone:** +90.539.577 07 33; **e-mail:** <elaflı@yahoo.ca>.

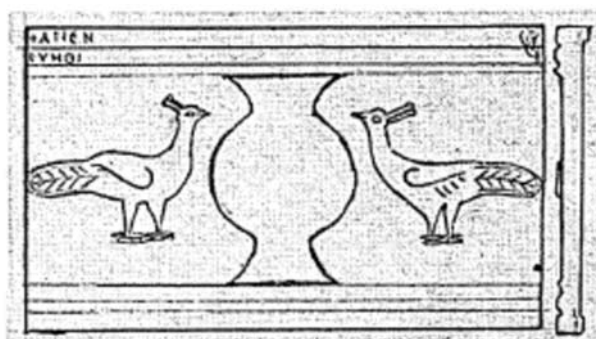
**Website:** <<https://deu.academia.edu/ErgunLAFLI/>>.

**Orcid ID:** 0000-0002-4722-5018.

The Archaeological Museum of Izmir curates a marble ambo slab among the marbles in its garden (**fig. 1**) which bears a composition with two antithetic peacocks flanking a vase and a dedicatory inscription on its upper part. The slab survived intact until the beginning of the twentieth century, when Josef Keil<sup>2</sup> who was the director of the Austrian excavations at Ephesus, found it in pieces at the Agora of Smyrna and drew its sketch in 1910, which remained unappreciated until Georg Petzl re-published it in his corpus of Smyranean inscriptions in 1990 with other unpublished inscriptions of uncertain origin copied from Smyrna by Keil. In 1937 the piece was originally examined by the Anastasios K. Orlandos, a Greek historian of architecture who published the first catalogue of the Byzantine stone monuments in the Museum of Izmir. In this study by Orlandos the slab was broken and its upper left corner was missing which caused the loss of an important part of the inscription, which was integrated in a not entirely correct way by Orlandos himself. The ambo plate was, however, never photographed in any of these publications. Since very few Byzantine stone monuments in Izmir Museum have a known provenance as Smyrna, this ambo plate merits inclusion in the body of published examples from this city of the Byzantine Empire where we have limited surviving literary and archaeological evidence.

### The marble ambo slab

*Material.* High-grade large crystalline, light white-gray marble quarried probably from Belevi near Ephesus; fine grained, pale gray to blue gray. The marble is similar to that native to the area of Ephesus where it was commonly utilized for both architecture and sculpture of the ecclesiastical buildings of western Anatolia during the Early Byzantine period.



**Fig. 1:** Drawing of a marble ambo slab from Smyrna by G. Petzl

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Keil, *Skizzenbuch Smyrna*, Juli 1910, VIII, p. 28. Josef Keil (1878–1963) was the secretary of the Austrian Archaeological Institute of Smyrna and during this post he completed eight volumes of sketches of monuments and inscriptions in western Turkey, including ours.

(after G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, vol. 2/2: *Addenda, Corrigenda und Indices*,  
Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 24/2, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1990, pp. 365-366, no. 35).

*Measurements.* H. 891 mm (with mouldings), L. 1423 mm, Th. 101 mm, L.H. 21-34 mm.

*State of preservation.* Nearly intact slab horizontally broken with only the flat top broken off, reassembled from four large fragments with some chips and two large losses at the both upper corners. The main horizontal break runs diagonally through the centre of the scene. The entire scene in the central portion is preserved. The top is smooth and flat, bearing marks of a flat chisel and has a cracked surface. Claw-chisel finish on the sides. Rough-picked back and underside. Dark gray particulate soiling covers the stele. Carving on the front is of high quality and well preserved.

*Provenance.* As said above, it was supposedly found by Keil in pieces at the Agora of Smyrna in an unknown time period.

*Description.* This is a rectangular ambo slab with a shallow recessed panel, horizontally placed on the face of the stone, containing figures in low relief of two opposing peacocks in profile flanking a handleless amphora-like large vessel measuring 230 mm high which are the central features of the iconography and the central scene of this plate. In Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture the ambo (ἄμβων) was a projection coming out from the walkway in front of the iconostasis. Thus, this ambo plate was in use as a decorative element at a church, most probably in Early Byzantine Smyrna or Ephesus.

In both sides of the vessel there are two fat-bodied or plump-bodied birds in a narrative scene, very possibly peacocks or partridges, flanking a large vessel. The animals are represented in low relief and the figures are rendered inaccurately without facial features. The opposing peacocks are at the same level, but not placed on a groundline; the vessel which has a larger scale in proportion to the peacocks in its both sides, rests on the lower edge of the relief panel. The flat figures are simple and stiffly carved in a shallow outline technique with little plastic and modeling quality. The feet and legs of peacocks are well modeled, but simply incised. Shallow incisions along the heads indicate anatomical features of the birds, such as feet, feathers, wings, eyes and beaks. The facial features are cursorily indicated. The birds have a sharp beak. The straight outline of their tail feathers is superposed over the bend in the wrist. Their tail feathers form a backdrop. The bird's wings are slightly extended. Thus, these birds most closely resemble a pigeon (genus *Columba*; Turkish *kumru* which is very popular in modern Izmir), rather than a peacock. But, low level of detail in the representation makes identification of the species difficult. In any case, the partridge is a species of bird not commonly depicted in Byzantine marble iconography.

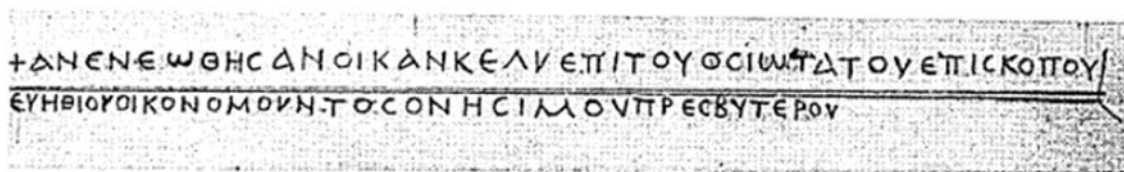
The vase, most probably an amphora in the middle, is somewhat larger than peacocks but still within the size seen in comparable ecclesiastical iconography. Typologically, the vessel looks also like a cantharus, a type of ancient Greek cup used for drinking.

The scene is framed with the top and bottom border mouldings. Slightly projecting three-part moulding (of a shallow cavetto over a flat ovolo) near the top are separating the finial from the main part of the stone and inscribed with the name of the ecclesiastical dignitaries. The bottom of the plate is also finished with three rows of moulding. The height of the moulding below the design is 165 mm. The crisp carving of the lower mouldings on this fragment indicate that it was a monument of high quality. Both mouldings do not continue around the sides of the block.

*Inscription.* As mentioned above, two narrow epistyles are inscribed with a short inscription which is a dedication of chancel and has a very high value, as epigraphic evidence in Smyrna is extremely limited in the Byzantine period (**fig. 2a**). According to the reading of the Keil, which Petzl makes its own, the text is as follows (**fig. 2b**):

Transcription.

- 2 † Ἀνενεώθησαν οἱ κάνκελυ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου  
 Εὐηθίου, οἰκονομοῦντος Ὀνησίμου πρεσβυτέρου.



† Ἀνενεώθησαν οἱ κάνκελυ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου  
 Εὐηθίου, οἰκονομοῦντος Ὀνησίμου πρεσβυτέρου.

**Figs 2a-b.** Inscription as well as drawing and transcription by G. Petzl  
 (after Petzl 1990, pp. 365-366, no. 35).

*Epigraphic comments.* Inscription in two lines consists of crudely incised and randomly placed letters, but generally its lettering is good. Alphas have a broken bar. At the beginning of the text there is a cross, as it is customary in sacred texts and also often in funerary inscriptions from the fifth century AD onwards, both in the East and in the West.

The palaeography of the inscription as well the expression ἀνενεώθησαν are not commented here to avoid possible repetition.

Orlandos reconstructed the first word as κατεσπύθησαν and in the second line he completely missed the name of the episcopus, even if he should have understood that it was a couple of ecclesiastical dignitaries and the text only made sense if the name of the episcopus were followed by that of the oikonomos, that is, indicates the highest authorities of the local ecclesiastical community of Early Byzantine Smyrna.

*Dating.* The accompanying inscription is difficult to date, but the persons named in this text might be identified (cf. below). With no firm externally datable context, we have tried to date this piece to a general stylistic milieu. It could thus be assigned to the mid-sixth century AD on the basis of style, subject, inscription and workmanship; but this date should be considered as a rough approximation.

*References* (in an chronological order): Keil 1910, VIII, p. 28; A.K. Orlandos, Christianika glypta tou Mouseiou Smyrnēs [Christian Sculptures of the Museum of Izmir], in: A.K. Orlandos (ed.), *Archeion tōn Byzantinōn mnemeiōn tēs Ellados: eksamēniaion periodikon suggramma* [Archive of the Byzantine Monuments of Greece: A Six-Monthly Periodical] 3, Athens: Archaiologikē Etaireia Publ., 1937, p. 136, fig. 8 (dated into the late sixth-early seventh century AD); T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes (Schrankenplatten des 4.–10. Jahrhunderts)*, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monascensia* 10, Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1969, p. 57, nos. 20–21; T. Ulbert, *Untersuchungen zu den byzantinischen Reliefplatten des 6. bis 8. Jahrhunderts*, *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 19/20, 1969–1970, p. 30, no. 356, pl. 69, fig. 3 (late sixth-early seventh century AD); Petzl 1990, pp. 365–366, no. 35; D. Feissel, *Inscriptions chrétiennes et byzantines*, *Revue des études grecques* 103, 1990, p. 604, no. 908 (with transcription); A. Anastasiadou, *Ἐ χορηγία στis anatolikes eparchies tēs Byzantinēs Autokratōrias: aphierōmatikes kai ktētorikes epigraphes naōn tēs M. Asias (4os–15os ai.): didaktorikē diatribē* [Religious Patronage at the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire: Dedicatory Inscriptions from Churches in Asia Minor (4th–15th Centuries): Doctoral Thesis], Thessaloniki, 2005, II, pp. 261–262, no. 50 (with transcription), p. 624, no. 50 (sixth–seventh

century AD), pl. 7, no. 50; S. Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasien*, Jena: Diss. Dr. phil., 2005, p. 139, note 248.

The letters of the inscription on our slab are not particularly accurate. The fact that the slab is inscribed suggests that it was placed in the centre of the ambo fence.

In fact, the inscription mentions two persons, namely the episcopos (bishop) Euethios and the oikonomos (oconomus) who was the presbyter, i.e. an elder of the congregation in Early Christianity, Onesimos. In their time, the gates or slabs of the enclosure of the presbytery of a church were renovated, which may have been the cathedral of Smyrna. Already from the Early Christian era in the first century AD Smyrna was an autocephalous archbishopric, but about its location and churches we have almost no information. The succession of the two names is very significant: in the first place the episcopos, then the person responsible for the treasury of the diocese. It is surprising that in reporting this text in her doctoral dissertation, Sabine Hübner, while citing the Petzl's edition, did not realize that not only the *πρεσβύτερος* was mentioned here, as she erroneously writes.<sup>3</sup>

The name Euethios, which is of unknown origin, is in particular known in its Latin version, i.e. Euetius (or Vetius).<sup>4</sup> This name was popular in Asia Minor, as there are ten attestations in *LGPN* (in vols. V.B and V.C); and four in *ICG* (nos. 229, 914, 943 and 2398). An Eubecius (in Cod. Stuttgart) or Eubuetius (in Cod. Munich) was quoted instead of Euteius in a Late Antique manuscript which includes Eastern bishops who signed at the First Council of Nicaea.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Lactantius and Eusebius record anonymously in the list of martyrs a Christian, named as John or Euetius of Nicomedia, executed at Nicomedia in 24 February AD 303 for tearing down the first edict against the Christians.<sup>6</sup> The name comes from a Syriac martyrology of AD 411.<sup>7</sup> Jacques Moreau regards Euethios as the correct form of the name.<sup>8</sup> The text of Eunapius offers in the extra properly corrupt manuscript tradition the name Euetius, which has been unanimous since Valesianus improved in Evagrius.<sup>9</sup>

The most significant attestation of Euethios in Asia Minor was the name of the bishop of Ephesus in ca. AD 365–381<sup>10</sup> and could be the same person mentioned in our Smyranean inscription. We do not, however, know the status of the see of Smyrna before the mid-seventh century AD, as it was an autocephalous archbishopric of the province of Asia; but it is quite possible that in this particular period Smyrna was a suffragan of Ephesus and its bishop was therefore mentioned in our inscription.

In contrast to Euetius, Onesimos or Onesimus (*Ὀνήσιμος*, meaning “useful”) was a popular name in Roman and Late Roman Smyrna.

We believe that the ambo slab from the Izmir Museum originates from Smyrna. The local church of Smyrna was organized into a diocese since the second century AD, as an epistle from St. Ignatius of Antioch to the Christians of Smyrna and their bishop Polycarp proves it in AD 107.<sup>11</sup> From the

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<sup>3</sup> Hübner 2005, p. 139, note 248.

<sup>4</sup> O. Seeck, Euethios, in: W. Kroll (ed.), *Pauhs Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 6/1, Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1907, p. 983.

<sup>5</sup> H. Mordek, Eine ungedruckte Bischofsliste des 1. ökumenischen Konzils von Nicäa (325) (Cod. Stuttgart HB VI 113 der Collectio Weingartensis), *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 118/2, 1996, pp. 142–143, note 17.

<sup>6</sup> L. Hailes (ed.), *On the Deaths of the Persecutors: a Translation of De Mortibus Persecutorum by Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius*, Merchantville, NJ: Evolution Publishing, 2021, 13.2; and P.L. Maier (ed.), *Eusebius: The Church History; a New Translation with Commentary*, Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1999, 8.5.1.

<sup>7</sup> H. Lietzmann (ed.), *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien*, Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen 2, Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1911, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> J. Moreau, *Lactance. De la mort des persécuteurs*, vol. 2: *Commentaire*, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1954, p. 279.

<sup>9</sup> J. Giangrande (ed.), *Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum*, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini consilio Academiae Lynceorum Editi Rome*, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956, 6.11.2.

<sup>10</sup> S. Destephen, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 3: *Diocèse d'Asie (325–641)*, Sources chrétiennes 39.2, Paris, Association des Amis du Centre d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, 2008, p. 280.

<sup>11</sup> Ignatius's epistles are particularly interesting in the extent to which they reveal a clear concern to strengthen the position of the established leadership: bishop, presbyters and deacons.

fourteenth century, i.e. 1318, it had a series of Western bishops as owners. The list of Greek bishops, with many shortcomings, has been handed down to us by Giorgio Fedalto in his *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis*<sup>12</sup> and Michel Le Quien in his *Oriens Christianus*.<sup>13</sup> Here two fixed points appear, a couple of names linked to the rise of the Monophysite movement and to the events of the forties of the sixth century AD, and then other names are attested at the beginning from the ninth century. Our bishop was not mentioned by any Medieval source, but his name was engraved on a stone monument and therefore indisputably attested. The span of his episcopate, therefore, probably fell between the mid-sixth and the beginning of the ninth century. The further detailed examination of this inscription in other aspects might offer us further insights.

The Greek equivalent of the Latin term *cancelli* (or *cancellus* in singular; “lattice-work”), i.e. οἱ κάγκελυ; κάγκελλος in singular, is very common in Byzantine Asia Minor, as Louis Robert has noted it already in 1966.<sup>14</sup>

**Keywords:** marble ambo slab, bishop, Euethios, peacocks, peacocks flaking a vase, Smyrna, Ephesus, Byzantine church history of Smyrna, Early Byzantine period, Byzantine architectural sculpture, Byzantine epigraphy, Byzantine archaeology.

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<sup>12</sup> G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis*, Series episcoporum ecclesiarum christianarum orientalium, Padova: Messaggero, 1988, vol. II, pp. 581–1208.

<sup>13</sup> M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus, in quo exhibentur Ecclesiae patriarchae caeterique praesules totius Orientis*, Paris: Ex Typographia Regia, 1740, vol. 1, pp. 741–744.

<sup>14</sup> J. Robert and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique, Revue des études grecques* 79, 1966, p. 363.

# A preliminary report on Byzantine sigillographic evidence from Izmir

Doğukan Çağlayan and Werner Seibt

Mr Doğukan Çağlayan (University of Istanbul)  
c/o İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Kültür Varlıkları Projeler Müdürlüğü  
(The Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, Directorate of Cultural Heritage Projects),  
Hacı Ahmet Mahallesi, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Caddesi No. 1, Beyoğlu, TR-34440 Istanbul, Turkey.  
**E-mail addresses:** <dogukan.caglayan@ibb.gov.tr>, <dogukan.caglayan@yahoo.com>.  
**Orcid ID:** 0000-0002-9272-7762.

Professor Werner Seibt (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna)  
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Abteilung Byzanzforschung,  
Hollandstraße 11-13/4, A-1020 Vienna, Austria.  
**E-mail:** <werner.seibt@oeaw.ac.at>.

**Abstract:** In the Archaeological Museum of Izmir (Byzantine Smyrna) a group of seven lead seals are curated which belongs to a period between the mid-seventh and second half of the 12th century AD. Almost all of these seals originate probably from western part of Turkey. Owners of the seals were primarily ecclesiastical, juristic or military dignitaries who were possibly active in Smyrna or Thrakesion. This article does not only give readers an argument of sigillographic results for Smyrna, but also leads to new conclusions about the less-known Byzantine history and dignitaries of Thrakesion as well as rest of western Asia Minor and Byzantine sigilligraphy in general.

**Keywords:** Lead seals, Archaeological Museum of Izmir, Smyrna, Thrakesion, western Turkey, Asia Minor, Byzantine sigillography, Early Byzantine period, Middle Byzantine period, Late Byzantine period, Byzantine history.

## Introduction: research question, aims and methodology

The Archaeological Museum of Izmir stores surprisingly a small collection of Byzantine lead seals, only a group of which will be presented here. Since the catalogue of Jean-Claude Cheynet in 2014 on eight seals from this museum,<sup>15</sup> there is a new group which were most probably collected from the western parts of Asia Minor. These selected seals are associated with some historical events that occurred in the region between the mid-seventh and second half of the 12th century AD and with some further sigillographic and prosopographic issues. Our aim is to present these seven seals in detail and relate them with other sigillographic archival evidence from Byzantine Asia Minor. Our method is to compare these seals with the already known examples in the previous sigillographical literature and we link them with some historical and prosopographical sources. The publication of Byzantine lead seals from Izmir cannot aim either at the critical good taste and restraint of a fine museum catalogue or at the objective accuracy and completeness with which excavated material from Smyrna is normally presented. It has to fall somewhere between. We attempted to produce more than simply a catalogue, since our aim was to consolidate older sigillographical scholarship with newer.

In present catalogue, the entry for each seal is given as completely as possible with at least the following information included: catalogue number in boldface; the museum accession number; reference to illustrations; the facts concerning the provenance (if it was recorded in the museum registration book); measurements; the present condition of the piece; a description and reading of both sides; and a date.

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<sup>15</sup> J.-CL. CHEYNET, La place de Smyrne dans le thème des Thracésiens. In: T. G. Koliaş – K. G. Patsakis (ed.). Τόμος ἀφιερῶμενος στον καθηγητή Ευάγγελο Κ. Χρῦσο. Athens 2014, 89-112 (thereafter CHEYNET, Smyrne).

The discussions in the catalogue entries centre on dating problems. In this catalogue, lead seals of Byzantine period is therefore dated to quarter-century periods, where possible, or more broadly by century.

### Smyrna during the Byzantine period

Although the port of Smyrna was usually one of the most important harbours of the eastern Aegean coast, the city was a moderate centre during the Byzantine periods. In the late antique period this harbour city profited from its protected position and rich agricultural hinterland in neighboring Lydia. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the “second” Smyrna reached a metropolitan proportion, but the city suffered an extensive earthquake in the second century AD, which was resulted with a sudden downsizing. For the period between the fourth to 11th centuries AD, there is not much literary, historical and hagiographic evidence about Smyrna, and the administrative, civil and religious role of the city in the Byzantine period is therefore not well-known.<sup>16</sup> Only the 13th century is well illuminated by the documents of the monastery of Lembos and by the imposing remains of the citadel on Mount Pagus, modern Kadifekale. From our historical knowledge, what we know is that Smyrna certainly participated in the general decline of urban life in the seventh century AD. Cheynet’s brief essay on Byzantine Smyrna especially through its sigillographical aspects go parallel to Clive Foss’ research in 1977 on the collapse of the great *metropoleis* Ephesus and Sardis.<sup>17</sup>

Here is a brief historical survey on Smyrna during the Byzantine period based on these two essays: during the seventh century the city was rarely at the centre of military operations, which alone retained the attention of the chroniclers from Constantinople. Under Heraclius in the early seventh century AD, the Persian armies ravaged Anatolia as far as the Aegean coast. The city comes out of the darkness in the Middle Age when it was attacked by the Arabs: the sources record that Smyrna was taken by the Arabs in the mid-seventh century AD.<sup>18</sup> According to an inscription Michael III restored the ramparts of Smyrna and built a fortified wall in the mid-ninth century, completing his major work of reconstruction of the network of Anatolian fortresses.<sup>19</sup> Constantine Monomachos did the same after the violent mid-11th century AD earthquake, similarly commemorated by an inscription.<sup>20</sup> Sigillographically, a Viennese seal mentions a Theodoros β. *σπαθάριος καὶ ἄρχων Σμύρνης*, probably a maritime archon, from the later ninth century.<sup>21</sup> In the same period Smyrna was the home base of the fleet in the recently created Samos theme. Although situated close to Samos, Ephesus was not chosen for this duty. During the Middle Byzantine period all the evidence points to an active port in Smyrna which, together with Phygela (Kuşadası) and then Anaia (Kadikalesi), took the place of Ephesus choked by silt. At the end of Middle Byzantine period Smyrna was encouraged by the nearby installation of the two imperial residences in Nymphaeum (Kemalpaşa) and Magnesia ad Sipylum (Manisa). Taking advantage of the decline of Ephesus, Smyrna benefited from the economic and spatial development of the Byzantine Empire with its rich hinterland of agriculture from the tenth century onwards. An arsenal was established most probably on Pagos, which served as a naval base to the Seljuk commander Tzachas

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. CHEYNET, Smyrne. An extensive entry to Smyrna is in progress in the forthcoming volume on Byzantine Asia by Andreas Külzer in the series of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. We would like to express our gratitude to Professor Külzer (Vienna) for reading our introduction on Byzantine Smyrna.

<sup>17</sup> C. FOSS, *Ephesus after antiquity: a late antique, Byzantine and Turkish city*. Cambridge 1979.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. R. J. LILIE, *Byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber: Studien zur Strukturwandlung des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jh.* Munich 1976.

<sup>19</sup> G. PEZL, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, vol. 2. Bonn 1987, no. 846.

<sup>20</sup> L. c., no. 847. Cf. CHEYNET, Smyrne 91.

<sup>21</sup> A.-K. WASSILIOU – W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich, part 2: Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung*. Vienna 2004, no. 123.



who seized Smyrna in 1084, but the city was recovered by the Byzantine general John Doukas again.<sup>22</sup>

We also know very little about the daily life and people of Smyrna between the fourth and 11th centuries: mediaeval texts suggest that Smyrna housed highly developed textile craft industry, including silk manufacture and its region supplied purple to the imperial workshops. A local family, the *Blattopouloi*, for instance, alludes to silk weaving. As it was situated near rich agricultural holdings, Smyrna served as a regional entrepot. In c. AD 800 the inhabitants dispatched a consignment of grain and vegetables to Greek island Lesbos. During the antiquity and Byzantine periods, the agricultural products were exported via the harbour of Smyrna and therefore the city housed granaries. Some vineyards and olive plantations are equally attested in the hinterland of Byzantine Smyrna as it includes the finest agricultural lands of western Anatolia. On the agricultural importance of Smyrna one should also mention some seals of horreiarioroi of Smyrna: A first Ioannes from the second half of the tenth or the beginning of the 11th century,<sup>23</sup> a second Ioannes from the first half of the 11th century,<sup>24</sup> a Kosmas from the first or second third of the 11th century,<sup>25</sup> a Thomas from the first half of the 11th century,<sup>26</sup> a Leon koubikoularios from the second half of the 11th century,<sup>27</sup> and a third Ioannes, probably from the second half of the 11th century.<sup>28</sup> We let the question open, if also the seal of a Michael, ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκειακῆς τραπέζης and ὀριάρι(ος) MVPN<sup>29</sup> (second or third third of the 10th century) should be attributed to Smyrna (as mistake of the die cutter).

We have very little information on the religious life of Byzantine Smyrna before the period of the Nicaean Empire in the 13th century whereas Sozomenos in his *Ecclesiastical history* of mid-fifth century AD, Pseudo-Epiphanius in *Notitia episcopatum* and the chronicle of Niketas Choniates in the 13th century AD give us some more insights. Already in the oldest notitiae Smyrna was an archbishopric. What we know through sigillographical research, that around AD 800 the Church of Smyrna was wealthy enough to dispose of a steward (oikonomos) possessing his own seal.<sup>30</sup> At the end of the ninth century AD the bishop of Smyrna received the rank of metropolitan.<sup>31</sup> Throughout the Middle Ages, pilgrims came to the site of Polycarp's martyrdom and to his tomb which is venerated both by Christians and Muslims. An ecumenical service was still being conducted at this tomb as late as 1952.

Topographically during the period between the fourth and 12th century AD commercial, judicial and political nucleus of the Byzantine Smyrna should be situated on the northern slopes of Mount Pagos (Turkish Kadifekale). As the modern city occupies the same area as that of the ancient and Byzantine, the site presents few opportunities for excavations, and since the 1920s most of these remainings have only been very limitedly excavated. Some parts of defensive wall on Pagos and remains of a defensive wall close to Basmane Railway Station called as "Kara Kapı" (Black Gate), that was erected by the proconsul Anatolius, in the name of Arcadius, and commemorated in a

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. CHEYNET, Smyrne 92-93.

<sup>23</sup> DOSeals III 35.1, generally dated to the 10th century; on the obverse a patriarchal cross with fleurons.

<sup>24</sup> The legend is distributed on both sides of the seal; this Ioannes has some connection with a Maleses notarios. J.-CL. CHEYNET – T. GÖKYILDIRIM – V. BULGURLU, Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologiques d'Istanbul. Istanbul 2012, no. 3.109.

<sup>25</sup> Obv. bust d. St. Panteleimon; DOSeals III 35.2; generally dated to the 11th century.

<sup>26</sup> Obv. bust d. St. Christophoros; cf. Cheynet, Société I 225-226.

<sup>27</sup> Obv. bust of St Georgios. G. ZACOS, Byzantine Lead Seals. Compiled and edited by J. W. Nesbitt. Bern 1984, no. 550 (undated).

<sup>28</sup> Obv. bust of St Georgios. K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου. Athens 1917, no. 138 (dated to the 11th-12th centuries).

<sup>29</sup> Zacos, l. c., no. 228. Obv. patriarchal cross with fleurons.

<sup>30</sup> Last edition: DOSeals III 35.5. On the obverse the invocative monogram Laurent, type V, with the usual tetragram. The seal is anonymous.

<sup>31</sup> For the first time Smyrna appears as metropolis in *notitia* 7 (901/907), see J. DARROUZÈS, Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Paris 1981, not. 7, 43 and 7, 648 (with mention of the suffragan bishoprics). We know some seals of metropolitans, but not a single one of an archbishop.

verse inscription are definitely related to the Early Byzantine period. These walls may represent a new or a partial or extensive rebuilding of an old fortification. Some inscriptions of Heraclius datable to the early seventh century AD were found here and show that the walls or sections of them were still functioning during the reign of Heraclius, and may imply that Smyrna suffered no such devastation as Sardis and Ephesus during the Persian War. The most interesting indication of the prosperity of the Byzantine city is provided by a series of epigrams in the ninth and 16th books of the *Greek Anthology*, which commemorate rebuilding of the city after an earthquake in the time of Justinian in mid-sixth century, as well as restoration of a bath and a public latrine.<sup>32</sup> These alone are adequate to show that the city flourished, especially as a port, and that it received the attentions of successive proconsuls. Thus, one can assume that during the sixth century AD Smyrna was evidently a worthy rival of neighbouring Ephesus. We know several plombs only with the inscription CMV | PNA, often found on the Danube border; probably they have to do with the activities of the *quaestor Justinianus exercitus / praefectus insularum*.

Although there are numerous field projects in and around Izmir, both the Gulf of Smyrna as well as its hinterland are not known in the Byzantine archaeology in detail, so that we are still depending on these scattered historical sources.<sup>33</sup> Archaeologically most important results in the regards of Byzantine period of Smyrna came from the Agora of Smyrna, which seems to survive only sloopy during the Early Byzantine centuries until Late Medieval times. Archaeological evidence on Byzantine Smyrna originated also in a limited scale from the excavated areas of Pagos/Kadifekale, Altinyol in Basmane,<sup>34</sup> Şifa Hospital,<sup>35</sup> Hellenistic-Roman theatre and harbour baths and Roman road next to the Ephesian Gate.

From recent Turkish excavations in various locations in Smyrna and from the previous journeys or field campaigns to Smyrna only very few Byzantine seals have been reported. Previous sigillographical research on the seals belonging to the Byzantine city of Smyrna are very few. Recently few seals assigned to Smyrna were offered in auctions.

### **The Archaeological Museum of Izmir and its sigillographic collection**

Most of our sigillographic knowledge on Smyrna and Thrakesion is based on the examples kept in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir as well as other museums and private collections in and around Izmir.<sup>36</sup> Established in the 1920s, this museum has an extensive collection of Byzantine artefacts, not only from Smyrna, but also from an area extending from Pergamum in the north down to Didyma in the south, a large part of the coastal eastern Aegean. Strangely, however, the sigillographic collection of Izmir Museum is small. As mentioned above, eight seals of its sigillographic collection has already been published by Cheynet.

#### **Four seals**

##### **1. Demetrios (?) komes (?) (figs 1a-b)**

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<sup>32</sup> In 2019 a building of Early Byzantine baths was accidentally found near the clock tower in Konak Square in the town centre of Izmir which could be the one that was restored by Justinian. A second baths building exist on the north-western edge of the Agora of Smyrna ruins of which are still visible.

<sup>33</sup> Three university theses report on few Byzantine architectural elements from Smyrna. One of the synagogues in the area of Kemeraltı, the traditional Ottoman bazaar of Izmir, is believed to exist since the fifth century AD.

<sup>34</sup> Here a road conjunction of Late Antique-Early Byzantine period has been discovered with an immediate extra-mural cemetery of the eighth century AD.

<sup>35</sup> A Late Antique cistern as well as Roman-Byzantine canalisation system has been discovered in this area next to the modern Şifa Hospital in the area of Basmane.

<sup>36</sup> For publication of Byzantine seals from Izmir and its surroundings, cf. e.g. E. LAFLI/M. BUORA, Three unpublished Byzantine lead seals from western Asia Minor (with an appendix on an amulet from Izmir). *Вестник ВолГУ. Серия 4, История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения* 25/6, 2020. 160–167.

Acc. no. 020.535.

*Measurements.* Diam. 21 mm, th 2 mm.

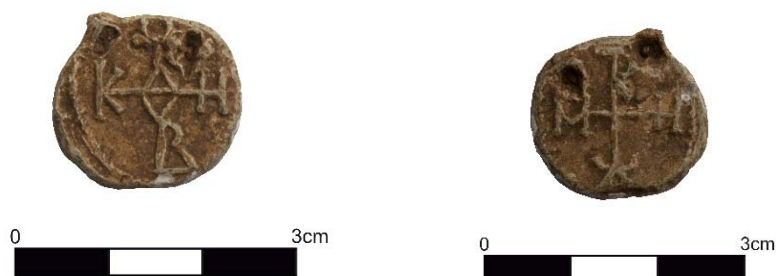
*Provenance.* An acquisition from Mr Mustafa Kekik for 5.000.000 TL (acquisition registration no. 999).

*Obv.:* A crudely rendered cruciform invocative monogram, type Laurent V, without a tetragram.

*Rev.:* Cruciform monogram, including a name as well as an office or a title. At left a M, surmounted by a smashed letter, perhaps omicron or rho, and at right an eta. At the top a tau, under it a kappa; at bottom an omega above a broken alpha, lambda, delta or a combination of all these letters.

As for the title we propose κόμητι or κόμιτι. The name is, however, more problematic: if we have a rho at left above the my and a delta at bottom, Δημητριώ would be a plausible solution. With a rho at left and an alpha at bottom, Μακαριώ would also be possible. Cheynet, who published this seal priorly<sup>37</sup>, suggested Κομητᾶ for Κομιτᾶ as “solution éventuelle”.

*Dating.* 680/720.



**Figures 1a-b.** Obv. and rev. of the seal of Demetrios(?) komes (photo courtesy D. Çağlayan, 2019).

## 2. Antonios dioiketes (figs 2a-b)

Acc. no. 021.435.

*Measurements.* Diam. 22 mm.

*Provenance.* An acquisition from Mr Selahaddin Devrim for 15.000.000 TL (\$US 22) on November 15, 2000 (acquisition registration no. 365).

*Obv.:* Part of a cruciform invocative monogram, probably type Laurent VIII, with the usual tetragram. At the top a rho is visible, probably there was an ypsilon above it, and at left there was a kappa which includes an epsilon. An omicron can be discerned placed in the rho or in the theta. The beta at bottom is very tall and its two semi-circles are separated from each other, which was a popular treat in the late eighth century.

[Κύ]ρ[ε] βοήθ[ε]ι [τῶ] σῶ [δ]ούλω.

*Rev.:* Three lines of a legend above and sumptuous ornaments beneath.

ANTω|NHω Δ. | OIKHTH

Αντων(ι)ω δ[ι]οικητῆ.

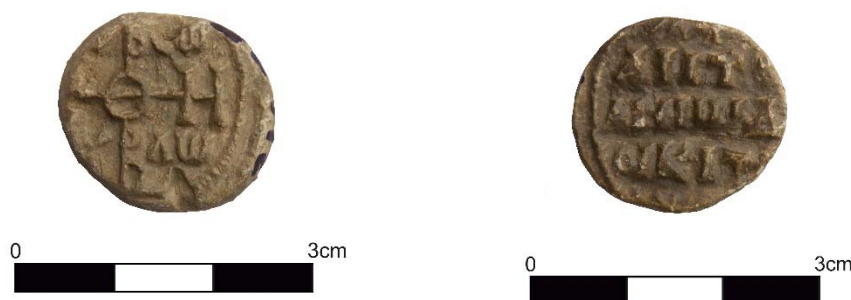
Some letters are illegible. In the first line the central haste of the ny is lost, at the end of the first line there can be either an omega or omicron; the first two letters of the second line are insecure. After the delta in the second line a large abbreviation mark or a letter (perhaps I) follows, and in the last line we assume two ligatures made with kappa and eta and perhaps also with tau and eta.

*Dating.* Late eighth century.

*Reference.* This seal was first published by Cheynet<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> CHEYNET, Smyrne 105, no. 1 (dated to the seventh century).

<sup>38</sup> CHEYNET, Smyrne 105-106, no. 2 (dated to the first half of the ninth century).



Figures 2a-b. Obv. and rev. of the seal of Antonios dioiketes (photo courtesy D. Çağlayan, 2019).

### 3. Ioannes (Doukas) kaisar (figs 3a-b)

*Acc. no.* 020.547.

*Measurements.* Diam. 23 mm.

*Provenance.* An acquisition from Mr Selahaddin Devrim for 3.000.000 TL (\$US 5.6) on December 24, 1999 (acquisition registration no. 352).

*Obv.:* Bust of the Theotokos Nikopoios holding a medallion with a bust of Christ before her breast. Circular invocative inscription: + ΘΚΕ ΡΟΗΘ Τω Cω Δ□ ,  
+ Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λω).

*Rev.:* Bust of a male figure without nimbus, similar like an imperial figure. It is most probably the bust of Ioannes Doukas depicted as kaisar, with a globus cruciger in his right hand; but the symbolic gesture of the left hand is not possible to be determined as it is perhaps hidden in the folds of the himation, which he seems to be holding in front of him at waist level. Ioannes is bearded and has moderately long curling hair that covers his ear. His jewelled *stephanos* is surmounted by a cross. Wearing a chlamys over his left shoulder he is dressed in a celestial manner. Because of the modest state of preservation many letters of the circular inscription are not clearly discernible.

.. Τω ΕΥΤΥΧΕC – ΤΑΤ, Κ..CΑΠΙ

[Ιω(άννη)] τῷ εὐτυχεστ(α)τ(ω) κ[α]σ[α]ρ[ι].

The person who is probably depicted and quoted here is sigillographically well-known, and several seals presenting him as kaisar are known in scholarly literature in sufficient numbers, which belong to similar types with minor differences<sup>39</sup>. The majority of these seals bear at the end of the obverse the invocation ΔΟVΛω, though the short form of Δ□ as above is also found on a seal offered in an auction<sup>40</sup>. At least on one example we find only the verbum without τῷ σῷ δούλω<sup>41</sup>. There are also small differences in the reverse legend. In fact, we know of no exact comparison among other known seals.

Ioannes Doukas was the brother of Konstantinos X Doukas, who became emperor on November 23, 1059<sup>42</sup>. Soon after, probably still in the year of 1059, he elevated his brother to the high rank of kaisar, permitting him much power. During the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes Ioannes was pushed back, but especially after Romanos was defeated near Mantzikert in 1071, Ioannes played again a very vital role. After the Norman commander Roussel had proclaimed him as emperor in

<sup>39</sup> Four seals are e. g. published in ZACOS – VEGLERY 2683.

<sup>40</sup> Auction Gorny 96, 7. 6. 1999, no. 705; but this seal is not an exact parallel to our type.

<sup>41</sup> Dumbarton Oaks, BZS.1958.106.5425.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. P. SCHREINER, Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. Part 2: Historischer Kommentar. Vienna 1977, 151.

1075, Ioannes became a monk with the name Igantios, but still continued to use the title kaisar as a kind of surname (Ἰγνάντιος μοναχὸς ὁ Κάισαρος).

*Dating.* 1059–1075.

*Reference.* This seal was first published by J.-Cl. Cheynet<sup>43</sup>.



**Figures 3a-b.** Obv. and rev. of the seal of Ioannes kaisar (photo courtesy D. Çağlayan, 2019).

#### 4. Monastery of the Theotokos Eleousa (figs 4a-b)

*Acc. no.* 020.536.

*Measurements.* Diam. 19 mm, th. 2 mm.

*Provenance.* An acquisition from Mr Mustafa Kekik for 5.000.000 TL (acquisition registration no. 999).

*Obv.:* Bust of the Theotokos Dexiokratousa, i.e. holding the child on her right arm and pointing to him with the left hand. The sigla are difficult to decipher. Probably the seal is slightly pressed at the right side, deleting the traces of the letters, and marked with modern numbers (similar like on the reverse). Jean-Claude Cheynet, who already published this seal<sup>44</sup>, proposed conceivably at the right side ΘV – XC, *scil.* [Μ(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ - [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] Χ(ριστός), just like Vitalien Laurent on a parallel example in the Fogg Museum<sup>45</sup>. In the catalogue of the seals in Dumbarton Oaks, the catalogue editors proposed for this seal □ – VX<sup>46</sup>, which they reviewed as □ – XV in the entry of this seal in their electronic web-based database<sup>47</sup>. Perhaps □ – ΘV was simply placed on the right side, without any siglum at the left side as on our seal and on the parallel example.

*Rev.:* Legend in four lines, probably preceded by a cross.

Η CΦΡΑ | .ΤΗC Θ.. | ΤΗC ΕΛ. | ΟΥCΗC

Ἡ σφρα[γίς] τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἐλεούσης.

At the right side a quarter of the seal is pressed, and the acc. no. 20536 was written there by a museum's staff. Some further letters are damaged, but the legend can surely be reconstructed based on the parallel example in the Fogg Museum. Two very close, though not exactly parallel seals, are curated in the former Zarnitz Collection (now in Munich<sup>48</sup>), and in Berlin<sup>49</sup>.

The dating of these two examples is somewhat speculative: The catalogue of Dumbarton Oaks as well as its online database proposed 12th century, J.-Cl. Cheynet dated them into the first half of the 12th century and Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt suggested later 11th/early 12th century.

<sup>43</sup> CHEYNET, Smyrne 107-109, no. 5.

<sup>44</sup> CHEYNET, Smyrne 109-110, no. 6.

<sup>45</sup> LAURENT, Corpus V 2, 1150.

<sup>46</sup> *DOSeals* V 75.2. Cf. CHEYNET, Smyrne 109-110, no. 6.

<sup>47</sup> BZS.1951.31.5.970.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Corpus 862b.

<sup>49</sup> SODE, Berlin II 369.

The ligature omicron-ypsilon at the end of line 2 is lost on our example, and damaged on the seal in the Fogg Museum. We think about □, not □<sup>50</sup>.

There was a well-known church of the Theotokos Eleousa in the complex of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, which is first mentioned in the Typikon of 1136.<sup>51</sup> We would prefer to attribute this group of seals to a monastery, not a simple church. As several monasteries or at least churches of the same name exist not only in the capital,<sup>52</sup> but also throughout the Empire, we abstain from a hypothesis.

*Dating.* 1060/1100 ?



**Figures 4a-b.** Obv. and rev. of the seal of the monastery of the Theotokos Eleousa (photo courtesy D. Çağlayan, 2019).

Nos.	Accession numbers	Dignitaries	Datings
1	020.535	Demetrios (?) komes (?)	680/720
2	021.435	Antonios dioiketes	Late eighth century
3	020.547	Ioannes (Doukas) kaisar	1059–1075
4	020.536	Monastery of the Theotokos Eleousa	1060/1100 ?

**Table 1:** Byzantine sigillographical evidence from Izmir.

### Three seals

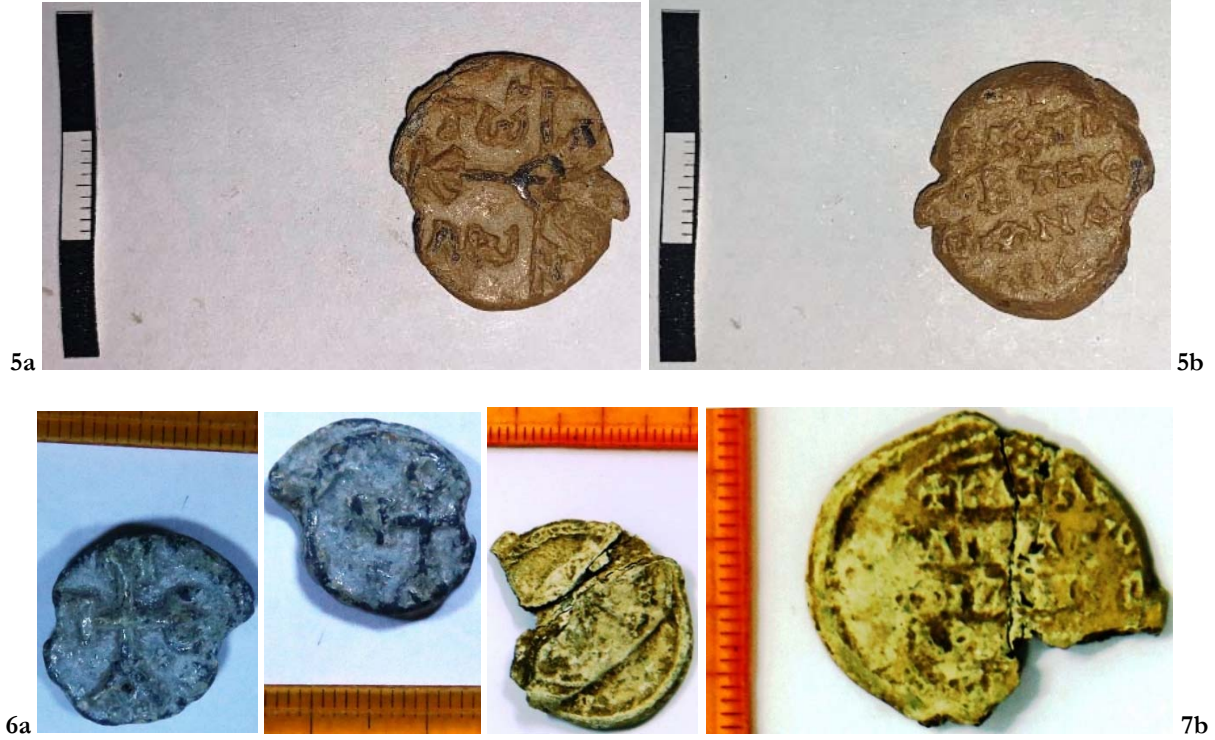
Below we present three unpublished seals in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir for which our assessment is still in progress (**figs 5a-7a**). No. 5 could be an official of Anatolikon.

<sup>50</sup> As proposed in the DO's web-based database.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin. I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. III. Les églises et les monastères.* Paris 1969, 175-176.

<sup>52</sup> For two monasteries in the capital cf. JANIN, *Églises* 176-177, no. 32 and 33. Janin attributed the seals to no. 32. For two churches in Thessaloniki cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins.* Paris 1975, 380-381, no 6 and 7. The monastery in Stroumitsa was founded in 1080; cf. LAURENT, *Corpus V* 2, no. 1151; IDEM, *Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié à Stroumitsa.* *EO* 33 (1934) 5-27.





**Figures 5a-7b.** Obv. and rev. of three new seals (photo courtesy D. Çağlayan, 2019).

### Notes and acknowledgements

For the study of these objects at the Archaeological Museum of Izmir an authorization has been issued to Doğukan Çağlayan by the directorate of the Museum of Izmir on June 27, 2019, enumerated as 75845132-154.01-E.529808. Documentation was done in August 2019 by D. Çağlayan. We would like to thank, the director of the museum, as well as, research assistant of the museum, for their helps before and during our researches in the museum. Photos were taken by D. Çağlayan in 2019.

**Keywords:** Lead seals, Smyrna, Thrakesion, Byzantine sigillography, Early Byzantine period, Middle Byzantine period, Late Byzantine period, Byzantine history, Byzantine archaeology.

## The molybdoboullon of Metrophanes of Smyrna from Byzantine Cherson

Nikolai Aleksandrovich Alekseienko and Vadim Vladislavovich Maiko

Nikolai Aleksandrovich Alekseienko and Vadim Vladislavovich Maiko  
(both from the Russian Academy of Sciences)

Institute of Archaeology of Crimea, Russian Academy of Sciences, Simferopol.

**E-mail addresses:** <alekseyenkonikolaj@gmail.com>; <vadimmaiko1966@mail.ru>.

Sometimes Byzantine archaeological sites provide researchers a unique opportunity to introduce into scientific circulation interesting and additional information related to the events of Byzantine history and the specific activities of famous historical characters appearing in written sources. Among the sigillographical finds from Cherson there is an excellent example that introduces us to one of the widely known figures of the Byzantine church. Unfortunately, the seal was broken in antiquity and only half survived from it. Nevertheless, it is possible not only to determine its sigillography type, but also to fully restore the content of the legend.

The seal is characteristic of Byzantine sigillography monuments depicting the image of the Saint, a circular inscription of an appeal to divine help and a list of titles of the owner. At the same time, it is unique; it still has not been able to find analogies. The corps of church seals of Vincent Laurent presents the only molybdoboullon of the Smyrna Metropolitan John, dated to tenth/11th century [Laurent, 1965, p. 439, nr. 1608].

The total diameter of the molybdoboullon is about 22 mm (matrix field diameter 17 mm); the thickness of the work piece is about 12 mm.

*Obverse.* The chest image of the Saint with a rounded beard and mustache in sacred robes, full face; an omophore depicting large crosses on the shoulders; in the left hand the Saint holds the Gospel. Above the shoulders of the Saint are placed small crosses. The legend which can be reconstructed surely is around located: Ἁ (γιε) Πολ [ύμαρπε βοήθει] τ [ῶ] σ [ῶ] δού (λω)] - Saint Polycarp, help your slave.

*Reverse.* Five-line inscription in a rim from the pearls which merged to the line: [M] ιτ / [ροφά]νης / [μητ]ροπο / [λιτ]ης Σμ / [ύρ]νης - Methrophanes, the metropolitan of Smyrna.

Initially, it was assumed that in the legend of the front side it could contain any of the sayings related to the acts of St Polycarp [Alekseenko, 2007, p. 11]. But, obviously, we are still dealing with the traditional invocative appeal to divine help. Not quite usually the location of the inscription itself: its beginning falls on the 10 clock on the dial, which is very uncharacteristic for Byzantine seals.

As you know, images of Byzantine Saints on seals appear mainly in the second half of the tenth century [Cotsonis, 2005, pp. 383–497]. Nevertheless, in our opinion, according to the characteristic features of the sigillography type and the used font, the monument in question should be attributed to the turn of the ninth/tenth centuries. As a close analogy, we will cite the molybdoboullon of the commander-in-chief of the Byzantine fleet - the imperial protospafarium and drungarium of the fleet Adrian [Alekseenko, 2008, pp. 9, 12, 13, nos. 4-5, fig. 1, 11-12], who became famous in connection with the campaign against the Arabs in southern Italy in 878.

As you can see from the inscription, our owner bore a name rare enough for Byzantine sigillography - Methrophanes. Seals with this name in sigillography catalogs are presented only by the molybdoboullon of the tenth century of the monk Methrophanes with the image of St. Demetrius [Laurent, 1965, p. 271, no. 1412].

The presence of the Smyrna toponym in print has largely narrowed the scope of our search. Most likely, the seal belonged to one of the most famous figures of the Byzantine church - the Asia Minor Metropolitan Methrophanes of Smyrna (died in 910). Despite the sufficient fame and active activity of Methrophanes to date, his seals were not known in the scientific world.



The zealous adherent of Patriarch Ignatius Methrophanes of Smyrna was known as one of the leaders of the party of Patriarch Ignatius, who waged an implacable struggle with the new “secular” patriarch Photius, nominated for this post by Emperor Michael III in 857. After the deposition and exile of Patriarch Ignatius, all his adherents, including Methrophanes of Smyrna, were persecuted. Thus, he was exiled to Taurika, as evidenced by written sources [Sorochan, 2005, p. 1113 (approx. 64), 1429-1437].

It is likely that the disgraced hierarch of Smyrna could take part in an expedition to gain the relics of St. Clement. Of course, he had contacts with Cherson clergy or city authorities. How long the expulsion of the disgraced metropolitan lasted, we do not know. Perhaps it continued until 867, when the first patriarchate of Photius ended. Obviously, this time and the subsequent period of his activity should be attributed to the Kherson find of the molybdo boullon.

The Patron presented on the seal of Methrophanes is very remarkable in Christian hagiography. Note that the image of St Polycarp is present on other seals of the bishops of Smyrna [Laurent, 1963, p. 566, no. 743]. Only a few episodes are known from the life of St Polycarp.

He was born around AD 70 in Asia Minor. Having remained an orphan early, he lived in the city of Smyrna and was raised by the widow Callista. After the death of his adoptive mother, Polycarp distributed the inherited property and began to lead a righteous life, serving the sick and infirm.

He devoted his whole life to the ministry of the church and became a particularly revered bishop in Smyrna and the surrounding Churches already in the second century AD. In this regard, the election of the image of St Polycarp by the Smyrna bishops as a sigillography type, apparently, is far from accidental. Under the certificate “Agonizing of St Polycarp”, known as “the teacher of Asia” (τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος) and “the father of Christians” (ὁ πατήρ Χριστιανῶν), Saint Polycarp was an undoubted example of true belief and piety for local priests, his pupils and followers. Presumably after his martyrdom, the cult of the Saint becomes one of the dominant and most revered not only in Smyrna itself, but throughout the province of Asia.

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**Keywords:** Lead seals, molybdoboullon, Metrophanes, Smyrna, Cherson, Taurica, Crimea, Byzantine sigillography, Middle Byzantine period, Byzantine history, Byzantine archaeology.



**Fig. 1:** Location of Smyrna and Cherson; **fig. 2:** seal of Methrophanes; **fig. 3:** Iconic image of St Polycarp; **fig. 4:** seal of Nikita Metropolitan of Smyrna (12th-13th centuries AD) (images © by authors).

## A hoard of coins of Frankish Greece from Thyatira (western Turkey)

Engin Akdeniz, Muhittin Çeken and Ergün Laflı

Professor Engin Akdeniz (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir, Turkey)  
Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü,  
Tınaztepe/Kaynaklar Yerleşkesi, Buca, TR-35150 Izmir, Turkey.  
**e-mail:** <engin.akdeniz@deu.edu.tr>.

Dr Muhittin Çeken (Adnan Menderes University, Aydın, Turkey)  
Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü, Oda No. 121,  
Aytepe, Efeler, TR-09100 Aydın, Turkey.  
**Phone:** +90.531.581 03 63; **e-mail addresses:** <muhittin.ceken@adu.edu.tr>, <muverrihceken@gmail.com>.

Professor Ergün Laflı (Izmir)  
Ege Perla A Rezidans Kule, 21. Kat, Daire 82, Çınarlı Mah., Ankara Asfaltı Cad., No. 7,  
Konak, TR-35110 Izmir, Turkey.  
**Phone:** +90.539.577 07 33; **e-mail:** <elafli@yahoo.ca>.  
**Website:** <<https://deu.academia.edu/ErgunLAFLI/>>.  
**Orcid ID:** 0000-0002-4722-5018

Akhisar, ancient Thyatira, is a county district and its town centre in the province of Manisa, and located ca. 50 km north-west of Manisa in Aegean part of western Turkey corresponding to the north-western part of the classical region of Lydia (**map 1**). Around 1110/1111, Hasan – the Turkish Emir of Cappadocia – sent a large army unit after the failed siege of Philadelphia on a raid in the direction of Chliara (Gördük Kale by Akhisar) and Thyatira.<sup>1</sup> In the 12th century, a large-scale inflow of Turkish tribes started. Thyatira swayed back and forth between Byzantine and Turkish rulers for two centuries. In the *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae*, or *Partitio regni Graeci*, a treaty signed among the crusaders after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, Thyatira became part of the *Provincia Atramiitii, de Chliariis et de Pergamis*, claimed by the Latin Empire but *de facto* belonging to the Empire of Nicaea. The fact that the Emperor of Nicaea Vatatzes (1221-1254) made Manisa the de facto capital of the empire and moved the treasury there made the region more economically valuable, which is located at a major highway junction that dominates the roads leading to Hellespont, Bithynia, Smyrna, Ephesus and Turks lands. In the 14th century, Turks under the Turkish-Anatolian Beylik of Saruhan regained all western Anatolian lands and Thyatira came under Turkish rule in 1307. Akhisar maintained its importance as a regional trade centre during the Early Ottoman period. Towards the end of the same century, it became part of the extending Ottoman Empire. Under Ottoman administration, Akhisar was at first a subdistrict (*kaza*) in the sanjak (district) of Saruhan (corresponding to present-day Manisa Province) within the larger vilayet (province) of Kütahya.

During the 13th-16th centuries Thyatira/Akhisar was an important centre of activity. It was on the ancient roads from Byzantium to Pergamum, Sardis, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Smyrna and Ephesus. Thyateira was at the centre of many small towns and villages which were administratively and politically bound to it. During the Late Medieval period cloth and pottery production was the main activity in town. Production of wool, linen, brass goods, and tanning were other commercial activities. The city remained a centre of trade activity for centuries. In the Early Ottoman period Akhisar's cloth and rope were highly regarded in Istanbul markets. Among the other agricultural merchandise were olives, olive oil, water melons, grapes and raisins. Between the years 2008 and 2021 archaeological excavations were carried out under the directorship of Professor Engin

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<sup>1</sup> J. Preiser-Kapeller 2008. The region of Thyatira is treated by Andreas Külzer in his forthcoming *Westkleinasien (Lydia und Asia)* in the series *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Also cf. Külzer 2021.

Akdeniz at the prehistoric höyük site of Thyatira/Akhisar which is located in the city centre of Akhisar and called as “Hastane Höyük” (literally “hospital mound site”).

A group of 124 coins were found together conjointly with 22 Late Medieval Turkish-Islamic silver coins belonging to the Germiyanids (Germiyanogulları Principality) and Sarukhanids (Saruhanogulları Beylik or Principality) on 10 October 2017 in level F-33/a- F-32/c, bag 1 at Hastane Höyük (**fig. 1**). These coins which should clean up to a grey colour, were restored and conserved chemically by Ms Nazire Burçaklar and Ms Nükhet Kaçuk. Chemically what was done was apparently enough to separate them, but not enough to bring out the designs clearly in every case.

These coins are made of an alloy of approximately 26-30% silver (or less, it declined) and copper. This hoard was found in a sealed context, indicating that it was certainly deposited in 1307. The coins in question, which most probably belong to a coin hoard, date to the period between the last quarter of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th century, and are so-called “denier tournois” of the Crusader Principality of Achaëa, which controlled the Peloponnese in the Late Medieval period (**fig. 2**). These coins, most of which are billon, bear mostly a cross pattée and the name of the prince on the obverse, and a *châtel tournois* (cathedral façade) and indication of the mint on the reverse.<sup>2</sup> This design scheme is inspired by contemporary French coins. Although most of the coins have been heavily damaged, the letters TIA on the reverse indicate that the coins were from [DE] CLARENTIA (Clarencia), that is, they were minted in the city of Glarentza, in present-day south-western Greece. Such coin hoards which usually contain a mix of coins of Athens and Achaëa, are known in Medieval literature in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup>

During this period, Akhisar did not have a direct commercial connection with the Peloponnese, where coins were minted; these coins may be more related to Roger de Flor’s troops. Roger de Flor (AD 1267-1305) was a *condottiere* who had been active in Sicily and the Byzantine Empire in the years 1304-1305, including western Anatolia in places such as Cyzicus, Germe, Thyatira, Annaea and Philadelphia. After Andronikos II Palaiologos asked Roger de Flor for help against the Ottoman advance, he also came with this troops to Lydia and fought against the Ottomans here. These military units used these coins and even suppressed their imitations. In fact, these coins were also used in military payments, just as the payments to the troops participating in the First Crusade were made with silver Lucca deniers tournois. The soldiers of Roger de Flor’s Catalan division, who achieved minor success, carried out some looting and plundering activities in Istanbul and other Byzantine cities. Thereupon, Andronikos II had Roger de Flor killed, and the Catalan soldiers who could not get their money and were left without a leader fled to Europe after pillaging and plundering the Byzantine lands in eastern Thrace.

During the Late Medieval period Thyatira/Akhisar was located on the north-south route of the early stages of the crusader expansion in western Anatolia. While the crusaders were descending from the north, they passed through Gördes (Byzantine Ioulia Gordos) to the interior places, by a short intermediate road over Thyatira. Local imitations of the coins belonging to Crusaders were minted in this area. These coins may also have been used in the slave markets in Thyatira during this period.

Most likely the Akhisar hoard can be dated fairly closely, and if it can be determined that it was deposited by 1307 it might help resolve some dating questions.

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<sup>2</sup> The current references for the numismatic of Frankish Greece and the Aegean are Metcalf 1995, pp. 252-286 and pl. 22; Malloy et al. 2004, pp. 344-411; and Tzamilis 2016; as well as <<https://www.gla.ac.uk/hunterian/visit/exhibitions/virtualdisplays/coinageofthecrusades/#coinsinthecrusaderstates,theLatinEmpireandFrankishGreece>> (accessed on 2 November 2022).

<sup>3</sup> On p. 271 Tzamilis has a colour plate of “Tornesia of the Elis hoard before cleaning” which shows them to be bright green. In Turkish local museums in western Turkey several parallel coins are known; for an example from Izmir cf. **fig. 3**.



**Map 1:** Referred places in Anatolia.



**Fig. 1:** Actual find photo of some billons from Thyatira in 2017 (photo by E. Akdeniz, 2017).



**Fig. 2:** A billon from Thyatira. Principality of Achaia. Philippe de Savoy. AD 1301-1307. BI Denier (20mm, 0.77 g, 3h). Clarençia (Glarentza) mint. Cross pattée / Châtel tournois (with border of lis?). Cf. Metcalf, *Crusades 973-5*; CCS 20. VF, toned.





**Fig. 3:** A billon from Aliğa (in ancient Aeolis); today in the Archaeological Museum.

Principality of Achaia. Philippe de Savoy. AD 1301-1307.

BI Denier (20mm, 0.77 g, 3h). Clarenca (Glarentza) mint. Cross pattée / Châtel tournois (with border of lisés?).

Cf. Metcalf, *Crusades* 973-5; CCS 20. VF, toned.

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Acknowledgments are due to (in alphabetical order) Mr Robert D Leonard Jr (Winnetka, IL) and Professor Denys Pringle (Cardiff), who kindly read a draft of the paper and shared their comments. We have attempted to incorporate their suggestions in the hope of making this a stronger and more useful paper. We, however, are solely responsible for the final outcome.

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**Keywords:** Hastane Höyük, Akhisar, Thyatira, Lydia, western Turkey, Principality of Achaia, denier, Clarenca, billons, silver coins, coin hoards, Late Medieval period, Crusaders, Early Ottoman period.

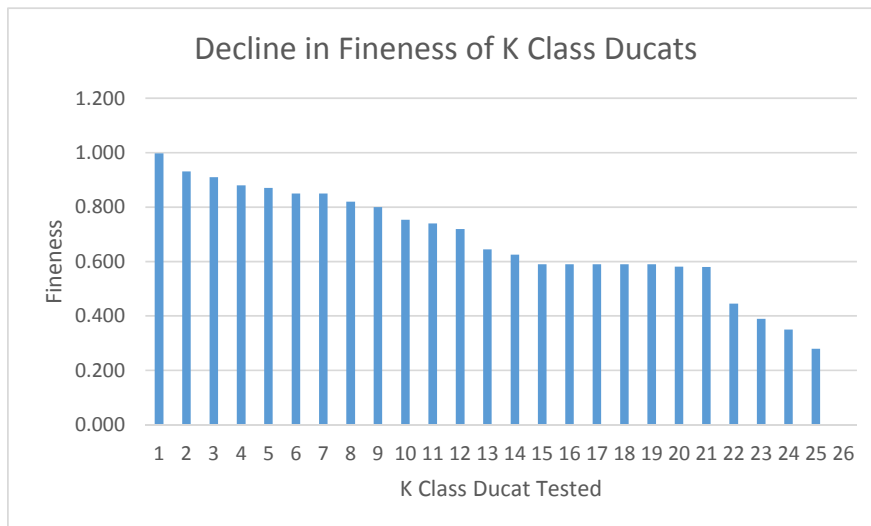
## Who issued the “K Class” imitation Venetian ducats?

Robert D. Leonard Jr.

Mr Robert D. Leonard Jr. (Winnetka, IL)  
1065 Spruce Str., Winnetka, IL 60093, U.S.A.  
**Phone:** 847.716 08 88; **E-mail:** <rlwinnetka@aol.com>.



During the 14th century, the Venetian ducat became one of the standard gold coins of the Mediterranean, admired for its reliable purity and consistent weight; minting exploded during the term of doge Andrea Dandolo, 1343-1354. Several rulers issued imitations of lower fineness, which Venice diligently suppressed. But there is another class of low-grade imitations, of uncertain origin. These imitations have been termed “K Class” because they have the mintmark of a K—normally backwards with respect to the rest of the legend—just to the left of the mandorla on the reverse, and the R of ANDR on the obverse is usually shown as a K also. They are very common and struck from many dies, indicating a large official issue. With one exception, all finds of K Class ducats have come from the Eastern Mediterranean.



This series is unique among imitation ducats in that the fineness declines from good gold, to electrum, to essentially pure silver, perhaps in two stages. A number of examples have been tested over the years. Many more could be checked, but these show the entire range. Graphically, this shows a steady decline in fineness, followed by collapse.

Proper attribution of this series has been hampered by a 19th-century error that has persisted to the present day, accompanied by a lack of scholarly consensus. Attribution has chiefly depended on museum collections and locations of the markets where examples were purchased many years ago.



A different clue to the origin of K Class ducats comes from the bankers' marks found on some examples. Because this series was known to be of uncertain fineness, in the second quarter of the 15th century, moneychangers and bankers in at least one market where they circulated came to test doubtful ducats that crossed their benches by striking them with a small round, square, or diamond-shaped rod to determine whether they were of uniform gold content. By comparing these marks to those on other ducats of known or presumed origin, we can surmise the location of the markets where K Class ducats chiefly circulated. Such bankers' marks are found on ducats of Chios of Filippo-Maria Visconti, 1421-1436, and from the nearby city of Foglia Vecchia issued by Dorino Gattilusio, ca. 1423-1449, plus apparent Turkish imitations.



"Andrea Dandolo" Ducats in Izmir Museum



Ergün Lafli, "Monete Veneziane ed Europee, Medievali e Postmedievali del Museo di Izmir,"  
Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia, Anno XXIV – N. 1, Dicembre 2014, pp. 85-115, nos. 8, 5, 6, and  
7. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Lafli for providing clear, color images of these coins so  
that they could be properly attributed.

A final indication of their origin is the holdings of the Archaeological Museum of Izmir, which holds four coins attributed to Andrea Dandolo; of these, three are K Class imitations and the fourth is a genuine Venetian ducat, all acquired by purchase. The K Class imitations are presumably from a small, local hoard.



Consequently, by combining all these indications, we can—with high confidence—conclude that the K Class ducats originated in an area of Western Anatolia centered on Smyrna.

Many attributions have been proposed over the last century and a half, including: Khidr Bey (Hızır Bey), Beylik of Aydın and lord of Theologos (Ephesus) to ca. 1360 (Morrisson, 1979).

Ephesus, 1344-1353 (Zachariadou, 1979).

Probably Chios under the Maona (Lunardi, 1980).

Imitations from Mytilene about which the Venetian government complained to Genoa in 1355 and which were ordered to be stopped in 1357 (Grierson, 1988).

Not Emirs of Aydın (Stahl, 2018).

Asia Minor, Emirs of Saruhan, Aydın or Mentesche, 1348-1388/90 (Mazarakis, 2018).

Crusaders of the Latin Union, 1344-1347, or the Knights Hospitaller at Smyrna, 1344-1402 (Leonard, 2021, not submitted for publication because of unresolved concerns from Stahl).

Help is needed from archaeology!

**Keywords:** “K Class” imitation, Venetian ducats, Izmir, Smyrna, Ephesus, 14th century, Late Medieval numismatics, Late Medieval history, Turkish Beyliks, Late Medieval period.

# Mongol siege warfare in Anatolia: the siege of ancient Smyrna in 1402

Errikos Maniotis

Mr Errikos Maniotis (Masarykova univerzita, Brno)  
Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, Ústav archeologie a muzeologie,  
Arna Nováka 1/1, CZ-60200 Brno, Czech Republic.  
**E-mail:** <riecos4@gmail.com>.

The Mongols made their impact in Asia Minor more than perceptible, shaping the political map of the region. Already from the 13th century, Mongols have invaded Asia Minor and the Balkans and after defeating Bulgaria, the Seljuq Sultanate, and the Latin Empire of Constantinople, where the Empire of Nicaea emerged as the hegemon of the Aegean world. John III Vatatzes was able to establish his power upon his rivals.

In 1345 Pope Clement VI orders the Second Smyrniote Crusade under the command of Humbert II of Viennois, since the First Crusade had failed haphazardly to capture the city of Smyrna from the Seljuk Turks. Eventually, the Crusaders achieved to control only the sea castle and the harbour. From the 1374, the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes of the Saint John Order held the fortified harbour. By the year 1402, after the defeat of the Ottomans in the battle Ankara, Tamerlane led his Mongol army against the coastal region of Asia Minor and Smyrna and defensive preparations began, overseen by the Admiral Buffilo Panizzatti.

The main sources for the siege are the Persian historians Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi and Mirkhwand and the Arab Ahmad ibn Arabshah, who wrote in the service of Timur's successors. For the Knights of Rhodes, the official history of Giacomo Bosio, written early in the seventeenth century, is an important source. From the Ottoman perspective, there is Neşri and the Künhü'l-ahbār of Mustafa Âlî. For the Byzantines, there are Doukas and Laonikos Chalkokondyles; for the Genoese, Agostino Giustiniani.

In this paper the Mongol siege methods, but also the defensive mechanisms that had been implied by the defenders, will be discussed, having as an example the Siege of Smyrna by Tamerlane in 1402 (**figs 1-2**). Useful is the later depiction of the siege in the Persian illustrated manuscript of Garrett Zafarnama (1467), a biography of Timur, illustrated by Kamāl ud-Dīn Behzād, now in the John Work Garrett Library (MS 3) of Johns Hopkins University (**fig. 1**). One of the parallels that will be presented is the siege of Sidon by the Mongol general Ketboğa in 1260. The incident that led to the city to be besieged is the death of the nephew of Ketboğa by Julian de Grenier, Lord of Sidon, and Beaufort, in an ambush near the area of the Bekaa. Sidon, as Smyrna, had a sea-castle, which was cut off from the main city, in the case of siege.

The Mongol siege methods consisted of a paralyzing bombardment, conducted day and night, as they filled up moats with twigs and sacks of earth. Then the Mongols brought their numbers to bear in overrunning the walls. These tactics worked quite well against cities and castles situated on a flat plain and defended by ramparts of earth and wood. The first half of the thirteenth century saw the construction of the most spectacular examples of Latin medieval fortifications ever built. The Mongols achieved very little against fortifications which were built of stone along Western European guidelines.

In 1246, the Seljuk Turks, who had recently submitted to the Mongols, attacked Tarsus in Lesser Armenia. Smbat Sparapet, the constable of the Armenian Kingdom, was personally present at the siege. He relates that there were heavy casualties on both sides but that the enemy "lost a hundred times more since we had good Frankish warriors with us inside". The city held out until such time as the Seljuk attackers abandoned the siege.

The Mongols admittedly showed unprecedented adaptation and improvement in siege warfare compared to other nomadic groups. Already in 1221, a Song envoy reports the usage of Chinese

siege technology such as ramps, catapults, and siege towers, but the Mongol Empire gradually adopted Islamic trebuchets and evolved its siege tactics.

**Keywords:** Mongol siege warfare, siege of Smyrna, AD 1402, Izmir, Late Medieval history, Mongols, Turkish Beyliks, Late Medieval period.



Fig. 1: Siege of Smyrna in 1402, illustrated manuscript of Garrett Zafarnama (1467).



Fig. 2: Mongol expansion under Tamerlane.



## List of observers

1- Dr Stella Doncheva (The Constantine of Preslav University of Shumen, Bulgaria)

**E-mail:** <donchevastela@yahoo.com>.

2- Professor Marina Yu. Lapteva (Tyumen State University, Russia)

**Address:** Тюменский государственный университет, улица Володарского 6, RU-625003 Tyumen, Tyumen Oblast, Russia.

**Phone:** +79.224.841 167.

**E-mail addresses:** <mlapteva1@yandex.ru>, <m.y.lapteva@utmn.ru>.

3- Dr Alessandra Magni (Liceo Classico e Linguistico “Alessandro Manzoni,” Lecco, Italy)

Liceo Classico e Linguistico “Alessandro Manzoni”, via XI Febbraio, 9, I-23900 Lecco, Italy.

**E-mail addresses:** <alessandra.magni@liceomanzonilecco.net>, <alessandra.magni@gmail.com>.

**Website:** <<https://unimi.academia.edu/alessandramagni>>.

4- Mr Florian Oppitz (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria)

Mozartgasse 12, A-8010 Graz, Austria.

**E-mail:** <florian.oppitz@uni-graz.at>.

5- Dr Annalisa Paradiso (Università degli Studi della Basilicata, Matera, Italy)

Università degli Studi della Basilicata, Dipartimento delle culture europee e del mediterraneo, Via San Rocco 3, I-75100 Matera, Italy.

**Phone:** +39.347.163 78 22; **e-mails:** <paolorudigiasi@libero.it>, <annalisa.paradiso@unibas.it>.

6- Dr Anna Paule (Linz, Austria)

**E-mail:** <annapaule.archaeo@hotmail.com>.

7- Dr Helen Perdicoyianni-Paleologou (Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA)

**E-mail:** <hperdicpal@gmail.com>.

8- Professor Raffaella Pirobon (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Italy)

**E-mail:** <raffaella.pirobon@unina.it>.

9- Dr Mihailo St. Popović (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria)

**Address:** Tabula Imperii Byzantini Balkan, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Abteilung Byzanzforschung, Hollandstraße 11-13/4. Stock, A-1020 Vienna, Austria.

**Phone:** +43.1.515 81.34 44.

**E-mail:** <mihailo.popovic@oeaw.ac.at>.

**Websites:** <<http://oeaw.academia.edu/MihailoPopovic>>, <<http://tib.oeaw.ac.at>>, <<https://tib.oeaw.ac.at/balkan/>>, <<https://oeaw.academia.edu/MapsofPower>>.

10- Dr Błażej Stanisławski (Polska Akademia Nauk, Wrocław, Poland)

Polska Akademia Nauk, Więzienna 6, PL-50118 Wrocław, Poland.

**E-mail:** <st-wski@wp.pl>.

11- Mr Aleksei Vaiman (Bar-Ilan University Ramat-Gan, Israel)

The Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Bar-Ilan University Ramat-Gan, IL-52900 Ramat-Gan, Israel.

**Phone:** +954.393 57 11; **e-mail:** <aleksei.vaiman@gmail.com>.

**Website:** <<https://huji.academia.edu/AlekseiVaiman>>.

**12-** Mr Nathan Websdale (Oxford University Byzantine Society, UK)

**E-mail:** <byzantine.society@gmail.com>.

**Websites:** <<http://oxfordbyzantinesociety.wordpress.com>>, <<https://twitter.com/oxbyz>>.

**13-** Dr Susanne Zabehlicky (Vienna, Austria)

**E-mail:** <susanne.zabehlicky@gmx.at>.

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