Great Ancient Civilizations of Asia Minor

Part I

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Scope:

Introduction: Anatolia, Asia Minor, and Turkey

The peninsula of Asian Turkey, historically known as either Anatolia or Asia Minor, has played a pivotal role in history. Most Westerners today consider Turkey an exotic and mysterious Middle Eastern land, as painted by travelers' reports in the nineteenth century. Others, better informed, understand that it is not a desert country. Although Muslim, the Turks have created a unique nation and culture even though they have drawn on Arab and Iranian institutions and arts. Modern Turkey is a remaking of the Ottoman capital Istanbul, along with its European hinterland and Anatolia, or Asia Minor, into a nation state. Kemal Atatürk, father of the Turkish Republic, deserves credit for the most successful modernization of a nation in the twentieth century. Today, Turkey stands at the crossroads between Europe and the Middle East, but then it has always occupied this position. Besides being the heartland of the last great empire of the Caliphate under the Ottoman sultans, Anatolia was home to many civilizations that are the foundations of modern Western culture in Europe, the Americas, and Australia.

Homer composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the shores of Asia Minor. All seven of the great ecumenical councils that defined Christian theology took place within the boundaries of modern Turkey. This role as a crossroads dated from before written records; peoples living in Asia Minor achieved some of the earliest breakthroughs in the domestication of animals and plants that made cities and literate civilization possible. To study Turkey is to study a land that has nurtured successive civilizations that have defined the Western and Muslim traditions that embrace so many of the modern world's inhabitants.

Cultural change and continuity are the main themes of this course. We shall follow along as political, social, religious, and economic institutions are inherited and modified by each successive civilization. The scope of Anatolian history can be best understood as a series of transformations in the religious landscape of the peninsula. Anatolia has experienced a number of major cultural and religious rewrites: first by the Hittite emperors; next by the elites of Hellenic cities; then by their Hellenized descendants in the Roman age; by Christian emperors and bishops in the Byzantine age; and, finally, by Turkish rulers and Muslim mystics. The final chapter, the transformation of Muslim Turkey into a modern secular nation-state, is still in progress. In looking at cultural changes, certain archaeological sites and important monuments will be featured as examples of wider changes. The course can thus be divided into five cultural components.

Early Anatolia (6000–500 B.C.)

The first lectures deal with the earliest civilizations of Anatolia, emerging at the dawn of agriculture in Neolithic villages on the Konya plain (in central Turkey); through the Hittite Empire, the apex of civilization in the late Bronze Age (1400–1180 B.C.); to the emergence of Phrygia, Lydia, and Persia, heirs to the Hittite traditions in the early Iron Age (1100–500 B.C.).

The Hellenization of Anatolia (750–31 B.C.)

The shores of Western Anatolia came under the influence of the earliest Greeks, the Achaeans or Mycenaeans, during the late Bronze Age (1400–1200 B.C.). Although this contact inspired the epic poems of Homer, it was only from 750 B.C. that Hellenic influence spread into the peninsula. Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) conquered Anatolia, and his successors transformed the region into a center of Greek cities that played a major role in the civilization of the Hellenistic Age (323–31 B.C.).

Roman Asia Minor (200 B.C.–A.D. 395)

The Romans built on the Hellenistic cities and institutions, and Anatolia was transformed into one of the most prosperous regions of the Roman world and homeland of the future Byzantine Empire. The Hellenic cities of Anatolia not only adapted Roman institutions and culture but even influenced the Roman monarchy, known as the Principate.

Byzantine Civilization (395–1453)

Imperial crisis in 235–305, and Christianization after 324, produced a new Byzantine civilization on Anatolian soil by 600, the basis of Orthodox Eastern Europe today. The Byzantine Empire, reduced to its Anatolian core, weathered two and one-half centuries of invasions and emerged as the leading civilization of medieval Christendom in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Islamic Turkey (since 1071)

The Anatolian peninsula was transformed from a Christian to a Muslim land in the wake of Byzantine decline and the arrival of crusaders from Western Europe. Ottoman sultans then built the last great Muslim empire in the Middle East and Mediterranean world, an empire that fragmented in the twentieth century into a series of nation-states. In 1922–1939, Anatolia became the core of the Turkish Republic, a Muslim society that has successfully met the challenges of modernization.

Lecture One
Introduction to Anatolia

Scope: The diverse peninsula of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, the Asian heartland of modern Turkey, is washed on three sides by the Black, Aegean, and Mediterranean Seas. Anatolia historically has faced in two directions. The western and southern shores, along with their riverine extensions (the ancient lands of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Lycia), have been part of the Aegean world and drawn toward Europe, represented by Greek civilization. The interior, ringed by formidable mountain ranges, has been linked to Iran and the Near East. The central plateau of Cappadocia, watered by the Halys River (Kızıl Irmak), was home to the first civilization of Anatolia, the Hittite Empire. The Hittites dominated the peninsula from their inland capital at Hattušaš, as later did the Phrygians at Gordium, Seljuk Turks at Konya, and the modern Turkish Republic at Ankara. In the classical age, Lydians and Greek colonists on the Aegean shore created civilizations that looked west. Rome based her power on the Hellenic cities of the coast. The Christian emperor Constantine founded New Rome, Constantinople, the historic capital of two great westward-looking empires, the Byzantine and Ottoman.

Outline

I. Why study Turkey? The successive civilizations that have flourished on the soil of modern Turkey have decisively dictated, not only the modern Middle East, but Western civilization as well.

- **A.** Although the historic role of Turkey as bridge between West and East is generally recognized, Turkey has otherwise been subject to considerable misunderstanding by Westerners.
  - **1.** Christians have long viewed Turkey as home to the historic foe, the terrible Turks, who laid siege to Vienna in 1529 and 1683.
  - **2.** Writers of the Enlightenment viewed the Porte, the regime of the Ottoman sultans at Constantinople (Istanbul), as the quintessential despotism.
  - **3.** As Christian peoples in Eastern Europe aspired to form their own nation-states in the nineteenth century, Ottoman Turkey was cast as the most oppressive of the traditional autocracies hindering progress.
  - **4.** To the great powers of the West in the late nineteenth century, Ottoman Turkey sank to the level of the "Sick Man of Europe."
  - **5.** Despite remarkable achievements of Turkey in modernization since the early nineteenth century and the creation of the modern Turkish Republic by Kemal Atatürk in 1923–1938, Turkey is still subject to misconceptions in the Western press and mass media.
  - **6.** Turkey is often viewed through the tinted lens of modern Orientalism, the image of a desert land conjured up by nineteenth-century travel writers or the film *Lawrence of Arabia*.
  - **7.** More sinister images are disseminated by spy novels of the Cold War or misleading films, such as *Midnight Express*, comparing modern Turkey to corrupt, petty fascist dictatorships.
  - **8.** Modern Westerners, slightly better informed, still draw erroneous conclusions from the fact that Turkey was the heartland of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, regimes synonymous with lurid politics, opulent decadence, and religious fanaticism.
  - **9.** Such images distort or misrepresent both modern Turkey and the role Turkey has played in shaping several of the world's leading historic civilizations, including the Western tradition.
- **B.** Turkey stands as a bridge between Europe and Asia and has played a pivotal role in defining both Western and Middle Eastern civilizations.
  - **1.** Mountain ranges defined boundaries far more than did the seas surrounding it.
  - **2.** Turkey, a Muslim nation today, has been the primary residence of the three great religions of the West: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.
  - **3.** Anatolia was the site of all seven ecumenical councils that defined Christian dogma.
  - **4.** The fusion of Roman and Greek civilization took place in Turkey, making the country home to many of the finest archaeological ruins of Greco-Roman civilization.

II. What do we mean when we refer to Asia Minor? The peninsula is designated Asia Minor or Anatolia.

A. The word *Asia*, referring to the Roman province of Asia, comes from the Luwian term *Assuwa* and defines the western third of Asia Minor.

B. The peninsula of Asia Minor or Anatolia is the Mediterranean in miniature.

C. The great plateau of Asia Minor has a set of civilizations distinct from the coastal zones.

1. The term *Anatolia* frequently is used to define the peninsula's interior, a high plateau cut off by mountain ranges.

2. The grasslands of the plateau, fifty percent of the peninsula, are subject to brutal winters but are quite fertile and ideal for agricultural or pastoral life.

3. Given the dependence on climate, it is fitting that the Hittites' principal god was the weather god.

4. The region of Cappadocia is bisected by the Halys River, which creates rich, protected valleys where early agriculture took place.

5. Cappadocia is tied to the Near East, and the earliest urban civilizations emerged here.

D. The shores present a different pattern of life.

1. A thin coastline exists along the Black (Euxine) Sea, linking the peninsula with the Balkans and Russia.

2. Ionia refers to the western portion of Asia Minor, home to Greek cities.

3. Cities along the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas were pulled toward the Hellenic European civilizations.

E. The western shores have a hinterland tied to the Mediterranean and Aegean, particularly the Hermus and Maeander Valleys.

1. The Hermus Valley gave rise to the Lydian Empire, was the core of the Byzantine Empire, and was home to the Seleucid Empire.

2. River valleys gave access to the interior.

III. The history of Turkey can be seen as a process of continuity and change, as successive civilizations, occupying the central plateau and the cities and villages of the three shores washed by the Black (Euxine), Aegean, and Mediterranean Seas, were transformed by the Anatolian landscape.

A. The earliest civilization, the Hittite Empire, emerged in the middle and late Bronze Age.

B. Phrygian and Lydian civilizations succeeded to the Hittite political legacy and initiated a long process of assimilating Greek ritual, language, and aesthetics, thus looking west to the Aegean world.

C. Seaborne commerce drew Greeks to the Near East, and Hellenic influences radiated over the western and southern shores.

D. The conquests of Alexander the Great decisively shifted the cultural balance toward Hellenism.

E. Roman and Greek civilizations were fused in the Byzantine Empire.

F. In the Seljuk Period, the peninsula experienced the last major cultural and religious rewriting before the modern age, creating a Turkish-speaking Muslim civilization.

G. Ottoman sultans shaped the last great traditional Muslim empire.

IV. The scope of the history of ancient Turkey can best be seen by looking at the successive rewriting of the religious and cultural landscape.

A. Hittite emperors conducted the first cultural rewrite of the religious landscape by looking to the more civilized lands of the Near East and assimilating the sophisticated rituals and myths of the Hurrians.

B. In the classical age, the ancient gods were first identified with Greek counterparts, then linked to the Roman emperor.

C. Constantine's conversion to Christianity also shaped the religious landscape, as did the arrival of Muslim civilization.

D. A good example of this rewrite of the religious landscape is the sanctuary of Cybele at Kümbet in the Phrygian highlands, which stands within 100 yards of a conically domed türbe, a shrine to a pious Muslim.

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Questions to Consider:

1. What roles has Turkey played in shaping the traditions of the West, Islam, and the modern Middle East?
2. How have the coastal littorals, river systems, mountainous zones, and central plateau shaped the distinctive linguistic, cultural, and political regions of Asia Minor?
3. How has religious change dictated some of the most important developments in the history of the peninsula?

Lecture Two
First Civilizations in Anatolia

Scope: Neolithic Anatolians (6000–3500 B.C.) were among the first people to cultivate cereals and herd cattle and sheep, dwelling in villages with sophisticated technology and organization. Meanwhile, in 3500 B.C., the Sumerians built the first cities and invented writing in southern Mesopotamia (Iraq). Sumerian merchants, entering Anatolia in search of raw materials, taught the arts of urban civilization that inspired Anatolians to build their own cities. By 2600 B.C., monarchs at Troy II and Alaca Hüyük resided in palace cities, but these centers were sacked by Hittites and Luwians, Indo-European immigrants from the Balkans. The Hittites settled in Hatti, the lands of the Halys River, as a military caste. From 1950 B.C., Assyrian merchants planted commercial colonies (*karum*) in Hittite cities, transmitting skills and writing. With literate bureaucracies and armies of light chariots, Hittite petty dynasts battled for supremacy over the Cappadocian plateau. The ultimate victor, Labarnas I (1680–1650 B.C.), created the first territorial kingdom in Anatolia.

Outline

I. In the Near East, hunters and gatherers created agricultural communities, marking the transition to settled life of the Neolithic Age and the first step to urban-based, literate civilization.

- **A.** Recent excavations have revealed how Neolithic hunting groups in eastern Anatolia experimented with domesticating plants and animals to supplement their food supply.
  - **1.** Women learned to cultivate nuts and berries; farming was seasonal as groups migrated in search of game.
  - **2.** The pig was the first animal domesticated for food.
  - **3.** Neolithic peoples in eastern Anatolia gained other domesticated animals and crops from peoples of the Levant.
  - **4.** Contact between the two groups led to the rise of Neolithic agricultural villages across Anatolia, the Levant, northern Mesopotamia (Iraq), and western Iran.
- **B.** In the Levant, notably at Jericho, Neolithic hunters settled in significant villages.
  - **1.** Cattle and goats were simultaneously domesticated.
  - **2.** Levantine crops and livestock were introduced into Anatolia, southeastern Europe, and Egypt.
  - **3.** Settled communities required permanent dwellings. Surplus food sustained specialists, including potters and others who specialized in crafts, such as textiles.
- **C.** The plains of Anatolia, fertilized by volcanic ash washed off extinct volcanoes, provided ideal conditions for important Neolithic villages.
  - **1.** Çatal Hüyük in the plain of Konya represented the climax of the Neolithic in Anatolia.
  - **2.** Soil conditions were ideal for stock raising, cereals, and vegetables; native high-grade obsidian was a prized export.
  - **3.** A figurine of a mother goddess flanked by felines prefigured the later mother goddess Cybele of the classical age.
  - **4.** A sanctuary from c. 6500 B.C. was decorated with skeletal remains of bulls, presumed to be the basis of the later Anatolian weather bull god identified with Zeus.
  - **5.** Çatal Hüyük set the pattern for settled life, cult practices, and rituals.
  - **6.** Invention of fired ceramics led to metallurgy, and Anatolians perfected the smelting of gold, silver, and copper.
  - **7.** Villages became centers of sophisticated technology and were linked by trade networks to the wider Near East.

II. From 2600 B.C., the first true cities emerged in Asia Minor as royal centers and sanctuaries that owed their origins to the stimulus of the first cities of Sumer, the great flood plain of lower Mesopotamia.

- **A.** In the Uruk Period, Sumerians moved from scattered towns and settlements into walled cities that provided the model for urban development in the Near East.

1. Ox-drawn ploughs and social organization allowed for clearing of land and irrigation to sustain intensive cultivation of cereals, yielding surpluses needed to support cities.
2. Clay provided material for ceramics; the use of mud bricks allowed for massive construction, as seen at early Uruk and Ur.

B. Sumerian merchants, first as agents of their city's temple and of kings, entered eastern Anatolia in search of metals, livestock, timber, and slaves. In turn, they brought the finished products of an urban civilization that inspired Anatolians to build their own cities.
1. Sumerian merchants possibly helped to stimulate the development of cities in early dynastic Egypt and the cities of the Indus valley.
2. These royal centers were linked by a wide trade network, as revealed by rich grave goods found in excavations.
3. Anatolian craftsmen learned to smelt bronze and made ever more sophisticated ceramics.
4. From 2600 B.C., long-distance trade nurtured royal centers, such as Troy II and Alaca Hüyük.

C. The royal families ruling from Troy II and Alaca Hüyük prospered from long-distance trade, building residences and endowing shrines that stimulated economic development and social change.
1. Royal centers exacted taxes and rents from satellite villages, fueling economic growth, as seen in the rich grave finds from Alaca Hüyük that include jewelry, weapons, and religious objects.
2. The dynasts of early Anatolian cities created the religious landscape of the peninsula, which successive civilizations have redefined.
3. The rich hoard of golden treasure at Troy II, found by Heinrich Schliemann, and the later royal tombs of Alaca Hüyük date from a period of disturbed conditions.
4. Cuneiform, "wedged writing," was devised for inventories. The peculiar agglutinative language, Sumerian, assisted in the leap from pictograms to the first true writing.
5. The linguistic identity of the Anatolians of the early Bronze Age is unknown (they left no writing), but some of them were ancestors of indigenous peoples known as Hattians in the Hittite Age.
6. Trade and economic growth ended isolation. Akkadian emperors Sargon I and Naram-sin, who forged the first territorial empire of Mesopotamia, campaigned in eastern Anatolia.
7. In c. 2300 B.C., Hattian royal centers suffered destruction and burning, interpreted as marking the arrival of Indo-European speakers, who were ancestors of the Hittites.

III. In 2300–2100 B.C., the Hittites settled in Hatti, the lands of the Halys River and its tributaries, while their cousins, the Luwians, spread across western and southern Anatolia. The newcomers became a military caste that intermingled with the indigenous peoples known as Hattians.

A. Hittite-speaking peoples probably entered by crossing either the Bosporus or Dardanelles, the route of a number of historic invaders, such as later Phrygians, Bithynians, and Galatians.
1. The material culture of the newcomers suggests a Balkan origin.
2. By 1900 B.C., Hittite or Luwian dynasts ruled from earlier Hattian centers in Cilicia and Cappadocia, the regions in closest contact with the urban civilizations of Mesopotamia.
3. The newcomers spoke a related family of Indo-European languages, ancestors of the historic languages of Neshite (Hittite proper), Luwian, and Palaite.
4. Hittite languages emerged in Anatolia, influenced by indigenous non-Indo-European languages over four or five centuries.
5. Language was not the measure of ethnic identity in the middle and late Bronze Ages. Luwian speakers were divided into a number of competing kingdoms in the historic period.
6. As Hittite and Luwian dynasts imposed order, prosperity and cities revived, attracting new settlers from Mesopotamia.

B. Assyrian merchants established a network of colonies in eastern Anatolia in the later regions of Hatti and Kizzuwadna (classical Cilicia) in 1950–1750 B.C. that proved decisive in the emergence of the Hittite kingdom.
1. Assyrian colonists brought the higher arts of civilization, but they also set the first great axis of Anatolian civilization that linked the Anatolian interior with the Near East, notably Syria, Mesopotamia (Iraq), and Persia (Iran).
2. Assyrians dwelled in a separate self-governing community known as the *karum*. Excavations at Kültepe (Hittite Neša) reveal cultural interaction between *karum* and the royal center.

3. Assyrians built a Mesopotamian-style city with rudimentary aqueducts and drainage pipes beneath paved streets; homes have yielded rich finds of daily ceramics.
4. From the citadel of Neša, the Hittite-speaking kings amassed revenues and applied cuneiform writing.

C. Wars in 1750–1680 B.C. ended the prosperity of the Assyrian colonies, but Labarnas I unified the Anatolian plateau into the first great literate kingdom.
1. Hittite and Luwian kings created royal bureaucracies for collecting taxes and enforcing their will.
2. Hittite kings learned to use horse-drawn light chariots, fielding royal armies of retainers using the new weapon.

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Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways was Çatal Hüyük a unique center? What can be surmised about the extent and importance of trade to Çatal Hüyük?
2. What led to the emergence of royal centers, such as Alaca Hüyük and Troy II?
3. How did the Hittite kings dictate the future of society and economy on the central Anatolian plateau?

Lecture Three
The Hittite Empire

Scope: Hattušališ I (1650–1620 B.C.) founded Hattušaš as the capital of a united Hatti, the lands between the middle Halys (Kızıl Irmak) and Taurus Mountains. His son Muršiliš I conquered the Canaanite-Hurrian cities of Syria and sacked Babylon in a daring raid to announce Hittite primacy in the Near East. But the Hittite Empire proper was created by three monarchs (1360–1239 B.C.): Šuppiluliumaš I, Muwatalliš, and Hattušališ III. Šuppiluliumaš I restored Hittite boundaries in Syria and southeastern Anatolia. His grandson Muwatalliš consolidated rule over western Anatolia and beat back Pharaoh Ramses II. Hattušališ III consolidated the Hittite Empire as the equal of Ramses's Egypt. By their conquests, Hittite emperors acquired tribute, allies, and the need for organization. They learned technology and arts from the Hurrians. They adapted Mesopotamian record keeping, law, and architecture. In the new provinces, Carchemish and Tegarama emerged as true capitals of the imperial Hittite family. In these provincial cities, after the collapse of the Hittite homeland, "Neo-Hittite" dynasts maintained the imperial legacy.

Outline

I. The Hittite Old Kingdom (1680–1590 B.C.) was founded by the kings of Kuššara after nearly a century of warfare. From the new capital, Hattušaš, the kings of Hatti united central and eastern Anatolia for the first time.

- **A.** The foundation of the Old Kingdom depended on charismatic kings who could mobilize coalitions of vassals.
  - **1.** Labarnaš I imposed rule over the central plateau, the land of Hatti, in the valleys of the Halys River.
  - **2.** Hittite kings used the light chariot; retainers were granted estates to sustain teams of horses.
  - **3.** Central Anatolia assumed its traditional social and economic organization as a land of estates dotted by royal centers.
  - **4.** Hattušališ I founded Hattušaš, a capital near religious sanctuaries and amidst grasslands and forests, but also near a vulnerable mountainous northern frontier.
- **B.** Hittite kings expanded south and southeastward to secure trade routes and the rich Amorite-Hurrian cities of northern Syria.
  - **1.** Hittite kings waged wars in western Anatolia against the rival Luwian-speaking kingdom of Arzawa.
  - **2.** Cities of Hurrio-Amorite Syria furnished revenues that allowed Hittite kings to forge royal institutions.
  - **3.** Hattušališ I and Mursiliš I conquered Alalakh and Iamkhad (Aleppo), leading cities in Syria.
  - **4.** Southeastern Anatolia, Cilicia, was reduced to a vassal.
  - **5.** Mursiliš I conducted a massive raid to sack Babylon in 1595 B.C., but his murder upon his return plunged the Hittite kingdom into a succession crisis.
- **C.** The Hittite kingdom fragmented in 1590–1360 B.C., because Hittite kings lacked a royal bureaucracy and professional army to impose their will over vassals.
  - **1.** In western Anatolia, Arzawa united lesser kingdoms into a confederation.
  - **2.** Pharaohs of Dynasty XVIII reunited Egypt and expelled the Hyksos invaders (1540 B.C.).
  - **3.** Thutmose III founded the Egyptian Empire, annexing the Levantine cities after the Battle of Meggido (1457 B.C.).
  - **4.** Kassites occupied Babylon; the Indo-Aryan warrior caste of the Mitanni ruled over northern Syria and Mesopotamia.
  - **5.** Egypt, the dominant power, experienced rapid social, economic, and cultural changes as a result of acquiring an Asiatic empire.

II. The Hittite Empire (1360–1180 B.C.) was the creation of three powerful monarchs, Šuppiluliumaš I, Muwatalliš, and Hattušališ III, who exploited Egyptian weakness and united Anatolia into the first effective state.

- **A.** Šuppiluliumaš I restored Hittite power in Syria and southeastern Anatolia, securing vital revenues and manpower.
  - **1.** Šuppiluliumaš crushed the kingdom of Mitanni and reduced the Egyptian clients in northern Syria.

2. Egypt suffered civil war resulting from the monotheistic reforms of the heretic Pharaoh Akhenaton (1352–1135 B.C.).
3. Šuppiluliumaš humbled Arzawa and the northern barbarians.

B. The dynasty of Šuppiluliumaš I expanded the empire to its greatest territorial extent and forged a sacral bureaucratic monarchy that rivaled New Kingdom Egypt.
1. Muwatalliš checked the resurgent Egyptian monarchy under Pharaoh Ramses II at the Battle of Kadesh (1275 B.C.).
2. Hattušališ III concluded an alliance with Ramses II (1257 B.C.).
3. Hattušališ III, a usurper, initiated religious reforms and building programs that exalted the monarchy.

III. The Hittite imperial achievement rested on the political and military organization of the Great Kings of Hatti who forged the first major Near Eastern power not based on a river valley.

A. Hittite emperors adapted bureaucratic and religious institutions of the Near East but achieved innovations in military technology. In organizing Anatolia, they anticipated a number of techniques devised by the Romans in their unification of Italy.
1. Highways and garrisons gave the Hittite field army strategic mobility.
2. By treaties of alliance, Hittite emperors recruited northern Gasga peoples and chariot armies of the western Luwian rivals to battle in Syria and upper Mesopotamia.
3. Šuppiluliumaš founded cadet dynasties at Teragama and Carchemish, shifting the locus of imperial power.
4. A royal professional army, backed by siege train, enabled the Hittite emperor to match the Egyptian field with far fewer resources.

B. Ultimately, the Hittite Empire was overtaxed by its multiple threats on the frontier in the later thirteenth century B.C. Civil war resulted in three sacks of the capital Hattušaš.
1. Between 1225 and 1100 B.C., imperial orders of the late Bronze Age in the Near East collapsed.
2. In c. 1180 B.C., Hattušaš was sacked, and the Hittite homeland, along with western and central Anatolia, fragmented.
3. Cadet branches of the royal dynasty in provincial cities of southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria maintained the Hittite political legacy.
4. The Neo-Hittite kingdoms were, in culture and language, heirs to the Hurrian and Luwian traditions; they carried on the Hittite legacy.
5. Hittite collapse opened Anatolia to settlement by new peoples, the Phrygians, who arrived from the Balkans from c. 1000 B.C.
6. East Greeks (Ionians), after the fall of Achaean kingdoms, settled on the western shores of Anatolia (1225–900 B.C.), thereby linking Anatolia with the nascent Greek civilization of the Aegean world.

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Questions to Consider:

1. Why were the Hittite kings able to unite the Anatolian plateau into an effective state?
2. In what ways was Hittite civilization successful in comparison to the older civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia? What were the contributions of Hittite imperial civilization?
3. What accounted for the fragmentation of the Hittite Empire after 1190 B.C.?

Lecture Four
Hattušaš and Imperial Hittite Culture

Scope: Hittite kings assimilated native gods to their more sophisticated Hurrio-Mesopotamian counterparts and rewrote the religious landscape of Anatolia. Hattušališ III (1267–1237 B.C.) initiated the expansion of the capital Hattušaš. His son Tudhaliyaš IV and grandson Suppiluliumaš II turned Hattušaš into a ritual capital with a maze of temples that must have impressed visitors with the power of a Hittite emperor protected by the thousand gods of Hatti. Hattušališ III and his Queen Puduhepa transformed an outcrop known as Yazılıkaya, northeast of Hattušaš, into an open-air shrine that celebrated the new imperial pantheon. On reliefs carved out of the living rock, the walls of the great chamber depict two converging processions of Hittite gods that climax with the spring marriage of the weather god Teshub and the sun goddess of Arinna. The brilliance of this aesthetic achievement was all the more remarkable, because, shortly after the completion of the sanctuary, Hattušaš was sacked and abandoned.

Outline

I. Hittite civilization was a stunning success for an early society that did not depend on either a great river valley or commerce by sea. Simultaneously, the Hittites first revealed the genius of Anatolians in adapting the technology, arts, and institutions of other civilizations.

- **A.** The Hittites drew on their Anatolian heritage since the Neolithic Age to fashion the first literate civilization in the peninsula.
  - **1.** Based on Hurrio-Mesopotamian precedents, kings codified customary law but had to personally supervise state affairs.
  - **2.** Anatolian myths and rites were codified in the imperial age but reflect the spirit of an early rustic society.
- **B.** Hittite kings presided over the cultural transformation of Anatolia, adapting institutions, arts, and aesthetics of the Near East.
  - **1.** The Hurrians transmitted the higher arts of Mesopotamia to Anatolia throughout the middle and late Bronze Ages.
  - **2.** Anatolian cults were equated with those of the Hurrian and Akkadian pantheons, myths were rewritten, rituals were dignified.
  - **3.** Hittite kings emerged as patrons of arts and shrines.
  - **4.** Hittites gained arts and technology, as shown in decorative objects and metal work.
  - **5.** Hittites pioneered techniques in masonry, as seen in the massive fortifications of thirteenth-century B.C. Hattušaš.

II. The vast expansion of Hattušaš into a ritual capital of a great empire summed up many of the major changes in Hittite state and society in the imperial age.

- **A.** Hattušaš evolved from an original settlement centered on the citadel and great shrine to the weather god and sun goddess to an imperial capital in the fourteenth century B.C.
- **B.** Šuppiluliumaš I and his heirs rebuilt the citadel and expanded the great national sanctuary.
- **C.** Hattušališ III initiated an ambitious program at Hattušaš and the open-air sanctuary of Yazılıkaya.
  - **1.** Hattušaš expanded to the south, with massive walls built along the eastern, southern, and western sides to accommodate an upper (southern) city.
  - **2.** The forty-five temples to date detected suggest that Hattušališ III and his heirs relocated the leading cults of the empire at Hattušaš as a means to exalt and project royal power.

III. Yazılıkaya, an open-air sanctuary close to the citadel of Hattušaš, was transformed into a royal complex by Hattušališ III and his heirs.

- **A.** Hattušališ III and Queen Puduhepa commissioned the rock-cut reliefs of Yazılıkaya to announce their reorganization of the cults along Hurrian lines.
  - **1.** Hattušališ III deposed his nephew Urhi-Teshub and, in his search for legitimacy, wrote an apologia identifying himself with the national weather god.

2. Queen Puduhepa assimilated her Hurrian patron goddess Hepat to the sun goddess of Arinna.

B. The great complex of Yazılıkaya was built by four successive Hittite emperors. A grand procession from the capital to the sanctuary turned a religious act into a great political event.

1. Hattušališ III built the entranceway, and he and Queen Puduhepa commissioned most of the reliefs of chamber A that present the imperial pantheon in Hurrian guise.
2. King and queen were implicitly compared to the divine couple, but all divinities were identified by traditional attributes and logograms, readable by those who were literate in any of the eight written languages of the empire.
3. Two later reliefs depict King Tudhaliyaš IV as the sun and suggest a cult to the royal family.

C. Hittite kings' architecture and arts fell short of the spectacular monuments of their contemporaries, the pharaohs of Egypt during the New Kingdom, but set standards for civilized arts in Anatolia.

1. Many canons and conventions contributed to later Assyrian royal architecture and narrative relief sculpture.
2. They also survived as provincial arts and later contributed to early Christian art.
3. Hittite kings conducted the first cultural rewrite of Anatolia's religious landscape, setting the standard for later religious rewrites in the classical, Roman, Byzantine, and Muslim eras.
4. In a way, Hattušališ III and his family, by their building programs at Hattušaš and Yazılıkaya, preceded emperor Justinian, who built Hagia Sophia and restored Constantinople as the Christian capital.

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Questions to Consider:

1. How did the Hittites adapt Hurrian and Mesopotamian imports to their own spiritual and cultural needs?
2. How should the cultural achievements of the Hittites be measured against those of their contemporaries in the Near East, notably of Egypt? What was the cultural legacy of the Hittites to succeeding civilizations?

Lecture Five
Origins of Greek Civilization

Scope: As the Hittite kings were uniting Anatolia, the earliest Greeks, heirs to the Minoan civilization of Crete (2800–1400 B.C.), settled on the western shores. The kings of Crete, remembered as the legendary Minos, created a civilization based on seaborne commerce between the Aegean world and the Near East. By 1600 B.C., Greeks on the mainland, known as Achaeans or Mycenaeans, had learned the higher arts from the Minoans. In 1400 B.C., Achaeans conquered the Minoan capital of Cnossus. A dozen Achaean lords (*wanax*) reigned in the late Bronze Age (1400–1180 B.C.). From fortress palaces, such as Mycenae and Pylos, they exacted rents from peasants to sustain a warrior caste of charioteers. The Achaeans, unlike the Minoans, aggressively extended their trade to the western shores of Anatolia, known later as Ionia, establishing a colony at Miletus (Hittite Milawata). Achaean adventurers allied with rebel Hittite vassals, the kings of Arzawa, and the Lukka lands. For the first time, Greeks clashed with the armies of a great Near Eastern monarch who ruled over Anatolia. But these Greek lordships ultimately proved fragile states and fell first in the collapse of the political order of the late Bronze Age (1225–1100 B.C).

Outline

I. Minoan civilization on the island of Crete provided the cultural basis for the later Hellenic civilization of the Aegean world that came to dictate the cultural and political destinies of Anatolia.

- **A.** Cnossus imposed the first thalassocracy (sea power) in the Aegean Sea and opened trade and cultural contact with the western and southern littorals of Anatolia, Levant, and Egypt.
- **B.** Cnossus thereby established the second cultural, commercial, and political axis that forever linked Anatolia to the Mediterranean world.
  - **1.** Kings of Cnossus, possibly under the dynastic name of Minos, united the island by 2100 B.C. By 1600 B.C., the Minoan fleet dominated the Aegean waters.
  - **2.** Minoan merchants were active in Egypt from 1525 B.C., although they may have first arrived during the Hyksos rule from c. 1675 B.C.
  - **3.** Minoans exported oil, wine, textiles, and fine crafts in payment for foodstuffs and raw materials and transmitted the arts of the Near East to the Aegean world.

II. The Mycenaean Greeks (Homeric Achaeans) built the first royal centers on the Greek mainland from 1600 B.C. They captured Cnossus and, thus, the Minoan trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean.

- **A.** The first Greek speakers entered the Hellenic peninsula from c. 1900 B.C., imposing themselves as a warrior caste on the native populations of central and southern Greece (Peloponnesus).
  - **1.** Mycenaean elites acquired Minoanizing tastes and goods and imported Minoan craftsmen and artists.
  - **2.** The kings of Mycenae, recalled in Homeric epic as the family of Atreus, emerged as the leading power.
  - **3.** A dozen kingdoms came to dominate the Greek world, each based on the fortress palace of a *wanax* ("lord") who fielded light chariots.
  - **4.** Mycenaeans adapted Minoan syllabary to write their own language, perfected military architecture, and acquired skills in ship building.
- **B.** The Mycenaeans clashed with the vassals of the Hittite Empire in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.
  - **1.** Many Achaeans took mercenary service among the Anatolian princes or in armies of the Great Kings of the Near East.
  - **2.** Mycenaeans were active as merchants, notably in the slave trade, and established a community at Miletus.
  - **3.** Each *wanax* ruled with limited resources, depending on long-distance trade with the Near East and, thus, unable to build powerful bureaucratic states.
  - **4.** By 1350 B.C., Mycenaean freebooters and warlords backed the kings of Arzawa and the Lukka lands who opposed the Hittite emperor.
- **C.** Mycenaean civilization reveals many features of later classical Greek civilization.

1. Mycenaean lords did not control cults; sanctuaries were administered by hereditary priestly families.
2. Aesthetics and material life, the basis for later classical Greek counterparts, endured after the collapse of the kingdoms of the late Bronze Age.

III. With the fall of Mycenaean (Achaean) kingdoms, a Dark Age (1225–750 B.C.) ensued.

A. Archaeologists have deduced a number of explanations for the collapse of Bronze Age civilizations, including climatic changes, plague, and migrations of barbarians.
1. No convincing evidence exists for natural catastrophes undermining the great monarchies of the late Bronze Age.
2. Plagues and famines were apparently local or regional conditions and did not result in a demographic collapse.
3. Barbarians did not dramatically overthrow the Mycenaean kingdoms or the Hittite Empire.

B. The collapse of urban, literate civilizations in the Aegean world and Anatolia was part of a wider series of events that undermined the great Near Eastern monarchies of the late Bronze Age. These kings confronted problems comparable to those later faced by Roman emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.
1. The Great Kings faced rising costs of administration.
2. Barbarian peoples, recruited as allies and mercenaries in the imperial armies, gained expertise in fighting and logistics.
3. Frontier peoples of the Balkans, Anatolia, and Iran devised new open-order tactics to counter chariots.
4. The petty kingdoms of Mycenaean Greece and the Hittite Empire lacked the population and resources of the older civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia.
5. The collapse was most pronounced in regions that attained urban, literate civilization in the second millennium B.C. The dividing line ran between those civilizations that retained cuneiform or hieroglyphic writing systems and those that adopted the alphabet after 1000 B.C.

C. The collapse of the late Bronze Age civilization of the Aegean world severed links between the Greek world and the civilizations of the Near East. In the intervening Greek Dark Age (1200–750 B.C.), the Greeks forged a culture along unique lines, the basis of Western civilization.
1. The political and military collapse in Mycenaean Greece was dramatic; all palaces (except Athens) were sacked and burned.
2. Migrations of Dorian (west) Greek speakers into central Greece and the Peloponnesus were remembered in later legend as the return of the Heracleidae.
3. Population rapidly declined, and many sought refuge overseas in the islands, western Anatolia, or along the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, where they were known as the "Sea Peoples" who attacked the Egyptian Empire.
4. The fall of the palaces spelled the end of the bureaucratic monarchies, long-distance trade, arts, and writing that were the hallmarks of Mycenaean civilization.
5. Later Greeks recalled the Bronze Age as an era of heroes. From 1000 B.C., they slowly recovered with a clean cultural slate.

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Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways did the arts, material culture, and religious practices (revealed largely by archaeology) look forward to their counterparts in the classical age?
2. What accounted for the collapse of the civilizations in the Near East and Aegean world in c. 1225–1100 B.C.? Why did the Greek world suffer such a long Dark Age?

Lecture Six
The Legend of Troy

Scope: The most enduring legacies from early Anatolia are *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, epics composed by Homer in c. 750 B.C. The heroes Achilles and Hector, enchanting Helen, and resourceful Odysseus have lived on ever since in the imagination of writers and artists of the West. The Greeks knew of a cycle of epics about Troy or Ilium, south of the Hellespont (Dardanelles). *The Iliad* is set in the late Bronze Age, but the society described by Homer is that of the warrior kings of the Greek Dark Age (1100–750 B.C.). The siege of Troy was an incident in a wider story that ended the Hittite Empire and Achaean kingdoms. The site designated Troy VI by archaeologists was Hittite Wilusa (from Wilion, the Achaean for Ilion). Hittite emperors had long crossed swords with Achaean warlords in league with rebel Luwian vassals. Mutawalliš (1295–1272 B.C.) and Tudhalyias IV (1237–1209 B.C.) expelled Achaean-backed rebels and restored the rightful princes of Wilusa. But within a generation after the sack of Troy (c. 1250 B.C.), the Hittite Empire and Achaean kingdoms fell before new peoples of the early Iron Age (c. 1200–750 B.C.).

Outline

I. *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey,* the first monuments of Western literature, revealed the Greek society that emerged 400 years after the collapse of Bronze Age civilization and recollected, in heroic legend, events of the final decades of the Mycenaean and Hittite worlds.

- **A.** The Greeks attributed their epics to the blind poet Homer, who reputedly lived at Smyrna (Izmir) on the shores of Asia Minor in the eighth century B.C.
  - **1.** Homer used techniques of oral poetry, notably formulaic dictation, that enabled poets over four illiterate centuries to preserve memories of individuals, events, and objects of the late Bronze Age.
  - **2.** The epic meter was premised on a pitch and quantitative language that facilitated oral composition and recitation.
  - **3.** The language is a literary dialect adapted to meet the needs of the meter, further facilitating transmission of the legends.
  - **4.** Each recitation was a unique performance; poets adapted phrases or entire passages within a strict set of metrical rules.
  - **5.** *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* were seen by Greeks as the works that defined themselves and their values.
- **B.** The Homeric epics reflect the society and values of Homer's day, that is, the end of the Greek Dark Age.
  - **1.** Homer, aware that heroes used bronze weapons and drove chariots, did not understand warfare of the late Bronze Age.
  - **2.** Homer had no sense of the political geography of the Near East; the Hittite Empire is never mentioned.
  - **3.** Individual objects of the Bronze Age are recollected, such as the cups of Nestor, but Homer's heroes dwell in an idealized poetic world of the Dark Age.
  - **4.** Yet the poems inspired nineteenth-century archaeologists to rediscover the lost world of the Greek Bronze Age.

II. Heinrich Schliemann won the title of discoverer of Homer's Troy and went on to excavate the citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns in Greece. Schliemann owed a debt to Frank Calvert, a British subject long resident near Troy.

- **A.** Heinrich Schliemann began excavations of Hissarlık in 1871. Although his methods and ethics are now criticized, he demonstrated the historical basis of Greek legends and myths to a skeptical scholarly world.
  - **1.** Schliemann discovered the levels of Troy II and a spectacular hoard of gold jewelry, "Priam's treasure."
  - **2.** Scientific excavations by Wilhelm Dörpfeld and Carl Blegen clarified the sequence of settlements.
  - **3.** Troy VI, probably destroyed by a sack in 1250 B.C., is regarded as the city remembered in Homer's poems.
- **B.** Troy VI was built overlooking a bay and offered the best harbor for ships entering or leaving the Hellespont (Dardanelles).

1. Ceramics and architecture indicate that Troy VI was an Anatolian city but linked by trade to the Aegean world. Minoans and Mycenaeans visited and resided in the city.
2. Troy VI has yielded remains apparently remembered in *The Iliad*, notably the Scaean Gate, the weak western wall, and the sloping eastern wall that Patrocles attempted to scale.
3. Recent excavations indicate that the citadel was surrounded by a lower city of residential quarters and, possibly, suburbs outside the walls.
4. The historical role of the city in the late Bronze Age can be illuminated only by the diplomatic records of Hittite emperors uncovered at Hattušaš.

III. The legendary Trojan War was created from historical events of the late Bronze Age, when Achaean merchant princes and adventurers clashed swords with Hittite emperors in western Asia Minor.

A. Hittite emperors from 1360 B.C. on imposed hegemony on the Luwian-speaking kingdoms, securing manpower and resources for their imperial ambitions in the Near East.
1. Hittite King Mutawalliš deposed a usurper in Wilusa.
2. Wilusan prince Alaksandu (Paris of Homer) fought at Kadesh and as a Hittite ally.
3. In 1320–1319 B.C., King Muršiliš II humbled Arzawa and imposed control over Milawata, a Mycenaean colony.
4. Hattušališ III campaigned in the Lukka lands against rebel Piyamaradus, who received aid from Tawagalawas (Eteocles), brother of Attarissiyas (Atreus), apparently *wanax* of Mycenae.

B. Clashes between Hittite emperors and Achaean adventurers engaged in piracy or backing Anatolian rebels were sideshows, but Greeks remembered them as heroic deeds.
1. The Trojan War arose from an attack, blockade, and capture of Troy VI.
2. The events of the Trojan War, mere incidents in the diplomacy and war of the late Bronze Age, inspired the epics of Homer.

IV. The legacy of Homer's epics far outweighs the historical events, because these poems defined the classical Greek identity.

A. Homer defined *arete* (courage), exemplified by Greek heroes Achilles and Odysseus and Trojan hero Hector, son of King Priam.
1. Achilles, faced with the choice of a glorious short life or a long obscure one, chose to "live on the lips of men."
2. The wrath of Achilles sets in motion *The Iliad*. *Arete* was defined as personal honor of the hero, but this virtue in the classical age assumed a moral, communal sense.
3. The expectations of the hero are summed up by Hector's wishes for his son Astyanax in Book VI of *The Iliad*.
4. The Greeks prized oratory, best summed up by the career of Odysseus in *The Odyssey*.

B. Greek historian Herodotus credits Homer and Hesiod with first defining the gods, who have endured in literature and arts of the West.
1. The gods are depicted with human failings, yet are free of consequences for action. Their actions and passions stand as a foil to the tragic human fate.
2. Homer captures the Greek sense of destiny, determined by the Fates, with his image of lots apportioned to mortals and gods.
3. The literary depiction of the gods did not undermine belief or ritual, but rather highlighted the Greek ability to perceive nobility and failings at the same time.

C. The Homeric poems also reflected the values of Greek society.
1. Although the Greeks revealed themselves in the epics, they as yet had no word to describe themselves as a separate people. Homer calls the Greeks Achaeans, Argives, or Danaaoi, names of specific groups rather than Greeks as a whole.
2. The Hellenic identity arose in the generation after Homer with the birth of the *polis* (city-state) in the Archaic Age.

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Questions to Consider:

1. What accounts for the enduring fascination in *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*? Why did Greeks of later ages regard these poems as a veritable bible?
2. Why did later Greeks turn into a national epic the remote clashes of Achaean warlords and the Luwian kings of Wilusa? How did many heroes who were not initially connected to the epic, such as Achilles and Hector, become linked to the siege of Troy?

Lecture Seven
Iron Age Kingdoms of Asia Minor

Scope: From 1200 to 1000 B.C., migrations redrew the ethnic and cultural map of Anatolia. Neo-Hittite princes in southeastern Anatolia and Syria were drawn into the Mesopotamian cultural orbit. Newcomers from the Balkans, the Phrygians, settled across northwestern and central Anatolia. They adopted the alphabet and exported wares that influenced Greek arts. Phrygian kings at Gordium, under the dynastic name Midas, dominated a federation that challenged the Assyrian emperors, but the Phrygian kingdom fell before the nomadic Cimmerians shortly after 700 B.C. In the west, Hittite provincials at Sardes forged the kingdom of Lydia. They expelled the Cimmerians and united western Anatolia. Alyattes (610–561 B.C.) and Croesus (561–546 B.C.), Lydian kings of legendary wealth, tied the culture and prosperity of western Anatolia to renascent Greek civilization. But the Lydian kings also looked east, laying the foundations of Persian administration.

Outline

I. The early Iron Age (1100–500 B.C.) witnessed the emergence of new civilizations in the Near East on the debris of the kingdoms of the late Bronze Age. The changes were most marked in Anatolia, where regional cultures emerged out of the Hittite Empire.

- **A.** Iron technology gradually transformed states and society; forging iron was expedient when bronze and copper were in short supply.
  - **1.** Perfection of methods for forging iron provided far more iron weapons and tools.
  - **2.** Iron technology favored regions with native deposits of ore, notably Greece, Anatolia, Assyria, Iran, and Nubia, over the older river valley civilizations of Egypt and Babylon.
  - **3.** Heavily armed infantry and cavalry (which replaced chariots, except in Mesopotamia) dominated the battlefield.
- **B.** The spread of iron technology and economic recovery allowed more powerful states to coalesce in the tenth century after the end of the major migrations.
  - **1.** Population recovered, and cities and trade revived as a result of activities of Phoenicians on sea and Aramaeans on land.
  - **2.** Phoenicians introduced the alphabet to the peoples of Anatolia and Greece emerging out of an illiterate Dark Age.

II. Neo-Hittite kingdoms in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria, though culturally diverse, preserved political institutions of the Hittite Empire.

- **A.** Neo-Hittite kingdoms consolidated into a series of competing states that united only in the face of a common foe.
  - **1.** Neo-Hittite kings erected monumental palace-temple complexes, which set the model for similar complexes of contemporary Aramaean, Phoenician, and Hebrew rulers.
  - **2.** Neo-Hittite artists pioneered the use of relief sculpture in tandem with narrative texts, a technique transmitted to Assyrian imperial artists.
- **B.** Aramaeans settled throughout northern Syria and along the middle and lower Euphrates valley in the wake of the collapse of the Bronze Age.
  - **1.** As mercenaries or allies, Aramaean tribes settled in Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Aramaean sheiks seized power in several cities, ruling in the traditions of Hittite lords.
  - **2.** Aramaic gained ascendancy as the *lingua franca* of the Fertile Crescent and was written in the Phoenician alphabet.
  - **3.** Aramaean merchant princes developed camel caravan routes, and inland cities of Syria and Damascus rose in prominence.
  - **4.** Aramaeans adapted arts and institutions of the Neo-Hittites.
- **C.** In the late Bronze Age, Hurrian-speaking subjects of the Hittite Empire migrated to the Armenian plateau, founding Urartu on the eastern shores of Lake Van.

1. Heirs to Hittite political traditions, Urartian kings sponsored cults and arts blending Hurrian and indigenous elements.
2. Urartians excelled in ceramics and metal work and backed Neo-Hittite kings opposing Assyrian kings.
3. In 714 B.C., Sargon II of Assyria smashed Urartian power, but the Urartian kings had laid the cultural foundations for classical Armenia.

D. In 911–824 B.C., Neo-Assyrian kings, backed by a superbly trained army, waged wars to gain plunder, livestock, and slaves.
1. The Assyrians possessed iron deposits, horses, and population needed to forge a professional army. They learned siege warfare and logistics from Hittite and Egyptian armies.
2. Assyrian kings imposed authority over the Aramaeans and the lands west of the Khabur valley.
3. Assyrian peace and administration promoted a common urban-based civilization, Aramaic in speech.
4. Assyrian kings imposed a uniform system of weights and measures; their fiscal demands stimulated economic growth. They forged the basis of the later Persian administration.

III. In western and central Anatolia, the arrival from the Balkans of the Phrygians led to the redrawing of the ethnic and cultural map in the early Iron Age (1100–900 B.C.).

A. Phrygians settled widely, from the shores of the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) to the Konya plain and Hatti, former heartland of the Hittite Empire.
1. In c. 925–875 B.C., Phrygian kings at Gordium**,** the successor to Hattušaš, imposed their hegemony over the interior of Anatolia and sponsored urban, literate civilization.
2. King Midas, who clashed with Sargon II of Assyria, built the great tumulus dominating the plain of Gordium.
3. Phrygian ceramics, furniture, and metal work were of the highest order.
4. Midas was the first foreign king to dedicate offerings at Delphi. Phrygian wares and arts profoundly influenced Greek arts.
5. The Phrygians transformed the shrine of the ancient Anatolian fertility goddess, Kubaba (Greek Cybele), at Pessinus into a national sanctuary.
6. Cimmerian invaders, nomadic peoples from north of the Caucasus, shattered Phrygian power and shifted the axis of power farther west to Sardes, the Lydian capital.

B. The Lydians, speaking a dialect of Hittite, secured the Hermus valley and its extensions in the early Iron Age.
1. Lydian kings of Sardes ruled over a kingdom based on a river valley that was linked to the Aegean world.
2. Lydian kings subjected the Ionian Greek colonies along the Aegean, coming under strong Hellenic influence.
3. In c. 650 B.C., King Gyges minted the first electrum; Croesus struck a bimetallic currency. The use of coins was transmitted to the Greek world.
4. Lydian kings, as philhellenes, patronized Delphi and Didyma, and invited Greek artists, merchants, entertainers, and soldiers to their court at Sardes.
5. Miletus emerged as a cultural and economic center of east Greece under Lydian rule. Hellenic goods, rituals, and language were transmitted into the Anatolian interior.

C. In the former Lukka lands of southwestern Asia Minor, two ancient Anatolian peoples emerged as the Carians and Lycians. They came into close contact with Greeks settling in the Aegean islands and Ionia.
1. The warlike Carians settled the Maeander valley and the wooded, mountainous lands to the south.
2. Lycian city-states, loosely federated as a religious league, proved to have able seamen and set standards for the adaptation of Greek arts, material goods, and institutions to an Anatolian landscape.
3. At Xanthus, Lycian nobles commissioned Hellenizing monumental tombs and public art.

D. From 700 B.C., the Greeks relearned shipbuilding, acquired the alphabet from the Phoenicians, and sent out their own colonies.
1. The cities on the shores of Asia Minor began to send out colonies, to the Black Sea, southern Asia Minor, and the western lands.
2. Asia Minor became the main corridor for transmission of ideas and peoples across from Europe and the Near East.
3. Plato said that the Greeks never really invented anything, but everything they took, they improved.

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Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Hittite Empire fragment into so many distinct cultures in the early Iron Age (1100–700 B.C.)? How did these newcomers maintain cultural continuity?
2. What were the political and cultural consequences of the rise of the Lydian kingdom?
3. How did the Carians and Lycians adapt Hellenic institutions, arts, and cults for their own use?

Lecture Eight
Emergence of the *Polis*

Scope: From 750 B.C., Greeks distinguished themselves by the conceit of the *polis*, a city-state based on the rule of law determined by the citizens and destined to influence the Mediterranean world. The king (*basileus*) in Homer ruled by consent of his nobles, who formed an advisory council (*boule*). They, in turn, referred major decisions to the armed citizens in assembly (*ekklesia*). By 700 B.C., aristocrats had replaced kingship with elected offices. Improvements in weapons undermined aristocratic rule, as citizens, armed as hoplites or heavy infantry, clamored for power in the assembly. In the late Archaic Age (750–480 B.C.), tyrants at the head of citizens seized power and broke aristocratic rule. By 500 B.C., most Greek *poleis* enjoyed oligarchic constitutions whereby the propertied classes, controlling offices and council, answered to the assembly. The Athenians moved even further, devising the first democratic constitution under which all adult males voted in an assembly that was sovereign over officials and council.

Outline

I. As the interior lands of Anatolia consolidated into kingdoms succeeding to the Hittite political or cultural legacy, the western and southern shores were dotted with Greek colonies that participated in the cultural reawakening of the Archaic Age (750–480 B.C).

A. In the second book of *The Iliad*, Homer describes the earliest known political actions by Greeks that dictated the constitutions of later city-states.

1. King Agamemnon, who has insulted the greatest hero, Achilles, calls a council of nobles (*boule*), then a general assembly.

2. In council, Agamemnon defers to Nestor, oldest and wisest of the Greek princes. Odysseus, the most eloquent of speakers, brings the assembly to order.

3. The Homeric king (*basileus*) was "first among equals" (*primus inter pares*) and had to rule by force of personality.

4. The constitution of a *polis* (*politeia*) was determined by the relationship between council (*boule*) and assembly (*ekklesia*).

B. By 700 B.C., Homeric kings had yielded primacy to aristocratic families, who dominated the *boule* and replaced monarchy with elected magistrates of a republic.

1. Aristocrats governed on the understanding that all eligible nobles had their turn in holding high office and entrance on the *boule*.

2. Royal powers were divided among magistrates who were restricted by term of office, use of sortition (selection by lot), and sharing of power with a colleague.

3. Aristocrats had wealth to raise horses and serve in the cavalry, regarded as the decisive arm.

4. Adoption of hoplite warfare and prosperity expanded the number of citizens vital to the *polis* as heavy infantry replaced cavalry.

5. Hoplites asserted their rights in the assembly, calling aristocrats to account and demanding that laws be written.

6. Aristocrats were compelled to yield powers. Aristocracies were replaced by oligarchies (rule of wealth) or timocracies (government of rights graded according to a citizen's ability to serve his *polis*).

C. The heroic world depicted by Homer was already changing when he composed the epics. The poet Hesiod describes the expectations of the nascent city-state (*polis*).

1. Hesiod's outlook is premised on a Greek identity and the values of the *polis*.

2. The *polis* included, not only the civic center or market (*agora*) and the citadel (*acropolis*) with the shrines, but also the surrounding countryside (*chora*).

3. The rule of law (*nomos*) took place only in a *polis*; foreigners dwelling with the rule of law were "barbarians," and rulers above the law were tyrants.

4. Only a city-state provided justice (*dike*).

II. Greek city-states adopted the hoplite panoply and tactics at the end of the eighth century B.C. and, in so doing, altered the course of Western civilization.

A. At the opening of the Archaic Age, innovations in warfare undermined aristocrats as arbiters of society.

1. Hoplites were citizens drilled to defend their homes in local conflicts and out of a sense of duty to their *polis*.

2. The tactics of a hoplite phalanx required citizens to advance in disciplined ranks.

3. Hoplite warfare redefined honor as a communal virtue.

B. Greek cities across the Aegean world experienced similar political developments in the Archaic Age, but Sparta and Athens differed from the typical pattern.

1. The Greeks defined themselves as distinct from other people by their political conceit.

2. Athens, the most populous city-state, evolved from a backward agrarian society on the brink of political revolution to the first democracy in 594–506 B.C.

3. Athenian democracy was premised on sovereignty of an assembly of all citizens.

4. The *boule* was an annual body representative of the citizens and acted as the assembly in committee.

5. Spartans maintained their constitution and way of life by subjecting the majority of residents to the rank of *perioikoi* or helots (state slaves).

6. In 676 B.C., Spartans modified their aristocratic constitution to enfranchise all citizens of hoplite rank.

III. At the close of the eighth century B.C., the Greek world also experienced economic and social change that transformed Hellenic civilization into a Mediterranean-wide civilization.

A. The recovery of inhabitants and the end of migrations led to a rise in population that drove Greek cities to colonize overseas.

1. A colony (*apoikia*) was founded as an independent *polis* so that the act of colonizing defined Greek political identity.

2. The colonial experience led to a revival of trade, emergence of commercial classes, and innovations in shipbuilding, changes that fueled prosperity and political change.

B. East Greeks, especially from Miletus, took the lead in reopening contact with the Near East, allowing Greek aesthetics to blossom.

1. By the classical age, for example, the Greeks achieved perspective in painting.

2. The Greek city-state was defined culturally, as much as politically, with public arts festivals and cultural forms.

IV. Tyrants, strong men who seized power by force, broke the power of aristocracies, promoted new elites, and ultimately advanced the *polis* over the interests of powerful families or class.

A. *Tyrant*, an Anatolian word denoting "lord," was applied by Greeks to describe men who seized power without the rule of law (*nomos*).

1. Tyrants exploited social unrest, demands for political rights by hoplites, and ethnic divisions to seize power.

2. Tyrants, such as Peisistratus of Athens, claimed noble lineage but, by poverty or birth, were denied high office.

3. Tyrants, elevated by exceptional circumstances, were above the law and had to use force and terror to maintain power.

B. Once in power, tyrants promoted civic institutions, ruled by consent of the assembly, and patronized public arts.

C. Because tyrants lacked the means to create a bureaucracy and army to transmit power to their families, tyrannies fell in the second generation.

D. Herodotus captures the arbitrary nature of terror in his exchange between Periander and Tharsybulus, tyrants of Corinth and Miletus.

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Questions to Consider:

1. How did the Greeks evolve their political institutions out of the kingship as described by Homer? What were the roles of the council (*boule*) and assembly of warriors?
2. What conditions led to the emergence of tyrants in Greek cities of the Archaic Age?
3. How did colonization transform the economic and political life of the Greek world?

Lecture Nine
Ionia and Early Greek Civilization

Scope: The Ionian cities of east Greece, on the shores of Anatolia and the neighboring islands, took the lead in the movement overseas in the Archaic Age (750–480 B.C.). Ionian merchants and mercenaries reopened contact with the Levant and Egypt, carrying back innumerable gifts from the Near East, notably the alphabet, iron technology, decorative arts, sculpture, and masonry. East Greeks erected the first freestanding masonry since the Bronze Age; Ionian sculptors created the first masterpieces of freestanding sculpture; Milesian thinkers pioneered speculation based on reason. In poetry, Archilochus, Alcaeus, and Sappho devised new lyric meters and, for the first time, spoke as individuals rather than members of a community. The Archaic Age, known in fragmentary glimpses, remains one of the most creative in history, because it gave birth to the aesthetic and intellectual reflexes of the West.

Outline

I. Because Greek cities on the shores of Ionia and the Aegean islands were the nexus of trade routes, they influenced both the Hellenic world and Iron Age kingdoms in the hinterlands of Anatolia.

- **A.** The Ionians proved adept merchants, and Miletus emerged as the leading commercial center of east Greece.
  - **1.** Miletus and Samos, engaged in far-flung trade, emerged as intellectual and cultural centers.
  - **2.** Ionians frequented the courts of Gordium and Sardes, and Greeks settled among their Carian and Lycian neighbors, spreading Hellenic aesthetics, material goods, and building techniques.
  - **3.** The shrines of Artemis at Ephesus, Apollo at Didyma, and Hera at Samos attained panhellenic importance, attracting pilgrims and patrons.
- **B.** East Greek craftsmen in the late Archaic Age adapted Anatolian, Levantine, and Egyptian aesthetics and material goods, thereby enriching the material life of nascent Greek civilization.
  - **1.** In the Dark Age, potters decorated ceramics with simple geometric designs presented on strict bands.
  - **2.** From 680 B.C., Greeks produced vases with naturalistic "Orientalizing" motifs, depicting fantastic animals and myths.
  - **3.** Jewelry and ivory work exhibited influences from Phoenician and Mesopotamian prototypes.
  - **4.** Fine furniture, textiles, and metalwork were inspired by Phrygian and Urartian work.
  - **5.** Building techniques, notably roof tiling and woodwork learned from Anatolians, were applied in domestic architecture.

II. East Greeks made some of the most creative innovations in Western civilization in sculpture and architecture, setting canons for Greek art and influencing the arts and aesthetics of western Anatolia.

- **A.** In the late seventh century B.C., the Greeks relearned monumental masonry from the Egyptians, but they applied masonry to their native use of post-and-lintel construction.
  - **1.** The number of stone temples increased at least threefold as prosperity rose and architects perfected masonry without concrete or the arch.
  - **2.** The Doric order was a simple, rustic order in which the column rested directly on the platform. Upper decoration was composed of alternating metopes and trigylphs. The Temple of Athena on the acropolis of Assus offers the best example of the Doric order in Asia Minor.
  - **3.** Asian Greeks evolved a more elegant Ionic order, with more delicate decoration of the column's capital and other decorative elements. The temple of Athena at Priene offers an example of an early Ionic temple in Asia Minor.
  - **4.** Lydians, Carians, and Lycians adapted Greek architectural orders for a variety of buildings other than temples.
  - **5.** The Monument of the Nereids, an Ionic-style tomb at Xanthus, combined Greek and Anatolian architectural elements.
- **B.** The eastern Greeks adapted monumental Egyptian funerary statues, contributing to the creation of freestanding sculpture, a hallmark of Western art ever after.

1. Sculpture and painting in western Anatolia were naturalistic, if idealized, and bore as much artistic resemblance to ceramics as the painting of Rembrandt to Wedgewood.
2. Ionian sculptors proved masters. At Samos, freestanding *kouroi* (nude males) and delicate *korai* (draped females) decorated the sanctuary of Hera and might have been votive offerings to deceased family members.
3. On the Acropolis, the Athenian *korai* were products of Ionian masters or inspired by Ionian schools.
4. East Greek and Anatolian painting was imaginative and naturalistic, unlike the two-dimensional figures of ceramics.
5. Greek advances in painting are virtually undocumented, but recent tomb paintings found near Uşak (Temenothyrae) in Phrygia reveal a subtle, naturalistic style.

III. Greeks adapted the Phoenician alphabet, creating a writing system that established itself as the literary language of the Mediterranean world. In contrast, Anatolian peoples used writing largely for commercial and administrative purposes, so their traditions long remained oral.

A. Lyric poets devised new meters and expressed their own political opinions on personal feelings, thus setting the genres of Western poetry.
1. Archilochus of Paros, an illegitimate nobleman turned mercenary, perfected iambic invective in lyric poems.
2. Alcaeus of Mytilene composed lyric diatribes and drinking songs.
3. Sappho composed marriage poems and elegiac musings about her students.
4. Parody and spoof characterized many poems, revealing a Hellenic outlook that mocked and exalted the human condition.

B. Miletus and Ephesus were the homes of the first scientific speculation in the Greek world, as Ionian Greeks learned Babylonian mathematics and astronomy.
1. Thales of Miletus offered the first cosmology based on the hypothesis of four primary elements (fire, earth, air, water).
2. Thales predicted the first solar eclipse in 585 B.C. as a phenomenon rather than a miracle.
3. Anaximander surmised that life evolved from the sea.
4. Heraclitus of Ephesus, the "Weeping Philosopher," proposed a cosmology based on a dynamic equilibrium.
5. Pythagoras of Samos made advances in mathematics and music, seen as the basis for the harmony of existence.

C. Ionian thinkers applied deduction and logical language to the study of human affairs, creating disciplines of geography and history.
1. Hecataeus of Miletus composed a historical geography and produced the first map of the world.
2. Herodotus of Halicarnassus combined traditional storytelling techniques seen in Homeric epic with a historical method based on direct research and logical reasoning.
3. With Herodotus, Greek historians assumed a unique perspective of self-criticism and relativist appreciation of other cultures.

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Questions to Consider:

1. How did colonization and movement overseas expand and enrich Greek culture in the Archaic Age (750–480 B.C.)?
2. How did contact with the peoples of Anatolia enrich Greek material life?
3. What did sculpture reveal about the aesthetics and values of archaic Greek civilization?

Lecture Ten
The Persian Conquest

Scope: In 546 B.C., Cyrus (559–530 B.C.), Achaemenid king of Persia, conquered the Lydian kingdom, thereby adding Anatolia to a world empire that stretched from the Aegean to the Indus. Persian *satraps* governed from Sardes and Dascylium on the Hellespontine shores, but the Great King entrusted daily affairs to cities, regional ethnic leagues, or petty kings. Anatolian grandees appreciated a Great King who rewarded loyal service. They quickly adapted Persian manners, dress, religious practices, and arts. By 500 B.C., a cultural *koine* had emerged in Anatolia with a Persian stamp, as the upper classes of the peninsula saw themselves as part of a wider cultural world. Only the Ionian Greeks stood apart, resenting the tyrants imposed by Persian satraps to keep order in the *poleis*. For Greeks, Persian rule was not so much oppressive as foreign. In 499–494 B.C., Ionians rose in rebellion against the Great King and ignited a larger struggle between Greek city-state and Near Eastern monarchy.

Outline

I. Cyrus I conquered Anatolia in 546 B.C., incorporating the entire peninsula into a Near Eastern empire, Achaemenid Persia, for the first time, thus reorienting the cultural direction of Anatolia.

- **A.** Cyrus inherited a western frontier with Lydia and smashed this serious rival with his invincible Iranian cavalry army.
  - **1.** Croesus consulted the oracle of Delphi and sought support from Ionian Greeks and Sparta.
  - **2.** Cyrus defeated Croesus decisively and captured Sardes; his generals completed the pacification of the Lydian kingdom.
- **B.** King Darius I created Persepolis as ritual capital and reorganized the Persian Empire into satrapies based on Assyrian administration.
  - **1.** The impact of Achaemenid rule varied considerably among the six satrapies of Anatolia.
  - **2.** Persian satraps respected indigenous cults and customs.
  - **3.** The Persians exacted a regular tribute, constructed military highways, and created a royal post.
  - **4.** Persian satraps maintained institutions. The currency devised by Croesus continued to be minted for use in Anatolia.
  - **5.** Anatolian nobles shared an aristocratic ethos with their Persian counterparts, adopting Persian manners, dress, and material culture.
  - **6.** Persian military colonies, as at Hypaepa and Hyrcanis in Lydia, popularized the cults of Artemis Persica or Mithras.
  - **7.** The revival of monumental tombs in Asia Minor owed inspiration to Persian governors who modeled their tombs after those of the Great Kings at Pasagadae.
- **C.** The peoples of western Asia Minor, notably the Carians and Lycians, were drawn into the cultural orbit of the Greek world during the Achaemenid period.
  - **1.** Lycian dynasts minted silver coinage inspired by Greek types.
  - **2.** Lycian cities remodeled themselves along Greek civic lines, sharing a common political culture with their Greek neighbors.

II. The eastern Greeks under Achaemenid rule enjoyed ordered government and prosperity, but they found Persian rule objectionable, not so much because it was oppressive, but because it was foreign.

- **A.** Persian satrap*s* preferred to rule through the leading families in each *polis*, and they respected Greek shrines and customs.
  - **1.** Greeks were treated as favored subjects, appreciated for their skills in shipbuilding, crafts, and commerce on a par with Phoenicians.
  - **2.** Ionian craftsmen worked on the palace of Persepolis; Greek decorative arts and architecture influenced royal Persian art.
  - **3.** Tribute from the Greeks was not onerous, and such shrines as Didyma and Artemisium were respected.

B. Despite a benevolent, if distant, rule by satraps, Asian Greeks found Persian rule far less tolerable than rule by the kings of Lydia.
   1. Greeks were regarded as one group of many useful subjects rather than the arbiters of taste, as under the philhellene Lydian kings.
   2. Persian satraps, failing to appreciate the importance of the rule of law in a *polis*, maintained tyrants in Greek cities to keep order.
   3. Ionian tyrants, such as Histaeus and Aristagoras of Miletus, enjoyed the confidence of the Great King.
   4. Between 546 and 506 B.C., Athens emerged as the Aegean's new naval and commercial power.
   5. Athenians established democracy in 510–506 B.C.; Spartans suppressed tyrannies in mainland Greece.
   6. Ionian Greeks sensed that they were losing their political, cultural, and economic primacy to Athens and Sparta.
   7. In response, Ionian Greeks rose in rebellion against the Great King in 499 B.C. and so precipitated the Persian Wars.

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Questions to Consider:

1. What accounted for the success of Persian rule in Anatolia and the Near East? What values did the Anatolian and Iranian elites share?

2. Why did Greek culture still exert a powerful influence over the peoples of western Anatolia?

3. Why did the Ionian Greeks rebel in 499 B.C?

Lecture Eleven
Athenian Empire and Spartan Hegemony

Scope: Given that Ionian rebels appealed to their Athenian kinsmen, the Persian kings had to conquer Greece. Athenian victories destroyed Persian naval power, and Athens was hailed as liberator of the Asian Greeks. The democratic Athenians quickly reduced their allies to tribute-paying subjects and frightened Spartans into the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.). Asian Greeks found themselves with two dangerous allies, Spartans and Persians. The Spartans won the war with Persian aid and, in 386 B.C., finally paid the price of returning the Ionian cities to Persia. But the Persian Empire was so weakened that 10,000 Greek mercenaries, after their Persian employer was slain, could march home at will (401–399 B.C.). It thus seemed that Persian and native elites would carve out Anatolian kingdoms in which Ionian cities would resume their roles as cultural mediators between East and West. Instead, Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) overran the Persian Empire and unexpectedly altered the course of Anatolian civilization, making Hellenism the cultural force in the peninsula for the next fifteen centuries.

Outline

I. The Ionian Revolt (499–494 B.C.) rocked the western satrapies of the Persian Empire, drawing Carians, Lycians, and Cypriote Greeks into rebellion and encouraging possible Egyptian rebels.

- **A.** Herodotus attributes the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt to the intrigues of two tyrants of Miletus, Histaeus and Aristagoras.
  - **1.** Aristagoras, son-in-law of Histaeus, bungled an expedition against Naxos in 500 B.C. and turned rebel to escape punishment by Darius I.
  - **2.** Histaeus, in gilded captivity at Susa, intrigued to ignite a revolt in Ionia so that he would be sent west as a Greek expert to Darius I.
  - **3.** The two tyrants moved Ionians to revolt in 499 B.C. The Carians and Lycians followed suit.
  - **4.** Spartans refused aid, but Athens and Eretria, Ionian cities, sent twenty-five *triremes* (warships).
  - **5.** Histaeus led an Ionian-Athenian expeditionary force that burned the satrapal capital Sardes in 498 B.C.
  - **6.** In 494 B.C., off Lade, the Persian fleet crushed the Ionian rebel fleet. Miletus was razed and her population, deported.
- **B.** Darius I was compelled to take punitive action against Athens.
  - **1.** In 490 B.C., a Persian punitive expedition was decisively defeated by Athenians at Marathon.
  - **2.** The defeat at Marathon set off dangerous rebellions in Egypt, Phoenicia, and Babylonia.
  - **3.** The conquest fell to Darius's son and heir, Xerxes, because Persia required control of Greece.
  - **4.** In 480 B.C., Xerxes led a massive invasion into Greece, but Sparta and Athens united to defeat the Persian fleet at Salamis.
  - **5.** Greek victory at Plataea (479 B.C.) destroyed Persian military power in the Aegean and western Asia Minor.

II. Defeat of King Xerxes opened the Aegean world and western Asia Minor to Greek conquest, but Greeks were divided over their choice of hegemons.

- **A.** Spartans had commanded the Hellenic alliance that defeated Xerxes, but Greek victory was foremost owed to the Athenian fleet and resilience of the Athenian democracy.
  - **1.** Spartans were reluctant to assume overseas commitments, and Athenians assumed leadership of the war against Persia.
  - **2.** Athenians imposed democracies in allied cities, which found it to be a radical form of government.
  - **3.** Most Athenian allies were turned into tribute-paying dependencies.
  - **4.** Ionians, although enjoying prosperity, resented Athens as a tyrant city.
- **B.** Athens funded democracy and cultural projects from the tribute of the empire and emerged as the undisputed financial center of the Aegean world for the next 150 years.
- **C.** In 449 B.C., Athens concluded peace with Persia; the Persians gave up the Asian Greeks.

III. Persian rule in Asia Minor was saved by the growing rivalry between Athens and Sparta, which exploded in the great Peloponnesian War.

A. Persian satraps and Spartans were more rivals than allies during the Peloponnesian War.

1. Athenian allies across the Aegean revolted in 412 B.C., but Spartans needed Persian money and naval expertise.

2. In 408–404 B.C., Cyrus the Younger and the Spartan navarch Lysander cooperated in defeating Athens.

B. Spartans, although ill suited as hegemon of the Greek world, refused to return the cities of Ionia to Persia.

1. Sparta supported the bid by Cyrus the Younger to seize the Persian throne.

2. At the Battle of Cunaxa, Cyrus was slain, but his 10,000 Greek mercenaries won the battle and retreated to Greece.

3. The March of the 10,000 revealed Persian weakness and the superiority of Greek hoplites.

4. Artaxeres II countered by raising a coalition of Thebes, Argos, Athens, and Corinth to oppose Sparta in Greece.

5. The Corinthian War (396–386 B.C.) ended in political stalemate in Greece; under the King's Peace, the Asian Greeks again submitted to Persian rule.

6. From 386 to 362 B.C., the leading cities of mainland Greece (Athens, Sparta, Thebes) battled themselves to exhaustion.

C. Anatolia, reunited under Achaemenid rule, prospered, but the western satraps plotted rebellion. The lands of Anatolia embraced even more Hellenic goods, arts, and institutions during the fourth century B.C.

1. The March of the 10,000 inspired Persian satraps to stage revolts, backed by Iranian colonial elites and Anatolian grandees.

2. Anatolia was drawn increasingly into the commercial and cultural order created by Athens in the fifth century B.C.

3. In c. 350 B.C., Achaemenid Anatolia was likely to fragment into regional states under Iranian colonial dynasts, linked to the Aegean world by the Ionian cities.

4. Unexpectedly, Alexander the Great swept away the Persian Empire and made Hellenism the dominant cultural force in Anatolia for the next fifteen centuries.

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Questions to Consider:

1. What were the respective merits of Athens and Sparta as hegemons of the Greek alliance against Persia? Why did the Ionians ultimately prefer Athens?

2. How did the imperial experience transform Athens? Why did the Athenians fail to win the cooperation of so many of their allies?

Lecture Twelve
Alexander the Great and the Diadochoi

Scope: On the banks of the Granicus in 334 B.C., Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) defeated the Persian satraps, and Anatolia fell to the young conqueror. In the next eight years, Alexander overran the Persian Empire, but he died prematurely. In 301 B.C., his generals had carved out their own kingdoms, but none of the Diadochoi, "the successors," mastered Anatolia. Seleucus I (312–281 B.C.), ruler of Alexander's Asian Empire, held the former Lydian and Phrygian kingdoms, which were linked by highways to his royal capital of Antigoneia (the future Antioch) in Syria. The Galatians, Celtic tribesmen who crossed the Bosporus in 278–277 B.C., threatened Hellenic cities and Seleucid rule. In northern Anatolia, native dynasts in Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia posed as philhellenes. Political fragmentation promoted the spread of the *polis* and Hellenic culture, because rival kings courted Greek cities. Cities then hailed monarchical benefactors as gods and adopted Greek-style constitutions, public buildings, and language; thus, the Romans found a peninsula dotted with Hellenized cities.

Outline

I. Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, overran Asia Minor in less than two years, then conquered the entire Persian Empire in the next six years. He altered the course of civilization in Anatolia, which was henceforth linked to the Mediterranean, rather than Near Eastern, cultural axis.

- **A.** Philip II (359–336 B.C.) transformed Macedon from a weak Balkan kingdom into the leading Hellenic power and passed to his son, Alexander III, a splendid legacy.
  - **1.** Philip forged a professional royal army based on heavy cavalry and a phalanx of peasant conscripts.
  - **2.** Preferring alliance to conquest, Philip was compelled to crush a Greek alliance headed by Athens at Chaeronea (338 B.C.).
  - **3.** Philip organized the Greek *polei*s into a panhellenic league, assuring their autonomy under his leadership in a war against Persia.
  - **4.** Assassinated in 336 B.C., Philip was succeeded by his son, Alexander III, who quickly secured Greece and invaded Persian Anatolia.
- **B.** Alexander the Great, the greatest military genius of all time, invaded Asia Minor in 334 B.C. By the time of his death, he had conquered the Persian Empire and northwestern India.
  - **1.** At the Battle of the Granicus, Alexander annihilated the Persian field army and shattered Persian control over Anatolia.
  - **2.** The Greeks of Asia hailed Alexander as liberator, and the young king won over the native peoples of Anatolia.
  - **3.** At Gordium, Alexander solved the famed knot and posed as heir to King Midas. Miraculous events were attributed to Alexander throughout his march over Asia Minor.
  - **4.** At Issus (333 B.C.), Alexander defeated King Darius III.
  - **5.** At Arbela (331 B.C.), Alexander destroyed the last Persian royal army and overran Iran in the next four years.
  - **6.** Alexander viewed himself as a Hellene, and he was reared on the deeds of his ancestors, Achilles and Heracles.
  - **7.** Alexander intended the *polis* to serve as cultural and administrative unit of his world empire, but he planned to create a new royal administrative class from the elites of Macedon and Persia.
  - **8.** Alexander adapted Persian court ceremony, thereby alienating traditional Macedonian nobility.
  - **9.** Alexander demanded veneration by his allies and subjects and interfered in the affairs of his Greek allies.
  - **10.** Alexander was unable to reconcile his four distinct roles as elected captain of the Hellenic league, king of Macedon, lord of Asia, and pharaoh of Egypt. By his death, he had alienated his Greek allies, who rebelled under Athens in the Lamian War.

II. The partition of Alexander's empire by his generals ended political unity, but the wars of Alexander's successors, the Diadochoi, propelled the Near East into the Hellenistic age.

A. At his death in Babylon in 323 B.C., Alexander left a succession crisis to his generals, because his sole male heirs were a posthumous son, Alexander IV, and his half-wit half-brother, Philip III.

1. Ptolemy and Lysimachus, satraps of Egypt and Thrace, fought for partition.

2. By 316 B.C., the royal Argead family was defunct.

3. Antigonus the One-eyed, satrap of Anatolia, and his dashing son Demetrius Poliorcetes ("Besieger of Cities"), aspired to unite the Alexandrine Empire.

4. At Ipsus (301 B.C.), Lysimachus and Seleucus, satraps of Babylon, defeated and slew Antigonus, thereby ensuring partition of Alexander's empire.

5. After a second round of wars, three territorial kingdoms under Macedonian generals emerged: Antigonid Macedon, the Seleucid Empire in Asia, and the Ptolemiac Empire based in Egypt.

B. This partition into three territorial kingdoms endured until the arrival of the Romans. From 301 to 275 B.C., however, the arrival of the Gauls created new complications.

1. In 301–281 B.C., Lysimachus reigned over western Asia Minor, Thrace, and Macedon and exercised hegemony over the Greek homeland.

2. In 281–279 B.C., Celtic-speaking Gauls invaded Anatolia but were driven into Galatia (northwestern Phrygia).

3. Asia Minor fragmented from 279 to 190 B.C.

C. Alexander's conquest resulted in many Greek cities, particularly those in Ionia, regaining their freedom.

1. Native cities, such as those in Lydia, Caria, and the southeast, passed as *poleis* to win rights and privileges.

2. Greek cities constructed formidable walls that deterred mercenary armies fighting for Macedonian kings.

3. Wars brought profits and promoted city life.

4. Even the Galatians were incorporated into the Hellenistic political order of Asia Minor.

III. Asia Minor, already divided among competing Macedonian kings and Anatolian dynasts, fragmented even further when the Celtic Galatians crossed the Bosporus in 279–278 B.C.

A. None of the great monarchies—Ptolemaic, Seleucid, or Antigonid—could impose order.

1. The Seleucid kings, based in the Syrian capital of Antioch, held the western lands of Lydia and Phrygia and strategic highways linking these lands to Cilicia in southeastern Asia Minor. They never imposed effective control over the Aegean and Mediterranean shores.

2. The Ptolemies, with their navy, exercised a loose control over the Ionian and Pamphylian shores and Greek islands and allied with Rhodes and Lycians.

3. Antigonid kings of Macedon could never regain Asia Minor.

4. Powerful Anatolian or Iranian dynasts in eastern and northern Anatolia carved out their own kingdoms, notably Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. The dynast Philetaerus established his own kingdom at Pergamum.

5. Dynasts promoted the trappings of a Greek state and built Hellenic-style capitals in a bid for legitimacy.

6. Attalid kings turned Pergamum into a showcase of Greek sculpture. Their rivals in Cappadocia and Pontus posed as philhellenic kings.

B. Because Greek cities enjoyed prosperity and a measure of independence, Anatolian cities and temple towns transformed themselves into *poleis*. By 200 B.C., the Hellenized city was the primary cultural, political, and religious center of Asia Minor.

1. Greek replaced Aramaic as the commercial language.

2. Greek cities accommodated powerful Hellenistic kings by means of treaties of alliance and cults venerating monarchs as benefactors or even "gods."

3. Greek and Hellenized cities of Asia Minor acquired powerful political, religious, and cultural identities. None was tied to the destinies of the Hellenistic monarchies so that many looked to Rome for protection from kings.

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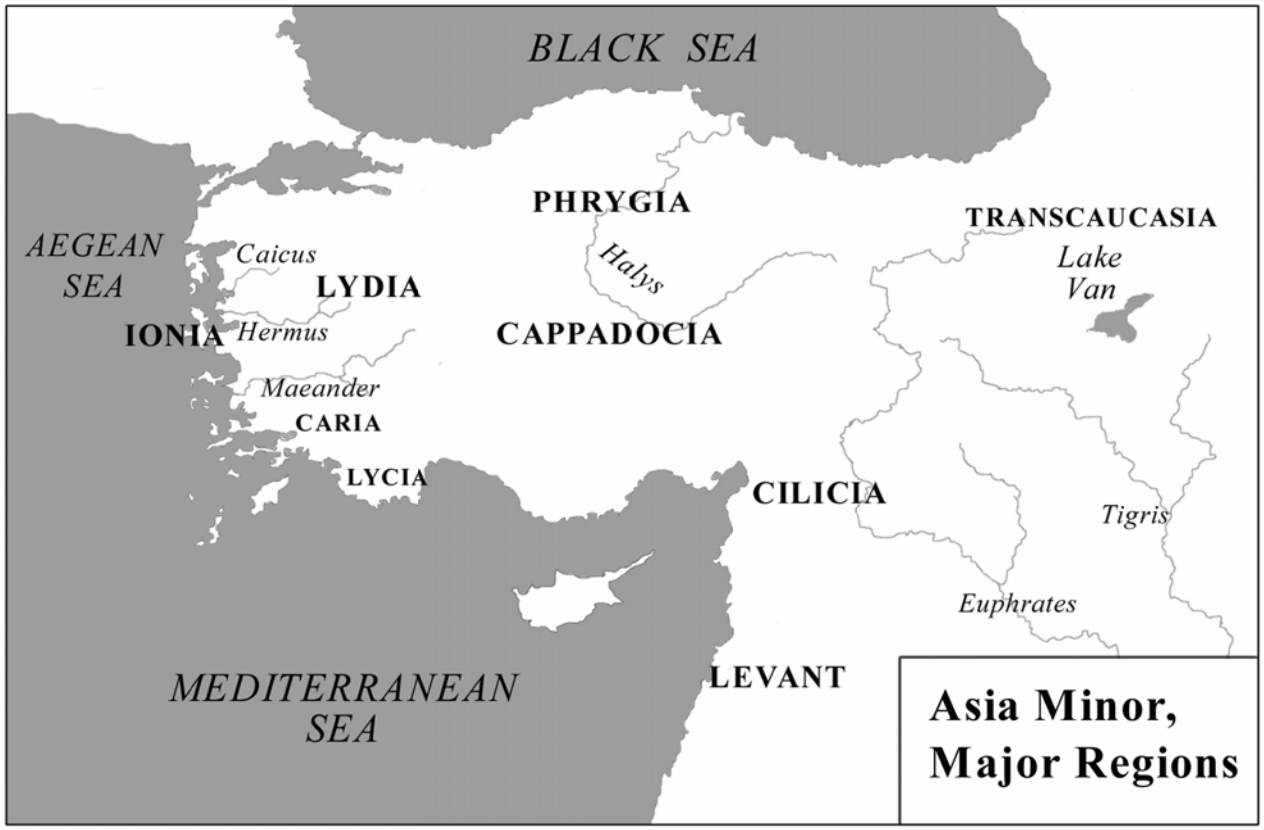
Questions to Consider:

1. How complete was Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor? How did Alexander envision the administration of his world empire?
2. How did political disunity and wars among Alexander's successors play to the advantage of Greek cities of Asia Minor?



Timeline

B.C.

13,000–9000	Neolithic hunters domesticate pig and berries in eastern Anatolia
7000–4500	Neolithic villages emerge in Anatolia, Levant, and Iran; domestication of grains, cattle, sheep, and goats
6000–5500	Çatal Hüyük on Konya plain, major Neolithic settlement
4500–3500	Chalcolithic Age: metallurgy and ceramics in Anatolian villages
3500–3100	Cities and cuneiform writing in Sumer (southern Iraq); Sumerian merchants active across the Near East; transmission of urban civilization from Sumer to Near East
2800–2600	Emergence of Minoan civilization at Cnossus on Crete
2600–2300	Royal centers at Troy II and Alaca Hüyük
c. 2300	Destruction of royal centers at Troy II and Alaca Hüyük; migration of Hittite-speaking peoples into Anatolia (2300–2100 B.C.)
c. 2200–1600	Kings of Cnossus unite Crete; apex of Minoan seaborne commerce
c. 1900	Migration of proto-Greek-speaking peoples into Greek peninsula; Assyrian merchant colonies in eastern Asia Minor
c. 1680	King Labarnaš I (1680–1650 B.C.) founds the Hittite kingdom
c. 1650	Hattušiliš I (1650–1620 B.C.) founds Hittite capital of Hattušaš; Hittite expansion into Kizzuwadna (Cilicia) and Syria
c. 1600–1400	Achaean lords (*wanakes*) construct palace cities of Greece; Minoan cultural influence in Greece; invention of Linear B script
1595	King Mursiliš I (1620–1590 B.C.) sacks Babylon
1590–1360	Fragmenting of Hittite kingdom; Hurrian cultural influence in Anatolia
1457	Battle of Meggido: Pharaoh Thutmose III (1479–1426 B.C.) defeats Canaanite princes and founds Egyptian Empire in the Levant
1400	Achaean (Mycenaean) Greeks capture Cnossus
1352	Accession of Akhenaton (1352–1335 B.C.), heretic pharaoh of Egypt; monotheistic religious reforms and civil unrest in Egypt
1344	Suppiluliumas I (1344–1322 B.C.) restores Hittite power in Anatolia, defeats Mitanni, and conquers northern Syria
1320–1319	Mursiliš II (1321–1295 B.C.) crushes Arzawa and clashes with Achaeans over their colony at Mitawata (Miletus)
1275	Battle of Kadesh between Pharaoh Ramses II (1279–1212 B.C.) and Hittite King Muwatalliš I (1295–1272 B.C.).
1267–1237	Hattušališ III expands Hattušaš and dedicates sanctuary of Yazılıkaya; reorganization of Hittite pantheon by Hattušališ III and Queen Pudahepa
1259	Treaty between Hattusšališ III and Pharaoh Ramses II
1250	Achaeans sack of Troy VI (Hittite Wiluysa,) the Homeric city
1230–1190	Building programs at Hittite capital Hattušaš; completion of rock-carved reliefs at Yazılıkaya

1225–1180	Sack of the great palaces on Greek mainland (except Athens); collapse of Mycenaean civilization: the Greek Dark Age (1225–750 B.C.)
1190–1150	Sack of Hattušaš: civil war and fragmenting of Hittite Empire; neo-Hittite dynasts carve out kingdoms in eastern Anatolia and Syria
c. 1150–1000	Phrygians migrate from the Balkans into central Anatolia; Aramaeans migrate into Syria and upper Mesopotamia; spread of iron technology: early Iron Age (1150–550 B.C.)
c. 950	Phrygian kings establish capital at Gordium and unite Anatolian plateau; cultural flourishing of Neo-Hittite kingdoms (950–750 B.C.); emergence of Urartu (Armenia) at Tuspha on Lake Van
911–745	Assyrian kings conduct predatory imperialism in Near East
c. 750	Composition of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* by Homer
745–727	Tiglath-Pilser III of Assyria (745–727 B.C.) forges Assyrian Empire
c. 725–700	*Theogony* and *Works and Days* of Hesiod; adoption of hoplite warfare; emergence of *polis* in Greek world; Greeks settle colonies overseas throughout Mediterranean world; Near Eastern cultural influence on nascent Greek world
c. 725–696	Midas of Phrygia constructs royal tumuli at Gordium
705–690	Cimmerians invade Anatolia and shatter Phrygian power
c. 680–550	Age of tyrants and lyric poets in Greek world; rise of Corinth, Samos, and Miletus as leading commercial cities; intellectual and artistic zenith of Ionian Greeks
676	Constitutional reform at Sparta, which emerges as leading Greek state
650	King Gyges of Lydia (650–625 B.C.) expels Cimmerians; Lydians mint the first electrum coins
610–600	King Alyattes of Lydia (610–561 B.C.) subjects Ionian cities except Miletus
561–546	King Croesus sponsors Hellenization of Lydian court at Sardes; Carians and Lycians adapt Hellenic material culture and arts
559–530	King Cyrus of Persia (559–530 B.C.); Achaemenid (Persian) Empire
546	Cyrus conquers Lydia and the Ionian cities
508	Establishment of Athenian democracy
499–494	Ionian Revolt
490	Battle of Marathon: Athenians defeat the Persian invasion
480	King Xerxes (486–465 B.C.) invades Greece; Battle of Salamis: decisive Greek naval victory over Xerxes
479	Battles of Plataea and Mycale; Ionian Greeks rebel from Persian rule
477	Athenians organize Delian League and lead naval war against Persia (477–449 B.C.); Sparta withdraws to the Peloponnesus
461	Triumph of radical democracy at Athens under Pericles; Pericles (461–429 B.C.) transforms Delian League into Athenian Empire
449	Peace between Athens and King Artaxerxes I (465–423 B.C.); Artaxerxes recognizes the loss of Ionia and the islands
431–404	Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta
412	Spartan-Persian alliance against Athens concluded at Miletus

408–404 ..... Cyrus the Younger and Spartan navarch Lysander defeat Athens

404 ..... Surrender of Athens to the Spartans: end of Athenian Empire

401–399 ..... The March of the Ten Thousand

400–396 ..... War between Sparta and Persia

396–386 ..... Corinthian War

386 ..... Peace of Antalcidas (King's Peace): Ionia is returned to Persian rule

377–353 ..... Dynast Mausoleus promotes Hellenic arts and institutions in Caria

359–336 ..... Accession of Philip II makes Macedon arbiter of the Hellenic world

338 ..... Battle of Chaeronea: decisive victory of Philip II over Greeks

336 ..... Accession of Alexander the Great, king of Macedon (336–323 B.C.)

334–333 ..... Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) conquers Asia Minor by victories at the Granicus and Issus

331–326 ..... Alexander conquers Iran, central Asia, and northern India

323 ..... Death of Alexander the Great: succession crisis in Macedonian Empire; Greek colonization and commercial penetration of Near East; birth of Hellenistic world (323–331 B.C.)

323–301 ..... Wars of the Diadochoi (successors of Alexander the Great)

301 ..... Battle of Ipsus: partition of Alexandrine Empire; Ptolemy I (323–283 B.C.) rules Egypt, Palestine, and Coele-Syria; Seleucus I (312–281 B.C.) rules Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran; Lysimachus rules over Thrace and western Asia Minor; Cassander rules in Macedon

281 ..... Battle of Corupedium: Seleucus I defeats Lysimachus and conquers western Asia Minor

281–277 ..... Galatians (Celts) invade Macedon, Greece, and western Asia Minor; Philetaerus founds Attalid dynasty at Pergamum in northwestern Asia Minor

201–197 ..... Second Macedonian War: Rome defeats King Philip V of Macedon

192–188 ..... War of Rome against Seleucid King Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.)

190 ..... Battle of Magnesia: decisive Roman victory over Antiochus III

180 ..... Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) commissions the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum

133 ..... Pergamum willed to Rome as province of Asia by Attalus III; Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus uses Asia's revenues to fund reform at Rome

120–90 ..... Repeated constitutional crises and unrest at Rome

92 ..... Trial of P. Rutilius Rufus marks failure to reform Asia by Roman Senate

90–85 ..... First Mithridatic War

85 ..... L. Cornelius Sulla imposes peace on Mithridates VI; renewed Roman exploitation of Asia Minor (85–70 B.C.)

74–63 ..... Third Mithridatic War

63 ..... Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey) reorganizes provinces of Roman East

49–45 ..... Roman civil war and dictatorship of Julius Caesar (48–44 B.C.)

44–42 ..... Roman civil war of Octavian and Mark Antony against Liberators

31	Battle of Actium: Octavian defeats Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII; Octavian restores the cities of the Roman east
27 B.C.–14 A.D.	Octavian, the Emperor Augustus, creates the Principate
25 B.C.	Imperial cult temple to Augustus at Pergamum

A.D.

17	Great earthquake of Asia Minor: massive relief by Emperor Tiberius
48–65	Saint Paul establishes churches in Asia Minor and Greece
98–117	Reign of Trajan (98–117): height of the Roman peace (*pax Romana*); surges in public building across Asia Minor (100–225); second Sophistic literary movement in Roman east
123–124	First Visit of Hadrian (117–138) to cities of Asia Minor; rebuilding of sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamum
125	Hadrian announces Panhellenion at Athens, a Greek religious league
129	Second visit of Hadrian to Asia Minor
c. 155–165	Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna; Alexander of Abonouteichus creates the cult of Glycon
161–180	Reign of Marcus Aurelius: first signs of frontier stress
193	Accession of Septimius Severus (193–235), last stable dynasty of Rome; prosperity and widespread building programs in Asia Minor; visit of Caracalla (211–217) to sanctuary of Asclepius, Pergamum
235	Civil war and barbarian invasions
250–251	Great persecution of Trajan Decius (249–251)
260	Defeat and capture of Valerian I (253–260) by Shah Shapur I; fragmentation of Roman Empire (260–274)
270–275	Accession of Aurelian: restoration of imperial unity
c. 270–280	Accession of Diocletian (284–305): return of stability and prosperity; administrative, fiscal, and monetary reforms; inception of Dominate (late Roman Empire)
312	Battle of Milvian Bridge; conversion of Constantine to Christianity
324	Constantine reunites Roman world after civil wars (305–324)
325	First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea
330	Dedication of Constantinople as the Christian New Rome; birth of Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire
381	Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople
391–392	Theodosius I proclaims Nicene Christianity Rome's official faith
395	Division of Roman Empire between Honorius (395–421) in the west and Arcadius (395–408) in the east
398–405	Patriarchate of John Chrysostom at Constantinople
413–414	Construction of the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople; rebuilding of Hagia Sophia and vast expansion of Constantinople
431	Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus
451	Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon

527–565	Reign of Justinian
532	Nike Revolt and Great Fire at Constantinople; Justinian rebuilds Constantinople (532–537)
535–552	Gothic War: the reconquest of Italy
537	Dedication of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople
542–544	Plague ravages Near East and Europe: demographic collapse (542–750)
565–610	Collapse of Justinian's empire because of Persians, Lombards in Italy, and Avars and Slavs into the Balkans
610–641	Heraclius (610–641) defeats Persians; transformation of the late Roman Empire (or Dominate) into the middle Byzantine Empire (610–1204)
632	Unification of Arabia by Muhammad under Islam
636–642	Arabs conquer Byzantine Syria and Egypt and the Persian Empire; beginning of the Byzantine Dark Age (641–867)
c. 650	Creation of the theme organization in Asia Minor; decline of classical cities in Anatolia
674–677	Constantine IV (668–685) defeats First Arabic Siege of Constantinople
711–717	Fall of the dynasty of Heraclius; Leo III (717–741) establishes Isaurian Dynasty
717–718	Second Arabic Siege of Constantinople
726	Outbreak of First Iconoclastic Controversy (726–787)
787	Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea restores the worship of icons
815–843	Second Iconoclastic Controversy
842–867	Michael III, "the Drunkard" (842–867), initiates imperial recovery; Renaissance in arts and classical letters
867	Basil I (867–886) establishes the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056); endowment of the University of Constantinople
913–957	Constantine VII (913–957) sponsors the revival of arts and letters
919–921	King Gagik II of Vaspurakan dedicates church at Aght'amar, Lake Van
922	Romanus I initiates imperial land reform (922–1025)
923–1025	Macedonian reconquest of eastern Anatolia, northern Syria, and Armenia; finest painted rock-cut churches of Cappadoia
976–1025	Reign of Basil II, "the Bulgar-slayer" (976–1025), crushes the Anatolian nobility and conquers Bulgaria
1025–1056	Repeated succession crises and rising corruption; end of expansion on frontiers and imperial land legislation
1055	Sultan Tughril Bey of the Seljuk Turks enters Baghdad; restoration of Abbasid power under Turkish protection in the Near East
1056–1078	Rivalry between Byzantine court and military aristocracy; Seljuk Turks raid Armenia and Anatolia
1071	Battle of Manzikert: defeat of Romanus IV by Sultan Alp Arslan; migration of Seljuk Turks into Asia Minor (1071–1078); founding of Turkish Sultanate of Rum at Konya in central Anatolia
1081	Alexius I (1081–1118) establishes the Comnenian Dynasty (1081–1185)

1095–1099	First Crusade
1118–1143	John II seeks to impose authority over Crusader state
1143–1180	Manuel I: zenith of Comnenian power
1146–1148	Second Crusade
1176	Battle of Myriocephalon: Seljuk Turks defeat Manuel I; Byzantine withdrawal from central Anatolia; emergence of a Turkish, Muslim civilization in Anatolia (1180–1300)
1204	Crusaders sack Constantinople and carve out feudal principalities in Greece; Greek splinter empires founded in Epirus and at Nicaea and Trebizond
1219–1236	Sultan Kaykubad unites Turkish Anatolia; caravan network and Muslim silver coinage mark growing prosperity; Turkomen tribes and Muslims of Iran and Iraq flee the Mongols to Anatolia
1238–1263	Manuel I, emperor of Trebizond, constructs his Hagia Sophia
1243	Battle of Köse Dağ: Mongols shatter the Sultanate of Konya; disintegration of Sultanate of Konya (1243–1308); Jalal ud-Din Rumi, "Mevlana" (c. 1205–1277), initiates Islamization of Anatolia
1261	Michael VIII enters Constantinople and restores Byzantine power in Europe
1290–1320	Rise of Ottoman Turks in northwestern Turkey
1315–1321	Rebuilding and decoration of Church of Savior in Chora (Kariye Camii)
1326	Accession of Sultan Orhan (1326–1362); Bursa (Prusa) founded as first Ottoman capital
1337	Orhan proclaimed sultan
1354–1356	Ottoman Turks enter Europe to establish Edirne (Adrianople) as capital
1389	Sultan Bayezit the Thunderbolt defeats Serbians at Kossovo; Ottoman conquest of Balkans (1389–1396)
1430–1460	Flowering of Byzantine arts and Platonism; migration of Byzantine scholars and artists to western Europe
1451	Accession of Mehmet II, "the Conqueror" (1451–1481)
1453	Siege and capture of Constantinople by Mehmet II; birth of the Porte, the Ottoman imperial government of Constantinople; initiation of the Topkapı Palace complex (1453–1595)
1463–1470	Construction of Fatih Camii (Conqueror's Mosque); accession of Selim I, "the Grim" (1512–1520); Selim I conquers Mamluk Syria and Egypt
1517	Selim as caliph transforms Constantinople into the center of Sunni Islam
1520	Accession of Suleiman I, "the Magnificent" (1520–1566)
1529	First Siege of Vienna
1533	Sultan Suleiman I conquers Baghdad
1550–1557	Sinan designs and constructs Suleimaniye
1609–1616	Construction of Sultan Ahmet Camii (Blue Mosque)

Biographical Notes

Aelius Aristides (117–185 A.D.). Orator and sophist, citizen of Smyrna (modern Izmir), whose writing epitomizes the Second Sophistic movement.

Agesilaus II (399–360 B.C.). King of Sparta who presided over the rise and fall of the Spartan hegemony.

Akhenaton (1352–1335 B.C.). The heretic pharaoh who ascended the throne as Amenhotep III. His monotheistic religious reforms plunged Egypt into civil war.

Alcaeus (c. 650–625 B.C.). Greek lyric poet of Mytilene.

Alexander III, the Great (336–323 B.C.). King of Macedon and son of Philip II. The greatest of generals, he conquered the Persian Empire and transformed the face of the ancient world.

Alexander of Abonouteichus (c. 120–180 A.D.). Charlatan philosopher who founded the cult of the serpent god Glycon in northern Asia Minor.

Alexius I Comenus (Emperor, 1081–1118). Scion of a military family, Alexius seized power and established the last effective dynasty of the middle Byzantine state.

Alp Arslan. Second sultan of the Seljuk Turks (1063–1072), who defeated Romanus IV at Manzikert (1071), opening Anatolia to Turkish conquest and colonization.

Andronicus II (Emperor, 1282–1337). The second Palaeologan emperor and a devout Orthodox whose reign marked the demise of Byzantine power.

Anna Comnena (1083–1153). Daughter of the emperor Alexius I, she composed the *Alexiad*, a history of the first order.

Antigonus I Monophthlamos, "the One-eyed" (316–301 B.C.). Senior general of Alexander the Great whose defeat and death at Ipsus ensured the partition of the Macedonian Empire.

Antigonus II Gonatas (283–239 B.C.). Son of Demetrius I, he seized the Macedonian throne and founded the Antigonid dynasty that ruled to 168 B.C.

Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.). The last great king of the Seleucid Empire, who was decisively defeated by Romans at Magnesia (190 B.C.).

Antony, Marc (Marcus Antonius, c. 83–30 B.C.). Lieutenant of Julius Caesar and triumvir in 44–31 B.C., he ruled the Roman east after 44 B.C. His defeat at Actium and subsequent suicide marked the end of the Roman civil wars.

Apollonius of Rhodes (c. 300–250 B.C.). Composed a learned epic about Jason and the Argonauts (*Argonautica)* typical of the Hellenistic age.

Arcadius (Emperor, 395–408). The weak-willed son of Theodosius I, he succeeded as eastern Roman emperor.

Archilochus (c. 680 B.C.). Mercenary and brilliant lyric poet who penned the first individual poems.

Atatürk, Kemal Mustafa (1881–1938). Hero of Gallipoli and decorated Ottoman general, Atatürk founded the modern Turkish Republic in 1923–1938.

Augustus (C. Julius Caesar Octavianus; born, 63 B.C.; Roman emperor, 27 B.C.–14 A.D.). The brilliant adopted son of the dictator Julius Caesar, Octavian assumed the name Augustus in recognition for his restoration of the Republic. In reality, he founded the Principate.

Aurelian (Emperor, 270–275). "Restorer of the Roman world." An Illyrian general, Aurelian restored unity to the Roman Empire, initiating the recovery that culminated with Diocletian.

Basil I, "the Macedonian" (867–886). Of humble origin, Basil seized power in a court plot and founded the Macedonian dynasty, which presided over the political recovery and cultural renaissance of the middle Byzantine state.

Basil II, "Bulgar-slayer" (976–1025). One of the greatest medieval warrior kings, Basil II broke the power of the eastern military families, legislated on behalf of the poor and soldiers, and conquered Bulgaria.

Bayezit I, "the Thunderbolt" (Ottoman sultan, 1389–1402). Assured Ottoman rule in the Balkans by his victories at Kossovo (1389) and Nicopolis (1396). He was defeated and captured by the Mongol conqueror Tamerlane, "Prince of Destruction."

Bohemond (c. 1056–1111). Norman prince and leading general of the First Crusade, Bohemond kept the city of Antioch and ruled thereafter as prince in opposition to Alexius I.

Caracalla (211–217). Roman emperor. The savage son of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, he patronized the sanctuaries of Asia Minor, notably the Asclepieion of Pergamum.

Cleopatra VII (51–30 B.C.). Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt who established liaisons with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony to secure the independence of her kingdom.

Constantine I, "the Great" (Emperor, 306–337). Declared emperor by the western army, he reunited the Roman Empire in 324. The first Christian emperor, he summoned the First Ecumenical Council (325) and built at Constantinople (330).

Constantine V (Emperor, 741–775). Son of Leo III and the second Isaurian emperor, he was a convinced Iconoclast who attacked monasteries.

Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus (Emperor, 913–959). A learned and generous Macedonian emperor, he patronized arts and letters, while his father-in-law, Romanus I Lecapenus (919–944), handled matters of state.

Constantine IX Monomachus (Emperor, 1042–1055). Third husband of the Empress Zoe, he patronized arts but otherwise neglected affairs of state and indulged bureaucratic corruption.

Constantine XI Palaeologus (1448–1453). The last Byzantine emperor. He heroically led the defense of Constantinople against Mehmet II in 1453.

Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, **Lucius** (Consul, 190 B.C.). Brother of the famous Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus who had defeated Hannibal, Lucius defeated Antiochus III at Magensia.

Croesus (561–546 B.C.). Philhellene king of Lydia remembered for his legendary wealth and patronage of Greek shrines. He was defeated by King Cyrus of Persia.

Cypselus. The tyrant of Corinth in 657–625 B.C., he broke the power of the aristocracy, championed the hoplite class, and developed trade and public life.

Cyrus I (559–530 B.C.). First Achaemenid king of Persia who conquered the Lydian and Babylonian empires.

Cyrus the Younger (d. 401 B.C.). The younger son of Darius II (465–423 B.C.), Cyrus directed Persian forces against Athens in 404–404 B.C., but he was slain at Cunaxa in a bid to seize the throne.

Darius I (521–486 B.C.). King of Persia who organized imperial administration and crushed the Ionian Revolt (499–494 B.C.)

Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 B.C.). The dashing but erratic son of Antigonus I, Demetrius escaped from Ipsus. Briefly king of Macedon (293–289 B.C.), he fell into the hands of Seleucus in an ill-considered invasion of Asia Minor and ended his life in captivity.

Dio Chrysostom (c. 40–112 A.D.). A philosopher and orator of Prusa, Dio was celebrated for his writings, which epitomized the Second Sophistic movement.

Diocletian (Emperor, 284–305). A humble Dalmatian soldier, he was declared emperor by the eastern army. Diocletian ended the crisis of the third century and retired in 305. His administrative, monetary, and fiscal reforms established the Dominate or late Roman state. His Tetrarchy, the college of four rulers, proved less successful.

Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.). Attalid king of Pergamum who allied with Rome and commissioned the Great Altar of Zeus.

Eusebius. Bishop of Caesarea (260–340) from 314 and friend of the emperor Constantine. He composed important theological works as well as the first *Ecclesiastical History*, the prime source for early Christianity.

Gracchus, **Tiberius**, and **Gaius Sempronius**. Roman reformers and plebian tribunes in 133 and 123–121 B.C., respectively. Their legislation and violent deaths marked the beginning of the Roman revolution. They also legislated on the administration and taxation of Asia.

Hadrian (117–138). Cousin and adopted son of Trajan, Hadrian proved a brilliant architect and tireless traveler, who patronized the cities of the Roman east.

Hattušališ I (1650–1620 B.C.). The second Hittite king, he founded the capital Hattušaš and expanded into Syria.

Hattušališ III (1267–1237 B.C.). Younger brother of Muwatalliš (1295–1272 B.C.) who overthrew his nephew Urhi-Teshub (Muršiliš III, 1272–1267 B.C.).

Hecataeus of Miletus. Ionian geographer and natural philosopher who produced the first known map of the world in c. 500 B.C.

Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 500 B.C.). The so-called "Weeping Philosopher" who offered a cosmology based on a theory of dynamic equilibrium of all matter.

Heraclius (Emperor, 610–641). Heraclius seized the throne in the darkest hours of the last Byzantine-Persian War. He waged brilliant campaigns in 622–626 that destroyed Persian power, but his efforts failed as the Muslim armies overran Syria and Egypt after 634.

Herodotus (c. 490–430 B.C.). Hailed as the father of history, he was born at Halicarnassus and traveled throughout the Persian Empire. He wrote his history dealing with the wars between the Greeks and Persians.

Hesiod (c. 700 B.C.). Poet of Boeotia (central Greece), he wrote in epic meter the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. The first epic recounts the myths of the Greek gods; the second was a cry for *dike* (justice) in the early Greek *polis* (city-state).

Homer (c. 750 B.C.). Reputedly a native of Smyrna, this blind poet was credited with the composition of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*.

Honorius (Emperor, 395–421). The younger son of Theodosius I, he succeeded to the western empire, and his reign witnessed the collapse of the northwestern frontiers and the sack of Rome in 410.

Ignatius. Saint and bishop of Antioch (c. 107 A.D.), he wrote seven letters that offer the first insight into the authority and role of bishops in apostolic churches.

Irene (Empress, 797–802). Mother of Constantine VI, she restored veneration of icons at the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787). Her overthrow and blinding of her son led Pope Leo III to crown Charlemagne (768–814) Holy Roman Emperor in 800.

Isaac I Comnenus (Emperor, 1057–1059). He was proclaimed by the eastern army, but when he failed to reform the corrupt bureaucracy, he retired to monastic life.

John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople (398–405). A brilliant orator, he asserted the primacy of Constantinople over the eastern churches and clashed with the emperor Arcadius.

John II Comnenus (Emperor, 1118–1143). Son of Alexius I, this able emperor imposed his authority over the Crusader princes of Antioch and the zupans of Serbia.

Julius Caesar, Gaius (c. 101–44 B.C.). Statesman, general, and author, Julius Caesar championed the popular cause in the late republic. As proconsul of Gaul, he forged an invincible army and overthrew the republic in a civil war (49–45 B.C.). His dictatorship marked the birth of a Roman monarchy, but his disregard for republican conventions led to his assassination.

Julia Domna (d. 217). The beautiful and intelligent wife of Septimius Severus (193–2110), she was the daughter of a Greco-Syrian senatorial family and presided over a court of savants and artists.

Justinian I, "the Great" (Emperor, 527–565). He succeeded his uncle and adoptive father, Justin I, as a mature, experienced ruler of forty-six. The greatest emperor since Constantine, he restored imperial rule in Italy and Africa. His most enduring achievements are Hagia Sophia and the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.

Labarnaš I (1680–1650 B.C.). First king of the Hittites who imposed his authority over the land of Hatti, central Anatolia.

Leo III, "Isaurian" (Emperor, 717–741). First of the Isaurian emperors, he proved an able diplomat and *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme. Declared emperor by the eastern army, Leo repelled the second Arabic siege of Constantinople (717–718) and, in 726, issued his edict against icons, initiating the Iconoclastic Controversy.

Louis VII. King of France (1137–1180) and first husband of Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122–1204), he led the French contingent on the Second Crusade. His army suffered privations and losses during the march over Asia Minor, and his failure to capture Damascus put the Crusader states in jeopardy.

Lucullus, **Lucius Lucullus** (c. 105–63 B.C.). A lieutenant of Sulla and consul in 73 B.C., Lucullus defeated Mithridates VI of Pontus and reformed the province of Asia.

Lysander. Navarch of Sparta (408–404 B.C.), he cooperated with Cyrus the Younger to defeat Athens, but he was ousted from power by King Agesilaus II. He fell at the battle of Haliartus (395 B.C.).

Lysimachus (c. 360–281 B.C.). A leading general of Alexander the Great, he succeeded to the satrapy of Thrace in 323 B.C. From 301 B.C., he ruled western Asia Minor, as well.

Manlius Vulso, **Gnaeus**. The consul of 189 B.C., he campaigned a ruthless war against the Galatians and exploited the cities of Asia Minor.

Manuel I Comnenus (Emperor, 1143–1180). Grandson of Alexius I, he was defeated by the Seljuk Turks at Myriocephalon (1176), which marked the Byzantine retreat from central Anatolia.

Mausollus (377–353 B.C.). Hecatomnid dynast of Caria who promoted Hellenic arts, rebuilt the shrine of Labranda, and commissioned his mausoleum at Halicarnassus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

Mehmet II, the Conqueror (1451–1481). Son of Sultan Murad II (1421–1451), he captured Constantinople in 1453, the natural capital of his emerging Ottoman Empire. He conquered the sundry Turkish emirates of Asia Minor and the Byzantine principalities of Mistra (1460) and Trebizond (1461).

Mevlana (c. 1205–1277). Born as **Jalal ud-Din Rumi**, this Persian mystic and poet founded the Mevlevi mystical order of Sufism whose members, "the Deverishers," converted Anatolia into a Muslim land by 1350.

Michael III, "the Drunkard" (842–867). The last Amorian emperor, he succeeded as an infant under the regency of his mother, Theodora, who restored the icons at the Synod of Constantinople (843).

Michael VIII Paeologus (Emperor, 1258–1282). Nicene general, he usurped the throne from the infant John IV and reoccupied Constantinople in 1261. He courted western aid by adopting Catholicism at the Council of Lyons (1274) and restored imperial rule in Europe at the expense of the Anatolian provinces.

Midas (c. 725–696 B.C.). Philhellene king of Phrygia, he opposed Assyrian King Sargon II and constructed the great tumulus of Gordium.

Mithridates VI Eupator (120–63 B.C.). This brilliant king of Pontus twice challenged Roman rule in Asia Minor in 90–85 and 74–63 B.C.

Muršiliš I (1620–1590 B.C). King of the Hittites who consolidated the Syrian conquests and sacked Babylon.

Muršiliš II (1321–1295 B.C.). King of the Hittites who defeated Arzawa and subjected the Achaean colony Milawata (Miletus).

Muwatalliš (1295–1272 B.C.). This Hittite king checked Pharaoh Ramses II at Kadesh (1275 B.C.) and so assured Hittite power in Syria.

Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969). Scion of a leading Anatolian family, he assumed the regency for the brothers Basil II and Constantine VIII. An indomitable warrior against the Arabs.

Octavian, see **Augustus**.

Orhan (1324–1360). The son of **Osman** (1281–1324), eponymous founder of the Ottomans, he forged the Ottoman state in northwestern Anatolia. He was hailed sultan in 1337 and, at his death, the Ottomans had secured the Thracian hinterland of Constantinople and, thus, were a Balkan power, as well.

Periander. Tyrant of Corinth and son of Cypeslus (625–585 B.C.), he ruled harshly, ensuring the downfall of the tyranny.

Pericles (c. 495–429 B.C.). Athenian statesman, he led the Athenian democracy from 461 B.C. and presided over the height of Athenian civilization. A convinced imperialist, he turned the Delian League into the Athenian Empire.

Philetaerus (c. 343–263 B.C.). Eunuch general, he was appointed the commander of Pergamum by Lysimachus, but he defected to Seleucus in 281 B.C., then established himself as an independent dynast and instituted the Attalid monarchy.

Philip II (359–336 B.C.). As brilliant king of Macedon in his own right, Philip was the father of Alexander the Great. Philip transformed Macedon into the leading Hellenic power and united the Greek city-states into a league aimed against Persia.

Philip V (223–179 B.C.). The irascible Antigonid king of Macedon, he clashed twice with Rome in 215–205 and 200–197 B.C. His defeat at Cynocephalae (197 B.C.) marked the end of Antigonid rule over the Greek world.

Photius. Patriarch of Constantinople (858–867; 876–886), he ran afoul of the emperor Basil I. Photius possessed a versatile mind and revived serious study of Plato.

Pliny the Younger (C. Caeilius Plinus Secundus, 61–112 A.D.). A Roman senator from northern Italy and adopted son of the famous naturalist, Pliny penned letters to the Emperor Trajan that reveal the workings of civic life in Asia Minor during the Roman peace.

Plutarch (c. 50–120 A.D.). A native of Chaeronea, Plutarch was a prodigious scholar, writing the parallel biographies of noble Greeks and Romans and numerous philosophical works.

Polycarp. This saint and bishop of Smyrna was martyred at an uncertain date during a persecution (c. 150–165 A.D.). He established the role of bishops in apostolic churches and was in the forefront of fixing canon by editing books of the New Testament.

Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, 106–48 B.C.). The most talented of Sulla's lieutenants, Pompey rose to be the most celebrated general of the late republic by a series of extraordinary commands. He sided with the Senate against Julius Caesar in 49 B.C., was defeated at Pharsalus (48 B.C.), and fled to Egypt, where he was murdered.

Psellus, Michael (1018–1096). Philosopher, courtier, and monk, he penned the *Chronographia*, a lurid account of emperors following Basil II. His protege, Michael VII, proved unfit for imperial rule.

Ptolemy I (367–283 B.C.). A leading general of Alexander, he was appointed satrap of Egypt in 323 B.C. Ptolemy, king from 316 B.C., established the senior Hellenistic dynasty.

Pythagoras of Samos (fl. c. 560–525 B.C.). In c. 532, he emigrated to Croton in southern Italy and founded a philosophical school. He taught the reincarnation of souls and sought to determine the universe's harmony in the study of music and mathematics.

Ramses II (1279–1212). Greatest warrior pharaoh of Dynasty XIX, who commissioned the temple complex of Abu Simbul, Nubia, to celebrate his reputed victory over the Hittites at Kadesh (1275 B.C.). In a treaty (1259 B.C.), Ramses II acknowledged the loss of northern Syria to the Hittites.

Richard I Lion-hearted. King of England (1189–1199), he was the son of Henry II (1154–1189) and Eleanor of Aquitaine. A knight and troubadour, he was the leading monarch on the Third Crusade (1189–1192).

Romanus I Lecapenus (Emperor, 919–944). Drungarius (admiral) of the imperial fleet in 919, he seized power and ruled as regent emperor for Constantine VII, to whom he married his daughter Helena. He proved a tireless administrator and opened the eastern offensives against the Arabs.

Romanus IV Diogenes (Emperor, 1068–1072). A leading general of the eastern army, he was betrayed at the Battle of Manzikert and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sultan Alp Arslan (1071).

Rutilius Rufus, Publius. Respected jurist and consul of 105 B.C., he headed a mission to reform the province of Asia in 94–92 B.C., but he was tried for corruption by Roman financiers enraged by the loss of their profits from tax-farming contracts. The miscarriage of justice outraged Asian Greeks, who turned to King Mithridates VI as their liberator.

Saladin. Ayyubid sultan of Egypt and Syria (1174–1193), he destroyed the Crusader army at Hattin (1187) and thwarted the Third Crusade from retaking Jerusalem.

Sappho (c. 650–635 B.C.). Lyric poetess of Mytilene, Lesbos.

Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). The dreaded king of Assyria who broke the power of Urartu and waged campaigns against the Phrygians.

Seleucus I (358–281 B.C.). The satrap of Babylon in 321 B.C. and king from 312 B.C., Seleucus succeeded to the Asian Empire of Alexander the Great, winning the battles of Ipsus (301) and Corupedium (281 B.C.).

Selim I, "the Grim" (1512–1520). With his victories over Iran and conquest of Mamluk Egypt, Selim assumed the caliphate and so elevated the Porte to the guardian of Sunni Islam.

Septimius Severus (Emperor, 193–211). A Roman senator from North Africa, he seized a throne in civil war and established the Severan dynasty, the last stable imperial family of the Principate. A patron of provincial cities and an able general, Septimius Severus upheld the image of the Antonine Roman peace but ruled as a military emperor.

Sinan (1489–1587). The Janissary engineer and architect of Suleiman I, Sinan designed numerous mosques, notably the Suleimaniye, bridges, and lesser monuments that turned Constantinople into one of the greatest cities of Islam.

Suleiman I, "the Magnificent" (1520–1566). The greatest sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, Suleiman embodied the traditions of the *ghazi* in his wars against Shi'ite Iran and Catholic Austria. He conquered Hungary (1526) and extended Ottoman power over Iraq and North Africa. Although he was checked at Vienna (1529), the Ottoman Empire was the premier power at his death.

Sulla, Lucius Cornelius (c. 139–77 B.C.). Consul of 88 B.C., Sulla defeated Mithridates VI and returned to establish his dictatorship at Rome in 82–78 B.C.

Šuppliluliumaš I (1344–1322 B.C.). The greatest of the Hittite kings, he reimposed Hittite authority over western Anatolia, smashed the Mitanni, and overran Egyptian provinces in Syria. He also forged the imperial bureaucracy and professional army.

Thales of Miletus (c. 640–546 B.C.). Natural philosopher, he devised a cosmology based on the four elements and predicted a solar eclipse in 585 B.C.

Themistocles (528–462 B.C.). Athenian democratic leader from 489 B.C., he built the Athenian navy, rallied his countrymen to oppose the Persian invasion, and defeated Xerxes's fleet at Salamis (480 B.C.).

Theodora (Empress, 1042; 1055–1056). The second daughter of Constantine VIII, she ruled briefly with her sister Zoe, then alone after the death of her brother-in-law Constantine X. Less vain than her older sister, she was nonetheless a pawn of her corrupt ministers.

Theodosius I, "the Great" (Emperor, 379–395). He restored the imperial army after the catastrophic defeat at Adrianople by enrolling federate tribes. A devoted Nicene Christian, he summoned the Second Ecumenical Council (381) and outlawed the pagan cults in 391–392.

Theodosius II (Emperor, 408–450). Son of Arcadius, Theodosius proved a weak emperor. He was directed by his older sister, Aelia Pulcheria, and his ministers, who were responsible for the Theodosian Walls, the Theodosian Code (438), and the Third Ecumenical Council (431).

Thucydides (c. 460–400 B.C.). Athenian general and one of the greatest of all historians, he was exiled in 424 B.C. and went on to write an account of the Peloponnesian War.

Thutmose III (1479–1426 B.C.). The greatest pharaoh of the New Kingdom (Dynasty XVIII), he defeated the Canaanite kings at Meggido (1457 B.C.), then established the Egyptian Empire in the Levant.

Tiglath-Piliser III (745–727 B.C.). A general Pul, he seized the throne and assumed the dynastic name in a bid for legitimacy. Tiglath-Piliser III restored Assyrian arms and organized imperial administration.

Trajan (Emperor, 98–117). A distinguished Roman senator and general of Spanish descent, he proved the greatest emperor since Augustus. He was the second of the "Five Good Emperors." By his conquests of Dacia and in the east, he brought the Roman Empire to its territorial zenith.

Trajan Decius (Emperor, 249–251). Declared emperor by the army of the Danube, he launched the first empire-wide persecution of Christians in 250. He was defeated and slain by the Goths.

Tughril Bey. First great sultan (1037–1063), he welded together the Turkomen tribes of central Asia, invaded Iran, and restored the power of the Sunni Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad in 1055.

Urban II (Pope, 1088–1099). This French Pope reformed papal administration and finances and preached the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont (1095).

Valerian (Emperor, 253–260). A senior senator, he was declared emperor by the Rhine army and ruled jointly with his son **Gallienus** (253–268). His reign represented the nadir of imperial power. He was defeated and captured by Shah Shapur I.

Xenophon (428–354 B.C.). Athenian general, author, and philosopher, Xenophon served with Cyrus the Younger and recorded the March of the Ten Thousand (401–399 B.C.) in his *Anabasis*.

Xerxes (486–465 B.C.). King of Persia, he invaded Greece in 480 B.C. and suffered a defeat that compromised the integrity of the empire.

Zoe (Empress, 1042). The daughter of Constantine VIII, she was childless and nearly fifty-five at the death of her father. A vain and foolish woman, she was easily controlled by her ministers who arranged for marriages to weak husbands, Romanus III, Michael IV, and Constantine X. She ruled briefly with her sister Theodora in 1042.

Great Ancient Civilizations of Asia Minor

Part II

Professor Kenneth W. Harl

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Part II

Great Ancient Civilizations of Asia Minor

Scope:

Introduction: Anatolia, Asia Minor, and Turkey

The peninsula of Asian Turkey, historically known as either Anatolia or Asia Minor, has played a pivotal role in history. Most Westerners today consider Turkey an exotic and mysterious Middle Eastern land, as painted by travelers' reports in the nineteenth century. Others, better informed, understand that it is not a desert country. Although Muslim, the Turks have created a unique nation and culture even though they have drawn on Arab and Iranian institutions and arts. Modern Turkey is a remaking of the Ottoman capital Istanbul, along with its European hinterland and Anatolia, or Asia Minor, into a nation state. Kemal Atatürk, father of the Turkish Republic, deserves credit for the most successful modernization of a nation in the twentieth century. Today, Turkey stands at the crossroads between Europe and the Middle East, but then it has always occupied this position. Besides being the heartland of the last great empire of the Caliphate under the Ottoman sultans, Anatolia was home to many civilizations that are the foundations of modern Western culture in Europe, the Americas, and Australia.

Homer composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the shores of Asia Minor. All seven of the great ecumenical councils that defined Christian theology took place within the boundaries of modern Turkey. This role as a crossroads dated from before written records; peoples living in Asia Minor achieved some of the earliest breakthroughs in the domestication of animals and plants that made cities and literate civilization possible. To study Turkey is to study a land that has nurtured successive civilizations that have defined the Western and Muslim traditions that embrace so many of the modern world's inhabitants.

Cultural change and continuity are the main themes of this course. We shall follow along as political, social, religious, and economic institutions are inherited and modified by each successive civilization. The scope of Anatolian history can be best understood as a series of transformations in the religious landscape of the peninsula. Anatolia has experienced a number of major cultural and religious rewrites: first by the Hittite emperors; next by the elites of Hellenic cities; then by their Hellenized descendants in the Roman age; by Christian emperors and bishops in the Byzantine age; and, finally, by Turkish rulers and Muslim mystics. The final chapter, the transformation of Muslim Turkey into a modern secular nation-state, is still in progress. In looking at cultural changes, certain archaeological sites and important monuments will be featured as examples of wider changes. The course can thus be divided into five cultural components.

Early Anatolia (6000–500 B.C.)

The first lectures deal with the earliest civilizations of Anatolia, emerging at the dawn of agriculture in Neolithic villages on the Konya plain (in central Turkey); through the Hittite Empire, the apex of civilization in the late Bronze Age (1400–1180 B.C.); to the emergence of Phrygia, Lydia, and Persia, heirs to the Hittite traditions in the early Iron Age (1100–500 B.C.).

The Hellenization of Anatolia (750–31 B.C.)

The shores of Western Anatolia came under the influence of the earliest Greeks, the Achaeans or Mycenaeans, during the late Bronze Age (1400–1200 B.C.). Although this contact inspired the epic poems of Homer, it was only from 750 B.C. that Hellenic influence spread into the peninsula. Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) conquered Anatolia, and his successors transformed the region into a center of Greek cities that played a major role in the civilization of the Hellenistic age (323–31 B.C.).

Roman Asia Minor (200 B.C.–A.D. 395)

The Romans built on the Hellenistic cities and institutions, and Anatolia was transformed into one of the most prosperous regions of the Roman world and homeland of the future Byzantine Empire. The Hellenic cities of Anatolia not only adapted Roman institutions and culture but even influenced the Roman monarchy, known as the Principate.

Byzantine Civilization (395–1453)

Imperial crisis in 235–305, and Christianization after 324, produced a new Byzantine civilization on Anatolian soil by 600, the basis of Orthodox Eastern Europe today. The Byzantine Empire, reduced to its Anatolian core, weathered two and one-half centuries of invasions and emerged as the leading civilization of medieval Christendom in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Islamic Turkey (since 1071)

The Anatolian peninsula was transformed from a Christian to a Muslim land in the wake of Byzantine decline and the arrival of Crusaders from Western Europe. Ottoman sultans then built the last great Muslim empire in the Middle East and Mediterranean world, an empire that fragmented in the twentieth century into a series of nation-states. In 1922–1939, Anatolia became the core of the Turkish Republic, a Muslim society that has successfully met the challenges of modernization.

Lecture Thirteen
The Hellenization of Asia Minor

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

Outline

I. Macedonian monarchs of the Hellenistic age (323–133 B.C.) posed as defenders of the Hellenic city (*polis*) and preferred diplomacy to win over cities in their wars against rivals.

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

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

- **A.** The wars of the great kings created new markets and war industries to supply great armies and fleets.
- **B.** Alexander the Great and his heirs coined and spent the specie stockpiled by the Achaemenid kings of Persia. Wars and expenditure monetized markets.
- **C.** Demographic growth and new trade routes stimulated the growth of cities. Macedonian kings and, after 150 B.C., the dynasts of Anatolia, encouraged economic growth.
  - **1.** Improvements in ship building and widespread use of coins primed economic growth after 330 B.C.
  - **2.** Royal capitals at Pella, Antioch**,** and Alexandria in the fourth century B.C., and lesser capitals at Pergamum, Nicomedia, and Mazaca in the second century B.C., offered markets.

3. The ruling classes of Greek cities expressed civic patriotism (*philopatris*) and gained honor (*philotimia*) by spending on public buildings and social amenities of a *polis*.
4. Cities adopted the public buildings of a *polis*, notably theater, *bouleuterion*, *prytaneion*, and gymnasium.
5. Sanctuaries were remodeled along Greek lines. From 150 B.C., cities preferred the monumental Ionic order.

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

A. Cities of Asia Minor were remodeled along Greek lines. Priene offered a model for other cities.
1. Priene, a modest Ionian city, was refounded in the later fourth century B.C. along Hippodamian lines, with a grid pattern, distinct residential and public districts (*agora*), and use of terracing.
2. The temple of Athena, rebuilt by the emperor Hadrian (117–138), was in the monumental Ionic style.
3. Fortifications were built of formidable polygonal masonry.

B. Attalid kings patronized celebrated shrines and cities and turned their citadel into a showcase of Hellenic arts that influenced Roman imperial art.
1. Kings Attalus I and Eumenes II transformed the citadel of Pergamum into a royal city. Attalid residences provided a model for the opulent Roman villas at Pompeii.
2. The Temple of Athena was rebuilt and the sanctuary was surrounded with baroque sculpture depicting Attalid victories over the Galatians.
3. Pergamene sculptors created a baroque style, evoking the pathos and mood of the subject, and set new standards in portraiture.
4. The Great Altar, commissioned by Eumenes II, combined an Anatolian altar with traditional frieze sculpture depicting mythological combats.
5. The royal library of Pergamene attracted savants and poets favoring the florid Asianic style.

C. The visual and literary arts of Hellenistic Asia Minor influenced Rome from 200 B.C. on and thus influenced the arts of Western civilization.
1. The Great Altar of Zeus inspired the Ara Pacis of Augustus at Rome.
2. Royal monumental tombs, such as the Belevi near Ephesus, influenced mausoleums of Roman emperors.
3. Baroque frieze and free-standing sculpture contributed techniques, iconography, and styles to their Roman imperial counterparts.
4. Painting, domestic furniture, textiles, and decorative arts were transmitted to the great families of Rome.

D. In the Hellenistic age, Greek public culture emerged as dominant in Asia Minor, but it was altered by existing traditions.
1. Anatolian elites took up residence in Hellenized cities and directed social and economic changes across the peninsula.
2. Henceforth, Asia Minor was an increasingly Hellenized land, until the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century.

Readings:

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Pollitt, J. J. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Wycherley, R. E. *How the Greeks Built Their Cities*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1962.

Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Fourteen
Rome versus the Kings of the East

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

Outline

I. In 200–167 B.C., Rome smashed the great Macedonian monarchies and imposed her hegemony over the Hellenistic world. Cities, leagues, and petty kingdoms of Anatolia were destined to pass under new world conquerors who were not warrior-kings, as Cyrus or Alexander the Great, but citizen legions commanded by elected magistrates of Rome (consuls) who often had their powers extended as proconsuls.

A. Rome faced west and north, rather than east toward the Greek world. She battled the Gauls, traditional foes, in northern Italy, and the competing republic of Carthage for mastery of the western Mediterranean.

1. Roman martial skills and ethos conditioned the republic to expand. Wars with Carthage taught Rome naval warfare, finances, and overseas administration.

2. Rome drew on citizens and allies of Italy, over 1 million men for the legions, outstripping any contemporary rival.

3. Romans perfected flexible legionary tactics based on the sword, as well as logistics and siege train, enabling them to storm cities with ruthless efficiency.

4. In political institutions, Rome was still a city-state governed by elected magistrates and an advisory Senate, subject to the Roman people in assembly. In practice, the *nobiles* dominated the Senate and elected offices and, thus, foreign policy.

B. In 200 B.C., Antiochus III, after decisively defeating his Ptolemaic foe at Panium, was on the verge of imposing Seleucid rule over Anatolia. Yet ten years later, all Macedonian kings had fallen before the power of Rome, mistress of the Mediterranean world for the next 700 years.

1. In 200–197 B.C., Rome waged war on Philip V of Macedon at the instigation of Greek cities that hated the Macedonian overlord and to settle scores with Philip V, who had allied with Hannibal.

2. At Cynocephalae (197 B.C.), Rome humbled Philip V, then declared "freedom of the Greeks" and withdrew.

3. Based on appeals from Greek cities of Asia and King Attalus II, Rome fought King Antiochus III, who threatened to impose Seleucid rule over Asia Minor.

4. At Magnesia sub Sipylum (190 B.C.), Lucius Cornelius Scipio decisively defeated Antiochus III and proved the superiority of the legion over the phalanx.

5. The Treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.) broke Seleucid power. Rhodes and Pergamum shared rule of Anatolia as Rome's client.

6. In 188–187 B.C., Gnaeus Manlius Vulso campaigned in Asia Minor, extorting tribute, punishing the Galatians, and shocking Greek cities of Anatolia with the ferocity of Roman legions.

7. Even Rome avoided direct rule; her overseas empire transformed Roman society and produced political violence, popular reform, and ultimately, civil war that destroyed the republic.

C. Steady political fragmentation of Anatolia compelled Rome to assume responsibility for the peninsula, but the republic was ill suited to rule the sophisticated cities of the Greek world.

1. Tax farming assured the republic of revenues and relieved the state of administrative costs, but it led to widespread corruption by equestrian financiers, and Roman rule was quickly hated.

2. Revenues of Asia funded private fortunes at Rome and subsidized political reform advocated by *populares* leaders.
3. The trial and conviction of reformer Senator Publius Rutilius Rufus on trumped up charges of corruption (92 B.C.) outraged Asian provincials.

II. Mithridates VI Eupator (120–63 B.C.) championed Hellenism in Anatolia against the Romans. The Mithridatic Wars compelled Rome to annex the peninsula and devise responsible government.

A. Mithridates built an empire based on the lands of the Black Sea and was provoked into the First Mithridatic War (90–85 B.C.).
1. In 89 B.C., Mithridates overran Asia Minor, smashing three Roman armies, then sent forces into Greece. On his orders, the cities of Asia massacred 80,000 Romans.
2. Lucius Cornelius Sulla destroyed two Pontic armies, invaded Asia Minor, and compelled Mithridates to withdrawn in 86–85 B.C.
3. The reprisals and indemnities imposed by Sulla ruined cities, driving many into the ranks of brigands and the Cilician pirates.

B. The Third Mithridatic War (74–63 B.C.) erupted when King Nicomedes IV willed Bithynia to Rome and forced Mithridates to war.
1. Mithridates had re-trained his army in Roman tactics and amassed a navy.
2. In 73 B.C., Mithridates repeated his strategy of 89 B.C., but he was halted by L. Licinius Lucullus at Cyzicus.
3. Lucullus overran the kingdom Pontus and reformed the finances of Asia, whereby he relieved cities of their debts, to the outrage of Roman financiers.
4. Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey) concluded the final settlement of the east, annexing the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Syria. He imposed client kings in central and eastern Anatolia.
5. Pompey created the imperial administration of the Roman east and the role of the future Roman emperor.

III. The cities of Asia were taxed to fund the civil wars that brought down the Roman Republic and ushered in the Principate of Augustus at the Battle of Actium.

A. Julius Caesar initiated civil war (49–45 B.C.) against his rival Pompey, who championed the Senate.
1. Republican commanders looted cities of the east and enrolled armies and fleets from client kings to oppose Julius Caesar.
2. At Pharsalus (48 B.C.), Julius Caesar defeated Pompey, then ruled as dictator.

B. The assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. plunged the Roman world into a second round of civil wars. Once again, the cities of Asia Minor were looted and taxed by Roman commanders (*imperatores*).
1. The liberators Brutus and Cassius were defeated at Philippi (42 B.C.), and Mark Antony took charge of the Roman east.
2. In 42–32 B.C., Mark Antony restored peace and order, but the cities of Asia Minor paid for his Parthian campaigns.
3. Mark Antony blundered into war with the heir of Julius Caesar, Octavian, the future Emperor Augustus.
4. The Battle of Actium (31 B.C.) ended civil war and left Octavian sole master of the Roman world.

IV. The Roman civil wars nearly ruined Hellenic civic life in Asia Minor, and it is a tribute to Augustus (Octavian) that he completed the work initiated by Alexander the Great. Augustus ruled for forty-five years, bringing peace to the empire, and creating a new Mediterranean order. The Greeks of Asia Minor unwittingly played a key role in the creation of the Roman Principate, because these provincials defined the role of the Roman emperor.

Readings:

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Fifteen
Prosperity and Roman Patronage

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

Outline

I. Imperial policy and Roman peace enabled the recovery of cities of Anatolia from the ravages of two decades of civil war and misrule.

- **A.** Augustus (27 B.C.–14 A.D.), the first Roman emperor, established the Prinicipate, ruling as first citizen of a republic. He drew on the precedents of the republic to bind the cities of Asia Minor to himself and his family.
  - **1.** Augustus reformed the taxation and currency of Asia, initiating a century of economic recovery.
  - **2.** Asia and Bithynia were placed under senior senatorial proconsuls; other less urbanized provinces were under imperial legates.
  - **3.** Cities and regional leagues (*koinon* or *commune*) had the right to appeal against corrupt governors.
  - **4.** Hellenic notables, often with Roman citizenship, were confirmed in rank and power over their cities.
  - **5.** Augustus recast veneration of Macedonian kings into an imperial cult dedicated to the worship of the emperor's spirit (*genius*).
  - **6.** Aristocrats in cities vied for positions in the imperial cult, thereby promoting dynastic loyalty.
  - **7.** Cities disputed rank in the hierarchy of the imperial cult leagues (*koina*) as a mark of distinction, simultaneously promoting imperial loyalty and civic patriotism.
  - **8.** Augustus encouraged local patrons and donors, notably imperial freedmen at Ephesus or Aphrodisias.
  - **9.** Augustus cast the emperor in the role of pious patron and defender of Hellenic cities. Extraordinary acts were expected of him, such as the relief extended by Tiberius to Asia's cities devastated by earthquake in 17 A.D.
- **B.** Hadrian (117–138) patronized cities of Asia Minor on an unparalleled scale out of sentimental Hellenism.
  - **1.** Hadrian, to the dismay of the Senate, aped the manners of a Greek intellectual.
  - **2.** Hadrian spent two-thirds of his reign on tour of his empire.
  - **3.** He founded the Panhellenion, a religious league of Hellenized cults, enrolling many originally non-Hellenic cities.
  - **4.** Hadrian extended aid to cities devastated by earthquake, such as Nicaea and Nicomedia.
  - **5.** He completed major projects, such as the Olympieion of Cyzicus, and rebuilt cities, including Pergamum and Asclepieion.
  - **6.** Cities assumed imperial names, instituted games and festivals in honor of Hadrian, and installed imperial statues in shrines.
  - **7.** Antinoos, Hadrian's favorite, was hailed as a god after his mysterious death in 130.
  - **8.** Under Hadrian, members of the great families of the east entered imperial service. By 200, one-third of all senators were of Anatolian ancestry, and they extended patronage to their home cities.
- **C.** Septimius Severus (193–211), a ruthless and pragmatic emperor, courted the cities of Anatolia to strengthen his dynasty.

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

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

1. Gift-giving (*euergetism*) by decurions inspired civic loyalty, promoted public life, and maintained social stability.

2. Games and festivals expressed civic loyalty. Cities vied for ranks, such as *neokoros* (temple warden) or first city of the province.

3. Decurions, at their own expense, provided amenities, such as oil for heating public baths.

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

1. The Second Sophistic Movement returned to the canons of Attic prose and Athenian *belles lettres* of the classical age.

2. Some Greek intellectuals stressed the unique culture of the *polis* over Rome, but others reconciled loyalty to Rome with a Hellenic cultural identity.

3. In arts and letters, the Hellenized elite of Asia Minor, such as Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, imposed their values on the imperial court.

4. Escapist novels projected the conservative, smug mores of the Hellenic elite.

5. Schools of rhetoric, as at Ephesus, trained orators in public speaking to court the emperor.

6. Interest in the Hellenic past inspired biography and history, as seen in the writings of Plutarch.

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

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

1. Cities adopted Roman building techniques, constructing free-standing theaters or remodeling Greek theaters along Roman lines to accommodate gladiatorial and animal combats.

2. Cities adapted the Roman stadium, aqueduct, basilica, and baths. Ornate decorative relief sculpture and baroque columns were applied to public and private architecture.

3. Statues of the imperial family graced public squares and sanctuaries.

4. Hellenistic cities were re-created as eastern Roman cities (best seen at Ephesus or Aphrodisias).

B. From the late first century on, senators of eastern origin patronized their natives cities; hence, Gaius Julius Aquila donated a library to Ephesus in honor of his father.

C. The upper classes poured their profits from commerce and agriculture into civic life; the cities of Asia Minor were the envy of the Mediterranean world.

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Questions to Consider:

1. What role did emperors play in promoting prosperity? Why did the Romans favor cities with Greek-style institutions?

2. What does the literature of the high Roman Empire reveal about the attitudes of the ruling classes in cities of Asia Minor?

Lecture Sixteen
Gods and Sanctuaries of Roman Asia Minor

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

Outline

I. The Hellenization of the shrines of Asia Minor was a process that had begun in the sixth century B.C., but in the Roman age, Anatolian gods and their sanctuaries acquired a Hellenic face.

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

II. Rewriting of the sacred geography of Anatolia involved hundreds of cities and thousands of shrines across the peninsula.

- **A.** Pergamum, capital of the province of Asia, could not compete in cultural life or wealth with Smyrna or Ephesus, but the sanctuaries of the city ensured its patronage and position in the Roman age.
  - **1.** Hadrian restored the Attalid monuments, notably the Altar of Zeus and Temple of Athena on the Acropolis.
  - **2.** The shrines of Demeter in the Middle City and Serapis and Isis in the Lower City were rebuilt on a grand scale.

3. The sanctuary of Asclepius was rebuilt with structures designed to imitate major shrines and monuments of Rome.
4. Hadrian's patronage ensured the international fame of the Asclepieion.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Seventeen
Jews and Early Christians

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

Outline

I. Jews were settled in cities of western Asia Minor during the Hellenistic age as military colonists by the Seleucid kings.

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

II. Paul and his disciples won converts among Hellenized Jews and pagan sympathizers of Judaism in the cities of Asia Minor and the Aegean world. These Pauline churches evolved into the apostolic churches, once Christians ceased to believe in an impending *eschaton*, and became the basis for the later imperial church created by Constantine (306–337).

- **A.** Saint Paul traveled along the commercial routes of Asia Minor and the Aegean world and preached in synagogues in Hellenized cities.
  - **1.** Christians met in houses provided by wealthier members.
  - **2.** Converts to Pauline Christianity were groups of families in which members had modest amounts of money but low social rank.
- **B.** The cities of Anatolia were home to perhaps the most populous communities of Christians in the Roman world before the conversion of Constantine in 312, but even these communities were but a tiny minority.
  - **1.** Christian funerary monuments from Hellenized cities of Phrygia provide the only significant primary evidence for early Christianity outside the catacombs of Rome.

2. At Eumenia, several families of decuronial rank were accorded the privilege of erecting their own gravestones that conformed to local Jewish practices and native art forms.
3. The mass of the population of Asia Minor, however, had limited contact with Christians.

C. Christian churches in Asia Minor witnessed the evolution of the monarchical bishop. Christians steadily separated themselves from Jews in ritual and organization.

1. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch (107), based his authority on imitation of the life of Christ, but Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna (150) claimed an apostolic succession by ordination.
2. Bishops in Pauline churches of the second century collected texts of the future New Testament.
3. Marcion, a radical Pauline editor expelled by the Roman synod of 143–144, offered a different canon that compelled bishops to fix canon.
4. By 190, the main books of the New Testament were accepted by the apostolic churches in Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria.
5. Circa 160–180, Montanus and his prophetesses challenged the authority of bishops and canon by upholding prophecy and revelation from the Holy Spirit.
6. The Montanists formed sectarian churches of rigorists that offered an alternative vision and organization, including prominent roles for female members.
7. By 200, Anatolian Christianity was characterized by many competing sectarian churches.

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

A. Romans persecuted Christians as "atheists" who disrupted the peace of the gods (*pax deorum*) by their refusal to sacrifice to the ancestral gods and spirit (*genius*) of the emperor.

1. Outlawed by Emperor Nero in 64, Christians met illicitly, attracting the suspicion of Roman authorities.
2. Pliny the Younger, while governor of Bithynia-Pontus, devised the "sacrifice test"; regional and local persecutions of Christians were brief and violent in Anatolian cities.
3. Given the popularity of gladiatorial games, martyrdoms of Christians had little impact among pagans. The physician Galen of Pergamum dismissed martyrs as irrational.

B. Persecution, while gaining few converts, shaped Christian identity and inspired the cult of martyrs attested by the earliest *martyria* (reliquaries for the remains of martyrs).

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

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Eighteen
From Rome to Byzantium

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

Outline

I. The cities of Asia Minor survived the general crisis of the Roman Empire in 235–285 and emerged with many of their classical institutions and values intact.

- **A.** Rising costs of frontier wars and fiscal demands fell heavily on the decurions and citizens of the Hellenic cities.
  - **1.** Fighting, primarily on the Euphrates and Upper Danube, did not directly affect the cities of Asia Minor.
  - **2.** Civic elites depicted imperial campaigns against the Sassanid shahs of Persia as a panhellenic struggle against barbarians.
  - **3.** Cities on the imperial highways suffered from taxation, recruits, and exactions of supplies.
  - **4.** Imperial patronage increased in importance, but cities of Anatolia still counted many patrons in the imperial aristocracy.
- **B.** Civic aristocrats responded to imperial demands and upheld the image of the Roman emperor as defender of Hellenic cities.
  - **1.** Roman emperors courted Greek cities and sanctuaries.
  - **2.** Civic artists and public rituals recast emperors in martial roles.
  - **3.** Roman emperors were exalted as comrades of city gods and invested with divine powers so that Greek cities created the future Byzantine autocracy.
  - **4.** Loyalty to Rome was redefined as loyalty to the Roman emperor.
  - **5.** Decurions and populace did not falter in their belief in their ancestral gods but rather targeted Christians as impious deviants who brought down the anger of the gods.

II. The soldier-emperor Diocletian, who restored imperial unity, created a style of autocratic government, the Dominate.

- **A.** Diocletian (284–305) effected military and political recovery, founding the Dominate, the style of the emperor ruling as an autocrat.
  - **1.** Diocletian reorganized administration into more provinces and instituted collegial imperial rule, the Tetrarchy.
  - **2.** Cities of Asia Minor prospered as a result of the patronage of emperors residing in the east.
  - **3.** Many secondary cities prospered from the patronage of imperial governors.
- **B.** Civil wars and fiscal crisis undermined the recovery initiated by Diocletian and led to the unexpected victory of Constantine (306–337), who had converted to Christianity in 312.

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

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

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

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

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

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Nineteen
Constantinople, Queen of Cities

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

Outline

I. Constantine (306–337) founded Constantinople as the New Rome on the ancient Greek colony of Byzantium, occupying the region of Topkapı Palace in modern Istanbul.

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

II. Constantine I rebuilt the typical Greek city of Byzantium into an imperial capital as New Rome.

- **A.** From the start, Constantine intended Constantinople to be his primary residence.
  - **1.** Byzantium, a Megarian colony of seventh century B.C., was a modest *polis* confined to the first hill, the region of modern Topakı, on the edge of the southern shore of the Golden Horn.
  - **2.** In the reign of Septimius Severus, the city occupied the modern quarter of Sultan Ahmet, with only 35,000 residents.
  - **3.** Constantine demolished the civic center, building an imperial center with a palace and hippodrome that reproduced the Palatine palaces and Circus Maximus of Rome.
  - **4.** Constantinople, as a ritual capital, required spectators; therefore, Constantine and his heirs lured urban plebians, who gave popular consent to the Orthodox emperor.
  - **5.** The imperial palace was linked to the two basilican churches of Hagia Eirene (Holy Peace) and Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom).
  - **6.** The Church of Holy Apostles was the funerary church of Christian emperors.
  - **7.** The city was adorned with colonnaded triumphal streets, columns, and fora.

8. Massive walls cut off a vast city that accommodated population growth from 35,000 to 300,000 over three generations.

B. Emperors expanded the city as population doubled in two generations from 300,000 to 600,000 in 425–525.
1. The aqueduct of Valens and open cisterns testify to a growing population.
2. In 413–414, Prefect Anthemius directed construction of four miles of the triple Theodosian Walls, which doubled the enclosed area of the city and included a fertile hinterland.

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

A. By the canons of the Second Ecumenical council, the patriarchs claimed apostolic authority with the popes in Rome, a position never admitted by the papacy.
1. John imposed the primacy of Constantinople over leading bishoprics in the Aegean world and Asia Minor.
2. Ephesus, home to a Pauline church, lost primacy, because John Chrysostom appropriated Mary Theotokos ("Mother of God") as the saint of Constantinople.
3. John Chrysostom promoted missionary work and destroyed pagan shrines.
4. Henceforth, Christian Constantinople displaced pagan Ephesus, "first city of Asia," as the religious, cultural, economic, and political capital of Asia Minor.

B. From Constantinople, later patriarchs exercised authority over the episcopal and monastic organization of the Byzantine world and built the institutions that ensured the triumph of Orthodox Christianity.
1. Empresses of the Theodosian dynasty promoted the veneration of Mary and the claims of the Patriarchate.
2. The shift from Ephesus to Constantinople was symbolized by the invocation of the icon of Mary Theotokos as the city's palladium during the siege of 626.
3. Theological debate in 431–681 reflected a clash between Constantinople and Alexandria over primacy in the Roman east.
4. The Council of Chalcedon (451) upheld the authority of Constantinople over the Monophysite position of Alexandria.

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

A. After the conflagration during the Nike Revolt (532), Justinian rebuilt Constantinople into a Christian capital without equal.
1. Justinian turned the city's skyline into a Christian one of domed churches and belfries that was a model for cities of Asia Minor during the next eight centuries.
2. Justinian rebuilt Hagia Sophia, a masterpiece of a centrally planned church with a great pedentive dome.
3. Hagia Sophia, hailed the dome of heaven, inspired domed churches across the Roman east.
4. Justinian honeycombed the center of Constantinople with a vast underground cistern, constructed from columns of pagan temples.

B. After 565, Constantinople defined Christian Byzantine civilization of Asia Minor and succeeded to the role of Rome.
1. Justinian's wars of reconquest, building programs, and search for religious unity bankrupted the imperial government; the Roman east was plunged into crisis after 565.
2. But Constantinople, as the administrative center of the Byzantine world, was home to Roman imperial political traditions and bureaucracy that enabled emperors to surmount crises and direct political recoveries against superior foes.

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Twenty
The Byzantine Dark Age

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

Outline

I. Imperial crisis transformed classical Asia Minor into medieval Anatolia. Known by Arabic historians as Rum, the peninsula was the heartland of the New Rome. In the generation after the death of Justinian, the restored Roman Empire faced new assaults from Lombards, Avars and Slavs, and a resurgent Sassanid Persia, then the armies of Islam.

A. During the Persian War (602–638), Shah Chosroes II devastated Asia Minor. In contrast, his armies occupied and annexed Syria and Egypt.

1. Many classical cities of Asia Minor were sacked; others fortified citadels and abandoned the suburbs and lower quarters.

2. The Persian War initiated the shift from classical *polis* to *kastron*, or Byzantine castle city, over the next 250 years.

3. Many lesser cities in marginal regions, such as Anemurium, declined to fortified centers or were abandoned.

4. Constantinople emerged as the center of Asia Minor, because Heraclius centralized administration at his capital in the wake of victory over Persia.

B. In 634–642, the armies of Islam swept over Syria and Egypt and conquered the Sassanid Empire of Persia; Anatolia became the heartland of a lesser Byzantine state.

1. Orthodox and Umayyad caliphs waged wars with the avowed aim of capturing Constantinople.

2. Anatolia was repeatedly raided and devastated as a first step in the conquest of Constantinople, but Arab caliphs made no effort to annex Anatolia north of the Taurus.

3. Twice emperors at Constantinople defied a besieging Arabic army and checked the Muslim military advance.

4. The emperors of the Dark Age reorganized the empire for a counteroffensive, but recovery was delayed by the religious civil war known as the Iconoclastic Controversy.

C. Emperors of the Byzantine Dark Age reorganized Anatolia for a grim defense, creating regional field armies and dividing the land into themes, or military provinces. Their success ensured the survival of a dynamic medieval Christian civilization in Anatolia.

1. Military cantonments (themes) of the field armies became the basis of new provinces.

2. Imperial armies based in themes fought an effective defense across Asia Minor against Arabic raiding parties.

3. Borderlands emerged between Arab and Byzantine Anatolia; this frontier society was reflected in the later epic *Digenes Akrites*.

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

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

1. Many coastal cities, such as Miletus and Ephesus, were threatened by Arab pirates and shrank in size and population.

2. Cities of the interior on highways, or theme capitals such as Amorium, recovered as regional centers.

3. In the Byzantine Dark Age, the highways and cities of Ottoman and modern Turkey were born.

4. The Cappadocian plateaus became borderland; archaeology revealed defensive measures, as at Çanlı Kilise.

5. Warrior aristocrats in eastern Anatolia emerged as lords who based their power on estates and stock-raising, following an earlier pattern seen in the Hittite, Phrygian, and Achaemenid ages.

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

1. In 726, Leo III called for the removal of icons in worship, igniting a veritable religious civil war.

2. Iconoclasts ("smashers of images") viewed veneration of icons and relics as idolatry.

3. The eastern army and Anatolian Christians, whose faith was shaped by Jewish traditions, supported Iconoclastic emperors.

4. At the Synod of Constantinople (843), Michael III and his mother, Theodora, restored the veneration of idols, but Orthodox ritual was modified because of Iconoclastic objections.

5. Under the Macedonian emperors, icons became associated with victory; thus, image triumphed in Byzantine religious art.

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

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

1. Macedonian regent emperors directed reconquest of eastern Anatolia and Armenia.

2. Victory and prosperity enabled nobles of Anatolia (*dynatoi*) to defy Constantinople. Macedonian emperors issued legislation to restrain aristocrats from amassing land from soldiers and peasants.

3. Basil II forged a professional mercenary army and broke the power of the *dynatoi*.

4. The triumph of the capital turned the Anatolian provinces into dependencies of metropolitan Constantinople by 1025.

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

1. As long as Zoe and Theodora, nieces of the popular Basil II, reigned, Anatolian military elites made no move.

2. After 1056, the court regime in Constantinople failed to contain new invaders, the Normans in Italy and Seljuk Turks from central Asia.

3. Emperors Isaac I and Romanus IV, backed by military aristocrats, were thwarted in their reforms.

4. At the battle of Manzikert (1071), Romanus IV was captured and his army was annihilated by the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan.

5. In 1071–1081, Turkomen tribes migrated in Asia Minor at the invitation of rival Byzantine emperors and carved out independent Turkish states.

6. When Alexius I seized the throne, Constantinople had lost her hinterland; Asia Minor was politically divided for the next four centuries.

7. To regain the Anatolian hinterland, Alexius I summoned his co-religionists in the west, the Crusaders, who came first as allies, then as the destroyers of the Byzantine Empire.

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Twenty-One
Byzantine Cultural Revival

Scope: Macedonian emperors revived imperial patronage of arts and letters at Constantinople, and this cultural rebirth was echoed across Anatolia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The eastern borderlands of Anatolia gave birth to the epic of a Christian Achilles, Digenes Akrites, a chivalrous warlord during the Dark Age. The *dynatoi* exalted their piety by endowing monasteries and mortuary chapels. In Cappadocia, Anatolian lords commissioned churches cut out of soft turf in the river valleys. These churches, along with contemporary free-standing ones, emulated the plans and decorations of imperial churches in the capital, such as the Myleion, dedicated by Romanus I (919–944). Rock-cut churches of Cappadocia reveal the enduring role of classical aesthetics. In the ninth century, frescoes were painted in simple linear provincial styles. By the mid-tenth century, nobles hired first-class artists who painted in a variety of naturalistic styles that looked back to classical models and forward to Renaissance Italy. At Göreme, the Karanlık Kilise ("Dark Church") preserves the iconography expected of every Orthodox church in incomparable classicizing style.

Outline

I. At Constantinople, Macedonian emperors revived imperial patronage of arts and letters. Their successors, Comnenians and Palaeologans, played the same role of patrons, thereby transmitting the achievements of Orthodox civilization to both Western and Eastern Europe.

- **A.** Basil I, an unpopular usurper, gained legitimacy by sponsoring learned study and the visual arts at Constantinople.
  - **1.** Basil I (867–886) patronized thinkers, writers, and artists who revived classical arts and letters and transmitted the Hellenic classical heritage to Western Europe.
  - **2.** He encouraged icons and figural art in mosaics and frescoes, initiating the "triumph of the image."
  - **3.** He endowed chairs of rhetoric and reorganized the imperial university of Constantinople.
  - **4.** Constantine VII (913–957) was a scholar and artist in his own right.
- **B.** With imperial backing, scholars and artists at Constantinople undertook the editing, copying, and illuminating of manuscripts, thus ensuring the survival of the Greek literary tradition ultimately transmitted to the West in the Renaissance.
  - **1.** Byzantine scholars made original literary and artistic contributions to the classical heritage.
  - **2.** Caesar Phocas and the polymath Patriarch Photius revived the study of Plato, oratory, and history as disciplines rather than as training for theology.
  - **3.** Michael Psellus and Princess Anna Comnena wrote eyewitness histories in the style and method of Thucydides.
- **C.** Architecture and visual arts at Constantinople experienced a dramatic revival with the triumph of the icon and imperial patronage.
  - **1.** New figural mosaics were commissioned in Hagia Sophia, notably mosaics of Leo VI and the panel depicting Constantine and Justinian.
  - **2.** Emperors initiated the building of smaller churches using the plan of the cross-in-square.
  - **3.** Decorative arts, such as textiles, jewelry, and furniture, disseminated figural arts.

II. The rebirth of cultural activity at Constantinople was echoed in the provincial arts and architecture across Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, because these lands were the heart of medieval Byzantinum.

- **A.** Churches of Cappadocia show the cultural interplay between the capital of Constantinople and the Anatolian provinces after the restoration of images in 843.
  - **1.** Local architects adapted the cross-in-square plan to soft volcanic turf churches. This distinct rock-cut architecture was used simultaneously with free-standing masonry based on imperial churches of Constantinople.
  - **2.** The frescoes of Cappadocian churches show a revival of figural religious painting after the end of Iconoclasm.
  - **3.** Rock-cut churches of Cappadocia were prestige churches or mortuary chapels of *dynatoi*.

4. In the ninth century, churches were decorated with frescoes in simple linear provincial style and matte earth colors.
5. After 950, Cappadocian nobles commissioned the first paintings in naturalistic styles inspired by classical models that looked forward to the Italian Renaissance.
6. Karanlık Kilise at Göreme and the church at Eski Gümüs preserve superb classicizing paintings not matched in the medieval West for the next 150 years.
7. Fine styles of painting were so widely distributed over Cappadocia that there must have been close ties between the Anatolian aristocracy and Constantinople.

B. Armenian and Georgian monarchs, who asserted political independence from the Caliphate at the end of the ninth century, sponsored their own revival of arts and architecture that enriched the wider culture of eastern Christendom.
1. The Armenian King Gagik dedicated the domed church of the Holy Cross on an island in Lake Van (919–923).
2. The Church of the Holy Cross was decorated with superb relief sculpture, in contrast to Byzantine churches.

C. In 1204, Alexius Comnenus, a scion of the imperial family, established his own "splinter empire" at Trebizond on the northeastern shores of Asia Minor.
1. The Grand Comneni of Trebizond, styling themselves Byzantine emperors, sponsored arts and letters.
2. Trebizond had access to new silver mines and prospered on trade with Genoese colonies and eastern Turkish emirates.
3. In the late thirteenth century, the Church of Hagia Sophia was refurbished and decorated with frescoes painted by artists trained in the imperial school.
4. Frescos in the dome and apse reveal a mannerist style comparable to the finest paintings at Constantinople.
5. Hagia Sophia, based on the cross-in-square plan, has figural reliefs inspired by Armenian and Georgian art.
6. Trebizond's Hagia Sophia is a fusion of elements of the capital, Cappadocia, Armenia, and Georgia.

D. For all their brilliance, the surviving arts of the middle and late Byzantine ages are religious; the distorted record, without secular arts, has survived.
1. Still, Orthodox arts so brilliantly created in Byzantine Asia Minor influence Orthodox civilizations to the present day.
2. Furthermore, because Christians long lived in great numbers across the peninsula of Asia Minor under Seljuk and Ottoman sultans, Orthodox arts endured and influenced Muslim Turkish arts.

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Twenty-Two
Crusaders and Seljuk Turks

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

Outline

I. The collapse of Byzantine military and political control over the Anatolian peninsula confined imperial power in the Balkans, the second heartland conquered by Basil II (976–1025); Anatolia became the battlefield between Byzantium and Islam.

A. Basil II failed to leave an heir, and the court fell into the hands of corrupt bureaucratic aristocrats who manipulated the succession.

1. Constantine VIII (1025–1028), fearful of rivals, failed to provide husbands for his daughters Zoe and Theodora, who became pawns in the hands of officials and courtiers.

2. The husbands of Zoe—Romanus III (1028–1034), Michael IV (1034–1041), and Constantine IX (1042–1055)—proved weak rulers who neglected affairs of state.

3. Provincial tax rebellions in provinces and mutinies revealed dynastic weakness and widespread corruption.

4. Constantine IX slashed the military budget, debased the currency, and indulged corruption at court.

5. The imperial government failed to contain Turkomen raiders after 1055.

6. With the end of the Macedonian dynasty, eastern aristocrats placed generals on the throne, Isaac I Comnenus (1057–1059) and Romanus IV Diogenes (1068–1072), but each failed to reform the state.

7. At the Battle of Manzikert (1071), Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan defeated the imperial army and captured Romanus IV, shattering Byzantine control of Asia Minor.

B. After their victory at Manzikert, Seljuk Turkomen settled central and eastern Anatolia, lands that resembled in terrain and climate their homeland in central Asia.

1. Tughril Bey (1037–1063), who restored the power of the Abbasid caliphate at Baghdad, directed his Turkomen warriors (*ghazi*) against Byzantine Anatolia and Armenia.

2. In 1072–1081, rival Byzantine emperors employed Turkomen warriors as mercenaries, thereby opening Anatolia to settlement by Turkomen tribes, who carved out states.

3. Turkish adventurers carved out states based at Konya (Iconium) and farther east at Sivas (Sebasteia) and Kayseri (Caesarea).

4. In 1081, Alexius I seized the throne, restored imperial rule in the Balkans, and thwarted Turkomen attacks against Constantinople.

II. For over a century, the fate of Anatolia lay in the balance between Byzantines and Seljuks, because the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) and his heirs aimed to reverse the decision of Manzikert, but the imperial defeat at Myriocephalon (1176) confirmed Turkish domination of central and eastern Anatolia.

A. Comnenian emperors reasoned that the Turkomen newcomers could be converted and assimilated inasmuch as the Seljuk sultans of Konya long lived in awe of Constantinople.

1. Alexius I secured the loyalty of the leading aristocratic families by granting hereditary imperial titles and estates in the Balkans.

2. He sought mercenaries from western Europe, and Pope Urban II (1088–1099) responded by preaching the First Crusade (1095–1099).
3. Alexius sought the aid of the Italian maritime republics by granting trade concessions.

B. With the assistance of the western Crusaders in 1096–1099, Alexius regained the cities on the three coasts that had been homes to Hellenic cities since the Archaic Age and the historic lands of Lydia, Caria, and Lycia.
1. Alexius I and heirs, John II (1118–1143) and Manuel I (1143–1180), restored imperial and episcopal institutions in the Anatolian provinces.
2. Comnenian emperors resettled refugees from central and eastern Anatolia in the cities of the west.
3. Comnenian emperors fortified the frontiers, but desultory border wars transformed Anatolia to the ultimate strategic benefit of the Turkomen, because cities declined as their hinterlands were repeatedly ravaged.
4. At the Battle of Myricephalon, Sultan Kilij Arslan II (1156–1192) decisively defeated Manuel I, opening Byzantine Asia Minor again to Turkomen *ghazi* raiders.

III. The Comnenian emperors failed to defeat the Turks, because the western Crusaders repeatedly disrupted Byzantine and Seljuk Anatolia during their marches east to liberate Jerusalem.

A. The First Crusade (1095–1099) tipped the military balance decisively in favor of the Byzantines, but the Crusader princes carved out feudal principalities in the Levant (Outremer) that proved dangerous to Constantinople.
1. Although the Frankish Crusaders shattered Turkish military power at Nicaea, Dorylaeum, and Antioch, Franks and Byzantines were divided by mutual distrust and antipathy.
2. Alexius I viewed the founding of Crusader states at Antioch and Edessa (1098) and Jerusalem (1099) as a violation of oaths of homage by the Crusader princes.
3. John II and Manuel I failed to impose effective imperial hegemony over the Crusader states or to expel the Seljuk Turks from central Anatolia.

B. The Second (1146–1148) and Third Crusades (1188–1192) were great royal crusades that threatened the Byzantine Empire and Seljuk states alike and contributed to the growing mutual hostility of Crusaders and Byzantines.
1. The Second Crusade compelled Manuel to break off his war against Sultan Masud I (1116–1146) of Konya, but the Crusader kings of the west—the Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II and King Louis VII of France—failed to achieve their strategic objectives.
2. Saladin, who united Muslim Syria and Egypt, overran the Crusader east after his victory at Hattin (1187).
3. The kings of the Third Crusade—Richard I of England, Philip II Augustus of France, and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa—also failed to regain Jerusalem.
4. The defeat of the royal crusades was blamed on Byzantine treachery.

C. The western European Crusaders and Venetians of the Fourth Crusade intervened in a Byzantine civil war and captured Constantinople in 1204, thereby destroying Byzantine power in the Aegean world and Anatolia.
1. In April 1204, the western Crusaders and their Venetian allies stormed into Constantinople and partitioned the Byzantine Empire.
2. The feudal "Latin Empire" established by the Crusaders proved a weak state, whereas Venice emerged as the leading naval power in the Aegean.
3. Theodore I Lascaris (1204–1222) founded a Byzantine state in exile at Nicaea; his successors repelled Frankish Crusaders and Turkish raiders.
4. In 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258–1282) reoccupied Constantinople, a capital in rapid decline, and transferred imperial power back to the Balkans at the expense of Byzantine Anatolia.
5. Michael VIII mortgaged the imperial fiscal future by granting trade concessions to Venice and Genoa in return for naval assistance.
6. To gain western military aid, Palaeologan emperors negotiated religious reunion under the papacy, but this policy alienated the majority of their Orthodox subjects.

7. With the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire under Andronicus II (1282–1328), Orthodox Christians preferred the ordered government of the Ottoman sultans rather than their Christian allies from western Europe.

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Questions to Consider:

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

Lecture Twenty-Three
Muslim Transformation

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

Outline

I. In the twelfth century, the Comnenian emperors appeared to have the strategic advantage, but because they failed to dislodge the Seljuk Turks from central and eastern Anatolia, a new Turkish Muslim civilization had emerged in Anatolia by 1350.

A. The sultans of Konya and the *ghazi* warriors of central Anatolia were long in awe of Constantinople, and Comnenian emperors hoped to convert the Turks to Orthodox Christianity.

1. Byzantine efforts to reconquer the Anatolian plateau were distracted by the successive Crusader armies.

2. The Seljuk Turks excelled in light cavalry tactics, while Comnenian emperors fielded expensive mercenary armies that were difficult to direct.

3. During the desultory fighting, the roads, cisterns, and cities so essential to Byzantine rule gradually broke down across the peninsula to the strategic benefit of the Turkomen tribes.

4. The *ghazi* horsemen honed their skills in the tactics of stealth and ambush on the Anatolian grasslands.

5. With such tactics at Myricephalon (1176), Sultan Kilij Arslan II (1156–1192) defeated Manuel I and put the Byzantines on the defensive.

B. Sultan Kay-Khusraw II (1204–1210) appeared destined to unify Anatolia into a single Turkish sultanate of Rum, based on Konya, Sivias, and Kayseri, but his heirs failed to forge a unified Muslim state.

1. Seljuk sultans from Kilij Arslan II to Kay-Khusraw II extended their sway over the Turkomen tribes east of the Euphrates and on the steppes of al-Jazirah so that they clashed with the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria.

2. Kay-Khusraw II imposed strict authority over the emirs and lords (*beyler*) and ensured royal revenues by promoting caravans and the mining of silver.

3. The Seljuk sultans failed to exploit Byzantine weakness after the sack of Constantinople (1204), and they could not control Turkomen tribes fleeing before the advancing Mongol armies.

4. At the Battle of Köse Dağ (1243), the Mongols under Bayju annihilated the army of Sultan Kay-Khusraw III, thus shattering the Sultanate of Rum into weak competing emirates and *beylikler*.

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

1. The failure of Byzantine emperors to restore imperial administration and episcopal and monastic institutions in central and eastern Asia Minor allowed for the emergence of a new Turkish Muslim civilization in Anatolia by 1350.

2. The Turkish military elite employed Iranian officials, who used Arabic or Persian as administrative languages and brought Muslim statecraft.

3. Seljuk sultans encouraged the emigration of Iranian architects and craftsmen into their increasingly Muslim cities and promoted trade with Muslim Syria, Iraq, and Iran.

4. Sultan Kaykubad (1219–1236) coined the first substantial Muslim silver coinage in Asia Minor from the specie obtained from new mines.
5. The sultans constructed a network of caravansaray, caravan stations, each with a *vafik* (endowment) of revenues levied from Christian agriculturists.
6. Sultanhan, a caravansaray outside Aksaray, epitomizes the Seljuk adaptation of Byzantine arches and masonry.

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

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

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

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

1. Without a return of Byzantine rule, the episcopal and monastic institutions languished; Christians lived in demoralized, parochial communities.
2. By 1300, many Christians learned Turkish as their prime language.
3. Iranian Sufi mystics entered Anatolia in great numbers to become the new holy men of the peninsula in the thirteenth century.
4. The Persian poet Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (1205–1277) reorganized the Maullawiayah order at Konya so vital for the conversion of Christians.
5. The *tekke* (funerary memorial) of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, hailed the Mevlana, at Konya became the premier pilgrimage site of Muslim Turkey.
6. Jalal's followers, popularly known as "Whirling Deverishers," assimilated folk Islam, Sufi mystical poetry, and dance to the festivals and rules of hospitality of traditional Anatolian villages.
7. Within a century (1250–1350), Muslim Turkey was born. Simultaneously, Seljuk sultans and, later, emirs and beys under Mongol rule sponsored the first achievements in Islamic art.

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

A. The Mongol Ilkans exacted tribute and obedience from their subjects in Asia Minor, but they paid no heed to the dissolution of the sultanate of Konya in 1277–1308.

1. Mongol forces were stationed in eastern and central Anatolia, and many of the Turkomen bands were recruited into service of the Great Khan.
2. On the grasslands of eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia roamed the White Sheep and Black Sheep Turkomen hoards (Ak Kooyunlu and Kara Koyunlu).
3. Emirs and *ghazi* warlords carved out lordships based on their tribal armies; these strong men gave their names to the territorial states (*beylikler*).
4. For example, in c. 1260, the Bey Karaman seized the oasis city of Laranda (renamed Karaman) and, by 1300, the Karamanid emirs emerged from border lords to legitimate Muslim rulers.

B. The first Ottoman sultans carved out an emirate on the Bithynian borderlands of the Byzantine Empire in 1280–1300.
   1. Orhan (1326–1362), crowned sultan in 1337, established Bursa (classical Prusa) as the first Ottoman capital.
   2. Sultans Orhan and Murad I (1362–1389) based the Ottoman army on cavalry supported by military tenures (*timars*) whose holders, *timaroits*, doubled as provincial cavalry and administrators.
   3. Murad II (1421–1451) introduced an artillery train and reformed the Janissary corps into disciplined infantry based on the Roman and Byzantine traditions.
   4. With the superb Ottoman army, Mehmet II (1451–1481) had the means to unite Muslim Anatolia, but he came in the guise of the political heir to the Byzantine Empire rather than a Turkish *ghazi* warrior.

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Questions to Consider:

1. What were Seljuk achievements and weaknesses on the eve of the Mongol invasion?

2. How did the Battle of Köse Dağ (1243) change the course of Anatolian history?

3. What were the institutions and personnel used by the sultans of Konya? What forces stimulated prosperity in Seljuk Asia Minor from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries?

4. Why were monumental Muslim buildings so important to Islamizing Anatolia?

5. Why did Christians convert to Islam in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries?

6. Why did the early Ottoman sultans emerge as the leading Turkish power by the accession of Mehmet II (1451–1481)?

Lecture Twenty-Four
The Ottoman Empire

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

Outline

I. Unexpectedly, the sultans from Mehmet II to Suleiman the Magnificent united Asia Minor and made it the heartland of a new Mediterranean Muslim Empire.

A. The first Ottoman sultans carved an emirate out of Byzantine borderlands.

1. Orhan (1326–1362), crowned sultan in 1337, captured the Byzantine cities of Bursa (ancient Prusa), Nicaea (Iznik), and Nicomedia (Izmit).

2. As sultan, Orhan was the most important regional ruler, because the title *sultan* denotes "guardianship" of the Sunni or orthodox caliphate.

3. At Bursa, as the first Ottoman capital, the first sultans initiated an imposing building program, notably Yeşil Camii (Green Mosque) and imperial *medresses*.

4. In 1354–1356, the Ottomans secured Gallipoli, overran Thrace, and transferred the capital to Edirene (1362).

5. Bayezit, "the Thunderbolt" (1389–1402), destroyed the Serbian army at Kossovo (1389) and imposed Ottoman rule over the Balkans and Anatolia.

6. A second, European heartland of Ottoman power, Rumelia, was created from land grants to *timaroits*, who doubled as provincial cavalry and administrators.

7. Murad II (1421–1451) based Ottoman infantry on the Janissaries ("New Soldiers") recruited from young Christian slaves converted to Islam and drilled into crack professionals. The Janissaries, originally 6,000 in number, rose to 50,000 by 1566.

8. Mehmet II (1451–1481) perfected siege artillery that was vital in his capture of Constantinople.

B. The sultans from Mehmet II to Suleiman the Magnificent conquered the last great traditional empire of the Mediterranean world. Constantinople and her Anatolian heartland became the center of a Muslim state that was heir to Abbasid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire.

1. Mehmet II, "the Conqueror," created the Ottoman Empire, and his capture of Constantinople in 1453 marked the emergence of the Porte, the imperial Ottoman government.

2. Mehmet conquered Anatolia, but he transmitted to his heirs the task of controlling the eastern warlords, who looked to a Timurid or Savafid ruler of Iran.

3. Checked by the Hungarians, Mehmet II committed his heirs to holy war (*jihad*) on a second front, against the Catholic Christian powers of central Europe.

4. In 1481–1566, Ottoman sultans conquered the ancient capitals and holy cities of Islam, but they confronted the strategic dilemma of battling Hapsburg Austria and Savafid Iran.

5. The war against Iranian shahs sharpened the division of Sunni and Shi'ite Islam.

6. Selim "the Grim," on conquering Egypt, assumed the caliphate; henceforth, Ottoman sultan-caliphs reigned as the religious leaders of Sunni Islam, because they possessed the historic capitals of Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Mecca, and Medina.

7. Suleiman the Magnificent conquered Hungary (1526), but he failed to capture Vienna (1529). Even so, the military balance in the Balkans shifted to the Christian foe only in the later seventeenth century.
8. Logistics and a growing fiscal crisis limited Ottoman military operations in central Europe.
9. Suleiman's Iranian Wars (1533–1535 and 1548–1549) gained Baghdad.

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

A. Mehmet II initiated the rebuilding of the ruined Byzantine capital and compelled immigrants to settle there; the city's population rose from 50,000 to 1 million within a century.
1. Mehmet II demolished Byzantine buildings in a massive urban renewal, and by the accession of Suleiman I, the city had spilled outside the Theodosian Walls and north across the Golden Horn.
2. In 1454, Mehmet II began construction of the palace of Topkapı on the highest, first hill of Constantine's city. The city was reoriented back on her original center.
3. Hagia Sophia was rededicated as an imperial mosque, and Mehmet built the Fatih Camii (Conqueror's Mosque) on the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles to mark the power of the Porte.
4. Domed Christian churches were steadily converted into mosques.

B. Suleiman I and his architect Sinan transformed Constantinople into the premier Muslim city, a model of architecture and urban amenities. For the next two centuries, Ottoman sultans set the standards for architecture and patronage in the Muslim world.
1. Sinan, a Janissary, perfected the plan of the centrally planned Christian church to the mosque.
2. Suleimaniye, an imperial complex complete with hospitals and theological quarters, was the masterpiece of Sinan.
3. The domed imperial mosques inspired mosques across the empire.
4. Selim Camii, with a low-lying dome, was a masterful adaptation of the Roman centrally domed building for a Muslim building.
5. The Sultan Ahmet Camii, or Blue Mosque (1609–1616), was the climax of the classical Ottoman mosque.

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

A. The slow political decline in the Balkans following Ottoman failure at the second siege of Vienna (1683) long went unnoticed, because the sultans at Constantinople still presided over a brilliant Muslim civilization.
1. From the 1580s, the silver of the New World entered the Ottoman Empire and drove up prices, undermining the Porte's currency and revenues.
2. For their central administration, sultans from Mehmet II to Suleiman I created a class of slave administrators, who served out of a sense of personal honor and duty to Islam. In Constantinople, loyal servile bureaucrats and guardsmen, the Janissaries, formed the central government.
3. Repeated monetary crises after 1566 led to growing corruption in the Ottoman administration and repeated succession crises.
4. The Janissaries, a privileged caste, resisted improvements of weapons. As a result, Ottoman military superiority declined after 1600 as Christian Europe advanced in military technology, notably firearms, artillery, and warships.
5. By the time of his victory at the Battle of Pyramids (1799), Napoleon Bonaparte shook the foundations of the Ottoman Empire, compelling Selim III (1789–1807) to issue the first modern reforms.

B. The cultural transformation of Asia Minor has continued in the twentieth century after the reforms of Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic in 1923–1938.
1. Turks today continue to draw on the rich and diverse heritages of many civilizations to create a nation-state and modern society.
2. The fusion of traditional and modern elements is symbolized in the mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk, Anıt Kabir, at Ankara; the complex ingeniously combines elements from all the great artistic traditions of Asia Minor into a harmonious whole.

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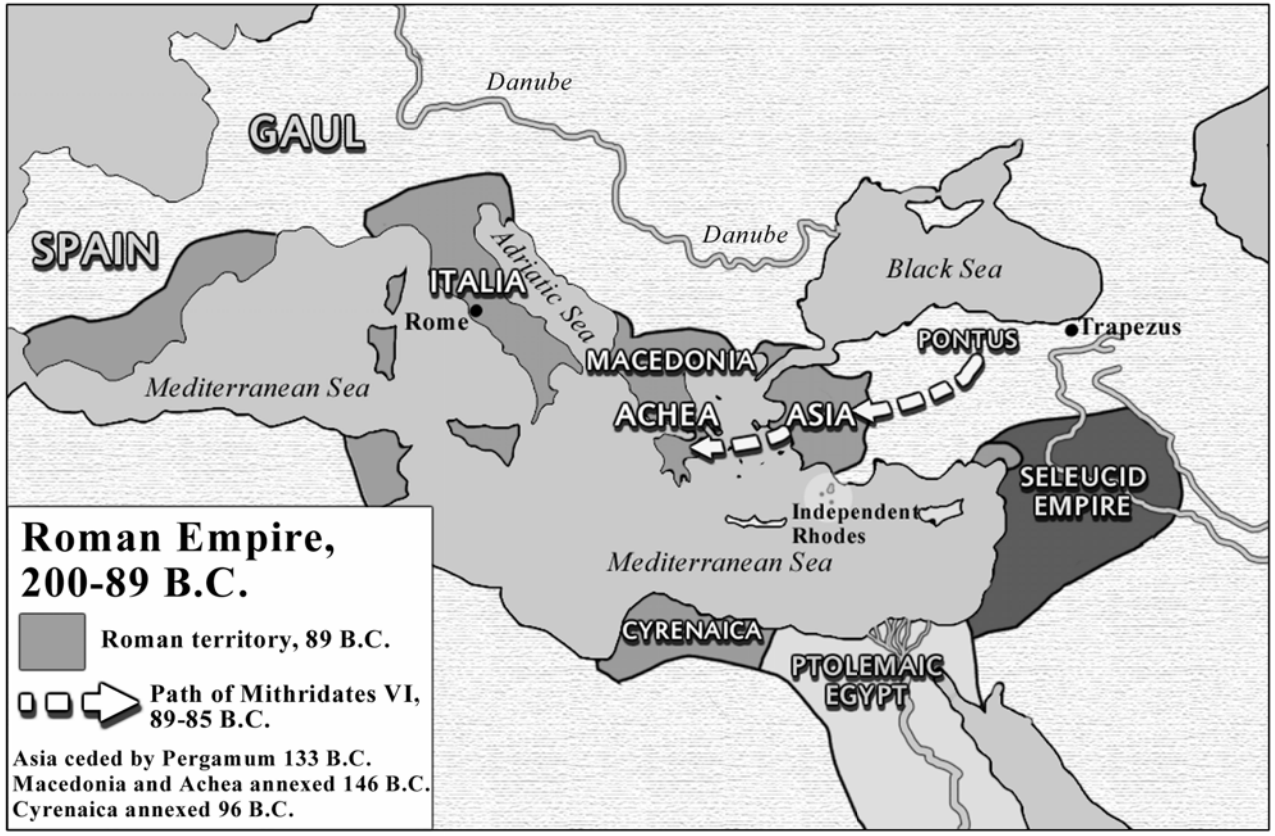
Questions to Consider:

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



Glossary

acropolis. A Greek city's citadel and location of the main temples.

agora. The market and public center of a Greek city, equivalent to a forum.

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

Asclepieion. A sanctuary to Ascelpius, god of healing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ecumenical council. A conference representing the Christian world and summoned by the Roman emperor to determine doctrine. The First Ecumenical Council, Nicaea (325), and Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople (381), condemned the Arian doctrine. The Third Ecumenical Council, Ephesus (431), condemned Nestorian doctrines. The Fourth Ecumenical Council, Chalcedon, (451) condemned Monophysite doctrine.

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

equestrian order. The landed property class of Roman citizens (assessed at 100,000 *denarii*), who stood below the senatorial order in the Principate. They provided the jurists, officials, and army officers of the imperial government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Iconoclast ("destroyer of icons"). Those who argued that icons were idols and should be removed from Christian worship in 726–843.

iconodule ("servant of icons"). Those favoring the use of icons as a means of intercession.

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

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

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

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

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

legion. The main formation of the Roman army of the Republic and Principate. Each legion (of 5,400 men) comprised professional swordsmen and specialists with Roman citizenship. The auxiliaries (*auxilia*) were provincial units providing cavalry, archers, and light-armed infantry.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

novel ("new law"). Land laws issued by Macedonian emperors from Romanus I (919–944) and Basil II (976–1025) upholding the interests of peasants and holders of military tenures.

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

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

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

Petrine Sees. The five great apostolic sees founded by Peter or his disciples. The order was fixed at the Fourth Ecumenical Council as Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Rome claims primacy and Constantinople claims equality with Rome.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shi'ite ("sectarians") and **Sunni** ("orthodox"). The two main religious divisions of the Muslim world resulting from the civil war between Ali (656–661) and Muawiya (661–680).

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

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

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

sultan ("guardian"). The Turkish commander defending the caliph, who was henceforth regarded as the religious leader of Islam. Tughril Bey was proclaimed the first sultan in 1055 when he occupied Baghdad. See **caliph**.

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

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

synoecism. A union of villages and towns to form a single *polis*.

tekke (plural *tekkeler*). A monument erected in memory of a deceased Muslim.

Tetrarchy ("rule of four"). The collective imperial rule established by Dicoletian in 285–306 with two senior Augusti and two junior Caesars.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tyrant. Any figure who seized power in a *polis* by force and ruled without law.

wanax ("lord"). The term used to describe monarchs in the Mycenaean age (600–1225 B.C.).

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