

DYNAMIC LANDSCAPES
IN LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ANATOLIA:
PILGRIMAGE, TRAVEL INFRASTRUCTURE,
AND LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY



SARAH CRAFT
JOUKOWSKY INSTITUTE FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ANCIENT WORLD
BROWN UNIVERSITY

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I. Introduction

Pilgrimage in the eastern Mediterranean, at the end of antiquity and the early centuries of what is now known as the Byzantine period, was a booming phenomenon. One type of pilgrim discussed often, because of visibility in the textual record, is the holy man as pilgrim.¹ This type of pilgrim certainly did exist, but there are other pilgrims who show up in the material and textual record as well: the lusty pilgrims of Mary of Egypt's boat-to-Jerusalem fame,² the *panegyris*-frolickers decried by Gregory of Nyssa,³ the merchant-pilgrims who took advantage of those same 'religio-commercial' fairs and markets that occurred on the saints' feast days,⁴ or those who came to be healed or become pregnant or who sought the resolution of a dispute over issues almost entirely unrelated to the holy man at his shrine. From holy man to health seeker, what is common to all these figures is their journey to a sacred destination.⁵ Archaeological and textual sources do not always allow us to reach them directly, but it is possible to outline the infrastructure of the world – the real world – through which they journeyed. The archaeological record can provide an image of pilgrimage, with material culture as fleeting glimpses, of a nexus of practices that, viewed in isolation, are indistinguishable

¹ Theodore of Sykeon; Paula; Jerome; Paulinus of Nola; etc.

² Mary of Egypt, a self-described nymphomaniac, gained passage to Jerusalem by offering sexual favors to – and perhaps even forcing herself upon – the pilgrims on a ship bound to Jerusalem for the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. See the *Life of St Mary of Egypt* 18-21, trans. Maria Kouli 1996: 80-82; see also the Latin version from Paul the Deacon (after Sophronius), *Life of St Mary of Egypt* 13-14, trans. Benedicta Ward 1987: 44-46.

³ Bitton-Ashkelony 2005: 51-57; in the *Life and Miracles of Thekla*, "One man commented on the fact that he was most inspired by a beautiful young woman that he saw during the celebration and was consumed by the thought of having his pleasure with her so that he could only offer prayers to this end" (Vryonis 1981: 201, qting from Dagron 1978: 378).

⁴ Vryonis 1981.

⁵ In my dissertation introduction, I will work through definitions of 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage,' the development of the term, and its use throughout and since late antiquity.

from another, but when viewed in their wider context can be pieced together as pilgrimage in its material context: “In pilgrimage, social practices such as religious veneration, travel, and commerce gave rise to concrete organizational forms, such as shrines, roads, hostels and artisans’ shops.”⁶ It is within this context that a landscape archaeology approach to early Christian pilgrimage is perfectly poised to make a contribution to our knowledge of that wider world.

Roads and pilgrimage are often discussed in conjunction, but usually conceived as abstractions. There are few who would argue against the notion that the two are inextricably related, but, until very recently, even fewer who have undertaken to study that relationship from the perspective of landscape archaeology, placing both pilgrimage and the infrastructure that pilgrims utilized in their wider, contemporary *material* realities.⁷ When discussed separately, pilgrimage emerges as a religious abstraction, with the literature focused on motivation and destination; when material is engaged, it usually has to do with the iconography of the souvenirs they carried home with them,⁸ or the flow of pilgrims through a particular and bounded architectural space.⁹ At the opposite end of the spectrum, roads appear as functional lines through a landscape, usually within the context of long-distance economies; or as ideological stamps relating to the spread of

⁶ Davis 2001: 136.

⁷ Exceptions include, for Christian pilgrimage, French’s (1981) *RRMAM: The Pilgrim’s Road*, and more recently, Candy 2004, 2009; Bangert 2010; Schachner 2010. For the archaeology of the pilgrim route of the Hajj to Makkah, see Tate 2007; al-Resseeni et al. 1998. The contributions to Elsner and Rutherford (2005) are text-heavy approaches that do address material aspects of early Christian pilgrimage. The political, theological, and cultural realities in which early Christian pilgrimage developed have seen much more attention. See, among others, Dietz 2004; Bitton-Ashkelony 2005; Johnson 2008.

⁸ Vikan 2010; for a critique of this approach, see Anderson 2004 and 2007.

⁹ For example, Elsner and Coleman (1994) at Sinai; Stevens (2005) at Bir Ftouha.

imperial Rome beyond peninsular Italy. Partially, this is a function of the way archaeology is traditionally practiced, with an emphasis on distribution maps and diachronic layering of features. In this approach, connectivity is interpreted from findspots of different categories of archaeological material, not physical connections. When roads are explicitly identified as connections, the goal is simply to find out where the road leads to, from where, and since when. When that level of information has been discerned, the matter is considered finished.

These observations are oversimplified for the sake of brevity, and there are of course exceptions, but such a general sense is evident in the tradition of scholarship on the two subjects. Nevertheless, just as traditional scholarship has always adhered to the theoretical and methodological issues driving contemporary research, those issues inevitably shift over time.¹⁰ Since Stopford's much-cited 1994 article arguing for an archaeology of pilgrimage as a subdiscipline in itself, innovation and progress in the broader field of archaeology – particularly in landscape archaeology and remote sensing techniques – continue to influence the direction that an archaeology of pilgrimage can and will take.¹¹ It is from point of departure that this dissertation aims to explore notions of movement and connectivity in the late antique and early Byzantine world, as seen in their material and physical manifestations, and through an early Christian pilgrimage lens.

¹⁰ See especially Trigger 2007 and Johnson 1999; refer also to 'State of the Field,' below.

¹¹ For example, Anderson's (2004 and 2007) new approach to ampullae is situated within developments in ceramic production studies; Snead et al's (2009) work on roads is based on new ways of thinking about movement and archaeological landscapes.

The pragmatics of pilgrimage

By definition, pilgrimage as a process was bound up in bodily movement,¹² necessarily involving the infrastructure required to travel through the ancient world: roads, certainly, but also bridges, boats, lodging, and water supplies for both people and animals, to present a less than exhaustive list. Beyond the simple provision of means of transportation, items such as food, clothes, and money were also necessary for a journey to be completed successfully. These items in turn required venues for acquisition, such as markets, at which items beyond those of necessity could also be procured (such as pilgrimage souvenirs). For whatever reason pilgrims might have undertaken pilgrimage, over distances great and small, both literary and archaeological remains make it clear that “not only were numbers high but also that *pilgrims were profitable*.”¹³ But what are the implications of such high numbers of pilgrims – and, potentially, large profits – on the local communities? No matter the motivations behind pilgrimage, whether it had to do with healing, or penance, or adherence to tradition, the pragmatics of pilgrimage were just as much a part of process as any individual pilgrim’s spiritual ideals.

One thing becomes very clear: pilgrimage was grounded in the daily life of the world in which it took place. Stopford’s advocated approach to studying Christian pilgrimage – considering “the assemblage of pilgrimage in its entirety, with routes, buildings, monuments, landscapes and artefacts all relevant to the theme”¹⁴ – is a useful

¹² “Early Christian pilgrimage involved a journey to a place in order to gain access to sacred power, whether manifested in living persons, demarcated spaces, or specific objects. Movement toward the sacred site, as well as ritualized movements once at the destination (such as processions, ascents, descents, and circumambulations) shaped pilgrimage” (Frank 2008: 826).

¹³ Stopford 1994: 57; my emphasis.

¹⁴ Stopford 1994: 69.

one for seeking new ways to think about the phenomenon. The materiality of an early Christian pilgrimage industry established particular shrines not just as destinations for pilgrims seeking sanctity or spiritual renewal through proximity to a saint, but also as places “charged with economic and social activity of a multitude of kinds.”¹⁵ This, in turn, created a pilgrimage industry of sorts;¹⁶ and thus it is clear that pilgrims in the ancient world negotiated not just the spiritual realm, but the contemporary political, economic, and historical world in which it took place, which in turn grew up around the practice of pilgrimage itself.

This dissertation aims to explore that negotiation between the phenomenon of early Christian pilgrimage, the infrastructure of travel and communications, and the landscape and communities in which it took place. How can we observe the negotiation archaeologically; what different material proxies can fill out the picture of pilgrimage and movement on a regional and local level? What can we glean from relevant texts about pilgrimage as an industry, as a religious undertaking, as a community practice, when most pilgrims remain “nameless, faceless, and uncountable”?¹⁷ How does such a two-pronged

¹⁵ Stopford 1994: 60.

¹⁶ Stopford 1994: 57.

¹⁷ Candy 2004: 1. The wide-ranging social backgrounds of the possessed population in the 7th-century miracle of Theodore of Sykeôn are just one clue to this wide range, enumerated in Mitchell 1993 II: 141: “With the exception of three of the women and two of the children, the sufferers were not from Theodore’s immediate locality, the villages of north-west Galatia, but from larger cities which he visited or where he had connections: two children of Ancyra, a cleric and his wife from Iuliopolis, a paralysed man at Apollonia-Sozopolis in south Phrygia, five persons from Nicomedia and its neighbourhood, and the rest, ten cases in all including the slaves, from Constantinople.” Foss (2002) supports this notion: “It is clear that masses of people were involved in pilgrimage in all periods... Most of them, at all times and in all shrines, were certainly local people, overwhelmingly peasants” (146). Following Maraval, this dissertation does not focus upon “that form of pilgrimage closely associated with the ascetic life, the *xeniteia* both advocated

undertaking impact the wider fields of late Roman and early Byzantine landscape history and landscape archaeology, both methodologically and theoretically?

Early Christian pilgrimage

The plan of research as outlined in this prospectus explores these and other questions concerning pilgrimage and its infrastructure in late Roman and early Byzantine Anatolia. Taking earlier work on pilgrimage as a point of departure, the fourth century is treated as the watershed for the beginnings of early Christian pilgrimage and thus as the chronological starting point of this investigation: “It is only in the fourth century that one can discern the emergence of the patterns of Christian pilgrimage, the evolving of the liturgy of the holy places, and the creation of the literary tools describing the pilgrimage experience.”¹⁸

The beginnings of a particularly Christian form of pilgrimage, albeit a practice with pre-Christian precedents especially in the healing cults of major Greek sites like Epidauros, Claros and Kos,¹⁹ are bound up in the changing conceptions of Christian holy places with the cult of relics and holy men.²⁰ In recent decades, discussions of sacred

and lived by certain monks of the early Christian centuries” (2002: 63); in other words, the holy man as pilgrim (see discussion on p. 2).

¹⁸ Limor 200X: 328. Maraval supports the fourth century date for the watershed in the requisite development of the “veneration of object and place” (Maraval 2002: 65); and it was during the fourth century that the term ‘holy places’ (ὁ ἅγιος τόπος, *o agios topos*) was first used by Constantine in a letter to Makarios, the Bishop of Jerusalem (Eusebios of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, 3,52; cited in Maraval 2002: 67).

¹⁹Elsner 1997 links the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* with “localized pilgrimage literature in the Second Sophistic” (Johnson forthcoming *DOP*: 1). Elsner 1992 cites the “surprising continuities between pagan and Christian culture, but also some profound differences in how the holy was perceived and experienced” (3).

²⁰ Brown 1981; Maraval 2002; Frank 2008; among others.

space in the late Roman and early Byzantine empire have noted the transition from a conception of the uniformity and universality of God-in-space²¹ to the burst of saints' cults in specific places, and subsequently the rush of pilgrims to visit them, beginning in the fourth century and continuing throughout the entirety of the medieval period.²² In the earliest centuries of documented pilgrimage this was very much a spontaneous exercise; there existed no obligation in the new Christian tradition for pilgrimage to the holy places, as seen in the injunction to visit the Temple in Jerusalem annually for Judaism (Exodus 23: 17, 34:23; Deuteronomy 16:16)²³ and the Hajj to Mecca in Islam (Quran 22: 27-30).²⁴ Inevitably, however, authoritative control over those Christian holy places developed over time. How those places acquired sacred status, and how and who visited them, was gradually, but increasingly, administered by church and state authorities.²⁵ Most of the textual evidence recording the earliest Christian pilgrims (4th century CE) indicates Jerusalem and the holy places of the Old Testament as the destinations, though some pilgrims, such as the well-known Egeria, ventured out to shrines outside the Holy Land²⁶ – for example, the shrine of Saint Thekla near Seleukeia.²⁷

²¹ Limor 2006: 326. “The supposed conflict between the original ‘spiritual’ concept [of the uniformity of sacred space] and developments in reality remained an unsolved problem of Christianity for ages, and thus it is no wonder that criticism of pilgrimage was born with the phenomenon itself.” See, among others, Bitton-Ashkelony 2005; Frank 2008; Brown 2008. See below for a more extended discussion.

²² One of the main proponents for the development of this Christian sacred topography, especially in Egypt, was the rise of the holy man. Since Peter Brown’s first publication on the holy man in 1981, the bibliography on the topic is now, as Bitton-Ashkelony aptly put, huge (2002: n. 4).

²³ Maraval 2002: 64; Bitton-Ashkelony 2005: 30.

²⁴ Peters 1994: 7-9.

²⁵ Dietz 2004; see Bitton-Ashkelony 2006 and Elsner and Rutherford 2005 for discussion of the diversity of pilgrimage practices.

²⁶ In the introduction to my dissertation, I will be working through different terms – like pilgrimage (see n. 5 above), sacred, and Holy Land – to both problematize them as well as explain

Some scholars have argued that the designation of Christian sacred places outside the Holy Land itself were appropriations of the well-known sacred spaces of the pre-Christian traditions, and were established as a result of the seventh-century invasions and the subsequent difficulties of pilgrimage to Jerusalem.²⁸ This is based, at least in part, on the notion that the Holy Land itself, where the biblical and New Testament events were thought to have taken place, lent itself to a particular kind of sacred space (and thus a pilgrimage experience specific to the sacred spaces in Palestine).²⁹ Recent approaches to the history and archaeology of the early Christian Roman world show that such one-to-one correlations no longer stand up to prolonged scrutiny.³⁰ Certainly much more was at stake than the ‘victory’ of one religion over another, especially with the ramifications – social, economic, political – of pilgrimage for those sites which became well-known and highly visited, on both long-distance and local scales, from the early days of their foundation. In this way, the nature of these newly ‘discovered’³¹ sacred spaces was intimately tied to travel and communication routes and infrastructure: either the routes and infrastructure that were already in place before the establishment of a pilgrimage destination, or the routes and infrastructure that were built and maintained in order to

my own understanding and use of them. R. Falcasantos has suggested that I use Palestine, as the name of the Roman province, instead of Holy Land.

²⁷ *Eg.* 22.2-23.6, trans. Wilkinson 1999: 140-141.

²⁸ These scholars see the reuse of pre-Christian buildings – whether religious in function or not – or even just their *spolia*, = as the conscious manifestation and visual display of the triumph of Christianity over paganism (Saradi 1997: 395; Deichmann 1939; Hebert 2000).

²⁹ Contra, as it stands now, of Bitton-Ashkelony 2002, who suggests that pilgrimages of different kinds – she does not mention different places within the sacred topography – are a “basically similar religious phenomenon” (2).

³⁰ Thinking of my own work on the temple-church conversion at Aphrodite, but should cite actual published arguments as well; check Papalexandrou, etc for detailed references; for textual approaches to this adoption of sites, see Johnson forthcoming *DOP*: 9.

³¹ *inventio*: Geary 1986.

accommodate the traffic that those pilgrimage sites engendered. The issue of maintenance is particularly salient in the historical context of the declining standards of roads in late antiquity.³² Thus, this dissertation adopts a methodological approach that takes the archaeological investigation of these infrastructural features and situates them within known patterns of pilgrimage.

Pilgrims making landscape, landscape making pilgrims

Problematic for an archaeological study of travelers is the inability to distinguish between ‘types’ of traveler through the remains that can be found either on the ground or in it, except through very particular and unfortunately rarely found types of evidence such as pilgrimage ampulla.³³ This acknowledgment, however, raises two important points: one, that it was a rare ancient traveler, Christian or otherwise, who could be considered of a certain ‘type’ – for instance, there was not always, or even usually, a marked difference between a pilgrim or a merchant or an ambassador or a sailor or a soldier in terms of where and how they traveled, and what they took with them or brought back.³⁴ On the level of more local travels, this ambiguity of purpose would have been even more pronounced. Secondly, as informative as an archaeology of pilgrimage on a local or

³² Haldon 2006.

³³ It has been cautioned that even pilgrimage ampulla should not be correlated with the journeys of individual pilgrims but rather considered more indicative of contacts between the object’s point of origin and its findspot, or even of modern collecting habits (Anderson 2007). On this first point, see more below. For recent work on situating pilgrimage within a landscape perspective in the medieval West, see Candy 2004; 2009.

³⁴ Foss 2002, for example, suggests that pilgrimage was sometimes “only an incidental motive” (146) to other purposes for travel, such as a for sailors, mercenaries, merchants, etc. Rutherford 2009 discusses Greek theoric networks in which envoys can be envisioned as pilgrims; Elsner and Rutherford 2005 give examples of travelers who did more than just business. Constable 2003 and McCormick 2002 provide later examples, though with a heavily western bias.

regional level may be on its own terms, it cannot be productive in a literary and epigraphic vacuum. Itineraries, hagiographies, inscriptions, and descriptions in other sources are rich sources for the study of early Christian pilgrimage, and this study will draw on textual sources referring to pilgrimage, roads, accommodations, and the destinations themselves. As the aim of this dissertation is to study the potentially diverse forms and implications of early Christian pilgrimage – albeit situated within a wider social, economic, political and religious world – caution is necessary in order to avoid the potential danger of extrapolating what may have been an exceptional experience into a paradigm for pilgrimage.³⁵ Just as texts provide glimpses of pilgrimage at a particular time and in a particular place, the archaeological record provides glimpses of various pilgrimage activities at particular places and times. Examining the two in conjunction makes it possible to weave together a larger picture of early Christian pilgrimage in all its diverse forms.

Thus, this study is focused on pilgrimage, rather than an attempt to trace out the specific journeys of individual pilgrims, about whom so much has already been written.³⁶ Situating the infrastructure of pilgrimage within the framework of the wider workings of a regional landscape can do much to fill in gaps of knowledge about early Christian pilgrimage in particular, as well as the wider eastern Mediterranean world in general at a time of often radical changes; changes that can be seen in all accounts, from

³⁵ As has been noted, “The literary choices [in the *Life and Miracles of Thekla*]... do, in fact, offer a window on the plain of Seleukeia in late antiquity, but this window is the one through which the author has decided we should look” (Johnson 2006: 171).

³⁶ references to books on Egeria, Piacenza, etc.

archaeological to textual to epigraphical.³⁷ But there were many aspects of life that were similar to the centuries and millennia of habitation and movement that had come before.³⁸ Local economies, changes in settlement pattern as well as in the infrastructure required to move between settlements, and religious practice all affected how early Christian pilgrimage was undertaken. In turn, the practice of pilgrimage contributed to the forms that those economies, settlement patterns, and religious practices developed and changed – or not – over time.

Recognition of the dialectical relationship between pilgrimage and its physical infrastructure provides a foundation on which to base an investigation of routes in the landscape, and the movement of people and goods that routes facilitate. The landscape provides the context for identifying the relationship, and movement is the lens through which to approach both roads and pilgrimage. The aim of this approach is to gain a better understanding of the landscape itself; it has long been established that the landscape is not simply a backdrop to the processes of human life. Routes, like those activities, are deeply immersed in it, and a better understanding of how and why people moved through it, along those routes, will potentially lead to a better understanding of landscape. In an attempt to piece together the ancient landscape, routes are an integral facet: they hold the world together, in all its various parts – social, economic, cultural, political, military, agricultural, religious, and so on – through the movement they facilitate. But the roads themselves were not the only elements of routes. They, and their

³⁷ See especially Haldon 1997.

³⁸ For discussion and debate over the changes in the Mediterranean world at the end of antiquity, see:

associated infrastructure, were embedded in the landscapes through which they ran. In the end, “the point is precisely that [the road] is indivisible from the broader canvas” of the landscape at large.³⁹ This is not simply a physical integration, but a conceptual one. Inclusion of these elements is particularly necessary in the attempt to avoid creating a false dichotomy between the journey and the destination, which is not especially useful in conceptualizing the importance of movement through a landscape, whether for the purpose of pilgrimage or trade or agriculture.⁴⁰ Routes render that dichotomy invalid, through careful examination of the patterns and infrastructure that constitute *connectivity*.⁴¹ Identification of those patterns and infrastructure reveals in a very tangible and explicit way *why*, and *how*, routes and their infinite ‘destinations’ are inseparable, not just in the practice of pilgrimage and travel but also in topography, settlement patterns, political structure, religious practice, and so on.

Pilgrimage was a dynamic process, both in its undertaking and in its development as an institution and practice over time. That same dynamism applies to the very infrastructure in which it occurred, a point that is often glossed over in traditional discussions of roads. In this sense, a road, once conceived as a single feature, can no longer be something this is necessarily considered as an holistic entity, static in both purpose and morphology along the length of its entire course. Innovative projects like Gibson’s systematic survey and mapping of roads and paths in the Palekhori region in

³⁹ Horden and Purcell 2000: 91.

⁴⁰ More recent scholarship on the archaeologies of movement and mobility has the potential to shed light on the role of movement through a landscape. See Snead et al 2009; Ingold XXXX; Sellet, Greaves, and Yu (eds.) 2006; Barnard and Wendrich (eds.) 2008. There is a strong focus on mobile horticulturalists, pastoralists, and hunter-gatherers in this literature.

⁴¹ See below for an extended discussion of connectivity.

Cyprus holds much potential for taking these variations into consideration and as a lens through which to study movement along those routes. Through that lens, there is an opportunity “to gain some understanding of the importance of specific routes and the direction that people moved through the landscape.”⁴² It is about roads in their local context; landscape as a regionally diverse setting of dynamic processes and relationships, not a static collection of generic features.⁴³ An investigation of roads highlights the dynamism of those landscapes.

⁴² Gibson 2007: 72.

⁴³ Spirn 1998: 133; cf. Graham 2006: 47.

II. State of the Field and Theoretical Considerations

The merits of investigating routes and communications of the ancient world through various material and literary sources have been both proved and lauded in the last decade. Proponents of studying movement and connectivity in the ancient Mediterranean through routes and communications have had their critics, but they have been largely influential in much work that has taken place since their publication.⁴⁴ Notions of connectivity, especially over long-distances, feature heavily in the literature as shipwrecks emerge,⁴⁵ distributions of ceramic types are mapped,⁴⁶ and new approaches to literary sources show the wide-ranging lives of people who previously were thought to have been tied to their land for the whole of their lives.⁴⁷ These approaches, however, usually consist of mapping distributions and descriptions and conceptualizing the lines between them, rather than detailing the sea- and land-routes that connected different locations in the first place.

Part of this neglect of the physical routes themselves stems from a long held stigma against studying the remains of roads: “Vital topic though it is in trying to understand the workings of the countryside, the history of... [the] study [of roads] shows it to be characteristically the haunt of the romantic, the irrational and the obsessional.”⁴⁸

The very work that the investigation of roads requires, and the questions that subsequently arise out of such investigation, lends itself easily to poetic musings and

⁴⁴ Especially Horden and Purcell 2000; McCormick 2003.

⁴⁵ references

⁴⁶ references

⁴⁷ references

⁴⁸ Fowler 1998: 25.

imaginative wandering. Roads appealed to the antiquarian imagination then, and they still do now; they literally provide a route by which to see the past.⁴⁹

Matthew Johnson (2005, 2007) has pointed out the ideological underpinnings of English Romanticism in the work of W.G. Hoskins, the “father of landscape history,”⁵⁰ as having the same romantic penchant. The criticism has also been leveled at other early scholars of roads, such as W. M. Ramsay (1890) and T. Ashby (1921). Yet no one can accuse these scholars of having been anything but decidedly empirical in their pursuit of the roads in the landscape – among the other features they sought in the topography of England – while other, more recent, scholars, perhaps fall prey to the other end of the spectrum: subjecting their analysis to more abstract notions of networks and movement without a particularly firm grounding in the physical evidence.⁵¹ Where is the middle ground between these two approaches? Is there a way to fruitfully combine them? These questions are key to an understanding of the history of how some scholars have approached the subject – and remains – of ancient roads in the landscape. The dissertation outlined in this prospectus aims to reconcile these two approaches.

The body of scholarship in which there is mention of – if not focus upon – roads is vast. Three decades ago, Taylor posited that “more has been written about roads and tracks than perhaps about any other aspect of the... landscape and another book on the subject might seem to be superfluous,”⁵² and while that remark does reinforce the vastness of the available literature, this dissertation aims to demonstrate that the potential danger

⁴⁹ My thanks to Prof. Jeffrey Becker for providing this particularly appropriate metaphor.

⁵⁰ Johnson 2007: xii; Johnson 2005: iii.

⁵¹ See, for example, Ingold 2007; Graham 2006; critique in Brughmans 2010.

⁵² 1979: ix.

of superfluity can be avoided if the subject of roads is approached from a new angle. That, of course, requires establishing what exactly the *previous* angle was, and this dissertation will address the benefits and obstacles presented by the methodological and theoretical perspectives that have come before, as well as future directions for productive investigation.

Working in Anatolia at the turn of the twentieth century, the scholar William M. Ramsay was certainly taking roads – and “the trip as it once was”⁵³ – into account. The first section of his magisterial *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), tellingly entitled “General Principles,” almost exclusively focuses on roads and routes and their development and change over time:⁵⁴

[The] movements of armies and peoples and civilizations have taken place along a few lines of roads, some of which have been more important at one time, some at another. To trace in outline the history of these roads, to show how they are marked out by nature, and how the variation in their comparative importance, produced by historical reasons, has reacted on the distribution of the chief centres of population, is the subject this essay.⁵⁵

Taking the roads of the ancient world as the foundation for his entire study indicates the importance he accorded them in the workings of the ancient world. David French’s study of the *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor* (1981) follows that tradition closely, while amassing an invaluable catalogue of epigraphic data for courses of Roman roads.⁵⁶ His study, however, is very narrowly focused, and autopsy depends less on the course of the road itself than the inscriptions that appear along it; the two-volume set is less a

⁵³ Snead et al. 2009: 18; Alcock et al. forthcoming.

⁵⁴ Chapters include “The ‘Royal Road’”, “The Eastern Trade Route,” “The Roman Roads in Asia Minor,” and “The Byzantine Roads.”

⁵⁵ Ramsay 1890: 26.

⁵⁶ French 1974.

description or interpretation than a list. Ramsay's and French's undertakings, as well as my own, draw on a long tradition of reconstructing the historical geography of Asia Minor, from Hamilton (1842) to Anderson (1903) to Bryer & Winfield (1985).

A lack of communication between scholars may be more to blame than a dearth of evidence in the lack of comprehensive studies *and interpretations* that can result from the investigation of roads in Asia Minor both before and during the Byzantine period. This situation has been duly noted already by Snead et al. in the introduction to their volume *Landscapes of Movement*: "Despite the universality of these features most research has been conducted in isolation, with rare cross-citation. Potentially productive insights and concepts thus either languish or are continually re-invented."⁵⁷ As the attached bibliography of this prospectus suggests (and it is by no means comprehensive or exhaustive), the amount of available evidence makes this observation bewildering. While a comprehensive overview of the major and minor road-systems of Asia Minor is not possible within the scope of this project, compilation of different suites of evidence from different regions in modern-day Turkey will begin to address that gap in scholarship.

Many of the volumes produced in the name of investigating roads and tracks have been dismissed as "largely nonsense and [as having] little or no relevance to the truth."⁵⁸ Two issues in particular arise from this statement: one, the nature of the volumes that have appeared as opposed to articles, chapters, and contextualization in larger publications; and the notion that roads have, in one way or another, a 'relevance to the truth.' Over the last three decades, and within the archaeological community's debates

⁵⁷ Snead et al. 2009: 3.

⁵⁸ Taylor 1979: x.

over processualism, post-processualism, and beyond, the notion that there is a “truth” that can be achieved through systematic archaeological recording has been overturned; rather, in the words of Barbara Bender, the formulation has changed from an *either/or* situation to one that is *and/and*.⁵⁹ In a discussion of routes, this is particularly relevant to issues of dating features that were often used over long periods of time. Taylor asks a blunt question, which, under careful consideration, is rather difficult to answer:

Once tracks are made, even if they were produced in the first instance by wandering animals, they tend to be used by succeeding generations often for hundreds if not thousands of years. Their importance may vary across the ages: a track between two prehistoric villages might become part of a major road between towns in the Roman period, decline to a farm lane in Saxon times, be developed as a national trade route in the fourteenth century and then become an overgrown footpath by the present day. *Even if we could ascertain all these changes, which is doubtful, what ‘date’ do we say it is?*⁶⁰

This question, and the subsequent inability to answer it, goes back to a thread that runs through the tradition of scholarship on roads: an obsession with origins. “How old is this road?” is a legitimate question, if not a research agenda in itself, but more often than not, finding the answer does not clarify the issue on the table; it depends on the actual research question being asked.⁶¹ The strength of archaeology lies in its capacity to undertake a diachronic approach, and routes are not the first subject to run up against the problem of traditional periodization and its limits in asking, and answering, archaeological questions about landscapes, and the place of routes and associated

⁵⁹ Bender 2002: 77.

⁶⁰ Taylor 1979: xi; emphasis added.

⁶¹ Cf. especially French 1993 in his critique of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* volumes: “Nowhere in the TIB is the notion of an hereditary relationship (if any) between Roman and Byzantine roads, unambiguously stated and critically examined” (445).

infrastructure within them. The implication is that there is a tension between studying routes as independent structures in the landscape through a diachronic lens, and deploying routes as one facet of a discussion of the wider landscape in a synchronic context. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive undertakings, but an attempt to ‘do it all’ is also not always a feasible approach.

There have been promising new developments in the investigation of ancient roads in the last decade. The 2008 *Highways and Byways in the Pre-modern world* conference at Brown University produced a collection of papers that push further the explicit incorporation and consideration of roads in the landscape; particularly relevant for this paper is Jennifer Gates-Foster’s essay on roads in Egypt’s Eastern Desert, and the exciting scholarship that she reviews in it.⁶² We await synthetic publication of survey results at Zeugma, where investigators have traced roads along the Euphrates, and at Tahirler, where Peter Brown and Joel Walker may have deduced the location of ancient Sykeon, home of St Theodore and the location of the legendary inn in which he was conceived (in itself an interesting element for a discussion of roads and travel in the ancient world).⁶³

On a final note, it is telling that one of the most recent publications on roads and their role in the landscape – Snead, Erickson, and Darling’s edited volume *Landscapes of Movement* (2009) – features only one archaeologist from the Old World: Jason Ur, who has long (and with successfully compelling results) studied the hollow ways of northern

⁶² Gates-Foster forthcoming.

⁶³ Festugière 1970, *Vie de Saint Théodore de Sykéôn* 3.

Mesopotamian.⁶⁴ The observation that most of the scholars explicitly engaging with roads in the landscape are New World archaeologists and anthropologists suggests that there is as much a disciplinary divide at work here as a lack of cross-citation, though the above-mentioned *Highways and Byways* conference publication highlights the decreasing gap in regard to Old World scholars tackling roads, movement, and infrastructure. This dissertation will participate in the step towards diminishing that divide, particularly with regard to archaeology and infrastructure.

The study of roads also falls victim to the practice of archaeology in the Mediterranean in general, and Asia Minor in particular: the focus of most archaeological work undertaken focused on urban areas, and within that, the monumental.⁶⁵ Within that intellectual and evidentiary framework, the political and social terrain is presented without a solid grounding in the surrounding landscape in terms of the physical remains of the movement of goods and people.⁶⁶ However, this picture is gradually changing, especially with the ever-increasing amount of systematic survey work that is being undertaken all over the Mediterranean,⁶⁷ and with increasing excavation of smaller sites. As a result, a different picture of the late antique eastern Mediterranean is emerging, one

⁶⁴ Ur 2009, “Emergent landscapes of movement in Early Bronze Age northern Mesopotamia.”

⁶⁵ “This, however, is a problem common to archaeological research on most of the early civilisations, whose central places have usually received much more intensive study than the environmental and social landscapes in which they and their satellites existed” (Cherry 1977: 76).

⁶⁶ Bender 2001: 75.

⁶⁷ *Side-by-Side Survey* (Susan E. Alcock and John F. Cherry, eds., 2004); Patterson 2006; *inter alia*.

that, instead of pitting catastrophe against continuity relative to the high Roman Empire,⁶⁸ heightens scholarly awareness of the dynamism of that landscape.

Dynamism and landscape are not terms that have often been coupled, within the field of the late antique and early Byzantine history, until the last few decades. Typical, and heartening for the prospects of this project, is the following recent analysis of a late antique landscape in southern Anatolia: “the prosperity of the settlements in the region which were clearly engaged in large-scale architectural construction during this period does not support the picture of regional distress presented by the written sources.”⁶⁹ The emerging picture, the result of increasing attention to post-Roman layers in archaeological investigations, is different enough from what came before to merit treatment as a “a distinctive and quite decisive period of history that stands on its own.”⁷⁰ Late antiquity – which has been defined as early as 250 CE and as late as 800 CE – has long been seen through Gibbon’s famous treatment of it as the waning of a golden age.⁷¹ But this perception, while not exactly being reversed, is changing, and this dissertation aims to contribute to this growing body of knowledge about the late antique and early Byzantine world of the eastern Mediterranean. Early Christian pilgrimage was a significant factor in the development of the later Roman world, and it is the state of *that* field to which we now turn.

⁶⁸ The ‘catastrophe versus continuity’ in late antiquity argument has developed, and been heatedly debated, from Pirenne 1937 onwards, with Holum 2005; Lavan 2001, 2006; Lepelley 1992; Liebeschuetz 1992; and Ward-Perkins 1996 & 2005 as some of the most vocal contributors.

⁶⁹ Varinlioglu 2007: 296.

⁷⁰ Bowersock et al. 2001: ix. Cf. the Late Antique Archaeology series edited by Luke Lavan with other scholars; Haldon 1997; etc.

⁷¹ Bowersock 2009.

Pilgrimage in the ancient (and modern) world has seen several characteristic approaches in the scholarly literature of the last half-century or so. One of the definitive works on pilgrimage, upon which almost all later scholarship has depended or at least has referenced, is the so-called “Turnerian paradigm” put forward by Victor and Edith Turner in their *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* in the late 1970s.⁷² This paradigm revolves around the notion of anti-structure and pilgrimage’s capacity to facilitate *communitas*, with the conclusion that it exists as a ‘liminoid’ phenomenon outside the realm of daily, authoritarian institutions.⁷³ While many authors since, particularly in the anthropological literature, have criticized the idealism and naïveté of this model, it still remains the most commonly used departure point for examining pilgrimage in the ancient world.⁷⁴

Other literature that focuses on pilgrimage in the ancient world (Christian or not) has involved a place-centered approach, so that pilgrimage destinations (like oracular shrines, as at Delphi or Didyma; healing shrines, like the Asklepeion at Ephesus or Epidauros; or martyria, like St. John’s in Ephesus), rather than the journeys themselves, are the focus of investigation. They are explored as sites of contestation,⁷⁵ as phenomenological experiences,⁷⁶ and as sites of memory in their appropriation of the pre-

⁷² Turner and Turner 1978.

⁷³ “Since it is voluntary, not an obligatory social mechanism to mark the transition of an individual or group from one state or status to another within the mundane sphere, [Christian] pilgrimage is perhaps best thought of as “liminoid” or “quasi-liminal,” rather than “liminal” in Van Gennep’s full sense” (Turner 1978: 34-35). Van Gennep posited that rites of passage or transition consist of three phases – separation, limen, and aggregation – and the Turners identified pilgrimage as a lay form of liminality, the second phase or stage.

⁷⁴ Coleman 2002; Preston 1992; Eade and Sallnow 1991. See, however, Elsner 1992: 12-15.

⁷⁵ Eade and Sallnow 1991; Coleman 2002; Elsner and Rutherford 2005.

⁷⁶ Coleman and Elsner 1994.

Christian past.⁷⁷ These are certainly important aspects of pilgrimage, but examining remains only at the destination runs the risk of presenting only what appears to be a static moment, dismissing the active, fluid, and time- and distance-dependent nature of pilgrimage.⁷⁸ A research agenda focused solely on the pilgrimage destination disregards many potentially fruitful questions, including those issues “concerning informants’ views and constructions of locality, landscape, mobility, space, place, the national and the transnational.”⁷⁹

A place-centered approach also tends to focus on the spiritual motivations for pilgrimage, and the subsequent ramifications for the development of and nature of early Christianity, particularly as it applies to the ‘lay’ population. This approach neglects the aspects of the daily life of the local communities impacted not only at the destination of the pilgrimage but also on the places encountered en route. Motivations are certainly an important part of understanding why and how people in the ancient world went on pilgrimages, but they are only part of the process. Perhaps most significantly, this results in pilgrimage being abstracted solely to the spiritual realm, ignoring the pragmatics of daily life in which any journey, not just pilgrimage, was firmly grounded, and the social and political institutions which more often than not played a major role in influencing who made the journeys, where they made them, and how they made them. Pilgrimage required an immense practical infrastructure: roads, bridges, food, lodging, transportation, protection, and clothes. No matter how lofty the inspiration behind

⁷⁷ Papalexandrou 2003.

⁷⁸ Coleman and Eade 2004: 2.

⁷⁹ Coleman and Eade 2004: 6.

pilgrimage, these were all necessary for a pilgrimage to be realized, whether it was a long-distance pilgrimage from Constantinople to the shrine of St Thecla near Seleukeia (a distance of over 1,000 kilometers) or a local pilgrimage to the annual panegyris of St Theodore at Euchaita from places as close as Amaseia (65 kilometers away). This dissertation proposes to round out the in-depth studies of pilgrimage based on literature with a deeper understanding of the details of the realm in which pilgrimage took place.

The archaeology of pilgrimage is not a particularly widespread undertaking, but those studies that have taken place have produced exciting results.⁸⁰ Again, these investigations tend to focus on the architectural complexes of the shrines themselves, but more and more those projects have come to include excavations of buildings outside the pilgrimage church itself. Numbered among these are the excavations at the mountain of Aaron (Jabal Harun) in Jordan, Bir Ftouha in Tunisia, and Abu Mina in Egypt.⁸¹ Not coincidentally, these sites are often monastic complexes, and perhaps stem from a growing interest in monastic archaeology in the eastern Mediterranean, though not on a scale to match the field of monastic archaeology in the western Mediterranean.⁸²

Monasteries, like pilgrimage destinations – or, sometimes, as pilgrimage destinations – are important focal points for the intersection of different spheres and trajectories in the early Christian world, including the movement of travelers. As late antique phenomena

⁸⁰ See Bangert 2010 for references to some current projects on the archaeology of pilgrimage in the Mediterranean; and select chapters from Frankfurter 1998, particularly Grossman's on Abu Mina.

⁸¹ Fiema et al. 2008; Stevens et al 2005; Grossman 1998.

⁸² Bonde 1999; Talbot 2009.

that developed into mainstays of Byzantine culture and society,⁸³ they demonstrate well the notions of intersections and connectivity, movement, and physical accommodation, as well as the particularities of the historical moment, that lay at the heart of this dissertation proposal.

⁸³ Talbot 2009 details “the many ways in which fully developed Byzantine monasticism was inextricably involved with society” (258).

III. Case studies and methodology

The sheer physicality of early Christian pilgrimage, both the labors of getting there and the necessity of physical contact with the sacred relic or holy man, lends archaeology's immediate relevance to its study. There have been many excellent studies of early Christian pilgrimage based on interrogation of the texts themselves while drawing on physical evidence at the pilgrimage destinations, studies that speak to a wider phenomenon of long-distance pilgrimage in the Mediterranean world.⁸⁴ With those wider-context foundations firmly established, the question of local diversity can be probed further. Situating pilgrimage within a smaller scale and local context has the potential to be extremely informative not just about the religious practices of early Christian Anatolia, but also about the contemporary regional economy, settlement patterns, and interaction between the pilgrims and the communities in which they stopped.

Because this approach stems from the premise of studying early Christian pilgrimage as a diverse phenomenon with local specificity, four case studies form the basis of examination: the basilica of St John at Ephesos on the western coast of Turkey, the pilgrimage shrine of St Theodore at Euchaita in north-central Turkey, the church of St Michael in Germia, located in central Turkey, and the shrine of St Thekla near Seleukeia on the southern coast of Turkey. Each case study engages with a major issue raised in the prospectus above, but to the extent possible each will address the major threads running

⁸⁴ Davis 2001; Frank 2000; Malamut 1993; selections from Elsner and Rutherford 2005, among others.

through the dissertation.⁸⁵ These case studies fall under the broader umbrella of the eastern Mediterranean, which has become at least an heuristic if not a practical division of the sea and the way it is studied, especially from the third, fourth and fifth centuries on through the medieval period and up to the present day. These are the centuries that saw the declining fortunes of the western half of the empire, the eventual fall of Rome in 476 and the notional end of the Roman empire.⁸⁶ The four case studies run the gamut from relative “insignificance on the macoregional level”⁸⁷ (Seleukeia, the closest city to Ayatekla) to a major economic and cultural center on a Mediterranean-wide scale (Ephesos). Yet, they are linked conceptually to the sacred topography of the day:

Sometimes this elder would decide to go somewhere on a journey; maybe a great distance into the wilderness, or to Jerusalem to reverence the Holy Cross and the Holy Places, or to pray at Mount Sinai, or to visit martyrs <shrines> many a long day’s travel from Jerusalem [his home]. He was greatly devoted to the martyrs, this elder. Now he would visit Saint John at Ephesos; another time, Saint Theodore at Euchaïta or Saint Thecla the Isaurian at Seleucia or Saint Sergios at Saphas. Sometimes he would go to visit this saint, sometimes another...⁸⁸

Clearly, it is possible that these pilgrimage destinations were considered to be on a circuit of sorts, and the fact that they are associated in a contemporary text lends even more weight to investigating (some of) them within similar parameters and with similar questions in this dissertation.

The case studies come to the table with various suites of evidence (outlined in more detail, below): Ephesos, for example, has seen over 100 years of excavation by the

⁸⁵ This is addressed in more depth in the description of each case study, below, and will be clear from the working chapter outline for the dissertation.

⁸⁶ B. Ward-Perkins 2005.

⁸⁷ Varinlioglu 2008.

⁸⁸ Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow* 180; trans. Wortley 1992: 149-150.

Austrian school, while Ayatekla has a rich textual tradition. Euchaita, in recent years, has hosted a regional survey, while Germia has not benefited from much reportage at all until very recently;⁸⁹ Mitchell (1993) has suggested that the pilgrimage church built by Zeno at Ayatekla and Michaelskirche in Galatia are each others' closest equivalents,⁹⁰ and thus are immediately set up for productive comparison. The late antique boom in construction of churches was indeed an integral part of the changing definitions of sacred space in the earliest years of the period under consideration in this dissertation.⁹¹ Much energy will be directed toward situating the pilgrimage churches within the archaeologically detectable infrastructure – including the complexes of which the pilgrimage churches themselves were a part – and relevant literary sources for the region embracing a given pilgrimage destination. Within those parameters, the definition of any given region will vary depending on the amount of published and ongoing fieldwork, and will inevitably be reassessed upon analysis of the archaeology of each region during the course of the dissertation work.

Where fieldwork is possible, depending on the nature of project-permitting protocols and the nature of current research at the respective pilgrimage shrines, its methodology will be based upon that already outlined by Gibson in her systematic survey and mapping of the roads and paths of Cyprus (2007). Her described survey and recording methods are particular to the larger methods of the Sydney Cyprus Survey

⁸⁹ Mango 1986; Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010.

⁹⁰ Mitchell 1993: 117.

⁹¹ “The increase in the number of Christians during the third century, which was particularly marked during the second half, the period of the so-called truce of the Church, and the corresponding construction of places of worship, necessarily favored this tendency toward the sacralization of persons and places” (Maraval 2002: 66).

Project and Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (under whose auspices she conducted her fieldwork on paths and roads). However, her recording strategy is applicable outside Cypriot topography, and would be easily incorporated into a more traditional Mediterranean-style survey methodology:⁹²

Once located, each road/path is systematically recorded by separating it into discrete units (Road Units) defined by the environmental conditions and morphological characteristics of the path/road surface. This technique is termed 'block survey.' Methodologically, block survey is a particularly useful way of investigating the detailed materiality of routes. The topographic location, width, length, structural features, surface stability, and the environment surrounding the road/path are recorded for each unit... Material culture such as pottery and chipped stone found within, or associated with, Road Units is recorded to gain further information about the chronology and function of the route.⁹³

What appeals to me most about her recording strategy is that a separation of "roads and paths into units based on morphological differences highlights the variability of individual routes."⁹⁴ It is crucial that this initial step does not assume the nature of pilgrimage on any given route in an area before the data has been collected and compiled in a Geographic Information System (GIS) environment, as Dietrich Denecke insisted already thirty years ago: "[Die] systematische, flächendeckende Kartierung [of roads and its associated infrastructure] zunächst ohne Rücksicht auf die Zeit ihrer Benutzung oder auf ihre mögliche einstige Funktion, ist die Grundlage jder regionalen Untersuchung."⁹⁵ This method is necessary in addressing the ambiguity critiqued by French in an article on the dating of Roman roads, citing "an implicit acceptance that by natural process, a

⁹² See Alcock and Cherry 2004;

⁹³ Gibson 2007: 65.

⁹⁴ Gibson 2007.

⁹⁵ Denecke 1979: 443.

Roman road become, or was transformed into a *Byzantine* road.”⁹⁶ A more detailed understanding of the development of roads and their use over time will allow scholars to “unambiguously state” and “critically examine” whether there is as much of a hereditary relationship between Roman and Byzantine roads as has been assumed up to now.⁹⁷ While excavation is not within the scope of this project in order to comprehensively deal with the date of a road’s construction and use, systematic analysis of its associated infrastructure should shed some light on the problem.

Historical accounts of routes in an area will serve as the starting point for locating roads on the ground. These will not be taken as a given, however, but confirmed through ground verification. This requires an explicit definition of what the material correlates of movement actually are. Centuries of meticulous recording by various scholars and enthusiasts have produced countless volumes of material evidence for movement through the Anatolian landscape. Foremost among these for historic periods (primarily Roman) are epigraphic: from the nearly comprehensive volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* to the much more specialized undertaking in French’s *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor* (1981), much reconstruction of the routes has already been (successfully) attempted. Perhaps even more useful for thinking about the role of routes in the landscape are the records of bridges and arches that mark points of passage through the landscape. Like milestones that are found in situ, these can help pinpoint courses of roads when their surfacing has either been erased or never existed in the first place. While acknowledging that one of the most important aspects of identifying the

⁹⁶ French 1993: 445.

⁹⁷ French 1993: ; see p. 451, n. 32, for implications.

routes of antiquity is recognizing the ‘places in between’, it still holds true that the greater part of our understanding of a route *does* depend on how it fits the data where it touches.⁹⁸ In a pilgrimage landscape perspective, this includes more than just the macro-scale nodes of settlements and cities, but also indicators of ‘special sites’⁹⁹ and other features to be found in the landscape: among them, cemeteries and water sources. There is a long association between roads and tombs, particularly at crossroads.¹⁰⁰ Because there is frequently an association between courses of water and roads, it is not surprising that many routes, especially those on which long-distance travel takes place, tend to follow the course of water resources.¹⁰¹ This would have facilitated not just military, trade and pilgrimage travelers, but shepherds and their flocks moving through the area, as well.

One intriguing new point of entry is the rather under-investigated nature of small-scale inhabitation along those routes, such as inns and way-stations,¹⁰² which John Chrysostom reports to have existed along many fourth-century roads as places of rest and lodging for both travelers and their animals.¹⁰³ Using material evidence for where people *stopped* provides evidence for punctuated *movement* as real time experience.¹⁰⁴ Its particular value in an investigation of travel is that it is one of the only points of entry for

⁹⁸ Gaffney and Gaffney forthcoming.

⁹⁹ Alcock and Rempel 2006.

¹⁰⁰ See Chevallier 1976: 78; Laurence 1999: 156-158.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, the recent study on water sources along the different Hajj routes (al-Resseeni et al. 1998.)

¹⁰² Potter et al. 1999 mention that, in Italy at least, way-stations are part of a “rather neglected class of settlements, such as those of the road stations of Cariae, on the Via Clodia, and Ponte di Nona, on the Via Praenestina” (199).

¹⁰³ Constable 2003: 24.

¹⁰⁴ My thanks to Sue Alcock for highlighting this relationship between stopping and moving along a route.

the question of *who* was traveling. Besides literary and epigraphic evidence, this is a very difficult question to address through material remains.

The potential for this kind of study can be seen in Constable's (2003) fascinating study of the *pandocheion*, *funduq*, and *fondaco* in the late antique and medieval world. These cognates designate, generally, the institution of traveller accommodation in the eastern Mediterranean. The term – and its meaning – developed from the *pandocheion* of late antiquity, when it designated an inn or hostelry, to the Arabic *funduq*, which was associated more with merchant activity than with the housing of travellers more generally. From Arabic, *funduq* was adopted into Latin and other European languages as the *fondaco*, which, by the later medieval period, were more likely to store goods than accommodate travellers themselves.¹⁰⁵

Constable's tracing of the term rely almost exclusively on textual evidence and yet, for a variety of reasons, could be integrated very fruitfully into an archaeological investigation of roads and the people and objects that moved along them. The inns “took many forms, serving not only as hostelries, but also as commercial depots, warehouses, emporia, tax-stations, offices, taverns, prisons, and brothels.”¹⁰⁶ The distribution map of known examples of *pandocheia* that she provides is quite revealing about the state of scholarship on the institutions. Constable insists that they are concentrated in Palestine, Syria and southern Anatolia by the first centuries BCE, but it is only through a passing reference in a seventh century *Vita* that we know of one at Sykeon in north-central

¹⁰⁵ Constable 2003: 1-10.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: 2. Kraynak (1984) catalogues the textual and archaeological attestations of hostelries in ancient Greece, for which the testimonia “proves to be both more numerous and less informative than might be expected” (37).

Anatolia.¹⁰⁷ Inns and hostelries may have been distributed more densely and widely in late antiquity than has previously been thought, but their very location may fall outside the scope of archaeological investigation as it has been practiced. Additionally, hostels, like markets and storehouses, are often indistinguishable from one another in the archaeological record without explicit epigraphic evidence.¹⁰⁸

While most discussion of inns and way-stations informs their place in the perception of travel and travelers in the ancient world rather than their physical makeup,¹⁰⁹ most of what informs our archaeological knowledge about these inns and stopping-places comes from short notes embedded in journals.¹¹⁰ Perhaps most surprising is that because they are often not considered to be integrated within the same system, there does not appear to have been any communication between scholars studying the two phenomena; *pandocheia*, especially their later iteration as *xenodocheia*, and way-stations are considered as separate beasts.¹¹¹ This dissertation will consider them not just as fundamental parts of movement through a landscape, but in conjunction with

¹⁰⁷ Constable 2003: 11; *Vita of Theodore of Sykeon*. The Tahirler Project has, in the last decade, concentrated on identifying the exact location of Sykeon in what was the province of Galatia, but we await a final publication on the matter.

¹⁰⁸ Varinlioglu 2007: 297. Mango 1986 describes a Syrian *pandocheion* (in what is now eastern Turkey) known through inscriptions; McDonald 1951 suggests that a building at Olynthus, commonly interpreted as a villa, may in fact have been a hostel. *Contra*, Cahill (2000) argues that the rooms McDonald interprets as storage for guests were in fact the storage requirements for a residence over the course of the year (505-508). Kraynak (1984), supporting McDonald, notes that “it is odd that others in Olynthus, many of whom must have had farms in the country, did not use their town houses to store produce, at least to the extent suggested by pithoi with 300 gallon capacities such as were found in the Villa of Good Fortune” (48).

¹⁰⁹ For example, Constable 2003.

¹¹⁰ For example, Mango 1986.

¹¹¹ Constable 2003: 13 n. 2. Kraynak (1984) insists that the term ‘xenodocheion’ was not used until the second century AD, occurring for the first time in Artemidorus (A71), and suggests that the use of the term, with its root (ξευ-) tied to the institution of guest-friendship, may reflect the decline of private hospitality in the later centuries of the Roman empire (17).

each other. In turn, knowledge of monasteries' hospitality towards pilgrims on the road will not be disregarded in the assembly of material evidence for pilgrimage in the vicinity of shrines. These kinds of evidence are important for the maintenance of "proper perspective in evaluating Byzantine religiosity and culture as a whole," because they show how institutions like pilgrimage can eliminate seeming divisions between a wide variety of aspects of life in the ancient world.¹¹² Similarly, markets and fairs – *panegyreis* – held in conjunction with saints' days at Christian shrines, contribute to a more complex picture of pilgrimage and its impacts on the community. The *panegyris* was most commonly a "highly-localised phenomenon,"¹¹³ and thus supports the notion of a regionally diverse practice of pilgrimage.

The most personal material evidence for far-flung (or even local) pilgrimage is the pilgrim's souvenir, the *eulogia*. As noted above, while most analysis on pilgrimage ampullae and tokens has taken place at the iconological level, it is coming more and more to be treated as a category of ceramic evidence in and of itself, with production, distribution, and even petrographic analysis coming into play.¹¹⁴ While these finds are all too rare and often come without context, data on their provenance and analysis will contribute to the reconstruction of routes on which pilgrimage took place.

*St John at Ephesos*¹¹⁵

¹¹² Vryonis 1981: 198.

¹¹³ Haldon 1997: 39; Vryonis 1981: 198.

¹¹⁴ Vikan 2010; Anderson 2004, 2007.

¹¹⁵ Foss 1979, 2002;

Ephesos in western Anatolia became, in the first several centuries of the common era, a veritable pilgrimage park (and remains so today).¹¹⁶ Pilgrims came from all over the Mediterranean world to visit the church built over the tomb of St. John on Ayasoluk Hill, the cave church of the Seven Sleepers, and the church of St Mary. The city also boasted the tombs of Mary Magdalene, St Timothy, and St Hermione, and several relics, including a piece of the True Cross.¹¹⁷ Unlike the shrines at St Michael at Germia and St Thekla at Meryemlik, the various pilgrimage destinations at Ephesos – like St Theodore’s shrine at Euchaïta – present continuing evidence for pilgrimage past the seventh century.¹¹⁸ As such a well-documented city over the last one hundred+ years under the auspices of the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut (ÖAI), Ephesos also provides a good case study through which to explore the notion of the *impact* of wide-spread pilgrimage in late antiquity. This dissertation will interrogate the various types of evidence available from Ephesos in order to better understand the diverse nature of pilgrimage there. This will include situating it within the historical geography of the region, and gathering evidence for contacts both local and long-distance.

The first explicit mention of Christian pilgrimage to Ephesos is by a 4th-century pilgrim named Egeria. She wrote an account of her travels, a good part of which survives to this day.¹¹⁹ An aside written during her stay in Constantinople records that she plans “to make a pilgrimage to Ephesus, and the martyrrium of the holy and blessed Apostle

¹¹⁶ Pilgrimage at Ephesos did not begin with Christian destinations – the Artemision and Asklepeion were also pilgrimage destinations throughout the city’s history.

¹¹⁷ Foss 2002: 130-131; “these saints are all supposed to have found their final resting place in Ephesus or its immediate vicinity” (Foss 1979: 33).

¹¹⁸ Foss 2002: 129.

¹¹⁹ Duncan-Flowers 1990: 127; Wilkinson 1999.

John.”¹²⁰ The accommodation for pilgrimage is most clearly seen in the changes, documented both archaeologically and textually, to the church built around the martyrrium of St John as well as to the city of Ephesos in late antiquity. The church was enlarged by Justinian, according to Procopius, for the very reason that its small size could no longer hold the number of pilgrims who were coming to visit it.¹²¹

Because of Ephesos’ importance as a major center of Mediterranean trade for both land- and sea-routes, an investigation of pilgrimage at Ephesos has the potential to illuminate the distributed impact of travel across distances, rather than focusing simply on the destination site. The city could boast of much more than just pilgrimage attractions. In terms of land-based travel, it was located strategically at the crossroads of two great highways that connected the interior of Asia Minor to the Aegean coast, as well as the highways that connected Ephesos with other centers of the western Anatolian coast, including Smyrna and Miletus. The city had one of the largest seaports in the Aegean, where several trade routes from the Mediterranean came together.¹²² An edict of Diocletian attests to the importance of the port, listing sea-routes that led to Ephesos, including Alexandria. The city continued to import grain through late antiquity.¹²³ The city’s advantageous location at the meeting point of major land and sea routes made it all that more accessible as a major pilgrimage shrine. This economic importance could have, and probably did, have a profound impact upon the scale and nature of pilgrimage to Ephesos in late antiquity, and vice versa. Especially with the development of the

¹²⁰ 23.10, trans. Wilkinson 1999: 142.

¹²¹ Procopius *De Aed.* V.4-7.

¹²² Foss 1979: 3.

¹²³ Foss 1979: 7.

Christian pilgrimage boom in late antique Ephesos, this fortunate situation is best encapsulated by the justification given for choosing it as the site of the church Council of 431: “We have chosen Ephesos as a city easily accessible to those who come by land or sea, bounteously providing all useful local and imported products to its inhabitants.”¹²⁴

When one examines even briefly the infrastructure surrounding the various pilgrimage destinations in Ephesos over time, certain correlations immediately arise. These include the accommodation made specifically for pilgrims by Justinian’s renovations to the Basilica of St. John, the continued production of ceramic ‘evangelist type’ ampullae after the cessation of the production of local fine ware Eastern Sigillata B, and the infrastructural changes that occurred with the relocation of the city center. These correlations are compelling for a future study of pilgrimage in a landscape perspective.

As time went on and the city passed into the more and more “reduced circumstances” of the late antique period, Ayasoluk hill also became the new center of the city, not just of religious life but of economic life as well.¹²⁵ Ayasoluk was more defensible than the lower city, especially with the construction of the Byzantine walls around Ayasoluk and the later fortifications on the citadel behind it. After the seventh century, repeated Arab attacks led to the mass movement of the remaining inhabitants of Ephesos up to the area around the basilica of St. John.¹²⁶ But when the church was first built in the fourth century, it was isolated up on its hill, because there was no water source and the

¹²⁴ *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* I.i.iii.31.

¹²⁵ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007: 417; Scherrer 2001: 80; Lepelley 1992. In Turkish, Ayasoluk means literally ‘holy breath,’ preserving the annual celebration associated with St John’s tomb, which, on his saint day, would send puffs of holy dust into the air, to be collected into ampullae and sold as pilgrimage souvenirs.

¹²⁶ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007.

area could not support inhabitants;¹²⁷ wells dug on the hill yielded only salt water. Parts of an aqueduct leading to Ayasoluk from springs in the hills east of the city still stand, but it has been assigned dates ranging from Theodosius to the Turks. Clive Foss has suggested that it is conceivable that Justinian provided not only the new basilica for the influx of pilgrims but also a new water supply.¹²⁸ It is clear that a great amount of effort went in to making the Ayasoluk hill a habitable place, and it may have had much to do with the city's relationship to its major churches and their role in the wider Christian world of western Asia Minor. By the ninth century, "the bishop of Ephesos changed his seal to show John rather than Mary as his patron – the patron of a town reduced to a village until Ottoman times."¹²⁹

In addition to the provisions for habitation on Ayasoluk and continued pilgrimage to the church of St. John, production of ceramic pilgrim flask souvenirs continued even after the local potters stopped producing Eastern Sigillata B, a local fine ware, by the end of the third century.¹³⁰ Churches were concentrated along Ephesos' main streets, as well as along the roads going in and out of the city.¹³¹ This created a situation that contributed to the accessibility of Ephesus and its shrines to pilgrims and the punctuated nature of their worship there as they approached the different sacred destinations in the city. There were also monasteries outside the city, which will fit into a discussion of pilgrimage accommodation outside the major destination(s) themselves.¹³²

¹²⁷ Foss 1979: 183.

¹²⁸ Foss 1979: 92.

¹²⁹ Scherrer 2001: 80.

¹³⁰ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007: 424.

¹³¹ Ladstätter and Pülz 2007: 417.

¹³² Foss 2002: 131.

I will participate in the Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut's project at Ephesos in August of 2012. I will be surveying both structures and road surfaces that are not already included in the project's digital map of the city, which they have kindly offered to share with me. These features include walls, access points to walls and buildings, and road surfaces and widths. It would be ideal to follow roads in and out of the city proper - in terms of measuring width, photographing the surface, and GPS (either RTK or handheld) - if it turns out to be within the purview of the Ephesos permit. Otherwise, I will be focusing to a great extent on the area around Ayasoluk, but also exploring other areas in the city where there is clear late antique and early Byzantine occupation, especially as it relates to early Christianity (churches, Cave of the Seven Sleepers, etc). In addition to the work I will be doing this summer, the large number of detailed publications at Ephesos will allow for a more detailed study of pilgrimage-in-context than the other case studies chosen from published work alone, and research on the nature of the changing infrastructure within the city itself will do much to supplement the excavations of different parts of the city that have already been published. As my second case study, investigation in Ephesos will address the questions of how pilgrimage impacted infrastructure *within* a city, as well as how that impact manifested within a large scale travel, communications, economic and religious center of the late antiquity and the early Byzantine period. Although I will not be approaching Ephesos from the same regional landscape perspective as the last three case studies, the number of pilgrimage destinations dotting the city make possible an investigation of dense infrastructural changes within a limited area over time that the other case studies do not.

Though the main research questions for this case study focus on infrastructural changes within the city itself, Ephesos will not be considered in isolation from its wider context. Geomorphological study of the region, to date the only work conducted in the larger region of which I am aware, will also contribute to an understanding of how long-distance routes may have changed over time and their relationship to the feasibility of travel and communication by sea through the port at Ephesos, as manifested in their relationship to the city's infrastructure (points of ingress and egress, maintenance of some roads in the city as opposed to others, etc).¹³³

St Theodore at Euchaïta

As a pilgrimage center of St. Theodore Tiro from the 4th century CE on¹³⁴ and as a militarily strategic location during the Byzantine period,¹³⁵ Euchaïta (modern Beyözü) was known to be the target site of journeys of varying scales throughout its history. It is clear that even with the decline in the state of the major roads in late antiquity,¹³⁶ travelers – especially pilgrims – streamed in from everywhere to come to Euchaïta, to the point that, in the words of Gregory of Nyssa's eloquent homily *On Theodore*, delivered on the seventeenth of February, 380 CE¹³⁷, the crowds of moving people resembled columns of ants. According to Gregory, Euchaïta was a “harbour,” a “convenient resting place for those who [were] traveling.” Before the transfer of St. Theodore's relics from Amasia by

¹³³ Kraft et al. 2007, 2011.

¹³⁴ See Ch. **, esp. p. [8] (from Haldon Euchaïta chapter, where he refers to the transient population).

¹³⁵ See Ch. **, esp. pp. **

¹³⁶ Haldon 2006.

¹³⁷ Walter 1999: 165.

the late 4th century, Euchaita was *not* a highly frequented regional center of pilgrimage *or* of local economic activity.¹³⁸ Indeed, that transfer, which cemented Euchaita's position as a popular pilgrimage destination, helped contribute to its official designation as a city: the Anastasian inscription dedicating it attributes the city's prestige to the martyr.

Since 2009, work has already been undertaken at Euchaita under the auspices of the Avkat Archaeological Project (AAP) in an attempt to reconstruct and confirm, on the ground, the routes and communication networks around the town.¹³⁹ Through this work, it has been determined that Euchaita had strong east-west connections but north-south travel towards Sinope and Tavium would have been more difficult.¹⁴⁰ On a more local scale, it is proposed that the connections between the main road through the valley do not necessarily follow those tracks used heavily by the modern population of the overlying town of Beyözü.

While the survey work under AAP was concluded in 2009, an excavation of the apsidal building in the lower town is planned. It is hoped that some of the necessary fieldwork to further interrogate the landscape around Euchaita for evidence of routes and pilgrimage travel will be undertaken under the auspices of that new excavation project. In addition, the search will be expanded beyond that of the AAP survey boundaries to search for evidence of accommodation and pilgrimage churches along the way, as well as verify that north-south routes are really as inaccessible as they currently seem. Regional

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*: 166.

¹³⁹ Craft *in prep.*

¹⁴⁰ Contra Bryer and Winfield 1986: "To the west of Amaseia lay Euchaita, on the road from Amaseia to Gangra (Cankiri) and Ankyra (Ankara). It also seems to have lain on an alternative north-south route from Amisos to Ankyra via Phazimon but missing Amaseia, and it was on a road south to Tavium."⁴⁰

centers such as Euchaita changed and moved around over time. The modern landscape of Avkat looks to Mecitözü and Çorum as the centers of its *il* (province) and *ilçe* (district), respectively¹⁴¹. Yet during the period with which we were concerned for this study – the late Roman and Byzantine – it is necessary to look further afield for the places with which Euchaita would have been in contact: Iskilip and Çankırı (Gangra) to the west, Amasya to the east, as well as Tavium (near modern Büyüknefes) were all, at different points in Euchaita's history, places that would likely have attracted the development of (substantial) connecting roads, for various reasons.

Identifying the road system in terms of a larger, Anatolian-wide system enhances our understanding of Euchaita in the 'grand scheme' of daily life and pilgrimage in northern Anatolia during the periods of Euchaita's late Roman and Byzantine boom. Determining the placement of those same roads in terms of a micro-regional system speaks to an enhanced picture of rural life in Anatolia. While Euchaita has the least amount of material to work with relative to the three other case studies, it is hoped that continued work there, as well as more detailed understanding of its contemporary pilgrimage destinations, will contribute to a better grasp of pilgrimage to this famous shrine, once known only from textual accounts but now known on the ground. It would only be fitting to situate its pilgrimage similarly. As my third case study, discussion of it will develop from looking at Ephesos in terms of pilgrimage *in* a city, to pilgrimage's contribution to *making* Euchaita a city, and seeing those impacts on a more regional scale.

¹⁴¹ See Ch. **

*St Michael at Germia*¹⁴²

Germia, like Euchaïta, is well known in Byzantine studies because of textual references to it but has remained rather shrouded in mystery archaeologically until very recently. While pinpointing the location and discussion of the massive church there have seen much comment in the literature of the last three decades, any kind of archaeological fieldwork has been missing from the picture until the¹⁴³ recent efforts of Niewöhner and Rheidt through the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI).¹⁴⁴ The region under study for this project is bounded to the south and west by mountains; to the north and east, by the hydrological system of water running from springs in the mountains, which form a roughly triangular research area. Hot springs have made them appealing locations for settlement throughout antiquity (as, for example, at Hamamkarahisar). Beyond these villages, to the northeast, the plain extends to the Sakarya (Sangarios) River. The most fertile land occurs, not unexpectedly, around the course of the water; the main urbanized area of the modern period is at Günyüzü, central to the triangle. The water sources and fertile land are not as abundant or as of high a quality here, but its centrality to the water- and mountain-defined region may play a role in its continued prominence and habitation over time.

Major connections are known to contemporary sites of regional significance, including those at Pessinus to the east and Amorion to the south. There are only two

¹⁴² Belke 1984: *passim*, but esp. 166-168, 247, maps 1 & 2; Mango 1986; Mitchell 1993 vol II: *passim* but esp. 128-129; Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010.

¹⁴³ It is cited as the largest pilgrimage church in Central Anatolia (Mango 1986: XX), with five aisles, etc. etc. (Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010: XX). Check Krautheimer to see if he says anything.

¹⁴⁴ The church is cited as the largest pilgrimage church in Central Anatolia (Mango 1986), with a two-story narthex flanked by two staircases, five aisles, a transept, arches and outbuildings (Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010: 137).

passes through the mountains towards each of these cities, which are easily identifiable in the landscape and in the topography. The well-known Tautaendia bridge over the Sangarios between Germia and Sykeon may hold some indication of a possible route to the north.¹⁴⁵ Bridges may be the key to determining routes to the east over the Sangarios, as well. Potential routes north towards Gordion are less constrained by topography, and remain open to question through the investigations of this dissertation project. These are key to understanding the routes and processions of pilgrimage within the Germia region, which are known from various accounts, among them those of Theophanes (8th century), and Gregory of Tours (6th century).¹⁴⁶ Theodore of Sykeôn (7th century) participated in a procession in which two groups departed from Germia and Eudoxias, separately, before meeting up and processing together to a place called Musge. Belke (1984) identifies Eudoxias with Hamamkarahisar and Musge with Gecek, but these assignments have not been verified by any other sources, and further investigation based on travel time and route structure in the region is both necessary and relevant to this dissertation.

While historical geography will be the point of departure for a detailed reconstruction of routes in the area, verification on the ground will be a necessary component of the research. It will not be possible for me to participate in the Germia project's last field season in September of 2011 due to timing and permitting protocols,

¹⁴⁵ "Tautaendia-Brücke" (Belke 1984: 232). Check with Talbert 2000 (Barrington) for placement, as Belke admits that "nicht sicher lokalisierbar, aber vielleicht mit dem Sangarios Übergang von Vindia (→ Gordion) identisch" (*ibid.*). Theodore of Sykeôn was reported to have crossed the bridge on both his outward and return journey to Sozopolis in Pisidia in the 6th century (*ibid.*; *Vita Th. Syk.* 84, 87).

¹⁴⁶ Theophanes reports the emperor Justinian's visit (*Chron.* I.240. 12), while Gregory of Tours explains how the place came to be a center of pilgrimage – a fragment of Christ's tunic was reported to be venerated there (*MGH scrip. rer. Mer. I*(1885), 493; *PL* lxxi. 712c) (cited in Mitchell 1993 vol. II: 129 n. 50).

but the project will be sharing their spatial and finds data with me upon completion. Of particular interest is a structure located at the eastern edge of the region, remains of which – including ceramics, marble blocks, and mosaic tesserae – suggest that it may once have been a church; resistivity survey in September 2011 will contribute to an identification of the building's layout and possible function.¹⁴⁷ As passage over the mountain on which this building is set is less than likely, it is more convincing that any route that led to this structure was, in fact, terminal. If it is indeed identified as a Christian church contemporary with the pilgrimage destination at Michaelskirche, it can contribute to a discussion of the role of pilgrimage, roads and movement in the changing sacred topography of the shrine's immediate surroundings.

With this information in hand, I will be able to populate a GIS with historical postulations of routes, actual finds from the archaeological survey, hydrology, topography, buildings (such as additional churches), tombs, milestones, and bridges, and quarries (both marble and limestone have been mapped), among other features. This will allow me to reconstruct the possible courses of routes through the area using GIS analyses. I will apply for the appropriate permissions to visit the region in the summer of 2012, in order to confirm these potential routes on the ground, recording not just evidence of the roads themselves but also other features such as springs/fountains (*çeşmeler*) that may indicate the logical courses of roads. Obviously I will not be able to collect any finds for dating, but I will record Road Units in the same way as Gibson (2007), in order to achieve consistency with other case studies.

¹⁴⁷ Philipp Niewöhner, pers. comm.

Because the further elucidation of the landscape context of pilgrimage is enumerated as one of the Germia project's own goals,¹⁴⁸ it provides an excellent foundation from which to highlight the role that routes and communication infrastructure played in a landscape of pilgrimage. It also provides an opportunity to explore the possibility of accessing pilgrimage infrastructure through text *and* on the ground in a well-defined, bounded area.

St Thekla near Seleucia

The pilgrimage shrine of St Thekla (Ayatekla in Turkish) is located at a site known as Meryemlik in southern Turkey, just 1.5 kilometers south of modern Silifke (Seleukeia) in southeastern Isauria. This is a region that has received only limited systematic archaeological attention until recently,¹⁴⁹ though that situation is beginning to change.¹⁵⁰ Although Seleukeia has been cited as relatively insignificant on a macroregional level compared to a place like Ephesos, it was the administrative and ecclesiastical center of the region, and “it was connected to the larger Mediterranean networks of commerce, transportation, and pilgrimage through the cities and harbors along the coast, as well as inland cities along the routes leading to the Anatolian

¹⁴⁸ “...findet ein Umlandsurvey statt, um mit den zahlreichen in byzantinischen Quellen bezeugten Nachbarorten den siedlungsgeschichtlichen und kunstlandschaftlichen Kontext des Wallfahrtsorts zu erschließen” (Niewöhner and Rheidt 2010: 140).

¹⁴⁹ Varinlioglu 2007: 288.

¹⁵⁰ Varinlioglu 2007: 288.

plateau.”¹⁵¹ It could boast of eminent pilgrims such as Egeria,¹⁵² and like the basilica of St John at Ephesos its pilgrimage church saw reconstruction through imperial largesse.¹⁵³

Detailed regional investigation of these connections and networks has been undertaken in the valley to the northeast of the Kalykadnos (modern Göksu) River, contributing to the knowledge of the area in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods,¹⁵⁴ especially within the context of connections between Seleukeia / Meryemlik and the port at Korykos to the north (a distance of approximately twenty-five kilometers), which may have served pilgrimage traffic as well as the smaller, but official, port to the southwest, Holmoi (eleven kilometers).¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately this port – which is still active today as the main ferry connection to nearby Cyprus – is completely covered by the modern town (Taşucu), but the archaeological work that has been done makes it clear that Holmoi continued to be active throughout late antiquity.¹⁵⁶

That activity clearly is spread throughout Cilicia in the late antique period.¹⁵⁷ Yet it is clearly activity that develops over time, as seen in the reuse of features like tetrapyla, which had marked the intersections of major routes but were incorporated into other architectural features, particularly those of an ecclesiastical nature.¹⁵⁸ This holds

¹⁵¹ Varinlioglu 2007: 293, 292. The Cilician Gates, through which the major route – the so-called Pilgrim’s Road (French 198X) – of Asia Minor ran, were farther to the north and east of Seleukeia.

¹⁵² Wilkinson 2002; Johnson 2006, 2008; Foss 2002; *inter alia*.

¹⁵³ Under the emperor Zeno; St John was rebuilt and enlarged under Justinian (Krautheimer 1986).

¹⁵⁴ Varinlioglu 2007: 291. See especially Figure 1. See also Varinlioglu 2008 for more detailed discussion of the communication networks in the region.

¹⁵⁵ Varinlioglu 2007: 294.

¹⁵⁶ Varinlioglu 2007: 294.

¹⁵⁷ Varinlioglu 2007: 308.

¹⁵⁸ Varinlioglu 2007: 308.

significant implications not just for the process of religious travel like pilgrimage in the period, but for the movements of the wider population.

Investigation of pilgrimage to Ayatekla is greatly enriched by the existence of the Alahan monastery seventy-five kilometers to the northeast, along what was once the main road from Iconium (Konya) – one of the major cities of late Roman and early Byzantine Asia Minor – to the Mediterranean coast, namely, to Silifke.¹⁵⁹ The monastery, which would appear to have been a pilgrimage destination in its own right,¹⁶⁰ would also have provided a convenient stopping point on what can be thought of as a pilgrimage ‘tour’ from central Anatolia towards the coast and perhaps even farther beyond to the Holy Land. In fact, the complex boasts a building that has tentatively been interpreted as a hospice for guests, though lack of definitive evidence for such a purpose has led to its rather generic designation as the ‘Two-Storey Building.’¹⁶¹ Epigraphic evidence at the site, however, supports its identification as a hospice.¹⁶² Crosses cut into the rock near holes may have been “intended to hold ties for tents erected during large influxes of pilgrims at the time of festivals.”¹⁶³ Alahan thus presents an unprecedented opportunity to study the traffic and accommodation for pilgrimage in the region surrounding the major site of Ayatekla, especially within the context of the archaeological survey and detailed spatial analyses of the region under the aegis of the Göksu Archaeological Project (GAP).¹⁶⁴ GAP has discerned the nature of the settlement at the bottom of the mountain, which

¹⁵⁹ Gough 1985: 7 and Map 2.

¹⁶⁰ Gough 1985; Elton et al 2006.

¹⁶¹ Gough 1985: 13-14, Pls. 61-64.

¹⁶² Bakker 1985: 140; Harrison 1985: 22.

¹⁶³ Bakker 1985: 139-140.

¹⁶⁴ Elton et al. 2006; Newhard et al. 2008: XX.

Gough had suggested as a “prosperous *mansio*,”¹⁶⁵ as a textually unattested late-Roman urban center that conforms to expectations for fifth- and sixth-century Cilicia and Isauria.¹⁶⁶ Its relationship to the monastic complex / pilgrimage site supports the notion that pilgrims and travelers may have been able to seek accommodation both within the monastic complex and without, raising questions about choices, opportunities, and eligibility of travelers / pilgrims for different lodging. It is unclear whether these questions can be answered within the parameters of this proposed project and the limitations of published archaeological work and relevant texts, but a closer analysis will certainly clarify a framework for future investigation, raising more questions and pointing in productive directions.

Like all the other case studies, fieldwork in the region of Silifke will depend on the appropriate permissions to track routes and features after compiling a relevant GIS to the extent possible. As far as I know there are no current projects in these areas under whose auspices fieldwork can be conducted. However, as a case study, Ayatekla at Meryemlik presents the opportunity to study a pilgrimage destination in its regional context through its known approaches from many different directions – from Konya to the northwest, from the harbor at Holmoi to the southwest, from the port at Korykos to the northeast, and even from the Cilician Gates and the Pilgrim’s road to the north.¹⁶⁷ As my final case study, Ayatekla will provide a good foundation for exploring especially issues of scale in comparison to the other case studies, because of the distances involved to the related

¹⁶⁵ Gough 1985: 9.

¹⁶⁶ Elton et al. 2006: 306.

¹⁶⁷ French 1981 describes the epigraphic evidence for the reconstruction of the Pilgrim’s Road through Asia Minor.

infrastructure. Reconstruction of the routes and the accommodations along them allows for a discussion of the implications of pilgrimage in a diverse landscape.

With fieldwork completed and the respective GISs compiled, there is potential for network analysis and agent modelling to elucidate patterns in the infrastructure, which in turn will illuminate our understanding of contemporary pilgrimage and its impact on regions and communities within them. This approach is becoming more and more refined for application in the archaeology of landscapes.¹⁶⁸ Rather than being used as simply a predictive tool, network analysis and agent modelling can be useful for interpreting connectivity along weighted variables, which may conform to what is seen on the ground or provide room for discussion of why the archaeological remains differ from the mathematically-expected.¹⁶⁹ As discrimination between types of analysis and modelling becomes more sophisticated,¹⁷⁰ specific questions can be addressed through careful application of different types.¹⁷¹

In a project such as this, with bases in both archaeological and textual evidence, network analysis may forge new directions for integrating both kinds of evidence in

¹⁶⁸ Bevan forthcoming; Evans et al 2011; Brughmans 2010; Graham and Steiner 2006.

¹⁶⁹ Bevan forthcoming: 2-3.

¹⁷⁰ See Brughmans 2010 for a discussion of the dangers of haphazard application of network analysis from other disciplines to archaeological datasets.

¹⁷¹ For example: "Circuit theory offers an attractive way of exploring aggregate patterns of large-scale movement via multiple pathways" (Bevan forthcoming: 11); while Evans et al. differentiate models that reflect issues of long single journeys or several social interactions (2011: 7).

spatial analysis.¹⁷² Until the data is in hand, it is difficult to predict exactly which questions may arise from and to what degree those questions can be answered by network analysis and agent-based modelling. This is because “the modelling of social networks requires very specific tailoring for individual case studies. This is contingent on the level of social organization, the nature of the exchange [of archaeologically-identifiable materials, objects, and ideas], relevant distance scales, travel technology, etc. of the society being studied.”¹⁷³ However, it is likely that these questions will include, Can we identify preferred routes of travel? Are they origin (direction) dependent?¹⁷⁴ As settlement patterns change over time, are we able to pinpoint changes in route structure as well? Ideally, the predictions of network analysis and agent-based modelling will be run before going into the field, confirmed on the ground, and run again with more refined parameters after fieldwork has added more data to the GIS. This kind of analysis in this type of project hold potential for highlighting how connections – social, physical, religious, political – become *real* in the landscape.¹⁷⁵ Network analyses and spatial modeling will be included within the discussions of each chapter as well as presented in an appendix outlining the methods, questions, diagrams, and results.

An integrated investigation of pilgrimage, travel infrastructure and landscape archaeology can contribute not just to a better-contextualized understanding of early

¹⁷² Brughmans 2010 addresses the issue of situating network analysis within archaeological material; Graham 2006 and Isaksen 2008’s models rely on the structure of textual evidence alone (cf. Brughmans 2010: 151, for a critique).

¹⁷³ Evans et al 2011: 1.

¹⁷⁴ See Bevan forthcoming: 3 for a discussion of direction-dependent (isotropic v. anisotropic) analyses in the context of routes and landscape.

¹⁷⁵ Graham and Steiner 2008: XX.

Christian pilgrimage in the Eastern Mediterranean, but also to the ways we investigate and interpret the wider worlds of the late antique and Byzantine Mediterranean. This dissertation will explore notions of sacred space, movement and connectivity through just such an integrated investigation, in an attempt to put those places, movements, and connections on the ground, seeking out the material implications of those connections and travellers' punctuated movement along and through them.

COMMITTEE

Susan E. Alcock

Director of the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World; Joukowsky Family Professor in Archaeology; Professor of Classics; Professor of Anthropology

Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Susan Ashbrook Harvey

Willard Prescott and Annie McClelland Smith Professor of Religious Studies

Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Stratis Papaioannou

Associate Professor of Classics

Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Chapter 1: Introduction: Early Christian pilgrimage in Asia Minor

Summary: this dissertation aims to explore the negotiation between the phenomenon of early Christian pilgrimage, and the infrastructure of travel, landscape and communities in which it took place. How can we observe it archaeologically, what can we glean from relevant texts, and how does such an undertaking impact the wider field of late Roman and early Byzantine landscape history, both methodologically and theoretically?

- Introduction of the project
- Description of pilgrimage in Asia Minor; overview of the evidence
 - pilgrimage as diverse phenomenon with local specificity
 - introduction of the case studies
- Definitions of 'pilgrimage' as a term and as a process that changed over time
- Travel to specific **places** as impetus for changing notions of sacred space, and justification for its use as the starting point of the dissertation
- The scale of pilgrimage: tracing the lines
 - pilgrimage as a local/regional activity
- Situating the pilgrimage phenomenon within the material reality of the ancient world: roads and associated infrastructure of travel and communication
- Outline of chapters
- Statement of goals and contribution to the field(s)

Chapter 2: Sacred topography and movement through the landscape

Situating the notions of movement within traditional scholarship on pilgrimage and within recent approaches to connectivity, movement and the body in the late antique Mediterranean. Early Christian pilgrimage was firmly grounded in the physical landscape through which it journeyed. Laying the groundwork for a detailed discussion of the case studies from Asia Minor that firmly establish the close connection between pilgrimage and travel / communication infrastructure. (literature review chapter)

- Precedents for early pilgrims in both practices and places (lit review)
 - Judaism
 - 'Paganism'
 - Greco-Roman
 - Anatolian
- Christian notions of sacred space (lit review)
 - Early Christianity: the uniform and universal presence of God in the world
 - Centripetal places, holy spaces: the fourth century
 - the holy man, the cult of saints, and relics
 - sacred topography (*Pratum Spirituale*)
- Pilgrimage experience (lit review)
 - Turner: liminality and *communitas*
 - Since Turner: contestation and movement

- the moving body: new approaches
- To go, or not to go? the uneasy tension of Christian pilgrimage
- long-distance versus local pilgrimage
- Getting in line: increasing institutionalization of pilgrimage
- Drawing lines through the landscape (landscape archaeology lit review)
 - Refining reconstruction, interpretation and representation: no longer dots on the map, so why simple lines?
 - movement and connectivity
 - Networks: connecting the dots in [empty] space as a function of archaeology and the reliance on distribution maps for interpretation of landscapes
- Infrastructure in the ancient world (lit review of scholarship)
 - roads
 - milestones
 - bridges
 - tetrapyla
 - water resources
 - housing the dead: cemeteries
 - housing the living I: hostels
 - housing the living II: monasteries
- back to drawing lines: connecting the dots, in context
 - place-names
- landscape archaeology: moving between the dots on the map
- When changing places stay in the same spaces: Roman infrastructure

Chapter 3: Infrastructure in the city (Ephesos)

- A pilgrimage park at Ephesos
 - location and import
 - pre-Christian pilgrimage at Ephesos
 - the attractions (and the evidence at them)
 - St John
 - St Mary
 - Cave of Seven Sleepers
 - Tombs of Philip, Mary Magdalene, Hermione
- methodology and evidence
 - previous scholarship on pilgrimage at Ephesos
 - textual
 - in the city
 - in the region
- thinking about access: the walls around Ayasoluk
- patterns and relationships of pilgrimage and infrastructure in the archaeological and historical record
 - *Eulogia*

- ampullae
- amulets
- armchair pilgrims and trade

Chapter 4: Pilgrimage infrastructure and local context: pilgrimage making the cities at Germia and Euchaita

- St Michael at Germia
 - location and import
- St Theodore at Euchaita
 - location and import
 - the not-so-sacred: the 'religio-commercial' nature of *panegyreis*
- methodology and evidence
 - Accounts of pilgrimage journeys and their infrastructure in late Roman and Byzantine Anatolia
 - Theodore of Sykeon at Germia
 - Pilgrim's Road
 - Justinian's visit to Germia
 - Gregory of Nyssa's *laudatio* on Theodore
 - Archaeological work currently being done at Germia and Euchaita
- patterns and relationships of pilgrimage and infrastructure in the archaeological and historical record

Chapter 5: The road farther flung (Ayatekla / Meryemlik)

- St Thekla at Meryemlik near Seleukeia
 - location and import
- methodology and evidence
 - previous scholarship on pilgrimage to Ayatekla
 - textual
 - at the site
 - in the region
 - Alahan
 - Korykos
 - regional survey (Varinlioğlu)
- revisiting scale
- thinking about access: the rock-cut road to Ayatekla from Silifke
- patterns and relationships of pilgrimage and infrastructure in the archaeological and historical record

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Summary: suggest that an integrated investigation of pilgrimage, travel infrastructure, and landscape archaeology can contribute not just to a better-contextualized

understanding of early Christian pilgrimage in the Eastern Mediterranean, but also to the ways we investigate and interpret the wider landscapes of the late antique and Byzantine Mediterranean.

Appendix I: Network analysis and agent-based modeling

Critical study of the networks assembled in the preceding chapter has the potential to contribute to our understanding of the patterns of landscape use and habitation through the periods under consideration.

- from static archaeological record to dynamic processes / practices in the past
- analyses as more explanatory than predictive
- network analysis
 - which methods chosen, under what parameters, and with what implications
- agent-based modeling
 - which methods chosen, under what parameters, and with what implications

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