

**IESCA 2012**

**SMYRNA (İZMİR)  
HISTORY and ARCHEOLOGY**

**Editors**  
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## SMYRNA (İZMİR) HISTORY and ARCHAEOLOGY

A vast geography from Iran to Western Anatolia in 5. and 4. Centuries B.C. was under the control of Persians who were in the position of the super force of the period. At the same dates, city states in Greece, Athens and Sparta leading, were not able to get on with one another traditionally and tried to provide security by founding federations.

In this political scene, Philip II in Macedonia brought the tribes of the region together in the second half of 4. Century B.C. and became an important political and military force. The most important problem for the Greek cities and Macedonian Kingdom following a policy close to Greek culture was Persians who controlled the Greek cities at the Anatolian coasts and limited trade between the Greek colonies in the Aegean and Black Seas. Philip II had succeeded in bringing the Greek city states together at Corinth in 338 B.C. to overcome this problem and caused a decision from Corinth Union to enter a war of revenge in his leadership against the Persians. Upon murdering of Philip II a short time after this decision, Alexander III who shall go down into history as “Alexander The Great” undertook this duty in 336 B.C. Alexander went to Anatolia across Çanakkale Strait (Hellospontos) in 334 B.C. and defeated the Persians near Granikos (Kocabaş) Creek. Pursuant to this battle, Alexander conquered Sardes which was the center of Persian Satraps and then all cities at the coasts of Aegean Sea submitted to him (Plutarch, XVII).<sup>1</sup>

It is debated whether Alexander passed through Bozdağ Mountain or Karabel Pass on Kemalpaşa (Nymphaion) or Smyrna when going from Sardes to Ephesos while marching to Ephesos and the south. The dispute originates from the record of Arrianos (1.17.10) that the Macedonian army had crossed the three days road between Sardes – Ephesus actually in four days as mentioned by Herodotus (V, 52 and 54) in an early date. One day's delay here is interpreted as he was personally present in the seizure of Smyrna in Bayraklı.<sup>2</sup> The hero in the story of Pausanias who lived in 2. Century B.C. where the foundation of the city was narrated was Alexander and this is regarded as another evidence of his arrival at Smyrna.

**Story of Pausanias (VII.5.1) is as follows;** “Alexander, son of Philip, founded the present city due to a dream; while hunting on Pagos Hill, in the return way he came to Nemesis Temple as said; here there was a spring and a plane tree grown with its water in front of the temple. While sleeping under the plane tree, Nemesis became visible to him and ordered to found a city here and bring the people of Smyrna from the former city.”<sup>3</sup> **(Figure 1)**

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Doğer, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, VII.5.1. (Turkish translation is taken from E. Doğer.) Doğer, p.90.



**Figure 1.** Smyrna coin portraying the myth cited by Pausanias <sup>4</sup>

According to the story, it is foreseen that, awaking, Alexander shared his dream with the people around him and requested for further action on this subject. After Alexander having no leisure time left Smyrna, it is understood that advice was taken from Apollo Oracle at Klaros (Ahmetbeyli-Menderes) which was the oracle center of the region to convince the Smyrnians who don't want to leave their heirloom lands at Bayraklı Smyrna. However, Pausanias (VII.5.1) tells the situation as follows continuing the story: *“Thus, Smyrnians sent delegates to Klaros (Apollo) and asked for his opinion and the god replied: Who shall reside at Pagos beyond holy Meles shall be three times, four times happier.”*<sup>5</sup> Thus the city at Bayraklı was abandoned slowly by this suitable prophecy.

It is known that Alexander died in Babylon in 323 B.C. after conquering Anatolia, Eastern Mediterranean and India, and the lands seized by him were shared between his commanders after his death. Assigned to administer the geography of Lydia and Ionia, Menander continued this assignment until the death of Alexander. During sharing, Smyrna and surroundings was left under the control of Kleitios for a short time, then Antigonos Monophthalmos until 301 B.C. and Lysimakhos until 281 B.C.

It is observed that many cities were moved to new places within the military and political conditions of Alexander and the following period. Relocation of Smyrna was realized by Antigonos Monophthalmos and Lysimakhos according to Strabo. Strabo (XIV.37) notes: *“They were settled in a city collectively first by Antigonos, then Lysimakhos and their city is now the most beautiful one of today's cities.”*<sup>6</sup> Although narrated by Pausanias (VII.5.1) a long time after the foundation of Smyrna, attributing the foundation of almost all Greek cities to a hero and prophecy is realized.<sup>7</sup>

When defining the ideal city, Aristotle (Politeia, VII, 4) emphasizes that the position of a city should be suitable in terms of both sea and land transport, suitability of transport shall make the city suitable for military activities and easily accessible to timber and agricultural products. Position of New Smyrna suits the definition of Aristotle. Smyrna was neighbor to Phokaia and Pergamon at the north and Ephesos and Klazomenai at the south in its hinterland having transport axis with these and had geography irrigated by Hermos (Gediz) at the north and Kasytros (Küçük Menderes) where any product was raised. It also domineered sea and land access ways with its Acropolis and communication/security fortresses on the surrounding hills which are used since Persians.

After seizing Smyrna, Alexander The Great especially proceeded along the southern coasts and dominated Anatolia, then reached to India. After his early death in 323 B.C., the territories seized by him were shared by his commanders region by region after a short time of disorder. Antigonids ruled in Macedonia, Ptolemies in Egypt, Seleucids in Anatolia and Syria. The commanders founded new cities

<sup>4</sup> Smyrna p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> See Footnote 4.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias, p. 10.



the large scale treasures of the Persians. Under new conditions, some of the former cities lost importance and some gained importance. New roads were made between cities, and some of the former roads were repaired.

Antigonos, then Lysimakhos dominated Ionia geography and Smyrna about the end of 4. century and beginning of 3. Century B.C. Reflection of the new conjunction is mostly observed in Smyrna and Ephesos. Because these cities are moved from their former places of centuries to their new places in a more strategical and more organized manner due to the military requirements of the period. It is known that people of Ephesos and Smyrna didn't react positively. Help of gods was required to break the resistance of people in Smyrna. The Smyrnians took the advice of Klaros Apollo (Menderes-Değirmendere-Ahmetbeyli) which was one of the most important oracle centers of the period about the meaning of the dream of Alexander at Kadifekale and accepted to move from Smyrna at Bayraklı and settle at new Smyrna upon his prophecy (**Figure 2**).



**Figure 2.** Kadifekale to where new Smyrna was moved after Alexander The Great and its western and northern slopes. Front; Agora of Smyrna, back; Kadifekale, acropolis of Smyrna

New Smyrna was equipped with monumental architectural structures such as city walls, temples, theater, stadium and agoras expected in the cities such as Ephesos, Knidos, Rhodos moved to new places and other Greek cities. These structures are located according to grid city plan consisting streets crossing each other perpendicularly which reflects the modern planning understanding of the period. Concerning the first construction stage of new Smyrna, Hellenistic city walls attract attention at Kadifekale which is the acropolis of Smyrna. Although greatly destroyed, southern Hellenistic city walls of the fortress are partially revealed by recent excavation works (**Figure 3**).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ersoy-Önder, p. 17





**Figure 3.** A view from the southern city wall of Smyrna Acropolis (Kadifekale). Front, bottom; Hellenistic city wall composed of bossaged blocks, top; Roman city wall composed of parquet stones, upper top; limestone-rubble stone Byzantium-Ottoman city wall, back; Ottoman period buttresses.

In this period when Lysimakhos ruled, it is seen that names of members of royal family was given to cities which was a widespread application in the ancient period. Within this framework, centuries-known name of Ephesos was changed to *Arsinoeia*, who was the wife of Lysimakhos, and the name of Smyrna was changed to *Eurydikeia*, who was the daughter of him, even for a short time until Lysimakhos died.

After defeat of Lysimakhos to Seleucus I allied to Ptolemies, a kingdom in Egypt at Kurupedion nearby Manisa in 281 B.C., control of Smyrna passed to Syrian kingdom Seleucids. Although control was in Seleucids, Ptolemies didn't give up insistence over Smyrna and the cities of region. Although rule of Seleucids on Smyrna was shaken by the loot of Galatians coming over Thrace in 278 B.C. and influencing the Western Anatolian coasts, this danger was avoided when Antiochos I defeated them in 275 B.C.<sup>9</sup> However, Galatian danger in Western Anatolia continued along 3. Century B.C.

Meanwhile, it is observed that Pergamon and Pergamon Kingdom which would be one of the actors to play important role in coming centuries emerge. Lysimakhos had kept a great part of his booties which he had collected in the stage when he provided his rule in Western Anatolia in Pergamon fortress consisting cliffs looking like eagle's nest. However, after his death, it is understood that his commander Phileteiros used this treasure to establish friendship relations with the surrounding cities and Seleucids. Phileteiros who kept the hill of fortress and its vicinity in hand until his death in 263 B.C. and his successors have ruled the kingdom by the dynastic family known as Attalids and have become a serious power in the region in the period until Roman reign. Pergamon gained its first important success by the defeat of Antiochos I of Seleucids who tried to control Western Anatolia to the first king of Pergamon, Eumenes I in 263 B.C. After the death of Antiochos I in a short time, his son Antiochos II became the king and in his time Smyrna stayed a loyal ally of Seleucids in the struggle made with Ptolemies for the control of Western Anatolian coasts. So that, when Stratonice,

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<sup>9</sup> Doğer, p. 99.

mother of Antiochos II died, the Delphoi prophet wanted the Smyrnians to build a temple on behalf of her and respect her as *Aphrodite Stratoniceis* by joining her with Aphrodite.<sup>10</sup> Seleucus II, successor of Antiochos II, announced Smyrna and *Aphrodite Stratoniceis* temple “holy and sacrosanct” against the loyalty of the city, and wished it to be recognized officially by informing the other cities with a letter.

Civil war starting between Seleucus II (247-226 B.C.) and his brother Antiochos Hierax caused the division of territories from Syria to Western Anatolian coasts. The territories extending from the north of Taurus Mountains to Aegean coasts in Anatolia passed to the rule of Antiochos Hierax upon agreement made with his brother in 237 B.C. However, the rule of Antiochos Hierax would not be long-running. The Galatians of Kelt origin in the army of Antiochos Hierax settled around Ankara and shook down Erythrai, Priene, Miletos and other Hellen cities of Western Anatolia by going to Aegean coasts, but they were defeated by Attalus I, King of Pergamon, taken out of the region and promised not to return to Ionia, Troas and Pergamon lands.<sup>11</sup> Upon this success of Pergamon Kingdom, Smyrna and other Hellen cities showed their fidelity for Seleucids this time to Pergamon rule. Romans who had started to be interested with Greeks and Pergamon Kingdom established good relations during the rule of Attalus I and Romans were seen in the Anatolian territory for the first time.

Despite their defeat, interest of Seleucids in Western Anatolia didn't cease. The effort to establish their rule continued in the time of Seleucus III and then Antiochos III (223-187 B.C.), Antiochos III seized the cities obedient to Ptolemies in 197 B.C. with a powerful fleet and serious land force and reached up to Ephesos. Hellen cities, Smyrna and Rhodos leading, and Pergamon Kingdom were forced to request the help of Rome which the rising super power of the time against this danger after long political attempts against Seleucids which formed a threat to Rhodos and Pergamon Kingdom. Romans replied the request of help and supported Pergamon, Seleucids were defeated nearby Manisa in 190 B.C. and were forced to leave their activity areas until Taurus Mountains to Pergamon Kingdom in 188 B.C. by Apameia treaty.<sup>12</sup> The thing which attracts attention in the relation of Smyrna with Romans is hosting *Goddess Rome* Temple for another super power of period for the second time besides *Aphrodite Stratoniceis*.<sup>13</sup>

Being a city left under the control of Pergamon Kingdom in 2. century B.C., Smyrna sustained its existence as a trade city and port which is free in internal affairs and which has tax exemption. Recent excavations show that two story Hellenistic stoas composed of a basement and ground floors were built at the western and northern sides of Smyrna Agora. Today, it is possible to see the traces of these stoas in the basement floors of both the Basilica and West Portico (**Figure 4**). Terrace walls supporting the agora's courtyard area of the basement floors of both structures belong to this period and the spaced windows made on them for lighting and ventilation can easily be observed.

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<sup>10</sup> Doğer, p. 100.

<sup>11</sup> Lequenne, p. 52 - 53.

<sup>12</sup> Cadoux, p. 134 - 140.

<sup>13</sup> Doğer, p. 102.





**Figure 4.** Wall supporting the courtyard plane. Terrace wall was built in Hellenistic period and also used in Roman period.. View from Smyrna Agora's West Portico basement wall, 1. Gallery. East wall of the gallery served also as terrace

Being king in 138 B.C. after the death of Attalus II, Attalus III left the lands of the kingdom which he already acquired upon the guarantee of Rome to Rome via his will. But, the environment of peace in the region was disturbed upon this event and it caused Aristonikos who laid claim on the kingdom to revolt being backed by the landless villagers, legionnaires and slaves. While Leukai and Phokaia supported this revolt, Smyrna and Ephesos opposed it. Continuing for about 3 years, the revolt was suppressed by Roman Consul M. Perperna, Aristonikos was delivered to Rome and killed there.<sup>14</sup>

A short time after suppressing the revolt, Consul M. Aquilius and a commission of 10 persons constituted Asia Province (Provincia Asia) of Rome in 129 B.C. in the region covering Ionia, Aiolis, Lydia, Mysia, Karia and a part of Phrygia with Ephesos as the administration center.<sup>15</sup> Smyrna had preserved its free city position, left free in internal affairs and exempted from tax since it took its place near Rome in this period.<sup>16</sup> Romans initially observed the financial and legal system of Pergamon Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> While the lands of kingdom were connected to Roman treasure, for example, ownership of temples such as Artemisia holy area in Ephesos is not touched to please the reverends and people.

One of the duties of the commission was to repair the existing roads in the province, to construct new roads and complete those which were started.<sup>18</sup> It is understood from the milestones containing the name of Consul M. Aquilius detected around Smyrna that one of the roads first handled was Smyrna-Sardes road. Smyrna-Ephesos and Smyrna-Pergamon roads were also repaired within this framework as other parts of road network of the province. The road from Smyrna to Pergamon, Magnesia ad Spilum and Sardes reached Yeşildere from the side of Aya Vukla Church, by using the partially stone paved avenue identified at Altınpark Archaeological Area (**Figure 5**) where excavation works are maintained in recent days.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Malay, p. 120 - 141.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 141 - 143.

<sup>16</sup> Doğer, p. 106.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>18</sup> Malay, p. 144

<sup>19</sup> Ersoy-Önder, p. 19



**Figure 5.** General view of Altınpark Archaeological Area. In the right, Roman road extending in east-west direction.

The road continued in Tepecik-Halkapınar-Kokluca-Işıkkent direction over Roman Bridge constructed at this point and became famous as Caravan Bridge (Kemer Bridge). This bridge located under a currently used modern bridge and which was brought again to the agenda of the history and archaeology of Smyrna after long years must have been constructed within the framework of the project of improving Smyrna-Ephesos road during the establishment of Asia Province (**Figure 6**).<sup>20</sup>



**Figure 6.** Roman bridge over Yeşildere

Just after the establishment of Asia Province, in 123 B.C., the enforcement of a law enacted with the name *Lex Sempronia de Provincia* based on estimating beforehand a tax to be put with a law and purchasing the right of collecting this tax created dissatisfaction in the province.<sup>21</sup> Tacksmen (Publica) collected taxes arbitrarily to increase their income as much as possible and thus, exploited the wealth of

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Malay, p. 144 - 145.



the province to the utmost. Dissatisfaction of the people overlapped with the plan of Pontus King Mithridates VI to seize Asia Province, the people of province met him as a liberator and hero.<sup>22</sup> After Mithridates VI took action in 89 B.C., about 80.000 Roman citizens were murdered in Ephesos in 88 B.C..<sup>23</sup> It is understood that Mithridates VI got the support of Pergamon, Ephesos and Smyrna besides many Hellen cities. However, when Mithridates VI was defeated in his Greek expedition, the cities in Asia Province turned away from him.

Roman commander Cornelius Sulla who was sent to Anatolia to fight with Mithridates VI punished Smyrna due to its support and the city lost the status of free city. Orator M. Tullius Cicero, important statesman of Rome arriving some time after Sulla, expressed that he regarded Smyrna equal to Pergamon after he returned to Rome and wanted to give its lost prestige back to Smyrna.<sup>24</sup>

Understood to gain its former prestige back with the effort of Cicero, Smyrna became the center of an administrative and judicial locality containing Aiolis and Northern Ionia cities at the north of İzmir and Magnesia (Manisa) and Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa). With the preference of Rome, Smyrna moved ahead of Klazomenai and Phokaia, the other important cities in the region.<sup>25</sup>

While the disturbance caused by Mithridates VI undersigned Smyrna and Western Anatolia in the first half of 1. Century B.C., in the second half, now political disputes in Rome marked the region and the region was influenced from this dispute. In this period Ionia cities hosted important statesmen. Smyrna sided with Pompeius during the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompeius in 49 B.C. and was the losing side in this fight.

In the years of power struggles after the murder of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., Smyrna was one of the stamping cities. Assigned as Syrian Governor by M. Antonius, but a republican, P. Cornelius Dolabella killed Julius Caesar's supporter Gaius Trebonius, who became the governor of Smyrna just after Julius Caesar was murdered, pretending that Trebonius didn't allow his Legions to enter the city, and raped the temples, killed some Romans.<sup>26</sup> Whereupon, Rome Senate announced Dolabella public enemy and his father-in-law Cicero condemned him and mentioned Smyrna as “*one of the most famous places of Asia Province*” and “*one of the most sincere fidels and old supporters of Rome*” in his discourse. Following these events, it is observed that M. Junius Brutus and Cassius, found responsible for the murder of Caesar, came together in Smyrna. Smyrna and Ephesos and other coastal cities could not keep away from power struggles of Rome. As a matter of fact, M. Antonius used the wealth of Smyrna and the cities of region to create source in his long-running power struggle until he was defeated in Actium Battle in 31 B.C..

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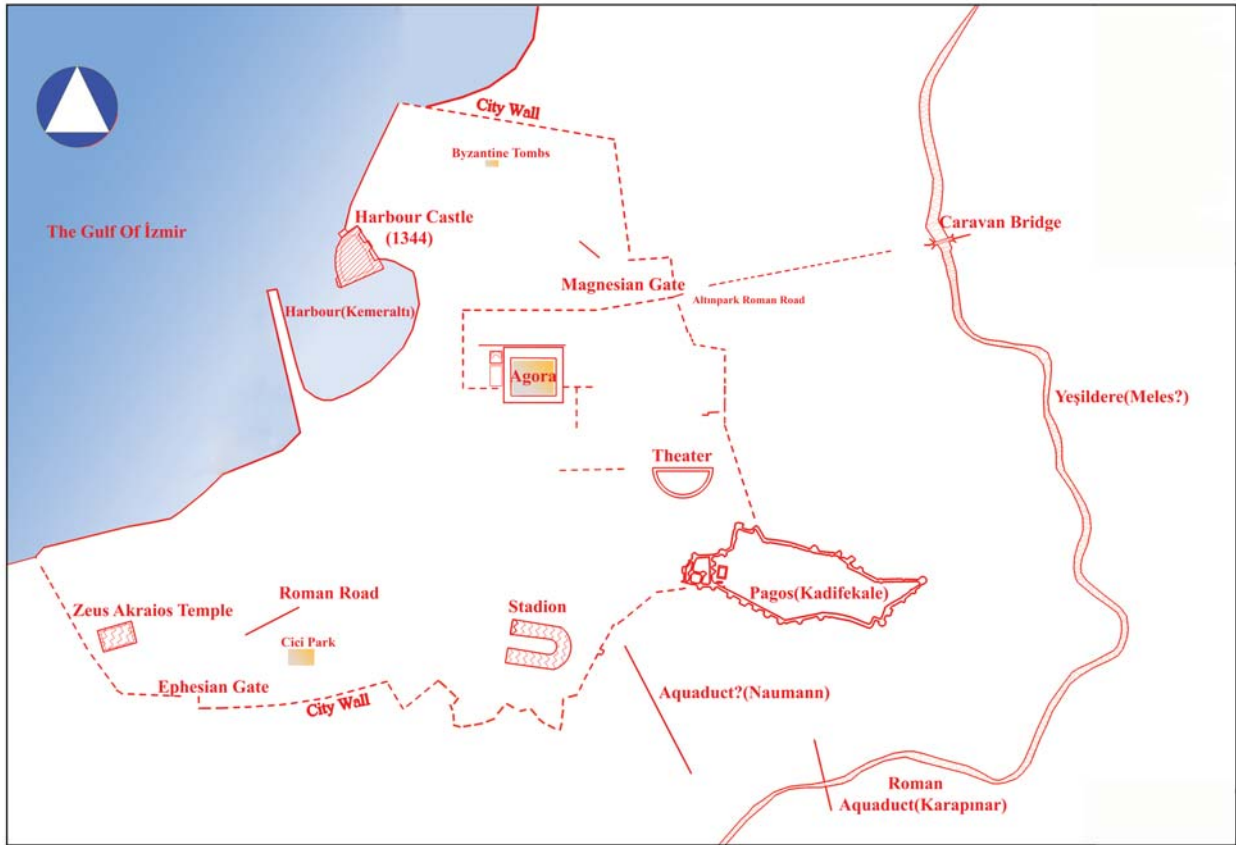
<sup>22</sup> Efes, p. 21.

<sup>23</sup> Doğer, p. 106.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>25</sup> Cadoux, p. 162 - 163.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 166 - 167.



**Figure 7. Plan of Smyrna:** When Octavianus came to power alone after Actium Battle, autocratic Republic period ended in Rome and monocratic Empire period started. In this new period, provision of peace environment known as Pax Romana in the Mediterranean geography and the other empire territories increased the level of welfare of Roman cities. Although less precious than Ephesos and being a tax payer city in the view of Rome, Smyrna reflected its wealth formed with the revenues of sea trade and efficient agricultural products which presented product diversity to its magnificent public and religious buildings. Such that, living in those days, Strabo (XIV.1.37) shall define Smyrna as “*most beautiful of all cities*”. We learn from Strabo that Smyrna had marble avenues and the existence of buildings such as Homereion, Gymnasion and Mother Goddess Temple (**Figures 7 and 8**).



**Figure 8.** View of one of the stone paved main roads in Smyrna reaching to the present day in a good

In this period, Pergamon and Ephesos became more Roman cities with new building projects. These three cities continued competition to become the first city of the region along the empire period with their monumental structures and welfare levels. For instance, erecting the sculpture of Tiberius in Smyrna before all cities when Livia, wife of Augustus, announced her son as the heir was a part of this race.<sup>27</sup> Again, when some cities of Asia Province wished to build temples on behalf of Emperor Tiberius, his mother Livia and Senate for their own prestige, wish of Smyrna was accepted and thus the city owned the first *Neokoros* temple which was an important stage of this race.<sup>28</sup> This title is observed to reflect to some Smyrna coins (**Figure 9**).



**Figure 9.** One of the coins reflecting Smyrna taking the title of first neokoros. Tiberius is demonstrated within a *Prostylos* planned temple dressed in a toga and he holds the holy cup *Phiale* in one hand.<sup>29</sup>

Sismicity of Smyrna and its surroundings was two times noted in ancient sources in the first century of Roman period. First of these was realized in 17 B.C.; in the narrations by Tacitus and Seutonius, the ancient authors, there isn't a topic concerning its effect on Smyrna, but especially cities of Aiolis region to the north of Smyrna were rather influenced.<sup>30</sup> It is understood that the second earthquake recorded was effective in Smyrna. It is claimed that Smyrna Theater was damaged in this earthquake which occurred in the period of Emperor Claudius (41-54) and repaired.<sup>31</sup> Although Smyrna Theater was used as quarry especially in Ottoman Period for the construction of different buildings, today the foundations of its orchestra may still be seen under modern buildings.

It is understood that earthquakes occurring rather frequently in Roman period created restlessness among the people just as witnessed today. For instance, in A.D. 64, Apollonius from Tyana prayed the gods to protect Smyrnians from the disasters of sea and earthquake when he arrived at the city at least ten years after the last earthquake in Claudius period.<sup>32</sup>

After the Rome Senate announced the empireship of Vespasianus (A.D. 69-79), Asia Province was the first province to obey him. Perhaps due to this reason, Ephesos-Smyrna road which was the most important transportation track of the province was greatly handled in the period of Vespasianus.<sup>33</sup>

In the time of Emperor Titus, when the father of the future Emperor Traianus, M. Ulpius Traianus was the province governor, he caused the construction of an aqueduct reaching to Zeus Acraios Temple.<sup>34</sup> Today no archaeological trace is found concerning the said aqueduct. On the contrary, two aqueducts located on Yeşildere can still be spectated.

<sup>27</sup> Cadoux, p. 236 - 237.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 238 - 240.

<sup>29</sup> Smyrna, p. 77 (16)

<sup>30</sup> Doğer, p. 111 - 112.

<sup>31</sup> Cadoux, p. 242.

<sup>32</sup> Doğer, p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 112 - 113.

<sup>34</sup> Cadoux, p. 248.





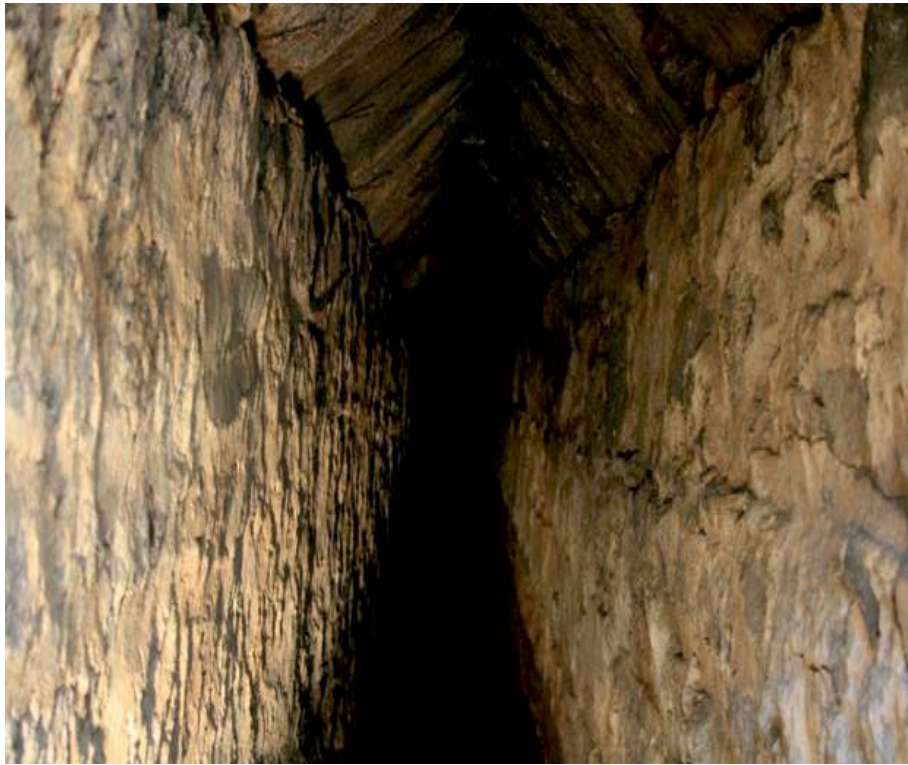
**Figure 10.** Kızılçullu Aqueduct located on Konak-Buca road.

One of these is Kızılçullu Aqueduct located to the east of Yeşildere and the other is Karapınar Aqueduct at the west (**Figures 10, 11**). In addition to these conveyance lines which carry water from out of the city to inside of the city walls, it appears in the recent researches that many channels were constructed to convey the water from the springs emerging from the slopes of Kadifekale to the neighborhood's fountains and cisterns. Two of these channels of 2.20 m height and 0.90 m width in which a man may easily walk are found in the agora and at the slope over the agora (**Figure 12**).



**Figure 11.** Karapınar Aqueduct on Yeşildere Avenue.

The channel detected at the slope over Smyrna Agora and named as “Nursing Mother Channel” was used for a mystic purpose in Ottoman period especially for the Nursing Mother belief which reflects the local belief of Christian İzmir people. Weber cites at the end of 19. century that there was a Virgin Mary figure in the channel. It was believed that fertility and milk of the women who drink the water in this channel increased.



**Figure 12.** Internal view from Agora Channel reaching to Agora of Smyrna, constructed under the city in Roman period. Water currently flows in the channel. Manholes planned to enter into the channel for repair and similar purposes and constructed in irregular intervals take place at the upper cover of the channel.

The most calm and bright period for the other Anatolian cities and Smyrna was Traianus and Hadrianus' reigns. Perhaps because his father was once governor of Asia Province, Emperor Traianus (A.D. 98-117) saw the province in a different perspective. For instance, he subsidized Smyrna and Smyrna-Pergamon road was repaired.<sup>35</sup> He purchased sculptures and paintings for Nemesis Temple. Aqueduct made in the time of his father was repaired by the Governor L. Baebius Tullus.<sup>36</sup>

Hadrianus (A.D. 117-138), Emperor after Traianus, didn't avoid his material and spiritual interest in Smyrna and even visited Smyrna in A.D. 123/124 winter (**Figure 13**). The emperor behaved rather generously and supported the reconstruction of the city with a generous donation to Smyrna (Figure 13). With this donation, he supported the construction of his own temple and a grain silo (Granarium) and a Gymnasium was constructed.<sup>37</sup> Antonius Polemon, a master of oration and intellectual born in Laodikeia of Phrygia, was effective in the interest of the Emperor in Smyrna. The Smyrnians didn't leave the interest of the emperor unreturned and decided to worship him keeping him at the same level with Zeus of Olympos. Being aware of the competition between Smyrna and Ephesos, the emperor permitted the construction of a temple on his behalf in both cities. Thus both cities won the title of *Neokoros*, that is, being the protector of the emperor's temple, for the second time,. The city henceforth used with pride the legend “*two times neokoros*” on its coins. Called Olympeion, this temple was on Değirmentepe and easily seen by those coming from sea and land. Today there is not any trace of this temple which was still visible in 19. century. It is also possible to see the reflection of the competition between Ephesos and Smyrna on a graffito in the basement floor of the Basilica (**Figure 14**).

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<sup>35</sup> Doğer, p. 115.

<sup>36</sup> Cadoux, p. 254.

<sup>37</sup> Aytaçlar, p. 16.





**Figure 13.** Bronze Denarius minted in Rome in 117, found in Agora. In front face is included the head of Emperor Hadrianus with garland, turned to right, in back face Justitia sitting.

Smyrna attracted youth from the neighboring cities and isles especially in 2. century A.D. by means of intellectuals such as Polemon. His students included Herodes Atticus, the master of oration from Athens, and Aelius Aristeides who shall become the master of oration at his place in Smyrna in the future.<sup>38</sup> It is seen that the race to be the first city of the province between Smyrna and Ephesos, also including Pergamon, continued in other fields of education. For instance, like Pergamon and Ephesos, now Smyrna had also medicine school recognized in the ancient world and Claudius Galenos, famous physician born from an aristocrat family of Pergamon had taken anatomy courses in 2. Century A.D. in this medical school of Smyrna before he was assigned as the palace physician in Rome.<sup>39</sup>

In Hadrianus period, Antoninus Pius was assigned to the province as proconsul in A.D. 135 and became emperor in A.D. 138 as his successor. The problem of priority met again in Asia Province Union festivities of year A.D. 143 between Pergamon, Ephesos and Smyrna had even come to the agenda of the emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) who had a forgiving identity. Perhaps the most important event of Pius' period concerning Smyrna was the earthquake felt very closely between the dates A.D. 151-160. As a result of this earthquake, cities in Lesbos Island were ruined and long lasting shocks had concerned the Smyrnians.<sup>40</sup> However, it is not known whether this earthquake had any damage in the city.

Wealth of Smyrna originated from the product diversity and abundance in its own rural areas and the exportation of goods from other cities of the province to Mediterranean geography from the port of the city. Furthermore, the city played an important role in the transfer of commodities from East and West to other regions.

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<sup>38</sup> Cadoux, p.260.

<sup>39</sup> Jackson, p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> Doğer, p. 120.





**Figure 14.** Visual of trade ships coming to the port of Smyrna seen on the graffitos in Basilica. Just near it, a number of gladiator images attract attention.

Enrichment of first Ephesos and Smyrna, and then the other cities of province provided the emergence of a bourgeois class. This bourgeois class lived in luxury dwellings such as Ephesos' Terrace Houses and constructed temples, baths, aqueducts with own facilities for their ambition and honour. Sea trade of each city caused merchants from all around the world have business and dwell in these cities. Again in these cities, local Hellenic people lived from ancient times as well as Roman citizens with Italian origin who became Hellen in time and a substantial number of Jewish population sheltered (**Figure 15**).



**Figure 15.** Oil lamp of 5/6. century A.D. found in the location of Basmane in the scope of Smyrna excavations with “Star of David” on its discus. A sample related to the Jewish population in Smyrna.

2. Century A.D. became a century when magnificent monuments supported or personally wanted by the Emperors and rich Romans in all the territories of the empire. On the other hand, the sun of the empire which seemed never to die looking at these magnificent monuments couldn't hide the fact that all gods of paganism couldn't answer the question what would be to the spirit after death. But, this question gradually increasing in the lower layers of the society was sought in mystical beliefs from Egypt, and temples were built in Pergamon, Ephesos and other cities to accommodate Egyptian origin beliefs. However, also Christianity had started to spread rapidly especially in the lower layers of the society parallel to this mystical religion understanding.



**Figure 16.** Ampulla found in Basmane location excavations and dated to 6/7. century A.D. is an art of period when Christian belief was widespread in the territories of the empire. At the right, bread stamp of Byzantium period.

In fact, Smyrna had met with mystical beliefs and heavenly religions since early times. Great Antiochos (223-187 B.C.) forced a large number of Jews to settle in Western Anatolia, their number rather increased in 1. Century B.C. and Mithridates VI was even directed to seize the build-ups the community living in the region and the isles.<sup>41</sup> The Jews freely making their prayers in the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus should have a community in Smyrna which didn't reflect to the sources in this period. In the midst of 1. century A.D., like the cities of Asia province, Smyrna had its Jewish-Christian community. Smyrna hosted Saint Paulus for a short time in A.D. 54. The region hosted Virgin Mary who died in Ephesos and St. John in the second half of 1. century A.D., Christian doctrine found supporters especially in the Jewish community and groups which were oldest after Antioch were formed in Ephesus, then Smyrna and Pergamon (**Figure 16**). These groups acting especially in the direction of St. John's doctrine were seriously organized in seven great cities of Asia Province.

Being one of the last to see the apostles and the student of St. John in his old ages, perhaps his assignment as Smyrna Bishop was advised by St. John, Polycarp had become the leader of the Christian community of Smyrna as one of the most important Christian persons in 2. century A.D. Although sometimes incurring harsh precautions in Roman lands, they became gradually crowded by the tolerance of some emperors starting from Traianus. When proceedings directed to Christians started again, also Polycarp was arrested during the festivities of Union of Asia Province Cities in Smyrna Stadium in A.D. 155. He was requested to accept the emperor as god, sacrifice an animal to him, and incense, but he didn't accept this and was killed in the stadium in the direction of the requests of the Pagans and Jews. The stadium where Polycarp was killed is now under modern houses but the position of houses conforms to the topography of the stadium (**Figure 17**). It is known that a Martyrium was built for Saint Polycarp. In Ottoman period, a lodge famous with the name Yusuf Dede and a cemetery around it was formed in the place of this grave monument lost in time, and lastly, a fire tower known as "Old Fire Brigade Tower" and not used now was built. Hosting both heavenly religions, this point was used to worship Kybele in pagan period.

<sup>41</sup> Cadoux, p. 302.



**Figure 17.** Place of Smyrna Stadium.

When Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) became emperor, Smyrna incurred an epidemic of plague while the restlessness of the earthquake in Antoninus Pius period hadn't passed yet. Army of the co-emperor Lucius Verus returning from the war against Parthia in A.D. 165 carried plague to Asia Province. As the other cities, Smyrnians had also suffered heavily from the plague which had reached to the most remote points of the empire for 20 years.<sup>42</sup> Smyrna hosted a second emperor after Hadrianus, M. Aurelius and his son Commodus in 176 when they were returning from their visit to Eastern Provinces. Admiring the beauty of the city, the emperor helped for the construction of new public buildings. The emperor met and became friends with the Smyrnian intellectual Aelius Aristeides during this visit.<sup>43</sup>



**Figure 18.** General view of Agora of Smyrna today

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<sup>42</sup> Efes, p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> Cadoux, p. 278 - 279.



A short time after the visit, Smyrna experienced perhaps one of the greatest earthquake disasters of its history in A.D. 178. As cited by the ancient sources, great part of the city was ruined, temples, state agora, theater collapsed, great fissures were formed in the ground, fires occurred, port facilities had great damage and numerous people died.



**Figure 19.** View of West Portico of Smyrna Agora. At the back, Mozaic Building with closed top

Upon this, Aelius Aristeides who was another important intellectual after Polemon, a master of oration, living in Smyrna in 2. Century A.D., wrote a letter to the emperor relying on the friendship among them and by narrating the situation of the city, wanted help. Upon this request, the emperor made the Senate give an allowance for the reconstruction of the city and postponed the taxes of the city for 10 years.<sup>44</sup> Repairs made in this period are most largely seen in the Agora of Smyrna which was renewed to a great extent (Figure 18). Agora of Smyrna bears the traces of the repairs and extensions of this period (**Figure 18**).



**Figure 20.** The portrait thought to belong to Young Faustina, the wife of the Emperor, on the key block of the northern arch of two-arched Faustina Gate constructed at the point where the avenue connecting Agora to the Port reaches the Agora when Agora of Smyrna was reconstructed with the support of Marcus Aurelius after its destruction in the earthquake of 178.

<sup>44</sup> Doğer, p. 120 - 121.

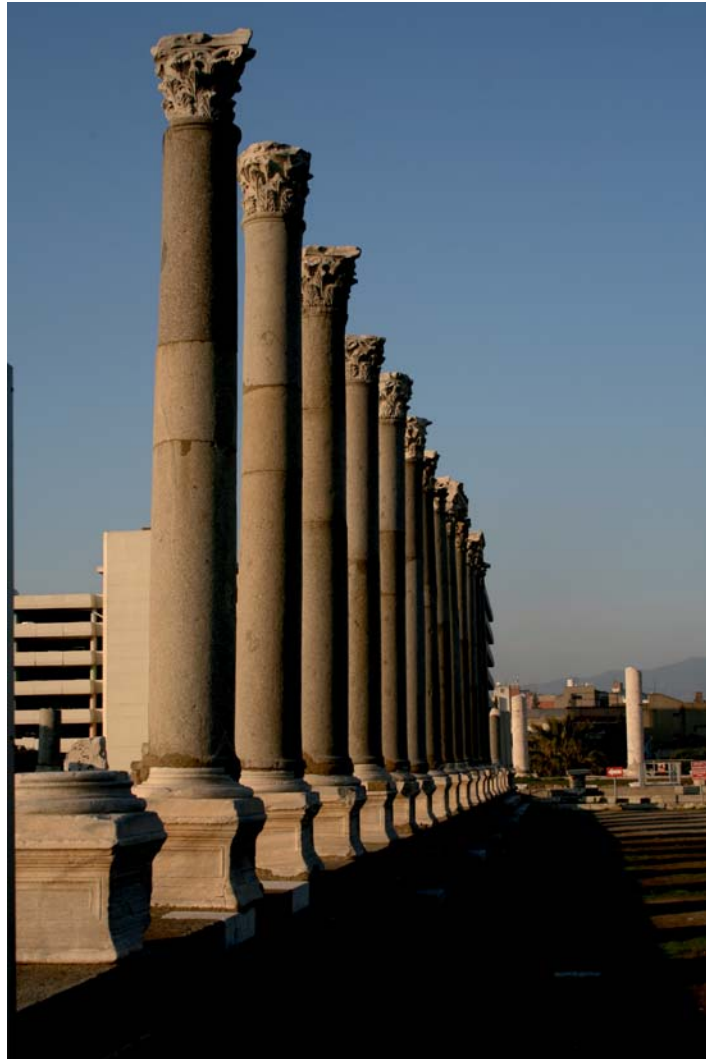
Coming to the Roman period of the Agora, it is seen that the existing stoa structures surrounding the courtyard were extended with new extensions in parallel to the increasing and developing needs of the period. It is understood that changes and extensions continued until Marcus Aurelius period. Two story West Stoa was made to a three story and three gallery portico, North Stoa to a Basilica structure form with three stories again, but four galleries in the basement floor and three galleries in the ground and 1. floor, the middle one being wider.<sup>45</sup>

It is understood that West Portico (**Figure 21**) and Basilica (**Figures 22, 26, 27, 28, 29**) were rather influenced by the earthquake of 178 and both structures took their last state with the repairs made after the earthquake. Meanwhile, a two-arch monumental gate bearing the portraits of Emperor Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina was built at West Portico to honor them due to the interest they showed in Smyrna after the earthquake (**Figure 20**). Basement floor of well preserved West Portico was re-arranged as cistern in Late Antiquity (**Figure 19**).

One of the basic structures which limits the northern edge of the Agora's courtyard area and seen in Roman Agoras, Basilica has a size of 29 x 161 m. Basement floor under the courtyard plane consists of four galleries and has a partially cross vault and partially arch top cover. Southern facade of the basilica rising in two stories over the level of courtyard had a marble column facade. Mentioned two stories had three gallery plan, the middle one being wide. Entrance from the courtyard to Basilica could be provided along this column facade besides the monumental gate at the center. Bearing columns located within the Basilica were made of conglomerate and these columns made of different colors and patterns were creating a riot of colors. One of the most important properties of the structure is that it has drawings narrating the daily life of Smyrna in Roman period and graffitos composed of inscriptions in Greek on the walls of 1. and 2. galleries in the basement floor and bearing arch legs (**Figure 14**).

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<sup>45</sup> Ersoy-Önder, p. 15 - 17.



**Figure 21.** Column row forming the facade of bottom floor of West Portico.



**Figure 22.** View of 2. Gallery of Basilica's basement floor



It is observed that new structures were added in the city center besides agora after the earthquake. Two of these are detected by recent excavation works. These two structures which are made within the framework of the same project was City Council and multipurpose Mosaic Hall and both were attached to the western edge of West Portico (**Figure 23**). Mosaic Hall especially attracts attention with its mosaic floors which were protected to a great extent (**Figure 24**).

Upon the emperorship of Septimus Severus following short ruling period of Commodus (180-192) at the end of 2. century A.D., it is known that Smyrnians had organized Severia festivities on his behalf. Perhaps due to this gesture, Smyrna-Sardes road which was one of the main roads of Asia Province was repaired. Caracalla being emperor in place of Septimus Severus visited Smyrna in A.D. 214/5 and gave permission to the city to construct a temple on his behalf.<sup>46</sup> Having not a good qualification, it is foreseen in the sources that worshipping Caracalla was carried out probably under the same roof together with worshipping “Deified Rome” in Smyrna.<sup>47</sup>



**Figure 23.** At the right, City Council, at the left Mosaic Hall with top covered, both built adjacent to West Portico.

Thus, Smyrna took for the third time the title of Neokoros and saw this a source of boasting against Pergamon and Ephesos which it was in competition with them (**Figure 25**). Such that, the city boasts as “*the first city of Asia in sovereignty and beauty, very bright metropolis of Asia, three times founder of temple of empire's cult and ornament of Ionia, city of Smyrnians....*” in an inscription in which Smyrna city council honored the archpriest and orator C. Lollianus Hedianus.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Doğer, p. 121.

<sup>47</sup> Cadoux, p. 290 - 291.

<sup>48</sup> Aytaçlar, p. 124 - 125.



**Figure 24.** Detail from mosaic floor of Mosaic Hall.



**Figure 25.** Sample of coin showing that Smyrna was three times Neukoros. <sup>49</sup>

The period following the murder of Caracalla by Macrinus, the commander of his own personal guard, is called Soldier Emperors or Anarchy Period. This period shall continue until A.D. 324 when Constantinus with title Great became emperor alone. In this period empire was ruled by commanders announced as emperor by their armies. Limited abilities of these emperors created problems in the administration of the empire and also the non-ending wars in the borders caused first the upset of the finance of the state. Balances which the empire protected for about two centuries started to decay for whatever reason and by any means and this caused disintegration and relaxation in management.

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<sup>49</sup> Smyrna, p. 77 (12)



One of the remarkable events in this period was the march of Goths along Asia Province until they reach Aegean Sea between A.D. 258-262 and meanwhile they looted the province's cities. Although it is known that Ephesos was pillaged and Artemision was burned, their effects in Smyrna is not known. Asia Province was a province where Roman Legions were not deployed since security problems were not experienced in 1. and 2. centuries A.D. This environment caused the cities to disregard the city walls. Significant resistance couldn't be put forth against Goths also due to the weakness of the central management in 3. Century A.D. Goths were the first foreign power reaching the depths of Roman territories about 300 years after the period of Pontos King Mithridates VI. Goths started loots in the period of Valerianus (A.D. 253-260), they were defeated in Balkans by Claudius II Gothicus (A.D. 268-270), then a short time of stability was experienced in the time of Aurelianus (A.D. 270-275) and effort was spent to eliminate the losses in all burned and looted cities after the Goths abandoned the province. Reflection of this period in Smyrna was seen as the repair of Smryna-Sardes road.<sup>50</sup>



**Figure 26.** Child's Head (Eros?) of 1. Century A.D. found in Basilica excavations

Emperor Decius (A.D. 249-251) linked the bad situation of the Empire in the lands where the sun was thought not to set forever to neglecting the ancient gods and prominence of the Christian god and perhaps for the first time after Nero, he ordered the systematic tracking and killing of Christians in the Roman lands, but Christianity continued to spread.<sup>52</sup> The cave in Ephesos which was subject of Seven Sleepers Myth and the church here are associated with the Christians to escape this tracking.

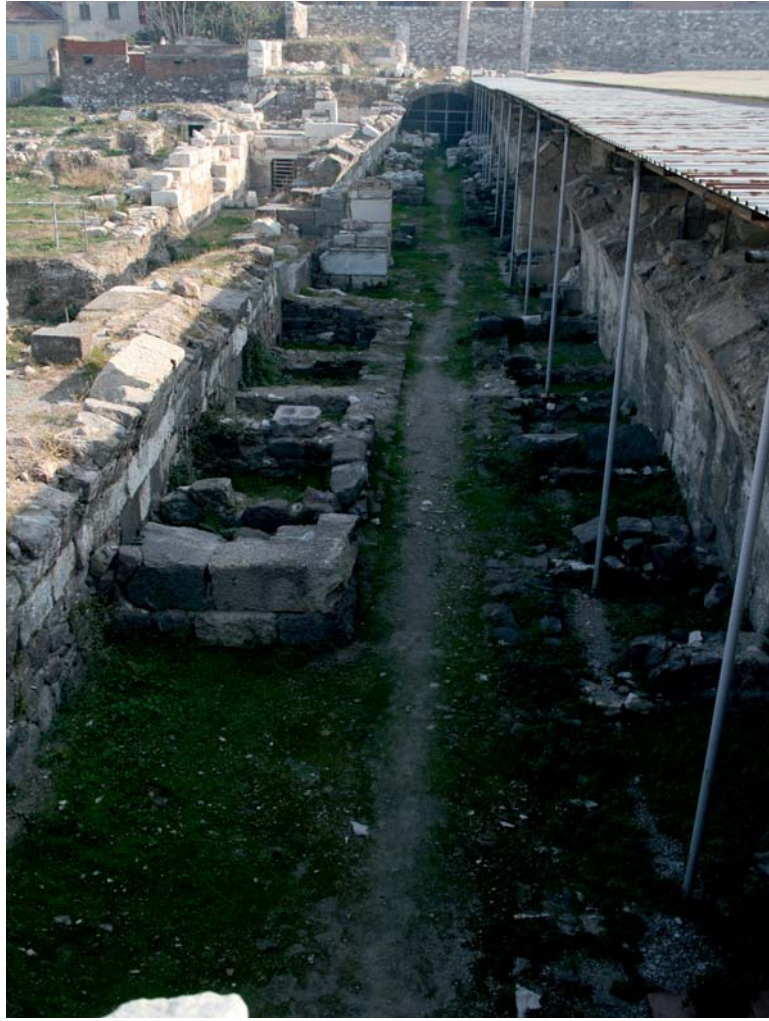
Squeezed between the Sassanids and Germans in 3. century A.D., the empire took a breath for a while by the reforms made in the period of Diocletianus who became emperor towards the end of the century and then in the period of Constantinus I. Territories of the empire was divided into two and ruling by the reforms of Dicleitianus started, Dicleitianus became augustus of the eastern lands with the capital as Nicomedia (İzmit) while the management of the other half was left to Maximianus. Asia province of the past became one of 12 great administrative zones called Dioikesis and divided to 7 provincial areas. Smyrna was included in the province called Asia.<sup>52</sup> Administrative center of the province was Ephesos and its administrative area consisted of the coast band from Assos (Behramkale) to Miletos.

<sup>50</sup> Doğer, p. 122

<sup>51</sup> Efes, p. 28.

<sup>52</sup> Doğer, p. 122.





**Figure 27.** Shop rows located in 3. Gallery of the Basilica. Accepted to be built towards the end of 1. Century A.D., these small shops were used as offices by the merchants.

While all these administrative reforms were made, the Christians had the right of experiencing their beliefs freely in 313 by the decree of Milan although they incurred proceedings also in the time of Diocletianus.<sup>53</sup> Diocletianus was one of last non-Christian emperors. While the emperor who selected Nicomedia (İzmit) as center tried to provide order in the eastern territories of the empire, co-emperor Maximianus was succesful in the management of western territories.



**Figure 28.** Samples of bone sewing needles of 2. century A.D. found in the shops of 3. Gallery in the Basilica

<sup>53</sup> Barrow, p. 166 - 167.

The new period starting with Constantinus I in the middle of the fourth century made the Christian identity of Smyrna and other cities prominent in general although the old beliefs were maintained. Theodosius I even forced all people to accept Christian religion by an order in 380. In this period, Constantinopolis (İstanbul) built by and named after Constantinus I on the Greek city Byzantion became new capital of the empire in this century, and Theodosius I actually divided the empire into two and left the western part of the empire to Honorius and eastern part to Arcadius.



**Figure 29.** Miscellaneous pottery, fragments and oil lamps found in the shops in the 3. Gallery of the Basilica

In the time of Arcadius (A.D. 395-408), some part of the city walls of the city were reconstructed by Proconsul Anthypatos Anatolios and named after the empire.<sup>54</sup> The restlessness caused by Goths serving in Eastern Roman army as legionnaire, again the loot and damages caused by Goths in Phrygia and security problems created by the riot of Isauria living in the mountainous region between Pisidia (Zone of Lakes) and Pamphylia (Antalya region) in this century caused Anatolios to review and renew the city walls of Smyrna (**Figure 30**).

<sup>54</sup> Doger, p. 124.





**Figure 30.** Parts of city walls extending along Tilkilik ramp in north-south direction and today preserved from place to place must be constructed in 7. Century A.D. This part of the city wall built with rectangular blocks of various dimensions used for the second time and supported with lime mortar and rubble stone material give the impression that they were quickly made.

In the period of Justinianus, it is understood that Smyrna was destroyed by a great earthquake in A.D. 551. Two proconsuls, namely Damokharis and then Theodosios, later governor, were praised by the Smyrnians during the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake.<sup>55</sup> The poem written for Proconsul Damokharis says: “*O judge Damokharis, famous in his mastery! This success belongs to you; you achieved to make Smyrna a city again in your effort after fatal disasters of an earthquake.*”<sup>56</sup> This poem located on a rather high base probably bearing the bronze sculpture of the proconsul was placed at the agora by the Smyrnians so that everyone would be able to see it (**Figure 31**). Reconstruction activities continued in the city in the time of Theodosius who became governor after Demokharis and for instance, it is learned from a poem that a bath in the city was renewed by the city manager

<sup>55</sup> Doğer, p. 125

<sup>56</sup> From the translation of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cumhur Tanrıyer.

<sup>57</sup> Doğer, p. 125.





**Figure 31.** Marble base including the praise poem to the governor Damokharis. It is the archaeological and epigraphical document of A.D. 551 earthquake, one of the numerous earthquakes occurred in Smyrna.

Eastern Rome, Byzantine territories faced anarchy and civil war following the murder of Emperor Maurikios and Phokas coming into power. With the excuse of taking the revenge of the killing of Maurikios who had supported him to come into power, armies by Sassanid King Hüsrev Perviz II passed to Anatolia in 609, reached Sardes and Ephesos and looted and destroyed these cities.

We don't have information whether Sassanids reached or damaged Smyrna, but it is accepted that Smyrna city walls were upright to be able to serve for defence in the time of the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) (**Figure 32**).<sup>58</sup> However, it shall not be wrong to say that such a development which threatens the whole Anatolia made Smyrna restless. After the Sassanids, in the second half of the century, Smyrna was occupied by Moslem Arabs taking action with the request of seizing especially İstanbul in the time of Syria Governor Muawiyah and by means of an Arab fleet under the command of Mohammed Ibni Abdallah in 672.<sup>59</sup> Passing the winter of 672 in Smyrna, Moslem Umayyad Arabs enveloped İstanbul along 5 years starting from 673, but they withdrew from İstanbul and Smyrna when they were not able to occupy the city. It is possible to associate the fire traces beside the houses identified in Altınpark Archaeological Area. Parts of city walls which can be seen in intervals near this area seem to be made quickly should probably be made during these attacks (**Figure 30**).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>59</sup> Doğer, p. 128.

It is understood that Smyrna had lost its economical, social and political reflex after the threats and occupations it incurred along 7. century. Agora of Smyrna having the status of administrative city center and other buildings around the agora such as City Council became out of use and the city center was desolated.



**Figure 32.** Bronze follis coin of Heraclius found in Basmane excavations. The coin was minted in 612-613 in Constantinopolis Mint and there exists Heraclius at the right and Heraclius Constantinus at the left on the front face of the coin shown frontally and standing. The figures were portrayed in crossed crown and khlamys and held crossed spheres in their hands and a cross was included between their heads. On the back face, at the middle the mark of value M and between the legs A, at the top: [], at the left: A[/N/N/O], at the right: II/I, at the bottom: [C]ON legends were entered.

It is understood in this period that the houses and other structures except the settlement area of Smyrna within the city walls disappeared and the city was wholly withdrawn inside the city walls within the framework of findings obtained in the excavation works executed in Altınpark Archaeological Area. It is possible to explain the shrink of the city by the existence of insecure environment as well as the decrease of population of Smyrna and not being able to provide economical source for construction projects. We know that economical downturn was experienced in Byzantine territories in this century due to similar attacks, invasions and loots, that people were enslaved, that people migrated to secure locations and mountainous regions by abandoning the coastal settlements.<sup>60</sup> In the same period, forbiddance of icons in Byzantine was an important factor which divided Christian people and increased insecurity in the land of this empire.

Arab attacks of 7. century continued also in 8. Century. While an Arab army under the command of Mesleme aiming to take İstanbul marched from land and sea in 716-717, Smyrna and other coastal cities were influenced from this attack, Sardes and Pergamon were occupied, but Smyrna couldn't be taken.<sup>61</sup>

Raids of Moslem Arabs continued along 9. Century like in 8. Century. A new rise period started when emperors from Macedon Dynasty came into power in Byzantine Empire which couldn't prevent anyway the economical collapse continuing for decades. In this period, a new administrative zone named Samos Sea Theme covering the region from Ephesos to Adramytteion was formed against the attacks of Arabs and pirates. Center of this administrative zone was Smyrna and used as the most important base of Byzantine fleet in the region until 11. Century. Connected to this position, the sources inform that Smyrna Bishopship was separated from Ephesos Bishopship and became independent in a regulation made in 869.<sup>62</sup> Ephesos was always at the forefront in the administrative chart established in Western Anatolia in 129 B.C. by Roman Empire, but now it hadn't the sufficient performance together with filling of its port and this caused Smyrna to become more prominent in the region commercially and administratively.

<sup>60</sup> Ostrogorsky, p. 115.

<sup>61</sup> Daş, p. 43.

<sup>62</sup> Doğer, p. 130.

After the last great earthquake known in 6. Century, Smyrna faced earthquake disasters two times in 1025 and 1040 in 11. Century.<sup>63</sup> The sources say that the first earthquake in this century was destructive both in the city center and the surroundings and caused deaths. Following the earthquakes, this time Byzantine territories faced Turkmen threat, Turkmens owned the lands from Mediterranean to Marmara in about 1080 in a short time following 1071 Malazgirt Battle. While Süleyman Şah founded Seljuk State at İznik in 1075, at about the same dates, in 1081, Smyrna and surroundings passed to the control of Turks by a Turkish bey, Chaka Bey, although for a short time.<sup>64</sup> Understood to gain the support of Smyrnians who seek for stability, Chaka Bey is observed to control the Western Anatolia coasts from Rhodos to Çanakkale Strait and large islands across these coasts with a fleet defined as the first Turkish fleet which he had constructed in Ephesos and Smyrna shipyards and found a sea state.

Not being able to cope with Chaka Bey, Emperor Alexios I. Comnenos found the remedy by provoking Anatolian Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan against him and he was killed in a feast in 1092 by the Sultan who was also his son-in-law. Despite the killing of Chaka Bey, it is understood that Smyrna was left under the control of Turks for a while.<sup>65</sup>

This ruling period continuing until 1097 ended by Alexios I. Comnenos who sent troops both from land and a fleet from the sea in the sense of security of the current crusade and took back Smyrna and important cities as Ephesos and Sardes and many cities in Central Western Anatolia occupied by Turks. Thus Byzantine rule was provided again.<sup>66</sup> Anna Comnena narrates in her book named *Alexiad* (XI.V.4/5) that 10.000 Turks were killed in the seizure of Smyrna.<sup>67</sup> 11. Century coins constitute one of the most crowded coin groups within the Byzantine and general coin findings found in Smyrna excavations. It is possible to associate this situation that Smyrna had an important trade port as well as commercial liveliness despite all inconveniency. In this century, Agora of Smyrna was now converted to a cemetery. It was seen that the population concentrated around the port and Kadifekale. It is possible to explain this situation with the demand of Smyrnians to be under the assurance of internal fortress at Kadifekale and Port Fortress at the coast in the environment where security problems existed.

Although the effectiveness of Turks was relatively limited to central Anatolia in the first half of 12. Century in which Comnenos dynasty ruled Byzantium, Western Anatolia faced two big attacks in 1133 to Smyrna and its surroundings and along K. Menderes valley in 1147/48.<sup>68</sup> Meanwhile, during II. Crusade, the Crusaders composed of Germans under the command of King Conrad and French under the command of King Louis marched over Balıkesir-Edremit-Bergama-Smyrna-Ephesos along Western Anatolia coast on their way to Jerusalem.

Throne wars in Byzantium starting with Emperor Andronikos I. Comnenos ended upon the seizure and loot of İstanbul in 1204 by the Crusaders of 4. Crusade directed to İstanbul instead of going to Jerusalem. Trying to keep the state alive, Theodoros I. Lascaris made İznik center and caused the effectiveness of the state in Western Anatolia and Smyrna for about 100 years. Especially in the time of Ioannes III Vatatzes (1222-1254), Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa) near Smyrna became the administrative center of İznik-Byzantium state and Smyrna became the most important trade and military port and shipyard. Vatatzes was known to reinforce the defence of city and the city walls were repaired, reinforced and new towers were built. It is foreseen that the currently known shape of Port Fortress was taken from the fortress built in this period. Cistern structure found in Kadifekale was made in the time of Vatatzes. The cistern has the capacity to meet the daily water need of 7000 people (**Figure 33**). It is understood that reinforcement of Kadifekale where an important part of population of Smyrna lived was planned in terms of both military and basic infrastructure needs. It is known that

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>64</sup> Daş, p. 44.

<sup>65</sup> Doğer, p. 131.

<sup>66</sup> Ostrogorsky, p. 336.

<sup>67</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, p. 338.

<sup>68</sup> Doğer, p. 132 etc.



there were other cisterns of various sizes and numerous houses as well as a church at Kadifekale which was a fortress city in these days.



**Figure 33.** Byzantium cistern at Kadifekale

Latin occupation in İstanbul ended in 1261 in the time of Palaiologos dynasty taking over the power from Lascaris dynasty in Byzantium palace and the center of state was again transported from İznik to İstanbul. While Byzantium was in a survival struggle both in Balkans and Anatolia under the leadership of Michael VIII Palaiologos, in this struggle utilization of the sources which based on the welfare and wealth formed in Western Anatolia in the period of Lascaris made these lands, the last ones left in the hands of Byzantium, unhappy. Seeking alliances to relieve in this demanding period, Byzantium was obliged to give some privileges to Genoese for this and Smyrna port and port costs was left to Genoese.<sup>69</sup> Being a secure trade port, the number and effectiveness of Genoese and Venetians increased in Smyrna.

Turks had escaped from Mongols in the second half of 13. Century and beginning of 14. Century and swarmed along the line from Sakarya to Büyük Menderes rivers which was the natural border in Anatolia between Byzantium and Seljuks. In this period, it is seen that all rural areas were controlled by Turks except city centers. In about 1300, almost all Anatolia was taken by Turks and only fortress cities such as Nikaia, Sardes, Philadelphia, Magnesia and port cities such as Phokaia and Smyrna were left as “small islands in the Turkish flood”.<sup>70</sup> It is known in this period that Kadifekale, acropolis of Smyrna was taken by Aydınoğlu Mehmet Bey latest in 1310, but Genoese kept the control of Port Fortress and the port. When they took İzmir, they constructed a fortress masjid at Kadifekale like almost all fortresses. During recent archeological excavations, the foundations of this masjid were revealed. The masjid is dated to 1308 and it is the oldest Islamic praying structure known in İzmir (**Figure 34**).

<sup>69</sup> Doger, p. 142.

<sup>70</sup> Uzunçarşılı, p. 104.



**Figure 34.** Foundation remnants of Fortress Masjid at Kadifekale

When Mehmed Bey shared the beylik lands between his children, İzmir was given to Umur Bey. Port Fortress was taken from Genoese in 1326 with the persistent efforts of Umur Bey.<sup>71</sup> Thus, Turkish rulership was first provided in İzmir. İzmir became the central city of Aydınogulları Beylik in the time of Umur Bey who became Ulubey upon the death of Aydınoglu Mehmed Bey in 1334. Umur Bey who was *generous as much as pious and a gallant person who made jihad and holy wars as much as being generous* by the definition of İbni Batuta organized raids in the region until İstanbul with the fleet constructed in the shipyards of İzmir.<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, in the time of Umur Bey, the first trade agreement of the beylik was made with the Western people in 1337 with Crete. According to this agreement, rights of free trade, landowning, church construction and Consulate opening were given to Venetians.<sup>73</sup>

According to İbni Batuta, being sick of these raids by Umur Bey, Rums at least applied to the Pope and a Crusade fleet composed of ships provided from Cyprus, Genoa, Venice and Rhodes seized the Port Fortress and the city around the fortress in 1344 with a sudden attack and fleet of Umur Bey was burned. Byzantium Empress Anna had a great role to promote Pope VI. Clemence in the organization of this expedition.<sup>74</sup> Umur Bey tried to seize the fortress again until his death but he couldn't succeed and died in this way in 1348 with an arrow shot from the fortress.<sup>75</sup> Arriving at the city around this date, İbni Batuta shall define Smyrna as a city *ruined in majority* apparently due to these infights between two rulers of the city.<sup>76</sup> Just after the death of Umur Bey, an agreement was made with the Crusade alliance of Venice, Rhodes and Cyprus in 1348 containing heavy terms and according to this agreement, half of customs revenues of Ayasuluğ (Selçuk) port and İzmir port was left to the Crusades. In the time of Hızır Bey, brother of Umur Bey, another trade agreement followed this agreement in 1353 and Crusades provided new privileges with this last agreement.<sup>77</sup> Pope approved the agreement and left the control of Port Fortress to Rhodes Knights.

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<sup>71</sup> İbni Batuta, p. 35.

<sup>72</sup> Atan, p. 129.

<sup>73</sup> Uzunçarşılı, p. 85, 107.

<sup>74</sup> Ostrogorsky, p. 479.

<sup>75</sup> İbni Batuta, p. 34.

<sup>76</sup> Atan, p. 128 - 129.

<sup>77</sup> Uzunçarşılı, p. 111 - 112.

It is seen that Aydınogulları Beylik was gradually weakening in the second half of 14. century. As a matter of fact, the beylik lands went under the rule of Ottomans in the time of Yıldırım Bayezid in 1389 (**Figure 35**). Yıldırım Bayezid couldn't take the Port Fortress against his great effort but he kept the control of Turkish settlement at Kadifekale and slopes being famous as Turkish İzmir and gave the management of the city to Kara Subaşı Hasan Bey from Aydınogulları family.<sup>78</sup> As a matter of fact, two Yıldırım Bayezid coins found in Kadifekale excavations marks the rule of Bayezid here.



**Figure 35.** Yıldırım Bayezid Coin with inventory number SMYRNA 1502 found in Kadifekale excavations and drawing of a similar sample cited from Kabaklarlı

Conquest of port fortress which troubled Turks for a long time was realized by Mongol Emir Timur in 1402. The sources write that the fortress with sea on one side and trenches on the other three sides could only be seized by filling the sea side with rocks and using wooden scaffolds.<sup>79</sup> It is recorded that Timur arrived at İzmir on December 2, 1402 and conquered the port fortress within two weeks.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the whole Aydınogulları Beylik lands was given to Musa Bey, son of İsa Bey who was heir to Aydınogulları together with Coast (Unbeliever) İzmir and Turkish İzmir, then Mongols left İzmir.<sup>81</sup> Upon the death of Musa Bey in 1403, his brother II. Umur Bey ruled over the Aydınogulları lands, but İzmiroğlu Cüneyd Bey emerged after a short time as another heir of the family and controlled the beylik lands. Although İzmiroğlu Cüneyd Bey partially resisted to Çelebi Mehmet who ruled the Ottoman beylik lands alone, the city was taken in 1415 with the support of Knights from the sea side and meanwhile the port fortress and city walls of Kadifekale was demolished for precaution.<sup>82</sup> Cüneyd Bey acted with Çelebi Mehmet for a while, then supported Mustafa Çelebi and then II. Murad who were involved in the throne wars of Ottomans; then he opposed II. Murad who wanted to possess the lands of Aydınogulları beylik and was killed after persistent tracking.<sup>83</sup> At the end of throne wars in the Ottoman dynasty, the city was dominated wholly by Ottomans in the time of II. Murad only in 1424 and became the most important port city of Western Anatolia in this period.

<sup>78</sup> Uzunçarşılı, p. 111 - 112.

<sup>79</sup> Daş, p. 52.

<sup>80</sup> Akın, p. 67.

<sup>81</sup> Uzunçarşılı, p. 112.

<sup>82</sup> İpid, p.79.

<sup>83</sup> İpid, p.116 - 119.



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