The conference *Crossroads Konya Plain from Prehistory to the Byzantine Period* had the aim to bring together scholars who work in the Konya Plain to discuss and analyze their results, theories and views on continuity, discontinuity, exchange and networks from the Neolithic period until the end of the Byzantine period. The papers, which are published in this peer reviewed volume, were presented at the 9th International ANAMED (RCAC) conference, which took place at ANAMED Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations on December 6th-7th 2014.

Kavşaklar - Prehistorik Çağ'dan Bizans Dönemine Konya Ovası başlıklı konferans, Konya Ovası'nda çalışan bilim insanlarını bir araya getirerek tartışmayı, sonuçları, teorileri ve Neolitik dönemden Bizans dönemine kadar devamlılık, devamsızlık, takas ve ağlar hakkındaki görüşlerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Burada yayınlanan hakemli bildiriler, ANAMED Koç Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü içinde yer alan 9. Uluslararası ANAMED (RCAC) konferansında, 6-7 Aralık 2014 tarihlerinde sunulmuştur.

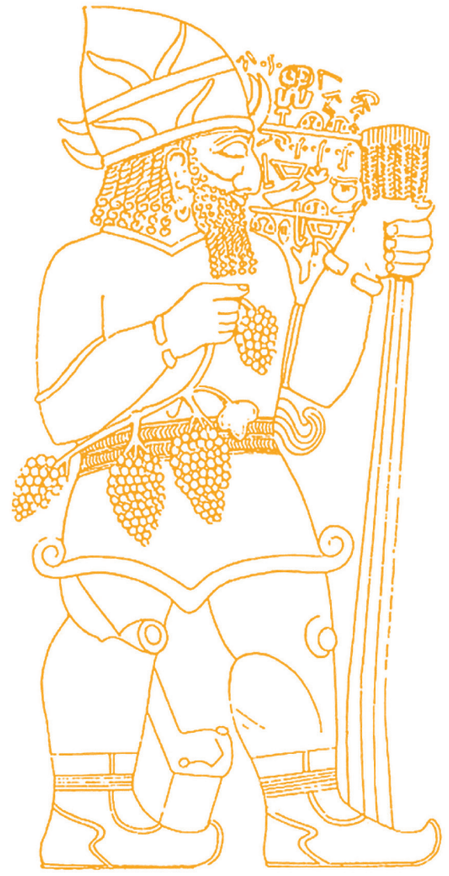
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CROSSROADS KAVŞAKLAR

9TH INTERNATIONAL ANAMED ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM
9. ULUSLARARASI ANAMED YILLIK SEMPOZYUMU

CROSSROADS KAVŞAKLAR



EDITED BY YAYINA HAZIRLAYAN ÇİĞDEM MANER

KONYA PLAIN FROM PREHISTORY TO THE BYZANTINE PERIOD
PREHİSTORİK ÇAĞ'DAN BİZANS DÖNEMİNE KONYA OVASI

YAYINLARI

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EDITED BY ÇİĞDEM MANER YAYINA HAZIRLAYAN ÇİĞDEM MANER

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The Ancient Roads of Lykaonia

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The region called Lykaonia comprised the whole of city of Konya and the territories of neighbouring cities[1]. In comparison to the other regions of the Anatolian peninsula, the most distinctive feature of this region is the lack of a river discharging into the sea. The core of the region is Tuz Lake and the mid-Anatolia steppes as its extension. Moreover, on the northern part of the Taurus Mountains, Beyşehir Lake and two shallow swamp lakes, Suğla and Akgöl, are situated. Most of the ancient and Middle-Age settlements of the Lykaonia region are found around these lakes[2].

The eastern frontier of the Lykaonia region is marked by the Kırşehir peak on the east side of Tuz Lake. Since the beginning of the Roman Empire till the Byzantine period, the eastern frontier of Lykaonia corresponded to the descriptions of Strabo (XII 568; XII 537; XIV 663). The eastern frontier extended through Koropassos (Akhan) in Lykaonia and Garsaura (Garsauria, Archelais, Aksaray) in Kappadokia (Strabon XII 2, 535 and 537) and then passed by Kybistra (Herakleia, Konya Ereğlisi) in Kappadokia, then went through Arisama and the Karaca mountains in the south, and finally reached Anbar and Ayrancı in Lykaonia[3].

The southern frontier is the area called Isauria in the Taurus Mountains[4]. This border is marked through the locations of Lystra, Laranda and Derbe, which are cities in the Lykaonia League[5]. The western frontier may be identified through Beyşehir Lake. The boundary stones set up in Eflatun Pınar around Hordu and on the eastern shore of Beyşehir Lake both served as a separator between the settlements and imperial land, and marked the border between Lykaonia and Pisidia. In the Roman Imperial period, the border between Lykaonia and Pisidia passed through there[6].

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[1] Aulock 1978, 15-17; Belke 1984, 39-40; Laminger-Pascher 1989, 5-8; Laminger-Pascher 1992, 26-30.

[2] Röhr, 2009.

[3] Hild 1977, 40; Hild – Restle 2, 1981, 41.

[4] Strabo XII 568.

[5] Laminger-Pascher 1986, 238-60

[6] For the west border see Laminger-Pascher 1989, 5-6.

Pliny the Elder discusses the Lykaonia region between Tuz Lake and the Taurus Mountain range in his work, Naturalis Historia (5, 95). Lykaonia was included into the sovereignty of the Macedonian kingdom by Antigonos Monophthalmos, a general of Alexander the Great in 333 BC[7]. In 188 BCE, Lykaonia was among the territories of the Anatolian peninsula left to Pergamon as a result of the Apameia Peace Treaty[8]. Lykaonia then formed the southeast section of the first Roman province in Anatolia – Asia – which was founded in 133 BC, but started functioning in 129 BC. However, in 102 BC, Lykaonia is thought to have been separated from the province of Asia and, along with Pamphylia, passed into the jurisdiction of Mark Antony, governor of the province of Cilicia, an area involved in the struggle against piracy[9]. According to ancient sources, Lykaonia was known to be a regional administration which had three subdivisions starting from 100 BC [10]. This division was not made according to geographical characteristics but according to the necessities of political administration. In the 1st century BC, Lykaonia was under the control of a local king, Amyntas[11]. When Amyntas died in 25 BC, the Lykaonia region was included into the provincial system of Rome by Augustus, while he was in the process of founding the province of Galatia[12] (Cassius Dio 49, 32,3). Thus, it became an independent jurisdictional zone with Philomelion (Akşehir) at its center[13]. This jurisdictional zone continued to exist until 40 AD. In this period, the road coming from the Meander Valley and passing by Olbasa, Komana, Kremna and Antiocheia – newly founded Roman colonies in Pisidia – and from the south side of the newly founded province of Galatia reached the Roman colonies of Lykaonia such as Lystra[14] and Ikonion. This new province, which was founded in 72 AD by uniting Galatia and Kappadokia, also comprised the territory of Lykaonia[15]. Especially during the reign of Vespasian's elder son Titus, legatus Augusti Aulus Caesennius, the governor of Galatia-Kappadokia, did construction and repair work to the roads. It is understood that towards the middle of the 2nd century AD during the reign of Hadrian, Lykaonia became connected to the province of Kilikia. Perhaps the regions of Isauria, Kilikia and Lykaonia were ruled as three eparchia before the rule of Antoninus Pius[16]. However, during the same period, Lykaonia had an assembly for its regional administrative management. Laranda managed to get the title of metropolis from the Roman emperors, thus become the center of Lykaonia.

The main road traversing Lykaonia was in an east-west direction and connected the Ephesus and Euphrates basins. In the early imperial period, this road had an immense importance and was called the "common road" (κοῖνῆ ὁδός). The geographer Strabo, who lived at the beginning of the 1st century BC, describes this route as it existed in the last quarter of the 2nd century BC

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7 Marek 2010, 233.

8 Marek 2010, 289.

9 For this opinion see Ferrary 2002, 133-146; Marek 2010, 329. Kreiler suggests that the establishment of provincia Cilicia was in 80 B.C. not in 102 B.C.; see Kreiler 2007, 117-126.

10 Blümel 1992 no. 31 col. 3 l. 22-27; see Vitale 2012, 103.

11 Marek 2010, 403.

12 Marek 2010, 404.

13 The area around Philomelion was considered a part of the region after Lykaonia became an eparkheia. Marek 2010, 330; Vitale 2012, 103.

14 Lystra hakkında bkz. Filges 2015,49-51; 74-76; 322; 366.

15 Marek 2010, 451.

16 Marek 2010, 519.

according to information given by Artemidoros (Strabo XIV 2, 28). The region of Lykaonia was bigger than the province, and its political borders did not match its physical borders as it did in the other regions of Anatolia[17]. In the 1st century BC, it was connected to the province of Asia, then later on, as previously stated, had a self-administered jurisdictional zone with its headquarters at Philomelion[18]. Since the first governor of the province of Asia Manius Aquillius, a road connection began from Sardeis and went through Phrygia passing by Laodikeia, Apamea and Synnada and arriving at Philomelion[19]. Another route used for military dispatches during the Roman Imperial period was the route on the north side of Lykaonia that passed by Galatia to Ankyra[20]. However, during the reign of Diocletian, with the start of the Dominatus era in 284 AD and the beginning of the Tetrarchy in 293 AD, Nikomedia became the capital. Military dispatches towards the east increased, thus new road connections coming from the Balkans into the Marmara region and then to the important Mediterranean harbours came into prominence. In the first quarter of the 4th century AD, the political and economic interests of the empire moved to the east. In the year 330 AD, Constantinopolis became the new capital of the new empire, which led to the importance of two routes. One of them known as the Pilgrims' Road[21] started from Kalchedon in Bithynia directly across from Konstantinople, passed through Nikaia (İznik), Ankyra (Ankara) and reached Tarsus[22]. The other one started in Konstantinople, passed Dorylaion (Eskişehir), Amorion (Hisar), Ikonion[23] (Konya) and Herakleia (Konya Ereğlisi) before reaching Tarsus[24]. The route passing by Ankara tracked to the east of Tuz Lake and the one passing through Konya[25] tracked to the west of Tuz Lake. Both routes eventually united north of the Kilikian Gates (Gülek Boğazı) in the vicinity of Podandos (Pozantı) and passed through them south into Kilikia. One of the oldest transportation lines passing through Lykaonia is the route coming from Ankyra to Ikonion and then continuing to Laranda (Karaman) and Lystra (Hatunsaray)[26]. The route going to Karaman from Ikonion passes to the west and south of the Konya plateau, traversing the settlements of Kodylessos, Posala, Pyrgoi and Ilistra before reaching the Çarşamba stream[27]. Even though there is no concrete evidence for the route's location around the Çarşamba stream, it is very probable that its track should be according to the bridge built with reused stones in Dineksaray[28] and according to the Tavşançı bridge built during the Ottoman period.

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17 Marek 2010, 451.

18 Marek 45; Mitchell 1999, 23.

19 Marek 2010, 332.

20 On the roads that pass through Lykaonia with a destination to the Mediterranean coast in Cilicia, see Hild –Hellenkemper 1990, 138-140; Hild 1991, 310-330; Hild 1998, 941-951; Sayar 1999, 454.

21 K. Belke, Galatien und Lykaonien. Viyana 1984, 95-97.

22 French 1981; Belke 1984, 95-97.

23 For Ikonion, see Filges 2015, 48-49, 76-78; 321; 366.

24 Belke 1984, 97-101.

25 For the inscriptions found in the territory of Ikonion, see Thonemann 2013, XXIX-XXX and 262-272 no. 294-305; especially milestones no. 295 and no. 296, which were found in Eğribayat and dated to the time of Septimius Severus and Constantine, and show the destination of the road

26 For a milestone found in Lystra and dated between 235 and 238, see Laminger-Pascher 1992, 125 no. 163.

27 For the roads in Lycaonia, see Ballance 1958, 223-234.

28 For a milestone found in Dineksaray and dated 81 B.C., see Laminger-Pascher 1992, 188 no. 299.

It is understood through milestones that the road coming from Ikonion, passing through Lystra, and arriving at Isaura Palaia, Leontopolis connected Ikonion and Laranda. This road passed through Apa (Dineksaray) and other villages named Bozkır, Sorobon and Bidana before reaching Isaura Palaia. The road went from Isaura Palaia to Germanicopolis and then continued to Anemurion.

The main source for the stations on the road from Dorylaion to Lykaonia is the Tabula Peutingeriana (segment X-3; X-2). Some parts of this route can be followed through the inns built during the Seljuk period. The road that passes from Dorylaion and Orkistos reached Amorion. Amorion, called Hergan Kale or Hisar, is approximately twelve kilometres east of Emirdağ, Afyon. According to the Tabula Peutingeriana, a route going southeast from Amorion reached Sauatra in Yağlıbayat, then passed the Kabullu Kome station where Kulak Murat Inn is located[29]. The Tabula Peutingeriana shows that there is a connection to Ikonion from there. A milestone dating to Julian's era and found at Bahçesaray on the mountain range bordering the Konya plateau on its northwest side indicates that this route was in use in the second half of 4th century AD.

Another route arriving from the west was via Akşehir (Philomelion) to Ikonion. This route went by the Başara River and followed the road between Misthia (Beyşehir) and Ikonion[30]. On this route after Misthia, the Altınapa Inn was located. This route was in use both in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

The route from Ikonion to Herakleia followed the Çarşamba stream in a southeast direction and reached Madenşehir (Binbirkilise) on the north side of Karadağ where the settlement of Barata has been localized. The road passed the settlements of Çoğlu, Akçaşehir, Kaleköy and Anbar on the east side of Barata and reached Herakleia. The rest of the road continued to Tarsus via the Kilikian Gates (Gülek Pass).

The most important east-west connection in northern Lykaonia was the route coming from Amorion, going through Murat Inn and the Akbaşbeli region and uniting with a road passing through Ikonion before finally reaching Kappadokia. This road, starting on the north side of Lykaonia in Amorion, went to Gökpınar where Tolastochora has been localized. The road that passed from this station reached the Vetisso station. From there it went to Egdaya (Çeşmelisebil), then to Pegella, and via Kongustos it reached Altıntekin. Then it continued via Petra[31] to Sauatra, Karapınar and Herakleia. The part of this road going towards the east reached Kappadokia by traversing Petra, Comitamasso (Ortakuyu) and Ubinnaca (Malır Höyük) near Salaberina. Another road coming from Alltınekin reached the route to Ikonion passing by Kaballu Kome and Kulak Murat Caravanserai near Eğribayat. This road, running in a southeast direction, reached Sabatra and then on to Kana[32] (Geneköy, Beşağıl). Thus, the transportation route from Amorion to Herakleia and then to the Kilikian Gates, diagonally passing through Lykao-

[29] For Savatra see Belke 1984, 222-223 s. v. Savatra maddesi; about the inscriptions from Savatra, which were copied in 1956 by M. Ballance see Thonemann 2013, XXXI and 299-307 no. 343-354.

[30] Belke 1984, 98-99.

[31] For about thirty inscriptions from Perta copied in 1956 by M. balance, see Thonemann 2013, 273-298 no 306-342.

[32] On the ten inscriptions copied by W. M. Calder in 1954 and by M. Ballance in 1957, see Thonemann 2013, XXXII, 308-314 no. 355-363.

nia, is mostly documented via road stations of the Roman Imperial period and Late Antiquity. According to the locations of these stations, there were two diagonal routes in Lykaonia – one in the south and the other one in the north. These routes united in the vicinity of Konya Ereğlisi before reaching Herakleia.

In this context, a chain of fire signals which served as a means of communication between the Taurus Mountain range and Konstantinople should also be mentioned. According to the sources, this telegraph-like fire was founded during the reign of Emperor Theophilos in the 9th century BC. However, its roots were much older.

Another route known since the 6th century BC is called Via Sebastè. It ran from Antiocheia in Pisidia and passed by Lystra near Karaman today. The name of the road is known through the milestones of Cornutus Aquila. The name "Via Sebastè" is connected to the colonies founded during the reign of Augustus in Pisidia and Lykaonia. The road passed by Mistheia (Beyşehir), Amlada and Uasada, then went to the eastern shore of Trogitis Limnae (Lake Suğla) and reached Isaura Palaia. A branch that got separated from the Via Sebastè near Erenkaya reached Lystra via Kilistra[33].

Apart from these roads, there was also a route that ran from the southeast: from Side to Konya and then continued to Kappadokia Koloneia (Aksaray). In the Tabula Peutingeriana, this road reached Mistheia in Lykaonia, then followed the eastern shore of Beyşehir Lake via Amblada (Kızılca), Uasada (Bostandere) and Isaura Palatia (Leontopolis) before uniting with the road that ran from Lystra to Ikonoion.

The road that went from Mistheia to Ikonion reached the Via Sebsaste via Çavuş – Karacaören and Erenkaya. On the southwest side of Ikonion, this road joined the road between Ikonion and Lystra.

The route of Ikonion-Koloneia(Aksaray) can be traced today by means of many caravanserai remains. According to the Tabula Peutingeriana, the road from Sauatra left the Lykaonia region and reached Kappadokia in the vicinity of the territory of Koropassos, which is described as the last settlement of Lykaonia.

The road on the southeast side of the Lykaonia region ran to Kaleköy, Divle and Yelkalesi on the Taurus Mountain range and reached Soloi/Pompeiopolis (Mezitli) on the Mediterranean shore.

Approximately forty milestones belonging to Roman Imperial period were found on the roads of Lykaonia. These indicate construction or repair work on the roads during the military expeditions and during the region's inclusion process within the newly founded Roman province[34]. During the reigns of the Flavians, Trajan, and the Severans especially – to better protect the eastern border against the Parthians and starting from 224 AD the increased campaigns against the Sasanians requiring more military dispatches – the roads of Lykaonia were frequently being repaired and widened, as was the case in other neighbouring regions.

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[33] For the two milestones copied in the village of Kavak, one dated to the first half of the 2nd century A. D. and the other dated to 253 A. D. in the time of emperor Valerian, see Laminger-Pascher 1992, 155-156 no 225-226.

[34] For the milestones found in Lykaonia, see French 1981 fasc. 2; an interim catalogue of Milestones, Part 1-2, 214-240 no 593-670; 2014, 20-25 no. 4-10; 54 no. 38 A; 38 B.

The Ancient Roads of Lykaonia

The region Lycaonia covers the whole area within the boundaries of today's Konya. The most striking geographical characteristic of this region is the lack of a river. The core of the region consists of the Salt Lake and its extension Central Anatolian steppes. Moreover, Beyşehir Lake, located to the north of the Taurus Mountains, is quite shallow, as are the swamp lakes Suğla Lake and Ak Lake in the same region. Most of the ancient and medieval settlements in the Lycaonia region are located around these lakes. The eastern border of Lycaonia is at Kırşehir, which also constitutes the eastern border of the Salt Lake. The southern border is the area on top of the Taurus Mountains called Isauria, whereas the western border of Lycaonia can only be identified around Beyşehir Lake. The boundary stones at the eastern shore of Beyşehir Lake, in the vicinity of Hordu and Eflatun Pınar, were erected to designate the boundaries of the Empire, as well as to separate them from the other settlements in the region, but they also served as the borderline between Lycaonia and Pisidia. At least the border of Lycaonia during the Roman Imperial Period was here.

The mutually used main road in this geography links Efes and the Fırat Delta, and it extends along an east-west axis. Being of great significance during the Early Empire period, this route gained even more importance from the end of the 3rd century through Late Antiquity by linking the new capitals Nicomedia, and later Constantinopolis, to the harbors on the Mediterranean coast through new road networks. Due to the increasing political and economic interests of the Empire in the east during the 4th century, the road from Costantinopolis to Tarsus via Nikaia (=İznik) and Ancyra (=Ankara), which is also known as the pilgrimage route, and the second road from Constantinopolis to Tarsus via Dorylaion (=Eskişehir), Amorion (=Hisar), Iconion (=Konya) and Herakleia (=Konya Ereğli) both gained significance. The road via Ankara runs east of the Salt Lake, whereas the one via Konya runs west of the lake, and these two roads merge at Podandos (=Pozantı), located north of the Gülek Pass, and continue down to Cilicia. One of the earliest roads that goes through the Lycaonia region is the network between Iconion, Laranda (=Karaman) and Lystra (Hatunsaray) via Ancyra.

Yet another road, which is known as Via Sebastè from 6 BC onwards, starts from Pisidia Antiocheia and goes through Lystra (=Hatunsaray), located within the borders of today's Karaman district. Besides these, there is also another road on the southwest from Side on the Mediterranean coast to Coloneia at Cappadocia via Konya. After reaching Mistheia (=Beyşehir) at Lycaonia, this road merges with another road from Lystra to Iconion at Tabula Peutingeriana.

The most important east-west network through northern Lycaonia links Amorion to the Cappadocia region with the road via Murat hanı and the Akbaşbeli region and the one via Iconion.

The road in southeastern Lycaonia extends to Soloi/Pompeiopolis (=Mezitli) on the Mediterranean Coast via Kaleköy in the Taurus Mountains, Diyle and Yel Kalesi.

In this paper, the available road options for transportation through monuments that designated the ancient Lycaonian routes, as well as the locations of the stations, will be evaluated.

Lykaonia'nın Antik Yolları

Lykaonia olarak tanımlanan bölge bugün Konya ili sınırları içinde kalan bölgenin tamamını kapsamaktadır. Bu bölgenin en önemli coğrafi özelliği denize dökülen bir akarsuyun yer almamasıdır. Bölgenin çekirdeğini Tuz Gölü ve onun uzantısı olan Orta Anadolu stepleri oluşturmaktadır. Ayrıca Toros dağ silsilesinin kuzeyinde bulunan Beyşehir gölü ve yine aynı bölgede bulunan bataklık göller Suğla Gölü ve Ak Göl oldukça sığdır. Lykaonia bölgesindeki eskiçağ ve ortaçağ yerleşmelerinin büyük kısmının bu göllerin çevresinde oluştukları gözlemlenmektedir. Lykaonia bölgesinin doğu sınırını Tuz Gölü doğu sınırında bulunan Kırşehir yükseltisi oluşturmaktadır. Güney sınırı ise Isauria olarak tanımlanan ve Toros dağları üzerinde yer alan bölgedir. Batı sınırı ise ancak Beyşehir Gölü civarında tanımlanabilmektedir. Bu bölgede Beyşehir gölünün doğu kıyısı ile Hordu civarında ve Eflatun Pınarda görülen sınır taşları bölgedeki imparatorluk arazilerini civardaki yerleşme yerlerinden ayırma amacıyla diktirilmiş olmakla birlikte aynı zamanda Lykaonia'nın Pisidia ile olan sınırını da oluşturmaktadır. Lykaonia'nın en azından Roma imparatorluk dönemindeki sınırı buradan geçmekteydi.

Bu coğrafya içinden geçen ana yol Efes ile Fırat havzasını birbirine bağlayan ortak kullanım yolu olup doğu – batı istikametinde uzanmaktadır. Erken imparatorluk devrinde büyük önem taşıyan bu güzergah yerine M. S. 3. yy. sonlarından başlayarak geç antik devirde yeni başkentler Nikomedia ve sonra Konstantinopolis ile Akdeniz kıyısındaki önemli limanları bağlayan yeni yol bağlantıları önem kazandı. 4. yy. da imparatorluğun da giderek siyasi ve ekonomik ilgi alanının doğuya kayması nedeniyle Konstantinopolis'ten çıkıp Nikaia (=İznik), Ankyra (=Ankara) üzerinden Tarsus'a ulaşan ve Hacı yolu olarak bilinen yol ile Konstantinopolis'ten çıkıp Dorylaion (=Eskişehir), Amorion (=Hisar), İkonion (=Konya), Herakleia (=Konya Ereğlisi) üzerinden Tarsus'a uzanan iki güzergah önem kazandı. Bu yollardan Ankara üzerinden geçeni Tuz gölünün doğusunu, Konya üzerinden geçeni ise Tuz gölünün batısını takip eder ve her iki yol da bir süre sonra Gülek boğazının kuzeyinde Podandos (=Pozantı) civarında yeniden birleşerek Kilikya bölgesine iner. Lykaonia bölgesinden geçen en eski ulaşım hatlarından biri de Ankyra üzerinden İkonion'a gelen ve oradan da Laranda'ya (= Karaman) ve Lystra'ya (= Hatunsaray)uzanan bağlantıdır.

Diğer bir yol da M. Ö. 6 yılından beri Via Sebastè olarak bilinen ve Pisidia Antiocheia'sından gelip bugün Karaman il sınırları içinde kalan Lystra'dan (= Hatunsaray) geçen yoldur. Bu yollar dışında güneybatıdan, Akdeniz kıyısındaki Side'den gelip Konya'ya ve oradan da Kappadokia'da Koloneia'ya ulaşan bir yol daha vardır. Tabula Peutingeriana'da bu yol Lykaonia'da Mistheia'ya (= Beyşehir) ulaştıktan sonra Lystra'dan İkonion'a giden yol ile birleşmektedir.

Kuzey Lykaonia bölgesinden geçen en önemli doğu – batı bağlantısı ise Amorion'dan gelip Murat hanı ve Akbaşbeli bölgesinden geçen ve İkonion'dan geçen yolla birleşerek Kappadokia bölgesine ulaşan bağlantıdır.

Lykaonia bölgesinin güneydoğusundaki yol ise Toros dağları üzerindeki Kaleköy, Divle ve Yel Kalesi üzerinden Akdeniz sahilindeki Soloi/Pompeiopolis (=Mezitli) şehrine uzanan bağlantıdır.

Bildiri kapsamında Lykaonia eski çağ yol güzergahlarını belgeleyen anıtlar vasıtasıyla ulaşım seçenekleri ve yol istasyonlarının konumlarına ilişki değerlendirmeler yapılması öngörülmektedir.

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Fig. 1 Road System in Lycaonia under Roman Rule
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