Colossae in Space and Time

Linking to an Ancient City

Edited by
Alan H. Cadwallader and
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Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

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Contents

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Preface

The demands of a university that encourages a heavy teaching load have meant that the time and energy needed to compile and edit this collection have too often lain at the horizon. However both Flinders University and the Australian Catholic University have provided funding and release for travel to distant places so that research could be pursued. The Australian Research Theology Foundation Inc has generously provided a grant also to assist various aspects of the project to proceed.

The need for a complete review of Colossae and its rich history has driven on the project and provided wells of patience to those who have contributed. To them we owe our thanks.

The editors of the series *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* within Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht have likewise seen the importance of the project and have been supportive and encouraging of its completion.

Our thanks are also due to Umut Özgüç, Sarp Kaya and Ayse Ercan for their assistance in Turkish translations, amidst their own busy schedules.

There have also been numerous supporters, a chorus if you like, who have sung the right song at the right time, not least being our students who have eagerly sought out scraps of data, asked new questions and cultivated a momentum of interest.

Most of all, our labours have been welcomed by friends and colleagues in Turkey, keen to learn more of the heritage that is theirs. One family in particular has never flinched from the highest call of hospitality and have warmly welcomed their Australian visitors. So, to Ismail, Hafize, Onür and Özgür Iyilikçi, this book is dedicated.

Canberra, August 2011

Alan H. Cadwallader
Michael Trainor

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Chapter 1

Colossae in Space and Time: Overcoming Dislocation, Dismemberment and Anachronicity

Alan H. Cadwallader / Michael Trainor

The recovery of the significance of the ancient city of Colossae has only now begun in any earnest or rigorous fashion. This is an ancient city whose reach spans from before the early bronze age to the present. Despite this length of time and the site's virtually continuous habitation of space Colossae has received little scholarly attention. The modern period has witnessed repeated calls for the excavation of the site but these have been matched by repeated failures in commitment to a project. The impasse is, in part, a product of its complex history and of presumptions guiding western scholarship. This is the guiding focus of this introductory essay which provides the rationale for the collection. The essays in this book cover the broadest span of the history of the site in its region that is possible to date. From the Achaemenid to the Byzantine periods, the records related to Colossae, both textual and artefactual, are sifted. Not only is new evidence presented for the first time but, perhaps more significantly, many new perspectives and insights have been extracted because of a detailed and rigorous re-examination of past foundations for study of the ancient site within its region. The results serve to contrast markedly from previous scholarship. At the same time, that scholarship itself needs forensic review not only to appreciate what the past has thus far yielded but also to understand why the study of Colossae has been so constricted.

There have been two long-term interruptions to the appreciation of the historical significance of the site. The first was the consequence of the final assertion of Seljuk control over the critical geopolitical pathway of the Lycus Valley east to Apameia (and beyond) late in the thirteenth century CE. The second was the result of the disappointment of European travellers at the apparently barren remains of the site. These travellers visited Colossae between the late seventeenth and early twentieth centuries and dismissed its long and rich past. These two factors meant that six hundred years passed when Colossae was more lost to enquiry than even the repeated cartographical confusion would suggest. It is this confusion that we first address.

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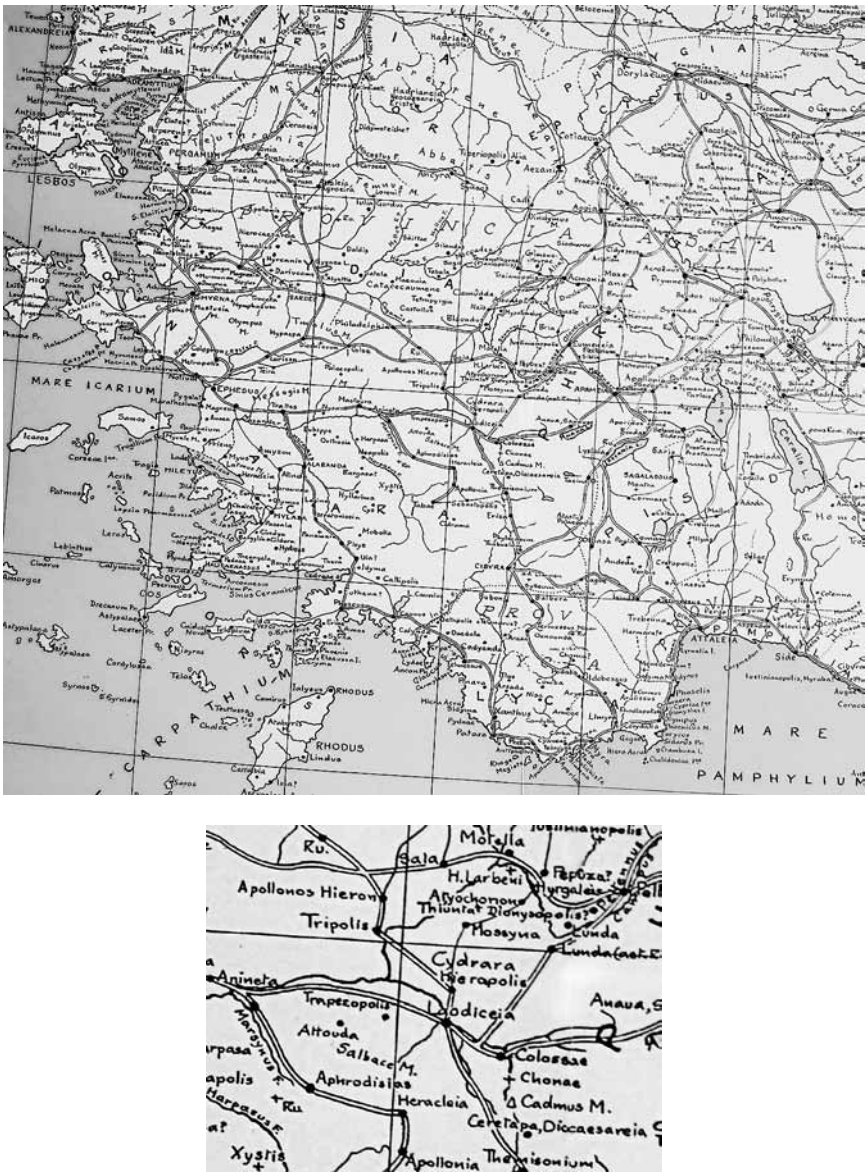

Fig. 1 Classical South-West Asia Minor with detail[1]

1 Detail from W.M. Calder/G.E. Bean, *A Classical Map of Asia Minor* (London: BIAA, 1958). Colossae and Chonai are to the right of centre.

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The twelfth-thirteenth century writings of Nicetas Choniates and his brother Michael kept alive a literary connection between Colossae and Chonai.[2] Nicetas, for example, wrote that his native city, Chonai, was anciently known as Colossae, a repetition of a testimony from two hundred years earlier,[3] but for European eyes, this provided no trigonometric fix. Early western geographers and historians confidently identified Colossae with Denizli,[4] Honaz,[5] even a satellite village of Burdur[6] if it appeared at all. Indeed, as we shall see later, they also identified Colossae with the island of Rhodes off the south-western coast of Asia Minor.

Colossae's various positions on early maps confirmed the confusion over identity

Cartographers positioned Colossae to the west (rather than south-east) of Laodicea[7] or, as "Conos", between Laodicea to the north-west and Hierapolis to the north-east.[8] Or there was a tacit admission of ignorance in the omission of any adscriptions for the Lycus Valley, for example, in Sebastian Münster's famous *Cosmographica* (1544). "Laodichia" managed to claw its way onto Girolamo Ruscelli's "Natolia Nuova Tavola" included in his *Ptolemaeus La Geografia* (1561),

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2 The memory of the connection made by Nicetas Choniates recurred. See, for example, W. F. Ainsworth, "A Memoir Illustrative of the Geography of the Anabasis of Xenophon", *The Classical Museum* 1 (1844) 170–85, on p.171.

3 Nicetas Choniates, *Chronicles* 178.19 (edition: Jan-Louis van Dieten (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975); Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (emperor 913–959 CE), *De thematibus* 3.24 (edition: A. Pertusi, *De thematibus Introductione, testo critico, commento* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1952), 68.32–40).

4 *Caledonian Mercury* April 11th, 1816, letter from the Reverend H. Lindsay, chaplain to the Levant Company in Constantinople, §III.

5 "Colossae, the ruins of which are called Khonas" [*sic*!] – H.I. Schmidt, *Course of Ancient Geography* (New York: Appleton and Co, 1861), 239; see also Louis Vincent de Saint-Marie, *Histoire des découvertes géographiques des nations Européennes dans les diverses parties du Monde* (3 vol.; Paris: Arthus-Bertrand, 1846), 3.512.

6 "Trimile – possibly a small town called (Colossa) May 10th": Memorandum Book II of the Reverend Edward T. Daniell for the inscription that was later published in T. A. B. Spratt/E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis in Company with the late Rev. E. T. Daniell* (2 vol.; London: John van Voorst, 1847), 2.289 (= *CIG* III.4380k[3]). The first publication of the inscription removed Daniell's note, recognising his mistake and provided the correction that the woman named in the inscription, Aphiadis, was noted as a "Colossian" – that is, her birthplace was Colossae. She had married a man from a village near the cities of Balbura and Bubon, approximately 90 kilometres to the south of Colossae.

7 J. Bonfrere, *Onomasticon Urbium et Locorum Sacrae Scripturae* (Amsterdam: R & G Wetstein, 1711), map between pages 204 and 205.

8 G. Mercator, *Tabula I: Asiae* (1578) became part of his *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura* (Duisburg: Albert Buys, 1595). Mercator included Chonai in spite of the absence of Colossae (the earlier name for Chonai) in Ptolemy's geography.

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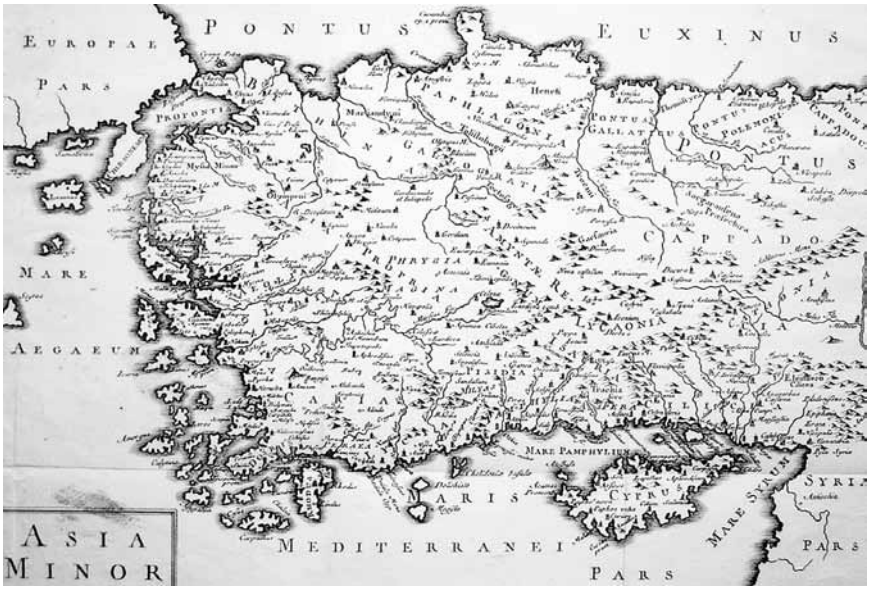

Fig. 2 The English schoolboy edition of Cellarius' 1705 map of Colossae west of Laodicea[9]

but the city had migrated north to the Cayster River away from the Maeander and Lycus Rivers *(Fig. 2)* and the Taurus mountain range. Abraham Ortelius (1578) repeated this transposition for "Laudichia",[10] although when it came to his map of the "Peregrinationis Divi Pauli Typus Corographicus", Ortelius' concern to refine his accuracy saw both "Laodicea" and "Colosse" located in relation to one another and the Maeander/Lycus rivers.[11]

9 Christopher Cellarius produced a number of maps, including that of Asia Minor, for his *Notitiae Orbis Antiqui: Sive Geographia Plenior … et Notitia Tabulis Geographicis* (1705/6) which was published throughout Europe over the next ten years and was one of the most popular works of ancient geography. A smaller version was turned into a school textbook by the English schoolteacher, Samuel Patrick. The *Geographia Antiqua* (first issued in 1731), from which this map is taken, was periodically re-issued into the nineteenth century, shaping perceptions of three generations of English scholars. See W. A. Goffart, *Historical Atlases: the first three hundred years, 1570–1870* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 231.

10 A. Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: 1570) map § 174 (van den Broecke/Ort numbering).

11 *Parergon sive Veteris Geographiae Aliquot Tabulae* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1584) map 1P (Ort/van den Broecke numbering system). The map was first published in 1579.

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Fig. 3 Section of the map of the Mediterranean from the voyages of Corneille de Bruin (1698), showing the blank interior of Turkey

"Chonos" or some other guesstimation of the spelling of Honaz[12] sometimes subsumed Colossae. Alternately, as in Salmon's 1756 map of Asia Minor, "Colloses" stood alone of the Lycus Valley cities.[13] For those Europeans, like the Dutch captain Corneille de Bruin, wanting to hug sea lanes and coastal ports, Colossae's distance from the Mediterranean (approximately 180 kilometres away) meant that the entire Anatolian peninsula with very few exceptions was a blank ***(Fig. 3)***.[14]

12 The spelling of Honaz remained insecure for centuries, partly due to the competition between Arab, Greek and Turcoman renditions, partly due to the epidemic complications attempted by Europeans: see A.H. Cadwallader, "The Reverend Dr. John Luke and the Churches of Chonai", *GRBS* 48 (2008): 319–38 on p. 322. Philip Schaff's "Chronos" cannot be excused by either however: P. Schaff, *A Dictionary of the Bible* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 4th Ed., 1887), 195.

13 Thomas Salmon, *The Modern Gazetteer: or a short view of the several nations of the world* (London: S & E Ballard, 3rd Ed., 1756).

14 See C. de Bruin, "Tabula Geographica" in his *A Voyage to the Levant: or Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor, the Islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus &c* translated by "W.J." (London: J. Tomson and T. Bennet, 1702 [1698 Dutch edition]).

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Apart from the familiar and oft-repeated handful of literary references,[15] and inaccurate efforts to keep Colossae on the map, the site for the west had become lost to time and space. Colossae was literally dis-located. The above sampling that illustrates Colossae's geographic and cartographic displacement demonstrates how distant, malleable and unsecured Colossae had become. The days of a required stop-over on pilgrimage from Ephesus to the Holy Land had long gone.

The inhabitants of the immediate vicinity of the ancient site were shackled in bureaucratic tabulation for tax purposes to the town of Honaz. The compensation was that Colossae provided an opportunity for the continuation of the grand tradition of the Byzantines: it became little more than a quarry. The ancient city was distributed. It supplied polished marble veneer for the ancient khan (or caravanserai) built by Karasungur bin Abdullah in 1253–4 on the main road about six kilometres from Denizli. Building blocks and columns were extensively raided for the renovation of the early medieval fortress that had been initiated in the seventh-eighth century on the slopes of Honaz-dağ (Mt Cadmus) and which continued to be used into the eighteenth century. Column drums found their way to numerous houses for, *inter alia*, rolling down strips of land. Serendipitous discoveries of stone and other artefacts became items of exchange used to cement kinship and reinforce bonds of friendship and patronage in the social structure of the region.[16] And there was the continual demand for burial headstones.[17] All this was but a cockcrow before the Europeans began their competitive, acquisitive forays. Quite apart from the occasional deliberate damage from military conflict in the transition period to Ottoman control,[18] Colossae was, in a word, dis-membered.

Dislocation in the west and dismemberment in the east – these polarities characterise Colossae for the four hundred years between the Seljuk supremacy

15 Xenophon *Anab.* 1.2.6; Herodotos *Hist.* 7.30; Strabo *Geogr.* 8.8.16; Pliny *Nat.* 5.32.41, 31.2.20; Polyaenus *Strat.* 7.16; Diodorus Siculus 14.80.5; Ororios, 7.7.12; Eusebius *Chronicle* 210. The Letter to the Colossians also figured prominently in the recitation of sources. The story of St Michael the Archangel of Chonai, the other major text associated with Colossae, was ignored.

16 For the atavism of artefacts in Turkey, see M. Özdogan, "Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey", in L. Meskell (ed.), *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London/New York: Routledge, 1988) 11–23, on p. 118.

17 See generally, M. Greenhalgh, "Spolia in Fortifications: Turkey, Syria and North Africa", in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1999), 785–935.

18 For example, the church of St Michael at Chonai/Colossae was allegedly converted to a stable by the Turks under Sultan Alp Arslan in 1070 CE: John Scylitzes *Chron.* II. 686–87 (*PG* 122: 144–45A); it was plundered and burned by Theodore Mangaphas in 1189: Nicetas Choniates *Chron* 400.88 ff. The burning may however be of a church of St Michael at Aphrodisias. Certainly, Chonai's main church was sufficiently intact to be repaired in time for Pseudo-Alexis' ransacking in 1193: Nicetas Choniates *Chron.* 422.85 ff.

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in the Lycus valley and the gradual relaxation of restriction on trade and travel inviting European representatives from bases at Constantinople and Smyrna. Deprecation from the west was to follow.

The Seljuk and Ottoman barrier to Colossae

Long before Chonai actually fell to final Seljuk control, the site – that "great pilgrim city"[19] – had held out as a Byzantine centre longer than many of its neighbours. Michael Choniates eulogised one bishop, named Nicetas, who moved into the metropolitanate of Chonai (c. 1143) unfazed by "the barbarians sequestering at the margins of his see"[20] – probably his evocation of the St Michael miracle story.[21] Nevertheless, Seljuk traders from "Kuniya" (Iconium) patronised the centre. These merchants joined the trade markets accompanying the festive throngs who gathered for the panegyric of the annual St Michael celebrations at Chonai (September 6th).[22] Security in the area was supplied by one of the largest and most strategically placed fortresses in the Maeander-Lycus valley. Chonai, or at least its upper reaches on the slope of Honaz-dağ, was *the* military garrison for the Thrakesion theme.[23] It protectively surveyed both east-west lines from Apameia to Ephesos and north-south lines from Synnada to Telmessos or Attaleia.[24] Of course this also made Chonai a prize spoil for contesting powers.[25]

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19 M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: a political history* (London/New York: Longman, 2nd Ed., 1997), 43. For a detailed overview of the importance of Chonai as a pilgrim site, see B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Munster: Antiquariat Th. Stenderhoff, 1980), 166–71.

20 Michael Choniates, *Encomium on Metropolitan Nicetas of Chonai* 44, (S. P. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ακομινατοῦ τοῦ Χωνιατοῦ τὰ σῳζόμενα (2 vol.; Groningen: Bouma, 1968 [1879–80]), 1.38).

21 Anon., *Story of the Miracle of St Michael of Chonai*, §§ 9–10 (edition: M. Bonnet, *Narratio de Miraculo a Michaele Archangelo Chonis Patrato* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1890)), Sisinnius, *The Miracle of St Michael of Chonai*, § 11 (edition: J. Stiltingo/C. Suyskeno/J. Periero/J. Cleo (ed.), *Acta Sanctorum: September* (Paris/Rome: Victor Palmé, 1869 [1762]), 8.41C–47C)). The expression the "tents of the barbarians" had long become a Byzantine literary topos.

22 Michael Choniates, *Encom* 95 (Lampros, 1.56.12–18). For the importance of the fairs for celebrations of saints' lives, see S. Vryonis, "The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint", in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981), 196–226.

23 C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 195–96, K. Belke/N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1990), 223. The Thrakesion theme was one of the fourteen administrative provinces of Byzantine control and, in the thirteenth century, housed 10,000 troops: see E. W. Brooks, "Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes", *JHS* 21 (1901), 67–77 on pp. 73–76.

24 See J. F. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World 565–1204* (London: Routledge, 2003), 56.

25 P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 131.

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The settling of Seljuk authority through south-western Anatolia and ultimately the formal establishment of Ottoman imperial bureaucratic control did not spell the end of Christian presence in the area. After the final cementing of Seljuk control in the fourteenth century, Chonai benefited from the familiarity wrought by trade connections and the subsequent determination of Sultan Mehmet II to preserve the Orthodox Patriarchate under Gennadius in 1454. This ensured a measure of toleration for those Greeks and Armenians who were content to forego some economic advantage in order to maintain their religious commitment. Reports of "Greeks" present at Honaz dot European travel accounts from the seventeenth century on.[26] By "Greeks" was understood "Orthodox Christians", even though the Greek language had disappeared.[27]

However, the transfer of control of taxation through the two hundred years of the passing from the Byzantine to the Ottoman eras had drastic consequences for church authority. This was especially the case in those areas that continued a viable agricultural and value-added production in support of its local population and beyond – such as we find at Chonai/Honaz.[28] Knowledge of the actual areas that were previously strung together in a web of episcopal, archiepiscopal and metropolitical administration in the Eastern church now became extremely thin in the confused dispersion and administrative re-organisation that followed.[29] The haphazard decisions of the fourteenth century that asserted supposedly temporary, church oversight saw ecclesial control pass from Colossae to Laodicea to Cotyaeum.[30] These decisions were as ineffective as they were expedient, frequently designed "for reasons of sustenance" to support an *ex loco* official.[31]

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26 The reports of Greeks at Honaz vary from thirty families in 1669 ("The journals of the Rev Dr John Luke chaplain to the Levant Co", *BL* Harl. 7021 f. 354a) to two hundred in 1832 in J. A. Cramer, *A Geographical and Historical Description of Asia Minor* (2 vol.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1832), 2.45.

27 There are some instances of Greek letters being retained as the form in which Turkish was written. The language of such texts (whether literary publications or inscriptions) are called *karamanlidika*; see R. Clogg, "Some Karamanlidika Inscriptions from the Monastery of the Zoodokhos Pigi, Balikli, Istanbul", *BMGS* 4 (1978): 55–67. Two inscriptions from Honaz in karamanlidika are recorded, dating to 1853 and 1892; see G. Lampakis, Οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες τῆς Αποκαλύψες (Athens: 1909) Κολοσαί.

28 See L. T. Erder/S. Faroqhi, "The Development of the Anatolian Urban Network during the Sixteenth Century", *JESHO* 23 (1980) 265–303, on p. 273. On the mutation of the Greek "Chonai" to the Arabic "Honaz", see Cadwallader, "The Reverend Dr. John Luke", 331.

29 See S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 289.

30 See F. Miklosich/J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* (6 vol.; Vindobonae: C. Gerold, 1860–90), I.539, II.88, 210.

31 Vryonis, *Decline*, 297. Some Metropolitans did not gain a favourable European eye because of a reputed constant interest in money: see J. T. Bent (ed.), *Early Voyages and Travels in*

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Some time during the fifteenth century, these once famous seats disappeared from episcopacy lists of the eastern church.[32] Later, Paul Rycaut, one seventeenth century English Ambassador at the Porte, reported that the Patriarch at Constantinople, nominally constituted some of the bishops under him in the district of Fener by "the ancient titles of Ephesus and Laodicea &c".[33] Similarly, sixty years later in 1739, Richard Pococke in one diary entry on his travels in Asia Minor reported that the Archbishop of Ephesos had once had 32 bishops under him, but by the time of Pococke's visit had none: "all the Province is his Diocese" he wrote.[34] Whether that "Province" included Colossae/Chonai is not stated.

Priests were very occasionally appointed to specific locations such as Colossae/Chonai, though the few who were available often pursued a wandering brief in order to maintain contact with Christians across the Ottoman empire.[35] An *epitropos* (steward) filled in necessary services of prayers and caretaking when no priest was present.[36] But the fact that priests do not seem to have been appointed by any set bishop demonstrates how piecemeal the contact and oversight had become[37] and how inconsequential the actual site of Chonai/Honaz was to Church authorities in the aftermath of its grand days. Of the ten churches that existed in Chonai at the time of the collapse of Byzantine control of the city, only two continued into the period of the renewal of European contact in the seventeenth century – the churches of the All-holy Virgin and of St. Constantine (the Great).[38] One western cleric visiting the area, the Reverend Dr Thomas Smith,

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the Levant: 2. Extracts from the Diaries of Dr John Covell 1670–1679 (New York: Burt Franklin for the Hakluyt Society, 1893), 149.

32 J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Texte Critique, Introduction et Notes* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981), 90.

33 P. Rycaut, *Account of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (London: 1679), 84.

34 Pococke to his mother, Letter XXXV, Dec 15th–26th 1739 *BL* Add 22998 f. 84b.

35 D. Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 1990), 150–52. See also John Fuller, *A Narrative of a Tour through Some Parts of the Turkish Empire* (London: Richard Taylor, 1829), 62.

36 For one unflattering account of the work (for financial remuneration) of an *epitropos*, see Dominic E. Colnaghi, "Travels in Levant 1852–59", *BL* Add 59502 f. 162.

37 Of the few notices from these centuries, Philadelphia and Cyprus both seem at one time or another to have supplied priests to serve at Honaz: see for Cyprus: A. Picenini, "Travel Diary, Asia Minor" (1705), *BL* Add 6269 f.48a, copied by Richard Chandler (with acknowledgement): *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece or An Account of a Tour made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti* (London: J. Booker, 1775), 113 – so also over a hundred years later: J. Hartley, *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (London: Seeley, 1833), 264; for Philadelphia: "The journals of the Rev Dr John Luke", *BL* Harl Ms. 7021 f. 354. Smyrna should probably be added to the group. It is likely that these were *ad hoc* arrangements though one should not rule out the legacy of long-standing contests between autocephalous churches: see M. Angold, "Byzantine 'Nationalism' and the Nicaean Empire", *BMGS* 1 (1975) 49–70 on pp. 59–61.

38 Cadwallader, "The Reverend Dr. John Luke", 331.

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offered a jaundiced opinion of Colossae (1678) and denied its turkophone Greek population either church or priest.[39]

We know that at least one church or religious shrine was converted to a mosque as Christian identity gradually dissipated. The tradition that Sultan Murat II chose the chapel of St Archippos as site for a mosque (c. 1440) at least betrays the recognition that the St Michael miracle story and sacred healing spring exercised a powerful hold on the popular imagination, powerful enough for the Ottoman authorities to exert their authority over it architecturally and symbolically.[40] The Saint was associated with a legend in which the Archangel Michael responded to Archippos' plea that the ancient city be delivered from destruction by pagan hoards. The miraculous rescue underscored the power of the archangel, and his healing spring became a major site of devotion in the pilgrimage to Chonai. The conversion of *some* Christian site by Murat II no doubt appropriated a further Christian tradition and legend into long-term Muslim appreciation, as was our experience in 2005 when a local labourer showed us a spring that delivered healing from injury or disease after a threefold dipping.

Christian efforts to offset their loss of Colossae

For a time, alternatives to the loss of Colossae's mundane significance for Byzantine and Catholic Christianity were sought. The poetic genius of Manuel Philes (1280–1330) captured a false etymology that linked the name Colossae/Colossians with the Colossus of Rhodes.[41] The passage of time allowed Philes to de-

39 T. Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks. Together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia as they now lye in their Ruines: and a Brief Description of Constantinople* (London: Moses Pitt, 1678), 249. This is repeated in/from Jerome Salter's earlier (?) travel journal: "A Brief Relation of the Travels of Jerom Salter" in the Bodleian Library, Eng. Msc. E. 218 f. 67. Salter was a "factor" (merchant) connected with Levant Company at Smyrna and made a number of expeditions along the coast and through the Maeander and Lycus Valleys during his years in Turkey.

40 There is considerable debate over which site actually holds the remains of the Murat Mosque. The claim for the building high up the slopes of Honazdağ inside the boundary walls of the medieval fortress may have merit: see M. Agir, *Honaz: doğa harikası* (İzmir: Nesa, 1994), 42–44. It certainly has the architectural characteristics of a Byzantine church and it is surrounded by mid-late Ottoman epitaphs. Richard Chandler had noted the church midway through the eighteenth century (*Travels*, 240). It was nominated as the Church of St Michael by one early tourist guidebook: Maj-Gen. Sir C. Wilson (ed.), *Handbooks for Travellers: Asia Minor* (London: John Murray, 1895), 105. A church of St Panteleimon has greater weight: Cadwallader, "The Reverend Dr John Luke", 325–26, but no claim at this stage is sure.

41 There has been an interesting revival of this etymology in recent times with the connection of place names beginning with "col-" with the notion of something which has been set up (as in a shrine or sacred place): see J-P. Vernant, *Myth and thought among the Greeks* (London: Routledge, 1983), 305 and the literature there cited. However, the dispute over the spell-

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scribe this short-lived maritime edifice of the pre-Common Era in mythic proportions.[42] Philes wrote during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Michael Paleologos. He sought to tie the awesome impact of the Colossus with the all-conquering apostle Paul. In a little epigram for "his [ie Paul's] Epistle to the Colassians" [*sic*], Philes sought to fuel a confidence in God's providence and protection against the increasingly virulent threats of Turkish incursion. In typical Byzantine convolution, Philes stylistically wound together multiple traditions and punning allusions:

> The golden Paul conquered the bronze Colossos
> Having been taken from earth to the third heaven
> And he shatters the monstrous by the sling-shot of his words
> Setting the foundation stone in their midst.[43]

Long before the collapse of Constantinople in 1453, poetic license had collapsed into literalism, and the letter to the Colossians had metamorphosed into the letter to the Rhodians. The location of Colossae shifted across the Carpathian Sea, almost 200 kilometres to the south-west.[44] It helped considerably that Rhodes for a time remained more accessible to western travellers and inhabitants. The *Suda* or, more correctly, the huge dictionary by the eleventh century Byzantine lexicographer known as Suidas, stated quite baldly, "The Colossians are the Rhodians."[45] Sir John Mandeville (1300–1399), in his often-inventive *Travels*, claimed of "Collos" (=Rhodes) that "so call it the Turks yet."[46] This likely fabrication was as much due to the increased assertion of western Christian presence on the island of Rhodes, as it was the legacy of Byzantine creativity.

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ing of the ancient name of the city (Colassae as an alternative to Colossae) brought an earlier etymology, associated with κολάζω (punish): see W. Fleming, *A Gazetteer of the Old and New Testaments to which is added …* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing and Publishing Co, 1838), 365. Vernant at least has the advantage of positing a pre-Hellenic form, though account must now be made of Hittite forebears: see Jacques Freu/Michel Mazoyer, *Les Hitties et leur histoire* (Kubaba: L'Harmattan, 2007), 81.

42 See Pliny *Nat.* 34.41; compare *Greek Anthology* 6.171. The Colossus of 33 metres height was finished in 290 BCE and destroyed by an earthquake some sixty years later. Pliny wrote, "Few people can make their arms meet round the thumb".

43 Epigram 44 (translation by Alan Cadwallader). For the text see E. Miller (ed.), *Manuelis Philae carmina ex codicibus Escurialensis, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis* (2 vol.; Paris: Imperial Printers, 1855–1857), 1.23. Philes also wrote an extended epigram in honour of the miracle at Chona (2.236).

44 George Monachus *Short Chronicle* (*PG* 110.340B). Inscription (nick-)naming a citizen Colossos have created occasional confusion. Some have associated the bearer with the Phrygian city: see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963), 300–01.

45 Suidas sv. κολοσσαεύς. Other renowned Byzantine lexicographers or litterateurs such as Zonaras, Glycas and Eustathius propounded the same.

46 M.C. Seymour, *Mandeville's Travels* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968 [1375]), 19.

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Mandeville further alluded to the association of Colossae with Rhodes in his notice that the island was held (in his time) by the "Hospitallers". The dispute between Eastern and Western Christianity that had compounded the struggles of the Byzantines to hold their empire, was reflected in the unequal sharing of power on Rhodes. The "Knights of St John of Jerusalem, Hospitallers" established their own church, reputedly on the site of the base of the Colossus. They claimed the name "St John Colossensis" as patron.[47] Similarly, a Latin archdiocese of Rhodes was established in 1328, with the archbishop taking the same epithet – Colossensis – as a clear demarcation from the "Rhodiensis" of his Greek equivalent.

Accordingly many western authorities including the pilgrim notary Niccolò de Martoni and the priest-geographer Cristoforo Buondelmonti reinforced the conviction that the Rhodians were Paul's Colossians and, thereby, were the intended recipients of the prized letter.[48] Colossae itself, and even the Pauline letter were co-opted by ecclesiastics to assert a divine authorisation and position. Its geographical importance was inconsequential. It was not the first time that either the Colossus or Colossae had become divorced from geographical and temporal reality and re-married to "patterns of cultural perception and ways of thinking"[49] fashioned in the competition waged between groups, cities and/or state. In 1522, Suleyman the Great (or the Law-giver as he is wont to be named in Turkish histories) stifled such rivalries. He crushed Rhodian resistance to Ottoman imperial authority with a single withering siege. The intellectual parallel occurred in Europe. The Renaissance recovery of the classical heritage destroyed any support for the counterfeit claim that identified the island with the land-locked ancient city. Erasmus, Melanchthon and Davenant all resorted to the ancient texts (Xenophon, Strabo, Pliny and so on, ably corroborated by Eusebius and Ororios) to re-establish the position of Colossae as at least *not* on the island of Rhodes.[50] The ancient texts were collated to yield a relative

47 Otto Meinardus argues that the Templars, who came to Rhodes in 1309, were responsible for the name Colossi, having come to Rhodes from a province by that name in Cyprus: O. F. A. Meinardus "Colossus, Colossae, Colossi: Confusio Colossaea", *BA* 36 (1973) 33–36, on p. 35. "Coloso" is shown on Cyprus in Ortelius' map of Natolia (map § 174) and his map of Cyprus itself (map § 148, 1573 Dutch edition). The suggestion is not necessarily exclusive – the main point, that of ecclesiastical competition, remains.

48 J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople: Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1980), 134.

49 L. I. Conrad, "The Arabs and the Colossus", *JRAS* 6 (1996) 165–87, on p. 181 *et passim*.

50 See T. J. Wengert, *Human Freedom, Christian Righteousness: Philip Melanchthon's exegetical dispute with Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 42, J. Allport, *An Exposition of the Epistle of St Paul to the Colossians by the Right Rev John Davenant, D.D* [1572–1641] (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co/Birmingham: Beilby, Knott and Beilby, 1831), lxxi.

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but determinedly geographical place – Colossae was on the mainland, somewhere in Phrygia, near Laodicea and Hierapolis. The Dutch geographer, Abraham Ortelius, went slightly further in an effort to explain the confusion. He introduced a nuanced compromise by arguing that *colossenses* belonged exclusively to the people of Colossae whereas *colassenses* attached to the inhabitants of Rhodes.[51]

Overall, it did mean that Colossae's wandering days were numbered, even though cartographers, into the eighteenth century, could not reach specific agreement about where to moor the Phrygian city or how to spell it. On some maps, "Colossos" was shifted from Rhodes back to Phrygia.[52] Resistance to the reassertion of an Anatolian homeland for Colossae continued for a time.[53] For example, the Roman Catholic church retained titular honorifics with bishops and archbishops still named *colossensis*, even if they were more often seated in Malta and Rome than at Rhodes. Nevertheless, St Paul's letter was being redirected towards a more secure address.

Geographers were now combining with classicists for a new appreciation and reclamation of the site. Ortelius is a good example of one who provided detailed texts to his maps frequently citing classical writers. Geography was for him the "eye of history".[54] Both disciplines were informed by and helped to foster a drive to discover anew this (and other) ancient sites and their more recent relatives. But the exploration of the interior of Asia Minor, unlike the coastline, could not be easily negotiated without Ottoman concession. Trade, ushered through two main ports, Smyrna and Constantinople (like Aleppo further east), provided the impulse. It would take time, centuries in fact, before geographers, explorers, classicists and traders gathered enough combined momentum and knowledge to broker a recovery of Colossae. Even in the mid-nineteenth century, one erstwhile English adventurer publicly acknowledged that many places had lost their history and that he had often walked over a site only later to learn it had been one of the key ancient churches.[55] For a time, this was certainly true of Colossae. But

51 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, text to map § 216 ("Insular Aliquot Aegaei Maris Antiqua Descrip.") (van den Broecke/Ort numbering system). The English edition, published after Ortelius' death in 1598, added Colossae was "now Chone, as Porphyrogennetas shows" (M. van den Brocke/D. van den Broecke-Günzburger "Cartographica Neerlandica" website: www.orteliusmaps.com, accessed December 2009). The debate over a vowel has revived in modern biblical analysis.

52 See, for example "Carte de la Grece Anciene et Moderne", in P. Claude Buffier, *Geographie Universelle* (Paris: Giffart, 1759).

53 Petr Pokorný traces the Colossae-Rhodes connection as late as 1696 in the work of the geographer Vicenzo Coronelli: *Colossians: A Commentary* trans. S.S. Schatzmann (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1991), 19 n84.

54 From the title page of Ortelius, *Parergon*.

55 J.B. Simpson, "No Man's Land", in *The Glasgow Herald* 24th May, 1858.

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then as one interruption to European appreciation of the historical significance of the site was slowly overcome, another conspired to take its place although for very different reasons. Even if the local inhabitants of Honaz continued to farm and trade during the later middle ages and renaissance in Europe, Colossae was still some way from confidently occupying space and time in western perceptions. To this we turn.

The reconnection of Europeans with the ancient sites of Turkey

The burgeoning of general geographic interest in the area was frequently focussed on "Asia Minor". The sheer preference for the name "Asia Minor" over Turkey amongst geographers and historians, whilst not exclusive, betrayed a certain attitude to the Ottoman empire and its dominant Turkish demographic. Colossae, like many other cities on the peninsula land-mass, was recovered and disputes settled from classical sources rather than Arabic or Turkish ones. Xenophon, in particular, was mined repeatedly for the evidence that would identify the roadways, landmarks and great cities of the country. His "March of the Ten Thousand" went through constant, heavily annotated editions, chronological computations and cartographical representations, especially in publications in France and England,[56] the two European powers concerned to establish their position over against one another and with the Ottomans. Editions of Herodotos were not far behind. Derivatively, there were annotated publications of the places such authors mentioned, with a distinct bias towards the record of places mentioned in the Bible.

Initially, the combination of Renaissance rediscovery of classical writers and Ottoman restrictions (military and mercantile) on European movement through

56 See, for example, R. Amaseo, *Xenophontis de Cyri Minoris expeditione liber primus-septimus* (Bologna: J. B. Phaellus, 1534), J. J. Scaliger, *De Emendatione Temporum* (Frankfurt: Wechel, 1583), J. Bingham, *The Historie of Xenophon* (London: John Haviland, 1623), D. Petau, *The history of the world, or an Account of time compiled by the learned Dionisius Petavius and continued by others to the year of Our Lord 1659, together with a geographicall description of Europe, Asia, Africa and America* (London: J. Streater, 1659) (an English expansion of Petau's *Rationarium temporum in partes duas*, 1633), P. d'Ablancourt, *La Retraite des Dix Milles de Xenophon, ou l'Expédition de Cyrus contre Artaxerxes* (Paris: Camusat, 1648), J. Marsham, *Canon Chronicus: Aegyptiacus, Ebraicus, Graecus* (Leipzig: M. Birckner, 1676 [1672]), J. B. B. d'Anville, *Carte pour l'expédition de Cyrus le jeune et la retrait des dix-mille Grecs* (Paris: la Veuve Estienne, 1740), E. Spelman, *The Expedition of Cyrus into Persia; and the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks* (2 vol.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1776), P-H. Larcher, *L'Expédtion de Cyrus dans l'Asie Supérieure et la Retraite des Dix Mille* (Paris: Debure, 1778), T. Hutchinson, *Xenophontis de Expeditione Cyri Minoris Commentarii e Recensione et cum notis selectis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1787 [1742]).

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Turkey encouraged the textual approach. However, even when travel reports filtered into anecdotal and published circulation, the classics remained the dominant means by which Colossae (and other ancient cities) were approached. This method is evident in nineteenth century exploration and tourism. European negotiation of the land of the Turk was classical and, where significant, Christian. It was as if the land would only yield its secrets to the west through western sources. European identity was firmly located in this arena of classics, and in a reflexive assumption, so too the land. And just as such sources were firmly held by European hands, the implied attitude was that the land would also be returned in some way to those same hands (whether by politics, cultural influence or trade).

At first, geographers and travellers were primarily concerned about matching ancient persons, places and times with different classical writers. Surety here was a mark of European exactitude, based mainly upon texts and characterised as having "hit upon the best method of reconciling the contradictory accounts" of the writers.[57]

Slowly such texts began to be supplemented by the reports of travellers, with the intent of improving and extending the knowledge culled from the classics.[58] Those more systematic in their preparation for travels digested the texts of ancient writers on Asia Minor. The Frankish (that is, European) libraries in Smyrna and on the island of Rhodes were stocked with classical writers, regarded as texts not only conducive to moral superiority but critical for the negotiation of the inland.[59]

Moreover, ambassadors and factors especially at Smyrna[60] developed *ad hoc* catalogues of places, routes, contacts and inscriptions which visitors were able to access (and add to) in connection with an expedition.[61] They arranged soirées

57 M. Freret, "Letter to the Author concerning the Chronology of his Work", in C.(A.) Ramsay, *The Travels of Cyrus* (Dublin: William Smith & Son, 9th Ed. 1763), 301.

58 W.M. Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor with comparative remarks on the ancient and modern geography of that country* (London: John Murray, 1824), viii; J. MacD. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814 with Remarks on the Marches of Alexander and Retreat of the Ten Thousand* (London: John Murray, 1818), *passim*.

59 The Reverend Edward T. Daniell, when he joined the Spratt-Forbes expedition as an "amateur epigrapher" at Smyrna, appears to have used the anchorage as an opportunity to prepare for the adventure, even though he did take some books with him: Spratt/Forbes, 1.viii, 2.9, 23.

60 At the beginning of the nineteenth century England, France, Russia, Holland, Austria and Spain were represented at Smyrna. England had 16–18 major businesses based at the port: J.O. Hanson, "Recollections of Smyrna", *BL* Add Ms 38591 ff. 50, 51.

61 See the many examples given in D. Whitehead, "From Smyrna to Stewartstown: A Numismatist's Epigraphic Notebook", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (1999) 73–113; Colnaghi, "Travels", *BL* Add 59502 f. 145.

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where travellers from different countries might gather and exchange observations[62] or share copies of inscriptions.[63] Sometimes, journals and catalogues were lent, not always gaining the expected honourable return![64] Houses in the European quarter were adorned with artefacts that had been taken from other sites,[65] from whence they passed to Europe: "Perhaps no place has contributed more than Smyrna to enrich the collections and cabinets of the curious in Europe."[66] Smyrna from the seventeenth into the nineteenth centuries was the prime point of departure into Turkey for trade and exploration: "the headquarters of the traveller".[67] The gaze, in this sense, was firmly set from the stand-point of the west and any phenomena were assessed accordingly ***(Fig. 4)***.

Inevitably the tension between ancient and modern accounts was felt. The hold on the European imagination of Greek and Roman texts and their authors' indomitable self-belief meant that the sanctity of the ancient texts would not easily be sacrificed to modern challenges. This is well illustrated by such travellers as Richard Pococke who were still refining their means of recording routes and relevant annotations.[68] Robert Walpole in 1802 seems to have rued too much reliance on Pococke's Asia Minor journeys. He alleged, "he has been extremely negligent in noting bearings and distances; his narrative is very obscure and confused."[69]

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62 At Rhodes, for example, Daniell was introduced to the naturalist Heinrich Loew and epigrapher Augustus Schönborn from Prussia. They covered similar territory and were able to hold a "delightful interview and conversation on the antiquities of Lycia" (Spratt/Forbes, 2.8). John Oliver Hanson reported that "Public Evenings" were held twice a week: "Recollections", *BL* Add Ms 38591 ff. 51, 52.

63 P. de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant* (2 vol.; Paris: L'imprimerie Royale, 1717), 1.501.

64 It appears that Paul Rycaut's *Account of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (London: 1679), was indebted in part to a section of the journal kept by his chaplain, the Reverend Dr John Luke, a record he failed to return: see S. P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna 1667–1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 218.

65 E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and Back to England* (London: W. Bowyer, 1747), vii, A. Schönborn, "Communication from Professor Schönborn of Posen relative to an important Monument recently discovered by him in Lycia", *Museum of Classical Antiquities* 1 (1851) 43.

66 Chandler, *Travels*, 72.

67 "Mahmouz Effendi", "Random Recollections of Smyrna", *The Era* 13th January, 1839. Smyrna became the recommended starting-point for the tourist: T. H. Usborne, *A New Guide to the Levant for the use of travellers in Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor … also comprising the overland journey to India, the voyage from Suez to Bombay and the systems of dawk travelling in the three presidencies* (London: Craddock & Co, 1840), 311n.

68 See R. Pococke, *Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (2 vol.; London: W. Bowyer, 1745).

69 R. Walpole, *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey: edited from Manuscript Journals* (2 vol.; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817), 2.191.

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Fig. 4 Sketch of Smyrna looking towards the bay[70]

Conciliation between old and new was the default position. This conviction grew through constant contact with the remnants of the civilisations that Europeans prized.[71] But this was frustrating as well. Walpole observed, "We know therefore little of the interior of the country, of its natural productions of the various remains of antiquity, of the situation of towns celebrated in Sacred and Profane history."[72] He was only too ready to blame local Turkish authorities for this gap in knowledge.

The triumph that came with the recovery of evidence for the location of an ancient site was palpable. The Reverend Edward T. Daniell, the epigrapher for Lieutenant T. A. B. Spratt and the naturalist Edward Forbes on their Lycian expeditions of 1841–42, could barely contain his excitement in a letter to England, "We can add to any map hitherto published the names of *eighteen* ancient cities,

70 Sketch of Smyrna by J. D. Harding reproduced in T. H. Horne, *Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible, consisting of Views of the most remarkable places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments …* (London: John Murray, 1835), part xv.

71 See, for example, C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (3 vol.; Paris: L'Institut de France, 1839), 1.iii.

72 Walpole, *Memoirs*, 2.ix.

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the sites of which we have unquestionably ascertained by inscriptions."[73] However, the physical identification of an ancient site naturally led to the questioning of the authority of the ancients. The militarist turned archaeologist and antiquities collector, William Leake, was among a number who criticised cartographical forebears who "relied too much on the accuracy of their [Greek and Roman] texts."[74] Eventually, updated maps replaced their theologically and classically constrained progenitors. The maps of the Englishman Arrowsmith,[75] the German Kiepert and the detailed longitudinal computations of the Russian Wronczenko[76] testify to this maturity in cartography. The transition however was slow to reach universal acceptance. Besides, these more geographically accurate maps emerged from a recognition of the importance of the classics and a conviction that Europe represented the 'fulfilment' of Greco-Roman aspirations. Such a conviction undergirded the ethos of the Society of Dilettanti. The Society financed Richard Chandler's explorations of Asia Minor (1740) so that the refined taste of Greek and Roman architecture (along with a few samples) might be transported back to England for replication.[77]

Smyrna's many benefits to European ambitions fulfilled another purpose. The long-term European inhabitants and the even longer reiteration of European attitudes helped shape and direct the way in which the space and its inhabitants would be construed, what would be valued. The small Frank population in Smyrna[78] exercised a powerful socialising force on its visitors, its writers and through them, on general European attitudes. The constant references to coins, inscriptions, statuary, discoveries and monumental sketches were interwoven with comments on Turkish administration and culture and on the condition and character of the Greek population under Ottoman rule. Diaries, letters and publications clearly indicate the sorts of things that were actually seen and, more significantly, how perceptions were cultivated.[79]

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73 Letter published in *The Athenaeum* July 23rd 1842, page 675 (italics original).

74 W. M. Leake, *On Some Disputed Questions of Ancient Geography* (London: John Murray, 1857), vii.

75 Arrowsmith's map was heavily dependent upon the map sketched by Colonel William Leake who had explored much of Turkey in 1800: Walpole, *Memoirs*, 2.ix.

76 H. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien* (Berlin: Simon Schropp, 1843–45), which went through a number of corrected and updated editions; M. Wronczenko, *Travaux dans l'Asie Mineure, 1834–35* included in T. F. de Schubert (ed.), *Exposé des Travaux Astronomiques et Géodésiques executes en Russie 1855* (St Petersburg: Academy of Sciences, 1855).

77 Chandler, *Travels*, preface.

78 In 1825, the Reverend John Hartley estimated the European population in Smyrna was less than 1000 out of a total population of about 75,000 (45,000 Turks, 10,000 Greeks, 8,000 Armenians and 8000 Jews): *Researches,* 247.

79 The letters and journals of Richard Pococke provide frequent insights into the gatherings of Europeans in consular or factor homes: see, for example, "Travels", *BL* Add 22998 ff.81, 82 (Letter dated Nov 5th – 16th, 1739).

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This systemic influence at Smyrna on western inhabitants and visitors helps to explain two generalised, negative attitudes that dominate European analyses of Asia Minor from the sixteenth century. There were the pathetic, indisciplined collapse of the Greeks in the Ottoman empire and the corrupt deceit and culpable inefficiency of the "Musselman" Turk. Greeks were further judged as neglecting the treasures of their classical and Christian past. They needed Western imperial paternalism to "rescue" their country and heritage.

These criticisms of Greeks and Turks were highly prevalent in England. Several examples illustrate this.

- When Ortelius' Atlas was translated into English in 1606, a telling addition (here italicised) was made to the text describing "Natoliae" (Anatolia, Map 174): "If any one wants to know about the *miserable* state and condition of these countries …". This was not a novel descriptor intended to launch a revised attitude to the eastern 'other'. Rather it was an accommodation by Ortelius' successors-and-publishers to their English market.
- Elizabeth I's charter to allow the incorporation of "The Company of Merchants of the Levant" encouraged trade with a people (the Turks) considered to be different and inferior. Thomas Dallam, the organ builder aboard the ship delivering a present of a massive organ from the Queen of England to the Ottoman Sultan, wrote in his journal, "Heare yow maye se the base and covetus condition of these Rude and barbarus doged Turkes, and how litle they do Regard Christians."[80]
- The text accompanying John Speed's famous and much replicated map of "The Turkish Empire" with its adorning marginalia held, "The Turk is admired for nothing more than his sudden advancement to so great an Empire."[81]
- In the following century a similar criticism was directed to the Turks' approach to agriculture. In a book dedicated to the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, Patrick Gordon wrote, "much of the Inland Provinces lie uncultivated, a Thing too common in most countries subject to the Mahometan Yoke."[82]
- A final example illustrates how this English judgment about the Turks was also found in France. In 1835, the French poet and politician, Alphonse de Lamartine, exposed his delight at the slow, "providential" disintegration of the Ottoman empire. He exclaimed to his readers, "The stupid administration, or

80 Bent, *Early Voyages*, 39.

81 J. Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London: George Humble, 1626/1627), sv.

82 P. Gordon (and R. Morden), *Geography Anatomiz'd or The Geographical Grammar: being a short and exact analysis of the whole body of modern geography* (London: printed by JR for Robert Mordern and Thomas Cockerill, 2nd Ed., 1702), 279; see also pages 184–96.

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> rather the destructive inertness, of the conquering race of Osman, has made a desert on all sides."[83]

These entrenched English and French attitudes began to change slowly. Boundary-breakers like Lord Byron in the early nineteenth century[84] and the actual experience of devoted travellers helped this movement. Edward Forbes reflected on this change of attitude towards the people that occurred in his fellow-traveller in Turkey, Edward Daniell,

> Mr Daniell, like most European travellers, had commenced his journey prejudiced against the Mahometan part of the population: he concluded it with the strongest prepossessions in their favour. The disinterested attentions, frankness and courtesy we had met with from all ranks – from pacha to peasant; the good-faith and honesty of the Lycian Turks … All that Sir Charles Fellows has said in favour of the Turks of Asia Minor[85] we can fully bear out.[86]

Even so, the Greeks did not emerge similarly exonerated. The phrase, "the clever knavery and selfishness of the Greek part of the population", belongs to the omission in the preceding quotation. It was a minor refrain for which the English blamed "enslavement" to the Turk, and became the justification for European intervention to remove Greece from Ottoman rule in 1832.[87]

European responses to the denuded höyük of Colossae *(Fig. 5)*

The above cursory overview of the transition from negligible European presence in the Turkish peninsula to a burgeoning amalgam of commerce, exploration and politics is the formative backdrop to the history of Colossae and Chonai. European presence in Constantinople and Smyrna had lead to tentative incursions into the artefact-saturated interior during the more benign seasons of

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83 A. de Lamartine, *Travels in the East, including a Journey in the Holy Land* (2 vol.; Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1850 [from *Voyage en Orient*, 1835]), 2.305. Almost identical sentiments are expressed in W. McLeod, *The Geography of Palestine or the Holy Land including Phoenicia and Philistia, with a Description of the Towns and Places in Asia Minor visited by the Apostles…* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1847), 89. The charge had become a monotonous stereotype.

84 M. Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (London/New York: I. B. Tauris, 1994).

85 A reference to C. Fellows, *A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor* (London: John Murray, 1838), v.

86 Spratt/Forbes, 2.5–6.

87 See, for example, H. Christmas, *The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean, including a visit to the Seven Churches for Asia* (3 vol.; London: R. Bentley, 1851), 2.249, 287.

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Fig. 5 View of the Colossae höyük and necropolis behind (below farmhouse)

Fig. 6 The caricature of a Levant Company chaplain from the magazine "Vanity Fair" 5th September, 1874.

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