

THE HISTORICAL COURSE OF CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS IN ANTAKYA

(From the beginning Until the Second Half of the 19th Century)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Haydar ÇORUH
Editor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yunus Emre TANSÜ



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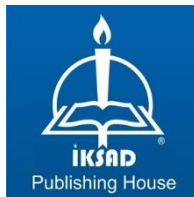
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	After Christ
A.Ü.	Ankara University
B.C.	Before Christ
b.ca	Approximate year of birth
BOA	Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives
Bonn ed.	Date of birth
c.	Volume
Translator	Translator
DIA	Encyclopaedia of Islam (Diyanet)
Eds.	Editors
Haz.	Prepared by
I.A.	Encyclopaedia of Islam (MEB)
nr.	Number
et al.	And so on

PREFACE

In their two thousand years of history, Jews have been scattered all over the world, living under the yoke of other nations for centuries, yet they are one of the rare nations that have not lost their identity during this period. The most important factor that has kept the Jews alive in this way is their longing for the Land of Arz-1 Mevud, which they claim was promised to them in their holy book, the ‘falsified TEVRAT’, and this factor has been turned into a special key/encryption that keeps the Jewish community alive.

In their two thousand years of history, the Jews, who were planning to return to Babylon, from which they were expelled by the Romans in 538 B.C., have taken very secret measures in this regard. Jewish Rabbis, who did not voice this issue in any way until the 1500s AD, were exiled from Spain, where they were living happily and blissfully, with a sudden decision during the most glorious period of the Ottoman Empire. In this period, the Ottoman Empire was in an economic bottleneck due to the change of trade routes, and while trying to return trade to the Mediterranean, in order to bring the Jews, the richest and most skilful merchant community in the world, to their country, they not only invited them to their country like everyone else fleeing from Spanish persecution, but also transported them by ships and settled them in the richest regions of the country. This seemingly coincidental situation was in fact nothing more than a planned set-up for the Jews' journey back to Babylon and Canaan.

All the goals of the Jews after this journey were to shift their population first to the east of Europe, then to the Balkans and

Anatolia and finally to the Palestine region without attracting anyone's attention. Within the scope of this programme initiated in the XIXth century, the Jews gradually intensified their migration movements towards the Palestine region, and they also applied directly to the Ottoman Empire for Palestine to be given to them. However, when this application did not receive any response, the Jewish masters wanted to eliminate all obstacles on the road to Palestine, first by eliminating the Ottoman Empire, and then by eliminating the dynasties in the countries where Jews live in dense populations. For this purpose, the master mind, which brought the states that resisted their capitalists to the point of bankruptcy by causing financial difficulties, wanted to eliminate those who did not submit due to their financial situation by dragging them to war, and they were successful in this by financing the First World War. Like Tsarist Russia, Wilhelm II's Germany and the Ottoman Empire were eliminated for this purpose.

The Jewish Masters, who won the first round with the First World War, fought hard between 1920 and 1939 to bring all countries, especially the Vatican, which prevented access to Palestine, to their knees. The Jewish Masters, who succeeded in breaking the Vatican's resistance in 1920, 1934 and 1936, put into effect the programme they had set up by taking the UK and the USA behind them in order to ensure a situation in Palestine, and started and successfully managed the Second World War. This war not only gave Palestine to the Jews, but also succeeded in moving all the Jews to Palestine by removing them from the territories of the belligerent nations without their noses bleeding.

After Palestine, the Jews tried the same way in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Hatay, which is one of the many ways that the Jews have devised to seize the lands they demand, by focusing on the origins and gaining support in the lands belonging to these origins through archaeological excavations and making land demands after proving these supports. He found evidence that the Jews claimed Antioch as well as Palestine. Glanville Downey, in his work 'A History Of Antioch In Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest, Princeton, New Jersey 1961', states that about 6 excavations were carried out in Antioch in 1932, that a chapel or temple was searched for in these excavations, and that a Rabbi's mansion found in Daphne during surveys was sufficient for the roots of the Jews in Antioch.

This book is based on the partial data of an unfinished project titled 'Jews of Antakya (1800-1920)', which was submitted as a Gap Project to the Scientific Research Project Coordination Office of Mustafa Kemal University in Hatay in order to reveal that the Jews never had a population density in Antakya, on the contrary, as a merchant class, they were only as much as they were in every Ottoman province.

It is thought that the work will guide researchers by revealing this subject, which has not yet been fully analysed. For this reason, I would like to ask the forgiveness of the scientific world in advance for the deficiencies arising from the fact that it is the product of a project that has not yet been completed.

I would like to thank the Ottoman Archives of the State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, which I have

seen great contributions in the creation of the work, Hatay Mustafa Kemal University BAP Coordinatorship, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yunus Emre Tansü and İksad Publications for accepting the editorship of the work in the printing of the work.

Haydar Çoruh- 2024

INTRODUCTION

It is claimed that Antakya along the Asi River was founded in 300 BC by Seleucus Nicator after the Didachoi wars. In these years, there were actually other cities belonging to the Romans in the region. The ruins of Seleucia Pieria, one of these cities, still exist today.

The ruins of the city of Seleucia Pieria are located at the mouth of the Asi River today. After the last archaeological research on these ruins in 1932, it can be said that no excavation work has been carried out, especially since Hatay joined the Republic of Turkey. Today, this area, which has completely turned into a reed and wetland, is closed to the interest of visitors. While it is possible to observe the magnificent ruins of the city from a bird's eye view, when viewed from the surface, one is confronted with an empty land due to the touristic facilities and reeds surrounding it. Another city is Apamea/Pella. Located on the upper part of the Asi River, this city falls to the southeast of Antakya. The last city, Laodicea, is located south of Antakya. The city on the coast consists of rare ruins that have not yet been identified by human intervention (Bridge, 2017: 2).

The four major trading cities of Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Apamea and Laodicea were able to control trade in the region. Antioch and Apamea controlled the north-south trade route between Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine and Egypt (Bridge, 2017: 3).

The north-south trade route ran along the Amuq Plain and the Upper Asiatic and Anti-Lebanon Mountains in eastern Lebanon and was the main artery feeding Antioch and Seleucia Pieria, the centre of the Seleucid Empire (Bridge, 2017: 3). In fact, these two cities were founded in an area with no urbanisation and a largely Aramaic/Syrian population. There are certain records that the

nearby villages of this city were often used by Greek merchants. The founder of the city, Seleucus I, had set out to establish a Hellenistic city. It was more splendid than the city of Antigonía, which his rival Antigonos had tried to build, and more convenient than Seleucia Pieria, which had been founded at the mouth of the Asi River (Bridge, 2017: 4).

In order for this city to become a world centre, some sacrifices had to be made and Seleucus I did not delay in doing so. He disbanded Antigonía and settled in Antioch his own Greco-Macedonian settlers on the one hand, and the Athenians whom Antigonos had settled in Antigonía on the other. The aim of both rulers was to establish Antioch as a fertile crescent stretching from the Amuq Plain to Mesopotamia and from there to Egypt, and to control the north-south trade route. All the powers in the region, including the Hittites, who had previously settled at Alalakh in the Amuq Plain, were weak against external forces, and the settlement of the region was the only solution to end this. For this reason, Antigonos and Seleucus I actually tried to change this fate by repopulating the region (Bridge, 2017: 4).

Thanks to this new arrangement, despite the contraction of the Seleucid Empire over time, Antioch grew bigger and more important every day. Seleucus I died in 281 BC, but Antioch became the most important city of the Syrian region as a cultural and intellectual centre and gained the character of a capital city. During the reign of Antiochus III, there were well-known poets and philosophers active in the city, as well as a library. In this regard, Livy and Strabo, two of the sources of the time, clearly state that Antioch expanded and became a city of culture during the reign of Antiochus IV (Bridge, 2017: 4).

By the time of Antiochus VIII (121-96 BC), Antioch's reputation was already known by other regions and states. Syria came under Roman control in 64 BC. Nevertheless, Antioch did not

lose any of its value and remained the largest city in Syria. Since its proximity to the Parthian border caused the city to be constantly destroyed, the control of the border trade became increasingly difficult and this contraction continued until the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus(Bridge, 2017: 4).

During the visits of Augustus to Antioch in 31-30 and 20 BC, the city returned to its former splendour with the contributions of Herod the Great, one of the rich businessmen, and according to Malalas, one of the sources of the period, it was experiencing a highly developed period in terms of architecture during the reign of Tiberius (Bridge, 2017: 5). According to Downey, this architectural period had already begun and only a few outstanding projects were realised under Tiberius. The first performance of the Olympic Games in Antioch coincides with the reign of Claudius in 43/44 AD. However, this period ended shortly afterwards with famine and earthquakes, which changed the fate of Antioch. Although this situation lasted for a long time, Antioch began to regain its former splendour in 69 AD. The legions stationed there during the reign of the four emperors tried to maintain stability by taking sides in the power struggles of Antioch. At the same time, building activities continued, sustaining the development of the city. However, the devastating earthquake of 115 AD marked the beginning of a new era in the city's fate, and the city never returned to its former glory(Bridge, 2017: 5).

However, the city became a centre of Christianity and the work of Christian missionaries in the city increased rapidly. As a result, merchants and other professionals travelling to and from the city contributed to the creation of a new cultural basin. The Christians on the one hand and the newcomers on the other hand merged into the same melting pot and made the city an important centre of theological thought.

FIRST SECTION

IN THE ANCIENT AGE CITY OF ANTAKYA AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

ANTAKYA ORIGIN OF THE NAME

There are authors who attribute the name of Antioch to the father king Seleucus Nicator or the son Antiochus. The reason for this is that both of them were named Antiochus. Some of these authors argue that there is stronger evidence that the city was named after Antiochus the son rather than Antiochus the father. Antiochus the Younger (Antiochus I Soter) was 24 years old when Antioch was founded (Downey, 1961: 581). Some sources insist that the city was named after Antiochus the father. All of these claims actually originate from Libanius' *Antiochikos* (Downey, 1961: 581).

The most convincing reason for thinking that Antioch was named after Seleucus' father lies in the naming of the other cities of the Tetrapolis. If Seleucia Pieria was named after Seleucus, Apamea after his wife and Laodicea after his mother, it seems reasonable to assume that Antioch was named after Seleucus' father rather than his son (Downey, 1961: 581-582).

Antioch is also said to have once been called by the name of Emperor Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great. This was probably only temporary, since the name is recognised in only one literary text. After the earthquake in the 6th century, the name of the city was changed to Theoupolis as a consolation measure, which can be recognised on coins and in some literary texts. However, despite this determination, the name Antakya has remained the only name used until today (Downey, 1961: 582).

After 1516, when Antakya joined the borders of the Ottoman Empire, it was generally referred to as Antakya or Antakiye (Gül, 2008: 9).

THE FIRST TRACES OF LIFE IN ANTIOCH AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

Traces of life in Antakya date back to 5000 BC. Although the original founder of the city was Alexander, the Seleucid dynasty dominated the city after him. Antakya, called Tetrapolis by the founder of this state, was captured by Pompeus in 64 BC and included in the Roman domination. Antakya, which developed rapidly due to being a border city, became a crowded and busy centre like the cities of Rome and Alexandria. The attacks on Antioch during the Sassanids' efforts to separate the Nestorian Church from the west (260-499 AD.) and the disasters, epidemics and diseases caused the city to be devastated and weakened in a short time. The Sassanid ruler Husrev I took advantage of the city's defencelessness and devastation and destroyed the city. This ruinous situation in the city lasted until the conquest of the Muslim Arabs (Gül, 2008: 9-10).

As a result of the conquest movements of the Muslim commander Abu Ubayda bin Jarrah, the city was taken over by peace, and then the reconstruction and settlement activities that would change the fate of the city were started. In addition to the transfer of population to Antioch during the reign of Mu'awiya, during the reign of Harun Rashid, many more cities were added to Antioch and declared as "avasim" and the city was reinforced (Gül, 2008: 9-10).

The city was the centre of Cilicia region during the Abbasid period. During this period, Turkish administrators were appointed to Antioch as in the whole region. In this way, Turkish dynasties

ruled in the city until 877- 944-969. After this date, the city was captured by Byzantium and this domination lasted until 1084 (Gül, 2008: 10; Turan , 1993: 241-248; Turan, 1969:92; Runciman, 1987: 589-610). The people of the city, who were not satisfied with this domination, invited a new Turkish dynasty to the city after a short time. Suleiman Shah, who was in Iznik, surrendered the castle in 1085. One year later, the city came under the rule of the Great Seljuks (Gül, 2008: 11; Urfalı Meteos, 1987:172; Alptekin, 1985: 4).

As a result of the Crusades that started in 1098, the region was completely under the Crusader rule and a Crusader Counties was established in Antioch (Deniz, 2020: 3). However, this time the region was conquered by the Zengi ruler Nureddin Mahmud Zengi. With the conquest of Bakras and Darb-sak castles by his son Saladin Ayyubi in 1188, a new era began in Antioch. In this new period, after the capture of Antioch by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars in 1268, more than 40 thousand Turkme tribesmen were settled in the city and its neighbourhood (Sahillioglu, 1991: 230).

After Baybars, various Turkish noble dynasties continued to struggle over Antioch. Timur, Mamluks and Ottomans made long conquests to dominate the region. Yavuz Sultan Selim, who inflicted a heavy defeat on the Safavid ruler Sah Ismail at Çaldıran, won the battles of Mercidabık in 1516 and Ridaniye in 1517, captured Antakya and its neighbourhood and ensured that Antakya joined the Anatolian unity (Gül, 2008: 13).

MAIN SOURCES PROVIDING INFORMATION ABOUT THE JEWS OF ANTIOCH

The sources for the Seleucid period of Antioch are scanty, even more scanty than the available material on the history of some other Hellenistic capitals. Only one general inscription from the

Seleucid period has been found at Antioch and Daphne. In contrast, parts of the city's Roman history are relatively well known, and we have specialised sources that provide abundant information for specific decades and specific periods. As a result of such differences, the history of Antioch should differ markedly in the scale and the amount of detail with which events are treated in different periods(Downey, 1961: 24).

As in the case of some other ancient cities, in addition to literary sources of a general nature, there are some sources of a special nature which are of direct interest for the history and antiquities of Antioch. In fact, Antioch contains some of the best known examples of literary works of the late Roman period, namely the works of Libanius, the famous pagan teacher and man of letters of the fourth century. The main sources for the history of Antioch are the satirical Misopogon of Emperor Julian, the writings and sermons of Libanius' pupil St John Chrysostom, one of the most famous Christian preachers and pastors, the world chronicle of Ioannes Malalas of the sixth century, the earliest and most important example of popular Byzantine chronicle, and the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius, written at the end of the sixth century. Many details of the city's intellectual history have been lost - little is known about its libraries, for example - but these authors, covering a variety of literary and historical interests, give us valuable insights into the history of the city and the life of its people. In addition, we have archaeological evidence, both from the few surviving monuments and from local coins and inscriptions recovered during the excavations of 1932-1939 (Downey, 1961: 24).

ARTICLES

Most of the inscriptions that have survived from the discoveries and excavations in and around Antakya are in Greek and Latin, but a few are written in Arabic Kufic script. However,

these inscriptions contain much less information than expected. There is only one important inscription from the Seleucid period. This is in striking contrast to the much greater epigraphic evidence from other Hellenistic cities. No official inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period have survived. It seems that Antioch suffered too much from both human destruction and earthquakes for inscriptions, especially the larger ones, to have survived. Most of the inscriptions on marble were probably destroyed in lime kilns, and the reuse of ancient stones in modern buildings has undoubtedly led to the deposition of at least some inscriptions. Very few ancient texts can be found on the walls and floors of modern houses, some of which will certainly be found one day. It seems doubtful that the excavation of the Hellenistic layer, which was not possible as a rule during the excavations of 1932-1939, will lead to the discovery of a larger number of inscriptions than those found in the past. Among the inscriptions found, the most interesting and valuable are the mosaic Greek building inscriptions of the Roman period (Downey, 1961: 24-25).

PP. Louis Alabert, S.J. (+1943) and Rene Mouterde, S.J., *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Vol: III, (Paris 1950-1953), contains high-quality commentaries on Greek and Latin inscriptions from Antioch, Daphne and the neighbourhood (Downey, 1961: 26). As for the Greek and Latin inscriptions found outside Antioch and Daphne and related to the history of Antioch, the most famous of these is *Res gestae divi Saporis* (Downey, 1961: 255vd). The majority of the 18 Kufic inscriptions found during the excavations are tombstones (Downey, 1961: 26). Some of them apparently date from the middle of the ninth to the middle of the tenth century, which includes the Christian era, and are therefore among the oldest of their kind found in Syria (Downey, 1961: 26).

COINS

Greek and Latin coins from the mints of Antioch have been published in various catalogues. The most recent of these is the catalogue of Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusader coins from Mrs Waage's excavations, and there have been numerous monographs and special studies on the coins. In some cases, where other evidence is lacking, coins provide first-order evidence, and in many cases evidence that cannot be obtained from any other source. This evidence generally includes catalogues and monographs. Among these we may first mention the Catalogue of Greek Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, in the British Museum, published by Percy Gardner (1878). From the same series, we may also mention Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria by Warwick Wroth (1899) and *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Armenie et de Commagene* by E. Babelon (Paris 1890); *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliotheque nationale*, reprinted by the American Journal of Numismatics, and *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliotheque nationale*. The Seleucid Mint of Antioch (New York 1918), published by E. T. Newell. Also, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York 1941); American Numismatic Society, *Numismatic Studies* 4; *Roman Imperial Coinage* by H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham (London 1923 in progress); *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* by H. Mattingly (1923 in progress); W. Wroth (1908). Wroth (1908) *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*; *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report* 6; *The Coins* by A. R. Bellinger (New Haven 1949); G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 4, pt. i (Princeton 1948) 109-124. See also Dorothy B. Waage, "Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 4, pt. 2 (Princeton 1952). The papers by A. R. Bellinger and H. Seyrig on specialised coins and currency are also worth mentioning among this special collection (Downey, 1961: 26).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS:

In addition to coins and inscriptions, the archaeological evidence includes existing monuments and the results of the 1932-1939 excavations.

Traveller Reports: Numerous European and American travellers have visited Antioch since the Middle Ages and recorded what they saw in writing, thus preserving some useful evidence for monuments that are no longer extant or that have deteriorated since they were mentioned. Some of the travellers copied inscriptions, others sketched, drew or photographed monuments. The gradual destruction and dismantling of many monuments and the use of ancient stones for lime or modern construction can be traced in these accounts (Downey, 1961: 26-27).

Views of the Surviving Monuments

Beginning with the beautiful engravings by the French artist Cassas in the second half of the eighteenth century, many artists made images of scenes in Antioch, some showing ancient monuments. In the mid-nineteenth century E. G. Rey made the first scientific drawings of the existing ramparts and fortifications, later travellers took photographs of various monuments. Excavation reports (described in more detail below) include, in addition to excavation photographs, images of some of the monuments that were standing before excavations began (Downey, 1961: 27).

Survival of the Ancient Town Plan

The ancient walls on the top of the mountain are in fairly good condition and traces of them can be seen in many other places; in some cases they have been incorporated into modern buildings in modern cities. The ancient island no longer exists

because the tributary of the river that ran between the island and the main part of the city was filled in during the Middle Ages, but the trace of this tributary can be traced by the contours of the ground, the remains of the city walls and the remains of bridges that surrounded it. An aerial photograph taken by French military officials shows distinct traces of ancient streets in many places, and sometimes even seems to suggest the outlines of buildings (the photograph does not include the ramparts at the top of Mount Silpius).

Evidence of the survival of the ancient plan was made the subject of Weulersse's careful and illuminating study "Antioche: essai de géographie urbaine". Valuable information on this subject is also provided by Sauvaget's "Plan de Laodicee-sur-mer"(Downey, 1961: 27).

Excavations 1932-1939

In 1930, under the chairmanship of the late Professor C. R. Morey of Princeton University, the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its Environs was formed. The committee represented a number of American institutions and individuals, as well as the Musées Nationaux de France; Princeton University was responsible for managing the excavations and publishing the results. Excavations began in the spring of 1932 and continued annually until the 1939 season, when the outbreak of war in Europe made further work impossible(Downey, 1961: 28).

Excavations were carried out in and around Antakya, in the famous ancient suburb of Daphne and in the harbour of Seleucia Pieria. The size of the sites, the occupation of part of the area of ancient Antioch by the modern city and the presence of valuable orchards in many areas meant that systematic topographical surveys could not be carried out except on a limited scale.

Attention was distracted when local farmers and builders accidentally discovered mosaic floors, which had to be excavated and levelled to save them from destruction. In some cases, work was hampered by the unusual depth (usually ten metres) to which the ancient remains were buried due to soil washed down from Mount Silpius by heavy winter rains. However, invaluable results were achieved in the reconstruction of the topography of the city and in the discovery of individual buildings and mosaics (Downey, 1961: 28).

A four-volume excavation report covering the 1932-1939 seasons was published (1934-1952; see List of Abbreviations for Antioch-on-the-Orontes). The mosaics were included in *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* by Doro Levi (Princeton 1947) (Downey, 1961: 28).

Topography of Antioch

Among the most important topographical results of the excavations and the study of surface remains was the identification of the route of one of the famous avenues of antiquity, the great colonnaded main street, which ran through the city from north-east to south-west. The existence of this street and its importance in the plan and life of the city was already known from literary sources (notably the chronicle of Malalas and the oration praising Antioch of Libanius) and from the accounts of some historians, travellers who visited the area in the post-classical period; and from the route of the street, as can be traced from an aerial photograph of the city. The discovery of parts of the street during the excavations confirmed and extended all this information and provided a reference point for further topographical studies of the site. The study of the main street resulted in the identification of the approximate boundaries of the original Seleucid settlement and the location of the Seleucid agora in the modern bazaar or market area.

On the other hand, excavations at the point where the main street crosses the river Parmenius have provided conclusive evidence for the location of Julius Caesar's "basilica" and the buildings associated with it, which later became a church. Valens Forum." (Downey, 1961: 28-29)

We also have valuable information about the island from Libanius' oration in praise of Antioch, in which he describes the palace of Diocletian on the island. The ancient size and shape of the island has been a matter of some uncertainty in recent years, due to the fact that the tributary of the river Asi, which flows around it, has long been dry and partly filled with earth and the debris of ancient walls(Downey, 1961: 29).

Examination of the surface remains now shows the size and course of the canal that ran between the island and the main part of the city, and the piers of the bridges that served the island have been found. Excavations have not been able to locate the palace, but important features of the island's plan, including the prominent hippodrome, have been restored. The study of the site of the palace and hippodrome at Antioch is of interest in connection with the study of contemporary palaces at Salona, Constantinople and elsewhere(Downey, 1961: 29).

Topography of Daphne

The plan and monuments of Daphne have never been as well known in ancient sources as those of Antioch, for two reasons. Firstly, not unnaturally, literary sources about the suburb are not as abundant as those about the city. Secondly, a systematic investigation of Daphne was not possible during the excavations, because the excavators were constantly distracted by the need for urgent intervention to raise the mosaic floors discovered by chance

by the inhabitants of the area and to save them from destruction(Downey, 1961: 29-30).

Thanks to these distractions, however, we have gained a considerable knowledge of the domestic architecture of the suburb and its development as a residential area over a long period of time. The only major public building excavated was the theatre, the location of which is uncertain, but known from literary sources. The famous water springs, which are still in operation, and the location of the famous Temple of Apollo can be identified. However, the location of the Olympic stadium and its associated temples, which must have been somewhere nearby, has not yet been determined. Other features of Daphne's topography are known from the topographical boundary of the Yakto mosaic, which will be discussed shortly(Downey, 1961: 30).

One of the most important sources of information on the ancient life of Antioch, from which valuable conclusions can be drawn by combining literary and archaeological sources, is the water system of Antioch and Daphne, which, together with springs, aqueducts and reservoirs, provides one of the best water sources of any ancient city. The main features of this system were generally known before excavations began; archaeological information now allows us to date parts of the system more accurately and to relate its development to the history of the city.

Yakto Mosaic

The most unusual of the archaeological sources relating to the topography and antiquities of Antioch and Daphne is the remarkable topographical boundary of the Megalopsychia mosaic found in a villa at Yakto, part of Daphne. This mosaic, dated according to internal evidence and style to approximately the mid-fifth century AD, consists of a central medallion containing the

personification of Megalopsychia, surrounded by hunting scenes; and framing the whole is a depicting border. Both buildings and scenes from everyday life, one of the most valuable documents of its kind we have. Scholars differ as to whether the border depicts an itinerary of Antioch and Daphne, or whether it shows only characteristic groups of buildings and genre scenes. Doro Levi, one of the main students of the Antioch mosaics, believes that the buildings do not follow an orderly progression and that there is even no absolute certainty that the border shows buildings outside Daphne. On the contrary, the publishers of the J. Lassus Mosaic initially believed that the border depicted an itinerary in which the viewer, following the scenes in sequence, made an imaginary journey first to Daphne and then to Antioch. It seems to the author of this article that the border depicts a route (as suggested, for example, by representations of travellers and bridges within the city), but the route followed begins at the northeastern end of the city. The gate on the road from Beroea leads through the main part of the city to the island, then from the island back to the main part of the city and once again through the city to reach the road to Daphne; in Daphne the journey ends at the famous hot springs. The stages of this route can be easily traced in the mosaic and are exactly the same as the route adopted by Libanius in his speech praising Antioch in 360 AD. This route has the advantage, both literary and artistic, that it ends at the springs of Daphne, which could (and indeed deservedly) be made the great climax of the journey, the parable or the mosaic. That this is the route followed in the mosaic is indicated by the fact that the scenes follow one another from left to right in such a itinerary, which is the normal reading direction for a Greek-speaking person, while Lassus has a route hypothesis. From Daphne to Antioch requires the scenes to be read from right to left. In any case, the border is an invaluable source of information about the buildings and spaces of Antioch

and Daphne, providing us with vivid pictures of the daily life of the people there (Downey, 1961: 30).

Mosaic Floors

The Yakto mosaic is one of the most remarkable of a large and remarkable collection of floor mosaics from the first and sixth centuries AD unearthed during excavations in Antioch, Daphne, Seleucia Pieria and the surrounding area. This unexpected treasure is one of the most important groups of ancient mosaics ever found and provides valuable evidence for many aspects of ancient life. Its general contribution to the history of Mediterranean art, both in showing the development of the Ellenistic tradition and the influence of Eastern, especially Persian, factors on it, is beyond the scope of this book. The artistic development of ancient Antioch can refer to discussions, easily found elsewhere, concerning the new chapter in the history of art necessitated by mosaics. In these discussions it can be seen how the floors of Antioch allowed the history of mosaic art to be developed for the first time at a single site, through a large series of floors, many of which can be dated by archaeological evidence (Downey, 1961: 32). Antioch alone provides a continuous series of bases not only for the pre-Constantinian period, for which comparative material is available elsewhere, but also for the post-Constantinian period, for which comparative material is less available elsewhere. Other contributions of these mosaics are no less important. In one respect, the floors indicate a relatively high standard of living in the city, since no private house that makes the slightest claim to comfort seems to be completely devoid of mosaic floors. This is the first time that mosaics have been so widely used in such a large area covering such a wide period of time. The mosaics also contributed to our knowledge of the intellectual history of the city. In this entire collection of figural mosaics, apart from the bases found in

churches, there is only one that clearly exhibits Christian motifs in its composition: The "Philia" mosaic from Daphne, which depicts the Golden Age in Isaiah II. The wolf stays with the lamb and the leopard sleeps with the kid..." Another may be Jewish or Christian, but is most likely Jewish - the welcome inscription in I Sam's phrase. This discovery is instructive in showing that even in the great centre of Christianity the Hellenic tradition survives in the floor decorations of houses, at least some of which must have belonged to Christians. There is something equally constructive in the mosaic of the personification of the pagan virtues and in the many mosaics of abstract ideas representing some of the most important concepts of ancient philosophy and ethics, such as Megalopsychia or the Greatness of Soul, Chresis or Service, Bios or Life. Dinamis or Power, Soteria or Salvation (or Healing), Apolausis or Pleasure, and so on. These grounds - especially the Megalopsychia, so important in Aristotle's system and perhaps one of the chief rivals of the Christian virtues - raise questions of fundamental importance concerning the nature and strength of the Hellenic tradition that clearly survived in Antioch. Until the reign of Justinian. It has sometimes been assumed, perhaps too easily, that paganism persisted longest among the wealthier people (Downey, 1961: 33).. The mosaics at Antioch may be regarded as at least partial confirmation of this, combining with the "documents of dying paganism" which have been preserved by chance to show the enduring power of the "opposition" which Christianity partly overcame, partly assimilated. Several floors showing scenes from classical literature are evidence of Antioch's active interest in ancient writers.

Another lesson of the mosaics is the important evidence of Antioch's interest in Persia during the Roman Empire. Persian influence on Roman thought has long been recognised in specific instances, such as Diocletian's borrowing of certain features of Sassanid court ceremony, and more recently it has been shown that

there was Persian influence, or at least interest in Persian ideas and political power. The influence of Persia and Persians can be traced in local political developments in Antioch, especially in the third century of our era (Downey, 1961: 34).

A remarkable number of mosaics containing both decorative and symbolic Persian motifs contribute to the growing evidence for links between Rome and Persia, evidence that increases as more and more evidence is found or recognised in our current body of knowledge. This should lead to a rewriting of this part of ancient history. The eastern house plan found in Antioch also reflects this influence (Downey, 1961: 35).

ANTIQUÉ HISTORIANS OF ANTIOCH

In the Greco-Roman period the polis played such a vital role in the development and preservation of all aspects of civilisation that it formed an important literary genre, including treatises on cities, stories of their foundation and descriptions of their beauty. Although the bulk of such literature has not been preserved in its entirety, we do have a certain amount of information about it from the quotations and allusions of later writers who used these works (Downey, 1961: 35).

Narratives of the Foundation of Antioch.

Since the foundation of a city is an event of special significance, an individual founder, such as a Hellenistic king, must take care to keep a formal record of the enterprise, which would form an important part of the record of his achievements. We are told that when Seleucus founded Antioch he appointed three men, Attaeus, Perittas and Anaxicrates, as "overseers of the buildings" and that they wrote accounts of the foundation of the city. These

accounts have not been preserved, but we can get some idea of their content from Malalas' account of the founding of Antioch, whose information may have been partly taken from these records. It has been pointed out that the literary tradition of the founding of Antioch is closely related to the tradition of the founding of Alexandria in Egypt (Downey, 1961: 36).

The best known ancient account of the foundation of Antioch is the lost manuscript of Pausanias, which was used and mentioned by later writers. The citations seem to suggest that Pausanias' work contains a history of Antioch, which is not clear whether as part of the *Ktisis* or as a separate composition. There were numerous writers by the name of Pausanias in antiquity, and modern scholars have for some time been uncertain whether Pausanias, who wrote about Antioch, can be identified with the much better known *periegete* Pausanias, whose works have been preserved. The evidence seemed to indicate to most students that these two authors named Pausanias were not the same, but then the question arose whether the author at Antioch was the Pausanias called Pausanias of Damascus. Opinions differed on this question, and indeed the evidence was very weak. A recent study by Aubrey Diller on the whole problem of authors named Pausanias, based on a much better collection of material than had previously been assembled, has shown that the author at Antioch should be distinguished from Pausanias of Damascus and not identified with other authors bearing that name and known by other connections. Although the evidence is not comprehensive, Pausanias' work on Antioch seems to date to the second or fourth century after Christ (Downey, 1961: 36).

Other lost works on Antioch or Syria.

In the preserved literature we also find traces of other books on Antioch or Syria. One of the earliest works is by Euphorion of

Khalkis (b.ca. 275 BC), librarian in the royal library at Antioch during the reign of Antiochus the Great (224-187 BC); apparently this was a history of Antioch and the Seleucid kings. Euphorion's work, consisting of fifty-two books (now lost), which was a source of material for the geographer Strabo (including information about Antioch), seems to have been a precursor to the great history of Posidonius of Apamea. The compilation of Nicolaus of Damascus also played a role. In the time of Antiochus IV (176-146 BC) Protagorides of Cyzicus wrote a treatise "On the Festivals at Daphne". Athenaeus of Naucratis' "On the Kings of Syria" undoubtedly contained material on Antioch (Downey, 1961: 37).

Sources of Malalas: Acta urbis

The sixth-century historian Ioannes Malalas, whose work will be discussed below, mentions among his sources the names of four authors whose complete works are lost: Pausanias (already discussed), Domninus, Timotheus, Theophilus. Our knowledge of these authors is very limited; according to the quotations in Malalas, Domninus and Pausanias, each seems to have written a chronicle largely or primarily about Antioch, while the others wrote world chronicles in which Antioch is mentioned. Malalas' quotations make it seem as if he used these sources directly, but it is also possible that he only drew on them second-hand (Downey, 1961: 37).

Malalas also cites the *acta urbis* (-ra aK-ra -rfjç 1r6AEwç, 443.20) as the source of his information about the earthquake of 528 AD, and in any case it is clear that some of his information may have come from local authorities, but we are not entirely sure how the information reached him. We do not have enough information to know whether there were *acta urbis* in Antioch during the entire Roman period, and we do not know what kind of

official records of local events were kept during the Seleucid period (Downey, 1961: 37).

World Chronicle of Ioannes Malalas

This chronicle, the earliest and in some respects the most characteristic of the popular annals so popular in the Byzantine period, is also a source of special importance for the history and monuments of Antioch. It was compiled in Antioch while the author was living there, and it also seems clear that information about Antioch came from local sources, including official records and the *acta urbis* (from which, as already noted, he cites 443.20). In addition, the historian must have utilised local oral tradition during his own lifetime. The present work suffers from various limitations. The author appears to have a poor knowledge of history, to have used his sources uncritically and to have been naive about material he should not have accepted. He quotes his sources in such a way as to give the impression that he is using them first-hand, whereas it is clear that the quotations are derived from intermediate sources - mostly due to the historian's own childish mistakes. Finally, Malalas' own style - the earliest comprehensive text in everyday Greek - is at times rather ambiguous (sometimes as a result of the author's ignorance) (Downey, 1961: 38).

Moreover, the Greek text preserved in a unique manuscript in Oxford represents a summary of the original version; the original (or at least older) form is represented by fragments preserved in quotations made before the text was edited, and especially in the Church Slavonic version translated before the Greek text was shortened. Despite these limitations, Malalas' work is one of the most important sources for the history of Antioch, providing us with valuable information about events and monuments in the city.

The work covers both the Seleucid period (including the legendary inhabitants and the foundation of the city) and the Roman period. Beginning with the Roman occupation of Syria in 64 BC, Malalas' information becomes much more detailed, and from this period onwards his sources are much better than in the Seleucid period. Despite his impressive list of sources, in which he mentions Pausanias, Dominus, Theophilus, Timotheus and the *acta urbis*, all this material needs to be used with caution - we cannot be sure that it is in a reliable form, and he certainly seems incapable of using it consistently wisely. Malalas lived in Antioch during the reigns of Justin I and Justinian. After the capture of Antioch by the Persians in 540 AD (479 Bonn ed.), the information about Antioch is abundant in Malalas' work, which is quite full for the years 528-531 AD (442-470 Bonn ed.). - It ends abruptly, and it is hypothesised that Malalas (like many people) may have left Antioch to live in Constantinople during this period (Downey, 1961: 38-39).

It has been suggested that the rest of the chronicle, in which Constantinople rather than Antioch is the centre of attention, was written by a continuator (perhaps John Antiocheus III, patriarch of Constantinople, 565-577 AD). A special feature of Malalas' chronicle, for Antioch as well as for other cities, is its interest in imperial visits to cities and imperial building activities there. Building activities and visits are often associated with Malalas' presentation, but we can be fairly certain that there is no connection between them. This interest, which gives the work a particular value for us, is a typical reflection of the understanding of ancient construction that was one of the characteristics of the royal office; and in Antioch this material certainly came from local official records (Downey, 1961: 39-40).

LOCAL LITERATURE SOURCES

Lebanese

The best known of the writers on Antioch, and also one of the most characteristic, is the orator and teacher Libanius, born in Antioch in 314 AD. After studying in Athens and teaching for a time in Constantinople and Nicomedia, he settled in Antioch in 354 AD and spent the rest of his career there (he probably died in 393 AD). His preserved works, among the most voluminous surviving writings of a Greek author from antiquity, give us an enormous amount of information on all aspects of life in Antioch. The value of these writings - local speeches, pamphlets, addresses to the throne, numerous private letters - can be judged from a number of important studies written by a number of scholars and based on some or all of Libanius' works. Libanius' writings touch on every aspect of life in Antioch - political, social, intellectual, economic - and mention all the important personalities of the time in Antioch, as well as some of the high officials in Constantinople. Some of the material on administrative and economic problems that Libanius provides us with is unique, and some of it still awaits detailed study. Libanius' works also preserve specialised information of the most valuable kind. Together with his pupil Chrysostom, he gives a very detailed account (in a series of discourses and pamphlets) of the great revolt of 387 AD, one of the best-known events in the history of Antioch. Libanius' autobiography is also of great historical importance. His best-known work on Antioch is *Antiochikos* (Discourse ii), the city's encomium, which he wrote in 356 or 360 AD for delivery at the local Olympic Games. The work is a unique source for the history of Antioch before the time of Libanius (especially the legends about the colonisation of the area) and for the plan and appearance of the city in his time. It is one of the best preserved eulogies of ancient cities, from which we can gain valuable insights into the

importance of the city's present role as a centre of Greco-Roman civilisation. The work also shows the true depth and intensity of the enthusiasm and devotion of the citizens (Downey, 1961: 40-41).

Libanius can be expected to be well versed in the antiquities of his beloved home. It is therefore disappointing, if not surprising, to find him referring to his written sources only as "chronicles" (αἱ ἐπιγραφαί). In fact, it would not have been in keeping with his style to name historians, and (as already noted) his audience was already familiar with local sources. One of the special features of the work is his periegesis or tour of the city and Daphne. It is interesting to note that the route that seems to be marked on the topographical boundary of the mosaic of Yakto (described above) corresponds to the route Libanius took his audience on in his imagination (Downey, 1961: 40-41).

Emperor Julian

One of the best known of the literary sources on Antioch is the *Misopogon* or "The Beard Hater", a satire on the people of Antioch by the Emperor Julian the Philosopher (January, 363 AD) during his stay in the city. This work, together with Julian's letters and decrees from the same period, gives us a considerable amount of information about both the background to Julian's experiences and activities in Antioch and recent research into the events and the famine that occurred. The visit during the emperor's visit gave us a better understanding of the motivation for the satire. It should be remembered, however, that the *Misopogon* is a literary curiosity and a tour de force, and although it undoubtedly tells us a great deal about the special characteristics of the people of Antioch, it should not be read today as a serious work and a reliable account of the population of Antioch as a whole. The lively style and imperial authorship of the work, which make it one of the most remarkable of its kind, have sometimes resulted in it being given more weight

than it deserves as a historical source. As much as anything else, it should be read as a commentary on the highly complex character of its author (Downey, 1961: 41).

St John Chrysostom

One of the most respected and influential figures in Antioch of his time (he was born in Antioch in the 340s and lived there until he became Patriarch of Constantinople in 398 AD) was Chrysostom, a disciple of Libanius, whose sermons give us a valuable picture of life in Antioch at that time and the problems of a spiritual leader serving a city community in a place like Antioch. The works of Chrysostom, another aspect of the picture we find in the writings of Libanius and Julian, complement our knowledge of Antioch at this period by the background they indirectly provide, as well as by the specific facts they mention. Of particular interest are the sermons on local cults, but also on local martyrs - especially St Babylas - which provide details about churches and martyrdoms. The series of sermons "On Statues", preached during the great revolt in 387 AD when the imperial statues were destroyed, reveals many valuable historical details. Chrysostom's greatest significance for us in the study of ancient Antioch is that he shows how the best elements of Greek literature and philosophy were assimilated into the new Christian culture of the fourth century. Thanks to the activities of Libanius and his colleagues, Antioch was at that time one of the places where a student could receive the best training in the Greek tradition, and the Cappadocian fathers show that Chrysostom's career was in step with that of his contemporaries and colleagues. This is an impressive demonstration of the real practical value of the traditional Greek *payeia* in both the education and active ministry of one of the most gifted Christian clergy of our day (Downey, 1961: 42).

Evagrius

The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus is the principal source of our knowledge of the history of Antioch between 540 AD (the end of the period covered by Malalas) and 593 AD, when Evagrius closed his work. Evagrius was born in Epiphania in Syria around 536 AD and spent his career as a lawyer in Antioch. As legal adviser and assistant to Patriarch Gregory (c. 570-593 AD.), he was in close contact with both secular and ecclesiastical affairs and had access to documents and official records. Evagrius was a man of scholarly habits and compiled a volume of transcripts of speeches, official reports, conference proceedings, letters, etc. to aid his own history. This volume has unfortunately been lost. He was also very interested in the early history of Antioch. In his account of Empress Eudocia's visit to Antioch (1.20), he recalls her compliment to the citizens, reminding them that she had come from Athens, which had sent colonists to Antioch, and then says "If anyone wishes to learn about these colonies, an account is given by Strabo the geographer, Diodorus of Phlegon and Sicily, the poets Arrian and Peisander, and also by the most distinguished sophists Ulpian, Libanius and Julian." Of these accounts of the colonisation of Antioch, only those of Strabo and Libanius have been preserved. For our purposes, one of the special interests of Evagrius' work is that it gives us a picture of how normal life and activity continued in Antioch in the last years of the sixth century, when the city was already in decline and soon fell into ruin. Arab possession (637-38 AD). Evagrius was aware to some extent that Antioch had lost some of its former splendour, but his account of the normal continuation of city life serves to remind us that the devastating earthquakes of 526 and 528 AD and the Persian sack in 540 AD, which led to the destruction of Antioch, did not bring the city's activities to a complete end. A particularly valuable part of Evagrius' work is his account of the career of Patriarch Gregory, which shows in more detail than our other

sources the dangers to which local hostility exposed an Antioch patriarch (Downey, 1961: 43-44).

Modern Studies About Antioch

Although modern research on Antioch does not fall into the category of sources, it seems appropriate to close this section with a brief description of the work of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars who have already examined various aspects of Antioch's history and antiquities. The excavations of 1932-1939. The greatest name here is of course Cari Otfried Müller (1797-1840), whose *Antiquitates Antiochenae* (Göttingen 1839), the first modern work on the city and one of the earliest and best of the monographs on ancient cities, represented an astonishing achievement (Downey, 1961: 44).

Müller had never visited the site, which in those days was difficult and dangerous to access, but through careful study of ancient texts and travellers' accounts he was able to reconstruct the plan of the city. Müller's collection of texts represented in his time an enormous amount of patient material, and his work has been and remains the basis of all research on the subject, and all scholars interested in any aspect of the history of Antioch will always be indebted to him. In 1896, from 18 to 29 March, Richard Förster of Breslau visited Antioch, carefully inspecting the site and taking photographs of inscriptions, statues and other antiquities he could find. His long article "Antiochia am Orontes", dedicated to the memory of C. O. Müller, is an expansion and continuation of Müller's book and provides a wealth of information and keen observation. Förster's interest in Antioch was based on his preparations for a new edition of Libanius' works, which began to be published in 1903; and Förster was indebted to all students of Antioch for providing this edition (Downey, 1961: 44).

Sometime before 1927 Wilhelm Weber visited the site and as a result published a study on various problems connected with the chronicle of Malalas. This work bore fruit in the edition of the Malalas Books ix-xii published by Weber's student Alexander Schenk Graf von. Stauff Fenberg in 1931. Finally, it would be appropriate to mention the work of Lt. Col. Paul Jacquot, Antioche, Centre de Tourisme, published in Antioch in 1931, in which a large amount of material, including illustrations, sketches and maps, is conveniently brought together. The work covers Antakya and its environs and is a useful source of practical information based on the author's close acquaintances made during his military service there (Downey, 1961: 44-45).

SECOND SECTION

THE FOUNDATION OF ANTIOCH AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SELEUCUS I

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

Antioch was one of the four "sister cities" of the Seleucids, identified by Strabo-Antakya, Seleucia Pieria, Apamea, and Laodicea by the Sea. A harmonious plan and archaeological evidence, noted below, suggest that at least two of the cities, Antioch and Laodicea, were either planned by the same architect or followed the same general specifications in their design. Seleucia Pieria was originally the Seleucid royal headquarters and capital in north-western Syria, but it was soon eclipsed by Antioch and the other cities of the tetrapolis. When these four cities were built, they formed part of the practical Seleucid colonisation plan for the military purpose of ensuring that the establishment of cities inhabited by Macedonians and Greeks would secure the dominance of Macedonian power in the conquered lands; and in this plan the four cities in north-western Syria played a vital role (Downey, 1961: 54).

According to Libanius, however, the plan for the foundation of Antioch did not originate with Seleucus Nicator, but with Alexander the Great himself. After defeating Darius at the Battle of Issus (October 333 BC), Alexander set out for Phoenicia! On the way (Libanius says) he stopped at a point east of the future Antioch, on the side of a mountain where there was an extraordinary spring of fresh water. Drinking it and saying that it resembled his mother's milk, he named the spring Olympias and built a fountain there. Seeing the beauty of the region, Libanius

continues, Alexander wanted to build a city there, but was prevented from doing so by the necessity of continuing his campaign. However, he made a start by building the temple of Zeus Bottiaios and a fortress (akra) named Emathia after the Bottiaei, who lived in the region called Emathia Alexander's homeland in Thrace. Malalas mentions a village (kome) called Bottia on the plain near the Orontes, "opposite Iopolis", where Seleucus later founded Antioch. Emathia is probably a fortification on the mountainside (Downey, 1961: 54-55).

Whether Alexander actually visited the neighbourhood of the future city of Antioch is disputed. The tradition of his visit and the plan for the foundation of the city may represent an aetiological legend designed to glorify the origin of Antioch, much like the legend of the colonisation of Lopolis, which was clearly a particularly local invention. There is reason to believe that the temple of Zeus, supposedly founded by Alexander, was in fact built by Seleucus Nicator at the foundation of the city. Moreover, Antioch would have liked to have had as great a reputation as the cities officially founded by Alexander, and a legend of this kind could easily have been concocted; every city in Syria would have been happy to boast of Alexander's visit. The Antioch region, however, lay on a route which he could easily have followed on his march from Issus to Phoenicia, and the placing of a small Macedonian colony and garrison at such a strategic point would have been consistent with his actions elsewhere in similar circumstances. As for his plan to build a city there and make it his capital after he had completed his campaigns, we have only the word of Libanius, who may have been over-enthusiastic on this point (Downey, 1961: 55).

Traditions Concerning the Foundation; Site Selection; Antigonia and Seleucia Pieria

There are different traditions concerning the actual foundation of Antioch. The most complete surviving accounts are those of Libanius and Malalas, and given that the authors were themselves Antiochenes, they can be considered to represent the local "official" tradition of the city's origin. Malalas' account appears in the *Chronicle*, written in the sixth century after Christ, in which the history of Antioch plays a major role. The historian's knowledge of his beloved city was ultimately largely derived from local official records and is therefore of great value, despite Malalas' careless, sometimes incomprehensible, use of his sources. 11 The story of Libanius is told in his famous speech in praise of Antioch, written in 356 or 360 AD for distribution at the local Olympic games. The tradition repeated by these authors, however, is that Diodorus is referring to Antigonus's defence of Antioch in a region not far removed from the future location of Antioch in BC. Also in this context, recently analysed numismatic evidence sheds light on the origin of Antioch. Long before Libanius and Malalas, long before the founding of Seleucia Pieria in B.C.E., with some details easily obscured, which diminishes the luminosity of Antioch's origins because they give a place of honour to the founding of Seleucia Pieria (Downey, 1961: 56).

According to Malalas, the basic facts of the foundation are that after defeating Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus in August 301 BC, Seleucid, who wanted to establish cities, built his first foundation on the coast of Syria, where Xantikos were located. (April 300 BC) founded Seleucia Pieria, which he named after himself. He then went to Iopolis and celebrated a festival in honor of Zeus Keraunios on Artemisios, the first day of the following month. He then went to Antigonia, the city that his enemy had previously founded (Malalas actually says that the war between

Antigonus and Antigonus was ridiculous). and Seleucus prayed that he would give Zeus a sign to show whether he would invade this city, change its name, or build a new city elsewhere as the reason for his opposition to the founding of Antigonía. The signal was given, and it gave him the order to build the Antioch of the future, not far away. The new city, like the other fifteen cities founded by Seleucus, was named in honor of Antiochus, the father of Seleucus. The founding ceremony of Antioch took place in Artemisios in the twelfth year of Seleucus' reign (May 300 AD.). Almost exactly one month after the founding of Seleukeia. Seleucus completely destroyed Antigonía and used the salvaged material in the construction of Antioch. He also transferred the people of Antigonía to his new city (Downey, 1961: 56).

Libanius' information is less full. It does not mention the founding of Seleukia, or the question of whether Seleucus should invade Antigonía or establish a new city elsewhere. Libanius describes the sacrifice made to Zeus in Antigonía and the sign that led the king to build in Antioch; It records the destruction of Antigonía and the deportation of its inhabitants to Antioch. Finally, he clearly says that Seleucus made Antioch his capital. The fact that the question about the founding of Seleukia and the possible invasion of Antigonía is not included in this version suggests that this tradition was designed to emphasize the primacy of Antioch among the Seleucus cities (Downey, 1961: 57).

Malalas' version that the foundation of Seleukeia took precedence over that of Antioch is less carefully regulated in this respect. In reality, the course of events was quite different. It seems clear that Seleucus' original intention was to make Seleucia Pieria his capital, and there is good reason to believe that during his reign the city remained, at least nominally, as the Seleucid capital in western Syria. A passage in Plutarch shows that the city, which was located in the same place before Seleucia Pieria, was founded by

Antigonus between 315 and 313 BC. Itself. Alexander's other successors named their capitals after themselves (e.g., Lysimachia; Cassandria; The previous capital of Seleucus was Seleucia on the banks of the Tigris), and if Seleucus named a city for himself immediately after his success at the battle of Ipsus, we should do so too. He concluded that he planned to make it a new capital (unless there was a good reason to believe otherwise). It should also be noted that Malalas, after the victory of Seleucus over Antigonus, openly said that he was the first of the foundations of the Seleucids, and it is logical to assume that he would devote this honor to his new capital. The emergence of the mints of Seleucia, Pieria and Antioch during the reign of Seleucus I also provides important evidence. Coins minted primarily at Seleucia Pieria indicate that Seleucus moved the Antigonian mint (both personnel and equipment) directly to Seleucia. Seleucia. It would be natural to find a mint already in operation in the capital of your defeated enemy! for him to set up this mint in his own new capital. Since Antioch was founded only a month after Seleucia, if Seleucus had a plan to make Antioch his new capital, it seemed likely that the mint would have been moved there instead of the port (especially since Antioch was closer to Antigonian). Moreover, the mint of Seleucia Pieria produced more varieties than the mint of Antioch during the reign of Seleucus I, and silver production in Seleucia Pieria was greater than that of Antioch until 285 BC. The monarch, wherever he died, was buried in his capital; Seleucus was buried in Seleucia Pieria in a temple ("Nikatorion") built in his honor by his son. An official born in Seleucia Pieria is quoted as stating that in 219 BC Seleucia Pieria was the "chief city and almost sacred hearth" of the Seleucid Empire (Downey, 1961: 58).

This evidence is supported by the statement of Diodorus (20-47.5-6) in his brief account of the foundation of Antigonus' capital, Antigonian (118 BC, 2 = 307/6): It is not possible for the city to survive for long, since Seleucus destroyed it and transferred

its inhabitants to the city built by him, which he named Seleukeia for himself." Since this statement contradicted the accounts of Libanius and Malalas, who wrote that Seleucus had settled the inhabitants of Antigonía in Antioch, scholars assumed that there was a confusion in Diodorus' information, and his editors corrected the text to match this text. The tradition of the writers of Antioch. However, there is nothing incredible in Diodorus' words. If Seleucia was an earlier organization and was intended to be the capital, it would have been natural for Seleucus to transfer the inhabitants of the capital of his defeated enemy to his new capital instead of Antioch. It is possible to think that some of the people of Antigonía were taken to Seleukeia, and some to Antioch (as Libanius and Malalas say); but in any case, the fact that Diodorus, who had no share in this matter, only had information about the transfer to Seleucia, indicates that, according to the information he has, the port was the new capital of Seleucus. It is easy to understand why none of this is found in the works of the writers of Antioch. As a matter of fact, they were hardly guilty of outright lying in the case of Seleucia; they were only guilty of secretly omitting information that did not really concern Antioch from a patriotic point of view. Moreover, Seleucia was only the port of Antioch in their time, occupying a relatively insignificant position, and its initial primacy could easily be overlooked. No one in Antioch could dispute Libanius' categorical statement that Seleucus had made Antioch his capital, and the orator clearly thought it safe to ignore Seleucia's sentiments. Our sources, in their efforts to magnify the significance of Seleucus' activities, are guilty of misrepresentation on another point. Antigonía could not have been literally destroyed, for a passage in Dio Cassius indicates that it existed in 51 BC. There are other examples where a city absorbed by a new foundation or replaced by a new foundation is said to be "demolished", but in reality it is not physically demolished, only

the new police are relegated to the status of a kome. It is clear that this is also the case with Antigonía (Downey, 1961: 59).

It will be enlightening to examine the reasons for the establishment of Antigonía and Antioch and their relationship with Seleucia Pieria. Although Antigonus founded a port in the region of Seleucia Pieria between 315 and 313 BC, a few years before he built Antigonía, it is clear from the name of the city that Antigonía intended to be his own capital. The city was located about 8 km (about 5 ml) northeast of the Antioch region, within a triangle of land bordered to the north by the lake then called Lake Antioch, and to the south by the lake called Lake Antioch. Next to the winding path of the Orontes river to the east and the Arceutha river (supposedly, also known as the modern Black Water), which flows through the lake into the Asi in the west, there is a rectangular plateau about 4 km long here. 3 km, stretching from one river to another. Although the average height above sea level is 100 m. in width, a height of 158 m. is reached at one point. This keeps the plateau considerably higher than sea level. rivers and the surrounding plain with an altitude of less than 50 m above sea level This area is admirably suitable for defense and has a convenient location in relation to the Orontes River (Downey, 1961: 60).

Antigonus' chosen place was at the center of his vast kingdom. Adapted to ensure equally effective communication with all parts of the country, it will also serve as a base for possible operations against Egypt, the lands on the banks of the Euphrates or Greece. It is noteworthy that Antigonus did not decide to use the port at the mouth of the Orontes River as his headquarters, preferring an area of about 30 km. inland, but still on the river. When Antigonus was defeated at Ipsus, his kingdom was divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus I. Seleucus, who had already controlled Babylon, now conquered Syria and Mesopotamia, ruling over a kingdom that was both heterogeneous and widespread.

Recent events and the state of Aegean politics made it clear that his headquarters should be in the western part of his new kingdom, where Antigonus was also the capital. The Macedonian element was naturally stronger on the coasts of Syria than inland, and the Greek heritage could best be preserved there and spread from this region. All these factors would cause Seleucus to abandon Seleucia on the Tigris, where he had established his headquarters before Ipsus, and to establish his new capital in the northwestern corner of Syria, giving up the alternative of establishing his new capital in Mesopotamia, where he had lost it. A large part of the Greek and Macedonian sources appreciated, and he became primarily the successor of the Persian kings. The main reasons why Seleucus chose the region of Seleucia Pieria as their new capital were probably that this region was superior in terms of communication in the first place. and trade, because it was located directly on the sea (it had one of the best ports in the Eastern Mediterranean) and, secondly, that the acropolis in the area was almost impregnable. But at the same time, it is clear that Seleucia Pieria could not meet the optimal requirements of a Seleucid capital. The control of the land routes that met around Lake Antioch and connected Asia Minor, the Euphrates, and southern and central Syria was of primary importance, and Seleucia Pieria could not serve this purpose. It therefore seems necessary to establish a second city further inland, which would play a secondary role as a kind of outpost of the capital, Seleucia Pieria. Seleucus undoubtedly had this in mind when he decided to build a city on the site of Antioch. The example of Antigonus establishing Antigonis as his capital could only serve to emphasize the importance of the country around Lake Antioch; however, the decision to build on the site of Antioch instead of capturing Antigonis was not a very happy one; It even turned out to be a big mistake in some respects (Downey, 1961: 61).

The reasons that led Seleucus to invade Antigonía and build a new city are quite obvious. The establishment of a new capital would give Seleucus a prestige that the occupation of the capital of his defeated enemy could not provide, and the destruction of Antigonía would be a gesture of power and glory that would not fail to impress both his subjects and his rivals. He also felt that by winning he could probably make an improvement over his predecessor's choice. In addition to these, there were also practical considerations in which the unrivaled water supply could be the most prominent. Although we do not know how well Antigonía is positioned in this respect, the supply is 6 km. It is provided by the springs of Daphne in the distance. It was a magnificent place south of Antioch and probably superior to anything Antigonía could have reached. While Daphne herself is not a good place for a city, the abundance and purity of its water could have led a thoughtful planner to try to place a new city at the nearest convenient spot, where Antioch was, of course. The fertility and magnificent beauty of Antioch's immediate surroundings may have been taken into account, especially Daphne, which was a recurring theme of ancient writers. Also, this place may have probably been considered a more preferred destination. The Orontes river and its distance to the sea are greater than Antigonía. Antigonía was about 30 km. from the sea Antioch was about 22 km. The journey to Antakya, which is above the sea, took about a day. However, it was still far enough from the shore in terms of safety. A messenger traveling quickly could make a round trip between Antioch and Antioch. One morning he arrived at Seleucia Pieria,³⁹ but it took almost a day for a group of troops to move from Seleucia Pieria to Antioch, where they arrived in the evening (Downey, 1961: 62-63).

However, there are two situations that make Antakya unfavorable. Of course, we have no way of knowing whether these were appreciated by Seleucus and his advisors, and how much they were taken into account, as well as the site's attractions. First of all,

it will be seen that the city suffers from the effects of torrential winter rains, which fall regularly from October to April, dragging large amounts of soil down the slope of the mountain and sometimes flooding the flat parts of the region. Lie along the river. The severity of this current from the mountain can be measured by the astonishing depth with which the remains of ancient buildings are now buried; It needs to be dug up in places. Soil before reaching the ancient ruins. The flood that flowed down the slope of the mountain, called Parmenius, carried a large amount of water, but it had to be carefully channeled and delimited to prevent it from flooding the city; Excavations unearthed the remains of two large stone vaults at the intersection of the city's main street, probably built over the stream during the Hellenistic period. Other engineering measures and constant vigilance must have been necessary to protect the city from this inevitable scourge (Downey, 1961: 63-64).

But the more serious disadvantage of the region is that the structure of Mount Silpius makes it extremely difficult to fortify and defend Antioch. It was apparently captured by the Persians many times, quite easily. The source of the difficulty is that the side of the mountain facing the city is rugged and steep, while the side away from the city has a relatively light and easily climbable slope. It seems that during the time of the Seleucids, only the parts of the city along the river were surrounded by walls. Transporting the stones was a difficult and expensive task, and it seemed that it was decided to take the risk that the top of the mountain would be outside the walls. There must have been a castle on top of the mountain, but it was so difficult to access and so far from the city that it was unlikely to serve as a shelter during a siege as the castle at Beroea did. Having captured the top of the mountain, the enemy would be able to dominate the city even without capturing the fortress. The Romans enlarged the wall to run along the top of the mountain, and while this had the effect of securing the top of the

mountain, it also greatly increased the length of the wall, which was supposed to be manned (Downey, 1961: 64-65).

Due to its disadvantageous location under Mount Silpius, Antioch was not much different from Priene, also located under a high mountain. Priene, like Antioch, is magnificent, but the defense of the city made it necessary to build a wall of enormous length, and despite this, the city was exposed to great danger, since it was impossible to cover all these heights with a wall. It dominates the city. Since Priene was rebuilt in the fourth century BC. The fact that it was founded on the site of an insignificant town, where there was an indigenous village or villages, as in Antioch, represents to some extent a deliberate choice, and we can only conclude that the planners of these two cities were so. They were apprehensive about taking advantage of the sites and were ready to risk the drawbacks they contained (Downey, 1961: 65).

It is difficult to understand why Antioch was not placed on the flat plain across the river. In this case, it could have been provided with sufficient walls, which, due to their size, did not impose an undue burden on the defenders. Water may have been brought by aqueducts from fountains to the north and west; In fact, there are traces of aqueducts that feed this region. Presumably, this area was rejected because Daphne was on the opposite side of the river and such a location required the extension of aqueducts over the water (Downey, 1961: 65).

All of these considerations (although some of them represent wisdom after the event) make it seem difficult to understand why Seleucus rejected Antigonia and chose instead to build a new city at Antioch, even though it was incomparably superior in circumstance. Since the site of Antigonia was larger than the original Seleucid settlement in Antioch, the area was not taken into account, and it would have been possible to expand

Antigonía to a fairly large size using the sub-ground around the plateau, as was done in the 1950s (Downey, 1961: 65-66).

Perhaps the answer to all these questions can be found in the staggering number of cities that Seleucus founded or re-established in his new kingdom: seventy-five according to Pausanias of Damascus, fifty-nine according to Appian. When cities had to be planned and built, it was perhaps inevitable that in some cases the site would not be carefully examined before a decision was made. Moreover, the region of Seleucia Pieria, chosen by Seleucus, is the site of two Greek trading settlements (modern Al Mina and Sabouni; possibly ancient Posidium) that previously existed at the mouth of the Orontes. Archaeological evidence suggests that when Seleucus founded Seleucia Pieria, he transplanted the inhabitants of Mina-Sabouni to the new city (Downey, 1961: 66).

After Seleucus' death, Seleucia ceased to be the capital and was replaced by Antioch. As noted, Seleucus was buried in Seleucia, suggesting that the harbour was still regarded as the capital at the time of his death. The activity of the mints of Seleucia Pieria and Antioch suggests that the transfer of the capital was made by Antiochus I (280/1-261 BC). As seen above, during the reign of Seleucus I, the mint of Seleucia Pieria minted more types of coins than the mint of Antioch, and silver production was higher than that of Antioch until at least 285 BC. With the reign of Antiochus I, the situation reversed and the production of Antioch became much more important, while the mint of Seleucia Pieria was reduced to a minor role. On the basis of this evidence, enough coins have been found to make it reasonably certain that Antioch was the capital at that time. This move was logical since Seleucus had no fleet and Seleucia had to be the capital. was subjected to more attacks from the sea than necessary (Downey, 1961: 66).

The Founding of Antioch Seleucid City

The local version of the founding ceremonies of Antioch is, as has been seen, carefully recorded by Malalas and Libanius⁵⁵ and, in addition, there is an anonymous Arabic account of the foundation and construction of the new city, although it contains much else. As a result of the traditional exaggerations and legendary tales characteristic of such accounts, it can be said to be based on a factual account.⁵⁸ According to Malalas, Seleucus travelled to the region of Seleucia Pieria and on the 23rd of Xanthikos (April 300 BC) offered a sacrifice to Zeus on Mount Zeus. Casius asks where he should found his city. An eagle seized the meat of the sacrifice and carried it to the site of the 'old city', thus pointing to the place where Seleucia Pieria should be founded. After founding and naming the city, Seleucus travelled to Lopolis to express his gratitude, and three days later, at the beginning of Artemisios (May), he offered a sacrifice to Zeus Keraunios in the temple of that deity at Lopolis. Following this, Malalas continues as follows: Seleucus travelled to Antigonion to offer sacrifices to Zeus at the altars built by Antigonos; he asked the priest Amphion for a sign to tell him whether to invade Antigonion and change its name or to build another city elsewhere. Again an eagle took the sacrificial meat, this time to Bottia, thus revealing that it was the divine will that the new city should be founded at that spot. Thus Seleucus reigned on 22 Artemisios (May), in the twelfth year AD, in the first hours of the day (Downey, 1961: 67-68).

He named the city after his father Antiochus and immediately began the construction of a temple to Zeus Bottios (or Bottiaios). Antioch (like Seleucia) was founded under the patronage of Zeus, since this god was recognised as one of the two founders of the Seleucid dynasty. The other patron god Apollo, known as the father of Seleucus, was honoured with the dedication of the famous temple in the suburb of Daphne (Downey, 1961: 68).

Malalas writes that the city of Seleucus was built on the site of the village of Bottia, ‘on the flat part of the valley, opposite the mountain, near the river’ (200.10-15). According to historian records, Seleucus chose this location to avoid the waters of Mount Silpius and the winter floods that flowed there. Seleucus' settlement seems to have been located mainly in the northern part of the present city, along the banks of the river. It would have been natural to begin the construction of the city on the banks of the river, which would have formed one of the city's main links with Seleucia Pieria and the inland cities; the location of the Seleucid agora is likely to have been the market area or bazaars of the present city. The location of the main commercial activity of the original city can be expected to remain unchanged as long as there is a continuity of such activity, and it is not surprising that the original agora of Dura, Aleppo and Damascus continue to be used in this way, the modern bazaars along the river being located in the area of the Seleucid market place (Downey, 1961: 69).

An idea of the size of the agora at Antioch can be obtained from the known size of the agora at Dura, which was built at about the same time as the agora at Antioch: The agora at Dura measures 159.79 m. 147.13 m., covering an area of 23,510 m², which, excluding the citadel, is about five percent of the total area of the city. By the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BC), either because the original agora was deemed insufficient or because there had been a change in the center of commercial and municipal life, a new agora appears to have been located in Epiphania, the new quarter of the city founded by this king. Libanius gives a traditional picture of the city plan, with elephants placed to mark the positions of the towers on the city walls and streets lined with wheat. The appearance of the ancient streets, whose traces of the trackway are clearly preserved in the plan of the modern city, suggests that the city was originally built according to the grid plan named after Hippodamus of Miletus, and that this plan was used in

most of the cities founded or rebuilt after the time of Hippodamus of Miletus. Alexander (Downey, 1961: 69).

The layout of the streets is in close agreement with the Hellenistic plans of Beroea (Aleppo), Dura-Europus, Damascus, Apamea and Laodicea, all of which were either Seleucid foundations or Seleucid colonies recently rebuilt. It is of particular interest to find that the islets at Antioch are almost the same size as Laodicea-ad-mare, founded by Seleucus I. According to Malalas, it was created after Antioch. The one-meter difference in size may have been due to differences in the size and shape of the spaces (Downey, 1961: 70).

The orientation of the streets in Antioch shows that care was taken to orient them to the sun in both summer and winter, and to the prevailing wind blowing from the sea into the valley in summer. This helped to keep the city relatively cool and pleasant during the hot season of the Orontes. As mentioned earlier, Strabo's description of the foundation of the tetrapolis suggests that their construction represented a plan to connect sea ports to inland cities. Moreover, the correspondence between the size of the islets at Antioch and Laodicea suggests that these two cities were at least designed by the same architect (figures are missing for Apamea and not available for Seleucia Pieria). In any case, Antioch was typical of what has been called "the mass production of new Hellenistic cities realized under Alexander and his successors". Evidence of the transformation of the city (according to Malalas) that took place during the reign. Tiberius' remains, together with evidence from excavations, show that the inner (eastern) wall of the Seleucid settlement extended along what became the main street of the city when it was paved and lined with monumental porticoes in Roman times. Hellenistic pottery found along this street suggests that it was a slum area during the Seleucid period. Our knowledge of the plans of other Seleucid foundations suggests that they were built

with linear walls as far as possible, and it seems safe to conclude that this was also the case for Antioch (Downey, 1961: 71).

The fortress on the top of Mount Silpius must have been an important feature of the Seleucid foundation. While there is no specific literary or archaeological evidence for such a fortress, the presence of fortresses at other major Seleucid sites suggests that there is little doubt that there was a fortress at Antioch (Downey, 1961: 71).

The main public buildings built by Seleucus must have been grouped around the agora; it can be assumed that the temple of Zeus Bottios (or Bottiaios), which Malalas says Seleucus built when he founded the city, stood on the agora. Our scanty sources for this period do not allow us to mention other public buildings, but in comparison with other Hellenistic foundations, whose plans have been fully or partially recovered, it can be assumed that Seleucus planned other temples, baths, and the necessary administrative and military facilities. A palace in the generally accepted sense of the word could not be built, as the royal residence in the Hellenistic period was not a distinct type of building specifically designed for the use of the ruler and his court, but only a palace. It was a private residence of the then customary type, perhaps enlarged and improved, but no different from any other house.⁸⁰ We do not know whether Seleucus built a bouleuterion (Downey, 1961: 72).

The anonymous Arabic account of the founding of the city states that Seleucus built two granaries raised on arches to ensure the city's grain supply. There is no reference in our scanty sources to a theater in Antioch at the time of its foundation. but it seems hard to believe that the builders of the city could not have provided it. it would probably have been built outside the city of Seleucus, on the slope of the mountain that provided many excellent locations. There is no reference in our sources to the water source

of the original foundation. There were springs on the mountainside that could have been used and reservoirs could have been built there. Moreover, it is likely that Seleucus' engineers built an aqueduct to bring the famous water of Daphne to the city. There was a sewage system that emptied into the Asi River (Downey, 1961: 72). We have no specific evidence for a stadium in Antioch, either under Seleucus or his successors. One might think that a city of Antioch's aspirations would necessarily have had a stadium or hippodrome. However, the earliest such structure of which we have heard is the one on the island in the Orontes, which was built in 195 BC, and if this was indeed the first circus in Antioch, the stadium at Daphne, which apparently existed in 195 BC, would be the only one in existence before the close of the Seleucid period. Although we have no record of this, it is assumed that Seleucus, in addition to covering the cost of public buildings, provided financial assistance and land for the new settlers to build their houses. Seleucus is recorded to have erected many statues. The best known of these is the Tyche of the city, probably erected in 296-293 BC by Eutykhides of Sikyon, a student of Lysippus, for Antioch. The bronze statue shows the robed goddess seated on a rock representing Mount Silpius, supporting herself on the rock with her left hand and holding a sheaf of wheat in her right. The turreted crown on her head represented the city wall, and at her feet the body of a youth or river god symbolized the Orontes (Downey, 1961: 73).

“When Tyche was associated with a city, she was seen as its protector, and the addition of Mount Silpius and the Asi symbols served to make the goddess also the personification of Antioch. Tyche was also thought to be the protector of the city, the king, and in this respect the goddess was also considered the protector of the city. The conception of Tyche embodied by Eutykhides became popular among Hellenized Eastern cities, largely because it integrated qualities of success. She is associated with the eastern

mother goddess (Ba'alat), whose qualities of fertility and prosperity are also associated with the Greek figures of Tyche (Downey, 1961: 73-74).

The marble statuette in the Vatican is probably the closest surviving copy of Eutykhides' work. There is no direct evidence for how the statue was erected, but it seems likely that it was placed in a tetracionion, like the statue of Antigonía Tyche that Seleucus erected in the city (Downey, 1961: 74-75).

Zeus and Apollo were the founders and protectors of the Seleucid dynasty; Apollo is said to be the father of Seleucus I, and Seleucus is officially identified with Zeus and his son Antiochus with Apollo. Seleucus is said to have erected a statue of Zeus Keraunios in Antioch (Downey, 1961: 75).

"This may have been placed in the temple of Zeus Keraunios at Iopolis, supposedly built by Perseus, where Seleucus offered sacrifices before the foundation of Antioch. The temple itself may have been built by Seleucus, and the legend that it was built by Perseus and that Seleucus offered sacrifices there before the foundation of the city are legends to be invented at a later date. The statue of Zeus Keraunios, probably commissioned by Seleucus, was sent from Antioch to Rome (along with the statue of Athena mentioned below) during the reign of M. Calpurnius Bibulus as governor of Syria (51-50 BC) (Downey, 1961: 76).

Two other statues commemorated the events surrounding the founding of the city. One was a stone figure erected outside the city in honor of the eagle of Zeus, who showed Seleucus where the city was to be built. The other was a marble statue of Amphion, the priest who helped Seleucus in his sacrifices; this was placed outside the gate, later known as the Romanesque Gate. To commemorate the destruction of the enemy capital, and also as a gesture of friendship to the inhabitants of Antigonía whom he had brought to Antioch, Seleucus placed in Antioch a bronze statue of Tyche of Antigonía,

shown holding the horn of Amalthea in front of her. Malalas says that this statue was placed “high up” in a tetracelion and that there was a high altar in front of it. Likewise, Seleucus erected a large bronze statue of Athena to meet the religious needs of the Athenians he brought from Antiochia. This statue was sent to Rome (along with the previously mentioned statue of Zeus Keraunos) when M. Calpurnius Bibulus was governor of Syria (51-50 BC). Those who came from Antiochia also erected a bronze statue of Seleucus with bull horns attached to his head, referring to the king's famous power to restrain a wild bull. Seleucus' subjects worshipped Athena and were protected by Zeus and Apollo, symbolizing the unity realized among the people of Antiochia; some coins minted by Seleucus I in Antioch show Athena and Apollo on both sides of the same coin. Another episode in Seleucus' career was remembered by a statue he placed outside the city, opposite the Asi River, showing a horse's head with a gilded helmet at its side. Malalas says the group bears the inscription “Seleucus fled from Antigonos and was rescued; he returned and captured him and destroyed him”. The statue may have been erected three miles from Antiochia at a place later called Hippocephalum (Downey, 1961: 76-77).

Size, Plan, Population and Administration of the Seleucid City

According to Malalas, Seleucus built his original settlement on a flat area near the river. Since it is natural to place the city on the banks of the Asi River, this location is what we should expect. The use of the river both as a means of transportation and as an element in the fortification of the city. As mentioned earlier, the presence of a modern bazaar area on the banks of the river suggests that this was the location of the agora. In some other cities of Syria, bazaars are known to represent ancient marketplaces, and it would be natural to locate the agora on the river. Strabo's description of Antioch suggests that the original Seleucid settlement consisted of

a walled structure. One quarter for the European settlers and another quarter for the native Syrians (walled or un-walled). The European quarter must have been along the river; that the Syrian quarter was likewise on the river is evident not only from Malalas' statement quoted above, but also from later additions to the city by Seleucus II (246-226 BC) and Antiochus 111 (223 BC -187 BC), then by Antiochus IV (175-164 BC) and finally by the Romans, all of whom built either on the island in the Orontes or on the mountainside, suggesting that the section along the river was already fully built (Downey, 1961: 78).

The approximate boundaries of the Seleucus settlement can be determined quite satisfactorily. It seems unlikely that the settlements extended north or south of the walls of Tiberius; their course at these points is known from the preserved remains. The eastern boundary seems to be indicated by the course of what later became the main colonnaded street of the city. This street was described as "outside the city" when it was laid out in the time of Augustus, which seems to imply that it led outside the walled part of the city. Moreover, the street runs just outside the walled part of the city. The first slopes of Mount Silpius begin to rise from the flat ground along the river (Downey, 1961: 78).

The outer boundaries of the Seleucid settlement can thus be established fairly reliably. There is no specific evidence for a division between the walled quarter of the Europeans and that of the natives, but it seems possible that this division was marked by the course of the colonnaded street (we know from Libanius), which later ran between the main street and the river. Such a division would have given European settlers a walled territory of about 5 km. in circumference, containing about 370 acres (150 ha) and a local quarter of about 2.5 km. in circumference, containing about 185 acres (75 ha). The two quadrants together cover ca. 7.5 km. contains about 555 acres (225 hectares) (640 acres = 1 square

meter) in circumference. This area compares quite significantly with the areas of the other two members of the “sister cities” tetrapoly (Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Apamea and Laodicea) described by Strabo. In Antioch and Laodicea, as we have seen, the islands were almost identical in size, suggesting that the cities were designed by the same architect or to the same general specifications. Thus, the boundaries and measurements of the Seleucid foundation at Antioch, suggested here, seem to confirm the fact that Apamea had 250 hectares or about 260 acres, and Laodicea 220 hectares or about 543 acres. they were relatively large. It is interesting to find that the area of Antigononia, the enemy capital destroyed by Seleucus, was much larger than that of Antioch, the circumference of Antigonos' capital being about 12 km. These figures can only be approximate, as the irregular shape of the site makes it difficult to calculate from a map (Downey, 1961: 79).

The settlers include Athenians, Macedonians; 116 retired soldiers of Seleucus; some Cretans, Cypriots, Argives and Heraclians who had previously settled on Mount Silpius; inhabitants of Antigononia (identified as Athenians) whom Seleucus settled in his new territory in the city; and a number of Jews, some of whom were probably retired mercenaries from Seleucus' army. The historian Josephus, writing about the Jews in Antioch, claims that they were granted citizenship and special privileges by Seleucus Nicator, but this is probably an exaggeration, and it is more likely that individual Jews, as ex-soldiers, were granted these privileges if they enrolled in the citizen lists if they wished. Jews could not have been granted full citizenship privileges wholesale because that would have meant worshipping the city gods, which for a Jew would have meant apostasy, and at least many would not have taken that step.

Instead, the Jews in Antioch, like those in Alexandria, were undoubtedly living within their own community, with their own religious and political leaders; and they may have benefited from a form of isolation or potential citizenship, which means that a Jew could become a citizen on demand (Downey, 1961: 79-80).

The population also appears to include a group of indigenous Syrians who were not part of the demonstrations. This group was either allocated by Seleucus to a separate walled area adjacent to the main foundation (as mentioned earlier), or its members settled in an area outside Seleucus' foundation, initially without walls but later enclosed by a wall that connected to the wall of the structure. The original foundation formed the second of the four neighborhoods from which the city was ultimately formed. Thus, Antioch, in its ethnic composition, was typical of the Seleucid policy at the time of its founding to settle Macedonians and Greeks at strategic points in the newly conquered territories to ensure the security of the new regime. In later times, the people of Antioch seem to have been more proud of their Athenian ancestry (the original settlers of Antigonía transplanted to Antioch) than of their Macedonian roots (Downey, 1961: 80).

THE SITUATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ANCIENT SOURCES

Ancient sources do not provide much information about the Jewish community in Antioch. There are a few sources, although the information about them is mostly full of prejudices. The events concerning the Jews in Antioch are merely coincidental. One of the most important sources on the Jews is Josephus. In addition to the late Hellenistic period, he seems to be the only source that provides information on events from the Roman period to AD 71. Josephus' information is generally secondary (Bridge, 2017: 5). However,

there are sources based on him that state that the Jews of Antioch first settled in the region during the reign of Seleucus Nicator (Kraeling,1932:131). However, later sources such as Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaicae* and *Legatio ad Gaium* should be consulted for information on Jewish life in Antioch, how the community was organized and the level of adherence to the Mosaic Law. As for the situation of the Jews in Egypt, the writings of Philo are as important as Josephus. Kraeling states that the Jews were under a special council of elders in Antioch and that there was an executive committee under this council (Kraeling,1932:136).

Josephus states that in 71 AD, when Titus wanted to take measures regarding the expulsion of the Jews from Antioch and the revocation of their privileges, he was able to protect Jewish rights by linking them to the Alexandrian protocol. Titus' behavior was based on the fact that the Jews had been of great help to Titus and Vespasian in their war against the Romans and had not surrendered their weapons, even though they had suffered greatly in that war. This behavior of the Jews was rewarded by Titus and despite the Alexandrians, he did not touch their rights, but decided to preserve them (Josephus, 1967: 61-62). Josephus, while giving information about the privileges of the Jews in Antioch and Alexandria, mentions that these two protocols were the same (Bridge, 2017: 6). This can be taken as evidence that the organization of the Jewish community in both Antioch and Alexandria was the same (Kraeling,1932:137-138).

Another source that provides information about the Jews in Antioch is Barclay. His information is mostly related to the Phoenician coast and the Hellenistic cities in Palestine. This information includes a description of the Antiochene Jewish community, its status, privileges, and practices, as well as discussions about diaspora Jews(Bridge, 2017: 6).

Robinson, a follower of Kraeling, focuses on the time of Ignatius. The most well-known of the dictionary and encyclopedic articles is undoubtedly Zetterholm's entry on Antioch in Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism (Bridge, 2017: 6).

THE ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN ANTIOCH

Before Christianity, Antioch was a place where pagan communities and Jews lived together. This gave the city a special place in the New Testament. The city first became acquainted with Christianity with the arrival of the followers of the Prophet Moses, and shortly afterwards with the arrival of Paul and Barnabas, the preachers of a new religion that flourished within this community. As a result of this introduction, the followers of Jesus Christ, who had been ostracized by the Jews, took this city as their center after Jerusalem and Alexandria and made it one of the priority cities for evangelization. With this new religion, Antioch became one of the three centers of Christianity, competing with Alexandria in Egypt from the 300s AD.

After the adoption of Christianity, Antioch became one of the largest cities in the Roman Empire's province of Syria, both strategically and physically. In fact, the city became a center of various religions with its Greeks and Hellenized society. While Antioch was home to a pagan culture in which Greco-Roman gods were as popular as the gods of the ignorance period, it also assumed the role of being a strong representative of Judaism and Christianity. In this respect, Antioch became an increasingly important city for religious, commercial and political reasons. The city thus provided the most favorable conditions for the spread of Christianity (Bridge, 2017: 1).

The discovery of important synagogue inscriptions dated 391 AD reveals the existence of a thriving Jewish community in Antioch. The attractiveness of Judaism to some Gentiles in the Hellenistic period also made Antioch a fertile center for early Christian missions among the Gentiles. As a result, a thriving Jewish colony continued to exist in the city well into the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. Libanius in one of his discourses (in 388 AD or later) points to the presence of four generations of Orthodox Jewish tenants working their lands near Antioch. The presence of Jews in Antioch was sustained by their contacts with Arians and pagans, and the emphasis on monotheism during the Arian troubles led to the connection of many eminent rabbis with Antioch from the fourth century onwards (Downey, 1961: 447).

Judaism in Antioch continued to flourish under the rule of Theodosius. It is claimed that at least two synagogues were founded during this period, one in Antioch and one in Daphne. The Archisynagogos or head of the community in Antioch, named Ilasios, was wealthy enough to make significant financial contributions to the synagogue built for the community in Apamea in 391 AD. The tomb of Aidesios, the Gerousiarch of the Jewish community in Antioch, was found in Beth Shearim¹.

The Christian church itself, which emphasized continuity between the Old and New Testaments, also contributed to Christian interest. A situation in Judaism that some Christians find alarming. The Jews who suffered under the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes in

¹ The Gerousia (γερούσιᾶ) was the council of elders in ancient Sparta. Sometimes referred to in literature as the Spartan senate, it consisted of the two Spartan kings as well as 28 men over the age of sixty, known as gerontes. The Gerousia was a prestigious body with broad judicial and legislative powers that shaped Sparta's policies. The ancient Greeks thought that the Gerousia was created by the legendary Spartan legislator Lycurgus in his Great Rhetra, Sparta's constitution. Archival Sources (Population and Jizye Books) Research and Reviews (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerousia> (Erişim. 18.02.2024); Marcus Neibur Tod, "Gerousia", 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica, Volume 11 (Erişim. 18.02.2024).

Antioch, the tomb of the Maccabean martyrs, began to attract Christians because of the supposed power of these martyrs to provide miraculous healings, and the local Christian authorities did not like the interest shown by their people. They solved the problem by taking over the synagogue where the Maccabees were buried and converting it into a Christian temple (Downey, 1961: 448).

In effect, a cult of the Maccabees developed and they were considered equal to the Christian saints because of their suffering and sacrifice for the sake of a (Jewish) Law, which was a forerunner or first form of Christian law. Chrysostom preached many moving sermons about these saints, pointing out their courage and encouraging his hearers to imitate their virtues; he also used the Maccabees as examples of the essential connection between the Old and New Testaments and compared Eleazer to St. Peter (Downey, 1961: 448).

The Maccabean cult was not the only aspect of Judaism that attracted the Christians of Antioch. Jewish rituals, the solemnity of the feasts, fasting, miraculous cures supposedly performed by rabbis, and Jewish courts supposedly more just than secular courts, all tended to alienate Christians from their own religious observances, and Chrysostom preached a series of sermons in 386 and 387 AD, the first year of his ordination, in which he warned Christians about Jewish practices. Christian women, he said, were particularly prone to temptation. Jewish and Christian practices are not as similar as some Judaizing Christians think, Chrysostom said, and people can be drawn to Judaism, especially if they have neglected and failed to understand their own Christian faith and worship. There is no real evidence to show how many Christians participated in the practices Chrysostom described; in any case, we have not heard of any other Judaizing tendencies after Chrysostom's time. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the available

sources about the other side of the picture, namely the influence of Christianity on Jewish practices (Downey, 1961: 448-449).

THIRD SECTION

JEWISH COMMUNITY AND POPULATION STATUS IN ANTIOCH

BRIEF INFORMATION ABOUT THE CONGREGATION

Sources attribute the arrival of Jews in Antioch to their contribution to the Seleucid Wars. These sources include famous ancient writers such as Josephus and Hecataeus of Abdera. These sources say that Jews served in the armies of Alexander the Great, served in the legions, and thus began to settle in Antioch. Another ancient writer, Elephantine Papyri, claims that Jews made the same contribution to the Persians and even served in the region as soldiers of the Persian overlords (Bridge, 2017: 6-7).

Information about Jews serving as soldiers for empires at various times dates back to the pre-Hellenistic period (Kraeling, 1932:131). According to Josephus, the Jews in Antioch in the post-exilic period were at least trying to become citizens like the other nations, and since the founding of Antioch they even wore a sign that signified full citizenship (Bridge, 2017: 6). In contrast to Josephus' claim, Kraeling concludes that the Jews of Antioch were “organized as a distinct group within the local community” (Bridge, 2017: 6). Kraeling argues that, given the circumstances of Alexandria, the Jews of Antioch certainly belonged to the class of natives and foreigners, as Josephus claims, and were therefore not actual or potential citizens, and indeed were absolutely deprived of such status (Kraeling, 1932:138). Kraeling, on the other hand, argues that Josephus had some illusions about the rights of the Jews, and that there was not a genuine equality between them and other groups, but rather a different kind of tolerance that allowed for participation among the locals. For this reason, he states that

although the Jews were not legally Antiochians, they were referred to as Antiochenes, a term meaning those who lived in safety in Antioch (Kraeling,1932: 139).

This organization of Jews in Antioch was no different from the organizations in other cities (Kraeling,1932: 138). On the contrary, the formation of a Jewish organization in Antioch meant that the Jews gained the right to “obey their own laws” and thus to protect their religious individuality. However, the people of Antioch, dissatisfied with the Jews and especially with their religious freedom, demanded that Titus destroy the bronze tablets containing Seleucid laws protecting these rights (Kraeling,1932: 139).

Kraeling concludes that in this form of organization the leaders were the eldest and one of these elders was the head of the clan. He points out that both officials were members of a special executive council. Assuming that Paul and Barnabas appointed elders as leaders of the new churches of southern Galatia, this could be evidence that the communities there were led by elders (Bridge, 2017: 7).

The ancient sources indicate that the Jews of Antioch belonged to various professions. Professional records of the Jews of Antioch can be found as early as 100 AD. The oldest source that provides information on this subject is Josephus. He claims that during the time of Antiochus IV, some Jews were precious metal workers(Kraeling,1932: 133;Bridge, 2017: 7). Another insight to support this claim belongs to Downey. He states that the Jewish community in Antioch had disassociated themselves from the mercenary work they had carried on under Seleucus I as a result of Antiochus IV's policy towards the Jews, suggesting that the Jews had given up their warrior identity. It is even likely that they individually gained equal political rights. These rights, of course, also led to the abandonment of their religious beliefs and the

worship of the deities worshipped by the pagan culture in Antioch. According to Josephus, it is very doubtful that this gave them special privileges. It is likely that these Jews not only practiced their faith in secret, but also lived a semi-autonomous life within Greek society. This allowed them to have their own judicial system, their own laws, and their own personal rights. This was also adopted by Jews living in Alexandria and other Hellenistic cities (Downey, 1961: 107). This is confirmed by later sources, which indicate that Jews were gradually promoted from soldiers and laborers to merchants and shopkeepers. The rest of the Jews generally preferred farming. Even in the 12th century AD, there is evidence that Jews settled in and around Antioch were engaged in farming as well as glassblowing (Kraeling, 1932:133).

During the time of Antiochus IV, when there was a conflict between the Seleucid government and the Jews, the Jews took a close interest in Antioch. Because of this conflict, the Jewish community was divided into two distinct groups. One group strictly adhered to Jewish law and customs, while the other was the Hellenized “liberal” group, willing to adapt to the foreign culture that dominated them, at least in some external matters. When Antiochus IV ascended to the throne, he found the Jews in a series of troubles with which they had been previously embroiled. The first phase of this trouble took the form of the Jews becoming two rival groups, the Hellenized Oniads and the Tobiads. A second point of contention was the struggle between the Jews who supported the Ptolemies and those who saw their interests in supporting the Seleucids. The main point in this struggle was that the Jews who benefited from the Palestinian Revolt were trying to take advantage of the weak position of the Seleucid Empire after the defeat of Antiochus III to the Romans. The rebel Jews who led the Palestinian Revolt were undoubtedly supported by Rome, even though they received no material support. They were supporting the financial and political reunification of the Seleucid Empire in order

to overcome the prejudices and attacks against Judaism by appearing to stand by Antiochus IV in his struggle against Rome (Downey, 1961: 107). However, Antiochus IV was eventually forced to attack the Jewish religion directly. In the aftermath of this attack, he looted the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, took the sacred vessels and materials to Antioch, and dedicated the temple to Zeus Olympius. Behind the scenes of this war, Antiochus IV had the idea of making the Jews part of a united Hellenic state, and despite his best efforts, this dream was not realized until his death.

During these wars, the Jews of Antioch both appeared to favor Antiochus IV and secretly maintained their relations with Rome. This treachery of the Jews drove a wedge between them and the non-Jewish community in the city. The non-Jewish majority in the city was clearly not friendly towards the local co-religionists of the rebels in Palestine. Some of the Jews captured by the government forces were probably sent to Antioch. Their presence in the city did little to improve the situation of the local Jews. The Jews who saw it this way depicted Antioch as the capital of oppression and believed that this was where they spent their third year of captivity after Egypt and Babylon (Downey, 1961: 108).

As seen above, Downey persistently uses phrases in his work that suggest that Jews were indigenous in Antioch. In order to strengthen this thesis, he claims that the Jews in Antioch lived in a neighborhood of their own, that this neighborhood was located near the southwestern end of the city, that a synagogue was later built here, and that this synagogue was originally used as Keneseth Hashmunith (Downey, 1961: 109). He even went a bit further, claiming that the Jews of Antioch had actually settled near Daphne, as evidenced by the death of the former Jewish High Priest Onias III there, although excavations in 1932 proved that all of these claims were mere allegations (Downey, 1961: 109). Downey's insistence that the Temple of Apollo at Daphne was a refuge for

Onias immediately after he succeeded his brother and rival Jason should be seen as just one of his claims that Jews had a presence in Antioch (Downey, 1961: 110). Downey is so persistent in his claims that he even attributes to Antioch the story of the priest Eleazer and the seven Maccabean brothers and their mother who were executed by Antiochus IV. Although the martyrdom records of the 2nd and 3rd Maccabees indicate that the executions actually took place in Jerusalem and not in Antioch, his claim that the sources cited in this regard are unreliable stems from his assertion that Jews were present in Antioch. Although it has always been argued that there was a synagogue in Antioch, this synagogue should have contained the tombs of the Maccabean mother and sons and the priest Eleazer (Downey, 1961: 110). Downey, using a little imagination and a little fiction, argues that the building known today as the Habib-i Neccar Mosque, built on the ruins of a church, was in fact the first synagogue built after the destruction of the Second Temple in the time of Titus (70 AD) and that the temple eventually became a Christian church. Looking at this story, the fact that John and Paul and Habib-i Neccar are also found in the Habib-i Neccar Mosque's cemetery today is based on the fact that it matches the same number of role-players in this story (Downey, 1961: 110-111).

POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT IN ANCIENT THRACE

There are various opinions about the population of Jewish citizens in Antioch. According to Kraeling, based on the proportional figures of the Jewish population in Alexandria and Josephus' comments on the large number of Jews in Syria, the assumption that Antioch had a population of 500,000 people in the Roman period is a rather ambitious estimate of around 65,000 Jews. Again, sources such as Magnus Zetterholm make a similar claim, emphasizing that the Jewish population may have been

around 5% or 10% (Zetterholm, 2003: 41-53; Bridge, 2017: 7). However, although it does not seem possible to say that both Kraeling's and Zetterholm's population estimates can be very consistent, it can be said that Antioch was considered a center for the Palestinian and Babylonian Jews of the time (Kraeling, 1932: 132).

In spite of all this, although there are many claims about the excavations carried out in almost every part of Antioch in the 1930s when it was in the hands of the French, it is understood that the sole purpose of the excavations in Antioch was to find out whether there were ancient remains of Jews there. However, these excavations showed that Antioch was not a Jewish settlement, and the fact that neither a synagogue nor a synagogue was found here is clear evidence that this claim is groundless and unfounded. However, there are also sources that narrate rumors that Jews lived in Daphne in Antioch (Bridge, 2017: 8; Kraeling, 1932: 134-142).

The fact that Jewish sources are looking for evidence to prove that Jews were somehow indigenous in Antioch is understood to be a search for a basis for their claim that they were present in these lands in the past as well. In order to provide evidence for this claim, Jewish sources primarily focus on their relations with armies. They show evidence that they served in the armies of the Seleucids, one of these armies and the first founders of Antioch. The Jews point out that this gave them the right to citizenship of Antioch, and they claim that when they retired from these armies, they did not go elsewhere, but remained in the land of their citizenship and even gained the right to vote in the city council. However, despite this claim, there was another fact, and that was that for a long time they were not recognized as citizens, especially by the Macedonian Antiochians. For this reason, the Jews never felt safe from the Macedonians in Antioch. The distinction between Jews and other peoples actually began in the

time of Antiochus IV. The position of the Jews at this time was that of residents of Antioch but not yet considered citizens. According to Jewish sources, even though they were an unrecognized people, there was a certain amount of Jewish presence in Antioch, which seems to be evidence of this time of non-recognition. It is stated that the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes probably testifies to this fact, that there was a Jewish presence in Antioch, even though they did not enjoy any kind of legal privilege or protection under these circumstances (Kraeling, 1932:144-145).

Again, the sources state that the views that the reactions against the Jews in the Seleucid period stemmed from the period of war in Palestine are not correct, on the contrary, the issue of the transfer of the Jews captured by Lysias and Bacchides to Antioch was not welcomed by the local population and even reinforced the discontent of the local population. However, the political relations of the Jews of Palestine with the Seleucid dynasties affected the fate of the Jews of Antioch in two ways:

First, despite their defeat in the aftermath of this war, it gave rise to a new imperial benevolence, which began when the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes gave to the local Jewish synagogue all the brass votive offerings taken by Antiochus IV from Jerusalem.

Second, such behavior led to bad relations between local Jews and their neighbors. The most prominent example of such relations was Demetrius II's use of Jewish mercenaries to put down an uprising of the Antiochenes. The Jewish soldiers treated the population extremely badly during this war. This incident was not forgotten for a long time. Later, as the authority of the Seleucid dynasty began to wane, the local population began to openly mistreat the Jews. This antipathy prevented Alexander Jannaeus from recruiting Jewish mercenaries for the Syrian army

(Kraeling,1932:146-147). This also led to the weakening of the Syrian army and its inability to make an impact against Rome.

The fact that the Romans conquered Syria as a result of their campaigns in the East probably led to major changes in the situation of the Jews in Antioch. Now that both Palestine and Syria were under the control of a third power, the entrenched rivalry between the Jews and their neighbors effectively disappeared. While the Jews had little to be grateful to their neighbors for the mistreatment they had once suffered, they were certainly in a position to seek and find protection against fraud from the Romans' "allies". When Herod the Great, great in the eyes of the Roman authorities, saw fit to visit the city frequently in his royal wagons and to make generous gifts to the inhabitants, the prestige and personal importance of the local Jews was elevated to some degree. The point that was hardly reached before or after this point were the various stages of the rise in prestige that the pro-Roman Jews of Antioch experienced in this way. These were;

The first was an increase in wealth. Evidence of this wealth can be seen in the expensive offerings sent by the Jews of Antioch to the temple in Jerusalem and in the collections made in Antioch by the early Christians for the benefit of their brethren in Jerusalem during the famine under Claudius.

The second was the attraction to the Jewish synagogue of "many Greeks" who, as Josephus says, began to identify more or less closely with the Jewish religion as "God-fearers" or "mukhtadis". We know the name of at least one of these Greeks, Nikolaos, who later played a role in the Christian movement (Kraeling,1932:147).

The third was the penetration of Hellenistic culture into Jewish life and thought. This issue is best discussed in connection with the religious outlook of Antiochian Judaism, to be dealt with in another context. Suffice it to say here that if Book 4 of the

Maccabees is a product of Antioch, it is the sophisticated outlook and the author's style of playing with the frescoes depicting a memorial shrine for the Maccabean martyrs. Moreover, it could be said that his essays played a good role in loosening the prejudices of his conservatism. What we know of the Christian developments coming out of Antioch, and especially of the Jewish Christians and the Jewish Christians of that neighborhood, points in the same direction (Kraeling, 1932:147).

The period of prestige and prosperity that the Jews enjoyed in Antioch came to an end towards the middle of the first century. This end was in fact a consequence of the events that took place during the reign of Caligula. In the third year of Caligula's reign, Malalas describes a pogrom in Antioch in which many Jews were massacred. The cause of these massacres is said to have been clashes between the blue and green circus factions. Malalas' event involves a successful punitive expedition by the Nian Jews against the pagans of Antioch.

The impossibility of such an event in Roman times jeopardizes the value story as a whole. No matter how many mistakes the late historian makes in describing the details of the event - one of his favorite motifs is the clash of circus troupes - it is inherently unlikely that some untoward event took place at the time indicated. This is the necessary prelude to the development of Malalas' narrative, since it deals with a very precise and important date, the third year of Caligula. If we turn to Philo and Josephus and return to our general knowledge of the events during Caligula's reign, the position taken in relation to Malalas' report is confirmed and the importance of the date of the turmoil becomes clear (Kraeling, 1932:148).

Emperor Caligula ordered the erection of a statue of himself in the temple in Jerusalem. The decree was transmitted to Petronius, governor of Syria, who ordered half of the army to be

taken across the Euphrates. In carrying out the order, he took it to Judea. Petronius made the necessary preliminary arrangements, but thought it wise to avoid conflict if possible, and so summoned the priests and archons of the Jews to him, explained his orders and exhorted them to submission. The Jewish leaders burst into tears and tore their clothes and left in grief and despair. All this undoubtedly took place in the governor's residence in Antioch, and so the news of the desecration of the Temple would have first come to Antioch. It attracted the attention of the Jews in Antioch. Josephus' account of the event sheds light on subsequent developments. Petronius mentions the mobs of protesting Jews he encountered in Ptolemais and Tiberias on his way to Jerusalem to carry out Caligula's orders. This active opposition to the advance of the expedition, the presence of legions, is best understood as a continuation of a protest that began in Antioch, where the plan first emerged, and thus serves to confirm Malalas' account of a disturbance there in this third year of Caligula's reign. Indeed, if the disturbance at Antioch involved the use of force against protesting Jews, the nature of the protests at Ptolemais and Tiberias becomes much clearer. Another fact sheds light on what happened in Antioch. When in 41 AD. Claudius rejected Caligula's edict and issued a proclamation ordering the cessation of the pogroms in Egypt, and in the same document guaranteed the continuation of the privileges granted to the Jews there, a copy of this document was specially sent to Antioch (Kraeling, 1932:148-150). This testifies to the existence in Antioch of conditions similar to those in Egypt. The 40 AD panic was apparently followed by a period of relative calm for the Jews of Antioch, but this period was short-lived at best. According to Josephus, in 66 AD. 66 AD, the revolt of the Jews of Palestine against the Romans aroused violent animosity between Jews and Gentiles throughout Syria, splitting every city in Syria into camps that spent their days in bloodshed and their nights in terror. Only Antioch, Sidon and Apamea are said

to have spared their Jewish inhabitants and refused to kill or imprison a single person. Josephus explains the exception on grounds. That Antioch was full of “pity for people who showed no revolutionary intentions” is an apologetic compliment, as it was clearly undeserved by the pagans. Most likely, the presence and restraining influence of King Agrippa on the one hand, and the strong hand of Cestius Gallus as governor on the other, made it possible to maintain calm in Antioch in the face of almost universal (Kraeling, 1932:150).

Matters could not have remained in this status quo for very long. In the years immediately following 66 AD, events connected with the Jewish revolt also suddenly piled one on top of the other, provoking too much tension and suffering in any one region to allow even a forced peace between Jews and pagans to be prolonged. Josephus reports what are purported to be accounts of two separate sequences of events for Antioch. The first session is linked to the arrival of Vespasianus in Antioch in 67 AD. The second is linked to a major fire in Antioch in 70 AD, between the departure of Mucianus in late 69 AD and the early arrival of Caesarius Paetus. The first session, much more clearly depicted than the second, begins with a member of the Jewish community, Antiochus, denouncing the Jews in front of the assembled people. Antiochus said that the Jews' plan was to level the city overnight and commit general massacres. All those identified by Antiochus as guilty of the infamous plot were immediately burned to death in the theater. Shortly afterwards, we are told, a really big fire broke out in Antioch, destroying the square bazaar, the magistrate's office, the hall of records and the basilicas, as well as four of the inhabitants. Antiochus, mentioned earlier, blamed his own relatives for this act and the pagans again expressed their anger against the Jews. A later investigation proved that none of those accused by Antiochus were responsible. A careful observer will note that Josephus here gives two different accounts of one and the same sequence of events. If

the attempt to burn the city had not actually taken place, there was certainly no need for the mass killings that are reported to have taken place after the alleged conspiracy was uncovered. As a continuation of the actual fire, the violation of local political and religious privileges, both theirs and the Jews', becomes understandable. It also seems unlikely that the people involved in the plans to burn the city were reported twice, by one and the same person (Kraeling,1932:151).

So, if we take the narratives as two different accounts of the same sequence of events, what is the resulting development picture? It seems that during the governorship of Mucianus (67-69 AD), the people of Antioch made efforts to revoke some of the privileges traditionally guaranteed to the Jews, including Sabbath privileges and the return of the oil tax. These events are mentioned by Josephus in a different context. In part, this action was the result of disgust caused by the Jews' war against the Romans. However, it seems to have come mainly at the suggestion of some men of Jewish origin, such as Antiochus mentioned by Josephus, who probably saw the Jewish elite as an obstacle to the achievement of a "higher" type of religion. However, Mucianus, the governor of Syria, would do the same for the legality of the oil tax refund privilege and probably for the Sabbath privilege as well, but not before the anti-Sabbath movement had spread throughout Syria. The failure of his efforts could not have caused the young Antiochus to lose his mind. It is therefore quite plausible that when the greatest fire and riot of 69-70 AD occurred, he was willing to blame some of the actions of his own citizens (Kraeling,1932:151-152).

This would then have been the cause of the pogroms, the massacres, the persecutions described by Josephus in connection with the events of AD. 66 AD. This would then be a sign of pogroms, of massacres, of the atrocities described by Josephus in

connection with the events of 66 AD., of the confusion caused by the fact that Syria was not at this time an effective garrison of an official governor. Caesennius Paetus will have put an end to the massacres and efforts to force sacrifices to pagan gods, but violence apparently continued to exist. This is evidenced by Titus' request to approve the expulsion of all Jews from Antioch upon his arrival in the city in late 70 AD or earlier. His approval of such a procedure was also considered illegal and rejected, even though it was the occasion for the request and approval for the revocation of their privileges of citizenship. Thus, this whole and disturbing episode ended without a change in the law of the local Jewish community. But it did not necessarily end the importance that the Jews enjoyed in the early days of Roman supremacy. The history of the Jewish community in Antioch in the 250 years following the fall of Jerusalem is shrouded in fact. According to the scant information we have, the group had lost its self-confidence, ceased to play an important role in the eyes of others, and was effectively pushed in on itself (Kraeling, 1932:152).

It is unlikely that the Jews of Antioch followed the example of their Mesopotamian and Palestinian relatives and participated in the disturbances that led to Bar Kochba's uprising. This was less because of their trials in 69-70 AD than because, with Antioch as the center of military control of the East, and with legions stationed there, the civic status of Antioch's Jews was no longer what it had been. The national defeat in 70 AD and the subsequent events under Hadrian would leave their mark on the minds of the pagans. The prosecution of charges against the Temple in Jerusalem by the Roman conquerors in 70 AD effectively put an end to the proselytizing movement and thus severed the strongest ties between Jews and pagans. Although the Jews of Antioch were thus no longer as prominent in the community as in the days of Herod the Great, their legal status remained virtually unchanged and, as far as we know, no efforts were made to change it. The impossibility and

illegality of such efforts had been demonstrated in the days of Titus, and furthermore the outward passivity of the Jews seems to have offered no opportunity for real hostility to develop. Had other reasons been necessary, it might have been possible to point to the transfer of pagan hatred to the Christians, who provided the necessary scapegoat for that time for the discontents of the admittedly fickle public. Isolated to some extent from the pagans, the Jews developed relations with related groups in Palestine, and especially in Tiberias. Few of the great rabbis visited Antioch; these visits were no doubt returned by the leaders of the Antiochian community when questions arose about the application of the law. In the second century, the famous Rabbi Akiba, together with Rabbis Eliezar and Jehoshua, came to the city to raise money for Jewish scholars. From the account of this visit, we learn that the economic situation of Antiochian Jewry worsened. Nevertheless, separated by barriers of prejudice from their Pagan neighbors of the local Aba Jehudah, who had reduced the former prosperity to meager conditions, still putting the needs of the Palestinian authorities above their own, and sharing with them their only remaining property, the Jews of Antioch had some contact with at least one of the elements of their religious environment, namely Christianity (Kraeling, 1932:153-154).

This part of the Christian community, which was most closely associated with other forms of Eastern religious belief, tended to follow the example of the pagan people and completely separate itself from everything Jewish, including not only Jewish traditions, but also Jewish customs. To this group we must give the disciples of Nicholas of Antioch and Saturninus, the disciples of Simon Magus who later worked there and who seem to have laid claim to the figure of Jesus, and finally Cerdo the Syrian. However, there was also another section of the Christian community that combined a completely different point of view with a sympathetic attitude towards their Jewish neighbors (Kraeling, 1932:154).

The voice of Ignatius and the faithful who speak to us from the Odes of Solomon, but also a large part of those who continued to celebrate Easter according to the date of the Jewish Passover throughout the first centuries, continued to venerate the memory of the Maccabean martyrs. Like Domnus, whom Bishop Serapion addresses in his letter, it is known that many were driven to renounce Christianity because of their association with Jews. The fruits of this were more often manifested in theologies such as that of Paul of Samosata, which seems to have been the precipitate of a serious attempt to find common ground between what was conceivable for a Jew and what was necessary for a Christian. Even more clearly in the learning of the great biblical scholar Lucian of Antioch and one of his successors, Dorotheus, whose knowledge of Hebrew was even in those days a rare achievement among Christians, and whose exegetical perspectives necessitated an urgent and sympathetic contact with the Jewish scholars of the neighborhood.

With the reign of Constantine, a period of relative darkness and complete calm in the history of Antiochian Jewry came to an end. The lifting of the veil of uncertainty is, of course, commensurate with the increase in the supply of information from our primary sources. The rabbinic tradition is much more communicative about Eastern Judaism in the fourth and fifth centuries than it is about the first three centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that it tells us the names of at least two men who were rabbis in Antioch in the fourth century, namely Rabbi Isaac Nappaha and Rabbi Ephas. When Simlai, Jona and Jose visited Antioch in the fourth and fifth centuries, they appear to have been betrothed to the city or to the local Jewish community in the eyes of the Palestinian leaders. The rapidly increasing flow of Christian tradition in this century tends to add important elements to the outline of the picture we see in rabbinic sources(Kraeling,1932:156).

Chrysostom, a member of the clergy of the Antioch diocese for many years, is a clear testament to this. What he says suggests that he found the synagogue assuming a more important role in society than we can tolerate or normally imagine. The withdrawal of Christians into the Jewish synagogue was a measure that was detrimental to the standing of the Christian community and its cause. The proportion of those interested in this will of course not be ascertained with certainty, but the situation was significant enough to provoke a series of sermons by Tom *Adversus Judaeos*. For this would be self-destructive and increase the number of the “few” who were actually involved at the time (Kraeling, 1932:156).

For various reasons, the Christians retreated to the Jewish synagogue. They found the judiciary there serious and impartial. The oaths taken in the synagogue were considered more sacred and binding than those drunk. Chrysostom tells of seeing a man known to be a Christian bring a case before a Jewish court involving legal prosecution. Again, the Jews had an enviable reputation for curing disease and casting out demons from possessed people. Above all, Christians were attracted to synagogue worship. Although they tended to attend only the part of their own liturgy concerned with the reading of the scriptures and to downplay the parts relating to prayer and the celebration of the Eucharist, local Christians found the Jewish liturgy very compatible with the Jewish one (Kraeling, 1932:156).

It is not clear how much importance was attached to the definition of circumstances. Another riot, supposedly started by Jews, is chronicled by Malalas for the year 507 AD, the year of the Olympic games. Many Jews are said to have been killed in this event. The most violent disturbance was that caused by the emperor Phocas in 610 AD. This necessarily led to an uprising of the Jews, during which the patriarch Anastasius and many other Christians were killed, their bodies mutilated and displayed in the

marketplace. The local governor, Bonosus, eventually put down the revolt with great effort, massacring many Jews and expelling the rest from the city.

The great decline in the number of Jews residing in Antioch began at this time and never recovered. The supremacy of the Arabs and Franks offered favorable conditions for the numbers to increase. When Benjamin of Tudela visited the city in the second half of the twelfth century, only ten Jewish families lived there, a meager remnant of the tens of thousands of families that had once been its true citizens. But Antioch itself did not long escape the fate of its once prosperous Jewish community (Kraeling, 1932:160).

As we have seen, although there was not yet a Jewish community in Antioch, there was a substantial Jewish community residing in Antioch, both those brought as prisoners of war and those who had previously resided in Antioch as exempt citizens. However, these Jews, both because of their extreme bad behavior during the wars and because they were a nation that could not be respected in the eyes of the society, caused an ongoing friction between them and the people of Antioch in the following periods.

FOURTH SECTION

THE CONQUEST OF ANTIOCH AND THE SITUATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Ottoman Empire first administered Antakya, which it conquered in 1516, as an independent sanjak between 1516 and 1523. When the Sanjak of Pasha was established, it was first made an accident under this sanjak, and in 1581 it was made an accident under the Aleppo Province (Gül, 2008: 24-25). As an accident under the Aleppo Province, Antakya consisted of “...Süveydiye nahiyesi (Samandağ), Cebel-i Akra nahiyesi, Kuseyr nahiyesi, and Altınözü nahiye and the villages connected to these nahiye.” (Gül, 2008: 25)

The administrative administration of the kaza of Antakya underwent many administrative changes during its time under the Aleppo Province. For this reason, focusing primarily on this change in the city will provide a better understanding of the subject.

When the archival records and shari'a registers covering the period between 1527-1700 are examined, it is noteworthy that the number of neighborhoods in the city varies. Records show that there were generally 35 neighborhoods in the city. Changing living conditions led to changes in the status of neighborhoods. Nevertheless, it seems possible to identify a fixed number (Gül, 2008: 72-73)². For example, while there were 23 neighborhoods in 1709, this number was 37 in 1739 (Gül, 2008: 78).

² These neighbourhoods are: Cullahan, Gülbek, Ma'beliye, Sarı Mahmud, Pasa, Mescid-i Seyh Hamza, Kanavat, Hammare, Sekakin, Kantara, Zeytunoğlu, Mahsen, Süveyka, Şeyh Kasım, Dörtayak, Cami-i Kebir, Tut, Mukbil, Günlük, Kastel, Meydan, İmran, Şenbek, Habib'ün Neccar, Şeyh Ali, Harami Bekir, Maslaba, Saha, Gaydur, Sofular, Şirine Pınar, Tabi-i Sofular, Keşkek, Hallabü'nemli, Debbus.

Looking at the Ottoman neighborhood system, it can be observed that Muslims and non-Muslims generally lived in separate neighborhoods. However, the existence of mixed neighborhoods is also noteworthy. These neighborhoods include Sarı Mahmud, Sofular, Dörtayak, Günlük, Kantara, Mahsen and Sirince. There is ambiguous information on whether this type of life with Muslims was practiced among non-Muslims. There was not a single neighborhood where the tri-national system of Greeks, Armenians and Jews lived together. However, the existence of a triadic millet system including Muslims is extremely interesting. It is possible to see an example of such a tri-national system in the neighborhoods of Mahsen, Şenbek, Kantara and Günlük. Greeks, Jews and Muslims lived together in these neighborhoods. In neighborhoods such as Dutdibi and Kapı Bölüğü, Jews and Armenians lived together with Muslims (Gül, 2008: 78).

Antakya and its environs had a very dense village life. The existence of a single nationality system in these villages of the Antakya kaza can be traced as early as 1537. For example, the 1537 surveys reveal the existence of neighborhoods such as Seldiren/Gebrân, Baldırınca/Nasranî, Zeytuniye/Armenian, Magirun/Armenian, Hacıhabıblü/Gebran, Syria/Armenian, Misrakiye, Kebusiye, Kıbab/Armenian (Gül, 2008: 86).

According to the 1678 records, it is possible to identify the villages of Mekeberos, Ziyaret, Kal'a Toprakhisar, Karusu, Meşrakiye, Buhsin, Syria, Dursuniye, Sofular, Hansıma, Kilisecik, Sablıca, Babatorun, Zeytuniye, Kınık among the villages where the dual millet system existed. Among these villages, Kabab or Kıbab, Junte, Syria, Hansıma and Zeytuniye can be mentioned (Gül, 2008: 84-85).

DEMOGRAPHICS AND THE JEWS

The city of Antakya has always been a prominent place with its population. This population, nourished by the rich vegetation and fertile soils of the Amik Plain, has been constantly replenished by migration. Due to the presence of the church of St. Pierre, the first center of Christianity, and the fact that it became a permanent stop for pilgrims of Christian origin, Antakya was also subjected to the invasion of the Crusader armies many times. The city, which suffered great damage from the Crusades, had the opportunity for reconstruction and resettlement with the Ottoman conquest in 1516. The city was first attached to Damascus as a sanjak and then to Aleppo Sanjak as an accident. In 1526, Antakya was transformed into a new accident consisting of the districts of Kuseyr, Altunözü, Jabal-i Aqra, Suweidiye and Shughur (Çakar, 2015: 10; Gündüz, 2009: 48 vd; Gül, 2009: 1028). After 1526, it became part of the city of Aleppo.. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Ordu sub-district was included in the city (Akyüz, 2008: 380; Kara, 2005: 23)³.

The conquest system of the Ottoman Empire was generally based on the preservation of the conquered territories in their original state and their adaptation to Islamic conditions. The Ottomans, acting on the philosophy of “oppression and oppression”, first aimed to take measures to ensure economic prosperity in order to establish permanent administrations in the conquered regions, and then to establish laws and regulations. In doing so, they provided tax exemptions to facilitate the reconstruction and resettlement of the conquered region and took measures to encourage the return of the people who had fled. Antakya was repeatedly subjected to Crusader invasions before 1516, and unlike the Ottomans, the invaders prioritized changing

³ The Central District consisted of Antakya, Suweidiye District, Jabal-i Aqra, Kuseyr District, Altınözü District, Ordu District and their villages and hamlets.

the order in the city completely in their favor and implementing governments that would not allow the towns to raise their heads (G.Bell, 1920: 74 vd). After the Europeans discovered the Cape of Good Hope and changed the trade routes, the Ottoman Empire gradually forgot about the system that had been in place for centuries and replaced it with a new taxation system, thus becoming the creator of an empire inhabited by nations struggling with poverty. This new order destroyed the brotherhood of prosperity established over centuries. With the seeds of discord sown by European missionaries who wanted to turn this situation into an opportunity, the Ottoman brotherhood of prosperity began to deteriorate and gradually disappear from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The same situation began to manifest itself in Antioch after the 1700s and this brotherhood of prosperity gave way to chaos and religious and racial divisions. For this reason, the Christians of Antioch either pledged allegiance to the missionaries or chose to emigrate to other countries (Çoruh, 2019: 1-19).

JEWS OF ANTIOCH ACCORDING TO POPULATION AND CENSUS RECORDS

The first records of the Ottoman conquest of Antakya belong to the years 1518-1520. These records, which are included in the Aleppo tahrir books, are based on four mufassal books between the years 1527, 1537, 1552 and 1570 (Gül, 2018: 93).

Considering these records, the number of neighborhoods in the city between 1527 and 1570 varies considerably. According to the data, there were 21 neighborhoods in Antakya in 1527, 22 in 1537, 20 in 1552 and 22 in 1570. In 1527, there were 1002 households and 131 mujarred in these neighborhoods, 1151 households, 251 mujarred and 30 imams in 1537 (Gül, 2018: 93). According to the data dated 1570, there were 1038 households, 394

mujjerred and 22 imams and khatip. Accordingly, 6443 people resided in the city in 1527, 7637 in 1537, 6093 in 1552 and 7054 in 1570. There were no “Nasara and Jews” in the city at these dates (Gül, 2018: 94).

Two separate censuses were conducted in Antakya in 1678 and 1700, and according to the 1678 census, the city population consisted of approximately 9636 people residing in 1606 households (Gül, 2018: 95). According to 1700 data, the population of the city was 17053 people. Although this population remained almost the same in 1736, it was 16530 in 1743, 17400 in 1749, 14160 in 1762 and 13080 in 1764 with a decrease of approximately 1000 people (Gül, 2018: 95-96).

In 1537, the number of Muslims in the villages was 12323, while the number of non-Muslims was 1902. Even taking into account that this population was the taxpaying population, there is a difference of about 1/6 between Muslims and non-Muslims (Gül, 2018: 98).

Considering the Sharia Registers for the years 1704-1803, the ratio of the Muslim population to the non-Muslim population among the taxpayers in the city population shows quite large differences. Accordingly, while the total population was 14564 in 1709, it decreased to 14418 in 1749. The city population, which was 14130 in 1754, decreased slightly to 12600 in 1762-1764. In 1802, the village population increased to a total of 12996 inhabitants (Gül, 2018: 99-100).

Considering the population statistics of the town and villages of Antakya in 1537 and 1764, the fact that the population increased from 21862 in 1537 to 25680 in 1764 shows that the volatility in the city population was not permanent (Gül, 2018: 100-101).

Considering the population and jizya surveys conducted in Antakya from 1537 to 1802, it is possible to say that non-Muslims and Jews were not allowed to settle in the city center. On the other hand, non-Muslims can be found in the villages, ranging from 1900 to 2000 people. However, even within this population, there is no tangible information about the Jewish population.

Although jizya was an Islamic tax in the Ottoman Empire, at first it was only a tax levied to facilitate the living conditions of non-Muslims and to ensure that they were not offended among the people, but later it became an important item that increased in importance with the state's revenue losses and occupied an important place among the treasury inputs. For this reason, it became a revenue that was closely monitored and collected with great care (Özçoşar-Güneş, 2006: 160). This situation forced the Ottomans to increase and decrease the amount of jizya from time to time in accordance with the needs of the treasury (Kocaoğlu, 2016: 158)⁴. The Ottomans, who generally characterized such issues as reforms, made the most significant change in the jizya tax in 1691. Following this reform, a *mazbata*, or document, was issued for the taxpayers. These documents were used to control the jizya tax (İnalçık, 1993:46)⁵.

The Ottoman Empire, as a requirement of its social state approach, took care to keep separate books and documents for Muslim and non-Muslim subjects until the modern census of 1830. With the 1830 modern census, this system was changed and the documents were renewed to show the taxes of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects separately.

⁴ On the new regulation made according to this improvement (see, İnalçık, 1993:47). *Cizyenin tahsili ve uygulamada yeni değişiklikler*.

⁵ While jizya was a tax levied per household in the early periods, after the 1691 reform, the household system was abandoned and the tax was collected from the entire adult male population of a certain age. In this respect, the taxpayers were given a document called paper or *varak*, and this document continued to be inspected. (Dinç, 2017: 161).

When the population censuses of Antakya, which were repeated four times between 1842 and 1846, are analyzed, the number of books in which only the amount of jizya was recorded is quite small. In such books, data such as the household number, tax-i mahsusa, eşür fee and jizya fee were included at the top of the column containing the taxpayers (Koçak, 2018: 221, dp: 6-7).

In population and demography studies, data on the Ottoman Empire were usually obtained from the Land Registry Registers⁶. In these books, the records of the jizya documents were recorded as ala, evsat, edna. Declining conquests from the 1600s onwards led to the abandonment of tapu tahrirs and the general use of aitk books. After these centuries, events such as increasing land losses or a place changing hands several times led to the emergence of a new procedure such as making changes to the old ones instead of renewing the registers. This made it impossible to keep track of major demographic changes in the Ottoman Empire (Tatar, 2013: 587-588).

The early eighteenth century was a period of the development of modern population science and the development of new policies based on population (such as plebiscite). This system, initiated with the development of the national state concept, controlled the migration from villages to cities and made life in villages more livable than in cities⁷.

⁶ For a brief explanation about the Tapu Tahrir books, (see. Arıkan, 1993: 69-74. The following sources can also be consulted (*Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri* 1988: 1-144; Emecen, 1991: 149-155; Afyoncu, 2003: 267-286; Öz, 1991: 429-439).

⁷ İbrahim Serbestoğlu reveals the relationship between population and society that developed especially in Europe in the 19th century with the following statements ‘... With the processes of industrialisation, capitalism and urbanisation, people flocked to factories and cities. The new inhabitants of the city had to create rules and traditions to live together. This tradition led to the emergence of what is called ‘society’ in the modern sense. Naturally, the science of sociology, which studies the behaviour and principles of society, is a product of this period and process. As a result of all these population movements and changes, as of the second half of the 18th century, it is seen that states

The Ottoman Empire could not assimilate this new change that occurred in Europe, and instead of determining and interpreting the population that would constitute the resources of the country, it worried about the issue of taxes and soldiers and did not think about how to shape human resources. This delayed the use of population science for the benefit of the country and did not allow the rulers who wanted to save the empire that was in the process of disintegration to take measures. Although it was realized later on, the fact that the main goal of the state was to prevent the loss of territory caused military reforms to take precedence over reforms aimed at protecting the social order. At this stage, what was understood from population science was to make the resources that fed the military system more efficient, as in the classical period, and all reforms were directed to this area. In the reform period, it can be determined that the reforms did not go beyond a new evaluation that would feed the treasury and the army (Serbestoğlu, 2014: 260)⁸.

took action to determine their population precisely. As of the mid-19th century, studies on population have increased. In other words, the 19th century is the 'age of demography'. States endeavour to determine their populations precisely....' (Serbestoğlu, 2014: 259-261) The European Union drew attention to the changing intellectual development in Europe with regard to population.

⁸ When the issue of population census was presented to Sultan Mahmud II, the sultan's idea was to create the resources for the army he wanted to establish urgently. In this regard, '...On the recommendation of Hüsameddin, the kadi of Izmit, the Sadaret Kaimakam proposed to the Sultan that the population be categorised according to age in the census. According to the proposal, males under the age of eight were classified as asgar (youngest), those between the ages of eight and fifteen as sagir (small), those between the ages of fifteen and forty as shabb-i emred (beardless), those between the ages of forty and sixty as sinn-i vusta (middle age) and those over the age of sixty as pir (old). In response to the proposal for a new arrangement, Sultan Mahmud II emphasised that the census was a matter that required attention and care, and ordered it to be carried out in the old way. In other words, he deemed it sufficient to conduct a census to determine those eligible for military service and taxpayers without categorising the population into age groups.'

During the reform period, great efforts were made to establish a good tax system and general population and real estate censuses were planned. Population censuses were organized to include personal data, while population, taxes, real estate and commercial earnings were recorded separately. Unlike the old system, it was intended to determine the number of individuals per household. In this way, modern censuses began to be conducted in the Ottoman Empire about half a century after the European countries (Karal, 1943:12; Güneş, 2014: 226; Sarı-Şimşek, 2016: 485)⁹.

The Ottoman Empire was struggling to keep up with the changing world order. The civilian and the military had very different perspectives on the census. Despite Hüsamettin, the District Governor of Iznik, who had a modern perspective on the census, Sultan Mahmud II's traditionalist point of view could not prevent the application of old methods in both population data collection and taxation. While Sultan Mahmud II imposed different taxation based on the fact that the rich and the poor had different means, the bureaucracy was in favor of a categorical uniformity in taxation. Although the district governor of Iznik, who was in charge of the census, criticized the old-fashioned practices in the margin of the ruler, Sultan Mahmud II was not concerned with whether or not anyone understood anything from the census, but rather with the existing system to reach the masses of people and financial means needed as soon as possible (Karpas, 2003: 56 vd). This situation prevented the censuses from being fully understood in the provinces.

⁹ The 1831 census had actually been initiated in 1826 due to the abolition of the Janissary system in order to reveal the population that could serve as a soldier. However, it was suspended due to the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829 and was conducted between 1830-1831. During the census, separate books were kept for Muslims and non-Muslims. The local and foreign status of the individuals were also shown in separate columns in the books..

Ottoman censuses provide important data on Muslims and Christians. Since the censuses conducted by the state generally emphasized taxation and military service, they prevented the collection of population data on women and children among Muslims and non-Muslims. However, thanks to the censuses of the Christian population conducted by their own religious institutions and organizations, it is possible to access records on women and children belonging to this group. Another efficiency in these censuses stems from the fact that the jizya tax has recently gained treasury importance. Christian leaders, as well as the state, were concerned about the loss of revenue and kept more meticulous records of the jizya tax in order to increase the size of their congregations (Güneş, 2014: 228).

Among the population books of Antakya, which were kept in the form of poll books, it is possible to find some jizya books. These books belong to the years 1694, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1846. The fact that jizya surveys, which were not necessary for many years after 1694, were conducted almost every year between 1842 and 1846 points to the existence of a debate over jizya. It is possible to understand from a document dated 1848 that a new census was conducted in this year as well. If we ignore this extraordinary period caused by the Tanzimat implementations, it can be determined that jizya surveys were conducted every three years. One of the main reasons for conducting jizya censuses every three years is stated as the deduction of those who were no longer liable during the censuses (Koçak, 2018: 224).

A census conducted in 1867 in Antakya provides important information about the Muslim and non-Muslim population. From this census, it can be determined that there were 8,775 households of Muslims and 1,129 households of non-Muslims living in Antakya (Tutar, 2000: 71).

Presidential State Archives, Bâb-ı Ali Jizye Muhasebesi (D.CMH), nr. 120/26681, it is understood that the book belongs to Bıkrâs and Iskenderun. From the first part of the book, it can be seen that the jizya polls of Antakya and its environs and the non-Muslims of the Beylan accident were made in the second part, and from this information belonging to the year 1106, it can be determined that the villages subject to tahrir were Syria, Juntah, Kesep, Ordu, Hadji Habıblu, Yoğunoluk, Zeytuniye and Kabusiye.

Among the other places surveyed in the book are the neighborhoods of Nafs-i Antakya, Günlük, Mukbil, Mahsen, Sarı Mahmud, Kantara, Dut, Habıbü'n-Najcar, Dört Ayak, Sofilar, Cami-i Kebir, Şenbek. The last section of this first part of the book mentions the Armenians and Jews in Antakya. In the second part of the ledger, the jizyahs of non-Muslims in the neighborhoods of the Beylan kaza are given¹⁰.

The jizya reform of 1691 led to a new jizya survey in 1694. In the 1694 book, the following villages (karye) were surveyed: 25 in Junte, 30 in Kesep, 10 in Ordu, 50 in Haji Habıblu, 48 in Yoghunoluk, 32 in Zeytuniye, and 40 in Kābusiye; a total of 235 jizya taxpayers were identified. According to the survey, there were 75 in Kastal neighborhood, 21 in Günlük neighborhood, 6 in Mukbil neighborhood, 8 in Mahsen neighborhood, 9 in Sarı Mahmud neighborhood, 6 in Kantara neighborhood, 5 in Tut neighborhood, 15 in Cebel-i Neccar neighborhood, 5 in Dört Ayak neighborhood, 23 in Sofilu neighborhood, 8 in Cami-i Kebir neighborhood, and 9 in Şenbek neighborhood, for a total of 190 jizya taxpayers (BOA, D.CMH, nr. 120/26681: 8-11). According to

¹⁰ In the second part of the book, the jizya book of the Beylan kaza, three different neighbourhoods were surveyed. The non-Muslim jizyedars in the Kilise neighbourhood number 130 (BOA, D.CMH, nr. 120/26681: 16-17), 45 in the Barrak (may be Bakras) neighbourhood (BOA, D.CMH, nr. 120/26681: 17-18), and 115 in the Hammare neighbourhood. (BOA, D.CMH, nr. 120/26681: 18-19).

this 1694 census, there were 40 Armenians and 36 Jews in Antakya (BOA, D.CMH, nr. 120/26681: 12-13.).

Sources generally indicate that after 1694, jizya surveys were conducted throughout the empire in 1696, 1743, 1804, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1829 and 1834. However, this is not the case for Antakya as it was a kaza of Aleppo (İnalçık, 1993: 50 vd)¹¹.

According to the 1842 book (Kara, 2004: 27 vd; aynı müellif, 2005: 1-14), the jizya survey was conducted in 1258. Although this ledger is different from the previous ones, it will serve as a model for the following ones. The ruler in the book contains characteristics such as “a'lâ, evsât, ednâ, nâm, veled, fame, art, resident, sinin, height, beard, mustache, eye and person number”. According to this tax, the total number of jizya taxpayers in Antakya was 325, including Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, of which 15 of the ala taxpayers were Greeks and 1 Jew, while 130 of the evsat taxpayers were Greeks, 19 Armenians, and 24 Jews. Of those with edna jizya documents, 101 were Greeks, 16 Armenians and 18 Jews. In this case, it is understood that Greeks were obliged to pay 6315 kr, Armenians 810 kr and Jews 1050 kr of jizya tax (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 1-5; BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 5-6).

In the 1842 jizya survey, villages were also enumerated. In the village of Suri in Qusair district, there were 60 evsât and 15 ednâ taxpayers, and the amount of tax they paid was 2,205 kurus (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 7-8). There were 72 inhabitants in the village of Juntah in Qusayr district, 54 of whom were taxpayers of evsât and 18 of whom were taxpayers of ednâ, and 1,840 kurus was collected from these documents (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 8-9). Of the 63 people registered in the Ordu village of Jabal-i Aqra in the same tahrir, 43 were taxpayers of evsât and

¹¹ On the analysis of the jizya reforms after 1691 through Cyprus, cf. (Çoruh, 2013: 50 vd).

20 of them of *adnā* tax (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 10). Of the 262 people residing in the village of Keseb in the *nahiya*, 202 were taxpayers of *evsāt* and 60 of *ednā*, and 6,960 *kurus* was collected from them (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 11-15). Of the 325 inhabitants of the village of Zeytuniye in Suwaydiye *nahiya*, 1 was *a'lā*, 214 were *evsāt* and 104 were *ednā* taxpayers, and the amount collected from them was recorded as 8,235 *kurus* (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 15-20). Of the 325 taxpayers in the village of Zeytuniye in Suwaydiye district, 1 was *a'lā*, 214 were *evsāt* and 104 were *ednā*, and the amount collected from them was 8,235 *kurus* (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 15-20). Of the 81 taxpayers identified in the village of Kabusiye in the Suwaydiye district, 1 was *a'lā*, 59 were *evsāt* and 21 were *ednā*, and the amount of tax collected from them was 2,145 *kurus* (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 21-22). Of the 303 people identified in the village of Yoğunoluk in the same district, 231 were *evsāt* and 72 were *ednā*, and the amount of tax collected from them was 8,010 *kurus* (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 22-27); 173 of the 213 taxpayers in the village of Hacı Habıblü in the same district were *evsāt* and 40 were *ednā*. The amount of tax collected from them was 5,790 *kurus* (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 27-30).

As can be seen, while 36 households of Jews were found to live in the center of Antakya in the 1694 survey, this number increased by 9 households to 43 in 1842. This situation points to the stagnation of the Jewish population and the absence of a Jewish population policy for the Ottoman lands between 1694 and 1842.

In 1843, a book consisting of 31 pages from the 1843 *jizya* census was transferred to the archives, but the fact that the pages of the book are separated from each other causes flaws in the evaluation of the book (BOA, ML. VRD. CMH, nr. 138: 27-28).

It is possible to say that the innovations introduced by the modern census of 1830 were also applied in the 1840 and later

censuses. Priority in the census was given to determining the community to which the household member belonged, and the amount of tax to be paid by the taxpayer, his description and household number were applied in the same way in each census. According to the 1843 jizya census, there were 64 different types of artisans in Antakya. These professions were generally located in the villages of Haji Habiblu, Yoghunoluk, Zeytuniye and Keseb in Jabal-i Aqra in Suwaydiye, and among the craftsmen in these villages, it is possible to say that there were 121 çulha/chulfa, 373 farmers and 526 people working in any kind of business (perpetrators), respectively. In addition, among the tradesmen of 30-50 people, we can mention abacı, bazergân, çerçi, corner maker/kefişker, architect, and tailor. Among the tradesmen of 10-30 people, there are angels such as acız, attâr, avatlı, huddâm, tinner, kazancı, jeweler, jeweler, neccâr and saddler. It would be appropriate to state that the number of artisans in other professions was limited to 1-10 people.

Among all these professions, it can be said that the highest number of artisans resided in the town of Yoğunoluk with 261 people. Antakya was second with 257 people, followed by the village of Zeytuniye in Suwaydiye with 238 people, the village of Keseb in Jabal-i Aqra with 235 people, and the village of Haji Habiblu in Suwaydiye with 188 people. The Armenian community of Antioch and the Jewish community were registered in the village of Ordu in Jabal-i Aqra and consisted of 30-50 people (BOA, MAD. 20525 ve BOA, ML.VRD.CMH, 215).

As can be seen, there is not much increase in the population of the Jewish community residing in Antakya according to the 1694, 1842 and finally 1843 jizya surveys. In 1843, the number of Jews living in Antakya and its villages increased by 3 to 46. Of these 46 people, those who had ala jizya documents were 2 people, those who had evsat documents were 22 people, and those who had

edna documents were 22 people, and the amount of jizya documents collected from them was 1110 kr (BOA, MAD. 20525 ve ML.VRD.CMH, 215).

In 1843, the number of taxpayers in Antakya, Suweidiye, Jabal al-Aqra and Qusayr was 1,751¹². Considering their jizya documents, the number of taxpayers with a'lâ jizya documents was 16, of whom only two were Jews. The number of Jews with evsat jizya documents was 21, and the number of Jews with edna documents was 22.

The 1844 jizya book, which was transferred to the archives from the 1844 jizya surveys, consists of a total of 31+1 blank pages. When we look at the details of the book, we see that the section on Antakya includes the Greek, Jewish and Armenian groups, the Suweidiye section includes the villages of Haji Habibli, Yoghunoluk, Kabusiye and Zeytuniye, the villages of Keseb and Ordu in Jabal-i Aqra, the villages of Junte and Syria in Nahiye-i Kuseyir, and there is also an icmal in the last section (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275, Muharrem 1260/Ocak 1844).

At the end of the book, there is a short summary and an 8-line explanation explaining the purpose of the book. In this explanation, it is stated that as a result of the survey conducted in Muharram 1260, there were 17 a'lâ, 1,206 evsât and 554 ednâ jizya taxpayers in Antakya and its sub-districts. In this survey, in addition to the official sent from the center, the husbandman of the region also took part. On this date, an enumeration was also made of those who came and went to Antakya from outside. After the survey, 2 a'lâ and 2 evsât jizya documents were also found. A total of 45,330 kurus was collected from all taxpayers and 500 kurus was given to the appointed clerk. The rest was sent to the treasury of Aleppo. However, it is understood that the collection was not

¹² This total excludes those who travelled to and from Antioch and 1 household of evsât jizya taxpayers who were identified later.

completed completely. The 2 a'lā and 2 evsât jizya documents mentioned above were delivered to the treasury by hand (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 31).

As in the 1842 and 1843 surveys, when the 1844 data is taken into consideration, taxes are again written as “a'lâ”, “evsât” and “ednâ” and the personal characteristics of the taxpayers are also included. In this survey, the communities were counted as Greek, Armenian and Jewish. Among the members of these communities, there are 274 Greeks. Of these, 13 were recorded as a'lâ, 121 as evsât and 140 as ednâ (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 1-5). The total jizya fee of the Greek community was 6,510 kurus. The total number of jizya documents belonging to the Jews of Antakya is 2 a'lâ, 22 evsât and 24 ednâ, totaling 1,140 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 5-6). There were 37 Armenians, 17 of whom were evsât and 19 were ednâ. The amount of Armenians who did not have a jizya certificate was 810 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 6-7).

Although no ethnic identity is mentioned about the non-Muslims in the village of Hacı Habıblü in the Suwaydiye district, the total number of jizya taxpayers in Hacı Habıblü village is 216. Of these taxpayers, 167 were evsât and 49 were ednâ and the total tax amount was 5,745 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 7-11). The non-Muslims in the village of Yoğunoluk totaled 306 people, 228 of whom were evsât and 87 of whom were ednâ. Their taxes amounted to 8,145 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 7-11).

Of the 77 taxpayers in the village of Kabusiye, 57 were evsât and 20 were ednâ and their taxes amounted to 2,015 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 7-11). Of the 315 taxpayers in the village of Zeytuniye, 216 were evsât and 99 were ednâ, and the tax amount of these documents, whose identities were not

given, was 7,965 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 17-22).

In Keseb, subject to Jabal-i Aqra, there were 265 jizya documents, 205 of which were evsât and 60 were ednâ, and their tax amount was 7,050 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 22-27). In Ordu, a sub-district of the nahiyya, there were 49 taxpayers, 37 of whom were evsât and 12 of whom were ednâ, and their taxes amounted to 1,275 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 27-28).

In the village of Juntah in the Qusayr sub-district, 59 of the 75 taxpayers were evsât and 15 were ednâ, and their taxes amounted to 1,990 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 28-30). Of the 83 taxpayers in Syria in the same sub-district, 69 of them were evsât and 14 of them were ednâ, and their taxes totaled 2,280 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 30-31). Of the 20 non-Muslims who came and went to and from Antakya, 13 had evsât and 7 had ednâ documents and their taxes amounted to 405 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 31).

In 1844, 45,330 kurus was transferred to the Aleppo treasury from these population and jizya documents, while the clerk was paid 500 kurus (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275: 31).

According to the 1844 dated jizya book, there were 72 types of occupations in Antakya and their distribution according to the communities is as follows: While 273 of the 274 households of the Greek community in Antakya were recorded as having any profession, 46 of the 48 households of the Jewish community residing in the city were stated to have a profession, and 35 of the 37 households of Armenians were stated to have a profession (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275, Muharrem 1260/Ocak 1844).

In 1844, the total number of professions in Antakya and its towns was given as 72 types. The taxpayers in the villages of Keseb and Ordu in Jabal-i Aqra seem to be subject to any occupation. In Keseb with 265 taxpayers, the entire population and in Ordu with 49 taxpayers, 41 people were recorded as having a profession (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275, Muharrem 1260/Ocak 1844).

In the 1844 population and jizya survey, information on non-Muslim taxpayers living in a total of 16 neighborhoods is given and it is stated that there were 69 Greek taxpayers in Cüneyne (Cünte), 13 Armenian taxpayers in Dört Ayak, 8 Jewish and 6 Armenian taxpayers in Dut Dibi. There were 7 Greek and 5 Jewish taxpayers in Günlük, only 1 Jewish household in Han, 22 Greek and 19 Jewish taxpayers in Kantara, 53 Greek taxpayers in Kastal, 10 Jewish taxpayers in Koca Abdi, 1 Armenian taxpayer in Lakbise, 36 Greek and 3 Jewish taxpayers in Mahsen, and only 3 Greek taxpayers in Mukbil. Apart from these, there was 1 Armenian taxpayer in the Rikabiye neighborhood and 1 Armenian taxpayer in Saha (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275, Muharrem 1260/Ocak 1844).

According to the 1844 population and jizya books, there were 216 non-Muslim taxpayers in the village of Haji Habibli, 315 in the village of Yoghunoluk, 77 in the village of Kabusiye and 315 in the village of Zeytuniye. There were 265 taxpayers in the village of Keseb and 61 taxpayers in the village of Ordu in Jabal al-Aqra, 74 taxpayers in the village of Junte and 83 taxpayers in the village of Syria in the district of Qusayr (BOA, Cevdet Dâhiliye, nr. 186/9275, Muharrem 1260/Ocak 1844).

As can be seen, the population of Jews in the total non-Muslim population, including the villages in Antakya and its sub-districts, is stated as 48 households and only 24 households of this population have a profession.

When the 1846 population and jizya book is analyzed, the Jews of Antakya are included after the 10th page. From the eleventh and twelfth pages onwards, the Armenian community, the incoming and outgoing “gourabâ and rêaya”, the evsât households and the ednâ households in the Syrian village are included. From the sixteenth to the forty-first pages, data on Greeks and Armenians are compiled. At the end of the ledger, the amounts of a'lâ, evsât and ednâ jizya documents are given.

In the explanation made on the forty-fourth page of the ledger; the total amount of the jizyas to which the reaya and the strange and gourabas in the center and villages of Antakya were subjected from the beginning of Muharram 1262 to the end of the year. Accordingly, it is pointed out that in addition to sixteen a'lâ jizya documents, there were one thousand one hundred and thirty-five evsât and seven hundred and twenty-eight ednâ receipts. Accordingly, the total amount collected from the documents amounted to 45900 kurus. After deducting the expenses, 45430 kurus was delivered to the treasury of Aleppo (27 Dhu al-Qa'eda 1262) (BOA, ML.VRD.CMH.d, nr. 573: 44).

According to the 1844 survey, the villages of Suweidiye, Jabal-i Aqra and Qusayr sub-districts were attached to the Antakya kaza in this survey (BOA, ML.CMH., nr. 138: 1-31; see, Kara, 2005: 1-14). According to the 1846 survey, the total number of jizya taxpayers in the districts of Antakya, Suweidiye, Jabal-i Aqra and Qusair was 1,683. The amount of jizya paid by these taxpayers was 45,840 kurus. The total tax revenue increased to 45,930 kurus with 1 a'lâ and 1 evsât jizya documents that were later transferred to the treasury. In the 1846 survey, Greek, Jewish and Armenian neighborhoods and villages are clearly shown. Accordingly, a total of 389 Greek, Jewish and Armenian people were recorded in the center of Antakya and 8,820 kurus of jizya tax was collected from them. Compared to the 5,310 kurus collected from 204 Armenians

in Haji Habiblu, the tax collected from 327 in Yoğunoluk was 8,250 kurus, from 72 Armenians in Kabusiye was 1,830 kurus, from 312 Greeks in Zeytuniye was 7,710 kurus, and from 292 Armenians residing in Keseb village was 7,365 kurus.

In addition, 930 kurus was collected from 40 Greeks in Ordu village, 1,935 kurus from 78 Greeks in Junte, and 2415 kurus from 96 Greeks in Syria.

During the 1846 Jizya survey, it can be determined that all of the Jews resided in the city center. The jizya amount of the Jews in the center of Antakya, consisting of 38 people, is 780 kurus, and it is possible to say that the Jewish population in the city declined to the levels of 1694 when the surveys from 1842 onwards are taken into account.

When the 1846 survey is analyzed in terms of professions, it is determined that there were 67 different types of professions in the city, and there were a total of 364 professionals in the center of Antakya, 238 Greeks, 38 Jews and 43 Armenians. Among the Jewish tradesmen, we can detect 15 attar, 11 çerci and neccar. As far as the villages are concerned, there is no information about Jews, while 204 people in Haji Habiblu, 326 people in Yoghunoluk, 72 people in Kabusiye, and 309 people in Keseb, where only Armenians lived, were active in at least one occupation.

Among these professionals, it is noted that the a'lā documents belonged only to the professionals in the center, and among them, there were a total of 13 a'lā taxpayers in the Greek community, including 10 neccar, 2 attar and 1 jeweler. Similarly, 8 Greeks and 8 Jews lived together in the Günlük neighborhood. While the Greeks had 5 evsât and 3 ednâ jizya documents, all 8 Jews had ednâ documents. In the Kantara neighborhood, 9 of the 19 Greeks had evsat and 10 had edna jizya certificates, while 4 of the 11 Jews had evsat and 7 had edna jizya certificates. There were 15 Greeks residing in the Kastal neighborhood and 4 Jews in the

Kocaabdi neighborhood. Of the Jews, 3 had evsât and 1 had ednâ documents. The Mahsen neighborhood had 6 a'lâ, 20 evsât and 18 ednâ taxpayers, while among Armenians there were 1 evsât and 2 ednâ; 1 evsât and 2 ednâ Greeks in the Mukbil neighborhood, which consisted of 3 people; 17 ednâ in the Sarı neighborhood, where only Greeks lived; 5 evsât, 31 evsât and 25 ednâ taxpayers in the Sarı Mahmud neighborhood. In Sofular neighborhood, there were only 4 evsât and 2 ednâ Armenians; 1 of the Greeks living in Şenbek neighborhood had a'lâ, 4 evsât and 3 ednâ documents. According to the 1846 survey, the total number of people who “mursûr ü ubûr” to Antakya from 18 different places was 66.

According to the 1846 tahrir, the total number of taxpayers in Antakya and its sub-districts was 1683. Among them, the number of professional taxpayers was 1809. If each of these taxpayers is counted as a household, it can be said that there were a total of 8,415 people in Antakya and its sub-districts, and the total number of professionals was 9,045.

If each of the taxpayers recorded in the 1842 jizya survey is considered as a household, there is a difference of 220 people against the 1864 survey; if each of the professionals in the 1846 period is considered as a household, it can be said that there is a population increase of 410 people in favor of the 1846 period.

FIFTH SECTION

JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

Due to the coincidental nature of references to Jews in ancient sources, little is known about the relations of the Jews of Antioch with the other inhabitants of the city, with almost nothing known for the Early Hellenistic period. Although the ancient writer Josephus comments that the Jews were secure in Antioch by the time of Antiochus I (281-261 BCE), Kraeling points out that by then the Jews were hardly distinguishable from the native Syrians and were “unprivileged and unprotected” (Kraeling, 1932: 138;). Given that Antioch was founded as a Greco-Macedonian city, it is probably true that the Jews were initially unprivileged and unprotected. However, it is unlikely that they were indistinguishable from others because of their monotheism. This is because the Jews did not worship idols and were completely distinct from other communities in their unique customs regarding the Sabbath, circumcision and food. While the Jews of the late Roman Republic and early Empire were ridiculed for these and other customs, it is unlikely that the Jews of Antioch would have been in a different situation (Bridge, 2017: 8).

During the reign of Antiochus IV (175-163 BC), the bringing of Jewish prisoners to Antioch caused tensions between the Jews and others in Antioch at the time. Demetrius II (145-139 BC) used Jewish mercenaries to suppress an Antiochian revolt, confirming reports that Antiochus IV's successors had raised the status of Jews in society. Josephus also mentions that there were tensions between the Jews and other communities in Antioch, which led to some objections to their enlistment to serve in the Syrian army. However, he notes that after the reign of Antiochus

IV, security for the Jews increased and their wealth increased as well as their numbers in Antioch (Bridge, 2017: 8).

At the root of the tension between Christians and Jews in Antioch seems to have been the so-called Pauline mission between the two religions, which was described for the cities of Jerusalem and southern Galatia, Thessalonica, Berea, Corinth and Ephesus. Accordingly, Paul's arrest and travel to Rome caused him to face opposition from the Jews. In addition to Paul going to Rome, there was another aspect of the problem, and that was the letters to the seven churches. In these letters, the Gospel of John contained commands about how Jews were to treat Christians. Therefore, while some of the religious sources inform Christians about why Christians should be hostile towards Jews, the same is not true for Jews. For Jews, the sources do not provide any information about the reasons for hostility towards Christians. Commenting on this issue, Robinson argues that there are reports that the identity tensions between Christians and Jews in Antioch were due to secondary reasons, but this is not the case. In fact, it is argued that the crisis over the statue of Caligula or the pogrom against the Jews in Antioch in 40 AD. played a role in this tension (Downey, 1961: 447-448).

The main source of tension between Jews and Christians was the issue of the observance of the Mosaic law. This issue was raised by Christians who had not converted from Judaism, and the pressure that all Christians were obliged to observe the Mosaic law pitted the two communities against each other. It is clear that the Jews from Jerusalem were really behind this incitement. In this regard, I mean that the Testament commands that Christians who have not converted from Judaism must also observe the Mosaic law. In fact, similar commands can be found in the Gospels of Matthew and the Didache. Magnus Zetterholm, one of the sources on the subject, writes that although Jesus and his followers had

little to offer, the broader question of whether the Torah also includes Jewish followers of Jesus has become one of the great debates between Jews and Gentiles (Zetterholm, 2003: 6 vd; Downey, 1932: 447-448).

In conclusion, as the New Testament confirms, there was no tension between Jews and Christians in Antioch before 66 AD. On the contrary, relations between the two groups were good enough during this period, and the Christian leaders achieved great success in this regard. According to the sources, the success of Christian preaching, both to God-fearers and Gentile pagans, worried the Jewish community in Antioch, but the New Testament shows that the Jews were not happy about this (Kraeling, 1932: 152; Bridge, 2017: 9-10).

Josephus notes that the Jews in Syria were also influenced by Hellenistic culture, while relations with non-Jews worsened in Antioch as a result of the antipathy towards the Jews that began in 40 AD as a result of factional rivalry in the city. At the same time, when Gaius Caligula ordered the erection of a statue of himself in the Temple in Jerusalem, there was great opposition from the Jews, and the Jews of Judea and Galilee demanded the annulment of Gaius' edict. The war over Gaius' resistance continued throughout the years 66-70 AD. Many Jews were killed during the fighting in the city, which was ruled by Antiochus, the son of a Jew who had converted during the wars. Titus, who took over in 70-71 AD, used these events as an excuse to humiliate the Jews by offering the spoils of Palestine for sale in Antioch, while leaving their privileges untouched (Kraeling, 1932: 152; Bridge, 2017: 9-10).

According to Kraeling, despite the Jewish community's loss of self-confidence, some Christians in Antioch still sympathized with the Jews. The most important signs of this are to be found in Ignatius' letters, where many Christians in Antioch even celebrated Easter on Jewish Passover days. Nevertheless, he states that the

Jewish community in Antioch lost their wealth as well as their prestige after these wars (Kraeling, 1932: 154-155; Bridge, 2017: 10).

Although it is not possible to obtain sufficient information about the relationship between the Jews and Christians in Antioch from Jewish sources, including the New Testament, the time of Ignatius marks the end of the tension between the two communities. However, although anti-Semitism resurfaced under Vespasian and Titus, there was always a non-native colony in Antioch. A letter by Libanius, dated to 388 AD or later, mentions four generations of Jewish tenants working the lands near Antioch (Downey, 1961: 447).

Under Theodosius, the Jewish community continued to flourish. Two synagogues are mentioned in Antioch and Daphne, built during this period. The church that provides information on this subject also points to the connection between the Old and the New Testaments and the Christian view of the Jews. The fact that Christians expected health and well-being from the tombs of the Makkabi martyrs, who were Jews who suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes, and assumed that these martyrs had the power to perform miraculous cures helped strengthen Christian-Jewish relations. The Christian authorities did not like the interest of their people in the Maccabean martyrs and therefore in the Jews. The Jewish saints solved the problem by converting the synagogue where the Maccabi martyrs were buried into a Christian temple in order to overcome the hostile attitude of the Christian authorities. This act caused the Maccabean martyrs to be considered holy by Christians because they had given their lives in suffering for a new law to which both communities were subject. The Christian cleric Chrysostom preached several beautiful sermons about these saints, praising their courage and encouraging his listeners to imitate their virtues. Chrysostom also called the Maccabees the most important

elements of the essential link between the Old and New Testaments. While Kraeling notes that relations between Jews and Christians deteriorated in the 5th century AD, Josephus notes that Christians in Syria were still interested in Judaism, despite periodic tensions between Jews and others in Antioch and other cities.

After the emergence of Islam in the 6th century AD, Christian pressure on Jews gradually diminished. The Christians then started to work to curb Islam, which shared the same geography with them and began to spread rapidly, and they needed the alliance of the Jews to solve their problems with them. Although the Jews, too, were deeply disturbed by the emergence of Islam, they wanted to take advantage of the new religion's attitude of keeping all religions within its fold and in peace, and instead of fighting it directly, they took care to gnaw it from within and to work together with the Christians in this gnawing. The saints of both religions combined all their forces to limit the expanding face of Islam in an increasingly narrow field. But despite this, Islam grew and flourished. The Jews were the primary beneficiaries of this process. As Islam grew and developed, the Christian lands continued to shrink and the sphere of influence and influence continued to be limited. This benefited Judaism, which remained between the two religions but kept itself to itself and attached great importance to secrecy in order to receive the direct support of Muslims in interventions against it.

The Christians, on the other hand, knew about this situation of the Jews, but they remained silent in the face of the growing influence of Islam and made great efforts to ensure that their own interests were protected first and foremost in the Jews' relations with the Muslims. The biggest consequence of this effort was that Christianity had to turn a blind eye to Judaism's growth, development, enrichment and appropriation of resources, while providing it with wide opportunities in every field.

From the XVth century to the XIXth century, the members of these two rival religions made great efforts to work in accordance with the principle of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” and to return Muslims to where they came from. Islam, in spite of these two enemies, allowed both to live in peaceful times and to establish themselves institutionally. Overconfidence and the community's strict adherence to the rules did not prevent Islam from opening itself to the influence of these two religions. Although the Seljuk and Ottoman periods in which this openness did not pose a problem lasted until the end of the eighteenth century, the decline that began after these centuries led to the emergence of a sympathy for the West and especially for Christianity in Ottoman society and a period of adoption that began with imitation. During this period, as Judaism filtered through the same door that Christianity had entered, they were able to pretend to be a nucleus of Christianity instead of showing themselves directly, and in this way, they were able to take measures to eliminate both the moral and economic freedoms of Islamic societies. This soon enslaved all Ottoman and Islamic societies. As a result of this captivity, which had severe consequences, Jews were quick to find an important position for themselves, especially in Antiochian society. Based on this position, with their small population, they were able to manage the livelihoods of the entire community in and around Antioch. Despite having a population of between 43 and 50 households in the nineteenth century surveys, Jews constituted the most elite group of people in Antioch in the economic and social sphere throughout the century.

CONCLUSION

It can be argued that Christians and Jews had friendly relations in Antioch. Jewish sources do not indicate otherwise, but elsewhere in the Eastern Roman Empire and in Jerusalem there was still open hostility between Jews and Christians. The lack of any mention of tensions in Antioch is probably due to the different perspectives of the sources. However, what is still worth discussing is that the Jews did not like the conversion to Christianity and tried to cause some difficulties for the Christian community.

Ignatius is the greatest witness to Christian-Jewish relations in Antioch after the New Testament. However, given his evidence, there is disagreement as to whether he was in possession of the present fellowship. Ignatius only criticizes church members for adopting Jewish practices or Judaizers within the church. At the same time, Ignatius is part of a tradition of thought that encourages a clear break between the church and Judaism.

Yet the evidence of Matthew and the Gospel of the Didache for Christian-Jewish relations in Antioch is scant. In fact, since these sources are not from Antioch, their information may be incomplete. The sources emphasize that the Antiochian origin of the Gospel of the Didache is probably weaker than the fact that Matthew was from Antioch. Yet there is convincing evidence that even Matthew was written in Galilee or southern Syria. At least as much as Ignatius, the Gospel of the Didache criticizes members of his community, even Jewish propagandists in the community, for adopting Jewish practices rather than engaging in a polemic against Jews. Therefore, if the Didache was written in Antioch, then the biblical information on the tension is extremely incomplete.

Ignatius lived for some time among Christians and Jews before becoming a bishop. If the Gospel of Matthew was written in Antioch, then there is a big problem as it points to tension between

the Christian community or the Jewish community, so it was probably written at a time when tension between Christians and Jews was emerging, but it was too early for the Christian community of Antioch to have converted from Judaism.

Despite the continuing dispute over the origins of both Matthew and the Didache, it seems possible to say that the two communities have enjoyed friendly relations to the present day, although this raises some questions about the relations between the Christians and Jews in Antioch in terms of the interpretation of both sources. If there had been tension between the two groups as claimed, it is obvious that the eagerness of the Christians in Antioch to adopt Jewish practices could not have continued for centuries. Ignatius (and the Didache, if written in Antioch) therefore complains not only about the enthusiasm for Jewish practices. He is also part of a tradition that seeks to distinguish the Christian community in Antioch from the Jewish community there. This suggests that the paths between Christianity and Judaism diverged long before his time.

After its conquest by the Ottoman Empire, the issue of population in Antioch became an issue that marked the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims, differentiating them from each other and developing or narrowing their relations with each other. In this context, the most prominent tax that marked the line between Muslims and non-Muslims was undoubtedly the jizya. In this respect, apart from being a kind of head tax that non-Muslims were obliged to pay, the jizya also includes important data such as the population, the diversity of the population, the quality and quantity of the individuals and institutions within the population, the description, age and gender of the individuals, as well as the professions they had and their income.

The Ottoman Empire undoubtedly paid attention to obtaining all these data while conducting these surveys. At a time

when there was no surname law, it was able to distinguish people from each other by conducting these surveys, which constituted the basis of taxation, on the one hand, and to make comparisons of the population with other nationalities on the other.

The Ottomans had long been collecting the jizya tax in a fiscally oriented manner, i.e., in order not to reduce profitability. According to this practice, taxes were collected directly from a group or village, town or community. In the nineteenth century, when individual initiative became prominent, this approach was completely abandoned and a new system was introduced in which the whole nation was counted individually and taxes were collected on a per capita basis, in other words, based on a certain annual income.

This new understanding caused the jizya surveys to be directed directly to the individual like the population surveys and led to the emergence of books that were as perfect and organized as the population surveys. In the last period of the Ottoman Empire, the depletion of the treasury due to the loss of lands and peoples caused the jizya income to be emphasized and it became one of the main sources of the treasury. This, in turn, led to more serious jizya surveys and a more efficient use of resources. These surveys, which had the characteristics of both institutional and religious data for non-Muslims, ensured that the jizya was collected from two branches, i.e. both by the state and the church, in a way that did not contradict each other, and this ensured the creation of two separate sources for the verification of the data.

As mentioned above, the Ottoman Empire continued to carry out these surveys not in terms of increasing or decreasing the population, but in order not to reduce the number of jizya taxpayers, which had become a source of income. However, the population movements in and around Antakya rendered these surveys useless, so they were repeated every year.

While there are only 1694 jizya surveys of Antakya and its environs between the 1691 jizya reform and the Tanzimat period of 1839, it can be said that a new survey was conducted almost every year in 1842, 1843, 1844, 1846 due to the Tanzimat practices, or a new collection was made over the existing previous survey. These surveys were conducted in one center and three districts, namely Suweidiye, Jabal-i Aqra and Qusair, with Antakya as the center. With the exception of the 1694 jizya survey, the Tanzimat and later jizya surveys can be considered as a search for resources to be spent on reforms for the Ottoman Empire. This can be attributed to the fact that the surveys were conducted annually and consecutively. Although the jizya surveys conducted in the four settlements of Antakya, Suwaydiye, Jabal-i Aqra and Qusayr did not differ much between 1842 and 1846, the fact that the state conducted the surveys on such consecutive dates points to the importance of the jizya tax.

In general, the significant variations in tax and population surveys before and after the Tanzimat can be explained by the transition to a modern census system and the reaction of the treasury to revenue losses. In order to minimize the fluctuations caused by revenue losses, the state took a very different approach than in 1694, following a procedure almost similar to that of the population censuses, and included information such as the name, occupation, reputation, age, eye color, and ordinal number in the jizya censuses in addition to individuals and their descriptions. As can be seen in Table 13, there was a rapid increase in the jizya taxes collected in and around Antakya after 1694. The influx of non-Muslim population to this region is one of the most important reasons for this increase. After 1842, this population, which seems to have stabilized, tripled compared to 1694. This indicates that the region was well managed during and after the Tanzimat period or that there was a deliberate influx of population into the region. Nevertheless, the 1842-1846 jizya surveys do not show much

change in income rates as well as population. On the other hand, despite its importance for the treasury, the Ottoman Empire did not turn the jizya revenues into a means of robbery that offended the reaya.

When the numerical data between 1842-1846 are analyzed, the non-Muslim population increased by around 30 persons per year. Despite this, it is clearly seen that the jizya tax rate varied very little. In other words, it is noteworthy that a fixed amount was collected.

In conclusion, it can be said that there is no significant variation in the above five jizya surveys, except for the 1694 survey, between the 1842, 1843, 1844 and 1846 surveys, neither in terms of population nor in terms of revenue surpluses. The reason for this is that despite all the revenue losses, the Ottoman Empire did not open new revenue gates by terrorizing within the state, nor did it turn the existing revenue gates into an instrument of robbery and oppression by raising them in order to improve them.

On the contrary, in the regions they occupied, European states preferred to oppress the society by imposing taxes on people, arts and land as if they were exploiting them, contrary to the tax system implemented by the Ottoman Empire.

One of the most important results that emerges when all the censuses are considered is the presence of around 65-80 artisans and craftsmen in Antakya and its sub-districts in all the censuses dated 1842-1846, with the exception of the 1694 census. This diversity of artisans and craftsmen can be explained by the existence of a vibrant commercial life in the city. Another result is that these tradesmen were generally specialized in leather, fabric and leather leather. This is evident from the fact that the tradesmen in the city are especially concentrated in this field.

Despite the existence of these specialized trades, it is noteworthy that there were many people called perpetrators in the city who did every job. In the 1843 survey, the perpetrators constituted 1/3 of the population, 2/3 of the population in 1844, and more than 1/2 of the population in 1846, indicating that despite this vibrant commercial life, a large part of the population did not have a specific profession. This can be explained by the high unemployment rate in Antakya due to the fact that the majority of the population lived in rural areas, despite the fact that the city was located on trade routes from the east.

In conclusion, it can be said that Antakya and its sub-districts, with the exception of the 1694 jizya survey, supported the state treasury at an increasing rate in terms of jizya and population between 1842 and 1846, but the population did not increase significantly.

Relations between Jews and Christians have always been tense, whether in antiquity or in the Christian era. However, the emergence of Islam in the 6th century AD. led to the reconciliation of these two rival religions, which became inseparable after the XVth century. The growth of the Ottoman Empire as the flagbearer of Islam and its conquest of all the strongholds of Christianity, and the fact that the Ottomans started to host the Jews in the 16th century, who were in economic crisis after their so-called exile from Spain, changed the fate of the Christian world and caused it to regain its former strength and power. This was primarily due to the Jews' policy of economic and moral corruption of Islamic society. This policy primarily led the Christian world to relax and gradually gain a more effective and more encouraging position over Islamic societies. In this regard, the Jews saw no harm in opening the doors of the Islamic societies in which they lived to the Christians, and the Christians chose the Jews as their guides. The Jews, in turn, carried them into the most intimate parts of Islamic society without any problems.

This period of Jewish-Christian alliance within the Ottoman society resulted in Christians paying Jews for their services in the nineteenth century. Jews who had great wealth in Europe and America opened their wealth to the Christian world in order to return to Babylon, Palestine and Canaan. Although it is not possible to see the traces of this bilateral initiative in Antioch, when we look at the overall picture, the fact that the excavations carried out in Antioch in 1932, even though they were carried out by the British, Americans and French, were looking for a chapel, a synagogue or a temple, can only be considered as an example in terms of showing how Jewish-Christian relations reached their climax. The fact that these states were used as subcontractors with the capital of the Jews, that their roots in this region, which they chose as their homeland, were found in the resources in the hands of the Christian world for centuries, and that they tried to make their return with their help is of great importance in terms of revealing how the two religions are in reconciliation.

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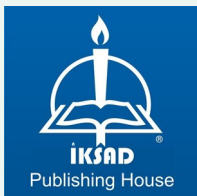
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