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THE TRAJECTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN DORYLAEUM AND ITS ENVIRONS

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Background

This paper will seek to trace the trajectory of early Christianity in Dorylaeum and its environs during the first five centuries after Christ. It will trace personalities and movements in three periods of this early history: apostolic, post-apostolic, and early Byzantine.¹

Dorylaeum, an important Phrygian city situated in the valley of the upper Tembris River (Porsuk Çay), was probably founded as a Hellenistic colony by Antigonos Monophthalmos in the late fourth century B.C.² The city was later incorporated into the province of Asia by the Romans in 129 B.C. As Ramsay writes, "Dorylaion was the most important road centre in the north."³ It lay on the great trade route from the Bosphorus to the Cilician Gates,⁴ and served as a major road junction where five roads met. To the northwest was Nicea and Nicomedia, to the east Midaeum and Ancyra, to the southeast Pessinus and Amorium, to the south Nacolea and Apamea, to the southwest Cotiaenum and Philadelphia.⁵ As Foss stresses, "Control of this site therefore ensured easy passage for armies or more peaceful traffic, or prevented the advance of an enemy from the east into the rich districts opposite the capital."⁶ Christianity spread along the Roman roads to commercial and political centers, where often there was also a Jewish population. Given its strategic location, it is not surprising that Dorylaeum was reached by this new religion at an early date and that it should play an important role in the development of Christianity in Anatolia.

Apostolic Period

Although Dorylaeum is not mentioned by name in the Christian *New Testament*, its presence is inferred in two passages related to the Anatolian ministries of the apostles Paul and Peter. Knowledge of the Roman government and road system is essential to make sense of these passages. In this section we will examine the relevant texts.

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² Getzel M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 299.

³ W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London: John Murray, 1890), 168.

⁴ A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 37.

⁵ David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 1:42; 2:800–2.

⁶ Clive Foss, "Dorylaion: Bulwark of the Byzantine Frontier," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 41.1 (1996): 39.

Dorylaeum and Paul's Second Anatolian Journey (Acts 16:6–10)

Paul's success in the south Galatian cities of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch during his first Anatolian journey (A.D. 46–48) prompted him to make plans to revisit these cities. Acts 16:4–5 states, "As they traveled from town to town (i.e., these south Galatian cities), they delivered the decisions reached by the apostles and elders in Jerusalem.... So the churches were strengthened in the faith and grew daily in numbers." Luke's language suggests that Paul revisited all four Galatian churches in geographical order starting with Derbe and ending with Pisidian Antioch, although this last city is unnamed (Acts 16:1–2). Paul's westward travel to Asia suggests that Ephesus was his intended destination. Ephesus was the province's "first" city and the western terminus of a major road crossing Anatolia. Paul had strategically decided to spread the Christian message next in the fourth largest city in the Roman Empire, a city that also had a large Jewish population.

However, Paul is "forbidden" (Acts 15:6 NRSV translation; Gk. κωλυθέντες) by the Holy Spirit from preaching in Ephesus. How that prohibition was communicated to Paul is not said, but most likely through a word of prophecy.⁷ Some scholars break off the journey at Iconium with the apostolic party traveling northwest along the Roman road around Sultan Dağ through Laodicea Combusta,⁸ while others suggest Paul first visited Pisidian Antioch before turning northeast over Sultan Dağ to Philomelium (Akşehir).⁹ A third option, favored by this scholar, is that Paul had departed from Pisidian Antioch along the southern highway to Ephesus before the prohibition came.¹⁰ His route then would take him westward above Lake Limnae (Eğirdir) through Apollonia to important road junction at Apamea Celenae (Dinar). Importantly, whichever route is chosen, each must pass through Asia so the prohibition did not exclude travel through the province necessary to reach the final destination. As Ramsay rightly notes, Luke's language here "marks clearly the distinction between the prohibition to preach in Asia, while they were actually in it, and the prohibition even to set foot in Bithynia."¹¹

With Paul's initial plans thwarted he was now forced to revise his itinerary at Apamea. He headed northward along a route through central Phrygia to Synnada, the "very large" conventus to Dorylaeum belonged,¹² and Prynnessus (Afyon).¹³ From Prynnessus the apostolic party probably took the direct

⁷ Silas, one of his travel companions, was known as a prophet (Acts 15:32); see also F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 216. Bruce suggests that maybe it was a prophetic utterance that occurred in Lystra during Timothy's commissioning (cf. 1 Timothy 4:14). But surely this was too early in the journey, for the prohibition seems to occur after the apostolic party revisits the Galatian churches.

⁸ For example, W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (London: Longmans, Green, 1901), 208.

⁹ This is the route suggested by F. F. Bruce in *The Acts of the Apostles* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 354. It is amusing that many Bible atlases show Paul passing northwest over this mountain range where no roads existed.

¹⁰ This view is also favored by Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 478, and Richard Longenecker, "Acts of the Apostles," *Expositors Bible Commentary* (ed. F. C. Gaebelein; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 9:459.

¹¹ W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveler and Roman Citizen* (ed. Mark Wilson, 1920; repr. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2001), 157.

¹² Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 65. The conventus included the six cities of the league of the Epicteteis: Aezani, Cadi, Cotiaum, Dorylaeum, Midaum, and Nicolea (Strabo, *Geography* 12.8.12)

¹³ Some scholars hypothesize that Paul next visited Pessinus where he preached the gospel. Because Pessinus is in Galatia, they contend there is no prohibition from preaching here. This modified North Galatian theory has nothing in the text to support it, and strains credulity that Paul would take time now to plant a church in this Galatian city. For this view see John Polhill, *Acts*

route northward through Nacolea. Luke writes next about the journey: "When they came to the border of Mysia, they tried to enter Bithynia, but the Spirit of Jesus would not allow (Gk. ἐλάσεν) them to" (Acts 16:7).¹⁴

The precise border point is unstated in the book of Acts, but Robert Jewett has argued convincingly that "Dorylaeum was the location where the decision not to enter Bithynia was made."¹⁵ Dorylaeum was the final important city in northeast Asia. From here Paul planned to continue northward to the major Bithynian cities of Nicea,¹⁶ Nicomedia, the provincial capital, Chalcedon, and Byzantium. That Dorylaeum was on the border of Bithynia is attested by an inscription dating from Hadrian's principate.¹⁷ With access to the north now blocked, Paul again turned west. Luke is vague concerning the route that Paul now took past Mysia before arriving on the coast at Troas. Jewett, following a local tradition, sends Paul across a track through northwest Anatolia following the upper Scamander valley.¹⁸ More attractive is a southwesterly route from Dorylaeum through Cotiaenum and Aezanoi that follows the upper Maeander valley passing the later city Hadrianothera to the coast at Adramyttium.¹⁹

Dorylaeum and Peter's Anatolian Communities

Peter's association with Anatolia is difficult to reconstruct historically. In his letter to the Galatians Paul speaks of Peter at Antioch on the Orontes (Galatians 2:11-14) and in his first letter to the Corinthians Peter is mentioned in Corinth at some later point (1 Corinthians 1:12). Peter's itinerary between Antioch and Corinth is unknown.²⁰ Later Peter wrote his first letter from Rome²¹ where, after the great fire in A.D. 64, he was martyred by Nero, with Paul's execution following soon after (*1 Clement* 5:2). In his first letter Peter addresses Christians "scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia,

(Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 137, and Jerome Murphy O'Connor, *Paul A Critical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 162. The direct route to Dorylaeum was 258 kilometers (160 miles) as opposed to 420 kilometers (260 miles) through Pessinus

¹⁴ ἔλασεν is a distinctly Lukan word. Of its eleven occurrences in the *New Testament*, Luke uses it nine times.

¹⁵ Robert Jewett, "Mapping the Route of Paul's 'Second Missionary Journey' from Dorylaeum to Troas," *Tyndale Bulletin* 48.1 (1997): 5. Here Jewett also lists a number of other scholars who concur that "Dorylaeum was the decisive junction." W. M. Ramsay seems to be the first to express this opinion in his article "Roads and Travel (in NT)" in *A Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. James Hastings; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1898), 5:391.

¹⁶ Magie (*Roman Rule*, 2:800) describes the route that ran from Dorylaeum to Nicea, the nearest Bithynian city.

¹⁷ C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, eds., *Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea (MAMA 5)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937), 60f; Magie calls the restoration [Νικ]αίεων questionable and doubts that the "territory of Nicea was so large as to be conterminous with that of Dorylaeum" (*Roman Rule* 2:1487-88; cf. 1:626).

¹⁸ Paul Jewett, "Mapping the Route of Paul's 'Second Missionary Journey,'" 7-14, 22.

¹⁹ See T. R. S. Broughton, "Three Notes on St. Paul's Journeys in Asia Minor" in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (ed. Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes E. Lake; London: Christophers, 1937), 137-38. This is also the route favored by David French, the foremost authority today, in his article "Acts and the Roman Roads of Asia Minor" in *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting: Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 54. Adramyttium was the home port of the ship upon which Paul sailed on the first leg of his journey to Rome (27:2).

²⁰ The apocryphal Acts of Peter are also silent regarding any ministry in the Black Sea region and in Anatolia, in general, although Asia Minor is considered by many scholars as the provenance for this late second-century document.

²¹ Eusebius (*Church History* 2.15.2), citing Papias of Hierapolis. See Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 4.9.2; 4.16.5; 5.7.2) who likewise attributes authorship to Peter. Boring takes a more critical view, claiming that "1 Peter is best understood as a pseudonymous document written about 90 CE by an anonymous member of the Roman church" (*1 Peter*, [Nashville: Abingdon, 1999] 29-30, 52).

and Bithynia” (1 Peter 1:1). From Antioch Peter could well have traveled through the Cilician Gates to Pontus where he already had Jewish contacts (Acts 2:9). Stephen Mitchell is certainly correct when he comments: “In so far as the gospel was taken here in the early years of the Church, the evangelist was surely Peter.”²²

In 1898 the British scholar F. J. A. Hort pioneered the hypothesis that the sequence of names in 1 Peter 1:1 followed a geographical order much like that of the seven churches of Revelation chapters 1–3.²³ Hort conjectured that the messenger, after a sea journey from Byzantium, traveled south from Sinope to Ancyra, then to Caesarea, through Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus, before turning northward to Bithynia. This itinerary provides for extensive travel in the southern and western cities of Paul’s Anatolian mission. In constructing an alternate itinerary, I wish to account for Michaels’s comment that the provinces listed in 1 Peter “suggest a route oriented rather toward the Black Sea and centering on northern and eastern churches not reached by the journeys of Paul.”²⁴ Thus after stopping in Amastris and Sinope on his sea voyage, Silas (the possible messenger; 1 Peter 5:12) visited Amisus,²⁵ hence the first provincial name Pontus is covered. He then visited Amasia and Zela in Galatia before reaching Caesarea Mazaca, the capital of Cappadocia. The messenger next re-crossed Galatia no matter what itinerary is adopted (a feature not mentioned in 1 Peter). Here I suggest he went north on the Roman road to Tavium rather to the Pauline south Galatian cities, a route well documented by David French.²⁶ At this great junction in eastern Galatia the messenger proceeded west along the great northern Anatolia road (cf. Pliny, *Epistles* 10.77.2) to Ancyra and Pessinus before reaching Dorylaeum in Asia. At Dorylaeum copies of the letter were probably made and sent via messengers to other churches throughout the northern part of the province of Asia.²⁷ Silas then turned northward to the two metropolises of Bithynia—Nicaea and Nicomedia. From here he returned to Byzantium via Chalcedon, thus completing his Anatolian loop. In terms of time and audience this itinerary is the most conservative and is to be preferred. The distance for such a journey has been calculated at 2176 kilometers (1348 miles).²⁸ Dorylaeum once again serves as a critical hub on the journey and represents Asia among the list of provinces.

²² Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 2:3. Neither the book of Acts nor other early Christian writings suggest that Paul established churches in Ancyra, Tavium, or Pessinus—the so-called North Galatian theory. On his second ministry journey (Acts 16:7) he was prevented by the Holy Spirit from entering Bithynia as well

²³ F. J. A. Hort, *First Epistle of St. Peter 1.1–II.17, Additional Note III* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 167–84. The majority of later commentators have followed Hort’s line of thinking.

²⁴ J. Ramsay Michaels, *1 Peter* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity), 10

²⁵ C. J. Hemer in “The Address of 1 Peter,” *Expository Times* 89 (1980): 240–41, has recently proposed a modification of the beginning of Hort’s itinerary, noting correctly that no major roads extended southward from the Black Sea in antiquity except at Amisus. Therefore Hemer takes the messenger south from Amisus through Amasia, then to Caesarea, before following the rest of Hort’s route. The route through Amisus across the Anatolian peninsula is mentioned by Strabo (*Geography* 14.5.22). The weakness of Hemer’s suggestion is again its focus on southern Anatolia.

²⁶ David French, “A Study of Roman Roads in Anatolia,” *Anatolian Studies* (1974): 144–48.

²⁷ Hemer, “The Address of 1 Peter,” 241.

²⁸ The distances were measured on the *Barrington Atlas of the Classical World* using a Brunton Digital Map Measurer.

Origin	Destination	Distance Km/M
Byzantium	Heraclea (by sea)	242/150
Heraclea	Amastris (by sea)	112/69
Amastris	Sinope (by sea)	304/188
Sinope	Amisus (by sea)	168/104
Amisus	Amascia	124/77

Post-Apostolic Period

Montanism

The rise of Montanism in the late second century occurred in the region south of Dorylaeum. Therefore it was often called by its ancient critics the "Phrygian heresy" (Gk. ἡ κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσις). However, the movement called itself the "New Prophecy."²⁹ Its charismatic leader Montanus taught that the dispensation of the Son had now been replaced by the dispensation of the Holy Spirit. In John 16:7 Jesus promised his disciples that the Paraclete, a synonym for the Holy Spirit, would come after his departure from earth.³⁰ Montanus maintained that the Paraclete had now come, and that he was the Paraclete's mouthpiece. Two prophetesses named Maximilla and Priscilla were closely associated with Montanus. Their prophetic activity was an embarrassment to established church officials, who sought first to exorcize them before finally anathematizing Montanus and his followers. Bruce mentions another distinctive aspect of their teachings: "The coming of the Paraclete was the immediate prelude to the second advent of Christ and the establishment of the New Jerusalem in one of the towns of Phrygia."³¹ Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Church History* (5.18.2) mentions that Pepouza and Tymion were the towns identified as Jerusalem by the Montanists. The sites of these Phrygian towns was believed to be south of Uşak, but their exact location unknown. Based on recent survey work and epigraphical evidence, William Tabbernee has now placed Tymion near the modern village of Susuzören and Pepouza south of the village of Karayakuplu.³²

This "Phrygian heresy" naturally moved northeast along the route that connected Philadelphia, one of the Seven Churches of Revelation, with Acmonia and then up the Tembris valley to Dorylaeum.³³ Although Montanist inscriptions are recorded in Dorylaeum,³⁴ Cox and Cameron in their 1931 survey

Amaseia	Zela	72/45
Zela	Caesarea Mazaca (via Sebastopolis and Basilica Therma)	258/160
Caesarea Mazaca	Tavium (via Basilica Therma)	170/105
Tavium	Ancyra	174/108
Ancyra	Germa	142/88
Germa	Dorylaeum	110/68
Dorylaeum	Nicca	144/89
Nicca	Nicomedia	62/38
Nicomedia	Chalcedon	88/55
Chalcedon	Byzantium	6/4
Byzantium	Chalcedon	2176/1348

²⁹ K. N. Giles, "Prophecy, Prophets, False Prophets," *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments* (ed. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1997), 975. Giles notes significantly that the second-century Anatolian church father Irenaeus did not denounce Montanism in his monumental volume *Against Heresies*.

³⁰ Paraclete is the transliteration of the Greek word παρακλήτωρ, which is translated variously into English as Counselor, Helper, Advocate, and Comforter. Its Turkish translation is Avutucu.

³¹ F. F. Bruce, *The Spreading Flame* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958), 218.

³² William Tabbernee, "Portals of the Montanist New Jerusalem: The Discovery of Pepouza and Tymion," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11.1 (2003): 87-93.

³³ Magie, *Roman Rule*, 2:801-2.

³⁴ Unfortunately these inscriptions had already disappeared when Cox and Cameron visited the city in 1931; see *MAMA* 5, xvii.

concluded that traces of Christianity on pre-Constantinian monuments in the city were very rare. “In this respect the territories of Dorylaeum and Nacolea offer a marked contrast to much of the Phrygian and Lycaonian country....We find no instance of the crypto-Christian sepulchral formulae of Central and Eastern Phrygia nor of what can probably be regarded as their North Phrygia Montanist equivalent.”³⁵ The fish, which was given an esoteric religious meaning in the second and third centuries in other contexts, here retains its pagan setting. Dorylaeum was noted for its fish, so the fish forms an important motif on reliefs from the region.³⁶ The cult of Zeus Bronton was the predominant deity in the region and a likely pagan foe of Christianity. Approximately 130 dedicatory inscriptions to Zeus Bronton have been found in the region, with over 30 found in Eskişehir. These “bear eloquent witness to the vitality of paganism at Dorylaeum and Nacolea.”³⁷

However, a very important Montanist inscription was found at Eskişehir. The inscription, now lost but dating to the later half of the fourth century, was copied by Sepheradius prior to 1897 and by Besset and Massult prior to 1901. It reads:

Π † Π
 Λουπικίνος Μουντάνη
 συνβίω Χρειστιανῆ
 πνευματικῆ μνήμης
 χάριν

A p(neumatikos?) † (to a) p(neumatikē?)
 Loupiknos (prepared this tomb) for Mountane, his wife, a
 Christian (and) a pneumatikē, in memory.³⁸

Although Mountane is a common Phrygian name, Tabbernee states: “In this instance, other indicators leave little doubt that Mountane came from a Montanist family and that she married a Montanist.”³⁹ The Greek letter *pi*, carved on each side of a Latin cross, has puzzled scholars for some time. The most likely explanation is that it stood for πνευματικός and πνευματικη, both Montanist catchwords. This abbreviated form “helped to overcome the necessity of inscribing the different endings.”⁴⁰

That the abbreviation Π has been found on an inscription found at Nacolea (Seyitgazi) further suggests a Montanist link. It reads:

³⁵ Ibid., xxxii–xxxiii.

³⁶ Ibid., xiv–xv: 27; see the illustration on plate 44 (2).

³⁷ Ibid., xxxviii–xxxix.

³⁸ This translation is from William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 401.

³⁹ Ibid., 403.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 403.

Π

Ἄνθος Ἀπολλ-
ωνίω ἀδελθ-
ῶ μνήμης
χάριν

P(neumatikoi?)

Anthos (commissioned this tomb) for Apollonios his brother, in I memory.⁴¹

Cox and Cameron, after noting the possible Montanist connection of this inscription, state that the “prominence of the letter here suggests that it is more than a mason’s mark.”⁴² Tabbernee summarizes, “If there were Montanists using this abbreviation in Dorylaeion, there is no reason why there could not have been Montanists in Nakoleia doing the same.”

During the third century⁴³ another Christian movement arose near Altıntaş in the Upper Tembris valley. This group produced over twenty funerary epitaphs that today are known as the “Christians for Christians” inscriptions. Along with a prominent cross, the sepulchral sculpture contained a number of traditional motifs: oxen and ploughs, vines and pruning hooks, wax writing tablets, mirror, comb, knitting basket, spindle, and distaff, as well as the traditional Phrygian lions and bull and Phrygian door.⁴⁴ Calder initiated a long-running debate by identifying these inscriptions as Montanist.⁴⁵ In her recent monograph on the corpus of these inscriptions Gibson, while not ruling out the possibility, does “not think the evidence permits us to decide.”⁴⁶ Mitchell concurs with this assessment: “No unambiguous evidence supports the widely held view that they too were Montanists, although it is likely that they followed their own distinctive and possibly sectarian traditions within the Church at large.”⁴⁷

Sepulchral inscriptions should that Christianity including its Montanist form had established itself in Dorylaeum and its environs by the third and fourth centuries. Its location ensured that it was not left out of the advances of this new religion.

⁴¹ This translation is Tabbernee’s; *ibid.*, 327.

⁴² *MAMA* 5, 123; Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions*, 329.

⁴³ These inscriptions date mostly between A.D. 246–273, paralleling closely the period of the Eumeneian Formula (ἔσται αὐτῶ πρὸς θεόν); see Elsa Gibson, *The “Christians for Christians” Inscriptions of Phrygia* (Missoula: Scholars, 1978), 4, 139.

⁴⁴ Gibson, *The “Christians for Christians” Inscriptions*, 1.

⁴⁵ W. M. Calder, “Philadelphia and Montanism,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7 (1922–23), 309–54. Gibson (*The “Christians for Christians” Inscriptions*, 131–35) reviews the debate that has raged over the past century on this identification.

⁴⁶ Gibson, *The “Christians for Christians” Inscriptions*, 144.

⁴⁷ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2:40.

Early Byzantine Period

The early Byzantine period saw the establishment of bishoprics throughout Anatolia, with the first ecumenical council occurring at nearby Nicea in 325. Seven Christian bishops of Dorylaeum are known from the fourth to the ninth century, the most famous being Eusebius who denounced successively the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Eusebius was originally a lawyer from Constantinople.⁴⁸ He became one of the opponents of Nestorius who was appointed bishop of Constantinople in 428 by Theodosius II. Nestorius became the popularizer of the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who believed that Christ was a man who became God rather than God who became man. Nestorius separated the human and divine natures of Christ, asserting that the union between them was moral rather than essential (*ousia*).⁴⁹ At the Council of Ephesus in 431 Eusebius joined Cyril of Alexandria in opposing the heretical views of Nestorius.

In 448 Eusebius was appointed bishop of Dorylaeum. Later that year at a synod in Constantinople he charged Eutyches with heresy. Eutyches had supported Cyril but overreacted to the Nestorian distinction between Christ's human and divine natures by stressing his single divine nature. He affirmed, "I confess that our Lord was of two natures before union (i.e., the incarnation), but after the union one nature."⁵⁰ Although Eutyches was condemned as a heretic at the council, he found a champion in Dioscurus, the new bishop of Alexandria. At the request of Dioscurus the emperor convened a council at Ephesus in 449, later called the Robbers Council by Leo I, bishop of Rome. Here Eusebius was condemned and Eutyches restored. Eusebius was vindicated at the council of Chalcedon in 451 where Dioscurus was himself condemned. Eusebius served on the commission that drafted the important statement of orthodox faith issued by the council, the creed of Chalcedon.⁵¹ Thus this bishop from Dorylaeum was a central figure in the fifth-century Christological debates that were to define orthodoxy in the Christian church.

Conclusion

Christianity soon expanded from Palestine into Anatolia in the first century through the teaching of the apostles. Both Paul and Peter had significant ministries in Anatolia during their lifetimes. Knowledge of Anatolian history and geography has allowed us to examine the writings of the *New Testament* and to discover the place that Dorylaeum played in the activities of these apostles. Epigraphical evidence has shown that Montanism, a major early Christian sect, also had adherents in Dorylaeum. Finally Eusebius, a major figure in the Christological controversies of the fifth century, served as bishop of Dorylaeum. Dorylaeum thus played an important role in the development of Christianity in Anatolia.

⁴⁸ James McClintock and James Strong, ed., "Eusebius of Dorylaeum," *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1887), 3:360

⁴⁹ J. W. C. Wand, *A History of the Early Church to A.D. 500* (New York: Methuen, 1937), 220.

⁵⁰ Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1970), 137.

⁵¹ The text of the creed is cited by Walker on page 139.