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Seleuceia in Pisidia in the Hellenistic Period

More than one hundred settlements were founded or refounded in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period, some of which lay in the territory of Pisidia, a region of southwestern Turkey. The nature of this period in Pisidia's history is difficult to reconstruct from the evidence as it is both sparse and fragmentary. The literary evidence for the Hellenistic epoch, in particular that of the settlement histories, derives indirectly from Roman and Byzantine sources; Greek sources are rare.¹ As a result, no continuous historical narrative for this region has been written. The archaeology of Hellenistic Pisidia, while a relatively new field, offers the promise of constructing such a narrative through the discovery and study of the region's material culture. In this article I will sketch the history of one Pisidian city in particular, Seleuceia, and illustrate how the archaeological evidence there has been brought to bear on the literary sources for the Hellenistic period.

Pisidia during the Hellenistic Period

Pisidia is the ancient name for a region in the southwestern part of modern Turkey that is dominated by the Taurus mountains.² The exact boundaries of the ancient region are unclear; the *communis opinio* is based on the views of Artemidorus of

¹ For Hellenistic Pisidia: S. MITCHELL: The Hellenization of Pisidia, in: *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4, 1991, 119-145; S. MITCHELL: Hellenismus in Pisidien, in: E. SCHWERTHEIM (Ed.): *Forschungen in Pisidien*. (Asia Minor Studien 6). Bonn 1992, 1-27; H. BRANDT: Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidiens im Altertum (Asia Minor Studien 7) Bonn 1992, 39-93; E. KOSMETATOU: Pisidia and the Hellenistic Kings from 323 to 133 BC, in: *Ancient Society* 28, 1997, 5-37; and H. BRACKE: Pisidia in Hellenistic Times (334-25 B. C.), in: M. WAELKENS (Ed.): *Sagalassos I. First General Report on the Survey (1986-1989) and Excavations (1990-1991)*. (*Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae*). Leuven 1993, 15-36.

² For the topography and frontiers of ancient Pisidia: BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) 8-10; BRACKE (*op. cit.* note 1) 15-16; D. H. FRENCH: Roads in Pisidia, in: SCHWERTHEIM (*op. cit.* note 1) 168-169; H. VON AULOCK: Münzen und Städte Pisidiens 2. *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 22, 1979; J. GREENHALGH: Late Roman Pisidia: A study of development and change. Formerly unpublished Ph.D. University of Newcastle Upon Tyne 1987; X. DE PLANHOL: De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiennes. *Nomadisme et vie paysanne* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie de Stamboul 3). Paris 1958; M. HARRISON: Mountain and Plain. From the Lycian Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period. *Ann Arbor* 2001, chapter 4 (for the review of this book: E. LAFLI: *Rev. Harrison, Mountain and Plain*, in: *Gnomon* 2002, in print); J. POBLOME: *Sagalassos Red Slip Ware. Typology and Chronology*. *Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology*. Turn-

Ephesus.³ In modern terms, the region would be described as extending over the northern districts of Antalya, the central and eastern districts of Burdur, the whole of Isparta and the western edges of Konya.⁴ This includes, then, the lake regions of Burdur, Eğridir (fig. 1) and Beyşehir Gölü, as well as the ancient Cestrus, Eurymedon and Melas rivers. Its strongest link – geographically, commercially, and culturally speaking – was to its southern neighbour Pamphyliia, but it was clearly in contact with its other neighbours, namely Lycia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Caria, Galatia, Lydia and even Cilicia.⁵ Pisidia's element of independence and her geographical isolation, however, protected the district to a certain extent from adversities which were not the result of natural causes.

In general terms the ancient history of the region is still not very well known, despite the fact that since the 18th century Pisidia has been the focus of research for scholars, who have produced numerous studies on its history, archaeology and monuments.⁶ Since the 1980s a number of settlement surveys have been conducted in the region, and excavations at sites such as Pisidian Antioch, Cremna and Sagalassus have shed much new light on Pisidia in the Hellenistic period (cf. note 1).⁷

hout 1999, 13; and W. M. RAMSAY: *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers 4). London 1890, 387–388.

³ Strab. 12,7,2,570 and Plin. nat. 5,24.

⁴ FRENCH (*op. cit.* note 2) 168; BRACKE (*op. cit.* note 1) 15; M. ÖZSAIT: İlk Çağ Tarihinde Pisidya I. Başlangıçtan Büyük İskender Devrinin Sonuna Kadar. İstanbul 1980, 27; and D. KAYA: Seleucia Sidera, in: 1. Uluslararası Pisidia Antiocheia Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı, 2–4 Temmuz 1997, Yalvaç/Isparta. Kocaeli 1999, 35.

⁵ FRENCH (*op. cit.* note 2) 168. The former textual and archaeological evidence on Hellenistic, Imperial Roman and Byzantine Pisidia accompanying the following publications and their bibliography can be suggested: E. OLSHAUSEN/G. NEUMANN: Pisidien, in: K. ZIEGLER/W. SONTHEIMER (Eds.): *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft* 4. München 1972, 868–870; BRACKE (*op. cit.* note 1); SCHWERTHEIM (*op. cit.* note 1); BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1); K. BELKE/N. MERSICH: Phrygien und Pisidien (*Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 7, Österr. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 211). Wien 1990; VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2); A. M. JONES: *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. Oxford 1971, 123–146; ÖZSAIT (*op. cit.* note 4); B. UMAR: *Pisidia* (Turkish/English). Ak Yayınları, Kültür ve Sanat Kitapları 48, Yeni Dizi 2. İstanbul 1987; and K. G. LANCKOROŃSKI/G. NIEMANN (Eds.): *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*. 2. Band. Pisidien. Prag/Wien/Leipzig 1892.

⁶ For a map of researches and travellers in Pisidia: M. WÄLKENS *et al.*: The 1994 and 1995 Surveys on the Territory of Sagalassos, in: M. WÄLKENS/J. POBLOME (Eds.): *Sagalassos IV. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997* (*Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 10). Leuven 1997, 16, fig. 2; and for the past researches cf. 11–18.

⁷ For some of their results: S. MITCHELL *et al.*: Cremna in Pisidia. An Ancient City in Peace and in War. Swansea 1997; G. DAVIES: Cremna in Pisidia: A Re-appraisal of the Siege Works, in: *Anatolian Studies* 50, 2000, 151–158; WÄLKENS (*op. cit.* note 6); and M. WÄLKENS/SAGALASSOS-TEAM: *Sagalassos und sein Territorium. Eine interdiszi-*

During the pre-Hellenistic period Pisidia appears⁷ to have been relatively autonomous.⁸ After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, it may have been controlled by Alketas. He was succeeded by Antigonos Monophthalmos (320–301 BC), by Lysimachus (301–281 BC) and, eventually during the third century BC (at least theoretically) by the Seleucids, when it was threatened by the Galatians. Thereafter the region fell temporarily under the control of Attalos I (c. 228–223 BC), and then from 218–216 BC again under that of the Seleucid usurper Achaius. The activity of the Seleucids in northern Pisidia is shown by the foundation of various colonies close to the Phrygo-Pisidian boundary. These included Seleuceia (cf. below). In general, however, Seleucid domination in Pisidia in the third century was short-lived and seems to have left few traces. Nevertheless, the nature of the Pisidian cities and the local architectural tradition have been regarded as showing Seleucid influence.⁹

After the defeat of Seleucid king Antiochus III by the Romans near Magnesia in 189 BC, the subsequent Treaty of Apameia in 188 BC brought Pisidia into the realm of the Attalids of Pergamon, who retained and supported the region.¹⁰ The various campaigns of the Attalids in Pisidia between 188 and 133 BC indicate, however, that their domination was far from well established. For Pisidia the most important effect of their rule may have been culturally rather than politically: the few examples of Hellenistic pottery found in Pisidia reflect pronounced Pergamene influence (cf. below).

In 133 BC Attalos III bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, but the establishment of the Roman province does not seem to have had much impact at first on Pisidia. The region may have been placed under the nominal authority of the dynasty of Ariarathes V of Cappadocia. During the last quarter of the second century BC, however, Pisidian cities seem to have been more or less autonomous for a few decades. After the death of Amyntas 25 BC it formally became a part of Roman empire.¹¹

During the Hellenistic period the most important Pisidian cities were Sagalassus, Selge and Termessus, all of which had very similar city plans.¹² Many modern historians, contrary to general impression created by the ancient sources, express the

plinäre Methodologie zur historischen Geographie einer kleinasiatischen Metropole, in: BELKE (*op. cit.* note 5) 261–288.

⁸ For pre-Hellenistic history of Pisidia: M. ÖZSAIT: İlk Çağ Tarihinde Pisidya II. İstanbul 1986; and BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) 11–38.

⁹ BRACKE (*op. cit.* note 1) 17. For the Hellenisation of Pisidia under Antiochus III: K. VANDORPE: Negotiators' Laws from Rebellious Sagalassos in an Early Hellenistic Inscription, in: M. WÄLKENS/L. LOOTS (Eds.): Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997. (*Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae* 11). Leuven 1999, 498–500.

¹⁰ J. MA: Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor. Oxford 1999; and M. AUSTIN: Antiochus III the Great. c. 242–187 BC. Seleucid king, in: G. SPEAKE (Ed.): Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition. Volume 1. London/Chicago 2000, 92–93.

¹¹ BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) 95.

¹² MITCHELL 1991 (*op. cit.* note 1) 13. For a list of Pisidian Hellenistic cities: MITCHELL 1992 (*op. cit.* note 1) 126–138.

view that the Pisidian cities were in fact influenced by Hellenistic culture very rapidly and thoroughly. The appearance of Hellenistic architecture, political and civic institutions, and religious influences in Pisidia, are described by MITCHELL in some detail.¹³

Seleuceia in Pisidia

During the early Hellenistic period seven ancient cities in Asia Minor and seven in other parts of the Seleucid empire were known as Σελεύκεια.¹⁴ One of these cities, Seleuceia Sidera, lies in northern Pisidia.

Pisidian Seleuceia (it later acquired the epithet 'ἡ σιδήρα') was occupied from the early Hellenistic until the late Byzantine period. The site was first identified by the German geographer HIRSCHFELD in 1874 on the hill called today 'Asartepe' (or 'Hisartepe') near the small village Bayat, 5 km southwest of the small town of Atabey, and 18.5 km northeast of Isparta (fig. 1–2).¹⁵ It is an isolated spot, well-suited for defence, and the area around it is known generally as 'Selef' today. In the first century AD, presumably as a result of Claudius' organization of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia in AD 43, the name of Seleuceia was changed to Κλαυδιοσελεύκεια. This new name is attested in a number of inscriptions as well as on coins minted by the city from the time of Hadrian to that of Claudius II Gothicus. The name 'Seleuceia' reappears in Byzantine lists, often with the epithet *Sidēra*, beginning with Hierokles (*Synekdemos*) in the sixth century AD.¹⁶

¹³ MITCHELL 1991 (*op. cit.* note 1) 122.

¹⁴ For ancient Seleuceias: V. STRECK *et al.*: RE II A, 1, 1923, 1148–1149, s. v. Seleukeia; and M. ROSTOVITZ: Chapter V: Syria and the East, in: S. A. COOK/F. E. ADCOCK/M. P. CHARLESWORTH (Eds.): *The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume VII: The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome* (second impression). Cambridge 1954, Map 4.

¹⁵ For the location of Seleuceia Sidera see the following maps: S. MITCHELL: *The Settlement of Pisidia in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period. Methodological Problems*, in: BELKE (*op. cit.* note 5) Map 1; D. KAYA: *Die Theaterausgrabung von Seleucia Sidera (Klaudioseleukeia)* in: *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien 4. (Asia Minor Studien 34)*. Bonn 1999, 164, Abb. 1; BRACKE (*op. cit.* note 1) 30; S. MITCHELL: *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor I: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule*. Oxford 1993, map 5; and BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) map of Pamphylia and Pisidia. Location of the town was determined by Ptolemy: G. E. BEAN: *Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia. Part II*, in: *Anatolian Studies* 10, 1960, 54, fig. 2 (a)–(b). According to HIRSCHFELD a journey between Isparta and Seleuceia Sidera takes three hours: G. HIRSCHFELD: *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, in: *Monatsbericht der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin - 20. März 1879. Gesamtsitzung der Akademie*, 312.

¹⁶ G. E. BEAN: *Seleuceia Sidera later Klaudioseleuceia*, in: R. STILLWELL (Ed.): *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton 1976, 821; E. LAFLI: *Notes on the History of Seleuceia Sidera in Pisidia (Southwestern Turkey). Second Preliminary Report on the Inscriptions and Inscription Fragments*, in: P. W. M. FREEMAN/J. BENNETT/Z. T. FIEMA/B. HOFFMANN (Eds.): *Limes XVIII - Proceedings of the XVIIIth International*

To arrive to the ruins of Seleuceia from the eastern part of Isparta city centre, a road to Eğridir leads up to the division to Atabey in its ninth km.¹⁷ From that point to the north a two-sides-road arrives after four km to Kuleönü, a small village where connects with local railway lines, and then after six km to Bayat, smallest village in the environs (fig. 2).¹⁸ This road continues up to small town Atabey and connects also İslamköy, a considerably big and famous village, with the city centre of Isparta. The ruins of the ancient city are located mainly on Asartepe, which is 1.5 km northwest of Bayat, and which connects with Bayat only through a simple path way. Between Bayat and Asartepe there are only farm fields, water reservoirs, concrete pipes, and gardens, where villagers uncover frequently archaeological objects.

Seleuceia has attracted less attention than the other Pisidian cities. When for the first time coins of Seleuceia were catalogued during the mid-nineteenth century,¹⁹ the question of the city's location was still unresolved. Probably drawing on the ancient literary and geographical sources, the great nineteenth-century German scholar of ancient topography, RITTER, suggested that Seleuceia was located at Eğridir.²⁰ The classical and Byzantine sources, however, rarely mention Seleuceia and not in sufficient detail to ascertain its location. In the first century BC Artemidorus of Ephesus drew up a list of Pisidian cities, quoted by Strabo,²¹ but this does not include mention of Pisidian Seleuceia. The name Seleuceia, however, is used by Ptolemy,²² from which Seleuceia can be traced as north of Pisidian Antioch and described as one of the μεσόγειοι πόλεις Φρυγίας Πισιδίας.²³ Pliny the Elder, on the other hand, refers to the *Seleucenses* in Galatia,²⁴ according to COHEN, he presumably meant

Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Amman 2000 (British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1084). Oxford 2002, 313–326; and *ibid.*: Spätantik-frühbyzantinische Tonunguentarien aus Seleukeia Sidēra in Pisidien (Südwesttürkei), in: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and *Amphorae* in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry (Barcelona, 14–16 March 2002)./1r congrés international sobre ceràmiques comunes, de cuina i àmfores de l'Antiguitat tardana a la Mediterrània: Arqueologia i arqueometria (Barcelona, 14–16 de Març de 2002). (British Archaeological Reports, International Series). Oxford 2003, in print.

¹⁷ H. VON AULOCK described the way to Seleuceia from Isparta very detailed: VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 43

¹⁸ Bayat is a name of a Turkish tribe of Oghuzs, and normally indicates central Asiatic origin of the inhabitants. In modern Turkey there are at least 32 villages with the same name: F. SÜMER: Oğuzlar. İstanbul 1980, 461; and M. AYDIN: Bayat Boyu ve Oğuzların Tarihi İstanbul 1984, 74.

¹⁹ W.-H. WADDINGTON: Un voyage en Asie-Mineure au point de vue numismatique, in: Revue numismatique 46, 1853, Pl. 2.5.

²⁰ C. RITTER: Vergleichende Erdkunde des Halbinsellandes Klein-Asien. Berlin 1859, 482.

²¹ Strab. 12,7,2,570.

²² Ptol. geogr. 5,5,4

²³ BEAN (*op. cit.* note 14) 54, fig. 2a.

²⁴ Plin. nat. 5,147

Seleuceia in Pisidia.²⁵ Seleuceia is mentioned as ‚Seleukeia Sidēra‘ for the first time in Hierokles’ *Synekdemos*²⁶ after Sagalassus and Baris but without any further detail. Thus the epithet ‚Sidēra‘ was possibly added as a title sometime between the fourth and the sixth century AD, but the reason remains unclear.²⁷ Some modern authors speculate that this name was added to distinguish this Seleuceia from the other Seleuceias in the late Roman world,²⁸ while others assume that *Sidēra*, meaning ‚iron‘, refers to the iron mines near the city. Traces of these mines are still visible on the surface in the district (fig. 8).²⁹ No archeometric research has been done as yet on the local geology. For the Church councils of AD 692 and 787 the city’s name is recorded as ‚Seleuceia‘, while in the *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*³⁰ it appears as ‚Seleuceia Sidēra‘ and normally follows Laodiceia Katakekaumene since there is no geographical order in this book.³¹

Epigraphic and numismatic references are more helpful in identifying the site. Although no inscriptions have yet been found in the ruins of Seleuceia Sidēra bearing the name of the city, two inscriptions, both found by HIRSCHFELD in 1876, one at Sagalassus³² and the second at Seleuceia itself (cf. below), persuaded later scholars to accept the identification suggested by HIRSCHFELD of Asartepe as the site of Pisidian Seleuceia.³³ A further inscription with the mention of [Σε]λευκεῖς was

²⁵ G. COHEN: *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 9). Berkeley/Los Angeles 1995, 350.

²⁶ 673,8. It should be clearly emphasized that there is no ancient authority, calling Seleuceia as ‚Pisidian Seleuceia‘.

²⁷ BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 378; and D. MAGIE: *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century After Christ*. Volume I. Princeton/New Jersey 1950, 457.

²⁸ RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 85.

²⁹ MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 88.

³⁰ 6, 7 and 9.

³¹ E. g., 1.381, 2.447, 9.338-39, 10.395-96. The archaeological evidence for Christianity in Seleuceia is very scarce. Christianity was one of the critical and most influential aspects of change in Pisidia and the churches are very often the only evidence which bears witness to the occupation of a site after the fourth century. There is thought to have been an Empire-wide decline during late Antiquity, resulting in urban decay, economic dislocation, depopulation and discontinuity of city life and traditions. The main cause seems to have been political instability, in particular almost continual warfare from the mid third century AD. These and other possible factors of decline are assessed against a background of general transformation and development, the symptoms reinterpreted, whenever justifiable, as reflections of changing traditions and changing needs. Through our current knowledge on Seleuceia and its environs, however, we cannot reconstruct the shiftings from Roman Imperial Seleuceia into Christian-Early Byzantine Seleuceia. On this phenomenon in Pisidia: TH. H. ROBINSON: *The Decline of Urban Settlement in Pisidia—from City to Village?*, in: K. DEMOEN (Ed.): *The Greek City from Antiquity to the Present*. Historical Reality, Literary Representation. Louvain/Paris/Sterling 2001, 87-100

³² HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 309; and LANCKOROŃSKI *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 5) no. 194, 9.

³³ (A. o.) J. R. S. STERRETT: *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*. Archaeological Institute of America (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 3).

subsequently found in Isparta.³⁴ In an inscription found near the village of Şihlar in ancient Pamphylia, BEAN and MITFORD restored Κλαυδ[ιοσελευ]χεῖς and ascribed the name to Seleuceia in Pamphylia.³⁵ ROBERT, however, argued that the restored name referred to the Pisidian Claudioseleuceia.³⁶ A further inscription from Pisidian Antioch, found by RAMSAY, also indicates the existence of this city as well as its *homonía* with Antioch.³⁷ There is strong numismatic evidence for identifying the city. IMHOOF-BLUMER tentatively ascribed coins with a head of Zeus or a bee on the obverse, and an eagle on a thunderbolt or an ear of corn with two leaves and the legend ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ on the reverse to the Hellenistic city of Pisidian Seleuceia.³⁸ For the imperial coinage of Seleuceia (exclusively with the legend ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ) VON AULOCK recorded as many as 205 coins.³⁹

Another useful factor in the re-discovery and localisation of the city at Asartepe was that HIRSCHFELD recognized the ancient name in the modern toponym 'Selef', i. e. a Turkish version for the name 'Seleuceia', which was given to the ruins by the villagers at Bayat.⁴⁰ STERRETT, who visited the site in 1888, recorded that he learnt of the name Selef from the nineteenth century Greek inhabitants of Isparta, not from

Boston 1888, 334; RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 406; LANCKOROŃSKI *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 5) 190; H. ROTT: *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien. Studien über christliche Denkmäler.* (Neue Folge der archäologischen Studien zum christlichen Altertum und Mittelalter 5/6). Leipzig 1908, 9; W. RUGE: RE II A, 1, 1921, 1204–1205, s. v. 6. Seleukeia. L. ROBERT: *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques.* Volume X: Dédicaces et relief votifs, villes, cultes, monnaies et inscriptions de Lycie et de Carie. Inscriptions et topographie. Inscriptions de Phocée et des Dardanelles. Péripolarques monnaie de Thibron. Paris 1955, 239; BEAN (*op. cit.* note 16) 821; VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 43; and BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 411.

³⁴ M. COLLIGNON: *Inscriptions de Pisidie et de Pamphylie*, in: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 3, 1879, 345, ins. no. 26.

³⁵ *Ibid.*: *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963* (Österr. Akad. der Wiss., Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 85). Wien 1965, 4–6; and *ibid.*: *Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964–1968* (Erg. bde zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 3. Österr. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 102). Wien 1970, 18–19.

³⁶ COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 350.

³⁷ W. M. RAMSAY: *Studies in the Roman Province Galatia. VI. Some Inscriptions of Colonia Caesarea Antiochea*, in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 14, 1924, 197, ins. no. 26.

³⁸ F. IMHOOF-BLUMER: *Kleinasiatische Münzen 2.* (Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 3). Wien 1902, 397–398. This followed, also with reservations by VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 44, and 154–5. For the coinage of Seleuceia: E. LAFLI: *Games and Festivals on Roman Coins of Pisidia. The Case of Seleuceia Sidera*, in: S. BELL (Ed.): *Games and Festivals in Classical Antiquity. Interdisciplinary Conference.* University of Edinburgh, 10–12 July 2000. Edinburgh 2000.

³⁹ VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 15.

⁴⁰ HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 312. Survival of local place names from antiquity into the Turkish period is not unusual in Pisidia. The names of seventeen ancient settlements survive in the modern toponymy: MITCHELL 2000 (*op. cit.* note 15) 147, note 44.

the villagers of Bayat.⁴¹ Reference to the name ‚Selef‘ by the locals at Bayat was last reported by ROBERT in 1948.⁴² In 1993, when I talked for the first time to the locals, they stated that the valley between the northern edge of Asartepe and another hill north of it is still called as ‚Selef Arası‘, although this in fact the bed of an ancient river (as confirmed by a local Turkish author in his book). Thus today this name is no longer current in describing the site of Pisidian Seleuceia.

The site itself is centered on the hill of Asartepe (or Hisartepe), which can be taken as the acropolis rising c. 70 m high above the height of the surrounding area. Asartepe is bordered by mountains to the north and is situated at the northern end of a small alluvial plain called Kuleönü (‚in front of the tower‘; possibly meant areas in front of Asartepe)-Bozanönü (figs. 2 and 7). This plain is located at an altitude of 920 to 990 m above sea level. Since Asartepe is situated at the most northerly point of this plain and is surrounded by high mountains, such as Gelincik (2890 m) and Davraz Dağı (2635 m), it constitutes an enormously well-defended and strong position dominating the plain. Asartepe itself, however, not very high, only 1010 m above sea level, while its northern neighbour, Kırdığı, stands at 1089 m. Asartepe is orientated NNW-SSE and on its northern side there are sheer cliffs that rise to the top of the site, while on the southern and eastern sides the cliffs fall precipitously to the valley below, necessitating heavy terracing.⁴³

Nowadays there are almost no natural water sources in the Kuleönü plain, and there are only a few still active springs in the villages of Bayat and Kuleönü (fig. 2).⁴⁴ Thus today Kuleönü does not provide enough water to serve a fair-sized population. A Roman aqueduct, which perhaps ran directly from the Bindaios area, c. 20 km southeast to Seleuceia, and whose primary purpose was to supply copious amounts of water to the city, can today be seen best preserved in a stretch of wall foundations at Büyükkemerovası (*kemer* = arch). In Seleuceia modern small water reservoirs and terracotta water pipes transporting water from eastern part of the plain were found

⁴¹ STERRETT (*op. cit.* note 33) 334. The same conclusion was also reported curiously by W. RUGE: Ueber Identifizierung antiker Oertlichkeiten, in: *Geographische Zeitschrift* 196, 1900.

⁴² ROBERT (*op. cit.* note 33) 243.

⁴³ For the detailed description of the site's and its environs (i. e. Kuleönü Plain) topography: KAYA (*op. cit.* note 15) 163; and KAYA (*op. cit.* note 3) 35.

⁴⁴ Some of very few Pisidian cities and their water supply were studied. For water supply in Cremna: MITCHELL (*op. cit.* note 8) 141–51; Sagalassus: A. STEGEN *et al.*: The Water Supply to Sagalassos, in: WAELEKENS/LOOTS (*op. cit.* note 9) 635–649; and E. J. OWENS: The Aqueducts of Sagalassos, in: M WAELEKENS/J. POBLOME (Eds.): *Sagalassos III. Report on the Fourth Excavation Campaign of 1993 (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 7)*. Leuven 1995, 91–113; as well as Antioch OWENS: The Water Supply of Antioch, in: T. DREW-BEAR *et al.* (Eds.): *Actes du Ier Congres international sur Antioche de Pisidie. Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen*. Lyon 2001, 337–348; and J. BURDY/M. TAŞLIALAN: L'aqueduc d'Antioche, in: DREW-BEAR *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 44) 323–336.

on the line of an aqueduct.⁴⁵ Moreover, on the southern slope of the site a cistern of possibly Hellenistic origin was found in 1993 (figs. 4d and 9); it was perhaps also used in Roman times. The existence of both an aqueduct and cisterns indicates that water was always scarce and had to be collected or transported considerable distances to the city, although there is also some evidence to suggest that until quite recently there might have been a small river around the site. There are no remains of any major public buildings associated with the water supply (for example, a *nymphaeum* or a bath house). Furthermore, according to some numismatic evidence of the Roman imperial period, the city stood on a river called the Oraendos, which might have been today's dry stream which flows south from Davraz Dağı past ancient Agrai (Atabey) and Seleuceia.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the fact that Seleuceia also possessed an extensive and fertile territory beginning at least from the Bronze Age is a further indication that there must have been some local water sources in the area.

Nowadays the vegetation of the alpine to subalpine landscape is very sparse. The slopes of Asartepe and Kırdığı have almost no vegetation, and the north side of the plain is completely dominated by the bare mountain range. Today the plain is dotted with the odd pine tree, along with small bushes, and some fruit trees (cherry, apricot, peach, apple), while rose agriculture forms part of the local economy. In antiquity, however, the vegetation may have been richer. According to the evidence gained from excavations in Seleuceia in 1993, viticulture was also a major commercial activity at the site at least during late antiquity, although these were later completely forgotten.

Kuleönü is an enclosed, alluvial plain, which afforded easy communications, while transversal routes connecting this plain and settlements with their neighbours. Thus Seleuceia stood at a junction of several main roads stretching from west to east and from north to south.⁴⁷ The ancient road climbed by way of Döşeme and Ariassus across the plain of Kestel Gölü to Sagalassus, thus connecting Pamphylia directly with Baris and Seleuceia Sidēra in the Isparta plain. According to ancient written sources and many modern authors, this is the route taken by Alexander the Great.⁴⁸ The purpose and form of other Hellenistic roads in Pisidia is not known. No doubt they were based on earlier routes. According to FRENCH, the year 133 BC (the death of Attalus III and the inception of the Roman province Asia) also marks the beginning of the Roman road system in Pisidia.⁴⁹ By means of this new Roman road

⁴⁵ For some terracotta water pipes from Seleuceia cf. KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 41; from Cremna: MITCHELL (*op. cit.* note 7) 145 and 149, pl. 88; and from Sagalassus: STEGEN *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 44) 635ff.

⁴⁶ G. F. HILL: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia. London 1897, cix (He recorded Davraz Dağı as 'Tounas Dagh'). Traces of this river can be traced back at the southern entrance of the town Atabey. In 1993 natives of Bayat told me that there is also a temporary river on the back side of Asartepe, which I have never observed in my later excursions. For the other streams on this plain: STERRETT (*op. cit.* note 33) 332.

⁴⁷ RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 49.

⁴⁸ JONES (*op. cit.* note 5) 124; and B. LEVICK: Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor. Oxford 1967, 41.

⁴⁹ FRENCH (*op. cit.* note 2) 162.

system Seleuceia was connected to other Pisidian cities (for example, Apollonia and Antioch), the coastal cities of Pamphylia, and so with the rest of the world. Perge was linked to Pisidia by means of a road following the Cestrus valley past Cremna.⁵⁰ It was this road that followed the mountain pass immediately northwest of Sagalassus and provided direct connections between Conana, Sagalassus and Seleuceia.⁵¹

During the antiquity Seleuceia Sidēra lay approximately between the Eğirdir and Burdur Lakes and the most influential Pisidian cities, Sagalassus, Apollonia and Antioch. Seleuceia's immediate neighbours were Baris, Conana, Apollonia, Saporda, Prostanna, Parlais and perhaps Minassus (fig. 1).⁵² Baris was to the south, located at Fari c. 2.5 km southwest of Kılıç near the northeastern tip of Lake Burdur.⁵³ The second neighbour to the north was the Roman colony of Conana,⁵⁴ located at Gönen, about 35 km due north of Sagalassus and to the northeast of Lake Burdur, with which city Seleuceia must have had also a common boundary (fig. 1). Furthermore, modern Isparta corresponds with the ancient settlement of Saporda and the Seljuk Soparda,⁵⁵ which did not have the status of a city in antiquity but probably had some political relations with Seleuceia. To the east lay Prostanna (modern Eğirdir), while to the northwest was Apollonia (Uluborlu) and to the northeast Parlais (Barla) (fig. 1). These formed three further neighbours of Seleuceia, for whose close relations with Seleuceia can be deduced from the *homonía* coins they struck together with Seleuceia.⁵⁶

For the *polis* territory of Seleuceia and its *chora* we do not have any epigraphical or ancient literary evidence so far, except for archaeological remains around the site. In order to identify possible boundaries of the city's large territory in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times and traces of occupation I conducted a survey of the

⁵⁰ MITCHELL 1993 (*op. cit.* note 15) 14–15. For this route as well as other Pamphylian and oversea connections of Pisidia: H.ŞENTÜRK: Antik Çağda Pamphylia Bölgesinde Perge'ye Ulaşan Yollar. Formerly unpubl. master thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, İstanbul; and H.-J. DREXHAGE: Die Kontakte zwischen Side, Alexandria und Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit (1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.), in: A.SCHÜTTLE/A.POHL/J.TEICHMANN (Eds.): Studien zum antiken Kleinasien. (Asia Minor Studien 3). Bonn 1991, 75–90. Distribution of Sagalassian red slip ware on south-western Asia Minor and Egypt was partially connected with this route.

⁵¹ RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 49.

⁵² JONES (*op. cit.* note 5) 142; S. MITCHELL: Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire. A New Inscription from Pisidia, in: The Journal of Roman Studies 66, 1976, 119, note 63; and WAELKENS *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 5) 98.

⁵³ MITCHELL (*op. cit.* note 52) 119; VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 23–27; and BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 206.

⁵⁴ HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 315–316; MITCHELL (*op. cit.* note 52) 119; BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 311; VON AULOCK 1979 (*op. cit.* note 2) 85; and WAELKENS *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 6) 98.

⁵⁵ BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 373.

⁵⁶ For the *homonía* coins of Seleuceia with its neighbour cities: VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 19 and 74. For Prostanna: VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 5); for Apollonia: VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 5); and HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 318f.; and for Parlais: VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 5).

Kuleönü plain in 1993 and 1995. The results of my very short seasons of fieldwork in the region produced the conclusion that when the new settlement picture emerges from the early Hellenistic period onward, the territory of Seleuceia and its vicinity now consists of a limited number of very small sites (*komai*, farms?), located on the plains as well as mountains. The mostly accepted common belief on the territory of Roman imperial Seleuceia is that it included only the plain east of Kuleönü and south of Atabey, i.e. the eastern extremity of the plain of Isparta, as well as the hilly district east of Isparta and west of Davraz Dağı (fig. 1). The southern limits of its territory probably did not extend beyond the Isparta Çayı. MITCHELL seemed to assume that the territory of Seleuceia lay between that of Conana and Sagalassus and in imperial times it might have been incorporated into the territory of Sagalassus.⁵⁷ Furthermore he assumed that Seleuceia lost its city status shortly before the time of Claudius I. But I think Sagalassus was not a direct neighbour of Seleuceia, since we do not have any precise and direct evidence to prove this.⁵⁸ With regard to his latter argument I would point to the existence of some coins that have been tentatively ascribed to late Hellenistic Seleuceia and possibly represent the first examples of Seleuceia's coinage during the first century BC (cf. below).

Its strategic importance, combined with its fertile territory, meant that Pisidian Seleuceia was an important settlement in the region for many centuries. Numerous höyüks and other prehistoric settlements in the area surrounding Seleuceia (for example, Kızıl, Kuleönü, Findos, Göndürle, Harmanören, Pamuklu, Karayuğ, Gönen, Senirce, Baradız, Kanlır and Aliköy; figs. 1-2) provide evidence for the strength and continuity of occupation in the plain at least from the Bronze Age onwards.⁵⁹ Archaeological surveys carried out in the 1940s near Isparta even brought to light some evidence of paleolithic activity at a place called Kapahin, c. 15 km west of Seleuceia.⁶⁰ Although the Kuleönü plain nowadays is one of the less densely populated areas of Pisidia, it may have attracted settlers quite early in the Bronze Age. During antiquity and later (especially during Byzantine period) the habitation activity in

⁵⁷ MITCHELL (*op. cit.* note 52) 119.

⁵⁸ WAELKENS seems to be agreed with this idea: WAELKENS *et. al.* (*op. cit.* note 6) 98.

⁵⁹ In recent years the more prominent höyük sites have been recorded and sherded by M. ÖZSAIT, but published reports refer almost exclusively to prehistoric material in the surroundings of Seleuceia: M. ÖZSAIT: 1987 ve 1988 Yılı Senirkent Çevresi Tarihöncei Araştırmaları, in: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı. Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. 7. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı. Antalya 18-23 Mayıs 1989. Ankara 1990, 381-389; and *ibid.*: 1997 Yılı Isparta ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları, in: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. 16. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 2. Tarsus 25-29 Mayıs 1998. Ankara 1999, 77-88. In Göndürle, Çünür, Kaleburnu and Findos Höyük M. ÖZSAIT determined and published, however, Hellenistic (?) and Roman Imperial pottery: sherds from Çünür, Kaleburnu and Findos: 1999, 79. Some of these settlements have even fortification walls (Kaleburnu) and other Hellenistic-Roman elements. ÖZSAIT thus assumed that Hellenistic population at Kaleburnu moved to Findos in Roman Imperial times, for which he did not bring any evidence: 1999, 80. He furthermore did not discuss the connections between these settlements and Seleuceia.

⁶⁰ KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 35.

the territory of Seleuceia was enormously high. Closest to Asartepe, at Kırdag, north of Asartepe, and at Tepecik, a small hill 2 km southwest of Asartepe,⁶¹ there are traces of rock-cut tombs and even a rock-relief, first discovered by BEAN.⁶² An imperial estate, located southeast of Seleuceia near the village of Küçükgökçeli (formerly called as ‚Findos‘) along the eastern edge of the plain of Atabey, developed during the Byzantine period into the bishopric of Bindaios (fig. 1).⁶³ We do not know what the relationship between Bindaios and Seleuceia was, despite the fact that ROBERT cited an unpublished inscription⁶⁴ of the imperial period showing that the former was a city. He also recognized the ancient name in the modern toponym. During the late Byzantine period Atabey (the Ottoman village of Agras) was called Agrai, which is often combined with Seleukeia in Byzantine lists of the eighth century.⁶⁵ Another Byzantine settlement appears at İslamköy, whose ruins have attracted to attention of earlier travelers.⁶⁶ To the southeast of Seleuceia the old name for the village of Kıran (?), Minassun, could perhaps be a reminder of the another ancient city name, that of Minassus, although there is no evidence for this.⁶⁷ Kıran, however, does possess some ruins. A Roman imperial cemetery site has been discovered at Güneykent, which is c. 20 km west of Seleuceia. The staff of the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta carried out some rescue excavations there in the 1980s.⁶⁸ BELKE and MERSICH discovered a fortified site at Pembeli, which perhaps lay at the northern extremity of Seleucian territory.⁶⁹ KAYA has also found a site at Kelian, c. 5 km northeast of Atabey, where he probably found some boundary inscriptions of Seleuceian territory.⁷⁰ These settlements, especially in Atabey and Kuleönü, re-used many architectural and sculptural fragments that had been elements transported

⁶¹ For both of them cf. KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 163.

⁶² BEAN (*op. cit.* note 15) pl. 12c.

⁶³ Σελευκείας Σιδήρας ἦτοι Ἄγρον: e.g. *Not. ep.* 9.338, 395: ROBERT (*op. cit.* note 33) 240, note 3. For Bindaios (a. o.): ROBERT: *Les inscriptions*, in: J. DES GAGNIERS *et al.* (Eds.): *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphée*. Québec 1969, 1455; BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 213; MITCHELL (*op. cit.* note 52) 119, note 63; ROTT (*op. cit.* note 33) 13f.; and RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 174 and 177.

⁶⁴ He quoted this inscription in many occasions (a. o.): ROBERT (*op. cit.* note 33) 240, notes 2–3.

⁶⁵ ROBERT (*op. cit.* note 33) 243–244. For ancient Atabey-Agras: BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5); ROTT (*op. cit.* note 33) 9–10; KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 38; and İ. H. UZUNÇARŞILI: *Afyon Karahisar, Atabey ve Eğirdir'deki Kitabeler*. İstanbul 1929, 221–223. I presume a religious site at Agrai during the Roman period, and today's ruins of a medrese in Atabey seem to me to be belonged to foundation of a Roman Imperial (or earlier) temple.

⁶⁶ HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 314–315; ROTT (*op. cit.* note 33) 9–10; and BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5).

⁶⁷ WAELKENS *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 6) 98; cf. HILL (*op. cit.* note 46) cxi.

⁶⁸ Pottery (especially Sagalassian red slip ware) found in this cemetery will be studied by myself for a forthcoming project.

⁶⁹ BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5).

⁷⁰ D. KAYA: *Kelian'da Bulunan İki Yazıt*, in: *The General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, Ministry of Culture, Turkish Review of Archaeology* 29, 1991, 251.

from Seleuceia. Tell (höyük) sites and other settlements in the environs of Seleuceia, examined by ÖZSAIT, have already been mentioned (cf. note 59).⁷¹

If we look to the settlement patterns of all these, we notice that between the Hellenistic, Roman Imperial and Byzantine periods there were different motifs for the settlement development. In northern Pisidia the *pax Augusta* which lasted for centuries created a boom in settlements and sites.⁷² The territorial reorganisation by the Roman authorities during the earlier years of the empire created a settlement pattern with cities, such as Sagalassus, controlling larger territories.⁷³ At this point, we do not know first if the settlements listed above belonged politically to Seleuceia and, if not, what sort of political and economic relationships between Seleuceia and these settlements we should expect. In the city of Seleuceia itself we have evidence of a mostly farming and merchant population, although other activities are attested. For example, a white limestone quarry at Asartepe and Kırdağı, approximately 2 km north of the site, where they produced stones during the Roman period, while in the city itself bone manufacturing and wine production is attested. The common feature of the settlements lying in the territory of Seleuceia is that they were located near a spring or other water sources for agriculture; therefore they were small farm fields or villages. Thus the Kuleönü plain might have had a closed economical structure through the territorial area of Seleuceia, while Seleuceia was its political and economic central point.

⁷¹ Numerous architectural and sculptural elements from Seleuceia Sidera and its chora can be found in Bayat, Kuleönü, İslamköy, Atabey and even in Isparta. Some of them are published: HIRSCHFELD found many re-used elements (a. o. some very important Greek and Latin inscriptions) from Seleuceia in İslamköy, Kuleönü and Atabey, and he listed them: HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 314–315. ROTT made some remarks on these elements as well: Rott (*op. cit.* note 33) 9–14 (especially Abb. 3–4). A Christian inscription in Isparta (today in the garden of a mosque) is perhaps also an element, transported from Seleuceia: STERRETT (*op. cit.* note 33) Vol. 2, 118, ins. no. 89. COLLIGNON has published an inscription from Isparta with [Σε]λευκεῖς: COLLIGNON (*op. cit.* note 34) 345, 26; and KAYA a grave stele from Atabey: D. KAYA: Zwei neugefundene Grabstelen aus Atabey (Isparta), in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45, 1995, 179–180. I have attempted to collect bibliographical references of all these monuments from Seleuceia, especially those inscriptions at a Seljuk Türbe and Medrese in Atabey (STERRETT [*op. cit.* note 33] 334–337, ins. nos. 467–471), and at a forgotten mosque in the south-eastern district of Atabey. For an example, cf. here fig. 12; and LAFLI 2002 (*op. cit.* note 16) fig. 2. But still, especially in the collection of the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta, there are numerous elements, which transported from Seleuceia once, and their provenance did not get registered. In my survey I have also observed dozens of unpublished elements, especially in Atabey (a. o. a Dionysos-stele).

⁷² BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) 103.

⁷³ WAELKENS *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 6) 97–101; M. WAELKENS/L. VANDEPUT: Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Pisidia, in: H. ELTON/G. REGER (Eds.): *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor. A Conference held on Friday 22nd-Sunday 24th August 1997, Trinity College, Hartford, CT. 2002*, in print; and WAELKENS/SAGALASSOS TEAM (*op. cit.* note 7) 269–273.

Past Researches and Excavations

For the localisation of Seleuceia the first attempt was done by RITTER in the nineteenth century, who wants to identify Pisidian Seleuceia at Eğridir.⁷⁴ The first visitor, and the re-discover of Sidera was, however, a professional scholar and discovered this site by chance in the autumn of 1876: this was German geograph HIRSCHFELD, who passed its ruins on an excursion from Isparta to Antioch.⁷⁵ In a report on his 1876 journey through southwest Asia Minor delivered to the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin three years later, HIRSCHFELD described his visit to Seleuceia Sidera. Prior to his arrival to Seleuceia HIRSCHFELD discovered numerous monuments, inscriptions and true sites of some other important Pisidian cities in southern Pisidia. Before he arrived to Seleuceia he first had been at Sagalassus and found an inscription with the mention of ‚Claudioseleuceia‘; thus he was aware of the problem about the Seleuceia’s localisation. Thereafter he found in Bayat an inscription, which he assumed as a honorific statue base to the emperor Claudius I (cf. below). After re-examining the ancient topography in particular hearing the name ‚Selef‘ from the native population, he reached to the correct conclusion that the site he had seen was indeed Seleuceia Sidēra, and that its name had been preserved in the form of the hill’s name *Selef*. He furthermore made a description of the rocky scenery of the site’s topography. He says, however, little about the ancient buildings, except fortification architecture and the cemeteries on the northwestern part of the hill. He also discovered an early Byzantine inscription in Bayat. His description, identification and analysis of the ruins themselves are particularly important for the reconstruction of the city’s re-discovery.

With the discovery of these two Greek inscriptions by HIRSCHFELD, Seleuceia Sidēra began to attract the attention of historians and archaeologists, and thus some notes and even short articles on various aspects of the site have appeared sporadically beginning from the end of the nineteenth and during the twentieth century: in 1885 the American epigraphist STERRETT spent a day at Seleuceia Sidēra copying inscriptions.⁷⁶ He reported same monuments, and confirmed the toponym ‚Selef‘. Seleuceia was visited again in 1906 by ROTT, in the course of a journey whose results were soon published in his ‚Kleinasiatische Denkmäler‘, a study principally of Christian remains in Asia Minor.⁷⁷ He reported among other things the second inscription of early Byzantine period once again. Among others HILL and IMHOOF-BLUMER recorded the city’s coinage in their books.⁷⁸ We do not know if RAMSAY visited the site itself, but he frequently reported information about Seleuceia and its neighbours.⁷⁹ Certainly Seleuceia Sidēra and the other Pisidian cities were almost completely neglected by archaeologists until the later 1960s, the exceptions being the visits by LEVICK in

⁷⁴ RITTER (*op. cit.* note 20) 482.

⁷⁵ HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 312.

⁷⁶ STERRETT (*op. cit.* note 33) 332–334.

⁷⁷ ROTT (*op. cit.* note 33) 9–10.

⁷⁸ HILL (*op. cit.* note 46) cix–cx; and IMHOOF-BLUMER (*op. cit.* note 38) 397–398.

⁷⁹ RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 49, 85, 252, 406ff.

the course of her research into the Roman colonies of southern Asia Minor⁸⁰ and by BEAN,⁸¹ who published a rock relief from the site's territory⁸² and gave a description of the site in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. In the 1960s ROBERT must also have been in Seleuceia, where he revised the Christian inscription and its content again and discussed the ideas of GRÉGOIRE.⁸³ He mentions that he has taken some pictures of the site, which he intended to publish later,⁸⁴ but did not succeed in doing this. In 1970s VON AULOCK visited the site and later published a short but informative description of the site and its coinage.⁸⁵ Furthermore, prior to the 1960's the site was used as a stone quarry by the residents of the nearby towns of Atabey, Kuleönü and even Isparta. Indeed, HIRSCHFELD had recorded the use of Seleuceia as a quarry as early as the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ In the first half of the twentieth century local authors in Isparta paid special attention to the ruins in Bayat and published some information, but mostly inaccurate, about the ancient city.

Until the 1980s there had not been a comprehensive investigation of the city's topography and extant buildings. In the 1980s and 1990s the surveys conducted by ÖZSAIT revealed that there had been continuous occupation from the Neolithic Age through to the beginning of Hellenistic period at several settlements in the area around Seleuceia.⁸⁷ After these surveys, ÖZSAIT started to excavate a Middle Bronze Age cemetery in Atabey. During their Pisidian and Lycaonian surveys BELKE and MERSICH also visited Seleuceia and collected together all the earlier evidence in their *Lemmata* under 'Seleukeia'.⁸⁸ They furthermore gave an account on later settlements in the area. In the 1980s another Turkish researcher, UMAR, traveled to Seleuceia and published some pictures of the site.⁸⁹ KAYA (†), an archaeologist from the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta, also carried out research at the site and in its vicinity. He has published much valuable information.⁹⁰

The site itself also began to be explored and published extensively for the first time in the 1980s. First the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta attempted to remedy the gap of archaeological information regarding the city's history with an

⁸⁰ LEVICK (*op. cit.* note 48).

⁸¹ BEAN (*op. cit.* note 16) 821.

⁸² BEAN (*op. cit.* note 15) pl. 12c: BEAN reported the location of this rock-cut relief to Burdur; this should be wrong.

⁸³ H. GRÉGOIRE: La *κώμη* d'Etsya-Estya, près de Seleucia Sidera en Pisidie, in: *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 51, 1909, 277–281; and ROBERT (*op. cit.* note 33) 239–245.

⁸⁴ ROBERT (*op. cit.* note 33) 243, note 3.

⁸⁵ VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 43–45 and 154–167.

⁸⁶ HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 313.

⁸⁷ ÖZSAIT 1990 (*op. cit.* note 59) 385, map 1; and *ibid.* 1999 (*op. cit.* note 59) 77–88. Most recently: *ibid.*: The Lakes Region Survey and Harmanören Excavations, in: O. BELLİ (Ed.): *Istanbul University's Contributions to Archaeology in Turkey (1932–2000)*. (Istanbul University Rectorate Publications 4285). Istanbul 2001, 121–126.

⁸⁸ BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 378.

⁸⁹ UMAR (*op. cit.* note 5) figs. 6–8.

⁹⁰ KAYA 1991 (*op. cit.* note 70); 1995 (*op. cit.* note 71) and 1999 (*op. cit.* note 4).

excavation, which concentrated on the city's theatre, dated by KAYA to the second century AD (fig. 4c).⁹¹ Their work lasted only a short time period, from 1985 to 1987, a total of three campaign seasons. These excavations were carried out by ÜNLÜSOY, former director of the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta, and a short report was published by KAYA in 1999.⁹² The first systematic excavations were carried out at the site in 1993 by the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta and a team from Ankara Üniversitesi, headed by BİNGÖL.⁹³ After the investigation of the results of this excavation which lasted only for one season, a considerable amount of knowledge was gained about the history and topography of the city (fig. 1). The material in this paper is largely drawn from these two expedition's surveys and excavations at the site and its environs. Without doubt one of the most important results was the discovery of four Greek inscription fragments (fig. 10). These were considerably damaged, while another inscription in Greek was recorded on a terracotta pipe.⁹⁴ The ceramic material from the site has also been studied and published.⁹⁵

⁹¹ For the theatre of Seleuceia: KAYA (*op. cit.* note 15) 166–173; and its pictures Taf. 31, 2–4, and 32–33.

⁹² KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4). BRANDT notes also this rescue excavations: BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) 116, note 1014.

⁹³ Cf. O. BİNGÖL: Seleukeia Sidera (Bayat) 1993 Yılı Arkeolojik Kazıları, in: Göller Bölgesi Arkeolojik-Kültürel-Turistik Araştırma ve Değerlendirme Projesi. 1993 Yılı Çalışmaları. Ankara 1994, 43–75. For a short summary of these excavations: E. LAFLI: İslamköy Yakınındaki Bayat Köyü (Seleukeia Sidera Kenti) Kısa Tarihi, in: Ispartalılar Eğitim-Kültür-Sağlık-Turizm Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakfı (ISVAK), ISVAK-Ün, Yıl: 1, Sayı: 1, Nisan-Mayıs-Haziran 1996. Ankara 1996, 5–6.

⁹⁴ For the inscriptions from Seleuceia Sidēra: LAFLI 2002 (*op. cit.* note 16); E. LAFLI: Greek Inscription and Inscription Fragments from Seleuceia Sidera in Pisidia (South-Western Turkey), in: Orient Express. Notes et nouvelles d'archéologie orientale 1999/2 - juin, 59–62; and *ibid.*: History and Archaeology of Seleucia Sidēra in Pisidia, in: C. M. THOMAS/M. TAŞLILAN/TH. DREW-BEAR (Eds.): Second International Symposium on Pisidian Antioch. 2000 Years of Religion in Anatolia, 1000 B. C. – 1000 A. D. July 2–4, 2000. Yalvaç, Isparta, Turkey. 2002, in print; KAYA 1999a (*op. cit.* note 4) 164–165; and *ibid.* 1999b (*op. cit.* note 15) 37. The formerly unpublished terracotta pipe was found at the very end of the excavation campaign (during the third week of August 1993); I did not have sufficient time to examine it more detailed. It is today stored in a hall of Atabey's town municipality. Other stone inscriptions are kept at the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta.

⁹⁵ For pottery studies in Seleuceia (a. o.): LAFLI: Sagalassos Table and Common Wares from Seleukeia Sidera in Pisidia (southwestern Turkey) - A Preliminary Report, in: *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorvm, Acta* 36, 2000, 43–47; *ibid.*: Sagalassos Roman Relief Wares from Seleuceia Sidera in Pisidia (Turkey), in: R. F. DOCTER/E. M. MOORMANN (Eds.): Classical Archaeology towards the Third Millennium: Reflexions and Perspectives. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12–17 1998 (Allard Pierson Series, Volume 12, Studies in Ancient Civilization). Amsterdam 1999, 227–229; *ibid.*: Vorläufiger Bericht über die römisch-kaiserzeitlichen und spätantiken Tonöllampen aus Seleukeia Sidera in Pisidien (Südwesttürkei), in: I. THUESEN (Ed.): Near Eastern Archaeology in the Beginning of the Third Milenium AD. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on the

The 1993 excavations, which had the aim of producing an accurate plan of the ancient city and studying its surviving ruins, was carried out in the following locations (fig. 1): southern terrace II, on which a rock-built structure was found, and southern terrace I, which lies south of the former (on the lowest level) and on which a large round building once stood (figs. 4a and 6). In the rock structure complex some architectural foundations on the rock outcrop, terracotta roof tiles and many archaeological religious finds were uncovered. One can assume that the function of this unique rock complex might have been that of a sanctuary dedicated to a local deity. This so-called 'sanctuary' consists of a rectangular rock temenos enclosure on which surface thirteen holes for the wooden construction of the roof (or the second floor) were carved. It appears to have been in use at least from the first century AD until the early sixth century AD. Some archaeological finds from late antiquity evidently show that after its destruction the complex was perhaps re-used as an open-air church in a way similar to that of the rock temenos of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch. Some excavation was also carried out in the rock-cut necropolis on the southwest side of the city (no Hellenistic graves were found here). Unfortunately, because of lack of funds, no further researches were done at the city after 1993. Only two BA thesis at Ankara Üniversitesi were made based on the finds from these campaigns: the first was made by myself on the pottery of the excavations,⁹⁶ and the second was the anthropological studies of human bones found in the necropolis.

In the winter of 1994 the villagers uncovered on the northern side of Asartepe a marble *acroterium* fragment decorated with the figure of Victory, while a stele of Men was found in the village of Bayat. Both of these pieces are now stored in the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta.

Early Hellenistic Period

Little known is about the pre-Hellenistic Seleuceia. The possibility that there was a Bronze or Iron Age settlement on the site cannot be excluded since Seleuceia is situated in the heartland of the Bronze age area. Furthermore during the excavation campaign in 1993 we have found two terracotta objects of unusual nature: the first one was seemed to be a Bronze age terracotta idol, the latter is a circular and large loomweight, which might also be from a later period.

Existing material evidence attests to occupation at Seleuceia between third, second and first centuries BC is scanty, diffuse and not sufficient for an accurate reconstruction of the site's history. No clear architectural remains can be dated to

Archaeology of the Near Eastern Archaeology (Copenhagen, May 22nd–26th 2000). Winona Lake, IN 2002, in print; and *ibid.*: Dionysiac Scenes on Sagalassian *Oinophoroi* from Seleuceia Sidera in Pisidia (southwestern Turkey), in: S.BELL/G.M. DAVIS (Eds.): Games and Festivals in Classical Antiquity. Proceedings of the Conference held in Edinburgh 10–12 July 2000. (British Archaeological Reports, International Series): Oxford 2002, in print.

⁹⁶ For the summary of my BA thesis (a. o.): LAFLI 2000 (*op. cit.* note 95).

these periods precisely. Below I will discuss the details of these present and scanty evidences for the presence of Hellenistic activity at the site.

It is certain that Kuleönü Ovası came under the control of Alexander the Great and of the Hellenistic kings after his death. Of the latter, the Seleucids and the Attalids, successively, became overlords of Pisidia. After the battle of Korupedion in 281 both Pisidia and Lycaonia passed from Lysimachus to Seleucus I Nicator, which was extended only through the reigns of Antiochus I and II (until 246 BC).⁹⁷ Despite the fact that the Seleucid hold on Pisidia was weak and of relatively short duration, this was a period of greatest Hellenistic colonizing activity in whole Asia Minor.⁹⁸

This region was strategically very important for the Seleucids, particularly as the 'common road' ran through its northern part (perhaps on the branch of the later Roman road which led to the southern part of the district). In Asia Minor the main highway system ran east-west from the Aegean coast to Syria and Mesopotamia proceeding eastward from Ephesus to Tarsus, which was survived under the name of 'common road'.⁹⁹ The protection and enhancement of this route was obviously a vital factor in the choice of sites that were to be colonized. The extent of Seleucid control over Pisidia, however, is unclear. In this region we can identify two Seleucid colonies, Laodiceia Katakekaumene and Seleuceia,¹⁰⁰ and, according to COHEN, possibly a third at Neapolis.¹⁰¹ Apameia, Apollonia and Antioch were also discussed as colonies in the Phrygian territory,¹⁰² whereas Apollonia was discussed by RAMSAY as a colony

⁹⁷ BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) 41; and KOSMETATOU (*op. cit.* note 1). Some researchers assume that after 301 BC the northern part of Pisidia probably regained its independence from some time: E.R. BEVAN: *The House of Seleucus. A History of the Hellenistic Near East under the Seleucid Dynasty.* London 1902, 100.

⁹⁸ COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 36. For Seleucid colonies in western Asia Minor: G. COHEN: *The Seleucid Colonies. Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization.* (Historia Einzelschriften 30). Wiesbaden 1978, 14-18; COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 36-63; JONES (*op. cit.* note 6) 127-8; MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 456-7; R. VAN DER SPEK: *The Seleucid State and the Economy*, in: E. LO CASCIO/D. W. RATHBONE (Eds.): *Production and Public Powers in Classical Antiquity.* (Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary Volume no. 26). Cambridge 2000, 27-36; A. MEHL (Ed.): *Zwischen West und Ost. Studien zur Geschichte des Seleukidenreichs.* (Studien zur Geschichtsforschung des Altertums, Band 5). Hamburg 1999; and M. ROSTOVITZ: Chapter V: *Syria and the East*, in: S. A. COOK *et al.* (Eds.): *The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume VII: The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome.* Second impression. Cambridge 1954, 155-196. For Seleucid colonies in Pisidia (and Lycaonia): COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 345-351.

⁹⁹ For the 'common road': BRACKE (*op. cit.* note 1) 17, 21 note 54; LEVICK (*op. cit.* note 48) 17; MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 39-42, 265-277; COHEN (*op. cit.* note 98) 11; and RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 43.

¹⁰⁰ COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 57; MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 457; and JONES (*op. cit.* note 5) 127.

¹⁰¹ COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 57. For Seleucids in northern Pisidia: VANDORPE (*op. cit.* note 9) 497-498.

¹⁰² COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 57; LEVICK (*op. cit.* note 48) 33; MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 456-457; and RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2).

founded against Seleuceia.¹⁰³ According to COHEN, these colonies located on the common road, both enclosed the Pisidians to the south and acted as bulwark against the Galatians to the north.¹⁰⁴

Which Seleucid monarch was the founder of Pisidian Seleuceia? Some, like IMHOOF-BLUMER, think that it was not Seleucus I Nicator who founded the city,¹⁰⁵ while others support the idea that his son, Antiochus I Soter, was the founder.¹⁰⁶ By 100 BC in the Near East it had seen over 25 Antiochs, 8 Apameias, 6 Epiphaneias, 9 Laodiceias and eventually 14 Seleuceias.¹⁰⁷ The Seleucid settlements were basically the work of five monarchs - Seleucus I Nicator (312–280), Antiochus I Soter (280–261), Antiochus II Theos, Antiochus III and Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Especially Seleucus I as well as Antiochus I and II were, however, vigorous colonizers and founded the preponderant number.¹⁰⁸ Appian in his *Syriaka* (57) gives a biographical sketch of Seleucus I in the course of which he lists the king's settlements. Seleuceia is absent from this list. Seleucus I's hegemony over Asia Minor extended only from the time of his victory at Korupedion in 281 BC until his death, i. e. a period of considerably less than a year. It is thus unlikely that he founded any colonies in Pisidia in the short time between the battle and his own death some months later.¹⁰⁹ Whatever Seleucid colonizing activity there was in the area was probably undertaken by Antiochus I or II. TSCHERIKOWER suggested Antiochus I as the founder of Seleuceia, who named it in honour of his father.¹¹⁰ For the clarification of the founder of the city we do not have any archaeological evidence. During the excavation season in 1993 we have found a statue base with a preserved foot fragment of a marble life size statue. It was carved from a very high quality marble. It was found at the eastern tower trench, where it was re-used as building material. Although I am not able to enclose a picture of this statue, it should be briefly described: the gender of the statue should be an adult male. We are able to identify two things: a leather shoe and his trouser, which has a curved cut on its end. I have not found any parallel to this sculpture fragment. To date or to identify it with a personality is very difficult, although this shoe's style as well as his trouser's end show a great oriental influence. It is stored today at the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta.

¹⁰³ RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2). According to MITCHELL this information is misleading. His order is as follows: Seleuceia to Apamea and Antiocheia to Neapolis, whereas Apollonia and Laodiceia Katalekaumene remain alone. In the ethnic sense none of these cities was, however, a Pisidian city, and all of them lie geographically north of 'Pisidia'.

¹⁰⁴ COHEN (*op. cit.* note 98) 15.

¹⁰⁵ IMHOOF-BLUMER (*op. cit.* note 38) 398.

¹⁰⁶ JONES (*op. cit.* note 5) 127; and VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 43.

¹⁰⁷ COHEN (*op. cit.* note 98) 2; and ROSTOVITZEFF (*op. cit.* note 14) Map 4.

¹⁰⁸ COHEN (*op. cit.* note 25) 413–419.

¹⁰⁹ V. TSCHERIKOWER: Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit. (Philologus Supplementband 19; 1). Leipzig/Berlin 1929, 37.

¹¹⁰ TSCHERIKOWER (*op. cit.* note 109) 125.

What was the purpose of this settlement on Asartepe? In Seleucid colonies we can distinguish military, economic, political and administrative motives. Therefore they were frequently located at strategic sites. The primary purpose of a colony was military and political defence, both internal and external. Seleuceia's main purpose should have been the protection of the common road, mentioned above. Normally Seleucid colonies would have a limited population and were accompanied by the political unification of the colonists with the local inhabitants. This was possible because the colonies were usually set up in or near existing native towns or villages. Seleuceia was possibly also filled with the inhabitants consisting primarily of natives from the höyüks in the surroundings of the site. For these discussions we do not have any literary, epigraphical or archaeological evidence yet.

The Acropolis and the Fortification Walls

For the topography and architecture of the 'city' in the Hellenistic period we do not have much information. The first group of evidence that should be discussed under the early Hellenistic rubric are the 'Seleucid' fortification walls. According to Diodorus Siculus Pisidian cities were very well fortified.¹¹¹ Today's general view with Hellenistic ruins agrees with this statement.¹¹² A survey should be done in this region to prove if further fortresses were protecting Seleuceia or not.

Near the southeast corner of Asartepe there is a concentration of clearly Hellenistic fortifications; two portions of these fortification walls are still standing (fig. 5). One portion is built of immense quadrangular blocks, while the other is of polygonal masonry. The wall at the south-eastern angle is best preserved, comprising three stone courses. Its simple purpose should be a circular (watch) tower. It has a first quality cyclopean, irregular and ashlar masonry, which is preserved as hardly as on the foundation level. Some stones of the front wall were cantilevered. This wall is remarkable because its superior quality by comparison with other Pisidian cities. I did not, however, find any parallels for this masonry in southern Asia Minor. This relatively well-preserved Hellenistic fortification on the top of the settlement hill was also an excavation area. Beside this monument there are a series of small later (fifth century AD) buildings in that area, the function of which remains unexplored. These massive fortifications should have been built there in order to protect the colony-city's core. The uncertainty exists as far as the date of construction of these ashlar

¹¹¹ Diodorus XVIII 46:1; MITCHELL 1992 (*op. cit.* note 1) 4; and DAVIES (*op. cit.* note 7). The same characteristics were the case at Hellenistic Galatian sites: G. DORBYSHINE/S. MITCHELL/L. VARDAR: The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor, in: *Anatolian Studies* 50, 2000, 75-97; as well as at a Hellenistic site in Rough Cilicia: J.-F. BOMMELAER: Meydancık Kalesi, place-forte de Cilicie Trachée au III^e siècle av. J.-C., in: E. FREZOULS (Ed.): *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (novembre 1985)*. Strasbourg 1987, 5-13.

¹¹² L. LOOTS/M. WAELKENS/F. DEPUYDT: The City Fortifications of Sagalassos from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period, in: WAELKENS/LOOTS (*op. cit.* note 9) 595-634. For Hellenistic fortifications around Sagalassos: WAELKENS *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 6). For Hellenistic fortifications in Pisidia there is almost no reference publication.

walls in the southeast part of the upper city is concerned. One wishes to associate these walls with the Seleucid colonial activity at Seleuceia. Thus for both these walls I would like to suggest a date as early as early Hellenistic period, that is, the third century BC, since this is the founding date of the city and it is certain that the Seleucids built fortifications at the site. During the late antique period the fortification walls were still used and the building material for the later fortification were mostly re-used elements from other buildings.

Water Reservoir

The ultimate success of a Seleucid colony and selection of a location to be colonised was dependent on many interrelated factors - including water supply, which was provided mostly through cisterns or water reservoirs. In many Seleucid oriental colonies intra-mural cisterns and sometimes springs, connected with fortifications can be traced.¹¹³

In Seleuceia we do have several possibilities for water supply, although natural supplies were limited. According to past archaeological surveys there are cisterns, wells, springs and aqueducts around the site, as well as traces of a dried river along the site, as mentioned above.¹¹⁴ One such spring is still active today in the village. Another natural spring was located in the southern terraces, a natural cave, embellished (?) into a spring 'house' (fig. 6).

Another water reservoir should be mentioned here because of its possible early Hellenistic origin. The exact location of a cistern or a well lay on the southern slope of Asartepe, in the middle part of the hill, on a slope next to the farming fields,

¹¹³ This information was supported by W. THIEL (Cologne) orally who currently works on a Ph.D. thesis about Hellenistic settlement patterns in the Near East: W. THIEL: Untersuchungen zum hellenistischen Siedlungswesen in Palästina und Transjordanien. Formerly unpublished dissertation, Archäologisches Institut der Universität zu Köln 2003. Furthermore: P. BRIANT: Colonisation hellénistique et populations indigènes I. La phase d'installation, in: Rois, tribut et paysans. Etudes sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien. (Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne de l'Université de Besançon 43). Paris 1982, 227-262; and K. BRODERSEN: „In den städtischen Gründungen ist die rechte Basis des Hellenisierens“. Zur Funktion seleukidischer Gründungen, in: S. SCHRAUT/B. STIER (Eds.): Stadt und Land. Bilder, Inszenierungen und Visionen in Geschichte und Gegenwart. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, Forschungen 147). Stuttgart 2001, 355-371. For the archaeology and history of Seleucid cities in the Near East: J. D. GRAINGER: The Cities of Seleucid Syria. Oxford 1990; U. FINKBEINER (Ed.): Materialien zur Archäologie der Seleukiden- und Partherzeit im südlichen Babylonien und im Golfgebiet. Ergebnisse der Symposien 1987 und 1989 in Blaubeuren. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad). Tübingen 1993; and A. M. BERLIN: Between Large Forces. Palestine in the Hellenistic Period, in: Biblical Archaeologist. Perspectives on the Ancient World from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. A Publication of the American Schools of Oriental Research 60/1 (1997); and BEVAN (*op. cit.* note 97).

¹¹⁴ KAYA also confirms to have seen many cistern around the site: KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 41. He mentioned about the water supply more detailed.

on the plain level. We do not know at present if this construction was a natural spring, a well or a cistern and if its location has a special purpose (figs. 4d and 9). Normally a spring will be more favourable for the inhabitants, since it offers the full opportunity to obtain constant fresh water. Today there are no more traces of water or a spring here. During the 1993 excavation season this complex was excavated and some valuable results were gained about its construction:¹¹⁵ the first information was that it had been excavated already by robbers, where they have found a deep tunnel. This water reservoir and this tunnel had been cut back deeply into the cliff, whose total storage capacity is difficult to estimate. During the excavations we have found two rock-carved stairways existed, which continue to the direction of hill's summit (but interrupted) and connect with each other on a higher level.¹¹⁶ There are some other building remains that are associated with these stairways. Thus one can possibly assume that through these continually stairs this construction had to have a direct connection with the acropolis and fortified city. It had no obvious entrance, and there was neither architectural decoration nor roof tiles associated with it. A so-called tunnel, which was speculated by the excavator to continue under the hill (?) down to the point of summit of the acropolis, was also partly excavated.¹¹⁷ The excavator assumed that this tunnel had a yet unknown connection with the summit of the hill and was used to obtain water for the acropolis during hostilities. According to the excavator access to this structure was gained through a wood construction, of which traces can be observed on the rock-cut structures on this area.¹¹⁸ The general location of this construction has a problematic nature to understand or put it on a frame of topography of a colonial city: if Seleuceia was a Hellenistic colony to protect a garnison, they should have an intra-mural cistern, not a water source outside the fortification walls. This was certainly not a good point for them. The excavator, however, reported that this cistern or well was a structure which was sondaged on the summit level of the acropolis (i.e. within the fortified site) to this deeper level, and this stairs and tunnel (?) system was an access to the water source through the plain level. At the same time since these wooden constructions along the site, this cistern was guaranteed to be protected during the periods of war.¹¹⁹ Thus it seems likely that the water in this public reservoir was supplied exclusively for the inhabitants of the acropolis, since there is no evidence of a public fountain house here on the plateau.

At present we do not know anything about its dating. A wall fragment of ashlar masonry on the eastern side of the upper complex might be thought as Hellenistic in date, but it is not certain. Normally cisterns or water reservoirs were more Hellenistic structures and Seleuceia has a more improved water system of later periods, which is attested by the presence of terracotta water pipes and aqueducts, mentioned above. Thus for the date of this construction one could speculate Hellenistic period, more

¹¹⁵ BINGÖL (*op. cit.* note 93) 53–55; its pictures: 70, fot. 10–11.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* (*op. cit.* note 93) 54.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* (*op. cit.* note 93) 54.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* (*op. cit.* note 93) 54.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* (*op. cit.* note 93) 54.

idealistically early Hellenistic period, and might be associated to Seleucid colonial city, although the fact can not be excluded that fields on the south edge of the hill were simply farms and they would need constant water, no matter through aqueducts or cisterns. But still this rock-cut construction does not seem to me to be Roman in date.

Pottery Evidence

Four excavation seasons at Seleuceia hoped to place the existing Hellenistic ceramics in its context. Although clear evidence for the Hellenistic phase of the city still proves elusive and the material culture of this period is almost completely lacking in excavated areas, some Hellenistic sherds were retrieved as part of the unstratified collections (figs. 14a-d). They confirm the historical presence of Hellenistic activity on the site. All of the Hellenistic sherds were uncovered in the southern terrace areas separately and do not form an assemblage from a given context (fig. 4a).¹²⁰ We were not able to trace back whether these sherds came from the upper buildings on the hill, or they belong to the lower stratas of the southern terraces. The assemblage of Hellenistic fine wares and range of their shapes are very small and diverse, of which hereby I will present only a small group (fig. 14). It includes three fragments of locally produced, so-called 'west slope' ware and one *unguentarium*. For the first group we do have one large semi fine decorated crater rim fragment (fig. 14a), one semi fine decorated *skyphos* rim fragment (fig. 14b) and one semi fine open deep bowl body fragment (fig. 14c).¹²¹ Our last shape is one semi fine small elongated fusiform

¹²⁰ For a report of Hellenistic pottery from Seleuceia Sidēra: E. LAFLI: Hellenistic Pottery from Pisidia, in: IVth International Symposium on Hellenistic Pottery. Volos, Greece, 17–23 April 2000. Volos 2000.

¹²¹ In my dissertation at the Universität zu Köln I tried to sort out concepts such as 'local' and 'Greek' through the *terracotta unguentaria* of Hellenistic Pisidia: E. LAFLI: Studien zur hellenistischen, römisch-kaiserzeitlichen und spätantik-frühbyzantinischen Tonunguentarien aus Kilikien und Pisidien (Südtürkei). Der Forschungsstand und eine Auswahl von Fundobjekten aus den örtlichen Museen. (British Archaeological Reports, International Series). Oxford 2003, in print. For a summary (in English): E. LAFLI: *Terracotta Unguentaria* from Cilicia and Pisidia (southern Turkey), in: The 104th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 3–6, 2003. Abstracts of Papers. New Orleans, LU, 2002, in print; and (in German): *ibid.*: Erweiterung unserer Erkenntnisse zu *Terrakotta-Unguentaria* durch regionale Studien: Zu den Studien eines antiken und spätantiken Gefäßtypus in Kilikien und Pisidien in der Südtürkei, in: Instrumentum. Bulletin du Groupe de travail européen sur l'artisanat et les productions manufacturées dans l'Antiquité 15/Juin 2002, 14–18. For Hellenistic *terracotta unguentaria* of Pisidia: *ibid.*: Zu hellenistischen Tonunguentarien aus Pisidien (Südwesttürkei): Einige vorläufige Überlegungen, in: B. SCHMALTZ/M. SÖLDNER (Eds.): Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasensymposiums in Kiel vom 24. bis 28.9 2001, veranstaltet durch das Archäologische Institut der Christian-Albrecht-Universität zu Kiel. Münster 2002, in print. Most closely published examples for this form in Pisidia: G. E. BEAN: The Site of Etenna, in: *Klio* 52, 1970, 14; and J. İNAN: Lyrbe? Seleukeia? Toroslar'da bir Antik Kent/Lyrbe? Se-

unguentarium body and base fragment (fig. 14d). The crater has a diameter of c. 51 cm, and under its rim it was decorated with an ivy leaf and some dots, whereas on its rim with tongue patterns. The *scyphos* fragment has a body of a bell and a very large dimension (c. 16 cm.). Its clay is very hard and clear, and contains no inclusion. The leaf on its neck is a simple decorated instinct. The open bowl's body fragment has a very dark clay and a black slip surface. In its inner side there is some decoration of ivy leaf in white colour and some dots. We were not able to recognize any sort of Hellenistic common or coarse ware.

Three of our fine ware collection were a type of local imitation of 'west slope' ware and were mainly ornamented on a white creme or red slipped surface with white creme or red paint with ivy leaves, wreaths and dots. At the crater and bowl fragments the musters were first carved or drawn on the surface; motifs were painted with a careless brush. On the slipping and painting it was tried to create a black-white contrast which was very unsuccessful, because of the firing temperature and its quality. The remaining vessels are of unknown origin, most probably local productions. There are no imported Hellenistic fine wares so far. The presence of pottery shapes crater and *scyphos* might signify wine drinking at the site.

These four examples and their morphology are typical for the Early Hellenistic period, and their decoration also indicates a date of Early Hellenistic period (third century BC). Decoration with ivy leaves and dots are very common in the local workshops at western Anatolian coast (a. o. Pergamon and Cnidus) as well as at the Galatian workshops (cf. fig. 15a-c). The painting and slipping, however, are less successful than these. It is on the other hand very difficult to date these sherds precisely, merely based on comparison with the other 'west slope' samples from the western and southern coastal sites of Asia Minor, since there are very few stratified finds for the comparison as yet, and the imitation of the fashion can be executed any time during the Hellenistic period. Similar examples of the same morphology, decoration and painting pattern, which imitated 'west slope' ware of Pergamon, Cnidus and Tarsus (cf. fig. 15a-c), and have so far received little attention from the students of Hellenistic period appear on some other sites throughout the inner parts of western Asia Minor (in rest of Pisidia, Lycaonia and Northern Lycia; and perhaps also in Lydia). Recent researches on Hellenistic Pisidia, such as the surveys of ÖZSAIT¹²²

leukeia? Eine antike Stadt im Taurusgebirge. İstanbul 1998, 99, Kat. 51-52; for their illustrations: Çiz. 41, 51-52.

¹²² Cf. M. ÖZSAIT: 1995 Yılı Antalya-Korkuteli ve Burdur Yüzev Arařtırmaları, in: T. C. Kùltür Bakanlıđı, Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 14. Arařtırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, Ankara, 27-31 Mayıs 1996, 2. Ankara 1996, 209, res. 16: Hellenistic local painted pottery from Kozluca Höyük and *ibid*: 1999-2000 Yıllarında Burdur ve Isparta Yüzev Arařtırması, in: T.C., Kùltür Bakanlıđı, Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 19. Arařtırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 2. Cilt. 28 Mayıs-01 Haziran 2001, Ankara. (Kùltür Bakanlıđı Yayınları 2764-2/Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları 84). Ankara 2002, 190, res-12-13: Hellenistic moulded ware (of Sagalassian type) as well as Sagalassian red slip ware from Zengibar Kalesi (a site with an acropolis), south of Pisidian Antioch, near Şarkikaraađaç. These (possibly late) Hellenistic sherds show clearly same

and MITCHELL,¹²³ excavations and surveys at Sagalassus,¹²⁴ Oinoanda, Cremna, Pisidian Antioch,¹²⁵ Hacimusalar¹²⁶ and other Pisidian-northern Lycian sites provide us mostly unstratified examples of this type which can be identified as the product of a local country or rural style, located in Pisidia and can be called as ‚Pisidian Hellenistic painted ware‘. In general on this ware floral and geometrical ornamen-

features with those found in Seleuceia. Furthermore ÖZSAIT has published numerous Roman Imperial sherds from the environs of Seleuceia: ÖZSAIT (*op. cit.* note 59) 87–88. In his report, however, surface pottery collection from Findos in p. 87, res. 11, which he dated to the Hellenistic period, does not contain any Hellenistic sample. During our excavation season in 1993 some villagers from Alibeyköy brought surface material from the Höyük at Alibeyköy, in which I have determined numerous Iron Age and Roman Imperial material, but curiously no Hellenistic sherd. Since the local Hellenistic ware is still unknown, one cannot associate, however, the lacking evidence of Hellenistic pottery in some nearby höyüks of Seleuceia with a possible *synoikismos* (cf. ‚Conclusions‘).

¹²³ In any of MITCHELL’s survey report I did not come across with any reference on pottery. In 1994 museum staff in Isparta showed me two Hellenistic sherds, collected incidentally in MITCHELL’s Pisidian survey, from an area south of Burdur. All of their features were similar to that of Seleuceia.

¹²⁴ Our knowledge about Hellenistic pottery in Sagalassus is fragmentary and based only in reference level. In 1995 WÄELKENS referred a ‚ware‘, found a Hellenistic building with walls in polygonal masonry and in the lower layers of the fill behind the library: M. WÄELKENS *et al.*: The 1993 Excavations in the ‚Fountain House-Library Area‘ in: WÄELKENS/POBLOME (*op. cit.* note 6) 54. He described this ware as „related to the west slope wares“. Some early Hellenistic pottery found in Sagalassus was also referred by himself: M. WÄELKENS: Sagalassos. History and Archaeology, in: WÄELKENS (*op. cit.* note 1) 41–42. In 1994–5 survey campaigns in the surroundings of Sagalassus the surveyors were reported a lot of Hellenistic pottery, without any illustration of photograph: WÄELKENS *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 6) 1997. In POBLOME’s study on Sagalassian red slip ware the author refers almost no Hellenistic pottery production: POBLOME (*op. cit.* note 2) 25 and 314. For the review of this book: E. LAFLI: Jeroen Poblome, Sagalassos Red Slip Ware. Typology and Chronology, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 94, 2001/2, 753–755. In 2000 the same author has presented (unstratified) Hellenistic pottery of Sagalassus in Hellenistic ceramics meeting in Volos, Greece, report of which should be out now.

¹²⁵ During my pottery surveys in Pisidian Antioch I did not determine any sort of Hellenistic pottery from the site. The results of my pottery studies in Antioch will be published soon. So far: E. LAFLI: Spätantik-frühbyzantinische Tonunguentarien aus Antiocheia in Pisidien (Südwesttürkei), in: V. SERNEELS/M. MAGGETTI (Eds.): EMAC ’01. Proceedings of the 6th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics. Ceramic in the Society. Fribourg, Switzerland, 3th–6th October 2001. Fribourg 2003, in print.

¹²⁶ In a single and short pottery report of Hacimusalar, the ancient site of Choma (in AJA 2000) I did not come across of a reference of Hellenistic pottery at this site, but there is obviously an Iron Age-Roman Imperial period transitional phase at this mound, which should be represented through pottery. A further find spot of local Hellenistic ware is Oinoanda: J. J. COULTON: North Lycia before the Romans, in: J. BORCHHARDT/G. DOBESCH (Eds.): Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums. Wien, 6.–12. Mai 1990. Band I. (Österr. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschr. 231, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 17). Vienna 1993. Also from the recent field surveys at Panemoteichos, Ören Tepe, Melli and Sia as well as at Adada no ceramic has been reported so far. Two brief reports of the Turkish rescue excavations at Kibyra

tations are commonly frequent and were used freely. The decoration is often less carefully, and occasionally, less tastefully, executed than what we know of similar wares from Pergamon and Cnidus, which, although not yet fully published, provide the most extensive repertory of fabric, shape and motif comparanda for Anatolian Hellenistic pottery. We cannot determine yet, however, if this heterogeneous group was produced at one single workshop. The distinctive clay and slip features point to a local source which resembles to the later Sagalassian red slip ware found at the same Pisidian sites. It remains unclear, however, to what degree the Sagalassian workshop during the Hellenistic period might have been involved in the production of this ware. In Pisidia there is no such a dated deposit of Hellenistic pottery contain yet, which would make us able to observe the chronological development of this local pottery production during the Hellenistic period. A comparative study on Hellenistic pottery among the Pisidian and northern Lycian sites will be useful to understand the relationships among the local production centers.

Seleuceia during the Second Century BC

The political and cultural fate of Seleuceia during the second century BC remains unclear. At least part of Pisidia at that time may have been belonged to the not very well defined province of Cilicia, until M. Antonius in 39 BC gave parts of it, including Pisidia, to King Polemo I.

The Hellenistic Podium Building on the Acropolis

According to the numismatic evidence, there should have been a temple in form of *templum-in-antis* at the site, which can be identified by an Imperial city coin of the third century AD.¹²⁷ This coin shows apparently representation of a Corinthian prostyle temple with an altar in the front. The excavator of the site, BİNGÖL, argues persuasively that there must have been a temple or a small sanctuary at the top of the hill, of which podium, he assumed, to have been found during his surveys in 1993.¹²⁸

One with very highly carved ashlar (combined with some polygonal) walls lies on the southern middle part of the acropolis summit, in an area, which situates on the same row with the early Hellenistic cistern on the plain. This structure is so monumental that can be seen from anywhere in the Kuleönü plain. It has a rectangular plan and its southern wall is c. 18 m high, whereas its other walls are fragmentary. According to the excavator, this building might be a podium of a temple, of which column system we do not know. KAYA, however, suggested that it is a terrace wall

and Apamea contain some ceramic evidence (a.o. a Hellenistic moulded bowl from Apamea), but not Pisidian Hellenistic painted ware.

¹²⁷ VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 45, and 165, no. 2016.

¹²⁸ BİNGÖL (*op. cit.* note 93) 55: „[...] podyumlu yapı [...]“. For its picture: KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 7.1.

of a temple.¹²⁹ KAYA believes that he has found an architrave block and some other pieces of entablature of this building in the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta. Museum.¹³⁰ With their improved masonry technique one might date these walls to the second century BC.

Whether the Roman temple, which is represented on coins of the city mint, should be identified with this structure, is not yet clear. Perhaps a Roman temple was built on this older Hellenistic podium (figs. 9 and 10). For the Seleucid colonies whether temples were essential or not is to be answered. For which divinity this temple was dedicated is also unknown (Seleucid colonial divinity Zeus?).

An Inscription and Evidence of a Hellenistic *Bouleuterion* in Seleuceia

In 1993 a marble inscription (fig. 11) was found during the clearance of the eastern tower on the acropolis and published in 1999.¹³¹ It was uncovered not *in situ* and obviously re-used as an architectural element in a later building of the eastern terrace (fig. 4b). The inscription was carved on a very thick and square stone, middle part of which was only preserved. On the top of the stone there is a carved hole. On the sides of the stone there are some (later?) carvings for some sort of construction. It is much damaged and is broken off in the middle. Therefore no line on the text is complete or sufficient to reconstruct fully. There are 15 lines, which have a very difficult nature of transcription. It is today at the backyard of the Local Archaeological Museum of Isparta (inventory number: SLV 008-Y1/93). Its preserved height: 0,47 m ; width: 0,36 m; letter size: 2 cm. It must be a Hellenistic honorific inscription which implies the presence of a *Bouleuterion* (line 12) in Seleuceia as early as in the second century BC, in which probably games in honor of a Hellenistic local goddess took place. Since we do not have much indication about the civic institutions in Pisidia, this inscription and its reference of a *Bouleuterion* is very valuable.¹³² On the eighth line we have another important reference, a personal or location name beginning with Πάπ[, for which I did not find any parallels yet.¹³³ It is very difficult to date this inscription precisely. The letter character and size might indicate a date of second or first century BC.

¹²⁹ KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 39

¹³⁰ KAYA (*op. cit.* note 4) 39, 43, 8.1. and 10. II.

¹³¹ Cf. LAFLI 1999 (*op. cit.* note 87) 60–61.

¹³² BRACKE (*op. cit.* note 1) 22: During the late Hellenistic period, at least, Sagalassus, Termessus, Ariassus and possibly also Etenna, possessed a real *Bouleuterion*. Furthermore very limited number of second century Hellenistic inscriptions are known from Pisidia (so far from Sagalassus, Termessus, Amblada, Olbasa and possibly Pogla): VANDORPE (*op. cit.* note 9) 490.

¹³³ In the rock relief publication of BEAN mentioned above there was also a Πάπ, which annotated by BEAN as 'obscure': BEAN (*op. cit.* note 15) 50. Πάπας would be the commonest alternative.

]ΡΗΣΤΙΑ[
 διὰ τὴν εὐ]νοϊαν καὶ διὰ τὴν [φιλίαν (?)
 γ]εσθαι τὴν ἐν ΤΟ[
 4 ἀ]ξίαις τιμαῖς ὕπω[ς
 ἄ]ριστον ὄντα κα[ι
]αὐτὸν ζηλωτ[α]
]Ο[.]ΥΣ εἰς πάντα τὰ[
 8]ωι ἐπηνῆσθαί τε Παπ[
]καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτ[ὸν
 ἕ]νδε]αγ[αθί]ας ἔνεκεν καὶ ἀν[δρείας?
 ἐν ᾧ ἄν προ]αιρῆται τόπωι, ὑπάρχε[ιν
 12]ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν κ[αὶ τὸν δῆμον
 καλεῖσθαι] δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς προε[δρίαν
]εως καὶ στεφα[ν
]....ΘΑΔ[
 10 ἀνδρ-, καλοκ-, φιλ-αγαθίας.

Late Hellenistic Seleuceia

During the Late Hellenistic period Galatian king Amyntas became the ruler of Pisidia.¹³⁴ Despite rather troubled political events of the first century BC, Seleuceia and other Pisidian cities apparently continued to flourish. The untimely death of King Amyntas of Galatia and the consequent creation of the Roman province of Galatia in 25 BC brought Pisidia and Seleuceia under Roman rule. Strabo¹³⁵ cites a list of Pisidian cities which had been compiled by his predecessor, Artemidorus of Ephesus, around 100 BC: Selge, Sagalassus, Pednelissus, Adada, Tymbriada, Cremna, Tityasus, Amblada, Anabura, Isinda, Aarassus, Tarbassus and Termessus.¹³⁶ Within this list Seleuceia is missing. Thus one can suspect if there was a live activity on the site or not: MITCHELL has assumed in 1978 that Seleuceia had temporarily lost its city status before it was revived by Claudius.¹³⁷ The only evidence for the activity at the site is numismatic; in judging the site's destiny during the late Hellenistic period, however, one should discuss about the level of reliability of this evidence.

¹³⁴ BRANDT (*op. cit.* note 1) 43.

¹³⁵ Strab. 12,7,2,570

¹³⁶ MITCHELL 2000 (*op. cit.* note 14) 140.

¹³⁷ MITCHELL (*op. cit.* note 52) 119.

Autonomous Coinage of Seleuceia during the Late Hellenistic Period

Issues of Hellenistic coins from Pisidian cities are spread over the major contemporary cities in Pisidia. Since 370 BC Selge has its own coinage; third century Etenna, and in the first century with some other Pisidian cities also Pisidian Seleuceia.¹³⁸ VON AULOCK catalogued 76 coins, a catalogue which still remains the most extensive catalogue of the city's coinage with the details of representations.¹³⁹ According to VON AULOCK, there is some evidence, with little certainty, that the first autonomic city coins were minted in the first century BC,¹⁴⁰ but it is not certain whether these coins belonged to Pisidian Seleuceia or not.¹⁴¹ He also noted that he did not come across with these coins in the region or in the museums. IMHOOF-BLUMER tentatively ascribed these coins with a head of Zeus or a bee on the obverse, an eagle on a thunderbolt or ear of corn with two leaves and the legend ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ on the reverse, to Pisidian Seleuceia.¹⁴² If these coins could be associated with Pisidian Seleuceia, they would be the single evidence for the existence of the site at the late Hellenistic period; thus one can assume that Seleuceia started with its coinage as early as in the first century BC.

Shifting from a Late Hellenistic Pisidian Settlement into a Roman Rural *Polis*: Claudioseleuceia

The years from the first century BC to the fourth century AD (i. e. post-Hellenism), during which time Seleuceia Sidēra and whole Asia Minor was ruled by Roman Emperors stand at the fulcrum of the series of events that transformed Seleuceia of Hellenistic small city into Roman imperial central-rural city, and a growing early Byzantine city.¹⁴³ The assimilation of Pisidia into the Roman Empire, reviewed against a background of general expansion and development. Hellenistic and Roman Imperial influences contributed to the transformation of a district with a basically tribally-structured society, primitive communication and a self-sufficient agrarian economy, into a Roman Imperial province which had adopted Roman culture and

¹³⁸ A. DAVESNE: La circulation monétaire en Pisidie à l'époque hellénistique, in: DREW-BEAR *et al.* (*op. cit.* note 44) 369–373.

¹³⁹ VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 154–167. For the coinage of Seleuceia: LAFLI (*op. cit.* note 38).

¹⁴⁰ LAFLI (*op. cit.* note 38) 44, and 154–155, Nos. 1871–1873; and JONES (*op. cit.* note 5) 132. These three coins were published in several different catalogues and most recently referred by D. H. FRENCH.

¹⁴¹ For another discussion in respect of these coins: IMHOOF-BLUMER (*op. cit.* note 38) 397–398.

¹⁴² IMHOOF-BLUMER (*op. cit.* note 38) 397–398.

¹⁴³ For Roman Imperial and Byzantine Seleuceia (a. o.): MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 457, 547 and 679; JONES (*op. cit.* note 5) 132f.; BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 378f; and LAFLI 2003 (*op. cit.* note 16).

urbanisation, whose road network was part of an Empire-wide system and whose economy was integrated with that of the Empire as a whole. Still it appears that, for fundamentally geographical reasons, Pisidia retained some of her independent characteristics and the process of assimilation of the highlands into the Empire was, on the whole, more retarded than that of the lowland and the coastal regions. However, Seleuceia remained during this period as an uninfluential town. During the first century AD the provincial boundaries in which the city was included shifted several times, but the early second century AD it had finally become a city in the province Lycia-Pamphylia.¹⁴⁴ The boundaries of the Roman Imperial Province Galatia varied also greatly at different times: when Vespasian instituted the province Lycia-Pamphylia, he must have detached a great part of Pisidia from Galatia to make the new province; and the southern frontier of Galatia then took the line indicated by Ptolemy, including the valley of Apollonia, but not that of Conane, Seleuceia and Baris.¹⁴⁵

But generally Roman rule meant stability and economic growth for Pisidian Seleuceia which was continued upto early Byzantine period. The Roman emperor Claudius I was undoubtedly an important figure in the history of Pisidian Seleuceia. He left the greatest impression in whole Asia Minor with his works: for instance we have evidence for road-making along the coast in Bithynia (near Amastris) and in Pamphylia (near Adalia). Many cities, such as Bithynium and Neoclaudiopolis in Paphlagonia, which possibly in return for benefits received by them, adopted the name of the Emperor.¹⁴⁶ Pisidian Seleuceia was one of these cities. At the time of the organisation of the province Lycia-Pamphylia by Claudius I possibly in AD 43 the name of the city was officially changed to Claudioseleuceia; funds for construction may also have been supplied by Cladius I.¹⁴⁷ What is not easy to explain is the reason of donation of Cladius I. It will already be apparent, however, that this irregular donation was not necessarily sufficient effort to guarantee to 'romanize' this area. The name 'Claudioseleuceia' is retained on the city coins down to the time of Claudius II, though in Ptolemy, Hierokles, and the *Notitiae* the prefix Claudio- is dropped.¹⁴⁸ According to the epigraphical evidence Claudius I was worshipped as a benefactor and his statue as a 'god made manifest' was erected in the city: Among the others

¹⁴⁴ LEVICK (*op. cit.* note 48) 163–165.

¹⁴⁵ RAMSAY (*op. cit.* note 2) 45. So inscriptions of the late first and early second century AD identify Pisidia as one of the constituent parts of the composite province of Galatia-Cappadocia, distinguished on the one hand from Lycia and from Pamphylia, on the other from Phrygia: MITCHELL 2000 (*op. cit.* note 15) 140.

¹⁴⁶ MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 547. Activities of Cladius I in Asia Minor was studied by MAGIE (MAGIE [*op. cit.* note 27] 546) and LEVICK (LEVICK [*op. cit.* note 48] 45).

¹⁴⁷ MITCHELL 1993 (*op. cit.* note 15) 78; and MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 547 and 679.

¹⁴⁸ VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 43; and J. DARROUZÈS: *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Vol. 1. (Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin 1,1). Paris 1981.

a Greek inscription, which was discovered by HIRSCHFELD at Bayat¹⁴⁹ and later revised by STERRETT¹⁵⁰ is most notably evidence.¹⁵¹

| | (a) | (b) |
|---|----------|-----------------|
| | NON | ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ |
| 2 | ΦΑΝΗ | ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ |
| | ΑΤΡΙΣ | ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ |
| 4 | ΑΥΤΟΥ | ΘΕΟΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΗ |
| | ΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ | |
| 6 | ΡΟΚΛ | |

| | (a) | (b) |
|---|-------------|---------------------|
| | Γερμανι]κόν | Τιβέριον Κλαύδιο[ν] |
| 2 |]φανῆ | |
| |]ατρις | Καίσαρα Σεβαστό[ν] |
| 4 |]αυτοῦ | Γερμανικόν |
| |]πιόδωρος | Θεὸν Ἐπιφανῆ |
| |]ροκλ[έους] | |

In part (a):

Line 2: 'επι]φανῆ

Line 3: [φιλόπ]ατρι

Line 5: [Σαρα]πιόδωρος, [Ἀσκλη]πιόδωρος, [Ὀλυμ]πιόδωρος ...

Line 6: [Ἄνδ]ροκλ[έους, [Ἰατ]ροκλ[έους, [Κυδ]ροκλ[έους...

The 5th and 6th lines can be completed as „[...] roklēs son of [...]piodoros“.

It was written on a marble block in two different letter sizes and letter types and was observed by different authors in various locations in the village.¹⁵² The information provided by WEBER (with ROTT) on the location of the inscription at the beginning of the twentieth century allows us to recognize that one would not have the ability to fully transcribe the entire inscription because it was built on the door of the Mosque, thus making certain parts unreadable. It is probable that the inscription was removed from the wall during the restoration of the old Mosque to its modern place. On the

¹⁴⁹ HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 316.

¹⁵⁰ STERRETT (*op. cit.* note 33) 334, ins. no. 466.

¹⁵¹ Eventually: R. L. CAGNAT: *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes. Auctoritate et impensis Academiae Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum. Collectae et editae. Tomus Tertius.* Paris 1906, 328.

¹⁵² HIRSCHFELD (*op. cit.* note 15) 313: „Andere Reste sind in den Hütten des etwa 20 Minuten entfernten Dörfchens Bajad verbaut: ausser Grabsteinen spätrömischer Zeit und einer byzantinischen Inschrift besonders folgende griechische [...]“; STERRETT (*op. cit.* note 33) 334: „In the wall of the Djami“; ROTT (*op. cit.* note 33) 13: „An der Westwand desselben Hauses (i. e. the same inscription) als Türwange benutzt, teilweise im Boden (house, Mosque?)“; and VON AULOCK (*op. cit.* note 2) 43: „[...] eine in der Moschee von Bayat eingemauerte Ehreninschrift für den Kaiser Claudius I [...]“.

top of the inscription is a hole. According to MAGIE, it is possible to assume that it was a statue base, which was dedicated to Claudius I.¹⁵³ Today, the stone lies in an undisturbed field in the village center of Bayat. Its height: 0,57 cm; width: 1,34 cm; letter size: left text: 2,2 cm; right text: 3,6 cm.

Archaeological evidence, such as pottery, attests its existence to the end of the eleventh century AD, when it was finally abandoned entirely for some unknown reasons, whereas there is the simple difficulty of any literary record, that belongs to this period.¹⁵⁴ The city inhabitants moved to the neighbouring Byzantine settlement of Atabey-Agrai, a settlement which became a bishopric centre in the ninth century AD, took the ecclesiastical status of Seleuceia Sidēra in the second half of the eleventh century AD, and became a archbishop status itself.¹⁵⁵

Conclusions

No single work has been produced with focuses exclusively on the organization and administration of Seleucid colonies except COHEN's study in 1978 (revised and enlarged in 1995), since the evidence about this theme is scrappy and spread. Every Seleucid colony served some specific purpose -be it to pacify an area, guard a road, or garrison a frontier region. Practically every colony had the same official name. It served as a constant reminder to the inhabitants of the particular region of the royal presence, and it bound the colonists more closely to the king. Colonization programs answered military and security, as well as economic and political needs. Inscriptions occasionally make reference to a Seleucid colonial activity of *synoikismos*, a term which could be used to describe a number of different processes. It is either political unification of various towns with or without the inhabitants actually moving or repopulation of a city with former inhabitants. In Seleuceia we currently do not have an indication of this process (cf. note 115). Other themes such as archaeology of Seleucid colonies in Asia Minor and transformation patterns of Seleucid colonies into later *poleis* were, however, never subjected, and Pisidian Seleuceia could be a starting point for these research focuses.

With these little evidence presented above we do have a small-scale example of a Seleucid colony in western Asia Minor, in which we do see some common features with other Seleucid colonies. But since the present evidence is very scanty, one hopes that questions regarding the society and economy of the site, such as switch from a Hellenistic military colony to a Roman small city, and a Late Antique rural centre, process of cultural assimilation of natives during the early Hellenistic period (Seleucid 'colonisation' process) and changings in the economic and social life style of a small Pisidian city during the centuries, like Hellenistic city planning, farming technologies,

¹⁵³ MAGIE (*op. cit.* note 27) 457; KAYA (*op. cit.* note 15) 164-165; and *ibid.* (*op. cit.* note 4) 37.

¹⁵⁴ Until this period the name of the city was mentioned in the lists of archbishops: BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 378.

¹⁵⁵ BELKE/MERSICH (*op. cit.* note 5) 172. For the change from city to village in Byzantine Pisidia: MITCHELL 2000 (*op. cit.* note 15) 145.

types of sacrifice as well as ceramic import, should be expanded by the results of future excavations.

Acknowledgments

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Figures

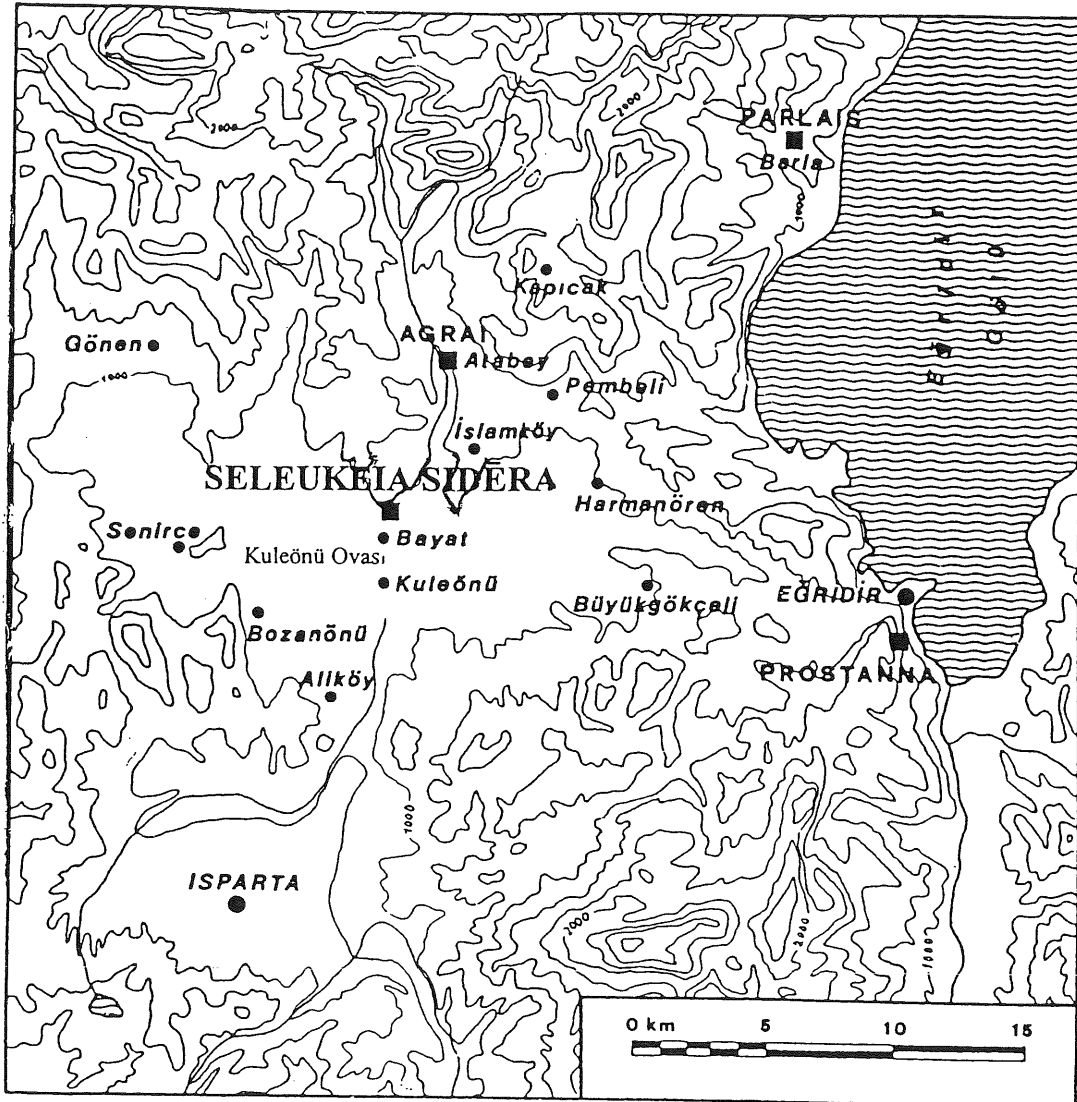


Fig. 1: Map showing location of Seleuceia and central Pisidia in south-western Turkey.

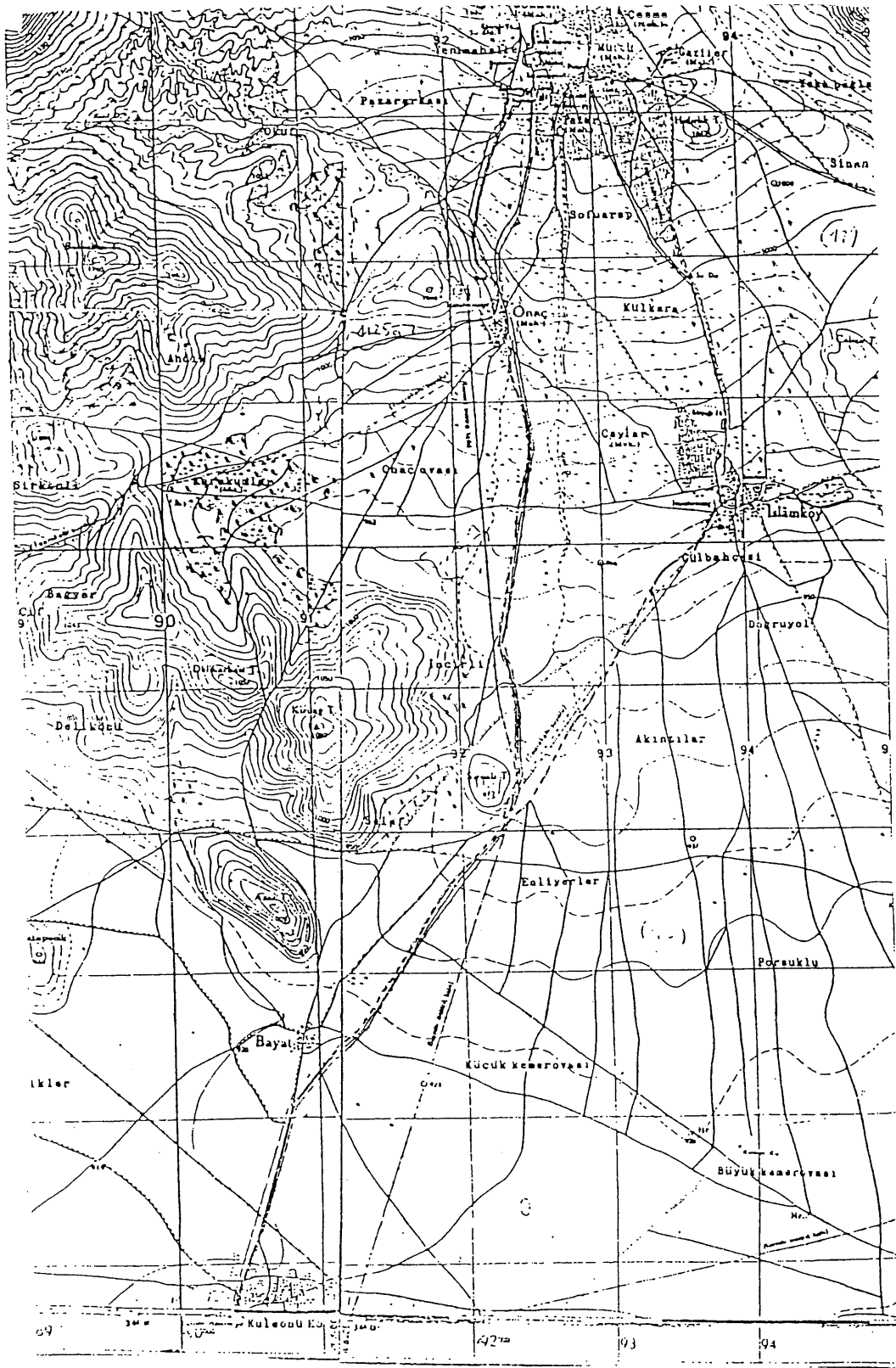


Fig. 2: Map showing Asar Tepe-Seleuceia Sidera and Kuleönü-Plain.

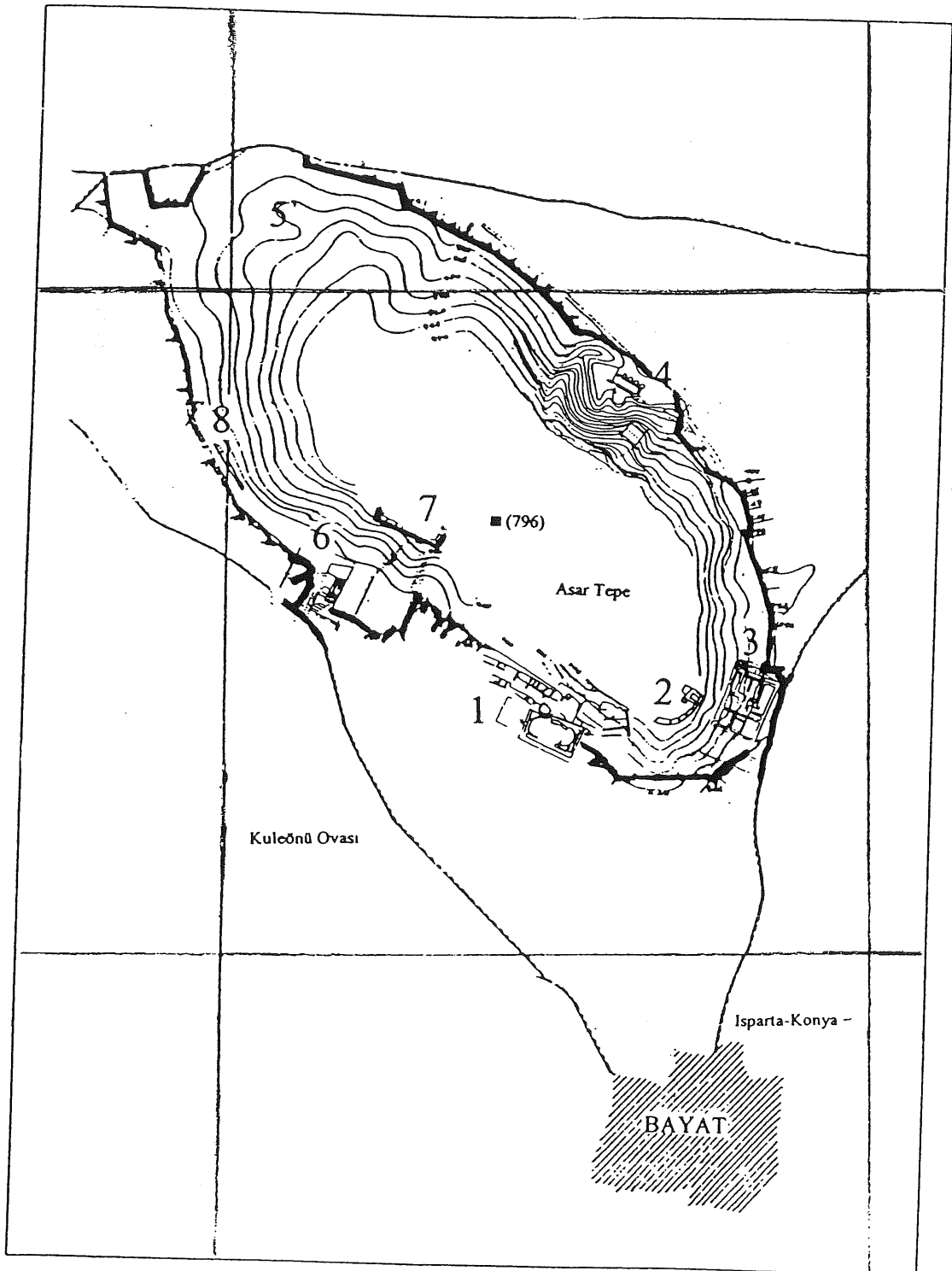
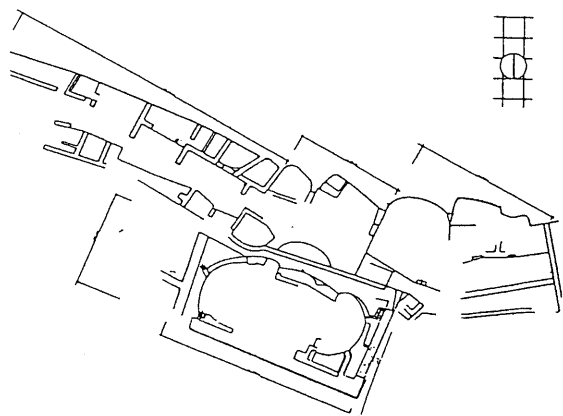
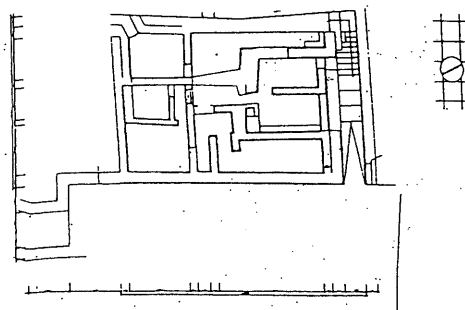


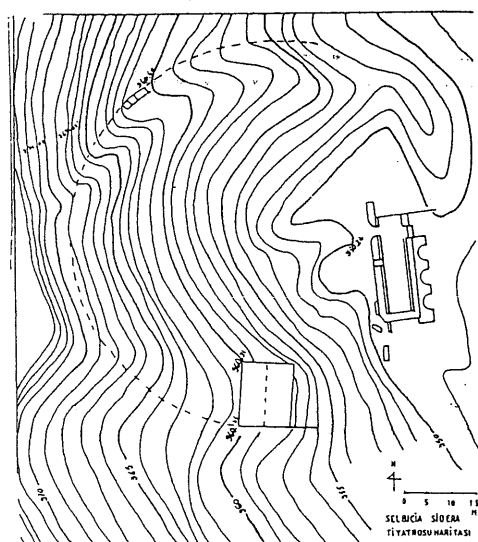
Fig. 3: Provisional plan of the excavated areas at Asar Tepe-Seleuceia Sidera during the 1985-1987 and 1993 campaigns: 1. Southern terrace; 2. Eastern tower; 3. Eastern terrace; 4. Theatre; 5. Necropolis; 6. Cistern 7. Hellenistic structure; 8. Late Antique-Early Byzantine walls.



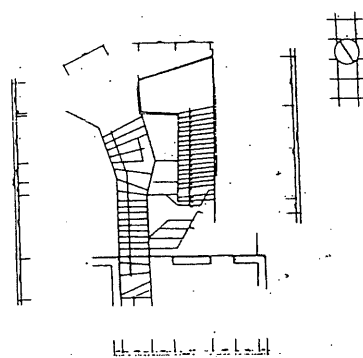
a.



b.



c.



d.

Fig. 4: Excavated areas at Seleuceia: a. Southern terrace; b. Buildings at eastern terrace; c. Theatre; d. Cistern.

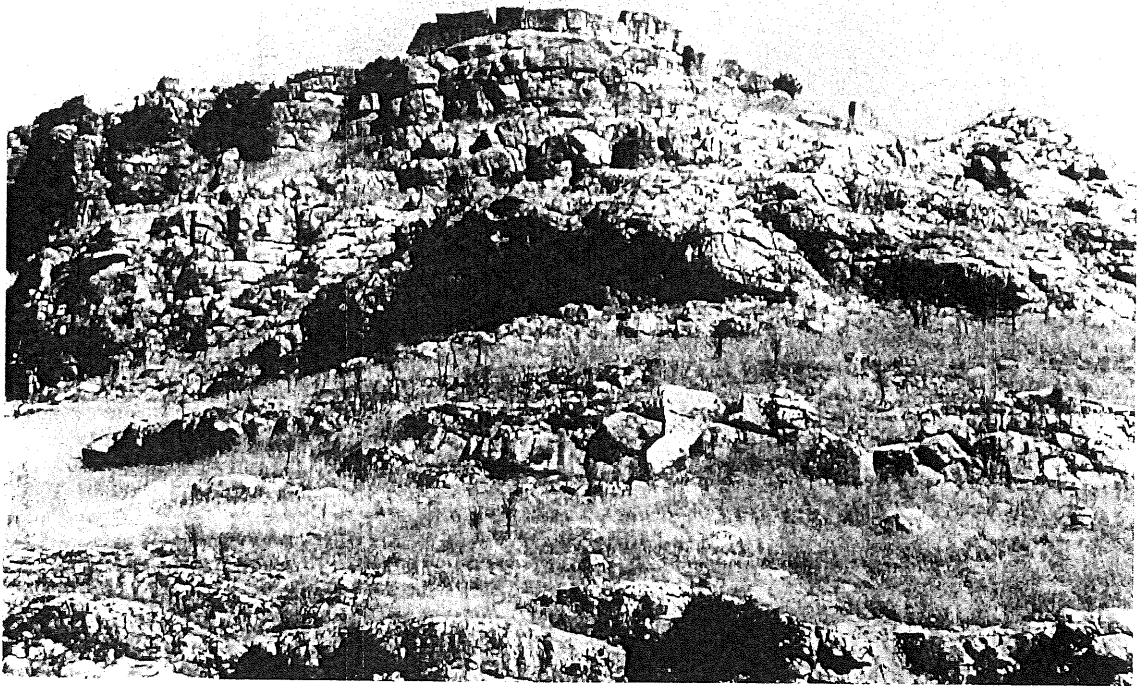


Fig. 5: Asar Tepe and Hellenistic fortification walls (view from the south-east).



Fig. 6: Hellenistic fortification walls as well as buildings at southern terrace (view from the south).

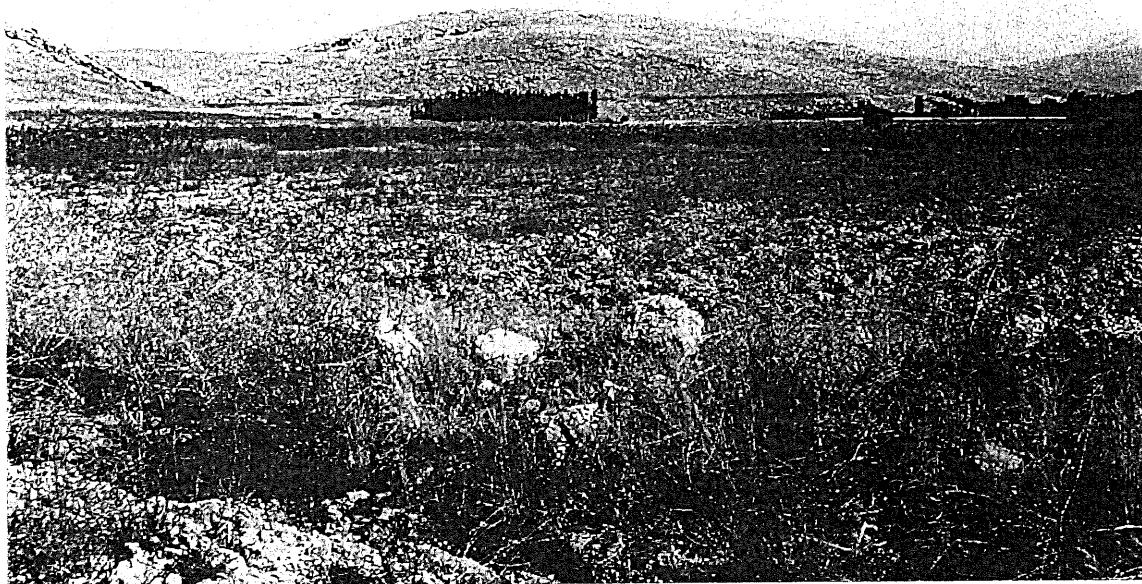


Fig. 7: Kuleonü-Plain (view from Bayat to the north).



Fig. 8: An iron slag from the surface of Asar Tepe.



Fig. 9: Hellenistic structure and the cistern (view from the south).

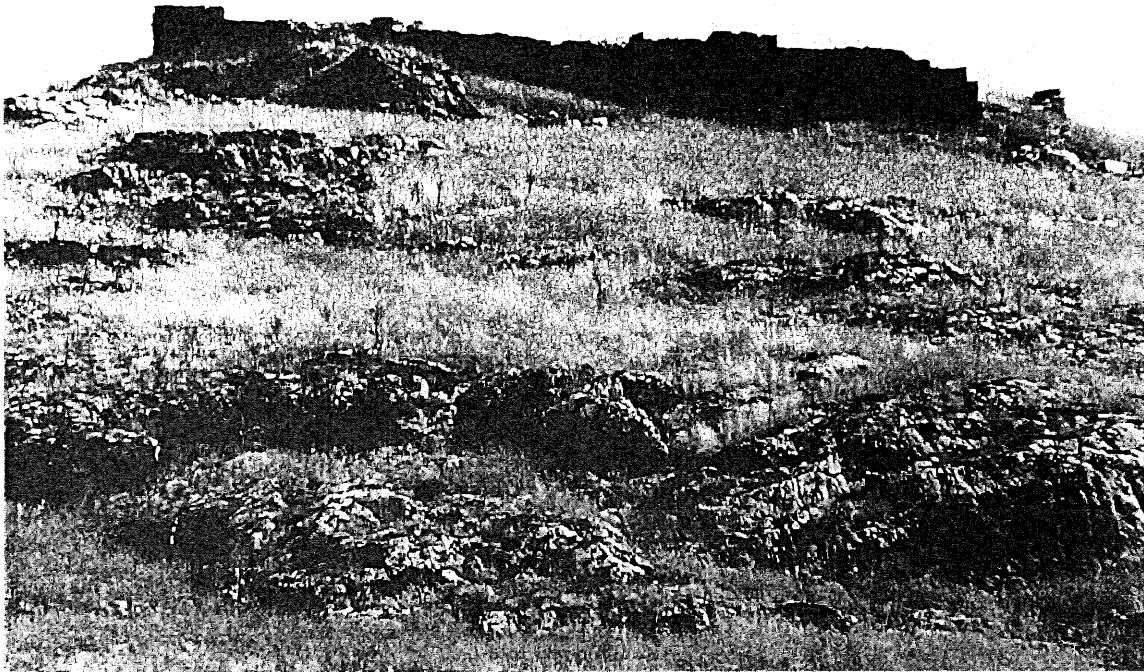


Fig. 10: The Hellenistic podium (?) walls.

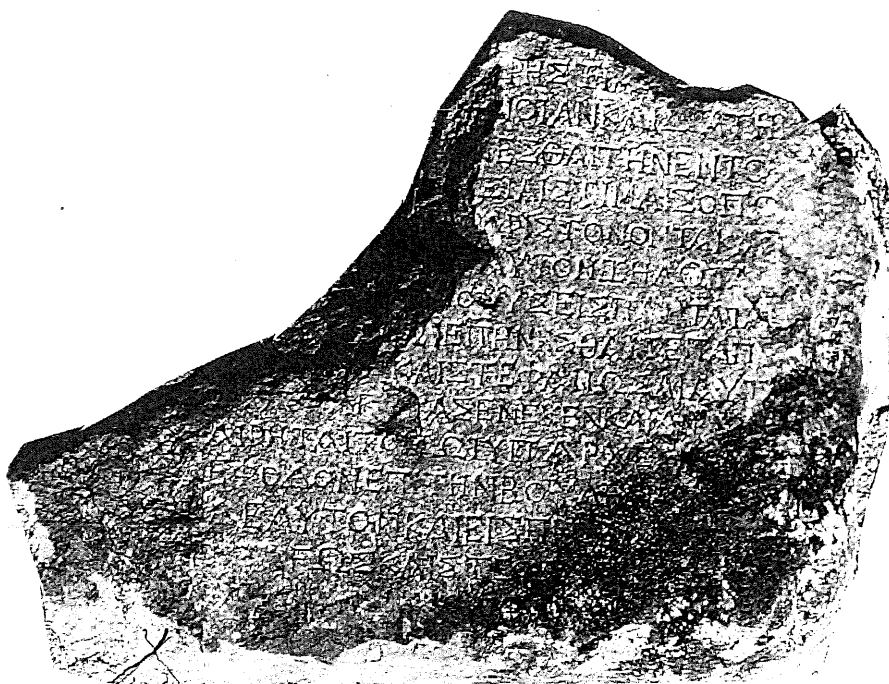


Fig. 11: The Hellenistic dedicatory inscription from the eastern tower.

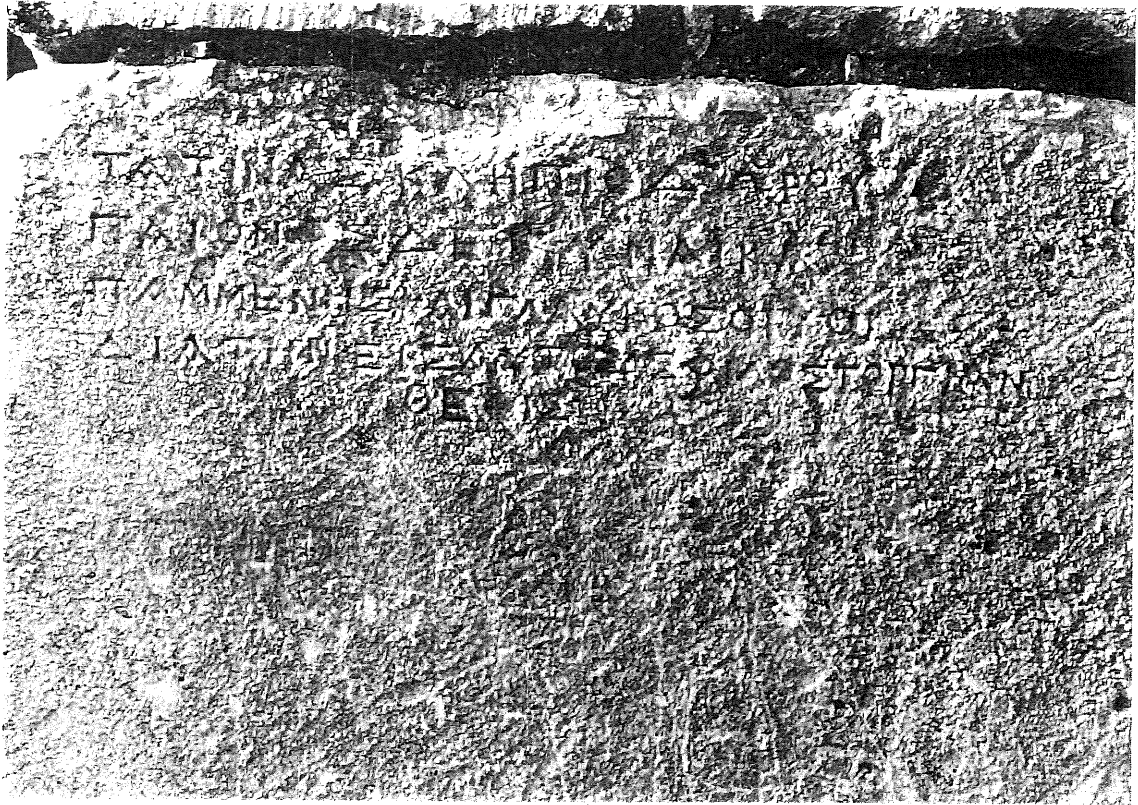


Fig. 12: An inscription as an re-used element from a *türbe* at Atabey.



Fig. 13: A sherd from the bronze age (?); found at southern terrace buildings.

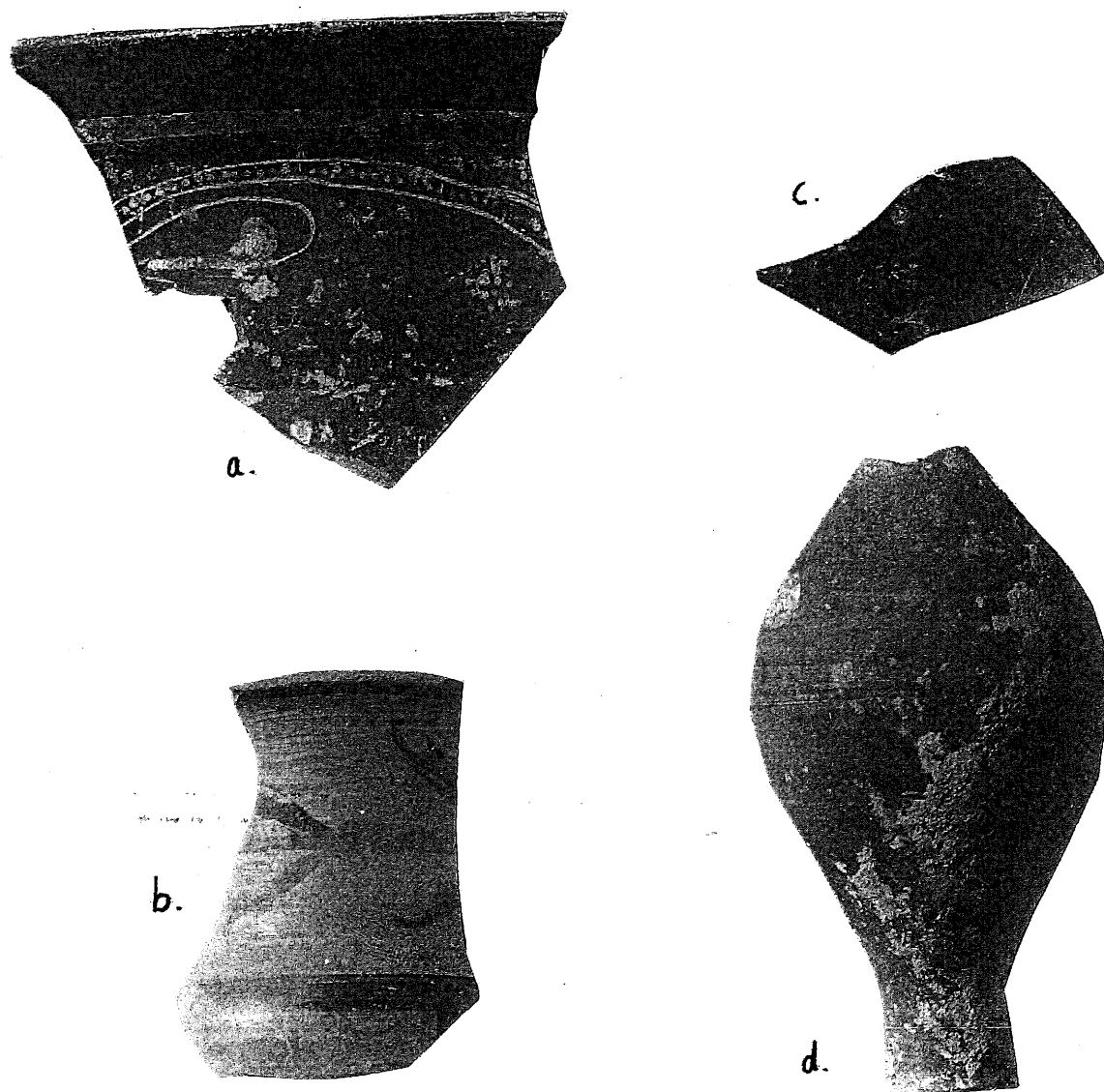


Fig. 14 a-d.: Hellenistic painted pottery from Seleuceia.



Fig. 15 a-c.: A Hellenistic painted white ground *lagynos* from the Museum of Hatay (Inv.-No. 15184).