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Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett,  
Zbigniew T. Fiema and Birgitta Hoffmann

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# Notes on the history of Seleuceia Sidēra in Pisidia (south-western Turkey): second preliminary report on the inscriptions

Ergün Lafli

## Introduction

A brief report on the inscriptions and fragments found at Seleuceia Sidēra (Fig. 1) in Pisidia (south-western Turkey) appeared in 1999 (Lafli 1999a). In this paper I intend to present a second preliminary view of these inscriptions with an overview of the history, archaeology and numismatic of this ancient Pisidian city in the light of earlier research. The literary and archaeological evidence will be summed up briefly. The historical implications with regard to some of these inscriptions have been discussed elsewhere;<sup>1</sup> they therefore will be presented here in brief fashion.

## Seleuceia Sidēra

From the early Hellenistic period about seven sites in Asia Minor and seven elsewhere were named Seleuceia.<sup>2</sup> One of them, Seleuceia Sidēra (Fig. 1), probably the most unattractive one, was occupied at least from early Hellenistic until the late Byzantine times and lies in northern Pisidia<sup>3</sup>, in the lakes region of modern Turkey. It was first located by the German historical geographer G. Hirschfeld in 1874<sup>4</sup>, at Asartepe (or Hisartepe - Fig. 1), an isolated and rocky hill (*acropolis*) well-suited for the purpose with its *chora*.<sup>5</sup> This hill is generally known as

Selef and lies near the village of Bayat<sup>6</sup>, 5kms south-west of Atabey and 18.5kms north-east of Isparta in south-west Turkey.<sup>7</sup> The ancient site is bordered by small hills to the north and is situated at the northern end of the small plain of Kuleönü-Bozanönü.<sup>8</sup> Thus the city stood at a junction of many roads: the ancient road climbed by way of Döşeme and Ariassus across the plain of Kestel Gölü to Sagalassus, connecting Seleuceia Sidēra and its neighbour Baris with Pamphylia (Ramsay 1890: 49). According to the ancient sources and many modern authorities this route was taken by Alexander the Great (Jones 1971: 124; Levick 1967: 41). Thus in Hellenistic-Roman times, Seleuceia Sidēra stood approximately between the Eğridir and Burdur Lakes and the most influential Pisidian cities of Sagalassus, Apollonia and Antioch as well as the neighbouring cities of Conana, Baris, Prostanna and Minassus (Jones 1971: 142; Mitchell 1976: 119). Its strategic importance combined with its fertile lands meant that it was long an important regional settlement. Other archaeological sites, at Kuleönü, İslamköy, Atabey and Tepecik as well as numerous *höyük*s, are evidence of the strength and continued occupation on the plain. According to numismatic evidence of the Roman imperial period, the city stood on a river called Oreandos, which might be today's dry stream which flows south from Davraz Dağı, past ancient Agrai (Atabey) and Seleuceia.<sup>9</sup> Traces of a dry river bed can be seen today in the south-eastern district of Atabey.

Today the identification of Seleuceia Sidēra with Asar Tepe is generally accepted. During the C19th Hirschfeld learnt of the name Selef and located Seleuceia Sidēra there (Hirschfeld 1879: 312). J.R.S. Sterrett, who visited the site in 1888, recorded the name Selef from the Greeks of Isparta (Sterrett 1888: 334). Although no inscriptions have yet been found at Seleuceia Sidēra which bear the name of the city, the name Selef and two inscriptions at Sagalassus (Hirschfeld 1879: 309) and at Seleuceia (below; inscription

<sup>1</sup> For Hellenistic Seleuceia: Lafli 2002a. I am currently preparing a book as well as four excavation and survey reports about the site.

<sup>2</sup> For ancient Seleuceias: various authors, Seleukeia, ἡ Σελεύκεια (Seleucēa, Seleucia). In Kroll & Wilte 1923: 1148-1205; Rostovtzeff 1954: map 4.

<sup>3</sup> The geographical definition of Pisidia is a complex problem. It is not a region of Asia Minor which has featured significantly in earlier studies of the classical world. The settlement of the geographical region which extends from the Pamphylian plain to the lakes basins of Burdur, Eğridir und Beyşehir, was dominated in antiquity by cities. The earliest of these appear to have come into existence in the C4th BC. We currently have information about 54 Pisidian cities. The term Pisidia was, however, used in the Roman imperial period to denote administrative districts. Furthermore, the extent to which the Pisidians maintained a recognisable ethnic identity under the Roman empire and in late antiquity is another complex and difficult question. Pisidia became an independent province with a separate governor for the first time in the early C4th. This short essay is not the proper place to provide a full, or even a summary account of the history of Pisidia in antiquity. The former textual and archaeological evidence on Hellenistic, Roman Imperial and Byzantine Pisidia accompanying the following publications and their bibliography can be suggested: Olshausen & Neumann 1972: 868-870; Bracke 1993; Schwertheim 1992; Brandt 1992; Belke & Mersich 1990; von Aulock 1979; Jones 1971, 123-146; Özşait 1980; Umar 1987; Grafen Lanckoroński, Niemann & Petersen 1892.

<sup>4</sup> For the discovery and location of Seleuceia Sidēra: Hirschfeld 1879: 312-314.

<sup>5</sup> We have very little information about the extension of Seleuceia's *chora* during the Roman imperial period. One of our aims was to document whole human activity on the environs of the site: many archaeological remains from different periods were recorded (for instance an unknown *aquaeduct*, 4-5kms south-east of Seleuceia). Since inscriptions were lacking, it was, however, impossible to estimate which remains or settlements were dependents of Seleuceia Sidēra. Some settlements and

monuments in the environs were recorded: Kelian: Kaya 1991: 251-259; a rock relief (?): Bean 1960, Plate XII (c); and İslamköy and Atabey: Rott 1908, 9-10. In recent years the more prominent *höyük* sites have been recorded and sherded by M. Özşait, but published reports refer almost exclusively to prehistoric material, except Gündürle, Çürür, Kalburnu and Findos Höyük in the surroundings of Seleuceia: Özşait 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Bayat is a name of a Turkish tribe of Oghuzs, and also a very common place name in Anatolia. In modern Turkey there are at least 32 villages with the same name: Stimer 1980: 461; and Aydın 1984: 74.

<sup>7</sup> For the location of Seleuceia Sidēra see the following: Mitchell 2000: map 1; Kaya 1999a: 164, Abb. 1; Bracke 1993: 30; Mitchell 1993: map 5; Brandt 1992: map of Pamphylia and Pisidia. Location of the town was determined by Ptolemy: Bean 1960: 54, fig. 2 (a)-(b). According to Hirschfeld (1879: 312) a journey between Isparta and Seleuceia Sidēra takes three hours. For a general plan of the site and its *in situ* monuments, Lafli 2002a.

<sup>8</sup> For the detailed description of the site and its environs topography: Lafli 2002a; Kaya 1999: 163.

<sup>9</sup> Hill 1897: cix. He recorded Davraz Dağı as "Tounas Dagh". For the streams on this plain, Sterrett 1888: 332.

no. 1), have led most scholars of the C19th and C20th to accept Hirschfeld's identification<sup>10</sup> (*contra* C. Ritter<sup>11</sup>). Today natives of Bayat Köy call the area between Asartepe (or Hisartepe) and the northern small hills as Selef Arası,<sup>12</sup> which is confirmed by a Turkish local author.

Since the discovery of the Greek inscription by Hirschfeld in 1874, dedicated to the emperor Claudius (below; Inscription no. 1), Seleuceia Sidēra has attracted scholars. Many ancient historians, Byzantine researchers, classical travellers and epigraphers have come to Seleuceia and reported monuments at the site.<sup>13</sup> Prior to the 1960s the site was used as a quarry by the residents of the nearby gardens, villages and towns.<sup>14</sup> Surveys by M. Özsaıt in 1980s on the Kuleönü Plain revealed that there had been several settlements around Seleuceia (Pamuklu, Gündürle, Harmanören, Findos, Karayuğ, Kızıl, Kapalıin, Bozanönü, Kanlı, Aliköy etc.) from the early Bronze age (and perhaps earlier) through to the early Hellenistic period.<sup>15</sup> An early Bronze age cemetery near Atabey was excavated by Özsaıt. Despite the interest in the site that these discoveries fostered, there has never been a comprehensive investigation of the city's topography and its extant buildings. However, efforts have been undertaken recently to redress this situation. Between 1985 and 1987 the Archaeological Museum at Isparta undertook rescue excavations, beginning in the city's theatre. A report on the three campaigns was published by D. Kaya.<sup>16</sup> A fourth season of excavation at Seleuceia Sidēra, again by the Isparta Museum and a team from Ankara Üniversitesi, directed by O. Bingöl was carried out in 1993. During this campaign the following locations were excavated: the southern Terrace II (a rock-structure and many late Roman buildings - Fig. 3), the southern Terrace I which lies south of it and on which a round building is situated - Fig. 4, the eastern tower on the summit of the hill which is part of an early Byzantine fortification, the eastern terrace (and its domestic housings), the theatre, the necropolis and the cistern (Fig. 5). The main results of this work were reported at a symposium, by which a considerable amount

of knowledge was gained about the history and topography of the city (Bingöl 1994). The material in this paper is largely drawn from these excavation campaigns. One of the most important results was the discovery of four fragmentary marble inscriptions as well as a terracotta pipe with an inscription in Greek.<sup>17</sup>

After the death of Lysimachus in 281, Pisidia fell under the nominal control of the Seleucids. Along the northern boundary of "Pisidia" passed a road which connected Syria with Asia Minor.<sup>18</sup> As its name indicates, Seleuceia Pisidia was founded by either Seleucus I or Antiochus I in the early C3rd BC,<sup>19</sup> just as other sites in southern and western Asia Minor (such as Apollonia and Antiocheia Pisidia),<sup>20</sup> to protect this military (and perhaps commercial) road across northern Pisidia. This Hellenistic military colony was most likely filled with the inhabitants consisting primarily of natives from the *höyük*s surrounding the site. The history of the colony-period of this city remains unclear.<sup>21</sup> An honorary inscription fragment found in 1993 (below; Inscription no. 3 - Fig. 15) clearly indicates the presence of a *boule* in the city as early as in the C1st BC. A mention of a possible *boule* is very important, since we know of very few Hellenistic *boules* in Pisidia.<sup>22</sup> Apart from that inscription we have found four unstratified Hellenistic pottery sherds, which reflect a valuable inventory of local Hellenistic pottery forms (one crater rim, one *skyphos* rim-neck, an open bowl with ivy decoration and a fusiform *unguentarium*).<sup>23</sup> Although it is difficult at present to estimate the chronology of these sherds, it seems that they might belong to the early to mid-Hellenistic period. Another notable find is a previously unpublished, possibly early Hellenistic, marble statue fragment which is a foot of an adult male with an extraordinary shoe design. The city plan of this fortified Seleucid colony has a problematic nature.<sup>24</sup> Which buildings are of Hellenistic origin and what sort of city plan we should imagine remain unanswered. On the other hand some Hellenistic surface structures are preserved. The most important ones are the fortification walls with cyclopic stone blocks in the south-eastern part of the hill

<sup>10</sup> Sterrett 1888: 334; Ramsay 1890: 406; Rott 1908: 9; Ruge 1923: 1204-1205; Bean 1976, 821; von Aulock 1979: 43; Belke & Mersich 1990: 411.

<sup>11</sup> Ritter (1859: 482) tried to locate Seleuceia Sidēra with the modern sea town Eğridir.

<sup>12</sup> Survival of local place names from antiquity into the Turkish period is not unusual in Pisidia. The names of 17 ancient settlements survive in the modern toponymy: Mitchell 2000: 147, n.44.

<sup>13</sup> Chronologically: Sterrett 1888: 332-334; Rott 1908: 9-10; Ramsay 1890: 406; Robert 1955: 239-245; Bean 1976: 821; von Aulock 1979: 43-45; Umar 1987. For the detailed list on the earlier research in Seleuceia, Lafli 2002a.

<sup>14</sup> Many re-used architectural and sculptural elements from Seleuceia Sidēra and its *chora* can be found in Bayat, Kuleönü, İslamköy, Atabey and even in Isparta. Some of them are published; for an inscription from Isparta with Σελευκείης; Collignon 1879: 345, 26; Kaya 1995: 179-180. I attempted to collect all monuments from Seleuceia, especially those inscriptions at the famous Seljuk Türbe in Atabey, and at a forgotten mosque in the south-eastern district of Atabey. For an example, see fig. 2 (a grave stele at the wall of Türbe in Atabey).

<sup>15</sup> Özsaıt 1990: 381-389 (for a map: p. 385, Harita: 1).

<sup>16</sup> Kaya 1999; Brandt (1992: 1116, n. 1014) notes also this rescue excavation campaign.

<sup>17</sup> This formerly unpublished pipe was found at the very end of the excavation campaign; I did not have enough time to examine it in detail. It is now stored today in a store hall of Atabey's town municipality. Other stone inscriptions are kept at the Archaeological Museum of Isparta.

<sup>18</sup> Bracke 1993:17, 21, n. 54; Ramsay 1890: 43.

<sup>19</sup> Jones 1971: 127; Bracke 1993: 17, 21, n. 54; Cohen 1978: 15; Bean 1976: 821. Some authors like Imhoof-Blumer (1902: 398) believe that it was not Seleucus I Nicator who founded the city; others support the idea Seleucus or his son Antiochus I Soter as a founder: Jones 1971: 127; von Aulock 1979: 43. Probably Seleucus I Nicator can not be the founder, since during the time that Seleucids conquered Pisidia (281BC), he was already dead.

<sup>20</sup> For Seleucid colonies in western Asia Minor, Jones 1971: 127-128.

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed essay on the history of Seleuceia during Hellenistic period: Lafli 2002a.

<sup>22</sup> Bracke 1993: 22. During the late Hellenistic period, at least, Sagalassus, Termessus, Ariassus and possibly also Etenna, possessed a real *bouleuterion*.

<sup>23</sup> For Hellenistic pottery from Seleuceia, Lafli 2002b.

<sup>24</sup> As a city type, the Seleucid fortified colonies of the early Hellenistic western Asia Minor were classified by Ramsay as early as the 1890s (1890: 85).

(Fig. 6)<sup>25</sup>, an extent building of unknown function in the middle part of the hill (perhaps the foundation or podium of a Hellenistic temple with a later Roman structure?: Fig. 7)<sup>26</sup> and a cistern (Fig. 5)<sup>27</sup>, possibly of Seleucid origin, on the southern slope of Asar Tepe. Two portions of the *acropolis* fortification walls still stand; one portion is built of immense quadrangular blocks, while the other is of polygonal masonry. During the final excavation campaign sondages were placed near the cistern, from which no significant data for the chronology was recorded. In fact no excavated material provides us details about the site's history after the Seleucid activity (abandonment?). Strabo (*Geog.* XII.7.2 (570)) cites a list of Pisidian cities compiled by his predecessor, Artemidorus of Ephesus, around 100BC: Selge, Sagalassus, Pednelissus, Adada, Tymbrida, Cremna, Tityassus, Amblada, Anabura, Isinda, Aarassus, Tarbassus and Termessus. One can accept these locations as defining the Pisidian heartland (Mitchell 1976: 119). In this list Seleuceia is missing. According to numismatic evidence, however, there is some evidence that the first three autonomous city coins were minted in the C1st BC,<sup>28</sup> but it is not certain whether or not these coins belonged to Pisidian Seleuceia. If so, they are the only evidence for the existence of the site in the late Hellenistic period.

The years from the C1st BC to the C4th AD, during which time Seleuceia Sidēra and all Asia Minor was ruled by Roman emperors, stand at the fulcrum of a series of events that transformed small Hellenistic Seleuceia into a central Roman imperial city, and a growing late Roman city. The early Roman imperial history of Seleuceia remains, however, unclear. The emperor Claudius I, attested in the inscription found by Hirschfeld (below, Inscription no. 1), was undoubtedly an important figure in the history of the city. He left a great impression elsewhere in Asia Minor. For instance, we have evidence of road-building along the coast in Bithynia (near Amastris) and in Pamphylia (near Adalia). Cities, such as Bithynium and Neoclaudiopolis in Paphlagonia, possibly in return for benefits received, adopted the name of the emperor.<sup>29</sup> Seleuceia Sidēra was one of these cities. At the time of the organisation of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia by Claudius, the city's name was officially changed to Claudioseleuceia; funds for its construction may also have been supplied by the emperor (Mitchell 1993: 78). Unclear is the motivation behind the donation. The funds provided would not in themselves, have been sufficient to guarantee the complete romanization of this area. According to epigraphic evidence, Claudius was worshipped as a benefactor and as a "god made manifest" in the Hirschfeld inscription. The name Claudioseleuceia was retained on coins down to Claudius II, although in Ptolemy's *Geography* it is dropped (von Aulock 1979: 43).

The boundaries of the Roman imperial province of Galatia varied greatly at different times. When Vespasian instituted the province of 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 Conana, Seleuceia and Baris.<sup>30</sup> For this period there is some epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidence to indicate that the relationship between Sagalassus and Seleuceia<sup>31</sup> continued through the late Hellenistic and Roman period, as well as that between Antioch and Claudioseleuceia, as shown in an honorific inscription set up by the inhabitants of Claudioseleuceia in Pisidian Antioch (Ramsay 1924: 197, inscription no. 26). As for other parts of the empire, the frontiers of Pisidia were undoubtedly changed in the C3rd and C4th, but in many instances this happened only after the defences had been weakened (Ramsay 1890: 398). The other three inscription fragments found at Seleuceia (below; inscription fragments nos. 4-6 - Figs. 16-18) do not help much about the history of the city during the Roman imperial period.

Many buildings on the surface can be assigned to the period between the C1st and the C4th AD. The theatre is the most attractive one.<sup>32</sup> It is situated at the north-east foot of the *acropolis*; most of its stones are gone, from which today only the stage building and a diazoma are visible. According to the architectural ornamentation of the stage building (Fig. 8), it must have been built during the C2nd AD. On the keystone of the diazoma was portrayed one of the most popular goddess of Roman Anatolia, Tyche (Fig. 9). In addition to this, other unknown relief figures on the cassettes of the stage building were recovered (Fig. 10). The most important excavation areas of the campaign in 1993, namely southern Terraces I and II include also a great number of Roman imperial architecture. Despite the fact that most of the buildings in this area were in use during the late Roman period, among the walls and other structures, it is difficult to estimate which building belonged to the earlier periods. A certain Roman imperial structure is a building at the southern Terrace II, whose north part is carved on a rock surface (Fig. 3). This structure consists of a flattened rock surface, 11 wooden holes on the surface and a strong fragmented front-part. It was obviously a two-storeyed building of unknown (religious) function.<sup>33</sup> The many late Roman finds from this area clearly indicate that it was in use in the late Roman period (a former pagan sanctuary with a later Christian function?). Its appearance seems to have some similarities with the Kybele Sanctuary in Antioch. Furthermore during the 1993 season 12 single-room

<sup>25</sup> For its pictures see: Umar 1987: fig. 7; Lafli 1999a: fig. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Bingöl 1994: 55: "podyumlu yapı" (?).

<sup>27</sup> Bingöl 1994: 53-55; its pictures: 70, fot. 10-11.

<sup>28</sup> Von Aulock 1979: 43-44, 154-155, Nos. 1871-1873.

<sup>29</sup> Activities of Claudius I in Asia Minor were studied by Magie 1950: 71 and Levick 1967: 4.

<sup>30</sup> Ramsay 1890: 252. Inscriptions of the late C1st and early C2nd 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: 140.

<sup>31</sup> For an epigraphic connection, Hirschfeld 1879: 303, 309.

<sup>32</sup> For the theatre of Seleuceia: Kaya 1999: 166-173; its pictures Tafel 31, 2-4, 32-33; 1999a: 38.

<sup>33</sup> Bingöl 1994: 49-50; 65, pl. 2.

buildings on the southern Terrace II were excavated. Due to the finds from these buildings one can assume that they have been used as shops or houses.<sup>34</sup> The first building activity on this platform is unknown, but according to the excavations in this area these buildings were at least in use during the late Roman period. On the southern Terrace I which lies south of it, a round building was excavated (Fig. 4).<sup>35</sup> It should be a late Roman religious building, since many religious objects were recovered.<sup>36</sup> The extensive north-western cemetery<sup>37</sup> of the site was located mainly on the north-eastern slopes of Asar Tepe. There are numerous types of graves, but most of them have a simple and poor character in ornaments and design. According to the pottery and numismatic evidence this graveyard was in use between the C2nd and C4th AD.<sup>38</sup> The cistern (Fig. 5), which was mentioned among the Hellenistic structures above, was also in use during the Roman imperial period. We already have as clear a picture as we could reasonably hope for the urban settlement pattern of Seleuceia in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods.

A total of 76 of Seleuceia coins were catalogued by H. von Aulock. Aside from the three coins mentioned above, all 73 bear the heads of emperors, ranging from Hadrian to Claudius II (Gothicus) (von Aulock 1994: 44). Like Sagalassus, with which it shares a number of types, Seleuceia Sidēra seems to have been especially prosperous under Claudius II. Taken with the archaeological evidence, the coinage suggests that Seleuceia Sidēra must have been assigned at various times to Men, Tyche, Hygeia, Artemis the huntress, the emperor Hadrian, Hephaistus, Hermes, and Zeus, whose representations on the city's imperial coins were the most common. God Men were obviously very popular in Seleuceia and in Pisidia. Within the *chora* of Seleuceia (especially in Bayat Köy and Kuleönü) we have found many re-used grave stones with Men representations (Fig. 11). Furthermore Men was also represented even on terracotta *oinophoroi* of Sagalassan origin.<sup>39</sup> One of the most attractive coins are those with the representation of agonistic games, festivals and celebrations (von Aulock 1979: 45), which provide evidence for a unique Pisidian brand of paganism during the Roman period. The cycle of pagan communal festivals and religious ceremonies in Seleuceia Sidēra waned with the advent of Christianity and the feasts of the church; it was a lengthy and uneven process in this part of the empire. Agonistic scenes are also common among the other Pisidian cities' imperial coinage, especially in the C2nd and C3rd AD. A temple representation on a coin indicates the existence of an imperial temple at the site (the extent Hellenistic building in the middle of the *acropolis*? von Aulock 1979: 45, and 165, no. 2016).

<sup>34</sup> Bingöl 1994: 50-51; 66, pls. 3-4.

<sup>35</sup> Bingöl 1994: 51-52; 67, pls. 5-6.

<sup>36</sup> Among other 'religious' objects (*oinophoroi* etc.) terracotta figurines: Lafli 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2001.

<sup>37</sup> Bingöl 1994: 56-57; plan: 64, plan: 5 & 73 pls. 17, 74, pls. 18-19.

<sup>38</sup> For the chronological evidence by the terracotta oil lamps: Lafli 2002c.

<sup>39</sup> Lafli 1999b. For other religious scenes on the Sagalassus relief ware found at Seleuceia, Lafli 2001 - forthc.

The name Sidēra was probably added to Seleuceia in the C6th AD (Belke & Mersich 1990: 378). The earliest ancient source, who recorded the name Seleuceia Sidēra is the *Synekdemos* of Hierocles (673. 8.) of the C6th. During the councils in AD692 and 787 the city's name was recorded as Seleuceia; on the other hand at *Notitiae Episcopatum* VI, VII and IX as Seleuceia Sidēra (Belke & Mersich 1990: 378). The reason for this addition remains unclear. Some scholars speculate that it was in order to differentiate it from the other Seleuceias in the late antique world. Others have suggested that Sidēra (iron) indicated the iron mines around the city which are still visible on the surface (Magie 1950: 88). However no archaeometrical research has yet been done.

There is archaeological and epigraphical attestation of Christianity at the site beginning in C4th AD. According to the literary evidence, Seleuceia could boast at least two substantial C4th and C5th churches (including two possible shrines of its principal saints, Saint George and Holy Artemon – who converted his religion with the assistance of St. Paul during his visit and who was the first bishop of Seleuceia – of Seleuceia Sidēra).<sup>40</sup> The neighbouring cities in Pisidia were attacked by the Ostrogoths in the C4th. At present we do not know if this also happened to the fortified Byzantine city of Seleuceia.<sup>41</sup> Preliminary reports from the Sagalassus excavations indicate that the classical city, whose population is presumed to have suffered from the great plague of 542, barely recovered from heavy earthquake damage in the mid-C6th. Whether both these events occurred also at Seleuceia has not yet been determined through the excavations. The division of the late Roman secular provinces is only partly reflected in the organisation of ecclesiastical provinces during the Byzantine period. According to the council lists, Seleuceia sent Eutyhcius to the Council of Nicaea (in 325)<sup>42</sup> and Alexandros to the Council of Chalchedon (in 451). Its name is documented in 458 as *epistola ad Leonem* (Belke & Mersich 1990: 378). In the inscription no. 2 (see below) several early Byzantine toponyms in and around Seleuceia are attested, which cannot be identified with modern toponyms. After the C7th Seleuceia is mentioned very rarely in literary texts. But for the *Notitiae Episcopatum* and the records of the major Church Councils, Pisidian settlements are very rarely mentioned in written sources of the C7th to C13th (Mitchell 2000: 142). This matches with our general knowledge of Byzantine Pisidia. Existing maps of settlements of this region, or indeed of any part of

<sup>40</sup> Ramsay 1890: 406; and *Act. Sanct.*, 24 March 474. The main church attached to this settlement, however, appears not to have been in the city itself, but perhaps at a distance (at today's Bayat?), since the Byzantine architectural elements are concentrated mostly in this area and we do not have any traces of any church at the site itself: a fragment of early Byzantine architectural decoration has been observed at the wall of the mosque of Bayat (for an element, see Fig. 12).

<sup>41</sup> Ostrogoths at Sagalassos, Waelkens 2000: 177 and in late antiquity in Pisidia, Mitchell 2000.

<sup>42</sup> At the time of the Council of Nicaea in 325 the Pisidian cities were the metropolis Antioch, Neapolis, Amblada, Metropolis, Apamea, Baris, Seleuceia Sidēra, Pappa, Hadrianapolis, Iconium, Misthia and Vasada: Mitchell 2000: 140.

south-western Asia Minor, during the middle or later Byzantine periods after the C7th, leave us with a picture of abandoned cities (Mitchell 2000: 139). From the C8th, the name of the city was combined with Agrai (modern Atabey) in the second *Notitiae Episcopatum* (10, 490 and 13, 340).<sup>43</sup> Archaeological evidence, such as pottery, attests its existence to the end of the C11th, when it was finally abandoned entirely for unknown reasons, whereas there is the simple difficulty of any literary record, that belongs to this period.<sup>44</sup> The city inhabitants moved to the neighbouring site of Atabey-Agrai, a settlement which became a bishopric centre in the C9th and took the ecclesiastical status of Seleuceia Sidēra in the second half of the C11th, and assumed archbishop status itself (Belke & Mersich 1990: 172). This literary (and perhaps also archaeological) evidence implies the survival of the urban settlement of Seleuceia Sidēra of late antiquity up until the time of the Turkish conquest. It spectacularly contradicts, however, the virtual silence of other literary evidence for this period and the almost complete absence of archaeological remains in Seleuceia (except pottery). During the Byzantine period there is, however, some evidence in the region for large villages in the vicinity of Seleuceia.<sup>45</sup>

Many of Pisidian cities existed as large centres of population in late antiquity between the C4th and C6th, during which time Seleuceia experienced a building boom. This is demonstrated not so much by written sources, such as the *Synekdemos* of Hierocles, as by archaeological evidence. There is no sign of a break in the occupation of Roman imperial Seleuceia down to the end of the late antiquity. The eastern tower<sup>46</sup> on the summit of the hill which is a part of early Byzantine fortifications, is a good indication of the growing fear of the city inhabitants of the imminent invasions. Within the early Byzantine fortifications a great number of architectural and sculptural elements of the earlier periods were re-used. On the eastern terrace of the occupied hill, several domestic housings from the late Roman period were discovered.<sup>47</sup> The northern wall of one of these buildings contained a Zeus altar of Roman imperial period which served as a reused element (Fig. 13a-c). During the late Roman period most of the above mentioned buildings on the Southern terraces were in use for various purposes, where the occupation areas are strewn with Sagalassus pottery of the later Roman periods. That all the living and work areas are found on the south and east slopes of the occupied hill

shows that during the late antiquity the slopes of the town were densely populated, and there was a continuous occupation of the housing *insulae* at least through the C4th and C5th. At the south-western part of the hill there are also some late Roman walls of unknown function.

Late Byzantine remains in Seleuceia Sidēra were recovered in the final excavation campaign at the site; they were some green glazed pottery of local origin. Another notable find is a Seljuk coin hoard in a perished purse, which was found independently in the diazoma of the theatre, just a few centimetres below the surface (Hirschfeld 1879: 313).

### Inscriptions

1. Greek inscription, discovered by Hirschfeld<sup>48</sup>, later revised by Sterrett<sup>49</sup>, and later still by myself<sup>50</sup> and by D. Kaya.<sup>51</sup> Written on white limestone block in two different letter sizes and letter types in four (b) and six (a) lines. This inscription has been observed by different authors at various locations in the village.<sup>52</sup> It was re-used as an architectural element. Today the stone lies in a field in the village centre of Bayat. The information provided by W. Weber (with H. Rott) on the location of the inscription at the beginning of the C20<sup>th</sup> allows us to recognize that one would not have been able to transcribe fully the entire inscription since it was built into the door of the mosque, thus making certain parts unreadable. It is probable that the inscription was removed from the wall to its modern location during the restoration of the mosque. On the top of the inscription is a hole (a statue base?). At the top of the inscription is a hole which led Magie to suggest that it was part of a statue base, dedicated to the emperor Claudius (41-45). Measurements: height: 0.57m; width: 1.34m; letter size: left text 2.2cms; right text: 3.6cms. Beginning of the C1<sup>st</sup> AD.

	(a)	(b)
	NON	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ
Line 2:	ΦΑΝΗ	ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ
	ΑΤΡΙΣ	ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ
Line 4:	ΑΥΤΟΥ	ΘΕΟΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΗ
	ΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ	
Line 6:	ΡΟΚΑ	
	Γερμανικόν	Τιβέριον Κλαύδιο[v]
	]φανή	
	]ατρις	Καίσαρα Σεβαστό[v]

<sup>43</sup> Ο Σελευκείας τῆς Σιδηράς ἴστοι Ἀγρων: Darrouzès 1981: 7, 456; 9, 339; 10, 396; and 13, 403.

<sup>44</sup> Until the C11th the name of the city was mentioned in the lists of archbishops: Belke/Mersich 1990, 378.

<sup>45</sup> In a forthcoming article I discuss briefly the whole regional occupation pattern of the Kuleönü Plain in a wider spectrum (with settlements and monuments in the environs, Atabey, İslamköy, Kuleönü etc.). The results of our surveys in the environs of Seleuceia imply that it would be premature to abandon the search for significant traces of the middle Byzantine period in Kuleönü Plain. In the monograph in preparation I discuss this issue in more detail.

<sup>46</sup> Bingöl 1994: 52-53; 68, pls. 7 & 69, pl. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Bingöl 1994: 53; 69, pl. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Hirschfeld 1879: 313.

<sup>49</sup> Sterrett 1888: 334, inscription no. 466; Cagnat 1906: 143, inscription no. 328.

<sup>50</sup> Lafli 1999a: 60, inscription no. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Kaya 1999: 164-165; its picture: Tafel 31,1; Kaya 1999a: 37.

<sup>52</sup> Hirschfeld 1879: 313 - "Andere Reste sind in den Hütten des etwa 20 Minuten entfernten Dörfchens Bjad verbaut: ausser Grabsteinen spätrömischer Zeit und einer byzantinischer Inschrift besonders folgende griechische..."; Sterrett 1888: 334 - "In the wall of the Djami"; Rott 1908: 13 - "An der Westwand desselben Hauses (as here No. 2) als Türwange benutzt, teilweise im Boden" (house, mosque?); and von Aulock 1979: 43 - "...eine in der Moschee von Bayat eingemauerte Ehreninschrift für den Kaiser Claudius I...".

]αὐτοῦ Γερμανικόν  
]πιόδωρος Θεὸν Ἐπιφανῆ  
]ροκλ[έους]

In part (a)

Line 2: 'επι]φανῆ

Line 3: [φιλόπ]ατρι

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

Line 6: [Ἀνδ]ροκλ[έους, [Ἰατροκλ]έους, [Κυδ]ροκλέους

The 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> lines can be completed as "[... ]rokles son of [...]piodoros".

2. (Fig. 14) Greek inscription, discovered by Hirschfeld (1879: 314), later revised by Sterrett<sup>53</sup> and Weber (with Rott).<sup>54</sup> Grégoire and Robert discussed this inscription which concerns some small localities in early Byzantine south-west Anatolia.<sup>55</sup> The first line of the inscription is no longer visible. Measurements: height: 0.62m; width: 0.62m; letter size: 2.3cms. Probably C5<sup>th</sup>-C6<sup>th</sup>.

[Ἔτο]υς υν' ἔρ[γον χ]ριστιανόν καὶ ἄ[γιον?]  
τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου πρῶτ[η]  
Line 4: συνοδία ἐρ (γεπιστατήσαντος?) Ἀβραμίου καὶ  
ὑπὸ προάγοντα Ἀντίπατρο[ν]  
Πορφύρις Ἀντιφῶν Ἄρις Παῦλος  
Ἡπάκλις Μεγεμᾶ[χ]ις Παῦλος  
Line 8: Κυριακὸς Στρατῶνικος Ἀδξάνων  
Ζωτικὸς Τιμόθις Ἄτταλος  
Ἰωάννης Κοτόνης Γ[ε]σ[ε]ννέσ[ιος?]  
Παῦλος Τεχνίτης Φίλιππος  
Κόνων Χρυσανθία Ἀλέξανδ[ρος]  
Line 12: Φίλιππος

3. (Fig. 15) Fragment of a Greek inscription, found in 1993 in the eastern tower (but not in situ). This marble inscription may also have been reused as an architectural element in the later buildings of the eastern terraces. Severely damaged and cut off from the middle part of the inscription. Inventory number: SLV 088-Y1/93. Measurements: height: preserved height 0.47m; width: 0.36m; letter size: 2cms. It might be a honorific inscription. C2nd-C1st BC (?).

]ΡΗΣΤΙΑ[  
διὰ τὴν εὐ]νοίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν [φιλίαν (?)  
]εσθαι τὴν ἐν ΤΟ[  
Line 4: ἄ]ξιας τιμαῖς ὄπω[ς  
ἄ]ριστον ὄντα κα[ὶ]  
]αὐτὸν ζηλωτα[  
]Ο[.]ΥΣ εἰς πάντα τὰ[  
Line 8: ]οὶ ἐπηνήσθαι τε Παπ[

<sup>53</sup> Sterrett 1888, inscription no. 464. Sterrett published a very similar inscription from Isparta town centre (1888: 118, inscription no. 12). This inscription in Isparta is today in the garden of a mosque.

<sup>54</sup> Rott 1908: inscription no. 12.

<sup>55</sup> Robert 1955: 239-245. Theories about the content of this inscription will be discussed in my monograph on Seleuceia.

]καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτ[ὸν  
]αγ[αθ]ίας ἔνεκεν καὶ ἀγ[ο]ρείας?  
ἐν ᾧ ἂν προ]αιρῆται τόποι ὑπάρχε[ιν  
Line 12: ]ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν κ[αὶ τὸν βῆμον  
καλεῖσθαι] δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς προε[δρίαν  
]εως καὶ στεφα[ν  
]...ΘΑΔ[  
Line 10: ἄνδρ-, καλοκ-, φιλ-αγαθίας.

4. (Fig. 16) Fragment of a Greek inscription, found in 1993 in the southern Terrace I. Inventory number: SLV 123 Y4/93. Measurements: preserved height: 10.5cms; width: 9.5cms; letter size: 3.2cms.

] .M . [  
]ΝΟΥ[  
]ΡΟ . [

5. (Fig. 17) Fragment of a Greek inscription, found in 1993 on the southern Terrace I. Inventory number: SLV 122-Y3/93. Measurements: preserved height: 10cms; width: 10cms; letter size: 3.5cms.

]Ε . [  
]ΝΝΕ[  
] . [

6. (Fig. 18) Fragment of a Greek inscription, found in 1993 on the southern Terrace I. Inventory number: SLV 009-Y2/93. Measurements: preserved height: 14cms; width: 11cms; letter size: 3.1cms.

]ΛΙΟ . [  
]Σ vacat  
]Ν[

It should be also noted that a terracotta pipe with an early Byzantine one-line-inscription (C5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup>) was also found; unfortunately the single inscribed line has not yet been transcribed.

Beside these inscriptions some later graffiti were documented on the later Roman pottery.

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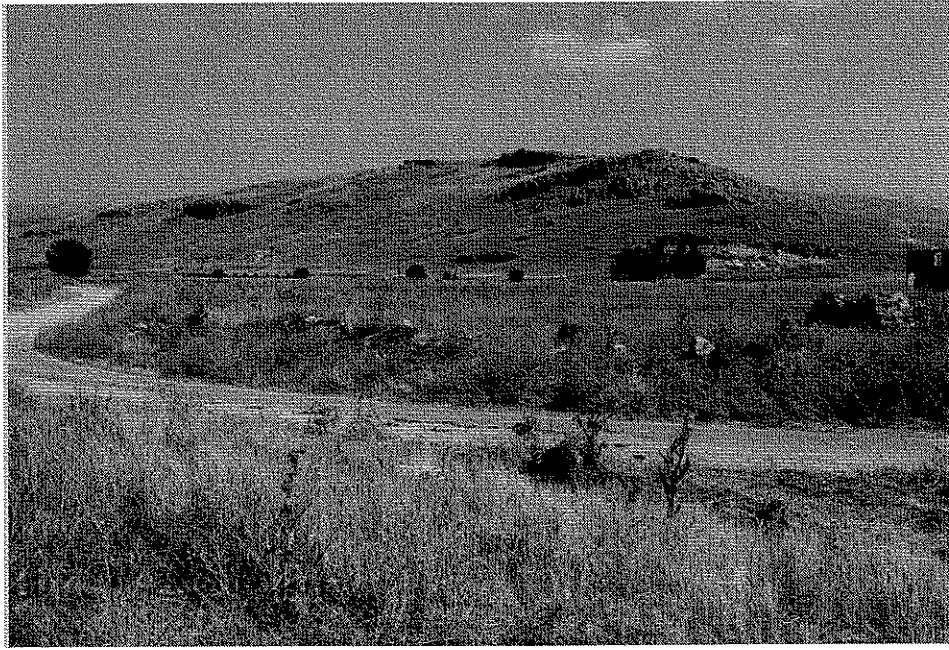


Fig. 1. Seleuceia Sidera and Asartepe (Hisartepe), from south-east.



Fig. 2. A grave stele on the wall of the Seljuk Türbe at Atabey.

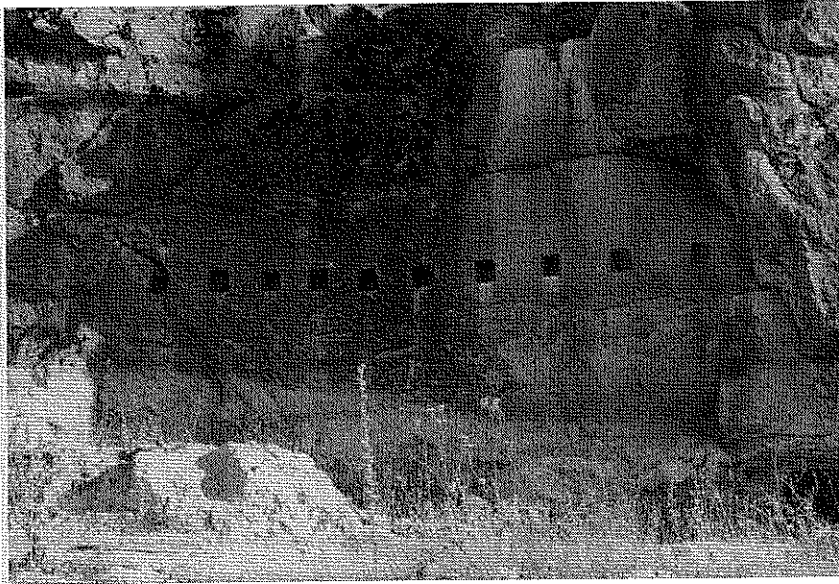


Fig. 3. Southern Terrace II and religious rock structure.

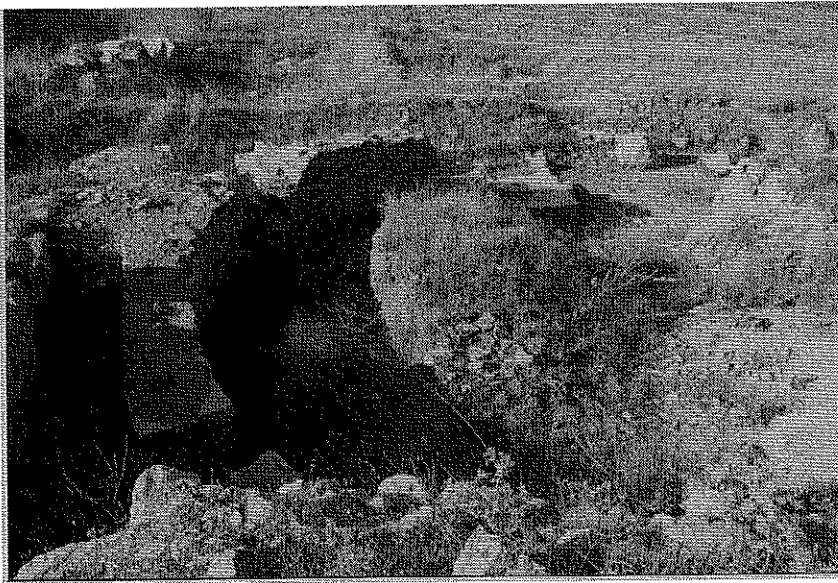


Fig. 4. Round building at the southern Terrace I.

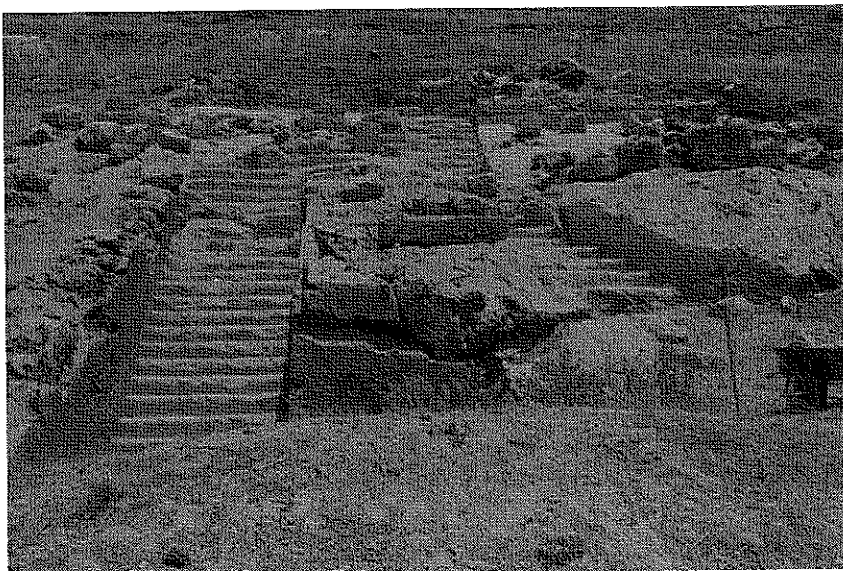


Fig. 5. The cistern.

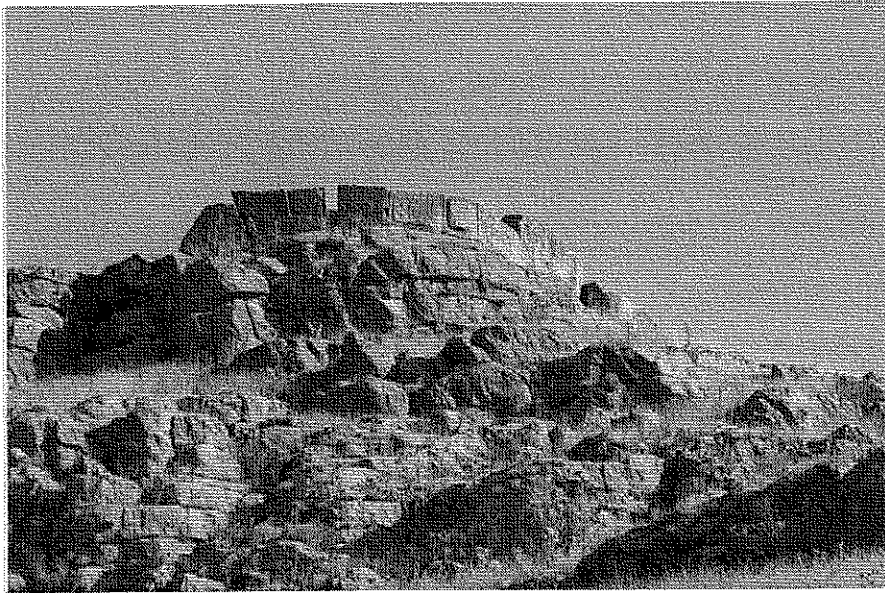


Fig. 6. Hellenistic fortification walls on the south-eastern corner of Asartepe.



Fig 7. A Hellenistic building at the middle part of Asartepe.

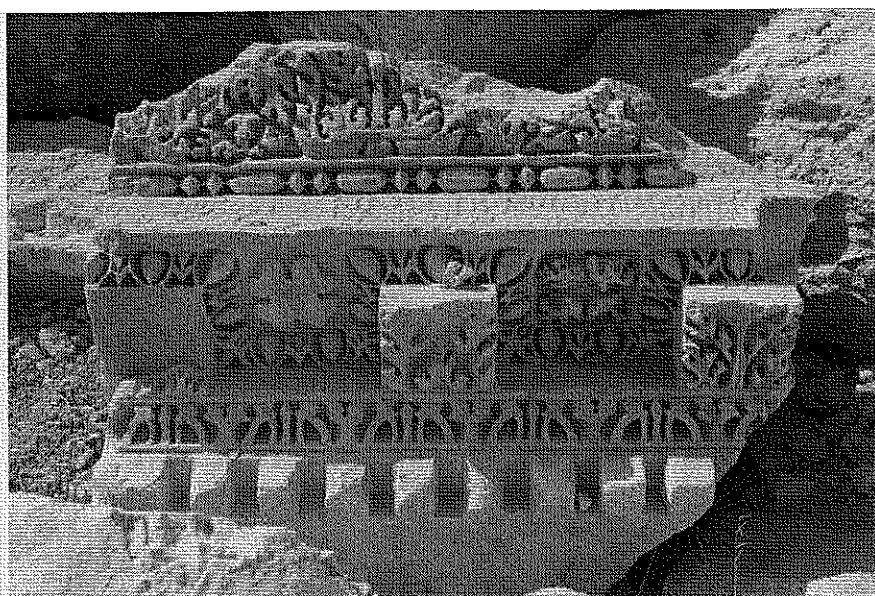


Fig. 8. A sima block from the theatre.



Fig. 9. Tyche relief on the keystone of the diazoma of the theatre.

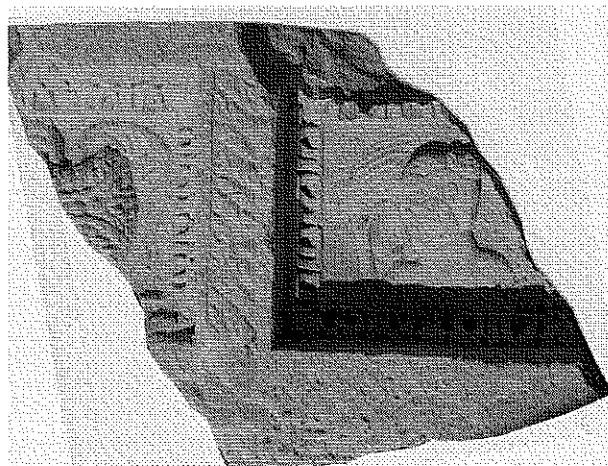
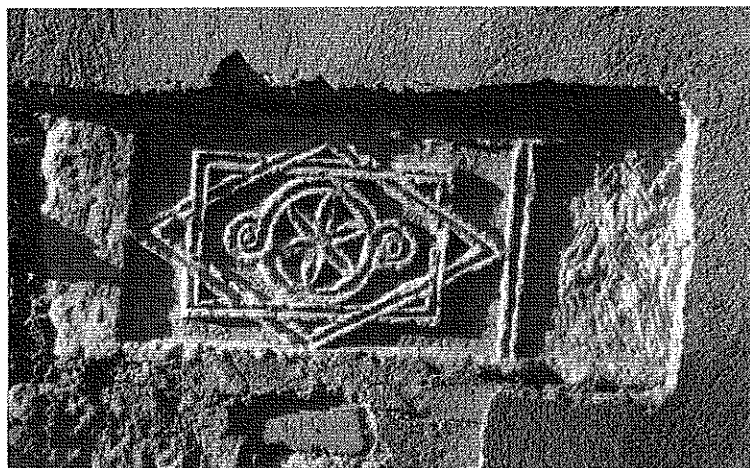


Fig. 10. A casket with some relief figures from the scene building of the theatre.



Fig. 11. A grave stele with riding Men representation (Archaeological Museum of Isparta).

Fig. 12. A Byzantine architectural element on the wall of the Camii of Bavat.



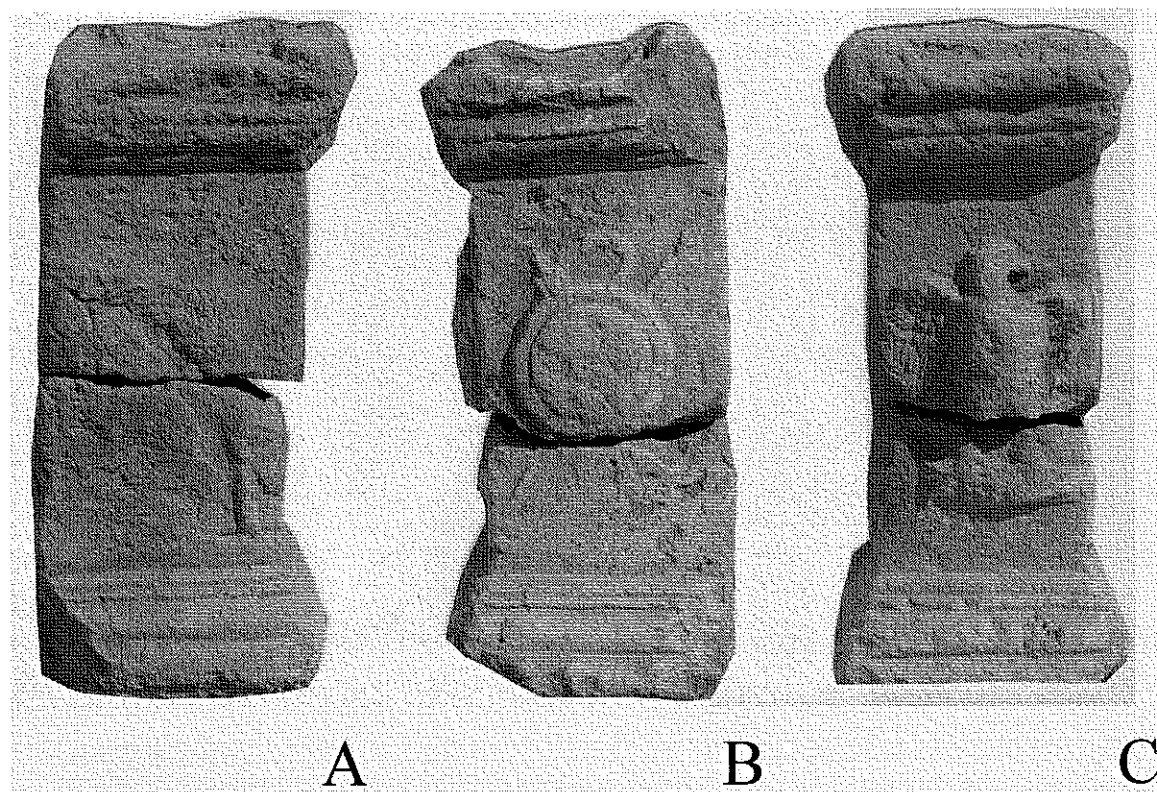


Fig. 13a-c. A re-used house altar from the eastern terrace domestic housings (a. front; b. back; c. profile).



Fig. 14. Inscription no. 2.

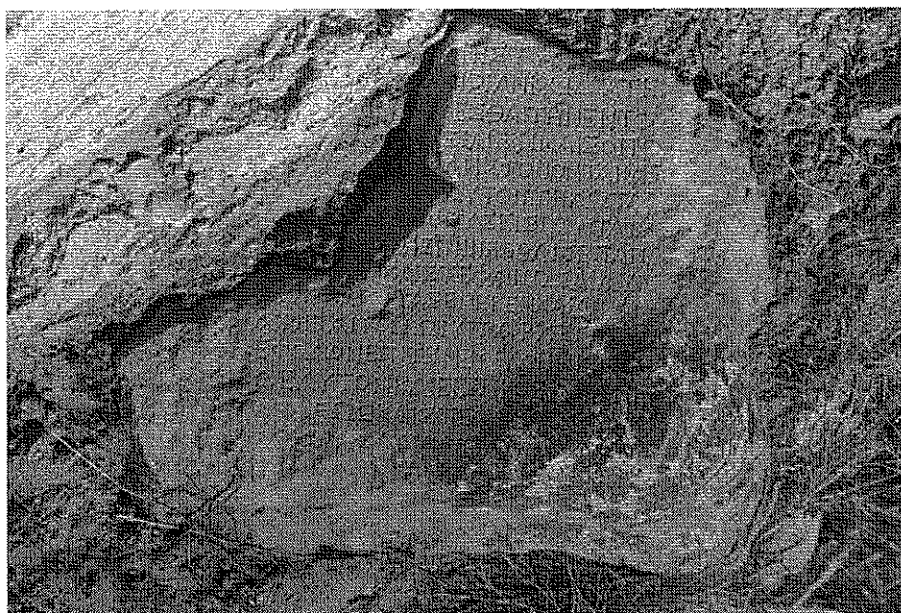


Fig. 15. Inscription fragment no. 3.



Fig. 16. Inscription fragment no. 4.

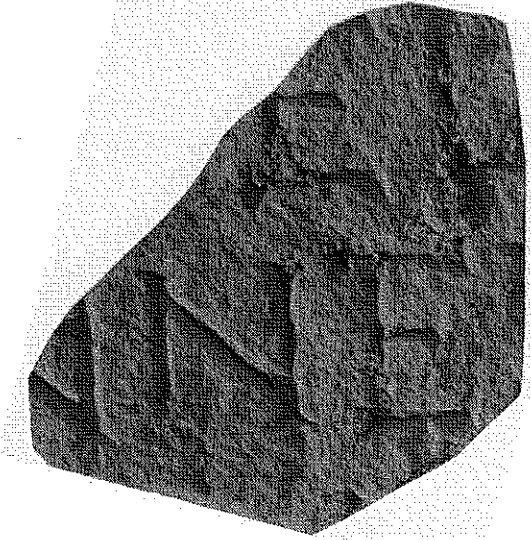


Fig. 17. Inscription fragment no. 5.



Fig. 18. Inscription fragment no. 6.