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## Between Continuity and Change: Northern Pisidia through Classical and Late Antiquity

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## Between Continuity and Change: Northern Pisidia through Classical and Late Antiquity<sup>1</sup>

*Keywords:* Survey, Urbanism, Settlement continuity, Pisidia, Konane

*Schlüsselwörter:* Survey, Urbanistik, Siedlungskontinuität, Pisidien, Konane

*Anahtar sözcükler:* Yüzey araştırması, Şehircilik, Yerleşme devamlılığı, Pisidya, Gönen

Sometime in the second century C.E., Zosas and Babeis set up a grave for their family in the environs of Tymandos, a small Pisidian village in the vicinity of Apollonia that owes its renown to a decree that elevated its civic status to that of *civitas*<sup>2</sup>. Austere in tone, the funerary inscription uses well known Greek formulas; Zosas and Babeis honor both the living and the dead, as befitted a long established tradition of mourning. Yet, a final, brisk Phrygian imprecation reminds the passerby of the punishments awaiting those who may vandalize the grave.

»[Greek] Zosas and Babeis, for Antiochos son of Meneas grandson of Aithon, and for their parents who are alive and of sound mind, because of their good will and in their memory. [Phrygian] Whoever inflicts harm on this grave, let him be cursed by Zeus«<sup>3</sup>.

More fundamentally though, the text brings into focus the use of Neo-Phrygian which, in its religious undertones, was still embedded in the territories that witnessed the birth of Phrygian during the eighth century B.C.E. What is more, the Phrygian names Zosas and Babeis, fairly common in Pisidia and Galatia, also corroborate this notion of survival. Nevertheless, far from suggesting a language continuity from time immemorial for which we have no proof<sup>4</sup>, the analysis of inscriptional evidence and visual culture suggests that as late as the third century C.E.

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*Sources of Illustrations:* Fig. 1. 2. 7. 8 = Isparta Archaeological Survey. – Fig. 3 = Isparta Müzesi. – Fig. 4 = Iversen 2012, no. 24. – Fig. 5 = Hürmüzlü *et al.* 2009, 255. – Fig. 6 = Copyright of Digital Globe.

<sup>1</sup> This article stems from research conducted with the Isparta Archaeological Survey (IAS). My deepest thanks go to Bilge Hürmüzlü, the project's director. Additional acknowledgement goes to Felix Pirson, Ilhan Güceren, Paul Iversen, Thomas Drew-Bear, Dominique Krüger, and the anonymous readers whose comments strengthened this text.

<sup>2</sup> The literature about this decree is absolutely vast; for a review of studies and the most up to date discussion see Bru *et al.* 2009, 187–207.

<sup>3</sup> Drew Bear *et al.* 2008, 111.

<sup>4</sup> Woodard 2008, 73–74.

the Phrygian imprint was alive and well in Anatolia<sup>5</sup>. To be sure, the religious practices at the Phrygian sanctuaries of Pessinus and Pisidian Antioch in Roman times<sup>6</sup> as well as the reiteration of the *Türsteine* archetype in the funerary architectural aesthetics of Roman Phrygia<sup>7</sup> are concrete reflections of a cultural repertoire that rises to the surface, albeit in haphazard fashion, during the Roman period. But prudence is in order; we should not overestimate the recurrence of these phenomena and read them as an emanation of an uncanny Phrygian heritage, or as a symptom of cultural resistance against the powers that were. Rather, these practices signal both the local communities' deliberate selection and appropriation of systems of thought that, though sheathed in Greek customs, illustrate the tenacity of a local spirit.

We should also keep in mind that in this corner of Anatolia the dialectic between past and present and the reflection on a shared heritage led also to the forging of fictive historical narratives; around the same time that Zosas and Babeis were building their memorial at Tymandos, the near-by community of Apollonia issued a series of coins bearing the iconography of Alexander the Great<sup>8</sup>. In days in which the cult of Alexander had reached its apex thanks to the unflinching efforts of his endorser Caracalla, Apollonia's mint lulled many a viewer into believing that the great general was behind the city's *ktistes*. By so doing, the city's history was swiftly rewritten. With its Seleucid founders reduced to *tabula rasa* Apollonia could then advertise a most prestigious founder. It mattered little to the civic authorities that in his journey through Asia Alexander had never visited their community.

While the discussion of this message's reception and rationale lie beyond the scope of this paper, we must nevertheless highlight the fact that this Anatolian district throughout history witnessed a remarkable commingling of ethnicities, cultures, and systems of power that left indelible marks on its landscapes. More to the point, these systems of power elicited many *pasts*, each with multiple standpoints and in turn used as a blank canvas for the forging of historical narratives or as a locus for the elaboration of distant memories. Indeed this aspect is all the more visible in this remote corner of northern Pisidia during the Roman period, especially as we engage with the intricacies of its textual and epigraphic domains. Yet, incongruous as the overall evidence may often seem, the archaeological record offers valuable tools to grapple with this multi-layered universe and present new interpretative frameworks. To do so, however, we must step decisively away from theoretical paradigms that seek to model the cultural development of these regions in monolithic terms of continuity.

It is a truism that Anatolian landscapes are remarkable palimpsests of millennia of human activities. From the Neolithic Age down into Late Antiquity and beyond, human agencies have manipulated the environment in ways that responded to the vicissitudes of what we should call the here and now. Hence, centuries of intensive farming, deforestation, and pastoral economies are still etched in these eco-systems and pose questions about their agencies as well as the modifications driven by religious, economic or social rationales<sup>9</sup>. Yet the nature of ancient settlement and, primarily, its alleged long-term character must be called into question; while the notion of continuity is apt insofar as it diachronically illustrates the vibrancy of Anatolian communities

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<sup>5</sup> Clackson 2012, 45.

<sup>6</sup> Roller 1999, 66; Mitchell – Waelkens 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Waelkens 1986 is the landmark study on the subject.

<sup>8</sup> Rebuffat 1986, 66.

<sup>9</sup> Bowden *et al.* 2004, XIX.

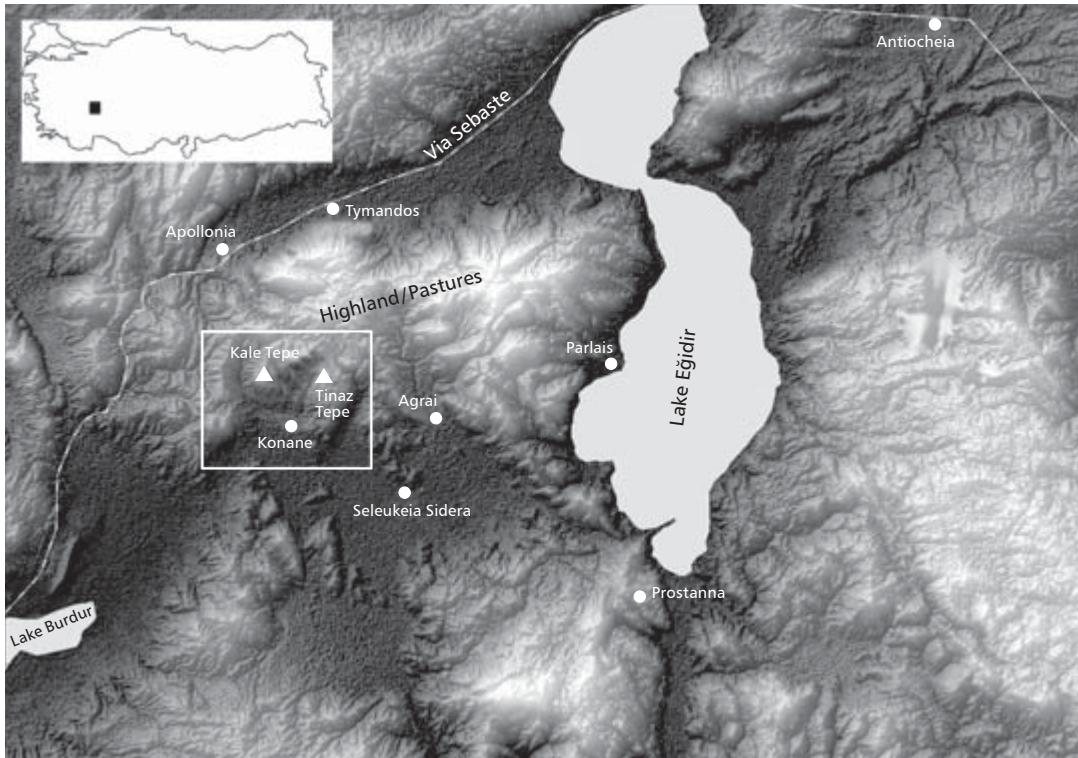


Fig. 1 North Pisidia and its urban communities

0 5 10 20 Kilometers

through the ages, it falls short as we engage with the minutiae of the archaeological record and unravel its inner contradictions. The reassuring tenet of continuity of settlement fails at the seams when seeking to capture the dynamics of transformation; furthermore, it betrays ecological, quasi-deterministic predicates that stem from Braudelian thought, imbued with the notion of environmental immobility and the low impact of human agencies<sup>10</sup>. By contrast, points of rupture, regionalism, settlement durability, and responses to environmental fluctuations are but a few discriminants that the archaeological data bring to the fore. It is perhaps along these lines – that is the many discontinuities that characterize our study of settlement durability – that we must ask questions about settlement shifts from villages to urban nucleations (and vice versa), dispersal vs. concentration, and finally, the dialectic between cities and their territories.

Altogether, northern Pisidia is an ideal conceptual plateau from which questions of this nature can be addressed, as the region offers unique possibilities to investigate the ebb and flow between different forms of ancient settlement. In particular, the area north of the modern city of Isparta offers insights into the urbanism that preceded the foundation of Hellenistic communities (Apollonia, Konane, and Seleukeia Sidera) as well as successive developments (*fig. 1*). Konane<sup>11</sup>, in particular, merits attention. Here, an ongoing archaeological survey brings these questions

<sup>10</sup> Horden – Purcell 2000, 31–49.

<sup>11</sup> For the first attestation of Konane as a fully-fledged community see SEG XXVI, 1392; IK Perge 43. For the first coin emissions see von Aulock 1977, 766.



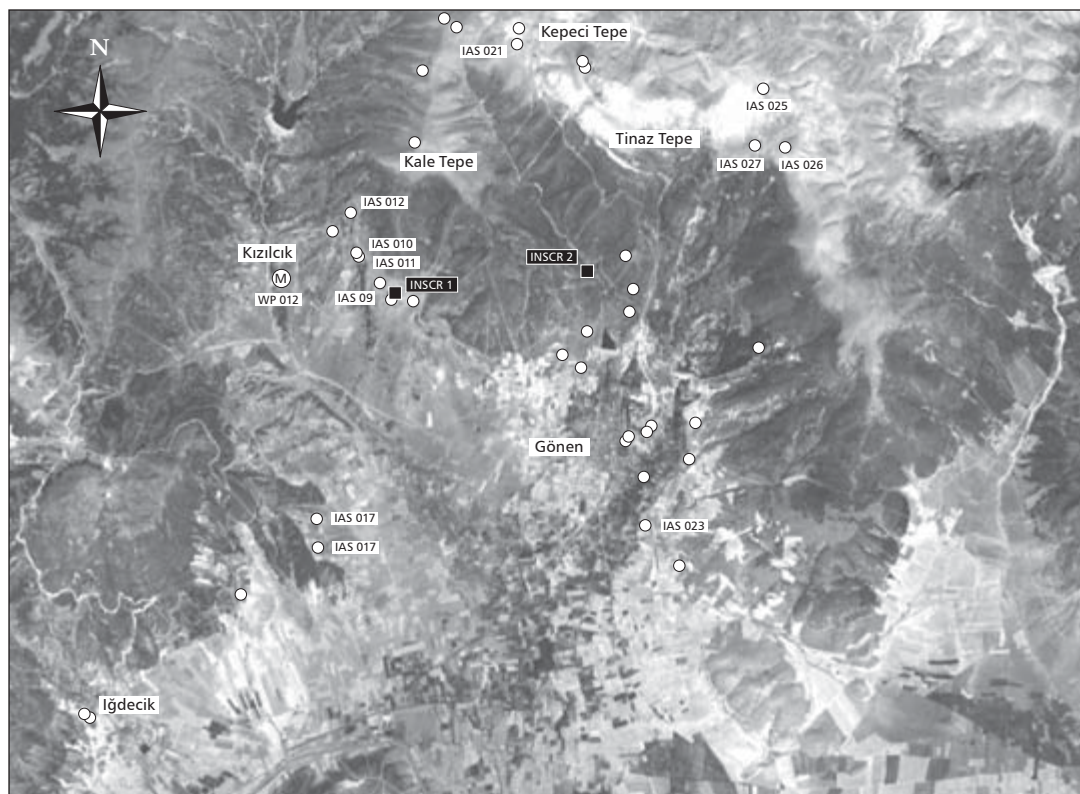


Fig. 2 The Isparta Archaeological Survey: sites and inscriptions' findspots

0 1 2 Kilometers

to the fore, and invites discussion about how to model the sequence of cultures and political frameworks that manipulated an essentially rural landscape, and how this same landscape was experienced by its inhabitants.

### THE ISPARTA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Various forms of settlement populated the complicated landscape known in antiquity as Pisidia<sup>12</sup>, a region loosely defined spatially and environmentally strewn between the Taurus mountains and Pamphylia in southwest Anatolia. Its topographical diversity is noteworthy: the interface between mountain-girt alluvial plains, gently sloping hills, highlands and high elevation plateaus is this region's most evident character. In the main, Pisidia's northern sector is positioned at the northeastern reach of the Fethiye-Burdur fault zone and straddles the rugged landscape of the southern folds of the Taurus. These are crossed by various plains: the Isparta Ovası, the Gönen Ovası, and finally the Senirkent Ovası. How the investigation of these basins was conducted by the Isparta Archaeological Survey (henceforth »IAS«), is the subject of what follows (*fig. 2*).

<sup>12</sup> Syme 1995, 177–191.

The cultural corollary in the region is well known<sup>13</sup>; however, while the documentary evidence is essentially Graeco-Roman in character, earlier cultural phenomena challenge our understanding of the occupation systems that preceded the frenzy of urbanism in the Hellenistic era. Systems of tumuli scattered near Senirkent and the stunning sphinx relief from the Yassiören tumulus near Senirkent, replete with allusions to Graeco-Persian aesthetics (now at the Isparta Museum), attest to the vitality of the region in the pre-Hellenistic period (*fig. 3*), while calling into question its settlement patterns<sup>14</sup>. Yet apart from the patchy nature of the archaeological record, the difficulties of producing a snapshot of occupation during the Iron Age and Archaic era are well known<sup>15</sup>. As shown by recent research in the territory of Sagalassos, we are still far from wielding a reasonable understanding of ceramic sequences for the Pre-Hellenistic period in Pisidia; by and large, southwest Anatolian wares dominate the archaeological record of the Iron Age and Archaic era, thus frustrating the elaboration of more nuanced reconstructions of site distributions<sup>16</sup>.

Against this background IAS seeks to clarify the extent of ancient settlement in the area of the modern village of Gönen (ancient Konane), while also conducting investigations in its eastern, western and northern districts (*fig. 2*). As for the physical configuration of this ancient site, the location at the junction of various arteries of traffic crossing northern Pisidia east-west and north-south has been brought into focus by recent scholarship<sup>17</sup>. Furthermore, the historical significance of this area has long been recognized by a number of archaeological and epigraphic projects that have illustrated the salient traits of the cultural imprints that have shaped southwest Anatolia<sup>18</sup>. Drawn to this territory essentially because of the region's strictly non-urban character (poised as it were between the two great cities of Pisidia, notably Sagalassos and Antiochia) IAS has operated since 2008. Its scholarly concern is manifold; of particular interest, however, are the intersections between human agencies and their surrounding ecosystems, and, in particular, the effects that the continuum of ancient empires exerted on these landscapes' settlement patterns.

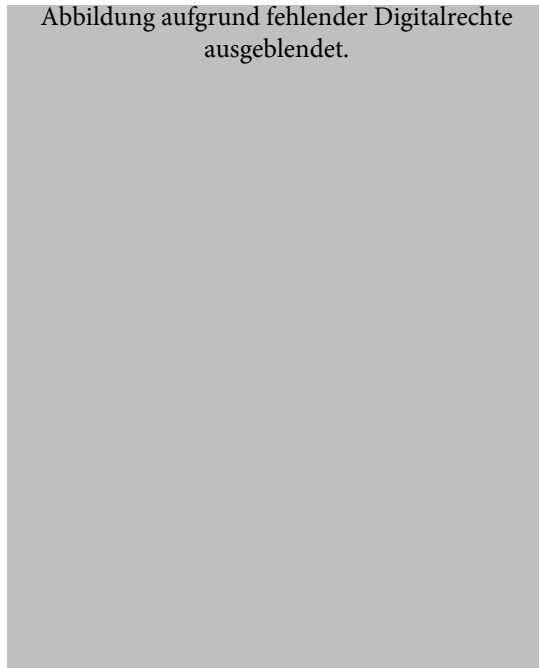


Fig. 3 Relief from Yassiören

<sup>13</sup> Özsait 1987, 323–333; Hürmüzlü *et al.* 2009, 235.

<sup>14</sup> Hürmüzlü 2009, 493–500.

<sup>15</sup> Occasional glimpses into this complicated archaeological record are accorded by investigations conducted by museums. See Çokay-Kepece 2009, 29–76 on Southwest Anatolian Iron Age pottery and Archaic wares from the Uylupınar necropolis near Burdur.

<sup>16</sup> Talloen *et al.* 2006, 179–181.

<sup>17</sup> Hürmüzlü *et al.* 2009, 238.

<sup>18</sup> Sterrett 1888; Ramsay 1897; Buckler *et al.* 1933.



After extensive reconnaissance conducted in the Senirkent valley in 2008, the project concentrated its research on the modern village of Gönen, in an effort to make sense of its vast and dispersed epigraphic repertoire<sup>19</sup> and to incorporate its archaeological features within the greater discourse of the region's settlement history. Thus, over the last two seasons the project has focused on the landscape around the village of Gönen, which buried large swaths of the ancient community of Konane; nevertheless, the halo of necropoleis that frames the modern village in all directions leaves no doubt about the ancient town's location (*fig. 4*).

Situated on the rolling hills that jut out of the Tınaz Tepe massif, Konane overlooks a fertile alluvial plain that linked the Eğirdir and Burdur lake districts. Wheat is now the predominant crop and it occupies most of the plain as well as the adjacent terraces on the piedmont.

Seasons 2009–2010 of intensive systematic surface survey served to investigate a mesh of small sites, typically measuring less than a hectare and of various dates. They typically straddle the lower slopes and the piedmont of Kale Tepe Dağı (*fig. 2*). The survey was designed to cover an area of approximately 49 km<sup>2</sup>, and the base map that guided the sampling strategy was a Digital Globe Quickbird image taken on September 3<sup>rd</sup> 2007. Space among field walkers varied according to the characteristics of the terrain and ranged between 10 m to 50 m; artifact density was assessed based on 2 × 2 m squares within the collection unit. Because of the morphology of the massif and its deeply incised gullies it was apparent that scatters of artifacts precipitated from the point of discard on the heights of Kale Tepe and its environs, thus complicating the surface collection. Nevertheless, the archaeological record has shown two dominant patterns in the distribution of ancient sites. First, the earliest foci IAS 10 and 11 (dating to the seventh–sixth centuries B. C. E.) concentrated in the fertile valleys that cut the massif in north–south fashion and presented discrete clusters of ceramics that do not derive from erosion or any other taphonomic factor. The spectrum of the ceramics recovered – many of which are of Phrygian, Lydian, and Ionian type – is suggestive of these communities' integration in the major trade networks that linked Pisidia to the Mediterranean coast (*fig. 5*). Among the ceramics, Hürmüzlü identified fragments of »streaked ware« and »banded ware«, both of which are common in southern Anatolia. In the corpus of the banded ware pottery, examples of an Ionian cup dated to the first half of the sixth century B. C. E. and East Greek bowls of late sixth century B. C. E. were recovered<sup>20</sup>. What is more, no ceramics of later date are present in these assemblages. Overall, it

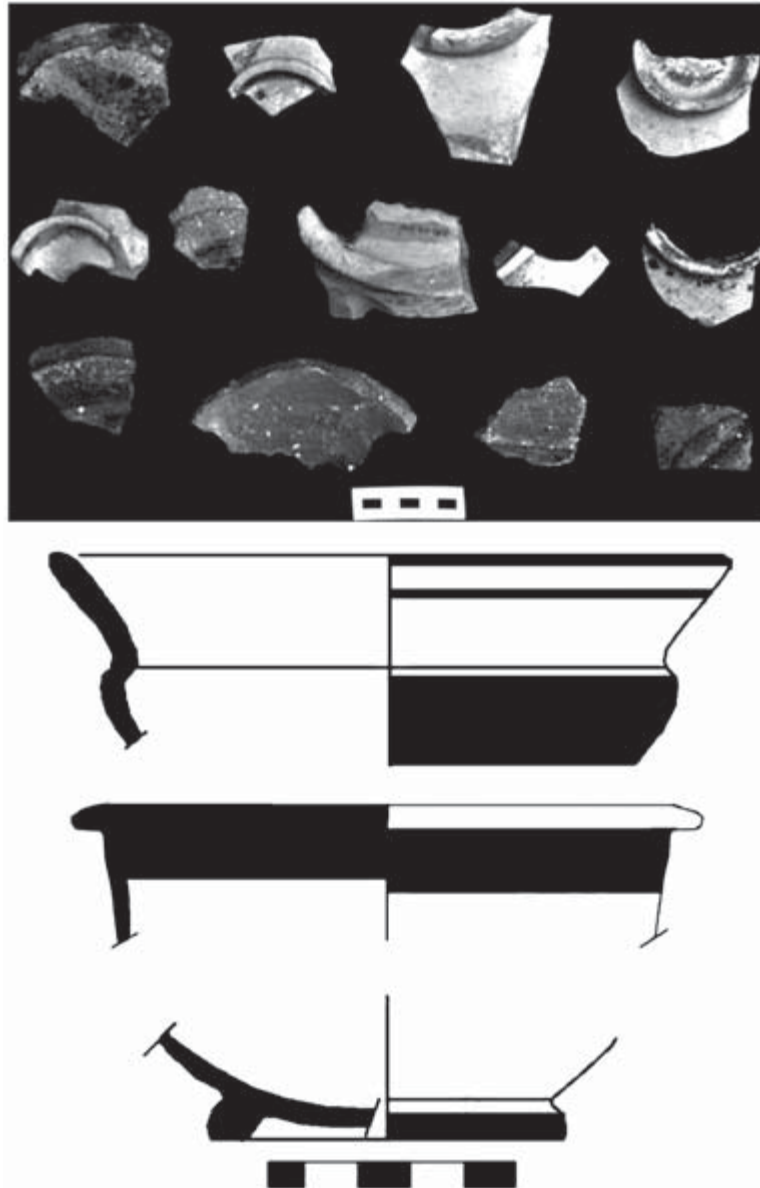
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Fig. 4 The early fifth century C. E. funerary stele for Ammia and Appas from a small necropolis north of Gönen

<sup>19</sup> Iversen 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Hürmüzlü *et al.* 2009, 238–239.

Fig. 5 Ceramics from the IAS Survey



appears that these small foci occupied the narrow valleys that cut into the main massifs at low altitude, in prominent position with regards to the vast exposure of available cultivable land and with ease of access to the pastures at higher altitude. Although on a far smaller scale, these sites may replicate the pattern of dispersion that a recent archaeological survey around Sagalassos apparently shows<sup>21</sup>. Ecological modifications, however, may have curbed the expansion and the durability of these foci; the runoff of seasonal streams in these narrow valleys repeatedly buried large exposures of land. Site IAS 012, a 5 m deep geological »window« cut into one of these

<sup>21</sup> Waelkens *et al.* 2005, 375–384.

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Fig. 6 Kale Tepe, the settlement

valleys approximately 500 m north of IAS 10 and 11 brings testimony to this. It shows layers of loamy, heavy alluvial sediment of silt and pebbles of ca. 1.70 m burying fragments of early third century B. C. E. pottery. That this snapshot of sedimentation may illustrate a sequence of environmental phenomena that led to the burial of sites and their abandonment is a possibility that is worth considering and should be tested. Be that as it may, the largely pastoral economy of the region in antiquity also caused the degradation of this landscape and thereby aggravated the pace at which erosion has significantly altered Kale Tepe's landscapes, with consequences for the valleys and plains below. It is in this perspective that we may identify a significant chasm in the archaeological record, one which seemingly brought to bear modifications of settlement strategy and abandonment of the previously cited foci. The sample is admittedly limited but the indications are suggestive, all the more as one considers the successive developments.



Fig. 7 Kale Tepe, the monumental gate viewed from South

The second, visible trend in the occupation of the valley is represented by the appearance of increased settlements in the Hellenistic period. As for their setting, these nucleations on average exceeded 1.5 ha in size and occupied both low elevation pockets of land as well as highland pastures, thus making manifest the vitality of communities rooted in agricultural/pastoral activities. In terms of settlement pattern, the dispersal of these communities illustrates the existence of clusters of farmsteads/households with vast non-settled zones in between. Whether this distance signaled land allocation systems or a deliberate social division remains to be determined.

The occupation of the Kale Tepe fortification in this scheme, however, represents a bit of a rift (*fig. 6*); isolated and apparently cut off from all communication systems, this fortress occupies a prominent site that may have accommodated earlier settlement (as attested by scanty late second millennium and Iron Age ceramics); its setting is reminiscent of fortified settlements in the region, but more notably of that at Tepe Düzen southwest of Sagalassos<sup>22</sup>. At 1656 m a. s. l. and commanding a 360° vista over the Pisidian highlands, the Kale Tepe settlement covers some 21 ha of terrain punctuated by sizable bedrock outcroppings; limestone, conglomerates, and rare sandstone are the geological signature of the massif. The fortification showcases a conspicuous gate (*fig. 7*), a mostly collapsed enclosure cut in the bedrock, and within it, traces of a few

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<sup>22</sup> Strab. 12, 6, 3–5.

discrete edifices, especially near its highest point. Finally, southeast of the gate is a rather extended necropolis that on the basis of the ceramics seemingly dates to the Hellenistic period.

Altogether, the site's chronology is difficult to ascertain, and the autopsy of the structure is underway. The ceramics suggest that the site reached the pinnacle of its occupation around the second and first century B. C. E., but a more definite assessment can only be teased out by the analysis of its built environment. While it is indeed tempting to infer that this fortress may have accommodated a community of the »unruly Pisidians«, perhaps one of the many that Strabo annotated in his reminiscing of Amyntas' tumultuous last days, the evidence is still too thin to identify a narrative of settlement<sup>23</sup>. The absence of roads and the complicated setting, bereft of regular water resources and plausibly sustained solely by large cisterns (one may be located near the upper part of the site), suggest that this community might have nucleated in a climate of resistance or, more plausibly, as a response to dynastic geopolitics. The physical setting of nearby Seleucid and Attalid colonies, poised on fertile and well connected plains and commanding traffic routes, betrays strategic concerns that are very much at odds with the reality of Kale Tepe. The foundations at Apollonia, Seleukeia Sidera and Pisidian Antiochia (east, beyond the lake Eğirdir) indeed make this contrast all the more apparent.

To be sure, occupation at Kale Tepe peaked in the early Hellenistic period but did not linger beyond the late first century B. C. E., as slipped, moulded and early ESA bowls attest. The synchronic emergence of a larger urban aggregation in the valley floor at Konane, where the modern village of Gönen lies, spurred both the consolidation of this urban community and the dispersal of small farms, as attested by site IAS 09 and IAS 023. What precipitated this downward movement is difficult to infer; yet the synchronic abandonment of the fortress in conjunction with the emergence of a new large polity in the valley floor reflect the ways in which this micro-region was integrated in the political climate that framed the inception of Provincia Galatia.

It is truism that the Roman era brought along extensive redesigning and revamping of many a Pisidian community; Konane was no exception, and in all likelihood housed a large contingent of Romans, plausibly *coloni* relocated during the mobilization of veterans in the late 20s B. C. E., when most Pisidian and Galatian veteran colonies were founded. An inscription found in its vicinity mentioning in the late third century C. E. the ἐξ ἀρχαίου κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι<sup>24</sup> bears testimony to the geopolitical overhaul that this part of Pisidia underwent with the advent of the Roman administration, while also putting an accent on the Romans who lived there from ancient times, in a mix of nostalgia and recollection of distant events.

Moreover, it is known that sizable imperial estates that had apparently appropriated hitherto royal land punctuated the landscape of Pisidia including vast portions of Konane's territory; the strip between İğdecik and the eastern shore of the Burdur lake may have been under the administration of one of these large imperial properties<sup>25</sup>. Here small sites ranging from 35 to 50 m in radius, rich with tiles and fragments of plaster, date to the early Roman period (IAS 017; IAS 018). Furthermore, the presence of abraded sherds in the plough-zone demonstrates the agricultural character of these small, permanent farming units that may have operated within the institutional framework of the estate.

<sup>23</sup> Mitchell 1993, 72.

<sup>24</sup> SEG II 744; Pace 1921, 43–44.

<sup>25</sup> CIL III 6872; SEG XXXI 1282.

Altogether, what role and what political denomination Konane had in Roman times is a matter of guesswork; aside from being a fertile recruiting camp<sup>26</sup>, and appearing in passing in the famous Tiberian decree against military billeting at Sagalassos<sup>27</sup>, it may have become a fully-fledged *civitas* in the mid-second century C. E., if we are to trust Konane's controversial declaration of *homonoiia* with Minassos, celebrated by a coin issued under Marcus Aurelius<sup>28</sup>. Also, it might have been a seat of an altar or a temple to the Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς, as an inscription makes manifest<sup>29</sup>. In general, we are on safer grounds when assessing Konane's insertion into the web of Roman roads. As shown elsewhere, at least three milestones mention Konane as *civitas*, albeit during the fourth century C. E., at the time of the tetrarchical redesigning of the provincial framework<sup>30</sup>. Such increased visibility goes in tandem with a decisive settlement shift that occurred during Late Antiquity, the historical phase during which Konane's political and religious profiles were arguably heightened.

Under Justinian the town was (by no means the only) recipient of the lofty title »Justinianopolis«, and fared well thanks to the pastoral and political guidance of various notable bishops, some of whom figure prominently as early as the Council of Constantinople in 381 C. E.<sup>31</sup>. Among the earliest of them, however, the figure of Zotikos stands out, especially for his militancy against the Montanists who had taken a firm hold of many western Phrygian districts since the late second century C. E.<sup>32</sup>. Furthermore, Konane might have become a prominent religious milieu; the cult of St. Zosimos, apparently martyred there at the time of Trajan, may have contributed to the town's visibility. Now, it is known that Gönen's modern mosque replaced a large Christian church as attested by nearby *spolia* and conspicuous architectural fragments with Christograms; that it was dedicated to St. Zosimos is a suggestive possibility. The martyrdom of the saint merits attention, however. The *Acta Sanctorum* and another manuscript<sup>33</sup> offer glimpses into the physical landscape and political climate of the day. More to the point, it illustrates the territory between Konane and Apollonia (referred to as Sozopolis), that is the valleys athwart the Kale Tepe massif, as vectors for communication, a lively space that was not just exploited for sustenance but also navigated and experienced by local communities that were by no means confined to their small enclaves (the following section on the »Highlands« illustrates the traits of this region in antiquity). Second, it puts Konane center stage in the execution of the saint and is suggestive of the town's heightened status; in Roman practice, he who trumped the power of the pagan gods had to die in a public spectacle and had to be seen by the largest number of people.

These aspects of Konane's territory indeed reverberate in the archaeological record; in particular, the aggregate evidence shows a distinct trend of dissemination of sites at low elevation straddling the piedmont of the massifs east and west of Konane and consisting mainly of small farmsteads. The assemblages of ceramics illustrate intensive farming that lingered through the tenth and eleventh centuries C. E. and depended on densely cultivated field systems that through

<sup>26</sup> Mitchell 1976a, 304.

<sup>27</sup> SEG XXVI 1392. See also Mitchell 1976b, 106–131.

<sup>28</sup> Pera 1984, 84.

<sup>29</sup> Waldmann 1981, 101.

<sup>30</sup> Iversen 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Darrouzés 1986, 23–24.

<sup>32</sup> Eus. HE 5, 16.

<sup>33</sup> BHG II, 321, 1888 c–e; *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos, synaxarium mensis junii 20.1.*



the savvy negotiation of terraces would offset the effects of slopes and erosion. Altogether, the scatter of ceramics northwest of Konane dating from Late Antiquity to the early Byzantine era is remarkable and extensive manuring might account also for the »background noise«; nevertheless, the data does suggest the substantial investment in agriculture that this era witnessed starting in the fourth century. The drastic points of rupture that the Sagalassos survey detected on the ground revealing a society under strain from the sixth century onwards may not be present here, or simply do not appear in this admittedly small sample<sup>34</sup>. All the same, particularly emblematic of this trend of durability is the site at Eski Gümüşgün; here IAS identified a conspicuous Byzantine settlement on a spur, negotiating its terraces on steep and difficult terrain and overlooking the valley (IAS 019). The ceramics recovered at this site can be ascribed to a wide, coherent horizon that spans the fifth to thirteenth centuries C.E. Altogether, the picture of economic stability that the archaeological datum suggests also calls into question the degree of distress and dislocation that the eighth and ninth centuries' yearly Islamic attacks against the empire of the Rûm, and their »Cities of Hell«<sup>35</sup>, had seemingly caused to the peasantry of Anatolia.

This general expansion of Konane toward hitherto unexploited rural districts illustrates the resilience and the determination of these communities in negotiating their space and harnessing the resources of the land. What kind of crops and tenancy systems were at work can hardly be determined. It is tempting though to fill this vacuum with the resources that Leo, metropolitan of Synnada, laments lacking unlike in the rest of the Anatolian theme in a letter to the emperor Basil II (976–1025): wheat, vines and olive trees<sup>36</sup>. Although problematic in nature, this evidence finds support in the archaeological survey around Sagalassos where fragments of oil presses bear testimony to the widespread nature of an economic activity that has now virtually disappeared from the Anatolian landscape<sup>37</sup>.

#### THE HIGHLANDS

Of a different nature was the archaeological survey on the highlands north of the Kale Tepe fortress. It entailed a more flexible survey strategy with spacing intervals of ca. 50 m among field-walkers; the topography (springs, plateaus, and ridges) and cardinal axes guided the investigation of this territory.

Near the modern quarry under Kepeci Tepe a small necropolis of the late Hellenistic, early Roman period was identified (IAS 021). Traces of illicit digging revealed the presence of at least six burials over a 75 m radius, on a slope looking north at 1638 m a. s. l. It is plausible that the necropolis might have been connected to a small settlement a few hundred meters to its north, now in part occupied by a modern camp of pastoral nomads. Ceramics of the early Roman period are present in the debris that resulted from trenches excavated by occupants of the camp; the evidence of this pottery coheres with the materials collected at the necropolis.

Altogether, this data suggested a thorough examination of the highlands and, in particular, of the crest between Kale Tepe and Kepeci Tepe, so as to address the modality and extent of

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<sup>34</sup> Vanhaverbeke *et al.* 2007, 635–640.

<sup>35</sup> Brown 2003, 383.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of the document and previous scholarship see Arena 2008, 77.

<sup>37</sup> Vanhaverbeke *et al.* 2007, 622.



Fig. 8 Ancient and modern nomadic camp sites on the highlands north of Konane

highland settlement in antiquity. Several stone enclosures, campsites and features were mapped and analyzed over 5 km<sup>2</sup>; while their chronology could not be ascertained (and in several cases it was rather suggestive of a modern date), they nevertheless illustrate the existence of a type of pastoral economy grounded in transhumance and nomadic settlements that might hark back to ancient times (*fig. 8*). In an area where the taphonomic processes are reduced to the minimum, it is likely that these traces of human activities highlight a pastoral economy and nomadic settlement that continued undisturbed for centuries with its seasonal pace and modalities.

The archaeological survey of the heights of Tinaz Tepe, north of Gönen, have proved particularly useful in corroborating this snapshot of ancient pastoral nomadic occupation; here, at varying elevation (between 1600 and 1900 m a. s. l.) the project investigated systems of pastoral nomadic campsites averaging 20 m in diameter (IAS 25, 26 and 27). The presence of tiles and masonry suggests the permanent character of these edifices, key for the management of herds and accommodation of small communities. Altogether, the ceramics recovered at four sites hint at a continuum of occupation that plausibly started in the late Hellenistic era and peaked during Late Antiquity; a heavily weathered coin bearing the legend of Sagalassos provides a more precise third century C.E. yardstick for the overall chronology of this remote highland settlement. Lastly, IAS identified traces of a roughly built, long wall following the contour of the northern crest of Tinaz Tepe; after a cursory investigation it can be inferred that it may have served to guide the navigation and possibly to demarcate the sharing of pastures over this rugged landscape. Although preliminary, these results illustrate the vitality of the highlands that dominated the basin of Konane and, more subtly, the ways in which this apparently stark landscape was harnessed and defined both in spatial, social and possibly religious terms. While

more fieldwork is needed, it is plain that these pastoral settlements reflect systems of aggregation that departed from the conventional scheme of classical cities and their rural hinterlands. Cicero's contention that Pisidia was a land of shepherds betrays the clichés of the construction of a rural idyll, but does not pay proper attention to the multifarious rural universe that went hand in hand with the development of city-life in these remote districts<sup>38</sup>.

It is perhaps on these secluded plateaus, framed by high peaks that we can best appreciate the notion of settlement continuum in Pisidia, expressed as it were by the durability of these nomadic settlements and the unvaried tempo of their economies. These non-sedentary pastoralist groups navigated these spaces with ease then as today, and may have tapped into the markets offered by the nearby towns of Konane, Apollonia and Seleukeia, sewing together, as it were, the towns and their territories. That they tangentially were among the upholders of that elusive Phrygian spirit is also a suggestive possibility.

In conclusion, this paper has tried to convey a brief description of the settlement narratives that underpinned and modified the town of Konane and a Pisidian micro-region in antiquity. In political terms, Konane was essentially a marginal, rural community that may have never harbored the civic spirit, resources and landmark amenities that signified urban milieus in Pisidia. Yet its nucleation and later developments merit attention for they were grounded in the relentless manipulation of a complicated landscape. The combination of farming and pastoral economies contributed significantly to the occupation decision-making and settlement choices; the fluctuations in the dissemination of ancient sites make this particularly manifest. However, this community's integration in the commercial and later in the military networks of Byzantine Anatolia are questions that future research in the region will take up.

*Abstract:* Settlement continuity is typically heralded as a hallmark of Graeco-Roman urbanism in Anatolia and in Asia Minor writ large. Yet its conceptual underpinnings, colored as it were by monolithic long-term views of human occupation are called into question by the archaeological data. Recent archaeological surveys in Pisidia bring into focus the pattern of discontinuity that framed the emergence and development of ancient communities and, in particular, the ebb and flow between occupation and abandonment. Moreover, these settlement narratives illustrate the ecological negotiations that underlay human occupation in this region, while also opening vistas onto the ways in which landscapes were experienced, exploited and traversed.

#### ZWISCHEN KONTINUITÄT UND WANDEL. NORD-PISIDIEN VON KLASSISCHER ZEIT BIS IN DIE SPÄTANTIKE

*Zusammenfassung:* Siedlungskontinuität wird gewöhnlich als das Merkmal griechisch-römischer Urbanistik in Anatolien und Kleinasien schlechthin bezeichnet. Und doch wird ihr theoretisches Fundament, das von monolithischen Langzeit-Perspektiven auf die menschliche Besiedelung geprägt ist, von den archäologischen Daten zunehmend in Frage gestellt. Aktuelle archäologische Surveys in Pisidien lassen ein Muster von Diskontinuität zutage treten, welches das Aufkommen und die Entwicklung antiker Gemeinschaften und insbesondere die wechselnden Phasen von

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<sup>38</sup> Cic. div. 1, 42, 94.

Nutzung und Aufgabe der Siedlungen begleitete. Darüber hinaus beleuchten diese Narrative die ökologischen Bedingungen, die menschlicher Besiedelung in dieser Region zugrunde liegen, und eröffnen zugleich Blicke darauf, wie Landschaften wahrgenommen, ausgebeutet und durchquert wurden.

DEVAMLILIK VE DEĞİŞİM ARASINDA.  
KLASİK DÖNEMDEN GEÇ ANTİK DÖNEME KUZEY PİSİDYA

**Özet:** Yerleşme devamlılığı genellikle, Anadolu’da Yunan-Roma şehirciliğinin ayırt edici özelliği olarak basit bir şekilde tanımlanmıştır. Ve tabii bunun uzun vadeli imkânların insan yerleşimini şekillendirdiği yolundaki katı teorik altyapısı da, arkeolojik verilerle giderek sorgulanmaktadır. Pisidya’daki yeni arkeolojik yüzey araştırmaları, antik toplumların başlangıç ve gelişmeleri ile özellikle yerleşmelerin iskânı ve terkedilmesi arasındaki geçiş safhalarını içeren bir kesinti şablonu ortaya koymaktadır. Buna ek olarak bu raporlar, bu bölgedeki insan yerleşimini olanaklı kılan ekolojik koşulları aydınlatmakta, aynı zamanda yörenin nasıl algılandığı ve tüketildiği üzerine yeni bakış açıları sağlamaktadır.

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