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A table of contents for *The Expositor* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_expositor-series-1.php

PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

THE history of Pisidian Antioch falls into three periods: first, the early Hellenistic city from 300 to 25 B.C. ; secondly, the Roman Colonia Antiocheia during the first two or two and a half centuries after the Province Galatia and the Colonia were instituted ; thirdly, the re-Hellenized metropolis Antioch, after Roman language and custom died out and the Graeco-Oriental spirit revived probably somewhere about or soon after A.D. 212. Some would add an earlier period and the history of a pre-Hellenic and Phrygian town ; but this depends on a doubtful interpretation of Strabo's description of Antioch, which we cannot accept. There was a Phrygian population around, and an important hieron of the Phrygian religion in the neighbourhood ; but there is no reason to think that a city existed on the site before the Seleucid foundation about 300-290 B.C.

In Antioch we shall find elements of population similar to those which we have been observing in Tarsus, chiefly Anatolian, Greek and Jewish ; but, owing to difference in the proportion of the elements and in the general circumstances, there is a marked difference in the character of life and spirit in the two cities.

I. THE CITY AND ITS FOUNDATION.

The situation of Antioch is very fine, but the locality is now deserted, forlorn and devoid of ruins that possess any interest or beauty. The city occupied a low plateau, varying from 50 to 200 feet above the plain that lies in front. The surface of the plateau has been so much transformed by the needs and works of life in a great city, the cutting down of hills, the doing away with slopes that were too steep, the filling up of hollows, the scarping of the outer

edge to strengthen the defences—which always take place on a site long inhabited by a civilized and ingenious population, partly from plans of city improvement, partly from natural and inevitable action,—that in wandering over the site of Antioch in 1905 the writer was unable to form any conception of its original form before the transforming hand of man was applied to it. It lies about 3,600 to 3,800 ft. above the sea-level.

In shape the plateau of the city approximates to a rectangle. On the east (one of the long sides) it is bounded by the deep, narrow, slightly curving glen of the river *Anthios*, which has chosen to cut its way from the north towards south between this outlying plateau and the higher hills that rise sharp from its opposite bank.¹ The long glen of the *Anthios* is very picturesque, and in time of flood must present an impressive spectacle, when the waters rise high and fill the bottom of the narrow glen, far down below the level of the plateau (which seems to be highest at the edge of the glen). The plateau must be nearly two miles in circumference, and as it presents a fairly steep outer face, even where it is lowest, it must have been an imposing fortress when high strong walls crowned the outer face on all sides.

The strength of the fortress was needed to withstand attack from the Pisidian mountaineers, an unruly and dangerous race. Antioch was calculated to present an almost impregnable front to such raids and sudden attacks as enemies of that type were likely to make. The ordinary water supply was by an aqueduct which conducts the water from a distance of several miles away in the *Sultan-Dagh*, partly by an underground conduit, but for the last mile above ground.² It would, of course, be easy in case

¹ See the description by G. Weber, quoted in the following note.

² It is described with illustrations by G. Weber in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1904, p. 96 f.

of war for besiegers to cut the aqueduct, and divert the flow; but this would not cause more than great inconvenience to the besieged city. The river Anthios flows for a long distance close under the city wall, and it would hardly be possible for besiegers to prevent the garrison from obtaining water out of the river in sufficient quantity for the necessities of life. The built aqueduct begins to appear above the ground one mile from the city, and gradually becomes higher, and is borne on arches.

The modern town of Yalowatch is also situated on the Anthios, a little lower down and on both sides of the stream. It is a widely scattered town, divided into twelve separate quarters (called *Mahale* in Turkish). Professor Sterrett suggests very ingeniously¹ that these correspond to twelve divisions or vici in the Roman city; and this may be regarded as highly probable in view of the permanence of ancient religious facts; now the political division in ancient times had always a religious foundation. This modern town extends nearly up to the edge of the ancient site, but from the middle of the modern town to the centre of the ancient site the distance must be quite a mile and a half.

Beyond doubt the ancient population of Antioch lived a good deal in the open country. The land is pleasant, part of it is rich and fertile, part contains high-lying pastures, and the territory stretches from the lofty range of Sultan-Dagh on the north-east away down in the direction of the great double lake called Limnai about fifteen miles or more to the south-west. It is, however, not probable that Antiochian territory reached so far as the Limnai. The lake shore seems to have been occupied with villages, scattered over the great Imperial estates which will be described in a later Section. Those estates had originally

¹ *Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*, p. 143.

been the property of the god, and Antiochian territory had been part of the estates until one of the Seleucid kings gave part of the god's land to the garrison city which he founded on this magnificent site.

Nothing is recorded about the date and circumstances of the foundation; but there can be little doubt that the city owed its origin to the first of the Seleucid kings, Seleucus Nikator, and its name to his father, Antiochus, the deified head of the royal family.

An inscription¹ shows that the worship of Seleucus Nikator was established in the valley of Apollonia (which opens up west from the Limnai), and, as this cult lasted into the Roman period, it must have been founded on a considerable scale with an assured revenue. This establishment proves that Seleucus took an active interest in the important route which runs from Apameia through the valley of Apollonia by Antioch to Syria. On this road the critical point is Antioch, where the road turns round the Limnai, and a sovereign who was strengthening his hold on the road could not miss this point, unless he chose some other place in the neighbourhood. The water supply determined the exact site chosen; other defensive points could easily be found, but they were all set aside by their weakness in respect of water during a siege.

The foundations made by the first Seleucus were intended to be a means of establishing and glorifying the whole family and not merely his single self. They were certainly laid out on a comprehensive plan to bind together the whole Empire, and they were to be dynastic not personal monuments. Hence the later Seleucid rule, that the city bore the name of the king who founded it,² does not apply

¹ Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 402; see *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces* (1906), p. 360.

² See *EXPOSITOR*, 1906, May, p. 465.

to the cities of Seleucus Nikator. Some he called after himself, but the most important bore the name of his father Antiochus as the head and guardian genius of the family; one at least on this same road took its title from Apollo¹ as the patron god of the dynasty (the successive kings were considered as manifestations of Apollo in human form on the earth), others of his mother Laodice and his wife Apama. The inclusion of the latter was significant, for it was she, an Asiatic, who conveyed the right of succession in Asia to her husband.²

Antioch was thus surrounded by a sea of purely Phrygian population and custom. The case was, of course, similar in regard to all Seleucid garrison cities: they were founded to be strongholds of the royal power, of a more Greek type, though far from purely Greek, amid Asiatic peoples. But it remained characteristic of the Pisidian Antioch that it continued to be the one centre of the Seleucid form of civilization for a very large territory, as well as a bulwark against the whole strength of the Pisidian mountain tribes, while the land around continued to be mainly Anatolian and Phrygian in manners and religion, hardly affected even in the most superficial way by Hellenic influence (as will be shown in a later Section). This situation, by isolating the Seleucid colonists in Antioch so thoroughly, must have made them even more vividly conscious than the colonists in other Seleucid garrison-cities were of their dependence on the support of the kings and of the Seleucid capital Antioch in Syria, more opposed to their ever-present enemy the Phrygian and Pisidian barbarian, and more devoted supporters of the mixed type of civilization which they represented. The evidence, scanty as it is, points in this direction.

¹ Apollonia, see *Studies in the History of the Eastern Provinces* (1906), p. 360 (against the opinion of G. Hirschfeld, who regarded this city as a Pergamenean foundation).

² *Pauline, and Other Studies*, pp. 169, 187.

We have spoken of Pisidian Antioch as surrounded by Phrygians and bordering on the Pisidian land. Such are the topographical facts, and such are the accounts given by the ancients, Strabo, Ptolemy, etc. In an inscription of the city it is called "Mygdonian," from the old Phrygian chief or king Mygdon.

Thee, Dionysios, here (in marble), the city Mygdonian Antioch has [placed in honour] and (engraved) the garland of peace (on the basis).

The ornament of a garland, symbolical of the peace which Dionysios (a soldier acting as chief of police for the Region round Antioch) had produced by his good service, was placed on the basis which supported the statue of Aurelius Dionysios, Regionary Centurion. The text belongs to the third century, and is in Greek, though dedicated to an officer of the Roman service. By that time Roman Antioch had reverted to the former condition of a Hellenic city, and even the official documents had come to be expressed in Greek, whereas during the first and second centuries Latin was (as we shall see below) the language not only of official documents but also to a large extent of private inscriptions.

In another inscription the city is said to be in Phrygia.¹ Not until the Province Pisidia was formed about A.D. 295, was Pisidian Antioch in any strict sense a city of Pisidia. Under the Romans it was geographically a city of Phrygia, politically a city of the Province Galatia.

It is our first task to determine to what race belonged these Seleucid colonists of Antioch. It was they who determined the character of the city.

II. THE JEWS IN PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.

In the other Pauline cities the presence of Jewish inhabitants is either proved by the authority of the Acts

¹ The inscription is quoted below in Section III.

alone (as at Derbe and Lystra), or confirmed by clear evidence from other sources, but their status and rights in the city are either unknown or demonstrated only by indirect arguments. Even at Tarsus, where the evidence is most complete, the proof that there was a body of Jews, possessing the full rights of citizens and burgesses, results from a series of concurrent arguments, all pointing towards the same conclusion ; but no record of any family of Jewish citizens remains, except the family of Paul himself. The deficiency in this last respect may seem serious only to those who are on the outlook for opportunity to throw discredit on the trustworthiness of Acts ; but, as a matter of fact, epigraphy rarely records such matters, and moreover hardly any Tarsian inscriptions have been preserved. In Iconium, Lystra and Derbe it remains uncertain whether the Jewish population had the status of resident aliens or of citizens ; the former being more probable in Lystra, the latter in Iconium, while Derbe is wrapped in complete obscurity by absolute lack of evidence.

In the case of Antioch alone complete evidence has survived, and that in a curiously accidental way. The fact of citizenship is not often formally recorded in the epitaphs of any city, and, when it is recorded, there is usually some special reason¹ ; moreover, Jews can rarely be traced in the epigraphy of such cities, because the men usually adopted Greek or Roman names, and thus have become undistinguishable. The inscriptions of Antioch are wholly taken up with matters of other kinds, and in none of them can any Jew be identified with certainty ; but an epitaph of Apollonia reveals a Jewess of Antioch by her name, Debbora. It belongs to the late second or the third century after Christ.

¹ As when, for example, in a Eumenian inscription on a grave a certain Hermes is styled: "Akmonian and Eumenian," *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, ii. p. 389, C.I.G. 3893.

An Antiochian [by race], sprung from ancestors who held many offices of state in the fatherland, by name Debbôra, given in marriage to a famous man Pamphylus, [I am buried here,] receiving this monument as a return of gratitude from him for my virgin marriage.¹

The evidence given in this brief inscription is singularly complete. Debbora was an Antiochian citizen by race, but was married to Pamphylus of Apollonia.

That Debbora was a Jewess seemed placed beyond reach of doubt by her name. The spelling is that of the Septuagint, whereas the spelling Deborah in the English Version is taken from the Hebrew text.

The first two words of the epitaph illustrate the technical usage which was discussed in the EXPOSITOR, December, 1906, pp. 506, 507.² Debbora, an Antiochian citizen by descent, did not reside in Antioch, and the formula is therefore used which indicates the real citizenship of a person who resided in an alien city. In her case situation may possibly have been complicated by an additional fact; Pamphylus, her husband, may have perhaps been a citizen of Apollonia; and if that were so, the question of the right of intermarriage between citizens of the two cities would come up. This is a most difficult subject, and information fails us. If there were such right of intermarriage, Debbora would take the citizenship of her husband, and cease to be an Antiochian. But it is quite uncertain whether Pamphylus (whom we may suppose to have been a Jew,³ probably) was a citizen of Apollonia: he may have been only

¹ M. Chamonard's copy in *Bull. Corr. Hellen.* 1893, p. 257, is more complete than Professor J. R. S. Sterrett's.

Ἀντιόχισσα [γένος] πατρὸς γονέων πολυτείμων
οὐνομα Δεββωρά, ἀνδρὶ δοθείσα κλίτῳ
Παμφύλῳ . . . [φι]λο[έ]κνω . . . ἡγ . . . Εὐμήλ . .
παρθενικῶν λέκτρων ἀντιλαβοῦσα χάριν.

² The restoration γένος in the first line is convincing and almost certain.

³ Marriage between a Jewess and a Hellene was certainly rare, though it sometimes happened, Acts xvi. 1.

a resident alien. It is also uncertain how far Roman custom or law interfered to permit intermarriage between different cities of the same province; but after 212 A.D., when all citizens of provincial cities became Roman citizens, intermarriage certainly must have been legal. The epitaph of Debhora, however, cannot be later than 212.

From whatever cause it resulted, the fact seems clear that Debhora did not become a citizen of Apollonia, but remained a resident alien, "Antiochian by race." The expression which occurs in the Eumenian inscription quoted in the footnote on a previous page, suggests that there was a special formula which would have been used to express the status of an Antiochian who settled in Apollonia and acquired citizenship there.

The most significant words in the epitaph are the two which describe Debhora's ancestors as "having held many honours of the fatherland" (πολυτείμους πάτρης). The term "honours" (τιμαί, honores) was regularly applied to the higher magistracies in self-governing cities. The word which we have rendered "ancestors" (γονεῖς) is used ordinarily in prose epitaphs in the sense of "parents"; but here in the language of verse it designates the male ancestors, who entered on the career of office (*cursus honorum*), and it looks back on a line of such ancestors for generations. The epitaph of Debhora may belong to the first or second century after Christ, more probably the first.

The inscription just mentioned is the only certain indication of a Jewish colony in Antioch; and it is fortunate that its evidence is so complete and far-reaching. It shows that for generations Jews of one family had been citizens of Antioch and had attained high offices. Elsewhere the proof has been pointed out that the existence of one single and solitary Jewish citizen in a Greek city was impossible¹:

¹ *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 149.

there must have been a separate class or "Tribe" of Jewish citizens in order to make it possible for any Jew to be a citizen. Such a "Tribe," bearing some Greek title, formed the means through which Jews could be members of this Hellenic city (for the early Antioch was Hellenic, a centre of Hellenism as adapted by Seleucid policy to Oriental conditions); it was by making the Jewish religion into the religious bond of their own "Tribe" that the Jews could enter Greek city life and hold offices of State.

The Jew who was a magistrate in any Greek city must have been willing to shut his eyes to a good deal, tacitly to permit a great deal of idolatrous ritual which was performed at every meeting for political or social purposes under his presumed patronage. He must also have been ready and successful in the conduct of public affairs and in the art of wooing a constituency. In no other way was it possible to win votes and gain an election. The original Jewish colony had been for three centuries and a half exposed to the influence which such practices exert on the character of men, when Paul visited Antioch, and a profound effect must have been produced on a race naturally receptive and progressive. It was inevitable that the Jews of Antioch should become very different in character from the narrow class of Palestinian Jews; they were Hellenized, Greek-speaking, able to move freely and win success in the free competition of a Hellenic self-governing city. Yet that standing miracle always remains: they were still Jews in feeling and religion, citizens of the Hellenic city of Pisidian Antioch, yet men of Judaea, as the centuries passed. The religious teaching of the home and the synagogue held them firmly in the national character.

It may seem strange that no memorial of the Jews at Antioch should have been found among the considerable number of Antiochian inscriptions, and that the accident

of a Jewish woman residing at Apollonia should furnish the only proof that Jews were citizens at Antioch. But the same dearth of information exists about the Jewish colonies in Phrygia and Lydia : only the rarest and scantiest references exist in epigraphy to those large and important bodies of people.

Elsewhere it has been suggested¹ that a certain P. Anicius Maximus, commander of the army in Egypt under Claudius, to whom in his native city of Antioch an inscription of honour was raised by the citizens of Alexandria, may have been a Jew ; and that the influence of the large body of Jewish citizens in Alexandria may have been the originating cause of this action in the remote Phrygian city. Anicius Maximus served as an officer of the Second Legion Augusta in Britain, A.D. 44, and was decorated for his conduct there. He then was promoted to the command in Egypt ; and it was perhaps about A.D. 50 or soon after that the dedication in his honour was ordered by the great city of Alexandria. The inscription was engraved on a basis, which may have supported a small statue. But without further evidence this suggestion must remain a mere empty hypothesis.

III. THE GREEK COLONISTS IN EARLY ANTIOCH.

It has been shown² that Jews and Greeks were the two educated races, to whom especially the Seleucid kings trusted as colonists and makers of a higher civilization in the Anatolian garrison cities. Strabo mentions that it was a colony from Magnesia on the Maeander, but gives no information as to the manner or date of the foundation. We must understand that in some circumstances otherwise unknown, Seleucus Nikator brought a body of Mag-

¹ I thought that the suggestion was made in the *Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170* ; but that is not the case. The inscription is published in the C.I.L. III., from my copy, and later by Professor Sterrett.

² *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 130.

nesians to people his new city. Strabo says nothing about any other class of inhabitants; and this would suggest that the Magnesians formed the bulk of the population, and that the city was really a new foundation, not a mere transformation of a previously existing city. Both these inferences are in agreement with all the rest of our vague and scanty information. Strabo would not be likely to have any information about a Jewish element in the city; for, as we have seen, that element was concealed under Greek forms and names, and the Greeks were never ready to acknowledge that Jews had any part in founding a Hellenic city. Only when complaining to some overlord against their Jewish fellow-citizens as not taking fair part in the life of the city,¹ do they seem ever to have admitted that Jews formed an element in a Hellenic city.

Strabo's evidence is entirely confirmed by the epitaph found in Rome of an Antiochian who had travelled to the great city of the Empire, and probably settled there:

A Magnesian of Phrygia (am I); and Aipe, devoted as a virgin to the Scythian goddess (Artemis Tauropolos), nursed me in the olive-clad Anthian plain.²

That "Magnesian of Phrygia" should be a poetic equivalent of "Antiochian" is in exact agreement with Strabo. In both authorities all thought of a native Phrygian or a Jewish element in the population of the city is lost.

IV. THE PHRYGIANS OF ANTIOCH.

That in the Seleucid garrison cities generally there was a native element in the population may be taken as practically

¹ *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 152.

² Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec. Ital. etc.*, no. 933, published this inscription very incorrectly in respect of transcription. Aipe is the name in the copy, for which Kaibel suggests ἀγνή. He misunderstands the phrase, "a Scythian virgin," the meaning of which is given above: on the term "virgin" see *Pauline and Other Studies*, p. 108; *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, 40, 202; *Church in the Rom. Empire before 170*, p. 397 f.

certain. A city peopled purely by foreigners might have been efficient as a military stronghold, but could never have been serviceable in the other purpose for which those colonies were intended, viz. in acting as civilizing centres from which the type of manners and education favoured by the Seleucid policy might spread over the surrounding land and people. The native element in the cities acted as an intermediary between the foreign colonists and the surrounding natives; the Phrygian citizens shared in the rights and in the education of the colonists, while blood and feeling and language united them with the surrounding population. At Antioch, whether it be that the proportion of colonists to natives was unusually large, or that the early date of foundation and other causes had resulted in thorough Hellenization of the native element in the city by the colonists, or that certain influences had kept the surrounding population from being affected by the Graeco-Asiatic education of the city, there seems to have been a very distinct separation and contrast between the urban and the rustic people. Probably all three reasons contributed to produce this result. Here we have not the usual state of relations which elsewhere existed between country and Seleucid city; there is not such a simple uniform progress as is usual in Seleucid States, where the rustics either were utterly uneducated and ignorant, or were gradually acquiring an interest and share in the civilization of the city as education gradually spread from the centre of population. There is apparent, especially on the north-west and west of Antioch, a totally different kind of custom and society; and there was a broad and growing gap between the Hellenic city, Antioch, and the population of the country district around.

The evidence, then, scanty as it is, points to the conclusion that the Hellenistic Antioch was rather a Greek

colony than a Phrygian city Hellenized. The Greek colonists predominated ; and, although a Phrygian element in the city must be supposed, yet either it was not so numerous as to affect the character of the city, or it was so thoroughly Hellenized as to acquiesce wholly in the Hellenic spirit. Now we observe that Apollonia, the neighbouring city, which we take to be a companion foundation made by Seleucus Nikator, retained something of the same character throughout the Roman period. It was never Romanized by Italian colonists, as Antioch was ; and hence its inscriptions of the Roman time show us the character of the Hellenistic Apollonia, whereas the inscriptions of Antioch in the Roman time show a Romanized and Latin Antioch. Now Apollonia regularly styled itself a " colonial " city, as no other Seleucid foundation does. Its inhabitants boasted on coins and inscriptions that they were entirely strangers and colonists : " the Apolloniatai (who are) Lycian and Thracian colonists."¹ We are warranted in assuming, on the authority of Strabo, that the people of Hellenistic Antioch had the same feeling.

V. ANTIOCH A CITY OF GALATIA.

That Pisidian Antioch was a part of the Roman Province Galatia in the first century needs now no proof, since Professor E. Schürer, the warmest and most distinguished opponent of this view, has withdrawn his opposition. The only doubt that remained was as to the date when this connexion ceased. A large part of south-western Galatia was taken from it and incorporated in the new Province of Lycia-Pamphylia in A.D. 74. Another large slice of south-eastern Galatia, including the cities of Derbe and Isaura,

¹ The title 'Απολλωνιατῶν Λυκίων καὶ Θρακῶν Κολώνων is often mistranslated as if three classes of people were meant. The people of Synnada and other cities called themselves "Synnadeis Dorians," and so on, without adding "Colonists"; this means "by origin Dorians."

was transferred to the new Province called the Three Eparchies (Cilicia-Lycaonia-Isauria) somewhere about 138 A.D. After deducting these parts, there remained a narrow strip of territory running along the west and north and east coasts of the Limnai, and the north and east and south coasts of Lake Karalis (Bey-Sheher-Giol), with regard to which evidence was defective. On the one hand this territory was almost completely separated from the main part of Galatia by a great wedge of the Province Asia which intervened. Especially the extreme western part of the territory, including Antioch and Apollonia, a long and narrow strip of land, almost entirely surrounded by the two Provinces Asia and Pamphylia, seemed singularly unsuited to be a part of the Province Galatia. Moreover Ptolemy mentions Antioch as a city of the district Pisidia in the Province Pamphylia.

On the other hand, Ptolemy¹ mentions both Apollonia and Pisidian Antioch as cities of the Province Galatia, and this fuller statement outweighs his other mention of Antioch in Pamphylia, suggesting that the latter is erroneous. Moreover, these cities must either have been left to Galatia or transferred to Pamphylia or to Asia: now they were not assigned to Pamphylia, for epigraphic proof is abundant at Antioch that the city belonged to Galatia long after the enlargement and reorganization of Pamphylia in A.D. 74; and there is not the slightest reason to think that Antioch could ever have been given to Asia. Finally, the lost *Acta* of the martyrs Alphius and others seem to have showed that Antioch was still part of Galatia in the time of Diocletian (*Acta Sanctorum*, 28 Sept., p. 563), and the brief quotation from the *Acta* in the *Menologium Sirletianum* seems probably trustworthy.²

¹ *Geog.* v.

² *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 209 f.

On these grounds I ranked Antioch as a Galatian city (and with it Apollonia, which must be classed with it), throughout the second and third centuries, in *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, pp. 177 f., 209 f., though quite acknowledging that a certain doubt might still be felt. All doubt, however, was removed by the discovery in 1905 of a group of milestones eight miles west of Apollonia on the great road, Antioch-Apollonia-Apameia-Ephesus, described above; one of them contains the name of the provincial Governor, Atticius Strabo, who is known to have governed Galatia in A.D. 198, and to have renovated the roads of that Province. It is therefore now certain that the Region of Antioch belonged to Galatia throughout the first and second centuries, and there seems no possibility that any change in organization of the Province can have occurred between 198 and 295. About the latter year Diocletian broke up the Province Galatia; he took South Galatia, including Iconium, enlarged it by adding parts of Asia and Pamphylia, and constituted it as the Province Pisidia.

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