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The Romanization of Hellenistic Agora Forms in Southern Asia Minor

BY

Tracy Elyssa Satin

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

IN

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Abstract

The process of Romanization in Southern Asia Minor, specifically in the combined province of Lycia-Pamphylia, began to bring about changes in public architecture and its function within society. These changes were generally concentrated in the area of the town 'civic-centre', or agora. In order to fully understand these changes, the Hellenistic agorae in the western cities of Miletus, Priene, Magnesia and Pergamon will be examined. These cities provide the best examples of Hellenistic town planning, from which the later Roman agorae evolved.

The Lycian-Pamphylian cities of Phaselis, Perge, Aspendus and Side all flourished during the Roman period. These cities became wealthier and they began to be adorned with new Roman buildings, including newly developed 'civic-centres'. The design of these Roman agorae was influenced both by the architectural trends found in the Hellenistic models and by new Roman architectural ideas, which together helped to create a public architecture that was unique to the province.

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Introduction

The Romanization of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia in southern Asia Minor (fig.1) began to bring about subtle changes in public architecture.[1] This process of Romanization occurred over several centuries and was different in each region of the Empire and in each city.[2] In certain cases the Romans would come in and plunder, destroying any evidence of the prior population but this was not the case in Asia Minor. In the cities of the Eastern provinces the transition from Greek to Roman domination was often peaceful. The people of Asia Minor were able to keep their identities as free citizens, simply reporting business and everyday happenings to the local Roman governors, who would then in turn report to the Emperor if needed. Where this process of change through Romanization is most evident is in the public buildings of the individual cities, for it was these buildings that represented the city, the people who lived there and those who ruled over it. Therefore the Romanization of Southern Asia Minor can be clearly seen through its architectural development, with changes in the form and function of public architecture.

When looking at Roman architectural development in Asia Minor it is imperative to examine closely the form of the building complexes and their function. What is meant by form is the actual building itself. Form is the basic building

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[1]The land the Greeks referred to as Asia encompassed the area between the Aegean Sea and the Caucasus Mountains, bordered on the north by the Black sea and by the eastern Mediterranean on the south. Being so large, through time it was divided into two separate regions and renamed larger or outer Asia and small or inner Asia, which the Romans later relabelled Asia Minor. This area, now better known as Turkey, is also often referred to as Anatolia. The word 'Anatolia' denoting the Greek word meaning to raise over the horizon referring to the sunrise and the East.

[2]Romanization is the process where cities are made Roman in all aspects of city life.

shape and how all its parts fit into the complex as a whole. The function then refers to the how the building was used and the activities that occurred within the complex. These two aspects of architectural development must be looked at together for they are closely related to one another. In order for public architecture to be easily recognized by the public its exterior and interior appearance must clearly state what the building is, therefore making a statement about how the building was used. Yet to fully understand the process of Romanization through public architectural form and in turn function, one must also take into account the general location of the areas being examined, background history, foundation legends and socio-economic conditions which all played a large role in the formation of an ancient society.

The best area to study this process is the 'civic-centre' of any given city. It was within these areas that the towns-people gathered to conduct their daily business, both commercial and administrative, and where their social and religious events took place. By studying these centres a more complete understanding of the societies in which they were placed can then be formed.

With Romanization came change. Different political institutions replaced older established factions and in order to complement this, changes occurred in all areas of the city. One of the major transitions occurred with the modification of public architecture, for not only did change happen within the actual form of the buildings themselves but change also occurred within the function of the buildings and how they were used. Therefore the main focus of this thesis shall be on the changes which occurred in the public architecture of the Roman province of Lycia-Pamphylia, focusing on the agora, the most public area of any given Greek city. Here the transformation from a specifically Greek form and function to the Roman shall be looked at and illustrated by the development of the agorae of the Roman cities in the Greek

East.

The most public of all city complexes was the town 'civic-centre'. In the Greek world these centres were called agorae. The word agora is derived from the term ageiro, meaning 'I collect'.[3] This refers not only to a place of assembly for the town officials but also for the common people, and is a term often referring to a market-place. According to Homer the word 'agora' referred to an assembly.[4] This definition remained valid until the end of the seventh century B.C. Although still denoting a place for the assembly, after the seventh century B.C. the word 'agora' was frequently used in Greek prose to denote the market or public square.[5]

In its initial state of development the agora was a place where the townspeople gathered for social activities. The agora evolved out of the Greek concept of 'community' but it did not emerge specifically as a 'market place' or 'civic-centre', but as a communal place where the towns people could congregate. Thus, the agora formed an essential part of Greek life and its growth depended on the city's population, the political situation and religious beliefs.[6]

In the Archaic and Classical periods of Greek history, the agora was very simple in plan and did not contain many monuments. Many early agorae took the form of the traditional semi-circular Greek theatre where tiers of seats could be put

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[3]Clarke, 1833, pg. 93

[4]Homer, Il., Book 2.93: "...so the many nations of men from ships and the shelters along the front of the deep sea beach marched in order by companies to the assembly,..." (translated by R. Lattimore, 1967)

[5]De Ligt, 1993, pg. 40

[6]Tomlinson, 1992, pg. 2

in for audiences.[7] Not only was this shape convenient for public meetings and assemblies but also on certain days of the week or at certain times of the day, either the entire area or part of it could be converted into a market by setting up temporary booths.

These theatre agorae were popular yet in no means the standard form. One of the best examples of an Archaic/Classical agora can be found at Athens. Here the agora began to develop in the seventh century B.C. expanding out from the city's council-house. To the north a modest temple was built in honour of Apollo and beyond this a shrine to Zeus. Here we see the beginning of the agora as a political and religious centre. To the south an irregular shaped building surrounded by a colonnade was built. This building according to Whycherly was the precursor to the Tholos and probably served the same purpose as the prytaneion.[8] Boundary stones have been found which indicate that during the sixth century the agora was developing some type of form. Later in the sixth century an altar was built dedicated to the twelve gods. This altar served as a milestone for the Attic road system, indicating the centre of the city and all of Attica. To complete this period of agora development another council-house was built and just north of this a temple was built to honour the Mother of the Gods. The Athenian agora now had a definite form and functioned as the political and religious centre of the community which was united in the fact that all the monuments were arranged in a straight line following the north-south axis of the street. At this time the market activity was most probably concentrated along the eastern side, where the market-hall of

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[7]The agorae at Leto and Dreros in Crete and the Athenian agora all had steps which functioned as seats for spectators to watch spectacles and listen to speakers.

[8]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 57

Attalus later stood.[9]

Yet during the time of the Persian wars the agora was destroyed and was in dire need of rebuilding. Apart for repairing those buildings that could be saved a Tholos was built at the agora's southern end. A Doric temple was then erected to the west in the middle of the fifth century. This temple was not located in the agora proper but was a dominant feature none the less. At the eastern edge of the agora another Doric temple was built leaving the centre of the agora free. A Doric stoa dedicated to Zeus was then built along the northern edge of the west side, and finally towards the end of the fifth century B.C. a new council-house was built. The Classical Athenian agora was now complete. Religious, administrative and social activities were now incorporated into one area in the centre of the city, although each aspect of the agora was separate they all functioned as one.

In the Hellenistic period, thanks to a general increase in wealth, there was a growth in civic development, and as the cities grew, the agorae had to be modified to accommodate all the needs of the people who lived within a given territory. Roads led to and from the agora to insure that there was sufficient access to it, and adequate space was designated for all its services. The area had to be fairly level and there had to be a good water supply and sufficient drainage, for the agora became a type of resort where the citizens could go to relax as well as conduct their daily business. More buildings were now associated with the agora. Often the council-house, offices for magistrates and official records and the prytanerion were either located within the agora or close by and stoae became standard 'general-purpose' buildings that soon became the most common elements of the Hellenistic Greek

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[9]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 58

agora.[10] Another building that became increasingly important to the agora was the temple, for the agora was no longer simply the centre for social activity but soon became the centre for religious activity as well. The agora was now a true 'civic-centre', in the modern sense, where the people of the community would gathered for political, religious, social and commercial business. The city soon became dependent on the agora for its livelihood and it was common for the citizens to spend the second part of the day at the market.[11] If the market, or 'civic-centre', was successful not only would the town benefit, but its citizens and the surrounding area would flourish as well.

To begin with, in chapter one, a brief summary of the topography, foundation legends and history of the southern provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia shall be discussed. This then shall give a background for the study of the Romanization of the public architecture in this area and how and why it was effected by this lengthy process.

Prior to studying the development of Roman 'civic-centres' in the province of Lycia-Pamphylia, it is necessary to examine the formation of the 'civic-centre', the agora, in the earlier Greek communities of Asia Minor. Therefore chapter two will then deal with the development of Greek agora in the Hellenistic period. For this study examples shall be taken from Western Asia Minor. Not only are the cities chosen well documented, they also provide the best examples of Hellenistic 'civic-centres' in Asia Minor, for they incorporate into them all the common architectural elements that should be found in such public complexes. During the fourth century B.C. Greek colonies were established along the coast of Anatolia and many of the native cities were greatly

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[10]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 52

[11]Blumner, 1893, pg. 190

influenced by these colonies. Koine Greek became the international language and Greek religion and political institutions were adopted by many of the local communities.[12] To better understand this process of Hellenization and how it affected the communities of southern Asia Minor I will study Hellenistic 'civic-centres' in the cities of Miletus, Priene, Magnesia and Pergamon, since these metropoleis greatly influenced the rest of Asia Minor. All of these cities were of high status, being wealthy communities that were well respected in the various fields of art and architecture and it was from these agora models that the rest of the country looked to for inspiration in the building of their own 'civic-centres'.

Chapter three will then return to the province of Lycia-Pamphylia and the main focus of the thesis shall be discussed. Many of the busy centres of activity were located along the main coastal routes of Italy, Greece and Asia Minor. Beginning in the first century A.D. Roman influence was dominant in many of the cities located in the western part of the Roman Empire but in the eastern part of the Empire, such as in the cities located along the coast of Lycia-Pamphylia, this influence was less pronounced. By looking at the cities of Lycia-Pamphylia and how their 'civic-centres' developed from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, it should be possible to determine the consequences of the process of Romanization upon the older and more established Hellenistic traditions of the East. Here the process of Romanization shall be looked at and how it effected the public architecture of the agorae. To begin with Roman developments in public architecture shall be discussed for although the Roman 'civic-centre', the forum, was essentially the same as Greek agora, certain aspects of its form and function were different.

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[12] Koine was the official Greek language that was instituted by Alexander the Great, in the fourth century B.C., to unite his empire.

After this the agora complexes in the southern cities of Phaselis, Perge, Aspendus and Side shall be looked at and how the Hellenistic models were then modified to fit into the Roman world.[13]

The conclusion will then focus on the changes that occurred with the Romanization of Southern Asia Minor and how these changes were not isolated within the Eastern provinces. Here Paestum shall be used as a case study, for not only is this city located in Italy it is also relatively close to Rome, yet it was of Greek foundation and displayed many of the same trends in public architecture as other Greek cities that were influenced by Rome but not located in the west. An analysis of this type of architectural development through Romanization will then afford a greater understanding of any specific area and the prevailing socio-economic conditions. I will also attempt to establish a record of the historical progression and the adaptations originating in the amalgamation of Hellenistic and Roman forms and their influences upon Asia Minor. The conclusion then shall summarize the changes that occurred with the Romanization of the agorae in Southern Asia Minor and how it effected the Roman province of Lycia-Pamphylia.

By examining the Romanization of Greek cities through architectural forms one can better understand how Greeks and Romans interacted with each other and in turn, some hypotheses

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[13]Because of the nature of the subject and the fact that during Roman occupation Greek Hellenistic influences were still quite strong in Asia Minor, what one would label as a Roman forum is often referred to as a Roman agora. In this area of the world Greek traditions, in all aspects of life, were very strong and although Roman occupation and acculturation could not be avoided, there was never any direct Greek assimilation into the Roman society. These agora complexes were essentially that of Greek tradition but through the process of Romanization took on Roman traits. The basic outline plan was that of the Greek agora yet the buildings were of Roman form and how they were placed and functioned within the complex were of Roman design. References to this terminology can be found in Bean, Mansel, Mc Donagh, Steele and Vann.

can be made with regard to daily life, how cities functioned and what the political, artistic and religious influences were upon them. Selected towns in Asia Minor then can provide good examples of Greek-Roman interaction and of the process of Romanization which occurred in the province of Lycia-Pamphylia.

Chapter 1

Topography of Southern Asia Minor

The southern coast of Asia Minor can be divided into four well-defined and naturally varying geographical regions (fig. 1): to the east are the fertile plains of Cilicia, known as Smooth Cilicia. To the west is Rough Cilicia. This area encompasses the Taurus mountain range with its deep river valleys and enormous gorges. The expansive plain of Pamphylia lies further to the west where the mountains recede. Here the land is crossed by numerous streams and four major rivers: the Catarrhactes, the Cestrus, the Eurymedon and the Melas. Since Pamphylia is surrounded by mountains and is off the main east-west land routes, it tended to play a comparatively modest role in the overall history of the area, but is no less important than any other southern province.[14] Lycia, the fourth region, is located to the west of Pamphylia.

The southern coast of Asia Minor has a number of excellent anchorages and sheltered harbours which increased the wealth of those cities along the southern coast and linked Anatolia to the major maritime trade routes. In antiquity, according to a study done on Roman roads in Asia Minor by W. M. Ramsay, many of the commercial trade routes tended to run east-west.[15] But for the purpose of trading directly with the West, seaports located along the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were used. The major anchorages used in the south were Telmessus in Lycia, and Side and Antalya in Pamphylia. At these ports, the main roads converged and in turn they soon became pivotal areas for the coastal traffic

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[14]Bean, 1968, pg. 21

[15]Ramsay, 1962, pg. 58

which eventually found its way to Rome.[16] Despite the importance of these ports the southern coast remained physically isolated since the roads leading to and from the various cities were few. The area had been dominated by the Persians, the Selucides, the Ptolemies, Rhodes and the Romans, over a long chronology and thus each culture left its mark on the society.

Topography and Foundation Legend of Lycia

The line which separates Lycia from the rest of Asia Minor, as defined by G.E. Bean, has generally been accepted to be the route which connects Koycegiz to Antalya.[17] (fig. 1) The province can be divided into two main sectors, the first being the mountains and the second the maritime portion.[18] The two most fertile regions in Lycia lie in the lower valleys of the Esen and Alakir rivers. Because of trade and market activity between the interior of the province and the coast lands Lycia was provided with enough resources to sustain itself and earn the Homeric appellation of a 'rich land', not a land lacking in goods.[19]

As to who exactly the Lycians were and where they came from is disputed. According to Herodotus the Lycians, also known as the Termilae, were not indigenous to the southern

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[16] ibid.

[17] Bean, 1978, pg. 19

[18] These mountains ranges were known to the ancient Greek geographers as the 'Milyas' and 'Cabalis' or 'Cabalia' mountains.

[19] Homer, Il, book XVI. 437, 514, 673, 683: "... and these two presently laid him down within the rich countryside of Lykia." (translated by R. Lattimore, 1967)

coast of Asia Minor but had originally come from Crete.[20] According to legend these people were brought to Asia Minor under the lead of King Minos' brother Sarpedon. Earlier in time Homer knew that the Lycians, allies of the Trojans, fought under Sarpedon and Glaucus.[21]

According to the various foundation legends this race of people went by numerous names. At first they were called 'Milyae' then 'Solymi' then 'Termilae' but with the arrival of the Greek colony led by Lycus they were finally renamed 'Lycians'.[22] In Greek legend, then, the Lycians were a significant population and were clearly distinguished as allies of King Priam of Troy.[23] The Lycians had a reputation for being true to their origins and their land. When Ionian and Dorian colonists first began to expand their territory and colonize the southern part of the country, between the 12th and 11th centuries B.C., these colonists succeeded in capturing Caria and the Pamphylians managed to occupy part of Pisidia yet neither could acquire the area known as Lycia. As

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[20]Herodotus, Hist., I.173, VII.92: "This people came from Crete, and were once called Termilae; they got the name which they now bear from Lycus, the son of Pandion, an Athenian." (translated by G. Rawlinson, 1930)

[21]Homer, Il, II.876. Others who have referred to the Lycians as Termilae, according to the accounts of Stephanos of Byzantium (Steph. Byz. Ethnicorum. pg. 617f.) are the poet Hecataeus, the Lycian historian Alexander and the fifth century Carian poet Panyasis who wrote that Termiles, who lived by the Xanthus river, fathered four sons; Tloos, Xanthus, Pinarus and Cragus who then fathered the Lycian race.

[22]Although this has generally been accepted as the most plausible lineage of the Lycian people, Strabo makes a clear distinction between the 'Solymi' and the 'Lycians' themselves. Strabo believed that a people called the Cauconians, who originally lived in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnese, fled to the Lycian coast because they could no longer endure the oppressive rule of Lepreus, a local tyrant. (Strabo, Geo., VII.63: " And the geographer further says that the Cauconians in the Peloponnesus, the Archadian portion, could not endure to be ruled by the house of Lepreus - For Lepreus was a bad man - and so they sailed away from there to Lycia.") (translated by H.L. Jones, 1967)

[23]Cramer, 1971, section XI, pg. 241

well, in the second period of Greek immigration, the so called 'Age of Colonization', no colonies were founded in this part of the country.[24]

The Lycians preserved their culture, language and script until the coming of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. For although many of the Lycian city names known to us now are of Greek origin, this was not the case prior to Alexander. It is a known fact that Xanthus was originally Arna in Lycian and according to Pliny the Lycian name for Antiphellus was Habesos.[25] When Alexander made it law that Greek was to be the language to unite his empire the original Lycian language began to fade. In the fourth century B.C. one of the first signs of Hellenization are the Lycian Princes adopting Greek names and the use of both Greek and Lycian languages in inscriptions. By the third century B.C. almost all the native Lycian traditions were replaced by Greek practices and the Lycian language was no longer found on inscriptions.[26]

The Lycians were among the last peoples in Asia Minor to be incorporated into the Roman Empire. They managed to maintain their freedom throughout the Republican period, the first century B.C., and the first years of the Empire, the first century A.D.[27] Referring to the Republican period, Strabo writes that since the Lycians lived under such a good

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[24]The time frame for this has generally been agreed to be between 900-500 B.C.

[25]Pliny, Nat, V. XXVIII. 100: "... The city-state of Andria, Myra, the towns of Aperiae and Antiphellos formerly called Habesos..." (translated by H. Rackham, 1967)

[26]Jones, 1971, pg. 99

[27]Garzetti, 1974, pg. 122

government, they remained free under the Romans.[28] But midway through the first century A.D. after the Roman Empire was established in the region the Lycian congress lost all political power and was merely limited to voting honors to the Emperor.

G. E. Bean has calculated the population of Lycia in antiquity to be approximately 200,000 for the entire area.[29] Only a small part of the population lived in the mountain areas while the main bulk of the inhabitants tended to live in the more fertile and productive areas along the coast or in the Xanthus Valley. The most important ancient cities located in this coastal region were Telmessus, Pinara, Xanthus, Patara and Phaselis.

Topography and Foundation Legend of Pamphylia

Pamphylia lies to the south-east of Lycia. Here, after the 'sacred promontory' of Lycia, the southern coast of Asia Minor bends inward towards Anemurium in Cilicia forming the gulf of the Mare Pamphylium.[30] The land area covers approximately 2,200 square miles and in ancient times the wealth of the Pamphylian economy came primarily from maritime endeavours, although the inhabitants prospered from agricultural activity as well.

Pamphylia is separated from the rest of Anatolia, according to Strabo, by the pass of Climax, just beyond

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[28]Strabo, Geo., XIV.3.3: "... In earlier times they would deliberate about war and peace and alliances, but now they naturally do not do so, since these matters necessarily lie in the power of the Romans, except, perhaps when the Romans should give them permission or it should be for their benefit... and since they lived under such a good government, they remained ever free under the Romans, thus retaining their ancestral usage." (translated by H.L. Jones, 1967)

[29]Bean, 1978, pg. 19

[30]This gulf is better known as the Gulf of Antalya.

Phaselis in Lycia and the fortress of Coracesium located in Cilicia.[31] In antiquity there were a total of six major cities in the area. These cities were Antalya, Perge, Sillyum, Aspendus, Side and Termessus. All are located along the coast and form an arc with its centre approximately ten miles from the shore.[32]

The Pamphylian plateau and the sea are both dominated and protected by the Taurus mountains which form a natural barrier, yet the area is more accessible than Lycia. The area is divided into three more or less equal parts by the Cestrus and the Eurymedon rivers and transverse streams which flow down from the mountains to the gulf.

Similar to Lycia, the foundation legend of the colonization of Pamphylia also played a role in Greek history and mythology. According to Herodotus, after the fall of Troy a group of immigrants led by Calchas and Amphilochus established themselves along the southern coast of Asia Minor and founded cities in this area.[33] One cannot deny the fact that Greek communities from both the mainland and the Aegean established themselves in the region but there is no concrete evidence that they were the first peoples to settle there and that they constituted the main bulk of the population.[34] For although Pamphylia is one of the few provinces which has a Greek name, the word meaning 'land of all races', it in no way emphasized the fact that the majority of the population was Greek. Pamphylia was a land occupied by a 'mixed multitude' of settlers, as its name states, consisting of both Greeks and

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[31]Strabo, Geo., XIV. 3. 9

[32]According to Strabo the coast line spanned approximately 640 stadia. (Geo, XIV.4.2)

[33]Herodotus, Hist., VII.91(v): "This nation is descended from those whom on the return from Troy were dispersed with Amphilochus and Calchas." (translated by G. Rawlinson, 1936)

[34]Magie, 1950, pg. 261

indigenous people.[35] By the fourth century B.C. the indigenous Pamphylian population had been thoroughly Hellenized and the cities of Perge, Sillyum and Aspendus claimed to be descents of the two legendary Argive seers, Calchas and Mopsus. Although claiming Greek descent in the fourth century B.C., it is more probable that the original population were the Solymi who came from Cilicia.[36]

History and Romanization of Lycia-Pamphylia

During the Roman Republic, the first century B.C., the various parts of Asia Minor suffered diverse fortunes. Lycia was controlled by Brutus first and then, after 42 B.C. by Antony. Under Antony the city of Xanthus, which had destroyed itself when threatened by Brutus' forces, was restored to it's importance. Pamphylia was given to Amyntas who then controlled all of Asia Minor. Only in 25 B.C. did Pamphylia become once again part of Cilicia. In general, all local administrators and in particular provincial governors were approved by the Emperor. It was Roman Imperial policy to leave the provincial cities alone allowing them to control their own affairs and develop their economies in peace.[37]

This brief period of self-government came to an end in 43 A.D. when the Emperor Claudius could no longer tolerate the quarrelling and bickering between the cities of Lycia. Dio Cassius reported that during this time there was a revolt led by the Lycians which ended with the killing of some Roman

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[35]ibid.

[36]Cramer, 1971, section XII, pg. 274

[37]Bean, 1968, pg. 34

citizens.[38] As a result of this Claudius deprived the Lycians of their freedom and joined the province to Pamphylia. This was not the only reason why Claudius joined the two provinces. By detaching Pamphylia from the enormous province of Galatia the Emperor made it easier to control and govern both areas. The new province of Lycia-Pamphylia was now to be governed as a single unit under one governor, a legatus Augusti pro praetore.[39] Yet these two provinces, although joined, were so different that each maintained their own identities. Each of the cities managed to have their own council and magistrates who conducted affairs independent of each other. The Pamphylian cities in turn did not become part of the Lycian federation, but formed an organization of their own which was modeled after that of the Lycians.[40]

During the Roman Empire both the provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia were constantly being united and then separated.[41] After A.D. 74 the province consisted of three distinct regions each with their own separate geological configuration, population and governments, although governed by one Roman official. The Federal magistrates, the generals, the admirals and the commanders of the cavalry all disappeared but the federal assembly and council continued to convene, federal officers to be elected and collect tribute, the federal courts

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[38]Dio Cassius, Rom. Hist., LX. 17. 3: "He reduced the Lycians to servitude because they had revolted and slain some Romans, and he incorporated them into the prefecture of Pamphylia." (translated by E. Cary, 1989)

[39]The governor put in charge was Q. Veranius.

[40]The Pamphylian federation conferred the usual honors and created Pamphyliarchs and other officials. (Magie, 1950, pg. 576)

[41]In A.D. 54 Nero restored Lycian freedom, making it a single province once again, but in A.D. 57 the province was subject to Roman rule, being under the watchful eye of a Roman governor. Later that year this governor was accused of extortion and relieved of his duties allowing Lycia to be self governed. In A.D. 69 Galba permitted Lycia to stand alone, while having one governor rule over Pamphylia and Galatia. Vespasian, in A.D. 74, then deprived Lycia of its freedom for the last time, uniting it with Pamphylia.

to function as usual.[42] Vespasian created the province of Lycia-Pamphylia to establish one concise administrative unit that could be controlled easily and efficiently, without much intervention on the part of the Emperor or his agents.

Under Trajan the boundary lines changed once again, the province only included the territory that belonged to Lycia and Pamphylia. Hadrian during his visit to Syria stopped in Southern Asia Minor for a brief period. There are numerous building complexes that testify to this for during this period many structures were built in his honour.[43] Still an independent province, Lycia-Pamphylia, in A.D. 135, was bequeathed to the Roman Senate of Bithynia. Finally during the reforms of Diocletian, A.D. 284-305, many of the larger Anatolian provinces were separated into two or more parts and their boundaries re-adjusted. As the Roman era came to an end the province of Lycia-Pamphylia was at last separated.

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[42]The only policy that the Romans enforced upon the province was to secure the revenues from taxes and make all elections and resolutions of the individual cities subject to the approval of the governor.

[43]In the city of Patara Hadrian built a horrea, in the cities of Olympus and Phaselis temples were built in his honour and at Antalya a gate was erected.

Chapter 2

Greek Agora Development in the Hellenistic Period in Western Asia Minor

The focus of this chapter will be on the agora complex and its central components. As stated earlier the agora was the central focus of the community and was where the essence of the city and its population was concentrated. The agora was essential to civic development and not only did it form the heart of the political and commercial aspect of the city it also displayed the status and wealth of the community.

As stated in the introduction the agora evolved out of necessity. The towns people needed a place to gather not only for political purposes but for social, religious and commercial reasons as well. In order for a community to prosper, homage needed to paid to the Gods, this then ensured that the community would benefit from the buying and selling of its goods. Trade and commerce was one of the most important activities that a city could be involved in. It ensured that the community could sustain itself through business and it brought foreigners to the city, for they as well could participate in such commercial activity. All of these activities then would be intimately linked to the community therefore incorporating into it the administrative and social aspect of the agora.

Prior to examining the central elements of the Roman agorae located in the Lycian-Pamphylian cities of Phaselis, Perge, Aspendus and Side a brief study of earlier Hellenistic agorae will be necessary. For during the Hellenistic era the agora complex was at its peak in terms of arrangement, planning and function. In order to fully understand the influential components which were involved in the conceptual architectural design and function of such building complexes

it is necessary to understand fully the essence of the agora and the edifices which it housed.

Few examples of Hellenistic agorae can be found in the provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia and even fewer are documented fully, therefore it will be necessary to look elsewhere in Asia Minor for well documented examples. Some of the best models for such 'civic-centres' can be found in the cities of Miletus, Priene, Magnesia and Pergamon. Although not linked directly to the southern provinces these four cities played a major role in influencing the architecture of Asia Minor as a whole. It was from these pre-Roman centres that many of the later agora models were derived and inspired the nature of later Roman styles in the Greek East, influencing both structural components and design.

Miletus

The city of Miletus, located along the western coast of Caria, was one of the most important artistic and commercial centres of Asia Minor.[44] The Ionians took control of the area in the tenth century B.C. which had been originally inhabited by Carians. Ionian domination benefited the city and its people to a large extent.

Miletus was not only known for its trading importance but also for initiating a city plan, a concept that was soon followed by the rest of the ancient world.[45] The father of this new theory in city development was Hippodamos, a fifth century B.C. architect.[46] Although Hippodamos lived during the

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[44]Sturzebecker, 1985, pg. 448

[45]Metzger, 1969, pg. 150

[46]Hippodamos made a name for himself at Miletus for he was not simply a 'town-planner' but a philosopher, a political scientist and a close friend and confidant of Pericles. Many people have credited him for creating what has been labelled the Hippodamian street system, but in reality he was not the

time of Persian rule, c. 450 B.C., his ideas were not fully developed until the late Classical and early Hellenistic period, when the 'city' first started to be developed architecturally.[47]

The ruins of Miletus extend over a large area of the city and a large 'L' shaped portion of the peninsula, located between the city's two harbours, was allotted for public use. During the period between the fifth and first centuries B.C. the city was built up and included religious, commercial and administrative buildings. Amongst these were two agorae, a bouleuterion, a Delphinion, and a gymnasium.

At the time that the north agora was being built, at the end of the fourth century B.C., the townspeople made good use of the harbour area, for it was this section of the city that could provide the incoming merchants with the facilities needed to buy, sell and trade products. (fig. 2) This harbour-front agora consisted of a long stoa which had incorporated into it a series of small shops to the rear. A square colonnaded court was then added onto the central part of this complex in back of the row of shops. There then was a short wing which turned north at the stoa's western end and opposite this to the east was the enclosure wall of the shrine to Apollo Delphinion.

Overall this agora was quite simple in plan and underwent very little alteration over the centuries. A small three-sided, 'horseshoe' shaped stoa was added onto the back of the west wing at a later date. During the middle of the second century B.C. another stoa was built which was "L" shaped. This stoa was joined to the agora's south-east corner forming

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first to employ it. This type of plan was already in existence in the Near East in places such as Nineveh and Babylon. Hippodamos canonized this type of city design with streets placed at right angles to form a type of grid. Rhodes, Ephesus and Piraeus also used this grid system.

[47]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 69

a large 'horseshoe' complex. A small temple was then probably situated along its west side.[48] Opposite the temple the east side of the agora was left open and a rectangular gymnasium was built south of the colonnaded court of the shrine to Apollo Delphinion, further to the east of the open court.

One of the earliest Milesian buildings that has been found was incorporated into the north agora complex. It occupied two house-blocks and was located to the west of the processional way.[49] This building was most likely used as a prytaneion which originally stood on its own.[50]

This type of agora complex is a perfect example of Ionian agora planning. Here stoae are used in conjunction with the street plan. Emphasis is placed on the right angles and how they fit into the city proper, forming a structure that is not only convenient for the intentions of the 'civic-centre' but as well uses space as a medium to denote its purpose as a commercial and religious centre.

The most distinguishing feature of the third century B.C. Milesian south agora complex is its use of a modified 'horseshoe' shaped stoa of Doric construction. (fig.3) Along the east side of this agora a long single colonnaded stoa was built with three rows of rooms along its back side. Here shops and storerooms were arranged back to back so that half were entered from the east and the rest from the west towards the agora courtyard. Two double colonnaded "L" shaped stoae then faced this stoa on the west side. To the rear of the south stoa shops were arranged so that some of them faced inward and some outward in no particular systematic

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[48]This temple would have used the colonnades of this stoa to form its forecourt. (Wycherly, 1976, pg. 73)

[49]In antiquity the house or city-block, often referred to as an insula, was a common unit for defining building measurements.

[50]The original structure was built during the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. and was later altered during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

arrangement. The west stoa was not continuous and the agora was most probably built in different stages, the south wing being built around the middle of the second century B.C.[51]

Later on during the Roman period, the second century A.D., both agorae were modified and there was vigorous building activity which reflected the tastes of the new ruling factions and the city's inhabitants. At this time the open east side of the large 'horseshoe' shaped stoa in the north agora was built up. All the large open spaces were enclosed and there was an increase in architectural detail, a common trend of the times. The south agora was converted into a peristyle with a magnificent gateway to the north-east. A nymphaeum, built during the reign of Titus, was then placed in its right hand corner facing the council-house. Despite the amount of time required to complete the building of such complexes the architects, during all stages of development, managed to maintain a unity within and incorporate the design of the agorae into the rectangular grid plan of the city.

Both agora had achieved a well-developed form, which was elaborated upon without destroying the earlier constructions, although during the Emperor Hadrian's reign, A.D. 117-138, much of the spacial elements and the simplicity of the structures were obscured by the general stylistic trends of the Imperial era. Good use was made of the pre-arranged space which incorporated all the elements that were required for the peoples' needs. The council-house was the city's political centre, the northern harbour-front agora a centre for international trade and the south agora complex concerned with recreation and business not directly connected to overseas exchange.[52]

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[51]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 72

[52]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 74

Priene

Another important, thriving Ionian city was Priene. This city was first settled by Ionian Greeks. The original site was laid out along the north-west shore of the gulf of Latmos (the estuary of the Meander river) and was probably furnished with two harbours. Yet nothing is left of the first settlement because the ancient harbours have since then silted up and buried the remains of the original city.[53]

What is left of the second city, which lay on the present site, dates to 350 B.C. This city was built on a shelf above the estuary on Mount Mycale overlooking the plain. The new city's orthogonal grid plan faced south along the mountain ridges which gradually step down to the river. Unlike the original settlement, all the buildings in the new city were adapted to fit into the Hippodamian street plan and the city was divided into two distinct walled areas.[54]

The northern part of the city, situated on higher ground behind the main section of town, consisted of an acropolis hill-top. This area had a purely protective and military function. The reason for this was that access to the top of the hill was too difficult for it to have any type of public or religious role in the everyday life of its citizens. The area to the south was where the main town was located. Here the city rested on a land shelf between the acropolis hill-top and the Meander. Between these two areas of the city there was a steep cliff which gave access to a path that linked the two areas together.

The layout of the fourth century B.C. agora, situated in

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[53]The only evidence we have that has survived from the original settlement is a single coin.

[54]Priene, although not the first city to make use of this plan, is one of the oldest example of Hippodamian construction that we have that dates to the Hellenistic period.

the lower town of Priene, was smaller in scale and simpler then the agorae of Miletus but was equally distinctive in form.[55] (fig.4) Here, with the help of terracing walls laid along the south side, the central part of the city was levelled off, creating a flat area. This zone was the size of two city blocks. The principal east-west street, whose point of origin was the city's west gate, runs along the north side of the agora. The street which then bordered its west edge was diverted to pass to the back of the agora. Along the areas to the east, west and south of the city blocks three colonnades, placed on platforms, were built at right angles forming a distinguished 'horseshoe' shaped stoa which framed the agora's central open court.[56] Since the main city street was incorporated into the agora at its northern edge all the shops were built behind the stoae. This arrangement was a bit unusual for all the shops were located along the outside edges of the insulae forcing the streets outward. These stoae were unique because they were all Doric in style, which of course was not typically seen in the Ionian cities of the Greek East.

Opposed to the east and west stoae, the south stoa was not built in the same fashion, for the land under it sloped downwards. Beneath this stoa a basement was built and a row of shops was placed along its east and west sides, leaving the central portion free of commercial activity. At its centre a large hall was created through the use of a double colonnade which was divided in half by eight columns. The inner columnar spaces that faced the front were then protected by thin marble shields half the height of the columns to shelter the citizens assembling there from unpleasant weather. This stoa, as well, had easy access to the street by means of a

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[55]The dates of each individual structure in the agora are not known for certain but they were all built during the fourth and third centuries B.C.

[56]This type of colonnaded portico is typical of market-places found in Ionian cities.

stairway which cut through the centre of the colonnade.

The central courtyard of the agora, as in most Greek cities, contained no architectural elements and was left open for festivals, public meetings and daily business. The only architectural feature found in this open space was an altar dedicated to Hermes, the god of tradesmen and travellers. But as time went by the area was built up and became crowded with small monuments and statues. No large structures were permitted in the enclosed area of the agora and the stoae were not allowed to take away any of the glory that was emitted from the two temples. From the north-west the Temple of Athena looked down upon the agora and, extending into a third city-block, the Temple of Olympian Zeus stood in a courtyard of its own to the back of the east stoa, separate from the agora. Therefore all of the other monuments located in the vicinity of the agora had to be built on a small scale. A row of exedrae divided the agora into two sections, being placed along the north street in front of the stoae. To the east of the agora's altar there were two stone-paved rectangular platforms, which were set apart so that they could be covered by a canopy during certain times of the year for various purposes. It is believed that under this shelter distinguished members of the community sat during religious ceremonies and other festivities and functions that were held in the agora.[57] On such occasions, to help support the awning which protected the important members of society, wooden pillars would have been placed upon the twelve stone bases found in front of the two paved areas.

In back of the western stoa another row of isolated shops was built. Here stone tables were found in situ indicating that this area was designed to be the meat, produce and finery

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[57]Akurgal, 1980, pg. 193

market.[58] To the north of the agora the civic buildings stood, still being incorporated into the 'civic-centre'.[59] The fact that these municipal buildings and the agora were in such close proximity suggests that there was a clear distinction between the agora's commercial and official functions. By keeping trade and politics separate the city could function in a more organized fashion and could ensure that all the needs of its citizens were met.

In the latter half of the second century, c. 130 B.C., during the city's second phase of prosperity, a new north stoa was built under the authority of King Ariarathes VI of Cappadocia. This new 'Sacred Stoa', as it is referred to in inscriptions, was essential to the community for it held within its domain shrines, business offices and the city's public records.[60] This new stoa formed a facade along the north side of the assembly hall and the east side of the Prytaneion. Once one reached the top of the steps one faced a promenade which was paved with marble and open to the sky. Along its outside facade there were Doric columns, and Ionic columns divided the inner hall and held its roof. To the back there were rooms which faced onto the main hall. Here various inscriptions have been found carved into the walls. These inscriptions were mainly concerned with the political and

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[58]In this market meat, fish, fruit, vegetables, cereals and clothing were all sold.

[59]We know that these buildings were connected to civic organizations by the official decrees that are inscribed on their walls.

[60]The reason it is widely believed that this stoa was erected by King Ariarathes VI, is that a section of the architrave reveals the first three letters of his name. Other scholars such as Anthony Kriesis believe the stoa to be built c. 150 B.C., during the reign of King Orophernes. (Kriesis, 1965, pg. 84)

public affairs of the city.[61]

Another interesting feature of this agora complex, as noted by Kriesis, was the bending and extension of the eastern stoa. This colonnade continued into the main street opposite the 'Sacred Stoa', and was most probably built at the same time.[62] This continuation then formed a colonnaded street, a popular feature of many important Greek and Roman cities.

The entire agora complex at Priene was developed over a long period of time and was constantly being modified throughout its construction. There seems to have been an increase in formality, both within the structures themselves and in how they related to the complex as a whole. All of its features fit into the agora in a uniform pattern and compliment each other, respecting their own space which was dedicated to commerce and administration, and that of the courtyard and the temples. Here there is no indication of the decay or destruction which occurred at many centres at the end of the Hellenistic period. The agora was not altered in anyway and no new important structures were built during the Imperial period.

Magnesia

The third example of an Ionian agora comes from the city of Magnesia on the Meander. The first Ionian settlement was originally situated where the Lethaeus and Meander rivers met. However, in the fourth century the city was moved to its present position and transformed into a new and improved metropolis.

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[61]One of the more interesting inscription found in this 'Sacred Stoa' relates how the province of Asia Minor began to use the Julian calendar in 9 B.C. This inscription was found in a room which, in Roman times, was dedicated to the worship of the goddess Roma and later of Augustus.

[62]Kriesis, 1965, pg. 85

Magnesia's agora, which was completed in the third century B.C., unlike Miletus and Priene, occupied a very large area in the centre of town.[63] (fig. 5) Its 'horseshoe' shaped plan was not quite as regular as the other Ionain agorae because its long sides converged slightly south. It differed as well in its overall plan. It was formed by using two long sides and one short side, as opposed to the conventional plan where one long side and two short sides formed the 'horseshoe' pattern. Although this agora did not follow the conventional 'Ionian' construction, all the standard 'Ionian' architectural elements can be found. A series of rooms were built to the back of the north and west stoae. These rooms consisted of two shrines, several shops and a fountain house. As well, found behind the western part of the detached south stoa, stood what appears to be the prytaneion. A small temple to Zeus stood in the open court of the agora but was not centrally placed. This temple, dedicated to Zeus Sosipolis, dates to the mid-second century B.C. and following the lead of the city and its Ionian rulers was done in the Ionic style.

The double colonnades of this agora stood out, giving it strict boundaries and the arrangement of its monuments expressed a tendency to envelop the open space and protect its patrons. Little was added over the centuries; the only addition made in the Roman period were columnar gates which were built over the street on the south side.

As cities grew and matured so did the form and function of the agora. With the arrival of Hippodamian planning and the Hellenistic age the traditional model of the 'civic-centre' had to be replaced by newer and more innovative constructions. The 'Ionian' agora was a solution to this problem for it fit into the city plan without destroying the conventions of the agora or the city around it. This type of agora construction was basically that of Classical Greece but

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[63]The agora at Magnesia occupied six city-blocks as opposed to two.

through the use and placement of the stoae a new sense of openness within a defined space had been created. The examples taken from Miletus, Priene and Magnesia all display what can be labelled true 'Ionian' agorae. This type of agora, which often developed in Hippodamian cities was characteristic of the region but was not the set type of design that was strictly used throughout Asia Minor.[64]

Pergamon

The last example that shall be looked at in this study of Hellenistic agorae will be that of Pergamon, even though it differs from the other cities discussed in that it is a royal city. Still, Pergamon provides an example of a non-Ionian Hellenistic agora. The city of Pergamon was developed in three stages and is considered to have been one of the major metropolitan centres of Asia Minor. It is situated on the summit of a hill overlooking the fertile valley of Kaykos, just south of the Mysia district. The first settlement was built on the hill-top in the fourth millennium B.C., as a stronghold whose purpose was to protect the two river valleys and their inhabitants.[65] Later on the city expanded downhill and was enclosed by a fortification wall built by Attalos I between 269 and 197 B.C. Finally the last phase of the city's development was conducted under Eumenes II in the second century B.C. New fortifications were built and the overall area was much increased. Pergamon was now a powerful Hellenistic kingdom that influenced the rest of the Greek world. It flourished in the areas of sculpture, architecture and cultural traditions, and within its walls political and military matters were conducted as well as commercial and

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[64]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 78

[65]It was during this period of city development that we first begin to see the growth of urban centres in Asia Minor.

industrial business, eventually making this city the capital of the province of Asia.

All of the city's major monuments were laid out with the help of extensive terracing along the winding main roads of the hill-side.[66] Here there is evidence of a regular street plan which in some points appears to have been broken up by some of the natural features in the terrain. There seems to be no set pattern in the construction of the monuments, for their building mainly depended on the allotment of land area and the extensions of the terracing walls.

Below the Altar of Zeus, at the southern most point of the acropolis, stood the city's second century B.C. upper agora. (fig.6) Flanked by Doric colonnades on its north-east and south-west sides was the agora's flat irregular courtyard. Built on the slopes of the hill, the outward facings of the stoae stood three storeys high, while the inner facings were single-storeyed, because of the configuration of the landscape.[67] To the back and sides of these two stoae, on the ground level, doors were placed while windows occupied the two upper storeys. As well, rooms and storage spaces were built on the first two floors. These two stoae were closed off from the rest of the city but in order to insure easy access to the main road which connected the upper city to the lower city the south stoa was divided in two.

Along the west side of the agora courtyard an altar was placed and, sometime during the middle of the second century, a temple was built close by. This temple was most probably dedicated to Zeus, Hermes, Apollo or Dionysus, both gods being connected with commerce, wealth and luck. Although small in

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[66]Terracing was used to provide the city with flat land, making all the amenities easily accessible to the public.

[67]The facades of the three-storeyed stoae were erected in the form of plain walls while the single-storeyed units were colonnaded. This was a customary practice at Pergamon which helped define the architectural arrangement of the monuments and provided stylistic diversity.

scale this prostyle Doric temple was heavily decorated with marble and had Ionic columnar flutes and bases. This emphasized the fact that during the Hellenistic period Pergamon held its place as one of the most important centres of cultural activity in the ancient world. By using the different architectural orders the architects of Pergamon stressed the importance of the city and laid strong artistic foundations that the rest of the Hellenistic world could follow.

One other building, marked by a semi-circular recess, has been found situated in the north-west corner of the agora, beside the temple. The function of this building is not clear but in Roman times it was converted into an apsidal hall. This was the only structure in the agora that was modified during the Roman period; the rest of the buildings all date to the Hellenistic age.

The lower agora, situated, as the name implies, in the lower section of the city, was most probably constructed during the reign of Eumenes II, 197-160 B.C. (fig. 7) This agora was slightly irregular in plan, as was the 'upper agora'. It was comprised of a simple enclosed rectangular paved area. Located to the left of the main street, it basically consisted of one large market building that was strictly used for commercial endeavours. Each of the double-storeyed Doric stoae, which completely enveloped the area, had two aisles with shops built at the rear and on both floors four metopes were placed above every two columns. The south colonnade which faced the public square, was two-storeyed, as the north, east and west stoae, but in order to balance itself on the side of the hill the back portion of this stoa was triple-storeyed. The only problem with this agora is that it was completely separated from the rest of the city. This made it difficult for it to form an integral part of the citizens' daily life for it created a barrier between the city, the people and the market. Although far from the traditional form

of the Greek agora, this type of enclosed space became increasingly popular in Roman times.

All of these agorae display the same standard features. The peristyle court and stoa both played a very important role in city architecture during the fourth century B.C. and the Hellenistic era. The two were widely used in the construction of houses and gymnasia and in the forecourts of public and private buildings, and played the major architectural role in the layout of the agora, soon becoming the one outstanding feature of any Hellenistic agora. At first the stoa stood on its own as an independent structure placed along the borders of any given vicinity. Later on, it began to enclose defined areas, turning those spaces into large colonnaded courts. The stoa then became a symbol of importance which helped separate the agora from the rest of the city. All the agorae looked at were enclosed by stoae, which ultimately gave the agorae their form. It was also within these buildings where all of the shops and store-rooms were placed, making the agora the centre for commercial business and hence relating to the main purpose of the agora, as a market-place. As well shrines, altars and temples were added giving these agorae religious duties which played a part in the everyday life of the city's patrons.

In the Hellenized East there was a common tendency to give the agora clear geometric boundaries.[68] In the later Hellenistic and Roman periods there was a tendency to allow the agora to turn in upon itself, becoming one single unit. Although the agora had now become a self-contained unit it was always accessible to the public because many held the 'horseshoe' construction, which left one side exposed. As communities began to grow, the open spaces of the agorae were replaced by shops and storage-rooms, leaving no room for official offices. The overall concept of the agora had begun to change and was gradually replaced by the idea of individual

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[68]MacDonald, 1986, pg. 51

buildings such as bouleuteria or separate stoae.[69] Halls were now created for the sole purpose of trade. The functions of the agora were now split and the core of the community was no longer concentrated in one area. The agora was then planned as a separate feature of the city which was not directly connected to city planning, for the agora's role as a vital element of city life began to diminish and its intimate connection with the varied activities of the community became less important.[70]

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[69]Zucker, 1959, pg. 36

[70]Whycherly, 1976, pg. 82

Chapter 3

Romanization of Hellenistic Agora Forms in the Province of Lycia-Pamphylia

The Hellenistic period in the East began with the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., and came to an end in the first century with the steady increase of Roman rule. In 64/63 B.C., there was a reorganization of the provincial administrations and almost all of the Asian provinces were incorporated into the Roman Empire. Rome's influence began to weigh heavily on the native Hellenistic aspects of Anatolian culture and the provinces of Asia Minor became increasingly important to Rome. New commercial markets were opened and products such as wool, textiles, ivory, precious metals and marble were all sought by the Romans.

Returning to southern Asia Minor and the main focus of discussion, the Romanization of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia, and in turn the change in form and function of the agora, began with the Pax Romana. This reorganization of the political and administrative attitudes brought wealth to the southern Anatolian provinces, allowing the more remote regions to come into closer contact with the rest of the Roman world. With the new Roman policies there was a pacification of the mountain peoples which brought about a natural increase in trade. Along with Roman annexation came new social and economic conditions and political reorganization. There was an increase in the number of roads, making the more difficult areas more accessible, and fortresses and garrison armies were established, allowing entrance to the more isolated parts of the country and protecting both citizens and Roman officials. There were new developments in monetary economics and new forms of exploitation of the provincial lands were employed. Through a re-investment of this newly acquired revenue city

officials now had the means to improve their towns and the older more established cities began to flourish. For three centuries the combined province of Lycia-Pamphylia managed to conduct its affairs peacefully under the Pax Romana. But at the beginning of the third century A.D. the situation changed somewhat, and with the turbulence which was affecting the Empire, Anatolia entered a period of stress. Yet despite all of the political and physical changes that occurred in Asia minor during this period the only change that can be observed within the realm of architecture is a smooth transition from Hellenistic to Roman. There is no distinct break or drastic architectural changes in this area between the building activity of the Hellenistic period and Romanization of the East, as can be observed in many Greek cities located in the ancient world.[71]

Roman architecture in general was often concerned with grand building complexes, monumental streets, large porticoes and the creation of Roman 'civic-centres'. In many cases these structures, located in the more remote parts of the Roman world, would imitate those of the larger well known Roman cities. For as stated earlier in the introduction, the Romanization of the Eastern provinces, and of Southern Asia Minor in particular, can be seen most clearly through changes in the form and function of public architecture. The overall concept of the agora never changed but there were subtle changes in its planning, layout, buildings and its overall function in society. The older, more established Hellenistic models were modified to fit more into the Roman concept of a 'civic-centre'. Therefore, if people were to travel within the Empire, there would always be a feeling of familiarity accompanying them. Asia Minor adhered to the new Roman conventions in architectural forms and usage but in almost every Eastern city there was always a sense of the old

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[71]Metzger, 1969, pg. 190

Hellenistic architectural traditions that could only be found within its local architecture.

Roman Developments in Public Architecture

Having the same definition in terms of overall form and function as the agora, the Roman forum complex was the central focus of any Roman city. The word generally referring to a 'public square' or 'town square' where the city market was held.[72] According to Ruoff-Vaananen, Livy implies that by the end of the third century B.C. the concept of a forum had become deeply embedded in the Roman body-politic.[73] For it was where the local government met and was the religious centre of the community. Many were quadrangular in plan though in most cases the sides were not completely parallel, and were located at the centre of the city where most of the local traffic congregated.[74]

According to the calculations of Vitruvius the size of the forum should be in proportion with that of the population.[75] Therefore the ideal ratio for the forums sides was a 2:3 scale for its width and length. Yet this was not always the case, for in most the ratio of the perimeter was usually 1:2. Different in plan from the well established Hellenistic models these long, narrow fora then had gates which closed off the entrances, allowing no wheeled traffic to enter. In addition to this Vitruvius specified that the central portion should remain free with the curia and

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[72]Ruoff-Vaananen, 1978, pg. 8

[73]Ruoff-Vaananen, 1978, pg. 24

[74]MacDonald, 1986, pg.52

[75]Vitruvius, De Architectura, V.I.2: The dimensions of the forum ought to be adjusted to the audience lest the space be cramped for use,..." (translated by F. Granger, 1983)

municipal buildings adjacent.[76] Symmetry also played a large role in the forums construction, for the eye was to be led to one focal point, the temple. Yet the overall building plan for most was essentially Greek.[77]

The basilica, a major Roman contribution to the architectural development of the ancient world, was one of the most distinctive features of the Roman 'civic-centre'. It usually consisted of a long rectangular hall, the ceiling resting on arches or wooden beams, and rows of pillars divided it internally. Along both the sides were rooms used by city officials for both administrative affairs and council meetings. At one end there was usually a tribunal which the magistrates used, and during the Republican era this was where all the judicial trials took place. But the basilica was not strictly an administrative centre, for it could also double as a place of commerce, with the stoae framing places of commercial business.[78]

Another distinctive and important feature of these Roman 'civic-centres' was the Capitolium, a temple dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. This then became the central focus of the agora complex which in turn was the central focus of the city. This was where the Gods and the Emperor were worshipped and where all of the town's business was conducted. For with the Imperial age came Imperial worship and new building forms had to be constructed to accommodate this change in religious attitudes.

Roman innovations in building types and planning brought about a complete change in the function of the 'civic-centre'

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[76]Vitruvius, De Architectura, V.I.4: "The site of the basilica ought to be fixed adjoining the fora, in as warm a quarter as possible..." (translated by F. Granger, 1983)

[77]Plommer, 1956, pg. 251

[78]Tomlinson, 1992, pg. 27

and its civic-space.[79] Now there was a stronger impact on the religious function of the agora. Arches, sanctuaries, shrines, temples and statues were now standard elements of the agora and how they were placed within the complex affected the spatial organization as a whole. These political and social changes and attitudes then contributed in part to a reorganization of public space.[80] Provisions also had to be made for Emperor imagery and cult within the stoae themselves, for the main focus of the Romanization of public architectural forms in the East was to accommodate and incorporate the Emperor into the framework of the city.[81]

In addition to these two building forms, during the Imperial period, there was a tendency to emphasize architecturally the structures within the 'civic-centre' and to add a greater perception of axiallity. This then Balanced the architectural relationship between the Emperor and the city and the Emperor and the gods.[82] Yet the main difference between the Greek and Roman 'civic-centres' was in their concept of 'open space'.[83] Whereas the agora was from its very beginning an open area which through time acquired modest buildings, the Roman 'civic-centre' from its onset incorporated shops and official rooms, separated from the community but accessible to those who required its services.

Returning to Southern Asia Minor, the cities of Phaselis, Perge, Aspendus and Side in Lycia-Pamphylia, provide the best examples of Romanization through public architecture, for all display both Hellenistic planning and Roman building forms in

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[79]Price, 1984, pg. 133

[80]Price, 1984, pg. 136

[81]Price, 1984, pg. 145

[82]Price, 1984, pg. 146

[83]Owens, 1991, pg. 154

the construction of their agorae. Taking the Hellenistic models from the cities of the West, these new Roman agorae, with the development of public architecture through Romanization, incorporated into them Roman conventions and monuments.

Phaselis[84]

The first examples to be examined are the agorae at Phaselis. The city of Phaselis, located along the Lycian coast, was founded by Dorian colonists who came from Rhodes in 690 B.C. Phaselis had the only good harbour along the eastern coast of Lycia, apart from Olympus. For this reason, at the beginning of the first century B.C. these two harbours were attacked by the Cilician Pirates. The two cities did not regain their previous status of wealthy communities until after the campaigns of Servilius Vatia in 78 B.C. For these cities, struggling to achieve their former position in Anatolian society, the process was a slow and demanding affair. In A.D. 43, when Claudius joined Lycia to Pamphylia, incorporating them into the Roman Empire, Phaselis, like most other cities in Southern Asia Minor, was affluent and possessed all of the typical Roman structures found in the major cities of the Empire.[85]

The city of Phaselis is divided into two general areas. The south city, situated on the lower half of the peninsula, houses the acropolis. The north city, where the people lived and conducted their daily affairs, is then located above on the plateau. To the north, east, and south are the city's three harbours, which were essential to the life of the city and its trading reputation. The main street separates the

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[84]The major bibliographical sources for Phaselis are: Bean 1968 and 1978, Cramer 1971, and Mc Donagh 1989.

[85]Struzebecker, 1985, pg. 464

city into its two sections. This north-south avenue runs across the city's narrow neck of land, set at an oblique angle, between the east and south harbours. Flanking this street in its northern portion, along its west side, are a row of small shops and store-rooms.[86] Located to the west and south of this main thoroughfare are the city's four main building networks, of which three are generally thought to be agorae.

To the south-west of the main street is the city's central agora complex, better known as the 'Agora of Domitian'. (fig. 8) The agora gets its name from an inscription which has been found over the third chamber, bearing the Emperor's name.[87] This agora has a large open courtyard and dates to c. A.D. 93. Unlike most Hellenistic agorae, its courtyard is bordered only along its south-east and south-west sides by shops. An arch, which still stands today, spans the area left open between the first two rooms to the north, on the east side of the agora that borders the street. Incorporating both Hellenistic and Roman characteristics, this agora is typical of a simple Anatolian building complex dating to the Roman period.

The building complex to the north, situated between the main market hall, which simply consisted of a row of shops or workshops, and the harbour, is the city's 'Rectangular Agora'. Since the cities of Asia Minor formed part of the Roman Empire, within their walls can be found many edifices dedicated to the Emperors. Monuments such as this then ensured that the memory of the Emperor would last forever.[88] This agora has been dated to A.D. 131, for an inscription was

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[86]There is some evidence that there was a similar row of shops flanking the eastern side of the street as well, but this is not certain.

[87]The two inscriptions which label both the main agorae of Phaselis can be found in TAM II 1186 and 1194.

[88]Price, 1984, pg. 161

found on the door lintel which states that this agora was dedicated to Hadrian. Hadrian visited the city in A.D. 129 and this event, being an important one, was honoured by the building of several edifices within the city walls.[89] Not only this agora, but also a ceremonial gateway was built to honour the Emperor and the commissioning of many statues, both public and private, of the Emperor took place.

This 'Rectangular Agora', now quite featureless, is marked by a large ashlar wall. This agora most probably served as the administrative centre of the city.[90] Judging from its title the complex was obviously modeled after the earlier Hellenistic archetypes found throughout Asia Minor. There are statue bases on either side of its entrance which bear commemorative inscriptions dedicated to some of the city's main patrons. This type of statuary was a common feature of 'civic-centres' in both the East and West. During Byzantine times, when the city was an episcopal See, a small three-aisled Christian basilica was built in the north-western part of this agora. This type of basilica was typically Roman but with the onset of Christianity became the standard Church form.

Beyond this agora, opening onto the south harbour, is the third Phaselitan 'civic-centre', which dates to the later Imperial period or Byzantine times. Unfortunately not much is known about this agora except that it was mainly constructed out of material that had been taken from other buildings situated in the area, making a complete assessment of the earlier city structures quite difficult.

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[89]Garzetti, 1974, pg. 397

[90]Mc Donagh, 1989, pg. 466

Perge[91]

The city of Perge, although one of Pamphylia's major cities, is smaller and less important than the other centres in the province, because it lacks a port facility.[92] The city, originally founded by the Argives, lies on fairly flat land except for its acropolis.[93] The acropolis is irregularly shaped and was built on higher ground at the end of the major boulevard that runs through the city's centre.

Perge's main claim to fame was not directly linked to the achievements of the city per se but was mostly gained through some of its leading citizens such as the mathematician Apollonius, 250-220 B.C., and Varus, a second century A.D. philosopher. As well, Paul and Barnabus passed through the city on their first pilgrimage.[94]

The original Argive settlement was located on the hill above the existing ruins, but nothing is known of this city's early history.[95] The first reference we have that mentions the city of Perge is in the works of the geographer Pseudo-Scylax.

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[91]The major bibliographical sources for Perge are: Akurgal 1985, Bean 1968, Mc Donagh 1989, and Steele 1992.

[92]Vann, 1981, pg. 250

[93]The city's foundation legend is a bit obscure but it is generally believed to have been founded by the Argives after the Trojan war. An inscription, dating to the second century A.D., was found by the main gate and reads 'The founder Calchas of Argos, son of Thestor' and 'The founder Mopsus of Delphi, son of Apollo'. Calchas is known throughout mythology as the legendary seer who advised Agamemnon to sacrifice Ithigenia in order to appease Artemis. He is believed to have remained in Asia Minor, after the capture of Troy, continuing to practice divination until he was defeated by Mopsus in a contest of prophecy.

[94]Apollonius created several mathematical treaties as well, of which only seven survive. These theories were then later used by the astronomers Ptolemy of Alexander and Kepler, who formulated several theories on the motion of the planets.

[95]Bean, 1968, pg. 45

But the city did not really become important until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 333 B.C. Under Roman rule, like most Pamphylian cities such as Aspendus and Side, Perge prospered, and it was during this time that most of the city's grand structures were built.[96]

In the eastern part of the city, just beside the early city gate, lies the agora. (fig. 9) Built over the original line of the city's south wall, its construction dates to the fourth century A.D., after the reconstruction and enlargement of the city. The agora consists of a large square courtyard surrounded by a stoa with shops behind. In the centre is a circular temple, similar to the agora temple at Side. This temple was roofed by a dome supported by 16 marble pillars and was perhaps dedicated to Hermes, the patron deity of merchants. This agora, like those that went before it, was simple in plan and followed the Hellenistic tradition of 'civic-centre' construction. Although the agora displays mainly Hellenistic traits, Roman influence can be detected within the agora and the city at large.

Aspendus[97]

One of the most important archaeological sites in Pamphylia is the city of Aspendus. It is one of the few sites, apart from Side, that have predominately Roman ruins.[98] The city was founded on the right bank of the Eurymedon river on a hill and, as in the case of Perge, ancient geographers

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[96]Owens, 1989, pg. 26

[97]The major bibliographical sources for Aspendus are: Akurgal 1985, Bean 1968, Cramer 1971, Macready and Thompson, eds. 1987, and Mc Donagh 1989.

[98]Brewster, 1993, pg. 25

attribute the founding of the city to the men of Argos.[99] The name of the city is Anatolian, not Greek, in origin. Therefore it is generally thought that the incoming Greek colonists occupied an already existing settlement.

Aspendus was an important commercial centre which thrived on the trade of salt, wheat, olive oil and wool. Dominated by the Persians and then Alexander the Great, it was finally incorporated into the Roman province upon the death of Attalos III in 133 B.C. Under the Empire the city prospered and was allowed to produce its own coinage. In the third century it was granted the status of a neocorus, which allowed it to build a temple dedicated to the worship of the Emperor, a prestigious and well noted entitlement.

The city's agora was built on the level surface of the hill and is surrounded by buildings which all date to the Roman period.[100] (fig. 10) Located along the east side of the agora is a large basilica. This basilica dates to the third century A.D. and was where all the city's formal business transactions would take place. Unfortunately today all that remains of the basilica are its foundations but by looking at these remains it is clear that the central nave was flanked by two aisles, which were separated by rows of columns.

To the north, on higher ground, is a square bouleuterion. Along its northern side there was an arched doorway and to the south two windows were placed above three arched doors which all lead to the basilica. The west and east walls were strengthened by four exterior buttresses and at the centre of each were large niches flanked by two smaller ones.

To the west side of the agora there was a long market hall. This building incorporated a row of shops with a

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[99]This story could very well be true for in ancient times the river was navigable all the way up to the city itself.

[100]Many of the principal public buildings date to the second and third centuries A.D.

gallery behind and a stoa in front. The shops were all two-storeyed, as indicated by holes meant for wooden carrying beams that were found in the structure's dividing walls. Nothing remains today of the stoa itself, but its position is indicated by steps which lie c. 20 feet away from the front of the shops.

A nymphaeum marks the northern part of the agora. This building has been labelled a 'fountain complex' due to the facts that a dolphin head water-spout was found beside it and that the structure bears a striking resemblance to the nymphaeum at Side. All that remains of this nymphaeum is its facade. The back wall is bare while the front is adorned with two rows of five niches each, covered by semicircular domes. The middle niche on the bottom row is larger than the others and contains a door, while the others have small openings that have been bricked up. There are projecting bases in front of the facade which held the pairs of Corinthian columns which supported the marble entablature.[101] Water from the city's aqueduct was diverted to the niches which then poured it into a marble basin to the front of the facade.

At the eastern end of the agora, north of the nymphaeum, there is an unidentified building. This round structure is believed to have been the city's bouleuterion or covered theatre.[102] To its west side an altar was placed in front of the entrance.

Unlike most other cities of Greek origin, such as Perge and Side, the agora at Aspendus had no temple at its centre, a typical trait of Hellenistic planning. Aspendus always remained faithful to its Anatolian traditions and to its Hellenistic customs. Yet in the city's third century

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[101]Parts of this entablature remain imbedded in the wall above the niches. The rest of the marble decoration has disappeared.

[102]As in many Roman cities this building probably functioned as both a bouleuterion and a theatre.

monuments there is a change in style and tradition and the elements of Roman building construction can be found.

Side[103]

The last example of a 'civic-centre' in Lycia-Pamphylia to be examined is Side. Side is probably the best preserved site in the province and was one of the most important, for it housed Pamphylia's sole port until the founding of Antalya in the second century B.C. The city lies on the banks between the Melas (Manavgat) and Eurymedon (Kopru suyu) rivers and dates back to the seventh century B.C. Although many of the city's major monuments were built during the Hellenistic period, the majority of buildings that now remain date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

Side was founded by colonists who came from Aeolian Cyme.[104] It is generally accepted that these colonists were assimilated into the native Pamphylian society without any problems.[105] The word 'Side' is related to the Anatolian word for pomegranate. This fruit was often depicted on the coins of the city dating from the 5th century B.C. to Imperial

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[103]The major bibliographical sources for Side are: Akurgal 1985, Bean 1968, Cramer 1971, Jones 1971, Macready and Thompson, eds. 1987, Mc Donagh 1989, Mansel 1963, Steele 1992 and Vann 1981.

[104]We know this through reference made in Strabo and Arrian. Strabo, XIV.4.2: "Then Side, a colony of the Cymaeans..." (translated by H.L. Jones, 1970). Arrian, I. 26. 4: "Alexander now went towards Side, whose inhabitants are Cymaeans from Aeolian Cyme; ..." (translated by E.I. Robson, 1967).

[105]Arrian in his History of Alexander and Indica (I.xxvi.4), states that these colonists, upon settling the land, forgot their native Greek language and began to speak a barbarian tongue. This language was the original dialect of Side for it was only spoken within the city, not in the surrounding area. There is probably some truth to this story but it is more probable that the new settlers were not strong enough to impose the Greek language onto the native inhabitants, and were therefore obliged to speak the local language. (Bean, 1968, pg. 79)

times.[106] The minting of coins was a privilege that was only granted to the more powerful and influential cities. Yet Side during the Hellenistic period was a centre for piracy. The Cilician Pirates set up a slave market there, one which was well known throughout the Mediterranean world.[107] In fact part of this market, the building where one could go and view the potential slaves, can still be seen today. After the Roman campaigns to rid Southern Asia Minor of piracy Side did everything in their power to appease the new rulers, and regain a good reputation, erasing any evidence of their cooperation with Zenicetes, the leader of the Pirates.

The city reached its first peak of prosperity during the second and first centuries B.C. Since it had a close relationship with Rome the city was favoured amongst the Roman rulers. But this was not the city's most glorious height of opulence. The highest point of success in Side history occurred in the second and third centuries A.D. It was during this period that we first begin to see an expansion of urban development, along with splendid structures erected in the city's centre. As well, many of the inscriptions found date to the Roman period, making the site and its structures easily datable.

Located along the city's southern wall, south-east of the theatre, was what has been labelled the 'state agora'. (fig. 11) This type of agora is most probably based on Aristotle's idea that there should be built "an agora of the kind customary in Thessaly which they call a free agora, that is ,

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[106]'Side' is not the proper name for pomegranate in Greek, therefore it is presumed to be that of the original Pamphylian language. In general the coins of Pamphylia are closer in their type to Greek coinage than the coins of Lycia. It is from these coins, along with the abundant silver coinage found at Aspendus, that historians and archaeologists have been able to conclude that the larger Pamphylian cities enjoyed a considerable amount of political and social freedom.

[107]Miller, 1967, pg. 219

one which has to be kept clear of all merchandise and into which no artisan or farmer or any other such person may intrude unless summoned by the magistrates."[108] Following the function of the south agora at Miletus, this administrative centre, which was devoted to recreation and business, consisted of a large open area surrounded by Ionic colonnades on all four sides, taking its architectural influences from the earlier 'Ionian agorae' of the western coast. To the agora's east end there was an elaborately decorated three roomed building, of which the centre room was roofed and the walls covered with marble veneer. This room was adorned, on two levels, with copies of well known Classical Greek statues placed in semicircular domed niches or on platforms that projected from the wall.[109] Since this building was embellished with ornamentation and statuary it is generally believed that the room to the south may have been used as a library at one time.[110] It is also believed that this building was reserved for religious ceremonies which involved the Emperor when he came to the city on official tours.[111]

Situated in the city's centre was the main agora, a square enclosure which was devoted mainly to commercial endeavours.[112] (fig. 12) This agora then corresponds to Aristotle's idea that "The agora for merchandise must be different from the free agora, and in another place; it must have a site convenient for the collection there of all the

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[108]Aristotle, Politics, VII.XI.2

[109]Many of the statues are now displayed in the city's museum, originally the agora baths.

[110]Mc Donagh, 1989, pg. 502

[111]Freely, 1988, pg. 327

[112]All that remains of the agora today are its foundations.

goods sent from the seaport and from the country".[113] One entered this agora, from the street, through a monumental gateway located directly in front of the agora baths. This agora, to complement the administrative nature of the 'state agora', was not only used as the city's commercial centre but as a social centre as well. These agorae were strongly reflective of the Hellenistic tradition, for the city through the function of its agorae was able to separate business from pleasure, while still keeping the two close together. Extending around this agora's perimeter was a series of four covered stoae. On either side of the north-west portico's entrance was a double row of small shops, the outer row of which opened onto the street and the inner onto the agora. Along the north-east portico there was a row of much larger shops, and along the south-west, which was backed against the wall of the stage-building, there were nine rooms of which five opened into the theatre.

Sometime after the original construction, probably during the second century A.D., a series of exedrae were built into the corner shops. The exedrae situated in the west corner of the agora were incorporated into the agora's latrine complex whereas the other exedrae stood on their own. All of these niches and their surrounding walls were then faced with marble veneer, characteristic of important Roman structures. The agora's semicircular latrine complex dates to the later half of the second or the early third century A.D. Located in the agora's western corner, backed against the stage-building, it was of typical Roman design and the inside was faced with marble. The latrine, lavishly decorated, originally contained 24 seats which rested above a water-channel.

Near the centre of the courtyard was a very peculiar round building which can be dated to the second century A.D. This structure originally consisted of a circular chamber

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[113]Aristotle, Politics, VII.XI.2

enclosed by Corinthian columns raised on a podium.[114] A flight of steps lead to the building's entrance and its roof was built in the shape of a twelve sided pyramid. The inside of the ceiling, which was in the shape of a dome, was decorated with stone blocks which had inscribed upon them the twelve signs of the zodiac. In 1812 Sir Francis Beaufort claimed that he had seen three of these ceiling blocks. He stated that they depicted, in proper order, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini and Cancer and then a swan and a nude male.[115] This structure has since been identified by Professor Mansel, the region's chief archaeologist, as the Temple of Tyche, the Goddess of Fortune. This conclusion is based on two factors. The first is that representations of the zodiac are a common motif found in temples dedicated to this goddess. The second factor is that a round temple with a pyramidal roof is depicted on coins from Side, and is similar to other structures found on coins from other cities which clearly represent temples to Tyche.[116]

Located to the east side of the agora complex are the fifth century A.D. agora baths, perhaps the most dominant Roman feature of the agora.[117] At either end of the main bath building there were pools transversed by vaults that housed ornamental statues. A large stone arch connected these areas to the large central vaulted area. In addition to these rooms there was also a large room containing 164 columns that was covered by a dome. Due to its size, shape and position near the heating unit, not to mention the hypocaust system beneath the floor, this room has been identified as the sweating room

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[114]Today all that remains is the building's cella.

[115]Unfortunately all of these blocks have been lost.

[116]Bean, 1968, pg. 91

[117]Mitchell, 1993, pg. 216

or sudatorium.[118] Originally built in the second century A.D., this room was square but sometime during the third century it was remodelled into a circular plan with four narrow doorways located at the midpoints of the original square.[119] In between these doorways there were apsidal niches placed in the square's original corners.

The city of Side is a prime example of how Greek and Roman aspects of life, culture and architecture mix together to form a distinct feature of southern Anatolian society. For with the creation of two separate agorae, going back to the ideals of Aristotle, and the addition of Roman buildings there is distinct evidence that during the community's main period of growth formal attempts were made to incorporate related organizations within the framework of the city.[120]

During the Roman period, as in the Hellenistic era, the main purpose of the 'city' was to serve as a distinct administrative centre. The city was to relieve the Imperial authorities of the responsibility of local administration. Cities provided an accessible organization for financial matters and functioned as self-contained centres usually without direct Imperial influence. For the Romans the 'civic-centre' was the 'stage on which the drama of political life was played'.[121] It was where the senate, the comitia and the law courts met, politicians spoke, sacrifices were offered and commemorative statues were placed to honour the great men and women of the community and of course the ruling powers.

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[118]The Romans invented this system of central-heating, the hypocaust system, in c. 80 B.C. Through this invention it was possible to erect large bathing complexes, which were typical structures found in Roman cities throughout the Roman world.

[119]This part of the building, originally a circular Roman construction, was eventually incorporated into the later bath complex.

[120]Martienssen, 1968, pg. 28

[121]Stambaugh, 1988, pg. 106

As the earlier Hellenistic 'civic-centres', these Roman agorae were the centre of the city's social, political and commercial life and were undoubtedly influenced by the traditional market-places of ancient communities.[122] All consisted of rows of shops, temples and colonnaded porticoes which were all familiar to the agorae in Greek cities dating to the Hellenistic period. Following the Hellenistic models of the earlier, well-known established communities, but not complying entirely with the traditional conventions, the Romans modified the Hellenistic agorae and the result was a distinct and characteristic style which adorned their important and influential architecture. This was achieved through the introduction of colonnaded main streets and side streets and the increased construction of monumental public works which gave the urban centres of Anatolia new and distinct characteristics.

The Romans took the Greek concept of the stoa and expanded on it. They used the stoae to accentuate important buildings and used them to help define certain areas, making the planning of such structures more standardized.[123] As well, Roman architects liked to use columns, niches and pediments. In the high Imperial period, A.D. 50 to 250, the architects focused on reworking earlier designs.[124] Now the main focus was to enclose the open space with circular forms instead of the conventional rectangular or square constructions. In addition to this the Romans' prize architectural development was their use of the arch and the arcade both as decorative elements and as support systems.

The architects of Asia Minor went to extreme lengths to carefully preserve the Hellenistic traditions that were

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[122]Boethius, 1978, pg. 145

[123]Owens, 1991, pg. 154

[124]Brown, 1967, pg. 33

embedded in their regional heritage. These Hellenistic elements, which were retained in the Roman buildings projects of Asia Minor, were the building forms themselves, the details of the workmanship and, of course, the structures used.[125] Yet, being aware that the Roman authorities were inevitably responsible for the building projects themselves, the Anatolian architects were always careful to follow the fashions that were dictated by Rome.

As the Greek agorae made a statement about the society in which they were placed, so did the new Roman agorae. They exhibited a functional value and were symbolic of the city itself. Depending on the wealth of any particular town the agora was embellished accordingly. The wealthier a city was, the more structures were located in its agora. Thus, it is possible to assess the position of any of the communities in Lycia-Pamphylia by examining the features, size, structures and function of these 'civic-centres'. As the purpose of the city was to protect its citizens, it was the duty of the Roman agora to protect both the religious, administrative and commercial undertakings of the community.

Roman architecture, being the most progressive during the first four centuries A.D., inevitably had an impact on those provinces which it had contact with.[126] Yet in reality the Roman influences were not emulated into the local architecture of Asia Minor but were absorbed into regional techniques and styles. This resulted, in many cases, in an original blend of Roman and Hellenistic building practices. These then transformed the urban terrain of Anatolia from the first century A.D. onwards. Compared to Italy the Roman provinces of Lycia-Pamphylia exhibited more variety in the form and function of civic buildings. This resulted in an original mix

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[125]Vann, 1981, p. 173

[126]Ward-Perkins, 1981, pg. 276

of Hellenistic and Roman architectural elements which could only be seen in this part of the Empire.

Conclusion

Asia Minor played a vital yet quiet role in the historical development of the Greek East. From the Hellenistic period to Roman times indigenous Lycian, Pamphylian, Greek and Roman cultures merged forming a unique mix, creating a distinctive architecture that could have only developed in such a region. Being such a mountainous country, many of Asia Minor's thriving centres were located along the coast. This allowed for a free flow of trade not only in commercial enterprise but also in cultural exchange. Situated at the cross-roads of the Near East and the Greek and Roman world travellers and entrepreneurs who gathered in the cities of Asia Minor were surrounded by familiar styles and architectural trends, while at the same time being exposed to others which perhaps had not been seen before.

The cities of Lycia-Pamphylia managed to retain their sense of nationality and individuality throughout antiquity, for they were never absorbed into major centres nor joined together forming larger communities which in turn would deprive them of their freedom. Many of the small towns remained separate, possessing their own administrative units which normally comprised a consul and magistrates who would congregate in the city's 'civic-centre'.[127] Depending on the political and historical situation these administrative, cultural and political conglomerations would be located in the crux of the city, in the agora. City life revolved around these centres which were linked to the rest of the community by streets and passageways. In addition to being the cultural, religious and social hub of the community, they stood as indicators of a city's independence, displaying all the most important features needed for the community to

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[127]Jones, 1971, pg. 109

function.[128] Within the realm of the 'civic-centre' the political, economic, social, and religious attitudes of the locale were expressed, making the agora of the Greek city the most important aspect of the community, for the city would express itself through its public architecture and activities.[129]

Since many of Asia Minor's maritime communities were founded by Greek colonists, the cities of Anatolia, developed and continued in the Greek tradition despite being under the control of many different rulers. Unlike many of the cities located along the Western coast, which were inclined to emulate the cultural and artistic trends of the dominating political situation, the cities located along the southern shore preferred to build upon the local Hellenistic traditions.

The provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia perpetually functioned as independent units even when joined together under Roman domination. Roman annexation brought wealth to the country, cities prospered as never before and there was a smooth transitional development which occurred within the architecture of the new province, giving it a sense of local pride which appealed to both those in command and those living in the area. Where these architectural styles and trends tended to be concentrated in was within the town agora, for this was where all the citizens would congregate and where all daily business took place. Yet since these provinces were removed from the main land area of Asia Minor the major artistic and architectural influences upon them came from the Ionian cities located along the Carian and Mysian coasts.

The cities of Miletus, Priene, Magnesia and Pergamon were all cores of activity in antiquity and all prospered from

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[128]Owens, 1991, pg. 3

[129]Owens, 1991, pg. 140

trade. Since the bulk of activity focused on the buying and selling of goods of both local and foreign production the 'civic-centres' had to accommodate all of the merchants as well as the local population. From the fourth century B.C. to the second century B.C. Hellenism and Hellenistic fashions were dominant throughout Anatolia. Many of the cities claimed Greek descent and followed the trends set by mainland Greece.

Essential to the form and function of the Hellenistic agora was a sense of openness. In order to achieve this, colonnades, porticoes, and stoae were introduced. These elements defined space, giving the agora its characteristic form, but did not intrude into it. Shops, storage rooms and offices could be added without detracting from the main purpose and function of the market centre.

The three-sided, or 'horseshoe' shaped stoa, was the most common feature of the Hellenistic agora complex. This figure allowed one section of the agora to be open, permitting easy access to the rest of the community. Inside the agora courtyard temples and altars could be built without crowding the central area. These types of 'Ionian' agorae as well were symmetrical in form, fitting well into the concept of Hippodamian town planning, which was dominant throughout the Hellenistic east.

Depending on the wealth and size of the community and its status in Anatolian society, the 'civic-centre' might have been divided into two sections, leaving one half for official business, and slightly further away but still in the vicinity, one for commercial activity, such as at Priene. In some cases, as at Miletus, two separate agorae were built to accommodate all of the city's needs without unnecessary crowding, or as at Magnesia, the space allotted for the agora's construction could have been unusually large. All of these agorae are perfect examples of Ionian 'civic-centres' using stoae to define space without detracting from it and fitting into Hippodamian town planning which focused on right

angles.

Although this type of agora was extremely popular, other centres chose to use their own characteristic modes, emphasizing both an individuality and an independence from the cities around them. This is seen in both the agorae at Pergamon. Both agorae are of a slightly irregular shape, this changed the form slightly to compliment the landscape but did not altar its function. Here double and triple storeyed stoae can be found as well as a mixing of the Greek architectural orders. Both 'civic-centres' were built for different purposes, as at Priene, for as the upper town was mainly administrative so was its agora, whereas the lower town was where the main population resided and in turn its agora was focused on mercantile endeavours.

As time went by styles changed, as did the status of certain cities. With the Roman domination and annexation of the East, new systems and procedures were introduced. Yet these new ways never took away or detracted from the traditional Hellenistic beauty of the Anatolian terrain.

For three centuries Anatolia flourished under Roman rule, which brought the more remote regions of the province into closer contact with the Roman world. As cities and towns became wealthier they were embellished with magnificent building projects, basilicas, imperial temples and baths were added, which catered to Roman conventions, but in almost all cities architectural Hellenistic traces can be detected. Roman architecture and planning in the eastern provinces essentially originated from the well established traditions of the East. As a result of the establishment of the Empire, Rome took these concepts and added to them, improving the value of city life for during this period there was easy access to many of the Empire's assets.[130] These were then used by many of the Asia Minor's leading citizens, its governors,

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[130]Owens, 1989, pg. 29

and even the Emperor to improve the provincial cities, raising their status to that appropriate to a Roman city.[131] These new Roman agorae tended to be more self-contained, unlike their Hellenistic predecessors. The traditional 'horseshoe' stoa was no longer employed, being replaced by Romanized rectangular enclosed spaces. As well there was also an increase in the number of administrative and religious buildings located within the agora's central space.

Both the 'Agora of Domitian' and the 'Rectangular Agora' at Phaselis date to the Imperial period, the first and second centuries A.D. Although primarily Hellenistic in form the 'Agora of Domitian' did not use the typical 'horseshoe' shaped stoa pattern. This agora employed a rectangular shape and had shops only along two sides.

The agora at Perge also followed Hellenistic traditions. It was of square construction surrounded on all four sides by shops. Yet placed at its centre was a circular temple, which became the central focus as it is a prominent feature found in almost all 'civic-centres' of the Roman world.

Located within the agora complex at Aspendus are typical Roman features there is a basilica, a bouleuterion, a market hall, and a nympheum, all typical structures found in Roman agorae. Yet it lacks the most important central element, a temple dedicated to the Imperial cult.

Finally, the city of Side, one of the most important and best preserved cities in Pamphylia, being very wealthy, had two agorae, a state agora and a commercial agora. Incorporating two separate agorae into the city followed Aristotle's idea that a proper Greek city was to separate business from politics, creating a distinct place for each. Here the administrative agora, representing the state, was more characteristically Hellenistic in form whereas the commercial agora incorporated more Roman features into it: a

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[131]Owens, 1991, pg. 140

temple, exedrae, a latrine, a bathing complex and shops.

This type of Romanization through public architectural forms did not only occur with the Roman annexation of the Greek East. Examples of this mixture of artistic and technical ideas can be seen throughout the ancient world. As examples of this can be found in the Roman province of Lycia-Pamphylia so can examples of this type of architectural transformation be found within Italy itself. Here the community of Paestum shall be used as a case study to illustrate how Romanization affected various cities in the ancient world and how the function and form of public architecture was influenced by this.

Paestum

In the province of Campania Greeks, Samnites and Romans lived together. Although the situation was not as peaceful as that of Asia Minor the visible remains display much the same characteristics in the fusing of different architectural elements to create a landscape that was representative of all those that lived in the area.

The ancient Greek community of Posidonia, better known by its Roman name as Paestum, was founded by Dorian colonists in the sixth century B.C. It is located along the Italian coast at the southern end of the Bay of Salerno, approximately 80 km south of the modern city of Naples. In the fourth century the Lucanians, an Italic people, began military campaigns against the Greek cities of Italy, including Posidonia, creating much strife within the community. In 273 B.C. a Latin colony was placed at the site and the name was changed to Paestum. It was during this period that the town plan was drastically altered, yet many of the sacred places of Paestum were allowed to remained intact.[132]

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[132]Pedley, 1990, pg. 113

The forum at Paestum was positioned in the central part of the city, a part that had not been built upon before.[133] (fig. 13) It was located between two major Greek sanctuaries, the earlier Greek agora and the precinct of Hera, and was adorned with typically public Roman buildings. Its rectangular piazza followed the east-west axis of the city. The forum was constructed in two phases. In the third century, approximately 278 B.C., following the establishment of the Roman community, the location, planning and preliminary building of the forum took palace. At this time rows of shops were aligned along three sides of the rectangular boundary as in most Hellenistic market-places, all being two-roomed and of similar dimensions. In the building of such a complex and in the fact that shops, offices and storerooms were the main focus it is clear that the city was prosperous enough to be able to afford to build a new forum, replacing the fifth century agora located just south of the Temple of Athena, and that the community was on good terms with its Roman leaders, in most cases none of the original Greek buildings had to be destroyed during its construction.[134] The second building phase occurred under Augustus, in the first century B.C., with the rebuilding of the surrounding portico. This portico was modified, forming one of the Doric order which was mainly built from earlier materials.

Located at the forum's northern edge was the comitium. This building could be entered from its east and southern sides. It was a rectangular building with seats arranged in concentric circles around its centre. It was in this building that the election of the magistrates took place, as well as

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[133]Although this 'civic-centre' displays both Greek and Roman features, because of its location within Italy, it is labelled as a forum not a Roman agora.

[134]Pedley, 1990, pg. 115 - In the second or third century an early Greek temple was destroyed in the building of the macellum and the basilica.

other political business. Attached to this was the city's curia, where the senate gathered for official business and meetings.

Raised on a podium, with a frontal staircase leading to its entrance, stood the Forum Temple. This temple dates to the second century B.C. and is of Italic type, being north-south oriented. It is located along the forum's western edge and was built over part of the comitium. In its second period of construction Corinthian columns were built flanking three sides of the pronaos and cella. It is in this building that we see the most Roman influence. Not only is this temple monumental but it does not follow typical Greek conventions, the main difference being its orientation and its frontal stairway. Greek temples were almost always east-west oriented and had steps going all the way around them whereas the Romans preferred a north-south orientation and the central focus being the entrance with only one set of steps leading up to the threshold, and, in this case, the altar.[135]

Supporting the Doric frieze with its triglyphs and metopes were Corinthian capitals which were accompanied by female heads, large volutes and acanthus leaves. Here we see the mixing again of Greek and Roman styles which was common throughout the Greek East and a style that was characteristic of Southern Italian architecture.[136] This temple was most probably dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, the Gods Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, giving it the title of Capitolium. This is a logical assumption since it was the official forum temple which dominated the area, and such temples are found in Roman 'civic-centres' throughout the Roman world. Yet there was only one cella, making the equal worship of the three gods difficult. Pedley has suggested that the temple was not a

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[135]Pedley, 1990, pg.118

[136]ibid.

Capitolium but one dedicated to the worship of Bona Mens, the Goddess of moderation, wisdom, memory and good sense.[137]

Cutting into the central portion of the forum portico, along the southern side, was the facade of the macellum, the market for fish and other perishable items, and the basilica. Both of these buildings were constructed over the remains of a sixth century temple. The macellum was a rectangular building with four marble interior colonnades and a small shrine that faced the entrance. It dates to the second or third century A.D. and had access to the covered shops of the portico.

Adjacent to the west was the basilica or curia, which functioned as a place of business and as the law courts. This building, also dating to the second or third century A.D., was most probably built above an earlier basilica, replacing the earlier curia on the other side of the forum, located north of the comitium.[138] Dominating the rectangular open space, which was surrounded by covered corridors, was a stone, apse-shaped exedra, drawing one's attention towards the centre.

In the second or third century A.D. another building was constructed along the west side of the forum, breaking once again the row of shops with its facade. This sacred building was dedicated to the divine protectors of the city, the city Lares, giving it the name the Lararium. It was an oblong building with three rectangular niches at the back and was built upon square blocks of an earlier building which, as

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[137]Pedley, 1990, pg. 118f. - Several fragments of inscriptions have been found associating the cult of the Bona Mens with Paestum. This cult was introduced to Italy after the battle between the Carthaginians and the Romans at Lake Trasimeno in 217 B.C. Pedley then goes on to suggest that the Capitolium is perhaps located in the unexcavated area to the east end of the forum. Yet Boethius refers to the temple as the "Tempio della Pace" giving no further explanation of the title (Boethius, 1978, pg. 132).

[138]Pedley, 1990, pg. 119

Pedley suggests, served much the same purpose.[139]

In the example of the forum at Paestum it is obvious that there were many influential factors at work. These when brought together form the nucleus of Imperial architectural development and allowed the Romanization of the Hellenistic forms without detracting from the basic conventions of the older 'civic-centres'. The three elements that contributed to this development were, the older established market-places, rectangular Hellenistic piazzas and the addition of Imperial temples with frontal orientations situated along the back wall of the forum.[140]

In all of these cities traits from both types of 'civic-centres', Greek and Roman, can be found. Whether they were situated in the Greek cities of the Roman world, such as at Paestum, or Roman cities of the Greek world, such as Phaselis, Perge, Aspendus and Side in the Roman province of Lycia-Pamphylia, one had a feeling of familiarity without being overpowered by one particular style characteristic of the region or of those who dictated what was to be. This feeling of comfort and recognition was mainly concentrated in those areas that were most frequented by foreigners and by the main population. In these 'civic-centres' both the major dominant ruling factions of the ancient world came together in a mixture of building forms and purposes, creating a distinct architectural statement that was emblematic of provinces populated by different peoples but governed by local authorities wanting to emulate and represent Rome. The most visible means of achieving that association is in the use of

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[139]ibid.

[140]Boethius, 1978, pg. 145 - The orientation and placement of the temple was the only contrasting feature between the Greek and the Roman 'civic-centre'. Both had different orientations (north-south as opposed to east-west) and as the Roman temples dominated the backdrop of the enclosure the Greek temples tended to be more detached.

Roman architectural forms and the way the civic space was utilized in Roman agorae throughout the Empire.

For these centres formed an architectural statement about the city where they were placed and the people who lived in the surrounding areas. For they were practical and incorporated into them what was necessary for the city to function.[141] Market buildings, shops, official and administrative buildings, temples, altars, gates, archways, and statues were all added making the function of the agorae the main political, religious, social and economic focus of the community.

The typical arrangement of a Hellenistic Greek agora was a square shaped enclosure surrounded by a double-story of columns that were built close together in order to protect those that gathered in the area from the elements. In contrast the typical Roman forum was oblong and the spaces between the columns were wider in order to allow those gathering within to view all the spectacles which took place within the forum's central space.[142] In both cases the stoa acted as a specific architectural boundary which gave these enclosed spaces definite form

Roman builders, no matter where they were commissioned to work, built upon the well established Hellenistic designs. When creating the city 'civic-centres' old forms were used but the focus was upon framing the agora through the use of gates and curved surfaces.[143] As well it was common to enclose the temple precinct by having a basilica near by. This can be seen throughout Italy and the Roman agorae in Southern Asia Minor. All of the agorae that have been looked at are emblematic of Romanization and are significant examples of

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[141]MacDonald, 1986, pg. 63

[142]Clarke, 1833, pg. 94

[143]Brown, 1967, pg. 33

this lengthy process.

The notable changes that occurred within these centres can be seen within the framework of the agora complex as a whole and within its individual features. Roman architecture was not based upon the buildings of Rome but almost always included and built upon local architectural traditions. For as Roman architecture was the most progressive architecture in the first four centuries A.D. it was bound to influence the local architectural traditions but due to the location, economic situations and local traditions of the communities located elsewhere in the Empire, direct imitation was virtually impossible.[144]

What the Romans did add, which played a large role in the Romanization of public architecture of the East, was in the addition and design of buildings such as the basilica and baths and the use of the arch, which when combined together with local architectural forms helped to emphasize architecturally the Roman cities of the Empire improving the calibre of city life.[145] For changes within the form of the Roman agorae were intimately related to its function in society. As the external complex changed so did its internal components.

What started off as a commercial and administrative unit that was easily accessible to the public, evolved into a complex that was often removed from the community with religion as its main focus with the Emperor at its centre. All of these elements then combined to form an architectural statement within the agora itself that displayed both Greek and Roman traits and characteristics, which then in turn represented the cultural diversities of those who lived amongst the mountain ranges, forests, river-sides and

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[144]Ward-Perkins, 1981, pg. 276

[145]Owens, 1989, pg. 29

seashores of the Roman province of Lycia-Pamphylia.

Figures

Fig. 1 Map of Roman Asia Minor
(Bean, Hammond, Talbert)

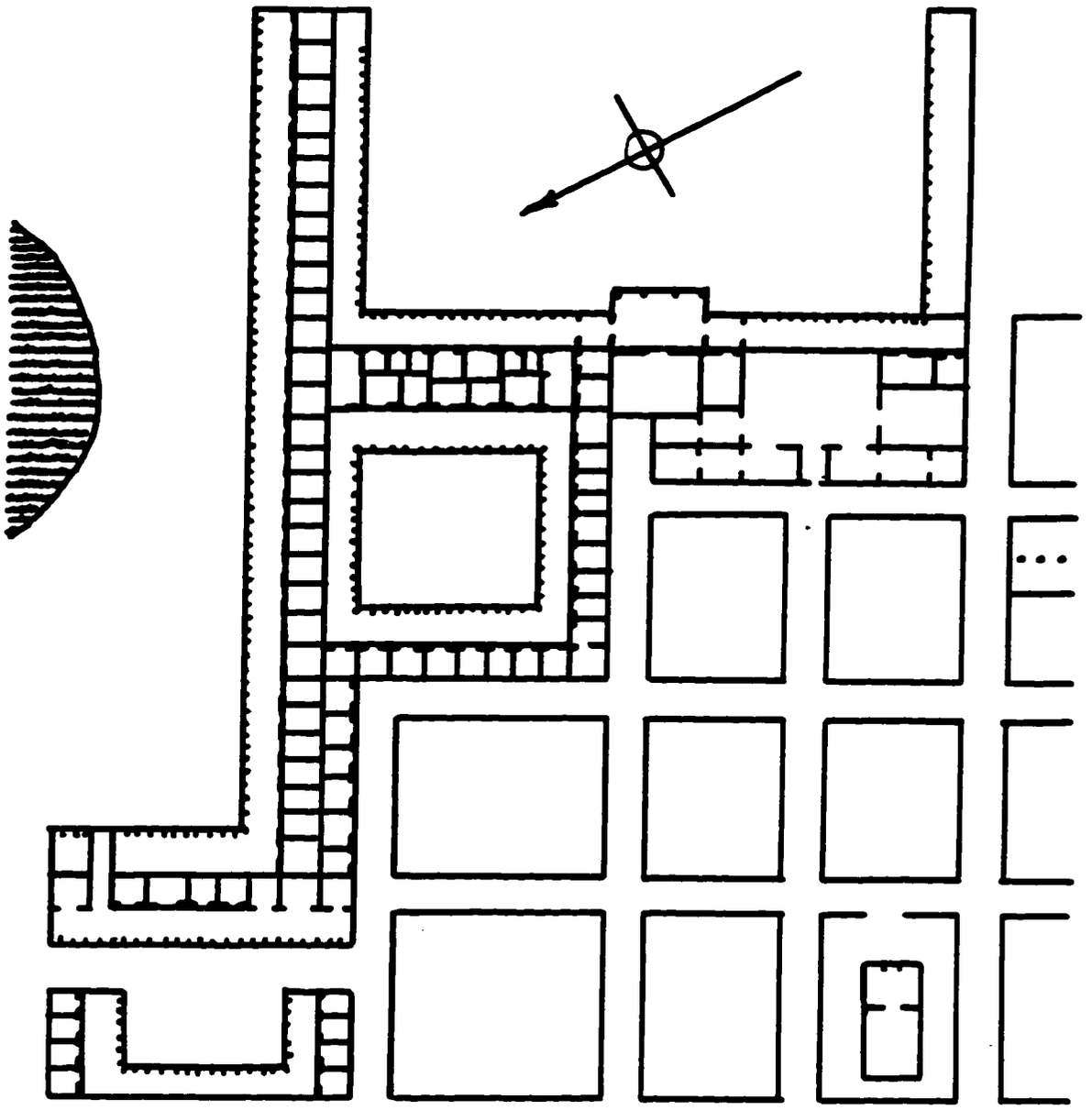

Fig. 2 Northern Agora at Miletus
(Martin 1951)

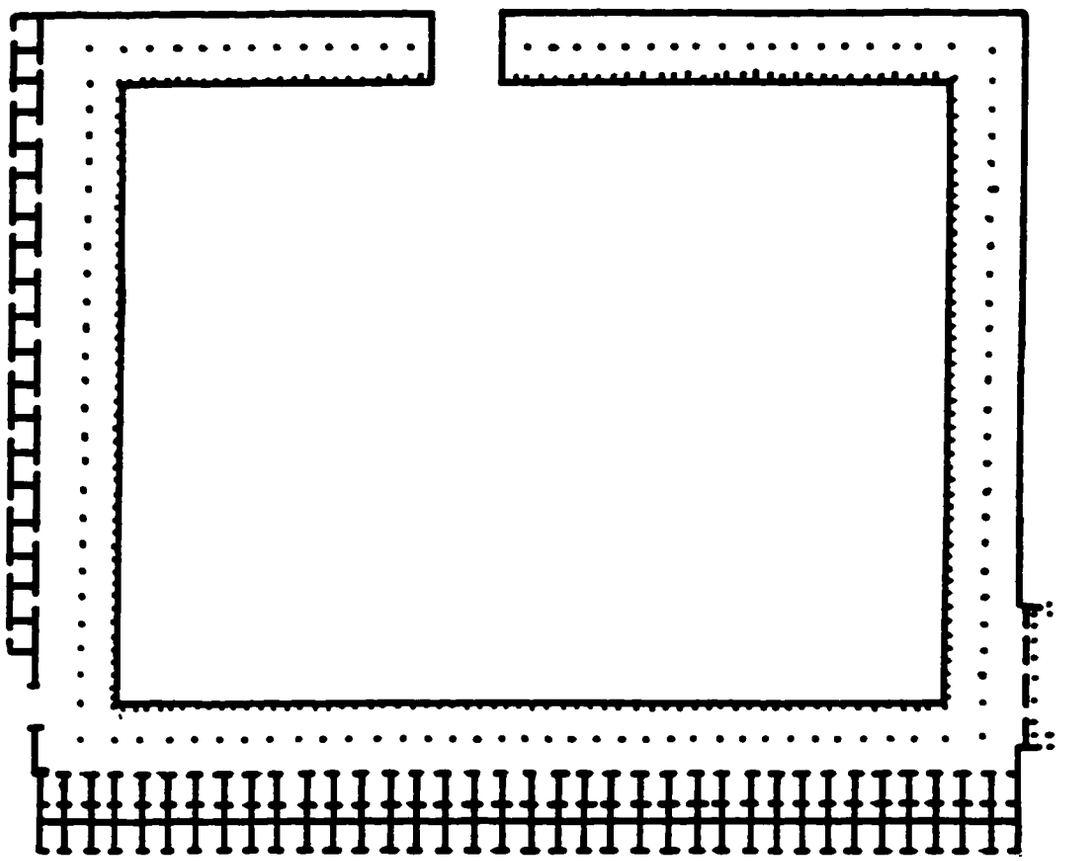

Fig. 3 Southern Agora at Miletus
(Martin, 1951)

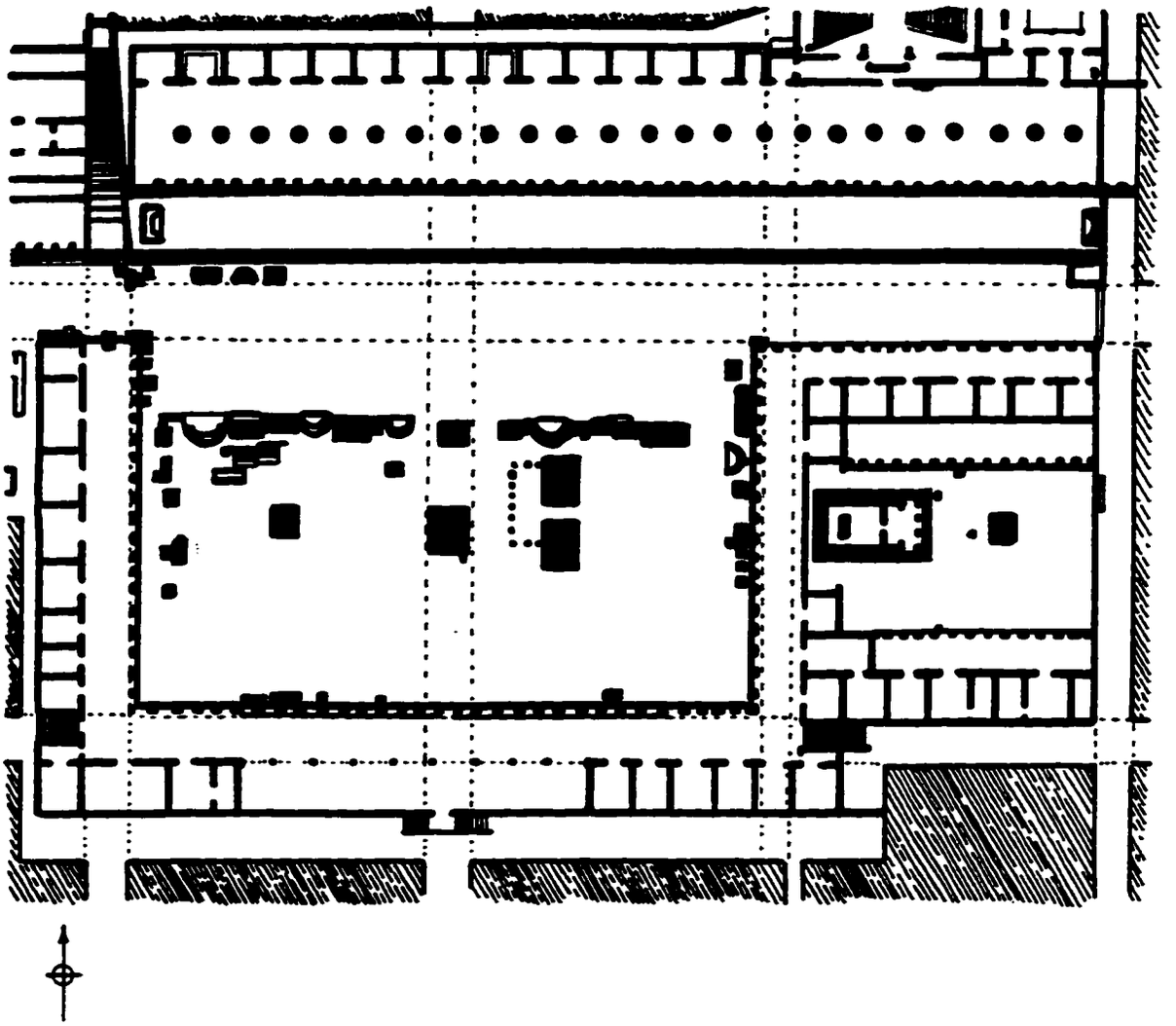

Fig.4 Agora at Priene
(von Gerkan)

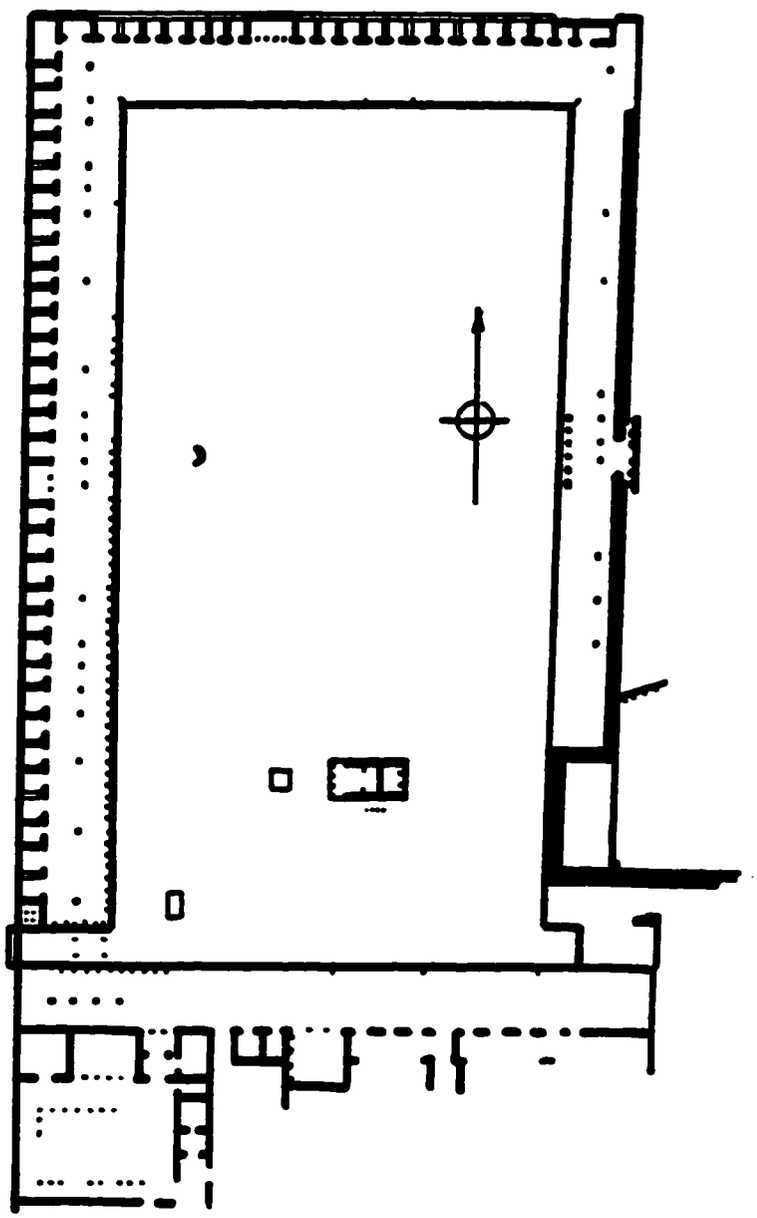

Fig. 5 Agora at Magnesia
(C. Humann, Martin)

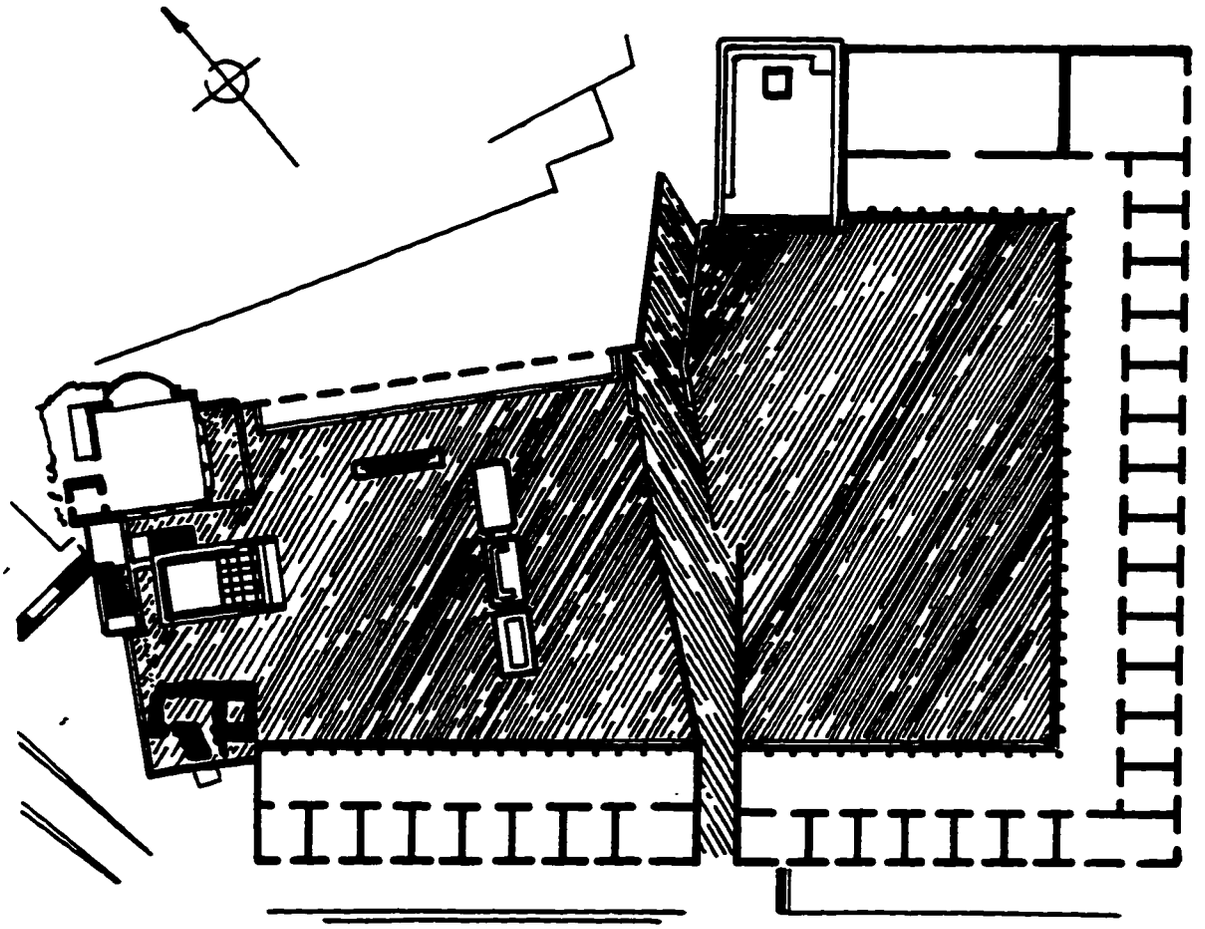

Fig. 6 Upper Agora at Pergamon
(Martin, 1951)

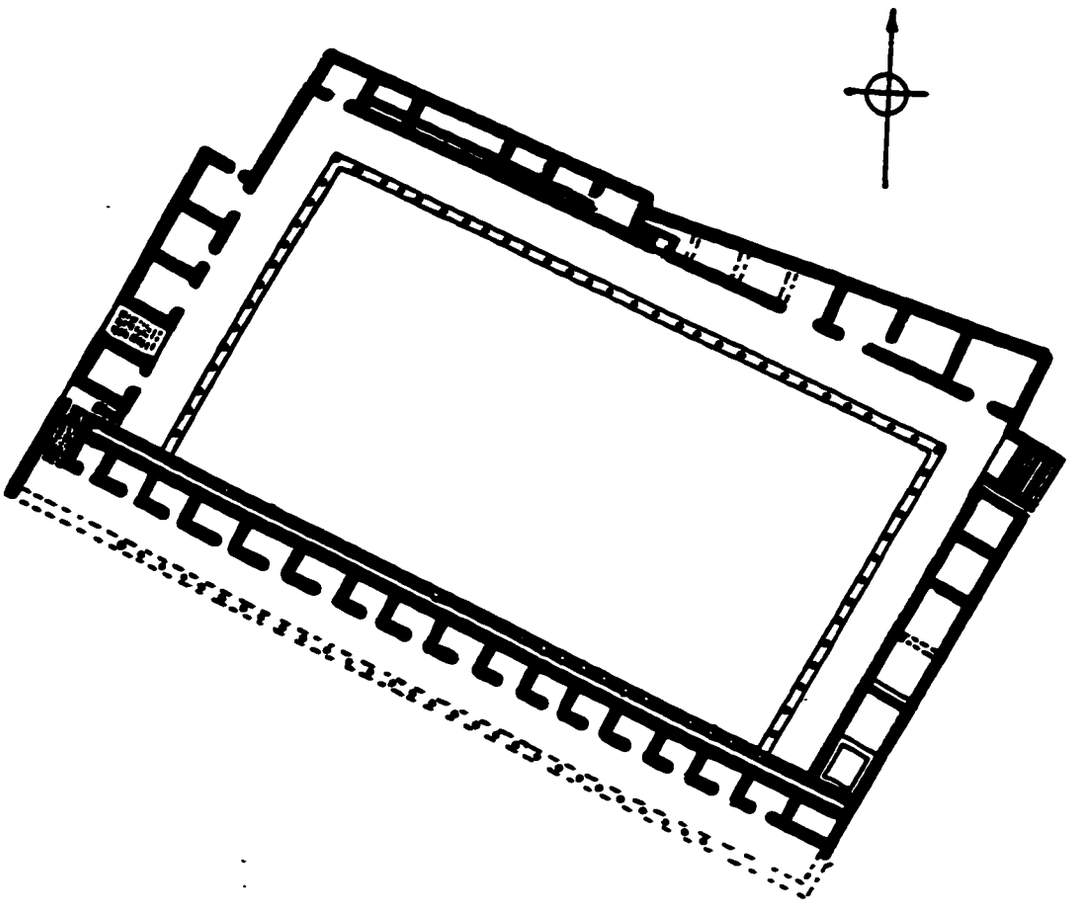

Fig. 7 Lower Agora at Pergamon
(Martin, von Gerkan)

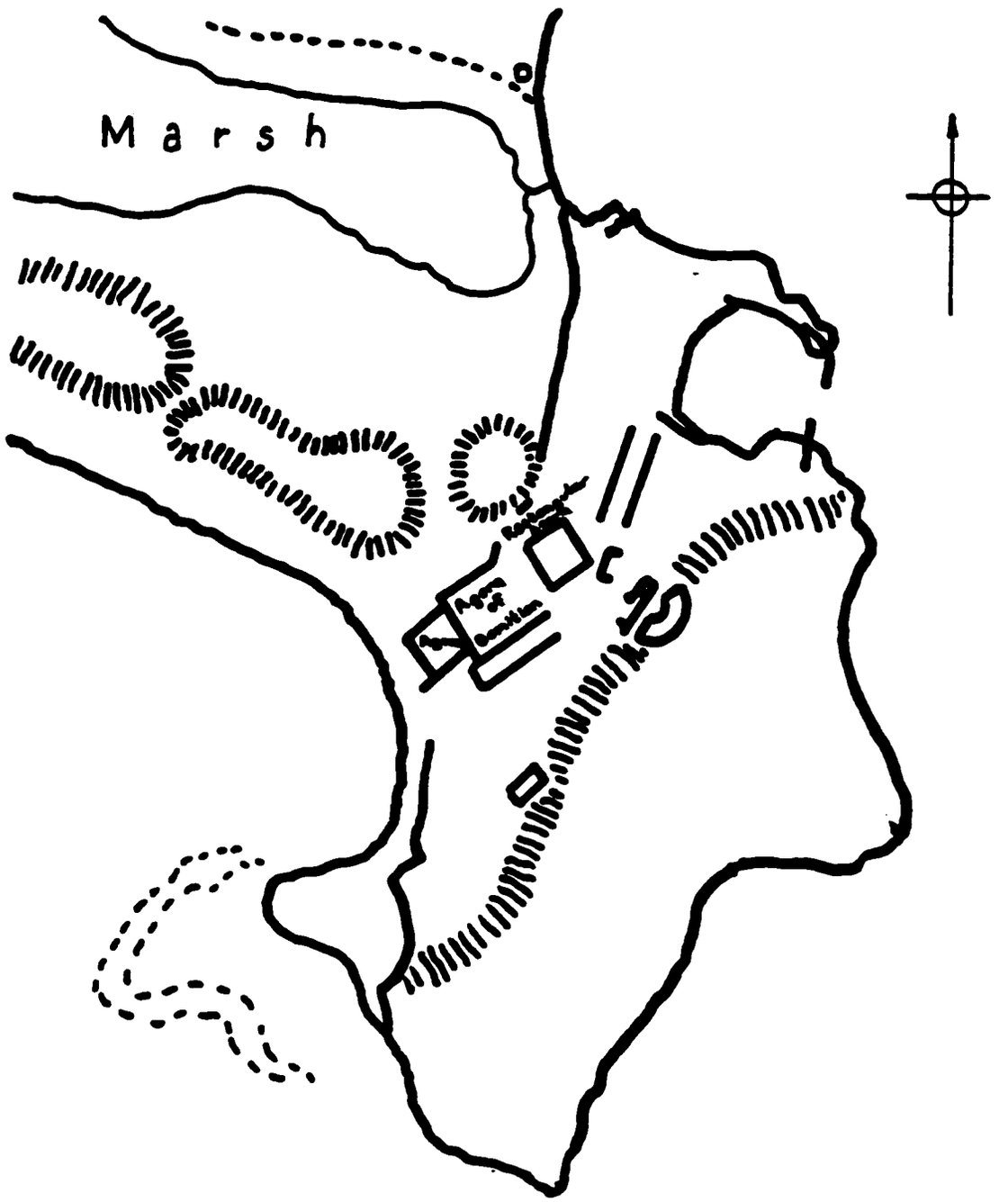

Fig. 8 Agora of Phaselis
(Mc Donagh, 1989)

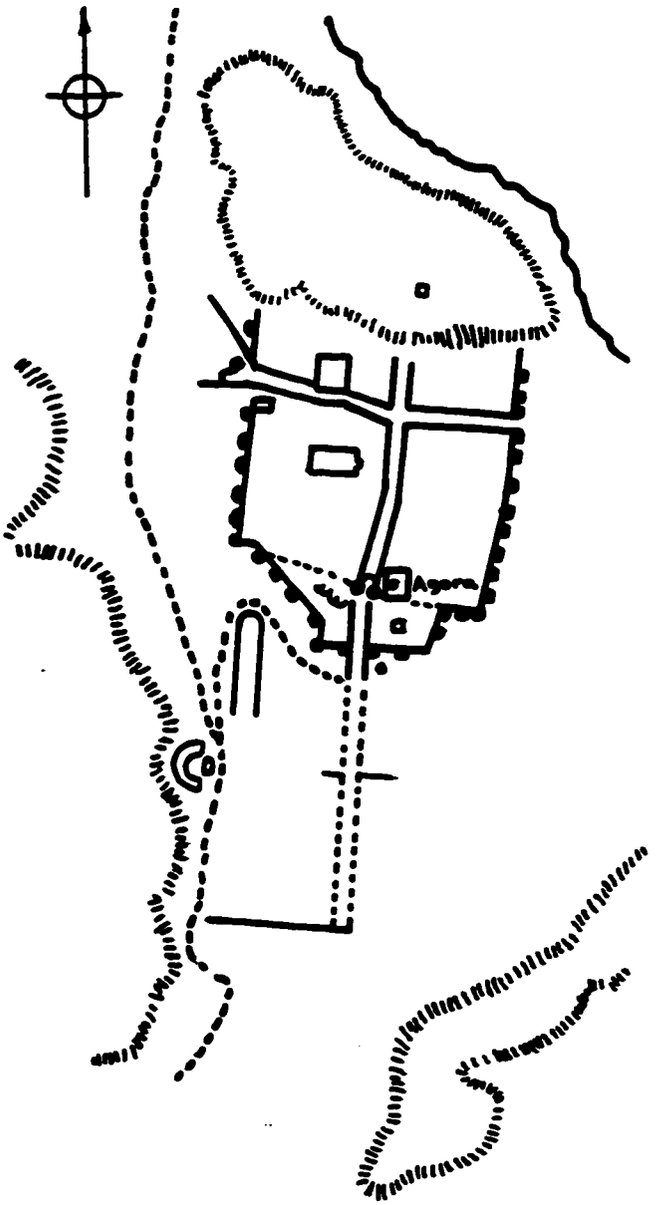

Fig. 9 Agora of Perge
(Mc Donagh, 1989)

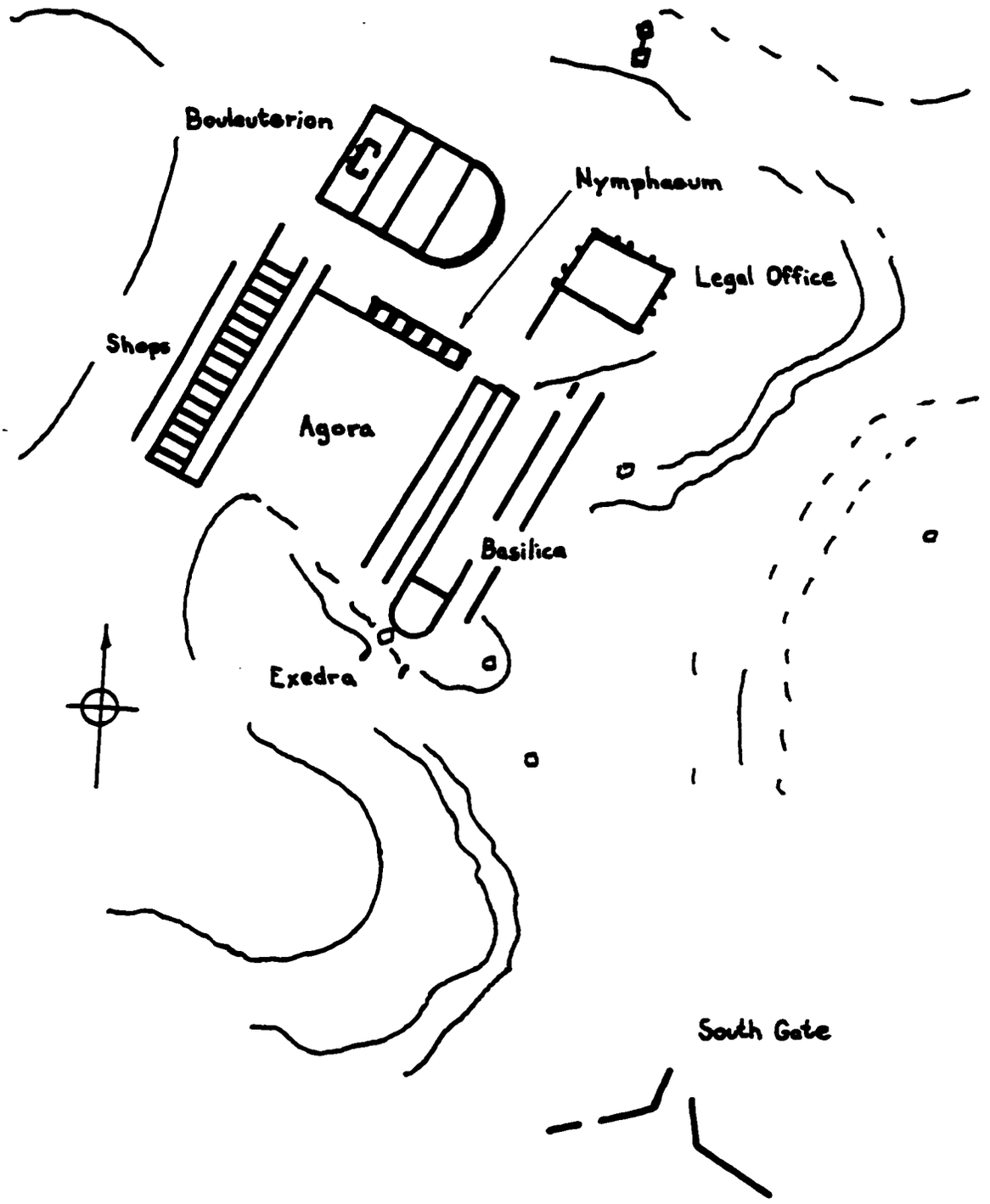

Fig. 10 Agora of Aspendus
(Mc Donagh, 1989)

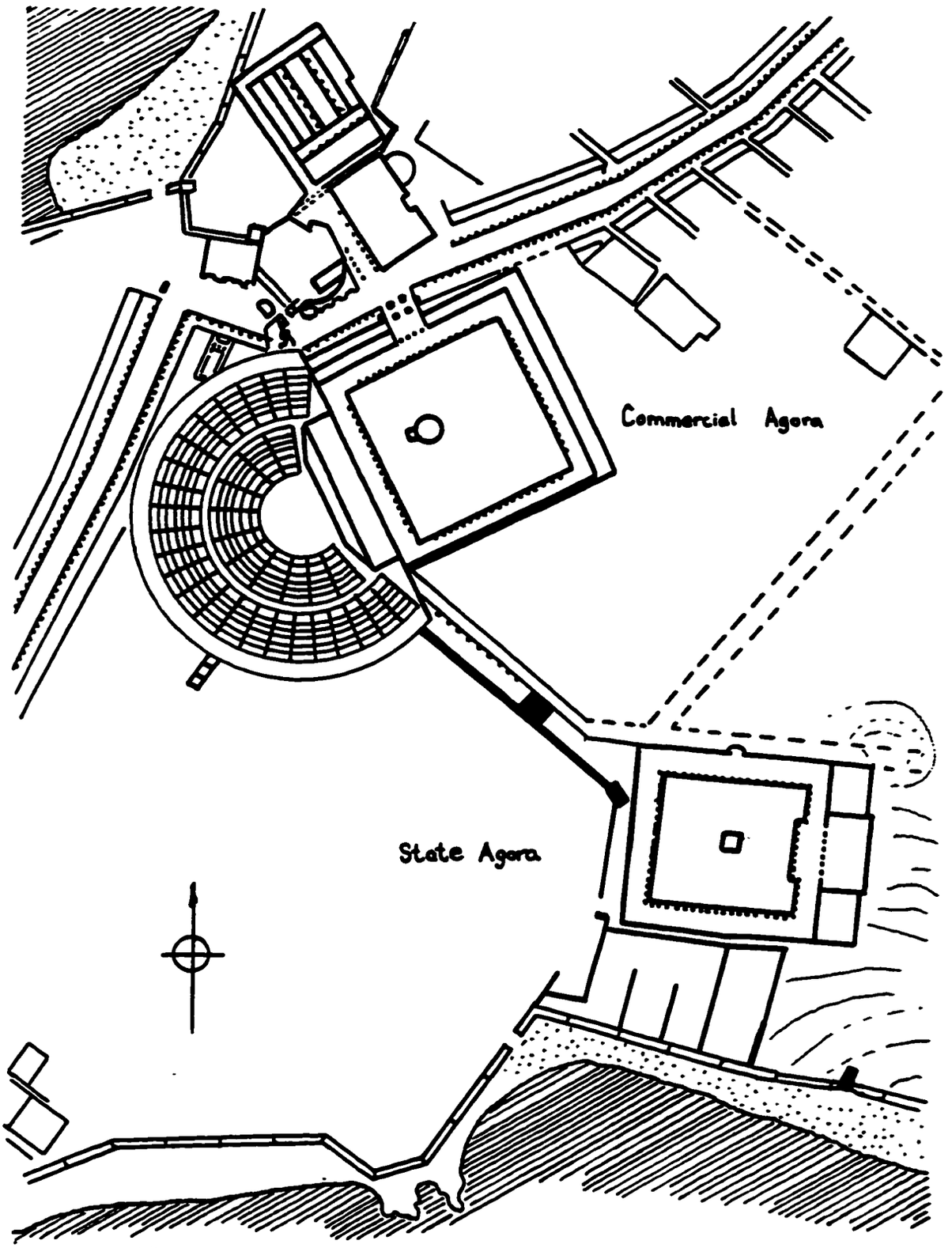

Fig. 11 State Agora at Side
(Mc Donagh, 1989)

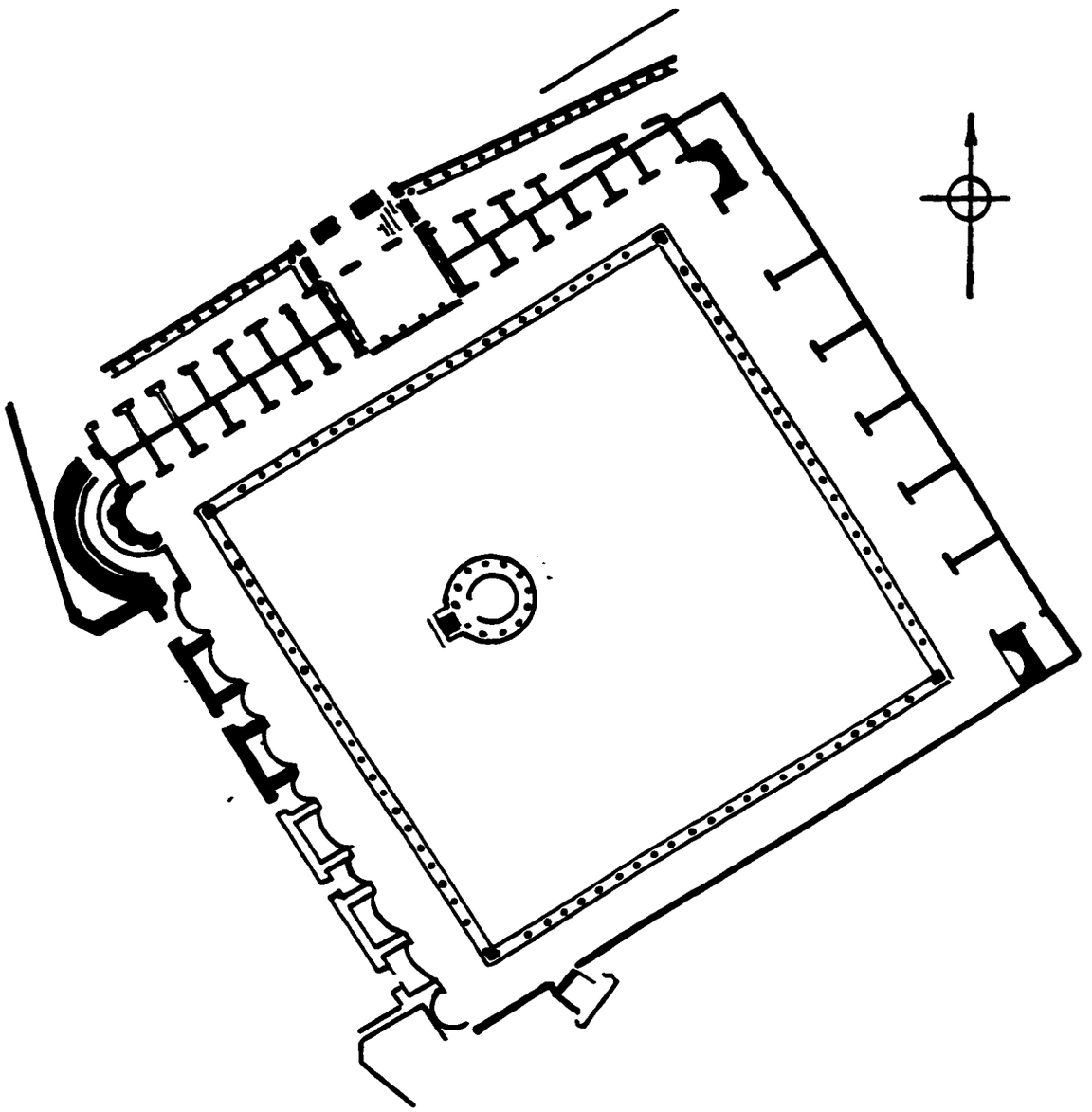

Fig. 12 Commercial Agora at Side
(Mansel, 1963)

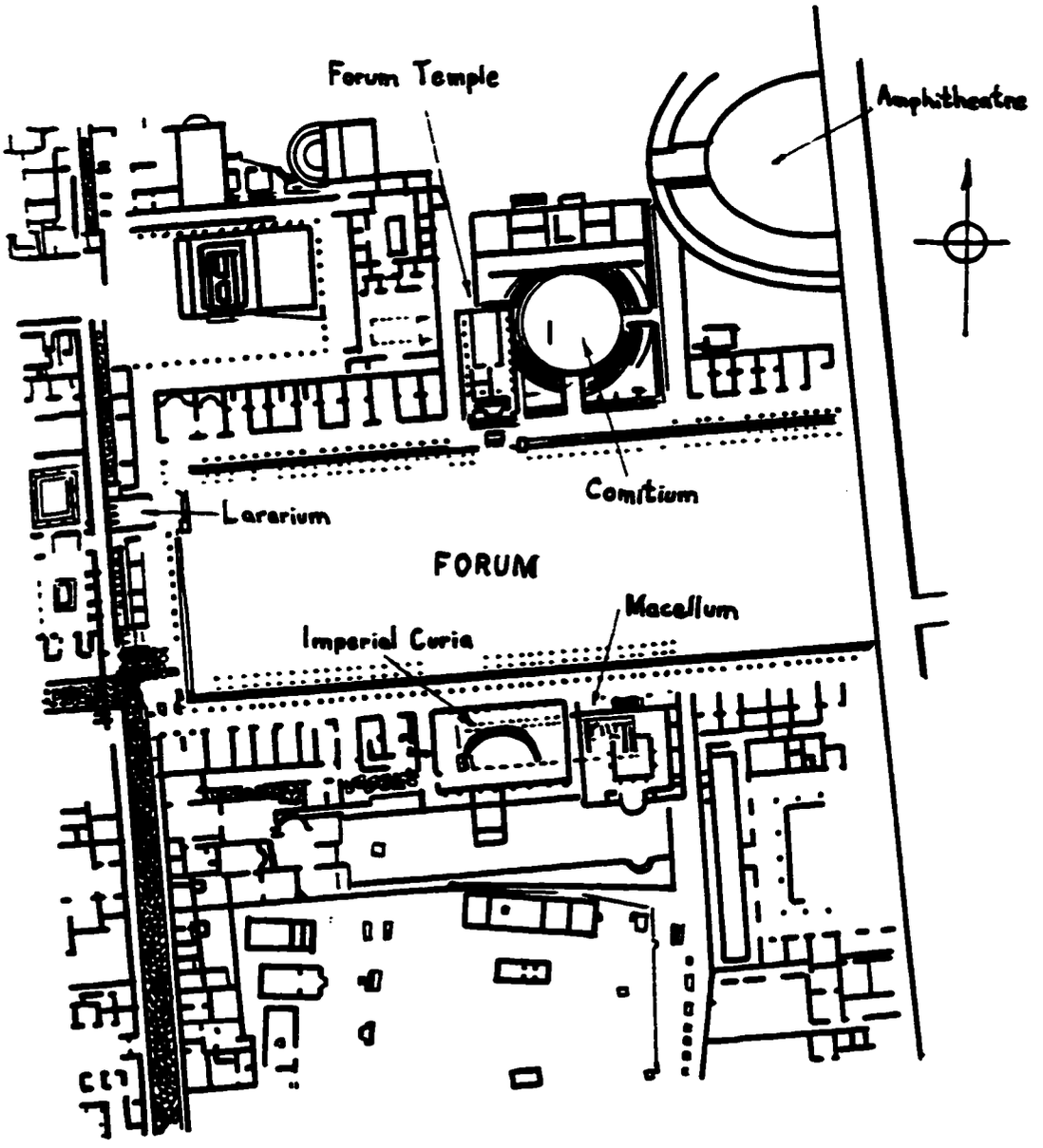

Fig. 13 Forum at Paestum
(Greco and Theodorescu, 1980)

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