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Pisidian-Greek-Roman: Acting out communal identity on the Upper Agora of Sagalassos[1]

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Keywords: Sagalassos, Pisidia, Agora, Urbanisation, Cultural Identity

In Antiquity, public space was used as part of the construction of cultural identities which could be multi-faceted. The Upper Agora of the Pisidian city of Sagalassos (SW Turkey) was such a dynamic space with a rich collection of images, inscribed texts and monuments that contributed to the construction of local and regional identities. It was the space where, through the use of monuments, images and symbols, these identities were acted out in a memory theatre that served to remind the community of who they were. By examining the constituting monumental elements of the agora, this paper project aims to establish the successive waves of urbanisation, their role in the articulation of different identity-aspects, and the impact of empire on these processes.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sagalassos, Pisidia, Agora, Kentleşme, Kültürel Kimlik

Antik Çağ'da, kamusal alanla çok yönlü olabilecek kültürel kimliklerin inşasının bir parçası olarak kullanılmıştır. Pisidia kenti Sagalassos'un (Türkiye'nin GB) Yukarı Agorası, yerel ve bölgesel kimliklerin inşasına katkıda sağlayan zengin bir betim, yazılı metinler ve anıtlar koleksiyonu içeren dinamik bir mekândı. Anıtların, imajların ve sembollerin kullanılması yoluyla, bu kimlikler, topluluğa kim olduklarını anımsatmaya hizmet eden bir bellek tiyatrosu idi. Agoranın anıtsal temel unsurlarını inceleyerek, bu çalışma, kentleşmenin birbirini izleyen dalgalarını, farklı kimlik yönlerinin eklemlenmesindeki rollerini ve imparatorluğun bu süreçler üzerindeki etkisini belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

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Introduction[1]

In the Anabasis of Alexander the Great by the Roman historian Flavius Arrianus (c. 86-160 CE), Sagalassos is described as "not a small city, inhabited by Pisidians who were thought to be the most warlike of this warlike people" (*Anabasis Alexandri*, I, 28). The capture of Sagalassos by Alexander in 333 BCE to which this quote refers – a fact which its citizens would commemorate with a civic bronze issue exactly 600 years later (Talloen 2015: 77) – meant the appearance of the local community on the stage of history and its incorporation into the Hellenic world. Yet, the earliest phases in the settlement history of the site are still poorly known in archaeological terms. It is one of the research aims of the CORES project (www.iap-cores.be) to fill this lacuna. Within the framework of this project, archaeological research focusses on the Upper Agora of Sagalassos as an architectural mirror of the process of urbanisation and community formation that unfolded at the settlement.

The Upper Agora of Sagalassos (Fig. 1) has been the object of archaeological investigation since 1993 (Waelkens *et al.* 1995). As the beating heart of the civic centre, which provided the stage for the familiar fusion of commerce, politics and cult that characterised ancient urban life, the agora was the space for the creation, display and perpetuation of a community's identity; urban development, as manifest at this square, was one of the tools used in this process (Raja 2012). According to the theoretical framework for the study of space proposed by Hillier and Hanson (1984) the way that buildings are placed in space, their relationships as well as their architectural contexts, reflect the processes and the elements that shape society. Therefore, the study of a public space like the agora provides a means to understand deeper changes in the structure of ancient societies.

The establishment of the built-up landscape of ancient cities was obviously not a single event but a long-term process with shifting focal points and nodes of activity that were continuously developing and taking on new negotiated meanings, as the values and aesthetics of society changed around them. The state of the agora, as it has been unearthed by the archaeologists, is therefore the product of centuries of monumental accretion, making it an excellent vehicle for a diachronic study of urban development. Moreover, if we accept that the construction, preservation and erasure of monuments were wilful acts, the result of decision and compromise, we are in a position to approach the rationale behind the dynamics of urbanisation that these acts represent, as well as the identity of the community responsible for it (Zanker 2000). Identity is understood here as cultural identity, "the self-conscious recognition by a group of individuals of commonalities that emerge through their conformity to similar ways of acting and being . . . the possession in similar

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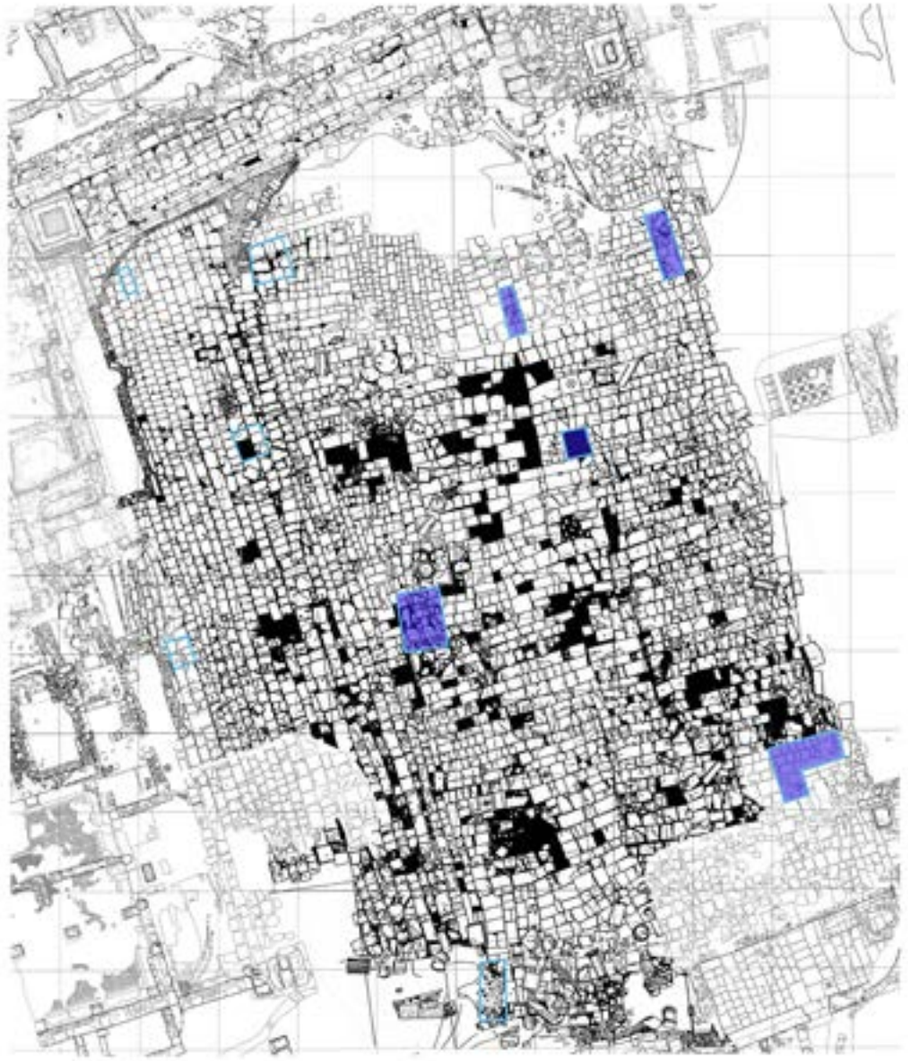

Fig. 1: *Plan of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos with indication of the control excavations and the (shaded) trenches where stratified Hellenistic material was found (Sagalassos Project); the grid has a side of 5m.*

cultural traits, such as language, styles of dress, personal adornment, material objects and particular ways of behaving" (Grahame 1998: 159). Investigation of the monuments on and around the agora, the public signboard of the local community, should allow us to distil this collective cultural identity.

It is equally clear that this urban development did not occur in isolation but with reference to a larger whole. During the period under consideration, being the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, Sagalassos became part of two such larger entities, namely the

Fig. 2: *View of the pit (locus 140) dug into the ophiolitic clay (locus 143), and of the overlying foundations of an honorific monument on the Upper Agora (Sagalassos Project).*

Greek world and the Roman Empire. As the place where social hierarchy, social networks and relationships were reflected in the most dramatic way, the study of the development of the agora during these periods can be very important in our attempt to understand the process of the incorporation into these political and cultural entity, a process that can be aptly summarised as the impact of empire.

Parallel to the increase in the number of monuments, there was an accumulation of identities. The communal identity reflected by the urban landscape was elaborated and transformed as the latter accumulated successive layers of monumentality over the course of classical antiquity. Susan Alcock (2002) demonstrated how people selectively used and manipulated the landscape of the earlier past, shaping the memory of the community, as part of the construction of identities. This collective memory was dynamic: people remembered (or forgot) their past according to the needs and stimuli of their present. The Upper Agora of Sagalassos was such a commemorative landscape with a rich collection of images, inscribed texts, and monuments that reflected and contributed to the construction of local and regional identity, or rather identities. It was the space where, through the use of monuments, images and symbols, identities were acted out in a memory theatre that served to remind the community at large of who they were: Pisidian, Greek and Roman.

In what follows an overview will be given of the results of the fieldwork that took place on the agora in 2014 and 2015 in the form of control excavations beneath the slabs of the square. Aimed specifically at the investigation of the urbanisation process at Sagalassos, these results contribute to our knowledge of the formation and identity of the local community.

Pisidian

So far, no structural remains have been found on or around the Upper Agora, which could be linked to the pre-Hellenistic settlement of Sagalassos. Few pieces of ceramics, dating between the later 5th and early 3rd centuries BCE, and comparable to the pottery assemblage excavated in the later eastern suburbia of Sagalassos (Poblome *et al*. 2013a) and at the nearby settlement on Düzen Tepe (Vanhaverbeke *et al*. 2010), as well as collected during survey campaigns, both on the site and in the Ağlasun Valley, were found in the control excavations as residual artefacts in later strata (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 114). Although traces of contemporary architecture are currently lacking, these shards suggests the presence of a settlement in the vicinity of the later agora. Given the absence of monumental remains dating to this period anywhere on the site, it probably consisted of vernacular architecture, comparable to what has been uncovered on Düzen Tepe. The latter settlement has been identified as ethnically Pisidian (Vanhaverbeke *et al*. 2010), though it remains difficult to determine what this meant exactly in material terms as 'Pisidian' identity is still very much the object of ongoing research. What we can say for the time being in archaeological terms is that Pisidian material culture was not geared towards the Greek world, but grafted upon an Anatolian template, with particular coherence found in the material culture of Central and Southern Anatolia (Daems *et al.* 2017).

Having said that, the control excavations yielded some indications of the economic activities of this settlement. An anomaly that showed up in the geophysical plan of the square, and which was at least 25m long and 5m wide, and more than 1m deep, proved to a be large trench dug into the ophiolithic clay (Fig. 2). Like the clay pits in the central depression of the later potters' quarter, this trench may have been dug to supply the potters present on the hill side to the south of the agora, in the area of the later *odeion*, during the 3rd century BCE (Poblome *et al*. 2013b), and to provide the local mudbrick architecture with building material. The pottery from the back-fill of this pit provided a *terminus post quem* of c. 200 BCE for this operation (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 115-116).

Thus, the character of the pre-Hellenistic settlement at Sagalassos remains elusive. Research in the wider region has shown that, with the possible exceptions of the sites of Panemoteichos (Aydal *et al.* 1997) and Düver (Kahya 2012) which apparently received some monumental structures during the late Iron Age, there does not appear to have been a local tradition of monumental architecture prior the 3rd century BCE. Therefore, we may contend that Sagalassos, like much of the region, was certainly not urbanised in an architectural sense at the time of Alexander.

Greek

Previous research has established that the *polis* – a model of social and political organisation predominant throughout the Greek world (Hansen 2006) – became adopted in

Pisidia during the Hellenistic period following its incorporation into the empire of Alexander and the successor kingdoms (Mitchell 1991; Waelkens 2004; Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens 2005). As the colonies of Seleukeia, Apollonia, Apameia and Antiocheia, which were founded in and around the region by the Seleucid overlords during the 3rd century BCE (Cohen 1995), will undoubtedly have exerted influence on the indigenous communities, it is perhaps possible to attribute this evolution in part to the Hellenistic rulers. Yet, earlier studies have shown that the adoption of some form of the *polis* model in Pisidia was mainly the result of local initiative, of the interaction between the local communities themselves, in order to allow them to participate in the expanding network of *poleis* of which they had become part (Vanhaverbeke – Waelkens 2005).

Every *polis* had an agora or public square that served as the heart of the nucleated settlement, where all central functions of the city-state were represented: political meetings, religious festivals, and markets. It thus constituted the spatial core for the innovative process of monumental urbanisation (Hölscher 2012). Given its central importance in the functioning of the *polis*, as central location for the gathering of citizens, the creation of the agora at Sagalassos bears testimony to its foundation as a city-state. One could even contend that the key to origin of the city lies there. So far, though, the early history of the square and its original architectural form were poorly understood.

The recent control excavations yielded floor substrates in several locations containing pottery which suggests an arrangement of the area as a square dating back to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 117-118). The spread of this Hellenistic pottery (Fig. 1), as well as the positioning of adjacent buildings which can be dated to the Hellenistic period, suggest a roughly 40m long (north-south) and 25m wide (east-west) open area during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. The earliest arrangement as a public square took the form of an open space with a surface of beaten earth and small limestone fragments; the ceramics from its floor substrate, datable to the late 3rd – early 2nd century BCE, provide a *terminus post quem* for this arrangement. The early 2nd century BCE thus appears to constitute the start of the urbanisation process at the central city square.

It was probably also at this time that a Hellenistic reconciliation agreement (Vandorpe 2000 and 2007) stipulating that rebellious guards were to be subjected to divine justice, was published in Greek language and fashion (i.e. monumental writing), to be put on display at or near the agora, where legal hearings were held. It not only indicates the existence of a 'Greek' type of law code but it also mentions *dikastai* who are thought to be a court of judges in this instance, besides a council of *archontes*, who can probably be identified as the chief magistrates of the city. This agreement appears to have remained on display for the whole community to see until late antique times when it, together with other building elements of monuments that once embellished the city square, was incorporated into a wall of a commercial building in the northeast corner of the square (Waelkens *et al*. 2000: 304; Lavan 2013: 320-326). It thus constitutes a nice example of how monuments of the past continued to contribute to the identity of the later community. Furthermore, the text

points to the use of Greek by the upper classes of society, at least from the early 2nd century BCE onwards, although it should be underscored that it was drafted in bad Greek and that none of the 24 people mentioned in the inscription had a Greek name. In any case, it constitutes a sign of a Greek style of politics and government at this time, a sign of a 'democratised' *polis*.

Being a *polis*, however, required more than the mere adoption of Greek institutions. It also involved the introduction of buildings, which housed those institutions and expressed the underlying socio-political transformations. The emphasis on monumental public buildings is important and distinctive, for Hellenised cities were marked out as such not only by their political status but also by the nature of their civic architecture (Mitchell 1993: 80; Mitchell – Vandeput 2013: 102).

As the setting for (some of) the meetings of the assembly of citizens or *demos*, which exercised popular control over the council and magistrates, the city square was a political centre around which the political institutions and the buildings in which they resided were concentrated. Provisions for meetings of the city council or *boule*, for example, were made immediately to the west of the public square in the form of a council house or *bouleuterion*. It was dated on the basis of its architectural decoration to the early 1st century BCE (Waelkens 2004: 455) but recent test soundings indicate a date at the beginning of our era (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 124-127) implying a different meeting place for the council during the Hellenistic period, possibly on the square itself.

Besides political buildings, other public constructions inspired by Hellenic prototypes appeared in the Pisidian urban centres from the 2nd century BCE onwards and concentrated around the *agorai* (Mitchell 1991). These included so-called market buildings, *stoa*-like structures with rooms, located below and behind the colonnades, for the storing and exchange of (food) supplies (Köse 2005). A rectangular building with two storeys, delimiting the Upper Agora to the east, which is currently being investigated, has been identified as such a market building (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 118-119; Fig. 3). This type of structure, used not only for trade but also for the storage of local agricultural produce collected as taxes, indicates a well-organised society conversant with the principle of communal storage and redistribution. It illustrates how *autarkeia* or economic self-sufficiency was as much sought after by a city-state as political autonomy.

As a centre of public cult, the agora not only provided a stage for ritual purposes, like processions, banquets and sacrifices, but it was also dominated by sanctuaries, as exemplified by the Doric Temple. This *distylos in antis* temple – the first known Greek-style sanctuary to be built in the city – was located on an elevation overlooking the square and has been stylistically dated to the second half of the 1st century BCE (Waelkens *et al*. 2000: 217-246). This construction date, however, suggests that the renowned Greek temples appeared rather late in the region compared to other architectural elements of the city-state (Talloen 2015: 108).

Also the Greek centre for education, the *gymnasion*, will have been among the public

Fig. 3: *View of the arches of Claudius and the honorific columns at the southern entrances to the Upper Agora, and the south façade of the adjacent Market Building (B. Vandermeulen).*

buildings appearing in the Pisidian cities. At this institution young Pisidians could not only pick up the essentials of Greek *paideia* but also pursue athletic activities, which represented in and of itself a claim to Greek cultural identity (van Nijf 2001). A large open space, situated to the east of the Upper Agora and surrounded by Doric porticoes dated to the early Roman Imperial period, is a likely candidate for the *gymnasion* at Sagalassos (Waelkens 1993: 45) but its origin remains unclear.

As this brief overview demonstrated, the Pisidian settlement of Sagalassos reinvented itself as a 'Greek' city centred on the Upper Agora during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. The adopted Hellenic architectural models show a distinctive pattern of structures that were intended to safeguard or formulate the city's independence and self-sufficiency: together with fortifications, the council house was an obvious symbol of political autonomy (*autonomia*), while a possible market building stood for economic independence (*autarkeia*); other typical buildings were a *gymnasion* for educating the future citizens (*paideia*), and a temple where to perform the actions appropriate to the deities of the civic pantheon (*eusebeia*). Their modest architectural decoration places the emphasis on function rather than representation, serving the needs of the community. Less tangible constituents of identity such as myths lend further weight to this aspiration for Greek identity, as indicated by the selection of Lakedaimon, the mythical forefather of the Spartans, as legendary city founder of Sagalassos, an invented tradition propagated by numerous civic bronze issues with his effigy from the early Roman Imperial period onwards (Talloen 2015: 190-191).

At first glance, the local, 'Pisidian' past does not seem to have played any part in this monumentalisation, consisting of Hellenic types. Does this mean that those elements of society that negotiated the new cultural identity manifest in the monuments apparently choose to forget, relinquishing elements of their indigenous past in favour of an exclusively Hellenic identity? Future investigation of the monuments mentioned above will shed further light on the 'thoroughness' of this Hellenisation process. Religious practices, for example, were key to the cultural identity of the performing community as cults were an integral part of a city's self-representation, used to represent the community to its citizens and neighbours (Talloen 2015: 141-143). The relatively late construction date of the Doric Temple at Sagalassos implies the continuing presence of less monumental cultic installations, possibly rooted in the indigenous tradition (Talloen 2015: 148-149). Can this be seen as a sign for religious conservatism? Planned control excavations within the former *temenos* of the Doric Temple will most probably yield some of the material residue of the ritual activities taking place there, which can help to clarify the indigenous and/or Hellenic character of the cult.

Already one element deviant from the traditional Hellenic architectural programme can be singled out, namely the common use of weaponry as a decorative motif on public and funerary monuments at Sagalassos, which is held to reflect the notorious warlike nature of the Pisidians (Waelkens 2004: 459). The presence of the warrior deities Athena and Ares in the architectural decoration of the council building should be seen in the same light: they were watching over the autonomy of the city. While the presence of Athena can still be explained as a result of Hellenic influence which made the goddess as Athena Boulaia, a protectress of political institutions (Talloen 2015: 111), that of Ares is far less obvious in such a context. The attendance of the god can probably be attributed to his identity as a deity with indigenous roots who was worshipped throughout the region, a popularity that was not that common in the Greek world (Talloen 2015: 96-97). This

predilection for weaponry and warlike deities, something that conforms to the characterisation of the locals by ancient authors like Xenophon (*Anabasis*, I, 2.8), Strabo (*Geographica*, XII, 7.2-3) and Arrian (see above), may indicate that a Pisidian identity was not necessarily a strictly ethnic identity but one based on a shared heroic past. In any case, the reliefs of Ares and Athena testify to the fact that the community of Sagalassos still took pride in its reputation as a warlike people, and contributed to their own mythogenesis.

Roman

This bellicose nature of the Pisidians had given many of their overlords a headache. So when Amyntas, the king of Galatia and a client of the Romans, died on campaign in the region in 25 BCE trying to put out the last centres of resistance to his rule, the emperor Augustus stepped in and incorporated the region into the Roman Empire. To subdue Pisidia once and for all, he devised a strategy which involved the foundation of a number of colonies of Roman veterans in and around the area, at Pisidian Antioch, Komama, Kremna, Olbasa and Parlais and the construction of a road – the so-called *Via Sebaste* or Imperial Road - which connected some of these colonies and encircled this troublesome region (Talloen in press).

Following the imperial annexation of Pisidia, Sagalassos came to enjoy the benefits of the *Pax Romana* and witnessed a period of urban expansion and intense building activity (Waelkens 2002), which also had its impact on the Upper Agora. During the 1st century BCE, the square had already been enlarged towards the west by some 12.5 m, which caused the terrain to the west of the agora to be levelled by excavating the virgin soil of ophiolithic clay and the underlying weathered ophiolithic bedrock. The pottery found on top of those excavated natural deposits and dated to the second half of the 1st century BCE, provides a *terminus ante quem* for this operation (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 120-121).

Shortly afterwards, at the beginning of our era, c. 12 m high honorific columns carrying statues of local noblemen were erected in the four corners of the square (Fig. 3). Such commemorative columns were used to honour achievements and to magnify the status of the honoured person whose statue was placed on top (Waelkens *et al.* 2011: 84-87). Whether the monuments were granted to these members of the elite for their role in the rearrangement of the Upper Agora is not clear, but they are among to the earliest honorific monuments recorded in the city. Together with the remnants of other early Roman Imperial monuments found in the central part of the agora (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 121-124), they mark a significant evolution in the use of the square.

From the late Hellenistic period onwards, the administration of cities was increasingly left to a small hereditary minority, the notables, who used their personal fortunes to run state services, receiving increasingly conspicuous forms of honour in exchange (Zuiderhoek 2011). These honours often took the shape of monuments erected on and around

the city square, with inscriptions recording the names and deeds of the elite families. These instances of monumental writing highlighted the patriotic qualities of the notables as they performed as civic magistrates, caring benefactors or pious priests. Their sons, like Arnestes, son of Admon and victor in the Klareian games during the second half of the 1st century CE (Devijver 1996: 133), were represented as cultural prodigies or victorious athletes, and their wives and daughters, like Ias, daughter of Krateros (Lanckoronski 1892: n° 218) as models of female virtue and traditional family values. Such imagery helped to create a social distance that differentiated the notables within their communities. Thus, the agora, a meeting place of the popular assembly, assumed a new socio-political role as a display case for the elite, becoming a stage on which the leading members of society could compete for symbolic capital in the form of obligation, gratitude, prestige and personal loyalty, on which they relied as a source of social empowerment.

Sometime afterwards, during the second quarter of the 1st century CE, the square was paved over, receiving a surface of limestone slabs which still remains in place today (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 132-133). Moreover, it also became formally defined and enclosed architecturally at this time through the construction of porticoes on three sides, a monumentalisation of public squares in Asia Minor that enjoyed a great popularity during the Roman Imperial period (Pont 2010: 181-186).

Another ideological force driving the multiplication of monumental structures at this time was local identity building, an increasingly important social paradigm in the globalising context of the Roman Empire (Revell 2009). To this end several sanctuaries for poliad deities – the distinguishing sign boards of every city and the sacred core of its identity – were constructed, like the shrine of the goddess Tyche erected on the south side of the agora. The importance of this baldachin monument for the identity of the city is proven by its appearance on civic coin issues and its continuing popularity into Late Antiquity, resulting in a conversion of the pagan sanctuary into a dynastic shrine for late antique rulers (Talloen – Waelkens 2004: 188-191).

On the opposite northern side of the agora, Dionysos saw his cultic importance underlined through the construction of the Antonine nymphaeum, of which the sculptural programme and the architectural decoration were dedicated to his person (Talloen 2015: 187-188). This typically Roman type of fountain, executed in the decorative 'imperial' construction style (Thomas 2007), was built during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE) most probably by Titus Flavius Severianus Neon, one of the greatest benefactors of the city (Waelkens *et al*. 2011: 121). It replaced an unknown earlier source of water as implied by the early Imperial terracotta water conduits that were found under the pavement of the agora, leading away from the location of the later nymphaeum (Talloen – Poblome 2016: 132). This monument constituted another essential element in the identity of the community as indicated by a coin type representing the statue of Dionysos which was probably issued on the occasion of its inauguration, and by the fact that it was turned into a dynastic monument of the founding family in late antiquity, perpetuating the memory

of the Neon family (Waelkens *et al*. 2011: 126-127). Interestingly, the Dioskouroi, a divine twin with clear indigenous roots (Talloen 2015: 71 and 99), were present in the sculptural decoration of both buildings, again adding some Pisidian flavour to the conveyed message.

So far this paper highlighted the impact of local socio-cultural developments on the architectural record of the agora during the Roman Imperial period. Yet, the people of Sagalassos were of course not blind to the new political reality of the Roman Empire. In order to accommodate the new order of power, numerous monuments were put up to emperors or their representatives, characterising the agora as a platform for contact with the imperial authorities. Public monuments stressing the alliance with Rome were erected by the local elite to curry favour with the imperial authorities and to simultaneously gain the support of the wider population, thus reinforcing the collective identity.

From the very beginning of Roman rule, the Sagalassians displayed their commitment to the Empire, as indicated by the colossal statue for Marcus Lollius, the first governor of the newly founded province of Galatia during the reign of Augustus, who was honoured as the patron of the community (Eck – Mägele 2008). Roman power and its personification, the emperor, were most noticeably absorbed into civic life through the imperial cult with its plethora of imperial sanctuaries, images and festivals (Talloen – Waelkens 2004). The Upper Agora was one of the main venues for this veneration as demonstrated by the two gates in the shape of a triumphal arch – a distinctively Roman structure - that were built in honour of the emperor Claudius at the southeast and southwest entrances to the square (Fig. 3). Typically, the friezes of the arches were decorated with symbols of military prowess, including a Macedonian shield, a helmet, a cuirass, a club and greaves, adding again some *couleur locale* to this imperial monument. The Sagalassians thus combined their legendary past with the recognition of the imperial present. Others imperial images erected on or near the agora during the first two centuries CE included those of Vespasian, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius (Eich et al. in press).

Through such responses to external stimuli, the square was geared up in establishing the city as the regional centre. The success of Sagalassos in this communication strategy is reflected by its *proteia* and *neokoros* titles, much vaunted on its monuments, which allowed it to assert its primacy over the other cities of the region (Talloen 2015: 314-317). They are proclaimed, for instance, on the base for the effigy of Caracalla erected on the Upper Agora by "the city of the Sagalassians, first of Pisidia, friend and ally of the Romans", in 212 CE. The surge in monuments for this emperor throughout the region at this specific time can possibly be linked with the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, the edict that granted Roman citizenship to all free men in the Roman Empire (Talloen 2015: 172-173). If so, the monument can be seen as sign of the importance given to Roman citizenship by the local community, an asset which still carried some cachet at the beginning of the 3rd century CE, especially in the eastern provinces where it was far from ubiquitous even among the local elites (Garnsey 2004: 134 and 138).

Such imperial loyalties and local patriotism were not mutually exclusive and created

multi-faceted identities. We already saw how the inscriptions found on the agora characterised the city square as a showcase of the local elite who appeared on the public stage as patriotic citizens, steeped in Greek *paideia*. The notables were not only represented there as local stakeholders, but also as 'citizens' of the Empire through the display of their Roman names, their imperial relationships with emperors and governors, and their imperial offices. This is exemplified by a final example of monumental accretion cited here, the early 3rd century statue base for Claudius Dometillianus Proculus, a priest of the ancestral god Dionysos and a senator of Rome, who received an honorific statue on the Upper Agora, erected by his fatherland in gratitude for his loyalty to the city (Lanckoronski 1892: 229 n° 212).

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to demonstrate how the study of urban development at Sagalassos, more particularly of the area of the Upper Agora, can contribute to our knowledge of the collective identity of the local community, based on the premise that inferences about communal identity can be drawn from the nature of urban development. All public building projects would have been approved by the civic administration, confirming that these were appropriate expressions of the communal identity. The identity acted out was not an ethnic one but a cultural one, which had several aspects between which the community could switch back and forth.

Recent fieldwork has shown how this Pisidian community took the step towards monumentalisation at the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 2nd century BCE through the lay-out of an open square that was to become the multi-functional spatial heart of the community. It did so to comply with the *polis*-model that was spreading in the region at the time. In the course of the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE several monuments were erected around the Upper Agora that manifested a 'Greek' way of life in politics, economy, religion, and culture and education. Making use of a developed architectural language through which values could be expressed, Sagalassos profiled itself as a Hellenic city. It assumed its traits which indicates that these were considered fundamental for their communal identity, of which the mythical founder Lakedaimon would become the sign board. The local community stood central to the monumentalisation in the Hellenistic period, as indicated by the collectivist nature of the public architecture of the democratised city.

The process of urban development was brought to the next level during the early Roman Imperial period which saw the infilling of the agora by new monuments. The local elite came to play a central role in the monumentalisation of the square in the Roman Imperial period as the changing configuration of space, characterised by the erection of honorific monuments, reflected the new social oligarchic reality of the community. Furthermore, the reference to the Roman Empire played a key role in the articulation of public space, in the shape of imperial monuments. With such honours for citizens, rulers and

gods, the agora was transformed into an honorific landscape during the Roman Imperial period. In this framework, the tradition of Hellenistic architecture survived, but spatial and architectural elements of contemporary Roman architecture were also present.

Through the conservation and development of the built landscape of the Upper Agora, Sagalassos was confronted with its past and present, and the communal identity was shaped as a result. The multi-layered meanings embedded in the urban landscape were related to the changing nature of civic identities which were continuously being reformulated and reasserted. It was through the repeated use of urban buildings and the adherence to the urban statutes that the civic community not only reproduced local society but also large-scale processes like Hellenisation and Roman imperialism on the local level, without forgoing on the Pisidian past. The concept of identity was multi-layered, the result of the integration of distinct but compatible cultural traditions which contributed to the identity formation of the local community. Each of these levels continued to play its role in the self-identification process of the local community who defined its identity by referring to all three cultural phases: Pisidian, Greek and Roman.

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