PISIDIAN ANTIOCH

The Site and its Monuments

Stephen Mitchell
and
Marc Waelkens

PISIDIAN ANTIOCH: THE SITE AND ITS MONUMENTS

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by
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and
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with contributions by
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For Barbara Levick and Mehmet Taşlıalan,
two champions of Antioch

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PREFACE

This study of Pisidian Antioch is based primarily on two seasons of archaeological work on the monuments of the site carried out in 1982 and 1983. The aim of the project, which was directed in the field by Stephen Mitchell, was to survey and record, without excavation, as much as possible of the visible remains of antiquity at the site, including inscriptions, stray architectural pieces, but above all traces of ancient buildings, and to produce an accurate, contoured site plan. We hoped thereby to be able to reconstruct the building history of the city in antiquity and to place its remains in their proper historical and cultural context. During the survey itself we concentrated particularly on architectural remains and buildings. Architecture, and especially public architecture, was a supremely important component of Graeco-Roman cities. Perhaps to a greater degree than any other urban settlements in history, the cities of the Roman Empire were defined and characterised by their public buildings. As the travel writer Pausanias put it in a famous passage written towards the end of the second century AD: How could you call a place a city, which had no state buildings, no gymnasium, no theatre, and no agora; which had no running water at a fountain and whose inhabitants lived on the edge of a torrent in hovels or mountain huts (*Description of Greece* X.3.4)? By this criterion the study of public architecture should be at the centre of any investigation of a classical city, and it was with this in mind that we approached Antioch.

The chapters that follow are, in the first instance, a report of what we found and an attempt to make sense of our discoveries. We make no claim to have studied all aspects of Antioch exhaustively. It has not been our intention to reappraise the documentary sources for the history of the city in detail, for that would duplicate much excellent work which has already been done, most notably by Barbara Levick. We have simply provided in chapter 1 an introductory account, whose main object is to place the buildings which we studied in their historical context. Although several new inscriptions were found, they too have not been included except where they throw light on the building record. We have also not attempted to examine the free-standing sculpture and the many votive reliefs found on the main site or at the sanctuary of Mên, although we have taken this evidence into consideration in discussing the interpretation of the monumental remains.[1] We did not collect surface pottery from the site.

Even within the terms of a survey of Antioch's buildings there are some significant gaps. We made only cursory observations on the bath house, we did no detailed work on the small stadium at the sanctuary site, and we did not investigate the remains of cemeteries, except to note numerous reused grave monuments and funerary inscriptions in the buildings of Yalvaç itself. We are fortunate to be able

to replace our own observations on the main Roman aqueduct with a detailed account of a survey carried out in 1995 by M. Jean Burdy of Lyon and Mehmet Taşlıalan.

After our work in the field was finished we were able to acquire a considerable amount of further information from other sources. In August 1984 Marc Waelkens made a study of the architectural and other material from Antioch which had been taken to the museums of Istanbul, Afyon and Konya, either after the excavations directed by W.M. Ramsay in 1912–14 or by D.M. Robinson in 1924. It is worth noting that some of this has now been returned to the local museum in Yalvaç, which is the most important repository of finds from the site. Mitchell and Waelkens were able to take the first steps towards preparing this report in the early months of 1984 at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and during that period Mitchell also visited the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, where records of the 1924 Michigan excavation of Antioch have been preserved. Information on this and other archives has been updated as a result of a recent visit to Ann Arbor by Dr Maurice Byrne (see appendix 2). We have been able to incorporate relevant information from the Michigan records into our discussion of the site and we have also been able to use some of the splendid photographs taken by George Swain for the 1924 expedition. Also in 1984, by the invitation of Professor Machteld Mellink, we lectured jointly on our work at Bryn Mawr College, and through a chance meeting with Professor Darby Scott, who was about to take up the position of director of the American Academy in Rome, we learned that many of the drawings made by the expedition's architect, Frederick Woodbridge, were still in the possession of his widow, who lived in Rome and maintained contact with the America Academy where her husband had worked. Waelkens visited Rome in the autumn of 1984 and was given access to these drawings, which provide much information that would otherwise have been lost, by Mrs Woodbridge. Her generosity in handing over this material means that Frederick Woodbridge's architectural work for that 1924 season can now be appreciated for its outstanding quality and importance. Dr Michael Ballance carried out a plane table survey of Antioch in 1962 and has put the plan he made at our disposal. We are also grateful to him for permission to use several excellent black and white photographs taken at that time.

Since 1984 and the appearance of brief preliminary reports,[2] the preparation of the final account of our work has been delayed for longer than it should have been by the commitments of the authors to other projects and to the often unpredictable circumstances of academic life. During this period there have been important developments, which have significantly altered the archaeological picture of Antioch. In 1981 Mehmet Taşlıalan became director of the Yalvaç Museum, and since then he has committed himself with extraordinary energy and enthusiasm to investigating and promoting the site. His lectures in Europe and the USA have been one cause of an ever growing number of visitors, and his championship of Antioch has converted it into one of the regional cultural

centres of the province of Isparta. In the mid-1980s he began excavation and restoration work on the site itself, and this has transformed Antioch's appearance. The area of the imperial temple has been cleared as it was at the time of Robinson's excavations, and this has clarified many small points regarding the ground plan and the reconstruction. The results of these investigations combined with an important study of the architecture of the temple were submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Selçuk University, Konya, and the main findings have been briefly published.[3] The *decumanus maximus* from the city gate to the central part of the site, and the southern end of the *cardo maximus* have been cleared, as has a large part of the bath house. Work has also been undertaken on the area next to the large basilica (Church of St Paul), and in the theatre. Much of this work has been published in a preliminary form, and we have drawn on these reports at appropriate points in our study.[4] T. Drew-Bear has undertaken the publication of new or rediscovered inscriptions from these excavations and from the environs of Antioch, some of which have a bearing on the building history of the city.[5]

The limitations of non-intrusive survey work on a site such as Antioch are bound to be exposed by subsequent excavation.[6] The uncovering of the city gate, the *decumanus maximus*, part of the bath house and of the large basilica church in particular has provided much data which could not be obtained by survey alone. Information from the excavations has also been valuable in clarifying some of the problems concerning the imperial sanctuary, although it has not led us to conclusions radically different from those we had already formed. In general, the recent reports have enabled us to amplify and correct plans and reconstructions of buildings, but have not suggested major changes in chronology or other matters of interpretation.

In July 1997 Mehmet Taşlıalan, aided by Thomas Drew-Bear, organised an international conference on Pisidian Antioch, which attracted archaeologists, epigraphists, historians and theologians from many countries. Papers concerning the rock reliefs from the sanctuary of Mên, the basilica church, and the city's water supply marked further progress in the archaeological study of Antioch. The publication of the conference will mark an important milestone in the modern rediscovery of the ancient city.

In preparing the present publication Mitchell has been responsible directly for chapters 1–2 and the appendixes. In writing chapter 3 he made use of notes on the architecture of the temple prepared by Waelkens. Waelkens wrote the first draft of chapter 4 and completed much of the research for chapter 5, which has been written up by Mitchell using his detailed notes. The discussion of the aqueduct in chapter 6 is the work of Jean Burdy, although we have been able to add some illustrative material from the records of the 1924 Michigan expedition and some excellent photos taken by Michael Ballance. Jean Öztürk wrote the original draft for chapter 7 on the churches, and information has been added from the reports on Mehmet Taşlıalan's excavations. Mitchell has carried out the final revision of all these contributions. The maps of the site are based on

a survey begun by Robin Fursdon, Timothy Fursdon and Jonathan Western, who established a series of tachyometrically surveyed fixed points in 1982, and completed by Ian Cowell and Kevin Hainsworth with a plane table in the following year. The latter also made the plane-table plan of the Mên sanctuary in 1983 and produced drawings of the maps of the main site and the Mên sanctuary. Brian Williams made new drawings of the map and of the elevation of the imperial temple during the final preparation of the copy for the press. Other drawings used in the publication have been the work of Woodbridge, Burdy, Mitchell and Waelkens.

Acknowledgements are due to many people who have been involved directly or indirectly in bringing this report to its final stage. In the first instance thanks are due to those who took part in the survey itself. In 1982 we worked from 15 August to 7 September. The team consisted of Stephen Mitchell (University of Wales, Swansea), Marc Waelkens (then of Gent, now at the University of Leuven), Jean Greenhalgh-Öztürk (then a postgraduate in the department of archaeology at Newcastle University, now of Bilkent University, Ankara), Robin Fursdon (then lecturer in the department of surveying, Newcastle University), his son Timothy Fursdon, and Jonathan Western, a student of the department. In 1983 the same archaeological team worked from 5–30 July, while the survey work was in the hands of Ian Cowell and Kevin Hainsworth of the Newcastle department. In both years the Turkish government representative was Bay Durmuş Kaya of Isparta Museum. We are deeply grateful to the Turkish Directorate General of Monuments and Museums, and to its then director Dr Nurettin Yardımcı, for granting permission for the survey to be carried out, and in particular to Dr Mehmet Taşlıalan, who gave every possible assistance, and has continued with characteristic unselfishness to help with our work on Antioch during the period that his own researches on the site have taken place. The project was sponsored by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, and owes much to the then director, David French, and assistant director, Ann Murray, for their backing and practical support and for the loan of one of the Institute's landrovers. Many of the photographs were also processed by the Institute's photographer, Tuğrul Çakar.

The work was financed by grants from the British Academy (£2700), the Roman Society (£1000), the Craven Committee of Oxford University (£800), and the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (£500). A further grant of £1000 from the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara has been used for the preparation of some of the drawings. The Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research provided travel and maintenance grants for Waelkens in both years. We would like to thank all these bodies, whose generosity enabled the field work to be carried out.

We have also to thank those people who aided our work subsequently: Dr Nuşin Asgari (Istanbul), Saadat Özgündüz and Ahmet Ilaslı (Afyon), and Ismail Karamut and Necip Çay (Konya), who made possible Waelkens' work in 1984 on their museum collections; Professor J.W. Eadie, the director, and Pamela Reister

and Robin Meador-Woodruff, registrars of the Kelsey Museum in Michigan, who provided access to the records of Robinson's excavation; Professor Darby Scott and Mrs F.W. Woodbridge who put us on the trail of Woodbridge's architectural records; and Dr Michael Ballance for information from his own survey of 1962. In the final stages Dr Maurice Byrne has been of great assistance not only in discussing the problems of dating the propylon and the city gate, but also in the overall interpretation of the records of the Michigan excavation. He also compiled most of the information contained in appendix 2.

There is much work still to be done at Antioch. We hope that this volume forms a useful and practical discussion of the present state of our knowledge, and will attract proper attention to one of the most important cities of the eastern Roman empire.

Stephen Mitchell
Marc Waelkens

Notes

[1] For the sculpture from Antioch, see I. Karamut, *Pisidia Antiocheia'sı Heykeltraşlığı*, Konya Selçuk Üniversitesi Ph.D. thesis 1987.

[2] S. Mitchell, *AS* 33 (1983) 7–9; 34 (1984) 8–10; *I Araş*. (1984) 79–81; *JHS Arch. Reports* 1984/5, 99–100; M. Waelkens, *III Araş*. (1986) 191–8.

[3] Taşlıalan 1995.

[4] Taşlıalan 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998; see also his two guide books to the site, *Pisidian Antioch. The Journeys of St Paul to Antioch* (Istanbul 1991), and (in Turkish) *Yalvaç. Pisidia Antiocheia* (Istanbul 1991).

[5] T. Drew-Bear, 'Pisidia Antiocheia'sının parlak dönemlerini yansıtan yazıtlar', *XII Araş.,* 13–17.

[6] We may cite the example of Sagalassus, surveyed by us between 1985 and 1989 (on which see Mitchell and Waelkens, *AS* 37 (1987) 37–43; 38 (1988) 60–5; and 39 (1989) 67–74; 40 (1990) 185–98). The site has subsequently been excavated on a large scale by Waelkens, and the results are published in *Sagalassos* I–IV (1993–1997). A detailed comparison of survey and excavation results is very instructive.

Fig. 1. Map of Asia Minor.

Chapter 1

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The location of Antioch

The site of Antioch lies about one kilometre north-east of the modern town of Yalvaç, an *ilçe* (county town) in the province of Isparta (*Fig*. 2). It stands on a hill which rises to a height of 1,236 metres on the north side of the Yalvaç Çay, the ancient river Anthius, which appears on coins of the colony[1] and runs south-west towards Gelendost and lake Eğirdir (Plate 1). On the north and east the mountain massif of the Sultan Dağları, which form an imposing wall running north-west from the vicinity of Konya to the modern town of Çay, cuts Antioch off from the central Anatolian steppe (Plate 2). The city accordingly looks west and south towards lake Eğirdir and beyond it to the mountains of Pisidia (Plate 3). The Sultan Dağları are the key to Antioch's agricultural prosperity, continued by the thriving town of Yalvaç today. Like the other mountain ranges which encircle the Anatolian Plateau, they attract most of the precipitation brought by prevailing winds, which often blow from the north or north-west.[2] This has two consequences. Firstly, there is higher rainfall in the areas adjoining the mountains, that is at Antioch and in its territory, than further east in the steppic country of the interior. A rainfall map shows average precipitation of 600–1,000 mm per year on the mountain range itself, and 500–600 mm on its flanks.[3] Secondly, the winter snow and rain that fall on the mountains feed springs in the foothills, like those that were tapped to provide Antioch's piped water supply in the Roman period. Both on the north-east and the south-west side, the lower slopes of Sultan Dağ are richly fertile areas, which nourished a string of thriving settlements in Antiquity: Antioch and Neapolis to the west, and Laodicea Catacecaumene, Tyriaeum and Philomelium to the east of the mountain range.[4] All these places were settled before Roman times, Antioch and Laodicea by the Seleucids, probably in the third century BC. Tyriaeum was known to Xenophon in the fourth century BC,[5] while Philomelium, like Docimium to the north and Lysias and Derbe to the south, was a Macedonian colony.[6] These had been founded around the perimeter of the central basin, and the first two took their names from their Macedonian founders. Neapolis 'of Phrygia' is known from a Rhodian inscription to have existed at least as early as the second century BC.[7] It is clear that the favourable climate and terrain had attracted outsiders to this part of Anatolia long before Antioch was chosen as a Roman colony.

The most important part of Antioch's territory is clearly visible to anyone who

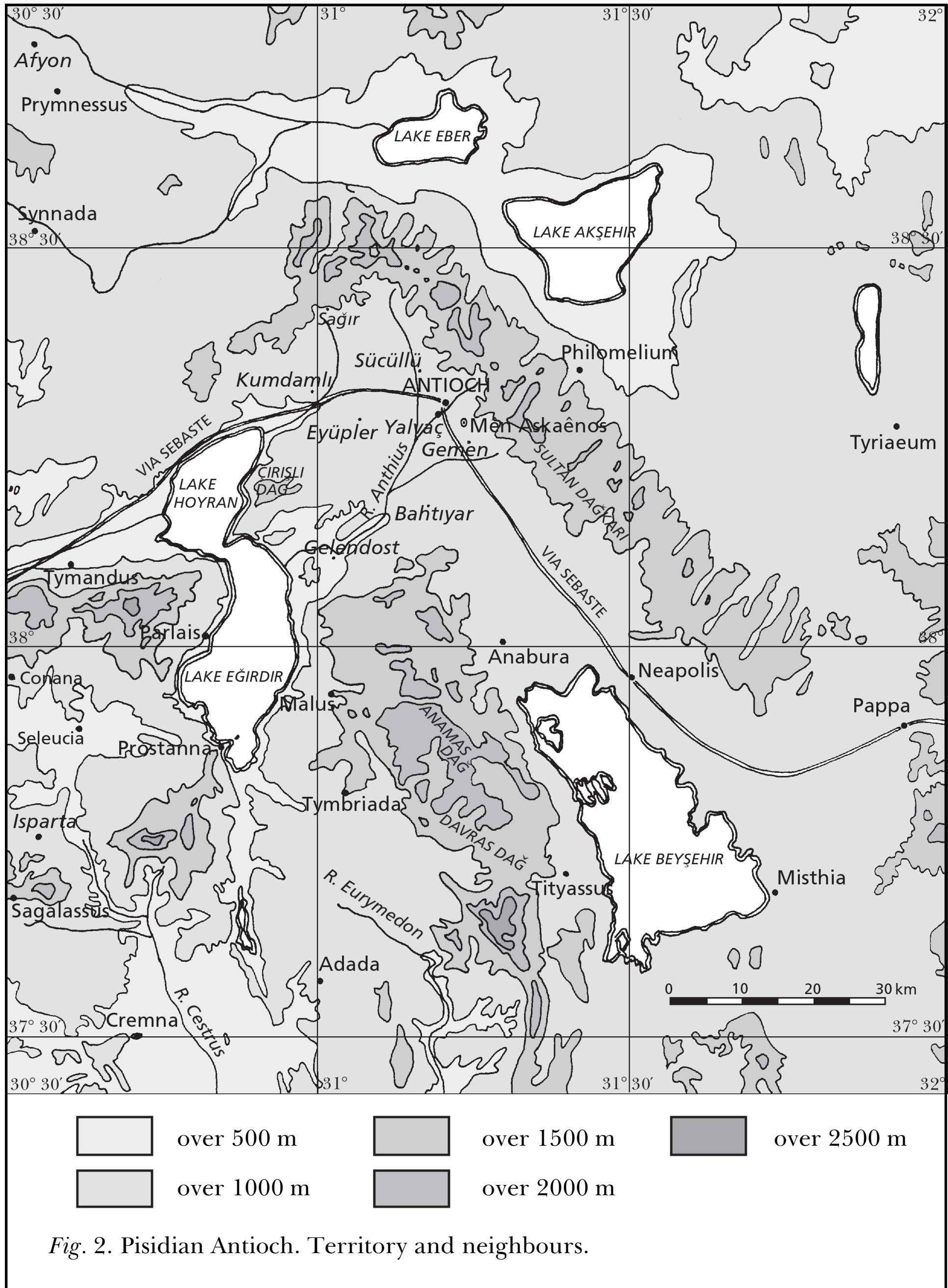

Fig. 2. Pisidian Antioch. Territory and neighbours.

climbs up to the site of the temple of Mên Askaênos, south-east of the settlement, and looks out westwards (PLATE 4). On either side of the Yalvaç Çay there is a great patchwork of intensively cultivated arable land, broken by the wooded valleys of its tributary streams, and extending on the west to the mountains at the east side of lake Hoyran (Çirişli Dağ) and on the south to the foothills of Anamas

Dağ, the range which separates lake Eğirdir from lake Beyşehir. Epigraphic evidence of the Roman imperial period suggests that the villages as far as Gelendost in the south-east and Sağır in the north-east belonged to Antioch, and the surface area of the city's territory has been calculated at 540 square miles. The Turkish census of 1950 lists about forty villages in this area, with a total population close to 50,000. It is likely that population level in the Roman Imperial period was considerably higher than this.[8]

Cereals are overwhelmingly the most important crop produced by the area today, as they were in antiquity, but the terrain and climate are also very favourable to fruit growing, and in the season the local market is bursting with apples, peaches, apricots and cherries, for which Yalvaç is famous. A detailed analysis of the agricultural potential of the region today and in antiquity would be superfluous here, and in any case would require extensive field work in the territory of Antioch which we did not undertake, but it is clear even without further examination that a colony could expect to thrive and prosper. The distribution of Latin gravestones, many of Augustan or early imperial date, in villages throughout Antioch's territory demonstrates the nature of the colonial settlement. The veterans and their families, originally from the poorer regions of rural Italy, were to form a new yeoman population. Their farms were to be the engine of economic growth and the basis of the urban wealth which was advertised by the city's fine buildings.[9]

Plate 1. The site of Antioch from the north-east (Kelsey archive 7. 1369).

Antioch was distant from the hellenised coastal regions of southern and western Asia Minor, but it was not inaccessible (*Fig*. 1). The main overland route through hellenistic Anatolia, known as the *koine hodos* or common road, ran from Ephesus up the Maeander valley to the important emporium of Apamea.[10] There was a crucial intersection of north–south and east–west routes immediately east of Apamea, one running from Phrygia into Pisidia, the other from the Maeander valley towards Lycaonia and Cilicia.[11] The latter is marked in the pre-Roman period by a string of Seleucid foundations, Laodicea on the Lycus, Apamea, Apollonia, and Antioch itself, whose origins are discussed in the next section. The importance of this route across the northern flank of Pisidia may be seen from Polybius' account of the expedition of Achaeus against Antiochus II in 220 BC.[12] When central Asia Minor became a directly governed part of the Roman Empire after the creation of the province of Galatia in 25 BC, new roads were built from the coast to the interior, above all the Augustan *via Sebaste*. Antioch was the *caput viae* of this road system, whose eastern branch continued to Iconium and Lystra in Lycaonia, and which ran first west and then south from Antioch through Apollonia and Comama, across the Taurus mountains at the Döşeme Boğazı, to Perge in Pamphylia. This was a major highway, suitable for carriages and wheeled traffic as well as pack animals, whose course may still be traced on the ground today.[13] The accessibility of Antioch, through this long-distance network of communications, was one of the vital factors which enabled the city to become the impressive centre revealed by its buildings. It did not prevent the city, like other land-locked centres, from suffering severe food-shortage when its own crops failed and the high cost of transporting bulky goods overland made it difficult to bring in supplies from elsewhere.[14]

PLATE 2. View north from Antioch to Toprak Tepe (2,531 m), Sultan Dağları.

The historical setting

Pisidian Antioch was founded in the third century BC. It is one of several cities in Asia Minor which take their name from members of the Seleucid dynasty, or are otherwise known to have been Seleucid foundations. Laodicea on the Lycus, founded later than the 270s and before 253 BC by Antiochus II and named after his sister Laodice,[15] its neighbour, Hierapolis,[16] Antioch on the Maeander, also probably created by Antiochus II,[17] and Apamea, the former Celaenae but renamed after the wife of Seleucus I,[18] all lay in the upper basin of the Maeander river and its tributary the Lycus, in southern Phrygia. Hellenistic inscriptions show them to have been civic communities with regular constitutions, although no monumental remains of the hellenistic period survive on their sites.[19] Further east there was Apollonia, where a cult of Seleucus I Nicator surely indicates that he was the city's founder,[20] and Seleucia, later called Seleucia Sidera, on the northern confines of Pisidia, while Pisidian Antioch itself and Laodicea Catacecaumene occupied sites on either side of Sultan Dağ in Phrygia Paroreius. These cities occupied a middle stretch in the chain of Seleucid foundations which extended from the Aegean coast to Syria. Eastwards the routes that crossed the Taurus mountains led to Seleucia, modern Silifke, on the Calycadnus, or through the Cilician Gates to the Cilician plain, which also received Seleucid foundations in the third century BC, Tarsus, known as Antiochia on the Cydnus,[21] and Magarsus, Antiochia on the Pyramus.[22]

It is useful to place the foundation of Pisidian Antioch in this broader context of third-century Seleucid activity in Anatolia, but it is difficult to offer any more substantial information about it. Although it is no doubt correct to assume that these cities fulfilled a strategic function, and ensured Seleucid control over the

PLATE 3. View south-west from Antioch to lake Eğirdir. Çirişli Dağ in the background beyond Yalvaç.

most direct land route between Syria and western Asia Minor, the argument depends entirely on geographical inference and is based on no specific ancient evidence. Indeed there is nothing to show that soldiers, or citizens with specific military obligations to the Seleucids, formed the core of the settlers. At all events, the cities, while they may have provided a protected corridor for traffic between the Levant and the Aegean, were in no position to exercise control or guarantee security over much of the Anatolian hinterland. Elementary practical considerations set clear limits to the extent of Seleucid power in Asia Minor.

The original settlers of Antioch came from Magnesia on the Maeander.[23] This bare observation, made by Strabo, can be fleshed out by adducing the terms of a civic decree of another Seleucid city, Antiochia in Persis, whose settlers also included a body of Magnesians. The Antiochians of Persia recalled that 'when formerly Antiochus I Sôtêr had conceived the ambition of increasing our city, which was named after him, and had consulted the Magnesians on the matter of despatching a colony, these had passed fair and splendid decrees, made vows and sacrifices, and sent men, sufficient in number and distinguished for their courage, in their eagerness to share in the increase of the people of Antioch.'[24] If the colonisation of Pisidian Antioch followed the same pattern, the original initiative will have come from the king, whether Antiochus I or II, and he will have approached the Magnesians with the invitation to send a colony. The decision to do so, however, will have been taken by the Magnesians themselves.

In 221/20 there had been a famous epiphany of the goddess Artemis at Magnesia, and in response to this a new international festival of Artemis Leucophryene was instituted, at the latest by 207/6 BC. Invitations to participate were sent to the monarchs and cities of the hellenistic world.[25] The decrees of the

PLATE 4. The territory of Antioch viewed from the sanctuary of Mên Askaênos.

communities which responded positively were carved on the walls of the west stoa of the civic agora, and they include three from cities called Antioch. One was certainly Antioch on the Maeander,[26] and since one of the other decrees makes a reference to kinship (*syngeneia*) between the guest city and Magnesia, it should probably be attributed to Pisidian Antioch.[27] If this is correct it supplies formal proof that the relationship between the mother city and its colony was maintained into the second century BC when the decree was inscribed. Moreover, the text shows that Antioch had an orthodox Greek civic constitution, with a *boule*, *demos*, *strategoi*, and *grammateis*.

No inscriptions of hellenistic date have been reliably recorded at Antioch, where the Augustan colony has almost completely overlaid earlier remains.[28] However, the nearby sanctuary of Mên Askaênos certainly dates back to the second century BC. Indeed there are points of comparison between the ground plans of the two temples at the Mên sanctuary and those of Artemis Leucophryene and Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia, which could be the result of direct Magnesian inspiration or influence (see pp. 66–7 below). Strabo tells us that before the time of Augustus there was a priesthood of Mên Askaeus at Pisidian Antioch, and that it controlled a large number of sacred slaves and sacred lands.[29] There are many well known parallels for such temple organisations. Cappadocian Comana was ruled by a priest, second in rank to the king of Cappadocia. The temple of Enyo or Ma at that place owned an extensive territory and six thousand slaves.[30] At Venasa the temple of Zeus was also endowed with a fertile territory and three thousand slaves, and administered by a priest, who held office for life.[31] At Pontic Comana Pompeius appointed his own nominee as high-priest, adding new territory to the sacred land which already existed; here too the temple slaves numbered six thousand.[32] At Zela there was an important temple of the Persian goddess Anaitis, with sacred slaves inhabiting the territory, governed by a priest,[33] and at Cabira the sacred land and slaves belonged to the same god, Mên, as was worshipped at Antioch.[34] Closer to Antioch on the western confines of Galatia was Pessinus, which was also originally governed by the priests of the mother goddess.[35]

However, it would be mistaken to press too far the parallel between the temple at Antioch and the temple-states of central and eastern Anatolia. Sacred slaves and sacred land were a feature of Greek as well as of oriental temple organisation, and there is no reason to believe that a priestly state existed alongside and in competition with the Greek *polis* at Antioch. In the hellenised environment of hellenistic and Roman Pisidia the city at Kaynar Kale, west of lake Kestel (probably the ancient Codrula), had a temple of Pluto and Kore with numerous sacred slaves attached to it, some of which had been dedicated to temple service by Roman colonists from nearby Comama.[36] In addition, as will be seen, the actual remains of the sanctuary at Antioch are Greek in character and provide no architectural evidence for an ‘eastern’ or ‘Anatolian’ cult. It is an interesting paradox that the remains of the sanctuary, dedicated to an Anatolian god, provide the clearest evidence for the hellenised culture of the Seleucid settlement.

In 25 BC, at the same time as Rome annexed most of central Asia Minor to create the province of Galatia, Antioch was refounded as a Roman colony, *Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*, and it received a new settlement of Roman veterans, drawn from legions V and VII.[37] Although no legionary camp has been located, epigraphic evidence suggests that the seventh legion may have been stationed as a garrison force in the vicinity of Antioch for most of the reign of Augustus before it was transferred to the Balkans around AD 7.[38]

The history of the colony at Antioch, principally reconstructed from its inscriptions, has been studied in detail, initially by W.M. Ramsay and his associates, whose names are linked with many of the most important discoveries on the site (see chapter 2), and more recently by Barbara Levick.[39] Accordingly, only some salient features need be picked out in this survey. Antioch possessed the typical organisation of a Roman colony. The colonists made up an assembly, whose richer members constituted the *ordo*, the Roman equivalent of a Greek *boule*. Later inscriptions, dating to the period when Antioch's Roman features were influenced by the prevailing Greek civic institutions of Asia Minor, regularly refer to this and to its members as the *boule* and the *bouleutai*.[40] The attested magistrates include duoviri, duoviri quinquennales, aediles and quaestors, but also an admixture of Greek officials, such as grammateis, gymnasiarchs, and agonothetae. The population was made up of *coloni*, full Roman citizens who were enrolled in the tribe Sergia, and *incolae* of lower status.[41] We have no information about the relative numbers or importance of the two groups. Although the legionary veterans and their families dominated the affairs of the colony throughout the imperial period, and many rose to high positions in the imperial administration, Pisidian Antioch must have remained a complex ethnic mixture. Not only will there have been surviving families from the Seleucid settlement, but there was also an indigenous Anatolian population, itself of mixed Phrygian and Pisidian extraction, with distinctive nomenclature, cults, funerary traditions, and language.[42] Phrygian doorstones were one of the commonest forms of funerary monument at Antioch itself.[43] Many uninscribed examples, which have not been published, can be seen built into the houses of modern Yalvaç (PLATES 5 and 6). Indigenous cults are well represented in the epigraphy of the territory of Antioch.

The city itself was divided physically into wards, *vici*, whose names show not simply generalised Roman influence but direct inspiration from the city of Rome itself. The *vici* known as Venerius, Velabrus, Tuscus, Cermalus, and Salutaris all took their names from landmarks in Roman topography, while the Aedilicius and Patricius are no less obviously Roman in origin.[44] It does not seem to be possible to identify any of these wards with actual areas of the site at Antioch, since none of their inscriptions, all set up in honour of prominent citizens, has been discovered *in situ*. A further inscription was set up by a *tribus Romana*, the only indication that the city had local tribes as well as wards.[45] The name perhaps indicates that tribes were created to distinguish the various ethnic groups found at Antioch, but there can be no certainty when the evidence is confined to this