THE ENTERTAINMENT STRUCTURES IN ROMAN PERGAMON

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ABSTRACT

THE ENTERTAINMENT STRUCTURES IN ROMAN PERGAMON

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In this thesis the main focus is the varied body of entertainment structures in Pergamon in the Roman era. Pergamon was a well known city in the Hellenistic period with close ties to Athens and continued its standing as a major cultural center through the Roman period. Especially notable is the fact that one of the only three known amphitheatres of Asia Minor was in Pergamon. Since the amphitheatre is a well-known Roman building type with no Greek precedent, its presence in Pergamon is particularly worth investigating. Besides the amphitheatre Pergamon also boasted a well known Greek theatre, a Roman theatre, a stadium and several *odea* which make the city a highly promising case study for multiple structures of entertainment. Hence the aim is to explore the architectural, social and political implications for the combined presence of these structures all within the same city.

Keywords: Pergamon, Entertainment Structures, Roman Architecture, Amphitheatres, Roman Asia Minor

ÖZ

ROMA DÖNEMİ BERGAMA'SINDA EĞLENCE YAPILARI

Baykara, Ayşe Bike

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

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Bu tezin yoğunlaştığı ana konu Roma döneminde Bergama'da bulunan değişik eğlence yapılarıdır. Bergama Helenistik dönemde çok iyi tanınan Atina ile yakın bağları olan bir şehirdir ve Roma döneminde de önemli bir kültürel merkez olarak kimliğini korumaya devam etmiştir. Özellikle dikkat çekici bir nokta, Küçük Asya'da bilinen sadece 3 amfitiyatro örneğinden birinin Bergama'da olmasıdır. Amfitiyatronun herhangi bir Yunan kökeni olmayan bir yapı türü olduğu iyi bilindiğinden, Bergama'da bulunması varlığını daha da araştırılmaya değer kılmaktadır. Bergama amfitiyatronun yanında ayrıca iyi bilinen bir Yunan tiyatrosu, bir Roma tiyatrosu, bir Stadium ve bir kaç *odeon*'un varlığı ile övünmekteydi ki bu durum da şehrin bir çok eğlence yapısını bir arada incelemek için dikkate değer bir örnek olduğunu gösterir. Bu sebeplerden dolayı amaç, sayılan bütün eğlence yapılarının bu şehirde bir arada bulunmasının mimari, sosyal ve politik açılardan anlamını araştırmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bergama, Eğlence Yapıları, Roma Mimarisi, Amfitiyatrolar, Roma dönemi Küçük Asya

To My Dear Family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis the main focus is on the varied body of entertainment structures in Pergamon in Roman times. These structures of entertainment unfortunately have not been studied extensively. Yet several important studies, especially in the field of archeology are available about the city of Pergamon. The excavations in Pergamon began in 1878 under Carl Humann, who focused on the Altar of Zeus and have been continued by the German Archaeological Institute. The early excavations focused mainly on the Hellenistic city but further work in more recent times have now uncovered remains from the archaic period as well as the Roman and Byzantine past. The published compilation of Wolfgang Radt who was the head of the excavations from 1971 until 2005 is now one of the major general sources for Pergamon from the archaic period until the end of the Byzantine period. Historical studies in this period of Asia Minor also give a general picture of the city in the Roman times.

It must be acknowledged that the center of attention even in the recent publications is the Hellenistic period. This is not surprising since, as the capital of the Attalid Kingdom, Pergamon was one of the most influential centers in ancient Greece and Asia Minor and an impressive city. Indeed the Altar of Zeus alone makes the city worthy of attention beyond the rest of the major buildings or scenographic planning. After Pergamon became part of the Roman power structure,

the city still continued to be important in Asia Minor. There are several significant structures from the Roman period, the Temple of Serapis or the Red Hall, Temple of Trajan and the major focus of this thesis: the entertainment buildings.

This thesis focuses on the nature and distribution of the entertainment structures especially the amphitheatre. The presence of this particular structure is especially interesting, since there are only three known examples of amphitheatres in Roman Asia Minor. Therefore understanding why Pergamon has one of the few examples of this building type is a main concern of the overall investigation.

In order to understand what made the amphitheatre so desirable that it was needed to be built, the function and meaning of other existing structures for entertainment in the city need to be understood, since it is well known that gladiatorial games often took place in theatres as well, especially in Asia Minor. Theatres usually housed theatrical performances but they could also serve for Roman games. The stadia or circuses usually held chariot racing but again could also host Roman games. There were two theatres and one stadium in Pergamon which like the other cities of Asia Minor could serve for staging gladiatorial games which is attested from the evidence of mosaics, inscriptions and reliefs. In Ephesus for example the games were known to be held in the theatre which was altered accordingly. This prompts the question of why all these different entertainment structures existed simultaneously in Pergamon.

In this regard, examining the standing of Pergamon in the Roman context to understand why such a blatant symbol of "Roman identity" as the amphitheatre was built at this city with a particularly strong "Hellenistic" tradition is a major concern of the thesis. Why was there a need to actually build an amphitheatre when for example theaters could be adopted as in Ephesus which could be compared to Pergamon in urbanized western Asia Minor? The city of Pergamon

had a distinct and renowned Hellenistic past and this particular building type was a conspicuous and loud way of advertising a distinctly Roman identity. So again why was this structure highly charged with Roman cultural ideals built here in Pergamon?

For discussing these questions, the thesis is framed in three main chapters. The first chapter studies different kinds of entertainment structures in the Roman period. Beginning with theatres, continuing with the circus and ending with the amphitheatre; the history of these buildings is discussed along with major examples and relation with Greek counterparts. Discussion about politics and the audience of the amphitheatre is intended to reveal how the amphitheater was seen in the historical and political context. Finally the chapter ends with examining the entertainment buildings in Asia Minor.

The second chapter examines the city of Pergamon, beginning with its history with a focus on the Hellenistic and Roman city and architecture. Following this, the entertainment structures are studied starting with the Hellenistic Theatre. It is significant to discuss the Hellenistic theatre and situate it in a context when posing questions about the function of all the entertainment structures.

The third chapter is devoted to the issue of Romanization. The chapter begins with establishing the premise for the process of Romanitas. Subsequently the instruments of Romanitas are examined: the public buildings, amphitheatre and religion as well as the imperial cult. The Romanization of Asia Minor and Pergamon particularly are the issues in the end of Chapter Three.

Results and comments through these three particular lines of research are outlined in the Conclusion. It is demonstrated that the reason of existence of all the entertainment buildings, particularly the amphitheatre lies with how Pergamon is situated in the power

structure of Asia Minor and the particular uses of the instruments of Romanization, especially the amphitheatre in this context.

CHAPTER 2

STRUCTURES OF ENTERTAINMENT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

2.1 An Overview of Entertainment Structures in the Roman Empire

> Public architecture presents us with the official view of a society and provides the background against which its individual markers live their lives. [1]

Public architecture in the Roman Empire was diverse and an important index that reflected different aspects of Roman culture and society. Although there seems to be no actual consensus on how to divide the types of buildings included in public architecture, a general classification could be made as three groups; religious buildings, buildings for entertainment and buildings provided for general political, social or economic purposes.[2]

The buildings for entertainment are in the very basic sense the buildings provided for sports and spectacles. Roman entertainments of this kind began early on in the Roman Republic with performances of drama, uncomplicated races and rather straightforward shows, which grew into a bewildering variety of well organized events.

[1] Barton, I.M. In «Introduction.» In *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. I.M. Barton, Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989. 1-5

[2] Brothers, A. J. "Buildings for Entertainment." In *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. I. M. Barton, Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989. 97-125

However despite the early existence of different kinds of entertainment, actual structures for these spectacles were built much later. The first permanent theatre in Rome for example was built in 55 BC, which was the Theatre of Pompey in the Campus Martius, while according to Livy, around 240 BC a Greek devised a play for Romans with a plot and Greek theatre performances became a feature of Roman festivals very soon after that.[3] Also the first known gladiatorial spectacle took place in 264 BC in the Forum Boarium while the first permanent amphitheatre in Rome was built in 30 BC in the Campus Martius by Statilius Taurus.[4]

> So instead of being held in the open or in temporary structures erected for the occasion, *various spectacles* were staged in a number of different permanent buildings, each designed with the particular event in mind and elaborated in accordance with prevailing taste. Moreover this picture albeit with differences of scale and local variations was reflected throughout the Roman world, from Africa to Britain and from Syria to Spain.[5]

There are several different types of Roman entertainment buildings. Interestingly the function of these buildings sometimes coincided with one other. The Theatre was a major building type for public entertainment and the origins of both the building type and the structure can be found in its Greek counterpart. Although the Roman theatres were based on a Greek model, there were significant differences related to the general tendencies of Roman architecture.[6] Among the earliest entertainments to be found in the Roman world were drama, mime and pantomime which were the major shows in

[3] Boethius, Axel, and J. B. Ward-Perkins. *Etruscan and Roman Architecture,* Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970. 162-179

[4] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 18

[5] Brothers, A. J. «Buildings for Entertainment.» In *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. I. M. Barton, Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989. 97-125

[6] Thorpe, Martin. *Roman Architecture,* London:Bristol Classical Press, 1995. 48-59

the Roman Theatre. After the necessary functional alterations, the theatres could also be used for other kinds of spectacles such as gladiatorial games, aquatic displays and wild animal fights.

Another entertainment structure which was related to the Roman theatre was the Odeon which was a kind of a small concert hall hosting musical performances, recitations and rhetorical contests and exhibitions. Being very similar to a theatre, this building type is usually classified as a "small theatre" and was not built as frequently. It was generally known to exist only in large and prosperous cities.

The stadium or circus was another building of entertainment in the Roman Empire. The circus was used in early days for spectacles such as the gladiatorial shows and wild beats hunts as it was used for several other entertainments especially athletic events but the primary function of a circus was a very popular event which was the chariot racing. The circus is structurally based on the Greek Stadium although it was built for the Roman spectacles and was the earliest building of entertainment in Rome because the Circus Maximus, as Livy states, was laid out by Etruscan Kings. [7]

The last major type of entertainment building was the amphitheatre which unlike any other mentioned had no direct Greek ancestor. In contrast to theatres and circuses where gladiatorial games and similar spectacles could be held but with a different primary function, the amphitheatre was the building type specifically designed to stage these shows. The amphitheatre is known as an Italian or Roman invention even though its name was in Greek, translated roughly as "having seats for spectators all round".[8]

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[7] Anderson, James C. *Roman Architecture and Society,* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. 241-287

[8] Kostof, Spiro. *A History of Architecture; Settings and Rituals.* New York and Oxford, 1985. 191-215

Smaller cities in the Roman Empire may have possessed a small number of entertainment buildings utilized for more than one purpose since the different structures sometimes shared similar functions and there was an immense cost involved in erecting such buildings, while the larger or more prosperous cities all over the empire had several types of entertainment buildings.

The different types of entertainments and spectacles lasted long in the Roman Empire; gladiatorial games survived for 700 years, wild beast shows for 900 years and chariot racing continued more than 1000 years, enduring into the Byzantine period. [9] The elaborate nature of the buildings used for entertainment in the Roman world was continually refined and improved over the centuries while the popularity lasted in the empire for a long time. [10]

2.2 Roman Theatres

As mentioned before a few of the earliest forms of entertainment in the Roman Empire were drama, mime and pantomime which led to the evolution of the Roman Theatre building. In the first centuries of the Republic of Rome, primitive plays and Etruscan music and dance were popular. These more crude forms of entertainment were replaced in the second half of the third century BC by translations and adaptations of Greek tragedies and comedies.[11] The popularity of Greek plays continued from thereon. These plays became a part of festivals; the games celebrated in theatres were called *ludi scaenici* and could be held in connection to a festival in honor of an individual.

[9] Crowther, Nigel B. *Sport in Ancient Times.* Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007. 103-116

[10] Brothers, A. J. "Buildings for Entertainment." In *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. I. M. Barton, Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989. 97-125

[11] Bieber, Margarete. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961. 148

There were many festivals including dramatic performances such as *Ludi Plebii, Ludi Megalenses, Ludi Florales, Ludi Apollinares etc,* but these performances were held in circuses, in front of the major temples or in temporary timber theatres. A permanent stone theatre was built in other cities of Italy much earlier than one in Rome because the senate had a prohibition on building permanent theatres on the grounds that Romans should not become accustomed to feminizing Greek pleasures.[12] This prohibition was of course much less effective in the rest of Italy. Nevertheless the theatrical performances were still highly popular and thus held in temporary structures which were in fact no less elaborate than a permanent stone theatre.

The first permanent theatre in Rome which survived this prohibition was the Theatre of Pompey (Fig.1) built in 55 BC by Pompey who is said to have been influenced by the Greek theatre at Mitylene in Lesbos while he was planning it. Pompey was highly criticized for building this structure so to disarm the critics, he included a temple for Venus Victrix on top of the *cavea* and argued that the seating of the theatre actually served as the stairs of the Temple. (Fig.2)

This theatre was the largest Roman theatre ever built and continued to be the most important theatre in Rome as long as it existed. It was raised entirely upon vaulted substructures and was for a long time the only permanent theatre in Rome. The theatre of Pompey set a precedent for later examples and placed the theatre as a building type in the architectural fabric of the city and a part of temple precinct and sanctuary.[13] Theatre of Pompey demonstrated a novel unified

[12] Boethius, Axel, and J. B. Ward-Perkins. *Etruscan and Roman Architecture,* Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970. 162-179

[13] Anderson, James C. *Roman Architecture and Society,* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. 241-287

public building not bound by its surrounding by using concrete vaulting.[14]

The next major theatre in Rome was the Theatre of Marcellus (Fig.3, 4, 5) which was begun by Julius Caesar in 44 BC and completed by Augustus between 13 and 11 BC and dedicated to the memory of his son-in-law Marcellus. Most of the cities and towns of the Roman Empire had at least one theatre which would be enlarged, altered according to new fashions in theatrical shows and were kept in good conditions. [15]

The Roman theatre was based upon the Greek model, since the word "theatre" was derived from the Greek "theatron" which was "a place for seeing"[16] The major differences between the Greek and Roman model are significant and illustrate some of the general tendencies of Roman architecture.[17](Fig.6)

The main differences can be summed up as: the Roman theatre was essentially a single structure while the Greek theatre was two parts with the area for spectators and an area for performance. There was a roof over the stage in Roman theatres serving as protection from weather and as a sound board. The interiors of Roman theatres were decorated richly , especially the *scaenae frons*, where "a screen of columns two or three storey high was arranged in an intricate pattern of projections and recesses of curved and rectilinear shapes and yet further enriched by statues".[18] (Fig.7)

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[14] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 57

[15] Brothers, A. J. «Buildings for Entertainment.»In *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. I. M. Barton, Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989. 97-125

[16] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 1

[17] Thorpe, Martin. *Roman Architecture,* London: Bristol Classical Press, 1995. 48-59

[18] Ibid

Also although the theatres could be built against a hillside like the Hellenistic practice they were not limited to these practices as seen in the Theatre of Pompey. It was mainly until second century BC that theatres were built against a slope which later became less of a necessity and more of a consideration depending on the site.

Theatres mainly served for theatrical performances such as plays, mimes etc, were sometimes altered to hold very popular gladiatorial games and *venationes*. "Terence laments that on one occasion he lost his whole audience at the end of the first act when a rumor spread that there was a gladiatorial spectacle taking place."[19] Sometimes due to this popularity the theatre was replaced by an amphitheatre but more common practice was to transform the existing theatre into dual purpose buildings. This practice was especially common in Greece and Asia Minor. The theatres could also be adapted for water spectacles in late imperial period (Ostia, Troy, Hierapolis are some examples from Asia Minor.)

In Greece the theatre as a building type was a symbol of democracy. While banning a permanent structure for dramatic performances, the Roman senate was also in a way refusing the creation of an assembly place for people, a forum for agitation. It is not a coincidence that it was Pompey, a man who sought the favor of the public while still enjoying the good graces of the senate who was the first to build a permanent theatre in Rome. However it was Augustus who fully realized the potential of the theatre as a propaganda tool. Pompey had shown that the theatre was not simply an entertainment venue but also a meeting place for Romans in large numbers. Augustus established it as a proper meeting place where Roman people assembled in their proper places according to their station. [20] So the

[19] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 43

theatre, a structure built for cultural and religious spectacles in the Hellenistic period became a public monument and a political tool for supporting the dominant ideology in the Roman Empire.[21]

2.3 The Circus

The Circus was the earliest of Roman buildings for entertainment and by the nature of the principal activity held in it, it was also the largest. (Fig.8) The Roman circuses were used foremost for chariot races, races with four-horse (*quadriage*) or two-horse (*bigae*) chariots. However during the Roman Republic and early Empire, the Circus Maximus in Rome and sometimes other circuses as well served as a venue for other events such as; ridden horse races, athletics, the Troy Game, *venationes,* gladiatorial combats etc.[22] After the construction of a permanent amphitheatre gladiatorial games and *venationes* were rarely held in the circus except on special occasions.

Chariot racing was an event in the Greek Crown Games at Olympia. The hippodrome was the Greek equivalent of the circus, although these rarely evolved into something more elaborate than a sandy field with turning posts. Thus no Greek hippodrome has been subjected to a thorough investigation; Etruscan arenas for chariot and horse racing are even more poorly known than are the Classical Greek hippodromes. Evidence for Etruscan sport remains limited to representations in tomb paintings, reliefs, terracotta plaques and vases.

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[20] The Emperor Augustus introduced elaborate regulations for seating arrangements in entertainment structures that would ensure that the crowd would mirror the larger political order. These rules were stricter in the theatre than any other entertainment structure and interestingly the least strict in circuses.

[21] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 3

[22] Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles:University of California Press, 1986.1

Both Greek hippodromes and Etruscan arenas were not developed as much as to create a recognizable building type thus it is very hard to determine the influences from these former examples on the Roma circus. [23] The circus was a structure with an elongated horse-shoe shape and was basically formed by four major parts. The first was the racing track which was divided by white lines to designate places for chariots, the second was the *carceres* which was the starting gates on the short straight end, the third was the central barrier which divided the track into two parts called the *spina* and the *cavea* which was the seating area for spectators. [24]

The best and earliest example for a Roman Circus is the Circus Maximus (Fig.9, 10) which was the earliest entertainment structure in Rome since it was built by Etruscan Kings. The Circus Maximus probably began like the Greek hippodromes with just turning posts, banks for spectators and some shrines. The starting gates, *carceres,* were built in 329 BC long after races were first held here. It was actually Rome's founder Romulus who was said to hold with the first circus games here. The construction in the location, enclosing of the track, establishing turning posts and building the shrine were all part of a later urban project, probably in the late regal period.[25]

Although it was the earliest entertainment building in Rome, the final monumental form came after several reconstructions and improvements over time. Julius Caesar made a grand reconstruction, straightening the long sides of the course and adding tiered seating at the curved end. Augustus added the *pulvinar*; the platform supporting the imperial box and Trajan expanded the seating capacity. "Fully monumental form, multilevel seating supported by both the hillsides and vaulting the exterior façade of the structure

[23] Ibid.16
[24] Brothers, A. J. «Buildings for Entertainment.» In *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. I. M. Barton, Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989. 97-125
[25] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 1

resembled the highly decorative scheme of Roman theatres and amphitheatres, a series of columned archways that allowed for spectator access and movement." [26]

Circus Maximus could hold 200.000 to 250.000 spectators and the stands were continually being enlarged by encroachments on the arena and by the absorption of nearby streets.

The stadium was a Greek type of entertainment building related to the hippodrome or circus building, which was designed not for equestrian shows but other athletic events. The shape of the building was similarly a horse-shoe shape but it was much smaller and rather narrower than the circuses. Also there was no *spina* dividing the racing track. An example for this building type brought to Rome relatively late was the Stadium of Domitian in the *Campus Martius* dedicated in 86 AD. (Fig.11)Only the largest cities in the Roman world could hold both a circus and a stadium. Usually in the western part of the Roman Empire cities tend to have only a circus and in the eastern part a stadium. It should be noted that the Circus Maximus and some of the other circuses could serve both as stadium and circus in function. [27]

2.4 The Amphitheatre

> Unquestionably the most popular, most important and most characteristic type of building devoted to spectator sports in the Roman world is that uniquely Roman creation, the amphitheatre.[28]

[26] Ibid.70

[27] Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 3

[28] Anderson, James C. *Roman Architecture and Society.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. 279

The amphitheatre was the building type designed to hold the spectacles called *munera.* The difference between the religious festivals with chariot racing or theatrical shows among other spectacles which were called *ludi* and *munera* was that *ludi* were offerings to the gods provided by public officials on behalf of the entire community whereas the *munera* were provided by individuals acting in a private capacity to honor a deceased relative. Though the nature of *munera* changed with time, private funding was an important factor for quite a while. *Munera* were usually several days long spectacles of gladiatorial games, *venationes*, sometimes also *damnatia ad bestias* or *naumachiae*. It is known that any one of these events could also be and had been held in other entertainment buildings such as the theatre or the circus but the amphitheatre was the building designed for these particular events.

The origins of the gladiatorial games are yet unascertained. (Fig.12) Two main theories point to either the Etruscans or Osco-Samnite Italians of Campania as origin. Either way it was a spectacle directly related with funeral rites. It was believed that the blood of the victims enlivened and sustained the shades of the departed, preventing them from wandering through the underworld. Also the blood was to appease the shades to stay in the underworld. The first known gladiatorial spectacle was in 264 BC the public funeral of Decimues Brutus Pera in the Forum Boarium, where his two sons staged a spectacle of three pairs of gladiators fighting simultaneously.[29] There was an immense interest in these spectacles which led them to become entertainments in their own right held in Forum Romanum in Rome, less as funeral rites and more as spectacles for acquiring popularity for senators and magistrates in any kind of election.

Venationes were wild beast hunts, where a special trained man or group would hunt different kinds of beasts in the arena. (Fig.13) The

[29] Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 32

thrill of these games was the chase which was elaborated and institutionalized in excitement of the dominance of civilized man over the realm of beasts. The show also signified the Roman hegemony over conquered lands where these exotic animals came from. The first recorded *venatio* was held in 169 BC in the Circus Maximus as part of the *ludi circenses*. [30]

Damnatio ad bestias was the execution of condemned criminals by wild beasts, to which the first reference was in 146 BC. (Fig.14) This spectacle was a form of military execution, a harsh lesson for those challenging Roman authority before being a part of the games. Some amphitheatres had arenas which could be flooded for using in mock sea-battles, although more often than not such water borne fights were staged in artificial lakes created for the occasion or also in other cities than Rome, in theatres altered to serve this purpose. These naval battles were called *naumachiae.*

In the Republican era, the popular gladiatorial games of the time were held in the Forum Romanum. Vitruvius mentions that the proper place to stage a game is the forum in any city.[31] Katherine Welch suggests that the model of the Roman amphitheatre was shaped and formed during the construction and reconstruction of wooden amphitheatres for spectacles in the Forum during this time. The amphitheatre as a building type took several varied forms of the basic theme of an elliptical arena surrounded by a seating area on raised tiers.[32] (Fig.15)

So the oval shape of the amphitheatre was not only because the shape was the best fit for the specific function and the practice of axial arrangement of Roman design but it was also influenced by the

[30] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 10

[31] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.*New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 42-43

[32] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 9

shape of the Forum as well. These wooden constructions were built and dismantled on a regular basis on the Forum. By the mid-first century BC the gladiatorial spectacles in the forum had become very elaborate as well, as the timber structure with awnings and *hypogea,* the basement structures and seating with substructures achieved a sort of monumental quality.

Before Rome had its first permanent amphitheatre, cities of western Italy especially Campania, Lucania and Etruria had already built stone amphitheatres. These Republican amphitheatres were usually either legionary or military colonies or somehow closely tied to Rome.[33] So these were either cities settled by army veterans or old Latin and maritime colonies, like Pompeii or Cumae. The best preserved and researched example of Republican stone amphitheatres is in Pompeii, which is not a very elaborate structure; it is dated circa 70 BC, soon after the placement of Sullan colony. (Fig. 16, 17, 18) These amphitheatres were small in size with no basement facilities and used the natural terrain; most were at least partially embanked in earth; there was no fine brick work. These were not very monumental or elaborate and had less articulated facades than imperial examples.[34]

The first permanent amphitheatre in Rome was erected in 30 BC in the Campus Martius by Statilius Taurus, who was one of the leading figures in the Triumviral and Augustan periods and a great military commander (Fig. 19).This amphitheatre was destroyed in the fire of 64 AD but before that it was the prototype for many amphitheatres in the Julio-Claudian period. The building was built in what was called

[33] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 88

[34] Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 61

the Tuscan style, which was very popular in the Augustan period as was any connection to Etruscans.[35]

The best known Roman amphitheatre is the Flavian amphitheatre which came to be known as the Colosseum. (Fig.20)

> Colosseum represents as no other monument the amphitheatre; It is at once both a symbol and a metaphor for the imperial might of the Roman empire that dominated the ancient Mediterranean world.[36]

The Colosseum was a most impressive monument and the largest amphitheatre the Roman world had ever seen. The project was started by Vespasian and dedicated in 80 AD by his son Titus. The amphitheatre was built on the site of the lake of Domus Aurea of Nero.[37] (Fig.21)

It had several annex buildings like the barracks for combatants, the four *Ludi, Summum Choragium* for construction and storage, a hospital, armory barracks for army of men etc. It occupied a vast area in the center of downtown Rome and it was at a point where several major thoroughfares of the city coincided. The site was also close to Forum Romanum, the traditional area for gladiatorial spectacles.

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[35] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 108

[36] Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 1

[37] This is an important site not only because it was at a very central point of Rome but Domus Aurea was the topic of many discussions in Nero's time. Taking a very large part of central Rome as the personal area for the emperor caused many disputes and dislike for Nero. After the revolts and suicide of Nero, Vespasian was the emperor who brought order to Rome again and converted the artificial lake of Nero as a place for a new public building was a certainly political move. Of course this has been a recently discussed matter because of the older view that Vespasian was giving the public area that Nero took from the people back to the Roman people. Welch argues that the area where Domus Aurea was built was a residential area for richer Roman citizens and for their warehouses. Also Domus Aurea unlike the previous houses existing in the site was open to everyone Roman people included. The older social structure which allowed the upper classes of Rome to avoid contact with the lower classes was destroyed. So the intense reaction of writers of the upper class is not surprising but maybe also is not necessarily so for the Roman people either. The result gained by building the Colosseum where the social structure is put back to place with Augustan law dictating everyone's place is also important to consider in this respect. Discussed among other things in Çetin, Yunus. *Beyond the Built Form: The Colosseum.* Ankara: Unpublished MA Thesis METU, 2011.

"The Flavian amphitheatre was a magnificent feat of design and engineering both in its *cavea* substructures and its basement structures." [38] The building had a very elaborate façade with three orders, Tuscan on the bottom level, Ionian on the middle level and Corinthian order on the upper level. (Fig.22, 23) There were statues of Greek heroes between half columns. No former amphitheatre had so much Greek character. With the Colosseum, the status of the amphitheatre changed. The former, smaller and less elaborate buildings left their place to monumental structures important for a recognizable Roman city. [39]

It should be noted here that although the Colosseum is the best known Roman amphitheatre and a prototype for many after its construction, it is also an unusual example. The fact that it was built in the center of the Rome is an important factor which gives the structure a different agenda than the examples of both east and west. It was built with a political agenda by an emperor who wished to make a statement about both his rule and the former emperor.[40] The more usual placement would have been in the Campus Martius which was a place for many entertainment structures and not in the immediate city center. Amphitheatres in other cities are similarly built at the outer parts of the city, usually close to the city walls.

In the Imperial period, many amphitheatres were built, in most cases, in the western part of the empire. The Amphitheatre was an important part of the city with its impressive monumental architecture in the imperial period, to provide a focus for civic pride

[38] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 143

[39] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 134

[40] The emperor Augustus wished for an amphitheatre in the city center. Also as a site the artificial lake was very convenient because it had the potential to carry the load of the monument and very good drainage.

and intercity rivalries. [41] These buildings were richly decorated and architecturally elaborate with multi-storied, arcaded facades with classical orders. They had enormous seating capacities; from 40.000 to 60.000 spectators.

There were also arenas built in militarized areas such as the Rhine-Danube frontier in association with legionary headquarters like the Republican amphitheatres of Campania. These military amphitheatres were probably multi-functional, serving also as a venue for drills and weapons practices.[42]

2.4.1 Politics and Audience in the Amphitheatre

As already mentioned, the earliest gladiatorial spectacles in the Roman State were parts of the funeral rites, to honor the dead and appease the shades. These funerals were in a public setting, which become highly politicized. Public funerals in the late Republic were increasingly used for public manipulation and dissension. After a while any connection to a funeral setting for these games became sketchy at best. The *munera* were gradually disassociated from funeral events and became spectacles on their own right with a political agenda.

The *munera* were privately funded but the Senate within the framework of other religious festivals fixed a calendar of spectacles which was entrusted to the magistrates. Magistrates came to power with election and it was easily discovered that in contrast to earlier years of political maneuvering and campaigns these very popular public spectacles provided a much faster way to ensure success.[43]

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[41] Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 61

[42] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 66

> Thus left to the initiative of anybody and everybody, these spectacles by their very popularity became an ideal instrument of propaganda and publicity for those who dreamed of exceptional careers of electoral success. They offered an easy method of winning over the plebs.[44]

Even with the attempted control of the Senate, *munera* soon got out of hand and became increasingly lavish shows. These public entertainments simultaneously validated the personal power of the *editor* (the person funding the spectacle) while contributing to the public's sense of being paid an honor.[45] Even through the highly dangerous times of the Principate, the gladiatorial shows were as impressive as ever.

The uncontrolled nature of the shows ceased with the change in the political arena. In the Imperial era in Rome, all the gladiatorial spectacles, except in December, were offered by the Emperor, who determined the scope, duration and the date of the shows. Even when the shows were given by the magistrates they were nowhere near the scale of the spectacles of the emperor and were highly controlled by the central power.

The control of the organization of the Roman Games passed on to the central power by 22nd BC thus *munera* came under Imperial authority. [46] The highly politicized games were thus put under the reign of the Emperor so that the absolute control would be with the center of power of the Roman Empire and the games could not be used as political tools of the magistrates as before. The former Republican motivation for these games was no longer valid. Hence the meaning and the purpose of these spectacles were adjusted to fit

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[43] Auguet, Roland. *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games.* New York: Routledge, 1994. 24

[44] Auguet, Roland. *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games.* New York: Routledge, 1994. 24

[45] Beacham, Richard. *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. 36

[46] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 45

the new dominant ideology which was the Emperor's own agenda.[47] The funerary implications more or less lost the gladiatorial games were no more associated with death of one but were to celebrate the continued existence of Roman State [48]

After the highly tense and uncertain civil war, Augustus took the route of a major program of social reform as the revival of Roman tradition and resurrection of Roman values. The *munera* were standardized as *munus legitimum* with three parts; *venationes* in the morning, executions in mid day and gladiatorial combat in the evening.[49] Augustus, also according to his major program, passed a law called "*lex Julia teatralis"* which dictated how to manage seating areas of public entertainments. Thus, the seating places were rigidly separated according to social status both in horizontal zones and vertical sections. [50] The show was as much about the spectators as the spectacle itself as in the political and social sense the people and their attendance was the show. [51] For example, according to this law, the senators were given the *ima cavea*, the lowest section of the seating area and the higher the status of the person, the closer to the imperial box he would sit. Just above the *ima cavea* was where the equestrian order was placed which again was further regulated according to its relative status. So the senators and equestrians would be clear to be seen by all at each performance and it would be clear to everyone whose careers or fortunes were on the rise and vice versa by observing their location in the seats. This aspect of the public entertainment was probably as important as the spectacle

[47] Ibid.. 29

[48] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 3

[49] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 81

[50] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 162

[51] Plass, Paul. *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. 43

itself since having the status was only half important, being publicly seen possessing that status was the other half. [52]

The local social system also reflected a similar approach in the seating arrangements.[53] In the provinces, the carefully arranged spectators would express the level of their participation in the local expression of the power structure.

The empire further systemized the spectacles. The state became a contractor; barracks were set up in the provinces, as in Praeneste, Capua, Alexandria and Pergamon as the authorized schools of gladiators. Consequently the legal privilege of having an imperial *ludus* was coupled with the economic semi-monopoly of the Empire. Throughout the Empire, for the most part, gladiatorial shows were given by the high priests of the Imperial cult, provincial or municipal. The shows were not dedicated to the dead but to the emperor as the focus of the religious aspect of the spectacles. [54] Alison Futrell asserts that to study the spread of the amphitheatre in the Roman provinces is to reveal the process of Romanization, with its imposition of the institution and its accompanying set of values on Western Europe. The western part of the empire is where the amphitheatre was most prevalent. The process of Romanization was admittedly much different in the west than the east especially Greece and Asia Minor where the already existing sophisticated Hellenistic culture was very strong. So unlike the west where Roman influence was dominant, in the Hellenistic societies of the East the influence was both ways which admittedly influenced the process of Romanization.

> If simple entertainment is in the first instance what *munera* meant to each spectator, all spectators together comprised another collective reality in which arena games took on a quite

[52] Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 13

[53] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 7

[54] Auguet, Roland. *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games.* New York: Routledge, 1994. 29-32

> different significance determined not by individual attitudes but by social effects.[55]

The Roman people, deprived of any voice during the Principate exchanged the traditional forum for a new form of public expression. They formed claques to chant about whatever they needed to voice, which could range from cheaper bread to changes of taxation. This was a unique venue for a direct contact with the major people of the state which the public made good use.

While giving voice to the plebs the same venue, also worked for reestablishing central authority. The audience participated freely in the display of the authority of the Emperor, who was placed where everyone could see but also at the most dominant spot. It was a mutual contract which partially dissolved social and political barriers but it also confirmed the social order. [56] This effect also worked to unite the whole audience together allowing everyone to share the fruits and prosperity of the empire.

An explanation for the gruesome and violent spectacles and the violent response of the audience is the issue of compensatory violence. The individual in the Roman society had very limited control of his life which caused a feeling of helplessness and frustration of being manipulated by forces beyond one's control. The controlled violence of the arena served as a way to compensate and air out those feelings. The arena had a sort of controlled violence, in a way reflecting the brutality of the empire in a controlled environment and dramatized the cost paid by the empire and its opponents. [57]

The show served to confirm order through disorder, control violence by means of violence and inject fear into the entertainment, the show

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[55] Plass, Paul. *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. 17

[56] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 44

[57] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 31

and transform the show into a ritual.[58] The show gave the audience a venue which they had some control over, a power to give or take life, to give or withhold fortune. So the tension in the real life, like civil war for example, was diverted, addressed safely in the arena without a chance for Roman people to lose.[59] The shows never took a form that allowed the Roman Empire to be defeated. So, the arena allowed people to acknowledge danger without losing control. "Violence becomes more than diversion as it is transformed on the safe side of the barrier in the crowd's consciousness into an interiorized representational space, where in a sense, the spectators see themselves as a social entity confronted with violence and as a social hierarchy defined by their own segregated seating arrangements." [60] The audience is thus given an identity as Romans to face the real or the potential enemy, other nations represented with the gladiators or the idea of civil war.

2.5 Asia Minor

> Asia Minor shared with mainland Greece the heritage of a rich classical past. The difference though was that rather than native Greek element in Asia Minor if there was any single monumental tradition it was the Ionic tradition and the Hellenistic kingdoms notably Pergamon had been active creative centers when Athens was already a venerable pensioner. Then again despite a century of piracy, civil war and gross misrule Asia Minor was still a country of rich resources.[61]

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[58] Plass, Paul. *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. 25

[59] Barton, Carlin. *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans.* 35 New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

[60] Plass, Paul. *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. 27

[61] Boethius, Axel, and J. B. Ward-Perkins. *Etruscan and Roman Architecture,* Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970. 386-411

From the time of the late Republic, Greece and Asia Minor were under Roman domination but the Greek speaking world still had a powerful cultural influence. Especially the western coast with Pergamon, Ephesus and many other important Hellenistic cities, was the traditional heart of classical civilization of Asia Minor, continuing to be so throughout the Roman period.[62]

After the death of Mithridates[63], the Roman Republic started a forceful regime to re-insert dominion over Asia Minor. To this end, the rich local benefactors who were closely tied to Rome or wished to appear close were bid to carry out major public building projects to arouse respect and wonder with the local people by vitalizing the grandeur of Rome in the eyes of the public. [64] Entertainment buildings were an important part of these grand public building projects.

The imperial cult, which will be discussed in detail in further chapters, was very influential in the building program and with their objective. Festivals of the imperial cult were usually held in different entertainment buildings since the festivals included gladiatorial games, theatrical shows and equestrian events. The construction of entertainment buildings accelerated in tandem with the increase in number and frequency of these festivals.

In Asia Minor, especially in the western coast, there were many Hellenistic cities with great theatres and stadiums, which continued to be used after the Roman dominion. The Romans adapted the Hellenistic tradition of Asia Minor while also introducing their own which created a culture enriched by both and built Roman theatres

[62] Ibid.

[63] Mithridates had overtaken the rule of Asia Minor and ordered the slaughter of all Romans in the lands in 88 BC. Rome avenged this act forcefully by sending Sulla who re-conquered Asia Minor. This course of events placed the people of Asia Minor in a bad light in the eyes of the Roman Republic.

[64] Ferrero, Daria de Bernardi. *Batı Anadolu'nun Eski Çağ Tiyatroları.* Ankara: Dönmez Ofset Basımevi, 1988. 111

only rarely, in most cases in the newly established Latin colonies.[65] The existing Hellenistic theatres were reconstructed according to Roman specifications; the changes could range from adding a *scaenae frons* existing structure or altering the stage to function as an arena. An important reason for these alterations was that the gladiatorial games, beast fights and similar spectacles were mostly held in the theatres in Asia Minor. So many theatres were refurbished to meet the requirement for the games. In Xanthus, for example, the lower rows of seats were removed to create a wall about 2m high. The stadia of Asia Minor could also be remodeled in a similar fashion. In this respect, a curved wall was added to the stadium in Aphrodisias to create an elliptical area like an amphitheatre.

The newly constructed Roman theatres of Asia Minor and Greece developed along different lines from the theatres in western provinces clinging to the Hellenistic tradition whereby the *cavea* exceeded a semicircle. The seating was divided into more vertical sections less horizontal zones than the western examples: as into 5, 7 or 9 *cunei* and only two horizontal sections, which were the *theatron* and the *epitheatron*. The orchestra usually exceeded a semicircle and the stage was high and often trapezoidal. The *scaenae frons* was smaller.[66]

As said earlier, the theatres in Asia Minor were high in number in the Roman period: in the province of Asia 77 cities had at least one theatre and this figure is without the several cities that had possessed several both Greek and Roman theatres.[67] The other

[65] Bieber, Margarete. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961: pp 147-226

[66] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 24-25. In comparison the theatres of western provinces typically had a semicircular orchestra and *cavea*. Seating was divided into 4,5 or 6 *cunei* and 3 zones horizontally; *ima, media, summa cavea*. Stage was low and broad. *Scaenae frons* was at least as high as the auditorium and over the stage was a sloping roof.

[67] Ibid. 110

provinces in Asia Minor also possessed a number of cities with theatres. For example, in the southern provinces of Lycia and Pamphylia, which had fertile plains and a strong Greek influence, there were 40 towns with at least one theatre, several of that number like in the province of Asia had more than one. In the rest of the provinces of Asia Minor, 33 cities with theatres are known.[68]

In Asia Minor and Greece, there was a strong tradition of athletic games, including many equestrian events like the chariot racing modeled on the Crown Games of ancient Greece, in particular upon the Olympic Games. Many towns were host to chariot racing as a part of the Greek style games but there were not many fully built circuses. [69] Within the context of the festivals of the imperial cult, the chariot racing continued during the Roman period but was not as popular in the east in the light of other equestrian events like races of ridden horses or races for ridden colts either of which would have been very bizarre for a spectator in the Circus Maximus. Many hippodromes which clearly existed during the Hellenistic period probably fell into disuse in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period because of the decline of interest in chariot racing at the Greek games. There are very few existing examples for hippodromes in Asia Minor; Nicomedia and Constantinople are good examples for the few monumental hippodromes. Humphrey argues that the provinces of Cilicia, Cappadocia and Pamphylia are the best candidates for possessing built hippodromes because of their close links with Rome.[70]

[68] Ibid.

[69] Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 438-539

[70] Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 438-539

The entertainment building which is present in large numbers in Asia Minor and which is related to the hippodrome is the stadium.[71] A rather singular example is in Pergamon where the structure might have doubled as both a hippodrome and a stadium. Stadiums can be found in many other cities such as Didyma, Ephesus, Magnesia, Perge, Aspendos, Aphrodisias. [72]

The amphitheatre, as the last example of the entertainment structures in this chapter, was a Roman invention despite its Greek name as mentioned earlier. So there were no already existing amphitheatres or similar structures in Asia Minor unlike the theatres and hippodromes. The majority of the known examples for amphitheatres are in the western part of the Roman Empire. The gladiatorial games however were rather popular in Asia Minor and they were held in the reconstructed and altered theatres and stadia in most cities.

The first gladiatorial show in Asia Minor was held in Ephesus in 71/70 BC. After the onset of festivals for the imperial cult, the gladiatorial games as a part of these festivals were held more frequently and regularly in Asia Minor. [73] To attest to their popularity, it is known that only in the province of Asia, 82 cities and in the other provinces at least 24 cities are known to have staged gladiatorial shows. The first known example in Asia Minor for an amphitheatre was a temporary timber structure in Antioch in Pisidia

[71] There seem to be different opinions on what "stadium" defines and how it different from the "circus" or "hippodrome" but in this instance the main difference according to Humphrey is functional. The hippodrome is the building type where chariot racing among other games could be held whereas in stadiums there was no chariot racing, the athletic performances which were always a key ingredient in the Greek style games were the main event in these buildings. Also structuraly the absence of a continuous barrier or turning posts for horses and starting gates are identifying points for *stadia*.

[72] Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 438-539

[73] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 164

built in the late first century AD. Other than that there are only three existing amphitheatres in Asia Minor, in Anazarbus, Cyzikos and Pergamon.

The amphitheatre of Anazarbus is in the south of the city outside the city walls near the theatre and the stadium. It has a rather small oval plan, situated on the slope of a mountain, though apart from two partial supports there is not much of an architectural remain to speak of. There is a mention of remains of substructures from Michael Gough's travels from some time ago which cannot be seen today. [74]

In Cyzikos, the amphitheatre is on the slope of the acropolis, it has an oval plan using the hillside on two sides and assumed to have been built in the Antonine age. There is a small creek flowing below the structure probably used for *naumachia*. [75]

The amphitheatre of Pergamon will be discussed in the later chapters.

2.6. Remarks

The Entertainment buildings in the Roman period as discussed in this chapter were varied both in design and in function. Although the physical characteristics differed, these structures were closely interrelated according to their specific functions and also locations. Although all the entertainment buildings had a primary set of events or spectacles for which they were designed, the secondary events were shared by many of the other buildings; they were as such interchangeable. The only entertainment building that differed in this respect is the amphitheater which is interesting because the arena

[74] Güven, Suna. «Anadolu'da Anfitiyatrolar.» *Yapı Dergisi*, s. 132: 61-66.

[75] Ibid.

spectacles, which are the primary function of the amphitheatre, are in fact the main secondary function of other entertainment buildings.

These buildings apart from their relative interchangeability of spectacles were also connected to one another in the city scale. (Fig. 24) In the major cities rich enough to build multiple entertainment buildings, these buildings usually worked in relation to each other. The spectacles were divided according to existing buildings and also according to the nature of many festivals, where the usual practice was to employ more than one entertainment building for these events. In Rome, for example the Circus Maximus was employed for many festivals in the morning and in the evening the Flavian amphitheatre was used while theatres staged *ludi scaenici* during the same day. Because of these related activities and the scale of the buildings, the structures more often than not were situated in the edges of the cities rather closely to one another.

The shared functions of these entertainment buildings allowed for different combinations of these structures according to the geography, financial situation and/or the position in the Roman World. The cities in the western provinces of the Roman Empire would be usually endowed with a theatre, an amphitheatre and a hippodrome whereas in the east it was more likely to have a theatre and a stadium. The theatre was the building type necessary for all Roman cities. It was essentially a part of establishing an urban center. Because of the Hellenistic past, apart from North African provinces, the Eastern part of the Roman Empire had already existing theatres and stadiums which were altered and used accordingly rather than new constructions.

With the intent of Romanization, the amphitheatre was more likely to be built in the cities of the western part of the Roman Empire. In the eastern part, the practice was not to build a new amphitheatre but to use other already existing structures of entertainment. There were

cities with an amphitheatre in the Roman East but the scarce nature of these buildings made these cities somewhat special in their situation and worth investigating, Pergamon is an outstanding example for this. The difference in pursuing a Roman identity and the process of Romanization between the eastern and western provinces of the Roman Empire will be investigated in the further chapters.

The massive character of most of the entertainment structures particularly theatres and amphitheatres have enabled their survival. Often these buildings became converted to fortresses (like Arles) or to shelters for communities (amphitheatre of Nimes) in the Middle ages. Hence such buildings may be said to have been “restored”, staying in use for a long time even today.

CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF PERGAMON

3.1. The Foundation of the city and Attalid Kingdom

According to myths, Telephos, son of Heracles, was born of a priestess of Athena and then abandoned in the wilderness. He was taken to safety by Athena herself and accomplished many deeds after which he was appointed the heir of a king and founded the city of Pergamon.[76] So goes the story but the actual date of the foundation of the city is unclear. The first known Greek settlement in the area is from the first millennium BC, presumably following the Trojan War. After the rulership of the Persian Empire and Alexander the Great, Attalid Kings took over, the best known era of the city.

The Attalid Kingdom was a notable power in Asia Minor and had close ties with mainland Greece, especially Athens. The city of Pergamon was the major city of the kingdom and an important cultural center of this period.[77] (Fig. 25) The famous Library of Pergamon was built in the early times of the Kingdom. The reign of Eumenes II and his brother Attalus II was the most impressive, not only with military and political achievements but also due to impressive architectural projects.

[76] Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları.* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 21

[77] Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 21

The Hellenistic city of Pergamon was endowed with great public buildings reflecting the architectural expertise and power of the kingdom. (Fig. 26)

The city was formed with a grid system working with the steep slopes of the Acropolis and rest of the city around it. Most of the well known examples from the existing Acropolis date from time of the Eumenes II like the Altar of Zeus, Agoras, Upper Gymnasion, Sanctuary of Demeter and the Theatre with Temple of Dionysus. [78] (Fig.27, 28)

These structures and the building program are impressive in their own right, let alone together forming the Hellenistic city. Pergamon was the major city of the Attalid kingdom and architecture was an important tool to show the importance and majesty of both the city and the kingdom.

The Attalid Kingdom had close ties not only with Hellenistic society but was also in an alliance with the Roman Republic. So much so that when king Attalus III had no heir to the throne, he bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans thus ensuring both the safety of the people of the Kingdom from civil war and allowing the Roman forces a peaceful entry to Asia Minor. [79]

3.2. Roman Pergamon

There were two important developments that had brought about an immense transformation in the social, political and economic states of affairs in Asia Minor. The first of these was the bequest of Attalus III in 133 BC, the beginning of a gradual process of western Asia

[78]Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 77

[79] Ibid. 37

Minor becoming a Roman province, which not long after continued further into the rest of the territory. (Fig.29)

The second event was the rise to power of Mithridates VI, who challenged Roman reign and the control of the latter over Asia.[80]

The bequest of Attalus III was specific: the "heir" of the kingdom was the Roman people but the given lands did not include the city of Pergamon itself. The Roman Republic ignored some parts of this bequest but allowed the city become autonomous in the province of Asia, at least for a time. The prosperous lands of Asia Minor were rather attractive for the Roman equestrian order especially after the permission to collect taxes in this province which afforded a very hard time for the locals along with the necessity to provide for any army passing their lands. [81]

The Pontic king Mithridates VI was as said already, a serious threat to Roman rule in Asia, which was manifested by the slaughter of every single Roman there in 88 BC. The total number of victims given from 80.000 to 150.000 might be rather exaggerated but it allows us to perceive the scale of Roman penetration in this era.[82] After the defeat of Mithridates VI and taking back the control of the lands, the lands were still prosperous as before. The laws about the taxes did not change, maybe only to become worse for the local people, so it is not hard to deduce a large Roman presence in the region again after these events.

[80]Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 29.

[81] Magie, David. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: to th end of the third century after Christ.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. 30

[82] Ibid.

Roman rule after this in the Republican times is tumultuous at best.[83] The break down lasted more or less until the rule of Emperor Augustus who was concerned with the difficulties in the peripheries in the empire and passed laws to assuage the economic problems.

> The establishment of *Pax Romana* and the rise of a spirit of confidence in the eternity of the Roman Empire as ensuring general peace and happiness accompanied by a wide-spread improvement in world conditions had made it possible to develop the great natural resources of Western Asia Minor and had introduced an era of prosperity such as the country had never known even under its native kings.[84]

After this point the provinces of Asia Minor, Asia especially was in a period of prosperity until the end of 2nd century AD. [85]

The Roman city of Pergamon developed south/south-west of the Hellenistic city, keeping the Acropolis mostly intact, with the Temple of Trajan in a prominent place, and building the rest of the city around the latter. (Fig.30) The Roman city was formed according to a grid plan, a different system than the Hellenistic grid. It is known that there was a Temple of Rome and Augustus, one of the first two temples in the name of the emperor of Rome. Most of the major public structures of Roman Pergamon were built in the time of Hadrian and possibly Antoninus Pius, like the Temple of Trajan, the Temple of Serapis and the entertainment structures.[86] At the end of the second century, the city of Pergamon was an impressive sight with major public buildings and the Acropolis towering above.

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[83] The attempt to rise to power again by Mithridates VI which was put to rest by Pompey,the better times under Ceasar then the occupation by Marc Anthony and the hard times following are few major points in this time period.

[84] Magie, David. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: to th end of the third century after Christ.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. 582

[85] This is true of course for the most of the period, although there are some less fortunate times in between. For example when Emperor Nero with his wish to adorne Rome with Hellenistic art pillaged the Greek and Asian cities Pergamon as well.

[86] Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları .* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 45

Many studies about Pergamon highlight the scenographic planning of the city during Hellenistic and Roman periods, especially the Acropolis and the Altar of Zeus, but there is little indeed about the entertainment structures. Even the Hellenistic theatre which is the one that is the best preserved and studied among the entertainment buildings has not been the focus of major research. In this respect the Roman entertainment buildings are also neglected. They are scarcely visible and barely studied.

3.3. Entertainment Structures in Pergamon

> Roman Pergamon in the second century was among the culturally most important cities of the Roman Empire and with a population perhaps as high as 120.000 also one of the largest…Politically important, economically prosperous, architecturally progressive and spiritually dynamic Pergamon was a place for monumental architecture. [87]

It is noteworthy that the city of Pergamon has several types of entertainment buildings among its impressive architectural inventory. There is the Hellenistic theatre built against the Acropolis, a small semicircular building in the north-west corner of the upper gymnasium, a cult theatre in the heroon of Diodorus Pasparos, a theatral area in the sanctuary of Demeter, an odeon in the Roman city, a Roman theatre in the lower city, a stadium very close by and an amphitheatre.[88] Sear gives a total number of six buildings of theatrical type, with the theatre in the sanctuary of Asklepius. For our purposes, this amounts to four major structures of entertainment with four minor spaces for entertainment purposes. (Fig.31)

[87] Thomas, Edmund. *Momumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. 92

[88] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 37-38

The Hellenistic Theatre was in use in the Roman period but the function of the theatre was limited. The city gained three major entertainment structures in the Roman period. The amphitheatre, the stadium and the Roman theatre stand together in the western edge of the city in a half-way point of the road to the Asklepeion. The exact dates of construction of the buildings are not known but they are presumed to be from the second half of the 2nd century AD and also part of the same development plan. The area around these buildings is mostly filled with villas of the wealthy and elite and their tombs. The area now is covered with new houses and construction not allowing said buildings to be deeply studied.

3.3.1. Hellenistic Theatre

The Hellenistic Theatre is laid out in the western hillside of the Acropolis using the steep slope to avoid the hard winds. (Fig.32) The nature of the site resulted in a non-regular theatre rather than a fan like structure. Also the steepness of the site[89] requires a terrace for access which in this case is 15m wide and 250 m long and end directly with the Theatre of Dionysus. [90] (Fig.33)

The *cavea* is approximately 80 meters in diameter where only the *ima cavea* is a complete semi-circle and divided into 7 *cunei*. The *media cavea* and *summa cavea* are formed of 6 *cunei*. There are 21, 32 and 25 rows from bottom part to the top respectively. The approximate capacity of the theatre is 10.000.[91] (Fig.34, 35) The orchestra has a diameter of 21 meters. The stage of this theatre is a particularly interesting one because of the problem of access and space in the

[89] 46 meters from orchestra to floor level of Teple of Athena at the top

[90] Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları .* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 255

[91] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 347

hillside, the idea was to have a temporary timber stage, which would be placed on the square holes in the floor, some of which are still visible, and be put into place only when it was needed. [92]

The structure on the whole has three periods of construction, the era of Eumenes II, the later Hellenistic and early Roman periods. A *pulvinar* was added in the Roman period,[93] and there is a stone podium 1 m. high going into the orchestra. Wolfgang Radt asserts that this theatre was insufficient by the Roman period. Although it was still functioning it was used for giving orations rather than plays of any kind. [94]

3.3.2. The Stadium

The Stadium is unfortunately barely visible and not much studied. It stands with the Roman theatre and the amphitheatre. The description from R. Bohn states that "the remains melted of it melted into each other" for early excavations. [95] (Fig.36) Humphrey gives the dimensions as c. 280 m. in length and c. 58 m in width from the plan of the city, although it is unclear whether these are the dimensions of the track or the exterior dimensions of the building including the seating tiers. He theorizes that this building might have doubled as a hippodrome and a stadium from this relative size, which depends on whether the building housed chariot races.[96] But the issue is still unresolved. (Fig.37)

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[92] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 347.

[93] There is another pulvinar but the construction date is unclear.

[94] Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları .* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 253

[95] Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları .* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 261

[96] Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 526

3.3.3. The Roman Theatre

The Roman theatre in the lower city is mostly damaged with only a part of the south wing and a small part of the north wing is visible. (Fig. 38, 39, 40,) Most of the structure was lost during the 19th century. R. Bohn mentions the marble seating places and the *scenae* structure which is not visible today. [97] (Fig. 41, 42)

The diameter of the *cavea* is approximately 120 meters. The exact date of the building is unknown though the *Via Tecta* under the southern wing places the structure earliest in the Trajan period. [98]

3.3.4. The Amphitheatre

The amphitheatre of Pergamon is one of the only three in Asia Minor. It has a middle sized plan with a circular form rather than oval. (Fig.43- 48) It is situated in the middle of two ridges with a stream in between. The stream was probably used for small shows of *naumachia* and water ballet. The overall dimensions are 136.2 meters to 107.40 meters and the arena is 51-37 meters.[99] The approximate capacity is 25.000 people.[100] The exact date of construction is not known more precisely than the early 2nd century.[101] (Fig. 49- 54)

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[97] Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları .* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 260

[98] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 348

[99] Dodge, Hazel. «Amphitheatres in the Roman East .» *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: a 21st Century Perspective*, Tony Wilmott, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009. 34

[100] Golvin, J.C. *L' Amphitheatre romain: Essai stir la theorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions.* Paris: Publications du Centre Pierre Paris, 1988. 241

[101] Although Edmund Thomas gives the amphitheatre a more specific dating as 120-150, his sources and reason are rather unclear. He also theorizes that Nicon, father of Galen might be the architect of the structure but again the evidence is unclear.

3.3.5. Other Entertainment Buildings

There is also a possible covered Odeon or Bouleterion in the Upper Gymnasion with a 15 m diameter orchestra and capacity of 1000 from the second century AD (Fig.55); an Odeon in the Heroon of Diodorus Pasparus in trapezoidal form with a diameter of 3.37 m for the orchestra and a capacity for 170 people used for musical contests (Fig.56), a theatrical area in the Temple of Demeter and an Odeon in the lower city. [102]

3.4. Remarks

As seen from the count, there are several entertainment buildings in Pergamon. Without question, these are fairly major buildings. It is not unusual for a city to have several buildings for entertainment especially theatrical buildings in Asia Minor. For example, Sagalassus had three buildings of theatrical type; Cnidus had four: the *acroateria*[103], two theatres and a fourth building. Yet cases such as these mostly include one major theatre and several smaller halls for lectures, small concerts or recitations with occasionally stadiums for athletic competitions. The cities more often than not did not have the means to build several major entertainment buildings, apart from theatres. Also most of cities with Hellenistic influence in Asia Minor already had theatres by the Roman period. So in most cases, , the existing theatre was altered and remodeled to accommodate a broader range of spectacles by the Roman time. For example, the theatre of Ephesus was remodeled during the 1st and early 2nd centuries where the iron railings around the orchestra were replaced

[102] Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 347-348

[103] *Acroaterion* is a small building connected with a gymnasium, which acted as a kind of lecture theatre

with a 2.40 m wall. The stadium could be modified by adding a curved wall, truncating the arena at the south end, creating an elliptical area for an arena for the *munera*. The stadia in Ephesus and Perge were similarly remodeled. [104]

These facts bring us the significant question of why this high number of major and contemporary entertainment buildings existed in this particular city. The Hellenistic theatre by the early Roman period was also remodeled but it is suggested that after the construction of the Roman theatre the building was not used for plays anymore. The function of the Hellenistic theatre seems to have shifted to merely orations and recitations. There might be several reasons for this shift. The placement of the old Hellenistic theatre might be one reason since the newer Roman city was below the Acropolis, hence a bit far from the top of the hill. The Theatre itself was very steep because of the slope which might not have been convenient for the purposes of Roman arrangements. The increased population might also have affected this change.

So the Hellenistic theatre was used only for limited purposes while the three main Roman entertainment structures were used.[105] For example, the *Asiarch* of the *koinon* of Greek Asiatic cities held games in the Pergamon amphitheatre.[106] But for how long and how much these structures were used is hard to uncover.

It is also interesting that instead of building one structure to accommodate all related functions, which would be the more usual practice, three separate buildings were constructed. As said before, the functions of entertainment structures were intertwined. One

[104] Dodge, Hazel. «Amphitheatres in the Roman East .» *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: a 21st Century Perspective*, Tony Wilmott, 29-45. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009. 40-41

[105] Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları .* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 261

[106] Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 140

Roman theatre alone should have been enough for simply functional needs even if the Hellenistic theatre was not available.

As noted, the structures were situated close to each other very likely according to the same urban project and built one after another even if we do not know the exact dates. The agenda then was not simply functional or was not simply a matter of necessity. The amphitheatre itself was an immense expenditure even a middle sized one of its type is a monumental structure. The Roman theatre by itself might not be very big but again was not an easy and inexpensive structure to build. Add to these was the stadium. From its approximate size, Humphrey hypothesized a function covering both athletic competitions and chariot racing. Again it must be noted that this was a new structure not a remodeling of an existing one as the examples given before. It was possibly a hippodrome too, which would be rather rare, although not as rare as an amphitheatre. As noted before there are only three known amphitheatres in Asia Minor. When one of these is in a city with this many other entertainment buildings, most of which were newly built and contemporary with the amphitheatre, the situation is intriguing indeed.

Another important point to direct attention is the city itself. Pergamon was the capital city of a major Hellenistic Kingdom. The city traced its foundation to a Greek hero. It was also closely tied with Athens and mainland Greece and boasted being a major cultural center of Hellenistic world. The Library of Pergamon is a token of its place in the Hellenistic cultural sphere. That a city with this powerful and well-rooted Hellenistic identification had built one of the few known amphitheatres is an important matter to question. Because an amphitheatre was not identified like a theatre or a stadium as mentioned before; it was an Italian invention. It was a symbol of majesty for the empire as much as it was a major tool for Romanization in the western empire. So the function of the *munera*

and amphitheatre in the Romanization process as well as the Romanization of Asia Minor are very important to understand why was the amphitheatre in Pergamon in all places.

CHAPTER 4

ROMANIZATION

4.1. The Romanization Process

The Roman Empire as known encompassed an immense domain. The extent of its reach included many different populations with the accompanied difficulties of administration, travel and policing. The people of these very different parts of the Empire from Britain and Gaul in the north, to Egypt and Libya in the south; from Spain in the west and Syria and Asia Minor in the east, created a heterogeneous society with a diverse array of languages, customs and religions.[107] (Fig.29)

These people with different identities all shared a common denomination as "Roman" while coming from different parts of the Empire. This process whereby the Gauls, Greeks, Libyans sharing the ideal of a single culture despite their differences is regarded as "Romanization", which basically involved integrating Roman social structures to local communities. [108]

While this may be a generalized and very basic definition of 'Romanization', we must be careful before delving into the matter further. As Greg Woolf explains: "Romanization is a convenient

[107] Elsner, Jas. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 117

[108] Ibid. 118

shorthand for the series of cultural changes that created an imperial civilization, within which both differences and similarities came to form a coherent pattern". [109] Yet while the term is indeed convenient it is not without problems.

To begin with, there is of course the problem of defining anything as simply 'Roman', in order to be able to differentiate what is 'Roman' and what is not or indigenous in order to conclude what has been affected with 'Romanization' and how. The question here is "how is it possible to recognize and to embody or construct that ideal of being 'Roman' and what does it precisely mean at a certain time and place to make oneself 'Roman'?"[110]

"There was not really a monolithic 'Roman' social image; Roman material culture did not necessarily project some form of abstract 'Roman' identity."[111] So there was no standard Roman civilization which one could use as a template to measure the provincial cultures. The city of Rome itself was a melting pot of several cultures; apart from the major influences of Etruscan and Greek societies, different provinces had in some way or another affected the social and cultural composition.

Setting aside the problem of defining 'Roman' characteristics, 'Romanization' is still a rather slippery concept. "The fundamental problem with 'Romanization' as a term is that it implies a unilateral

[109] Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 7

[110] Barrett, J. C. "Romanization: A Critical Comment." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D.J. Mattingly, Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 60

[111] Hingley, R. "Resistence and Domination: Social change in Roman Britain." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 85

transfer of culture, whereas it is clear that not only was the culture exchange bilateral, it was also multi-directional."[112]

There are as mentioned, several directions taken by scholars with two major attitudes. On the one hand it is assumed that Rome deliberately stimulated the process of cultural assimilation and encouraged the local population to become Romanized for its political ends while the other point of view favors the view that the process was more incidental, even accidental, where the populations of the provinces were primarily responsible in Romanizing themselves without any central deliberation on the matter. [113]

The point of view taken in this study is closer to Hanson's premise where it is maintained that the acquisition of an empire and the assimilation of the local population were deliberate acts, but this does not mean that the local people were forcefully subjugated or that they had no effect on the process. It is more of a process where the central power used certain tools and institutions to create a cultural umbrella to unite the subjects, where there was some subtle resistance but also where more often than not the local people themselves had asked for these institutions. Urbanization, military progress and the imperial cult were all major instruments and the elite of the provinces promoted Roman culture in order to gain prestige, reflecting their increase in power through Roman support. Emperor Augustus, who implemented a major urbanization project throughout the Empire took the direction where an ideal of being Roman was displayed to the citizens, allowing the non-Romans to

[112] Mattingly, D. J. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire.* Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.8

[113] Hanson, W. S. "Forces of Change and Methods of Control." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Marringly. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 67

follow suit. The imperialism of Roman culture was more subtle than simply intervention, but it was also purposive.[114]

Also to shortly return to a point raised before and to clarify what is meant by 'Roman' identity; in the process of Romanization, the definition taken is not a material one but a way of life. "To become Roman was to adopt a discipline of life which conformed with some overarching ideal and which was understood to do so by those who adopted it as well as by others."[115]

The Roman Empire on the whole was a lived experience for its subjects, different from individual to individual over time and space; and a wide range of responses was elicited from these subjects based on their varied social, political and cultural perspectives. On the whole what bound them together were these experiences creating their identity as 'Roman'.[116] They were Roman in identity and civilization, in the rituals of their environment and daily lives, in the most fundamental level. In the end, the overall issue of becoming Roman was a complex process of compromise and self-assertion, of accepting the political status quo but also transforming it within. [117]

[114] Whittaker, C. R. "Imperialism and Culture: the Roman initiative." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly, Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 154-156

[115] Barrett, J. C. "Romanization: a critical comment." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D.J. Mattingly, Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 52-60

[116] Mattingly, D. J. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant experience in the Roman Empire.* Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 11-16

[117] Elsner, Jas. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 118-119

4.2 Instruments of Romanization

> The development of any province of any empire, is governed by a complex negotiation of external and internal devices and desires, or more prosaically, by the interaction of the imperial authority and its specific goals and expectations, with the indigenous population and their local customs.[118]

This complex relationship of external and internal devices was assisted by certain tools in the case of the Roman Empire. [119] The most basic two instruments were the army and the city.

The importance of the role of the Roman army in the expansion and control of the Empire is well established. This was a highly trained and organized force, carrying within it important values of Roman culture integrated to the core. The meeting of the army and the peripheries is an important aspect of Romanization. The conquest of the military forces provided a stimulus of cultural exchange, but it must be noted that the Roman culture was not always the dominant one in this relationship, which is illustrated by the influence of Hellenistic culture on the Romans as they extended their power to the Greek world.[120]

The city was the other major instrument for promoting Romanization. "The central government could directly and materially affect the welfare of communities, if only marginally in some cases, by founding new cities, adorning existing ones, maintaining them and restoring them after disaster."[121] The city in itself was a center of peace and

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[118] Alcock, Susan. "Greece: A landscape of resistance?" In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.105

[119] Hanson, W. S. "Forces of Change and Methods of Control." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Marringly. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 76

[120] Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 18

[121] Levick, Barbara. "Urbanization in the Eastern Empire." In *The Roman World*, ed. John Wacher. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul , 1987. 331

civilization in the Roman understanding. The Roman Empire was in the political and administrative sense built from cities, in the sense that the cities controlled and governed the territory around them and in turn these territories formed the provinces of the empire.

> The cities were the instruments and symbols of Roman power. They were at once both a major cultural construct and conveyance of Roman imperialism abroad.[122]

An integral part of the idea of civilization is good government, thus the city was an important aspect of local government.[123] In many areas of the Empire there were existing settlements before the Roman annexation, some with an impressive local culture and history of their own right. To these cities Roman elements brought additions and developments to the pre-existing order. It was preferred to utilize the local population by re-establishing old governing structure in the new Roman context without disturbing the local social hierarchy.[124] The leaders of conquered communities were often included within the inner circle of the Roman elite since the conquest of Italy and the extension of citizenship allowed the local elite to acquire Roman culture through imitation as their political assimilation corresponded to a cultural assimilation.[125]

The attitude and traditions were of course different with the elite of established urban dwellers with hundreds of years of urban traditions, as in the Greek East, and other societies like newly

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[122] Whittaker, C. R. "Imperialism and Culture: the Roman initiative." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly, Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 144-145

[123] Nevett, Lisa, and Phil Perkins. "Urbanism and Urbanization in the Roman World." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson. New York: Routledge, 2000.214

[124] Hanson, W. S. "Forces of Change and Methods of Control." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Marringly. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 75

[125] Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 18

conquered tribal leaders of Gaul. This difference would have manifested itself in the understanding of what a city is like and how it should function.[126] So the changes taking place in the cities were as diverse as the local conditions, the urban settlements across the Empire were as varied. The nature of the pre-Roman settlement would directly affect the form taken by Roman culture in that region.

Where there were no towns, as in some parts of the Western part of the Empire, new ones were created or existing settlements were handled accordingly. The foundation of new cities in non-urbanized areas would lead to the promotion of Roman culture. These newly formed *civitas* centers would be commonly located at pre-Roman tribal areas, using the existing forms of power, but it would also be new in the sense of urban planning with a grid like formation of streets. [127]

While studying the process of 'Romanization' through the lens of urbanization, public buildings are very important instruments architecturally and socially, therefore a deeper understanding of this component is necessary before proceeding further.

4.2.1 Public Buildings

The city, as mentioned already, is a key factor in the Roman cultural, social and political structure. The urbanization of the provinces is therefore an important instrument in Romanization. The Roman city was more than just the end product of bricks and marble but it was more the idea of how to live Roman lives. In these cities and towns

[126] Nevett, Lisa, and Phil Perkins. "Urbanism and Urbanization in the Roman World." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson. New York: Routledge, 2000. 214

[127] Hingley, R. "Resistence and Domination: Social change in Roman Britain." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 89

the people of the provinces went through this idea of life and re-enacted political structures, social organizations, religious or ideological structures forming a shared cultural discourse. The public buildings were the urban context of these re-enactments forming the necessary setting. [128] These buildings expressed Roman ideals and indicated Roman power.

"Spread about unavoidable, always recognizably Roman, these robust objects were instruments of architectural colonization, symbols of the claims and ways by Rome."[129] The individual monumental buildings bound together by connecting architecture as colonnades or passages formed an adaptable scheme for imperial towns and cities. Furthermore the dispersal of buildings throughout the city connected by these tools was as Roman as the architecture of the buildings themselves. In a sense, Rome itself was a model although in a very loose interpretation, because the city of Rome was of course the center of the Empire but it was not a direct role model for the peripheries. [130] The city had developed slowly and more unusually than anywhere else in the Empire as a result of the fact that it was the center of the political and social structure of the Republic and the Empire. [131]

Public buildings shared in the ideal of how a Roman city should be. This shared image allowed any city or town of the Empire big or small to be in touch with grander cities by containing a certain number of buildings such as a forum, a temple, a basilica, a bath and a theatre,

[128] Revell, Louise. *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 36

[129] MacDonald, W. L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II: An Urban Appraisal.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986. 132

[130] MacDonald, W. L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II: An Urban Appraisal.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986. 132-133

[131] Zanker, Paul. "The City as a Symbol: Rome and the creatin of an urban image." In *Romanization and the City: Creation, transformations, and failures*, ed. E. Fentress. Portsmouth: Rhode Island: JRA Supplement series no: 38, 2000. 26

which may not have been as monumental as other examples but that were still stylistically and ideologically consistent.

Some of these public building types had originated in much earlier periods in Greece (like temples or theatres) had been re-interpreted, while others such as the amphitheatre had developed during the Roman period to serve particularly Roman activities. By the second century AD, a Roman city was expected to be endowed with several major structures such as; religious structures, political meeting places (basilicas), buildings with certain cultural and educational functions (theatres, gymnasia, libraries), civic amenities (aquaducts, *nymphaea*, baths) and showy decorative monuments. Not all of the public buildings in all categories were supposed to exist in any given city to have a Roman identity, but several of them were necessary. A basilica, a bath a market and a religious building would be counted as indispensible but more often than not one or more of the other public buildings also existed in the cities like the amphitheatre, the circus or the library.

The great building projects and the civic and imperial ceremonies performed within re-made the images of invincibility of the Empire.[132] It was also an architecture of context and community, as in the sense of both the community of the particular town and the community of the whole. The resulting cities were not simply the Roman ideals but also adding to that the local context as well, changing in a mutual interdependence. [133]

These structures also exceeded other buildings with their very height and dimension. Therefore they stood in a visually dominant manner in the city, reflecting the importance of their role in the social context.

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[132] Barrett, J. C. "Romanization: a critical comment." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D.J. Mattingly, Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 62

[133] MacDonald, W. L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II: An Urban Appraisal.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986. 256

They were architecturally Roman even if the building type had a Greek precedent, like structurally using vaulted constructions. Also, these Roman building techniques contributed to the social sense of being Roman, for example in the case of theatres and amphitheatres which, unlike Greek theatres, were built so that the *cavea* rested on vaulted substructures. This practice besides involving a Roman construction technique also allowed the audiences to be oriented through the building according to social rank and status, thus served for the specifically societal sense of being Roman.

Several types of public buildings form a Roman city. Some of the most important of these were the bathhouses, temples and sanctuaries; especially temples of the imperial cult, theatres and amphitheatres finally connecting these together the armature and the connective architecture.

The bath houses were immense complexes, necessary and popular throughout the empire, especially in the eastern part. They were monumental structures offering sharp contrast with other buildings, standing out in the city. There would be several baths in a city according to the size of that particular one. Their placement in the city grid though was not consistent enough to form a generalization. The temples and sanctuaries serving in most cases the imperial cult but also other religious sects also dominated the urban landscape. The imperial cult as a particular tool for Romanization will be further discussed in the forthcoming section. [134]

The theatre was also an important public building indicating Romanization. Although it had a precedent in the Greek culture, the cultural significance and social standing of the theatre was rather different in the Roman Empire. Apart from structural differences explained in the previous chapters, the ideal that the theatre

[134]Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 216-217

represented had changed in time. In classical Greece, especially Athens, the theatre was the democratic city on stage. It was a place where the people's voice could be heard but in the Roman period it became a setting for this public re-enactment of power relations between the rich and poor. The law Augustus passed for seating arrangements in theatres and amphitheatres, as mentioned earlier, created the image of Roman social structure in the theatre. Although it is unclear how closely the Roman model was followed in the provincial theatres, the Roman social hierarchy could still be seen to some extent to be rooted in the mentality of the inhabitants of the cities of the empire. Thus the theatre was not simply a building for

theatrical performances but would also serve for reproduction of the moral order of the city.[135]

Finally all these buildings, some existing in all cities, some differing from one another were bound together with what MacDonald calls armatures and connective architecture. This involved colonnades, arcades and such features, creating an overall image which could be formulated according to different cultural, social context of the different parts of the empire, in an image of a Roman city not always the same but still recognizable as 'Roman'.

Among all of the public buildings mentioned, the one most important for this study in the matter of Romanization is the amphitheatre. Above other entertainment buildings, this was the building type, that the best exemplifies a fully "Roman" identity.

[135] Whittaker, C. R. "Imperialism and Culture: the Roman initiative." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly, 143-164. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 146

4.2.1.1 The Role of the Amphitheatre in Romanization

The amphitheatre is a well known public building found in many Roman cities. It was a structure closely tied to the perception of Roman identity from the time of its emergence until its monumentalization. [136]

> Far more than merely an architectural construct, the amphitheatre is saturated with the dynamism of Roman politics and society. To study the spread of the amphitheatre throughout the empire is to reveal the process of Romanization itself, as seen in the imposition of an institution and its accompanying set of values on the people western Europe, where the amphitheatre is most prevalent.[137]

Although the amphitheatre was a building type much more common in the Western Roman Empire, understanding the relationship of amphitheatre and Romanization would be beneficial in the process of understanding even in a more uncommon case like Pergamon.

The amphitheatre was not simply an architectural product but also a political, cultural and social construct. It was more than a place for hosting violent and expensive games, it was a social and political institution crucial to the Roman Empire. It was a tool for Romanization not only in the sense of an impressive example of Roman architecture but also as a vessel for Roman ideas and concepts. It was an arena of political and social control and "a conscious means of persuasion of the legitimacy, supremacy and potential for violence of the Roman state."[138]

Power relations between different layers of society were re-enacted in the amphitheatre constantly and unavoidably. As discussed in the chapter "Politics of the Amphitheatre", the Augustan law "*Lex Julia*

[136] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 163

[137] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 4

[138] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 10.

Teatralis" was valid for amphitheatres as well as the theatres. The oval structure of the amphitheatre probably served even better than the theatre for the implementation of this law. The distribution of seating according to this law was a reflection of the hierarchy of civic orders and colleges, easily observed by all. This system was followed in the provinces like in the case of theatres according to local power structure mirroring the central organization to a lesser degree.[139] So while the audience bonded through a social solidarity facing the gladiators in the arena representing the lowest social class and the enemies of Rome at once, at the same time they were divided by their social status. Furthermore just by the act of attending the spectacles they helped to re-establish the Roman social order.

It must be noted that while the violence of the gladiatorial games and other aspects of *munera* might project an image of a forceful kind of Romanization using the amphitheatre as its stage; that is indeed not the point of view of this discussion. It is clear that despite concerns involving the moral implications of the Roman games; the spectacles were always immensely popular, in the center or the peripheries even in the Hellenistic parts of the Empire. No one was forced to attend; these shows were in every sense of the word, popular entertainment. It is not uncommon for any kind of popular entertainment to be a tool for propagating dominant ideology, which was clearly the case in the Roman application of it. The message might have been much less subtle than a popular TV show but it was not any more forceful.

The amphitheatre, as the indicator of Roman identity and a major instrument in spreading Roman culture and social order, was widely dispersed in the Western Roman Empire. It served as a standing reminder of not only the might of the empire but also of the danger of

[139] Whittaker, C. R. "Imperialism and Culture: the Roman initiative." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 146

challenging the right of Roman supremacy.[140] The placement of amphitheatres throughout the empire to this end was in connection with urbanization. Although the arena was a conspicuous component of a "standard" Roman city, the dispersal of the amphitheatres went hand in hand not only with Romanizing the cities but also imposing an urban network in the countryside as well. In addition to major urban centers, there were amphitheatres built in military frontiers or rural areas as well, in order to either quell unrest or incorporate non-Roman peoples to the Roman world view. In the provinces, the amphitheatre served not only for *munera* but also for public rituals, as in the practice of the Imperial cult, Celtic rituals or ceremonies of the cult of Nemesis. The imperial cult itself was a major institution in spreading Roman ideals. The amphitheatre in extension encouraged the local people to participate in celebration of the central authority, thereby confirming the divine status of the emperor and legitimizing his rule through ceremonies of the imperial cult. [141] "The diffusion of amphitheatres involved a process that reflected a rather complex course of imposition, interaction and adaptation, as did indeed, the dynamic of Roman Imperialism as a whole."[142]

When discussing the amphitheatre and Romanization, a special note must be made about the military amphitheatres. The Roman army as mentioned was instrumental in the Romanization process. Apart from carrying the values of the Roman Empire to the frontiers, the army was also a major source of expertise and labor in civilian constructions in the provinces. Most of the architects worked with the military and the public building projects were constructed mostly by the Roman army. The relationship between the military and amphitheatres went even further. The veteran colonies in Campania

[140] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 53

[141] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 4

[142] Ibid. 54

were in fact the area of the earliest Republican amphitheatres. Also, the first amphitheatre in Rome was built by Statilius Taurus, the greatest military man of his time after Agrippa, and Octavian's military commander.[143]

The gladiatorial games themselves had also a close connection to the Roman military. There were instances in Roman history where the gladiatorial instructors were tasked with training military forces. Welch suggests that gladiatorial games might have been staged for the soldiers before setting out to war for entertainment, moral boost and also for acclimatizing them to violence.[144] In the Imperial period, the amphitheatres were standard operating equipment in the legionary fortresses. They were built outside of the camp but adjacent to the walls. The arena was the venue for spectacles, celebrating festivals, drills and weapons practice. These amphitheatres served for the imperial ideology as well as the other examples, showing Roman power and celebrating Roman hierarchy.[145]

4.2.2. Religion, Romanization and the Imperial Cult

> Religion is very closely bound up with the way a person views the world and his or her own place within it, it both shapes and reflects the system of values according to which a person lives his or her life.[146]

Religion is thus a very important aspect of defining one's identity. Roman religion at large will not be discussed here but rather, the aspects relating to the Romanization process will be highlighted. Still

[143] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 119

[144] Ibid. 81

[145] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 66

[146] Rives, James. "Religion in the Roman Empire." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson. New York: Routledge, 2000. 245

we must note at this point that the private aspect of religion in the Roman Empire was not strictly controlled by the central power like the public aspects of it. The elite would decide which gods the Roman people as a whole would worship, which could be many in number and origin, also in what ways and who were the responsible parties performing rituals but the individual beliefs or rituals were not as controlled, with exceptions of prohibitions.[147]

Therefore as Roman authorities did not require any set belief even from their own citizens, they also did not expect it from rest of the people. Sets of cults and rituals were encouraged but not forced. Actually it was not uncommon for communities to keep traditional cults, although at times these changed with the Roman influence, while at the same time these communities adopted other Roman cults as well, as markers of Roman identity. Some of these local cults were in return adopted by the Roman culture and perpetuated in a Romanized version of the original religion, like the cult of Isis from Egypt.

A particular cult that needs to be mentioned here is the Imperial cult. Yet one must be wary while dealing with the Imperial cult since practices in the whole of the Roman Empire were far more varied than a singular name combining them suggests.

The cities constituted new cults as Rome gradually took place of the Hellenistic kings as major force in Asia Minor.[148] These cults continued from the ruler cults of Hellenistic kingdoms in some ways, but were in many other ways very different. There were cults for the Senate as well as individual Romans and of course the personification of the city of Rome, as the goddess Roma. After the transition to the Principate, the focus of these cults was the center of

[147] Rives, James. "Religion in the Roman Empire." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson. New York: Routledge, 2000. 258

[148] Ibid. 265

power as the emperor himself, which is referred to as the Imperial cult in general.

The Imperial cult was extremely widespread. Though like many other instruments of Romanization, it was as varied as the provinces themselves. The cult could be defined as "a series of historically contextualized, culturally conditioned institutions." [149] The Imperial cult was also a political phenomenon as much as a religious one, arguably even more so. The State was in control of the process of spreading the cult and the Emperor was very much involved, in the sense that the requests would go directly to him as well as the Senate. On the other hand, the provinces could take the initiative and petition for the privilege like in Greece and Asia Minor or the initiate could be that of the State as a more direct Romanization effort. In either case, the result in a city being given the right to hold a Temple of the Imperial cult would mean a privilege for that city or province, proving the ultimate show of alliance to the Roman Empire.

The image of the emperor and the temples in their names were quite widespread in the Roman Empire, working at both a symbolic and a religious unity for all the people.[150] Participation in the Imperial cult and identifying oneself within its parameters created a sense of community shared within the peripheries and reinforced the sense of being Roman. Also the ceremonies and festivals allowed a display of social ranks and order, which helped to recreate the social structure of the Roman Empire from the center to the fringes. Although participation as any other religious activity was not obligatory, the social and official pressure as well the gifts given would encourage it.

[149] Friesen, Steven. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the cult of the Flavian imperial family.* New York, Leiden, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1993. 145

[150] Elsner, Jas. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 120

The conventional difference in the approaches to the Imperial cult in the eastern and western parts of the Empire is that in Greek areas especially, the initiative was that of the local population whereas in the western provinces central control and initiative was more the norm.[151] The differences in the attitudes were probably less severe than this point of view suggests.

The Hellenistic world did have some prestige and influence over the Roman society that the western communities lacked. With this kind of influence that the Roman Empire had, the local elite in the west identified themselves with the dominant culture through the Imperial cult and gained prestige to reinforce their own positions in the society. The State initiative in the western provinces does not mean a forceful attitude, however the process with religion like any other similar aspect seems to be of a constant negotiation and a two way influence between cultures. It was a more of an issue of central promotion and less of a direct manipulation.[152] The local cults and religions as mentioned did not completely lose power as a more forceful view might suggest, they changed with the new influence but did not disappear. "What happened in the western part of the empire was not simply the submerging of individual traditions under the Roman one, but a more complex process of assimilation and appropriation resulting in new cults that were simultaneously local and Roman." [153] In the matter of western provinces, the Imperial cult and changing local traditions were consistently important foci for issues of identity and relationships of power.

While talking about eastern part of the Empire, the main focus is usually Asia Minor, providing far richer evidence than other

[151] Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 74

[152] Ibid. 16

[153] Rives, James. "Religion in the Roman Empire." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson. New York: Routledge, 2000. 271

provinces. “Using their traditional symbolic system [Greek cities] represented the emperor to themselves in the familiar terms of divine power. The imperial cult, like the cults of traditional gods, created a relationship of power between the subject and the ruler”[154] It was mentioned that there were several cults in the name of Roma, the Senate and individual Romans in the Republican period. In 29 BC the *koinon* of Asia had requested permission to establish a cult for Octavian, which was the first of any such request to have a cult for a living ruler. The diplomatic reply was to give permission to Pergamon and Nicomedia for a temple of Rome and Augustus himself for the non-Roman people and request temples dedicated to Rome and Julius in the name of his adoptive father Caesar in Ephesus and Nicaea for the Roman citizens in respective provinces, Asia and Bithynia. Not all the cities and provinces requesting permission were granted the right for establishing Temples of the Imperial Cult, which was both a major responsibility and a privilege but many cities of Asia Minor had secured such favor by the 3rd century AD to the point of having several temples in some cities. [155] Even with the Hellenistic initiative, the control, establishment and continuation of the cults were completely vested with the central power. While the local elite had benefits and prestige to gain from petitioning for the cult, the system of the Imperial cult had its own objectives as well. The emperor was also deeply involved in that he gave permission, drafted related regulations or even personally encouraged his own cult, like Gaius in the example of Miletus.

These temples of the Imperial cult were often accompanied with a regular festival to celebrate like Pergamon with the Temple of Rome and Augustus, but not always. These imperial festivals formed an essential framework of the imperial cult. The city as a whole would be

[154] Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 248

[155] Ibid. 54-56

involved in these festivals. The separate public venues would be connected by the processions; the forum, theatre, amphitheatre and porticoes for displays and ceremonies as well as the temple would be used and thus united by the imperial cult.[156]

4.2.2.1 Festivals and Gladiatorial games

As discussed in the last chapter, festivals were an important part of the imperial cult. These festivals were celebrated in the names of different gods all over the empire. Three basic components were common to all: a procession, sacrifices and finally games, the games being the most elaborate part.

> The great games of the ancient Mediterranean grew out of religious holidays to become spectacular celebrations of the divine pantheon, event that not only called upon divine support to ensure continued prosperity for the state, but also offered an elaborate formalized series of actions that encouraged, even required the participation of an expanded human audience. [157]

As discussed before, the gladiatorial games emerged as funerary rituals, becoming highly popular in the Republican era and were used mostly as a tool for the enhancement of political achievement by individual members of higher class. The games were a useful venue to court public favor and used frequently for this very reason. They enabled generals to channel their booty seized from the enemy so that they appeared to be agents of pious duty towards the state and at the same time appeared generous towards the general public who enjoyed these spectacles immensely. The gladiatorial combat as well as many other spectacles grew during these times when the risks of warfare that raised tension influenced all the aspects of the society.

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[156] Whittaker, C. R. "Imperialism and Culture: the Roman initiative." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly, 143-164. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997. 149

[157] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 1

These shows thus became useful instruments for both countering these anxieties and displaying the everlasting might and capability of Rome.[158]

During early imperial period, these games were brought under central control, to become a mechanism working for conveying Roman power and identity across the empire.[159] The meaning and the purpose of the games themselves changed accordingly, aligning with a dominant ideology representing the emperor's agenda instead of many opportunist individuals.

At this point the increased interaction with non-Roman societies and cultures would have led to a need for self identification for which these public spectacles would provide an excellent opportunity. The gladiatorial games were already seen as a "Roman" type of spectacle unlike the obvious Greek precedents of chariot racing or theatrical entertainments. Also the very nature of these games contributed to Roman hegemony as a way to glue all Roman society together while celebrating the shared past; displaying victories over the other and creating an ideal group future.[160] While the imperial authority was utilizing the public entertainment to create a common identity working with the Emperor's ideology in the center of the Empire, in the peripheries also, these games were in aid of a different kind of purpose for the local communities; as a way to proclaim their Roman identity, to identify themselves with the interest of the Emperor. Local leaders and the elite gave benefactions and organized local games even when duty did not call for it to reap the benefits of aligning oneself with the dominant power.[161] These spectacles are a good

[158] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 2-6

[159] Huskinson, Janet. "Elite Culture and the identity of the Empire." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson. New York: Routledge, 2000. 113

[160] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 4

example of a way to examine the process of Romanization, in a sense a phenomenon with two facades; one with a central deliberation and one with local aspirations.

The gladiatorial combat was thus exported and emulated throughout the empire becoming popular in almost every corner. The production of spectacles was highly intensified with the expansion of the Empire. Hence these shows demonstrated the capacity of the Roman Empire beyond that of the military, also in cultural leadership.[162]

The working system of the gladiatorial games was organized in a way that extended the ultimate control of the Emperor. Outside of Rome, local officials acted as agents of the Emperor, not only in providing necessary facilities but also funds for the events. It was therefore a part of the municipal package, as an obligation of public office. The central government provided regulations for the provincial magistrates to provide acceptable public entertainment in accordance with Roman expectations (whether that of the center or of the people). There were many occasions to hold gladiatorial events in the provinces, such as celebrating traditional deities and the emperor, dedication of public buildings, celebrating the victory of Rome and the like. As representatives of the Roman power structure, these local leaders had much to gain from asserting their control and validating the hierarchy. Through these games the social order in which they situated themselves would be formulated and re-formulated to re-assert it as the necessary reality. The games would support the establishment and the dominant ideology which the local power supported and reinforce the need to maintain the status quo.[163]

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[161] Huskinson, Janet. "Elite Culture and the identity of the Empire." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson. New York: Routledge, 2000. 113

[162] Futrell, Alison. *The Roman Games.* Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 8

[163] Ibid. 29-43

Although gladiatorial games have been the main focus of discussion until now, it must be noted that as a part of *munera,* other forms of entertainment also had their roles. For example, in the events of *damnatio ad bestas,* convicted people would be hunted by animals, in which occasions the arena would house the execution of the Roman will, while an actual literal execution of those who violated the will of the state was carried out. The *venationes* were animal shows or hunts, to commemorate the prevalence of civilization over bestiality. The displays of exotic animals were themselves a show of the wide range of Roman hegemony, while the hunts gave the message of an unstoppable power of conquest.

4.3 Romanization in Asia Minor

In discussing the context and dynamics of Romanization, the issue previously was described as negotiation between internal and external devices. Yet on the whole this is a rather complex matter. When the region in question is the Greek East and especially Asia Minor, the investigation of this premise becomes even more complicated.

One of the main reasons for this complexity is that when we talk about Roman influence on the eastern provinces directly or indirectly, we must remember that the Greek East itself had exerted an immense influence over the Roman Empire. Roman culture had been influenced one way or another since its emergence, through the influence at first of cities of Magna Graecia and later the Greek mainland and Asia Minor. The influence of Greek culture had been immense in many aspects of Roman lives from religion,to the military and the arts. The Romans borrowed and imitated from Greek ideas and styles and in time transformed these according to their own

culture not only in art but also in philosophy and literature. [164] Greeks themselves played important roles in the Roman society as teachers, doctors, philosophers or mentors. Greek culture thus became a crucial part in the education of the Roman elite and through that the construction of identity of the elite.

How far the influence of Greek culture went and how important it was in creating an identity in the Roman society is a controversial issue. Plutarch argued that "Greekness" was something necessary for Romans to learn, because the highest compliment any Roman could get was being called 'Greek', since for Plutarch it was in lieu of being 'civilized'. On the other hand, Cicero stressed a more limited influence of Greek culture, suggesting that Romans themselves choose which aspects to borrow and improve.[165]

No matter the extent and importance, it is certain that the issue of Roman influence on the Hellenistic provinces is complicated. It is hard to determine exactly what is "Roman" and what is "Hellenistic" in the Eastern Roman Empire even without considering the Greek elements in what we define as "Roman".

Another matter further complicating the issue is of course that the topic in this chapter is Asia Minor and not the Greek Mainland.

> In the imperial period mainland Greece was something of a social and economic backwater, apart from Corinth, its commercial and administrative center and Athens, which served in many ways as the chief 'university town' of the empire. Some of the other cities had currency as tourist attractions but the really vibrant area of Greek culture was western Asia Minor, where cities like Ephesus, Smyrna and

[164] Branigan, Keith. "Hellenistic Influence on the Roman World." In *The Roman World*, ed. John Wacher. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul Inc., 1987. 42-45

[165] Preston, Rebecca. "Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity." In *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of the Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill. Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 2001. 87-101

> Pergamum reached a peak of wealth and brilliance in the second century C.E.[166]

Greece had lost most of its splendor by the Roman period while Asia Minor flourished and especially the western part became important centers for Hellenistic culture. However that was not the only difference to be found; before the discussion of whether Asia Minor was Romanized or not, it should be acknowledged that it was never wholly Hellenized. In the central regions of Asia Minor Celts were highly influential, with a very different culture of their own. The pre-Greek population of wide regions of Asia Minor, which had always been very diverse in character, held its ground for a long time in many places down to the imperial period. Even some of the Hellenized regions had a hybrid character. Romanization was arguably highly different in the central and eastern regions than in the highly Hellenized provinces of the coasts.

It has also been argued by A.H.M. Jones[167], for example, that the eastern provinces were actually not Romanized at all. The issue might appear to be so at first glance, since unlike the more direct method of impact in the west, any influence Roman culture had in the eastern provinces was through much subtler means. However the influence was there and not wholly without deliberation. Through adopting the Greek polis model and the relatively low number of new colonies in Asia Minor, the Eastern provinces were exposed to different kinds of changes than the west, the overall approach allowing a way to shift in the culture without the Greek cultural identity being compromised.

Especially religion and provincial administration played important parts in the Romanization of eastern communities. As mentioned in the former chapters, in many cases, the provinces of Asia Minor had

[166] Rives, James. "Religion in the Roman Empire." In *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Janet Huskinson, 245-274. New York: Routledge, 2000. 55

[167] Jones, A.H.M. *The Greek City form Alexander to Justinian.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

an active instigating role in Romanization. For example it was the *koinon*s of Asia and Bithynia that appealed to the Senate and to Augustus to be able to build a temple in the Emperor's name. But it was Augustus who made the requirements according to his own agenda, such as including Rome besides his name for worship. Although there had been other cults of important Roman figures before, the imperial cult in the Emperor's name had become one of the major instruments in Romanization. Also, emerging from Eastern demand this institution was the one Augustus used in the western provinces very soon after, since it was a very useful means to focus the loyalty of the people.

Shortly after, the agonistic festivals came mostly under the purview of the imperial cult. The festivals with athletic or artistic competitions had been a central element of Greek culture since earliest times, like the prominent example of the Olympic Games. Under the Roman Empire, the festivals not only flourished but also became an important part of civic life throughout the Hellenized East but especially in Asia Minor. Apart from four major Greek festivals, there were numerous local festivals and competitions of varying standing. The Greek festivals were popular as never before. A major change at this point was that these festivals, which were a crucial part of Greek identity and a connection throughout the whole Greek community, were now laden with Roman images and symbolic structures upholding Roman rule. Most of the festivals were now in the Emperor's name through the imperial cult, some started in the emperor's birthday, some awards were symbolic of emperor's image etc. The oldest Greek-style festival in Lycia had become the *Romaia*, the Roman Games.

Not only were the existing components of festivals implicated with Roman identity but there was also the addition of *munera* to the regular program. The gladiatorial games were as discussed before, the

most “Roman” spectacle of all and they were highly popular in Asia Minor. These shows were now a part of some of the festivals, giving them even more of a Roman character.

Everywhere in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, the “Greek” agonistic festivals became instruments to accommodate the realities of Roman power and a way to establish the relationship between the local communities and the center of the Roman Empire. These events worked to bind the central and local cultures in the same power structure. [168]

The imperial cult was not the only instance where the Emperor made a deliberate impact on the cultural scene of Asia Minor. Similarly, festivals were not the only time when the Greek instruments of defining their identity were made use of in the establishment of a Roman identity. Among many instances of this manner of appropriation and redefinition of Greek culture was for example one with Hadrian, when the city of Cyrene in Libya had appealed to affirm its Hellenistic ancestry, which was an important factor in city rivalries in the east. Hadrian’s political supremacy was thus proven by the request from a city of the Greek East to adjudicate about a matter of Greek descent. Hadrian’s well known interest in cultural activities in the Hellenistic provinces was also useful in a way that it allowed him to reinforce Roman political control by appropriating the culture. The Hellenistic communities were in a special standing in the Empire but this did not mean that Rome did not exert power and influence over these provinces, but only that the relationship was much more complicated and the influence very subtle.

The central power in Rome intervened in the affairs of the Greek cities often enough using the authority of the local elites. Also there was some skepticism about some aspects of Roman society and rule

[168] Nijf, Onno van. "Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East." In *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of the Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill. Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 2001. 310-330

voiced by Greek philosophers and writers, but there was also an eagerness at other points as can be observed with the establishment of the imperial cult or in a smaller scale for example in giving Latin names to female members of their families. The focus on the Greek past and a certain amount of subtle comments on Roman rule and culture from the Greek writers offered to some an idea of resistance and on occasions acceptance only through pragmatism. However this view overestimates the importance of Greek cultures intellectual evolution and the amount of persistence on disallowing Roman influence.

The local elite had the most to gain from the exertion of Roman rule, as it affirmed their status and local hegemony. While integrating with the Roman state, the relationship with the local power structure was to allow participation as client kings under the hegemony of Rome. When these client kings died, their lands were integrated as new provinces and the descendants lost their privileges of direct rule; however they did obtain Roman citizenship and important positions in the new local power structure.[169] Through their status and their large estates, the royal families were free to dominate the province. Thus aligning with the dominant power brought them both prestige and material gain for the provinces.[170]

Many members of this class participated in Roman society to take up careers as army officers, politicians or members of imperial administration. This allowed them to acquire positions of high status in the army, politics and administration, in short, an upward social mobility. It was in the interest of the wealthy educated class to encourage the rest of the society to converge on Roman interests and

[169] Madsen, Jesper Majbom. *Eager to be Roman: Greek Response to the Roman Rule in Pontus and Bithynia.* London: Duckworth, 2009. 63.

[170] Preston, Rebecca. "Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity." In *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of the Empire*, ed. Simon Goldhill. Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 2001, 91.

to integrate politically, socially and also ideologically in the overall framework of the Roman Empire. The imperial cult allowed a similar mobility in the local medium. One of the strong signs of local desire to appear as a part of the Roman community is the highly eager participation in the activities of Roman institutions such as games or festivals and the imperial cult allowed a very spirited participation whether through appointments as priest or acting as benefactors.

Although the Greek elite was influential in Hellenized areas, in the other regions - whether Celts or other native people - were more influenced by the presence of Roman legions and unofficial settlements of Italian businessmen with a wide range, which went a long way to Romanize these regions.[171]

One of the major influences the Roman Emperors had in Asia Minor was the intensive activity in urbanization. Although the mainly western part of Asia Minor was already urbanized to a certain extent, the rest of the region was much less so. In a typical Roman fashion, the Empire provided necessary services like roads or aquaducts while new towns and cities were built. This was an important process because cities brought together a population where the city could regulate and control the collective behavior and interrelationships of this group of people. It allowed the formation of a common identity as a community in the regulated boundaries and to find a place in the entirety of the Roman Empire.

The idea of the *polis* was of course a Greek phenomenon which changed in the context of the Roman Empire. Urbanism in the Greek cities under Roman rule led to a synthesis of Greek and Roman tradition, held in balance. Although the central idea of autonomy of a *polis* was inevitably lost, the synthesis did allow some Greek characteristics to survive. The cities were not and could not be

[171] Levick, Barbara. "Urbanization in the Eastern Empire." In *The Roman World*, ed. John Wacher. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul , 1987, 333.

democratic on the whole, because this did not suit the Roman approach. However the political meetings were still public affairs unlike Rome for example, and almost all the male population was entitled to attend the assemblies. The government of the provinces was conducted in a consensus of the council and the people. Admittedly though in time, the oligarchic system did prevail and the assemblies for people lost their power.[172]

The central government could either directly affect the welfare of communities by founding and maintaining new cities, or indirectly by encouraging local benefactions with imperial favor. There were also other methods of direct assistance as in technical aid, like when Hadrian travelled throughout the Eastern provinces with an entourage of "geometers, architects and every sort of expert in construction and decoration."[173] In the earliest phases of urbanization under Roman rule, the Roman architects and engineers had some direct influence on the architectural style but the local expertise was also highly employed.

Another part of urbanization was the high number of new public buildings in Roman architectural style; the adoption of the new monumental style changed the appearance of the cities. The shared outlook of buildings, combining features as colonnades and pathways, the overall arrangement of the cities allowed them to present a Roman character, although important Greek buildings were still existent amidst the whole. Some Greek structures like theatres or stadiums were modified through Roman specifications and where in need new structures were built in high number. Roman style baths were especially popular and the temples of the Imperial cult were

[172] Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 203-204.

[173] Hanfmann, G.M.A. *From Croesus to Constantine: the Cities of Western Asia Minor and their Arts in Greek and Roman Times.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1975, 43-46.

important monumental buildings contributing to the Roman character of the cities.

When the subject is the Romanization of Asia Minor, inter-city rivalry is a relevant and important issue. The cities of Asia Minor, especially the province of Asia, lost their highly valued political autonomy to the dominant power by the Roman period. But the notion of patriotism of the people did not disappear. Any resident of a city of Asia Minor regarded his/her city with devotion and pride.

So when the region was united and freedom of action was constrained by the Roman Empire, the expression of devotion and competition among the cities took a more peaceful but not any less volatile means. The cities competed for prestige as well as economic advantage. The titles of cities competed for so rigorously were not only about prominence, the local hierarchy accordingly affected many aspects of life for example; the seating and processional arrangements in major provincial festivals.

The three major competitors in Asia were Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamon, the supremacy of these cities was not challenged by the others, although these three disputed more than enough among themselves while the rest of the province of Asia competed in another level as well. The cities fought for from the right of establishing imperial cult to any title of *neokoros*[174], metropolis, the first city, the capital, etc.

The cities competed by showing their Roman character on one hand while proving their Hellenistic origins on the other. The right to have a temple of the imperial cult as well as to celebrate festivals were major aspects for competition among the cities, and provided immense economic profit for the cities while aligning with the Roman Empire. At the same, time any city new or old searched for a

[174] Neokoros: temple warden. This was a title first used by Ephesus regarding cult of Sebastoi, followed by the other cities referencing the Temples of the imperial cult in a city.

connection to ancient Greece, creating foundation legends and using them for making profitable allegiances.

4.3.1 Romanization in Pergamon

From the arrival of Greek colonists, the western coast of Asia Minor had been a center of a thriving urban culture with an important political and cultural life. Pergamon was one of the major cities of the western coast of Asia Minor and the city had an important role in Hellenistic society. The Attalid kings had undertaken the mission of making their capital Pergamon a striking example of a Hellenistic city. They had taken on themselves to be the bearer of the culture of Hellas not only by the famous library but also through an impressive urban organization. The building program followed is now a textbook case for the dramatic type of urbanism in Hellenistic Asia Minor. This school of planning worked with three dimensional design emphasizing vertical as well as horizontal axes to create a more dynamic and monumental cityscape while using the landscape accordingly. The architecture of the Acropolis especially the theatre, offers this kind of scenographic planning, monumentality and dramatic vistas. [175]

The kings creating this incredible model of Hellenistic urban space were the same kings allying themselves with the Romans, who later bequeathed the city and the kingdom to the latter. So when the Roman influences had arrived to Pergamon was already an impressive monumental city, which resulted in the Roman contribution in the lower part of the city without demolishing the Hellenistic components on the Acropolis but making reconstructions and alterations according to Roman traditions and needs. A very

[175] Hanfmann, G.M.A. *From Croesus to Constantine: the Cities of Western Asia Minor and their Arts in Greek and Roman Times.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1975.

important exception was in the middle of Hellenistic acropolis, one very Roman building standing crowning the acropolis; the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan. (Fig.26)

Thus the city of Pergamon continued with its proud Hellenistic character while also undertaking a new Roman image. With all the impressive structures of the acropolis, the new Roman buildings were as impressive and high in number throughout the lower city, creating a city with a fusion of local Greek with Roman culture.

The Roman Empire, similar to other provinces, provided Pergamon with public utilities like aquaducts, as well as roads. A part of the Roman aquaduct is visible on the north of Kale Dağı. The Roman influence also brought a lot of public buildings although these were result of mostly local benefactions. Greek cities in general wished for gymnasia, baths, theaters and temples for the imperial cult. In Pergamon we have many impressive Roman public buildings from the Red Court to an amphitheatre, a Roman theatre, a stadium, as well as the Temple of Trajan; they created together an image of a recognizable Roman city.

The most popular Roman public building in the Greek East was the gymnasium; even Trajan remarked with humor; "Our little Greeks love gymnasia…" in his letter to Pliny.[176] The complexes combining baths with Hellenistic gymnasiums seem to be highly popular, by the time of Hadrian there were seven gymnasiums and several other baths big or small in Pergamon. (Fig.57) Entertainment buildings were also very important for a Roman city; the Hellenistic theatre was repaired and altered by the Roman period, also a new Roman theatre, a stadium and an amphitheatre were built. The Temple of Serapis also called Red Court, was also an impressive Roman structure in the middle of the lower city; this was the biggest temple for Egyptian gods

[176] Hanfmann, G.M.A. *From Croesus to Constantine: the Cities of Western Asia Minor and their Arts in Greek and Roman Times.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1975. 28

outside Egypt.(Fig.58) All the impressive public buildings and Roman residential districts were connected by passages and connections in the Roman manner, creating altogether the Roman Pergamon.

The last but not least public building of a Roman city in Asia Minor was the temple of the imperial cult. Pergamon with Nicomedia in Bithynia was actually the first city to get an imperial temple and a cult in the name of a living Emperor.

> Caesar, meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesus and Nicaea to Rome and to Caesar, his father, whom he named the hero Julius. These cities had at the time attended chief place in Asia and Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honour to these two divinities; but he permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. [177]

This is how Dio Cassius described the request of the *koinon* of Asia in 29 BC, which in the province of Asia resulted in the Temple of Rome and Caesar in Ephesus, and the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Pergamon. Including Rome along with Augustus' own name and that of his adoptive fathers was in line with the sensitivity of the issue because of the view on worship of living power figures in Rome. Augustus himself had accused Anthony refashioning himself as an eastern monarch accepting the divine status accordingly. As the addition of Rome served the emperors agenda so did the dual temples of two distinct religious systems. This allowed the emperor to show his intent on preserving both in their own spheres and invalidating neither.

It also made sense to build these temples in these cities respectively. Ephesus held the temple of Rome and Caesar for the Romans, since the city was the administrative center of the province; while

[177] Cassius, Dio. *Roman History* . Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917. LI, 20, 6.

Pergamon was the leading city before the establishment of the province, which continued to hold an important position in the Roman era so this city had the temple for Hellenistic people as the new established cult for Rome and Augustus, as the Hellenistic center of the province.[178]

This was also a time of political and religious transformation in Asia whereby the cult served to allow a kind of continuation of past practices and at the same time advertising allegiance to the emperor.

Along with the first temple of the imperial cult, Dio Cassius states that Pergamon also received the right to hold sacred games. These games were called "The *Romaia Sebasta* established by the koinon of Asia in Pergamon" or in short "the great *Sebasta Romaia*".[179] The games were probably established very early on since there is an inscription dated to 5 BC referring to a victory in the "*Romaia Sebasta* established by the *koinon* of Asia in Pergamon". These games were probably held annually for 50 years until the addition of new cities to the cycle.

The structure of the temple has unfortunately never been located; it was presumably at the foot of the acropolis.[180] There are several coins depicting the building as a temple with six Corinthian columns in front, in a Greek rather than Italic design.[181] (Fig. 59)

The cult of Rome and Caesar disappeared soon after but that of Rome and Augustus was not just the only provincial cult for 50 years but it continued to flourish well into the time of Hadrian. The cult set the

[178] Friesen, Steven. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family.* New York, Leiden, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1993. 158

[179] Ibid. 14-15

[180] Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 104

[181] Friesen, Steven. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the cult of the Flavian imperial family.* New York, Leiden, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1993. 13

precedent for all following, being taken into account in any provincial imperial cult throughout the Empire.

Pergamon was not only the first city to receive a Temple of the imperial cult but it was also the first to have permission for a second provincial temple in the name of Trajan. This new cult was in the name of Zeus Philios and Trajan. There seems to be an early worship for this embodiment of Zeus in Pergamon although there were no earlier temples in the site of the new one. This new cult was modeled after the one of Rome and Augustus. There were also new sacred games called "*Traianeia Peipheleia*" in the same status as the former "*Romaia Sebasta*".[182]

This temple, partially still standing, was built on a special substructure on the acropolis. (Fig. 60) It was a truly Roman construction, rearranging the terrain to have the temple placed on a very high position among the Hellenistic buildings. The temple stood in the middle of a broad plaza with porticoes on either side and a hall with elevated colonnade in the back. (Fig. 61) The structure dominated or even crowned the city of Pergamon, also the orientation was in line with the Roman grid of the lower city possibly being the determining factor for placement. (Fig.62)

An interesting note is that; it is possible that the architect of this temple might have gone to Rome and built the temple of Hadrian. This is interesting also because the former structure is a Roman temple in the middle of a Hellenistic acropolis, while the latter is a Greek style temple in Rome.[183]

Not very later after Pergamon receiving the right to hold two Imperial Temples, thus distinguishing herself among the cities of Asia, several

[182] Burrell, Barbara. *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003. 356-357

[183] Ibid.

other cities beginning with Ephesus received a similar privilege during Hadrian's reign. There is a fragmented inscription from a letter to Hadrian dated to ca. 135-138 AD in Pergamon. It explains that Pergamenes had asked for a permission to build a new temple for Imperial cult in Hadrian's name. This inscription falls late in Hadrian's reign therefore there is already temples for Hadrian in Asia in Cyzikos, Smyrna and Ephesus, the latter two the major rivals of Pergamon in Asia. The request however seems to have been denied for whatever reason while the emperor seems to have allowed only his likeness to be placed in the Temple of Trajan. This development therefore placed Pergamon on a less distinguished place in the hierarchy of the cities of Asia.[184]

There was also a third temple of the imperial cult for the emperor Caracalla but the information about it is very scarce apart from the mention of its existence. (Fig.63)

Perhaps the most particular factor in analyzing the Romanization of Pergamon is the existence of the amphitheatre. Amphitheatre in general was closely linked to the concept of Romanization so much so that Alison Futrell remarked "to study the spread of the amphitheatre throughout the empire is to reveal the process of Romanization itself." [185] The main subject in this observation though is the western part of the Roman Empire where the amphitheatre was most prevalent. It has been noted that spectacles of the arena are closely linked with Romanization because of their convenience in assisting the continuation of the established dominant ideology of the Roman Empire. The amphitheatre itself, the building type designed to house these spectacles, served for furthering Roman ideology not only as a purely Italian architectural construct or even simply because it

[184] Burrell, Barbara. *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003. 27-28

[185] Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. 4

housed these very Roman spectacles but also because the building itself was an instrument to maintain and re-establish the local hierarchy in the provinces in a mirror of the center of the Empire where the Colosseum served for the same purpose.

The Greek East though, as noted, was different than the western provinces. There were very few amphitheatres actually built; the prevalent custom was to use reorganized theatres or stadiums for arena spectacles. One would expect that this could easily have been the case for Pergamon as well. There was a major Hellenistic theatre, which is known to have gone through renovations and additions in Roman period. Perhaps because this theatre could not serve well for practical reasons, since it was very steep and situated on the acropolis away from the Roman city, a new Roman theatre and a stadium big enough to serve as a hippodrome were built around the time of the amphitheatre. So functionally speaking either of these new buildings could serve for *munera* as it was typically done in many other cities in Asia Minor or Greece. Yet unexpectedly and rather intriguingly, an amphitheatre in addition to existing and new entertainment buildings was build and used.

It was not only the fact that Pergamon was a city in the Greek East that made the existence of the amphitheatre an unusual occurrence. It was also the fact that Pergamon's well established Hellenistic character, so much so that Augustus decided on this particular city for holding a temple for the Hellenes of Asia. A comparison with an analysis of similar cities in the context of Greek East may be useful to elucidate why the unusual choice in this particular case is important.

Katherine Welch pointed to Athens and Corinth for a comparative analysis, while examining the Reception of the Amphitheatre in the Greek World.[186] The city of Athens with its proud Hellene ancestry

[186] Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 128-162

was one the first to convert a theatre, the Theatre of Dionysus, to serve for spectacles of the arena, which was soon followed by many other cities of the Greek East. (Fig.64)

Corinth on the other hand, had become a Roman colony in the time of Julius Caesar; it was also the capital of the Roman province of Achaea. This city had opted to build an amphitheatre 1 km away from the city center just inside the city walls. (Fig.65)

Welsh remarks that these two responses to the need for a venue for gladiatorial games and similar spectacles, make sense in their context. In a nutshell, Athens for its proud Greek inheritance had chosen to accommodate Roman spectacles by adaptation of existing forms, without acquiring a new Roman architectural construction and at the same time retaining its Greek cultural identity more or less intact. Corinth, a Roman colony, had been more keen to display a Roman character thus built an amphitheatre, as there is a connection between veteran colonies and building amphitheatres like the republican examples in Campania.

The most straightforward comparison between these two examples and the cities of Asia would be to point out the similarity between Pergamon and Athens, in the sense that these were cities with a proud Hellenistic ancestry and Corinth with Ephesus. Although Ephesus was not a colony, it was the Roman center of administration for the province of Asia. It is a surprise then, that Ephesus was the city to utilize the theatre and gymnasium for arena spectacles and Pergamon was the one to build an amphitheatre unlike Athens. (Fig. 66)

Asclepieion itself is hard to place in the Romanization of Pergamon since while this area is certainly connected to Pergamon it is also a self-contained unit serving for its own purposes. It is interesting that the area the Roman entertainment structures are situated is on the

road to Asclepieion. It might have to do with the logical connection between a healing center and structures housing violent games, especially the amphitheatre or the fact that this road was the road for the pilgrims coming to Asclepieion moving to Pergamon thus a natural way for processions. This area of the city is, like the entertainment structures, barely studied therefore these are only speculations at this point.

So Pergamon was not only a city boasting one of the only remaining three amphitheatres of Asia Minor which would make it interesting enough, but it was a city with a well established Hellenistic tradition which continued to be important in the Roman period.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Entertainment buildings were an important part of Roman culture and architecture. In general, there were three structures serving different functions; the theatre, circus and the amphitheatre. The theatre and the circus had precedents in Greek architecture and they sometimes served multiple purposes; the theatre for theatrical shows, the circus for the chariot races and athletic competitions. Both served gladiatorial spectacles as well. The amphitheatre differed in both of these aspects in that it was a "purely" Roman invention while its function was more clearly designated as the venue for Roman gladiatorial games. Due to both the Roman spectacles the amphitheatre hosted and also the authentic Roman architectural design of the building itself made it a highly visible and an important revelation of Romanitas.

All together, these buildings were conspicuous components in propagating the image of the Roman city. It was not unusual for a city to have multiple entertainment buildings, most of the time, a theatre and an amphitheatre in the western cities, and a theatre and a stadium in the eastern parts of the Empire. Even with these cases in mind, it may still be said that Pergamon possessed an unusually high number of structures for entertainment; a Hellenistic theatre remodeled in the Roman period, a Roman theatre, a stadium /hippodrome, several *odea* and a fully fledged amphitheatre. The

usual practice in the Greek east was to remodel existing Greek theatres or stadia for Roman plays and spectacles, or at the most, build a new Roman theatre. Amphitheatres are indeed very few in number: there are only three known in Asia Minor.

Having a proud and well rooted Hellenistic history, one would not expect one of these three examples to be in Pergamon. The city was the capital of the Attalid Kingdom, one of the most influential political and cultural centers in Greece and Asia Minor; the kings were close allies of Athenians while the city housed one of the biggest and best known libraries of the ancient world, taking on the role of "protector" of Hellenic culture. Although the Attalids were also close allies of Rome from very early on, after the lands were bequeathed to the Roman public, Pergamon still had a Hellenistic character as may be deduced from Augustus granting the right to house the cult of Rome and Augustus for the Greeks to Pergamon.

While preserving her Hellenistic character however, Pergamon also adopted Roman institutions and architecture. The city housed three temples for three emperor's cults and the lower city was a newly designed Roman city with all the customary public buildings and institutions. With respect to the population too, there was a high number of Roman citizens in the city. For example, in the time of Trajan, there were 10 Roman citizens among the 17 people in the choir of the cult of Augustus, the number in Hadrian's time rose to 34 out of 38 people.[187] Although these numbers may not correspond to the accurate ratio of Roman citizens in Pergamon, they nevertheless signify a high number of resident Romans.

There is also a very recent interest by the German Archeological team to Eleia, the small harbor of Pergamon just starting to be studied. There is a theory that there may have been a navy situated right here

[187]Fabricius, E, and C. Schuchhardt. *Altertümer von Pergamon 8/2: Die Inschriften von Pergamon 2: Römische Zeit.* Berlin: Reimer, 1902. 134

which would create a direct military link to Pergamon. We have discussed the close relationship between military, and the emergence and use of the amphitheatre, the Roman sailors logically would come to Pergamon for at the very least entertainment. These are very initial theories at this point though since the excavations are beginning this year.[188]

The Hellenistic theatre, one of the largest in Asia Minor was remodeled in the Roman period. It has been suggested that this building was used only for orations and recitations possibly because it was so steep hence not as flexible in function, also far from the Roman part of the city. A new Roman theatre, a hippodrome which could also serve as a stadium and an amphitheatre were built in the Roman part of the city together, in what seems to be single urban project. Both the old and new theatres could house gladiatorial spectacles as well as the stadium like many other cities of Asia Minor. If the wish had been to build a new entertainment building to host gladiatorial shows for the new Trajanic festival, then either a new theatre or stadium would have been more than enough. An amphitheatre is not strictly necessary for such an aim. Therefore the thesis shows that the reason for building an amphitheatre in Pergamon does not seem to have been merely due to practical needs.

As one of the most influential cities of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic era and based on the findings of the thesis, it may be asserted that Pergamon had the ambition not only to retain that standing under Roman rule and thus perpetuate Hellenistic ideals already at hand as before but also propagate Roman ones in forging ahead in the new era. The cities of Asia Minor had the practice of establishing credentials through association with the Greek motherland, with local myths and foundation legends to create their urban mythology linking their cities firmly to old Greece. The foundation of Pergamon

[188] Felix Pirson, the current Head of excavations in Pergamon has given a talk about their plans in Eleia and its connection to Pergamon in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.

had a similar foundation mythology. As attested by Pausanias: "The Pergamenes claim to be Arcadians who crossed into Asia with Telephos."[189] The story was that the city was founded by Telephos, son of Hercules. The foundation legends were long established by the Roman period to the extent that the reliefs on the famous Altar of Zeus depicted this story. Hence it would have been logical for Pergamon with a Hellenistic precedent long in place, to utilize Roman means of self promotion, such as the imperial cult, festivals, arena spectacles and an amphitheatre.

The quest for self promotion in the cities of Asia Minor was on an impressive scale in the Roman period. Inter-city rivalries were legendary and in several levels every city of the provinces competed for rank and titles not only for the sake of conveying status but also for economic profit. The people of many cities, young or old, were often immensely patriotic, carrying rivalries to such a scale that the imperial government in Rome sometimes needed to intervene. "It is important … to eradicate their mutual enmities and rivalries, and not to permit them to assume empty titles or to do anything else that will bring them into strife with others."[190] In the province of Asia; Ephesus, Pergamon and Smyrna were the top three cities competing with each other, propelled by feverish enthusiasm.[191]

Around the time of the construction of the amphitheatre, in approximately early 2nd century, Pergamon had received permission to hold the title of second *neokoros* with the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan. This was the first instance for a city to have two temples of imperial cult and with the new cult came the second festival in Trajan's name. Receiving this right obviously led Pergamon to

[189] Pausanias. *Guide to Greece 1: Central Greece.* Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1971. 21

[190] Cassius, Dio. *Roman History* . Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917. LII, 37,10.

[191] Magie, David. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: to th end of the third century after Christ.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. 636

proclaim a prominent place, which was soon to be followed since Ephesus received a similar permission in Hadrian's period. Pergamon's request from the emperor Hadrian was denied, so this was indeed an exciting and highly competitive period for these cities. [192]We would like to suggest that building an amphitheatre may have been a deliberate political choice at that time as it would serve for the old and new festivals and consequent games but also for the real issue that appears to have been deeper. A Roman building so rare in Asia Minor, a building that represented Romanitas that served for restructuring society in the Roman way, that housed primarily spectacles of Roman nature was probably at this point a very convenient political instrument for supremacy in Pergamon elevating herself in the competition among the cities. The presence of the amphitheatre in Pergamon was both like and unlike the example of amphitheatres in the Romanization of western provinces, since it served to demonstrate a Roman identity on one hand, while on the other hand it would only make sense in the context of Asia Minor to construct this building in a Hellenistic city for the purpose of getting a foot ahead of the other cities.

This thesis then demonstrates that; Pergamon indeed assumed a more Roman character by embracing outright manifestations of Romanization such as urbanization involving new Roman public buildings especially entertainment structures, the institution of imperial cult and new festivals as well as an amphitheatre, but did all this in her own terms without compromising her robust Hellenistic identity and utilizing these means for its own purposes in the context of Asia Minor. In this regard, Pergamon demonstrates an outstanding example for the negotiation of acculturation and nuanced local resistance under Roman rule.

[192] Burrell, Barbara. *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003. 27-28

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APPENDIX A: FIGURES

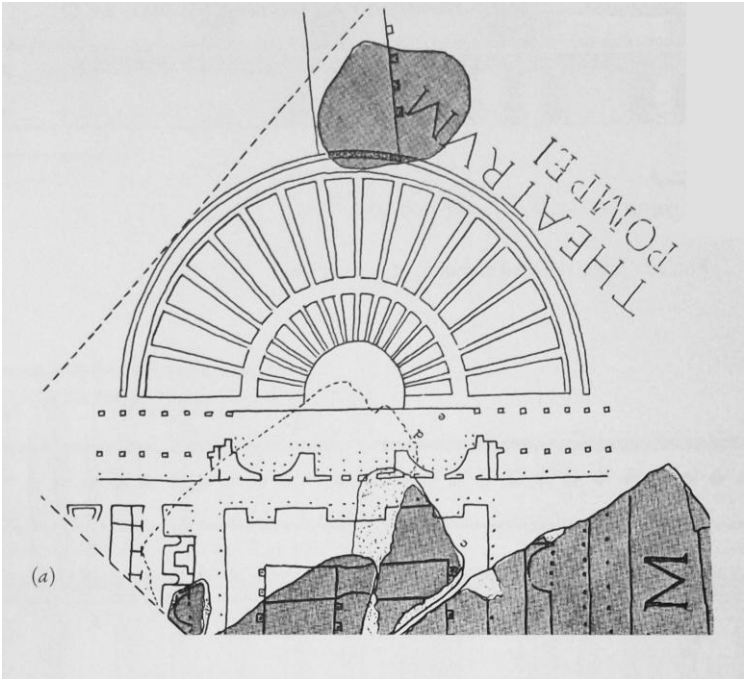

Figure 1: Theatre of Pompey, plan from the Marble plan
Source: Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 134

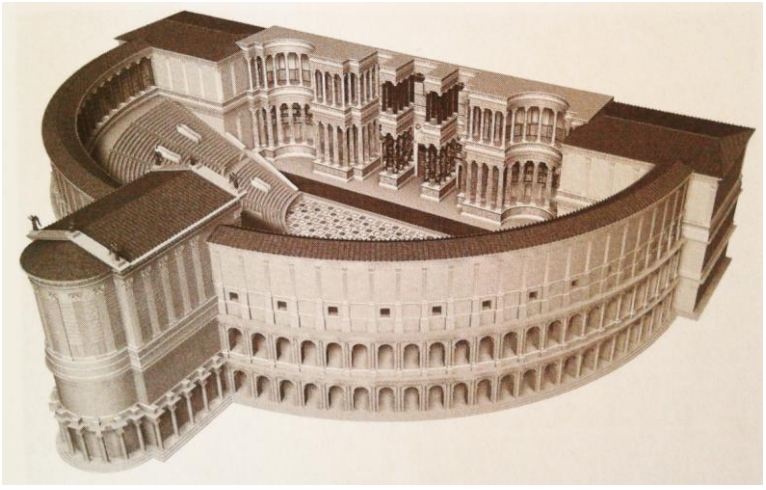

Figure 2: Computer Model of Theatre of Pompey, showing the temple of Venus
Source:McDonald, Marianne, and J. Michael Walton. *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 219

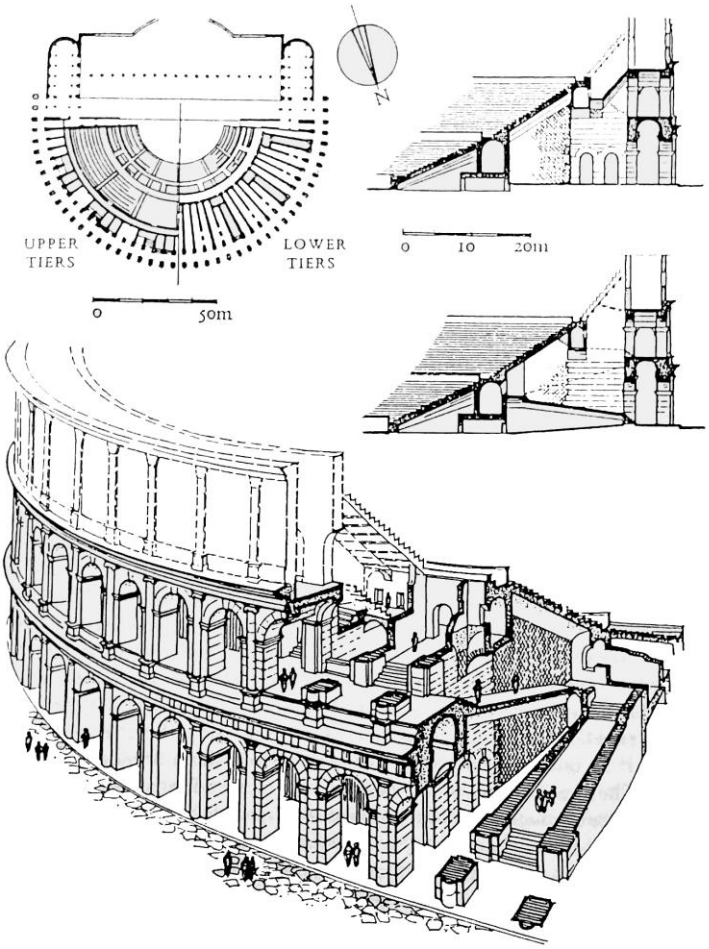

Figure 3: Plan, Section and View of the Theatre of Marcellus
Source:Brothers, A. J. In «Buildings for Entertainment.» *Roman Public Buildings*, ed. I. M. Barton, 97-125. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989. 109

Figure 4: Photo of Theatre of Marcellus
Source:Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Plate 14

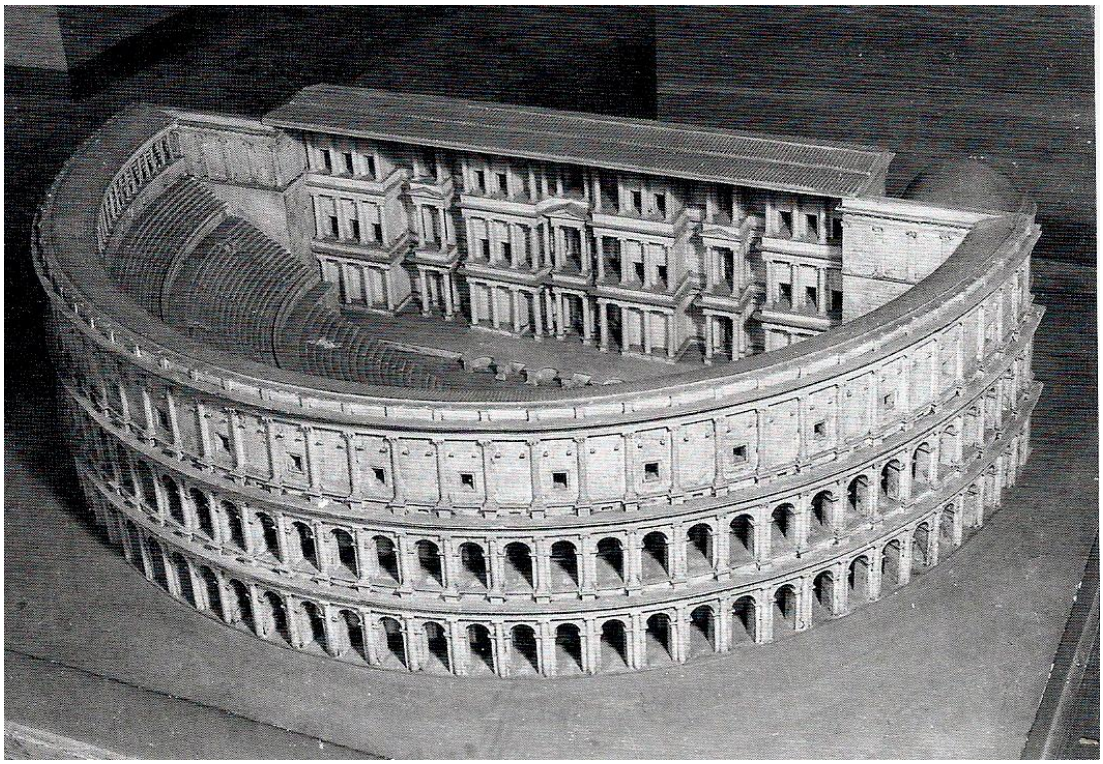

Figure 5: Model of Theatre of Marcellus
Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 130

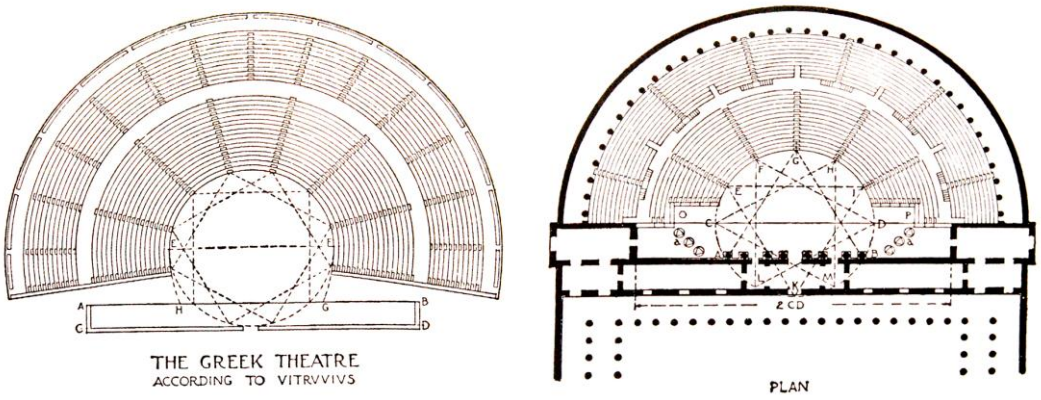

Figure 6: The Greek Theatre and the Roman Theatre according to Vitruvius
Source: Vitruvius. *Mimarlık Üzerine 10 Kitap.* Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, 2005. 109-112

Figure 7: Computer Model of the *scaenae frons* of Theatre of Pompey
Source: McDonald, Marianne, and J. Michael Walton. *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 220

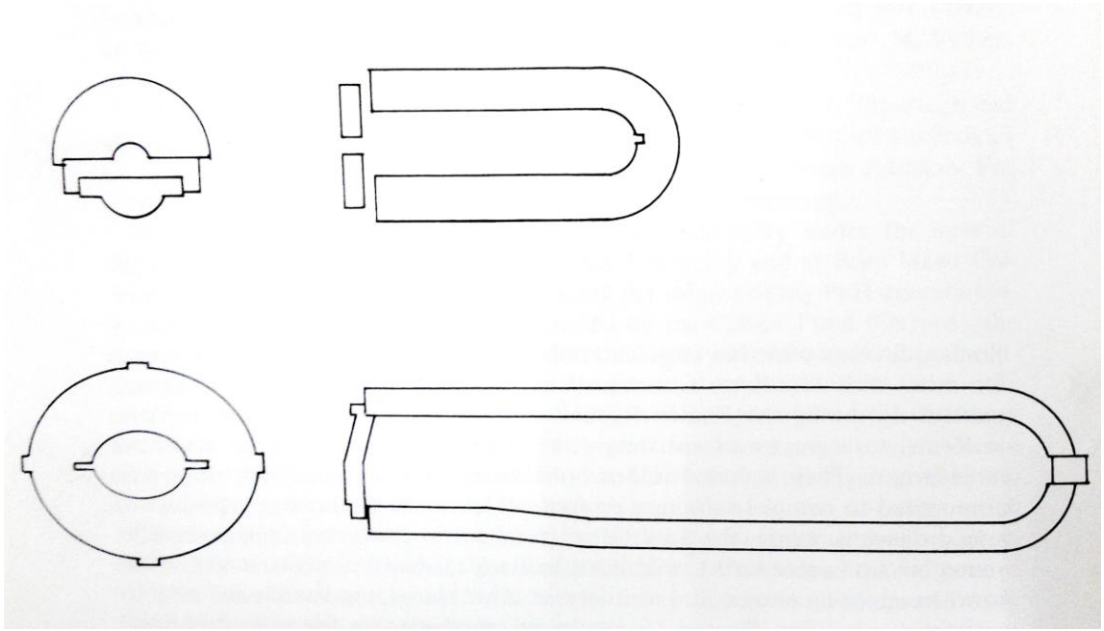

Figure 8: Relative sizes of the Theatre, Stadium, Amphitheatre and the Circus
Source:Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 2.

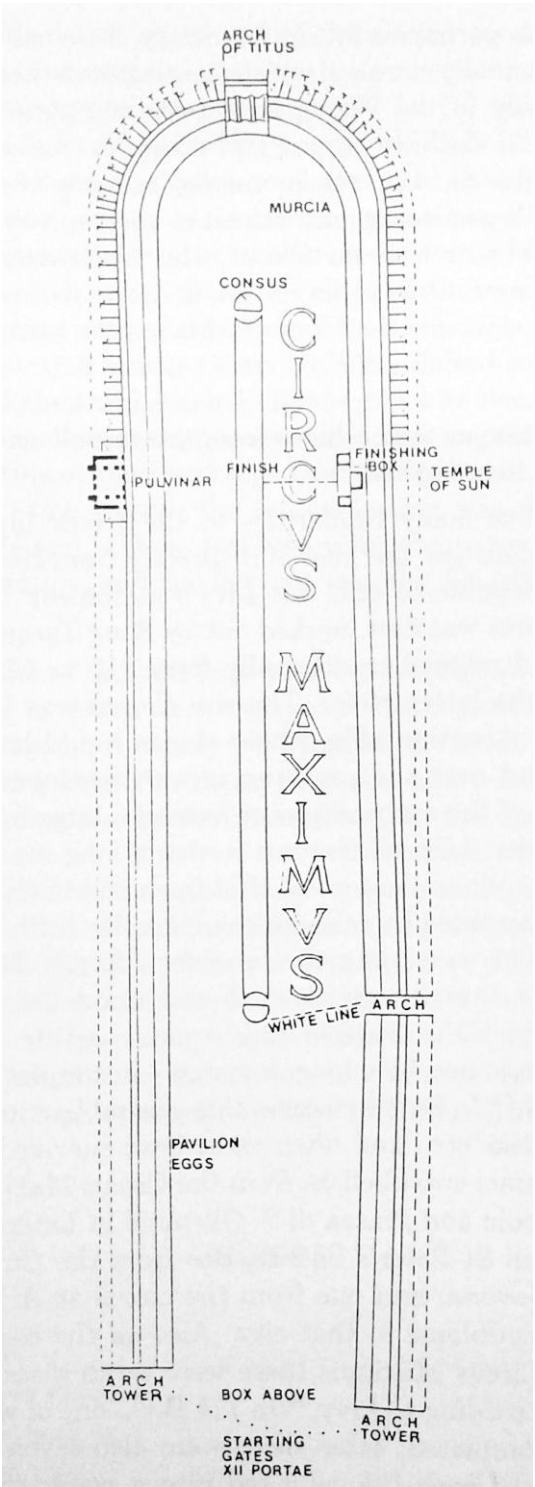

Figure 9: Restored plan of Circus Maximus Source: Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 120

Figure 10: Drawing of the Circus from 1581 in Onofrio Panvinio, de ludis circensibus
Source: Humphrey, John H. *Roman Circuses.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 58.

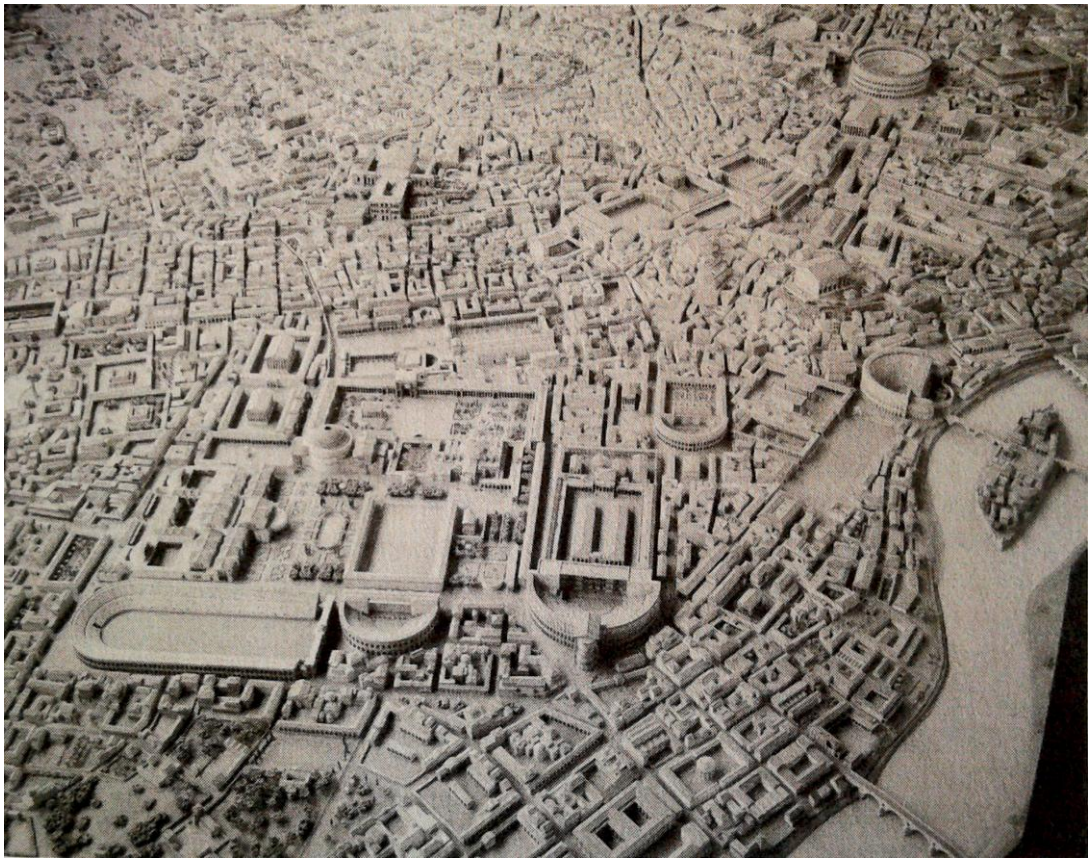

Figure 11: Model of the U-shaped Stadium of Domitian on the lower left of the model of Rome; model from Museo della Civilità Romana, Rome
Source: Crowther, Nigel B. *Sport in Ancient Times.* Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007. 85

Figure 12: A mosaic of a *retiarus* fighting a *secutor*
Source: Auguet, Roland. *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games*. New York: Routledge, 1994. 49

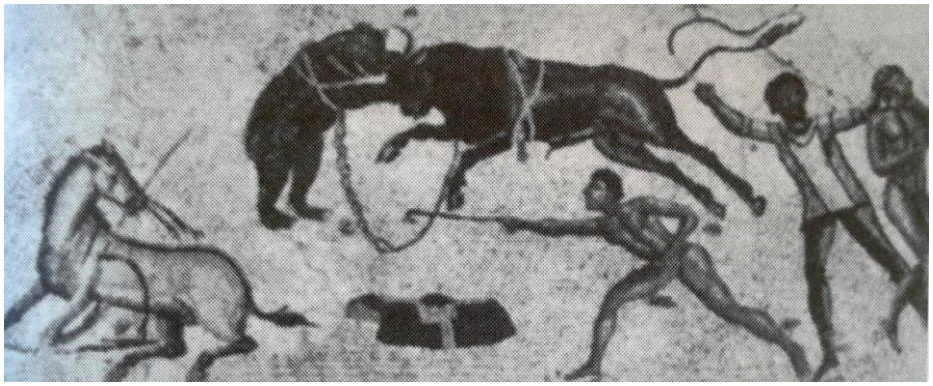

Figure 13: Villa at Zliten; a fight between a bear and a bull
Source: Auguet, Roland. *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games.* New York: Routledge, 1994. 80

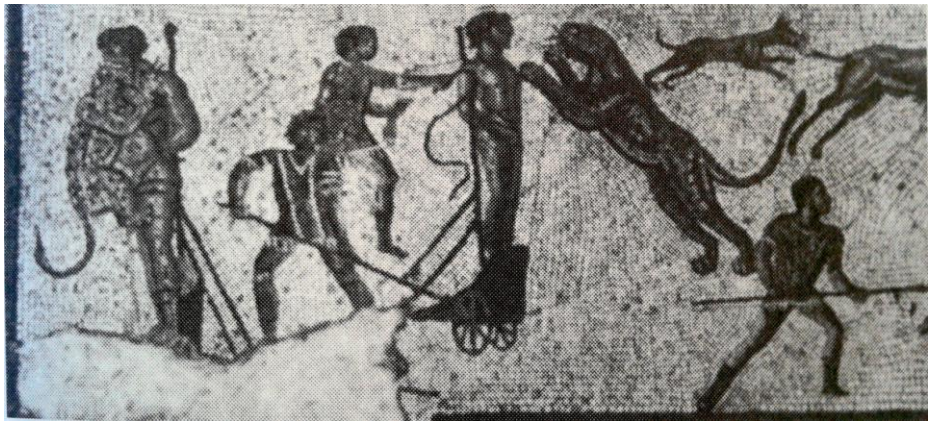

Figure 14: Villa at Zliten, A mosaic of an execution
Source: Auguet, Roland. *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games.* New York: Routledge, 1994. 112

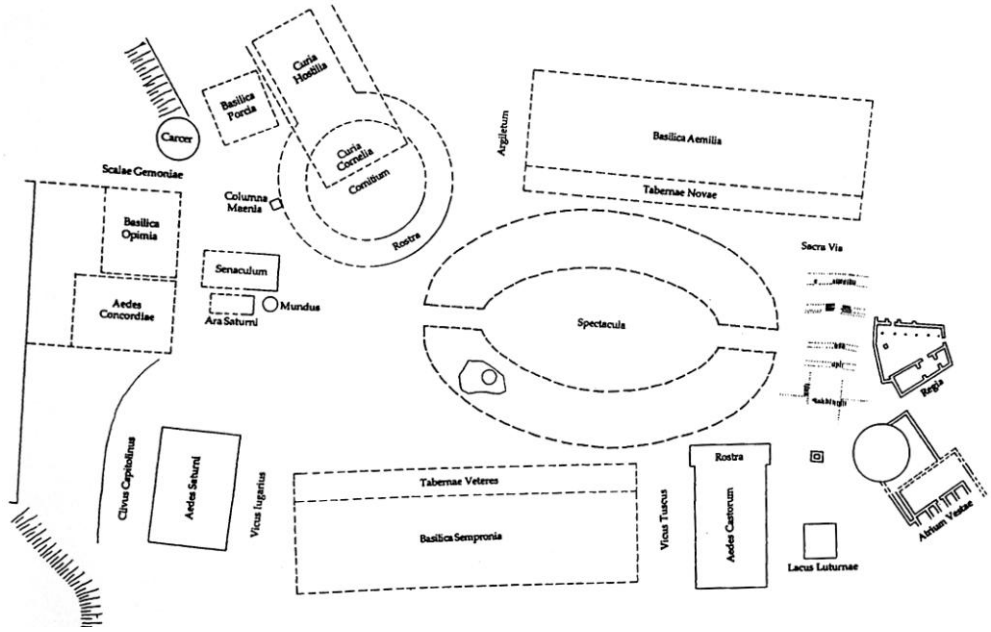

Figure 15: Welch's theory on how the amphitheatre was shaped by the shape of Forum Romanum Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 53.

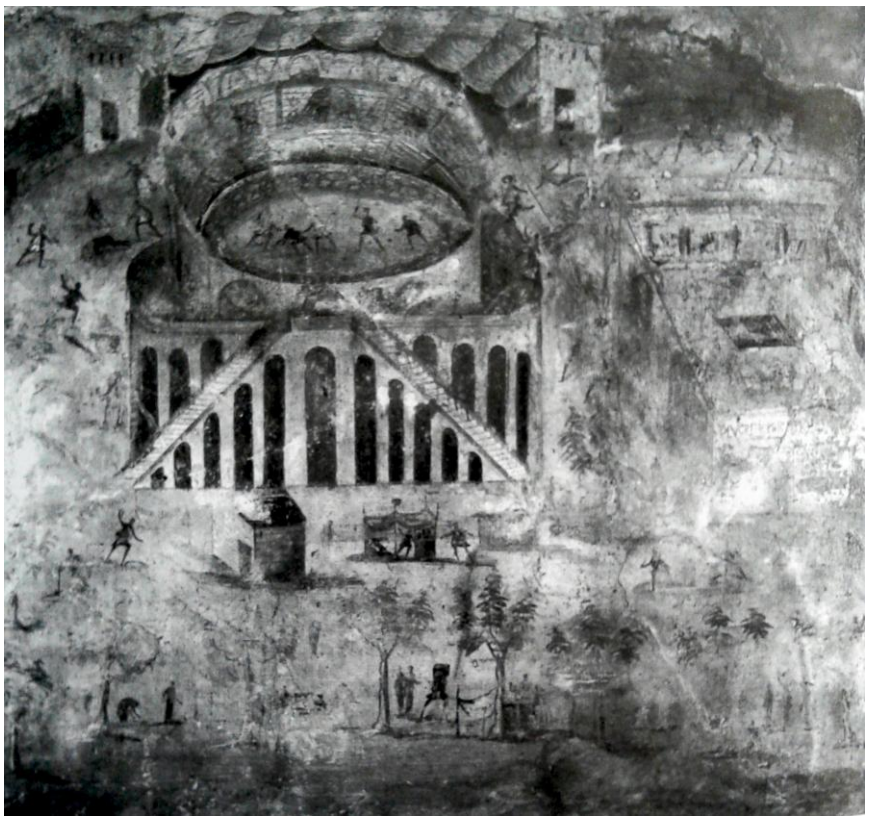

Figure 16: Painting of the riot in the amphitheatre of Pompeii (Eschebach, *Pompeji*)
Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 46

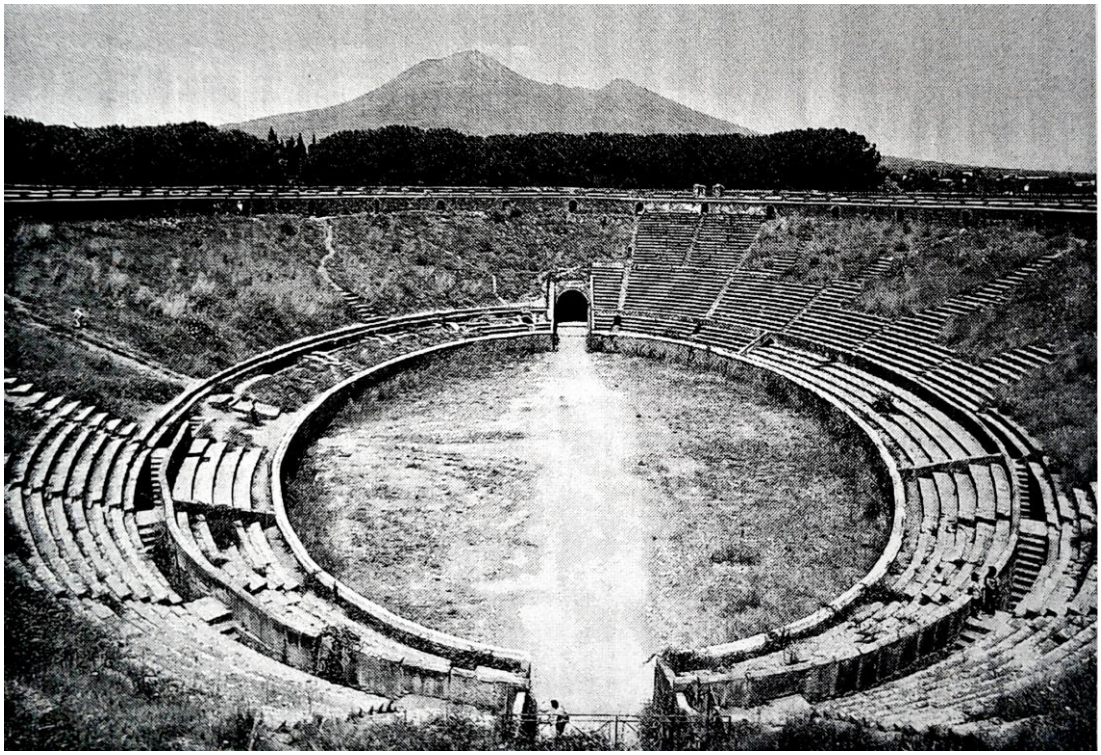

Figure 17: Photo of the amphitheatre of Pompeii with Mount Vesuvius in the background
Source: Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 40.

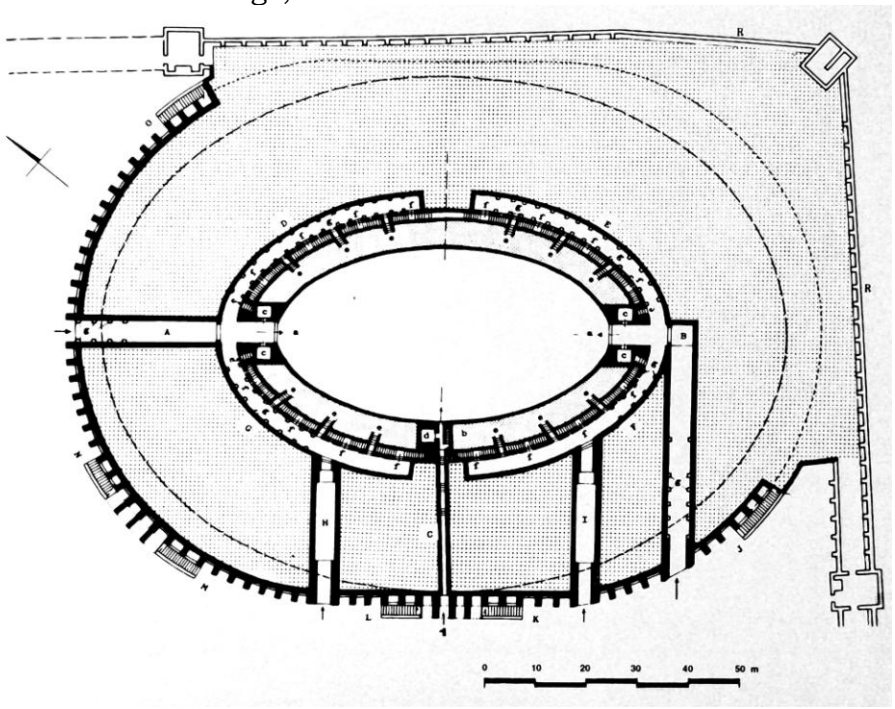

Figure 18: Amphitheatre of Pompeii, plan
Source: Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 45.

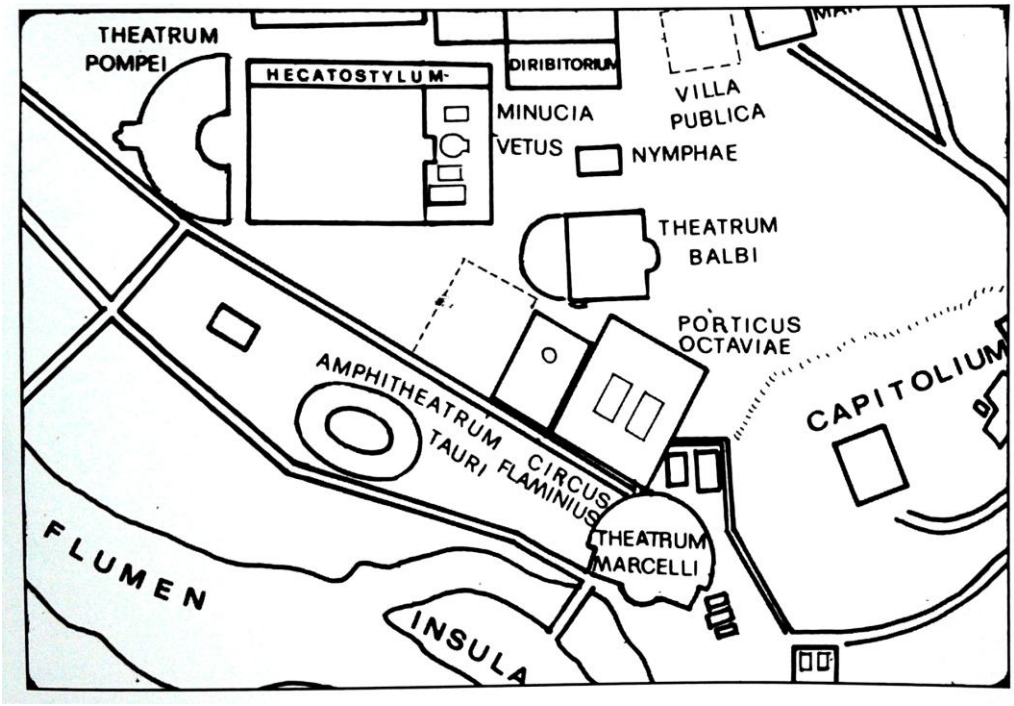

Figure 19: Location of the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus proposed by G. Marchetti Longhi
Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 123

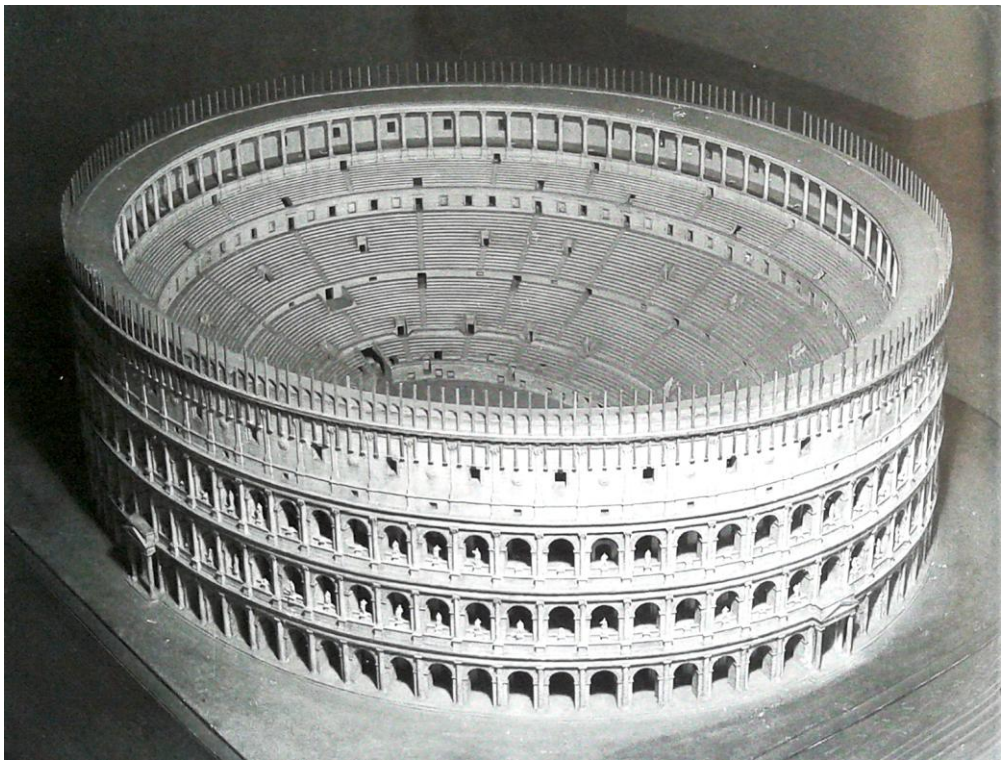

Figure 20: Model of the Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum)
Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 140.

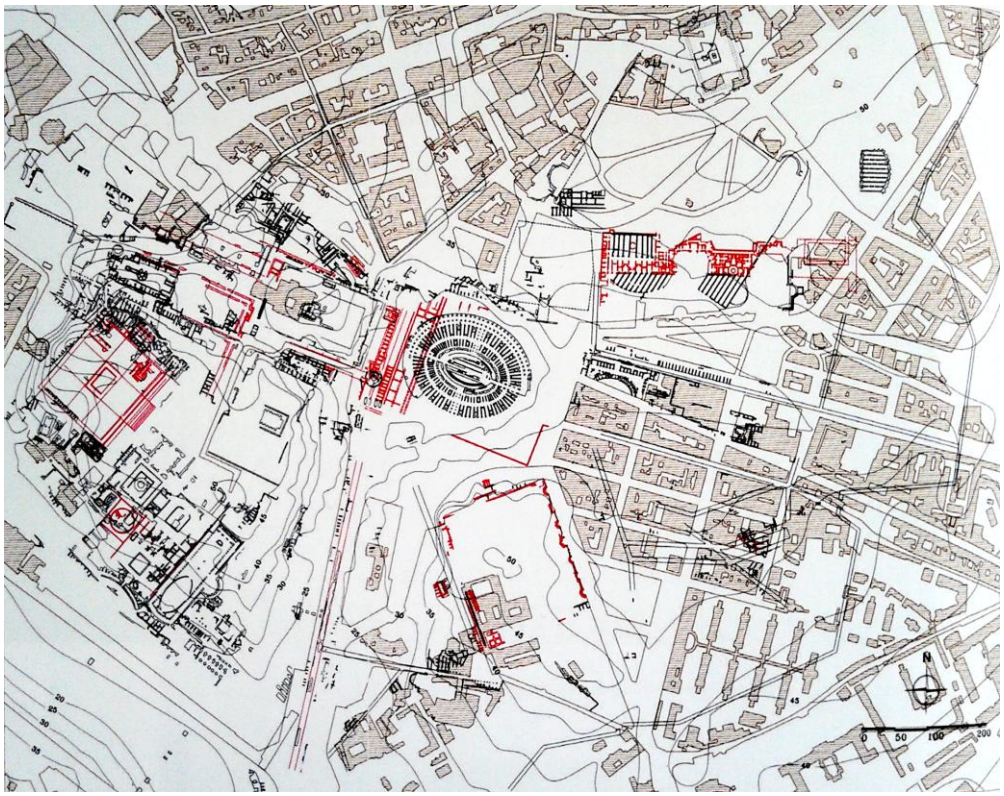

Figure 21: Plan of central Rome; *Domus Aurea* in red; Colosseum above the porticoes
Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Plate 13.

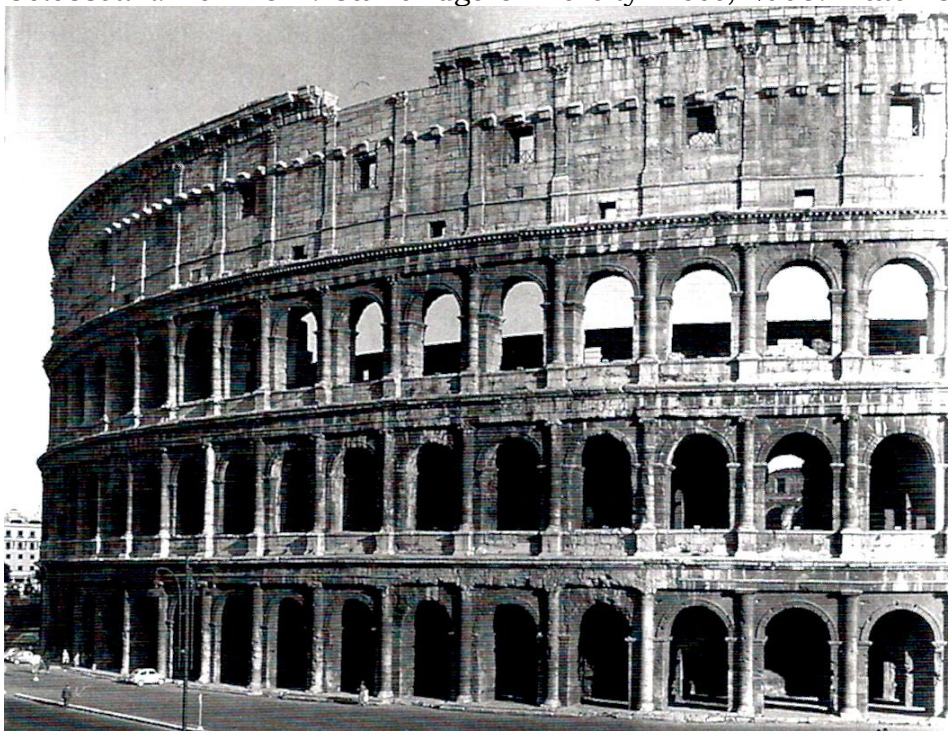

Figure 22: Façade of Colosseum
Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 11

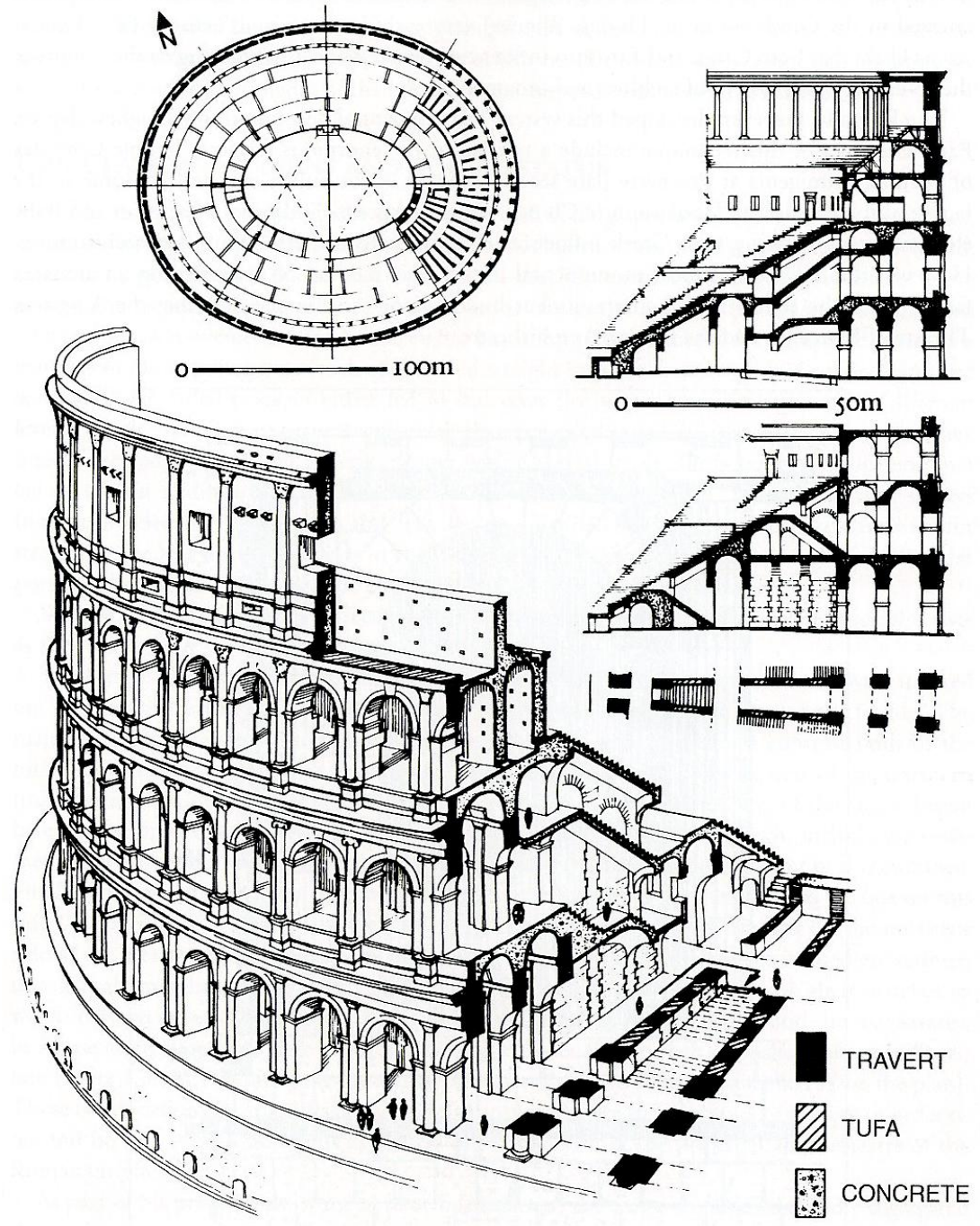

Figure 23: Plan, Section and view of Colosseum
Source: Bomgardner, D.L. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London, New York: Routledge, 2000. 7.

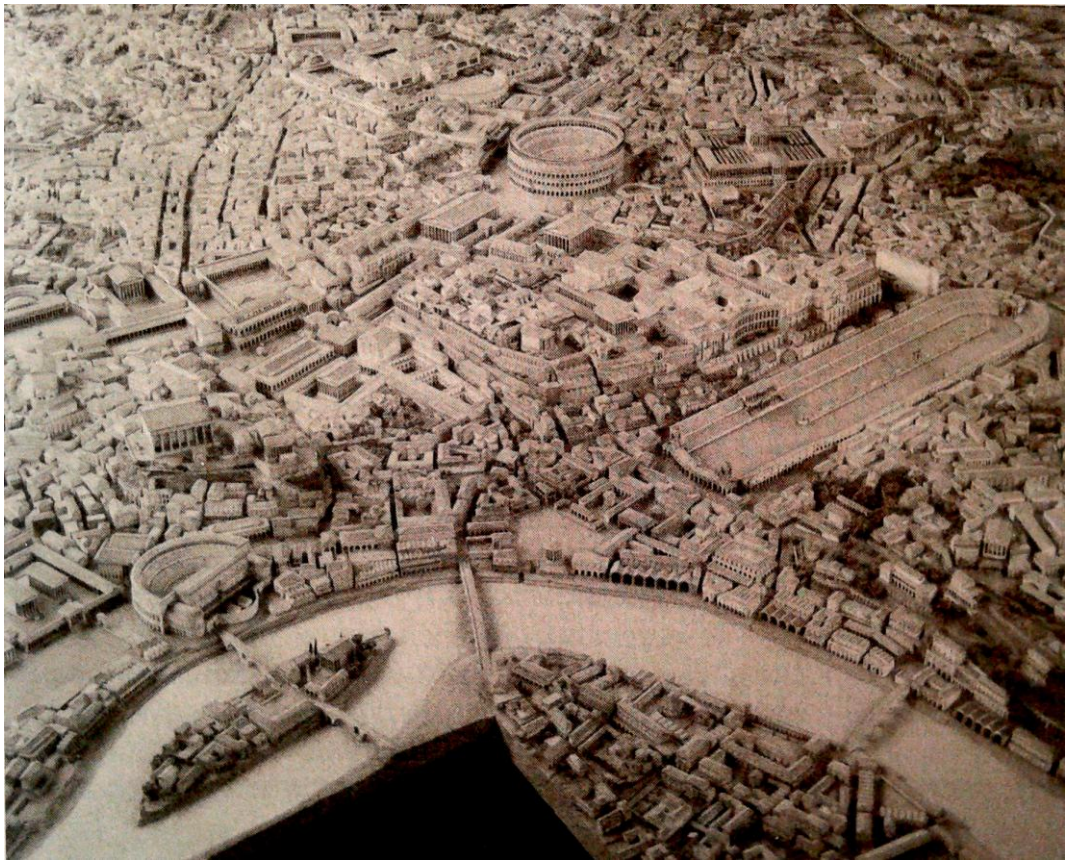

Figure 24: Model of Rome showing the Entertainment Buildings in relation
Source: Crowther, Nigel B. *Sport in Ancient Times.* Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007. 125.

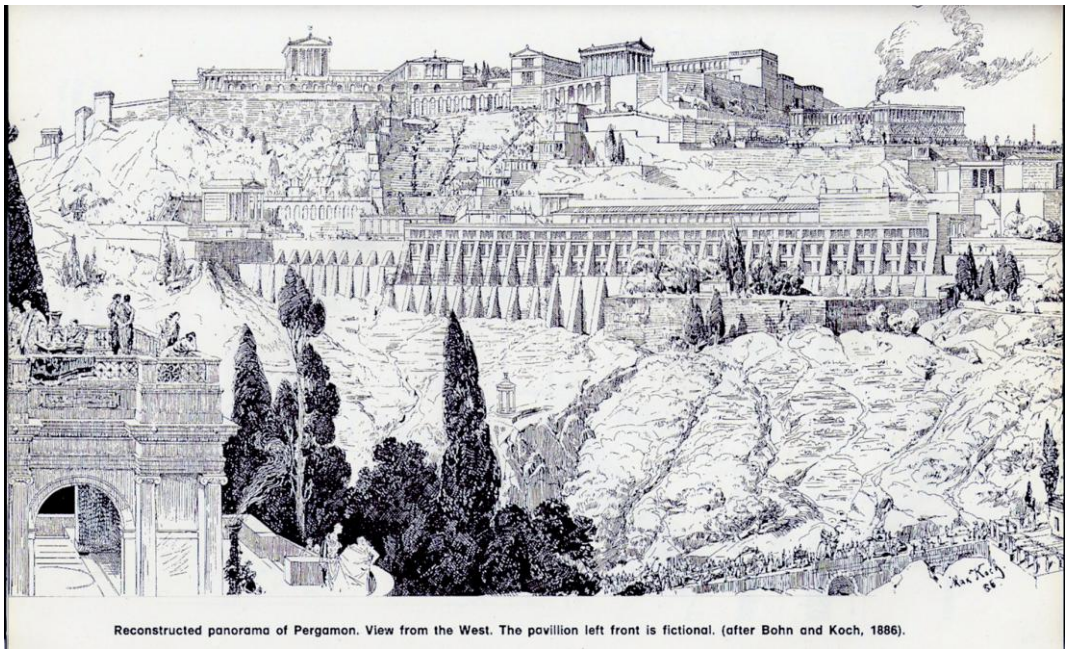

Figure 25: Sketch of the view of the Acropolis from the lower city
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Archeological Guide.* Istanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi, 1984. 37

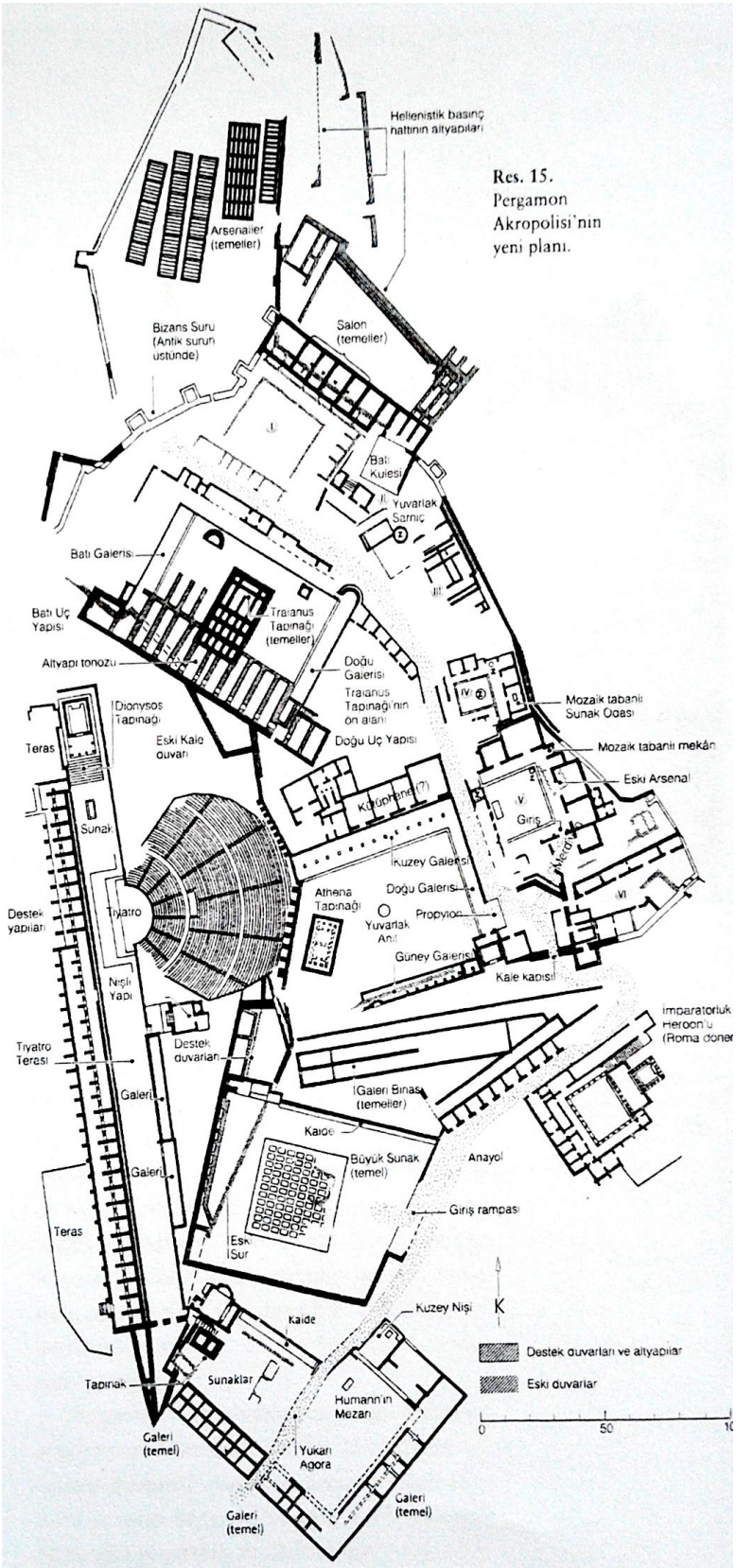

Figure 26: Plan of the Acropolis, Pergamon
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 63.

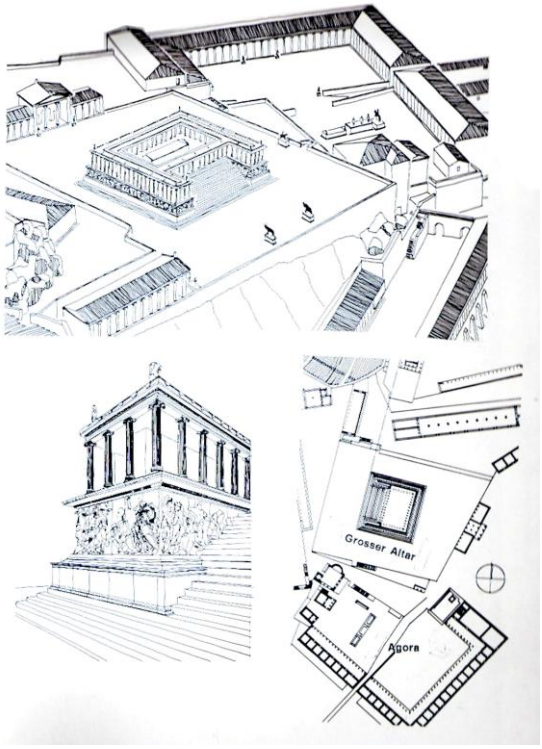

Figure 27: Altar of Zeus, reconstructions and plan
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Archeological Guide.* Istanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi, 1984. 39.

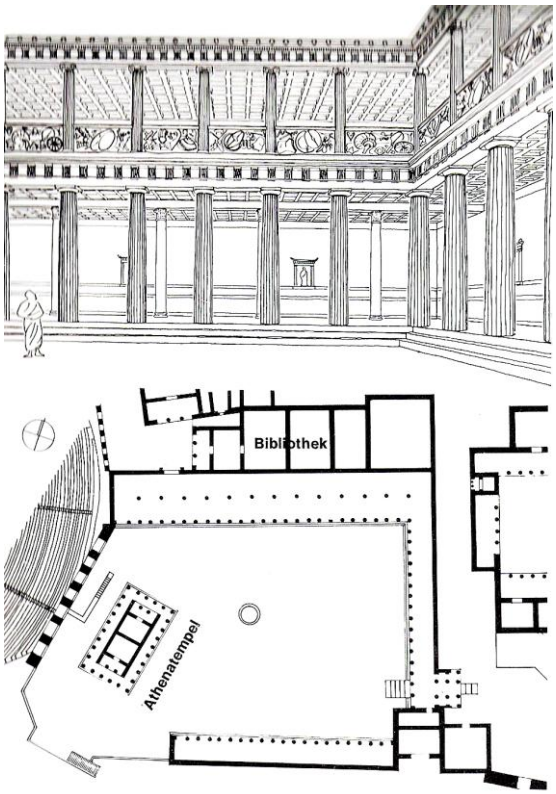

Figure 28: Reconstruction and plan of Sanctuary of Athena
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Archeological Guide.* Istanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi, 1984. 44.

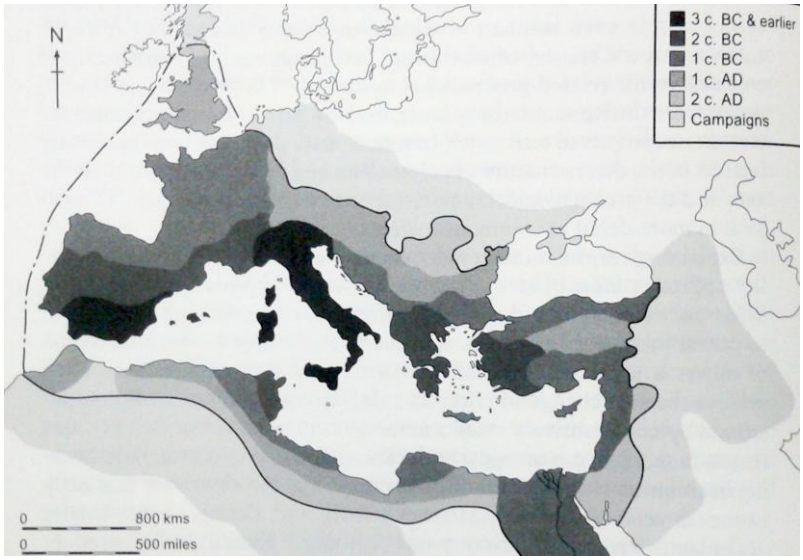

Figure 29: Map showing the phases of expansion of the Roman Empire
Source: Mattingly, D. J. *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing Roman Empire.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton univercity Press, 2011. 8

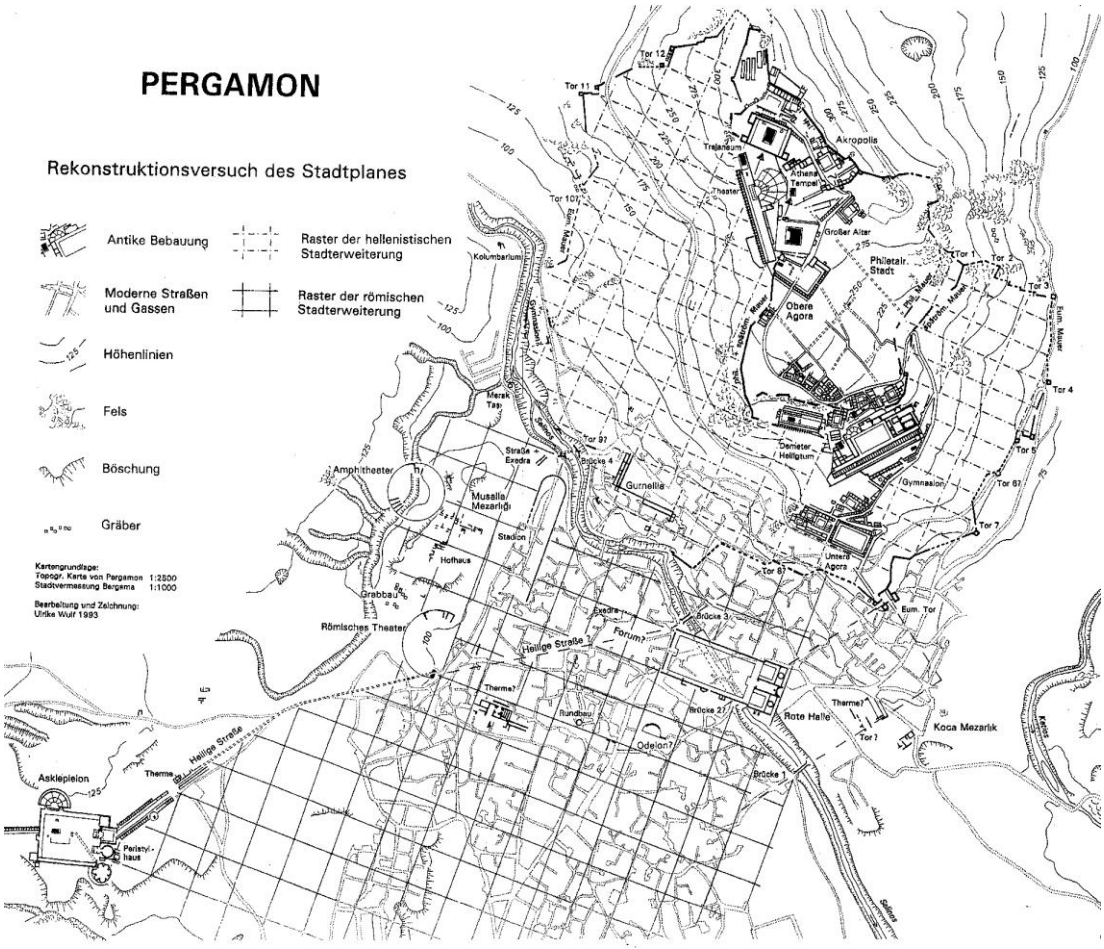

Figure30: Roman Pergamon, plan
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 56.

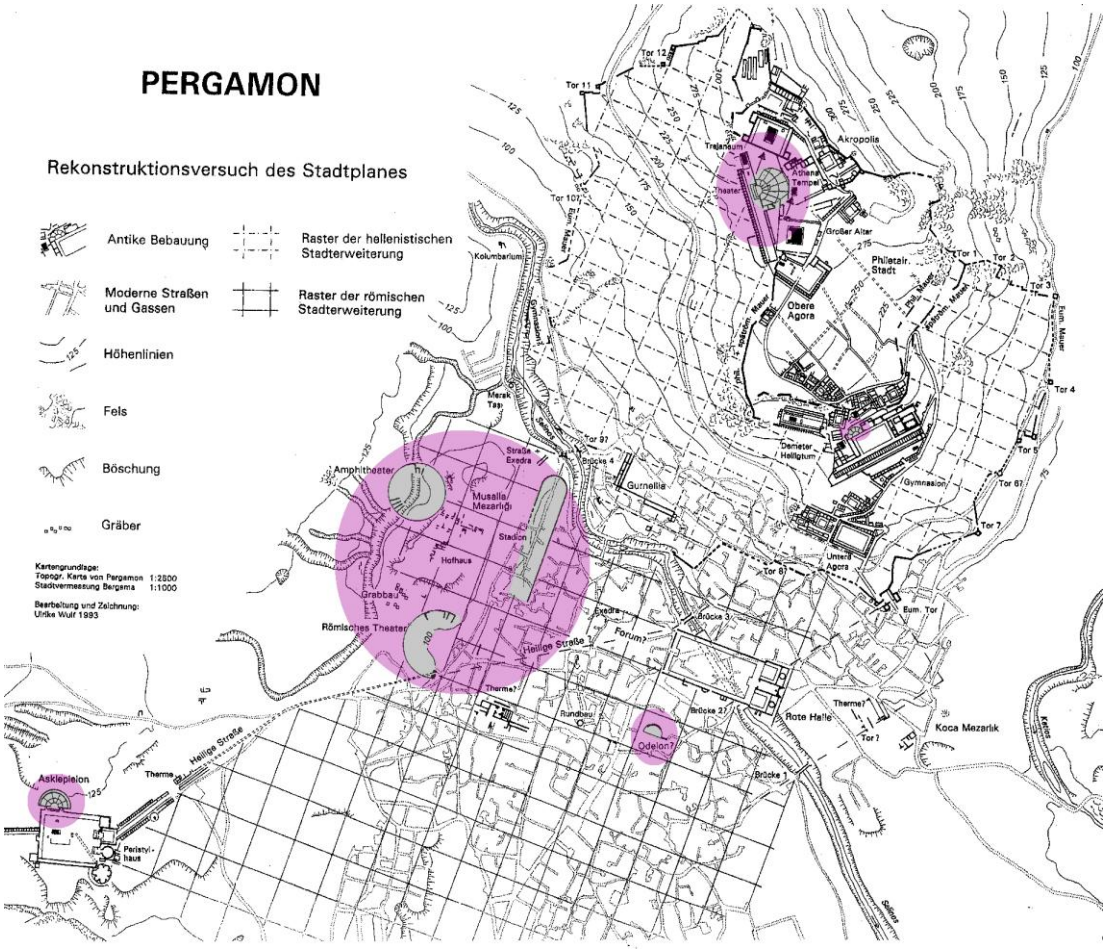

Figure 31: The plan of Pergamon, entertainment buildings highlighted Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 56.(edited by the author)

Figure 32: The view of the Acropolis and the Hellenistic Theatre
(Photo by the author)

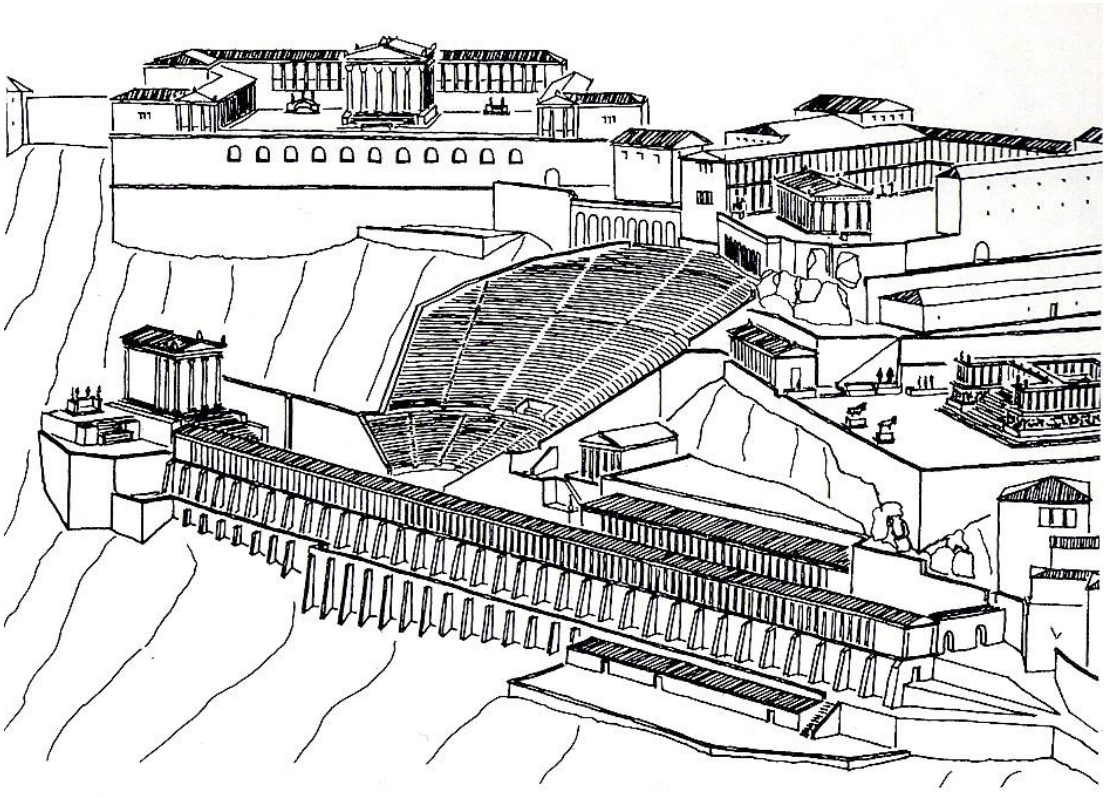

Figure 33: Sketch of the view of the Theatre and Acropolis
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Archeological Guide.* Istanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi, 1984. 55.

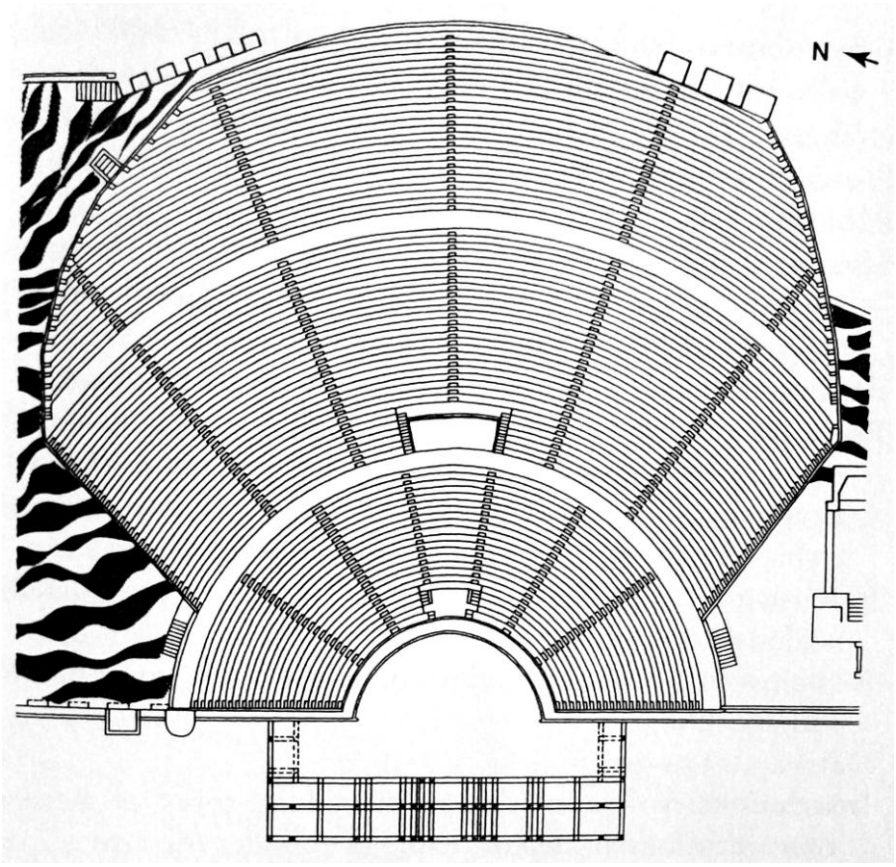

Figure 34: Plan of the Hellenistic Theatre
Source: Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 347

Figure35: Photo of the Hellenistic Theatre
(Photo by the author)

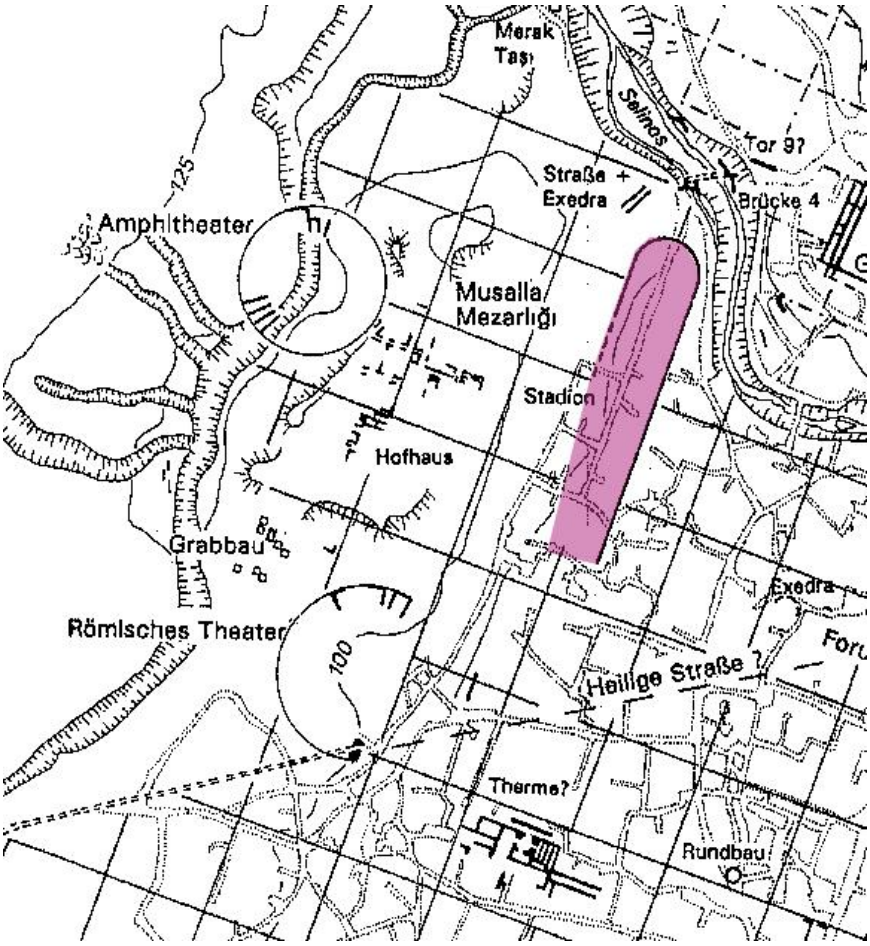

Figure 36: The Stadium situated in the Lower city
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 56. (edited by the author)

Figure 37: The area of the Stadium
(Photo by the author)

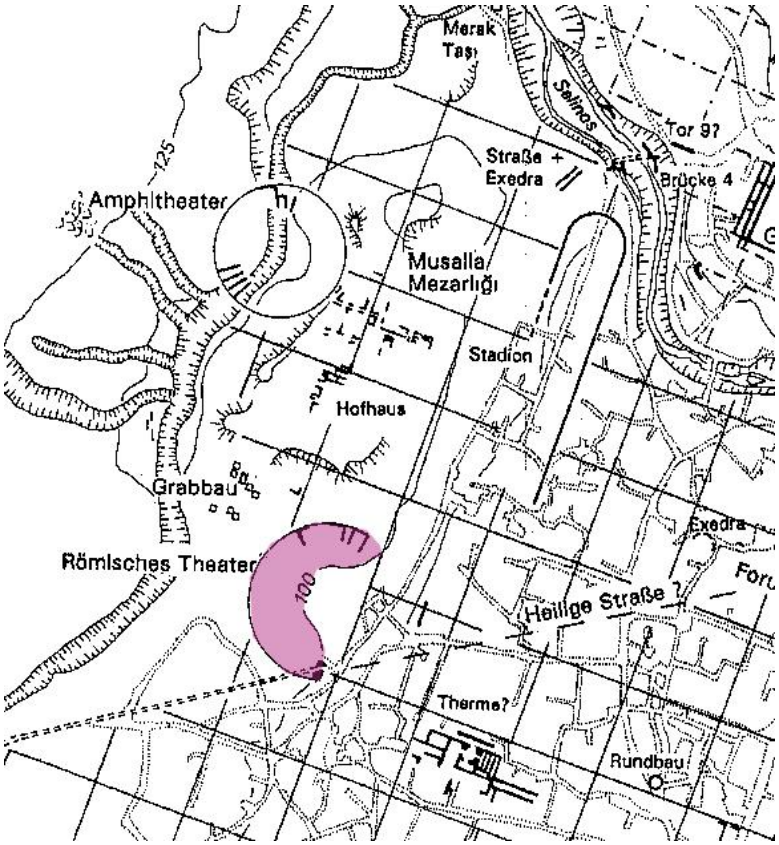

Figure 38: The Roman Theatre situated in the Lower city
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 56(edited by the author)

Figure 39: The area of the Roman Theatre
(Photo by the author)

Figure 40: Few remains of the theatre, most of it used in some way in the new houses
(Photo by the author)

Figure 41: South wall and the entrance related to the theatre (are now called “Viran kapı”)
(Photo by the author)

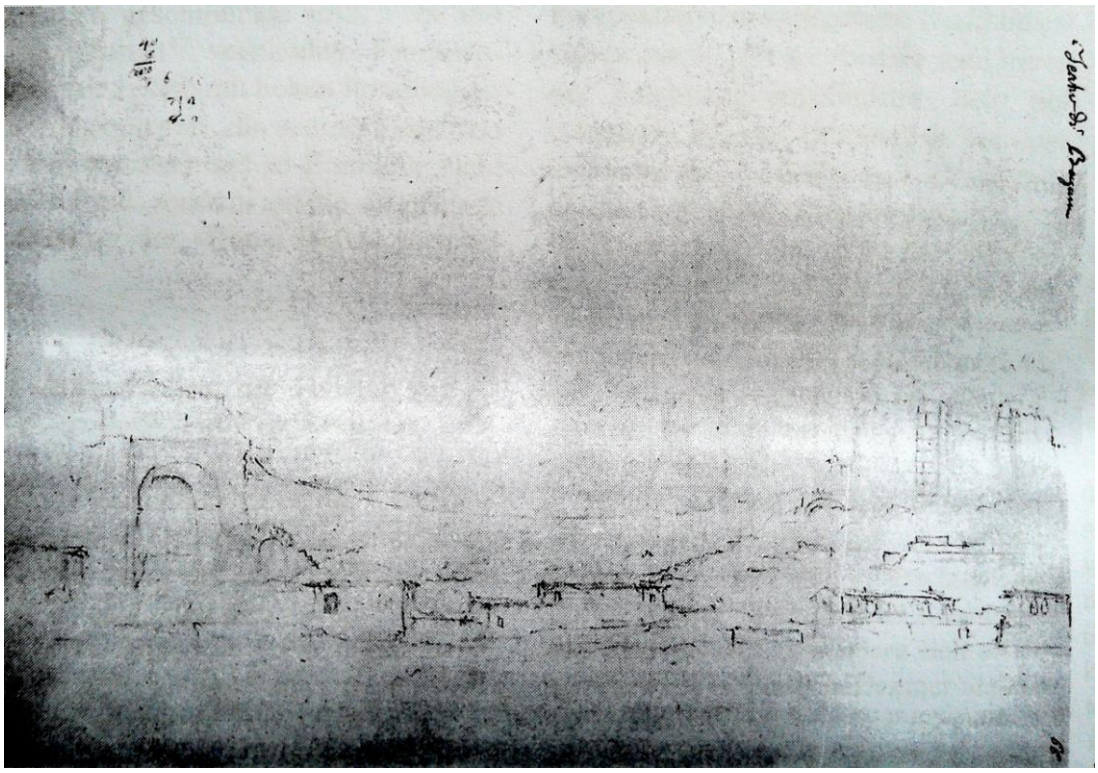

Figure 42: Sketch of the Roman Theatre from Giovanni Battista Borra
Source: Kunze, Maz. "Pergamon im Jahre 1750: Reisetagebücher und Zeichnungen von Giovanni Battista Borra." *Antiker Welt*, 1995: 177-186.

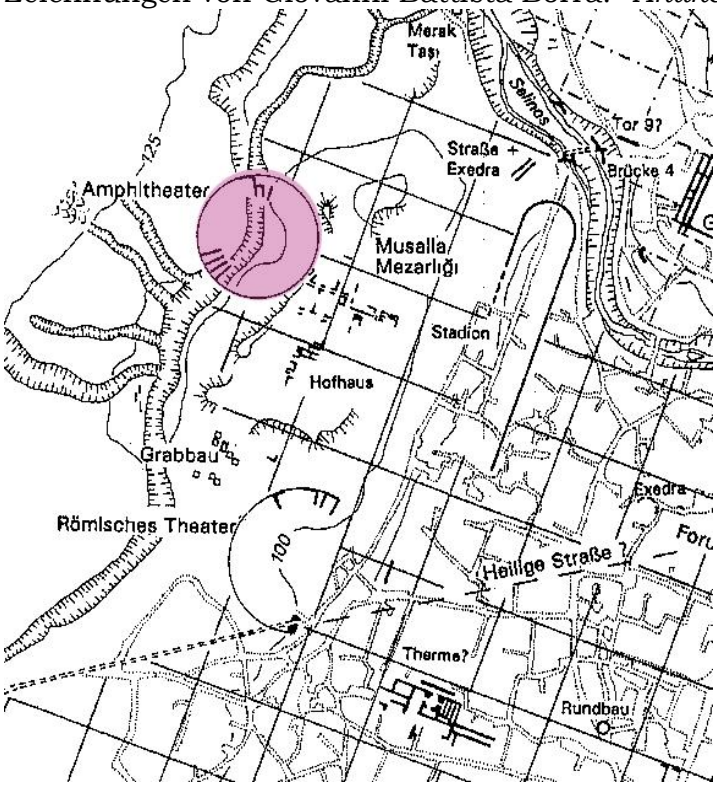

Figure 43: The Roman Amphitheatre situated in the Lower city
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 56. (edited by the author)

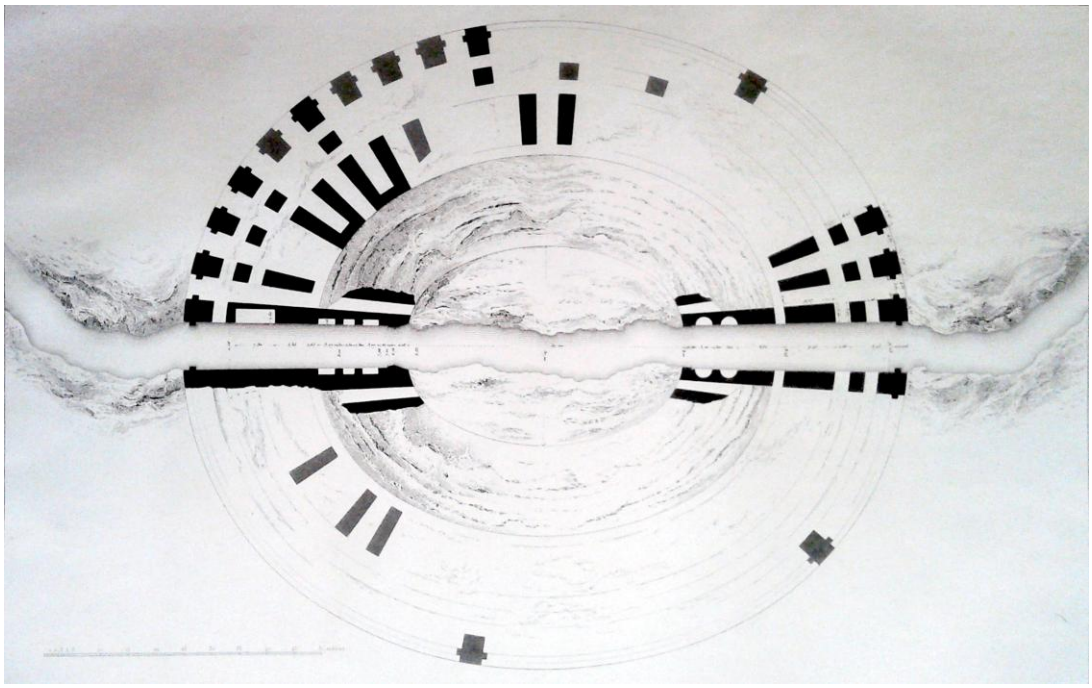

Figure 44: Plan of the Pergamon Amphitheatre by Texier (may not be entirely accurate, since it does not corresponde with Radt's plan)
Source: Texier, Charles F.M. *Description de l'Asie Mineure : faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837, et publiée par le Ministère de l'instruction publique ... Beaux-arts, monuments historiques, plans et topographie des cités antiques.* Paris: Firmin-Didot. Plate 120

Figure 45: The Amphitheatre the channels and the view of the Acropolis above
(Photo by the author)

Figure 46: View of the Amphitheatre and the channels from northern side (Photo by the author)

Figure 47: Sketch of the substructures of the amphitheatre
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 262.

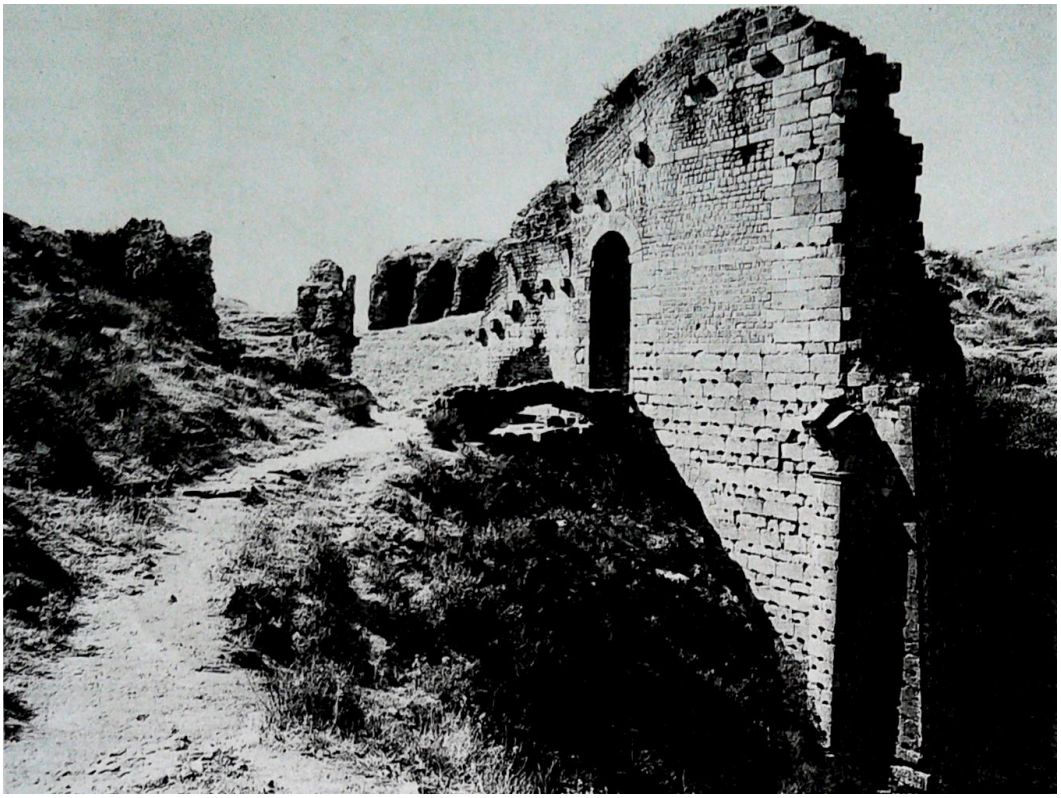

Figure 48: Support structures of the Amphitheatre, view from north
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 263.

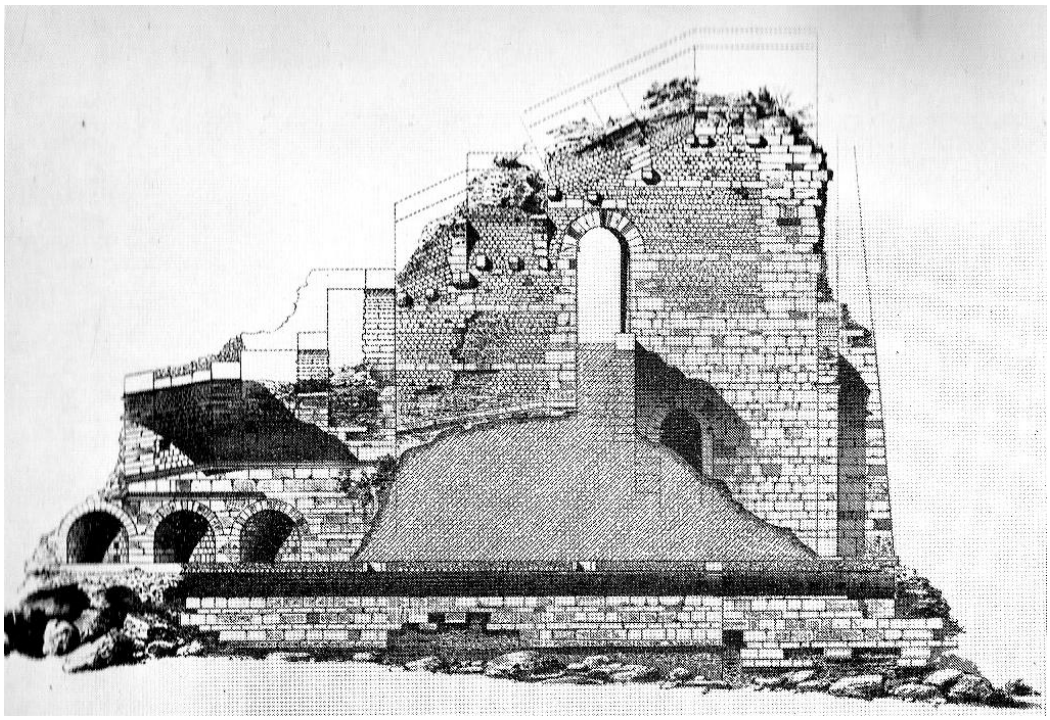

Figure 49: Section of the Amphitheatre
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Archeological Guide.* Istanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi, 1984. 70.

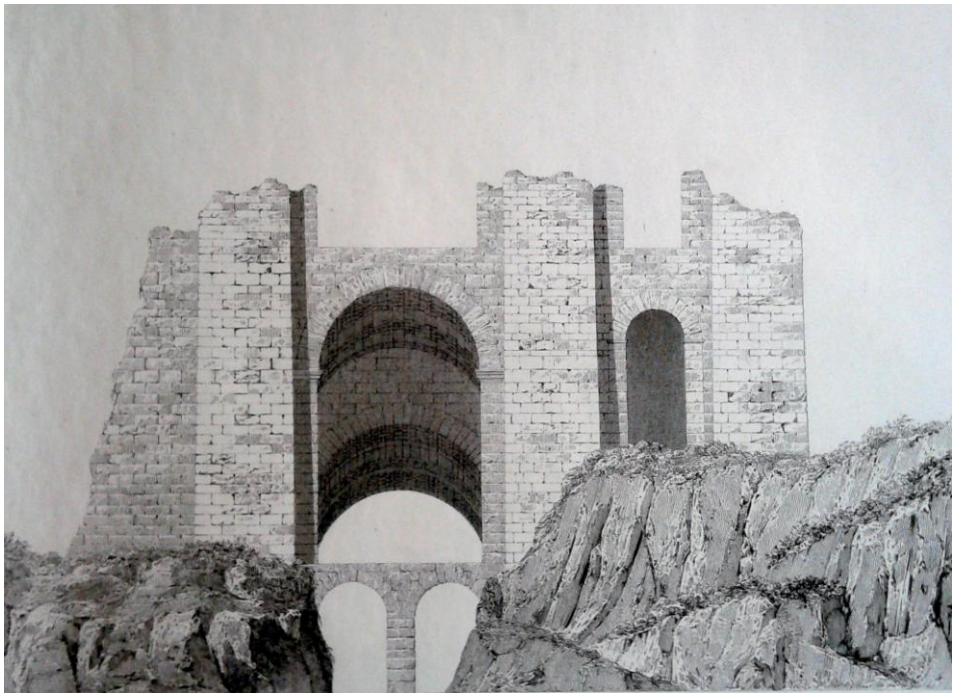

Figure 50: View of the Amphitheatre from Texier
Source: Texier, Charles F.M. *Description de l'Asie Mineure : faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837, et publiée par le Ministère de l'instruction publique ... Beaux-arts, monuments historiques, plans et topographie des cités antiques.* Paris: Firmin-Didot. Plate 121

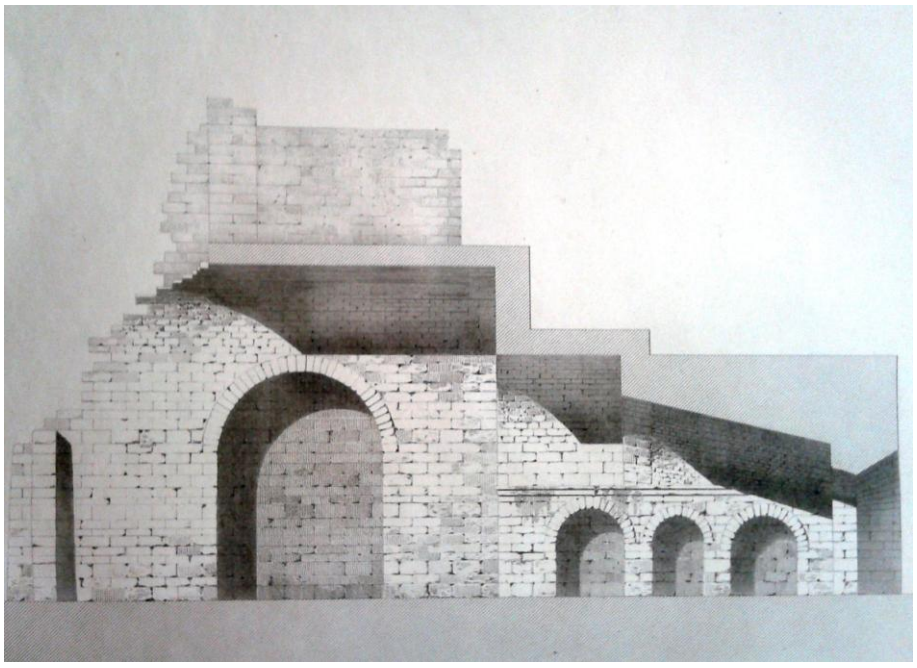

Figure 51: View of the Amphitheatre from Texier
Source: Texier, Charles F.M. *Description de l'Asie Mineure : faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837, et publiée par le Ministère de l'instruction publique ... Beaux-arts, monuments historiques, plans et topographie des cités antiques.* Paris: Firmin-Didot. Plate 122

Figure 52: Photo of the Amphitheatre
Source: Deubner, Otfried. "Pergamon und Rom. Eine Kulturhistorische Betrachtung." *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* , 1949-1950: 107.

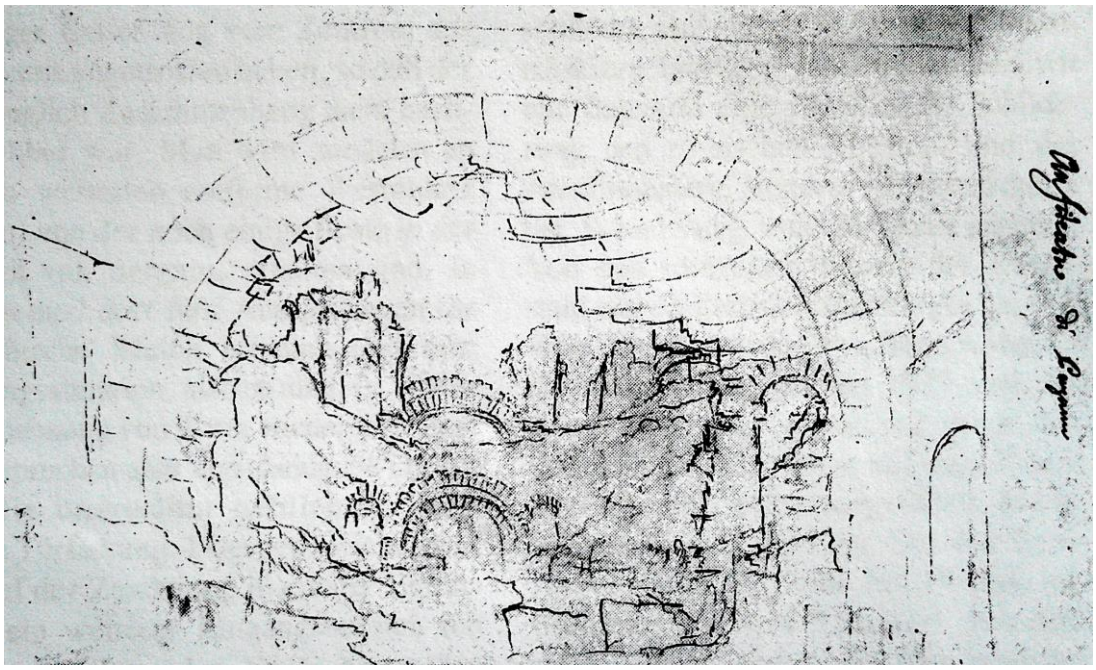

Figure 53: A Sketch of the amphitheatre from Giovanni Battista Borra
Source: Kunze, Maz. "Pergamon im Jahre 1750: Reisetagebücher und Zeichnungen von Giovanni Battista Borra." *Antiker Welt,* 1995: 182.

Figure 54: A Sketch of the amphitheatre from Giovanni Battista Borra
Source: Kunze, Maz. "Pergamon im Jahre 1750: Reisetagebücher und Zeichnungen von Giovanni Battista Borra." *Antiker Wlet*, 1995: 181.

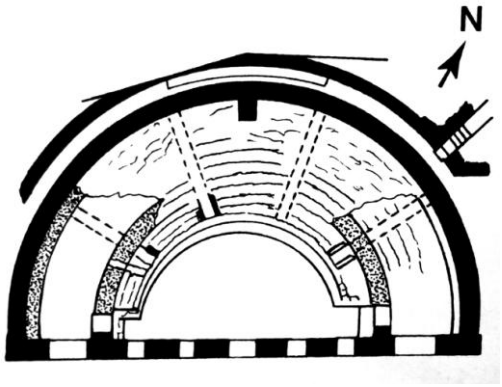

Figure 55: Plan of the Odeon in the Upper Gymnasium, Pergamon
Source: Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 348.

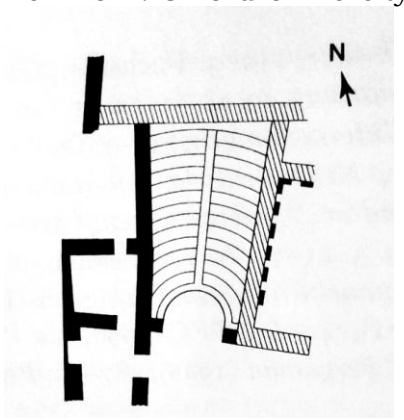

Figure 56: Plan of the Odeon in the Heroon of Diodorus Pasparus, Pergamon
Source: Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. 348.

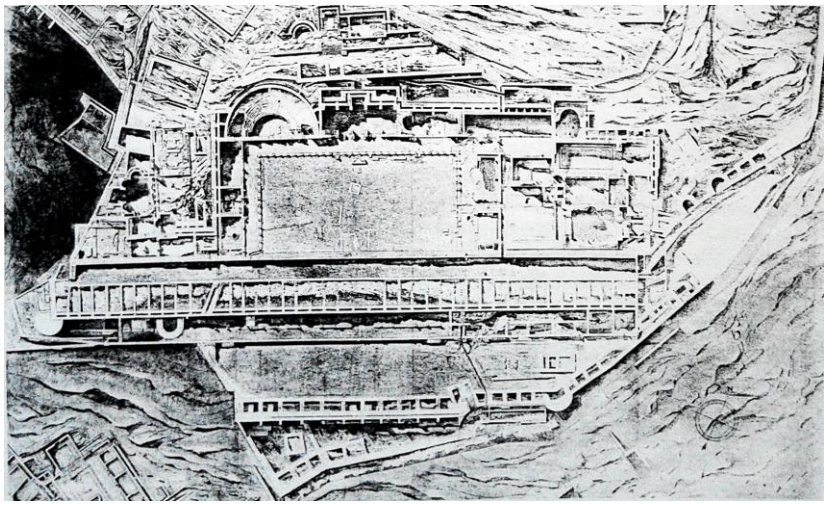

Figure 57: Plan of the Great Gymnasium
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon:Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 113-128

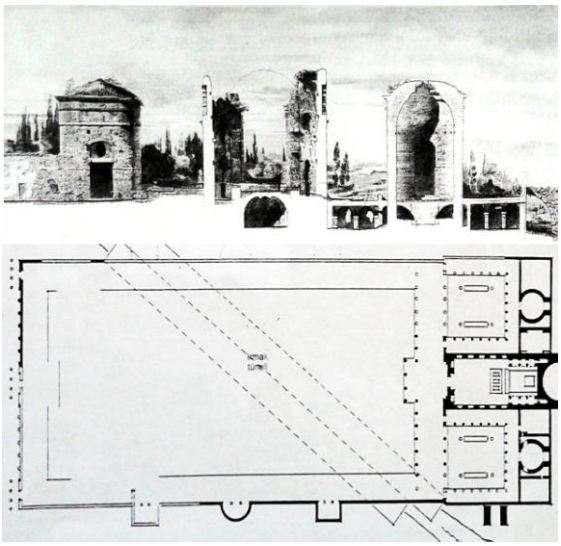

Figure 58: The Section and Plan of the Temple of Serapis (Red Hall)
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Archeological Guide.* Istanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi, 1984. 68.

Figure 59: Augustan coins depicting Temple of Rome and Augustus
Source: Friesen, Steven. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia and the cult of the Flavian imperial family.* New York, Leiden, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1993.12

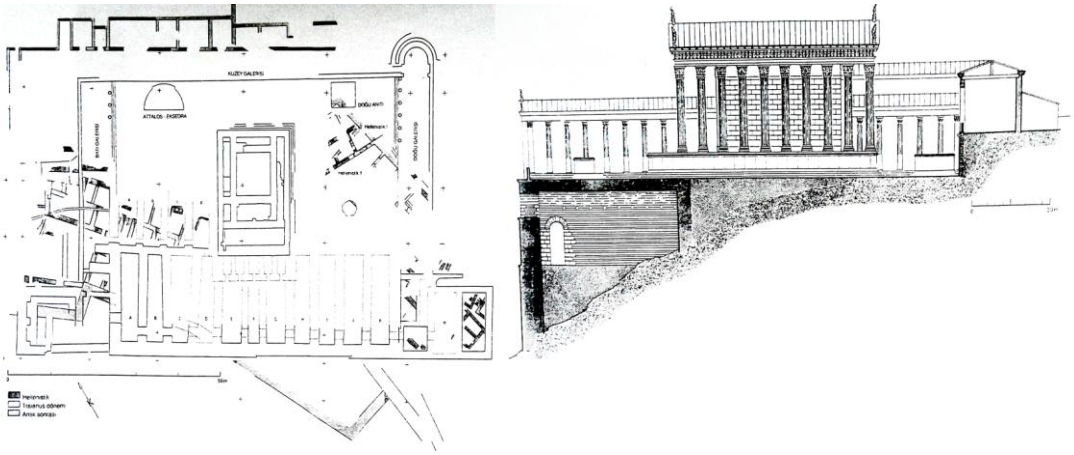

Figure 60: Plan and Section of the Support Structure of the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 212-213

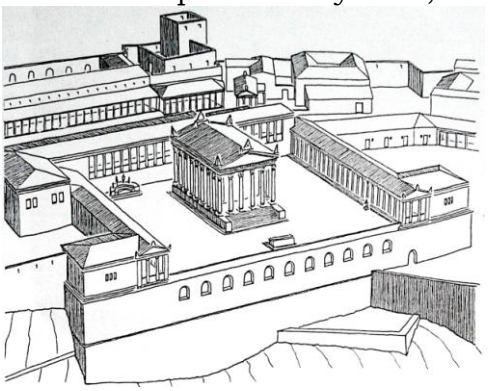

Figure 61: Reconstruction of the Temple of Trajan
Source: Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* . Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. 211.

Figure 62: Photo of the Temple of Trajan
(Photo and edit of the author)

Figure 63: Coin depicting three Neokoros Temples of Pergamon
Source:Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 199

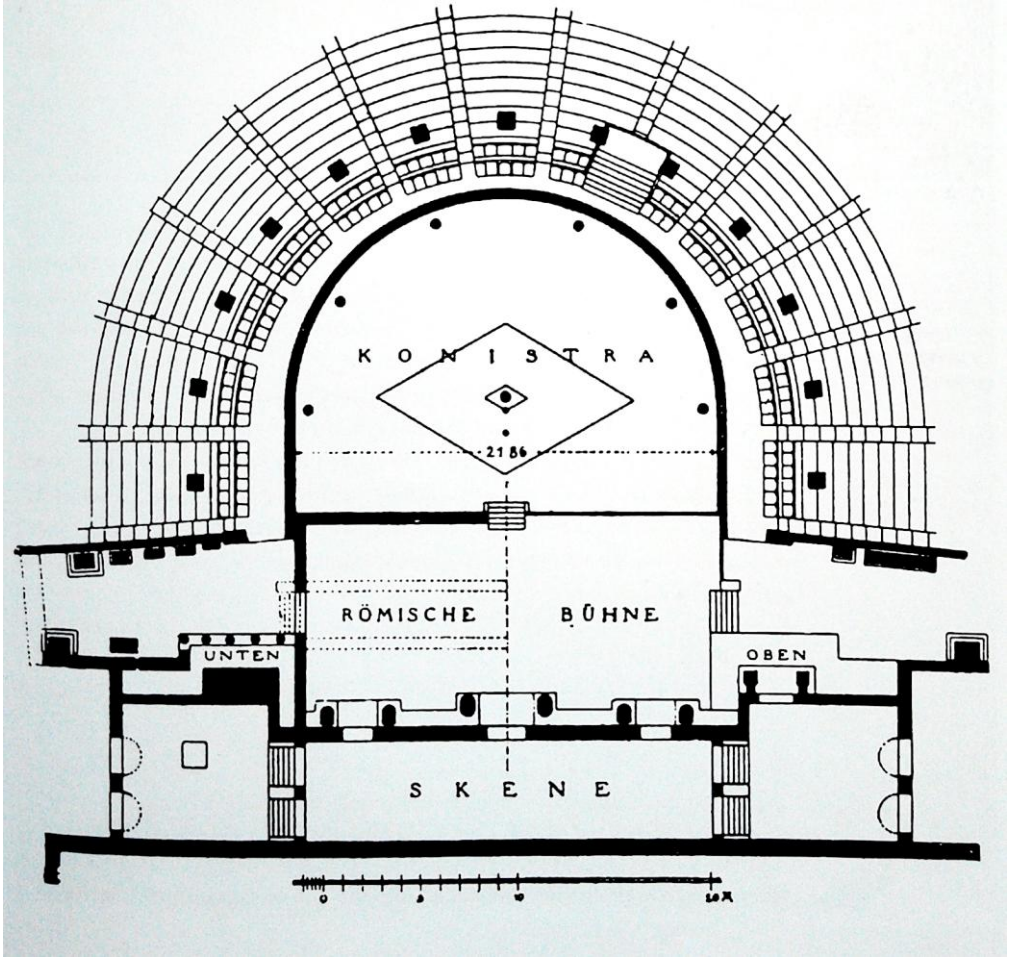

Figure 64: Plan of the Theatre of Dionysus, Athens
Source:Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 173

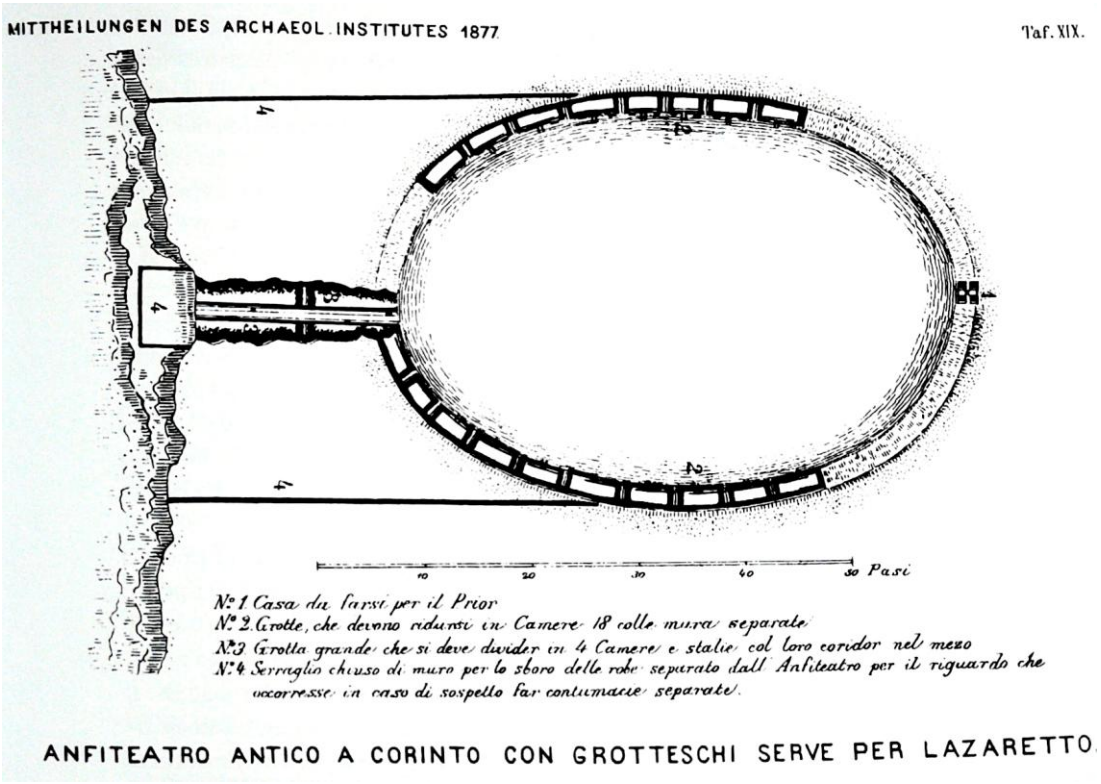

Figure 65: Plan of the Amphitheatre of Corinth
Source: Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: from its Origins to the Colosseum.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 179

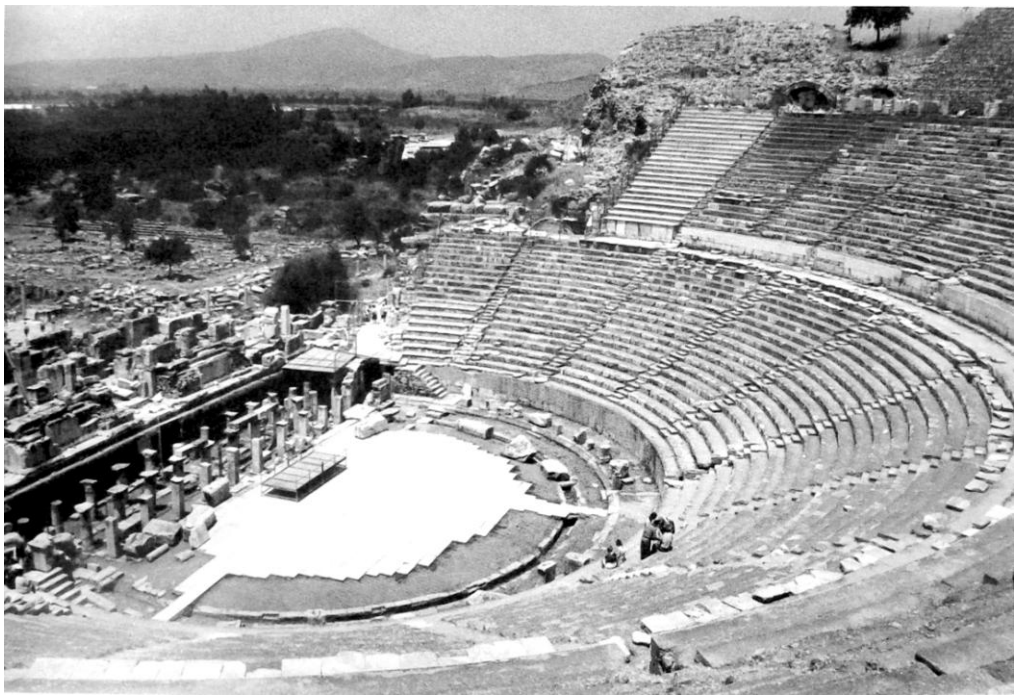

Figure 66: Photo of Theatre of Ephesus
Source: Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Plate 114.

APPENDIX B:TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

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