

Aspects of Romanisation in Cappadocia Staging Architecture and Cityscapes

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Abstract

Cappadocia, the north-easternmost province of the Roman Empire was established in AD 17 by the emperor Tiberius, after the death of Cappadocia's last king, Archelaus. This paper discusses settlement patterns, city foundations, the absence, at least during the 1st century AD, of an extended network of cities and the development of local communities in the region under the Romans. The establishment and the role of the Imperial Cult in this remote province is also addressed. This paper further attempts to trace the emergence of urbanisation and civic monumentality in Cappadocia, through the introduction of monumental architecture and prominent infrastructure within the major Cappadocian cities - and to understand whether Cappadocia followed, or stood aside from, the architectural/urbanistic developments launched in the rest of the Roman world.

Keywords: Roman East, Cappadocia, Anatolia, Urbanisation, Monumentality, City-networks.

1. Introduction

The Cappadocian land located in southern Anatolia is characterized by a large geomorphological diversity, consisting of river valleys, plateaux and mountains. To its South there is the Mount Taurus range, whereas to its North there is the ancient river Halys (mod. Kızılırmak)¹, whose tributaries drain towards the Black Sea. To the East it is defined by the catchment of the Upper Euphrates, and to the West lies the Konya plain². (Figure 1)

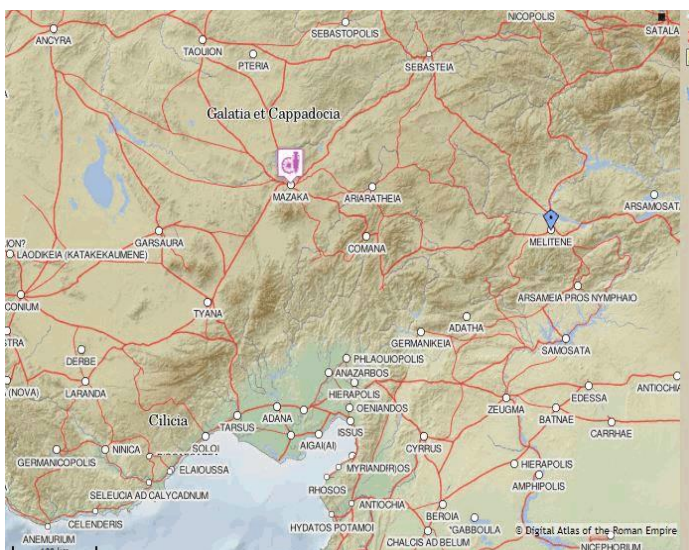


Figure 1. Map of Cappadocia region.

Adaptation from <http://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/>

1.1. Cappadocia under the Romans

After the death of its last king, Archelaus (36 BC-AD 17), amid allegations of disloyalty to Rome, the Kingdom of Cappadocia was annexed to Rome. In AD 17, Emperor Tiberius established Cappadocia as a Roman province³. Being an imperial province, it was governed by a *legatus Augusti*⁴, whose main responsibility was to collect taxes, formerly extracted by the king, to the Roman treasury (Tacitus, *Annal.* 2, 42, 6). Under Nero, Galatia was joined with Cappadocia to form a vast *provincia* and two important *consular legates* were sent to control it, L. Caesennius Paetus and General G. Domitius Corbulo – the latter being one of the most important military and political figures of that time⁵; later, under Vespasian, the province incorporated the remaining regions of Galatia and Armenia Minor to make an enormous garrisoned province. These arrangements foreshadowed the organization of central and eastern Anatolia under Nerva and Trajan, when a huge province was governed by high-ranked Roman officers⁶.

Cappadocia having been ruled by kings, lacked a basic civic structure, hence, the Roman administration had to regulate all aspects of provincial life. The administration of such a large province was too demanding to be handled, so a team of *legati Augusti* would also serve alongside the governor, undertaking some of the civil and judicial duties. Even then, the Roman personnel's burden would have been too difficult to cope with and much of the administrative tasks were transferred onto the local communities⁷.

1.2. City foundations, settlement patterns and development

Until the Iron Age most settlements followed the mound-type location. From the period after Alexander's campaigns, throughout the Hellenistic and Roman period, the picture changes and an

¹ On Halys, ROELENS-FLOUNEAU 2018: 306-308.

² ALCOCK/ ROBERT 2014: 37.

³ MITCHELL 1993: 97. MILLAR 2002: 316, 356. MILLAR 2004: 94, 165. SEAR 2006: 110.

⁴ Strabo, I.2. I. 4, 534. MITCHELL 1993: 63.

⁵ On G. Domitius Corbulo, SYME 1970.

⁶ MITCHELL 1993: 64.

⁷ MITCHELL 1993: 140.

increased settlement activity is detected⁸. Based on systematic surveys, material and epigraphic evidence, the whole region became densely populated with an estimated number of 260 sites⁹. Occupational strategy seems to change and new architectural site-types appear, including fortress sites¹⁰. This was probably justified by the need to protect the province's -and the Empire's eastern frontiers.

It seems that attempts to build cities in the region of Cappadocia were initiated around the end of the Julian-Claudian dynasty. Until then, the region remained largely without a developed network of cities¹¹. The main form of settlement remained the village, and the regional economy was mainly based on pastoralism and agriculture¹². Only a few settlements were developed into major cities. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 6. 8), though not a reliable source, provides a list of cities in Cappadocia: Archelais, Caesarea, Castabala, Melita (Melitene), which had not become an autonomous city until Trajan, Tyana, even the less significant Diocaesarea. The only city among them, acquiring a more significant status was Comana, a temple-city, known as *Hierapolis* during the reign of Vespasian¹³.

The only source about Anatolia before Augustus is Strabo's book 12, which was probably completed in AD 18/19, but which pays little attention to the Augustan period when most of the area was annexed to the Empire¹⁴. Strabo (12. 2. 7, 537) comments that there were only two settlements that deserve the appellation «city»: Tyana, towards the Cilician Gates, which was called *Eusebeia*, next to the Taurus Mountain¹⁵, and the *metropolis* of Cappadocia, Mazaca, renamed *Eusebeia*, by Mount Argaeus¹⁶. Both had been founded in the middle of the 2nd century BC by Ariarathes V. Although Strabo (12. 2. 6, 537) makes another statement that there were no cities in Cataonia, or Melitene, he does not ignore the fact that there were other important settlements in the region. The most important of these were temple-states, ruled by priests and inhabited by sacred slaves and servants. Indeed, the ruling priests of Comana and Venasa, which were Cappadocian temple-cities ranked second and third in importance after the Cappadocian king and controlled 6,000 and 3,000 sacred slaves (*hierodouloi*) respectively¹⁷. Strabo mentions Comana as πόλις ἀξιόλογος (12. 2. 3, 535), being highly populated and with a great temple dedicated to God Ma¹⁸. Ariarathes V is also associated with Cadena, in the district of Sargarausene. The site has not been identified, but Strabo (12. 2. 6, 537) describes it as a royal residence in the form of a city.

The urbanisation process in Cappadocia owes a lot to the influence of its western and northern neighbour provinces¹⁹. Following their examples, where cities were developed around trade and religious centres, Cappadocian communities were also gathered around trade centres and sanctuaries, both inter-regional and local. The development of road networks during the Roman

period affected positively the stability of settlements²⁰. Commerce had an equally profound impact on the growth and development of the central and eastern Anatolian cities. Harbours promoted communication and cultural interaction, although it did not necessarily entail, or resulted to Hellenisation²¹.

1.3. Roman military presence and fortresses

Due to its importance as a border province, Cappadocia was granted a permanent military garrison of two legions and several auxiliary Roman troops that would protect Roman interests against the Scythians, Sarmatians, the Alani, and the Parthian threats. It would also ensure peace throughout Anatolia. Legions *XVI Flavia Firma* and *Legio XII Fulminata* were stationed by Vespasian along the Euphrates frontier²².

South central Anatolia, with its great open plains, was not a suitable terrain for the construction of strongly defended *castra*, nevertheless, here too fortified settlements are found²³. One basic reason was that the plains of western and southern Anatolia were the starting points from which the Roman troops advanced, or launched the campaigns in Parthia and the eastern frontiers.

Strabo's description (12. 2. 1, 535) indicates that a large part of the country was controlled by *phrouria*. Archelais in western Cappadocia was known to Strabo (12. 2. 5, 537; 6. 1, 568; 14. 2. 29, 663) by its old name Garsaoura and it is described as a village city (κωμόπολις) or small town (πολίχνιον). Although it was a regional centre in the Augustan period, it is unlikely that it developed a city constitution, even after it was named Archelais by the last Cappadocian Ruler²⁴. Likewise, its neighbour, the Lycaonian village of Coropassus, was also described as *phrourion* (Strabo, 12. 5. 6, 568; 6. 1, 569). The *castrum* of Tomisa, which guarded the crossing of the Euphrates towards Sophene, extends to the eastern borders of Cappadocia²⁵. Strong mountain *castra* existed also at Azamora and Dastarcon, with the renown temple of Apollo Cataonian, which as recorded by Strabo (12. 2. 5, 537) controlled the route southwards over the Taurus, from Mazaca to the Cilician plain. *Castra* existed also at Argos and Nora/Neroassos, which guarded the western boundaries of Cappadocia (Strabo, 12. 2. 5, 537)²⁶. The capital Mazaca was not fortified. Its defence and security were dependent on numerous fortresses, some belonging to the King, others to his friends (Strabo, 12. 2. 7, 538; 2. 9, 539). The north-western frontiers between Cappadocia and the Pontic regions were guarded by the fortress at Dasmenda (Strabo, 12. 2. 10, 540).

2. Cities of Cappadocia

Until recently little was known about the region archaeologically, and epigraphic evidence of pre-Roman Cappadocia remained quite scarce, limited to only a few finds²⁷. Hopefully, the systematic excavations that were launched in the last

⁸ ALCOCK/ ROBERT 2014: 50.

⁹ On the detected sites see ALCOCK/ ROBERT 2014: 40 table 2, 41 figs. 2-3, 42 fig. 4 43 fig. 5, 44 fig. 6.

¹⁰ Despite the detected activity, the area around Tüz Gölü (Salt Lake) is avoided, probably due to the health and environmental hazards (illnesses, floods) produced by the lake, ALCOCK/ ROBERT 2014: 44.

¹¹ MITCHELL 1993: 98 note 196 (Cappadocia, like Egypt, was administered through domains and estates, not cities).

¹² MITCHELL 1993: 148 note 49. ALCOCK/ ROBERT 2014: 50.

¹³ MITCHELL 1993: 97.

¹⁴ MITCHELL 1993, 81. On Strabo's references to Cappadocia, VAN DAM 2011: 83-84.

¹⁵ On this VAN DAM 2011: 91.

¹⁶ On this VAN DAM 2011: 93-95.

¹⁷ MITCHELL 1993: 82.

¹⁸ MITCHELL 199: 82.

¹⁹ MANOLEDAKIS 2022, on the south littoral of the Black Sea.

²⁰ ALCOCK/ ROBERT 2014: 50.

²¹ On Cappadocian trade products, MITCHELL 1993: 82-84. TEJA 1980: 1093-1102.

²² MITCHELL 1993: 34. *Legio XVI Flavia Firma* was stationed on the river Euphrates at Samosata (Samsat, Türkiye), from AD 117 until the 4th century. *Legio XII Fulminata* was guarding the Euphrates River crossing near Melitene from AD 71 until the early 5th century.

²³ YEGÜL/ FAVRO 2019: 599.

²⁴ Claudius founded a colony at Archelais, an isolated last addition to the great Augustan program (Pliny, *NH* 6. 8.), MITCHELL 1993: 95.

²⁵ MITCHELL 1993: 84.

²⁶ Nora/Neroassos (Νώρα/Νηροασσός) has been identified with the fortress at Gelin Tepe, near Sivrihisar. MITCHELL 1993: 84 note 34; EQUINI SCHNEIDER 1992-1993: 394-396, figs. 7-10. LEKA 2001: <http://asiaminor.ehw.gr/Forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaid=12267&contlang=58>. Also, TURCHETTO 2013: 114.

²⁷ Cf SEG 29: 1532; SEG I: 466. ROTT 1908: 370-371 no. 78. MITCHELL 1993: 82-84.

years will provide more evidence of the formation of centrally organised city networks after Cappadocia's incorporation into the Roman Empire²⁸. The following paragraphs will briefly present some of the few cities of Roman Cappadocia that, to a degree, present a certain degree of urban organisation.

2.1. Caesarea Cappadociae (mod. Kayseri)²⁹

Set in the heart of a rough and little-urbanized province, Caesarea, formerly known as Mazaca, was situated in the *Strategia* of Cilicia, immediately northwards of the mountain Argaeus, frequently depicted on its coins. The city was under Persian rule, until after the battle of Ipsus, when the city passed on to the Seleucid Empire. Around 250 BC it became the capital of the autonomous Kingdom of Cappadocia, under Ariarathes III. It was renamed *Eusebeia-by-Argaeus*, in honor of Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopater (163-130 BC)³⁰. In 12-9 BC, the Cappadocian King Archelaus renamed the city *Caesarea-in-Cappadocia* to honour Emperor Augustus³¹. The city passed under formal Roman rule in AD 17.

The city was reputed to be marshy and rather unsuitable for a capital (Strabo, 12.2.7-9), because the land was volcanic, infertile and arid, as the underground water did not emerge to springs, but to swamps. On the other hand, it was most suitable for animal husbandry. Being located close to river Melas³² and upon the junctions of five ancient trades routes crossing Asia Minor from east to west and north to south (Strabo, 14.2.29), it reached a considerable commercial and economic growth³³.

Caesarea remained the Seat of the government of the Province and the *Koinon* of the Cappadocians. Inscriptions record the existence of a *Cappadocarch* at around AD 25³⁴. Under Tiberius, the city became an official mint for the Eastern provinces, thus acquiring the right to issue silver coins often dated by the Emperor's regnal year.³⁵ Specific issues are directly associated with specific events and activities on the eastern frontier, such as the Parthian conflicts³⁶. Caesarea's First Neokorate was awarded under Septimius Severus, presumably during the 14th year of his rule (AD 205/206)³⁷. Coins of this first Neokorate depict a two-column Corinthian temple³⁸, Mt. Argaeus, the city's title and its Festivals³⁹. (Figure 2) However, no traces of an Imperial temple have been found. Caesarea retained its close relations with the Severans and gained its second Neokorate under Alexander Severus⁴⁰.

The city was not fortified, despite being the capital of the Kingdom. The kings used the city more likely as a camp and relied on neighbouring *phrouria* for their safety (Strabo, 12.2.7). It received fortification during Gordian's III reign (238-244)⁴¹. The circuit of the fortification walls and its irregular shape made its defence difficult and Justinian considered it necessary to replace the walls, at that time with a shorter circuit (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, 5.4.7-14), reflecting both the city's and the population's shrinkage at that time.

Parts of the fortification walls and two towers were still visible at the late 20th century. The city was destroyed by the Sassanid king Shapur I after his victory over the Emperor Valerian I in AD 260⁴². At that time, its population was 400,000 inhabitants. The city managed to recover and gradually became home to several early Christian saints⁴³. Little of the ancient city remained visible, until recently, when excavation projects were launched.



Figure 2. Caesarea. Septimius Severus, AE17 of Caesarea, Cappadocia. AD 193-211. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Α ΣΕΠ (CEOYHPOC ΠΕΡ), laureate head right. / ΜΗΤΡΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠ, tetrastyle temple with Mt. Argaeus within. Date ET B (?) below. Syd 401a var (obv. legend). With permission of wildwinds.com, ex Savoca London Auction 5.

The theatre building of the city has not been identified yet, however its existence is verified by written sources, mostly inscriptions⁴⁴. One inscription records a certain Meliton, son of Meliton (Μελίτωνα Μελίτωνος), a kitharist honored by the Council and the People and the Gerousia of Aphrodisias⁴⁵. His honorific monument is dated at the early 3rd century AD and attests the existence of both a *Koinon* of the Cappadocians and the official Festivals, the *Commodeia* and the *Philadelphieia Severia*⁴⁶.

On the north side, towards Argaeus Mt., there are traces of perhaps a **gymnasium-baths complex**. Random finds are displayed in the local Museum.

2.2. Colonia Archelais (Aksaray, Niğde)⁴⁷

Archelais, formerly known as Garsaoura, was the chief town of the *Strategia* of Garsauritis. Strabo (12.2.6; 14.2.29) describes it as a small village city (κωμόπολις and πολίχνιον). During the Hellenistic period it was refounded as Archelais, after King Archelaus. Under Claudius it was upgraded to the status of a colony (Pliny, HN 6.8). The site actually consists of a large oasis SE of Tuz Gölü, 225 km southwards of Ancyra. No monuments survive, though occasional tombstones are found.

²⁸ ALCOCK/ROBERT 2014 integrate and discuss data and results deriving from three field surveys conducted in Cappadocia which recorded material remains from Early Holocene until the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye

²⁹ PECS s.v. Caesarea Cappadociae (Kayseri) Türkiye (R. P. Harper), accessed July 2020 from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0006:entry-caesarea-cappadociae>. Also, <https://www.livius.org/articles/place/caesarea-mazaca-kayseri/> and <https://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/places/21242>.

³⁰ Strabo 12.2.7. SOFOU 2001: note 2-3.

³¹ IMHOOF-BLUMER 1898: 13-15 (on the related coins). SOFOU 2001.

³² On Melas, ROELEN-FLOUNEAU 2018: 271-272.

³³ MAGIE 1950: 201, 492, 1095, note 3. MITCHELL 1993: 132. HILD/RESTLE 1981: 194.

³⁴ BURRELL 2004: 246 note 2. Also, HAENSCH 1997: 272-276. MORETTI 1953: 164, no 62.

³⁵ cf. SOFOU 2001: notes 14-15. BURRELL 2004: 246 note 3.

³⁶ BURRELL 2004: 246 note 5. Also, BAR 1986.

³⁷ BURRELL 2004: 246-248, on chronological issues of Caesarea's first Neokorate coins. PRICE 1984: 269

³⁸ BURRELL 2004: 248, pl. 37 fig. 193 (type 1a, Berlin 709/1914).

³⁹ More details on BURRELL 2004: 248, pl. 37 fig. 195 (type 4b, Paris 602).

⁴⁰ BURRELL 2004: 248-250, with a discussion on the chronological problems of the second Neokoria.

⁴¹ IMHOOF-BLUMER 1898: 22 (on the related coins).

⁴² BURRELL 2004: 250 note 44. Also, DODGEON/LIEU 1994: 57-65

⁴³ Saints Dorothea and Theophilus the martyrs, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea, VAN DAM 2003.

⁴⁴ Cf. <http://www.theatrum.de/670.html>.

⁴⁵ ROUECHÉ 1993: 196 no 69. Also in, <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph010182.html>. On Meliton, STEFANIS 1988b: 1634

⁴⁶ MITCHELL 1993: 218-221.

⁴⁷ PECS, s.v. Colonia Archelais (R. P. Harper), accessed August 2020 from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0006:id=colonia-archelais>

2.3. Comana Cappadociae (mod. Shar)⁴⁸

According to ancient geographers, Comana (Gr. *Κόμανα*, τα; Hit. Kummanni) was situated in Cappadocia in the valley of the Sarus, in the deep glens of the Antitauros⁴⁹. It was founded at ca. 750 BC and was a major city of the *Strategia* of Cataonia (Strabo 12.2.3). The city was considered important throughout Antiquity due to its position at the eastern end of the main route of the Kuru Çay, the western Anti-Taurus range, through which the road from Caesarea-Mazaca towards Melitene passed⁵⁰. This road was upgraded by Septimius Severus into the primary military road towards the eastern Anatolian frontier of the Empire. Several parts of the Severus's road are preserved, among them a bridge at Kemer, and a significant number of milestones (in situ or reused).

Under Caracalla, Comana was re-founded as the Roman colony *Colonia Julia Augusta Comana*, or *Colonia Julia Augusta Comanenorum*⁵¹. It fell into decline around AD 640. Roman inscriptions record the city also as *Hierapolis*, due to her status as a temple-state, one of the two major cult centres (the other was *Comana Pontica*) of the West-Asian Nature Goddess Ma, assimilated by Strabo with the Syrian Moon Goddess, Enyo. As a temple-state, Comana was not fortified and was ruled by a High Priest, who ranked second after the King of Cappadocia and generally originated from the royal family. Much of the population was settled in the surrounding fertile valleys, where scattered traces of human presence are found.

Both the temple of Enyo-Ma and the Festival held in honour of the goddess were famous. Today, the exact site of the great temple has not been adequately identified or researched.

The theatre was built on the left bank of the river, upon the natural hill slope⁵². No excavation has been conducted, however part of the *cavea* (two not continuous rows of seats) is visible on the ground. From the *balteus* between them runs a vaulted corridor, preserved in good condition.

Another preserved monument is the so-called Kirik Kilise, originally the funerary monument of the Roman Senator *Aurelius Claudius Hermodorus* (Tit.Coman.Capp. 6,29: *Αύρηλιου Κλ. Ερμόδωρου συνκλητικού*)⁵³. (Figures 3-4)

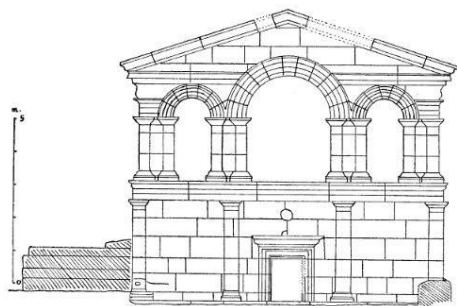


Figure 3. Comana. Kirik Kilise. Monument of Aurelius Claudius Hermodorus. Façade drawing. After HARPER - BAYBURTLUOĞLU 1968: fig.4.



Figure 4. Comana. Kirik Kilise. Monument of Aurelius Claudius Hermodorus. State view. © Katpatuka-Own work, FAL, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3854562>

During the Byzantine period, the monument was converted into a Christian church⁵⁴. The temple faces west and it is built of fine ashlar masonry⁵⁵. The two-storey façade was divided horizontally by a tripartite moulded architrave. The lower part had a rectangular doorway flanked by two pairs of engaged piers. The upper storey was decorated with a central arch flanked by two smaller arches, all supported on engaged pilasters. It was roofed by an angled pediment. The main doorway leads to a vaulted chamber. The inscription recording *Hermodorus*, the original occupant of the monument, is carved below the middle *loculus*. From the eastern end of this chamber, a vaulted channel forms two openings. The lower one terminates to another *loculus* and the upper leads to a second vaulted chamber⁵⁶.

The so-called Ala Kapi was originally a tetrastyle prostyle temple with Corinthian capitals, dated in the 2nd century AD⁵⁷. (Figures 5-6)

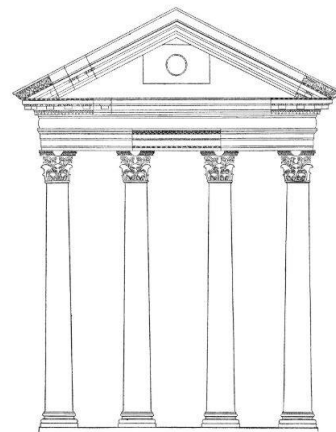


Figure 5. Comana. Ala Kapi. Tetrastyle prostyle temple. Façade drawing. After HARPER - BAYBURTLUOĞLU 1968: fig.7

⁴⁸ PECS s.v. *Comana Cappadociae (Kayseri) Türkiye* (R. P. Harper), accessed July 2020 from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.006%3Aentry%3Dcomana-cappadociae>; Also, imperium.ahlfeldt.se/places/21240; <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/628959>, and <https://topostext.org/place/383363UCom>.

⁴⁹ HARPER 1968: 93-147. HARPER/ BAYBURTLUOĞLU 1968: 149-158.

⁵⁰ On recent projects focusing on the socio-economic and political structures of the Hellenistic and early Roman Anatolia, cf. HALDON 2018: 211 with notes.

⁵¹ STROBEL/ OLSHAUSEN 2006 (s.v. Komana).

⁵² HILD / RESTLE 1981: 208-209. SINCLAIR 1989: 474, figs.107-109. CHASE 2002: 133 with fig., 160 with fig. SEAR 2006: 359. Also, imperium.ahlfeldt.se/places/24850

⁵³ HARPER 1964: 167-168, fig.2. HARPER /BAYBURTLUOĞLU 1968: 150-155, figs.2-5.

⁵⁴ HARPER / BAYBURTLUOĞLU 1968: 153.

⁵⁵ Dimensions: 9.25 m. wide, 18 m long and possibly 9.00m. high, HARPER / BAYBURTLUOĞLU 1968: 150.

⁵⁶ HARPER 1964: 168, on a possible identification with the Governor of Noricum, AD 311 (CIL III, 4796).

⁵⁷ HARPER / BAYBURTLUOĞLU 1968: 155-158, figs.6-8.

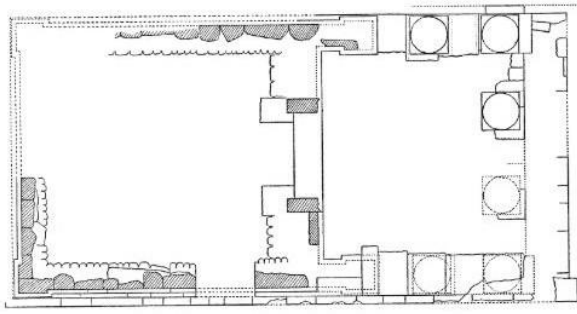


Figure 6. Comana. Ala Kapi. Tetrastyle prostyle temple Ground plan. After HARPER - BAYBURLUOĞLU 1968: fig.6

The temple faces east and the dimensions of the *cella* are 11.00 X 9.60 m. The Roman monument was probably converted into a church for the Christian population of the Byzantine period. The Corinthian capitals had small decorative figures of Pan, Nike and Hermes, emerging from the foliage.⁵⁸ It presents certain similarities with the 2nd/3rd century AD capitals from the temple at *Heracleia Pontica*, but they are of better quality⁵⁹. Several of the retrieved architrave blocks were decorated with animal hunt scenes⁶⁰.

Presumably, there was also a Gymnasium complex, since there are several references on a certain *Ἰαζήμιος*, son of *Ἰαζήμιος*, High-Priest and Gymnasiarch (Tit.Coman.Capp. 2,02; 2,05 2,19: *ἀρχιερεως και γυμνασιαρχοφν*).

Most of the sculptural monuments are today kept and exhibited in the Adana Museum. They include mythological statues, imperial and private portrait statues, among them cuirassed and togate figures, and a large variety of funerary monuments.

2.4. Melitene (mod. Eski Malatya)⁶¹

Melitene was an ancient city on the Tohma River, a tributary of the upper Euphrates, rising in the Taurus Mountains. It has been identified with *Arslantepe* (Melid), an important Hittite settlement and a major Neo-Hittite city state⁶². The Assyrians called the city *Meliddu*, a name that was preserved both by the Greeks (*Melitene*) and the Romans. According to Strabo (12.2.1), its inhabitants shared the same language and culture with the nearby Cappadocians and Cataonians. After the Cappadocian Kingdom's annexation to the Roman Empire, the settlement was re-established as Melitene (AD 72) and relocated as the base camp of *Legio XII Fulminata* - which continued to station there until at least the early 5th century⁶³.

The station of Melitene controlled all accesses of southern Armenia and the upper Tigris. It was the terminal of an important route running east from Caesarea⁶⁴. Subsequently, the camp also

attracted a civilian population. According to Procopius (*De aedificiis* III, 4, 18), early in the 2nd century AD, Melitene was awarded a civic status by Trajan and was upgraded to *municipium*. This upgrade launched a period of economic flourishing that allowed a series of building projects to be initiated. These altered the city landscape, which was then extended beyond the old city limits. However, no actual traces of the Hellenistic or Roman town exist, though Procopius (*De aedificiis* III, 4, 15-20) records with admiration the existence of temples, fora and even a theatre in Melitene. Traces of a theatre were actually spotted outside the ancient town outskirts, however, no excavations have yet been conducted⁶⁵.

The city walls were probably built during the late Roman or early Byzantine period. The city is also known to have been awarded the right to strike imperial coins between the 3rd and early 5th century⁶⁶.

2.5. Nyssa⁶⁷

William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* placed the town at a village, not otherwise mentioned, called Nirse or Nissa, and said that it laid at a district called *Muriane*, not far from the river Halys, on the road from Ancyra to Caesareia⁶⁸. Ptolemy's *Geography* (5.7.8) places it at 68°20' 38°40' (in his degrees) in the *Strategia* of Murimene. It is also mentioned at the *Itinerary Antonini* (Itin. Ant. 206,4). The *Synecdemus* and the *Notitiae Episcopatum* indicate that Nyssa was in the Roman province of *Cappadocia Prima*. The site of ancient Nyssa has been identified near the modern town of Harmandalı, in south-central Türkiye⁶⁹.

D. H. French during his research in Cappadocia has discovered two epigraphical evidence about Nyssa⁷⁰. The first one is a limestone fragment (max 0.32 × max 0.525 × 0.16), dated between AD 198-209 carrying a probable votive inscription to Septimius Severus and his family: [ὁ δῆμ]ος Νησᾶ[έων]. Today, it is kept at the Kırşehir Museum. The second one is a marble slab (0.22 × 0.73 × 0.483) found in Kırşehir and is probably originating from the nearby Harmandalı. It is also dated between AD 193-211 and carries a votive inscription to Septimius Severus by the Demos: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Νησᾶέων⁷¹. This inscription enhances the hypothesis that Nyssa was located close to modern Kırşehir⁷².

The site is marked by a settlement mound, with a circuit of walls enclosing an area of ca.0.12km²⁷³. Three Gates were opened to the North, East and South. The actual archaeological site consists of two hills, named the Large Fortress (Büyükkale) and the Small Fortress (Küçükkale). The ancient city's centre was located at the western slope of the Large Fortress (Büyükkale)⁷⁴.

2.6. Tyana (mod. Kemerhisar/Bahçeli, Bor, Niğde)⁷⁵

Tyana was firstly recorded under the name of *Tuwanuwa* and *Tawuna* in the Assyrian sources⁷⁶. It is today

⁵⁸ HARPER / BAYBURLUOĞLU 1968: 158, pl. LIVa,b.

⁵⁹ On Heracleia Pontike, HOEPFNER 1966: pl. 12-19.

⁶⁰ HARPER / BAYBURLUOĞLU 1968: 158, pl. LVa-c.

⁶¹ PECS, s.v. MELITENE (R. P. Harper), accessed August 2020 from http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0006:id=m_elitene. Also, <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/629040>.

⁶² <https://topostext.org/place/384384RMel>. Also, FRANGIPANE 1993; HAWKINS 1993.

⁶³ SINCLAIR 1989: 3-12.

⁶⁴ HILD 1977: 84-104 (on the road from Caesarea to Melitene).

⁶⁵ HILD / RESTLE 1981: 236. SEAR 2006: 360. Also, <http://www.theatrum.de/638.html>

⁶⁶ On Melitene on late Antiquity, NICHOLSON 2018: 1001, s.v. Melitene (K. M. Klein).

⁶⁷ <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/619222/nyssa/?searchterm=Nyssa>

⁶⁸ PECS, s.v. Nysa accessed August 2020, from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0064%3Aentry%3DNysa-ge>. Cf. SMITH 1854.

⁶⁹ On ancient writers recording Nyssa, in POCHOSHAEV 2008:1 with notes.

⁷⁰ FRENCH 1997: 115-124, pl. 21-23.

⁷¹ FRENCH 1997: 115-117, pl. 21

⁷² POCHOSHAEV 2008: 2, notes 13-14.

⁷³ NICHOLSON 2018: 1091, s.v. Nyssa (PJT). Also, HILD 1977: 78. HILD/RESTLE 1981: 246-248, fig.17.

⁷⁴ HILD/RESTLE 1981: 247.

⁷⁵ PECS, s.v. Tyana (R. P. Harper), accessed August 2020 from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0006:entry=tyana>. Also, HILD/ RESTLE 1981: 298-299. <http://www.ehw.gr/asiaminor/Forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaid=9671&contlang=58>. YILDIRIM / GATES 2007: 331. NICHOLSON 2018: 1535 s.v. Tyana (IJ).

⁷⁶ Cf. <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/648801>. SOFOU 2002 in <http://www.ehw.gr/asiaminor/Forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaid=9671&contlang=5>

located in the village of Kemerhisar, 10 miles south of Nigde⁷⁷. Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.2.20), who visited the city and described it as a «worldwide, big and blessed city», calls it *Dana* (Δάνα). The name Tyana was first reported on coins minted by the Cappadocian Ruler Ariaramnes (ca. 255-220 BC) after it became the second most important city of the Cappadocian Kingdom. During the 2nd century BC, King Ariarathes IV renamed the city *Eusebeia-on-Tauros*. This name was retained until the Cappadocian Kingdom became a Roman province (AD 17), when the initial name, Tyana, was restored. In AD 213, during the reign of Emperor Caracalla, the city gained the status of a colony and was renamed to *Colonia (Aureliana) Antoniana Tyanorum*. After AD 372, it became the capital of *Cappadocia Secunda*. In late Antiquity, the city once again changed its name to *Christoupolis*, the City of Christ⁷⁸.

The city was founded at a strategic location, 30km north of the Cilician Gates and along the ancient road system which gave it control over the communication of East and West⁷⁹. It was built on a low artificial hill 15 m high, at the centre of a plain. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the city had a surrounding wall, part of which is still preserved. Within 4 km from the city there was a freshwater spring, next to which the Temple of Zeus Asbamaeus (Amm. Marc. 23.6.19) was built. The existence of that spring, in combination with the close by thermal springs, favoured human settlement since the prehistoric period. The architectural remains of the Hellenistic city are scarce, but of excellent quality. They reveal the ambitious building project of the early 2nd century BC, launched by the philhellene King Ariarathes V, to transform Tyana after the Greek standards. The city probably reached an impressive cultural development, compared to the rather undeveloped urban life of the rest Cappadocian Kingdom, nevertheless lower in comparison with the coastal cities of Asia Minor⁸⁰.

The privileged location of Tyana, which allowed control of the route from central Anatolia to the Cilician Gates and the Mediterranean, attracted the interest of several Roman Emperors, whose benefactions contributed greatly to Tyana's flourishing and development⁸¹. A fragment of Hadrian's official itinerary (CIL VI.5076-4) found in Rome, informs us that Hadrian arrived at Tyana on October 17th, AD 117⁸². Septimius Severus had also visited Tyana during his return trip to Rome in AD 202⁸³.

It seems that the urban organization of Tyana generally followed the standards of other roman cities of the 2nd century AD⁸⁴. Among the preserved architectural remains in Tyana, there are sophisticated water transferring systems and water structures, including water reservoirs, thermae and sections of an aqueduct. These constructions seem to be organically and functionally connected, as components of a unified water system. They are dated during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian (late 1st/early 2nd century AD).

The roman aqueduct of Tyana is the most important architectural remain in Kemerhisar⁸⁵. (Figure 7) It was built in the late 1st/early 2nd century AD. The aqueduct brought drinking water to ancient Tyana from a spring, located in Bahçeli, 4 km to the east of Kemerhisar. In the Roman period, the spring was enclosed with a rectangular pool (23m x 66m x 2.5m), today excavated and restored⁸⁶. (Figure 8) The aqueduct, whose preserved visible length

is 1,170 m and the overall length 4 km, extends from the city centre eastwards, along the Tyana Caddesi (Tyana Str.). Systematic excavation began in 2001 (University of Padova) with focus on the Tyana's Roman water transferring system. Excavations attempted to discover the *Castellum aquae*, the terminal point of the Tyana aqueduct at the "Su Kemer" suburb (NE of Kemerhisar). Excavations have also revealed a roman Nymphaeum (Figure 9), and a bath complex, identified at the south part of the city of Tyana. It is preserved at ground-floor levels. Both are dated early in the 3rd century AD⁸⁷. Surprisingly, apart from Tyana's water system not many traces have been found regarding water transferring and managing systems in the rest of the region. Not much literature exists on the Cappadocian water supply, and perhaps some of the future investigations could include this as well⁸⁸.

An inscribed base from Tyana is of great importance⁸⁹. According to the inscription (SEG I, 466), Atizoas (Ατιζώας), son of Dryinos (Δρυινόυ), holding both the titles of *Gymnasiarch* and *Agonothetes*, dedicated a list of *Gymnasiarchs* to Hermes and Heracles, in favour of the King Ariarathes VI, starting from the 5th year of the King's reign.



Figure 7. Tyana. Site. View of the Nymphaeum. © Carole Raddato, <https://followinghadrian.com/2017/10/17/17-october-117-hadrian-arrives-in-tyana-hadrian1900> (under Attribution-ShareAlike license)



Figure 8. Tyana. The water reservoir. State view. © Carole Raddato, <https://followinghadrian.com/2017/10/17/17-october-117-hadrian-arrives-in-tyana-hadrian1900> (under Attribution-ShareAlike license)

⁷⁷ On recent research, ROSADA /LACHIN 2010; 2011.

⁷⁸ Cf. <https://turkisharchaeonews.net/site/tyana-kemerhisar>

⁷⁹ On the road systems of Tyana, HILD 1977: 41-60, chart 2. Lately, TURCHETTO 2013 and 2015.

⁸⁰ BERGES/ NOLLÉ 2000: 490, 493.

⁸¹ BERGES/ NOLLÉ 2000.

⁸² Details in https://followinghadrian.com/2017/10/17/17-october-117-hadrian-arrives-in-tyana-hadrian1900/_with_image_

⁸³ Cassius Dio 76 (75).15.4. HALFMANN 1986: 216-223;

⁸⁴ BERGES / NOLLÉ 2000: 29.

⁸⁵ <https://romaqa.org/the-project/aqueducts/article/725#tab-details>

⁸⁶ Photos in <https://www.cappadociahistory.com/post/tyana-kemerhisar>.

⁸⁷ ROSADA 2006.

⁸⁸ GILLI -YAMAÇ 2015.

⁸⁹ MITCHELL 1993: 86 note 63. Robert 1963: 492-493. BERGES / NOLLÉ 2000: 205-206.



Figure 9. Tyana. Aqueduct. State view. © Carole Raddato, <https://followinghadrian.com/2017/10/17/17-october-117-hadrian-arrives-in-tyana-hadrian1900> (under Attribution-ShareAlike license)

This reference dates the inscription at 130/110 BC, specifically at 126 BC⁹⁰. This inscription is important for many reasons: primarily, because it implies the existence of a Gymnasium at Eusebeia/Tyana. Secondly, because it attests to the conduction of official Games and, consequently, the existence of a specific venue monument (stadium, theatre, or amphitheatre) where the Games would be held. It is accepted that the Hellenisation of Cappadocia, which began sometime around the 3rd century BC, has been a slow and long process. If so, should this inscription be taken as proof that the institution of Gymnasium was introduced at such a late period (126 BC), in Cappadocia, as some scholars (Robert) suggest⁹¹? Regardless, what is even more important is that Atizoas was a native and that this inscription stands as a unique case of a local Hellenised Cappadocian being awarded the title of *Gymnasiarch*⁹². The reference to Hercules in this inscription is intriguing. Hercules was worshipped in Cappadocia since at least the mid-2nd century BC, being assimilated with the son of Astarte, the patron deity of Tyana⁹³. The use of the theophoric name Heracleides (*Ἡρακλείδης*) of another *Gymnasiarch* recorded in the list, not only stands as proof of the existence of Hercules' cult in the region, but it also reveals that, just like Atizoas, this recorded Officer was probably a Hellenised local⁹⁴.

3. Aspects of Romanisation in Cappadocia

The existence, or absence, of cities is not the only criterion by which the Hellenisation of central and eastern Anatolia can be assessed. The fundamental features of Greek and Roman civil culture and structure, such as the existence or not of official civil buildings and institutions are also important parameters⁹⁵.

Building techniques and traditions are useful when examining cross cultural interactions. Both Cilicia and Cappadocia were two central Anatolian regions rich in volcanic stones and local masonry

traditions. The lack of strong Hellenistic building traditions left enough space for the Roman construction techniques, especially *opus caementicium*, to prevail⁹⁶. In Cappadocian cities, the use of *opus incertum* and *opus reticulatum* as facings for concrete-core walls are associated to their status as colonies and stations of Roman troops⁹⁷. This phenomenon should not simply be attributed to the abundance of local volcanic material, but also to the knowledge and technological expertise received by the Romans, both military and administrative personnel, stationed in this remote and rugged province.

Inevitably the presence of large military forces and their stations necessitated a massively upgraded system of **roads** (*viae publicae*) since roman military control rested on rapid communications, as well as the ability to move troops and supplies efficiently between provinces and frontiers⁹⁸. The great distances that travellers faced in Anatolia were a constant challenge to both Hellenistic and Roman Rulers⁹⁹. The frontier was joined to the inland Asia Minor, and ultimately with the Balkans and Europe, by an immense network of major highways covering about 9,000 km¹⁰⁰. These roads, some of which are traced, are broadly divided into two categories: those main roads used by the official, military, and administrative personnel and those secondary roads used by traders, travellers, private citizens travelling from one town to the next or, from the countryside to the cities¹⁰¹. The cost of road construction of this scale, either in manpower or financial terms, would have been huge and would have required an enormous labour force¹⁰². It is safe to assume that both the Roman troops stationed in Anatolia and the local populations were engaged in their construction¹⁰³. Septimius Severus acknowledging the importance of Cappadocia, launched infrastructural projects in the region, including road constructions, that lasted at least until AD 208¹⁰⁴.

The Imperial Cult being the official connecting link between the Emperor and the provinces, was rapidly diffused and established in the newly annexed and largely non-urbanized regions of central Anatolia¹⁰⁵. The observed local variations in its reception and expression agree with Price's argument that «the cult in these smaller communities might better be seen not as a product of their aspirations to civic status but of their urban development and local organization»¹⁰⁶. The Imperial cult was linked to Rome's official deities and was clearly perceived as an expression of power, essential to Rome's survival and as such, the monuments associated with the Emperor had to be placed in the core of the civic life¹⁰⁷. This explains why in the modest settlements of the remote province of Cappadocia, the Imperial temples are the earliest and the most imposing examples of public architecture, defining the region's newly formed urban culture¹⁰⁸.

The Imperial Cult, the adjoining Festivals and the Games held in honour of the Emperor were organised and conducted by the provincial *Koina*, both at local and provincial levels¹⁰⁹. The diffusion

⁹⁰ For the text see, <https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/287316?&bookid=172&location=1607>. Lately, <http://nautilus.arch.uoa.gr/preview.php?id=3963>.

⁹¹ Cf. ROBERT 1963: 469-523.

⁹² GROSS/ALBENHAUSEN 2004: 319.

⁹³ BERGES/NOLLÉ 2000: 373-374 (Hercules figure on Tyana coins), 480-482. On Hercules at Gymnasia, see ANEZIRI/DAMASKOS 2004: 248-251.

⁹⁴ BERGES/NOLLÉ 2000: 205. GROSS/ALBENHAUSEN 2004: 316

⁹⁵ MITCHELL 1993: 85. ROBERT 1963: 492.

⁹⁶ YEGÜL/FAVRO 2019: 608.

⁹⁷ YEGÜL/FAVRO 2019: 608-609, 786.

⁹⁸ On the ancient road network of central and southern Cappadocia, TURCHETTO 2013 and 2015.

⁹⁹ MITCHELL 1993: 129-132 with maps.

¹⁰⁰ On the four major routes in the Anatolian network, MITCHELL 1993: 126-129. MAGIE 1950: 1309-1310, 1349-1350. FRENCH 1983: 87. More on TURCHETTO 2015.

¹⁰¹ MITCHELL 1993: 132-136.

¹⁰² On construction costs, BARKER/ COURAULT/ DOMINGO /MASCHEK 2023.

¹⁰³ MITCHELL 1993: 127.

¹⁰⁴ MAGIE 1950: 676-677, 1545-1546.

¹⁰⁵ MITCHELL 1993: 100-117. Indicatively on the Imperial Cult, PRICE 1984. GRADEL 2002. On Caesar's and Augustus' divinization, KOORTBOJIAN 2013

¹⁰⁶ PRICE 1984: 86.

¹⁰⁷ On the Imperial Cult architecture in the Agoras of the Greek cities, EVANGELIDIS 2008, with bibliography.

¹⁰⁸ On architecture related to the Imperial Cult, PRICE 1986: 133-169.

¹⁰⁹ On the Neokoroi cities of the Roman East and the role of the provincial *Koina*, BURRELL 2004. On the inter-city rivals, PRICE 1986: 126-132.

of the Emperor's cult was as rapid in the remote Cappadocia as it had been in the more cosmopolitan province of Asia. In Cappadocia, an organized Imperial Cult was initiated almost from the point of its annexation to Rome¹¹⁰. Just in AD 20 an inscription attests that a provincial association (a *Koinon*?) was sponsoring official Games¹¹¹. Written evidence records the *Commodeia* Festival being celebrated in Caesarea¹¹². Marcus Aurelius upgraded the status of the Cappadocian village of Hálala to a Roman colony (as *Faustinopolis*), in memory of his late wife and built a temple in her honour¹¹³.

Royal patronage has been a key agent for the Hellenisation and Romanisation of Anatolia. The two major cities of Cappadocia, Caesarea and Tyana, were founded by the generously philhellene King Ariarathes V, who organised Games both in Cappadocia and in Athens¹¹⁴. After the Roman conquest, the emergence of a local aristocracy with strong ties to Rome and the imperial court affected greatly the provincial social structures. This rising elite had both the will and the means to travel and form connections. Their mobility obliterated the boundaries, geographical or symbolic, social or religious, between the West and the East¹¹⁵. In the case of Cappadocia, people appointed to the municipal offices, and thus had the power to rule at a local level, were Greeks and native Anatolians, who were granted the Roman citizenship. These privileged elite members had received a Greek based education and culture; hence they were already Hellenised before being Romanised. Their Greek *paideia* was remarkable and with a deeper significance than the mere possession of wealth because it allowed them to participate in the elite culture of the Greek East and the wider Anatolia, Cappadocia included¹¹⁶.

Naturally, wealth was a precondition for being a member of this elite class since the high-rank officeholders and the High Priests of the Imperial Cult were expected to provide generously for their communities and to undertake large-scale benefactions and civic munificence (*euergetiae*), such as the construction of public buildings, or the conduction of religious Festivals and Games¹¹⁷. Their munificences gave a tremendous boost to the development of social and civic life and urban growth. The benefactions supplementing the rituals of the Imperial Cult were important not simply for the recipients of philanthropy, or for the visitors and spectators of the Festivals and the Games. They were important because such large scale civic patronage, signalled the donor's wealth, fame, educational and cultural background, their high rank position in the Roman state and their connection to the Imperial regime¹¹⁸. Wealthy local families were engaged with benefactions because they provided them with a context, a common language through which they competed for social prestige and promotion of their political ambitions, they impressed their communities, and evidently were awarded with positions of power and authority¹¹⁹. Concurrently, memorable Festivals and monumental architecture were a reflection of a city's image and a way to transmit specific

messages throughout the Roman world.

In accordance, the introduction of monumentality signals the transition from the Greek forms to the Roman style aesthetics that appeared around the 1st century AD and reflects in stone the Roman imperialism in the eastern provincial lands¹²⁰. Especially in the turn from the Late Republican towards the Early Imperial period, major and minor cities in the Eastern provinces incorporated many of the features and spatial arrangements that characterized the architectural armature of a Roman city at that time. Although filtered and according to their financial means, «the essential components are always replicated but with a large degree of adaption and change»¹²¹.

Spectacle monuments (theatres, amphitheatres) played a key role in forming and expressing a shared culture. Cappadocia was somewhat isolated from the rest of the Mediterranean regions by massive mountain ranges and presents closer cultural connections with the Iranic cultures. As it appears, in Cappadocia theatres were almost absent until the late 1st century AD. By the reign of Hadrian and towards the 3rd century AD new religious Festivals named after the Emperor were introduced, which required new suitable spaces, such as the theatres and amphitheatres, to accommodate large crowds¹²². It is safe to assume that the appearance of spectacle buildings in Cappadocia was intended to meet the new needs, and also to accommodate the roman troops that were stationed at the region. Even then, Caesarea, Comana, Melitene, Tyana, are the only few cities in the province where a theatre is attested (or recorded). Could this be interpreted as a simple lack of archaeological evidence¹²³? Or, could it be ascribed to the lack of willingness of these remote regions to invest large amounts of money in the construction of theatres, or even, to their preference towards other kinds of monuments?

4. Conclusions

The new components of the urban armature, such as terraces and porticoes, and the carefully orchestrated passageways, monumentally articulated crossroads and city gates that connected the different city sectors¹²⁴, official buildings, spectacle monuments and works of infrastructure such as aqueducts, elaborate fountain structures and nymphaea¹²⁵, were used to create a monumental urban environment, which, between the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD, became the core around which civic life was arranged and experienced¹²⁶. Architecture was used to express the principles that embodied the Roman way of life, namely social hierarchy and unity, civic grandeur and power, remembrance, and, evidently, the omnipresence of the Emperor¹²⁷. At the same time, public edifices functioned as displays of power and prosperity, reflecting the city's past and present wealth and linking utility and aesthetics, political ambitions and regional development¹²⁸.

¹¹⁰ MORETTI 1953: no. 62. MITCHELL 1993: 102.

¹¹¹ Also DEININGER 1965: 16-17, 36-37, 82.

¹¹² An inscription from Ankyra records an athlete who won at a contest celebrated for Commodus at Caesarea, BURRELL 2004: 248. MITCHELL 1993: 218, 221. MIRANDA 1992-1993

¹¹³ Script. Hist. Aug. M. Aurelius, 16; Caracalla, 11. MITCHELL 1993: 114.

¹¹⁴ Ariarathes V was the Chairman (Agonothetes) at the Panathenaic Games and was honoured by the Dionysiac Artists Guild with a cult, and with annual and monthly Festivals, STEFANIS 1988a. On the Games named after him in Cappadocia, see the inscription of *Menodoros* from Delos (150-130 BC), I. Delos, 1957; MORETTI 1953: no. 51. STEFANIS 1988b: 281-286.

¹¹⁵ YEGÜL/FAVRO 2019: 600.

¹¹⁶ YEGÜL/FAVRO 2019: 600.

¹¹⁷ PRICE 1986: 102-132. YEGÜL/FAVRO 2019: 600.

¹¹⁸ ARISTODEMOU 2018a: 211.

¹¹⁹ Cf. MITCHELL 1993: 117. HÄUSLE 1980; SCHORNDORFER 1997: 8;

DÖRL-KLINGENSCHMID 2001: 120-121; DÖRL-KLINGENSCHMID 2006; THOMAS 2007: 76; ARISTODEMOU 2012: 52-59. ARISTODEMOU 2018a: 211. ARISTODEMOU 2018b, on cases of nymphaea benefactors in Roman Greece.

¹²⁰ ROBINSON 2013: 362.

¹²¹ Cf. the development of Agoras of the roman period in Greece, EVANGELIDIS 2010; 2014; 2020, 314. ROGERS 2015: 133.

¹²² SPANU 2001: 455.

¹²³ On the example of the few existing theatres of Cilicia, SPANU 2001: 453-454

¹²⁴ DICKENSON 2016. EVANGELIDIS 2020: 301-2, 310, 313.

¹²⁵ ARISTODEMOU 2012; 2018a; 2018c.

¹²⁶ THOMAS 2007: 117.

¹²⁷ MACDONALD 1986: 29-30. EVANGELIDIS 2020: 315

¹²⁸ DRERUP 1966. On the key role of monumental fountains in the formation of dramatic sceneries, DÖRL-KLINGENSCHMID 2001: 149-150. ARISTODEMOU 2018c: 325.

When discussing Cappadocia, it becomes understood that there existed a certain conservatism, partially due to the rough terrain and the resulting isolation of the region. The former social structure of the region itself (states ruled by priests or Kings) and its demographical status as a dynastic state, consisting of relatively small cities that were scattered in the territory and had no strict civic structure, could have been a key factor for the rather late appearance of a network of cities equipped with monumental infrastructure. From a certain point in time however, the architecture of Cappadocia under the Romans did not remain at the edge of the current architectural developments in the rest of the Roman world. It presents observable ties with the contemporary architecture of the Empire, which are setting the frame and provide the background so that in the following period, namely Late Antiquity, Cappadocia develops into a key player in the emergence and diffusion of Christianity¹²⁹.

Résumé - Aspects de la romanisation en Cappadoce. Mise en scène d'architecture et de paysages urbains : La Cappadoce, la province la plus au nord-est de l'Empire romain, a été fondée en 17 après JC par l'empereur, Tibère, après la mort du dernier roi de Cappadoce, Archelaus. Cet article traite des modèles d'établissement, des villes fondations, l'absence, au moins au 1er siècle après JC, d'un réseau étendu de villes et le développement des communautés locales de la région sous les Romains. L'établissement et le rôle du Culte Impérial dans cette les provinces éloignées sont également abordées. Cet article tente en outre de retracer l'émergence de l'urbanisation et du civisme monumentalité en Cappadoce, grâce à l'introduction d'une architecture monumentale et d'infrastructures de premier plan dans les principales villes de Cappadoce - et pour comprendre si la Cappadoce a suivi, ou s'est tenue à l'écart, le développements architecturaux/urbanistiques lancés dans le reste du monde romain.

Mots-clés : *L'Est romain, Cappadoce, Anatolie, Urbanisation, Monumentalité, Villes-réseaux.*

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