

FEELING AT HOME:

NOTES OF A

JOURNEY BY A

ROMAN TRAVELLER

IN THE 2ND

CENTURY

PERGAMON

Western Anatolia was one of the first regions to come under the rule of the Roman Empire. For the region, the 2nd century AD was marked by urban development that accelerated thanks to the ongoing period of peace under the Roman Empire around the Mediterranean. Without the burden of wars, cities concentrated all their efforts on trade and urbanization. While implementing a certain program envisaged by the empire, the ancient Greek cities of Anatolia preserved their identity and culture, while they welcomed the new elements of the Roman identity. Thus, the Roman cities of 2nd century AD in western Anatolia were not created from nothing but rather adapted from a Greek past to a Roman future. In this respect, becoming Roman was equivalent to the creation of a Mediterranean identity through integrating the fragmented identities of the pre-Roman world into a unity.

This paper discusses the transformation of post-Hellenistic western Anatolia into the Roman Imperial period with the help of an imaginary journey based on historical facts. The discussion focuses on 2nd Century AD Pergamon to examine urbanization and architecture as transformation tools.

Keywords: Pergamon, Roman architecture, travel, Roman urbanism, Romanization

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Evde Hissetmek: MS 2. Yüzyıl Bergama'sında Romalı Bir Gezginin Yolculuk Notları¹

Batı Anadolu, Roma İmparatorluğu egemenliği altına giren ilk bölgelerden biriydi. Bölge için MS 2. yüzyıl, Roma İmparatorluğu altında Akdeniz çevresinde devam eden kesintisiz barış dönemi sayesinde hızlanan kentsel gelişim ile belirgin hale gelmişti. Savaşın yüklerinden kurtulan şehirler tüm çabalarını ticaret ve kentleşme üzerine yoğunlaştırmıştı. İmparatorluk tarafından öngörülen belirli bir programı uygularken, Anadolu'nun eski Yunan kentleri kimliklerini ve kültürlerini koruyorlar buna karşılık Roma kimliğinin yeni öğelerini de içtenlikle karşıyorlardı. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, Batı Anadolu'nun MS 2. yüzyıl Roma kentleri yoktan var edilmemişti. Daha çok, Yunan geçmişlerinden Roma geleceğine adapte edilmişlerdi. Romalı olmak, Roma öncesi dünyasının parçalı kimliklerinin bütünleştirilmesi ve bir anlamda Akdenizli kimliğinin yaratılmasına eşdeğerdi.

Bu makale tarihi gerçekler üzerine kurulmuş düşsel bir seyahat yardımıyla, Batı Anadolu'nun Helenizm sonrasında, Roma İmparatorluğu dönemindeki dönüşümünü tartışmaktadır. Tartışma için MS 2. yüzyıldaki Bergama merkez alınmış, dönüşüm araçları olarak kentleşme ve mimarlık irdelenmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Bergama, Roma mimarlığı, yolculuk, Roma şehirciliği, Romalılaştırma

On the dawn of May 12 in 147 AD, Senator Quintus reached the plain of Pergamon with his men, eight weeks after departing from Rome, heading off to Ostia, getting on a ship of his majesty Antoninus Pius and reaching the western shores of Asia Minor in capital Ephesos to deliver a letter from the emperor himself to the governor.² Quintus was assigned to hand in the orders of the emperor for the upcoming celebrations of the nine-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Rome³ as well as to control the state of the important cities of western Asia Minor and make sure they had contributed to the celebrations aptly. Though Quintus had travelled outside Italy more than once, it was his first journey to Asia Minor. Thus, he was a bit anxious on his departure for Ephesos. Finding one's way in an unknown province and leading his squad at the same time would be a challenge. After all, this land was not the capital Rome.

² For our purpose, Senator Quintus, his mission and travels are imaginary. But it is a historical fact that Antoninus Pius had never left Italy during his reign. Whether for war or peace, he had directed provincial matters through the governors or through imperial letters to the cities such as Ephesos. Some of these letters were even publicly displayed. For example, a letter dated to 140-144 AD was found in the Bouleuterion of Ephesos, see Emmanuelle Collas-Heddeland, "Le culte impérial dans la compétition des titres sous le Haut-Empire. Une lettre d'Antonin aux Éphésiens," *Revue des Études Grecques* 108 (Juillet-décembre 1995): 410-29. For more information see Michael P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperor's Horse Guards* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 50; Alexander Canduci, *Triumph and Tragedy: The Rise and Fall of Rome's Immortal Emperors* (Sydney: Pier 9, 2010), 40; "Antoninus Pius," Wikipedia, accessed May 29, 2011, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antoninus_Pius.

³ One highlight during his reign occurred in 148, with the nine-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Rome being celebrated by the hosting of magnificent games in Rome. "Antoninus Pius," Wikipedia, accessed May 29, 2011, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antoninus_Pius; Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 11, *The High Empire, A.D. 70-192* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 154.

¹ This paper was initially formed as a research for the Graduate Course AH536: Approaches in Roman Architecture in Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, supervised by Professor Suna Güven.

Soon after Senator Quintus and his squad had left the capital city of Ephesus on horses, the wide marble paved road turned into cut limestone and then to slate, the villas and privately owned gardens were taken over by regularly lined fertile fields,⁴ which were only pierced by the finely paved roads they were following on.⁵ To Quintus' surprise, they had no time to get lost. Because each junction they came across employed a well executed milestone showing the distances and directions to the neighbouring cities as well as the distance and directions to Rome.⁶ These milestones with practical purposes served as political symbols, too: they showed the subjection of all this land to Rome. The junctions closer to the cities were sometimes marked with gates, triumphal arches and the more rural ones sometimes had fountains, cisterns and supply stations.⁷ Without ever noticing, thousands of miles away from his homeland, the capital of the Empire, Senator Quintus started to feel a familiarity in this foreign land. For in his mind, he could clearly make a connection with Rome through this centralized network of roads: regardless of his position in the world, he could visualize himself departing from a known point – *Miliarum Aureum* column in the Capitol, having all his journey, controlling the conquered land and then turning back home safely as all roads would finally lead to Rome.⁸

During the initial days of the ride from Ephesus to Pergamon, the group passed by several villages or stations like Anagome and Metropolis city.⁹ Quintus realized that just like Ephesus these settlements were still using Greek in their daily life. The people were dressed differently than the citizens in Rome. The majority of architecture was mostly several hundred years old executed in a local style. He could observe that this land had had a long tradition, much older than the Empire. Yet, in many ways these cities felt as Roman as Rome itself. He wondered what was called *Roman* in this land. It wasn't until they reached Smyrna three nights later that Senator Quintus could put forward an answer to his question. Being midway on their route, Smyrna was the ideal place to camp overnight. Long before he started his travel, Quintus was well informed about the three important cities of Asia; namely Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamon.¹⁰ These cities were competing with each other to receive the title of "the greatest city of Asia".¹¹ Yet, he thought the greatness of these cities were a bit exaggerated and their *Roman* nature was questionable. So on his way, Quintus wanted to gather as much information as he

4 John Onians, *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 174. Onians argues that the application of grids to towns (centuriation) was sometimes extended as far as the landscape surrounding them to divide land. Whether this was applied to the proximity of Ephesus remains a question but for our purpose we will accept this was the case.

5 Andreas Külzer, "Roads and Routes. Communication Networks in the Hinterland of Ephesus" (International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Istanbul, 30 November - 2 December 2012).

6 Külzer "Roads and Routes."

7 Külzer "Roads and Routes."

8 Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Meaning in Western Architecture* (New York City: Rizzoli, 1980), 84.

9 Andreas Külzer, "Von Assos nach Pergamon und Ephesus: Betrachtungen zu den Straßen Westkleinasiens in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit," *Asia Minor Studien* 78 (2016): 193; Külzer, "Roads and Routes." This road led from Ephesus to Smyrna and then to Pergamon, finally extending as far as Lampsacus in Troad. There were two major routes that extended from Ephesus to Smyrna. The coastal route gave access to Colophon, Dios Hieron, Lebedos, Teos and Klazomenai cities. A second and shorter route inland passed through smaller settlements but also reached Metropolis. Quintus would have taken the shorter inland route.

10 Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamon - Bir Antik Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları*, trans. Suzan Tammer (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 45; Helmut Halfmann, *Städtebau und Bauherrn im römischen Kleinasien: Ein Vergleich zwischen Pergamon und Ephesus* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2001), 61, 83.

11 Collas-Heddeland, "Le culte impérial dans la compétition des titres sous le Haut-Empire," 410.

could and validate his ideas. That was why he accepted to meet Aelius Aristides of Smyrna, the orator, in his camp.¹² Aristides told him that the city was founded by Alexander the Great and each Smyrnian was proud of this history. But it was no guarantee for a long term peace in the territory. The city had willingly entered the Roman rule¹³ 350 years ago and they were pleased for each day within the empire. As Rome bestowed freedom (the city was free of garrisons or any kind of military force) and citizenship to the city it was only “a fair price to pay annual taxes” he added.¹⁴ Senator Quintus was aware that Smyrna or the other western Asia Minor cities were not as free as their inhabitants would have liked to think. The territory was divided into provinces ruled by local governors.¹⁵ They were few in number and an ordinary citizen would hardly meet one in his lifetime. But each of the governors was responsible to the senate in Rome.¹⁶ And the cities themselves had municipal officials instead of the former priests and tyrants.¹⁷ It was Rome’s choice to make use of the local heritages, traditions and values for her own good which was perceived as freedom by the cities themselves.¹⁸ Rome was an expert to introduce her political and cultural framework naturally rather than imposing on provinces to create the Roman identity.¹⁹ So, there was a mutualistic relationship between the centre and the provinces as long as the cities behaved well. In other words, Rome’s invisible sword was always hanging upon the provinces. For Quintus, the only surprise here was to see the enthusiasm put forward by the cities to become *Roman* by honoring the Emperor and showing their loyalty to the Empire in every way they could find.²⁰ Peculiarly in the case of Smyrna this effort was taken to the extreme as the city was one of the earliest places in Asia Minor to accept Roman rule and start the cult of goddess Roma.²¹ Being *Roman* meant surrendering to the power, letting the big ruler govern while enjoying the individual freedoms, which were sometimes

12 Aelius Aristides is said to have lived between 117-181 AD. So, an encounter with our imaginary senator would not be totally impossible. Ayşe Yakut, “Aelius Aristides’ 18th, 19th and 20th Orations Which Saved the Smyrna From Earthquake in 177 A.D.,” *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 34, no. 58 (2015): 490.

13 In 197 BC Smyrna cut its ties with Pergamon and entered the Roman rule. See “Ancient Smyrna Excavations,” Smyrna Antik Kenti Kazı, Araştırma ve Restorasyon Projesi, accessed December 31, 2018, http://antiksmyrna.com/88-Kurulus_Tarihce.

14 Fikret K. Yegül, “Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the Cities of Asia Minor” (Conference held at the American Academy in Rome to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the excavations at Cosa, 14-16 May 1998).

15 Asia province had a limited self-governance through a regional council called *Koinon/Concilium provinciae*. The council was formed by upper class citizens, governor and other Roman officials who not only supported the imperial agenda but also promoted Roman imperial cult. Andrew Findley, “The Monumental Province: Asia and the Temples of the Roman Empire” (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2013), 8.

16 Yegül, “Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the Cities of Asia Minor.”

17 William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, vol. 2, *An Urban Appraisal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 272.

18 Yegül, “Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the Cities of Asia Minor.”

19 Yegül, “Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the Cities of Asia Minor.”

20 Wulf Raeck, “Ein Gott für den Kaisertempel: Archäologisches vom Trajaneum in Pergamon,” *Antike Welt* 30, no. 2 (1999): 106. Roman emperors were welcomed to temples as *synnaoi theoi* - coinhabitants by established deities. Deified emperors could be worshipped on different levels from simple altars to complex sanctuaries. In order to worship the emperor on the highest level, by setting up an imperial cult temple and becoming a *neokoros* - temple guardian, a city had to receive the rare approval of the Senate and the Emperor in Rome. This right was given to Pergamon twice, as well as to Ephesus and Smyrna. However, Pergamon was the first city to gain this right among the three rival cities. Becoming *neokoroi* was prestigious and instrumental for the officials of a city as it enabled them to be representatives in Rome’s central power and increase the ranking of their home cities.

21 See “Ancient Smyrna Excavations.”

to be sacrificed.²² Quintus thought “Who on earth deserves to be called *Roman* more than the Smyrnians, who swore by these rules?” The Senator was planning to investigate Smyrna thoroughly on his way back, the night was hiding all the view away from his eyes, so for that night he decided it was enough.

Quintus received the details of the road between Pergamon and Smyrna from Aristides. As Aristides was a steadfast servant of Asclepius and a patient recently cured in Asklepeion, he knew the road very well.²³ During the eighth day on the road the group had left several other cities behind and finally reached Elaia to camp overnight. Elaia was the harbour city of Pergamon; a maritime satellite facing the Aegean sea, at the mouth of Kaikos.²⁴ The city was guarded with well-built fortifications on land and two towers overlooking the sea. The group entered the city from the northeast gate. Following the main street/ central city wall towards southwest, passing through neat insulae, they reached the quay brimming with life. Quintus felt a relief as he knew they were only half a day away from Pergamon.²⁵

On the dawn of May 12 in 147 AD, following the paved road from Elaia towards northeast, Quintus and his squad finally reached the Kaikos plain. Neatly arranged farms and fields were scattered over the landscape, dotted with towering houses, public buildings and people. This plain was the very source that bowed down and fed the city of Pergamon.²⁶ Soon, Quintus saw the silhouette of the city in the distance. Just as Aelius Aristides had described; it was “wonderful to look at from every side, almost a lonely peak in the province”.²⁷ Galloping forward, the group first came across the suburban thermal bath in the plain.²⁸ When the thermal bath was left behind, they realized several tumuli along with tombs that marked the entrance to the city.²⁹ Before the city of the living opened its doors, the city of the dead welcomed the travellers.³⁰ As the group proceeded, they were greeted by the acropolis of the town high in

22 Yegül, “Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the Cities of Asia Minor.”

23 There is not a consensus for the date of Aristides’ stay in Asclepeion. Yet, the earliest date is offered to be around 145-146 AD, 20 years before the publication of his first *Hieroi Logoi*, which is in line with our imaginary journey. See Janet Downie, “Proper Pleasures: Bathing and Oratory in Aelius Aristides’ *Hieros Logos I* and *Oration 33*,” in *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, ed. William V. Harris and Brooke Holmes (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 115-30.

24 Recent research has shown that Elaia was Pergamon’s main harbour, connected to the city by Bakırçay river (Ancient Greek: Κάϊκος, transliterated as Kaikos). See Felix Pirson et al., “Elaia: Eine aiolische Polis im Dienste der hellenistischen Residenzstadt Pergamon?” in *Urbane Strukturen und bürgerliche Identität im Hellenismus*, ed. Albrecht Matthaei and Martin Zimmermann (Heidelberg: Verlag Antike, 2015), 22-55; Stefan Feuser, Felix Pirson, and Martin Seeliger, “The Harbour Zones of Elaia – The Maritime city of Pergamon,” in *Harbours as Objects of Interdisciplinary Research – Archaeology + History + Geosciences*, eds. Falko Daim, Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, Peter Ettl, and Ursula Warne (Mainz: RGZM, 2018), 91-103.

25 Külzer, “Roads and Routes.”

26 Martin Zimmermann, “Die Chora von Pergamon: Neue Forschungen im Umland der Königsmetropole,” *Antike Welt*, no. 5 (2011): 18-22. As Zimmermann puts it, Pergamon city and countryside were closely linked in economic, social and political terms.

27 Felix Pirson, “Metropolis Pergamon: Eine antike Stadt und ihre Erforschung im Wandel,” *Antike Welt*, no. 5 (2011): 9. The sentence is quoted from Aristides, *Or.* 23.

28 Felix Pirson et al., “Pergamon – 2018 Yılı Çalışmaları Raporu” (41. Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu, Diyarbakır, 17-21 June 2019). Named as Cleopatra by the locals, this suburban thermal bath is 4 km to the southwest of Roman Pergamon and 2 km away from Asclepeion.

29 Pirson et al., “Pergamon – 2018 Yılı Çalışmaları Raporu”; Radt, *Pergamon*, 42, 56. The monumental Yığma Tepe Tumulus is the most recent one to be studied among many tumuli in Pergamon Archaeological Research Project. It would have been the first tumulus to be seen as the group of Quintus approached the city. Maltepe would be the second tumulus to be of note, near the Elaia road.

30 Ute Kelp, “The Necropoleis of Pergamon,” in *Pergamon-A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*, ed. Felix Pirson and Andre-

the distance. Here and there the old, strong fortifications were visible following the natural outlines of the topography but they were mostly obscured by the outer quarters of the city overflowing and encircling them. Quintus raised his head and saw a building clad in white marble, rising above several others, crowning the hill of the acropolis at the highest spot, shining in the morning light to gaze at the newcomers.³¹ This was the Temple of Trajan.³² Trajan as Jupiter Amicalis, along with his successor Hadrian, was overseeing, ruling and protecting the city of Pergamon just as much as any other city of the Empire. For Quintus and his men this was Rome in idea and flesh: The Capitol was watching the capital of the Empire- Rome, at the crossing of the roads, with its Temples of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.³³ The Traianeum of Pergamon was standing at the end of all the roads converging north, rising between the ancient Temples of Dionysos and Athena. As Aelius Aristides had told Quintus, there was no army, not even a soldier in sight.³⁴ Yet, the power of the system and the essence of this power, the Roman army, was existent in the body of this building because Jupiter was the main deity of the Empire and the patron of the Roman army. Though the Traianeum was surrounded by many monumental buildings of the Acropolis, it was still dominating the whole landscape.³⁵ It was the major Roman stamp on the former Hellenistic body of Pergamon. Quintus silently hailed his deified emperors and proceeded.

The group passed by several tombs in the necropolis before entering the residential district. Quintus could see the long history of Pergamon on these tombs which embraced Latin and Greek at the same time; a Roman city in the present which did not let go of its Greek past.³⁶ Finally, they arrived to the colonnaded street/ sacred way. The street, lined with shops selling all sorts of Pergamene goods, was slowly awakening. The smell of the freshly baked bread and cooking food was enticing but Quintus had to find the noble Aulus Julius Quadratus.³⁷ He was sure that Quadratus would welcome them well. So the sacred way had led them through

as Scholl (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014), 354-79.

31 Radt, *Pergamon*, 208; Raeck, "Ein Gott für den Kaisertempel," 108.

32 Raeck, "Ein Gott für den Kaisertempel," 108. Trajan accompanied Zeus Philios/Jupiter Amicalis in this temple. While choosing the location of the temple, the builders considered the regional effect of the sanctuary and made sure the landmark was visible to visitors approaching from the coast along Kaikos from a great distance. The relationship with the city and its proximity signalled a similar approach in Rome.

33 Onians, *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*, 174.

34 Yegül argues that the existence of troops in Asia province is limited to the countryside. The military zone of the province is detected along the Euphrates. He refers to Aristides. For a discussion see Yegül, "Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the Cities of Asia Minor." The military zone on the west of Asia Minor is lined along Dacia. For the detailed map of the Roman Empire in 125 AD together with military bases, see "Roman Empire," Wikipedia, accessed May 29, 2011, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bb/Roman_Empire_125.png.

35 "3D Model of Pergamon," Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, accessed May 1, 2020, <https://www.dainst.org/en/projekt/-/project-display/14186>.

36 Kelp, "The Necropoleis of Pergamon," 362, 368. Pergamon entered Roman rule in 133 BC. Architrave pieces of a funerary monument from 132 BC commemorating the Roman legate P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who died in Pergamon, was found opposite the Red Hall (though built much later) along the possible route of the Sacred Way. The architrave pieces contained a bilingual inscription of Latin and Greek. However, by early 2nd century AD, due to the ongoing transformation of the Roman Pergamon, the sepulchral monuments were integrated into the architecture of the Sacred Way, which changed the road from an "Avenue of Tombs" to *Via Tecta*. Still, our imaginary group would have come across tombs on the way.

37 Quadratus was a rich noble of Pergamon who donated a lot to the construction and celebration of Traianeum between 114 and 129. See Radt, *Pergamon*, 208-11. He became a consul in Rome twice. If he was to meet our Quintus, he must have been living his elderly ages then.

the baths onto the Forum. The Forum was an open space of roughly 350 by 890 Roman feet, surrounded by colonnades on all sides alike.³⁸ The pillars that supported the roof were huge marble statues of Egyptian Gods.³⁹ To the east Quintus realized an even longer colonnade of marble serving to the Sanctuary of Egyptian Gods. Behind the propylon rose the round temples themselves with a rectangular one in between, totally clad with marble and finished with architectural details of Egyptian tradition.⁴⁰ For the Roman of the second century it was not surprising to find the Egyptian gods in the heart of a city in Asia Minor.⁴¹ The Empire was celebrating the eastern gods as much as the -mostly converted to Roman- members of the Greek Pantheon along with deified emperors.⁴² Quintus knew both the Traianeum and the Temples of the Egyptian Gods were built during the reign of Hadrian. Though the outcome was different, for the Senator both served the same purpose: these edifices stood there to visualize the power of Rome, either by their massive scale or their imposing location.⁴³ They were the solid evidence of compromise between Rome and her conquered provinces, which erased conflicts that could have arisen from past and present identities.⁴⁴ So, it wasn't the content but the siting of the Sanctuary itself over the line of the river Selinus that made the whole ensemble remarkable for the Senator. Yet, Quintus knew only Rome could take the Nile from Egypt and reincarnate it within Selinus of Pergamon in Asia Minor to welcome Serapis.

In the Forum, Quintus and his men were immediately recognized and a few minutes later they were greeted by Quadratus. He took them to his house on the street overlooking the Forum. The entrance facade of the house was far from attractive (a plain wall with the only opening being the entrance door flanked by shops on both sides) and Quintus was frustrated for a moment. But this moment only lasted a few seconds until he stepped into the house. The group was welcomed by an atrium filled with light and the sound of the flowing water, extending to the right and left with symmetrical exedras, embellished with the masks of Quadratus' ancestors,⁴⁵ and reaching as far as the lush green peristyle garden on the same line at the back of the house.⁴⁶ It was a piece of nature captured inside. Yet, it was not pure nature itself, it was modified and challenged under the hands of the Roman. Just like the regular grids of the roads that had taken Quintus so easily from the plain into the city and the Forum, the house was designed to lead its visitors from the entrance to its interior.⁴⁷ The Senator had the same familiar feeling again: This house was so new to him, yet if he closed his eyes he could have imagined that he was in his house back in the skirts of the Capitol.

38 Radt, *Pergamon*, 200.

39 Martin Bachmann, "Roms Großbaustelle in Pergamon: Forschung und Konservierungsarbeiten an der Roten Halle," *Antike Welt*, no. 5 (2011): 23-9.

40 Bachmann, "Roms Großbaustelle in Pergamon," 28.

41 Radt, *Pergamon*, 204.

42 Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 1998), 134.

43 Ulrich Mania, "The Red Hall – a Pergamene Pantheon?" in *Pergamon-A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*, ed. Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014), 524-41. Red Hall is the biggest Roman building complex in Asia Minor.

44 Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*, 142.

45 Onians, *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*, 170. It was an occasion to put the masks of ancestors in nobles' houses.

46 Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 1985), 201.

47 Norberg-Schulz, *Meaning in Western Architecture*, 89.

After a long breakfast and good rest Quadratus had offered to take the group to Asklepiion in the afternoon. Quintus was very eager to go as he wanted to meet Gallieanus⁴⁸, the doctor there and see the famous Sanctuary of Asclepius where a cure was offered for any type of illness as stated by Aelius Aristides.⁴⁹ The sacred way leading to the Asclepiion was not far from Quadratus' house. Soon they were walking on the busy road towards southwest shaded with vaults overhead.⁵⁰ They passed by the theater and as they approached the Sanctuary, Quintus realized the votives being sold in the shops. He bought some for himself and his family. While walking under the shades of the vaulted street, turning abruptly to the west, the group entered the huge courtyard of the propylon of the Sanctuary.⁵¹ Quintus blinked his eyes to get used to the bright sunlight hitting the open space.⁵² The light was reflected over the bodies of the worshippers and pilgrims gathered here, all dressed in white. The group walked towards the entrance amongst the crowd. Before descending down the stairs, Quintus saw the sacred rules of rituals in Asclepiion.⁵³ These rules were set in place centuries ago, some had been left out along the way, yet they were the symbols of a continuous place of worship and healing. Down the steps of Propylon was an even bigger courtyard surrounded with stoas on three sides. Walking, praying and talking people were everywhere. At the center of it all, the old temple of Asclepius stood with a fountain of sacred water in the front. Quintus remembered Aelius Aristides again; "the water flows from the very steps on which the temple stands", "it arises from the temple and the feet of the Saviour".⁵⁴ Next to the fountain, the incubation hall was seen. So the first thing that Quintus realized in the sacred courtyard was the grand past of the sanctuary.⁵⁵ The group walked towards the fountain, trying to open their way through the crowd, to reach the water which was the first cure for the patients in Asclepiion.⁵⁶ When

48 Galen was a famous doctor of Pergamon, who owed his fame to curing the gladiators in the amphitheatre. See Radt, *Pergamon*, 210.

49 Aristides made many references to the Asclepiion in his *Hieroi Logoi*. For example, *Or. 39, On the well in the Sanctuary of Asclepius*. Donald A. Russell, "Texts and Translations," in *In Praise of Asclepius: Aelius Aristides, Selected Prose Hymns*, eds. Donald A. Russell, Michael Trapp, and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 39.

50 Kelp, "The Necropoleis of Pergamon," 368.

51 Kelp, "The Necropoleis of Pergamon," 368.

52 Milena Melfi, "The Archaeology of the Asclepiion of Pergamum," in *In Praise of Asclepius: Aelius Aristides, Selected Prose Hymns*, eds. Donald A. Russell, Michael Trapp, and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 105. Aristides talks about this space in *Or. 48.27* as "I thought that I stood within the *propylon* of the sanctuary and that many others had assembled, just as when purification takes place, and that they were clad in white."

53 Melfi, "The Archaeology of the Asclepiion of Pergamum," 105-6. *Lex Sacra* contained the ritual rules from 4th century BC which were already modified by 2nd century AD. The use of the same panel of rules could have been accepted as a symbol which displayed an earlier phase of the ritual, thus highlighting the antiquity of the cult and its present existence at the same time; a mirror of the dialogue between Greek past and Roman present.

54 Melfi, "The Archaeology of the Asclepiion of Pergamum," 92. Quoted from Aristides, *Or. 39.2*.

55 Melfi, "The Archaeology of the Asclepiion of Pergamum," 106. When a visitor was entering the sanctuary through the *propylon*, the Roman era buildings would be left behind and the view would be focused on the older, traditional buildings of 4th century BC. The old temple/altar of Asclepius was directly placed on the axis of the *propylon*. The incubation hall was next to it. The most central position was reserved for the old fountain for drawing water, most directly linked to the ritual around the temple and altar of Asclepius. Only after reaching the fountain that the visitor could have finally turned around to see the new, larger buildings of the sanctuary from Roman era.

56 "For it is a fine and pleasant thing, both for the user and for the spectator who on the one hand sees the people standing round the lip of the well in the summer like a swarm of bees or flies around a milk pail, seeking from dawn to guard against the coming heat, preferring it to any other drink that prevents or restrains thirst – or on the other when the ice is hard, and a man puts out his hand, washes it, and becomes warmer and more comfortable." Russell, "Texts and Translations," 43.

Quintus turned around, next to the Propylon, he could see the round temple of Zeus Asclepius Soter, almost a copy of the Pantheon.⁵⁷ They had spent a lot of time at different parts of the Sanctuary. Quintus talked with Gallieanus about his aching leg joints. He drank and bathed in⁵⁸ the sacred waters of the sanctuary, worshipped to Asclepius and made offerings for healing and layed down in the temple to sleep until the sun was ready to set down.

When the evening came along it was time to go to the Amphitheatre to watch the naval games.⁵⁹ Walking back the sacred way, proceeding to the north of the theater, Quintus could hear the roaring crowd as they approached the Amphitheater set on a stream near the Selinus. The senator did not care much about the details of the structure. Pergamon was bestowed an amphitheater and it was a privilege to be granted to only three cities in Asia. Still, he thought, “nothing like the Colosseum”.⁶⁰ But he was really entertained that evening as he observed the maquette ships and gladiators play over the water on the stage.

The next day Quintus and his men went to the Acropolis and paid visits to Traianeum and other sacred sites. From the terrace of the Traianeum, Quintus could see Pergamon more clearly. They were close to the heart of the ancient Pergamon, yet everywhere was the stamp of Rome. It was a fountain and colonnade here, a triumphal arch and a statue there.⁶¹ The acropolis was the head of Pergamon. Down the hill was lying the body, complete with the forum, baths, theater, amphitheater, stadium/ hippodrome and several temples. Streets, colonnades, gates and bridges were connecting them, which were embraced with houses and shops, too. “Perfect...” said Quintus, “Pergamon will contribute to the games beyond our expectations”.

Surely it was not an easy task to take a deeply rooted Hellenistic town like Pergamon and turn it into a Roman city like the one Quintus was experiencing and enjoying. If we were to ask the people of Pergamon, they would say that they have worked hard. And it was true.

When Pergamon first chose to be Roman, the city was flourishing but the land was not enough as the city was contained within the fortifications. Not every person had the same reach to all amenities. So the people were in need of the peace that would be brought on by Rome and develop Pergamon. Yet, financially they were on their own. They had to pay taxes and make the necessary adjustments. Their approach to architecture had to be flexible, free of fixed rules or recipes but dependent on principles.⁶² Only this way could they finish works on time. Indeed, if Quintus had a second look at even the most “perfect” structure in town, the Traianeum, he would detect many flaws.⁶³ The construction was pressured under the decreasing time before the visit of Hadrian, so the latest parts to be added were either unfinished, semi-finished or wrongly executed. Similarly, the structures of Asclepius were indeed far from being perfect.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 2:259.

⁵⁸ “This same water serves for purification in the sanctuary, and for men to drink, to wash in, and to take delight in seeing.” Russell, “Texts and Translations,” 45.

⁵⁹ Pirson et al., “Pergamon – 2018 Yılı Çalışmaları Raporu.”

⁶⁰ The amphitheater was inspired by the Colosseum. It is believed that the amphitheater was strategically placed on the stream near Selinus and the stage was filled with the stream water to hold naval battles. See Pirson et al., “Pergamon – 2018 Yılı Çalışmaları Raporu.”

⁶¹ Radt talks about many modifications carried out on the upper town, formerly Hellenistic buildings, during the Roman period. See Radt, *Pergamon*.

⁶² Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 9.

⁶³ Radt, *Pergamon*, 208.

⁶⁴ Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture*, 14.

Actually, almost all the cities Quintus had visited had to go through a similar transformation. Stripped free of the burdens of previous wars, the cities had concentrated their efforts on trade and urbanization. None of the western Anatolian cities were alike, each employed different buildings and programmes. Yet, Quintus would easily call them *Roman*. It wasn't the single buildings themselves that made a city *Roman* in character. It was the way how they were bound together. The city armature/ skeleton of the city, formed by roads, streets, supported by gates and arches, dressed with columns/pilasters of several orders was the unifying element and the secret of "Romanization".⁶⁵ While implementing a certain agenda dictated by the Empire, the old Anatolian Greek cities of the region kept their identities and culture but welcomed new elements of Roman identity as well. Thus, the Roman cities of 2nd century AD in western Anatolia were not created from scratch but rather adapted from a Greek past into a Roman future. In this respect, Romanization equalled to the creation of Mediterraneanism by gathering the fragmented identities of the pre-Roman world into a unity: A unity defined by diversities rather than similarities.

⁶⁵ MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 2:259.

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