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Prof. Dr. Jale İnan
ve
Ord. Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal'ı kaybettik,
saygıyla anıyoruz...

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Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörü Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a
Teşekkür Ederiz.

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İçindekiler/Contents

EVOLUTION OF COLONNADED AVENUES IN THE ROMAN CITYSCAPE: ROLE OF CILICIA

(LEV. 6)

Suna GÜVEN*

ÖZET

Gerçek anlamda birer bina sayılmamakla birlikte, sütunlu caddeler Roma kent peyzajının çok önemli bir ögesini oluştururlar. Bu bağlamda, William MacDonald'ın da irdelediği gibi, Roma kenti içinde bulunan sütunlu caddeler yalnızca iletişim ve bağlantı araçları olmanın çok ötesinde bir işleve sahiptirler. Mimari ayrıntıları ile birlikte kentsel doku içerisindeki vurgulu ve yaygın görünümleriyle, kentin görsel imgesi ve iskeletinin (*armature*) kurgulanmasında temel bir rol oynarlar. Bu bakımdan, sütunlu caddelerin ortaya çıkması ve gelişmesinin Roma kent kavramının oluşumunda önemli birer basamak taşı olduğu söylenebilir. Bildiri Kilikya'nın bu oluşumdaki rolünü ön plana çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

In one of his presentations for the Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures[1], George M.A. Hanfmann began his talk on Roman urban renewal with a light-hearted quotation from Catullus: "Ad claras Asiae volemus urbes (46.6)/let us fly to the famous cities of Asia".[2] In doing so, like the Latin poet himself, Hanfmann also had in mind the spectacular flourishing cities in the Roman province of Asia like Sardis, Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamum and others. Another great student of Roman architecture in the twentieth century, the British scholar J.B.Ward-Perkins felt no different. According to him, "the cities of southern Asia Minor, though rich in buildings of the Roman period, are architecturally far less important than those of the

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1 These lectures were delivered in Ann Arbor and Rome during 1971 and 1972

2 Hanfmann 1975, 41

western coasts and valleys".[3] In this regard, what Ward-Perkins had to say about architecture and cities in Roman Pamphylia was quite short and not very exciting. On the other hand, his opinion about the architecture of Cilicia on the south-east corner of Asia Minor, was even more disparaging. In the absence of excavations, he simply felt "one could be even briefer"[4] about the architecture in this region.

In a similar vein, George E. Bean excludes Cilicia in his book *Turkey's Southern Shore* although he does admit that "the title of the book seems to promise more than is actually provided" and that "not all the south coast is covered"[5]. He continues by saying: "For this I ask the reader's indulgence, and his patience: I hope, if I am spared to to do something before long to repair the deficiency".[6] Nevertheless, while Bean suggests that there is more to the region than his book includes, he obviously did not feel it to be of an importance to deserve priority.

Yet one has to admit that, in the late sixties and mid-seventies when all these eminent scholars wrote, Roman surveys and excavations in this area fell far short of the ever –increasing number of field expeditions that are in action today– not the least of which are the several new projects in Cilicia initiated and conducted by the young archaeologists of Mersin University in particular, in addition to other local and international projects.

The idea of the city

In the Roman Empire, by the end of the first centuryAD, it may be said that the city had become both the symbol and definition of civilization as pointed out by Kathryn Lomas in her insightful presentation in 1993.[7] If we accept this, it then follows that an understanding of the city, hence urbanization is absolutely necessary to comprehend the method and apparatus of Roman rule and the processes of cultural synthesis under the

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3 Ward-Perkins 1970, 406.

4 Ward-Perkins 1970, 409.

5 Bean 1968, 8.

6 ibid.

7 Lomas1997,21. The Symposium at the University of Leicester was published in 1997 with additions and revisions.

Empire. Therefore, an understanding of the city also implies understanding of the Roman society in a global perspective.[8]

Therefore, in a world where cities, urbanization and civilization appear to be synonymous, the obvious question that comes to mind is: What actually constitutes a city? Buildings, size, scale, or what? When does a city become a city, and not something else? In general, ancient testimony appears to be ambivalent on the subject. While Vitruvius[9] in his *De Architectura libri decem* feels that it is necessary to provide a slate of well-built public buildings for his ideal Augustan city Pausanias[10] is unwilling to regard Panopeus –a small mountain town in Phokis, northern Greece– as a city because it lacked public buildings, a gymnasium, a theater, a public square and fountains. Similarly, both Dio Chrysostom[11] and Aelius Aristides[12] tend to regard the presence of buildings in a city –or their absence– as a veritable index for defining city status.[13]

Model cities and colonnaded avenues

Given the new, unfolding archaeological evidence, it would seem that Cilicia was certainly not a backwater of urbanism during the Roman period. What is more, southern cities in this region possessed special urban features. Literary testimony also acknowledges the presence of cities that had attained an esteemed reputation –as a desired model of urbanization. When Dio of Prusa described for the benefit of the city council what might be looked upon as "model" cities of the late first century, he singled out four cities citing their impressive public buildings. These were: Smyrna, Ephesos, Tarsus and Antioch on the Orontes.[14] It is interesting that only two of these are in the province of Asia, while the other two are in the east

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8 The 50th anniversary of the excavations at Cosa was celebrated by a conference at the American Academy in Rome during 14-16 May 1998 which investigated "the idea of the city as an instrument of Romanization". The insightful contributions are published as Fentress 2000. For a more provocative view of the experience of the Roman city see Laurence 1997.

9 Vitruvius, Preface, 3; Hesberg 1989.

10 Pausanias 10.4.1.

11 Dio Chrysostom 31.159-60

12 Aelius Aristides 14.93-6.

13 Lomas 1997, 23ff.

14 Orations, 40.11.

along the Cilician shore. I am quite aware of the fact that –technically speaking– there is a difference between Syria and Cilicia. But in more practical terms, I think there is a blurring of boundaries in a cultural sense-between western Syria and Cilicia which continues today.[15]

Dio's choice of four impressive cities is interesting enough. But what is more interesting is his enthusiastic recommendation of what he calls "Syrian colonnaded streets" for his native Prusa (modern Bursa) to follow as a desirable example.[16] These are not public buildings or monuments in the traditional sense. Yet their impact in the urban fabric must have been such that Dio deemed them worthy of mention. Moreover, the label of "Syrian" colonnaded streets suggests a regional importance, if not a point of origin. Hence, we might surmise that what made cities like Tarsus and Antioch on the Orontes special were the colonnaded streets. In other words, colonnaded streets would appear to be an eastern innovation whereby certain cities in Cilicia followed suit –becoming upfront representatives of a new urban trend that caught the eye of Dio. In fact, what appears to be a trend of colonnaded streets in this region of the Roman Empire, became part of a general monumentalization that characterized all cities of the Roman east later during the second and third centuries including cities further west in Pamphylia, like Perge.

Hence, it may be said that the monumental colonnaded avenue did not only become an urban institution and the basic structuring device of city form but it also came to be regarded as a significant component of an impressive urban image.[17] In this regard, impressive urban features are certainly not lacking in Cilicia. In addition to the remarks of Dio above –regarding praiseworthy "Syrian colonnades"– Cilicia boasts several well-known examples including the colonnaded streets at Olba-Diokaisareia[18],

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15 The difference may be said to correspond to Strabo's (14.5.1.668) Cilicia Pedias and Cilicia mpestris (or Tracheia and Aspera). For political boundaries involving Syria and Antioch see Mitford 1980, 1238-1241,figs. 1, 2.

16 Orations, 47.16.

17 Studies highlighting the street as an important component of the modern city image have appeared in recent years. See especially Jacobs 1995. The role of the street in the image of the Roman city was no different.

18 Paribeni, Romanelli 1914, 90.

Soli-Pompeiopolis,[19] Tarsus[20] and Antiocheia ad Cragos[21] where the colonnaded street runs not far from the west side of the bath, starting with a ceremonial gate and ending at the agora. Several columns are discernible but considereable fieldwork is necessary to be able to say more. Another colonnaded street also requiring archaeological clearence is at Hieropolis Kastabala[22]. This example stretches for approximately 300m and part of it is visible from the modern asphalt road that links Kastabala to Karatepe-Aslantaş. The evidence for colonnaded streets at Anazarbus, Anemurium, Augusta, Elaioussa Sebaste, Korykos, Mopsuhestia, Selinos, Seleukeia and Syedra is also tantalizing.[23]

More generally speaking, however, while archaeological and literary evidence concerning the presence of colonnaded streets in Cilicia –and by extension Syria, or rather western Syria– is available, even ample, it is insufficiently documented. As a result, the unclear state of the material remains has caused a lack of consensus among modern scholars on some basic matters. The different opinions center mainly around two issues. These two issues are interrelated. One is the date of the colonnaded street. Which is the earliest colonnaded street? Where did it originate? The second is the nature of the colonnaded street: Does any paved walkway with a few erect columns qualify as a colonnaded thoroughfare? Or are there more specific requirements? The intention here is certainly not to provide answers –but to state the problem and some of its aspects with a balanced view in order to clarify the position and role of the Cilician contribution to Roman urbanism. Before doing so, a brief glance at the modern discourse on our contemporary cities will be in order.

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19 Peschlow-Bindokat 1975.

20 The completion of the ongoing excavations under Levent Zoroğlu will provide an important addition to the corpus of colonnaded avenues in the region.

21 Umar 2000, fig 30, 31.

22 Sayar 2000, fig 5; Umar, fig 122, 123;

23 For more information based on the travelers accounts of archaeological remains in Cilician cities in general see the contribution by Emanuela Borgia titled "Archaeology in Cilicia in the 18th and 19th Century Travellers' Notes" in this volume.

Role of streets in the urban fabric

The importance of the Roman colonnaded street is paralleled in modern urban discourse too. To this day, the street appears as the most significant element of urbanism and has been the consistent focus of a number of studies and debates since the beginning of the twentieth century.[24] First in 1910, then in 1933 and again in 1951, The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) formulated some of the most ground-breaking theoretical premises concerning the street. These have provided guidelines and a conceptual framework influencing the practice of architects and urban planners during the twentieth century.

In this respect, the more recent collaborative work of Californian scholars titled *Streets: Critical Perspectives of Public Space* which provides both a historical and contemporary perspective on the role of streets is a pioneering work worth mentioning.[25] Following in this trend, 'great' streets, on their own, have become the subject of monograph length studies.[26] More conceptual studies on the role of streets in the classical world too, Roman in particular, have began to highlight the importance of the street in the ancient urban fabric.[27] Whether ancient or modern, it is now clear that not only are streets themselves monumentalized but, in turn, they serve to-using Ball's words-"make the city a single monument" by bringing about an overall architectural unity.[28]

In an experiential sense, there is no doubt that Roman streets provided both psychological and physical freedom from the congestion of the city fabric. Unfortunately the present material state of Roman streets today is rather misleading. More often than not, "the walkway roofs are gone, together with the bordering shops or other buildings".[29] As MacDonald so perceptively points out, the actual experience cannot be compensated by

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24 Barlas 1994; Barlas 1998.

25 Çelik, Favro, Ingersoll 1994: see also Jacobs 1995.

26 See Driggs et al. 2001.

27 Pekary 1968; Yegül 1994a and 1994b.

28 Ball 2000, 262.

29 MacDonald 1986, 43.

partially preserved entablatures. In this respect, there is a major loss of structural and formal context –because the staccato rhythm of columns appear not subordinate to a larger urban concept, but rather, lined up for their own sake in architectonic isolation. MacDonald also points out how "the kinetic implications of steps made a thoroughfare an outdoor building, more architectural and more in keeping with the forms of the surrounding buildings, than streets undifferentiated from the road levels besides them."[30] Unlike their more limited role in the Greek city, streets assumed an importance in their own right both in the projection and formation of the urban fabric during the Roman period. This new form derived, to a certain extent, from a synthesis of the Greek stoa and the *viae porticatae*.[31]

The evidence

The colonnaded streets of the Roman East either extant, or known from archaeological, literary and graphic evidence have been variously listed and discussed by many.[32] As revealed by numerous examples, they could take different forms as shown by Segal in the evolution of the colonnaded streets in Antioch on the Orontes, Hellenistic Apamea, Palmyra and Roman Apamea.[33] While opinions differ because standardization is not common –if one could suggest a prerequisite for identifying a Roman colonnaded thoroughfare– and not just a side street –this might be that 1) The colonnades run on both sides –not just on one side, or partially along the way, and that 2) They traverse the entire length of the town or city in question.

Going back to the thorny issue of dating colonnaded avenues[34], we are confronted by the incomplete state of the archaeological testimony. Some

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30 MacDonald 1986, 46.

31 Coulton 1976, 177-178.

32 Ball 2000, 261-272; Erol 1992; Lehmann-Hartleben 1929, 2109-2110; MacDonald 1986, 33-51; Segal 1997, 5-53; Anabolu 1980; Waelkens 1989, 77-88.

33 For the graphic comparison of Antioch on the Orontes, Hellenistic Apamea, Palmyra and Roman Apamea see Ball 2000, 265, fig. 67. See also the classification by McDonald 1988, 33 (criteria), 41-42 (comparison).

34 Robertson 1983, 291.

of the evidence –such as Augusta Ciliciae– has disappeared altogether.[35] While most extant colonnaded avenues date from the second and third centuries, the earliest one built is still open to debate. As revealed by the inscriptional and literary evidence, the earliest instance of the colonnaded avenue may not be extant.[36] The question of whether the colonnaded avenues at Olba and Pompeiopolis belong to the time of Augustus or Tiberius –as suggested by the inscriptions– depends on ascertaining that the inscriptions were set up as the streets were built. On the other hand, Antioch on the Orontes is also often pointed out as the earliest instance of the colonnaded thoroughfare going back to the time of Herod the Great, King of Judea in 30/20 BC.[37] The argument evolves around the testimony of Josephus and Malalas.[38] Once again, the question is based on how the literary testimony is interpreted. Nevertheless, while Herod was indeed responsible for commissioning the main street, whether he was also responsible for the roofed colonnade as well is questioned. Some modern scholars claim it seems likely that while Herod actually paved the street, the roofed colonnades may have been built by Tiberius later. Yet Roller[39] considers Herods' role in facilitating the synthesis of Greek and Roman forms to be formative. According to this view, the Herodian project at Antioch combines the Pergamene or Alexandrian type of portico along the length of a street. As such, it constitutes the genesis of the colonnaded avenue as a new building type of Imperial synthesis. Not far from Antioch, the promising excavations of Prof. Levent Zoroğlu are bringing to light the monumental avenue at Tarsus. The final results of this excavation may shed light on the vexing question of early origins.

Among the surviving colonnaded streets, none are said to be earlier than the first century. Hence, the northern part of the Ionic *cardo maximus* at Gerasa (modern Jarash) dated to the late first century AD is usually regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest colonnaded avenue.[40] Yet

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35 The fragmentary evidence mentioned by Gough 1956, 175 is now under water.

36 Heberday and Wilhelm 1896, 84, 87; Peschlow-Bindokat 1975, 377-379.

37 Downey 1961, 173-174; Lassus 1972, 140-151; MacDonald 1986, 43-44; Segal 1997, 9.

38 Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, 16.148; Jewish War;1.425; Malalas, 223.17-19.

39 Roller 1998, 100.

40 Ball 2000, 266; Segal 1997, 5, 49.

if Hanfmann's date[41] for the Main Avenue of Sardis –built soon after the great earthquake in 17 AD– is correct, this would precede the colonnade at Gerasa.

Regardless of the problems concerning the date and nature of colonnaded avenues, some scholars like Warwick Ball will go so far to state that "colonnaded streets perhaps constitute the most common element of Roman eastern architecture, sharply defining the difference with the west more than any other feature".[42] On the other hand, MacDonald emerges with a more balanced view maintaining that colonnades were not entirely limited to eastern provinces; he supports his contention with the evidence in western cities like Stobi, Lepcis Magna, Timgad, Djemila, Vaison la Romaine and others.[43] Given pragmatic considerations though, the sheltering function of covered colonnades in arid climates would seem to have a more compelling reason for existence.

Setting aside the rather artificial binary polarities of East and West, I would recapitulate to say that the colonnaded streets at Olba-Diocaesareia and Soli-Pompeiopolis in Cilicia are still considered amongst the early examples of colonnaded thoroughfares (figs. 1-3). These are also the ones that boast idiosyncratic features of Syria such as consoles and the so-called wind-swept capitals at Pompeiopolis. What is more, Pompeiopolis represents an extraordinary example of an axial colonnaded avenue that is combined with a curvilinear harbor facade thus highlighting the role of Cilicia in advanced urbanism.[44] Excavations here continue under the able direction of Dr. Remzi Yağcı of Mersin University.[45] Hopefully his results –together with those of Prof Zoroğlu at Tarsus– will have important implications for clarifying dating sequences, as well as more specific issues pertaining to the connections, layout and form of the colonnaded avenues, hence, further clarification of the Cilician contribution to urban decvelopment in the Roman Empire.

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41 Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 31; Hanfmann 1975, 49.

42 Ball 2000, 261.

43 MacDonald 1986, 44.

44 Güven 2001.

45 Yağcı 2001; Yağcı 2002.

The colonnaded avenue in Pompeiopolis

Because of its wide ranging implications I would like to concentrate a bit more on the colonnaded ensemble at Pompeiopolis.[46] The city received the name of Pompeiopolis (from Soli) after being re-founded by Pompey the Great who settled pirates there. In due course, Pompeiopolis received all the rights of a free city and developed into a magnificent port town reaching its peak in the second and third centuries of Roman rule. The city stands as an example of numerous success stories that were both the evidence and the witness to the application of Pax Romana. During the reign of Hadrian an ambitious urban renewal scheme –when the harbor and the colonnaded street received a face-lift– was carried out. Hadrian's visit to the region during 130 AD had sparked a flurry of building activity in several southern cities of Asia Minor. The grandiose maritime project at Pompeiopolis was probably a response to the same impetus for building.

While Asia Minor is no stranger to spectacular curvilinear design in the imperial era –as seen in the magnificent ensemble symmetrically set against the curved rock at Antioch in Pisidia– its marvellous fulfillment in the context of a port at Pompeiopolis[47]–complete with a bold, axial, colonnaded avenue– signals the apotheosis of this kind of architectural extravaganza. Today only thirty-three columns are still standing of the original 200 in an avenue 14.50 m. wide and stretching 450 m.[48] While the grand urban conception is Roman, many idiosyncratic stylistic features point to a more local provenance –culturally and geographically. Consoles that once carried statues are a feature of the Roman East closer to Syria, rather than the west. Whether the consoles carried the statues of dead or alive persons, these images were constantly and unavoidably integrated with the daily life as the citizens walked back and forth, day after day under vigilant gaze. One might compare this experience by that of standing under dozens of portraits in funerary temples of Syrian cities such as Palmyra.

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46 Verzone 1957, 58-59; Beaufort 1817, 240ff.; For views (some romanticized) and references of early travelers in Soli-Pompeiopolis see Erten 2002. An almost ecstatic experience of the colon nade and the Corinthian order in the 50s is conveyed by Gough 1954, 133-135.

47 Lehmann-Hartleben 1923; Vann 1993a; Vann 1993b; Vann 1995Peschlow-Bindokat 1975.

48 Peschlow-Bindokat 1975.

Close parallels of the consoles placed on columns at Pompeiopolis may be seen in neighboring Olba Diocaesareia or in the magnificent colonnaded avenues in Bosra, Gerasa[49], Palmyra,[50] Petra[51], Damascus in Jordan and Syria today. Other features like arches above colonnades –if the masonry stubs above the capitals may be interpreted as such– or the so-called wind-swept style in which the acanthus leaves of some Composite capitals are petrified in an elegant swirl also belong in this region.[52]

Maritime urbanism

Returning to the implications of the urban project at Pompeiopolis, it was considered to be important enough to be engraved on a commemorative coin issue, currently in the Newell Collection of the American Numismatic Society. The date of the harbor coin has been convincingly set by Aline Boyce as a commemorative issue simultaneously honoring both the bicentenary foundation of the city by Pompey the Great as well as the completion of the harbor project began by Hadrian, in the time of Antoninus Pius.[53] The coin may be compared with those of Ostia and Side that depicted similar subjects.[54]

At Pompeiopolis, the seaward embellishment –the maritime front of the city– gave visual articulation to the colonnaded avenue that lay behind. We know that imperial munificence, in this case expressed in building, was an integral feature of imperial office and the necessary public image. Hence, the magnificent harbor at Pompeiopolis sparkling with its marble colonnades became the mnemonic for the benefits of Roman rule, while the coin constituted the visual that disseminated the message in a form reduced to its essentials. The rhythmic march of straight and erect columns leading to and encircling the harbor thus became the metaphor for the sustained

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49 Browning 1982, figures 24, 25, 27, plates 2, 4a.

50 Browning 1979, figures 100, 101, 113, 114,115.

51 Browning 1995,142 ff., cover, map 4.

52 There are also examples of the wind-swept style at Qalat Siman in Syria which were pointed out to me by Charles Gates during a tour. A few examples are seen in the garden display of Urfa Museum.

53 Boyce 1958; see also Imhoof-Blumer 1898.

54 Donaldson 1966, 332-340, no. LXXXIX and XC.

march of he bearers of Pax Romana. These distilled veterans shaped in stone also helped to shape the desired image of Romanitas. They had the dual role of developing consciousness while also impressing, in order to give visual and tangible authentication to Roman peace and power.

On a more overall note, the evidence of cities like Pompeiopolis attest to a brilliant flourish in avant-garde eastern urbanism in Cilicia. Being far from Rome but close to Syria, imparted a local flair and free licence in shaping the Romanized outlook in this area. While the sinister encroachment of modernization continues to take its toll, new excavations may provide further clues to elucidate the role of Cilicia in the eastern urbanism of the Roman Empire.

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Fig. 1 Colonnaded avenue at Soli-Pompeiopolis (photo: Suna Güven)

Fig. 2 Consoles on columns at Soli Pompeiopolis (photo: Suna Güven)

Fig. 3 Consoles on columns at Olba Diocaesareia (photo: Suna Güven)