THE AMPHITHEATRE OF PERGAMON: CULTURAL IDENTITY AND URBAN PHYSIOGNOMY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

AYŞE BİKE BAYKARA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

JULY 2024

Approval of the thesis:

THE AMPHITHEATER OF PERGAMON: CULTURAL IDENTITY AND URBAN PHYSIOGNOMY

submitted by **AYŞE BIKE BAYKARA** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy of History of Architecture, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences ____________________

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Berrin ÇAKMAKLI
Head of Department
Department of Architecture ____________________

Prof. Dr. Suna GÜVEN
Supervisor
Department of Architecture ____________________

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pelin YONCACI ARSLAN (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Architecture ____________________

Prof. Dr. Suna GÜVEN (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Architecture ____________________

Prof. Dr. Felix PIRSON
DAI German Archaeological Institute ____________________

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zeynep AKTÜRE
Izmir Institute of Technology
Department of Architecture ____________________

Assist. Prof. Dr. İdil ÜÇER KARABABA
Bilgi University
Department of Interior Design ____________________

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Ayşe Bike Baykara

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE AMPHITHEATRE OF PERGAMON: CULTURAL IDENTITY AND URBAN PHYSİOGNOMY

Baykara, Ayşe Bike
Ph.D., The Department of History of Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Suna Güven

July 2024, 275 pages

The amphitheater was the quintessential Roman building. At Rome, the Flavian amphitheater stood as a singularly impressive Roman monument and both a signifier and a modifier of Roman imperialism and ideology. In the provinces, especially in the west, the amphitheater was essential to a Roman town. In the Eastern provinces, however, they were few, and one of the only four in Asia Minor was located in Pergamon, a city with a deep and lasting Hellenistic identity. Why here, then? Why Pergamon? This study aims to examine the Pergamene amphitheater while exploring the relationship between Rome and Pergamon, the variety of cultural influences in between, and how these influences impacted Pergamon, especially the Pergamene amphitheater. By considering multiple sides of cultural exchange and the amphitheater as focal points of identity building, this study will question what it means to be Roman.

Keywords: Roman Architecture, Amphitheater, Pergamon, Romanization, Hellenization

ÖZ

BERGAMA AMFİTYATROSU: KÜLTÜREL KİMLİK VE KENTSEL FİZYONOMİ

Baykara, Ayşe Bike
Doktora, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Suna Güven

Temmuz 2024, 275 sayfa

Amfitiyatro tipik bir Roma binasıydı. Roma'da Kolezyum, benzersiz derecede etkileyici bir Roma anıtı ve Roma emperyalizminin ve ideolojisinin hem göstereni hem de değiştiricisi olarak duruyordu. Eyaletlerde, özellikle de batıda, amfitiyatro bir Roma kenti için vazgeçilmezdi. Ancak Doğu illerinde sayıları azdı ve Küçük Asya'daki dört ilden biri, derin ve kalıcı bir Helenistik kimliğe sahip bir şehir olan Bergama'da bulunuyordu. O halde neden burada? Neden Bergama? Bu çalışma, Bergama amfitiyatrosunu inceleyerek Roma ve Bergama arasındaki ilişkiyi, aradaki kültürel etkilerin çeşitliliğini ve bu etkilerin Bergama'yı, özellikle de Bergama amfitiyatrosunu nasıl etkilediğini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Kültürel alışverişin birçok yönünü ve amfitiyatroyu kimlik inşasının odak noktaları olarak ele alan bu çalışma, Romalı olmanın ne anlama geldiğini sorgulayacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Roma Mimarlığı, Amfitiyatro, Pergamon, Romanizasyon, Hellenizasyon

To my family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the Pergamon Excavation team, especially the Amphitheater excavation team. They have been nothing but welcoming, and my discussions with İhsan Yeneroğlu have been especially invaluable in my understanding of the Pergamon Amphitheater.

I am deeply and forever grateful to my advisor, Prof. Dr. Suna Güven, whose classes inspired me to from the start. Without her unwavering support and wisdom, I would not have been here. I would be proud if I could become even half the incredible scholar she is.

My family's constant support has also been invaluable to me. It is not easy to put into words how much their understanding and care means. I am deeply thankful to my brother for listening to me every time I found what I thought was an interesting piece of information, my mother for listening and advising me on all my worries, and my father for being the scholar he is for me to learn from.

Last, but not least, I am thankful to my cats Bıdık for keeping me sane with all her silly shenanigans and Rıfkı for being a gentleman.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii
ABSTRACT iv
ÖZ v
DEDICATION vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS viii
LIST OF FIGURES xi
CHAPTERS
1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. POLITICS AND THE AMPHITHEATER 14
2.1. The Origins and Development of the Amphitheater and the Games 14
2.1.1 The Roman Games 14
2.1.2 The Amphitheater 20
2.3. Significance of the Amphitheater and the Arena Games 23
2.4. The Spatial Experience within the Amphitheater 31
2.4.1 The Seating Order 31
2.4.2 Visual Communication 37
2.4.3 Movement and Circulation System 39
2.5 The Spatial Impact of the Amphitheater 43
3. BETWEEN ROME AND PERGAMON 48
3.1. Rome and Pergamon 48
3.2. “Hellenization” of Rome 55

3.3. The generalization of "Hellenization" 61
3.4. Constructing a Pergamene Identity 67
3.5. The Specificity of "Hellenization" 75
4. ROMANIZATION 87
4.1. What is Romanization? 88
4.1.1. The Romanization of the East 95
4.2. Instruments of Romanization 100
4.2.1. Imperial Cults 101
4.2.2. Festivals 109
4.2.3. The Amphitheater 115
4.3. Romanization 122
5. THE AMPHITHEATER OF PERGAMON 126
5.1. Form 126
5.1.1 The architecture of the Flavian Amphitheater 126
5.1.2 The architecture of the Pergamene Amphitheater 130
5.1.3. The Comparison 133
5.2. Function 139
5.2.1. The Political Function 139
5.2.2. The Religious Function 143
5.2.3. The Entertainment Function 154
6. URBAN PHYSIOGNOMY 157
6.1. The Flavian Amphitheater 157
6.2. The Amphitheater in the Urban Context 164
7. CONCLUSION 182
REFERENCES 189
FIGURES 207

APPENDICES

A. CURRICULUM VITAE 255

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET.. 258

C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU 275

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Golvin's reconstructions for the temporary seating in Forum Romanum

Figure 2: Welch's reconstruction for the temporary seating in Forum Romanum

Figure 3: Photo by Allan T. Kohl. *Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheater)*. 70-82 CE.

Figure 4: Gladiators: a *retiarus* and a *secutor* from Saarbrucken, Germany, 2-3rd century CE

Figure 5: Fresco of Pompeii Amphitheater Riots of 59 CE

Figure 6: Section of the Flavian Amphitheater showing seating areas and passages

Figure 7: Section of the Flavian Amphitheater with the piazza

Figure 8: Diagram of the connection of passages and seating areas in the Flavian amphitheater by Golvin

Figure 9: Plan of Temple of Hercules Musarum

Figure 10: Plan of Porticus Metelli by Senseney, begun after 148 BCE

Figure 11: Part of the Telephos Frieze, Arrival to Mysa, Arming of Telephos and Exodus to Ida, taken before 1933, Collection of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Figure 12: Aeolic Capitals from left: the Treasury of Massilia, Delphi; right the Stoa of Athena, Pergamon

Figure 13: Great Altar South Frieze, Kybele intervenes in the fight, Collection of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Figure 14: Reconstruction of the Mauseleion of Halikarnassos by Candace Smith

Figure 15: Model of a Lykian heroon from Gölbaşı Trysa, late 4th c BCE

Figure 16: Reliefs of a campaign cycle from Lykian Heroon Court Gölbaşı Trysa, late 4th c BCE

Figure 17: Sketch of the view of the Acropolis from the lower city

Figure 18: Statue of the "Capitoline Gaul" ap. 60-30 BCE, the Capitoline Museum

Figure 19: Portrait of Philetairos from Villa of Papyri

Figure 20: Coin of Philetairos by Eumenes I

Figure 21: Mosaic with Alexandrine parakeet, the 'altar chamber' in palace V, Hellenistic, Pergamon, 160–150 BC, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Figure 22: Preening doves, 2nd century CE from Tivoli, Rome Capitoline Museum

Figure 23: House of Ganymede in Morgantina, Room 1 on left, House of the Tuscan Capitals in Morgantina, Room 10 on the right

Figure 24: House of the Arched Cistern in Mogantina, Room 12

Figure 25: The "Pseudo-Seneca" Bronze, Roman copy of an original of ca.200-150 BCE, Naples Archaeological Museum

Figure 26: The Laokoon group, 1st c CE Rome Vatikan Museum

Figure 27: Propylaeum of Porticus Octaviae, after the Severan restoration

Figure 28: Fragments of Marble Plan of Rome with Porticus Octaviae

Figure 29: Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, restored model in Staatliche Museen Berlin, Germany

Figure 30: The Plan of Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros

Figure 31: Porticus Pompeiana in the Marble Plan of Rome

Figure 32: Plan reconstruction of Porticus Pompeiana at Campus Martius with the Temple of Venus Victrix

Figure 33: The Plan of the Colosseum

Figure 34: Copper, Bronze, or Brass Sestertius of Titus, *21.83 g.* 80 CE.

Figure 35: Artist: Anonymous. *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae: Theater of Marcellus*. Engraving, 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 36: Remains of the Amphitheater of Pergamon

Figure 37: Amphitheater of Pergamon from Musalla Mezarlığı Hill

Figure 38: Northern Remains of the Amphitheater of Pergamon by P. Schazmann ca 1908

Figure 39: The South Remains of the Pergamene Amphitheater by P. Schazmann ca 1908

Figure 40: Substructures and the stream of the Amphitheater of Pergamon

Figure 41: The Area of the Amphitheater from the Acropolis Hill

Figure 42: The Plan of the Amphitheater of Pergamon

Figure 43: Pergamon Amphitheater Dig 1 in the *cavea*

Figure 44: Dig 11 in Amphitheater of Pergamon showing steps of the Cavea (left) Seating with Inscriptions (right)

Figure 45: Visual Chart 1 by the author

Figure 46: Visual Chart 2 by the author

Figure 47: Visual Chart 3 by the author

Figure 48: Visual Chart 4 by the author

Figure 49: Visual Chart 5 by the author

Figure 50 The Substructures of the Colosseum showing the underground passage to south east

Figure 51: Sesterius of Augustus depicting Altar of Lugdunum with the processional busts

Figure 52: A *denarius* of Titus from 80 CE showing Titus in the obverse and a draped seat surrounded by winged thunderbolt on the reverse

Figure 53: Plan of Ancient Rome

Figure 54: Elkins’ Plan showing the Flavian Constructions around the Colosseum

Figure 55: Urban Chart 1 by the author; Rome and Pergamon

Figure 56: Urban Chart 2 by the author; Capua and Arles

Figure 57: Urban Chart 3 by the author; Lambaesis and Lepcis Magna

Figure 58: Urban Chart 4 by the author; Deva (Chester), Ptolmeais (Tolmata) and Lucus Feroniae

Figure 59: Urban Chart 5 by the author; Corinth, Pergamon and Mastaura

Figure 60: Plan of Pergamon

Figure 61: View of the Acropolis with Trajeneum

Figure 62: The Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan in Pergamon aka Trajaneum

Figure 63: The Pediment of the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamon

Figure 64: The Plan of Roman era Asclepieion

Figure 65: The Red Hall in Pergamon

Figure 66: One of the rotundas of the Red Hall in Pergamon

Figure 67: The Area of the Amphitheater called Musalla Mezarlığı

Figure 68: Plan of Roman Pergamon showing the alignment of Major buildings in the Roman grid

Figure 69:Analysis of sight lines and the axis between the Asclepieion, the amphitheater and the Trajaneum

Figure 70: Topographical Sections of the Pergamene Amphitheater by the author; AA', BB' and CC' as shown on the city map

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The amphitheater was a uniquely Roman structure displaying Roman values and ideology. This structure has often been presented as a significant instrument of Romanization in the Western Provinces but has not been discussed much in relation to the East.[1] In part this gap is the result of the limited archaeological evidence for amphitheaters in the Eastern provinces. The reason for this scarcity remains still relatively open to question as there has been very little investigation done on the very few amphitheaters that have been uncovered. One such amphitheater, one of the only four in Asia Minor alongside Kyzicus, Anazarbus and Mastaura, is the amphitheater of Pergamon, which presents even more intriguing questions. Pergamon, the capital of the Hellenistic Attalid Kingdom, was one of the best-known centers of Hellenistic art and architecture as the city preserved its character well into the Roman imperial period. As noted, however the amphitheater was a distinctly Roman structure, one that not only represented but also structured and maintained Roman identity. Why was there an amphitheater, a quintessential Roman structure, in Pergamon, a city with strong and lasting Hellenistic identity? Why was there an amphitheater here especially when there were so relatively few in the Greek speaking East overall? How did it function and what did it mean to the people of Pergamon, of the *koinon* of Asia, eastern provinces and others?

Early scholars such as Ludwig Friedlander and Georges Lafaye dismissed the existence of gladiatorial games in the Greek East, arguing for the Greek cultural

---

[1] Alison Futrell, *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (University of Texas Press, 2010), David Bomgardner, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* (London: Routledge, 2021), Katherine E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum*. (Cambridge University Press, 2007)

"superiority" against violent games.[2] However, Louis Robert's excellent work in 1940's *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec* and his following studies disproved these earlier arguments presenting hundreds of gladiatorial inscriptions and reliefs from the Greek speaking East proving the enthusiasm for the games.[3] The low number of amphitheaters in the East in turn has been acknowledged but remains a less well analyzed phenomenon in the scholarship. The earlier arguments for the Greek disapproval of the Roman games have been often provided as an explanation for the low number of amphitheaters in the East. However, as mentioned, the Roman games were after all very popular in the Greek speaking East. One of the few studies on the subject comes from Hazel Dodge.[4] Presenting both the existing low number of studies on the subject of Eastern amphitheaters and highlighting the problems in terminology, Dodge argues that potentially twenty-one of more than two-hundred amphitheaters can be named according to archaeological remains in the East. With the lack of evidence for their form, structure, dates and with relatively little research done, the reason for their scarcity is as Dodge argues, difficult to determine. Potentially, she argues, in the well urbanized and populated East, the civic amenities did not make the same impact in presenting Roman identity and thus were less popular. However, this makes the few amphitheaters found even more important as to why they existed and where, as they were not always found in the main centers. Dodge encourages and calls for further research which is still to come. Güven also made a similar call for further interest and research in her brief examination of the (then) three amphitheaters of Asia Minor.[5] These are notably valid calls for action; however, the aim of this study is not to

[2] Ludwig Friedlander, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire.* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1965, 1907-1911.) Georges Lafaye in *Dictionnaire des Antiquites Greques at Romaines* by Daremberg and Saglio, (1896).

[3] L. Robert published an extensive work on the gladiatorial reliefs and inscriptions in Greece and Asia Minor starting with Louis Robert, *Les Gladiateurs Dans L'orient Grec*. (Paris: E. Champion, 1940), "Monuments des gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec". *Hellenica* 3 (1946): 112–50, *Hellenica* 5 (1948): 77–99, *Hellenica* 7 (1949): 126–51, *Hellenica* 8 (1950): 39–72.

[4] Hazel Dodge, "Amphitheaters in the Roman East" in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: a 21st-Century Perspective* edited by Tony Wilmot. (Archaeopress: Oxford, 2007), 29-46.

[5] Suna Güven, "Anadolu'da Anfitiyatrolar." *Yapı Dergisi*, no. 132: 61-65; also discussed in Ayse Bike Baykara, *Entertainment Structures in Roman Pergamon*. (Middle East Technical University, 2012)

examine all of the Eastern amphitheaters, nor is it to consider the amphitheaters of Asia Minor as a whole but to examine the Pergamene amphitheater within its cultural and urban context.

One of the most significant limitations of this work on answering set questions is the state of the preservation and research of the Pergamene Amphitheater. While Pergamon as a city, especially within the Hellenistic context, has seen a lot of academic interest, the amphitheater itself, as well as the larger Roman lower town of Pergamon, has been relatively less well-researched. The amphitheater itself, due to the unfavorable location in the current modern city, relatively dangerous working conditions, and further modern issues, has not seen any consistent research effort until recently. While the area has been surveyed twice these findings were not published beyond the brief available information by Wolfgang Radt.[6] However in 2018 the German Archaeological Institute started a project titled "Transformation of the Pergamon Micro Region." Here the aim is presented as to gain new insights into the "network of relationships between ecology, economy and society in historical epochs" through reconstruction of interplay between nature and civilization in the Pergamon region.[7] The Amphitheater of Pergamon was surveyed and excavated as part of the project between 2018-2021 with a focus on documentation, analysis and dating of the form and construction, the different phases of use and disuse. While the full doctoral thesis of the project by Ihsan Yeneroğlu is still not published, the excavation reports have been invaluable sources for this work. Hence, available data on the Pergamene amphitheater is immensely limited in scope and poses an explicit limitation on what kind of answers, if any, one might seek. Yet I still believe it is important to understand why was there an amphitheater of Pergamon at all? How did it function and what did it mean?

To understand the Pergamene amphitheater, we must also understand Roman Pergamon. How the amphitheater was positioned within the city and how it connected to or disconnected from the various urban elements of the city need to surmised. One

---

[6] Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları,* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002)

[7] https://www.dainst.blog/transpergmikro/

particular urban element that highlights the importance of these questions is the presence and contemporaneous dating of the Roman theater and stadium in close vicinity of the Pergamene amphitheater. Building not only an amphitheater but also a new theater and stadium in the same area around the same time when Pergamon already had and continued to use an older theater warrants investigation. Thus, the co-existence and social, functional, and topographical relationships of these entertainment buildings at Pergamon call for a closer examination. Pergamon utilized a scenographic urban design under the Attalid Kings that prioritized and utilized topography for visual and spatial connections between impressive vistas of monumental structures with the street patterns for a dynamic urban experience. How did the visual language change or did not change for Roman Pergamon, especially considering the amphitheater? How did the amphitheater visually connect to or disconnect from the entertainment district and Roman Pergamon in general? Examining the particular visual approach and connections of the Pergamene amphitheater within Roman Pergamon through questions such as these are instrumental in analyzing the physical and socio-political placement of this structure within the city. Hence, considering the urban physiognomy is vital to understanding the Pergamene amphitheater.

Therefore, this work utilizes cultural identities and urban physiognomy as interrelated frameworks. What it means to be Roman and be of Asia Minor or Pergamon are guiding questions in examining the Pergamene amphitheater as a site of cultural exchange. As noted, Pergamon was a city with a strong and long-lasting Hellenistic identity before she came under Roman rule. How various cultural influences interacted within the Pergamene context is a particularly salient question regarding such a singularly Roman structure as the amphitheater. Furthermore, examination of the urban physiognomy of Roman Pergamon with close attention to the amphitheater further creates an opportunity to question processes of cultural exchange by utilizing the available limited evidence of the site.

Hence, this work aims to investigate these questions and more considering Roman socio-cultural systems and instruments of cultural transformation within the context of Pergamon. However, as the more current discussions of Romanization have highlighted, cultural influence, be it Romanization, Hellenization or other, is rarely

one directional. Romanization is a multi-directional process that goes beyond the impact of the center on the peripheries.[8] To understand the impetus for this singularly "Roman" building in the particularly "Hellenistic" city we must examine not only Pergamon itself but also Rome and the connection in between. Pergamon was a main ally of Rome in the Greek speaking East for most of the duration of the Attalid Kingdom when a particularly strong Hellenistic identity was being constructed. This alliance was important to both Pergamon and Rome at a period when Rome had stronger interactions with the culture of the Greek speaking East than ever resulting in what is often considered as the "Hellenization" of Rome in the scholarship.[9] Thus, considering the relationship and cultural interactions of Rome and Pergamon holds incredible potential to examine the multiplicity of factors in cultural change. The close alliance of Rome and Pergamon at a time of intense multi directional cultural change at Rome offers us an opportunity to carry out a closer examination of one of these cultural directions.

To understand Hellenistic and Roman Pergamon then we must also consider the connection to Republican and Imperial Rome. In this regard, to understand the Pergamene Amphitheater it is also important to consider the Flavian Amphitheater itself. The Flavian Amphitheater, also known as the Colosseum, was a space for the displays of imperial might and reach as well as an intricate socio-political tool to maintain and reinforce status-quo in the heart of Rome.[10] However, while the

---

[8] D. J. Mattingly, *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire.* (Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997), 8.

[9] There will be a discussion on the "Hellenization" of Rome later however for initial introduction, see especially E. S. Gruen. *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. (London: Duckworth. 1992); J.L. Ferrary, "Le discours de Philus et la philosophie de Carneade." REL 55 (1977), 128-156. Albert Heinrichs, "Graecia Capta: Roman Views of Greek Culture" in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance (1995), 243-261; Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*. Ed. Oswyn Murray. Tr. Brian Pearce (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 1-27.

[10] The scholarship on the Colosseum is vast as it will be also discussed later. For some of the major works: Bomgardner 2021; Welch 2003; Ada Gabucci, ed. *The Colosseum*. (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2001); Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard. *The Colosseum* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005; N. T. Elkins, *A Monument to Dynasty and Death: The Story of Rome's Colosseum and the Emperors Who Built It*. (JHU Press, 2019). Majority of these works are also revealing on the problems mentioned.

Colosseum is considered as the quintessential model in relation to the amphitheaters in the Western provinces, in the Greek speaking East it is rarely considered as a model. This is largely because amphitheaters of the Eastern Roman Empire are rarely examined within the scholarship and largely dismissed for their scarcity. However, a more recent article highlighted the relationship of the Colosseum to the cult of the emperor in Rome. This presented a potential opportunity to examine not only the Eastern amphitheaters such as the Pergamene amphitheater in relation to the Colosseum through the imperial cult but also the Colosseum itself as a part of a larger system of emperor worship in the East and the West.[11] As we have noted, the research on the Pergamene amphitheater is extremely limited. Hence, acknowledging all these factors, the Colosseum will play a significant role in the examination of the Pergamene amphitheater as a case study with not only a wealth of evidence and research as noted but also considering the direct and close relationship between Rome and Pergamon. However, we must acknowledge that not only is the Colosseum not the only possible point of comparison, but a one-to-one direct correlation between the two structures is neither expected nor would be accurate; thus, when utilized, the Flavian amphitheater will be taken as a starting point to question possibilities on the Pergamene amphitheater.

Another central topic to the examination of the amphitheaters of Pergamon and Rome is the concept of Romanization. Romanization is a contentious topic fraught with conflict since the introduction of the concept with a strong imperialist context by Mommsen and Haverfield in the end of the 20th century.[12] As we will discuss in more detail later, Romanization as a concept was transformed from an instrument of imperialist propaganda presenting a benevolent Roman imperial might impacting "passive" local cultures, to arguments of nativist scholars in 70s and 80s arguing for

[11] Nathan T. Elkins, "The Procession and Placement of Imperial Cult Images in the Colosseum." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 82 (October 2014): 73–107.

[12] The scholarship on Romanization is extensive. For the initial works consider, Haverfield, F. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); P. W. M. Freeman "Mommsen to Haverfield: the origins of studies of Romanization in late 19th-c Britain" in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* ed. D.J. Mattingly, (Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997), 27-50; R. Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire*, (New York: Routledge, 2005).

indigenous elite agency. Later on, more hybrid approaches were proposed and the post-modern scholarship has reconsidered the use of the word "Romanization" through post-colonial and globalist perspectives.[13]

What is more directly relevant here is the discussion of the Romanization of the Greek speaking East. The earlier discussions of Romanization concentrated largely on the western provinces, like Britain or Gaul. Earlier scholars have presented the Greek speaking provinces almost unchanging under Roman rule. Thus, the were presented as largely not Romanized with little reorganization or change in the "Greek East" under Roman rule.[14] These arguments had an underlying assumption of the inherent superiority of the Greek culture. This assumption came under scrutiny and was questioned by scholars such as Greg Woolf who argued that the means of identity building of Greeks and Romans were so different that Greeks could be Roman and remain Greek.[15] Susan Alcock also later argued that the situation in Roman Greece was much more ambivalent that assumed which required constant cultural mapping by Greece and Rome.[16]

Asia Minor specifically has also been presented as an example of tenacious Greekness with little attention to the more complex cultural variety in the various regions by scholars.[17] However later scholars disagreed such as B. Levick who argued that while there were continued traditions in Asia Minor in the urban sphere there were novelties

---

[13] Hingley 2005.

[14] A.H.M. Jones. "The Greeks under the Roman empire, " *Dumbarton Oaks Papers 17* (1963):3-19. W. M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor* (Royal Geog. Soc. Suppl. Papers IV) (1890), G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965).

[15] Greg Woolf, "Becoming Roman Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, No. 40 (1994), 116-143.

[16] Susan Alcock, "Greece: A landscape of resistance?" in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly (Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997), 103-116.

[17] W. M. Ramsay, "Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia" *Journal of Roman Studies* 16 (1926) 102-19, "Graeco-Roman civilization in Pisidia" *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies 4* (1883) 23; R. Syme "Galatia and Pamphilia under Augustus" *Klio* 27 (1934) 122; A. H. M. Jones *The cities in the eastern Roman provinces* (Oxford 1937), *The Greek city from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford 1940.)

as well.[18] M. Waelkens examined construction techniques and building types highlighting the modifications and adaptations of local, Hellenistic and Roman influences in a blend of practices.[19] F. Yegül especially argued that intentional Romanization was irrelevant as the end result was what mattered. He argued against polarities such as Hellenization and Romanization and argued that new forms and techniques were produced in the material culture of Asia Minor distinct from all previous influences.[20] "Greekness" as a generalized uniform identity is also by itself problematic. As we shall discuss further not only was the culture and ethnicity of all people who we now call "Greek" non-monolithic but it was not uniform nor unchanging. Modern academic understanding of who is "Greek" and what this identity means in relation to our modern ideas of what is "Roman" needs much deeper attention as we shall demonstrate later.

Overall while there has been some interest in the complex cultural interactions within Asia Minor beyond the earlier dichotomies of Hellenistic and Roman, there is still a need for more nuanced analysis. Pergamon in particular offers a unique opportunity in examining the impact of Roman rule in Asia Minor. Pergamon's particular Hellenistic identity has been well researched and widely presented as a unique blend of local elements and Greek culture.[21] While this identity itself has been often limited to just a monolithic "Greek" status it presents a strong framework to examine how the later Roman Pergamon changed and/or did not change from this carefully constructed and

---

[18] Barbara Levick, "Urbanization in the Eastern Empire." In *The Roman World*, by John Wacher, (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987). 329-345.

[19] Marc Waelkens, "Hellenistic and Roman Influence in the Imperial Architecture of Asia Minor" in *Bulletin Supplement (University of London. Institute of Classical Studies), No. 55, The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium* (1989), 77-88.

[20] Fikret Yegül, "Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the cities of Asia Minor." In *Romanization and the city: Creation, Transformations, and Failures*, ed. E. Fentress, Portsmouth: *Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement -38*, 2000. 133-153.

[21] As mentioned briefly, S. Gruen, "Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon", in *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context* ed. N. T. de Grummond, & B. S. Ridgway (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000), 17-31; E. Kosmetatou, "The Attalids of Pergamon" In *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* ed A. Erskine. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 159-174; R. Evans, *A History of Pergamum: Beyond Hellenistic Kingship.* (New York, London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012).

very particular Hellenistic identity. Pergamon can thus reveal the complexity of the cultural interactions between the various local cultures of Asia Minor, Greece and Rome. Yet Roman Pergamon remains rather unexamined. Apart from the works on specific Roman structures and areas like the Temple of Trajan, The Red Hall or Asklepieion the Roman Pergamon at large is very rarely an object of significant study.[22] There are few works that consider Roman Pergamon as a subject of discussion by itself. We will also address this gap as we consider the Pergamene amphitheater within the larger context.

As mentioned, cultural interaction is often multi-directional especially within the Roman Empire. Hence, we must not only consider Roman impact on Pergamon but also the Pergamene impact on Rome as well. Thus, we come to the "Hellenization" of Rome. The impact of Hellenistic art and architecture on mid-Republican Rome has been a popular topic of discussion within the scholarship. For example, J.J. Pollitt discussed the impact of Greek art specifically highlighting the capture of Syracuse as a start and the sack of Corinth as the finish of a particular era of strong Greek influence impacting Roman taste and artistic products and further suggests two distinct Roman responses one more positive one resistant.[23] MacMullen also takes the Hellenization of Rome for granted while discussing Romanization under Augustus[24] Branigan similarly highlights mid-Republican impact of Greek art and architecture, ideas and philosophy on Rome with some resistance but largely acceptance.[25] Wallace-Hadrill

[22] F. Pirson and A. Scholl, *Pergamon: A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia.* (Yapi Kredi Yayinlari: Istanbul, 2014) is the most recent and extensive volume on the architectural and archaeological scholarship on Pergamon.

[23] J. J. Pollitt "The Impact of Greek Art on Rome" in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-2014), Vol. 108 (1978), 155-174.

[24] Macmullen, 2000.

[25] Keith Branigan, "Hellenistic Influence on the Roman World." In *The Roman World*, ed. John Wacher (London: Routledge, 2002), 38-54.

argues that Romanization was preceded by Hellenization of Rome but he does highlight the more complex interactions rather than a singular one directional impact.[26]

Maggie Popkin however highlights a problem in this approach of Greek impact on Rome. Popkin argues that the Hellenistic influences on Rome in 2nd century BCE onward was not a generic phenomenon that indiscriminately adopted generic Greek motifs but actually was often very specific in what was brought and how it was utilized.[27] Popkin herself examines the Samothracian influences in Rome especially on structures on the route of triumphal processions. Popkin's point however remains relevant for Pergamon as well. Pergamon had a unique relationship with Rome as the main ally in the Greek speaking East before annexation until the Pergamene lands were bequeathed to the Roman people. There has been very little scholarly work examining this relationship and the impact on Rome in depth, however. Ann Kuttner is the main source of such an analysis as she brings together and presents briefly Pergamene influence in art, architecture, philosophy, religion and political mythologies.[28] K. Seaman touches on Pergamene conceptions of space and its impact and J. Senseney has related the Pergamene stoas especially the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros and the Grand Altar to mid-Republican triumphal porticoes in Rome.[29] Thus the relationship of Rome and Pergamon, the cultural impact of both in each other is a topic that is open to further examination and discussion. Hence, we shall discuss Pergamon's particular identity and how it particularly influenced Roman culture during mid to late Republican period.

[26] A. Wallace-Hadrill, "To be Roman, Go Greek: Thoughts on Hellenization at Rome" in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement, No. 71, Modus Operandi: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman* (1998), 79-91.

[27] Maggie L. Popkin, "Samothracian Influences at Rome: Cultic and Architectural Exchange in the Second Century B.C.E." in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 119, No. 3 (July 2015), 343-373.

[28] Ann Kuttner, "Republican Rome Looks at Pergamon" in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance (1995): 157-178.

[29] John R. "Senseney, Adrift toward Empire: The Lost Porticus Octavia in Rome and the Origins of the Imperial Fora" in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (December 2011), 421-441, Kristen Seaman, "Pergamon and Pergamene Influence" in *A Companion to Greek Architecture* ed. by Margeret M. Miles, (Wiley & Sons: Malden, 2016), 406-423.

To examine questions discussed so far, this thesis is composed of five chapters. After the Introduction, Chapter 2 “Politics and the Amphitheater” starts the discussion at Rome and with the amphitheater as a building type. After presenting the groundwork of how the Roman Games and the amphitheater itself was developed, the games and the building itself are examined through a sociopolitical lens. The significance of the games and the amphitheater is examined through the figure of the gladiator, the audience, through seating order, visual communication and circulation to highlight how the amphitheater spatially reflected but also produced and maintained an idealized Roman identity and strict social order.

In Chapter 3 “Between Rome and Pergamon” the particular relationship of Rome and Pergamon, particularly the Roman Republic and the Pergamene Kingdom during mid to late Republican period as well as the cultural impact this relationship had on Rome is examined. To this end, first the historical and political context of Rome’s earliest interactions with the Greek speaking East and especially with Pergamon is highlighted. Afterwards the cultural impact of this relationship in what the scholarship calls “Hellenization of Rome” is scrutinized before presenting the issues of common approaches to this topic. Afterwards to present a more focused and particular approach instead, the identity of Pergamon under the Attalid Kings and how the relationship of Pergamene Kingdom and Rome influenced Roman culture, art and architecture is discussed.

Chapter 4 “Romanization” examines the relationship of Rome and Pergamon from the other perspective and discusses the Roman influences on Asia Minor in turn. First, discussed is the complex historiography of “Romanization” both as a larger concept as well as within the context of the Greek speaking East to also later highlight what this thesis considers as “Romanization” as well as “Roman.” To establish a framework three particularly significant and relevant instruments of Romanization are then discussed in detail: imperial cults, festivals and the amphitheater. These instruments are not meant to be exhaustive nor isolated individual elements but particular parts of an interconnected fluid system found to be revealing in this specific framework.

Chapter 5 “The Pergamene Amphitheater” builds on the frameworks presented in the

former chapters to focus on the Pergamene amphitheater. To better handle the limits of the current research, this chapter presents a comparative analysis of the Flavian amphitheater at Rome and Pergamene amphitheaters. To this aim, the amphitheaters are comparatively examined through form, function and style. After this, the amphitheaters are considered as both socio-political, religious spaces as well as venues of spectacle and entertainment.

Chapter 6, “Urban Physiognomy” presents an urban context of the Pergamene amphitheater and examines this structure within the larger urban context of Roman Pergamon. First, the Colosseum within the urban context of Rome is examined. Afterward, a comparative analysis of the Roman amphitheater within an urban context within the larger Roman Empire is highlighted through select examples. Subsequently, Roman Pergamon is treated by show-casing monumental architecture and urban patterns. The urban patterns of Roman Pergamon as well as the particular role and placement of the amphitheater within Roman Pergamon will be examined.

Overall, this work aims to question prevalent frameworks, instruments and agents of constructing, maintaining and disrupting a Roman identity with a major focus on the Pergamene amphitheater and the Roman games. The larger cultural and socio-political frameworks as well as a closer look at urban physiognomy will highlight both the use of the same larger imperial frameworks and instruments in separate parts of the Empire but also how these factors could all work in different ways together to create particular, individual and different Roman identities. Pergamon’s particular Roman identity is traced through the amphitheater both as a monumental structure as well as a significant part of the urban physiognomy as both an active participant in the larger Roman Empire as well as the proud holder of the continued long-lasting Pergamene identity. This comparative approach highlights how being “Roman” in Rome and in Pergamon could both be constructed and maintained within very similar socio-political structures and yet result in disparate senses of self within their unique context that could co-exist under the umbrella of the Roman Empire and the identity of a “Roman.” Furthermore, this conclusion of the study shows how even a building type perceived as singularly Roman as the amphitheater was flexible enough to not only accommodate but also produce and promote various interpretations of Roman identity through the

examination of the Pergamene amphitheater. The complexity of Pergamene identity is mirrored in the complexity of the Pergamene amphitheater.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICS AND THE AMPHITHEATER

Roman games, be it the gladiatorial games or beast hunts, evoked a complex set of socio-political and cultural significance and values that interacted and acted on each other. They were both the context and the text for Roman values and ideas of Romanness. To understand the Pergamene amphitheater we must first understand how the arena games and the amphitheater itself functioned and how these meanings and values were formulated and altered as well as how they acted and reacted in various times and context.

Thus, in this chapter we will mainly concentrate on the socio-political dimension of the amphitheater and its games and how they were spatially formulated. The social impact, the formulated cultural significance, the political utilization of both the building and the games as well as the spatial configurations to develop and reinforce such impact will be the focus. First, we will briefly discuss the origin and development of the Roman games and the amphitheater as a building type from the Republican era to the Imperial period. Afterwards we will concentrate on different readings and significance of the games and the amphitheater as a socio-political body and finally analyze how these meanings and their relevant values were spatially structured and reinforced.

2.1. The Origins and Development of the Amphitheater and the Games

2.1.1 The Roman Games

The origin of the Roman games has long been a complicated subject within the scholarship. The gladiatorial games in particular offer the most difficulty in locating a particular cultural origin, both for later Romans and for modern scholars. There are

two main working hypotheses to date; one argues an Etruscan origin for the games passed potentially to Rome by the Etruscan kings[30] and the other theory spearheaded by G. Ville supports the idea that the games were originated in Campania and Lucinia in the 4th century BCE to be later transmitted to Rome by the Etruscans.[31] However the literary and archaeological evidence for both sides of these arguments are precarious; thus the more recent scholarship have for the most part found presenting both theories sufficient and refrained to comment much further.[32] Also as Wiedemann argued that locating the geographical origins of the games has perhaps little relevance to discussions of the games within Republican and Imperial Rome for the simple fact that the games were made thoroughly Roman by then as we shall see.[33]

The Roman literary evidence shows that the earliest known gladiatorial games were part of Roman funerals of the noble class. The earliest recorded game in Rome was the funeral of Decimus Junius Brutus Pera in 264 BCE by his sons Marcus and Decimus Brutus in Forum Boarium with three pairs of fighters.[34] A. Futrell has argued that the original purpose of these games was a form of human sacrifice to appease the spirit of the dead while also emphasizing the importance of the loss of the deceased.[35] This act would then assure the community of the continuity of the status quo while

---

[30] W. Henzen*, Explicatio musivi in villa Burghesiana asservati*. (Rome:Ex typographia Rev. Cam. Apost., 1845), 74-75, M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans.* Translated by J Cremona, (London: Bloomington, 1975), 101, 180; E. Richardson, *The Etruscans* (Oxford: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 229, F. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings. Their Subjects and Significance.* Translated by I. Anderson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 14, L. Malten, "Leichenspeil and Totenkult" *MFAI(R)* 38-9 (1923-4): 300ff, K. Scheider, "Gladiators" *RESupp. 2* (1918), 760-84.

[31] G. Ville, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Palais Farnese: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 1981), 35-42; F. Weege, "Oskische Grabmalerei" *JDI s4* (1909): 134-6.

[32] For example, Bomgardner 2021, r 52; A. Futrell, *The Roman Games: A Sourcebook*. (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub, 2006), 4; and 2010, 11-13; Welch in particular presents a succinct discussion of the evidence both sides offer and evaluates both to still point out there are no clear answers in Welch, 11-15.

[33] Thomas E. J. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*. (Routledge, 1992), 32.

[34] Welch, 19.

[35] Futrell 2006, 6.

adding to the reputation of the deceased and their family.[36] However several scholars have disagreed with any connection between human sacrifice and the gladiatorial games. Wiedemann pointed out that there was no evidence for a connection between human sacrifice and funerals in the Roman context. Furthermore, the focus of the gladiatorial games was a struggle to survive and not death itself. Welch also argued that the evidence did not really support Romans perceiving the games in such a way and the cross-cultural analysis Futrell employed did not really work well in relation to this topic.[37]

The literary evidence indicates that the shows continued and escalated from 218 BCE to 167 BCE with higher frequency of the games and greater number of combatants indicating bigger shows.[38] Welch argued that the games were very popular and frequent as early as c. 200 BCE but often not acknowledged as such because of the limited evidence from this period.[39] Regardless, this early appearance and popularity during mid-3rd century also concurred with a time for radical change in the Roman Republic with the expansion beyond Italy. Rome acted more often within larger Mediterranean politics and accordingly had increased contact with non-Roman people.[40] This was the beginning of active Roman military expansion.[41] Futrell highlights how this interaction would require a potentially more heightened need for self-definition.[42] D. Kyle also argues that this was a period of change within Rome itself from the old caste system to plebians having access to the Senate and making laws. With the emergence of a new definition of an elite class the need for competitive

---

[36] Futrell 2010, 3; 2006 6.

[37] Wiedeman, 92-93; Welch, 3.

[38] Wiedemann, 6.

[39] Welch, 18. Welch highlights not only the general limitations of the evidence from the early to mid-Republican periods but also specifically how Livy was a main source of information for the gladiatorial games. Livy's surviving text does not include, as of now, the period of 292-218 BCE for example and Livy was selective in his narrative to highlight events that were on bigger scale.

[40] Futrell 2010, 4.

[41] Welch 22.

[42] Futrell 2010 4.

shows of self-worth would be more and more necessary to which purpose the games served particularly well. [43]

The other main components of the arena games were *venationes*, the wild beast hunts, and the executions, often by beasts called *damnatio ad bestias*. For *venationes* two potential origins were also offered; either as an indigenous Italic tradition as part of religious rituals or taken from North Africa; neither of these theories are particularly well supported however.[44] The earliest known *venationes* within the Roman context were animal exhibitions at Rome often in connection to celebrations of *ludi* or a triumph. Earliest recorded was the *ludi* of M. Fulvius Nobilior in 186 BCE after his victory in the Aetolian war. Whether this was an exhibition, or a hunt is unknown, though it was potentially both.[45] The arena executions, particularly execution by animals is also attested as early as second century BCE. In 146 BCE Scipio Aemilianus has thrown foreign auxiliary deserters to wild beasts in his triumphal games and Aemilius Paullus is said to have thrown the deserters of the Roman army to wild beasts after the Battle of Pydna in 167 BCE as part of his *ludi* in Greece.[46] This particular punishment was meant to act as the strongest deterrent in military discipline which was then integrated to the celebrations and then the arena games in time.

By the Late Republican period, the games were more popular and ostentatious than ever. As Roman hegemony spread, the traditional political frameworks were altered furthermore to accept new groups and new opportunities and with the limited offices available the popularity of the various arena games, especially the gladiatorial games and *venationes,* were particularly useful to attract voters. While the gladiatorial games were still nominally held within a funerary context, the pretext stretched thinner and thinner with games given years after the death of the individual, coinciding particularly with times of political need of the individual sponsor. The reputation and popularity

---

[43] D. G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. (John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 260.

[44] Bomgardner 53.

[45] Roger Dunkle, *Gladiators: Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome*. (London: Pearson/Longman, 2008), 207, Welch 23.

[46] Bomgardner 53; Welch 26.

of the sponsor could grow easily with these games but there was also the need to differentiate oneself from the competitors through innovation and scale. The further expansion of Rome added to the opportunities for more shows as well to the fortunes of potential sponsors to throw even bigger events.[47]

The shows themselves were not the only well-suited instruments for political maneuvering. The gladiatorial troupes were often used for other purposes by the late Republic as well. Often a political candidate would buy gladiatorial troupes or individual gladiators for these shows which were afterwards sometimes kept as bodyguards and gangs to further impact the political environment. For example, Q. Caecelius Metellus Nepos used a troupe of gladiators in 62 BCE to force a law to empower Pompey by leading them to the Temple of Castor and Pollux at the Forum and intimidate the Catilinarian conspirators.[48] P. Clodius used his brother's gladiatorial troupe to orchestrate a riot in 57 BCE to stop voting on a legislation which in turn led to a bloody dispute outside Rome.[49] The gladiatorial troupes were thus often used as personal gangs to further political individual agendas.

As the games and the gladiators were used for more and more political ends, the senate endeavored several times to control the games from mid to late Republican periods. They attempted to refuse triumphs to limit occasions for the games, to limit funding or to control their particular timing. The Senate tried to curtail the expenditure allowed for the games, in particular to the extent sponsors could use the resources of the conquered people for triumphs rather than individual wealth.[50] In 67 BCE *Lex Calpurnia* brought penalties for electoral bribery, from fines to removal from office. *Lex Tullia* sponsored by Cicero also disallowed gladiatorial games within two years of running for office.[51] The Senate also imposed limitations to the number of gladiators

---

[47] Futrell 2010, 29; 2006, 11; Bomgardner 53; Wiedemann, 7.

[48] Dunkle 2008, 65.

[49] Futrell 2006, 22.

[50] Futrell 2006, 18-20.

[51] Futrell 2006, 20; Dunkle, 168; Bomgardner, 53.

a citizen could bring within Rome's city limits during the time of preparation of Caesar's show of 65 BCE.[52] The impact of these prohibitions and fines were probably very limited as the shows continued in grand scale and frequency regardless.

These shows were also immensely expensive as the sponsors often incurred huge debts. A good example here is Julius Caesar who while running for *aedile* in 65 BCE sponsored spectacles on an unprecedented scale and grandeur. The shows included exhibition of new items, unseen stage production and effects as well as grand wild beast hunts. J. Caesar produced a show and a public banquet for his second consulship as well for his deceased daughter Julia which was again on a grand scale.[53] For his triumphal games in 46 BCE he sponsored a *venatio* said to have been most diverse ever seen at Rome. His enduring popularity was in no small part connected to these shows and related public expenditures.[54] In turn he incurred a great debt and was almost bankrupt which was the usual price to pay for such a way to gain public support. Cicero writing to G. Scribonius Curio argued that the games were not the best option to gain political clout as they required too much money spent but did only display wealth rather than worth. By the end of the Roman Republic the cost of spectacles could be not only enormous but also often ruinous.[55]

With the transition from the Late Republican period to the Principate and further, the arena games also changed. Augustus centralized and systematized the arena games while the shows themselves were restricted and further controlled. The emperor alone controlled their presentation now. *Praetors* were put in charge of ordinary spectacles instead of *aediles* limiting opportunities to use the shows for political ascent. They produced spectacles served to commemorate and celebrate the emperor and his family. The shows no longer served to bring prestige for the competitive individuals in

[52] Futrell 2006, 20; Futrell 2010, 32.

[53] Futrell 2006, 12-14.

[54] Dunkle, 212; Futrell 2006, 14.

[55] Futrell 2006, 15.

building careers. The former competitive nature of Roman politics was curtailed as the leadership was centralized. Thus, the games served the center as well.[56]

Augustus did not eliminate privately sponsored spectacles entirely but rather limited their scale and frequency of the shows to control their impact. The shows could not be given freely but rather required authorization from the Senate, they were limited to two shows per person per year and the number of gladiators one could present was limited to hundred-and-twenty. All these limitations could together curtail political competition and prevent inordinate spending for the spectacles seen before.[57]

Modern scholars have argued that a regular arena program took shape by the early imperial period. Beast hunts were shown in the morning, executions in midday and gladiator spectacles in the evening. There is evidence that these were all aspects of arena spectacles and this program did occur at least at some point in time. However, the evidence to suggest such a program to have persisted throughout the imperial period is limited and it is much more likely that the shows and performances were diverse. While there were possibly some expectations of shows and their timing, novelty was probably sought frequently as to make the shows more exciting.[58]

2.1.2 The Amphitheater

The earliest evidence of gladiatorial games in Rome shows that they were held first in the Forum Boarium but more often afterwards in the Forum Romanum. Forum Romanum was the political, cultural, and religious center of Republican Rome. The textual evidence however does not provide much information on the physical qualities

---

[56] Jonathan Edmondson, "Dynamic Arenas: Gladiatorial Presentations in the City of Rome and the Construction of Roman Society during the Early Empire." In *Roman Theater and Society*, ed. W. J. Slater. E. Togo Salmon Papers I. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 79-80; Dunkle 2008, 179; Futrell 2006, 29-30.

[57] Edmondson 1996, 80.

[58] Hopkins and Beard 2005, 70-73.

of the setting. The open area available was limited and offered little seating opportunities beyond balconies of the surrounding buildings.[59]

J.C. Golvin was first to theorize that the oval shape of the amphitheater was indebted to the unusual shape of the Forum Romanum. The Forum Romanum had a trapezoidal shape, and the shows were often held in temporary wooden structures built within. Golvin suggested a shape similar to a truncated stadium, longer than the known amphitheaters in form for the temporary structures to watch gladiatorial games in the Forum.[60] (Figure 1) Katherine Welch later argued that this architectural form would be unsuited to watch the gladiatorial games as it would provide skewed viewpoints at certain angles. (Figure 2) Welch in turn follows her argument for the show's popularity in the second century BCE forward and using the plan of the Forum at that time proposes an oval shaped temporary arena similar in dimension to the Republican amphitheater of Pompeii. The oval shape, Welch argued that, rather than a circular form would suit the Roman context better as the egalitarian viewing was not the aim but rather the oval shape would serve the hierarchical social order as well as the trapezoidal form of the Forum Romanum.[61] Futrell similarly argued that the dynamic nature of the gladiatorial spectacles was served well by the oval form as the action and the need for movement could be provided for. Wiedemann also argued that oval form both allowed performers to move freely and at the same time allowed the viewers to view each other easily without the implication of equality a circular form would bring.[62] We shall discuss how the form functioned for the viewers further in the chapter.

Welch's theory on the emergence of the amphitheater form through the temporary wooden constructions within the Forum Romanum is persuasive. The earliest permanent amphitheaters however were not in Rome but in Campania and Southern Italy. The Republican stone amphitheaters were not numerous nor often well

---

[59] Futrell 2006, 53-59; 2010, 35; Welch, 31.

[60] Jean-Claude Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain : Texte*. (Diffusion de Boccard, 1988), 43.

[61] Welch, 44-71.

[62] Futrell 2010, 37; Wiedemann, 20.

researched. They appeared around Italy around the beginning of first century BCE often in cities with particularly close ties with Rome. The cities where army veterans were settled, old Latin and maritime colonies and municipia were some of the examples. In Campania particularly the earliest examples coincided with a time of veteran colonization on unprecedented scale. However not all amphitheaters were at colonies, these Welch argues could be a type of self-romanization to take the initiative to create ties with Rome after all.[63]

Rome itself did not have a permanent amphitheater for centuries after the first known gladiatorial game in the city, not until 30 BCE. There were similarly no permanent theaters within Rome until the Theater of Pompey. Tacitus argued that this was because danger of corruption of the people tempted to idleness and luxury whereas Valerius Maximus argued that the similar behavior of Greeks like seating during shows would diminish Roman manhood.[64] It was also possible that the Senate would want to control and limit places where the people congregated at mass and could express opinions collectively.[65] As we shall discuss further the entertainment spaces could be very important in the communication between people of various classes allowing people's voices be heard where otherwise they could not. Wooden amphitheaters would also serve the competitive nature of the late Republican period well as they allowed more and more elaborate constructions and a different dimension to their competition as well.[66]

The first permanent amphitheater in Rome was built by Statilius Taurus, one of Augustus's trusted generals in 30 BCE. This building was in Campus Martius though no remains have been located thus far. It was built using spoils of war from Africa for which Taurus was granted a triumph.[67] It was likely at least partially wooden as the

---

[63] Welch, 73-88.

[64] Dunkle, 246-247; Futrell 2006, 56.

[65] Hopkins and Beard, 38.

[66] Futrell 2006, 56.

[67] Elkins 2019, 63; Dunkle 2008, 252.

building was destroyed during the fire of 64 CE. This building is usually not discussed in much length partially because of the lack of evidence. Welch argues that it was actually very influential in its time as she suggests that the Augustan era amphitheater buildings with a Tuscan style like in Augusta Emerita in Spain or Lupiae in Apulia were likely influenced stylistically by this building. The amphitheater of Statilius Taurus was likely the first amphitheater on level ground as well.[68]

There were some other contemplations or attempts at permanent amphitheaters in Rome during early imperial period. Augustus is said to have considered building a permanent amphitheater himself. Caligula began work on one next to Saepta Julia but this project was never finished as it was abandoned by Claudius. Nero built an elaborate wooden amphitheater instead which was also burnt in the fire of 64 CE.[69] No other permanent amphitheaters were completed in Rome until the Flavian period.

The Flavian Amphitheater, also known popularly as the Colosseum, is the biggest and the most impressive of all known amphitheaters of the Roman World. (Figure 3) Vespasian started construction which was later dedicated by his son Titus in 80 CE with grand games. This was arguably the monument that canonized the amphitheater as a building type and was the amphitheater per excellence and the model to follow afterwards throughout the Roman Empire.[70] We shall discuss the Flavian Amphitheater in great depth and attention in further chapters.

2.3. Significance of the Amphitheater and the Arena Games

As we have now laid out the general development of both the arena games and the amphitheater itself let us turn our attention to the significance of the games and the architecture within the Roman socio-political context. We shall now analyze the various aspects of the shows and how they functioned as socio-political instruments

[68] Welch 2007, 109.

[69] Elkins2019, 63; Futrell 2006, 60; Edmondson 1996, 78.

[70] Elkins 2019, 3; Welch 2007, 128-130.

and agents to then further examine the spatial component of these functions and how their impact was formulated.

Arena games as we have seen were important political instruments for those who pursued offices during Republican period and later were centralized within the emperor's purview for perpetuating his ideology. However, the arena games had many more socio-political functions, meanings, and values beyond simply being entertainment to attract the Roman people. They played significant roles in the establishment and maintenance of social norms and relations, presenting, and reinforcing an ideal version of Rome and its hierarchies. Military ethic, skill, and endurance later alongside with imperial reach and capability all were brought to the forefront as constant reminders. This was achieved through the performers and combatants, the diverse audience and the architecture all brought together serving the dominant ideology at the time.

Let us start with the arena and its combatants. The gladiators were curious figures of some discussion for the modern scholarship attempting to locate their particular status within the Roman society.[71] (Figure 4) They were both marginalized and popular figures within Roman society. Many, but not all, were slaves and beyond the physical danger of the arena faced civic and political marginalization. Beyond the very few higher-class volunteers, gladiators were officially disgraced with *infamia* akin to actors and prostitutes. This indicated they could hold no political office in local governments, could not act as jury or soldier and thus losing any potential to have political impact in a larger sense. They also lost all protection from corporal punishment and physical assault.[72] Still the senate had to pass several legislations to

---

[71] The particular figure of the gladiator is not central in this work but for more on the figure of the gladiator specifically: Louis Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec.* (Paris: E. Champion, 1940); Carlin A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton University Press, 1995); Roger Dunkle, Gladiators: Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome. (Pearson/Longman, 2008); Garrett G. Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Robert C. Knapp, *Invisible Romans: Prostitutes, Outlaws, Slaves, Gladiators, Ordinary Men and Women -- the Romans That History Forgot*. (London: Profile Books, 2011); Paul Plass, *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide*. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); Thomas E. J. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*. (Routledge, 1992).

[72] Hopkins and Beard, 77.

prevent senators and equestrians from joining the gladiators on the sands. Extant evidence, especially graffiti, suggests that they were immensely popular figures within the Roman society. While some senators and equestrians would enter the arena without pay and oath thus avoiding *infamia*, there were many who actually did swear binding oaths to a *lanista* regardless of all the efforts of the Senate and Emperors to stop them.[73] The gladiator then was a complex figure and a crucial cultural symbol very impactful on the Roman society. Through the gladiators the Roman people debated some central Roman military virtues from bravery to manliness, control over life and death and military training and skill.[74] Gunderson following Judith Butler describes gladiators as "aberrant" subjects simultaneously within and without law. The gladiator was illegitimate in regard to the Roman male citizen and yet could impose normative impact and thus secure their legitimacy.[75] While being disgraced gladiator also acted as an archetypal symbol of ideal Roman man killing or accepting death, when necessary, in turns.[76] The gladiator was thus a complex figure of disgrace, popularity and idealization of Roman values.

The *venator*, the beast hunters during *venationes* constitute a topic of much lesser modern scrutiny. Gunderson notes they also had the performer's stigma like actors and gladiators while evidencing the Roman values like the gladiator through the skill in the hunt.[77] *Venationes* in general were particularly charged as they emerged and expanded with the expansion of Roman reach and influence. They were idealized and institutionalized shows of control over the natural world by the civilized Romans and triumph of humanity over the beasts. At the same time, however, they were a demonstration of first the individual sponsors' and then the Empire's reach as the

---

[73] Edmondson 1996, 107.

[74] Hopkins and Beard, 81.

[75] Erik Gunderson, "The Ideology of the Arena." *Classical Antiquity* 15, no. 1 (April 1, 1996), 118.

[76] Jerry Toner, *The Day Commodus Killed a Rhino*. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 35.

[77] Gunderson, 136.

animals displayed and hunted came from all over the Roman World and perhaps beyond.[78]

Executions were also by the imperial period often included within the arena spectacles. Gunderson defines punishment in the arena as “performative modulation of relative social positions.”[79] A gladiator, beast or a condemned criminal being exiled to the arena removed the subject from the Roman space.[80] The executions were the most direct and overt imposition of official authority and show of social position. Carucci emphasizes that the capital punishment here was not for entertainment but rather a visualization of imperial justice to allow the audience to share it as value and thus reaffirming established social order. Within Roman codes of common law, punishment was correlated to social status and so was the penalty in turn. The punishment was not meant to only reflect the social hierarchy but functionally act as reminder of the inequality and the consequences of the relevant offenses.[81] Only certain offenses and social classes would be executed in the arena unless another figure such as the emperor intervened one way or another. Some of the crimes punishable by execution by wild beasts for example were counterfeiting, temple robbing, and homicide during robbery. A similar crime could be punished by exile for the freeborn citizens whereas a slave or a freedman could be executed within the arena.[82] These punishments were made into a show within the arena like for example execution by wild beasts, *Damnatio ad bestias,* was a particularly spectacular kind of these executions. Their visual impact

---

[78] Futrell 2010, 121.

[79] Gunderson, 134.

[80] Gunderson, 134.

[81] Margherita Carucci, “The Spectacle of Justice in the Roman Empire.” In *The Impact of Justice on the Roman Empire*, ed. Olivier Hekster and Koenraad Verboven, 34. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Gent, June 21-24, 2017). (Brill, 2019), 218-222.

[82] Dunkle, 217-218.

was heightened and so was the social impact; the imperial justice was thus reinforced and articulated into social order.[83]

Let us move now to the audience in general. One particular important role the arena shows played for the audience was as an opportunity of communication between classes in a controlled environment. Hopkins argued that as the people lost opportunities for political expression with the Principate, the arena played a particularly important role.[84] However Cicero especially notes the importance of the entertainment shows as a place for expressing and understanding popular feeling during the Late Republic already.

> For in three places the opinions and sympathies of the Roman people concerning public matters can be demonstrated; in a public meeting, at the elections, and in the communal attendance at games and gladiatorial shows.[85]

Cicero argued that the spectacles were legitimate and important places of assembly for the people alongside with the elections. He finds the spectacles and popular expressions made during the shows particularly sincere. He acknowledges while there could be claques to lead a false inclination, it is still easy to detect true opinions for their spontaneity and their direction to “best men.”[86] Cicero is of course far from impartial within the political sphere and thus the validity of popular expressions directed one way or another. Still an overall negative reaction during a show would be fairly risky. Pompey’s *venationes* in 55 BCE for example is noted to be a notorious example of this. The audience was sympathizing with the plight of the elephants and thus was not very favorable towards Pompey and the hunters in the arena. Cicero also claims Piso refused to attend some shows from fear of rejection from the crowd.[87] Still the audience could be arranged to a degree as the admissions were through the sponsor

[83] Carucci, 217-233.

[84] Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History*. Vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 14.

[85] Cicero, *For Sestius* 106:49 in Futrell 2006, 24.

[86] Futrell 2006, 25.

[87] Futrell 2006, 27.

and his clients during the Republican period.[88] Thus, the sponsor could be selective and guide the makeup of the audience in general directions.

Hopkins' evaluation of the limitations to popular expressions of opinions during the Principate and thus the consequent significant role of the arena is however fairly convincing as a continuation of practices that were slowly altered with the change of political context.[89] Popular assemblies were limited under Augustus and by the reign of Tiberius they were entirely removed.[90] With the emergence of the Emperor as a central figure, the arena now afforded a particular place for the interaction between not only different classes of the Roman people but also directly with the Emperor as well. This allowed regular meetings between the ruler and the ruled. While the audience could engage in politics with giving or withholding applause, yelling phrases, hissing or simply being silent, the emperor could in turn manage his own image and reception through responses, gifts, claques and if necessary, guards.[91] The audience often petitioned the emperor during the games which was more likely to receive direct immediate response with witnesses around. The emperor in turn had to be careful in receiving and responding to the petitions and consider their public image as well.[92] This could even allow the people bypass the legal system. The audience, for example, could demand slaves to be freed. Hadrian had a policy particularly for such petitions and refused all without the permission of the owner.[93] This direct access to the emperor was important during the early imperial period as the emperor was presented as first among equals and the Tribune of the people.[94] Whether this access did anything to

[88] Futrell 2010, 32.

[89] Hopkins in general but also 14.

[90] Futrell 2006, 36.

[91] Hopkins, 14.

[92] Futrell 2006, 38.

[93] Wiedemann, 167-168.

[94] Hopkins and Beard, 40.

increase the impact of the Roman people on imperial politics is uncertain but the ideal of the direct access was surely important.

There was another important aspect to the interaction between the emperor and the people during the games which was managing tensions. The Amphitheater offered a controlled environment steeped with controlled and idealized violence as well as direct interactions between different social classes. This could provide a safe space to manage hostile reactions and grievances especially from the people to the emperor. The emperor could safely and directly respond to any negative pushback and potentially immediately diminish tensions, though some emperors would just choose to silence any opposition instead like e.g., Caligula.[95]

The arena also served as a spectacle of idealized violence and military discipline.[96] The arena allowed the audience to both identify with those who acted with violence and at the same time those who punished the aggressors and act as judges.[97] P. Plass in particular argued that the gladiatorial games offered a sort of catharsis by deliberately playing into violent acts and forestalling overdose of it. A stylized version of violence could be used to manage and rationalize potential of greater unrest and violence.[98] Though some, such as R. Dunkle has argued that as violence was still part of the Roman society even with the games, perhaps catharsis is not really a sufficient explanation.[99] The violence also had the risk of extending beyond the arena itself. Riots were possible like for example in the case of Pompeii where riots broke out in 59 CE with fighting between local people and neighbors from Nuceria where a *senatus consultum* was issued to eventually ban similar events for ten years at Pompeii.[100] (Figure 5) However notably no amphitheater rioting is known at Rome, unlike other

---

[95] Futrell 2006

[96] Welch, 27.

[97] Futrell 2010, 49.

[98] Paul Plass, *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide*. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 18-19.

[99] Dunkle, 24.

[100] Futrell 2010, 48.

cities or other entertainment structures like the theater or the circus.[101] Alex Scobie argued that the three main public entertainment of Rome were inversely proportionate to the degree of violence contained within their structures.[102] Dramatic shows were often the most notably with violent audience reactions as opposed to the arena. Then perhaps there is still some value to Plass' argument of catharsis through artificial violence to the extent of managing tensions at least at Rome. The direct access to the emperor and the senators while actively and loudly watching the artificial violence and directly experiencing imperial justice within the same space would very likely bring a different degree of impact on the audiences at Rome than at other cities even in Italy. Potentially then the arena could act to counteract social tensions rather than violence within the society in general as the social structuring was an important part of the amphitheater as we will discuss further in detail.

As mentioned, the interaction between the emperor and the people was an important part of the games. The spectacles were unique opportunities for the emperor's self-representation, and they acted as an important context to read the quality of the emperor for the people.[103] Suetonius argued that how the emperor acted during the shows revealed their character and their capacity to rule.[104] The decision to attend the games, their active interest or disinterest, their particular focus during the games all could impact their image for the people.[105] Gunderson reads this process as the arena actually producing the emperor as a legible subject. The emperor was the most visible element of the larger political system and the arena as a context allowed the people to read his persona in real time during the shows.[106]

---

[101] Dunkle, 150.

[102] Alex Scobie, "Spectator Security and Comfort at Gladiatorial Games." *Nikephoros*, no. 1 (1988), 232.

[103] Hopkins and Beard, 113.

[104] Gunderson, 127.

[105] Futrell 2006, 36.

[106] Gunderson, 127-128.

2.4. The Spatial Experience within the Amphitheater

As we have discussed from the gladiator in the arena to the emperor and people in the audience, the amphitheater was significant for the Roman people for many reasons. The value of military discipline, the reach and might of the Roman empire, the visual access to the emperor and control of the potential unrest were all part of the role of the amphitheater within Roman society. Let us however take a moment to ask how was the space of the amphitheater conductive to such purposes? How was the experience within the amphitheater and how did it further serve to establish and reinforce social hierarchies of the people within?

J. Edmondson noted that the Roman social order was not an abstract notion but actually was shaped through lived experiences of the people and further reinforced through various practices.[107] These could involve rituals and festivals as primary actors to produce and reproduce social normal and order. Architecture is a particularly effective tool in such social persuasion.[108] Both the visual and spatial impact can help concretize ideas and norms and naturalize their impact with the people involved.

2.4.1 The Seating Order

One particular aspect of the amphitheater that was conductive to such social impact was the *cavea*, the seating area of the building. Hopkins argued that the spectacle of the Roman amphitheater was as much between the audience as it was in the arena itself.[109] As we shall see he was certainly correct in this assessment. While for the Republican period we have little evidence for a larger rule of segregated seating for the most part, there are some instances of reserving only certain areas for the elite. The evidence suggests for the most part men and women sat together in the audience of the arena shows though as the sponsor could have some control over the seating some of

---

[107] Edmondson 1996, 74.

[108] Futrell 2010, 130.

[109] Hopkins, 17.

the elite would be de facto separated from the people.[110] There is some evidence as early as second century BCE of parts of the seating reserved for the elite. During his show in 194 BCE, Publius Scipio Africanus gave preference to the senators and the law passed by Lucius Roscius Otho in 67 BCE reserved certain seats for the equestrians.[111] So, naturally, the people would in turn have problems with being able to see the show as well. In 123 BCE, C. Gracchus tried to, though unsuccessfully, have some temporary seating taken down for better visual access for the people. [112] The audience of the arena spectacles and their seating areas were while in parts segregated at the same time not entirely regulated by the late Republican period.

As Suetonius notes, Augustus brought an end to "wholly confused and lax way of watching shows and introduced order."[113] Augustus further extended the segregation of the audience to new heights. First in 26 BCE the senate passed a resolution that reserved the first row of seats to the senatorial class.[114] The next step in 20-17 BCE was *lex Julia theatralis* potentially prompted when a senator was denied a seat in Puteoli.[115] This law served as a much more comprehensive rule set for the seating of elite and non-elite both in the theater and the amphitheater. *Lex Julia theatralis* served as part of Augustus' larger reforms which he argued that was to bring back Roman values and traditions after the civil war. Part of his revival of Roman values was a restoration of the Roman social hierarchy.[116] Among all his efforts *lex Julia theatralis* was perhaps the most visible and it certainly aimed for a strict return to traditional Roman social order.

---

[110] Edmondson 1996, 87.

[111] Cicero, *For Lucious Murena*, 40; Velleius Paterculus 2.32.3 in Elkins 2019, 52; Dunkle, 263.

[112] Edmondson 1996, 87.

[113] Suetonius *Div. Aug.* 44 in Elizabeth Rawson, "Discrimina Ordinum: The Lex Julia Theatralis." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (November 1987): 85.

[114] Dio 53.25.1 in Edmondson 1996, 88.

[115] Elkins 2019, 52; Edmondson 1996, 88.

[116] Futrell 2006, 81.

Lex Julia theatralis aims to assign seats according to social status and rank. (Figure 6) Thus, the seats are assigned according to rank starting from the closest sections to the arena, and the action, for the people of the highest rank to continuing upwards with people of diminishing importance. In general, then the senators and the emperor had the best seats, then the equestrians followed afterwards were the plebians and slaves, freedmen and women at the highest sections.

We will use the Flavian Amphitheater as a case study to understand how the seating worked in more detail as it offers the most expansive evidence. The *cavea* of the amphitheaters were divided into several seating zones. In the Flavian Amphitheater the *cavea* had four larger sections for which we have specific terminology as the podium, *maenianum primum* (first gallery), *maenianum imum secundum* (lowest second gallery) which was divided into two parts and *maenianum summum in ligneis* (the highest gallery in wood). (Figure 7) These sections were divided by concentric walkways and the first section was further separated by a raised platform. There were balustrades under a meter tall at the back of the first section and front of the subsequent sections of seating.[117] The evidence from the Flavian amphitheater thus offers a good framework to examine seating considerations of the audience.

As mentioned, the seating order in the amphitheater was arranged hierarchically according to social status. Let us start from the area closest to the arena and work upwards. On the shorter axis of the Flavian amphitheater on the southern and northern sides sat two imperial boxes. Traditionally the southern imperial box has been identified the space of the emperor himself since there was a richly decorated subterranean passageway leading up to this area. The northern box was potentially reserved for other officials, emperor's family or perhaps even Vestal Virgins.[118] Apart from the imperial boxes, the area closest to the arena was the podium which was reserved for the senatorial class. In the Flavian Amphitheater this section had seven tiers of seats subdivided into fourteen *cunei* (wedges) separated by walkways.[119]

---

[117] Elkins 2019, 51-52; Edmondson 1996, 90.

[118] Elkins 2019, 55, however Elkins has a different theory on the subject further to be discussed later.

[119] Bomgardner 20; Elkins 2019, 52.

Elkins offers the number of potential senators in this section as 250-500.[120] Within this particular section there were further potential gradations of social hierarchies how applied within the horizontal axis. The status of patricians or senators of plebian ancestry for example were far different as was their offices impactful in their standing.[121] Vestal Virgins were also potentially located in the podium as well though this was not true for all groups of priests. Foreign ambassadors could be potentially in the podium if granted leave though notably Augustus was concerned freedmen with such status mixing with the senators.[122] Foreign kings and princes were also sometimes granted *ornamenta praetoria* or *consularia* and could thus sit in this section as well.[123] As noted, in the Flavian Amphitheater there was a wall behind the podium area architecturally concretizing the social barriers drawn. The fundamental social distinctions that were meant to be mapped to the *cavea* were thus further highlighted with a very real physical barrier.[124]

Right behind and slightly above the podium sat the *maenianum primum* reserved for the equestrian class and was in the Flavian Amphitheater subdivided to sixteen *cunei.* Each wedge had two *vomitoria* as passageways. [125] In the Flavian Amphitheater there are also some official inscriptions reserving some spaces within for specific groups as well. There were then also gradations of status within the equestrian class as well as subdivisions. The status could depend on salaries, political clout or honorific distinctions. In the theaters we have evidence that the equestrians would be divided into *iuniores* and *seniores.*[126] In the Flavian amphitheater the first circular walkway

[120] Elkins 2019, 52.

[121] Bomgardner 20.

[122] Rawson 1987, 85.

[123] Rawson 1987, 92.

[124] Edmondson 1996, 83.

[125] Edmondson 1996, 91; Bomgardner 15; Elkins 2019, 53.

[126] Bomgardner 15; Edmondson 1996, 91.

separated the podium and *maenianum primum* from the rest of the people and provided some distance and a buffer.[127]

The area behind and above the walkway was *maenianum imum secundum* and was reserved for the plebians with a toga. In the theater there is evidence that apparitors, magistrates' assistants, sat right behind the equestrians and in the very front of the section for the plebians. *Servi Puplici* would also be in a segregated group within the plebians rather than slaves. The plebians without a toga, those with *pullus*, were in the *maenianum summum secundum* right behind the plebians with togas.[128] Mommsen also argued that at least in the theater the plebs would sit in the *cavea* divided into their tribes which has been repeated in the scholarship often afterwards though as Rawson highlights there is really no evidence for such a subdivision.[129]

The most dramatic spatial separation in the seating area of the Flavian Amphitheater occurs going to *maenianum summum in ligneis*, the last and highest section of the *cavea.* This section is lifted with a wall of around five meters. In this section notably freedmen, slaves and women were segregated.[130] In the highest level of this section in particular were likely reserved for respectable women separated to the greatest degree. They were enclosed within a *porticus* in the Flavian Amphitheater.[131] Gunderson notes that Roman women, especially the elite women were political players however they were not placed within overt social categories that were being mapped to the *cavea* as such.[132] In a way, segregating women to such a striking degree put them in their place literally. As noted, men and women sat together in spectacles before Augustan reform, so this was part of his larger program. There is really no evidence to indicate one way or another whether there were any status gradations within the area. It was possible

[127] Edmondson 1996, 91.

[128] Edmondson 1996, 92.

[129] Rawson 1987, 94.

[130] Edmondson 1996, 92; Elkins 2019, 53.

[131] Elkins 2019, 53.

[132] Gunderson, 142.

matronae were in a different section than the registered *meretrices* and *probrosae*. We also do not know whether the female slaves sat with their mistresses or not. Women of the imperial family however notably often received honors to sit with the Vestal Virgins or in the imperial box. [133]

Lastly, we have evidence for some groups and organizations having their reserved seating areas as well. *Acta Fratrum Arvalium,* a priest brotherhood, had reserved areas of various numbers on the podium, equestrian area, plebian section and in the gallery at the top. *Praetaxtati and paedagogi* had adjacent wedges in the Flavian Amphitheater. Holders of *corona civica* would be granted seats right behind the senators as well.[134] Religious colleges would often have reserved seating in the *maenianum primum* and as mentioned the Vestal Virgins specifically were in the podium.[135] Most if not all these different groups would have own distinctive dresses that would be visually recognizable.

Let us note that while Augustan law and the evidence from the Flavian amphitheater show this idealized social ordering in the *cavea,* this was not an actual map of the relationships at Rome but an idealized representation that was being produced. The percentages of the areas reserved did not represent the people of Rome as the elite were far in overabundance and the plebs were much less in number. Bomgardner offers the estimates as such; the podium offered seating for four percent of the whole audience, equestrian section twenty-one percent whereas the plebian sections overall added to only fifty-five percent and non-plebians, non-elite and women only were offered a section of around nineteen percent of the overall seating area.[136] It was an idealized map meant to not reproduce the society as it was but favoring the ruling class made by the ruler; this Gunderson calls was the "ideological fictiveness" of this social

---

[133] Rawson 1987, 89-90.

[134] Elkins 2019, 54; Dunkle, 270; Gunderson, 125; Rawson 1987, 105.

[135] Gunderson 1996, 125.

[136] Bomgardner, 21.

ordering within the amphitheater.[137] This fiction of Roman society did not only favor some but significantly denied others like foreigners and extremely segregated women mapping and aiming to enforce an idea of social hierarchy in line with the dominant ideology.

2.4.2 Visual Communication

Thus, the Amphitheater also made a spectacle not only of the show in the arena but the audience as well. "He would look more closely at the crowd than at the games, since the crowd offers lots more spectacle."[138] Roman society was fundamentally very public in nature placing high attention on visibility and public interactions. Watching and being watched was a part of not only daily experience but also political existence.[139] The subdivisions of the people in the *cavea* of the amphitheater was highly visible and easily readable as clothing denoted social status during events of religious and civic significance which included the arena spectacles. The emperor himself would often wear triumphal dress to the games, a purple toga with gold motifs over a tunic with palms, or a white toga with gold embroidery. Current magistrates would need to wear *toga praetexta,* for senator's toga with a broad purple stripe.[140] We have noted that in the Flavian amphitheater the plebs with togas sat separately of those without and several groups and organizations sat together with their own distinct codes of dress. It was easy to see a map of the idealized social hierarchy and thus was easier to impose as well. The audience could not only see the spectacle but each other, with the further subdivisions within the larger groups they could track how individual social mobility progressed as well. It was an opportunity to observe but also could act as Foucault's "disciplinary gaze" for every individual in a mutual act.[141] Gunderson similarly likens the amphitheater to Foucault's Panopticon where the people would

---

[137] Gunderson 1996, 125.

[138] Horace, Epistles 2.1.197-198 Parker Holt N, "The Observed of All Observers: Spectacle, Applause, and Cultural Poetics in the Roman Theater Audience." *Studies in the History of Art* 56 (1999): 162.

[139] Carucci, 230.

[140] Edmondson 1996, 85; Elkins 2019, 53.

[141] Carucci, 230.

look on the spectacle and reproduce at the same time relations between the observer and the observed. The audience is revealed and determined together through their visual relationship to each other and the space itself. This determination is however only a "truth" produced through the idealized artificial social structuring of the amphitheater.[142]

However, let us not overstate the facts and imply the achievement of a rigid social stratification. Not only was the amphitheater not meant to produce and reinforce an image of society as it existed, the reality of lived experiences was probably much more dynamic than the idealized version that was presented. To start *lex Julia theatralis* did not immediately and fully take hold. Several edicts, municipal laws and charters from Augustus to Domitian indicate the law was not followed that strictly. Domitian e.g. had to reinstitute Roscian law from 67 BCE for the equestrian seating and reinforce dress codes appropriate for the shows.[143] Domitian further banned common people from sitting within the equestrian area as well. Claudius on the other hand would allow senators much more lax dress codes and allowed them to sit as they pleased. [144] Furthermore the podium in the Flavian Amphitheater allowed much more space than the senators would have ever needed so potentially their slaves or attendants could be in this area as well.[145] There is little to no evidence for slaves in particular, as often the case, though they were presumed to be at the very back standing, some like *servi publici* did have specific seats as a privileged group.[146] Vertical links of patronage could also break social barriers and personal ties could be across seemingly clear subdivisions. Similarly nearby groups could be at odds regardless of their social status.[147] Some also simply did not sit where they were meant to as well. There are mentions from the theater of a freedman being expelled from equestrian seats, or a

[142] Gunderson 1996, 116.

[143] Edmondson 1996, 98-99.

[144] Dunkle, 263, 267.

[145] Hopkins and Beard, 111.

[146] Rawson 1987, 87.

[147] Edmondson 1996, 100.

freedman becoming an equestrian but the crowd objecting while trying to sit in that section. The crowd could attempt to restore social status through seating like the case of L Quinctius Flaminius who was expelled by Cato in 184 BCE but when found sitting away from the senatorial seats the crowd clamored for him to be placed within the senatorial section.[148] As a place social ordering and visual impact the amphitheater also thus allowed attempts at changes to social order as well. It was unlikely these were grand changes, but small modifications were not only possible but likely often probable and well allowed in the dynamic environment of the arena.

2.4.3 Movement and Circulation System

Now that we have discussed the spatial social ordering in the amphitheater through seating and visual communication, let us move on to another dynamic spatial instrument, the movement within the amphitheater. We will continue to use the Flavian Amphitheater as a case study here for the relative abundance of evidence provided.

The careful control of movement and circulation for the Flavian amphitheater starts at the moment of approach. The building was situated in a circular piazza of broad travertine and allowed easy access to the façade in its entirety. (Figure 3) On the ground level the Flavian amphitheater offers eighty openings, vaulted entrances numbered in all but the four on the major and minor axes.[149] The circulation system was very sophisticated. (Figure 8) Members of the audience would have ceramic *tesserae* with the number of the entrance, their level aka the *maenianum*, their *cunei* number meaning the horizontal wedges within these levels, their *ordo* meaning row and their *locus* meaning seat number.[150] So every member of the audience knew which entrance to use. Even while they approached the building in the open plaza they would be thus guided and separated to different sections naturally following their own paths. The numbered entrances led to a variety of circular galleries, walkways, and staircases. On the short and the long axis of the amphitheater were the unnumbered gates which

---

[148] Edmondson 1996, 109.

[149] Bomgardner 18, Peter Rose, "Spectators and Spectator Comfort in Roman Entertainment Buildings: A Study in Functional Design." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 73 (2005), 104.

[150] Futrell 2005, 63.

suggests they had specific uses. The entrances on the short axis led to the imperial boxes and the long axis entrances led to the arena floor itself. The western entrance of the Flavian amphitheater was thus proposed as the entrance for the procession before the games and eastern opening as the place where the dead would be removed.[151]

The circulation system within the Flavian Amphitheater was fairly complex. Through an analysis using modern principles of efficiency in circulation P. Rose examined the Flavian amphitheater among other Roman entertainment structures through three main considerations; are the choices simple, is there clear visibility and good buffer zones and is there good stewarding?[152] Rose thus argues that the Flavian amphitheater's circulation system does often group various sections together in a highly efficient manner. The intersections of paths offer easy choices for quick movement. The double annular passages within and the vomitorium leading to the seating sections also offer good visibility for these choices and act as good buffer zones while people make the necessary choices to continue movement. The grouping of passages, stairways and secondary rooms allow the audiences to read the system better and the buffer zones like the vomitoria and entrances aid the flow of the people further.[153] The Flavian amphitheater offers an efficient system in movement in flow, speed, and readability of the system while within.

The Flavian Amphitheater offers another kind of efficiency with the circulation system and that is tied directly the social hierarchization. When one tracks which routes different members of the Roman society would have to follow, it is easy to see that there was no mixing in between. Each group, from senators to the freedmen used different sections of the circulation system without interaction in between.[154] These

[151] Elkins 2019, 25.

[152] Rose – to note while this paper offers useful insight while directly examining the available evidence of the Flavian amphitheater it is much less convincing in the attempts to impose the result of such analysis to other Roman entertainment types directly. Also, some of the direct application of modern understanding must be taken with the full consideration of their modernity which the paper does but only to a point.

[153] Rose, 111-126.

[154] Edmondson 1996, 94.

different sections of the circulation system was visual differentiated further as the entrances, passages and even the seating itself was much more elaborately decorated for the elite. One of the major entrances, north side assumed to be the imperial gate, was marked by a projected porch with a statue of a triumphal chariot on top. After entering one would proceed to a stuccoed reception hall. The corridor beneath the southern entrance potentially for the magistrates, Vestals and senators was also stuccoed whereas the eastern and western entrances were not thus decorated. The podium itself was also adorned with painted panels on the balustrade and sculpted reliefs with scenes of the arena.[155]

Let us take a moment to briefly trace the movement to every distinct vertical section of the Flavian amphitheater. It should be kept in mind for every one of these sections there would be further differentiation in two particular points during the circulation, namely in the beginning and towards the end: while entering through the particular gate necessary for not only your floor section but also the wedge and while finding your wedge, row and seat.

We will start with the senators in the podium. When the senators entered their assigned gate, they proceeded directly to the innermost circuit corridor through a radial entrance and then walk up very briefly on short number of steps following the vomitoria to the podium. There are twelve stairs in groups of six and each quadrant of the amphitheater could follow one of twelve entrance bays.[156] The Senators then followed a fairly straightforward path with very little vertical elevation. They proceeded directly within the amphitheater and briefly and shortly up to their seats.

The equestrians in the *meanianum primum* would enter from their bay to another circular corridor, second innermost, and a different higher set of stairs to their particular section of seating. There were sixteen staircases in symmetric groups around the axes which led to this section. The higher parts of the equestrian section would be naturally more difficult to get to as the annular passages and the following stairs led to

[155] Edmondson 1996

[156] Dunkle, 273; Bomgardner, 12.

the lower sections.[157] Notably the equestrians also moved relatively directly within, though not as far deep as the senators, but also slightly more vertically to reach their spaces.

The plebians with togas would be in the *meanianum immum secundum*. After using the relevant entrance bay, the plebians used the one of the outer circular corridors close to the entrance leading to one of thirty-six staircases and then after reaching a double arcaded gallery on the first floor proceeded to use one of the twenty stairways to reach their area.[158] The plebians, even those with a toga notably did not travel far within the amphitheater before proceeding to move vertically. Now much more vertical movement was involved to reach their seats relative to both senators and equestrians with double set of stairs.

The plebians without a toga in the *maenianum summum secundum* similarly used the outer two corridors from their entrances and proceeded upwards through their particular staircases from the first floor forward and passed to an intermediate gallery up further through one of the sixteen stairs. In the arcaded gallery on the second floor proceeded to an inner circular corridor and to another set of stairs to their section. The plebians without a toga were similarly to the other plebians not able to penetrate much to the inner spaces of the amphitheater but continued the vertical movement even further directly to reach their assigned seats.

Finally for the freedmen, slaves, foreigners and in the highest section women there was the *meanianum summum in ligneis.* To reach this section one would have to similarly enter to the outermost circular galleries, proceed upwards to first and then the second-floor arcaded gallery. From the second-floor gallery one could reach the inner circular corridor from which another set of stairs reached the covered gallery above. Then we arrive to another set of stairs and then to a vomitoria to the top area. The attic area presumably set aside for women was even higher with last set of stairs.[159]

---

[157] Dunkle, 274; Bomgardner, 12.

[158] Dunkle, 275; Bomgardner, 12.

[159] Bomgardner, 13; Dunkle, 275.

Overall, this section offered a steep rise in elevation even from the *maenianum summum secundum* relative to the relationship between every other particular vertical section. This area was very strictly separated from the rest of the amphitheater. Similar to the plebians the rest of the non-elite of the Roman society and the women were not allowed access to the deeper parts of the amphitheater whereas the vertical movement was emphasized even further to a visually dramatic degree. The separation of this section and the seemingly endless vertical climb needed to reach it is striking.

As noted, the circulation system was symmetrically patterned and thus grouped together for easy readability and access throughout. Each quadrant of the amphitheater offered a similar degree of access to all regions within. Also, we see a strict separation of the circulation routes of various social groups. The higher one's status, the deeper he would proceed within the amphitheater. While the senators would go deep into the structure the plebs would climb in the outer zones.[160] Rose offers an estimation of the relative time to reach to various sections from entrance to the vomitorium; thirty seconds for the senators to the podium, forty-five seconds to the equestrian section, around ninety seconds for the plebians with togas, hundred and twenty seconds for the plebians without togas and hundred and forty seconds for the rest of the people.[161] While the exact numbers could be questioned, the relative differences are suggestive. The stark difference of the senators' direct access to their seats within thirty seconds to the freedmen trying to climb up the many steep stairs in more than two minutes is likely because of their relative movement within these spaces and are mostly likely intended consequences of the purposefully non-egalitarian architecture of the amphitheater.

2.5 The Spatial Impact of the Amphitheater

The Roman Amphitheater, the Flavian amphitheater especially, itself constructed the Roman society through a variety of spatial means, through movement, placement of seating or visual relationships. There was no one single way that could be easily

---

[160] Bomgardner, 14.

[161] Rose, 113, The exact numbers should be taken with a grain of salt as Rose uses numbers from tourist to test; however, the relative relationship of the numbers are still indicative.

countermanded or ignored but a continuous process starting from the moment the audience received a ticket and approached the building evoked continuously until exited and moved away. In the amphitheater, ideally, every member of the audience was guided and put in their literal proper place, physically segregated through the process but also eventually enacting visual control through a multi-faceted disciplinary gaze. Notably the visual control enacted would be potentially stricter on the more easily visually accessible areas where the elite were located. The senators and equestrians had less numbers, were located closer to the action and the center of spectacular attention and had more strict internal differentiations of social rank that other people of Rome could read and judge accordingly. While Roman citizens with and without togas were differentiated from each other and non-citizens and women, apart from specific groups and organizations, we have little evidence of as strict social differentiation in their seating within their particular *maeniana*. They were likely much harder to visually differentiate, judge and thus enact control over individually with their higher locations at the back of the elite and higher number of people involved. The visual distance especially increased the higher the audience was located within the *cavea* and so the lower social status most likely the less precise the visual control and discipline enacted. This could potentially aid the communicative aspect of the amphitheater. Affording unseen social power, even if not a significant amount, to the people who had this venue as one of the few to communicate their wants and needs with the people in power could be thus further emboldened. It was unlikely a true balance of power was afforded but could perhaps help with a feeling of empowerment enough to facilitate further communication.

The amphitheater's spatial social ordering started from the moment of approach to the amphitheater, followed through the different circulation patterns with distinctions of time and effort required, allowed, and withheld access to the inner spaces to put people to their places to then after the spectacle of the arena ended to reiterate it as people had to follow the same circulation patterns to leave the building in their assigned paths and entrance bays. Arguably this social order was only contained within the very constructed spatial experience of the amphitheater and when the audience left the building, the impact could potentially break down. However, as Gunderson notes,

the amphitheater did not work alone but within a larger system of ideological structures; there really was no outside of the arena because it was placed within the larger social life of the Roman people and acted in conjunction.[162]

The scholarship of Roman games and the amphitheater often neglects this particularly spatial nature of the social impact of the games even while often discussing the strict seating arrangements.[163] The amphitheater would be effective in propagating social norms and values not only because it was popular but also for its contained spatial experience that allowed a dynamic application of ideology through movement and visual relationships. It was unavoidable but not immutable. It could allow small alterations and negotiations for its dynamic quality; people could move to different places and comment on the system itself. However, it was encompassing enough that the larger system would be that much harder to significantly alter, the social hierarchy entrenched more and more as the people negotiated the details while naturalizing the impact of the whole. The social hierarchy as a framework then was built in the architecture of the amphitheater, mutable enough to fit the Roman society as dynamic as it was but still fundamentally impactful.

This was a double-sided act of segregation and unity. The amphitheater separated people into distinct groups and spatially mapped them while also through the spectacle and the experience of the shows brought them together.

> ……the Roman people are held fast by two things above all, the grain-dole and the shows, that the success of a government depends on games as much as more serious things . . . by the spectacles the whole population is conciliated.[164]

The audience itself was a cross section of the Roman society, though not represented in its real proportions of social classes. Emperor to the slave were all part of the audience together separated from the space of the sand. Whether against the wild beasts hunted or the disgraced gladiators fighting the arena was a symbol representing

[162] Gunderson, 119.

[163] With few exceptions like Bomgardner and Dunkle to a lesser point.

[164] Fronto, *Preamble to History* 17, in Futrell 2006, 36.

the other, the audience was placed above and apart as the Roman society together.[165] The audience ringed around to control and overcome other. The elevation also helped this aim by bringing the gazes of the audience down intentionally degrading the people in the arena and by emphasizing this distance also highlighting the audience as a singular unit together against the criminal and the disgraced.[166]

The audience of the amphitheater were not passive subjects of the effects imposed on them. As noted, this was a place of communication as well as multi-faceted visual control. The audience participated actively in the continuous spectacles of the arena and the amphitheater, themselves acting as performers as well.[167] Through active participation, the audience and the amphitheater produced and advertised the idealized Roman society. The experience within realized a sense of Romanness, working within the larger system, actively defining who belonged where within the Roman society as well as who was supposed to be excluded from it. The aim was not to present Rome as it was but to create this idealized version with inclusions and exclusions as the ruler saw necessary, defined to serve the ideological structure of Rome.[168] This was the space of active construction of Roman society as a continuous process.

Let us consider what has been discussed. The amphitheater spatially orders and guides the separate social classes from the moment of approaching the building to movement within to the place where everyone was put into place. The audience is then brought together being set against the disgraced yet idealized gladiators, the wild beasts and condemned criminals while they are simultaneously allowed unique opportunities of communication between various social classes but especially directly with the emperor. The emperor in turn has the space to define himself through these experiences in favorable or unfavorable ways. Through the visual access and control afforded through active participation of the audience relieving potential social tensions, the amphitheater could produce and reproduce this idealized version of

[165] Futrell 2010, 5; Gunderson, 133.

[166] Carucci, 229.

[167] Edmondson 1996, 82; Carucci, 229.

[168] Gunderson, 119.

Roman identity and society in line with the ideology of the ruler. This was not a static understanding of Romanness either, as the process of production and reproduction was dynamic and dependent on both the guidance from the dominant forces and active participation of the members of the audience simultaneously. The results were likely never exactly as intended through the dynamic nature of the experience either. While as noted, major changes and alterations were difficult, small modifications and pushback was part of the process as the communication, visual, spatial, and verbal, was central to the whole mechanism. Thus, the identity produced and reproduced would always be in flux in line with the audience's communications as well as the ruler's intentions. Despite the seemingly stable and static appearance of the amphitheater, games, and their forces this actual mutability of the impact of their lived experience would make them particularly useful and impactful in processes of Roman imperialization as we will discuss further in a later chapter.[169] Not only did the amphitheater and the games offer ways to produce an idealized and choreographed version of Romanness in line with the ideology of the state willingly produced and reproduced by the audience itself, but the actual dynamic and mutable nature of their processes allowed them to be transported and reinterpreted in various ways particularly useful in the vastly diverse nature of the Roman Empire itself.

[169] The particular use and impact of the amphitheater and the games beyond Rome will be discussed in great detail in further chapters.

CHAPTER 3

BETWEEN ROME AND PERGAMON

3.1. Rome and Pergamon

Rome had a rather long and complicated relationship with the Greek speaking East. Pergamon itself was not an insignificant part of the early interactions of Rome with the Greek mainland and Asia Minor. Rome's social, political, and cultural interactions with the East are thus central to our examination of the particular relationship of Rome and Pergamon, and hence the Pergamene amphitheater. How this interaction developed in general with Rome and the East as well as in particular with Rome and Pergamon must be considered to have a better grasp of both.

This chapter will thus examine the interactions between Rome and the East as well as Rome and Pergamon. First, we shall discuss the historical and political context of Rome's interaction with Hellenic culture and societies. In particular we shall focus on Rome's relationship with Pergamon and how it was particularly impactful on the cultural, social and political context of the Roman Republic. Afterwards we shall discuss what the scholarship often terms as "Hellenization of Rome," aka the Hellenic cultural influences on Rome in middle and late Republic. We shall first lay out how Hellenization of Rome is discussed in the larger scholarship before discussing the issues in the common approaches to this topic highlighted with the particular example of Pergamon. Finally, a more focused approach to cultural interaction between Rome and the East and Pergamon in the middle and late Republic as an alternative, will follow.

Let us first begin with a relatively brief introduction of Rome's interactions with the Greek speaking part of the world and Pergamon. Exposure to the Greek speaking communities started early in the history of Rome, so early it is difficult to make a

precise guess with the lack of concrete evidence. Legends themselves dated the Sibylline Books to the time of the Roman Kings, Tarquinius Superbus specifically. Mentions of consulting this book date from fifth and fourth century BCE.[170] Also the evidence from Etruscan neighbors in the north show a significant number of Hellenic vases and bronzes as well as evidence of employing painters from the Greek speaking part of the world. Romans did come into direct contact with Greek speaking cultures in the late fourth century with the colonial states of southern Italy and Sicily that is often called Magna Graecia. In the fourth and third centuries, Rome started to exert control over the southern Italian peninsula and Sicily with cities like Neapolis, Paestum and Heraclea.[171] Some authors argue that "Greek works art, ideas and ideals" were influential in Rome in this early period.[172]

Roman engagement with the Greek mainland started in late third century with incursions into Illyria. It was also in the late third century that the Kingdom of Pergamon started a unique friendship (*amiciatia*) with Rome that would last throughout the life of this Hellenistic Kingdom.[173] When Philip of Macedon started an alliance with Carthage during the Second Punic War, Rome itself allied with the Hellenic cities of Greek mainland and Asia Minor in the First Macedonian War in 215-205 BCE. Rome at first allied with the Aetolian League, the League in turn admitted Attalus I, the ruler of Pergamon, into the alliance and granted him the title *strategos* of the League for 210/209.[174] After the victory of the First Macedonian War Romans

---

[170] Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 251.

[171] Branigan 2002,39-40, Gruen 1986, 17.

[172] Branigan, 39.

[173] Ann Kuttner, "Republican Rome Looks at Pergamon." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance, 97* (1995): 160.

[174] P.J. Burton, *Friendship and Empire: Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2014), 84; Branigan, 40.

and the allies signed a treaty and Pergamon entered *amicitia* with Rome in 210 BCE. Attalos was the first Asiatic prince to do so.[175]

An early event highlights how significant the early relationship of Rome and Pergamon might have been for both parties. In 204 BCE during the Second Punic War Romans consulted the Sibylline Books and the Oracle of Delphi. Romans were advised to bring over Magna Mater from Asia Minor to Rome in order to win the war. Rome thus sent an embassy to Attalus I. To note, this was also the period of time when the treaty after the First Macedonian War was being finalized. Attalos aided the Roman group to acquire the holy stone of Magna Mater and transport it to Rome where the goddess was welcomed home and a shrine was installed on the Palatine with annual games in her honor.[176]

The transfer of Magna Mater facilitated by the Pergamene King to Rome was significant for multiple reasons. The transfer of an eastern cult to Rome, to the heart of Rome at the Palatine, was a good sign of commitment from Rome to the East. Bringing a cult from Asia Minor in particular was a sign of commitment to Attalos I.[177] This event and the cult could offer to reinforce the relationship between Rome and Pergamon. Furthermore, the cult of Magna Mater was a significant one in Pergamon and thus this cult offered an opportunity of a shared cultic experience. To further connect both parties, Magna Mater was introduced to Rome as Magna Mater of Ilion. As we shall discuss Troy was a significant part of the Pergamene foundation myth as it became for Rome. Thus, this shared connection to Troy was another signifier of the bond Rome and Pergamon were committing to at this time. A connection of shared religion and cultural myth was a good basis for political and cultural interaction.[178]

---

[175] Esther Violet Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*. (Cornell University Press, 1971), 46-48; Gruen 1986, 530.

[176] Andrew Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 209; Gruen 2000, 26.

[177] Erskine 2003, 209.

[178] R. Evans, 29, Erskine 2003, 210, 219-224.

This was only the beginning of the history of Rome and Pergamon. After the First Macedonian War the enmity between Attalos and Rhodes towards Philip of Macedon continued. Eventually argument of an alliance between Philip and Antiochus resulted in the Second Macedonian War where Romans were in support of Pergamon and Rhodes with the support of Athens. Athens we can note was a good ally of Pergamon as well and Attalos I was particularly favored in the city where he was voted with high honors.[179] This war was particularly beneficial to Rhodes and Pergamon with regards to their territorial ambitions.

Rome situated herself as the defender of the freedom of Hellenic cities. Rome gave Antiochus a warning to respect their freedom as well as in 196 BCE in the Isthmian games T. Flamininus made a declaration that Rome would restore the freedom of Greece with no tributes needed or garrisons placed.[180] In his "defense of freedom" Romans joined forces with his allies in particular Pergamon many times, from securing Laconian coastal towns in a war against Sparta to other fights against Antiochus.[181] It was Eumenes II, the successor of Attalos I, who once again asked for Roman aid against Antiochus. Antiochus in turn allied with the Aetolian League against Romans eventually to their loss. During these events Eumenes II and his brother Attalos II both went to Rome to argue their cases against Antiochus multiple times. Both were noted to have been received as guests of the Senate with honors and gifts. Attalos II at one time was awarded with two horses, two sets of equestrian armor, silver vases and gold.[182] Gruen argues that this was in fact an Asian war that Romans aided whereby Rome was deployed for Pergamene purposes.[183] At the end of this struggle with Antiochus in 189 BCE, Eumenes II made a speech in front of the senate in a private

---

[179] Hansen, 56-59.

[180] Branigan, 41; Gruen 1986, 132.

[181] Hansen, 72; Gruen 1986, 544.

[182] Hansen, 77; Gruen 1986, 544.

[183] Gruen 1986, 546.

audience evoking the close history between Rome and Pergamon. As Polybius conveys Eumenes II's words:

> As my father was the first to become your friend and ally, so of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece he was the most nobly loyal to you to the last day of his life, not only in heart but in deed. For he took part in all your wars in Greece, and furnished the largest contingents of men and ships of all your allies; contributed the largest share of supplies; and faced the most serious dangers; and to sum up all, ended his life actually engaged in war with Philip, while urging the Boeotians to join your friendship and alliance.[184]

Eumenes evoked the early and close alliance as well his father Attalos I' deeds in help to Rome. He furthermore adds a sense of common destiny and identity as binding two sides and cites the procurement of Magna Mater for Rome. He also argued for either Rome to take possession of the cities subjected to the war or grant them to Eumenes rather than Rhodians arguing for freedom.[185]

> .... you will be told, it is a finer thing to set free those who are enslaved. Yes, if they had not dared to fight against you with Antiochus. But since they did so, it is far finer to give true friends fitting gratitude than to confer benefits upon those who were your enemies.[186]

Eumenes II' speech as we can guess was rather impactful, since with the ensuing Peace of Apamea Rome granted Eumenes II a large portion of western Asia Minor.[187] Pergamon was now the largest Kingdom in Asia Minor and was a significant power without question. The Roman Republic chose to exert indirect influence on Greece and Asia Minor at this point on rather than direct control and the Pergamene Kingdom was her major instrument. So, Pergamon arguably became "an instrument of Roman hegemony in Asia Minor"[188] or the "watchdog in Asia Minor."[189] It is difficult to argue

---

[184] Polybius. XXI 20, 1-5; c.f. XVIII 41, 8-9 in Hansen, 67.

[185] Burton 2011, 86; Hansen, 92.

[186] Polybius XXI 21 in Hansen, 92.

[187] Hansen, 93.

[188] R. Evans, 34

[189] Gruen 1986, 550-551 for clarity Gruen does not argue this point but refers to larger patterns in the scholarship.

that Pergamon was not the main contact and agent of Rome in Asia Minor however naming the kingdom as simply an agent does rather mask the agency and capability of Pergamene Kings in this relationship. Regardless of the reason why Rome did not wish to exert direct control over the Greek speaking East, a controversial topic, the relationship between Rome and Pergamon thus has been often presented as Rome awarding Pergamon for all they have accomplished without any need for effort on the Pergamene side. Hansen argues that this perspective rather ignores the political acumen of the Pergamene Kings in building the right alliances with the right people at the right time and utilizing those alliances fruitfully.[190] Gruen also believes that the Pergamene Kings exploited their connection to Rome for their benefit and Rome, while responding to their efforts was a less active participant.[191] I would argue that as usual the picture was more complicated than either a force of Rome granting every benefit to a passive Pergamon or on the other side Pergamon maneuvering a passive Rome to participation. What is most likely the case was that on the one hand Rome did not want to directly involve itself, whether for economic reasons or political, but wanted also some say in a region as significant as Greece and Asia Minor. Pergamene Kings on the other hand, through evidence we will discuss further, show themselves to be rather capable political figures and were unlikely to be passively given and maneuvered to only Roman ends. Regardless, it must be acknowledged that Pergamon and Rome shared a very significant relationship in very key moments of their history.

The relationship did not simply end with the Peace of Apamea. Rome's aid was sought in the Pergamene struggle with Bithynia for example where Hannibal also participated, as well as the fight with Pharnaces of Pontus.[192] Eumenes II and his brother Attalos II were continually received with honors at Rome for a time. Yet not all was well. "When assured that Eumenes was an excellent man and a friend of Rome, Cato replied that all kings were by nature carnivorous."[193] In particular, after the Third Macedonian War

---

[190] Hansen, 128.

[191] Gruen 1986, 550-551.

[192] Hansen, 100-102.

[193] Polybius XXVII 7,5-6; Livy XLII 6,3; 11-14 in Hansen, 110.

the relationship between Rome and Pergamon became much more complicated. This war proved rather more costly than assumed for Rome, be it expenses or causalities. Some scholars have also argued that the Senate now sought to humble Roman allies in order to balance powers much more in their favor.[194] Rome proved much more unreliable as a source of aid for Pergamon, and the relationship cooled. During a Galatian uprising when Eumenes II once again wanted to go to Rome to ask for aid he was not received due to a new decree. "No king was to visit Rome."[195] Still Eumenes II proved successful and the relationship did not entirely break. After his passing, his brother Attalos II came to power and was much favored by Rome. Attalos II served with Roman generals in many wars and was welcomed at Rome many a times with many gifts. His rule is often presented as another instance of obeisance to Rome at cost to their own policies, though Kaye has argued that the situations were much more so that Attalos was utilizing Rome once again to his advantage.[196] As Gruen argues "Roman influence in Asia Minor operated usually through indirect mobilization by the Pergamene King."[197] Attalos in turn supported Rome in making Macedonia a Roman province and assisted the Roman legion of L. Mummius in sack of Corinth in 146 BCE.[198]

It was the son of Eumenes II, Attalos III who succeeded his uncle and brought an end to the kingdom. In 133 BCE Attalos III passed away and bequeathed the Kingdom of Pergamon to the Roman people. It has been a subject of discussion why exactly he did this, whether it was anger against his subjects or interest in his subjects' well-being. Regardless, the kingdom was left to the Roman people with the capital promised to have a democratic constitution and control of the land around it. The will came to Rome in the summer of 133 BCE at an interesting time. Tiberius Gracchus was passing

---

[194] Gruen 1986, 563.

[195] Hansen, 123.

[196] Noah Kaye, *The Attalids of Pergamon and Anatolia: Money, Culture, and State Power*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 28.

[197] Gruen 1986, 591.

[198] Hansen, 132.

his rather costly agrarian laws and he argued that the will bequeathing the Kingdom to the people could be interpreted as the money of the king to be used for the citizens, to give them public land and equip their farms. He argued that the people should choose what to do with this money. This argument did not gain Gracchus favors in the Senate and he was assassinated shortly after. The Senate took the role of arbiter for the will. There was also a brutal war of succession by the illegitimate son of Eumenes II that impacted the area significantly before Rome intervened. [199]

Pergamon had an impact on Rome even after the dissolution of the Kingdom. Pliny the Elder notes that when after three or four years, the royal treasuries of the Attalids were auctioned off, a major boom in consumerism also followed. "All modesty entirely disappeared at the auctions of the king's effects at Rome."[200] The Pergamene Kingdom which became the province of Asia provided a large portion of the regular public revenues in the late Republic. In this regard, Cicero notes how the invasion of Asia by Mithridates in 88 BCE caused a credit crisis at Rome.[201]

3.2. "Hellenization" of Rome

This chapter has so far discussed some of the major interactions Rome had with the Greek speaking East, especially Pergamon. Let us now discuss the impact this and other interactions from the middle to the late Republican era had on Roman culture, the "Hellenization of Rome."

We have discussed how the interaction of Rome with Greek speaking communities might have started from the very beginning of the Roman Republic. The more significant cultural shift however has been noted by the scholarship in the third and second centuries BCE. "Philhellenism is a fact." Gruen says.[202] The increased contact with the Greek speaking East brought about a transformation of culture. Many Romans

---

[199] Kaye, 123-124; Hansen, 147; Gruen 1986, 599.

[200] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 33.149 in Kaye, 126.

[201] Kaye, 125.

[202] Gruen 1986, 252.

from especially the second century BCE onward spoke and wrote Greek, were well educated in Greek culture and thus emulated it.[203] Ward-Perkins argued "Roman art never fully recovered from the resulting state of cultural shock."[204] Flower calls this impact a "radical Hellenization" on various areas of Roman life as a result of Roman military success in the East.[205] Wallace-Hadrill argues that Romanization was preceded by the first Hellenization; "to civilize others Romans had to be civilized."[206]

As Rome expressed and enacted more and more in her interest in Greece and Asia Minor Rome herself underwent rather significant change. The returning armies brought new ideas and attitudes to the city. This was significant both in the material realm and in the political world of Rome. For example, both Flamininus and Aemilius Paullus had been treated in status much in the way of Hellenistic monarchs in the eastern Mediterranean which in turn led with the combination of the great number of spoils and indemnities to very spectacular triumphs with very extravagant displays at Rome. The triumphs and games exalted their position in Rome and some generals even shared the new fortune with the people like for example Manlius Vulso who used his 187 BCE triumph to pay taxes for the people.[207] Thus consulship and participation in wars in the eastern Mediterranean brought great prestige and personal wealth increasing the already intense competition for office impacting the Roman political scene.

This increased interest and influence and the impact of the spoils and materials brought back to Rome was rather culturally significant as well. Livius Andronicus translated Homer and was teaching both in Greek and Latin. The booty from the various wars

---

[203] N. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks*. (Athens, 1974), 24-33 ; A. Besancon, *Les adversaires de l'hellenisme a Rome pendant la période republicane*. (Paris-Lausanne: Payot, 1910), 1-182; T.J. Haarhoff, *The Stranger at the Gate. (*Oxford, 1948), 169-215, Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*. (London: Duckworth, 1979), 30-52.

[204] J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture. (*New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1977), 17.

[205] H.I. Flower, *Roman Republics*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 178.

[206] Wallace-Hadrill 1998, 79.

[207] Penelope J. E. Davies, *Architecture and Politics in Republican Rome*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 77.

Romans were participating in Greece and Asia Minor also brought a significant number of art works into Rome. Statues and paintings were brought to Rome as early as 270s BCE from Tarentum, later Romans celebrated the fall of Syracuse and enjoyed the spoils. Items were said to be taken to private homes as well as public spaces as state property. [208] This was also followed by the sack of Corinth by Mummius alongside with Pergamene Attalos II which inundated the city of Rome with Greek art works. The spoils were of a significant number; it was noted that Marcus Flavius Nobilior celebrated his triumph after his campaigns in Greece with 285 bronze and 250 marble statues displayed as well as Greek performers and athletes in his games. The Second and Third Macedonian Wars already mentioned were followed by even more Greek art shipped to Rome. After the defeat of Antiochus, L. Scipio brought 1423 pounds of silver vases in 186 BCE, Aemilius Paullus' triumph after Pydna included statues and paintings in 250 wagons including a statue of Athena by Pheidias. In 148 BCE Quintus Metellus once again plundered Macedonia and brought back famous works like the Granikos Monument of Lysippos. Not only paintings and statuary but even Greek silverware was used in Roman tables. [209] Pollitt calls Rome a "museum of Greek art of high level of works" which included as mentioned many famous artists from Lysippos to Pheidias.[210] Davies notes that the spoils increased dramatically especially after the second Macedonian war in number and extravagance. Interest also likely spread beyond the Roman elite. The materials from the eastern Mediterranean being much more available preferences of materials at large also shifted for example the larger use of Greek marble.[211]

Copies of art works were also in high demand in Rome, a high number of reproductions were made in the first century BCE at high speed. Branigan argues that this influenced Roman art with Greek influences of both classical and Hellenistic periods as well as Italic art and late Etruscan works.[212] Davies further highlights how these sculptures

[208] Pollitt 1978, 155; Gruen 1986, 252.

[209] Branigan, 41; Pollitt 1978, 156-157.

[210] Pollitt 1978, 157.

[211]Davies, 111-112.

[212] Branigan, 42.

were more often reproductions of classical works revived rather than more contemporary work. This selective approach and Roman patronage could demonstrate the Roman management and refinement of the Greek speaking world under Roman interest.[213]

Architecture also was not free of this influence. The scale of monumental marble architecture as well as the urban planning of the eastern Mediterranean was not familiar to Rome. Thus, in a larger context, the planning methods of Greek cities, the orthogonal planning in particular, are noted to have influenced Roman planning significantly. Many building types from forums, theaters to circuses and temples were impactful but Romans modified their form and scale as well as embellishing much in their style for the state context.[214] In some examples, these influences were mixed with Roman ideas. For example, the Temple of Hercules Muserum by Fulvius Nobilior in Rome shows a circular *cella* referencing *tholoi* of Greece and Macedonia such as Philip II heroon for Hercules at Olympia. (Figure 9) At the same time however, the building plan shows a rectilinear porch offering Roman frontality to this structure fusing architectural traditions.[215] The particular influence of Greek works of art and architecture also resulted in the first marble temple in Rome in 137 BCE by Q. Metellus Macedonicus after the Fourth Macedonian War, a shrine for Jupiter Stator. (Figure 10) The Greek architect Hermodorus of Salamis also built a marble temple of Mars in the Circus Flaminius.[216] Furthermore some architectural types like free standing arches were gaining popularity which were in function only serving to exhibit spoils. A very early example is by Cn Cornelius Blasio whose spoils were channeled into two arches by Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in Forum Boarium and a third in Circus Maximus all known as *fornices Stertinii*.[217]

---

[213]Davies, 117.

[214] Branigan, 43. However, we must note this is a very simplistic picture of Late Republican Roman architecture.

[215] Davies, 93.

[216] Gruen, 1992, 137.

[217] Davies, 121.

It was not only art that was brought from Greece and Asia Minor but also artists, craftsmen, educators, and philosophers. Hellenic education for the Roman elite and their families became increasingly common in the late Republican era. Greek teachers, philosophers, rhetoricians, and artists took part in Roman education of the upper classes second century onward. The Roman elite was very well educated on Hellenic language, literature and philosophy after this point.[218] Especially after the Mithridatic Wars many scholars came from Greece and Asia Minor as well. Philo, the Head of the Academy of Athens came as a refugee and gave lectures, Apollonius Molon, the rhetor also taught at Rome as well, the Grammaticus Tyrannia and the poet and Grammaticus Parthenius were also known to teach at Rome.[219] A school of Greek declamation was established in Rome in 161 BCE as well as one for rhetoric. Rhetoric in particular became a principal part of Roman education and was taught in the Hellenistic and eastern school methods. Often young Romans would spend a year at Athens; Caesar and Cicero both spent a year in Rhodes learning rhetoric.[220]

We must note however, that popular as many aspects of Hellenic culture were judging from their significant impact on Roman life, they were not all liked. Davies notes the significant political changes of this time and the unease of the Senate. As the new triumphs brought more and more opportunities for personal prestige and revenue at the same time the command structure also changed to allow *praetors* to command in the field and thus opportunities to achieve such benefits in addition to consuls. The increasing intensity of the competition for a select number of offices changed the political equilibrium significantly which Davis connects to the moralizing tones of the many Romans at this time.[221] Many professed scorn and disclaimed any interest or admiration. Some argued that these changes to Roman culture were a threat to Roman values. Cato in particular is seen as a significant member of this party. He led a campaign against rhetoricians and the flood of imported works of art. He imposed

---

[218] Gruen 1986, 257.

[219] E. Rawson *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*. (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2013), 7.

[220] Branigan, 45.

[221]Davies, 78, 79.

taxes on imported luxuries. He was not alone; Scipio the Younger was appalled at the popularity of Greek schools of singing and dancing. The persecution of Bacchanalians in 186 BCE was known to be rather harsh. The Senate also made attempts in the second century to limit the influence of certain Hellenistic philosophers and rhetoricians like Carneades and Diogenes.[222] Cato further did not approve of Greek oratory, poetry, and philosophy. He was particularly critical of Greek medicine and called for the expulsion of Greeks from Italy.[223]

The scholarship at large has struggled with this double-sided approach to the Greek-Roman cultural interactions. Some argue that the Romans were strictly divided between the philhellenic group and the conservative figures like Cato. Gruen and others believe that a more complex interaction went beyond simple dichotomies. It has been argued that there were pragmatic reasons for interest in Greek culture[224], while others maintained that Roman princeps could be found emulating Hellenistic kings[225] and finally some have claimed the conflict of admiration and scorn derived from a sense of cultural inferiority.[226] According to Gruen, Romans embraced and utilized Greek culture fully to project Roman ascendancy and rule.[227] As discussed Davies connected these attitudes to the rapid change in the larger socio-political environment.[228]

Onians also notes that Romans' fundamental relationship to art was significantly different than the Greek speakers. Art for the residents of Greece and Asia Minor acted

---

[222] Branigan, 45.

[223] Gruen 1992, 52.

[224] A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom*. (Cambridge, 1975), M. H. Crawford "Greek Intellectuals and the Roman Aristocracy in the First Century B.C." in *Imperialism in the Ancient World,* ed. P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker (Cambridge, 1978), 193-207.

[225] J.L. Ferrary, "Le discours de Philus et la philosophie de Carneade." REL 55 (1977), 128-156; P. Zanker *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus.* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1988)

[226] Crawford 1978, I. Opelt, "La conscienza linguistica dei Romani." *Atene e Roma*, (1969), 21-37.

[227] Gruen 1992, 269.

[228] Davis, 77-79.

as an active instrument of development and education whereas for Romans they acted as signs, as Romans called them "*signa*." Romans took art as possessions, trophies, mementos or emblems. Similarly, the Greek education for Romans was only a brief exposure to an alien culture not the formative experience of their lives. For the Greek speakers, art was what formed an awareness of the body and education was how they shaped their minds, whereas for the Romans they were attributes and ornaments to display and put away as needed. [229] Romans interacted with art fundamentally much differently.

The cultural interaction and forces here were complex and multifaceted. Furthermore, we should remember that at this time Greek speaking parts of the East were not the only places Rome had contact with, nor as we shall further discuss Asia Minor itself was fully "Hellenized." To see cultural change as a simplified phenomenon of dualities at work would be an oversimplification. The particular relationship between Roman and Hellenic culture was ambiguous and complex. There is little doubt that Hellenic art, philosophy, education and language had an impact on Republican Rome. However, the framing of the scholarship of that impact so far has not been perhaps the most fruitful approach.

3.3. The generalization of "Hellenization"

The previous section largely shared the well-established discussions on the "Hellenization of Rome" in the larger scholarship. Unlike the upcoming chapter topic "Romanization", Hellenization, in particular of Rome has not been a significant subject of discourse for many decades. The comparative lack of more recent works and scholarship for our previous discussion might also reflect how well accepted the discourse of "Hellenization of Rome" is. The scholarship says that Rome had significant contact with the Greeks and had gained so much booty and Greek artists, philosophers and others of such kind that it became largely influenced and converted by Greek culture. Hence, Rome was Hellenized before it could Romanize. As we have

[229] J. Onians *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 157-161.

quoted from Wallace-Hadrill once before "to civilize others Romans had to be civilized."[230]

There are biases and problems in this approach we must examine here. Let us start with the question: what is Greek? What the discourse of Hellenization of Rome assumes is that there is a distinct, clear and monolithic "Greek" identity taken to Rome through various means to also make Rome more "Greek." The current approach to such a question has been largely been left over from the late nineteenth century onward scholarship that took ancient Greeks as a distinct entity. This approach brought a tendency to apply a monolithic idea to what is thought as the "ancient Greeks." This kind of approach imposes very limiting and misleading ideas of uniformity across all regions and cultures that have come to speak Greek and borrow in one way or another various parts of the culture of the *poleis* of the Greek mainland from the Classical period onward. The specificity and difference of the Classical *polis* of Athens from the Hellenistic center of Pergamon to the cities in Magna Graecia like Syracuse under Roman rule becomes lost in the process. That is a rather significant loss in the span of a few hundred years across the Mediterranean.

The last couple of decades has brought further examination of issues of ethnicity in the ancient world to the larger scholarship. Recent approaches take ethnicity itself as not a biological inheritance or even a distinct sustained identity but a conscious and continuous process of identification with a social group following the works of Frederik Barth. Ethnicity itself is now taken as a flexible, multiple and negotiable concept as are many permeable boundaries between ethnic groups.[231] Ethnicity is built discursively rather than through any physical aspects of the people.[232]

Greekness, specifically, has also been similarly questioned as well. The definition of Greekness had emphasis shifted from blood kinship to language and religion to a way

---

[230] Wallace-Hadrill, 79.

[231] Jeremy McInerney, "Ethnos and Ethnicity in Early Greece" in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Ed. Malkin, Irad, (Washington D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 52.

[232] Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 32-33.

of life in various places and times in antiquity. Even the specific name for Greeks shifted as Homer for example never used Hellenes as a general term but rather "Danaans, Argives and Achaeans" but Herodotus did.[233] Ancient "Greek" writers themselves had varying definitions of Greekness. Plato argued a familial relationship that was too foreign to the barbarians, Diodorus argued a superiority through *paideia*. Herodotus discussed how Athenians affirmed allegiance to the larger cause of the Hellenes through common ancestry, language, shared shrines as well as sacrifices and common ways of life.[234]

Furthermore, ancients, not dissimilar to the contemporary, had various collective identities as well, based on genealogy, political identity, potentially federal and colonial identities as well as intra- and panhellenic identities. A citizen of ancient Syracuse thus could be a Corinthian colonist, Siceliot, Dorian and Hellenic. None of these particular identities were fixed or particularly monolithic.

Greek ethnicity like all was subject to continuous change.[235] Should we then assume that all people that were "Hellenized" identified themselves the same way everywhere every time? There are ancient records of an "Arab" camel rider who would complain because he was not paid well as he did not behave enough like a "Greek" or a "Greek" complaining that he was treated unfairly for not being Macedonian. We have records of Ptolemaic officials counting Jews as Hellenes. Strabo argued many of the cities of Magna Graecia never really recovered from the influence of barbarization.[236] Clearly, the experience, identities and lives of the people who became Hellenized were incredibly varied, varied enough to bring doubt to a generalized idea of anyone being simply "Hellenized" without questioning what exactly changed and why. Thus,

[233] Irad Malkin, "Introduction" in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Ed. Malkin, Irad, (Washington D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-2.

[234] E.S. Gruen *Ethnicity in the Ancient World- Did it Matter? (*Leck: De Gruyter, 2020), 41-42.

[235] Malkin, 3; McInerney, 63.

[236] Heinrichs 1995, 255.

Greekness could mean different things to different people. So oftentimes when the modern scholarship discusses "Greek" it is through the lens of modern conception.

Another significant aspect of modern scholarship, regarding the idea of Greekness is that many of its major components are built on rather limited facets of their culture based on a very Athenocentric approach. Yet it should be noted that while Athens was a major cultural center in the ancient Mediterranean world, it was not the only center. A good example of this is *paideia*. *Paideia* was the formal education of the elite of many Greek speaking people based largely on Athenian traditions and was a rather part of a wider culture shared by the larger Hellenic world. It was education including public speaking, knowledge and deployment of historical texts among other arts like grammar and rhetoric as well as physical education in the gymnasium. *Paideia* is often taken as a central component of Greek identity in the modern scholarship. However, it is notable that not only was *paideia* not a part of public life everywhere, for example, in places such as Sparta, but *Paideia* was also a way for the elite to be differentiated from the uneducated populus and thus legitimizing their authority. *Paideia* was a purposefully selective category that only included a select group of people of high status, male and citizen to a certain identity. The gymnasium was a big part of the related physical education; gymnasia were in various times and in various places in the Greek speaking world very selective spaces. In Beroia, broad categories of people did not have access: "the freedman, the freedman's son, the physically unfit, the drunkard, the madman, anyone who prostituted themselves and anyone who plied a manual or common trade."[237] Even citizenship was not a guarantee of admission to the gymnasium. Sometimes the citizenship itself was extremely selective. In 451 BCE Pericles proposed a law that limited citizenship to only the offspring of Athenian parents on both sides. Resident aliens and foreigners were not allowed to register their descendants as citizens. Women in many ancient cities in the Greek speaking world did not have citizenship at all and thus access to many opportunities for among other things certain level of education. However, even this distinction was not static. In the

[237] Kaye, 260.

Hellenistic period there was a re-evaluation of the status of free women in many cities and a corresponding devaluation of the civic status of men.[238]

The former ideas of monolithic culture of Greekness, silences a broad range of regions and people who were not of classical Athens and this constructed selective category of Greekness, without specificity and without examination further helps to silence broad groups of people who have already been long silenced. Women, the poor, the physically unfit, the slave and more have just as much a right to be considered as people that have produced and impacted the society and culture they lived in. The difficulties of lack of evidence aside, which itself is not a result of a neutral state of the world, it is imperative for the scholarship at large to consider the voices of all people of the past and thus we must endeavor to do our absolute best to make them heard.

Another major point we must acknowledge is the continuing favor the scholarship shows to this constructed ideal of Greek culture. This is another trend that has plagued scholarship since the late nineteenth century when Greek culture was considered a distinct but more civilized culture than any other they encountered. This approach, while questioned in many areas of the scholarship of the ancient world, still persists in the discussions of Hellenization, particularly of Rome. The title of Susan Woodford's book "The Art of Greece and Rome" makes the skewed perspectives to both subjects apparent, as does her subtitle for the chapter on Roman art: "The Roman world: adoption and transformation of the Greek legacy." [239] When Magie discusses the "Hellenization" of Asia Minor he notes "The Greek immigrants brought with them to Asia their religious rites and their civic institutions, their love of independence and bold adventure, above all, the intellectual and artistic habits of mind which were especially characteristic of their race."[240] Wallace-Hadrill in his defense of the Romans and presenting the cultural exchange between the Greek speaking world and Rome as

---

[238] Malkin, 4; P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey and E.S. Gruen. *Hellenistic Construct: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography. (*London: University of California Press 1997), 10.

[239] S. Woodford, *The Art of Greece and Rome.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

[240] David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: To the End of the Third Century After Christ*. (Princeton University Press, 1950), 54.

a complex phenomenon argues that early Rome was not wild and uncouth, as Greek culture made its mark on Rome from the moment, we can document its existence.[241] Thus for Wallace-Hadrill, Rome needed the influence of "Greek" culture to be seen as uncouth. Even at the defense of Rome the influence of Greek culture is seen necessary to civilize her. Gruen in his discussion of Hellenization of Rome discusses the "allure of Hellenic civilization."[242] However Gruen never seems to find any reason to define the reasons of such an allure. It is accepted that "Greek" culture was valuable and alluring, this is the premise we start on in almost every work that discusses the Hellenization of Rome. Zanker takes what he sees as the moment of "Hellenization" of Rome as the start of his examination for Roman art. "Greek art became the basis of a new visual language. Thus, for me Roman art begins with the period of the great Roman victories over Syracuse (211 B.C.) and Tarentum (209 B.C.) and then over Perseus, the last king of Macedon (168 B.C.) culminating in the conquest and destruction of Corinth and Carthage (both 146 B.C.)"[243] His idea of Roman art is intimately tied to his idea of how Roman art was "Hellenized" to have a recognizable visual culture. Even the Roman art before this period Zanker ties to "Greek" influence mediated through Etruscans and Magna Graecia.[244] Romans are seen without any capability of creating what might be seen as art without influence from Greeks specifically. This not only takes any creative agency away from Romans themselves but also as we shall further discuss in the next chapter ignore the multicultural existence of the Roman Republic and Empire. Rome had contact with a high number of different peoples and cultures. The understanding of multivalence of cultural interactions within the Roman Empire is not well served by the assumption of natural and one-directional impact of the Greek culture on Rome or the assumptions that the Greek culture was the only culture of any value. To understand this cultural exchange and how it impacted Rome, we must reconsider our own scholarly assumptions.

[241] Wallace-Hadrill, 79.

[242] Gruen 1986, 255.

[243] P. Zanker, *Roman Art. (*Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 1.

[244] Zanker 2008, 2.

It must be noted, however, that this work still uses terms such as "Greek speaking East," "Hellenic" and "Hellenization" for lack of better terminology. After all, this section is not presented to argue that there is no commonality in any part of the culture of the various regions and people that spoke Greek and employed various aspects of what we come to consider as Greek culture. This work aims to utilize terminology such as "Hellenization" not as static, fixed ideas that promote singular forms of Greekness as we have discussed in the scholarship, but as flexible frameworks. While different terminology would undoubtedly present a more apparent distinction, such a difficult endeavor is ultimately outside this work's bounds. This chapter aims not to dismiss the impact of the heightened contact with the Greek speaking world on Rome, either. It is only to emphasize how much of a disservice it is to assume a generalized idea of Hellenism to have impacted Rome at such an important time. It is a disservice to both all the wonderful varieties and intricacies of the various peoples and places that have had the cultural interaction and exchange with the Romans but also the complex ways the Romans would employ those exchanges as well.

3.4. Constructing a Pergamene Identity

It may not be possible for us to do justice to all and every aspect of Hellenic and Roman society but in such a discussion of Rome and Pergamon we must at least endeavor for greater specificity. So let us take our time and consider the particular identity of Pergamon at the time when Attalid Kings were in contact with Rome. Let us ask now: What is Pergamon?

There is a limited amount of information about Pergamon before the Hellenistic Kingdom.[245] We know there was a settlement of some size but not of great significance. Eventually Pergamon served as the treasury of Alexander's general Lysimachus who appointed Philetairos as the guardian. Philetairos revolted in 282 and his successor Eumenes I declared independence and established the rule of Attalids.

[245] This is of course a generalization, but as the Hellenistic period of Pergamon has attracted the larger interest, the study of the city before has been much more limited in the scholarship.

We have discussed the particular relationship of Pergamon and the Attalids with Rome before so now we shall discuss instead the identity building of the Attalid kings.

"Attalids of Pergamon mastered the art of cultivating an international image."[246] It was a necessity to do so and they rose to the occasion beautifully. The city of Pergamon as mentioned was not renowned before the Hellenistic period, Philetairos himself was from an even smaller city from the Black Sea as well as a eunuch.[247] Still, Attalid kings achieved constructing an identity for themselves and Pergamon so strong that it lasted until the modern day. Pergamon is still considered one of the most important cultural centers in the Hellenistic world, its art and architecture such as the Great Altar some of the finest Hellenistic works of art.

Let us then discuss how and what kind of identity Attalids built for themselves and for Pergamon as their capital city. One of the major components of identity building in the ancient world is often a legendary genealogy. The mythical genealogy of Pergamon and its rulers is a good example. Pergamon's genealogy was two parted. On one hand was the myth of Telephos construed and remade carefully to serve the Attalid and Pergamene image. (Figure 11) The myth of Telephos in some ways predated Attalids; Telephos was the son of Auge and Hercules; Auge herself came from Arkadia to Teuthrania as a refugee. He is the ruler of Mysia and fights with the Achaeans mistaking Mysia for Troy but after taking a wound from Achilles helps them fight against Troy instead.[248] The myth thus gave them connections to the myth of Hercules, the Trojan war as well as Arkadia and thus mainland Greece. The other founder of Pergamon was Pergamos, third son of Andromache and Neoptolemos and grandson of Achilles. He was told to have found success in Asia Minor and took over Teuthrania to rename it. He served as another connection to the Trojan War. This mythology worked to help legitimize the rule of Attalids, place Pergamon as a significant cultural

[246] Gruen 2000, 17.

[247] Gruen 2000, 17.

[248] Gruen 2000, 22.-23.

center and match their rivals claims to divine descent.[249] It was this mythological genealogy that allowed Pergamon to build a kinship with Rome through common interest in the Trojan war as we have discussed in the event of the Magna Mater.

The second part of the Attalid identity was that of the protector of the Hellenic people against the barbarians. When Attalos I defeated the Galatians, he thus claimed the title of king as the first of his line to do so. It was a great rise in prestige that was memorialized with dedications to Athena on the Acropolis of Pergamon. Attalos did not stop at Pergamon and extended his influence and publicity abroad. He dedicated multiple monuments near the south wall of the Athenian Acropolis that depicted the War of the Giants, the Battle of Amazons and Athenians as well as the victory of Athens over the Persians and finally his own victory against Galatians. Through such symbolism he joined his own victory to that of the Athenians as well as the historical and legendary triumphs of Hellenism over barbarism at large. "In commemorating his victories, he emphasized the defeat of the Gauls alone and treated his success as that of Hellas over barbarism; few kings have advertised themselves better."[250] Attalids in general placed their own such work in places of international significance such as Delphi, Delos as well as Athens to effectively promote their championship of the Hellenic civilization.[251] Of course whether that victory was as significant as promoted or as effective was less important. Attalids argued that they drove the Galatians away from the sea which Pausanias deems demonstrably false as the Galatians did settle in western Asia Minor but under the Kingdom of Pergamon.[252] It did not matter how accurate the Attalid claims were, what mattered was how well it was promoted.

Another significant aspect of Attalid identity building was presenting Pergamon as a center of Hellenic culture, considering the close and active bilateral relationship a

---

[249] Beate Dignas, "Rituals and the Construction of Identity in Attalid Pergamon" in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World.* Ed. Beate Dignas and R. R. R. Smith. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) 122.

[250] Hansen, 38.

[251] Kaye, 320.

[252] Kaye, 320.

particularly Athenian Hellenic culture. The Attalid kings brought Pergamon to the artistic and political mainstream of the Mediterranean world.[253] Philetairos himself had a reputation as a connoisseur of art and culture. Eumenes I was known to provide hospitality to intellectuals such as the peripatetic philosopher Lykon and Arkesilaos who was head of Plato's Academy who also composed an epigram praising Pergamon. Attalos I welcomed a number of celebrated artists at Pergamon such as the Athenian sculptor Phyromachos and Nikerators.[254] Attalos was also known for being an avid art collector. He adorned Pergamon with the art he collected from all over the Eastern Mediterranean. Attalos I was so famous for his love of collecting that the city of Skepsis hurried to bury a manuscript of Aristotle before his agents could find it.[255] He founded an art gallery at Pergamon that lasted at least until the second century CE if not longer.[256] The Attalid kings erected a replica of Pheidas' statue of Athena in their library, purchased Aegina and its art, including the portrait of Sappho as well as, as already mentioned, participating in the sack of Corinth.[257] The Library of Pergamon included sculptural portrayals of eminent figures of the past such as Homer, Alkaios and Herodotus and contributed to the creation of the classical literary canon in direct competition with the Library of Alexandria. Pergamon also took role in cultural production, e.g. the Pergamene produced edition of Homer.[258] They did not collect indiscriminately but took a careful role in curating, producing and circulating cultural artifacts.

Another aspect of Attalid presentation of Pergamon as the center of the Hellenistic World was the revival and renewal of earlier Hellenic artistic traditions. For example, the Temple of Athena utilized a Doric order rather than Ionic unlike the other examples

---

[253] Jerome Jordan Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*.(Cambridge Cambridgeshire New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 93.

[254] Gruen 2000, 21.

[255] Gruen 2000, 22.

[256] Magie, 10.

[257] Kaye, 8.

[258] Kaye, 287.

of this time such as the earlier Temple of Athena at Priene. Other similar attention to forms and tradition can be seen in the tall leaf capitals used in certain monuments like Sanctuary of Athena with the Library in Pergamon which were adaptations of leaf forms that were found in western Asia Minor from 300 years earlier like in Treasure of Massilia. (Figure 12) These leaf forms in particular could further act as potentially in connection to Aeolic tradition as Aeolis was the name of the region. Thus, for example in the specific example of the Pergamene Library the three basic dialects of Doric, Ionic and Aeolic of the literature stored inside could also be indicated by the architecture of the Sanctuary thus expressing the literacy of the Attalid Kings and their inheritance of these traditions.[259]

We can easily see even from such a brief summary that the Attalid kings carefully designed an identity for themselves that put them and Pergamon on the world map. They promoted themselves as the descendants of Telephos and Pergamos, which gave them ties to many communities in the Eastern Mediterranean; they set themselves as the protectors of the Hellenic world against barbarians and also as the major cultural center of the Hellenistic world through collection, curation and production of art and literature. To what extent then was Pergamon “Greek”? We have already discussed of course the problems of such a generic term’s application, but we have also mentioned that Pergamon took the role of the patron of the Hellenic world and culture as well. So let us examine Pergamene identity a bit further.

We have discussed the variety of cultures that had been Hellenized and the cultural diversity within. Asia Minor is a good example of this since it was never fully “Hellenized” in any sense of the word. Still colonies from various cities of the Greek mainland were established largely in western Asia Minor, most likely from the Bronze Age onward. This had significant cultural impact on many cities of Asia Minor in the following centuries. However Greek language only managed to gain ground in Asia Minor especially in Lydia, Caria and Mysia by the Classical period. Furthermore, as Hanfmann notes, the Hellenization of Asia Minor from that point did not proceed at

[259] John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 23, 28.

an even rate either.[260] For example, Sardis which was the Lydian capital had been significantly more Hellenized during and after third century BCE whereas cities in southeastern Asia Minor continued to produce mixed Greek-Persian arts well into first century first century BCE.[261] Thus we can conclude that Asia Minor has commonly housed a variety of cultures, languages, and peoples at any point time in the ancient world. Pergamon specifically was not purely Hellenized either.

In the larger scholarship, however, Pergamon is often referred to as a "Greek city". The identity of Pergamon as a city of Asia Minor is much less considered than this generic idea of Greekness. This is a rather significant problem. Pergamon as a name itself is likely a pre-Hellenic word meaning a citadel.[262] Limited evidence, including Xenophon, shows that while during the classic period, a mix of Greek mainland colonists and Persian people were in the ruling class, the population was largely the indigenous people of Asia Minor with a mix of people from mainland Greece. It was likely a mix of Hittite, Phrygian and Lydian population.[263] Pergamon was a part of Asia Minor not just connected to the influence of the Greek Mainland. Pedersen ties Pergamon's early Hellenistic constructs such as the Temple of Athena and the Philetairos fortifications to the larger trend in Asia Minor during the fourth century BCE, that is now known as the Ionian Renaissance.[264]

Attalids themselves also did not present themselves as purely "Greek" or Hellenic either. They ruled a region called Asia which was both part of and apart from the larger Hellenistic world. As early as Philetairos, this distinction is clear where an Olympic

---

[260] George Maxim Anossov Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine: The Cities of Western Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times.* (Ann Arbor: Univ of Michigan Pr, 1974), 23.

[261] Hanfmann, 23.

[262] Hansen, 7. - While Pergamon as a name also have connections to the word parchment this is likely a later association as parchment was invented in Pergamon during the Hellenistic period.

[263] Kaye, 284; Dignas, 121.

[264] Poul Pedersen, "Pergamon and the Ionian Renaissance." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Band 54. Festschrift Wolfgang Radt,* (January 1, 2004), 411.

victory monument in Pergamon distinguishes Asians from Hellenes.[265] The famous Telephos frieze on the Great Altar of Pergamon presents the Pergamene people as both exiles from Arkadia coming to non-Greek Mysia with a distinct iconography as well as absorbed into the indigenous Mysians at the time fending off an attack of the Achaeans on the way to Troy.[266] (Figure 11) Attalids had no issues proclaiming themselves in other identities besides Hellenes: Trojan, Mysian, Karian, Phyrgian, Paphlagonian, Lykian, Lydian.[267] Furthermore Attalid and Pergamene identity thus constructed was not only international facing. Pergamon had made a regional reputation as well. The Attalid monument on Delos demonstrated the Mysian dynasty, the Telephos frieze also displays Mysians and Phrygians. Attalids were very outspoken concerning their kinship with Troy itself. They created and asserted various bonds with several cities of Asia Minor many through links to Troy, including non-Hellenic communities in Karia and Lykia.[268] The Pergamene foundation myth and its connection to the Trojan war was not simply a connection to mainland Greece and its culture but also to the mythology of Asia Minor and its people as well.

On the other hand, the Telephos myth itself might have had non-Greek precursors as well. Dignas discusses a potential Hittite precursor in the form of Telepinu that could have impacted the stories, rituals and cultic geography of Pergamon distinct from mainland Greek traditions for the myth of Telephos. The myth of Teleophos as told in the Telephos Freize on the Great Altar was more likely to define barbarism by behavior as it was now connected to the myth of Asia Minor and thus served the identities of Hellenes and people of Asia Minor at the same time. This argument can be supported by the existence of Kybele, a particularly Asiatic goddess, with the Gods on the other major frieze on the Altar, the Gigantomachy. [269] (Figure 13) Kybele herself had a major cult in Pergamon from the time of Philetairos who placed Kybele shrines around the

[265] Kaye, 285.

[266] Kaye, 1.

[267] Kuttner 2005, 144.

[268] Kuttner 2005, 144-145.

[269] Dignas, 124; Kuttner 2005, 157.

city in a ring, fitting for the protectress of the cities, and by the time of Attalos I she had shrines to cover the frontiers of their whole domain.[270] Hanfmann also discusses how the presentation of the Telephos frieze can be seen in connection to the traditions of Anatolian dynastic monuments such as the Nereid monument at Xanthos or Heroa of Trysa and Limyra. The landing scenes, landscape elements and battle scenes all have parallels in this biographical tradition. [271]

The Great Altar as an architectural work also appears to have had Asiatic precedents. Kuttner argues that the form embodied a composite of three architectural forms from Asia Minor; propylons similar to the royal tombs of Asia Minor, royal heroons and Hellenistic great altars. (Figure 14) The placement of the Altar at the Acropolis is also close to Asian traditions of speaking to gods at mountains by priestly rulers. Royal heroons were similarly placed near the citadels. (Figure 15) Examples can be found in Lydia, Karia and Lykia decorated with national myths and stories. (Figure 16) Hanfmann similarly highlights that the altar's setting also owed in part to the eastern Greek-Anatolian traditions that borrow both from the traditions like monuments to Lydian mountain gods as well as Hellenistic open air altars to Zeus on mountain tops.[272] Thus, the architecture as well as the iconography of the Great Altar can be tied to both western Hellenic and eastern Asiatic precedents and traditions.[273]

The setting and planning of Pergamon is much more in line with traditions in Asia Minor as well. The peak and the slope of the hill was sculpted and shaped to form several monumental terraces. (Figure 17) The urban space was formed by using vertical as well as horizontal compositions to create a three-dimensional dynamic setting. Landscape and the city were utilized in particular to create dynamic views. An earlier example of this approach can be found in the late classical period used by the Hekatomnid dynasty and to some extent in Labraunda and the rebuilding of

[270] Kuttner 2005, 159.

[271] Hanfmann, 32.

[272] Hanfmann, 23.

[273] Kuttner 2005, 175- 177.

Halicarnassus.[274] Kaye posits Amyzon as another model.[275] Halicarnassus in particular performed almost like an open-air theater around the wooded bay area.[276] Pergamon, however took this approach and utilized it to new dramatic and monumental heights. The existing natural slope of the site was well exaggerated and integrated to create a variety of vistas and dynamic perspectives. Attalids also carefully preserved some of their predecessors' works in the city. At far-left end of the ridge in Pergamon stands a watchtower which was likely the remnant of the Gogylid dynasty citadel. It houses a Doric shrine for Zeus and its altar inside of the structure. [277]

Kaye argues that Attalids' success comes from the fact that they carefully played out several "games" at once not just philhellenism.[278] This seems a rather accurate observation considering the careful maneuvering of the Attalid kings through art, architecture, literature and politics to appeal not only to mainland Greece or solely Rome but also to the many cities and people of Asia Minor as well. What Attalid Kings created through Pergamon was an identity to appeal to their heterogeneous subjects and allies while giving their people a consistent collective identity, that of the Pergamene people. They could thus connect the people of mainland Greece, Rome and the very diverse people of Asia Minor to promote their own success. For as long as the Pergamene Kingdom existed, it looks like they succeeded. Attalids created themselves a particular identity for themselves, a mix of "Greek" and "Asia Minor" rather than choosing either one, which likely suited their mix of people very well.

3.5. The Specificity of "Hellenization"

We have established the complex but relatively specific identity constructed by the Attalids promoting Pergamon. Let us then take a moment to apply that specificity back to Rome. We have already discussed the problematic of the scholarship on the cultural

---

[274]Hanfmann, 28.

[275] Kaye, 310.

[276] Hanfmann, 28.

[277] Kuttner 2005, 159.

[278] Kaye, 351.

impact of Rome’s political and cultural relationship with the Greek speaking world. However more recently there have been some studies that have proposed a more focused approach that we can take to apply for Pergamon as well. Let us consider one of them.

As we have discussed, Popkin notes that the scholarship on the introduction of Hellenistic art and architecture to Rome presented the process as rather indiscriminate if also fairly intense in execution. Hellenization is thus presented as a generic process with a stereotypical ideal of “Greekness.”[279] D’Alessio instead argued that Hellenization can be understood more as series of “contaminations”, set up between Rome and specific sites of the Greek World.[280] Popkin suggests a more specific approach and argues that Romans did not just acquire and apply “Greek” art indiscriminately but selected carefully and applied it purposefully.

Popkin demonstrates this through the interactions of Rome with Samothrace. Tracing a genealogical link between Rome and Samothrace starting from second century BCE, Popkin examines the Temple of the Lares Permarini, the Round Temple on the Tiber, and the altars of the Samothracian gods in the Circus Maximus, but also the Porticus Octavia, the Temple of Hercules Musarum, and the theater next to the Temple of Apollo in Rome. Through these structures, Popkin highlights the impact of the Samothracian mystery cult and architecture on Rome. She notes that Romans were an active presence in Samothrace. Samothrace itself was renowned for the marble architecture, in particular, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods. Examining architectural features of the structures mentioned, Popkin argues a likely link and influence. Furthermore, she notes that these structures were on the ceremonial path of triumphs. The triumphs at Rome would start at Circus Flaminius, enter the *pomerium* in Porta Carmentalis and proceed to Circus Maximus and then into Forum Romanum through Via Sacra. The triumphs would then end in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill. Popkin notes the elaboration structures on the triumphal routes as a trend in the third and early second century BCE. This happened at a moment when

[279] Popkin, 365.

[280] Popkin, 366.

Rome was defining herself in part in relation to the Hellenistic East. Elaborating these structures was instrumental to monumentalize and shape the cityscape with the symbolism of triumphs made permanent. These concrete reminders of Rome's victory over all else, including the Hellenistic world, would act on the senses not just during the performances of triumph but on a daily basis. Thus, purposefully integrating foreign elements into architecture was meant to evoke Roman memories of the encounters and victories of Rome. This was not meant as a simple tale of Rome as conqueror but acted as an embodiment of complex relationships.[281]

Popkin concentrates on Rome's relationship with Samothrace while examining a more particular utilization of art and architecture of such a relationship in Rome. This can offer us a much better understanding of the processes of cultural interaction in Rome. So let us endeavor for some specificity and let us examine the particular impact Pergamon had on Republican Rome and how and why this was articulated and utilized.

As discussed, Rome and Pergamon had a long history of social, political and cultural interactions. Pergamon itself was a major center in the Hellenistic world and a center of production, curation and dissemination of art, literature and philosophy. Starting from the first alliance of Rome and Pergamon with Attalos I, Romans brought many Pergamene monuments to Rome. As mentioned, by the time of Pergamon's bequeathal to the Roman people, the auction of the royal collection was extremely popular. Attalid kings were avid collectors and well-known patrons as already noted. They were known to lend artists to Roman generals, L. Scipio is known as one after joining Attalids against Antiochos. Pergamene art specifically was well known in Rome and Italy from the third century BCE onward. Pergamene consumer goods from parchment, textiles to ceramics were also well integrated in Italian markets.

Roman education in language arts from grammatics to rhetoric was highly impacted by Pergamon as early as the second century BCE. Krates of Mallos, the grammarian, Psodinios, Panaitios and much later Augustus' tutor and rhetor Apollodoros were all from Pergamon, hence significant figures in Rome. These figures presented the

[281] Popkin, 343-364.

Pergamene culture of learning, rigorous but with legitimate pleasure and utility. Pergamon was a center of Stoic, academic and peripatetic studies as well as a major patron for the Athenian schools. Pergamene schools were active even when the Athenian schools were closing during the first century BCE.[282] When Pergamon was bequeathed to Rome, the court was lost but the library remained strong. Cato invited the library head Athenodorus Cordylion, the Stoic from Pergamon to Rome in the 60s BCE. Rhetor Isidorus, peripatetic philosopher Cratippus also left for Rome from Pergamon. As mentioned, Apollodoros left Pergamon for Rome teaching M. Calidius and Octavian who was to become Augustus. He founded a very successful sect in Rome. He dealt with judicial oratory in particular which was based on rational persuasion. Stoic Crates was also very influental in Rome and introduced grammatical works to Romans.[283]

Pergamene literary influences have been hard to trace. Hardie argues that in the scholarship of literary history of the late Republic and Augustan era while Alexandria is acknowledged as a major influence, Pergamon's close relationship with Rome and its potential impact have been ignored. This is largely because of the loss of literary testimony from Pergamon. However, Hardie also argues that the Pergamene scholarship on Homer was as influential on Virgilian Homeric models. Pergamene royal ideology, as discussed before, is defined on the one hand by defining what is not Pergamene, the barbarian Galatians, and on the other hand with what is Pergamene traditional Hellenic values and customs of Asia Minor. Accordingly, this shows a parallel to Augustan ideology, in particular, the revival of values and customs. Hardie further argues that public monuments of Pergamon highlight the struggle and armed victory in particular. An example is the commemorative statue for the victory of Attalos I over Galatians. (Figure 18) The defeated Galatians are displayed and show the struggle they have overcome. This shows similarities to Virgil's presentations of nationalist themes. Virgil highlights genealogy, institutional aeitology and struggle. Similarly, the Telephos frieze is argued both to anchor Pergamon in a mythical setting

---

[282] Kuttner 1995, 161.

[283] Rawson 2013, 15,56,118,154.

but also to validate the contemporary of Attalid rule though the relation to victory and the divine. Hardie relates this approach to the agglomeration of levels in the Aeneid.[284] While it is difficult to mark specific literary influences, Hardie makes a good case for some Pergamene impact.

We also have evidence of various specific Pergamene influences on Roman art. For example, historical paintings in the Pergamene tradition were first seen in Pompey's triumph in 61 BCE against Mithridates and later Caesar's triumph in 46 BCE over Pompey. This particular tradition found popularity in Rome. [285] Other Pergamene traditions can be traced in Rome and Italy as well. At the Villa of Papyri in Herculaneum, a group of high-quality replicas of Hellenistic royal portraits was found including a piece of Philetairos reproducing the portrait type Eumenes I placed on Pergamene coins. The portrait's facial features were identical with the same length of hair and general style.[286] (Figures 19,20) Pergamene mosaics were also famous and influential. One of the best-known mosaicists of Antiquity was Sosos of Pergamon who was noted by Pliny for his preening doves. These doves have become one of the most popular motifs where we have examples from Delos, Pompeii and Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli which could have been a copy of the original work by Sosos. [287] (Figures 21,22) Other Pergamene mosaic motifs can also be found in Rome and Italy as well. In the Sicilian town of Morgantina, which had close ties to Rome, the use of meanders in frames, especially frames with wave patterns and rosettes in the form of a panel can be found very much in line with the Pergamene tradition.[288] (Figures 23,24) In sculptural relief, the continuous style of relief sculpture was a likely Pergamene influence which was used later for propaganda by Trajan as well.[289] Pergamene

[284] Philip R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 127-144.

[285] Kuttner 1995, 160.

[286] R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford: Clerendon Press, 1988), 70-74.

[287] Pollitt 1978, 221-222.

[288] Barbara Tsakirgis, "The Decorated Pavements of Morgantina I: The Mosaics" in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Jul., 1989, Vol. 93, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), 410-411.

[289] R.E.M. Wheeler, *Roman Art and Architecture*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 174.

ceramics can be found from Alexandria to Athens, and from Dura Europos to Rome.[290] Pergamene workshops at large operated from Athens and Rhodes as well as Asia Minor and produced goods for Roman cities and consumers.[291]

The particular style that was developed in the Great Altar friezes was widely disseminated and used to last into the early Roman Empire. Styles of portraiture, particularly the type known as the pseudo-Seneca from Pergamon was also very influential. Pseudo-Seneca type was one of the most copied portraits of Antiquity. (Figure 25) Another famous work of Pergamene style, the group of Laocoon and his sons now in the Vatican also likely demonstrated the powerful afterlife of the Pergamene style, as even in first century CE followed in the artistic tradition of the Gigantomachy frieze of Altar of Zeus.[292] (Figure 26)

One sculptural set is particularly revealing on the influence of Pergamene identity and style on Rome as well as how the Romans made use of this identity and style in accordance to their interests. Andrew Stewart enacts close examination of the sculptural group of what is termed as "Little Barbarians" in which were ten Roman marble figures that were copies of an Attalid monument in Athens. This group of Giants, Amazons, Persians and Gauls are two thirds of life sized and do not include any victor of the battles depicted. According to Stewart these are not just copies or shadows of Greek works but Roman art, "made in Roman period, for Romans and set up in Rome".[293] The original Attalid dedication, likely dated to after 200 BCE victory against Macedonians with Attalos I was an impressive monument. It is the longest Hellenistic free standing sculptural monument yet known. The original dedication included a Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, depictions of the Battle of Marathon and the destruction of Galatians in Mysia by the Pergamene Kings. This was likely an adaptation and amplification of a similar monument Attalos I dedicated in the

---

[290] Schaefer, J. *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon*. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968)

[291] Kuttner 1995, 161.

[292] Pollitt 1986, 110-120.

[293] Andrew Stewart, *Attalos, Athens, and The Akropolis: The Pergamene "Little Barbarians" and their Roman and Renaissance Legacy. (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 136.

Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros in Pergamon. This Hellenistic monument was dedicated in Athens by Attalos as a reminder of the Attalid aid recently received by Athens and also in sympathy reminding similar problems Pergamon experienced a year before by the same hands. It was, then, a monument then of political and cultural solidarity. At the same time, the monument could show Attalid protection over Athens respectfully. The Hellenistic monument notably did include the victors. However, the later Roman work as noted, did not. While precise dating is unclear, Stewart argues for a 2nd century CE time. The Roman "copies" of this very specific Attalid art work selectively copied and remade the original message for the Roman context. The figures now decontextualized from their history and place now worked without the figure of the victor in line with triumphal displays of Rome. Watching enemies in triumphs and their deaths in games was a uniquely Roman context added to attach a new meaning where the display now was of Roman power over the "other" depicted in these figures. Furthermore, the more educated viewers could recognize it a reference to the Attalid Athenian context and potentially read the superiority of Rome over these cultures as well. Stewart thus successfully displays the power of reproduction of Pergamene art at work and how it happened selectively and for very Roman purposes.[294]

An interesting moment of utilizing Pergamene impact on Asia Minor was through the use of coinage. Both Mark Antony and Octavian made use of and revived Attalid *cistophoric* coinage. They both circulated triumphal *cistophori* with Roman narrative but with Attalid imagery to a mixed Roman and Asian audience. First, Mark Antony minted for himself and his wife Octavia, an imitation of Attalid types in 39 BCE to circulate among soldiers, magistrates and businessmen. After Mark Antony's defeat at the Battle of Actium, Octavian himself also used the same mints to pay off his soldiers who led him to defeat Mark Antony and at the same time impressed his own status. These mints could both signify a continuous stable prosperity to the people of Asia Minor and the Roman and Asian alliance for all sides.[295]

[294] Stewart, 136-227.

[295] Kuttner 1995, 174-175.

As the heightened contact with the Greek speaking East made marble much more available as a building material, Pergamene and Rhodian molding styles also became much more popular in Rome. These were also joined by Pergamene silver, ceramic and monumental architectural decorations which could adhere to ornaments like garlands with animated bearers.[296] These motifs and ornamental styles were widely used in Roman art. The Roman console frame was also likely developed from the corbel geison used on Pergamene buildings from the first half of second century BCE like the West Hall of the Theater Terrace at Pergamon.[297]

Let us now take time to focus on architecture. What were the potential Pergamene influences on Roman architecture? One particular impact we can trace is the complex terracing and portico design. The theatricality of Pergamon with the masked gateways and impressive vistas was accompanied by a symbolic and physical ascension where more mundane structures were at the lower levels as opposed to the citadel at the Acropolis. The individual buildings were also built and adjusted according to dramatic possibilities of the terrain in line with the larger Pergamene sculptural and artistic traditions of theatricality aimed to activate emotions and the mind. The careful control of the vistas and the setting was influential on a certain tradition of Italian temple architecture which can be found e.g. in the Temple of Hercules at Cori from second century BCE or Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste.[298]

Vitruvius highlighted the Attalids for significant examples of good work in the preface of Book 7 of *De Architetura* where he discussed the value in imitating good Attalid cultural and architectural creations. He mentioned the Pergamene Library and argued that unlike the Ptolemies whose greed inspired the Library of Alexandria, the Attalids were aiming to give pleasure to the public. Vitruvius presented Attalids as similar to Roman benefactors who would work for public benefit through public display. He also presented the theater *stoa* at Athens by Eumenes II as a prototype of its genre which he argued was a way to validate architecture through social function. Eumenes II was

---

[296] Kuttner 1995 163.

[297] H. von Hesberg, *Konsolengeisa des Hellenismus und der friihen Kaiserzeit*. (Mainz 1980), 22.

[298] Pollitt 1986, 233-235.

praised for his contributions to the common social good. Vitruvius was not the only major writer to show favor to the Attalids. Strabo in his *Geography* favored pro-Attalid sources in particular about information on Pergamon and linked Attalids as a ruler type to Caesar and Augustus, as rulers concerned with beautifying the capital of the empire through culture and piety. Strabo emphasized the cultural importance of Pergamon continuing to his contemporary era, first century BCE to first century CE.

Specific architectural works also suggest some direct and purposeful influence and utilization of Pergamene architecture in Rome. Porticus Octavia built by Gnaeus Octavius who was the leader of the naval fleet at battle of Pydna at the end of the Third Macedonian War in 168 BCE. (Figure 27) Porticus Octavia was the earliest colonnaded portico built in Rome and was a monument to memorialize Octavius's triumph. (Figure 28) Porticus as a building type was adapted from the eastern stoa. Porticus Octavia continued to serve as an important triumphal monument in the Augustan period as well. Augustus rebuilt it and displayed the standards of Gabinius recovered from Illyrians. There are several precedents for erecting stoas as triumphal monuments to display spoils of victories in the Greek speaking world. Senseney, however, notes the connection to Pergamon specifically. Not only was Pergamon a major ally to Rome and to G. Octavius in the battle of Pydna but the architectural context of that time could have offered an excellent precedent. Eumenes II, the King of Pergamon at that time, built a double story, double-aisled, L-stoa surrounding the Temple of Athena on the Pergamene Acropolis in 180s BCE. Another stoa was later added on to the south to create the final pi shaped frame around the temple of Athena. (Figures 29,30) The Sanctuary of Athena was not only the space for display of various commemorative victory monuments since Attalos I's time but also the Macedonian weapons and shields brought as spoils were displayed at the added stoa. The sanctuary of Athena of Pergamon was an easy and reasonable model for Octavius to construct a new building type for celebrating his military achievement at Rome. [299] Furthermore, the direct reference to Pergamon and the Attalid style would be read and interpreted

[299] John R. Senseney, "Adrift toward Empire: The Lost Porticus Octavia in Rome and the Origins of the Imperial Fora" in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (December 2011), 432-435.

by knowledgeable viewers who could then connect it to both G. Octavius's triumph alongside with the Attalids as well as the particular close relationship of both sides.[300]

Another particular architectural example we can discuss is also another portico. Porticus Pompeiana was one of the most popular places in Rome. (Figures 31,32) This structure was built by Pompey in 55 BCE after his return from Asia Minor and then re-dedicated by Augustus later in 32 BCE.[301] Gleason examined the plan and perspective drawings of the Porticus to study how it was used to direct and focus the visitor's perception of the grove and the architecture surrounding it. Gleason argues that the theater, the temple, the senate-house, the basilica and markets were all ordered and carefully placed according to principles of *scaenographia* to present the visitors with juxtapositions of architectural and garden elements together in unity.[302] As noted, Pergamon was built on theatricality, on perspective and visual control of vistas and careful guidance of the individual. The Pergamene approach to spatial design could have served as an easy reference to such an approach. Furthermore, the garden of Porticus Pompeiana included displays of a variety of sculptural items. Many of these were specific references to Pergamon, creating a link between Pompey and the Attalid Kings.[303]

The overall form and structure of Porticus Pompeiana also visibly synthesized Eastern and Latin traditions through the use of a *cavea* structure of the theater as well as a rectangular portico with a garden of plane trees. Traditionally the gardens were subordinate to the temples in Rome whereas this Portico presented an autonomous monument as a sacred garden in Rome for the first time. Pergamon provides an easy parallel with the extramural Aphrodision and Nikephorion known with their square gardens with art collections. Portico Pompeiana similarly housed a collection of art

[300] Senseney, 432-435.

[301] Kuttner 1995, 171.

[302] K.L. Gleason, "Porticus Pompeiana: A new perspective on the first public park of ancient Rome," *Journal of Garden History 14* (1994), 13-27.
13-19.

[303] Gleason, 13-19.

works bought, commissioned and copied. While all Hellenistic kings collected artwork it was the Attalids who were not only famous for their avid collection and taste but also were known to programmatically copy art works of other centers as well. Porticus Pompeiana even housed two specific sculptural sets imitating Pergamon, Muses imitating the Great Altar and a set of male and female poets and intellectuals similar to the set in Pergamene Library.[304]

Porticus Pompeiana as mentioned was built in 55 BCE after Pompey's Mithridatic Campaign in Asia Minor which resulted in his complete victory. The clear references and influence shown in Porticus Pompeiana to both Asia Minor but specifically to Pergamon could serve Pompey as a reminder of his success in the region and connect him to well-known and well favored Attalid Kings without making any outright monarchic references to himself. Pompey could simultaneously co-opt Attalid's renown as famous patrons and collectors of art and knowledge, employ Pergamene theatrical spatial language to direct the message of his structure as well as generally reference and remind of his victories in Asia Minor after a long period of trouble.

The particular examples of both Porticus Octavia and Porticus Pompeiana demonstrate the possibilities of the impact of the relationship of Rome and Pergamon had on the city of Rome itself but also the purposeful utilization of this relationship by Romans to particular ends. Davies notes that these porticoes could offer Romans a conceptual spoliation, they evoked the territories conquered while at the same time however they changed the face of the city in turn. They marked off spaces from a very busy city and with the strict axes they subordinate the divergent axes of other buildings in the area.[305] Cultural exchange is never a stable and passive event but rather as seen a specific aspect of Roman life that was utilized as seen necessary. As we have seen, Pergamon and its kings built a specific identity that was neither simply Greek nor simply Asiatic but all at once and specifically built on the complexities of Pergamon. Pergamon and Rome had a deep and important relationship as the critical periods of both, throughout the life of the Pergamene Kingdom and late Republican Rome as it was trying to define

[304] Gleason, 13-19.

[305] Davies, 130.

itself. The cultural impact Pergamon had on Rome was neither passive nor coincidental and above all it was not a generic “Greekness.” The particular construction of identity of Pergamon was well utilized to Roman ends as well. In the next chapter we shall examine the other side of the relationship and question the process of Romanization in Asia Minor.

CHAPTER 4

ROMANIZATION

Romanization has been central to discussions of Roman architecture and archaeology for some time. A relatively modern concept introduced within a very specific socio-political context, nevertheless the examination of Romanization has dominated the scholarship since the nineteenth century. As this work focuses on the examination of the Flavian and Pergamene Amphitheaters through a cultural and socio-political lens, the processes of cultural interaction centering on the question of what is and is not "Roman" becomes relevant. The amphitheater has long been discussed as a particular instrument of Romanization largely focused on studies of the Roman West. Let us broaden this perspective by bringing the issue to the Roman East, specifically Roman Asia Minor and Pergamon.

In this chapter we will aim to establish an understanding of processes of becoming Roman, termed "Romanization" to build a better understanding of the Flavian and Pergamene Amphitheaters. As "Romanization" itself is a loaded term with a complicated scholarship, we will first briefly discuss the complex historiography of the term, focus and clarify what exactly is meant when we continue to use the term and the concept of Romanization as an analytical framework and discuss the scholarship of Romanization in relation to the Roman East. After this general look we will focus on three particular instruments of Romanization that can be illuminating in relation to the Pergamene Amphitheater: imperial cults, festivals and finally the amphitheater itself. To note, this is not meant to be an exhaustive list of any and all instruments of Roman imperialism and cultural interaction; nor are these particular aspects meant to be viewed as isolated elements but as particular parts of an interconnected fluid system found to be revealing in this specific framework.

4.1. What is Romanization?

Let us start with a brief examination of the complex scholarship of Romanization, a term with such heavy baggage that most if not all who utilize it, or even those who specifically do not, must acknowledge its long past. As briefly noted, Romanization itself is not an ancient term but a modern scholarly construct. It is a concept closely tied with Roman imperialism and denotes in general an examination of processes of social change argued to have developed under Roman rule across Italy and throughout the provinces across the Roman Empire. The term itself, however, was used to signify different ideas reflecting the contemporary socio-political context of the scholarship, reinvented continuously.[306]

While the origins of the idea of "Romanization" lie in seventeenth century discussions of English colonial expansion, it was the Late Victorian and Edwardian era political figures that used the Roman Empire especially as a way to legitimate various imperial policies by arguing a linear legacy of Mediterranean civilization. The concept of Romanization as a civilizing force provided a link for a unified Mediterranean culture that could be inherited and argued as a continuation of the civilizing mission of their own countries to legitimize and justify acts of violence and oppression.[307] Theodor Mommsen published *Römische Geschichte* in 1845-6 drawing on the work of A. Kiene to examine the history of the Roman Republic and Empire and present a unitary model of Italy. Mommsen discussed *Romanisierung* thus Romanization in his second Book, which was about the early Republican period settlement of Italy where he presented *Romanisierung* as an active policy of colonization that was directly tied to civilizing. Romanization here was presented as "defensive imperialism", as a non-aggressive and reactive process leading to a unified Roman Empire and perhaps unsurprisingly, similar to representations of modern imperialism. This presented a vision of a unified Italy which could serve as a model for German unification. Mommsen himself was

[306] Hingley 2005, 15; Freeman 1997, 28.

[307] Hingley 2005, 26.

involved in a number of projects under national authorities to institutionalize knowledge of the ancient world. [308]

In Britain the socio-political situation was different in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There was no need to call for unification with the extensive reach of the British Empire. In this context, F. Haverfield first presented a lecture in 1905 to later publish in 1915 on the topic of “Romanization of Roman Britain.” Haverfield followed and expanded Mommsen’s discussions of Romanization, arguing a gradual but progressive process of Romanization. He presented this process as a positive force for good where the Empire worked for the betterment of the conquered people. The Empire would bring civilization to the population. In a lecture in 1911 Haverfield suggested that Britain could learn from Rome’s success in civilizing the barbarians. He drew parallels of the imperial grandeur of Rome and Britain.[309] The image of a benevolent Roman Empire bringing civilization to the natives was tied intimately with the justification of British colonialism. The Roman Empire was presented as a model for the British Empire and the justification of the colonialist actions as an ultimate force for good. [310] The knowledge of the classical world was by this point well integrated into the colonial system. The classics education was tied to Indian Civil Service as for example in 1938 no less than six of the eight provincial governors in India had degrees in Classics from Oxford. [311]

The impact of T. Mommsen and F. Haverfield and those who followed on the scholarship cannot be overstated. The scholarship on Romanization was dominated with an understanding of a benevolent yet forceful Roman Empire that was a civilizing influence on the indigenous people for their own good. It was only by the 1960s surge

---

[308] Sviatoslav Dmitriev, “(Re-)constructing the Roman empire: from ‘imperialism’ to ‘post-colonialism’. An historical approach to history and historiography” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Serie 5, Vol. 1 No.1* (2009), 135; Hingley 2005, 31; Freeman 1997, 29-30.

[309] R. Hingley, «Resistance and Domination: Social change in Roman Britain. In » *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. J. Mattingly (Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997, 83.

[310] Hingley 2005, 33, Hingley 1997, 87, Dmitriev, 134.

[311] Mattingly 2011, 10.

of excavations and regional surveys that brought new academic approaches and larger attention to rural ideas. The new data, approaches, and adoption of ideas from social anthropology and sociology brought a major critical assessment of the existing scholarship in 1960s and 1970s.[312] While some scholars continued to follow Haverfield's approach, the dominant grand narrative was harshly criticized, and various new approaches emerged. The new approaches while varied, prioritized the agency of people in their everyday lives, rejected the centrality of the west while bringing discussions of cultural relativism and aimed to create more flexible and fractured identities.

While we cannot examine every approach to Romanization, let us take a moment to present some major schools of thought to help clarify the position taken in this work to be explained further later. One major approach that emerged as a result of the larger interest in surveys and rural areas was the nativist approaches especially from 1970s and 1980s. These works emphasize the local context rather than the center of the Roman Empire. They largely took Romanization as a surface gloss over a rather unchanging native life. Later criticism of this approach came from the continued dualistic perspective of Roman versus native. While nativist approaches flipped the importance from the center to the periphery, both were still presented as distinct and opposite entities. [313]

Another influential approach to Romanization was the elite centric model. This model particularly popularized by M. Millet argued a willing assimilation to Roman culture by the local elites where the lower classes would get Romanized through a trickledown effect. Millet aimed to both give agency to the local population and shift away from a view of provincial homogeneity. However, the elite centric approaches have been criticized for largely ignoring the lower classes as well as dismissing the un-Roman natives like the indigenous population in Wales and South-West England. Furthermore, this approach still presented being Roman as inherently desirable and

---

[312] Hingley 2005, 36.

[313] J. Webster, "Creolizing the Roman provinces." *AJA* 105 (2001), 212; Hingley 2005, 40.

superior then any local indigenous identity.[314] On the other side of the scholarship there were still scholars who presented the Roman rule as disruptive, highlighting the destruction and the processes of control and resistance in their analysis.[315]

There were also a high number of scholars that questioned the use of the term Romanization. Greg Woolf questioned the term and the precise usage in any part of the Empire. Is it meant to be a cultural or political interaction? Are we meant to discuss practices or objects? How can one establish and measure a "spectrum of barbarism to romanitas?" [316] Woolf presented Romanization as a more descriptive term rather than an analytical tool. He argued the term led to focus on dualities of Roman and natives and to a search of a uniform Roman imperial culture which was not uniform at all but structured on a variety of differences be it region, class, age or gender among others. Unity and diversity were needed to be acknowledged as well as the unequal nature of the hegemonic relationship between all parties involved. Woolf highlighted how the impact of the imperial forces on Rome itself has been much less considered and the Roman imperial culture was a combined creation of the Empire as a whole transforming as it extended. [317]

While Woolf found some value in the use of the term Romanization others argued that the term was far too loaded with the heavy historiography to be any use. The term had come to occupy multiple meanings without clear distinction, found unhelpful as it implied a linear cultural development to the advanced Roman identity, intimately was a part of the colonial discourse, placed great emphasis on the elite, led to pro-Roman and top-down approaches and focused attention on similarity rather than

---

[314] M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Leonard A. Curchin, *The Romanization of central Spain: complexity, diversity and change in a provincial hinterland.* (London: Routledge, 2011), 13; Hingley 1997, 83; Webster 2001, 213.

[315] Hingley 1997.

[316] Woolf 1994, 142.

[317] Woolf 1994, "Beyond Romans and Natives" *World Archaeology* Vol 28 No 3 (1997), 339-350; *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

differences.[318] Syme called the term "vulgar and ugly" as well as "anachronistic and misleading" while Barrett highlighted the unstable and multifaceted aspects of being Roman where there was no single stable entity as Roman and the term reduced the process to a set of organizing principles and coercive forces.[319] There have been a number of new terms and concepts proposed instead; Mattingly offered "discrepant experiences" following Edward Said, highlighting the varied impact of colonialism beyond the binary, Webber proposed "creoloization" arguing the word encouraged generalization rather and a singular process.[320] Notably none of the proposed terminologies has been in wider use on the scholarship and the debate on the validity of the term continues.

The most recent scholarship also saw a rise of a different framework through theories of globalization. These are a set of approaches that analyze primarily modern global transformations applied to the context of the Roman Empire. These approaches focused on the formation of hybrid identities, commodification, and alienation while some adopted a neoliberal economic template.[321] However these approaches have also been criticized as the framework of the contemporary world applied to the Roman World ignores the key structural features that were not shared such as the difference of scale of violence or the contemporary economical systems central to globalization.[322]

Even this relatively brief discussion of the scholarship shows the complex history of the term and concept of Romanization. It has been and continues to be both a central concept of our understanding of the Roman world and one loaded with the socio-

---

[318] D. J. Mattingly, *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire.* (Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997), 38.

[319] J. C. Barrett, "Romanization: A critical comment." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. D.J. Mattingly, (Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997), 64.

[320] Mattingly 2011; Webster, 2001.

[321] Hingley 2005

[322] Andrew Gardner, "Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalisation and Beyond?" *Britannia* 44 (2013), 6-8.

political context of the scholarship as it was produced and reproduced. How then do we approach Romanization in this work?

As noted, the term Romanization has come under criticism for various valid reasons with the continued baggage of the erroneous inclinations of earlier scholarship. It is hard to disagree with the criticisms indeed. The large focus on the center, the insistence of duality of a Roman and the native, the preposition of a single static Roman entity and focus on the elite are but a few valid criticisms of a long-continued trend under this very term. However, I would still argue that there is some value in the continued use of Romanization for two main reasons. One is a practical reason, which is that we have yet to locate a better single word to simply convey a process of socio-cultural transformation and exchange under Roman rule. Romanization, by itself a singular word, provokes an idea of becoming Roman in some shape or form that no term suggested so far has been able to do. My second, more significant reason, is that I find the historiographical baggage Romanization carries to be a boon rather than a curse. The word itself by the long history requires the scholar who utilizes it to question both the complex history of the scholarship and their own specific role in that scholarship. Utilizing another more seemingly neutral word could save us from such a long introduction to even use the word as I have given here, even brief still somehow lengthy in volume, but it would deprive us from the harsh but necessary realities we have to face about the scholarship as it has developed, long and a difficult history as it is.

Still let us ask again, what is Romanization? What do we mean by Romanization if there have been so many ways Romanization has been interpreted? Let us take some to highlight the approaches of Romanization this work will follow in particular.

There have been several scholars whose relatively recent work on questioning and redefining Romanization has been impactful on my work. Barrett has emphasized the unstable state of the Roman identity and cultural change and identified the Roman Empire as we know it to be ultimately a historian's construct. Freeman highlighted the variety of material culture in the Empire's vast territories accompanied by varied meanings. Mattingly argued how the uglier side of colonization under Roman rule has

been largely ignored or presented as benign and Webster emphasized the role of the indigenous people beyond only the elite and the multifaceted and multidirectional nature of cultural interaction under Rome.[323]

Two major voices, however, have been Greg Woolf who has been discussed to emphasize the identity-building of the "other" could be formulated to allow a multiplicity of identities at once instead of binary oppositions, and Louise Revell. Revell uses the ideas of agency and structuration through Anthony Giddens to examine Roman identity as a discourse built on daily experiences within public spaces.[324]

In this work I aim to take both public architecture and public activities as cores in my approach to Romanization. To be or become Roman should be not seen as an absolute as mentioned but something fluid and changeable to be constructed and reconstructed. This does not mean that the Roman identity would be so different as to be unrecognizable; some structures and systems were shared, some of which we shall discuss later in this chapter. However, experiences of people with these structures were varied through their experiences, through their class, region or gender among other and other local systems and structures would also be working in tandem with these systems. Recurrent activities, examples of which we shall also see later, allow a framework to understand the place of the individual in the world and their relationship to others in the community. Public spaces and architecture could serve both as a framework to these activities and could reframe, alter and gain form and meaning through these activities.

Architecture is neither a passive framework of activities to happen nor is it a rigid box that cannot be changed with human experiences. Public buildings especially both house communal repeated experiences and are shaped by these experiences in time. Neither the architecture, the space nor the experience were neutral. They were bound up with the ideas of the right way to live, on assumptions of how the world, the community and the individual were meant to behave. This is neither a process of

---

[323] Barrett, Freeman, Mattingly 2011, Webster 2001.

[324] Louise Revell, *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

imposition from the central power, nor only local impulses but multivalent processes and discourses building on each other as we shall further see in detail. Various systems, structures, activities and spaces are meant to be and would be experienced by each individual differently, creating singular ideas of being human while allowing a communal identity to be built as well.

As both Woolf and Revell among others point out, however we must never fully lose sight of the unequal power relationship within the imperial system. The Roman Empire held authority and power in many ways and while the various people in every corner of the Empire did have their agency or could negotiate their own living experiences in various ways, we should not simply ignore the built in mechanisms of power and control either. Roman society was actively built and rebuilt to privilege select sets of experiences in various scales be it gender, class or age among many. The Roman Empire was in the end a large web of interwoven systems opens to change and negotiation and yet still offering a common idea on various levels without being bound to a static socio-cultural idea.

4.1.1. The Romanization of the East

Now, let us take another moment to briefly examine how this scholarship approached the issue of Romanization in the Roman East specifically. While we have discussed the general approaches to Romanization so far, the issue of the Romanization of the East comes with its own assumptions, problems and later criticism. The early scholarship like that of Haverfield argued that the process of Romanization of the East accounted to a very small change if any at all. Practically no change happened as neither Latin nor much of Roman civilization was adopted in the East and any arguable change was on a political level.[325] Similarly, Maurice Holleaux argued that the Roman interest in the East was minimal at best and was only born out of the uncertainty of the political climate and Rome, in line with the early arguments of defensive imperialism, only got involved after insistence of the Greek and Egyptian embassies.[326] Even as late

[325] Dmitriev, 11-13.

[326] P.J. Burton, *Roman Imperialism*. (Brill, 2019), 4.

as 1960s A.H.M Jones claimed that there was little effect of Roman rule in the Greek East and in 1975 Paul Veyne argued that no pursuit of hegemony can be identified in Roman interests in the Greek East.[327] Underlying assumptions of these early attitudes or perhaps we should say dismissal of Roman imperialism in the Roman East has been an idealization of the Greek culture as a crystalized civilized tradition that did not require Roman intervention unlike the other uncivilized indigenous populations. These assumptions of Greek cultural superiority hand in hand with the assumptions of Roman cultural superiority shaped the early scholarship on Roman imperialism on the East.

These approaches have also been rigorously challenged by later scholarship. Susan Alcock in particular highlighted the underlying assumptions on the province of Roman Greece as one not only unchanging but also unsuccessful in a continued center-oriented approach that denied the plurality of responses to Roman rule. Roman Greece has been presented both as superior in terms of culture and thus unimpacted by Roman rule while at the same time a failure and unproductive. This approach thus led to a scholarly neglect as Alcock highlighted how the province reflected a much more ambivalent reaction to Roman rule through texts and epigraphy. Alcock argued that while Greece had more limited intervention by Roman authorities, Greece and Rome were still involved in mutual cultural mapping. The position of Greece was not in isolation but in dialogue with Rome.[328]

Greg Woolf also highlighted how the different processes of formulation for Greek and Roman identity were distinct enough to allow a co-existence of Greek and Roman identities at once. Woolf argued that Greekness was formulated through language and descent while Roman identity emerged in material culture and collective identity building. Greeks did not stop being Greek nor was there a single unified Roman and Greek identity. There was plenty of dissent, uncertainty, and debate within the dialogue between Greeks and Rome.[329]

---

[327] Burton 2019, 5, S. Alcock *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.

[328] Alcock 1997, 103-116, 2006.

[329] Woolf 1994.

For instance, one particular example from the Greek mainland demonstrates this complex set of relationships well. The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is an ancient cult site from the 10th to 8th century BCE onwards in Laconia, near Sparta.[330] Sparta was not only one of the two biggest cultural and political centers of mainland Greece, especially during the Classical period onwards, but also had a complex relationship with Rome from the Republican period onwards. One can note that Sparta was the only city in Greece alongside their old ally Mantineia that was actively fighting alongside Octavian at Actium. Thus, we can highlight that the relationship was not insignificant.[331] During the Roman period, Sparta saw a thrust in archaism, a so-called "revival" of ancient "Lycurgan" traditions and training.[332] This "revival" of traditions happened not only at a time of intense antiquarian interest by local writers but was also related closely to Roman Sparta's rising cultural tourism. The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia played a central role in this revival of tradition as the site of at least two parts of the ephebic festivals in connection: the procession of the Ludians and the contest of "endurance." [333] *Diamastigosis,* a whipping contest to test the endurance of the youth, a new Roman reinvention of a potentially older tradition, was particularly popular. Perhaps not coincidentally, a monumental circular *cavea* was constructed around the earlier temple and the altar at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia around the 3rd century CE.[334] A monumental structure that in form resembles an amphitheater was erected, at least in part, to house a ritual born of ancient Greek tradition from one of two biggest centers of the Greek mainland that was reinvented under Roman rule. This event was done potentially to promote Spartan cultural tourism, which at this time was rather a significant part of the local economy, to likely Roman visitors. Where can one even

[330] R.V. Schoder, *Ancient Greece from the Air*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 201.

[331] Paul Cartledge, Antony Spawforth. *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*. (London: Routledge, 2002), 96.

[332] Whether this revival was a true revival or not is a controversial topic debated in the scholarship, see: Cartledge, 178-191.

[333] Cartledge, 177.

[334] H.P. Isler, 'Grecia / Sparta. / Sparta / Achaia', in *Teatri Greci e Romani – Alle Origini del Linguaggio Rappresentato* 2, ed. P. Ciancio Rossetto and G. Pisani Sartorio. (Rome: Edizioni Seat, 1994/95/96), 301.

start to question what and what is not Roman in this context? Thus, the complexity of cultural and architectural relationships for Roman Sparta in general and the case of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in particular are undeniable. While outside of the bounds of this work, a closer look at this structure and Roman Sparta would likely reveal complex processes of cultural exchange. [335] Thus, complexity of cultural exchange of the Eastern Mediterranean under Roman rule can be ascertained.

We must note briefly here that even the particular relationship between Rome and the East was not a binary but a multi-directional one. Briefly, the cult of Magna Mater is a good example of this multivalency. The cult of Magna Mater was ancient cult from Asia Minor introduced to Rome in late third century BCE. It continued to spread to various Western provinces, starting from Italy, North Africa, Spain and Gaul. However, we must note that the cult did not spread as an "eastern" cultural influence but as a "Roman" cult. The cult priests in Gaul for example could be given the title "quindecimviral" priests, a title introduced to the cult at Rome.[336] Hence, what can be defined as Roman is rarely simple, nor is the understanding of what is "Greek" or "Eastern" as opposed to what is "Roman," which the cult of Magna Mater demonstrates.

While we will continue to analyze particular processes of Romanization in the East further through a select set of aspects, particular gaps in evidence and the scholarship need to be pointed out. First, we must acknowledge the limitations of the term Greek in relation to the often-used terminology the "Greek East" once again. The eastern provinces have long been and continued to be referred as the "Greek East." While it has been acknowledged that the eastern provinces were not Hellenized in their entirety, the limitation of the use "Greek" bears some consideration and further discussion. As we have discussed in relation to the Hellenization of Rome, the scholarship following ancient literature and epigraphic evidence often defines Greekness through the use of specific language, social practices and ideological expressions. As indicated already,

---

[335] I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Aktüre for bringing this fascinating example to my attention.

[336] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price. *Religions of Rome: Volume 1: A History. Revised edition. (*Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 337.

particular importance is given to *paideia* in the formal education of a Greek elite including but not limited to an education on rhetoric, philosophy, various sciences as well as a physical comportment in the gymnasium. *Paideia* is not only a phenomenon of particularly Athenian culture but is also often taken as the wider culture of the Greek elites differentiating them from uneducated masses and was a means of legitimating the political authority of the elite.[337] Even the athletes of the Greek mainland, which the physical education was part of *paideia*, were very rarely of lower class. The physical education required was part of the elite culture and means.[338] Peterson argued the sense of Greekness under Roman rule was established through close connection to the Greek past, established in the literary and cultural activities introduced with their formal education. One part of engaging with the realities of Roman domination was rewriting and reinterpreting Greek history to make sense or perhaps challenge this reality.[339] Definitions of being Greek laid out by the ancient authors that the scholarship follows to establish an identity was based on something that was purposefully limiting. This limitation allowed only room for the male citizens, elite male citizens at that. Let us also note that the citizenship of Greek cities was and continued to be fairly restrictive. For example, unlike the Roman class of freedmen, ex-slaves were largely not allowed citizenship.[340] Nor was "Greek" identity unshifting even for the elite. The changing borders of Olympic victors and their increasing variety of their place of origin is a good example of shifting boundaries of what is deemed "Greek" even for the elite. In time people from Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and even Rome were included in pan-Hellenic competitions.[341]

---

[337] Rebecca Peterson, "Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the construction of Identity" in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire.* Ed. Goldhill, Simon, (Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 91.

[338] Onno van Nijf, "Athletics, Festivals and Greek Identity in the Roman East." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 45 (1999), 189.

[339] Peterson, 91.

[340] S. R. F Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 114.

[341] Van Nijf 1999, 177.

The definitions of Greekness the scholarship utilizes, based on ancient literature and epigraphy has been only for those who have access to the facilities and expectations the elite writers imposed. The limitation of education, of particular political roles of citizenship has all presented us an extremely narrow understanding of what we term as Greek without a genuine acknowledgment of the limitations of this term. Lack of evidence is of course a major component in this continued silence. In this regard the "Greekness" of female citizens, non- citizen residents and slaves requires more nuanced acknowledgment.

Another problem we have discussed but is once again relevant here occurs as we consider the region of this work. As mentioned before Asia Minor was never simply "Greek" in any definition. Even if one does take Greekness as an unproblematic framework to apply, Asia Minor was in no point entirely Hellenized. In fact, as we will later discuss in more detail some elements of "Greek" culture were introduced in some regions only after Roman rule under the imperial frameworks. Even the most Hellenized parts of Asia Minor, such as Pergamon were never simply "Greek." Pergamon did not only house a temple to Athena but also an altar to Magna Mater, an originally non-Greek cult of Asia Minor we have briefly mentioned. Even within the context of Asia Minor or specifically Pergamon, we must be careful to avoid limitations of a binary of "Greek" and "Roman." Hence, we will not be assuming a monolithic "Greek East" in this work or discussing a simple "Greek" identity to compare and contrast with the "Roman." We shall examine identity through a discourse of various actions and activities largely in public spaces and architecture and how various ways people of Asia Minor constructed and reconstructed their versions of being "Roman" as well as how architecture framed these experiences and was reframed through them.

4.2. Instruments of Romanization

Romanization does not only offer a complicated historiography but can also be a rather complex process by itself. There were many systems, structures and institutions that formulated the idea of the Roman Empire through various processes and activities. One of the major institutions of Romanization, the Roman army, for example would

be a less revealing framework in the context of Asia Minor, especially the province of Asia where no legion was located. To this end, we shall now highlight selected interconnected instruments of Roman culture and imperialism: imperial cults, the festivals and the amphitheater itself. All three, individually and in relation to each other, were impactful in multiple ways in the manner in which identities were formed and reformed under the Roman Empire and directly connected with imperial ideas of being "Roman."

4.2.1. Imperial Cults

Imperial cults, or what is often termed as "the imperial cult" is almost as complex an issue as Romanization. Early scholarship has approached this concept with a strict Judeo-Christian lens presenting it as Friesen says, "a perverted religion."[342] these cults are often approached as political institutions rather than religious cults and played-off against Christianity to define their standing.[343] S. Price introduced a new bent in this approach, moving beyond the Judeo-Christian preoccupation. He used a more anthropological approach to analyze "the imperial cult" in Asia Minor specifically.[344] Interest in "the imperial cult" developed further after Price, though Price himself was also criticized for having over-emphasized continuation rather than presenting the changes within historical developments.[345] Though Price himself argued that there was no singular imperial cult, still scholars such as I. Gradel claimed the terminology as such suggested a specific static cult.[346] K. Galinsky also argued that imperial cults cannot be simply reduced to a singular entity or a simple formula but must be taken as

---

[342] S. J. Friesen "Normal Religion, or, Words Fail Us: A Response to Karl Galinsky's "The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?" in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Ed. Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 23.

[343] Price 1986, 14.

[344] Price 1986, 14.

[345] Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*. (BRILL, 1993), 143.

[346] Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion. Oxford Classical Monographs* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 7.

a paradigm with varieties of local practices.[347] Friesen suggested the term "imperial cults" to make the multiplicity apparent which we shall utilize here. Furthermore, scholars such as J.C. Hanges highlight how the exercise of power is not applied in one direction from the colonizer to the colonized but both being reshaped through the encounter.[348] This is reminiscent of the postcolonial scholarship on Romanization emphasizing the multivalent and multidirectional relationships under the Roman Empire. Gradel also reiterated the modern construction of the idea of "the imperial cult" as a distinct subject of study. It is important to realize that this was not derived from an ancient term, nor did the Roman World differentiate religion and politics like the modern world.[349]

Hence, what do we mean by imperial cults? Imperial cults were cults in the name of the emperors in his absence on a permanent basis. They were institutionalized cults, organized by their subjects and authorized by the Senate and the emperor himself. They were also a form of representation for the ruling power formulated by the subjects of the empire for the subjects of the empire.[350] These cults were often a means to integrate and negotiate the foreign power of Rome within indigenous communities.[351] Imperial cults were be found in various forms across the empire: the army at times would sacrifice on behalf of the imperial family to the Capitoline Triad; various provincial cults were founded in the name of living emperors; dead emperors were

---

[347] Karl Galinsky,"The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?" in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Ed. Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 13.

[348] James Constantine Hanges, "To Complicate Encounters: A Response to Karl Galinsky's "The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?" in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Ed. Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 28.

[349] Gradel, 4.

[350] Price 1986, 2.

[351] Friesen 1993, 154.

deified by Senate in Rome; at various times the emperor could be placed under the protection of a traditional god.[352]

Above all, imperial cults involved forms of negotiation, especially for the eastern Roman provinces in coming to terms with and reformulating realities of the Empire in a framework both understandable and manageable for the people.[353] As a new power assumed authority, new forms of representation for that power became necessary. Thus, they emerged from existing cults of gods and local ruler cults to provide a recognizable framework to negotiate their own place and relationship to the central authority. Hence, imperial cults were fitted alongside tradition cults.[354]

How were imperial cults formed and developed in Rome and Asia Minor? Scholars often make a note of the honors granted to Julius Caesar before his death as a significant moment to understand cults in relation to the emperor himself. Caesar was granted the right to have his own priest, to place his own images in formal processions among that of the gods and to embellish his house with a pediment. These honors were granted shortly before the assassination and after Caesar's death more markers for divine status were added like altars, sacrifices, and a temple in 42 BCE.[355]

The official cult of Caesar offered a clear model to Augustus who further formulated and institutionalized what the subsequent emperors would follow after. While some honors were offered to Caesar while living, they were largely coordinated after his death. Augustus thus established divine honors by vote of the Senate after his death, a tradition followed by many subsequent emperors, thus the official recognition of their status and merits.[356] Whether this meant to signify the emperor as a true god has long been discussed. Some argue that the Roman mindset would not allow divinity to

[352] Beard, North and Price 1998, 348.

[353] Galinsky, 4.

[354] Price 1986, 30; Nancy Evans, "Embedding Rome in Athens" in *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Ed. Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 83.

[355] Beard, North and Price 1998, 140.

[356] Beard, North and Price1998, 208-209.

humans and attempt to justify these divine honors.[357] Others claim that the boundaries of God and men were fairly different in the Roman context where figures like Romulus existed as men who became a god and was included in the Roman state cult.[358] Gradel further argued the divine worship offered thus was only the highest degree of honors that could be offered no different than what we would regard as secular with a modern lens.[359]

Regardless of divine status, Augustus also in time gathered membership of all major priestly colleges. He was a *pontifex* in 48 BCE, *augur* in 40 BCE, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* in 37 BCE, *septemvir epulonum* in 16 BCE among others. Augustus' religious authority was dominant and pervasive, incorporated into the religious framework of the empire and the city of Rome intimately.[360] Augustus' carefully considered moves to not suggest kingship while formulating a monarchy allowing him an ambiguous formal position in Rome. He also "revived" traditions including the sixth king of Rome, Servius Tullius allowing him to reorganize the structure of the city of Rome. He divided Rome into fourteen districts, 265 wards where former crossroad shrines dedicated to *Lares* would now become *Lares Augusti and Genius Augusti* tied directly to Augustus and his ancestry. This reorganization gave Augustus a place throughout Rome, which would be repaired and used throughout the third century CE at least. These cults were often run by freedmen and slaves offering further prestige and finances. Hence, they were not state cults but run by private groups, *collegia*.[361]

Augustus' formulation of divine rule, developed as a result of Caesar's close death after being offered divine honors and the resulting careful maneuvering of honors by Augustus during his life with the constant avoidance of any suggestions of divine

[357] Gradel, 28.

[358] Beard, North and Price 1998, 146.

[359] Gradel, 29.

[360] Beard, North and Price 1998, 186-206.

[361] Gradel ,118-120; Beard, North and Price 1998, 184-186.

kingship in relation to the emperor, held true for the subsequent emperors. The state cult at the capital would present the emperor divine worship only after his death. During their lifetime emperors would move carefully to avoid divine status in Rome within the state cult. Private cults like the *Lares* and others would still worship the living emperors even at Rome. [362]

In the winter of 29 BCE, the embassies of *koina* of Asia and Bithynia approached Octavian, who was in Asia at the time, to offer divine honors. Provincial cities often gathered in organizations known in the East as *koinon*, which was not an imperial administrative group.[363] Greece and Asia Minor had a long history of ruler cults as well as honors offered to Rome and Roman officials. The honors presented to Octavian were traditional but were modified by the emperor according to his own formulations.

> In the meantime Caesar, besides taking care of affairs generally, gave permission that there be established sacred areas to Rome and his father Caesar, whom he named the hero Julius, in Ephesos and in Nikaia; for these were at that time the preeminent cities in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident there honor those divinities, but he permitted the foreigners, whom he called Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians' in Pergamon and the Bithynians' in Nikomedia.[364]

Thus, Ephesus, the provincial capital of Asia was granted a temple for the cult of Rome and Julius Caesar, noted to be for the Roman citizens of the province, while Pergamon, the capital of the region before Roman rule was granted permission for the Temple of Rome and Augustus. The addition of a cult for Julius Caesar as well as the additions of Rome to both cults were introduced by Augustus for likely a Roman audience.[365] A cult dedicated to Rome was not new to the region and the inclusion alongside with Augustus himself provided a better image for the Roman audience where the norm has

---

[362] Gradel, 88-111, 261.

[363] Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*. (BRILL, 1987), 3; Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*. (Leiden; Boston, 2003), 275.

[364] Cassius Dio 51.20.6-9 in Burrell, 17.

[365] Burrell, 275.

been to avoid any indications of accepting divine kingship. Thus, the cult for the deified ruler was offered to the Roman citizens and the cult for the living emperor properly modified offered to rest of the people of Asia Minor.

The western provinces had a different relationship with imperial cults. There was no long-standing tradition of ruler cults that has already been interfacing with the Roman culture. While we should not overestimate a strict east-west divide within the Empire, unlike the eastern *koina,* the western *concilia* were imperial creations. They were established on a much different contextual relationship where the status of the communities offering the cult was significantly different.[366]

In the East, especially Greece and Asia Minor, there had been a long tradition of Hellenistic ruler cults as well as later cults to both Rome and various Roman officials. While the cult of Rome and Augustus was not a direct one-to-one continuation of these traditions, it was also not an entirely new development. For example, the cult of Julius Caesar and Rome in Ephesos was not a provincial cult nor was it mentioned much in surviving inscriptions or coins. The cult of Rome and Augustus of Pergamon on the other hand, set a precedent for cults in Asia which followed after and was the sole provincial imperial cult for around fifty years. We can note that these cults were established at a time of political transition and reflect a need for negotiation with the imperial power within established traditions. [367]

The cult of Rome and Augustus at Pergamon was followed by others. During the reign of Tiberius, eleven cities of Asia Minor competed for the right to a cult for Tiberius, the Senate and his mother Livia, including Pergamon and Ephesus where Smyrna was the winner. Ephesos gained a provincial cult probably around the era of Nero which was later rededicated to the Augusti of Flavian dynasty. Pergamon was also the first city in Asia with a second provincial cult. The cult of Zeus Philios and Trajan was granted to Pergamon starting a severe competition among other cities. The reign of Hadrian showed rapid developments where Kyzikos, Smyrna and Ephesos were all

---

[366] Fishwick, 4; Beard, North and Price 1998, 349.

[367] Friesen 1993, 9-15; Price 1986, 45.

granted rights for cults dedicated to Hadrian himself. Overall, around fifty-two imperial temples can be identified in Asia Minor for thirty-five cities. Imperial cults continued during the first two centuries of the Empire but showed a decline in the third century.[368]

In the Roman East, imperial cults paved a different way to open diplomatic dialogue between the cities and Rome. The city would propose a cult to the emperor and the Senate and the Emperor would deliberate. In general, the approach was towards acceptance which could lead to non-fulfillment on the side of the cities. This would require some central pressure for the establishment and continued practice of the cults. And, it was not a simple system of imposition on one side nor only requests from the other but multiple directions would and did generate pressures within.[369] Cults offered cities of Roman East both the initiative and a familiar language to engage with Roman power but also Roman power a measure of control and management of these interpretations. Cults were a discourse recognizable in language to all parties and sufficiently fluid and changeable to be long lasting.

It may be noted that a central concept concerning the establishment and development of imperial cults in the Roman East was the inherent competitive nature of these cults. The Roman East had long been a competitive world on multiple levels, from the athletic theatrical contest of individuals to offices of the elites to the cities themselves competing for privileges and titles. Imperial cults were all supposed to link to competitive spirit of the region.

The urban structure of the Roman East was hierarchical. The cities were in competition with each other in their local hierarchies and the competition could often be very fierce in provinces like Asia with a high number of well to do cities. These cities would compete for sacred contests, titles and provincial cults. One particular title in the Roman East was *neokoros*, meaning a "temple warden" which concerned cities

[368] Bernhard Weisser, "Pergamum as Paradigm" in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces.* Ed. Howgego, Christopher, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 140; Burell, 22-23; Friesen 1993, 15; Price 1986, 58, 67.

[369] Price 1986, 66-71.

possessing a provincial temple. While the provincial cults were operated within the province as a whole and were the economic responsibility of the latter, the temples belonged to the city itself. The title *neokoros* became extremely sought after, after the first usages by Kyzikos and Ephesos as it denoted not only a specific honor, of the cult, but also a privileged relationship with Rome. [370]

As a result, the provincial cults could also aid the development of a city in multiple ways as they not only provided status but also created new offices for the elite, gained economic benefits and put the city in closer contact with the Senate and the Emperor. Thus, the competition for what was now important, the titles, contests, and imperial cults, was especially fierce. The province of Asia in particular had three great cities, Pergamon, Smyrna and Ephesos in competition, especially during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, while the rest of the cities of Asia would often take sides with one over the two others. The competition could be so acute that the emperor himself had to intervene at certain times.[371]

We must also note that while these competitions for titles might seem "empty" hierarchy did matter in many ways. Antoninus Pius himself addressed the *koinon* of Asia according to the local hierarchy which became a rule. The particular standing of a city within the hierarchy could impact exemptions from liturgies for doctors and teachers, with the smaller cities getting the fewest exemptions. The Senate and the Emperor also often provided frequent evaluations of the cities within the Empire deciding on which could be considered the foremost city and granting relevant honors in accordance including greater public projects for the city.[372]

Imperial cults did not really replace existing traditional cults but were modelled on them to fit right alongside the established traditions. This was true for both Rome and Asia Minor. The state cults of Rome did not differentiate between the *divi* and

[370] Burell, 1, 331-343; Price 1986 64.

[371] Dietrich O. A. Klose, "Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire" in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces.* Ed. Howgego, Christopher, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 125; Burrell 351-352

[372] Burrell, 355.

traditional cults. The cults of Asia Minor similarly functioned in conjunction with imperial cults.

Furthermore, Cassius Dio argued that imperial cults were a unifying factor in the vast imperial territories as all Roman subjects would attend a shared worship.[373] Imperial cults could connect not only the communities of the Roman East but also the people of the provinces to Rome. For the local elite, provincial cults offered opportunities for prestige, given both to the community and to individuals as well as offices that could become a stepping-stone for further political and social advancement. The local elite could thus become integrated in the systems of Rome but within their own communities.[374] For the emperor on the other hand whether deified after death or honored in the provinces while living, imperial cults established mutually binding contracts between the emperor and the people. If the Emperor ruled benevolently, he could be granted ultimate honors by the Senate and the people.[375]

Overall, we can see that imperial cults were not static, monolithic entities but flexible and varied enough to allow longevity through change. At the same time there was enough recognizable consistence to be of socio-political use considering how imperial cults thrived in the early centuries of the Empire.

4.2.2. Festivals

Now that we have gained some understanding of imperial cults in Rome and Asia Minor, let us move on to our second category: Roman festivals. These do not have the complex and contentious history we have encountered so far. The scholarship appears to have been somewhat until last few decades offering a new interest and resurgence.

Festivals were central events for the Greco-Roman society. Religious celebrations could offer room to form, reform and alter social and political practices. The festivals tightly connected to social and political organization of society, set the rhythm for the

[373] Beard, North and Price 1998, 318.

[374] Beard, North and Price 1998, 361.

[375] Gradel, 369.

year and provided a regular calendar joining the community together. These festivals could be very diverse from very public to small private events, some part of the regular cycle of events while others were more extraordinary occasions.[376]

In Rome, various events, shows and festivals took place from *ludi* of circus games to gladiatorial shows as part of the festivals for gods or deified emperors. Images and symbols of appropriate deities would be paraded through the streets of Rome to the entertainment structure appropriate for the occasion, be it the circus or theater. Roman festivals were not all exported to the provincial communities though major festivals were probably observed by the army and the Roman citizens.[377]

Roman festivals were noted to have major common component such as formal sacrifices, theatrical or athletic performances, banqueting and choral singing. The traditional Roman sacrifice itself was an event involving a *pompa,* a procession of sacrificial victims and others, prayer by the officials as well as offerings such as wine and incense to the altar. Afterwards wine and *mola salsa* would be poured over the sacrificial animal's head by the slaves and examined for omens. After burning parts of the animal on the altar, a formal banquet would be provided with rest of the meat. *Ludi,* be it theatrical performances or chariot racing, would also be an important part of the Roman festivals and celebrations. Games were the central focus of the ritual activity in some like Megalesian Games. [378]

Festivals, especially agonistic festivals, have long been a part of local culture especially in Greece and Asia Minor in the Roman East. Descriptions and discussions of athletic contests and victories as well as examples of drama in the agonistic context reveal processions of statues of the gods, animals to be sacrificed, smells and sounds

---

[376] J. Rasmus Brandt and Jon W. Iddeng, "Introduction: Some Concepts of Ancient Festivals" in *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice* ed. Brandt, J. Rasmus, and Jon W. Iddeng (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1; Beard, North and Price 1998b, 116.

[377] Beard, North, and Price 1998, 262; 1998b 116.

[378] Beard, North and Price 1998b, 137-148.

of banquets, crowds rushing to see various events that could be found in streets on a frequent basis.[379]

Even with the long tradition, it was under the Roman rule that the Roman East saw a revival and increase in festivals and games. According to L. Robert this phenomenon was an agonistic explosion.[380] Long standing games and events such as the Olympic games gained back their former prestige, new festivals and games were founded in great numbers. In the first three centuries of the Empire, this explosion of public events was hand in hand with imperial cults helping their dissemination.[381] Literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence all suggests these festivals coming from a long-established tradition were popular as never before. There were hardly any towns in Asia Minor without at least one or two agonistic festivals on the calendar. [382]

Whether revived or in the form of the newly established games, the festivals were familiar traditional events. Yet they were also part of the overall imperial system. In Sparta, a rich agonistic life only emerged during imperial rule with new festivals such as Kaiseria and Olympia Kommedeia offered in honor of imperial cults. Hadrian reorganized the Athenian ritual calendar fully and introduced new games such as Panhellenia or Hadriana. He even restored Panathenaic Games to their former splendor. As O. van Nijf says "Even Athenians sometimes had to be told how to be Greek."[383] These traditional agonistic festivals were used similarly and in conjunction with imperial cults to negotiate and make sense of the realities of the Roman power. Not only were imperial cults a central vehicle for the establishment of many of these

---

[379] Van Nijf 1999, 176, "Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East" in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire.* Ed. Goldhill, Simon (Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 306.

[380] Klose, 125.

[381] H. W. Pleket, "Sport in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor" in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Ed. Christesen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 368.

[382] Van Nijf 1999, 180.

[383] Van Nijf 2001, 320.

festivals but even those that were not directly dedicated to the emperor were full of various references to Rome.[384]

Roman Festivals and the traditional festivals of Greece and Asia Minor were, while not completely identical in detail, very similar in their systems and organizational forms. They functioned on similar premises, including sacrifices, processions, feasts and games. The festival structure changed little in form in Asia Minor under Roman rule. Festivals were often connected to imperial cults. However, older festivals could be elevated in status with references to the cults, for which permission from the emperor was needed. The temples of provincial imperial cults were especially connected to the most important festivals of this kind. Imperial celebrations like other festivals could be celebrated on a regular basis or held on special occasions like the ascension of a new emperor.[385]

There were two main groups of games, one offering material values and prizes of money, and of local importance, and the other Panhellenic festivals like the Olympic games which were of a higher rank. These games were on a periodic schedule and were connected to what can be translated as "holy wreath games" originally offering wreaths and honorary prizes. Under Roman rule, these prizes became much more significant and only the emperor could grant the festival of this caliber. The four Panhellenic festivals including the Olympic games were the highest in rank. A festival could also attain a higher rank by becoming *iselastic* i.e. the winners had the right privileges and special entry to their home city, a title also granted by the emperor. Another honor was *ekecheiria* which in pre-Roman times meant that inviolable sanctuary rights could be granted whereby participants could travel back and forth freely.[386]

Small local festivals could add prizes to attract competitors, and the biggest contest would gather top competitors from all over the eastern Mediterranean. Organizers

[384] Van Nijf 1999, 188.

[385] Gradel, 18; Van Nijf 1999, 180; Price 1986, 101; Klose 2005, 127.

[386] Klose, 126-127.

would offer larger prizes, petition for better titles and seek to gain a higher status of competition. Some festivals were *isolympic* meaning equal to Olympic games. Thus, cities would be sending envoys to the "Greek" world, the *oikoumene*.[387] Formal observers would be sent and receive seats of honor and share in the sacrifices. We have discussed previously how intrinsic the hierarchical competitive relationships were in Asia Minor. We can see here once again, not only were individuals involved in these competitions but the contests themselves were in competition for better titles and better privileges to attract more people.

Festivals were temporary events but rarely for a single day and there were many in number in Roman Asia Minor. In Ephesos, the birthday of Antoninus Pius was celebrated for five days and the Artemision lasted a month.[388] These were colorful popular affairs. The processions would include colorful clothing like the *ephebes* in their shining armors or cleaned garlanded animals as well as images of various divinities. The festivals themselves attracted great crowds and people, visitors from other cities and villages, biggest festivals attracting visitors from far away in the Eastern Mediterranean. The competition between cities and festivals was not only for prestige but also for economic benefits. Visitors left their money behind, bigger prizes were offered; traders were attracted to the tax exemption of the major festivals. People would have access to luxury imports and new delicacies. The community also benefitted from the banquets, meals and donations. Feasts were given to the citizens and even non-citizens. The festivals also cost a lot of money. The public infrastructure and architecture were expensive, the accommodation of large crowds was not cheap either.[389] These benefactions to the crowds, be it meals or money offered were not neutral factors either. The distribution of hand-outs could be hierarchized and express social levels on a monetary basis. Colorful and attention-grabbing processions could present an idealized image of a society that was partial to certain groups over others. They provided pragmatic and idealized versions of the society that were not

[387] Van Nijf 1999, 180.

[388] Price 1986, 106; Fritz Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era. Greek Culture in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 33.

[389] Price 1986, 112-113; Van Nijf 1999, 193-194.

representations of the reality of the people but what the organizers wanted to represent. The interest of the ruling class could be thus well represented by neutralizing and normalizing their hierarchical place and define their relationship amongst various social groups through ritual and action.[390]

It has to be noted that the festivals were events for the whole city, not only for the people but also for the spaces and architecture. These festivals were not just celebrated in cult centers and temples but various major civic spaces. The council house could be used as a starting point of processions. As in Miletus and Ephesus, theaters and stadia often had games celebrating the festival and holding competitions. Gymnasia could also hold competitions as well as sacrifices and banquets. The sanctuaries themselves housed the cult statues and temples all around the city.[391] The processions amongst these various touchstones of urban activity would link them together with color, sound and movement. Dionysius of Halicarnassus described a procession preceding the games starting from the Capitoline Temple leading through the Forum to Circus Maximus. The procession included figures ranging from charioteers to young men at the edge of manhood, athletes to dancers and soldiers.[392] At Gytheum, the procession would start at the Temple of Asclepius and Hygeia and proceed through various spaces including the imperial sanctuary to end at the theater.[393] To reiterate, these festivals were colorful, loud and active in intertwining the whole city with the occupants and the visitors in collective participation.

Festivals were thus an incredibly important part of urban life. They were effective tools in accommodating realities of Roman power, of negotiating individual's and communities' places within the imperial context. We have noted many different aspects of the festivals which were under direct control of the emperor and yet the tradition of such festivals was long standing in Asia Minor. The involvement of imperial cults and active management of the whole system through center and

[390] Van Nijf 1999, 193.

[391] Price 1986, 109.

[392] Beard, North and Price 1998b, 137.

[393] Price 1986, 111.

periphery thus made it an effective tool to communicate ideas about being "Roman" in very recognizable ways. Imperial titles such as Augusteia and Sebasteia were added to traditional festival' titles and festivals dedicated to Rome very often appended to traditional festivals.[394] Imperial cults themselves also produced new festivals within their own context and events. Festivals thus allowed negotiation of many facets of imperial rule and recognize the inevitability of Roman power.

4.2.3. The Amphitheater

We have so far discussed the larger cultural sphere of imperial cults and festivals which among other things acted as one of the major facilitators of these cults. We will now proceed with the amphitheater. In Chapter 2 we have already discussed the development and meaning of the amphitheaters focusing largely on Rome. In this chapter we will focus instead on the amphitheater as an instrument of Romanization.

Dodge has argued that the amphitheater was one of the, if not the singularly, distinctly Roman form of architecture.[395] A. Futrell has further stated "to study the spread of the amphitheater throughout the empire is to reveal the process of Romanization itself, as seen in the imposition of an institution and its accompanying set of values on the people of western Europe, where the amphitheater is most prevalent".[396]

We have already discussed how the amphitheater could bring together an overall cross section of layers of Roman society together, from the emperor to the slave. The performances themselves from gladiatorial games to beast hunts suggested a great social and geographic range and indicated messages about the reach of Rome. The architecture of the amphitheater is built on defining and refining ideas of society with the circulation systems, seating arrangements, visual connections and more. Hence,

---

[394] Kostas Buraselis, "Appended Festivals: The Coordination and Combination of Traditional Civic and Ruler Cult Festivals in the Hellenistic and Roman East" in *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice.* Ed. Brandt, J. Rasmus, and Jon W. Iddeng (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 256; Van Nijf 2001, 320; Van Nijf 1999, 188.

[395] H. Dodge Amphitheaters in the Roman World" in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Ed. Christensen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 545.

[396] Futrell 2010, 4.

the amphitheater emphasized not only unity within its audience but also strictly defined social divisions, visualized and spatially clarified. The audience was especially in active participation of these factors. The games and the amphitheater together presented persuasive arguments on the legitimacy of Roman rule, society, and supremacy through controlled violence.[397]

The rise of gladiatorial games and the early construction of amphitheaters, as we have discussed in detail before, happened at a time of expansion beyond Italy and encountering other cultures in greater intensity. These new encounters required a need for self-definition of what being "Roman" was in which the games and the amphitheater was highly instrumental. The amphitheater offered a controlled venue in enacting relations to other cultures to negotiate and argue an idealized understanding of collective spirit.

The amphitheater as a building type, was a conspicuous aspect of Roman urbanization in major cities of the Empire. From the early starts, it was a part of urban competitions. The rivalries in Campania between Capua and Puteoli resulted in both building second amphitheaters to outdo the other. The spread of the amphitheaters in the western Roman Empire has often been connected to the urbanization of this area as the presence of the amphitheater has been taken as an expected component of the Roman city.[398] The amphitheater outside Rome could act as a sign of dominion over the local population, order and control as a building closely connected to imperial authority and loyalty. Thus, it could act as a generally exportable architectural element of Roman imperialism and thus Romanization.[399] Futrell noted how architecture itself can be a powerful tool for persuasion with monumentality and visual impact speaking for the relevant rhetoric.[400]

---

[397] Rose MacLean, "People on the Margins of Roman Spectacle" in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Ed. Christesen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 578; Edmondson 1996, 82; Futrell 2010, 10.

[398] Futrell 2010, 5,

[399] Elkins 2014, 106; Gunderson, 146.

[400] Futrell 2010, 52.

The amphitheater and gladiatorial games involved an empire-wide network. The imperial administration set by the Flavian dynasty offered a framework of training and supply necessary for the games.[401] These events and the amphitheater could offer a shared sense of community among the various social classes and allow opportunities to interface with the local arm of Roman authority, in parallel with the encounters of the people in Rome with the emperor. The seating system, whether it was replicated at the provincial level or not, would offer a way to make social hierarchies or their local variations visually comprehensible. The visual clarity both legitimized the social systems but at the same time constrained the individual actors within them.[402] The Roman military was also a part of the larger imperial network diffusing the games and the amphitheater. However, this is not meant to indicate forceful imposition of the games and structures. The emperor at times had to intervene and argue necessities other than games for the provinces like in the case of Aphrodisias building an aqueduct in place of gladiatorial shows.[403]

Functionally and architecturally the amphitheaters in the Roman East represent intertwined issues. The archeological evidence has shown a great disparity in the numbers of amphitheaters in the eastern provinces as opposed to the west. Of over 200 amphitheaters known from archaeological evidence, we have only identified around twenty within the Roman East. The number was as low as six in the 1980s[404] It was even argued that the Greek provinces were more "civilized" than their Western counterparts thus rejected gladiatorial games in general to account for this disparity in numbers.[405] L. Friedländer argued similarly, stating that gladiatorial games were not

[401] Bomgardner, 24.

[402] Dodge 2014, 545; Gunderson, 148.

[403] Christian Mann, "Gladiators in the Greek East: A Case Study in Romanization." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 2 (January 1, 2009), 278.

[404] Hazel Dodge, "Amusing the Masses: Buildings for Entertainment and Leisure in the Roman World." In *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, ed. David Stone Potter and D. J. Mattingly (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 36. Dodge gives the number 21 specifically. However the more recent excavations like Mastuara indicate a higher number though perhaps not much higher.

[405] Dodge 2007, 29; Mann, 273.

part of local Greek life and restricted only to colonies or some regions of Asia Minor for the "half-Asiatic" population.[406] The assumption of civilized Greek superiority thus justified the rejection of "cruel" gladiatorial games.

However, L. Robert proved that the situation was contrary was long assumed. He presented epigraphic and iconographic evidence revealing that gladiatorial games were indeed popular in the Roman East.[407] However, we can note while the number of amphitheaters rose from six in 1980s to over twenty now, these structures are mostly not extensively researched or excavated. There are also difficulties in locating purpose built permanent amphitheaters. The word "amphitheater" while used commonly and precisely in modern scholarship was not used so precisely in ancient terminology. No standard designation existed before first century BCE at all, and inscriptions, have been found referring to theaters as *amphitheatron* in the eastern provinces. Furthermore, ancient entertainment buildings were multifunctional. A theater or a stadium could be modified to hold gladiatorial shows or beast hunts. [408]

Still, the number of amphitheaters is exceptionally low in the Roman East despite the proven popularity of gladiatorial shows. In Asia Minor, the number of permanent amphitheaters that we have archaeological evidence for has been only three until the recent findings in Mastaura raising the number to four.[409] It is difficult to locate any patterns on forms, dates, or details due to the paucity of evidence. Yet there is extensive evidence of existing or new theaters and stadia being altered or re-built to accommodate gladiatorial and beast shows.[410] In this regard, Dodge states that the existence of many already built entertainment structures in the Greek speaking East could potentially offer a sufficient venue for gladiatorial games without the need for

[406] Dodge 2007, 29.

[407] Robert, 1940.

[408] Dodge 2014, 545.

[409] Güven, 61-65; S. Akkurnaz "Mastaura Amphitiyatrosu'nda Yapılan Arkeolojik Çalışmalar" in *Disiplinler Arası Çalışmalarda Mastaura Antik Kenti* ed. Sedat Akkurnaz, Arzu Özver, Aytekin Kalkan (Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları: İstanbul, 2022), , 25-50.

[410] Welch, 165; Dodge 2007, 40.

constructing expensive amphitheaters.[411] Additionally, Welch suggests that a lack of interest in engaging a symbol of Roman power within the Roman East was possible though this interpretation has yet to be sufficiently supported by evidence.[412] It may be further highlighted that, if taken as purposeful, the relatively low number may indicate whatever cities that did have an amphitheater to be particularly noteworthy.[413]

As mentioned before, under Roman rule, Asia Minor saw an "agonistic explosion." This would mean that a much higher number of festivals and competitions would require more extensive use of theaters and stadia but perhaps not really amphitheaters. It has not been clear how integrated gladiatorial games were to the traditional festival structure. Mann has argued that they were not integrated at all whereas Price places them vaguely within festivals.[414] Regardless, the theater and the stadium were fundamental and continuous parts of the rising number of festivals. They could also, as noted, accommodate gladiatorial shows, if necessary, anyway. It would make great sense then, to imagine that even if new entertainment buildings were built, the theater or stadium might have been just the more practical and smarter choice overall. This of course would lead us to ask why would Pergamon build an amphitheater at all then? Question begs an answer especially when considering the city also built another theater and stadium in the early imperial period.

Gladiatorial games were conducted and perceived in unique ways in the Roman East. The eastern provinces did not develop their own terminology for the gladiatorial games in Greek but rather adapted the Latin terms such as *familia, ludus or* armament types like *retiarius* with very few exceptions. The more usual communication of language was from Greek to Latin. Greek was borrowed much more commonly in Latin than the other way round. Even political terminology was largely translated to Greek.

[411] Welch, 174; Dodge 2007, 42.

[412] Welch, 174.

[413] Dodge 2007, 31.

[414] Mann, 279; Price 1986, 106.

Linguistically, the gladiatorial games were perceived as "Roman."[415] C. Mann also offers a unique perspective through the examination of self-representation of eastern gladiators. As noted in Chapter 2, gladiators often came from lower classes of society; they were slaves or freedmen and the poor. This was true for gladiators all over the Empire. However, the self-representation of eastern gladiators over their gravestones amongst other evidence stands out. Unlike the rather sparse western examples, these gladiators were depicted more commonly in relief and text, displaying various armaments or palm fronds and crowns for their victories. Words accompanying such reliefs were also in more detailed and functioned similarly toward self-representation of athletes with technical data but also including references to myths and heroes. The athletes of the Roman East were not of the lower class unlike elsewhere in the empire but had prestigious reputations and their numbers were dominated by aristocratic connections.[416] Thus the gladiators of the eastern provinces drawing of this tradition were able to represent their own place in the world in much greater and favorable detail than anywhere else. Even while gladiatorial shows were considered particularly Roman then, these gladiators could integrate and be transformed through local traditions.

How about the specific relationship of imperial cults with the amphitheater itself? Amphitheaters all over the Roman Empire were directly connected and facilitated through imperial cults. As we shall discuss in the next chapter, even in Rome, the entertainment structures including very likely the Flavian amphitheater were directly connected with the cults of the deified emperors.[417] There is extensive evidence for the processions and placement of images of emperor worship in the entertainment buildings including the amphitheater from the provinces from the first three centuries of the Empire as well. A good example is the complex of Gallia Lugdunensis which included an amphitheater built by the cult priest where ceremonial processions were

---

[415] Mann, 282.

[416] Mann, 283-286.

[417] Elkins 2014, 73.

recorded.[418] Imperial cults' high priests were elected by the relevant council (*koina* or *councilia*) and were in charge of among other duties, the provision of gladiatorial games all over the Empire. The Council of Gaul met at the Lyons amphitheater adjacent to the altar of the imperial cult and the Asiarch of the *koinon* of Asia would hold annual games at Pergamon in the amphitheater.[419] The high priests were responsible for at least some of the costs and some are known to have kept their own *familia* of gladiators to be sold off to the next in the office. If one could not afford this, gladiators could also be leased from a *lanista.* These events were integrated to the existing systems of euergetism in which the wealthy would pay for the games for the status and honor in return. Commemorative monuments could also be set up to preserve their memory.[420]

The audience of the Roman east from the elite organizers and Roman administration to the lower classes on the *cavea* or the arena were active participants in the construction and reconstruction of their lives through the lenses provided by the amphitheater and the games. The popularity of the games if not the building type speaks to the wide reach of the gladiatorial games, whereas the differences in how the games and the gladiators were perceived reminds us that none of these processes were singular or static. Yet there were also those who showed negative reactions to the violence of the games in the Roman East. However, these reactions were often not directed to the games but rather to physically violent sports in general.[421] The elites in particular as noted by our proceeding discussion on imperial cults and festivals had much to gain as the games and the amphitheater concretized and normalized their place in the community and the larger Roman world. Furthermore, the amphitheater and the games offered a particularly flexible instrument of Romanization. This is especially noteworthy since for all the complexities of daily experiences in producing an idea of

[418] Elkins 2014, 78.

[419] Bomgardner, 234.

[420] Mann, 279-280

[421] M. Carter, "Romanization through Spectacle in the Greek East" in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Ed. Christensen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 621; Mann, 282.

being Roman, the arena and the games could and did provide a very streamlined and idealized version to be consumed and produced in turn. The amphitheater or the games did not often need to replicate difficult realities of the world after all, but provide an idealized version of them. The flexibility of the shows is apparent in how the gladiators of the Roman East could relocate themselves within their own social context in a much more favorable light. Yet the overall hierarchical structures of the Roman world with the emperor in the most privileged position did not change at all. Flexibility of such positions once again allowed longevity as any aspect of Roman hierarchy could be questioned at any time. As long as the system allowed some flexibility it would not need to collapse over such struggles. The provincial audience were no more forced to participate than their counterparts at Rome were. They actively participated in the shows which as discussed in Chapter 2, the audience played a significant part. The amphitheater was not a signifier of being Roman, but it was an active tool in producing and managing ideas of being Roman overall. No wonder L. Robert called the Roman spectacles "one of the successes of the Romanization of the Greek world."[422] Well integrated to imperial cults and a larger system, they were successful, flexible, and effective.

4.3. Romanization

This chapter discusses the concept of Romanization and its particular processes as we can identify and relate them to our central questions around the Flavian and Pergamene amphitheaters. Romanization remains a complex topic which will likely continue its complexity and popularity for some time to come. In the thesis, we have taken Romanization as a complex multivalent process without a singular overall idea of being Roman but rather a discourse carried through repeated actions of individuals within various spaces but especially within public architecture. We have addressed the necessity of acknowledging the power imbalance in these processes, the continued lack of the lower classes of people in these discussions and the terminological problems of framing the Roman East.

[422] Robert, 263.

The various rituals, festivals and structures of imperial cults brought the spaces and people of the city together. The active mobile experiences of the processions, visual variety and attention, the active participation of the people from the organizers to visitors probably brought the city to life and allowed every participant to form their own spatial connections to not only the city but to each other. As imperial cults and the emperor were bound to these activities intimately so would the participants spatially connect themselves within the larger Roman context. Being Roman thus would not be a separate concept to be absorbed but bound up with every part of the city, every step one would take, the goods bought from the market or the people in the grand processions. It was a part of their lives.

Returning to the topic of "Greek" versus "Roman" identity we can note some intrinsic details as well. As shown, Asia Minor emerges as largely Hellenized in the scholarship but not entirely. Hence, these aspects of Romanization were often closely bound up with Hellenization in Asia Minor as well. The festivals revived or new traditional festivals founded followed Hellenic traditions of the region. We have noted how even Athens needed to be reminded how to be "Greek" by the Roman Emperor Hadrian. A new push for cultural Hellenism can be seen alongside Roman power. Many aspects of cultural Hellenism from the athletic to the philosophical education were ideological tools in the hands of the local elite.[423] The legitimization and demonstration of power for the local elite was conducted through cultural Hellenism. Under Roman rule, these Hellenic elements were instead formulated within an imperial system. Most of the rural, non-Hellenized cults show no relationship with the emperor at all or any assimilation to imperial cults.[424] The local elite especially were in a unique situation where they were admitted to Roman citizenship while at the same time the preservation of Hellenic culture was crucial in their self-identification as the local elite. The elite had both the more to lose as they lost freedom and political autonomy under Roman rule and the most to gain as the empire provided new and bigger opportunities and a confirmation of their local oligarchic hegemony. The local elite of the Hellenized East

[423] Van Nijf 1999 186; Price 1986, 100.

[424] Price 1986, 95.

whose self-identification depended on the continued acknowledgment and reminders of the classical Hellenic frameworks such as descent, education, language and political cultic institutions were also the most notable Romanized with high acquisition of Roman citizenship and in turn imperial office. Their political authority bound by their self-identification as Greek was implicated intimately with the systems and authority of Rome.[425] A particularly poignant example that indicates the inherent difficulties in categories of "Greek" and "Roman" as well as "Hellenization" and "Romanization" is in Lycia, a province not much Hellenized before Roman rule. The oldest traditional "Hellenic" festival in Lycia in Asia Minor was founded in 188 BCE in Xanthos and was called *Romaia*.[426] So should be consider the introduction of a Greek-style festival Hellenization here or pay more attention to its name *Romaia* and call it Romanization instead? Considering all these complicated socio-political realities of Asia Minor as a whole we shall once again reiterate; Asia Minor was not simply "Greek" before the Roman rule, nor was Romanization a process independent of Hellenization of markings of the elite Greek identity at all.

Turning back to Romanization, as this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, imperial cults, festivals and the amphitheaters are not separate concepts that can be isolated and expressed but a system, structures, events and spaces that are deeply interconnected. Yet, collectively, all are significant in our understanding of social and cultural negotiations within Asia Minor, in particular Pergamon as well as Rome. The frames of imperial cults were no more static or singular than any discussion of Romanization, yet they are pervasive, embedded in many aspects of people's daily lives which we have seen especially in the case of festivals under Roman rule. These frames collectively allowed negotiations of identity, often privileging people in positions of power be it the emperor or the local elite and yet afforded ways of mediation and compromise to allow agency to all parties involved if at varying levels. We have seen how the emperors, starting with Augustus utilized imperial cults to manage their own image and create a relationship with the people in their own framework. Yet on the

[425] Burell, 331; Peterson, 91.

[426] Van Nijf 1999, 188.

other hand, this framework was utilized to particular local ends with the cities of Asia Minor competing with all indicators of status and relationship with Rome, especially in relation to imperial cults. The elite could frame the rising number of festivals in various ways to support the status quo of their own privilege while the festivals and contests at the same time continuously and actively bound the whole city together. The amphitheater was a very structured space constructing and reinforcing idealized versions of Roman society while at the same time the lowest classes such as the gladiators in the east could still negotiate their own self-image in more favorable heroic light. The rituals of imperial cults, festivals, gladiatorial games all repeated actions allowed the people of Asia Minor to construct individual Roman identities that were bound together by ideas of what being "Roman" was conveyed through the cults, the games and the festivals and yet accordingly negotiated through their own individual experiences. We have come back to a point we have made before: the people of Asia Minor, of Pergamon were only "Greek" to the degree they formulated themselves to be and similarly they were only "Roman" within their own boundaries, no more and no less. We can no more fix them on a singular point then we can fix ourselves but we can certainly examine and continue to try to understand the processes and experiences they went through to define themselves over and over again.

CHAPTER 5

THE PERGAMENE AMPHITHEATER

We began this study with an examination of the development of Roman games and the amphitheater to highlight how important a role the amphitheater played as an instrument to produce and maintain a rather idealized version of Roman identity. Following this, we discussed the particular relationship of Pergamon and Rome during the Republican period and how this relationship specifically impacted Roman culture. Furthermore, the other side of this relationship was also highlighted to examine the impact of Roman culture in the Greek speaking East. Now that the framework has been constructed, the specific focus of this chapter, the amphitheater of Pergamon will be discussed.

As noted, the limited data and research available on the amphitheater of Pergamon poses a significant limitation. One of the ways we shall engage with that limitation will be through selected aspects of the Flavian amphitheater in Rome. The background and frameworks set up so far in this study will now be utilized to compare and contrast the Flavian and Pergamene amphitheaters to help us understand both and more. To facilitate this analysis, we will first examine these structures as architectural entities through a discussion of form, structure and style. Afterwards, referencing the discussion in Chapter 2, we shall evaluate the various functions of these amphitheaters, firstly as places of sociopolitical configurations, then as a place of imperial cults and places of entertainment and spectacle.

5.1. Form

5.1.1 The architecture of the Flavian Amphitheater

The Flavian amphitheater, popularly known as the Colosseum, is largely regarded as

the Roman amphitheater par excellence. (Figure 3) As Welch states "the Colosseum is when the amphitheater was canonized as a building type."[427] How the Roman Games and in turn the amphitheater has been developed and became popular has already been discussed so here the focus will be primarily on the Flavian amphitheater alone.[428]

The Flavian amphitheater is without question the largest Roman amphitheater ever built in the Roman world. (Figure 6) Dedicated by Emperor Titus in 80 CE with dimensions of 188x156 m and height of 48.5 m the Colosseum could accommodate around 50.000 people. Including the annex buildings, the Colosseum occupied a rather large portion of precious real estate in the center of downtown Rome, in the intersection of several significant roads at the site of the former emperor Nero's Lake.[429] Traditionally, amphitheaters were built outside or near the city limits thus the choice of the building site of the Colosseum was unusual. We shall further discuss the significance of this location later in the chapter.

The Colosseum was a marvel of Roman engineering with the extensive and complex substructures and monumental *cavea*. (Figure 33) Sitting on a massive elliptical concrete ring, the basement structures were diverse in function and were surrounded by a ring of brick faced concrete at the upper part. The form of the structure was the final development of the amphitheater as a building type. The elliptical ground plan sat on two axes with the arena surrounded by the seating area and two annular peripheral barrel-vaulted galleries on the first three levels above which was an attic.[430]

The facade of the Flavian amphitheater standing at an impressive height of 48.5 m showed three tiers of arcades embellished with Greek architectural orders as well as an attic level topped by a series of masts for the awning.[431] (Figure 3) It was not only

[427] Welch, 129.

[428] We will use the Flavian Amphitheater and Colosseum interchangeably as per the academic tradition.

[429] Elkins 2019, 3; Welch, 131.

[430] Welch, 134; Elkins 2019, 24.

[431] For lack of a better terminology, as the discussion in Chapter 3 about "Greekness" is still relevant though in relation to architectural "orders" beyond the scope of this study.

the scale of this facade but also the elaboration rather distinct from all amphitheaters before. Welch posits that the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus was the model of most imperial amphitheaters before this point and employed a rusticated Tuscan facade and non-Greek orders.[432] The four stories built from travertine in *opus quadratum* contained eighty arches at three levels each flanked by engaged semi-columns in a fornix motif. These arches served as separate entrance points for the audience at the ground level and contained statues behind a parapet wall above. The semi columns were at the ground floor in Tuscan order, then Ionic and at the third level were headed with Corinthian capitals where at the attic story also showed Corinthian pilasters as articulation. The attic level also contained projecting corbels in socketed masts for the rigging system of the awning. Numismatic evidence also shows a triumphal arch on the first level above the entrance leading likely to the imperial box on the minor axis of the building as well as that on the attic level large bronze shields decorating between the square openings. (Figure 34) [433] The sculpture on the second and third level of the facade standing within the arches likely related to common classical Greek themes of retribution and punishment through divine authority.[434]

The Flavian amphitheater was the first amphitheater to employ Greek orders on the facade and would likely be compared to the Theater of Marcellus from the Augustan period by onlookers which also employed the Ionic order for the second level and Corinthian order for the third but the ground level for this theater was in Doric order. (Figure 35) The Colosseum employed the Tuscan order, a native Italian order, in place of the Doric and shields as decoration in place of theatrical masks. The facade of the Colosseum used the Greek architectural orders and subject matter within Greek culture but interjected Roman features into it. Welch connects this particular aspect of the facade to the new type of entertainment now added to the amphitheater program which involved a specific type of execution. These would be carried out modeled after Greek dramas thus taking Greek myth but placing it in a very controlled Roman setting. For

[432] Welch, 128.

[433] Bomgardner 40; Welch 135.

[434] Elkins 2019, 28.

Welch, the facade and these executions aimed to show the distinction of the Roman amphitheater from the Greek theater where features could be taken but in the end the product would be Roman and elevated within the Roman context.[435] Onians suggests another model for the combined tiered use of orders, the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, which in turn he argues was likely influenced by the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon. The Sanctuary of Athena in Pergamon utilized Doric, Ionic and Aeolic orders within a triumphal context. The Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, built under the rule of Emperor Claudius, in turn used, like the Theater of Marcellus, a scheme of Doric to Corinthian orders but now within the imperial context as an explicit commemoration of Roman imperial domination.[436] We have seen this utilization and reformation of features of Greek culture for particular Roman uses before. As discussed in Chapter 3, many aspects of Pergamene art and culture for example were utilized within the context of Rome to convey particularly Roman meanings. We might remember the Theater of Pompey as a particularly relevant example where the Pergamene visual language that conveyed Attalid triumph against the barbarians at once again Pergamon's Sanctuary of Athena, the portico with the relief of weapons and shields, at Rome conveyed the triumph of Pompey in Asia. Thus, with the Colosseum we see a continuation of recontextualization of Greek culture now serving within and for the new Roman context. However, what was recontextualized and for what reason has changed as will be discussed shortly.

The seating system and the circulation were discussed in detail in Chapter 2 especially through the Colosseum as the major source for evidence on this subject. Only a brief reminder should now be necessary for the complex system of passages and stairs that were utilized to direct various groups within the social hierarchy of Rome through individualized paths to specific seats. The paths taken by the specific social groups themselves also showed a hierarchy in length and effort with the vertical movement necessary changing according to status. These seats in turn made the social order of the day, that was by itself very changeable, visually apparent and inscribed over the

[435] Welch 145.

[436] Onians 1990, 46-47.

spectators at large. All the circulation and seating were done ideally without the classes mixing or even seeing each other until they were seated, in others until they were put in their place.

The interior of the Flavian amphitheater was also richly decorated where different parts would have been veneered in colored marbles and decorated with marble statues. Sculptural and architectural fragments of imported marbles and high scale statues were found at the site, such as the balustrades with marble sculptures around the *vomitoria* opening to the *cavea*. The ambulatories were also plastered, while some *tesserae* were found to indicate mosaics and some stucco decorations remaining in the vaults.[437] The substructures were extensive and multi-functional. This area was used by the slaves and attendants and contained elevators and trap-doors to move animals and gladiators to the arena floor quickly as well as to organize the stage props. While Emperor Titus may have flooded the arena for a naval battle it was likely not possible after the completion of the substructures by Emperor Domitian as there was an elaborate system of drains.[438]

As noted, once completed, the Flavian Amphitheater acted as the model for Roman amphitheaters from this point on. The current evidence shows well over 200 amphitheaters all over the Roman world and yet the Flavian Amphitheater remained as the archetypal amphitheater of the Roman Empire.[439]

5.1.2 The architecture of the Pergamene Amphitheater

Let us now examine the amphitheater of Pergamon in turn. The amphitheaters within the Eastern Provinces are both much in lesser number and much less studied in comparison to the Colosseum and their western counterparts. As already mentioned, Dodge notes twenty-one amphitheaters of over 200 permanent purpose-built

---

[437] Elkins 2019, 61.

[438] Elkins 2019, 59.

[439] Hopkins and Beard, 24.

amphitheaters known within the Roman world.[440] Of these very few numbers of amphitheaters in the Roman East only four are found within Asia Minor. Therefore, the example of Pergamon is a significant subject of study.

While Pergamon as a site has been a subject of interest and study since the late nineteenth century, the amphitheater itself has been subject to a close examination only in the last few years. (Figure 36) Charles F.M. Texier was the first who made a scientific approximation in mid-nineteenth century. However, his plans are not very accurate as they depict the structure as an elliptical one. While Carl Humann did show interest in excavating the area as early as 1885, issues with the property owner prevented the field study. (Figure 37) Later on Richard Bohn studied the structure and architect Paul Schazmann documented the Roman theater and the amphitheater during excavations in 1900 where both buildings had been used as quarries not long before.[441] (Figures 38, 39) However these findings were never published in connection with a further study.[442] The area of the amphitheater, now known as "Musalla Mezarlığı" was used as a cemetery until 1929 and the area of the amphitheater specifically as a sewer even after.[443] These conditions and the current settlement on the hill of Musalla Mezarlığı right next to the amphitheater made excavation work at this site difficult. Yet the German Archaeological Institute carried out excavations at the amphitheater area in 2018-2021 headed by Felix Pirson and the amphitheater building specifically studied by İhsan Yeneroğlu.[444]

---

[440] Dodge 2007, 29.

[441] W. Radt "The Excavations of the 20th Century: "The fun and games are over!" (A. Conze 1904)" in *Pergamon - Anadolu'da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Ed. by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 38.

[442] Felix Pirson, et al. "Pergamon – Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2018." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (2019), 25-28.

[443] Fabian Sliwka, "Pergamon, Türkei. Die Altgrabungen auf dem Musalla Mezarlığı in Pergamon" *e-Forschungsberichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut: (2021-2), 100.

[444] The importance of their work for this study and beyond cannot be understated.

The amphitheater of Pergamon sits on a stream that runs between two hills into the Selinus River in the western side of the city. (Figure 40) This inclined topography allowed the structure to use the hills and build primarily on the north and south with support structures for the row of seats. (Figure 41) The stream suggests there were potentially naval games carried out in the amphitheater.[445] Only a small portion of the *cavea* remains today, however the excavations of German Archaeological Institute have revealed the plan of the original structure. (Figure 42) The amphitheater of Pergamon was approximately 132 m in diameter and was almost perfectly circular in shape. The circular form of the amphitheater is built around irregular and asymmetrical internal structures. For example, the entrances on the north and south are not symmetrical and do not correspond directly to one another. While this is not entirely unique it is rather unusual and Pirson highlights Lambaesis and Albana as similar examples.[446] As noted, while the amphitheater of Pergamon had an almost perfectly circular form, the internal radial walls do not follow a regular scheme due to topographical constraints. These walls are irregular both in size and at times orientation. This highlights both the significant role of the topography in the construction of the amphitheater as well as how the overall almost perfectly circular form must have been purposeful. A more symmetrical structure would have been possible at a near location but would likely require much more extensive substructures. Using the natural topography appears to be a commonality, at least with the few extant examples, of the amphitheaters of Asia Minor. The amphitheater at Kyzikos was also on a stream between two slopes, whereas the amphitheaters of Anazarbus and Mastaura rested on the mountain-side on one side instead.[447]

The arena of the amphitheater has also been partially uncovered and examined during the excavations. The floor of the arena was thirteen cm thick and laid with watertight brickwork.[448] It was covered with coarse sand and fine gravel, and some ceramic

[445] Pirson et al. 2019, 106; “Pergamon – Das neue Forschungsprogramm und die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2019.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (2020), 178.

[446] Pirson et al “Pergamon- Die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2020” in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger, (*2021/2): 2.

[447] Pirson et al. 2021/2, 2.

[448] Pirson et al. 2019, 109.

fragments were found. Also, above thirty shoe nails were recovered from the small dig made to examine the arena floor showing the use of the area as a walking surface.[449] The excavations also found parts of the radial stairs of the *cavea* made of white-yellowish tuff material. Some seating blocks with profiles were also found later, some having inscriptions. Steps of the *cavea* can be reconstructed to around 40-45 cm in height and 65-70 cm in length.[450] (Figures 43, 44)

In his early examination of the amphitheater, Schazmann placed the dating of the building within the first half of the second century. As Galen, the famous Pergamene doctor, was employed as a doctor for the Pergamene gladiators between 158-164 CE, it is likely that the amphitheater was functional at this time.[451] The excavations also revealed ceramic fragments from the late Byzantine period within the layers of fall material from the arena thus the end of use could be guessed around this time.[452] If there are more specific findings from the excavation about the dating of the amphitheater they have not yet been published.

5.1.3. The Comparison

Following the available architectural information about the Flavian and the Pergamene amphitheaters, what can we discover through a comparison of both? To facilitate this examination, scaled visual charts comparing several amphitheaters and theaters with the Flavian and Pergamene amphitheaters have been prepared. In Chart 1 and Chart 2 the Flavian and Pergamene Amphitheaters are compared in size and shape of their plan to several other examples of Roman amphitheaters selected to highlight the variety in sizes available in the Roman world and include also the Mastaura Amphitheater as the only other amphitheater in Asia Minor with an available plan at this time. (Figures

449 Pirson at al 2020, 180.

450 Pirson at al 2020, 177-179; "Pergamon – Die Arbeiten in der Kapagne 2021" in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (2022/2), 321.

451 Wulf Ulricke, "Der Stadtplan von Pergamon. Zur Entwicklung und Stadtstruktur von der Neugründung unter Philetairos bis in spaetantike Zeit" in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen Band 44,* (1994), 167.

452 Pirson et al 2020, 178.

45,46) The selection of particular amphitheaters in these charts has been made according to several factors: availability of data, variety in size, and variety in geographical location. While it would be challenging to present a complete comparative study of all available amphitheaters, these charts are prepared to reflect the diversity in size of amphitheaters with examples from different parts of the Roman world so as not to overrepresent one part of the Roman Empire over another as much as possible. Thus, the chart employs examples from not only locations from current-day Italy and France but also Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, and, of course, Asia Minor. Chart 3 is a comparative study of more circular-shaped amphitheaters as far as one can attempt with the available evidence (Figure 47). The most readily available source with enough evidence to even start examining multiple amphitheaters according to their forms remains primarily Golvin's seminal work.[453] The selections of amphitheaters of Chart 3 has been first conducted through an examination of amphitheaters available in comprehensive sources with consideration of the ratio of major and minor axes of their structures. While amphitheaters of a 1:1 ratio have been very difficult to find, the selection of Chart 3 shows amphitheaters below a 1:1.06 ratio with available data for such a visual comparison. Finally, Chart 4 and Chart 5 show the Pergamene amphitheater in comparison to various theaters of Asia Minor, particularly ones that were reutilized during the Roman period (Figures 48, 49). Chart 4 shows a selection of Pergamon's closest rivals in the province of Asia as well as all the Pergamene theaters alongside the amphitheater whereas Chart 5 gives a bigger selection to highlight other examples from Asia Minor to reflect the wider range of size and form as well.

While these visual charts are intended for a general study and not for exhaustive comparisons, they do reveal so far hardly emphasized aspects of the Flavian and Pergamene Amphitheaters. As noted, the Flavian amphitheater was without question by far the largest Roman amphitheater and was the model of the amphitheaters after. We can see the continued impact of the tradition of the elliptical shape and complex structures in these examples like the amphitheaters of Capua or Arles. The circular form of the Pergamene amphitheater seems partially at odds here. In terms of size and

[453] Golvin

capacity however whereas the Flavian amphitheater always dominated, the Pergamene amphitheater shows a mid-sized example with a comparable size and capacity of many other Roman cities. The wide range of sizes of the elliptical form in these examples also demonstrates how flexible an amphitheater as a building type could be. While undoubtedly a monumental structure, the amphitheater as a building type accommodated a variety of sizes according to various contexts under the Roman Empire.

As the evidence for amphitheaters of circular forms is rather difficult to gather; Chart 3 has been put together with limited available information as noted. (Figure 47) While it would be a challenging endeavor, and outside the aims of this work, a thorough examination of all the round amphitheaters would be very worthwhile, as seen even from this preliminary examination. The form of the amphitheater, following the Republican examples as well as the later Colosseum, is dominated by the elliptical architecture. They are few in number and rather small in size especially the closer the example approached a more perfectly circular form. The data from Golvin, the only comprehensive compendium with any round amphitheaters, at least as far as the available data shows, contains only five examples under a ratio of 1:1.10 for the major to the minor axis of the amphitheater.[454] Sommer's examination of amphitheaters near auxiliary forts also offers some examples of round amphitheaters, interestingly almost half of the entire list, one of which Micia included in this chart.[455] Sommer's examples are similar to Golvin's on the smaller scale all around the size of Micia in Chart 3. (Figure 47) Whether the trend of relatively smaller sized round amphitheaters except the Pergamene amphitheater suggest a larger trend is difficult to say with the current state of research. Similarly, the scarcity of research on the few amphitheaters of Asia Minor or even the amphitheaters of the Roman East, in general, makes it very difficult to examine whether the round shape is a regional trend. As can be seen, the only other amphitheater in Asia Minor, we have any current visual evidence for, Mastaura, shows

[454] Golvin

[455] C. S. Sommer, "Amphitheaters of Auxiliary Forts on the Frontiers" in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: a 21st-Century Perspective* ed. Tony Wilmot (Archaeopress: Oxford, 2007), 56-57.

a more traditional elliptical form. In this comparison then the circular mid-sized form of the Pergamene amphitheater stands in a unique position.

Still, it is worthwhile to ask: why was the Pergamene amphitheater not elliptical but almost perfectly circular? While a definite answer is unlikely, we can continue asking more questions here. Was it topography and a practical necessity to have a round plan? As noted, the construction of the amphitheater very clearly considers the topography. Instead of building regular symmetrical internal structures at another nearby location, the Pergamene amphitheater utilizes the topography more fully while requiring quite irregular internal structures to form an almost perfectly circular shape. Topographically, as far as current research shows, there is little to suggest that an elliptical form at this or any nearby location would be out of the question. Considering how rare and potentially difficult a perfectly circular amphitheater seems to be, these factors indicate an intentional design choice.

Another avenue of investigation of the Pergamene amphitheater is the socio-political perspective. As noted, the elliptical form of most amphitheaters, like the Colosseum, was particularly suitable for Roman society as the hierarchization of social classes was a fundamental part of the Roman Republic continuing to the Roman Empire. The existence and the spatial experience of a major and minor axis that prioritized certain sections of the structure over others for optimal viewing experience within the amphitheater not only spatially made the hierarchization apparent but solidified it. This fact might lead us to question how a round form reflects or performs as an amphitheater within the socio-political context. A round form by nature would not necessarily prioritize any one angle within the structure, presenting an ideal of egalitarianism. However, another question is whether such a perception would be intended or even desirable within Roman Pergamon. This kind of egalitarian ideal might be tied to classical Athenian notions of democracy and (limited) egalitarianism. While the Pergamene Kingdom was a close ally of Athens and promoted itself as a place that safeguards and aims to revive classical (Athenian) Hellenic culture, among others, the Pergamene Kingdom itself did not employ an egalitarian social system. The Attalid Kingdom was a monarchy, and the primary position of the Attalid Kings is written even to the spatial configurations of Pergamon herself. As Pirson notes, while there

was no social or functional segregation within the urban areas of Hellenistic Pergamon, the zoning was much more practical; the overarching design of the city prioritizing the sovereign power at the physical top of the city mountain manifested the social position of the royal family as top of the social hierarchy spatially very clearly. So, to see the round form as an expression of social egalitarianism is a potential theory that must be deeply questioned. However, this is also not an impossible suggestion either. Pergamon and her rulers had a long history of cultivating beneficial international images that were not necessarily based on historical facts. A formulated connection to classical egalitarianism through spatial means also reminds us of the use of classical orders and themes in the Colosseum, mainly Roman means. Hence, if intended, such a classical reference could have been utilized in connection to both Pergamon's old alliance with Athens and Rome and the Colosseum's own utilizations of such classical cultures.

Thus, with the limited available information, it is challenging to suggest an apparent reason for the almost perfectly circular form of the Pergamene amphitheater. However, an interesting observation can be made in the following chapter on the urban physiognomy of Pergamon that we will briefly mention now. One pervasive quality of the monumental structures within Roman Pergamon is the abundance of circular forms; this can be observed not only in the amphitheater but also in the Roman Asklepieion with the imitation Pantheon structure as well as the round forms in the so-called "Red Hall." Considering how well the larger urban assemblage of Roman Pergamon works together, this certainly seems to be worthy of notice. These structures and the urban patterns of Roman Pergamon will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Chart 4 and Chart 5 show the Pergamene amphitheater in comparison to several theaters in Asia Minor (Figures 48, 49). This comparative study was drawn-up because of the common use of the theaters as a venue for Roman games in place of an amphitheater in Asia Minor and in the Greek speaking world. At first glance, one could consider the circular form of the Pergamene amphitheater in much more harmony in this chart with the half or more than half circular theaters of Asia Minor. While the circular form afforded the amphitheater larger capacity, we can also note the greater

diameter of the Roman Theater of Pergamon as well. Ephesus and Smyrna, the main competitors of Pergamon had two of the largest theaters in Asia Minor known to date. Chart 5 shows a few of the other well-known theaters of Asia Minor as a point of comparison for all. (Figure 49) As the latest studies in Pergamon have revealed, however, the Pergamene Roman Theater was even larger than both. We can also see that while the Hellenistic Theater was smaller in size in comparison to all in this chart, it can still be considered at worst a middle-sized theater and in this chart alone we have two other entertainment buildings from Pergamon. Some questions then arise, why were all these entertainment structures and more all together in Pergamon? Why not just one? Why are they at this size and grandeur? Questions worth asking and we shall see if further answer may be provided in the end.

Beyond these observations there are other questions that arise from the comparison of the architecture of amphitheaters of Rome and Pergamon. For example, as noted, the very articulated facade of the Colosseum was not only visually impressive but also ideologically expressive with the references to both the executions carried within but also the Roman culture subsuming and reinterpreting Greek culture. We have no evidence on what the facade of the Pergamene amphitheater would have looked like. An easy copy of the Colosseum would be rather unusual as the order such as Ionic and Corinthian in relation to Tuscan would have much different meanings within Asia Minor, especially within Pergamon with the ideological identity built on not only in relation to mainland Greece but also Ionia among others. Ionic and Corinthian orders have long been in use in Pergamon and thus had very different meanings. On the other hand, as we have noted, Onians argued the Pergamene Sanctuary of Athena with the use of multi-orders as a potential Greek parallel to first the Aphrodisian Sebasteion then to the Colosseum. So, if the Pergamene amphitheater did utilize similar stylistic schemes as the Colosseum, one could perceive an almost reciprocal pattern influence. By referencing the Flavian amphitheater, Pergamon could at the same time reference its own history and architecture as well. We can only wonder about the stylistic articulation of the Pergamene amphitheater at this time but it is a very interesting question indeed.

It would also be pertinent to ask how complex the circulation system functioned in a

mid-sized structure like the Pergamene amphitheater. To what extent was the complex and very purposeful system of circulation and seating reproduced or reshaped in Pergamon? While we have no answer to this question either let us move on to consider another question in relation, the question of function.

5.2. Function

As noted in Chapter 2, the amphitheater served not only as an entertainment building but as a structure of religious and sociopolitical importance as well. In this section we will consider the Flavian and Pergamene amphitheaters as sociopolitical, religious and entertainment spaces, in particular considering the role of the spectator and social order as well as the relationship of imperial cults to the amphitheater.

5.2.1. The Political Function

Generally speaking, the amphitheater was a public space instrumental in reflecting an idealized form of Roman identity as Roman social order itself was shaped through various lived experiences of the people. This was achieved in part through the circulation and system of seating of the amphitheater. Within the elliptical or circular form of the amphitheater the spectacle as a whole was not just the games but the audience as well. Through the formal organization and the strict seating assignment according to social status, the Colosseum shows how social distinctions could be made visible and normalized through a production of idealized Roman society. After all, while the seating area of the Colosseum seemed to show an ordered perfect Roman society, the actual population of Rome was not one to one represented. The Colosseum thus produced a fictive Roman society that was in line with the dominant ideology of the elite. Furthermore, the visual access provided by the form of the amphitheater did not only allow the audience exhibit their status but also act as a disciplinary actor for others in a mutual collective act. The Flavian amphitheater separated people of various social classes from the moment they entered the building, did not allow them to mix and then facilitated their social monitoring of each other. The actual daily lived experiences of the people were of course likely much more complex but the intended consequence was the formation and maintenance of an idealized form of Roman

identity and society.

We have discussed the Colosseum extensively in this regard before so let us consider the Pergamene amphitheater in turn. Ordering and reserving seats in entertainment structures was not a new concept in the Greek speaking east. Many theaters had names inscribed on their seats before. For example, the 4th BCE theater at Palaia Epidauros has around a thousand inscriptions and the Theater of Dionysus in Athens contained evidence of many inscriptions some erased and replaced. Seats could be reserved for groups like copper-beaters or jewelers as in Smyrna. [456]

In this respect, not unlike amphitheaters, the audience and its organization in the Greek theaters may likewise be construed as a reflection of the contemporary social order. In Athens, in the Theater of Dionysus, the seating areas, even at the front, were largely left open for those who wished to take them. The seats at the front could be taken by those with *prohedria* but anyone could sit at these spots. Some permanent seating would be reserved for members of the council, *ephebes*, priests and more.[457] *Prohedria* could be given for merit which was not a concept familiar to Romans.[458] The classical Greek theater also did not have horizontal divisions as every seat was as good as the rest which has also been interpreted in relation to the democratic social order. However, Rawson argues that this interpretation is unconvincing as democracy was actually relatively rare in the Greek speaking East. Furthermore, the horizontal divisions would not be functional in smaller theaters at all, and making such an argument irrelevant. There is also evidence of the audience being divided in entertainment structures according to political privilege as in 4th century BCE Athens where a fragment from the comic poet Alexis indicated that non-citizens sat at the sides of the *cavea.* [459] Overall, different cities at different times would employ different

[456] Frank Sear, *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2006), 3-5.

[457] Tamara Jones, “Seating and Spectacle in the Graeco-Roman World.” PhD, McMaster University, (2011), 102. *Prohedria* was simply the right to a seat in the front row which would be granted by the state to prominent citizens, visitors. Priests also had this right.

[458] Rawson 1987, 83.

[459] Rawson 1987, 93.

arrangements. For example, in Ephesus, each of six tribes had their own *cuneus* in the theater whereas in Aphrodisias only one row was reserved for the representatives of each tribe.[460] We can also note that in Pergamon specifically in the Hellenistic Theater, there were inscriptions on seats and a box from the Roman period at the bottom of the middle *cuneus* of the *ima cavea* taking up five rows of seats.[461] However no further examination of the seating of this theater has been carried out. What we can gather from this brief scrutiny is that while seating arrangement according to social conditions was not entirely strange in the Greek speaking world including Asia Minor, the particular organization was more likely tied to the specific socio-political context. While broad statements about the reflection of Greek democracy within the audience of the Greek theater would be inaccurate, and rather unusual in the case of Pergamon which did not have democracy as know it, we also should not expect a one-to-one match of the systems and frameworks applicable in the Colosseum to be found everywhere either. While Augustus did present a *senatus consultum* on seating the senators in the front rows of all entertainment buildings, the evidence from Asia Minor shows that this was not always followed. Aphrodisias had a senator seating in the eighth row whereas Laodicea had senators in the third row from the back.[462] Taking into account the specific context of time and place then is central to our understanding.

The most recent excavations at the amphitheater of Pergamon have yielded some data in this regard. In the dig of the *cavea* on the south side of the structure some profiled stone blocks were found. These blocks were from a bench with a backrest and had the inscription of the owner carved at the back. “ΙΟΥΛΙ [ΟΣ] or ΙΟΥΛΙ [ΟΥ] / ΑΡΧΗ.” (Figure 44) This seat was likely from the *ima cavea* thus from the closest area to the arena. Another collapsed andesite block was uncovered next to the steps with some names and abbreviations carved into it as well. Within these were found the Roman first name *Lucius* in Greek spelling *Lukios*. In another dig spot, an andesite seat block with further inscriptions was found. Furthermore, individual letters and names seem

[460] Jones, 133.

[461] Sear, 5.

[462] Jones, 105.

to have been regularly deleted which indicates a dynamic use of the amphitheater. These marked seating blocks are not found only in the *ima cavea,* the most privileged area, but also in the upper levels, though their precise locations cannot be fully determined.[463] So we have evidence of some specific seating arrangements in the Pergamene amphitheaters where at least one was a Roman name though this does not necessarily prove an Italic origin. Any further though, we can only speculate and question.

As noted, the specific seating arrangements were likely very contextually organized. However, the example of the Flavian amphitheater reveals the potential of the amphitheater beyond the theater itself as a place of visually shaping and reinforcing social hierarchies according to the dominant ideology. The seating at the Pergamene amphitheater was clearly significant enough to get marked by individuals in same cases by many over and over. If the amphitheater could serve to reflect an idealized social order what would that be like in Pergamon? In the provinces the *editor*, in this case, the priest of the cult of the emperor, would likely take the lead of the Roman games. However, we can further consider the socio-political landscape of Asia Minor as well. As we have discussed in Chapter 4, the cities of Asia Minor were very competitive in terms of status and titles. The Amphitheater as a structure both revealing and reinforcing such hierarchical relationships could be said to have particular utility for the cities of Asia Minor. As Pergamon, Ephesos and Smyrna vied for the first position within their province, whose representatives were sitting in what position could be very easily related to their current social status. Furthermore, the amphitheater of Pergamon was also closely connected to imperial cults in function and urban context, likely the cults of Augustus and Trajan both. These provincial cults were not run only by the city but by the *koinon* of Asia. The head priests of imperial cults were chosen from different head cities of province of Asia regularly. As the games of the cults would be played in the amphitheater, there is every reason to believe that representatives of multiple cities were present during games. So, in a clear parallel to the Colosseum, where the seating arrangement reflected changes in the contemporary social standing of the audience, the amphitheater of Pergamon too could

[463] Pirson et all 2022, 321-322.

reveal the relative social standing of provinces, cities and individuals. As discussed in Chapter 2, the amphitheater beyond the theater and the circus was uniquely suited for this purpose. The round shape facilitated mutual visual discipline and monitoring of social status. While we have no evidence beyond these inscriptions of such a use, we certainly can speculate how fitting and useful an amphitheater would be for Pergamon within the social context of Roman Asia Minor.

5.2.2. The Religious Function

Another significant function of the amphitheater was as a religious space especially in relation to imperial cults. We have discussed imperial cults and festivals as tools of Romanization in the previous chapter. That discussion largely concentrated on imperial cults and how they functioned in the provinces. So let us start with considering imperial cults in Rome and how they relate to the Flavian Amphitheater.

As briefly discussed before, imperial cults in part were formalized by Augustus who took the official cult of Caesar as a model and the life and death of his adopted father as a cautionary tale. While some honors were given to Caesar while he was alive, which may partially have led to his death, the official cult in his name was coordinated posthumously. Thus, Augustus established the protocol for divine honors offered by the Senate after death which was followed by subsequent emperors. This however did not mean that Augustus and later emperors did not hold extensive religious authority and significance in Rome while they were alive. Augustus himself was incorporated into the religious framework of Rome almost entirely. However, this incorporation and domination within the religious sphere was done with care so as not to imply any kind of divine kingship on Augustus' part.[464]

Augustus reorganized the religious structure of Rome which reordered and reshaped the cults to *Lares Augusti* and *Genius Augusti* giving the emperor a place throughout the city. The shrines were in continuous use until at least the third century CE. Furthermore, Augustus gained membership to all the priestly colleges of Rome putting him in the position of religious dominance in Rome. Within the early Principate, a

[464] See Chapter 4 for more on imperial cults.

range of rituals was also developed in association with the emperor and the gods. The incorporation and dominance of the emperor within the religious realm then became the basic premise during the imperial period.[465] State religion however, as mentioned, took caution in the introduction of worship of the emperor to the city of Rome. No emperor would accept divine honors during their lifetime at Rome.[466] As Gradel states however this argument was applied to the state cult. For the larger religious life of Rome, we have the evidence of the aforementioned Lares and domestic cults for the living emperor. Private worship of the emperor was not only possible but even pervasive. At the state level, Augustus and the emperors after him avoided deification during their lifetime thus controlling their image with careful precision. In the private realm of the people, however, they were worshipped extensively as we have evidence for both Augustus and Tiberius.[467] It is also significant to highlight the importance of the cult of deified emperors in Rome. Between the time of Augustus and Constantine, almost half of the state temples built in Rome were dedicated to *divi*, members of the deified imperial family. Almost all deified emperors had temples built in their names and various shows and games were given regularly.[468]

While imperial cults and festivals of the provinces have been discussed in great detail as instruments of Romanization and more, the question of how imperial cults would function at the heart of Rome, how the people and the emperor would interact with them regularly or how and what kind of Roman identity they would relate to remains largely not considered. Another significant gap within the scholarship is the relationship of imperial cults to the Colosseum. The Colosseum has historically been considered as a singular focus of attention. In part, this is due to not only the exceptional scale of the building but also the extensive research on the subject. Regardless, discussions of this building have always isolated the structure. The singular model Roman amphitheater par excellence, the Colosseum, has rarely been

---

[465] Beard, North and Price 184.

[466] Cassius Dio, 51, 20,8 in Fishwick, 362

[467] Gradel 74-75, 111-157.

[468] Beard, North and Price 253.

put in a larger context either within the urban fabric of Rome or the religious context of Rome. [469]

Holding games of various kinds including gladiatorial shows, has been part of imperial cults from the start of their conception. In Rome, the Circus Maximus and the theaters were places for the display of imperial images and attributes during games which would be brought by the initial procession, *pompa*. Outside Rome, amphitheaters are also known as venues of imperial cult images as well. The amphitheater in Gallia Lugdunensis is for example known for such use. Also, the provincial cult center in Narbo appears to have displayed such objects in the amphitheater.[470] However, the Colosseum itself has not been considered in this light, partially for the lack of direct textual evidence of such an event unlike Circus Maximus or the theaters in Rome. Elkins however argues that the Colosseum also had a *pulvinar* to display such images and attributes of imperial cults after the processions. This tie to imperial cults and the deified emperors would help the ideological function of the Flavian amphitheater in the legitimization of the Flavian dynasty.[471]

As mentioned, we have plenty of evidence from outside of Rome of the processions and display of imperial images and objects within theaters, circuses and amphitheaters as well as in Rome within the Circus Maximus and theaters. We can also note how the games held within the Flavian amphitheater related to imperial cults as well. There was a game for the dedication of the Temple of Deified Caesar by Augustus, a game for the health of Octavian Caesar by Tiberius, one for the dedication of Temple of Quirnus.[472] Games were not only held to celebrate victories but also birthdays or funerals of the imperial family or the dates of their ascension to the throne.[473] In 80 CE when Titus dedicated the Colosseum, there was first a procession that carried

[469] These gaps have been filled with very few scholars among which the study of N. Elkins is invaluable.

[470] Fishwick, 255.

[471] Elkins 2014, 72-76.

[472] Elkins 2014, 82.

[473] Futrell 2006, 34.

images and attributes of the gods and deified emperors before wild beasts and gladiators. It was only after the processions that the games started with animal spectacles.[474] As relief sculptures show the amphitheater processions were similar to processions of the Circus Maximus where attendants carried images of gods and deified imperial family which in Circus Maximus would be placed on the *pulvinar*. Elkins presents numismatic and iconographic evidence revealing that the processions were carried out similarly in the Colosseum as well.[475] (Figure 50)

Elkins further claims the so-called imperial box to have been the box for the imperial cult images and attributes which was located south of the short axis. After the processions, the images and objects were placed on an imperial box in a conspicuous position in the Circus Maximus. Outside Rome, these images were also probably placed in boxed enclosures on the short axis of the amphitheater, as at Lugdunum where a shrine for deified Augustus may have been located on the short axis. The south imperial box in the Colosseum connects to an underground passage which leads to a structure near the Temple of Deified Claudius. (Figure 51) According to Elkins, this connection would allow the procession of the images and attributes to be potentially stored near the Temple of the deified Claudius and safely carried within the Colosseum to a visually significant location.[476] Elkins' argument for the imperial box versus box of imperial cult is largely speculative though reasonably persuasive. While there is insufficient concrete evidence to wholly support such a position, the potential arguments presented are logical. Elkins' arguments on the existence and relevance of imperial cults within the Colosseum however are much more well supported. Alongside the little but significant numismatic and iconographic evidence we also have the questions of why not. Why would the Colosseum not have such a function? As discussed, the amphitheaters outside Rome related closely to imperial cults. The other entertainment structures, theaters and Circus Maximus also were recorded to display and incorporate imperial cult images and attributes. While the amphitheater

---

[474] Elkins 2019, 1.

[475] Elkins 2014, 91-92.

[476] Elkins 2014, 103-104.

did not serve the same festivals as those structures necessarily, we have seen Roman games were often also in direct connection to events that would be under the auspices of imperial cults. We have seen evidence from the processions from the Colosseum including imperial cult images and attributes. At this point it would be a much more difficult argument to make and much harder to justify for the Colosseum to not have this religious component to its functions.

Elkins notes that the display of imperial cult images and attributes would allow the living emperor to align and relate himself to the past well regarded emperors thus benefiting by association as they sat directly across these images.[477] Here we can remind ourselves of the discussion from Chapter 2 where we have highlighted the importance of visual access and control within the amphitheater as well as the emperor's role in this duality of access and control. The amphitheater as mentioned presented the living emperor both an opportunity to be seen, to be seen approachable, and to exert control over the rigidly structured and visually perceived Roman people in the *cavea*. Let us then add the images and attributes of not only gods but deified emperors to this mix. The emperor would not only relate himself and legitimize his position through the images of the deified emperors but arguably would be "monitored" by them. The example and significance of the deified emperors could act as a monitoring and disciplinary factor on the audience at large but also through comparison with the current emperor. Starting with Augustus emperors had to engage in a rather intricate game of control, visibility and power without implicating themselves through associations of kingship and direct godhood both at Rome at large but also within the controlled and constructed space of the amphitheater. The delicate means of persuasively integrating the emperor within the larger religious framework while also avoiding the negative connotations at both the state and private level involved carefully rehearsed tactful maneuvering. The real and actual presence of the emperor at the amphitheater was a pivotal component in this design choreography. The role of the visual reminder and signifier of deified emperors at this space is as important as both a positive reminder to the people of the model the emperor built his image on but also as a reminder to the emperor himself to be the in line with that image

[477] Elkins 2104, 216.

and not stray. This active presence of the emperor at the games in the Colosseum, which was not only facilitated by the building but where the building itself shaped these performances and experiences, was in direct connection to the emperor's central position within the Roman religious and political sphere that was carefully formulated in the Augustan age. Hence, overlooking Colosseum also as a place of religion, especially of imperial cults tends to divorce from the larger dynamics of the Roman Empire while also ignoring a significant function of the building. Undeniably the meaning and function of imperial cults, their activities and spaces at Rome as well as the Colosseum as a place of imperial cults require much further thought and examination.

Having presented our case at Rome let us now turn to Pergamon once again. The function of imperial cults within the provinces as tools for the Romanizing process has been discussed. These cults have been seen as channels of negotiation in coming to terms with and reframing realities of the Roman Empire in more easily legible ways by the local population. It also offered another way to open diplomatic dialogue between Rome and the provinces. At large this was also not a system of either strict central imposition or one-sided demand but a dialogue with multiple directions and varying pressures within the system. As a shared language, imperial cults offered both initiative and a way to engage with Roman power while enabling Rome a measure of control over how it was perceived in the provinces.

One of the earliest appearances of imperial cults actually was in the province of Asia and in Pergamon. When the *koina* of Asia and Bithynia petitioned then Octavian and the Senate, Pergamon and Ephesus were granted the right for provincial imperial temples. However, whereas Ephesus was granted the Temple of Rome Caesar which declined in status rather quickly, Pergamon was granted rights for the Temple of Rome and Augustus. Pergamon was also granted a sacred contest in the name of this cult, the *Rhomaia Sebasta*.[478] It should be noted that while the Temple and the festival were located in Pergamon the cult itself was the responsibility of the *koinon* of Asia. Following the example of Pergamon the cities in the province of Asia competed for

[478] Burrell, 18.

the honor of an imperial temple. Smyrna was granted the right by Tiberius whereas Ephesus was given rights for her first provincial temple by Nero which was later re-dedicated to the Augusti under Domitian.[479] Pergamon also had the privilege of being the first city with a second Temple of imperial cult (*neokoros*.)[480] The temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan was granted to Pergamon setting the precedent of multiple *neokorai* for a single city. This Temple was also granted a festival with the status equal to that of the cult of Rome and Augustus.[481] Although Pergamon was the first with two imperial temples other cities in the province of Asia followed not long after. During the reign of Hadrian while the Pergamenes asked for leave to build a temple for him as well, Hadrian refused and instead allowed his image to be placed alongside his adopted father. On the other hand, Hadrian did grant a provincial temple to Kyzikos, Smyrna and Ephesos in Asia, the latter two being the closest rivals of Pergamon. [482]

Provincial imperial cults were managed by the province but would be undeniably beneficial to the city of their Temple. We have discussed the importance of festivals and games in Chapter 4 as well. The games for the cults of Rome and Augustus and Zeus Philios and Trajan were both *eiselastikon*, meaning triumphal games. These games were privileged enough to offer winners special prizes and the right to return to their home town and get a triumphal procession.[483] The status of the games was not only good for the province but for the economy of the city.[484] Festivals were traditionally very crowded with people from many cities visiting. Traders could be attracted to the tax exemptions of *eiselastikon* and related festivals. [485] Thus, the cities

---

[479] Burrell, 28.

[480] *Neokoros*: temple warden, at this time was largely used to mean the city with a temple of imperial provincial cult.

[481] Burrell 22.

[482] D. N. Schowalter "Honoring Trajan in Pergamum: Imperial Temples in the "Second City"" in *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Ed. Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 102; Burell, 28.

[483] Schowalter 2011, 105.

[484] Klose, 126-127.

[485] Price 1986, 107.

were motivated to attract the best athletes and reputation for their contests for not only status but economic benefit. We can also note that the games of the older imperial cults at least in certain cases clearly continued to be important. The specific mention of the games of the Temple of Trajan in comparison to that of Augustus shows that the *Rhomaia Sebasta* games were still held 140 years after the temple was built.[486]

Speaking of games, the amphitheater as a building type was in direct connection to imperial cults within the provinces. The games for imperial festivals were often held in the amphitheaters. In Asia the games of Rome and Augustus is known to have been sponsored by the *koinon* and were likely held annually or biannually.[487] The gladiatorial games and animal shows in particular were under the auspices of imperial cults almost exclusively in the eastern provinces.[488] In the provinces the cult had a high priest, with different titles in different regions, who was elected by the provincial council and was in charge of relevant duties. The high priest would also be responsible of the Roman games to be held in the amphitheater and likely was responsible of at least a portion of the expenses. In some communities, it was mandatory to pay for gladiatorial games and animal hunts.[489] Pergamon had imperial gladiatorial barracks and Galen was employed as a doctor by the high priest of Pergamon to look after the gladiators under his care and was then employed by the following four high priests in turn as well.[490]

> Fortunately, while many (gladiators) died in the previous years, under me neither did any of the wounded die, as was said (above), nor (did any die) from any other wound, and the second *archiereus*—after the medical treatment had been entrusted to me (by the first)—did likewise and also entrusted the care of the gladiators to me seven and a half months later. For the first served as *archiereus* around the autumnal equinox, and the second in high spring. Again, with all

[486] Schowalter 2011, 106.

[487] Fishwick, 206.

[488] Robert, 240, 267-275.

[489] Bomgardner, 234.

[490] Michael Carter, "*Archiereis* and Asiarchs: A Gladiatorial Perspective" *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004), 42-43; Roland Auguet, *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games. (*New York: Routledge, 1994), 32.

> saved, after him the third and the fourth and fifth likewise entrusted the medical treatment of the gladiators to me, so that I had abundant testing of my training.[491]

Robert states that the gladiatorial *familia* employed by the high priest of imperial cults was likely sold to the successor, alongside with their doctor in the case of Pergamon.[492] *Senatus Consultum de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis* in 177 CE sought to reduce the costs of gladiators across the Empire. This implies that the costs overall were becoming more and more of a problem.[493] Regardless it appears that the amphitheater of Pergamon was tied to imperial cults in Pergamon.

We have discussed the intense competition between the cities of Asia Minor, especially the province of Asia in the imperial period. These cities competed on multiple levels from athletic and theatrical contests to offices of the elites and related privileges and titles. Since imperial cults were directly involved in this, they were developed in direct connection with this competitive spirit in the Roman East. Hierarchical urban structure thus resulting in competitions and rivalry was encouraged by Rome. In the province of Asia this competition was carried through at the highest level among the cities of Pergamon, Ephesos and Smyrna.

When Ephesos became *neokoros* under Domitian, the other cities followed suit. Pergamon was titled as *protos neokoros* the first *neokoros* city and later after the second temple as *protos kai dis neokoros* thus first and twice *neokoros*.[494] The existence of the temples as well as the existence of the first second *neokoros* temple then was a significant benefit to Pergamon in this competitive environment. We should also highlight that the competition between the cities was not just about abstract notions of status and power. There were visible and tangible benefits to being the first city of a province. The provincial cults created offices for the elite at a time individual

---

[491] Galen *De Compositione Medicamentorum Localium.* 3.2 in Carter 2004, 43.

[492] Robert, 285.

[493] Carter 2004, 43.

[494] Daniel N. Schowalter, "The Zeus Philios and Trajan Temple: A Context for Imperial Honors" in Pergamon" in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development.* Ed. Helmut Koester (Trinity Press International, 1998), 238-243.

competition for status was not given much opportunity. The cults also offered a direct connection to the Senate and the Emperor and funding from the *koinon* on the matters of the cult rather than just the city.[495] The titles were also not insignificant. The title of *proton Asias* meaning the first of Asia would be given to the leading city and utilized for protocols whenever the cities met and conferred. Provincial celebrations showcased the hierarchy as the first city would lead the parade while the second would follow. Sacrifices were also attended according to this hierarchical structure determining where the city officials stood at the sacrifice or sat in the meal.[496]

The Amphitheater of Pergamon and the imperial cults of Asia and Pergamon were undeniably connected as the games in the amphitheater were under the auspices of imperial cult officials involved in the festivals and accompanying events. Let us remember that the amphitheater of Pergamon was constructed in early second century CE. While we have no more precise dating available at the moment, we can remember this time was right around when Pergamon received the second provincial temple, an unprecedented occasion. We may also remember that the close competitors of Pergamon followed very soon after under Hadrian's rule whereas Pergamon was denied another Temple for Hadrian. Pergamon having gone ahead and gaining a clear advantage in this competition among cities was now back to equal ground among the three. Building an amphitheater, a uniquely Roman structure that was functionally in direct connection to imperial cults, at such a pivotal time in Pergamon's status among the cities of Asia would have been highly significant. The amphitheater thus would not only provide an opportunity to present a Roman identity, in line with the dominant power, but also be in connection with the traditional avenues of competition and thus easily tied into the question of status of Pergamon at this time.

We have also discussed how the hierarchical seating arrangement possible and visible in an amphitheater could be beneficial within the context of the intense competition of Asian cities. Pergamon could thus utilize the amphitheater to make the rising status of

[495] Friesen, 18.

[496] Ursula Kampmann, "Homonoia Politics in Asia Minor: The Example of Pergamon" in *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods* ed. H. Koester (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 376.

Pergamon cemented and ratified through the use of amphitheater seating. We have seen visual access and control of status within the cities and their representatives in official occasions was a central part of intercity rivalries. The visual methods of such organization and control within the amphitheater would not only be fitting but also of tactical and political utility. Pergamon, even if not the head of the *koinon* at the time would still be the city with the amphitheater, monumental in appearance and visibly Roman, the perfect place for the festivals of imperial cults and likely a place where the Pergamene people would naturally be more weightily represented in the audience. As we have seen, the Amphitheater was the space to present and enforce an idealized vision of the society. For Pergamon, that idealization would have included their position within the *koinon* that was amplified through the building. In some ways, the perfect circular shape of the Pergamene amphitheater may be presented as a compromise to appease other major cities and show the more or less equal status of the head three. After all, unlike the elliptical configuration of the Colosseum, the Pergamene amphitheater did not have a minor or major axis that prioritized certain viewpoints. However, this was not necessarily the idealized democratic seating organization either. Clearly some seats were more preferable, as the inscription found on select seats show. It is highly likely that there still would have been prioritized areas within the *cavea* and imperial boxes which would serve if nothing else imperial cult images and attributes as we have discussed. Unfortunately, at these points we can only speculate and question and yet considering the potential socio-political and religious use of the amphitheater for Pergamon is tempting.

When we compare the relationship of imperial cults with the Flavian and Pergamene amphitheaters, the most important aspect appears to be the relationship between the emperor, the images and attributes of the deified emperors and the amphitheater itself. In the Colosseum, the centrality of the living emperor for the games and for the structure itself is undeniable, so is the importance of the deified emperor. These two major figures on two sides of the arena at the most visible part of the amphitheater would have dominated the visual experience. How many people would have watched the emperor as much as they would have watched the show and how much would the emperor feel he was watched by his predecessors?

In the Pergamene amphitheater however it was very unlikely that the emperor himself was seen at all. It was the images and attributes of the imperial cult, for the living emperor and the deified, as well as the *editor*, the organizer of the events thus the priest of the cult that took the emperor's place. At Pergamon, one could imagine the aspects of imperial cults assuming a larger part of the role taken by both the living emperor and the deified figures in Rome. Unlike the immediate access and control of the emperor in Rome, at Pergamon now he would be a distant yet still a powerful figure. Aspects of imperial cults and their priests as *editor* would enact the very local facet of power and control within the amphitheater. While they would reference the emperor and gain a measure of power from him, the local context and relationships would be undeniably strong. The almost intimate relationship between the emperor and the people achieved in the Colosseum that afforded the people a measure of power in return is not possible in the amphitheater of Pergamon. Whether a similar relationship of visual access and control can be played with the local elite especially the priest of imperial cults as the *editor* is much harder to measure. It is however much less likely that people would take this opportunity to voice concerns or make requests as the *editor* in this case did not hold the same authority or even ability to generate immediate results How the imperial cults priests managed the social frameworks within the Pergamene amphitheater on local and regional levels is much harder to surmise and likely depended highly on local factors we have much less access to. Still the role of the *editor* in Pergamon as compared to the emperor at Rome is certainly an interesting question to consider and should be further questioned when possible.

5.2.3. The Entertainment Function

While much discussion has focused on the amphitheater as a socio-political and religious space, it was still a place of spectacle and entertainment. Aelius Aristides recalls such a spectacle.

> ...very brilliant spectacle (θεωρία) or a bull hunt, or something of the kind. Everybody in the sanctuary had run down, and the citizenry was attending to nothing but this. So only two of the more conspicuous worshippers had been left behind, myself and a man from Nicaea.[497]

As noted, wild beast hunts, be it combat between humans and bulls or between bulls and other animals, were common spectacles within amphitheaters. While Aristides does not mention the amphitheater, as Jones notes, his use of "to run down" is fitting considering the topographical location of the amphitheater from Asklepieion, as we shall discuss further.[498] As Aristides notes, these spectacles brought excitement to the entire city bringing people together. It is easy to read the popularity of these spectacles even from such a short passage, which is unsurprising as we have also noted the popularity of Roman games in Rome, which resulted in a rising competition of grander and more expensive games.

One factor that was particular to Pergamon was the importance of the hinterland. The hinterland of Pergamon was prosperous, so much so that Strabo considered it the richest in Mysia.[499] The population of Pergamon largely dwelt in the hinterlands and only visited the city when needed. There was a broad spectrum of rural architecture, from simple farms to grand estates within the Pergamene hinterland. A much higher number of Pergamene citizens dwelt in the hinterlands rather than the city.[500] What this signifies for the spectacles in Pergamon and the Pergamene amphitheater is their impact in bringing people together in an exciting and entertaining activity. The amphitheater spectacles gave the citizens of Pergamon a reason to come to the city, to be in the same space, and the spatial configuration of the amphitheater as an enclosed round space strengthened the bonds of the spectators. We have discussed the power of watching the spectacle and other people. This was not necessarily always a disciplinary gaze, as within the context of a spectacle, the amphitheater would allow the Pergamene people to co-exist, mingle and experience the spectacle in a way they did not do in their day-to-day lives. As noted, festivals brought the entire city together, both the people and the spaces within. In connection with these festivals, the spectacles of the

---

[497] Aristides Or. 50.16 in C.P. Jones, "Aelius Aristides and the Asklepieion" *in Pergamon: The Citadel of the Gods* ed. Helmut Koester, (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 73.

[498] Jones, 73.

[499] Felix Pirson. "The Hinterland of Pergamon: Economic Resources, Rural Settlements and Political Manifestation" in *Pergamon - Anadolu'da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Ed. Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 144.

[500] Pirson, 145-151.

amphitheater brought people together within a singular space on a popular occasion. Thus, it is easy to see an additional reason for the popularity of spectacles within the amphitheater. As in the example from Aristides, they were a good reason to go into the city from the Asklepieion or the hinterlands, see people one might not have seen for a while, and participate in urban life for a while. As a space for entertainment, the amphitheater played an essential part in the lives of the people of Pergamon.

CHAPTER 6

URBAN PHYSIOGNOMY

As the initial chapters have laid down the theoretical groundwork and we have discussed what we know and can theorize about the Pergamene amphitheater, we will now situate it within the urban context for a better understanding of what the Pergamene amphitheater meant and how it functioned within the city. To this end, as in the last chapter, the Flavian amphitheater within the urban context of Rome will be discussed first. Afterward, a broader examination of amphitheaters within the urban context will be conducted through comparative analysis. Finally, the Pergamene Amphitheater and Roman Pergamon will be the focus of a broader examination of the city under Roman rule and the role of the amphitheater within the urban context.

6.1. The Flavian Amphitheater

The Flavian amphitheater has often been discussed in isolation. As a singularly impressive monument, it has been somewhat set apart from the larger frameworks of the Roman Empire such as imperial cults as we have discussed. It may also be said that the Flavian amphitheater has largely been disconnected from the urban context it resides in and discussed almost like it is a building in isolation. Only some recent works have attempted to remedy this lack. Elkins' approach connects the Colosseum to the Flavian building projects in proximity and discusses the larger ideology of the Flavian dynasty through connections to these structures nearby. Following Elkins, Heijden examines the area of the Colosseum, which he designated as the "Colosseum Valley," as a Flavian District and points out that studying imperial architecture in isolation bypassed the importance of the interrelations and interdependence of

monumental architecture at large.[501] From this perspective, a brief look at the Flavian amphitheater within its environment and what meanings this building might have gained and imparted through this larger urban context will be in order. (Figure 53,54)

The amphitheater of Statilius Taurus built in 30 BCE was the first permanent amphitheater at Rome. It was a much smaller scale building than the later Flavian amphitheater. Caligula was rumored to have started work on a new amphitheater but this was never finished. Nero himself had a wooden amphitheater in Campus Martius. Both Nero's amphitheater and the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus were burned down in the fire of 64 CE.[502] When Vespasian came to power there were no permanent amphitheaters standing in Rome.

Vespasian came to power at the end of a rather tumultuous year in 69 CE, also known as the year of four emperors, after Nero died in 68 CE. Nero was a controversial figure to say the least. Ancient sources depict him in a rather drastically negative light. Suetonius recounts the now infamous tale of Nero playing the lyre while Rome burned down.[503] Others argued his grand house Domus Aurea was built over some of the most crowded places in the city taking over the public space for his own. However archaeological evidence and more provide a different picture. Excavations have shown the areas where Domus Aurea was built were elite districts, imperial land and public parks.[504] Tacitus notes that Nero welcomed the people to the Campus Martius and his own gardens when they were displaced from the great fire. He ordered grain from Ostia and reduced prices as well as and pushed for fire reforms and regulations.[505] Furthermore Domus Aurea was not a closed-off private property as one would understand of modern houses. Parts of the property were open public parks where

---

[501] Elkins 2019, Rogier E.M. van Der Heijden, "Seeing the Colosseum Valley as a Flavian District: Urban Space as a Demonstration of Imperial Ideology in the Flavian Period (69-96 CE)" in *Bulletin antieke beschaving, 97* Leuven: Peeters, (2022), 113-132.

[502] Elkins 2019, 63.

[503] Elkins 2019, 6.

[504] Welch, 151.

[505] Elkins 2019,6.

works of art were displayed. In several ways Nero's Domus Aurea erased spatial distinctions of status of the Roman elite and the Roman people.[506] The elite on the other hand, criticized the Domus Aurea citing the scale and excess even though other examples in such grand scale that did not gather the same ire existed.[507] The populist approach of Nero does not appear to have found favor with the Roman elite. He committed suicide in 68 CE. When Vespasian became the emperor after some infighting this was the Empire he inherited.

Vespasian was one of Nero's generals. He was from an equestrian family and did not have the benefit and status of the Julio-Claudian dynasty unlike Nero.[508] He rose in status through military command and came to power after the very controversial rule of Nero followed by a year of intense internal strife. He needed to legitimize his dynasty and embarked upon urban renewal to this end. The Flavian amphitheater was the key but not the only monument in this quest.

Vespasian and the Flavians after him presented themselves as more civic-minded traditionalists as opposed to the autocratic self-interested Nero, even though the reality as we have seen was different.[509] The Flavians drained the artificial lake in Nero's Domus Aurea and made this their site for the grandest amphitheater the Roman Empire had ever seen. The Flavian Amphitheater thus was not only in a central location in downtown Rome but also ideologically charged. Flavians further dismantled the Domus Aurea at large and built several others monuments as well. They tried to erase the mark of Nero from Rome and used it to legitimize their own rule.

One of the main ways the Flavians' ideology worked to legitimize their right to rule was to present the "return" to old traditions of good emperors of Julio-Claudians in juxtaposition to the "failed" rule of Nero. The Flavians' ties to the past highlight the

---

[506] Welch, 157-160.

[507] Elkins 2019, 19.

[508] Bomgardner, 10.

[509] Futrell 2006, 63; Kathleen Coleman, "Entertaining Rome" in *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City* ed. John Coulston, and Hazel Dodge (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000), 229.

deified Augustus and deified Claudius. Building the Colosseum itself may in part be seen as a way to connect with Augustus. Suetonius notes that Vespasian built an amphitheater at the heart of Rome like Augustus wanted.[510] We can also see that the visual language employed in the Flavian Amphitheater especially on the facade was a way to distance the Flavians from Nero and relate to Augustan traditions. In keeping with such inclinations, the facade of the Colosseum made use of Greek motifs and orders for exterior articulation but interpreted them within a Roman framework. References to Classical Greek art and architecture were utilized for visual and ideological effect.[511] While Nero was known to be a philhellene emperor, he was sharply criticized for his interest in Greek "frivolities". He instituted the first named Greek festival in Rome, named after himself and acted in the second Neronia in the Theater of Pompey and Circus Maximus.[512] The criticisms he faced for his penchant for all Greek culture in seeming excess are reminiscent of the criticism in the middle to late Republican period. As the interest in various cultures especially the culture of the Greek speaking east was rising, so did the reactions and criticisms in Rome. It was Augustus who brought a standardized visual language to Rome and subsumed a select version of Greek culture in doing so. Part of the Augustan visual language was based on the classical Greek culture that was now tied to Roman imperial end.[513] Before the Colosseum, Augustan classicism may be seen in the Theater of Marcellus. The revival of classical culture under Augustus ended the political opposition to the large interest to Hellenic art and culture in Rome. The Colosseum's utilization of classical Greek elements serving larger ideological frameworks could thus also act as a visual reminder of the Augustan classicism as opposed to the unbridled Hellenism of Nero that could be likened to the less regulated Republican interactions.

Elkins notes how Flavian references to Augustus and Claudius were not limited to the Colosseum. Vespasian's public policies often mirrored Claudius and improved on

[510] Suetonius *Divus Vespasianus.* 9.1. in Welch, 133.

[511] Welch 138.

[512] Welch, 148.

[513] Zanker 1988, 335-337.

Claudian legislation. Vespasian's rebuilding programs concentrated on areas where there was either a response to Neronian legacy or could be related to deified Augustus and Claudius. The stage of the Theater of Marcellus was rebuilt by Vespasian, his son Domitian built a new permanent stadium in Campus Martius and rebuilt parts of Circus Maximus, which had been monumentalized by Augustus. Vespasian also completed the Temple of Peace, west of the Colosseum, connecting his victories in Judea directly to that of Augustus and his period of peace. Furthermore, the Colosseum, the annexes such as the Gladiatorial Schools, Meta Sudans, Baths of Titus, Arch of Titus and the Temple of Deified Claudius all worked in connection to each other within Flavian imperial ideology.[514] (Figure 54)

Meta Sudans was a conical monumental fountain near the Colosseum. Excavations show a similar shaped fountain from the reign of Augustus. This monument marked the crossroads of four Augustan administrative areas and was near the neighborhood where Augustus was born. After it was destroyed by the fire of 64 CE the area was transformed. However, the Flavians restored the roads here in the Augustan pattern and built a similar but larger monumental fountain. Thus, Nero's impact on the area was erased and Augustan reorganization of Rome revived.

Northeast of the Flavian Amphitheater, the Baths of Titus built on parts of the former Domus Aurea was dedicated at the same time as the Colosseum and presented as a gift to the people.[515] The Temple of Deified Claudius was set on a prominent spot on the Caelian Hill southeast of the Colosseum. While the construction had begun early in the reign of Nero it was halted and was now completed by Vespasian.[516] We noted earlier how the area of the Temple of Deified Claudius connected to that of the Colosseum imperial box with an underground passage possibly in connection with imperial cults.

---

[514] Elkins 2019, 66, 75-79.

[515] Elkins 2019, 67.

[516] Elkins 2019, 75.

The Arch of Titus was dedicated early in the reign of Domitian and stood on the Via Sacra from the Forum Romanum to the Colosseum valley. Titus and Vespasian triumphed together after the Jewish Revolt in 71 CE though the Arch was dedicated solely to Titus.[517] The Arch of Titus and the Colosseum can both be considered as triumphal monuments and closely related to each other in ideological utility. From this perspective, the Flavian Amphitheater as a triumphal monument is also an aspect that is largely overlooked and paid very little attention to. However, the Colosseum was also a manubial monument built from the spoils of the triumph in Judea in 70 CE by Vespasian. Not only was the Colosseum on the triumphal route but it was also connected to this triumph through the Arch of Titus that Domitian dedicated on this specific route.[518] In this regard, Onians highlights the use of composite capitals adding to the triumphal language. The composite capital, named as such in the Renaissance, was a combination of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian created under Augustus as a "Roman" capital. In the Colosseum, the composite order was used selectively, in the interior colonnade as well within the triumphal arch of the main entrances, marking not the outside facing everyone but on the path of the emperor and inside with select people. Onians thus argued the "Roman" capital was reserved for the emperor's spaces unlike the foreign orders outside. Thus the "Roman" composite capitals were linked by the triumphal language and the emperor himself. And, it was not the Colosseum alone that exhibited this overt visual message. The composite order was also used in the Arch of Titus. The use of tiered orders on the facade as a propagandistic triumphal architectural choreography may be seen in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the Pergamene Sanctuary of Athena as well.[519] We noted how the Portico of Metellus and Theater of Pompey utilized and transformed the triumphal language of the Sanctuary of Athena within the Roman Republican context before. Now we can see a similar but a more distant series of cultural references that were re-contextualized to serve the Flavian Amphitheater as a triumphal monument. The perceived inferences of such triumphal language would not only reverberate outside of Rome as in Pergamon but

---

[517] Elkins 2019, 81.

[518] Heijden, 124.

[519] Onians 1990, 44-46.

in Rome itself as a continued tradition carried from the Republican porticos to the later imperial fora. As a military leader, Vespasian would thus benefit from both the association of triumph but also the association with continued Roman tradition as well.

The Flavian amphitheater also had extensive annexes in the area. There were gladiatorial schools, support buildings and the *Castra Misenatum*. There were four schools for the training of gladiators: *Ludus Daccius, Ludus Gallicus, Ludus Magnus* and *Ludus Matutinus*. These were specialized according to different types of fighters. There were also various support buildings. *Armentarium* was an armory for the use of the gladiators, S*poliarium* was a storage for the gladiators before fights and where the dead bodies were stored. *Saniarium* was the place for treatment and *Summum Choragium* was the storage for set equipment and large scenery. Marines from the imperial fleet would be placed in the *Castra Misenatum* and handle the awning and rigging.[520] All were connected to the Colosseum through various sub and over passages.

The Colosseum then was in close connection to not only the directly functionally attendant buildings but also ideologically related ones in the vicinity within the extensive area of the former Domus Aurea. Together with Meta Sudans, Baths of Titus, Arch of Titus, Temple of Peace among others, all served to legitimize Flavian rule through references to triumphs, contrasting with Nero's reign and referencing the "good" emperors of old. Through the references and connections to deified Augustus and deified Claudius as well as emphasizing triumph and military might, the Flavians constructed a legitimized identity that stood in contrast to that of Nero. We have discussed before how the circulation patterns, the form and the seating of the Colosseum among other aspects formalized and maintained a sense of idealized Roman society. Now we can see how this was concretized as a Flavian ideal. As opposed to Nero's populist approach that invited the people into spaces that were once only for the elite and blurred boundaries, the Colosseum now strengthened those boundaries and solidified them as a revival of the traditional Roman order. However as noted, Vespasian and his dynasty were not of the traditional elite at the highest level.

[520] Elkins 2019, 72.

Vespasian himself was of an equestrian family and elevated a large number of commoners to the rank of equestrian and several equestrians to senator.[521] The idealized Roman society that was seen at a micro-scale in the Colosseum was contextualized by the larger urban setting. The Flavian ideology was thus served and a Roman society invented in appears at least, the Roman identity constructed and maintained here was the Flavian version of Romanness.

6.2. The Amphitheater in the Urban Context

As the Flavian amphitheater has been closely examined within its urban context, a broader examination of urban patterns is fitting. However, it must be noted that this examination will not be representative of all amphitheaters within the Roman Empire, as such an endeavor would be well beyond the aim of this work. Instead, following the selections made in the last chapter for Charts 1, 2 and 3 with a single addition, a comparative visual urban analysis will be presented. (Figures 45, 46 and 47) This is not aimed at being a comprehensive analysis but a representative one that allows us to show some patterns and ask pertinent questions. As the examples on Charts 1, 2 and 3 have been selected from not only formal variety in size but also for diversity in their locations within the Roman Empire, these comparisons are conducted among cities from all around the Roman world, from France to Tunisia and from Italy to Greece. Furthermore, there is some variety in terms of urbanization, such as Roman legionary headquarters such as Lambaesis and Deva, cities that later became Roman colonies such as Corinth, as well as already long-existing cities such as Pergamon. For visual readability, these maps are only presented in groups of two to three; however, the analysis will consider them as a larger collection all together. Thus, we have Rome and Pergamon in Urban Chart 1 (Figure 55), Capua and Arles in Urban Chart 2 (Figure 56), Lambaesis and Lepcis Magna in Urban Chart 3 (Figure 57), Deva (Chester), Ptolmeais (Tolmata) and Lucus Feroniae in Urban Chart 4 (Figure 58) and finally Corinth, Pergamon and Mastaura in Urban Chart 5. (Figure 59) For readability, the amphitheaters are marked in purple, any other entertainment building such as a theater

[521] Heijden, 11.

or a circus in blue, and the forums, when possible to locate, in green to indicate a relative idea of the city center.

Some larger patterns emerge as we consider these examples together. First, it is rare for entertainment buildings to be grouped all within close proximity, though some cities show us groups of two to one. Pergamon stands out with three entertainment buildings in close proximity, which we shall further examine. Arles and Lepcis Magna also partially display some entertainment structures together, such as the theater and amphitheater, whereas Lepcis Magna reveals the stadium and the amphitheater. However, even with these two examples, another entertainment building can be seen apart from this functional group in a separate part of the city. Without further research and evidence, it is difficult to question whether there were functional relationships between these structures beyond our examples in Rome. The Colosseum, Theater of Marcellus, and the Circus Maximus were indeed functionally connected to each other through festivals and games within the urban pattern, though spread somewhat apart because of the urban scale of Rome. Still, functional relationships seem not to have brought about spatial and urban groupings in most cities for many different reasons, from practicality to economics, that we have little room to explore here. However, we can note that Pergamon is situated in a unique position with not only the striking number of co-existing entertainment buildings we can see (five indicated in this map, which does not include some of the smaller *odea*) but also the close spatial configuration of a high number of them together.

Another pattern observed through this comparative examination is the positioning of the amphitheater within (or without) the cities. As noted, Rome was a particular exception where the very central location of the Colosseum was largely ideologically charged. For some other examples, the amphitheater lies within but at the city's edge (Pergamon, Arles, Mastaura, and perhaps Lucus Feroniae.) For these examples, unlike Rome, the amphitheater is located some distance from the Forum or any other indicated central part of the city but still within the city's bounds. Other major urban patterns show the amphitheater either close by but outside of city limits (both of the legionary cities of Lambaesis, Deva as well as Ptolemais and Capua) or at a great distance from the urban center such as in Lepcis Magna, Lucus Feroniae and Corinth.

This reveals that the amphitheater, while closely tied to the Roman military, was part of the traditional pattern of a legionary settlement but was incorporated at a nearby location. Furthermore, the amphitheater was as likely to be contained within the city limits as it was at a relative outside edge as it was positioned outside the city. These examples show it was rare for the amphitheater to be located at a great distance from the city center, though still possible. The reason for such positioning was likely partly related to the need for enough land to build such a monumental structure. However, specific contextual reasons likely contributed to the amphitheaters' position within particular cities. Regardless, while rarely placed in the city center as in Rome, for the most part, the amphitheater was clearly part of the larger urban pattern and very seldom entirely separate from it. It was a part of the urban layout more often fitted to the edges.

6.3. Roman Pergamon

Having gained some understanding of the urban context of the Flavian amphitheater in relation to Flavian ideology in Rome as well as gaining some understanding of the place of the amphitheater within larger urban patterns in the Roman Empire let us turn to Pergamon. Roman Pergamon at large has not been a very popular topic of study though it would be inaccurate to say that it has not been studied at all. This lack comes in part from the practical difficulties. The modern town of Bergama lies on top of the Roman expansion of Pergamon thus making extensive surveys of the Roman city difficult. So, we shall note some general observations as far as current evidence allows and examine the few but significant Roman structures in relation to the Pergamene amphitheater. (Figure 60)

From the bequeathal to the Roman people in 133 BCE, the Pergamene Kingdom, now made into the Roman province of Asia, and the city of Pergamon itself reveal a tangled history until the imperial Roman period. The province of Asia was heavily taxed and further economically burdened by the funding requests from politicians like Brutus and Marc Anthony. The city of Pergamon lost and regained its free status at this time as well.[522] This history can be partially traced within the urban fabric as the remains

[522] Radt 2002, 39-41.

from the early first century BCE show considerable deconstruction and dilapidation. As the city slowly regained its status and wealth, we can see the mark of prominent individuals in structures like the Heroon of Diodoros Pasparos from mid first century BCE. However, evidence of destroyed Hellenistic buildings in the area of the amphitheater and Roman theater attest to the complicated history of the city.[523] Despite its rising and falling fortunes, the overall character of the city however was not lost.

It was during the Augustan period we next see some public building activity.[524] Augustus visited Pergamon in 20 BCE and was honored with a statue in the Sanctuary of Athena. He also returned many works of art confiscated by Marcus Antonius and declared Pergamon as a free state once again.[525] Next we can see a phase of major reconstruction. A new bathing complex was added to the heroon, a small gymnasium probably built and some peristyle houses seen in the Musalla Mezarlığı next to the amphitheater. These houses appear to have been richly furbished and luxurious.[526] Interventions during the Augustan period had ties to Attalid models or structures.[527] We have already mentioned the dedication of a statue in the Sanctuary of Athena. This was placed in a central location among those from Attalos I. The Demeter sanctuary with a cult for Attalos I built by donations of his wife Apollonis and later Queen Stratonice, now had life sized representations of Livia as Demeter probably with statues of other members of the imperial family. Overall, however, the city plan does not seem to have changed extensively but rather the restorations appear to have given Pergamon a return to its former glory and condition.[528] The Attalid urban structure, street system and property divisions did not change at this time.[529] We have noted the

[523] Radt 2002, 40; Wulf, 151.

[524] Helmut Halfmann, *Städtebau und Bauherren im Römischen Kleinasien: Ein Vergleich zwischen Pergamon und Ephesos.* (Wasmuth: TÜBINGEN, 2001), 11-12.

[525] Radt 2002, 43.

[526] Wulf, 153-154.

[527] Halfmann 2001, 19.

[528] Halfmann 2001, 19.

[529] Wulf, 154.

philhellenic inclinations of the emperor Nero in Rome. Pergamon had to face consequences of such inclinations directly since alongside Athens, Pergamon was also a prominent source of political greed for art. The Pergamene displeasure on this led to Nero's wrath and a ban on minting coins that lasted until Emperor Domitian's reign.[530]

The major phase of construction of a new and expanded Roman Pergamon started during the Trajanic period and lasted at least until the rule of Antoninus Pius. Now the city was spread into the plains where the current town of Bergama stands. A new grid system was employed and the city reached as far down southwest until the Asklepieion. Several impressive and some unprecedented monumental structures were constructed from the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan to the now so-called Red Hall in Roman Pergamon. Since the overlying modern sprawl does not allow for extensive surveys of the Roman town, we will highlight the more monumental structures of this so far known Roman Pergamon.

We see some larger construction and reconstruction efforts during the period of Trajan. A bathing complex was rebuilt for more luxurious use, residential areas in the upper city were renovated and expanded. The upper city was clearly still in use though perhaps not as densely populated now that a larger settlement could be found on the plain.[531] The major architectural project of this period was the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan. It has been mentioned before that this was the first twice *neokoros* temple of any city in Asia Minor. It was also an architecturally impressive monument still visible today.

Dominating the whole city, the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan, known as the Trajaneum, sits on the highest terrace on the Acropolis mountain on a projected podium supported by extensive substructures. The temple dominated the acropolis of Pergamon, standing high above all else, right above the Theater, above even the Sanctuary of Athena while serving as a very conspicuous landmark. A Pergamene

[530] Halfmann 2001, 45.

[531] Wulf, 155.

resident Aulus Iulius Quadratus, a former consul and proconsul of Asia was at least in part responsible for this temple.[532] (Figure 61)

The Temple sits on a broad plaza of 70x65 m. The excavation showed in part some buildings of the Attalid palaces beneath. Two Attalid period monuments were reinstalled at the back of the Sanctuary. The Temple itself is a hexastyle Corinthian peripteral temple with ten columns on the long side. It is set up on a high podium in Roman style, approached only from the front.[533] (Figure 62) As the broad plaza required more room than formerly available, the extensions beyond the mountain range are supported by thick vertical walls of *opus vittatum* parallel against the temple foundation all linked by vaults.[534] The sculptural decoration had interesting features such as egg and dart profile in the projecting cornice unlike the meanders above. The frieze had a series of volute corbels with acanthus leaves and medusa heads between the spirals. These features together have been taken as basis to suggest that the same architect worked on the Temple of Venus at Rome.[535] (Figure 63) The Temple itself is framed on three sides by stoas, two erected later in the Hadrianic period enclosing and framing the sanctuary. These porticoes and the later rushed completion of the Sanctuary has been commonly attributed to a visit from Hadrian in either 124 or 129 CE.[536]

Unlike the Trajaneum, the Sanctuary of Asclepios Soter known as the Asklepieion was established in early Hellenistic period two km southwest of the acropolis. Earliest building remains at the site can be dated back to late fifth century BCE whereas ceramics from sixth century BCE were found. This was a place of pilgrimage and holy site. The Asklepieion was supported and advanced by the Attalid rulers at the time the

---

[532] Schowalter 2011, 101.

[533] Burell, 25.

[534] K. Nohlen, "A Temple for the Imperial Cult: The Trajaneum of Pergamon" in *Pergamon - Anadolu'da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Ed. Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 508.

[535] Burrell, 26.

[536] Nohlen 2015, 513; Burell, 28.

sanctuary and the cult reached its height under the rule of Hadrian. At this time the sanctuary was not only endowed with many monumental structures but also rose to the status of city's leading sanctuary and Asclepios became Pergamon's chief deity.[537]

The Asklepieion was built around several sacred water sources which were central to the cult. While there was a range of structures around the wells and the springs, in the early second century, several well-off Pergamene citizens contributed in the construction of new buildings and remaking the whole Sanctuary into an impressive cohesive complex. The Sanctuary itself lay on lower level, at the end of the Sacred Road that reached the acropolis at the other end. One would pass through the propylon to enter the sanctuary, newly built in the Hadrianic period. Around the older core of two small temples, two altars and three well-buildings, in the second century one would have seen incubation halls for therapeutic sleep in the south, stoas on three sides of the central temenos, a library in the east and the monumental round temple for Zeus Asclepios, a theater building and an older stoa in the west.[538] (Figure 64)

We have evidence of several Pergamene citizens of importance contributing to the new Asklepieion. Claudius Charax, a senator and consul, was the donor of the propylon; L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus who was also consul presented the Temple of Zeus Asclepios; both were admitted into the Senate by Hadrian.[539] Halfmann notes that unlike the city of Ephesus rebuilding of the Asklepieion was carried out only by the Pergamene upper class and no outside donors are known.[540]

Of the buildings mentioned, Rufinus' gift of the circular Temple of Zeus Asclepios was particularly eye-catching. It was built in contemporary Roman style and modeled after the Pantheon in Rome at almost half scale. It was aligned with the Pantheon both

[537] Jürgen W. Riethmüller, "The Asklepieion of Pergamon" in *Pergamon - Anadolu'da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Ed. Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 492-493; Soi Agelidis, "Cult and Landscape at Pergamon" in *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions,* ed. Charles Gates, Jacques Morin and Thomas Zimmermann (Oxford: Archaeopress. 2009), 47-48.

[538] Riethmüller,494;

[539] Riethmüller, 502-503.

[540] Halfmann 2001, 55.

in form and function as the deity of this temple, Zeus Asclepios was presented as a universal deity.[541] The form of this structure while not entirely unseen in Asia Minor would have been unusual, especially with its stylistic and functional appropriation. Another interesting structure was the Theater of Asklepieion. The *Scaena frons* of this theater was the first three-tiered stage in Asia Minor. Ephesus and Miletus would follow soon after.[542] Hadrian probably visited Pergamon in 124-129 CE. Direct connections of contemporary donors as well as the architectural reference to the Pantheon have led to speculation that Hadrian himself might have played a direct role in this construction project.[543] It is difficult to know whether Hadrian indeed had such a role, however agency of the local people has to be reckoned with.

Above all, a most unusual building of Roman Pergamon is the building now called the Red Hall. (Figures 65, 66) Red Hall refers to a monumental brick building flanked by two round structures on either side. This was most likely a Sanctuary for Egyptian Deities built in the Hadrianic period. The main building was 50x26 m and 19 m in height and at the western side had a courtyard of a considerable size with 200 m length. This courtyard was entered through three *propyla* on the western side to a portico. In front of the two rotundas were two square courts surrounded by porticoes. In the main building, the east side had a shallow basin of water and a podium behind. Either side of the podium were enclosed by two story columns to the roof. The rotundas had central *opiaion* for light and niches for cult images.[544]

The scale of the whole complex occupied an impressive extent of land in Pergamon's lower city. The area was surrounded by walls and internally aligned. Within the urban

---

[541] Riethmüller 503.

[542] Adolf Hoffmann, "The Roman Remodeling of the Asklepieion" in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*. Ed. Helmut Koester (Trinity Press International, 1998), 56.

[543] Hoffman, 41; Riethmüller, 503.

[544] U. Mania, "The Red Hall – a Pergamene Pantheon?" in *Pergamon - Anadolu'da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Ed. Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 252, 527; Klaus Nohlen, "The 'Red Hall' (Kızıl Avlu) in Pergamon" in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*. Ed. Helmut Koester (Trinity Press International, 1998), 84.

fabric Red Hall complex mediated between two distinct districts. To the east was the lower town and the Forum of the city was in the west. According to Rieger this arrangement brings to mind the imperial Fora at Rome and how the Forum Transitorium for example mediates between the *suburba* and the area of the Forum Romanum. How the monumental scale of the area was isolated with high walls with Temples largely hidden from view is also likened to the imperial fora such as Forum of Augustus.[545]

While the dedication of the Red Hall is not exactly clear it has been identified as a Sanctuary of Egyptian gods due to several egyptianizing large scale figural pillars recovered in the excavations. The Egyptianizing layout is reminiscent of the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli.[546] The rotundas have been interpreted as possible sites for imperial cults.[547]

The construction of the Red Hall is also associated with Emperor Hadrian's visit to Pergamon. Mania argues that the figural pillars made references to similar features in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli.[548] Even the monumental scale of the structures hark back to Hadrian's building policy.[549] The choice of brick as a construction material in this scale and such a plan was also not common in Asia Minor. This was a Roman technique that used an outer shell of *opus tastecueum* filled with mortar and rubble. The need for workers with brickwork as well as parallels to imperial structures like the Pantheon and the rotundas in the complex have been pointed out by Nohlen and

---

[545] Anna-Katharina Rieger,"Pergamon und Rom. Überlegungen zur staedtebaulichen Bedeutung und der Bauherrschaft der Roten Halle in Pergamon" in *Ägyptische Kulte Und Ihre Heiligtümer Im Osten Des Römischen Reiches, BYZAS I* ed. Hoffmann, Adolf (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2005), 81,83.
[546] Ulrich Mania, "Sculpture from Pergamon's Red Hall: An Indicator for Itinerant Workmen between Rome and Asia Minor" in *Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor:Proceedings of the International Conference to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Italian Excavations At Hierapolis in Phrygia, Held On May 24-26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce)* ed. F. D'Andria and I. Romeo, (*Journal of Roman Aarchaeology 80*: Portsmouth, 2011), 347.

[547] Rieger, 92.

[548] Mania 2011, 350.

[549] Katja Lembke, "Kolossalitaet und Monumentalitaet: Zur Grösse und Ausdehnung der Roten Halle" in *Ägyptische Kulte Und Ihre Heiligtümer Im Osten Des Römischen Reiches, BYZAS I* edited by Hoffmann, Adolf (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2005), 47.

Mania.[550] Furthermore Red Hall lies on a flat surface over the river Selinos that required extensive substructures such as vaulting to a length of 150 m. [551] Rieger highlights how not only did the complex topographically mediate the downtown Pergamon similarly to imperial fora but required engineering achievements, like the Trajaneum, that have not been seen in Pergamon before.[552] It is known that Hadrian returned from his visit from Egypt in late 130 CE through Athens and likely Asia Minor. While the route is not entirely clear, if he visited Pergamon at this time, he would have brought the necessary knowledge and resources to complete this very Roman but also egyptianizing structure.[553]

If indeed the emperor Hadrian had directly involved himself in the constructions of the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan, renovations of the Asklepieion and Red Hall complex, then, his touch would have been architecturally inscribed in the most prominent spaces of the city. As such, Pergamon could boast an imperial legacy on a par with Athens and Rome.

Now that we have touched upon some of the most monumental and identifiable parts of Roman Pergamon in the second century let us now go on with the immediate area around the amphitheater of Pergamon. (Figure 67) Before the Second World War, architect Harold Hanson carried out excavations on the Musalla Mezarlığı area, where the amphitheater, Roman theater and the stadium are located, in search for the Nikephorion. While he did not find the sanctuary, he did find evidence from the Hellenistic to the Roman period residential development on the hill.[554] The pottery dates back at least between third to first century BCE and indicates a rather intense use of the area at the time.[555] While Hellenistic remains at the deeper levels were harder

[550] Nohlen 1998, 88; Mania 2015, 532.

[551] Nohlen 1998, 84.

[552] Rieger 83.

[553] Mania 2011, 350.

[554] Sliwka, 100.

[555] Pirson et al. 2020, 178.

to examine, the Roman housing appears to have been richly decorated with mosaics, stucco and marble wall paneling. Further excavations on the south side of the hill also revealed residential areas and surrounding burials.[556]

The Roman amphitheater, the theater and the stadium are all located in close proximity and seem like parts of the same construction program. The stadium is currently not well researched and largely lost beneath the modern urban fabric. The Roman theater, however, has also been recently re-examined, yielding interesting results. The survey carried out by the German Archaeological Institute determined the diameter of the theater to be around 154 m with an estimated capacity of 20.000-22.000 people.[557] This puts the Roman theater of Pergamon among the largest in Asia Minor, even larger than those in the competing cities of Ephesus and Smyrna as we have seen in Chart 4. The size of the Roman theater can be considered similar to the Theater of Pompey in Rome which stands at around 156 m in diameter.[558] Pirson particularly highlights how the amphitheater, theater and stadium in the Musalla Mezarlığı area stood in connection with the residential areas inviting a very close reminder of the Palatine Hill in Rome. As the Palatine Hill related topographically and functionally to the Circus Maximus and the Colosseum, the Musalla Mezarlığı neighborhood also may be said to act in relation to the entertainment district formed with the amphitheater, theater and the stadium.[559]

Roman Pergamon worked as a united urban choreography. Neither the older upper city hill nor the lower newer urban area functioned in isolation but within a larger urban ensemble. As noted, Hellenistic Pergamon did not have extensive zoning but a hierarchical spatial organization where the royal family was at the literal top of the mountain as an expression of their power. The Trajaneum, at the site of the former Palace of the Attalid Kings and sitting higher than all other structures, took the primary

[556] Sliwka, 102-105.

[557] Pirson et all 2022, 3.

[558] Pirson et all 2022, 3.

[559] F. Pirson "Die Siedlungsgeschichte Pergamons – Überblick und kritische Revision" in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* (2017), 101.

spatial spot in Roman Pergamon.[560] The representation of imperial power was now at the most privileged location both in connection and competition with the Hellenistic monuments. The spatial and socio-political importance of Trajaenum for Pergamon is apparent in the urban physiognomy. The lower city in general was unified with a new grid system that was aligned from the Temple of Trajan. The Red Hall, the Roman theater and the stadium were all perfectly regulated within this system. (Figure 68) Roman Pergamon did not only see new monumental structures on the plains either; the middle and lower city hill had many small to large reconstructions as well as new projects such as a potential thermal bath at the foot of the Great Gymnasium to a new terrace on the southern slope. These projects seem to have either been added or integrated into the older urban patterns of the city hill.[561]

Overall, Roman Pergamon revealed a combination of uniformity and uniqueness. The monumental scale, the impressive number of topographical interventions of various levels, the Roman specialization needed for many of the structures all show that this required both connections and resources. As we have mentioned, for almost all these monumental structures, there were important Pergamene citizens who both had influence with the emperor and clearly enough financial resources to support construction be it the Trajaneum or Asklepieion. We can also see another set of curious commonalities within the major monumental structures of the lower city. Water is a central feature of the Asklepieion, the amphitheater and the complex of the Red Hall. The flow, use and meaning of water shapes their placement at the site, their use, their meaning at large in various levels. Water as both a feature of health and of bounty carries through all these structures. This can remind us perhaps the relationship of the Colosseum with both the Baths of Titus but more importantly Meta Sudans. Meta Sudans was especially positioned in a way one could hardly avoid associating it with the Colosseum while approaching from the direction of the Forum Romanum. The close relationship of such significant water features is certainly worthy of note.

[560] Pirson 2017, 101.

[561] Pirson 2017, 101.

Halfmann highlights how unlike Ephesus carrying out a uniform long term urban development, Pergamon had a boom of building activity in the second century. This boom happening at a time when the Pergamene elite enjoyed high social positions in the Roman Empire, was not a coincidence. Unlike Ephesus, the Pergamene building boom did not depend on outsiders but was carried out by the Pergamene elite. From this perspective, the Pergamene society appears to have been much more closed-off and conscious of traditions. The boom in the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods was opening up those traditions to reconcile with contemporary power but allowing it primarily with Pergamon itself as a reference.[562]

To reiterate, several of the monumental structures of Pergamon in the Roman period had direct references to Rome. The amphitheater of Pergamon needs to be emphasized in this list, as the amphitheater as a building type was not a common one in Asia Minor nor do we know one before this time as far as our limited information allows. It is not hard to see the commonalities in this monumental corpus of public architecture; the direct references to Roman and larger imperial culture, repeated formal references to the Pantheon or arguably circular form, a uniqueness from material to technique and to building type. A closer look at the city plan reveals further visual connections. As Figure 64 shows, the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan, the Amphitheater and Asklepieion complex all lie on a visual axis. It is also not hard to notice functional connections. (Figure 69) The amphitheater acted as the stage for the games of imperial cults and was under its auspices. The Asklepieion as a health center was directly connected to gladiators' health. For example, Galen worked in the Asklepieion specifically as a doctor for gladiators.[563] Furthermore when one approaches from the southeast, the sight-line from the Asklepieion to the amphitheater even today appears in direct visual conjunction with the Acropolis, which especially looks as if crowned by the Hellenistic theater and the Trajaneum above. It is almost impossible to avoid connecting these structures with their visual juxtaposition. This direct linear visual connection is an interesting contrast to the visual and spatial language of the

[562] Halfmann, 96-100.

[563] Carter 2004, 43.

Hellenistic, especially post-Eumenes II, Pergamene urban patterns. The street and grid system of the Hellenistic Pergamon was adapted to the challenging topography while at the same time organized in such a way as to link the street system with architecture to allow impressive views of the city, especially the grand architectural monuments such as the Great Altar. The dynamic visual connections of this circulation system were a foundational part of the Hellenistic city and created a visual experience that surprised those who walked through the city with magnificent moments of dramatic visual scenery.[564]

Unlike the direct linear visual connection of the Trajaneum, amphitheater, and Asklepieion, the Hellenistic city provided dynamic scenes. While these visual approaches seem somewhat disparate at first glance, a closer look at the urban patterns of the entertainment district offers another perspective. Looking at the plan from a birds-eye-view, the entertainment district is in great spatial harmony with all three structures working together. As noted, this part of Roman Pergamon appears as a microcosm of downtown Rome, referencing the larger urban patterns. However, from the ground level, the experience of this area is different due to the topography. From the ground level within the plains of Roman Pergamon, it is impossible to visually experience all the entertainment buildings together unless one stands in the residential area in the middle of all of them.

The topographical Section AA' demonstrates the interesting topography. (Figure 70) If one were to look at the direction of the entertainment district from the direction of the Red Hall or Forum (?), the amphitheater nestled behind Musalla Mezarlığı Hill would likely be invisible. Similarly, Section BB' shows that the Stadium would be well outside of view as one approached from the Asklepieion. (Figure 70) As the map also shows, if one approached from the northeast bridge, the Theater would likely be well out of view. Even from the direction of the Asklepion, while one saw both the amphitheater and the theater, these structures were clearly spatially separated by the topography and the residential area in between, as seen in Section BB'. Section AA' shows a similar spatial relationship between the amphitheater and the Stadium. This partial spatial separation would also aid them in co-existing without being in visual

[564] Pirson 2017, 76-86.

competition with each other. Every building would be monumental in its own right without nearby grand structures shifting visual attention.

The more dynamic viewpoints reminiscent of the dynamism of the Hellenistic city are also encouraged here, as while the three monumental entertainment structures co-existed undeniably within the same district, apparent visual angles prioritized each entertainment structure over the others. The amphitheater was clearly best seen from the sacred road, from the direction of the Asklepieion, which is an angle that not only hides the Stadium from view but visually deprioritizes the Roman Theater. Similarly, an approach from the city center, from the area of the Red Hall, likely visually centered the Roman Theater that faced that direction. While the Stadium would also be visible, the amphitheater would be well out of view. Finally, from the direction of the northeast bridge and the direction from the city hill, the stadium would be front and center, and the theater or the amphitheater would be in the background, depending on the angle of approach. Every entertainment monument could be visually impactful if one were willing to move through the city, a visual language very much in line with the older city. The primary viewpoint from which one could view and visually connect all three entertainment buildings was from the city hill; the best view was from the Trajaneum at the highest point. It was only through the eyes of the representation of the highest authority of the Roman Empire that one could see all and see all together.

The topographical evidence and recent work on the amphitheater present other vital ways the structure functions within the larger city and the particular topography. Sections AA’, BB’ and CC’ show that the amphitheater was nestled within the topography. (Figure 70) As noted, the best visual access to the amphitheater as a monumental structure was clearly from the direction of the Asklepion. Section CC’ shows that the approach, as noted before, would be slightly downwards, offering a clear view of the structure and the Acropolis behind. We can note that from this particular viewpoint, as also seen in all of the sections, the amphitheater was naturally framed by the topography and at the top by the Acropolis hill, the Trajaneum. The natural framing would direct the eyes to the amphitheater and the Trajaneum behind. Another interesting factor in the visual and spatial relationships of the amphitheater within Roman Pergamon is how visually unavailable it is from almost all of the newer

sections of the Roman city. The approaches from north and north-west were unlikely as areas outside the city. If one wanted to see the amphitheater, one would either look from the Acropolis, the older city center, or approach from the Asklepieion, one of the oldest cultic centers of the city. It was only when one was situated within the history of Pergamon that the amphitheater could be seen.

Now that Roman Pergamon has been presented as a collective entity and the particular placement of the Pergamene amphitheater within the urban context, what can we say about the processes of Romanization in Pergamon? As noted, the processes of Romanization were complex, fluid, and multivalent. The multivalency is well represented in Pergamon, a city with a complex identity even before Roman rule that borrows from many cultural influences, from connections to classical Athens to the traditions of Asia Minor. The complexity of the cultural interactions between the Roman Empire and Pergamene identity is also apparent. On the one hand, we have direct, undeniable references to the city of Rome herself, from the "Pantheon" in Asklepieion to the amphitheater. On the other hand, we have a very likely direct influence of the emperor himself in the most extensive urban development the city has seen under Roman rule. Indeed, this can indicate a very central, focused, and direct impact on Roman culture. However, the projects where the emperor's direct influence is suspected most often also had significant contributions from the local elite on a grand scale, whether in the Trajaneum or Roman Asklepieion. As Halfmann notes, not only were the Pergamene elite in some of the highest social positions within the Roman Empire at this time, but they were also almost exclusively involved in the grand monumental building projects at Pergamon. Thus, we have the undeniable fact that the strong local initiative in this grand urban ensemble denies a simple reading of Rome imposing a "Roman" culture at Pergamon. The complexity of this relationship is heightened considering how the descendants of the Attalid royal family joined the high Roman society, senators some even of consular rank, especially during and after the Flavian period.[565] The promotion and glorification of the systems of the Roman

[565] Helmut Halfmann, "Bürgerlicher Gestaltungswille: Pergamon und Ephesos" in *Die Stadt als Grossbaustelle: Von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit.Internationaler Kongress vom 7. bis 11. November 2001 im Auswärtigen Amt, Berlin* ed. (Uta Dirschedl. Berlin : Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2003), 53.

Empire in general and a sense of Roman identity in particular was then directly beneficial for these Pergamene elite. At the same time, however, as Halfmann notes, the grand Pergamene building program starting from the rule of Trajan was carried out without outside donors at all, perhaps except Hadrian if that.[566] Furthermore, as noted the lasting visual language and impact of the Attalid Pergamon was as important to this building program as were the new monuments that reference Rome directly. The whole city lower and higher worked together as a united project. These references to the lasting glory of the Attalid Kingdom would benefit the Pergamene elite just as much considering their royal heritage. Thus, Roman Pergamon by intention included not only grand references to the heart of the Roman Empire but also to the heart of the Attalid Kingdom at the same time. The identity of Roman Pergamon was thus inextricably linked to the lasting history of the city, past and its present at the same time.

Furthermore, let us consider the particular role of the amphitheater within the processes of Romanization. The Amphitheater of Pergamon is a great monument to consider the three specific aspects of Romanization: imperial cults, festivals, and, of course, the amphitheater. We have noted that the amphitheater as a building type was an undeniable signifier of Romanness as a Roman building that reinforced Roman values and social structure. The amphitheater of Pergamon was also the site of spectacles connected to various festivals, and it was most likely often used for imperial cult games. However, as the Colosseum example demonstrated, Romanness itself was not a generic identity, nor, as we noted, imperial cults or festivals were static entities. While there is very limited information about how the amphitheater was used, the topographical evidence tells us much about how it was situated within the city in an urban context and socio-politically. As we have noted, the amphitheater was very well framed topographically, and the visual access to these structures was carefully curated through the urban patterns. Only when one was located at or approached from the Hellenistic city, be it the city hill or the Asklepieion, could one see and experience the amphitheater. Even the residential area on Musalla Hill, while offering a poor angle of approach to the building, was also notably used well before the Roman period. The

[566] Halfmann 2003, 54.

careful curation of visual access only allows the viewers to engage with the signifier of Roman might and power as long as one is steeped in the lasting identity of Pergamon. The Roman identity of the amphitheater of Pergamon thus is entirely dependent on the city's continuing identity. This relationship of the contemporary Roman identity with the older but still living Hellenistic identity is further strengthened by the visual correlation of the amphitheater with not only the Trajaneum but the entire city hill at the background from what was likely the primary angle of approach to the structure. The Roman identity was not only shown but produced and reproduced by the Pergamene amphitheater and created by a complex set of cultural relationships carefully curated for the intended purpose

Looking at all these buildings together, even with these limited examples, it would be hard to understate how impressive Pergamon must have been after the early second century. Let us imagine for a moment a walk on the Sacred Road. If one started from the edges of the city, the Asklepieion itself was a marvel, as it was also called a wonder of the world later. Proceeding to the Acropolis on the left, one would see the Musalla Mezarlığı area with the impressive Amphitheater crowned visibly by the acropolis itself and the Temple Trajan above. As one walked further, the monumental Roman theater would also loom above. Proceeding to the Forum, one would see the impressive if somewhat visually impenetrable Red Hall complex on the right. Through the Forum (?), the steps of the Citadel Hill would be reached, as impressive as it ever was, as the city did not simply abandon its past but integrated it to its present.

Roman Pergamon was undeniably visually impressive and monumentally cohesive. All the grand monumental structures spread over the city worked together for a grand urban assemblage. These structures were part of a well-regulated grid system and incorporated many similar themes and forms. We can see this in certain ways as a return to tradition. Hellenistic Pergamon with its use of monumental architectural marvels such as the Altar of Zeus or Sanctuary of Athena as well as the visually interesting scenogoraphic design was one of the major cities of the Hellenistic world and visually majestic one at that. Now in the second century Pergamon stood as impressive looking in every corner like a smaller Rome in the best of ways.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

We started this study with an examination of the amphitheater and the Roman games and highlighted the agency of gladiatorial games and the amphitheater as forms of the Roman state apparatus that produced, maintained and controlled a vision of idealized Roman society. How this was achieved was unfolded through demonstrating not only the social and spatial position of the gladiators but also visual organization, movement and control of the spectators from the emperor to the slave, that varied with the socio-political context of the individual viewer.

The development of the Roman games and following development of the amphitheater as a building type during the mid to late Republican period was highlighted in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presented the cultural influences during the expansion of the Roman Republic in this same period, focusing particularly on the cultural impact of the Greek speaking East. Examining the approach to the same period of Roman history from two perspectives in these chapters was illuminating. While it is acknowledged, although relatively briefly and off-handedly, that the gladiatorial games became increasingly popular at a time when Rome was coming into contact with different cultures and thus needed to define itself, the reverse recognition is not often afforded to our understanding of "Hellenization" of Rome. Neither the development and popularity of the amphitheater and Roman games nor the rising cultural influence of the Greek speaking world, among other cultures Rome encountered at this time, are singular isolated incidents. Presenting the rising popularity in Greek language, art and literature as well as education without acknowledging the similar and exponential rise in the interest and popularity in Roman games presents a lop-sided point of view. Chapter 3 further exposed the issues within the larger academic discourse pertaining to the topic

of Hellenization *vis-a-vis* the Roman context and revealed the need for specificity in contemporary discussions of cultural and ethnic identity as a common thread. It was shown how generic ideas of "Greekness" deployed in comparison to "Romanness" are not only untenable but also limiting in their scope.

Concentrating on Romanization specifically, Chapter 4 discussed how the process of becoming Roman has come under intense scrutiny for decades now, and for a good reason. The clear imperialist and colonialist foundations of the early Romanization discourse has been questioned and dismantled and these probing examinations of our understanding of what being Roman entailed and how it might have impacted other cultures has been very fruitful in producing varied, meticulous and discerning viewpoints that have benefited our understanding of the processes and results of the cultural interactions within the Roman Empire. However, the duality of how the scholarship approaches the concept of "Hellenization" within the Roman Empire as opposed to "Romanization" also emerges to be rather stark. While Hellenization has been taken with much less criticism, perhaps owing to less obvious imperialistic origins, and has been reiterated with little change over the decades, Romanization has been scrutinized rigorously since the late 19th century. The superiority of "Greek" culture, assuming the obvious and natural heavy impact on the Roman culture, if a Roman culture even existed beforehand some would argue, has been largely taken for granted if not so obviously presented. While Romanization has been taken as at first a forceful and intentional act to then being questioned, the Hellenization of Roman culture has been presented as naturally giving way to the superior cultural influence. While ideas of superiority on the side of the presumed idealized Greek culture might not have been as obviously imperialist in origin, this study has shown that they are as problematic and in need of reconsideration. The continued silencing of other cultural influences, even when some of which like Egypt had much older traditions than even the idealized "Greek" culture, by itself carries concerning connotations on what we scholars as a whole prioritize. The importance of the idealized "Greek" culture and its superiority, as opposed to considering the North African cultures, as worthy of research and even political value for example, in late 19th and early 20th century nation building in especially Europe and in the establishment of the modern "Western

Culture" is not unrelated to this academic phenomenon. It is high time for us to reconsider our preconceived assumptions and prejudices in this subject.

To ground the discussion, the role of the amphitheater was probed as a public space to shape and maintain a Roman identity through the Colosseum in Rome in Chapter 2 and as an instrument of Romanization in the provinces in Chapter 4. More specifically however, the question of what kind of Romanness the amphitheater could produce and maintain and how this Roman identity became manifested was addressed here. This question was considered after our examinations of the urban and ideological context of the Colosseum as a Flavian monument that utilized Greek features in specific ways as well as the amphitheater of Pergamon as part of a larger construction project for a more "Roman" Pergamon.

Hence, thesis shows that as the relationship of Rome with other parts of the world and different cultures like the Attalid Kingdom increased in the middle to late Republican period, not only was Roman culture influenced in multiple ways but the influences and effect of these cultures were mediated and utilized for Roman ends. For instance, a sculptural group that was made to glorify Attalid triumph and alignment with Athens could be made into a monument of Roman triumph and power. The architectural language that could signify not only triumph against the barbarians but also the wealth of knowledge and art of the Attalid Kings could be turned into the signifier of the ability and knowledge of a Roman general. The Flavian amphitheater shows a similar way to re-contextualize and utilize the culture of the Greek speaking world. In this context it did not only serve to show the power of Rome but also aligned the Flavian dynasty to that of Augustus through references to his classicism. The language of Romanness created was not a generic one but one in line with Flavian ideology. One can see a similar picture in both the larger urban context since the Colosseum worked in combination with Flavian as well as within the architectural design through its circulation, movement, spatial organization, and the visual connection to the deified emperors and families. The Colosseum combined all of these factors to formalize an ideal of being Roman, one that was in line with the Flavian ideology that show-cased their rule and the new societal order they aimed to create. This study takes Romanization as a complex process of a fluid web of frameworks and structures that

form the Roman Empire that is constructed and reconstructed through among other factors, spatial experiences. It has shown how the Amphitheater itself was particularly suitable for such a fluid form of cultural influence. The amphitheater could allow regular spatial and visual interactions that produced a streamlined and idealized sense of Romanness that did not have to be necessarily real. The shows themselves were moldable as the gladiators in the east often presented themselves as athletes as we discussed in the thesis. As the provinces would necessarily all have their own social structures and experienced changes to those structures, the amphitheater as we noted was both fluid enough to accommodate but also function in a way to negotiate those changes as needed. A city could show a visible apparent sense of being Roman by just having an amphitheater but the amphitheater in turn could be made useful according to the local socio-political conditions as necessary. Furthermore, this was in no way an intentionally coerced process, especially in the Greek speaking East. As noted in the study, Robert proved the enthusiastic welcome of the gladiatorial games in the East. Hence, the enthusiastic voluntary participation in gradual Romanization would be extra fruitful.

Coming to Pergamon, what we discussed for the amphitheater as a tool for Romanization may be valid for many cities under Rome. So, why Pergamon? What was the role of the amphitheater of Pergamon specifically? As shown in the discussion, Pergamon had a particularly close relationship with Rome at the height of its power and was culturally influential in multiple ways in Rome, at a time when the Roman people had to figure out what being Roman meant because they had been encountering other cultures more and more. Hence, the fact that the gladiatorial games and the amphitheater developed and became more popular at this time is neither a surprise nor a coincidence. Pergamon was one of the most recognized cultural centers of the Hellenistic world and under Rome it had to contend with a pragmatic competition for status with two other major cities. At a time when Ephesus and Smyrna had already caught up in terms of titles and imperial cult benefactions what Pergamon had uniquely was its Attalid identity and the connection to Rome.

How various cultures were appropriated in Rome so was the image of Rome utilized in Pergamon. As such, Roman Pergamon did not only build an impressive array of

monumental structures that referenced Rome in multiple ways that all worked together in grand assembly, that housed an amphitheater, perhaps unlike any other city of Asia Minor, but also placed the centralized monumentality of imperial might in the old center of power and Attalid identity, at the Acropolis. The whole city, from the Roman period expansion on the plain to the lasting urban fabric on the city hill, functioned together, creating an impressive visual ensemble. The Roman city employed the lasting Hellenistic monuments in their full glory and the newly uniquely impressive Roman structures to great effect. Similar to part of the visual language, both the dynamic visual connections within the urban system and a more linear direct visual relationship between monuments were employed, sometimes even within the same area as the entertainment district.

As memories were made and remade, the lower Roman city did not function alone but was in constant functional and visual connection with the Attalid Pergamon crowned by Rome. As noted, the topographical placement of the amphitheater fully supported this connection. Not only was the amphitheater only visible when the viewer was situated within the older parts of the city, but the visual language also encouraged the direct association of the amphitheater with the Acropolis. Thus, the direct references through the amphitheater at Pergamon as well as these visual relationships worked because referencing Rome at Pergamon was referencing Pergamon. When the amphitheater was built, it was at a place that among others allowed the people who approached from the Sacred Road to see it crowned with the Acropolis. The visual and ideological connections made with the amphitheater, acropolis, the Trajaneum were not coincidental. They were references to the Attalid past and the Roman present that were all still in the end, the Pergamene identity.

The thesis arrives at the conclusion that Pergamene amphitheater like the Flavian amphitheater before produced and maintained a Roman identity through form, movement, function, visual communication, urban setting and style. However, the identity they produced was not identical in all corners of the Empire, it was in fact rather different in many ways. For example, both Pergamene and Flavian amphitheaters were part of the larger frameworks of the Roman Empire, frameworks that resulted in multilateral forms of cultural interactions between various parts of the

Empire to produce new agendas through imperial cults and accompanying festivals to urbanization and architecture. These larger frameworks and instruments of the Roman Empire however functioned situationally and specifically within their own context. The thesis highlighted before how Roman identity was not static or unchanging but a fluid phenomenon. Hence, it appears that the amphitheaters of Rome and Pergamon present clear examples of the particularity of Romanness within their own specific context. We rarely question the specificity of Romanness that the Colosseum led to and maintained. As the Colosseum was regarded as the amphitheater par excellence, so was the resultant Romanness understood as the "Roman" identity.

As the thesis emphasizes, the Roman identity Flavians aimed to generate and maintain with the Colosseum, a particularly Flavian brand of Romanness that focused on triumph and military achievement, on continuing Augustan tradition and legitimizing Flavian rule, was as distinct a Roman identity as the one of Pergamon. The Pergamene amphitheater in turn served for specifically legitimization of Pergamon's place as the superior city within the context of city rivalries of Asia Minor, a particularly local agenda, utilizing the instruments and language of the wider Roman Empire. Furthermore, the historical context of the amphitheaters positions them in entirely different status. The Flavian amphitheater was built not only by a distinctly military figure but right after the rule of an "infamously" philhellenic Emperor, reminding us the mid to late Republic popularity and the development of the amphitheater and the games happening alongside with Rome's rising contact with other cultures when the need for a self-definition for the Roman Republic became ever more urgent. Pergamon, on the other hand, lacked such a context. For Pergamon, Roman games and amphitheaters or referencing Rome and Roman identity directly in any other way served as reciprocal self-references, as they also recalled the time of Pergamon's own height of power and close alliance with Rome. As once Pergamon influenced Rome, now Rome's influence was felt at Pergamon. This was a reference that could only work for Pergamon unlike any other neighboring competitors. The fact that there was a larger urban project that seems to have produced many architectural allusions directly to Rome show the further utilization of such references. Hadrian might have personally contributed to at least some of the major projects at this time. If so, it would be unlikely

that this was unrelated to Pergamon's historical context.

This study then shows us the larger shared frameworks and instruments of the Roman Empire such as imperial cults or gladiatorial games. Cultural exchange and the resulting change as well as resistance were common in imperial frameworks; imperial cult, gladiatorial games and festivals were instruments of these frameworks and we can see how visual communication and architectural language in form and style were utilized as languages within such frameworks. The amphitheater of Pergamon as well as other examples given such as the Flavian amphitheater also demonstrate however how these frameworks and instruments were utilized in different ways in result of different historical contexts to suit different socio-political needs. The specificity of identities under the Roman Empire can be clearly seen even when they were still very much Romans. These amphitheaters functioned within the same imperial frameworks, Roman social structures, imperial cults, used the same architectural type, that of the amphitheater and utilized the urban context to construct and formalize meaning and reinforce ideology. What they differed in was the kind of idiosyncratic Romanness they produced and why. This is how the flexibility of Roman identity worked and how the Roman Empire lasted, with fluidity and specificity. The Flavian and Pergamene amphitheaters are both unquestionably Roman structures after all, even when they tell different stories.

The Amphitheater of Pergamon shows how a fundamentally Roman building type can be utilized for very specific constructions of identity. This was still an undeniably Roman structure. Yet it was also tied intimately with the constant references to Pergamon's long lasting Attalid identity and heritage, an identity itself built on diverse references from the Greek Mainland, including especially Athens to the traditions of Asia Minor. It was perhaps the result of how Rome had built her own identity at a time of such complex and multidirectional cultural forces that Roman identity was flexible enough to accommodate this. Roman Pergamon was undeniably Roman but she would also always remain Pergamon.

REFERENCES

Agelidis, Soi. “Cult and Landscape at Pergamon” in *Sacred Landscapes in Anatolia and Neighboring Regions,* edited by Charles Gates, Jacques Morin and Thomas Zimmermann, 47-54. Oxford: Archaeopress. 2009.

Akkurnaz, Sedat. “2020 Yılı Mastaura Antik Kenti Arkeolojik Yüzek Araştırması” in *2019-2020 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları Cilt 3* edited by Candaş Keskin, 151-170. Ankara: Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 2022.

———.“Mastaura Amphitiyatrosu’nda Yapılan Arkeolojik Çalışmalar” in *Disiplinler Arası Çalışmalarda Mastaura Antik Kenti* edited by Sedat Akkurnaz, Arzu Özver, Aytekin Kalkan, 25-50. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları: İstanbul, 2022.

———.“Mastaura Antik Kenti” *Journal of Archaeology and Art 165,* 2020*:* 42-62.

Alcock, Susan. “Greece: A landscape of resistance?” in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, edited by D. J. Mattingly, 103-116. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.

———. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Allen, R.E. *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Andreae, Bernard. *Laokoon und die Kunst von Pergamon: Die Hybris der Giganten*. Originalausg edition. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991.

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

Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*. London: Duckworth, 1979.

Barrett, J. C. "Romanization: A critical comment." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, edited by D.J. Mattingly, 51-66. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.

Barton, Carlin A. *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Baykara, Ayse Bike. “Entertainment Structures in Roman Pergamon.” Middle East Technical University, 2012.

Beacham, Richard C. *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999.

Beard, Mary, John North, and Simon Price. *Religions of Rome: Volume 1: A History. Revised edition.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Beard, Mary, John North, and Simon Price. Religions of Rome: *Volume 2: A Sourcebook. Revised edition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998b.

Besancon, A. *Les adversaires de l'hellenisme a Rome pendant la période republicane*. Paris-Lausanne: Payot, 1910.

Bomgardner, David. *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre.* London: Routledge, 2021.

Bommas, Martin. “Temples for Egyptian Gods within an Urban Landscape: The Roman Iseum Campense and the Red Hall of Pergamon as Case Studies” in. *Cities and Gods: Religious Space in Transition*. edited by Kaizer, Ted., Anna Leone, Edmund Thomas, and Robert Witcher. 59- 68. Leuven: Peeters, 2013.

Bowersock, G.W. “The Barbarism of Greeks” in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1995, Vol. 97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance* (1995), 3-14.

———. *Augustus and the Greek World.* Oxford, 1965.

Brandt, J. Rasmus and Jon W. Iddeng “Introduction: Some Concepts of Ancient Festivals” in *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice* edited. by Brandt, J. Rasmus, and Jon W. Iddeng, 1-10. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Branigan, Keith. “Hellenistic Influence on the Roman World.” In *The Roman World*, edited by John Wacher, 38–54. London: Routledge, 2002.

Briscoe, J. "Rome and the class struggle in the Greek states, 200-146 B.C." in *Studies in Ancient Society,* edited by M. I. Finley, 53-73. London: Routledge, 1974.

Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed, eds. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*. Illustrated edition. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Buraselis, Kostas “Appended Festivals: The Coordination and Combination of Traditional Civic and Ruler Cult Festivals in the Hellenistic and Roman East” in *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice.* Edited by

Brandt, J. Rasmus, and Jon W. Iddeng, 247-266. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Burrell, Barbara. *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*. Leiden; Boston, 2003.

Burton, P.J. *Friendship and Empire: Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2011.

———. *Roman Imperialism*. Brill, 2019

Carter, Michael J., and Jonathan Edmondson. "Spectacle in Rome, Italy, and the Provinces." In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, edited by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson, 537–58. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Carter, Michael. "*Archiereis* and Asiarchs: A Gladiatorial Perspective" *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004): 41-68.

———. "Romanization through Spectacle in the Greek East" in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Edited by Christensen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle, 619-632. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014.

Cartledge,Paul; Spawforth. Antony, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Cartledge, P, Garnsey P, Gruen. E. *Hellenistic Construct: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography.* London: University of California Press, 1997.

Carucci, Margherita. "The Spectacle of Justice in the Roman Empire." In *The Impact of Justice on the Roman Empire*, edited by Olivier Hekster and Koenraad Verboven, 34:212–34. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Gent, June 21-24, 2017). Brill, 2019.

Coleman, Kathleen "Entertaining Rome" in *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City* edited by John Coulston, and Hazel Dodge, 210-258. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000.

Coulston, John, and Hazel Dodge. *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*. Illustrated Edition. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000.

Crawford, M.H. "Greek Intellectuals andt Roman in the Fırst Century B.C." Imperialism in the Ancient World: The Cambridge University Research Seminar in Ancient History, edited by P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, 193–208. Cambridge Classical Studies.

———. "Greek Intellectuals and the Roman Aristocracy in the First Century B.C." in *Imperialism in the Ancient World,* edited by P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, 193-207. Cambridge, 1978.

Crowther, Nigel B. *Sport in Ancient Times*. Praeger Series on the Ancient World. Westport, Conn: Praeger Publishers, 2007.

Curchin, Leonard A. *The Romanization of central Spain: complexity, diversity and change in a provincial hinterland.* London: Routledge, 2011.

Davies, Penelope J. E. *Architecture and Politics in Republican Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Dmitriev, Sviatoslav. "(Re-)constructing the Roman empire: from 'imperialism' to 'post-colonialism'. An historical approach to history and historiography" *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Serie 5, Vol. 1 No.1* (2009), 123-164.

Dignas, Beate. "Rituals and the Construction of Identity in Attalid Pergamon" in *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World.* edited by Beate Dignas and R. R. R. Smith, 119-143. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Dodge, Hazel. "Amusing the Masses: Buildings for Entertainment and Leisure in the Roman World." In *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, edited by David Stone Potter and D. J. Mattingly, 205–55. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

———. _"Amphitheaters in the Roman East" in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: a 21st-Century Perspective* edited by Tony Wilmot, 29-46. Archaeopress: Oxford, 2007.

———. *Spectacle in the Roman World*. London: Bloomsbury, 2011.

———. Amphitheaters in the Roman World" in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Edited by Christensen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle. 545-560. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014.

Dunkle, Roger. *Gladiators: Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome*. London: Pearson/Longman, 2008.

Edmondson, Jonathan. "Dynamic Arenas: Gladiatorial Presentations in the City of Rome and the Construction of Roman Society during the Early Empire." in *Roman Theater and Society*, edited by W. J. Slater, 69–112. E. Togo Salmon Papers I. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

———. The Cultural Politics of Public Spectacle in Rome and the Greek East, 167-166 BCE." *Studies in the History of Art* 56 (1999): 76–95.

Erskine, Andrew. *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

———. *Roman Imperialism: Debates and Documents in Ancient History.* Edinburgh: EUPPublishing, 2010.

Elkins, Nathan T. "The Procession and Placement of Imperial Cult Images in the Colosseum." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 82 (October 2014): 73–107

———.. *A Monument to Dynasty and Death: The Story of Rome's Colosseum and the Emperors Who Built It*. JHU Press, 2019.

Evans, Nancy "Embedding Rome in Athens" in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* edited Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed, 83-98. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Evans, Richard J. *A History of Pergamum: Beyond Hellenistic Kingship*. London: Continuum, 2012.

Fagan, Garrett G. *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Ferrary, J.L. "Le discours de Philus et la philosophie de Carneade." REL 55 (1977), 128-156.

Fishwick, Duncan. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*. BRILL, 1987.

Flower, H.I. *Roman Republics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Freeman, P. W. M. " 'Romanisation' and Roman material culture," *Journal of Roman Archaeology 6* (1993)*:* 438-45.

———. "'Romanization- Imperialism' – What are We Talking About?" *Theoretical Roman Archeology Journal 8* (1996): 8-14.

———. "Mommsen to Haverfield: the origins of studies of Romanization in late 19th-c Britain" in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* edited by D.J. Mattingly, 27-50. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.

Friesen, Steven J. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*. BRILL, 1993.

———. “Normal Religion, or, Words Fail Us: A Response to Karl Galinsky’s “The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?” in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Edited by Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed, 23-26. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Frere, S.S. *Britannia: A history of Roman Britain*. London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power*. University of Texas Press, 2010.

———. *The Roman Games: A Sourcebook*. Blackwell Sourcebooks in Ancient History. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub, 2006.

Gabucci, Ada, ed. *The Colosseum*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2001.

Galinsky, Karl. “The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?” in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Edited by Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed, 1-22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Gardner, Andrew. "Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalisation and Beyond?" *Britannia* 44 (2013): 1-25.

Gleason, K. L. "Porticus Pompeiana: A new perspective on the first public park of ancient Rome," *Journal of Garden History 14* (1994), 13-27.

Goldhill, Simon. “Introduction. Setting an Agenda: ‘Everything is Greece to the wise’” in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Illustrated edition. Edited by Goldhill, Simon, 1-28. Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Golvin, Jean-Claude. *L’amphithéâtre romain: Texte*. Diffusion de Boccard, 1988.

Gradel, Ittai. *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion. Oxford Classical Monographs*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Graf, Fritz. *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era. Greek Culture in the Roman World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Gruen, Erich S. *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

———. *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. London: Duckworth. 1992.

———. *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996.

———. "Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon." In *Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon*. edited by Noah Kaye, 17–31. University of California Press, 2000.

———. *Ethnicity in the Ancient World- Did it Matter?* Leck: De Gruyter, 2020.

Gunderson, Erik. "The Ideology of the Arena." *Classical Antiquity* 15, no. 1 (April 1, 1996): 113–51.

Güven, Suna. "Anadolu'da Anfitiyatrolar" *Yapı Dergisi* 132 (1992): 61-65.

Haarhoff, T.J. *The Stranger at the Gate.* Oxford, 1948.

Halfmann, Helmut. *StÄdtebau und Bauherren im Römischen Kleinasien: Ein Vergleich zwischen Pergamon und Ephesos.* Wasmuth: TÜBINGEN, 2001.

———. "Pergamener Im Römischen Senat." In *Istanbuler Mitteilungen, 54 (2004)*, 519–28, 2004.

———."Bürgerlicher Gestaltungswille: Pergamon und Ephesos" in *Die Stadt als Grossbaustelle: Von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit.Internationaler Kongress vom 7. bis 11. November 2001 im Auswärtigen Amt, Berlin* edited by Uta Dirschedl. 49-55. Berlin : Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2003.

Hall, Jonathan M. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

Hanfmann, George Maxim Anossov. *From Croesus to Constantine: The Cities of Western Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times.* Ann Arbor: Univ of Michigan Pr, 1974.

Hanges, James Constantine "To Complicate Encounters: A Response to Karl Galinsky's "The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?" in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Edited by Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed, 27-33. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Hansen, Esther Violet. *The Attalids of Pergamon*. Cornell University Press, 1971.

Hanson, W. S. "Forces of Change and Methods of Control." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, edited by D. J. Marringly, 67-80. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.

Hardie, Philip R. *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Haverfield, F. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Heijden, Rogier E.M. Van Der. "Seeing the Colosseum Valley as a Flavian District: Urban Space as a Demonstration of Imperial Ideology in the Flavian Period (69-96 CE)" in *Bulletin antieke beschaving, 97* Leuven: Peeters, 2022: 113-132.

Heinrichs, Albert. "Graecia Capta: Roman Views of Greek Culture" in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance (1995), 243-261.

Henzen W. *Explicatio musivi in villa Burghesiana asservati.* Rome: Ex typographia Rev. Cam. Apost., 1845.

von Hesberg, H. *Konsolengeisa des Hellenismus und der friihen Kaiserzeit*. Mainz 1980.

Hingley, R. "Resistance and Domination: Social change in Roman Britain." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*. edited by D. J. Mattingly, 81-102. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.

———.'Recreating coherence without reinventing Romanization", *Digressus*, Supplement 1 (2003), 111-119.

———. *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire*, New York: Routledge, 2005.

———."Not so Romanized? Tradition, Reinvention or Discovery in the Study of Roman Britain." *World Archaeology* 40, no. 3 (2008): 427-43.

Hitchner, R.B. "Globalization avant la lettre: globalization and the history of the Roman Empire", *New Global Studies*, 2.2 (2008), 1-12.

Hoffmann, Adolf. "The Roman Remodeling of the Asklepieion" in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*. Edited by Helmut Koester, 41-61. Trinity Press International, 1998.

Holt N. Parker, "The Observed of All Observers: Spectacle, Applause, and Cultural Poetics in the Roman Theater Audience." *Studies in the History of Art* 56 (1999): 162–79.

Hopkins, Keith. *Death and Renewal: Sociological Studies in Roman History*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hopkins, Keith, and Mary Beard. *The Colosseum*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Howgego, Christopher "Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces" in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces.* edited by Howgego, Christopher, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett. 1-17. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Isler, H.P. 'Grecia / Sparta. / Sparta / Achaia', in *Teatri Greci e Romani – Alle Origini del Linguaggio Rappresentato* 2, edited by P. Ciancio Rossetto and G. Pisani Sartorio. 301. Rome: Edizioni Seat, 1994/95/96.

Janon, Michel. "LAMBAESIS: Ein Überblick" *Antike Welt, 1977,* Vol. 8, No. 2 (1977), 2-20.

Jones, A. H. M. *The cities in the eastern Roman provinces.* Oxford, 1937.

———. *The Greek city from Alexander to Justinian.* Oxford, 1940.

———."The Greeks under the Roman empire, " Dumbarton Oaks Papers 17 (1963): 3-19.

Jones, C.P. "Aelius Aristides and the Asklepieion" in *Pergamon: The Citadel of the Gods* edited by Helmut Koester, 63-76. Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998.

Jones, Tamara. "Seating and Spectacle in the Graeco-Roman World." PhD, McMaster University, 2011.

Kay, Philip. "What did Attalids Ever Do for Us? The View from the Aetatium" in Attalid *Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State* edited by Peter Thonemann. 121-149. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Kay, Stephen; Sophie Hay and Christopher Smith. "From Sanctuary to Settlement: Mapping the Development of Lucus Feroniae through Geophysical Prospection" in *Roman Urbanism in Italy: Roman Urbanism in Italy* edited by Alessandro Launaro. 121-137. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2024.

Kampmann, Ursula. "Homonoia Politics in Asia Minor: The Example of Pergamon" in *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods* edited by H. Koester, 373-387. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998.

Kaye, Noah. *The Attalids of Pergamon and Anatolia: Money, Culture, and State Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Kenrick, Philip. *Libya Archaeological Guides: Tripolitania.* British Institute for Libyan and Northern African Studies, 2009.

Klose, Dietrich O. A. “Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire” in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces.* Edited by Howgego, Christopher, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett, 125-134. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Kosmetatou, E. “The Attalids of Pergamon” In *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* edited by A. Erskine, 159-174. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000.

Konstan, David. “To Hellenikon ethnos: Ehtnicity and the Construction of Ancient Greek Identity” in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Edited by Malkin, Irad. 29-50. Washington D.C.: Harvard University Press. (2001)

Köhne, Eckart, and Cornelia Ewigleben, eds. *Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Krishna, S. *Globalization and Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the Twenty-First Century*, Lanham: MD 2009.

Kuttner, Ann. “Republican Rome Looks at Pergamon.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance, 97 (1995): 157–78.

———."Do you look like you belong here? Asianism at Pergamon and the Makedonian Diaspora,” in *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity,* Oriens et Occidens vol. 8, edited by Erich Gruen, 137-206. München: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005.

Kyle, Donald G. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. London: Routledge, 2012.

———. *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2014.

Lafaye, Georges in *Dictionnaire des Antiquites Greques at Romaines* by Daremberg and Saglio, Paris: Hachette, 1896.

Lembke, Katja. “Kolossalitaet und Monumentalitaet: Zur Grösse und Ausdehnung der Roten Halle” in *Ägyptische Kulte Und Ihre Heiligtümer Im Osten Des Römischen Reiches, BYZAS I* edited by Hoffmann, Adolf, 47-58. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2005.

Levick**,** Barbara "Urbanization in the Eastern Empire." In *The Roman World*, edited by John Wacher, 329-345. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.

Macmullen**,** Ramsay. *Romanization in the Time of Augustus.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000.

MacLean, Rose, “People on the Margins of Roman Spectacle” in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Edited by Christesen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle, 578-589. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014.

Magie, David. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor: To the End of the Third Century After Christ*. Princeton University Press, 1950.

Malkin, Irad. “Introduction” in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Edited by Malkin, Irad, 1-28. Washington D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Malten, L. “Leichenspeil and Totenkult” *MFAI(R)* 38-9 (1923-4): 300-340.

Mania, Ulrich. “Sculpture from Pergamon’s Red Hall: An Indicator for Itinerant Workmen between Rome and Asia Minor” in *Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor:Proceedings of the International Conference to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Italian Excavations At Hierapolis in Phrygia, Held On May 24-26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce)* edited by F. D’Andria and I. Romeo, 347- 358. *Journal of Roman Archaeology 80*: Portsmouth, 2011.

———. “The Red Hall – a Pergamene Pantheon?” in *Pergamon - Anadolu’da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Edited by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, 524-541. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015.

Mann, Christian. “Gladiators in the Greek East: A Case Study in Romanization.” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 2 (January 1, 2009): 272–97.

Mattingly, D. J. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire.* Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.

———. *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing Roman Empire.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011.

McInerney, Jeremy. “Ethnos and Ethnicity in Early Greece” in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Edited by Malkin, Irad, 51-74. Washington D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Millett, M. *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Momigliano, A. *Alien Wisdom*. Cambridge, 1975.

Naerebout, F.G. 'Global Romans? Is globalisation a concept that is going to help us understand the Roman Empire?”, *Talanta* 38/39 (2007).

van Nijf, Onno. “Athletics, Festivals and Greek Identity in the Roman East.” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 45 (1999): 176-200.

———. “Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-Fashioning in the Roman East” in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire.* Edited by Goldhill, Simon, 306-355. Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Nohlen, Klaus. “The ‘Red Hall’ (Kızıl Avlu) in Pergamon” in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*. Edited by Helmut Koester, 77-105. Trinity Press International, 1998.

———. “A Temple for the Imperial Cult: The Trajaneum of Pergamon” in *Pergamon - Anadolu’da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Edited by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, 508-521. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015.

Onians, John. *Bearers of Meaning*. Reprint edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.

———. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. First Edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Opelt, I. “La conscienza linguistica dei Romani.” *Atene e Roma*, (1969*)*, 21-37.

Pedersen, Poul. “Pergamon and the Ionian Renaissance.” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Band 54. Festschrift Wolfgang Radt,* (January 1, 2004). 409- 434.

Peterson, Rebecca. “Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the construction of Identity” in *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire.* Edited by Goldhill, Simon, 86-122. Cambridge, UK; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Petrochilos, N. *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks*. Athens, 1974.

Pirson, Felix. “Urban Space and Urban Planning in Hellenistic Pergamon” in *Pergamon - Anadolu’da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Edited by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, 208-225. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015.

———. “The Hinterland of Pergamon: Economic Resources, Rural Settlements and Political Manifestation” in *Pergamon - Anadolu’da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Edited by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, 144-161. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015.

———. “Die Siedlungsgeschichte Pergamons – Überblick und kritische Revision” in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* (2017): 43-130.

———.“ Stadtraum und Städtebau im hellenistischen Pergamon“ in *Meisterwerke der antiken Metropole und 360* - Panaroma von Yadegar Asisi* edited by Andreas Scholl, Agnes Schwarznaier. 28-36. Berlin: Asisi F & E, 2018.

Pirson, Felix et al. "Pergamon – Bericht über die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2018." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (2019), 1-157.

———. "Pergamon – Das neue Forschungsprogramm und die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2019." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (2020), 1-245.

———. "Pergamon, Türkei. Pergamon: Die Arbeiten des Jahres 2020." *e-Forschungsberichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, (2021-1): 1-22.

———. "Pergamon- Die Arbeiten in der Kampagne 2020" in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger,* (2021/2): 1-203.

———. "Pergamon – Die Arbeiten in der Kapagne 2021" in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (2022/2): 301-393.

Pitts, M. "Globalizing the local in Roman Britain: an anthropological approach to social change." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27, (2008) 493-506.

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

Pleket, H. W. "Sport in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor" in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Edited by Christesen, Paul, and Donald G. Kyle, 346-375. 1st Edition. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014.

Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Illustrated edition. Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

———. "The Impact of Greek Art on Rome" in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-2014), Vol. 108 (1978), 155-174.

Popkin, Maggie L. "Samothracian Influences at Rome: Cultic and Architectural Exchange in the Second Century B.C.E." in *American Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. 119, No. 3 (July 2015), 343-373.

Potter, David Stone, and D. J. Mattingly. *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*. University of Michigan Press, 1999.

Price, S. R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge University Press, 1986.

———. ” Local Mythologies in the Greek East” in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces.* Edited by Howgego, Christopher, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett, 115-124.. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Radt, Wolfgang. “The Urban Development of Pergamon” in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies On Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos.* edited by David Parrish, and Haluk Abbasoğlu, 43-56. Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal Of Roman Archaeology, 2001.

———. *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları.* Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2002.

———. “The Excavations of the 20th Century: “The fun and games are over!” (A. Conze 1904)” in *Pergamon - Anadolu’da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Edited by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, 38-47. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015.

———. “Location and Development of Ancient Pergamon” in *Pergamon - Anadolu’da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Edited by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, 188-204. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015-2.

Ramsay, W. M. “Graeco-Roman civilization in Pisidia” *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies 4* (1883) 23.

———. *The historical geography of Asia Minor.* Royal Geog. Soc. Suppl. Papers IV, 1890.

———. “Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia” *Journal of Roman Studies 16* (1926) 102-19.

Rawson, Elizabeth. “Discrimina Ordinum: The Lex Julia Theatralis.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (November 1987): 83–114.

———. *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2013.

Ratliff, M.L. “Globalisation, consumerism and the ancient Roman economy: a preliminary look at bronze and iron production and consumptions”, in *Trac 2010 Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* edited by D. Mladenovic and B. Russel, 32-46. Oxford, 2011,

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

Richardson, L. “The Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae.” *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 80, no. 1, 1976, pp. 57–64. *JSTOR*,

Rieger, Anna-Katharina. “Pergamon und Rom. Überlegungen zur staedtebaulichen Bedeutung und der Bauherrschaft der Roten Halle in Pergamon” in *Ägyptische Kulte Und Ihre Heiligtümer Im Osten Des Römischen Reiches, BYZAS I* edited by Hoffmann, Adolf, 81-94 İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2005.

Riethmüller, Jürgen W. “The Asklepieion of Pergamon” in *Pergamon - Anadolu’da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*. Edited by Felix Pirson and Andreas Scholl, 492-504. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015.

Robert, Louis. *Les Gladiateurs Dans L'orient Grec: Par Louis Robert*. Paris: E. Champion, 1940

Rose, Peter. “Spectators and Spectator Comfort in Roman Entertainment Buildings: A Study in Functional Design.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 73 (2005): 99–130.

Romano, David Gilman. “City Planning, Centuriation, and Land Division in Roman Corinth: Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis & Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis” *Corinth* , 2003, Vol. 20, Corinth, The Centenary: 1896-1996 (2003), 279-301

Schaefer, J. *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon*. Berlin, de Gruyter, 1968.

Schoder, R.V. *Ancient Greece from the Air*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974.

Schowalter, Daniel N. “The Zeus Philios and Trajan Temple: A Context for Imperial Honors” in Pergamon” in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*. Edited by Helmut Koester, 233-249. Trinity Press International, 1998.

———. “Honoring Trajan in Pergamum:Imperial Temples in the “Second City”” in. *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult. Illustrated edition.* Edited by Brodd, Jeffrey, and Jonathan L. Reed, 99-108. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

Scobie, Alex. “Spectator Security and Comfort at Gladiatorial Games.” *Nikephoros*, no. 1 (1988): 223–24.

Sear, Frank. *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study*. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2006.

Seaman, Kristen. “Pergamon and Pergamene Influence” in *A Companion to Greek Architecture* edited by Margeret M. Miles, 406-423.Wiley & Sons: Malden, 2016.

Senseney, John R. “Adrift toward Empire: The Lost Porticus Octavia in Rome and the Origins of the Imperial Fora” in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (December 2011), 421-441.

Sliwka, Fabian. “Pergamon, Türkei. Die Altgrabungen auf dem Musalla Mezarlığı in Pergamon” *e-Forschungsberichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut: 2021-2, 98-109.

Smith, R.R.R. *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* Oxford: Clerendon Press, 1988.

Sommer, C. S. “Amphitheaters of Auxiliary Forts on the Frontiers” in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: a 21st-Century Perspective* edited by Tony Wilmot, 47-62. Archaeopress: Oxford, 2007.

Spawforth, Anthony. “Shades of Greekness: A Lydian Case Study” in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Edited by Malkin, Irad, 375-400. Washington D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Stewart, Andrew. *Attalos, Athens, and The Akropolis: The Pergamene “Little Barbarians” and their Roman and Renaissance Legacy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Syme R. “Galatia and Pamphilia under Augustus” *Klio* 27 (1934), 122-148.

Toner, Jerry. *The Day Commodus Killed a Rhino*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.

Tsakirgis, Barbara. “The Decorated Pavements of Morgantina I: The Mosaics” in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Jul., 1989, Vol. 93, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), 395-416

Veyne, Paul. *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*. Edited by Oswyn Murray. Translated by Brian Pearce. London: Penguin Books, 1992.

Ville, G. *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien.* Palais Farnese : Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 1981.

Waelkens, Marc. “Hellenistic and Roman Influence in the Imperial Architecture of Asia Minor” in *Bulletin Supplement (University of London. Institute of Classical Studies), No. 55, The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium* (1989), 77-88.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. “To be Roman, Go Greek Thoughts on Hellenization at Rome” in Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement, No. 71, Modus Operandi: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman (1998), 79-91.

Ward-Perkins, J.B. *Roman Architecture.* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1977.

Watkins, Thomas H. “Roman Legionary Fortresses and the Cities of Modern Europe” *Military Affairs*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Feb., 1983), 15-25

Webster, J. “Creolizing the Roman provinces.” *AJA* 105 (2001): 209–225.

———."Roman imperialism and the 'post-imperial age'," in *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester, 1996): 1-17.

Weege, F."Oskische Grabmalerei" *JDI s4* (1909): 99-140.

Weisser, Bernhard. "Pergamum as Paradigm" in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces.* Edited by Howgego, Christopher, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett, 135-142. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Welch, Katherine E. *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Wheeler, R. E. M. "The Roman Town-Walls of Arles: And a Note on Other Roman Town-Walls in Gaul and Britain" *The Journal of Roman Studies,* 1926, Vol. 16 (1926), 174-193

———. *Roman Art and Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1964.

Whittaker, C. R. "Imperialism and Culture: The Roman Initiative." In *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, edited D. J. Mattingly, 143-164. Ann Arbor: Cushing-Malloy, 1997.

Wiedemann, Thomas E. J. *Emperors and Gladiators*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Wistrand, Magnus. *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome: The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.* Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992.

Witcher, R. "Globalisation and Roman imperialism: perspectives on identities in Roman Italy", in *The Emergence of State Identities in Italy in the 1st Millennium BC* edited by E. Herring and K. Lomas, 213-25., London, 2000.

Woolf, Greg. "Becoming Roman Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, No. 40 (1994), 116-143.

———. "Beyond Romans and Natives" *World Archaeology* Vol 28 No 3 (1997), 339-350.

———. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wulf, Ulricke. "Der Stadtplan von Pergamon. Zur Entwicklung und Stadtstruktur von der Neugründung unter Philetairos bis in spaetantike Zeit" in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen Band 44,* 1994: 135-174.

Yegül, Fikret. "Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the cities of Asia Minor." In *Romanization and the city: Creation, Transformations, and Failures*, *Journal of Roman Archeology, Supplement -38*, edited by E. Fentress and S. Alcock, 133-153. Portsmouth: *Journal of Roman Archeology*, 2000.

Yegül, Fikret, Favro, Diane. *Roman Architecture and Urbanism* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019

Zanker, Paul. *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*. Götingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976.

———. *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus.* University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1988.

———. *Roman Art.* The J. Paul Getty Museum: Los Angeles, 2008.

———. "Greek Art in Rome: A New Center in the First Century B.C." in *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World* edited By Carlos A Picon and Sean Hemingway, 92-99. New York: Yake University Press, 2016.

FIGURES

Figure 1: Golvin's reconstructions for the temporary seating in Forum Romanum (Golvin Figure Vb, Welch 44,45)

Figure 2: Welch's reconstruction for the temporary seating in Forum Romanum (Welch 49)

Figure 3: Photo by Allan T. Kohl. *Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheater)*. 70-82 CE. *JSTOR*, (https://jstor.org/stable/community.23209805)

Figure 4: Gladiators: a *retiarus* and a *secutor* from Saarbrucken, Germany, 2-3rd century CE (Kyle, 300)

Figure 5: Fresco of Pompeii Amphitheater Riots of 59 CE (Bomgardner 2021, 76)

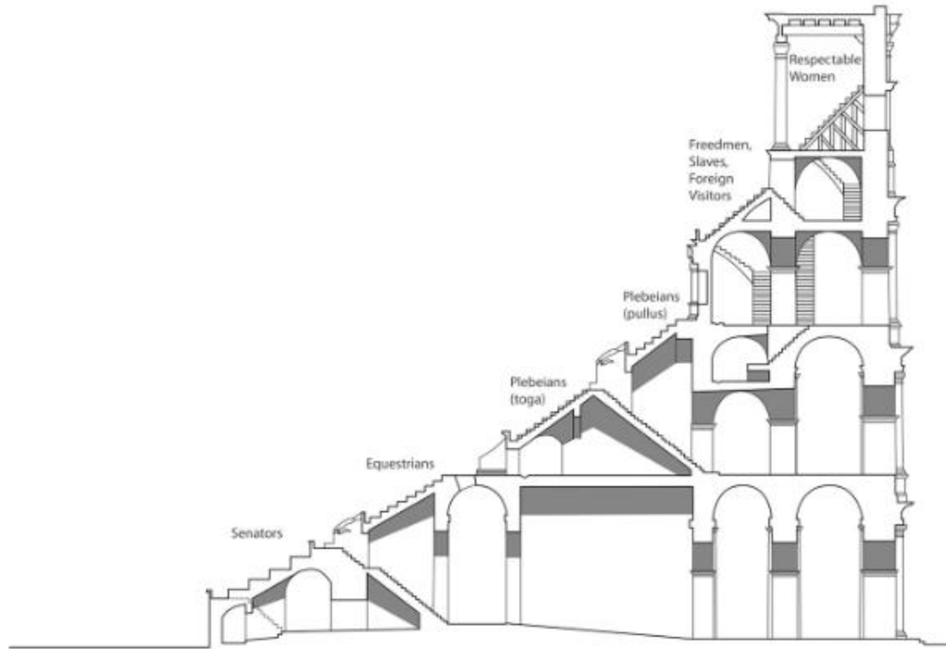


Figure 6: Section of the Flavian Amphitheater showing seating areas and passages (Elkins 2019, 48)

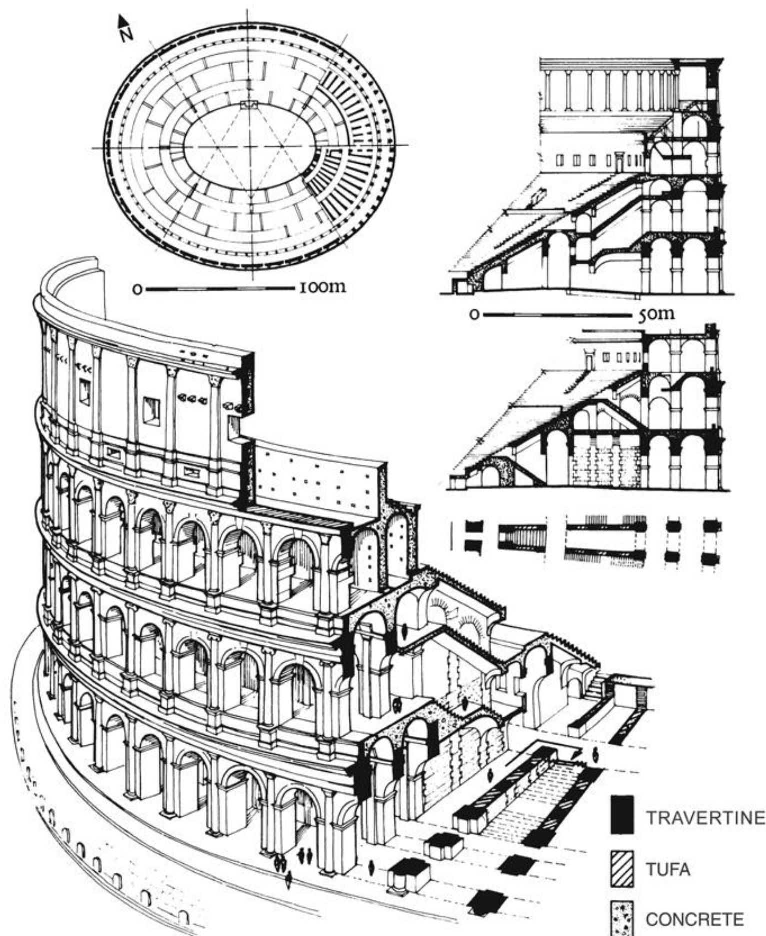


Figure 7: Section of the Flavian Amphitheater with the piazza (Ward-Perkins 69)

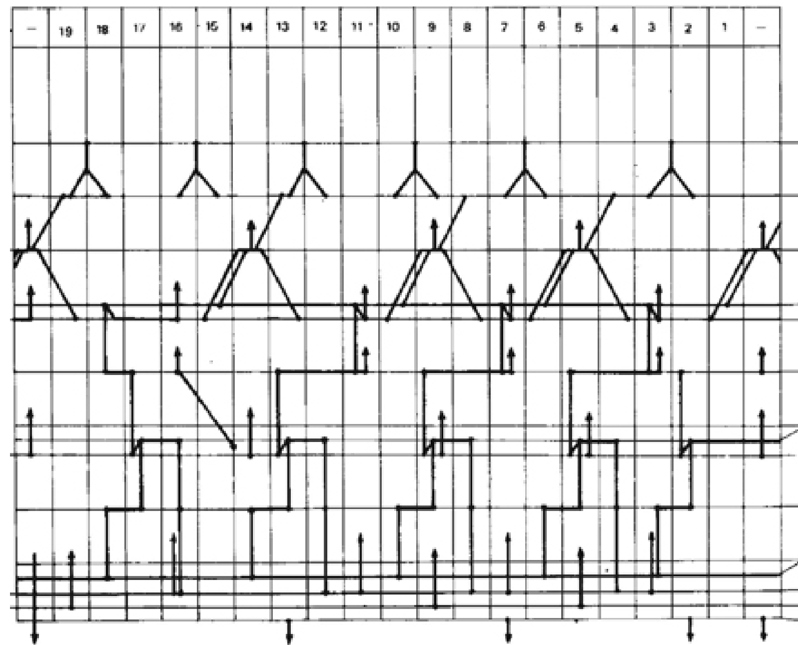


Figure 8: Diagram of the connection of passages and seating areas in the Flavian amphitheater by Golvin – the numbers at the top are bay numbers, the areas are according to their physical level podium access at the bottom, then going up level by level (Golvin, Planche LX)

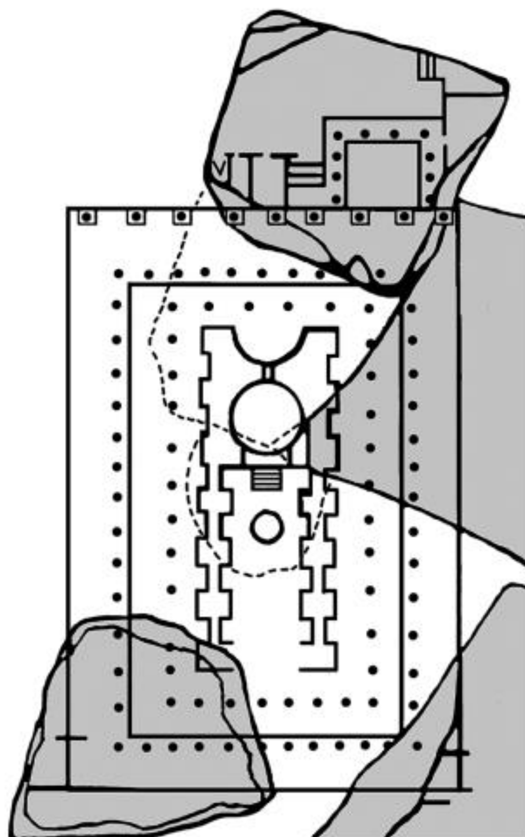


Figure 9: Plan of Temple of Hercules Musarum (Popkin, 359)

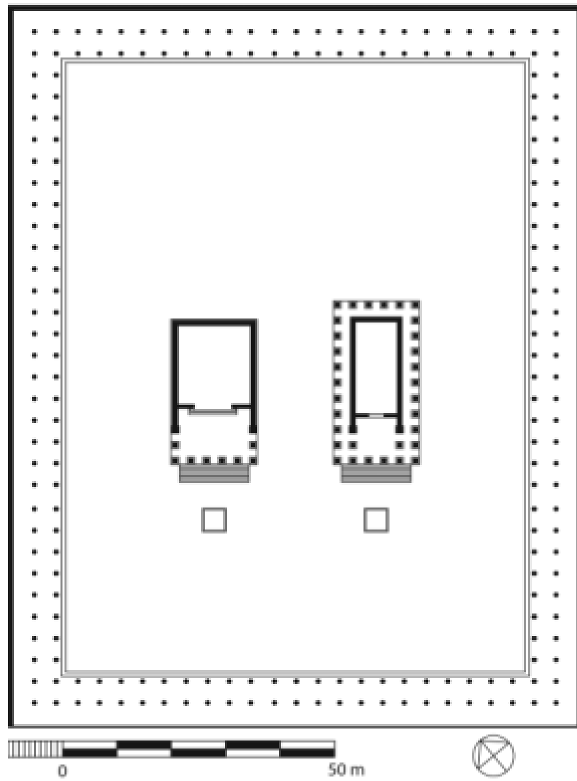


Figure 10: Plan of Porticus Metelli by Senseney, begun after 148 BCE (Senseney, 426)

Figure 11: Part of the Telephos Frieze, Arrival to Mysa, Arming of Telephos and Exodus to Ida, taken before 1933, Collection of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (https://id.smb.museum/object/847682)

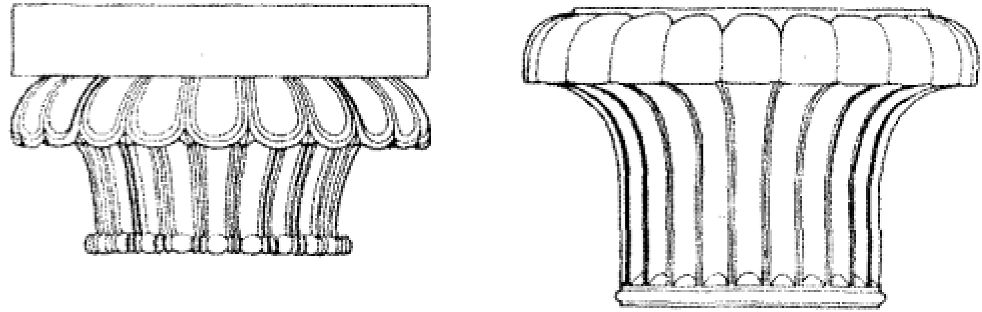


Figure 12: Aeolic Capitals from left: the Treasury of Massilia, Delphi; right the Stoa of Athena, Pergamon (Onians, 28)

Figure 13: Great Altar South Frieze, Kybele intervenes in the fight, Collection of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (https://id.smb.museum/object/460272)

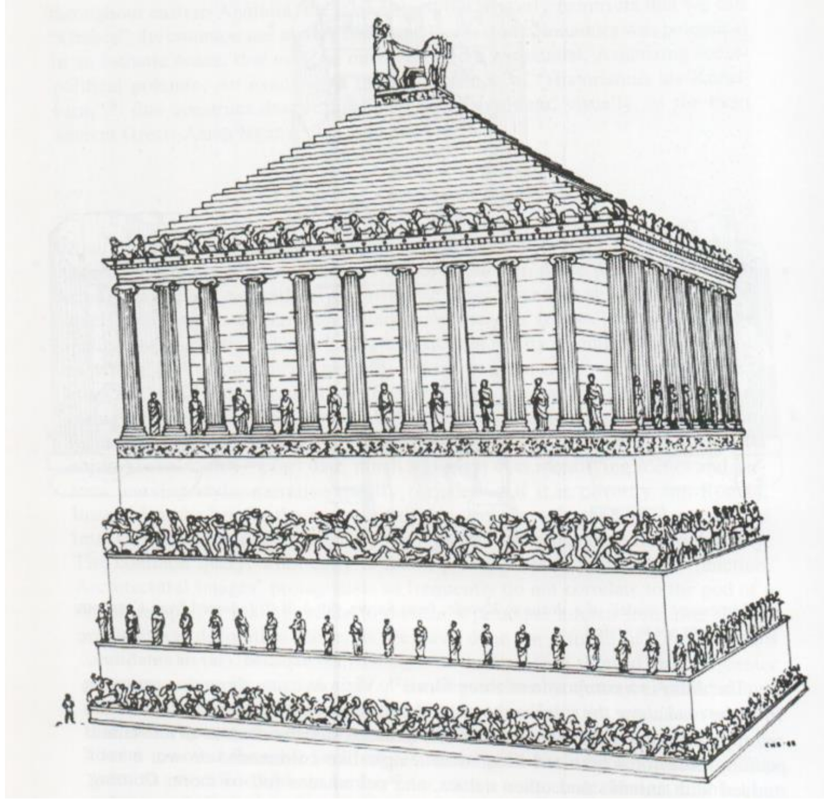


Figure 14: Reconstruction of the Mauseleion of Halikarnassos by Candace Smith (Kuttner 2005, 176)

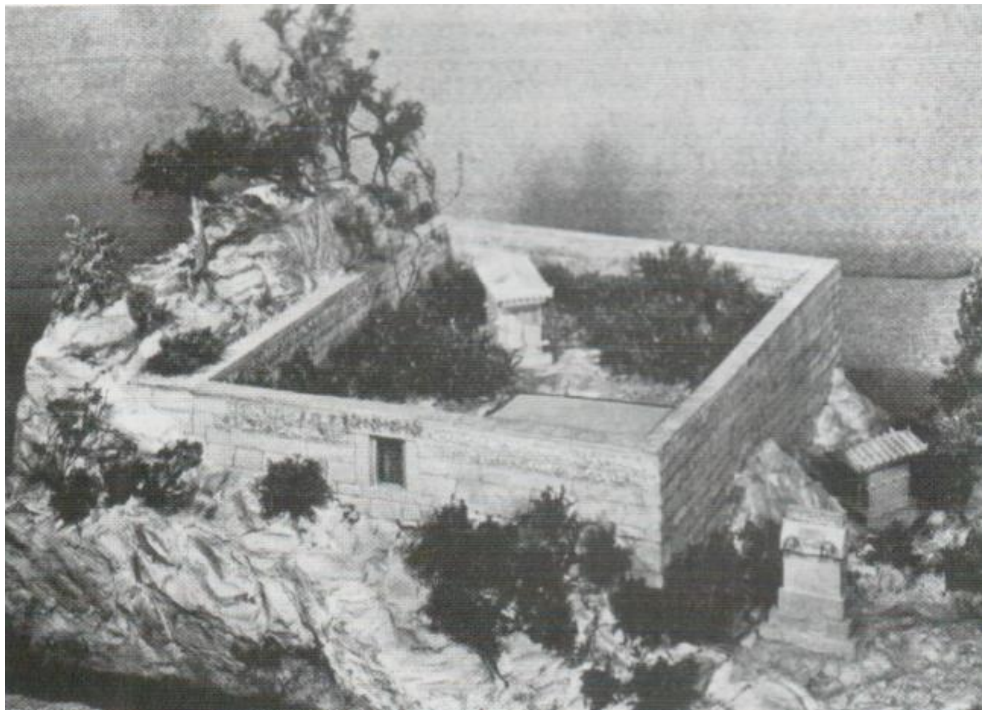


Figure 15: Model of a Lykian heroon from Gölbaşı Trysa, late 4th c BCE (Kutnner 2005, 177)

Figure 16: Reliefs of a campaign cycle from Lykian Heroon Court Gölbaşı Trysa, late 4th c BCE (Kuttner 2005, 178.)

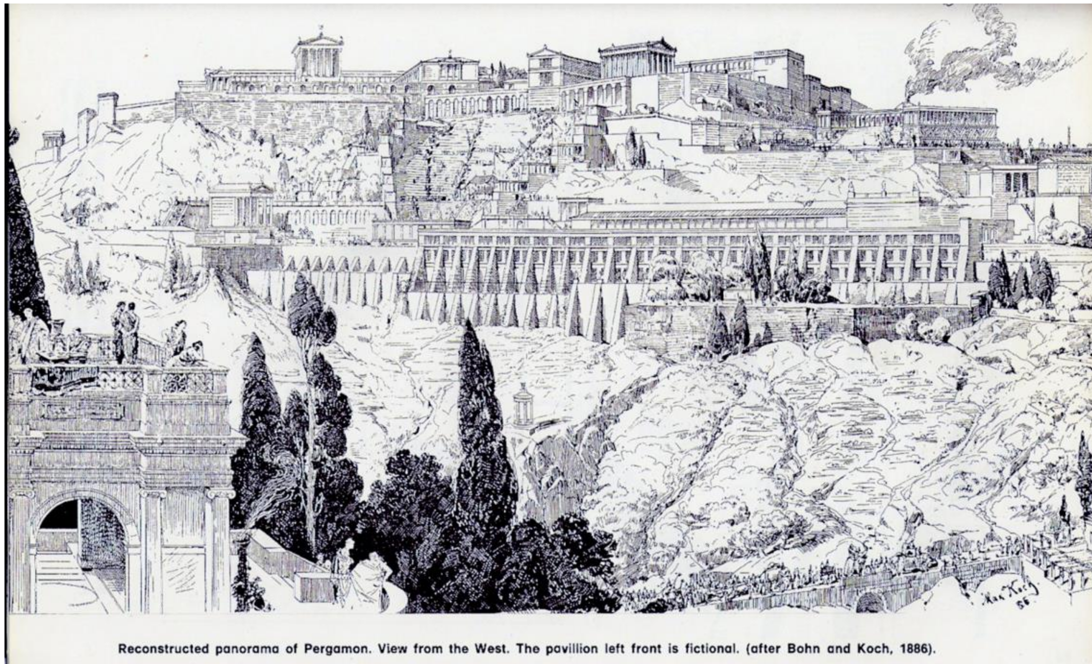


Figure 17: Sketch of the view of the Acropolis from the lower city (Radt 1984, 37)

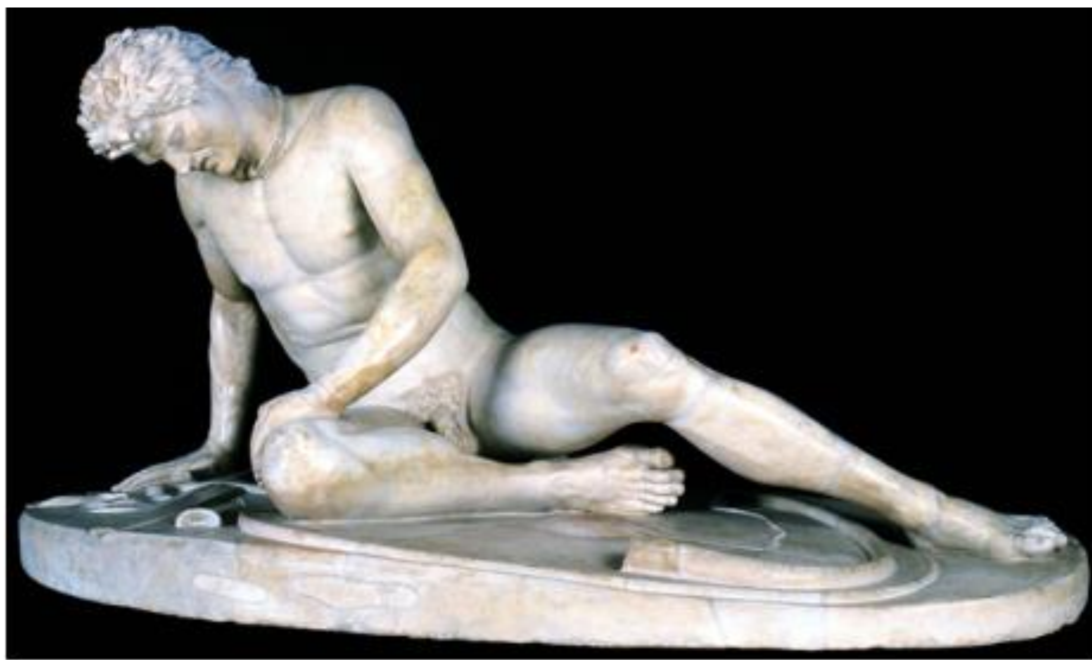


Figure 18: Statue of the "Capitoline Gaul" ap. 60-30 BCE , the Capitoline Museum (https://www.museicapitolini.org/en/collezioni/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/sala_del_gladiatore/statua_del_galata_capitolino)

Figure 19: Portrait of Philetairos from Villa of Papyri (Smith, PLATE 17)

Figure 20: Coin of Philetairos by Eumenes I (Smith, PLATE 74)

Figure 21: Mosaic with Alexandrine parakeet, the 'altar chamber' in palace V, Hellenistic, Pergamon, 160–150 BC, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/pergamonmuseum/collections-research/collection-highlights/)

Figure 22: Preening doves, 2nd century CE from Tivoli, Rome Capitoline Museum (https://www.museicapitolini.org/en/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/sala_delle_colombe/mosaico_delle_colombe)

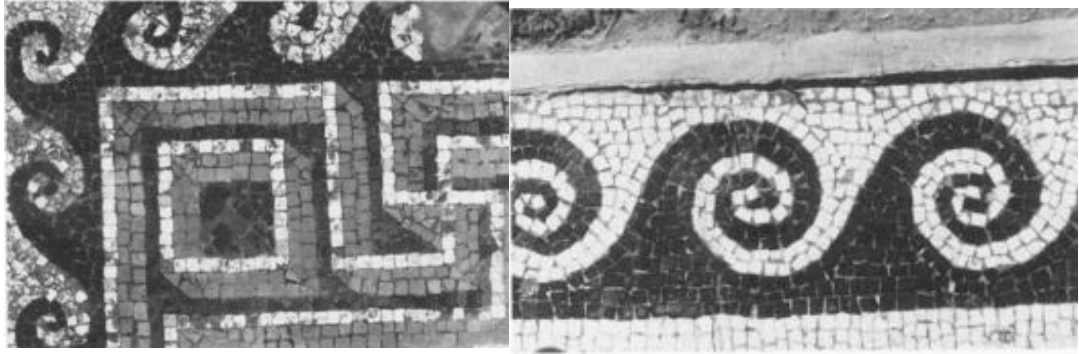


Figure 23: House of Ganymede in Morgantina, Room 1 on left, House of the Tuscan Capitals in Morgantina, Room 10 on the right (Tsakirgis, 397, 405)

Figure 24: House of the Arched Cistern in Mogantina, Room 12 (Tsakirgis, 403)

Figure 25: The "Pseudo-Seneca" Bronze, Roman copy of an original of ca.200-150 BCE, Naples Archaeological Museum (https://mann-napoli.it/en/villa-dei-papiri-2/#gallery-9)

Figure 26: The Laokoon group, 1st c CE Rome Vatikan Museum (https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.1059.0.0)

Figure 27: Propylaeum of Porticus Octaviae, after the Severan restoration (https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.15662482)

Figure 28: Fragments of Marble Plan of Rome with Porticus Octaviae (Richardson, Plate 12)

Figure 29: Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, restored model in Staatliche Museen Berlin, Germany (Senseney, 433)

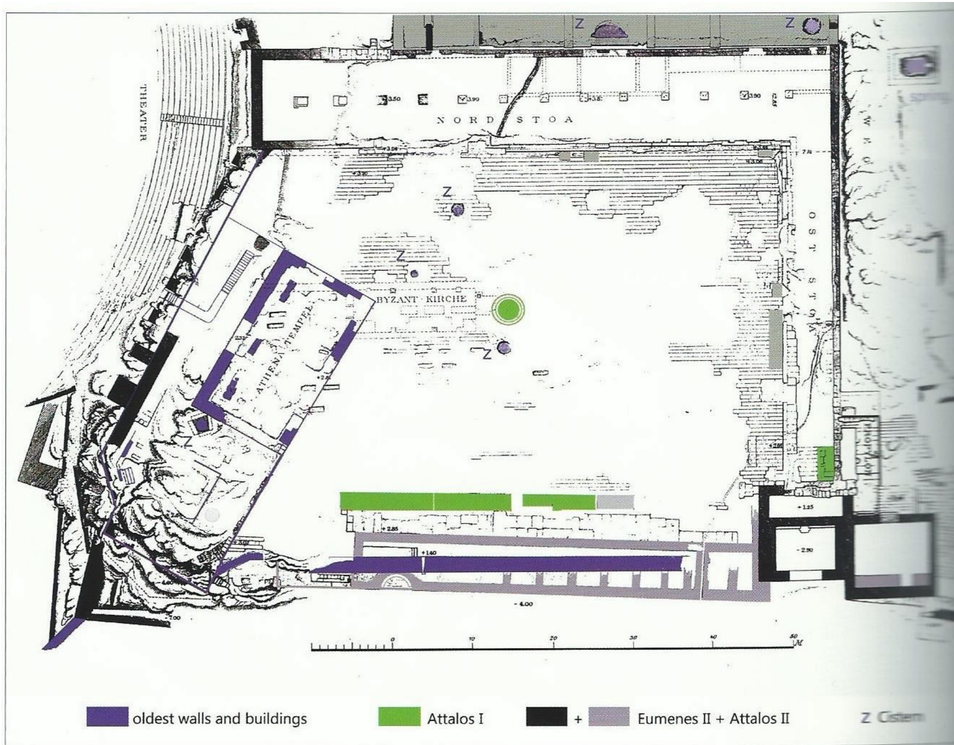


Figure 30: The Plan of Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros (Kaestner, 440)

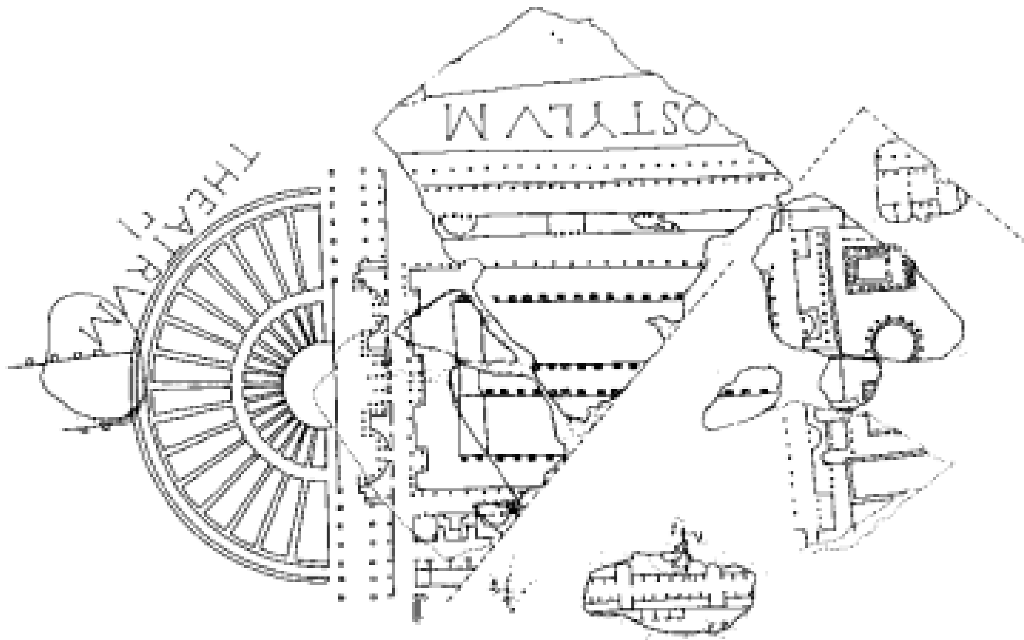


Figure 31: Porticus Pompeiana in the Marble Plan of Rome (Gleason, 12)

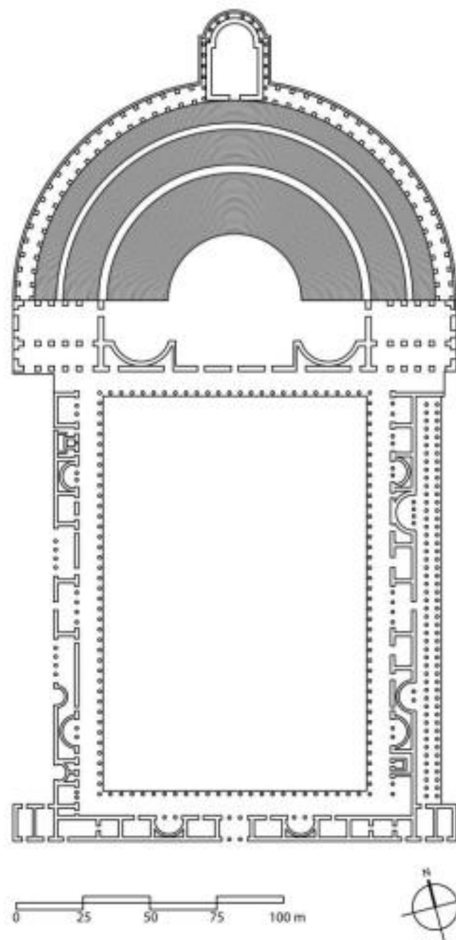


Figure 32: Plan reconstruction of Porticus Pompeiana at Campus Martius with the Temple of Venus Victrix (Senseney, 424)

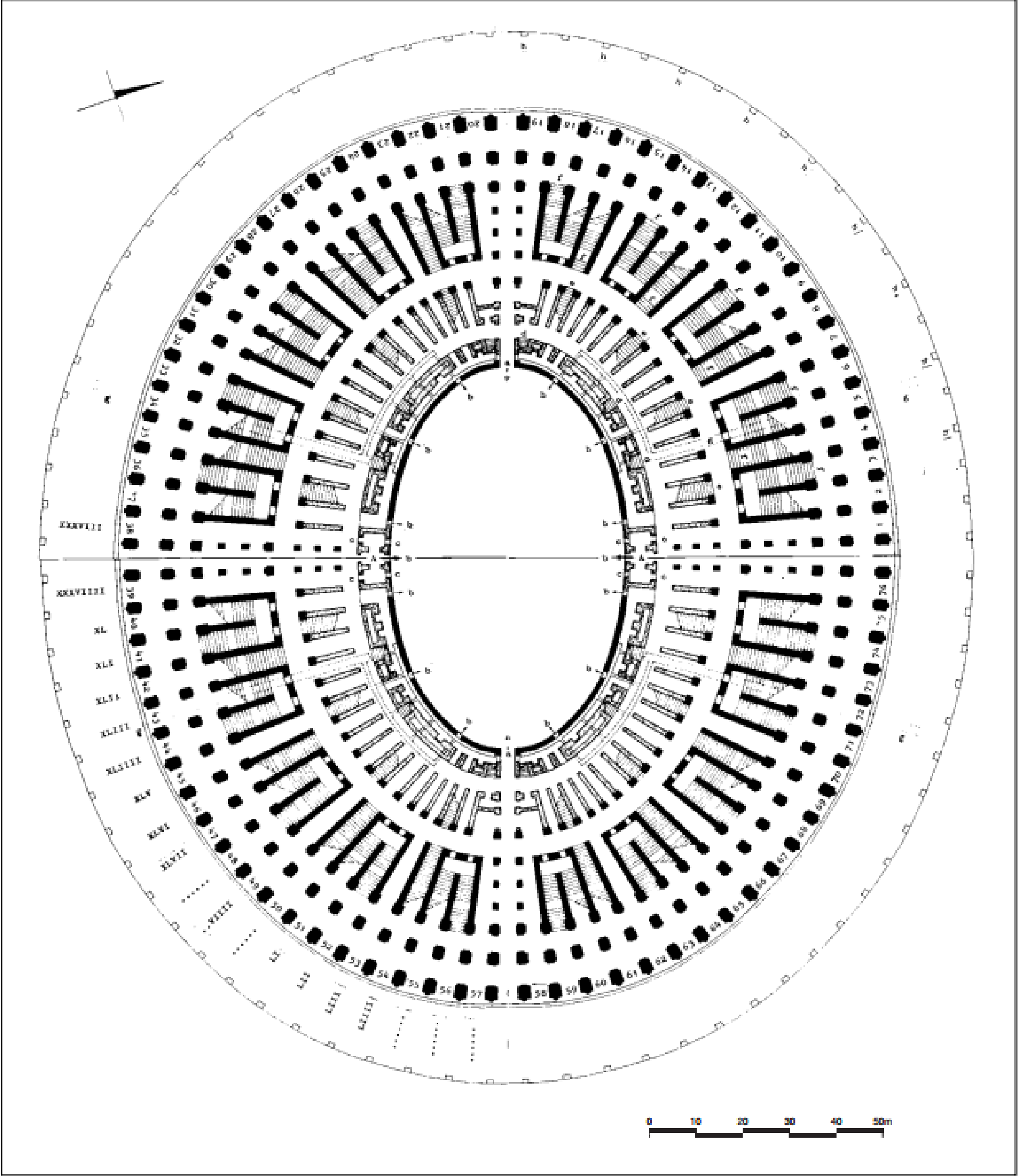


Figure 33: The Plan of the Colosseum (Golvin, Plate XXXVI)

Figure 34: *Copper, Bronze, or Brass Sestertius of Titus, 21.83 g.* 80 CE. (Elkins 2019, 51)

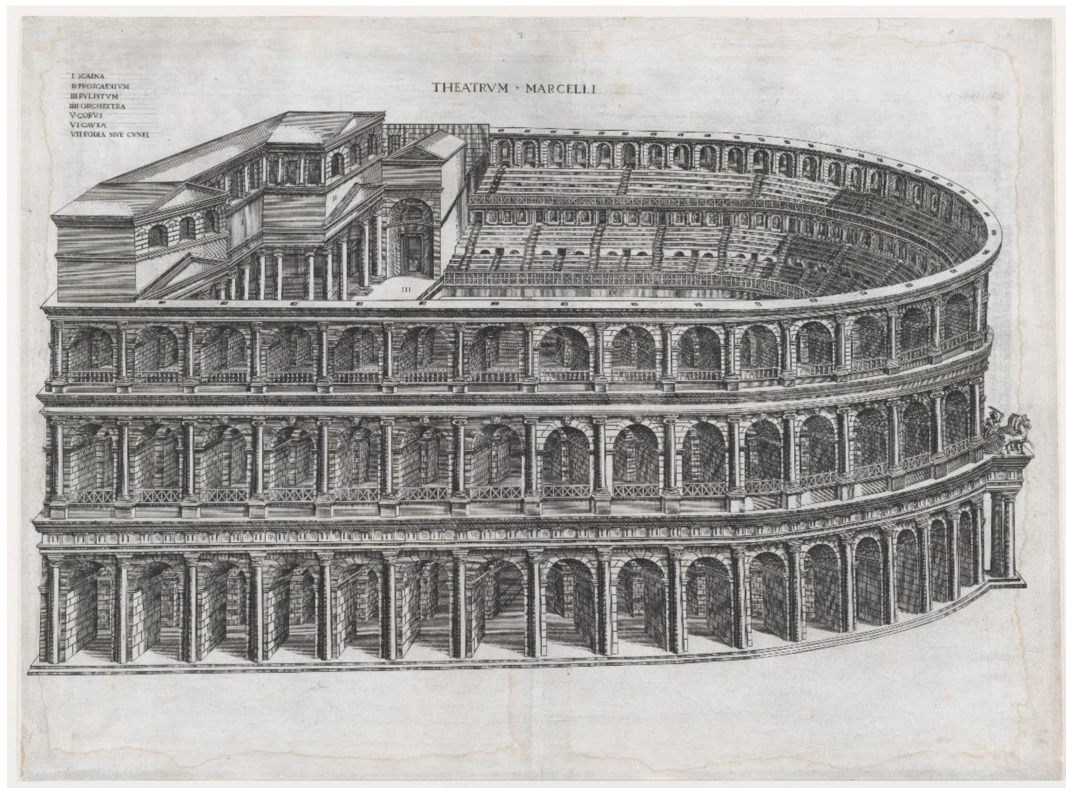


Figure 35: Artist: Anonymous. *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae: Theater of Marcellus*. Engraving, 16th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, (*JSTOR*, https://jstor.org/stable/community.18411633)

Figure 36: Remains of the Amphitheater of Pergamon (Photo by the author)

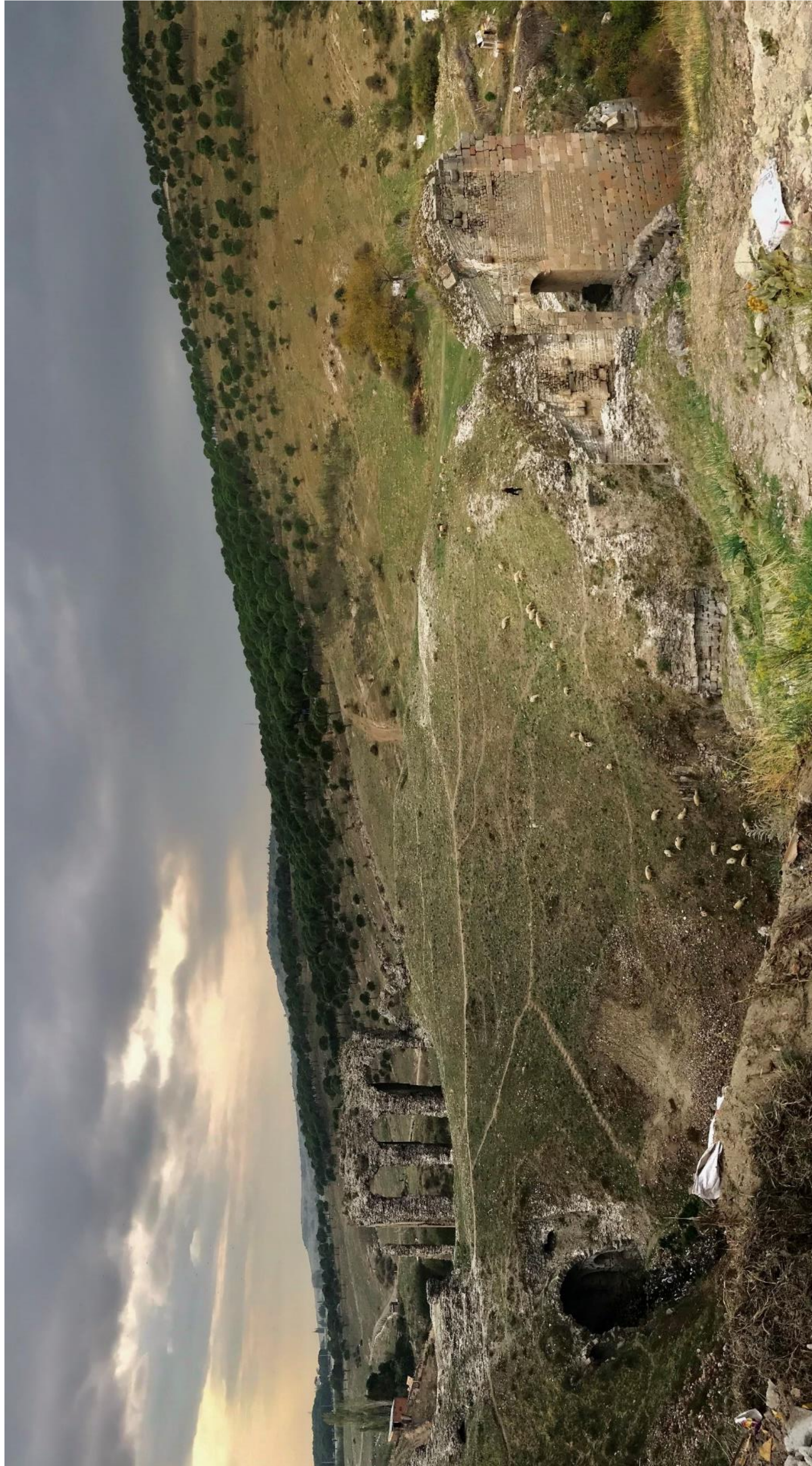


Figure 37: Amphitheater of Pergamon from Musalla Mezarlığı Hill (Photo by author)

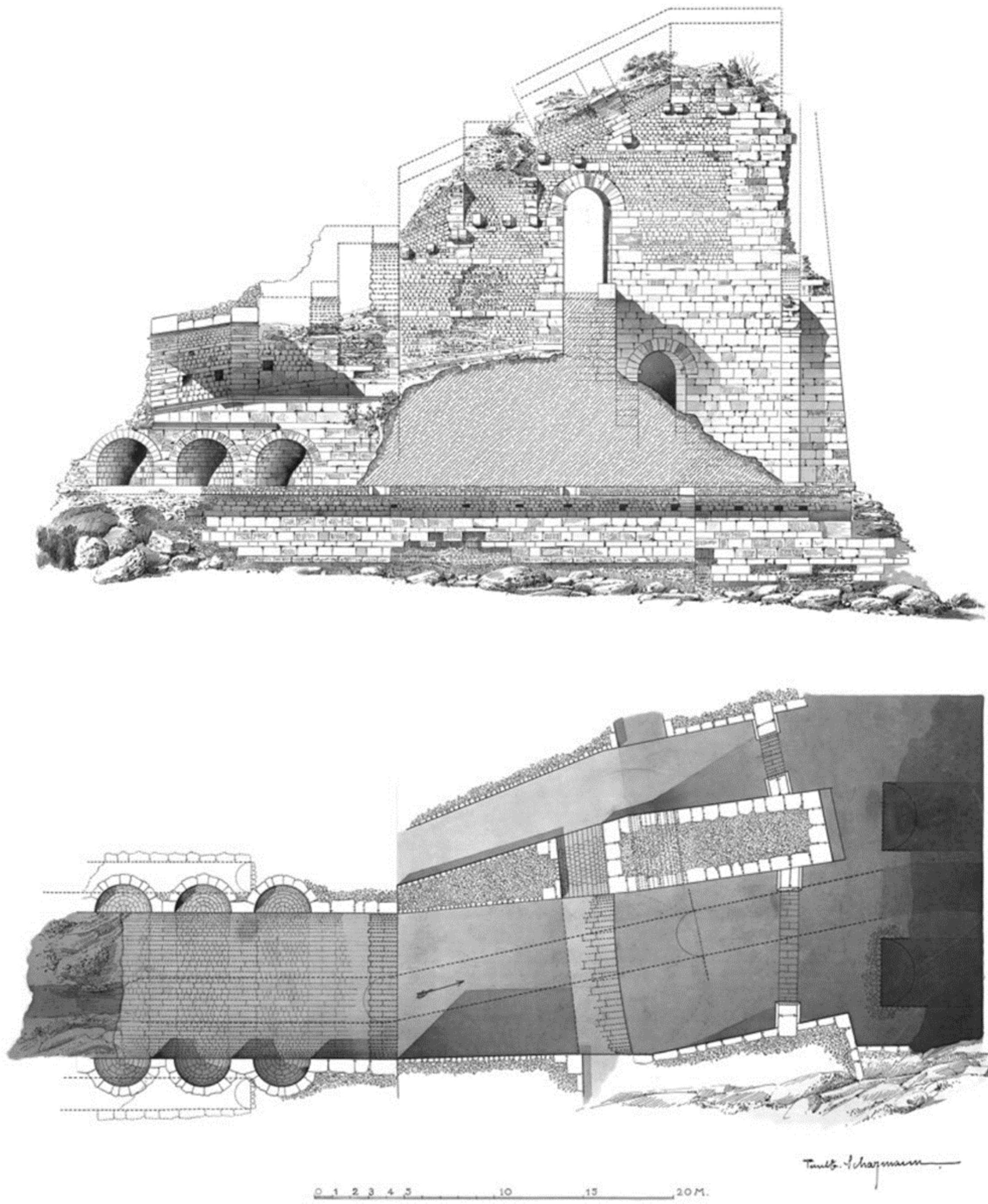


Figure 38: Northern Remains of the Amphitheater of Pergamon by P. Schazmann ca 1908 (Pirson et al 2019; 107)

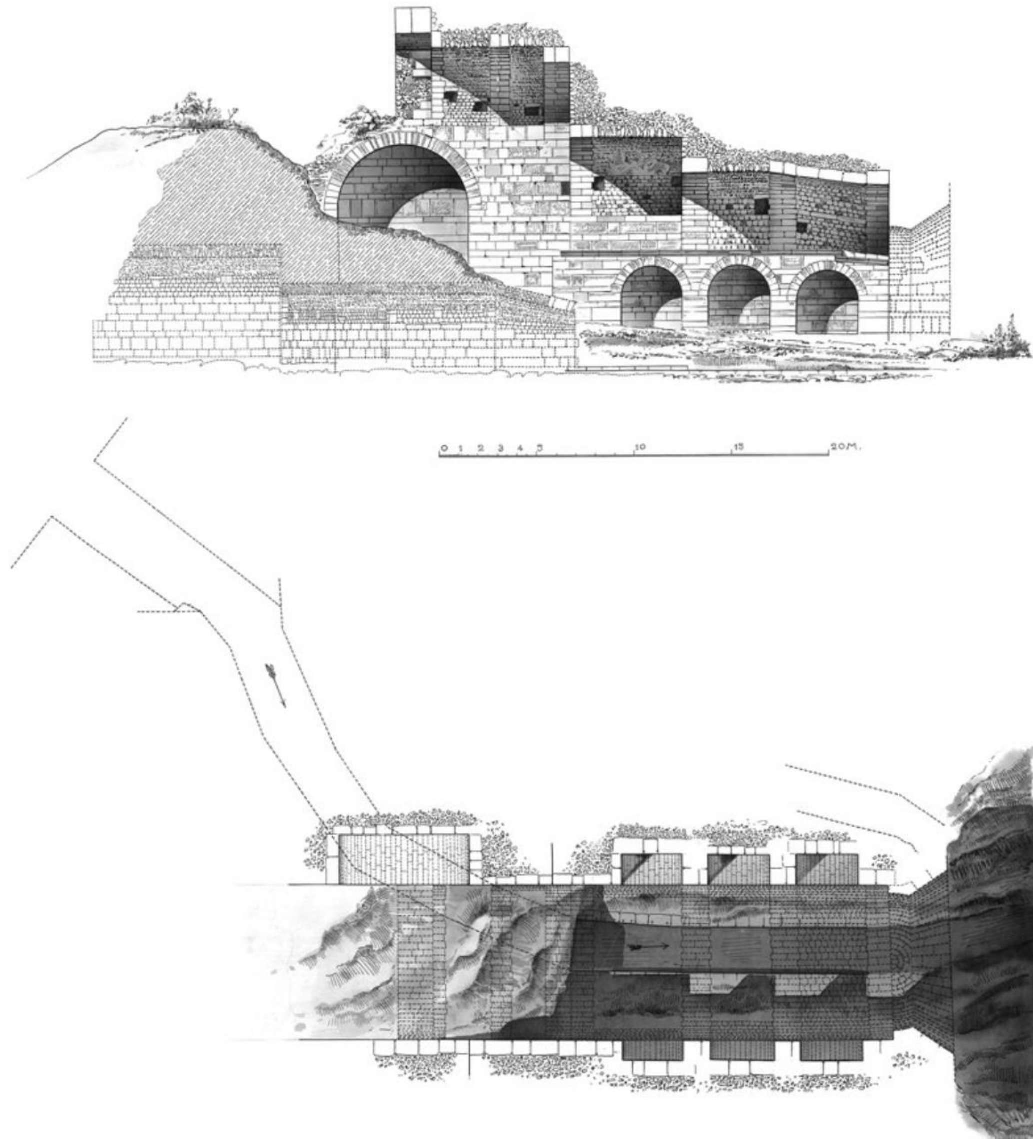


Figure 39: The South Remains of the Pergamene Amphitheater by P. Schazmann ca 1908 (Pirson et al 2019, 108)

Figure 40: Substructures and the stream of the Amphitheater of Pergamon (Photo by the author)

Figure 41: The Area of the Amphitheater from the Acropolis Hill (Photo by the author)

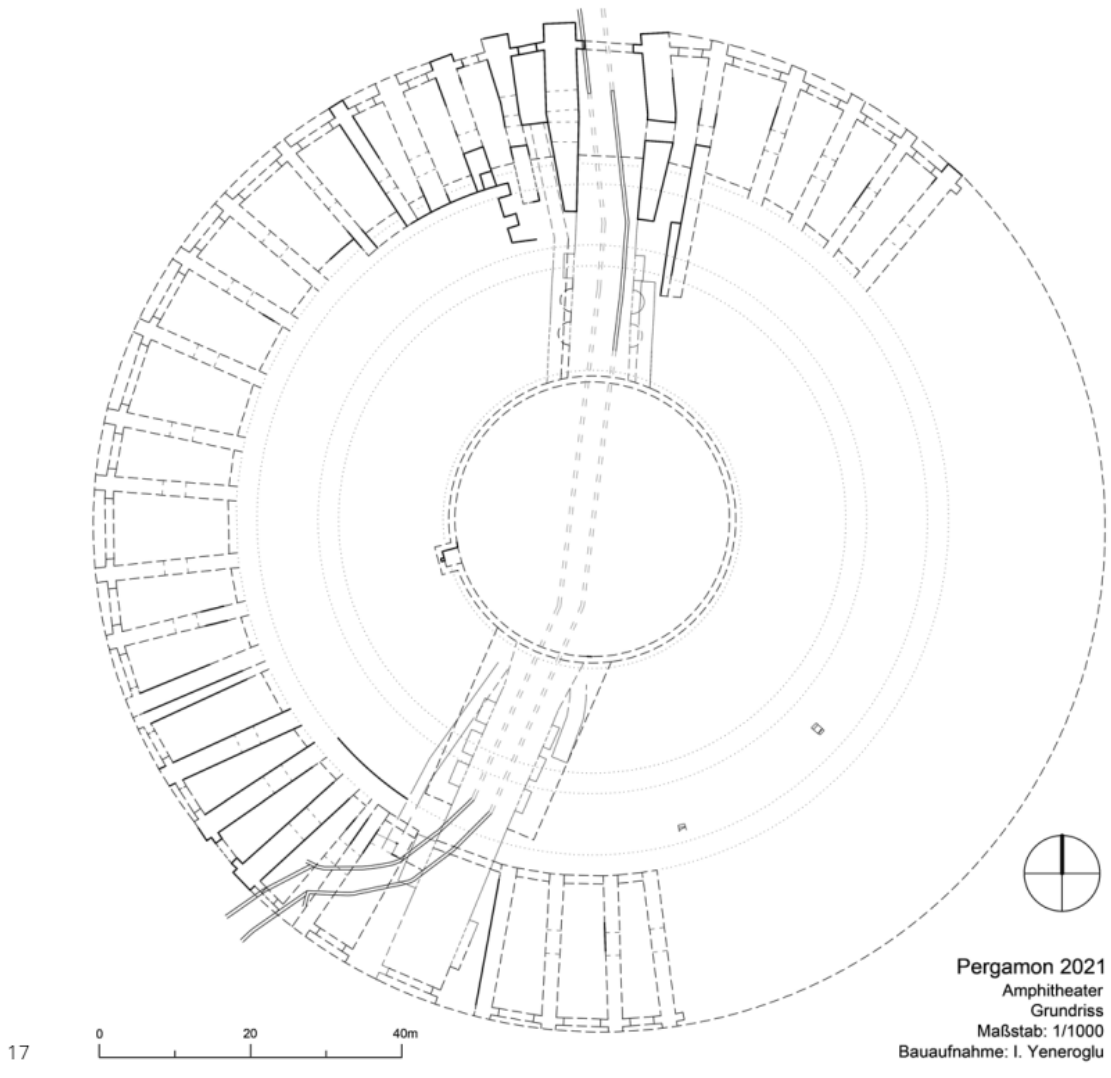


Figure 42: The Plan of the Amphitheater of Pergamon (Pirson et al 2022/2, 318.)

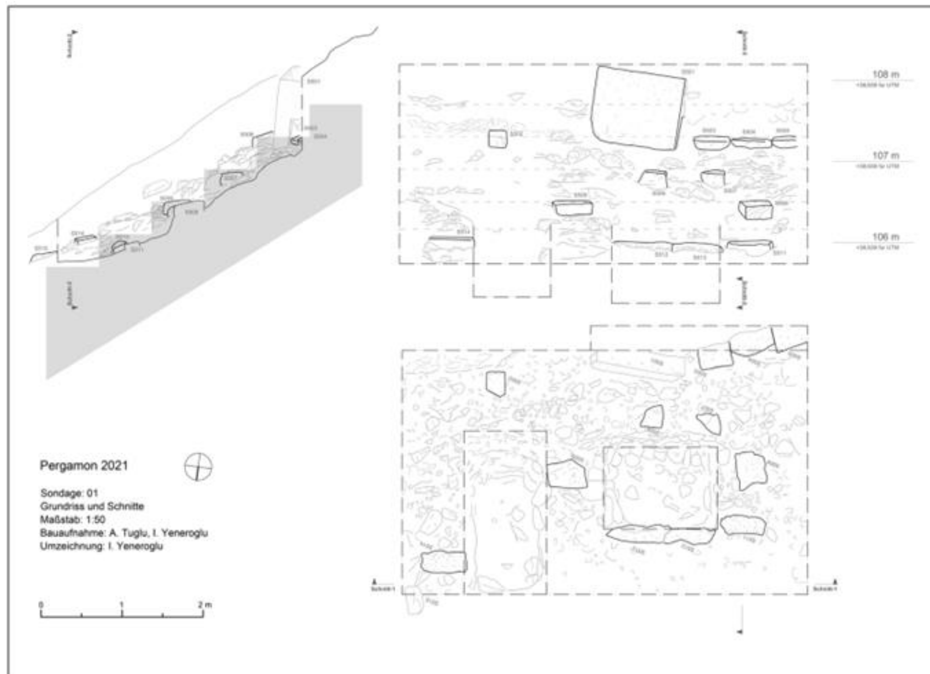


Figure 43: Pergamon Amphitheater Dig 1 in the *cavea* (Pirson et al 2022, 320)

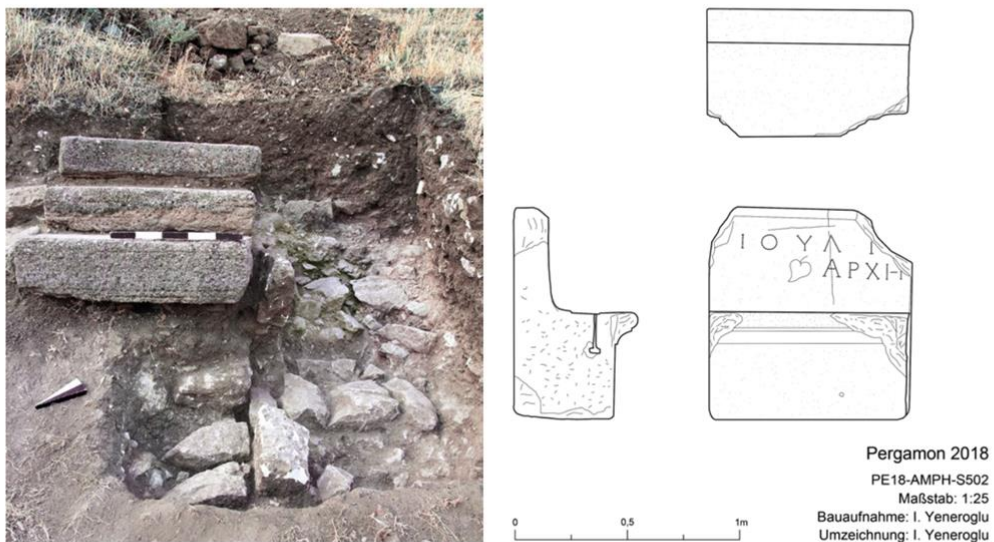


Figure 44: Dig 11 in Amphitheater of Pergamon showing steps of the Cavea (left) Seating with Inscriptions (right) (Pirson et al 2020, 178)

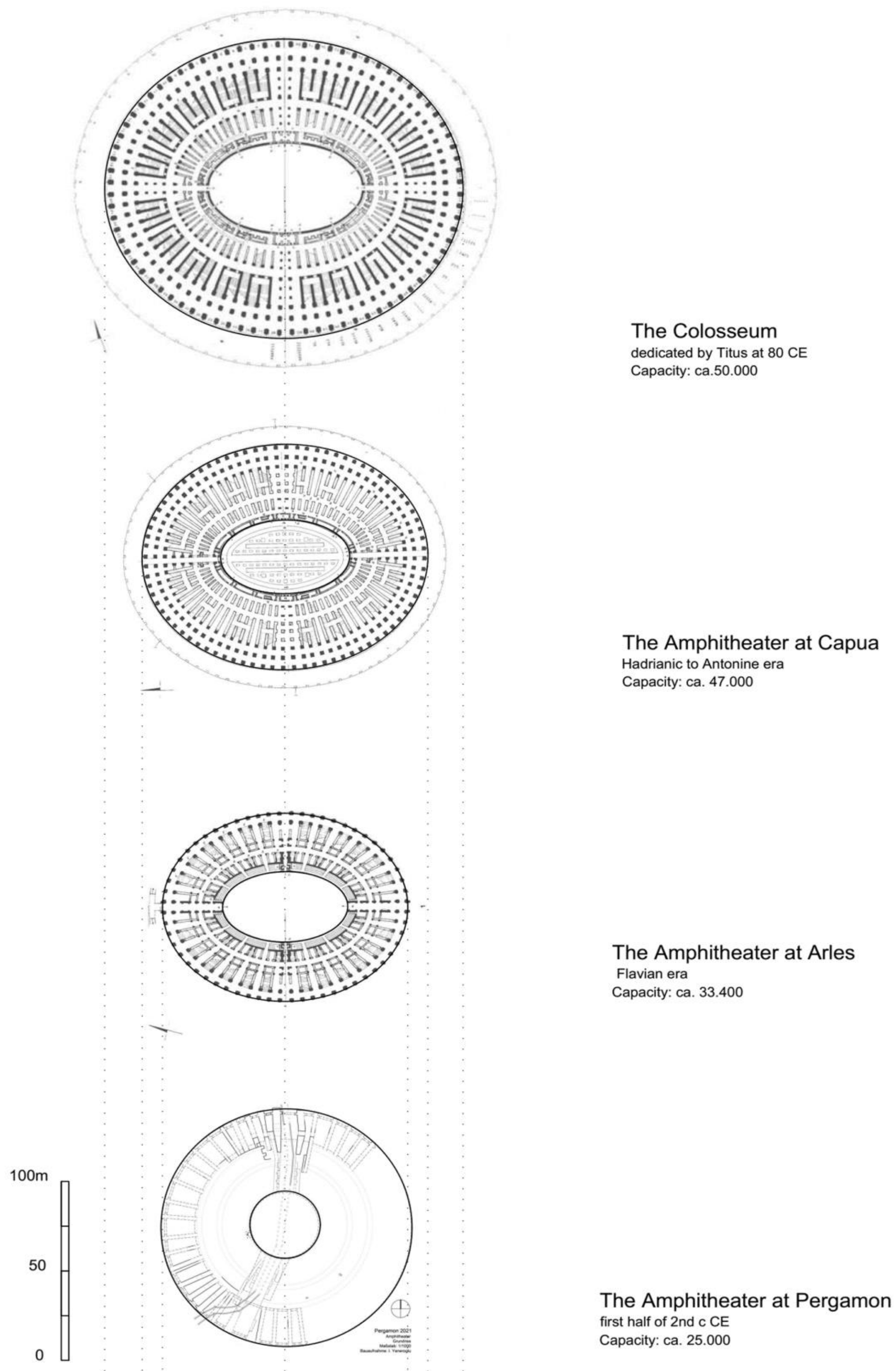


Figure 45: Visual Chart 1 by the author (Golvin Planche XXXVI, Planche XL, Planche XXXV, 1; Pirson et al 2022, 318)

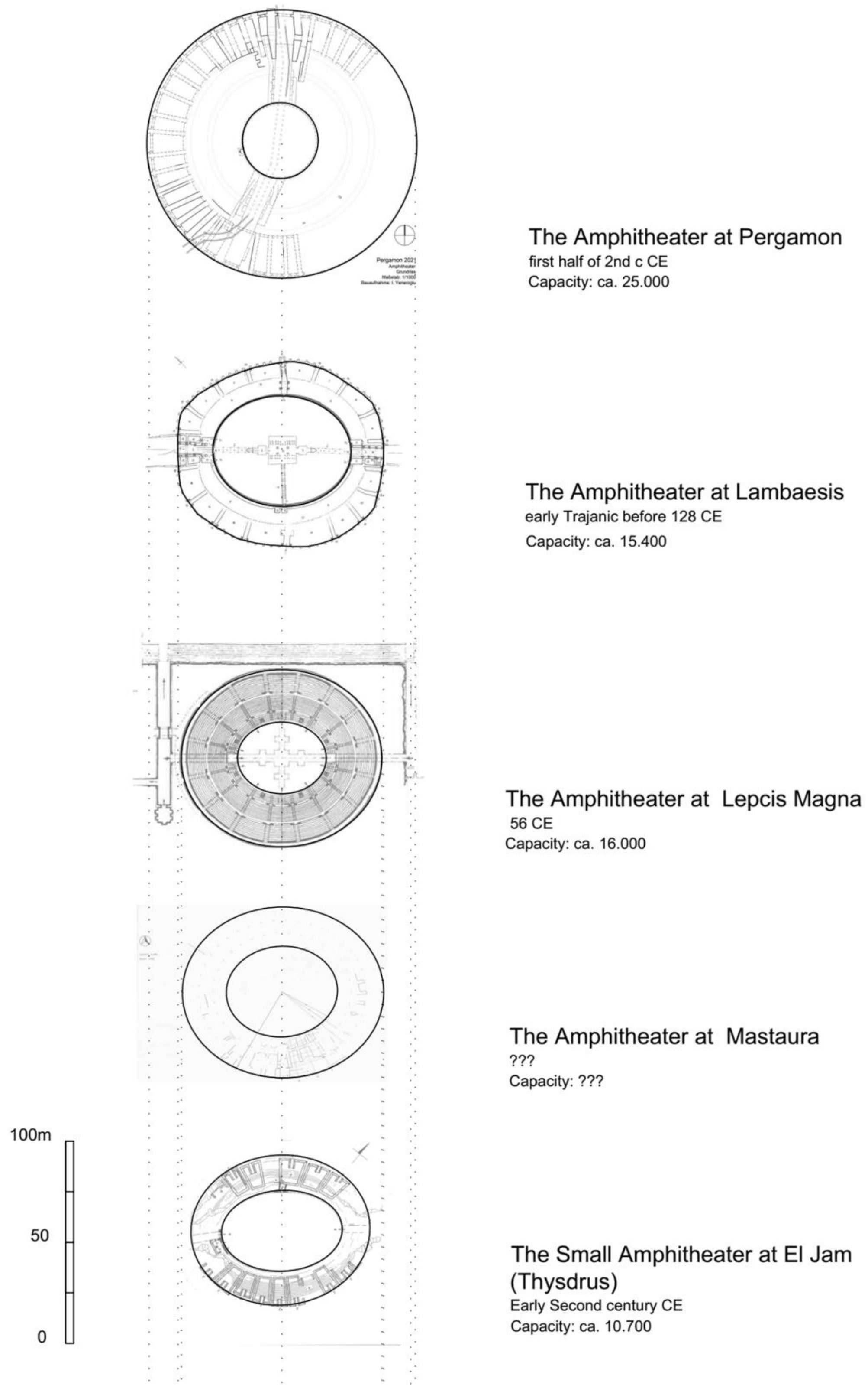


Figure 46: Visual Chart 2 by the author (Pirson et al 2022, 318, Golvin Planche XIII, Planche XLIV, 2; Akkurnaz 2022, 39; Golvin Planche XXVIV,1)

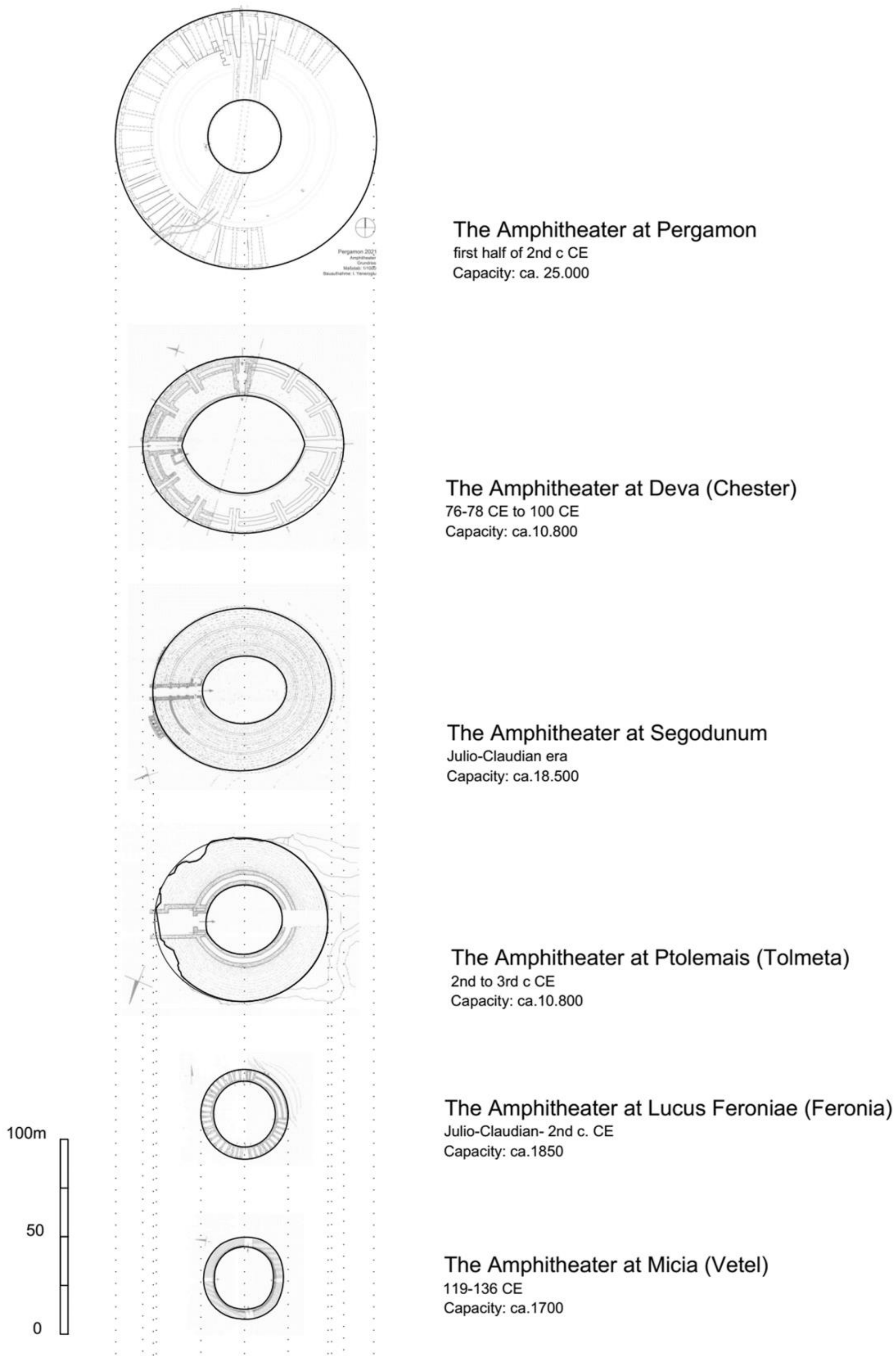


Figure 47: Visual Chart 3 by the author (Pirson et al 2022, 318; Golvin Planche XII, 1; Planche VIII,2; Planche XX, 2; Planche XII, 4)

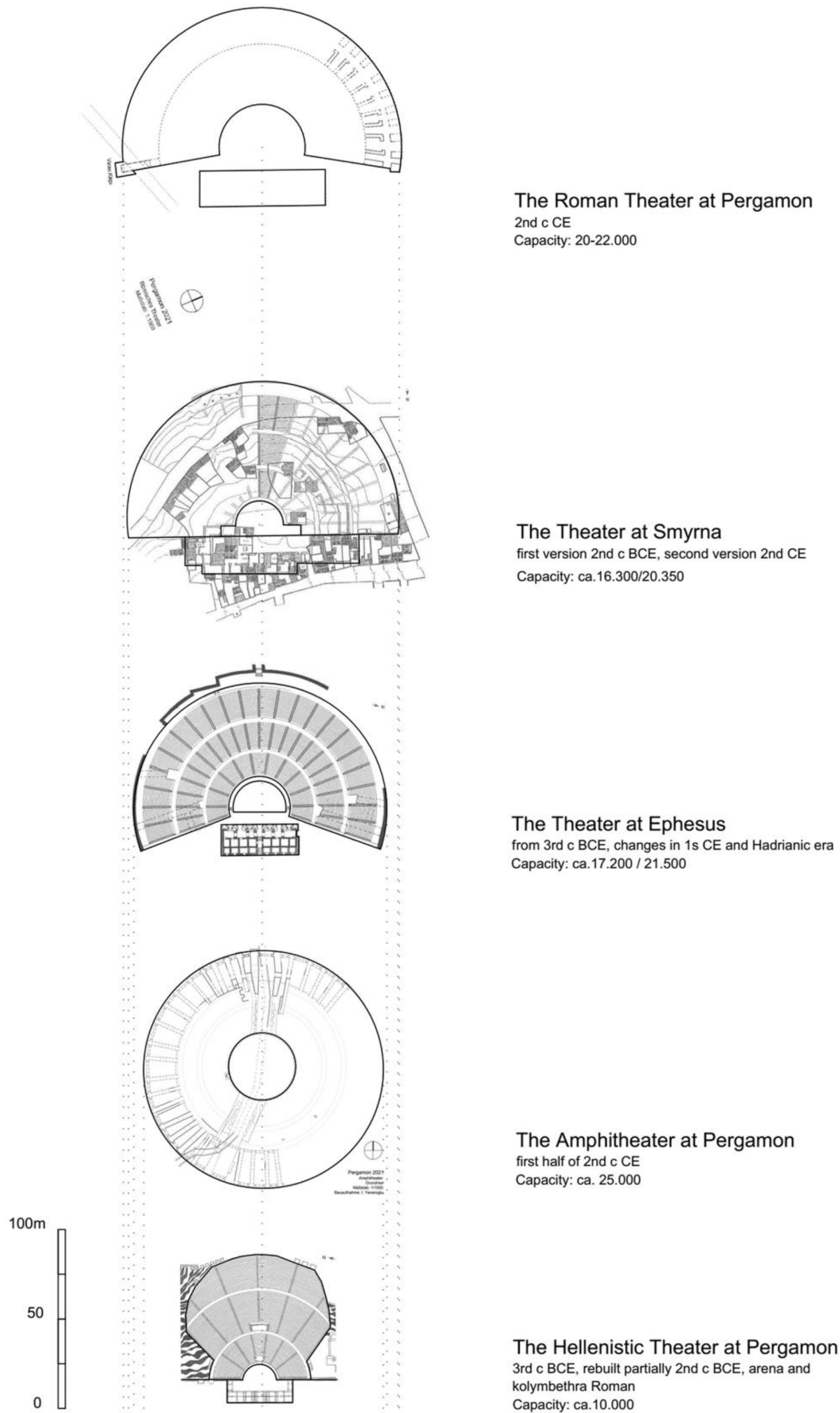


Figure 48: Visual Chart 4 by the author (Pirson et al 2022, 323, Sear 393, Ibid 335, Pirson et al 2022, 318; Sear 347)

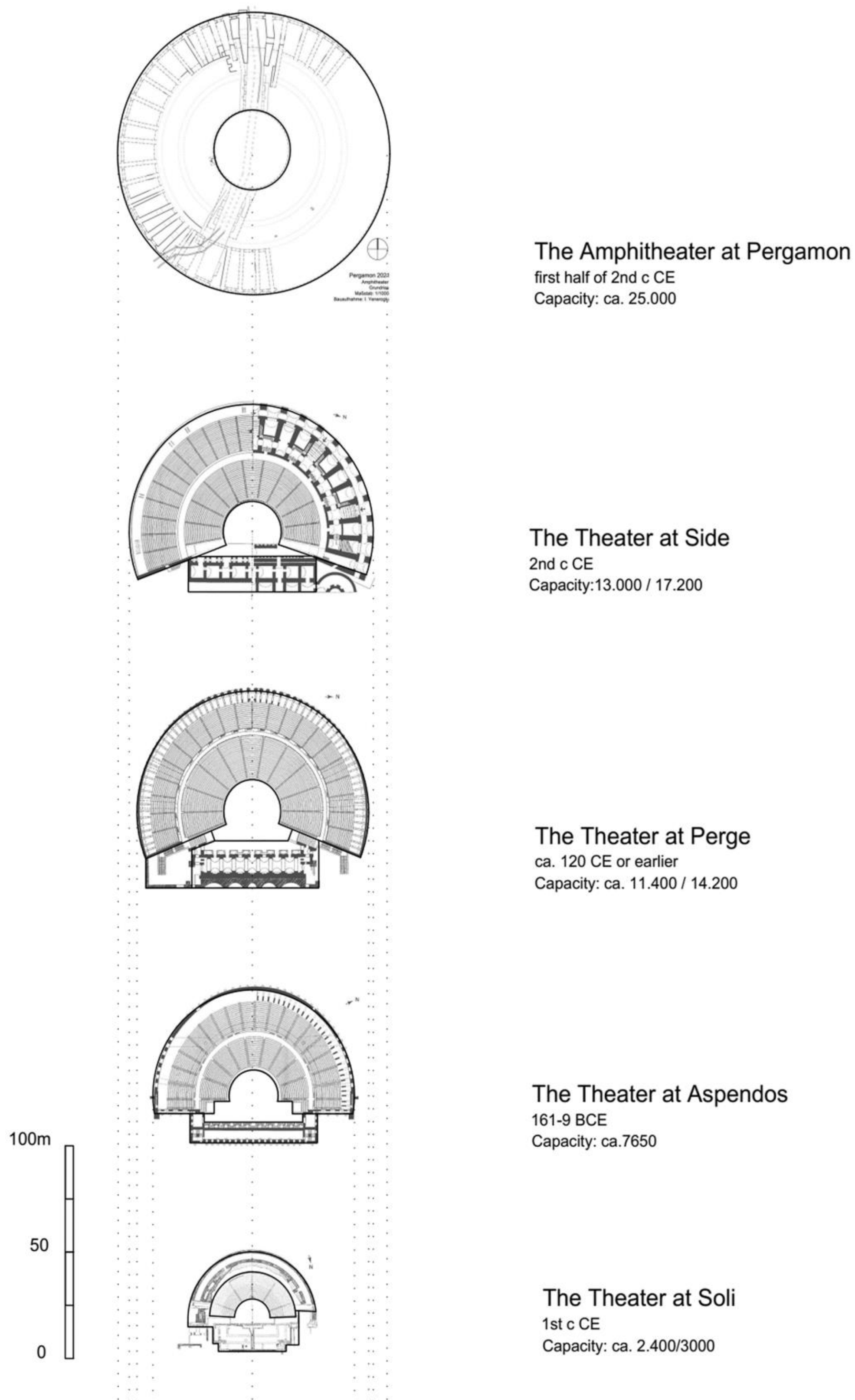


Figure 49: Visual Chart 5 by the author (Pirson et al 2022, 318, Sear 418, 413, 408, 384)

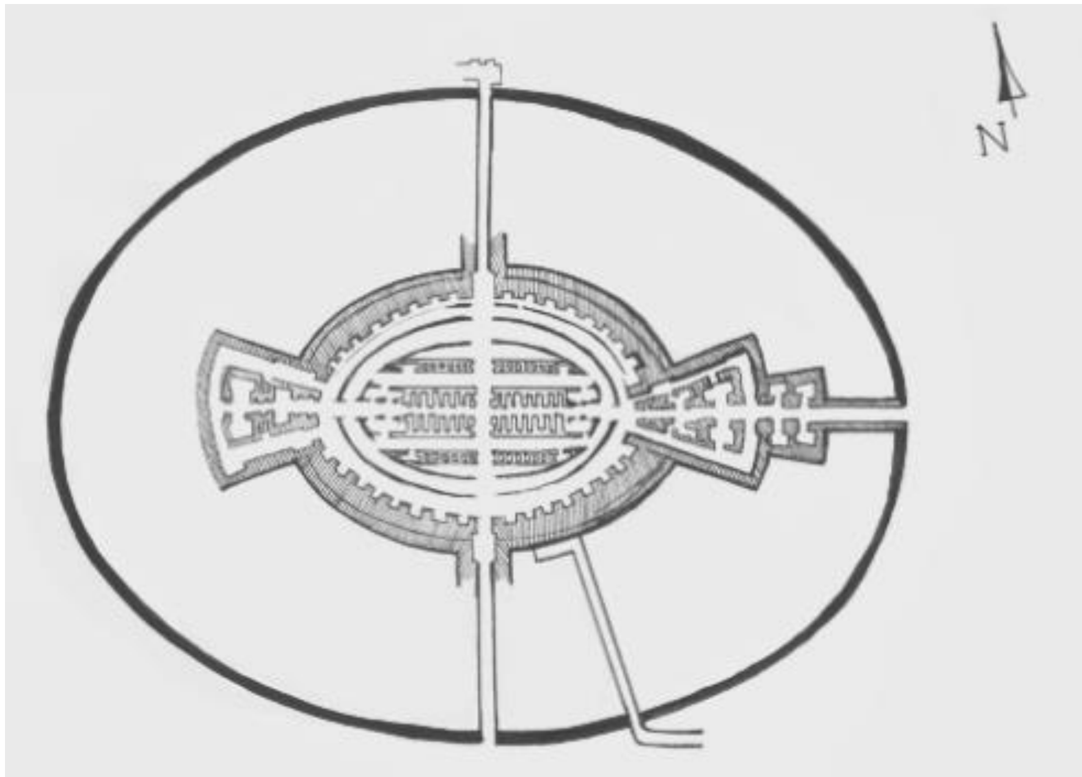


Figure 50 The Substructures of the Colosseum showing the underground passage to south east (Elkins 2019, 57)

Figure 51: Sesterius of Augustus depicting Altar of Lugdunum with the processional busts (Elkins 2014, 79)

Figure 52: A *denarius* of Titus from 80 CE showing Titus in the obverse and a draped seat surrounded by winged thunderbolt on the reverse (Elkins 2019, 59)

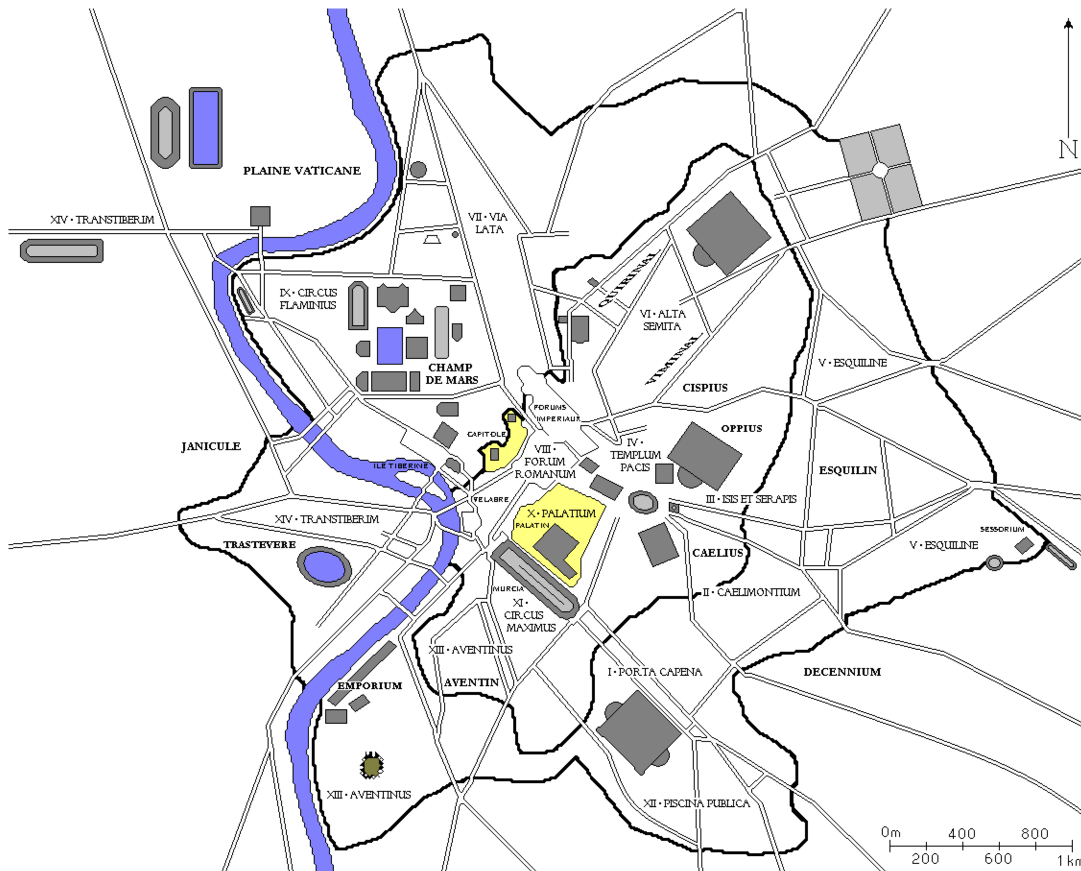


Figure 53: Plan of Ancient Rome (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Planrome.png)

Figure 54: Elkins' Plan showing the Flavian Constructions around the Colosseum, the main focus are 1: The Colosseum and the underground passage, 2: The Temple of Deified Claudius, 3: The Baths of Titus, 4: The Meta Sudans, 5: The Arch of Titus, 6: The Ludus Magnus, 7: The Ludus Matutinus, 8: The Ludus Dacicus, 9: The Castra Misenatum, 10: The Armamentarium (Elkins 2019, 74)

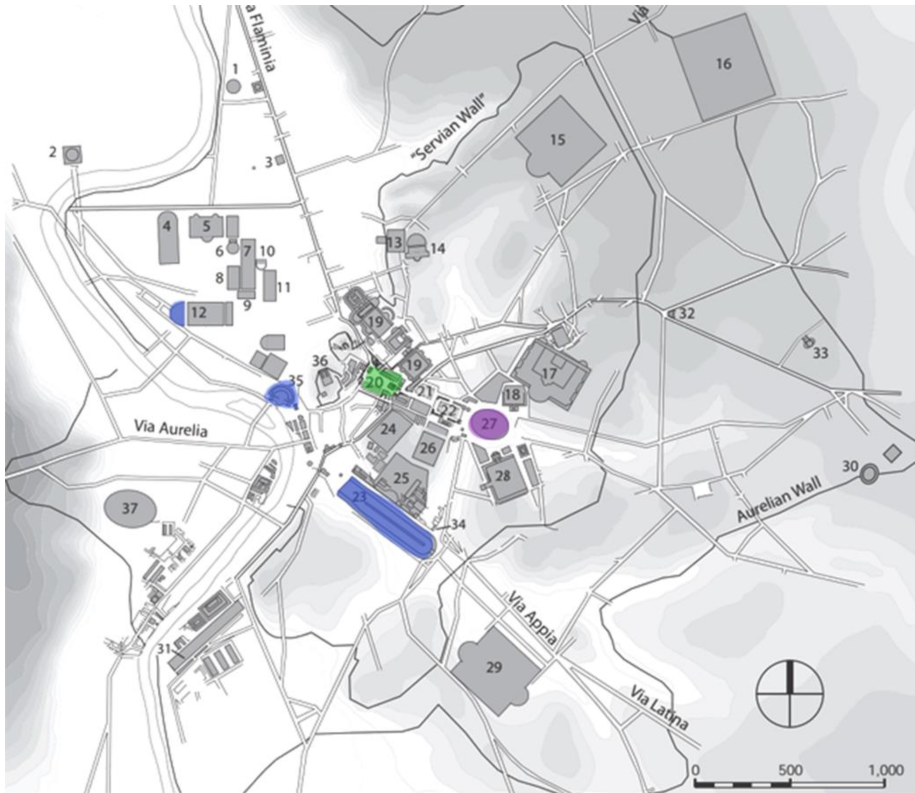
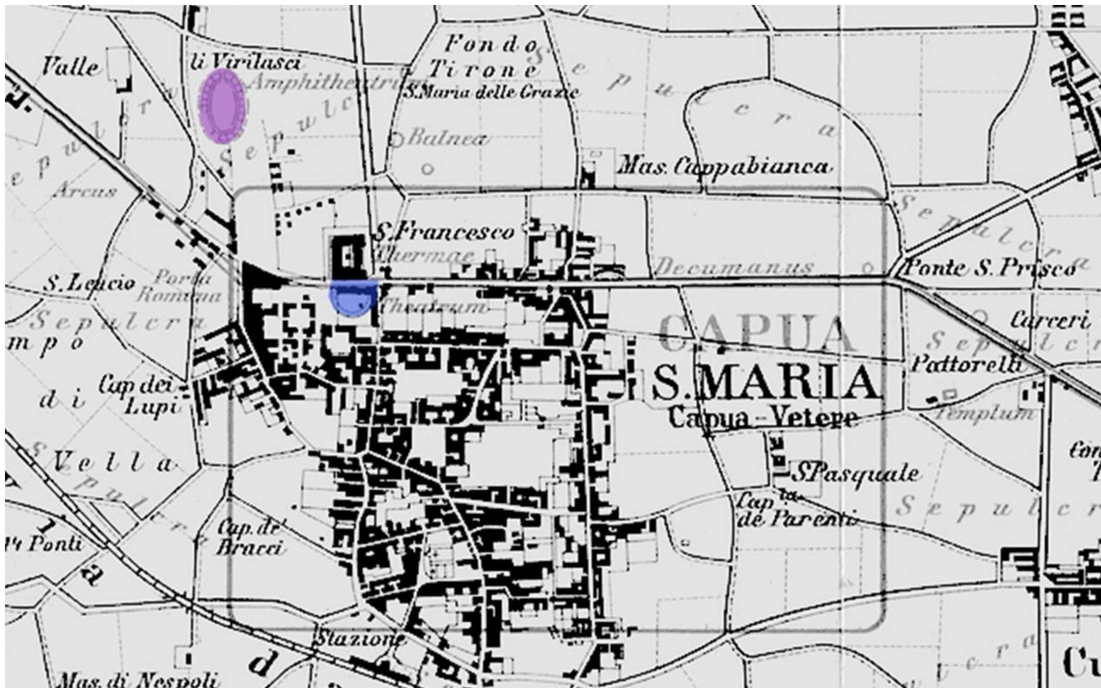


Figure 55: Urban Chart 1 by the author; Rome (top) and Pergamon (bottom)
(Fikret Yegül, Diane Favro. *Roman Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 301; Digitale Karte von Pergamon 1.1 (DAI 2020) edited by the author)



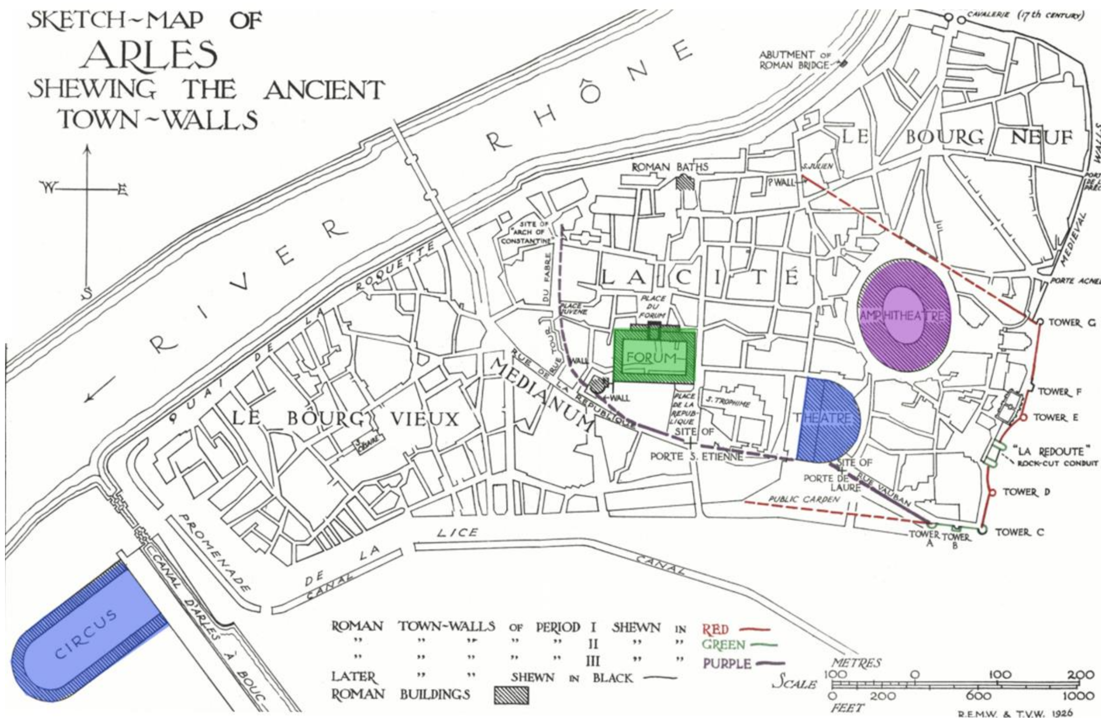


Figure 56: Urban Chart 2 by the author; Capua (top) and Arles (bottom) (https://amphi-theatrum.de/1368.html; R. E. M. Wheeler, "The Roman Town-Walls of Arles: and a Note on Other Roman Town-Walls in Gaul and Britain" *The Journal of Roman Studies,* 1926, Vol. 16 (1926), fig. 56 edited by the author)

Figure 57: Urban Chart 3 by the author; Lambaesis (top) and Lepcis Magna (bottom) (Michel Janon,"LAMBAESIS: Ein Überblick" *Antike Welt, 1977,* Vol. 8, No. 2 (1977), 2,6; Philip Kenrick, *Liba Archaeological Guides: Tripolitania.* (British Institute for Libyan and Northern African Studies, 2009), 86 edited by the author

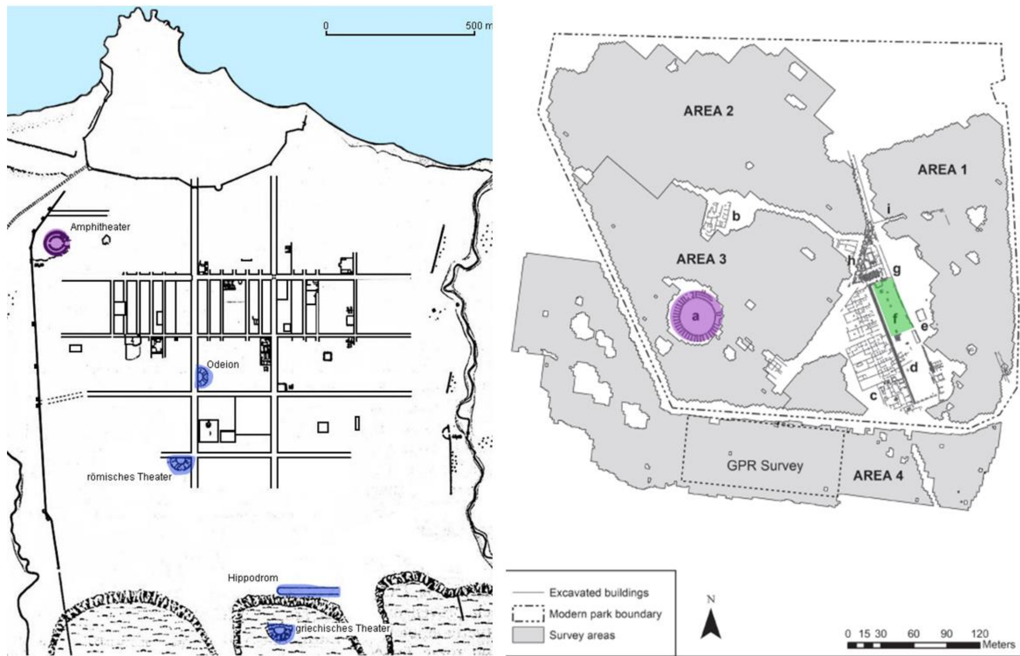


Figure 58: Urban Chart 4 by the author; Deva (Chester) (top), Ptolmeais (Tolmata) (bottom left) and Lucus Feroniae (bottom right) (Thomas H. Watkins, "Roman Legionary Fortresses and the Cities of Modern Europe" *Military Affairs*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Feb., 1983), 17, https://www.theatrum.de/2231.html, Stephen Kay, Sophie Hay and Christopher Smith. "From Sanctuary to Settlement: Mapping the Development of Lucus Feroniae through Geophysical Prospection" in *Roman Urbanism in Italy: Roman Urbanism in Italy* ed. Alessandro Launaro (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2024), 122 edited by the author)

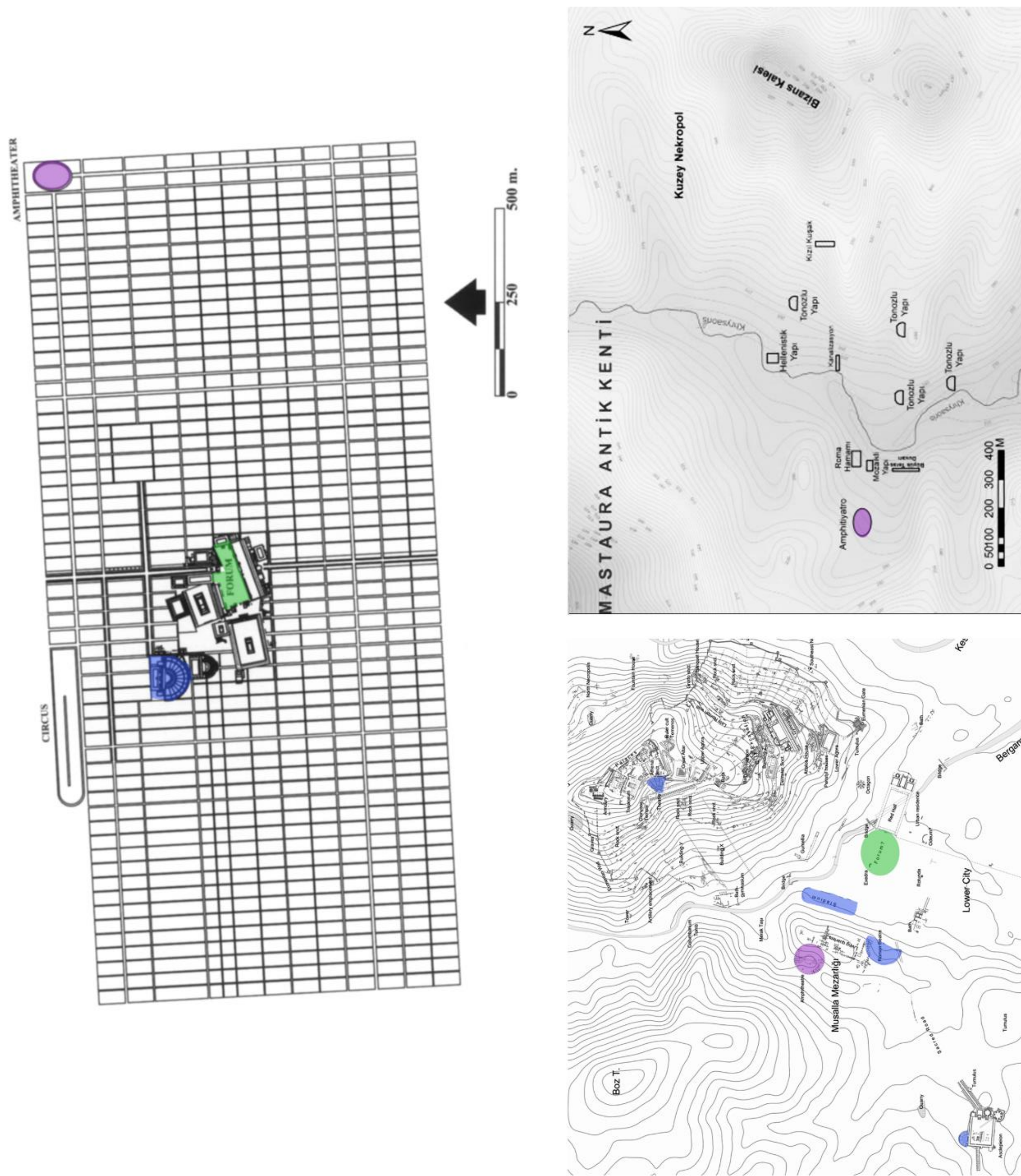


Figure 59: Urban Chart 5 by the author; Corinth (top), Pergamon (bottom left) and Mastaura (bottom right) (David Gilman Romano, “City Planning, Centuriation, and Land Division in Roman Corinth: Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis & Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis” *Corinth* , 2003, Vol. 20, Corinth, The Centenary: 1896-1996 (2003), 286; Digitale Karte von Pergamon 1.1 (DAI 2020); Akkurnaz 2022, 30 edited by the author

Figure 60: Plan of Pergamon (Digitale Karte von Pergamon 1.1 (DAI 2020))

Figure 61: View of the Acropolis with Trajeneum (Photo by the author)

Figure 62: The Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan in Pergamon aka Trajaneum (Photo by the author)

Figure 63: The Pediment of the Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamon (Photo by the Author)

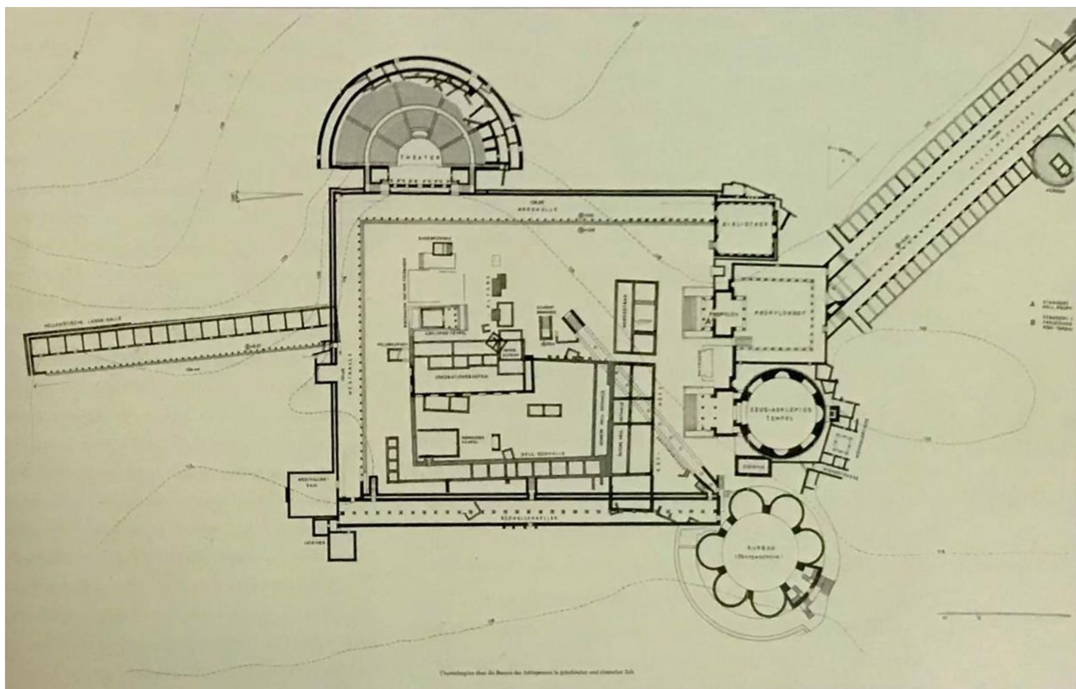


Figure 64: The Plan of Roman era Asclepieion (Ziegenaus 1970, Riethmüller, 501)

Figure 65: The Red Hall in Pergamon (Photo by the author)

Figure 66: One of the rotundas of the Red Hall in Pergamon (Photo by the author)

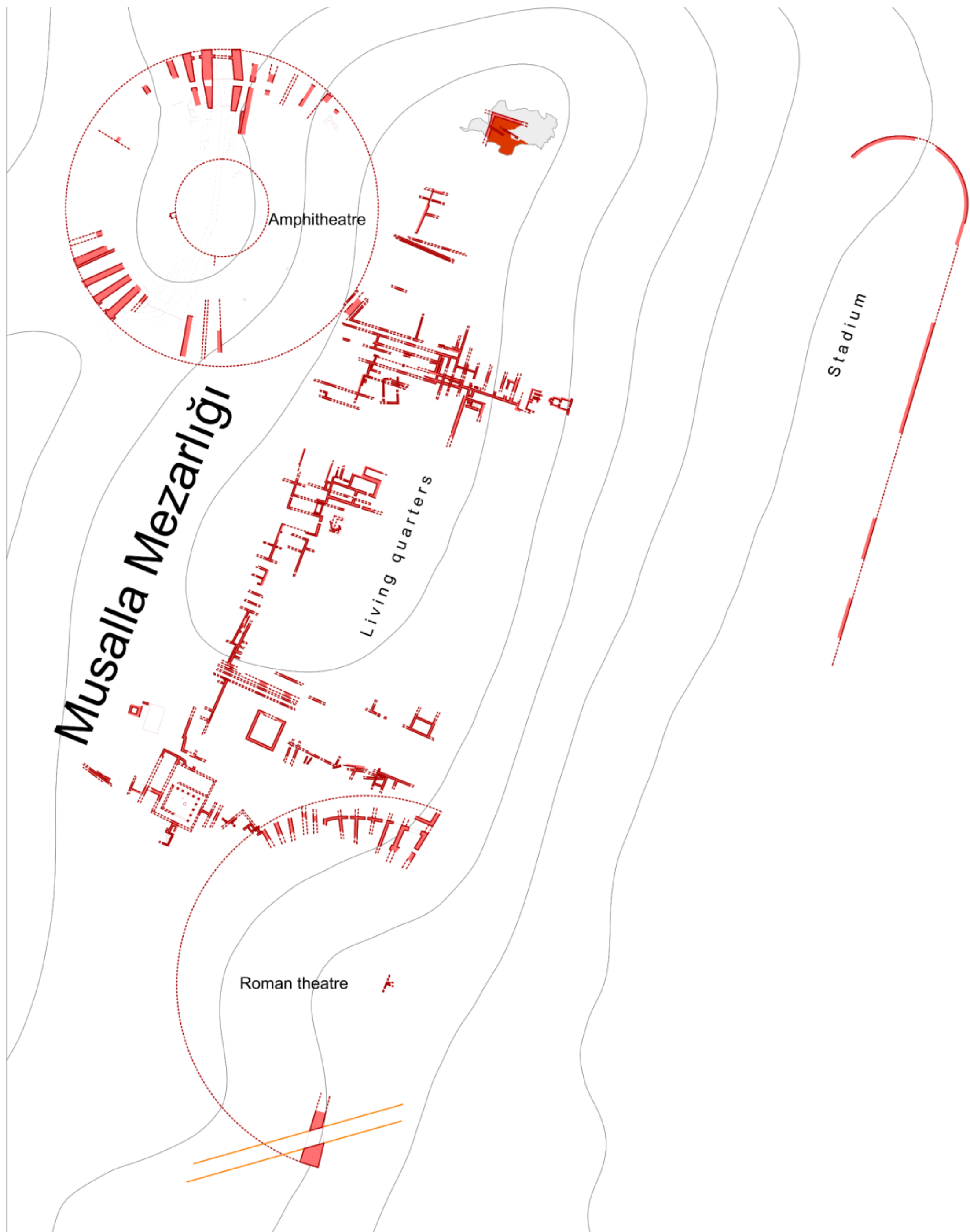


Figure 67: The Area of the Amphitheater called Musalla Mezarlığı (Digitale Karte von Pergamon 1.1 (DAI 2020))

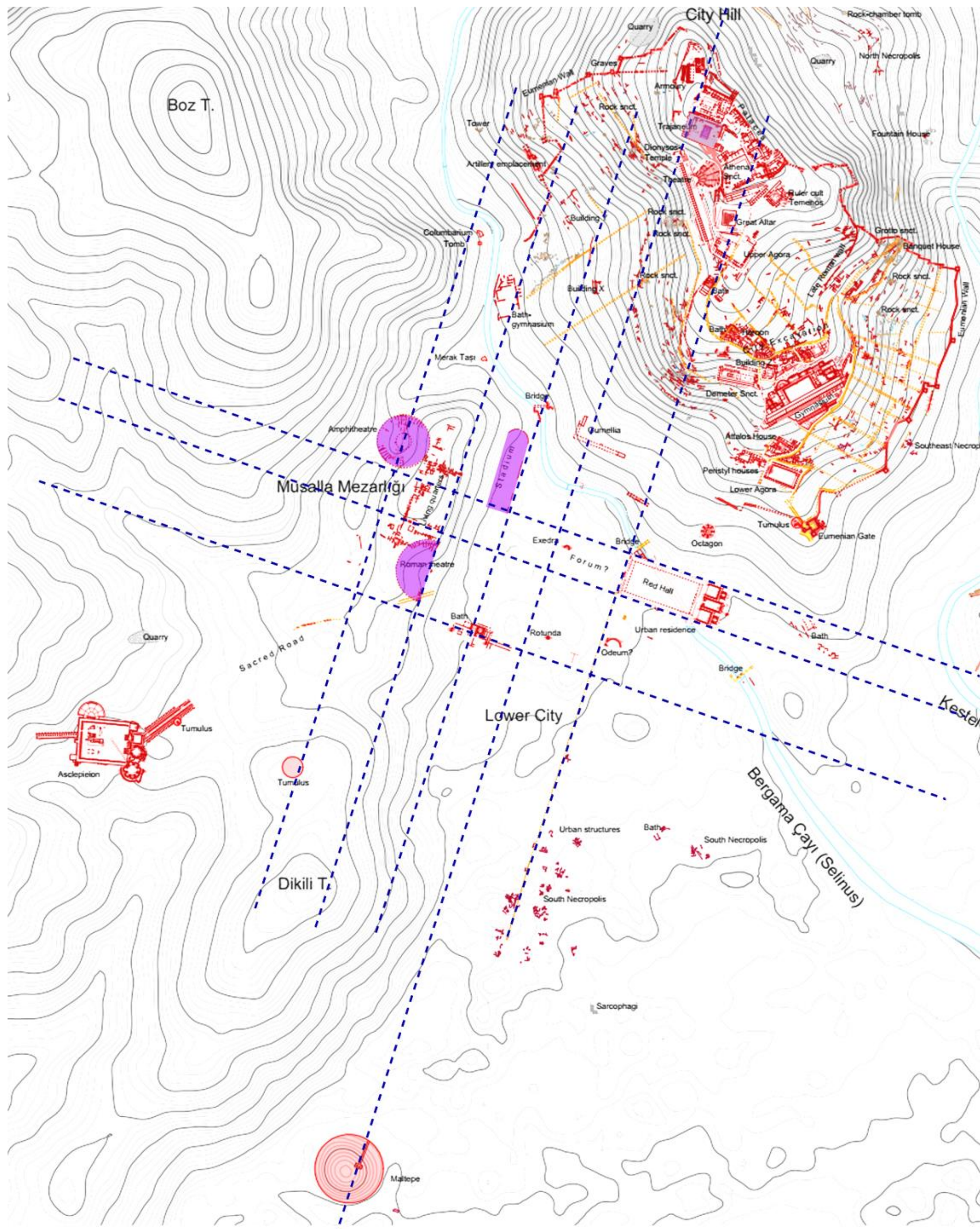


Figure 68: Plan of Roman Pergamon showing the alignment of Major buildings in the Roman grid (Digitale Karte von Pergamon 1.1 (DAI 2020) edited by the author)

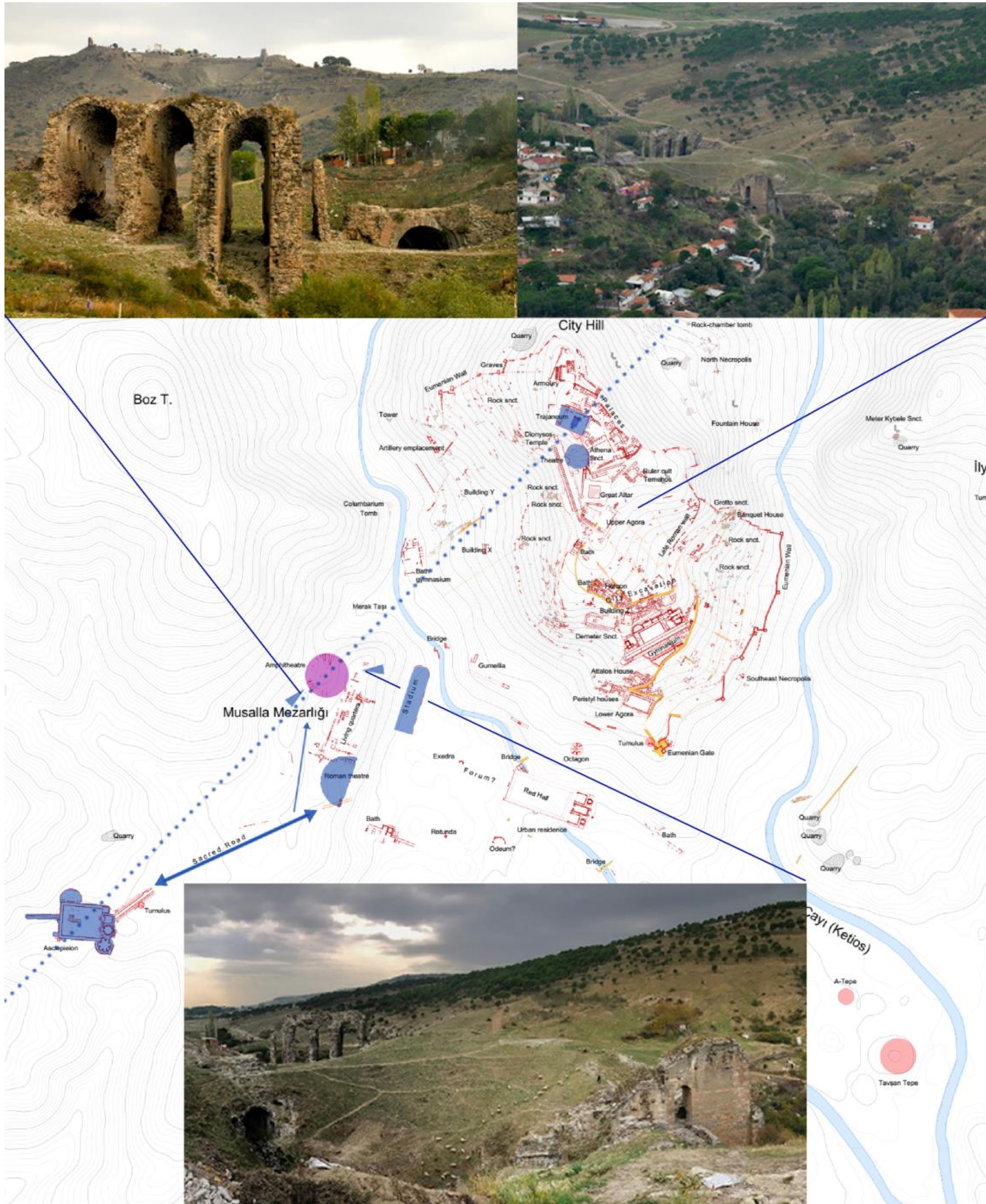


Figure 69: Analysis of sight lines and the axis between the Asclepieion, the amphitheater and the Trajaneum (Digitale Karte von Pergamon 1.1 (DAI 2020) edited by the author)

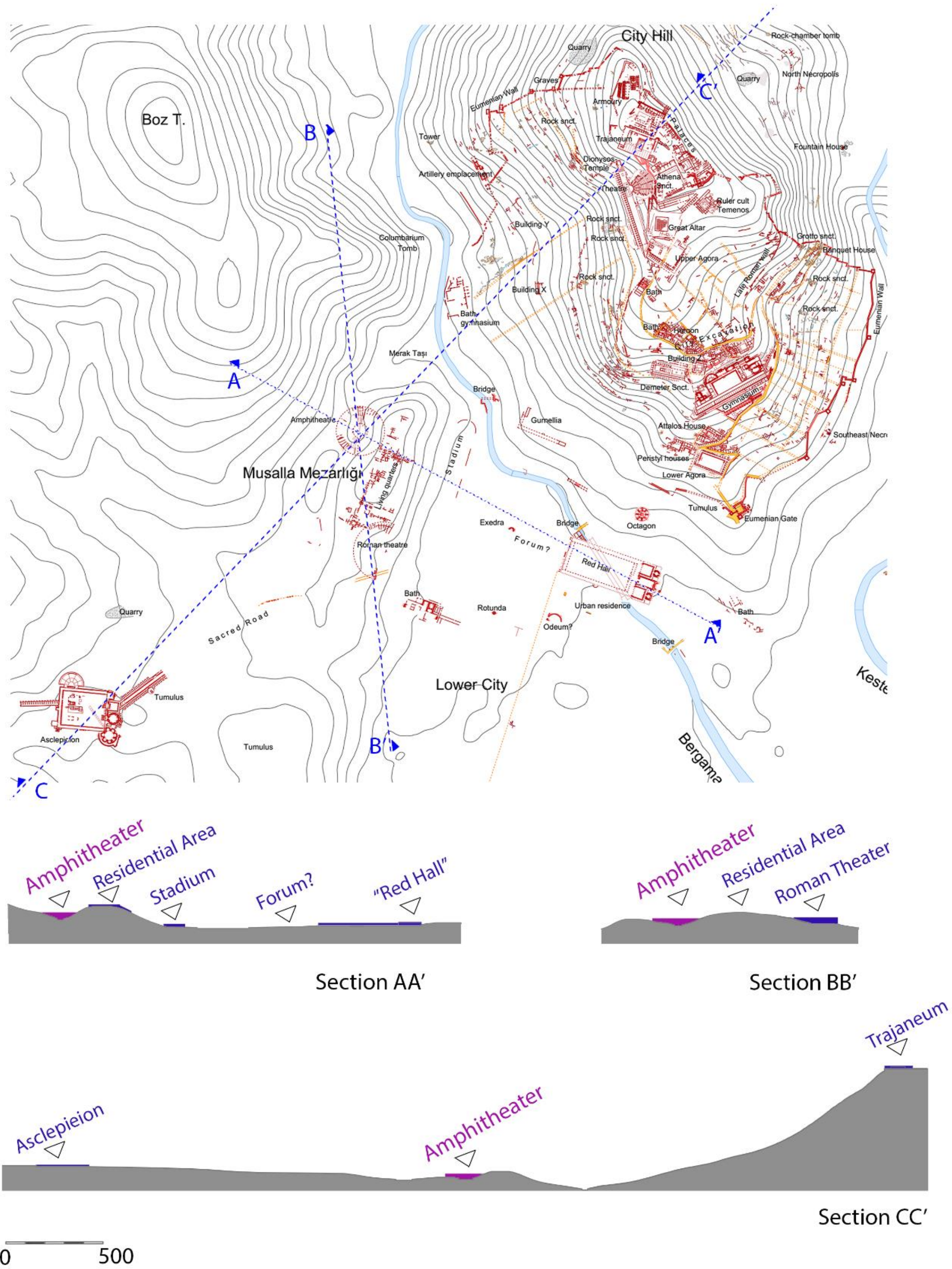


Figure 70: Topographical Sections of the Pergamene Amphitheater by the author; AA', BB' and CC' as shown on the city map (Digitale Karte von Pergamon 1.1 (DAI 2020) edited by the author)

APPENDICES

A. CURRICULUM VITAE

AYSE BIKE BAYKARA

EDUCATION

PHD in History of Architecture, Middle East Technical University

ongoing

M.S. in Architectural Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Dec. 2016

M.A. in History of Architecture, Middle East Technical University
Jun. 2012

- Thesis: "The Entertainment Structures of Roman Pergamon" supervised by Prof Suna Guven

B.Arch. in Architecture, Middle East Technical University
Jun. 2009

- Graduated with honors

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

2015-2016

- ARCH 417: 20th Century Architecture, for Jennifer Burns
- ARCH 210: Introduction to History of Architecture, for Heather Grossman
- ARCH 412: Medieval Architecture, for Heather Grossman

Teaching and Research Assistant, Koc University

2012-2013

- HUM 104: Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, for Cigdem Maner
- ARHA 221: The Art of the Mediterranean and European Civilizations: Ancient to Pre-Modern, for Cigdem Maner

Coordinating Committee; Erlanger Evenings, UIUC

2014-2016

Coordinating Committee; ARHA Graduate Symposium, Koc University

2012-2013

CONFERENCE AND PRESENTATIONS

Settlement Archaeology Symposium Series VII: Adaptation and Resistance

May 2018

- "The Amphitheatre as a Space of Adaptation and Resistance in Roman Pergamon"
- Published as part of "Settlement Archaeology Series 8" by Ege Yayınları, Istanbul in 2021

SAH 2016 Annual International Conference: New Local/Global Infrastructures

April 2016

- "Performing Changing Identities: The Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamon"
-

Erlanger Evenings

October 2015

- **"**Politics of the Amphitheatre"

FIELD EXPERIENCE

Bogsak Archeological Survey
August 2012-September 2012

Labraunda Archeological Excavation
July 2011-August 2011

Soli-Pompeiopolis Archeological Excavation
June 2011-July 2011

Asmira Mimarlik ve Restorasyon Burosu (Architecture and Restoration Office)
July 2009-August 2009

Senel Mimarlik Burosu (Architectural Office)
July 2008-August 2008

AWARDS

Malcolm Jaseph Scholarship

2016

Alan K. and Leonarda F. Laing Memorial Fellowship

2013-2015

Ustun Basari Bursu (Exceptional Success Fellowship) in Koc University

2012-2013

SKILLS

Computer: AutoCAD, 3d Studio Max, Photoshop, Word, PowerPoint

Languages: English: Advanced, German: Intermediate, Italian: Intermediate, Latin: Beginner, Ancient Greek: Beginner

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Amfitiyatro Roma değerlerini ve ideolojisini sergileyen aynı zamanda da Roma sosyal düzenini üreten ve devam ettiren emsalsız bir Roma yapısıydı. Bir amfitiyatro, Anadolu'daki sadece dört amfitiyatrodan biri, Bergama'da bulunur. Bergama, antik Pergamon, Hellenistik Attalid Krallığının başkenti idi ve Hellenistik sanat ve mimarlığının en önemli merkezlerinden biri olarak bilinir. Ancak bahsedildiği gibi amfitiyatro spesifik olarak bir Roma yapısıydı, özellikle Roma kiliğini yansıtan be aynı zamanda şekillendiren bir yapıydı. O zaman neden Pergamon'da bir amfitiyatro vardı?

Bu çalışmanın amacı bu soruyu ve devamını Romalı sosyo-kültürel sistemleri ve kültürel değişim aletleri göz önüne alınarak Bergama bağlamında cevaplamak. Ancak kültürel etkileşimler hiç bir zaman tek yönlü gitmez. Bu özellikle Romalı kiliği taşıyan binanın Hellenistik bir şehirde varlığını anlamak için sadece Bergama değil Roma'yı ve aralarındaki ilişkiyi incelemek gerekir. Demek ki Hellenistik ve Roma dönemi Bergamayı anlamak için cumhuriyet ve imparatorluk dönemi Roma'sını da anlamak gerekli. Bu durumu göz önüne alarak, bu tez çalışması da Rome ve Bergama bağlantısını göz önüne alarak iki şehrin amfitiyatrolarını karşılaştırmakta. Bu ilişki iki amfitiyatro'yu da incelemek ve yeni perspektifler sunma amacıya ele alınmakta.

Genel olarak bu çalışma, amfitiyatro ve Roma oyunlarına odaklanarak Roma kimliğini inşa etme, sürdürme ve bozma konusundaki yaygın çerçeveleri, araçları ve etkenleri sorgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Daha geniş kültürel ve sosyo-politik çerçeveler ve Flavianus ile Pergamon amfitiyatrolarının karşılaştırılması, hem İmparatorluğun farklı bölgelerinde aynı daha büyük imparatorluk çerçevelerinin ve araçlarının kullanımını hem de bu etkenlerin hepsinin birlikte özel, bireysel ve farklı Romalı kimlikleri yaratırken nasıl farklı şekillerde çalışabileceğini vurgulayacaktır.. Bu karşılaştırmalı yaklaşım, Roma'da ve Bergama'da "Romalı" olmanın Roma İmparatorluğu ve "Romalı" kimliği şemsiyesi altında nasıl çok benzer sosyo-politik yapılar içerisinde

inşa edilip sürdürülebileceğini, ancak aynı zamanda şehirlere özgü kendi benzersiz bağlamları içinde farklı benlik algılarıyla da sonuçlanabileceğini vurgulayacaktır.

Bu amaçla bu çalışma beş bölümden oluşur: Politika ve Amfitiyatro, Roma ile Bergama Arasında, Romanizasyon, Bergama Amfitiyatrosu ve Kentsel Fizyonomi. Roma oyunları, ister gladyatör oyunları ister hayvan avı olsun, birbiriyle etkileşime giren ve birbirini etkileyen karmaşık bir sosyo-politik ve kültürel önem ve değerler dizisini çağrıştırıyordu. Bunlar Roma değerlerinin ve Romalılık fikirlerinin hem bağlamı hem de metniydi.

Roma oyunlarının kökeni uzun zamandır tarışılan bir konu olmuştur, ancak çalışmadaki iki ana hipotez Etrüsk kökenlidir veya daha sonra Etrüskler aracılığıyla aktarılan Kampanya ve Lucinya kökenlidir. En eskisi M.Ö. 264'te kaydedilen bilinen en eski gladyatör oyunları, soylu sınıfın Roma cenazelerinin bir parçasıydı. Bu, Roma'nın aktif askeri genişlemesinin başlangıcıydı, dolayısıyla kendini tanımlama ihtiyacının potansiyel olarak daha da arttığı bir dönemdi. Roma'daki siyasi sistem de değişmekteydi. Gösteriler Cumhuriyetin ortalarından sonlarına kadar daha sık devam etti. Popülerlikleri ve ihtişamlarıyla siyasi hareketler için çok uygun araçlardı. Gladyatör grupları aynı zamanda bireysel siyasi gündemleri ilerletmek için sıklıkla kişisel çeteler olarak da kullanılıyordu. Senato, oyunları sınırlı bir başarı ile kontrol etmek için birkaç kez çaba gösterdi. Augustus'la başlayarak imparatorluk döneminde oyunlar merkezileştirilip sistemleştirilirken gösteriler kısıtlandı ve daha fazla kontrol edildi. Roma siyasetinin eski rekabetçi doğası, liderliğin merkezileşmesiyle azaldı.

En eski kanıtlar, oyunların ilk önce Forum Boarium'da, daha sonra ise daha sık olarak Forum Romanum'da düzenlendiğini gösteriyor. Birçok bilim adamı, amfitiyatronun oval şeklinin, geçici ahşap yapıların tekrar tekrar inşa edilmesi yoluyla Forum Romanum'un alışılmadık şekline borçlu olduğunu savundu. Oval form, eylem ve hareket ihtiyacının yanı sıra hiyerarşik toplumsal düzene de hizmet ediyordu. Ancak en eski kalıcı amfitiyatrolar Roma'da değil, Kampanya ve Güney İtalya'daydı. Roma'nın kendisi Statilius Taurus'un amfitiyatrosu M.Ö. 30'a yüzyıllar boyunca kalıcı bir amfitiyatroya sahip değildi. Bu bina MS 64 yılındaki yangın sırasında yıkıldığı için muhtemelen en azından kısmen ahşaptı. İkincisi, Roma Dünyasının bilinen tüm

amfitiyatrolarının en büyüğü ve en etkileyicisi olan ve halk arasında Kolezyum olarak da bilinen Flavian Amfitiyatrosu'ydu.

Arena oyunları, gördüğümüz gibi, önemli politik araçlardı ve daha sonra imparatorun yetki alanı içinde merkezileştirildi. Ancak arena oyunlarının Roma halkını cezbetmek amacıyla eğlence olmanın ötesinde çok daha fazla sosyo-politik işlevi, anlamı ve değeri vardı. Daha sonra askeri ahlak, beceri ve dayanıklılığın yanı sıra emperyal erişim ve kabiliyet de sürekli hatırlatıcı olarak ön plana çıkarıldı. Bu, oyuncular ve savaşçılar, çeşitli izleyiciler ve zamanın egemen ideolojisine hizmet eden mimarinin bir araya getirilmesiyle sağlandı.

Başta gladyatörler olmak üzere oyuncular, Roma toplumunda hem dışlanmış hem de popüler figürlerdi. Gözden düşmüş statülerine rağmen senato, senatörlerin ve equites'in kumlardaki gladyatörlere katılmasını engellemek için çeşitli yasalar çıkarmak zorunda kaldı. Onlar aynı anda hukuk içinde ve hukuk dışı öznelerdi. Öte yandan Hayvan Avları, *Venationes*, Roma'nın erişim alanının genişlemesi ve uygar Romalıların doğal dünya üzerindeki kontrolünü ve insanlığın hayvanlara karşı zaferini gösteren nüfuzunun genişlemesiyle ortaya çıktıkça ve genişledikçe özellikle güçlü ideolojik kimlik kazandılar. Özel infazlar da imparatorluk döneminde sıklıkla arena gösterilerine dahil edildi. Roma hukukuna göre cezanın amacı yalnızca sosyal hiyerarşiyi yansıtmak değil, aynı zamanda işlevsel olarak eşitsizliği ve ilgili suçların sonuçlarını hatırlatmaktı. Gösteri haline getirilen infazlar görsel ve sosyal etkisini daha da artırdı; böylece imparatorluk adaleti güçlendirildi ve toplumsal düzene eklemlendi.

Seyircilere dönersek, arena gösterilerinin seyirciler için oynadığı önemli rollerden biri, kontrollü bir ortamda sınıflar arasında iletişim fırsatı sağlamasıydı. Arena artık sadece farklı sınıflar arasında değil, aynı zamanda İmparator ile doğrudan etkileşim için de bir alan sağlıyordu. Bu etkileşimler ayrıca kontrollü ve idealize edilmiş şiddetle dolu, bir ortamda gerilimlerin yönetilmesine yardımcı olabiliyordu. İmparator'a dönersek, arena aslında onu halk için okunabilir bir figür olarak ortaya çıkarmıştı. O, daha geniş siyasi sistemin en görünür unsuruydu ve bağlam olarak arena, insanların gösteriler sırasında onun kişiliğini gerçek zamanlı olarak okumasına izin verdi. Roma amfitiyatrosunun asıl gösterisi, arenada olduğu kadar seyirciler arasında da vardı.

Seyirci oturma yerleri geç Cumhuriyet döneminde yalnızca bölümler halinde ayrılmışken, Augustus'un lex Julia teatralis'i geçirmesinden sonra açıkça düzenlendi. Lex Julia theatralis, koltukları sosyal statü ve rütbeye göre atamayı hedefliyordu. Böylece koltuklar, arenaya en yakın bölümlerden başlayarak en yüksek rütbedeki kişiler için önemi azalan kişilerle yukarı doğru devam ederek rütbeye göre tahsis ediliyordu. Genel olarak, en iyi koltuklar senatörler ve imparatora aitti; ardından gelen equites arkasında plebler ve köleler, en yüksek kesimlerdeki azat edilmiş erkekler ve kadınlar vardı. Augustus yasası ve Flavianus amfitiyatrosundan elde edilen kanıtlara göre, Cavea'da idealize edilmiş bir toplumsal düzeni gösteriliyordu. Bu, Roma'daki ilişkilerin gerçek bir haritası değil, üretilen idealize edilmiş bir temsildi. Oturma alanındaki kişilerin bölümlemeleri oldukça görünür ve kolay okunabilir nitelikteydi ve kıyafetler sosyal statüyü ifade ediyordu. Seyirciler sadece gösteriyi değil birbirlerini de görebiliyor ve bireysel sosyal hareketliliğin nasıl ilerlediğini takip edebiliyordu. İzleyici, birbirleriyle ve mekânın kendisiyle olan görsel ilişkileri aracılığıyla birlikte ortaya çıkıyor ve belirleniyordu. Ancak bu tespit, amfitiyatronun idealize edilmiş yapay toplumsal yapılanmasının ürettiği bir "gerçek"ten başka bir şey değildi.

Amfitiyatro, yaklaşma anından itibaren dikkatle düzenlenmiş bir hareket ve dolaşım alanıydı. Numaralandırılmış girişler çeşitli dairesel galerilere, yürüyüş yollarına ve merdivenlere açılıyordu. Flavian Amfitiyatrosu'ndaki dolaşım sistemi oldukça karmaşık ve oldukça etkiliydi. Dahası, hiyerarşik ayrımda etkiliydi; senatörlerden pleblere kadar her grup, aralarında etkileşim olmaksızın dolaşım sisteminin farklı bölümlerini kullanıyordu.

Böylece, Roma Amfitiyatrosu, özellikle de Flavius amfitiyatrosu, Roma toplumunu çeşitli mekansal araçlarla, hareket, oturma düzeni veya görsel ilişkiler yoluyla inşa etti. Roma'nın Doğu'yla oldukça uzun ve karmaşık bir ilişkisi vardı. Bergama, Roma'nın Yunan anakarası ve Küçük Asya ile ilk etkileşimlerinin önemsiz bir parçası değildi. Dolayısıyla Roma'nın Doğu ile sosyal, politik ve kültürel etkileşimleri, Roma ile Bergama ve dolayısıyla Flavianus ve Bergama amfitiyatroları arasındaki özel ilişkiyi incelememizde büyük bir öneme sahiptir.

Yunanca konuşan topluluklarla tanışma Roma tarihinin erken dönemlerinde

başlamıştır, bu nedenle erken dönemde somut kanıtların olmaması nedeniyle kesin bir tahminde bulunmak zordur. Ancak Roma'nın Yunan anakarasıyla ilişkileri M.Ö. üçüncü yüzyılın sonlarında başladı ve Roma'nın Bergama ile ittifakı, kısa bir süre sonra İkinci Pön Savaşı sırasında başladı. Bu dönemde Roma kendisini Helen şehirlerinin özgürlüğünün savunucusu olarak konumlandırıyordu. Roma Cumhuriyeti, Yunanistan ve Küçük Asya üzerinde dolaylı etki yaratmayı seçti ve Bergama Krallığı, karşılıklı çıkarları için onun en önemli aracıydı. Bu, Bergama'nın son kralının Bergama Krallığı'nı Roma Halkına miras bıraktığı MÖ 133 yılına kadar süren yakın ve önemli bir ittifaktı. Bergama, dağılmasından sonra bile zengin Attalid hazinesinin etkisiyle ve yeni Asya eyaletinin yüksek potansiyel geliriyle Roma'yı etkilemiştir.

Roma'nın Yunanca konuşan topluluklarla etkileşimi ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan kültürel etki, özellikle M.Ö. 3. yüzyıldan sonra, bilim kapsamında "Roma'nın Helenleşmesi" olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu bakışta yunanca konuşulan Doğu ile artan temasın kültürde bir dönüşüme yol açtığı ileri sürülüyor. Artan ilgi ve nüfuz ile Roma'ya getirilen ganimetlerin ve malzemelerin etkisi kültürel açıdan oldukça önemliydi. Roma'da sanat eserlerinin kopyaları da büyük talep görüyordu. Mimarlık da bu etkiden arınmış değildi. Anıtsal mermer mimarinin ölçeği ve Doğu Akdeniz'in kentsel planlaması Roma'ya aşina değildi. Yunan şehirlerinin planlama yöntemlerinin, özellikle de ortogonal planlamanın, Roma planlamasını önemli ölçüde etkilediği belirtilebilir. Birçok yeni bina türü etkili oldu ancak Romalılar bunların biçimini, ölçeğini ve stilini değiştirdiler. Yalnızca Yunanistan ve Küçük Asya'dan sanat değil, aynı zamanda sanatçılar, zanaatkarlar, eğitimciler ve filozoflar da getirilmişti. Roma seçkinleri ve aileleri için Helen eğitimi, geç Cumhuriyet döneminde giderek yaygınlaştı. Artan kültürel etkiden dolayı da bazı rahatsızlıklar da vardı. Birçoğu bu yeni etkileri küçümsediğini iddia etti ve herhangi bir ilgi veya hayranlığı reddetti. Bazıları Roma kültüründeki bu değişikliklerin Roma değerlerine yönelik bir tehdit olduğunu savundu.

Ancak buradaki kültürel etkileşim ve güçler karmaşık ve çok yönlüydü. Ayrıca, bu dönemde "Yunan"ın ötesinde çok çeşitli kültürlerin de Roma'yı etkilendiğini unutmamalıyız. Kültürel alışveriş, Yunanistan'dan Roma'ya kadar ikili kültürlerin alışverişi değildi, daha az belirli ve karmaşıktı. Helen sanatının, felsefesinin,

eğitiminin ve dilinin Cumhuriyetçi Roma'yı etkilediğine şüphe yok. Bununla birlikte, yalnızca genel ve yekpare bir "Yunanlılık" fikrinin sorgulanması gerekmiyor, aynı zamanda etnik kökene ilişkin herhangi bir tartışmanın esnek, çoklu ve tartışılabilir kimlikler anlayışını gerektirdiğini de kabul etmeliyiz. Özellikle Yunanlılık, antik çağlarda bile bu kadar net bir şekilde tanımlanmamıştı. Herkes gibi Yunan etnisitesi de sürekli değişime tabiydi ve bu tür konulardaki modern Yunanlık fikirleri, kültürlerinin çok sınırlı yönlerine dayanıyor; özellikle köleler gibi haklarından mahrum bırakılmış grupları ve hatta tüm sınıflardan kadınları yabancı olarak ortadan kaldırıyor. Antik Yunan kültürünün doğal olarak daha medeni olduğu düşünen bilim adamlarının bu inşa edilmiş Yunan kültürü idealine gösterdiği ayrıcalık da bununla bağlantılıdır. Bergama'ya geldiğimizde Küçük Asya'nın bazı bölgelerinin hiçbir zaman Helenleşmediğini söyleyebiliriz. Pergamon'a bakacak olursak, Attalidler kendilerini Telephos ve Pergamos'un torunları olarak tanıtıyorlardı, bu da onlara Doğu Akdeniz'deki birçok topluluğa bağ sağlıyor; kendilerini Helen dünyasının barbarlara karşı koruyucuları olarak ve aynı zamanda sanat ve edebiyat koleksiyonu, küratörlüğü ve üretimi yoluyla Helenistik dünyanın en büyük kültür merkezi olarak belirlemelerine yardımcı oluyordu. Ancak Attalidlerin başarısı birçok "oyunu" aynı anda dikkatlice oynamalarından kaynaklanmaktadır; kimlik inşaları her fırsatta, Telephos mitinden Büyük Sunak gibi önemli mimari eserlerine kadar, Küçük Asya'nın eski geleneklerine göndermeler içeriyordu. Attalid krallarının sanat, mimari, edebiyat ve siyaset yoluyla dikkatli manevraları, yalnızca Yunanistan anakarasına veya yalnızca Roma'ya değil, aynı zamanda Küçük Asya'nın birçok şehrine ve halkına da hitap etmekteydi.

Bu nedenle, Popkin gibi akademisyenleri takip ederek orta ve geç dönem Roma Cumhuriyeti kültürünü tartışırken kültürel etkileşimlere yönelik daha özel ve spesifik bir yaklaşıma ihtiyaç vardır. Bergama'nın Cumhuriyet Roma'sı üzerindeki özel kültürel etkisi, Roma'nın dil sanatları eğitiminden edebiyata kadar, tarihi resimler, mozaikler, heykel rölyefleri gibi çeşitli sanatsal ortamlarda da görülebilir. Bunlar genel referanslar olarak değil, belirli amaçlar için kullanıldı; örneğin, şu anda Küçük Barbarlar olarak adlandırılan bir heykel grubu örneğinde, Roma bağlamında Roma zaferlerini sergilemek için yeniden kullanıldı. Benzer şekilde, Porticus Octavia ve Porticus Pompeiana gibi mimari referanslar, Pergamon'daki ve Doğu'daki Roma

gücüne atıfta bulunarak, patronlarının zaferlerini ve yeteneklerini belirtmek için Bergama mimari formlarını ve ideolojik dilini kullanmıştır. Bergama'nın Roma üzerinde yarattığı kültürel etki ne pasif ne de rastlantısaldı ve her şeyden önce genel bir "Yunanlılık" değildi. Bergama'nın özel kimlik yapısı Roma amaçları için iyi bir şekilde kullanıldı.

Romanizasyon bir süredir Roma mimarisi ve arkeolojisi tartışmalarının merkezinde yer alıyor. Romanizasyon'un kendisi eski bir terim değil, modern bir bilimsel yapıdır, Roma emperyalizmi ile yakından bağlantılıdır ve İtalya'da ve eyaletler genelinde Roma yönetimi altında geliştiği iddia edilen toplumsal değişim süreçlerinin incelenmesidir. Terimin kendisi, bilimin çağdaş sosyo-politik bağlamını yansıtan ve sürekli olarak yeniden keşfedilen farklı fikirleri belirtmek için kullanıldı. On yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren İngiliz sömürgeci yayılımına ilişkin tartışmalar, daha sonra Akdeniz uygarlığının doğrusal mirasını savunarak çeşitli emperyal politikaları meşrulaştırdı. Ancak zamanla bu yaklaşım sert bir şekilde eleştirilmiş ve yeni yaklaşımlar çeşitlilik göstermekle birlikte, günlük yaşamda insanın failliğini ön planda tutmuş, kültürel görecelik tartışmalarını gündeme getirirken Batı'nın merkeziyetini reddetmiş, daha esnek ve parçalı kimlikler yaratmayı hedeflemiştir.

Bu çalışma için romanizasyona yaklaşımımın özü kamusal mimari ve kamusal faaliyetler. Romalı olmak ya da Romalı olma süreci mutlak bir şey olarak değil, inşa edilmesi ve yeniden inşa edilmesi gereken akışkan ve değişken bir şey olarak görülmelidir. Kamusal alanlar ve mimari, hem bu faaliyetlere çerçeve olarak hizmet edebilir hem de bu faaliyetler aracılığıyla yeniden çerçeveleyebilir, değiştirebilir, biçim ve anlam kazanabilir. Bu ne merkezi iktidarın dayattığı bir süreç, ne de sadece yerel dürtüler; birbirinin üzerine inşa edilen çokdeğerli süreçler ve söylemlerdir. Ayrıca emperyal sistem içindeki eşitsiz güç ilişkisini de asla gözden kaçırmamalıyız. Roma toplumu, cinsiyet, sınıf veya yaş gibi çeşitli ölçeklerde seçilmiş deneyimlere ayrıcalık tanımak için aktif bir şekilde inşa edildi ve yeniden inşa edildi. Genel olarak, Roma İmparatorluğu, değişime ve müzakereye açık, ancak yine de statik bir sosyo-kültürel fikre bağlı kalmaksızın çeşitli düzeylerde ortak bir fikir sunan, iç içe geçmiş geniş bir sistem ağıydı. Doğu vilayetlerinin Romalılaştırılmasının kendine has varsayımları, sorunları ve daha sonraki eleştirileri vardı. İlk araştırmalar, Doğu'nun

Romalılaştırılması sürecinin, eğer varsa, çok küçük bir değişikliğe yol açtığını savundu. Bu argüman uzun süre yukarıda belirtilen Yunan kültürel üstünlüğü varsayımlarıyla el ele yaşadı. Bu bakış açılarına, farklı yaklaşımlara olan ihtiyacı savunan daha sonraki bilim adamları tarafından da sert bir şekilde karşı çıkılmıştır. Doğu Roma eyaletlerini "Yunan" olarak tanımlamanın zorluğu da bu bağlamda bir sorundur.

Romanizasyon bu çalışmada birçok karmaşık süreci içerdiğinden, üçü özellikle odak noktası olacaktır: imparatorluk kültleri, festivaller ve amfitiyatronun kendisi. İmparatorluk kültleri, tebaaları tarafından organize edilen ve Senato ile imparatorun kendisi tarafından yetkilendirilen kurumsallaşmış kültlerdi ve yerli topluluklar içinde imparatorluğun tebaasının Roma'nın yabancı gücünü entegre etmesi ve müzakere etmesi için imparatorluğun tebaası tarafından formüle edilen yönetici gücün bir temsil biçimiydi. Küçük Asya'da imparatorluk kültleri M.Ö. 29'da başlamış, Asya ve Bithynia'nın koina elçilikleri Octavianus'a yaklaşmış ve Pergamon'a Roma ve Augustus Tapınağı için izin verilmiş, bu da Asya'daki kültler için bir emsal oluşturmuş ve daha sonra yaklaşık elli yıl boyunca tek eyalet imparatorluk kültü olmuştur. İmparatorluk kültleri Doğu Roma'nın, özellikle de Küçük Asya'nın rekabet ortamıyla yakından ilişkiliydi. Özellikle Asya eyaletinin rekabet içinde olan üç büyük şehri vardı; Pergamon, Smyrna ve Ephesos. Bu şehirler arasındaki rekabet o kadar şiddetli olabiliyordu ki, imparatorun kendisi de belirli zamanlarda müdahale etmek zorunda kalıyordu.

Festivaller Greko-Romen toplumu için merkezi etkinliklerdi. Dini kutlamalar sosyal ve politik uygulamaları şekillendirmek, reforme etmek ve değiştirmek için alan açabilir. Festivaller toplumun sosyal ve politik organizasyonuyla sıkı bir şekilde bağlantılı olup, yılın ritmini belirliyor ve toplumun bir araya gelmesinin düzenli bir takvimini sağlıyordu. Roma festivallerinin, resmi törenlerle yapılan kurban törenleri, tiyatro veya atletik gösteriler, ziyafetler ve koro halinde şarkı söyleme gibi önemli ortak bileşenlere sahip olduğu kaydedildi. Roma Doğu'su, Roma yönetimi altında, özellikle imparatorluk kültleriyle bağlantılı olarak festivallerde ve oyunlarda bir canlanma ve artış gördü. Bu festivallerin birçoğunun kurulmasında yalnızca imparatorluk kültleri merkezi bir araç değildi; aynı zamanda doğrudan imparatora

adanmayan festivaller bile Roma'ya yapılan çeşitli göndermelerle doluydu. Festivaller sosyal açıdan yapıcı etkinliklerdi. Örneğin, yardımların dağıtımı hiyerarşik hale getirilebilir ve sosyal seviyeleri parasal temelde ifade edebilirdi. Toplumun gerçeğin temsili olmayan pragmatik ve idealleştirilmiş versiyonlarını sunuyorlardı. Bu şekilde yönetici sınıfın çıkarları, hiyerarşik konumlarının nötrleştirilmesi ve normalleştirilmesi ve çeşitli sosyal gruplar arasındaki ilişkilerinin ritüel ve eylem yoluyla tanımlanması yoluyla iyi bir şekilde temsil edilebilirdi. Festivallerin sadece insanlar için değil, aynı zamanda mekânlar ve mimari açısından da tüm kente yönelik etkinlikler olduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Bunlar, Roma gücünün gerçeklerine uyum sağlamada, bireylerin ve toplulukların imparatorluk bağlamındaki yerlerini müzakere etmede etkili araçlardı.

Son olarak amfitiyatronun Romalılaşmanın bir aracı olduğuna kısaca değinelim. Amfitiyatro, en belirgin olan Roma mimarisinden biriydi. Bir yapı türü olarak amfitiyatro, İmparatorluğun büyük şehirlerindeki Roma kentleşmesinin göze çarpan bir yönüydü. Bununla birlikte, arkeolojik kanıtlardan bilinen 200'den fazla amfitiyatrodan yalnızca yirmisinin Doğu Roma'da ve yalnızca dördünün Küçük Asya'da olduğunu tespit edildi. Yeni tiyatrolar ve stadyumlar, gladyatör ve canavar gösterilerine ev sahipliği yapacak şekilde değiştirildi veya yeniden inşa edildi; bu, hem kısmi bir neden olabilir hem de Roma yönetimi altında artan sayıda festivalle ilişkilendirilebilir.

İmparatorluk kültleri de amfitiyatroyla yakından bağlantılıydı. Roma İmparatorluğu'nun her yerindeki amfitiyatrolar imparatorluk kültleri aracılığıyla doğrudan bağlantılıydı ve kolaylaştırılmıştı. Festivallerle ilgili olarak yüksek rahipler tarafından imparatorluk kültleriyle bağlantılı oyunlar düzenlenirdi. Roma oyunları ve amfitiyatro gibi imparatorluk kültlerinin çeşitli ritüelleri, festivalleri ve yapıları birlikte çalışarak şehrin mekanlarını ve insanlarını bir araya getirdi.

Artık çerçeve oluşturulduğuna göre Roma amfitiyatrolarını ve daha yakından Bergama amfitiyatrosunu tartışalım. Bilgi kısıtlığından dolayı bu ve önümüzdeki bölümde Kolezyum ana bir karşılaştırma odağı olarak kullanılacak. Flavian amfitiyatrosu, hiç şüphesiz, Roma dünyasında inşa edilmiş en büyük Roma amfitiyatrosudur. MS 80

yılında İmparator Titus tarafından adanan, 188x156 m ölçülerinde ve 48,5 m yüksekliğindeki Kolezyum, yaklaşık 50.000 kişiyi ağırlayabilmektedir. Cephede, her seviyede farklı Yunan düzenleriyle süslenmiş üç sıralı revaklar ve üzerinde tente için bir dizi direk bulunan bir çatı katı seviyesi görülüyordu.

Bergama amfitiyatrosu, Küçük Asya'da kalan tek dört kalıcı amfitiyatrodan biridir. Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü, Felix Pirson başkanlığında amfitiyatro alanında ve İhsan Yeneroğlu'nun özel olarak çalıştığı amfitiyatro binasında 2018-2021 yıllarında kazılar gerçekleştirdi. Bergama amfitiyatrosu, şehrin batı yakasındaki iki tepe arasından Selinus Nehri'ne dökülen bir dere üzerinde yer almaktadır. Bu dere amfitiyatroda potansiyel olarak deniz oyunları oynandığını gösterebilir. Bergama amfitiyatrosu yaklaşık 132 m çapındaydı ve düzensiz ve asimetrik iç yapıları üzerinde neredeyse mükemmel bir daire şeklindeydi. Schazmann, amfitiyatro üzerinde yaptığı ilk incelemede, binanın MS 2. yüzyılın ilk yarısına tarihlendiğini ortaya koydu.

Karşılaştırmalı bir incelemeyi kolaylaştırmak için, çeşitli amfitiyatro ve tiyatroları Flavianus ve Bergama amfitiyatrolarıyla karşılaştıran ölçekli görsel tablolar hazırlanmıştır. Harita 1 ve Harita 2'de Flavianus ve Pergamene Amfitiyatroları büyüklük ve plan şekli açısından karşılaştırılmıştır. Harita 3, eldeki kanıtlarla mümkün olduğu ölçüde daha dairesel biçimli amfitiyatroların karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmasıdır. Son olarak Harita 4 ve Harita 5 Bergama amfitiyatrosunu Küçük Asya'daki çeşitli tiyatrolarla karşılaştırmalı olarak göstermektedir. Bu karşılaştırmalar kısaca Bergama amfityatrosunun orta boyda bir boyutta olduğunu ve yuvarlak şeklinin nadir bulunur olduğunu ortaya çıkarır. Bu yuvarlak şeklin sebebini kesin olarak bilmek zor olsa da ideolojik veya kentsel sebepler aranabilir.

Tartışıldığı gibi, amfitiyatro, Roma kimliğinin idealize edilmiş bir biçimini yansıtmaya yarayan bir kamusal alandı. Kolezyum bunun en açık örneği ve daha önce de odak noktasıydı. Bergama için elimizde daha az kanıt var. Eğlence yapılarında koltuk rezervasyon yaptırmak Yunanca konuşulan doğuda yeni bir kavram değildi. Ayrıca Pergamon kazılarından elde edilen bazı profilli taş blokların sırtlıklı ve arka kısmına sahibinin yazıtının kazındığı bir sekiye ait kanıtlara sahibiz. Basamakların yanında, üzerine bazı isim ve kısaltmaların kazındığı çökmüş bir andezit blok daha

ortaya çıkarıldı. Yani Bergama amfi tiyatrosunda da bazı özel oturma düzenleri kullanılmış olabilir. Bu koltukların nasıl organize edildiği belirsiz ama düşündürücü. Örneğin, Küçük Asya'da Bergama, Ephesos ve Smyrna kendi eyaletlerinde birincilik için yarışırken, oturma düzenlemeleri özellikle anlamlı olabilir.

Amfitiyatronun bir diğer önemli işlevi de özellikle imparatorluk kültleriyle ilişkili olarak dini bir mekan olmasıydı. Bu, Roma bağlamında ama özellikle Kolezyum bağlamında pek tartışılmayan bir husustur. Roma dışında amfitiyatrolar imparatorluk kült görüntülerinin mekânları olarak da bilinir ve daha önce de belirttiğimiz gibi imparatorluk kültleriyle yakından bağlantılıdır. Bu nedenle, imparatorluk kült imgeleri ve niteliklerine sahip geçit törenlerinin Kolezyum'da da gerçekleştirildiğini ortaya koyan nümizmatik ve ikonografik kanıtlar sunan Elkins gibi son çalışmalar gösteriyor ki yaşayan imparatorun kendisini geçmişteki saygın imparatorlarla aynı hizaya getirmesine ve ilişkilendirmesine olanak tanıyabilirdi.

Bergama'da ise imparatorluk kültlerinin erken dönem varoluşunu ve bunların amfitiyatroyla olan bağlarını ve ayrıca Küçük Asya şehirlerinin son derece rekabetçi ruhunu kısaca tartıştık. MS 2. yüzyılda amfitiyatro inşa edildiğinde, ikinci imparatorluk kültüne sahip ilk çehir olan Bergama'nın geride kaldığını, çünkü Hadrianus'un Ephesos ve Smyrna'ya bir eyalet tapınağı verirken Bergama'ya üçüncü bir tapınak vermediğini belirtebiliriz. Böyle bir bağlamda amfitiyatro, yalnızca egemen güce uygun bir Roma kimliğini sunma fırsatı sağlamakla kalmayacak, aynı zamanda geleneksel rekabet ve statü yükseltme yollarıyla da bağlantılı olacaktır. Ayrıca Bergama, amfitiyatro oturma düzeninin kullanılması yoluyla Bergama'nın yükselen statüsünü pekiştirmek ve onaylamak için amfitiyatrodan yararlanabilir.

Aynı zamanda amfitiyatronun bir eğlence yapısı olarak işlevi de unutulmamalı. Özellikle Bergama gibi hinterland nüfsü yüksek bir şehirde bu eğlence yapısının vatandaşları bir araya getirmedeki etkisi tartışılan mimari yapı ile de güçlendirilmiştir.

Son olarak bu bölüm içinde Bergama amfityatrosunu kentsel bağlamda inceleyeceğiz ve tekrar tartışmaya Kolzeyum örneği ile başlayacağız. Flavianus amfitiyatrosu, önemi ne olursa olsun sıklıkla kentsel bağlamdan kopuk bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Vespasianus, Nero'nun tartışmalı yönetiminin ardından, dört imparatorun yılı olarak

da bilinen MS 69'da oldukça çalkantılı bir yılın sonunda iktidara geldi. Equites bir aileden geliyordu. Dolayısıyla, Vespasianus'u ve ondan sonraki Flavius ailesi meşrulaştırmak için, kendilerini otokratik, çıkarcı Nero'nun aksine, daha yurttaş düşünceli gelenekçiler olarak sundular. Flaviuslular Nero'nun Domus Aurea'sındaki yapay gölü kuruttular ve burayı Roma İmparatorluğu'nun şimdiye kadar gördüğü en büyük amfitiyatronun yeri haline getirdiler. Ayrıca daha fazla meşruiyet sağlamak için Augustus ve Claudius gibi şahsiyetlere atıfta bulundular. Kentsel bağlamda bu, Kolezyum'a, Gladyatör Okulları, Meta Sudan, Titus Hamamı, Titus Kemeri ve Claudius Tapınağı gibi binaların Flavius'un imparatorluk ideolojisi içerisinde birbiriyle bağlantılı olarak çalışması amaçlanmıştır. Kolezyum'da mikro ölçekte görülen idealize edilmiş Roma toplumu, Flaviusların şekillendirdiği daha büyük kentsel ortam tarafından bağlamsallaştırıldı ve Kolezyum'da inşa edilen ve sürdürülen Romalı kimliği, Romanlığın Flavianus versiyonuydu.

Flavianus amfitiyatrosu kentsel bağlamı içinde yakından incelendiği için kentsel dokuların daha geniş bir şekilde incelenmesi uygun olacaktır. Ancak şunu da belirtmek gerekir ki bu inceleme Roma İmparatorluğu'ndaki tüm amfitiyatroları temsil etmeyecektir, zira böyle bir çaba bu çalışmanın amacının çok ötesinde olacaktır. Bunun yerine son bölümde Grafik 1,2 ve 3'te yapılan seçimler tek bir eklemeyle takip edilerek karşılaştırmalı bir görsel kentsel analiz sunulacaktır. (Şekil 45, 46 ve 47) Bu kapsamlı bir analiz değil, bazı kalıpları göstermemize ve bazı sorular sormamıza olanak tanıyan temsili bir analiz olmayı amaçlamaktadır. Harita 1,2 ve 3'teki örnekler sadece büyüklük bakımından değil, aynı zamanda Roma İmparatorluğu içindeki konumlarındaki çeşitlilik açısından da seçildiğinden, bu karşılaştırmalar Fransa'dan Tunus'a kadar Roma dünyasının her yerindeki şehirler arasında yapılmaktadır. ve İtalya'dan Yunanistan'a. Ayrıca, kentleşme açısından bazı farklılıklar vardır; örneğin Lambaesis ve Deva gibi Roma lejyoner karargahları, Korint gibi daha sonra Roma kolonisi haline gelen şehirler ve Pergamon gibi zaten uzun süredir var olan şehirler. Görsel okunabilirlik açısından bu haritalar yalnızca iki ila üç kişilik gruplar halinde sunulur; ancak analiz onları grup olarak ele alacaktır. Böylece Kent Haritası 1'de Roma ve Pergamon (Şekil 55), Kent Haritası 2'de Capua ve Arles (Şekil 56), Kent Haritası 3'te Lambaesis ve Lepcis Magna (Şekil 57), Deva (Chester), Ptolmeais

(Tolmata) yer alıyor. ve Kentsel Harita 4'te Lucus Feroniae (Şekil 58) ve son olarak Kentsel Harita 5'te Korint, Pergamon ve Mastaura. (Şekil 59) Okunabilirlik açısından amfitiyatrolar mor renkle, tiyatro veya sirk gibi diğer eğlence binaları ise mavi renkle işaretlenmiştir, ve forumlar ise şehir merkezi hakkında göreceli bir fikri belirtmek için yeşil renktedir.

Bu örnekleri bir arada değerlendirdiğimizde bazı daha büyük modeller ortaya çıkıyor. Birincisi, bazı şehirler bize ikiye birer kişilik gruplar gösterse de, eğlence binalarının tamamının yakın çevrede gruplanması nadirdir. Bergama, yakında inceleyeceğimiz üç eğlence binasıyla dikkat çekiyor. Arles ve Lepcis Magna ayrıca tiyatro ve amfitiyatro gibi bazı eğlence yapılarını da kısmen bir arada sergilerken, Lepcis Magna ise stadyum ve amfitiyatrodur. Ancak bu iki örnekte bile bu işlevsel gruptan ayrı olarak şehrin ayrı bir bölümünde bir eğlence binası daha görülebilmektedir. Daha fazla araştırma ve kanıt olmadan, bu yapılar arasında Roma'daki örneklerimizin ötesinde işlevsel ilişkilerin olup olmadığını sorgulamak zordur. Kolezyum, Marcellus Tiyatrosu ve Circus Maximus, Roma'nın kentsel ölçeği nedeniyle biraz uzak olsalar da, aslında kentsel doku içinde festivaller ve oyunlar aracılığıyla işlevsel olarak birbirine bağlıydı. Yine de işlevsel ilişkiler, pratiklikten ekonomiye kadar pek çok farklı nedenden dolayı pek çok şehirde mekansal ve kentsel gruplamalara yol açmamış gibi görünüyor Bununla birlikte, Pergamon'un hem birlikte görebildiğimiz eğlence binalarının (küçük odeaların bir kısmını içermeyen bu haritada beş tanesi gösterilmiştir) hem de yakın mekansal konfigürasyonu nedeniyle benzersiz bir konumda yer aldığını belirtebiliriz.

Bu karşılaştırmalı incelemede gözlemlenen bir diğer kalıp ise amfitiyatroların kentlerin içinde (ya da dışında) konumlandırılmasıdır. Belirtildiği gibi, Kolezyum'un merkezi konumunun büyük ölçüde ideolojik açıdan yüklü olduğu Roma, özel bir istisnaydı. Diğer bazı örnekler için amfitiyatro şehrin içinde ama kenarında yer alır. (Bergamon, Arles, Mastaura ve belki de Lucus Feroniae.) Bu örneklerde, Roma'dan farklı olarak amfitiyatro, Forum'dan veya şehrin belirtilen herhangi bir merkezi kısmından biraz uzakta, ancak yine de şehrin sınırları içinde yer almaktadır. Diğer önemli kentsel modeller, şehir sınırlarına yakın ancak şehir sınırlarının dışında (hem lejyoner şehirleri Lambaesis, Deva hem de Ptolemais ve Capua) veya Lepcis Magna, Lucus Feroniae ve Korint gibi şehir merkezinden çok uzakta bulunan amfitiyatrodur.

Bu, amfitiyatronun, Roma ordusuna sıkı sıkıya bağlı olmasına rağmen, geleneksel lejyoner yerleşim modelinin bir parçası olmadığını ancak yakın bir yerde birleştiğini ortaya koyuyor. Dahası, amfitiyatro, şehrin dışında konumlandığı için göreceli olarak dış kenarda olduğu kadar şehir sınırları içinde de kalma olasılığı yüksekti. Bu örnekler, amfitiyatronun şehir merkezinden çok uzakta bulunmasının nadir olmasına rağmen hala mümkün olduğunu gösteriyor. Böyle bir konumlandırmanın nedeni muhtemelen kısmen böylesine anıtsal bir yapı inşa etmek için yeterli araziye duyulan ihtiyaçla ilgiliydi. Bununla birlikte, belirli bağlamsal nedenler muhtemelen amfitiyatroların belirli şehirlerdeki konumuna katkıda bulunmuştur. Ne olursa olsun, Roma'da olduğu gibi nadiren şehir merkezine yerleştirilen amfitiyatro, çoğunlukla büyük kentsel dokunun bir parçasıydı ve çok nadiren ondan tamamen ayrıydı. Kentsel yapbozun daha çok kenarlara takılan bir parçasıydı.

Öte yandan Roma Bergama'sı çok daha zor bir konudur, özellikle de modern şehir Bergama'nın Roma genişlemesinin üzerinde yer aldığından. Yine de bazı gözlemler yapılabilir. Augustus döneminde bir miktar inşaat faaliyeti yaşanırken, Bergama, Trajainik döneminden itibaren, özellikle de Hadrian döneminde inşaat faaliyetlerinde büyük bir patlama yaşandı. Aşağı şehir genel olarak Trajan Tapınağı'ndan uyarlanan yeni bir ızgara sistemiyle birleştirildi. Kızıl Avlu, Roma tiyatrosu ve stadyumun tamamı bu sistem içerisinde mükemmel bir şekilde düzenlenmiştir. Genel olarak, Roma Bergama'sı, seçilmiş yapılarla sınırlı kanıtlara rağmen tespit edebildiğimiz bir tekdüzelik ve benzersizlik kombinasyonunu ortaya çıkardı. Anıtsal ölçek, etkileyici sayıda topoğrafik müdahale, birçok yapı için ihtiyaç duyulan Roma uzmanlığı, bunların hepsi bunun hem bağlantı hem de kaynak gerektirdiğini gösteriyor.

Artık Roma Bergama'sı kolektif bir varlık olarak ve Bergama amfitiyatrosunun kentsel bağlam içindeki özel yerleşimi olarak sunulduğuna göre, Bergama'daki Romalılaşma süreçleri hakkında ne söyleyebiliriz? Belirtildiği gibi, Romalılaştırma süreçleri karmaşık, değişken ve çok yönlüydü. Çok yönlülük, Roma yönetiminden önce bile karmaşık bir kimliğe sahip olan ve klasik Atina ile olan bağlantılardan Küçük Asya geleneklerine kadar pek çok kültürel etkiden ilham alan bir şehir olan Bergama'da iyi bir şekilde temsil edilmektedir. Roma İmparatorluğu ile Bergama kimliği arasındaki kültürel etkileşimlerin karmaşıklığı da ortadadır. Bir yanda Asklepieion'daki

“Pantheon”dan amfitiyatroya kadar bizzat Roma şehrine doğrudan, yadsınamaz referanslarımız var. Öte yandan, şehrin Roma yönetimi altında gördüğü en kapsamlı kentsel gelişimde bizzat imparatorun doğrudan etkisi olması muhtemeldir. Aslında bu, Roma kültürü üzerinde çok merkezi, odaklanmış ve doğrudan bir etkinin göstergesi olabilir. Bununla birlikte, imparatorun doğrudan etkisinden şüphelenilen projelere, ister Trajaneum'da isterse Roma Asklepieion'unda olsun, yerel elitlerin büyük ölçekte önemli katkıları da olmuştur. Halfmann'ın belirttiği gibi, Bergama elitleri bu dönemde Roma İmparatorluğu'ndaki en yüksek sosyal konumların bazılarında yer almakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda neredeyse yalnızca Bergama'daki büyük anıtsal inşaat projelerinde de yer alıyorlardı. Dolayısıyla, bu büyük kentsel projedeki güçlü yerel inisiyatifin, Pergamon'da bir “Roma” kültürünü zorlayan basit bir Roma okumasını reddettiği yadsınamaz bir gerçeğe sahibiz. Bu ilişkinin karmaşıklığı, Attalid kraliyet ailesinin torunlarının, özellikle Flavius dönemi sırasında ve sonrasında, bazılarının konsül rütbesine sahip senatörlerin bile yüksek Roma toplumuna nasıl katıldığı dikkate alındığında daha da artmaktadır. Genel olarak Roma İmparatorluğu sistemlerinin ve özel olarak da Roma kimliği duygusunun desteklenmesi ve yüceltilmesi, Bergama elitleri için doğrudan faydalı oldu. Ancak aynı zamanda Halfmann'ın belirttiği gibi, Traianus'un hükümdarlığından itibaren başlayan büyük Bergama inşaat programı, belki de Hadrianus dışında hiçbir dış bağışçı olmadan yürütülmüştür. Ayrıca, belirtildiği gibi, Attalid Pergamonu'nun kalıcı görsel dili ve etkisi, bu inşaat programı için doğrudan Roma'ya atıfta bulunan yeni anıtlar kadar önemliydi. Aşağı ve yukarı şehrin tamamı birleşik bir proje olarak birlikte çalıştı. Attalid Krallığı'nın kalıcı ihtişamına yapılan bu atıflar, kraliyet mirasları göz önüne alındığında Bergama seçkinlerine de aynı derecede fayda sağlayacaktır. Bu nedenle, Roma Pergamonu kasıtlı olarak Roma İmparatorluğu'nun kalbine ve aynı zamanda Attalid Krallığı'nın kalbine büyük göndermeler içeriyordu. Böylece Roma Bergama'nın kimliği, şehrin kalıcı tarihiyle, aynı zamanda geçmişiyle ve bugünüyle ayrılmaz bir şekilde bağlantılıydı.

Genel olarak, kamu mimarisinin bu anıtsal külliyatında birçok ortak nokta vardı; Roma ve daha geniş imparatorluk kültürüne doğrudan göndermeler, Pantheon'a tekrarlanan resmi göndermeler, malzemeden tekniğe ve yapı tipine kadar benzersizlik gibi. Ayrıca

görsel bağlantılar da vardı. Amfityatro ve içinde olduğu eğlence semti görsel bağlantılar açısından ilginç çalışmaktaydı. Bu yapıların hepsi farklı açılardan yaklaşım ve görsel bağlantı gerektirecek şekilde yerleştirilmişti aynı zamanda amfitiyatro'yu görmek sadece şehrin eski kısımlarından mümkündü. Bu genel bakış ile amfitiyatronun bu daha geniş yapı bütününe nasıl uyum sağladığını anlayabiliyoruz.

Tartışmalarımız göz önüne alındığında, ne amfitiyatro ve Roma oyunlarının gelişimi ve popülaritesinin ne de Yunanca konuşulan dünyanın artan kültürel etkisinin tekil, izole olaylar olmadığını söyleyebiliriz. Ayrıca bilimin kültürel alışverişe farklı yaklaşımını da "Romanizasyon" ve Roma İmparatorluğu içindeki "Helenleşme" kavramına yaklaşımlar üzerinden inceleyebiliriz. Helenleşme çok daha az eleştiriyle karşılanıp hafife alınırken, Romalılaşma 19. yüzyılın sonlarından beri titizlikle inceleniyor. Mısır gibi bazılarının çok daha eski geleneklere sahip olmasına rağmen, Roma'ya diğer kültürel etkilerin sürekli susturulması, biz bilim adamlarının bir bütün olarak öncelik verdiği şeylere ilişkin endişe verici çağrışımlar taşıyor. Artık önyargılarımızı yeniden gözden geçirmenin zamanı geldi.

Kimlik, özellikle de Romalı kimliği, bu çalışma için merkezi bir soru olmuştur. Kolezyum bağlamında yaratılan Romalılığın dili, biçimsel tasarım, dolaşım, mekansal organizasyon ve görsel bağlantı gibi faktörlerin yanı sıra daha geniş kentsel bağlamla ilişkiler gibi faktörleri birleştirerek bir varoluş idealini resmileştirmek için Flavian ideolojisine uygun bir dildi. Flavian ideolojisine uygun Roma.

Bergama'ya gelince bir kez daha soruyoruz, neden Bergama? Bergama, gücünün zirvesindeyken Roma'yla özellikle yakın bir ilişkiye sahipti ve kültürel açıdan biçimlendirici bir dönemde Roma'da birçok açıdan kültürel açıdan etkiliydi. Daha sonra rakiplerinin unvanlar ve imparatorluk kültü bağışları açısından zaten yetiştiği bir dönemde Bergama'nın sahip olduğu benzersiz şey Attalid kimliği ve Roma ile bağlantısıydı. Roma Pergamonu, yalnızca büyük bir topluluk olarak birlikte çalışan, çeşitli şekillerde Roma'ya gönderme yapan etkileyici bir dizi anıtsal yapı inşa etmekle kalmadı, aynı zamanda imparatorluk gücünün merkezileştirilmiş anıtsallığını Attalid kimliğinin eski güç merkezi olan Akropolis'e yerleştirdi. Bergama'daki amfitiyatro aracılığıyla yapılan doğrudan referanslar işe yaradı çünkü Bergama'daki Roma'ya

,atıfta bulunmak, Bergama'ya atıfta bulunmak anlamına geliyordu.

Roma ve Bergama'nın amfitiyatroları, kendi özel bağlamları içinde Romalılığın özgünlüğünün açık örneklerini sunar. Flaviuanusların Kolezyum ile oluşturmayı ve sürdürmeyi hedeflediği Roma kimliği, özellikle zafere ve askeri başarıya odaklanan, Augustus geleneğini sürdürmeye ve Flavian yönetimini meşrulaştırmaya odaklanan Flaviusçu bir Romanlık markası olan Roma kimliği, Pergamon'unki kadar farklı bir Roma kimliğiydi. Bergama amfitiyatrosu ise, özellikle yerel bir sorun olan Küçük Asya'daki şehir rekabeti bağlamında Bergama'nın üstün şehir olarak konumunu, böyle bir amaç için daha geniş Roma İmparatorluğu'nun araçlarını ve dilini kullanarak özellikle meşrulaştırmaya hizmet etti.

Flavianus ve Pergamon amfitiyatrolarının karşılaştırmalı incelenmesi, bize Roma İmparatorluğu'nun çerçeve ve araçlarının farklı tarihsel bağlamlar sonucunda farklı sosyo-politik ihtiyaçlara uyacak şekilde nasıl farklı şekillerde kullanıldığını gösteriyor. Flavianus ve Pergamon amfitiyatrolarının her ikisi de aynı imparatorluk çerçevesinde ve Roma sosyal yapılarında işlev görüyordu, aynı mimari tipi kullanıyordu ve anlamı inşa etmek, resmileştirmek ve ideolojiyi güçlendirmek için kentsel bağlamdan yararlanıyordu. Farklı oldukları şey, ürettikleri kendine özgü Romanlığın türü ve nedeniydi. Roma kimliğinin esnekliği bu şekilde çalıştı ve Roma İmparatorluğu akışkanlık ve özgüllükle nasıl varlığını sürdürdü. Flavianus ve Bergama amfitiyatroları, farklı hikayeler anlatsalar bile, sonuçta tartışmasız Roma yapılarıdır.

Bergama Amfitiyatrosu, temelde Roma yapı tipinin çok özel kimlik inşaları için nasıl kullanılabileceğini gösteriyor. Bu hala inkar edilemez bir Roma yapısıydı. Ancak aynı zamanda Bergama'nın uzun süreli Attalid kimliğine ve mirasına yapılan sürekli referanslarla da yakından bağlantılıydı; bu kimlik, Atina'dan Küçük Asya geleneklerine kadar ve bununla sınırlı olmamak üzere, Yunan Anakarasından gelen çeşitli referanslar üzerine inşa edilmiş bir kimlikti. Belki de Roma kimliğinin buna uyum sağlayacak kadar esnek olması, Roma'nın bu kadar karmaşık ve çok yönlü kültürel güçlerin olduğu bir dönemde kendi kimliğini nasıl inşa ettiğinin bir sonucuydu. Yine de işe yaradı. Sonuçta Roma Bergaması inkar edilemez bir şekilde Romalıydı ama aynı zamanda her zaman Bergama olarak kalacaktı.

C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

(Please fill out this form on computer. Double click on the boxes to fill them)

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Baykara
Adı / Name : Ayşe Bike
Bölümü / Department : Mimarlık Tarihi / History of Architecture

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): The Amphitheater of Pergamon: Cultural Identity and Urban Physiognomy/ Bergama Amfitiyatrosu: Kültürel Kimlik ve Kentsel Fizyonomi

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☐ **Doktora** / PhD ☒

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years**. * ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. * ☐

* *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature .... **Tarih** / Date ....
(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)