

THE SWAN-SONG OF A ROMAN DICTATOR: SULLA'S OFFERING TO FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA¹

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INTRODUCTION

The Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (medieval and modern Palestrina) is an extraordinarily complex monument in its origins, design and construction. The upper sanctuary comprises a sophisticated array of rising platforms, ramps and stairs in seven levels which are all united on a common axis and are surmounted by a stepped, theater-like structure with a semi-circular colonnade and a round temple (Figures 1- 3).

Ancient sources are silent, almost to the point of willful omission about the architectural implications of this outstanding monument in the late Republican era. Although Romans did not engage in the stylistic and formal study of art history as we understand it today, there were nevertheless writings and treatises on the arts by authors like Pliny, Vitruvius, Cicero and Quintilian, who could not have failed to perceive the unique architectural design and breath-taking scale of the temple at Praeneste only half a day's journey from the capital of the Romans (2). Although ancient sources are comparatively well-stocked with references to the foundation, origins and celebrity of the *cult* of Fortuna and historical circumstances of the sack of Praeneste by Sulla, they fail to offer insight into the architectural significance of the complex edifice that was built around the sacred cult spot and former temple of the goddess Fortuna. Despite the lack of direct literary evidence, it is generally suggested that the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste was built as a single unified design and the entire structure is ascribed to Sullan builders (3).

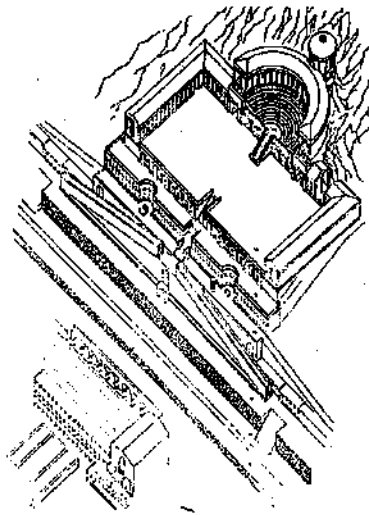
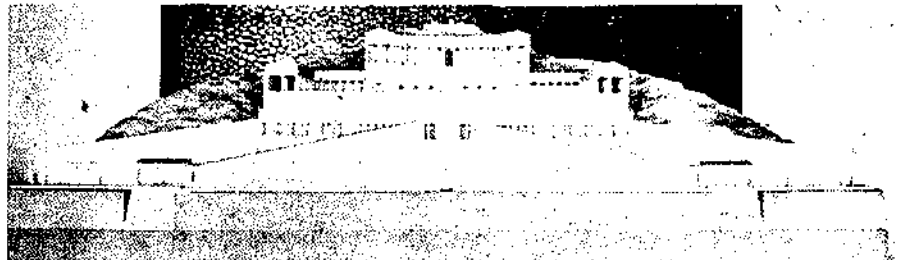


Figure 1 . Praeneste, Temple of Fortuna Primigenia, c.80 B.C. (Ward-Perkins, 142).

Figure 2 . Temple of Fortuna Primigenia, model in Palestrina Museum (Photograph: S.Güven).



2. Kostof (1977,29) comments on this omission in the case of Vitruvius and suggests, not very convincingly, that the novelty of Sullan buildings may have offended his conservative mind. Such disapproval, however, is not adequate to explain the silence of Vitruvius on this building, since he is known to have been outspoken on the controversial issues of his time such as his famous attack on contemporary fresco paintings, or his criticism of the dangerously wide intercolumniation in the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine; for ancient art criticism in general see Pollitt (1974).

3. Modern scholarship, however, is not unanimous in the dating of the archaeological remains. Some scholars, notably Fasolo and Gullini (1953, 353, 424-433) argue for two different building phases, the first and major one in the upper sanctuary around 160 and 150 B.C. and the second, consisting of repairs in the lower sanctuary during Sulla's time (1954, 51-87). According to Ward-Perkins (1970, 143) the historical and archaeological evidence tends to lean toward a Sullan date for the entire complex. Technical observations like the use of lithostroton paving (MacKendrick, 1960, 117, 122-130) strengthen the premises for Sullan dating.



Figure 3. Remains of Temple of Fortuna Primigenia (Photograph: S.Güven).

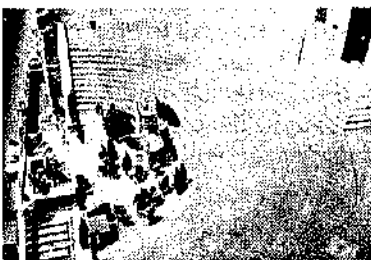


Figure 4. Temple of Fortuna Primigenia, semi-circular stairs (Photograph: S.Güven).

4. Kostof (1985, 205) calls the combination of trabeated and vaulted systems a marriage of opposites and terms it "prophetic"; for a recent summary of developments in Hellenistic architecture see (Pollitt, 1986).

It is not the intention of this paper to provide a more complete and incontestable material basis for the dating of the temple by a re-assessment of the archaeological evidence. Rather, if one assumes that the entire sanctuary was built by Sullan architects as a single architectural unit, it follows that the unorthodox combination of a theater-like structure and a temple building was conspicuously planned and incorporated into the monumental design. The purpose here is to investigate the nature of this particular combination stylistically and iconographically, and to suggest that the curvilinear, stepped theater-like (Figure 4) structure was not the result of a mere aesthetic coincidence but was intended and conceived as a 'theater' by the commissioner of the monumental sanctuary, namely Sulla himself. Thus, the identification of the reasons for Sulla deliberately designing or commissioning a sanctuary incorporating a theater provides, firstly, fresh insight to strengthen the arguments toward a single building phase by Sullan architects. Secondly, and more significant, it may become apparent that Sulla deserves an epithet, hitherto not recognized, as a precursor paving the way for the building of permanent stone theaters in Rome, not only the Theater of Pompey, but the theatres of Balbus and Marcellus that followed during the first century A.D.

The study is structured in three parts: Architectural developments in Italy during the late Republican era will be examined first in order to illustrate the absence of convincing Italic prototypes as a source and inspiration for the specific combination of a theater-like *cavea* with a temple and its grandiose conception. The iconographic and formal role of the Hellenistic east in the light of the ruler cult and probable prototypes will be examined in the second part. Third and last, pertinent aspects of Sulla's life, especially his singular obsession with the theater and his life-long interest in the world of drama will be investigated as a source for the design of the sanctuary at Praeneste.

THE EVIDENCE OF ITALIC PROTOTYPES

Any search for the source of the baroque organisation and unusual architectural ensemble at Praeneste must begin with the monuments of the Republican period in Italy, since the two decades of prodigious building under Sulla cannot be considered independent of the fervor and influence of this exceptionally creative period. The outstanding features of the temple at Praeneste may be identified first as scale; second, curvilinear vocabulary; and third, the particular combination of quite different architectural components (4). There appears to be no extant Italic building of the Republican period or earlier that displays all three of the architectural characteristics combined in the sanctuary at Praeneste. This could be explained by one or both of the following: In an evolutionary sense, the layout and design of the Fortuna Primigenia sanctuary, as also the Pantheon of the early second century A.D. represent the monumental culmination of several small scale experiments with new materials, design and construction in an age of prolific building; and in a circumstantial sense, the highly sophisticated combination of heterogeneous architectural elements may have been the result of an original intellectual rendition by an assertive individual mind. To point out a direct prototype for the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in both cases, therefore, remains difficult at best, even though one has to acknowledge the role of a rapidly expanding vocabulary of contemporary Italian architectural forms and constructional techniques in the overall execution of the design.

Considering the first outstanding feature of the sanctuary at Praeneste, namely monumentality, there are no Italic precedents. Regardless of whether monumentality entails sheer size, a sophisticated combination of architectural forms, or both, the temples and secular buildings with semi-circular stairs fail to reveal the



Figure 5. Hemicycle in the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia (Photograph: S. Güven).

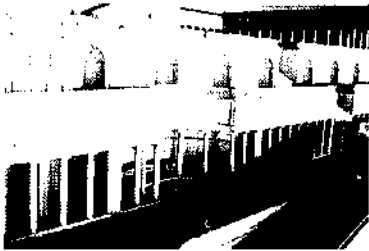


Figure 6. Hemicycle Temple of Fortuna Primigenia, model in Palestrina Museum (Photography: S. Güven).

5. For the essentials of the new idiom see Brown (1975, 20).

6. Wishing to re-establish the old cults, perhaps partly because of the belief that Roman gods did not allow alterations in the original form of temples, Sulla used the three sacred spots - the temple of Fortuna, the statue of Fortuna with the infants Jupiter and Juno, and the pit of oracular lots as pivotal points in the triangular design scheme. These traditionally meaningful locations would have been further defined by curved forms where the semi-circular *cavea* below the rotunda and the two hemi-cycles below constitute the core of the design.

7. The use of apsidal halls, wall recesses and exedrae was a rather late development in the architecture of the late Republic (Tamm, 1963, 142); one of the earliest uses appears in the curved back wall of the nymphaeum in a Sullan villa at Tivoli while a similar recessed wall appears in the apsidal room of the lower sanctuary at Praeneste, also of Sullan date. These examples indicate the fascination with curved subsidiary elements in domestic and functional architecture during the Sullan era and strengthens the premise for Sulla's patronage, or at least his contact with novel trends in contemporary architecture.

8. See especially Little (1977, 1971), Beyen (1938), Lehmann (1953).

9. Beyen (1938) Figs. 12, 17, 94; Little (1977), plate V., Fig. 5.

sophisticated combination of architectural forms in the sanctuary at Praeneste. These display simpler small scale versions of only the highest part of the Praenestine complex.

A direct and significant contribution of Italic architectural experimentation may be associated with the second outstanding feature of the temple at Praeneste, namely, curvilinear vocabulary (5). The predilection for curved forms is a Roman phenomenon and it attained monumental expression for the first time in the two symmetrically arranged hemi-cycles and the 'theater-like *cavea*' of the Praenestine sanctuary (Figures 5- 6). Although the immediate arrangement of these curved forms is credited to Sulla (6), the repertoire is clearly Italic -the cumulative result of architectural experiments in the last two decades of the Sullan era (7). The coffered, colonnaded apsidal recesses on the fourth terrace at Praeneste are clearly part of this progressive architectural trend, but they fail to make a theatrical impression in the same magnitude as the semi-circular, 'theater-like *cavea*' that dominates the seventh terrace.

The most revealing prototype in Italy for the theatrical idea behind the *cavea*-like seventh terrace at Praeneste is likely to be found in the luxurious republican villas; these would have been free from the traditional restraints imposed upon the decorum of public and religious building programs. (Boethius, 1939, 115). For this reason, they were probably the breeding grounds for novel experiments in architectural design. Although the knowledge from extant Republican villas is extremely scarce, it is nevertheless possible to get an idea of the architecture in these villas from surviving wall paintings (8).

In an age when theatrical buildings had not yet come into widespread use in Italy, these wall-paintings reveal a fondness for dramatic efforts. In this respect, it is not difficult to recognize domestic precedents close at hand that would provide scenographic and theatrical 'suggestions' for Fortuna's temple. Although a number of these paintings reveal spatial vistas, especially important and relevant are the examples that achieve this effect through the use of curvilinear architectural form in a theatrical setting.

The decorative devices of curtain picture (*Vorhangbild*) and stage picture (*Theaterbild*) - although subject to fantasies of artistic licence - are nevertheless useful reminders of the architectonic and visual potential for theatrical trends in Republican luxury villas. Curtain pictures, as in the atrium of the House of Gavius Rufus, Room 6 in the Villa of Mysteries and the Corinthian oecys in the House of the Labyrinth, all in Pompeii, suggest more of a dramatic setting rather than an architectural one. The stage pictures however, as seen in paintings from the Villa of P. Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale, the *scaenae frons* of Apaturius or a painting now in the Naples Museum and the House of Lucretius Fronto (9), entail more actuality in their depiction of semi-circular exedrae and round temples that are arranged in ascending order.

Revealing as these wall paintings are, it is not possible to push the evidence too far. Artistic licence and fantastic liberties in these paintings limit their importance to testimonia about contemporary taste in domestic wall decoration in general. Because of their diffuse iconography, they are hardly sufficient evidence for suggesting a plausible derivative for the upper part of the Praenestine complex. It may also be revealing that none of them show the actual *cavea* or any suggestion of steps in a theater as in the manner at Praeneste.

The third outstanding characteristic of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia, namely particular combination of different architectural entities, may be traced in a number of pre-Sullan buildings. Aside from curvilinear vocabulary, these

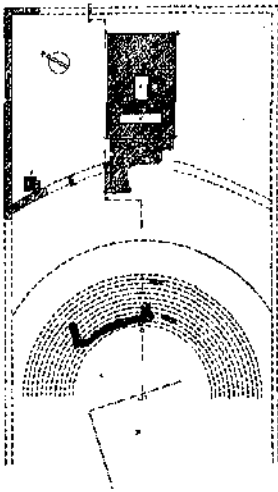


Figure 7. Temple at Cagliari (Hanson, Fig. 6).

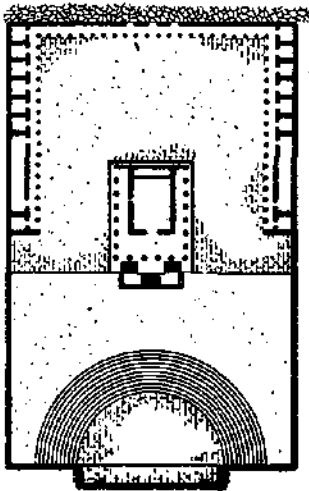


Figure 8. Temple at Gabii (Hanson, Fig. 5).

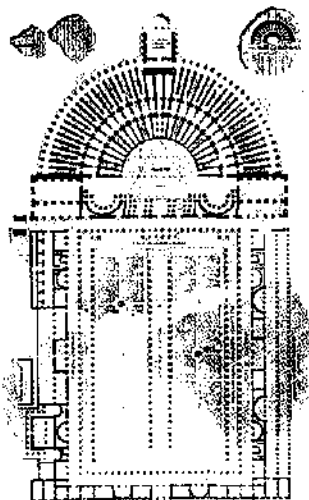


Figure 9. Theater of Pompey (Hanson, Fig. 19).

structures display the combination of a temple and semi-circular stairs. An early manifestation of such a theater-temple is well-known and appears during the third century B.C. at Cagliari, in Sardinia (Figure 7). Although Cagliari is a long way from Praeneste, the similarity of the combined forms is striking. In contrast to Praeneste however, the temple building is rectilinear, and it occupies a far larger and more dominant position in relation to the semi-circular stairs. This is a fundamental distinction, since unlike Praeneste, the cavea appears to be subordinate to the temple, hence of secondary importance. Keeping in mind the international fame of the oracle at Praeneste, it seems inconsistent that, had this been his source, Sulla's version of the same vocabulary would render the actual temple building almost inconspicuous in the architectural sophistication of the entire complex. Visually, the most striking feature of the Praenestine complex is not the rotunda at the top but the cavea-like exedra, which is accentuated by a semi-circular colonnaded portico, and the sophisticated arrangement of ramps and terraces leading to it.

Another theater-temple which also predates Sulla's complex, is closer at hand at Gabii. Here (Figure 8), as at Cagliari, the rectilinear temple building is visually accentuated by shallow, curvilinear stairs and a transitional space between the top of the stairs and the podium of the temple; unlike Praeneste, both the temples at Cagliari and Gabii do not have an imposing colonnaded portico to define the cavea architecturally. The visually dominant feature is the temple in both cases; the semi-circular stairs - even if used as seats for ritual ceremonies - appear merely as a monumental, processional entry leading to the temples.

Given such precedents and the international fame of the Fortuna cult, why would Sulla or his architect minimize the actual shrine building in the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia? Could this have been an accident? Although ancient sources are silent on the architectural implications of the Praenestine sanctuary, this observation strengthens the suggestion that Sulla may have planned the entire complex as a theater-like structure rather than as a shrine with monumental, semi-circular stairs. If indeed Sulla had theatrical intentions in building the sanctuary at Praeneste, his decision to build at the location of one of the most celebrated cults in Italy and so close to Rome is curious, but could be explained by political considerations. The social climate around 80 B.C. was not yet ripe for the construction of a permanent theatre in Rome. An earlier attempt to build a stone theatre had met the opposition of the ruling class and was destroyed in 151 B.C. Appian also reflects mixed feelings about permanent theaters and their impact on public morality (Appian, 1.28.125; Gatson 1964, 143). Given Sulla's obsession with the theatrical world, he may have used the fame of the Fortuna cult as a public foil to thwart conservative laws.

It has been suggested that the first stone theater in Rome built by Pompey in 55 B.C., resembles closely the plan of the upper sanctuary and its terrace at Praeneste (Hanson, 1959, 43-45; Hill, 1943-1944, 360; Jordan, 1874, 22). The similarity between temple, cavea and colonnaded portico in both complexes is indeed striking (Figure 9). Furthermore, while the sanctuary at Praeneste was built for Fortuna, Pompey's theater was dedicated to Venus, both being closely associated with the success of Sulla and Pompey respectively. Considering the parallels in the careers of Pompey and Sulla, it is possible that Pompey may have wanted to achieve what Sulla had not been able to do thirty years before, wishing to consolidate military glory consonant with his superiority and political success.

In Pompey's theater, the space occupied by the temple building itself is not as imposing as in the Gabii and Cagliari examples, and the cavea is clearly the dominant architectural feature. It is interesting however, that even after thirty years, Pompey's theater was still subject to conservative laws. According to

Tertullian (*De Spectaculis* X.5) and modern authors (Hanson, 1959, 45; Hill, 1943-1944, 364) Pompey would not have been able to build his theater without the temple and the dedication of the entire complex as a temple of Venus. Considering Pompey's reticence, it does not seem surprising that Sulla would have been hesitant to blatantly build a monumental theatre in Rome, so close to his voluntary abdication in 79 B.C.

The brief analysis of the three outstanding features of the temple of Fortuna Primigenia and the apparent lack of a favorable climate for Sulla's theatrical ideas on Italic soil indicate that a more direct source for the design at Praeneste should be sought abroad. The next section will deal with the Hellenistic east and Pergamum in particular, to suggest a more convincing source for the conception of the architectural design at Praeneste.

ROLE OF THE HELLENISTIC EAST

The lack of a convincing Italic prototype or a direct source of inspiration in native Italy for the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste indicate that an origin should be sought elsewhere. The role of contemporary architectural developments in Italy was certainly contributory in the manner of building at Praeneste; a mere understanding of architectural vocabulary however, is not sufficient to explain the sources for the completion of the design. Where and how did the idea for the sophisticated design at Praeneste originate? It is the intention in this section to explore Hellenistic Greek sources for the conception of the design by Sulla and his architects, and to suggest the overriding importance of a theatrical motivation, mixed with an ideological component, in the building of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. Here and in the following section, it is proposed that the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia may have been conceived as a theatrical monument by Sulla; at least in metaphorical terms.

Unlike later Roman rulers like Augustus or Marcus Aurelius who have left behind informative works, it is unfortunate that the *Commentarii Rerum Gestarum* of Sulla do not survive. Somewhere in his twenty-two books, Sulla perhaps wrote about his architectural projects, but we are deprived of such insight. Plutarch, in his biography of Sulla, uses the memoirs of the dictator as a source, but deals predominantly with military and political achievements, with no emphasis on his architectural pursuits (Perrin, 1914, 324-457). Understandably, there is no elaboration on what Sulla may have seen in the way of monuments and his reactions to what he saw. However, the campaign itinerary of Sulla in the Mediterranean and Plutarch's documentation of Sulla's encounter with Hellenistic monarchs and theatrical artists may be instructive in elucidating some of his sources in the Hellenistic east.

These eastern Hellenistic sources and the extent of their contribution in giving shape to Sulla's monument may be examined in three aspects: First, the character of contemporary artistic climate in Italy, especially Rome; second, Sulla's exposure to the regal, heroic and divine nature of Hellenistic rulership and the historical circumstances that may have fostered Sulla's aspiration to imitate such monarchical grandeur, the role of Fortuna and Pergamum in particular; and third, the testimony of the monuments themselves, not necessarily theaters, but edifices with a theatrical, scenographic aspect.

Already before Sulla, Italian artistic output had been infused with a considerable Hellenistic ingredient. Greek artistic and literary representations had been introduced during a wave of Hellenization during the second and first centuries

B.C. It cannot be far from truth when Rufus comments on Sulla's Hellenized tastes even in the judgement of a wife in a novel (Green, 1957, 9,21,51,116-118). This Hellenizing influence manifested itself through both direct transmission and subtler diffusion, and is indicative of the artistic climate in Rome, as well as the ease with which Sulla may have benefitted from an eastern architectural and iconographical vocabulary. Greek artists emigrating to Italy and the neighbouring Greek cities in Magna Graecia after Sulla's sack of Athens (Webster, 1966, 168) must have provided considerable stimulus in this Hellenizing trend. More blatant forms of this trend, not simply in the transportation of artistic ideas but authentic artifacts, instigated by Sulla, reflect his functional admiration for the Greek cast and his practical desire to utilize its ingredients.

Sulla's removal of the late fifth century painting, Zeuxis' Centaur Family from Athens in 86 B.C., his transportation of the library of Apellicon to Rome in 83 B.C., and more brazen, his removal of the columns from the unfinished Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens to embellish his own restoration of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol in Rome, clearly attest to his obsession with the Greek world and what it had to offer -although politically, Sulla had not hesitated to appropriate the treasures from prominent temples at Delphi and Epidauros, without regard for their local significance, or to plunder the sacred groves of the Academy and Lyceum to meet the costs of war, and to burn the newly completed arsenal at the Piraeus.

Similarly, it is not surprising that Sulla would turn to the East with its long tradition of ruler cult, to consolidate his own image of monarchical, in this case, dictatorial grandeur. Until Sulla, the diffusion of Hellenistic influence in Italy had been consistent but not particularly transformative. It took a Sullan impetus to breathe new life into these borrowed forms and achieve a synthesis of eclectic contemporary forms with Hellenistic ones. It is perhaps a historical accident, and a propitious one, that Sulla came to power during the Late Republican era, when the artistic climate in Rome and the provinces was ready not merely to absorb, but creatively transform a deliberate and state backed stimulus with roots in the Hellenistic east.

Unlike the comparatively sterile Augustan classicism that followed a few decades later, Sullan architects prefigured the architecture of the Imperial period in both the use of curvilinear vocabulary and facade design. This early Sullan synthesis of Hellenistic and Italic ingredients in Roman architecture made a far reaching contribution. It was one of the earliest manifestations of the hybrid nature of Roman art and its capacity for imaginative absorption that remained its distinguishing characteristic, in one form or another, until the end of the Empire.

In addition to an artistic climate that was ready to receive new influences from the East, Sulla's aspiration for the grandeur of Hellenistic monarchs, hence his resulting patronage of the grandiose sanctuary at Praeneste and other imposing civic works, the Tabularium in particular, appears to have been crucial in the formation of this new architecture. The significance of his personal impetus in the evolution of building with a clearly Roman spirit but an assimilated Hellenistic component, may partly explain why Sullan buildings were not imitated after his abdication and subsequent death a year later, and also the ease with which Augustan classicism temporarily shadowed this budding impulse in architecture during the beginning of the Imperial era.

10. A modern comprehensive treatment of Sulla and his military campaigns appears in Keaveney (1982); see also Wosnik (1963).

Historical circumstances in Sulla's career (10), both in Italy and the East, were conducive to if not integral in his obsession with the regal pomp and propagandistic visual manifestations of a Hellenistic court. The loyalty of his soldiers had shown him that such awesome trappings were a means to an end in winning

the popularity of the masses and consolidating Imperial power. Sulla's first-hand observations of Hellenistic monumentality and exposure to eastern monarchs, no doubt, would have consolidated his belief in the significance of propagandistic display. Admittedly, Sulla did not desire absolute monarchy in the manner of Caesar, but aimed at the restoration of the Republic. His deeds however, attest to the contrary. From the celebration of triumphs to his awesome funeral (Plutarch, 38) he indulged in the visual manifestations of his accomplishments and gave official patronage to public works of the magnitude of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia.

Does the unprecedented scale at Praeneste, or more generally, aspirations for eastern grandiosity parallel equally astounding accomplishments in Sulla's career? Sulla's political and military success at home and triumphs abroad were no ordinary military feats (11). After ten years of bitter civil strife during the Social War, the battle at the Colline Gate in 82 B.C. crowned Sulla's victory over his opponent Marius. His victory was sealed by the dictatorship voted him by the Comitia Centuriata and the way paved for his desire to restore the Roman Republic. In this role, it is hardly surprising that Sulla would see in himself the equivalent of a Hellenistic monarch and seek a befitting visual expression for his image of *renovatio*.

11. Cambridge Ancient History, Chapter VII, 313; MacDonald (1966, 143-150); in this context it is instructive to observe that fifteen centuries later Mehmed the Conqueror also had the ambition to conquer Rome and unite East and West like Alexander (Necipoglu, 1989, 424).

Such aspirations of Imperial character obviously received even greater justification after Sulla's triumph over Archelaus, the general of Mithridates VI of Pontus, the most formidable Roman enemy in the east, at the conclusion of the first Mithridatic War. Not only did Sulla become undisputed master in Italy, but in Greece and western Asia Minor, too, he could lay claim to the little 'liberator of the Greeks'. The demise of Mithridates was especially significant since he had challenged Roman authority in the East by claiming Greece and Pergamum. Since Pergamum had been a Roman territory after the bequest by Attalus III in 133 B.C., Sulla could feel he was restoring territory that had rightfully belonged to Rome. Not only was he Dictator in Italy, but he also represented Roman power in the East, with all its tradition of monarchical grandeur - a feat that had not been attained by any Roman commander before.

Campaigns in the East had brought Sulla into personal contact with the Hellenistic court tradition during his encounter with Orobazus, ambassador to the Parthian king Arsaces, Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, and of course, Mithridates. Apart from personal exposure to eastern traditions, these encounters provided yet other historical reasons to feed Sulla's quest for monarchical power and glory. The exchange of alliances between Arsaces, King of Parthia, and Sulla constituted the first instance of a Roman general having official intercourse with the Parthians, while the restoration of Ariobarzanes to his throne in Cappadocia after Sulla's defeat of Gordius, the general of Mithridates, was equally if not more impressive. Not only did Sulla display interest in eastern monarchical pageantry, but, ironically, earned further distinction by having for the first time, a Hellenistic monarch indebted to a Roman general for re-gaining his throne.

Many of Sulla's deeds received appropriate dictatorial recognition and commemoration through at least one equestrian statue set up by A. Manlius in the Campus Martius (12), which was a triumphal monument in Hellenistic style, a relief part of which was found at the southeast corner of the Capitoline Hill (MacDonald, 1966, 94, 230), trophies, and coinage (13) issued by him during his lifetime and posthumously.

12. (Alföldi, 1956, 90), Balsdon, 1951, 4; Taylor, 1886, 39) for widespread use of propagandistic statues see also Scott (1931) and Zanker (1988).

13. (Alföldi, 1956, 86); a complete listing appears in Sydenham (1952, 123-125); Wosnik (1963, 1-42).

Sulla may have eschewed the notion of a permanent monarchy, but this cannot have been more than a concession to moral, pragmatic ideology. In deed and commemoration, extant evidence bespeaks monarchical grandeur, at times sur-

passing Hellenistic tradition. Ceremonial or honorific licence alone are not sufficient to explain such honours bestowed upon a Roman general turned dictator. The gilt equestrian statue erected in 81 B.C., presumably to honor Sulla's victory over Mithridates, is no ordinary triumphal monument. It bore the inscription *Cornelio Sullae imperatori felici*, attesting to Sulla's newly acquired monarchical claim. Although highly conjectural, it is also possible that there may also be an extended allusion to Alexander the Great and his horse Bucephalus. No equestrian statue of Alexander survives, but his victory over Darius at Issus in 333 B.C., whereby he removed Persian domination in the Mediterranean and controlled the cities of Asia Minor, is not very different from Sulla's Mithridatic victory which established, once again, Roman domination in the east.

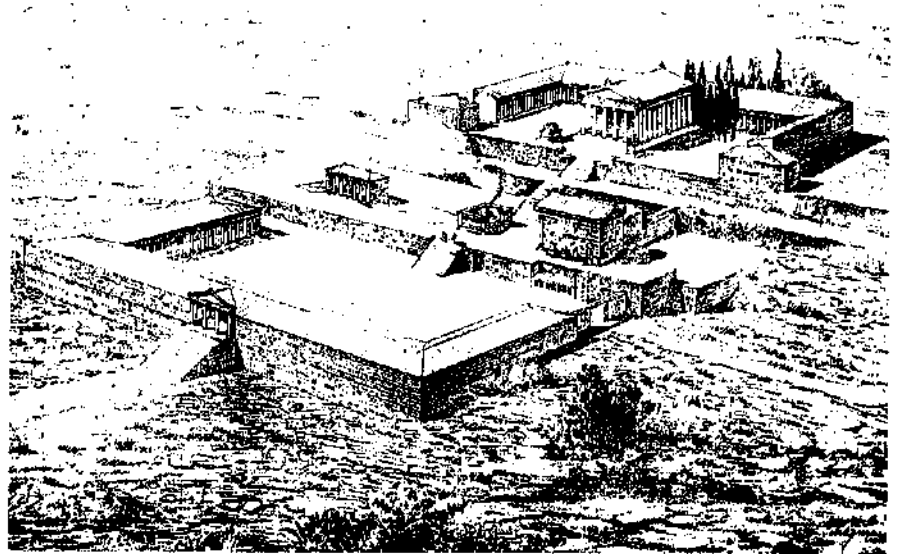
On coins as well it is hard to miss the propagandistic content. Interestingly, Sulla's extensive silver and gold issues were struck at eastern mints in Greece and Asia Minor. The gold issues especially went to the pockets of his troops, buying loyalty. But again, coin reverses with togated Sulla in triumphal quadriga and the celebrated type featuring the equestrian statue are vividly suggestive of Sulla trying to generate a strong ruler cult by the visible manifestations of his accomplishments.

Sulla's ambition to revive the Republic, imbued with the theme of triumph, also drew upon the role of allegory and dreams in the official art of Rome, especially evident on coins. Not only was Sulla encouraged by favorable omens and dreams but he attached great importance to them (Breittenstein, 1937, 181-6; Palmer, 1975, 655). In the dedication of his *Memoirs* to Lucullus, he advises the latter to heed divine portents appearing in dreams, (Plutarch, 6.6) and relates the favorable auspices he received before the onset of the Social War. Accordingly, he was singled out as a blond headed brave man who would save Rome from its troubles. Again, before marching into Rome, Sulla was believed to have had a vision of a Cappadocian deity with thunderbolts, prophesizing his victory, sometimes interpreted as Bellona, Luna or Minerva. But it is interesting in this context that after the Battle of the Colline Gate, Sulla's decisive victory over Marius, the Senate convened in the Sanctuary of Bellona. Evident are not only the imperial prophecy, but also the role of a Hellenized eastern deity in a Roman general's success, and his profound respect for it.

Similarly, it must have been not only flattering but reminiscent of monarchical grandeur, when during negotiations with the Parthians, a Chaldean augur predicted that Sulla would become the greatest man in the world. Such exalting promise of imperial power must have seemed imminent and real when Mithridates was supposed to have had prophecies signalling his downfall, coinciding with Sulla's departure from Brindisi to meet him in war (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 8.1). It is not clear whether this portent was known to Sulla personally, but it is quite likely. Ironically, Plutarch describes the stage for the portent as the theatre at Pergamum. The incident involved the lowering of a crown over Mithridates' head, when the crown dropped and shattered to pieces before the eyes of the spectators in the theatre. More than any other, this omen would have had particular significance for Sulla: Mithridates was the avowed Roman enemy, while Sulla wanted to restore to Rome its usurped heritage in Asia Minor.

In this context, it is also noteworthy that Sulla was quite explicit about his belief in Fortuna's share in his victories. In the typical manner of dramatizing allegorical notions for propagandistic purposes, Sulla is recorded to have attributed his successes to Fortuna's protection and favour, rather than his own excellence (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 6.5). Whether he actually believed this is irrelevant. What is

Figure 10. Sanctuary at Cos (R.Herzog, P.Schatzman, Plate 40).



14. Farnell (1977, 665) discusses the probable origins of the name. See also (Plutarch, Sulla, 34).

revealing is that this was probably the public image he sought to foster. On coins, the symbol of Venus (Fortuna?) is well represented (Alföldi, 1956, 75,82,83,87), displaying the prerogative of imperial auspica slated for Sulla the Favourite by Venus. Not only did Sulla utilize the visual dramatization of Venus on coins, but he also signed his letters to Greeks *Επαφροδίτου* indicating the tenacity of his conviction (14).

At the risk of pushing the evidence too far, it is tempting to suggest a possible correlation, seemingly tenuous, between Sulla's Fortuna, her restored sanctuary and the incident at Pergamum. From a historical point of view, the monumentality of the sanctuary at Praeneste could be easily understood as a logical desire by Sulla to provide an abode befitting her favours. Less easy, however, is to suggest a provenance for the curvilinear, cavea-like steps linking temple and bottom terraces. Is it possible that Sulla may have a symbolic theatre in mind, a stage from where his divine patroness Fortuna dispensed universal luck to the world at large? Given Sulla's obsession with the theatre and theatrical folk, elaborated further in the next section, it does not seem at all unlikely that he may have been motivated by a theatrical notion in his monumental tribute to his personal goddess. In the face of archaeological evidence, pointing out possible reasons for Sulla's conception of the particular design and monumentality at Praeneste may also strengthen the premises for Sullan dating.

The absence of extant Italic prototypes both in design and monumental conception was noted in the first section. The next question to ask is what prototype were there in the east to inspire Sulla? Monumentality and scenographic terracing immediately bring to mind the restored Hellenistic sanctuaries at Cos and Lindos (Figures 10-11). Built successively from the late fourth century to the second century, the sanctuary of Asklepios at Cos comprises several of the architectural ingredients employed at Praeneste. As at Praeneste, it is built on gradually rising terraces, three instead of seven, and utilizes the landscape to emphasize ceremonial access to the temple building that is perched on the top. The individual terraces are architecturally defined by steps and ramps, and are connected to each other and to the complex as a whole. As at Praeneste, the middle, central terrace is the widest with an altar. Unlike Praeneste, the temple does not stand in isolation on a level of its own, but is enclosed in a U-shaped stoa.

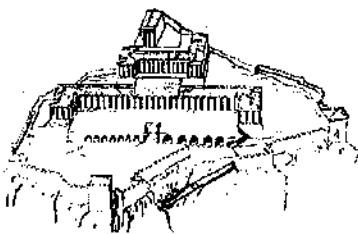


Figure 11. Sanctuary at Lindos (E.Kirsten, W.Kraiker, Figure 98).

Similarly, the plan of the acropolis at Lindos with the temple of Athena is also built on three ascending terraces with their own architectural enclosures. Unlike the Asklepion at Kos, the Lindos sanctuary bears even more striking similarities to the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste: as in the latter, the U-shaped stoa of the middle terrace has pedimented returns and the platform is supported by an arcaded storey. The temple itself is not on the same level as the highest enclosing stoa, as in the Cos example, but similar to Praeneste, it rises above the entire complex. In both eastern examples, the temples are of the traditional rectilinear type, while the shrine of Fortuna is in the form of a small *tholos*. Also, they reveal comparatively loose planning in contrast to the strict symmetry and axuality at Praeneste.

Despite striking similarities however, these complexes lack one fundamental feature of the shrine at Praeneste. The theater-like *cavea* is absent. In the face of other similarities a common enough explanation would attribute this to a transformation of Greek design to contemporary Roman vocabulary. Thus, according to local taste, the rectilinear elements would become curved: The rectilinear temples would be replaced by the *tholos*, while the U-shaped stoas would convert to the curvilinear shape of a *cavea*. Contemporary experiments with curvilinear architectural forms in Italy were briefly discussed in the first section.

However, although this explanation appears to be sensible, it fails to explain why only the upper part of the sanctuary that is joined to the *tholos*, displays this progressive feature. The U-shaped stoa in Hellenistic style is retained in the central terrace at Praeneste, and the corresponding stairs are conventional. This strengthens the notion that rather than subjecting the entire design to curvilinear Roman transformation, the decisive factor may have been a conscious choice to incorporate a theater-like *cavea* at the top, and not simply curved stairs. Since a theater - of whatever kind - could not realistically have more than one *cavea* on top of one another, and separated by terraces, is it not possible that Sulla may have commissioned a theater-temple preceded by an impressive array of terraces and ramps? Such an assumption would not deny the role of assimilated Hellenistic design - but show that it was synthesized in its original rectilinear form, to monumentalize an extraordinary theatre-temple complex.

As a model for the lower part of the Praenestine sanctuary and for the framework of the design as a whole, the aforementioned Hellenistic structures would be suitable candidates. They were all prominent extant monuments. Furthermore, despite the lack of literary evidence, it is quite possible that both Sulla and his general Marcus Licinius Lucullus may have personally visited the monuments in the course of their military itinerary in the eastern Mediterranean. For two years during the war in Greece, Lucullus had travelled widely in this region while procuring a navy for Sulla. He had been received by the Pharaoh Ptolemy and is known to have anchored at Rhodes, Chios, Cos, Mytilene and Tenedos (15).

As suggested before, these terraced monuments and Sulla's familiarity with them are not in themselves sufficient to explain the extraordinary combination of *cavea* and temple of Praeneste. As pointed out by Hanson (1959, 29), the evidence for Greek theaters with temples is often awkward and disparate, and most such structures appear to date from Imperial times. Despite its resemblance to a theater however, it seems obvious that the upper part of the sanctuary at Praeneste could not have been an ordinary theater for entertainment. So, rather than searching for a literal architectural prototype, it may be revealing to search for secondary evidence and identify circumstances that may have contributed to the conception of the design.

15. (Green, 210); in this context one wonders if the exquisite Nilotic mosaics in the lower sanctuary at Praeneste (Figure 12), as well as the stepped design may owe a debt to Lucullus. He was the closest henchman to Sulla, and one of the founder of the colony at Praeneste. If Sulla was indeed the patron for the whole complex, he would surely have consulted with his cosmopolitan friend about the grandiose project at Praeneste and partook in his views.



Figure 12. Nilotic mosaic from Praeneste (Photograph: S.Güven).

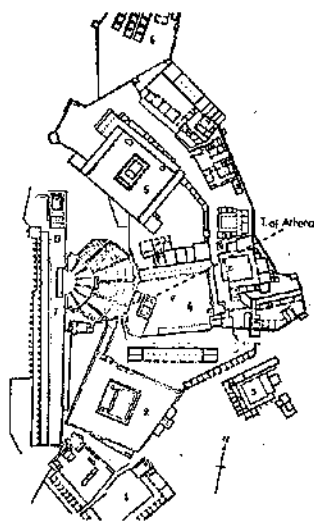


Figure 13. Pergamum, upper city (METU Slide Archive).

16. A scene curiously reminiscent of this crown spectacle appears on a wall painting from a late Republican house at Boscoreale (Beyen, 1938, Plates 22 and 22b) (Figure 14). The west wall of the summer triclinium in the house of Fannius Sinistor interestingly reveals a stage setting complete with theater masks. Unlike some other theatrical wall-paintings common during the Republican period there is a figure reminiscent of a winged victory and a crown-like object depicted between curtains instead of the better known *tholos*. It is also attested that at certain triumphal banquets, mechanically operated statues of Victory descended and distributed golden trophies and wreaths (Fears, 1980, 881).

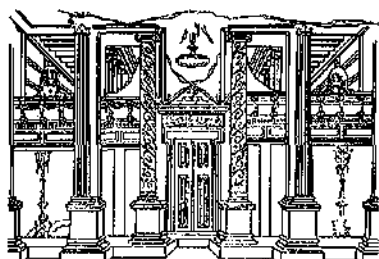


Figure 14. Painting from House of Fannius Sinistor, Boscoreale (Beyen, plate 22).

The Acropolis at Pergamum comes immediately to mind. It was set up on high ground and had a serious tradition of ideological association with Athens. The glorification of the civic religious center was on a grander scale than any other city in Asia Minor. Exquisite landscape planning on a steep slope magnified the propagandistic intent of public architecture (Figure 13).

Similar to the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, the sacred precinct of Athena Nikephoros could be seen from a long distance below, emphasizing the glory of the city and the importance of Athena as the patron deity. The biennial festival of Athena Nikephoros (Hoffmann, 1952, 4) celebrated the victorious, exalted position of the goddess. It is perhaps not without interest that both Athena Nikephoros and Fortuna share an association with glorified military and civic accomplishments. While the Pergamene Athena perpetuated the glory of her celebrated counterpart in Athens, Fortuna was no less significant for Sulla, in that his decisive victory for supremacy in Rome was won at Praeneste, the abode of Fortuna whose Favourite Sulla claimed to be. Similar to the biennial festival of Athena, *ludi victoria Sullanae* were celebrated annually but it is not known to me if the shrine at Praeneste would have been a major focus in these celebrations.

To enhance this ideological similarity, it is noteworthy that a cavea was a conspicuous part of the overall scenographic planning in both cases, when viewed from a distance. The extraordinary theatre in Pergamum was not an integral part of the Athena sanctuary, which in reality was displaced to one side and had its own enclosure. However, although not built in one phase, the Pergamene acropolis does reveal careful integrated planning, with the theatre obviously intended as the unifying focus. Similarly, at Praeneste, the cavea-like steps leading to the *tholos* form a visual center, as at Pergamum, by crowning the topmost terrace.

Sulla's victory over Mithridates enabled the return to Rome of lands bequeathed by Attalus III and confirmed his new powerful status in the Greek world. Considering Sulla's fanatical belief in favorable omens, is it not possible that he may have been particularly inspired by the theatre at Pergamum and the bizarre crown incident - mentioned earlier - that was associated with the downfall of Mithridates? The authenticity of the portent described by Plutarch is difficult to verify, but it may be significant that the scene of the incident was the theater (16).

Whether the theatrical manifestations of the upper sanctuary at Praeneste are the result of indirect diffusion of historic iconography combined with curvilinear architectural vocabulary that was in vogue, or a conscious choice to incorporate a theatrical cavea in the design is an important question, not only to determine the architectural character of the complex, but also its meaning.

If Sulla is indeed responsible for the entire sanctuary at Praeneste, the latter suggestion, namely the inclusion of a cavea as a conscious choice, appears to be stronger than the former which is primarily a stylistic one. Assuming that Sulla may have been familiar with the prophetic crown incident at Pergamum, is it not possible that he may have been motivated by a symbolic interpretation of the omen and proceeded to immortalize it in his grandiose theatrical monument at Praeneste?

It is indeed curious that the Sanctuary of Fortuna, both in its monumental scale and extraordinary design is quite unique. This strengthens the probability of a personal touch in its design.

Assuming theatrical intent, symbolic or otherwise, on Sulla's part, are there other indications to support the Pergamene hypothesis? Sulla was known to display a particular interest in the theatre. During his military campaigns in the East, he expressed an interest in theatrical guilds, particularly in the celebrated guilds of Isthmia and Nemea, Athens, Ionia and Hellespont, while Pergamum happened to be one of the main centers of the Ionian-Hellespontine guild under the patron deity Dionysos Kathegemon (Garton, 1964, 144; Webster, 1966, 128). Because of this association, the theatre at Pergamum would have been of particular interest to Sulla. It is known that the artists of Pergamum were exempted from the usual taxes and compulsory military service after Sulla's victory over Mithridates. Such exemption is indicative of the privileged status artists and theaters held for Sulla.

Furthermore, the so-called Temple of Dionysos Kathegemon and its narrow precinct appear to be intimately connected with the theatre building. Unlike most Greek theatres, the stage building at Pergamum is thought to have been a temporary wooden structure, as judged from the socket holes in the ground opposite the cavea (Romano, 1982, 587). In practice, the seats of the cavea could have been used to view processions leading to the temple in the north, which would attest to a comparatively late combination of religious and theatrical function. In comparison, the *tholos* shrine of Fortuna at Praeneste is perched above the semi-circular colonnade of the cavea, in reverse of the relationship at Pergamum. Such pragmatic reversal, however, does not necessarily invalidate the essential similarity between the Praenestine and Pergamene complexes with regard to the integration of religious and secular form. Although the ultimate architectural conception at Praeneste makes a different impact on the observer, or participant, the comparison is nevertheless useful in that it shows how Pergamum could offer a viable precedent. The circular flight of steps at Praeneste may have served a theatrical purpose without any permanent arrangement for a stage building, in which case, Pergamum could offer not only a monumental, but a celebrated example.

17. Lehmann (1954,20); the temple with curved steps at Pessinus excavated by Belgians has kindly been pointed out to me independently by professors E.Akurgal and P.Kuniholm.



Figure 15. Portrait of Sulla, Glyptothek, München. (Vierneisel and Zanker, 84)

As architectural testimonia, two other Hellenistic sanctuaries with scenographic setting deserve mention. Apollonia-on-Lake Rhyndacus in Bithynia and Antioch-toward-Pisidia (17) both have sanctuaries with monumental settings, not in rectilinear stepped fashion as at Cos and Lindos, but using curvilinear vocabulary. At Apollonia, the temple is in the center of a horse-shoe arrangement of stoas, while the sanctuary at Antioch utilizes the steepness of a curved slope for its semi-circular colonnade and temple. Whether these examples pre-figure the vogue for curved forms in Italy is not clear, but their impact on the upper sanctuary at Praeneste, in the absence of better evidence, would appear to be no more than that of curvilinear experiments in Italy. In summary, the upper part of the sanctuary at Praeneste appears to be closer to a theatre with a temple, rather than a temple preceded by theatre-like stairs. The credibility of this proposal and the ideological justifications for its monumental setting are enhanced by the nature of the evidence from Asia Minor.

IMPORTANCE OF THE THEATER FOR SULLA

So far, it has been argued that the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia was perhaps built as a memorial with a theatrical aspect - a *theatrum mundi* - commissioned by Sulla (Figure 15) for his patron deity, to commemorate his accomplishments performed under her divine vigilance. Beyond traditional religious function, this may have been his personal way of raising a contemporary occasion to a universal

level by providing as a tribute to Fortuna a permanent stage from where he would also be remembered as a principal actor in the political drama of the Roman Republic.

The purpose in this section is to furnish further personal evidence for Sulla's persistent involvement with theaters and theatrical artists, that may make the suggestion of similar intent in the design of the semi-circular stepped part of the Praenestine sanctuary more convincing.

Evidence for Sulla's interest in artists and the theatrical world is well documented and varied, ranging from personal association with individual artists to building theatres for veteran soldiers in new colonies. His life-long friendship with Metrobius the actor is well known (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 2.4). Nicopolis, a faithful lover, was associated with the theatre (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 2.4; Green, 1957, 43). Sorix, a mime master, was particularly close to Sulla (Garton, 1964, 142). In addition to such personal acquaintances, Sulla is known to have visited with artists during his military campaigns, as at Aedeptus, having a pleasant time (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 26.4).

Plutarch is not lacking in testimony pertaining to Sulla's weakness for the world of the theatre:

Nor is it out of place to mention such testimonies in the case of a man said to have been by nature so fond of raillery that when he was still young and obscure, he spent much time with actors and buffoons and shared their dissolute life; and when he had made himself supreme master, he would daily assemble the most reckless stage and theater folk to drink and bandy jests with them, although men thought that he dishonoured his high office, but ...

Even though he had such a wife at home (Valeria), he consorted with artists, harpists, and theatrical people, drinking with them on couches all day long. For these were the men who had most influence with him right now... Roscius, the archmime, and Metrobius, the impersonator of women, for whom, though past his prime, he continued up to the last to be passionately fond of, and made no denial of it. (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 36.1)

Not only did Sulla indulge in the company of such artists for pleasure, but manifested his genuine interest by granting special privileges to them. His theatrical friends evaded the notorious conscriptions and were among those who received presents of confiscated property during his dictatorship (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 31.5; d'Arms, 1968, 187) - clearly indicating their special significance for Sulla, despite their low status in society. Furthermore, in the East, members of theatrical guilds at Pergamum and Athens, in particular, were exempted from taxes and compulsory military service. Roscius the comedian, even received a knighthood from Sulla, the first in his profession to be distinguished by such an honour (Garton, 1964, 146).

Besides flattering theatrical artists, Sulla also fostered the building of theaters, both temporary and permanent. A stage was built at Thebes (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 19.6) to celebrate his victory and to organize contests, while he also built theaters for pragmatic reasons, to entertain veteran soldiers who were settled in new colonies. Sullan colonies were numerous in Campania, Etruria, Lucania, Latium and Corsica (Frank, 1933, 220- 221), although it is hardly likely that he built theaters in all of them. The colonization of veterans in these towns was considerable, estimated to be around 120,000 soldiers and approximately 225,000

colonized citizens. Given Sulla's personal interest in the theater, it is hardly surprising that he would instigate the construction of permanent theaters to keep such large numbers of settlers, no longer in military activity, occupied.

Permanent stone theaters for popular comedy had already been built before the Sullan era at Syracuse, Segesta, Tyndaris and Pompeii in Sicily and southern Italy (Bieber, 1961, 168). However, Sulla appears to have given new impetus to building permanent stone theaters, especially in the colonies. The large theatre at Pompeii, distinguished as a *colonia Veneria Felix Sullana*, was restored by Sulla around 80 B.C., and a covered theater was constructed in the Roman manner, no doubt to provide better entertainment for veterans. Similarly, the rock-cut theatre of Alba Fucens in Samnium is also assigned a Sullan date, and reveals a combination of Greek and Roman elements. In Etruria, the theater at Florentia belongs to the Republican era and is perhaps of Sullan date. Faesulae boasts perhaps the oldest Roman theater, also possibly Sullan. Inscriptions mention a theater and amphitheater at Praeneste, (Smith, 1873, 666) also a veterans' town, but their location, character or date are not known, which leaves the possibility of another Sullan theater open.

Sulla's interest in the world of drama was not confined to histrionic sociability or the building of theaters, but was also manifested in the writing of comedies. These satyric comedies in Latin may not have been intended for actual theatrical performance, but it is significant that *atellana*, which were variations on Oscan farce, received new literary form in the days of Sulla (Beare, 1963, 141,147; Garton, 1964, 137,141). This persistent involvement of Sulla with several facets of the dramatic world show that his interest was not simply a fancy but a deep-seated trait in his life. In this light, the close resemblance of the Praenestine complex to a theater suggests that it was the result of a conscious choice and not merely a coincidence resulting from progressive experiments with curvilinear form.

Hill (1943-1944, 360-365) is right to point out that, even if functional criteria are met, the semi-circular structure on the topmost level of the sanctuary at Praeneste could not be designated a theater in the technical sense of the word. However, beyond its symbolic and memorial aspect, it is not unlikely that the *cavea*-like structure could and did function in a manner similar to its more traditional counterparts. Temporary structures could have been used to resolve problems of visibility, or as a stage; this would be emphatically reminiscent of the situation at Pergamum, where a permanent stage was lacking for the steep, monumental *cavea*.

Restrictions for the building of permanent theatres in Rome were mentioned in the first section. It must also be remembered that strangely enough, laws were more lenient for towns outside of Rome, and permission for seating was granted to theatres at least a mile from Rome (Bieber, 1961, 168). In this respect, the proximity of Praeneste to Rome, but without significant ties to the capital city, would have been a good choice to test reactions for the building of a monumental theatre. Apart from being a bold and ambitious way to honour his *Iodestar* Fortuna, is it not possible that Sulla may have intended the theatrical aspect of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia as a dress rehearsal for a full fledged project in Rome itself?

The similarities between Pompey's theatre in Rome and the Sanctuary at Praeneste, noted in Part I are indeed striking. Perhaps Pompey initiated and completed his project drawing inspiration from Praeneste - an outstanding project in Rome, for which Sulla may not have had time due to puritanical reservations in the capital city, his abdication and precarious health (Carney,

1961, 64-77). Whether this hypothesis can be verified depends on further study, but nevertheless, the theatrical aspect of the sanctuary at Praeneste remains compelling.

Studies on the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, especially the semi-circular cavea, have not explored the theatrical idiosyncracies in Sulla's life as a source for the design. Fasolo and Gullini have concentrated on the archaeological and formal aspects of the design. While Hanson has investigated the function of the semi-circular stairs as a *theatron*, his discussion is a primarily religious one, which stresses the character of Fortuna, rather than the personal life of Sulla. Garton, on the other hand, rather soft-pedals Sulla's architectural achievements, and sees his main contribution in the literary aspects of the theatre.

It is hoped that this study will generate further questions about the architectural manifestations of Sulla's theatrical interest and its possible application at Praeneste. In the course of further study, it may become apparent that Sulla perhaps deserves an epithet as a precursor of permanent stone theaters in Rome.

ROMA DİKTATÖRÜ SULLA'DAN FORTUNA'YA ARMAĞAN

ÖZET

Alındı : 28.2.1991
Anahtar Sözcükler : Fortuna Primigenia
Tapınağı, Sulla.

Roma'nın 30 kilometre kadar güney-doğusunda bulunan kutsal merkez Praeneste'deki tanınmış Fortuna Primigenia tapınağının Roma diktatörü Cornelius Sulla yönetiminde yeniden düzenlenerek inşa edildiği sanılmaktadır. Yamaç üzerinde yedi kat teras halinde yükselen ve Roma Cumhuriyet döneminin en büyük din ve kehanet merkezlerinden birisi olan bu görkemli tapınağın yeniden inşa edilmesinde Fortuna kültürünün kutsal arazisi üzerinde geçmişi daha eskiye dayanan kültürle ilgili bazı yerlerin tasarıma dahil edildiği düşünülmektedir. Tapınakta Roma Cumhuriyet dönemine özgü, *lithostroton* gibi yeni teknik ve malzemenin yanısıra, birçok mimari yeniliklerin Hellenistik ve İtaliyeli unsurları içeren orijinal bir tasarım yarattıkları görülmektedir. Tasarımın odak noktası, tepesinde ufak bir *tholos* bulunan ve tiyatro düzenini anımsatan basamaklı yerinci terastır.

Tapınak II. Dünya savaşındaki bombardımandan sonra üzerine ortaçağ ve daha sonraki devirlerde inşa edilen ev ve binaların yıkılması sonucu ortaya çıkmış ve birçok araştırmacının konusu olmuştur. Bunların içinde en detaylı olanı İtalyan bilim adamları Fasolo ve Gullini'nin yaptıkları rekonstrüksiyonu içeren iki ciltlik çalışmadır. Ancak, genellikle Sulla'nın Praeneste'yi istilasından sonra giriştiği mimari restorasyon programı çerçevesinde, İ.Ö. 80 yıllarına tarihlenen üst tapınak, Fasolo ve Gullini tarafından takriben 70 yıl öncesine, İ.Ö. 150 yıllarına tarihlenmektedir. Yazarlar böylelikle Praeneste'deki orijinal tasarımın kökenlerini geç Cumhuriyet döneminde doğudan, Yunanistan ve Anadolu'dan kaynaklanan ve ağırlığını İtalya'da hissettiren Hellenistik akımlardan çok, yerel İtaliyeli unsurlardan kaynaklandığını belirtmektedirler.

Aynı şekilde Fortuna Primigenia tapınağının çarpıcı cephe ve eksen düzenine dayalı mimarisinin de bu dönemdeki erken İtaliyeli unsurlardan kaynaklandığını savunurlar. Ancak, aralarında Kähler ve Lugli de olmak üzere bu erken tarihlendirme

bazı araştırmacılar tarafından destek görmemiştir. Ayrıca bu orijinal tasarımın kökenlerinin açıklanmasında mevcut yerli, ve Fasolo ile Gullini'nin savundukları gibi, İtalya modellerin yeterli olmadığı görülmektedir. Fakat Roma diktatörü Sulla'nın tiyatrolara olan özel tutkusu, onun Anadolu seferleri ile beraber incelendiğinde bazı ilginç sonuçlar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Yazıda, Sulla'ya esin kaynağı olabilecek Hellenistik doğunun, Anadolu'nun ve özellikle Bergama'nın bazı mimari ve ikonografik unsurları tartışılarak, İtalya'da benzeri olmayan Fortuna Primigenia tapınağının mimarisine bu yönden ışık tutulmaktadır. Bu surette, hem kaynak, hem de tarihleme açısından Fasolo ve Gullini'nin aksine, erken tarihlemeye ziyade Sulla döneminin uygunluğu tarihsel verilerin ışığında tartışılmaktadır.

Az önce belirttiğimiz gibi, tapınağın odak noktasını tiyatro *cavea*'sını anımsatan, içinde olasılıkla Fortuna'nın kült heykeli bulunan *tholos*'lu yedinci teras oluşturmaktadır. Cumhuriyet döneminde birleşik bir *cavea* ve tapınak düzeni göstermesinin yanı sıra, burada vurgulanması gereken en önemli nokta, Roma'da kagir tiyatro yapılarının henüz yasak olduğu bir dönemde, bir tapınak çerçevesinde bu motifin kullanılmış olmasıdır.

Fasolo ve Gullini'nin önerdikleri gibi Fortuna Primigenia tapınağının tasarım kaynağını İtalya ve yerel kaynaklara bağlamak, ne tarihleme, ne de anıtsallık konularında tatminkar sonuçlar vermemektedir. İtalya'da ilk akla gelen örnekler Cagliari ve Gabii'deki tapınaklardır. Fakat bu tapınaklar bazı İtalyan yazarların dedikleri kadar erken tarihlere sahip olmayabilirler. Bu konuda tam bir fikir birliği bulunmamaktadır. İkinci olarak da, *cavea* şeklindeki basamaklarla ulaşılan tapınak mı, yoksa *cavea* eşliğinde tapınak kombinasyonu mu sorusu kurcalandığında, tapınak ve *theatron* öğelerinin eşit ağırlıkta olduğunu görmekteyiz. Fortuna Primigenia tapınağının üst kısmını son derece andıran Tivoli'deki Hercules Victor tapınağı ise tarihlemeye kaynak olamayacak kadar geç ve tapınak ögesi de *theatron* ögesinden epeyce baskın ve vurgulu bir şekilde karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Cosa'daki İ.Ö. 3.yüzyıla tarihlenen Comitium/Curia ise, *theatron* ögesi içermekle beraber, tapınak kombinasyonu bulunmadığından, Roma Cumhuriyet dönemi politik toplantı yerleri hakkında bize bilgi vermek dışında, Fortuna Primigenia tapınağının tasarımını etkileyen bir model olarak düşünülemez. Bu değişik örneklerden görüleceği gibi Fortuna Primigenia tapınağı tasarımının kökenlerini İtalya dışında aramakta yarar vardır. Bu yönden konuya bakıldığında akla gelen ilk örnekler Cos ve Lindos'taki tapınak düzenlemeleridir. Fakat her iki örnekte de görüldüğü gibi, stoalarla yamaç üzerinde yaratılan teraslama ve en yüksek noktada ulaşılan tapınak dışında pek bir benzerlik yoktur. Özellikle, bizi ilgilendiren *theatron*'lu tapınak ögesi de ne üst, ne de altta, bu terasların hiçbirinde göze çarpmamaktadır.

Bizim esas üzerinde durmak istediğimiz örnek, batı Anadolu'da Bergama kentinin iyi bilinen tiyatro ve Athena tapınağıdır. Praeneste'deki gibi ekseni cepheler içeren kademeli teraslar üzerine kurulmamış olmakla beraber, İ.Ö. III. yüzyıl gibi erken bir tarihleme ve *theatron* ögesi ön planda olan bir tiyatro ve tapınak düzeni içermesi bakımından aradığımız türden bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. İtalya dışında Hellenistik bir örnek olarak Bergama'daki kombinasyon gerek mimari, gerekse ideolojik açıdan raslantusal görünmekle birlikte, Sulla ve onun Bergama ilişkileri incelendiğinde ilginç sonuçlar ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Bir kere, tapınak ögesinin Bergama'da tiyatro'ya göre epeyce geri planda olduğu söylenebilir. Aynı şey Praeneste'deki *tholos* için de geçerlidir. Ön cephede hakim olan *cavea*'dır; *cavea*'nın gerisinde yer alan *tholos*, *cavea*'dan pek görünmemektedir. Ayrıca, her iki örnekte de tapınakların tanrıçaları zaferle ilgilidir.

Bergama'da Athena Nikephoros, Praeneste'de ise Sulla'nın zaferlerine katkısı olan Fortuna'nın tapınakları *theatron* basamaklarının gerisinde yükselme-
tedirler.

Şimdi işin *theatron* yönünü biraz kurcalayalım. Sulla'nın tiyatrolara ve tiyatro oyuncularına olan aşırı tutkusu Plutarch'tan iyi bilinmektedir. Yakın arkadaşları arasında pek çok tiyatro oyuncusu vardır. Hatta Bergama ve Atina'daki tiyatro loncaları mensuplarının vergi ve askeri hizmetten Sulla tarafından muaf tutuldukları bilinmektedir. Bu bakımdan, Roma'da kagir tiyatro yapılarının yasaklandığı bir dönemde, başkente bu kadar yakın bir mesafede bulunan Praeneste'deki tiyatro düzenini anımsatan tasarım ile diktatörün tiyatro tutkusu arasında bir ilişki düşünmeye değer.

Gelgelelim, niçin Bergama? Fortuna'nın himayesi altında Sulla'nın en önemli zaferleri kuşkusuz karışıklıklar içinde bulunan Roma Cumhuriyetine kadar topraklarını genişletmeyi düşünen Mithridates'e karşı olanlarıdır. Mithridates, Hellenistik kırılların zenginlik ve ihtişamına özenen Sulla'nın can düşmanı idi. Hatta, bir ara Roma'da Sulla'ya karşı ayaklanan İtaliklerin bu güçlü Anadolu kiralından yardım çağrısında buldukları bilinmektedir. Pontus dönemini başlatan Mithridates'in başkenti Bergama idi. Fakat bu uzun sürmemiş ve Sulla zaferleri sonucu 'Asya'nın Yeniden Düzenleyicisi' ünvanını alarak kendi dönemini başlatmıştır. Plutarch, Bergama tiyatrosunda Mithridates'in başına geçirilmekte olan bir tacın düşüp parçalandığı bir kehanet sahnesinden sözeder. Bu sahnenin Mithridates'in başkenti Bergama'nın tiyatrosunda yer alması Sulla'nın zafer habercisi olarak ikonografik özel bir anlamı olduğu düşünülebilir.

Sözetlediğimiz bu tarihi varsayımlar arkeolojik somut verilere dayalı olmamakla beraber, daha iyi araştırıldığı takdirde, bu yönlerden Fortuna Primigenia tapınağının tarihleme ve kökenlerinin araştırılmasında yeni bir boyut kazandırılacağı düşüncesindeyiz.

İtalya'da İ.Ö. 80 yıllarında Hellenistik doğu etkilerinin yoğunluğu iyi bilinmektedir. Bu yıllarda Cicero'nun İ.Ö. 83 yılında Capitoline tapınağı için 'Romalıların şanına yaraşır gibi' dediği şekilde, yani kastettiği doğu Hellenistik görkeminden geri kalmayacak biçimde, bir inşaat furyası olduğu gözlenmektedir. Doğudan gelen etkiler ve sentezlerini Vitruvius *consuetudo italica* terimi ile çok güzel belirtmektedir. Fortuna Primigenia tapınağı ve kökenleri hakkındaki düşüncelerimizin, bu genel akımlar çerçevesinde de incelendiği takdirde daha da kesinlik kazanacağı düşüncesindeyiz.

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