INFLUENCE OF EMPEROR HADRIAN FROM THE ANCIENT TO THE PRESENT: CEREMONIAL GATES AND CULTURAL MEMORY IN ATTALEIA AND EPHESUS

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ABSTRACT

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The reign of Emperor Traianus Hadrianus Augustus (117-138 CE) is generally regarded as a period of unification and integration of the Roman Empire and its provinces. He had a reputation as a 'travelling emperor', spending more than half of his twenty-one-year reign outside the capital of Rome, mainly in Greece and Asia Minor. In this context, Hadrian's travels stand out as a catalyst for an architectural renaissance in Greece and Asia Minor, with cities in the region competing with each other and even (to some extent) with Rome.

The study focuses on the perception of two Roman 'ceremonial gates' in Attaleia and Ephesus, built to commemorate the visits of Emperor Hadrian in the second century. One of the main aims is to reveal the influence of the emperor on these two Anatolian cities and how they responded to his imperial authority. Considering the historical and symbolic significance of gates, this study argues that these city gates reveal examples of *lieux de mémoire*. They symbolise the enduring legacy of Hadrian's presence and preserve the characteristics of local architectural forms in the Roman Empire.

The synthesis of interdisciplinary research and the ceremonial gates that are the subject of this study offer compelling views of memory, architecture, and urban spectacle, past and present. Whether intertwined with people's daily routines or waiting to attract visitors in the conditions of isolated archaeological sites, these gates are engraved in the cultural, collective, individual, and urban memory of Türkiye.

Keywords: Ephesus, Attaleia, Hadrian, cultural memory, ceremonial gates.

ÖZ

İMPARATOR HADRİANUS´UN ANTİK DÖNEMDEN GÜNÜMÜZE ETKİSİ: ATTALEIA VE EPHESUS´TA TÖRENSEL KAPILAR VE KÜLTÜREL BELLEK

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İmparator Traianus Hadrianus Augustus'un dönemi (MS 117-138) genellikle Roma İmparatorluğu ve eyaletlerinin birleştiği ve bütünleştiği bir dönem olarak kabul edilir. Yirmi bir yıllık yönetiminin yarısından fazlasını başkent Roma dışında, özellikle Yunanistan ve Anadolu'da geçiren Hadrianus, 'gezgin imparator' olarak ün yapmıştır. Bu bağlamda, Hadrianus'un seyahatleri Yunanistan ve Anadolu'da mimari bir rönesansın katalizörü olarak öne çıkmakta, bölgedeki şehirler birbirleriyle ve hatta (bir dereceye kadar) Roma ile rekabet etmektedir.

Bu çalışma, Attaleia ve Efes'te, İmparator Hadrianus'un ikinci yüzyıldaki ziyaretlerinin anısına inşa edilen iki Roma 'tören kapısı'nın algılanışına odaklanmaktadır. Temel amaçlardan biri, imparatorun bu iki Anadolu kenti üzerindeki etkisini ve kentlerin imparatorluk otoritesine nasıl karşılık verdiklerini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Kapıların tarihsel ve sembolik önemini göz önünde bulunduran bu çalışma, bu şehir kapılarının *lieux de mémoire'*ın açıklayıcı örnekleri olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu kapılar, Hadrianus'un varlığının kalıcı mirasını sembolize etmekte ve Roma İmparatorluğu'ndaki yerel mimari formların özelliklerini korumaktadırlar.

Disiplinlerarası araştırmaların sentezi ve bu çalışmanın konusu olan tören kapıları, geçmişte ve günümüzde bellek, mimari ve kentsel görünüme dair ilgi çekici manzaralar sunmaktadır. İster insanların günlük alışkanlıklarıyla iç içe olsun, ister izole arkeolojik alanların koşullarında ziyaretçi çekmeyi beklesin, bu kapılar Türkiye'nin kültürel, kolektif, bireysel ve kentsel hafızasına kaydedilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Efes, Antalya, Hadrianus, kültürel bellek, tören kapıları.

To my beloved mother

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMC III	Mattingly, H. (1936). Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum: Vol. III. (Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum.) London: British Museum.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
METU JFA	Middle East Technical University – Journal of the Faculty of Architecture
PIR^2	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
RIB	Roman Inscriptions of Britain
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Hadrian was a man of the Empire, not the capital.[1]

This thesis highlights the perception of two Roman gates in Asia Minor in Attaleia (Antalya) and Ephesus (Efes), attributed to the reign of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus (CE 117 to 138).[2] One of the main objectives of the thesis is to reveal Hadrian's influence on these two Anatolian cities and their responses to his imperial authority, in turn. How the two gates are perceived today will also be scrutinised. In doing so, the study looks into memorial manipulation studies and implications of 'living space' to analyse how 'memory of space' shapes social, historical, cultural values and images in the minds of individuals interacting with Hadrian's gates in Attaleia and Ephesus both in the past and present. Hence, contemporary perceptions of the architectural heritage of the Hadrianic period and the display of this heritage are another concern of this study.

Hadrian's imperial travels in Asia Minor, which began in 117-18 and continued in 121-25 and 128-132, (Fig. 1) and his benefactions to the cities, and how his philhellenic tastes were reflected in the urban context are a starting point. This bilateral interaction between imperial authority and cities is traced through the evidence of the cities, their architecture, busts, coins, and inscriptions. As Hadrian's autobiography is not available, this study relies on ancient testimony, modern scholarship, and site visits. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* or *Historia Augusta* (abbreviated herein as *SHA*) and *Roman History* of Cassius Dio (Dio Cassius) are recognised as the major ancient literary sources. The *SHA* is a late compilation of

[1] P. Grabsky & P. Rance. (1997). *I Caesar: Ruling the Roman Empire*. BBC Books. p. 135.

[2] All dates are CE (common era) unless otherwise stated.

biographies of Roman emperors, Caesars, some of their heirs and claimants between 117 and 284. Although sometimes considered not reliable, this Latin source, written by anonymous authors, provides useful testimony and stimulates interest in the second and early third centuries.[3]

Cassius Dio's *Roman History* is another valuable ancient source. He published eighty books in Greek on Roman history from its foundation to the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235).[4] As a distinguished senator, Cassius Dio witnessed the notable events of the second and the third centuries. Among his works, Book 69 contains information on Hadrian. Both sources are easily available in English through the Loeb editions. It should be noted, however, that ancient texts are the subject of scholarly debate in terms of the uncertainty of authorship, date, and authenticity.[5]

Alongside ancient literary testimony, studies on the life, reign and travels of Emperor Hadrian have been the subject of research since the 19th century. One of the first of

[3] J. F. Matthews, J. F. (2012). *Historia August*a. In S. Hornblower & A. Spawforth (Eds.), The Oxford Classical Dictionary (4th ed., pp. 690–691). Oxford University Press. A. R. Birley. (2000). Hadrian to the Antonines. In A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, & D. Rathbone (Eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* (pp. 132–194). Cambridge University Press. p. 132. ff 1. The SHA provides information on the biographies of the Roman emperors from Hadrian to Carinus and Numerianus, with a gap for the years 244-60. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (SHA) with an English translation by David Magie: 1. (1991). The Loeb Classical Library. Harvard University Press. Hadrian I, pp. xi-xii (this reference will be abbreviated as SHA). Its popular name, *Historia Augusta*, was given by Casaubon, while the collection of biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Carinus was recorded in the Codex Palatinus, the main manuscript of the Vatican Library, as *Vitae Diversorum Principum et Tyrannorum a Divo Hadriano usque ad Numerianum Diversis compositae*. The original title was probably *de Vita Caesarum* or *Vitae Caesarum*. Supposedly, through the work of six different authors, some of the biographies were dedicated to Diocletian, others to Constantine I the Great and to the great persons of Rome. According to *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, contrary to popular opinion, there is no good reason to accept the SHA as a continuation of Suetonius' 'Lives of the Twelve Caesars' (*De vita Caesarum*). Although the SHA is usually considered to have been written by six authors, there has been scholarly criticism, beginning with Hermann Dessau in the 19th century, about the date and the number of authors behind the alleged biographers. R. Syme. (1971). *The Historia Augusta*: *A Call of Clarity*. R. Habelt: As described by Sir Ronald Syme, the collection was 'the most enigmatic work that Antiquity has transmitted.' A. Birley also suggested that the work was in fact written by a single author at the end of the fourth century. For further research see D. Rohrbacher. (2013). The Sources of the Historia Augusta Re-examined. *Histos*, *7*, 146-180 and P. White. (1967). The Authorship of the Historia Augusta. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, *57*(1/2), 115–133.

[4] C. Dio. (1925). *Roman History, Volume VIII: Books 61-70.* (E. Cary, & H. B. Foster, Trans.). Harvard University Press.

[5] T. C. Brennan. (2015). Hadrianopoleis: the fame of Hadrian as a founder of cities. In D. Favro, J. Pinto, F. Yegül, & G. Métraux (Eds.), *Paradigm and Progeny: Roman Imperial Architecture and Its Legacy*. (pp.163-179). *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series*. p.165. As pointed out here, the use of ancient texts to provide a specific itinerary or sequential reference to Hadrian's building programme in the Roman cities needs to be approached with caution. See also W. L. MacDonald & J. A. Pinto. (1995). *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy*. Yale University Press. p. 13.

these works is *Geschichte des Römischen Kaisers Hadrian und Seiner Zeit*, authored by historian F. Gregorovius (1851), translated into English by Mary E. Robinson (1898) as *The Emperor Hadrian: A Picture of the Greco-Roman World in His Time*. J. Dürr's *Die Reisen des Kaisers* (1881) and W. Weber's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907) also provide accounts on Hadrian, enriched with archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

Modern studies on Hadrian, his travels and the architecture of his era include B.W. Henderson (1923), *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 76-138*, H. Halfmann (1986), *Itinera Principum*,[6] A. R. Birley (1997), *Hadrian the Restless Emperor*,[7] and M. T. Boatwright (2000), *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. There are also several dissertations among which A. C. G. Smith (1981), *Hadrianic Architecture in the Eastern Roman Empire (unpublished)*, Z. K. Erdem (1995), *Anadolu Hadrian Dönemi Mimari Bezemeleri (unpublished)*, O. Gülbay (2009), *Anadolu'da İmparator Hadrianus Dönemi İmar Faaliyetleri*,[8] and A. Akşar (2019), *İmparator Hadrianus'un Anadolu Gezileri*[9] stand out.

More general works on Anatolia, such as D. Magie (1950), *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*,[10] S. Mitchell (1993), *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* and thematic works such as B. Burrell (2004), *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* and F. Yegül and D. Favro (2019) *Roman Architecture and Urbanism: From the Origins to Late Antiquity* provide important information on miscellaneous aspects of the Hadrianic era.

[6] *Itinera Principum* still represents the fundamental study for the emperor's itineraries.

[7] A. R. Birley's thorough studies on Hadrian are among important sources that shed light on the Hadrianic period with up-to-date evidence. Birley has expanded on previous works on Hadrian's life. Hadrian was known as the "restless emperor" because of his peregrinations through the provinces of the empire. The *Restless Emperor* is therefore the most recent biography written about him, providing a rich documentary account of the imperial period in the second century, and offering itineraries and interpretations of previous works on the emperor's life.

[8] O. Gülbay. (2009). *Anadolu'da İmparator Hadrianus Dönemi İmar Faaliyetleri* (Publication No. 236068) [Doctoral Dissertation, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. Published from the doctoral dissertation in 2009.

[9] A. Akşar. (2019). *İmparator Hadrianus'un Anadolu Gezileri* (Publication No. 551182) [Doctoral Dissertation, Ege Üniversitesi]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi.

[10] *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* still remains one of the most important sources for documentary data used in this study.

Coins have also been utilised for verifying and supplementing information from different sources. In this context, the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals (https://www.britishmuseum.org/our-work/departments/coins-and-medals), and William E. Metcalf's (1980) study The *Cistophori of Hadrian* have been important during the course of the study. Online epigraphic research tools have provided easy access to a large number of Latin and Greek texts of particular importance. The Packard Humanities Institute conducted studies focusing particularly on Greek inscriptions (http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions). Research projects at the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften focus on the collection of Latin and bilingual (mostly Latin and Greek) inscriptions (http://www.epigraphische-datenbank-heidelberg.de).

In most modern scholarship about Hadrian and his reign, the emperor is often emphasised as a notable figure, including his remarkable building projects in Rome, Athens or his renowned villa at Tivoli (Tibur), which can be thought of as a small-scale town consisting of a complex of buildings covering over 160 acres (65 hectares)[11] (Fig. 2). According to Güven, "a careful analysis of the buildings in his villa shows that Hadrian, both emperor and architect, held the entire world he conquered in the palm of his hand."[12]

It is surprising that, contrary to expectations, the eastern provinces of the Empire in particular have not received similar attention beyond special treatment.[13] Yet, the Emperor's relationship with Antinous has attracted attention.[14]

[11] For extensive information about Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, see MacDonald & Pinto. C. Scarre. (1995). *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors: The reign-by-reign record of the rulers of Imperial Rome*. Thames & Hudson, p. 101. M. Cary & H. H. Scullard. (1975). *A History of Rome: Down to the reign of Constantine*. Macmillan. p. 461.

[12] MacDonald & Pinto 1995, 25-46. S. Güven. (2014). Antik Kent Düşleri: Roma, Hadrianus, Tivoli. *Doğu Batı*, 68, 9-22. p. 19.

[13] The three-volume dissertation by A.C.G. Smith is difficult to obtain and not published as of yet. A.C.G. Smith. (1981). *Hadrianic Architecture in the Eastern Roman Empire* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge] Apollo - University of Cambridge Repository.

[14] R. Wainwright. (2018). *Hadrian* [Opera in 4 acts, libretto by Daniel MacIvor]: The opera of "Hadrian" could be mentioned as an example of a recent production that also explores the relationship between Hadrian and Antinous**.** The opera receives its world premiere at the Canadian Opera Company in 2018.

Hadrian's reign is generally regarded as a period of unification and integration of the Roman Empire and its provinces. His predecessor Trajan, Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, known as the "greatest of princes or emperors" (*optimus princeps*),[15] and is considered one of the successful emperors who reconciled the army and the Senate[16] and sought the annexation of the Greek mainland and Asia Minor. Hadrian, on the other hand, pursued a different policy, concentrating on the borders of the empire already acquired rather than on further territorial expansion. Trajan's expansionist imperial policy gave way to the preservation of peace under Hadrian. This undoubtedly allowed Hadrian to spend more than half of his twenty-one-years in power outside the capital city of Rome.[17] Due to his frequent travels, Hadrian is sometimes referred to as the 'travelling emperor.'[18]

As a result, Hadrian's policy could be considered as a cultural expansion and synthesis in the context of being a tireless traveller who crossed the borders of the empire particularly in Greece and Asia Minor.[19] During this period there was widespread peace, which created the opportunity for a rich architectural development. In addition to imperial administration, Hadrian's proactive influence on art and architecture was manifested in various building projects throughout the empire.

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[15] J. Bennett. (1997*). Trajan: Optimus Princeps: A Life and Times. Routledge*. Preface, xii. A comprehensive work on the life and times of Trajan, and the only biography of the emperor available in English. Trajan was an emperor who received various honours from the Senate in recognition of his victories, including the privilege of celebrating as many victories as he wished. The title *Optimus Princeps* first appeared on coins in 113, then he was awarded this title by the Senate in 114, followed by the title *Parthicus* in 116. For further information see Bennett, Chapter XI and XIII, Cassius Dio 68.23.1-2; 68.28.2 and A. Claridge. (2013). Hadrian's Succession and the Monuments of Trajan. In T. Opper (Ed.), *Hadrian: Arts, Politics and Economy* (pp. 5-18). British Museum Press. p. 5.

[16] M. T. Boatwright, D. J. Gargola & R. J. A. Talbert. (2004). *The Romans, From Village to Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 367. Trajan was a wise administrator with his splendid military victories.

[17] M. T. Boatwright, D. J. Gargola & R. J. A. Talbert. (2006). *A Brief History of the Romans*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 235.

[18] This idea is pursued in A. Birley. (1997). *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*. Routledge, as well as the thought-provoking biographical novel on Hadrian. See, M. Yourcenar. (1986). *Memoirs of Hadrian, and reflections on the composition of Memoirs of Hadrian*. (G. Frick, & P. Bailey Eds. & Trans.). Penguin. (See also the translation in Turkish, M. Yourcenar. (2013). *Hadrianus'un Anıları* (N. Bilkur, Trans.). Helikopter).

[19] Cassius Dio 69.5.3.

If it is considered that the general aura of the Roman Empire was to some extent created by the character of the emperors, then it follows that Hadrian, the 'travelling emperor', was instrumental in both creating and manifesting influence through various channels in the construction and implementation of social, cultural, political, and administrative norms.[20]

Moreover, these constructive endeavours were not limited to abstract interactions. The concrete manifestations were reflected through his philanthropic endeavours towards building projects. His many visits outside Rome focused on facilitating administrative, social, and Hadrian's political infrastructure that promoted municipal organisation and the cultural activities of cities in very different parts of the empire.

In this context, the emperor's travels stand out as a catalyst for an architectural renaissance in Greece and Asia Minor, with cities in the region competing among themselves and even (to some extent) with Rome, a promising source of data that deserves further study. Among the Roman provincial cities visited by Hadrian, Athens held a *sui generis* position. The emperor's admiration for this city is reflected in his impressive building projects and his philhellenic inclinations led him to provide benefactions to the cities in many parts of Asia Minor too.

As a matter of fact, Hadrian lived through a tempestuous era in which he would have witnessed first-hand the architectural transformation in Rome[21] during the construction of the Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum), (Fig. 3) Domitian's Palace, (Fig. 4) palaces in Palatine Hill, Domus Aurea, Trajan's Markets, (Fig. 5) and the

[20] Still, Hadrian's reign has always been associated with monumental buildings, ruins, archaeological remains. Moreover, various activities are carried out to perpetuate the memory of Emperor Hadrian alive. Some of them: P. M. Davies. (2011). *Hadrian's Villa, Hadrian's Wall* [Instrumental ensemble music]. Chester Music. An instrumental piece was composed by Sir Peter Maxwell Davies and the piece was performed at the Bath International Music Festival. A major exhibition, Hadrian: Empire and Conflict, brought hundreds of artefacts to the British Museum. A bust of Hadrian discovered by Sagalassos, Burdur, was the centrepiece of the 2008 exhibition. For a detailed review of the exhibition, see M.T. Boatwright. (2009). Hadrian in London [Review of *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict. The British Museum, 24 July-26 October 2008; Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, by T. Opper]. *American Journal of Archaeology, 113*(1), 121–128.

[21] After the great fire of 64 CE, the rebuilding of Rome, initiated by Nero, continued under Vespasian and Titus. Extensive building projects continued for more than thirty years after the death of Domitian, and with new motivation under Trajan and Hadrian.

eruption of Vesuvius, the disappearance of Pompeii and Herculaneum in August 79. This was a period which could have had a significant impact on Hadrian's architectural predilections. Nonetheless, the attested glory of Rome spread and was appropriated among the empire's many powerful cities which benefited from imperial patronage.

There is evidence of Hadrian's early interest and intervention in architecture, even before he became emperor. However, his youthful views on the subject were not always well received at the time. An anecdote about his discussion with Apollodorus of Damascus, Trajan's *praefectus fabrum*[22] (minister of works), is highly critical:

> [Hadrian] first banished and later put to death Apollodorus, the architect, who had built the various creations of Trajan in Rome: the forum, the odeon and the baths. The reason assigned was that he had been guilty of some misdemeanour, but the true reason was that once when Trajan was consulting him on some point about the buildings he had said to Hadrian, who had interrupted with some remark: "Be off and draw your pumpkins. You don't understand any of these matters" it chanced that Hadrian at the time was pluming himself upon some such drawing.
>
> When he became emperor, therefore, he remembered this slight and would not endure the man's freedom of speech. He sent him the design of the Temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that the design of work could be accomplished without his aid, and asked Apollodorus whether the proposed structure was satisfactory. The architect in his reply stated, first, in regard to the temple, that it ought to have been built on high ground…so that it might have stood out more conspicuously on the Sacred Way…Secondly, in regard to the statues, he said that they had been made too tall for the height of the *cella*.
>
> "For now," he said, "if the goddesses wish to get up and go out, they will be unable to do so." When he wrote this so bluntly to Hadrian, the emperor…restrained neither his anger nor his grief but slew the man. Indeed, his nature was such that he was jealous not only of the living but also of the dead.[23]

[22] Cassius Dio 69.4.1-5; M.W. Jones. (2003). *Principles of Roman Architecture*. Yale University Press. p.21; MacDonald & Pinto 1995, 22. According to Birley (1997, 48) Hadrian must have met Trajan's architect Apollodorus of Damascus, who was in charge of the construction of the bridge over the Danube at Drobeta (Turnu Severin) (a city in present-day Romania) at the end of the first campaign to Dacia. However, Hadrian ordered the removal of the superstructure built by Apollodorus between 103 and 105 to prevent the barbarians from crossing the Danube into Moesia. Cassius Dio 68 13.6.

[23] M.W. Jones. (2003). pp. 23-4; M.W. Jones. (2013). "Who Built the Pantheon? Agrippa, Hadrian, Trajan and Apollodorus. In T. Opper (Ed.), *Hadrian: Art, Politics and Economy*, (pp. 31-49). British Museum Press. p. 43. S. Kostof & D. Cuff. (2000). *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*. University of California Press. pp. 47-51. Cassius Dio 69.4.

This well-known anecdote is problematic, as it swings between fact and fiction. The contemptuous reference to 'pumpkins' was most likely a reference to the scalloped vaults of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli (Fig. 6).

Hadrian's major architectural projects in Rome include the completion and dedication of the Temple of the Deified Trajan, the restoration of Agrippa's Pantheon[24] (Fig. 7), the Temple of Venus and Rome[25] (Fig. 8) his mausoleum (now Castel St Angelo) and the Pons Aelius Bridge[26](Fig. 9). To these could be added the restorations, such as the Forum of Augustus and the Palatine Hill, Hadrian's extensive country residence, the villa at Tivoli (Fig. 10) and other works at Ostia.[27]

The influence of Hadrian, an aesthetically inclined emperor, on the architectural projects realised reveals significant relationships between the urban forms of Roman provincial and frontier cities. This, in turn, contributed to the creation of a social memory that could be traced through visual means of social memory. In particular, the physical appearance of the emperor during his visits must have been of considerable value in creating a social memory among the inhabitants of the cities visited. Hadrian's presence, or the possibility of his visit to a city, may also have triggered rivalry among the cities. As such, Hadrian's benefactions to cities were associated with "renewal, preservation or promotion of the unique history."[28]

The main aim of this thesis is to describe and highlight the perception of two Roman "ceremonial gates" in Attaleia and Ephesus built to commemorate the visits of Emperor Hadrian in the second century. One of the main aims is to reveal the influence of Emperor Hadrian on these two Anatolian cities and how these cities

[24] SHA 19.10 "At Rome Hadrian restored the Pantheon, the Voting-enclosure, the Basilica of Neptune, very many temples, the Forum of Augustus, the Baths of Agrippa, and dedicated all of them in the names of their original builders."

[25] S. Güven. (1990). A Vision of Imperial Unity: The Temple of Venus and Roma. *Middle East Technical University Journal for Architecture 10*:1-2, 19-30.

[26] J. B. Ward-Perkins. (1981). *Roman Imperial Architecture.* Penguin Books. p. 121.

[27] Ward-Perkins 1981, 121.

[28] M. T. Boatwright. (2000). *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. Princeton University Press. p. 3.

responded to his imperial authority. The study also examines how the two gates are perceived today, analysing how the 'memory of space' shapes social, historical and cultural values and images in the minds of those who interact with Hadrian's Gates in Attaleia and Ephesus, past and present. A further concern of this study is therefore the contemporary perception of the architectural heritage of the Hadrianic period and its presentation.

In order to construct a broad perspective of Hadrianic architectural production and its perception through his imperial visits represented in two ceremonial gates in Attaleia and Ephesus, the thesis comprises seven chapters. After the introduction, Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive description of Hadrian’s travels and routes. Then, Chapter 3 creates a background on the dynamics and processes manifesting Roman culture while Chapter 4 fleshes out these influences through architecture, the armature of the Roman city and the role of ceremonial gates. This is followed by a more specific exposition of Hadrian’s gates and their cities in Attaleia and Ephesus in Chapters 5 and 6. An overview of memorial and spatial dimensions in Chapter 7 ends with a focus on ceremonial gates. A perspective of current projections in the light of an overview of historical heritage, its preservation, perception and representation constitute the Conclusion.

CHAPTER II

HADRIAN'S ASCENT TO POWER, RULE, *ADVENTUS* AND TRAVELS

2.1. Early Years

Varius, Multiplex, Multiformix[29]

> …Aelius Hadrianus, who was more suited for declamation and civil pursuits, established peace in the east and returned to Rome. There in the fashion of Greeks or Pompilius Numa he began to give attention to religious ceremonies, laws, schools, and teachers to such an extent, in fact that he even established a school of liberal arts called Athenaeum and celebrated at Rome in the Athenian manner the rites of Ceres and Libera which are called the Eleusinian Mysteries. [30]

Described by the late Roman historian Aurelius Victor as a man of art, literature and culture, Hadrian witnessed the beginning of a new era, one in which he was motivated more by visiting most of the provinces of the empire than by waging war.[31] In contrast to Trajan's promotion of war strategies, Hadrian spent most of his energy and power on strengthening the frontiers, stabilising the borders of the territories inherited from his predecessor and focusing on the internal administration of the empire.[32]

> Officially a Roman emperor is said to be born in Rome, but it was in Italica that I was born; it was upon that dry but fertile country that I later superposed so many regions of the world…The true birthplace is that wherein for the first time one looks intelligently upon oneself; my first homelands have been books, and to a lesser degree schools.[33]

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[29] *Epitome de Caesaribus*. (2018). Thomas M. Banchich (Trans.). Number 1, Canisius College: *Epitome de Caesaribus* (14.6). This Latin phrase is the name of the third section in M. Yourcenar's *Memoirs of Hadrian*. See Yourcenar 1986, p. 35.

[30] Aurelius, V.A.V., & H. W. Bird (1994). *Liber de Caesaribus of Sextus Aurelius Victor*. Liverpool University Press, p. 16 (14.1-4).

[31] Scarre 1995, 98.

[32] Scarre 1995, 98.

[33] Yourcenar 1986, 40.

Publius Aelius Hadrianus (Hadrian)[34] (76 - 138) (Fig. 11). was born (*dies natalis*) on the ninth day before the Kalends of February (considered to fall on 24 January), probably in Rome,[35] during the seventh consulship of Vespasian and the fifth consulship of Titus Caesar, the son of Domitia Paulina[36] and Aelius Hadrianus, surnamed Afer, senator and former ex-praetor[37] (Fig. 12).

The family of the fourteenth emperor was from Picenum, Italy,[38] though ancient sources record that his ancestors were the natives of Hadria who settled in Italica, a town of Hispania Baetica during the time of the Scipios (Fig. 13). His mother was

[34] Full name in Latin *Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus* after accession at the age of forty-one in 117. A. R. Birley, (1976). *Lives of the later Caesars: The first part of the Augustan history, with newly compiled lives of Nerva and Trajan*. Penguin Books. p. 57. Hadrian's recent ancestors were settled at *Italica* (located North of modern Seville) Spain in the time of the Scipios. Birley, 2000, 132. Supposedly, The *Aelii* of Italica held senatorial positions for five generations before Hadrian. According to SHA 1.2, his great-grandfather's grandfather was Marullinus, the first of the family to be appointed as a Roman senator. M. Bunson. (2002). *Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire*. Facts on File. p. 250. Both *Aelii* and *Ulpii* were wealthy and also had familial ties through marriage; Hadrian's grandfather, a senator was assumed to have married to Ulpia, the aunt of Trajan, a sistesr of the elder Trajan, M. Ulpius Traianus. Birley, 1997. p. 12.

[35] SHA 1.1-3. Hadrian's place of birth is debated. As SHA records, Hadrian was born at the time referring to the seventh consulship of emperor Vespasian and the fifth of Titus. Cassius Dio 69.1 stating that Hadrian was not adopted by Trajan and he was merely a *compatrio* that could suggest he was born in Spain. Therefore, there were assumptions about Hadrian's birthplace, either in Rome or in Italica. (Birley 2000, p. 132.) The date and the birthplace of Hadrian are stated as January CE 76 in Rome. See also, J. R. Rodríguez, (2013). The Impact of Roman Spain's Transformation on Hadrian's Life and Policies. In T. Opper (Ed.), *Hadrian: Art, Politics and Economy*, (pp. 139-147). British Museum Press. p. 139. According to Rodríguez, Hadrian was born in Italica, there is also a reference to a Roman scholar, Aulus Gellius, "…*divus Hadrianus in oratione, quam De Italicensibus, unde ipse ortus fuit, in senatu habuit*…" translation in English "…the deified Hadrian, in the speech which he delivered in the senate on behalf of the Italicenses, 1 from whom he himself came…" For detailed information see A. Gellius, (1927). *The Attic nights of Aulus Gellius*. (J. C. Rolfe, Trans.), Harvard University Press, William Heinemann, Ltd. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1254.phi001.perseus-eng1:16.13

[36] Neither ancient nor other sources provide details of Hadrian's first nine years, with the exception of an inscription which records the name of the future emperor's nurse. Paulina did not breastfeed Hadrian, a common practice among women of high rank. (Birley 1997, p. 10). He was brought up by a wet nurse, Germana, a slave who will later be freed by him. She was buried in his great villa in Tibur. T. Opper. (2008). *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 34. The funerary inscription of Germana was on display in the British Museum's exclusive exhibition on *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*. M. T. Boatwright. (2009). Hadrian in London [Review of *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*. *The British Museum, 24 July-26 October 2008; Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, by T. Opper]. *American Journal of Archaeology, 113*(1), 121–128. p.122.. CIL XIV, no 3721.

[37] E. Speller. (2003). *Following Hadrian: A Second Century Journey through the Roman Empire*. Oxford University Press. p. 13; Cassius Dio 69.3.1; PIR^2 A 185.

[38] SHA 1. Information about Hadrian's family roots is scanty. As Syme stated "the place of a man's birth is not always the same as the legal "origo" of his family." R. Syme. (1964). Hadrian and Italica. *The Journal of Roman Studies, 54*, 142–149. p. 142. Birley 1976, 57.

from Gades (present-day Cádiz, Spain), and his father from Italica[39] (Santiponce, now a town close to Seville, south Spain).

Hadrian's father died in 85, or January 86 at the latest, when Hadrian was ten years old, and two guardians were appointed to look after him. Ulpius Traianus (Trajan),[40] a cousin of his father, and Publius Acilius Attianus,[41] a Roman knight, became Hadrian's joint guardians. Trajan would become the future emperor (Fig 14), and the other would become a senior officer under Trajan's reign. Trajan would have been in his thirties and Attianus in his forties by this time.[42] Trajan was probably married by now, with a wife called Pompeia Plotina: she was also of colonial origin from Nemausus (Nimes) in Narbonensis (Languedoc and Provence). It is likely that Plotina was several years older than Hadrian and would have had a close relationship with him in the future.[43]

As the two guardians were both of Spanish origin,[44] they later supported him so that he could receive a proper education. As was customary at the time, Hadrian received

[39] Birley 1976, 57. P. Cornelius Scipio ensured that sick and wounded soldiers settled in Italica in BCE 205/206 and various towns were established. As Revell notes, Italica was granted *municipum* (municipal) status under Augustus and colony status under Hadrian. Its relationship with the latter potentially establishes the importance of an imperial city. L. Revell. (2009). *Roman Imperialism and Local İdentities*. Cambridge University Press. p. 28. The emperor Trajan is the cousin of Hadrian's father. As stated by Bennett, Trajan's family had settled at Italica (Santiponce) in southern Spain, close to Hispalis (modern Seville). The province of Baetica lies on the right bank of the River Baetis (modern Guadalquivir), by the side of an existing Turdetanian settlement. After P. Cornelius Scipio defeated the Carthaginians at the battle of Ilipa (Alcalá del Rio), the town had been founded in BCE 206. See Bennett 1997, 1-3; Birley 1997, 12.

[40] Hadrian's relationship with Trajan is mentioned in the SHA 1.2. Hadrianus Afer was the cousin (*consobrinus*) of Trajan. Paulina was his sister, the wife of Servianus, and Vibia Sabina, grand-niece of Trajan became the wife of Hadrian, probably at the behest of Pompeia Plotina, Trajan's wife. His ancestor (*atavus)* Marullinus, the first of *Aelii* to be a Roman senator, was Hadrian's great-grandfather's grandfather.

[41] PIR² A 45.

[42] Birley 1997, 16. There are some uncertainties about the year of Trajan's birth. According to Dio, Trajan became emperor at the age of forty-two; most modern scholars accept 53 as the year of his birth, but uncertainty remains. For detailed information on the year of his birth, see Bennett 1997, 14. There is not much information about Attianus, who was later appointed to one of the highest offices, that of, praetorian prefect (*praefectus praetori)* at the time of Trajan's old age; R. Syme, (1980). Guard Prefects of Trajan and Hadrian. *The Journal of Roman Studies, 70*, 64–80.

[43] Birley 1997, 16.

[44] Syme 1964, 142.

an aristocratic education and must have attended the *collegium iuvenum*.[45] His enthusiasm for and devotion to Greek literature and culture (*studia Graeca*) earned him the nickname of *Graeculus* ("Greekling";"little Greek").[46] At the age of fourteen,[47] he visited his hometown (patria) of Italica only once,[48] where he underwent military training and spent most of his time hunting. However, his keen interest in hunting provoked criticism from Trajan, who kept a close eye on Hadrian.

The future emperor's career in military and administrative posts accelerated during Trajan's reign. Shortly afterwards, probably in 94, his public career began in the office of *decemviri*, one of the ten *vigintiviri*,[49] the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* (the Board of Ten who decided civil cases),[50] appointed by the praetor in charge to preside over one of the four juries of the Centumviral Court. The court, which could be attended by the public, dealt with civil cases that were held in the Basilica Julia in the Forum. It was the advocates who attracted the most attention, rather than the young judges, whose role was merely to preside. Hadrian had servants (*viatores*) and scribes appointed to him; however, being a decemvir was less demanding than it might at first appear.

In the same year, his career continued with two honours. On the orders of one of the consuls for 94, who was probably a friend of Trajan's and had served under his father, the young man received an even more prestigious honour. Hadrian was appointed *praefectus a Latinarum*, the city prefect for the Latin Festival.[51] Originally the *Feriae Latinae* was an ancient festival of the ancient Latin League, a sacred truce

[45] Syme 1964, 143.

[46] SHA 1.5. A. R. Birley. (1997b). Hadrian and Greek Senators. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik, 116*, 209–245, p. 212. Birley 1976, p. 57.

[47] Birley 2000, 132.

[48] Cassius Dio 69.10.1. SHA 2.1 proceeds, "*quinto decimo anno ad patriam rediit*." Concerning the verb "*rediit* (return)", some suggestions address that Hadrian who was born in Italica returned to his ancestral town again. Syme, 1964, p. 143; Birley, 1997, p. 19.

[49] Birley 1997, 29. Holding the offices in the *vigintivirate*, was made obligatory by Augustus for future senators.

[50] SHA 2.2.

[51] Birley 1997, 30.

between the cities of Latium. The festival was held on Mount Alban (now Monte Cavo in the Alban Hills), twenty miles south of Rome. All the leading officials of the Roman people had to attend the festival and make offerings, and in their absence the consuls had to appoint a prefect to carry out their duties in the city. This post was usually given to a young senator or senatorial candidate who had attracted the attention of one of the consuls.

Hadrian was also appointed as *sevir turmae equitum Romanorum*,[52] commander of one of the six squadrons (*turmae*). Those were led by a young or a future senator at the annual ride-past of the Roman knights (*transvectio equitum*).[53] He was then assigned as a military officer (*tribunate*) in the legion II "Aduitrix,"[54] followed by a second tribunate in the "Lower Moesian V Macedonia"[55] based in Oescus,[56] at the end of Domitian's (Fig. 15) principate in 96.[57] When Trajan was adopted by Marcus

[52] L. R. Taylor. (1924). Seviri Equitum Romanorum and municipal Seviri: A Study in Pre-Military Training among the Romans. *Journal of Roman Studies*, *14*(1–2), 158–171. pp. 161-2. 'The office of *sevir equitum* is of utmost importance in terms of the study of the games and performances of the Roman youth. In Augustan inscriptions, this title is found *sevir* and *sevir centuriarum equitum*. Later, from the reign of Nero onwards, it appears frequently as *sevir equitum Romanorum* and is usually followed in the genitive, indicating one of the six *turmae* (horsemen) commanded by the *seviri*. Holders of this title almost invariably have a senatorial cursus. Since this office regularly preceded the quaestorship, in almost all cases it must have been held before entering the Senate. Among the duties of the seviri, besides the principal one of giving games, there was probably also participation in processions and public funerals in which knights made official appearances, and in ceremonies such as the *transvectio equitum*.'

[53] Taylor 1924, 161-2.

[54] SHA 2.2. II Birley 1997, 31. The legion II Adiutrix was one of the four legions in Pannonia, stationed at Aquincum (an ancient city present-day in Budapest) on the Danube and held a key role in defending the empire against the Sarmatians across the river.

[55] SHA 2.3.

[56] Ancient city on the Danube river in Roman Moesia, present-day near the village of Gigen in Bulgaria.

[57] Cassius Dio 67.15-16. On the chronological table of emperors from Nerva to Antoninus Pius, Birley (1976, 25) notes:

- 96 - 18 September: Murder of Domitian, Accession of Nerva.
- 97 - 27 October: Adoption of M. Ulpius Traianus (Trajan).
- 98 - 28 January: Death of Nerva (27 January), Accession of Trajan.
- 117 - 9 August: Assumed adoption of P. Aelius Hadrianus (Hadrian) by Trajan.
- 117 - 11 August: Death of Trajan, Accession of Hadrian.
- 136 - December: Adoption of L. Ceionius Commodus by Hadrian, as L. Aelius Caesar.
- 138 - 1 January: Death of L. Aelius Caesar.

Cocceius Nerva[58] in October 97, Hadrian was still there.[59] He was chosen to deliver the congratulations of the Lower Moesian army to the new Caesar in Germania Superior (on the Rhine)[60] and remained there with a third tribunate[61] in the Moguntiacum legion, XXII Primigenia.[62] Trajan handed over the army of Upper Germany and was replaced at Moguntiacum by Julius Servianus, Hadrian's brother-in-law.

Nerva died the following year, and when Hadrian set out to bring the news to Trajan in Colonia Agrippinensis (modern Cologne), he was the first to reach him, despite the obstacles Julius Servianus, Hadrian's brother-in-law,[63] had placed in the way. According to the *SHA*,[64] Servianus also complained to Trajan about Hadrian's extravagant spending. As Servianus was a challenge to Hadrian's position, the two men were probably never on good terms.

The first measure Trajan took was undoubtedly to order the deification of Nerva and the burial of his remains in the Mausoleum of Augustus. As Dio mentions, he

- 138 - 25 February: Adoption of T. Aurelius Antoninus by Hadrian; adoption of Marcus and Lucius by Antoninus.
- 138 -10 July: Death of Hadrian, Accession of Antoninus Pius.

[58] Birley 2000, 133. See V.A.V., & H. W. Bird 1994, 15 (Aurelius 13.1-2). "For he adopted Ulpius Trajan, a native of Italica, a Spanish city, but of the highest (i.e., senatorial) order and also of consular rank. It would be difficult to find a more distinguished man than he whether in civil or in military affairs." Cassius Dio 68.3-4: Nerva proclaimed adoption of Trajan "May Good Fortune attend the Roman Senate and people and myself: I adopt Marcus Ulpius Traianus."

[59] A reference to Hadrian's stay in Lower Moesia is given in the SHA 2.4 "...he heard from an astrologer the same prediction of his future power which had been made, as he already knew, by his great-uncle, Aelius Hadrianus, a master of astrology."

[60] SHA 2.5.

[61] About Hadrian's early life: SHA 1.1-3.11; ILS 308 (his career record-inscription from Athens); PIR^2 A 184. For a discussion of details: R. Syme. (1958). *Tacitus: Volume 1*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 233-4. Birley 2000, 133; Syme 1964, 143.

[62] Present-day Mainz, Germany.

[63] SHA 2.6. Despite the obstacles reported in the SHA (probably based on the lost autobiography of Hadrian) on his way to convey the army's message to Trajan, he was the first to succeed to reach Trajan and "he nevertheless proceeded on foot and anticipated Servianus' personal messenger." Birley 1997, 38.

[64] Birley (1997, 37-8) mentions that it was not immediately obvious how easy it was to be extravagant in a frontier fortress. But Hadrian's desire to hunt may have led to the purchase of expensive dogs and horses. He might also have liked to gamble. Not far away, on the east bank of the Rhine, the small military spa of Aquae Mattiacae (now Wiesbaden) may also have offered pleasures of relaxation.

promised in a letter to the Senate, as his successors and predecessors had done, that he would not put to death or exile any good man/senator.[65]

Trajan's effective influence in Hadrian's life became more apparent after his accession in 98. At this time, Hadrian was concerned about the emperor's attitude towards him and even consulted a 'Virgilian oracle' on the matter:[66]

> But who is yonder man, by olive wreath
> Distinguished, who the sacred vessel bears?
> I see a hoary head and beard. Behold
> The Roman King whose laws shall establish Rome
> Anew, from tiny Cures' humble land
> Called to a mighty realm. Then shall arise…

As Birley notes, Hadrian might have enrolled in two of the priestly schools previously reserved for senators, the *Vllviri epulonum* and the *Sodales Augustales*. However, enrolment in these priesthoods is not chronologically indicated in the Athenian inscription.[67]

In 101, Hadrian entered the senate as *quaestor*[68] to the emperor at the time of Trajan's fourth consulship.[69] In this capacity, he was assigned to read a speech by the emperor to the Senate, causing laughter with his slightly provincial accent. As *SHA* mentions, he then devoted himself to the study of Latin until he reached the highest level of "knowledge and fluency."[70]

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[65] A. R. Birley. (1962). The Oath Not to Put Senators to Death. *The Classical Review*, *12*(3), 197-199. pp. 197-9; Cassius Dio 68.2.3 (Nerva), 68.5.2 (Trajan); 69.2.4 (Hadrian). Birley 1997, 38.

[66] SHA 2. 8; Birley 1997, 42.

[67] As Birley notes (1997, 45) "among the surviving members of this college, Hadrian supposedly was supported by Julius Quadratus, an influential man from Pergamum. He may have nominated Hadrian as Prefect during the Latin festival in 94."

[68] SHA 3.1 records that Hadrian was *quaestor* in the fourth consulship of Trajan and the first of Articuleius Paetus.

[69] About the date of Trajan's fourth consulship see Bennett 1997, 85: "And in January 101, once the manifesto was firmly in place, the *princeps* took the fourth consulship so ardently requested by Pliny in his *actio gratiarum* the previous year."

[70] SHA 3.1.

After his quaestorship, he was then assigned as "curator of the Acts of the Senate."[71] Hadrian's first term as senator in Rome would last no more than a few months. On 25 March 101,[72] Trajan set out to wage war against the Dacian king Decebalus, taking Hadrian with him in his first senatorial career. Hadrian, still *quaestor*, was also a member of Trajan's companions (*comites*), during the First Dacian War and continued his career in the *cursus honorum*.[73]

According to Birley, there is an ambiguity in *SHA*'s references to the order of Hadrian's posts in his career between 102-107. Certainly, the Athenian inscription makes no mention of Hadrian holding the posts of tribune or praetor. On the contrary, *SHA* records that "he was made tribune of the plebs in the second consulship of Candidus and Quadratus,"[74] but that the date of the consuls of 105 were given.[75] After this post, *SHA* records the date of his praetorship "in the second consulship of Subsuranus and Servianus."[76]

As Birley notes, the names and dates have been mixed up by either the *SHA* or its source, Marius Maximus. There are differing views on the order of Hadrian's *cursus honorum*, but Birley's most plausible suggestion is that Hadrian returned to Rome in the autumn of 101 and served as tribune of the plebs in 102.[77]

In preparation for a new campaign, Trajan took measures including the creation of two new legions, II Traiana and XXX Ulpia Victrix. In May 105, war was declared against Dacia and Trajan set out for the Danube on 4 June and taking Hadrian with

[71] SHA 3.2. This post, curator of the acts of the senate, was not listed on the Athenian inscription, but recorded in the SHA.

[72] Bennett 1997, x.

[73] Birley 2000, 133.

[74] SHA 3.4-5. "… he claimed that he received an omen of continuous tribunician power during this magistracy, because he lost the heavy cloak (*paenula*) which is worn by the tribunes of the plebs in rainy weather, but never by the emperors."

[75] Birley 1997, 47.

[76] SHA 3.8.

[77] Birley 1997, 47.

him once again, this time to command the I "Minervia" legion in the Second Dacian War.[78] Hadrian was then appointed governor of Lower Pannonia, probably in 106, where he kept the Sarmatians in check, enforced discipline among the soldiers, and controlled the procurators who were overstepping the limits of their authority.[79]

Continuing to advance in his career, Hadrian also made a strategic move in his choice of marriage. In 100 he married Trajan's great-niece Sabina (Fig. 16).[80] This marriage allowed him to forge closer ties with the imperial family, and his friendship with Trajan developed further when he was appointed imperial speechwriter after the death of L. Licinius Sura.[81] As an argument to support Hadrian's claim to the throne, *SHA* records that he was honoured by Trajan for his services in the Dacian wars, and was presented with a diamond which Trajan himself had received from Nerva, and by this gift "he was encouraged in his hopes of succeeding to the throne."[82]

In 108, at the age of thirty-two, Hadrian became consul, a suffect rather than an ordinarius.[83] Later, while Hadrian was in Athens, he held the archonship in 112.[84]1

[78] Birley 1997, 49-50. SHA 3.6. I Minervia, a legion founded by Domitian and devoted to goddess Minerva, was stationed at Bonna on the Rhine near Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne), where Hadrian stayed for some time in 98.

[79] Birley 2000, 133. SHA 3.9 states "Next he was sent as praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia." Pannonia was divided into two and Hadrian became the legate of Pannonia Inferior.

[80] SHA 2.10. This rewarding marriage between Hadrian and Trajan's grand-niece (the granddaughter of his elder sister Ulpia Marciana) did not seem to be in keeping with Trajan's enthusiasm, as mentioned by Marius Maximus. This match was probably sponsored by the empress Plotina, who was said to be fond of Hadrian. The family ties were further strengthened by this marriage. As Birley notes "The marriage was childless and - at least after two decades – loveless." Birley 1997, 2; 42.

[81] T. D. Barnes. (1976). The Horoscope of Licinius Sura? *Phoenix*, 30(1), 76–79. As mentioned in SHA 3.10 "In return for these services he was made consul. While he was holding this office, he learned from Sura that he was to be adopted by Trajan"; SHA 3.11 "Indeed, after Sura's death Trajan's friendship for him increased, principally on account of the speeches which he composed for the Emperor." Cassius Dio 68.5.3-6; Sura was one of Trajan's closest friends and advisors, perhaps closer to him than anyone else. As Dio reports, the emperor went to Sura's house uninvited to dinner, and having dismissed all his guards, he had his barber shave his chin after this he bathed and dined. The next day he said to his friends, who were in the habit of constantly making unfavourable remarks about Sura: "If Sura intended to kill me, he would have killed me yesterday."

[82] SHA 3.7: In addition to the diamond referred in the ancient source, SHA 3.6 states that Hadrian's many extraordinary deeds during this campaign gained him great reputation. The Athenian inscription highlights that he was provided military decorations *(dona militaria)* after the wars.

[83] SHA 3.11. According to Birley 2000, 133, ff. 2; There could be some uncertainties among the dates of the posts between 102-7. According to Scarre 1995, 99: He was appointed as *praetor* in CE 106, became governor of Lower Pannonia in 107, and he was made consul the following year. The

January 112 was marked with the official opening of the Forum and the Basilica Traiani, Trajan's markets under the sixth consulship of Trajan.[85] The same year saw a change in the life and position of Sabina, Hadrian's wife, when her grandmother, Marciana Augusta,[86] Trajan's sister, died at the end of August 112. She was immediately deified and on the same day her daughter Matidia, Sabina's mother, was given the name Augusta. Sabina was therefore "the daughter of an Augusta and the granddaughter of a Diva."[87]

Accompanied by his entourage, including two *Augustae*, Plotina and Matidia[88] (Fig. 17), the emperor left Rome at the end of October. The day of the *profectio* (ceremonial departure), no doubt intentionally chosen, was the sixteenth anniversary of his adoption by Nerva. He travelled to Brundisium (present-day Brindisi, Italy) via

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inscription set in the base for a statue in the Theatre of Dionysus on the south slope of the Acropolis in Athens provides important information about career (*cursus*) record of Hadrian. ILS 308=CIL 550=IG II² 3286. https://inscriptions.packhum.org/text/5556.

Translation of the Athenian Inscription in English:
To P. Aelius Hadrianus, son of P. from the Sergia tribe, consul, seventh Epulone*, Sodale Augustalis**, legate of the Emperor Nerva Traianus for Lower Pannonia, praetor and at the same time commander of the Legion I Minervia Loyal and Faithful in the Dacian war, also tribune of the plebs, quaestor of the Emperor Traianus and his companion in the Dacian expedition, twice given military prizes by him, tribune of the Legion II Adiutrix Loyal and Faithful, also of the Legion V Macedonica, also of the Legion XXII Primigenia Loyal and Faithful, president of a division of Roman knights, prefect of the Latin festival, member of the Board of Ten judging men.

Greek text:
The Areopagus Council and the Council of the 600 and the Council of the Athenians*** their Emperor Hadrian (Adrianos)****

* one of the four great religious corporations of ancient Roman priests
** order of Roman priests
*** demos
**** This is the official title of Emperor Hadrian (Adrianos).

[84] Birley 1997, 64. The year of the post (*archon*) is mentioned as either 111 or 112.

[85] Bennett 1997, x.

[86] Bennett 1997, x. it is reported as she died on 29 August. E. J. Bickerman. (1974). Diva Augusta Marciana. *The American Journal of Philology*, *95*(4), 362–376. p. 362.

[87] Bickerman 1974, 362-376.

[88] *Aureus*, a gold coin, depicting the contents of the inscription: PLOTINAE AVG (obverse) with the bust of Plotina, facing right, hair in double stephane above and in queue behind and MATIDIAE AVG (reverse) draped, facing right with two diadems. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.8042. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8042.

the *Via Appia* and the *Via Traiana*, which had only been completed the previous year and travelled to Athens.[89]

During the Parthian campaign, Hadrian might have joined the entourage in Athens, and went to war with Trajan as a governor (legate).[90] Trajan was nevertheless determined to improve the situation in Hatra (present-day ancient city in northern Iraq) and won another victory in the Mesopotamian campaign. In Dacia, however, war had broken out. Julius Quadratus Bassus, who had been governor of Syria since the beginning of Julian's Parthian campaign, was dealing with these uprisings. Trajan appointed Hadrian governor of Syria in 117, and a second consulship was granted the following year.

2.1.1. Proclamation as Imperator

…a worthy successor of Augustus.[91]

After a reign of nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days from 98 to 117, which included several military victories, Trajan was recorded as dying at Selinus in Cilicia (modern Gazipaşa on the southern coast of Türkiye) on or just before 8 August 117.[92]

According to Cassius Dio, Trajan was seriously ill after travelling to Arabia and commanding the unsuccessful siege of the people of Hatra.[93] During the siege, Jewish riots broke out in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus. Trajan was also preparing a campaign in Mesopotamia, but physical complaints forced him to sail back to Rome, accompanied by his wife Plotina, niece Matidia and praetorian prefect Attianus,

[89] Birley 1997, 65.

[90] According to SHA 4.1: Hadrian was favoured by Plotina and, in recognition of her interest in him, was appointed the Emperor's legate during the campaign against Parthia.

[91] D. Magie. (1950). *Roman Rule in Asia Minor, to the End of the Third Century After Christ*. Princeton University Press. p. 611.

[92] Bennett 1997, 201f.

[93] Cassius Dio 68.32-33.

leaving Publius Aelius Hadrian (the future emperor) in command of the army in Syria.

Cassius Dio states that the emperor was suspected of being poisoned, but according to some accounts "the blood, which every year descends into the lower parts of the body, was stopped in its flow in his case. He had also suffered a stroke, so that part of his body was paralysed, and he was dropsical all over."[94] Trajan thus became the first emperor to die outside Italy. After the emperor's death in 117, the name of Selinus was later changed to Trajanopolis and given the status of *ius Italicum* (Italian territory).[95]

According to *SHA*, Trajan intended to die without a successor, following the example of Alexander of Macedonia. It is also said that he sent a letter to the Senate asking them to appoint a ruler for the Roman Empire in case something happened to him, and that he only included the names of some men from whom the Senate could choose the most appropriate.[96]

Following the announcement of the death of Trajan in Selinus, troops proclaimed Hadrian, the governor (legate) of Syrian Antioch, as the new Emperor (Imperator). From then on, 11 August 117 was accepted as the date of Hadrian's *dies imperii*.[97] As recorded in the *SHA*, the soldiers, not only the troops in Syria, were favoured with a double donation to commemorate his principate.[98]

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[94] Cassius Dio 68.32-33.

[95] As Trajan was the first emperor to die outside Italy, it is open to interpretation whether the honouring of Selinus with a title that would be considered Italian territory would be an indication that it belonged to Italy. Birley's (1997, 80) question "Was it significant that Trajan's last action, namely the appointment of a successor, took place on Italian soil?" brings a different perspective; T. H. Watkins, (1983). Coloniae and Ius Italicum in the Early Empire. *The Classical Journal*, *78*(4), 319–336.

[96] SHA 4.9. As Birley elucidates the issue, (1997, 325 ff. 3): There was a misunderstanding and "Trajan" in the version of Xiphilinus changed to "Hadrian" by Zonaras. Cassius Dio. 69.17; This Servianus had been regarded by Hadrian and/or Trajan as capable of filling even the imperial office. For instance, Hadrian and/or Trajan had once at a banquet told his friends to name him ten men who were competent to be sole ruler, and then, after a moment's pause, had added: "nine only I want to know; for one I have already - Servianus."

[97] *Dies imperii*: The anniversary of his accession as emperor.

[98] SHA 5.7.

For generations, the principle of meritocracy had been considered a means of ensuring the sustainability of the Empire. Although Hadrian was protected by Trajan's family ties, some senators believed that he would not have been chosen as successor by Trajan himself. Although there was no clear indication of succession, it is generally accepted that Trajan's wife, the empress Pompeia Plotina, had arranged for Hadrian's appointment as emperor shortly before Trajan's death. As the sources generally record, Hadrian was adopted by Trajan on or just before 9 August.

> On the fifth day before the Ides of August, while he was governor of Syria, he learned of his adoption by Trajan, and he later gave orders to celebrate this day as the anniversary of his adoption. On the third day before the Ides of August he received the news of Trajan's death, and this day he appointed as the anniversary of his accession.[99]

Hadrian was forty-one when news of Trajan's death reached him. It is also recorded that Trajan's young freedman servant Phaedimus died on 12 August, shortly after the emperor, at the age of twenty-eight. The fact that his remains were not returned to Rome for many years led to the spread of alleged scenarios about Hadrian's adoption.[100]

Cassius Dio notes the uncertainties surrounding the adoption on Trajan's deathbed and entertains the idea or suspicion of a plot by certain notables in Rome. The letter of adoption was signed by Trajan's widow Plotina. It was sent to the Senate[101] on the pretext[102] of the emperor's health. Such rumours, and the murder of four senators, overshadowed the first years of Hadrian's reign.[103]

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[99] SHA 4.6-7; As described by Dio (69.2): "He [Hadrian] had dreamed before the day in question that a fire descended out of heaven, the day being perfectly clear and bright, and fell first upon the left side of his throat, passing then to the right side, though it neither frightened nor injured him."

[100] The conspiracy scenarios on accession veiled the first years of Hadrian's reign. SHA 4.1-10; SHA claims that it is widely believed that Trajan told Lucius Neratius Priscus "I entrust the provinces to your care in case anything happens to me", intending to make him heir to the empire. Cassius Dio 68.33.1-3; Cassius Dio 69.1-4.

[101] Cassius Dio 69.1.4; SHA 4.6-7: The letter of adoption reached Hadrian in Syria on 9 August 117. Cassius Dio 69.2.1. For the account of Cassius Dio, a dream of Hadrian could have been interpreted as symbolising his accession. Magie 1950, 611.

[102] Scarre 1995, 100.

[103] SHA 5.5-6; 7.1-3; Cassius Dio 69.2.5-6.

Considering the titles bestowed on Trajan, he was an emperor and a successful commander, who was honoured with epithets for his military campaigns. He expanded Roman territory to its greatest extent, as described in this passage:

> Indeed he (Trajan) was the first or even the only one to extend Roman power across the Danube when he subdued and formed into a province the bonnetted Dacians and Sarmatian tribes under King Decebalus and the Dardanians. At the same time in the east, he crushed in war all the nations which live between the famous rivers the Indus and the Euphrates and he demanded hostages from the king of the Persians named Chosroes, and amid those achievements he built a road through barbarous nations by which one might easily travel across into Gaul all the way from the Black Sea. Forts were erected in the more critical and strategic locations, a bridge was constructed over the Danube, and very many colonies were settled.[104]

By the time of Trajan, the Roman Empire had spread over a large territory, but the lands inherited by Hadrian were in trouble (Fig. 18). Indeed, several of the territories conquered by his predecessor had rebelled; there were revolts in Mesopotamia and Mauretania, unrest among the Jews in Palestine, problems in Cyprus, Egypt and Cyrenaica, and unrest in Britain.

Hadrian then had to pursue a policy of peace, relinquishing the conquered lands east of the Tigris and Euphrates. This was a clear departure from the policy of his predecessor, Trajan. Immediately after his acclamation, Hadrian ordered the evacuation of three new provinces, Mesopotamia, Assyria and Greater Armenia.[105] He then appointed the Parthian king, Parthamaspates, crowned by Trajan, as ruler of Osrhoene.[106] Another notable move was the removal of Lusius Quietus, governor of Judea, from his position in the army. According to the *SHA*, Lusius Quietus was 'suspected of having designs on the throne.'[107] On leaving Syria for the Balkans, L. Catilius Severus joined Hadrian at Antioch. Catilius's accompaniment continued after he had led his men out of Greater Armenia. He was later appointed governor of Syria as Hadrian's successor.[108]

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[104] Aurelius, V.A.V., & H. W. Bird 1994, 15 (13.6).

[105] Birley 1997, 78.

[106] Birley 1997, 78.

[107] SHA 5.8.

[108] Birley 1997, 83; SHA 5.10.

One of the new emperor's judicious manoeuvres was the abandonment of the eastern conquest of his predecessor.[109] Hadrian also ordered the withdrawal of Roman forces from the new eastern provinces, using the example of the elder Cato that "the Macedonians should be declared free and independent"[110]as a means of supressing unrest in some territories.

After the immediate measures, Hadrian went to Pieria, the port of Antioch, to greet Plotina, Matidia[111] and Attianus, who had brought Trajan's body to Seleucia. Following the cremation ceremony, Attianus, Plotina and Matidia accompanied a golden urn containing Trajan's ashes back to Rome.[112] After seeing them off, Hadrian returned to Antioch and Syria was appointed with a new governor, L. Catilius Severus.[113]

Hadrian sent a letter to the Senate requesting that Trajan, Optimus Imperator, be honoured with divine honours and that his image be carried in the triumphal chariot.[114] He also apologised for his immediate accession to the throne, with the unrestrained support of the soldiers by "acclaiming to the belief that the state could not be without an emperor."[115]

> If we remember that Hadrian's accession did not proceed without repercussion, necessitating the execution of four *consulares*, we can

[109] Those strategies provoked the enmity of the senators in Rome. As noted by C. Ando, Hadrian "risked the scorn of senators who had been deluded by Trajan's exaggerated letters from the front." C. Ando (2000). *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. University of California Press. p. 319.

[110] Birley 2000, 134; SHA 5.3 "… as he used to say, the example of Cato, who urged that the Macedonians, because they could not be held as subjects, should be declared free and independent."

[111] Hadrian's mother-in-law, and niece of the emperor Trajan.

[112] Bennett 1997, 207. Sabina, wife of Hadrian, would have probably stayed with her husband.

[113] SHA 5.9-10 "…he [Hadrian] then appointed L. Catilius Severus governor of Syria and proceeded to Rome by way of Illyricum."

[114] Bennett 1997, 207. As SHA records 6.3 "Later, when the senate offered him the triumph which was to have been Trajan's, he refused it for himself, and caused the effigy of the dead Emperor to be carried in a triumphal chariot, in order that the best of emperors (*Optimus Princeps*) might not lose even after death the honour of a triumph."

[115] SHA 6.1-2; Birley 1997, 80.

> understand how welcome was the support of *Divus* Traianus - not to mention the god Phoebus (Apollo).[116]

By the end of September, Hadrian should have learned of the Senate's enthusiastic reply. The honours voted for Trajan by the Senate were beyond his own proposal; and Hadrian was to hold a triumph and be honoured as *Pater Patriae* (Father of the Country/Fatherland). Hadrian refused these honours for himself.

Messages of power and propaganda were also disseminated through representation on coinage. According to Birley, for the majority of the empire's inhabitants who were introduced to the new emperor through his portrait on coins, it was something of a novelty to meet a bearded ruler. Later, not shaving became the norm. Thus, in 117 coins, were minted in Rome depicting Trajan on the obverse and Hadrian as emperor on the reverse, with the name Hadrianus Traianus Caesar; another with Hadrian as Emperor, Traianus Hadrianus, Trajan as Germanicus Dacicus with the titles Optimus Augustus, Trajan and Hadrian shaking hands with the phrase *adoptio* on the reverse, and Hadrianus as *Pater Patriae* with other titles, and deified *Parthicus* son of Traianus.[117]

> The ashes of his burnt body were transferred to Rome and buried in the Forum of Trajan under his Column, and an effigy that was put on top, was carried into the city on a chariot, just as is done with triumphators; the senate and the army opened the procession.[118]

The official deification of Trajan was to be organised on Hadrian's return to Rome (9 July 118). Several ancient writers mention that Trajan's ashes were buried in a sealed golden urn at the base of the Column of Trajan (Fig. 19) in Trajan's Forum (Fig.

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[116] For details of deification of Trajan: W. den Boer. (1975). Trajan's Deification and Hadrian's Succession. *Ancient Society*, *6*, 203–212. p. 204. At the time the Senate pursued the divine honours to Trajan, Hadrian would have then become the son of *Divus*.

[117] Claridge 2013, 5; Birley 1997, 81. BMC III p. 124, 237. *Aureus* (gold coin) depicting Hadrian and Trajan: Bust of Trajan, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAES NER. TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GERM DAC (Obverse); Bust of Hadrian, laureate, r., with drapery on l. shoulder. HADRIANO TRAIANO CAESARI (Reverse). BMC III Hadrian no.5 p. 237: *Aureus* with Trajan and Hadrian, both laureate, togate, standing right. and left, facing one another, clasping right hands and holding rolls in left. PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F P M TR P COS P P ADOPTIO In ex.(reverse).

[118] *Epitome de Caesaribus* 13.11; Cassius Dio 69.2.3.

20).[119] However, this ceremony was very exceptional and contrary to Roman practice, as the column was within the *pomerium* (city limits) where burials were not normally permitted. It is likely that the Senate authorised this ceremony by a special decree, a privilege that none of Trajan's predecessors had enjoyed.

The date and place of Trajan's triumph and funeral are disputed by scholars. A posthumous triumph was unprecedented in Rome. According to Kierdorf, the journey took at most a month (late September 117) and Plotina would have deposited the ashes immediately.[120] W. den Boer, on the other hand, argues that the triumphal and consecration ceremonies were separated for both "political and religious reasons", and that the posthumous triumph had to wait until Hadrian's return in the summer of 118.[121] Amanda Claridge raises the possibility that Trajan's posthumous triumph was in fact "something else," since an effigy could not fulfil the ceremonial duties of a living victor offering sacrifices to Jupiter.[122]

In all events, this posthumous triumph was commemorated on an exceedingly rare *aureus* depicting a bust of Trajan from his right wearing a laureate crown on his head and draped in toga with the inscription DIVO TRAIANO PARTH AVG PATRI on the obverse and Trajan in quadriga from his right, holding laurel-branch and eagle-tipped sceptre with the inscription TRIVMPHVS PARTHICVS on the reverse (Fig. 21).[123]

2.2. Imperial Journeys of the Restless Emperor

> During a happy period of more than fourscore years, the public administration was conducted by the virtue and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of this and of the two succeeding chapters to describe the

[119] Penelope J. E. Davies. (1997). *The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration.* American Journal of Archaeology, 101(1), 41–65.

[120] W. Kierdorf. (1986). Apotheose und Postumer Triumph Trajans, *Tyche 1*, 147-156.

[121] Boer 1975, 202-4.

[122] Claridge 2013, 7-8.

[123] © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.8040. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8040.

> prosperous condition of their empire, and afterwards, from the death of Marcus Antoninus, to deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall, a revolution which will ever be remembered and is still felt by the nations of the earth.[124]

In *The Decline and the Fall of the Roman Empire*, the celebrated historian Gibbon refers to the period of the "five good emperors" that may be thought of as the happiest and most memorable period in human history.[125] Hadrian is the third of the "five good emperors "Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius (Fig. 22), and Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 23)" of the period to which Gibbon refers.

Trajan was an emperor respected for his military successes and for expanding the borders of the Empire to its widest extent.[126] Once in power, unlike his predecessors, Hadrian pursued a peaceful policy, concentrating on maintaining territorial integrity within the empire's borders by keeping rebellions and uprisings in the provinces under control,[127] rather than seeking to expand the empire's borders further.

Perhaps the extent of his travels to almost all the Roman provinces, not necessarily for military reasons, had manifested the emperor's most distinctive feature in comparison with his predecessors and successors.[128] Hadrian's predecessors who travelled outside Italy for military purposes are summarised accordingly by Birley:

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[124] E. Gibbon. (1994*). The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. D. Womersley (Ed.). 3 vols. Allen Lane. Volume I, Chapter 1. p. 31.

[125] Bennett (1997, preface, xii) mentions that Trajan was an emperor respected for his military successes and for expanding the borders of the Empire to its widest extent. Once in power, unlike his predecessors, Hadrian pursued a peaceful policy, concentrating on maintaining territorial integrity within the empire's borders by keeping rebellions and uprisings in the provinces under control, rather than seeking to expand the empire's borders further.

[126] The second greatest military expansion in Roman history after Augustus.

[127] According to Magie (1950, 611) rebellion in Mesopotamia, uprisings of Jews in Palestine, in Cyprus, Egypt and Cyrenaica, revolt in Africa, Mauretania, signs of unrest in Britain and Danube region.

[128] For details see A. R. Birley. (2003). Hadrian's Travels. In L. de Blois, P. Erdkamp, O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn, & S. Mols (Eds.), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C. - A.D. 476), Rome, March 20-23, 2002* (pp. 425–441). Brill. p. 425. Those details are derived from the fundamental source of H. Halfmann, *ltinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Romischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1986), 157 ff. (Augustus); 166 ff. (Caligula); 172 f (Claudius); 173 ff. (Nero); 181 ff. (Domitian); 184 ff. (Trajan).

> Augustus, travelled in Spain 27-24 BC, in the east 22-19 BC, in Gaul and Spain 16-13 BC and again in Gaul 11-10 and 8 BC, even if his participation in campaigns after the first voyage was indirect. Caligula's brief visit to Sicily in 38 AD was an exception, but his journey to Germany and the English Channel in 39-40 was strictly military, as was Claudius' expedition to Britain in 43-44 AD. Nero's 'cultural' expedition to Greece in 66-67 is an important exception. Domitian left Italy only for military purposes in 83, 85-86, 89 and 92-93, as did Trajan, first on the Rhine and Danube tour in 98-99, then in the two Dacian wars in 101-102 and 105-106, and in the Parthian war in 113-117. The journeys of the emperors from the provinces to Rome after their proclamation must be excluded: Galba in 68, Vitellius in 69, Vespasian in 70 - but Trajan's circuitous and extended route from Cologne to Rome in 98-99 is somewhat different: He evidently felt confident enough to inspect the military provinces in the north instead of travelling directly to the capital.[129]

Hadrian spent much of his time, about twelve years out of twenty-one, away from Rome.[130] The Julio-Claudian emperors Tiberius and Nero were criticised for leaving the city, but Hadrian does not seem to have suffered from similar criticism. From then on, Hadrian became the first emperor since Augustus to visit Anatolia without the threat of war and followed a similar peace policy to Augustus (Fig. 24). It is worth noting that Augustus frequently visited the provinces, with the exception of Africa and Sardinia.[131]

According to ancient sources "hardly any emperor ever travelled with such speed over so much territory."[132] It can only be speculated that Hadrian's wide range of interests, energy and curiosity may have been the motivation for such tireless travel. He was a well-trained soldier and an intellectual with refined tastes in art, oratory,

[129] Birley 2003, 425.

[130] Birley 1997, 1. As Birley points out, Hadrian is documented to have visited more than thirty provinces of the Roman Empire, and he adds that it would be easier to list the places where his presence cannot be proven: Aquitania, Lusitania, Crete, Cyprus, Cyrenaica, Sardinia-Corsica, and all but the last, which is highly probable.

[131] C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *Divus Augustus*, 47 "There is not, I believe, a province, except Africa and Sardinia which he did not visit."; "Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta dum taxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit." C. Suetonius Tranquillus. *Divus Augustus.* (M. Ihm Ed. in Latin). *Suetonius: The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. (1889). (J. E. Reed, & A. Thomson, Eds.). An English Translation, Augmented with the Biographies of Contemporary Statesmen, Orators, Poets, and Other Associates. Suetonius. Gebbie & Co. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:latinLit:phi1348.abo012.perseus-lat1:47; *Suetonius: Lives of the Caesars 2. The Deified Augustus.* Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Loeb Classical Library.https://www.loebclassics.com/view/suetonius-lives_caesars_book_ii_deified_augustus/1914/pb_LCL031.227.xml

[132] SHA 13.5; K. W. Arafat. (2004). *Pausanias' Greece: Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers*. Cambridge University Press. p. 160.

philosophy, and literature. And in his philanthropy, he showed an enthusiastic commitment to architecture, beautifying cities by supporting public works through both new construction and restoration. Although no firm judgment can be made about the reasons for the emperor's travels, ancient sources provide a basis for discussion.

An examination of the architectural production in the cities Hadrian visited or where he was present reveals the titles of honour attributed to the emperor and provides an opportunity to assess the reflection of the image of power between the cities and the people of the empire. As a reflection of these, Hadrian was attributed epithets, such as saviour (*soter*), founder (*ktistes, oikistes*), and benefactor (*euergetes*).[133]

> He was tall of stature and elegant in appearance; his hair was curled on a comb, and he wore a full beard to cover up the natural blemishes on his face; and he was very strongly built.[134]

The image of a beard appears to have reflected his admiration for Greek culture, or perhaps this unorthodox facial feature was a disguise to cover the natural blemishes on his face as recorded in the *SHA*. Whatever the reason, Hadrian was the first Roman emperor with a full beard (Fig. 25).

The combination of his interest in Greek culture, the education he had received and the influence of the Second Sophistic movement led Hadrian to take obvious pleasure in travelling, especially to the Greek-speaking provinces. Of paramount importance was the integration of the peoples of the territories of Greece and Asia Minor. His extensive travels, his patronage of the cities of the Greek-speaking territories and his creation of the Panhellenion can be seen as an attempt to create a second centre in the East. In this context, his imperial programme was an amalgamation of the absolute power, ideology, and imperial power of Rome with the divine role enshrined in the hearts of the Greek-speaking people.[135]

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[133] Boatwright 2000, 31.

[134] SHA 26.1. H. V. Canter. (1928). Personal Appearance in the Biography of the Roman Emperors. *Studies in Philology, 25*(3), 385–399. p. 390.

[135] The emperor's inclination towards Greek-speaking provinces may have had roots in his childhood. According to Birley, Hadrian's father, Hadrianus Afer, could be one of the three *legati* who should serve Ulpius Trajan. If this mission was accomplished, the interest of the young Hadrian in Greek

Hadrian showed his benevolence towards the needs of the cities by supporting the construction of city gates, theatres, baths, canals, and temples. Such generous benefactions were also undertaken within the personal relations of the locals or elites as well. New cities were also founded by Hadrian in some strategic regions. His name was given to some of the cities revealing the generosity of the emperor and the splendour of Rome. Another remarkable manoeuvre of the emperor was to mark off the barbarians on the Rhine frontier, in Britain[136] and North Africa, by clearly separating them from the Roman Empire (*imperium sine fine*).

The emperor's presence is visible not only in the provision of buildings with strong architectural language, but also in his achievements in the social, legal, financial, and administrative order he maintained in the cities.

Following his first visit from Antioch to Rome (117-118),[137] after his proclamation as emperor, he paid three more visits to the Asian provinces. Thus, it is recorded that Hadrian visited Anatolia four times during his reign.

Despite his peaceful policy, Hadrian constantly inspected the armies in the provinces and maintained strict military discipline. Ancient sources reveal that his regular inspections and military regulations maintained proper military training and order. Considering maintenance of peace rather than preparing for war, he kept the soldiers ready for war. He restored the discipline of the camp, regulated both the duties and the expenditure of the soldiers [and] did not allow any tribune to accept a gift from a soldier, forbade luxury in every way, and finally improved the weapons and equipment of the soldiers.[138] The account of Cassius Dio provides supportive testimony to further exemplify this attitude: “So excellently, indeed, had his soldiery

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culture can be dated to the years his father spent in Ephesus and other Asian Provinces. It is for sure that the legate or proconsul would take his family with him (Birley 1997, 14).

[136] SHA 11.2. *Vallum Aelium*, is a former defensive fortification built during the reign of Hadrian. This 118-km-long Wall was built in CE 122. In 1987, the site was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Convention. (2024). *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/430

[137] Prelude for the upcoming imperial journeys.

[138] SHA 10.2-3,7; Cassius Dio 69. 9,1-4.

been trained that the cavalry of the Batavians, as they were called, swam the Ister with their arms. Seeing all this, the barbarians stood in terror of the Romans, they employed Hadrian as an arbitrator of their differences."[139]

The emperor's personality and imperial policies set the tone for his reign. From the moment he came to power, Hadrian's ability to make far-sighted interventions, such as resolving unrest on the frontiers, securing the empire with military works, and training the army, led to peace, which was the catalyst for prosperity and loyalty to the empire among his subjects. In the long run, this contributed to the prosperity of the provinces.

Not only military order, but also the administrative and financial management of the provinces was kept under control. From an administrative and financial point of view, Hadrian immediately took massive measures to gain the favour of the people with the laws he enacted[140] (Fig. 26). One of his most popular measures was the cancellation of debts owed by citizens[141] to the *fiscus* (Roman imperial treasury) and the *aerarium* (public treasury) (Fig. 27), thus demonstrating his generosity[142] (Fig. 28). A public ceremony was organised in the Forum of Trajan to set fire to the records of the debts. As *SHA* records (Fig. 29):

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[139] Cassius Dio 69. 9.6

[140] Financial support was ensured to the senatorial families who become impoverished through no fault of their own, in each case making the allowance proportional to the number of children, Hadrian allocated additional allowances for the children that Trajan had funded (*alimenta*), support was also provided to women as well. The coins transferred the message of restoration of liberty (LIBERTAS RESTI TVTA). Hadrian is facing right with a laureate bust. His right shoulder and chest are bare, with his left shoulder draped. On the reverse, Hadrian was seated on the *sella curulis*, his togate extending his right arm towards the woman holding a child on her left arm and another standing beside her.
© The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.9308. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-9308.

[141] Cassius Dio 69.8.1.

[142] SHA 7.3 records that in an effort to check the rumours about him, a double *congiarium* (six gold coins), was distributed in person *(praesens)*, although in his absence each citizen had received three *aurei* (gold coins) on his proclamation. BMC III Hadrian no. 1137, p. 404: Hadrian, togate, seated l. on curule chair set on platform on r., extending' r. hand: in front of him, attendant, seated 1., with both hands making distribution to citizen, facing r., who is mounting steps up to platform, holding out fold of toga: in background, 1., Liberalitas standing 1., holding account-board. PONT MAX TR. POT COS II S C l. and r., in field. LIBERALITAS AVG in ex. (reverse).
© The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.9290. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-9290.

> Moreover, he used every means of gaining popularity. He remitted to private debtors in Rome and in Italy immense sums of money owed to the privy-purse, and in the provinces he remitted large amounts of arrears; and he ordered the promissory notes to be burned in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, in order that the general sense of security might thereby be increased. He gave orders that the property of condemned persons should not accrue to the privy-purse, and in each case deposited the whole amount in the public treasury. He made additional appropriations for the children to whom Trajan had allotted grants of money.[143]

The emperor also communicated with the people. According to Cassius Dio, during one of his journeys, a woman attempted to explain her problem. The emperor replied that "he did not have time" and the woman cried out "Cease, then, being emperor." He then turned to the woman and listened her.[144]

As is well known, Hadrian was the emperor who, more than any of his predecessors, dignified the provinces with his presence. During his visits, earthquake-damaged cities, ruined tombs, and buildings were rebuilt, and statues in honour of the emperor and prominent gods were erected. Despite the scarcity of literary testimony, his presence in the territories that he visited was perpetuated in the form of statues, coins commemorating his *adventus*, inscriptions and surviving buildings. According to the recent study about the presence of the emperor with explicit evidence, the itinerary presented by Birley is as follows:[145]

- 117 Antioch - Cilicia - Antioch[146] - Tarsus (12 October) - Mopsucrene (13 October) - Panhormus (14 October) - Aquae Calidae (15 October) - Tynna (16 October) - Tyana (17 October) - Andabalis (18 October)[147] - Ancyra - Juliopolis (11 November)[148] - winter at Nicomedia? and/or Byzantium?
- 118 Thrace - Moesia Inferior[149]- Dacia - Moesia Superior - Pannonia - Italy - Rome (9 July).

[143] SHA 7.5-8.

[144] Cassius Dio 69.6.3. The ancient sources could be taken into account when tracing the reasons for his travels.

[145] For details see Birley 2003, 429-431.

[146] SHA 5.9-10.

[147] CIL VI 5076.

[148] IGR IV 349. E. M. Smallwood. (1966). *Documents illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*. Cambridge University Press. p. 42. No. 61.

[149] SHA 6.6-8.

- 119 Rome - Campania[150]- Rome.
- 120 Rome.
- 121 Rome - Gaul[151] - Germania Superior[152] - Raetia - Noricum - Raetia – Noricum – Raetia - Germania Superior.
- 122 Germania Inferior - Britain[153] - Gaul.[154]
- 123 Gaul (Nemausus, Apta) - Spain (Tarraco)[155] - Legio - Mauretania Tingitana?[156] -? Africa -? Cyrenaica -? Crete -? Cyprus - Syria (Antioch) - Euphrates[157] - Cappadocia (Neocaesarea - Trapezus) - Pontus/Bithynia (Nicomedia?) - Thrace.
- 124 Asia: conjectured route: Cyzicus - Ilium - Hadrianutherae[158] - Pergamum?[159] - Thyatira - Saittae - Sardis - Smyrna - Erythrae[160] - Ephesus (29.08.) - Rhodes - Athens and Eleusis[161] - Peloponnese: Megara - Epidaurus - Troezen - Hermione - Argos? (Dec. 124?).
- 125 Mantinea - Tegea - Sparta - Corinth - Athens[162] - Thespiae - Coronea - Abae - Hyampolis - Delphi - Dyrrachium (20 May?) - Sicily (Etna)[163] - Rome - Tibur (between 14 August and 12 September) - Rome.
- 126 Rome (11 February, 1 March).

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[150] SHA 9.6.

[151] SHA 10.1.

[152] SHA 10.2 ff.

[153] SHA 11.2; 12.1.

[154] SHA 12.1.

[155] SHA 12.3-5.

[156] SHA 12.7.

[157] SHA 13.1.

[158] SHA 20.13; Cassius Dio 69.10.2.

[159] IGR IV 351.

[160] IGR IV 1542.

[161] SHA 13.1.

[162] Dionysia in March: SHA 13.1; Cassius Dio 69.16.1.

[163] SHA 13.3.

- 127 Rome - (from 3 March) Italia circum (padana) - Rome (1 August)?

- 128 Rome - Sicily - Africa[164] - Numidia: Lambaesis (1 July) - Zarai (7 July) - unknown castellum (12/13 July)[165] - Mauretania - Rome[166] - Athens (September)[167] - Sparta[168] - Athens.

- 129 Athens - Eleusis - Ephesus - Miletus - Lycia (Patara) - Maeander valley - Tralles - Laodicea on the Lycus (29 June)[169] - Apamea/Phrygia (23 July) - Melissa - Cappadocia[170] - Antioch.[171]

- 130 Antioch - Mt. Casius[172]- Palmyra - Gerasa - Judaea (Jerusalem) - Gaza (July) - Pelusium[173] - Alexandria (before August 29) - Libyan Desert (September)[174] - Heliopolis - Memphis - Oxyrhyncus - Hermopolis - Antinoupolis (30 October) -? Ptolemais - Thebes (Colossus) (18-21 November) - Oxyrhyncus (29-30 November) - Tebtunis (1 December) - Alexandria.

- 131 Alexandria -? Antinoupolis (March/April) - Alexandria - Syria[175] - Cilicia - Pamphylia (Phaselis) -? Ephesus -? Mysia (Hadriani, Hadriania) - Athens.

- 132/133(?)134(?) Athens - Judaea - Athens - Macedonia -? Thrace -? Moesia Superior -? Dalmatia - Pannonia - Italy - Rome (at latest 5 May 134).[176]

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[164] SHA 13.4 f.

[165] CIL VIII 2532; 18042=ILS 9133-4.

[166] SHA l3.6.

[167] SHA l3.6.

[168] SEG XI 492.

[169] IGR IV 1033.

[170] SHA 13.6-7.

[171] Malalas, Chronographia 278.

[172] SHA 14.3.

[173] SHA 14.4; Cassius Dio 69.1l.1; Appian, *Syriaca* 50, See Appian. (1899). *The Foreign Wars* (H. White, Ed.). The Macmillan Company. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0551.tlg013.perseus-eng1:8.50

[174] SHA 26.3.

[175] Cassius Dio 69.12.2.

[176] IGR I 149.

The aim of this chapter is not re-constructing a day-by-day account of Hadrian's itinerary, with exact dates and names of places. This is because there is no single source on which the itinerary is completely agreed, but information from various sources allows possible itineraries to be estimated. Information on the itinerary of the imperial visits is largely based on the work of A. Birley, the most recent and comprehensive scholarly treatment of Hadrian including his travels.

2.2.1. First Imperial Journey to the Provinces CE 117-118

At the beginning of October 117, Hadrian had to leave Antioch, leaving the command of the province of Syria to Catilius Severus. An immediate return of the emperor to Rome was not feasible, however, and came at the cost of uprisings by the Sarmatian tribes beyond the lower and middle Danube, the Iazyges on the border of Pannonia, and unrest in Moesia Inferior. First, peace had to be established and unrest in the provinces eliminated. Before leaving for Syria, between his accession and his departure north, Hadrian sealed the Castalian spring at Daphne with a large mass of stones, indicating that the prophetic waters had foretold his reign; to ensure that they would not do the same for anyone else.[177]

The journey from Syria to Rome between 117-18 could be seen as the first imperial journey, or the prelude of the restless emperor, in addition to the other two journeys (Fig. 30). Considering the length of the emperor's absence from Rome[178] and the 'travel addiction' in his personality, it is safe to say that no emperor before or after Hadrian had ever travelled so much within the imperial provinces.

The route[179] from Syria through Asia Minor to the north-eastern frontier began as soon as he was proclaimed emperor by the army in Syria.[180] Shortly after his

[177] Birley 1997, 83.

[178] This thesis envisages the travel from Antioch to Rome as the first imperial visit of the emperor. During his reign, the period of emperor's absence in Rome is between i) 117 to 09 July 118. ii) Spring of 121 to summer of 125 iii) Between 128-132.

[179] R. Syme. (1988). Journeys of Hadrian. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, *73*, 159–170. p. 160. Generally, scholars do not record Hadrian's route from Asia to Rome as the first journey to the provinces. R. Syme indicates Hadrian's travel in 117 as his first journey. This journey may be the first steps of the travelling emperor over the Roman territories.

accession, in September 117, he left Antioch and travelled north-west to calm the unrest on the Danubian frontier (Fig. 31). Hadrian's route took him from Syria to Ancyra and Byzantium before heading to Dacia. Meanwhile, General Quintus Marcius Turbo was supressing disorder in Mauretania and the Danube and the tribes of the Theiss. [181]

An inscription found in Rome claims that Hadrian's itinerary was from 13 to 19 October 117. Thus, in the autumn of that year, Hadrian would have followed the route through Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia (modern Tarsus), Tyana (Kemerhisar), Andabalis (south-eastearn Cappadocia, Yeniköy), Mazaka Kaiseria (Kayseri), Ancyra (Ankara), Juliopolis (Nallıhan, Çayırhan) and on to Bithynia.[182] As recorded in the fragment, the stages from the Tarsus main road to Caesarea have been preserved. [183]

Juliopolis and Ancyra must have been on the emperor's itinerary, as both were on the Pilgrim's Road.[184] Hadrian was on his way to Ancyra; if he continued to travel 15-18 miles (25-30 km) a day as indicated in the itinerary, he would have arrived there by the end of October.[185] As Birley notes, Latinius Alexander, a descendant of the Galatian kings of Ancyra, made donations to the city for 'the visit of the emperor, and the accommodation of his armies' for 'a whole year'. This must have ensured that some troops reached Ancyra long before Trajan's death. They probably accompanied

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[180] Syme 1988, 160.

[181] Magie 1950, 611.

[182] Magie 1950, 612; CIL VI 5076; Birley 2000, 134. A fragmentary inscription found in Rome that carries the names of the stations along the road from Mopsucrene to Andabalis Hadrian's itinerary north-westwards is suggested as; 13-19 October from Mopsucrene 12 miles beyond Tarsus then to the north of Taurus into Cappadocia through Tyana. 13 October-Mopsucrene, 14 October-Panhormos, 15 October-Aquae Calidae, 16 October-Tynna, 17 October-Tyana and 18 October-Andabalis. If Hadrian continued to travel, it should have taken 15-18 miles a day and the entourage would have reached Ancyra at the end of October.

[183] Syme 1988, 160; Birley 1997, 83.

[184] D. H. French. (2016). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor Vol. 4: The Roads, Fasc. 4.1: Notes on the Itineraria* (BIAA Electronic Monograph 10). pp. 7-22. The emperor and his entourage must have passed through Cilician Gates through *Via Tauri*, and the entourage probably followed Pilgrim's Road to Ancyra.

[185] Birley 1997, 83.

Quadratus Bassus on his way to counter-attack Dacia. This must mean that some troops reached Ancyra long before Trajan's death, probably accompanying Quadratus Bassus on his way to counterattack Dacia. Alexander's generosity is gratefully recorded on the base of a statue erected for his daughter Cleopatra.[186] It is likely that Hadrian spent a few days in Ancyra, the capital of the province of Galatia and the crossroads of the main routes through Anatolia. In any event, Hadrian stayed there long enough to set up a 'mystic contest' (*mystikos agon*) for the worship of Dionysus. According to the records of a decree of the organisation of the performing artists, Hadrian was considered to be neos Dionysos.[187]

Hadrian was travelling from Ancyra to Nicaea at the time and reached Juliopolis after a five-day journey. On 11 November,[188] he set foot in Bithynia. Soon after his accession, embassies and delegations from important cities arrived to congratulate the Emperor and in the meantime some of the letters from Emperor to the cities were preserved.

On the course of his route, the Synod of Neoi (young men) of Pergamum visited Hadrian and celebrated his accession.[189] Hadrian sent a response from Juliopolis to Pergamum: "11 November, from Juliopolis. Noting from your letter and through your representative Claudius Cyrus the great joy you have expressed at our succession, I consider this a sign of your excellence."[190] Also, a copy of the letter was engraved in the gymnasium in Pergamum. Pergamum may have held a *sui generis* place for Hadrian. It was the hometown of his general, Governor Julius Quadratus Bassus, who died during the revolt in Dacia. Hadrian showed his respect

[186] Birley 1997, 83-4; Syme 1988, 160; IGR III 208.

[187] Birley 1997, 83.

[188] According to Birley, the letter dated 11 November, hence Magie mentions 13 November. For the references see Birley 1997, 84; Magie 1950, 1469, ff. 3; IGR IV 349.

[189] Magie 1950, 612.

[190] Syme 1988, p. 160; SIG 831; Birley 1997, p. 84. P. J. Alexander. (1938). Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 49*, 141–177. p. 143. As mentioned in this source, the Emperor replied as "When I learned from your letter and from your ambassador Claudius Cyrus that you have expressed yourselves as sharing feelings of joy on our behalf, I thought it a proof of your being good men. Farewell."

to the late governor by ordering his ashes to be sent to Pergamum with a military escort and buried in a tomb paid by imperial funds. As a substitute for public funeral (*funus censorium*),[191] which was a kind of symbolic funeral reserved for the nobles.

Another delegation from the free island-city Astypalaea in the Cyclades brought a decree honouring his accession. Hadrian's letter to the archons, senate, and people of Astypalaea states "From your ambassador Petronius Herakon and from your enactment I have learned that you were glad at my taking over the paternal rule. I praise you for that..."[192]The delegation may possibly have promised to submit money or "gold for the crown" (*aurum coronarium*) as a traditional representation of commemoration by the Greek cities. Nonetheless, they could not hold on to the promise and were compelled to decrease the amount.[193] As an example of Hadrian's generosity to the cities, the inscriptions of Hierapolis indicate that Hadrian allowed the city to continue the tradition of holding the right of asylum, allowing Hierapolis to enjoy this prestigious privilege and also exempting the city from paying the *aurum coronarium*.[194]

In the winter of 117, Hadrian was most likely in Nicomedia or in Byzantium.[195] On his way from Syria to the Danube (but without visiting Rome) (Fig. 32), Hadrian

[191] IGR IV 349.

[192] Alexander 1935, 142.

[193] Magie 1950, 612; Magie 1950, 612, 4ff. V.II, 1470. Alexander, 1935, 168. Fragment of a stone inscription of Hadrian's response is preserved at Archaeological Museum of Astypalaia.

[194] F. D'andria. (2003). *Hierapolis Arkeoloji Rehberi*. Ege yayınları. p. 10; F. D'andria. (2001). Hierapolis of Phrygia: its evolution in Hellenistic and Roman times. In D. Parrish (Ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor, New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos* (JRA Supplement. 45 pp. 94-115). Journal of Roman Archaeology. p. 104. Hadrian was not the only emperor who refused *aurum coronarium*. Augustus also showed his generosity to the cities in Italy, for more details, see S. Mitchell. (2008). *The Imperial Temple of Ankara and the Res Gestae of the Emperor Augustus*. Dönmez Ofset. p. 66. As stated in *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* XXI. (I) On the private ground, I built the temple of Mars the Avenger and the Augustan Forum from plunder. I built the theatre which was in the name of my son-in-law Marcus Marcellus near the temple of Apollo on the ground mostly bought from private individuals. (II) I consecrated gifts out of plunder in the Capitoline temple and in the temple of the deified Julius, and in the temple of Apollo, and in the temple of Vesta, and in the temple of Mars the Avenger, which cost me about 100,000,000 sesterces. (III) I remitted 35,000 pounds of crown-gold which the municipalities and the colonies of Italy contributed for my triumphs in my fifth consulship (29 BCE), and later, every time that I was hailed as a victorious general, I refused a crown-gold even though the municipalities and colonies decreed it just as generously as they had done before.

[195] Syme 1988, 160. Birley, 1997, 85. As suggested by Birley, Hadrian had either stayed in Nicomedia or Byzantium.

made an agreement with the Roxolani (Roxolanus) king, P. Aelius Rasparaganus, who became a Roman citizen, in Moesia Inferior in early 118.[196] He was probably exiled from his country and found asylum in Pola (modern Pula in Croatia), in the Roman province of Istria. Two sarcophagi were found, one of which belonged to his son Peregrinus, while the name Rasparaganus is recorded in an inscription on a sarcophagus found on the island of Uljanik (Scolio degli Olivi), a small island in the harbour of Pula.[197]

As Birley notes, Hadrian's presence in Scythia (Moesia Inferior later called Scythia Minor) in 118 may perhaps be inferred from a poem sent to Hadrian a few years later by poet Florus.[198]

> I don't want to be a Caesar,
> Stroll about among the Britons
> Lurk about among the…
> And endure the Scythian winters.

And, indeed, Hadrian was not short on a reply:

> I don't want to be a Florus,
> Stroll about among the taverns,
> Lurk about among the cook-shops
> And endure the round fat insects.

It is possible that in consideration for these concessions and favours Rasparaganus gave Hadrian a valuable gift: a magnificent horse. It has been claimed that Hadrian's

[196] Birley 2000, 134. Therefore, there can be little doubt that Roman territory, namely the eastern part of Transdanubian Lower Moesia annexed after the First Dacian War, would be evacuated. This prompted rumours that there were plans to evacuate Dacia. Roman governor Quadratus Bassus had died, and the remaining Roman territory was being reorganised. Lower Moesia across the Danube was designated 'Dacia Inferior', while Trajan's Dacia became 'Dacia Superior'. SHA 6.8: "When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him." In return for maintaining peaceful relations with Roxolani, Hadrian granted Roman citizenship to their king and recognised him as "friend of the Roman people" (*amici populi Romani)*. In honour of Hadrian, Rasparaganus took the name Publius Aelius Rasparaganus.

[197] V.G. Jurkić & M. Jurkić. (2016). The Exile of Roxolani King P. Aelius Rasparaganum and His Son P. Aelius Peregrinus in Roman Pola. *Tibiscvm, Arheologie,* 6/2016, Caransebes 2016, Editura Mega Cluj-Napoca, pp. 105-114.
The inscriptions on the two sarcophagi are as follows:

1. "P(ublio) Aelio Rasparag[a]no regi Roxo[la]noru[m] {u(xor)] v(iva) [J(ecit)J"
2. "P(ublius) Aelius Peregrinus re{gis} Sarmatarum Rasparagani j(ilius) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae Q(uinti) f(iliae) Procillae lib(ertis) l{iber] tabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) eorum."

[198] SHA 16.3-4.

horse was named after the river Borysthenes (present-day Dnieper), which flowed through Alani territory, occupied the steppe region northeast of the Black Sea. Hadrian's enthusiasm for hunting and his horse were recorded by Cassius Dio, and imagined by M. Yourcenar:

> To give up riding is a greater sacrifice still: a wild beast is first of all an adversary, but my horse was a friend. If the choice of my condition had been left to me I would have decided for that of centaur. Between Borysthenes and me relations were of almost mathematical precision; he obeyed me as if I were his brain, not his master. Have I ever obtained as much from a man? Such total authority comprises, as does any other power, its risk of error for the possessor, but the pleasure of attempting the impossible in jumping an obstacle was too strong for me to regret a dislocated shoulder or a broken rib. My horse knew me not by the thousand approximate notions of title, function, and name which complicate human friendship, but solely by my just weight as a man. He shared my every impetus; he knew perfectly, and better perhaps than I, the point where my strength faltered under my will. But I no longer inflict upon Borysthenes' successor the burden of an invalid whose muscles are flabby, and who is too weak to heave himself, unassisted, upon a horse's back. [199]

Hadrian remained in the Danubian territory with his Horse Guards the "Batavians"[200] until the early summer, when he finally left for Rome, which he is known to have reached on 09 July 118.[201] However, the end of his journey from Pannonia to Rome is uncertain; Birley proposes that Hadrian travelled by crossing the Julian Alps and reaching the plains around the Venetian lagoon, and then southwards along the coast, descending the *Via Flaminia*.[202]

Before Hadrian's arrival in Rome, the "affair of the four consulars"[203] had a negative effect on his reputation. It is certain that his arrival in Rome was marked by his architectural programme in the capital, his defence in the Senate against rumours of

[199] Yourcenar 1986, 17-18; Casius Dio 69 22.2-3.

[200] Cassius Dio 69 9.6.

[201] For the route, see CIL VI 5076. The journey of Hadrian in Cilicia was recorded on an inscription in Rome which carries the names of stations on the high road from Tarsus to Andabalis in Cappadocia and is equipped with dates from October 13 to 19 October 117. Birley 1997, 93. On the occasion of his arrival, *Arval Brethren* (Brothers of Arval) immediately gathered to sacrifice, as they do on every important day as well as for their special Dea Dia worship - this year they had already held seven sessions. Hadrian was also included in the brotherhood, as was normally the case, when he became Emperor.

[202] Birley 1997, 92.

[203] Scarre 1995, 100.

the death of senators,[204] tax exemptions and ceremonies.[205] On the occasion of his *adventus*, coins were minted showing a scene with Hadrian and Roma as a laureate bust of the emperor facing right, his right shoulder and chest bare and his left shoulder draped. The reverse of the coin shows Roma facing right, wearing armour and shield, holding a vertical spear in her left hand, and Hadrian facing left towards Roma, with his right hands clasped, togate and left hand at his side (Fig. 33).[206]

As already mentioned, Hadrian is described in ancient testimony as a lover of the arts, interested in architecture, but also as a passionate hunter[207] and a poet with an appreciation of literature. Architecture, one of the emperor's special interests, was undoubtedly one of the means of effectively demonstrating the authority and power of the empire and creating a memory. Throughout his stay in Rome, Hadrian supported the construction and completion of important buildings. He also attached great importance to *civilitas* and acted as a private citizen. [208] After arriving in the capital in July 118; a posthumous triumph was organised for Trajan and the ashes of the former emperor were placed in an official ceremony on the pedestal of Trajan's column in Rome.[209] Hadrian was designated as *consul ordinarius* for the year 118[210] and would hold his third and last consulship a year after.

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[204] SHA 5.5-6; Birley 2000, 135.

[205] Birley 1997, 93-112.

[206] © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.9280, (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-9280. The inscriptions on the coin in Latin; IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG (obverse), and ADVENTVS AVG S C (reverse).

[207] SHA 2.1.

[208] Birley 1997, 94. This was in Hadrian's nature as well as in his own interest to act as a *civilis princeps*. SHA 9.7-8: While in Rome, he often took part in the official ceremonies of *praetors* and consuls, attended the banquets of his friends, visited them two or three times a day when they were sick, even those who were only knights and freemen, cheered them with words of consolation, encouraged them with advice, and often received them to his own banquets. Indeed, everything he did was in the style of a private citizen. SHA 20.1: He was extremely democratic in his behaviour with even the humblest of people, and he condemned all those who refrained from showing him such friendship in the belief that they were defending the honour of the empire.

[209] SHA 6.3; Birley 2000, 136.

[210] Birley 1997, p. 94. It is unlikely that Servianus was enthusiastic about Hadrian's accession to power. His daughter Julia Paulina was Hadrian's niece, his son-in-law Cn. Pedanius Fuscus, heir apparent, had been consul with Hadrian earlier in the year, and Emperor was showing Servianus careful regard.

During his stay in Rome for three years; festivities such as gladiatorial games lasting six days were organised to mark his birthday on January 119.[211] The year 119 was marked both by the death of the Stoic philosopher Euphrates[212] and of his beloved mother-in-law Matidia who died in her 50s (Fig. 34).[213] *SHA* records that gladiatorial games and other ceremonies[214] were held and spices were distributed to the people in honour of her, at the end of the same year. Hadrian also delivered a speech to praise her, on 23 December 119 in the name of the college, the magister of the Brothers of Arval[215] celebrated the consecration of Matidia Augusta (Fig. 35)[216] with 2 pounds of perfume and 50 pounds of incense.[217]

The debt records of the past fifteen years were cancelled and burned in a public ceremony in the Forum, and Suetonius was appointed *ab epistulis*.[218] In addition, the

[211] Cassius Dio 69 8.2.

[212] Cassius Dio 69 8.3; SHA 16.10, the emperor enjoyed the close friendship of philosophers namely Epictetus and Heliodorus.

[213] A coin depicts the consecration (Latin inscription reverse: CONSECRATIO) of Matidia, the empress was portrait facing right, with her hair piled and with a triple diadem. The reverse depicts a standing eagle facing left. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, BNK,R.348. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_BNK-R-348. Following the ceremony, Hadrian commissioned the construction of a temple in Campus Martius. Some remains of this temple have remained in the Vicolo della Spada d'Orlando in Rome (between the Via dei Pastini and the Piazza Capranica); it once occupied the area of the Campus Martius between the Pantheon and the Temple of the Divine Hadrian.

[214] SHA 9.9.

[215] The fragments could be visited at the Cloister of Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri, located in the frigidarium of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome.

[216] Birley 2000, 136; SHA 19.5. Matidia was the daughter of Ulpia Marciana, older sister of Trajan, and mother of Sabina, wife of Hadrian. Matidia was honoured with the name or title of 'Augusta' when her mother Marciana was declared a 'diva'. Coins minted during the reign of Trajan (circa 115-117) depicting her as Augusta (MATIDIA AVG DIVAE MARCIANAE F) The reverse depicts Matidia, assimilated with the goddess Pietas, standing in front, her head turned to the left, with her hands on the heads of Sabina and the young Matidia. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1864,1128.58. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1864-1128-58.

[217] Birley 1997, 107. The inscription records a speech Hadrian made about Matidia after she died. The inscription was written down in the sixteenth century, found in Tibur, was then lost. For detailed information about the speech, see C. P. Jones. (2004). A Speech of the Emperor Hadrian. *The Classical Quarterly*, *54*(1), 266-273.

[218] For detailed information on "office of letters" see H. Lindsay. (1994). Suetonius as "*ab epistulis*" to Hadrian and the Early History of the Imperial Correspondence. *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte*, *43*(4), 454-468.

emperor was present at the meetings of the Senate and participated in the functions given by the praetors and consuls.[219] Hadrian was in Rome on 21 April 121 to conduct Parilia (Fig. 36)[220] and inaugurated the site for the Temple of Venus and Rome[221] during the celebrations of the natal day of the capital.[222] His passion for omniscience is said to have supported the idea that he took an active role in the design of the temple.[223]

It is noteworthy that the shift of wealth and prosperity from Rome to the provinces made the architects of the second century seek revolutionary architectural implementations which differed from local traditional building styles.[224]

The coins of 121 emphasised the Golden Age *Saec(ulum) aur(eum)*. A gold coin (*aereus*) of this year shows the bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped and cuirassed, facing right (IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG). The legend on the reverse was personified by Aion, God of eternity, standing right, holding a phoenix on a globe, and emerging from the ring of the zodiac (P M TR P COS III) (Fig. 37).[225]

Hadrian's inclinations led the emperor to repeatedly visit the Greek mainland and Asia Minor. Philhellenism[226] maintained Rome as the centre of the empire while at

[219] Birley 2000, 136.

[220] In 121, Rome's birthday or *Natalis Urbis* (21 April, also called *Parilia*) was started to be celebrated with chariot races. The obelisks were designed to represent the typical decoration found in the spinae of hippodromes such as the Circus Maximus. 21 April was the birthday of Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, succeeding Romulus. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1844,1008.130. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1844-1008-130.

[221] SHA 19.12-13. Hadrian had the architect Decrianus move the Colossus and the Temple was built on the site of the Colossus.

[222] Syme 1988, 160; Birley 1997, 93-112.

[223] Birley 2000, 136.

[224] Ward-Perkins 1981, 96.

[225] "Golden Age" is depicted on coins in Latin "SAEC AVR." © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.8145. (Not on display). https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8145.

[226] Boatwright 2000, 147-9 fn. 14.

the same time upholding tradition and turning its attention to the cities of Greece and Asia Minor in the eastern empire. Not only his preferences in urban and architectural projects but also his bearded[227] physical appearance emulating the Greek ethos, reflected the Emperor's philhellenic predilections. Nonetheless, Hadrian behaved like a Roman civic traditionalist in his daily routines. His busts reflected the various perceptions of the emperor including his divine, military, or imperial character.

As a man of intellectual and architectural taste, Hadrian's contribution to significant building projects in Anatolia may be traced especially through the trajectory of his two major journeys dated between 121-125 (Fig. 38) and 128-132. The timeline of his role in the construction of new buildings and formation of architectural typologies not only transformed provincial acculturation of the imperial cult but also led to the establishment of new cities and rehabilitation of those existing. At this point, delineating both journeys in sequential order will be useful as to better understand the reasons for those travels.

2.2.2. Second Imperial Journey to the Provinces CE 121-125

> "His love for the common people he loudly expressed. So fond was he of travel that he wished to inform himself in person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world." [228]

There is no detailed account of this itinerary of Hadrian. Nevertheless, the benefactions to the cities, the honours paid in return, coins, inscriptions, and architectural remains provide cogent evidence to suggest the routes of his imperial visits.[229]

After a three year stay in Rome, Hadrian's departure from the capital in 121 was depicted on Alexandrian coins with a galley.[230] Following the Festival of Parilia, the

[227] SHA 26.1.

[228] SHA 17.8.

[229] For the information on the route, general works of scholars such as H. Halfmann, D. Magie, M. Boatwright, R. Syme and A. Birley are referred.

[230] Birley 1997, 113-122; Birley 2000, 137; BMC III Hadrian no.1395, 452.

emperor directed his interest in the west to Raetia, Gaul, Germania Inferior, Britain, Narbonensis and Spain from 121 to 123.[231] During this period, Hadrian was personally involved in a military *modus operandi* (Fig. 39).[232] Ancient sources describe his visits during this year as marked by military mobilisation and order, avoidance of excessive luxury consumption, eating in decorated dining rooms and being a role model. Hadrian tightened regulations on the age of recruitment and made a number of military decisions, such as the control of arms and armour, supplies stocks and the deployment of military units in the region unless there was a very serious need.

Therefore, Germany (Fig. 40)[233] and Britain were on the travel route for setting the frontiers. Also, Scipio, the great general and statesman's last campaign to Numantia (Fig. 41) was a model for the emperor for keeping military order and discipline.[234] A Scipionic-style purge was carried out in military matters and the dining rooms, porticoes, covered galleries and ornamental gardens were demolished. Officers were also expressly forbidden to accept gifts from their men, and ornate uniforms were banned.

The Emperor could have ordered the construction of barriers at the frontiers in Upper Germany and Raetia: "during this period and on many other occasions also, in many regions where the barbarians are held back not by rivers but by artificial barriers, Hadrian shut them off by means of high stakes planted deep in the ground and fastened together in the manner of a palisade."[235] The assumption that it was Hadrian

[231] Syme 1988, 160; SHA 10.1, 12.1.

[232] Coins depicting the military discipline in the provinces. Reverse inscription in Latin, DISCIPLIN AVG S C. BMC III no.1484, 466. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1872,0709.608. (Not on display)
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-608.

[233] A coin depicting Hadrian's tour to provinces in Germany, reverse inscription in Latin EXERCITVS GERMANICVS S C. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1872,0709.606. (Not on display)
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-606.

[234] Birley 1997, 117. Scipio's (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus) first priority was to restore discipline to the army in Hispania, forbidding the luxuries to which his men were accustomed, with regular hard training and strict enforcement of the rules.

[235] SHA 10.1-2; 12.6; Syme, 1988, 160. Although the emperor promoted a peace policy, he preserved a disciplined army in training "just as if war were imminent."

who ordered the erection of this palisade is tempting, even if no part of it has been proven to belong to his reign.[236]

At all events, Cassius Dio states that the emperor did not cover his head in heat or cold; he went bareheaded through the German snow and burning Egyptian sun. In short, by both example and principle, Hadrian trained and disciplined the forces of the entire Empire to such an extent that his methods set the mode of military campaigning.[237]

Rhine to Colonia Agrippinensis (modern Cologne) would have been on the last stage of his visit before moving on to Britannia. In 122, Hadrian set out to Britain from Germania, the empress Sabina, Septicius Clarus, one of the praetorian prefects, Suetonius Tranquillus, his *ab epistulis* and Plotorius Nepos, who would succeed Pompeius Falco in Britain, probably accompanied him. Sabina stayed at Londinium with Septicius Clarus and Tranquillus Suetonius.

Intervention in the frontier continued at its zenith in Britain at the time the Emperor gave orders to construct a wall to "separate barbarians and Romans" [238] (Fig. 42). It is assumed that Hadrian moved the Legio VI Victrix of Germania Inferior permanently from its base at Vetera (Xanten) on the Rhine to replace the Ninth Legion at Eboracum (York) before his visit to Britain or around 121. In any case, it was assumed that the legion sailed directly to the River Tyne. Their safe arrival was acknowledged by the two altars dedicated to Neptune[239] and Oceanus[240] thought to be parts of a temple in the construction of a bridge called the Pons Aelius[241] in

[236] Birley 1997, 116.

[237] Cassius Dio 69 9.1-4.

[238] SHA 11.2.

[239] Roman Inscriptions of Britain. (2024). *RIB 1319. Altar dedicated to Neptune.* https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1319

[240] Roman Inscriptions of Britain. (2024). *RIB 1320. Altar dedicated to Oceanus.* https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1320.

[241] Birley 1997, 131. The bridge marks the end of one of the frontiers. According to Birley, the fact that the bridge bears Hadrian's name is a sign of his presence there during its construction, and that he was personally involved in its construction and even its design.

honour of the Emperor. Likewise, fragments of a commemorative inscription[242] reused as building stones in the Saxon Church at Jarrow refer to Hadrian's role in the construction of the Wall, to Aulus Platorius Nepos, and the reasons for its construction.

The presence of the commander of the British Army, A. Platorius Nepos, in the province is recorded in a document which suggests that Hadrian arrived in Britannia in the weeks preceding 17 July 122. This important document is a well-preserved military diploma which entitles an auxiliary man Gemellus to citizenship and legal marriage (Fig. 43).[243]

The coins[244] minted before the arrival of the emperor also provide documentary evidence for his visit, depicting Britannia, in draped costume, seated on a rock, facing left, supporting her head with her right hand, and holding a transverse spear in her left hand, her right foot resting on the rock: on the left side, a large shield with a spiked top (Fig. 44).[245]

The wooden tablets found at Vindolanda,[246] a Roman auxiliary fort south of Hadrian's Wall, constitute another stunning piece of evidence. Dating from Hadrian's

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[242] Roman Inscriptions of Britain. (2024). *RIB 1051. Imperial dedication to Hadrian*. https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1051

[243] In an unorthodox manoeuvre, some of the officers of the military units were retired. Military diploma consisting of two bronze plates forming the front and back of a quatrefoil document granting citizenship to an auxiliary of the army named Gemellus after twenty-five years of service. Dated 17 July 122 CE. This was found in 1925 at O-Szöny, the ancient Brigetio in Pannonia Superior (Hungary). © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Greece and Rome, Registration number, 1930,0419.1. (On display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1930-0419-1.

[244] BMC III, 490, Hadrian's *adventus* was depicted as the province herself on the coin. Inscription in Latin, ADVENT VI AVG BRITANNIAE SC.

[245] BMC III no. 1724, p. 508, © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.8554. (On display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8554.

[246] For detailed information about the writing tablets, see A. R. Birley, E. Birley., & R. Birley. (1993). The Early Wooden Forts: Reports on the auxiliaries the writing tablets inscriptions brands and graffiti. *Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series*, Volume II. Roman Army Museum Publications. Eric Birley (1906-1995) began the first scientific excavations at Vindolanda. He was succeeded in 1949 by his son Robin Birley (1935-2018). Robin's son Andrew is now in charge of the ongoing excavations at the site. Andrew is also the nephew of Professor Anthony Birley, (1937-2020), who in 1997 wrote the outstanding biography of Hadrian, *'Hadrian: The Restless Emperor'*. The Vindolanda

time, one of the tablets in the British Museum depicts an account and the other a draft petition, both written in ink tablet (Fig. 45).[247]

According to the *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian had to deal with a palace scandal in which Sabina was rumoured to have been involved, and Septicius Clarus, Prefect of the Guard and Suetonius, Director of the Chancery, was dismissed for being too familiar with the Empress.[248] Though the rumours remain a mystery, this alleged incident seems to have taken place during the emperor's visit to Britain.

The events described by *SHA* also provide information about the emperor's personality. For example, after recording the dismissal of his men, *SHA* writes that the Emperor's curiosity was not limited to his own household, but extended to his friends, and that he even investigated all their secrets through his agents (*frumentarii*). The *SHA* adds that they never knew that their private lives were made under scrutiny until the emperor himself revealed them. For example, one man's wife wrote to her husband complaining that he was so busy with pleasure and baths that he had not returned home, and Hadrian found this out through his agents. According to the anecdote, when the man asked for permission, Hadrian accused him of indulging in his baths and pleasures, and the man exclaimed: "What, has my wife written to you what she wrote to me?" The *SHA* recounts his people's criticism of his fondness for wealth, males and his adulteries with married women, and they added the accusation that he was unfaithful even to his friends.[249]

Charitable Trust was founded in 1970, with seven Trustees, whose three members were from the Birley family. For detailed information, see Vindolanda Charitable Trust https://www.vindolanda.com/history-of-the-trust.

[247] Writing-tablet or a letter of appeal, inscription in Latin © The Trustees of the British Museum, Museum number, 1989,0602.73. (Not on Display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1989-0602-73.

[248] SHA 11.3. "He dismissed the governor of the guard, Septicius Clarus, the imperial secretary, Suetonius Tranquillus, and many others because, without his consent, they treated his wife Sabina more informally than court etiquette required. As he himself said, if he had been a private citizen, he would have dismissed his wife for being ill-tempered and disagreeable." The *Epitome de Caesaribus* (14.8) reports that he did not have a very good relationship with his wife Sabina: Sabina openly said that because she found his character inhuman, she took care not to become pregnant by him, which would lead to the catastrophe of the human race.

[249] SHA 11.4-7.

At the end of 122, Hadrian left Britain and set sail for Gaul. He travelled south to Nemausus (Nîmes) in Narbonensis before crossing the Pyrenees to Spain.

Most likely, after Suetonius' dismissal, L. Julius Vestinus from a distinguished family replaced him as chief secretary. He then joined Hadrian in Gaul. While in Gaul, Hadrian received news of unrest in Alexandria, Egypt.[250] In 122, Hadrian was also saddened by the death of his great supporter and - adopted mother - Plotina and "Borysthenes the Alan, Caesar's hunting-horse"[251] (Fig. 46) near Apta Julia (Apt). As *SHA* reports "Hadrian loved his horses and dogs so much that he provided burial-places for them." [252] When Alexander the Great's horse Bucephalus (Fig. 47) died in India, he is said to have founded a city named after him near the place where his horse died. Hadrian is also said to have honoured Borysthenes with a monument and a poem of praise written by himself:[253] 'Borysthenes the Alan, Caesar's hunting-horse, used to fly over plains and marshes and hills and thickets, at Pannonian boars - nor did any boar, with tusks foaming white, dare to harm him as he followed, or spray the tip of his tail with spittle from its maul (as tends to happen), but in unimpaired youth, with limbs unscarred, after meeting his day of fate, he lies in this field.' [254]

Hadrian could not have been indifferent to the death of Plotina, who was so important to him, and wherever he was when he received the news of her death, he undoubtedly travelled to Nemausus in person. As Dio records, Hadrian honoured Plotina, the woman through whose care he had secured him the imperial office, by wearing black for nine days, building a temple to her and composing hymns in her memory.[255] The emperor might therefore have ordered a basilica to be built in

[250] SHA 12.1.

[251] CIL XII 1122. A fragment of the epitaph of Borysthenes is exhibited in Musée Lapidaire, Avignon in France.

[252] SHA 20.12.

[253] Cassius Dio 69 10.2. R. MacMullen. (1959). Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 64*, 207–235. p. 222, f. 5.

[254] Birley 1997, 145.

[255] Cassius Dio 69 10.3.

honour of Plotina at Nemausus,[256] whose family was from that city, on his way to Spain, probably through *Via Domitia*. The basilica, which took several years to complete, is unlikely to have been commissioned before 123.[257]

Hadrian's visit to Hispania is poorly documented. The *Historia Augusta* gives no details of his itinerary or imperial entourage other than his presence in Tarraco. Hadrian is supposed to have stayed in Barcino (Barcelona), the hometown of Pedanius Fuscus, husband of his niece Julia. The couple and Sabina were probably travelling with the emperor. Hadrian spent the winter of 122-123 in Tarracco (Tarragona). This was not the first time Hadrian had visited the region; he had no doubt been here as a young man in his father's homeland. He was familiar with the cities founded here by his ancestors, but Hadrian's arrival in this land in the 150th year of Augustus' accession to the title must have been symbolic, for the coins minted during this period bear his name as 'Hadrian Augustus.'[258]

Here he restored the Temple of Augustus at his own expense[259] and, while strolling about, was the victim of an assassination attempt by a deranged slave.[260] In the *SHA*'s account of the Emperor's character, this attack was described as follows: "Afterwards, when it was found that the man was mad, he turned him over to the physicians for treatment, and all this time showed not the slightest sign of alarm."

Meanwhile, Hadrian called a meeting for a levy (*dilectus*) and received delegates from Spanish communities. When delegates from his Patria Italica were reluctant to provide recruits for the army, Hadrian reacted particularly harshly.[261] The city, which had long been a municipium, would later petition Hadrian for the status of colonia and received the title of colonia Aelia Augusta.

[256] SHA 12.2; Syme 1988, 160.

[257] Birley 1997, 144-5.

[258] Birley 1997, 147.

[259] SHA 12.3.

[260] SHA 12.5 "At this same time he incurred grave danger and won great glory; for while he was walking about in a garden at Tarragona one of the slaves of the household rushed at him madly with a sword. But he merely laid hold on the man, and when the servants ran to the rescue handed him over to them." Syme 1988, p. 160.

[261] SHA 12. 4; Birley 2000, 139.

Hadrian appears to have travelled to the base of the Legio (León), where his presence is attested by the *exercitus* Hispanicus coins, which show him addressing the troops (Fig.48). [262] During his stay in Spain, Hadrian was confronted with disquiet in Mauretania (Morocco). In addition, the Parthian king was threatening on the eastern front: "the war with the Parthians had not at that time advanced beyond the preparatory stage, and Hadrian checked it by a personal intervention (*conloquium*)."[263] The threat of war probably prompted the emperor to act, but the circumstances remain unknown, including how Hadrian reached the Euphrates, where he may have negotiated a treaty with the Parthian king. It is possible that Hadrian followed the sea route across North Africa to the port of Seleucia at Pieria in the Antioch region of Syria.

Having left Spain early in 123, Hadrian was never to visit most of the western provinces again, and it was the year in which Hadrian soon saw himself as the new Augustus. Of the many years he spent travelling in the territories of the empire, 123 is the least documented year of his visit.[264] As part of his first imperial tour, a journey to the provinces of Bithynia and Asia in 123 and 124 is outlined.[265] The exact itinerary is uncertain. However, it is possible that he travelled by sea along the coast of North Africa, then to the port of Antioch in Syria, and on to Seleucia in Pieria (Fig.49). It is very likely that he visited the capital of the province of Syria in June. According to the Byzantine chronicler John Malalas, Hadrian established a 'festival of the springs' to be held every year on 23 June and concerning the reconstruction of the city after the earthquake, the emperor would have preferred to visit Antioch.[266]

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[262] Copper alloy coin depicting laureate bust of Hadrian, cuirassed, wearing aegis on breastplate, facing right. HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P (obverse). Hadrian, right, standing on low platform, facing left, holding sceptre in left hand, raising right hand, addressing officer and three soldiers: the officer (lictor?) facing left, the soldiers facing right, the first holding legionary eagle, the second a vexillum and shield, and the third a standard. EXERC HISPAN S C (reverse). © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration Number 1872,0709.607. (Not on display). https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-607

[263] SHA 12. 8. Birley 1997, 151.

[264] Syme 1988, 161.

[265] Magie 1950, 613.

[266] Birley 1997, 153.

The likely summit (colloquium) held with the Parthian King at the Euphrates might be reflected on the imperial coins inscribed with the God Janus, which could be a hint at the peace settlement.[267]

Hadrian probably stayed on the frontier route and inspected the garrisons XII Fulminata at Melitene (Malatya) and Satala (Sadak, Gümüşhane)[268] in the upper Euphrates valley. Whether he followed the Euphrates frontier remains a guesswork. Rather than taking the difficult Euphrates route, the emperor might have preferred to continue north-westwards to Sebastia (Sivas) after Melitene.[269] Meanwhile, both Neocaesarea (Niksar) and Nicopolis (Şebinkarahisar, Giresun) [270] on the Satala road and took the additional names of 'Hadrianopolis' and 'Hadriane' in his honour. Nonetheless, this does not provide evidence of an official visit paid to those cities.[271]

In the same vein, there is no evidence that the emperor visited Amasia (Amasya), located in the west of Neocaesarea, in the valley of the Iris River, although it was one of the cities called 'Hadrianopolis'[272] and Strabo's birthplace.

From the Melitene road to Satala, it is possible that Hadrian inspected two legions before reaching Trapezus (Trabzon).[273] Some years afterwards, Arrian, as governor of Cappadocia, sent several reports to Hadrian. As he stated in his Periplus or Circumnavigation of the Pontus Euxinus… "we came to Trapezus, a Greek city on a

[267] Birley 1997, 154. Referring to a peace settlement, the gates of Temple of Janus was depicted as closed.

[268] Birley 1997, 154.

[269] Birley 1997, 154.

[270] B. Burrell. (2004). *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*. Brill. p. 234: This may have been the occasion for a grant of a temple-warden.

[271] Birley 1997, 154.

[272] Birley 1997, 155. A visit to this province was never proved.

[273] Syme 1988, 161. Either first or second journey in Asia – discussions about the date of the visit. Excavations carried out in Trabzon in recent years have uncovered remains from the Roman period. A city wall from the Hadrian period was discovered in Trabzon during excavations in the Pazarkapı area of the Ortahisar district.

naval station…we examined the Euxine Sea with great pleasure, seeing it from the place where both Xenophon and you [i.e. Hadrian] had already observed it." [274] The report also included some details about the quality of craftsmanship of the marble works and asked for replacement of well-crafted statues for the harbour and a temple to Hermes in Trapezus[275] (Fig. 50). Arrian then comments on the temple: 'It is built of square stone and is not a bad piece of work' - but the statue of Hadrian himself, though nicely positioned with one hand pointing to the sea, is a poor representation and unsatisfactory in other respects.[276] The statue was probably designed to mark the construction of the new port that Hadrian had ordered to be built. If the journey was by sea, there would have been stops at ports such as Amisus, Sinope, Amastris and Heraclea Pontica. At that time, Heraclea Pontica (Ereğli) had organised athletic contests for boys and men in honour of Hadrian.[277] These may possibly have been in connection with his visit or presence.

Although there is no evidence about whether Galatia was included in the itinerary of the journey to Asia; the construction of a road in the hub of the Galatian province in 122 by Governor Aulus Larcius Macedo might have been an initiative taken as receipt of news of a possible visit by the Emperor in 123.

Contrary to the conjectures about this route, Hadrian evidently visited Bithynian cities, Nicomedia (İzmit) and Nicaea (İznik), which were badly damaged by an earthquake in 120. He made lavish donations to help the two rival cities recover from the rubble of the earthquake.[278]

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[274] Birley 1997, 155.

[275] Magie 1950, 621; Boatwright 2000, 138-140; Birley 1997, 155. Hermes sacred area, statues, harbour in Gülbay, 2009, 53. Arrian, Governor of Cappadocia, mentioned the restoration of the Hermes sanctuary and three statues that he asked from Hadrian. Syme, 1988, 161; MacDonald, & Pinto, 1995, 16. F. Arrianus. (2005). *Arrianus'un Karadeniz Seyahati*, (*Arriani Periplus Ponti Euxini*), (M. Arslan, Trans). Odin Yayıncılık.

[276] Birley 1997, 155.

[277] Birley 1997, 157.

[278] S. Mitchell. (1987). Imperial Building in the Eastern Roman Provinces. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 91*, 333-365. p. 351. Hadrian was called as "saviour", "benefactor", "restorer" (reflected in the coins) of rebuilding public places, city walls with the support from the imperial treasury.

In any case, Nicomedia is the only province, apart from Alexandria, represented on imperial coins on which Hadrian was hailed as the 'restorer' (Fig. 51).[279] As the hometown of Hadrian's friend L. Flavius Arrianus (Arrian),[280] the city assumed the appellation "Hadriane," which graced the Emperor as "Saviour" and "Benefactor". Nicomedia also assumed the Hadrianic epithet.[281] Referring to the *cistophorus*, it may be suggested that an octastyle temple minted on the coin could have been the restored Corinthian Roman Temple of Augustus, commissioned by Hadrian in Nicomedia which was badly damaged in the earthquake.[282] Compared with other cities, Nicomedia had the privilege of holding the title "metropolis." This title was also possessed by Nicaea in Bithynia-Pontus, Pergamum in Asia, Amaseia, Neocaesarea, Nicopolis in Pontus, Tlos, Patara, Myra in Lycia and Telmessus.[283] However, Ephesus was to receive this title later under Antoninus Pius. Cius (Gemlik), the neighbouring city of Nicomedia, assigned a priest for Hadrian's worship and added the name of Hadrian.[284] Apamea (Mudanya) and Prusa ad Olympum (Bursa) may have also been on the route of travels.

Nicaea was another Bithynian city damaged by earthquake. The city received lavish donations from the emperor and precedence over rivalling Nicomedia[285] which were duly recorded in the inscriptions of the city gates. Imperial benefactions to the Bithynian cities were commemorated on the coins as "restorer" of the province.[286] Hadrian supported the recovery of Nicaea from the devastation by the earthquake.[287]

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[279] © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1872,0709.599. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-599

[280] R. Syme. (1982). The Career of Arrian. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, *86*, 181–211: Arrian should have hosted Hadrian as he might have been in 117.

[281] Burrell 2004, 163.

[282] Gülbay 2009, 26; W. E. Metcalf. (1980). *The Cistophori of Hadrian*. American Numismatic Society. p. 137.

[283] Boatwright 2000, 104, 121.

[284] Magie 1950, 614.

[285] E. Thomas. (2007). *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*. Oxford University Press. p. 130.

[286] Birley 1997, 157.

[287] Mitchell 1987, 351.

He also assigned Patrocles, a supervisor, or curator, to the construction activities at Nicaea.[288] There was a long dedication to Hadrian on the architrave of the eastern gate, "Lefke Kapı." The inner inscription reads: "These walls were built in the name of the imperial dynasty and Emperor Hadrian under the supervision and control of Cassius, the famous metropol of Nicaea"; the outer inscription reads: "... the people of the city built this structure with the donations sent to the empire in the year...."[289] (Fig. 52). The rivalry between Nicomedia and Nicaea ended when Nicaea was given permission for the construction of an imperial temple.[290]

Hadrian continued his visits in the region. Although there is no record of the first meeting of Hadrian with Antinous in Bithynion-Claudiopolis (Bolu), it is possible that Antinous joined Hadrian's entourage in 123.[291] As in other cities, Claudiopolis took the name "Hadriane." The emperor dedicated a temple to Antinous after his death in 130,[292] which was dated to Hadrian's era.[293] A stadium and theatre[294] are also recorded.

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[288] Z K. Erdem. (1995). *Anadolu Hadrian Dönemi Mimari Bezemeleri* (Publication No. 176054) [Doctoral dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p. 16. Patrocles – curatores; Boatwright 2000, 73; 112. The curator was appointed in Nicae to manage the public buildings (*curatores rei publicae*) in his native city. Gülbay 2009, 24.

[289] S. Şahin. (1987). Yazıtların Diliyle İznik'te (Nikaia) Tarih, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı V*(1) (1988) 369-374. p. 370. T.C. İznik Kaymakamlığı. (2024). *İznik Surları* http://www.iznik.gov.tr/iznik-surlari

[290] Temple-Warden first *neocoros* by Hadrian, see Burrell 2004, 163-164; Erdem 1995, 60. Theatre, according to architectural decoration is dated to Hadrian's era. Adjustments to the city walls, tetraplyon, agora, collonnaded streets, reconstruction of the city gates (Lefke Kapı-east gate and İstanbul Kapı-north gate). Gülbay 2009, 24. In addition, the inscription on the İstanbul Kapı shows Hadrian's traces in Nicaea and also mentions the title '*Neocoros*'. This is an indication that the first known *neocoros* temple in Nicaea dates from Hadrian's reign.

[291] Magie 1950, 614, 622; Birley 1997, 158; Gülbay 2009, 18. Antinous would have been too young to join the entourage on Hadrian's passage through Anatolia after his proclamation as emperor in 117.

[292] Cassius Dio, 11.2.

[293] Erdem 1995, 62.

[294] Erdem 1995, 21. According to the latest developments in 2022, the Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism and Bolu Archaeological Museum Directorate initiated a study with the permission of the General Directorate of Museums of Culture and Tourism of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the stadium, which was unearthed during the excavations carried out by the Bolu Museum Directorate in 2008 in Büyükcami Neighbourhood. Gülbay 2009, 19.

During the same period, a temple[295] at Prusia-ad-Hypium (Konuralp, Düzce) was dated to Hadrian's era. The community of the Caesareis Proseilemmenitae, or the "Annexed" on the main road of Amnias Valley and Pontos, which held the right of a polis with Council (*boule*) and People (*demos*) was reorganised and added Hadrianopolis to its name.[296]

Apamea (Hisarlık, Mudanya) is one of the Bithynian towns to be visited, not only because it was a Roman colony, but also because its most prominent citizen and former companion in arms of Hadrian was Catilius Severus.[297] The small-sized baths were dated to the reign of Hadrian.[298] It was assumed that the great mountain in Prusias-ad-Olympum (Bursa) attracted the emperor to visit the city.[299]

Polemo, a sophist and teacher of rhetoric who accompanied Hadrian on his travels in these regions, suggests that Hadrian crossed the Sea of Marmara into Thrace before entering Asia.[300] What Hadrian did during this visit to Thrace is no more than a guess, so that even the commemorative coins minted later do not provide any clues.[301] Hadrian returned to Asia from Thrace where the establishment of Hadrianopolis (Edirne) could have been dated to 123 or 124.[302]

It was now time to visit the cities in Asia, and Cyzicus (Erdek) was evidently included in the itinerary as a next step in 124.[303] Notables of the city, provincial

[295] See Erdem 1995, 63. According to the architectural decoration, temple is dated to Hadrian's era.

[296] Magie 1950, 616.

[297] Catilius Severus was the successor of Hadrian in Syria after his proclamation as Emperor in 117. He was honoured with second consulship in 120.

[298] Gülbay 2009, 17; CIL III 6992. As reference to the inscription the building was dated to 128/129.

[299] Birley 1997, 159.

[300] Birley 1997, 159.

[301] Birley 1997, 161.

[302] Brennan 2015, 176; Birley 1997, 161. The renaming of Oresta as Hadrianopolis (Adrianople), which was reestablished by Trajan, could date from this period.

[303] For detailed information about the temple, see B. Burrell. (2003). Temples of Hadrian, not Zeus. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, *43*(1), 31-50. p.31. John Malalas mentions an earthquake that

council and Hadrian's friend, proconsul Pompeius Falco received the emperor.[304] This city was also damaged by earthquake, like Nicaea and Nicomedia. Hadrian lavishly bestowed his generosity on the city by funding the marble marketplace pavements and contributed to the erection of a temple.[305] The temple[306] was the seat of provincial worship (*neocoros*) for the imperial cult.[307] Compensating for the destruction caused by the earthquake might have been enough for Hadrian to express his generosity.[308] However, the great temple of Zeus, begun 300 years earlier by the Pergamene kings, was unfinished, and the completion of this unfinished edifice presented Hadrian with a magnificent opportunity. As Dio would claim the temple built at Cyzicus as a result of his visit would later be called 'the largest and most beautiful of all temples,' [309] but it would not be completed in Hadrian's lifetime. The extant parts prove that it was, in fact, a very large building in size. Furthermore, the city not only took on the epithet "Hadriane"[310] but also initiated athletic games "Hadriania"[311] and established "Hadriana Olympia."[312]

Burrell questions the idea that Hadrian shared the temple with Zeus. Occasionally being called Olympia, might at first sight seem to associate Hadrian with Zeus

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may have occurred around 120 could have been a reason for the emperor to make benefactions. The *Chronicon Paschale* dates Hadrian's visit to Cyzicus to 123, whereas Halfmann gives 124. L. A. Dindorf. (1865). *Chronicon paschale* (Vol. 92) (J.P. Migne, Trans.). p. 279. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke., & R. Scott. (2017). Preliminary Material. In *Studies in John Malalas*. Brill. p. 6. It is mentioned that J. Malalas possibly saw for himself in Cyzicus the large bust of Hadrian on his temple 'which remains to the present day.'

[304] Birley 1997, 162-164.

[305] Birley 1997, 162-4.

[306] The temple was dated to Hadrian's era, see Erdem, 1995, 27.

[307] Temple-Warden, see Burrell, 2004, 86. Joining to the imperial cult privileged cities as Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna and Sardes. Birley 1997, 162-4.

[308] J. Malalas. (1986). *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation.* (E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, & R. Scott, Eds.). Australian Association for Byzantine Studies.

[309] Cassius Dio 70 4.1-2. Magie, 1950, 614. J. DeLaine. (2002). The Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus and Roman Attitudes to Exceptional Construction. *Papers of the British School at Rome, 70*, 205–230. p. 205.

[310] Birley 1997, 158.

[311] Birley 1997, 164.

[312] S. Dmitriev. (2005). *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. OUP. p. 274.

Olympios. In Cyzicus, for example, the competition seems to have been founded in 135 and was called either Hadrianeia Olympia, or perhaps at one time Hadrianeia Olympia Koinon Asias. Nevertheless, as Burrell states, Hadrianeia Olympia could not be an evidence that the temple was designed both for the cult of the emperor and Zeus Olympios.[313] In a similar case in another city, when Trajan actually shared a temple and festival with Zeus Philipos in Pergamum, the festival was called Trajaneia Deiphilea, never Trajaneia Phileia; the name of the god was clearly stated.[314]

The neighbouring cities in northern Mysia, Apollonia (Uluabat, Gölyazı) and Miletopolis (Melde Bayırı, Mustafakemalpaşa) honoured Hadrian as 'saviour' and 'founder.'[315] Apollonia Ad Ryndacum[316] either built or repaired a public building during his reign.[317] The city also took the name "Hadriane." [318] The inscription of the stoa dates Hadrian's first visit to the city after the earthquake in 120. Hence, another inscription in the walls reinforces his patronage in the region.[319] Possibly during his first visit to Asia, Hadrian conferred some favours to Parium (Kemer, Biga), a colony founded by Caesar, which in returned gave him the title of "founder" (*conditor coloniae*).[320] Recognising the importance of the city, the city was declared as a colonial city twice, the first time during the reign of Julius Caesar or Augustus and the second during the reign of Hadrian.[321]

[313] B. Burrell. (2003b). Strangers in Their Own Land: Greeks and the Roman God Emperor. *Syllecta Classica 14*, 187-204. https://doi.org/10.1353/syl.2003.0001 pp. 197-8.

[314] Burrell 2003, 48.

[315] Birley 1997, 164. The great munificence of Hadrian was mentioned in the inscriptions in Apollonia, see J. Arthur, R. Munro. (1897). Inscriptions from Mysia. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *17*, 268–293. pp. 269-71.

[316] Magie 1950, 614; Birley 1997, 164. Hadrian was honoured as saviour and founder.

[317] Magie 1950, 614.

[318] Birley 1997, 158.

[319] Arthur & Munro 1897, 270-1.

[320] Magie 1950, 614; A. Birley 1997, 164.

[321] T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Çanakkale İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü. (2024). *Parion (Biga)*. https://canakkale.ktb.gov.tr/TR-70579/parion-biga.html

The repair of the great coastal road of Troy (Troia, Çanakkale) in 124[322] may have been related to Hadrian's visit to Ilium (Hisarlık). The city held great significance due to its kinship to Rome's Trojan ancestors. Hadrian contributed to rebuilding the alleged tomb of the Achaean hero Ajax and added an epigram to Hector's tomb.[323] The Odeon was restored by Hadrian, and a larger-than-life cuirassed statue of Hadrian unearthed in the Odeon is now on display at the Troy Museum in Çanakkale (Fig. 53).

Further down the coast, Alexandria in the Troad (Alexandria Troas) (Eski İstanbul, Ezine) was another Roman colony, founded by one of the generals of Alexander the Great, which also honoured Hadrian as "restorer."[324] The procurator, sophist Herodes Atticus,[325] appealed to the emperor for three million denarii for an aqueduct to supply the city with clean water.[326] When the cost reached seven million, the rulers of Asia protested vehemently against the appropriation of the tribute of five hundred cities to meet the water needs of one.[327] The ruins of the Baths of Herodes Atticus, the Nymphaion and the Aqueduct in this city still demonstrate the achievement of the donations.[328]

The mountainous region in Mysia would have been favourable for the emperor's ambition for hunting and perhaps led Hadrian here, where he is known to have hunted a she-bear and founded Hadrianutherae[329] (Balıkesir). Hadrianoutherae is located sixty kilometres north of Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis, at the intersection of the main road between Cyzicus and Pergamum, connected to it by a minor road, and the

[322] Magie 1950, 614; Halfmann 1986, 43, 191; Birley 1997, 164.

[323] Boatwright 2000, 140-1.

[324] Birley 1997, 164.

[325] Herodes Atticus gymnasium baths complex dated to Hadrian's era, see Erdem 1995, 15; Mitchell 1987, 346-347.

[326] Boatwright 2000, 117.

[327] Boatwright 2000, 117.

[328] A. C. G. Smith. (1979). The Gymnasium at Alexandria Troas: Evidence for an Outline Reconstruction. *Anatolian Studies, 29,* 23–50. Gülbay, 2009, 16. H. Öztaner. (1999). The Nymphaeum at Alexandria Troas. *Asia Minor Studien, Band 33, Die troas. neue Forschungen III,* 27-36.

[329] Cassius Dio 69 10-2.; SHA 20.13.

road leading westwards from the Adramyttium (Edremit) coast into the Mysian interior.[330] In addition to Hadrianutherae, two other cities, Hadriania (Dursunbey) and Hadriani (Orhaneli), were founded in the region.[331] Considering the region in which these cities were established, they were closely related to regional development[332] and were in favourable locations in terms of their proximity to road connections.

Cities commonly shared historical features with Hellenism. Foundation myths were created to legitimise Hellenic kinship in order to fulfil criteria for panhellenic unity.[333] In Hadrianutherae, Hadrian is represented hunting a bear[334] or a lion. This foundation story is similar to that of Ephesus, depicted on the frieze of the Temple of Hadrian.

Hadrian supposedly visited Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis (Kırkağaç) at the entrance to the Caicus (Bakırçay) valley on the border of Mysia. The city was in a rich agricultural geography on the main road leading north to Cyzicus.[335] Hadrian renamed Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis, an earlier "twin city" of two Hellenistic communities, Stratonicea and Indeipedion, and granted rights of a polis.[336] In Hadrian's letter to Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis, dated to the beginning of 127, the city was referred to as "newly founded." The earliest letter of Hadrian recorded the emperor's responses to the financial and physical condition of the city. Hadrian levied taxes on the surrounding lands, which he took to Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis instead of taking them to Rome; and ordered Tiberius Claudius Socrates, the owner

[330] Boatwrigt 2000, 188. The origin of the citizens of Hadrianoutherae is unclear. Some of the remains of the coins depict the emperor on horseback throwing a spear at a fleeing bear, while others show a bear's head. Those demonstrate some hints about the habits of Hadrian.

[331] Magie 1950, 616-7; Birley 1997, 164; Cassius Dio 69 10.2; SHA 20.13; Boatwright 2000, 188. Hadriania was located more than forty kilometers east of Hadrianoutherae and Hadriani at the foot of Mount Olympus (Ulu Dağ).

[332] Magie 1950, 617.

[333] Gülbay 2009, 20.

[334] SHA 20.12. This was a similar foundation myth of Ephesus.

[335] Magie 1950, 616.

[336] Boatwright 2000, 186.

of a house in disrepair, to either restore it or sell it to a native so that it would not fall into disrepair.[337] The association of the region with hunting, which Hadrian was fond of, was so well-known that the emperor was also publicly proclaimed. At Stratonicea-Hadrianopolis, a statue representing Hadrian, as a founder (*ktistes*) and settler (*oikistes*), honours him as the 'hunter' of Zeus (*Cynegesius*)[338] a few years later. The city also honoured the emperor by adding "Hadrianopolis" to its name.[339]

Similar to other poleis, Greek and Roman components here stood on a tripartite political organisation with magistrates (*archones*), council (*boule*) and assembly (*demos*).[340]

No clear record exists of Hadrian's presence in Pergamum[341] (Bergama), but it is inconceivable that he would not have been in this part of Asia and visited the once royal city. He could have been there before going hunting in Mysia. The metropolis was enriched with shrines dedicated to Zeus, Athena, Asclepius, Serapis, and Trajan with more than a hundred thousand inhabitants.[342] With a history of over five hundred years, the Asklepieum had grown into a large complex where the wealthy and cultured elite came for cure. Hadrian would be honoured there as 'a god most manifest, a New God Asclepius.' The adjective 'most manifest' may mean that Hadrian did indeed visit the city in person.[343]

The sanctuary, originally dedicated to Trajan (Fig. 54) and Zeus Philius, built in white marble was to be transformed for the worship of Hadrian and Trajan with their

[337] Birley 1997, 166; Magie, 1950, 616. Boatwright 2000, 187. There are additional letters to the city about the political and economic administration.

[338] Boatwright 2000, 188. Such assimilations were intended to be associated with the Greek ancestry of the city by the emperor, see S. R. F. Price. (1984). Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *104*, 79–95. p. 86.

[339] Birley 1997, 166.

[340] Boatwright 2000, 187.

[341] Pergamon was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2014. Detailed information about Pergamon and its Multi-Layered Cultural Landscape is available at UNESCO World Heritage Convention. (2024). *Pergamon and its Multi-Layered Cultural Landscape*. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1457/

[342] Birley 1997, 166.

[343] Birley 1997, 167.

colossal statues, while leaving no space for Zeus. Hadrian was honoured as the "New Asclepius", from which his personal presence may also be inferred.

Inscriptions on the island of Lesbos indicate its royal importance. However, the title of 'Saviour' (Eleutherius), in Mytilene suggests that the emperor may have conferred it the status of a free city. The next stop en route was Sardis, where a dedication to Hadrian and Sabina on Mount Tmolus reflects possible evidence of their physical presence.[344]

According to Yegül, in addition to the huge cult temples at Cyzicus and Tarsus, *neocoros* temples were built in Smyrna, Ephesus, Nicaea, Nikopolis and perhaps Sagalassos during Hadrian's tour of Anatolia in 123-124. When Sardis was possibly granted the privilege of the second *neocoros* by Hadrian, the Ionic temple of Artemis of Sardis (Fig. 55) was rebuilt as a *pseudodipteros*, where the Seleucids were only able to complete the marble *cella*. The temple could not be finished in this new style, and it was out of the Hermogenes *pseudodipteros* types in Anatolia. Exhibiting an unusual and extraordinary style of architecture, the *cella* was divided in two by a wall in the middle, providing Artemis the small western side, while the imperial and giant cult statues were placed in the new eastern *cella*.[345]

An inscription carved on the bottom molding of a column of the east colonnade of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis declares in Greek: "My torus and my foundation block are carved from a single block of stone, furnished not by people but given by the 'house' [of the temple] …" and continues, with unabashed pride, "of all the columns ['stones'] I am the first to rise."[346] This inscription is decorated with horizontal laurel leaves tied together with a ribbon (Fig. 56). As Yegül points out "the wreath base of the famous Trajan Column, celebrating the Emperor's victory

[344] F. K. Yegül. (2018). Hadrianus ve Sardes Artemis Tapınağı: Hadrianus Sardes'e Geldi mi, Eğer Geldiyse…*Seleucia Olba Kazısı Serisi VIII*, 27-48. p. 32.

[345] F. K. Yegül. (2020b). The Temple of Artemis at Sardis: An Exceptional *Pseudodipteros*. In G. Mazzili (Ed.), *IN SOLO PROVINCIALI. Sull'architettura delle province, da Augusto ai Severi, tra inerzie locali e romanizzazione, Thiasos. Rivista di archeologia e architettura antica, 9*.2, 139-156.

[346] F. K. Yegül. (2014). A Victor's Message: The Talking Column of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis. *JSAH, 73*(2), 204–225. pp. 204-05.

over Dacia in the Forum of Trajan in Rome is the closest, earliest and most effective example of the transformation of the Sardis column base into a triumphal wreath."[347]

Another reference to the recent excavations, an inscription found at Sardis states that the "Sacred Guild of Artists" erected Hadrian's statue and worshipped him as a neo-Dionysus. More importantly, an 18-line Greek inscription on the base of a large marble statue found in 2000 states that the statue is dedicated "to Hadrian by the *Boule* and the *Demos* of Sardis." [348] This inscription includes the names of the administrators of Sardes[349] although a visit to Sardis is not explicitly mentioned, it may be that the statue was erected by the city of Sardis specifically to commemorate the emperor's visit to the city during his visit to Lydia in 124.

Another evidence for Hadrian's visit to the city is related with a coin minted in honour of the emperor's visit to Saittae (modern Kula), depicting Hadrian's portrait on the obverse and the emperor's portrait of the city on the reverse, showing him shaking hands with the goddess Tyche.[350] The entourage should have followed the "King's Road" (now the Izmir-Ankara state road) and is located on the road to Sardes is only 40 kilometres away.

The envoy followed the direction to Smyrna (İzmir). This visit was connected with the sophist Antonius Polemo, who was a part of the entourage. It is known that Hadrian held sophists in high regard.

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[347] Yegül 2018, 36.

[348] F. K. Yegül. (2020c). *Report 7: The Temple of Artemis at Sardis (2020), Chapter 3. Building History and Chronology*. Exploration of Sardis Digital Resource Center. https://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/r7-yegul-ch3-history G. Petzl. (2019). Sardis: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part II: Finds from 1958 to 2017. *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 14*, Cat. 373. https://sardisexpedition.org/publications/m14. The Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Digital Resource Center. (2024). *Inscribed Pillar Fragment* ©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College. https://sardisexpedition.org/en/artifacts/m14-373 The translation of the inscription: "The Council and [the People] of the Sardians have dedicated the (honorary statue of) Imperator Caesar, son of *divus* Traianus Parthicus, grandson of [*divus*] Nerva, Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, father of his country, master of land and sea. The superintendents were Gaius [Iulius? M?]agnus, priest of Tiberius Caesar and chief strategos and his colleagues in office: Ulp[ius Oino]maos and Pyrrhos [- - -] and Andreas Se[- and -]atias Theodotos."

[349] Yegül 2018, 31. For detailed statue base inscriptions, see J. M. Højte. (2000). Imperial Visits as Occasion for the Erection of Portrait Statues? *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, *133*, 221–235.

[350] Yegül 2018, 31.

In this respect, through the good relations with the emperor, even though Ephesus was one of the favoured cities of the time, M. Antonius Polemo managed to get large donations from the emperor to enable Smyrna to compete with Ephesus. As stated in an inscription from Smyrna: "what we obtained from the Emperor Hadrian through the influence of Antonius Polemo:"[351] Polemo received a generous donation for the construction of a grain-market, a grandiose gymnasium, which was mentioned as "the finest in all of Asia"[352] and a temple of Zeus, while Smyrna was granted her second Temple Wardenship.[353] Boatwright notes that the evidence for Hadrian's support for Smyrna is important for three reasons. First, the predominance of religious buildings and personnel in Hadrian's lists of donations underlines the importance of religion, even in the grain market that Hadrian is said to have helped and reminds us that the infrastructure of the cities is also taken into consideration. Second, the inscription provides us with valuable details about the logistics of the buildings in the empire. Third, the evidence generally confirms and illuminates the emperor's interaction with the urban elite. This was a key element in the bond of power and obligation that held the Roman world together.[354] The inscription gives detailed information about the columns donated for *aleipterion*, which are listed as follows: 72 in Phrygian marble (*pavonazzetto*), 20 in Numidian marble (*giallo antico*) and six in porphyry.[355]

A city of the Ionian League, Erythrae (Ildırı) was also likely visited by the emperor, where the festival "Hadrianeia Epibateria" was dedicated to him.[356] This would also result in revival of the Panhellenic games in eastern Greece, therefore Hadrian wanted to apply the idea of the integration of local games with the Panhellenic games. After Erythrae, it is a matter of guesswork where the imperial flotilla stepped

[351] M. W. Gleason. (1995). *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*. Princeton University Press. p. 22. In general, on Polemo, see Gleason 1995, 20-54.

[352] Boatwright 2000, 100.

[353] Burrell 2004, 42. IGR IV 1431. S. R. F. Price. (1984). *Rituals And Power: The Roman Imperial Cult In Asia Minor*. Cambridge University Press. p. 258.

[354] Boatwright 2000, 159.

[355] Smyrna II.1 697, lines 40-42 in Boatwright 2000, 160.

[356] Magie 1950, 615.

on to land, either in Teos or in Notium.[357] Apollo at Claros may have attracted the emperor. It is not far from Colophon, the port of Notium and one of the most important cities of the Ioanian League.

However, the last stop was Ephesus in Asia Minor, evidently dated with a letter which was sent to the 'magistrates, council and people of the Termessians', a small town of Oenoanda, on 29 August 124.[358] Three delegates had been sent to Hadrian by the Termessians. The letter that they brought back with them registers the approval of the establishment of a musical competition and ends with the words "from Ephesus."[359]

Finally, Hadrian must have sailed from Ephesus to Greece on the route from Rhodes. He stayed in Athens in the winter of 124-125 before conducting his second visit to Asia. During his stay, he participated in the "Eleusinian Mysteries"[360] and launched a major initiative concerning the completion of the temple of Olympian Zeus.

In the summer of 125, Hadrian moved on to Sicily, after which he returned to Rome and stayed until 128.

2.2.3. Third Imperial Journey to the Provinces CE 128-132

In the year 128, Hadrian launched his last major tour from Rome to the provinces, via Sicily, to Africa and Mauretania (Fig. 57).

The visit to Numidia was probably concerned with the frontier implementation to keep Romans separated from the 'barbarians.' The emperor's journey to Africa was recorded as "it rained on Hadrian's arrival for the first time in the course of five years, and for this, he was beloved by the Africans."[361]

[357] IGR IV 1542; Boatwright 2000. 99. fn.75.

[358] Magie 1950, 615; Syme, 1988, 162.

[359] Birley 1997, 171.

[360] SHA 13.1.

[361] SHA 22.13.

At the time of Hadrian's return to Rome from Africa, he accepted the title *Pater Patriae*.[362] After his short stay in Rome, he set out to the provinces in the East, via Greece once again. In Greece, he visited Sparta and spent the winter (128-129) in Athens. In 129, probably no later than March, Hadrian set sail to Ephesus from Greece with the new title of "Olympios" whereby the emperor was commemorated throughout the Greek-speaking provinces of the empire.[363] A letter from Hadrian to the magistrates and the council of the Ephesians states, "I came to you from Eleusis" and asked for two Ephesian captains, Erastus and Philocyrius[364] to be given posts as councillors. On this second visit, Ephesus was granted with "unsurpassable gifts to Artemis."[365] In praxis, the city gained the privilege[366] to import corn from Egypt. The emperor also ordered for dredging the harbour and diverting the river Cayster to prevent further silting.[367] In this second visit, a temple may have been granted for the worship of emperor.

From here, the route must have been directed to other Ionian cities, such as Miletus, Priene and Didyma.[368] It is predictable that there would have been stops in Carian Tralles (Aydın) and Nysa. Similar to Ephesus, Tralles held unprecedented privileges and with the financial assistance of A. Fabricius Priscianus Charmosynus, a local grain commissioner, Tralles was granted the purchase of sixty thousand modii of Egyptian grain.[369]

As registered in the letter to Astypalaeans, Hadrian reached Laodicea-on-Lycus (Denizli). The magnificent arch at Patara may likely have been constructed in honour of the emperor by the governor Mettius Modestus (Fig. 58).

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[362] Birley 2000, 143.

[363] Ephesus inscription: Dedication to [Art]emis [E]phesia and Hadrian Olympios; C.E. 128/138; found at Ephesos: CIG 2963a-b; *IEph 273.

[364] Birley 1997, 221. The same two captains brought the imperial entourage to Ephesus five years before.

[365] Birley 1997, 221.

[366] Birley 1997, 217. Sparta holds a similar privilege.

[367] Birley 1997, 223. Birley mentions an unpublished inscription. Boatwright (2000, 142) mentions "On his journey from Laodicea to Syria in 129, Hadrian may have visited the tomb in person."

[368] The great temple of Milesians dedicated to Apollo was located in Didyma.

[369] Boatwright 2000, 93.

On 23 July, Hadrian was at Phrygian Apamea (Dinar, Afyon) where he received an embassy.[370] He then travelled to Syria through Cappadocia[371] where the tomb of Alcibiades was renovated in Melissa. Hadrian honoured the monument (*mnema*) and ordered an annual ox sacrifice and a statue of him made from Parian marble was erected.[372] In the context of a centre-periphery dialogue, Hadrian's interventions in the funerary monuments can be interpreted as reaffirming the importance of local cults and their cities, and linking local religious life and monuments to the Roman emperor.[373] Hadrian then spent the winter at Antioch, where he received diplomatic envoys.[374]

In 130, Hadrian visited Palmyra, Arabia, and Jerusalem. He ordered the construction of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus and formed a new city, a colonia, under his name and the Roman god, as Aelia Capitolina in Jerusalem. The outbreak of a crisis in Judaea had reached a peak, particularly after the prohibition of circumcision.[375]

The imperial entourage then headed for Egypt en route to Gaza and Pelusium, where the tomb of Pompey was rebuilt in Pelusium.[376] During this time, the emperor was saddened with the tragic and unexpected tragic death of Antinous, who drowned in the Nile[377] (Fig. 59). This death of the Bithynian youth is believed to have been either a self-sacrifice or he was actually sacrificed. After his mysterious death, Antinous was deified, and his followers became widespread mainly in the East. Therefore, festivals and religious institutions were quickly set up to commemorate him after his consecration as a god. An inscription from Heraclea Pontica, on the

[370] Birley 1997, 221.

[371] Birley 1997, 224; Birley 2000, 143.

[372] Birley 1997, 221. Phrygian marble quarries around Synnada and Docimium. Boatwright, 2000, 142.

[373] Boatwright 2000, 142.

[374] Birley 2000, 143; SHA 13.7-9.

[375] SHA 14.2; Cassius Dio 69 12.1-2.

[376] Cassius Dio 69 11.1.

[377] SHA 14.5.

coast of the Black Sea, seems to indicate that before the end of 130 CE an association of actors in Rome was renamed the "Sacred Hadrianic-Antinoan…. Synodos."[378] Such designations were soon followed by many other cities. A city was rebuilt in the name of Antinoupolis.[379]

On his voyage back to Rome, it is likely that Hadrian went from Egypt to Syria, where the routes are not easy to delineate. He was probably first in Cilicia and visited Tarsus where the metropolis of Cilicia (Fig. 60)[380] received the *neocoros* title[381] (Fig. 61). The city was granted the privilege of "Hadriana Olympia", and the cult of Antinous was depicted on coins.[382]

Following the naming of Tarsus as "Hadriane," rivalling cities in Cilicia took the emperor's name: Mopsuestia, Adana, Zephyrium, Germanicopolis, Diocaesarea and Olba. It has been suggested that the cities of Anazarbus and Flaviopolis were also authorised to hold "Hadriana Olympia."[383] This encouraged the spread of Panhellenism in the provinces through the Greek festivals, and a number of Cilician cities had long been active in promoting their Greek origins: Tarsus was allegedly Argive in origin; Olba has supposedly founded by the hero Ajax, and Mopsuestia by the seer Mopsus.[384]

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[378] M. J. Versluys (2012). Making meaning with Egypt: Hadrian, Antinous and Rome's cultural renaissance. In M. J. Versluys, & L. Bricault (Eds.), *Egyptian gods in the hellenistic and roman Mediterranean: image and reality between local and global*. (pp. 25-39). Salvatore Sciascia Editore: Caltanissetta. p. 32. Birley 1997, 253.

[379] Cassius Dio 69 11.1-4; MacDonald & Pinto 1995, 20.

[380] *Tetradrachm*, a silver coin, depicting laureate bust of Hadrian with *paludamentum* and *cuirass*. (obverse) AV KAI ΘE TPA ΠAP V ΘE NEP V TPA, (reverse) AΔPIANOC CE OΛVMΠIOC, ADRIANON TARSEON METROPOLEOS. An eagle standing on the obverse with the inscription of Tarsus as metropolis. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1899,0402.73. (not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1899-0402-73

[381] Birley 1997, 260.

[382] Birley 1997, 260.

[383] Birley 1997, 260.

[384] Birley 1997, 260.

The cities in Pamphylia, Side, Aspendus, Perge, and Attaleia also appeared to be on the agenda of the emperor. The two latter attest arches to honour the visit of the Emperor.[385] The benefactor (*euergetes*) of the one in Perge was Plancia Magna, a senator's daughter who came from a family of Italian settlers. She was linked to Julius Severus of Ancyra by marriage. The arch, located on the north of the oval shaped Hellenistic city towers, was decorated with the statues of gods, emperors Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian and family of the Emperor including, Plotina, Sabina, Salonia Matidia, Ulpia Marciana.[386]

Phaselis boosts a new south gateway (Fig. 62)[387] was built for commemorating the Emperor. Cities in Pamphylia erected statues in honour of the emperor, one in Phaselis by a woman called Tyndaris, depicting Hadrian as 'the saviour of the universe and of her country.' Corydalla and Acalissus, neighbouring Phaselis, also erected statues 'to mark his landing.'

Great granaries (*horrea*) similar in plan, were built in Andriake, (Fig. 63) the port city of Myra and in Patara. In Andriake, the busts of Hadrian and Sabina were placed in the architrave above the inscription frieze in the Horrea Hadriani.[388] The direction of the visit after Phaselis is, unfortunately, guesswork. Perhaps, Hadrian had visited Ephesus for the third time.

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[385] Birley 1997, 261.

[386] S. Bulgurlu. (1999). *Perge Kenti Hellenistik Güney Kapısı ve Evreleri* (Publication. No. 102594) [Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, İstanbul University]. pp. 319-325. Birley 1997, 261.

[387] The translation of the inscription into English is as follows: The *Boule* and *Demos* of Phaselis, dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian Caesar Olympios Augustus, grandson of the god Nerva, son of the god Traianus Parthicus, Pontifex Maximus, fifteen times tiribunica potestas, three times consul, father of the fatherland, saviour and benefactor of the whole universe." Where the main road ends at the entrance to the southern harbour, there is a monumental single-arched gate built by the people of Phaselis in honour of the Emperor Hadrian. The four facades of the podium and the plaster bases that have been preserved in situ from Hadrian's Gate are profiled.

[388] See M. Wörrle. (1975). Bauinschrift. In J. Borchhardt (Ed.), *Myra: Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer*. Zeit Istanbuler Forschungen 30, 66–71. pp. 67-8. Wörrle dates the *Horrea* based on Hadrian's title, Sabina's hairstyle, and Hadrian visiting Lycia in 129. N. Çevik & S. Bulut. (2022). Andriake, Port of Myra: Remarks in Light of New Evidence. *TARE: Türk Arkeoloji ve Kültürel Miras Enstitüsü Dergisi:* 7-74. p. 18: The dating of the *granarium* is marked with its inscription: "HORREA IMP. CAESARIS DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI F. DIVI NERVAE NEPOTIS TRAIANI HADRIANI AUGUSTI COS. III". Today, the *granarium* is transformed to "Lycian Civilisations Museum."

During the winter of 131-132, Hadrian stayed in Athens, where the shrine of Olympian Zeus was consecrated and the Panhellenion founded.[389] An arch was also erected close to the Olympieion, with inscriptions on two sides (Fig. 64). The one towards the old city proclaims, 'This is Athens, Theseus' city once', the other reads 'This is Hadrians, not Theseus' city.'[390]

On the other hand, the gravity of the problems in Judea was giving alarm and the emperor was required to supervise the operations in 133. The vigour of the rebellion was over in 136, following the death of Bar Kochba. After the suppression of the rebellion, Hadrian returned to Rome in 134 and began to make plans for the preservation of the empire. As Hadrian had no children, he felt obliged to secure his future generations. In this context, he adopted Lucius Ceionius Commodus (renamed Lucius Aelius Caesar) who died a year after adoption in 137.[391] In 138, Hadrian adopted Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus (better known as Antoninus Pius) (Fig. 65). In addition, he made Antoninus adopt two sons; one was Marcus Annius Verus at the age of seventeen, who was to be known as Princeps Marcus Aurelius, while the other was the seven-year-old son of Lucius Aelius who would later assume power as Lucius Verus (Fig. 66), co-emperor with Marcus Aurelius.[392]

As a common tradition among the administrative and military officers in 2nd century Rome, the successors chosen by Hadrian were among the friends and relatives who held ties with southern Gaul and Spain.[393] Hadrian's adoption strategies contributed to the preservation of peace after his reign.[394] In Asia Minor too, this was to be a period when local Greek and Roman came together.

[389] Syme 1988, 165.

[390] Birley 1997, 266. Although not a triumphal one, the gateway -so called arch- is monumental and held similar form with the one erected in Ephesus. The arch is located on the point of the centre through the ancient road and the eastern side of the city.

[391] Boatwright, Gargola & Talbert 2004, 374.

[392] Boatwright, Gargola & Talbert 2004, 374.

[393] Boatwright, Gargola & Talbert 2004, 374.

[394] C. Davenport & C. Mallan. (2014). Hadrian's Adoption Speech In Cassius Dio's "Roman History" And The Problems of Imperial Succession. *The American Journal of Philology*, *135*(4), 637–668.

CHAPTER III

ROME AND ASIA MINOR

3.1. Romanisation and Cultural Interaction

> In modern textbooks the term 'Romanization' is put to frequent employment. It is ugly and vulgar, worse than that, anachronistic and misleading. 'Romanization' implies the execution of a deliberate policy. That is to misconceive the behaviour of Rome, whether republican or imperial.[395]

The Roman Empire was a vast territory with a multicultural and diverse population. While Italy was the centre, the empire encompassed regions as far-reaching as the British Isles in northern Europe, the Mediterranean and its surrounding areas, North Africa, and Asia Minor in the east.

As the empire expanded, Romans inevitably engaged in dialogue and the acculturation of their own cultures, ways of life, religions, and administrative systems with the heterogeneous cultures of the territories they encountered. The political strength of the Roman Empire, in addition to its military power and strategy, ensured stability and public order in the process of urbanisation, law, and administration.

This interaction between the Roman centre and the periphery opened the way for multi-dimensional social, political, and economic relationships. The administration of such a vast territory, however, faced the challenge of establishing authority both at the centre and in the provinces, encompassing administrative, financial, and military policy, as well as the management and security of the population.

Different means of representation emerged in the Roman Empire exercising authority through a multiplicity of agents in different regions. The transformation of the imperial

[395] A. R. Birley. (Ed.). (1988). *Ronald Syme Roman Papers IV*. Clarendon Press. p. 64.

system under Augustus led to significant changes in art, architecture, forms of government and rituals. A new system of rule brought continuity and stability to the empire, while reconceptualising the history and mythology of Rome at the same time. After Augustus' decisive victory over Marc Antony at the naval Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, the Roman world underwent a profound transition in art and architecture. The second century in particular saw the height of Roman artistic achievement. At the same time, there were significant changes in the political and mythical narratives of the past and their incorporation in socio-economic realities. In the long run, such changes had a lasting impact on the foundation of the modern state, the establishment and re-establishment of social memories, and the foundation and function of international organisations today.

Traditional forms of visual and architectural expression, rituals and ceremonies changed with Augustus' rise to power. The exercise of authority took on a new character as the imperial system evolved into a form of monarchy. As a result of this new type of governance, customary forms and rituals were re-conceptualised, as were the historical founding myth of Rome (Fig. 67) and its connections to the Empire, the Greek world and Hellenistic culture.[396] In this transformative period, a new dynamic emerged in the interaction between the vast cultural programme of an empire led by a single ruler and its periphery.[397]

As Virgil predicted, the Romans' greatest imperial skill was the 'art of government,' which fostered bonds among diverse cultural traditions.[398] This period in the relationship between centre and periphery marked a significant change in the network of power and cultural flows throughout the empire.

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[396] J. Elsner. (1988). *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450*. Oxford University Press. p. 3.

[397] C. R. Whittaker. (1995). Integration of the early Roman west: the example of Africa. In J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans and J. Slofstra (Eds.), *Integration in The Early Roman West. The Role of Culture and Ideology*. Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art IV. (pp. 19–32); G. Woolf. (1995). The formation of Roman provincial cultures. In J. Metzler, M. Millett, N. Roymans and J. Slofstra (Eds.), *Integration in The Early Roman West. The Role of Culture and Ideology*. Luxembourg: Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art IV. (pp. 9–18).

[398] Elsner 1988, 77.

For instance, during the Augustan period and the prevailing peace, *Pax Romana*,[399] local elites were appointed to higher administrative positions. This upward social mobility triggered communication between local elites and Roman ideals, leading to the emergence of local regional centres propelled by self-driven Romanisation.[400]

With the expansion of the Roman Empire, cultural change in the provinces was seen as a reflection of power and authority. In this sense, architecture became a propelling impetus for this cultural change. Architecture was indeed a most tangible and conspicuous element testifying to the spread and application of Roman structures and forms in the provinces. Revell notes that "adoption of Roman architectural styles throughout the provinces, and their presence is a sign of the success or failure of the cultural assimilation of particular regions."[401] This adoption of Roman architectural styles and cultural change was different in the eastern and western provinces of the empire. As Hingley points out, "Roman forms in architecture, coinage, language, and literature came to dominate the world from Britain to Syria."[402]

According to Elsner, Romanisation is the process whereby "Gauls, Libyans and Levantines," despite all their obvious differences, could adapt the values of a single culture.[403] This included the transfer of some of the basic Roman social systems to "willing local communities," especially the elite.[404] As a result of this transformation, the sophisticated education system and Roman cuisine were incorporated by those willing to change. As part of this transformation, cities adapted certain elements of Roman architecture and town planning, such as the forum, basilica, Roman-style arcaded streets

[399] This term often refers to the period between 27 BCE and 180 CE, a time of relative stability and less warfare.

[400] H. V. Topal. (2018) Romanizasyon Nedir?/ What is Romanization?. *Yerleşim Arkeolojisi Serisi - Uyum ve Direnç / Settlement Archaeology Series 8 - Adaptation and Resistance, Ankara, Turkey, 17 - 18 May 2018, vol.6,* 155-179. H. V. Topal. (2020). *Romanization of Urban Spaces in Ephesus* (Publication No. 640964) [Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p. 8.

[401] Revell 2013, 381.

[402] R. Hingley. (2005) *Globalizing Roman Culture Unity Diversity and Empire*. Routledge. p. i.

[403] Elsner 1988, 118.

[404] Elsner 1988, 118.

and temples, as well as Roman cultural practices, such as hot bathing and gladiatorial games.[405] In addition, private villas throughout the empire began to incorporate Roman architectural and decorative elements with forts, bridges, aqueducts and roads criss-crossing the countryside, in a new wave of urbanisation while Roman law governed the state. [406]

Furthermore, the manifestation of Roman architecture in different conquered territories was seen as an effective means of communication, reflecting multi-faceted Roman idealism and practicality. However, the familiarity of local architectural forms and arts established varied in terms of style and ornamentation depending on the geographical location, demographic, economic, and social structure of heterogeneous regions. Although Romanisation is seen as an interaction between different features, this does not mean that there was no resistance to Roman ideals.

Hence rather than being a deliberate policy, Romanisation was a process that facilitated the integration of diverse cultures and societies within the Roman Empire, creating a sense of symbolic and religious unity and stability through the dissemination of Roman ideals, imperial imagery, practices, and architectural forms within the strong influence of the visual arts in the creation of social memory.

3.1.1. Tracing the Historiography

> [T]he modern literature on Roman imperialism is . . .
> itself part of an imperialist discourse of remarkable
> longevity in a post-colonial age. [407]

As indicated at the outset, "Romanisation" still implies a somewhat controversial and contested nomenclature when used to explain the cultural change evident in the material

[405] Elsner 1988, 118.

[406] Elsner 1988, 118. As an indicator of heterogeneous characteristics, the Roman administrative system and practices coexisted with pre-existing local institutions and customs, including the Greek *demos* and *boule*.

[407] D. J. Mattingly. (1997). *Dialogues of power and experience in the Roman Empire*. In D. J. Mattingly (Ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* (JRA Supplement 23 pp. 7-26). Journal of Roman Archaeology. p. 8.

record of the Roman provinces.[408] This is evident in the assumption that the diverse peoples of the regions that came under Roman rule changed their attitudes, ways of life, and material culture in a kind of cultural harmonisation.

"Romanisation" is a modern 20th century terminology but criticised by scholars from various perspectives for its perception of "nineteenth-century models" stemming "from the great era of Western colonialism and imperialism."[409] The verb "Romanise" from which the noun "Romanisation" is derived, refers "to make Roman in character; to bring under the influence or authority of (usually ancient) Rome" and "to follow or imitate ancient Roman custom or practice; (occasionally) to accept the principles of Roman law."[410] Generally speaking, Romanisation is seen as a process of acculturation imposed on non-Romans under Roman rule.

The term "Romanising" was first coined by Theodore Mommsen,[411] the German historian, while Francis J. Haverfield, a British scholar,[412] introduced the analysis of the process of "Romanisation" through a cultural change of the superior in 1905-1906. Contrary to Mommsen, Haverfield argued that the cultural interactions between Rome and the conquered regions varied across the provinces. Haverfield and Mommsen shared similar views regarding *romanitas* (Romanness) and the nature of acculturation and the assimilation of Roman material culture in barbarian societies. Haverfield mainly focused on Roman Britain while discussing the

[408] L. Revell. (2013). Romanization. In C. K. Quenemoen, & R. B. Ulrich (Eds.), *A Companion to Roman Architecture* (pp. 381-98). Wiley-Blackwell. p. 381.

[409] F. Yegül & D. Favro. (2019). *Roman Architecture and Urbanism: From the Origins to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press. p. 1.

[410] Oxford English Dictionary. (n.d). Romanize. In *OED.com Dictionary*. Retrieved June, 21,2024, from https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/167109?redirectedFrom=romanise#eid.

[411] P. W. M. Freeman. (1997). Mommsen to Haverfield: The Origin of Studies of Romanization in late 19th-Century Britain. In D. J. Mattingly (Ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, (JRA Supplement 23, pp. 27-50). J. Webster. (2001). Creolizing the Roman Provinces. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *105*(2), 209-225. p. 211.

[412] D. J. Mattingly. (2011). *Imperialism, Power and Identity. Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Princeton University Press. p. 38. See "The Romanization and Identity, Chapter 1", of his book on "Imperialism, Power and Identity. Experiencing the Roman Empire." The chapter starts with the reference to Oxford English Dictionary (n.d.) as the first use of the verb to "romanize" is dated 1607.

language, material culture, art, local government, land system and the ways in which these aspects were influenced by Roman culture.[413] As Haverfield stated:

> The old theory that the Imperial age was one of despotism and decay has been overthrown, and the believer in human nature can now feel confident that, whatever their limitations, the men of the Empire wrought for the betterment and the happiness of the world.[414]

Haverfield also emphasised the lasting impact of the Roman Empire through the organisation of the legions on the frontiers and the "growth of internal civilization" within frontier defences.[415] He highlighted two arguments in the process of native civilisation: The first entailed uniformity in material culture, urban lifestyle, religion, politics and language, while the second stressed that the process was not a homogeneous achievement at once and at every level of provincial traces in the provinces.[416] According to Haverfield:

> In material culture the Romanization advanced no less quickly. One uniform fashion spread from the Mediterranean throughout central and western Europe, driving out native art and substituting a conventionalized copy of Graeco-Roman or Italian art, which is characterized alike by its technical finish and neatness, and by its lack of originality and its dependence on imitation. The result was inevitable. The whole external side of life was lived amidst Italian, or (as we may perhaps call it) Roman-provincial, furniture and environment.[417]

This assumed that the Roman values which were adopted by the elites would spread to the lower classes. Contrary to this assumption, Haverfield's argument failed to provide sufficient explanations to the cultural transition where the pre-Roman/native behaviours survived throughout the rural communities. Moreover, Freeman notes

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[413] F. J. Haverfield. (1923). *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. (G. MacDonald, Ed.), Clarendon Press. p. 10-11. Webster 2001, 209.

[414] G. J. Laing. (1920). [Review of *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, by F. Haverfield]. *Classical Philology, 15*(2), 209–210.

[415] Haverfield 1923, 10-11; see Webster 2001, 211 for detailed scholarly studies on the term "Romanisation."

[416] Webster 2001, 211; A. K. Ercan. (2018). *Lycia and Rome: An Architectural Encounter* (Publication No. 502239) [Doctoral Dissertation, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p. 170.

[417] Haverfield 1923, 19.

that, Haverfield's work, based as it was on a poorly articulated concept of Roman imperialism, was of great importance in his own time and in terms of its influence on later generations.[418] Indeed, the lack of a theoretical or detailed discussion of the essential features of imperialism has continued to undermine the majority of later work on the subject and has implications for the use of the term 'Romanisation.'[419] In the 1930s, R.G. Collingwood challenged Haverfield's notion of Romanisation with the spread of superior (Roman) lifestyle and material culture. As Collingwood stated:

> We cannot be content simply to assert that Britain was Romanized. The civilization we have found existing in even the most Romanized parts of Britain is by no means a pure, or even approximately pure Roman civilization bodily taken over by the conquered race. What we have found is a mixture of Roman and Celtic elements. In a sense it might be said that the civilization of Roman Britain is neither Roman nor British, but Romano-British, a fusion of the two things into a single thing different from either. [420]

He asserted that there was "by no means a pure" or "approximately pure" Romanisation in Roman Britain and claimed a hybrid archetype composed of a "fusion" of Roman and Celtic elements.[421] This theory of fusion gave a new momentum to Romano-British studies. According to Webster, Collingwood's assumptions are incomplete in that analysing "fusion processes" requires the consideration of "power and identity."[422] However, it became evident that Collingwood's position was not very different from that of Haverfield who was criticised for not taking into account the impact of the rural population and for assuming that Romanisation was a smooth linear transmission of cultures at all levels of society.

During the 1970s and 1980s, archaeological discoveries and new studies revealed "indigenous cultural traditions in the post-conquest era,"[423] leading to nativist

[418] Freeman 1997, 46.

[419] Freeman 1997, 46.

[420] Collingwood. (1932). *Roman Britain*. Clarendon Press. p. 92; Webster 2001, 211.

[421] Collingwood 1932, 92; Webster 2001, 211.

[422] Webster 2001, 211.

[423] For detailed historical background of "nativist" studies, see Webster, 2001, 212-13; Hingley, 2005, 40.

counter-arguments against Roman culture. Nativist scholars initially reversed Haverfield's stance, focusing instead on "resistance" to Roman culture.

Later studies on Romanisation continued with Martin Millett's *The Romanization of Britain* which presented a new model of Haverfield in 1990. Millett's study emphasised the role of indigenous populations and differed from Mommsen's and Haverfield's models where social change took place.[424]Accordingly, Romanisation was not a directly imposed imperial policy but a process that resulted from the voluntary adaptation by local elites to strengthen their social status, power, and position in the new world order. Hence, according to Millett, Romanisation was a product of "accidents of social and power structures rather than deliberate actions."[425]

Millett's model was a challenge to the works of Haverfield, who had stated that Romanisation was homogenous in different provinces.[426] While, it acknowledged the dynamic force of elites as an impetus for change, this assumption gives a passive space for the non-elites. Haverfield's and Millett's models were both concerned with the relationship between native elites and Rome, with the assumption that the impetus for change at the provincial level involved the emulation of Roman symbols and material culture.[427] During the 1990s, scholarly debates focused on the idea that Romanisation was a process that developed spontaneously within peoples under Roman rule, where this process was achieved through the self-evident adoption of new values by the elites.[428] To this end, Hanson emphasised that "Rome deliberately and directly promoted Romanisation" of the elite in the provinces and in other respects, the contribution of the indigenous population to the urbanisation was unignorable.[429] As Tacitus records:

[424] Hingley 2005, 41-42.

[425] Millett (1990) in Webster 2001, 214. Native elites were accepted as strategically adopting Roman symbols to advance their existence in the society and in the centre.

[426] Millett 1990, 214.

[427] Millett 1990, 214.

[428] Kalınbayrak Ercan 2018, 170.

[429] W. S. Hanson. (1997). Forces of change and methods of control. In D. J. Mattingly (Ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*

> The following winter passed without disturbance and was employed in salutary measures. For, to accustom to rest and repose through the charms of luxury a population scattered and barbarous and therefore inclined to war, Agricola gave private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice and dwelling-houses, praising the energetic, and reproving the indolent. Thus, an honourable rivalry took the place of compulsion. He likewise provided a liberal education for the sons of the chiefs, and showed such a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls that they who lately disdained the tongue of Rome now coveted its eloquence. Hence, too, a liking sprang up for our style of dress, and the "toga" became fashionable. Step by step they were led to things which dispose to vice, the lounge, the bath, the elegant banquet. All this in their ignorance, they called civilization, when it was but a part of their servitude.[430]

This passage strikingly reveals cultural change in terms of Romanisation, including the relationship between architecture and *romanitas*. According to Hingley, the idea of Romanisation, in simple terms, is considered as the spreading of a superior culture (Roman) over the natives and society who wanted to Romanise, especially the elites. This idea of "unquestioning adoption"[431] of such a perspective, refers to emulating Roman culture, which is considered part of the progressive perspectives[432] of Mommsen and Haverfield. [433]

> … the fundamental problem with 'Romanization' as a term is that it implies a unilateral transfer of culture, whereas it is clear that not only was culture exchange bilateral, it was also multi-directional. Another problem is that the word encourages generalization ("The people of Britain became Romanized ...") as though this was a single, standardized process, rather than something experienced in myriad different ways.[434]

Overall, viewing Romanisation has been uneven within Roman archaeological discourses over the past two decades, especially driven by Martin Millett's thesis of

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(JRA Supplement 23 pp. 67-80.). Journal of Roman Archaeology. pp. 67, 75. The impulse on interpretation of self-Romanisation of the native elite was called as "new orthodoxy."

[430] Quoted to the Roman provincial governor, *Tacitus, Agricola*. Tacitus, C. (2009). *Annals, histories, agricola, germania*. (A. J. Church, W. J. Brodribb, R. Lane Fox, R., & E. Cowan, Eds.). Alfred A. Knopf. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. (S. Bryant. edited for Perseus). http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1351.phi001.perseus-eng2:21

[431] Hingley 2005, 43.

[432] Kalınbayrak Ercan 2018, 170.

[433] Webster 2001, p. 216. Webster notes that "It can be seen that at the end of almost a century of Romanization studies, emulation, assumed to be a spontaneous or self-generating process, remains the dominant model of native engagement with Roman material culture at all levels of society."

[434] Mattingly 1997, 9.

elite-driven cultural change.[435] This continues to be a subject of lively debate, as it entails a multi-faceted and intricate process: "In effect, the business of becoming Roman (whether welcoming or burdened by Roman rule) was a complex process of compromise and self-assertion, of accepting the political status quo but transmuting it from within." [436]

3.1.2. Romanisation: Process and Dynamics

As briefly mentioned in the previous sections, it is essential to recognise that the views and debates on Romanisation have been different and have changed over the decades.

> Romanization is an unnecessary postulate for eastern colonization of this age. It is chiefly a word which describes what subsequently happened in certain areas of the western empire, and what did not happen in the East. For the eastern provinces it could never have constituted premeditated policy. The colonies there were widely scattered, but not without purpose. By a series of strategic deductions men were compensated for service, economies were revived, and the empire was garrisoned.[437]

Bowersock's words echo the traditional approach of Romanisation to the Roman East. For a long time, many scholars have argued that the Romans allowed Greek culture to continue to flourish in the East, while at the same time Romanising the western provinces. From this traditional point of view, Romanisation seemed to be primarily a one-way cultural influence from Rome on the western regions. As a result, Roman Asia, with its important Hellenistic cities such as Ephesus and Pergamum, was often seen in this light as a region where little changed during the Roman period. In fact, people in the Roman East continued to use the Greek language, worshipped the same deities, and expressed a deep belongingness to their past culture, and did not identify themselves primarily as Roman.

However, this perspective faced challenges in explaining certain instances of the influence of the new rulers on the region. For example, it could not explain the

[435] Revell 2009, 6.

[436] Elsner 1988, 119.

[437] G. W. Bowersock. (1965). *Augustus and the Greek World*. Clarendon Press. p. 72.

proliferation of water-related architectural structures such as aqueducts, monumental fountains, and baths throughout Roman Asia Minor. These developments seemed to reflect the introduction of new architectural practices and habits into the region, which the traditional perspective did not adequately take into account.

Therefore, it is important to consider the regional variations, the purposes of architectural and urban development, and the multi-faceted nature of the Roman Empire's influences on the built environment. Woolf asserts the complexity and endurance of Greek identity within the Roman context. The discussions outlined in his article "Becoming Roman Staying Greek" reveal an enduring and mutual attraction between Roman and Greek identities.[438] Woolf highlighted that "the cognitive structures …persisted partly because of intrinsic attraction to the Roman rulers and to their Greek subjects they seemed to be confirmed by each other's views and by experience."[439] Therefore, both groups found their respective worldviews and experiences mutually reinforcing.

> Neither Rome's efforts to curb decadence nor Roman culture posed a major threat to Greek identity, nor were the Romans ever so attracted to Hellenism that they abandoned the cultural criteria on which their own sense of self was based.[440]

Instead, the relationship between the two cultures can be described as a dynamic tension rather than clear division or fusion, which persisted until external factors such as barbarian invasions. Christianisation and changes in the imperial elite resulted in reconfiguration of the cultural landscape and the emergence of new cultural dynamics.[441]

Given the nuanced understanding of Romanisation and its regional variations, discussions of this complex process require a multi-layered approach. In order to

[438] G. Woolf. (1994). Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and The Civilizing Process in the Roman East. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, *40,* 116–143.

[439] Woolf 1994, 135.

[440] Woolf 1994, 135.

[441] Woolf 1994, 135.

understand the intricacies of Romanisation, it is essential to analyse how different historical and socio-cultural contexts influenced the architecture of different regions within the Roman Empire.

With this regard, Hadrian's reign provides a compelling case study of how individual identity within the Roman Empire was shaped by the interplay between local identity and the centre, as well as how provincial art serves as a reflection of individual identity within the centripetal and centrifugal patterns. As such, the relationship between local identity and the centre highlighted the centre's dissemination of self-propaganda to the periphery.[442] Hadrian's reign also marked a renaissance of *euergetism* and an inclination towards other cultures. His extended imperial travels and personal contributions in Asia Minor during the second century profoundly influenced architectural development, stimulating artistic and architectural rivalry between cities, and contributing towards wider cultural change within the region. This period witnessed the endeavours of the Sophists, who were close to Hadrian, and the philanthropic acts of the local elite, all of which contributed to cultural change within the cities. In addition, known for his refined artistic taste, Hadrian played an important role in supporting the needs of the provinces as well as the construction and restoration of buildings in Rome. Differences in practices emerged depending on the importance and significance of each province to the Roman centre.[443] The development of new architectural styles in the provinces was a response to changing social, political, and cultural conditions, challenging our typologies derived from the Roman architectural centre.[444]

For instance, archaeological evidence reveals distinct architectural developments in Asia Minor compared to the western provinces of the Empire. Romans fostered greater influence over the local population, especially the elites, in strategically significant urban centres like Ephesus. A pivotal moment in Anatolia's transformation occurred in 133 BCE when the Pergamene kingdom was replaced by

[442] Elsner 1988, 120.

[443] S. Durugönül. (2021). Kilikia Bölgesi'nde Roma Etkisi [Roman Influence in the Cilicia Region]. *Aktüel Arkeoloji Romalılar Anadoluda, 79*, 82-91. p. 84.

[444] Revell 2013, 391.

Roman provincial organisation. Following this, Ephesus, with its geopolitical position and commercial port, became the most vital trading centre in the eastern Mediterranean and the administrative hub of the province.[445]

The promotion of Ephesus by Rome, with its advantages over Pergamum,[446] allowed the city to demonstrate strong architectural influences from Rome and to introduce the Roman way of life to Asia Minor: "Over the next two centuries, a Roman city developed in eastern Greece that proudly compared itself to Rome." [447]

Nevertheless, there were some regions in Asia Minor where Roman influence faced difficulties to penetrate its influence. The main reason for this is that the eastern provinces went through a strong process of Hellenisation prior to Roman rule, unlike the western provinces of the empire like Gaul and Hispania.[448] It is essential to note that, "the term 'Romanisation' should not be equated with 'civilisation'… Just as one cannot claim that every person in the 'Hellenised' East was 'Greek', so the 'Romanised' could never really be 'Roman'."[449]

Contemporary discussions on Romanisation highlight the underlying ideologies, discourses, behaviours, and practices embodied within architectural structures, rather than solely focusing on predefined typologies.[450] Romanisation and the historical narratives of cities were intricately intertwined through the language of architecture, which reflects a sense of belonging and actively contributes to the construction and preservation of both collective and individual memories.

This chapter provides some essential background on how the concept of Romanisation emerged and developed. In this context, the architectural wealth, both

[445] S. Ladstätter, (2021). Hellenistik Kökler ve Roma Yenilikleri-Augustus Döneminde Ephessos. *Aktüel Arkeoloji Romalılar Anadoluda*, *Mart Nisan 2021, Sayı 79*, 56-69. p. 64.

[446] Ladstätter 2021, 69.

[447] Ladstätter 2021, 69.

[448] Durugönül 2021, 84

[449] Durugönül 2021, 91

[450] Revell 2013, 397.

cultural and material, created in Asia Minor in the second century by the travels and personal benefactions of Hadrian, who spent many years of his life visiting the provinces, emerges as a testimony that cannot be ignored. As will be elaborated in the following sections, the term 'Romanisation' serves in this study as a convenient shorthand to encompass the multi-faceted process of cultural transformation, particularly as expressed in architectural terms and its response in social memory. This transformation was also manifest in the realm of material culture. From another perspective, "Romanisation is a convenient shorthand for the series of cultural changes that created an imperial civilisation within which both differences and similarities formed a coherent pattern."[451]

Since the 1990s and beyond, scholars have been particularly interested in the evolution of 'identity' and 'collective memory.' Regarding identity, and "cohesion capacity"[452] in a multi-ethnic or multicultural empire like that of Rome, which managed to survive politically for a long time, has been subject to theoretical exploration. The role of collective memory in shaping Roman society based on an evolving interpretation of the past has also received considerable attention.[453] This is because a fundamental component of Roman culture was recognised to be in constant interaction with shaping the Roman present, all depending on the situation within its own dynamics and based on a past that was constantly re-configured according to selective remembrances of the evolving present. In other words, the nature of Roman society at any given moment in time depended to a large extent on the ways in which the society constructed and then transmitted memories of its past.[454]

In contrast to the world-view of antiquity, modern international institutions emphasise inclusiveness and respect for demographic diversity, reflecting a shift

[451] G. Woolf. (1998). *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul.* Cambridge University Press. p. 7.

[452] M. Peachin, (2011). Introduction. In M. Peachin (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (pp. 3-37). Oxford University Press. p. 12.

[453] Peachin 2011, 12.

[454] Peachin 2011, 12.

from the colonial mindset to policies that are consistent with the enjoyment of rights by rights holders and duty bearers within societies.[455] Given the historical memories shared by the member states that established these institutions, the process of Romanisation in antiquity and its legacy cannot be ignored in contemporary discourses and practices.

In the following sections, after a brief historical overview of the Roman city, the language of architecture and the sense of social memory will be illustrated through an examination of the honorary gates erected to commemorate Hadrian's visit in two different cities, namely Attaleia and Ephesus, both of which share a similar architectural form.

[455] See the website of Council of Europe's Inclusion and Anti-Discrimination Division. (2024). https://www.coe.int/en/web/inclusion-and-antidiscrimination/about.

CHAPTER IV

ARCHITECTURE OF THE ROMAN CITY

4.1. General Background

> To Vitruvius, Italy was ideally situated between north and south, just as Jupiter lay between Mars, which is very hot and Saturn, which is very cold.[456]

The enduring influence of Roman architecture and urban design extends beyond the borders of ancient Rome. It is a testimony to the deliberate and strategic nature of the urban planning of the Roman cities, designed with the strategic placement of public buildings, the arrangement of streets and the overall organisation of urban spaces.[457] This chapter will consider the fundamental principles that shaped Roman cities, the transformation of urban spaces and the lasting influence of Roman architecture.

Emerging as a distinctive form of artistic expression, Roman architecture integrated influences from other civilisations including Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Etruscans. This synthesis is evident in the fusion of Greek architectural elements and the use of different materials such as concrete, ashlar, brick, limestone, and marble. The choice of different materials allowed the construction of monumental temples, baths, amphitheatres, aqueducts, and walls, decorated with expensive stones that utilised traditional classical styles in new ways. Although Roman concrete (*opus caementicium*) had been used since the second century BCE, a pivotal change came with the innovative use of Roman concrete, a mixture of lime and local volcanic sand (*pozzolana*). Ward-Perkins highlights the Roman architectural revolution

[456] S. Kostof. (2010). *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals: International Second Edition*. Oxford University Press. p. 191.

[457] M. Trachtenberg & I. Hyman. (2003). *Architecture from Prehistory to Postmodernity* (2nd ed.). Prentice Hall. pp. 117-157.

underpinned by the use of Roman concrete.[458] Roman concrete made it possible to create larger interiors with arches, vaults, and domes, reaching a peak with the Pantheon.[459] Monumental facades achieved durability through the fusion of stone masonry and concrete as seen in the monumentality of the Colosseum.[460] In essence, with the evolution of these materials and techniques, iconic and enduring structures of remarkable strength and grandeur were created.[461]

New Roman cities were renowned for their meticulously planned layout, the result of strategic military considerations. The grid plan was divided by north-south (*cardo*) and east-west (*decumanus*) routes, reflecting a systematic urban design. The 'centuriation method' of land division, influenced by military practice, including squares and plots, both of which appeared in the rectangular camps[462] of Greek and Etruscan planning (Fig. 68).[463] The Roman camp design allowed for variation and flexibility. When army veterans were given land to found new towns, they replicated the layout of military camps. The placement of temples in these reflected the symbolism, layout and orientation associated with the Temple of Jupiter in Rome.

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[458] J. B. Ward-Perkins. (1977). *Roman Architecture*. H. N. Abrams. pp. 65-112.

[459] T. A. Marder & M. W. Jones. (Eds.). (2015). *The Pantheon: from antiquity to the present*. Cambridge University Press. See also, R. Mark & P. Hutchinson. (1986). On the Structure of the Roman Pantheon. *The Art Bulletin*, *68*(1), 24–34. p. 24. As stated in the article "Since the time of its construction, the bold, brilliantly simple schema of Hadrian's Pantheon has inspired much emulation, commendation, and even fear. Modern commentators tend to view the building as a high point in an "architectural revolution" brought about mainly through the Roman development of a superior *pozzolana* concrete that lent itself to the forming of unitary, three-dimensional structures."

[460] M, Jackson & F. Marra. (2006). Roman Stone Masonry: Volcanic Foundations of the Ancient City. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *110*(3), 403–436.

[461] Ward-Perkins 1981, 97- 121. See also E. U. Sağın, H.E. Duran, & H. Böke, (2021). Lime mortar technology in ancient eastern Roman provinces. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, *39*, 103-132.

[462] Kostof 2010, 191. The rectangular camp layout is structured around the headquarters of the consul general (*praetorium*), with the quartermaster's offices on the left-right axis. In front of these are the *tribunes* (six for each legion). The cavalry is in the first rows on either side, then the infantry groups are positioned. The rectangular layout of the camp has two main roads that cross in front of the *praetorium*.
J. Onians. (1999). *Classical Art and the Culture of Greece and Rome*. Yale University Press. pp.163-178.

[463] Kostof 2010, 191. The centuriation method of Greek and Etruscan town planning was adapted by the Romans. Noting the close relationship between town planning, temples, and camps, the *haruspex* or *augur* interprets the signs from a sacrificed animal's liver.

Water and sewage systems, aqueducts and bridges, transportation networks, and public and private spaces were also carefully designed to create functional and culturally significant urban environments.

Forums had a significant impact on Roman urban planning, evolving over time to meet the dynamic needs of society.[464] Far from isolated architectural structures, fora formed integral components of the larger urban system. Hence, the transformation of the Roman fora into a multi-functional space reflects the adaptability of Roman urban planning to social change. As dynamic components of Roman urbanism, fora were reflections of broader principles, and their political, religious and social centrality influenced the character and organisation of Roman cities.[465] In terms of architectural patterns, the development of fora shaped the hierarchy, public space, and the relationship between architecture and society. [466] As claimed by Kathryn Lomas "by the end of the first century CE, the city in the Roman Empire had become both the symbol and the definition of civilisation." [467]

Understanding the city, therefore involves understanding Roman society on a global scale.[468] Patterns of public building and urban development indicate an evolution in the conception of the city and the ideology of its elite. Changes in civic identity, part of the Romanisation process, indicate the growing dominance of the elite and the central influence of Rome in the early Empire.[469] Thus, elites become more worldly, and their building activities reflect an increasingly Roman vision of the city, while in

[464] Trachtenberg & Hyman 2003, 149.

[465] Trachtenberg & Hyman 2003, 149.

[466] Trachtenberg & Hyman 2003, 117-157.

[467] K. Lomas. (1997). The Idea of a city: élite ideology and the evolution of urban form in Italy, 200 BC-AD 100. In H.M. Parkins (Ed.), *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City*. (pp. 21-41). Routledge. p. 22. See also S. Güven. (2003). Evolution of Colonnaded Avenues in the Roman Cityscape: Role of Cilicia. *Olba VIII* (Özel Sayı). 39-55. p. 40; Strabo 4.1.5: Strabo. (1903). *Geography*. (H. C. Hamilton, Esq., W. Falconer, M.A., Eds.) The Geography of Strabo. Literally translated, with notes, in three volumes. George Bell & Sons. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-eng2:4.1.5

[468] Güven 2003, 41.

[469] Lomas 1997, 39-40.

other parts of the Empire, such as Asia Minor, different regional traditions persist.[470] Generally speaking, William MacDonald's[471] groundbreaking two-volume work on Roman architecture, the first volume published in 1965, still represents a seminal work in understanding Roman architectural development. The first volume contains comprehensive studies of the Domus Aurea, the Flavian Palace on the Palatine, Trajan's Market, and the Pantheon.[472]

By concentrating on these specific buildings, each on a chapter of its own, MacDonald unfolds an 'architectural revolution' spanning six decades from Nero to Hadrian, fundamentally reshaping the Roman architectural landscape in the capital of the Empire spatially and structurally.[473] Anticipation was high for the second volume, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II An Urban Appraisal*.[474] This promised insights into the great architectural complexes of the High and Late Empire and MacDonald's detailed examination of other monumental structures such as Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, and the Basilica of Maxentius were awaited.[475] However, the second volume took an unexpected turn, and redirected attention to the unique articulation of the legacy of empire in various regional contexts.

The second volume, published in 1982, explored the nature of Roman architectural achievement as an urban phenomenon. MacDonald's aim, as expressed in his introduction, is to study imperial architecture in its contemporary context rather than focusing on evolutionary developments or regional variations. He emphasises a

[470] Lomas 1997, 39-40.

[471] D. Favro., J. Pinto., & F. K. Yegŭl. (2010). William L. MacDonald (1921–2010). *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *69*(4), 481- 483.

[472] C. W. Condit. (1977). [Review of *The Pantheon*, by W. L. MacDonald]. *Technology and Culture*, *18*(2), 241-243.

[473] W. L. MacDonald, (1982). *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: An Introductory Study* (Vol. 1). Yale University Press.

[474] F. Sear. (1988). MacDonald's Architecture II - William L. Macdonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire II, An Urban Appraisal. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, *1*, 162-165. pp. 162-63.

[475] Sear, 1988 162-63. See also, D. E. E. Kleiner. (1987). [Review of *The Architecture of the Roman Empire, II: An Urban Appraisal*, by W. L. MacDonald]. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *46*(4), 408-409.

common thread in urban design throughout the empire, thus reducing the importance of regionalism and historical perspectives. MacDonald emphasises the continuous development of Roman classicism, resulting in an architecture without clear 'classical moments'. He sees it as an evolving and cumulative process that finally reached completion in the fourth century, when its full realisation became apparent in cities and towns.[476] The second volume provided a different perspective on how the architectural heritage of the empire was manifested in regional contexts. This perspective challenged the usual expectations in the context of chronological sequence. However, the volume underlined the diverse and dynamic nature of Roman urban planning and architecture.

In the Preface, William MacDonald argued that there was a need for an overall evaluation of the classical architectural vocabulary, that went beyond its contextual and thematic aspects.[477] He promotes the study of Roman buildings as urban elements which enhance our understanding of classical architecture and the imperial city as common visual symbols of Roman civilisation.

While MacDonald recognises the difficulties and likely errors in attempting to present such a comprehensive perspective, he maintains that even imperfect results may provide useful insights.[478] He was able to visit most of the sites described in the book, with the exception of geographical limitations and sites inaccessible due to travel restrictions. The Preface emphasises MacDonald's comprehensive and experiential approach to illuminating the complexity of classical architecture and its vital role in Roman civilisation.

Overall, the deliberate and strategic nature of Roman architecture and urban planning influenced the concept of “civilisation”. From the transformative role of Roman concrete to the dynamic development of the fora, the city emerged not only as a physical entity but also as a symbol that encapsulated the essence of Roman identity

[476] Sear 1988, 162.

[477] MacDonald 1986, Preface.

[478] MacDonald 1986, Preface.

and social aspirations. Understanding this complex relationship reveals the enduring legacy of Roman urban planning. This combined perspective allows us to recognise the complex relationship between urban planning, the role of armatures, and the overall design of Roman cities as vibrant and influential centres of Roman culture.

4.2. Armatures: Elements of Cohesion and Passage

Armature is a key concept in understanding Roman urban life introduced by MacDonald. Armatures are vital and dynamic unifying elements within the city fabric contributing to the social and cultural life of the city. MacDonald emphasised the fresh perspective and highlighted the importance of key architectural elements and spaces and how they are all interconnected within the urban fabric. [479]

> Armatures consist of main streets, squares, and essential public buildings linked together across cities and towns from gate to gate with junctions and entranceways prominently articulated. They are the setting for the familiar Roman civic building typology, the framework for the unmistakable imagery of imperial urbanism.[480]

In *Roman Architecture Vol. II: An Urban Appraisal*, William L. MacDonald promoted the use of ‘armature' as an essential element of the imperial Roman urban fabric. Here, he claimed that the basic vocabulary of Roman architecture was flexible, alive, and well designed in Roman cities. Consequently, the notion of armature served to draw attention to the visual, symbolic, and political function of architectural elements in Roman cities. MacDonald recognised armatures as fundamental elements that promoted social interaction, public gatherings, and civic activities. They provided connected focal points for political, religious, and commercial purposes, which also contributed to the sense of community and collective urban identity.

> One type of definition, sometimes referred to as the “city proper,” describes a city according to an administrative boundary. A second approach, termed the “urban agglomeration”, considers the extent of the contiguous urban area, or built-up area, to delineate the city’s boundaries. A third concept of the city, the “metropolitan area,” defines its boundaries according to the degree of economic and social

[479] W. L. MacDonald. (1988). Roman Urbanism. *Journal of Architectural Education*, *41*(3), 29–32.

[480] MacDonald 1986, 5.

> interconnectedness of nearby areas, identified by interlinked commerce or commuting patterns, for example.[481]

Interestingly, thirty-six years after the publication of the second volume on Roman architecture, the United Nations' definitions of "city proper" and "urban agglomeration" in the World's Cities 2018 data booklet address similar concerns.

Wholeness and unity are the derivative contexts emerging from the armatures. Although they differ considerably in scope and scale in different locations and settings, armatures formulate and shape the essential elements from the same architectural repertoire framing the formal essence of a city. Above all, the unimpeded connections facilitated by armatures regulated the *de facto* harmony between the Roman citizens living in the city and its space. Their harmonious communication and energy flow emphasised the interconnectedness, and synchronised movement between structures and citizens. Armatures and cities fed each other and cannot be considered separately. Considering "armature" as a whole, allows the analysis of connections between different architectural elements in a mutual spatial relationship impacting the overall urban experience. This urbanistic approach broadened the understanding of Roman cities beyond individual buildings and monuments.

There exist "eye catchers" along or at the end of the streets such as fountains, shops, gates, etc. The gateway points are mostly launched as points addressing a junction, transition or entrance to another space. Therefore, the architectural armature was a regulating element around and beyond the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, which gave psychological self-determination to any person walking along the city streets, designed in the stability of the camp design. The feeling of Roman citizenship could be defined as anchored to the person through the armature.

Emperor Hadrian's generous support for building programmes, restoration projects and the establishment of new cities reflects the Roman commitment to order and

[481] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2018). *The World's Cities in 2018—Data Booklet (ST/ESA/ SER.A/417)*. https://www.un.org/en/events/citiesday/assets/pdf/the_worlds_cities_in_2018_data_booklet.pdf p. 1.

unity. These initiatives become more visible through the city 'armature,' which emphasises the development of a well-structured built environment.[482] Hadrian's initiatives not only contributed to the physical infrastructure but also fostered a sense of cohesion and harmony within the Roman Empire, reflecting MacDonald's emphasis on the importance of a well-designed and interconnected urban environment.

> Among a large family of Roman urban components built and otherwise, such things as arches and tombs interest me most for now. Their unrivalled visual and symbolic authority in their own time carried over into later eras, and I suspect that in creating the first coherent western urban system, architects, and planners (both professions often practiced by one person) in the Roman Empire formulated certain basic truths of architecture.[483]

4.3. Ceremonial Arches and Gates

Within the structural totality of elements in Roman architecture, MacDonald classified the 'arch' under passage architecture as one of the essential components of the armature. After the column and the wall, the arch is defined as the most visible element.[484] Ceremonial arches and gates, with their grandeur and symbolism, played a crucial role in expressing and commemorating important events, and victories in Roman history. They were designed to inspire a sense of admiration and to demonstrate the power and glory of the Roman Empire. The arch is usually associated with a monumental structure simply in the form of one or more arched passageways, usually positioned to span a road.[485]

As they were not buildings in the traditional sense such as specific public or religious edifices, arches were often built over major thoroughfares. Free-standing or as part of

[482] N. B. Uğurlu. (2004). *The Roman Nymphaea in the Cities of Asia Minor: Function in Context* (Publication No. 147793) [Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. pp. 19-25.

[483] MacDonald 1988, 30.

[484] MacDonald 1986, 75.

[485] C. Curtis. (1908). Roman Monumental Arches. *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, 2*, 26-83.

a structure, an arch often stands on massive piers, and is crowned by a flat entablature or attic on which statues of family, religious, imperial, divine figures or commemorative inscriptions are placed. The inscriptions are usually accounts of military triumphs, praise of the achievements of the honoured, or dedications to gods and rulers.[486] The main structure, consisting of mouldings, reliefs and dedications, is often decorated with various visual narratives. Friezes and carved decorations, with scenes from military campaigns and allegorical figures, complete the visual wealth of the arch. Whether single or multiple, the ensemble of intricate mouldings and reliefs constituted conspicuous urban elements.

In Rome, triumphal arches were especially erected to commemorate military victories. Other significant events, such as the accession of a new emperor could also be commemorated by monumental arches. Arches and city gates of the Roman cities were of enduring importance as conspicuous structures that served as focal points within the urban landscape. As well as providing functional entrances and exits, their role was crucial in shaping the visual and experiential qualities of these cities.

> The reason of the statues being raised on columns, was that the persons represented might be elevated above other mortals; the same thing being signified by the use of arches, a new invention (*Novicium Inventum*) which had its origin among the Greeks.[487]

Ceremonial arches occupy a prominent place in the visible architectural corpus of the Roman Empire.[488] More than any other class of Roman building, they have become

[486] R. R Holloway. (1987). Some Remarks on the Arch of Titus. *L'Antiquité Classique, 56,* 183–191. p.183 Inscription on the Arch of Titus: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F VESPASIANO AVGVSTO; "The Senate and the Roman people to the deified Titus Vespasian Augustus the son of the deified Vespasian".

[487] Pliny the Elder. (1855). *The Natural History*. (John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., H.T. Riley, Esq., B.A., Eds.). Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. Plin. Nat. 34. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:34

[488] S. Güven. (1983). *Aspects of Roman Arches in Asia Minor*. [Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University]. p. 5. According to Güven, the monumental arches in Asia Minor, once commonly referred to as "triumphal arches," were not triumphal but honorary and ceremonial. Therefore, she proposes to use the term "ceremonial arch" which fits to the nature of triple arches built in Asia Minor. More generally, in this respect the arches are either classified as "ceremonial arch" or "gate" in this study.

visual documents of the spirit of the age. The Roman ceremonial arches that remain today were built between the first and fourth century CE.[489]

> Under the Roman Empire, the free-standing arch became one of the most widespread types of Roman monument, with a total number that at one time must have far exceeded the more than 800 examples known to us today.[490]

Free-standing monumental arches are the epitome of classical architecture with distinctive features, which originated in Rome in the second century BCE.[491] Ceremonial arches strategically mark city entrances, triumphal routes or prominent public spaces. As they served both functional and symbolic purposes, they were constructed from durable materials such as stone or marble. Allowing the passage of processions, they commemorate military victories, and symbolise the power and prestige of the person or state being commemorated.

Specifically triumphal ones like the Arch of Titus (Fig. 69),[492] Arch of Septimus Severus (Fig. 70) and the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 71) in Rome illustrate the lasting influence of these architectural edifices. As Güven states "the majority of Roman triumphal arches in Anatolia have been synthesised into an original style. Even some important gates have been characterised by triumphal arch features and have

[489] S. Midford. (2014). Roman Imperial Triumphal Arches. *Iris: Journal of The Classical Association of Victoria*, *27*, 11-26. p. 11. The arches, which were built in the Republican period, were made of wood and are not in place today.

[490] A. Kontokoska. (2014), Reconsidering the arches (*fornices*) of the Roman Republic. *Journal of Roman Archaeology, 27*, 7-35. p. 26.

[491] Midford 2014, 15.

[492] The Arch of Titus is a single arch located on the *Sacra Via* Rome. The Arch, directly on the triumphal route, commemorates the military victories of Emperor Titus, particularly the conquest of Jerusalem in 70 CE. It features a single passageway flanked by engaged columns with Corinthian capitals. The scenes in the frieze are an archive for remembering the day of triumph. M. Beard (2007), *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. pp. 44-5; Holloway, 1987. 183–19: On the northern frieze, Emperor Titus (*triumphator*) in his chariot (*quadriga*), adorned with symbols of victory and crowned by a winged Victory figure. An additional female figure, who could be a representation of Virtue or Goddess Roma, emphasizes the emperor's heroic and divine attributes. This also adds a layer of metaphor and idealization of the scene. Roman symbols of authority, the fasces, are visible in the background, reminding the political power and legitimacy of the Roman state.The southern attic depicts scenes from Titus' triumphal procession, including the spoils taken from the Temple in Jerusalem. Overall, the relief sculptures manifest a form of documentary realism: placards, carried by the marching persons, placed alongside the objects further reinforce the archival nature of the depiction, allowing the viewer to understand the historical context and significance of the Triumph.

undergone changes in structure and function." [493] Overall, it must be remembered that among the several hundred arches, specifically triumphal ones are few in the Roman Empire at large.[494]

The word 'triumph' offers some interesting insights into its etymology and historical significance. Derived from the Latin '*triumphus*', meaning to win or succeed, the English word '*triumph*' embodies the concept of achieving a notable triumph or conquest. [495]

> An exclamation derived from a pre-Greek language became *θρίαμβε* in Greek and *triumpe* in Latin. In both cases, its function is to invoke one or more of the gods and to invite them to manifest themselves. Etruria is the link between *θρίαμβε* and *triumpe*, it is possible that a pre-Greek word has been adopted in Etruscan and independently in Greek.[496]

The term "triumph" was originally associated with an important Roman ritual and ceremony. It was used to commemorate the victory of a general.[497] While the word's exact origin remains unclear, H. Versnel has explored linguistic links between

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[493] S. Güven. (1986). Anadolu'da Roma Takları. *T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlügü IV. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*. 103-107. p. 103: "the triumphal arches in the West represent a Western iconography that is specific to Rome, even to the conspicuous power of Rome. It is therefore unlikely that they would have been widespread in Anatolia. In fact, we only see this type in remote cities, where the population from outside Anatolia is dense or where Greco-Hellenistic traditions were not established."

[494] Güven 1983, 5. B. Graef. (1888). Triumph und Ehrenbogen. In *Baumeister's Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*. pp. 1864-1899. Graef provided a list of the arches which was referenced as the "best account of Roman triumphal arches" in Bulletin 2: Appendix to Annual Reports (1896-1897). *American Journal of Archaeology*, *1*(6), 25–156. p. 139. After 15 years, the list was revised and extended by A. L. Frothingham. For detailed see A. L. Frothingham. (1904). A Revised List of Roman Memorial and Triumphal Arches. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *8*(1), 1–34. Frothingham pointed out that around 500 arches were listed with reference to coins, literary sources, and inscriptions. For the following studies on Roman monumental arches, see also, Curtis 1908, 26-83 and M. Pallottino. (1958). Arco onorario e trionfale in *Enciclopediae dell'arte antica I*, 595- 598. Among these studies, H. Kähler's comprehensive list is still a prominent reference. See H. Kähler (1939) Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen). *Realencyclopädie Der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft VII.A,1*, 373-493.

[495] Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d). Triumph. In *Dictionary. Cambridge.org Dictionary*. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/triumph

[496] H. S. (1970). *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*. E.J. Brill. p. 55.

[497] Versnel 1970, 1. According to Orosius, at least 320 triumphs were celebrated between the foundation of Rome and the reign of Vespasianus. And that was not all; in the following years triumphs were also organised, albeit at longer and longer intervals, until in 403 C.E. Honorius combined his accession to the consulship with the last official triumph we know of.

"*triumphus"* and Greek θρίαμβε (*thriambe*), [498] suggesting wider cultural exchange and influence. It is also possible that the Latin word derives from an Etruscan root. This is a further illustration of the complex interplay of linguistic and cultural influences in the ancient Rome. [499]

Triumphal arches' association with victory and imperial power made them powerful symbols in Roman society. The triumphal procession, or triumph, in ancient Rome was a highly formalised ceremonial event that was deeply intertwined with the civic, religious, and military institutions of the city.[500] The triumph was reserved for victorious commanders who possessed supreme power (*imperium*) (Fig. 72).[501] It symbolised the culmination of a successful military campaign. Prior to the procession, the approval of the Senate was essential,[502] and depended on the

[498] Versnel 1970, 292.

[499] Examining linguistic connections and cultural borrowings reveals the rich tapestry of meanings embedded in the concept of triumph, which extends beyond mere victory to encompass broader themes of celebration, achievement and cultural exchange across cultures and periods: D. Musti. (1972). [Review of *Triumphus. An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*, by H. S. Versnel]. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, *62*, 163–166. p.163. For detailed information, see Versnel 1970, 1-55.

[500] Florus 1.13: L. A. Florus. (1929). *Epitome Rerum Romanorum* (*Epitome of Roman History)*. (E. S. Forster, Ed.). William Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1242.phi001.perseus-lat1:1.13
The statement captures the admiration of the triumphal procession as "*Nec enim temere ullus pulchrior in urbem aut speciosior triumphus intravit."* (For no more beautiful or splendid triumph has ever entered the city). Versnel 1970, 1: "In no other Roman ceremony do god and man approach each other as closely as they do in the triumph."

[501] The modern display embedded in the walls of the Hall of the She Wolf in the Capitoline Museums in Rome contains fragments of Consular and Triumphal Fasti, lists of magistrates and triumphal victors from the Republic to the Augustan period, found in the Roman Forum, and part of an arch dedicated to Augustus. Musei Capitolini https://www.museicapitolini.org/en/opera/fasti-capitolini-consolari-e-trionfali. The *aureus*, a gold coin minted to commemorate Trajan's triumph after the successful conclusion of the First Dacian War in 102 CE, continued into the following year. The obverse of the coin depicts a bust of Trajan, laureate and facing right, symbolising the emperor's authoritative stature and leadership during the military campaign. The reverse depicts Trajan in a quadriga slowly moving left, holding a branch and sceptre, symbols of victory and sovereignty. As well as serving as a testament to Trajan's military achievements, this numismatic artefact reflects the cultural and political significance of triumphal symbolism in the Roman Empire.. © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1864,1128.52 (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1864-1128-52

[502] The highest achievement for a male citizen in Rome was the award of a triumph. After a significant victory in a foreign conflict, a general fulfilling certain 'criteria' would petition the Senate. While waiting for the Senate to decide, troops would gather on the Campus Martius, as armed men were forbidden to cross the Pomerium without permission. The anticipation would culminate in grand

magnitude of the victory and the commander's adherence to the established legal and ethical norms. Temples, shrines, arches, and civic monuments were often built along or in view of the triumphal road.[503]

Triumphal processions, beginning from the Campus Martius and the Circus Flaminius, through the so-called Porta Triumphalis[504] (Fig. 73) (across the Circus Maximus), along the *Via Sacra* and ending at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill, followed a meticulously prescribed circular route through the heart of Rome.[505] The route allowed for the public display of the spoils of war, including captured weapons, treasures, and golden crowns sent by the allies. The triumphant general with a laurel crown, dressed in a distinctive purple toga (original *toga purpurea*, later decorated with golden stars, *toga picta)* led the procession.[506] Religious observances were part of the event, with sacrificial rites

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spectacles throughout the city, including theatres, circuses and other public spaces. These would unite the entire population in a communal celebration of triumph and military glory: Yegül & Favro 2019, 27-8; Thomas 2007, 22; Suetonius Cl.17 "The triumphal ornaments decreed him by the Senate, he considered as beneath the imperial dignity, and was therefore resolved to have the honour of a real triumph."
C. Suetonius Tranquillus. *Divus Claudius*. *Suetonius: The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. (1889). (J. E. Reed, & A. Thomson, Eds.). An English Translation, Augmented with the Biographies of Contemporary Statesmen, Orators, Poets, and Other Associates. Suetonius. Gebbie & Co. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:phi,1348,015:17

[503] Midford 2014, 13; Thomas 2007, 169.

[504] The question of the 'Porta Triumphalis' in ancient Rome remains a subject of scholarly debate, and there is no definitive consensus among historians and archaeologists as to its precise nature and significance. Discussions of the Porta Triumphalis reflect the challenges of interpretation of ancient sources and archaeological evidence, as well as the complexities of reconstructing the topography and ceremonial practices of ancient Rome. Some scholars argue for the existence of a specific, permanent landmark called the 'Porta Triumphalis', located at the beginning of a defined route used for triumphal processions, while others suggest that the term may have been more fluid and applied to different structures and locations within the city. For detailed analysis see M. G. Sobocinski. (2009). Porta Triumphalis and Fortuna Redux: Reconsidering the Evidence. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, *54*, 135–164.. Porta Triumphalis is mapped NW of the twin temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta and identified with one of the double gates of the Porta Carmentalis, with number 199, through the Digital Augustan Rome https://www.digitalaugustanrome.org/records/porta-triumphalis/. Digital Augustan Rome is a mapping project designed to serve as a comprehensive digital successor to the published book and maps of Mapping Augustan Rome, which were featured as Supplement 50 in the Journal of Roman Archaeology Series in 2002. Beard 2007, 96-101; Versnel 1970, 132-163; Güven 1983, 8-9; F. Coarelli, J. J. Clauss, D. P. Harmon, J.A. Clauss., & P.A. Mackay. (2014). *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide* (1st ed.). University of California Press. p. 312.

[505] Yegül & Favro 2019, 27-30; C. Mango (2000). The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *54*, 173–188. p. 173.

[506] Beard 2007, 81-2.

along the route emphasising the commander's gratitude to the gods, especially Jupiter, for the success of the triumph.

In addition to the display of martial prowess, the triumph also incorporated fascinating elements of Roman civic life. Prisoners were paraded through the streets as a symbol of the defeated enemy, accompanied by the models and paintings of the conquered territories, and animals to be sacrificed.[507] This emphasised the martial prowess of the commander and the military dominance of Rome. As the procession progressed, a festive atmosphere was created by musical performances, singing and dancing. The triumphal procession ended at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The victorious general made further sacrifices, reinforcing the religious significance of the event. The ritualistic procession, with its complex blend of military spectacle, religious observance, and civic celebration, encapsulated the Roman cultural ethos, glorifying the individual commander and reinforcing the collective authority of the Roman state and its institutions. Prominent in the Roman territory from the first century CE, triumphal arches were powerful symbols of Roman authority and influence from Britain to Syria. They were symbols not only of the Roman military conquests, but also of the wider ideals of government, order and civilisation that were associated with the Roman Empire.[508] Despite their modern name of 'triumphal arches', many did not simply commemorate triumphs.[509] Instead, they were often a tribute to specific events or individuals from the imperial family, or a display of the prestige of Republican nobility. Their overall purpose was to display the images of triumph to assert political power and dominance. [510] In time, the specifically triumphal arch gave way to more civic oriented ceremonial arches.

During the Renaissance in Europe, 14th to 17th centuries where there was a revival of interest in classical antiquity, the architectural styles of ancient Rome and Greece became a source of inspiration for artists, architects, and rulers. Monumental arches

[507] Beard 2007, 81-2.

[508] Beard 2007, 45-6.

[509] Beard 2007, 46: As Beard states "the term *arcus triumphalis* is not known in Latin until the third century CE."

[510] Beard 2007, 45-6.

were once again incorporated into urban planning and civic design to evoke the grandeur of the Roman past. Throughout history, political leaders and governments have recognised the value of such arches as symbols of authority, legitimacy, and continuity with the past. They have often used them to reinforce their own political messages and to assert their connection to the great traditions of the Roman Empire. As prominent historical landmarks, monumental arches have also attracted tourists and scholars for centuries. Their preservation and continued study contribute to their enduring significance.

In sum, the enduring cultural and historical significance of monumental arches, their association with the legacy of the Roman Empire, and their adaptability as symbols of continuity for different political regimes throughout history, have contributed to their persistence as political dressings and symbols of power and authority. This enduring power as visual documents of the spirit of their times is demonstrated by their prominent place in the public imagination.

In Anatolian cities too, such as Ephesus and Attaleia, which had been inhabited by settlers from different cultures for centuries, the sites for such ceremonial structures have now become landmarks in open-air museum exhibition spaces. They encapsulate the rich historical and cultural heritage of these cities, showing a fusion of different architectural styles and influences. Today as visitors pass by and through these gates, they are transported back in time, brought in touch by-gone civilisations that had once flourished in these cities.

4.3.1. Typological Diffusion

There are notable similarities and connections between free-standing monumental arches and city gates, particularly in their architectural functions and symbolic significance. Both serve as monumental entrances, marking important thresholds and conveying symbolic meaning through their ceremonial character.

Throughout history and across cultures too, ceremonies at city gates for important visitors have been significant and memorable. The tradition of the Lord Mayor of

London standing on the site of a former city gate to welcome the Sovereign in an official ceremony is still remembered.[511] Gates were often designed with a connection between their welcoming function and their defensive requirements.

At the urban level, the interconnectedness of these structures gives meaning to spaces and cultivates a collective memory. The social relationships that give rise to them are revitalised by the act of remembering. The city becomes a space where collective memory is produced, stimulated by the energy of movement and communication within its spaces. This creates a tangible link between the physical structures and the social interactions that take place within them.

As repositories of diverse experiences, cities are cohesive entities that contain the events of the past while preserving glimpses of the future. The values that shape a city's identity and the visual evidence of authority, power and structural integrity in Roman architecture contribute to an aesthetic understanding, a cultural identity, and a sense of belonging within a framework of order and representation.[512] These values create a network of meanings and belonging that enriches the physical and memorial fabric of the city and by fostering a deep connection between its inhabitants and their surroundings.

Considering the nodes in the city, the notion of the gate or gateway appears to be one of the most basic and long-lasting archetypes across civilizations.[513] The gate, or 'gateway,' as an archetype, represents the division of both space and perception into two categories. The rigor of division between these two seemingly opposite aspects created a sophisticated intersection of spatial and psychological realms. Cullen refers to these categories as 'here' and 'there' such that passing through is a deliberate,

[511] S. Kostof, G. Castillo, & R. Tobias. (1992). *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History.* Thames and Hudson. p. 37.

[512] Roman architecture is a considerable model for the visual testimony of authority and power in Rome, in its extended territory and even today. However, the symbolism of the arch is not to commemorate a military victory. The most notable post-Roman arches are the *Arc de Triomphe* in Paris, the Washington Square Arch in New York City, the *Siegestor* in Munich, the Wellington Arch in London, or the *Porta Macedonia* in Skopje.

[513] O. Çalışkan. (2010). Urban Gateway: Just a Symbol, or More? (Reappraising an Old Idea in the Case of Ankara), *Journal of Urban Design, 15:1*, 91-122. pp..91-6.

intentional interruption, creating a barrier that must be paused for or overcome.[514] In other words, the space is divided as on this side and the other sides, the action, and the other zones. However, as a result of such a division, the perception of this space is also divided into the presence, and the absence. This explains why in contemporary times, the gate can still preserve meaning as symbols of transition, identity and memory lives on in the contemporary environment.

> The city gate stood for and before the city, confronting that which was outside itself, from monarchs and prelates to foreigners and peasants It served as an instrument of war, justice, commerce, and ceremony. It was a place of political and economic negotiation, a nexus of worlds—as any port must be. Frequented by elders, judges, officials, vendors, pilgrims, refugees, and charlatans, city gates were often centres of residential neighbourhoods as well. The gate was both edge and centre.[515]

The physical and metaphorical threshold of a gate separates and marks the transition between two different spaces, pause and reflections. When a person encounters a gate, he or she experiences a break in the continuous flow of movement, which is what grants the gate its unique meaning. This break in the flow signifies the transition from 'here' to 'there', a journey from the familiar to the unfamiliar, from the present to another realm. [516]

As already noted, ceremonial arches often stand at city entrances, triumphal routes, or prominent public places. City gates, on the other hand, are the literal points of entry into a city. City gates, in Roman urban architecture, served as both practical and symbolic elements.[517] They held a unique position in shaping the urban fabric of ancient Roman cities and were not auxiliary architectural features but essential components of urban infrastructure. In the ancient Middle East, Europe and elsewhere, gateways were the meeting points for administrative and judicial authorities, and markets were often built nearby.[518] They served as the practical

[514] G. Cullen. (1998). *The Concise Townscape.* Oxford: Architectural Press. p. 182

[515] D. W. Gobel. (2000). The City Gate: Negotiation and Nexus as cited in Çalışkan 2010, p. 92.

[516] Cullen 1998, p. 182

[517] J. Rykwert. (1989). *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome Italy and the Ancient World* (2nd ed.). MIT Press. pp.133-139.

[518] Kostof, Castillo & Tobias 1992, 36.

interfaces between the city and the outside world.[519] In terms of their functional necessities, city gates regulate the movement of people, goods, and traffic, ensuring the orderly entry and exit from the city. This was indispensable for ensuring trade, security, and tax collection, all critical aspects of a functioning urban centre.

> As long as the wall remained a valid boundary for the city, the building of much of the fringe belt was concentrated outside the gates, leaving the in-between land to agriculture. The gates were of critical importance in a walled city.[520]

In medieval Europe, guilds had strong associations with city gates and towers. In addition, looser neighbourhood associations were formed based on their proximity to city gates, as the defence of these gates depended on these communities. These were known as "Societies of Gates" and were particularly common in Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries. These societies were organised into militias of foot soldiers called "*fanti portes*." [521] Another group with a strong connection to city gates and towers was the nobility who exercised their power by controlling access to the city, often building fortified residences close to the walls. This challenged one of the most cherished privileges of a town charter: the construction and maintenance of defensive walls, which had traditionally been the domain of royalty. It was often in places where the local authorities were unable to resist the influence of the landed gentry that the city gates were taken over.[522] Medieval gates were fortified with strong towers, gates, and barricades for protection. An architectural convention known as the curved entrance was common, where two gates were placed off-centre behind each other, forcing a sharp turn to pass through the second gate. This design exposed intruders to defensive fire. The way in which city gates were connected to the internal road network also reflected the conflict between providing access and obstructing entry (Fig. 74). In cases where defence was of paramount importance,

[519] Çalışkan 2010, 91-6.

[520] Kostof, Castillo, & Tobias 1992, 36.

[521] Kostof, Castillo, & Tobias 1992, 36.

[522] Kostof, Castillo & Tobias 1992, 36. As indicated: It is possible that this usurpation was linked to the Roman imperial tradition in cities of Roman origin. In Constantinople, for example, the ninety-six towers of the Theodosian Walls were in use throughout the Middle Ages by the powerful owners of neighbouring lands.

gates at opposite ends of the city may not have had a direct connection to a thoroughfare.

Hence, in many respects, city gates were more than mere entrances; they symbolised the city's identity, pride, and history. Lavish entrances to Roman cities, exemplified by structures in both the western and eastern parts of the empire as in Jerash, Bosra, Damascus, Timgad, and Lambaesis were notable symbols of civic identity.[523] City gates and walls were such potent emblems of civic pride that they were sometimes used metaphorically to represent the entire city itself. For example, in the early third century BCE, the Hellenistic sculptor Eutychides created a statue of the goddess Fortune (Tyche) for Seleucid Antioch, depicting her wearing a mural crown and seated over the River Orontes (Fig. 75). Also, the motif of the city gates had been present on civic coinage since the early imperial period, underlining the importance of these architectural elements in the public consciousness.[524] Public buildings, erected as lasting tokens of an emperor's visit or official communication, became an integral part of the city's identity. City gates, built specifically to welcome emperors on state visits, endured long after the occasion as tangible records of historical events. Among notable examples in Asia Minor are the harbour gate at Ephesus, built in conjunction with the harbour baths to welcome the Emperor Domitian, and the elaborate gates at Attaleia, Phaselis, Perge and Ephesus,[525] built to welcome the Emperor Hadrian during his visits in the 120s.[526]

Since, city gates were not solely utilitarian, they were often adorned with iconographic elements, such as statues, inscriptions, and reliefs, celebrating the city's history, achievements, and importance. In this way, they served as landmarks, leaving a lasting impression on both residents and visitors and fostering a sense of civic pride and belonging.

[523] Thomas 2007, 111.

[524] Thomas 2007, 111.

[525] For detailed and updated information about the gates in Anatolia, see H. M. Özgen. (2009). *Anadolu'da Roma Dönemi Takları ve Tak Biçimli Kent Kapıları* (Publication No. 262850) [Doctoral Dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. The distinction between "tak" and "kapı" is more distinct in the Turkish language.

[526] Thomas 2007, 153.

To reiterate, city gates were not just practical structures of passage; they were hubs of social interaction. People congregated around city gates, engaging in commerce, socialising, and participating in various events. Hence, city gates were essential not only for controlling traffic but also for fostering community life. [527]

Most of the Roman city gates have not survived today. A notable exception, however, is the *Porta Nigra* in Trier, Germany (Fig. 76).[528] Dating back to the second century, the *Porta Nigra*, which means 'Black Gate' in Latin, is a well-preserved Roman city gate.[529] Its enduring presence is a testament to its robust construction and its strategic importance in the ancient Roman city of *Augusta Treverorum*, today's Trier. The gate's survival may be due to its adaptive reuse over the centuries, as it was converted into a church in the Middle Ages, saving it from destruction. Another example is the Clock Tower (*Tour de l'Horloge à Sélestat),* one of the gates of the rampart, in the medieval town of Sélestat. Sélestat (Lower-Rhine, France) is an example of architectural conservation and adaptation, capturing the essence of medieval urbanism in a contemporary setting. The Clocktower, was originally built as a defence tower, and now embodies the historical history of the city while at the same time accommodating modern foot and vehicle transport (Fig. 77). A symbol of the town's enduring vitality and cultural heritage, this architectural transition represents the dynamic evolution of Sélestat, where medieval structures are seamlessly integrated with contemporary urban functions.

Within the urban fabric of Trier and Sélestat, the gate and the clock tower are tangible reminders of the cities past, underlining the link between architectural continuity and cultural identity.

In sum, city gates were integrated into the overall urban layout through serving as crucial focal points, marking transitions between different areas within the city and

[527] Thomas 2007, 111; 153.

[528] The double-arched gate, crowned by a two-storey gallery and framed by twin towers, one of which rises three storeys on the west side. Spanning between the outer and inner gates, the structure defines a rectangular courtyard open to the sky and the outer gate has only a metal portcullis and no swinging door. Yegül & Favro 2019, 828-9.

[529] Thomas 2007, 111; See also UNESCO World Heritage Convention. (2024). *Roman Monuments, Cathedral of St Peter and Church of Our Lady in Trier*. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/367

contributing to the creation of urban hierarchies. Their location and design were carefully considered to enhance the visual appearance of the city. They were carefully designed with architectural significance and served as official entrances to the city. In keeping with these functions, they often featured grand and monumental structures with spacious ground-level passages and rooms above.

Roman ceremonial gates in Anatolia and triumphal arches in Rome and elsewhere were not only conspicuous but left a lasting impact on the urban landscapes. Their architectural forms, inscriptions, and iconographic elements conveyed messages of power, pride, and identity. Some of these structures continue to stand today as landmarks of antiquity, while later arches built after the 17th century, such as the L'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile,[530] Wellington Arch,[531] and Brandenburg Gate,[532] were inspired by their Roman predecessors, highlighting the enduring influence of Roman architecture on modern city planning and design.

As already mentioned, specifically triumphal arches are few in Asia Minor. Instead, ceremonial gates were built usually in honour of the emperor's visits. Imperial visits and resulting privileges led to fierce rivalry between cities. Two ceremonial arches, functioning as "gates," one in Attaleia (Antalya) and the other in Ephesus are highlighted as a focus in this study. Both date from the reign of Hadrian, as

[530] The Arc, a neoclassical monument in Paris, France, was commissioned by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1805 to commemorate French Revolutionary and Napoleonic war heroes. It stands at the western end of the Champs-Élysées and was completed in 1836. It is decorated with elaborate reliefs and sculptures representing historical and military scenes. A symbol of French national pride, the monumental arch is 50 metres high. Beneath it is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier from the First World War. Visitors can climb to the top for a panoramic view of Paris and its twelve star-shaped avenues. The Arc remains a prominent landmark and continues to host various national events.

[531] Constructed in the early 19th century, this arch commemorates the Duke of Wellington's victory over Napoleon. The Arch reflects the neoclassical style inspired by ancient Roman arches and was built in 1825-27. It was originally designed as the outer entrance to Buckingham Palace. The original design was never completed, the Arch was at first located opposite the Hyde Park and then moved to its present position in the 1880s and the Quadriga sculpture which now crowns the Arch.

[532] This iconic gate is a symbol of unity and peace. It was built at the end of the 18th century. Designed specifically on the model of the Propylaea in Athens, it blends neoclassical and baroque architectural elements and is reminiscent of Roman triumphal arches. It consists of 12 Doric columns giving access to five portals. Unfortunately, the gate was damaged during the Second World War and was a symbol of the division of Germany. In 1961, the Berlin Wall was built, and the gate became inaccessible. After the reunification of East and West Berlin, the gate was reopened on 22 December 1989. The Gate is therefore a memorial to both the division and reunification of Germany.

outstanding representatives of connection and passage within their respective armatures while commemorating the visit of the Emperor Hadrian. From a geographical point of view, both Attaleia, located in Pamphylia, and Ephesus, in the Roman province of Asia, underwent comparable urban transformations that were characteristic of Roman port cities during the imperial period. Roman rule in these two cities followed the death of Attalus III of Pergamum in 133 BCE and led to their incorporation into the expanding Roman Empire. Both cities boast gates with three passageways although articulated differently. A notable difference between the two, concerns their after-lives. Hadrian's Gate in Antalya has a significant place in the modern urban landscape. The restored gate has been seamlessly integrated into the contemporary urban plan and context, occupying a prominent and busy position in the collective memory of the city. As a central transit point and marker between the modern city and the historic 'old city' district known as Kaleiçi, meaning 'inner part of the fortress', Hadrian's Gate retains its function as a transitional gateway (Fig. 78). Located in the most touristic old part of Antalya today, it is commonly known as the 'Triple Gate' or 'Üç Kapılar' by the locals.[533]

In contrast to Antalya, Hadrian's Gate in Ephesus is located within an enclosed area of the ancient city which is an archaeological site. Rising at the intersection of the terrace houses, the *Embolos* and the Celsus Library quarter, the gate (Fig. 79), has historical and cultural significance within the wider context of the site. Yet, the space surrounding the structure and individual interaction with it are constrained by the designated time and route for visiting today. Although Hadrian's Gate is located within a protected heritage site that can be explored for a museum fee, its current state of preservation and regulated viewing does not fully reveal its original design and structural features. Nevertheless, by visitors to the site today the gate is recognised as an important node of the Roman city. It stands as a preserved testimony within the ancient city of Ephesus, which was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2015.

[533] Antalya is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Türkiye. According to the Antalya Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism, the number of tourists who visited the city by air between 1 January and 22 August 2023 increased by 20% compared to 2022 and reached 10 million 64 thousand 782.

CHAPTER V

ATTALEIA

5.1. Historical Background

> Adalia is beautifully situated round a small harbour; the streets appear to rise behind each other like the seats of a theatre; and on the level summit of the hill, the city is enclosed by a ditch, a double wall, and a series of square towers, about fifty yards asunder.[534]

According to the findings in the nearby Kuruçay Cave, Höyücek Cave, Bademağacı Cave, Karain Cave[535] (Fig. 80), Karataş Cave, Öküzini Cave, Belbaşı Cave, Çarkini Cave and Beldibi Cave, the settlement of Pamphylia, where Antalya is located, dates to prehistoric times. The results of the archaeological research carried out at these sites extend the history of Antalya and the surrounding region back to the latter half of the Palaeolithic period, up to 8000 BCE. [536]

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[534] F. Beaufort. (1817). *Karamania, or A brief description of the south coast of Asia-Minor and of the remains of antiquity: With plans, views, &c. collected during a survey of that coast, under the orders of the Lords commissioners of the Admiralty, in the years 1811-1812.* R. Hunter, p. 111. "Adalia" is one of the ancient names of Antalya. W. M. Leake (1824). *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, Oxford University. p. 193: The names Adalia and Satalia, which are used by the Turks and the Italians respectively, have their roots in Greek forms. Adalia derives directly from the Greek name, specifically from the nominative or accusative case that the Greeks commonly used to refer to the city itself. Satalia, on the other hand, is derived from the genitive case. This is probably the form most often heard by Italian navigators when the Greeks spoke of the gulf or port. It is the difference in accent between the Greek genitive and the nominative or accusative that explains the difference in pronunciation between the two modern names. In particular, the Turkish name Adalia is very similar to the Greek form. The only change is that the Turks have hardened the 'tt' into a 'd'.

[535] R. Tekoğlu. (2010). Prehistorya'dan Tarihi Dönemlere Kadar Antalya Bölgesi. *Dünden Bugüne Antalya Dergi*, T.C. Antalya Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 78- 85. p. 78. Karain Cave, dating back some 500,000 years, is recognised as one of the earliest known human settlements in Anatolia.

[536] For detailed information about the prehistoric settlement, see R. Duru. (2008). *MÖ 8000'den MÖ 2000'e Burdur-Antalya Bölgesi'nin Altıbin Yılı*, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü Monografi Dizisi: 4. İ. K. Kökten. (1958). Tarsus-Antalya Arası Sahil Şeriti Üzerinde ve Antalya Bölgesinde Yapılan Tarihöncesi Araştırmaları. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*(11), 10-19. p. 10. Tekoğlu 2010, 79. Ö. Kurt. (2010). *Kaleiçi'nin (Antalya) Kuruluşundan 16. Yüzyila Kadar Mekânsal Değişimi* (Publication No. 274386) [Master's Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi]. p. 11.

On the other hand, the area known today as Kaleiçi (Old Town), where the first settlement in Antalya was established, probably dates back to around 300 BCE, which is quite late compared to some of the neighbouring ancient cities such as Perge, Side, Phaselis, Magydos, Aspendos and Termessos.[537]

The region came under the control of the Arzawa kingdom for some time during the 2nd millennium BCE and it was also occasionally allied with the Hittites. Following the collapse of the Arzawa kingdom, there was a period of uncertainty, and the region came under the rule of Lydians and later conquered by the Persians around the mid-6th century BCE.[538]

Groups such as the Achaeans migrated east, following the coastal regions of Anatolia, in the movements known as the "Aegean Migrations" from the 12th century BCE. The Antalya region would have been conquered and named "Pamphylia" by various Greek tribes, known as "Aeolians" and "Ionians" in western Anatolia, according to the extent of Pamphylia."[539]

With Alexander the Great's conquest of Anatolia in 324 BCE, the region entered a new era of increased maritime trade and prosperity under the Seleucids and their successors.[540] This period of growth and expansion in trade culminated in considerable wealth for the region. In the late classical and early Hellenistic periods, Antalya would have become a new settlement for groups seeking easier access to the sea, possibly by redirecting waterways and organising the harbour area for settlement.

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[537] B. Varkıvanç. (2010). "Selçuklu Öncesi Dönemi Antalyası ve Kaleiçi" *Dünden Bugüne Antalya* Dergi, T.C. Antalya Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 96-102. p. 96.

[538] Kurt 2010, 11.

[539] The ancient region in Asia Minor neighbouring Lycia, Pisidia, and Cilicia. See G. E. Bean. (1968). *Turkey's Southern Shore: An Archaeological Guide*. Benn. p. 22: Pamphylia stands out among the regions of Asia Minor for its Greek name, which translates as "land of all tribes." While it is reasonable to assume that this name reflects the diverse population of settlers, Greek tradition often involves creating eponymous founders. Some suggest that the name Pamphylia was given by Mopsus in honour of either his daughter, Pamphylia, or his half-sister Pamphyle. E. Memiş. (2019). Ege Göçleri'nin Tetiklediği Diğer Göç Hareketlerine Kısa Bir Bakış. *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi, 7(19),* 148-162. Kurt 2010, 11.

[540] A. H. M. Jones. (1971). *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Second ed.). Clarendon Press. pp. 124-29.

According to K. G. von Lanckoroński,[541] the remains of the possible pre-settlement in Attaleia could only be discovered through excavations around the harbour area.[542] Based on recent archaeological studies, this view has been found to be incomplete. Strabo's account, mentioning the presence of a settlement before the urbanisation of Attaleia in the 2nd century BCE, has been confirmed with the discovery of the area known as the Eastern Terminal (*Doğu Garajı Mevkii*) and the nearby necropolis dating back to the late 4th century BCE.[543] The first excavations in the eastern necropolis area of the museum were carried out in 1980 during the rescue excavations of the Halk Pazarı site. In this area, which is close to Hadrian's Gate, ten simple tombs and a vaulted tomb chamber were discovered. Furthermore, a well-made stone coffin, and some burial objects dating to the late Roman and early Byzantine eras were discovered beneath the marble base of a church apse with a mosaic floor. [544]

18 tombs cut into the rock were unearthed during the subsequent excavations, including those conducted at the Eastern Terminal necropolis between 1998–1999, which have revealed valuable insights into the history of Antalya. The tombs uncovered in the excavations of the area[545] suggest that the earliest settlement was probably established at Kaleiçi. Today the area known as Doğu Garajı is being

[541] In 1882, K. G. von Lanckoroński participated in and co-funded the first scientific archaeological expedition to Lycia, led by the Austrian archaeologist Otto Benndorf. The expedition focused on research in Lycia and Antalya (formerly Adalia) and included such eminent figures as the anthropologist Felix von Luschan and the painter Leopold Bara. Lanckoroński's involvement continued when he visited Cilicia and Antalya again in March 1883. Lanckoroński organised and financed another archaeological expedition to Anatolia in September 1884. This expedition included prominent scholars such as Felix Luschan, Marian Sokołowski, George Niemann, Eugen Petersen and Wilhelm von Hartel, as well as photographers and artists such as Moritz Hartel, Johann Georg Wasmuth and Jacek Malczewski, a long-time friend and patron of Lanckoroński. The results of the expedition were published in a comprehensive two-volume book entitled *The Cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia ("Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens")*, which is available in German, French and Polish.

[542] K. Lanckoroński, G. Niemann & E. A. H. Petersen. (1890). *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*. F. Tempsky. p. 13.

[543] Kurt 2010, 13.

[544] For detailed information about the excavations see F. Büyükyörük & C. Tibet. (2000). 1998-1999 Yılı Antalya Doğu Nekropolü Kurtarma Kazıları. *Adalya IV*, 1999-2000, 115-173: Antalya lacks extensive remains from its early settlements. Therefore, the importance of the tombs has increased as they shed light on the identities, beliefs, burial traditions, cultures and architectural styles of the ancient population, thus contributing significantly to our understanding of the history of the region.

[545] Büyükyörük & Tibet 2000, 115-173.

transferred to a museum and was opened as the "Antalya Nekropol Müzesi" in the last quarter of 2023 (Fig. 81).

Korykos, a small settlement around the harbour, and later Attaleia, marked Antalya's first urban settlements.[546] Although it is now difficult to pinpoint the exact boundaries of this ancient settlement,[547] the early settlement probably extended eastwards to the area of the Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque, Yivli Minare and what are now recognised as Mermerli (Fig. 82) and Tophane terraces.[548]As a result of the political situation in ancient times, the city probably had defensive structures such as tower jetties for the protection of the harbour. The presence of rock steps to the south of the entrance to the harbour, known as Kırk Merdiven, suggests that there were different access points from the settlement to the harbour. There is little information about the nature and structure of the settlement of the harbour. There is only a possible agora and small courtyard houses within the city walls.[549] However, urban remains of that period gradually disappeared or were obscured by the development of later periods.

Attaleia's strategic importance in Pamphylia increased despite its swampy and difficult terrain mainly due to its incorporation into the powerful kingdom of Pergamon around the middle of the 2nd century BCE. Named after its founder, Attalus II Philadelphus,[550] (Fig. 83) the city's development was driven by its strategic location, which facilitated trade and military access to the eastern

[546] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

[547] The urban layout of the Hellenistic period is not easy to predict without archaeological excavations. However, based on the topographical features of the city, some assumptions can be made.

[548] Varkıvanç 2010, 96-7. Kurt 2010, 54-5.

[549] Varkıvanç 2010, 96-7.

[550] In 190 BCE the Seleucid king Antiochus was defeated by the Romans near Side, which led to the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE, that ceded Antalya and its surroundings to the Pergamum Kingdom, an ally of Rome. Varkıvanç 2010, 98: According to the founding myth of the city, Attalus II ordered his men to find heaven on earth. Pergamum's history as an independent political entity ended when Attalus III Philometor Euergetes (Loving-his-mother Benefactor) bequeathed it to the Romans. The city, named after its founder, is referred to in various sources as Atalia, Adalia, Satalia, Antaliyye, and Adalya.

Mediterranean, particularly through its natural and sheltered harbour.[551] Reconstruction of the harbour and the convergence of roads linking the regions of Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia increased the city's importance in terms of regional trade and military activities.

According to recent archaeological studies, the settlement was expanded to the south and east of the city and the agora and other structures were built, in parallel with the expansion of the urban fabric.[552] It is likely that the presence of L-shaped spaces in the eastern and southern parts of the settlement corresponds to the construction of buildings that may have been part of the agora in the mid-second century BCE.[553] These structures were the earliest architectural remains from this period. Following a Hellenistic urban layout, it is possible to conceptualise the settlement on Korykos as an acropolis.[554] The inner walls, starting from Kırk Merdiven serving as the entrance to the city, were repaired during the Byzantine and Seljuk periods, probably continued as the walls up to the castle gate, forming the southern boundary of the acropolis. The robust fortifications of the Hellenistic period, remnants of which can be found south of Mermerli Terası, suggest the presence of a theatre due to the limited suitable space in the area, alongside public buildings such as the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* adjacent to the agora, and possibly temples nearby.[555]

While there is little archaeological evidence of this period, the presence of a temple, perhaps dedicated to Athena, the goddess of the city, is suggested by findings in the area of the Kesik Minare (Fig. 84), such as doric column capitals and architectural fragments.[556] As a port city, Antalya must have had at least one temple dedicated to Poseidon, the god of the sea. The discovery of coins depicting Poseidon suggests that

[551] C. Bosch & S. Atlan. (1957). *Pamphylia Tarihine Dair Tetkikler: Studien zur Geschichte Pamphyliens.* Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. p. 6.

[552] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

[553] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

[554] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

[555] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

[556] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

this could have been the case. It is reasonable to assume that the religious landscape of Antalya included places of worship dedicated to deities such as Zeus and others worshipped in the region and the kingdom of Pergamon, although comprehensive evidence is scant.[557]

The city was a naval base, and a trade route through Çubuk and Yenice Straits.[558] After the fall of the Kingdom of Pergamum in 133 BCE, the city came under Roman rule and Attaleia was under the command of the Roman Commander Servilius Isauricus[559] in 77 BCE. Although Attaleia was not an official Roman colony, there were many citizens with Italian descent.[560] The rise of the colonial settlement of the wealthy settlers with commercial background had begun after the colonisation programme of Gaius Gracchus[561] and Attaleia became a centre where Roman soldiers were settled by Emperor Augustus.[562]

Administratively speaking, Vespasian established the imperial province of 'Lycia and Pamphylia' in the second half of the 1st century, which was temporarily changed to a senatorial province during the reign of Hadrian.[563] In order to regulate the economic status of Bithynia, this provincial arrangement was introduced, and 'Lycia and

[557] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

[558] Ö. Yağcı. (2009). Antalya Tarihi Kent Merkezi Gelişim Süreci. Planlama, *TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Yayını, 2009/2 Sayı:46*. 31-51. p. 32. See also A. Alpan. (2013). *Urban Restructuring Process of Antalya Walled-Town and The Roles of Stakeholders* (Publication No. 385114) [Doctoral Dissertation, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi.

[559] H. Ormerod. (1922). The Campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the Pirates. *Journal of Roman Studies, 12*, 35-56.

[560] A. J. N. Wilson. (1966). *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*. Manchester University Press; Barnes & Noble. p. 139 ff. ; R. Syme. (1937). *Pamphylia from Augustus to Vespasian. Klio, 30*(30). 227-231.; B. Lewick. (1967). *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*. Clarendon Press. 56 ff.

[561] F. F. Abbott. (1915). The Colonizing Policy of the Romans from 123 to 31 B. C. *Classical Philology, 10*(4), 365–380.

[562] Bean 1968, 21.

[563] Erdem 1995, 50; A. Kalınbayrak. (2011). *Elite Benefaction in Roman Asia Minor: The Case of Plancia Magna in Perge*. (Publication No. 300655) [Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p. 52. After Augustus, the administrative structure of the provinces is regulated as imperial and senatorial provinces.

Pamphylia' was once again returned to the imperial provincial structure after the economic situation in Bithynia had improved.[564] The cities of Pamphylia prospered mainly due to their trading facilities and connections with the Mediterranean trade routes.

Today, some portions of the city walls are still extant. The eastern wall starts from the tower in the Tea Garden opposite the present İmaret Camii, runs along Atatürk Caddesi and joins the Hıdırlık Kulesi east of Karaalioğlu Park. Continuing east of the Clock Tower, the wall, supported by towers, extends northwest, passes through Mehmetçik Park opposite the Ordu Evi and joins the harbour, encircling the city.[565]

These extant walls, along with iconic landmarks such as Hadrian's Gate (Fig. 85) and Hıdırlık Kulesi (Fig. 86)[566] and offer a material testimony and invaluable insight into the region's historical narrative. They were preserved due to defensive measures taken during the early Byzantine period, by integrating them into the city's defensive system.

Among remains of Antalya's architectural heritage, especially Hadrian's Gate brings to mind the city's local and imperial status as well as its connection with neighbouring regions in the Roman era. The gate was built to honour the visits of the Emperor Hadrian in times of peace and served symbolic and visual purposes. Hadrian's travels to Asia Minor were part of his broader interest in visiting various provinces of the Roman Empire. These visits led to the production of inscriptions and commemorative monuments, highlighting the record of the emperor's presence and contributions while providing valuable. These inscriptions and monuments can provide valuable historical testimony into the local context and Hadrian's policies.

[564] Cassius Dio 69 14.4.

[565] Yağcı 2009, 33. Süer, A. (2006). *The Analysis of Historical / Cultural Pattern Development and Conservation Plans of Antalya Kaleiçi* (Publication No. 183474) [Master's Thesis İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsüsü]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. Pp. 32-52.

[566] Kurt 2010, 82-5. Extensive research by architect Şebnem Alp has cleared up misconceptions and provided detailed documentation for the restoration and reinforcement of these historic structures. See Ş. Alp. (2005). *Hıdırlık Kulesi Antalya'da Bir Anıt Mezar Arkeolojisi, Rölöve-Restitüsyon-Restorasyon Projeler* (Publication No. 206210) [Master's Thesis, Akdeniz Üniversitesi]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi.

Despite changes over time and considerable damage at different times, substantial efforts of restoration in the 1960s have preserved the historical essence of Hadrian's Gate.[567] The restoration report and protocol prepared by archaeologist Mahmut Akok, Chief Architect Mustafa Ayaşlıoğlu, and Museum Director İsmet Ebcioğlu reveal the meticulous and careful restoration of Hadrian's Gate.[568]

Far less conspicuous than Hadrian's Gate, the agora is partially preserved in the area of Kesik Minare, is a reflection of the public spaces and monumental structures of the city during the Roman period. Despite its later transformation into a mosque complex and subsequent damage, remains of steps, column bases and architectural blocks testify to the original grandeur of the agora. Despite its current dilapidated state, these architectural fragments, sculptures, and various inscriptions around the agora underline its importance as a centre of civic life and honour. One inscription found on a stone architrave atop a collapsed tower located about 15 meters beyond the start of the defence wall in Antalya Castle. Other inscribed blocks with similar inscriptions were found on the right and left sides, all bearing a dedication inscription in three rows. If the completion of the first row is accurate, the building was dedicated to three rulers of the Flavian dynasty: Vespasian (69-79), Titus (79-81), and Domitian (81-96), with Vespasian posthumously referred to as *Divus*. The building was likely a city gate.[569]

By the 3rd century Attaleia had become a full colony of Rome and by 315 CE Pamphylia had become an independent province.[570] Significant cultural, religious, and structural changes took place in Antalya during the Byzantine period, mainly due to the recognition of Christianity as a legal religion within the Roman Empire from the early 4th century CE. This led to profound cultural changes, including the banning of ancient cults by the end of the same century, mirroring developments throughout

[567] For details of the report see Akok, M. (1970). Antalya Şehri İçindeki Hadriyan Kapısının Mimari Kuruluşu ve Restorasyonu. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi 1970 XIX*-I, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 37-54.

[568] Translation of the report in English is added as Appendix: Using different terminologies such as Hadrian's Gate (Hadriyan Kapısı), Triumphal Arch of Hadrian (Hadriyan Şeref Takı) and Triumphal Entrance (Şeref Girişi) in the report leads to conceptual confusion.

[569] Bosch, Atlan 1947, 90.

[570] Bosch 1957, 47.

the Roman Empire. These changes were also reflected in the physical morphology of Attaleia, particularly in its defensive fortifications such as the city walls. At the time of the Arab and Persian invasions in the early Byzantine period, Attaleia became a settlement area for some groups fleeing from the larger cities such as Perge and Termessos. As a result, the defensive system of the city was expanded especially in the eastern and southern parts, with the addition of an inner and outer wall system, fortified by a water-filled ditch between them.[571] In addition, the city underwent significant structural changes to increase security and to meet the changing needs of the population during periods of significant migration. While Hıdırlık Kulesi retained its defensive function, Hadrian's Gate changed from a monumental gate built during the peacetime of the Roman Empire to a closed structure during the defensive periods of the Byzantine era.

In the 11th century, Antalya came under the rule of the Seljuk Turks and was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in the 13th century. The Seljuk and Ottoman periods witnessed further architectural development with the construction of mosques, medreses (religious schools) and caravanserais. During the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, several churches in Antalya were converted into mosques. One of the notable examples is the Panagia Church,[572] originally built in the early Byzantine era at the southwest corner of the agora and later known as Kesik Minare. The construction of this structure was only possible by utilising the widest available public space in the city and at the same time respecting the boundaries of the agora so as not to lose any space.[573] As a result, the traditional east-west orientation was abandoned. The structure underwent alterations and modifications to its upper covering, resulting in changes to its original design. Originally, it had the dimensions and five naves that it has today, with the addition of a cross-plan structure at the north-western entrance in the mid-Byzantine period.[574] It is almost impossible to find

[571] Varkıvanç 2010, 99-102.

[572] Located around the Sakarya and Hesapçı Sokak in old town. For a detailed analysis of the church, see M. H. Balance. (1955). Cumanin Cami'i at Antalya: A Byzantine Church. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 23, 99–114.

[573] Varkıvanç 2010, 99-102.

[574] Varkıvanç 2010, 99-102.

original materials throughout the building, except for the early Byzantine capitals. A large number of high-quality blocks from the Hellenistic and Roman periods were used in the construction. Until the addition of a minaret in the 16th century, the construction of a mihrab in the apse and the raising of the ground floor, which transformed it into a mosque, the building continued to serve its original purpose despite the Seljuk conquest in the 13th century. Today, Kesik Minare has been restored and opened to public as a mosque. Among the notable monuments of the Byzantine period is Yivli Minare, which stands as a testament to the city's Byzantine and Ottoman heritage (Fig. 87).

In the 1880s, after centuries of neglect and partial demolition, the central passage of Hadrian's Gate was reopened, albeit with structural modifications that replaced the original column-supported consoles with quadrangular pillars (Fig.88).[575] The following decades posed a major conservation challenge due to the increasing destruction, which culminated in the 1930s. Starting from 1958, however, systematic excavations and repairs exposed the original structure and supporting elements of the gate (Fig. 89).

From the 20th century onwards, Antalya experienced rapid urbanisation and became a prominent tourist destination. The city's historical sites, including Hadrian's Gate and the Antalya Museum, continue to attract visitors interested in its rich heritage. The tourism sector has played an important role in the city's economy, contributing to infrastructure development and cultural exchange. Today, Antalya continues to develop as a cosmopolitan city, preserving its ancient roots while embracing modernity and innovation.

Following general information on the settlement history of Antalya, the following sections will provide a comprehensive treatment of Hadrian's Gate, including its historical context, significance in the historiography of the city, and the architectural refinements that define this iconic landmark as a repository of memory.

[575] Lanckoroński 1890, 22; Fig. 11.

5.2. Hadrian's Gate

> The town is nevertheless very attractive, with its picturesque little harbour, at the foot of the cliffs, the narrow streets, and houses in the old part inside the walls, the new area, numerous Seljuk and Ottoman monuments, which survive more or less intact, and not least the mountains of Lycia across the bay.
>
> The city was from the first encircled by a fortification-wall; the original Hellenistic structure was much altered in Roman times, in early in the tenth century was reinforced by a second wall; and inscription recording this is in the entire museum. Under Turkish occupation it was further altered and repaired, and much of it has now totally disappeared. Pre-Turkish work is best seen in a number of towers and especially in Hadrian's Gate.[576]

Between the 2nd and 4th centuries, Attaleia developed rapidly, becoming more prosperous and experiencing intense urbanisation, similar to other Roman cities of the period. Following the extensive settlement, another fortification wall was built in addition to the existing inner fortifications. As the venue of one of the outstanding Roman imperial visits in Asia Minor, the city also welcomed Emperor Hadrian and the second century marks the construction of Hadrian's Gate.

Hadrian's Gate, more popularly known as Üç Kapılar (Triple Gates) or Çiçekli Kapı (Gate with Flowers), today is located to the west of the Karakaş Camii on Atatürk Caddesi today connects to Hesapçı Sokak in Kaleiçi.[577] This street, starting from Hadrian's Gate and extending westwards, ends on the steep slope leading to the sea with Hıdırlık Kulesi, defining a major axe of the city since the Roman period (Fig. 90).[578] The gate is called Üç Kapılar literal in reference to the visual architectural elements of the structure with three passageways[579] while the area around it is known as the Üç Kapılar District. In fact, when asking a person about the first impression of Emperor Hadrian's architectural legacy in Türkiye, it is likely that "Hadrian's Gate" in Antalya would immediately come to mind. As such, the gate continues to reflect the memory of the Roman emperor's visit.

[576] Bean 1968, 42.

[577] Antalya Kaleiçi was declared as a protected area by *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu* (Supreme Council of Antiquities and Monuments) in 1972 due to its unique urban texture.

[578] Starting from Cumhuriyet Meydanı and parallel to the city walls, the street continues as Atatürk Caddesi in the Üç Kapılar district.

[579] See Erdem 1995.

As already mentioned, the city's land walls, which were restored several times during the Byzantine, [580] Seljuk and Ottoman periods, contribute significantly to the city's historical and architectural heritage (Fig. 91). Of particular note is the fact that the land and sea walls surrounding Hadrian's Gate played a crucial role in preserving this symbolic structure until the 20th century (Fig. 92). Thus, they not only provided defensive fortifications, but also contributed to the longevity and structural integrity of the gate over the centuries.

Ancient local gratitude of the people on the occasion of Emperor Hadrian's visit is reflected in an inscription on the pedestal of the statue which is placed in the garden of Antalya Archaeological Museum. The inscription, deciphered in the 1940s, provides valuable information: *Son of Divus Traianus Particus, son of Divus Nerva. Grandson, Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus. Olympius, guardian of the Oikumene and the people (whom they honour).* [581] It has been noticed that the inventory number of the inscription has changed according to the reference published by Bosch in 1940s. Ö. Kurt quoted Bosch's reference in his master's thesis.[582] Yet, the most recent information is that given by N. Gökalp in her doctoral dissertation published in 2008. In this chapter, the reference is made according to the inscription and inventory number corresponding to the artefact in the Antalya Archaeological Museum. (Fig. 93).

As Hadrian pursued a peaceful policy and did not have the military honours of his predecessor Trajan, ceremonial arches commemorating him in Asia Minor are not

[580] Following the extensive settlement during the Roman era, another fortification wall was built in addition to the existing inner fortifications in the city.

[581] E. Bosch, S. Atlan. (1947). Antalya Kitabeleri. *Belleten, C. XI*, S. 41, 87-126.pp.89-90. Inventory Number 410, on a pedestal. The dimensions are; height 0.87 m., width 0.68 m., depth 0.75 m., with letter height of 3 cm. *Oikumene* means the civilised part of the land suitable for settlement, that is, the world of culture. The inscription with up-to-date and correct inventory number is currently on display in the garden of the Antalya Archaeological Museum and studied by N. Gökalp in her doctoral dissertation: N. Gökalp. (2008). *Attaleia Kent Tarihi ve Yazıt Korpusu* (Publication No. 229325) [Doctoral Dissertation, Akdeniz Üniversitesi]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p.70: The inscription with the inventory no. 358. was deciphered again as "*Rahmetli Traianus Parthicus'un oğlu, rahmetli Nerva'nın torunu, İmparator, Caesar, Traianus Hadrianus Augustus Olympios'u, insanlık aleminin kurtarıcısını Danışma ve Halk meclisleri (heykelini diktirerek onurlandırdı*.)".

[582] Kurt 2010, 85.

triumphal in nature.[583] Rather, monumental gateways became symbols of representation of local autonomy and civil benefaction in the 2nd century.[584] Thus, the gate in Antalya does not have the implications of the well-known triumphal arches in Rome. Contrary to the imperial architectural style, as Smith and Thomas point out, the characteristics of the local urban architecture were articulated along with the gates in the ancient cities of Attaleia, Perge and Phaselis.[585]

5.2.1. Literary Testimony

Travel-writing also provides information about the region, which was apparently a popular destination for travellers. Some of these accounts include information about the gate, while others do not mention it at all.

The travelogue of Evliya Çelebi did not highlight information about Hadrian's Gate during his visit to Attaleia in 1671. Considering what Evliya Çelebi had to say about Antalya can be argued that this visit was a turning point in the documentation of the city's defences and gates. Four gates of the city are mentioned, one of which leads to the outer suburbs (Varoş Kapısı), noting that there is no gate that opens onto the land. He also mentioned that the other three gates serve the port side.[586] However, Evliya Çelebi could not see Hadrian's Gate, one of the main entrances to the city (Eastern Gate), because it was completely blocked by the towers.

Corneille Le Bruyn (Bruyen) did not see Hadrian's Gate during his visit in 1698. Instead, he noted the presence of two entrance gates, one facing the land and the

[583] Smith 1981, 206.

[584] Rather than triumphal reference, the gates at the entrance of cities reflect local civic values and tradition. Smith 1981, 206; Thomas, 2007, 110; Akok 1970, 39. Hadrian's Gate between the two towers has similar features with the gates in Perge and Antioch of Pisidia.

[585] Smith 1981, 207; Thomas 2007, 110. According to Smith, the gates in Attaleia, Perge and Phaselis are the outstanding examples of the Pamphylian group.

[586] Evliya Çelebi designates "Varoş Kapısı" ("Suburban Gate") as the only land entrance. Evliya Çelebi. (2011). *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*. (S. A. Kahraman, Ed.). Vol. 9, Kütahya, Manisa, İzmir, Antalya, Karaman, Adana, Halep, Şam, Kudüs, Mekke, Medine. Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık Ticaret ve Sanayi A.Ş. pp. 310-11.

other the sea.[587] The castle gate he mentioned could be "Varoş Kapısı." [588] General Kohler, who arrived in 1800, also did not observe Hadrian's Gate. However, in 1809, Consul Corancez provided a description of the gate based on his observations. According to him, four columns were also preserved in the part of the wall opposite the gardens, between the land and sea gates. They were part of a triumphal arch (*arc de triomphe*) like the one in Latakié.[589] However, only the part of the monument that was aligned with the wall has survived. The rest was destroyed.[590]

A detailed view of Hadrian's Gate is given by Sir Francis Beaufort, who travelled along the southern coast of Asia Minor in 1812. He describes an opening in the surrounding wall, which had been blocked up, but which had once been a magnificent gateway.[591] According to Beaufort, the gate had two floors, the first of which had been found intact in the 19th century.[592] He also mentions the remains of fourteen columns, the uppermost of which were of Corinthian order, showing the architectural elegance of the gate, [593] while adding that the gate was not part of a defensive circuit at the time of its original construction and lost its basic function and appearance with the construction of a wall in the early Byzantine period, which most likely had a defensive function. [594]

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[587] Cornelis de Bruyn. (1732). *Voyages De Corneille Le Bruyn Au Levant: C'est-à-dire, dans les Principaux endroits de l'Asie Mineure, Dans les Isles de Chio, Rhodes, Chypre, &c. ; De même que dans les plus considérables Villes d'Egypte, Syrie, & Terre Sainte* (Band 2): Den Haag. p. 522.

[588] C. C. Sönmez. (2009). *Antalya Kenti Kalesi'nin Tarihi; Burçlar Kapılar ve Sur Duvarları.* Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi Yayınları. p. 141.

[589] It is interesting that the "triumphal arch" is used indiscriminately here.

[590] Louis-Alexandre-Olivier de Corancez. (1816). *Itinéraire d'une partie peu connue de l'Asie mineure, contenant la description des régions septentrionales de la Syrie...* [par L.-A.-O. Corancez] Paris. pp. 388-89. Sönmez 2009, 141.

[591] Beaufort 1817, 120.

[592] F. Beaufort speculated on the existence of a second inscription on the building. Beaufort's remote observations, combined with other reports, contributed to the prevailing belief that the building had two levels, supported by the presence of two plinths.

[593] Beaufort 1817, 120. The term "gateway" is used to describe Hadrian's Gate.

[594] For more in-depth analysis of Hadrian's Gate in Antalya, see F. Okatan. (2004). *Attaleia Kent Kapıları* (Publication No. 144150) [Master's Thesis, Akdeniz Üniversitesi]. p. 12. As already mentioned, Hadrian's Gate was not originally part of a defensive circuit when it was built in the second century. However, its function and appearance changed over time, particularly with the construction of a defensive wall in the early Byzantine period. This change probably altered the

Another record about the gate is provided by William Martin Leake in 1824. Leake mentioned that the physical structures, such as walls, fortifications, "magnificent gate or triumphal arch" dedicated to Hadrian, an aqueduct, various sculptures and architectural remains, inscribed marbles scattered throughout the city, a former Episcopal church now used as a mosque, European coats of arms displayed on the church and the city walls, and the continued presence of the Bishopric of Attaleia with Adalia as its seat, all serve as unmistakable evidence of Adalia's historical identity.[595]

During his visit in 1830s, C. Texier did not provide any additional information about the gate. He claims that when Beaufort first visited the city, he saw several remains of antiquity: a triumphal arch and Corinthian columns; a frieze inscribed with Hadrian's name.[596]

On the other hand, no records of the gate are provided by some of the travellers who visited the region including C. Fellows (1838), Sr. Bourtales (1843), and E. Sperling (1862). Yet, both E. J. Davis and J. Seiff include descriptions related to Hadrian's Gate.[597] Davis produced copies of some ancient inscriptions (Fig. 94). He also mentions the remains of a very beautifully carved white marble gateway indicating that a large part of it seems to be embedded in the wall - the wall may have been built under and around it at a later date.[598] According to Seiff, there are no significant antiquities in the city, but there are fragments of antiquity that have been incorporated into the houses, some of which are quite well built. These may also be

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original purpose and appearance of the gate, bringing it more in line with the defensive structures typical of the period.

[595] Leake 1824, 193: The description of the gate is referred to as a "gate or triumphal arch." Gezginlerin Gözüyle Antalya Sergisi, Koç Üniversitesi Suna & İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi (AKMED), https://akmed.ku.edu.tr/kaleici-muzesi/sergiler/gezginlerin-gozuyle-antalya/william-martin-leake/.

[596] C. Texier. (1862). *Asie Mineure: description geographique, historique et archeologique des provinces et des villes de la chersonnése d'Asie*. p. 706: The reference to the gate is made as '*arc de triomphe*.'

[597] Sönmez 2009, 141.

[598] E. J. Davis. (1874). *Anatolica; or the journal of a visit to some of the ancient ruined cities of Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pisidia*. Grant & Co. pp. 211-5.

seen in the construction of the old, but not ancient, walls that surround the city, along with the ramparts and the moat. Significantly, Seiff specifically mentions there are even the richly decorated remains of a "triumphal arch or gate" in the northern part of these walls.[599] There are also several stone blocks with Greek inscriptions.[600]

> …a Greek sarcophagus with reliefs that have made the moisture and mutilation of human hands almost unrecognisable serves as a fountain basin, and Roman columns are built into the front of a Turkish school building, taken from some temple or triumphal arch. Here an inscription in marble with beautifully carved Arabic letters and there a small stone lion in relief, reminiscent of Persian and Assyrian art, tell of the vanished glory of the Seljuk Empire, but above this gate we see another lion over a chessboard, the crest of some crusader. There is a Byzantine church, now a mosque, with remarkably fine window frames, an Arab gate whose ornamentation rivals that of Cairo, a Roman round tower in the style of the tomb of Cecilia Metella, and slender minarets like those in Konya. But the most significant is a magnificent Roman gate from the time of Hadrian, recently rediscovered.[601]

The quote reveals that detailed factual information of the multi-layered city can be reached in the research notes and drawings made by K. G. von Lanckoroński and his companions in 1884.[602] According to Lanckoroński, the first storey of the gate was found partially preserved *in situ* with some modifications dating from the Byzantine period. The first illustrations of the gate, which Frothingham[603] called the "memorial arch", were made by G. Niemann (Fig. 95).[604] Lanckoroński noted that among the ancient buildings of Adalia, the three-arched gate on the eastern side of the city, wedged between two towers, one of which is known as the Tower of Julia Sancta, is remarkable. It probably once formed one of the main entrances to the fortified city, while today, several metres high in the rubble, it can only be seen from outside and is blocked from inside. The gate is in relatively good condition because for a long time

[599] J. Seiff. (1875). *Reisen in der Asiatischen Türkei*. Leipzig. p. 482: The description about the gate is made "Triumphbogens or Thores."

[600] Seiff 1875, 482.

[601] Lanckoroński, Niemann & Petersen 1890, IX.

[602] Lanckoroński, Niemann & Petersen 1890, 20 f.

[603] Frothingham 1904, 24; Güven 1986, 106.

[604] Lanckoroński, 1890, 20 (Figure 8), 23 (Figure 11). G. Niemann was the companion of Lanckoroński during the visit. The illustration of the gate on Plate V (Figure 8) shows the state of the gate immediately after it was uncovered; it was not until 1884 that the somewhat ungainly pillars were erected to support the two projecting central architraves.

it was covered by an outer wall. It was only a few years ago that a breach was made in the wall at this point.[605]

Lanckoroński, shows Hadrian's Gate in a plan of the city's fortifications (Fig. 96). This plan reveals some similarities with Evliya Çelebi's description of the gates.

> There is a small bay near the innermost corner of the large bay, open to the south-east. This south-west facing bay is formed by the right-angled junction of the north and east coastlines behind the travertine terrace which juts out to the south. At the junction of the steep angle, the terrace steps forward towards the sea, separating the east and the flat coastline at the foot of the steep slopes to the north. This is where Antalya is located.
>
> On the eastern shore are modest shipyards, while the northern shore is occupied by customs, the Ottoman Bank, agencies, warehouses, cafes, and some other buildings. From the side of the aforementioned protruding cliff, stairs lead up to the centre of the city.[606]

Based on von Lanckoroński's observations and subsequent detailed analyses since the 19th century, it is possible to imagine continuities in the role of Hadrian's Gate in history and collective memory of the city.

Ernst Krickl arrived in Antalya in 1892 and in his *Lycian Journal 1892* he included two photographs of the gate on one side of the monumental gate which is described as "the so-called Hadrian's Gate in Adalia with its perfect proportions and magnificent contours" [607] (Fig. 97). According to Krickl's handwritten notes "the columns have disappeared and been replaced by pillars of masonry that support the remaining balks." Most of the residents are Greek artisans and craftsmen. "The facial and physical features of the men and women can be said to be rather handsome. We meet the *mutesarif*'s son and secretary."[608]

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[605] Lanckoroński, 1890, 20.

[606] Lanckoroński 1890, 7.

[607] E. Krickl. (2005). *Lycian Journal 1892* (N. Başgelen, Ed., Z. İlkgelen, F. D. Öztürk, M. Işın, M. Çakmak & B. Hirscel, Trans.). Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları and Suna ve İnan Kıraç Vakfı. (Original work published in 1892). pp. 173 (Picture 14); 175 (Picture 15). Sönmez 2009, 141. "Hadriantor" is used as a terminology for describing the gate.

[608] Krickl 1892/2005, 173. Lanckoroński's and Krickl's notes on the pillars of the gate are similar.

Italian archaeologists Pace and Moretti came to Antalya in 1921 at the time Antalya was under Italian occupation. They analysed the city and Moretti published an extensive account about Hadrian's Gate in *La Porta Di Adriano in Adalia* (Fig. 98). In this detailed excavation, the archaeologists reached down to the ground level, and found columns and pillars and walls that closed between the base and the pedestal, and in the inner part they discovered a mosaic, and also a floor slab (Fig. 99).[609] It was discovered that the structure had a different function during the Byzantine period.[610] The front part of the gate and the part between the column and the vault were covered by a wall. At the rear, the passageway is said to have been used as a room for a sanctuary.[611]

It is very interesting to note that there is no clear agreement on the use of terminology to define 'Hadrian Kapısı' as a 'gate' or an 'arch'. In the past and even today, the terminology "Triumphal Arch" has been used in some dissertations or studies written in Turkish. [612] Even in some studies it is still referred to 'Hadrian Takı' (Tak = Arch)'.

From another perspective, travellers who visited Antalya in the past also used different terminologies: gate, triumphal arch and gateway. However, the terminology of triumphal arch has lost its triumphal character in the Turkish language and is more commonly used as 'tak'.

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[609] G. Moretti. (1926) La porta Di Adriano In Adalia. *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente, vol. 6-7*, 1923-1924 (1926) 453-478. p. 464; Akok 1970, 37.

[610] Akok 1970, 37.

[611] Akok 1970, 38. Akok states that according to the field work in 1958, the missing parts of the structure were completed and reinforced. A drilling study was carried out to determine the foundations. Some different views were derived from Lanckoroński. The sanctuary designed with the rooms was dissolved after the Byzantine era and the gateways returned to its main function. In addition to some findings unearthed from the internal facade such as column base, postament; a part of the structure similar to a memorial tomb made up of freestone was recorded. Erdem 1995, 50.

[612] Erdem 1995, 50 (Hadrian Kapısı), Okatan 2004, 40 (Hadrianus Takı); N Gökalp 2008, 6 (Hadrianus Takı); Gülbay 2009, 51 (Kent Propylonu), Kurt 2010, 85 (Hadrianus Kapısı); Özgen 2009, 49 (Hadrianus Takı); Argın 2012, 90 (Hadrianus Gate); Alpan 2013, 25 (Hadrian's Gate); A. Aşınmaz (2015). *Antalya Kent Merkezi'nin Arkeolojik Haritası ve Lokalizasyon Sorunları* (Publication No. 496186) [Master's Thesis, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p. 39 (Hadrianus Takı and Hadrianus Kapısı); G. Ç. Başok. (2016). *Conservation History of Cultural Heritage in Kaleiçi District in Antalya* (From The 20th Century to Present Day) (Publication No. 442152) [Doctoral Dissertation, Middle East Technical University] Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p. 231 (Hadrianus Gate); Akşar 2019, 165 (Hadrianus Kapısı).

5.2.2. Restoration and Context

The relationship between the main function and spatial interaction of the gate has been brought to light by the restoration project carried out by M. Akok and M. Ayaşlıoğlu with the approval of General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Education in 1958.[613] Extensive restoration work was carried out extensively to uncover buried parts of the gate, including column bases, vaults, and structural components. These excavations contributed to the understanding of the original construction techniques and materials used in the construction of the gate. Structural surveys were carried out to assess the condition of the monument and identify areas in need of repair, reinforcement, or reconstruction. This analysis guided the restoration team in formulating an effective restoration plan. The restoration project prioritised the conservation of original architectural elements such as column capitals, ornamental details, and inscriptions. Special care was taken to replicate missing components using appropriate materials and craftsmanship techniques to match the original design. Missing or damaged sections of the monument, including column foundations, vaults, and arches were reconstructed using historical references and archaeological evidence. Reinforcement methods, such as wooden supports and iron brackets, were used to ensure the structural stability of the restored elements. The restoration works also focused on improving the aesthetic appeal of the monument while maintaining its historical authenticity. Unsightly nearby buildings and structures were removed, and landscaping improvements were made to complement the restored monument. Regular maintenance was incorporated into the restoration plan to ensure the longevity and integrity of the restored structure. Conservation measures were implemented to protect the monument from environmental factors and natural wear and tear over time.[614]

In 1997 architect F. Aktan documented the condition of Hadrian's Gate as part of the restoration project prepared by Ministry of Culture and Tourism General Directorate

[613] According to Akok (1970, 37) they were only able to reach the part of the structure and its base slab that the Italians had referred to. Okatan 2004, 13.

[614] Akok 1970, 37-53.

of Monuments and Museums, Antalya Directorate of Surveying and Monuments, and in this context the need for both consolidation work on the architecture of the arch and excavation work around it became apparent (Figs. 100, 101, 102, 103).[615]

The missing second floor of the gate, proposed by Beaufort on the basis of his observations, has not been the focus of archaeological research and findings to date.[616] More recently, Fulya Okatan made an in-depth documentary study about the gate and opposed the hypothetical second storey in her unpublished master's thesis.[617] The most updated study on the gate itself and the walls is by master architect C. C. Sönmez (2008).

Today, the central arch of Hadrian's Gate is preserved as a passageway between Atatürk Caddesi and Kaleiçi district. Although used as a passageway, as it was at the time of its construction, the gate is accessed by a staircase for descent and transition to Kaleiçi. After passing through a gate overlooking Atatürk Caddesi, visitors can follow the narrow streets of Kaleiçi or Hesapçı Sokak to reach the panoramic view of the sea, where Kesik Minare stands on the left and Hıdırlık Kulesi on the right.

Within the scope of renovation projects in 2006, Hesapçı Sokak in Kaleiçi was renovated on the initiative of Antalya Metropolitan Municipality.[618] As part of the Hesapçı Sokak organisation and renovation project, Hesapçı Sokak, which is 650

[615] With the courtesy of F. Aktan. (1997). *Antalya Surları Hadrian Kapısı Rölöve ve Restorasyon Projesi Raporu*.

[616] Akok 1970, 39. On the upper floor, there were fragments similar to the column or statue bases on the two sides near the towers. Akok stated that there was no further information about the second floor of the gate, but an assumption based on an analogy could be suggested.

[617] V. İdil. (1989). Anadolu'da Roma İmparatorluk Devri Zafer Takları. In N. Başgelen and M. Lugal (Eds.), *Festschrift für Jale İnan*, (pp. 351-62). Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. p. 357: V. İdil mentioned that architectural fragments reveal that the arch in Perge was also two-storeyed like Hadrian's Gate in Antalya. A more thorough study led by architect Fulya Okatan, however, challenged this prevailing belief for the second floor of the gate. Okatan's study focused on technical evidence, such as traces indicating the presence of a second level, as well as an analysis of the original blocks and the reused foundations during the fortification. This meticulous study concluded that the structure was originally built as a single-storey building. For more in-depth analysis of Hadrian's Gate in Antalya, see Okatan 2004.

[618] Tabak İnşaat (2006). *Kaleiçi Hesapçı Sokak Düzenleme Yenileme Projesi*. TABAK İNŞAAT >> kentsel tasarım (tabakinsaat.com)

metres long and has an area of around 6,200 square metres, was closed to vehicular traffic and pedestrianised.[619] As part of the project, the entrance to Hadrian's Gate was also renovated (Fig. 104). The excavations provided some information about the ancient settlement area where the colonnaded street was located 1.40m below the surface pavement. Since it was found that the ancient road was paved with travertine blocks, the travertine with softened corners was selected, and its slipperiness and cut marks were removed by aging with sandblasting.

Only a few years ago, a small bridge with a convex surface and a thick tempered glass, supported by a chrome steel structure, was placed over the original pavements of the central lane of the gate (Fig. 105). It was assumed that the aim of this intervention was to preserve the original pavements, especially those where chariot tracks are still visible. The design of the glass panelled bridge in a convex shape allowing observation of the original pavements below,[620] was intended for conservation. Nevertheless, standing water due to potentially dysfunctional drainage channels and the minimal height of the bridge above the central pavement impeded the ventilation of the material, resulting in heavy moss growth during periods of use. This situation posed a major challenge to the conservation of one of the most invaluable features of the gate[621] and this bridge was later removed.

Hadrian's Gate remains below today's ground level, and when one reaches the beginning of the stairs, all three passages of the gate can be seen. Otherwise, walking along Atatürk Caddesi and Işıklar Caddesi decorated with contemporary architecture on a wide pedestrian way, a person without any prior knowledge of the gate suddenly encounters an impressive structure from the Roman era, somehow hidden between the city walls, alongside various buildings. Similar to its historical background, today the gate is situated as one of the junction points of the most visited ancient settlement. While walking around the gate, one can even notice accommodations

[619] G. Argın. (2012). *Changing Sense of Place in Historic City Centers: The Case of Antalya Kaleiçi* (Publication No. 318866) [Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. pp. 90-91.

[620] A. Dönmez, H. M. Erdoğan, & M. Yörük. (2018). *Kaleiçi'ndeki Hadrianus Taki: Kentsel Arkeoloji Bağlaminda Bir Değerlendirme*. Uluslararası Antalya Kongresi, 598-612. p. 603.

[621] Dönmez, Erdoğan, & Yörük 2018, 603.

bearing the name of Hadrian or “Üç Kapılar.” The name of the gate as "Üç Kapılar" or Hadrian's Gate as a marker also indicates the historical tram station (Fig. 106), PTT (post office) branches or bank, tax office (Fig. 107),[622] taxi stand (Fig. 108), restaurants (Fig. 109), pharmacy (Fig. 110) , hotels (Fig. 111), and advertisements (Fig. 112) named with name of the gate.

Today, the path from Hadrian’s Gate to the seafront does not resemble the path taken in the second century. There is no doubt that since the period of Hadrian, the route from the gate to the coast has changed. As compared to the density of structures in the old town today, the path from gate to the shore would have been more direct in the second century. Nowadays, the route from the entrance of the gate winds through old town's streets (Fig. 113).[623] This lively route is composed of Ottoman-era mansions, many of which are now boutique hotels, restaurants, and shops. On the route, Kesik Minare also attracts attention, which was built as a Roman temple, then converted into a church during Byzantine period and later into a mosque during the Ottoman era. While approaching the seashore, Hıdırlık Kulesi, comes into view which was dates to the 2nd century. Excavations around continue today. While the basic direction remains the same, urban development and changes in the coastline have altered the landscape. Recent archaeological discoveries beneath modern structures highlight the continuity of history, with layers of ancient ruins still being uncovered. Remains of buildings and roads surrounding and beneath the Ruin Adalia Hotel indicate that this location was in fact a part of the larger urban plan linked to the Hadrian's Gate axis.[624] Also some ruins can be seen under Alp Paşa Hotel and vicinities.

As an outstanding structure in the memory of the city and its inhabitants, Hadrian’s Gate captures the past and present memory. The gate is still the most important meeting point as ceremonies for special celebrations and commemorations start and end. In 2023, during the celebrations of the centenary of the Republic of Türkiye,

[622] Antalya Vergi Dairesi Başkanlığı, Üçkapılar Vergi Dairesi Müdürlüğü (June, 21 2024). https://ant-vdb.gib.gov.tr/vergi-dairesi-mudurlukleri

[623] Map of Muratpaşa Belediyesi, Antalya https://muratpasa-bld.gov.tr/Uploads/muratpasaharita.pdf

[624] NTV (2021, November 11). *Antalya'da altında 2 bin yıllık tarih yatan otel*. https://www.ntv.com.tr/galeri/sanat/antalyada-altinda-2-bin-yillik-tarih-yatan-otel,rVEThBNqskWpfDPPN4Bb8Q/LMVLOARljkWrvoKwC7UZOQ

Hadrian's Gate was decorated with red and white Turkish flags, illuminated as an important landmark during the Kaleiçi Festival, which lasted for several days. Throughout the festival, concerts were held in the area on the side of Hadrian's Gate facing Atatürk Street, as if walking on the route defined by Muratpaşa Municipality locals and foreign visitors, entertainment groups, official representatives, tourists and public participating in the celebrations met at Hadrian's Gate (Fig. 114).

5.2.3 Architectural Elements: Design, Style, Context

Situated at the entrance of the city, the gate connected the town to the most important cities of antiquity; Pamphylia, Perge, Aspendos, Sillyon and Side. In this respect, the remains of the slabs under the arch of Hadrian, particularly the wheel ruts below the central vault (Fig. 115), attest to the busy traffic route through the city.

The gateway with three arches was built in white marble[625] and would have been visible from the seashore. Facades identical at the front and back had a lively architectural style decorated with pillars, pedestals and projecting brackets on the high base displaying Attic-Ionian features. One of the main features of Hadrian's Gate that distinguishes it from other gates in Asia Minor and Rome is that the projecting architraves on the front and rear facades are set at an unusual distance from the structure (Fig. 116).[626]

The gate is situated between the two rectangular towers of rusticated masonry dating from different periods.[627] As Thomas mentions, "the gate is structurally secondary to the tower, they were probably all built as part of a single complex."[628] The southern tower, which currently stands on the left of Atatürk Caddesi, dates to the Roman era.

[625] Lanckoroński 1890, 21. The column capitals are made up of white marble, only the columns are granite.

[626] During the Hadrian's period, columns were often used as decorative elements in architraves to support the massive volume of the structure rather than to create space. This practice, seen in the form of tabernacles, was widespread in various Roman structures, some examples of which are the Ephesus Celsus Library, the Side Nymphaeum and the Aspendos Theatre.

[627] Thomas 2007, 110.

[628] Thomas 2007, 110.

This tower is most probably not adjacent to the gate. The tower holds a stone inscription of Julia Sancta,[629] daughter of the Roman governor, who commemorated the tower (Fig. 117).[630] Regarding the name of the benefactress, the tower is called "Tower of Julia Sancta." The northern tower was rebuilt by the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I, who reigned Antalya in 13th century and the tower holds an inscription in Arabic[631] (Fig. 118). Only the lower part of the tower is from the Roman period.

Hadrian's Gate has three openings. Typically, the central or main gate of a triumphal arch or *propylon* is designed to be higher than the other openings, but the three openings of Hadrian's Gate are the same height. All three are vaulted[632] and supported by four pillars on a base. On either side of these pillars are the 1.50 m wide and the 1.18 m wide pillars. Their total width, including the bases, is 2.09 m, the depth of the pillars is 3.54 m and the vault measures 4.44 m, including the bases. The first vault measures 4.13 metres from the piers, the second vault 4.14 metres and the third vault 4.11 metres. The span between the two towers is therefore 17.75 metres. The total width between the bases supporting the piers is 3.24 metres. [633]

Each elevation has eight unfluted columns repeated on both sides[634] which are 4.95 metres high, supported with projections engaged with free-standing columns on pedestals.[635] The column bases are 1.05 m in front of and 1.05 m behind the piers, stand at the level of the central axes of the piers. The columns have composite

[629] M. T. Boatwright. (1991). The Imperial Women of the Early Second Century A.C. *The American Journal of Philology, 112*(4), 513–540. p. 528.

[630] Lanckoroński 1890, 11. L. Yılmaz & K. Tuzcu. (2010). *Antalya'da Türk Dönemi Kitabeleri*, SOTA Türkistan ve Azerbaycan Araştırma Merkezi. pp. 23-6. Bosch, Atlan 1947, 123.

[631] Yılmaz & Tuzcu 2010, 23-6.

[632] Güven 1983, 36. Lanckoroński 1890, 11. The height of the gate is 8.035 metres with 4.15 metres wide openings and height of 6.18 metres.

[633] Okatan 2004, 14.

[634] Akok 1970, 39: On each elevation, there are eight columns on the central axis of the pillars at the centre and at the corners with an interval of 2.27 m.

[635] Thomas 2007, 110. Lanckoroński 1890, 21: The height of the column with base without plinth and with the capital is 4.94 metres, the lower diameter is 0.51 metres; the entablature is 1.28 metres high, it has a high architrave, low frieze with scrolls and dentil cornice.

capitals with Attic bases.[636] Only one column on the northwest with its capital is *in situ* (Fig. 119). The columns reach a total height of 7.08 m on a 0.475 m high base, a 1.55 m high pedestal, a 0.20 m high plinth and a 0.28 m high Attica-ion type column base and all the bases are *in situ*.[637]

The vaults supported by the piers each consist of three vault blocks. The interior surfaces of these vaults are further articulated with floral and rosette reliefs in the cassettes (Fig. 120).[638] The cassettes are slightly recessed and the rosettes and flowers in each field are different.[639] The brackets which are the first blocks on the console, have no cassettes on their undersides, while the intermediate architectural blocks are arranged in three or two rows, each with two or three cassettes on its underside, throughout the depth of the vault.[640] This can be seen most clearly in the third vault, the underside of which is in its original state (Fig. 121). In this vault, on the axis of the arch, there are three blocks, each with two cassettes on the underside. In total, there are twenty-seven blocks with cassettes and six blocks without cassettes in the second vault. In the first vault, thirty-eight cassettes remain intact, the rest having been completed during the restoration. The central vault has been completely restored to its original form. (Fig. 122).[641]

According to Güven, the local baroque ornament is reflected on the cornice, coffers, springers, and the band of voussoirs.[642] Also, the brackets with no corresponding

[636] Güven 1983, 36; Lanckoroński 1890, 20 f. L. Vandeput, (1997). *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor: Sagalassos: A Case Study* (M. Waelkens, Ed.), Brepols. p. 78: "Composite capitals of the same general design as those at Sagalassos are known from Hadrian's Gate at Attaleia and from the lower storey of the columned facade of the *Bouleuterion* at Iasos, dating from the first half of the 2nd century AD. However, the beads of the bead-and-real above the flutes in Sagalassos are spherical, in Iasos and Attaleia they are oval or slightly elongated, corresponding to the intermediate leaves of the egg and tongue above."

[637] Okatan 2004, 15.

[638] Lanckoroński 1890, 22.

[639] Lanckoroński 1890, 21.

[640] Okatan 2004, 15.

[641] Okatan 2004, 15; Kurt 2010, 86.

[642] Güven 1983, 36; Lanckoroński 1890, 21.

capitals created a depth effect. The frieze blocks are decorated with beads and egg motives.[643] The architrave is carved with beads and Ionic *kymathion* and the frieze belt is embellished with an acanthus border. The Ionic *kymathion* is also seen at the crowning frieze and above this order there is a palmette line on the entablature with lion head gutters also have a different character.[644] Projecting brackets have egg and *lesbos kymathion* mouldings.[645]

The entablature over the four columns on the outer facade of the gate holds blocks with inscriptions which are not *in situ*.[646] The text above the structure dedicated the structure to Hadrian Olympius by the *Boule* and *Demos*, while the gilded bronze letters on the architrave attested the individual dedication of the gate.[647] Lanckoroński claims that the gate is dedicated to the Emperor and to the hometown, similar to many other contemporary buildings (Fig. 123).[648] Regarding the notes of Beaufort, the inscriptions which could only be viewed by the pocket telescope due to intervening ditch and the outer wall (Fig. 124).[649] Some of the letters, which are now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, spell 'Traiano' in Greek, marking Hadrian as

[643] Lanckoroński 1890, 23. Vandeput 1997, 66: "As mentioned, the eggs and tongues under the sima of the cornices of the Temple of Antoninus Pius are slightly rounded, as are those on the architraves of Hadrian's Gate at Attaleia. Therefore, it seems that many monuments in Asia Minor, such as the Traineion and the Monopteros at Pergamon and the Library at Ephesos, have the "lighter" egg and tongue on the less visible blocks. This is also the case with the Temple of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos."

[644] Lanckoroński 1890, 21.

[645] Erdem 1995, 52; Akok 1970, 40.

[646] Beaufort 1817, 120 -1.

[647] Lanckoroński 1890, p. 155-6 (figs. 106-107): Some of the gilded letters are under the private collection in Berlin and Wien; some are preserved in British Museum, London and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Lanckoroński noted that an inscription in gilded bronze, consisting of a single line of letters, spans the three arches of Hadrian's Gate. However, this inscription is different from the previous one and the letters were rapidly dispersed. In 1885, they were found under the ruins of a house that had burned down. Beaufort and Borrel did not see the inscription in their time, but it was recently uncovered when the wall dated Turkish period collapsed. The inscription according to Figure 106 is as follows: Two of the letters are in Berlin, while nine is in Vienna. Other letters discovered by Niemann are as follows: 1 (3 pieces), 4, 6, 7, 13 and 3, 8, 9 are in Oxford Ashmolean Museum. Numbers 3, 5 and 8 are in private collections in Berlin and Vienna. Sönmez 2009, 14; Akok 1970, p. 39: There is an inscription in bronze letters on the large flat surface at the top of the arches overlooking the city. Some of the traces of these letters can still be seen today. There is a palmet frieze and an ornamental soffit above this area and an arrangement of an Attic row is visible at the top.

[648] Lanckoroński, 1890, 12.

[649] Beaufort 1817, 120 -1.

the adopted son and heir of the preceding emperor Trajan. (Fig. 125).[650] Unfortunately, as there are no remaining letters, only the holes of the letters are visible today through the front of the gate.[651]

Overall, as Lanckoroński also notes, the effect of the gate is rich and effective. He added that the structure was buried several metres deep, so in order to determine the height of the pillars and the shape of their base, a hole was dug next to the northern pillar down to the level of the original floor. In both cases, the stability of the upright pillar mentioned above prevented further excavation to determine whether, as he had assumed, the base of the pillar really had the same cornice as the pillars.

The gates built in nearby cities to honour Emperor Hadrian's imperial visits to Asia Minor at a similar period display similar architectural features. In this respect, the gates in Attaleia and Perge are notable as both consist of three archways, projecting columns and entablatures.[652]

The two-tiered gateway with three arches in Perge (Fig. 126) was commissioned by Plancia Magna (Fig. 127), a local dignitary, daughter of Plancius Varus, Governor of Bithynia.[653] So, the Hellenistic horseshoe-shaped inner courtyard was reconstructed in 120-122 CE, and the gate was located at the north of the Hellenistic towers[654] and decorated with the statues of mythical founders of the cities, gods, Roman emperors and empresses.[655] Today, only four of the pylons remain *in situ*.

According to Thomas, there was a similar pattern observed in the remnants in Side (Fig. 128). The gate (Main Gate) situated "behind the Hellenistic towered gate, a

[650] With the courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

[651] A replica of the inscription can be prepared, considering the holes of the letters that form the inscription. The description of the inscription can be placed at the entrance of the gate with a panel.

[652] Smith 1981, 209. Akurgal 1990, 332; Thomas 2007, 110. As stated in the information board at the site: the gate is mentioned Hadrianus' Arch (Hadrianus Takı).

[653] Thomas 2007, 110. Kalınbayrak 2011, 57-60.

[654] Akurgal 1990, 331.

[655] The statues standing on bases were discovered by Prof. A. Müfid Mansel in the excavations during 1943-1956 and are on exhibition in Antalya Archaeological Museum. The statues include Artemis Pergaea, Tykhe, *Divus* Augustus, *Divus* Nerva, *Divus* Trajan, Hadrian, *Diva* Marciana, Plotina Augusta, *Diva* Matidia, and Sabina Augusta.

horseshoe-shaped courtyard, strengthened in the late 2nd century by inner walls with a tiered structure where niches decoratively enriched with statues and columns." [656]

The next chapter will focus on Hadrian's Gate in Ephesus, an ancient city gate contemporary with that of Attaleia. A comparison of these monumental gateways will unravel not only their physical attributes, but also the symbolic significance they held within the urban landscapes of their time, promising a nuanced exploration of the architectural development and cultural exchanges of the period.

[656] Thomas 2007, 110. Akurgal 1990, 331; Akok 1970, 39: "The Hadrian's Gate, built between two high bastions of 840 x 860 m. in plan and 17.81 m. apart, is fully in keeping with the architectural tradition of Perge and the ancient cities of Pisidian Antioch. Although the architectural principles and inventions of the period are different in each of them, the purpose of their construction is the same."

CHAPTER VI

EPHESUS

6.1. Historical and Architectural Background

> The great beauty of Ephesus can scarcely be exaggerated, surrounded as it is with mountains which, with their broken forms, exhibit in every direction a varied and picturesque sky-line. The numerous quarries, with their upright sides and jagged edges, and the wild, varying coloured vegetation changing with the seasons, add much to the effect of the scene. In the spring of the year the angelica with its bright yellow blossom, covers Mount Coressus, making it most prominent in the landscape from every point of view.[657]

Situated by the Aegean coast of Türkiye, Ephesus (near Selçuk) had a continuous habitation since it was first settled on the Çukurici mound (Höyük) at the mouth of the Caystros River and Meander Valley during the late Chalcolithic period.[658] Ephesus was located in a geopolitical region with its several harbours. However, this favourable geographical location of Ephesus has witnessed the shift of the city and its harbours several times due to changes in the coastline caused by accumulating sediment. (Fig. 129).[659]

During the 2nd millennium BCE, the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus not only emerged as a place of worship, but eventually became one of a religious centre with

[657] J. T. Wood. (1877). *Discoveries at Ephesus*. James R. Osgood and Company. pp. 14-15. J. T. Wood was a British architect and surveyor employed by the Ottoman Railway Company from 1858 for the construction of railway stations between İzmir and Aydın and he was later commissioned by the British Museum to excavate at ancient Ephesus between 1863 and 1874, where he discovered the site of the Temple of Artemis. The excavations at Odeon and the Great Theatre were also his work.

[658] Regarding the evidence of pottery and obsidian found 400 m south of the Magnesian Gate during the excavations in 1995, the settlement dated to at least by the end of 5000 BCE. S. Erdemgil. (2000). History and Research History of Ephesus. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (p.14). Ege Yayınları. See UNESCO World Heritage Convention. (2024). *Ephesus*. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1018/

[659] Austrian Academy of Sciences. Austrian Archaeological Institute (OeAI). (n.d.). *The City of Ephesos From the Late Bronze Age to its Re-Foundation by Lysimachus*. https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/research/historical-archaeology/historical-archaeology-in-the-mediterranean/ephesos-pre-hellenistic-settlement-history

word-known reputation. The sanctuary is located by the south-east of the Ayasuluk Hill by the site of today's well-fortified Seljuk Castle (Fig. 130). Excavations conducted in recent years unearthed some remains that date the local settlement already to the Early Bronze Age.[660] The archaeological record also indicates indigenous settlements, likely to be associated with "Apasa" (the city of the Mother Goddess), the capital of Arzawa, mentioned in Hittite texts.[661] It is likely that the name "Ephesus" is a Hellenised version of "Apasa." [662] Assuming this identification to be of any relevance, a supreme regional power could have existed there which might have been connected to the Hittite Empire. However, in this recognition, early influences from Aegean, Mycenaean or Cretan cultures receive much less notice.[663]

Following Greek settlers the colonisation of the eastern Aegean coast becomes more distinct, particularly in Ionia. [664] The Attic-Ionian colonists chose to settle on Ayasuluk Hill, 1.2 kilometres to the west of the sanctuary of Artemis, at the ancient port of Coressus (Fig. 131).[665] This in turn highlights the historical development of the city, resulting from the amalgamation of the local populations, mythical narratives, and changing influences, which have shaped the rich and diverse heritage of Ephesus.

Leleges and Carians were the first inhabitants of the city.[666] According to the legend, cited by Strabo,[667] the Attic prince Androclus (Fig. 132), one of the sons of King

[660] S. Erdemgil., & M. Büyükkolancı. (1992). 1990 yılı Efes-Ayasuluk Tepesi Prehistorik Kazısı. *XIII Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı II,* (27-31 Mayıs 1991) 265–281. As argued the cult activity in Temple of Artemis was dated to the Late Bronze Age. However, recent studies reveal that some of the findings previously dated to Late Bronze Age belong to the Iron Age. See G. Klebinder-Gauss. (2003). Zwei bronzene Doppeläxte aus dem Artemision von Ephesos. *Österreichische Jahreshefte 72*, 133–40.

[661] S. Mitchell. (1998). Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990-98. *Archaeological Reports*, *45*, 125–192. p. 151. S. Ladstätter, L. Zabrana. (2020). *Ephesus. Bütünüyle Benzersiz Bir Kent*. Aktüel Arkeoloji. https://aktuelarkeoloji.com.tr/kategori/bir-kent/ephesus#google_vignette

[662] Erdemgil 2000, 14.

[663] Ladstätter & Zabrana 2020, *Ephesus. Bütünüyle Benzersiz Bir Kent*. Aktüel Arkeoloji.

[664] Ladstätter & Zabrana 2020.

[665] Akurgal 1990, 142; Knibbe, D. (2000). History and Research History of Ephesus. In P. Scherrer. (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (pp. 15-37). Ege Yayınları, p. 15. The site location is stated as seven *stadia* about 1300 m west of Artemision.

[666] S. Young. (2022). Ephesus And Its Foundation Myth Within the Roman Imperial Cityscape: The Androclus Grave Monument Revisited. In G. R. Tsetskhladze (Ed.), *Ionians in the West and East:*

Codrus, founded the city with the guidance of the oracles at Delphi. According to the oracles, a wild boar and a fish guided the prince to find the new city.[668] The story of this so-called myth was depicted in detail on the friezes of the Temple of Hadrian (Fig. 133) located on the south end of Curetes Street, which leads from the Gate of Hercules to the Library of Celsus.[669] Androclus built the first fortified city on the slopes of Panayırdağ, in a settlement already inhabited by Carians and Leleges, where there was a sanctuary dedicated to Cybele, the Mother Goddess of Asia Minor.[670] Pausanias also mentioned the mythological foundation of the city with Amazons.

Proceedings of the International Conference "Ionians in East and West", Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Empuries, Empuries/L'Escala, Spain, 26-29 October, 2015 (Vol. 27, pp. 215–232). Peeters Publishers. p. 216.

[667] Strabo 14.1.3: "…Androclus, legitimate son of Codrus the king of Athens, was the leader of the Ionian colonization, which was later than the Aeolian, and that he became the founder of Ephesus; and for this reason, it is said, the royal seat of the Ionians was established there." Strabo. (1924). *The Geography of Strabo*. (H. L. Jones, Ed.), Harvard University Press, William Heinemann, Ltd. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-eng1:14.1.3

[668] To challenge his brothers, Androclus decided to found a new city. According to legend, he went to the temple at Delphi to ask the oracle for the best place of the new settlement. The words of the oracle were "a fish and wild boar will lead you to find the place." Androclus sailed to the Aegean coast, and one day, while he was cooking a fish, the flames of fire burned the bushes. A frightened boar ran out of the bushes, and Androclus killed it. Then he remembered the words of the oracle. P. Scherrer. (2014). Hunting the Boar – the Fiction of a Local Past in Foundation Myths of Hellenistic and Roman Cities. In B. Alroth, & C. Scheffer. (Eds.), *Attitudes Towards the Past in Antiquity Creating Identities* (Proceedings of an International Conference held at Stockholm University, 15–17 May 2009), (pp. 113–19). pp. 114-16. C. Habicht. (1984). Pausanias and the Evidence of Inscriptions. *Classical Antiquity*, *3*(1), 40–56. p. 43.

[669] The temple was dedicated to Artemis Ephesia, Emperor Hadrian and to the *demos* of Ephesus by Asiarch Poplius Vedius Antoninus Sabinus. Today, visitors may experience this myth while walking around the vicinities of the restored Temple and visit the remaining parts of the frieze which are on display in Efes Museum, Selçuk. https://muze.gov.tr/s3/MysFileLibrary/2159594b-531c-4867-8862-15d5d0ec5f65.pdf

[670] Strabo 14.1.21: "The city of Ephesus was inhabited both by Carians and Leleges. After Androclus had expelled the greatest part of the inhabitants, he settled his companions about the *Athenæum*, and the *Hypelæum*, and in the mountainous tract at the foot of the Coressus. It was thus inhabited till the time of Crœsus. Afterwards, the inhabitants descended from the mountainous district, and settled about the present temple, and continued there to the time of Alexander. Then Lysimachus built a wall round the present temple, and, perceiving the inhabitants unwilling to remove thither, took advantage of a heavy storm of rain which he saw approaching, and obstructed the drains so as to inundate the city, and the inhabitants were glad to leave it for another place. He called the city Arsinoë, after the name of his wife, but the old name prevailed. A body of elders was enrolled, with whom associated persons were called *Epicleti*, who administered all the affairs of the city." Strabo. (1903). *The Geography of Strabo*. (H.C. Hamilton, Esq., W. Falconer, M.A., Eds.). Three volumes. George Bell & Sons. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-eng2:14.1.21

> But all cities worship Artemis of Ephesos, and individuals hold her in honour above all the gods. The reason, in my view, is the renown of the Amazons, who traditionally dedicated the image, also the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Three other points as well have contributed to her renown, the size of the temple, surpassing all buildings among men, the eminence of the city of the Ephesians and the renown of the goddess who dwells there.[671]

"In the beginning, the city kings ruled the city, followed by the oligarchy of aristocrats and tyrants." [672] Like other Greek cities on the Aegean coast, Ephesus came under the control of barbarian rulers.[673] Cimmerians conquered the city and the sanctuary of Artemis in the 7th century BCE.

After the Ionian migrations, Ephesus played a leading role in the Ionian confederation, consolidating its regional power and influence. It appears that the assimilation of people with different origins became an advantage for Ephesians, helping to grow their wealth and power under the Lydian kings especially during the reign of Croesus.[674]Croesus also added to the fortune of the city, contributing to the construction of the Temple of Artemis (Fig. 134) and the city was enlarged through the resettlement of various groups (*synoikismos*) from all over Ioania in the proximity of the temple.[675] It was the defeat of Croesus by king Cyrus that increased the Persian rule over the Aegean coast. Nevertheless, Ephesus managed to be neutral during the revolt of the Ionian cities against Persians rule during the first half of the

[671] Pausanias 4.31.8: Pausanias. (1918). *Pausanias Description of Greece*. (W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D., and H.A. Ormerod, Trans.), M.A., in 4 Volumes. Harvard University Press, William Heinemann Ltd. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0525.tlg001.perseus-eng1:4.31.8

[672] E. Akurgal. (1990). *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (7th ed.). NET Turistik Yayınlar. p. 142.

[673] Knibbe 2000, 15.

[674] © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman, Registration number, 1872,0405.20. (not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1872-0405-20. An architectural fragment from the temple was found in the British Museum, that is a piece of the column-base made of marble with an inscription in Greek: (Translated as "King Croesus dedicated (this)"). The note on the inscription also states that only a small part of this inscription is displayed. It appears that it was repeated in column inscriptions.

[675] Akurgal 1990, 142. See also Strabo (14.1.21) "It was thus inhabited till the time of Croesus. Afterwards, the inhabitants descended from the mountainous district, and settled about the present temple, and continued there to the time of Alexander." Strabo. (1903). *The Geography of Strabo*. (H.C. Hamilton, Esq., W. Falconer, M.A., Eds.). Three volumes. George Bell & Sons. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from Perseus Digital Library. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-eng2:14.1.21

5th century BCE. Ephesians stayed out of the conflict, which allowed the city not to be destroyed and remain independent until the time of Alexander the Great's arrival in 334 BCE.

In the 3rd century BCE, after the death of Alexander the Great, Lysimachos, one of Alexander's twelve generals, rebuilt the city and the harbour in the valley between the mountains of Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ.[676] The reign of the general (360-281 BCE) was a significant period in the history of Ephesus. The city was moved 2.5 km to the southwest as a new planned city, Arsinoeia was established bearing the name of his wife Arsinoë.[677] The archaeological evidence suggests that the city was not fully designed according to the planned layout with orthogonal streets (Fig. 135).[678] The implementation of this grid plan for the High Hellenistic period is only partly introduced and Curetes Street (Fig. 136) called *Embolos* in ancient times, is one of the three main thoroughfares of Ephesus and is made of marble with an extensive drainage system, did not correspond to the grid system for topographical reasons. Due to the city's demographic structure, the population of the city was made up of people from neighbouring towns including Colophon, Lebedos, and Teos as well as the nearby colony of Artemision.[679] There was also resistance to the resettlement (*synoikismos*).[680]

In addition, there are also remains of the great city wall from the Hellenistic period, which stretches along the hills of Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ (Fig. 137).[681] In the

[676] The ancient names of the mountains: Mount Preon (Bülbüldağ) and Mount Pion (Bülbüldağ).

[677] N. Zimmermann & S Ladstätter. (2011). *Wall Painting in Ephesos from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period*. Ege Yayınları. p. 28. S. Groh. (2006). Neue Forschungen zur Stadtplanung in Ephesos. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 75*(47–116). p. 54. There were a number of possible reasons that led to the establishment to "Arsinoeia." Lysimachos may have wanted to receive independence from the control of the priestesses of the temple and create a counter-force to the powerful sanctuary, while the need to move may have been prompted by worsening living conditions in the area.

[678] Groh 2006, 54.

[679] Knibbe 2000, 20. As indicated, it was not the will of the communities to leave their settled towns.

[680] The old city was left around the Temple of Artemis. Knibbe 2000, p. 20; N. Zimmermann, & S. Ladstätter. (2011). *Wall Painting in Ephesos from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period*. Ege Yayınları, p. 28. Akurgal 1990, 143.

[681] Knibbe 2000, 18.

course of time, the region was incorporated within the rule of Pergamon by Eumenes II and Ephesus became an ally of Rome. Significant architectural and cultural changes took place including development of the harbour initiated by the Pergamene kings. The theatre which was later expanded and remodelled under the Roman rule is also dated to Hellenistic period.

Following the death of Attalus III, the last king of Pergamum, Ephesus was inherited by Rome in 133 BCE.[682] Following the establishment of the province of Asia, Ephesus was given the title of c*ivitas liberae et immunes* (free and immune city).[683] Throughout the 2nd century BCE, Ephesus experienced significant urbanisation due to its cultural and economic role.[684] Rome brought the city various political and economic advantages, the material culture became richer, and the city attracted Italian merchants for settlement. Yet, high Roman taxation made the Ephesians agree to form an eventual alliance with Mithridates VI Eupator king of Pontos against Rome. During Mithridates' rule, there were violent attacks and anti-Roman sentiment, which ended with the brutal results of massacre of Roman people, "*Ephesian Vespers*."[685]As a result of the shift in alliance and Mithridates' defeat, the city was punished, and lost its free status. The political instability between Rome and Ephesus continued for some decades and restoration of Ephesus' independence had to wait until the reign of Publius Servilius Isauricus, around 46-44 BCE.

> Because men addressed him as Augustus in view of his claim to honour they revere him with temples and sacrifices over all the islands and continents, in cities and tribes requiting him for the magnitude of his virtue and his benefactions towards them.[686]

[682] Groh 2006, 73.

[683] For the discussions about cities Greek origin, which were awarded with immunities in Latin terms, see S. Dimitriev. (2017). The Status of Greek Cities in Roman Reception and Adaptation. *Hermes, 145*(2), 195–209. p. 196.

[684] Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 29.

[685] A large number of Ephesians, estimated as 80.000 of people, with Italian origin were murdered. L. Portefaix. (1993). Ancient Ephesus: Processions as Media of Religious and Secular Propaganda. *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis, 15*, 195–210. p. 196.

[686] The provinces honoured Augustus by erecting temples, statues in his lifetime and Greeks pantheonised him as ἰσόθεοι τιμαί *isotheoi timai*, with similar honours to the gods. See Nicholaus of Damascus FGH 90 F 125 in S. R. F. Price. (1980). Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult. *The Journal of Roman Studies, 70*, 28–43. p. 28.

The Augustan period was a milestone for Ephesus, the city turned into a trade centre and acquired political and intellectual value. Its geographical location at the crossroads and the cult of Artemis promoted the sacred and the economic prosperity of the city also within banking facilities of the temple.[687] Henceforth, the capital city of Asia extended by a functioning harbour and road networks and the administrative importance of the city increased the need for public offices and new facilities.

The first century also saw developments in urbanisation and the built environment, still visible today. This led to erection of several honorary monuments along the Curetes Street, including the "Memmius Monument" (Fig. 138)[688] and "Heroon of Androclus" (Fig. 139).[689] As one of the three major throughfares of the city, the Curetes Street was characterised by the presence of *tabernae* (shops), honorary structures/statues, and mosaic floor decorations in its place and well-equipped residential areas. (Fig. 140) The importance of this artery is not only that it forms a link between administrative and trade districts of the city, but also in the processional route taken when the great goddess, Artemis, enters the city. (Fig. 141) The street is an invaluable repository of the city's memories and the evidence of lavishness of the Ephesians for the visitors in ancient times and even today. Archaeological discoveries indicate that the Lower Agora,[690] the (*Tetragonos* Agora), was the primary commercial hub of the city during the late Hellenistic period, while the Upper Agora,[691] the so-called "State Agora" (Fig. 142), functioned as the administrative centre of the city.[692] Although the precise architectural development is still partially unclear, this division emphasizes the separation of civic authority from commercial activities within the city during this period and mirrors the city planning of Ephesus.

[687] Knibbe 2000, 24.

[688] Diana E. E. Kleiner & F. S. Kleiner. (1974). [Review of *Das Monument des C. Memmius*, by W. Alzinger & A. Bammer]. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *78*(3), 312–312. p. 312.

[689] Young 2022, 215–232. From Hadrian's reign onwards, Androclus was depicted on Ephesian coins, see H. Thür. (1995). Der ephesische Ktistes Androklos und (s)ein Heroon am Embolos. *Jahres hefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 64*, 63–103. p. 71.

[690] R. Raja. (2012). *Urban development and regional identity in the Eastern Roman provinces, 50 BC - AD 250: Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Athens, Gerasa*. Museum Tusculanum Press. pp. 72-5.

[691] Raja 2012, 65-71; 216.

[692] Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 30.

> ... to show off a maximum elegance and luxury. Every place is full of gymnasia, fountains, gateways, temples, shops, schools. ... Gifts never stop flowing from you to the cities and because you are impartially generous to all, the leading beneficiaries cannot be determined. Cities shine in radiance and beauty, and the entire countryside is decked out like a pleasure ground.[693]

Lavish donations by private benefactors to Rome and the provinces spread in the territories of the empire and wealthy families were influential in financing grandiose projects contributing to the splendour and functionality of the cities. One notable Ephesian family member, Caius Sextilius Pollio,[694] funded an aqueduct (Fig. 143) with his wife, Ofillia Bassa,[695] and his step son, C. Ofillius Procolus contributed to the stoa basilica in the state agora and a nymphaeum.[696] The stoa basilica was dedicated to "Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius" and the "people of Ephesus" and had an inscription which is one of the few bilingual inscriptions in Ephesus, also reflecting the "primacy of Rome."[697] Two life-size monuments of Augustus and Livia were unearthed at the site.[698]

Another testimony of private donations was a kind of "triumphal arch"[699] funded by two freedmen (*liberti Augusti*), Mazaeus and Mithridates, with its dedication to

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[693] A. Aristides. (1950). *To Rome* (S. Levin, Trans.). The Free Press. pp. 97–99; Yegül and Favro 2019, 601.

[694] Yegül & Favro 2019, 602. Philanthrophy and funding of buildings dedicated to the emperor's family, important historical/cult figures and the *demos* of the city were also traditions of the period. Today, the aqueduct is accessible on the road to Aydın (Tralleis) and Magnesia and it has a dedication inscription in both Greek and Latin.

[695] Representation of women in public building projects in Ephesus was a common practice from the reign of Emperor Augustus until the end of second century with inscriptions depicting women participating in the "construction, dedication and restoration" of buildings. See, G. M. Rogers. (1992). The Constructions of Women at Ephesos. *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik*, *90*, 215–223. p.217 fn. 13.

[696] A. Kalinowski. (2002). The Vedii Antonini: Aspects of Patronage and Benefaction in Second-Century Ephesos. *Phoenix*, *56*(1/2), 109–149. pp. 139-141.

[697] Kalinowski 2002, 139-141. D. Knibbe., & M. Büyükkolancı. (1989). Zur Bauinschrift der Basilica auf dem sog. Staatsmarkt von Ephesos, *ÖJh,59*, 43-45. p.43. J. Süß. (1999). *Kaiserkult und Stadt. Kultstätten für römische Kaiser in Asia und Galatia* [Doctoral Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München]. pp. 33-34.

[698] Kalinowski 2002, 141.

[699] S. Karwiese, P. Scherrer, H. Thür. (2000). The South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (p.138). Ege Yayınları. According to the scholars, the gate is called

"Augustus, Livia, Agrippa, and Julia." [700] The gate formed the south entrance of the Tetragonos Agora since the time of Augustus (Fig. 144).[701]

The material culture demonstrates the traditionalism of the city and influence of Greco-Hellenistic culture. During the period of political instability, there was a minimum level of Roman influence where Ephesus maintained its cultural identity and economic importance in the region. No doubt, the goddess Artemis had an inalienable presence in the urban landscape of Roman Ephesus and the ancient "processional route" ran through the centre of the city which was decorated with funerary and tribute monuments.[702] Copies of the cult statue of Artemis (Fig. 145) were placed in the *Prytaneion*,[703] where sacrificial rituals were performed, highlighting the importance of worship to Artemis and its cultural influence in Ephesus.

Roman state cults also became more important in the Augustan period. The cult of "Divus Julius" and "Dea Roma" reflected the loyalty of provincial cities to the imperial cult and temples were built.[704] During the reign of Tiberius (14-37 CE), the city was hit by a destructive earthquake and the repairs were quicky organised. The visit of Paul the Apostle, led to mention of a substantial Jewish population, which could have provoked the uprising against him.[705] The Flavian period (69-96 CE) continued with grandiose projects financed by private benefactors including the

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triodos in antiquity, and built as a kind of "triumphal arch". Here too, it is interesting that scholars use the term "triumphal arch" generically without specifically triumphal function.

[700] For details of the bi-lingual inscription, see A. S. Graham. (2013). The Word is Not Enough: A New Approach to Assessing Monumental Inscriptions. A Case Study from Roman Ephesos. *American Journal of Archaeology, 117*(3), 383–412. pp. 392-93. Also, here Graham defines the Arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates that "monumental arch resembles a Roman triumphal arch with three entranceways, a triple-fascia architrave, and denticulated cornices".

[701] Karwiese, Scherrer, Thür 2000, 138.

[702] Yegül & Favro 2019, 602.

[703] M. Steskal & S. Ladstätter. (2009). Asia'nın Metropolis'inde Yer Alan Ana Kült Yapısındaki Son Araştırmalar: Ephesos Prytaneion'u. *Anadolu, 35*. 127-49. p.128.

[704] Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 35.

[705] Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 37.

Harbour Baths, Halls of Verulanus[706] and the marble pavement of the Curetes Street.[707] In addition, temples were built as tokens of political influence and loyalty; a "neocorate temple," originally dedicated to Domitian (81-96 CE) and later to the Flavians, which only acquired some religious significance under Domitian's influence, later had more political than religious aims.[708]

Efforts in prestigious urbanisation come to the forefront particularly during the 2nd century. Celsus Library was erected in honour of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (Fig. 146).[709] Tiberius Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus, a Roman senator and consul, financed the structure as a *heroon* dedicated to his father after Celsus's death[710] and a massive sarcophagus was placed beneath the apse at the back (Fig. 147).[711] The library was one of the most impressive buildings of the period and still "one of the most eye-catching funerary monuments of imperial date in Asia Minor."[712]

After its destruction in an earthquake in the 3rd century, it was not restored, and some frieze fragments were reused in a fountain structure.[713] The extensive restoration

[706] H. Thür. (2000b). Harbour Baths and Halls of Verulanus. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (pp. 174-75). Ege Yayınları.

[707] Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 37.

[708] Pierce 1984, 255. Domitian's name and memory was erased from the material culture due to "condemnation of memory" (*damnatio memoriae).*

[709] U. Outschar. (2000a). Celsus Library. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (pp.130-32). Ege Yayınları.

[710] Topal 2020, 125.

[711] A. V. Zadorojnyi. (2013). Libraries and *paideia* in the Second Sophistic: Plutarch and Galen. In J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, & G. Woolf (Eds.), *Ancient Libraries* (pp. 377-400). Cambridge: University Press. p. 385.

[712] M. Steskal. (2011). Wandering Cemeteries: Roman and Late Roman burials in the capital of the province of Asia. In O. Henry (Ed.), *2èmes Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA: Le Mort dans la ville Pratiques, contextes et impacts des inhumations intra-muros en Anatolie, du début de l'Age du Bronze à l'époque romaine*, (pp. 243-57). Institut François d'études Anatoliennes. B. Burrell. (2006). False Fronts: Separating the Aedicular Facade from the Imperial Cult in Roman Asia Minor. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *110*(3), 437–469. Besides their primary functions, both the Celsus Library and the south gate of Tetragonos Agora were burial sites not common within the borders of civil settlement.

[713] Outschar (2000a), 130. The frieze slabs and original statues depicting "*sophia*, a*rete*, *episteme"* and *"ennonia*" are on display at Ephesos Museum in Vienna.

work carried out in the 1970s marked a renaissance for this monumental structure. (Fig. 148).[714]

Overall, Ephesus was a major contender in the on-going competition among the Roman Asian cities, boasting impressive architecture and benefactions of local noble families. Patronage of the latter included public buildings, such as fountains, baths and the hosting traditional gladiatorial games. These wealthy families were often Greek in origin, but well connected with Rome.

During the reign of Hadrian (117-138 CE), Ephesus was granted permission to build a second temple for the imperial cult (*neocoros*), probably in connection with the emperor's visit to the city in 129 CE. The temple was dedicated to Emperor Hadrian as "Zeus Olympios," and to be built on a large flood plain near the harbour.[715] It was conspicuous, and the substructure also very large, though not as massive as some others in Cyzicus and Smyrna. It was also well situated, which could be seen from the ships entering the harbour and the temple would have been surrounded by costly monuments. According to Burrell, excessive extravagance of the provinces in Asia Minor is more visible in the number of offerings showing their devotion to Hadrian than "for the emperor's own modesty."[716]

As discussed in the chapter on "Romanisation," it is difficult to make clean-cut distinctions between "Greek" and "Roman" cultural integration and precise degrees of interaction in the provinces of Asia Minor. This is particularly evident in architectural style where stylistic formulation of the southern gate of the lower Agora and the Library of Celsus is not straightforward.

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[714] For restoration see V. M. Strocka, Zur Datierung der Celsusbibliothek. In E. Akurgal. (Ed.). *The proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Ankara-İzmir, 23-30/IX/1973*. Türk Tarih Kurumu. Outschar (2000a), 130: Under the direction of F. Hueber and V.M. Strocka, the library was rebuilt in 1970-78 within the framework of *"anastilosis."* P. Scherrer. (2001). The Historical Topography of Ephesos. In D. Parrish and H. Abbasoğlu (Eds.). *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos, JRA Supplement 45*: 57-87. Thompson-Shore: Celsus generously donated a library to the city of Ephesus during his lifetime, in return for being buried beneath it.

[715] S. Karweise. (2000). Olympeion-Temple of the Emperor Hadrian. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide*. (p.184). Ege Yayınları.

[716] For details of the dedication see Burrell 2003, 44-50.

> If Greek and Roman were polar opposites (and I do not think they were), these monuments at Ephesos would all fall somewhere between the two. The earlier ones, like the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates, are hybrids from which disparate elements can be isolated, but the Library of Celsus is a blended architecture that its viewers probably read, not as "Greek" or "Roman," but as "modern" and "expensive" and "theatrical," its hero as "cultured" and "official" and "important." [717]

Based on the aedicular architecture of the second century, some similarities with the well-known façade of the Library of Celsus could be recognised with the Middle Harbour Gate (Fig. 149) with its projecting entablature and pedestals.[718] It is most likely that the Middle Harbour Gate dated to the period of Hadrian, and three passageways lined up with columns, which no longer exist, have architectural similarities with Hadrian's Gate in Antalya.

As already stated, "armatures" in the ancient city fabric are essential components of civic and cultural interactions. Here in Ephesus too, as notable elements of armatures, the location of ceremonial gates stands out. Hence Hadrian's Gate, one of the impressive structures witnessing the second century of the Celsus Library and Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates overlooked the lively interaction on Marble Street, lying to the east of the Library Quarter and Tetragonos Agora, which was one of the main throughfares of the city and on the route of "Processional Way" during the imperial period[719] and *Embolos*. This three-storey gate, probably dedicated either to Trajan or Hadrian, built to honour the visits of the Emperor Hadrian, was also on the way to Ortygia.

Another richly decorated monument of the period was a temple with the arcuate pediment facing the Curetes Street. This so-called "Temple of Hadrian"[720] was built

[717] B. Burrell. (2009). Reading, Hearing, and Looking at Ephesus. In W. A. Johnson., & H. N. Parker (Eds.), *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome* (pp. 69-95). Oxford University Press. p. 88.

[718] H. Zabehlicky. (2000). Harbour Gates and Quay Structures. In P. Scherrer. (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Ege Yayınları. p. 178.

[719] H. Thür. (2000c). Marble Street. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (pp.156-7). Ege Yayınları.

[720] U. Outschar. (2000b). The Temple of Hadrian. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (p.118). Ege Yayınları.

in Corinthian order, and it was dedicated almost immediately after Hadrian's accession in 118 CE by wealthy Publius Vedius Antonius Sabinus. According to Outschar "private and public attitudes" were represented in the frieze on the lintel with a composition of the legendary foundation myth of Androclus, and goddess Tyche.[721] The statues of tetrarchs were placed on the four pedestals.

Following the 'golden' era in the 2nd century, Ephesus slowly declined after the attack of the Goths and the terrible earthquake of the 3rd century. With the spread of new worship, there was a decline of the Artemis cult and paganism. By the 4th century Christianity was declared the official religion by Theodosius I and began to spread. Thus, Ephesus became a significant place of a new religion, and hosted the 'Third Ecumenical Council' held in 431 CE.

Over the centuries, Ephesus has been under the rule of various powers and the city fell under the influence of the Byzantine Laskarid dynasty in 1206, and nearly a hundred years of peace followed. In the first half of the 14th century, authority was transferred to Turks and the city preserved its trade and enjoyed maritime power.

After abandoned in time, the ruins of buildings provided a source of raw materials to be transferred and reused. The palimpsest of the city today is rooted in a variety of memorial representations, a product of monuments, sanctuaries, ruins, tourists, scholars, inhabitants, and collective wanderers. This feature of "present pasts"[722] of the city of Croesus, Androclus or Lysimachus, provides a trace to be routed with the remains and Temple of Artemis, the House of St. Mary,[723] the Basilica of St. John, İsa Bey Mosque or Seven Sleepers (Fig. 150). For centuries, the multi-layered and thought-provoking site hypnotised pilgrims, scholars, archaeologists, historians, travellers, and tourists. The landscape of Ephesus with Ayasuluk was an attractive destination of travellers who produced travelogues based on their reports and

[721] Outschar (2000b), 118. The pedestals of the tetrarchs are preserved *in situ*.

[722] The title of the book by Andreas Huyssen: A. Huyssen. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford University Press.

[723] The House of St. Mary, located on Bülbüldağ 7 km from Ephesus, is a centre for attraction to Christian pilgrims today.

sketches. Cyriacus of Ancona, one of the travellers, who visited the city in the 15th century copied some of the inscriptions.[724] Evliya Çelebi, briefly described the city and wrote about Ayasuluk Hill in the 17th century indicating that the "castle was built on a rocky slope with no ditch around and has a circumference of 3100 feet."[725] Around the same period, photographic records of Ayasuluk Hill, Temple of Artemis, ruins of the Great Theatre and gymnasium were made by Cornelis de Bruyn (Fig. 151).[726] Other notable visuals of the ruins of Ephesus were from Ernst Krickl who visited Selçuk and the ruins in the 19th century (Fig. 152).[727]

A comprehensive study about the excavations at Ephesus and Temple of Artemis (Fig. 153) was first published by J. T. Wood. He had been commissioned by the Ottoman Railway Company to build the İzmir-Aydın railway stations (Fig. 154),[728] and was successful in making sondages and locating the temple after few years. J.T. Wood continued to work on the excavations at Ephesus between 1869 and 1874.[729] Excavations were carried out mainly around the temple area from 1869 and surveys followed up to 1895 by Austrian scholars.[730]

In 1893, Professor Otto Benndorf initiated a major five-year excavation project in Ephesus. This initiative was expanded to excavate and conserve areas such as the Church of St. Mary, the harbour, Tetragonos Agora and Library of Celsus. These endeavours further supported the establishment of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in 1898.[731] Overall, contemporary excavations exposing all aspects of the city, also covering Ottoman and Selçuk eras.

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[724] Knibbe 2000, 36.

[725] Kahraman 2011, 151-52.

[726] Cornelis de Bruyn. (1732). *Voyages De Corneille Le Bruyn Au Levant: C'est-à-dire, dans les Principaux endroits de l'Asie Mineure, Dans les Isles de Chio, Rhodes, Chypre, &c.; De même que dans les plus considérables Villes d'Egypte, Syrie, & Terre Sainte* (Band 1). Den Haag. pp. 90-96.

[727] Krickl 1892, 46-7.

[728] I. Donkow. (2004). The Ephesus Excavations 1863-1874, in the Light of the Ottoman Legislation on Antiquities. *Anatolian Studies*, *54*, 109–117.

[729] A. Bammer. (1974). Recent Excavations at the Altar of Artemis in Ephesus. *Archaeology*, *27*(3), 202–205. p. 202.

[730] Bammer 1974, 202.

[731] Zimmermann & Ladstätter 2011, 20.

Today, material remains of the archaeological site is rich in the number of restored Roman monuments.[732] Restoration of the terrace houses as of 1980s and the shelter construction turned this place into a museum of the luxurious private life of Romans.[733] Despite some political concerns, periods of wars and suspensions, excavations at Ephesus have continued within the cooperation of Austrian Archaeological Institute for over a hundred years.[734]

6.2. Hadrian's Gate

Gates are among the essential elements of urban planning, symbolising the boundaries of the city through entrances and exits. In Ephesus too, two gates mark the boundaries of the walled city of Lysimachos, which is surrounded by Hellenistic and Roman ruins. The Coressian Gate stands on the east side of the old town quarter near the Artemision and the Magnesian Gate. The latter gate was located on the west between Bülbüldağ and Panayırdağ, where the road continues towards Magnesia.

Complementing these entrances, gateways within the ancient city are part of the urban planning signalling plazas and different quarters. Hadrian's Gate, the three-storey gate from the Roman period, perpetuates the *Triodos*, at the junction of three streets: Curetes Street *Embolos* (ancient Processional Way), Marble Street and the way to Orytgia (Fig. 155).[735] The gate is a monumental screen separating the public and residential areas of the city between the administrative and civil quarters (Fig. 156).[736]

> Fifty steps further south, a side street branches off from this main street, which bends to the south-east and heads directly towards the hill, which may have turned

[732] Akurgal 1990, 143. For detailed explanations about the excavations carried by the Austrian Archaeological Institute (ÖAI), https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien: Ephesos Museum, https://www.khm.at/en/visit/collections/ephesos-museum/

[733] Zimmermann & Ladstätter 2011, 25.

[734] Austrian Academy of Sciences (2018, October 22). *Excavations In Ephesos In Full Swing*. OEAW. https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/news-1/excavations-in-ephesos-in-full-swing

[735] D. Knibbe. (1995). Via Sacra Ephesica, New Aspects of the cult of Artemis Ephesia. In H. Koester (Ed.), *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia, An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology Religion and Culture* (pp.141-155). Harvard University Press. p. 144.

[736] Güven, 1983, 96.

> into a stepped street later on. Its beginning was marked by a three-part gateway, of which only the pedestals with the bases of the lower pillars remain *in situ*.
>
> These show a peculiar combination of half-column, pilaster and three-quarter column, which was no easy task for the maker of the capitals (now standing on the bases). The second storey had a graceful tabernacle architecture with a central pediment, which is vividly reminiscent of Hadrian's Gate in Athens, to which our decorative building is probably close in time. [737]

The first excavations began around 1904 and continued in the following years in the area around Curetes Street. As Thür notes, Heberday made only a brief mention of the gate in his 1904 excavation report (Fig. 157). However, the first edition of Keil's *Guide to Ephesus* was the basis of further research of the gate.

The current view of the gate reflects the extensive restoration studies (Fig. 158) carried out by the German architect and archaeologist Hilke Thür, who completed the theoretical restoration of the gate in 1986 (Fig. 159).[738] According to Thür, the construction of the gate started in the time of Trajan and the third floor is reminiscent of the Arch of Hadrian in Athens (Fig. 160).[739] The style of the gate is an eclectic synthesis of the Roman arch and the Greek *propylon*.[740] On stylistic grounds, the gate may be dated between 113/114 and 127/128 in comparison with other façadic buildings such as the Library of Celsus and the Temple of Hadrian. The arcuate

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[737] J. Keil. (1930). *Ephesos: Ein Führer Durch Die Ruinenstätte und Ihre Geschichte.* B. Filser Verlag, G.M.B.H. p. 84-5. Thür 1989, 22.

[738] See the extensive study on restoration of the gate in H. Thür. (1989). *Das Hadrianstor. Ephesos. Forschungen in Ephesos* Band 11/1. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. p. 19.

[739] H. Thür. (2000). Hadrian's Gate, The New *Triodos* Gate. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (p. 128). Ege Yayınları; A. Adams. (1989). The Arch of Hadrian at Athens. *Bulletin Supplement (University of London. Institute of Classical Studies), 55,* 10-16; Arafat 2004, 178-183. Yegül & Favro 2009, 670.

[740] On the basis of building typology of arch: M. Pfanner. (1983). *Der Titusbogen*. Philipp von Zabern. p. 93; 93ff in Thür 1989, 77-1ff: states: the term triumphal arch, which was commonly used in the literature until recently, should be avoided as it only describes part of the content of the arched monument. Thür (1989, 77) states: "Derivation of the building type. The façade of the Ephesian gate building combines elements of the Greek propylon with those of the Roman monumental arch." (Original text in German: I Ableitung des Bautyps. In der Fassade des ephesischen Torbaues sind Elemente des griechischen Propylons mit denen des römischen Bogenmonumentes verbunden). Erdem (1995, 38) defines the building as a gate and mentions that "in architectural terms, this gate is a synthesis of the Greek propylon and the Roman triumphal arch." In both cases the term "triumphal arch" was not explicitly used.

pediment of the gate with an inserted arch sometimes referred to as a "Syrian pediment" is similar to that of the Temple of Hadrian.[741]

According to Thür, the incomplete inscription (Fig. 161) on the architrave reads: N Ω K A I Σ.[742] Also there is another incomplete inscription on the architrave though not fully legible, there are some suggestions that the name of a street and/or a person is involved (Fig. 162).[743] Thür points out that the arch which is considered to predate the "Syrian Pediment" of the so-called Temple of Hadrian, serves as a "*terminus ante quem* for the *Propylon*." [744] According to Bowies and Wörrles' analysis of the building inscription, the temple, which Miltner identified as the second neocorate temple, was built in 117/8.[745] Initially, the gate was planned for Trajan, as the temple's construction had been announced during his Parthian campaign. However, due to his unexpected death, the temple was dedicated to Hadrian, assuming that the gate was built before 117/8.[746]

Compared to the South Gate of the Tetragonos Agora, the "Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates", Hadrian's Gate was a free-standing one. Therefore, the gate could be considered as a veritable example of a free-standing "monumental arch."[747] Hadrian's Gate is a topographical and cultural node that marks the road to Ortygia and part of the decorative structure of the southern part of the Marble Street, with a tripartite scheme (Fig. 163). The tripartite entrance is similar to the Hadrian's Gate in Antalya. However, this one has a wider central archway with two narrower openings on each side.

[741] Outschar (2000b), 118.

[742] Thür 1989, 68. According to Thür, the inscription mentions an emperor, but the name is not clear. "Trajan or Hadrian. The order of the Caesar name after Traianus or Hadrianus is rarely documented."

[743] Thür 1989, 71-73.

[744] Thür 1989, 133.

[745] Thür 1989, 133.

[746] Thür 1989, 133.

[747] Güven 1983, 97.

Made of white, grey veined marble, the gate was originally 16.60 metres high, 11.40 metres wide and only 1.50 metres deep.[748] The marble façade of the arch gate overlooks the Celsus Library, the Theatre and the Agora. The pillars were connected by "half-columns" on bases in the south and "free-standing columns" in the north and the supporting elements were decorated with composite capitals (Fig. 164) with "reed leaves."[749] The arch spanned the central, straight entablature of the second floor, framed by columns aligned with those of the first floor and six Corinthian-style capitals supported the entablature above the second floor.[750] Rather than fluted columns on the front façade, the rear of the gate is not rich in decoration (Fig. 165).[751]

The sculpture programme appears to connect present/past mythology and the imperial family bringing them together under the daily gaze of the Ephesians. In reference to the importance of the cult of Artemis at the time of its construction, Guy MacLean Rogers summarises the centuries-old worship of the goddess as follows "A statue of Artemis was positioned perhaps beneath the statues of other gods, members of the imperial family, and donors that were placed in the inter-columniations adjacent to the large arch and on the top story of this monument."[752] As the cult of Artemis declined and Christianity spread among the settlers, the religious symbols began to appear on the sculptures (Fig. 166) and the remaining copies of goddess Artemis were destroyed accordingly.

> On the south side of the eastern centre pillar of the gate is a base found nearby, the inscription of which, probably from the 5th century AD, is presented here in translation as a particularly impressive testimony to the final defeat of the great Artemis by Christianity: "Demeas took down the image of the demon (!) Artemis' deceptive image was taken down by Demeas and in its place this sign (i.e. the cross) that dispels idols was placed, in praise of God and the cross, the victorious imperishable symbol of Christ.[753]

[748] Thür (2000, Hadrian's Gate), 128; Erdem, 1995, 37.

[749] Thür (2000a), 128.

[750] Thür (2000a), 128.

[751] Erdem 1995, 37.

[752] G. M. Rogers. (2012). *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*. Yale University Press. p. 200.

[753] Keil 1930, 84-5.

Since the 1980s, there has been significant reconstruction and conservation work in the Library Quarter and lower *Embolos*. The restoration of the Temple of Hadrian, the Celsus Library, the south gate of the Agora and the planned partial *anastylosis* of the Neronian Hall have completely changed the appearance and the character of the archaeological impact today.

At the end of the excavation work, Thür questions "what should be done with the remains of the building in the future. In its present state, the gateway building attracts little attention."[754] She also adds that little attention would be given to the gate while visitors are walking through the Curetes Street and kept by the restored structures around the gate. Accordingly, she suggests that reconstruction of the gate to its original height would make its function clear and render the existing height with the Celsus Library as a visible structure.[755]

Today, the experience of Hadrian's Gate is far from its original monumental appearance in the location where it was built. After the restoration works, the height of the first floor has become visible. The gate is in relation to the surrounding structures (Fig. 167). Today's route into Ephesus is somewhat like that of a 2nd century traveller/local. Beginning the route at the eastern entrance to Ephesus through the Magnesian Gate (Fig. 168) one walks forward to reach the so-called State Agora, the administrative centre of Ephesus. Here, surrounded by the ruins of ancient administrative buildings, one can almost imagine the atmosphere of political and civic debate that was once part of this square. As follows, the Odeon, or *Bouleuterion*, appears on the right. This small theatre, once used to hold council meetings and performances, reflects the dynamic cultural life of the Ephesians. Nearby, the sacred flame of Hestia was kept burning at the *Prytaneion*. Next is the Temple of Domitian, one of the largest temples in Ephesus and besides the Memmius Monument catches the eye, a victory monument symbolising the link with Roman

[754] Thür 1989, 21-2.

[755] Thür 1989, 21-2. According to Thür, the scope of the reconstruction in this context depends on the structural possibilities and the design of the surrounding urban area. A restored gateway could be immediately recognised by both experienced archaeologists and visitors. But no further in-depth analysis of Hadrian's Gate has been undertaken since the publication of *Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos.*

political power. Passing through the Gate of Hercules (Fig. 169) one reaches Curetes Street (*Embolos*), the main thoroughfare of Ephesus. This street was the artery of the city lined with shops, public buildings and monuments. The street runs from the State Agora to the Tetragonos Agora in diagonal to the Hellenistic grid plan, which once also stood as the route of Artemis procession. While walking down the street, one can imagine the echoes of the ancient voices of the locals, merchants, and Ephesians. Today, the street is very crowded and mostly with tourists keen on taking selfie and sometimes even stepping on the statue pedestals. Continuing down Curetes Street, the Fountain of Trajan (Fig. 170) stands as one of the major structures and on its opposite, the Terrace Houses of the wealthy Ephesians surrounded the two sides of the marble paved street. Further down the street one comes across the Octagon (Fig. 171) and Heroon of Androclus. Nearby, the Temple of Hadrian awaits, one of the most reviling structures of the city elaborating the foundation myth of the city reflecting its connection to Roman imperial power. When walking down through the sloping staircases of the Terrace Houses, one meets and passes through Hadrian's Gate which once stood on the Sacred Way as s ceremonial entrance marking the transition from the residential areas to the more public and commercial spaces of Ephesus.

While passing through this gate, one might take a moment to appreciate the historical, architectural and sacred significance it represents. Finally, one arrives at the most iconic structure in Ephesus, the Library of Celsus. This magnificent building, with its façade and intricately carved detail which was built as a tomb and library in honour of the Roman Senator Celsus. As one approaches the Library of Celsus, the remains of nearby buildings that once stood along the Sacred Way can be noticed. These remains though partially obscured by time, still convey a sense of the city's urban layout.

The vibrancy and magnificence of the buildings from the time of Hadrian can no longer be seen today. The terrace houses are now covered with a modern shelter and serve as a museum that can be visited for a fee. Adjacent to Hadrian's Gate, a modern food and beverage kiosk stands on the road leading to what was a sacred area in Roman times. The shops on the *Embolos* have fallen into disrepair, and the

pedestals of the tribute statues that decorate the street remain. In addition, excavations are taking place in some of the areas that are not accessible to visitors.

From another point of view, if the route starts from the Coressian Gate,[756] one can pass through the area near the stadium. The route then leads to the Great Theatre (Fig. 172), another symbolic building of Ephesus, with a capacity of around 25,000 spectators. It was and still is the central point for performances. One reaches the Marble Street (Fig. 173) and passes through the Hall of Nero, the Commercial Agora (Fig. 174), the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates, the Library of Celsus and then approach to Hadrian's Gate (Fig. 175) at the *Triodos*.

It is possible to imagine what it was like in Hadrian's time when one thinks of the merchants, the visitors, those who came from the harbour gate - not indicated on this route - and those who visited the sanctuary of Artemis. The buildings, especially the theatre, still retain magnificence. As already mentioned, the Library of Celsus is undoubtedly the most eye-catching building in the area of Hadrian's Gate in this archaeological site.

On another note, in order to offer visitors an alternative experience,[757] the Ministry of Culture has decided that some of the archaeological sites including Ephesus will be open until late this year. It is assumed that visiting Ephesus at night will allow visitors to experience the nocturnal excitement of walking in the ancient city under the stars instead of the sun (Fig. 176). According to the director of the Ephesus Museum two million and one hundred and sixty-three thousand people visited the

[756] As defined by Martin Steskal, new drector of excavations, the excavations focus on the Coressian Gate in 2024.

[757] In terms of modern walking routes: A news article published in 2018 reveals that one of the projects implemented by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality to promote the peninsula was the setting up of the "Ephesus-Mimas Route" walking path, which stretches from antiquity to the present day. According to the news release, the 709 kilometres "Ephesus-Mimas Route" consists of 6 paths between the ancient cities of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai and Erythrai. İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, (2018, October 04). Bu rota şahane. https://www.izmir.bel.tr/tr/Haberler/bu-rota-sahane/39038/156 From another perspective a project that is currently underway, can create a new layer of cultural memory. The idea is that the restoration of the ancient port and canal system will facilitate the city's connection with the Aegean Sea. In the chapter on Imperial Travels of Emperor Hadrian, it is mentioned that the Emperor ensured that the harbour was maintained during his visit in the second century CE.

ancient city last year: "During the first four months of last year there were 395,000 visitors, this year 495,000 visitors in the same period. So, an increase of 25 per cent is expected. Expectation for this year is an increase of around 550,000, and the visit of museums open at night will also contribute to this. With this increase, I think we will end the year with around two million and sixty thousand visitors."[758]

[758] H. Bağış, (2024, May 02). Efes Antik Kenti'nde yıldızlar altında tarih yolculuğu başladı. *Anadolu Ajansı.*https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kultur/efes-antik-kentinde-yildizlar-altinda-tarih-yolculugu-basladi/3207914

CHAPTER VII

MEMORY, CITY AND BUILDINGS

7.1. Memory and Remembrance

"*…memory is a process, not a thing, and it works differently at different points in time*."[759]

The Cambridge Dictionary defines "memory" as "the ability to remember information, experiences, and people" and it is further referred to as "the past," "a computer's part where information or program are stored either permanently or temporarily," or the size of available space for "storing information."[760] Given this, memory must exist for a person to be able to use this capacity - for persons to have memories that they can remember and recall when they need to.

In general, memory is also perceived as a storage of information in the brain. However, it is considered that the process of remembering is a chain of closely interrelated different processes including recognition, recording, recalling, and forgetting. This storage is organised in various processes depending on the stored information and even classified on the basis of various factors such as time, situation, sense of relations with a person/group or a place/monument/ritual. Every event, person, object, space, monument, moment, or notion is firstly stored in short-term memory and only some can be transferred to long-term memory. Thus, the chain between different folders in the brain is perceived as parts of memory, like "metadata," that a person endeavours to remember and forget.

[759] B. Zelizer. (1995). Reading the Past against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, v12*(n2), pp. 214-39. J. K. Olick., & J. Robbins. (1998). Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices. *Annual Review of Sociology, 24*, 105–140. p. 122.

[760] Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d). Memory. In *Dictionary.Cambridge.org Dictionary*. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/memory

Hence, memory can be compared to a database, where a large amount of data is stored in different bytes at different levels, just like computer technologies. It is impossible to imagine a *Weltanschauung*[761] without such a database today. Everyday life, which most people consider to be very fast, uses social networks and digital space with the help of Artificial Intelligence (AI), which seems to have replaced both human memory and physical space. Additionally, this interaction can replace almost any human activity that requires memory. Instead, a person interacts with other people and physical space through the applications, and on the other hand, it most likely replaces the human ability to remember by constantly alerting a person to things of interest, the latest headlines and important events, a friend's birthday, or other occasions. So, this may leave no connection with the memories to be recalled or forgotten in time or with the *lieux de mémoires* as introduced by the French historian Pierre Nora.[762]

According to the French philosopher, and sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs, memory is a social/collective phenomenon. Today, respected as one of the pioneers in the field of memory, Halbwachs notes that the maintenance and emergence of collective memory is often enabled by groups associated with space.[763] Therefore, groups become subjects of place or containers of collective memory.[764]

Over the last decades, and especially since the 1970s, interdisciplinary memory studies have gained an important place in Western societies.[765] After the Second

[761] S. U. Lee. (2004). Constructing an Aesthetic Weltanschauung: Freud, James, and Ricoeur. *Journal of Religion and Health*, *43*(4), 273–290. p.274. According to Freud, a general meaning of "Weltanschauung" (worldview) is: "A Weltanschauung is an intellectual construction, which solves all the problems of our existence uniformly on the basis of one overriding hypothesis, which, accordingly, leaves no question unanswered and in which everything that interests us finds its fixed place."

[762] P. Nora. (1989). Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations*, *26*, 7–24: Les Lieux de Mémoire is translated into English as "sites of memory."

[763] C. Bilsel. (2017). Architecture and the Social Frameworks of Memory: A Postscript to Maurice Halbwachs' "Collective Memory" *Iconarp International Journal Of Architecture And Planning (Jun 2017) Vol. 5* (no. 1), 01 – 09. https://doi.org/10.15320/ICONARP.2017.14

[764] M. Halbwachs. (1980). *The Collective Memory* (F. J. Ditter & V. Y. Ditter, Trans.; 1st ed). Harper & Row. pp. 128-131.

[765] A. Huyssen. (2000). Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia. *Public Culture 12*(1), 21-38. P. H. Hutton. (1988). Collective Memory and Collective Mentalities: The Halbwachs-Ariés Connection. *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, *15*(2), 311–322.

World War, particularly doubts about the authenticity of teaching about the past and history led to the problematisation of the phenomenon of memory in various fields of research. In the context of the view that the creation of memory is ideologically reproduced, even reconstructed, and manipulated each time, the re-examination of memory and historiography leads to new debates.

Canonically, contemporary studies focus on primary and secondary sources and generally rely on interpretation of those sources. In this regard, discussions of the synonymy or opposition between 'memory' and 'history'[766] further establish a relationship between memory, history, and space, that changes along with the studies over time. As already noted, the meaning of conceptual fields into which either experience, sensation, impression, perception, emotion, touch, remembering, belonging, or forgetting is thus concerned with the nature of the relationship between memory and space. Some studies emphasise not only the direct relationship between the concept of space and any context or situation, but also how these relationships can differ according to a particular situation, time, history, the experiences of different groups or societies, or individual memories.

In simpler terms, memory has a general meaning for human existence as a whole. People can experience this existence in a dynamic cycle in a space through their senses. On the other hand, people create a space of memory reflecting this existence in their memory. However, either 'memory' and 'space' are both active or one phenomenon can be more active than the other in this interaction. Therefore, the circular relationship of space and memory feed each other. This relationship not only connects the past to the present but helps to build the present and feeds a thrilling imagination of the future. Thus, memory creates certain mental or physical spaces that can be used as means of remembering and forgetting.

More specifically, people interact with spaces by remembering or forgetting them. A similar dynamic can be experienced when 'memory' is applied to 'city gates' in the context of this study.

[766] K. L. Klein. (2000). On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse. *Representations, (69),* 127-150. Huyssen 2000, 21-38.

Considering the "city" as an active element of collective memory, in addition to its multiple physical elements, other layers that make a city worth remembering, experiencing, and interpreting in different dimensions should not be ignored.[767]

> Reader of an architectural history is alone among the built riches of the past, put in order, illustrated, and accounted for. He or she can learn the names of buildings and other makers, and when and how they were made, and other ready information that is not always our disposal when we travel. A visit to Rome or Istanbul is bound to be confusing. There is so very much to see…group of temples from the time before Christ is ringed by recent apartment houses; brick-and-concrete clumps refuse to yield their identity.[768]

Akin to people or digital storage devices, cities preserve their memories, and reflect those, which persist in the light of primary and secondary sources. In architectural history cities are revitalised as sources of memory according to infinite parameters such as buildings, streets, ruins, street names, recollections in people's minds, relationships. In *The Collective Memory*, Halbwachs alludes to the relationship between people and the stones of a city, defining the stones as one of the most important components of a city's identity. Indeed, stones of the city are reservoirs of memory, and inhabitants of the city may be associated with any stone in a street, a house, a corner, a shop or even a pavement.[769]

When examining the narratives of existence and reconstruction of cities layered in different time periods, being content with only the physical structures or ruins visible on the surface cannot adequately convey the meaning inherent in such palimpsestic cities like Rome or Istanbul. The same applies to modern cities like Antalya and Selçuk where the two gates of Hadrian originated as part of former Greco-Roman

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[767] C. Boyer. (1994). *The City of Collective Memory Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*. MIT Press.

[768] Kostof 2010, 3.

[769] M. Halbwachs. (2018). *Kolektif Bellek* (Z. Karagöz, Trans.). Pinhan Yayıncılık. pp.162-166. Halbwachs 1980, 131. "Stones of the city" is a subheading under Chapter 4, Space and the Collective Memory. Quoted as "That is why great upheavals may severely shake society without altering the appearance of the city. Their effects are blunted as they filter down to those people who are closer to the stones than to men - the shoemaker in his shop; the artisan at his bench; the merchant in his store; the people in the market; the walker strolling about the streets, idling at the wharf, or visiting the garden terraces; the children playing on the corner; the old man enjoying the sunny wall or sitting on a stone bench; the beggar squatting by a city landmark."

settlements. Despite the continuous settlement in multi-layered cities, a historian, as an active reader, first processes the physical reality and then, in time, should examine for answers to the fundamental questions of what, why, when, and how beyond the built environment.[770]

Architectural and urban spaces serve as repositories of "collective memory", shaping and also being shaped by social narratives. The mutual relationship between space and memory is a powerful dynamic. This chapter examines this intertwined relationship through the lens of various scholars - Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, Aldo Rossi, Paul Ricoeur, Jan Assmann, Paul Connerton, Christine Boyer and Juhani Pallasmaa - while examining the travels and architectural contributions of the Emperor Hadrian in Asia Minor, with a particular focus on the ceremonial gates built in Ephesus and Attaleia, which offer insights into collective memory, urban spectacle, and the sensory experience of urban spaces.

7.2. Memory, Buildings and Architectural History

Buildings are primary constituents of cities. Standing alone or part of a series, a building can evoke various images of itself as both a centre and periphery of life, or a treasury of memories connecting the past and lived experiences. Antiquarians, historians, architects, archaeologists, teachers, and enthusiasts of various professions have a broad interest in the structures of the past.[771] A building is like a silent historian of a city's transformations and one of the indicative benchmarks of social memory. The study of buildings is just one element of architectural history but a significant one because buildings serve as primary archives whether "used, conserved or demolished."[772] Architectural history involves studying buildings not just as physical structures but as cultural artifacts. As such, buildings are documented visually and verbally in various forms in drawings, photographs, travel accounts, guidebooks, architectural surveys, and histories. Through a synthesis of primary and

[770] Kostof 2010, 3.

[771] A. Leach. (2010). *What is Architectural History?*. Polity. pp. 9-10.

[772] D. Arnold. (2002). *Reading Architectural History* (1st ed.). Routledge. pp. 1-13.

secondary archives, the building an become an archive in itself, be historicised or become the object of history.[773]

As archives, buildings are part of tangible cultural heritage and cultural memory. Cultural heritage consists of culture, values and traditions that belong to a community and can form a common link between the past, present and future.[774] This broad meaning extends beyond historical monuments, buildings, archaeological sites, and artefacts. Cultural memory thus emerges through the transmission of meaning across generations by integrating, and transcending the boundaries of "mimetic, things and communicative memory" leading to a holistic cultural identity.[775] The mimetic routines of action become more and more elaborate until they are transformed into rituals, which, precisely because of this transformation, become such an essential part of cultural memory.[776] Symbols, icons, monuments, tombs, temples, and idols are used not only as tools but also as metaphors for the cultural meaning preserved and transmitted through their association with time and identity. Social memory becomes embedded in explicit notions of time and identity, shared by material, and transmitted through ephemeral and artefactual references.[777]

From the 16th through the 18th centuries, young aristocrats engaged in the Grand Tour, intellectual journeys to cities such as London, Paris, Venice, Florence and Rome. These movements influenced the socio-political economy and socio-cultural ideas of the people of Europe, which promoted the notion of the necessity of travelling. The influence of the Grand Tour on art and architecture was through

[773] Arnold 2002, 8.

[774] The cultural heritage definition by UNESCO: "Cultural heritage is not only interested in monuments and collections of objects. This also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge, and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts." UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. (2024). *What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?*. https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003

[775] J. Assmann. (2011). *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 6-7.

[776] Assmann 2011, 6-7.

[777] Assmann 2011, 6-7.

movement and cultural diffusion across cities.[778] It was also due to the Enlightenment movement's encouragement of a more systematic approach to the study of architecture, one that is more analytical and empirical in the exploration of architectural artefacts. Ancient historiography was among the favoured subjects examining art, artists, architecture, and history. The first assessment of art and history was made through the expertise of the eye, which revealed aspects of culture that transcended social barriers, and then the subject was categorised according to its materiality.

Photography was one of the inventions of the 19th century, and another revolutionary one, illustrating the potential of visuality, the production and circulation of images and representation through history, space, time, and ideology.[779] It is as if another revolution has been created by the documentation of the existing and ancient buildings and the direct impact of the success of photography. This was one of the most effective means in the reproduction of reality, representation and culture, participation and facility of mass production that was institutionalised in the issues.[780] The first and most important of these was as an effective visualisation of history: photographs, travelogues and books became sites of memory production, of how people and societies remember and how individuals and groups prevent themselves from forgetting. Another way of looking at this visual device was as an effective means of forgetting. Since, this has the ability to frame the attention of the apparatus in a way that can intentionally direct the gaze.

The impact of mass production and printed images has been countered by a wider range of collections, exhibitions, and public awareness programmes. Various channels of communication praised ancient sites and raised awareness of ancient sites especially in Italy as if they had never been visited before (i.e., Paestum, Italy).

[778] The "Grand Tour" not only stimulated the professional and intellectual impulses of art travellers, artists, and intellectuals, but also developed the multifaceted social, political, and economic aspects of the *Weltanschauung* of nation states, most likely framed by the slogan of the French Revolution: *liberté* (liberty)*, égalité* (equality)*, fraternité* (fraternity).

[779] Photography, derived from the Greek words; *photos* "light" and *graphein* "to draw."

[780] S. L. Martin-Mcauliffe & J. K. Papadopoulos. (2012). Framing Victory: Salamis, the Athenian Acropolis, and the Agora. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 71*(3), 332–361. p. 331.

The fundamentals of archaeology and chronology have developed over time, and it is possible for nation states to rival each other in the same way that ancient city-states once competed for a title of *neocoros*. Like those who paid visits and researched the ancient cities, such as Antalya and Ephesus, and created archival documents over centuries, travellers and self-taught archaeologists began to follow the paths to discover the hidden landscapes popularised by printed images. In this curiosity, archaeology was presented and valued by politicians as a discipline to unite the masses under the newly formed nation-states, which needed to create "national identity" and "collective memory" for people who already carried historical genes.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the utility of archaeology, and history became clear in confirming, legitimising, and promoting the identity of nations. This led not only to visiting ancient sites, assembling collections in museums, carrying out exploration in new disciplines, but also the scaling up of archaeological sites. Plaster models from antiquity began to be produced as a medium for remembering the past. One of the pioneering examples of this is the "*Plastico di Roma*", an imperial representation of Rome intended to reflect the 4th century BCE, at the *Museo della Civilità Romana*[781] in EUR.[782] This highly politicised model was an impressive "reimagining of Rome - constructed in wood and clay and reinforced with metal." [783] It covered the whole of the city rather than simply the area of the Roman Forum, and the major monuments were represented in detail, with columns, statues, and gilded elements, while other buildings were represented in rather less detail. Although the model did not attract large crowds, an enormous number of posters and books was sold, which were available from almost every kiosk and souvenir shop in Rome. Even after all these years, "the model reflects the ideology of Mussolini's Italy, rather than the archaeology of Constantine's Rome."[784] The aesthetic, archaeological,

[781] V. P. Tschudi. (2012). Plaster Empires: Italo Gismondi's Model of Rome. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (2012) 71* (3): 386–403. pp. 387-395.

[782] EUR, *Esposizione Universale Roma*, is a residential and business district in the south of Rome. The district was chosen in the 1930s as the new site for the World Fair of 1942, which Benito Mussolini wanted to inaugurate to celebrate the 20th anniversary of his accession to political power.

[783] Tschudi 2012, 387.

[784] Tschudi 2012, 387.

and political implications of this model are important because it still renders the past, although its forms are highly different from their original ones, and perhaps even the reality itself. [785]

In terms of the historical development of memory formation, societies tend to have different tools of remembering their past and their ancestors. In ancient civilisations, there was a tendency to build ceremonial arches, columns, burial chambers, and place precious objects for some of the praised people as a liturgy for a second life that was assumed to continue in the afterlife. Perhaps this burial ritual was intended to remind the deceased of their favourite things in the afterlife. As Danziger notes, in some societies ancestors are remembered by wearing masks, imitating their gestures, and going into a trance.[786] However, belonging to and remembering close ancestors changes with political and social changes in different societies evolving from individual to communal remembrance. The role of memorials, monuments, sculptures, processions, or rituals has changed historically, not only in commemorating close ancestors, but also in mobilising the collective memory of societies.

In ancient Greece and Rome, oral tradition was paramount for preserving knowledge as a form of systematic archiving and conveyed to future generations accordingly. Consulting elders was also a common practice, especially in societies where there was no written record. In Greece, *mnemon,*[787] was assigned for remembering questions of judgment and jurisprudence in religious or legal matters. In Rome, intellectually educated slaves known as "little Greeks," assisted politicians and lawyers by memorising social and technical knowledge and recalling memories of their masters during court sessions and political or social events.[788] These practices underscore the importance of oral tradition before the advent of written records and

[785] Tschudi 2012, 387-395.

[786] K. Danziger. (2008). *Marking the Mind: A History of Memory*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-23.

[787] S. A. Arjomand. (1998). Artaxerxes, Ardašīr, and Bahman. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, *118*(2), 245–248. p. 245.

[788] Danziger 2008, 1-13.

highlight early methods of preserving knowledge. Even later the age of writing, in ancient Greece and Rome some people were trained to use of their ability to remember.

In terms of modern perspectives, the development of digital technologies, digital modelling, and simulation developed in the last half of the 20th century have had a significant impact on how people approach knowledge about cities, buildings, or artworks. Today, virtual tours, podcasts, 3D modelling, and augmented reality (AR) are important resources for interacting with the past in a different digital way and make people to imagine and recall the past. Those tools provide easy access to visual material and audio sources on a variety of mobile platforms that are regularly used.

According to D. Favro, a major contributor to *Rome Reborn Project*, "one of the main complex points for the scholars is difficulty in finding the relevant data on topography, skylines, street patterns, among other aspects essential for the depiction of an expansive urban panorama."[789]

Today, AI technologies, specifically, machine learning and neural networks, support creating 3D reconstructions of ancient sites and improve their precision and detail. Implementing these technologies in the process allows for creating more precise and detailed digital replicas of the buildings bringing them close to reality as possible.[790] Not only physical structure but also textures, colours, materials of the reconstructed ancient object can match the original one. At the same time, these technologies are capable of analysing the already existing information based on the satellite

[789] D. Favro. (2007). Ancient Rome through the Veil of Sight. In D. Harris., & F. Ruggles (Eds.), *Sites Unseen. Landscape and Vision* (111-131). University of Pittsburgh Press. p. 111.

[790] Ephesus Experience Museum, located in the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Ephesus, provides a different and multi-dimensional technological experience to its visitors. In June 2024, the Museum, was awarded 'Best Museum' title at the Mondo-Dr Awards. MONDO-DR Awards 2024. (2024). Ephesus Experience Museum. https://mondodrawards.com/2024/portfolio/ephesus-experience-museum/ As noted above, there is no doubt that, when used correctly and appropriately, the creative effect for which technology is so highly praised is to provide accurate information. Also, ensuring the up-to-date continuity of applications is very important. As an example, information referred for the Hadrian's Gate is inaccurate in İzmir Time Machine Project, as stating the same explanation provided for the Temple of Hadrian. Although I have sent an email to the Comments and Suggestions email address, no change to the explanation has been made or no response has been sent. İzmir Time Machine Project (2024). Hadrian Kapısı. https://izmirtimemachine.com/selcuk-efes/hadrian-kapisi/

photographs, other historical data, or remnants of the ancient structure/site to provide full or partial reconstruction. Elements lost or destroyed in the past may also become accessible to our imagination, even palpable.

No matter how much pleasure it gives, or how much it is doubtful that it allows communication and the creation of memories between the space and the individual, or if it is foreseen that it cannot be compared to the power of physical communication, the pace of these developments provide different means of experiences for a virtual tour or a specific visit in museums or exhibitions. At the same time, a different perspective of memory can be created for those who cannot have the opportunity to visit.

Referring to contemporary digital technologies, if the architect in the painting "The Architect's Dream"[791] was painted today, he might be depicted holding a notepad or a large-screen mobile phone with his fingers scrolling over a screen: We would therefore not see him leaning over the column, because his head would be bent over the colour screen of the tablet and his finger would be scrolling through web pages. Since his imagined twenty-first century position would not be facing the reflection of sunlight, he would not be aware of the changing views of the city and the day. Unfortunately, the architect in this painting may have spent a day without noticing the surroundings, without capturing the colours of nature, without even a social interaction. Today, it is possible to access a wide range of information in digital form including the city plans, the details of architectural resources and even the aerial photograph of the location. But that convenience comprises the need for physical interaction and contact, which can reduce creativity and the ability to dream and remember the past even further increasing a way of "digital remembering."[792]

However, this reference is not a blanket criticism of digital technology and devices/applications that help people remember the past. Rather, it implies the importance of balancing the use of such tools and interaction with the physical environment. Activities like field research and interacting with one's environment

[791] T. Cole. (1840). *The Architects Dream* [Painting]. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, The United States of America. http://emuseum.toledomuseum.org/objects/54973/the-architects-dream

help people learn something through meaningful experience, creating connections to the past.

7.3. Memory and City: Theoretical Premises

> Looking at cities can give a special pleasure, however common place the sight may be. Like a piece of architecture, the city is construction in space, but one of vast scale, a thing perceived only in the course of long spans of time. City design is therefore a temporal art, but it can rarely use the controlled and limited sequences of temporal arts like music. On different occasions and for different people, the sequences are reversed, interrupted, abandoned, cut across. It is seen in all lights and all weathers.[793]

The history of architecture becomes an essential lens through which to understand the evolution of urban memory, tracing the ways in which buildings, landmarks, and urban structures act as symbolic repositories of cultural identity and historical consciousness. “Architecture began all like writing. It was the first alphabet. A stone was set upright, it was a letter, and each letter was a hieroglyph, and upon each hieroglyph reposed a group of ideas, like the capital upon the column."[794] The interplay between architecture and memory illuminates how cities become living testimonies to the collective experiences and shared histories of their inhabitants, and how the physicality of the built environment interacts with the intangible fabric of human memory.

Collective memory is the phenomenon of remembering together which was firstly introduced by Maurice Halbwachs. This pioneering theory claims memory is produced as part of society and not considered as an individual phenomenon. It is emphasised that the social construction of remembering within collective practices that are preserved and remembered in social frameworks and practices are often articulated in physical spaces.

Halbwachs was the first to problematise the creation and functioning of collective memory, going beyond E. Durkheim's sociological critique of philosophy: "It is in

[793] K. Lynch. (1960). *The Image of the City*. The Technology, Press & Harvard University Press. p. 1.

[794] V. Hugo. (1993). *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*. Wordsworth Editions. p. 146, 148.

society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognise and locate their memories."[795] This could be interpreted to mean that each collective memory is rooted in the specific groups represented by space and time, who hold different roles as the group constructs the memory and the individual members of the group carry out the work of remembering.

Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (sites of memory)[796] extends Halbwachs's notion of collective memory and offers a valuable insight how memory is preserved and performed through specific sites or "*lieux*" that symbolise and anchor a shared past. Nora identifies various types of memory sites, or *lieux de mémoire*. These sites can be physical, such as monuments, memorials, museums, archives, sanctuaries and historical sites, as well as more abstract, such as commemorative events, festivals, anniversaries and rituals.[797]

Nora's work is significant because it illustrates how these sites are crucial as a powerful means of constructing and shaping national, cultural and historical identity. These sites are unnatural, they have been artificially created because there is no natural environment of memory. It is the place of memory constructed for the purpose of remembering through deliberate acts of commemoration. According to this nature, these places become repositories of collective memory. The creation of these places and the preservation of their symbolic meaning is crucial for preserving continuity of group identity and historical meaning. Therefore, both material and memorial practices are crucial in the process of constructing, preserving and transmitting collective memory.

Aldo Rossi mentions the *genius loci*, or the spirit of the place referring to the distinctive spirit and feature of a place, derived from its history, architecture, and cultural significance.[798] He states that "The soul of the city becomes the city's

[795] J. K. Olick & J. Robbins, 1998, 109.

[796] Nora 1989, pp. 7–24.

[797] Nora 1989, 12.

[798] A. Rossi, P. Eisenman, Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, & Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. (1984). *The Architecture of the City* (D. Ghirardo & J. Ockman, Trans.). MIT Press. p. 103.

history, the sign on the walls of the *municipium*, the city's distinctive and definitive character, its memory…One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the *locus* (site/place) of the collective memory."[799] Rather than a physical space, the *locus* is composed of spatial and temporal dimensions, shaped by topography, form, and the historical sequence of events. The *locus* is therefore a place deeply embedded in layers of ancient and contemporary events, making it a unique place, which he calls a 'locus solus' - a singular place marked by its own history and character. [800] For Rossi, the city is not just an environment for human activities, but a theatre of human events, that absorbs and reflects the emotions and actions of its inhabitants.[801] Every event in the city echoes past events and the potential to create future memories and he suggests that the site hosts events and at the same time is itself an event.[802] This demonstrates that a specific place is not only a passive stage for events, but also an active participant in the urban narrative. Rossi's insights reveal the city as a dynamic stage where past and present intersect in compelling ways, highlighting the dynamic relationship between architecture, memory and urban life. Memory is the embodiment of a rational process that reflects the history and development of the city and functions as its consciousness.[803] This collective memory harmonises and clarifies what has already been established. It shapes the identity and continuity of the urban environment. Therefore, there are the practices of individuals in the city, and in this sense not everything in urban artefacts is collective; however, the collective and individual nature of urban artefacts ultimately form the same urban structure.[804]

Regarding the inherent unity between the city and collective memory, and social relations, the history of the city is concerned with the interplay of time, space, and

[799] Rossi, Eisenman 1984, 130-31.

[800] Rossi, Eisenman 1984, 7.

[801] Rossi, Eisenman 1984, 7.

[802] S. Jo. (2003). Aldo Rossi: Architecture and Memory. *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering, 2*(1), 231–237. p. 231.

[803] Rossi, Eisenman 1984, 131.

[804] Rossi, Eisenman 1984, 130-31.

people. In this theatre of the city, ceremonial city gates in Attaleia and Ephesus can be identified as focal points, where spectators engage with the historical narratives inscribed within their architectural forms.

In *Memory, History, Forgetting*, Paul Ricoeur highlights the representational character of memory, the link between memory and history, the fundamental role of forgetting, the ethical aspects of remembering and the narrative character of memory.[805] His assumptions highlight a nuanced relation between individual memory and cultural memory that contribute to the discussion on the creation of memory. Narratives play such an important role in establishing a coherent and meaningful past that helps a community relate its present to its heritage. Hadrian's imperial travels, the buildings commissioned by the emperor, the cities he visited or founded, or the buildings/inscriptions dedicated to him, the games and festivals organised in his honour, provide different narratives that shape memory and influence what is remembered and what is forgotten. These narratives are essential in order to construct a logical and unified past that allows modern society to relate to its entire historical and cultural heritage. The myths of the founding of the cities during Hadrian's reign and the visual narrative of the founding of Ephesus, also depicted on the Temple of Hadrian, can be examples of the creation of memory through such narrative and transmission.

Jan Assmann, a German Egyptologist and cultural historian, explores the use of monumental architecture in the formation, preservation, and transmission of collective memory.[806] He examines how writing, monumental architecture and ritual practices were used to shape collective memory and political identity in ancient societies, particularly in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Monumental architecture such as temples, tombs, palaces, and others are viewed in this book as embodiments of cultural memory. This serves to reinforce the social hierarchy and legitimise its authority, the religious beliefs, and their historical foundation. Assmann differentiates between communicative and cultural memory: the former is analogous

[805] P. Ricoeur. (2004*). Memory, History, Forgetting* (K. Blamey, & D. Pellauer, Trans.). The University of Chicago Press.

[806] Assmann 2011.

to Halbwach's notion of collective memory that is maintaining by society and comprises the lived experiences of its individuals. The latter is the broader sense that permeates the cultural forms and symbols, images and institutions, and is mediated by them. In other words, this involves the formation of a certain version of the past and the identity by a constant act of remembering. This is accompanied by a selective and politicised version of forgetting that is not mere absence of memory, but deliberate relegation of events, views, persons to outside of historical view. Assmann argues that societies engage in deliberate acts of remembering and forgetting to construct and maintain specific versions of their history and identity. Remembering is generally connected with a selective preservation and dissemination of memories and narratives that reinforce the cohesion of the group, the legitimisation of the structures of power, and the shape identity.[807] On the other hand, forgetting is not simply the absence of memory, but rather an active process that drives certain events, perspectives, or identities to the margins of cultural consciousness. Communicative memory is characterised by the recurrent, everyday recall of a particular historical meaning shared by social groups. Cultural memory represents a broader narrative which is transferred through generations and is maintained collectively by social institutions.[808]

The features of architecture of ancient civilisations, including the city gates of Antalya and Ephesus, reflects the cultural and political motivations behind their construction. The enduring symbols, play a crucial role in the cultural memory of the cities they locate. These gates not only commemorate Emperor Hadrian's presence, and influence but also serve as cultural artifacts that transmit the values, traditions, and historical narratives of the gates, including their restoration phases, to subsequent generations.

In *How Societies Remember* Paul Connerton describes how societies transfer and retain collective memory by two main mechanisms, incorporating practices and inscribing practices:[809] Physical practices are embodied repetitive bodily practices

[807] Assmann 2011, 23-33.

[808] Assmann 2011, 5-6; 128-9.

[809] P. Connerton. (1989). *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 41-104.

such as commemorative ceremonies, religious rituals, traditional dances, or other activities performed regularly by a social group. In this way, practices are remembered by the group and writing practices of the event create a lasting record of the event.

> A further question might be posed…that the modern production of spaces tends to generate cultural amnesia. For have there not been movements of resistance, of concerted opposition, to the enormous mutation of the human habitat generated by the changed scale of emplacement, the production of speed, and the repeated intentional destruction of the built environment? There have in fact been significant resistances. There was the resistance of topographical inertia, and there was the resistance occasioned by human intervention.[810]

On the contrary he mentions that modern societies often experience a breakdown of traditional community structures, leading to a loss of shared practices and collective memory through pace of time in modern daily routines and influence of mass media in "How Modernity Forget."[811] Connerton concludes his arguments "The investigation of forgetting, as a systematic contemporary cultural phenomenon, thus leads us ultimately and inevitably to the problem of place, and, more specifically still, to the question of place memory. But to investigate place memory in more detail we need to take a large step backwards: a step of some two thousand years."[812]

A clear connection between the role of bodily practices in the context of memory maintenance by Connerton and the construction of collective memory by Halbwachs due to the latter's focus on the social nature of memory. The similarities between their approaches related to addressing perspectives on a shared memory. Moreover, Connerton's accounts of explaining how specific practices support memory may also relate to the role of place in modernity for collective memory proposed in *lieux de mémoire* by Nora. Additionally, Connerton's reference to inscriptions and incorporation of memory could be linked to Assmann's observations on communicative and cultural forms of memory.

[810] P. Connerton. (2009). *How Modernity Forget*. Cambridge University Press. p. 136.

[811] Connerton 2009, 132-47.

[812] Connerton 2009, 93-4.

According to the theory of bodily practices, everyday use of the gate in Antalya as a passageway embeds the memory of Hadrian's visit to the inhabitants and walking through the gate is a ritualistic act that reinforces historical memory through physical engagement with the gate. While that in Ephesus, less performative interacted with, can rely more on guided tours and educational narratives to contribute to social memory.

Urban memory is the line of study concerning the cities as the objects of collective memory and culture of the spectators in the city. Christine Boyer's research provides a phenomenon of how urban spaces may be viewed as sites of memory; she differentiates the image of the cities in the way the urban fabric as a specific form may become a site of memory, a collection of traces: "City as a Work of Art, City as Panorama and the City of Spectacle."[813] She also highlights that urban architecture is not only shaped by planners and architects, but also involves the public as "spectators." Urban scenes are designed to captivate viewers, to create wonder and memory through their imagery. As we walk through the city, we construct personal spaces by blending contemporary scenes with reflections of the past to create a unique vision. Our memories of the city are "theatrical and scenic we travel back in time through images that recall bits and pieces of an earlier city, we project these earlier representations forward into recomposed and unified stagings."[814] This experience is crucial in shaping the perception of the city, which is constantly changing and evolving.

From the perspective of history and memory, the unrestored Hadrian's Gate in Ephesus serves as a fragment of the city's ancient past and a physical reminder that invites the spectator to participate in a process of interpreting and remembering the history that has shaped the urban landscape. In contrast, the gate in Antalya, through its active use and its central location in the old town, allows the inhabitants of the city to consciously and regularly communicate with their past, enabling the urban space to be remembered over time. The gate functions as a mnemonic device of the city's Roman heritage and rich past to its inhabitants and visitors.

[813] Boyer 1994, 32.

[814] Boyer 1994, 32.

Juhani Pallasmaa implies the sensory experience of architecture and considers the temporal dimension of architectural experience in *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*[815] According to him, architecture is considered as a living organism which is constantly changing and has history in its current state. He claims that our comprehension is indebted to the temporal experiences, as buildings bear the traces of past events and the marks of ongoing transformations. Pallasmaa argues that architecture should not be limited with sight, as individuals can perceive meaningful experiences through multi-sensory experience of architecture. In the same way that spaces shape our senses, exploring Ephesus and Antalya can be seen as a journey of the senses. While the city gate in Antalya continues to be an integral part of daily life and urban spectacle, its counterpart in Ephesus has faded from prominence. Individuals would interact with different tactile, visual, and auditory features of the city. For example, seeing Hadrian's Gate in Ephesus in its current unrestored state may evoke a sense of the so-called authenticity of the past. The gate is not only a landmark to be seen, but also a sight that allows people to see and mentally inhabit the world of the Ephesians. The sense of the peculiarities of the period was conveyed through the gates as part of the overall sensory experience, which allows the gates to be recognised as a more powerful and enduring monument. We can therefore recognise them not as an artefact of the past, but as an active participant in the life of the city and of a temporal process. By interacting with the gates, people can engage in a living dialogue with them across time, reflecting upon their place in the contemporary world and the importance of non-static time for humanity.

> Beyond six rivers and three mountain ranges rises Zora, a city that no one, having seen it, can forget. But not because, like other memorable cities, it leaves an unusual image in your recollections. Zora has the quality of remaining in your memory point by point, in its succession of streets, of houses along the streets, and of doors and windows in the houses, though nothing in them possesses a special beauty or rarity. Zora's secret lies in the way your gaze runs over patterns following one another as in a musical score where not a note can be altered or displaced. The man who knows by heart how Zora is made, if he is unable to sleep at night, can imagine he is walking along the streets and he remembers the order by which the copper clock follows the barber's striped awning, then the fountain with the nine jets, the astronomer's glass tower, the melon vendor's kiosk, the statue of the hermit and the lion, the Turkish bath, the cafe at the comer, the alley that leads to the harbor. This

[815] J. Pallasmaa. (2012). *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Third edition). Wiley, A John Wiley and Sons, Ltd, Publication.

> city which cannot be expunged from the mind is like an armature, a honeycomb in whose cells each of us can place the things he wants to remember: names of famous men, virtues, numbers, vegetable and mineral classifications, dates of battles, constellations, parts of speech. Between each idea and each point of the itinerary an affinity or a contrast can be established, serving as an immediate aid to memory. So the world's most learned men are those who have memorized Zora. But in vain I set out to visit the city: forced to remain motionless and always the same, in order to be more easily remembered, Zora has languished, disintegrated, disappeared. The earth has forgotten her.[816]

According to Summerson architecture is a language and orders are exercised with meaning and ceremony, usually with great elegance, into the mind of the beholder.[817] The physical completeness of a city is meaningless without its inhabitants, for it is people who bring urban spaces to life. [818] A city is designed to meet the needs of its inhabitants, who enliven its spaces like actors on a stage, each playing a role in places such as streets, agora, markets, squares, houses, gates, fountains, sanctuaries, courts, theatres and baths. Each journey takes place between related places on an axis among the armatures. The settler's purposeful daily interaction with the city is shaped by these cascading meanings and movements.[819] In order to maintain collective identity, myth and memory, there must be continuous and meaningful movement. Therefore, the most salient element that holds the city together is the visual identity of the city that is framed in people's minds.

Similarly, recreation as a fictional character by an author has added a new dimension to the significance of memory. Marguerite Yourcenar's *Mémoires d'Hadrien* is a work of fiction that traces the life of Hadrian, based on historical knowledge and to some extent the author’s creative imagination. This poignant work demonstrates how fiction can shape and enrich our understanding of historical events, figures, emperors’ relations with the cities or works of art. In addition, such a description of Hadrian makes us see this man not just as a benefactor for building of walls and a passion in Greek culture but as a thoughtful and philosophical emperor. It means that

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[816] I. Calvino. (1974). *Invisible Cities* (W. Weaver, Trans.; First edition). Harcourt Brace & Company. pp.15-6.

[817] MacDonald 1986, 266.

[818] MacDonald 1986, 266.

[819] MacDonald 1986, 267.

the novel shapes our perception of Hadrian so that such a view becomes our memory of him. In this way, the fictional character intertwining with historical accounts and architectural artefacts creates another level of perception of memory.[820]

7.4. Hadrian's Travels and Ceremonial Gates

Hadrian's extensive travels through the provinces of the Roman Empire, especially in Asia Minor, have left considerable impact on the cities he visited as attested by extant material evidence. The ceremonial city gates built in his honour at Ephesus and Attaleia did not have only the functional purpose of passage, they were of conspicuous symbolic and mnemonic significance in the interpretation of time and space within the urban environment. Both gates were and still are tangible records of the emperor's travels to those cities and the cities' cultural responses to the emperor. The travels of Hadrian and the city gates thus become connective threads in urban memory and architectural history which bring the roman past to our lives today.

> Now space is a reality that endures: since our impressions rush by, one after another, and leave nothing behind in the mind, we can understand how we recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings. It is to space - the space we occupy, traverse, have continual access to, or can at any time reconstruct in thought and imagination - that we must turn our attention. Our thought must focus on it if this or that category of remembrances is to reappear.[821]

Emperor Hadrian's travels in Asia Minor were not merely imperial journeys of the "Restless Emperor." They are reflections on aspects of urban landscapes and strategic endeavours in the assertion of Roman power and the construction of cultural diplomacy. The ceremonial city gates, erected in his honour underline the intersection of political ideology and architectural patronage, highlighting the role of architecture in projecting imperial authority, *euergetism* and legitimising Greco-Roman narratives.

Memory studies provide a transdisciplinary framework for understanding how memories are constructed, transmitted and even contested within a society. Looking

[820] Originally written in French, this book has been translated into different languages, including Turkish, which is also well-known in Türkiye.

[821] M. Halbwachs 1980, 39-40.

at Hadrian's travels can offer various insights into how memory can be a useful approach to understand how his imperial memory was accumulated and transmitted within the empire. In this regard, Ephesus and Attaleia hold "hybrid forms of memory"[822] that "make difference into sameness and sameness into difference, but in such a way that the same is no longer the same, the different no longer different."[823]

Effects of Romanisation were manifested differently in the cities in Asia Minor with a Greek and Anatolian past compared to the western provinces of the Empire where such influences ran less deep. These experiences create a layered physical and intangible environment in which individuals become intertwined with the social memory embedded in the 'places' with which they are consciously or unconsciously associated, or even believe themselves to be.

Considering the complex relationship between memory and time, Sigmund Freud's analogy in *Civilization and Its Discontents*, between the physical appearance of Rome and its relationship to memory, is revealing:.

> Now let us make the fantastic supposition that Rome were not a human dwelling-place, but a mental entity with just as long and varied a past history: that is, in which nothing once constructed had perished, and all the earlier stages of development had survived alongside the latest…the palaces of the Caesars were still standing on the Palatine…the beautiful statues were still standing in the colonnade of the Castle of St. Angelo…the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, not merely in its latest form, moreover, as the Romans of the Caesars saw it, but also in its earliest shape, when it still wore an Etruscan design and was adorned with terra-cotta antefixae. Where the Coliseum stands now, we could at the same time admire Nero's Golden House; on the Piazza of the Pantheon we should find not only the Pantheon of today as bequeathed to us by Hadrian, but on the same site also Agrippa's original edifice… And the observer would need merely to shift the focus of his eyes, perhaps, or change his position, in order to call up a view of either the one or the other. [824]

This analogy can also be applied to multi-layered cities in Asia Minor like Attaleia and Ephesus that preserve changes in architectural memory similar with Rome and

[822] S. E. Alcock. (2002). *Archaeologies of the Greek Past Landscape, Monuments and Memories*. Cambridge University Press. p. 95.

[823] Alcock 2002, 96.

[824] S. Freud. (1930). *Civilization and its Discontents* (J. Riviere, Trans.). Leonard & Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press, and the Institute of Psycho-analysis. pp. 17-19.

serve as generators of collective memory. Freud discusses the challenge of representing historical sequences in spatial terms and argues that while juxtaposition in space can be used to represent different historical contents, the same space cannot hold multiple contents simultaneously. This approach highlights our limitations in understanding mental life through visual representation. Freud challenges the idea of comparing the history of a city to the past of the mind. This comparison is valid "Even for mental life our assumption that everything past is preserved holds good only on condition that the organ of the mind remains intact, and its structure has not been injured by traumas or inflammation."[825]

In this connection, Yegül quotes Freud in saying that forgetting is the greatest trauma in mental life, anamnesis of the past, and further, "unlike the physical world of the city, where the same space cannot have different contents, in the transparencies of the mind nothing is allowed to perish, and everything can be preserved at the same time and brought back under the right conditions."[826]

Building types have a distinct set of characteristics that can be readily observed in the built environment. Urban design is a dynamic art form that can evoke different interpretations and meanings over time.

> At every instant, there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear a setting or a view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of experiences.[827]

Similarly, "Rome becomes a palimpsestic city, which may be read from different directions at levels to tell every episode in the city's history."[828] As already noted, changing the reference from "Rome" in the quotation to "Ephesus" or "Attaleia" does not affect the original meaning. Similar to Rome, these cities hide the memories

[825] Freud 1930, 19.

[826] F. K. Yegül. (2000a). Memory, Metaphor and Meaning in the Cities of Asia Minor in Romanization and the city: Creation, Transformations and Failures. (Elizabeth Fentress, Ed.), *Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series no.38*, 133-153. p. 152.

[827] Lynch 1960, 1.

[828] C. Edwards. (1996). *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge University Press. p. 28.

of different civilisations in their layers. From a completely different point of view, a person, may experience reading an ancient city while allowing to come to terms with numerous artistic and theoretical works that often depict and even touch upon visual memory, collective memory, cultural memory, and architectural history.

Roman emperors, as symbols of imperial power, took certain initiatives to connect with the people and foster collective remembrance. On a larger scale, they used architecture as a powerful tool to visually communicate their authority. As the patrons of Rome, emperors or the benefactors in the cities, financed structures and complexes, which can be categorised as public promenades through the city armature.[829] Those places where social, political and economic life was facilitated, enriching urban life with canonical figures and forms based on collective memory. At the same time, some of the buildings were not just an indication of practical needs, but also an allusion to cultural ambitions and popular engagement. These complexes were located in the heart of the city, close to densely populated residential areas. These meeting places are used for various activities where people communicate. The superior/imperial projects embody -kinetogenesis-[830] to keep the social interaction at its zenith.

As a form of kinetic force on Roman urban development, resembling the layout characteristic of their military camps, it was developed with the understanding that form symbolises language and memory, especially in the form of funerary rites. According to Polybius, famous men were known for their achievements and their effigies were made and displayed in family shrines, while future generations learned about them through visual rites. As such "There could be no more beautiful or effective spectacle for an ambitious and virtuous young man. For whom would not be inspired by the sight of almost living, breathing images of men famous for their excellence?"[831]

[829] P. Zanker. (2010). By the Emperor, for the People: "Popular" Architecture". In B. J. Ewald, & C.F. Norena (Eds.), *The Emperor and Rome. Space, Representation and Ritual Rome* (pp. 45-89). Cambridge University Press. p. 46.

[830] MacDonald 1986, 268-9: *Kinetogenesis*: A bringing into being through motion.

[831] Onians 1999, 169.

Places stirred emotions, memories, people and even ideas. These were part of the intellectual aspects of culture. Roman writers were keen to use 'space' as a 'subject', as a 'medium', to explore the relationship between past and present. Cicero gave two-hour speeches in the Roman Senate without notes. The method he used two thousand years ago was quite impressive. He structured his mind as an empty palace (no rooms, no furniture) and imagined that he was walking through the empty rooms, recalling the ideas that were worth remembering by locating them in the space. Cicero's art of memory was rooted in remembering the themes of a speech by weaving the relationship between the space and the theme in relation to the given space. Places/spaces take on a new meaning with a new function as national and personal repositories of memory. The response of Piso, a friend of Cicero, to a conversation during a visit to Plato's Academy in Athens is as follows:

> Are we prompted, I wonder by nature or by fantasy when, on seeing places which we know to have been the favourite haunts of distinguished men, we are more moved than when we hear of their deeds or read something that they have written? Such is the emotion I now feel. For Plato comes before my mind-tradition says it was here he used to debate...[832]

This observation states that the effect of visiting the Academy is superior to reading Plato's texts, that places have a greater influence on people than written documents, that topography is at the heart of literary narrative.

Public celebrations and ceremonies, such as funerals and parades of victors, also shaped citizens and states and linked to imperial power. The victors paraded through the cities displaying their prisoners and spoils, creating a permanent visual record in the places where the events took place. MacDonald described the urban fabric of a Roman city and the way in which the various elements interacted with the flow of people, while the gates, in his view, were one of the features of the city's armature. The gates, as major urban elements, determined the flow of the city and the structure within it. Considering all the practices and rituals that have evolved over the centuries and even changed from time to time, those ensure that there is an inseparable communication with the person/society/group and the place. The strongest power source of this communication is a flow of energy, i.e. movement

[832] D. Lyndon, & C. W. Moore. (1994). *Chambers for A Memory Palace*. MIT Press.

patterns consume the cultural memory.[833] It is known that Gates of Hadrian in Ephesus and Antalya are located at important movement patterns.

"Roman Ephesus was successful in transforming its privileged situation into a perfect moment of urban experience, both civilized and delightful." [834] So much so that it is recorded that the processional route for Artemis in Ephesus continued after the Roman Empire took over. In the memory of the city and its inhabitants, there are rituals that create and sustain memory. As such, collective experiences are one of the most important bonds that ensure and strengthen the coexistence of different groups. Therefore, processions or sacrifices are one of the collective activities that reinforce memory, the ritual that did not fall into oblivion during the Roman period being a notable example C. Vibius Salutaris, Ephesian nobleman, Roman citizen of the equestrian order under Trajan, financially supported and organised the Ephesian Artemis Salutaris procession, which represented both the mythical past and the sacred identity of the city.[835] The procession started from the Temple of Artemis and entered through the Magnesian Gate, passing through the city and stopping at its most important monuments, buildings - the main gates, the basilica, the shrines, the *bouletarion*. Besides the statuettes of Artemis, historical heroes and founders of the community - Oranos, Ge, Pion, Androclus and Lysimachos, and Roman imperial figures - Augustus, Trajan, Plotina and the personification of the Roman Senate, people on horseback were carried. F. Millar explains this collective Greek and Roman ownership as "the rituals celebrated the present as the fulfilment of a long history, not an opposition between the Greek past and the Roman present".[836]

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[833] A. Russell. (2014). Memory and Movement in the Roman Fora from Antiquity to Metro C. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 73*(4):478-506. İ.Ü. Karababa. (2006). Roma Dönemi Tören Alaylarının Kent Dokusuna Etkileri: Roma ve İstanbul'daki Zafer Alayları. *Olba (14)*, 127-148.

[834] F. K. Yegül. (1994). Ephesus: The Street Experience of Ancient Ephesus. In Z. Çelik, D. Favro, & R. Ingersoll (Eds.), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (1st ed., pp. 95–110). University of California Press. p. 107.

[835] Z. Aktüre. (2019). Antik Dönemden Günümüze Ritüel Mekanı olarak Efes. In Ç. Atakuman (Ed.), *Arkeolojide Ritüel ve Toplum, Tematik Arkeoloji Serisi (TAS 5)* (pp. 319-341). Ege Yayınları. P. Yoncacı. (2007). *Roman Urban Space Framed by Colonnades: Mediating Between Myth, Memory and History In Ephesus.* (Publication No. 217969) [Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. p. 57.

[836] Yegül 2000, 1.

In conclusion, the synthesis of interdisciplinary scholarly insights and the ceremonial gates of Antalya and Ephesus offer compelling views of memory, architecture and urban spectacle in the past and today. The ceremonial gates, considered as a text, become the subject of this study, inviting interpretation and translation into different languages through the lens of *ars memoriae*. Whether intertwined with people's daily routines or waiting to attract visitors in the conditions of isolated archaeological sites, these ceremonial gates are engraved in the cultural, collective, individual, and urban memory of Türkiye. By engaging with new theories and sensory experiences, we can identify the dynamics of commemoration and the nature of collective memory in contemporary contexts. Through interdisciplinary inquiry and critical reflection, we can further enrich our understanding of the city as a living organism, a theatre of memory, where spectators actively engage with the layered narratives inscribed in its architectural fabric.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Like the 'restless' emperor's long travels, all routes begin and end at the gates. Gates are highly significant symbolic markers in both urban and architectural contexts, usually richly decorated. They influence the spatial organisation and experiential quality of cities.

In the urban context, armatures connect the urban fabric and contribute to the social and cultural life of the city. Consisting of main streets, squares and key public buildings, armatures connect different parts of the city from gate to gate, with prominent intersections and entranceways that provide context for Roman civic architecture and a distinctive image of the city, highlighting the integral nature of Roman urbanism.

In our lives, 'gates' exist as phenomena of *loci* providing transition or discontinuity in one form or another in both urban and personal contexts. At every physical, experiential and mental level we make a choice to either go through a gate or to remain where we are. If the purpose or sense of choice is to move forward, we go through and continue along the path which the gate leads to. This intention gives gates a sense of meaning and marks them as nodes of the choices we make and the routes we follow. Gates remind and perpetuate the potential of entering a new phase, embarking on a spiritual journey, or simply moving from one space to another, through awareness, memory and intention in navigating our environment and experiences.

Gates are everywhere in our lives whether as triumphal arches, city gates, ceremonial gates, doorways, castle gates, border gates, customs gates, sliding doors, etc. both as physical structures that define spaces and as spiritual symbols that mark our temporal and spatial journeys. In other words, gate and transition are interlinked phenomena

representing the boundaries and transitions that shape our experiences. They both define and remind us of the choices we make and the paths we follow, both in physical and non-physical spaces.

Two different Roman ceremonial city gates that were erected to commemorate the visits of the Emperor Hadrian in Attaleia (Antalya) and Ephesus (Ephesus) in the second century were the focus of this study. Through these gates, the study demonstrated Hadrian's lasting influence and unravelled the symbiotic relationship between Hadrian's imperial authority and the responses of these cities. How this dynamic continues to be shaped culturally, historically, and socially was also an important outcome of this study. The interactive meaning of 'living space' in the context of Hadrian's architectural legacy, both in the past and present was made apparent by highlighting multiple perceptions of these gates from the perspective of ancient literary sources and modern scholarship combined with personal experience and site visits in tracking Emperor Hadrian's known travels in Asia Minor.

Considering the historical and symbolic significance of gates, this study showed that the two gates in Attaleia and Ephesus erected in honour of Emperor Hadrian are pertinent examples of *lieux de mémoire*. They symbolise the enduring legacy of Hadrian having been there and preserve the characteristics of local architectural forms in the Roman Empire. Also, they encapsulate the essence of transition and the complexities of urban experience. Above all, they serve as mnemonic devices for collective memory, embodying historical significance that can be a timeless bridge between the spatial and the symbolic, the material and the metaphysical. The perception of gates as both boundaries and passageways continues to exist in the perception of physical or intellectual space in shaping the contemporary experience of the inhabitants of Antalya and the visitors of Ephesus.

Collective memory and social interaction, help us to understand how ceremonial gates remain as points of reference for communal memory, helping to remember the past and perpetuate a shared identity. The study reveals that through their material presence, these gates have become repositories of memory, preserving the narratives of Emperor Hadrian's travels and his importance in the region. As such, these gates

shape collective consciousness within the modern and ancient urban fabric. The gate at Ephesus, located within a richly ornamented and dense Roman archaeological context, has become a symbol of the city's historical strata and a physical link to the past. While the one in Attaleia plays a more active role in terms of contemporary social interaction and functions as a lively marker in the old part of the modern city today. The continued use and the naming of places around the gate in reference to Hadrian or Üç Kapılar exemplify the collective memory of the local people living there in our times.

The gate is a fundamental division of space and perception, both as a physical structure and as a symbolic archetype. By holding a passageway, it can be a transition point from the familiar to the unknown, from the present to another realm. In terms of its location, the gate is both a deliberate stop in the flow of energy of movement and a junction, signalling a transition to another physical space or sacred (metaphoric) space, privacy, another culture, sameness, otherness or a pause or interruption. Sometimes the gate symbolises stopping and reflecting, either literally or metaphorically. In this sense, the quality of transition or pause between 'here' and 'there' gives the gate tremendous power. Therefore, through its presence or absence, the gate testifies to the presence of other buildings in the city armature. It holds its meaning alone and in whole with the urban layout. The study provides testimony to how the gate remains a powerful symbol of transition, identity and memory in the context of the contemporary urban environment and archaeological site.

Cities embody the evolving elements of urban memory and have a key role in preserving the collective memory of their inhabitants. They are both 'chests' and 'repositories', both harbouring and reflecting the space and the meanings preserved within them. In fact, this preservation is so strong that it preserves, and in a sense, creates all the physical and non-physical elements that make up the memory of the city and of the past, present and even the future. The urban phenomenon that best embodies the meaning of 'conservation' changes over time, forming different layers due to changes in the physical environment. At the same time, the city also bears the traces of multi-layered communication at every intersection of the individual's communication with the "city" or "space."

At this juncture the dynamic interconnected relationship between "experience" and "spatial communication", "architecture" and "memory", which acquires a meaningful and experiential integrity through reciprocal experiences which, in forming the individual and spatial memory, do not depend solely on a physical space, cannot be ignored.

This study also contributes to the modern discourse on Romanisation. The cultural and material architectural wealth created in Anatolia in the second century by the travels and personal benefactions of Hadrian, emerges as an intercultural testimony. The complex process of cultural change, particularly as expressed in architecture and its response in social memory is remarkably flexible and pliable. Hadrian's gates in Antalya and Ephesus, previously inhabited cities before the Roman influence, reflected a nuanced process of cultural integration, where existing local traditions were blended with Roman elements. This approach was different from the straightforward imposition of Roman culture seen in some more barren cultural landscapes of the Roman Empire.

Hadrian's gates in Ephesus and Antalya are more than just architectural structures; they were vital elements of the urban armature that organise space, influence movement, and shape the experiential quality of these cities. These gates are critical nodes that connect different parts of the city, both physically and symbolically. While the one in Ephesus allows us to experience the ancient city as it once was, the one in Attaleia has become integrated into the present-day urban fabric.

On a larger scale, the collective or cultural memory emanating from ancient cities like Ephesus and Attaleia is an invaluable part of global heritage. On the basis of reading the urban narrative through social interaction, as stated by Halbwachs: "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognise, and localise their memories."[837] Otherwise, memories lacking movement of people walking in the streets, spending time in front of buildings and monuments cannot be remembered as a heritage to be passed on to future

[837] M. Halbwachs. (1992). *On Collective Memory* (Lewis A. Coser, Ed. & Trans). Chicago University Press. p. 38.

generations. When remembrance is absent, the space and the memory connection disintegrates and falls into oblivion.

> It is immediately clear that no text, even the most apparently documentary, even the most "objective" … entertains a transparent relationship with the reality that it apprehends. …categories of thought and these principles of writing must be brought to light before one attempts any "positive" reading of the document. The real then takes on a new meaning: what is real, in fact, is not (or is not only) the reality aimed at by the text, but the very manner in which the text aims at it in the historicity of its production and the strategy of its writing. [838]

It is important to be aware and make use of visual and literary materials, and only then extend to paraphrase the established reality to understand the rationalisation of the built environment. In doing so, it is imperative to keep a critical distance to the source at hand such as document, image, photograph, memoire, model, building, etc. that the medium addressing the "fact" might be an "image" of the fact, since the readers in desire for production might be juxtaposed with the cultural memory rooted from the past which could be framed through the memories of cultural identities.

Roman architecture, and its narrative function as a language conveys not only meaning to the viewer, embedding the city in collective purpose but also narrative - experienced through *kinetogenesis.* As urban narrative unfolds with movement, walking in shared spaces allows for collective experiencing and social interacting. As people walk together, they engage in conversations, share stories, and collectively construct narratives that become part of the collective memory. The act of walking thus becomes a social practice that contributes to the formation of shared memories within a community or society. Walking can be considered as a repetitive and structured practice, often linked to specific contexts or events. This repetition reinforces the link between the act of walking and the memories associated with it, further solidifying the relationship between spatial practices and memory formation. Bodily presence and walking create and disseminate this 'flow of energy'. Hence, when people encounter Hadrian's gates in Attaleia and Ephesus, they go through a different experience of the place each time they are in a group, reading the information on a map, on information boards, using an application, following a

[838] R. Chartier. (1982). Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories. In D. LaCapra & S. L. Kaplan (Eds.), *Modern European Intellectual History*, 13-46. pp. 39-40

guided tour or on their own, which will create different layers of memory and experience of this place.

Looking at the passageways, routes and junctions in the Roman period, some restored structures can be seen on the route to Hadrian's Gate when entering the city gates in Ephesus. The main walking routes are still used by visitors today. Although the restoration of all the structures has not been completed, the partially completed structures on the same main walking route today and in Roman times provide a physical and experiential experience of the nodes that exist today and in antiquity. Although in Antalya walking along the axis of the Hadrian Gate was lower in ancient times than it is today, restorations of the mansions in the old city uncovered remains of the axis route date back to the Roman period and the remains of buildings that shed light on the urban layout. Some of these ruins can be seen beneath the buildings now used as hotels or under the glass panels (Fig 177) that cover some areas of the walkway.

It might be expected that the fascination with Roman conquest and magnificence would have dissolved in today's world. However, the continued construction of buildings with the form and even the name of a triumphal arch, still used in architectural style centuries later, shows the continuity of admiration for the conquest mentality. Thus, imitation of the triumphal arches in Rome and the terminological confusion of concepts and connotations on "arch, triumphal arch, gateway, ceremonial gate" recall the influence of Roman architectural forms. The newly erected triumphal arch (Porta Macedonia) (Fig. 178) in the centre of Skopje is an example of imitated acculturation.

From another perspective, some commemorative proposals highlighting the Hadrianic period in Türkiye from various social, architectural, cultural experiences can be considered. For example, given the growing popularity of paths like Hadrian's Wall Path in the United Kingdom, an official celebration of Hadrian's Path Türkiye could be implemented. The project could engage all the cities Hadrian visited in Türkiye and the route could offer not only a path for trekking but also descriptions

and calls to places of interest of Hadrian's influence as well as the architectural heritage of the Roman period. Cultural festivals and a series of events could be organised to highlight the heritage of Hadrian from a historical, aesthetic and philosophical point of view. The reactivation of a festival route, comparable to the ancient processional route of Artemis, would certainly add value to any visitor to Ephesus. Similarly, the Gate of Hadrian in modern Antalya could also become potential venue for cultural festivals.

In sum, the main contribution of this thesis is identifying the significance of two gates built in the 2nd century in honour of Emperor Hadrian in Antalya and Ephesus, both during the Roman period and in modern contexts. The significance of the gates from different theoretical perspectives also provides an insight into the conceptual complexity of the concepts of 'gate', 'arch' and 'triumphal arch'. It brings to the fore on the known itineraries of the emperor in Asia Minor and the social, cultural, and architectural communication that these itineraries and the emperor's personality created with cities and people.

Whether intertwined with life in the centre of modern Antalya or awaiting the attention of those visiting the archaeological site in Ephesus, the ceremonial gates of Hadrian are indispensable as components of the cultural, collective, individual, and urban memory of Türkiye. While acknowledging the dynamic nature of urban memory in contemporary contexts, engaging with different theoretical perspectives and sensory experiences allows us to unravel the intricacies of remembering and collective memory. Multidisciplinary approach and critical thinking can further enhance understanding the 'city as a theatre' of memory, allowing us to 'travel' back and forth within the multiple narratives that are inscribed in its architectural fabric and beyond. These narratives are global and universal where Hadrian is encountered through the 'worldly stage' of Antalya and Ephesus.

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APPENDICES

A. FIGURES

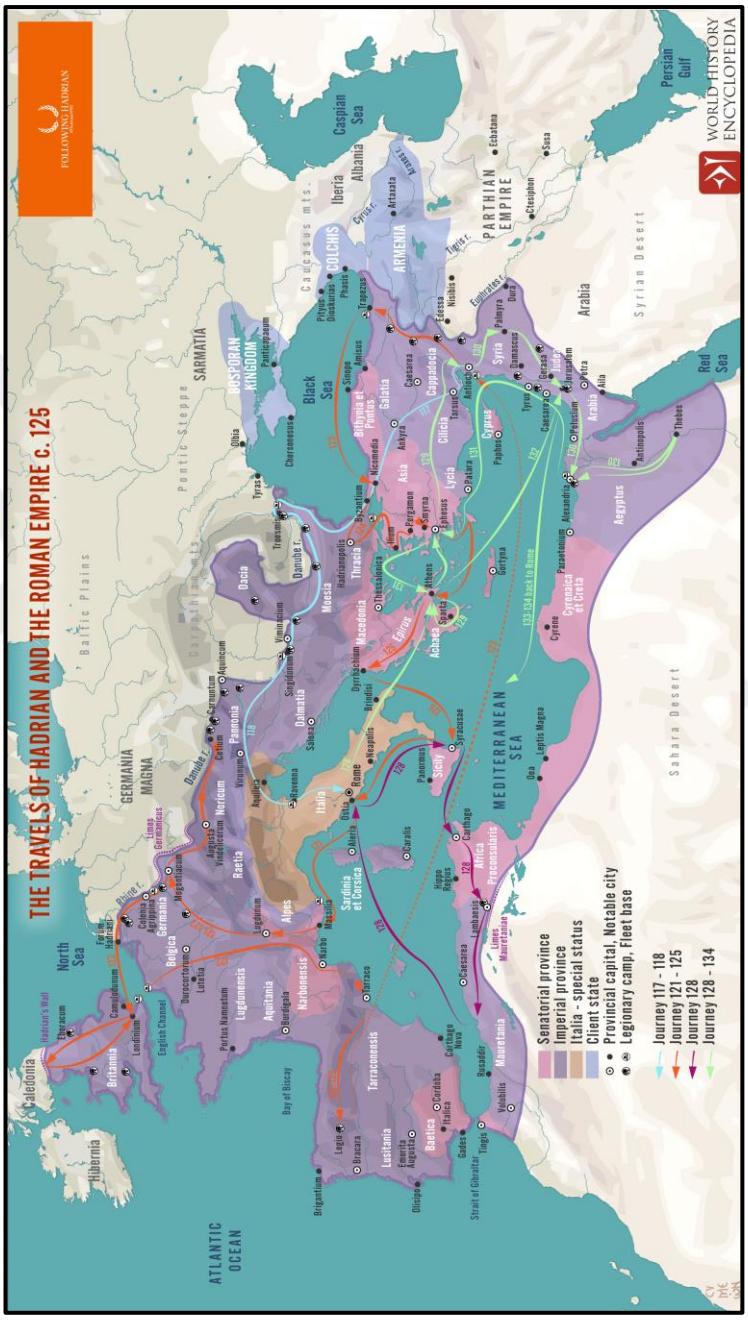


Figure 1 - Map of Travels of Hadrian and the Roman Empire, c. 125

Source: The Travels of Hadrian across the Roman Empire. Map created by Simeon Netchev for World History Encyclopedia and Following Hadrian (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).
https://followinghadrian.com/hadriantravels/

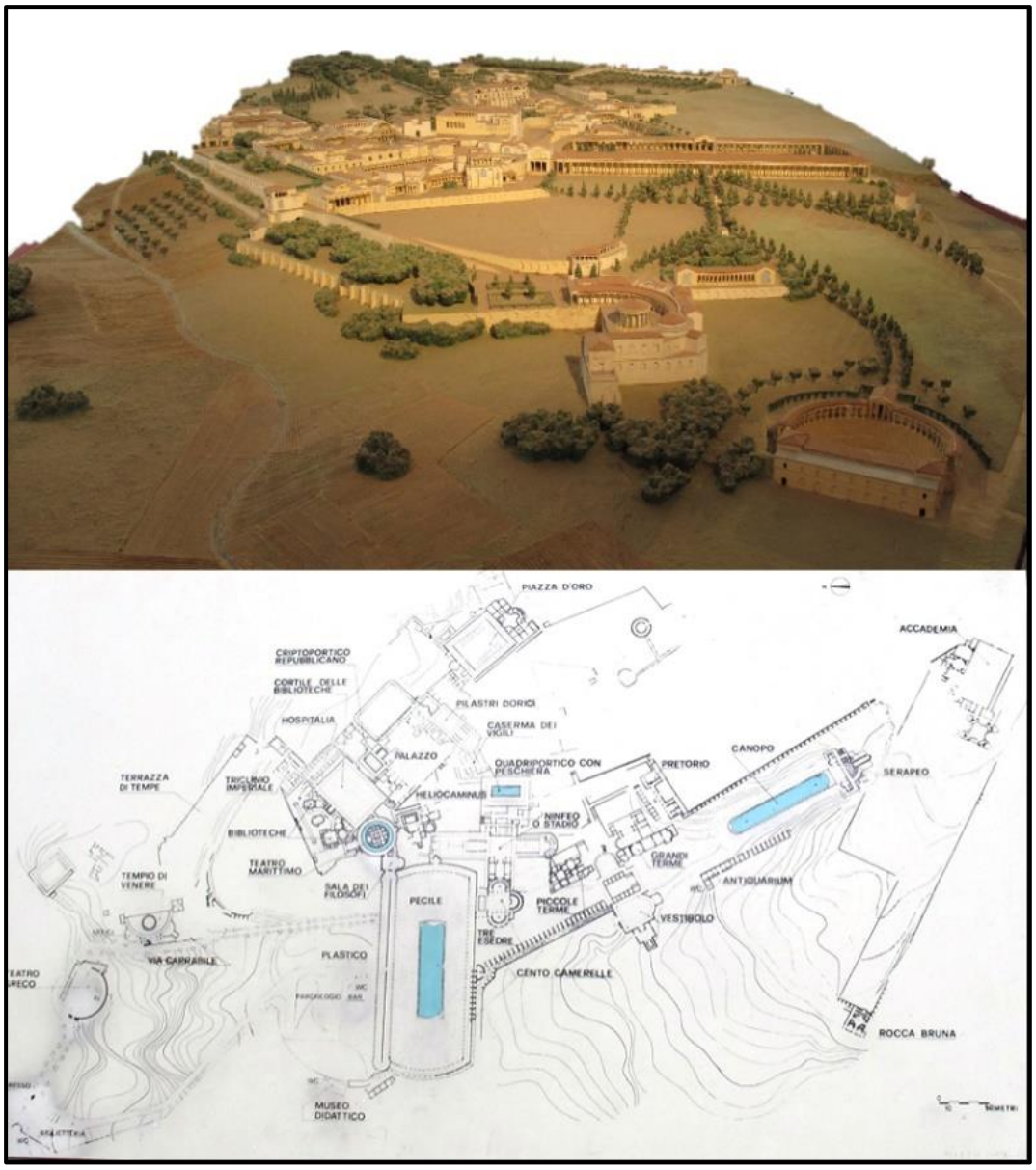


Figure 2 - Model and Plan of Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli
(author's photograph)

Figure 3 - Flavian Amphitheatre (Colosseum), Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 4 - Domitian's Palace, Rome
(author's photograph)

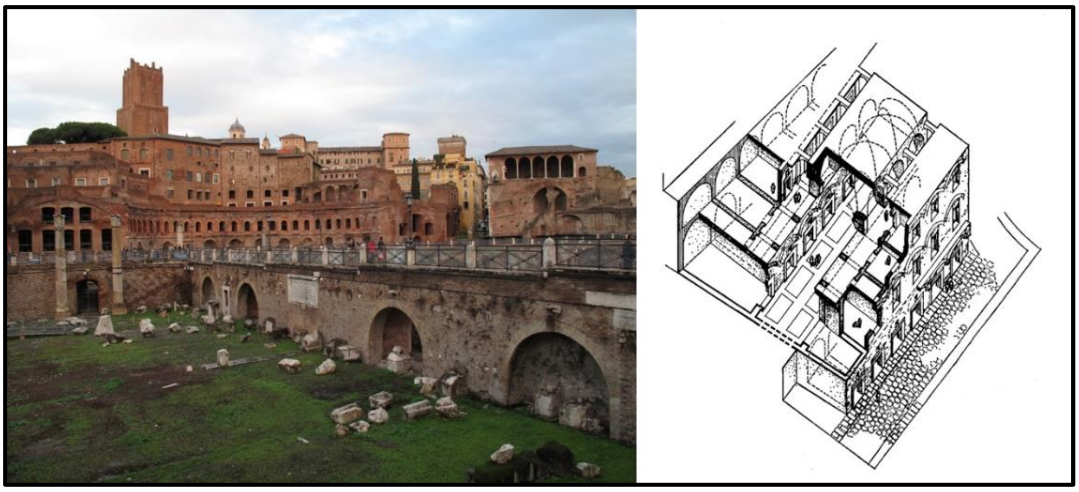


Figure 5 - Trajan's Markets, Apollodorus of Damascus, Rome & Axonometric view

Source: On the left: author's photograph. On the right: Axonometric view in Kostof, S. (2010). *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals: International Second Edition*. Oxford University Press. Fig.9.30 (b).

Figure 6 - Scalloped vaults of baths, Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli (author's photograph)

Figure 7 - Pantheon, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 8 - Temple of Venus & Rome, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 9 - Castel Saint Angelo & Pons Aelius Bridge, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 10 - Canopus, Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli
(author's photograph)

Figure 11 - Statue of Hadrian, Archaeological Museum, Seville (author's photograph)

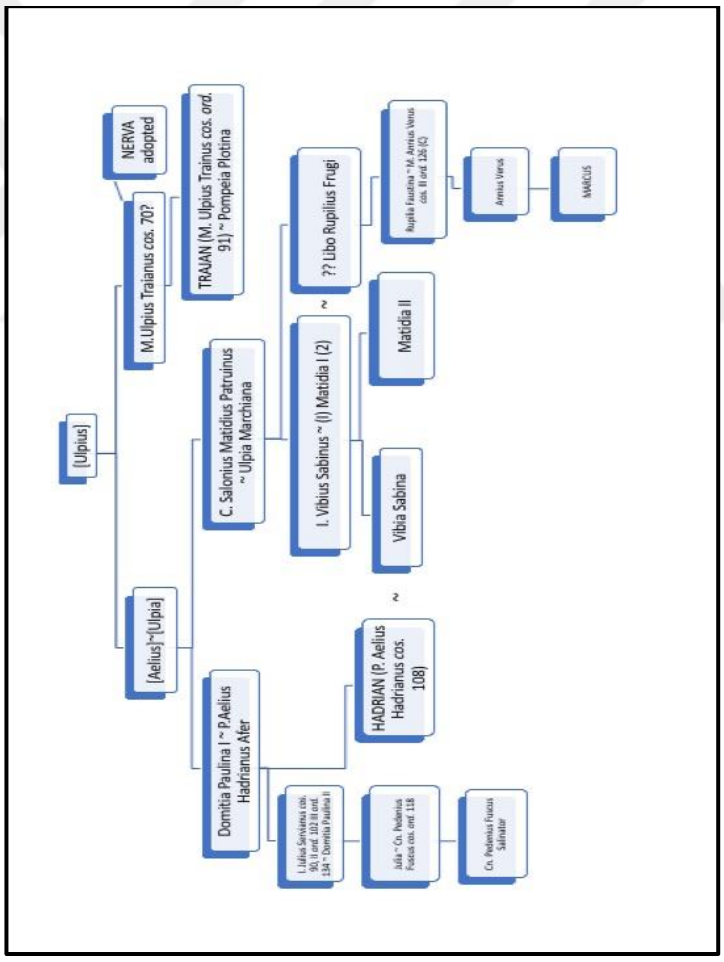


Figure 12 - The Family of Ulpius: Trajan and Hadrian

Source: Adapted from Birley, A. R. (1976). Lives of the later Caesars: The first part of the Augustan history, with newly compiled lives of Nerva and Trajan. Penguin Books. p. 317. Genealogical Table, A. Trajan and Hadrian.

Figure 13 - Map of Baetica

Source: Adapted from the map at National Archaeological Museum (MAN), Madrid. (author's photograph)

Figure 14 - Trajan, Archaeological Museum, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 15 - Domitian, National Archaeological Museum (MAN), Madrid
(author's photograph)

Figure 16 - Sabina, Prado Museum, Madrid
(author's photograph)

Figure 17 - Coin, *aureus*, Plotina and Matidia, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.8042. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8042

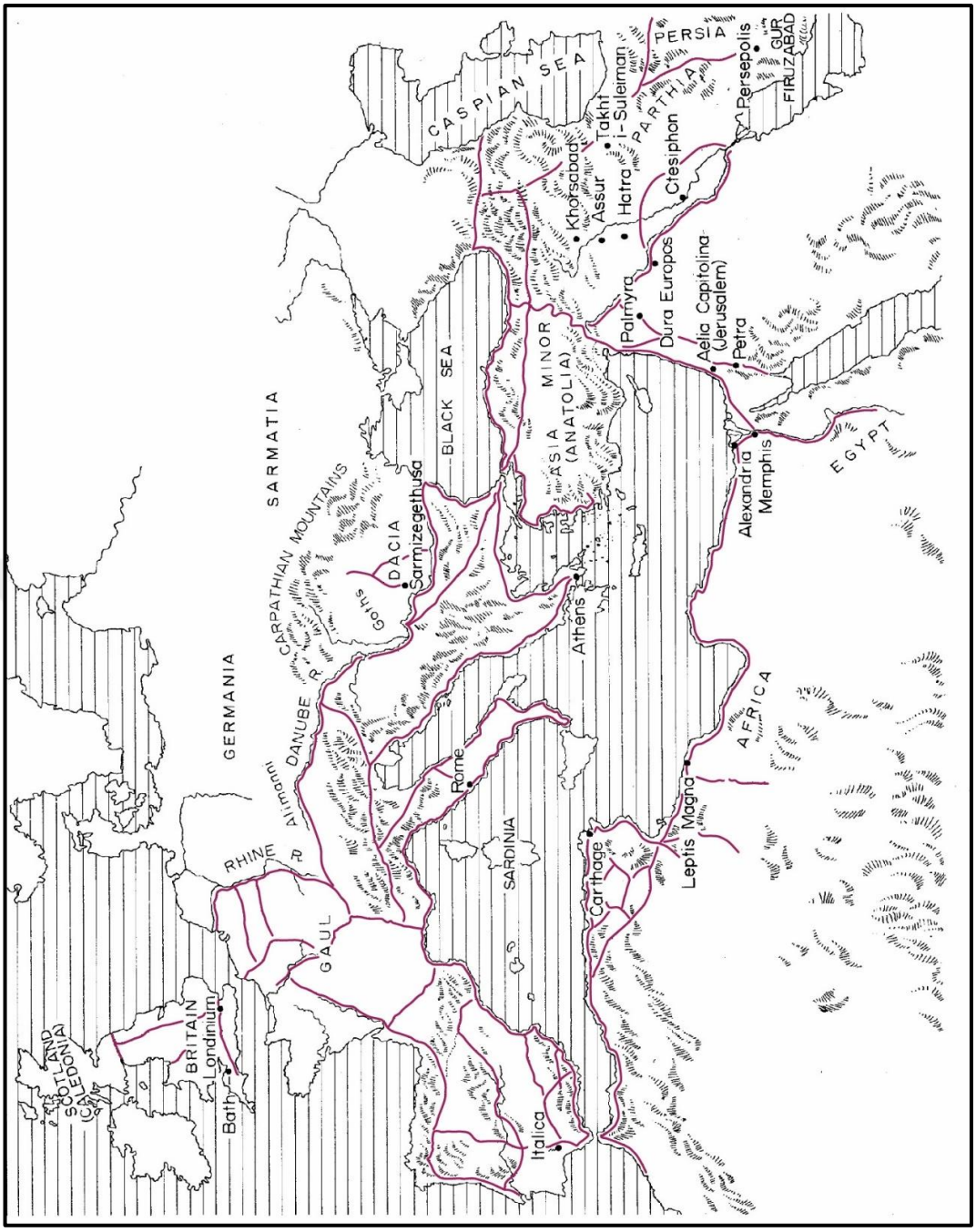


Figure 18 - Map of the Roman Empire at the time of Hadrian (CE 117-138). The Lines indicate the major land routes.

Source: Adapted from Kostof, S. (2010). *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals: International Second Edition*. Oxford University Press. Fig.10.1.

Figure 19 - Trajan's Column, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 20 - Forum of Trajan, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 21 - Coin, *aureus*, Trajan, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.8040. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8040

Figure 22 - Antonius Pius, National Archaeological Museum (MAN), Madrid (On the left: author's photograph)

Figure 23 - Marcus Aurelius, National Archaeological Museum (MAN), Madrid (On the right: author's photograph)

Figure 24 - *Ara Pacis*, Rome
(author's photograph)

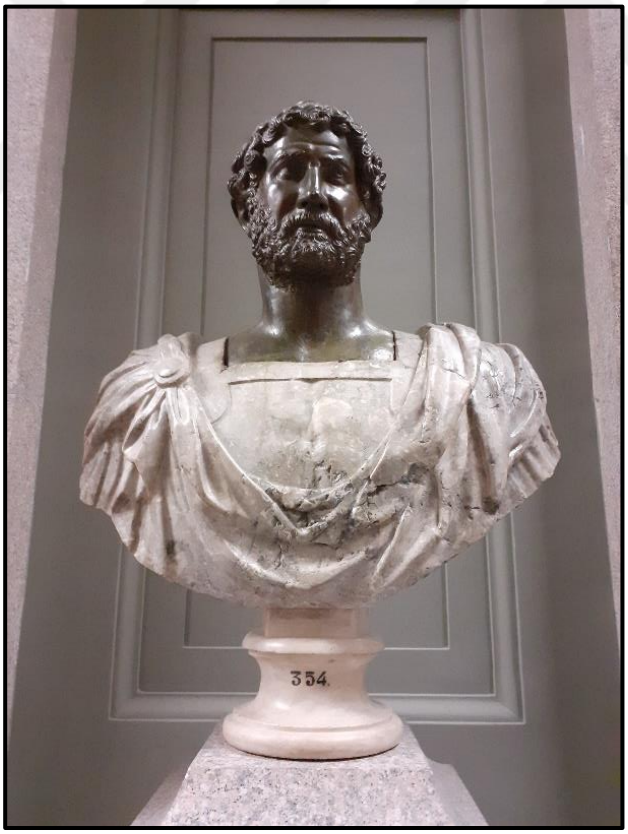


Figure 25 - Hadrian, Prado Museum, Madrid
(author's photograph)

Figure 26 - Coin, *sestertius*, financial support, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.9308 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-9308

Figure 27 - Temple of Saturn, Rome

Aerarium, treasury of ancient Rome, housed in the Temple of Saturn which is adjacent to *tabularium*. The view on the left is from *tabularium*, which is part of Capitoline Museum today. (author's photograph)

Figure 28 - Coin, *sestertius*, financial support, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.9290 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-9290

Figure 29 - *Plutei Trajani* and *Plutei Trajani*, Curia, Rome (author's photograph)

Source: Jenkins, A. S. (1901). The "Trajan-Reliefs" in the Roman Forum. American Journal of Archaeology, 5(1), 58–82. https://doi.org/10.2307/496600. The relief above depicts the Trajan's programme of food aid (*alimenta*) for the children of the poor. The emperor is approached by the allegorical figure of a woman holding a child in her arms and leading another by the hand, seated in a draped chair on a low platform (*suggestum*), with one foot on a stool. The relief below shows the burning of records (*syngraphae*) from the *Tabularium* in a remission of tax debts, probably by Hadrian in 118 CE. His remission was of nine hundred million sesterces in debt to the state. The upper part of the middle and end blocks is missing, and only part of the *suggestum* is visible. On the back of both reliefs, the three animals of the *suovetaurilia*, the sow, the sheep and the bull (sus, ovis, and taurus), are garlanded, with a wide belt over the back of the sow and the bull.

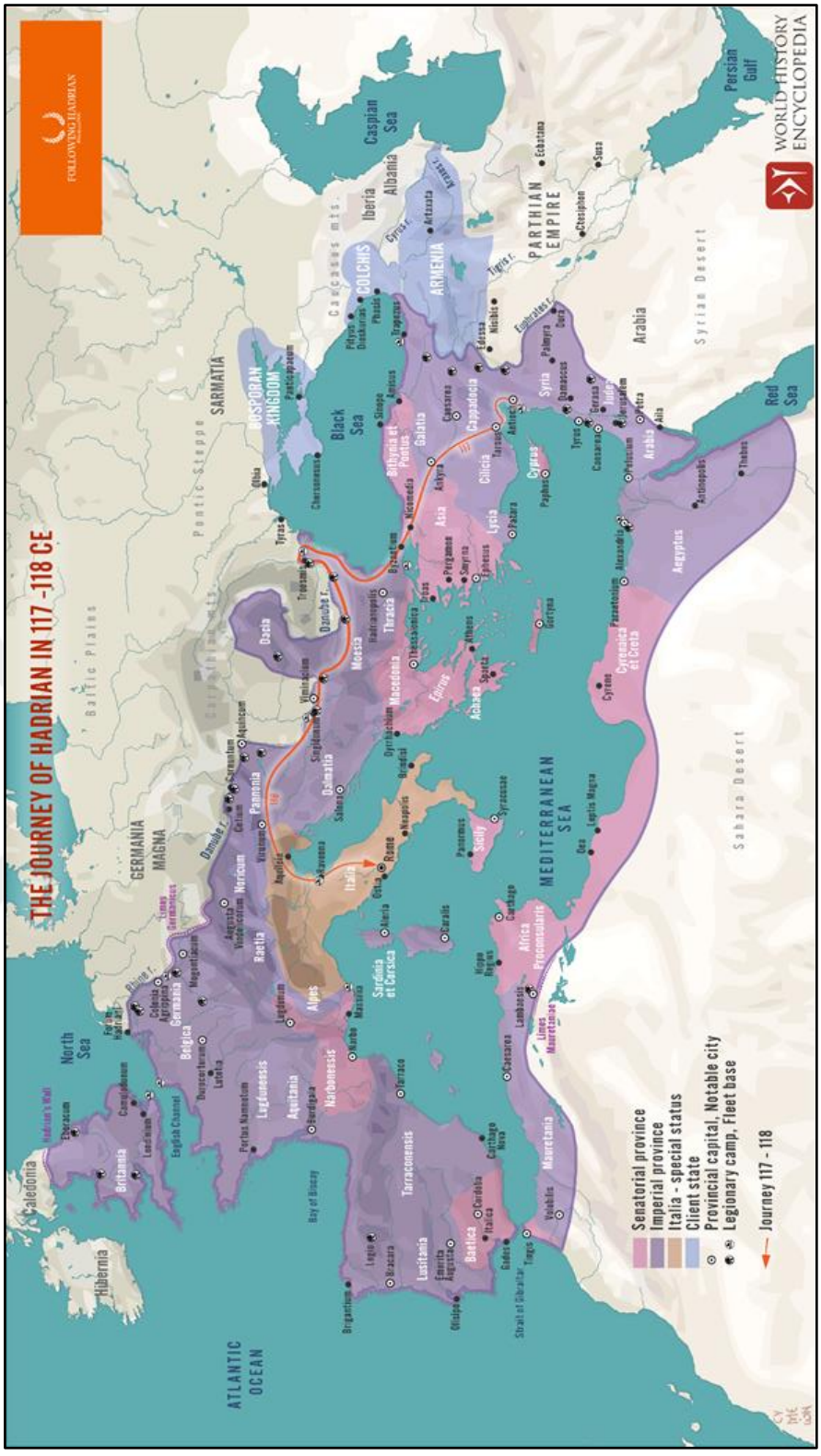


Figure 30 - Travels of Hadrian (117-118 CE)

Source: Map created by Simeon Netchev for World History Encyclopedia and Following Hadrian (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). Following Hadrian. https://i0.wp.com/followinghadrian.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/1.The-Journey-of-Hadrian-117-118-CE-FH.png?ssl=1

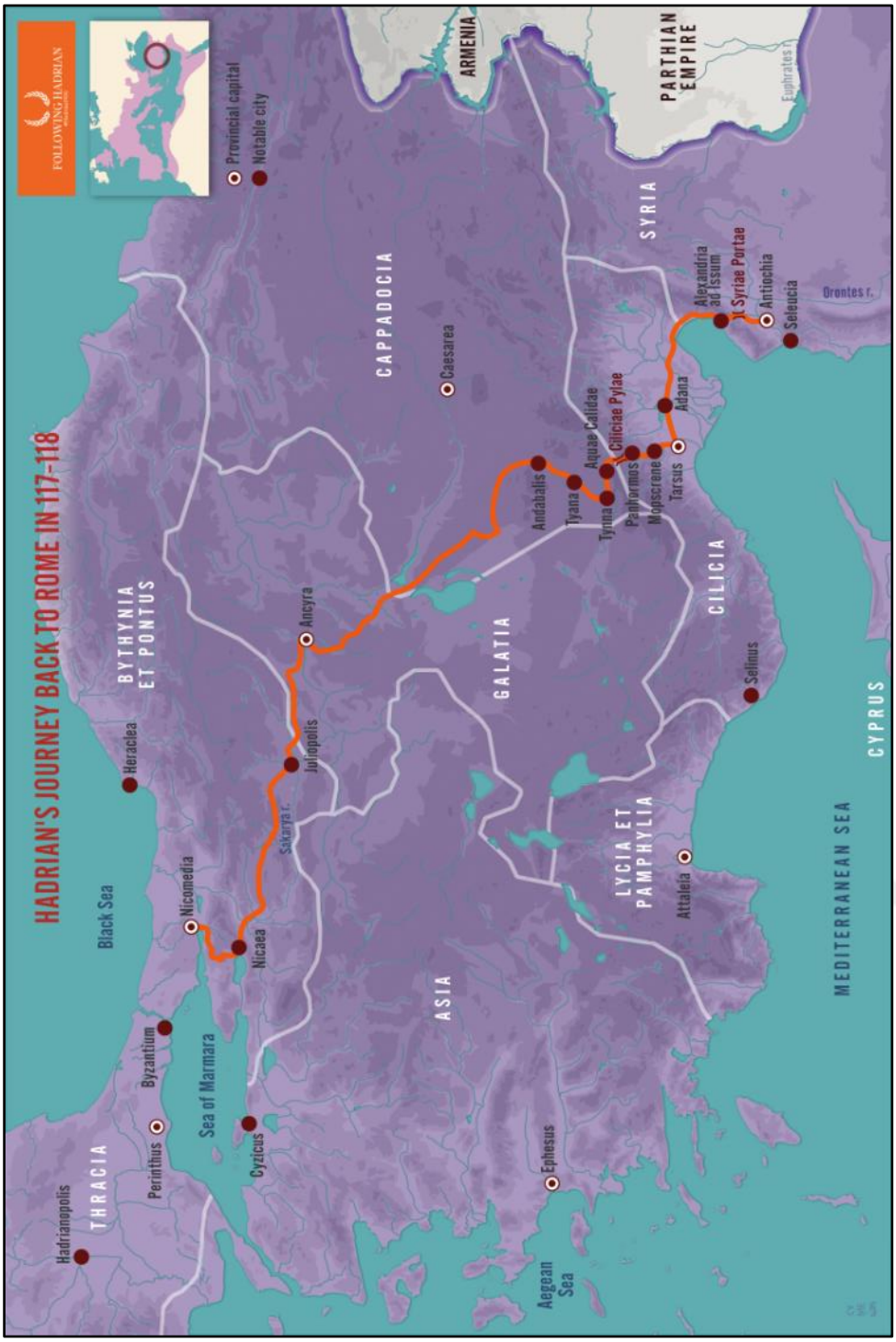


Figure 31 - Travels of Hadrian, Asia (117-118 CE)

Source: Hadrian's journey back to Rome 117-118 (part 1). Map created by Simeon Netchev for Following Hadrian (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). Following Hadrian. https://i0.wp.com/followinghadrian.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Hadrian-back-to-Rome-117-118-part1.png?ssl=1

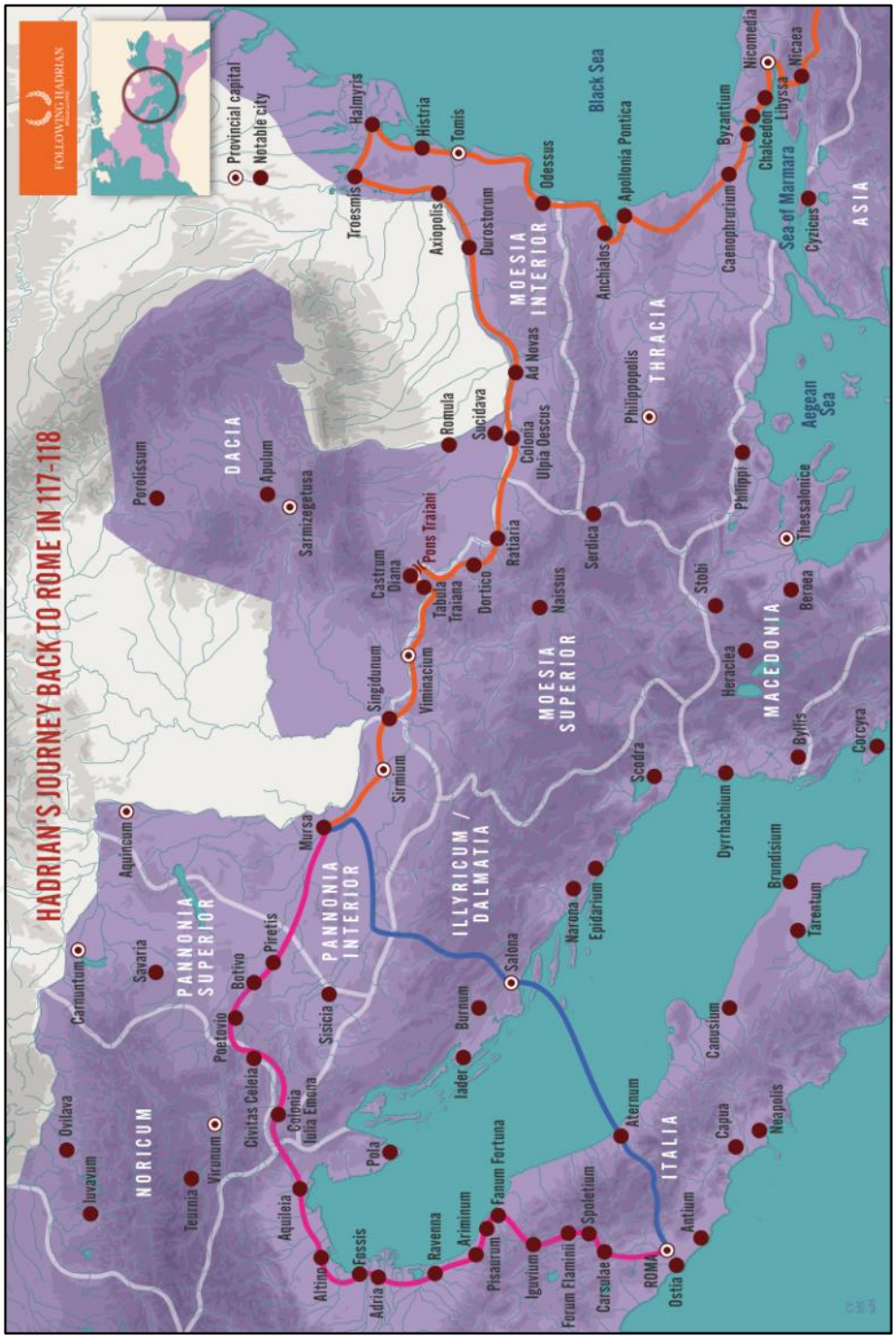


Figure 32 - Travels of Hadrian, Europe (117-118 CE)

Source: Hadrian's journey back to Rome 117-118 (part 1). Map created by Simeon Netchev for Following Hadrian (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). Following Hadrian. https://i0.wp.com/followinghadrian.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Hadrian-From-Nicomedia.png?ssl=1

Figure 33 - Coin, *sestertius*, *adventus*, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.9280 (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-9280.

Figure 34 - Coin, *denarius*, Matidia, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, BNK, R.348. (not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_BNK-R-348

Figure 35 - Coin, *aureus*, Matidia, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1864,1128.58. (not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1864-1128-58.

Figure 36 - Coin, *aureus*, Natalis Urbis, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1844,1008.130. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1844-1008-130

Figure 37 - Coin, *aureus*, Golden Age, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 8145. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8145

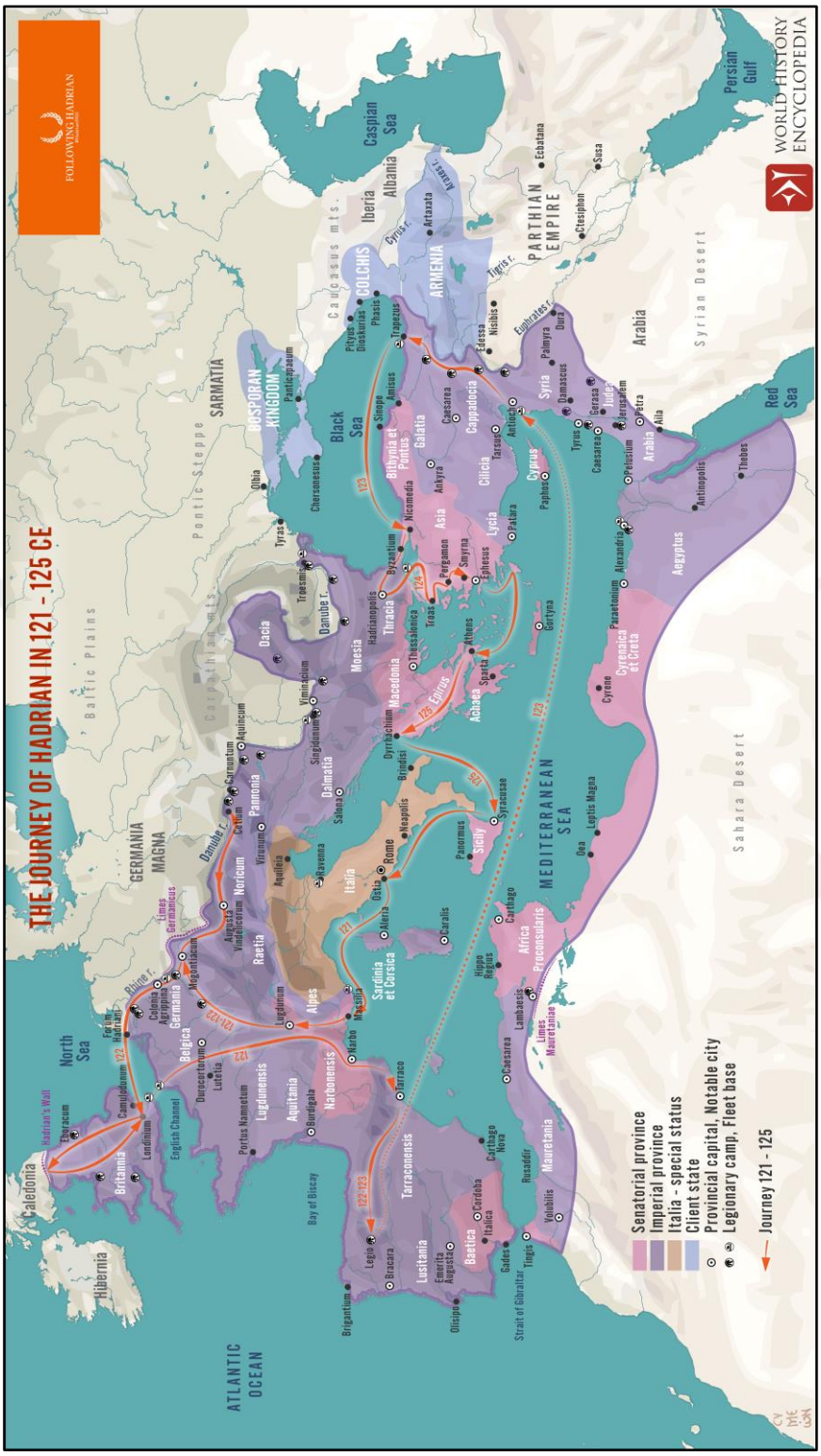


Figure 38 - Travels of Hadrian (121-125 CE)

Source: Map created by Simeon Netchev for World History Encyclopedia and Following Hadrian (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). Following Hadrian. https://i0.wp.com/followinghadrian.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/2.The-Journey-of-Hadrian-121-125-CE-FH-2.png?ssl=1

Figure 39 - Coin, *sestertius*, military discipline, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1872,0709.608. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-608

Figure 40 - Coin, *sestertius*, Germany, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1872,0709.606. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-606

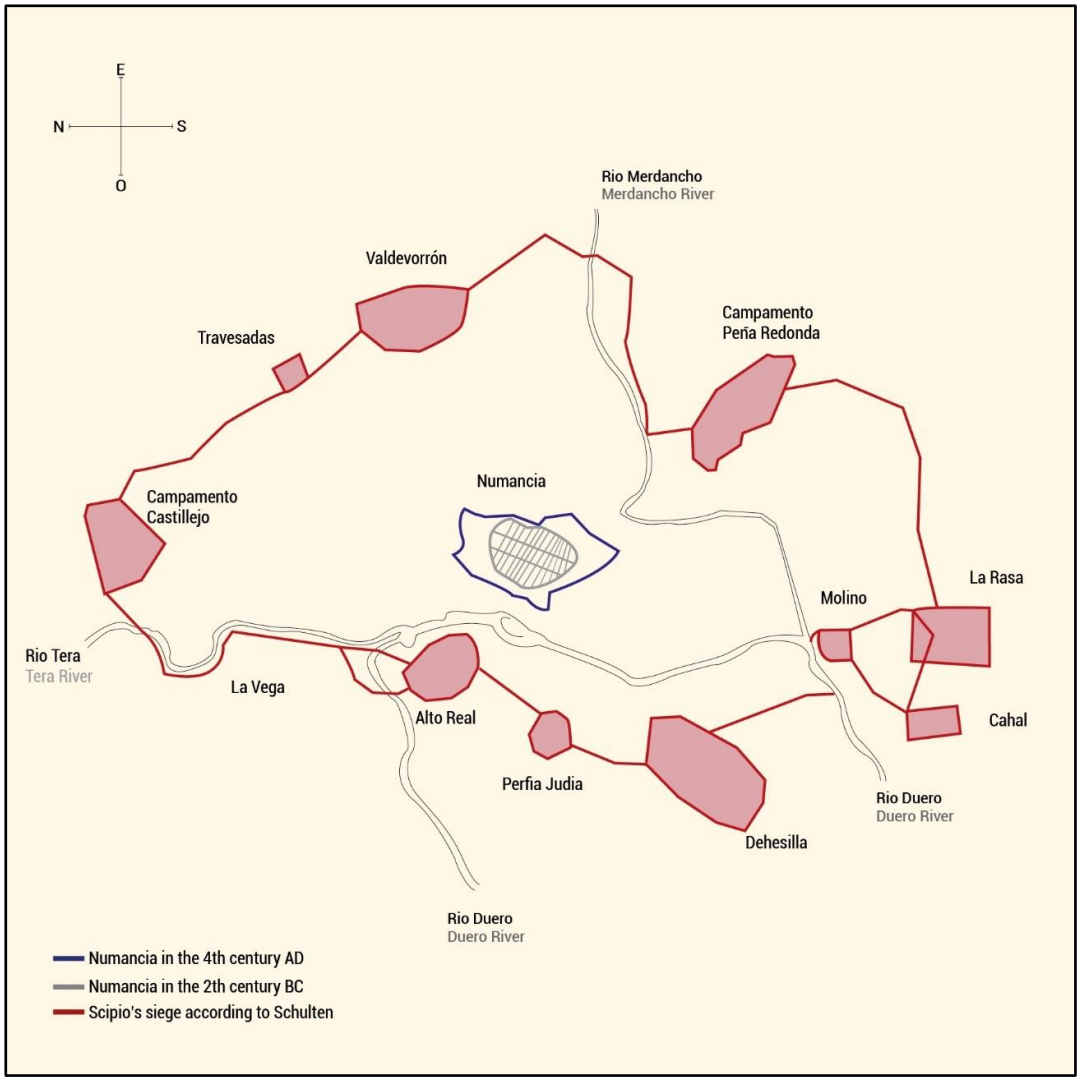


Figure 41 - Map of Numantia, National Archaeological Museum (MAN), Madrid.

Source: Adapted from scale model of Numantia, and Scipio's siege from the author's photograph.

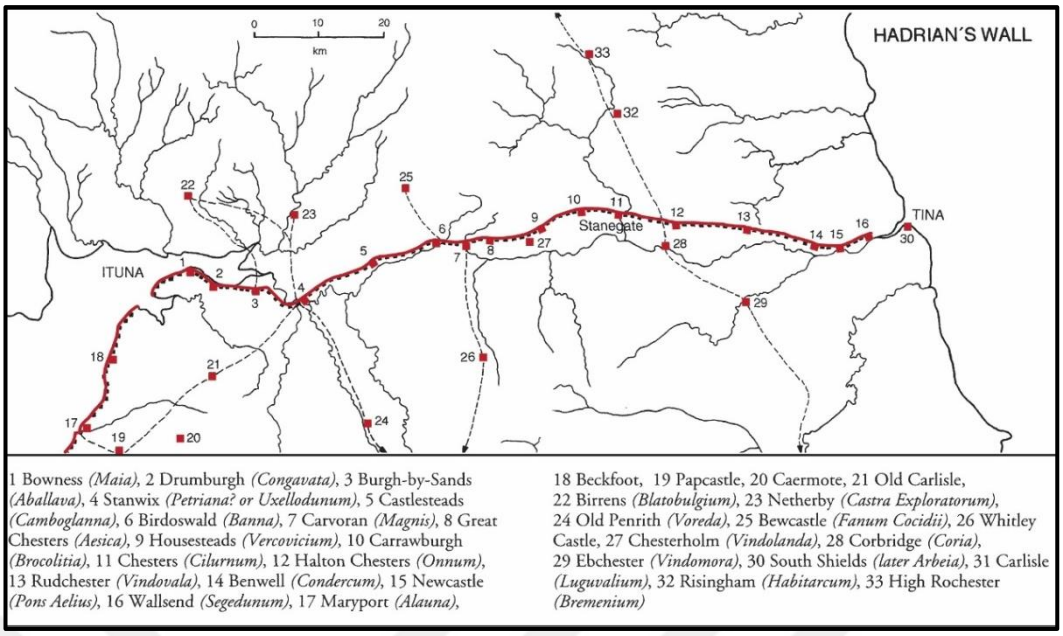


Figure 42 - Hadrian's Wall, Britain

Source: Adapted from Birley, A. R. (1997). *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*. Routledge. Map 3, p. 129.

Figure 43 - Military diploma, bronze tablet, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Greece and Rome, Registration number, 1930,0419.1. (On display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1930-0419-1

Figure 44 - Coin, *dupondius* or *as*, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R.8554. (On display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_R-8554

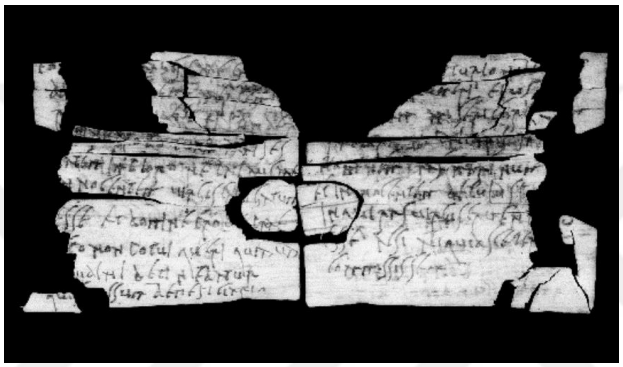


Figure 45 - Writing-tablet or a letter of appeal, inscription in Latin, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Museum number, 1989,0602.73, (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1989-0602-73.

Figure 46 - Tondo, Boar Hunt, Arch of Constantine, Rome

A boar hunt (left tondo) and a sacrifice to Apollo (right tondo) are depicted. The figure in the upper left of the boar-hunting relief is clearly identified as Antinous, whereas Hadrian, on horse and spearing the boar, has been carved to look like young Constantine. Probably Licinius or Constantius Chlorus is the recarved emperor in the sacrificial scene. (author's photograph)

Figure 47 - Alexander and Bucephalus, Gordion Museum, Polatlı (author's photograph)

Figure 48 - Coin, *sestertius*, Hispanicus, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration Number 1872,0709.607. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-607

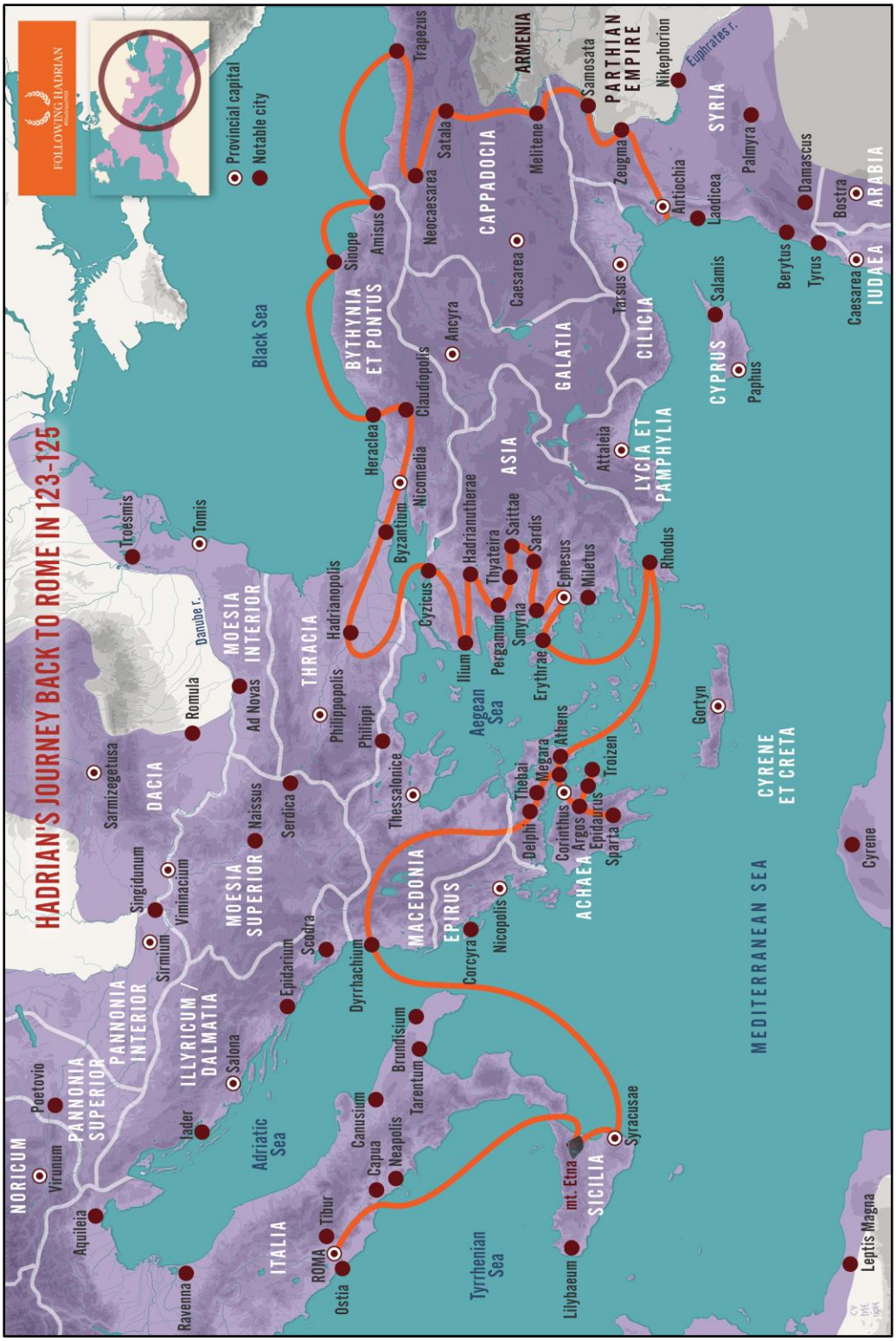


Figure 49 - Travels of Hadrian (123 -125 CE), Journey Back to Rome

Source: Map created by Simeon Netchev for World History Encyclopedia and Following Hadrian (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). https://i0.wp.com/followinghadrian.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Hadrians-journey-back-to-Rome-in-123-125.png?ssl=1

Figure 50 - Bronze statue, Philesios or Hermes, Archaeology Museum, Trabzon (author's photograph)

Figure 51 - Coin, *sestertius*, Nicomedia, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1872,0709.599. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1872-0709-599

Figure 52 - City walls, İstanbul Kapı & inscriptions, Lefke Kapı, Nicomedia (author's photograph)

Figure 53 - Statue of Hadrian and Odeon, Troia (author's photograph)

Figure 54 - Temple of Trajan, Pergamum
(author's photograph)

Figure 55 - Temple of Artemis, Sardes
(author's photograph)

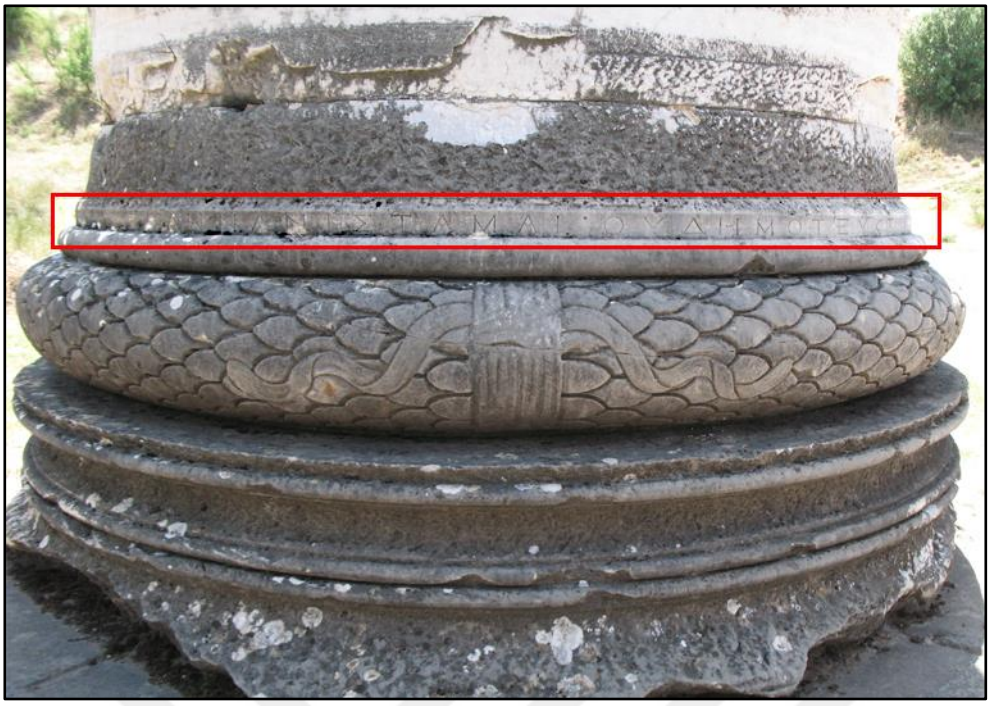


Figure 56 - Base of column 4, with inscription and torus with ribbon, Temple of Artemis, Sardes
(author's photograph)

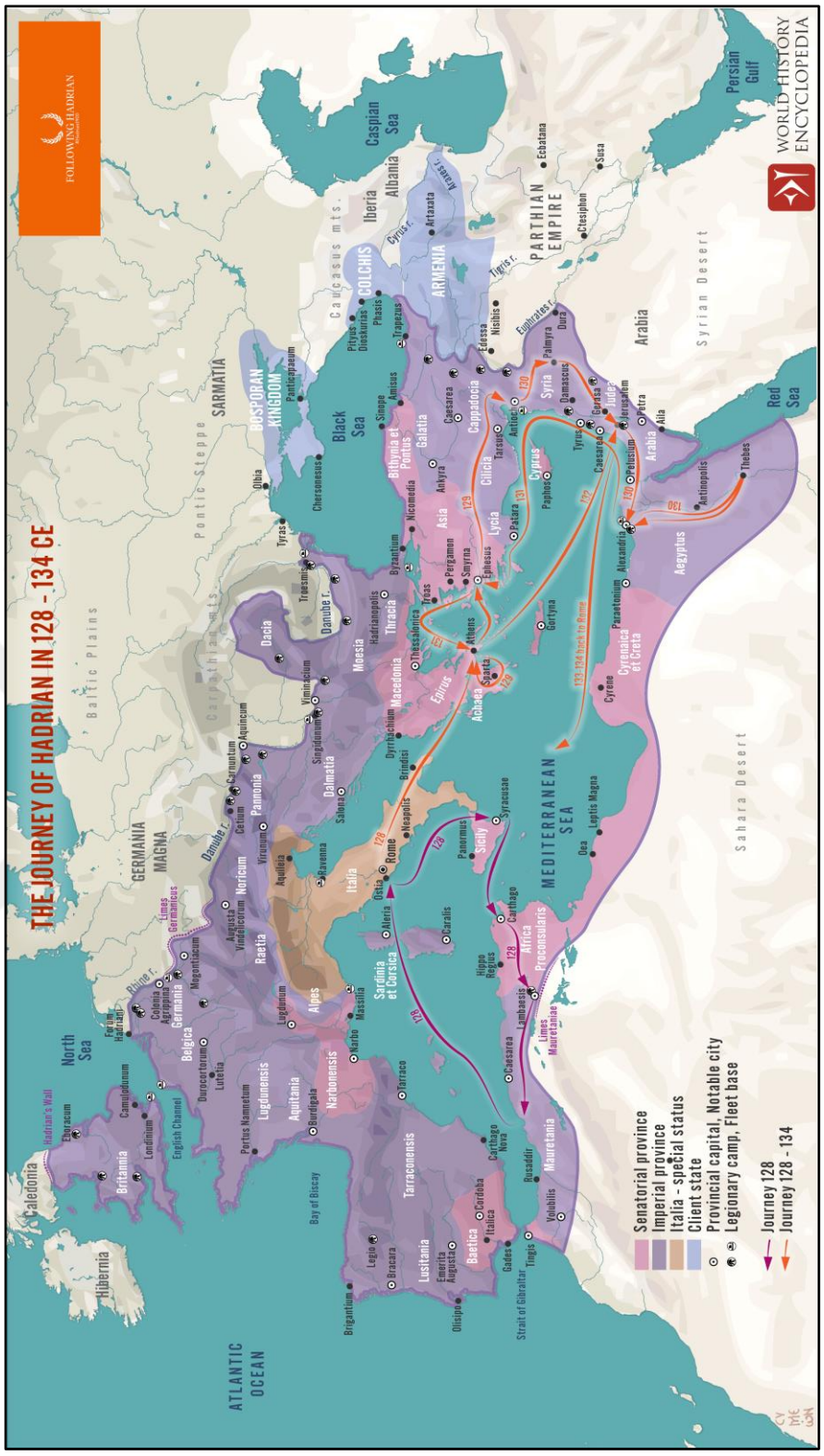


Figure 57 - Travels of Hadrian (128 -134 CE)

Source: Map created by Simeon Netchev for World History Encyclopedia and Following Hadrian (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). Following Hadrian. https://i0.wp.com/followinghadrian.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/3.The-travels-of-Hadrian-128-134-CE-FH.png?ssl=1

Figure 58 - Arch of Mettius Modestus, Patara
(author's photograph)

Figure 59 - Osiris-Antinous, Vatican Museums
(author's photograph)

Source: Vatican Museums
https://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/museo-gregoriano-egizio/sala-iii--ricostruzione-del-serapeo-del-canopo-di-villa-adriana/statua-di-osiri-antinoo.html#&gid=1&pid=1

Figure 60 - Coin, *Tetradrachm*, Tarsus, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, 1899,0402.73. (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1899-0402-73

Figure 61 - Roman Road and Donuktaş Temple, Tarsus (author's photograph)

Figure 62 - Hadrian's Gate, Inscription, Phaselis

Source: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı ve Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Phaselis Araştırmaları, http://www.phaselis.org/wp-content/uploads/on22.png

Figure 63 - *Horrea Hadriani*, busts of Sabina and Hadrian, Andriake (author's photograph)

Figure 64 - Sketch, Arch (Gate) of Adrian, Athens

Source: Sir William Gell. (1801-1813), Sketch [paper]. © The Trustees of the British Museum, 1853,0307.543 (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1853-0307-543

Figure 65 - Parthian Monument, Adoption relief, Ephesos Museum,Vienna (author's photograph)

Source: *Adoption der Kaiser Lucius Verus und Marc Aurel* [Relief]. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Ephesos Museum, Vienna, Austria. https://www.khm.at/en/objectdb/detail/51913/ Relief depicting the adoption of Antoninus Pius by Hadrian and his successors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus adopted by Antoninus Pius. The adoption was celebrated with a formal state ceremony in 138 CE.

Figure 66 - Lucius Verus, National Archaeological Museum (MAN), Madrid
(author's photograph)

Figure 67 - Capitoline Wolf, Capitoline Museums, Rome
The walls of the Hall of the She Wolf contain fragments of Consular and Triumphal Fasti.
(author's photograph)

Source: *Capitoline Wolf*. [Scuplture]. Musei Capitolini. Hall of the She-wolf. Rome, Italy. https://www.museicapitolini.org/en/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/appartamento_dei_conservatori/sala_della_lupa

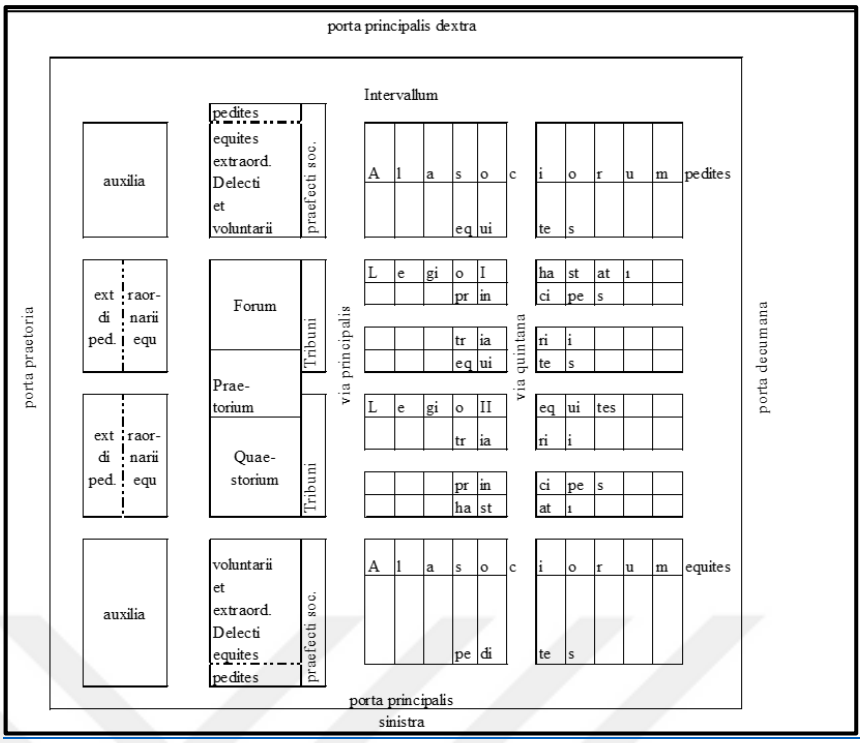


Figure 68 - Roman Camp Plan according to Polybius

Source: Adapted from Onians, J. (1999). *Classical Art and the Culture of Greece and Rome*. Yale University Press. p. 164.

Figure 69 - Arch of Titus, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 70 - Arch of Septimus Severus, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 71 - Arch of Constantine, Rome
(author's photograph)

Figure 72 - Coin, *aureus*, British Museum

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Registration number, R. 1864,1128.52 (Not on display) https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1864-1128-52

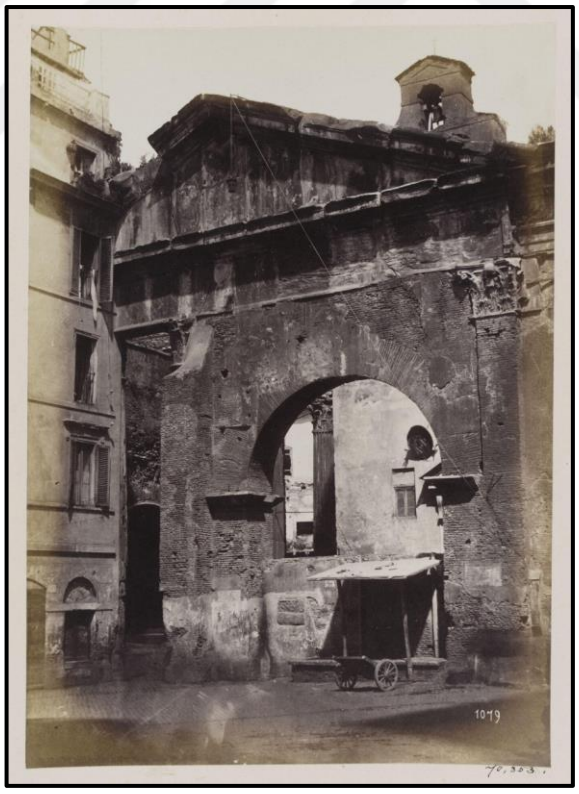


Figure 73 - Photograph of a gate (the Porta *Triumphalis*?) in the Portico of Octavia, Rome

Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London, United Kingdom.
https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1311208/gates---porta-triumphalis-photograph-parker-john-henry/

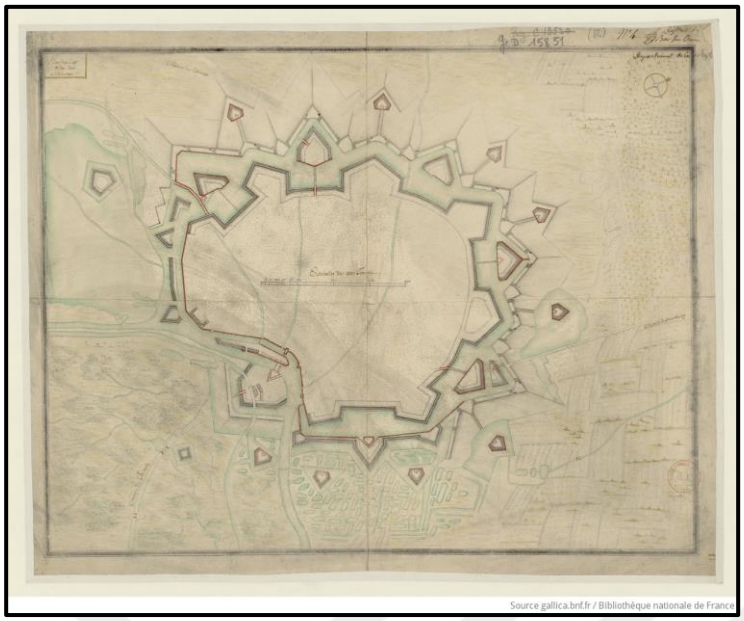


Figure 74 - Medieval City Plan, Sélestat, France

Source: *Plan de la ville de Schelestat*. BnF, Gallica.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530330759?rk=21459;2

Figure 75 - Goddess Tyche, Archaeology Museum, Hatay (author's photograph)

Figure 76 - Porta Nigra, Trier, Germany.
(author's photograph)

Figure 77 - New Tower, Clock Tower, Sélestat, France
(author's photograph)

Figure 78 - Hadrian's Gate, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 79 - Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 80 - Karain Cave, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 81 - Antalya Doğu Garajı, Nekropol Müzesi

Source: Antalya Nekropol Müzesi'nde 866 mezar ve yüzlerce arkeolojik ve etnografik eser sergileniyor. (2023, December 16). *TRT Haber*. https://www.trthaber.com/foto-galeri/turkiyenin-ilk-nekropol-muzesi-ziyaretcilerini-bekliyor/61630/sayfa-1.html

Figure 82 - Mermerli Plajı, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 83 - Attalus II, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 84 - Kesik Minare, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 85 - Hadrian's Gate, view from Hesapçı Sokak, Antalya
(author's photograph)

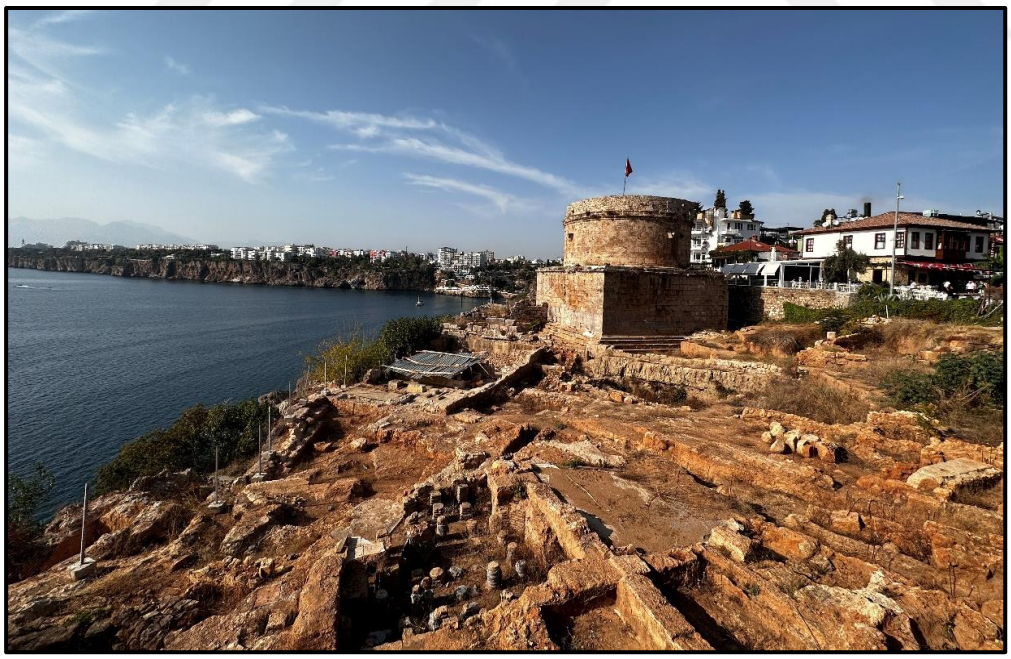


Figure 86 - Hıdırlık Kulesi, Antalya
(author's photograph)

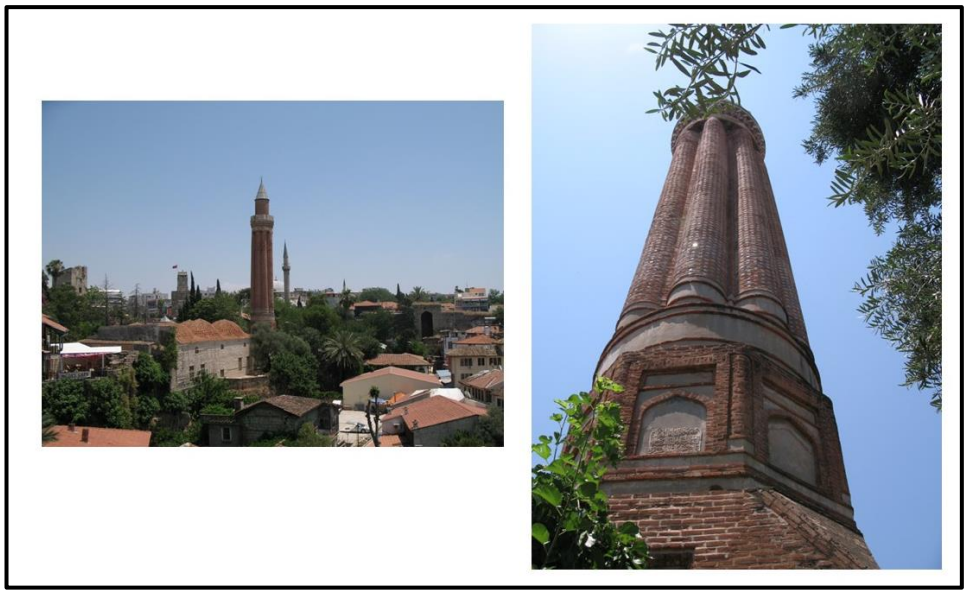


Figure 87 - Yivli Minare, Antalya
(author's photograph)

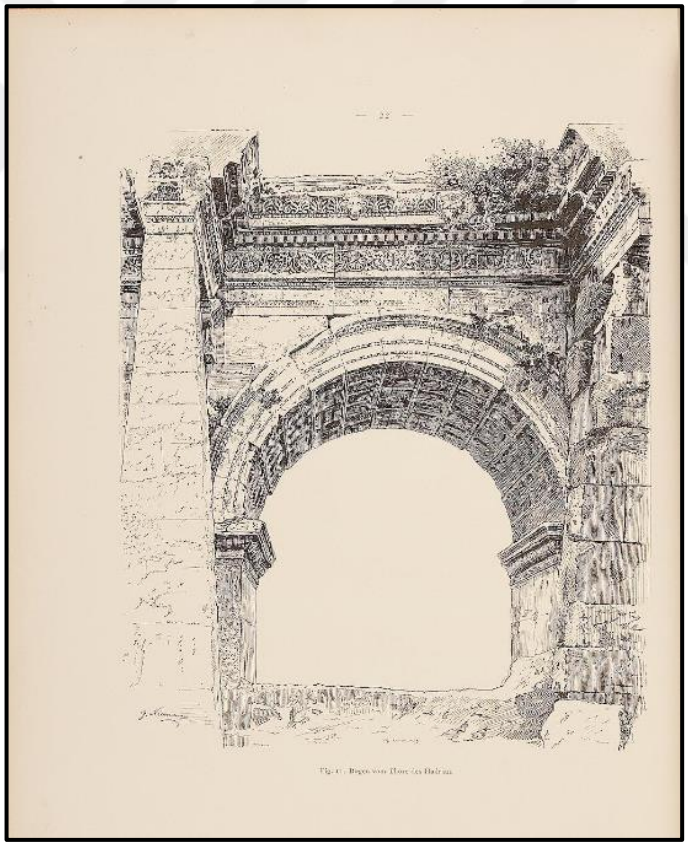


Figure 88 - Consoles with quadrangular pillars, Hadrian's Gate, Attaleia (Adalia)

Source: Lanckoroński, K., Niemann, G., & Petersen, E. A. H. (1890). *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*. F. Tempsky. Page. 22. Fig. 11.

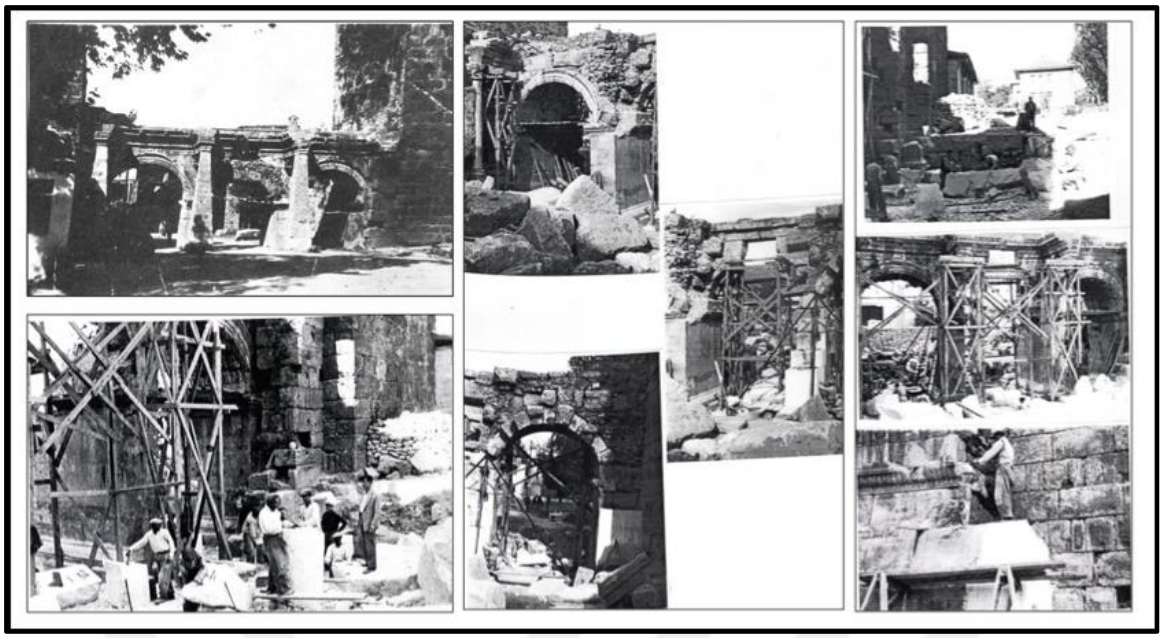


Figure 89 - Photographs of Restoration, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Source: Turfan, K. (1977). *1955 Yılı Antalya Merkez Eski Eser Fişleri*. Suna İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü. All the photographs date from the restoration of the gate in 1959, apart from the one on the right, which dates from the 1940s.

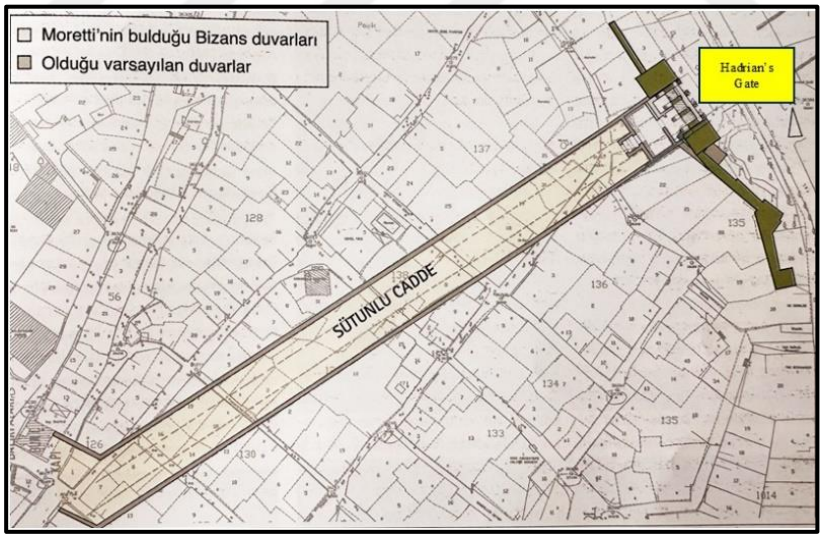


Figure 90 - Map showing the colonnaded street, Antalya

Source: Adapted from S Sönmez, C. C. (2009). *Antalya Kenti Kalesi'nin Tarihi; Burçlar Kapılar ve Sur Duvarları*. Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi Yayınları. p. 147.

Figure 91 - City Walls, Antalya
(author's photograph)

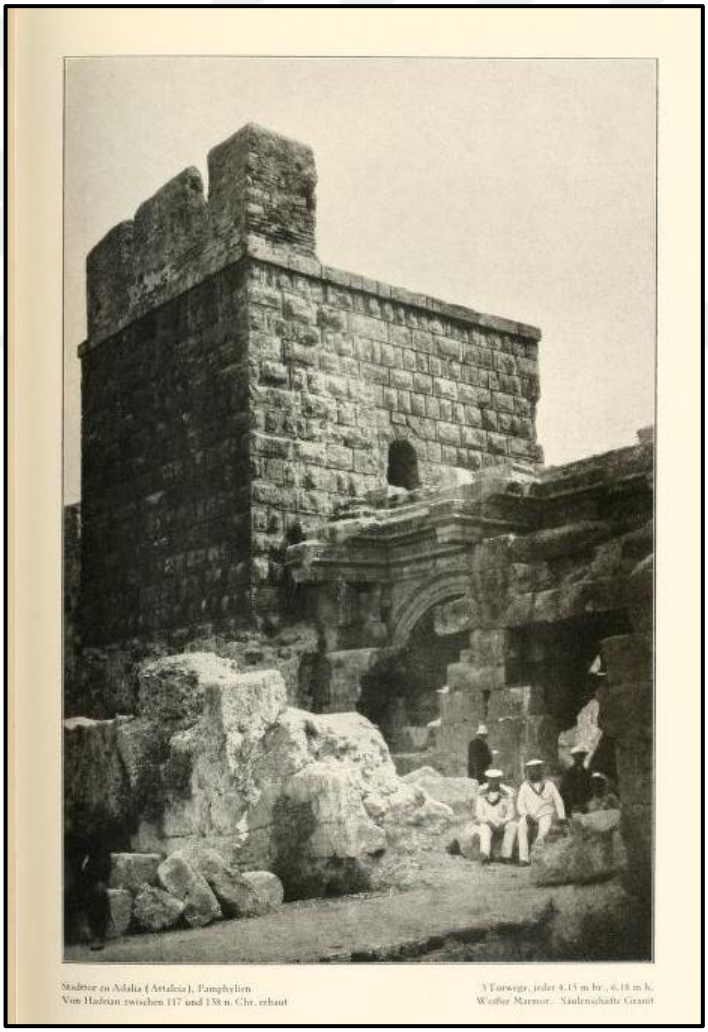


Figure 92 - Photograph of Hadrian's Gate, Attaleia (Adalia)

Source: Noack, F. (1910). *Die Baukunst des Altertums*. Fischer & Francke. Photograph 154.

Figure 93 - Inscription, Archaeology Museum, Antalya

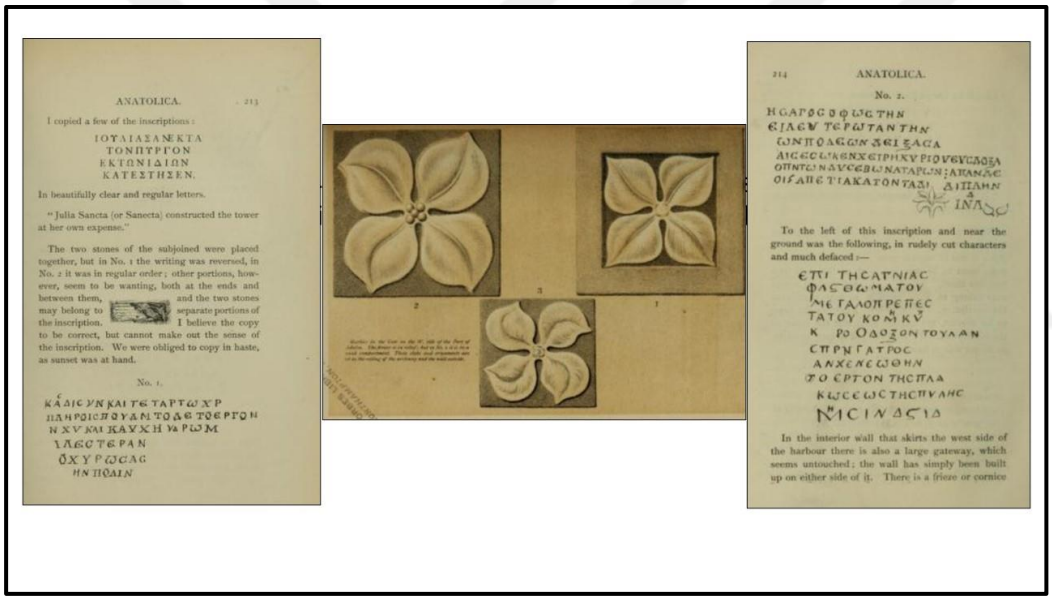


Figure 94 - Inscription & rosettes, Hadrian's Gate

Source: Davis, E. J. (1874). *Anatolica; or the journal of a visit to some of the ancient, ruined cities of Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pisidia*. Grant & Co. 121-125.

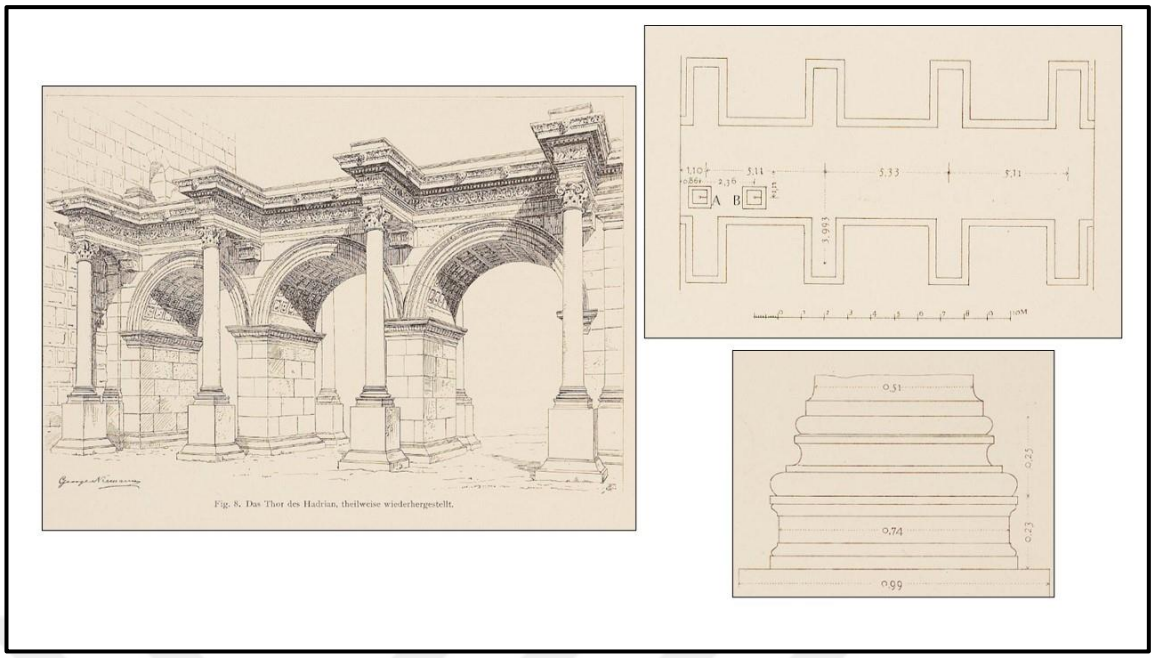


Figure 95 - Drawings, Hadrian's Gate, Attaleia (Adalia)

Source: Lanckoroński, K., Niemann, G., & Petersen, E. A. H. (1890). *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*. F. Tempsky. Page. 20 (Figure 8), 23 (Figure 11).

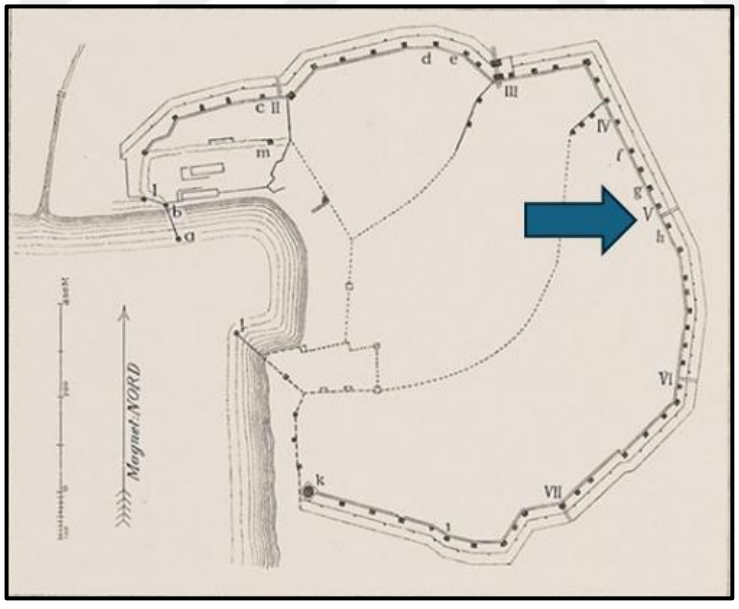


Figure 96 - Plan of City Walls, Attaleia (Adalia)

Source: Adapted from Lanckoroński, K., Niemann, G., & Petersen, E. A. H. (1890). *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*. F. Tempsky. Page. 8, Figure 4. Number V represents Hadrian's Gate.

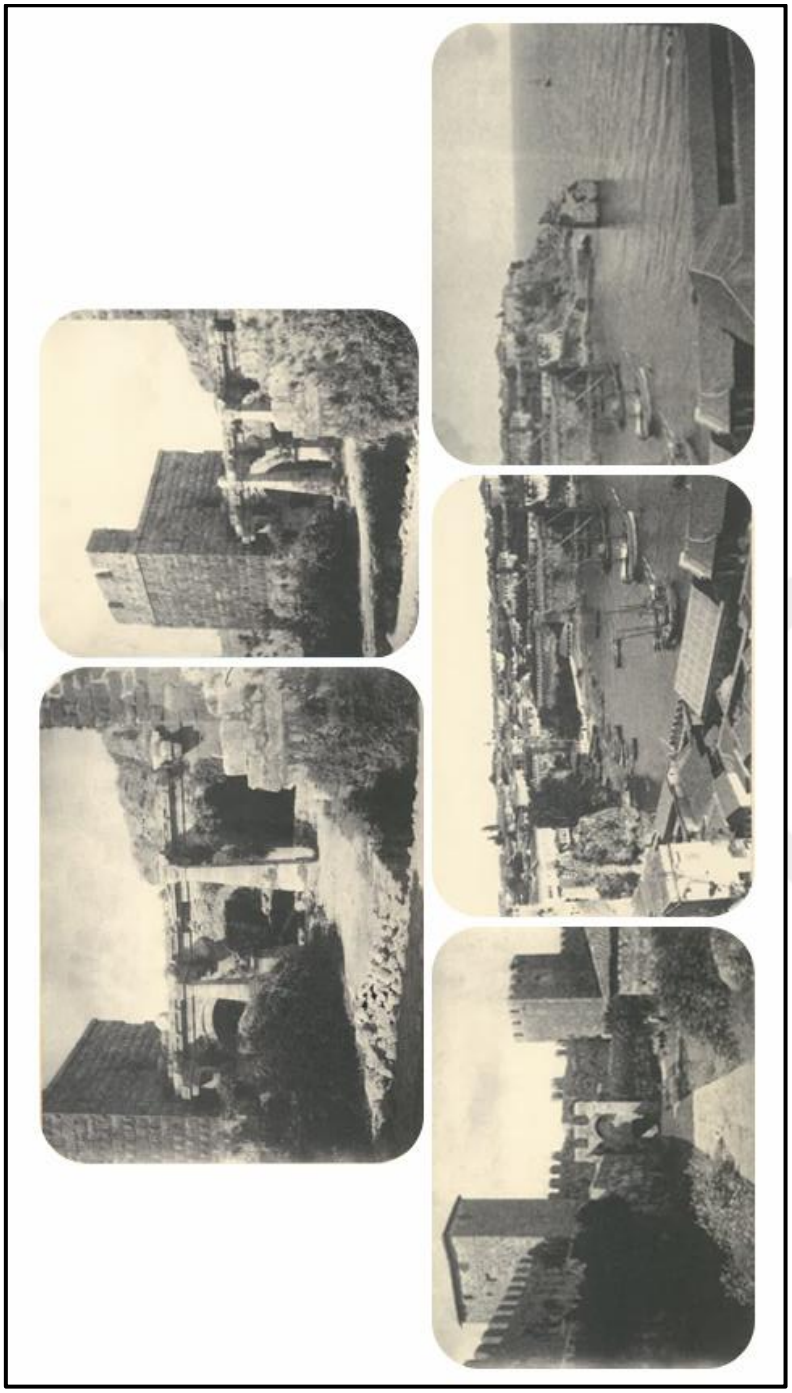


Figure 97 - Photographs: Hadrian's Gate & Antalya

Source: Krickl, E. (2005). *Lycian Journal 1892* (N. Başgelen, Ed., Z. İlkgelen, F. D. Öztürk, M. Işın, M. Çakmak & B. Hirscel, Trans.). Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları and Suna ve İnan Kıraç Vakfı. (Original work published in 1892). pp. 169, 171, 173, 175.

Figure 98 - Photographs: consoles protruding from the cornice, current state of the Hadrian's Gate towards the interior of the city. (From left to right), Antalya

Source: Moretti, G. (1926). *La porta Di Adriano In Adalia. Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente, vol. 6-7,* 1923-1924 (1926) 453-478. Figs. 1, 5.

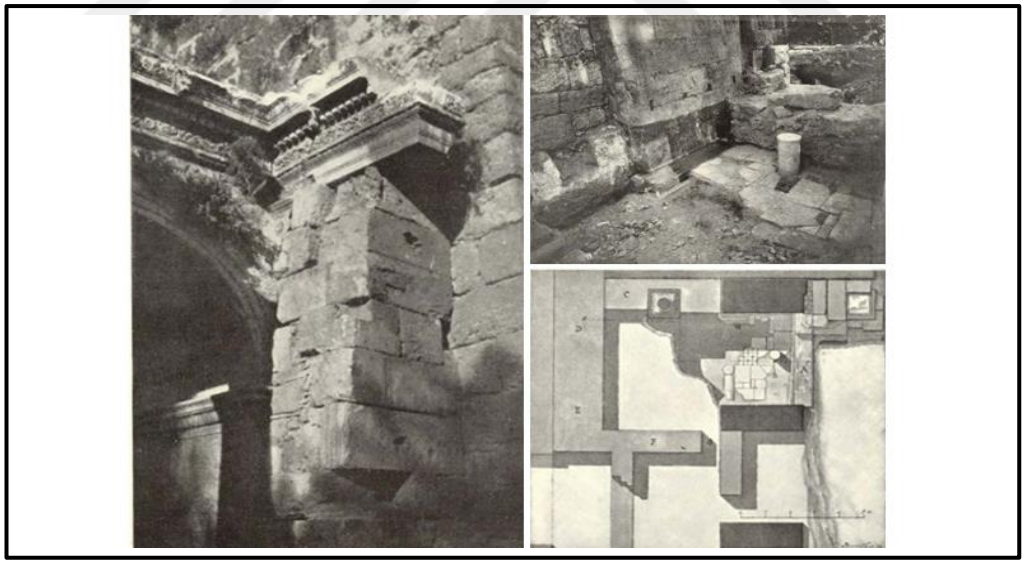


Figure 99 - Photographs: console protruding from the cornice above the north arch, view of the excavation, plan of the excavation of the north arch (from left to right), Antalya

Source: Moretti, G. (1926). *La porta Di Adriano In Adalia. Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente, vol. 6-7,* 1923-1924 (1926) 453-478. Figs. 13, 14, 15.

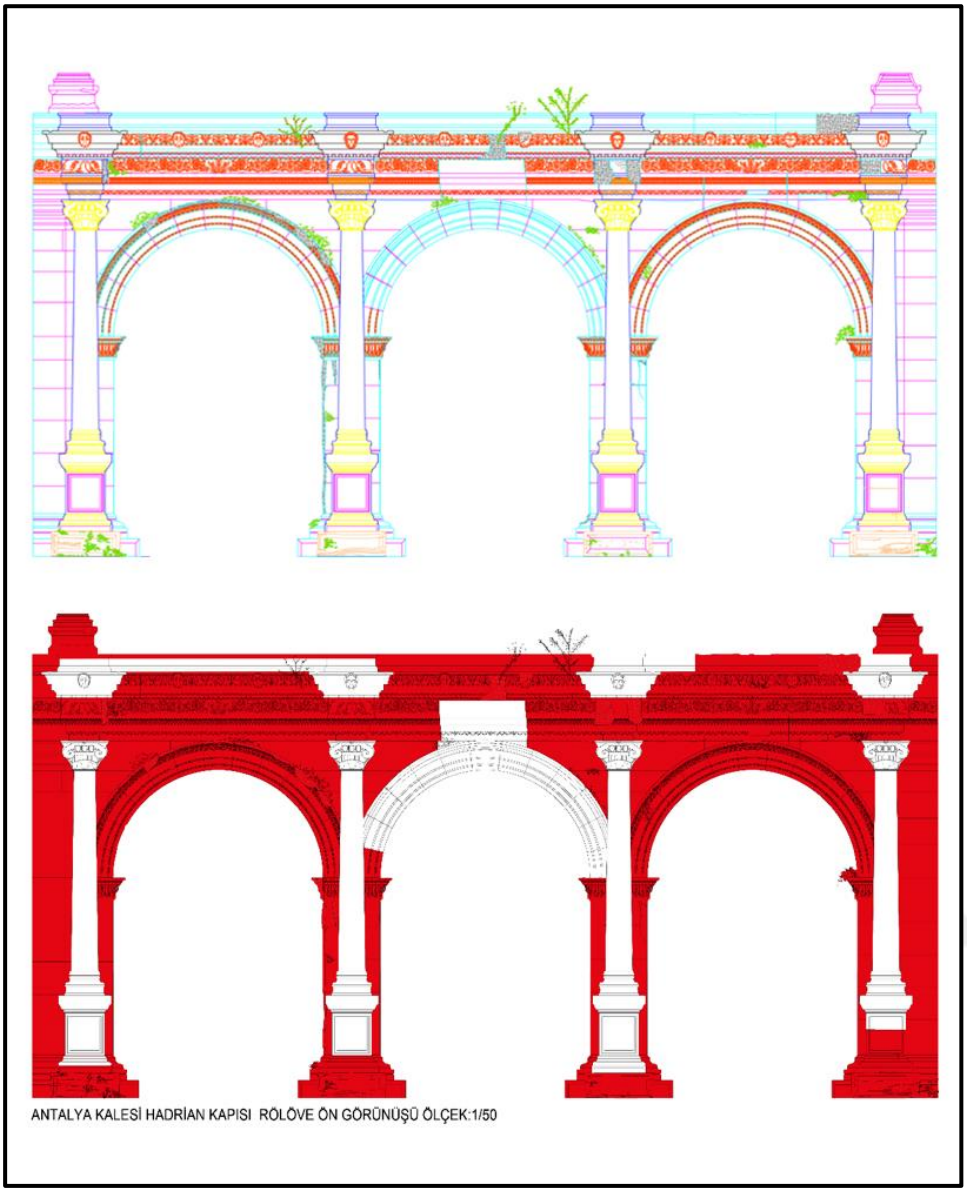


Figure 100 - Restoration Project. Above: Front View. Below: The original materials are highlighted in red, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Source: With the courtesy of architect, M. Fikri Aktan.

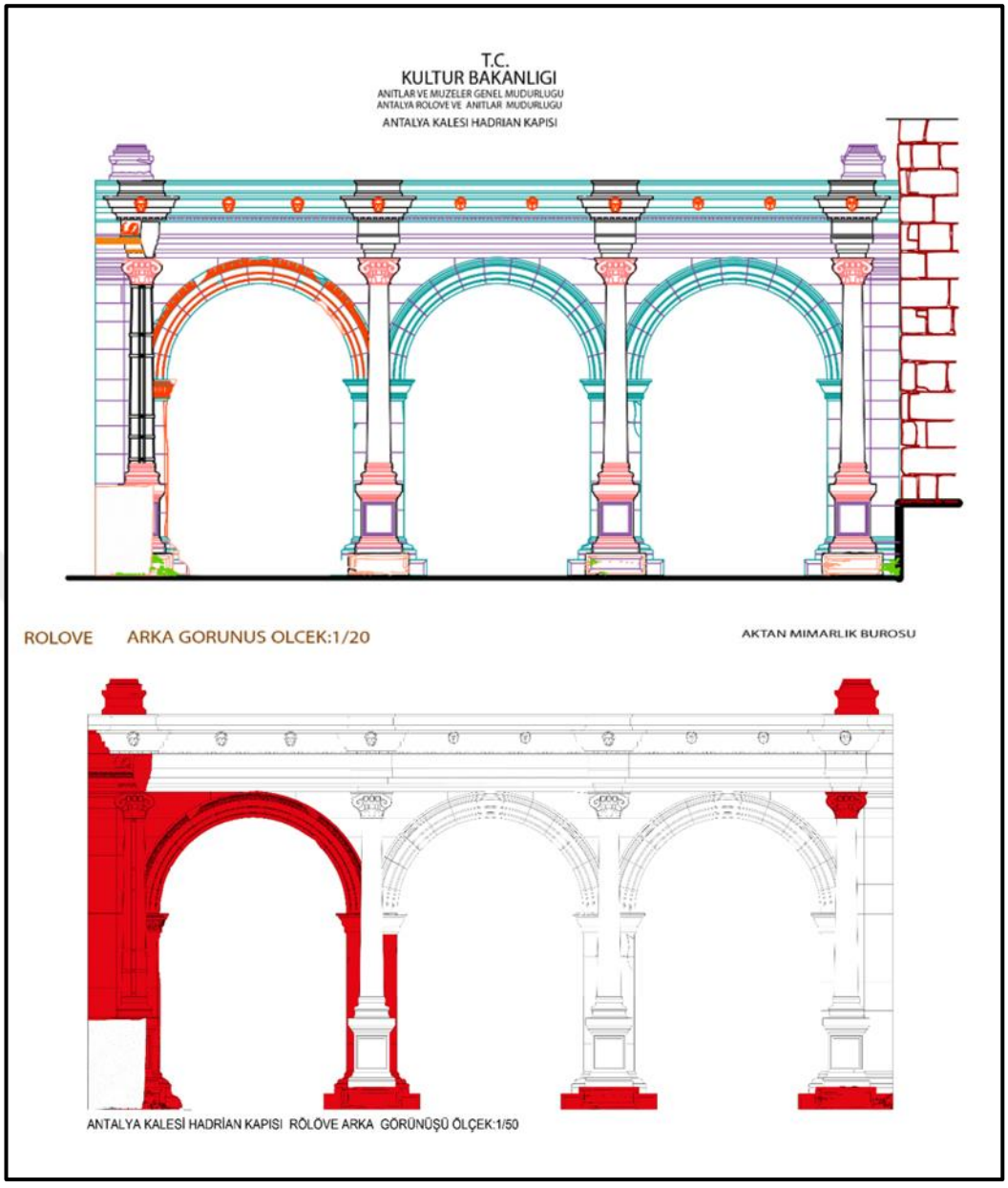


Figure 101 - Restoration Project. Above: Back View. Below: The original materials are highlighted in red, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Source: With the courtesy of architect, M. Fikri Aktan.

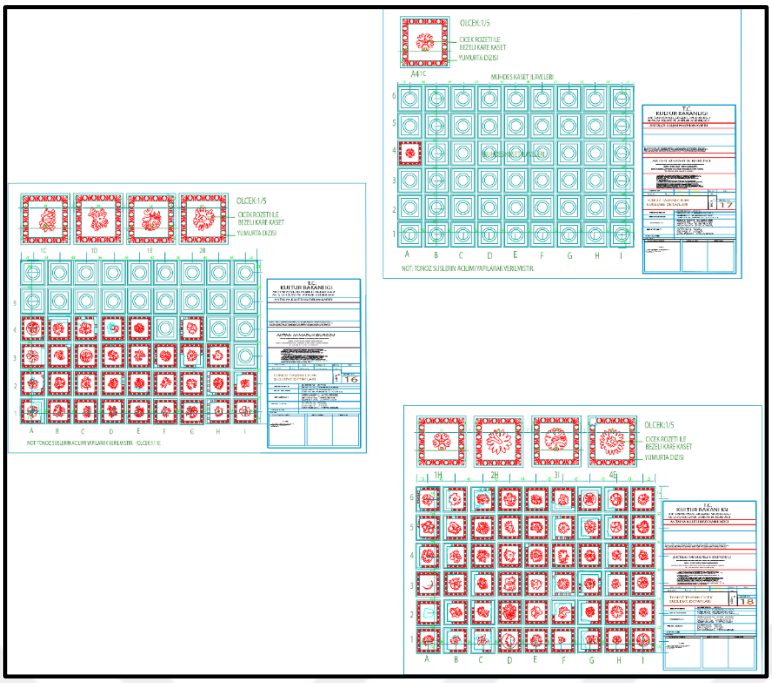


Figure 102 - Restoration Project: Cassettes (interior), Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Source: With the courtesy of architect, M. Fikri Aktan.

Figure 103 - Restoration Project: Ground Drawing, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Source: With the courtesy of architect, M. Fikri Aktan.

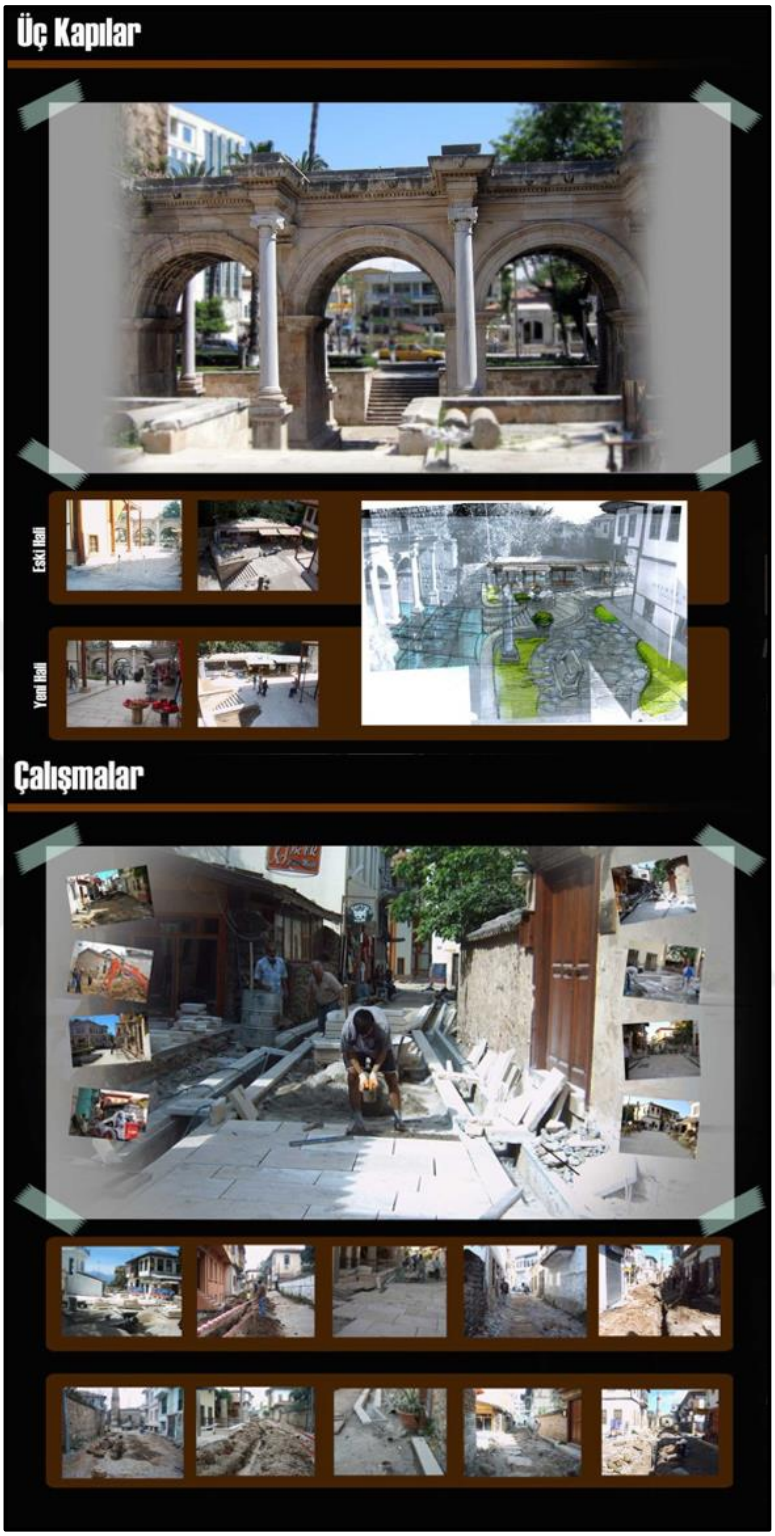


Figure 104 - Restoration Project: Hadrian's Gate, old town, Hesapçı Sokak, Antalya

Source: Tabak İnşaat (2006). *Kaleiçi Hesapçı Sokak Düzenleme Yenileme Projesi*. http://www.tabakinsaat.com/tr/projeler/kentsel_tasarim.php?BasicProductItemID=6

Figure 105 - Glass Bridge, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya (author's photograph)

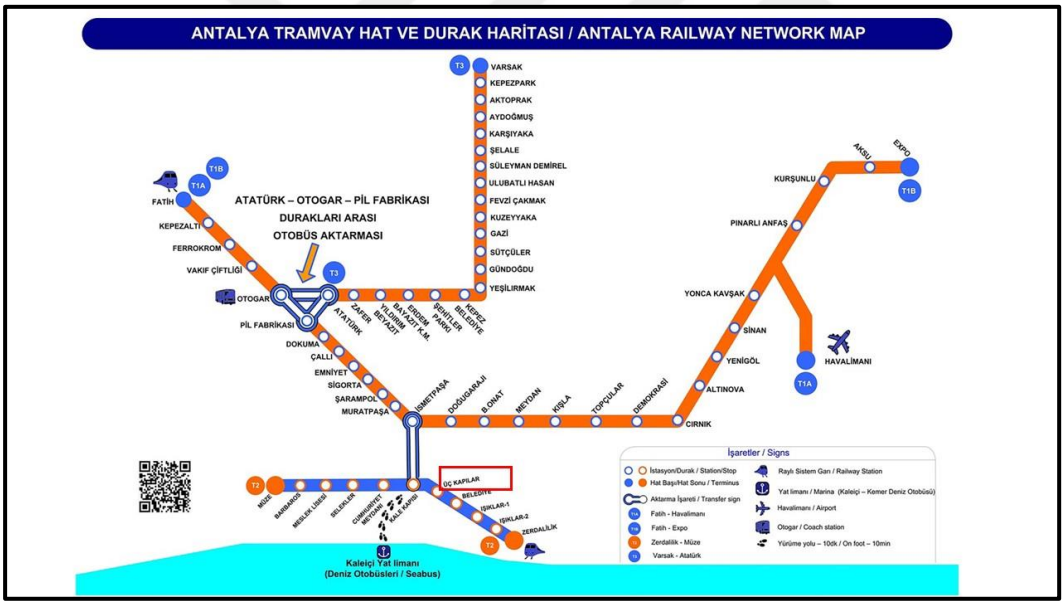


Figure 106 - Railway Network Map, Üç Kapılar, Antalya

Source: Antalya Ulaşım Hizmetleri Petrol Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş., *Antalya Ulaşım*. https://www.antalyaulasim.com.tr/Hizmetlerimiz/Antray#

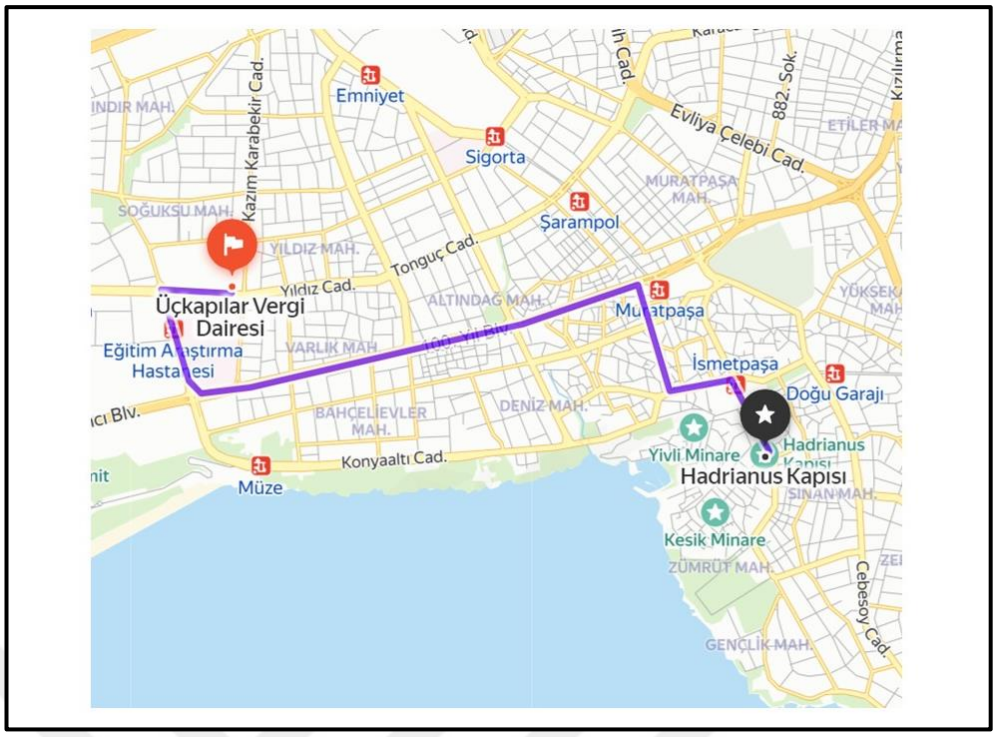


Figure 107 - Üç Kapılar Vergi Dairesi, Direction, Antalya

Source: Yandex, Map.
https://yandex.com.tr/harita/115727/muratpasa/?ll=30.696020%2C36.890097&mode=routes&rtext=36.885303%2C30.708544~36.892798%2C30.679362&rtt=auto&ruri=ymapsbm1%3A%2F%2Forg%3Foid%3D211523975039~ymapsbm1%3A%2F%2Forg%3Foid%3D1157451641&z=14.22

Figure 108 - Üç Kapılar, Taxi, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 109 - Üç Kapılar Restaurant, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 110 - Hadrian Pharmacy, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 111 - Hadrian Gate Hotel, old town, Antalya (author's photograph)

Figure 112 - Advertisement, Üç Kapılar, Antalya (author's photograph)

Figure 113 - Map, Old Town, Antalya

Source: Muratpaşa Belediyesi, Antalya https://muratpasa-bld.gov.tr/Uploads/muratpasaharita.pdf

Figure 114 - Celebrations, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 115 - Hadrian's Gate, wheel ruts, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 116 - Projecting consoles, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya
(author's photograph, from the northern tower)

Figure 117 - Inscription on the tower of Julia Sancta, southern tower, Harian's Gate, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 118 - Inscription (Arabic) on the northern tower, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya
(author's photograph)

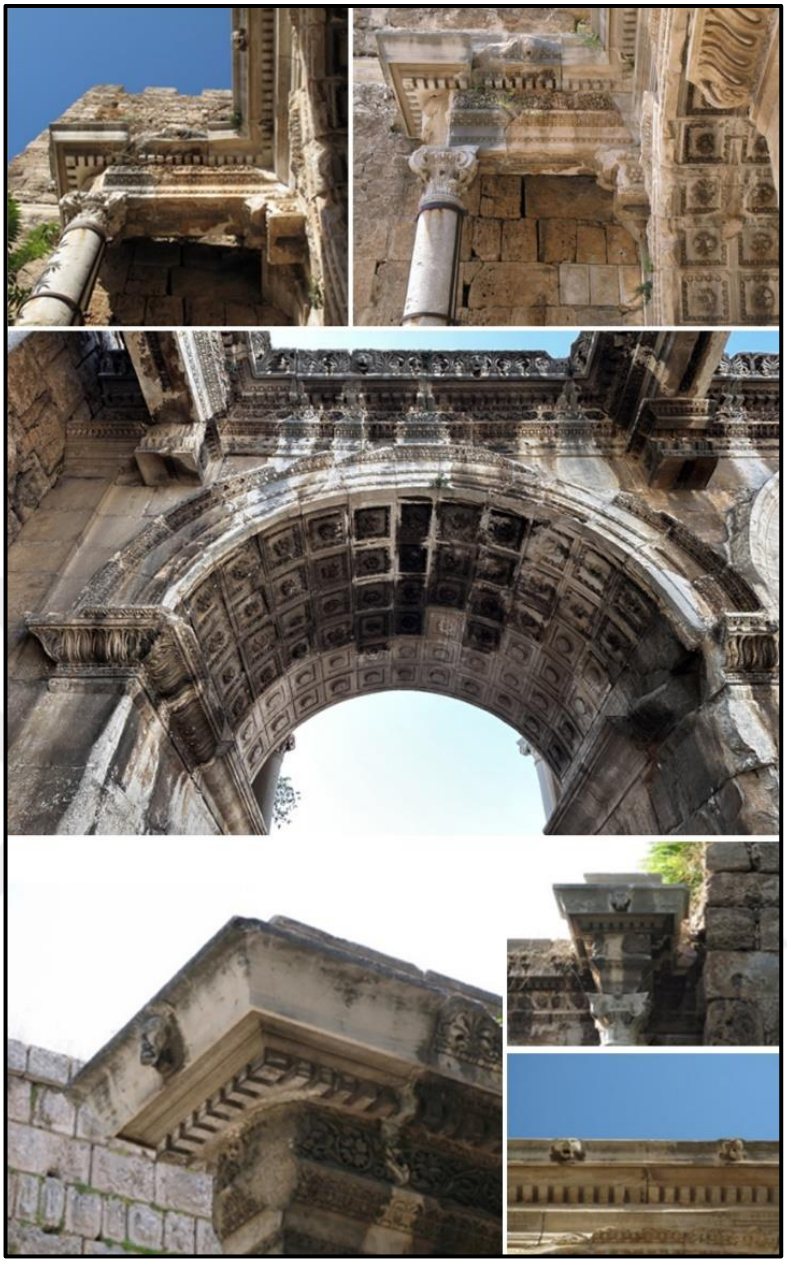


Figure 119 - Northwest column with its capital *in situ*, architrave with its frieze belt, lion head gutter, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 120 - Cassettes with floral & rosette reliefs, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya (author's photograph)

Figure 121 - Casettes: third vault, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya (author's photograph)

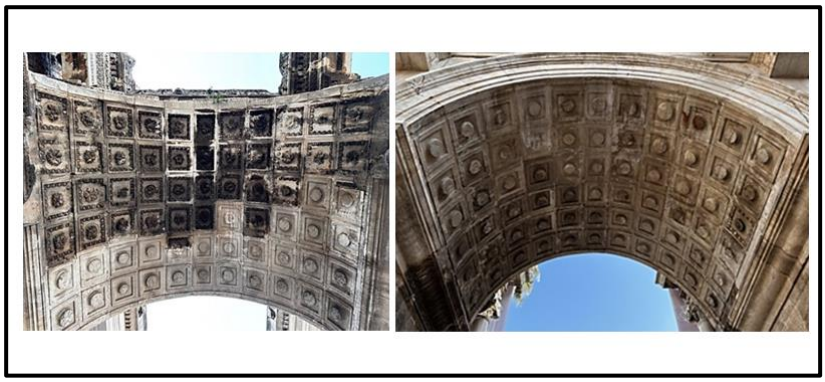


Figure 122 - Casettes: first & central vault, Hadrians's Gate, Antalya (author's photograph)

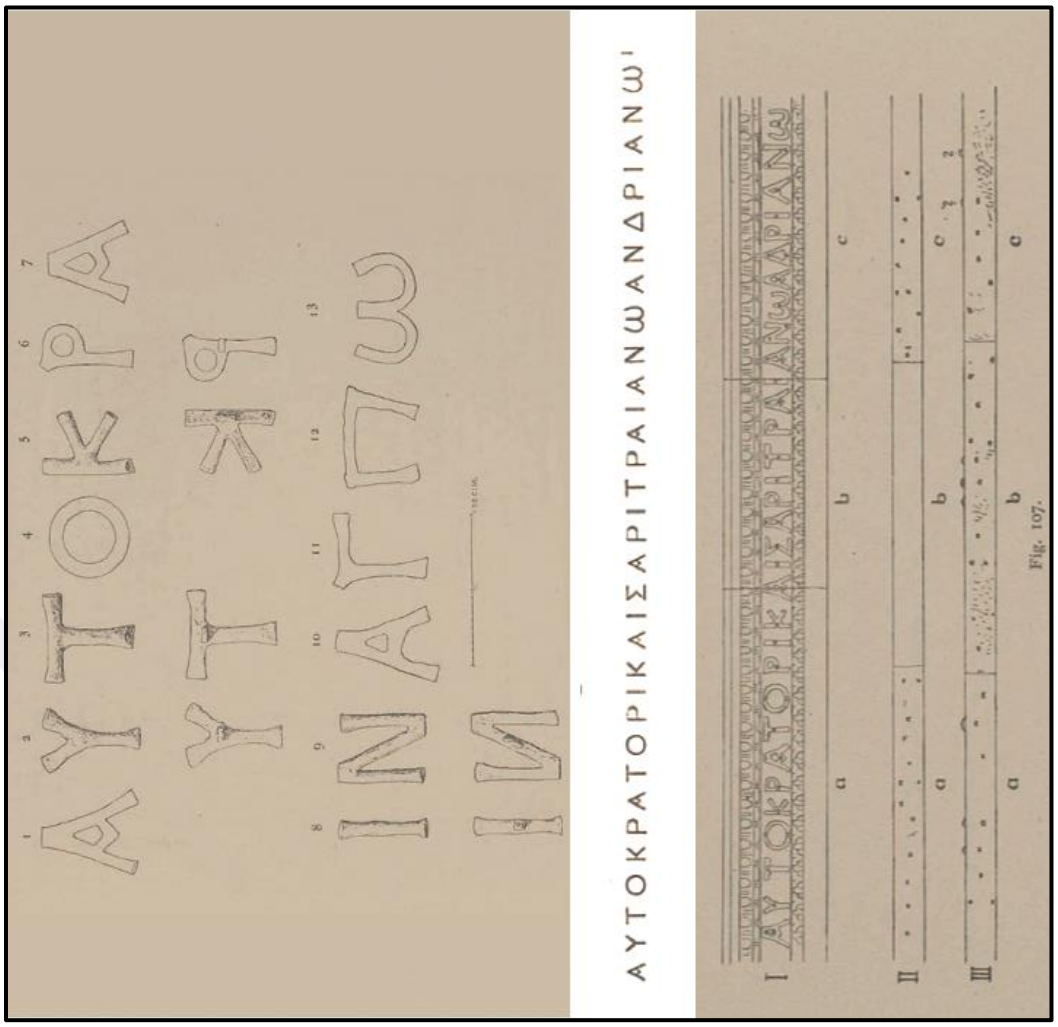


Figure 123 - Inscription, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Source: Lanckoroński, K., Niemann, G., & Petersen, E. A. H. (1890). *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*. F. Tempsky. pp. 155,156.

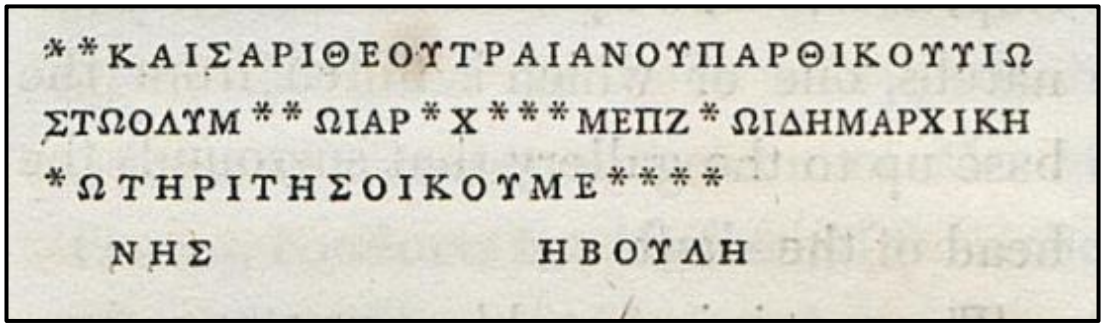


Figure 124 - Inscription, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Source: Beaufort, F. (1817). *Karamania, or, A brief description of the south coast of Asia-Minor and of the remains of antiquity: With plans, views, &c. collected during a survey of that coast, under the orders of the Lords commissioners of the Admiralty, in the years 1811-1812*. R. Hunter. p. 121.

Figure 125 - Letters of Inscription, Hadrian's Gate, Antalya

Sources: With the courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (The photograph above). The frieze from the Hadrian's Gate reflects some of the holes of the letters. (author's photograph).

Figure 126 - Exterior view, Hadrian's Gate (Arch), Perge (author's photograph)

Figure 127 - Plancia Magna-Perge, Archaeology Museum, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Source: Plancia Magna, *information board*, Antalya Archaeology Museum: The inscription says: "The daughter of the Marcus Plancius Varus, and the city, the Priestess of the Artemis, the one who becomes *demiurge* for the third time, the Priestess of the Meter Theon and main Priestess of the Augusts for her entire life, Plancia Magna (is honoured with this statue by) Marcus Plancius Aleksandros."

Figure 128 - City Gate, Side
(author's photograph)

Source:Information board in Side (on the left), author's photograph (on the right).

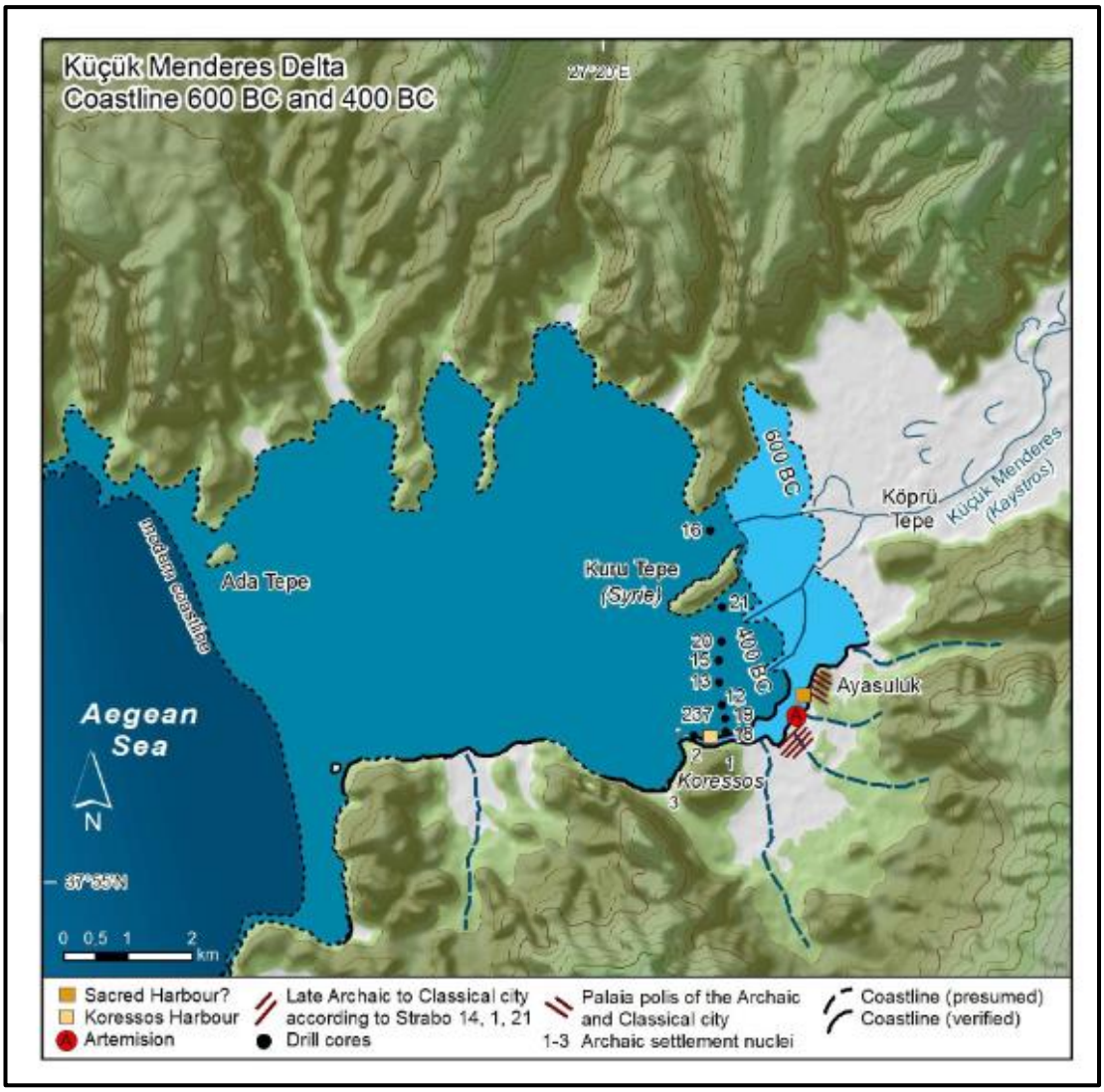


Figure 129 - The City of Ephesus

Source: Austrian Academy of Sciences. Austrian Archaeological Institute (OeAI). (n.d.). *The City of Ephesos From the Late Bronze Age to its Re-Foundation by Lysimachus.* https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/research/historical-archaeology/historical-archaeology-in-the-mediterranean/ephesos-pre-hellenistic-settlement-history

Figure 130 - Seljuk Castle, Selçuk
(author's photograph)

Figure 131 - Artemision, Selçuk
(author's photograph)

Figure 132 - Androclus and his dog, Efes Museum, Selçuk
(author's photograph)

Source: Efes Museum, Selçuk. https://muze.gov.tr/s3/MysFileLibrary/2159594b-531c-4867-8862-15d5d0ec5f65.pdf

Figure 133 - Temple of Hadrian and frieze, Selçuk
(author's photograph)

Source: The temple is located in Ephesus and the original friezes are on display at Efes Museum, Selçuk.

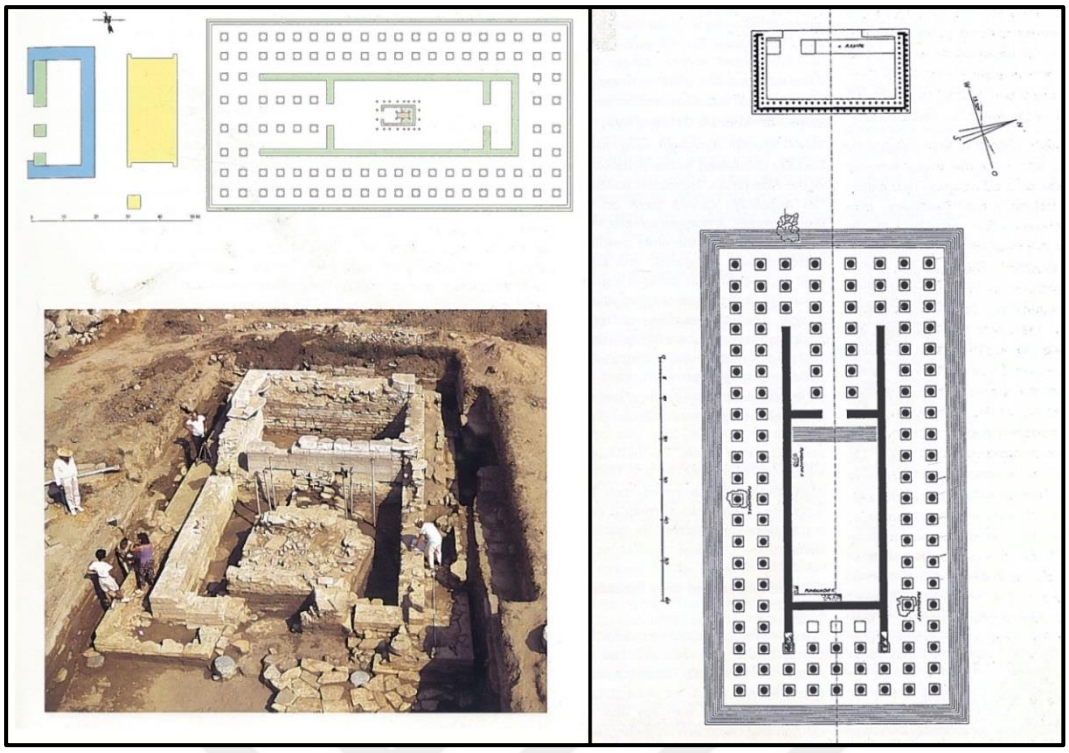


Figure 134 - Plan of Artemision, Selçuk

Sources: On the left: Scherrer, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Authorised by Österreichisches Archaologisches Institut and Efes Müzesi Selçuk. Ege Yayınları. p. 47. Fig. a) Early cult buildings, *peripteros* with baldachin (8th century BCE, highlighted in pink), *hecatompedos* with cult statue base (7th or 6th century, highlighted in yellow), partly financed parts by king Croesus around 6th century, highlighted in green, late classical altar in blue. Fig. b) the earliest temple buildings in the center dated 8th or 6th centuries. p. 46. On the right: Scherrer, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Authorised by Österreichisches Archaologisches Institut and Efes Müzesi Selçuk. Ege Yayınları. The Later Artemision, 2nd half of the 4th century. p. 53.

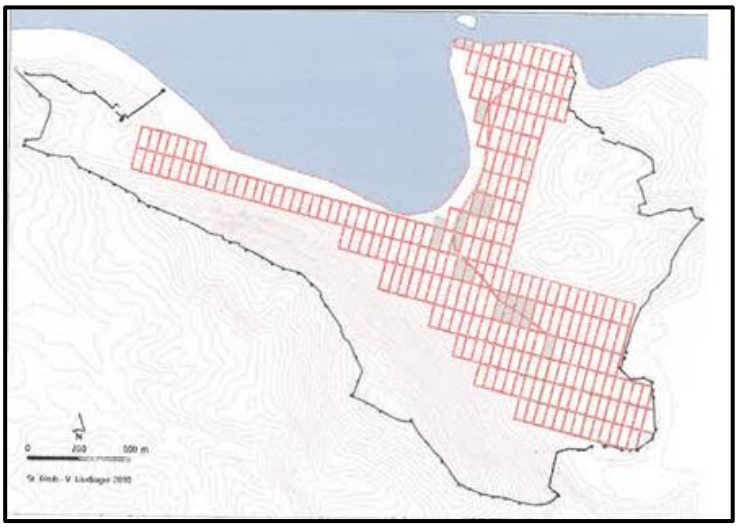


Figure 135 - City Plan, street grid of Hellenistic period, Ephesus

Source: Zimmermann N., Ladstätter S., & Büyükkolancı M. (2011). *Wall Painting in Ephesos from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period*. Ege Yayınları. Fig. 28.

Figure 136 - Curetes Street (ancient *Embolos*), Ephesus

Source: Adapted from the plans displayed on the information board in the site (author's photograph).

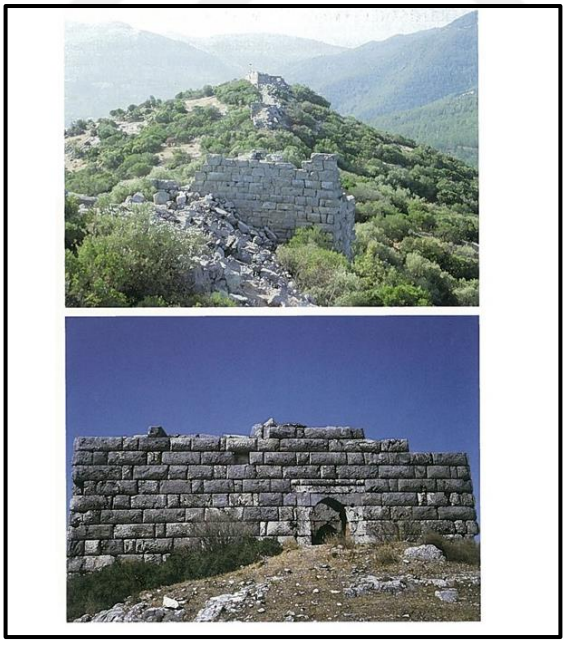


Figure 137 - Hellenistic City Walls, Ephesus

Source: Scherrer, P. (2000). Hellenistic City Wall on the Bülbüldağ. In P. Scherrer. (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (pp. 154-5). Ege Yayınları. p. 155.

Figure 138 - Memmius Monument, *Embolos*, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 139 - Heroon and Fountain of *Ktistes* Androclus, *Embolos*, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 140 - *Embolos*, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

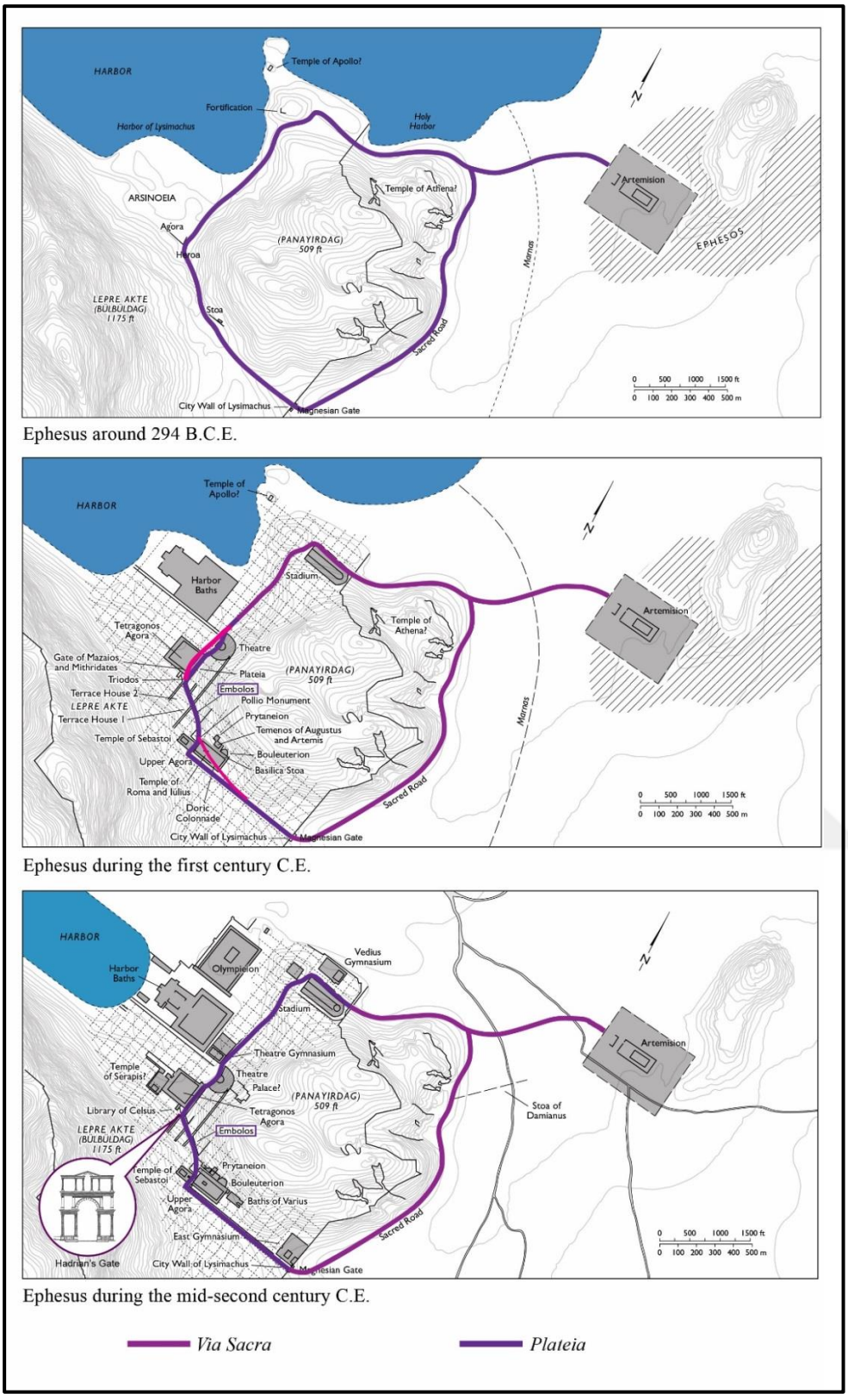


Figure 141 - Development of Ephesus and Sacred Road (*Via Sacra*)

Source: Adapted from, Rogers, G. M. (2012). *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*. Yale University Press. Map 3, 4, 5.

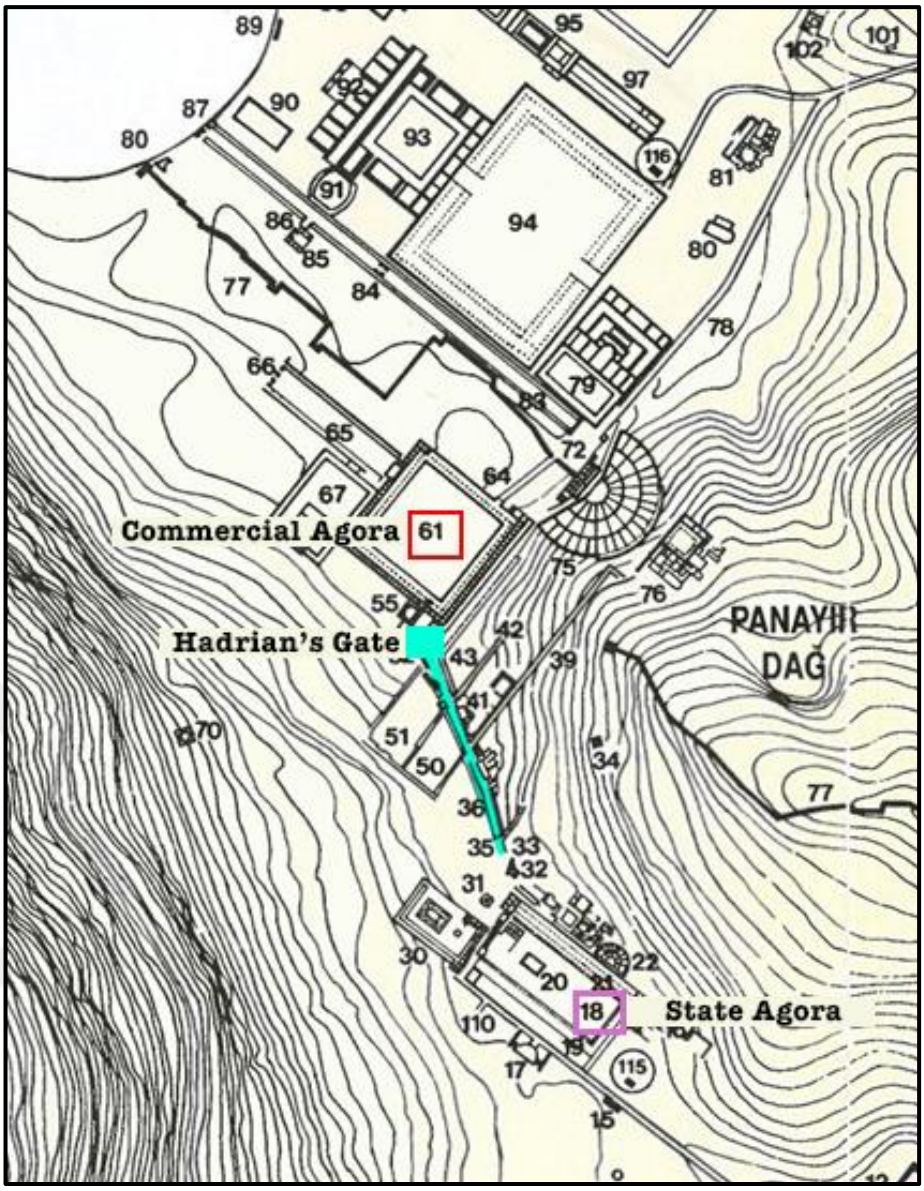


Figure 142- Plan: State Agora, *Embolos*, Hadrians's Gate, Commercial Agora, Ephesus.

Source: Adapted from Scherrer, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey. Ege Yayınları. Adopted from Map of Ephesus, p. 250: State Agora (18), Commercial Agora (61).

Figure 143 - Pollio Aqueduct, Selçuk, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 144 - Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates, viewing from the library quarter, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 145 - Statues of Artemis, Efes Museum, Selçuk (author's photograph)

Figure 146 - Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, Archaeology Museum, İstanbul & *sarcophagus* of Celsus beneath the Library of Celsus, Ephesus

Source: On the left; author's photograph. On the right; Zimmermann N., Ladstätter, S. & Büyükkolancı, M. (2011). *Wall Painting in Ephesos from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period*. Ege Yayınları. p. 39.

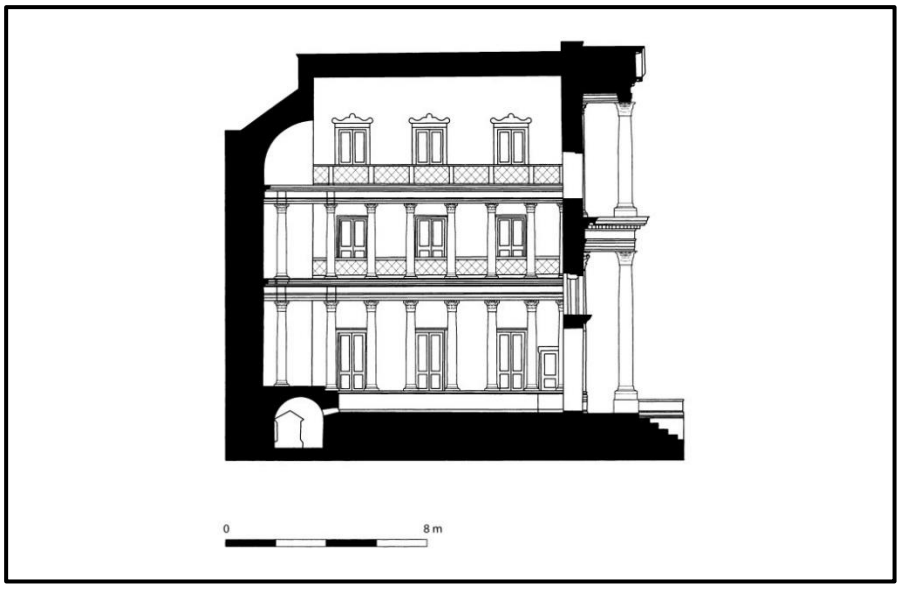


Figure 147 - The section of the Library of Celsus showing the burial chamber, Ephesus

Source: Burrell, B. (2006). False Fronts: Separating the Aedicular Facade from the Imperial Cult in Roman Asia Minor. *AJA 110*(3) 437-69. p. 456, Fig. 12. Drawing by T. Eby

Figure 148 - Exterior, Library of Celsus, Ephesus (author's photograph)

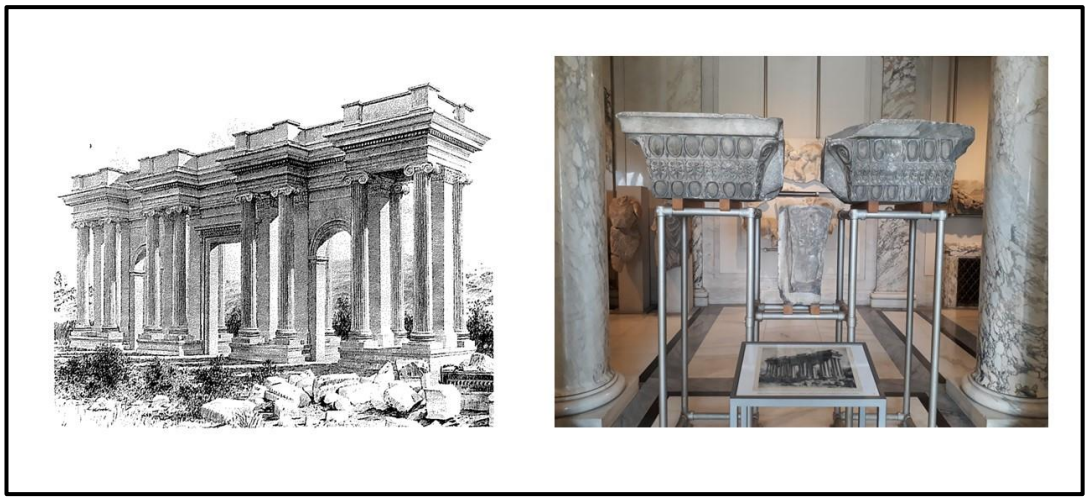


Figure 149 - Harbour Gate, Reconstruction Niemann, Ephesus

Sources: Zabehlicky, H. (2000). Harbour Gates and Quay Structures. In P. Scherrer. (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Ege Yayınları. p. 179 (on the left). Middle Harbour Gate fragments, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Ephesos Museum, Vienna, Austria (on the right, author's photograph).

Figure 150 - House of Virgin Mary, İsa Bey Mosque, Basilica of St. John, Selçuk (author's photograph, from left above to left below)

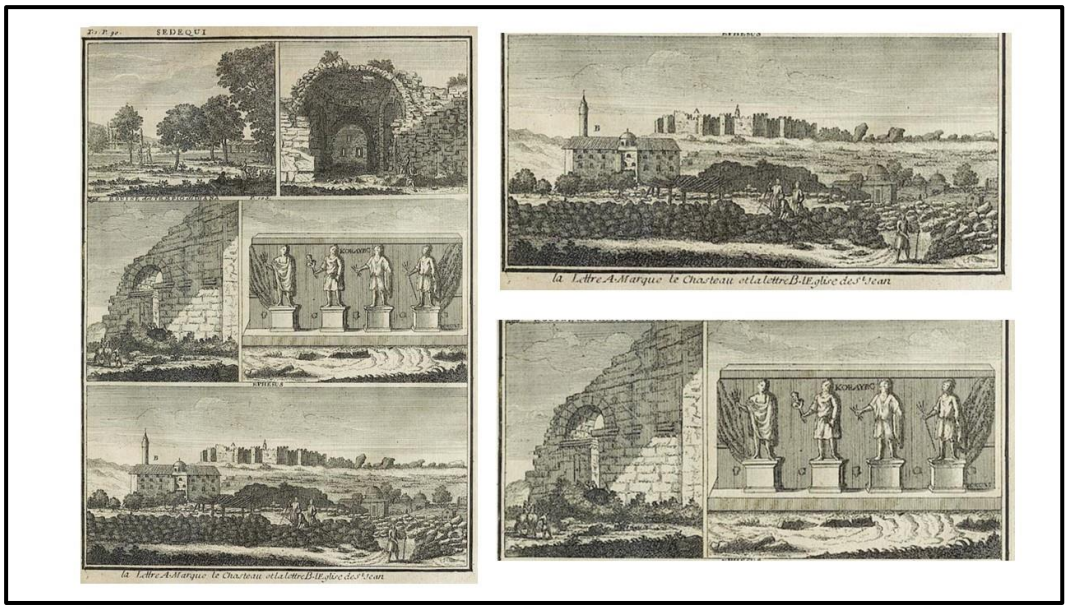


Figure 151 - Photographs, Ephesus

Source: Bruyn, Cornelis de. (1732). *Voyages De Corneille Le Bruyn Au Levant: C'est-à-dire, dans les Principaux endroits de l'Asie Mineure, Dans les Isles de Chio, Rhodes, Chypre, &c.; De même que dans les plus considérables Villes d'Egypte, Syrie, & Terre Sainte* (Band 1). Den Haag. https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.6008#0116 Left above: Temple of Artemis; left below: ruins of the Great Theatre and gymnasium, Ayasuluk Hill.

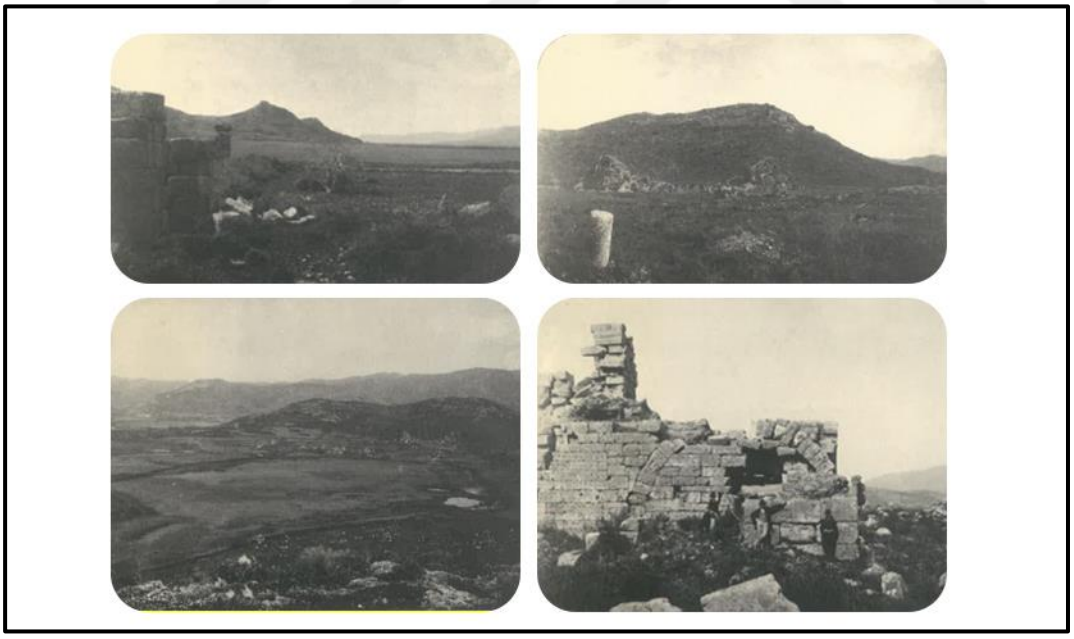


Figure 152 - Photographs, Ephesus

Source: Krickl, E. (2005). *Lycian Journal 1892* (N. Başgelen, Ed., Z. İlkgelen, F. D. Öztürk, M. Işın, M. Çakmak & B. Hirscel, Trans.). Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları and Suna ve İnan Kıraç Vakfı. (Original work published in 1892). pp. 46-7. Left above: view from gymnasium; right above: Great Theatre. Left below: old winter port from Basilica of St. John, right below: the gymnasium with Wilhelm, Hula and Heberday.

Figure 153 - Drawings of J.T. Wood, Temple of Diana, Selçuk

Source: J. T. Wood, Drawings, Temple of Diana, Musée d'Orsay https://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/search?display_type=grid&search_type=advanced_search&union_artist_names=37550

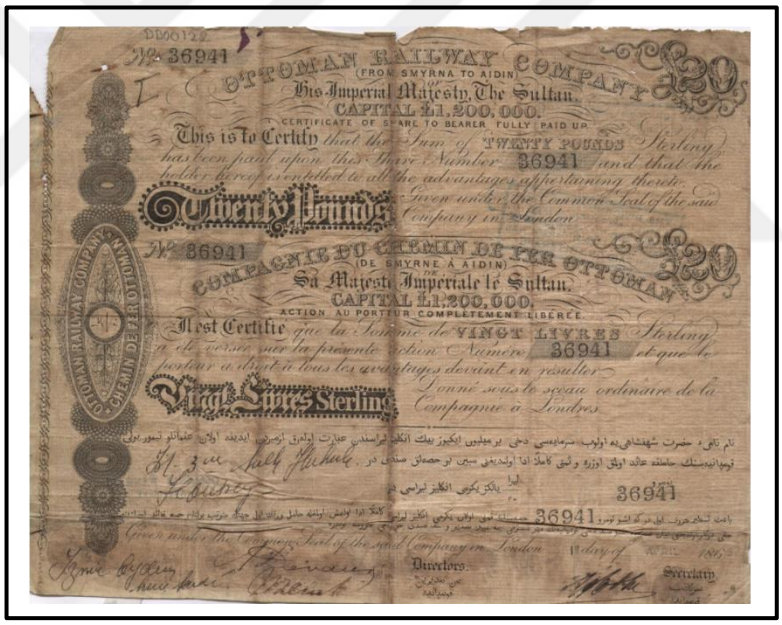


Figure 154 - Ottoman Railway Company (From Smyrna to Aidin), 20 £ certificate

Source: Ottoman Railway Company (From Smyrna to Aidin), 20 £ certificate. *Stock*, SALT Archive https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/165834?mode=full

Figure 155 - Photograph, Hadrian's Gate, Library of Celsus, *Triodos*, Ephesus (author's photograph)

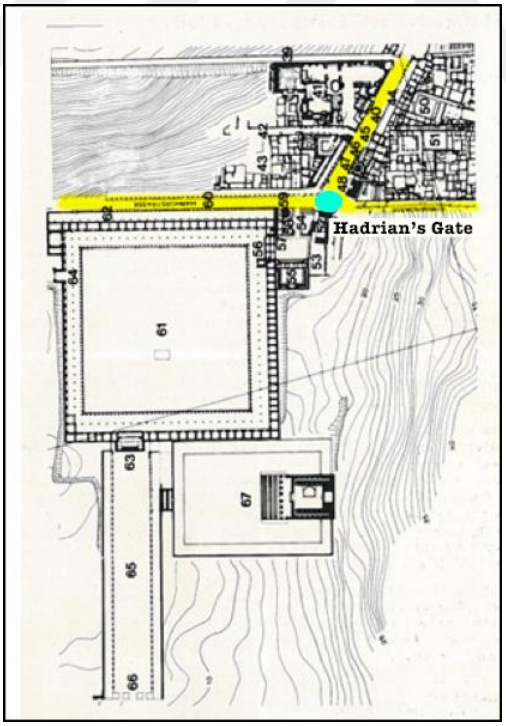


Figure 156 - Plan of *Triodos*, Ephesus

Source: Adapted from Thür, H. (2000a). Hadrian's Gate, The New *Triodos* Gate. In P. Scherrer. (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Ege Yayınları. p. 129. The location of the Hadrian's Gate is highlighted in blue.

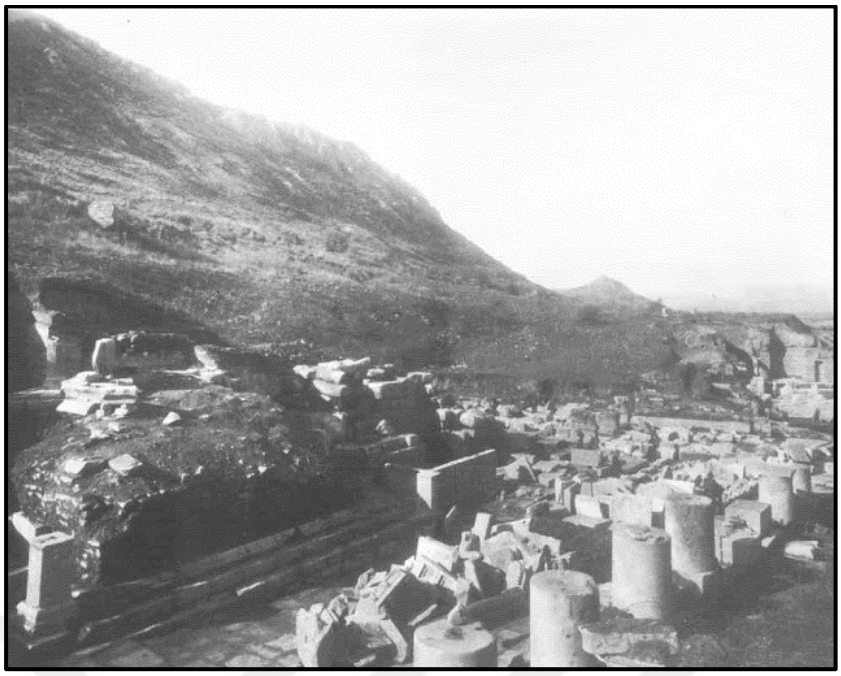


Figure 157 - Photograph showing lower *Embolos*, 1904, Ephesus

Source: Thür, H. (2009). Zur Kuretenstraße von Ephesos – Eine Bestandsaufnahme der Ergebnisse aus der Bauforschung. In *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstraße von Ephesos*. Akten des Symposiums für Hilke Thür vom 13. Dezember 2006 an der ÖAW, edited by S. Ladstätter, 9-28. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. p. 24, Fig. 2.

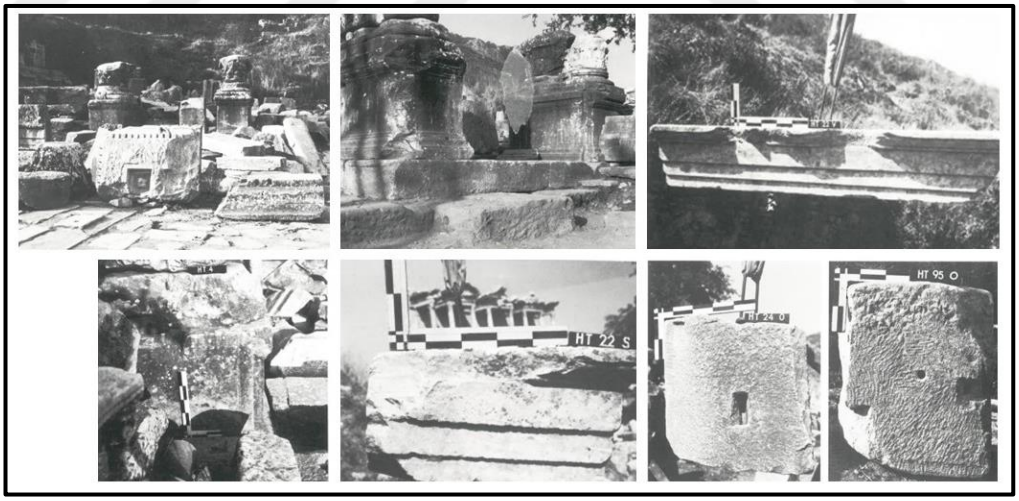


Figure 158 - Photographs from restoration works, Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus

Source: Thür, H. (1989). *Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos. Forschungen. Ephesos Band 11*/1. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Abb. 3, 5, 6 , 69, 70, 73, 74.

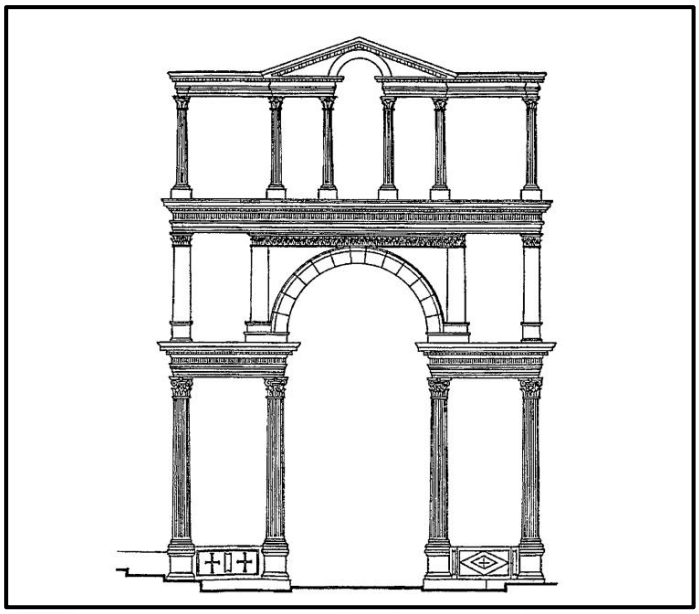


Figure 159 - Reconstruction, Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus

Source: Reconstruction by H. Thür: Scherrer, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey. Ege Yayınları. p. 123.

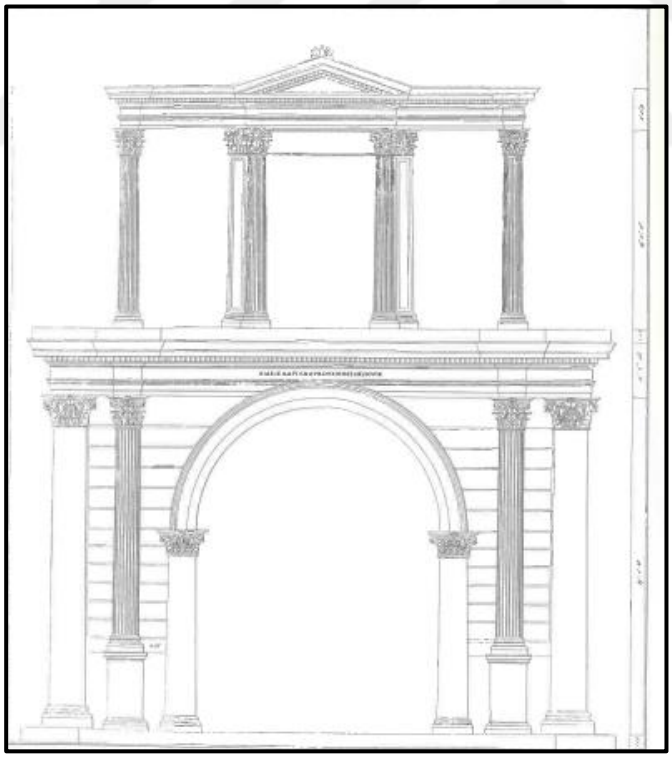


Figure 160 - Reconstruction, Hadrian's Gate, Athens

Source: Thür, H. (1989). *Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos. Forschungen. Ephesos Band 11*/1. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Taf. 77. From Stuart-Revett, Athen C III Taf. 4.

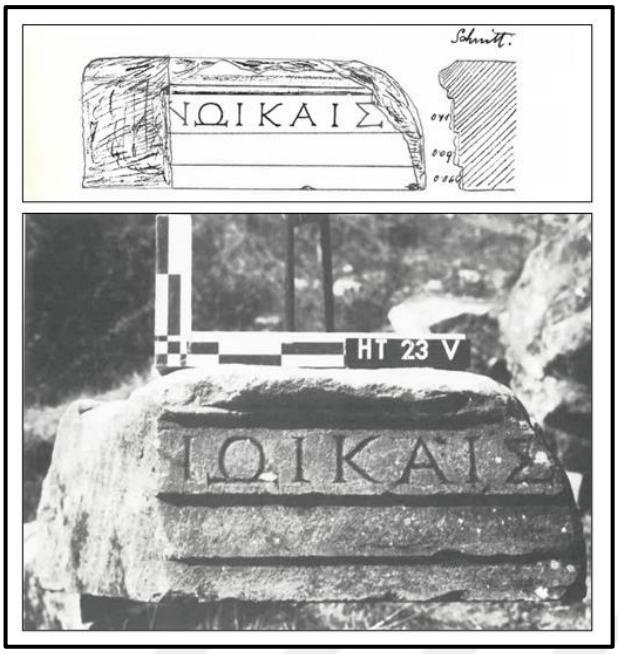


Figure 161 - Inscription, Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus

Source: Thür, H. (1989). *Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos. Forschungen. Ephesos Band 11*/1. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. p. 69, Abb. 72 (Architrav).

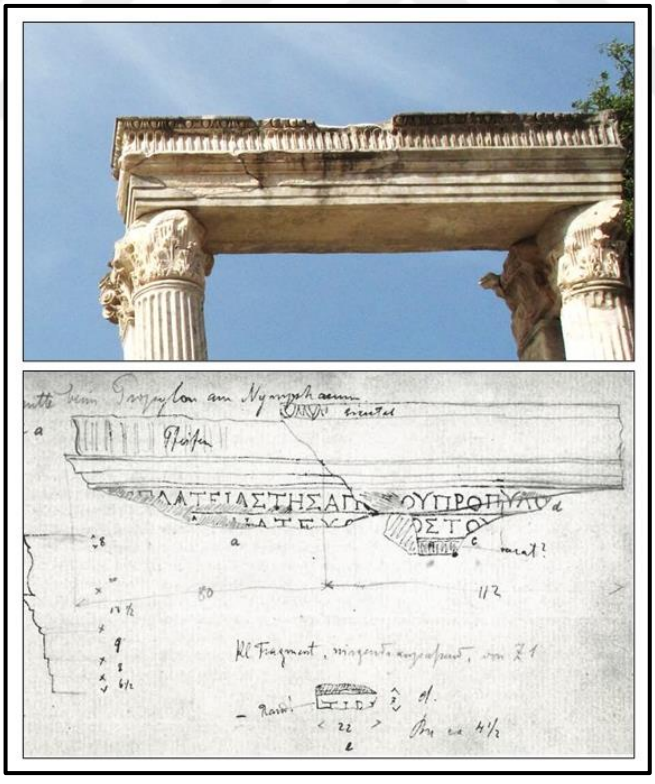


Figure 162 - Inscription, Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus

Sources: Above; author's photograph. Below; Thür, H. (1989). *Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos. Forschungen. Ephesos Band 11*/1. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. p. 71.

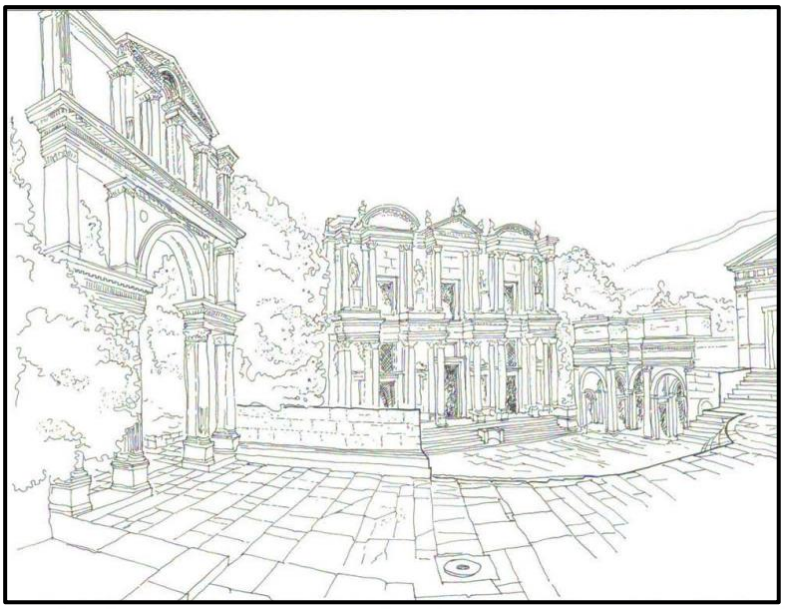


Figure 163 - Reconstruction sketch of the junction of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street. From left to right: Hadrian's Gate, Library of Celsus, South Gate of Tetragonos Agora, south end of the portico of the Marble Street.

Source: Yegül, F. K. (1994). Ephesus: The Street Experience of Ancient Ephesus. In Z. Çelik, D. Favro, & R. Ingersoll (Eds.), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (1st ed., pp. 95–110). University of California Press. p. 101, Fig. 5.

Figure 164 - Composite capitals, columns, Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus (author's photograph)

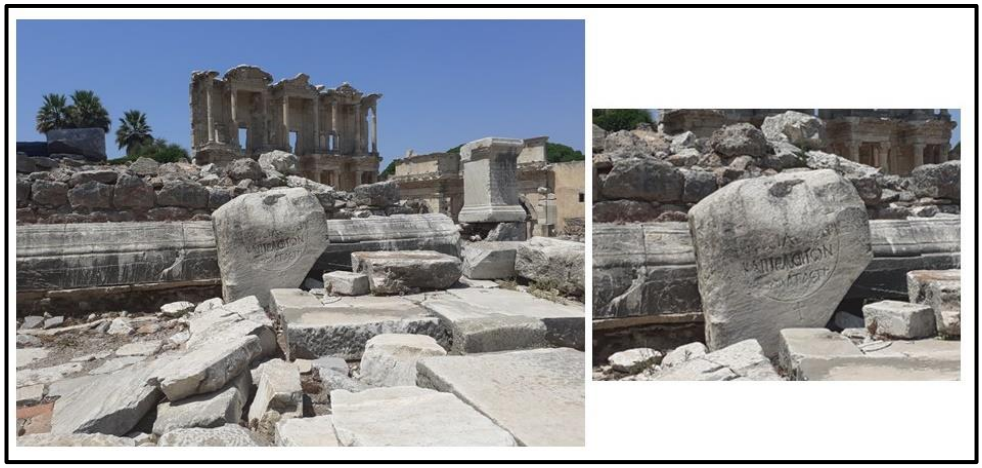


Figure 165 - Symbols of Christianity, Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 166 - Hadrian's Gate, back view, from the intersection of the *Embolos* and the Marble Street, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

1- Artemision
2- So-called Tribune near the Artemision
3- Coressus Harbour
4- Rock shrine (Meter-Cybele Shrine)
5- Byzantine aqueduct
6-Archaic defensive wall (Koressos)
7- Stoa of Damianus
8- Seven Sleepers Cemetery
9- Armenian place of worship
10- Magnesian Gate
11- Hellenistic city walls
12- East Gymnasium
13- Basilica in the East Gymnasium
14- St. Luke's Grace (so-called)
15- Street well/fountain
16- Baths on the State Agora
17- Fountain
18- So-called State Agora
19- Doric Gatehouse and South Colonnade of State Agora
20- Temple on the State Agora
21-Basilica Stoa
22-Odeion/Bouleuterion
23-Temenos with Double Monument
24- Prytenion
25- Banqueting House by the Prytenion
26- Cathodos of *Prytenion* with Embasis
27- Chalcidicum
28- Pollio Monument and Fountain of Domitian
29- Hydrecdocheion of Laecanius Bassus
30- Temple of the Emperors (Temple of Domitian)
31- Niche Monument
32- Memmius Monument
33- Hydreion
34- Round Monument on the Panayırdağ
35- Hercules Gate
36- Curetes Street (*Embolos*)
37-Trajan's Gatehouse
38- Nymphaeum Traiani
39- Bath Street
40- Temple of Hadrian (Embolos)
41- Varius Bath / Baths of Scholasticia
42- Academy Street
43- Latrine and House of Pleasure
44- Alytarchs' Stoa
45- Hellenistic Well
46- Hexagon/Nymphaeum
47- Octagon
48- Androclos Heroon
49- Hadrian's Gate
50- Terrace House 1
51- Terrace House 2
52- Foundations of an altar
53- Hellenistic Peristyle House
54- So-called Tube or Culvert Gate
55- Celsus Library
57- South Gate of the Agora
58- Brick vault (*Embolos*)
59- Circular Monument with Fountain
60- Marble Street
61- Tetragonos Agora (Commercial Market)
62- Hall of Nero
63- West Gate of the Agora
64- North Gate of the Agora
65- West Road
66- Medusa Gate
67- Temple precint (Serapeion)
70- Round monument on Bülbülda
71- St. Paul's Grotto (So-called)
72- Theatre Place with fountain
73- Arcadiane east gate
74- Hellenistic Well House (Theatre)
75- Theatre
76- Byzantine Banqueting House (Panayırda)
77- Byzantine City Wall
78- Theatre Street (*Plateia* in Coressus)
79- Theatre Gymnasium
80- Apsidal Building
81- Byzantine Palace
82- *Arcadiane*
83- *Arcadiane* with adjacent colonnades
84- Four-column monument
85- Church of the southern Arcadiane
86- Exedra
87- Middle Harbour Gate
88- Southern Harbour Gate
89- Northern Harbour Gate
90- Market Buildings at the Harbour
91- Atrium Thermarum
92- Harbour Baths
93- Harbour Gymnasium
94- Xystoi/Halls of Verulanus
95- Church of Mary
96- Baptistery of the Church Mary
97- Episcopium of the Church Mary
98- Olimpeion
99- Acropolis
100- Macellum (So-called)
101- Byzantine Well House
102- Late Antique Peristyle House/Hellenistic Fortification
103- Crevice Temple
104- Stadium
105- Church in the Stadium
106- Vedius Gymnasium
107- Coressian Gate
110- South Road from the Magnesian Gate
115- Upper Entrance to Ephesus
116- Lower Entrance to Ephesus
151- Fortress (Byzantine-Turkish)
152- Basilica of St. John
153- Mycanaean Grave
154- Classic Grave
155- Prehistoric settlement area
156- Byzantine aqueduct
157- Gate of Persecution
170- Isa Bey Mosque
171- Isa Bey Hamamı

Figure 167 - Plan of Ephesus

Source: Adapted from Scherrer, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey. Ege Yayınları. p. 250. The location of the Gate is highlighted with blue.

Figure 168 - Magnesian Gate, Ephesus

Sources: Info board in the site (on the left), author's photograph (on the right).

Figure 169 - Herakles Gate, *Embolos*, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

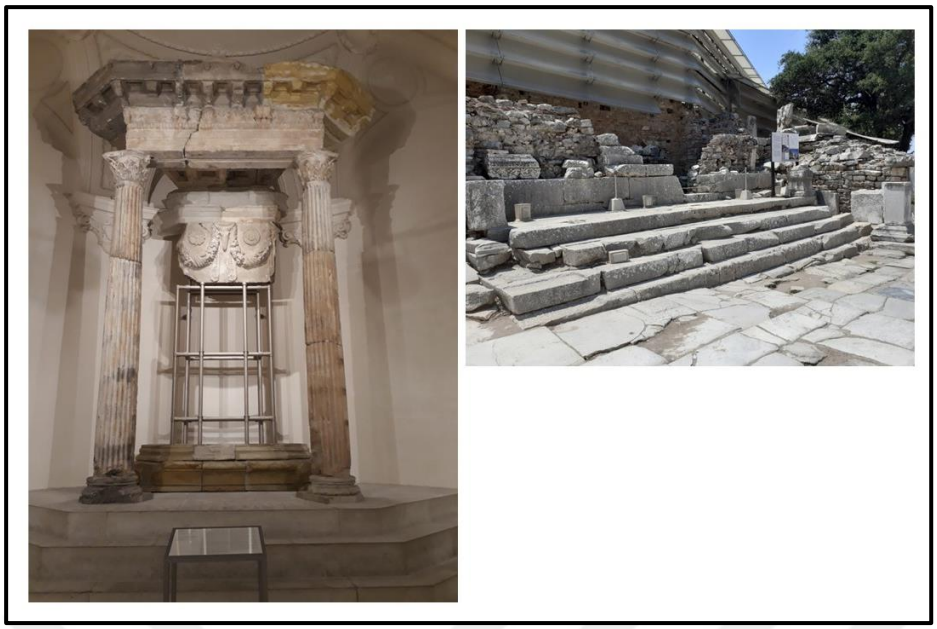


Figure 170 - Octagon, *Embolos*, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Source: *Fragments from Octagon.* Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Ephesos Museum, Vienna, Austria (author's photographs on the left).

Figure 171 - Fountain of Trajan, *Embolos*, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 172 - Great Theatre, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Source: *Fragments and a seat from the Great Theatre.* Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Ephesos Museum, Vienna, Austria (author's photographs).

Figure 173 - Marble Street, Hall of Nero, Terrace Houses, Ephesus (author's photograph)

Figure 174 - Commercial Agora, Ephesus (author's photograph)

Figure 175 - Hadrian's Gate, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

Figure 176 - Library of Celsus, night view, Ephesus
(author's photograph)

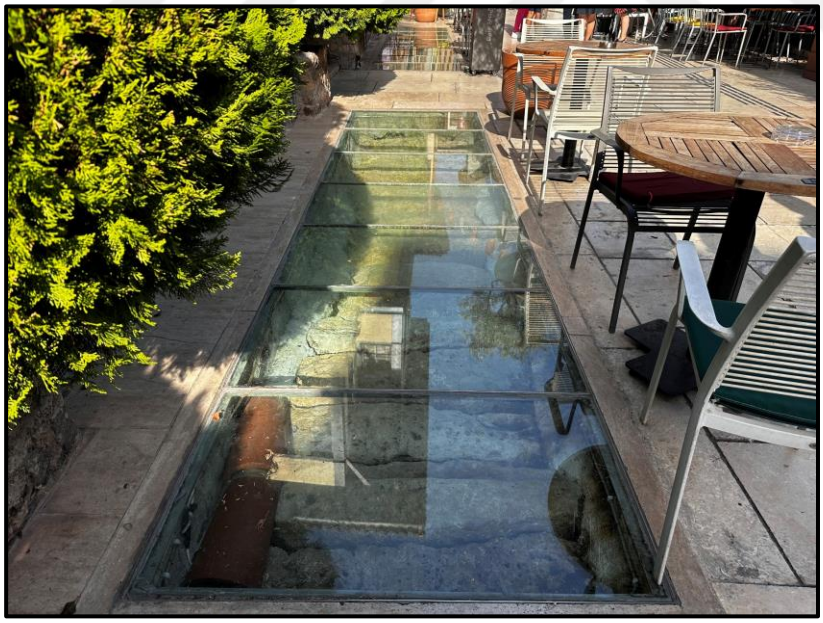
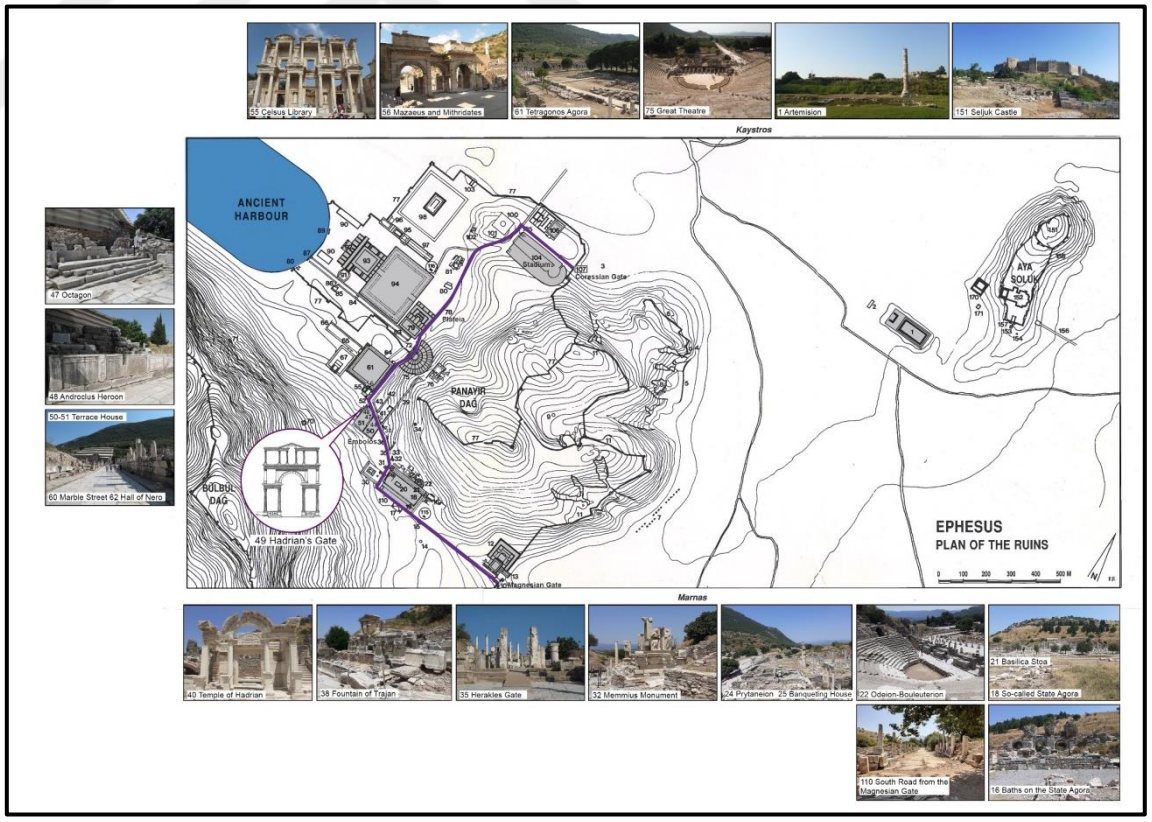


Figure 177 - Ancient ruins, Antalya
(author's photograph)

Figure 178 - Porta Macedonia, Pella Square, Skopje
(author's photograph)

B. MAPS



Map 1 - The route from Magnesian Gate to Coressian Gate, Ephesus

Source: Adapted from Scherrer, P. (Ed.). (2000). *Ephesus: The New Guide*. Turkey. Ege Yayınları. p. 250. In the map, 10 refers to the Magnesian Gate, 107 refers to the Coressian Gate. (above, below and on the left: author's photographs)

C. TRANSLATION OF RESTORATION REPORT

THE ARCHITECTURAL PRINCIPLES AND RESTORATION OF THE HADRIAN'S GATE IN THE CITY OF ANTALYA[839]

Mahmut Akok, Archaeologist

The historical and architectural monument[840] known as Üç Kapılar (Triple Gates) by the inhabitants of the city of Antalya, which is accepted to have been built in honour of Emperor Hadrian during the Roman Age, was planned to be restored and preserved by the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of National Education in 1958.

The author of this article travelled to the site in February of the same year and met with the then Museum Director of Antalya, İsmet Ebcioğlu, and the restoration manager, Mustafa Ayaşlıoğlu, Master Architect, and reviewed the situation at the site. They drew up the Protocol attached at the end of this article, which was a preliminary programme of the works to be carried out.

Thus, the works were commenced de facto. In the same days, with the help of people and tools procured from the Museum Administration, we started to take the necessary measurements for the survey.

Condition of the monument during the survey:

As can be seen from the examination of the Survey Drawings we have presented (see Drawings 1-5), approximately one and a half metres of the monument was buried in the ground, and when the surviving parts were viewed from the front, it was

[839] Translation of the Restoration Report into English. Akok, M. (1970). Antalya Şehri İçindeki Hadriyan Kapısının Mimari Kuruluşu ve Restorasyonu. Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi 1970 XIX-I, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 37-54. https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/2158677

[840] Lanckoroński, 1890, Stadte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens.

observed that some amorphous supports and pillars had been placed under the columns and console brackets[841] (Photos 1-6). The 4 column sets that should have been on the front façade had been removed. The stone masonry pillars, which today replace the column sets, were four-cornered in plan and shaped like a truncated pyramid, broad at the bottom and narrowing towards the top.

One could easily pass under the three-vaulted passages. The vault in the upper part of the passage in the middle part was not in its original form but was filled with a mesh that looked like a rubble wall with a large amount of lime mortar and small stones. The other two vaults of the east-facing front façade of the historical passageway of the Three Gates were still in their nearly original architectural structure. The frieze and the rows of eaves forming the entablature were also in solid and perceptible condition, partly in place. However, some of the consoles had been dislodged, and the eaves corresponding to the ends of the brackets had generally fallen off and disappeared.

As for the rear façade, it suffered the most damage. When viewed from the inside out, the vaulting over the two piers on the left side and the columns and console sets on the left end of these vaults were in a recognizable shape in their original form. On the other side, the vaults of the central and right-hand passages were partially stripped of their faces, and the piers were partly destroyed, while the facial mouldings, columns and consoles were completely missing (Photos 7-10). On the wall faces of the upper section of the passage, there were the remains of the ends of the walls that had been erected after the modifications made in this area in the Byzantine period.

Archaeological excavations around the Hadrian Gate:

In order to have the definitive and final word on the archaeology of the valuable historical monument of the city of Antalya (in terms of shedding light on its historical architecture), it was necessary to excavate around it to understand the parts of the monument in the ground. The required excavations and research were carried

[841] The structural pillars in place of the old columns at the front were built in the 19th century when the gates were reopened for passage.

out under the supervision of the author of this article and the staff of the Antalya Museum. In fact, this work was necessary in order to connect the monument to today's city circulation, to see the architectural finds underground, and to decide on the exact restoration method.

A careful excavation was carried out at the front and back of the monument. It was found that the parts belonging to the Hadrian Gate, which would comprise the architectural ensemble, differed from Lanckoroński's views of 1890 only in some details.

During the excavations in the front, although the makeshift supports were removed[842], the bases of the columns underneath them were not found. However, corresponding to the right corner and in front of the makeshift support (this support was part of a Byzantine wall), a column base (pedestal) with a broken upper part was found (Photo 11). As we descended to the level of the floor slabs of the passageways, the lower parts of a uniformly built wall closing the passageways from the front were found (Photos 12, 13).

The floor slabs of the interior of the passageways were clearly visible everywhere and were indicated on the plan.

As the excavations were extended inwards, a sacred facility was found on the floor of the passage on the right-hand side (Photos 14, 15). Italian archaeologists who excavated here in 1921-1922 had also found the same traces.[843] In their publications, they identified in great detail the compartments of the Byzantine-era building facility inside the Hadrian Gate (Photos 16, 17).

We could only see a part of this structure and the floor slab. According to the research of the Italians in this section, the Triumphal Arch, which was built in

[842] The columns in this section must have been removed during the Byzantine era when sacred facilities were established in this place.

[843] A partial photocopy of this publication, which is in the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, was kindly provided to me by Nezih Fıratlı, Doctor of Archaeology.

G. Moretti, "La porta di Adriano", Annuario della Reale Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiene in Oriente 6-7, 1923-24, 5-453-478.

memory of Emperor Hadrian, was closed in the Byzantine era, such that a solid wall in front of it and between the columns and the vault piers was built, and a sacred space was established in the back by means of building a number of room compartments to make use of the space of the passages.

In the Turkish era, the passages were desired to be utilised again, and they were put into operation in the form of three gates. This time, when the walls on the front façade were removed, it was necessary to build structural piers instead of columns. In the interior, extensive changes were made, and since the vault faces and columns had been removed in the Byzantine era, it was deemed sufficient to clean the rear walls.

During the ongoing excavations of the inner section, some of the piers of the passage vaults belonging to the Triumphal Arch of Hadrian, as well as the plinths and imposts of these piers, were found intact (Photos 18, 19).

During the excavation of this section, the plinth, pedestal and impost of the whole column at the left end were found intact, while the pedestal and impost of the column outside the adjacent vault pier were seen to be in place (Photos 20, 21).

As the excavations were further extended, a fragment of a monumental tomb-like structure made of freestone, which must have belonged to an earlier age, was seen partially under the wall of the bastion in the right-hand corner (Photo 22). In fact, as the excavations in this direction progressed in breadth and depth, some old graves containing skeletons were also found.

By the end of the excavations around the Antalya-Hadrian Gate, all the documents required for restoration had been obtained, and the condition of the monument was definitely revealed. According to the principles we have determined, we now have the information to explain and write about the actual architectural state of the monument.

The construction and structural features of the Triumphal Arch of Hadrian:

The Triumphal Arch of Hadrian, which was built between two high bastions of 840x860 metres of measurement in plan, 17.81 metres apart from each other, completely conforms to the architectural tradition of the triumphal arches at the entrances of Perge and the ancient cities of Pisidian Antioch[844] and to the custom of the era to build such gateways. Even though the architectural construction spirit and innovations of this age are different in each one of them, the meaning and purpose of their construction are the same.

The Triple Gates Monument in the city of Antalya is in the form of a passage with three openings, two side and two centre piers, adjacent to the bastions on both sides (see Drawings 1-3). The side piers also have pilaster-like protrusions where they adjoin the bastions. On the central axis of the central piers and in the middle of the side piers, there are eight sets of columns, at the front and at the back, with a span of 2.27 metres.

The body dimensions of the central piers carrying the vaults are 1.12x2.52x3.25 metres. Below these, the height of the piers is 4.12 metres with simple-shaped pedestals, plinths and imposts with simple-shaped and palmette embossed ornaments.

The outer surfaces of the frontal arches of the vaults and the cymatium mouldings are embossed but the cymatia are partly plain. (Photos 4-6). The interiors are in the form of consecutive squares, framed by moulding on the edges and cassettes with rosettes in the centre. The inner faces of the vaults in the three passage openings are ornamented in the same way. On the façades there are ornamented and moulded consoles above the centre of the triangles between the arches, and above these, perpendicular to the main body, there are brackets, a kind of architrave beam, extending to the top of the exposed column capitals. This architrave face also passes over the frontal arches of the vaults like a cornice.

On the arches of the triumphal arch of Hadrian facing away from the city, there used to be an inscription in bronze relief letters nailed to the broad, flat surface of this cornice. Today, traces of the studs of these letters are visible in situ.

[844] D.M. Robinson. A. Preliminary report on the excavation at Pisidian Antioch and at Sizma. AJA 2.5.28 1924 pp. 435-444.

On the upper parts, there is a palmette frieze, finely and elegantly carved, and on top of it, there is a set of eaves decorated with various mouldings and ornamental reliefs. At the top and in a slightly recessed position, an historical wall is visible today.

During our examination of the upper floor plan, two pieces similar to columns or statue bases were seen close to the bastions on both sides and placed at the level of the inner wall.

We do not have any further information about the layout of the upper floor of the monument today. However, we can put forward an idea about its old form by analogy.

As for the column sets in the front and back rows:
According to a column that has survived until today, we can make a judgement about all the columns. However, during the excavations, we could not find much information about and parts of the other columns, pedestals, and plinths, but the foundations were seen.

According to a single example, the situation and column sets will be as follows: From top to bottom there is a 60 cm high fully composite finely carved capital, a marble column 408 cm long, with an average diameter of 45 cm; underneath, a 25 cm high column base (round) consisting of two cavets, a groove, and two dentils, further below, a 23 cm high and four-cornered column plinth, a 153 cm high 104x104 cm square pedestal below it, and a 49 cm high plinth below it, thus the height of the column on the original floor slab was determined as 670 cm.

The capitals are made of marble suitable for fine carving, and some of the column bodies are presumably granite. The plinths and pedestals were also found to be of local fine-grained limestone.

It was understood from the fragments obtained, that the mouldings on the column pedestals and imposts on the front side were carefully made, but left in the form of flatter bevels (chamfers) on the back sides.

The Triumphal Arch of Hadrian in Antalya has a unique architectural design and shows meticulous workmanship in terms of ornamentation, order, and arrangement. On the dentils of the arches, there are strings of rosaries and beads and egg-layered mouldings, and on the architrave beam moulding rows, there are mouldings in the Lesbos cymatium and egg-layered mouldings in a different order.

The full frieze band is in the form of a thin Acanthus border. Above this, there is a cymatium with rows of dentils, and on the eaves, there is a wide palmette moulding and the lion-headed gargoyles are also very fine and in relief, showing careful workmanship.

These mouldings placed horizontally on top of each other in a cantilevering manner on the entire façade of the archway increase the plastic value of the monument and make it meaningful.

The imposts of the vault piers are also of fine workmanship and Baroque significance. The plinths of the piers are simple and flat. The plinths and the imposts of the lower part are also in the form of smooth mouldings but show fine workmanship (Photos 18-19-21).

The floors of the passageways are covered with large, flat and rectangular stones (Photos 12, 13).
Although the connections to the outer and inner areas of such arched passageways should be according to a plan, it was not possible to investigate those areas since the excavations could not be extended to those parts.

Restoration Works:
As mentioned above, the architectural documents that would complete the wide passage arches and the façade views of the historical monument and allow the restoration of the columns in their old form were completely obtained. After the stone material suitable for the original quality of the structure was obtained from the same neighbouring quarries, the work had to be carried out skilfully. The marble for the columns was brought from the Marmara Island quarries.

In the new stone ornamentation, no fine carving was to be used, and the mouldings, which would make the architectural framework expressive, were to be processed in the same forms. So it was done (Photos 24, 28).

The historical floor on the upper part was also completed in the same way, and the upper level was insulated by covering the surface with stone.

The connection of the Hadrian Monument with the surrounding area was ensured by building embankment walls and stepped passages between the original passage floor slabs, which are about one and a half metres lower than today's boulevard and street levels, and the higher sections.

With the appropriations provided by the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of National Education and the successful work of the scientific staff in unison, the city of Antalya was reunited with an historical monument in its former architectural splendour.

Triumphal Arch of Hadrian, which was established as a monument adorning a city in its history, is a valuable embellishing structure of today's Antalya city. Hadrian Gate has also taken its place with its valuable architectural identity in this piece of homeland, which is a focal point of historical values.

ANTALYA HADRIAN'S (TRIPLE GATES) MONUMENT REPAIR AND RESTORATION PROTOCOL

1- *Ground Excavation*: In the gate area, excavation until the foundations of the piers are visible in order to unearth the original sections, construction of retaining walls on the edges of the gate ground that will be exposed as a result of the excavation and the current road levels in the back and front sections, and construction of a staircase to reach the back of the middle gate and to ascend to the area located in the front and back sections in the width of the middle gate and front of the two side bastions. If, as a result of the excavation, parts of the old floor covering are found, it is necessary to preserve them as them as they are and to complete the missing parts in

accordance with the original, and if nothing is found, it is necessary to make flooring in accordance with the original characteristics of the monument. The water to be collected from the floor of the passageway as regards the surrounding levels should be connected with drainage to the existing canal in the front. The original pieces to be recovered from both the excavation site and the reinforcement piers will be cleaned and returned to their original places during the restoration.

2- *Repair and restoration*: If, as a result of the excavation, the original bases of the eight columns belonging to the front and rear façades are not found or if they are not found to be intact, new bases will be constructed in accordance with the only existing example and seven similar columns will obtained from the neighbouring ruins and be placed on these bases.

Two of the piers of the vaults forming the gates are intact examples. The other two will be rebuilt with the same material up to the springer stones in accordance with these examples. Following this repair work, the stone gaps in the piers will be filled with cement grout.

Preservation of the existing springer stones on the gate piers as they are, including their fractures, and the moulding and profiling of the deficiencies as the originals, but in such a way that the fine parts of the ornaments can be processed in the future and on-site.

The vaults forming the triple gates, the consoles on the columns and other parts that need to be reinforced shall be supported solidly with a wooden structure. After the completion of the support work, large masses of stone in relief, moved or dislocated from their places, intact or broken, will be numbered on the project and on site, and be lowered down. The masonry parts and other parts built in place of the columns and on the middle passageway will be dismantled in a careful manner with special tools so as not to cause vibration. The parts from the dismantled places posing a hazard will be reinforced with wood.

After dismantling the masonry on the vaulted parts of the gateway, a reinforced concrete jacket will be constructed on the existing vaults and, those added to the sides, and the new middle vault to be built, provided that it remains inside (This jacket will transfer the weights coming from the top to the foundations).

After the broken console stone on an existing column on the rear façade is duly numbered and taken down, the column will be reinforced with vertical flat iron slats and, horizontally, with iron bracelets. The original column capital on the column will be repaired and completed with white cement and then put in place. The flat cut stones between the façade arches will be numbered, taken down and placed in their original positions after the construction of the middle arch vault and the missing ones will be completed similarly.

The replacement of the original parts of the façades by numbering them provided that the broken parts are joined and reinforced. The replacement of the missing parts of the fine components of the decorations, as accepted in the springer stones of the vaults, by making profiles and mouldings in such a way that they can be processed in the future and on-site.

The new column capitals of the front and rear façades will be made from the same type of stone in accordance with the original sample and be placed in their locations. Filling and reinforcing the triangular gaps between the vaults and the gaps between the other parts with masonry material and isolation of the top of this area, and after the completion of this work, the parts of the upper section that are in place today will be placed in their old locations.

During the repair, other measures that are not included in these considerations and that are deemed necessary are to be determined and carried out by the supervisor on site. The repair of the façades and interiors of the bastions of the castle on both sides of the gateway in such a way as not to damage the monument, the removal of the built-up parts and the arrangement of the bastion on the east-south side from the inside so as to reach the upper part and thus ensuring the maintenance of this part of the monument.

3- *Arrangement of the Surroundings*: Planning, arrangement, and landscaping of the area around the Hadrian (Triple Gates) Monument in a way that shows the sections of the monument that are related to the defence of the ancient city. It is necessary to remove the buildings and facilities that are built on the site and are unsightly.

17 February 1958

Mahmut Akok
Archaeologist

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E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, Anadolu'da İmparator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus (MS 117-138) dönemine atfedilen Attaleia (Antalya) ve Efes'teki (Efes) iki tören kapısının algılanmasına dikkat çekmektedir.[845] Çalışmanın temel amaçlarından biri, Hadrianus'un bu iki Anadolu kenti üzerindeki etkisini ve bu kentlerin Hadrianus'un imparatorluk otoritesine verdikleri tepkileri ortaya koymaktır. İki kapının günümüzde nasıl algılandığı da incelenmektedir. Bunu yaparken, çalışma 'mekân hafızası'nın Attaleia ve Efes'teki Hadrianus kapılarıyla hem geçmişte hem de günümüzde etkileşime giren bireylerin zihnindeki sosyal, tarihi, kültürel değerleri ve imgeleri nasıl şekillendirdiğini analiz etmek için hafıza çalışmalarından ve 'yaşam alanı'nın interaktif anlamından yararlanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, Hadrianus döneminin mimari mirasının çağdaş algıları ve bu mirasın sergilenmesi bu çalışmanın bir diğer konusudur.

Bu araştırma kapsamında, İmparator Hadrianus'un 117-118, 121-25 ve 128-132 yılları arasında Anadolu'da gerçekleştirdiği imparatorluk seyahatlerinin incelenmesi bir başlangıç noktası oluşturmaktadır. İmparatorluk otoritesi ve şehirler arasındaki bu iki taraflı etkileşim, şehirlerdeki mimari ögeler, heykeller, sikkeler ve yazıtların kanıtları aracılığıyla izlenmektedir. Hadrianus'un otobiyografisi mevcut olmadığından, bu çalışma antik dönem kaynaklarına, modern araştırmalara ve saha ziyaretlerine dayanmaktadır. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* ve Cassius Dio'nun *Roma Tarihi* gibi antik edebi kaynaklar, güvenilirlikleri konusundaki tartışmalara rağmen değerli bilgiler sağlamaktadır.

Hadrianus ve hükümdarlığı hakkındaki modern çalışmaların çoğunda, imparator genellikle Roma ve Atina'daki dikkat çekici projeleri ya da 160 dönümlük (65 hektar) bir alanı kaplayan binalar kompleksinden oluşan küçük ölçekli bir kasaba olarak düşünülebilecek Tivoli'deki (Tibur) ünlü villası da dâhil olmak üzere önemli

[845] Aksi belirtilmedikçe tüm tarihler MS olarak belirtilmiştir.

bir figür olarak vurgulanmaktadır.[846] Güven'e göre, villasındaki "binalara dikkatle bakıldığında, hem imparator hem mimar Hadrianus'un fethettiği bütün dünyayı avucunun içine hapsettiği görülür."[847]

Hadrianus'un imparatorluk dönemi genellikle Roma İmparatorluğu ve eyaletlerinin birleştiği ve bütünleştiği bir dönem olarak kabul edilir. Selefi Traianus, Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, "imparatorların en büyüğü" (*optimus princeps*) olarak bilinir[848] ve ordu ile Senato'yu uzlaştıran[849] ve Yunan anakarası ile Anadolu'yu ilhak etmeye çalışan başarılı imparatorlardan biri olarak kabul edilir. Hadrianus ise farklı bir politika izleyerek daha fazla toprak genişlemesinden ziyade hâlihazırda elde edilmiş olan imparatorluk sınırlarına odaklanmıştır. Traianus'un yayılmacı imparatorluk politikası Hadrianus döneminde yerini barışın korunmasına bıraktı. Bu durum şüphesiz Hadrianus'un yirmi bir yıllık iktidarının yarısından fazlasını başkent Roma dışında geçirmesine olanak sağlamıştır.[850] Sık seyahatleri nedeniyle Hadrianus bazen 'gezgin imparator' olarak anılmaktadır.[851]

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[846] Hadrianus'un Tivoli'deki Villası hakkında kapsamlı bilgi için bakınız: MacDonald & Pinto. C. Scarre. (1995). *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors: The reign-by-reign record of the rulers of Imperial Rome*. Thames & Hudson, s. 101. M. Cary & H. H. Scullard. (1975). *A History of Rome: Down to the reign of Constantine*. Macmillan. s. 461.

[847] MacDonald & Pinto 1995, 25-46. S. Güven. (2014). Antik Kent Düşleri: Roma, Hadrianus, Tivoli. *Doğu Batı*, 68, 9-22. s. 19.

[848] J. Bennett. (1997*). Trajan: Optimus Princeps: A Life and Times. Routledge*. Preface, xii: Traianus'un hayatı ve dönemine dair kapsamlı bir çalışma ve imparatorun İngilizce'de mevcut tek biyografisi. Traianus, zaferleri nedeniyle Senato'dan, dilediği kadar zafer kutlama ayrıcalığı da dâhil olmak üzere çeşitli onurlandırmalar alan bir imparatordu. *Optimus Princeps* unvanı ilk kez 113 yılında sikkeler üzerinde görülmüş, ardından 114 yılında Senato tarafından bu unvan kendisine verilmiş, 116 yılında ise *Parthicus* unvanını almıştır. Daha fazla bilgi için Bennett'e bakınız, Chapter XI and XIII, Cassius Dio 68 23.1-2; 68 28.2 ve A. Claridge. (2013). Hadrian's Succession and the Monuments of Trajan. In T. Opper (Ed.), *Hadrian: Arts, Politics and Economy* (s. 5-18). British Museum Press. s. 5.

[849] M. T. Boatwright, D. J. Gargola & R. J. A. Talbert. (2004). *The Romans, From Village to Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press. s. 367. Traianus görkemli askeri zaferleriyle bilge bir yöneticiydi.

[850] M. T. Boatwright, D. J. Gargola & R. J. A. Talbert. (2006). *A Brief History of the Romans*. New York: Oxford University Press. s. 235.

[851] Bu fikir A. Birley tarafından benimsenmiştir: A. Birley. (1997). *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*. Routledge. Aynı zamanda Hadrianus üzerine düşündürücü biyografik roman için bakınız, M. Yourcenar. (1986). *Memoirs of Hadrian, and reflections on the composition of Memoirs of Hadrian*. (G. Frick, & P. Bailey Ed. & Trans.). Penguin. (Türkçe çevirisine de bakınız, M. Yourcenar. (2013). *Hadrianus'un Anıları* (N. Bilkur, Trans.). Helikopter).

Sonuç olarak Hadrianus'un politikası, özellikle Yunanistan ve Anadolu'da imparatorluğun sınırlarını aşan yorulmak bilmez bir gezgin olması bağlamında kültürel bir yayılma ve sentez olarak değerlendirilebilir.[852] Bu dönemde Roma İmparatorluğuna dâhil topraklarda barış hüküm sürmekteydi. Bu durum zengin bir mimari gelişim için fırsat yaratmıştır. İmparatorluk yönetiminin yanı sıra Hadrianus'un sanat ve mimari üzerindeki proaktif etkisi imparatorluk genelinde çeşitli mimari projelerde kendini göstermiştir.

Roma İmparatorluğu'nun genel havasının bir dereceye kadar imparatorların karakteri tarafından yaratıldığı düşünülürse, 'gezgin imparator' Hadrianus'un sosyal, kültürel, siyasi ve idari normların inşası ve uygulanmasında çeşitli kanallar aracılığıyla hem etki yaratma hem de bu etkiyi gösterme konusunda güçlü bir imparator olduğu sonucuna varılabilir.

Üstelik bu yapıcı çabalar soyut etkileşimlerle sınırlı kalmayıp, somut olarak inşaat projelerine yönelik hayırsever çabalarına yansımıştır. Roma dışına yaptığı pek çok ziyaret, belediye örgütlenmesini ve imparatorluğun çok farklı bölgelerindeki şehirlerin kültürel faaliyetlerini teşvik eden idari, sosyal ve imparatorun siyasi altyapısını kolaylaştırmaya odaklanmıştır.

Bu bağlamda, imparatorun seyahatleri Yunanistan ve Anadolu'da mimari bir rönesansın katalizörü olarak öne çıkmaktadır; bölgedeki şehirler kendi aralarında ve hatta (bir dereceye kadar) Roma ile rekabet etmektedir. Hadrianus'un ziyaret ettiği Roma şehirleri arasında Atina kendine özgü bir konuma sahipti. İmparatorun bu kente duyduğu hayranlık, etkileyici yapı projelerine yansımış ve bu kültüre duyduğu hayranlık onu Anadolu'nun birçok bölgesindeki kentlere de yardımlar sağlamaya yöneltmiştir.

Estetik algısı güçlü bir imparator olan Hadrianus'un hayata geçirilen mimari projeler üzerindeki etkisi, Roma taşra ve sınır kentlerinin kentsel formları arasında önemli ilişkiler olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu da toplumsal hafızanın görsel araçlarıyla

[852] Cassius Dio 69 5.3.

izlenebilecek bir toplumsal hafızanın yaratılmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Özellikle, imparatorun ziyaretleri sırasındaki fiziken varlığı, ziyaret edilen kentlerin sakinleri arasında toplumsal bir hafıza yaratma konusunda önemli bir değere sahip olmalıdır. Hadrianus'un ziyareti ya da bir kenti ziyaret etme ihtimali, kentler arasında rekabeti de tetiklemiş olabilir. Bu nedenle, Hadrianus'un şehirlere yaptığı yardımlar "eşsiz tarihin yenilenmesi, korunması veya tanıtılması"[853] ile ilişkilendirilmiştir.

Bu tez Giriş ve Sonuç bölümleri dâhil sekiz bölümden oluşmaktadır. Çalışma aynı zamanda tezin odak konusu olan iki kapının günümüzde nasıl algılandığını incelemekte, "mekân hafızasının" geçmişte ve günümüzde Attaleia ve Efes'teki Hadrianus Kapıları ile etkileşimde bulunanların zihnindeki sosyal, tarihi ve kültürel değerleri ve imgeleri nasıl şekillendirdiğini analiz etmektedir. Dolayısıyla, Hadrianus dönemi mimari mirasının çağdaş algılanışı ve sunumu bu çalışmanın bir diğer konusudur.

Giriş bölümünün ardından, 2. Bölüm Hadrianus'un seyahatleri ve güzergâhları hakkında kapsamlı bir açıklama sunmaktadır. Ardından, 3. Bölüm Roma kültüründe ortaya çıkaran dinamikler ve süreçler hakkında bir arka plan oluştururken, 4. Bölüm bu etkileri mimari, Roma kent armatürü ve tören kapılarının rolü üzerinden açıklamaktadır. Bunu 5. ve 6. Bölümlerde Hadrianus'a adanmış kapıların ve Attaleia ile Efes kentlerinin daha spesifik bir şekilde açıklanması takip etmektedir. Yedinci Bölüm'de anıtsal ve mekânsal boyutlara genel bir bakış, tören kapılarına odaklanarak sona ermektedir. Tarihi mirasa genel bir bakış ışığında güncel projeksiyonlar, korunması, algılanması ve temsili Sonuç bölümünü oluşturmaktadır.

2. Bölüm Hadrianus'un yaşamı, iktidara yükselişi ve yönetimi hakkında ayrıntılı bir açıklama sunmaktadır. Traianus'un ölümü sırasında kırk bir yaşında olan Hadrianus zorlu bir durumla karşılaşmıştı. Traianus döneminde en geniş topraklarına ulaşan Roma İmparatorluğu, çeşitli bölgelerdeki isyanlarla karşı karşıyaydı. Bu durumda, Hadrianus barış stratejisi izledi. Kendisinden önce fethedilen bazı topraklardan vazgeçti ve Roma kuvvetlerini yeni doğu eyaletlerinden geri çekti, bu da onun hükümdarlığına damgasını vuran bir değişim oldu.

[853] M. T. Boatwright. (2000). *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. Princeton University Press. s. 3.

Askeri alandaki özelliklerinin yanı sıra entelektüel ve mimari zevke sahip Hadrianus'un Anadolu'daki önemli mimari projelere katkısı, özellikle 121-125 ve 128-132 yılları arasına tarihlenen iki büyük seyahatinin güzergahı üzerinden izlenebilir. Hadrianus'un yeni yapıların inşası ve mimari tipolojilerin oluşumundaki rolünün seyri, imparatorluk kültünün taşradaki kültürlenmesini dönüştürmekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda yeni şehirlerin kurulmasına ve mevcut olanların da yenilenmesine yol açmıştır. Bu noktada, bu yolculukların nedenlerini daha iyi anlamak açısından her iki yolculuğun sırayla incelenmesi ele alınmıştır.

Bu bölümün amacı Hadrianus'un seyahat programını gün gün, kesin tarihler ve yer isimleriyle yeniden belirlemek olmamıştır. Bunun nedeni, güzergâh üzerinde tamamen mutabık kalınan tek bir kaynak olmamasıdır, ancak çeşitli kaynaklardan elde edilen bilgiler olası güzergâhların tahmin edilmesine olanak tanımaktadır. İmparatorluk ziyaretlerinin güzergâhı hakkındaki bilgiler büyük ölçüde, Hadrianus'un seyahatlerini de içeren en güncel ve kapsamlı bilimsel çalışma olan A. Birley'in çalışmasına dayanmaktadır.

Romanizasyon kavramının ele alındığı 3. Bölüm, Roma ile perifer (kentler) arasındaki dinamik etkileşimi, bu kavramının nasıl ortaya çıktığı ve değiştiğine dair bazı temel arka planlar sunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, hayatının uzun yıllarını eyaletleri ziyaret ederek geçiren Hadrianus'un seyahatleri ve kişisel yardımlarının ikinci yüzyılda Anadolu'da yarattığı hem kültürel hem de mimari zenginlik, göz ardı edilemeyecek bir tanıklık olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Çalışmanın ilerleyen bölümlerinde detaylandırıldığı üzere, 'Romanizasyon' terimi bu çalışmada, özellikle mimari terimlerle ifade edilen ve toplumsal bellekte karşılık bulan çok yönlü kültürel dönüşüm sürecini kapsamak için uygun bir kısaltma olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu dönüşüm maddi kültür alanında da kendini göstermiştir. Başka bir bakış açısıyla, "Romanizasyon, içinde hem farklılıkların hem de benzerliklerin tutarlı bir örüntü oluşturduğu emperyal bir uygarlık yaratan bir dizi kültürel değişim için uygun bir kısaltmadır."[854]

[854] G. Woolf. (1998). *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul.* Cambridge University Press. s. 7.

Sonuç olarak, Romanizasyon bir süreç olarak Roma değerlerinin, sosyal sistemlerinin ve uygulamalarının farklı topluluklar tarafından benimsenmesini içermekte ve imparatorluk içinde bir birlik duygusuna katkıda bulunmaktadır. Mimari tarzlardaki farklılıklara ve Roma ideallerine karşı direnişe rağmen, kültürlerin görsel sanatlar aracılığıyla bütünleştirilmesi, toplumsal hafızanın yaratılması ve istikrarın sağlanması için güçlü bir araç haline gelmiştir.

Roma mimarisi ve kentsel tasarımının kalıcı etkisi antik Roma'nın sınırlarının ötesine uzanmaktadır. Kamu binalarının stratejik yerleşimi, sokakların düzenlenmesi ve kentsel alanların genel organizasyonu ile tasarlanan Roma şehirlerinin kentsel planlamasının kasıtlı ve stratejik doğasının bir kanıtıdır.[855]

Roma şehirlerini şekillendiren temel ilkeler, kentsel alanların dönüşümü ve Roma mimarisinin kalıcı etkisi 4. Bölüm'de ele alınmıştır. Genel olarak, Roma mimarisinin ve şehir planlamasının stratejik doğasının "uygarlık" kavramını etkilediği vurgulanmaktadır. Roma betonunun dönüştürücü rolünden forumların dinamik gelişimine kadar, kent sadece fiziksel bir varlık olarak değil, aynı zamanda Roma kimliğinin ve sosyal gerekliliklerin özünü kapsayan bir sembol olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bakış açısı, kent planlaması, armatürlerin rolü ve Roma kültürünün canlı ve etkili merkezleri olarak Roma kentlerinin genel tasarımı arasındaki çok yönlü ilişkinin fark edilmesini sağlamaktadır.

Bütünlük ve birlik, armatürlerden ortaya çıkan bağlamlardır. Farklı konum ve ortamlarda kapsam ve ölçek bakımından önemli farklılıklar gösterseler de armatürler bir şehrin biçimsel özünü çerçeveleyen aynı mimari repertuardan temel unsurları formüle eder ve şekillendirir. Her şeyden önce, armatürlerin sağladığı engelsiz bağlantılar, kentte yaşayan Roma vatandaşları ile kentin mekânı arasındaki fiilî uyumu düzenlemiştir. Armatürlerin uyumlu iletişimi ve enerji akışı, yapılar ve kişiler arasındaki birbirine bağlılığı ve senkronize hareketi vurgulamaktadır. Armatür'ün bir bütün olarak ele alınması, genel kentsel deneyimi etkileyen karşılıklı mekânsal ilişki

[855] M. Trachtenberg & I. Hyman. (2003). *Architecture from Prehistory to Postmodernity* (2nd ed.). Prentice Hall. s. 117-157.

içindeki farklı mimari unsurlar arasındaki bağlantıların analiz edilmesine olanak tanır. Bu yaklaşım, Roma şehirlerinin anlaşılmasını tek tek binaların ve anıtların ötesine taşımıştır.

Caddeler boyunca veya sonunda çeşmeler, dükkanlar, kapılar vb. gibi "göz alıcı şeyler" bulunmaktadır. Geçit noktaları çoğunlukla bir kavşağa, geçişe veya başka bir mekâna girişe hitap eden noktalar olarak konumlanmıştır. Bu nedenle, mimari armatür kasıtlı olarak *cardo* ve *decumanus*'un etrafında ve ötesinde organize edilmiş, kent sokaklarında yürüyen herhangi bir kişiye psikolojik özerklik veren Roma kamp tasarımının istikrarı içinde tasarlanmıştır. Öyle ki, Roma vatandaşlığı hissi, armatür aracılığıyla kişiye atfedilmiş olarak tanımlanabilir.

İmparator Hadrianus'un mimari, restorasyon projelerine ve yeni şehirlerin kurulmasına verdiği cömert destek, Roma'nın düzen ve birliğe olan bağlılığını yansıtmaktadır. Bu girişimler, iyi yapılandırılmış bir çevrenin gelişimini vurgulayan kentsel 'armatür' aracılığıyla daha görünür hale gelir. Hadrianus'un girişimleri yalnızca fiziksel altyapıya katkıda bulunmakta kalmamış, aynı zamanda MacDonald'ın iyi tasarlanmış ve birbirine bağlı bir kentsel çevrenin önemine yaptığı vurguyu yansıtacak şekilde Roma İmparatorluğu içinde bir bütünlük ve uyum duygusunu da teşvik etmiştir.

Tören takları ve kapıları, ihtişamları ve sembolizmleriyle, Roma tarihindeki önemli olayların ve zaferlerin ifade edilmesinde ve anılmasında çok önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Hayranlık duygusu uyandırmak ve Roma İmparatorluğu'nun gücünü ve ihtişamını göstermek için tasarlanmışlardır. Kemer (Arch) genellikle bir veya daha fazla kemerli geçit şeklinde, genellikle bir yolu kapsayacak şekilde konumlandırılmış anıtsal bir yapıyla ilişkilendirilir.[856]

Belirli kamusal veya dini yapılar gibi geleneksel anlamda binalar olmadıkları için, taklar genellikle ana caddeler üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Serbest duran ya da bir yapının

[856] C. Curtis. (1908). Roman Monumental Arches. *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, 2*, 26-83.

parçası olan bir tak genellikle masif ayaklar üzerinde durur ve üzerine aile, dini, imparatorluk, ilahi figürlerin heykellerinin ya da hatıra yazıtlarının yerleştirildiği düz bir entablatür veya üst örtü ile taçlandırılır. Yazıtlar genellikle askeri zaferleri anlatır, onurlandırılan kişinin başarılarını över ya da tanrılara ve hükümdarlara adanmıştır.[857] Motifler, kabartmalar ve ithaflardan oluşan ana yapı genellikle çeşitli görsel anlatımlarla süslenir. Askeri seferlerden sahneler ve alegorik figürler içeren frizler ve oyma süslemeler takın görsel zenginliğini tamamlar.

Roma'da zafer takları özellikle askeri zaferleri anmak için inşa edilirdi. Yeni bir imparatorun tahta çıkışı gibi diğer önemli olaylar da anıtsal taklar ile anılabilirdi. Roma takları ve şehir kapıları, kentsel peyzaj içinde odak noktaları olarak hizmet veren anıtsal yapılar olarak kalıcı bir öneme sahipti. İşlevsel giriş ve çıkışlar sağlamalarının yanı sıra, bu kentlerin görsel ve deneyimsel niteliklerini şekillendirmedeki rolleri de çok önemliydi.

Yüzyıllar boyunca farklı kültürlerin varlığını sürdürdüğü Efes ve Attaleia gibi Anadolu kentlerinde de bu tür törensel kapı/takların bulunduğu alanlar artık açık hava müzesi sergi alanlarında birer simge haline gelmiştir. Bu kentlerin zengin tarihi ve kültürel mirasını yansıtan bu yapılar, farklı mimari üslupların ve etkilerin bir araya geldiğini göstermektedir. Bugün ziyaretçiler bu kapılardan geçerken sanki zamanda yolculuk yaptıklarını imgeleyerek, bir zamanlar bu şehirlerde var olan geçmiş medeniyetlerle temasa geçebilirler.

Kent kapıları önemli odak noktaları olarak kentin farklı alanları arasındaki geçişleri belirleyerek ve kentsel düzenin oluşturulmasına katkıda bulunarak kentin genel düzenine dâhil edilmiştir. Kentin görsel görünümünü iyileştirmek için konumları ve tasarımları dikkatle değerlendirilmiştir. Mimari önemleri göz önünde bulundurularak dikkatlice tasarlanmış ve kente resmî giriş olarak hizmet ettikleri öngörülmektedir. Bu işlevlerine uygun olarak, genellikle zemin seviyesinde geniş geçitleri olan anıtsal yapılar olarak tasarlanmışlardır.

[857] R. R Holloway. (1987). Some Remarks on the Arch of Titus. *L'Antiquité Classique, 56,* 183–191. s. 183 Titus Tak'ı üzerindeki yazıt: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F VESPASIANO AVGVSTO; "Senato ve Roma halkından, tanrılaştırılmış Vespasian'ın oğlu Titus Vespasian Augustus'a".

Anadolu'daki Roma tören kapıları ile Roma ve diğer yerlerdeki zafer takları sadece dikkat çekici olmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda kentsel peyzaj üzerinde kalıcı bir etki bıraktığı ve mimari biçimleri, yazıtları ve ikonografik unsurlarının güç, gurur ve kimlik mesajları ilettiği düşünülmektedir. Bu yapılardan bazıları günümüzde antik çağın simge yapıları olarak ayakta durmaya devam ederken, 17. yüzyıldan sonra inşa edilen *L'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile*, Wellington Takı ve Brandenburg Kapısı gibi daha sonra yapılmış taklar/kapılar Roma mimarisinin modern şehir planlaması ve tasarımı üzerindeki kalıcı etkisini vurgulayarak Roma'daki öncüllerinden esinlenmiştir.

Anadolu kentlerinde özellikle zafer takları çok azdır. Bunun yerine, genellikle imparatorun ziyaretleri onuruna tören kapıları inşa edilmiştir. İmparatorluk ziyaretleri ve bunun sonucunda elde edilen ayrıcalıklar şehirler arasında şiddetli bir rekabete yol açmıştır. Bu çalışmada, biri Attaleia'da (Antalya) diğeri Efes'te bulunan ve "kapı" işlevi gören iki tören kapısı üzerinde durulmaktadır. Her ikisi de Hadrianus dönemine tarihlenen yapılar kent armatürleri içinde bağlantı ve geçişin seçkin temsilcileridir. Coğrafi açıdan bakıldığında hem Pamfilya'da yer alan Attaleia hem de Roma'nın Asya eyaletindeki Efes, imparatorluk döneminde Roma liman kentlerinin karakteristik özelliği olan benzer kentsel dönüşümler geçirmiştir. Bu iki kentteki Roma egemenliği, Bergamalı Attalos III'ün M.Ö. 133 yılında ölümünün ardından genişleyen Roma İmparatorluğu'na dâhil olmalarına yol açmıştır.

Her iki şehirde farklı şekilde mimari özellikler taşısalar da üç geçitli kapılara sahiptir. İki kapı arasındaki dikkate değer bir fark, sonraki kullanımları ile ilgilidir. Antalya'daki Hadrianus Kapısı modern kent peyzajında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Restore edilen kapı, çağdaş kent planına ve bağlamına sorunsuz bir şekilde entegre edilmiş, kentin kolektif hafızasında belirgin ve yoğun bir konuma sahip olmuştur. Modern şehir ile Kaleiçi olarak bilinen tarihi 'eski şehir' bölgesi arasında merkezi bir geçiş noktası olan Hadrianus Kapısı, halen Atatürk Caddesi ve Kaleiçi arasındaki geçişi sağlamaktadır. Bugün Antalya'nın en turistik eski bölgesinde yer alan kapı, yerel halk tarafından genellikle 'Üç Kapılar' olarak bilinmektedir.

Antalya'nın aksine, Efes'teki Hadrianus Kapısı antik kentin arkeolojik sit alanı olan kapalı bir bölgesinde yer almaktadır. Teras evler, *Embolos* ve Celsus

Kütüphanesi'nin kesiştiği noktada yükselen kapı, alanın daha geniş bağlamı içinde tarihi ve kültürel öneme sahiptir. Kapı, Roma kent planlamasında önemli bir odak noktası olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Günümüzde, yapıyı çevreleyen alan ve onunla bireysel etkileşim, ziyaret için belirlenen zaman ve rota ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Hadrianus Kapısı, müze ücreti karşılığında keşfedilebilen koruma altındaki bir miras alanı içerisinde yer alsa da mevcut koruma ve restorasyon sonrası durumu orijinal tasarımını ve yapısal özelliklerini tam olarak ortaya koymamaktadır. Kapı, 2015 yılında UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'ne giren Efes antik kenti içinde korunmuş tarihi tanık olarak durmaktadır.

Antalya ve Efes'te bulunan şehir kapılarının özellikleri geçmiş ve günümüzdeki durumu, şehir ile iletişimi ve kent tarihi hakkında bilgiler Bölüm 5 ve 6'da sunulmuştur.

Antalya'nın yer aldığı Pamfilya bölgesinin yerleşim tarihi, Kuruçay, Höyücek, Bademağacı, Karain[858] gibi yakın mağaralardaki bulgularla kanıtlandığı üzere tarih öncesi çağlara kadar uzanmakta ve Paleolitik dönemin ikinci yarısına, yani M.Ö. 8000'lere kadar uzanmaktadır.[859] Bugün Kaleiçi olarak bilinen ve Antalya'daki ilk yerleşimin kurulduğu alan, muhtemelen M.Ö. 300'lü yıllara tarihlenmektir ve bu tarih Perge, Side ve Aspendos gibi komşu antik kentlere kıyasla daha geçtir.[860]

Bölge M.Ö. 2. binyıl boyunca Arzawa Krallığı'nın kontrolü altındaydı ve zaman zaman Hititlerle ittifak halindeydi. Arzawa'nın çöküşünün ardından bölge M.Ö. 6.

[858] R. Tekoğlu. (2010). Prehistorya'dan Tarihi Dönemlere Kadar Antalya Bölgesi. *Dünden Bugüne Antalya Dergi*, T.C. Antalya Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 78- 85. s. 78. Yaklaşık 500.000 yıl öncesine tarihlenen Karain Mağarası, Anadolu'da bilinen en eski insan yerleşimlerinden biri olarak kabul edilmektedir.

[859] R. Duru. (2008). *MÖ 8000'den MÖ 2000'e Burdur-Antalya Bölgesi'nin Altıbin Yılı*, Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü Monografi Dizisi: 4. İ. K. Kökten. (1958). Tarsus-Antalya Arası Sahil Şeriti Üzerinde ve Antalya Bölgesinde Yapılan Tarihöncesi Araştırmaları. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*(11), 10-19. s. 10. Tekoğlu 2010, 79. Ö. Kurt. (2010). *Kaleiçi'nin (Antalya) Kuruluşundan 16. Yüzyila Kadar Mekânsal Değişimi* (Publication No. 274386) [Master's Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi]. s. 11.

[860] B. Varkıvanç. (2010). "Selçuklu Öncesi Dönemi Antalyası ve Kaleiçi" *Dünden Bugüne Antalya* Dergi, T.C. Antalya Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 96-102. s. 96.

yüzyılın ortalarında Lidya ve daha sonra Pers egemenliği altına girmiştir.[861] Bölge daha sonra M.Ö. 12. yüzyıldan itibaren "Ege Göçleri"nden etkilenmiş ve Pamfilya'nın Yunan kabileleri tarafından fethedilmesine ve adlandırılmasına yol açmıştır.[862] Büyük İskender'in M.Ö. 324'teki fethi, Selevkoslar döneminde artan ticaret ve refahın başlangıcı olmuştur.[863] Bu durum Antalya gibi yerleşim yerlerinin genişlemesine ve liman bölgesinin önemli ölçüde büyümesine yol açmıştır.

Son zamanlarda yapılan arkeolojik çalışmalar, Doğu Terminali yakınlarında keşfedilen ve M.Ö. 4. yüzyılın sonlarına tarihlenen bir nekropol de dâhil olmak üzere Antalya'daki daha eski yerleşimleri doğrulamıştır.[864] Bölgede yapılan kazılarda geç Roma ve erken Bizans dönemlerine ait mezarlar ve gömü objeleri bulunmuş, bu da en eski yerleşimin Kaleiçi'nde kurulmuş olabileceğini düşündürmüştür.[865] Doğu Terminali nekropolü 2023 yılının sonlarında "Antalya Nekropol Müzesi" olarak açılmıştır.

Attaleia, daha sonra Antalya olarak bilinen kent, Doğu Akdeniz'e ticaret ve askeri erişimi kolaylaştıran stratejik konumu nedeniyle önemli bir kentsel yerleşim haline gelmiştir. Adını kurucusu Attalus II Philadelphus'tan alan kent, MÖ 2. yüzyılın ortalarında Bergama Krallığı döneminde önemli bir gelişme göstermiştir. Kentin önemi, aralarında olası bir agora, *bouleuterion, prytaneion* ve bazıları Athena ve Poseidon'a adanmış olabilecek tapınakların da bulunduğu surların ve kamu binalarının inşa edilmesiyle artmıştır.[866]

Kent daha sonra Roma İmparatorluğu'na dâhil olmuş ve 3. yüzyılda tam bir Roma kolonisi haline gelmiştir. Roma yönetimi altında Attaleia, özellikle 'Likya ve

[861] Kurt 2010, 11.

[862] G. E. Bean. (1968). *Turkey's Southern Shore: An Archaeological Guide*. Benn. s. 22: E. Memiş. (2019). Ege Göçleri'nin Tetiklediği Diğer Göç Hareketlerine Kısa Bir Bakış. *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi, 7(19)*, 148-162. Kurt 2010, 11.

[863] A. H. M. Jones. (1971). *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Second ed.). Clarendon Press. pp. 124-29.

[864] Kurt 2010, 13.

[865] F. Büyükyörük & C. Tibet. (2000). 1998-1999 Yılı Antalya Doğu Nekropolü Kurtarma Kazıları. *Adalya IV*, 1999-2000, 115-173.

[866] Varkıvanç 2010, 97.

Pamfilya' imparatorluk eyaletini kuran Vespasian döneminde zenginleşmiştir.[867] Bölge, Akdeniz ticaret yollarından faydalanarak gelişmeye devam etmiştir. Bizans döneminde, özellikle Hıristiyanlığın yükselişiyle birlikte önemli kültürel ve yapısal değişiklikler meydana gelmiştir. Yüzyıllar içinde Attaleia büyük şehirlerden kaçan insanlar için bir sığınak haline gelmiş, bu da şehrin savunma sisteminin genişlemesine yol açmıştır. Kent, Selçuklu ve Osmanlı dönemlerinde camiler, medreseler ve kervansarayların inşa edilmesiyle daha da değişime uğramıştır. Daha sonra Kesik Minare olarak bilinen Panagia Kilisesi[868] de dâhil olmak üzere birçok kilise camiye dönüştürülmüştür.

İmparator Hadrianus'un MS 2. yüzyılda Antalya'ya yaptığı ziyareti onurlandırmak için inşa edilen Hadrianus Kapısı, kentin Roma mirasının önemli bir sembolüdür. Günümüzde Üç Kapılar olarak da bilinen kapı, antik dönemde kenti diğer önemli şehirlere bağlayan kilit bir geçit görevi görmüştür. Kapı, özellikle 20. yüzyılda korunmaya alınmış, restore edilmiştir ve Antalya'nın merkezi bir simgesi olarak işlev görmektedir.

Hadrianus Kapısı üç kemere sahiptir ve orijinalinde beyaz mermerden inşa edilmiş olup ön ve arka cepheleri aynıdır. Kapı, güneydeki Roma döneminden kalma, kuzeydeki ise Selçuklular döneminde yeniden inşa edilen iki dikdörtgen kule arasında yer almaktadır.[869] Her bir cephede iki yanda tekrarlanan sekiz adet yivsiz sütun bulunmaktadır.[870] 4,95 metre yüksekliğindeki bu sütunlar, kaideler üzerinde serbest duran sütunlarla bağlantılı projeksiyonlarla desteklenmektedir.[871] Kapının sütunları ve tonozları, yerel barok süslemeyi yansıtan çiçek ve rozet kabartmalarıyla süslenmiştir.

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[867] Erdem 1995, 50; A. Kalınbayrak. (2011). *Elite Benefaction in Roman Asia Minor: The Case of Plancia Magna in Perge*. (Publication No. 300655) [Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University]. Yükseköğretim Kurulu Tez Merkezi. s. 52.

[868] M. H. Balance. (1955). Cumanin Cami'i at Antalya: A Byzantine Church. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 23, 99–114. Varkıvanç 2010, 99-102.

[869] Thomas 2007, 110.

[870] Akok 1970, 39.

[871] Thomas 2007, 110. Lanckoroński 1890, 21.

Zaman içinde geçirdiği değişikliklere rağmen Hadrianus Kapısı tarihi önemini korumuş ve Atatürk Caddesi ile Kaleiçi bölgesi arasında merkezi bir geçiş yolu olarak kent yaşamında yer almaktadır. Kapı ayrıca, 2023 yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yüzüncü kuruluş yıldönümü de dâhil olmak üzere çeşitli kamusal kutlama ve anma törenleri için önemli bir merkezdir. Kapı, Anadolu'daki diğerleriyle birlikte, Roma İmparatorluğu'nda bu tür yapıların sembolik önemini, özellikle de MS 2. yüzyılda yerel özerkliği ve toplumsal hayırseverliği temsil etmektedir.

Bir sonraki Bölüm Efes'teki Hadrianus Kapısı ve Efes şehri hakkında bilgi sunmaktadır. Ege kıyısında, Selçuk yakınlarında yer alan Efes'in tarihi geç Kalkolitik döneme kadar uzanmaktadır. Şehir ilk olarak, Küçük Menderes Nehri ve Menderes Vadisi'ne olan yakınlığından faydalanarak Çukuriçi höyüğünde kurulmuştur.[872] Efes'in birkaç limana sahip stratejik konumu onu önemli bir merkez hâline getirmiş, ancak tortu birikiminin neden olduğu kıyı şeridindeki değişiklikler nedeniyle şehir ve limanları birkaç kez yer değiştirmiştir.[873]

M.Ö. 2. binyılda Efes, Artemis tapınağı ile ünlenmiş ve zamanla önemli bir dini merkez hâline gelmiştir. Son arkeolojik bulgular, günümüzde Selçuklu Kalesi'ne ev sahipliği yapan Ayasuluk Tepesi çevresindeki alana Erken Tunç Çağı'nın başlarında yerleşildiğini göstermektedir.[874] Bölge muhtemelen Hitit metinlerinde adı geçen Arzawa krallığının başkenti "Apasas" ile bağlantılıdır ve Efes muhtemelen "Apasa"

[872] Magnesia Kapısı'nın 400m güneyinde 1995 yılında yapılan kazılarda bulunan çanak çömlek ve obsidyen buluntularına göre yerleşim en azından M.Ö. 5000'li yılların sonuna tarihlenmektedir. S. Erdemgil. (2000). History and Research History of Ephesus. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (s.14). Ege Yayınları. See UNESCO World Heritage Convention. (2024). *Ephesus*. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1018/

[873] Austrian Academy of Sciences. Austrian Archaeological Institute (OeAI). (n.d.). *The City of Ephesos From the Late Bronze Age to its Re-Foundation by Lysimachus*. https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/oeai/research/historical-archaeology/historical-archaeology-in-the-mediterranean/ephesos-pre-hellenistic-settlement-history

[874] S. Erdemgil., & M. Büyükkolancı. (1992). 1990 yılı Efes-Ayasuluk Tepesi Prehistorik Kazısı. *XIII Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı II,* (27-31 Mayıs 1991) 265–281. Artemis Tapınağı'ndaki kült faaliyeti iddia edildiği gibi Geç Tunç Çağı'na tarihlendirilmiştir. Ancak son çalışmalar, daha önce Geç Tunç Çağı'na tarihlenen bazı buluntuların Demir Çağı'na ait olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bakınız, G. Klebinder-Gauss. (2003). Zwei bronzene Doppeläxte aus dem Artemision von Ephesos. *Österreichische Jahreshefte 72*, 133–40.

adının Helenleştirilmiş bir versiyonudur.[875] Ege, Miken ya da Girit uygarlıklarının erken dönem kültürel etkileri de bölgenin gelişiminde belirgindir.

Şehir, antik Koressos limanı yakınlarındaki Ayasuluk Tepesi'ne yerleşen Attik-İyonyalı kolonistler tarafından daha da şekillendirilmiştir. Efsaneye göre kent, kahinler ve bir yaban domuzu tarafından yönlendirilen Attik prens Androklos tarafından kurulmuştur.[876] Androklos efsanesi, Kuretler Caddesi üzerinde bulunan Hadrianus Tapınağı'nın frizlerinde tasvir edilmiştir. İlk sakinleri olan Lelegler ve Karyalılar, İyonya konfederasyonunda öncü bir rol oynayan şehre yavaş yavaş asimile olmuşlardır. Lidya kralları, özellikle de Kroesus döneminde Efes, Artemis Tapınağı'nın inşası ve İyonya'nın dört bir yanından gelen çeşitli grupların yerleştirilmesiyle zenginlik ve güç bakımından genişlemiştir.[877]

Efes, M.Ö. 5. yüzyılda İyon şehirlerinin Pers yönetimine karşı ayaklanması sırasında tarafsız kalmayı başarmış ve M.Ö. 334 yılında Büyük İskender'in fethine kadar bağımsızlığını korumuştur. İskender'in ölümünün ardından generali Lysimakhos şehri ve limanını yeniden inşa ederek Arsinoeia adında planlı yeni bir şehir kurdu.[878] Yerleşime karşı direnişe rağmen şehir gelişmiş ve Bergamalı Eumenes II'nin yönetimi altında Roma'nın müttefiki olmuştur. Bu dönemde, limanın geliştirilmesi ve daha sonra Roma egemenliği altında yeniden modellenen tiyatronun genişletilmesi de dâhil olmak üzere önemli mimari ve kültürel değişiklikler meydana gelmiştir.

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[875] S. Mitchell. (1998). Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990-98. *Archaeological Reports, 45*, 125–192. s. 151. S. Ladstätter, L. Zabrana. (2020). *Ephesus. Bütünüyle Benzersiz Bir Kent*. Aktüel Arkeoloji. https://aktuelarkeoloji.com.tr/kategori/bir-kent/ephesus#google_vignette

[876] P. Scherrer. (2014). Hunting the Boar – the Fiction of a Local Past in Foundation Myths of Hellenistic and Roman Cities. In B. Alroth, & C. Scheffer. (Eds.), *Attitudes Towards the Past in Antiquity Creating Identities* (Proceedings of an International Conference held at Stockholm University, 15–17 May 2009), (s. 113–19). pp. 114-16. C. Habicht. (1984). Pausanias and the Evidence of Inscriptions. *Classical Antiquity*, *3*(1), 40–56. s. 43.

[877] Akurgal 1990, 142; Knibbe, D. (2000). History and Research History of Ephesus. In P. Scherrer. (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (pp. 15-37). Ege Yayınları, s. 15. Saha konumu Artemision'un yaklaşık 1300m batısında yedi *stadia* olarak belirtilmiştir.

[878] N. Zimmermann & S Ladstätter. (2011). *Wall Painting in Ephesos from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Period*. Ege Yayınları. s. 28. S. Groh. (2006). Neue Forschungen zur Stadtplanung in Ephesos. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 75*(47–116). s. 54.

M.Ö. 133 yılında, Bergama'nın son kralının ölümünden sonra Efes bir Roma kenti haline gelmiş ve *civitas liberae et immunes* (özgür ve dokunulmaz kent) unvanını kazanmıştır.[879] Kent M.Ö. 2. yüzyılda önemli bir kentleşme yaşamış, kültürel ve ekonomik öneme sahip büyük bir ticaret merkezi haline gelmiştir. Ancak yüksek Roma vergileri, Pontuslu Mithridates VI ile ittifaka yol açmış, bu da şiddetli Roma karşıtı duygulara ve sonunda kentin özgür statüsünü kaybetmesine neden olmuştur. Efes, Publius Servilius Isauricus yönetiminde M.Ö. 46-44 yılları arasında sınırlı da olsa bağımsızlık kazanmıştır.

Augustus dönemi Efes için önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuş, kenti siyasi ve entelektüel değeri artan büyük bir ticaret merkezine dönüştürmüştür. Coğrafi konumu ve Artemis kültü, kentin bankacılık ve ticaret merkezi olarak hizmet vermesiyle birlikte refahına katkıda bulunmuştur.[880] Bu dönemde, Kuretler Caddesi boyunca Memmius Anıtı[881] ve Androklos Heroon'u[882] da dahil olmak üzere birçok onur anıtı dikilmiştir. Varlıklı hayırseverler, Efes'in gelenekselliğini ve Greko-Helenistik etkisini yansıtan kamu binalarını, tapınakları ve diğer yapıları finanse ederek kentin gelişiminde önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

MS 2. yüzyılda Efes, Tiberius Julius Aquila Polemaeanus tarafından finanse edilen ve babasına adanan Celsus Kütüphanesi'nin inşasıyla[883] kentsel gelişim devam etmiştir. Dönemin en etkileyici yapılarından biri olan kütüphane, halen Efes'in ikonik bir sembolü olmaya devam etmektedir. Hadrianus döneminde Efes'e imparatorluk kültü için Hadrianus'a "Zeus Olympios" olarak adanan ikinci bir tapınak inşa etme

[879] S. Dimitriev. (2017). The Status of Greek Cities in Roman Reception and Adaptation. *Hermes*, *145*(2), 195–209. s. 196.

[880] Knibbe 2000, 24.

[881] Diana E. E. Kleiner & F. S. Kleiner. (1974). [Review of *Das Monument des C. Memmius*, by W. Alzinger & A. Bammer]. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *78*(3), 312–312. s. 312.

[882] Young 2022, 215–232. Hadrianus döneminden itibaren Androklos Efes sikkeleri üzerinde tasvir edilmiştir, bakınız H. Thür. (1995). Der ephesische Ktistes Androklos und (s)ein Heroon am Embolos. *Jahres hefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 64*, 63–103. s. 71.

[883] U. Outschar. (2000a). Celsus Library. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide* (pp.130-32). Ege Yayınları.

izni verilmiştir.[884] Limanın yakınında bulunduğu belirtilen tapınağın kentin mimari ve kültürel zenginliğini yansıtan pahalı anıtlarla çevrili olduğu belirtilmektedir.

Yunan ve Roma unsurlarının kültürel entegrasyonu, Mazaeus ve Mithridates Kapısı ve Celsus Kütüphanesi gibi bu etkileri harmanlayan yapılarla Efes'in mimari tarzında belirgindir. Efes'teki Hadrianus Kapısı Kuretler Caddesi, Mermer Cadde ve Ortygia yolunun kesiştiği noktada yer alan üç katlı bir kapı olup[885], kentin kamusal ve konut alanlarını ayıran anıtsal bir paravan görevi görmüştür.[886] MS 113/114 ve 127/128 yılları arasında inşa edildiği öngörülen kapı, Roma ve Yunan mimari tarzlarının eklektik bir sentezi olup Atina'daki Hadrianus Takını andırmaktadır.

Tetragonos Agorası'nın Güney Kapısı olan "Mazaeus ve Mithridates Kapısı" ile karşılaştırıldığında Hadrianus Kapısı bağımsız bir kapıdır. Bu nedenle kapı, serbest duran "anıtsal kapının gerçek bir örneği olarak düşünülebilir."[887] Üçlü geçit özelliği Antalya'daki Hadrianus Kapısı'na benzemektedir. Ancak bu kapının daha geniş bir merkezi kemeri ve her iki yanında daha dar iki açıklığı vardır.

Beyaz, gri damarlı mermerden yapılmış olan kapı orijinalinde 16,60 metre yüksekliğinde, 11,40 metre genişliğinde ve sadece 1,50 metre derinliğindedir.[888] Kemerli kapının mermer cephesi Celsus Kütüphanesi, Tiyatro ve Agora'ya bakmaktadır. Sütunlar güneyde kaideler üzerindeki "yarım sütunlar" ve kuzeyde "serbest duran sütunlar" ile birbirine bağlanmış ve taşıyıcı elemanlar "saz yapraklı" kompozit başlıklarla süslenmiştir."[889] Kemer, birinci kattakilerle aynı hizada sütunlarla çerçevelenen ikinci katın merkezi, düz entablatürü kaplamış ve Korint

[884] S. Karweise. (2000). Olympeion-Temple of the Emperor Hadrian. In P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ephesus: The New Guide*. (s.184). Ege Yayınları.

[885] D. Knibbe. (1995). Via Sacra Ephesica, New Aspects of the cult of Artemis Ephesia. In H. Koester (Ed.), *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia, An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology Religion and Culture* (pp.141-155). Harvard University Press. s. 144.

[886] Güven, 1983, 96.

[887] Güven 1983, 97

[888] Thür (2000, Hadrian's Gate), 128; Erdem, 1995, 37.

[889] Thür (2000a), 128.

tarzı altı sütun başlığı ikinci katın üzerindeki entablatürü desteklemiştir.[890] Ön cephedeki yivli sütunlardan ziyade, kapının arka kısmının süsleme açısından daha sade görünümde olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Heykel programı, şimdiki/geçmiş mitoloji ile imparatorluk ailesini Efeslilerin günlük bakışları altında bir araya getiriyor gibi görünmektedir. Yapıldığı dönemde Artemis ve diğer tanrıların, imparatorluk ailesinin üyelerinin ve hayırseverlerin heykellerinin yer aldığı düşünülmektedir.[891]

Efes'teki değişim 3. yüzyıldan sonra Gotların saldırıları ve yıkıcı bir deprem nedeniyle başlamıştır. Hıristiyanlığın 4. yüzyılda yayılması Artemis kültünü daha da azaltmış, Efes yeni din için önemli bir merkez haline gelmiş ve MS 431'de Üçüncü Ekümenik Konsil'e ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Yüzyıllar boyunca Efes, Bizans Laskarid hanedanı ve daha sonra ticaret ve denizcilik gücünü koruyan Türkler de dâhil olmak üzere farklı yönetimlerin eline geçmiştir.

Bugün Efes'in kalıntıları, teras evler gibi restore edilmiş Roma anıtları ile kent sakinlerinin lüks özel yaşamlarına dair bilgiler sunarak geçmişine dair zengin bir arkeolojik kayıt sağlamaktadır. Hadrianus Kapısı, kentin kentsel planlamasında önemli bir yapı olmaya devam etmektedir. Kapının orijinal anıtsal görünümü kaybolmuş olsa da Efes'in Roma dönemindeki mimari ve kültürel gelişimini anlamada halen önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

Bugün Efes'e gelen ziyaretçiler, antik çağda kullanılan rotalara benzer rotalar izleyerek Magnesia Kapısı'ndan girişinden başlayıp Devlet Agorası, Odeon, *Embolos* ve Celsus Kütüphanesi gibi önemli yerlerden geçebilirler. Bir zamanlar törensel bir giriş olan Hadrianus Kapısı'ndan geçen rota, kentin yerleşim alanları ile daha kamusal ve ticari alanları arasında bir bağlantı sağlayarak antik Efes'in canlı yaşamına bir bakış sunmaktadır.

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[890] Thür (2000a), 128.

[891] G. M. Rogers. (2012). *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*. Yale University Press. s. 200.

7. Bölümde bellek, mimari ve kentsel mekânlar arasındaki çok yönlü ilişki incelenerek, bu unsurların kolektif kimliği nasıl şekillendirdiği ve kolektif kimlik tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiği vurgulanmaktadır. Hafıza statik bir depo değil, tanıma, kaydetme, hatırlama ve unutma ile iç içe geçmiş dinamik bir süreçtir. Bu bölümde bellek, bilgisayar teknolojilerinin işleyişine benzer şekilde, bilginin depolandığı ve geri getirildiği bir veri tabanına benzetilmektedir. Bu benzetme, insanların fiziksel mekânlar ve şehirlerle nasıl etkileşime girdiğine kadar uzanıyor; hafıza, algıyı ve yapılı çevreyle etkileşimi etkilediği öne sürülmektedir.

Maurice Halbwachs'ın sosyal ve kolektif bir olgu olarak hafıza kavramı tartışmanın merkezinde yer almaktadır. Halbwachs, kolektif hafızanın belirli mekânlarla ilişkili gruplar tarafından sürdürüldüğünü[892] ve bu mekânların paylaşılan hafızanın muhafazaları haline geldiğini savunmuştur.[893] Bu fikir, özellikle tarihsel anlatıların gerçekliğinin sorgulandığı İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında bellek çalışmalarını önemli ölçüde etkilemiş, bellek ve tarih yazımının nasıl inşa ve manipüle edildiğinin yeniden incelenmesine yol açmıştır.

Bu bölümde ayrıca hafıza, tarih ve mekân arasındaki ilişki incelenerek, bu kavramların nasıl iç içe geçtiği ve geçmişi ve bugünü anlamamıza nasıl katkıda bulundukları vurgulanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, binalar kentlerin hayati unsurları olarak görülmekte ve geçmişi deneyimlere bağlayan sessiz tarihçiler olarak hizmet etmektedir. Dolayısıyla mimarlık tarihi sadece fiziksel yapıları incelemekle değil, aynı zamanda onları kolektif hafızayı belgeleyen ve aktaran kültürel eserler olarak anlamakla da ilgilidir. Büyük tur, fotoğrafçılık ve arkeolojinin evrimi, mimarlık tarihinin ve hafıza üzerine yapılan çalışmalar kapsamında kilit gelişmeler olarak anılmaktadır.

Dijital teknolojiler de bellek oluşumunu etkileyen modern araçlar olarak tartışılmaktadır. Sanal turlar, 3D modelleme ve artırılmış gerçeklik, tarihi mekânlar

[892] C. Bilsel. (2017). Architecture and the Social Frameworks of Memory: A Postscript to Maurice Halbwachs' "Collective Memory" *Iconarp International Journal Of Architecture And Planning (Jun 2017) Vol. 5* (no. 1), 01 – 09. https://doi.org/10.15320/ICONARP.2017.14

[893] M. Halbwachs. (1980). *The Collective Memory* (F. J. Ditter & V. Y. Ditter, Trans.; 1st ed). Harper & Row.

ve olaylarla etkileşim kurmanın yeni yollarını sunarak geçmişi hatırlama ve hayal etme becerisini geliştirdiği belirtilmektedir. Geçmişle anlamlı bağlar kurmak için dijital deneyimleri fiziksel etkileşim ve saha araştırmalarıyla dengelemenin önemi vurgulanmaktadır.

Hafıza ve şehir arasındaki ilişki daha ayrıntılı olarak incelenmekte, şehirler kültürel kimlik ve tarihsel bilincin sembolik depoları olarak hizmet veren canlı varlıklar olarak görülmektedir. Belirli gruplar ve mekânlarda kök salmış kolektif hafıza, mimarinin geçmiş ve bugünün etkileşimi için dinamik bir sahne görevi gördüğü kentsel çevreye yansımaktadır. Bu çerçevede, İmparator Hadrianus onuruna inşa edilen tören kapılarına, özellikle de Attaleia (modern Antalya) ve Efes'tekilere özel bir önem atfedilmektedir.

Bu tören kapıları sadece işlevsel yapılar olmayıp, aynı zamanda imparatorun seyahatlerinin ve kentlerin onun varlığına atfettiği sembollerdir. Yapımlarının ardındaki kültürel ve siyasi motivasyonları yansıtarak geçmişin somut kayıtları olarak hizmet ettikleri öne sürülmektedir. Bu kapılar, iki kentte yaşayan toplumların sosyal anlatılarını şekillendiren ve bu anlatılar tarafından şekillendirilen, kentsel hafızanın aktif katılımcıları olarak görülmektedir.

Antalya'da Hadrianus Kapısı günlük hayata entegre edilmiş, kent sakinleri ve ziyaretçiler tarafından aktif olarak kullanılmakta ve kent sakinlerinin tarihsel hafızasını güçlendirmektedir. Efes'teki Hadrianus Kapısı, Antalya'daki muadiline kıyasla halk tarafından daha az kullanılmasına rağmen, önemli bir sembolik ve anımsatıcı değere sahiptir. Antalya'da aktif olarak kullanılan ve kent sakinleri ile ziyaretçilerin günlük yaşamlarına entegre olan kapının aksine, Efes'teki kapı kentin antik geçmişine dair daha durağan bir hatırlatma işlevi görmektedir. Modern zamanlardaki nispeten pasif rolüne rağmen kapı, ziyaretçileri Efes'in tarihi ve Roma'nın şehir üzerindeki etkisi hakkında eğiten rehberli turların önemli bir parçasıdır. Kapının mevcut restore edilmemiş hali, ziyaretçilere kentin tarihi katmanlarıyla doğrudan bir bağlantı sunarak özgünlüğüne katkıda bulunuyor.

Efes'te kapı, kentin Roma dönemindeki önemini de içeren daha geniş bir tarihsel anlatının parçasıdır. Artemis için Roma dönemine kadar devam eden tören rotası,

kolektif hafıza ve ritüellerin nasıl korunduğunun bir örneğidir. Kapı, Antalya'daki kadar performatif bir şekilde gündelik hayata entegre edilmemiş olsa da kentin kolektif hafızasının önemli bir parçası olmaya devam etmekte, geçmişle somut bir bağ kurmakta ve Efes'teki Roma mirasının hem hatırlandığı hem de yeniden yorumlandığı bir alan olarak hizmet vermektedir.

Bu bölüm Efes gibi kentleri hafıza, mimari ve kentsel mekânların iç içe geçtiği canlı organizmalar olarak anlamanın önemini vurgulayarak sona ermektedir. Efes'teki Hadrianus Kapısı da dâhil olmak üzere tören kapılar yalnızca tarihi kalıntılar değil, geçmiş ve bugün arasında süregelen diyaloğun aktif katılımcılarıdır. Disiplinlerarası sorgulama ve duyusal katılım yoluyla, bu kapıların ve kentsel bağlamlarının incelenmesi, kültürel ve tarihsel kimliğin şekillenmesinde anma dinamiklerine ve kolektif hafızanın doğasına dair daha derin içgörüler sağlar.

Sonuç olarak, disiplinlerarası araştırmaların sentezi ile Antalya ve Efes'in tören kapıları, geçmişte ve günümüzde bellek, mimari ve kentsel gösteriye dair ilgi çekici görüşler sunmaktadır. Bir metin olarak ele alınan tören kapıları, *ars memoriae* merceğinden yorumlanmaya ve farklı dillere çevrisinin yapılmasını davet ederek bu çalışmanın konusu olmuştur. İster insanların günlük rutinleriyle iç içe olsun, ister izole arkeolojik alanların koşullarında ziyaretçi çekmeyi beklesin, bu tören kapıları Türkiye'nin kültürel, kolektif, bireysel ve kentsel hafızasına kazınmıştır. Yeni teoriler ve duyusal deneyimlerle etkileşime girerek, çağdaş bağlamlarda anma dinamiklerini ve kolektif hafızanın doğasını tanımlayabiliriz. Disiplinlerarası sorgulama ve eleştirel düşünme yoluyla, kenti yaşayan bir organizma, seyircilerin mimari dokusunda yazılı katmanlı anlatılarla aktif olarak etkileşime girdiği bir hafıza tiyatrosu olarak kavrayışımızı daha da zenginleştirebiliriz.

Sonuç Bölümünde, bu çalışmanın odak noktası olarak seçilen tören kapıları aracılığıyla Hadrianus'un süregelen etkisi ortaya konulmuş ve Hadrianus'un imparatorluk otoritesi ile bu şehirler ile kurulan simbiyotik ilişkiyi ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu dinamiğin kültürel, tarihsel ve sosyal olarak nasıl şekillenmeye devam ettiği de bu çalışmanın önemli bir sonucudur. Hadrianus'un mimari mirası bağlamında 'yaşam alanı'nın hem geçmişteki hem de günümüzdeki etkileşimli

anlamı, İmparator Hadrianus'un Anadolu'daki bilinen seyahatlerinin izini sürerken kişisel deneyim ve saha ziyaretleri ile birlikte antik edebi kaynaklar ve modern bilim perspektifinden bu kapıların farklı algılanışlarını vurgulayarak belirgin hale getirilmiştir.

Kapıların tarihi ve sembolik önemini göz önünde bulunduran bu çalışma, Attaleia ve Efes'te inşa edilen iki kapının *lieux de mémoire*'ın uygun örnekleri olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu kapılar, Hadrianus'un orada bulunmuş olmasının kalıcı mirasını sembolize etmekte ve Roma İmparatorluğu'ndaki yerel mimari formların özelliklerini korumaktadır. Ayrıca, kentsel deneyimin karmaşıklığını ve geçiş sürecinin özünü de yansıtmaktadırlar. Hepsinden önemlisi, mekânsal ve sembolik, maddi ve manevi olan arasında zamansız bir köprü olabilecek tarihsel önemi somutlaştırarak kolektif hafıza için anımsatıcı araçlar olarak hizmet etmektedirler. Kapıların hem sınır hem de geçit olarak algılanması, Antalya sakinlerinin ve Efes ziyaretçilerinin çağdaş deneyimlerini şekillendirmede fiziksel veya entelektüel mekân algısında var olmaya devam etmektedir.

Kolektif hafıza ve sosyal etkileşim, tören kapılarının toplumsal hafıza için nasıl referans noktaları olarak varlıklarını sürdürdüklerini, geçmişin hatırlanmasına ve ortak bir kimliğin sürdürülmesine nasıl katkıda bulunduklarını anlamamıza yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, bu kapıların maddi varlıkları aracılığıyla, İmparator Hadrianus'un seyahatleri ve bölgedeki önemine dair anlatıları koruyan birer hafıza deposu haline geldiği ortaya konulmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu kapılar, modern ve antik kent dokusu içinde kolektif bilinci şekillendirmektedir. Zengin süslemeli ve yoğun bir Roma arkeolojik bağlamı içinde yer alan Efes'teki kapı, kentin tarihi katmanlarının bir sembolü ve geçmişle fiziksel bir bağlantı haline gelmiştir. Attaleia'daki ise çağdaş sosyal etkileşim açısından daha aktif bir rol oynamakta ve bugün modern kentin eski kesiminde canlı bir işaret olarak işlev görmektedir. Hadrianus ya da Üç Kapılar'a atıfta bulunarak kapı çevresindeki mekânların isimlendirilmesi ve kullanılmaya devam edilmesi, günümüzde bölgede yaşayan yöre halkının kolektif belleğini örneklemektedir.

Bu çalışma aynı zamanda Romanizasyon üzerine modern söyleme de katkıda bulunmaktadır. Hadrianus'un seyahatleri ve kişisel yardımları sayesinde ikinci

yüzyılda Anadolu'da yaratılan kültürel ve maddi mimari zenginlik, kültürlerarası bir tanıklık olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kültürel değişimin karmaşık süreci, özellikle de mimaride ve bunun toplumsal bellekteki karşılığında ifade edildiği şekliyle, son derece esnek ve bükülebilirdir. Roma etkisinden önce de yerleşimin olduğu Antalya ve Efes'teki Hadrianus kapıları, mevcut yerel geleneklerin Roma unsurlarıyla harmanlandığı incelikli bir kültürel entegrasyon sürecini yansıtmaktadır. Bu yaklaşım, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun daha kırılgan bazı kültürel manzaralarında görülen Roma kültürünün doğrudan empoze edilmesinden farklıydı.

Özetle, bu tezin ana katkısı, 2. yüzyılda Antalya ve Efes'te İmparator Hadrianus onuruna inşa edilen iki kapının hem Roma dönemindeki hem de modern bağlamlardaki öneminin tespit edilmesidir. Kapıların farklı teorik perspektiflerden önemi aynı zamanda 'kapı', 'kemer' ve 'zafer takı' kavramlarının kavramsal karmaşıklığı hakkında bir fikir vermektedir. Bu çalışma, imparatorun Anadolu'daki bilinen güzergahlarını ve bu güzergahların ve imparatorun kişiliğinin kentler ve insanlarla kurduğu sosyal, kültürel ve mimari iletişimi ön plana çıkarmaktadır.

İster modern Antalya'nın merkezinde yaşamla iç içe olsun, ister Efes'teki arkeolojik alanı ziyaret edenlerin ilgisini çeksin, bu tören kapıları Türkiye'nin kültürel, kolektif, bireysel ve kentsel belleğinin vazgeçilmez bileşenleridir. Çağdaş bağlamlarda kentsel hafızanın dinamik doğasını kabul ederken, farklı teorik perspektifler ve duyusal deneyimlerden yararlanmak, hatırlama ve kolektif hafızanın inceliklerini çözmemizi sağlar. Çok disiplinli yaklaşım ve eleştirel düşünce, mimari dokusuna ve ötesine kazınmış çoklu anlatılar içinde ileri geri 'seyahat etmemize' olanak tanıyarak, 'bir tiyatro olarak kenti' anlamayı daha da geliştirebilir. Bu anlatılar, Hadrianus'un Antalya ve Efes'in 'dünyevi sahnesi' aracılığıyla karşımıza çıktığı küresel ve evrensel anlatılardır.

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