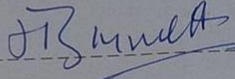


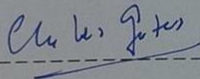
I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality,
as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology.



Associate Professor Dr. Julian Bennett

Supervisor

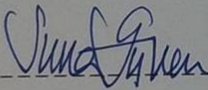
I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality,
as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology.



Assistant Professor Dr. Charles Warner Gates

Examining Committee Member

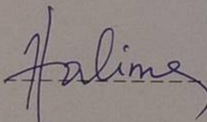
I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality,
as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology.



Professor Dr. Suna Güven

Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Halime Demirkan

Director

A GROUP OF SEVEN COLUMN CAPITALS FROM ROMAN
ANCYRA:
A UNIQUE COMPOSITE STYLE

A Master's Thesis

by
Andrew K. Beard

Department of Archaeology
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
September 2017

To my family



A GROUP OF SEVEN COLUMN CAPITALS FROM ROMAN
ANCYRA:
A UNIQUE COMPOSITE STYLE

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

By

Andrew K. Beard

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree
of
MASTER OF ARTS

THE DEPARTMENT OF
ARCHAEOLOGY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY

September 2017

ABSTRACT

A GROUP OF SEVEN COLUMN CAPITALS FROM ROMAN ANCYRA: A UNIQUE COMPOSITE STYLE

Beard, Andrew K.
M.A., Department of Archaeology
Supervisor: Associate Prof. Dr. Julian Bennett

September 2017

This thesis focuses on seven column capitals from Roman Ancyra. They have a specific style, which is unique to Ancyra, featuring acanthus leaves, lotus leaves, and flutes. Their context is established by providing a general survey of the various fluted capitals in Ankara, before these specific “Ancyran-style” capitals are discussed in detail. By examining their current locations and comparing photographs from different dates, it is possible to speculate on their original find-spot. Furthermore, by analyzing the location, one can propose the type of Roman structures they were associated with originally, and establish a compatibility between these structures and the capitals. In this case, it appears that the seven capitals came from a colonnaded street intersecting the “Temple of Augustus” sanctuary. The style of the capitals is also analyzed, including a commentary on the historical use of the motifs and their corresponding symbolism. From this analysis we see that the flutes and lotus these capitals employ both very likely bear a reference to Egyptian Alexandria, so the final section also examines the myriad connections between Ancyra and Alexandria in order to place the Egyptianized style they use within the proper context of the period, as the cultural trappings of Hellenistic Alexandria were popular in the cities of Asia Minor at the time.

Keywords: Ancyra, Column Capitals, Roman Ankara.

ÖZET

ROMA DÖNEMİ ANKARA’SINDAKİ YEDİ SÜTUN BAŞLIĞI GRUBU

Beard, Andrew K.

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Julian Bennett

Eylül 2017

Bu tez Roma dönemi Ankarası’na ait olan yedi sütun başlığını incelemektedir. Bu sütun başlıkları akantus yaprakları, saz yaprakları ve lotus yaprakları gibi motifler içeren ve Ankara’ya özgü olan belirli stillere sahiptir. Bu “Ankara stili” sütun başlıkları detaylı olarak incelenmeden önce, Roma Ankara’sına ait çeşitli saz yapraklı sütun başlarının genel bir araştırması sağlanarak, bu başlıkların içerikleri oluşturulmuştur. Başlıkların güncel konumları ve farklı tarihlerde çekilen fotoğrafları incelenerek, asıl buluntu yerleri tahmin edilebilir. Ayrıca, konumlarını analize ederek, asıl ait oldukları Roma yapıları tahmin edilebilir; yapıların ve sütun başlarının arasındaki uyum tespit edilebilir. Bu durumda, öyle görünüyor ki bu yedi sütun başlığı “Augustus Tapınağı” kutsal alanı ile kesişen bir sıra sütunlu yoldan gelmektedir. Sütun başlarının stilleri, motiflerin tarih içerisindeki kullanımları ve karşılık geldiği sembolizmleri de kapsayacak şekilde ele alınmaktadır. Analizlerden de anlaşılacağı üzere, bu sütun başlarının kullandıkları saz ve lotus yapraklarının ikisi de büyük ihtimalle Mısır’daki İskenderiye’yi referans olarak almaktadırlar. Bu yüzden, tezin son bölümünde, başlıkların kullandıkları Mısır’laşmış stili uygun bir bağlamda ele alabilmek için, dönemin Küçük Asya’sında yer alan şehirlerde oldukça popülerleşmiş olan Helenistik İskenderiye’nin kültürel biçimleri kullanılarak Roma Ankara’sı ve İskenderiye arasındaki bağlantılar incelenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ankara, Roma Dönemi Ankarası, Sütun Başları.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes to my thesis advisor, Dr. Julian Bennett, who spent hours going over my work and sending me in the right direction for many of the sources. I am also grateful to Dr. Charles Gates and Dr. Suna Güven for agreeing to take time out of their summers to sit on my thesis committee, and for contributing so many thoughtful and valuable suggestions for sources and revisions.

I also appreciate the rest of the faculty in our department, who helped me develop ideas and never failed to guide me in the right direction. I especially appreciate Dr. Jacques Morin for his help with my Greek, which was particularly relevant for my research here.

I am also thankful to all my colleagues and friends at Bilkent. Humberto De Luigi was my first guide around Ankara and also contributed some photographs to my research. I am likewise grateful to Müzeyyen Karabağ, who lent her skills at the Roman Bath Museum, providing me with clear photographs of the capitals. I am also thankful to Melih Arslan, who was happy to sit down and discuss the materials at the Roman Bath Museum.

I would also like to express sincere gratitude to Umut Dulun, Elif Nurcan Aktaş, Hande Köpürlüoğlu, Fırat Yılmaz, and Abdallah Alkilani for helping me with a daily barrage of Turkish translations over the years.

Of course, I am truly grateful to my family for always supporting my academic interests and never disparaging a foray into a new field.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
 CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	 1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Fluted Column Capitals.....	4
1.3. Fluted Column Capitals in Ancyra.....	5
1.3.1. Hellenistic-style Fluted Capitals.....	6
1.3.2. “Anatolian Composite” Fluted Capitals.....	7
1.3.3. Christian-era Fluted Capitals.....	7
1.3.4. “Ancyran Composite” Fluted Capitals.....	8
CHAPTER 2. ANCYRAN COMPOSITE COLUMN CAPITALS.....	10
2.1. Introduction.....	10
2.2. Catalogue.....	11
2.2.1.	11
2.2.2.	12
2.2.3.	12
2.2.4.	12
2.2.5.	13
2.2.6.	14
2.2.7.	14
2.3. Discussion.....	15

2.4. Conclusion.....	21
CHAPTER 3. THE MOTIFS.....	23
3.1. Fluted Capitals.....	25
3.1.1. History.....	25
3.1.1.1. From Pergamon to Egypt.....	25
3.1.1.2. Pergamon and Ionic-style Flutes.....	27
3.1.2. Myth and Meaning – φοίνιξ.....	28
3.1.2.1. The Myth and Meaning of Palm Leaves.....	28
3.1.2.2. Egyptian Associations.....	29
3.1.2.3. The Meaning of Flutes.....	30
3.2. Lotus Leaves.....	31
3.2.1. History – Λωτοφόροι.....	31
3.2.1.1. Egyptian Provenance.....	31
3.2.1.2. Sanctuary of Demeter – Pergamon.....	32
3.2.1.3. The Tower of the Winds in Athens.....	33
3.2.1.4. The Severan Forum – Lepcis Magna.....	33
3.2.2. Myth and Meaning – λωτοφάγοι.....	35
3.3. The Acanthus.....	37
3.3.1. History - <i>capitulum foliorum</i>	37
3.3.2. Myth and Meaning – Συμφορά.....	38
3.4. Conclusion.....	42
CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSIONS.....	44
4.1. Fluted Column Capitals in Ancyra.....	44
4.2. The Ancyran-style Composite Capital.....	44
4.3. Inspiration from Outside Anatolia.....	46
4.4. Discussion - Ancyra and Alexandria in Egypt.....	47
4.4.1. Social Connections with Alexandria.....	47
4.4.2. Religious Connections with Alexandria.....	49
4.4.3. Military Connections.....	52
4.5. Conclusion.....	54
REFERENCES.....	55
FIGURES.....	59

LIST OF FIGURES¹

1.	“Hellenistic-style” fluted capital spoliated at the Aslanhane mosque, upside-down (left).....	59
2.	“Hellenistic-style” fluted capital on display at the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, upside-down.....	59
3.	“Hellenistic-style” fluted capital on display at the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down.....	60
4.	“Anatolian composite” capital, spoliated in the Karacabey mosque in Ankara, <i>in situ</i> . (Photograph by Humberto De Luigi).....	60
5.	“Anatolian composite” column capital on display in the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down.....	61
6.	Christian-era fluted column capital on display at the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, upside-down.....	61
7.	“Ancyran composite” column capital 2.2.2 spoliated in the Aslanhane mosque, Ankara, <i>in situ</i>	62
8.	“Anatolian composite” column capital in the Pergamon Museum, Turkey, clearly featuring <i>Schilfblätter</i> protruding from between the flutes where they meet the abacus.....	62
9.	“Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.1 in the Roman Bath Museum (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).....	63
10.	“Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.3 on display in the Roman Bath Museum (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).....	63
11.	“Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.4 on display in the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).....	64
12.	“Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.5 on display in the Roman Bath Museum.....	64
13.	“Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.6 on display in the Roman Bath Museum, (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).....	65

¹ All photos are by the author unless otherwise noted.

14. “Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.4 on display in the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down.....65
15. A view of the Roman Bath Museum before April 2007, showing the area to the left of the photograph empty of architectural materials. Image from (<http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=40233>).....66
16. A view of the same area at the Roman Bath Museum in 2014, now encumbered with deposits of Roman-era architectural materials. Image from (<http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?p=120880602>).....66
17. Construction of the parking garage at the Hacı Bayram complex. The *temenos* wall of the sanctuary, reused as a Byzantine-era fortification, is clearly visible above the construction. (Photograph from the City of Ankara website at (<https://www.ankara.bel.tr/genel-sekreter-yardimcisi-vedat-ucpinar/fen-isleri-dairesi-baskanligi/nsaat-yapim-sube-mudurlugu/nsaat-kontrol-sefligi/haci-bayram-veli-camii-meydan-duzenlenmes-ve-katli-otopark>)).....67
18. A satellite photograph of the Hacı Bayram complex with the parking garage project indicated in red. The plan of the “Temple of Augustus” complex from Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, (2011), is superimposed on the photo. I have indicated the proposed colonnaded street in white.....67
19. The plan of the “Temple of Augustus” complex from Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011. Indicated in yellow is where the colonnaded street is believed to have intersected the complex.....68
20. An Egyptian palmiform column capital on display in the British Museum. Image from Wikipedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egyptian_palmiform_capital.jpg).....68
21. The restored capital from the “Treasury of Atreus” on display in the Athens Archaeological Museum.....69
22. One of the fluted column capitals from the Massaliot Treasury on display in the Delphi Archaeological Museum.....69
23. Restored Hellenistic Pergamene column capital on display in the Stoa of Attalos in Athens.....70
24. Lotus capital from the Sanctuary of Demeter on display in the Pergamon Museum, Turkey, with the three ribs clearly visible on each leaf.....70

25.	The Zizyphus Lotus, or Jujube, with its three ribs on each leaf. Image from http://flora.org.il/en/plants/ZIZLOT/	71
26.	“Blattkelch” column capital in the <i>lapidarium</i> of the “Red Basilica” in Pergamon, featuring lotus leaves with three ribs, on display upside-down.....	71
27.	Column capital from the Tower of the Winds in Athens, <i>in situ</i>	72
28.	Diagram of the “Tower of the Winds Order” showing more clearly the Corinthian-style abacus. Illustration from Stuart, J. & Revett, N. (1762). <i>The Antiquities of Athens</i> (Vol.1). London: John Haberkorn. Plate VII.....	72
29.	Two “Blattkelch” capitals from the Severan Forum in Lepcis Magna. Image from http://www.travellingforever.com/wp-content/uploads/import/5148/010LibiaLeptisMagnaForoSeveri-1024x682.jpg	73
30.	“Blattkelch” column capital in the Pergamene Asklepieion, complete with a Pergamene abacus.....	73
31.	The restored Corinthian column capital from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. Note the register of small lotus leaves around the base of the capital. Image from Von Mauch, J.M. & Normand, C.P.J. (1998). <i>Parallel of the Classical Orders of Architecture</i> , New York: Acanthus Press.....	74
32.	Diagram of the Corinthian order capitals from the Lysikrates monument in Athens, with a register of small lotus leaves around the base of the capital. Image is Figure 11 from Lubke, W. (1881). <i>Outlines of the History of Art</i> (Vol.1). New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company.....	74
33.	Callimachus sketches the basket at the maiden’s tomb. Illustration from De Chambray, R. F. (1650). <i>A Parallel of Architecture both Ancient and Modern</i> . Evelyn, J. (Trans.).....	75
34.	Corinthian-order capital with parts labeled. Image from Aroni, G. (2014). <i>Semiotic Analysis of the Corinthian Order in the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Florence, 1420-1490</i> . Southern Semiotic Review. (http://www.southernsemioticreview.net/semiotic-analysis-of-the-corinthian-order-in-the-basilica-of-san-lorenzo-in-florence-1420-1490-by-gabriele-aroni/).....	75

35. A restored “Ancyran composite” capital,
with acanthus leaves, lotus leaves, and a *kalathos*
embellished with Pergamene flutes.....76
36. A Lotus leaf from capital 2.2.4. The
acanthus leaves can be seen beneath it,
and the flutes to either side, though they
are partially obscured by dirt and debris.....76



CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Studying Roman Ancyra entails a number of challenges. The existing scholarship is largely based on the corpus of epigraphic information and the materials excavated from a few locations within the modern city. The fact that the ancient city has been almost entirely obscured by the modern neighborhoods of Ulus and Sıhhiye leaves major lacunae in our understanding of the layout of Roman Ancyra, as the excavation opportunities are limited. Also, a number of the excavations which have been undertaken were conducted during construction projects in the first half of the 20th century, and are now beneath the banks and office blocks of modern Ankara, so secondary investigations of certain sites are not likely.¹ However, working with spolia and loose materials, even undocumented materials, is possible and allows some conclusions to be drawn and some speculations made. Careful observers, mindful of the various details, can determine the most likely original context for some of the various architectural fragments, visible today as isolated artefacts or as spoliated and so reused materials.

¹ For information on the now-obscured Nymphaeum or the “Palatium” see Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011: 135-142, 199-204.

I intend to demonstrate a methodological angle for such an undertaking in this thesis by examining seven such architectural fragments, namely seven column capitals from Ancyra's Roman imperial period. They warrant attention because they are unique in their employment of motifs, featuring acanthus leaves, Egyptianizing lotus leaves, and “Pergamene” flutes. This combination is not found outside of these seven examples from Ancyra; therefore a full analysis of these unique capitals is the objective of this thesis. This analysis will begin with a survey of the various styles of fluted capitals found in Ankara in order to provide the context regarding the other architectural materials from the polis. In the second section, the capitals will be introduced in detail, and by examining their measurements and locations, I will demonstrate that the most likely original find-spot for the capitals is just to the north of the “Temple of Augustus” complex, and that they would have come from a colonnaded street which intersected the complex.

Because the combination of motifs used on the capitals is unique, a fully descriptive art-historical analysis is also necessary. In the third chapter, the focus will be on how acanthus leaves, lotus leaves, and flutes became widely-used architectural motifs. Specifically, for each motif I will propose a short history of their development and use, as well as the mythologies and symbolisms attached to them. The conclusion of this section is that both lotus leaves and flutes ultimately have an Egyptian provenance and still bore a Hellenistic Alexandrian reference in the Roman period. In the final chapter I will discuss the known connections between Alexandria and Ancyra in order to firmly establish the inter-cultural milieu of the Galatian *metropolis*. Given the ties between the cities of Asia Minor and Alexandria in the first three centuries AD, the Egyptianizing motifs of the “Ancyran-style” capitals is better understood.

Roman-period Ancyra was provided with all the different types of column capitals one would expect to see in a city with a distinguished Graeco-Roman history. Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian-style capitals of many sizes and shapes are seen in museum collections and in modern standing buildings in the city, in materials that range from dazzling white-grain marble to dull and coarse-grained purple andesite. However, one style is disproportionately represented in this class of architectural artefact. Fluted capitals are found throughout the modern city in museums, and parks, and reused in various historical sites. While they are common enough throughout the region, Ankara has an unusual proliferation of these fluted capitals, and the spectrum of styles is quite broad. There are at least 75 fluted capitals which can be seen in the modern city, in addition to at least a dozen fluted pilaster capitals.² 75 examples make up a considerable fraction of the total existing capitals in the city, especially considering the relative scarcity in other cities nearby. The museums of Eskişehir and Samsun only have one fluted capital each.

In Ankara, there are varieties with tall straight *kalathoi* and flutes defined with fine fillets not unlike the Hellenistic ones from Pergamon or Athens. There are also large drum-shaped capitals with acanthus and flutes like the one spoliated in the portico of the Karacabey mosque. Many of these capitals differ significantly; the use of *Schilfblätter*, Pergamene-style abaci, abacus rosettes, fillets, and acanthus is variable, as is the number of flutes on the *kalathos*.³ The quantity of capitals and the number of

² This is including 6 from the Church of St. Clement, which can be seen in old photographs.

³ *Schilfblätter* is the term for the small pointed leaves which protrude from behind and between the flutes of a capital. They can be seen at the very top, where the flutes terminate against the abacus (Figure 8). This term is usually used in German articles to describe a type of long pointed lotus leaves. This term can be seen in Bota, (1999). For an example of the term *kalathos* (bell), see figure 34.

stylistic variations represented indicate a popularity for fluted capitals at Ancyra that is not so obviously represented at other Graeco-Roman sites in Asia Minor.⁴

Indeed, the relative proliferation if not ubiquity of the fluted-type capital at Ancyra is abundantly demonstrated by their frequent re-use in several mosques in the old part of the present city. The capitals used in the interior of the Aslanhane mosque for example, dated to the year 1290, are of several different fluted styles, ranging from very large capitals with flutes, acanthus, and lotus leaves, to much smaller Christian-era fluted capitals. The Portico of the Alaaddin mosque, originally built in 1178, but heavily renovated in the 14th and 15th centuries, also features several of these later versions mixed in with small Doric capitals. Inside the Ahi Elvan Mosque are large wooden columns like those in the Aslanhane Mosque which utilize a collection of spoliated Corinthian, Doric, and fluted capitals. The portico of the Karacabey Mosque also employs one of the larger “Anatolian composite” fluted capitals.

1.2. Fluted Column Capitals

The “Pergamene-style” fluted capitals have a long history. Their provenance as a style essentially begins in ancient Egypt as “palm capitals” and the use there of a range of capitals which are foliated with long palm leaves. The style eventually spread to the Hellenic world, where the leaves became Greek-style flutes, a stylization of palm leaves instead of an actual portrayal of foliage, these being, it is generally believed, the ultimate origin of the flute on these column capitals. The canonical version of the Pergamene-style fluted capital first appears in a number of Hellenistic stoas, examples

⁴ There are a few ancient sites where we see a proliferation of fluted capitals. Pergamon obviously has a great number of them, but the styles are not particularly diverse. The agora in Izmir also has many fluted capitals. They are mostly “Anatolian composite” capitals, or capitals with both acanthus leaves and flutes. However, there are a number of distinctive features to be found in the *lapidarium* of the Izmir agora, especially when it comes to different mouldings and motifs.

in Pergamon providing the archetype. The roof of a Hellenistic stoa is typically pitched, meaning that the exterior columns would have to be shorter than the inner columns. If the colonnade of the facade is Doric, an order of different – taller and more slender – proportions is required for the inner colonnade (Coulton, 1976: 100). In later stoas, which had two aisles, they needed another order to prevent repeating the Corinthian order inside, and a natural choice was the Pergamene-style palm capital (Coulton, 1976: 107). All four examples of canonical Hellenistic-period Pergamene capitals were used in the inner colonnade of the second level in a stoa.⁵

While the Pergamene-style fluted capital became very popular for use in stoas and similar structures throughout the Eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period, it achieved its greatest popularity across Asia Minor and elsewhere in the East during Roman times. Indeed, it appears in great numbers in the porticoes of the Severan Forum in Lepcis Magna, one of the last examples of Imperial-promoted architecture in the region. Given such popularity, it was only natural that by the end of the imperial period, a number of variations on the theme are to be seen in the East of the Roman empire, one of the most common being what might be termed for ease of reference the “Anatolian” composite, which is a fluted capital bearing a register of acanthus and a *kalathos* embellished with Pergamene flutes (Figure 8)

1.3. Fluted Column Capitals in Ancyra

Given the wide range of styles to be found in fluted capitals, it appears that there was a fair amount of experimentation with regards to these in Ancyra, and so a brief introduction to the stylistic variations of fluted capitals yet visible in the modern city

⁵ The four known examples of buildings with Hellenistic Pergamene capitals are the stoas of Attalos and Eumenes II in Athens, and the south stoas in Assos and Pergamon.

can give us an idea of what was popular here in the Roman period. We can also see in the range of styles represented an impetus for experimentation beyond the standard canonical orders. That Ancyra may have been permeated with a creative architectural impulse unique to this location is not a particularly common assertion, but understanding the spectrum of column capitals from Roman Ancyra can help to establish the environment in which an avant-garde form might spring forth.

1.3.1. Hellenistic-style Fluted Capitals

Hellenistic-style fluted capitals are defined here as those that have very tall, straight-sided *kalathoi*, reminiscent of the Hellenistic fluted capitals typical of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Athens and Pergamon.⁶ One example can be found holding up the end of a bench outside the north end of the Aslanhane mosque (Figure 1). Another is among the Christian-era fluted capitals in the *lapidarium* of the Anatolian Civilizations Museum (Figure 2). These capitals feature impressive workmanship, with delicate fillets delineating the flutes. In addition to these fillets, there is sometimes also an extra fillet between the edges of the flutes, creating three lips between each of the canals (Figure 3). This middle fillet also terminates in a fluted leaf shape at the top of the *kalathos*. They have Pergamene abaci, and one in the Roman Bath complex features rosettes in the underside corners of the abacus as well.

The probability that these capitals actually date to the Hellenistic period is extremely low. Hellenistic-era Ancyra is largely a mystery. Pottery from the period was found in the Ulus office-block excavations and during work at the "Temple of Augustus," but whether any putative settlement at Ancyra was exposed to significant Hellenistic ar-

⁶ The Hellenistic fluted capitals from the South Stoa at Assos are markedly different. They are severely truncated in comparison to the more canonical Pergamene-style fluted capitals.

chitectural influences is purely hypothetical (Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011: 20). Assertions that the so-called "Temple of Augustus" is a Hellenistic-era structure have been met with considerable resistance (Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011: 91). So we can reasonably assume that these capitals, despite their impressive craftsmanship, almost undoubtedly date to the Roman imperial period.

1.3.2. “Anatolian Composite” Fluted Capitals

The “Anatolian Composite” fluted capital is one which combines both flutes and acanthus, similar to those found in the colonnade around the Pergamene Trajaneum. There are many pilaster capitals at Ancyra in this style, and also a number of large round capitals of this form. Excellent examples of the latter can be seen in the Roman Bath complex, and one of them is spoliated in the portico of the Karacabey Mosque. (Figure 4) One of the more impressive examples at the Roman Bath complex has 32 flutes as well as abacus rosettes and seems to be unique in the quality of its treatment (Figure 5).⁷ The fact that they do not appear to match each other, in addition to their large sizes makes it a reasonable assumption that these examples were used in the singular: on monuments or honorific columns, as opposed to colonnades.

1.3.3. Christian-era Fluted Capitals

There are a number of fluted capitals in Ancyra that most likely belong to the Christian period, as they generally impart a rather crude impression when compared to those of the Roman imperial period. They are rough and not very detailed. The number of flutes was drastically reduced, and the flutes became very wide, shallow, and delineated with thick fillets. The capitals are also significantly truncated, with a

⁷ The standard fluted capital in Anatolia has 24 flutes, as opposed to the Hellenistic Pergamene capitals in Athens, which have 22.

much lower height-to-circumference ratio than the Classical *kalathos* capitals. They almost seem more like small scalloped Doric capitals (Figure 6).

The continued use of the fluted capital in Ancyra lasted well into the Christian period. It may seem like a stylistic choice, but it was also a highly practical one. Without the ability to import quantities of high-quality marble, the artists of Ancyra in late antiquity could not keep up with the contemporary styles of finely-drilled baroque Byzantine capitals popular in Constantinople. The local andesite and other stones can only allow austere treatments. Some of these capitals, like one in the entrance of the Roman Bath Complex, feature Christian symbols like the chi-rho.⁸

1.3.4. “Ancyran Composite” Fluted capitals

One style in particular, appears to be, if not totally unique, then at least extremely uncommon. That is to say, despite an extensive search of other Graeco-Roman sites in Asia Minor and elsewhere, as well as a substantial volume of published accounts, I have not been able to find any other examples of such a column capital style outside of Ancyra. What makes these seven capitals so unusual is that they feature a combination of three major motifs: acanthus leaves, lotus leaves, and Pergamene-style flutes (Figure 7). At the risk of sounding dramatic, they appear to constitute a unique Ancyran “order.” Furthermore, although they vary somewhat in materials and slightly less so in their individual details, they are all near the same size – between 51cm and 55cm with abaci – and clearly match so closely in their individual details that they belong almost certainly to the same construction. The differences in the materials used presumably reflect different stages in the commissioning and/or building of that struc-

⁸ This column capital and its chi-rho are on display upside-down, and like many fluted capitals displayed *ex-situ* in Ankara, it is incorrectly labeled as a “column base.”

ture.⁹ This thesis will examine these specific seven capitals, and attempt to establish their original context and if there are any detectable influences or references being made with the use of the three major motifs.



⁹ Capital 2.2.3 is essentially split in half by a horizontal break, but appears to be the same size as the others, while Capital 2.2.4 is only 46cm tall, without an abacus, and the tops of its flutes are obscured in the soil.

CHAPTER II

Ancyran Composite Column Capitals

2.1. Introduction

The seven fluted column capitals we are concerned with here share a unique composite style. They feature a combination of acanthus leaves, large smooth lotus leaves, and Pergamene-style flutes (Figure 35). Column capitals with lotus and acanthus leaves, referred to in German literature as “*Blattkelch*” capitals, are reasonably common in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the Aegean region (Ward-Perkins, 1948: 66).¹⁰ Capitals with acanthus leaves and Pergamene flutes are ubiquitous throughout the western half of Asia Minor, including the many examples known at Ankara. However, the combination of all three features in a single style of column capital, as in the seven from Ancyra discussed in this thesis, certainly seems to be unique. The composite style with all three of these vegetal motifs on a *kalathos* capital is not found outside of Ancyra, and an intensive survey of capitals from Anatolia and around the Mediterranean offers no other examples.

Between the seven capitals themselves, there is some variation, the most obvious one being that they are made of different types of stone. That aside, some have

¹⁰ The term “*Blattkelch*” has been used by, among others, Christophe Börker in his dissertation, *Blattkelchkapitelle, Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Architekturornamentik in Griechenland*, (1965). The term technically translates to something like “leaf chalice.”

Schilfblätter, the small pointed leaves protruding from between the Pergamene flutes at the top of the capital, while others do not; some have thick fillets around the flutes, and some do not. Most, however, have standard Pergamene abaci with two *fasciae*, but they also include a quarter-round transitional moulding between the lower *fascia* and the upper projecting *fascia*.

2.2. Catalogue

2.2.1. Located in the Roman Bath Museum, this capital is made of a very fine-grained light brown-colored stone and is in poor condition (Figure 9). A large section is broken away from the top and it is heavily worn, with a large piece near the bottom having been cut off intentionally.¹¹ The acanthus is also heavily worn, making analysis difficult, but it is apparent that the leaves do not touch where the points extend toward one another. The lotus leaves in the second register can only be identified by their bottom halves, as the tops are broken off, but they are visible between the acanthus leaves, and feature a convex central spine. The flutes however are in excellent shape where extant, featuring fillets and *Schilfblätter*. The abacus is also severely worn and difficult to assess. The whole capital is 54cm tall from the base to the top of the abacus.

2.2.2. Spoliated in the Aslanhane mosque, where it has been reused as a column capital, this is made from a very bright white marble and survives in excellent condition from the base to the abacus (Figure 7). The acanthus leaves are very rounded, but not particularly fleshy or salient from the *kalathos*. The points of the acanthus leaves also do not touch one another. The lotus leaves are in very good

¹¹ The missing portion of the capital has straight lines, and chisel marks are evident.

condition, as only the very tops have broken off. The flutes on this capital are somewhat unusual, in that they are not delineated by fillets, nor do they feature *Schilfblätter* at the top. The top section of the *kalathos* is marked by the absence of these features, but does possess an unusually tall *kalathos* rim. The abacus appears to be preserved in its entirety, and consists of a lower *fascia*, a short concave transitional moulding, and another projecting *fascia*. Unfortunately, because of its position high above the floor, it is difficult to measure this example, but it certainly appears to be the same size as the others. It is unfortunate we lack its exact dimensions because this is likely the best preserved of the seven.

2.2.3. Located in the Roman Bath Museum, this capital is also of white stone, probably a marbled limestone (Figure 10). Unfortunately, it has been heavily damaged, and only the top half of the capital remains, and its partially-buried location makes it difficult to examine thoroughly. The damage is in such a way that the bottom register of acanthus leaves is gone, while its location means that the row of smooth lotus leaves above cannot be seen in photographs, but can be felt on the backside of the *kalathos* if one reaches around the capital in its present position. The flutes and one side of the abacus however are in very good condition. The flutes feature both fillets and *Schilfblätter*. Above the flutes there is a *kalathos* rim, and the abacus consists of a lower fillet with a larger quarter-round concave moulding above.

2.2.4. Located in the Roman Bath Museum, this capital is white, but striated with very wide grey veins, and so is probably made of Proconnesian marble (Figure 11). It is in near-excellent condition, and the acanthus leaves can be analyzed easily, although the tops do not survive. The leaves are somewhat fleshier than those on the other capitals.

In the two bottom leaflets, there are four lobes on either side. The central vein is accentuated by two very deeply-carved channels, which seem to be somewhat abrupt and lacking in finesse. Instead of eyelets, there are simply gaps between the leaflets, and the points of the leaves do touch one another.

The register of lotus leaves is very well-preserved, with only the tips being broken off (Figure 35). They each feature a concave central rib. The flutes are deep and almost semi-circular in profile, each one bound by fillets on either side. Unfortunately because of its position piled up with other materials, the termination of the flutes cannot be seen, so we do not know if there are *Schilfblätter*, or whether it still possesses an abacus. From its base to the point where the 24 flutes disappear into the soil, it measures 46cm.

2.2.5. Located in the Roman Bath Museum, this capital appears to be made of a white semi-marble with sand-colored blotches, though it is difficult to be certain if this is the stone in its natural state or just some type of discoloration (Figure 12). One side is broken off near the top, and the acanthus is very worn down, but it is largely intact otherwise. From the acanthus we can tell that the points of the leaves did not touch one another, but not much else is decipherable. Interestingly on this example, the lotus leaves have a convex central spine similar to capital 2.2.1, which can be seen between each acanthus leaf. The lotus leaves spring from the base of the capital, and are barely obscured by the register of acanthus leaves. Because this capital also features fillets and *Schilfblätter*, we can conclude with some confidence that this one is a match for 2.2.1, despite the fact that the abacus is in poor condition and cannot be properly

assessed. The top of the abacus appears to be missing, and the height of the capital is 53cm.

2.2.6. Located in the Roman Bath Museum, this capital is made of what looks like the marble used in 2.2.4. There are some very large grey veins streaking through the stone, and it is also variegated with some finer grey veins, as so is probably also Proconnesian marble (Figure 13). Large portions are missing from this example, but some flutes and part of the abacus are intact, and indicate that it belongs to the group under discussion. One acanthus leaf can be seen easily, and it does not appear that the leaves touched, but only the bottom of the lotus leaves survive. The flutes are shallow and bounded by thin fillets and it lacks the very deep fillets seen in 2.2.4, and so despite the similarity in material, they do not look like they match one another. The tops of the flutes are also gone, so it is not possible to determine if this capital had *Schilfblätter*. The abacus is visible on one side, and consists of at least one fillet, one concave quarter-round moulding, and one *fascia*. From what remains of the base to the top of the abacus measures 51cm.

2.2.7. Located in the Roman Bath Museum, and numbered 113-82-99, this capital is made of a grey-streaked white marble and so is probably of Proconnesian marble (Figure 14). Large portions of the capital are missing, but one corner is in decent condition. The acanthus leaves are heavily worn, but one can see that they do not touch. The lotus leaves are broken off and worn down to round stumps. Several of the 24 flutes are in good condition though, and feature fillets and *Schilfblätter*. The abacus is also largely intact on one side, and appears to have consisted of a *fascia* and

a concave quarter-round moulding. It measures 55cm tall in its present condition, and is 72cm across the top of the abacus, and 52cm across the base.

2.3. Discussion

It has been indicated above that the seven capitals under discussion share common design features and are of a very similar size. This suggests strongly that they probably came from the same structure, although as they are made of different materials they need not all have been made in one single operation, a point to be examined later. Unfortunately, nothing is known regarding the precise find-spots of the six capitals displayed in the Roman Bath Museum, although five of these are piled together, suggesting that they were found together, and nothing can be said of the original location of the one example spoliated in the Arslanhane Mosque. Thus it might seem at the first impression that despite their consistent style and sizes, determining whether they came from the same structure is impossible to establish.

However, the current location of five of those now displayed in the Roman Baths Museum, catalogue numbers 2.2.1 and 2.2.3-6 may shed some light on where they were originally recovered. This is because these five can be found together in a large pile of mostly undocumented architectural materials including architraves which seem to have been dumped here together sometime after 1995.¹² Musa Kadioğlu describes the location as the “empty area in the entrance of the large Bath (to the northwest of the colonnaded street)” (2011:168). An examination of photographs of this area of the bath spanning the period from 2007 to the present, reveals that materials were dumped here during that time, likely deposited after having been found during construction

¹² Personal observation by Dr. J. Bennett.

projects around Ulus.¹³ These materials include pierced blocks from the siphon aqueduct, pieces of the bull's-head arcade which are also found spoliated in the castle walls, column shafts, and some architraves documented as having come from the excavation near the Altındağ Municipality building.¹⁴ This project uncovered buildings along the *cardo maximus*, just to the north of the current location of the "Column of Julian."¹⁵ This area of the Roman Bath Museum also contains large pieces of worked andesite blocks from various structures.¹⁶ Given how five of these Ancyra-style composite fluted capitals are all in one area of this prodigious collection of architectural detritus, they were likely found and so deposited together. This is the case with other materials deposited in the Roman Bath museum. For example, the andesite seating from the imperial-era stadium is all located in one large pile on the west side of the open-air museum, where it too was presumably deposited after having been discovered in one location.

If we build on the premise that these five examples were found together and so deposited together at the Roman Bath Museum, we might speculate further, for there are good reasons to believe that these five capitals very likely came from the north-west side of the hill dominated by the "Temple of Augustus," at the time of the major renovations to the Hacı Bayram mosque complex carried out between 2012-2013

¹³ Just in the period from 2014 to 2017, I have seen a number of new pieces appear in this area, including the most impressive of the Anatolian composite column capitals (Figure 5). They show no signs of having been documented, as would be expected had they come from excavation projects, which has led me to believe that the greater part of these materials are coming from construction sites.

¹⁴ For a detailed description of the grounds of the Roman bath complex, see the MA thesis by Özge Mutlu, *Integration of the Roman Remains in Ulus Ankara within the Current Urban Context*, 2012.

¹⁵ This is mentioned by Kadioğlu (2011: 168). During a discussion with Melih Arslan, he told me that these architraves were originally from a colonnaded street. I am certain of the provenance of the architraves described, because they are identical to the architraves which can still be found in the lawn just north of the "Column of Julian."

¹⁶ Some of the andesite blocks look like they could be paving stones from a street. We know that city streets – at least the *cardo maximus* and the "colonnaded street" near the bath complex were paved with andesite during the Augustan period, while the associated buildings are dated to the 2nd century AD and later. See Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011: 174.

(Figures 15-16). This supposition is made possible by reviewing a series of dated photographs of the aggregated materials at the Roman baths, which suggest that these five capitals were placed in the Roman bath complex at the same time as the construction of the large underground parking garage on the north-west side of the “Temple of Augustus” hill. This appears to be the case, examining the city’s website at (<https://www.ankara.bel.tr/genel-sekreter-yardimcisi-vedat-ucpinar/fen-isleri-dairesi-baskanligi/nsaat-yapim-sube-mudurlugu/nsaat-kontrol-sefligi/haci-bayram-veli-camii-meydan-duzenlenmes-ve-katli-otopark>), which features a number of high-quality photographs of the construction in progress. These photos were posted on 5 April 2013 (Figure 17). However, photographs of the construction can be found posted from as early as the summer of 2012. In any case, this seems like an obvious part of the city to find extensive architectural materials from the general period that these pieces were deposited at the Roman Baths Museum, as houses and buildings have been recorded just to the southwest of the “Temple of Augustus” hill.¹⁷ There are, then, reasonable grounds for assuming that construction work on the northern edge of the “Temple of Augustus” hill, if not specifically the underground garage built there in 2012-2013, is the original location for at least five of the capitals we are concerned with here.

Given their overall stylistic similarities and sizes it is also likely that they come from the same structure, and so we need to establish their possible original architectural context based on the types of buildings which were likely to have existed in the area around what is generally accepted as the principal imperial sanctuary of Roman Ancyra. To begin with, fluted capitals are almost always found in stoa-type colonnades around public areas or street-side colonnades, and only extremely rarely

¹⁷ See the map of Roman Ancyra from Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011.

as the main architectural order in a temple or other prestigious building. There is good reason to believe that the Corinthian-like proportions of Pergamene-style fluted capitals may have been originally developed for use in double-storied stoas, where a colonnade of slender proportions was required in the upper level, but architects did not want to repeat the Corinthian order already used in the interior of the lower level.¹⁸ However, over time, as we see at Lepcis Magna and elsewhere, fluted column capitals became a common feature for use in stoas of a single story, whether as part of a porticus or a street-side colonnade.

In which case, given as we might assume that there was a colonnade running around the *temenos* of the imperial sanctuary at Ancyra, as we see in so many other cities, then could this be the original provenance of these seven capitals? This seems unlikely, for surely, any portico here— like the colonnade of fluted capitals around the Corinthian-order Trajaneum at Pergamon - would have had perfectly-matching capitals. The whole structure would likely have been built at one time, and the column capitals would have been produced as part of a single work programme. The seven Ancyra capitals we are concerned with do not fit in this context, because they vary in details and – most especially – in materials, and those with extant acanthus were clearly carved in different workshops.

For this reason, we should look for an alternative context, bearing in mind that stoas and stoa-like structures aside, fluted capitals are also found used in stoa-type colonnades along streets. Indeed, a colonnaded street would be exactly where we might expect column capitals of the same general type but with slight variations in

¹⁸ The Hellenistic Pergamene-style fluted capitals in Athens, Assos, and Pergamon were all used in the interior colonnade of the second level in each stoa.

detail and in materials. This is because a colonnaded street, like the one in Syrian Apamea for instance, could in practice be built section-by-section over many years by influential members of the community. So the capitals found in such a street would have been carved in different workshops and made from different materials, while still belonging to a single construction, just on the basis of its having accumulated over time. We see from the Ancyran inscriptions how the Galatian upper-class were in the euergetist habit of donating buildings to their community. For example, Caius Iulius Severus is recorded as having provided funds for construction in the city in the 2nd century, and he is among a number of priests from the Galatian aristocracy who were known to have done so (Mitchell & French, 2012: 228). This tradition provided the perfect environment for such a construction project to emerge in the area immediately adjacent to the so-called "Temple of Augustus."

In which case we should observe how the colonnaded street revealed in the excavations near the Roman Bath Museum is aligned directly on this "Temple of Augustus," and so the area where, it seems probable, five of these distinctive capitals were found (Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011: 244). The construction of the underground parking garage in the side of the Hacı Bayram hill, right next to the *temenos* wall, took place at the exact point where the alignment of this colonnaded street is believed to have met the sanctuary on its north side. (Figures 18-19)¹⁹ If the street had indeed run this far, construction work almost certainly would have uncovered what survived of a stretch of this colonnaded street, and materials such as

¹⁹ See, for example, the map of the area from Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011. The exact location has never been archaeologically examined, but is indicated from those other sections of the street that have been uncovered, specifically the "bend" in the colonnaded street, which is best explained if the street continues to the north side of the "Temple of Augustus" enclosure.

andesite pavers, colonnade capitals, and column shafts such as those placed in the Roman Bath Museum around the same time.

Of course, we cannot prove that the column capitals we are focused on came from such a continuation of the known colonnaded street. Nonetheless, given their height dimensions of around 55cm, they appear to fit in this context. If we accept the Roman Corinthian-style proportions as the general architectural principle for this order, being a fluted capital, then a capital should be one-tenth of the total height of a column. Therefore the columns associated with the Ancyra composite capitals should have stood at a total height of around 5.5m from the stylobate to the architrave. An extrapolation done by M. Akok indicates that the total height of the colonnaded street excavated near the Roman Bath complex – from stylobate to architrave - would have been 6.25m (1968: 7). This height is consistent with the average height of colonnaded streets found elsewhere. For instance, the height of the colonnaded street in Antinoöpolis was 4.46m (Burns, 2017: 224). The heights of the colonnades of Antioch on the Orontes, Perge, and Side were 6m, 4m, and 5.8m respectively (Crawford & Goodway, 1999: 113-115). So the extrapolated heights indicate that these capitals came from a construction at least very near the same dimensions as the portion of the colonnaded street which has already been formally excavated, in addition to being consistent with the column heights of other eastern colonnaded streets.

Furthermore, the idea that these capitals were originally used in a colonnaded street would explain a number of inconsistencies with the capitals themselves, in their individual details and in the choice of materials used. As epigraphic evidence from

sites such as Apamea indicates, the building of the colonnades along such a street could continue for many years. Moreover, individual donors may have had different budgets, hence the use of differing materials. This explanation remains sound even if the five capitals which are together in “the pile” at the large Roman bath complex were not found at the Haci Bayram hill: they are in the same pile together, and so most likely were found and then deposited together. Any skepticism regarding their assumed find-spot does not negate the probability that they had originally come from a colonnaded street. It is quite possible that there were a number of these running through Ancyra. What is more, their dimensions suit precisely a colonnaded street, and we can only hope that future construction in the Ulus neighborhood might shed light on a more certain origin for these unique capitals.

2.4. Conclusion

The city of Ancyra had a noteworthy abundance of fluted capitals, and there was a fair amount of diversity in the styles of those which have been recovered. Seven of these capitals represent a very specific style, one which does not appear to be found anywhere outside of Ancyra. Having established the most likely provenance and structural context for these capitals based on the available evidence, the next chapter will provide a full art-historical analysis of the style. Because this style is unique, the chapter will explore whether there is any symbolism behind the use of these particular motifs. It is stated often throughout the literature that Classical architecture has a unique impetus to “bear meaning.”²⁰ In order to ascertain if there is some deeper meaning to this combination of foliate features displayed in these particular capitals, it is best to outline the mythology and history of each of the motifs. Perhaps the most

²⁰ E.g., Onians, 1990.

significant aspect of this section on the history of the motifs is the fact that the capitals, with their large lotus leaves and Pergamene flutes, may be intentional stylistic references to contacts between Ancyra and Alexandria in Egypt.



CHAPTER III

The Motifs

3. The Motifs

“A wide knowledge of history is requisite because, among the ornamental parts of an architect’s design for a work, there are many the underlying idea of whose employment he should be able to explain to inquirers.”

- Vitruvius 1.1.5

Classical architecture is supposed to bear meaning, but it appears that the original meanings were largely lost by the early Roman Imperial period.²¹ It is for this reason that a short history of each of the architectural elements featured on the Ancyran fluted capitals will be of use in determining their probable origin and inspiration. Vitruvius, our only contemporary source who could illuminate some of the finer details of Classical architecture for us is, unfortunately, not explicit enough on such matters but does provide some context. This comes in the form of one of the more interesting aspects of Vitruvius’ work, his anecdotes on the origins of different orders and architectural features. Even though these were almost certainly invented in the form we have them well after-the-fact, he considered a basic history of each ornament imperative to understanding its meaning and its use. This chapter, therefore, provides a short history of the main ornamental features relevant to the Ancyran fluted

²¹ A number of books have been published in the last decades on the *meaning* of classical architecture. Among them are those by Onians (1990), Hersey (1988), and McEwen (1993).

composite capitals in a rough chronology, though it is not claimed this chronology represents a purely linear evolution of the forms concerned.

The petrified foliate motifs used in ancient and modern architectural contexts have, in some form or another, been bouncing around a vast area between Spain and India, for an equally vast gulf of time stretching back to the Old Kingdom period of Egypt. Moreover, they did not evolve solely within the context of stone temple architecture, as is often thought. Rather they were to be found on funerary monuments, furniture, vase-paintings, and very likely in perishable architectural materials no longer available to us, such as wood. But in addition to the evolution of the ornaments, it is also important to know the mythology associated with these motifs and the potential references they could have brought to the mind of a viewer in antiquity. This is not possible today, because the origins of some of the motifs are difficult to ascertain, and because their meanings changed over time – in this case, over many centuries. What this means is that a Roman viewing a fluted-capital of the 6th-century Christian architectural context in Ancyra, of which there are many, would have been more than one thousand years removed from the Massaliot Treasury in Delphi where they make their earliest appearance in the Hellenic architecture of the Archaic period. These Christian-era viewers would have found the capitals aesthetically familiar, but it goes without saying that imposing some monolithic and continuous meaning onto these motifs from the Archaic to Christian periods would not be prudent.

So we turn to the three pertinent details of the seven Ancyran fluted capitals we are concerned with. That is to say a row of acanthus leaves, situated below a row of large spade-shaped lotus leaves, crowned with a *kalathos* of Pergamene flutes. The lotus

leaves are originally of Egyptian origin. The flutes used in Pergamene-style capitals are also ultimately derived from Egyptian palm capitals, but expressed in a Greek style. The acanthus though, is a fully-Greek type of vegetation, and has a complex background filled with symbolism. Before dissecting and discussing these individual elements, though, it will be of use to understand something of the history of fluted column capitals.

3.1. Fluted Capitals

3.1.1. History

Fluted capitals have appeared in many different iterations. In their oldest form, they were Egyptian palm capitals with large leaves featuring ribs and surface textures (Figure 20). In the Hellenistic period, after more than a millennium of making appearances around the Mediterranean, the fluted capital was expressed with proper Ionic flutes, attaining its iconic aesthetic. Fluted capitals continue to develop and change in style throughout the Christian period, becoming wide and truncated, doubtlessly easier to produce than the complex drilled-out acanthus of Byzantine capitals. But it is the Hellenistic form of the fluted capital made famous in the *stoas* of Athens and Pergamon which are most relevant to the Ancyran-style composite capitals discussed here.

3.1.1.1. From Egypt to Pergamon

The Classic Egyptian palm capital is quite common, and can be found in civic and religious contexts, including the ones at Ehnasya el-Medina, which date as far back as the Old or Middle Kingdom (Arnold, 2003: 79). In the bronze-age Mediterranean,

flutes appear on capitals in the Mycenaean tradition. While Egyptian examples are clearly leaves, Mycenaean examples of the capitals can be found with rows of simplified leaves or flutes supporting a round echinus. A well-known example is the one from the “Treasury of Atreus” in Mycenae (Figure 21). These Mycenaean columns, with or without *contractura*, have straight sides, and do not curve, or “flee away” (*αποφυγή*), towards the mouldings at their capitals or bases.²² Therefore the row of flutes embellish the profile of the whole, making an elegant, and desperately-needed, transition between the straight sides of the columns and the large round echinus of the capital. In this way, the palm leaves became visually important as an architectural device.

Bringing us nearer in time and style to the Hellenistic Pergamene capital are the palm capitals *in antis* on the Treasury of Massalia in Delphi, from 535 BC (Figure 22). Mark Wilson Jones notes that these fluted capitals could be referencing Mycenaean fluted capitals, like the ones on the façade of the “Treasury of Atreus,” or even reflecting those found on bronze works. So perhaps the Greeks, obsessed with their own origins, purposefully resurrected Bronze-Age architectural features found in ruins to bolster their claims of ethnic antiquity and cultural legitimacy (Jones, 2014: 93). This seems reasonable, though it is generally an unpopular opinion. Most writers claim that the Dark Ages wiped out whatever references or connections may have existed between Bronze-age architecture and that of the Archaic period. But Mycenaean and Minoan ruins would have come from the “Age of Heroes,” and held a very important place in the Greek collective imagination, as we see in contemporary poetry.

²² *Contractura* is the opposite of the Classical diminishing of a column. Minoan and Mycenaean columns often increase in circumference as they rise. This can be seen on Minoan columns at Knossos, or on the single column depicted between the antithetic lions of the Lion’s Gate in Mycenae.

3.1.1.2. Pergamon and Ionic-style Flutes

Ralph Waldo Emerson said, “Greek architecture is the flowering of geometry” (AZQuotes: <http://www.azquotes.com/quote/842031>). When we examine the Pergamene Hellenistic capital, we see the opposite taking place. The flowering of nature has been turned into a geometric expression. Organic anatomy was appropriated and transformed into something schematic. By the Hellenistic period, the palm leaves of the Egyptian originals had become fully Ionic-style flutes, articulating the surface of a tall and straight *kalathos* (Figure 23). They are cannellated with deep semi-circular *striae*, like vertical *scotiae*, (*σκοτίας*), collecting dark shadows. Each flute has its edges defined by fillets, like the *rhabdoi*, (*ράβδοι*), between each flute on an Ionic column shaft (Hersey, 1988: 34). The over-falling of the leaves at the top of the *kalathos* is more an exercise in the aesthetic of curvature than the expression of something natural or vegetal. It is the tectonification of *folia*, the final petrification and abstraction of vegetation.²³

The deep flutes of the Pergamene capital, expressed in a rhythmic pattern, gave it a unique skiagraphic ability when compared to other common styles of capitals.²⁴ It is composed more of mouldings than of motifs, and the composition is in-the-round. A Hellenistic Pergamene capital would have been an effective mechanism with which to contrast light and shadow at any time of the day. In the same way that one could not step into Heraclitus’ proverbial river more than once, the observer could never view the same fluted capital twice. The dynamic daylight was constantly changing the angle at which the mouldings caught and collected shadows in their deep cavettos.

²³ “Tectonification” is a term used by Mark Wilson Jones (2014: 191).

²⁴ “Skiagraphic” describes that which deals with the casting of shadows. The term is often used in reference to architectural mouldings.

The question here though, is what palm capitals could have meant to viewers. Was there some mythological angle to their use, having to do with the Mycenaean column capitals used during the age of heroes, or the associations with the mythology surrounding the date palm tree? Or could the associations have been political, having to do with Egyptian connections?

3.1.2. Myth and Meaning - *φοῖνιξ*²⁵

"Better the rudest work that tells a story or records a fact, than the richest without meaning. There should not be a single ornament put upon great civic buildings, without some intellectual intention." - John Ruskin (Wheeler & Whiteley, 1992)

3.1.2.1. The Myth and Meaning of Palm Leaves

The mythical background of the palm derives from the different meanings behind the term "*phoenix*," (*φοῖνιξ*), which was used for the bird and the tree it was associated with. Ovid writes about the semi-mythological bird in his *Metamorphosis* (XV: 391-417):

"Most beings spring from other individuals, but there is a certain kind which reproduces itself. The Assyrians call it the Phoenix. It does not live on fruit or flowers, but on frankincense and myrrh. When it has lived five hundred years, it builds itself a nest in the branches of an oak, or on the top of a palm tree. In this it collects spices and incense, and of these materials builds a pile on which it lies to die, giving out its last breath among the perfumed odors. From the body of the parent bird, a young Phoenix issues forth, destined to live as long a life as its predecessor."

So the bird is called a *phoenix*, and the tree which facilitates its mystical transformation is also called a *phoenix*. So the troping of the term could take one of several different directions, but I think the relationship between the bird and the tree is

²⁵ *Phoenix*, (*φοῖνιξ*) is a "palm" in ancient Greek.

probably the most important. *Phoinix* is the term for the tree and the bird in both Greek and Egyptian (Ahli 1982: 381).²⁶ The bird consumes incense for food, just as the gods do, and the recompense for this unnatural appetite is longevity and regeneration. This is not the rebirth or spring which comes to mind with the acanthus or the *kore*, Persephone. This is – if not unnatural – the supernatural generation of life via a process with religious undertones.

3.1.2.2. Egyptian Associations

Palm trees are not native to mainland Greece and so their appearance in Hellenic architecture requires explanation (Baumann, 1993: 59). Dorothy King believes that the Hellenistic Pergamene capital evolved from a combination of exposure to the Egyptian Palm capital and the Hellenized experimentations with the Doric order (1997). This seems to be the most likely explanation, as there is almost never a single *Ursprung* for any of these ancient vegetal motifs, and we see in multiple examples the use of flutes to hold up round echini and square abaci, as if the fluted motif were only embellishing a type of Doric or proto-Doric style.

Unlike the other orders of Classical architecture, Pergamene capitals are very rarely found on temples. They are almost exclusively applied to the colonnades of stoas. We see something similar in Egypt, where there is a tradition of using palm capitals, tall and slender, in porticoes and courtyards (King, 1997). This is interesting, because of the well-known political and cultural connections between the Egyptians and the Pergamenes including Ptolemaic marriages to Pergamene royalty and the link

²⁶ “Troping” is a type of word-play common in the Classical world, where words with similar sounds were imagined to have various relationships, either literal or poetic. This is associated with the tradition of folk etymologies, and authors like Hersey and McEwan use the practice to present evidence that Greeks imagined certain terms to share either sources or thematic connections.

between Alexandria and Pergamon via Mark Antony and Cleopatra. This political and cultural interest continued well into the Roman Imperial period, when the great Hadrianic “Red Basilica” was constructed in Pergamon, for this is a structure decked-out in Hathor-type colonnades, and therefore presumed to be dedicated to the Egyptian gods with whom he was personally fascinated. So perhaps taking fluted capitals and applying them in the same way that the Egyptians did, that is, largely outside of a religious context, seemed natural and meaningful to the Hellenistic Pergamene architects of stoas, monuments, and colonnaded streets.

3.1.2.3. The Meaning of Flutes

It is extremely difficult to determine with any certainty what people in the past thought of, or how they interpreted, flutes on column shafts and capitals. Helmut Baumann likens the faceted flutes of a Doric column shaft to the ribbed stem of the wild angelica plant, *Angelica sylvestris* (Baumann, 1993: 186). Some perceive the flutes on a column as a reference to the adz of a Bronze-age artisan, shaving down the log from which the primeval Greek column was hewn. Sometimes we see the Vitruvian reference to the folds in a maiden’s drapery. The solid fillets between flutes were sometimes referred to as rhabdoi, (ῥάβδοι), which is the term used for staves or rods. Perhaps they were thought of as being bundled around a column like those of the *fascies*. In Latin, we see *striae* or *striges*, which are simply grooves or furrows, though the scraping of a strigil may have come to mind as well. Thus like the other features of the Classical orders, flutes are polyvalent, inspiring a multitude of impressions and interpretations. It bears repeating that while several writers – ancient and modern - state how Classical architecture bears meaning, no one is exactly sure what that meaning is, and it appears as though this has been the case for a very long time.

3.2. Lotus Leaves

3.2.1. History - *Λωτοφόροι*²⁷

First it is probably important to note that the lotus leaf motif as used in art and architecture comes in a variety of forms. I refer here to leaves which have smooth edges and a single pointed tip, almost always with a central rib. They do however, come in different shapes. Some are wide and tongue-shaped or spade-shaped, like the ones from the Ancyra capitals. Some are long and narrow and sharp, like those from the Sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon (Figure 24). Many of the capitals described here have been written about in the past, and identifying these leaves as lotus leaves is, I believe, firmly established in the literature.²⁸

3.2.1.1. Egyptian Provenance

It is widely accepted that the lotus motif has its origins in Egyptian art. There are a variety of Egyptian capitals which are foliated with smooth-edged aquatic leaves. There are many examples of these lotus motifs appearing on early Greek vase-paintings and other media, such as the architectural mouldings from the Temple of Apollo at Naukratis, among others (Edwards, 1891: 158-192). The typical Greek lotus-and-palmette design quite clearly depicts lotus blossoms of an Egyptian origin, alternating between *anthemia*. Eventually they are used on Greek acanthus capitals as single leaves, like those around the *kalathos* base of the Corinthian-order capital from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, or those from the Lysikrates monument in Athens (Figures 31 and 32). They were certainly being employed architecturally and in other

²⁷ *Lotophoroi*, (*Λωτοφόροι*), “bearers of lotus.”

²⁸ There are exceptions. James Stevens Curl tends to refer to lotus leaves, such as those on the capitals of the Tower of the Winds in Athens as “palm leaves” in his dictionaries. This can be found in Curl & Wilson, 2016: the “Palm” entry.

media such as vase-painting around the eastern Mediterranean from the Bronze Age into the Classical period. It is safe to assume an Egyptian provenance for the motif originally, and that lotus capitals were associated with Egypt or Egyptian influences. A citizen of Roman Ancyra would almost certainly have perceived lotus leaves as being Egyptian in style.

3.2.1.2. Sanctuary of Demeter – Pergamon

For this study, the use of the lotus leaf in the Hellenistic period should be emphasized. A good example from which to start is the lotus motif on the capitals from the 4th-century BC sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon (Figure 24).²⁹ These capitals feature long, narrow, and pointed leaves. The leaves feature a convex central rib, with another rib on either side, creating a leaf with a four-part vertical partition. This design is consistent with the leaf from the zizyphus lotus, which also has three long central ribs (Figure 25).³⁰ The leaves are staggered, with one row behind the other. The leaves in the back point outward from behind the main row in a way which is reminiscent of the *Schilfblätter* barely protruding from behind the flutes of some Pergamene-style fluted capitals. They also have the classic Pergamene abacus, square and simple.

J.J. Coulton uses the Temple of Nekht-nebet and the hypostyle hall of the Temple of Isis at Philae as Ptolemaic examples of the same type, and cites Ward-Perkins, who believed that the Hellenistic use of the lotus capital was an Alexandrian convention (1976: 123). So like the fluted “palm” capitals of the Hellenistic period, the lotus capitals not only relate to Egyptian prototypes from the distant past, but may have borne an Egyptian political reference in the Hellenistic period, especially in

²⁹ The sanctuary was renovated a number of times in the Hellenistic period.

³⁰ These leaves with three ribs like those on the zizyphus lotus can also be found on acanthus-and-lotus capitals in the *lapidarium* of the Red Basilica in Pergamon (Figure 26).

Pergamon. Coulton also believes that these Hellenistic lotus capitals of the Pergamene type were “clearly the fore-runner” of the capitals found on the Tower of the Winds in Athens several centuries later (1976: 122). They share some features with the Ancyran-style fluted capitals, as do the fluted capitals found in the Severan Forum at Lepcis Magna.

3.2.1.3. The Tower of the Winds in Athens

The Tower of the Winds in the Roman agora of Athens is a totally Hellenistic construction. Though the exact date is disputed, it is generally accepted to belong to the first century BC (Robertson, 1969: 338). The capitals are of an acanthus-and-lotus type which become very common in the Aegean, and can be found all around Athens. There is a row of acanthus leaves around the bottom of the *kalathos*, with long smooth lotus leaves behind and between the acanthus, rising to the level of the abacus (Figure 27). The Pergamene-type abacus was omitted, and a Corinthian cymatium-style abacus adopted (Figure 28). These lotus leaves are closer to the ones which we find on the Ancyra capitals. They are wider and they appear thicker than those of the Sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon. They also have a smooth surface with a single central rib, which is much more common than the more complex surface on the underside of the lotus leaves from the Sanctuary of Demeter.

3.2.1.4. The Severan Forum – Lepcis Magna

The arcade of the Severan Forum in Lepcis Magna utilized capitals of this same “*Blattkelch*” type. They feature acanthus with a row of lotus leaves above, and like those on the Tower of the Winds, they are also capped with a Corinthian abacus instead of a Pergamene one. However, there is a strange gap between the two rows

of leaves where we see blank *kalathos*, and it appears as though the lotus leaves spring from the empty stone (Figure 29). In this respect, they are awkward in comparison to the Athenian acanthus-and-lotus capitals, despite their large dimensions and refined craftsmanship.

J.B. Ward-Perkins wrote extensively about the architecture of the Severan forum. On the order used in the city he states:

“An eastern, probably Aegean, origin is certain also for the capitals employed in the Forum and in the colonnaded street... These are of Greek island marble and bear clearly defined quarry-marks in Greek lettering. They are, moreover, of a composite form, which is found sporadically in Italy and North Africa but is at home only in mainland Greece and possibly, though not certainly before Christian times, in Egypt” (1948: 66).

What he is referring to is the composite type of capital which is often referred to in German literature as “*Blattkelch*.” It specifically features the lotus leaf in combination with the bottom row of acanthus. There are several Aegean-style *Blattkelch* capitals in Pergamon that date to the Hellenistic period (Figure 30). Other than the Hellenistic examples of lotus capitals such as those of the Sanctuary of Demeter, the vast majority of capitals that feature lotus leaves continue to be mixed with acanthus, including the capitals from the agora of Gytheum, which date from roughly AD 100 (Kanellopoulos & Zayyou, 2014). So the capitals of the Severan Forum are within a somewhat common East-Mediterranean tradition, of which the Aegean was the likely epicenter.

Another reason to believe that Pergamon, or perhaps Alexandria via Pergamon was the most important influence at Lepcis Magna is that the northwest entrance to the

Severan forum features both Aegean-style capitals and classic Pergamene fluted capitals, complete with their *abaci* (Ward-Perkins, Jones, & Kronenburg, 1993: 14). The orders are associated with each other, as the exterior columns are of the Aegean style, while their corresponding pilasters which stand engaged to the wall behind are in the Pergamene style. The Aegean-style capitals and Attic bases were of Pentelic marble, while the Pergamene pilasters were of limestone, though the complex also prominently featured Proconnesian marble (Ward-Perkins, Jones, & Kronenburg, 1993: 17). The association of these two “orders” could also be seen on the colonnaded street at the southwest of the forum (Ward-Perkins, Jones, & Kronenburg, 1993: 70).

It is also interesting to note that while the entire complex is filled with lotus-leaf capitals and fluted capitals, the temple in the Severan Forum itself is in the Corinthian order. It even features a number of architectural novelties, such as the moulded pedestals of the columns, or the very un-Roman configuration of the front steps, which is almost pyramidal in its design. So while architects were free to experiment with orders, blend styles, and impose architectural references upon whole imperial complexes, temples were still essentially stuck within the realm of the Vitruvian canon when it came to the architectural “orders.” Perhaps they believed a temple *should* have Corinthian capitals for one reason or another, and that reason is simply lost to us.

3.2.2. Myth and Meaning – *λωτοφάγοι*³¹

“Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore than labour in the deep mid-ocean, wind and wave

³¹ *Lotophagoi*, *Λωτοφάγοι*, is “lotus eaters.”

and oar; O, rest ye, brother mariners, we will not wander more.”

-Alfred Lord Tennyson, “The Lotos-Eaters” Choric song, VIII (Tennyson, 1901: 135)

In Homer’s *Odyssey*, Odysseus and his men encounter the “lotus-eaters,” a tribe of people who subsist solely on the fruit of what is referred to as lotus (*λωτός*). In the story, this lotus, assumed by some authors to be representative of the zizyphus lotus plant, bears sweet psychoactive fruit which causes people to waste away their days in waves of euphoria. Consistent with this hallucinogenic theme, Huebeck and Hoekstra, in their commentary on Homer’s *Odyssey*, claim that the lotus represents a type of transitional force which allows movement from the real world to the mythical realm (1989: 18).

The connection of the lotus leaf to architecture is much more difficult to ascertain than is the case with the palm leaf, the question being whether there is some underlying recognizable symbolism associated specifically with the lotus. Architecturally, and so decoratively also, the lotus is certainly very useful, especially when combined with other elements: for example, stiff blade-like leaves contrast the floppy serrated acanthus and replace the volutes of the Corinthian order, creating a *kalathos*-shaped capital which is versatile because it has no “sides” like a bolstered Ionic capital. However, trying to find a specific cultural or symbolic meaning behind the use of lotus in architecture is complex, because we do not have the kind of literary references that we enjoy with regards to other motifs such as acanthus or flutes. In other words, whether there was any mythological message inherent in the use of the lotus or the Aegean capital is, at this point, essentially left to speculation. The best indication for a meaning appears to be a political one

based on its origin and its use as a design element in architecture, that is to say its use in ancient and Hellenistic-period Egypt and Attalid Pergamon.

3.3. The Acanthus

3.3.1. History - *capitulum foliorum*³²

The earliest known example of a “canonical” Corinthian-style capital, with volutes and acanthus, is from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, built circa 450 BC (Dinsmoor, 1933). It is believed to have stood alone on a column within the naos of the temple, surrounded by more familiar Ionic colonnades. It featured long, prominent volutes, and a row of small lotus leaves around the base (Figure 31). The first known use of the Corinthian order on the exterior of a building dates to more than a century later, on the choragic monument of Lysikrates in the Athenian agora. This monument was built around 334 BC, and is also especially relevant to this study because its capitals include both acanthus and lotus leaves (Figure 32).

Over the course of the next few centuries, what we would consider the standardized form of the Corinthian capital became solidified, with its *helices*, *caulicoli*, moulded abacus, and more consistent patterns of acanthus.³³ However, it was not until the beginning of the 2nd century BC that these Corinthian capitals started to make a mark on temple architecture, becoming almost ubiquitous in such contexts from the time of Augustus onwards, following the emperor’s extensive use of the order, which Vitruvius considered “feminine,” in such structures as his Temple to Mars Ultor in his forum in Rome (Jones, 2014: 150).

³² “A capital with leaves” or “chapter of leaves,” *folia* being leaves.

³³ For an example of *helices* and *caulicoli* (stalks) see the diagram in Figure 34.

However, the acanthus motif itself was versatile as an ornament, moon-lighting on acroteria and funerary monuments in addition to forming the focus of the Corinthian order capital. Most importantly for this study, the acanthus was used in a variety of capitals which did not belong to a specific “order.” The motif based on this plant from the north of the Mediterranean could be combined with Pergamene-style flutes or lotus leaves, and in the case of the Ancyra capitals, both.

3.3.2. Myth and Meaning – Συμφορά³⁴

“The harsh horror of modern cemeteries is a new thing on the earth. In antiquity, cemeteries had beauty, poetry, history.”

-William R. Lethaby (1923: 85)

According to Vitruvius, the Corinthian order was invented by the bronze-smith Callimachus. He was walking down the road when he stumbled upon an inspiring scene at the tomb of a recently-deceased girl. Her nurse had placed a basket containing some of the girl’s belongings on top of the tomb, and set a square tile on top of the basket to protect it and its contents from the elements (Figure 33).

“This basket happened to be placed just above the root of an acanthus. The acanthus root, pressed down meanwhile though it was by the weight, when springtime came round put forth leaves and stalks in the middle, and the stalks, growing up along the sides of the basket, and pressed out by the corners of the tile through the compulsion of its weight, were forced to bend into volutes at the outer edges” (IV.1.9).

Callimachus saw the basket with the tile on top like a *kalathos* capital with a square abacus on top, the acanthus growing up around the basket and creating volutes at the corners. According to the story, he was so inspired by the form’s elegance that he started creating column capitals in the same style (IV.1.10). As Callimachus was a

³⁴ Symphora, Συμφορά, “tragedy” or “misfortune.”

famous bronze-smith, and Corinth was known for bronze fixtures on blank stone *kalathoi*, it is commonly assumed that the earliest Corinthian capitals were wrought in bronze (Jones, 2014: 152).

The Vitruvian acanthus anecdote is a myth of youth and death and flowering regeneration, but it may incorporate elements of truth. The symbolism of the acanthus plant references life and immortality in its early artistic applications, being one of the most commonly used vegetal motifs in funerary art (Yılmaz, Akkemik, & Karagöz, 2013). The application of the acanthus motif on funerary stelai was well established by the Classical period (Rykwert, 1996: 325). This might explain why Vitruvius' explanation of the origin of the Corinthian capital includes a graveside monument. Vitruvius actually uses the term “*monumentum*,” to describe the basket and tile (Rykwert, 1996: 320). George Hersey believes that Vitruvius perhaps wished to evoke an image of the “columnar tomb such as was common in the Greek world from the 3rd century B.C. onward” (1988: 64). This is specifically because they often have acanthus growing from the base of the column – essentially a petrified version of the Callimachus story.³⁵

In addition to funerary associations, the acanthus also insinuates the presence of spines - something untouchable - which could perhaps be compatible with a type of apotropaism. Classical architectural terminology is replete with references to spines or thorns. In Greek, “echinus,” (*ἐχίνοϛ*), is not only the term for the large convex moulding around a capital. It is also the term for a hedgehog or sea urchin (Hersey, 1988: 6). The “darts” in the egg-and-dart moulding were quite possibly described as

³⁵ These funerary monuments with acanthus can also be seen on vase paintings.

“claws,” (ὄνυχες), in Greek references to the mouldings of the Erechtheion (Hersey, 1988: 34). Likewise the acanthus certainly had associations with spikes or prickliness. *Akantha*, (Ἀκανθα), means thorn (Hersey, 1988: 66). The Latin taxonomic name for the plant is *acanthus spinosus*. So the use of acanthus in funerary monuments and religious architectural ornamentation may have been consistent with an existing apotropaic tradition – one based on the impression of the inaccessibility of something covered in thorns. Spikes and thorns may have been a natural expression of the taboos bound up in Greek religious iconography.

There was in antiquity a practice of binding the wooden images of gods – *xoana* (ξόανα) – in chains or ropes. Paradoxically, they were bound in order to reveal their divine animation (McEwen, 1993: 5). The same could be said for the bound rows of acanthus leaves encircling a capital. The springing forth of vegetation cannot be detained by the astragal moulding at the neck of the capital, which acts as a cord binding the acanthus to the kalathos. Upward and outward, there are leaves, stems, sprouts (*caulicoli*), and flowers. It is bound, controlled, and frozen animation, like the moment of action captured in a Greek sculpture, the petrified *rhythmos*, (ῥυθμός). These foliated features are juxtaposed against the straight lines of flutes and architraves. The effect is one of motion like a fountain, a flourish of regeneration to contrast the implicit reference to death.

It is strange that the girl whose monument inspired Callimachus is not named. She is simply referred to as “*virgo*,” so we are forced to think of her as the “maiden,” *kore* (κόρη). I would say that *kore* is implied more than *parthenos* (Παρθένος), because

Vitruvius says that she was “just of marriageable age,” (*iam matura nuptiis*) (IV.1.10). In *Death and the Maiden*, Ken Dowden says that the difference between *kore* and *parthenos* is that being a *kore* insinuates that one is a *thygater* (*θύγατερ*), someone’s daughter (1989: 2). So *kore* is the term we are probably meant to think of in reference to the nameless girl, which allows us to speculate further. In addition to “troping” the word “Corinthian,” *kore* was also an appellation of the goddess Persephone. Like the Vitruvian maiden, Persephone is a teenage girl who by tragic circumstances is forced into the underworld, yet is associated with the spring, regeneration, and rebirth.³⁶ Because of these associations, the acanthus can be imagined as a symbol of death and fertility, a type of taboo – something both sacred and profane. This duality is inherent in the fact that the acanthus springs out from the tomb in its birth, while the maiden is interred in the same earth upon death.

It is important to remember that death and fertility are the animus of the acanthus leaf in the *Greek-speaking* world. Vitruvius was writing for Augustus, but he was relying heavily upon older works of Greek architectural literature.³⁷ In the Roman imperial period, the acanthus is largely divorced from its religious context and applied to many types of civic and domestic architecture. So it is difficult to say what the people of the Roman era thought about the acanthus or what persisting meaning it had for them, despite the fact that Classical architecture reputedly possesses a unique impetus to bear meaning. It is possible that by the imperial period, many of these features, such as acanthus, were vestigial organs, and held little symbolic significance for the

³⁶ Rykwert (1996: 334) and Hersey (1988: 66) both mention the fact that one of the common epithets of Persephone was *kore*, yet neither make a full comparison between Vitruvius’ Corinthian maiden and the mythological condition of the goddess.

³⁷ For example, in paragraph 12 of his introduction, Vitruvius names ten different books on temple architecture written by Greek architects which he used when composing his own work.

average viewer. They may have existed in a vacuum of symbolism, only persisting due to the Roman propensity to revere the refinements of antiquity. The acanthus motif may have continued to be fashionable simply because it was an established Greek ornament with connections to illustrious examples of temple architecture.

3.4. Conclusion

In all of the three examples of vegetal motifs we are concerned with here - Pergamene flutes, lotus leaves, and acanthus leaves - we see vegetal forms changing and moving around the Mediterranean over the course of many centuries. They eventually came to be used on capitals primarily because they provided architectural necessities such as elegant profiles, transitioning motifs, textural juxtaposition, skiagraphic contrast, rhythm, and general embellishment. They were also used, it can be argued, because they have a complex background of meaning, ranging from the mythological to the political. To say with certainty what these motifs meant to the ancient viewer is not feasible, because we can see that the symbolism was polyvalent. Meaning was imposed upon these features not only upon their inception, but across time and space. However, based on certain references, it is possible to reconstruct some basic assumptions: the use of the lotus and of the palm would appear to reference Egyptian architectural culture, albeit possibly via Pergamon, while the acanthus motif became a common decorative feature in ancient Greek art and architecture and from initially funereal contexts then developed into an essential feature of Roman-influenced architecture.

It is in connection with this last point that it becomes of interest to note the various and frequent connections between Ancyra and Alexandria in Egypt, which might

explain why such a reference to Egyptian architectural styles – the lotus and palm motifs - might exist in the *metropolis* of *Provincia Galatia*. As will be shown in the following chapter, the epigraphic evidence indicates that there were social, military, and religious connections between Ancyra and Alexandria from the first to the 3rd century AD which might explain the unique combination of details seen in the seven column capitals we assess here. Furthermore, there were very strong links to Alexandria via the cults of Isis and Sarapis, the latter being clearly significant in the 2nd century AD, based on the nature of the inscriptions.



CHAPTER IV

Conclusions

4.1. Fluted Column Capitals in Ancyra

As indicated above in Chapter 1, there is a conspicuous and notable proliferation of fluted capitals in Ankara. Indeed, although capitals of this general type and form can be found throughout Anatolia, personal observation suggests that they are more heavily represented in the surviving architectural materials of Roman Ancyra than they are in other classical-period settlements in Anatolia, and concentrated in such a way that indicates the existence of a local architectural tradition generated by an attraction to the fluted capital form, and perhaps what that specific form symbolized in its use of flutes. Moreover, there are also variations found in the different types of fluted capitals around the city, in which the column capitals feature different flutes, abaci, mouldings, and supplementary motifs such as acanthus leaves or rosettes. So in addition to popularizing the fluted capital, architectural masons and stylists in Ancyra were also experimenting with the style and developing a flourish of different forms of fluted capitals, including a highly-original composite style which is the focus of this thesis. More specifically, given how examples of this particular style of composite fluted capital are known from Ancyra only, then we can justifiably classify them as the “Ancyran-style” composite capitals.

4.2. The Ancyran-style Composite Capital

The noteworthy feature of this type of fluted capital exclusive to Ancyra is its specific combination of three distinct motifs: a register of acanthus leaves, a register of lotus leaves, and a *kalathos* of Pergamene flutes. Although the seven known examples of these capitals vary slightly in their individual details, and despite the fact that they are made from different materials, it can be assumed that they probably come from the same structure, the difference in materials used indicating a structure that was built in a series of sections and possibly over a span of years.

However, as none of them are *in situ*, we must speculate on their architectural implementation in antiquity. To begin with, though, it is reasonable to believe that they come from some form of colonnaded structure such as a stoa, as these are the locations where fluted columns of the general type are almost always found. A stoa seems unlikely, given the variability of the materials used, ranging from marble through near-marble to andesite, and so a colonnaded street is a likely original architectural provenance. Such an application is further implied by the fact that the size of the capitals, indicating a total column height of 5.5m, is well within the normal range for colonnaded streets in Syria, Asia Minor, and even Egypt, where a range of 4-6m in height encompasses the dimensions of most examples of colonnaded streets. Moreover, placing these capitals within the context of a colonnaded street also provides an explanation for the minor inconsistencies between the column capitals, as they differ in materials and minor details such as the style of the acanthus leaves. If a colonnaded street were donated by elite Ancyrans over the course of years, one would

expect to see column capitals of the same size and same essential features, but with some variation in the details.

Given their likely origin as part of the embellishment of a colonnaded street, the current location of five of the capitals in the large pile of architectural materials in the Roman Baths Museum, and the photographic evidence suggesting they were probably deposited here at one time, suggests in turn that these materials were deposited here during the construction of the underground parking garage to the north of the *temenos* wall of the “Temple of Augustus” between 2012-2013. If they were indeed found during this building project, and if they do come from a colonnaded street, then we can speculate further that perhaps they came from the continuation of the colonnaded street visible in the Roman Bath Museum, as excavations showed the street to align with the sanctuary, and it is thought that the street probably ran up to the so-called “Temple of Augustus,” most likely at the very point where the construction of the new Haci Bayram parking garage took place.

4.3. Inspiration from Outside Anatolia

So with civic architecture in mind as the ultimate origin of these unique capitals, it is critical to discuss whether there was any symbolic significance to the style chosen. In which case the historical background of each motif and its use over time provides an important context for their appearance in Ancyra in the Roman period. These backgrounds are laden with symbolism, and the mythological milieu from whence they emerge is complex. However, among the myriad meanings imposed upon the forms over the many centuries of their circulation are some regional references to

Egypt. This is evident in the use of both lotus leaves and “Pergamene” flutes. So if these motifs originally possessed an Egyptian provenance, the most judicious approach would be to examine the relationship between Ancyra and Egypt, and specifically Alexandria to determine whether any architectural references to Ptolemaic Egypt were intentional, or at least subject to the influence of the Egyptian style.

4.4. Discussion - Ancyra and Alexandria in Egypt

Prominent social ties such as those implied here between Ancyra and Egypt would not be unique in Asia Minor. As mentioned previously, there were major Egyptian influences on cities like Pergamon, architecturally and culturally. More specifically, it would not be unusual to find that there is clear evidence for Roman-era connections between Ancyra and Egypt, especially its *metropolis*, Alexandria, allowing for the possibility of a transfer of architectural influences. This evidence is provided by the epigraphic sources. The toponym “Alexandria” appears eight times in Ancyran inscriptions, far more than any other single city, with the exception of Rome itself, which appears in the corpus fourteen times only (Mitchell & French, 2012: 502-504). It is true that one or more of these inscriptions could refer to a different Alexandria, and not Alexandria in Egypt. However, in most cases Alexandria in Egypt is indicated by the context. These connections between the two cities can be organized into three major categories: social, religious, and military interactions.

4.4.1. Social Connections with Alexandria

Some inscriptions suggest that upper-class citizens in Ancyra interacted with Alexandrian institutions and even visited Egypt, perhaps on a regular basis.

References to presumably wealthy and influential citizens of Ancyra, such as “Theodora the Ancyran,” who is referred to as a tourist in the literature, appear in Egyptian inscriptions, and Alexandrians are mentioned in those from Ancyra (Bosch, 1967: 388). There are also individuals who were citizens of both cities. Perhaps this is because the transformation of Ancyra from a tribal Galatian society into a “proper” Classical city included not only the model provided by existing Hellenized ideals in greater Anatolia, but also significant influences from Alexandria. There is reason to believe that a shift in Galatian culture occurred during the reign of Hadrian, based on the fact that the epigraphic evidence indicates that many members of the local upper-class gained Roman citizenship at the time (Kadıoğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011: 55).

As it is, our earliest clear evidence for a local Ancyran dignitary with Alexandrian connections is provided by the Hadrianic-period sarcophagus of P. Aelius Kyrillos, a member of the city council in Ancyra, who was in Alexandria at the time of his death.³⁸ It is recorded in the inscription on his sarcophagus that his two brothers retrieved the body so that he could be interred at home in Ancyra, indicating that his body was probably mummified in Egypt before being transported home (Bennett, 2010). Exactly what he was doing in Alexandria is unknowable, but it is possible that he was studying medicine in Alexandria given the number of other inscriptions from Asia Minor which give more details about the popularity of the medical school in the *Museion* at Alexandria at the time (Mitchell & French, 2012: 22). This popularity was pronounced in the Hadrianic period, and culminated with new buildings dedicated to

³⁸ The sarcophagus of P. Aelius Kyrillos is now on display in the *palaestra* of the Roman Bath Museum.

Asklepios, and the culture of medicine which eventually came to produce Galen and the medical tradition of Pergamon.

An even closer connection between Ancyra and Alexandria is indicated by the honorific inscription to Marcus Aurelius Didymos from the year 223 AD. He was honored in an inscription for winning a race at the third *Asclepieia Sotereia*, and the text informs us that he was a “citizen of Alexandria and of Ancyra,” (“...Ἀλεξανδρεὶ καὶ Ἀγκυρανῶ...”)(Mitchell & French, 2012: 323). Also dating from the early part of the 3rd century is an inscription extolling the career of the Ancyran Publius Sempronius Aelius Lycinus. He is listed among other things as a “*procurator ducenarius* at Alexandria of the *Idios Logos* (Mitchell & French, 2012: 274). The local administrative account established by the Ptolemies was subsequently appropriated for use in the Roman administration of Egypt. A member of the equestrian class, likely educated and Greek-speaking, he was evidently active politically in both Alexandria and Ancyra (Mitchell & French, 2012: 275).

As far as archaeological materials are concerned, there is not a great deal to link the two cities in a social sense. However, there is an Egyptian amulet in the Anatolian Civilizations museum which was discovered in the Roman bath complex in 2009 (Anatolian Civilizations Museum). It is inscribed with the name of Ramses II, who reigned from 1279-1213 BC. So we know that various physical items like jewelry were also definitely moving back and forth between the cities along with upper-class individuals.

4.4.2. Religious Connections with Alexandria

In addition to these social connections, there are references to Egyptian cults and deities in Ancyran inscriptions and on Ancyran coins. For example, there is a small votive column erected for Isis, (*Κυρία Ἰσιδι*), set up by Flavius Vicrius Aphrodisios “for the sake of a vow” (Bosch, 1967: 250).³⁹ The date is not certain, but it is believed to have been erected in the mid-2nd century (Mitchell & French, 2012: 387). Another example of an Egyptian deity represented in the Ancyran corpus of inscriptions is a herm dedicated to Agathos Daimon. The text reads “Velleius Eubulus to Agathos Daemon, (the) father” (*Ἀγαθῶι Δαίμονι πατρί Οὔελλεῖος Εὐβουλός*).⁴⁰ The cult of Agathos Daimon was a local phenomenon, but was not without a great deal of Alexandrian associations (Mitchell & French, 2012: 385). While Isis could be identified with “Agathe Tyche,” Sarapis was also linked with “Agathos Daimon” (Greenbaum, 2016: 79).⁴¹ There are a number of terracotta images of the Hadrianic period which feature a snake with the head of the god Sarapis (Pietrzykowski, 1978: 63). This snake is the symbolic form of Agathos Daimon. The two gods were intertwined in Alexandria, where Agathos Daimon appeared as the serpent killed by Alexander upon the founding of the city (Ogden, 2014). Later he was combined with Sarapis, as Egyptian and Hellenistic cultural influences consolidated in Ptolemaic Alexandria.

Less certainly Egyptian in their ultimate inspiration are three dedicatory inscriptions set up to the “King and Queen,” (*Βασιλεῖ και Βασιλίσση*). It is generally understood

³⁹ This column was recorded in the Roman Bath Museum (Mitchell & French, 2012: 387).

⁴⁰ This herm was recorded in the Roman Bath Museum (Mitchell & French, 2012: 385).

⁴¹ Whether any of the epigraphic references to Agathe Tyche are to be understood as the Egyptianized version of the goddess associated with Isis is completely left to speculation.

that this is a reference to the indigenous deities of Phrygian origin, Mên and Kybele (Mitchell & French, 2012: 395). However, Isis and Sarapis were also referred to as the “King and Queen.” This differentiation can be established once we examine the onomastic evidence for one of the dedicatory inscriptions at Ancyra, dedicated by a Iulius Amyntianus, for he may be a man by the same name who was a priest of Isis and Sarapis at Tralles, and was also named “*dioiketes*” in Egypt in 146-147 AD (Mitchell & French, 2012: 396). If this is the same Iulius Amyntianus, the “King and Queen” he honored in an inscription were probably the deities he served in the Egyptian cult, as opposed to the traditional Phrygian dyad.

Another piece of evidence which leads us to the conclusion that these references may be associated with the Queen Isis is that Isis and Cybele were apparently combined into a single mother deity on a regular basis. In Book XI of the novel, *The Metamorphoses of Apuleius (The Golden Ass)* by the 2nd-century author Apuleius, Isis appears and recounts a list of her appellations. Among them is the claim that “the Phrygians that are the first of all men call me the mother of the gods at Pessinous,” one of the three pre-Roman centers of Galatia. In this passage she is claiming to be one-and-the-same with Cybele. This relationship can be seen in other parts of the empire as well, including a Flavian-era sanctuary in Mainz dedicated to both Isis and Cybele. This Roman-era blending of the two goddesses is made only more interesting by the fact that at certain times, there was major resistance against both cults in Rome (Blänsdorf, 2010).

The inscriptions dedicated to Egyptian deities are further supplemented by local numismatic evidence. Isis, Sarapis, and Horus are featured on Ancyran coins during the Roman period (Bosch, 1967: 247).⁴² A coin bearing the image of Sarapis on the reverse features the emperor Lucius Verus on the obverse (Arslan, 1992: 56). It is often understood that such provincial coinage featuring deities refer to local architectural monuments where these deities were honored, in which case it is of interest to reflect on two statue bases from a Dioscuri sculptural group which were found at Hacettepe sometime before 1934, near a fountain (Mitchell & French, 2012: 387).⁴³ They were dedicated to the Sarapis sanctuary, which was presumably very near the place the bases were discovered (Bosch, 1967: 245). The dedication is from the early part of 177 AD, and was set up by the priest Apollonios to celebrate Marcus Aurelius and Commodus having survived a shipwreck (Mitchell & French, 2012: 31). Bosch asserts that such a temple of Sarapis in Ancyra was likely a branch of the one in Alexandria, closely linked by Apollonios, who was an Egyptian priest in Ancyra and the warden or “intendent” of the Temple (Bosch, 1967: 248). This dedication refers to Sarapis as “the great Zeus Helios Sarapis,” (*Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι*) and Mitchell and French believe that the association of Sarapis with two “universal supreme gods” shows the great importance of the Egyptian cult in Ankara (Mitchell & French, 2012: 390).

4.4.3. Military Connections

The military culture in Ancyra was a very influential aspect of the social fabric of the city. The Latin language also gained a prominence uncharacteristic of cities in this

⁴² Unfortunately, the examples of these coins mentioned by Bosch are in the museums of Sofia and Zagreb, and I do not have access to photographs.

⁴³ These statue bases can be seen in the Roman Bath Museum (Mitchell & French, 2012: 387).

region, due in large respect to a consistent military presence after the Flavian period (Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011: 57). More specific though is the evidence for a direct connection between Galatia and Egypt, indicated by the way the local Galatian army was transformed into a Roman legion, the *legio XXII Deiotariana*. After Galatia was annexed, the legion was established and then posted to Egypt. There are inscriptions from Egypt in which men of the legion indicate their Ancyran origins. The first is the reference to two standard-bearers from the “*leg(ionis) XXII*,” found in Alexandria (Bosch, 1967: 56). Both men are listed as Ancyrans “*Ancy(ranus)*” in the inscription. The second is a list of soldiers which was found in the city of Qift (Κόπτος) (Bosch, 1967: 29). This inscription includes six men from Alexandria and eleven men from Ancyra, in addition to soldiers from a number of other cities including four men from Tavion in Galatia. Bosch dated both of these inscriptions to the Julio-Claudian period. What we do not know, of course, is if any of these men returned to their home town bringing Egyptian styles and interests with them, but it is probable, for Ancyra was the home for a *collegia veteranorum* (Bennett, 2006). However, we can see that there were already in the first century detectable connections between Ancyra and Alexandria in terms of soldiers moving between the two cities.

The number of inscriptions which link Ancyra to Alexandria, be they social, religious, or military, show that there were cultural connections between the two cities stretching from the early first century AD to the early 3rd century AD. With the possibility of citizens moving back and forth between the two places, it seems natural that certain influences might emigrate with them, or that political and cultural ties between the two cities might be celebrated in the form of architectural ornamentation associated

with Alexandria. Ancyrans coming from a Romano-Galatian society may have viewed Ptolemaic Alexandria as one of the models for an emerging Classical city, and a passion for Egyptian cults and styles may have only been exacerbated by the Hadrianic-era explosion of Egyptianizing references across the provinces, including Asia Minor, such as the “Red Basilica” in Pergamon, a structure with Egyptianising architectural decoration. In other words, it is within this cultural mixing-pot that we might see the inspiration for these unique capitals from Roman Ancyra, combining as they do characteristics of both the Hellenized and the Egyptian worlds.

4.5. Conclusion

Ancyra is rarely perceived as having been a particularly innovative artistic environment. Aphrodisias is the city of schools and workshops. Pergamon lends its name to experiments in architectural ornamentation. Sagalassos is the city with impressive imperial-era architectural craftsmanship. However, if we look at the wide range of fluted capitals in Ancyra, especially the highly unusual, if not totally unique, “Ancyra” capitals discussed in this thesis, then perhaps it is fair to place Ancyra in such an artistic context. With this in mind, then given the history between the two cities and the prevalence of Egyptian influences in Roman-era Asia Minor in general, it would not seem so strange for such an avant-garde and apparently heavily Egyptian-influenced style to appear here in the city. New research in the realm of Ancyran architectural ornamentation may continue to challenge prevailing perceptions.

REFERENCES

- Ahl, F. (1982). Amber, Avallon, and Apollo's Singing Swan. *The American Journal of Philology*, 103(4), 373-411.
- Akok, M. (1968). Ankara Şehrindeki Roma Hamamı. *TürkAD*, 17(1), 5-37.
- Arnold, D. (2003). *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*. S. Gardiner, H. Strudwick, (Eds.), N. Strudwick, (Trans.), Cairo: American University in Cairo.
- Arslan, M. (1992). *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations: Roman Coins*. Ankara.
- Baumann, H. (1993). *The Greek Plant World in Myth, Art, and Literature*. W.T. Stearn, E. Ruth, (Trans.), Portland, Oregon: Timber.
- Beard, J. R., Beard, C., & Simpson, D.P. (1968). *Cassell's Latin Dictionary. Latin-English and English-Latin*. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Bennett, J. (2010). Mummies for export? The Repatriation of a corpse from Alexandria to Ancyra in the Roman Imperial Period. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 96, 216-219.
- Bennett, J. (2006). New Evidence from Ankara for the *Collegia Veteranorum* and the *Albata Decursio*, *Anatolian Studies*, 56, 93–99.
- Bennett, J. (2006). The Political and Physical Topography of Early Imperial Graeco-Roman Ancyra. *Anatolica* 32, 189-227.
- Blänsdorf, J. (2010). The Defixiones from the Sanctuary of Isis and Mater Magna in Mainz. In R. Gordon, M. Simón (Eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza, 30 Sept. – 1 Oct. 2005*, (pp. 141-190). Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Börker, C. (1965). Blattkelchkapitelle, Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Architekturornamentik in Griechenland. Dissertation. Berlin.
- Bota, E. (1999). Palmkapitelle aus Dakien. *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 36(1), 163-168.
- Bosch, E. (1967). *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara Im Altertum*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

- Burns, R. (2017). *Origins of the Colonnaded Streets in the Cities of the Roman East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooke, S. D. (1998). *The Monuments of Roman Ancyra Reviewed*. Bilkent University MA Thesis.
- Coulton, J. J. (1976). *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Crawford, J. S., & M. Goodway. (1999). *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.
- Curl, J. S., and S. Wilson. (2016). *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dinsmoor, W. B. (1975). *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: an Account of Its Historic Development*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Dinsmoor, W.B. (1933). The Temple of Apollo at Bassae. *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 4(2), 204-227.
- Dowden, K. (1989). *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Foss, C. (1977). Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31, 29-87.
- Edwards, A. (1981). *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Gans, U. (1992). *Korinthisierende Kapitelle Der Römischen Kaiserzeit: Schmuckkapitelle in Italien Und Den Nordwestlichen Provinzen*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag.
- Greenbaum, D. G. (2016). *The Daimon in Hellenistic Astrology: Origins and Influence*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Hersey, G. L. (1988). *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Heubeck, A., & Hoekstra, A. (1989). *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* (Vol. II.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jones, M. W. (2014). *Origins of Classical Architecture: Temples, Orders and Gifts to the Gods in Ancient Greece*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Kadioğlu, M., Gökay, K., & Mitchell, S. (2011). *Roman Ancyra*. Beyoğlu, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Kanellopoulos, C., & Zavvou, E. (2014). The Agora of Gytheum. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 109, 357-378.
- King, D. (1997). Pergamene Palm Capitals and Other Foliate Fancies. *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 26, 205-25.
- Koester, H. (1998). *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity International.
- Lawrence, A. W., and Tomlinson, R.A. (1996). *Greek Architecture* (5th ed.). New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Lethaby, W. R. (1923). *Londinium: Architecture and the Crafts ... With 175 Figures*. London: Duckworth & Co.
- McEwen, I. K. (1993). *Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Mitchell, S. (1993). *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* (Vol. 1). Oxford: Clarendon.
- Mitchell, S. (1977). R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 1: Inscriptions of Ancyra. *Anatolian Studies*, 27, 63-103.
- Mitchell, S. & French, D. (2012). *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra) Vol.1: From Augustus to the end of the third century AD*. Munich.
- Mutlu, Ö. (2012). Integration of the Roman Remains in Ulus Ankara within the Current Urban Context. MA Thesis: Middle East Technical University.
- Ogden, D. (2014). Alexander, Agathos Daimon and Ptolemy: the Alexandrian foundation myth in dialogue. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Onians, J. (1990). *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pedley, J. (2005). *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- Pietrzykowski, M. (1978). Sarapis-Agathos Daimon. *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, 3, 59-966.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1952). The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 15 (½), 20-32.

- Radt, W. (1984). *Pergamon, Archaeological Guide*. Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu.
- Riegl, A. (1992). *Problems of Style Foundations for a History of Ornament*. Trans. Evelyn Kain. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University .
- Robertson, D. S. (1969). *Greek and Roman Architecture*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Rohmann, J. (1998). *Die Kapitellproduktion der Römischen Kaiserzeit in Pergamon*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Rykwert, J. (1996). *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Schwandner, E., & Gruben, G. (1996). *Säule und Gebälk: Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozess Griechisch-römischer Architektur: Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin Vom 16. Bis 18. Juni 1994*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Sdunnus, U. (1990). The Story of Dryope: A Rare Subject from Ovid's Metamorphoses. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 53, 312-315.
- Tennyson, A. (1901). *The Early Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson*. London: Methuen & Company.
- Vandeput, L., & Waelkens, M. (1997). *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor: Sagalassos: A Case Study*. Leuven: Brepols.
- Ward-Perkins, J.B. (1948). Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 38 (1&2), 59-80.
- Ward-Perkins, J. B., Jones, B., Kronenburg, R., & Ling, R. (1993). *The Severan Buildings of Lepcis Magna*. Kenrick, P. (Ed.). London: Society for Libyan Studies.
- Wheeler, M., & Whiteley, N. (1992). *The Lamp of Memory: Ruskin, Tradition, and Architecture*. Manchester: Manchester UP.
- Yılmaz, H., Akkemik, Ü., & Karagöz, Ş. (2013). Identification of Plant Figures on Stone Statues and Sarcophaguses and their Symbols: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, 13(2), 135-145.

FIGURES



Figure 1. “Hellenistic-style” fluted capital spoliated at the Aslanhane mosque, upside-down (left).



Figure 2. “Hellenistic-style” fluted capital on display at the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, upside-down.



Figure 3. “Hellenistic-style” fluted capital on display at the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down.



Figure 4. “Anatolian composite” capital, spoliated in the Karacabey mosque in Ankara, *in situ*. (Photograph by Humberto De Luigi).



Figure 5. “Anatolian composite” column capital on display in the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down.



Figure 6. Christian-era fluted column capital on display at the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, upside-down.



Figure 7. “Ancyran composite” column capital 2.2.2 spoliated in the Aslanhane mosque, Ankara, *in situ*.



Figure 8. “Anatolian composite” column capital in the Pergamon Museum, Turkey, clearly featuring *Schilfblätter* protruding from between the flutes where they meet the abacus.



Figure 9. “Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.1 in the Roman Bath Museum (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).



Figure 10. “Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.3 on display in the Roman Bath Museum (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).



Figure 11. “Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.4 on display in the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).



Figure 12. “Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.5 on display in the Roman Bath Museum.



Figure 13. “Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.6 on display in the Roman Bath Museum, (Photograph by Müzeyyen Karabağ).



Figure 14. “Ancyran composite” capital 2.2.4 on display in the Roman Bath Museum, upside-down.



Figure 15. A view of the Roman Bath Museum sometime before April 2007, showing the area to the left of the photograph empty of architectural materials. Image from (<http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=40233>).



Figure 16. A view of the same area at the Roman Bath Museum in 2013, now encumbered with deposits of Roman-era architectural materials. Image from (<http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?p=120880602>).



Figure 17. Construction of the parking garage at the Haci Bayram complex. The *temenos* wall of the sanctuary, reused as a Byzantine-era fortification, is clearly visible above the construction. (Photograph from the City of Ankara website at <https://www.ankara.bel.tr/genel-sekreter-yardimcisi-vedat-ucpinar/fen-isleri-dairesi-baskanligi/nsaat-yapim-sube-mudurlugu/nsaat-kontrol-seflihi/haci-bayram-veli-camii-meydan-duzenlenmes-ve-katli-otopark>).



Figure 18. A satellite photograph of the Haci Bayram complex with the parking garage project indicated in red. The plan of the “Temple of Augustus” complex from Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, (2011), is superimposed on the photo. I have indicated the proposed colonnaded street in white.

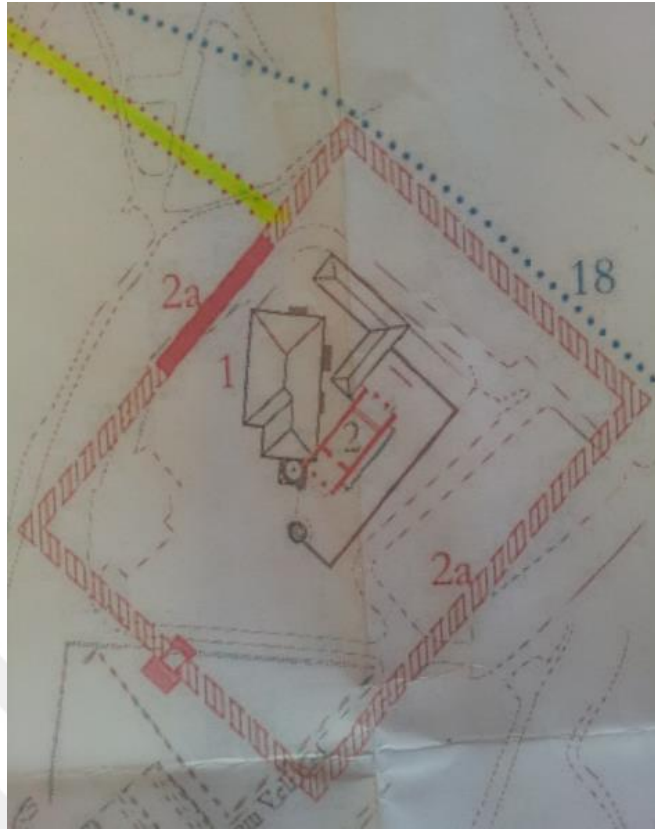


Figure 19. The plan of the “Temple of Augustus” complex from Kadioğlu, Gökay & Mitchell, 2011. Indicated in yellow is where the colonnaded street is believed to have intersected the complex.



Figure 20. An Egyptian palmiform column capital on display in the British Museum. Image from Wikipedia Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egyptian_palmiform_capital.jpg).



Figure 21. One of the restored capitals from the “Treasury of Atreus” in Athens.



Figure 22. One of the fluted column capitals from the Massaliot Treasury on display in the Delphi Archaeological Museum.



Figure 23. Restored Hellenistic Pergamene column capital on display in the Stoa of Attalos in Athens.



Figure 24. Lotus capital from the Sanctuary of Demeter on display in the Pergamon Museum, Turkey, with the three ribs clearly visible on each leaf.



Figure 25. The *Zizyphus lotus*, or jujube, with its three ribs on each leaf. Image from <http://flora.org.il/en/plants/ZIZLOT/>.



Figure 26. “Blattkelch” column capital in the *lapidarium* of the “Red Basilica” in Pergamon, featuring lotus leaves with three ribs, on display upside-down.



Figure 27. Column capital from the Tower of the Winds in Athens, *in situ*.

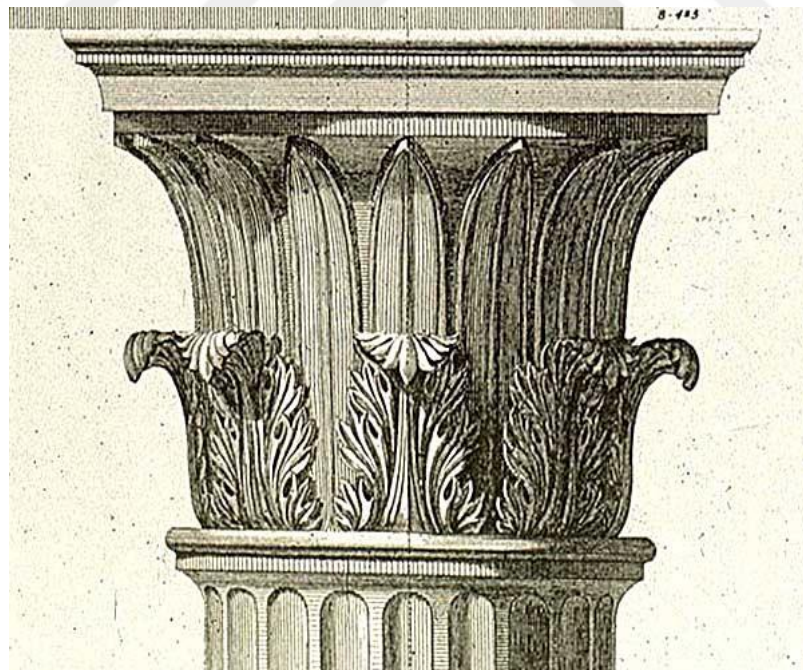


Figure 28. Diagram of the “Tower of the Winds Order” showing more clearly the Corinthian-style abacus. Illustration from Stuart, J. & Revett, N. (1762). *The Antiquities of Athens* (Vol.1). London: John Haberkorn. Plate VII.



Figure 29. Two “Blattkelch” capitals from the Severan Forum in Leptis Magna. Image from <http://www.travellingforever.com/wp-content/uploads/import/5148/010LibiaLeptisMagnaForoSeveri-1024x682.jpg>.



Figure 30. “Blattkelch” column capital in the Pergamene Asklepieion, complete with a Pergamene abacus.

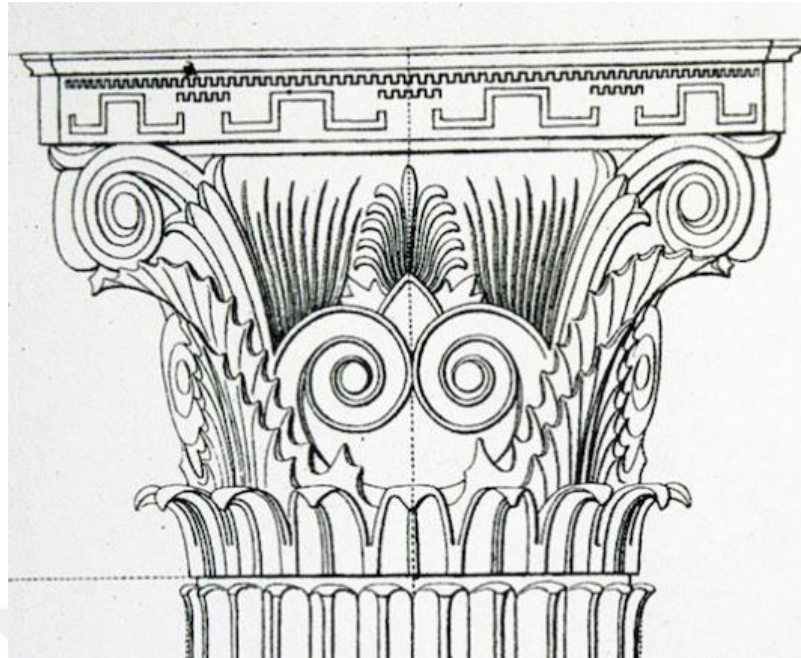


Figure 31. The restored Corinthian column capital from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. Note the register of small lotus leaves around the base of the capital. Image from Von Mauch, J.M. & Normand, C.P.J. (1998). *Parallel of the Classical Orders of Architecture*, New York: Acanthus Press.



Figure 32. Diagram of the Corinthian order capitals from the Lysikrates monument in Athens, with a register of small lotus leaves around the base of the capital. Image is Figure 11 from Lubke, W. (1881). *Outlines of the History of Art* (Vol.1). New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company.



Figure 33. Callimachus sketches the basket at the maiden's tomb. Illustration from De Chambray, R. F. (1650). *A Parallel of Architecture both Ancient and Modern*. Evelyn, J. (Trans.).

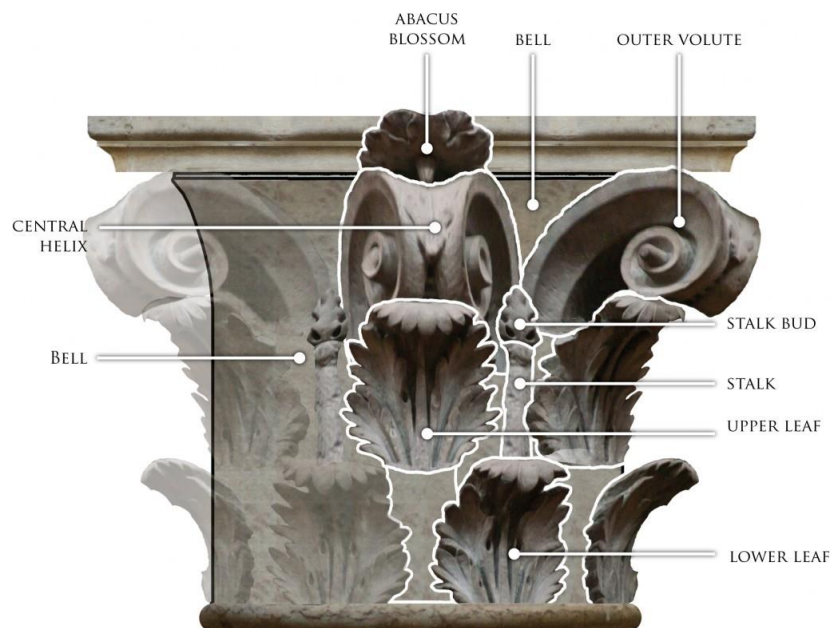


Figure 34. Corinthian-order capital with parts labeled. Image from Aroni, G. (2014). *Semiotic Analysis of the Corinthian Order in the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Florence, 1420-1490*. Southern Semiotic Review. (<http://www.southernsemioticreview.net/semiotic-analysis-of-the-corinthian-order-in-the-basilica-of-san-lorenzo-in-florence-1420-1490-by-gabriele-aroni/>).

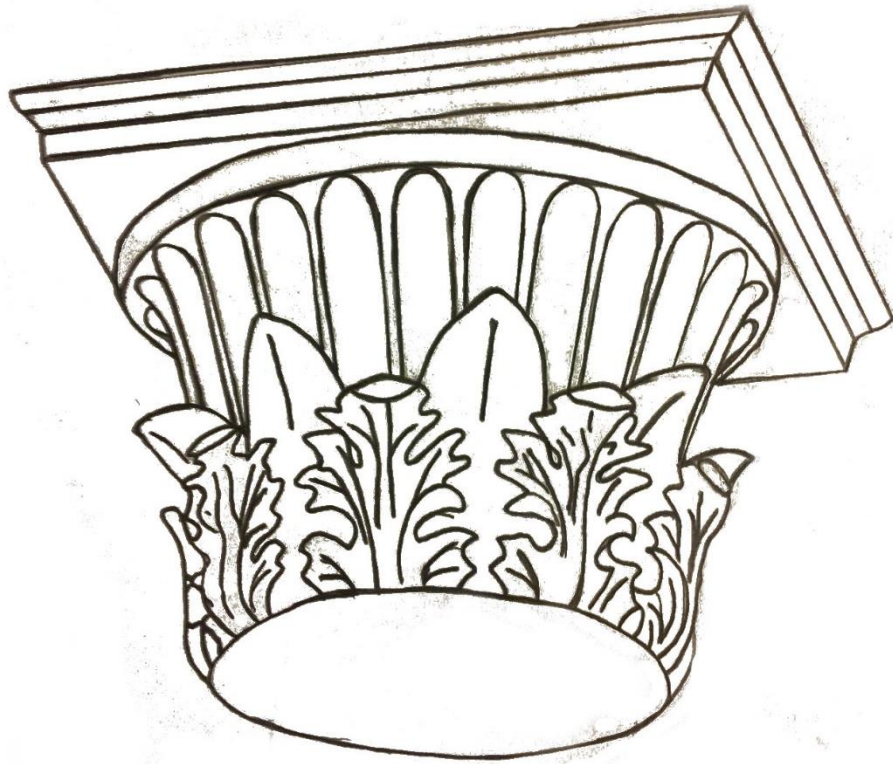


Figure 35. A restored “Ancyran composite” capital, with acanthus leaves, lotus leaves, and a *kalathos* embellished with Pergamene flutes.



Figure 36. A Lotus leaf from capital 2.2.4. The acanthus leaves can be seen beneath it, and the flutes to either side, though they are partially obscured by dirt and debris.