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[THE ROMAN TETRAKIONION AT ANCIENT APHRODISIAS:
AN ANALYSIS, DOCUMENTATION, AND
RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

John Edward Boyer

A THESIS

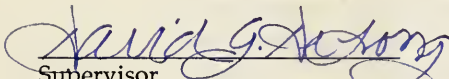
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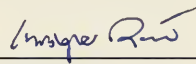
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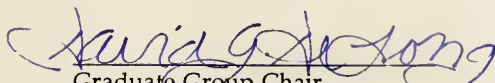
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Ruins At Sunset

Aphrodisias, crown of cities,
beloved of Caesar,
laid bare is gorgeous still.
At this twelfth hour
her aged pock-marked stones
resound with life,
and let who will declare
the luck of knucklebones
for marble patrons
robed and diademed in gold
placed by the great god Helios
once more upon her beauty.
In the circle of the day
when the sun rides low,
Cybele the mother goddess
calls to Ishtar, Astarte,
and her favourite Aphrodite,
to don the purple shadowed tints
and stand again on mended thighs,
in splendour greet once more
the warrior phalanx.
She summons from low unmanned ramparts
the trumpet call of genius
to witness and assure
that when all paper words are turned to ash
there will remain one scarred hillside
beautiful enough to last
forever.

L. G. Harvey

Acknowledgments

The writing of this thesis has been a great learning experience for me, for it has allowed me to put into practice my thoughts and theories about preservation that had previously existed only in the classroom. It has allowed me to formulate a methodology for reconstructing an historic structure and to impliment it.

The project involved the assistance of many individuals all of whom contributed their expertise. I would first like to thank my advisor, Dr. David De Long, for his constant encouragement and support. During his work in Turkey, especially at Sardis, he had encountered and resolved many of the problems that I found myself facing. Many of my struggles would have taken much longer to resolve without his assistance. My reader, Christopher Ratté deserves a special note of thanks. As the Aphrodisias Field Director he helped me select the best site for my research and supervised my work throughout the summer. He has also continued to support me in my research during this past year and has provided valuable assistance.

Both Dr. Lothar Haselberger and Dr. Fikret Yegül were kind enough to add their insight into my reasearch, and I would like to thank them for taking time from their busy schedules to answer my questions and offer

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Introduction

"This one city I have taken for my own out of all Asia. I wish these people to be protected as my own townsmen."

Letter of Octavian to Stephanus¹

As a member of the 1994 excavation team at ancient Aphrodisias I had the privileged opportunity to work as the field architect supervising the documentation and analysis of what is known as the Southwest Complex. Part of this complex includes a Roman tetrakionion, and it was my responsibility to locate and document as many fragments of this monument as possible. Over the course of the summer I measured and laid out twenty-seven drawings that related to this monument and developed a strong connection and understanding of its position in the urban fabric. As with all of Aphrodisias, this area has a very complex history spanning approximately 8,000 years and offering numerous possibilities for investigation and tremendous overlap of land use and human occupation. I have restricted this thesis to the documentation work begun during the field season and concentrated on the restoration of the tetrakionion, a four-column

¹Joyce Reynolds, Aphrodisias and Rome (Hertford, England: Stephen Austin and Sons Ltd., 1982), page 96. This letter was written not long before Octavian became Caesar Augustus and was intended to be a private document. Stephanus is presumed from other documents (see Reynolds, doc. 11) to be a local agent of Antony. At some point the letter was given to the citizens of Aphrodisias and it was inscribed on the "archive wall" at the theater complex. This wall was used to display the various Republican and Imperial decrees that pertained to the city.

monument that at one time marked the intersection of two major streets. The investigation of its development and placement forms an important link in the understanding of the urban layout of Aphrodisias and will continue to contribute to the decision-making regarding future excavations in this area.

It is my hope that this document and the drawings I produced will serve as a part of the continued investigation into the urban layout of Aphrodisias and will serve as an important resource should the restoration of the monument be deemed appropriate. There remains significant documentation of the architectural fragments before an exact match can be made between all components of the monument, however, this thesis provides a solid foundation upon which future research and analysis can be built.

Aphrodisias is currently under the aegis of New York University and this thesis is being written with the support and cooperation of the Site Director, Dr. R. R. R. Smith, of Oxford University and the Field Director Dr. Christopher Ratté, of New York University's Institute of Fine Arts and Department of Classics.

The Site

History and Significance

Located two hundred and forty kilometers south-east of the modern metropolis of Izmir--ancient Smyrna--the present site of Aphrodisias sits in the shadows of the marble rich Baba Dag mountains surrounded by fertile farmland and orchards [Figure 1]. Aphrodisias is part of a region with a complicated history that spans nearly ten millennia of human habitation.² This section of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was the stage for the beginnings of civilized human development. Here rose and fell great empires, and for several centuries this would be a center of art, architecture, and intellectual development. Homer and his contemporaries would find inspiration and aesthetic fulfillment in the coastal cities of Ephesus, Smyrna, and Miletus. With the region's natural beauty, the citizenry's reverence for art and culture, and the support of a succession of emperors, Asia Minor was visited by scientists, historians, poets, writers, and sculptors. Here they expressed and developed their ideas and pursued their crafts.

²Martha Sharp Joukowsky, Prehistoric Aphrodisias: An Account of the Excavations and Artifact Studies (Court-St.-Étienne, Belgium: Imprimerie É. Oleffe, 1986), 430. At Hacilar, some 80 km east of Aphrodisias, James Mellaart in the late fifties unearthed evidence of a settlement that ended its occupation of the area approximately around 6740 BC. After a gap of about one-thousand years settlement is again detected.

Archeological evidence indicates that the region east of Aphrodisias was home to the world's first agricultural communities dating to the eighth millennium BC.³ Fertile soils and an expansive river and tributary system made this area ideal for farming. During the Iron Age the Anatolian cultures of Phrygia, Lycia, Caria, and Lydia had a strong interaction with the immigrant Greeks who founded settlements on the Ionian and Aeolian coasts.⁴ Initially the Greeks maintained strong ties to their brethren on the Greek mainland, but by the eighth century BC. a Graeco-Anatolian civilization would develop that was a combination of Hellenic and near-eastern influences. At this time culture and art flourished throughout the region and, as stated, the greatest minds of the time came to learn from the cultural interchanges and share in the economic prosperity. In 546 BC. the glory and wealth of this civilization would be brought to a halt by the invading Persians from the east. With its vast holdings and preference for the traditions of eastern cultures, Persian emperors viewed the cities of Anatolia as minor points in their empire and the great cities lost much of their influence.

It would be two centuries before a renaissance would occur, and it would be at the hands of Alexander the Great. In 334 BC. he would drive out the Persians and usher in the Hellenistic Age. His influence and the influence of his successors would again make this region a center of culture and the arts. By

³Kenan T. Erim, Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1986), 1986, page 15. Evidence exists for early agricultural settlement at Hacilar in the south-east of this region.

⁴Ibid, 15.

the beginnings of Roman rule in this area in the later second century BC. Asia Minor was a dominant center of the arts in all of the Mediterranean region and would remain so under Roman control. New cities were established and many came under the support and patronage of the emperors. Such support would prove invaluable to cities such as Aphrodisias whose geographical isolation might otherwise have left them out of the political and social hierarchy.

Asia Minor would maintain its artistic and economic prosperity into the seventh century AD.⁵ The advent of Christianity and the division of the Roman empire into East and West would of course have profound and far-reaching effects on the entire region; however, no one event can be blamed for the eventual loss of a what for centuries brought forth beauty and culture. Plagues, earthquakes, economic collapse, politics, and foreign invaders all contributed to the eventual decline and abandonment of once great cities. By the eleventh century the Muslim Seljuk Turks made strong footholds throughout much of Asia Minor; they introduced a new religion and culture, but the Christian empire held on until the fall of Constantinople in 1453.⁶ At this time the Ottoman Turks would absorb this area making it part of their vast empire. They would prove unsympathetic to its past glories and achievements and initially strive to mold it into a more cohesive part of their culture. It is difficult to say when a city's living history ends. Rome has

⁵Ibid, 35. Though certainly no longer at the level of prosperity of its High Imperial glory, the city was still functioning at this time and occupied much of its currently defined boundaries. After the mid-seventh century earthquake, the remaining citizens attempted minor repairs of only the most essential structures and built a citadel atop the hillock for defense in times of attack.

⁶Ibid, 35.

continued to change and evolve while Ostia was abandoned over a short and planned period. Other cities ended quickly and violently such as Pompeii. Aphrodisias' end is very complicated, for it changed and declined over centuries; it is possible to attribute a date as late as the fourteenth century for the final collapse of the city. At this time there are minor references to the bishops of Aphrodisias and the city is said to be in great difficulty.⁷ This date would seem to be backed up by the fact that the Turks resettled the remaining people of the region at about the same time.⁸

The site of the city itself is located in what is now called the province (vilâyet) of Aydın and the county (kaza) of Karacasu at an altitude of 600 meters above sea level. The local region is within a system of rivers connected to the Büyük Menderes--ancient Maeander--river. The grade of the city is generally flat with a minor upward slope to the southwest. The Acropolis mound and the Pekmez hillock are the only significant irregularities within the city boundaries. The modern village of Geyre was located at the heart of the ancient city [Figure 2]. After the 1959 earthquake the government deemed the structures unsafe and the combination of safety with the desire to begin full scale excavations led them to construct a new village two kilometers to the west where it stands today.

⁷Ibid, 35. Erim does not footnote any of his sources, so it is difficult to determine the original citation for certain statements.

⁸Ibid, 35.

The City of Aphrodite

General History and Early Investigations

Though slightly off the main path, Aphrodisias was at one time very well incorporated into the network of roads that spread across the Roman empire [Figure 3, Figure 4]. It is likely that the area appears much the same today as it did in classical times. The fertility of its soil, the seemingly inexhaustible supply of water from the mountain springs, and the proximity to good flint sources for stone tools were all important factors that made this location a desirable spot for early habitation and contribute to its current settlement.⁹ The marble hidden beneath the mountains surface would also prove to be a key asset to the city as the purity of the white stone and the evenness of its grain allowed it to have a highly polished surface with few imperfections. Even on those pieces exposed since the second century AD. the quality remains strikingly evident.

Local residents, some of whom may be descendants of ancient Aphrodisians, still farm the fields that cover much of the city. The boundaries of the ancient

⁹Joukowsky, Prehistoric Aphrodisias: An Account of the Excavations and Artifact Studies, 29.

city were determined by Kenan Erim and his team in the early sixties and all the land within the city limits is currently under the control of the site [See Figure 4]. Excavations have revealed two man-made mounds, or hüyük, located in the heart of the later city with evidence of human occupation as early as the late Neolithic and Chalcolithic period (5,800 BC.) indicating the long history and cultural importance of the site.¹⁰

It is not surprising that few written documents remain that make any mention of Aphrodisias. One key reference that does survive is that of the sixth century grammarian and encyclopedist Stephanus of Byzantium, who makes mention of the city in a list he compiled of settlements in this region. He refers to the city as Ninoë, a derivation of the name Ninos, the mythical founder of the Assyrian-Babylonian empire and husband of Semiramis.¹¹ Both Ninoë and Semiramis have epigraphic references on site.¹² The significance of this is that Ninoë may have direct connections to eastern cult goddesses such as Ishtar or Cybele from a much earlier period, and as a result may be evidence that the Cult of Aphrodite is merely one in a succession of pagan goddesses worshipped at this site. Excavations have also produced bronze age fertility figures giving further indication that this site was a sacred one from the beginning [Figure 5].¹³ It was common throughout early agricultural communities to have some sort of "mother goddess" to assure good weather and abundant crops; these stone idols are perhaps the first

¹⁰Ibid, 430.

¹¹Ibid, 21. Joukowsky's primary source for this information is cited as follows: Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Nivón, ed. Meinike 1849:476 (cf. p. 438). I was unable to locate this source for my investigation.

¹²Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite*, 26.

¹³Ibid, 27.

images worshipped where eventually the city of Aphrodisias would stand. As its name suggests, the city has a strong association with the goddess Aphrodite. The sanctuary dedicated in her name was well known in the classical world, and numerous rulers sent offerings to the temple in hopes of gaining favor with the goddess [Figure 6]. It is inscribed on the "archive wall" of the theater that Julius Caesar sent a gold statue of Eros dedicated to the goddess in his name.¹⁴ This is one of many dedications that prove the power the cult had and that it extended all the way to Rome. The association with this particular goddess came quite late, probably in the second century BC. The name Aphrodisias does not first appear until this time on modest bronze and silver coins.¹⁵

As it became obvious that Roman rule was taking over the region, it is possible that the leaders of the sanctuary began to think about their political future. Up until this time the site consisted primarily of the sanctuary, its supporting structures, and the necessary housing and fields to provide for those associated with the cult.¹⁶ In classical mythology, Venus, the Roman equivalent of Aphrodite, was the mother of Aeneas whose descendants would eventually found Rome. Aeneas, who according to mythology was born in Troy, formed a strong tie between Rome and Anatolia. Evidence on coins found on site would indicate that the city was associated with Aphrodite quite, possibly in the second century BC. However, it is likely that the civic leaders capitalized on their good fortune and made stronger associations with

¹⁴Ibid, 29.

¹⁵Ibid, 29.

¹⁶At present the temple has not been excavated to a level dated to the first century BC. Evidence indicates that at that time a prostyle temple existed.

the goddess when the city was under Roman control. As a result a prosperous future was secured for their descendants and good fortune was soon to follow. According to the historian Appian, in 87 BC. the Roman dictator Sulla made offerings to the goddess at her Carian shrine to assure success in battle; the economic link with Rome had been forged.¹⁷

The written words of succeeding emperors, though long ago lost in their original form, today survive on the aforementioned "archive wall" at the theater complex. The inscriptions tell of the powers and privileges bestowed upon the city and its citizens. The city had strong ties to Julius Caesar's family who claimed direct descent from Venus.¹⁸ The association with Caesar proved difficult after his assassination in 44 BC, but the continued loyalty to his followers would bring the city its greatest prosperity when Octavian achieved control of the empire. He granted the city freedom, the much envied non-taxable status, and increased asylum rights at the sanctuary.¹⁹ He also sent Zoilos to the city; a man who at one time had been his slave but became the emperor's close friend and was later freed.²⁰ Zoilos was born in Aphrodisias and went to Rome to serve the emperor. His service and commitment had earned him not only his freedom but the power and wealth associated with a close confidant of the emperor. Zoilos was responsible for much civic improvement at Aphrodisias in the late first century BC.²¹ Until the third century AD. succeeding emperors renewed the rights of the city, and

¹⁷Martha Sharp Joukowsky, Prehistoric Aphrodisias: An Account of the Excavations and Artifact Studies, 21.

¹⁸Kenan T. Erim, Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite, 29.

¹⁹Reynolds, 61.

²⁰Ibid, 96.

²¹Erim, Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite, 31.

the population flourished, pursuing art and developing the carving skills that made the city famous throughout the empire.

By the third century AD. the empire found itself facing radical changes. The weight of the bureaucracy had become too heavy, and internal conflict with the battle for power after the death of Trebonianus Gallus had begun to shake its foundations. As a result, many of the economic privileges the city enjoyed were revoked and it faced new responsibilities in terms of local politics. With the splitting of the empire under Diocletian in 285 AD., Aphrodisias became the capitol of the province of Caria, which would suggest that it remained a thriving and important center of the empire.²² In the late 350's the entire region suffered a major earthquake that caused extensive damage, some of which was never repaired. Evidence indicates that at this time the city walls were begun, signifying a weakening of the political structure [Figure 7].²³ The city remained an active part of the empire into the seventh century, though the change to Christianity must have left the city in a state of confusion and a struggle for identity. The reason for the city's initial prosperity had been its association with Aphrodite, and without the cult goddess' presence the city lost much of its living history. The East maintained its solidarity far longer than the West, and Christianity was a key factor. A bishopric was established at Aphrodisias in the fourth century, and

²²Ibid, 32.

²³Kenan T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: A Guide to the Site and Its Museum* (Turkey: Asir Matbaacilik Ltd. Sti., 1989), 16. The dating of the wall is based upon the construction methods used and by the fact that much of the spolia can be dated to structures from the fourth century. The fourth century earthquake would have made the city vulnerable, but also have provided a lot of debris for use in the construction of a fortification wall. Kenan Erim speculated that the wall may also have been built because of the Gothic invasions in the 260s, however, he believed the evidence was stronger for the fourth century.

the ancient sanctuary was taken over and turned into a Christian basilica in the late fifth century.²⁴ At this time whatever was left of the cult would have been greatly reduced and forced into secondary status.

Another major earthquake in the mid-seventh century may have destroyed much of the city, a disaster from which it never fully recovered. At this time many of the inhabitants must have abandoned the city, while those who remained built a citadel atop the hillock from which they could defend themselves in times of attack. By the thirteenth century the Seljuk Turks had relocated most of the people from this region and the site was basically abandoned.²⁵ Eventually its fertile plains would again draw settlers, and by the seventeenth century travelers mention the village of Geyre. The first modern accounts of the city come in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1840, visits by English architects and draughts-men such as Sir William Gell and John Peter Gandy produced drawings and observations that were published in Volume III of *Antiquities of Ionia*. A secondary nineteenth century source is Volume III of the *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, by Charles Texier. Much of the later work has, however, been found to contain "inevitable shortcomings, inaccuracies, and misinterpretations."²⁶

The Director General of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, Osman Hamdi Bey, was so impressed by his 1892 visit to the site that he put forth

²⁴Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite*, 19. The ancient temple was not removed but was literally turned inside out. The cella walls were removed and new walls constructed outside of the column line creating a nave and two side aisles. In addition an apse and an atrium were added to the east and west.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 35.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 37.

great effort to begin large scale excavations.²⁷ Unfortunately his resources were limited, and it would not be until 1904 that Paul Gaudin, a wealthy French engineer, would undertake the first campaign to excavate the ancient city.²⁸ The first season was mostly exploratory though major elements, such as the temple, were uncovered. Gaudin returned in 1905 but would be diverted to other responsibilities in 1906 and not return. The French School in Athens attempted to form an exhibition again in 1913, but the next successful undertaking would not take place until Giulio Jacopi was granted permission by the Turkish government to reopen the site in 1937.²⁹ Political instabilities and World War Two prevented a second season, and the site would remain without organized excavation until Kenan Erim began his investigations under the aegis of New York University in 1961. Since then the site has produced a wealth of important finds, including pottery, mosaics, coins, epigraphic documentation, architectural fragments, and an abundance of sculpture. In the past thirty-four years the excavations have brought forth an astonishingly complete collection of architectural remains. Aphrodisias represents one of the most intact sites in Asia minor in terms of surviving evidence, and at present the focus of investigation is to document the great quantity of material that has already been uncovered but not adequately studied. Excavation continues, but no longer at the rapid sweeping pace that was the habit on many sites in the past. Today trenches are opened in the hopes of answering specific questions that will lead to a better understanding of the city and how it functioned. Slowly Aphrodisias has begun to reveal her mysteries. Without an extensive written history to supplement the research

²⁷Ibid, 31.

²⁸Ibid, 31.

²⁹Erim, Aphrodisias: A Guide to the Site and Its Museum, 7.

the continuing archaeological work takes on extreme importance in the understanding of the history of the city and the life of those who lived there during its centuries of prosperity and decline. The words of L. G. Harvey reveal that with or without an academic understanding of its history, Aphrodisias will always retain its grace: "...when all paper words are turned to ash there will remain one scarred hillside beautiful enough to last forever."³⁰

³⁰L. G. Harvey. From the poem "Ruins At Sunset".

The Southwest Complex

The Excavation Site and the Tetrakionion Monument

Excavation Site

The part of the site where I concentrated most of my time is located in the southwest quadrant of the city [Figure 8]. The area is directly south of the Portico of Tiberius and includes in its list of excavated buildings the Roman basilica that extends to the south from the southwest corner of the agora and a triconch church southwest of the basilica. This area was often referred to as the Martyrion complex in reference to the triconch church which was believed at one time to have connections to a Christian martyr [Figure 9].³¹ The church is of great importance to this thesis because it was built directly over the intersection of major east-west and north-south streets and incorporated the Roman tetrakionion into its structure [Figure 10].³² The corners of the nave surround the monument's four large columns which were most likely used to support a dome or the major beams for the church's roof structure [Figure 11]. The church and the remains of the monument probably fell in one of the major earthquakes that devastated the city late in

³¹Aphrodisias Field Notebook, (Aphrodisias Archive, NYU Institute of Fine Arts, New York), 1962: 10-11/ M.B-Martyrion (SW Complex).

³²The connection to the East and West gates is clearly visible on the city plan [Drawing 1]. The plan shows dashed lines where the street has been excavated and the lines can be extended to both gates.

its history.³³ Numerous large architectural fragments from the Roman period remain on the site and have been excavated, but others may still remain outside the walls of the church. To date most of the excavation has taken place within the walls which still stand to a height of approximately two meters. After its collapse it is possible that much of the debris was incorporated into the city walls or into other structures.

In 1981 Art Historian Robin Cormack suggested that the tetrakionion stood at the intersection between the known east-west street and the then hypothetical north-south street, which ran northward along the west side of the basilica and into the southwest corner of the agora [Figure 12].³⁴ Gates have been found that directly correspond to the east-west axis and a portion of street was also excavated along the same line to the east. A section of the foundation of the tetrakionion -- a massive mortared rubble platform-- was exposed in 1993 as was a Roman drain running in a north-south direction directly between the column bases [Figure 13]. In the east apse pavers from the Roman street were found along with a length of terra cotta pipe and a large trench was dug to the east of the church that exposed a large section of the east-west street [Figure 14]. There may even be evidence at this location for a votive fountain, a logical object to find close to a major urban intersection [See Figure 14 & Figure 15]].³⁵

³³This hypothesis has no direct evidence, however, since evidence of fire or attack is very difficult, if not impossible, to confirm from physical evidence and since several major earthquakes can be documented, it seems likely that the church might have fallen in one of them.

³⁴Robin Cormack, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City, " in Byzantium and the Classical Tradition (Birmingham 1981) 114-115; Cormack, "Byzantine Aphrodisias," PCPS 215, n.s, 36 (1990), 34-36.

³⁵Evidence of what may be drainage or feed pipes for a fountain have been found at this location at the back of the basilica.

My research was involved with the goals of the 1994 field program in that it concentrated on the study of the superstructure of the tetrakionion and on the excavation of new trench designed to confirm the hypothesis that a north-south street ran between the tetrakionion and the southwest corner of the agora. Toward the end of the season the street and a drain were found along the expected line to the north of the church giving additional, conclusive evidence for the intersection theory [Figure 16].³⁶ At this point small shops were also found to line the western side of the basilica, possibly from the tetrakionion all the way to the gate into the portico of Tiberius. This would indicate that the north-south street may have been a major shopping street.

The Tetrakionion

Before an investigation of the monument type can be discussed it is first important to review what key features remain of the Aphrodisias example. As mentioned, the monument was incorporated into a Christian church at some period after the fourth century.³⁷ This event in many ways has probably made it possible for the monument to be studied in its original context with much of the architectural fragments still present. As the supporting structure for the roof of the church the monument remained an integral part of the site long after its original purpose was no longer being

³⁶Aphrodisias Field Notebook, (Aphrodisias Archive, NYU Institute of Fine Arts, New York), 1994- SWC 5/Bahadır Yildirim.

³⁷Christianity did not become the state religion until after this period and it is unlikely that a church of such prominence would have been built over a major intersection in the Roman city while the cult retained its dominance.

served. The triconch church has been completely excavated within the interior of its walls and, as mentioned, several trenches have been dug that give strong evidence of both the east-west and north-south streets that formed the crossroads marked by the tetrakionion. The main questions still remaining about the monument are when was it built and what was its iconographic significance.³⁸

The superstructure of the Aphrodisias monument consists of four groupings of eight major courses or architectural elements: three octagonal steps, an octagonal base that has a base, dado, and crown of separate elements, an octagonal plinth on which the column rests, and the monolithic shaft of the column [Figure 17]. Smith, Ratté, and I all believe that a capital and statuary topped each of the columns, however, the evidence for this is partially speculation and will be addressed. The monument is supported by a large concrete slab foundation approximately two meters thick and ten meters square. The exact extent of the foundation have yet to be fully excavated as they are located beneath the floor of the church and only exploratory trenches have been opened [See Figure 13].³⁹ It is known that a vaulted Roman drain runs north-south between the columns and connects at the trench excavated in 1994 to the north of the church. The base of the monument is constructed of four three-stepped gray marble bases [Figures 18-21]. All three steps are octagonal in shape with the lower two being composed of several large pieces

³⁸These issues are addressed in the documentation section, however, none of the evidence to date has allowed Smith, Ratté, or myself to draw any definitive conclusion about the monument's construction date or its iconographic significance.

³⁹Information on the specifics of the foundation excavations can be found in the following: Aphrodisias Field Notebook, (Aphrodisias Archive, NYU Institute of Fine Arts, New York), 1993: SWC 5/ Ahmet Tolga Tek & Bahadır Yildirim, 179.

of stone that have been clamped together for structural stability. The bottom two steps are preserved in situ at all four locations and give an accurate account of the construction methods and techniques employed by the monuments builders. The third (top) steps have so far been found only in fragments relocated from their original locations. The largest fragment gives indication that it was one of two pieces used to complete the step and was not clamped to its counterpart [Figure 22]. The base assigned Roman numeral II has a fractured corner of its lower step that upon careful removal has demonstrated that each of the four main columnar units rested directly on the concrete slab with no masonry substructure [Figure 23]. In fact this investigation also revealed that the lowest steps consist of orthostat-like facing blocks, clamped together around a mortared rubble core.⁴⁰

The second step level is the same on all four bases and is made of several large polygonal blocks that form the exposed edges and an irregularly shaped block in the center [See Figure 18]. All blocks at the second and third step are connected to one another by iron c-shaped clamps, one of which was found during the removal of the fractured corner of Base II [See Figure 23].⁴¹ All levels were connected to those units directly above and below by iron dowels that were secured by molten lead being poured in along the still visible pour channels [Figure 24]. The holes for the dowels are clearly visible on all fragments of the monument but are most interesting on the steps of the bases. Here there are several false starts where the mason made the outline for the

⁴⁰Chritopher Ratté, "Preliminary Report on the Tetrakionion in the Southwest Complex at Aphrodisias" unpublished, 2.

⁴¹Though not completely sealed off from the elements this clamp was found to be in exceptional condition. The lead was all still in place and there was no evidence of rusting of the iron.

hole and either felt it was too close to another element or it did not properly match with the corresponding piece, for in several cases they were abandoned and corrected [See Figure 21 & Figure 25]. On average these dowel holes are approximately six centimeters in diameter and nine centimeters in depth, but there is great variation over the entire monument. This was most likely done to assure that pieces could not be incorrectly matched.

Upon my initial visit to the site there was no clear evidence that there were three steps, since up until this point no extensive documentation of the monument had been attempted.⁴² The evidence for determining the existence of a third step will be addressed in the documentation section, however it is pertinent to add here that during the initial investigation it was important to make note of all variations in the elements and the techniques used to attach and carve them and not to discount any changes that may have taken place in subsequent periods. By the end of the season the third-step theory had been confirmed and a fragment matched to the second step of Base II.

The next element is the octagonal base composed of three blocks of gray marble [See Figure 17]. During my investigations I noted that the dowel holes were following a consistent pattern from element to element. The mason laid out three holes per block and placed them at the corners of equilateral

⁴² The two earlier excavations of this site took place first in 1962 and then in 1993. See: Aphrodisias Field Notebooks, (Aphrodisias Archives, NYU Institute of Fine Arts, New York), 1962: 10-11/M.B. - Martyrion (SW Complex); Aphrodisias Field Notebook, (Aphrodisias Archive, NYU Institute of Fine Arts, New York), 1993: SWC 5/ Ahmet Tolga Tek & Bahadır Yildirim.

triangles to facilitate the matching of units [Figure 26].⁴³ This proved invaluable in terms of matching fragments for the reconstruction drawings. Together the three elements form a consist whole in terms of the elaborate decorative moldings on the base and crown [See Figure 26 & Figure 27]. The dado by contrast is much simpler with elaboration only at its top and bottom where it connects to the other pieces [Figure 28]. Individually the detail is not complicated or extremely well executed, but the layering and repetition creates a complicated profile with subtle variations.

Visually the tori of the column base appear to sit on an octagonal plinth that in turn rests on the octagonal pedestals [Figure 29 & 30]. As carved, the plinth and base are actually one piece of white marble. The bottom edges of the plinth have been slightly beveled except at the corners, creating small feet on which the element appears to rest. This detail would provide a strong shadow line at this point as well as make the element appear lighter and less bulky. The plinths are decorated with elaborate inset panels; these are basically rectangular, but with inward curving ends, so that they resemble in outline a conventional architrave soffit molding.⁴⁴ The column bases are of the Attic-Ionic type, and as with the other elements there is a distinct difference in the profiles and proportions between each of the four elements. The surfaces of the bases are finished with a broad flat blade.⁴⁵

⁴³The variations in the dowels holes involved both the diameter of the openings and their shapes. Some elements were connected by round holes and others by square ones. Also the diameters varied from element to element so no two pieces could be incorrectly matched.

⁴⁴Ratté, "Preliminary Report on the Tetrakionion in the Southwest Complex at Aphrodisias", page 3.

⁴⁵Ibid, 3.

The final elements identified as part of the tetrakionion are the four monolithic columns of gray marble [Figures 31 & 32]. The bottom diameter of each shaft is ninety centimeters, the top diameter eighty centimeters, and each is approximately six-and-one-half meters in height. The columns all have an head or figure carved in relief approximately fifty centimeters below the top of the shaft [Figure 33]. On two columns these figures are recognizable as those of a bull and of a man, and in both cases they are only roughly finished with a claw chisel; the other two are impossible to recognize having been both damaged and not fully executed. The human head appears to be a mask and not a bust. This would indicate that it is probably an ideal type, making it difficult to date.⁴⁶ It has wide-open eyes, and its short mop of hair leads one to determined that it is male. The significance of their placement and iconography has yet to be determined. It is possible that they make reference to the four evangelists and that possibly their images were placed atop the four columns. It is also possible that they make reference to imperial symbols or other iconography. The question remains unanswered.⁴⁷

No large pieces of the capitals that stood on top of the columns survive. Through my survey and exploration of the various excavation areas I was able to locate three small fragments of one or more large Corinthian capitals [Figure 34]. The pieces are in white marble which would be consistent with the alteration in color that take place in the monument. One fragment had

⁴⁶This is a personal speculation by the Site Director R.R.R. Smith. Had the carving been a bust it would most likely have been intended to be associated with a specific individual or deity. A mask would be much less specific.

⁴⁷I do not believe that it is within the scope of this thesis to solve such problems as this. The preliminary investigation begun during the 1994 field season raised many questions and much speculation as to the significance of the monument. Until further evidence is uncovered that confirms or discounts any of the hypotheses, the question is best left unanswered.

enough of its bottom surface intact to be able to determine its approximate diameter [Figures 35 & 36]. It would appear to be seventy to eighty centimeters which is the right size for one of the columns of the tetrakionion.

Speculation was made by the field staff that there might have been some sort of marble superstructure covering the intersection. This was quite common and there exists such an example on site at the tetrapylon to the east of the temple compound [Figure 37]. The tetrapylon is located at the eastern end of the Temenos and can be dated to the second century BC.⁴⁸ The structure was built as the monumental gateway into the sacred precinct of the temple and was entered off one of the known streets [refer to plan]. After more than ten years of active study and interpretation this monument was partially restored and re-erected. The columns of the tetrakionion, however, seem too far apart (over eight meters between centers) to have supported a common marble superstructure, and so they were probably self contained units crowned by statues.

⁴⁸Erim, Aphrodisias: A Guide to the Site and Its Museum, 22.

The Monument Type

Parallels and Comparisons

Precedents

The tetrakionion at ancient Aphrodisias, though unique in many ways, is not without precedents throughout the ancient world. A review of the various examples that may or may not have influenced the design of this monument will aid in the understanding of its construction and possible iconographic significance.

By mapping key examples that include features significant to the Aphrodisian example it is clear that this type of monument has a long and complicated history with traditions reaching far across the classical world [Figure 38]. For example, votive columns have an extensive tradition throughout Greece's history and individual columns used to mark significant locations and to honor individuals continues into the late twentieth century. Examples such as the Imperial columns of Rome, including Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Phocas; examples in the east in Constantinople with the column of Marcian and Arcadius, and the porphyry column [Figure 39].⁴⁹ Still further east single

⁴⁹ Cyril Mango, Byzantine Architecture, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1976), 51.

columns are found in India with examples such as the Ashokan columns in Bakhira and at New Delhi [Figure 40].⁵⁰ Somewhat closer to Aphrodisias is the single monolithic column in Alexandria known as Pompey's Pillar [Figure 41]. The name comes from a medieval legend that this monument marked the tomb of Caesar's great rival. If this legend is correct it would date the monument to the mid-first century BC. There is, however, a Greek inscription that dedicates the column to Diocletian, and if correct this would date the monument to the late third century AD. Regardless of the date and massive scale, the monument is interesting for its proportions and the power it expresses with one free standing element.

The Aphrodisian example is what is commonly referred to as a tetrastyle or more specifically a tetrakionion. A tetrastyle, the more common reference, is generally a roofed structure that serves as a monumental gateway such as the arch of Janus near the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, Rome or the Aphrodisian example at the east end of the Temenos [Figure 42]. The term tetrakionion more specifically refers to a four-column monument used to mark the intersection of two streets or a key point along a major road.⁵¹

Examples that have elements with minor but significant similarities to the Aphrodisias tetrakionion will be discussed when looking at the dating of the monument. For precedents I have selected the strongest examples that represent an overall similarity of type and/or usage. Two examples that have

⁵⁰Shanti Lal Nagar, Indian Monoliths (New Delhi, India: Intellectual Press, 1992), page 7. The columns were placed in front of temples and used to carry religious symbols such as a wheel (representing dharma).

⁵¹Russell Sturgis et al, Sturgis' Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture and Building, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., vol. 3, 1901-1902), 784.

the strongest similarity are the tetrakionia at Antinopolis and the columns in the apse of the Severan basilica at Leptis Magna [Figures 43 & 44]. Little has been written about the site at Antinopolis, Egypt. The city was dedicated in honor of Antinus by Septimius Severus in the late second century. While Antinus and Septimius were visiting the area Antinus drowned in the Nile; distraught by his death Septimius deified his lover and named the city after him building a cult in his honor. In a nineteenth century drawing of the plan of the area evidence existed that there were two tetrakionia at major cross roads and one column still stood in one location [Figure 45].⁵² They are attributed to be triumphal columns dedicated to Alexander Severus, however, there appears to be no surviving statuary. The columns are similar in proportion to the those at Aphrodisias and have an octagonal element below the torus, used to make the transition between the square base and the round torus. The plan indicates that the column bases were set at a forty-five degree angle from the crossroads and that rows of columns lined the streets in both directions [Figure 46].⁵³ There is some evidence there may also have been rows of columns along part of the streets that intersect at the Aphrodisias example.⁵⁴

⁵²To date I have found no other visual documentation of these tetrakionia. I am uncertain if they still stand today or if any evidence has been recorded by the Egyptian government regarding this site. In 1991 a document on the site was published, but at the time of this thesis I had been unable to obtain a copy. The reference is as follows: Meyer, Hugo. Antinoos: Die Archäologischen Denkmäler Unter Einbeziehung Des Numismatischen Und Epigraphischen Materials Sowie Der Literarischen Nachrichten: Ein Beitrag Zur Kunst-Und Kulturgeschichte Der Hadrianisch-Frühantoninischen Zeit. Munich: William Fink, 1991.

⁵³Charles Coulston Gillispie and Michel Dewachter, Ed, Monuments of Egypt: The Napoleonic Edition, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), plates 59-60.

⁵⁴Column bases have been found along both the north-south and east-west streets.

The example at Leptis Magna in North Africa is even more intriguing in its similarities to the Aphrodisias tetraklion. The most important difference here is that the columns are used in the apse of a basilica and do not in any way serve to mark an urban intersection or stand as dedications to any individual or group. However, the proportions and architectural organization of the two columns are the most strikingly similar examples yet found. An inscription on the building indicates that it was constructed during the reign of Septimius Severus in the late second century.⁵⁵ The bases of the columns have a similar set of octagonal elements and are topped by monolithic columns which are even taller than the six-and-a-half meter high examples at Aphrodisias. At Leptis, the columns were tied into the wall above the capitals which provided greater support and stability. Flanking both sides of the apse are large, highly ornamented pilasters that are comparable in technique and execution to those at the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias [Figure 47].⁵⁶ From this observation it can be speculated that sculptors from Aphrodisias may have been employed in the carving of various elements for the basilica. It was common to bring the artists to the site, and Aphrodisias was by the late second century famous throughout the empire for its sculpture and ornament. Whether this visit occurred and whether someone may have seen the Leptis columns and brought back the ideas to Aphrodisias may never be known. However, Leptis Magna was an important and influential center of the empire and the possibility exists that such a connection might have linked the two cities.

⁵⁵ Taha Bakir, Historical and Archaeological Guide to Leptis Magna (Libya: Press of the Ministry of Information and Culture, 1968), 37.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 37.

There are two examples in the near-east that are significant for their use as key monuments in the layout of the urban fabric of their respective cities. Both Gerasa, Jordan and Palmyra, Syria have major monuments that make the intersection of the two main streets. Gerasa has both a tetrapylon and tetrakionion [Figures 48 - 50]. The tetrapylon was built during the reign of Caracalla (211-217) and stands at the intersection of the Cardo and north Decumanus.⁵⁷ The tetrakionion was built during the reign of either Marcus Aurelius or Commodus (150-191) and stands in the circular piazza at the intersection of the Cardo and the south Decumanus.⁵⁸ The tetrapylon is the smaller of the two. It has the typical four arched gateways and bares little resemblance to the Aphrodisias tetrakionion except that it marks a crossroads, albeit not the primary one.⁵⁹ The tetrakionion is more substantial. As at Aphrodisias there are four bases that though structurally independent, formed a single composition. Each of the four elements consisted of a podia and four Corinthian columns, one at each corner carrying a fully articulated entablature.⁶⁰ In the center of each it is supposed that a sculpture was located, and as at Aphrodisias there is a drain crossing at the intersection of the Cardo and Decumanus.⁶¹ Each podia is approximately four meters wide and six meter from any adjoining one. This would make it about ten meters center to center, larger than this eight meter center to center spacing at Aphrodisias, but necessary because of the massiveness proportions of each base and the

⁵⁷C.S Fisher, Gerasa, City of the Decapolis (New Haven Connecticut: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938), page 51.

⁵⁸Ibid, 50.

⁵⁹Ibid, 170..

⁶⁰Ibid, 140.

⁶¹Though not stated in the research on the monument, if there is speculation that there must have been statuary between the columns one would assume that evidence was found, such as dowel holes to secure them in place.

four columns. The circular piazza that surrounds the tetrakionion was most likely faced with identical facades that integrated shops and entrances to the two or three story structures.⁶² The tetrakionion was part of a carefully constructed urban intersection that demonstrated the careful architectural environment that existed in the second century.⁶³ It is unlikely that such an elaborately integrated urban condition existed at Aphrodisias, however, the construction of four monolithic columns would have been deserving of equal attention to their surroundings.

The other major example in the near-east is located at Palmyra [Figures 51 & 52]. Here there is a tetrakionion located at the center of the city. As at Gerasa the Palmyra example has four podia with four columns each and entablatures atop them. The proportions here are a bit compressed and may reflect the slightly earlier date of 117-138 AD. as the monument is attributed to having been built during the reign of Hadrian.⁶⁴ This monument is also located in a piazza, this time an oval one. However, unlike both Gerasa and Aphrodisias the monument appears to have been decorative or more symbolic. The four podia are elevated on a massive base that is raised above the street level prohibiting general traffic from crossing of the center of the intersection. The change in elevation may indicate that this location had a ceremonial purpose or merely that since it marks the center of the city its builders chose to have it raised above the surrounding structures.

⁶² Fisher, 140.

⁶³ Ibid, 140. The date for the construction of the Circular Plaza is still under debate. It is possible that the tetrakionion was built first and that at the time of its construction the street intersection was still colonnaded but formed a square rather than rounded plaza.

⁶⁴ Ian Browning, Palmyra (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1979), 84.

An example closer to Aphrodisias is that of the tetrakionion on the Arkadiané at Ephesus [Figure 53]. This is very similar to the Aphrodisias example in that its composition consists of four freestanding columns with large bases atop three steps. The monument does not, however, mark the intersection of two streets, but rather it indicates the entrance to a large compound off of the main road. The date of construction is speculated to be in the sixth century AD. and the sculptural program is thought to relate to the four evangelists.⁶⁵ The bases of each column are supported by a circular arcade in which presumably stood a statue.

Another major example of four columns grouped together is that of the tetrarchical monument on the Rostra in the Roman Forum [Figure 54]. In 285 AD. the military crisis of the third century found temporary settlement with the division of the empire into two separate political entities. All the provinces had faced attack by hostile armies, and though Asia Minor and Africa had fared better than their northern brothers, even they felt the economic strain that accompanied political uncertainty. Rome eventually regained control, but the psychological damage would not be repairable. The Empire had been challenged as never before proving that its rulers had seriously overextended the limits that one man could successfully govern. As such Diocletian created the Tetrarchy, a consortium of two senior and two junior emperors. One of each would rule in the east and the west. Diocletian and Galerius ruled in the east while Maximian and Constantius Chlorus

⁶⁵One of the heads in relief at the tops of the four columns at Aphrodisias can be identified as that of a bull's head and another is thought to be a human head. It is possible that the head might represent an angel and that the four images would be a bull, angel, lion, and eagle the symbols of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. This possibility is further addressed in the documentation section.

ruled in the west. Several new capitals were built or adopted including Antioch, Nicomdeia, Thessalonike, Milan, Trier, and Sirmium.⁶⁶

Monuments to the new leaders were built throughout the empire, and the one in the Roman Forum would have been an example to be followed by the provinces.

Dating the Aphrodisias Example

This monument has proved difficult to date and to place within the greater history of the monument type. Upon initial examination I believed that the moldings and profiles of the monument would provide the best source for pinpointing the date of its construction and erection. This was not as successful as originally hoped, and for this thesis the Aphrodisias tetrakionion can be speculated to have belonged to one of three separate periods. First, a date in the late second or early third century AD; second, the possible association with the Tetrarchy would mean a date in the late third to early fourth century AD.; and finally, it is possible that the monument could date to the Late Antique period as late as the fifth or sixth century AD. Evidence for each hypothesis will be presented but no definitive solution is offered. It is my personal belief that the first option holds the most merit at this time, however, there remains much further research, future excavation, and documentation before any final conclusions can be made. To date no conclusive evidence exists as to the capitals or whether any type of statuary did in fact top the columns. Should such evidence be successfully identified

⁶⁶John B. Ward-Perkins, Roman Architecture (Milan: Electra S. P. A, 1981), 441.

as belonging to the monument their architectural ornament and sculptural style would hopefully give a more conclusive date.

Imperial--Late Second Early Third Century AD.

As stated it my belief that the strongest evidence thus uncovered places the monument's construction within the period from approximately 150-250 AD. Both the Aphrodisias Field Director, Dr. Christopher Ratté, and the Site Director at Miletus, Dr. Lothar Haselberger have stated that it can be assumed that the monument does not date to a period before the late second century.⁶⁷ This is because the highly sophisticated construction of the foundation with its massive mortared rubble structure would seem to place it at least contemporary with structures such as the temple of Aesclepius at Pergamon dating to the early second century and the second century temple of Sarapis at Ephesus [Figures 55 & 56].⁶⁸ The discovery of conclusive evidence in the foundation such as a coin or other datable object would be very helpful but has yet to be uncovered. As such the foundations can only serve as a loose guide and can not alone confirm the date of the monument.

The precedents discussed in the preceding section show a solid connection to this period. The tetrakionion built at Gerasa in the late second century and the one at Palmyra in the early to mid second century show a similar grandeur in scale and design as that at Aphrodisias [See Figures 49 & 52]. This

⁶⁷The construction techniques with the clamps and dowels as well as the less precise shaping of the unexposed stones used in the base would suggest a later than first century date.

⁶⁸Ratté, "Preliminary Report on the Tetrakionion in the Southwest Complex at Aphrodisias", 6.

may be an indication of the High Imperial period under which the first two were constructed. At both Gerasa and Palmyra it is known that the monuments were part of a round urban plaza. More excavation is required at Aphrodisias to determine what the exact urban conditions are surrounding the tetrakionion there, however, it is known that there was at least a partially colonnaded street and possibly a votive fountain.⁶⁹ The octagonal shape of the four bases would have been an ideal transition from the orthogonal grid of the street a round urban plaza, and if so may indicate a general design trend for Imperial cities in the Eastern Provinces during the second century.

Two of the other precedents which give strong evidence for dating the monument to this period are the tetrakionia at Antinopolis and the basilica columns at Leptis Magna, both begun during the reign of Septimius Severus between 192 and 211 AD. [See Figures 43 & 44]. Both examples have similar proportions, and the Antinopolis columns are used in the same urban function as at Aphrodisias. Another early example of the use of a tetrakionion is that in the upper agora at Sagalassus. Here the columns were comparable in size to those at Aphrodisias and were topped by statues of its benefactors [Figure 57].⁷⁰ The columns at Leptis are used within a structure, but do maintain a strong compositional similarity with those at Aphrodisias that includes the use of octagonal bases. Compositionally the use of octagonal bases can be found over several centuries and was not conclusive as a method of dating. There are early first century examples at Aphrodisias found in the

⁶⁹Column bases have been found along both the north-south and east-west streets and a large boat shaped fragment with a spout was found on the street to the east.

⁷⁰Karl Grafen Lanckorski, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens (Wien: F. Tempsky, 1892), 136.

southwest corner of the south agora and at the Palazzo del Colonne at Ptolemais [Figures 58 & 59].⁷¹ Later examples will be addressed in the next sections.

The most striking ornamental feature of the monument is on the columns bases where there are recessed panels with incurving ends [See Figure 30]. Ratté has pointed to some key examples of a similar technique used elsewhere at Aphrodisias. The late second century tetrapylon has pedestals that show similar elaboration [See Figure 37]. Also, the early third century statue bases of both Tatiana and Diogenes, both originally located in the north agora follow a similar tradition.⁷²

It is difficult to find evidence that does not overlap these categories to some extent. For example, the Southwest Complex appears to have been undergoing extensive construction during the third century both predating and contemporaneously with the Tetrarchy. Dr. Ratté has noted that in the basilica was undergoing a renovation in the mid-third century and it would be logical that renovation of a major urban monument that sits at an important intersection might include the redesign of the streets surrounding it including the addition of a tetrakionion.

⁷¹Genaro Pesce, Il "Palazzo delle Colonne" in Tolemaide di Cirenaica (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1950), plates V & IX.

⁷²Ratté, "Preliminary Report on the Tetrakionion in the Southwest Complex at Aphrodisias", 5.

Tetrarchic—Late Third Early Fourth Century AD.

The Tetrarchy was an important change both politically and socially throughout the empire. As noted, the split of the Empire into eastern and western halves resulted in the establishment of new capitals and new building projects in an attempt by Diocletian to establish authority and support for the Tetrarchy.⁷³ Under Diocletian Aphrodisias was made the capital of the province of Caria and it would seem likely that some new civic construction would take place to honor the new political responsibilities of the city and to express the tetrarch's control over the empire.

The most famous tetrarchic ensemble is that in the Roman Forum [See Figure 54]. Diocletian and Maxentius needed to assure that their images were centrally focused in western capital and loomed large over its citizens. The monument has five columns with statuary with the front four columns in a row topped by the Augusti and Caesars. Several examples of four column monuments exist throughout the empire, and the use of a tetrakionion worked well as it was in a visible location and provided space for each of the four rulers to be represented. At Ephesus, for example, the monument along the Arcadian way has been attributed by some to be tetrarchic [See Figure 53].⁷⁴

In the early fourth century Diocletian's price and currency edicts were erected in the Southwest Complex close to where the tetrakionion may have been

⁷³Ward-Perkins, 441.

⁷⁴William Jobst, "Ein Spätantikes Säulenmonument in Ephesos," (*IstMitt* 39, 1989), page 245.

already standing or soon to be built.⁷⁵ Also, the construction of major monuments such as the "imperial hall" of the theater baths and Guadin's temple and fountain took place along the street that ran through the tetrakionion to the east.⁷⁶ These examples are significant, for they are constructed with alternating elements of white and gray marble in a manner similar to the tetrakionion. The columns of Gaudin's temple are typical of the east-west street colonnade and appear proportionally similar to those of the tetrakionion [Figure 60]. Whether they are contemporaries or whether one may have inspired the other is not yet clear, however, they have composite capitals, and Ratté believes that the tetrakionion's capitals are Corinthian.

If one looks at the history of the city and the region a date preceding the fourth century seems the most logical. After the reign of Diocletian (285-304 AD.) there appears not have been any further large-scale new construction on site.⁷⁷ The only documented large-scale projects after the late third century are the conversion of the temple of Aphrodite into a Christian basilica in the fifth century and the building of the fortification walls in the mid-fourth century.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Ratté, "Preliminary Report on the Tetrakionion in the Southwest Complex at Aphrodisias", 8.

⁷⁶Ibid, 8.

⁷⁷Erim, Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite, 34.

⁷⁸Erim, Aphrodisias: A Guide to the Site and Its Museum, 16.

Late Antique--Fifth or Sixth Century AD.

The fact that no large scale building has been recorded to have occurred after the fourth century does not necessarily mean that all building stopped. The fifth century saw the conversion of the temple to a Christian basilica; an event that would have involved substantial effort and resources. The conversion, however, was a adaptation of material already on site, for no large scale architectural elements were constructed for this monument.⁷⁹ This does not mean that monolithic construction was not taking place, but rather that no evidence has as yet been found.

A second iconographic, as previously mentioned, is the addition to that of the Tetrarchs is that the columns were built in honor of the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The fact that the site was subsequently used as a Christian church and still later used as a burial ground might indicate that there had been a strong Christian presence here from the monuments beginnings. The sculptured heads that decorate the top of each of the four columns could be represent the images of a bull, an angel, a lion, and an eagle, the four symbols of the evangelists [See Figures 17 & 33]. However, the only clear image is that of the bull; there appears to be a human head or mask but it is unfinished and damaged. The other two were never completed and have been subsequently damaged as well. It is possible that these images represent an association with an emperor, or the tetrarchs, or even important individuals of the city; this issue has not been resolved. The monument may have been erected in imperial times and the statuary changed under the

⁷⁹Ibid, 19.

Christian rulers, those images that were associated with the empire may then have been defaced.

The same diagnostic features that place the monument in the early periods can also be used to place it in the Late Antique period. The molding profiles, the octagonal composition, and the recessed panel can all be found to have representative late examples. At Qal'at Saman in Syria built in the fifth century AD. the outside of the east apse has square column bases with a strikingly similar panel [Figure 61]. Recessed panels are also found on the column bases at St. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna and the colonnade at Qal'at Mudiq in Syria [Figures 62 & 63].⁸⁰ The Syrian example has not been dated but may as late as the fourth century.⁸¹ The use of the octagonal pedestals to establish a late date has already been shown to be impossible. There are, however, examples of their use at this time which indicate that it is possible. For example, at St. Demetrius in Thessalonike there are numerous octagonal bases for the columns in the nave [See Figure 64].⁸²

In terms of the monuments method of construction a late date seems less likely due to the careful use of clamps, pour channels, and dowel holes. Ratté has noted that such a well organized project seems more consistent with construction methods predating the fourth century.⁸³ The careful matching

⁸⁰Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 137.

⁸¹ Horst Klengel, *The Art of Ancient Syria*. (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1972), 67.

⁸²Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 76.

⁸³Ratté, "Preliminary Report on the Tetraklion in the Southwest Complex at Aphrodisias", 7.

of elements and the monolithic construction is more characteristic of the Imperial period than the Late Antique.

The use of the capital fragments to date the monument is not appropriate [See Figure 34]. Even though I was able to confirm that the diameter of one of the fragments was consistent with that of the column, for the present the only direct association between the fragments and the monument is that they were found in close proximity to one another. Based on the precedents and my documentation I am convinced that the monument had capitals and very likely statuary, but until such time that conclusive evidence can be found to link such elements directly to the monument, they can offer little in terms of its dating.

An association with either the evangelists or the tetrarchs would be desirable and romantic. However, one must not overlook the fact that many public monuments were built and paid for by local citizens who may have chosen to immortalize themselves. This is one of the most exciting aspects of the future research of this monument, and the further excavation of the area surrounding the triconch church will hopefully reveal important new elements that aid in the dating and understanding of the tetrakionion.

The Documentation

Methodology and Observations

Methodology and Background

There were five main goals for the measured documentation. First, it was necessary to record the major pieces that were believed to belong to the monument; second, to establish their compositional order; third, to determine which pieces were connected to one another; fourth, to determine what pieces are currently missing; and fifth to use the information gathered to aid in determining the iconographic significance of the structure. The methodology used to meet these goals was to first identify an element and then fully document it in its surviving condition. Next those pieces that still had evidence of their original appearance were reconstructed on paper and fit into the larger reconstruction of the entire monument [Figure 65].

In order to ensure that the reconstruction drawings were as accurate as possible the documentation of the fragments had to consistently follow a cataloguing method that allowed a clear understanding of each fragment and how it fit into the greater whole. To better facilitate this an alphabetical and numerical ordering system was established by Dr. Ratté and myself. For example, starting arbitrarily with the southwest base (I) and proceeding

clockwise to the southeast base (IV), each of the four bases was assigned a roman numeral [See Figures 18 - 21]. Subsequently, all components were assigned a letter of the alphabet starting with the first base level and then proceeding vertically [See Figure 65]. Different components were numbered as found and will be assigned to specific bases when their placement can be confirmed. For example, the large octagonal dado pieces for the pedestal bases are assigned the letter E [See Figure 28]. The first one drawn was E1 and when it is matched to a specific base it will be noted, for instance, as "IE1."

During the course of the 1994 field season I fully executed or provided significant contributions to twenty-six drawings that relate to the tetraklion. All fragments and architectural drawings were initially laid out, measured, and drawn in the field on field-sheets. These drawings contain notations and sketches that assisted in the laying out of the final drawings [Figure 66].⁸⁴ Those drawings that were deemed necessary for publication have been drawn in ink on mylar film and have been assigned a code that relates them to their field location. My drawings all relate to the Southwest Complex and have been assigned the code SWC, and each was numbered in sequence as it was inked. A large number of these drawings are included in Appendix 1 of this thesis, however, some drawings that are not currently slated for publication or that have not been finalized or used in analysis have been excluded. The following is a complete list of these

⁸⁴All field sheet are stored in the Aphrodisias library in the main excavation house in Turkey.

drawings that provides the field sheet number, drawing code, title, and scale.⁸⁵

FIELD SEASON 1994-LIST OF DRAWINGS FOR SOUTHWEST COMPLEX⁸⁶

Field Sheet	Code	Title	Scale
94.1	SWC 9	E/W Section	1:50
94.3	SWC 14	Oct. Base 1	1:10
94.4	SWC 13(17)	Oct. Base 2	1:10
94.5	SWC 15	Oct. Base 3	1:10
94.6	SWC 16	Oct. Base 4	1:10
94.7	SWC 31	Baha's Trench	1:50
94.8	SWC 32	Reconst. Prop. 1	1:25
94.9	SWC 12	E/W Section	1:25
94.12	SWC 28	Reconst.. Prop. 2	1:10
94.13	SWC 11	Rom. Phs. Pln.	1:50
94.14	SWC 27 (27)	Arch. Frag. H1-H2	1:10
94.15	SWC 29 (26)	Arch. Frag. D3	1:10
94.16	SWC 20 (22)	Arch. Frag. E1	1:10
94.17/18	SWC 30 (33, 24)	Arch. Frag. G3-G4	1:10
94.19	SWC 22 (20)	Arch. Frag. F1	1:10
94.21	SWC 19	Arch. Frag. F4 &F5	1:10
94.22	SWC 17 (13)	Arch. Frag. C1	1:10
94.23	SWC 23 (25)	Arch. Frag. F2	1:10
94.24	Not Inked	Arch. Frag. H3, H4, H5	1:10
94.25	SWC 24 (30)	Arch. Frag. F3	1:10
94.26	SWC 26 (29)	Arch. Frag. G2	1:10
94.27	SWC 21	Arch. Frag. E2	1:10
94.28	SWC 18	Arch. Frag. D1	1:10
94.29	SWC 25 (23)	Arch. Frag. G1	1:10
94.41	Not Inked	Column Diam.	1:1
94.42	Not Inked	Column Diam. 2	1:1

The field season was begun by first taking a visual survey of the area to better familiarize myself with the site. Upon initial observations it was clear that the four octagonal bases were part of an original Roman monument and that

⁸⁵All drawings are currently housed in the Aphrodisias Archive located at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts in Manhattan. All drawings are filed in the archive numerically according to the SWC (Southwest Complex) code number. Copies of all documentation is also kept on site in Turkey at the Aphrodisias library in the main excavation house.

⁸⁶The bolded titles indicate those fragments that have been matched to other elements or other fragments. The corresponding element is indicated in parentheses next to the SWC code.

numerous large fragments of that monument were scattered throughout the area. The various fragments can be noted according to the individual elements and their locations on an unofficial sketched scatter plan [Figure 67].⁸⁷ The site upon first examination appeared full of architectural remains that included large cornice and entablature fragments. Initially this led to a my speculation that there may have at one time been a superstructure covering the entire monument, however, the eight meter center to center measurement of the columns would seem to preclude this possibility. The site contains fragments from both the tetrakionion and the later Christian church as well as numerous fragments that appear to have been incorporated into the church walls but have now been scattered with the rest of the elements.

The first excavations of this part of the site took place in 1962 and were supervised by Malcolm Bell.⁸⁸ At this time the entire area inside the walls of the triconch church was excavated and the debris piled in one of two dumps on either the north or south side of the site. It was noted that some of the main architectural fragments were left as found and if this is the case it would support the theory that the building collapsed in one of the many earthquakes at the site.⁸⁹ The most striking feature one sees when approaching the site is the large column shaft resting on the wall of the north apse apparently where

⁸⁷My initial survey at the beginning of the summer included a review of the field notebooks from both the 1962 and 1993 excavations as well as discussions with the field and site directors.

⁸⁸Bell was the archaeologist in charge of the Southwest Complex during the first years of its excavations. His notes and findings are recorded in the following: Aphrodisias Field Notebooks, (Aphrodisias Archives, NYU Institute of Fine Arts, New York), 1962: 10-11/M.B. - Martyrion (SW Complex).

⁸⁹Aphrodisias Field Notebooks, 1962: 10-11/M.B. - Martyrion (SW Complex), 111.

it settled after toppling. Bell made sketches in his field notebook of what he thought the monument may have looked like and they are remarkable consistent with what the documentation is proving to be correct [Figure 68].⁹⁰ No measured drawings were done during the first investigations and his reconstruction was purely hypothetical. In 1993 the site was re-opened and new trenches were dug in an attempt to prove the hypothesis that a street intersection was located at this point. The team successfully uncovered the north-south drain, original street paving stones, and the bottom of the foundation for the tetrakionion [See Figure 10].

I began the season by documenting the four bases that are still in situ [See Figures 18 - 21]. All four of the bases are preserved up to the second step (level B), and in order to insure detailed accuracy in the measurements an arbitrary fifty centimeter chalk grid was drawn over each base after it was thoroughly cleaned [Figure 69]. This provided key points from which features could be measured. The corners of the bases were surveyed to exactly established their location within the city grid and to confirm the overall measurements. The architectural fragments proved to be more difficult to measure as they were often badly damaged and had limited surface area from which to establish a base point of measurement. To accommodate for this, key points were established on each fragment where again a grid was used to provide starting points for measuring the surfaces. A profile gauge was used to assist in noting moldings and irregularities, and a series of calipers aided in the this as well.

⁹⁰Aphrodisias Field Notebooks, 1962: 10-11/M.B. - Martyrion (SW Complex), 104.

Observations

Several key observations were made during the course of the season that have aided in the reconstruction, and I have outlined them in this section. While measuring the fragments it was important for me not to speculate too much on what I believed the monument looked like, for on two occasions early in the season my observations proved my first thoughts to be incorrect. As a result, all observations have been reviewed and analyzed without relying on preconceived notions about the composition. It is also important to note the analysis of the monument type and the speculations on the dating of the tetraklion were all conducted after the field documentation had been completed. Since I was relatively unfamiliar with this type of structure before beginning the season my documentation was based solely on what was on the evidence on site.

Because there were only two steps in situ, I initially conceived of the main part of the monument as rising from that point. This proved to be incorrect; there was actually a third step no longer in place. The first clue that there was another step was that the tool marks showed a distinct variation between the centers and the edges of the second step. Clearly visible by these marks were the outlines of an octagonal element that would have covered the unfinished stone in the center [See Figure 18]. This alone, however, was not enough to indicate that the octagonal element was simply another step, for it was still possible that the outline indicated an octagonal piece approximately one-and-one-half meters wide. No evidence seemed to remain for something of this

size so a further investigation was warranted. The next key evidence was the discovery of a large slab of marble in the corner of the nave. The piece was the same color as the other steps and had a side that was the same measurements as their height, approximately thirty-two centimeters [See Figure 22]. It also had corners that matched the same angle as the others indicating it was part of an octagonal unit. The final evidence for the third step came from looking at how the Christian church was constructed around the monument. The walls of the church overlapped the steps of each of the bases at the outer edges. They are rubble and mortar walls and were built flush against the marble steps. On each base there was the remains of a diagonal infill of rubble that matched the height and angle of where a third step would have been if it were consistent with the two below. The marble piece thought to be the step was measured and eventually matched to the dowel holes of Base II [See Figures 22 & 19]. Two fragments survive on Base I but have not been fully measured and drawn, so it is only speculation that they belong to this base [See Figure 18].⁹¹

The fragment of step three (C) that survives indicates that this level may have been composed of two pieces. The second step (B) levels are composed of four large polygonal pieces on the exterior with an irregularly shaped piece in the center. The pieces were then clamped together with iron clamps that were secured in place by molten lead. This evidence was all clearly visible, however, step one's (A) construction was not visible on any of the bases. It was apparent that all four were constructed of several pieces of marble, but it

⁹¹Many of the fragments appear to have been broken apart for use in other structures, so it is difficult to attribute the current location of a fragment to its original position.

was unclear if they extended back into the center or if there might be a mortar and rubble core. Through the removal of a section of step B on Base II, I was able to note that step A extended only part way below step B and there was in fact a mortar and rubble core. As noted, I was surprised that there was also an iron clamp still in place with visible remains of lead in the sockets [See Figure 23].

It was very important for me to accurately record the techniques of construction, for as already noted, the location of certain tool marks had aided in the investigation. More importantly, I needed to carefully record the location of the clamps and dowel holes. The dowel holes will ultimately confirm the original placement of the specific elements. All four of the bases have round dowel holes that appear randomly placed. Some, as noted, were started and then abandoned for other locations [See Figures 22 & 25]. Their use in construction is not unusual. An iron dowel would be used to secure two pieces of stone by having it placed in the hole on the lower piece and having the upper piece, with the corresponding hole, lowered onto it. This gave the pieces some structural stability and assured that they were placed correctly. The importance of the dowel holes for the reconstruction is that by lining up the holes on the various elements an exact match can be made. At Aphrodisias this task when finished will be very exact thanks to the ingenuity of the masons. For this monument the masons laid out three corresponding holes for each of the elements from D through H [See Figure 17]. Since there were four of each element the possibility of error during construction was eliminated by two methods. In some cases the mason used round dowels and in others square. Also, and most interestingly, the mason laid out the three

holes at the corners of an equilateral triangle, and the triangle size is unique to each element. In terms of matching the often broken elements this means that if any two holes can be found the location of the third is most likely predetermined.

Several of the fragments that were measured and drawn during the 1994 season have been matched according to their dowel holes (see list in preceding section). At this time no one complete composition has been matched. However, when the remaining fragments are measured, drawn and compared to the completed drawings it is very likely that enough of the monument remains to produce a reconstruction drawing that is based upon all original fragments from one column unit. The reconstruction drawings included in this thesis are based upon the fragments that could be conclusively documented to assure their proportions and dimensions and include as many matched pieces as possible [See Figures 17 & 64]. The drawings were completed on site and are based upon the following drawings: IA1, IB1, IC1, D3 [Figure 70], E1 [See Figure 28], F1 [See Figure 26], G3 & G4 [Figure 71], and H1 & H2 [See Figure 31]. At this time some changes have been made because of continuing research. Element D3 [See Figure 70] appears to match to element G2 [Figure 72]. This means that it is a pedestal top (F) and not a pedestal base (D) and though it is basically inverted it should not be used in future reconstructions. To assure continued accuracy a new reconstruction drawing has been completed based upon the most up to date evidence [Figure 73]. The changes include the substitution of Base II, since it has all three steps confirmed, and the replacement of D3 [See Figure 70] with D1 [See Figure 27]. The selection of D1 was do to the fact that it is the only

relatively large fragment that can be confirmed to be a pedestal base; it has a visible pour channel on one side.

The capital fragments that are suspected to belong to the monument were located in the pile of debris directly to the north of the north apse. My investigation of this area produced several dozen fragments of the various upper elements, and still other fragments may yet be found at this location. The wall of the south apse also has several larger fragments piled on top. These, as with the others, were placed here by Bell during the 1962 excavation and await cataloging and documentation.⁹² When looking for a capital I knew its diameter would have to be quite large, approximately eighty centimeters at the base. Large capitals existed on the site at the Baths of Hadrian and the Temple of Aphrodite, but they were not quite large enough and there were more than four at each location, indicating that they were not from other monuments. I suspected that the capitals would be of white marble because it would be consistent with the alternating color pattern of white and gray on the lower portion of the monument and on other columns on the east-west street. A Corinthian order seemed likely because of the free standing composition of the tetraklion, the Corinthian columns used elsewhere along the street, and the monumental scale of the structure. The proportions of both Ionic or Corinthian columns would be the same, however, since the column were meant to be viewed from all four directions it is more likely that Corinthian would be chosen over Ionic. The three fragments that I believe belong to one or more of the tetraklion's capitals are very small, two of which provide no means of identifying the size of the

⁹²Aphrodisias Field Notebooks, 1962: 10-11/M.B. - Martyrion (SW Complex), 10.

original piece [See Figure 34]. The third fragment is larger and enough of the base was preserved to reconstruct the original diameter based on simple geometry. The results of this test show a diameter that falls between seventy and eighty centimeters. The top of each column is eighty centimeters, so this fits within the required range. If the capitals were still in place during the earthquake that finally brought down the monument and the church it is possible that the capitals fell outside the walls or, being smaller than the monuments other components, were used in the construction of the fortification wall. No capitals were found during the 1962 excavation, and apparently the small fragments were not considered to belong to the monument, as they were removed from the site and placed in the debris pile. Should a large enough capital be found with dowel holes intact it could be easily matched to one of the four columns, all of which have dowel holes at the top. The discovery of a large capital fragment might also answer questions regarding what may have sat above that level for which no physical evidence currently exists.

A final observation is that the elements vary significantly in overall height and molding profiles from one unit to the next. This will prove significant when all fragments have been measured and drawn as it will be an additional means of confirming which fragments belong together. For example, element E1 [See Figure 28] is one hundred and eighteen centimeters high while element E2 [Figure 74] is one hundred and nine centimeters high. Element F1 [See Figure 26] is forty-seven centimeters while F2 [Figure 75] is fifty-five and one-half centimeters and, though similar, they have distinct molding profiles. Several small fragments of the various elements are laid

out beside the debris pile previously mentioned, and in many cases they still have portions of their moldings preserved. When the elements have been completely drawn and catalogued this element will be able to be matched to the larger fragments.

Conclusions

Short and Long Term Proposals

The main conclusion reached during the analysis and preparation of this thesis was that though many of the monument's mysteries have been revealed there remain many more to be uncovered. I am confident that the reconstruction drawings that I produced are accurate in terms of the composition of the monuments elements. I am also convinced, having reviewed the numerous precedents and surviving physical evidence, that there were Corinthian capitals atop each of the four columns and that these were in turn topped by statuary and perhaps a base or pedestal on which the statuary stood. It remains a distinct possibility that there is no evidence remaining to support the latter belief, however, so much of the site remains unexcavated that future season will undoubtedly produce new evidence that will aid in the monument's understanding. In addition, much of what has been excavated has not been studied in terms of recent theories about the city and its urban patterns. If statues did once stand atop the columns it is likely that they would have been over two meters in height, for the capitals alone would be at least a meter tall. If fragments of such statues are found their size would be a clue to a possible association with this structure. It is also possible that the statues could have been made of bronze and were melted down long

ago. If this is the case the only evidence to prove their existence would be the discovery of a capital fragment that can be conclusively matched to the monument and found to have holes on its top for connecting a statue. The 1994 season produced a solid base on which this thesis is based and upon which current and future members of the Aphrodisias team will build.

Recommendations for 1995 Field Season

There are many fragments on the site that have yet to be documented. It is important to first document as many of the larger fragments known to be part of the monument. The scatter plan shows what fragments have and have not been documented [See Figure 67]. When all fragments have been recorded a comparison can then be made to the drawings and analysis in this report, and a concise inventory of the tetrakionion's elements will exist. At this point the various elements can then be conclusively matched and possibly one or more of the column units can be reconstructed on paper using confirmed, original elements. This will be useful in understanding more about the carved heads that decorate the tops of each column. By knowing exactly how the column shaft fits on the rest of the elements the orientation of the head will be determined. This may be used to understand what approach the builders felt to be most important; did images face people approaching from the north and the portico of Tiberius, or did they face people approaching the intersection from another direction. If all image face west it may indicate that the western gate was a major point of entry into the city and the monument faced visitors to the city.

The matched fragments discussed in the documentation section should be confirmed in the field. The majority of this analysis had to be done after the field season was over, and as a result the observations are often based upon my measured drawings and photographs and not the fragments themselves. I am confident about the precautions taken to assure accurate measurements, however, now that some conclusions have been made about the compositional ordering it would be worthwhile to take advantage of the ability to confirm the connections first hand.

Numerous fragments that were found in the debris pile north of the site were laid out according to their element groups. For example, I found numerous small broken pieces from one or various column bases (G) and they have been set aside in their own pile. These fragments should be photographed, measured, and have any visible molding profiles compared to other fragments. In addition, there are several large fragments both along the length of the south wall and beside it. Many of these are large enough to contribute significant information and may even have dowel holes remaining. There is also a very large debris pile directly south of the site. I did not have the opportunity to do more than the most superficial investigation of this area, and would recommend that the brush be cleared away and a search for fragments be conducted. Ideally both debris piles will at some point be removed, for they currently sit directly over the north-south street at the point that it intersects with the monument.

The condition of the both the white and gray marble fragments appeared to be excellent. In general my observations were that aside from the obvious

fractures that occurred either during the monuments collapse or by an attempt to reduce them to smaller fragments for construction, the stone appears to have weathered very little. The main concern with the marble would come should the decision to re-erect any or all of the components. Many of the elements, including all four column shafts, do not have a flat surface at the bottom. As such the decision would need to be made whether a cast replacement material would be used to fill in the fracture, or possibly a new marble reproduction made to replace a missing intermediate element. Regardless of what choices were made some intrusive work would need to be done to the original pieces in order to secure them to the castings or replacement elements. This brings to issue the question of whether a reconstruction is necessary.

Reconstruction and Interpretation

I have strong personal reservations about the reconstruction of any structure unless it can be determined that in so doing significant improvements can be made in the understanding and interpretation of the project in question. In many cases the initial understanding of a building, structure, site, or object can be achieved by studying what remains. It is then often sufficient for future study to be restricted to documentation and factually based reconstruction drawings. The actual physical reconstruction will add little to the continued academic research of most buildings.

The main reason for reconstructing all or part of a building is to provide a visual link or understanding to those not familiar with the current

documentation or those wishing to experience a romanticized interpretation; the result is a frozen moment in time that never actually occurred.

Reconstructions are generally conducted for tourism purposes in an attempt to draw more people to a site. This is understandable, but it also presents many dangers in terms of how the thousands of visitors will interpret the ruins of a Roman city that now stands in a condition that does not resemble any point in its history except the present. The reconstruction of any monument give an impression of the past, but not necessarily an accurate one.

My specific concerns in terms of a reconstruction of the tetrakionion relate to how it will be interpreted. There are three basic periods in which the site could be interpreted: one, the pre-church period when the monument stood as an urban element; two, the period when the monument was incorporated into the structure of the church; and three, the period after the monument and church collapsed and the site was used as a burial ground. The first option seems the most likely, since the Roman period is currently the main focus of the excavation team. In order to properly interpret the monument and see how it functioned during the Roman period it would be ideal to be able to walk along one of the streets directly into the intersection with the columns standing on all four sides. Aside from the theoretical and logistical issues there is little to impede the reconstruction of the columns. There is a solid foundation and there appears to be enough evidence to confirm the exact order of the elements for each column unit. There would be significant problems, however, in terms of approaching the monument along a street since three of the approaches are now blocked by the apses of the church. The

western approach remains unimpeded as it was the entrance to the church. The axis continues along the east-west street. At present, however, the approaches from either the north or the east are the only two to have been partially excavated and known to have connections to other significant city structures. It would be unfortunate to have to remove part or all of the church structure. The columns rising within the walls of the church would seem to be the best and least intrusive solution to understanding the monuments history should a reconstruction be approved.

If one or more columns is reconstructed it is possible that replacement elements or fragments of elements will be needed. It is important that the new components be clearly marked by a material change, level of finish, or color selection. Any element to be replaced should, however, maintain the variation in polychromy consistent with the reconstruction drawings. Compositionally the color should alternate as it did when constructed. Only those components of the monument, or their replacements, that have been confirmed to belong to the original composition should be used. Until such time as a capital or statue can be confirmed to belong to the monument no reconstruction of such elements should be attempted.

Summary of future season projects and drawings

- Complete the measurement and drawing of all tetraklion fragments.
- Investigate debris piles to north and south of site.

- Select excavation of areas outside church walls to expose more of east-west and north-south streets, to determine the structures that were located at the intersection, and to look for additional fragments.
- North-south section drawing through monument showing relationship to north-south street
- North-south section drawing through church
- East-west section showing connection to excavated street to east
- Roman phase plan showing all fragments related to roman period and their current locations--including drains and remaining paving stones

Final Thoughts

Though ancient Aphrodisias may have long ago ceased to function as a living city it still contains important clues that will aid in the understanding of its urban organization and daily civic life. Most investigation and analysis similar to what has been conducted here remain with a fraction of doubt as to whether the conclusions reached are without error. Such work must be an ongoing process in which those involved always maintain the ability to step back periodically and review the project. This includes not only new evidence but the revaluation of what had previously been considered fact. The Roman tetrakionion at Aphrodisias is part of the urban fabric of the city, and as more of the city plan is uncovered and more of the street systems are linked together, this monument's place in the overall scheme will continue to become clearer. Whether the tetrakionion is eventually reconstructed or not, it is important that its documentation be continued and that the information and site be made available to both scholars and visitors.

Illustrations

List of photos and illustrations

- Figure 1: Map of western Turkey
- Figure 2: Aerial view of Aphrodisias in the 1960s showing remains of village of Geyre on theater mound.
- Figure 3: Map showing Aphrodisias in relationship to Baba Dag mountain range.
- Figure 4: Plan of Aphrodisias, showing excavated areas as of 1994. (CP 1)
- Figure 5: Acropolis mound. Prehistoric investigations on the west slope. Two Bronze Age idols (insert).
- Figure 6: Temple and temenos of Aphrodite.
- Figure 7: Fragment of still standing city wall (fourth century and after).
- Figure 8: Southwest Complex Area Plan - 1994. (SWC 7)
- Figure 9: Photo of triconch church in the Southwest Complex.
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- Figure 13: Triconch church East-West section/elevation, looking north.
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- Figure 15: Reconstruction of votive fountain in Rome. It is possible that a similar object was located on the East-West street in Aphrodisias.
- Figure 16: Excavations on North-South street - 1994. (SWC 31)
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- Figure 18: Octagonal Base I - 1994. (SWC 14)
- Figure 19: Octagonal Base II - 1994. (SWC 13)
- Figure 20: Octagonal Base III - 1994. (SWC 15)
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- Figure 22: Base II Level 3 - 1994, field sheet showing measured drawing of IIC-1. (SWC 17)
- Figure 23: Photo of Base II showing corner removed. Visible is an iron clamp still in position.
- Figure 24: Photo of Base IV showing dowel and clamp holes.
- Figure 25: Close-up of Base IV showing detail of dowel and clamp holes. Photo shows a dowel hole that was started but then moved to another location.
- Figure 26: Pedestal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-1. (SWC 22)
- Figure 27: Pedestal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-1. (SWC 18)
- Figure 28: Pedestal -1994, Architectural Fragment E-1. (SWC 20)
- Figure 29: Column Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment G-1. (SWC 25)
- Figure 30: Photo of Architectural Fragment G-1

- Figure 31: Column Shaft - 1994, Architectural Fragments H1 & H2. (SWC 27)
- Figure 32: Photo of triconch church.
- Figure 33: Photo of bull's head on fragment H2.
- Figure 34: Photo of three Corinthian capital fragments speculated to belong to tetrakionion.
- Figure 35: Photo of largest Corinthian capital fragment found during 1994 season investigations of tetrakionion.
- Figure 36: Illustration showing geometric analysis of large capital fragment.
- Figure 37: Photo of Aphrodisias tetrapylon.
- Figure 38: Map indicating location of major precedents.
- Figure 39: Columns of Arcadius, Istanbul, Marcian, Istanbul, and Phocas, Rome.
- Figure 40: Ashokan column, Bara Hindu Rao, New Delhi.
- Figure 41: Pompey's Pillar, Alexandria, Egypt.
- Figure 42: Janus Quadrifron, Rome.
- Figure 43: Tetrakionion at Antinopolis.
- Figure 44: Columns in apse of Severen Basilica at Leptis Magna.
- Figure 45: Plan of Antinopolis showing location of the tetrakionia.
- Figure 46: Details of Antinopolis tetrakionia.
- Figure 47: Comparison between marble panels at Aphrodisias (left) and Leptis Magna (right).
- Figure 48: Plan of Gerasa.
- Figure 49: Plan and photo of tetrapylon at Gerasa.

- Figure 50: Reconstruction drawing of tetrakionion at Gerasa.
- Figure 51: Plan of Palmyra.
- Figure 52: Photo of tetrakionion at Palmyra.
- Figure 53: Reconstruction drawing of tetrakionion at Ephesus.
- Figure 54: Reconstruction drawing of the Tetrachical monument on the Rostra in the Roman Forum.
- Figure 55: Temple of Aesclepius at Pergamon.
- Figure 56: Temple of Serapis at Ephesus.
- Figure 57: Plan of Sagalassos.
- Figure 58: Photo showing octagonal bases in north agora at Aphrodisias.
- Figure 59: Section of Palazzo del Colonne, showing octagonal bases for columns in side aisles.
- Figure 60: Photo of column along East-West street.
- Figure 61: Qal'at Saman, showing recessed panels with incurving ends at the bases of the columns.
- Figure 62: St. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, showing panels at bases of columns.
- Figure 63: Colonnade at Qal'at Mudiq in Syria, showing panels at bases of columns.
- Figure 64: St. Demetrius in Thessalonike, showing octagonal bases on the columns.
- Figure 65: Reconstruction drawing of Aphrodisias tetrakionion - 1994. Drawing is based upon preliminary study of the monument.
- Figure 66: Field sheet for Architectural Fragment G-2. (SWC 26)
- Figure 67: Scatter plan showing location of Roman fragments from the tetrakionion.

- Figure 68: Sketch of Aphrodisias tetrakionion by Malcolm Bell.
- Figure 69: Photo showing cleaning of Base IV in preperation for laying measuring lines.
- Figure 70: Pedistal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-3. (SWC 29)
- Figure 71: Field sheets for Architectural Fragments G-3 and G-4 - 1994. (SWC 30)
- Figure 72: Column Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment G-2. (SWC 26)
- Figure 73: Hypothetical reconstruction of Aphrodisias tetrakionion - 1995.
- Figure 74: Pedistal - 1994, Architectural Fragment E-2. (SWC 21)
- Figure 75: Pedistal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-2. (SWC 23)



Figure 1: Map of western Turkey

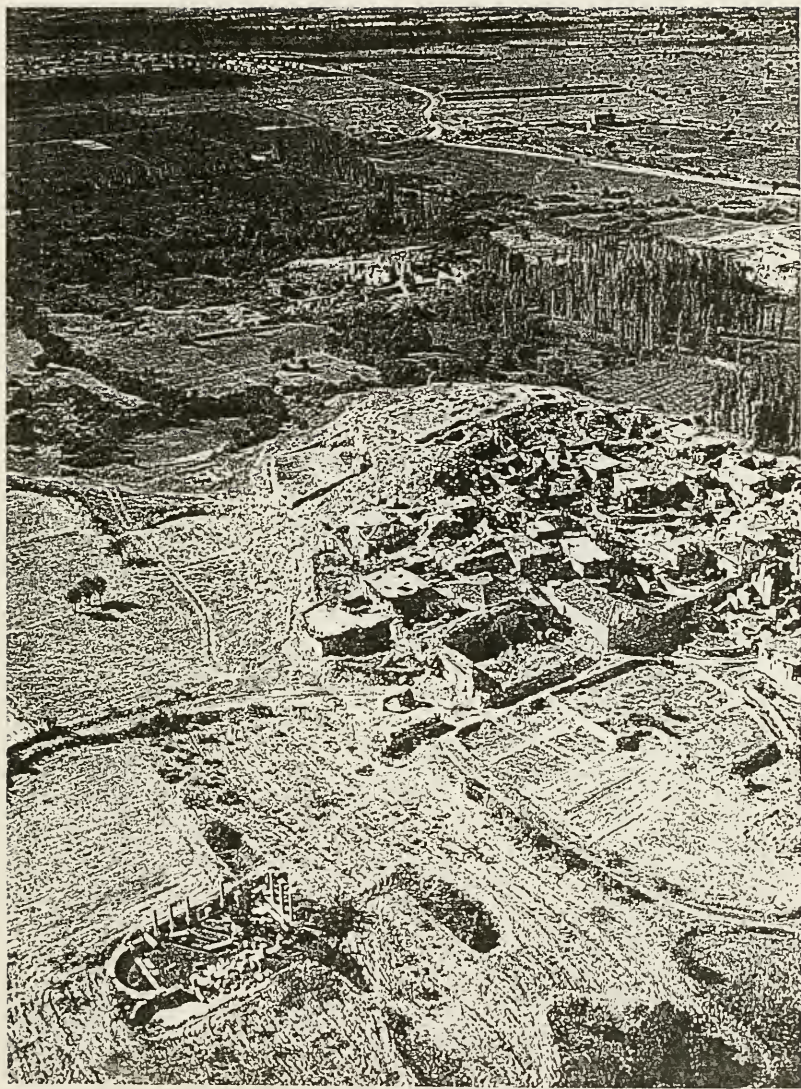


Figure 2: Aerial view of Aphrodisias in the 1960s showing remains of village of Geyre on theater mound.

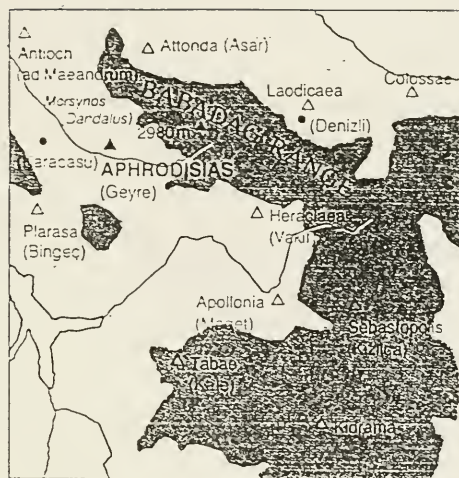


Figure 3: Map showing Aphrodisias in relationship to Baba Dagh mountain range.



Figure 4: Plan of Aphrodisias, showing excavated areas as of 1994. (CP 1)

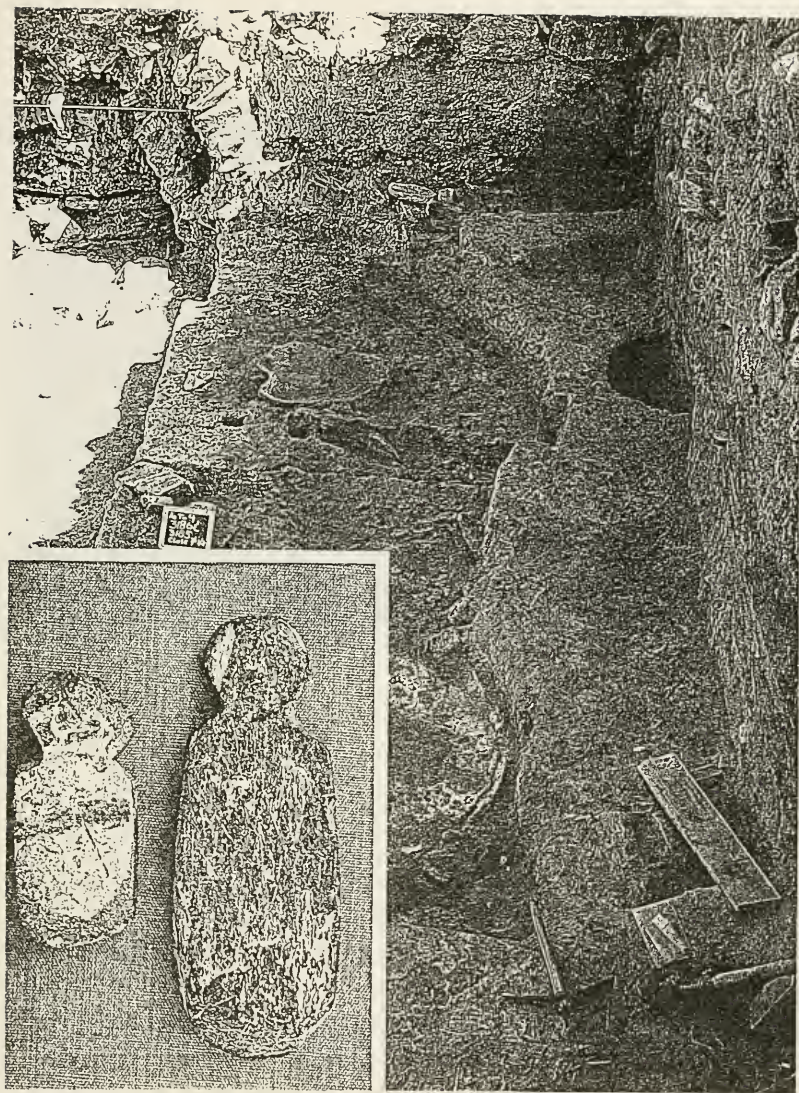


Figure 5: Acropolis mound. Prehistoric investigations on the west slope. Two Bronze Age idols (insert).

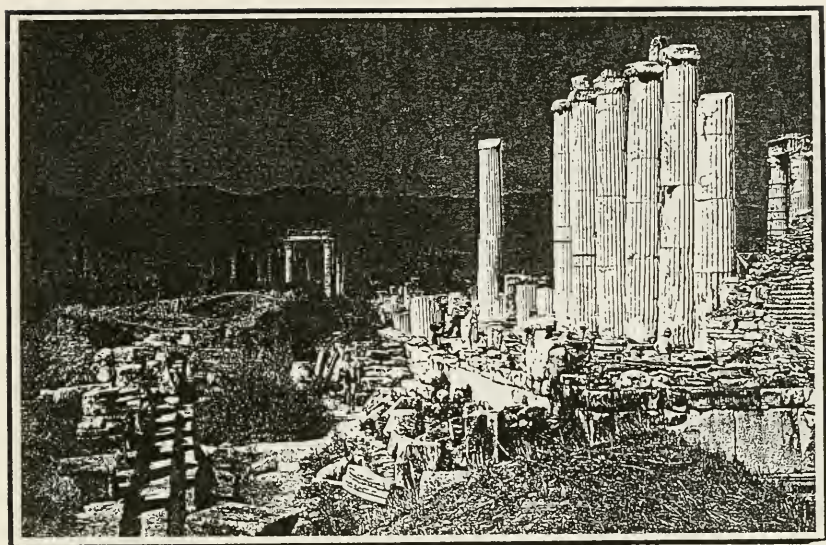


Figure 6: Temple and temenos of Aphrodite.

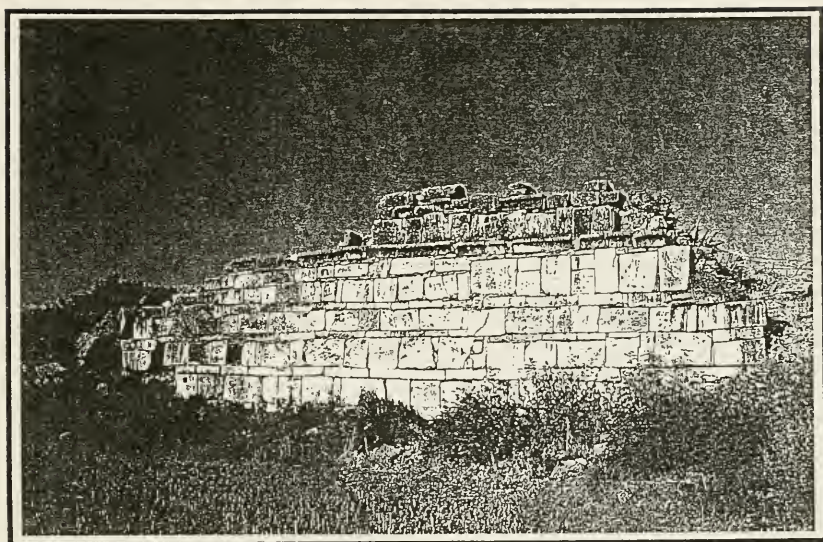


Figure 7: Fragment of still standing city wall (fourth century and after).



Figure 8: Southwest Complex Area Plan - 1994. (SWC 7)



Figure 9: Photo of triconch church in the Southwest Complex.

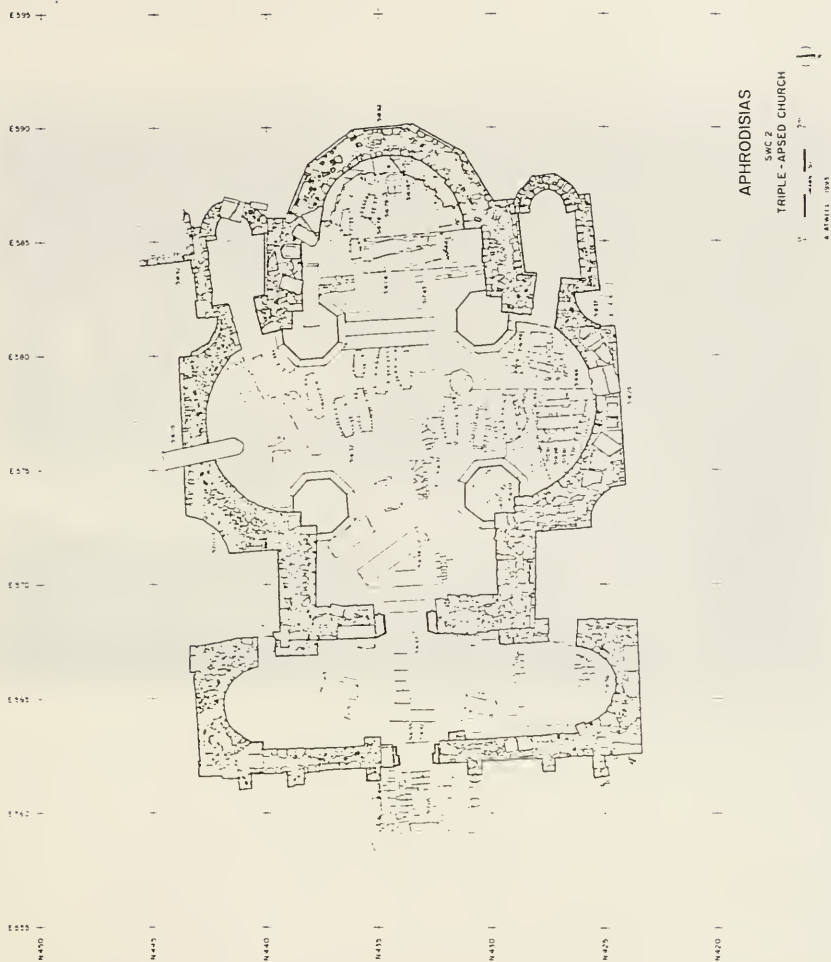


Figure 10: Plan of the triconch church - 1993. (SWC 2)



Figure 11: Photo of triconch church showing various fragments of the tetrakionion.

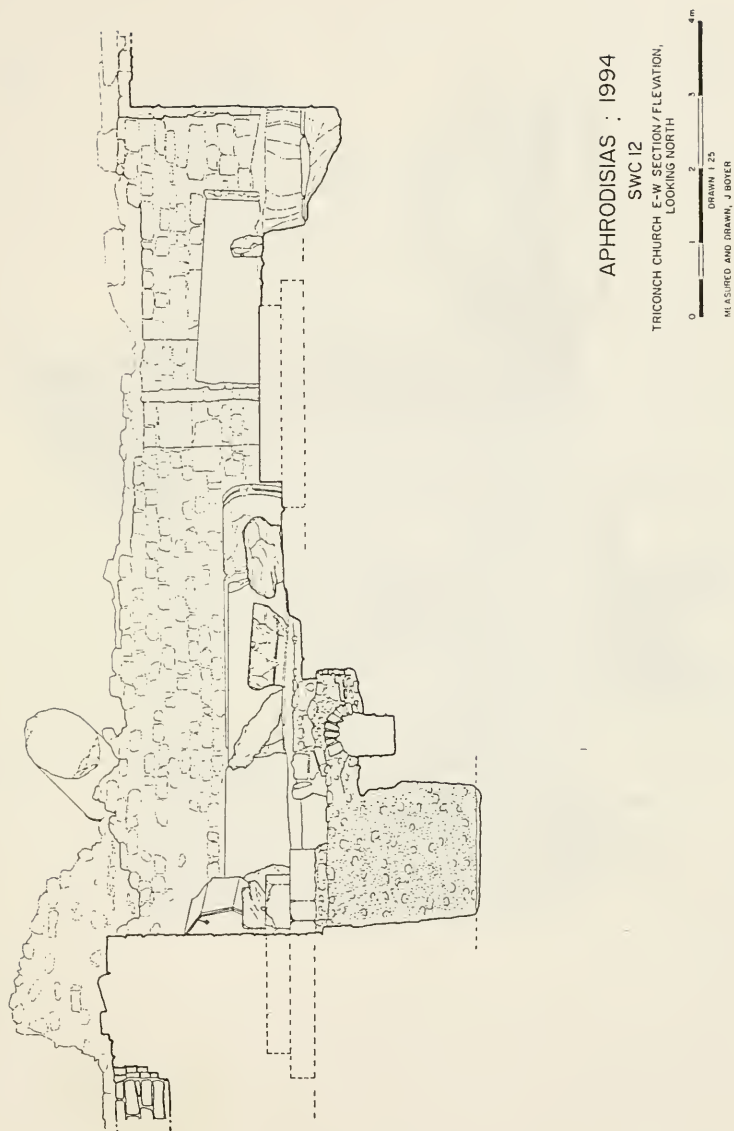


Figure 13: Triconch church East-West section/elevation, looking north.

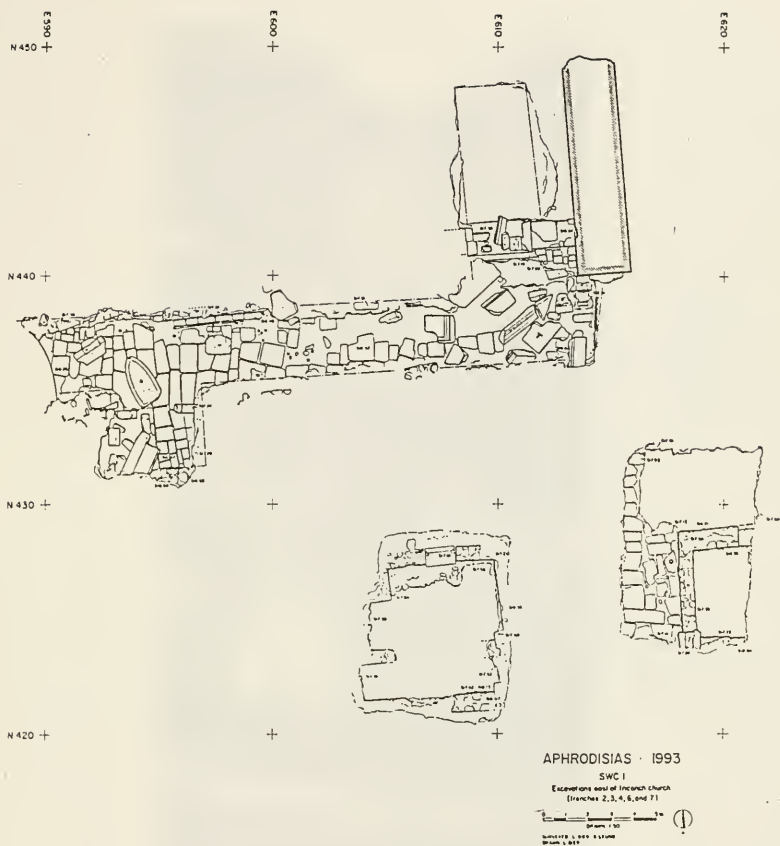


Figure 14: Excavations on East-West street directly east of the triconch church - 1993. (SWC 1)

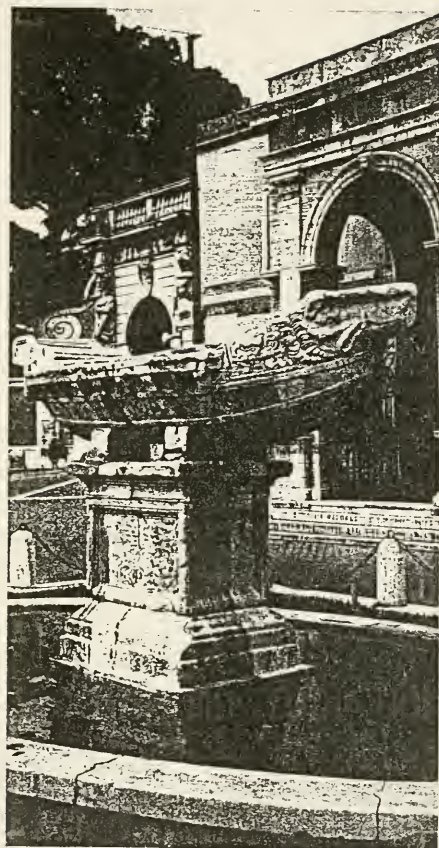
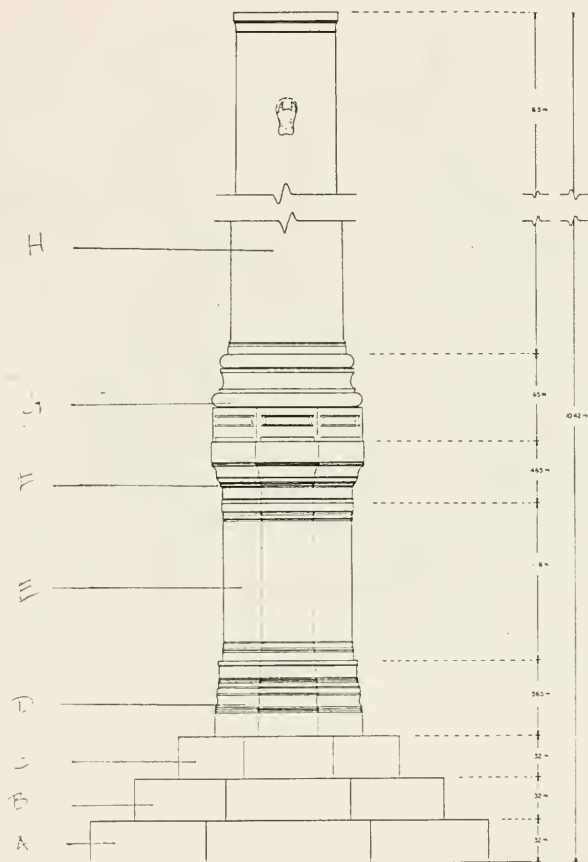


Figure 15: Reconstruction of votive fountain in Rome. It is possible that a similar object was located on the East-West street in Aphrodisias.

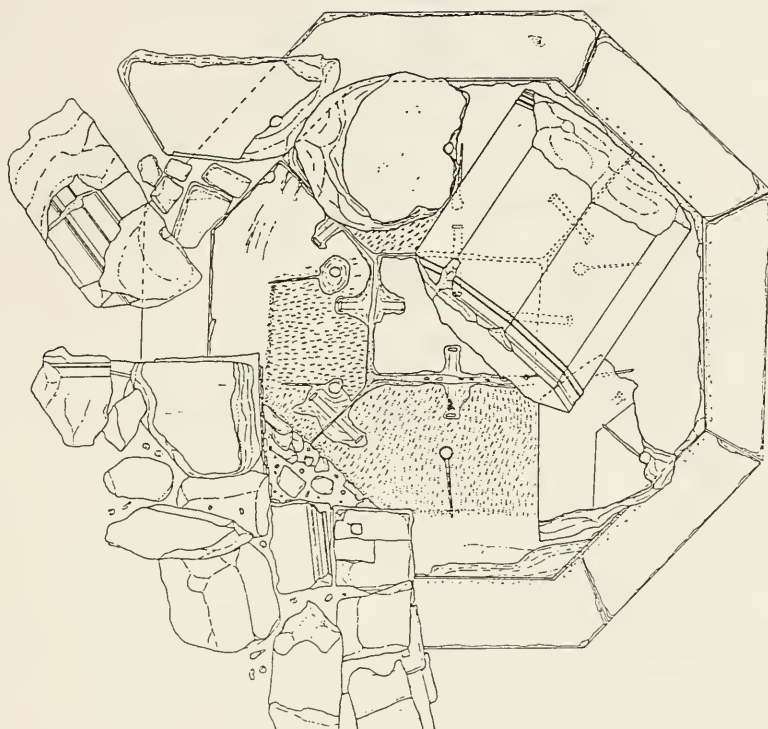




APHRODISIAS · 1994
SWC 28
RECONSTRUCTION ELEVATION OF COLUMN

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
METERS

Figure 17: Reconstruction Elevation of Column - 1994, drawing is based upon preliminary examination of the monument and is not composed of elements that are all confirmed to belong to one of the four column units. (SWC 28)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

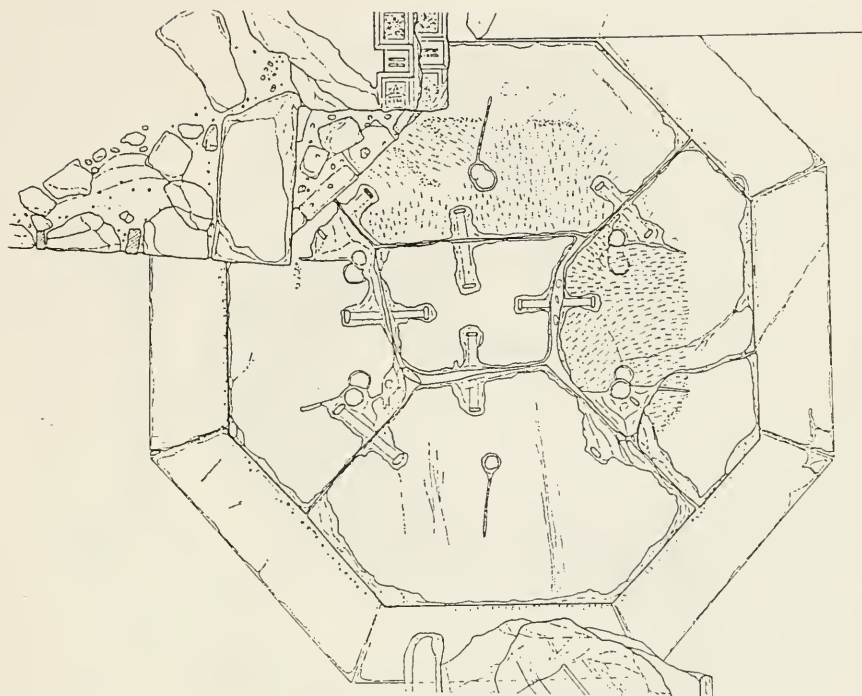
SWC 14

BASE I



MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

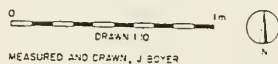
Figure 18: Ocatgonal Base I - 1994. (SWC 14)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

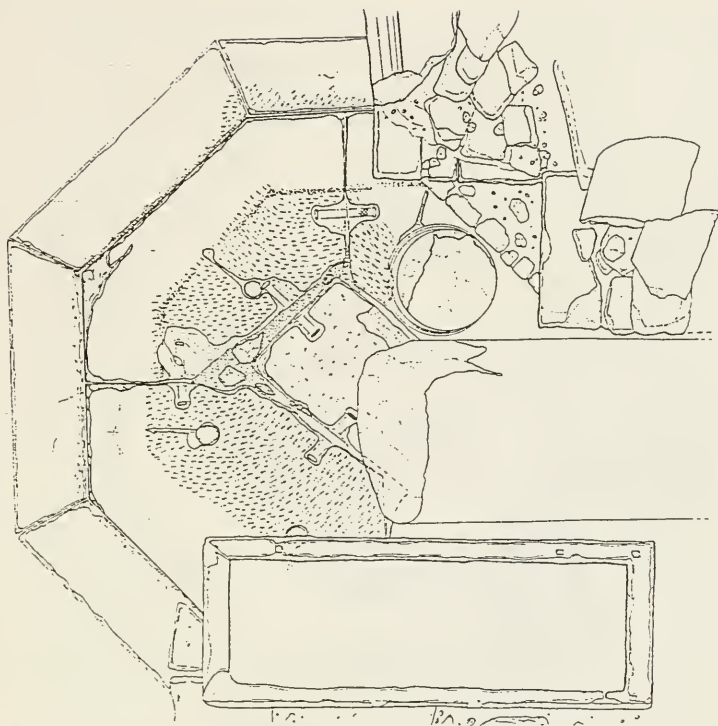
SWC 13

BASE II



MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

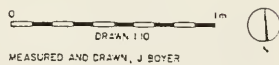
Figure 19: Octagonal Base II - 1994. (SWC 13)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

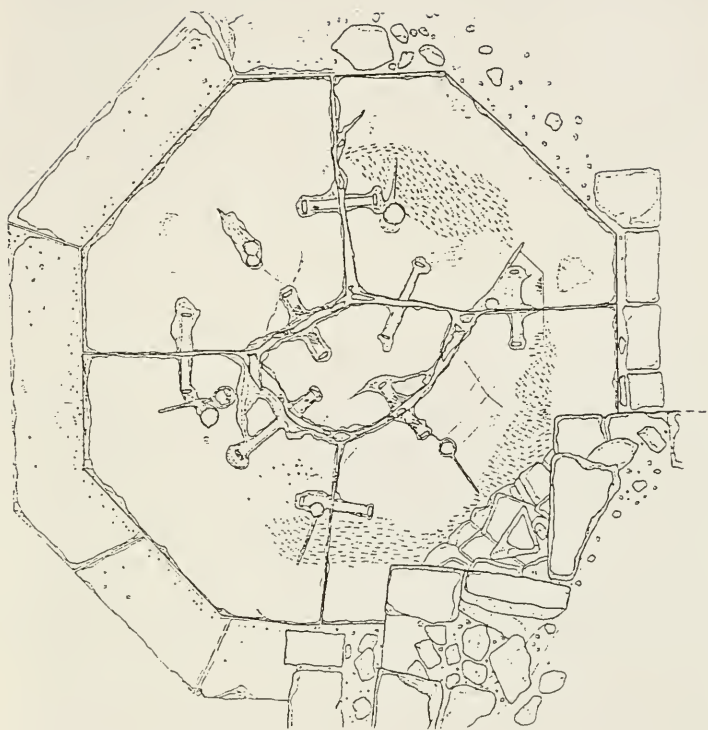
SWC 15

BASE III



MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

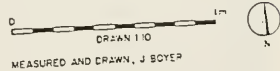
Figure 20: Octagonal Base III - 1994. (SWC 15)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 16

BASE IV



MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

Figure 21: Octagonal Base IV - 1994. (SWC 16)

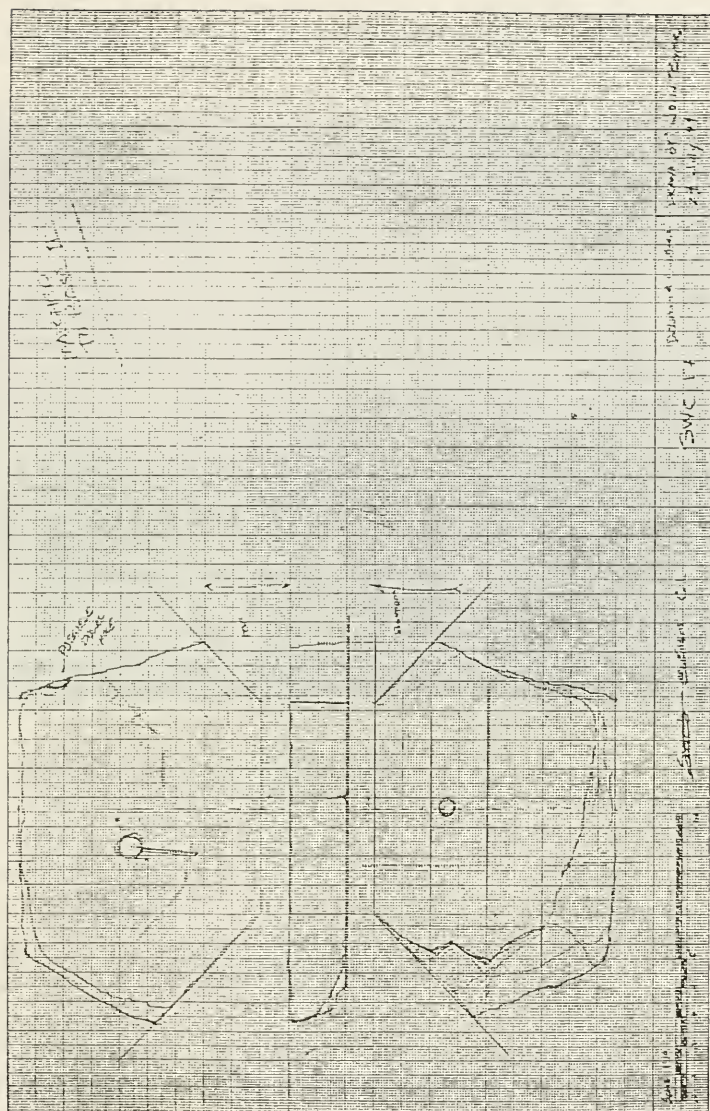


Figure 22: Base II Level 3 - 1994, field sheet showing measured drawing of IIC-1. (SWC 17)

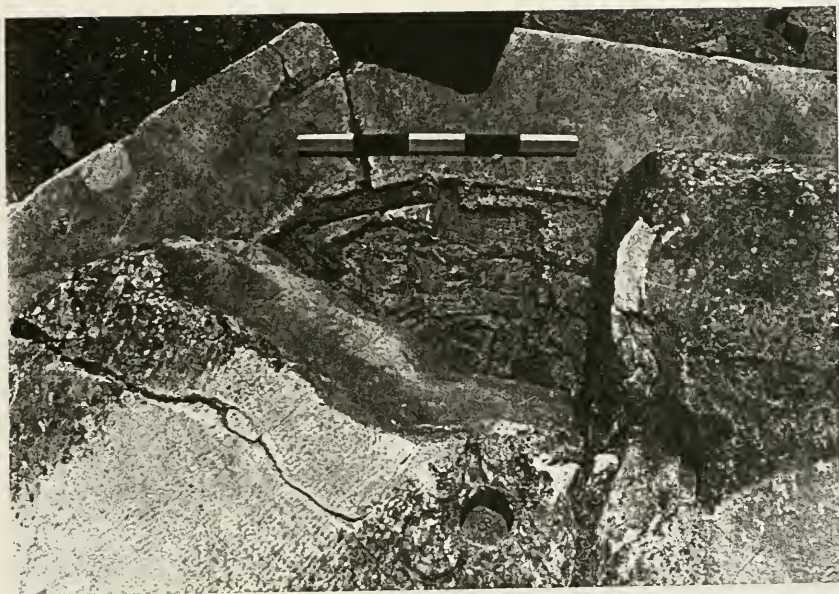


Figure 23: Photo of Base II showing corner removed. Visible is an iron clamp still in position.



Figure 24: Photo of Base IV showing dowel and clamp holes.

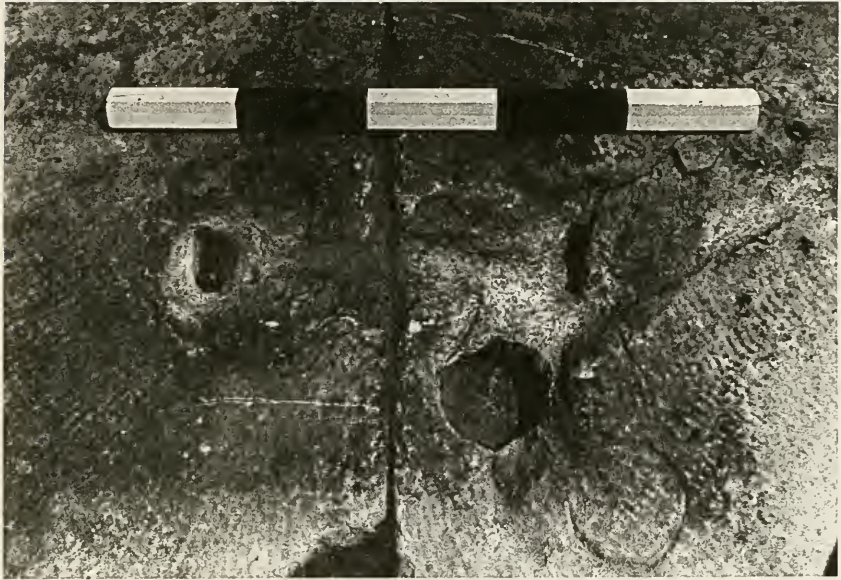
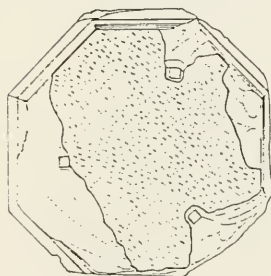
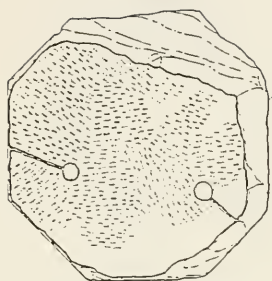


Figure 25: Close-up of Base IV showing detail of dowel and clamp holes. Photo shows a dowel hole that was started but then moved to another location.



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 22
Pedestal Top

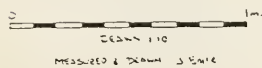
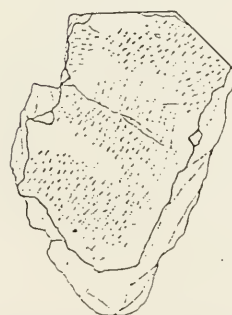
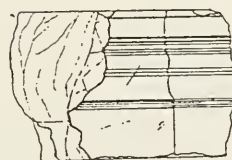


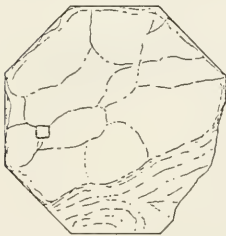
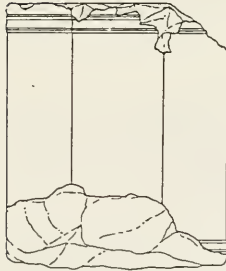
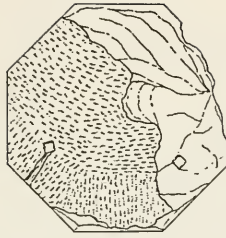
Figure 26: Pedestal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-1. (SWC 22)



APHRODISIAS 1994

SWC 18
Pedestal base

Figure 27: Pedestal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-1. (SWC 18)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 20

PEDESTAL

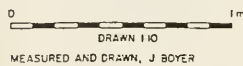
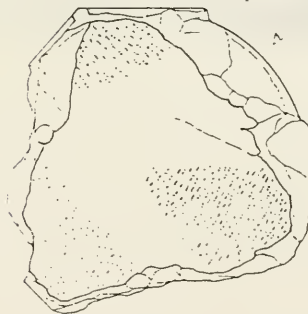
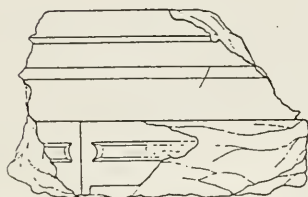
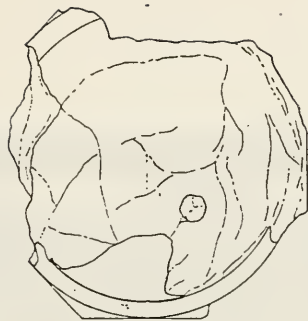


Figure 28: Pedestal -1994, Architectural Fragment E-1. (SWC 20)



APHRODISIAS · 1994
SWC 25

Figure 29: Column Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment G-1. (SWC 25)



Figure 30: Photo of Architectural Fragment G-1



1994-RODISIAS - 1994
 SW-22
 Column
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Figure 31: Column Shaft - 1994, Architectural Fragments H1 & H2. (SWC 27)



Figure 32: Photo of triconch church.



Figure 33: Photo of bull's head on fragment H2.



Figure 34: Photo of three Corinthian captial fragments speculated to belong to tetrakionion.



Figure 35: Photo of largest Corinthian capital fragment found during 1994 season investigations of tetrakionion.

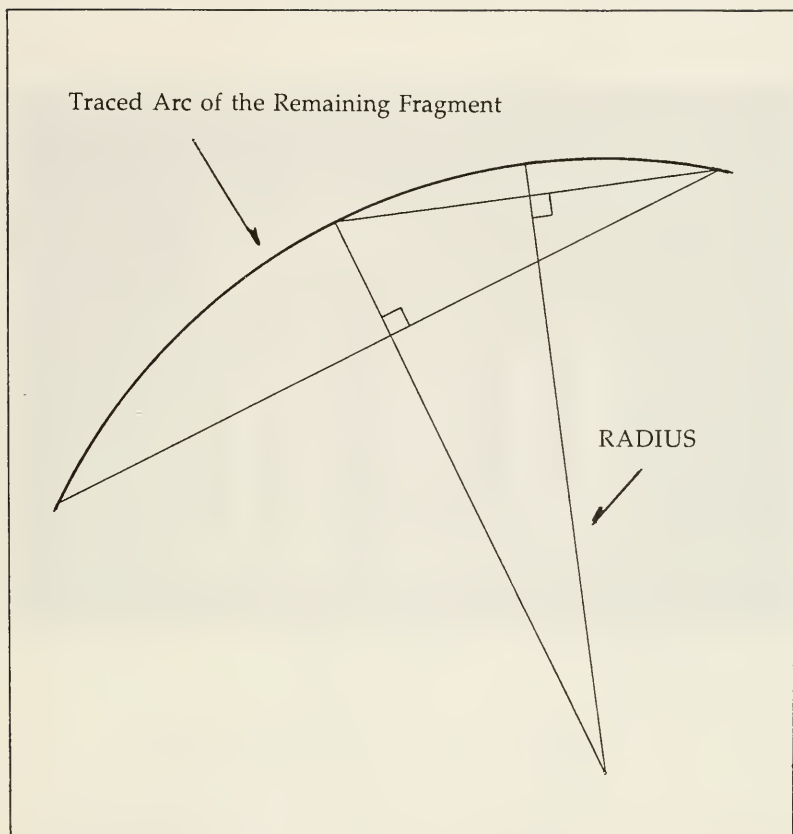


Figure 36: Illustration showing geometric analysis of large capital fragment.



Figure 37: Photo of Aphrodisias tetrapylon.

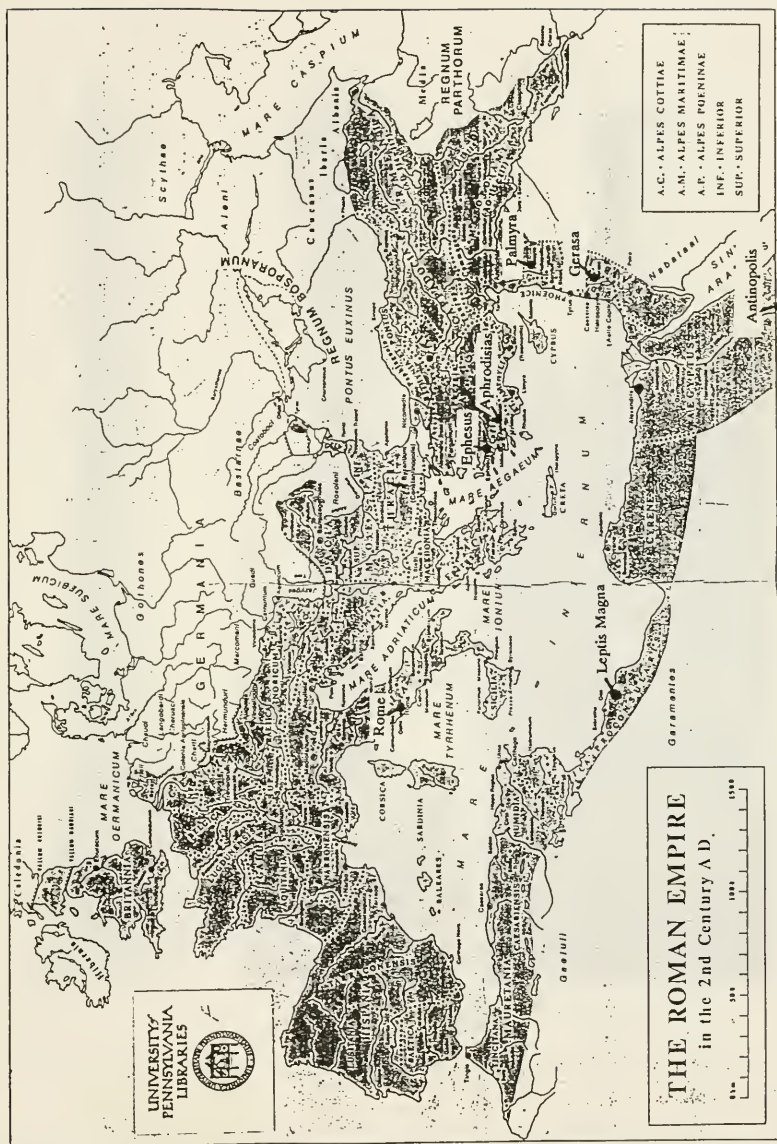


Figure 38: Map indicating location of major precedents.

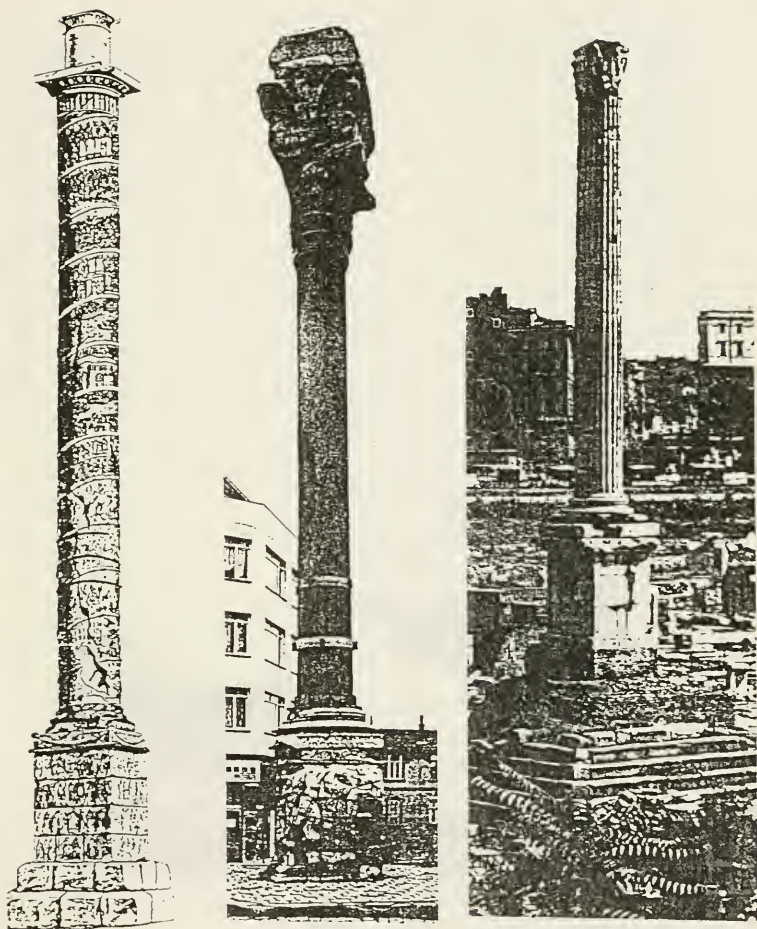


Figure 39: Columns of Arcadius, Istanbul, Marcian, Istanbul, and Phocas, Rome.

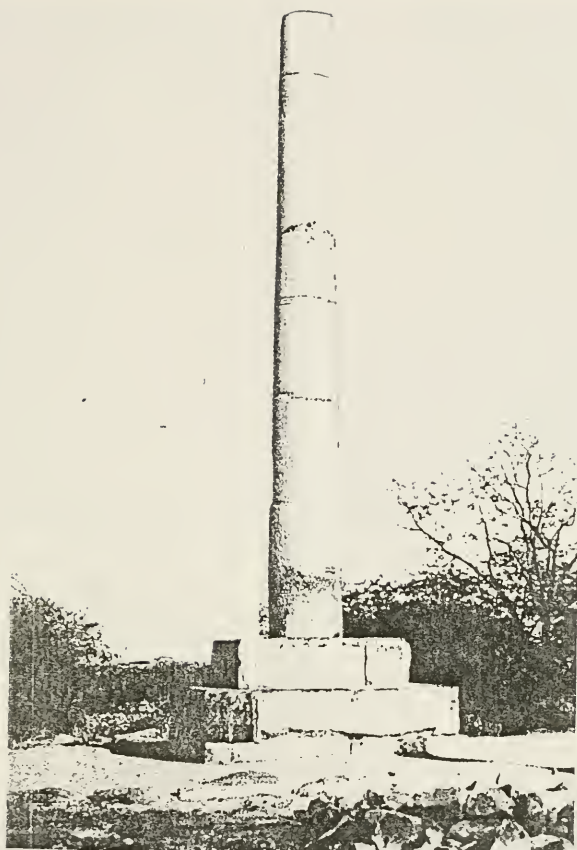


Figure 40: Ashokan column, Bara Hindu Rao, New Delhi.

ALEXANDRIE.

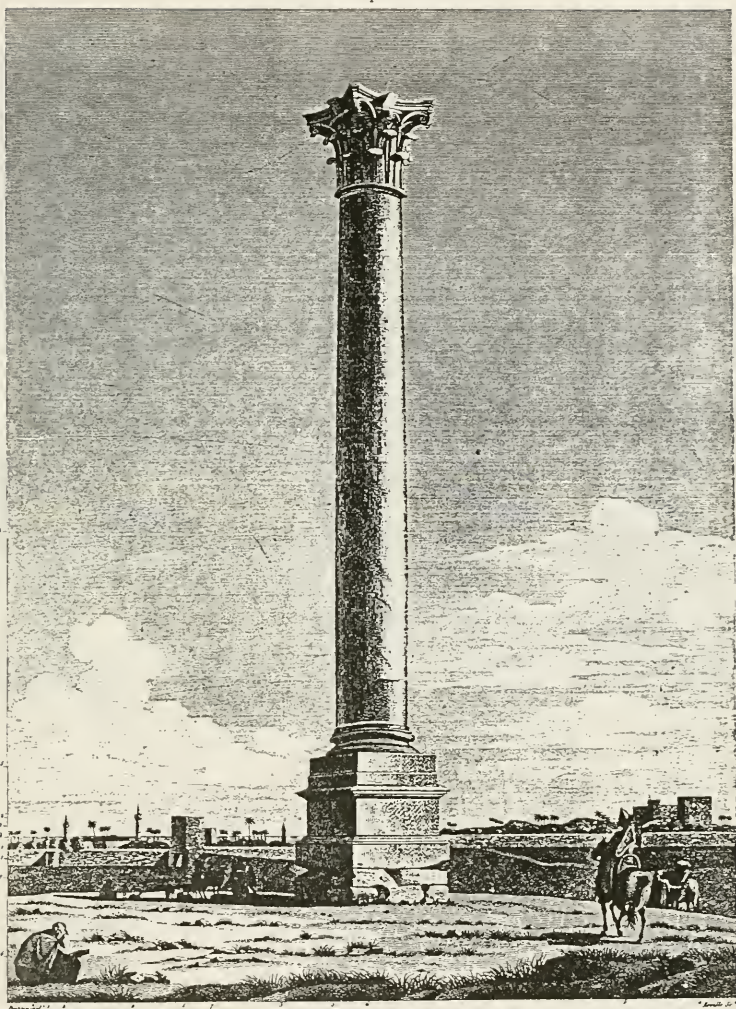


Figure 41: Pompey's Pillar, Alexandria, Egypt.

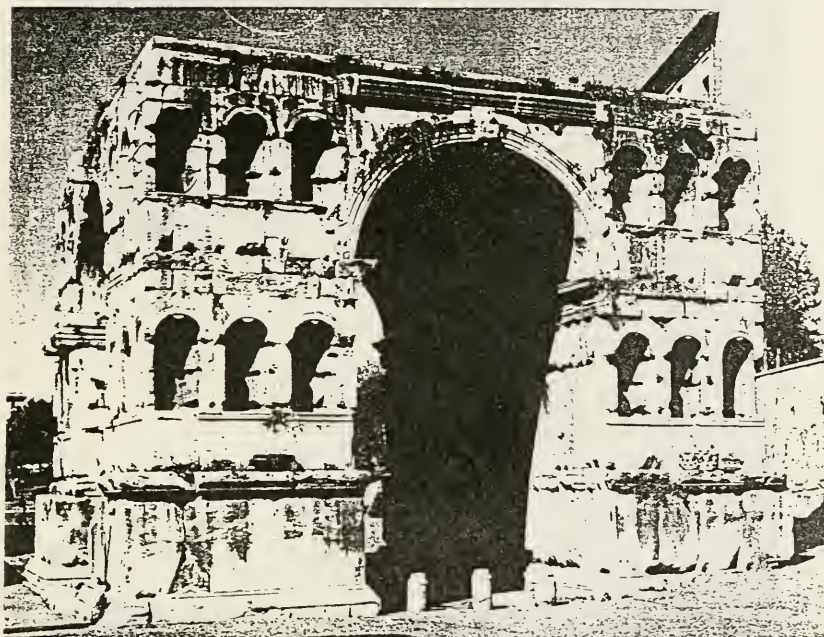


Figure 42: Janus Quadrifrons, Rome.

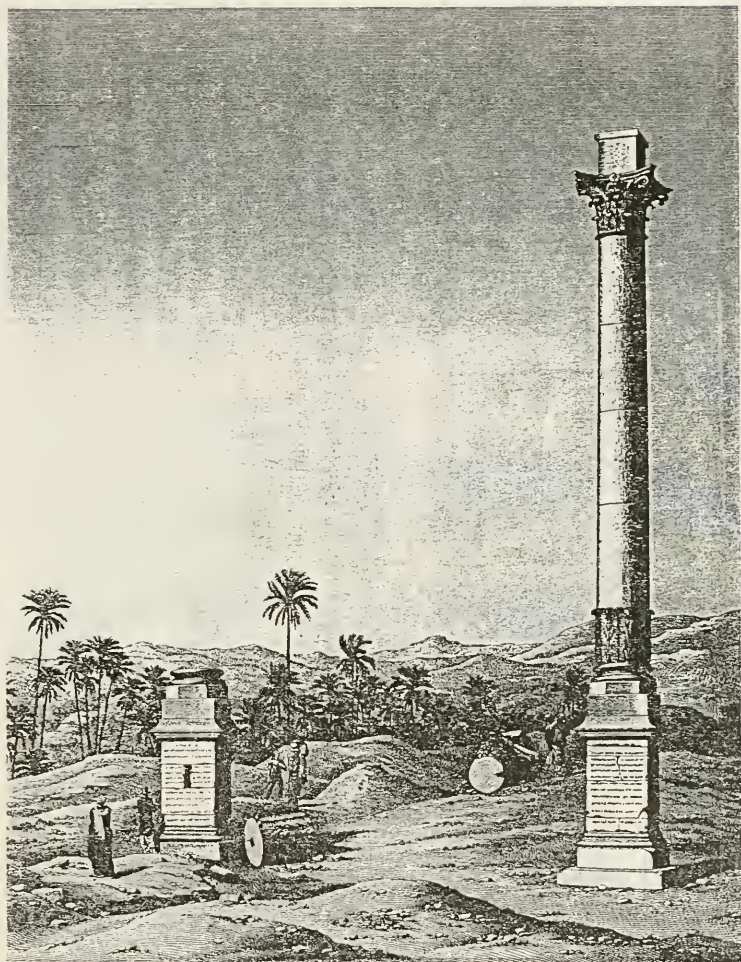


Figure 43: Tetraklion at Antinopolis.



Figure 44: Columns in apse of Severan Basilica at Leptis Magna.

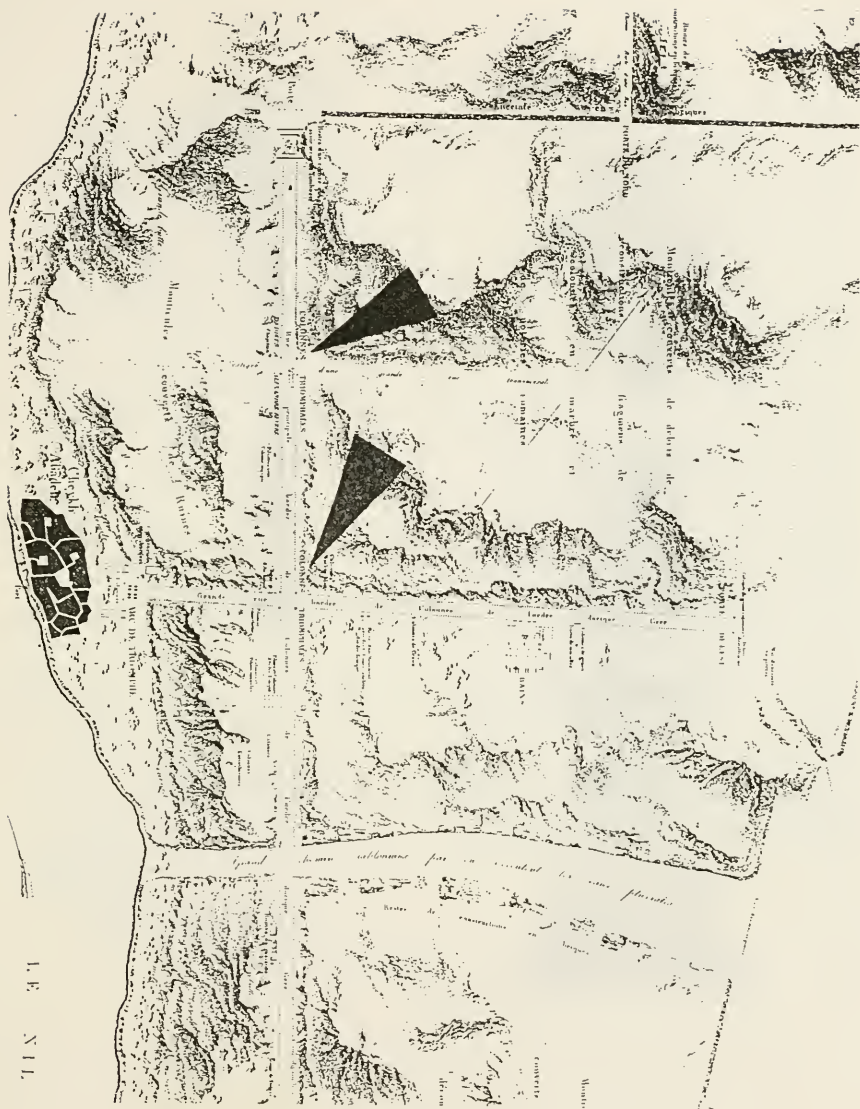


Figure 45: Plan of Antinopolis showing location of the tetrakionia.

ANTINOË

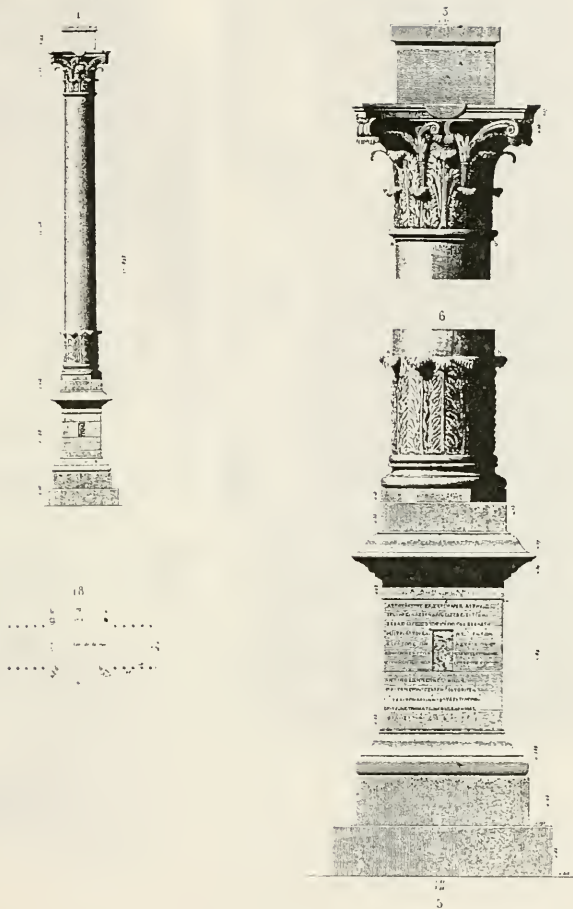
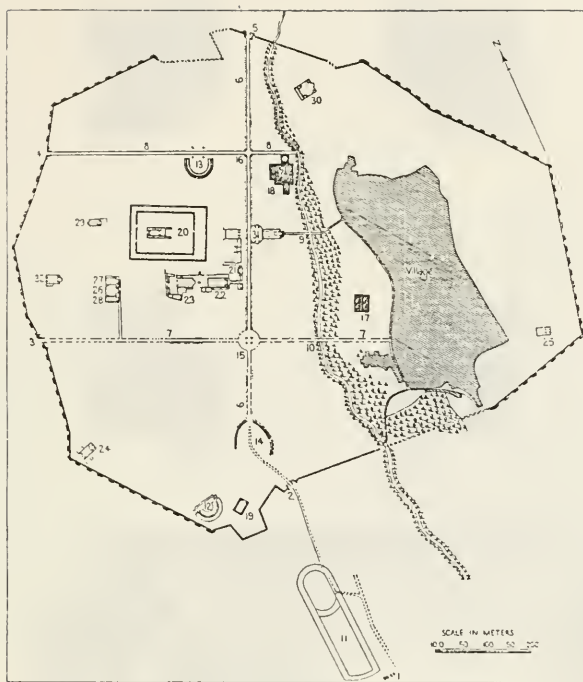


Figure 46: Details of Antinopolis tetrakionia.



Figure 47: Comparison between marble panels at Aphrodisias (left) and Leptis Magna (right).



PLAN OF JERASH

GATES: 1. Arch, 2. Philadelphia, 3. Pella, 4. Gadara, 5. Damascus. STREETS, ETC.: 6. Antonine, 7. Pella, 8. Gadara, 14. Forum, 15. South Tetrapylon, 16. North Tetrapylon, 9. Artemis Bridge, 10. Pella Bridge. THEATRES: 11. Hippodrome, 12. South, 13. North. CIVIC BUILDINGS: 17. East Bath, 18. West Bath, 21. Nymphaeum. TEMPLES: 19. Zeus, 20. Artemis. CHURCHES: 22. Cathedral, 23. St. Theodore, 24. St. Peter and St. Paul, 25. Bishop Paul, 26. St. John the Baptist, 27. Damianos, 28. St. George, 29. Church over Synagogue, 30. Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, 31. Propylaea, 32. Genesis.

Figure 48: Plan of Gerasa.

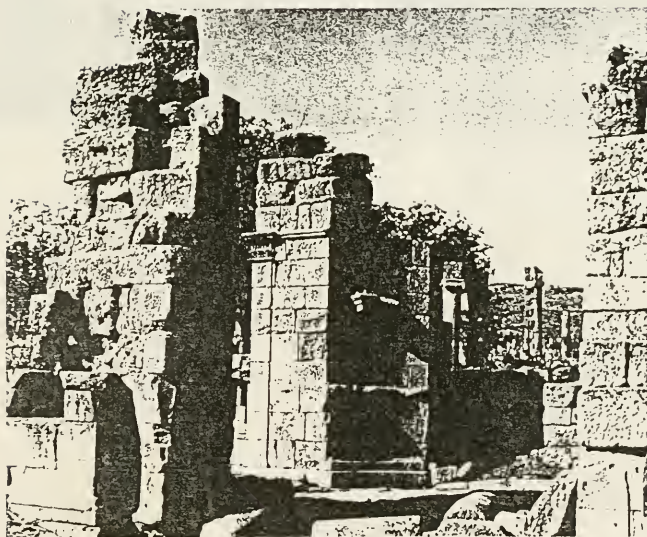
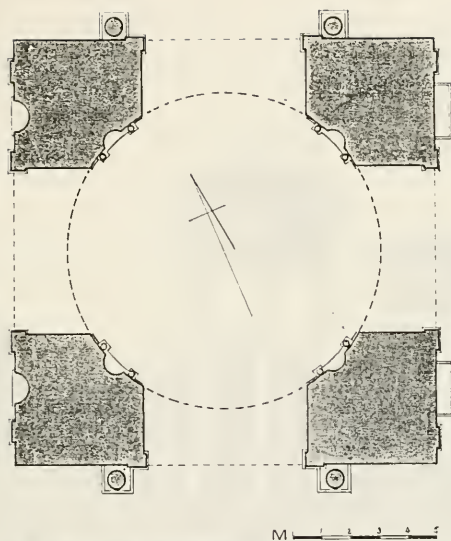


Figure 49: Plan and photo of tetrapylon at Gerasa.

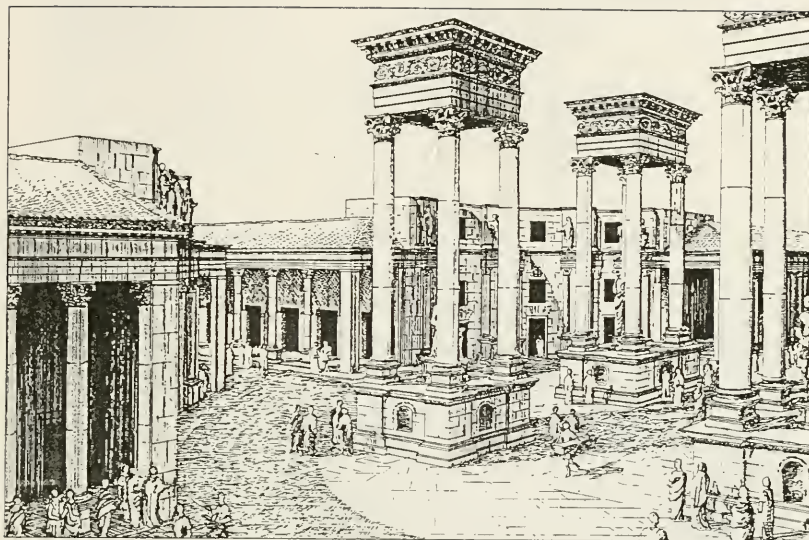


Figure 50: Reconstruction drawing of tetrakionion at Gerasa.

PALMYRA. Plan of the city, with the help of the plan of Palmyra shown in: K. Michałowski, *Palmyra* (Warszawa 1968).

- 1 Efqā spring
- 2 Seraglio spring
- 3 Temple of Bel
- 4 Temple of Nabo
- 5 Temple of Baalshamin
- 6 Triumphal arch
- 7 Great colonnade
- 8 Theatre

- 9 Agora
- 10 Hall for sacrificial feasts
- 11 Tetrastylon
- 12 Burial temple
- 13 Flag temple, Camp of Diocletian
- 14 Pillars of honour
- 15 3rd century houses
- 16 Basilica
- 17 Mausoleum of the Maronias
- 18 Grave of Jamblikhos
- 19 Museum of Palmyra

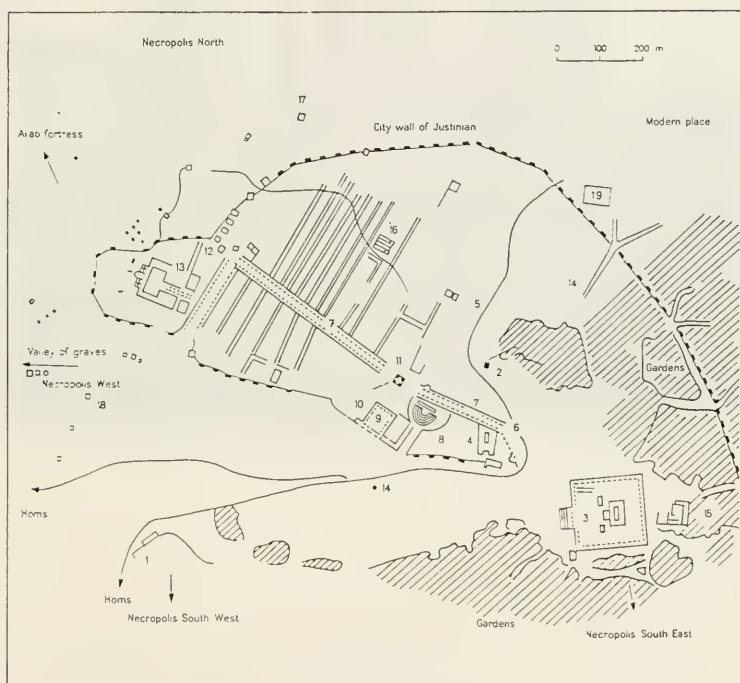


Figure 51: Plan of Palmyra.



Figure 52: Photo of tetrakionion at Palmyra.

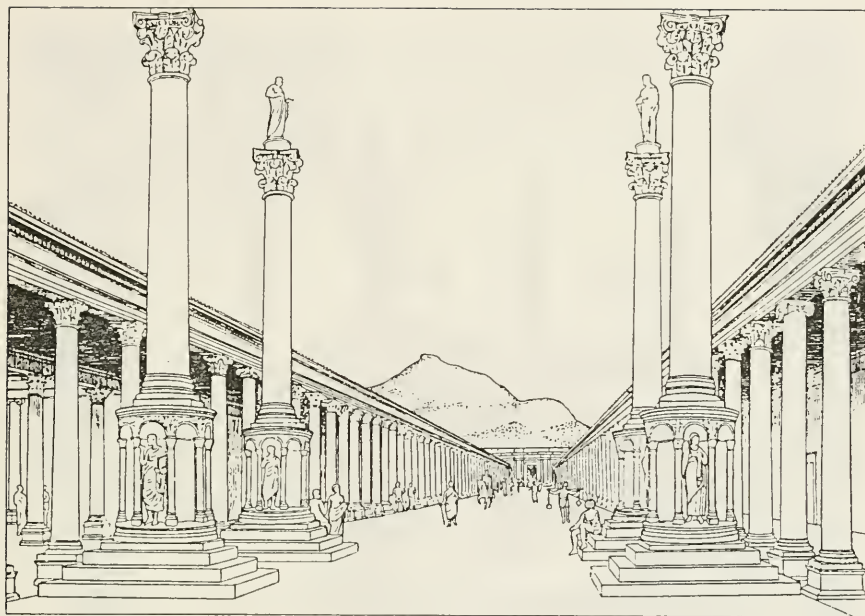


Figure 53: Reconstruction drawing of tetrakionion at Ephesus.

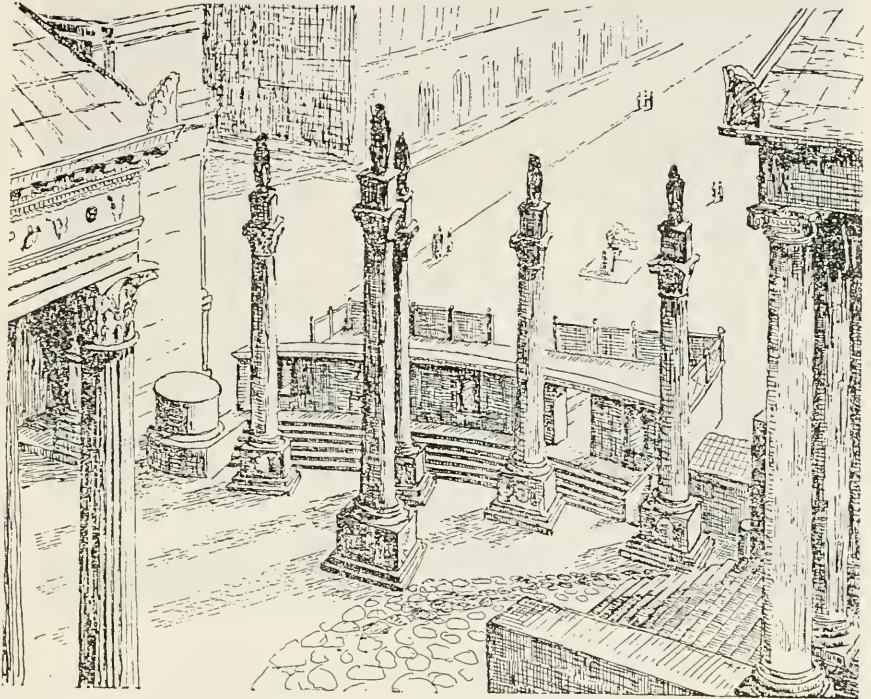


Figure 54: Reconstructio drawing of the Tetrachal monument on the Rostra in the Roman Forum.

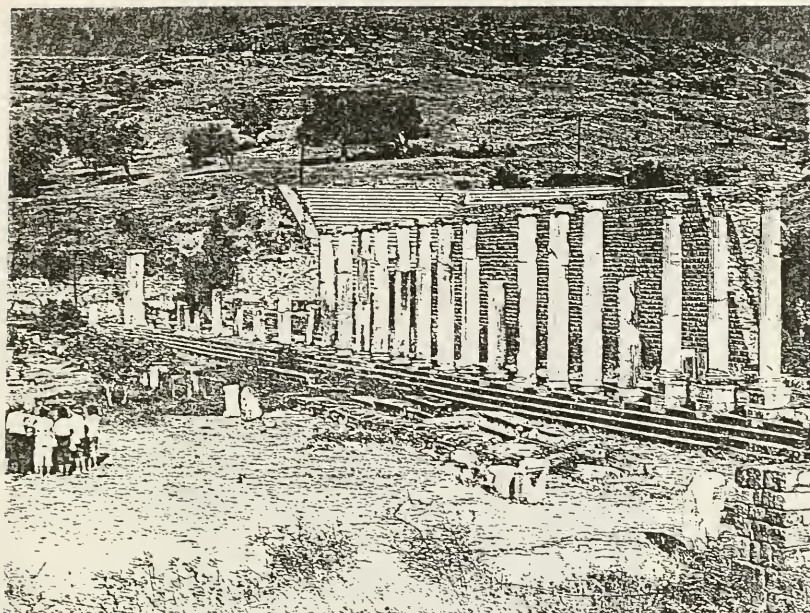


Figure 55: Temple of Aesclepius at Pergamon.

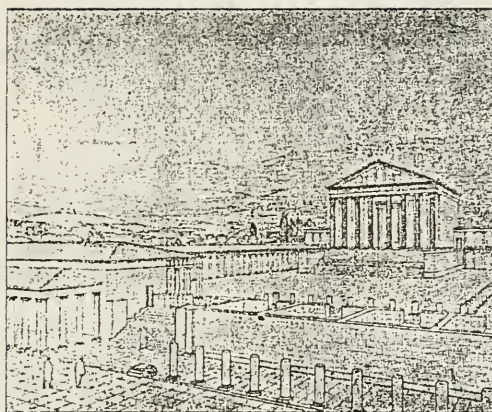


Figure 56: Temple of Serapis at Ephesus.



Figure 58: Photo showing octagonal bases in north agora at Aphrodisias.

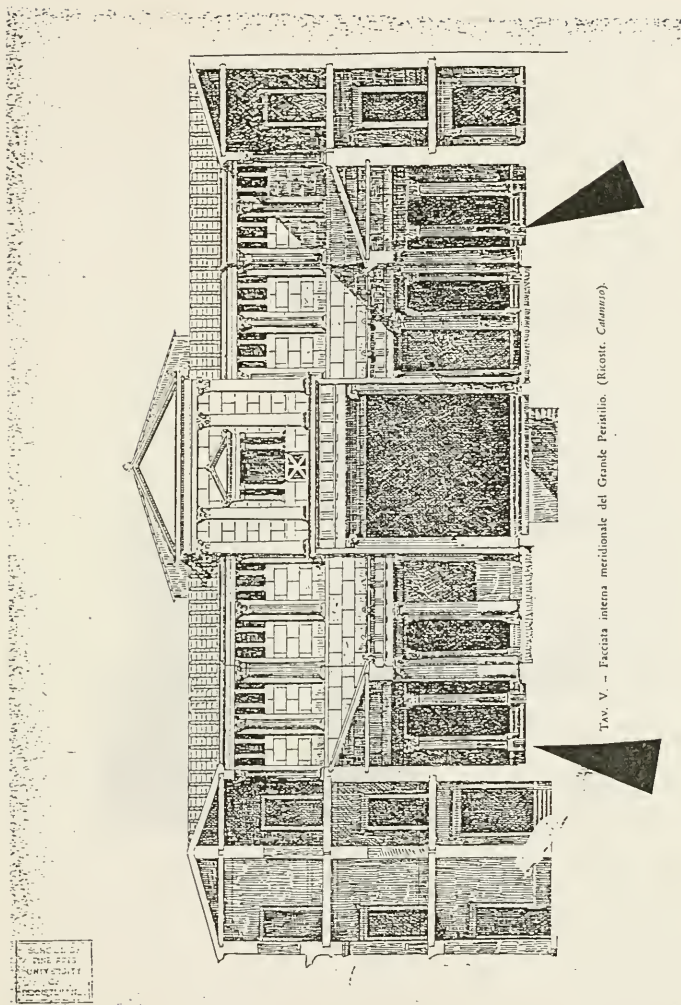


Figure 59: Section of Palazzo del Colonne, showing octagonal bases for columns in side aisles.



Figure 60: Photo of column along East-West street.

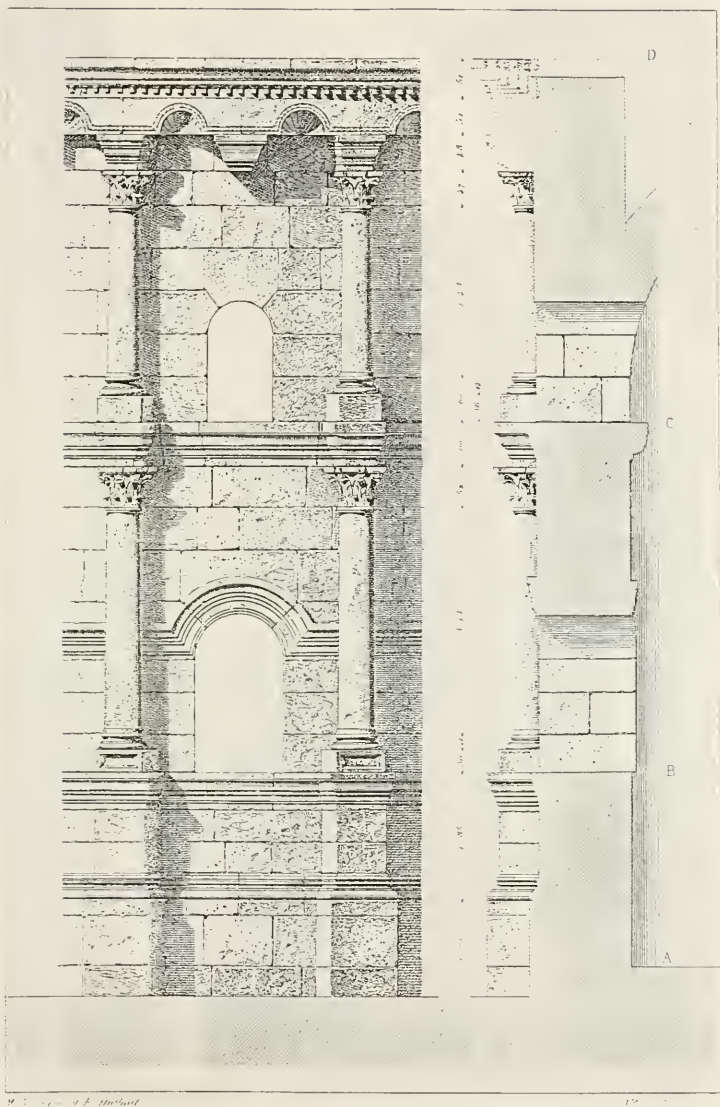


Figure 61: Qal'at Saman, showing recessed panels with incurving ends at the bases of the columns.

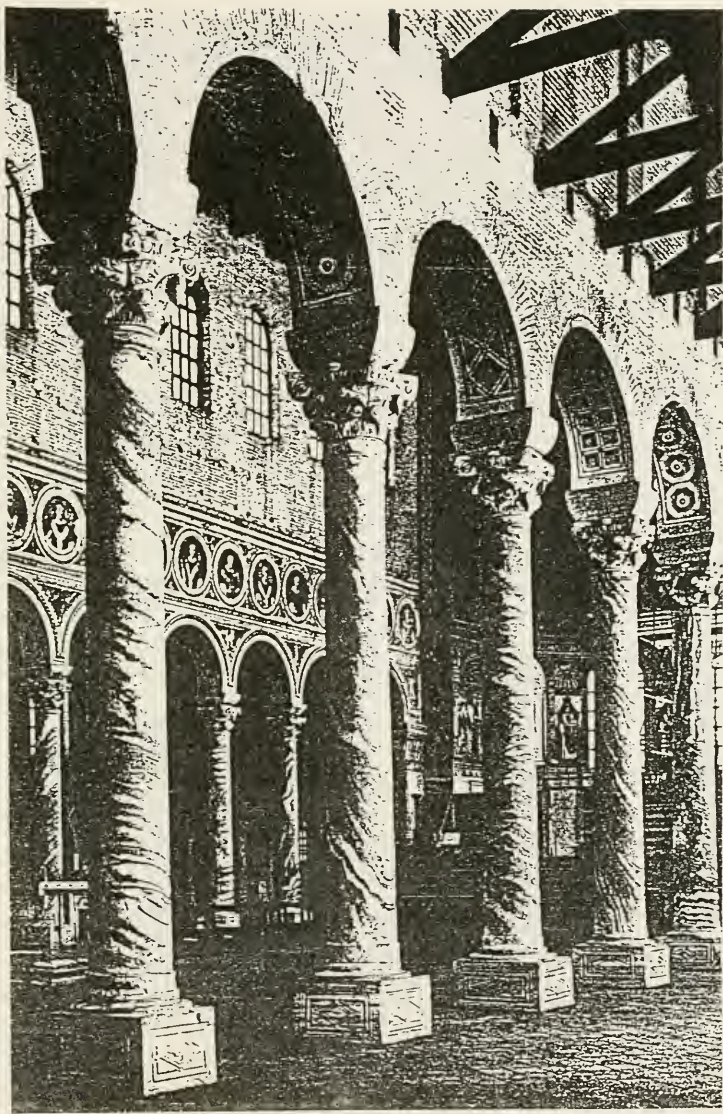


Figure 62: St. Apollinare in Classe in Revena, showing panels at bases of columns.

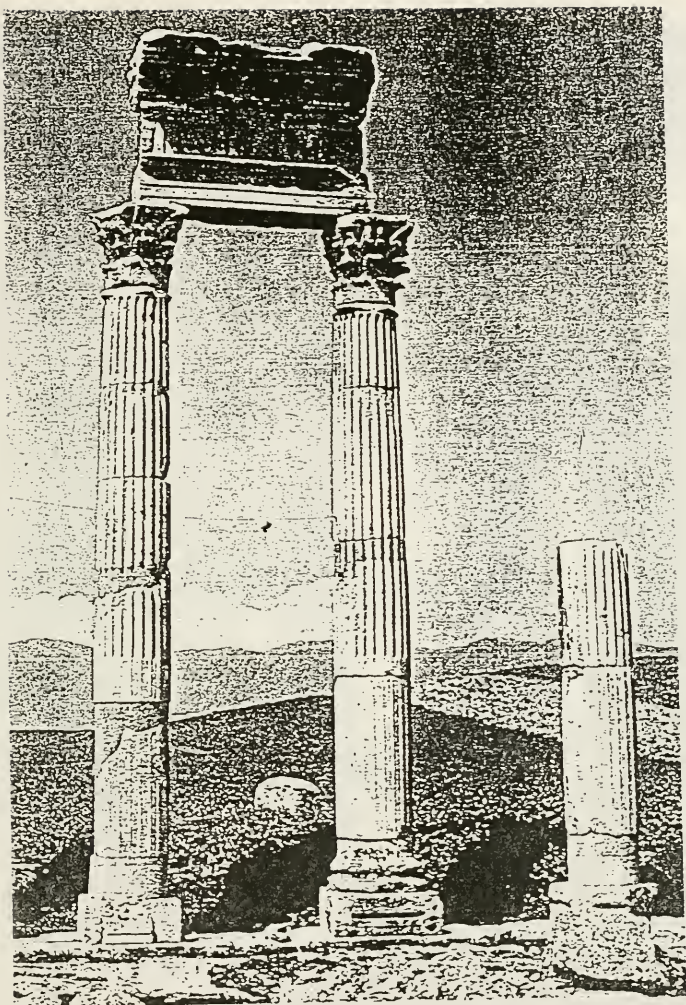


Figure 63: Colonnade at Qal'at Mudiq in Syria, showing Panels at bases of columns.

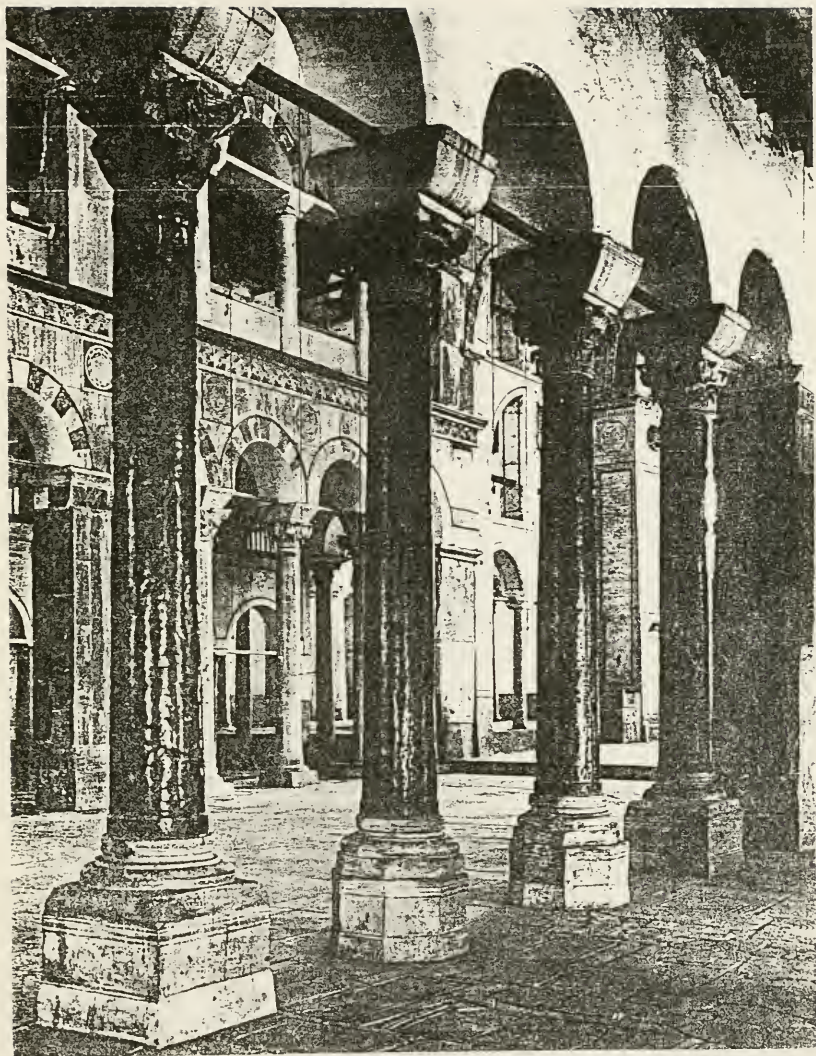
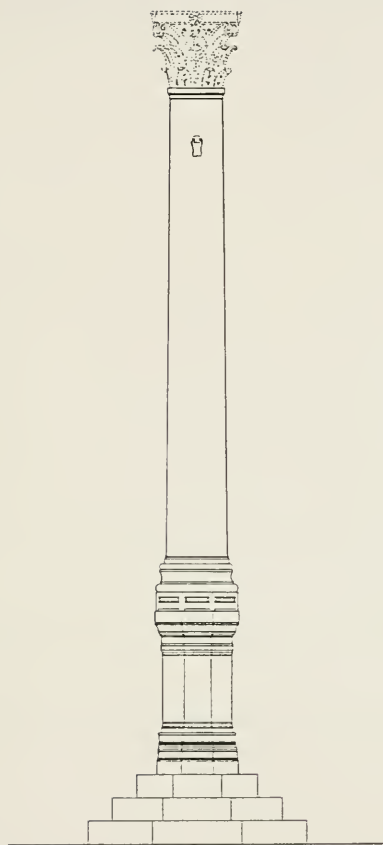


Figure 64: St. Demetrius in Thessolonike, showing octagonal bases on the columns.



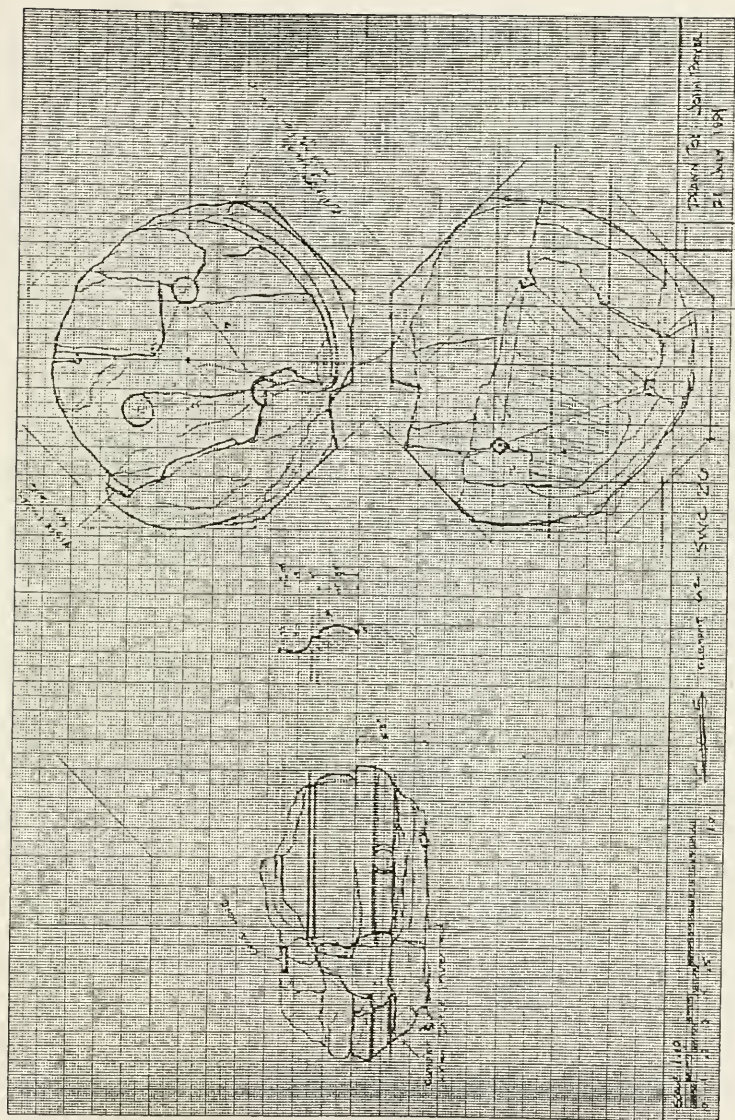
APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 32

RECONSTRUCTION ELEVATION OF COLUMN

0 1 2 m
DRAWN 125
MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

Figure 65: Reconstruction drawing of Aphrodisias tetraklionion - 1994.
Drawing is based upon preliminary study of the monument.



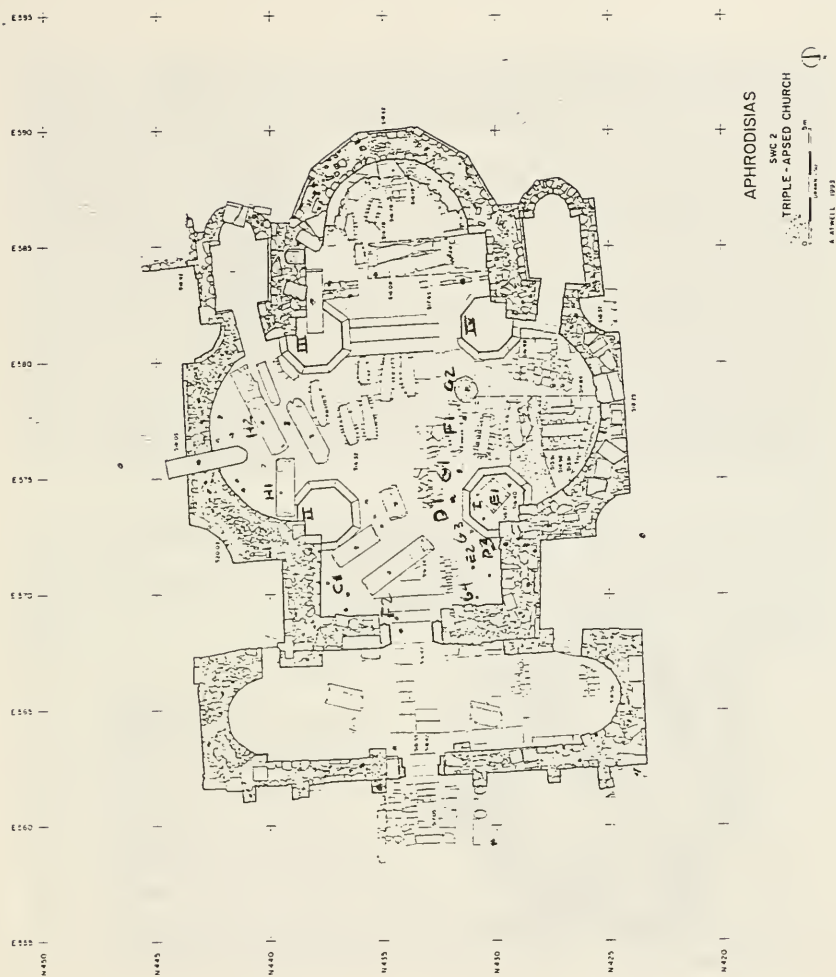


Figure 67: Scatter plan showing location of Roman fragments from the tetrakionion.

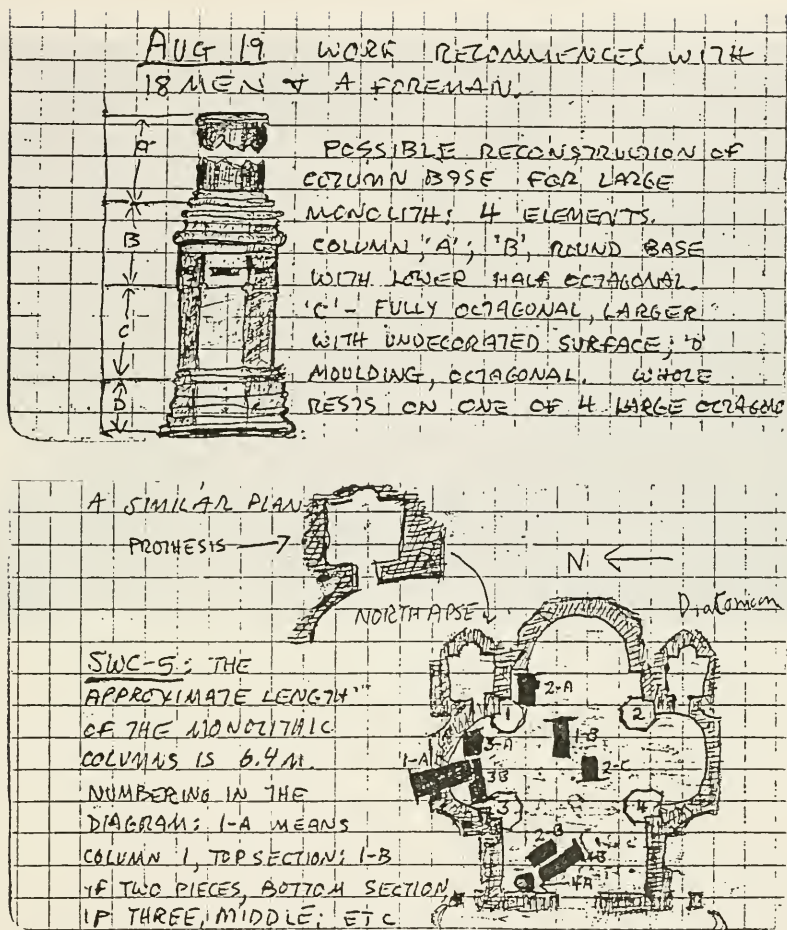
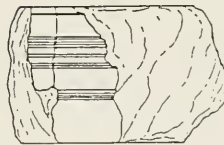
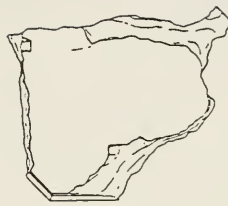


Figure 68: Sketch of Aphrodisias tetrakionion by Malcolm Bell.



Figure 69: Photo showing cleaning of Base IV in preperation for laying measuring lines.



APHRODITEAS 1994

SWC 29

Part of base

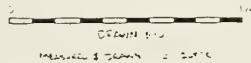
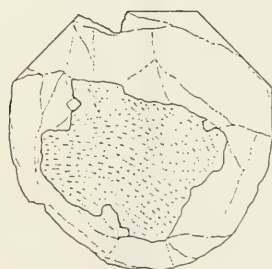
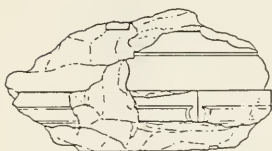
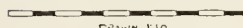


Figure 70: Pedistal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-3. (SWC 29)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 26
Column Base



DRAWN 1:10

MEASURED & DRAWN - J. BOYD

Figure 72: Column Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment G-2. (SWC 26)

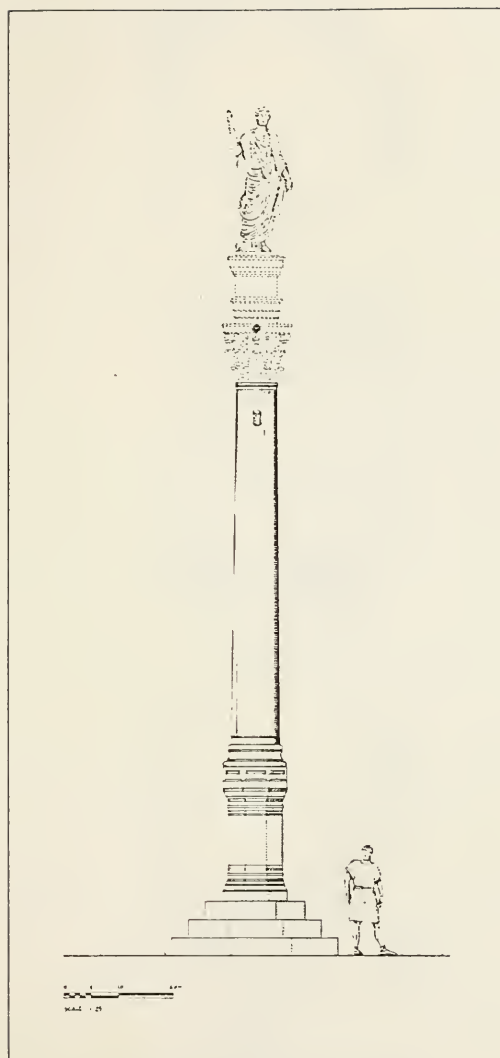


Figure 73: Hypothetical reconstruction of Aphrodisias tetraklion - 1995.

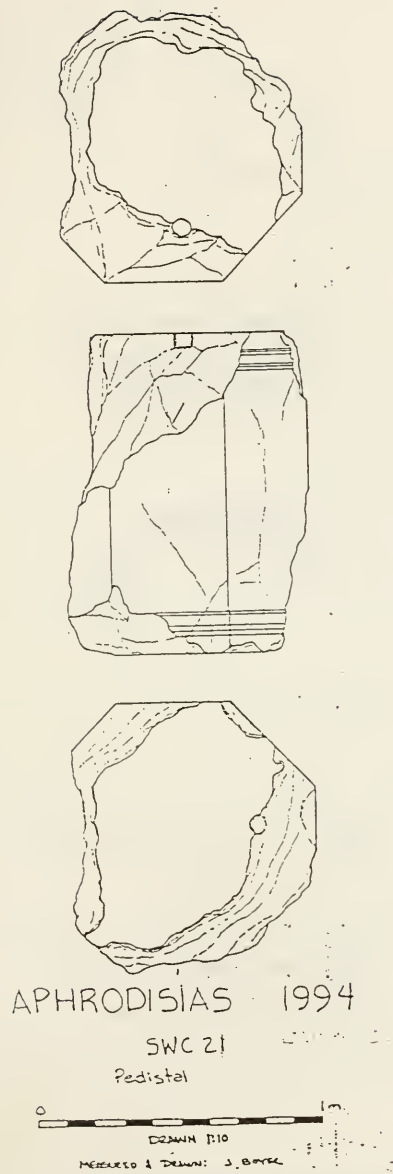
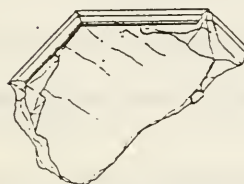
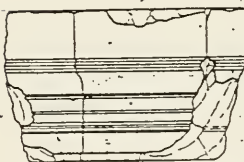
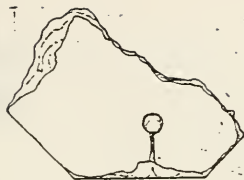


Figure 74: Pedistal - 1994, Architectural Fragment E-2. (SWC 21)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 23

Pedistal Top

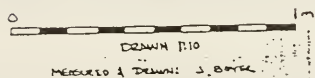


Figure 75: Pedistal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-2. (SWC 23)

Appendix 1

Documentation Drawings

List of Drawings

- Drawing 1: Aphrodisias City Plan - updated 1994. (CP 1)
- Drawing 2: Southwest Complex Plan - updated 1994. (SWC 7)
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- Drawing 4: Triconch Church East-West Section/Elevation, looking north - 1994, showing Roman foundation and drain. (SWC 12)
- Drawing 5: Excavations East of Triconch Church - 1993, showing East-West street, possible votive fountain (lozenge shaped object), Roman paving stones, evidence of colonade along southern side of street (base of column found). (SWC 1)
- Drawing 6: North-South street - 1994, showing Roman paving, drain, evidence of shops along street, and mosaic floor within walls of basilica. (SWC 31)
- Drawing 7: Reconstruction Elevation of Column - 1994, drawing is based upon preliminary examination of the monument and is not composed of elements that are all confirmed to belong to one of the four column units. (SWC 28)
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- Drawing 10: Octagonal Base III - 1994. (SWC 15)
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- Drawing 13: Pedestal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-1. (SWC 22)
- Drawing 14: Pedestal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-1. (SWC 18)
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- Drawing 19: Pedestal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-3. (SWC 29)
- Drawing 20 A: Column Base - 1994, field sheet of Architectural Fragment G-3. (SWC 30)
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- Drawing 21: Column Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment G-2. (SWC 26)
- Drawing 22: Reconstruction Drawing - 1995, this drawing is based upon sets of elements that I have confirmed as matching, however, the monument as a whole does not represent an exact reconstruction.
- Drawing 23: Pedestal - 1994, Architectural Fragment E-2. (SWC 22)
- Drawing 24: Pedestal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-2. (SWC 23)
- Drawing 25: Triconch Church, East-West Section/Elevation Looking North - 1994. (SWC 9)

Drawing 26: Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Monument - 1995. The columns have been represented with capitals, sculpture bases, and generic sculptures that should in no way be directly associated with the Aphrodisias tetrakionion; they are used to give an impression of the overall proportions of the monument. The background is left purposefully vague until further archaeological evidence can be found.

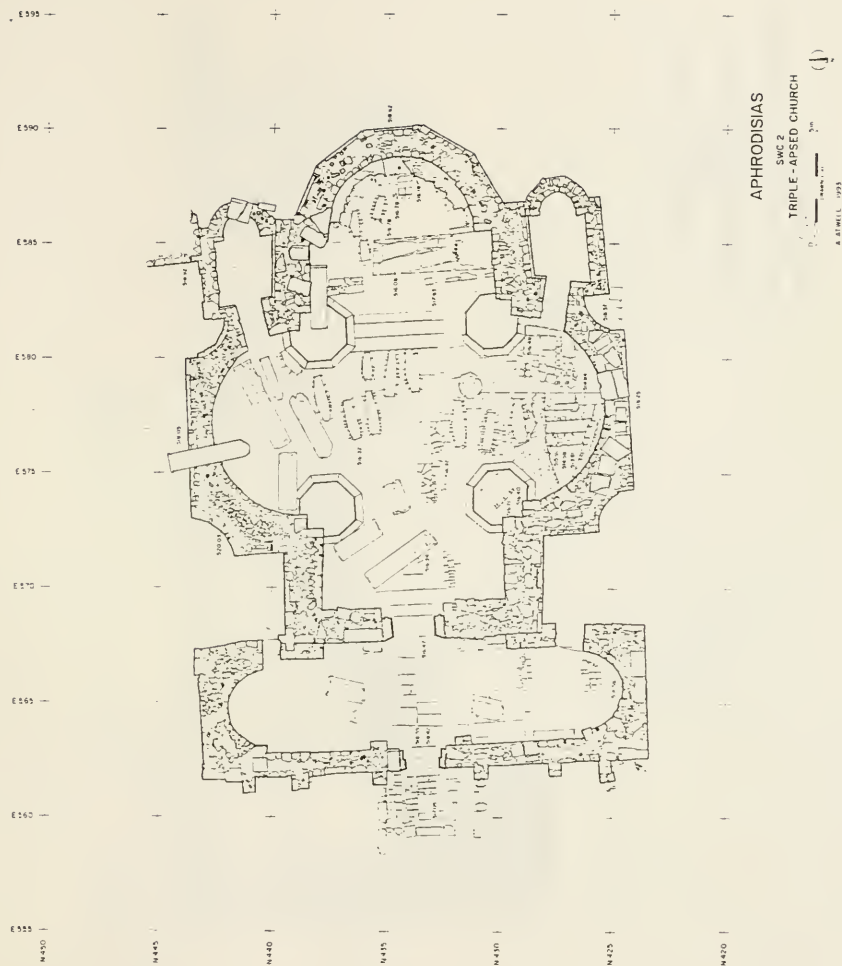
Drawing 27: Elevation of Aphrodisias tetrakionion - 1995. This drawing is used to show the relationship between two of the columns in terms of proportion and spacing. The capital is hypothetical.



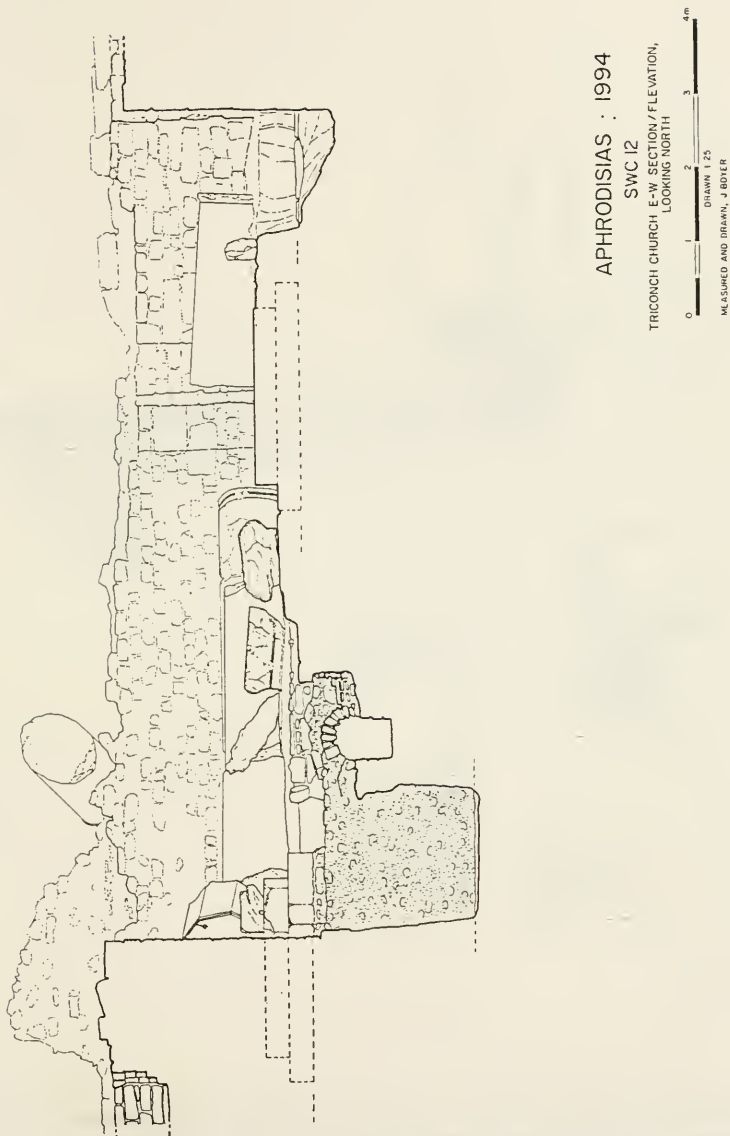
Drawing 1: Aphrodisias City Plan - updated 1994. (CP 1)



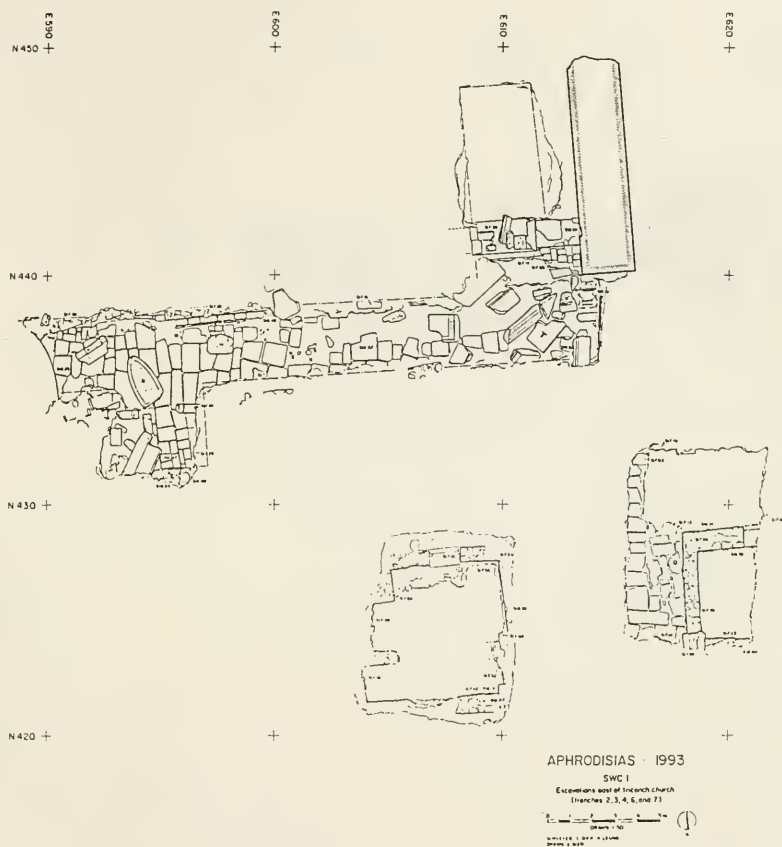
Drawing 2: Southwest Complex Plan - updated 1994. (SWC 7)



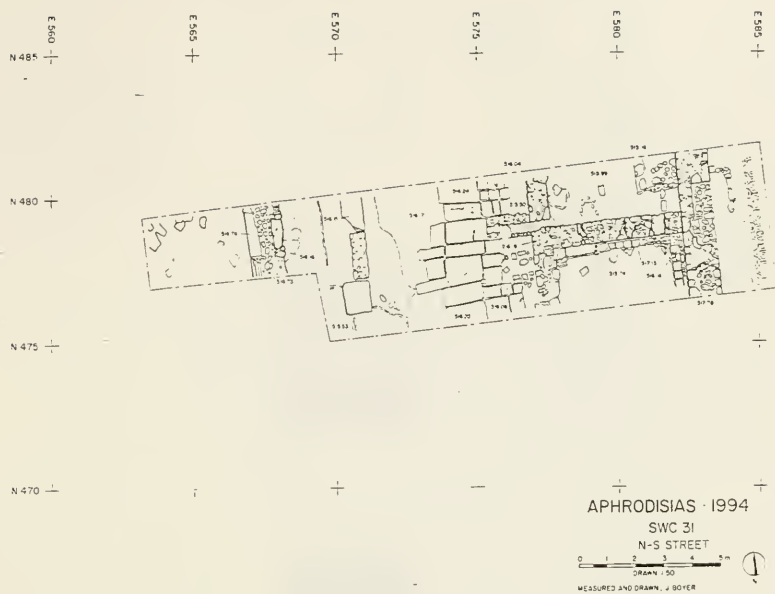
Drawing 3: Triconch Church, showing four octagonal bases at corners of crossing - 1993. (SWC 2)



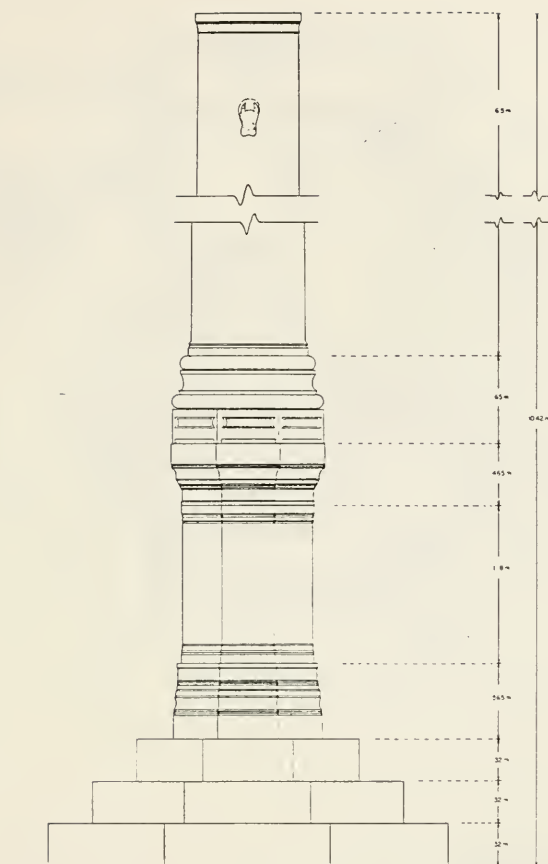
Drawing 4: Triconch Church East-West Section/Elevation, looking north - 1994, showing Roman foundation and drain. (SWC 12)



Drawing 5: Excavations East of Triconch Church - 1993, showing East-West street, possible votive fountain (lozenge shaped object), Roman paving stones, evidence of colonade along southern side of street (base of column found). (SWC 1)



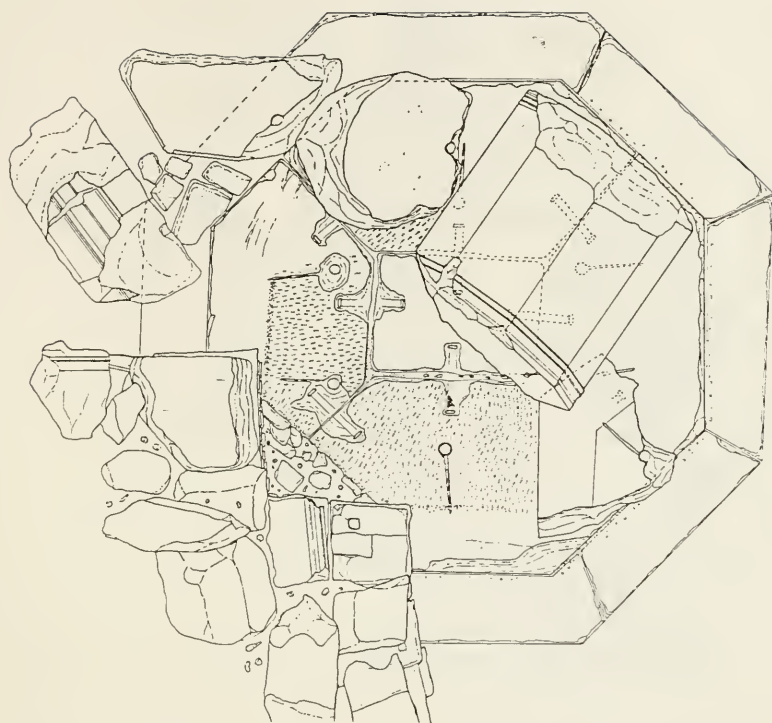
Drawing 6: North-South street - 1994, showing Roman paving, drain, evidence of shops along street, and mosaic floor within walls of basilica. (SWC 31)



APHRODISIAS · 1994
SWC 28
RECONSTRUCTION ELEVATION OF COLUMN

0 1 m
MEASURED AND DRAWN BY BOYER

Drawing 7: Reconstruction Elevation of Column - 1994, drawing is based upon preliminary examination of the monument and is not composed of elements all confirmed to belong to one of the four column units. (SWC 28)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 14

BASE I



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Drawing 8: Ocatgonal Base I - 1994. (SWC 14)



Drawing 9: Octagonal Base II - 1994. (SWC 13)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

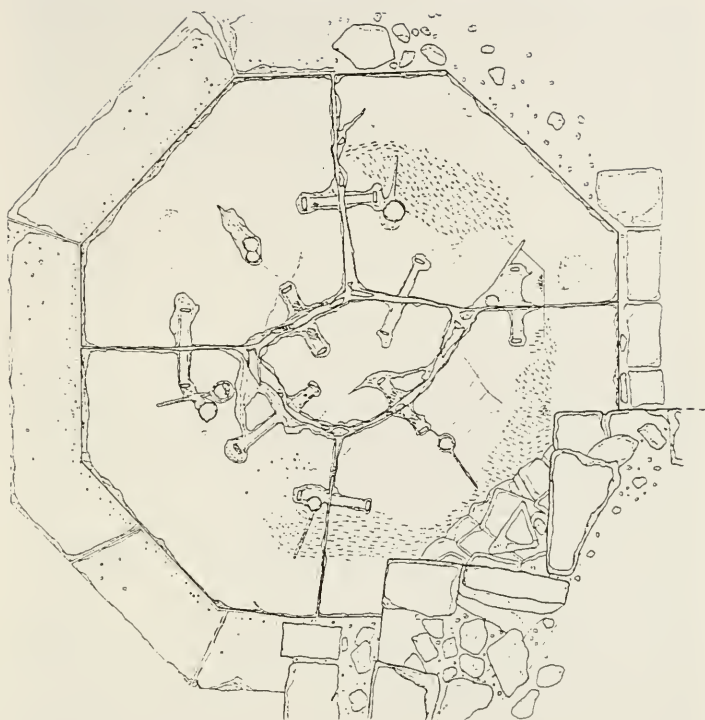
SWC 15

BASE III

0 1 m
ORZAN 1:10
MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER



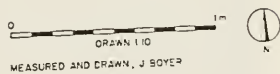
Drawing 10: Octagonal Base III - 1994. (SWC 15)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

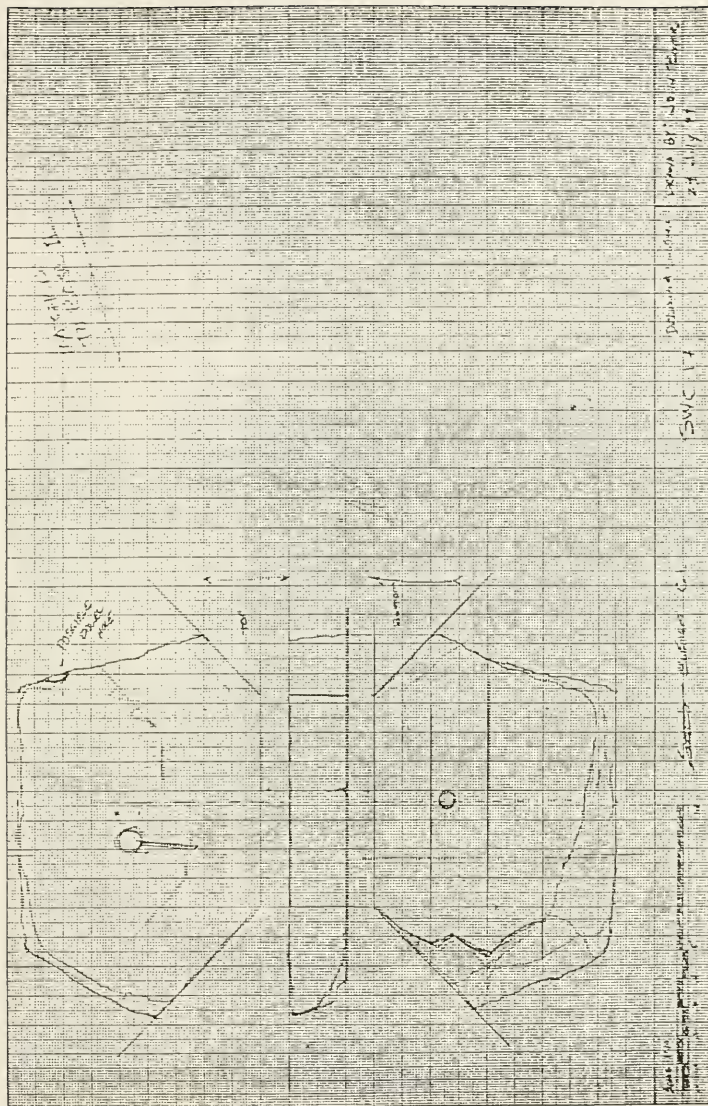
SWC 16

BASE IV

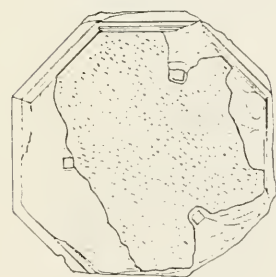
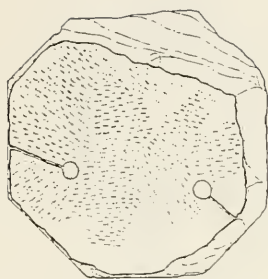


MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. SOYER

Drawing 11: Octagonal Base IV - 1994. (SWC 16)

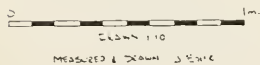


Drawing 12: Base II Level 3 - 1994, field sheet showing measured drawing of IIC-1. (SWC 17)

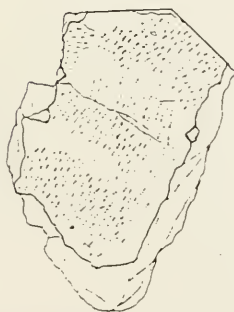
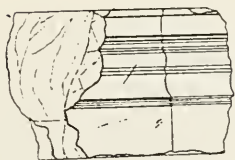


APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 22
Pedestal Top



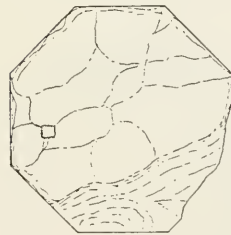
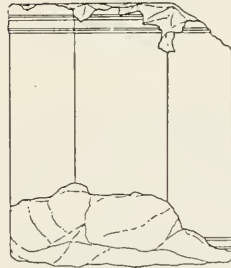
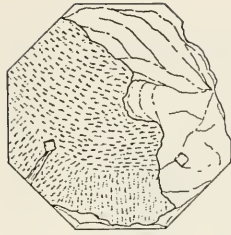
Drawing 13: Pedestal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-1. (SWC 22)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 18
Pedestal base

Drawing 14: Pedestal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-1. (SWC 18)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

SWC 20

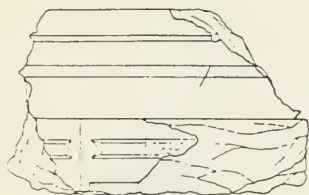
PEDESTAL



DRAWN 1110

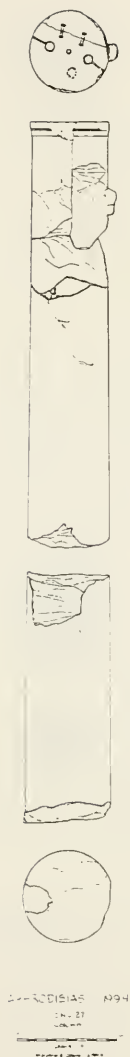
MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

Drawing 15: Pedestal -1994, Architectural Fragment E-1. (SWC 20)

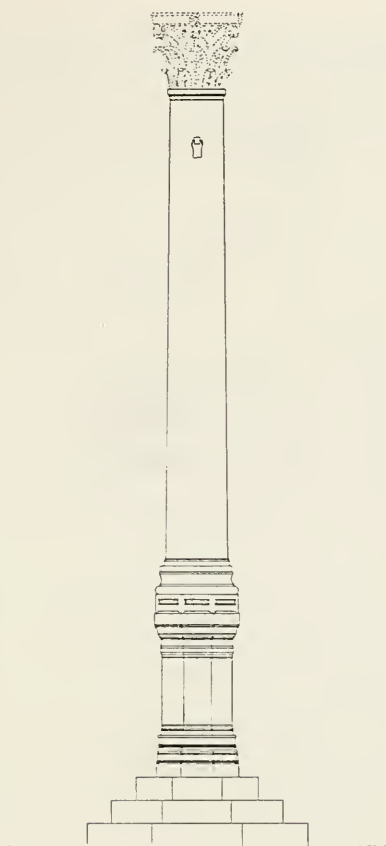


APHRODISIAS · 1994
SWC 2-5

Drawing 16: Column Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment G-1. (SWC 25)



Drawing 17: Column Shaft - 1994, Architectural Fragments H1 & H2.
(SWC 27)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

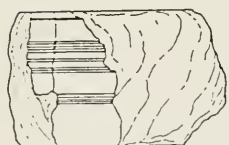
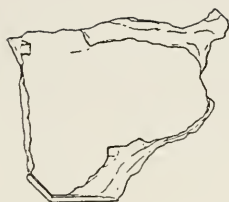
SWC 32

RECONSTRUCTION ELEVATION OF COLUMN

0 1 2m
DRAWN 125

MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

Drawing 18: Reconstruction Elevation of one column from monument - 1994. There are no confirmed elements above the top of the column shaft.



APHRODITEAS 1994

SWC 29

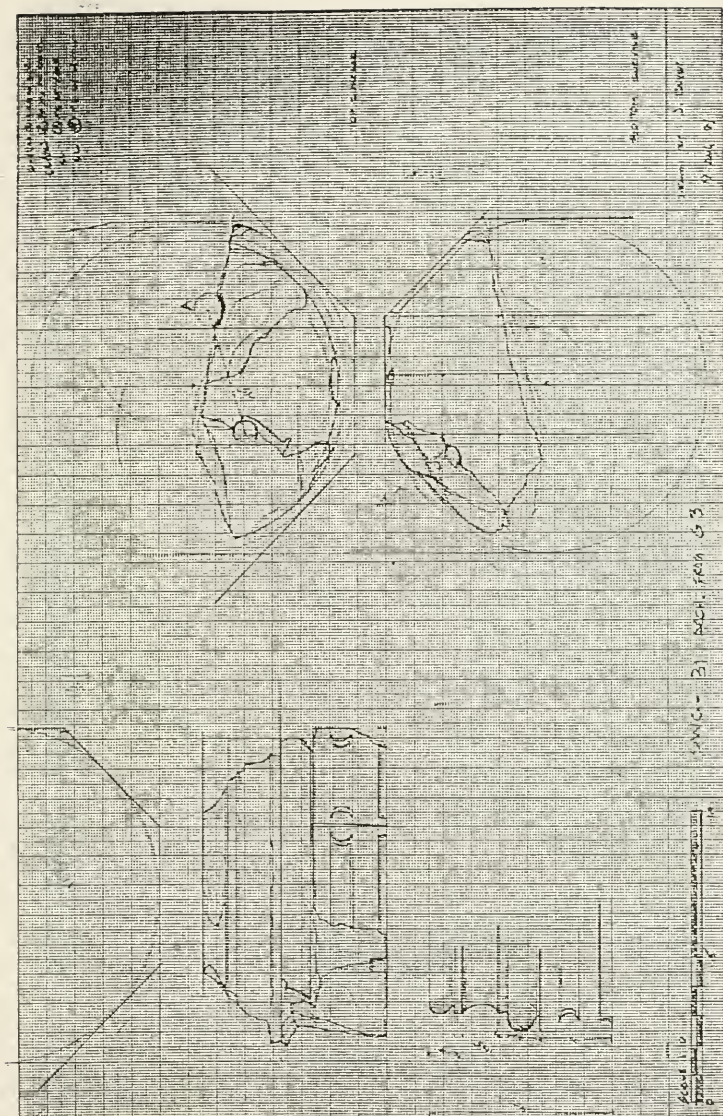
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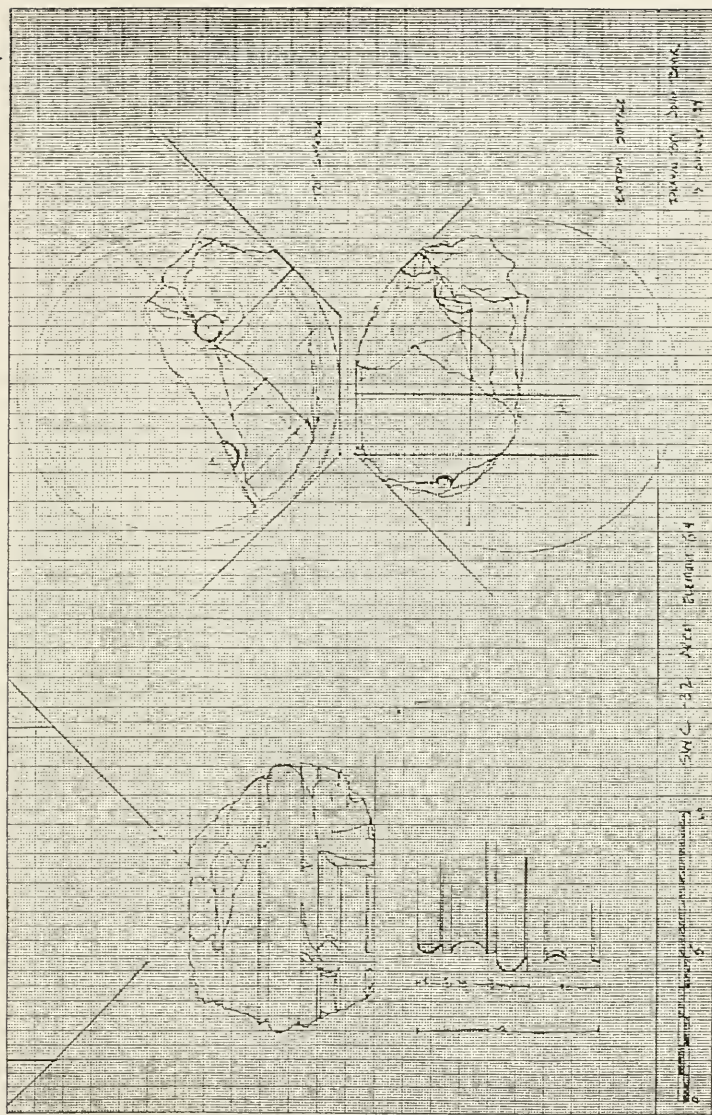
Scale 1:100

Measure in centimeters

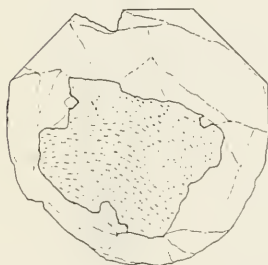
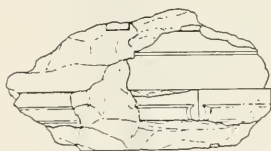
Drawing 19: Pedestal Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment D-3. (SWC 29)



Drawing 20 A: Column Base - 1994, field sheet of Architectural Fragment G-3. (SWC 30)



Drawing 20 B: Column Base - 1994, field sheet of Architectural Fragment G-4. (SWC 30)



APHRODISIAS · 1994

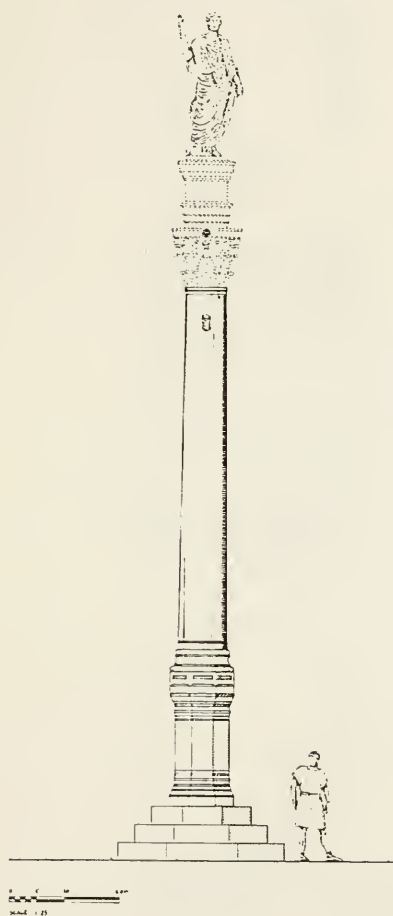
SWC 26
Column base



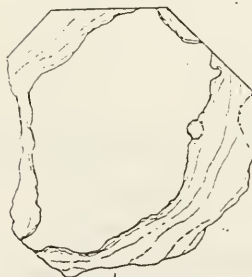
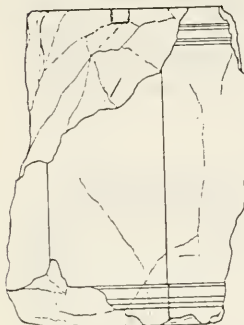
DRAWN 1:10

MEASURED & DRAWN · J. BOYK

Drawing 21: Column Base - 1994, Architectural Fragment G-2. (SWC 26)



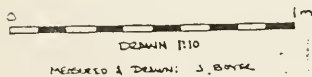
Drawing 22: Reconstruction Drawing - 1995, this drawing is based upon sets of elements that I have confirmed as matching, however, the monument as a whole does not represent an exact reconstruction.



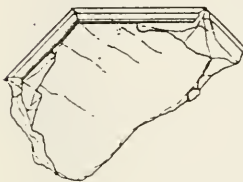
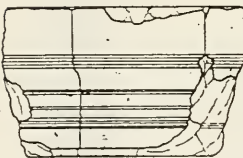
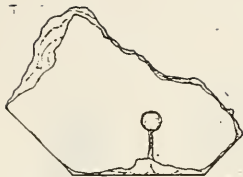
APHRODISIAS 1994

SWC 21

Pedistal



Drawing 23: Pedistal - 1994, Architectural Fragment E-2. (SWC 22)



APHRODISIAS 1994

SWC 23

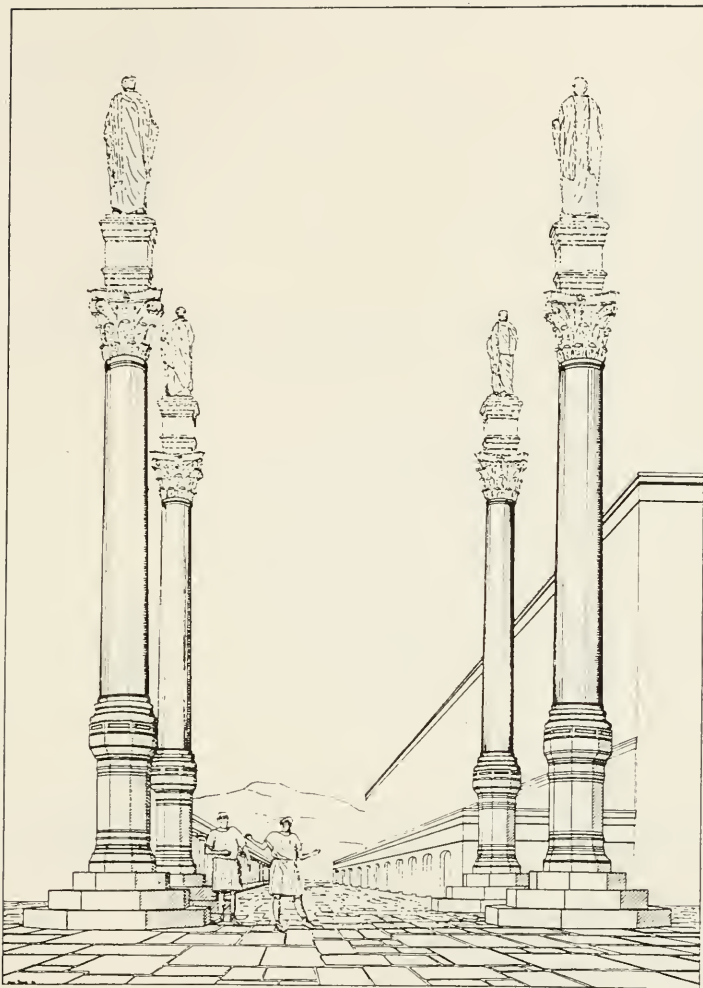
Pedistal Top



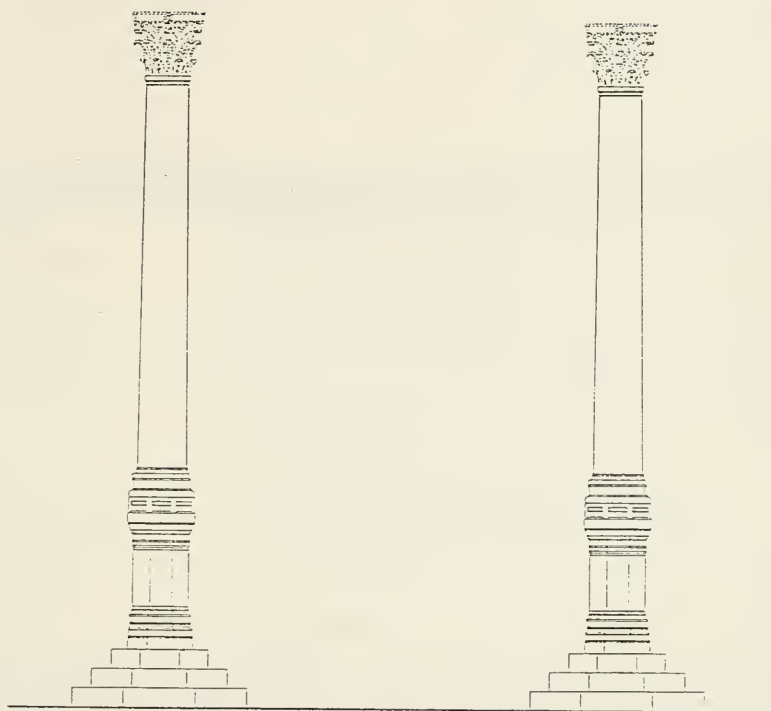
DRAWN 1:10

MEASURED & DRAWN: J. BOYK

Drawing 24: Pedistal Top - 1994, Architectural Fragment F-2. (SWC 23)



Drawing 26: Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Monument - 1995. The columns have been represented with capitals, sculpture bases, and generic sculptures that should in no way be directly associated with the Aphrodisias tetrakionion; they are used to give an impression of the overall proportions of the monument. The background is left perposefully vague until further archaeological evidence can be found.



APHRODISIAS · 1994

RECONSTRUCTION ELEVATION OF COLUMN

0 1 2 m
Scale 1:25
MEASURED AND DRAWN, J. BOYER

Drawing 27: Elevation of Aphrodisias tetraklion - 1995. This drawing is used to show the relationship between two of the columns in terms of proportion and spacing. The capital is hypothetical.

Appendix 2

Chronological Table*

PREHISTORIC PERIOD AT APHRODISIAS (Dates are approximate)		
c. 5800 BC c. 5300-4360 BC c. 4360-2915 BC c. 2915-2800 BC c. 2800-2600 BC c. 2600-2500 BC c. 2500-2400 BC c. 2400-2300/2200 BC c. 2300/2200-1900 BC c. 1900-(?)1600 BC c. 1600-(?)1300 BC c. 1300-1200 BC from c. 1200-1100 (?) BC	Late Neolithic (New Stone) Age (?) Late Chalcolithic (Copper Stone) Age Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age I Early Bronze Age 2 Early Bronze Age 3 Early Bronze Age 4 Early Bronze Age 4 - Middle Bronze Age Middle Bronze Age Gap Late Bronze Age Iron Age	
ARCHAIC PERIOD c. 680-480 BC		
c. 680-546 BC After 546 BC Later sixth century BC 509 BC 493-479 BC	West Asia Minor becomes part of Persian Empire Founding of Roman Republic Persian Wars	"Lydian" period at Aphrodisias Evidence of cult of "Aphrodite" at Aphrodisias, probably with a temple.

*Kenan T. Erim, Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1986), 162-172.

CLASSICAL PERIOD 480-400 BC		
431-404 BC	Golden Age of Athens Athenian Empire Peloponnesian War	
FOURTH CENTURY BC		
377-353 BC 382-336 BC 336-323 BC	Mausolus, satrap of Caria Rise of Macedonian power: Philip II Alexander III (the Great) Alexander conquers the Persian Empire and beyond	
HELLENISTIC PERIOD 323-31 BC		
282-133 BC From late third century BC 189 BC 188 BC 133 BC 100-90 BC 88 BC	Alexander's empire divided into three main kingdoms (Antigonid in Greece and Macedonia, Ptolemaic in Egypt and Seleucid in Syria and Mesopotamia) In West Asia Minor, kingdom of Pergamon under the Attalids Rome becomes involved in the Eastern Mediterranean against the Hellenistic monarchies Battle of Magnesia: defeat of Antiochus III of Syria by Rome Peace of Apamea settles in Rome's favour Death of Attalus III of Pergamon and bequest of his kingdom to Rome After crushing a revolt, Rome creates the province of Asia First Mithradatic War: Mithradates, King of Pontus, invades province of Asia	The historian, Apollonius of Aphrodisias, writes a history of Caria. Union of Parasa and Aphrodisias. Treaty of the two with neighbouring Cibyra and Tabae under protection of Rome. Links between Parasa/ Aphrodisias and kingdom of Bithynia. Aphrodisias supports Rome.

87 BC	Roman general Sulla fights Mithradates	Sulla advised by Greek oracle to make offerings to Aphrodite of Aphrodisias.
85 BC	Mithradates defeated, Sulla reorganizes Asian cities	Sulla makes his offerings to Aphrodite, perhaps gives her city certain privileges.
83-82 BC	Second Mithradatic War	
78-75 BC	Roman campaigns in Lycia, Pamphylia	Coins issued under the name of Plarasa/Aphrodisias (mostly bronze).
74-63 BC	Third Mithradatic War	
60 BC	First Triumvirate (Pompey, Julius Caesar, Crassus)	
47 BC		Julius Caesar campaigns against Pharnaces, King of Pontus, makes donations to Aphrodite of Aphrodisias; he subsequently grants her sacred precinct rights of asylum.
44 BC	Assassination of Caesar	
43 BC	Second Triumvirate (Antony, Octavian, Lepidus) Brutus and Cassius control Asia Minor and maltreat Caesar's friends	
42 BC	Battle of Philippi: Brutus and Cassius defeated by Antony and Octavian Antony in Asia Minor, helps cities that had suffered under Brutus and Cassius	
40 BC	War against Labienus	With Parthian troops, Labienus invades Asia Minor. Aphrodisias is sacked.
39 BC	Brundisium Pact: Antony and Octavian divide the Mediterranean into spheres of influence.	Octavian asserts a patron's rights over Aphrodisias, essentially in Antony's territory. Decree and law sponsored by both triumvirs passed at Rome conferring privileges on Aphrodisias. Loot taken by Labienus and his men recovered thanks to Octavian's intervention.

39 BC		<p>C. Julius Zoilos, Octavian's freeman, involved in the delimitation of an extended area of asylum in the precinct of Aphrodite.</p> <p>Building or rebuilding programme, especially the Temple of Aphrodite, the Theatre and the agora.</p>
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ROMAN PERIOD

31 BC	Battle of Actium	
30 BC	Defeat and deaths of Antony and Cleopatra Octavian, sole ruler	
27 BC	Octavian becomes Augustus	Building activities continue at Aphrodisias; cult in honour of Augustus initiated.
	Augustus, Agrippa (his son-in-law) and his adopted son Gaius visit Asia Minor	
AD 14	Death of Augustus Tiberius emperor	Continued building programme at Aphrodisias in agora (Portico of Tiberius) and Sebasteion with extension of cult of the Imperial house.
17	Major earthquake in Asia Minor	Aphrodisias damaged.
17-19	Germanicus, Tiberius' adopted son visits Asia Minor.	Sculptor Koblanos active in Italy
22		Confirmation of asylum rights by Tiberius
37	Death of Tiberius	
37-41	Gaius (Caligula) emperor	
41-54	Claudius emperor	Extension and reorganization of cult of imperial family at Aphrodisias.
c. 47	Earthquake in Asia Minor	Aphrodisias damaged.
54	Death of Claudius	
54-68	Nero emperor	

55-60 and 62-66	Campaigns in Armenia	Victories illustrated in Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.
68	Crisis: Year of Four Emperors	
69	Accession of Vespasian and Flavian Dynasty	Chariton, writer of romance <i>Chaereas and Callirhoe</i> hails from Aphrodisias.
79	Death of Vespasian	Xenocrates, medical writer, active at Aphrodisias.
79-81	Titus emperor	
81-96	Domitian emperor	Construction of aqueducts at Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias contributes to offering made in honour of Domitian at Ephesus.
96-98	Nerva emperor	Sculptor Zenon, son of Attinas.
98-117	Trajan emperor	Privileges of Aphrodisias upheld according to surviving letter.
between 102-116		Earthquake causes damage at Aphrodisias.
101-2 and 105-6	Dacian Wars	Sculptor Apollonius
117-138	Hadrian emperor	Privileges of Aphrodisias upheld according to surviving letter. Large bath building erected at Aphrodisias. Sculptors, Antoninos, Aristetas and Papias from Aphrodisias active at Rome. Also P. Likinios Priskos. Zenion and Zenon, son of Alexander active elsewhere.
138-161	Accession of Antoninus Pius and Antonine Dynasty	Adrastos, peripatetic philosopher, hails from Aphrodisias.
161-180	Marcus Aurelius emperor (till 169, with Lucius Verus)	
162-166	Parthian Wars	
180-192	Commodus emperor	Privileges of Aphrodisias upheld according to surviving letter. Official appointed to assist in

		organization of funds for financing games and musical competitions.
192	Crisis: Series of civil wars, involving Asia Minor	
192-211	Accession of Septimius Severus and Severan Dynasty	
198	Caracalla, eldest son, becomes joint emperor with Severus	Alexander, peripatetic philosopher hailing from Aphrodisias, lectures on Aristotle at Athens, and dedicates one of his books to Septimius Severus and Caracalla.
		Privileges of Aphrodisias upheld according to surviving epigraphical documents.
		Several Aphrodisians attested as senators at Rome. Sculptor Alexander, son of Zenon.
211	Caracalla and brother Geta emperors	
212	<i>Constitutio Antoniniana</i> confers citizenship on all free men	
212	Murder of Geta	
215-216	Caracalla and Julia Domna travel in Asia Minor	
217	Death of Caracalla	
217-218	Macrinus emperor	
218-222	Elagabalus emperor	
222-235	Alexander Severus emperor	Privileges of Aphrodisias upheld according to surviving letter.
235-238	Maximinus Thrax emperor	
238	Gordian I, then Gordian II emperors	Sculptor Polyneikes
238-244	Gordian III emperor	Privileges of Aphrodisias upheld according to several letters.
242-243	Wars against Persia	
244-249	Philip (the Arab) emperor	

249-251	Traianus Decius emperor	Privileges of Aphrodisias upheld according to surviving epigraphical document.
251-253	Trebonianus Gallus emperor	
253	Crisis: Several claimants to throne, soon superseded by Valerian, who is associated with his son Gallienus.	New province organized at this time joining Caria and Phrygia, probably with Aphrodisias as its capital.
260	Parthian Wars: Valerian captured.	
260-268	Gallienus emperor	
268-270	Claudius II Gothicus emperor	
270-275	Aurelian emperor	
275-276	Tacitus emperor	
276-282	Probus emperor	
282-283	Carus emperor	
283-284	Numerian emperor	
283-285	Carinus emperor	
284-305	Diocletian emperor: Establishment of Tetrarchy with reorganisation of empire: Diocletian and Maximianus as co-Augusti; Galerius and Constantius as co-Caesars	
301	<i>Edict of Maximum Prices</i> and revaluation of currency promulgated	Both edicts set up on panels at Aphrodisias near a reorganized large basilica off the agora.
301-305		Caria becomes a separate province with Aphrodisias as its capital.
306-312	Maxentius emperor	
308-324	Licinius emperor	

BYZANTINE PERIOD		
307-337 324	Accession of Constantine I (the Great) as sole ruler; establishment of Constantinian dynasty	
313	Edict of Milan: End of Christian persecutions	
325	Council of Nicaea: Christianity becomes the religion of the Empire	Ammonius, first bishop of Aphrodisias attends the Council.
326	New capital established at Byzantium, now renamed Constantinople.	
337-361	Constantius II emperor	
c. 359		Building of west (or Antioch) gate of fortification system.
359		Serious earthquake causes much damage in western Asia Minor, and at Aphrodisias.
361-363	Julian the Apostate emperor. Attempts at pagan revival	Antonius Tatianus, governor of Caria, builds the Tetrastoon, to the east of the Theatre
360s		Completion of city wall system.
379-395	Accession of Theodosius I (the Great) and the Theodosian dynasty	
395-408	Arcadius emperor	
408-450	Theodosius II emperor	
431	Council of Ephesus	Cyrus, bishop of Aphrodisias, attends.
443		Theodosius II visits Aphrodisias
		Temple of Aphrodite probably converted to a basilica at this time.
449	Council of Ephesus ("Robber Synod") recognizes monophysite doctrine	Cyrus attends.
	Council of Chalcedon	Critonianus, bishop of Aphrodisias, attends.

450s		Remodelling and transformation of Agora Gate into a <i>nymphaeum</i> . Repairs to city walls, and Odeon.
455	Sack of Rome by Vandals	
457-474	Accession of Leo I and his dynasty	
480s		Asklepiodotos of Alexandria, a Neoplatonist philosopher, takes up residence at Aphrodisias. Paganism, as well as monophysite christianity, in the city.
474-491	Zenon emperor	
491-518	Anastasius emperor	
Late fifth century		Flavius Palmatus, governor of Caria and acting "vicar" of Asia honoured at Aphrodisias with erection of a statue.
518-527	Dynasty of Justinian: Justin I emperor	
518		Euphemius, bishop of Aphrodisias, exiled for monophysite activities.
527-565	Justinian I (the Great) emperor	
c. 529		Aphrodisians petition emperor to protect interest payments that they receive from their endowments.
565-578	Justin II emperor	
582-602	Maurice/Tiberius emperor	
602-610	Usurper Phocas emperor	
610-641	Accession of Heraclius and his dynasty	
—		
Early seventh century		Major earthquake brings much damage to Aphrodisias. Little repair is attempted. Spolia used to create a citadel on the 'acropolis' over ruins of Theatre. Change of name of the city to Stavropolis.
611-627	Persians invade Anatolia	
632	Rise of Islam	

635-641	Arab conquests in Middle East	
685-695 and 705-711	Arabs attack Constantinople	
717-741	Justinian II emperor	
717-718	Accession of Leo III and Isaurian dynasty	
726	Arab siege of Constantinople	
741-775	Beginning of Iconoclast Controversy	
775-780	Constantine V Copronymus emperor	
787	Leo IV the Khazar	
843	Council of Nicaea: Condemnation of Iconoclasm	
876-912	Final restoration of Images	
886-912	Accession of Basil I and Macedonian dynasty	
913-959	Leo VI emperor	
959-963	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus emperor	
963-969	Romanus II emperor	
969-976	Usurpers Nicephorus II Phocas and John I Zimisces	
976-1025	Accession of Basil II Bulgarochtonos and his Macedonian dynasty	
1054	Separation of Greek and Roman Churches	
1057-1078	Dynasty of Dukas and Comnenes	
1064	Seljuk Turks in eastern Anatolia	
1071	Battle of Manzikert: defeat of Byzantine armies	
1078	Seljuk Turks in western Asia Minor	
		In tenth or eleventh century, repairs and alterations in main church, or cathedral, of Aphrodisias (ex-temple of Aphrodite).

ISLAMIC PERIOD		
1081-1181	Accession of Alexius I Comnenus and Comnene dynasty	Aphrodisias (alias Caria) attacked by Seljuk Turks.
1143-1180	Manuel I emperor	
1147-1149	The Second Crusade	
1188		Theodore Mangaphas, in rebellion against emperor, sacks Caria with Seljuk raiders.
1189-1192	The Third Crusade	
1195-1203	Alexius III emperor	Sultan of Iconium (Konya) seizes Caria. 5,000 people captured and resettled at Philomelium.
1201-1204	The Fourth Crusade Capture and sack of Constantinople in 1204	
1204-1261	Latin empire of Constantinople	
1204-1261	Byzantine emperors of Nicaea	
1261-1282	Accession of Michael VIII Palaeologus and dynasty of Palaeologi	Brief revival of Byzantine rule in Maeander valley.
c. 1279		Caria once again seized by Seljuk and Turcoman raiders. Remaining population resettled elsewhere.
1308	The Ottoman Turks in western Asia Minor and Europe	
1328-1341	Andronicus III emperor	By end of fourteenth century Caria (alias Aphrodisias) ceases to be mentioned in the lists of sees.
1449-1453	Constantine XI Dragases emperor	
1453	Siege and capture of Constantinople by Mehmet II and the Turks	

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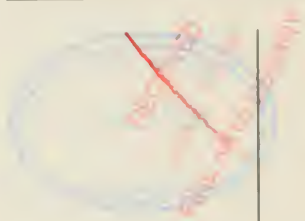
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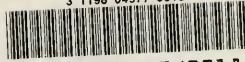


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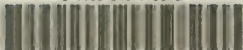
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