ELITE BENEFACTION IN ROMAN ASIA MINOR:
THE CASE OF PLANCIA MAGNA IN PERGE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

ELITE BENEFACTION IN ROMAN ASIA MINOR:
THE CASE OF PLANCIA MAGNA IN PERGE

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This thesis is an examination of the role of architectural benefaction of the local elite on the urbanization of the Greek cities of Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial period, and its impact on the social status of the benefactor. While providing a theoretical framework for the nature of benefaction in antiquity and the pattern of architectural renewal of the Anatolian cities under the Roman influence, the thesis focuses on a single case study; the Hellenistic City Gate of Perge which was restored by Plancia Magna during the reign of Hadrian. After its renovation, the gate became an indispensible part of the urban activities of Perge and a source of pride for both the city and its donor. Hence, this study constitutes an attempt to investigate the involvement of Plancia Magna's architectural patronage within the Roman urbanization of Perge and also the transformation of the public persona of Plancia Magna in the center of the male-dominated Roman society.

Keywords: Benefaction, Greek cities of Asia Minor, Roman Imperial Period, Hellenistic City Gate of Perge, Plancia Magna

ÖZ

ROMA KÜÇÜK ASYA'SINDA BANİLİK:
PERGE'DE PLANCIA MAGNA ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, yerel elit sınıf tarafından gerçekleştirilen mimari baniliğin, Küçük Asya'daki Yunan kentlerinin Roma İmparatorluk dönemi sırasında kentleşmesindeki rolü ve banilerin sosyal statüleri üzerindeki etkisi üzerine bir incelemedir. Tez, antik çağlardaki banilik kavramı ve Anadolu kentlerinin Roma etkisi altındaki mimari yenileşme düzeni hakkında bir kuramsal çerçeve oluşturduktan sonra tek bir örneğe; Hadrianus döneminde Plancia Magna tarafından restore edilmiş olan Perge'deki Helenistik Kent Kapısı üzerine yoğunlaşır. Yenilenmesinin ardından bu kapı, Perge'deki kentsel aktivitelerin önemli bir parçası olmuş ve hem kent hem de banisi için gurur kaynağı haline gelmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, Plancia Magna'nın mimari bağışının Perge'nin Roma etkisi altındaki kentleşme sürecine ve Plancia Magna'nın erkek egemen Roma toplumundaki kamusal kimliğinin değişimine olan katkısını irdelemeyi amaçlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Banilik, Küçük Asya'daki Yunan kentleri, Roma Imparatorluk dönemi, Perge'deki Helenistik Kent Kapısı, Plancia Magna

To My Dear Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Originally an older Anatolian settlement, Perge was an important Greek *polis* during the Hellenistic period, which later developed into a prosperous Roman city. As in the case of many other Greek cities of Asia Minor, Perge experienced an intensive urbanization after the arrival of the Romans which dramatically changed and enhanced the civic activities and the urban narratives. Not surprisingly, almost all of the buildings were donated by the wealthy elite citizens of Perge, whose reputation have reached to our day through the inscriptions dedicated to them in return for their benefactions.

Plancia Magna was one of these eminent citizens who restored the Hellenistic City Gate in the 2nd century A.D. and turned it into a display area where the eponymous founders of the city, civic deities, the emperor and the imperial family were celebrated. After the restoration, the building became an indispensible part of the daily activities and brought many honors to Plancia Magna as a reward for her generosity.

Hence, this thesis intends to explore Plancia Magna's benefaction with an eye to understand how the Hellenistic City Gate became a part of the Roman urbanization of Perge and contributed to the creation of Plancia Magna's public persona. In order to do that, the first two chapters are devoted to formulating a theoretical framework for the nature of benefaction in antiquity and the pattern of architectural renewal of the Asiatic Greek cities under the Roman influence, while the last two chapters examine Plancia Magna and her benefaction to see how it fits into this framework.

Benefaction has been a social phenomenon in the history of humanity which is still an important part of the modern world. However, the act of benefaction underwent significant changes in the course of time, due to social, political economic and even religious dynamics of the societies. Thus, in the first chapter, the nature of benefaction is discussed within a certain period of time in order to better assess its

impacts on the selected case study. This period starts with the Classical era, when the archaic liturgies and mandatory public responsibilities began to be performed more voluntarily, and ends in the 3rd century A.D. when the number of benefactions decreased due to political and economic disturbances in the Roman Empire.

Hence, following a chronological sequence, the first chapter discusses the evolution of benefaction in the Classical Greek city-states and its transformation in the Hellenistic period, and it continues by discussing how Romans performed the same act. A special emphasis is given to Augustus, the first Roman emperor, who incorporated benefaction in the grand make-over of the empire. This is followed by a comparative discussion about the role of elite benefaction in the urbanization of "Western" and "Eastern" provinces. While discussing the "Eastern" cities, prominence is given to the Greek *poleis* on the Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor, in an attempt to remain within the scope of the thesis.

The division of the Roman provinces according to "East" and "West" was inevitable for this study. In addition to their geographical connotations with respect to the location of Italy, the two terms indicate the respectively different level of civilization of these provinces when they first encountered Romans. Thus, while the "West" embodies miscellaneous "barbarian" tribes waiting to be Romanized, the "East" refers to the already civilized and conspicuously Hellenized societies. Due to this significant difference, varying policies towards the two regions were pursued in the Roman Empire. As a result, the urban renewal of the "Eastern" cities and the motives of their local benefactors differed from the "West". The comparatively more compromising Roman policy over the Greek cities of Asia Minor led to a dramatic increase in the benefaction of the local elite. Thus, the first chapter closes with a discussion of how the motives of Greek benefactors changed under the Roman sway.

Following the gradual acceptance of Roman cultural influence together with the increase in the most permanent type of benefaction, that is architectural patronage, the urban face of the Greek city-states dramatically changed. Thus, the first two parts of the second chapter inquire how the embracement of imperial architectural vocabulary, Roman building types and institutions became an indispensible part of the re-definition of Asian cities under the Roman hegemony. The last section, on the other hand, emphasizes the introduction and the importance

2

of the "armature", the main artery of a city, as the most important characteristic of a Roman town which linked the public buildings to each other in order to create urban narratives that derived from daily experiences. Finally, it is stressed how these experiences were influenced from local customs in addition to the Roman traditions, since it is not possible to define the identity of a Greco-Roman city devoid of its native characteristics.

Considering the second chapter, the third one concentrates on the urbanization of Perge under Roman rule. Perge reached a cultural peak during the Imperial Period; however this cannot be solely attributed to the Roman influence. The city's history took form through several interactions with different civilizations, all of which left a trace. As a consequence, the rich cultural accumulation that Perge already had by the time of the Roman arrival became a significant part of the Roman city. Hence, the first part of this chapter is devoted to Perge's history up to the Roman times, in order to see to what extent the cultural roots defined Roman Perge.

The second part of the third chapter, on the other hand, discusses the urbanization of the lower city Perge with the munificence of local benefactors. While mentioning all the surviving architectural contributions that took place in the 1st and 2nd century A.D., the discussion mainly focuses on the restoration project of the Hellenistic City Gate and its incorporation into the city's armature and urban narratives.

Having stated the physical importance of the City Gate for Perge, the last chapter focuses on its representative significance both for its benefactor and the city. Plancia Magna, an elite woman in a male-dominated society, came to prominence with her grand benefaction. In order to understand how she was comparatively more distinguished from her contemporaries and her own family members, it is crucial to depict a picture of the environment she lived in. For this reason, the first section of this chapter is devoted to her all known family members who were successful males, while the second part discusses the social and legal rights of Roman women and to what extent they could become a part of the civic life. Finally, the last part is devoted to the message Plancia Magna tried to give with her benefaction, the message which concerned not only the city but also herself and her family.

Throughout the thesis, it is tried to show how an architectural benefaction contributed to the urbanization as well as the prestige of a city and influenced the reputation of its benefactor. Lastly, it should be stated that all the topics discussed in this research have been the subject of various interdisciplinary discussions of architectural history, archaeology and history. This thesis intends to bring them together and draw a coherent conclusion.

CHAPTER 2
BENEFACTION

As the gap between rich and poor widens, the number of wealthy individuals who alleviate the burden of the people in need with their generous donations significantly increases over time in many countries around the world. In modern Turkey, a number of aristocratic families like Sabancı and Koç, who achieved a considerable wealth as a result of their success in industry and business, have established foundations to serve the public. Having the principle of "to share what we have gained from this land with its people" Hacı Ömer Sabancı Foundation, set up by Sabancı Brothers in 1974, have been contributing to the public good ever since with many educational institutions; health, culture and aid centers; student dormitories; sports and social facilities; libraries and Sabancı University. Modern Turkey's first major foundation, The Vehbi Koç Foundation, established in 1969, which has also built healthcare, culture and education facilities including hospitals, museums, libraries, schools and Koç University, in recognition for these deeds, was awarded with The Andrew Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy in 2009, the most prestigious award that honors "benefaction".

Two thousand years ago, when the territory of modern Turkey used to be ruled as the provinces of the Roman Empire, the act of benefaction was widely performed especially in the Imperial Period. However, ancient benefaction slightly differs from today's beneficial contributions. In our day, the need for the involvement of wealthy individuals to public service commonly rises from the distressing gap between rich and poor. Most of the foundations like Sabancı and Koç work also like charities, targeting certain individuals or certain groups as in the case of providing scholarship for students, supporting poor people or sheltering abused women and children.

On the other hand, benefaction in ancient times was aimed at the citizens without any distinction.[1] Although there were small scaled foundations like Livia's which provided dowries for the poor girls, the preponderance of benefactions addressed a broader audience. For instance, the distribution of food was not because one wealthy person felt pity for the hungry people; wine and grain were distributed to the elite as well as the poor. Similarly, during a festival provided by a donor, people from different social status had the opportunity to come together in the same place, even if they had different seats in the theaters according to their classes.[2] They even had the chance to breathe the same air with the emperor while watching an Olympic game, who was also the target of the benefactor. Thus, differing from modern munificence, ancient benefaction was not simply a charitable donation, considering only the needy people. Instead, it was a generous act of the benefactor towards the majority, driven by certain motives which will be pointed out throughout this chapter.

The word "benefaction" is translated into English from the Latin word "*beneficium*" meaning benefit, favor. The word stems from the combination of "*bene+facere*", which translates to "do well". Similarly, "munificence" comes from "*munificus*" meaning bountifulness, generosity. It derives from "*munus+facere*" which means "gift making". Euergetism, on the other hand, stemming from the Greek word *euergetia*, means benefaction. It was coined by the French historian André Boulanger from the Hellenistic inscriptions which honors the people who "did good to the city".[3] These three words describe the act of generosity of a wealthy individual, who uses his own fortune voluntarily in the service of community benefit.[4] However, they are not enough to tell us why the wealthy individuals prefer to do so.

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[1] Only citizens were able to benefit from the benefactions; slaves and foreigners were excluded.

[2] The hierarchy of seating was legalized by the *Lex Irnitana.* Livy (34.44) narrates how prestigious this was: "Another thing which added immensely to their popularity with the patricians was the order they issued to the curule aediles, requiring them to reserve special places for the senators at the Roman Games; previously they sat amongst the crowd."

[3] "Euergetein ten polin" (Veyne, 1990, p. 10).

[4] As Veyne (1990, p. 10) points out, there is no exact word in the ancient languages which corresponds to this action of the rich people. However, these three words are the closest in meaning

The majority of inscriptions concerning benefaction in the Roman Empire come from Asia Minor dating mainly to the first three centuries of the imperial period. These inscriptions point to an increase in private munificence which shaped the status of elite and the urban public space of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. In order to get closer to understanding this proliferation, it is vital to explore the roots of benefaction in Greek and Roman cultures and realize the differences between eastern and western provinces.

2.1. Euergetism in the Classical Period

In the ancient world, benefaction was shaped in the Hellenistic period, while it proliferated during the early Roman Empire. However, its roots go back to the Archaic Greek. Generosity was commonly valued even in the small tribal groups, where the rich provided feasts for a certain group of people close to them.[5]

With the formation of city-states, euergetism became civic and the generosity of the wealthy individual was bestowed upon the whole *polis*, i.e. the settlement and the community.[6] The city was beautified with donated buildings like temples and the people were entertained with festivals. The reason for this civic munificence of classical benefactors lies in the ancient Greeks' ethics and social responsibility.

First of all, the Greeks considered wealth and poverty equally evil since they would both lead to danger. Thucydides points this out as:

> Poverty leading through sheer necessity to the courage of desperation; power leading through presumptuous pride to the greed for more; these and the other conditions of life which hold men in the grip of particular passions drive them with an irresistible and overmastering force into dangerous risks. (*The Peloponnesian War* III.45.2-6)

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and widely used in the modern scholarship. For this reason, I will use them interchangeably throughout this thesis.

[5] According to Veyne (1990, p. 72), this action became the *hestiasis*, a liturgy among Athenian tribes, where a member of the tribe was responsible for providing feasts and entertainment for the other members. For more information about *hestiasis*, see Andreades (1933).

[6] Hansen (2006, p. 56) asserts that the word *polis* had two meanings in the ancient Greek sources; settlement and community: "As settlement, a *polis* was primarily a large nucleated settlement, i.e. a city: as community it was an institutionalized political community, i.e. a state." Thus, *Polis* becomes the "city-state" (Hansen, 2006, p. 62).

7

In order to prevent the danger, the benefactor tried to narrow down the gap between rich and poor through munificence by overcoming his greed and alleviating the needs of the public.

This action also shaped the definition of certain moral values. In *The Nicomachean Ethics,* Aristotle talks about the morals that make a man virtuous. The first two parts of the fourth volume is devoted to the morals concerned with money, one of which deals with the "liberality". Aristotle describes the "liberal man" as follows:

> It seems to be the mean with regard to wealth; for the liberal man is praised not in respect of military matters, nor of those in respect of which the temperate man is praised, nor of judicial decisions, but with regard to the giving and taking of wealth, and especially in respect of giving…And the liberal are almost the most loved of all virtuous characters, since they are useful; and this depends on their giving…Therefore the liberal man, like other virtuous men, will give for the sake of the noble, and rightly; for he will give to the right people, the right amounts, and at the right time…(*The Nicomachean Ethics*, IV.1.1190b.21-25, IV.1.1120a.21-23, IV.1.1120a.24-26)

So, the liberal man is the one who can balance what he gets and what he gives. Taking no more than he needs and especially giving from his own possessions voluntarily to the people elevate the liberal man to nobility. On the other hand, a man who gives without thinking and spends money on personal expenses is prodigal, while the man who wants to gain instead of giving is mean. According to Aristotle, "prodigality" results in the waste of substance and the ruining of the self while "meanness" is "greater evil" than prodigality since the mean person falls into ignobility by gaining from the wrong sources and keeping it all for himself (*The Nicomachean Ethics*, IV.1.).

However, there is one virtue concerned with wealth that suppresses liberality, which is "magnificence". For Aristotle, a magnificent man does not take like liberal man, but only spends, and the scale of his disbursement is greater and more proper than that of the liberal, which makes him more virtuous. Moreover, "The magnificent man is like an artist; for he can see what is fitting and spend large sums tastefully" (*The Nicomachean Ethics*, IV.2.1122a.35-36). That is, the magnificent man does not

calculate what he spends "niggardly" nor does he spend beyond the actual value to "show off his wealth" (*The Nicomachean Ethics*, IV.2.1123a).

Simply put; prodigality, meanness, parsimony and self-indulgence were not praised but using the wealth for public benefit was noble. Wealthy individuals were encouraged for munificence in exchange for virtue and nobility. This also led to the evolution of "liturgies" in *poleis*, especially in Athens, where there was no direct taxation and the financing of the public services depended on the socially responsible rich citizens.[7]

The primary dynamic that initiated the benefaction among ancient Greeks was their moral values. The desire for being notable and virtuous forced the benefactor to ruin himself for the public benefit. In Hellenistic and Roman times, new dynamics were introduced concerning the nature of benefaction.

2.2. Euergetism in the Hellenistic Period

The Greek generosity was primarily intended for nobility; however, it provided privileges for the benefactor. Occasionally, for their generosity, the city honored the *euegetes* with inscriptions, and rewarded them with titles and political careers. It is inevitable to think that these gifts aroused desire in benefactors to give more in order to get more. However, through the end of the Classical Period, munificence turned into a necessity for political achievements. On the eve of the Hellenistic epoch, Aristotle says:

> The magistracies of the highest rank, which ought to be in the hands of the governing body, should have expensive duties attached to them, and then the people will not desire them and will take no offense at the privileges of their rulers when they see that they pay a heavy fine for their dignity. It is fitting also that the magistrates on entering office should offer magnificent sacrifices or erect some public edifice, and then the people who participate in the entertainments, and see the city decorated with votive offerings

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[7] The system of liturgy originated from the idea that poor people did not have much to give so it was the generous people who became responsible for the public services. However, it turned into an obligation in time in such a way that some of the rich men tried to avoid the liturgies in order to escape from the abuse of their fortune. For more on "liturgy", see; Finley (1973, pp. 150-176); Christ (1990) and Carmichael (1997). For the changes in liturgies in the early Hellenistic Athens, see Oliver (2007, pp. 193-227).

and buildings, will not desire an alteration in the government, and
the notables will have memorials of their munificence.
(*Politics*, VII.7.1321a.30)

This means that the political ranks were distributed to the notables provided that they gave something to the people. It was the end of the Greek practice that the leaders were chosen according to their talents. On the contrary, the Hellenistic notables obtained social superiority and political career through munificence. They had to please the public with magnificent offerings in order to hold and keep their offices.

However, there was not a certain price for a certain office. Every citizen had the right to hold offices, but the winner would most likely be the one who could open his purse and provide the public welfare in the best way compared to a poor citizen. Even "promising" further benefaction before being selected would be enough to provoke a competition.[8] Euergetism was not a payment but a symbolic necessity, which is defined as "euergetism *ob honorem*" by Paul Veyne (1990, p. 11). According to Veyne's description (1990, p. 11), euergetism *ob honorem* is still voluntary, but it is aimed to achieve a political task which makes it obligatory at the same time. However, this symbolic obligation did not stop the benefactors to waste their money on others' needs; on the contrary, the Hellenistic era witnessed the increase in the elite munificence which is supported with the excessive amount of honorary inscriptions coming from the Hellenistic world.

The social, political and economical changes in the Greek *poleis* during the Hellenistic period played an important role in the alteration of the benefactors' motives and the stimulation of the benefactions. First of all, the Greek city-states were dragged into a new political system, monarchy;[9] that was introduced by Alexander the Great and continued with his successors. Although their administration remained democratic with magistracies, council and people's assembly; the cities were submissive to a larger entity and a king.

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[8] Dmitriev (2005, p. 39) points out the noun "a promise" (*epangelia*) and the verb "to promise" (*epangellomai* and *hypiskhneomai*) found in the inscriptions of early Hellenistic Asia concerning benefaction.

[9] For a detailed analysis of the Hellenistic monarchy, see Walbank (1984).

Despite the fact that monarchy was against the Greek idea of freedom and considered as barbarian and slavish; Greeks nevertheless had to find a way to incorporate the king into their philosophy and politics (Walbank, 1984, pp. 62-64). One way to ensure good relations between the cities and the king was to exchange gifts. The king performed benefaction as a means to consolidate his hegemony over the cities he was ruling,[10] as a return, was honored by the title "euergete" (Walbank, 1984, p. 82).

Alexander and his successors founded many cities in the territories they conquered. These cities were a means to impose Greek culture on "barbarians", so that they resembled classical Greek cities in many aspects. The culture and traditions had to be supported with the proper infrastructure and especially with the administrative units.[11]

Wealthy citizens played an important role in the creation of this environment. They participated in presenting the Greek culture to natives by providing festivals and games and constructing the requisite buildings. Moreover, they were involved in the administration and politics and used their wealth and power when necessary,[12] which included establishing good relations between the city and the king (Price, 2001, p. 326).

It was not only the power but also the wealth of the rich that was increasing in the Hellenistic period. With the improvements of the economical institutions like trade, banking and land ownership,[13] the number of wealthy citizens and their fortune proliferated. In contrast to the ideology of equality and puritanism in the Greek philosophy,[14] the veil on the fortune of the rich was uncovered and wealth became

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[10] For more on the benefactions of the Hellenistic kings, see Bringmann (1993; 2001).

[11] While describing Panopeus in Phocis, Pausanias hesitates to call it a town since it has "no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain"; but he admits that it "nevertheless…send delegates to the Phocian assembly." (*Description of Greece,* 10.4.1).

[12] Billows (2003, p. 211) suggests that "in the absence of substantial civic administrative bureaucracies" the cities "relied on the personal business staffs and business contacts of the wealthy to get things actually done".

[13] For more on Hellenistic economy, see Reger (2003) and Davies (1984; 2006).

[14] According to Davies (2006, p. 87), the ideology of equality lay in the need of maximizing the military force which shaped and restricted the inheritance and land-ownership. The wealthy citizens

more explicit which is evident with the Hellenistic houses having elegant mosaic decorations and wall paintings (Davies, 2001, p. 23).

Hellenistic period also witnessed the prominence of women as benefactors and office holders. Euergetism was no longer the monopoly of male-citizens. Hellenistic queens and women from elite families were honored in inscriptions with various titles such as *stephanephoros* or *demiourgos* (Dmitriev, 2005, pp. 53-56).

Classical Greek cities developed the idea of benefaction through ethical values and it turned into a political tool in the Hellenistic period. Eventually, it was systematized and became an obligation during the Roman Empire.

2.3. Euergetism in the Roman Period

It is widely accepted by the modern scholars that ancient euergetism reached its peak in the early and high imperial periods during the first three centuries where there was an unbroken prosperity within the territories of the Roman Empire especially in Asia Minor. The credit for this proliferation should be given to Augustus; however, its foundation was laid in the Republican Period.

2.3.1. Republican Era

In the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, while the Greek city-states were highly benefiting from the private funding of wealthy individuals, the practice of euergetism was exercised slightly differently in the Italian peninsula.

In the core of the Greek euergetism lies primarily the idea of equality and using benefaction as a tool in political affairs developed through the end of the classical period. However, it would be safe to say that benefaction had been a political tool in the Roman Republic from the very beginning.

As opposed to the non-hierarchical classical Athenian citizenship,[15] Roman people were divided into hierarchical classes. In the early Republic, the Roman

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had to keep their wealth "invisible" in order to escape from the restrictions. Once the city-states were able to pay for mercenaries, the rich people were able to practice inheritance and land-ownership more freely.

[15] Description of Athenian citizenship by Rhodes (2006, pp. 55-56): "In 451/0 we have a law attributed to Pericles; limiting Athenian citizenship to men with an Athenian mother as well as an

citizens were primarily identified as *plebians* and the *patricians*.[16] *Plebians* were the common citizens who were excluded from the high power and could only hold lower offices and involve in commerce. *Patricians*, on the other hand, were the members of the wealthy land-owner families most of whom became senators and/or held high offices and priesthoods. *Patrician* class was hereditary which meant that the Senate, high magistrates and priesthoods were monopolized by the members of these families. Thus, the class distinction proved the *patricians* to be "powerful", "superior" and more "honorable" than the *plebians*. All the titles that would have been brought to a wealthy Greek citizen through benefaction were already carried by the *patricians*. As a result, in the early Republican period, the initial concern of the Roman benefactor was not, as opposed to a Greek *euergete*, to achieve power and honor, but to consolidate and enhance the power he already had.

However, the monopoly of *patricians* in politics was broken in the course of time. In 496 B.C., *plebians* gained the right to hold magistracies; and in 366 B.C. they were admitted to hold consulship; the supreme power. As a result, more candidates were competing at the same time which embittered the competition. Concisely, although the aristocratic ancestry was still a privilege in the elections, it was no longer an obligation and the candidates had to fulfill other qualifications.

First of all, in order to hold offices, military accomplishments were needed. As Polybius puts it (*Histories,* VI.19.5), "No one is eligible for any political office before he has completed ten years' service" in military. This was the first step of *cursus honorum,* the sequential and hierarchical order of magistracies. As a politician climbed up, he had to show the necessary skills like generosity as well as courage and the fulfillment of the age requirement. The constant warfare during the middle Republic was a great showcase not only to demonstrate courage but also to show

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Athenian father (previously only the father had to be Athenian)…The citizens could own land within the city's territory (as non-citizens normally could not) and take part in the government of the city, and they had to pay taxes and fight for the city". According to this description, every freeborn male was considered equal.

[16] It is believed by ancient writers that *patricians* were the descendants of *patres,* the fathers of tribes, who were appointed as the king's advisors by Romulus. After the Republic, they remained in the power and monopolized it. For a collection of recent discussions by modern scholars concerning the relationship between *patricians* and *plebians* see; *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome: New Perspectives on the Conflict of Orders* edited by Raaflaub (2005).

munificence, so that office holders could increase their chances for further political achievements. The gradual annexation of Italy brought new places to be urbanized and new networks of roads to be built to secure the military progression,[17] some of which are known through surviving inscriptions. "The Polla stone", a milestone named after the town where it was found, witnesses the benefaction of an unknown benefactor. It says;

> I built the road from Rhegium to Capua and on that road I put all the bridges, and mileage-tablets. From here it is 51 miles to Nuceria, 84 to Capua, 74 to Muranum, 123 to Cosentia, 180 to Valentia, 231 to the statue on the strait, and 237 to Rhegium. Total from Capua to Rhegium: 321 miles. And when I was praetor in Sicily, I hunted down and returned 917 runaway slaves belonging to Italici. And I was the first to see to it that on public land shepherds gave way to plowmen. I built the forum and public buildings. (Pobjoy, 2006, pp. 56-57)

We can never know if this ex-praetor ever achieved a higher office such as the consulship; but it is certain that his generosity inscribed on this stone, deliberatively or not, once served as a self-promotion.

Another profit of the warfare was that the victorious generals celebrated their triumph with munificence. The *triumphatores,* who entered the city with a triumphal parade, spread the booty they brought back from the conquered lands for the sake of the people, and as a gratitude to the gods who protected them and helped them to be successful; money and goods were distributed to the citizens and religious buildings and festivals were dedicated to the deities.[18] Moreover, monumental columns and triumphal arches were constructed within the cities to keep the glorious memories alive. Whether it was a mere desire to share the profit with their fellow citizens[19] or

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[17] For the annexation of Italy and the relationship between Italy and Rome, see Patterson (2006).

[18] For more on the benefaction of *triumphatores*, see Veyne (1990, pp. 235-236, 252-255); for how a victory parade was performed, see Flower (2004, pp. 326-331).

[19] According to Veyne, a *triumphator* preferred to use his booty for people and gods, due to the "decency"; "What would he to do with it, if not use it for the benefit of people and the gods?" (1990, p. 235).

to hold a promise given to the gods;[20] the generals perpetuated their triumphs with buildings which increased their publicity, and left a good impression on the public minds with festivals and distributions. Thus, Flower (2004, p. 331) who emphasizes the victory parade as the greatest success of a general, also states that the status of "the republican political elite…came not from election to high office by the people in their electoral assemblies but from the celebration of a triumph, in other words from a public recognition of military success while in office".

Public recognition played a crucial role in politics, so much so that the lower office holders sought to achieve it as well. Since triumphal parade was out of their reach, the best occasion to promote themselves before the elections would be the festivals and public games which played an important role in the Roman daily life.[21] Over time, these public occasions turned into a political arena by the ambitious politicians,[22] for the elections were held every year and reelection to an office was restricted by laws in order to prevent the offices to be monopolized by certain groups (Rosenstein, 2006, p. 380). Each festival was directed by a magistrate; *praetor* or *aedile* to be specific, and the lavishness of the entertainment increased in direct proportion with the expectations of the producer. Yet, the high offices were occupied by *nobiles*, that is aristocratic nobles,[23] in whose elections the publicity played an important role.

Cicero once said, "The Roman people hate private luxury, they love public munificence" (*Pro Murena*, 36.76). He was right about the latter judgment but the former was about the change. Several military encounters with the Hellenistic cities

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[20] Rüpke (2006, p. 220) suggests that many of the temples were promised to the gods by the generals in the battlefield in return for their help and blessings. Thus, after coming back safely and victorious, the generals sacrificed their booty to hold their promises.

[21] Carcopino (1941, pp. 223-227) counts 150 days marked as holidays in Roman calendar up to the time of Claudius. 93 of these were public games and the rest were the religious festivals. However these numbers were not stable and changing in time.

[22] The festivals coincided with elections so that the voters coming out of Rome would witness the magistrate's self-promotion.

[23] The word noble is derived from the Latin word *nobilitas*. According to Rosenstien (2006, p. 377), although *nobilitas* is generally translated as "nobility", it is more accurate to translate it as "notability" and "celebrity", as well as "aristocracy" which was acquired after the early second century B.C. Thus, this indicates the reshaping of aristocracy during the middle republic. It was less associated with blood but more with publicity.

introduced luxury and ostentatious living to the Roman elite which also played an important role in the increase of the benefactions. Since people had more wealth, they had more to offer both for their own future and for the welfare of their fellow citizens.

Once the peace was consolidated and the wars settled down, nobility and wealth - and benefaction as a consequence - began to be more effective than military accomplishments for being elected to a high office. This resulted in the creation of a new noble aristocratic class who came forward with their wealth and the way they spend it. Eventually, Augustus became a role model for these rich people, who were anxious to spend their money on public welfare in order to get to the destination they were craving.

2.3.2. Augustan Euergetism and Rome

Let the ancient times delight other folk: I congratulate myself that I was not born till now; this age fits my nature well.

Ovid, *The Art of Love* 3.121-2

When Augustus beat Anthony and Cleopatra in the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., he not only won the battle against the enemy but also opened a new era that started with the restoration of Republic, and the social and physical environment of the Roman people. When he died 45 years later in A.D. 14, he left a magnificent heritage to be cherished and taken as an example for centuries.

Today, the most important witness of his achievements is the very text that he wrote with his own words in the first person. He wished this text to be inscribed on two bronze pillars set up in front of his mausoleum in Rome. The original in Rome ceased to exist but three copies, all found in Galatia, have survived to our day. The most complete form of the text survived both in Latin and Greek, on the outer surface of the walls of the temple of Rome and Augustus in Ancyra, modern Ankara (Fig. 1, 2).[24] Called *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (The Achievements of the Divine

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[24] In the temple of Rome and Augustus in Ancyra, the Latin text occupies the anta walls on both sides of the entrance, whereas, the Greek version is inscribed on the south wall of the cella. The other two *Res Gestae* were both found near Ankara as well; one in Antioch Pisidia (modern Yalvaç) in Latin and the other one in Apollonia (modern Uluborlu) in Greek. The Latin versions were intended for the

Augustus), the text is comprised of a preface, 35 chapters and an appendix. Throughout the text, by marking the most important things in his life, Augustus mentions how he recovered the Republic, provided peace on the sea and on the land and expended his own wealth on public munificence.

The *Res Gestae* is important in many layers. In regard to its present context, Güven (1998) suggests that it propagates the "imperial image" in the provinces, by establishing a connection between the citizens and Augustus and Rome far from home through its monumentality and architectural context. On the other hand, according to its content, it is believed to be one of the most important historical evidences for the political and social situation of the Augustan era by Brunt & Moore (1967, pp. 7-8). Furthermore, Luce (1990, p. 128) asserts that the *Res Gestae* is a comparison between Augustus and other great men of Rome where Augustus secretly emphasizes that he surpassed all by his achievements. However, more importantly, regarding our topic, it is the final manifestation of a great benefactor.

Chapters 15-24 of the *Res Gestae* are devoted to the liberality of Augustus, who provided munificence to the people of Rome from his private resources.[25] He distributed money and grain to the Roman plebs and soldiers (*RG* 15,18), paid for lands for the colonies (*RG* 16), assisted the treasury when necessary (*RG* 17), produced gladiatorial games, shows, religious festivals, beast hunts and even a mock naval battle (*RG* 22,23) and made offerings to the temples (*RG* 24). More importantly, he constructed and restored temples and public buildings in Rome (RG 19-21) which would later make him say the famous quote about the City that he "had found it built of brick and left it in marble" (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28).

When Augustus returned to Rome after his adoptive father Caesar was murdered, he found the city in poor condition. The city was worn out and overcrowded with internal migrations and had inadequate infrastructure and clean water. On top of that, the temples and public buildings were neglected due to the

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Latin-speaking colonial communities, whereas, the Greek versions which are a paraphrase rather than a direct translation were addressing the native Greek population (Brunt & Moore, 1967, pp. 1-2).

[25] Throughout the chapters concerning his expenses, Augustus constantly emphasizes that he used his own sources by using the words "my own money" (*RG* 15, 17), "my own patrimony" (*RG* 15, 17, 18) and "booty" (*RG* 15, 21).

civil wars and the scarce triumphal buildings were not enough to beautify the city. Formerly, Caesar intended to restore the city, but his building program was left unfinished after his murder which was later completed by his adoptive son.[26]

Augustus preferred to continue his construction program with the familiar architectural and building forms; the city was embellished with classical elements and well known buildings like fora, basilica and temples. The traditional architecture symbolized the revival of the Republican past (Favro, 2005, p. 248).[27] Despite the traditional architectural elements, Augustan architecture was catching attention due to the variable use of Greco-Roman forms and elongated dimensions. Augustus also took care of the infrastructure and the transportation of the necessary water and appointed men to the permanent official positions for constant maintenance (Favro, 2005, p. 243). The roads were paved, the streets were cleaned with the river wash and many aqueducts carried clean water to the highly populated city (Strabo 5.3.8). Residents of Rome were content with the public service, the entertainments and the new face of Rome. Augustus turned Rome into a "world city" that was praised as the capital of the empire and taken as an example by many other cities (Favro, 2005).

In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus emphasizes the things he had done in Rome and Italy. The provincial cities are mostly mentioned while he authored his success over foreigners (*RG* 26-33). In his accounts, his munificence over provinces is restricted to the land bought for the colonies (*RG* 16) and the restored offerings of the temples in Asia (*RG* 24). However; this does not mean that he was ungenerous to the provincial cities; it is obvious that the *Res Gestae* addressed the people of Rome.[28]

Even so, its message succeeded in reaching the people living in the provinces. The very first word of the *Res Gestae* reveals "a copy is set out" (*RG* Preface). Finding three installations of the *Res Gestae* in a remote place like Galatia, which

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[26] Caesar had such an ambition to aggrandize Rome architecturally that as Veyne (1990, p. 252) expresses, he did not wait to be a *triumphator* to build within the city. Augustus inherited this ambition as well as the unfinished projects and followed the footsteps of his father.

[27] Favro (2005, p. 241) also asserts that Augustus limited the use of Egyptian style in order not to be compared with his enemies; oriental Cleopatra and orientalized Anthony.

[28] In the Appendix, some of Augustus' benefactions in the provinces are listed. However, the author of this part is believed to be someone else, who probably edited *Res Gestae* to be put up in a provincial context (Brunt & Moore, 1967, pp. 80-81).

was not even Hellenized by the time of its Romanization (Güven, 1998, p. 32), invoke the idea that other copies could have been set out in other less or more civilized provincial cities. By this way, the accounts of the benefactions of Augustus would have been spread to the world, taking it out of its city context and making it universal. By constantly engaging with the *Res Gestae* in daily life, a wealthy citizen who would never have the chance to visit Rome was able to imagine the shining marble all around the city, and rising cheers and screams coming from an amphitheater. It is very likely that this wealthy citizen would dream of bringing Rome to his own city as well.

During the Republican period, the construction of public buildings was mostly triumphal benefactions and was expected from *triumphatores* (Veyne, 1990, p. 252). During the time of Augustus, the consolidated peace reduced the number of *triumphatores*, and what's more, Augustus restricted the construction of triumphal or any other public buildings and allowed mostly the imperial family to build in Rome.[29] This tenacious attitude is interpreted as his determination for dominating over architectural patronage and becoming the "beneficent father" (Favro, 2005, pp. 246-8). Augustus returned many titles awarded to him by the Senate, all of which would have granted him privileges and power over all the other citizens;[30] since he considered them as a threat for the future of the Republic and his own life.[31] Instead he preferred sovereignty in architectural patronage; because he envisioned the power of architecture as the permanent perpetuation of the memory of the benefactor. And from then on, the architectural benefaction would surpass all the other kinds of munificence all over the empire.

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[29] Grandiose imperial activity in Rome was continued to be performed by the succeeding emperors and their families as a means to consolidate the emperor's relation with the City and its people (Mitchell, 1987, p. 335). It was not until the emperors started to come from provinces and direct their attraction and wealth to their native cities that imperial patronage in Rome decreased (Elsner, 1998, pp. 126-134).

[30] In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus records that he declined some triumphs (*RG* 4), refused consulship offered to him for the rest of his life and dictatorship (*RG* 5), rejected to be the "supervisor of laws and morals without a colleague and with supreme power" (*RG* 6), and turned down the title *pontifex maximus* until the man holding the priesthood died (*RG* 10).

[31] As Gruen (2005, p. 35) suggests, Augustus refused these titles in order to prevent his position from institutionalizing and to avoid the possible jealousy and conspiracy towards his status. These could have undermined the Republic he was trying to save and brought him an early death as in the case of his father.

2.3.3. Euergetism in the Provinces

Changing Rome was the reflection of the changing empire. The Augustan era is marked as the expansion of the Roman territory through east and west and the dissemination of peace to the conquered lands (Fig. 3). Following the consolidation of peace, an intense Romanization process began to take hold in the freshly conquered and annexed lands.

With the Roman intervention, these newly provincialized territories began to share a visual and cultural likeness through the imposition of cultural, religious and artistic values which were a combination of Roman traditions and the Greek east. This acculturation required time, but eventually, cities in the east and west were bonded with each other and with Rome in idiosyncratic ways.

Essentially, the most conspicuous promotion of Roman civilization was expressed in the urban scale, through the spreading of monumental buildings that were necessary for a Roman way of living. Some of these buildings were realized with the imperial bestowal. Emperors conducted imperial building programs in order to show their generosity to their subjects and consolidate their power. However, instead of sending cash from their own treasury to the provinces, emperors chose to contribute with raw and processed material from imperial quarries, military expertise and men power, regulation and exemption of taxes and direction of duties destined for the imperial treasury to the building in question (MacMullen, 1959, pp. 207-217; Mitchell, 1987, pp. 343-349). It is not easy to categorize the types of buildings constructed by the emperor; since the imperial bestowal mostly depended on the needs and requests of the cities, and emergencies due to the natural disasters.[32]

But still, imperial building programs did not cover all the architectural needs of a city, yet not every city was lucky enough to be bestowed with the emperor's generous touch. In the absence of imperial help, the necessary amenities were provided by the cities' own funds and the munificence of private individuals. Many

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[32] However, it is possible to say that the military engineers and architects were primarily needed for military buildings like fortifications, and towers and challenging constructions like aqueducts. However, there is evidence for the use of military power in the other types of monumental buildings, as well as private benefactors who built military buildings For more on the use of army for imperial benefaction, see MacMullen (1959, pp. 214-217) and Mitchell (1987, pp. 336-339).

inscriptions from Roman provinces dated to the first two centuries after the massive urbanization of Augustus show that private munificence played a considerable role in the transformation of the urban face of the cities. Impressively, most of these inscriptions come from the Greek cities on the Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor, signalling an increase in the private benefaction.

The reason of this proliferation must be sought in the conflicting attitudes of Rome towards east and west. Since eastern and western territories were rather different in terms of culture, civilization and urbanization during the Roman expansion in the Augustan period; different social, economic and political policies were pursued towards both sides. These policies shaped the involvement of the benefactors to this enormous makeover of the empire.

2.3.3.1. Western Provinces

During the Augustan era, Gaul, Spain and North Africa were pacified on the west. Before Augustus, despite Caesar's attempts, there were mostly small tribal communities devoid of monumental buildings in the Roman sense. Their familiarity with the Hellenistic and Roman cultures was restricted to the limited number of Hellenized cities and Roman military bases, together with the Greek and Roman goods carried by the merchants. These territories were a blank canvas yet to be painted with the Roman culture. As Roman armies moved further, the mitigated areas were renewed with *municipia* and *colonia*, having grand architectural programs and Roman administration system.[33]

The most dramatic transformation was observed in the layout of the city and in the architecture. The regular characteristics of a Roman city were transferred into the conquered lands. Cities were laid on a grid system,[34] adapted from Greeks, which

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[33] *Colonia* was the highest class of Roman cities whose citizens had Roman citizenship. During the western urbanization, *coloniae* were mostly established for the retired veterans. On the other hand, *municipium* was the second-highest rank whose citizens were mostly granted with *ius Latiius,* the "Latin-rights", that is limited rights and privileges; and only the office holders received full Roman citizenship (Edmondson, 2006, pp. 257-260).

[34] As Drinkwater (1987, pp. 350-351) suggests the initial attempt was to make grids correct in two dimensions, called "perfect horizontality", through leveling and filling. Although perfection was almost impossible, archeological evidence reveals that many cities presented pretty decent grid systems.

was dividing a city into blocks, *insulae*, with orthogonal streets. Two major streets, *cardo* and *decumanus*, were intersecting at the center of the grid plan. The necessary public buildings were placed within the *insulae* to create a well organized settlement. The buildings were distributed around the city according to a system. A *forum* was built in the city center and administration buildings were grouped around it. Religious, public and entertainment buildings were placed within the boundaries of the city, the *pomerium*; while the cemeteries were kept out of the settlement area. Classical elements and recurring building types like forum-basilica complex, temples, theaters, bath-buildings etc. were used which were distinct from local traditions.[35] This stereotyped urban planning with classical forms helped the natives to be involved in the Roman culture more easily, since they "felt at home" wherever they went within the Roman territory.[36] Moreover, the imposition of imperial cult created a religious common ground between the cities and consolidated the power of Rome and reinforced the loyalty to the emperor.

The newly settled towns were obliged to pay taxes to the empire and were dependent on the military for security. Other than these, the administration was autonomous like a Greek *polis*. Cities had their councils, assemblies and priesthoods and the local elites were encouraged to participate in these institutions (Edmondson, 2006, pp. 272-278). Office holding brought Roman citizenship to the member and prestige to his family. This resulted into the shaping of local aristocracy.

At this point, benefaction plays a crucial part in the social structure and the urbanization of the western provincial cities. As in the case of Greek, Hellenistic and Roman Republican towns, the local elite started to perform benefactions to improve their social status and career. The primary target of competing elites was probably becoming a part of the aristocracy through office holding and Roman citizenship, which was followed by the desire for the future equestrian and senatorial orders.

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[35] Ward-Perkins (1970, p. 19) suggests that the building types were Italian, however, they varied according to the Italian regions that the provinces were in contact with. Thus, according to him, Gaul and south-central Europe was influenced from Northern Italy, while Africa bears the imprints of Campania, Sicily and Magna Graecia.

[36] John Onians (1999, pp. 166-167) mentions the vital assistance of repetitive planning to Roman army, who was able to find their place within the camp through a system of signs even before the construction of the camp. Familiar organizations increased the efficiency and speed of the soldiers while entering a new camp since they "felt at home even when far from Italy".

Therefore, they engaged in munificence; especially in architecture since there was a lot to do as the cities were recently urbanizing.[37] Moreover, another competition grew between cities, as they sought imperial favor such as an increase in the rank of the city or tax redemption. In order to outdo the other cities, generous benefactors embellished their town as much as their budgets allowed, trying to make them look pleasant enough to deserve the emperor's generosity. The reciprocal relationship between the elite and the city was bearing fruit; as the elites were climbing up, the cities were getting more urbanized.

But still, urbanization took time. Although the development process of each city differed, most of them waited to reach their peak till the second century A.D and even later (Edmondson, 2006, p. 280; Duncan-Jones, 1990). Moreover, urbanization was not homogenous. For instance, the Mediterranean coasts and the Rhône valley were considerably more densely urbanized than the northern and western parts of Gaul, or some coastal cities experienced de-urbanization of inlands like Sicily or not urbanization at all like Sardinia (Nevett & Perkins, 2000, pp. 234-239).

The initial purpose of the new settlements in the west was to provide land for the veterans, to consolidate the security and to establish a network for administration, taxation and safe accession (Edmondson, 2006, pp. 253-255). After all, the outcome of this massive transformation was the Romanization. Imposition of certain type of architecture, administration, and social, cultural and religious values worked as a mass production, in which the cities in the newly urbanized west shared a material likeness and a common identity. Moreover, creation of an imperial imagery which centered Augustus and Rome in coinage, sculptural programs and religion through imperial cult consolidated the loyalty of the local people to the emperor and the empire.[38] The inhabitants of these brand new settlements were striped out of their "barbarian" identities and were equipped with a foreign new culture, together with some of their surviving but suppressed native traditions.

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[37] Duncan-Jones (1990, pp. 174-184) asserts that most of the public buildings in the African towns were funded privately. Moreover, when they were finance publicly, a great deal of the public revenue was received from *summa honoraria*, the payment for an office by the elites. Thus, even funded publicly, there was a private contribution.

[38] Paul Zanker's book *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988) presents an invaluable study of the creation and importance of the imperial visual language during the Augustan era.

Nevertheless, how civilized and how urbanized these indigenous people were is still questioned by modern scholars (Nevett & Perkins, 2000, p. 242). This may be the very same Roman query that made the natives constantly reminded by their defeated past through the imperial sculptural programs which depicted them as conquered and the Rome as the conqueror.[39] As Mierse (1990, p. 320) summarizes; "The message is simple: Become a part of the empire and enjoy its protection, or remain bowed in defeat." The Roman policy over western cities was composed of brute force and forced assimilation. This was completely different from the eastern policy.

2.3.3.1 Eastern Provinces: Greeks of Asia Minor

When compared to the "West", the "East" was highly civilized and urbanized with a culture older than the Romans themselves. The mostly urbanized parts which were mainland Greece and the Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor were densely occupied with Greek cities. Romans had been encountering Greeks from the very beginning, through the Greek colonies established in the Italian peninsula long before the Hellenistic era. In fact, seemingly, they were one of them through mythical lineage. Romans believed that they were the descendents of Aeneas who fled from Troy; and they even managed to merge their Greek ancestor with their mythical founders Romulus and Remus (Raaflaub, 2006, pp. 126-127). Additionally, if Cicero was sincere in the letter he sent to his brother Quintus, the proconsul of Asia; Romans had a great respect towards Greeks since they considered them as the center, where *humanitas*, i.e. the civilization disseminated from. In the same letter, he also admits that "everything that I have attained I owe to those pursuits and disciplines which have been handed down to us in the literature and teachings of Greece" (*Q. fr.* 1.1). Greek literature, art, architecture, sculpture and education were great inspirations for Romans that made Horace say "Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive and brought the arts into rustic Latium" (*Letters*, 2.1.156-7).

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[39] As the case of Trajan's victory monument which was set up at Adamklissi in Dacia (modern Romania) in 109 A.D. (Elsner, 1998, pp. 125-126).

Romans greatly esteemed Greek people for their intellectuality but at the same time they despised Greeks' military skills (Gleason, 2006, p. 228). This is probably one of the reasons why until the beginnings of the first century B.C., Roman presence in the East was only for alleviating the turmoil that occurred from time to time; without any desire for expansion. In other words, Romans acted like protective guardians of peace in the East, who intervened with military power when necessary, restored kings and governors to their seats and evacuated the garrisons when the security was established (Gruen, 2004). So when they inherited Pergamum all of a sudden, their first land in Anatolia, it took a couple of years for them to claim the territory (Gruen, 2004, p. 261). It was not until the defeat of Mithridates that Romans engaged in big territorial regulations. The victorious Pompey re-arranged the provinces and founded cities named after himself, but these provinces and cities preserved a Greek character in both administration and physical appearance with a Roman touch; and the Roman political presence was restricted to a couple of provincial governors sent by the Senate.

Succeeding generals like Caesar and Augustus followed the same policy; they gave autonomy and freedom to the existing cities and they founded colonies for their veterans resembling Greek *poleis*. During the Augustan era, Roman presence in the East expanded beyond Macedonia, Greece and Asia Minor; the Ptolemaic Egypt, Syria and most of Anatolia were added to the imperial territory while Cappadocia, Lycia and Armenia remained as client kingdoms of the empire. All of these areas continued to keep their local identities. However, despite the fact that the provinces were expected to run themselves, they became a part of the empire through a network of taxes just like west. Those taxes were supporting the Roman army, who were in turn providing the peace and security.[40] This guardianship was the initial step that would lead the Eastern provinces; especially the Greek cities of Asia Minor to prosperity for the next two centuries.

Clearly, the Roman strategy over the "East" was remarkably different than the "West". Imperial sculptural programs tell the same; that the Romans were there

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[40] As Ando (2006, p. 185) emphasizes, the tax system was not a punishment but a price of *pacem sempiternam… atque otium*; "eternal peace and leisure" mentioned by Cicero (*Q. fr.* 1.1.34).

to protect not to conquer.[41] Instead of imposing their own culture, Romans let the Greek cities survive with their own values. In this way, they not only fed on the Greek intellectuality but also on their long-established economic systems that were providing income for Romans through fertile lands, mineral supplies and wide trade connections (Nevett & Perkins, 2000, p. 218).

A drastic Roman urbanism was not necessary since the East was already urbanized unlike West. Nonetheless, colonies were still established to provide land for the veterans.[42] These new cities became a means to promote Roman culture to their surroundings. However, the Italian influence was more powerful in less Hellenized areas, while Romanization met with resistance in the daily lives of the Hellenistic communities.[43] For instance, local laws continued to be executed despite Roman regulations and Greek survived as the primary language among the public, while Latin remained as the language for imperial communications. Local deities continued to be honored with the native rituals and they kept staying in their Hellenistic temples. However, Romans managed to fit in the Greek communities, and the Roman culture infiltrated to the local cultures and eventually became a part of the Greek identity; Roman cults were acknowledged, Roman architecture started to re-beautify the cities and bilingual inscriptions emerged.

Greeks in Asia Minor were used to being subjected to a higher power and accepted it as long as they felt free. Expectedly, they acknowledged Roman dominion and found a way to incorporate Roman culture into their own, just like Ionians did in the Hellenistic times.

Their first move was to honor Augustus with an imperial cult, in the way they honored the Hellenistic rulers in the past.[44] In 29 B.C., provinces of Asia and

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[41] As in the case of Antonine Altar at Ephesus belonging to the second century A.D. (Elsner, 1998, pp. 123-125).

[42] These colonies were mostly founded on less urbanized pre-existing settlements like Galatia in central Anatolia (Mitchell, 1987, pp. 362-363). For the urbanization of the Anatolian hinterland, see Mitchell (1993, pp. 80-99).

[43] Other pre-existing communities like Egyptians and Syrians were resistant as well. However, Roman presence in the civilized communities of the East other than Greeks is out of the scope of this study and will only be touched upon as necessary.

[44] Simon Price's book *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (1984) is a valuable study for the history and development of imperial cult in Asia Minor.

Bithynia got the permission from Augustus to erect temples to celebrate his cult together with the cult of goddess Roma during the rituals and festivals.[45] After that, the number of cities, celebrating the cult of the emperor increased dramatically throughout Asia Minor. This was a demonstration of loyalty to the empire and helped to establish a bond between the emperor and the Greek cities. Moreover, it gave the Greek community the chance to belong to the empire with their own values and the traditions.

Institutionalization of the imperial cult exploited competition among the cities. Just like the cities in the west, the Greek cities of Asia Minor were rivaling for the imperial bestowal on more or less for the same privileges, like tax exemptions and city ranks. However, the biggest difference from the west was that of a single title, *neokoros,* "the possession of an imperial temple at which a provincial festival was celebrated" (Price, 1984, pp. 65, fn. 47).[46] The best way to deserve it was through the enhancement and maintenance of their city and the provision of the welfare of their citizens. In order to achieve these, the contribution of the wealthy individuals was necessitated due to the irregularity of imperial intervention and inadequacy of public revenues.[47]

As a result, the Roman presence in Asia Minor altered the motives of local benefactors. The wealthy individuals who were previously making benefactions for social status and official ranks within their own community started to fight primarily for Roman privileges. Desires of priesthoods of the imperial cult, Roman citizenship,

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[45] Augustus gave the permission with the condition that his cult would be associated with the goddess Roma since worshiping him while he was still alive would destroy his republican image among the people of Rome. However, the institution of the imperial cult was a great tool in politics, and Augustus, being inspired from the eastern model of divine rulers, initiated the establishment of altars and temples of himself and Rome in the newly settled western provinces in order to provide unity (Zanker, 1988, pp. 297-334).

[46] Apparently, the title was only awarded to the cities of Asia Minor. For a brief list of neokorate cities, see Ferguson (1987, pp. 777-778)

[47] In his book *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (2009) Arjan Zuiderhoek argues that the resources of the cities of Asia Minor were plenty enough to support all the public needs, and the munificence was just the "icing on the richly decorated cake of civic life" (2009, p. 52). He even devotes a chapter to construct a hypothetical moderate city model to estimate its public income and expense which leads him to the conclusion that the cities would have been able to support all the public necessities in the absence of benefaction. However, the applicability of this theory to every city in Asia Minor, especially to the "megapoleis" with big ambitions and high expenditures is questionable.

offices in city administration, and even senatorialship in the Roman government increased the generosity of the rich. In return, they were awarded by Romans as well as their fellow citizens. Their handsome statues adorned the public places, their honors and titles were eternalized on shiny marbles and the luckier and probably the wealthier ones enjoyed high offices and even became senators.[48]

It is either due to the quality of the preservation or the incredible ambition of these wealthy citizens that the Greek cities of western Asia Minor produced archeological evidence concerning euergetism more than any other part of the empire. In fact, Zuiderhoek (2009, p. 2) defines this increase as a "political and ideological reaction of urban elites…to certain social and political developments within the civic society generated by the integration of the cities into the Roman imperial system."

The recovered inscriptions witness the proliferation of munificence especially in the first two centuries of the high imperial period. The benefactions were mostly constituted of public buildings, distribution of goods and organization of games and festivals (Fig. 4). And a small part included embassies to the emperor, foundations that cover the costs of certain offices and so forth (Zuiderhoek, 2009, p. 77). Among these, the biggest proportion belonged to the construction and restoration of public buildings.

Although these Hellenistic cities were equipped with urban structures necessary for a Greek life; existing buildings had to be altered or new buildings had to be erected for the accommodation to the infiltrating Roman culture. Hence, the contributions of local *euergetes* resulted in the re-urbanization of their native cities which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Finally, the very same inscriptions make it possible to create a profile of the benefactors and reveal that generous individuals may come from different social levels. The inscriptions prove that benefactions enabled wealthy individuals from the lower steps of the social ladder to be heard in the freeborn-male oriented society of the Roman Empire. Rich but inferior citizens like freedmen or women who were

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[48] According to Levick (1987, p. 339), nearly one third of the senators came from the Greek East; but even after their acceptance to the senate, eastern senators did not give up patriotism and continued to cherish their cities with donations.

excluded from power and politics found a chance to redeem their lower status through spending their fortune for the civil service. In return, just like freeborn men, they were honored with titles and statues. A great example comes from Perge. Plancia Magna an eminent woman from the second century A.D. contributed to the urbanization of Perge with her restoration program of the city gate and was honored by the city with many titles and statues. Her case is an important example to see the power of benefaction in shaping the social status of a benefactor and rewriting the identity of a Greek city in the Roman presence while keeping its Greek and even the glimpses of native Anatolian past.

In conclusion, Romanization underwent through two major processes: while it took the form of a more applied assimilation in the "West", it was more of an adoption and adaptation in the "East". The Greek cities of western Asia Minor enjoyed freedom in expressing their own identity under the *Pax Romana,* but at the same time they willingly let the Roman culture infiltrate. Merging of Greek and Roman cultures produced tasteful wealthy elites, with whose contributions the Greek cities blossomed in the high imperial period.

CHAPTER 3
ROMAN URBANIZATION OF THE GREEK EAST

Romans' intelligent policy over the Greek cities of Asia Minor resulted in the acknowledgement of the Roman presence among the Greek people. In time, Greeks began to let the Roman traditions and amenities become a part of their daily life and eventually their culture. This absorption was most conspicuously reflected in the architectural and consequently urban scale.

Among all the branches of Roman culture, it was probably architecture that faced the widest acceptance among the Greeks, ultimately leading to a synthesis. This was essentially due to the familiarity of classical forms that both Greek and Roman architecture share, the improvement of the existing urban activities with the installation of Roman buildings and the amenities that came with them, and finally the sensitivity of Roman architecture to the human dimension.

Roman classicism paved the road between the two cultures, and the adoption of western building types brought the Greek and Roman cultures closer to each other. Moreover, the urban narratives created by the movement of people and shaped with the accumulation of both Greek and Roman experiences merged the two traditions into a hybrid whole. Even though the cities became Roman, they clung to their memories and stayed Greek at the same time. As a consequence, Graeco-Roman cities appeared whose urbanism reached a culmination in the second and third centuries of the imperial period.

3.1. Imperial Architectural Vocabulary

It is possible to say that Roman classicism accelerated the acceptance of Roman architecture since it "looked like" Greek and promised the continuity of the ancient traditions. However, Roman classicism was deceptive. Although the Roman classical elements shared a visual likeness with that of Greek, they spoke a different language in terms of function and symbolism.

Yet, Roman classicism departed from the Greek manner of execution a great deal. In the western use, although classical forms survived their visual forms; they lost their individuality and structural quality which constituted their essence. Instead, they were reduced to surface articulation and became submissive to the whole building. (Norberg-Schulz, 1978, pp. 90-92; MacDonald, 1988, pp. 143-178). The departure from the origins led to the misinterpretation of Roman architecture which came to be considered as the degeneration of the Greek elements by some scholars.[49] However, these new formulations evolved out of the needs of new architectural solutions that the Roman way of life demanded.

To begin with, the Roman daily practices necessitated larger buildings with more complex functions and detailed planning together with better articulated interior spaces. As the scale and complexity increased, the trabeated system of Greek architecture became insufficient to respond to structural requirements. Thus, new building systems like continuous walls, arches, and vaults were required to envelope the spaces. These forms were cast with concrete (*opus caementicium)* in Italy where it was rich with volcanic sand that was essential for this new material. The architects of Asia Minor, on the other hand, lacking the necessary quality and quantity of the particular ash, came up with alternative techniques to shape spaces, and generally used traditional materials like limestone and kiln-burnt brick.[50]

No matter what building material might have been used, the vast surfaces needed articulation. At this point, classical elements were used for façade decoration, and complemented the perception of the building as a whole with the rhythm and repetition they created. Stripped out of their conventional Greek origins, the classical forms acquired more flexibility without losing their artistic look beyond recognition and gained new members like the arch. As a result, superimposing the orders, chopping the pediments or combining them with arches, or engaging the columns into the walls created a variety of elevations (Fig.5).

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[49] For example, Viollet-le-Duc (1990, pp. 85-86), a French architect and theorist of the 19th century, accused Romans of aping Greeks and being ignorant of the forms of Greek architecture. But this did not prevent him from admiring other aspects of Roman architecture such as construction techniques and articulated building plans.

[50] For the traditional building materials of Asia Minor used to construct Roman forms; see Dodge (1990).

Although the diversity of combinations gave an idiosyncratic character to each public building, the use of similar elements visually bonded the monumental structures at the city scale by providing an unimpeded perception through all along the city. For example, the colonnades of a thoroughfare were in harmony with the columns of a *palaestra*, and the columnar façade of a *nymphaeum* greatly resembled the façade of a *kaisersaal* or the stage building of a theater. Hence, the use of classical elements and similar forms knitted the surfaces of the buildings that frame the "armature" of a city like a lacework, as if the removal of a single column would unravel the unity.

Intrinsically, the mission of Roman classicism was beyond the city scale. As such, the classical elements not only created cohesion within the cities, but also became the conspicuous ingredient of imperial symbolism and architectural vocabulary which united the cities visually under the dominion of the Roman Empire (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 221-245). Moreover, the use of classical elements was one of the many ways that Romans demonstrated their indebtedness to Greek culture. In return, Greeks acknowledged Roman architecture and welcomed new building types and the institutions attached to them.

3.2. Roman Public Buildings and Institutions in the Greek Cities

Many different types of public buildings were produced under Roman rule. However it is not possible to find every single type in every single city. As MacDonald (1988, p. 272) says, "what was built was what was wanted"; adoption of a building type depended on the need, and sometimes certain building types were rejected in the provincial, and even in the regional level. Likewise, the acceptance of a building type in the cities of Asia Minor depended on how much it fitted into the existing tradition and supported the necessary social needs.

As Ward-Perkins (1974, p. 35) also points out, specialization of buildings came about as the cities grew. In Asia Minor, the importation of new building types principally aimed at the organization of existing urban activities, which were getting more complex with the presence of the Romans. For example, market buildings (*macella*) in central locations and harbor complexes with warehouses (*horrea*) were required for the regulation of increasing commercial activities, thus expanding the

commercial function of the agora. Similarly, fora surrounded with temples, basilicas and important offices were adopted for conducting administrative, legal and political actions in the contemporary Roman way. Moreover, infiltration of Roman festivals and games demanded the reinterpretation of the entertainment buildings.

Inclusion of Roman building types within the Hellenistic repertory was beyond mere imitation. Architects of ancient Asia Minor succeeded in blending those with traditional materials and forms, and local construction techniques; thus giving them an "Asiatic" characteristic. Even further, the marriage of Roman and Greek features produced unique buildings that do not exactly fit in any category as in the case of the Library of Celsus in Ephesus. Ward-Perkins (1981, p. 288) identifies this building as "the convergence of the two traditions, that of the monumental Greek Stoa and that of the Republican Italian basilica" (Fig. 6).[51] Moreover, the monumental columnar façade of the library illustrates a good example of the combination of local ornamentation with the classical elements executed in baroque manner (Fig 7). Called "marble style" by Ward Perkins (1981, p. 300), this surface columniation became one of the main styles to ornament the façades of different buildings like *nymphaea* or theater stage buildings.

In many cases, this eclectic attitude of Greeks resulted in the "westernization" of the present Hellenistic buildings. For instance, instead of constructing expensive amphitheaters which were designed especially for Roman gladiatorial games and beast hunts, Greeks preferred to use existing Hellenistic theaters by altering them to accommodate new shows like Aphrodisians or built new theaters in Roman style, as in Aspendos (Fig. 8, 9). By privileging the theater against the amphitheater; Greeks demonstrated how true they were to their roots and they ensured the continuity of their tradition; at the same time, by westernizing the traditional form; they showed how open they were for changes.[52]

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[51] In the bilingual dedicatory inscriptions carved on the building, the Library of Celsus is referred to as a *basilica* in Latin, and a βασιλική στοα (*basilica stoa)* in Greek (Ward-Perkins, 1981, p. 288).

[52] Amphitheaters are a good example for a regional rejection of a Roman building type. There should have been individuals wealthy enough to afford an amphitheater since there was always an insatiable desire for the prestige it could have brought. However, very limited number of amphitheaters found in Asia Minor suggests that Hellenistic roots played an important role in the repudiation of the monumental structure.

It was probably the bath buildings that posed the most drastic novelty among other types of Roman buildings. Bathing was a gift of Romans to Greeks, which fulfilled a social need. Baths were beyond being just leisure and entertainment places; they were also socializing areas for intellectual cultivation and even gathering spaces for political decisions-making.[53] Greeks not only embraced the bathing habit, but also combined it with the Hellenistic gymnasium which was the bedrock of the Greek culture.[54] Roman hot baths, thus united with the *palaestra* of the Hellenistic gymnasia under a single architectural unit,[55] became the new cultural, civic and social centers of the cities; where the daily life of the citizens mostly revolved around. These bath-gymnasium complexes even acquired religious connotations by the installation of rooms for the imperial cult within the *palaestra*. Sometimes called *kaisersaal* or *marmorsaal*, the restored Marble Court of the bath-gymnasium complex in Sardis presents a vivid example of such an imperial hall (Fig. 10, 11).

Bath-gymnasium complexes were an outstanding product of the high level of urbanization of a city. According to Mitchell (1993, p. 217), three things were required to provide the survival of these complexes: prosperity, technological progress and peace. First of all, bath-gymnasium complexes required wealthy *gymnasiarch*s who would meet the expensive requirements like the costs of athletic games and festivals or the oil for training and the fuel for bathing. As it is seen, with the development of the bath-gymnasium, the *gymnasiarch* who was previously responsible for the administration of the gymnasium and provision of the amenities for the athletic activities now became involved in the supervision and maintenance of the baths. As a consequence, *gymnasiarchate* came to be one of the most expensive offices and the title became more prestigious than before, thus attracting local benefactors and stimulating social rivalry.

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[53] For the activities took place in the Roman baths, see Yegül (2010, pp. 11-21).

[54] Basically, the gymnasium was an institution for the physical training, and intellectual and artistic education of the young citizens. Yet, this institution came to be more than education and was incorporated into the daily life through entertaining and ritual activities (Yegül F. , 1996, pp. 6-8). A gymnasium was consisted of a colonnaded courtyard surrounded with rooms *(palaestra)* and included a primitive bathing unit which, according to Yegül (2010, p. 42), was an influence on the development of Roman bathing.

[55] For the architectural evolution of the bath-gymnasium complex in Asia Minor, see Yegül (1996, pp. 250-313).

Secondly, aqueducts, Roman technological wonders, were vital for the continuity of the baths. Generally, the local springs were not enough to provide the adequate water for the baths, necessitating the transportation of water from long distances. Thus, with the adoption of the bathing habit, the number of aqueducts conspicuously increased (Coulton, 1987, p. 82).[56] The excessive water, carried by the aqueducts resulted in the spread of other systems operating with water. Public lavatories and public fountains (*nymphaea*) generally appeared in more than one place, streets were kept clean with the water-wash and the waste water was carried away via covered street drains. Consequently, water became an indispensible part of the Graeco-Roman cities.

Finally, the survival of the baths depended on the *Pax Romana*, because as Mitchell puts it (1993, p. 216), "the aqueducts that brought water from outside the cities and fed the bath-houses had to cross the boundary of the city walls, thereby negating their defensive value".[57] Briefly, with the technological developments and the prosperity that increased under the Roman peace, bath-gymnasium complexes evolved into an important institution disseminating Roman culture in Asia Minor.

There was another institution which made a comparatively more official propaganda of Roman imperial power: the imperial cult. The institutionalization of the cult of the emperor played a crucial role in the transformation of urban space as well as religious and social life.[58] Numbers of temples and sanctuaries dedicated to the emperors rapidly increased throughout Asia Minor. These usually occupied the most prominent places of the cities,[59] emphasizing the dominion of the empire on the

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[56] Aqueducts were mainly built by the city-funds rather than generous individuals. According to Coulton (1987, p. 81), this may have primarily stemmed from the fact that aqueducts were not appropriate for public display of euergetism since they were outside of the city.

[57] Coulton (1987, p. 73) adds that Greeks had the adequate technology to built arches even before the 300 B.C. but they preferred not to, due to the dangers they would have brought. Instead, they waited until the Augustan peace to build the earliest known aqueduct in Ephesus in A.D. 4-14.

[58] For the institutionalization of the imperial cult and the incorporation of the emperor into daily life through architecture, see Üçer (1998).

[59] In temple architecture, Hellenistic traditions continued to survive during the Roman period. It is possible to find both Hellenistic and Roman temples built relatively at the same time for the same purpose. Two temples for the imperial cult from the Roman colonies in Galatia, both of which are roughly corresponding to the Augustan period, present a good example. The Temple of Augustus and Rome in Ancyra is an Ionic temple with a Hellenistic plan type, while the Julio-Claudian temple at Pisidian Antioch is a Roman design with its high podium axially reached by a staircase (Mitchell,

subjects and the dominion of the emperor worship within the city (Mitchell, 1993, p. 107). Moreover, the presence of the emperor was marked also by dedicating buildings and spaces to the cult like porticoes on the main squares or the rooms in the bath-gymnasium complexes (Price, 1984, pp. 136-146).

The cult of the emperor was also incorporated into the existing sanctuaries of the traditional gods without outdoing or dishonoring them (Price, 1984, pp. 146-156), thereby becoming an indispensable part of the native pantheon. Therefore, religious festivals and rituals for the emperor such as gladiatorial games and beast hunts were included in the local calendar.[60] As indicated earlier, these innovations necessitated the transformation of the Greek theaters. The seating section was enlarged to hold more spectators and the orchestra was lowered to protect the audience from the vigorous staged combats.

Obviously, the cult of the emperor played an important role in the reconfiguration of local religious practices; which, in turn, resulted in the re-identification or re-definition of urban spaces, and public and entertainment buildings. Since the imperial cult had such an immense influence over the urban and religious life of the city, it is inevitable to think that the daily and social lives of the citizens, especially the elites', were greatly altered as well. Imperial priesthood was a great honor and was bestowed on the most eminent citizens. As such, the office brought prestige not only to the individual but also to the family. The imperial priests and priestesses were responsible for cultivating the emperor-worship by providing games and festivals, making distributions and even building temples for the honor of the cult from their own sources. Not surprisingly, imperial priesthood added another field to the rivalry between the beneficent elites. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the title *neokoros* became the most important item in the agenda of the cities of Asia

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1993, pp. 103-105). For the Roman influence on the temple and sanctuary design in Asia Minor, see Lyttelton (1987).

[60] Gladiatorial games were a Roman tradition. They first appeared as a religious ritual in aristocratic funerals, while they became a political tool in the late Republic and early Principate, eventually providing games turned into an obligation for the office holders, but the shows never lost their religious connotations. (Hopkins, 1983, pp. 3-7). In fact, most of the gladiatorial shows were related to emperor-worship in the eastern cities (Hopkins, 1983, pp. 13, fn.21).

Minor, boosting the construction of public buildings to beautify the cities in order to deserve the title.

Needless to say, the adoption of Roman public building types and the Roman institutions changed the architectural and the urban appearances of the cities and the social and daily life of the Greek citizens. However, this did not threaten their Greek identity. Because, as Gleason (2006, pp. 228-229) says, "Since material culture was not a determining component of the Greek identity, Greeks felt no less Greek when they adorned their cities with Roman amenities and integrated the emperor's effigy into the ceremonies of their civic life".[61] Material culture did not make Greeks less Greek; but it transformed the Greek cities into Roman. But still, the cities were not fully Roman without an urban narration.

3.3. Urban Narrative

The Greek cities of Asia Minor were already urbanized with the buildings essential to operate as a *polis* before their urban Romanization. With the adoption of specialized Roman public buildings, the civic welfare was enhanced and improved. Yet, the urban activities took on a more sophisticated aspect as the buildings were uninterruptedly linked to each other to create multiple urban narratives.

Every Roman city had a core network that would provide a flowing movement within the city. This network, defined as "armature" by William L. MacDonald in his groundbreaking work on Roman urban architecture,[62] supplied "uninterrupted passage throughout the town and gave ready access to its principal public buildings" (1988, p. 3).[63] Compared to the city-plans which were applied all at once according to theory and technical knowledge, armature was an organic

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[61] Yegül (2000, pp. 149, fn.48) also makes a similar assessment and emphasizes that instead of material culture "Greek self-definition centers mainly on language and descent".

[62] The word "armature" literally has several meanings like an organ or structure for defense, a part of an electric motor or a framework used to support a sculpture (Merriam-Webster.com). Yet, MacDonald coins "armature" as a new term for the terminology of ancient urbanism. This section of the thesis is highly indebted to his invaluable study, unless otherwise mentioned.

[63] MacDonald, who introduced the concept of armature to modern scholarship, emphasizes that the idea was recognized in ancient times (1988, p. 17). So, this is not a modern theory applied on the ruins, but a reality of Roman cities.

accumulation resulted from the urban needs which emerged with the gradual development of the cities (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 18, 23).

According to MacDonald's analysis, despite the regional differences, the armature shared a similar characteristic in every Roman city and was composed of public buildings, architecture of connection and architecture of passage.

The civic structures housed the public activities but they needed to be incorporated into town life with physical connections. So, the "connective architecture" which consisted of open spaces like major and minor streets, plazas and stairs provided the necessary interconnection (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 32-73).

The core of the armature was a main street, or "thoroughfare". Most probably evolved in the eastern part of the Roman Empire in the first centuries of the imperial period, it was comparatively wider than the other streets and often flanked by colonnades on both sides.[64] Thoroughfares crossed the town from one gate to another, sometimes branched-off to other attraction points or ended up reaching ports as in the case of Soli-Pompeipolis in modern Mersin in Asia Minor (Fig. 12). Providing shade all along the way with their porticoes, these avenues usually gave direct access to the public buildings through the monumental gateways placed between the colonnades, or connected to the "plazas" where several buildings were gathered around.

Plazas were the civic centers of a city where the flow of movement on a thoroughfare slowed down and gave place to more focused activities concerning commercial, administrative and religious life. Mainly created at the focal points at varying forms and dimensions, these public squares mediated between streets and the buildings and functioned as "dynamic hallows in the urban fabric", instead of "fixed pavements" (MacDonald, 1988, p. 62). Similarly, staircases were often the essential connectors of the level differences within the thoroughfares. They were especially vital to highlight a building such as a temple precinct reached by a flight of stairs and physically and symbolically separated from its surrounding.

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[64] For a discussion about the evolution of thoroughfares in the Roman architecture, see Güven (2003, pp. 45-47). For the criteria of the thoroughfares, see MacDonald (1988, p. 33).

On the other hand, "passage architecture", including arches and way-stations like exedras and *nymphaea*, regulated the movement (MacDonald, 1988, pp. 74-110). These secondary structures, which were "not intended to be entered and so were rarely enclosed" (MacDonald, 1988, p. 74), were primarily used to punctuate intersections and define nodal points along the armature for an easier navigation.

Arches were the primary elements of "transit and transition" (MacDonald, 1988, p. 75). Either free-standing or perforating a solid wall, they were used in order to mark a junction or diversion along the way, emphasize the entrance of a monumental building, frame a vista and so on. On the other hand, way-stations were an "architecture of invitation", which provided a shady and cool pausing and resting place along the thoroughfare during the daily rush (MacDonald, 1988, p. 99).

With all these components, the armature emerged to facilitate movement, but it also had a symbolic and political importance. First of all, the armature was the indication of the level of civilization of an imperial city. Bringing together Roman amenities with imperial architectural and urban language propagated the Roman way of living, thus making armature a symbolic expression of the Roman rule. Hence, it was a constant reminder that the development and prosperity of the cities depended on the Roman peace and protection.

Furthermore, all components of the armature became a display area for the celebration and commemoration of the gods, emperors, imperial families and prominent citizens. The plazas were clustered with such dedications and the columns of the colonnaded avenues were topped with statues. Moreover, the facades of the buildings, arches,[65] *nymphaea* and the niches of the exedras were adorned with sculptural programs.

And finally, the armature was a social platform for wealthy elites to increase their reputation with benefactions. Adding a single column to the main avenue bearing the name of the donor must have made a similar impressive effect that one can witness on the colonnaded avenue of Perge, where the names of the modern benefactors today, who have made a contribution to the re-erection of the fallen

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[65] As Güven (1983) expresses, the free-standing arches built in Asia Minor were rarely triumphal but mainly ceremonial and honorary due to the changing political ideologies.

columns, are inscribed on little metal plates that are attached to the column bases (Fig. 13).[66] On the other hand, a greater benefaction like an addition of a public building to the thoroughfare was obviously a conspicuous self-promotion. Or even better, placement of statues or honorific inscriptions of the benefactors in the most prominent parts of the thoroughfare or plazas by the grateful citizens was an outstanding honor.

In brief, the armature constituted the crucial backbone of a Roman city. Public buildings were the vital organs of a town and the thoroughfares brought life to them like a main artery. However, this organism was not alive devoid of a generator. This generator was the people, who breathed life into the buildings through their daily narratives. MacDonald (1988, pp. 268-269) articulates this:

> As a prose narrative is forwarded by the flow of words, so urban narrative evolves from movement. Because the town had goals, places with things people wanted, and because those goals were fixed, people had to supply movement. As they moved, the town's multiple narratives came to life. Their meaning was repeatedly evoked by a form of kinetogenesis, a bringing into being through motion.

So, the daily movement of people created the urban narratives of a Roman city that made every architectural unit alive and meaningful. As the number of goals increased, the armature grew, consequently, the narratives multiplied; and as the number of Roman amenities increased, so did the narratives. Despite this transformation, however, cities of Asia Minor kept narrating Greek stories as well. Yegül (2000, pp. 148-154) draws attention to the importance of the memory and mythical past of the Greek cities since they made every city unique even after they came under Roman rule and became Roman. Each Greek city had its own foundation legends, eponymous founders, heroes, ancestral gods and local deities; accordingly

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[66] With the efforts of Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu, the director of Perge excavations, a campaign titled "Erect a Column: Saving Perge" was initiated by the Cultural Awareness Foundation in 2004, in order to support the Perge excavations and increase the awareness of the cultural heritage. By 2010, more than 100 columns have been re-erected with donations, and each column bears the name of one modern *euergete*. More information about the campaign can be reached from the following web-site: http://www.kulturbilinci.org/eski/eng/completed_project_4.html

they had their own mythical identities that they celebrated with festivals, games and processions occasionally. As Yegül (2000, pp. 150-151) points out:

> Civic and religious ritual commemorating a city's legendary past gave life to the very stones with which the city was built, while the stones enhanced the meaning of its identity and shaped its future…These occasions linked ritual to reality: they linked human action to physical urban presence, and in doing so magnified the personal, every-day experience of the city and elevated the event to the level of a community celebration.

The urban space was the stage to perform these commemorations. Since most of the Hellenistic material culture was changing, new narratives were written within the Roman environment. The Roman thoroughfare was redefined with a mythical procession or the *palaestra* of a bath-gymnasium complex was consecrated with an agonistic festival. And that brought past and present together.

To recapitulate, the merging of the Greek past and memories with the Roman social and material culture produced highly civilized societies and highly developed cities in Asia Minor. The grand urban narrative that gathered both Greek and Roman stories together resulted in the uniqueness of every single city as in the case of Perge.

CHAPTER 4
HISTORY AND URBANIZATION OF PERGE

4.1. History of Perge

Perge, situated 18 km. east of Antalya and 11 km north of the Mediterranean coast was one of the leading cities of Pamphylia in Asia Minor (Fig. 14, 15). The city is settled on a plain that is confined by the acropolis on the north and two other hills on the south (Koca Belen and İyilik Belen) (Fig. 16). The Cestrus River (modern Aksu), 4 km to the east, connects the city to the Mediterranean, as well as fertilizing the land. Naturally protected by hills and with its distance from the sea, Perge was an important settlement area in the Hellenistic, especially in the Roman Imperial period.

In fact, the history of Perge goes back far beyond the Hellenistic times. The excavations conducted on the Acropolis between the years 1996-2004 provided crucial information about pre-Greek Perge. According to some findings, life at the Acropolis started as early as the Chalcolithic Period.[67] Moreover, a continuous stratigraphy from the Early Bronze Age to the archaic period recorded on the mound points to a constant occupation during the Bronze Age. (Abbasoğlu, 2004, p. 46).

The existence of early settlements is supported with philological and historical data. A bronze tablet found in Hattusha, the capital city of the Hittite Empire, documents the treaty between the Hittite King Tudhaliya IV and King Kurunta of Tarhuntassa (Fig. 17).[68] According to this treaty which draws the boundaries of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa,[69] a city called Par-ha-a is separated from the kingdom with a river called Ka-as-ta-ra-ia. Based on the phonetic resemblance

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[67] Martini (2003a, p. 57) dates the earliest settlement on the Perge Acropolis to the Chalcolithic Period on the basis of a Chalcolithic seated burial and a Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age infant burial. This is supported by Balkan-Atlı (2003, p. 80), who thinks that flint and obsidian finds might belong to the Late Neolithic-Chalcolithic period.

[68] For more on the excavation of the tablet, see Neve (1988, pp. 266-269), for the transcription and translation of the inscription into German, see Otten (1988).

[69] For a discussion about the borders of Tarhuntassa, see Dinçol, Yakar, Dinçol, & Taffet (2000).

and the topographical similarities, Otten (1988, pp. 37-38) identifies Par-ha-a as Perge and Ka-as-ta-ra-ia as the Cestrus River and suggests that the city Par-ha-a belonged to the Lukka Lands (Fig. 18). Although this association is accepted by many modern scholars, definitive archaeological evidence to prove that Perge was the Late Bronze Age city Par-ha-a has not been discovered yet (Abbasoğlu, 2007, p. 22).

On the other hand, ancient sources refer to the foundation of Pamphylian cities by Achaean settlers in the 13th century B.C. According to Herodotus (7.91), Pamphylians were descended from the people who survived the Trojan War together with Amphilochos and Calchas. Strabo (14.4.3) adds that some of these people led by Mopsos crossed over the Taurus and founded cities in Pamphylia, one of which may have been Perge.

Five of the nine statue bases found in the courtyard of the Hellenistic Gate of Perge verify Herodotus and Strabo. According to the inscriptions, Mopsos and Calchas were the founders of the city along with five other Greek heroes; Machaon, Leonteus and Minyas. Although there are conflicting stories about the identity and the background of these particular heroes;[70] the Pamphylian dialect, which constitutes Achaean characteristics, supports the arrival of Achaeans. On the other hand, it is not likely that the city was first founded by these heroes, as the archaeological evidences date the original settlement in Perge as early as to the Chalcholithic period. Thus, instead of founding the city from scratch, Achaeans apparently became a part of an existing settlement which could be the city Par-ha-a as the reign of Tudhaliya IV was contemporary with the Trojan War.

Even if it is still not proven that the original city was Par-ha-a, the settlement that the Achaeans encountered with was indeed Anatolian. This is evident from the inscriptions and coins bearing Pamphylian, a Greek dialect which derived from an Anatolian origin.[71] A re-used block with an inscription dated to the 5th century B.C. found during the excavations of F4 fountain, mentions a sacrifice to ИАΝΑΨΑΣ

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[70] For this discussion, see Chapter 5.3.

[71] Pamphylian, a Greek dialect which constitutes Achaean, Dorian and Aeolian features, is believed to be influenced by an Indo-European Anatolian language (Tekoğlu, 1999-2000, pp. 52-53).

ΠΡΕΙΙΑΣ (*Wanassa Preiia*).[72] It is assumed that *Preiia* is an old name of Perge while *Wanassa* is an Anatolian deity,[73] making *Wanassa Preiia* a local goddess, which was probably the forerunner of Artemis Pergaea, the chief deity of Perge (Abbasoğlu, 2001, p. 176).

After the Hellenization of Asia Minor, Greek gods were introduced into the local pantheon and replaced the Anatolian gods and goddesses in the course of time. *Wanassa Preiia* shared the same destiny and was transformed into Artemis Pergaea. Yet, it is evident that the Anatolian origin of the chief deity was not forgotten in the Hellenistic even in the Roman period. Between the 2nd century B.C. and 3rd century A.D., Greek Artemis was depicted with features of the Anatolian deity on reliefs,[74] and with the inscription of *Wanassa Preiia* on coins. It is also possible to say that the cult of the original goddess was still acknowledged along with that of Artemis in the second century A.D., since Plancia Magna, a notable woman from Perge, was the priestess of both Artemis Pergaea and the "Mother of the Gods" who is most likely *Wanassa Preiia* (Işık, 1999, p. 18).[75]

In short, the first settlements in Perge started in the Chalcholitic period and continued possibly uninterruptedly till the Late Bronze Age when Achaean colonists arrived and became assimilated within the local Anatolian inhabitants. As Pekman (1973, p. 69) indicates, there is no reference to Perge in any sources until about the middle of the 4th century B.C., but recent archaeological researches help to create a narrative of the city after the arrival of Achaeans.

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[72] For the publication of the inscription, see Kaygusuz (1980).

[73] Pekman (1973, p. 58) asserts that the place names in the Hittite texts ends with –IIA and –IIAS (as in PREIIA), while in the Luwian language the suffixes, -ASSAS, -ASSA, -ASSIS (as in WANASSA) were used for the names of gods. As a result, WANASSA PREIIA dates to the 3rd millennium B.C. and points to the existence of a settlement in Perge before the Achaean colonization (Pekman, 1973, p. 59).

[74] Akarca (1949, p. 64) attributes this to the interest in the revival of the ancient cults during the Roman period and adds that Artemis Pergaea never completely lost her character as an Anatolian Goddess. Onurkan who analysis some reliefs and coins depicting Artemis Pergaea states that the crescent moon over her shoulders and her necklace are the traces of the Anatolian goddess (1969, p. 323).

[75] Işık (1999, pp. 18-19) associates *Wanassa Preiia* with Anatolian Mother Goddess Kubaba and emphasizes that the goddess had been worshiped in Perge since the Bronze Age basing on the rock-cut niches found on the Acropolis. He also indicates that the chief deity of Perge, renamed as Artemis Pergaea remained Anatolian in origin by stating that "if the core is Anatolian, the crust cannot be Hellenic" (1999, p. 18).

The Dorian elements in the Pamphylian language suggests that Perge was one of the cities invaded by Dorians in the 12th century but the Mycenaean ceramics found on Acropolis refer to the commercial activities with the Aegean and the Mediterranean world rather than a western colonization (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 843). Similarly, Cypriot pottery from Bronze Age to the 9th-8th centuries B.C found along with the local products support the idea of maritime trade (Abbasoğlu, 2005, p. 68). On the other hand, ceramic imports from Rhodes and Miletus starting from the 7th century B.C. and Athenian pottery from the 6th century B.C. signal the meeting with the Greek culture (Martini, 2003b, p. 180). Accordingly, it is argued that Greek colonization was achieved by the Rhodians in the 7th century B.C. based on the pottery as well as the historical data about the Rhodian colonization and commercial activities on the south shores of Asia Minor at that time (Abbasoğlu, 2001, p. 177; Martini, 2003b, p. 180). However, the dominant local pottery points to a strong indigenous population, suggesting the mixing of Greek and native communities rather than a massive Greek colonization (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 843).

The survival of both local and Greek cultures together is also evident on two sacred architectural complexes on different parts of the Acropolis that were used relatively at the same periods. On the eastern hill, there are the remains of a sacred complex which was used uninterruptedly between the 9th and 5th centuries B.C. After the destruction in the 5th century, a smaller sacred building associated with Greek practices was established on the area. On the other hand, the cultic center on the Western Hill dated to the second half of the 6th century bears eastern influences, particularly Phoenician.[76] So, as Özdizbay (2008a, p. 844) indicates, it is possible to say that communities with local and Greek, and even Eastern cultures lived on the Acropolis together during the archaic period.[77]

Since there is not much written testimony about Perge before the Hellenistic Period, the data about the political history of the city is limited with that of

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[76] For more information about these eastern and western constructions, see Özdizbay (2008a, p. 844).

[77] However, the Greek building in the Eastern part was built in the 5th century after the destruction, while the Phoenician building in the west is dated to the 6th century. Even if it is not certain whether all functioned at the same time or not, they nevertheless attest to the existence of different cultures at the same place.

Pamphylia. According to Diodorus of Sicily, Pamphylia was subjugated by Assyrians, while for Solinus it belonged to the state of Cilicia; however neither of these assertions about the state of Pamphylia in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. is approved yet (Bosch, 1957, p. 18). For the second half of the 1st millennium B.C., Herodotus (1.27-28) tells that Pamphylia was subjected to Lydia and forced to pay taxes and provide soldiers for the army during the reign of Croesus (560-547 B.C.). After the collapse of the Lydian Kingdom, Pamphylia came under the Persian sway and remained in the Ionian satrapy until the arrival of Alexander the Great (Pekman, 1973, p. 69).

Although there is no archaeological evidence supporting Lydian or Persian presence in Perge, the city was dramatically urbanized during the Classical period. After the destruction of the Acropolis in the 5th century, the archaic buildings were rebuilt with cut-stones and they were connected to each other with an organic street system which was applied orthogonally only on the eastern part (Martini, 2003b, pp. 181-182) (Fig. 19). The fortification of the Acropolis was constructed around the same time and is dated to as early as the 5th and 4th century B.C. (Martini, 2003a, p. 41). The local pottery still remains during the Classical era but is dominated by the Attic pottery (Martini, 2003b, pp. 181-182). Hence, the urban transformation of the city, the use of cut-stone masonry in architecture and the increase in the Attic pottery refer to the cultural change under the Greek influence (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 847). This may also refer to a break from the Persian dominion. In 468 B.C. Athenians under the leadership of Cimon defeated the Persian fleet in the Pamphylian Sea and they brought some cities within the Attica-Delos maritime league, while Pamphylia remained under Persian hegemony (Bosch, 1957, p. 19). However, in the light of the new evidence concerning the Greek influence on Perge in the 5th century B.C., Özdizbay (2008a, p. 847) suggests that Perge may have come under the Athenian dominion after the battle of Eurymedon for 50 years and also that it may have become an Athenian *klēroukhia* judging from the architecture and fortification, until it was brought under Persian rule again in 386 B.C.

When Alexander the Great entered Pamphylia in 334 B.C., he faced no resistance from Perge, and the city became a part of the conjoined satrapy of Pamphylia and Lycia under the empire of Alexander. Following Alexander's death,

the region came under the satrapy of Greater Phrygia governed by Antigonus Monophthalmus until his demise in the Battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. (Pekman, 1973, pp. 69-72; Bosch, 1957, pp. 21-23). After the battle, between the years 301-299 B.C., Pamphylia remained under the kingdom of Pleistarkhos, the brother of Macedonian King Cassander before it was captured by Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus in 299 B.C.; however, Demetrius embarked on an adventure in Macedonia in 296 B.C., and his territories were attacked by Ptolemy and Seleucus (Bosch, 1957, p. 23). Although Pamphylia's fate afterwards is uncertain, it is assumed that Ptolemies dominated the area for a short time in 281/280 B.C. and the territory passed into Seleucids during the Third Syrian War (246-241 B.C.) (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 848). In 218 B.C., Achaius marched into Pamphylia and left a garrison in Perge without meeting any opposition, however, in 213 B.C. he was defeated by Antiochus III and Pamphylia passed into Seleucids once again (Pekman, 1973, pp. 74-75).

Pamphylia first encountered Romans in 190 B.C. when Romans and the Pergamene Kingdom united to defeat Antiocus III. According to the treaty of Apamea signed in 188 B.C., Pergamon claimed all of Pamphylia and on behalf of the king of Pergamon, Roman general Manlius Vulso, demanded the garrison of Antiocus III in Perge to surrender, the only Seleucid garrison in Pamphylia (Pekman, 1973, pp. 75-77; Martini, 2003b, p. 183). Perge and Pamphylia remained under Pergamon hegemony until Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to Rome in 133 B.C.[78]

After a period of abandonment, Rome finally pacified the inherited land in 129 B.C.; some of the territory of the Pergamene Kingdom was given over to the allies or left autonomous, while the western region of the kingdom was made the province of Asia (Gruen, 2004, p. 261). It is not clear whether Pamphylia was included in the new Roman province but the start of minting silver tetradrachmae in Perge may refer to the independence of the region or at least some part of it after the bequest in 133 B.C., or even in 188 B.C. (Pekman, 1973, pp. 77-78).

Roman interest in Pamphylia was increasing at the end of the 2nd century B.C. due to its valuable natural harbors and the ongoing piracy activities in the

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[78] It is also suggested that some of the cities of Pamphylia won their independence after the treaty of Apamea in 188 B.C. (Sherwin-White, 1976, p. 1)

region (Sherwin-White, 1976, p. 3). Apparently, in the first half of the 1st century B.C., Pamphylia was a part of the province of Asia, later it was incorporated into the province of Cilicia in 57 B.C., only to be given back under Asia again in 43 B.C. (Özdizbay, 2008a, pp. 849-850). But, in 36 B. C., Marcus Antonius included Pamphylia to the Kingdom of Galatia and the region remained under the King Amyntas until his death at 25 B.C. (Pekman, 1973, p. 81)

As it is seen, during the Hellenistic period, Pamphylia encountered a number of political power shifts. Although the situation of Perge in this heyday is not very clear, the urban development gives clues about the importance of the city.

First of all, the Acropolis was protected with a strong fortification since the late Classical period (Fig. 19). Especially the south end of the Acropolis was fortified with a very complex wall and street system, where the city was most vulnerable to the attacks and also approached from (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 853) (Fig. 20, 21). A number of preliminary gates that perforate the city walls give way to the streets within the fortification. And these streets lead to the "Acropolis Gate", the monumental main gate of the city. The most important street is the "Eastern Avenue" which connects the "Harbor-Eastern Gate" to the "Acropolis Gate". It is assumed that the Acropolis Gate and its surrounding date to as early as the 5th century B.C. while the wall and street systems on the south belong to the 3rd century B.C.[79] According to Pekman (1973, pp. 71,74), the surrender of the city first to Alexander (334 B.C.), then to Achaius (218 B.C.) without any resistance might mean that the city did not have adequate fortification for defense. However, basing on the strong fortification system dated as early as the late Classical Period, Özdizbay (2008a, p. 848) opposes to Pekman by suggesting that Perge acted in accordance with the political necessities. In other words, Perge was not a weak and defenseless city; instead, the city accepted the higher power rather than fighting, in order to minimize or even eliminate the consequences.[80]

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[79] For a more detailed description of the south fortification, and dating of the construction levels; see Özdizbay (2008a, pp. 853-854)

[80] It is know that Aspendos was punished with harsher terms when they broke their agreement they made with Alexander (Pekman, 1973, pp. 21-22).

Two peristyle buildings dated to the Hellenistic period are discovered on the Acropolis. The one on the south edge of the mound with the dimensions of 42 x 44,85 m is dated between 3rd and 2nd century B.C., while the other one on the west with the dimensions of 27 x 36 m is dated between 3rd and 1st century (Martini, 2003a, pp. 58, 65-70; Martini, 2003b, pp. 183-185). Both defined as agoras, these two buildings point to intensive commercial activities (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 850).

Moreover, the previously mentioned sacred area with a Phoenician building on the western part of the Acropolis continued to be used as a religious precinct. Apparently, there are two different structures that were constructed on top of the archaic building. Both defined as Greek temples, the earlier one (9 x 15,5 m) is dated to 300 B.C., while the later one (? x 13,5 m) is dated to the 1st century B.C. (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 850). However, the deity or deities they were dedicated to have not been identified yet. On the other hand, Martini suggests another sacred precinct on the southeast that he calls "Representation Center", which might have been dedicated to Artemis, Ares or Zeus on the basis of some inscriptions, some reused materials found in the surroundings and the prehistoric rock-cut niches on the south of the area (Martini, 2003a, p. 52).

It is known that a number of deities were worshiped in Perge;[81] however the tutelary deity of the city was the aforementioned Artemis Pergaea, also called Diana Pergaea. The reputation of the goddess went beyond the city and even the region; and the cult of Artemis Pergaea was worshiped not only in many cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia but also in Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Lindos, Thera and Naucratis (Akarca, 1949, p. 65). According to Strabo's accounts (14.2.2), a festival was celebrated every year in the Artemis temple for the honor of the goddess and it is likely that the city attracted many visitors from various places. But, despite all the efforts, the location of Perge's famous temple of Artemis Pergaea has not been found yet but only speculated.

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[81] According to inscriptions, coins, sculpture and ancient sources, the gods and goddesses worshipped in Perge were Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Asclepius, Athena, Cestrus, Cybele, Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Elpis, the Graces, Harpocrates, Hecate, Helios, Hephaistus, Heracles, Hermes, Isis, Nemesis, Nike, Pan, Serapis, Selene, Themis, Tyche and Zeus (Pekman, 1973, p. 91).

The presence of the temple of Artemis can be traced as early as the 4th century B.C. by the accounts of the ancient writer Scylax (101) who briefly mentions "The city of Perge and the temple of Artemis" (Pekman, 1973, p. 92). Later writers give more information. According to Strabo (14.4.2) the temple was "on a lofty site … where a general festival is celebrated every year". Polemo, from 2nd century A.D., on the other hand, praises the beauty and the grandeur of the temple and states that it was outside the city (Akarca, 1949, p. 62). Furthermore, since the deity is depicted with Ionic columns on the coins, the temple is assumed to be in this order (Akarca, 1949, p. 63).

On the basis of these sources and a reused inscription found on İyilik Belen concerning the temple,[82] the Acropolis and İyilik Belen were investigated in 1949 in search for the temple, but to no avail.[83] Two decades later, Mansel (1972, pp. 169-171) suggested that the temple of Artemis Pergaea could have been a part of a temple complex dated to the Hellenistic period that is believed to be found on the south end of the lower city during the excavations in 1968 and 1970.[84] The most recent suggestion derives from the latest excavations on the Acropolis. As previously stated, Martini suggests that the temple of Artemis may have stood at the "Representation Center" at the southeast of the Acropolis. According to him, the deviation on the colonnaded street of the lower town might be intended to direct the attention of the people, who entered Perge from the Hellenistic Gate on the south end of the city, to a building on the Acropolis which was probably the Artemis temple (Martini, 2003a, p. 52). Besides, he also adds that the "Eastern Avenue" might be leading to the temple. The rock-cut niches on the south of the area also support his claims. Since it is assumed that Artemis Pergaea was once *Wanassa Preiia*, this location with rock-cut

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[82] The inscription contains the inventory of the temple. For the inscription, see Şahin (1999, pp. 7-12), no. 10.

[83] For the excavation report, see Akarca (1949).

[84] In this area, a Doric temple (21,50 x 12,60 m) and fragments from an Ionic temple are found. According to Mansel, temple of Artemis could be the Ionic temple that is waiting to be unearthed (1972, p. 171).

niches may have once housed the sanctuary of *Wanassa* and later converted to that of Artemis.[85] Yet, neither of these claims about where the temple was has been proved.

It is assumed that the plain on the south of the Acropolis was first inhabited during the Hellenistic period. However, the only buildings that can be dated to this period in the entire lower city so far are the circular towers of the Hellenistic Gate at the south end of the city and some towers and partial walls from the city walls. The lack of enough data makes the dating difficult; however a period between the second half of the 3rd century B.C. and the reign of Augustus and *Pax Romana* is suggested by different scholars (Özdizbay, 2008a, pp. 854-858).

Perge was exposed to different cultures in its entire history; just like the rest of "Pamphylia" which means "the land of all tribes" in Greek (Abbasoğlu, 2001, p. 176). Every newcomer left a mark and enriched Perge's own Anatolian culture. After the 5th century B.C. Greek influence began to dominate the local traditions and Perge turned into a Greek *polis* during the following period. However, it was still possible to observe the traces of the local culture through the daily life, as in the case of the worship of Artemis Pergaea. Thus, when Perge entered into a new era with the imperial period, it was an important Greek city as a commercial and religious center that was protected with a sophisticated fortification on the acropolis and a new life was beginning on the lower city.

4.2. Urbanization of the Lower City and the Hellenistic City Gate

During the Imperial period, Pamphylia experienced several provincial regulations for administrative purposes. Although it is suggested that after the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. Pamphylia became an independent province (Bosch, 1957, p. 46), it is more likely that Amyntas' territory including Pamphylia was made the province of Galatia by Augustus (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 858). In the second half of the 1st century A.D., a new province called "Lycia and Pamphylia" (*Provincia Lycia et Pamphylia)* was created by Vespasian (Özdizbay, 2008a, pp. 858-861). During the reign of Hadrian, *Lycia et Pamphylia* became a senatorial province, but retrieved its

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[85] As mentioned previously, Işık associates the rock-cut niches with the worship of *Wanassa Preiia*, see p. 44, fn. 75.

imperial status after a short period of time;[86] however it was made a senatorial province once again in A.D. 160s (Pekman, 1973, p. 83),[87] and governed by proconsuls until the latter were replaced by *praeses* in the second half of the 3rd century A.D. (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 862). In this period, the stability of the empire was shaken due to internal and external threats, and military measures had to be taken. Despite the fact that many cities experienced a considerable decline in economic and political welfare, some of them like Perge undertook major military roles. During the reign of Tacitus (275-276), Perge was an important military base and was rewarded with the title of "metropolis" (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 863). Although Perge remained as an important city in the Pamphylian region until the end of the imperial period, it is safe to say that the city enjoyed its most glorious days during the "Roman peace".

Beginning with the reign of the Augustus, an unbroken peace, *Pax Romana*, was established throughout the imperial territory for two centuries. This social and political stability provided the economical prosperity of the citizens. These elite people who are willing to become a part of the Roman world participated in the urban Romanization of their native cities. It is especially in this period that the lower city of Perge was furnished with monumental buildings by generous benefactors and gradually urbanized applying the Roman urban practices. By the middle of the second century A.D., Perge was a Roman city with an armature that not only connected the civic structures with each other but also harmonized the past and present urban narratives of the city.

Even though a certain date cannot be provided for the spread of the settlement on the plain, it is believed that the lower city began to be occupied during the Hellenistic period. Judging from the only Hellenistic remains within the city which

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[86] After the reign of Augustus, the provinces were grouped under imperial and senatorial provinces. Imperial provinces which were at strategically important locations like borders were governed by the praetors sent by the emperor, while the senatorial provinces which were relatively more secure were administered by the proconsuls sent by the Senate.

[87] It is known that in A.D. 179, province of Lycia and Pamphylia became an imperial province again but only for one year (Özdizbay, 2008a, p. 861).

include some parts of the fortification wall and the circular towers of the south gate,[88] the expansion can be as early as the second half of the 3rd century B.C. (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 41). Studies on the Acropolis reveal that the mound was not abandoned but was still occupied as an "upper city" during the Roman Period (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 1).[89] Apparently, Hellenistic Acropolis expanded gradually to the south, and over time the lower city Perge became the main center during the imperial era.

The city developed within the boundaries of the fortification and was surrounded with the acropolis on the north, necropoleis on the west and east, the mound Koca Belen on south west and the mound İyilik Belen on the south east (Fig. 16). The city wall was pierced by three gates on the west, east and south. While nothing remains from the east gate, the west gate was rebuilt in the 3rd century A.D. The most monumental of all three was the south gate, which became a major urban component of the Roman Perge.

The settlement area was divided into four quarters by two intersecting colonnaded avenues, and a grid system was created by secondary streets on some parts of the city (Fig. 22).[90] The street that lies on the north-south axis is intersected with an east-west oriented street at about 100 m before the northern end of the former. Since these main arteries do not intersect at the center or follow a linear path, it is possible to say that these routes were not applied all at once but were created organically during the development of the city since the Hellenistic times (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 242).[91] The remains of the recovered Roman buildings accumulate on the

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[88] It is previously mentioned that there is a Hellenistic religious complex outside of the city at the south (p. 50). However, the presence of such a complex cannot be determinant for an occupation on the lower city since sacred precincts can be far away from the settlement areas.

[89] Several major Roman buildings as well as residential quarters on the Acropolis indicate the importance of the Acropolis during the imperial period, so much so that it attracted the benefactors like Demetrius and Apollonius brothers. For the activities on the Acropolis during the Roman period, see Martini (2003b, pp. 184-185).

[90] In 1975, a brief topographical study revealed 6 secondary streets the north of the *macellum* that are parallel to the N-S avenue (İnan, 1976, p. 41). On the basis of this study, a possible street system is offered on the site plan and indicated with dash-lines (Özdizbay, 2008a, pp. 258, fn. 117). While the eastern insulae are laid regularly, the ones on the western part are relatively irregular. It is assumed that these insulae were mostly occupied with residential buildings (Abbasoğlu, 2001, p. 183).

[91] It is for this reason that Özdizbay does not approve using the Roman terms *cardo maximus* or *decumanus maximus* for the main streets since they were not created according to Roman city planning (2008b, pp. 242, fn. 64).

north and the south and suggest two civic concentrations during the imperial period.[92]

Two early Roman buildings were built on the northern part of the city. The western section of the E-W avenue leads to the North Gymnasium (Fig 22: N). Also called the Palaestra of Cornutus, this gymnasium was dedicated to either Emperor Claudius or Emperor Nero by C. Iulius Cornutus and his wife in the 1st half of the 1st century A.D. (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 41).[93] This section of the street is not linear but diverges towards the gymnasium which enables the incorporation of the south façade of the *Palaestra* to the northern portico to give movement to the façade of the thoroughfare after the street was colonnaded in the second century A.D. (Lanckoroński, 2005, p. 42; Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 44). After reaching the *Palaestra*, the street continues to the North Bath and ends up at the Western Gate.[94] This gate not only opens to the western necropolis but also leads the city to Via Sebaste (Fig. 23),[95] a part of the Roman road network (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 169) (Fig, 24).[96]

The second structure from the early imperial period on the north, a ceremonial arch, was built at the major crossroad. Dedicated by Demetrius and Apollonius brothers during the reign of Domitian,[97] thus called "the arch of Domitian", the structure stands at the beginning of the eastern section of the E-W street where the two thoroughfares intersect (Fig. 22: D2). The arch facing the east-

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[92] Aşkım Özdizbay's dissertation *Perge'nin M.S. 1.-2. Yüzyıllardaki Gelişimi* (2008) which focuses on the urban development of the lower city Perge during the 1st and 2nd century A.D. is an invaluable study concerning the architectural programs in Perge during the imperial period.

[93] For the inscription, see Şahin (1999, pp. 53-54), no.39. It is still not certain whether Cornutus donated the whole building or restored an existing one. Özdizbay (2008b, pp. 42-44) suggests that there might be a Hellenistic predecessor based on the fact that Hellenistic inscriptions indicate the existence of a gymnasium, and a street which connects the Acropolis to the West Gate of the lower fortification passes through the *Palaestra*.

[94] Abbasoğlu (2001, p. 180) associates the North Bath with the *Palaestra* which is dated to the 3rd century B.C. by Mansel (1968, p. 102). Additionally, the Western Gate was redesigned at around the same time (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 170). These indicate the importance of both the street and the *Palaestra* in the following periods.

[95] Via Sebaste was a Roman road network starting from Perge which was built under the directions of Augustus in order to connect the southern provinces of Asia Minor (Mitchell, 1993, p. 70). For the results of a survey on the western territory of Perge which documented the remains of Via Sebaste between Perge and Klimax, see Takmer & Tüner Önen (2008).

[96] Perge is mentioned in the Tabula Peutingeriana, the only surviving map of the Roman road network.

[97] For the inscriptions on the arch, see Şahin (1999, pp. 72-80), no. 56.

west direction marked the entrance and the importance of the eastern street; because this street connected the city to the eastern necropolis as well as the harbor that is believed to be on the Cestrus River (Fig. 25).[98]

Since two early Roman buildings of Perge, the Palaestra of Cornutus and the Arch of Domitian, were found on the E-W avenue, it is suggested that the northern part of the city was a prominent center in connection with the Acropolis during the early imperial period (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 243-244).[99] Therefore, Bulgurlu (1999, p. 3) states that the E-W avenue was the main artery in the first century.

In the second half of the 1st century, the building works continued on the southern part of the city. One of the earliest buildings is probably the theater which was built outside the city walls, on the skirts of Koca Belen (Fig. 22: A). An inscription found in the ruins of the theater gate indicates that the theater was either built or restored by Marcus Plancius Rutilius Varus who was the *quaestor* and *propraetor* of province of Pontus and Bithynia and later became a *senator* during the reign of Vespasian.[100] Although the inscription may not belong to the construction and can be reused in a later period, Özdizbay (2008b, pp. 132-134) nevertheless believes that Perge should have had a theater in the first century[101] due to the important festivals that were celebrated in the city.

The stadium, which was also built in the second half of the 1st century, was possibly designed to be complementary to the theater to create an entertainment and religious center for both the citizens and visitors of Perge (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 135-136) (Fig 22: B, 26). The complex was connected to the city by a road which is

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[98] Strabo (14.4.2) tells that Perge was reached by sailing over the Cestrus River. Recent studies have revealed that the Cestrus River was almost identical to modern Aksu River and an ancient harbor settlement was discovered near the modern village Solak, which is at approximately 4 km east of Perge. For more information about this study, see Martini (2008).

[99] Even though no remains have been found yet, regarding the importance of the street, Özdizbay (2008b, pp. 180-187) also suggests that another early 1st century building Sebaste Agora, existence of which is known only from the inscriptions, could be on the eastern part of this street.

[100] For the inscription see Şahin (1999, p. 62), no.49.

[101] It is only the *cavea* of the theater that is possibly dated to the 1st century A.D. The stage building, on the other hand, was built later. It was first constructed during the late Antonine period and was rebuilt during the late Severans and it was continued to be restored during the late antiquity. For dating the *scaenae frons* according to the art and architecture, see İnan (1996). For its restitution, see Öztürk (2005).

defined as the continuation of the N-S avenue. According to Mansel (1969, p. 95), the N-S street which goes beyond the city walls was a "Processional Way" leading to the Hellenistic religious complex on the skirts of İyilik Belen. Öztürk (2005, p. 34) adds that the theater-stadium complex was constructed in connection with this procession as a station, where the crowd could gather and continue celebration. Even if it is not clear whether this complex was associated directly with the Hellenistic religious center, many religious festivals celebrated in Perge suggest that the complex might be a part of such a procession.

The complex was consciously built outside the city walls not only because there was not enough space within the boundaries or constructing the theater on the slopes of Koca Belen decreased the costs, but also because the foreigners were kept outside the city (Öztürk, 2005, p. 34). Yet, the proximity between the theater-stadium complex and the southern part of the city was close enough to provide an easy access. It is probably in this context that the area around the monumental south gateway was gradually equipped with civic buildings that would easily serve the visitors without letting them completely into the city.

On the west of the South gate, outside the city walls was built a bath-gymnasium complex (Fig. 22: I). The bath expanded to the north in the course of time and even included the city wall[102] and one circular tower of the gateway to its architecture (Abbasoğlu, 2001, p. 181) (Fig. 27). Restored several times and used even in the late antiquity, the bath was first built possibly in the second half of the first century by C. Plancius Varus and was dedicated to Vespasian.[103]

With the increasing concentration on the south end of the city, the Hellenistic Gate also became the focus of major restoration projects during the Roman Period

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[102] The soundings revealed that the northern wall of the *palaestra* which follows the line of the city wall does not belong to the Hellenistic period (Bulgurlu, 1999, pp. 27-30). Instead, the wall is contemporary with the floor of the *palaestra*. So, Bulgurlu (1999, p. 32) suggests that either the Hellenistic wall was torn down to its foundation and a new wall was built during the construction of the bath or the Hellenistic fortification was never built at this part of the city.

[103] For the inscription, see Şahin (1999, pp. 71-72), no. 55. The inscription tells that C. Plancius Varus built the *alipterion*. Özdizbay (2008b, pp. 73-77) states that the *alipterion* could be either the whole building or a room within the bath. So, it is not clear whether C. Plancius Varus built the whole complex or only contributed to the construction. In either case, it is certain that the building existed during the reign of Vespasian.

(Fig. 22: C). With the *Pax Romana*, the city walls as well as the gate lost their military importance. Consequently, the South Gate of Perge was incorporated within the urban frame as an important monument.

This gateway consists of two circular towers, an arched gate between the towers, an oval courtyard surrounded by two-story walls on the east and west and a ceremonial arch which constrains the courtyard at the northern end (Fig. 28) The towers are now partially standing, while the arched gate and the ceremonial arch have almost completely collapsed. On the other hand, the courtyard walls are well preserved (Fig. 29, 30). Each story of the courtyard walls has seven niches, making twenty eight in total. The statue fragments and inscribed bases found in the courtyard suggest that the niches were decorated with the statues of the city founders and the deities.

It is assumed that the gate complex was altered more than once. [104] The axis of two towers does not match with the joint axis of the gate, courtyard and the arch; which suggests at least two construction phases according to Bulgurlu (1999, p. 6) (Fig. 31). The only remains from the Hellenistic origin are the circular towers, a small part of the western courtyard wall and some remains of earlier stairs and pavement between the courtyard and the ceremonial arch (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 31). The previously four-story towers were finished with a Doric entablature and the final stories were perforated with small windows (Fig. 32).[105] The Hellenistic remains within the courtyard suggest that it previously had an enclosed pear-shape (Fig, 33).

Other components were added to the complex during the following restorations. The Hellenistic original was first restored in the early imperial period, while the gate acquired its final form during the reign of Hadrian. The earliest addition is an arched gate between the towers, only the pylons of which are remaining (Fig. 34, 35). Since this gate is not defensive but ornamental, it must have been built after the *Pax Romana;* while the modifications on the gate during the last

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[104] The Hellenistic City Gate and its construction phases are extensively studied in archaeological and architectural aspects in the dissertation *Perge Kenti Hellenistik Güney Kapısı ve Evreleri* (1999), by Selma Bulgurlu.

[105] Nothing remains of the roof structure. With the help of the Doric entablature and the shield reliefs between the windows, the towers are dated to the Hellenistic period, however, more precise dating is not possible. For the Hellenistic towers, see Bulgurlu (1999, pp. 33-44).

construction phase suggest that the gate precedes the final restoration (Bulgurlu, 1999, pp. 58-59).[106] Thus, the addition of the arched gate to the Hellenistic City Gate is dated between the beginning of the Roman peace and the reign of Hadrian.

During the same construction phase, the courtyard was also restored. The walls of the Hellenistic pear-shaped court were dismantled to the floor level (Bulgurlu, 1999, pp. 8, 31), and two arcuated walls were built on the east and west which do not converge but leave the end of the courtyard open.[107] While the height of the walls of this phase is not known (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 321), six niches were built into the first stories of both walls. It is clear that after this construction phase which was possibly occurred during the early imperial period, the South Gate of Perge was no more a defensive gateway with its ornamental arched gate and thin courtyard walls.[108]

In the second decade of the 2nd century, the gate was restored once again. During the reign of the Hadrian, who often travelled outside of Rome, the cities of Asia Minor blossomed to welcome the emperor. Perge was one of these cities, in which new monuments were built and existing structures were restored following the news that Hadrian would visit Perge.[109]

Hence, one of the most prominent construction programs was carried out on the Hellenistic City Gate. Plancia Magna, a prominent woman in Perge, restored the gate and built a ceremonial arch at the northern end of its courtyard. Within the scope of her renovation, more niches were carved on the inner surfaces of the courtyard walls, completing them to twenty eight.[110] These surfaces were revetted in marble[111]

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[106] For a detailed analysis of the structure, ornamentation and dating of the arched gate, see Bulgurlu (1999, pp. 45-60)

[107] It is clear that there was no roof structure over the courtyard because a drainage system which would take the rain water away is found under the courtyard floor (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 15).

[108] The 120 cm thick courtyard walls reaches a thickness of 150 cm through the northern end. However, with the depth of the niches, the walls get as thin as 50cm (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 8).

[109] Hadrian intended to visit Perge in A.D. 122/123, however he changed his route and did not come to Perge until his second journey to the east in A.D. 131/132 (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 105).

[110] The earlier 12 niches were built in, while the additions of Plancia Magna were carved into the wall, which support the theory of different construction phases. One niche was added to the southern ends of the lower stories and seven niches were carved on the upper stories of each wall. For the structures and dimensions of all niches, see Bulgurlu (1999, pp. 8-9).

[111] The outer walls of the courtyard walls were revetted in marble as well (Bulgurlu, 1999, pp. 83-84).

and articulated as a two-story columnar façade in the Corinthian order (Fig. 36, 37).[112] In addition, the niches were adorned with bronze statues of the legendary founders of Perge. Nine statue bases inscribed in Greek indicate that seven of these founders were Greek heroes Mopsos, Calchas, Rhixus, Labus, Machaon, Leonteus and Minyas and the other two were Plancia Magna's father and brother. Additionally, some marble statue fragments were found as well. Identified fragments belong to the deities which are 2 Dioscuri, 2 Pans, Hermes, Apollo, Aphrodite and Heracles.[113] However, due to their different dimensions and finishing techniques, these statues do not belong to Plancia Magna's program but instead brought from other places in a later period, once the bronze statues were removed (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 99).

The ceremonial arch, only the podium of which is still standing, was a continuation of Plancia Magna's architectural and sculptural program. The three-tiered two-story monumental arch was standing on four pillars at the northern end of the courtyard and was decorated with statues (Fig. 38).[114] The recovered inscriptions and statue fragments give valuable information about the arch. The *tabulae ansatae* found both in Latin and ancient Greek tell that the arch was dedicated to the city (*patria*) by Plancia Magna. All of the recovered inscribed statue bases are also bilingual and they bear the name of Plancia Magna as the donor. These bases belong to Artemis Pergaea, Tykhe, Divus Augustus, Divus Nerva, Divus Trajan, Hadrian, Diva Marciana (sister of Trajan), Plotina Augusta (wife of Trajan), Diva Matidia (Marciana's daughter and the mother of Hadrian's wife Sabina), and Sabina Augusta.[115] The identified statue fragments, on the other hand, belong to Tykhe, Hadrian, Sabina, Marcus Aurelius, Young Faustina (wife of Marcus Aurelius), Lucilla (daughter of Young Faustina), Hermes, and Isis.[116] While the statues of

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[112] For the architecture and ornamentation of the inner façades, see Bulgurlu, (1999, pp. 80-83, 85-90).

[113] Other fragments consist of a female head with a diadem, a sarcophagus piece with an Eros figure, two other female heads, a piece from a left leg and a young male head (Bulgurlu, 1999, pp. 96-100).

[114] For the architectural and ornamental analysis of the arch, see Bulgurlu (1999, pp. 123-141).

[115] For the inscriptions belonging to the arch, see Şahin (1999, pp. 119-124, 126-135), no.86 for *tabulae ansatae* and no.89-99 for statue bases.

[116] Other fragments include a dressed female without a head, a naked male leg, a naked female torso, a naked child torso, a fish head, a young female head, a female head, two feet with partial dress and the

Marcus Aurelius and his family are apparently later additions, the sculptural program of Plancia Magna mainly concentrates on Hadrian and his imperial family.

The titles *divus* and *diva* inscribed before the names of the deceased and deified ones make a precise dating possible. Matidia who was deceased according to the inscription died in A.D. 119, while Plotina who was alive during the construction died in A.D. 123 (Şahin, 1999, p. 131). So, the arch must have been completed between these years. Moreover, according to the number of Hadrian's years with tribunician power inscribed on his base, the arch is dated precisely to A.D. 121 (Şahin, 1999, p. 131). The statues of Plancia Magna's father and brother in the courtyard confirm that the courtyard is renovated by Plancia Magna as well, at around the same time (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 100).

The ceremonial arch was built on a higher level and reached by four stairs from the courtyard which obstructed the vehicular traffic. Holes on the pillars suggest that there was a fence that would have blocked the transition from the court to the street or vice versa (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 124).[117] Thus, the courtyard was enclosed with the addition of the arch and was reached only from the southern end. This allowed the viewers to appreciate the sculptures in the niches of the courtyard walls and on the arch within the same narrative.

According to this urban narrative, the courtyard with the statues of the legendary founders praises the Greek roots of Perge, while the arch adorned with the statues of the imperial house indicates the loyalty of both Perge and Plancia Magna to the emperor and the empire. In other words, Plancia Magna dedicated a "Court of Honor" to her *patria* which impressed as well as enlightened the visitors before entering the city.

The Hellenistic Gate stood at the beginning of the north-south colonnaded avenue. Even though there was no passage from the gate to the street, the ceremonial

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statue base, fragment of a female head, two right feet with their bases, right and left feet with their statue bases, a naked male statue, neck and shoulder fragment. There are also four Nike figures which were probably acroteria. For all the statues belonging to the arch, see Bulgurlu, (1999, pp. 164-171)

[117] Bulgurlu (1999, p. 124) also suggests that the fence was removable and possibly the courtyard was entered through the arch during the important occasions like celebrations or the visit of a notable person.

arch marks the beginning of the thoroughfare. This indicates that the construction of the colonnaded street was in relation with the renovation of the gate.

The N-S thoroughfare, which runs about 480m, starts form the ceremonial arch and ends with a *nymphaeum* at the foot of the Acropolis (Fig. 22: Ja). The street does not follow a linear path but continues to the north with several deviations (Fig 39). Abbasoğlu (2001, p. 179) explains this curvilinear form with the existing buildings along the Hellenistic predecessor, while Martini (2003a, p. 52), as previously mentioned, suggests that the divergence of the street may be due to an attempt to direct the attention of the viewers to a building on the Acropolis.

The street is 22m wide and accommodates vehicular traffic. It is flanked with porticoes on both sides with Ionic and Corinthian columns in marble and granite. According to Özdizbay (2008b, p. 161), the construction of the street may have been financed by a number of benefactors who were responsible for erecting the columns in front of their property; thus, this stylistic and material diversity may stem from the taste and budget of each benefactor.

Behind the porticoes line up the shops (Fig 40).[118] Even though no other building has been discovered along the street, the absence of shops and the remains of stairs and monumental gateways at certain points indicate that some buildings, possibly public, were built along the street and entered directly from the porticoes (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 150-153). Through the middle of the thoroughfare, porticoes and shops set back to create a plaza that is as long as two *insulae* (Fig 22). Elaborate architectural craftsmanship, fragments of several statues of individuals and deities, and inscribed statue bases signify the importance of the area. It was a civic and religious representational plaza where eminent citizens of Perge like Gn. Pedanius Valerianus, the priest of the imperial cult, and deities like Asclepius were honored (Abbasoğlu, 2006, pp. 48-49; Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 144-147).

The most conspicuous characteristic of the street was the water channel which divided the street into two (Fig, 41). The clean water came from the *nymphaeum* at

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[118] The porticoes are 6,5m wide on the west and 5,5m wide on the east. The floors of the porticoes are covered with mosaics that are dated to between the 4th and 6th century A.D. (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 139, fn.426). These current states of these carelessly built shops behind the porticoes which are around 5m wide are generally dated to the late antique and Byzantine period (Abbasoğlu, 1990, pp. 212-213; Abbasoğlu, 1996, pp. 109-111)

the northern end running all the way to the south and only interrupted at the crossroad.[119] Two small bridges corresponding to the secondary streets that are perpendicular to the avenue crossed the channel for easy passage. The channel was not only cooling the city during the hot summer days but also the soothing sound of running water and the sparkling sunlight on the water surface enhanced the city's beauty.

The *nymphaeum* at the beginning of the channel was a fountain-gate complex which connected the N-S colonnaded street with the Acropolis (Fig, 22: F3). It was a U-shaped building, where the main *nymphaeum* structure was flanked with two arched gateways with stair cases leading to the upper city (Fig, 42, 44). Thus, the *nymphaeum* not only marked the end of the street with a beautiful vista but also provided a smooth transition from the thoroughfare to the steep staired path.

The two-storied monument had a Corinthian columnar front façade[120] which was decorated with statues; identified as Cestrus, Zeus, Artemis, Apollon and Hadrian (Mansel, 1973, pp. 144-145) (Fig. 43). There are also two unidentified draped female statues who can be the benefactors of the *nymphaeum* (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 110). The water coming from the opening below the statue of the river-god Cestrus was filling into the pool in front of the fountain and eventually emptied into the water channel.

Dating the *nymphaeum* is possible through the two statues of Hadrian. While the armored statue indicates that the construction began during the reign of Hadrian, the naked one represents that Hadrian was deified by the time the *nymphaeum* was finished, which must be after 138 A.D. (Mansel, 1973, p. 145). Accordingly, the stylistic consistency between the columns of the street and the *nymphaeum* which ultimately conjoin each other attest that the street was finished around the same time (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 111-112). Hence, it is possible to say that the renovation of

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[119] Another channel for the waste water goes right under the clean water channel (Mansel, 1958a, p. 15). The clean water channel finishes before the ceremonial arch and the waste water is drained outside the city under the ground between the Hellenistic City Gate and the *macellum* (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 27).

[120] The back of the *nymphaeum* was revetted with marble as well but without any ornamentation, and it was heavily altered during the Byzantine Period while the front façade was left original (Mansel, 1974, p. 112).

the Hellenistic Gate, construction of the *nymphaeum* and connecting these two with a monumental thoroughfare was the product of a same design program which continued almost all through the reign of Hadrian.

Even though the E-W street has not been extensively excavated, the limited studies reveal that this street was colonnaded, lined up with shops and divided with a water channel just like the N-S avenue (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 167-170) (Fig. 22: Jb). So, it is plausible to date this street around the same period. As previously mentioned, the E-W thoroughfare, which was connecting the city to the eastern and western necropoleis as well as the Via Sebaste and the Cestrus Harbor, was the main street during the 1st century A.D. Apparently, after the increasing attention at the south of the city together with the intensive construction program on the north-south axis, the N-S street became the main artery in the 2nd century A.D. during the reign of Hadrian.

Another building put up in the developing south section of the city is the *macellum*, which is situated at the east of the Hellenistic City Gate (Fig. 22: E).[121] A courtyard with a tholos is surrounded with a portico of Corinthian columns and mosaic floor while a row of shops are arrayed behind these porticoes (Fig 45). Outside the shops, another line of porticoes were built on the northern and western sides. The northern portico was opening to a main road called the Tacitus Street, while the western portico, called "stoa diple", was opening to a narrow street that was leading to the N-S avenue (Fig 46).

Even though the decoration of the *macellum* is stylistically similar to the buildings of the Hadrianic era, it is dated to the late Antonine period,[122] which is confirmed with an inscription. According to the inscription, the "stoa diple", which is identified as the western portico attached to the *macellum*, was built by Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus who was a *demiourgos*, *consul*, priest of Artemis and

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[121] The *macellum* seems to have been built on the Hellenistic city wall. However, no remains of the wall were found in the soundings in the *macellum* (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 27). When considering the absence of the Hellenistic city wall both in the *macellum* and the south bath, it is possible that the Hellenistic walls were never needed to be finished and connected to the south gate (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 32). This supports the idea that the walls were built after *Pax Romana* not for defense but for pride as well as defining the territory of the city.

[122] A comparison between the *macellum* and the stage building of the theater, which is also from the late Antonine period, makes this dating possible (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 124).

high priest of the imperial cult and lived during the late Antonines.[123] On the other hand, the similarity of the *macellum* with the Hadrianic buildings may be due to the fact that the Hadrianic architectural ornamentation continued in Perge till the late Antonine period or else the *macellum* was designed with the other buildings but finished later (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 125). In either case, *macellum* was a major addition to the south of the city which brought the commercial activity to the new civic center in the second century.

As it is seen, Perge witnessed remarkable urban growth in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the imperial period. The role of the wealthy citizens of Perge in this process is undeniable.[124] These eminent citizens who donated a building or contributed to a restoration project were immortalized with honorary statues and inscriptions set up in the most prominent places of the city. Their contribution to the *patria* did not go unnoticed by the empire. An inscription found on a pier in the Tacitus Street informs us how both the citizens and the city were rewarded:

> Long live Perge! You are the only inviolable land
> Long live Perge! Tacitus in you…
> Long live Perge! It was Vespasian who called you "Neocor"
> Long live Perge! You are the city famous for its Holy Banner
> Long live Perge! You are the city where the silver coin was minted
>   that represented the Artemis of Ephesus and Artemis of Perge
> Long live Perge! You are the treasure of our Lord (Tacitus)
> Long live Perge! You are "Neocor" for the fourth time
> Long live Perge! You are the first among agoras
> Long live Perge! The noble senators achieve fame thanks to you
> Long live Perge! The noble senators organize the contest festivities
>   in you
> Long live Perge! The greatest city of Pamphylia
> Long live Perge! There is never any falsehood in your affairs
> Because you have attained all these rights by the decision of the
>   Roman Senate[125]

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[123] For the inscription, see Şahin (1999, p. 206), no. 193.

[124] Imperial benefaction is very rare in Perge. The only known case is the donation of Phrygia marble which was used in the interiors of the buildings by Antoninus Pius with the interference of Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 273).

[125] For the publication of this inscription, see Şahin (2004, pp. 54-55), no.331. The English translation is from Abbasoğlu (2001, p. 175).

According to this inscription, in which Perge is praised by her citizens, the city was greatly esteemed by the emperors and the senate since the early imperial period and won the title neocor for four times. Even if no temple, building or room dedicated to the imperial cult have been found yet, it is clear from the number of neocorate titles and several Pergaean priests and priestesses that Perge was an important center for the imperial cult.[126] Another thing that the inscription tells is that the "noble senators" who organized festivals in the city won prestige. The ultimate goal of a benefactor, which is to earn nobility, notability and higher office by benefaction, is engraved in this very inscription. Another inscribed pier found in the same place, which is highly likely to be complementary to the former, indicates where Perge stands through the end of the 3rd century:

> I have been the capital of Pamphylia since ancient times
> And I was made metropolis by Zeus Tacitus
> Once I had been called the principal city by a well-known ruler
> Now like Ephesos of Asia
> I have the appearance of a mother city
> I was called 'exceptional' by a mighty king
> And I became a metropolis by the decree of Tacitus
> Antoninus called me 'friendly and ally'
> He was the son of Severus; and now yes, I am a metropolis
> All the Pamphylians who live in my vicinity
> Are now the chief priests of the God Tacitus[127]

This poem, recited by Perge herself, testifies to the culminating point Perge reaches at the end of the imperial period. An important city in Pamphylia since the ancient times, Perge eventually became a "metropolis". This title was the ultimate outcome of the ongoing Romanization process of Perge.

Romanization of a city depends not only on becoming Roman in terms of architecture and urbanism, but also on the Roman narratives created via its armature. Benefactors who contributed to the urbanization of the city also contributed to the multiplication of its urban narratives. One of the most conspicuous examples is the restoration of the Hellenistic City Gate of Perge by Plancia Magna. The Hellenistic

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[126] The statues of Trajan found on the northern section of the *palaestra* of the south bath suggest the presence of a *kaisersaal*, however it is not proved yet (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 55-56).

[127] For the publication of this inscription, see Şahin (2004, pp. 52-53), no.331. The English translation is from Abbasoğlu (2001, p. 173).

Gate which lost its defensive function in the early empire became a civic monument, was incorporated into the daily and ceremonial activities of the city.

Above all, the city gate was standing at a key point at the civic center of Perge. Even if the enclosed courtyard of the gate prevented it from functioning as a portal between the outside and the inside of the city, it nevertheless welcomed the visitors approaching Perge from the south with its majestic towers.

The concentration of the civic buildings at the south of the city increased the daily experience of the gate. While people were going to the south bath for leisure, to the *macellum* for trade or to the theater-stadium complex for entertainment, they inevitably revolved around or passed by the Hellenistic Gate (Fig 46). The western tower of the gate was also physically incorporated into the structure of the south bath since a door was opening from the tower to the north of the *palaestra*. The gate was also a landmark according to which people navigated themselves, which is evident from the aforementioned inscription which tells that Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus built the "stoa diple" of the *macellum* across the city gate.[128]

The beginning of the main thoroughfare of the city, the N-S colonnaded avenue, was defined by the ceremonial arch at the northern end of the courtyard of the Hellenistic Gate and reached from a narrow street between the gate and the *macellum* (Fig 47).[129] This main artery was enlivened with shops and civic buildings, ornamented with statues and inscriptions dedicated to the gods, emperors and eminent citizens, and enhanced with a water channel in the middle. Intersecting with the second main street, E-W avenue which was connecting Perge to the outer world, the N-S street was terminated with a *nymphaeum* which connected the Acropolis to the lower city.

As it is seen, the Hellenistic City gate was very much in the daily narratives created by the movement of people. However, after the restoration project of Plancia Magna, the role of the gate became prominent in the spiritual narratives as well.

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[128] See p.63 and fn.123.

[129] Chariots which could not enter the city from the Hellenistic City Gate due to the level difference probably used this road as well.

The courtyard of the gate was probably open during the important days which provided an uninterrupted passage from the colonnaded street to the outside of the city. If the N-S avenue was really a processional way which was leading to the Hellenistic religious complex at the south end of the city and if there was really a religious building on the Acropolis which shaped the N-S avenue; it is possible to narrate a "procession" starting from the Acropolis and ending at the lower skirts of İyilik Belen. Thus, the Hellenistic Gate stood on this "processional way", which began at the Acropolis, continued along the N-S thoroughfare, passed through the gate, stopped at the theater-stadium complex and terminated at the Hellenistic temples.

According to this scenario, the "Court of Honor" was a major node along this religious procession, where the Greek past united with the Roman present. Whether it was actually a part of such a procession in reality, the "Court of Honor" was definitely designed to celebrate the Greek memories together with the Roman identity which created Perge's distinctive history. And it will remain as a mystery whether Plancia Magna who lived enough to see some of the rewards given to her by her city and her citizens in return for such an important contribution to her native city also foresaw her reputation still surviving after two millennia.

CHAPTER 5

PLANCIA MAGNA OF PERGE

In the Roman world, women were generally considered inferior to men. However, this did not prevent some of them from trying to redeem their lower status by using their financial power. Indeed, Plancia Magna of Perge became one of the most influential women of Roman Asia Minor by means of her grand benefaction to her native city.

5.1. The Family of Plancia Magna

Plancia Magna was connected with very influential families of Perge. She belonged to the Plancii family, while she was related to the Cornuti family through marriage. Moreover, she had a possible kinship with the Armenian Kingdom. An inscription dedicated to Plancia Magna by her probable freedmen Marcus Plancius Pius explicitly refers to her family ties. According to this inscription, Plancia Magna was the daughter of Marcus Plancius Varus and the Polis, the niece of King Alexandros and the wife of C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus.[130]

The Plancii family is believed to be of Latin origin. According to Jameson (1965, p. 55), the Plancii presumably came to Perge from Atina in Latium in the 1st century B.C. as *negotiatores*.[131] The family increased their wealth and consolidated their power in Asia Minor, which paved the way for the political success of a number of family members.

The first known member of this family in Perge is Marcus Plancius Varus, the father of Plancia Magna. It is believed that M. Plancius Varus became a senator

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[130] The inscription also adds that she was the patroness of Marcus Plancius Pius, giving a clue about who he could be. For the inscription, see Şahin (1999, pp. 160-161), no. 122.

[131] Jameson comes to this conclusion due to the rarity of the *nomen* Plancius in Asia Minor. In Asia Minor, the name is restricted to a small number of members in Pamphylia, Pisidia and Pontus. On the other hand, more Plancii are found in Spain, Africa, Rome and especially Atina in Latium. See, Jameson, (1965, p. 55 and fn.12)

during the reign of Nero[132] and held important offices afterwards. Two inscriptions from Colonia Germa and Attaleia list his *cursus honorum*.[133] According to these, he served as *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, *quaestor pro praetore* of the province of *Pontus et Bithynia*, *tribunus plebis*, *praetor*, *legatus pro praetore* of the province of Achaia and *legatus pro praetore* of the province of Asia (Mitchell, 1974, p. 28). His last office, which is not mentioned on these inscriptions but is confirmed by the inscriptions and coins from the Bithynian cities (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 204), was the proconsulship of the province of Pontus and Bithynia under Vespasian.[134]

The majority of the wealth of M. Plancius Varus was coming from commerce and the income of the land-estates that he owned in the Anatolian hinterlands like northern Galatia and southern Pisidia (Mitchell, 1974, pp. 33-34). This wealth not only enabled him to fulfill the financial requirements of becoming a senator but also to make imposing benefactions.

It is known that he built the eastern city gate of Nicaea when he was serving as a proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia.[135] Moreover, Jones (1976, pp. 235-237) suggests that he built the temple of Diana Planciana in Rome and his statue was erected near the temple. The facts that the temple was named after Plancius, the Plancii were from Perge, Artemis of Perge was identified as Diana, and the family was active in her service [136] strongly support this argument (Jones, 1976, p. 236).

Despite his wealth and generous character, there is no building that can be safely attributed to him in his home town Perge. The only possibility is the theater which was either built or restored by aforementioned Marcus Plancius Rutilius Varus

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[132] Tacitus (*Historia*, II.63) mentions Plancius Varus as an ex-prateor in A.D. 69, which suggests that he must have become a senator in 50's or 60's (Mitchell, 1974, p. 28).

[133] The inscription from Colonia Germa is in Latin and it is dedicated to Marcus Plancius Varus. The one from Attaleia is in Greek and its upper part is broken. Thus it is missing the name of the dedicatee. However, the exact correspondence between the careers mentioned on these two inscriptions suggests that both were dedicated to M. Plancius Varus (Houston, 1972, pp. 168-169; Mitchell, 1974, pp. 27-28)

[134] The career of M. Plancius Varus and its chronology is widely discussed by scholars; such as Jameson (1965, pp. 56-58), Houston (1972), Mitchell (1974, pp. 27-34), Jones (1976, pp. 231-234).

[135] An inscription coming from this gate testifies this. For the inscription, see Şahin (1979), no. 25.

[136] As previously mentioned, Plancia Magna was the priestess of the Mother of the Gods and Artemis Pergaea, and she dedicated a statue to Diana Pergensi as a part of her sculptural program on the honorary arch.

who was a *quaestor* and *propraetor* of Pontus and Bithynia.[137] According to Şahin (1996b, pp. 116-119), the non-existence of such an individual in any source and the similarity of his career to that of Marcus Plancius Varus suggest that Marcus Plancius Rutilius Varus is almost certainly Marcus Plancius Varus.[138] If the two individuals are identical as argued, that means M. Plancius Varus contributed to one of the most important buildings of Perge. Moreover, M. Plancius Varus is referred as an athlete in the Germa inscription which suggests that he could be the founder of "nine-yearly Varian games" of Perge (Jones, 1976, pp. 232-233).

As a result of his accomplishments in his career which add reputation to Perge and his possible benefactions which enhanced a Roman way of living, M. Plancius Varus was honored as a city-founder in the Hellenistic City Gate by her daughter.

The identity of the wife of M. Plancius Varus is not clear. The aforementioned inscription dedicated by M. Plancius Pius refers to the mother of Plancia Magna as "Polis".[139] According to Şahin (1999, p. 110), instead of the name of M. Plancius Varus' wife, "Polis" may represent the personification of the city Perge, who probably adopted Plancia Magna. The same inscription mentions Plancia Magna as the niece of the "King Alexandros", who was possibly Iulius Alexander, the king of Kietis in Cilicia and the son of King Tigranes VI of Armenia. From this information, it can be deduced that M. Plancius Varus was married to Iulia, the daughter of the Armenian King Tigranes VI and the sister of Iulius Alexander (Şahin, 1999, p. 110). This marriage produced one more child; Gaius Plancius Varus, the brother of Plancia Magna.

The only thing known about C. Plancius Varus is that he financed the *alipterion* in Perge which is either a room in the south bath or the whole complex.[140]

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[137] See p.55 and fn.100.

[138] Şahin (1996b, pp. 117-119) indicates that the *gentilnomen* Rutilius can be explained by the possible adoption of M. Plancius Varus by a Rutilius or another type of kinship between Plancii and Rutilii families.

[139] See p.68 and fn.130.

[140] See p.56 and fn.103.

Even though nothing much is known about his own family,[141] career, or his further contributions to Perge, he was referred to as a city founder by his sister in her sculptural project just like his father. This honor points out how influential he must have been in Perge despite the lack of enough evidence. It is assumed that he was older than Plancia Magna, and lived in a period between Nero and Hadrian, and he was already gone when Plancia Magna renovated the Hellenistic City Gate (Şahin, 1999, pp. 112,141).

As it is clearly seen, both Plancia Magna's father and brother were influential citizens of Perge. With Plancia Magna's marriage, the Plancii were associated with the Cornutii, another Pergaean family with successful members.

The first member of the Cornutii family known through Perge inscriptions is C. Iulius Cornutus. It is known that he built or restored the North Gymnasium, also called the Palaestra of Cornutus, and dedicated it to Nero or Cladius together with his wife.[142] The dating of the inscription suggests that C. Iulius Cornutus lived at around the same time with Marcus Plancius Varus.

As M. Plancius Varus, C. Iulius Cornutus also had relations with other parts of Asia Minor, outside of Perge. He was honored with inscriptions in Ariassos and Etenna, and his name was found on an architrave fragment in Apollonia.[143] Although nothing is known about his own career, it can be safely assumed that his significant connections prepared the ground for the careers of his sons. According to epigraphic records, he had three sons; C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus, C. Iulius Cornutus Trebonnianus and C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus.

C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus was probably the eldest (Şahin, 1999, p. 32), and he is mentioned as high priest of the imperial cult and *agonothete* of the imperial

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[141] In an inscription found at Tibur which is dedicated C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus, nephew of C. Plancius Varus, two other names are inscribed; C. Rutilius Plancius Varus and …Plancius Varus. According to Şahin (1999, pp. 112,116), these can be C. Plancius Varus' sons, due to the "Rutilius" name they share with their possible grandfather Marcus Plancius Rutilius Varus. However, this argument cannot be supported yet. For more on the inscription, see p. 73 and fn.146.

[142] See p. 54 and fn. 93.

[143] For the inscriptions of Ariassos and Etenna, see Şahin (1999, pp. 54-55), no.40-41 and for the inscription from Apollonia, see Mitchell (1974, p. 37), no.4.

games Megala Kaisereia in the epigraphic evidences.[144] The inscriptions are dedicated to C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus by the cities Claudioikonion and Konane and his two brothers C. Iulius Cornutus Trebonnianus and C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus. All four inscriptions honor him with exactly the same titles. Hence, this suggests that C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus may have played an important role in the first grant of neocorate status of Perge (Şahin, 1999, p. 57). Apparently, he was a very influential citizen, however nothing is known about the brother C. Iulius Cornutus Trebonnianus.

On the other hand, there is much more information about C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus compared to his brothers. First of all, he was the husband of Plancia Magna and together they had a son called C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus. An inscription dedicated to C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus according to his will by his son in Tusculum at Italy reveals his *cursus honorum*. According to this inscription, his senatorial career began in the beginning of 70s A.D. and he served as *adlectus inter praetorius*, *legatus pro praetore* of the province of *Cretae et Cyrenarum*, *procurator* of the province of *Narbonensis*, *consul suffectus* and finally *proconsul* of the province of Africae where he died during his service in 116-117 A.D. at around his late seventies (Şahin, 1999, pp. 112-113). This inscription is also important as it reveals the roots of the Cornuti family. It is clear that the family belonged to the Horatia tribe which is known in both Italy and Africa (Şahin, 1999, p. 31). So, like Plancii, Cornutii also had Latin origins.

Other than the information provided by this inscription, it is known that C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus conducted a *census* in the province of Gallia Aquitania and he took charge in the external affairs of Pontus and Bithynia (Özdizbay, 2008b, p. 189). He was also a close friend of Pliny the Younger (Jameson, 1965, p. 190). Despite his international success, the epigraphy of Perge is silent about him or his possible contributions to his town. However, his strong family ties and his political achievements must have provided him reputation and high status in Perge.

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[144] The inscriptions are dedicated to C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus by the cities Claudioikonion and Konane and his two brothers C. Iulius Cornutus Trebonnianus and C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus. All four inscriptions honor him with exactly the same titles. For the inscriptions, see Şahin (1999, pp. 55-60), no. 42-45.

C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus, the son of C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus and Plancia Magna became a source of pride with his own successes for both Plancii and Cornutii families.[145] His *cursus honorum* is chiseled on an inscription found in the Hadrian's Tiburtine villa at Tibur. According to this, C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus served as *legatus Augusti propraetor* of the province of Cilicia.[146] Moreover, in his home town Perge, he was honored by *boule* and the *demos* as the patron and benefactor of the 6th "Varian Games", founded possibly by his grandfather M. Plancius Varus, and the winner of all the contests.[147]

Plancia Magna was surrounded with successful family members, and as expected, all of them were males. But still, Plancia Magna came to prominence in this male-dominated era. This can be attributed to the changing attitudes towards woman in the society. In order to better assess the high status Plancia Magna achieved, it is important to briefly look at the history of Greek and Roman elite women.

5.2. Achieving the Ideal Roman Woman

The elite women of the Classical Greece were traditionally excluded from power and were primarily associated with the domestic life. The line between the duties of men and women within the house and the society was clearly drawn. In *Oikonomikos* (7.22), Xenophon makes a gendered division of labor by stating that "the god, from the very beginning, designed the nature of woman for the indoor work and concerns and the nature of man for the outdoor work". This division began in the childhood; while boys were trained to become warriors and politicians, women were

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[145] In earlier studies, C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus was mistaken to be the same person with his maternal uncle C. Plancius Varus, who was believed to be adopted by C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus. However, an inscription later discovered in Perge which was dedicated to C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus by his mother Plancia Magna puts an end to this misinterpretation. For these earlier discussions, see Jameson (1965, p. 56), Syme (1969, p. 365) and Mitchell (1974, p. 27). For the inscription dedicated by Plancia Magna to his son, see Şahin (1999, pp. 164-165), no. 127.

[146] For the inscription, see Syme (1969, p. 365) and Şahin, (1999, p. 114).

[147] For the inscription, see Şahin, (1999, pp. 165-167), no. 128. According to Şahin (1999, pp. 166-167), the fact that the inscription was dedicated around 150 A.D and the foundation of the Varian games corresponds to the beginnings of 80s. A.D. supports the argument that Marcus Plancius Varus was the founder of the games.

prepared for marriage and motherhood (Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy, & Shapiro, 1995, p. 13). Consequently, the primary role of a woman after marriage was to produce legitimate heirs and manage the household which includes the supervision of the slaves and the participation in the economy of the house by weaving wool.

The morality of the classical era demanded the seclusion of respected women from the public gaze. In fact, Pericles directly addresses women and advises them "to cause least talk among males for either praise or blame" (Thucydides, *The Paleponesian War*, 2.45.2). Consequently, they were disallowed to appear and talk to the males other than close relatives. Yet, their husbands were generally chosen from the relatives in order to keep the dowry within the family, so the only males that the woman was familiar with for her entire life were from her own household. In order to maintain their privacy, they were not able to leave the house but instead sent slaves to take care of the outside works (Fantham et al.,1995, pp. 106-109). The only time they were allowed to appear outdoors was during the funerals or religious festivals. Some of them held priestesshoods of mostly the female deities; though these offices were not bestowed on them because of their merits but instead they earned them through inheritance or the office was bought by their wealthy families for a fixed time (Fantham et al., 1995, p. 93). On the other hand, poorer citizen women had to support themselves by working outside. They engaged in work settings like food, clothing and fabric, and care of infants (Pomeroy, 1975, p. 73); but, these works did not differ substantially from their duties at home.

Each woman was required to have her own guardian, who was usually her father, brother or the closest male kin. This guardian was not only in charge of protecting the women but also monitoring her properties. Accordingly, property ownership of the Greek women was very restricted. They brought dowries to their marriages that were provided by their fathers; however, women never really owned it. As Pomeroy says (1975, p. 63), "upon marriage, the dowry passed from the guardianship of the father to that of the groom…Upon divorce, the husband was required to return the dowry to his ex-wife's guardian, or pay interest at 18 per cent." This was accompanied by the fact that women were not authorized to spend their wealth freely, and their financial as well as social decisions were controlled by the male guardian.

Thus, while the men of the period were determined to achieve political success and honorific titles which mainly came with euergetism, women of the Classical world were silenced and kept in their homes; consequently, very rarely did names of these women survive.[148]

In contradistinction to the Classical period, the Hellenistic world witnessed the improvements of the social standards of the elite women.[149] Marriage and motherhood were still the priorities, however, with the opportunities of education, women managed to break away from their domestic settings. They were given education in music, reading and even painting and athletics. Some of them, who learnt reading and writing engaged in poetry and some others went even further and studied philosophy and medicine (Pomeroy, 1975, pp. 136-139; Fantham et al., 1995, pp. 163-169). Thus, they played an active part in the intellectual sphere of the society, while they continued to fulfill their religious duties as priestesses.

On the other hand, classical traditions like the requirement of a dowry and male guardianship continued. Apparently, however, there was much more tolerance on the financial affairs of women. Inscriptions concerning the Hellenistic Greek women, recovered especially from Asia Minor, attest to the contributions of benefactresses to their cities at their own expenses.[150] According to these, the benefactions of elite women were similar to those of men and included distributions of money, wine and grain, and restorations and even constructions of buildings; in return for their generosity, they were rewarded with eponymous offices like

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[148] The information about the Classical women is obtained from the surviving literary and archaeological evidences which are coming especially from Athens. Thus, the Greek woman depicted above is mainly based on the Athenian woman. However, a generalization was possible since it is widely accepted that the citizen women of the other Greek city-states were treated almost exactly the same way. On the other hand, it is known that Spartan women conspicuously differed from Athenians and other Greeks. Spartan girls had physical training like boys and women had more freedom in public. Moreover they had the control of their own property. For a brief comparison between Athenian and Spartan women, see Pomeroy (2006); and more on Spartan women, see again Pomeroy (2002).

[149] Royal Greek women belonging to the Hellenistic monarchies are excluded from this discussion, mainly because they were involved in different social and political settings than the elite class and as Van Bremen (1996, p. 12) indicates there is not enough evidence to "investigate the idea that Hellenistic queens as role-models" for the aristocratic women. For more on the Hellenistic royal women, see Pomeroy (1975, pp. 121-125).

[150] Beside from the voluntary benefactions, there were various liturgical offices that wealthy women were expected to fulfill. For these obligatory public services, see Van Bremen (1996, pp. 19-30).

stephanephoria and *demiourgia* which were mainly reserved for men.[151] However, as Van Bremen indicates (1996, p. 34), these offices were "predominantly ceremonial and religious in nature". Thus, women were again kept away from the politics. In addition to these financial activities, the priestesshoods required provision of games, feasts and festivals for the honor of gods and even renovation or building of temples; and again from the own wealth of the priestess (Van Bremen, 1983, p. 225). Consequently, women stayed in their religious sphere; however, their religious duties were becoming more public. Apparently, in the Hellenistic period, the public image of women was noticeably altered which is mainly attributed to their acquisition of economic power (Van Bremen, 1983). Their bodily presence was still not welcomed within the public, but nevertheless, women were praised for their talents and commemorated for their benefactions, and as Pomeroy points out (1975, p. 125), "Pericles' idea that women should not be spoken of, either for praise or blame, no longer prevailed".

In essence, Roman elite women shared the same fate with Greek females; their major role in the society was to become a respectable wife and mother of the legitimate children, and they were under the male custody too, due to their "weakness and light-mindedness" (Pomeroy, 1975, p. 150). Yet there were some differences. The guardian of the Roman woman was the father or the eldest male in the family, *pater familias*, whose power on the woman generally surpassed that of the husband unlike Greek customs.[152] Among the Roman upper class, the marriage was a political and economic alliance between the families. The *paterfamilias* had the power to marry the daughter in her early teens to whomever he deemed to be most suitable and force her for a divorce in favor of a better candidate.[153] Despite the

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[151] For some examples of these inscriptions, see Van Bremen (1996, pp. 30-40) and Dmitriev (2005, pp. 53-56).

[152] There were two types of marriage among the Romans; with or without *manus*. With *manus*, the bride went under the authority of the husband and worshiped to his family cults. In the marriages without *manus*, the guardianship of the women was kept in her natal family. In order to protect the rights of the woman and especially her dowry, the families were likely to prefer marriage without *manus*. However, even in the *manus* union, the family of the bride continued to be involved in her supervision and her properties. On marriage, see Pomeroy (1975, pp. 152-158).

[153] The average age for marriage of a lower-class woman was her late teens and they most likely married only once (D'ambra, 2007, p. 46).

fact that more than one marriage was quite often for a woman, being a *univiri*, which means having known only one husband in her entire life, was praised as the ideal wife; and this idea of eternal marriage was completely Roman (Pomeroy, 1975, p. 161).

Moreover, it is safe to say that Roman females enjoyed a more public life than their secluded Greek contemporaries. They accompanied their husbands to dinners that could include other males who were not necessarily their kin.[154] Moreover, besides their regular religious public appearances in festivals and funerary ceremonies, they became more visible in secular occasions by attending theaters and public baths.

During the constant warfare of the Republican Period, women gained more power and independence. In the absence of the husband and even *pater familias* due to the military or administrative services in the overseas, women had to take care of the house, make decisions about the children, manage the family finances and even control their own wealth (Rawson, 2008, p. 333). On the one hand, war casualties resulted in the increase of the fortune of the women through inheritance; on the other hand, military emergencies necessitated abusive taxes drawn from the independent women's properties (Pomeroy, 1975, pp. 177-179). These heavy taxes urged some elite females to demand and eventually find justice in court (Fantham et al., 1995, pp. 273-274).

For some women, the absence of a guardian and increase in wealth were apparently an opportunity to improve their reputation and public images by being responsible for their families and public welfare; on the other hand, for some others, it was a freedom to act however they wanted which usually did not fit into the definition of the respectable Roman woman. These unbecoming behaviors of the upper-class resulted in the degeneration of the society,[155] which led Augustus to make moral reforms.

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[154] This comparatively more public appearance can be attributed to Etruscan influence, whose elite women had more independence and freedom than the Greeks. For more on Etruscan women, see Fantham et al. (1995, pp. 243-259).

[155] Corruption of behaviors must have occurred in every level of the society but became more visible among the upper-class.

The new regulations mainly aimed at the prevention of adultery and improvement of the institution of marriage. The laws required a girl to be married as early as 12 before she became aware of her sexuality, and remarry in case of a divorce or widowhood (D'ambra, 2007, p. 46). In this way, it would be guaranteed that a woman would be kept away from adultery and stay married during her productive years in order to produce heirs and legitimate citizens for the Roman Empire. Nonmarriage, childlessness and failure to remarry were penalized while the women who respected the laws were rewarded; the law, *ius trium liberorum*, liberated the free women who had three children, and freedwomen who had four from the tutelage and allowed them to have a control on their own financial activities (Pomeroy, 1975, pp. 151, 166). Laws also regulated women's property rights, according to these they acquired the right to inherit some proportion from their fathers', brothers' and husbands' estates.[156] The women who gained freedom usually used their wealth to create public personas for themselves, and for this, Livia Drusilla, the wife of the emperor Augustus, was a model to look up to.

In order to emphasize the importance of marriage, Augustus initiated a family portrait which necessitated the presence of his wife Livia on the foreground. The image of the imperial family was spread around the empire on various media like art, architecture, coins and inscriptions, and the message was clear; "the Imperial family *was* a family and its continuity under a dignified and protective father and a noble and fertile mother guaranteed the health and happiness of the Roman people" (Fantham et al., 1995, p. 313).

Livia was not only the perfect image of a wife and a mother but also the representation of the highest level of power and publicity that a Roman woman could achieve. The empress wove his husband's clothes and reared successful children as a traditional Roman woman; while at the same time she participated in political activities and even influenced Augustus in his decisions (Fraschetti, 1994, p. 106). Moreover, she was granted an exception from *ius trium liberorum,* although she did not have three surviving children, which enabled her to authorize her own capital

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[156] For a more detailed discussion about women's inheritance right, see Pomeroy (1975, pp. 161-163) and Gardner (Gardner, 1986, pp. 163-204).

without the supervision of a guardian. Following the footsteps of her husband, she was involved in grand benefactions not only in Rome but also in the periphery; including financial aids, distributions, organization of festivals and construction of buildings and even temples like the Porticus Liviae and the Temple of Concord. In return for her generosities, she was honored with statues and titles like "divine benefactress" (Fantham et al., 1995, p. 312). She became the symbol of "new ideal Roman woman" and her autonomy inspired succeeding imperial as well as wealthy elite women (Kleiner, 2008, p. 563).

The Greek women of the eastern territories of the Roman Empire were no exception. Even if it is known that Hellenistic women engaged in benefactions since the second century B.C., there is a conspicuous increase in the number of female *euergetes* in the first two centuries of the imperial period especially in Asia Minor. The increase in the number of benefactresses not only indicates the growing prosperity of the families during *Pax Romana* and increasing authority of women but may also reflect a change in the primary motive of their munificence.

In the Hellenistic era, benefactions of women primarily aimed at public welfare and a higher social standing. The Roman period witnessed the continuation of this tradition. However, women became more visible in public; because, as the number of benefactresses increased, so did the number of commemorated women. In addition to that, due to their improved social conditions and legal rights, the honors and offices which were granted to these women became much more diversified.[157] But still, these offices were again mainly symbolic and "had little effect on city-administration" (Dmitriev, 2005, p. 182). Therefore women were still excluded from governing. However, in contrast to their Hellenistic predecessors, Greek women in Asia Minor became more involved in political affairs of their cities in the Roman period.

Following the Roman expansion, women's financial contributions served a more bureaucratic role. During the Romanization process of Asia Minor, women joined their husbands in the enhancement of their cities in order to obtain imperial

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[157] For the public offices that the women held, see Van Bremen (1996, pp. 55-81) and Dmitriev (2005, pp. 178-188).

bestowals like privileges for both their family and city like Roman citizenship. In this way, they not only contributed to the physical and social development of their towns, but also raised their families' and cities' prestige.

Seemingly, the "ideal Roman woman" was defined with two main characteristics. Being dutiful and respectable for the family and being responsible for the public welfare. Plancia Magna clearly had both.

As previously discussed, both Plancii and Cornutii were Latin in origin, and the males had successful political careers. These indicate that the families held Roman citizenship. Yet the families had been residing in Perge for at least three generations which gave them a Greek identity at the same time. Thus, it is possible to say that Plancia Magna was a Hellenized Roman citizen and she was subjected to the Roman laws.[158]

It is highly likely that her marriage to C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus was a political arrangement between the two influential and powerful families of Perge. It is no doubt that this marriage fostered good relations between Plancii and Cornuti and produced a senator, their son C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus. Since Plancia Magna's activities in Perge are restricted to the early 20s of the 2nd century A.D., according to Şahin (1999, p. 113), she was travelling with her husband during his political services, and after his death she came back to Perge and engaged in her restoration program. Then, they must have been married through the end of the 1st century A.D. and the marriage successfully continued for a long time. Moreover, since it is the only-known marriage of Plancia Magna, it seems that she was a *univiri*.

Her productive marriage and her loyalty to her natal family by honoring his father and brother as founders of Perge reveals that she was a venerable wife, mother, daughter and sister. In this way, she fulfilled the first condition of becoming "ideal", while her munificent character fulfilled the second, which will be discussed in the following section.

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[158] Boatwright (1991, p. 256) also identifies Plancia Magna as a Roman citizen who was subjected to Roman laws but she does not present any evidence.

5.3. Architectural and Sculptural Program of Plancia Magna

During the Romanization of Asia Minor, almost all of the Greek cities were re-urbanized at a certain pace. However, prior to the arrival of Hadrian in Asia Minor the cities on his route accelerated their architectural activities in order to impress the emperor. One of these cities was Perge, in which an intense urban renewal took place. Main streets were colonnaded, new buildings were constructed and existing buildings were renovated. Consequently, the urban face of Perge dramatically changed and improved. It is safe to say that, the most conspicuous part of this regeneration was the architectural and sculptural program conducted on the Hellenistic City Gate. Under the management of Plancia Magna, the courtyard of the city gate turned into an enclosed space with the addition of a ceremonial arch at its open end, and this enclosed space was enriched with statues. Consequently, the gate turned into a "Court of Honor" where the Emperor and his family together with the legendary founders and civic cults of Perge were commemorated.

The building became an indispensable part of the civic, political and religious narratives of the city. Moreover, it brought Plancia Magna to a high status that not every woman could achieve. The success of Plancia Magna's restoration mainly depends on the sculptural concept and the social and political messages it conveys.

During the excavations conducted within the courtyard of the gate, marble sculpture fragments of Olympian gods which were worshipped in Perge and nine inscribed statue bases of the city founders were discovered, all of which apparently fell from the niches on the inner façades. Seven of these city founders were Greek heroes, while the other two were contemporary Latin benefactors from the Plancii family; Plancia Magna's father M. Plancius Varus and her brother C. Plancius Varus. The absence of the statues of city founders suggests that they were made of bronze and were removed to be reused in antiquity (Şahin, 1996a, p. 47). The holes on the upper surfaces of the inscribed bases which were once carrying the bronze statues support this argument. On the other hand, the lack of bases of the deity statues may be due to the fact that they were directly placed in the niches without bases (Şahin, 1996a, p. 47).

Modern scholars have attempted to reconstruct the sculptural narrative of the courtyard walls. While Mansel (1958b, p. 236) only mentions that the statues of the deities were standing on the lower niches and those of legendary founders occupied the upper ones, Şahin goes into more detail. According to Şahin (1999, p. 135), the deity statues were on the lower niches before Plancia Magna's renovation, and they were moved to the upper ones once the city founders were added to the program. This suggests that the total of 28 niches were divided equally among the two statue groups. On this basis, 5 out of 14 bases of city founders are missing. Şahin (1996a, pp. 47-49), who thinks that there must have been 7 Greek heroic and 7 Roman contemporary founders, completes the incomplete group of Roman founders with important individuals from Plancia Magna's own family; namely Plancia Magna herself, her husband C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus, her son C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus and her brother's supposed sons C. Rutilius Plancius Varus and …Plancius Varus. Moreover, he hypothetically arranges the statues in an order according to the significance of the individuals (1996a, pp. 49-50) (Fig 48).[159]

Even though Şahin's reconstruction seems reasonable at first, it is quite problematic. First of all, some of the deity statues are larger than life-size, so they cannot fit into the upper niches which are smaller than the lowers. Moreover, the places of the city-founders are not valid, since Şahin does not take the excavation find spots into consideration.

Based on the archaeological evidence, Bulgurlu makes a much more plausible arrangement (1999, pp. 95-96). Although, it is not quite clear on which storey the statues of the city founders were placed, it is at least possible to guess on which side of the wall they were standing. According to the find spots (Fig 49), the inscribed bases of C. Plancius Varus, M. Plancius Varus, Calchas, Leonteus and Rhixus should have been on the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th niches of the eastern wall respectively, while Mopsos and Minyas, should have been standing on 5th and 6th

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[159] Şahin (1996a, p. 49) suggests that varying dimensions of inscribed bases were in relation with the importance of the characters. That is, the larger bases belonged to the relatively more important persons and their statues were placed in the larger niches.

niches of the western wall.[160] Machaon and Labus, on the other hand, were both placed on the 7th niches on the eastern side. Since Labos' base is larger than that of Makhaon, it is more likely that he fit into the lower niche. Apparently, statues of the deities were standing on the remaining niches. Clearly, there was no grouping between the Greek and the Latin founders, or between the founders and the gods.[161]

Moreover, recent evaluations on the deity statues undermine Şahin's argument that they were on display before the restoration in Hadrian's time. The dimensions and the treatments of the statues differ from each other. While some of the statues are smaller than life size, the others are larger; and while some of them were made to be seen primarily from the front view, the others were for three dimensional display (Bulgurlu, 1999, p. 99). These inconsistencies suggest that they were not designed for a single project, but were gathered from some other buildings. Thus it is highly likely that the deity statues did not belong to Plancia Magna's original sculptural program but were brought to the gate after the bronze statues were removed. Accordingly, Bulgurlu (1999, p. 96) suggests that before Plancia Magna's restoration was severely altered, all 28 niches may have filled with the statues of more eponymous founders from the Plancii and Cornutii families and legendary heroes from the Greek mythology. Therefore, when inquiring the message Plancia Magna intended to give in her sculptural program, the Olympian deities should be excluded from the discussion.

On the other hand, the archaeological investigations around the ceremonial arch revealed that it was mainly decorated with the statues of the contemporary imperial family; that is, Hadrian and the women in his court; namely Trajan's sister Marciana and his wife Plotina, Trajan's niece and Hadrian's mother-in-law Diva Matidia and Hadrian's wife Sabina. This picture was complemented with the statues of the divine emperors Augustus, Nerva and Trajan and deities Artemis Pergaea and

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[160] Bulgurlu also suggests the possible places of the statues. According to her assessment (1999, p. 95), C. Plancius Varus was in the third, M. Plancius Varus was in the fourth, Kalkhas was in the fifth, Leonteus was in the sixth and Rhiksos was in the seventh niche of the first or second story of the eastern wall, while Mopsos was in the fifth, Minyas was in the sixth, and Makhaon and Labos were on the seventh niche of either stories of the western wall.

[161] The only programmatic intention, as Bulgurlu (1999, p. 96) suggests, can be a possible arrangement according to which the statues of Plancia Magna's relatives were placed in the niches closer to the Hellenistic towers while those of the Greek founders were located closer to the arch.

Tykhe. Similar to the courtyard, the ceremonial arch was refurbished at some point and statues of Marcus Aurelius, his wife Young Faustina and her daughter Lucilla were added. But just like the Olympian gods, these later additions should be disregarded when considering the Hadrianic program.

Hence, Plancia Magna's sculptural program mainly consisted of four sculptural groups which were the Greek city founders, contemporary benefactors, the Imperial family and the civic deities of Perge.[162] In order to assess the single narrative that they all were a part of, each group deserves their own discussion.

To begin with, the inclusion of the statues of Greek heroes is an attempt to emphasize the historical roots of Perge. Mopsos, Machaon, Calchas, Leonteus and Minyas were all Achaean settlers who survived the Trojan War, while Rhixus and Labos were probably local heroes who did not exist in the Greek mythology. All inscriptions on the statue bases start with the title *Ktistes*,[163] that means city-founders, which implies that they were the actual founders of Perge. It has already been discussed that the history of Perge goes far back from the arrival of Achaeans. Although it is known that Achaeans did really come to Perge at some point, this does not necessarily mean that they were actually the ones that were displayed in the courtyard. On the contrary, the identity of the displayed heroes suggests that they were consciously chosen for the program.

According to his inscribed statue base, Mopsos was from Delphi and his father was Apollo. While some Greek sources verify this (Apollodoros, *The Library*, E.6.2), some others suggest that his father was Rhakios, an Achaean, who migrated from Mycenae first to Crete then to Asia Minor and settled in Colophon (Pekman, 1973, p. 66). From here, he was accompanied with Trojan War survivors including Leonteus and possibly Calchas, Machaon and Minyas, and moved to Pamphylia and Cilicia where they founded cities like Aspendos, Phaselis, Mopsouhestia and Mallos (Barnett, 1953, p. 142). Apart from the Greek sources, Mopsos' name is mentioned in two inscriptions from Boğazköy and Karatepe. The cuneiform tablet from

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[162] Boatwright (1993, pp. 194, 197) considers Olympian gods as a part of Plancia Magna's program. The gods were indeed displayed and celebrated as the local cults but not in the time of Plancia Magna but at a later time.

[163] For these seven inscriptions of the Greek *Ktistes*, see Şahin (1999, pp. 134-140), no.101-107.

Boğazköy, the capital of the Hittite Empire, suggests that Mopsos was active between the years 1220-1170, which makes him a contemporary of the Hittite King Tudhaliya IV (Pekman, 1973, p. 67). The Karatepe bilingual inscription in Hittite hieroglyphic and Phoenician script is dated to the 8th century B.C. and mentions a "House of MPS" which makes it highly likely the dynasty descended from Mopsos (Barnett, 1953, p. 142). With these inscriptions, Mopsos not only become the first Greek hero who is mentioned in another context other than the Greek sources but also have been "transformed from a legendary hero into a historical character" whose posterity survived for centuries (Barnett, 1953, p. 142; Pekman, 1973, p. 68).

In their inscriptions, Lapith Leonteus is described as the son of Coronos, while Calchas was defined as the son of Thestor and being from Argos. According to the legends, Leonteus entered Troy in the wooden horse while Calchas was the famous seer in the war. While some legends tell that Leonteus died while fighting or survived and returned to his homeland after the war (Pekman, 1973, p. 62), Apollodoros (E.6.2) suggests that he and Calchas moved to Colophon where they met Mopsos. Here, Mopsos and Calchas were engaged in a prophecy competition, and Calchas, who lost the contest, died of humiliation (Apollodoros, E.6.2). Later, Leonteus joined Mopsos in founding cities in south Anatolia (Barnett, 1953, p. 142). On the other hand, Strabo (12.7) mentions that Selge at Pisidia was established by Calchas which implies that he did not die but may have crossed the Taurus with the others.

Machaon's inscription mentions that he was from Thessaly and the son of Asklepios and the temple of Zeus Machaonios on the acropolis of Perge derives its name from him. According to the legends, he was a chief surgeon in the Trojan War and one of the heroes who entered Troy in the wooden horse like Leonteus (Pekman, 1973, p. 63). Sources suggest two different endings for his story. According to the first one, he died in the war, while in the other, he survived, moved to the south and set up the cult of Asclepius in Pergamon and founded some cities. (Pekman, 1973, p. 63).

According to Greek mythology, Minyas is generally referred to as the founder of Orchomenus and the son of Poseidon and his relation to Trojan legends is unknown (Pekman, 1973, p. 64). In Perge, another story is given for his life.

According to the *ktistes* inscription, he was the son of Ialmenos, son of Ares. Ialmenos who was the king of Orchomenus was a Trojan hero who founded a colony in Pontus (Strabo, 9.2.42). By relating Minyas to Ialmenos, it is implied that Minyas may have gone to south Anatolia and founded cities with others (Pekman, 1973, p. 64).

Rhixus was from Athens and was the son of Lycos, son of Pandeion, and that Rhixus' foot derives his name from him. According to legends, his father Lycos gave his name to Lycia but Rhixus is not mentioned in any source (Pekman, 1973, p. 62). On the other hand, "Rhixus' foot" was a local myth which suggests that Rhixus was not a character from the Greek mythology but instead a local hero.[164] Similarly, Labos was not mentioned in the legends either (Pekman, 1973, p. 62). The only thing known about him comes from his inscribed base which tells that he was from Delphi and gave his name to something, starting with "La…" which can be the Labeia games celebrated in Perge (Şahin, 1996a, p. 50). Then, this makes Labos another local hero. Hence, it seems, local myths were not only personified but also given a Greek identity by stating that the local heroes came from mainland Greece.

As a result, the display of the statues of local figures with those of Greek legendary characters may be seen as an attempt to introduce Perge's own myths to the Greek mythology. Moreover, as it is seen, there is not any direct information that the Achaean warriors actually visited Perge. Instead, it seems there are some alterations in the original legends in favor of Perge. It is not possible to know whether Pergaeans really believed in these altered legends or that they were a mere political move, they nevertheless fulfill their duty. The statues of the Achaean and local heroes "prove" the Greek ethnicity of Perge.

The emphasis on the Greek identity is interpreted as an ambitious act to be included in "Panhellenion" (Şahin, 1999, p. 144), the new organization created by Hadrian in order to organize Roman and Greek affairs.[165] Moreover, the selection of

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[164] Although little is known about the legend, Şahin (1996a, p. 50) associates *Rhixou-Pous* (Rhixus foot) with a place name *Rhouskopos*, which supposedly was slightly west to the area where the Cestrus River met Mediterranean. In accordance with Şahin's argument, Foss & Mitchell (2000, p. 1004) show *Rhouskopos* at Magydos in the map of Lycia-Pisidia at the Barrington Atlas.

[165] Only the cities that could prove their Greek descent were able to join this union. The Panhellenion was officially founded in 131/2 A.D. which is a decade later than the placement of the statues in the

particularly Trojan warriors from the really rich Greek mythology may also reflect an aspiration to establish a mythical relationship with Rome, who, according to the legends descended from Aeneas, another Trojan hero.

The inscribed statue bases of M. Plancius Varus and C. Plancius Varus also refer to them as *Ktistes*, even though they were not legendary characters. Nevertheless this seems plausible. Roman power was a new beginning for Perge. During the imperial period, Perge was not only socially enhanced; it also economically prospered, and architecturally developed. So, it can be said that Perge was re-founded with an obvious Roman influence. Thus, considering their beneficial character as well as their Latin origin, the inclusion of Plancia Magna's father and brother among the city-founders finds meaning.

The statues on the ceremonial arch concentrate on the imperial house and the tutelary deities of Perge. The central figure is Hadrian. Thus, while the arch was undeniably built to show loyalty to the contemporary emperor, the addition of the statues of divine emperors and the women of the imperial house demonstrate the loyalty to the empire. Moreover, while inclusion of Artemis Pergaea is a celebration of the most important cult of Perge, that of Tykhe is a commemoration of the tutelary spirit of the city.

As it is seen, while the statues in the courtyard refer to the identity of Perge, those on the ceremonial arch pay tribute to the imperial house and civic deities. Hence, the political aim of this sculptural program is clear; increasing the reputation of Perge by consolidating its Greek and Latin roots together with commemorating the civic cults, and reinforcing the political affairs between Perge and Rome by demonstrating loyalty to the emperor and the empire. In other words, Plancia Magna devotes herself to the welfare of her city which is also evident with her dedication of the ceremonial arch solely to her *patria* that is her city, Perge.

Even though the primary beneficiary of Plancia Magna's euergetism is Perge itself, its pride also serves for her family's prestige. By placing her father and

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city gate. However, the strong affinity of Hadrian to Greek culture suggests that the Panhellenic idea may have been established long before its official declaration. Even though it is not known whether Perge was included in this organization or not, it does not mean that they did not try. For more on Panhellenion, see Romeo (2002).

brother, M. Plancius Varus and C. Plancius Varus who came from Latin origin among the Greek heroes, Plancia Magna ascertains that her family belongs to both cultures. Besides, declaring them as city founders, she elevates the Plancii family to a status higher than every other Pergaean.

Moreover, with this building program, Plancia Magna dramatically increased her own visibility and reputation within the society. First of all, the atypical identification of her father and brother in their *Ktistes* inscriptions draws attention; "City-founder, M. Plancius Varus, the Pergaean, father of Plancia Magna", and "City founder, C. Plancius Varus, the Pergaean, brother of Plancia Magna".[166] As Boatwright indicates (1991, pp. 251, 256), "Their unusual identification by means of Plancia, rather than the traditional identification of Plancia Magna and C. Plancius Varus by their father" not only suggest that she is responsible for the restoration, but together with the absence of her husband and son,[167] it also accentuates her "initiative and individuality" in euergetism. Apparently, despite having only one child, she acquired the exemption from the "three children law" and controlled her own wealth which was possibly enriched with the inheritances from her father, husband and brother (Boatwright, 1991, pp. 256-257),[168] and without the supervision of a guardian, she used her fortune generously.

Obviously, her gender is emphasized all over her project. In addition to the above-mentioned oddities about her male relatives which suggest her autonomy, her name was inscribed as the donor in every statue base on the ceremonial arch. Moreover, the arch displayed more statues of imperial females than that of males, which according to Boatwright (1993, p. 199) may suggest both the emphasis on the female patron, and the growing power of women in the Roman world.

In return for her generosity, Plancia Magna was generously and impressively honored with many offices. Several inscriptions dedicated by the council and

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[166] For the publication of these inscriptions, see Şahin. (1999, pp. 140-141) The English versions are from Boatwright (1991, p. 251).

[167] According to Boatwright this absence may also be due to the fact that Plancia Magna and C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus were not married at that time. However, with the new evidences, it is for sure that Plancia Magna got married long before and probably was a widow during her restoration program.

[168] As mentioned previously, her father, brother and husband were most probably demised before Plancia Magna's benefaction.

assembly, council of elders, and her probable freedmen M. Plancius Pius and M. Plancius Alexander pronounce her honorific titles.[169] According to these, she was the priestess of Artemis, the first and only priestess of the Mother of the Gods for life, the high priestess of the Imperial Cult, and *demiourgos*. In other words, she was the priestess of the most important cults of Perge and her name was used to date legal papers of that year. Moreover, all of these inscriptions and a fragment possibly from her tomb title her as the "daughter of the city", which means she was embraced and adopted by the *Polis*.[170]

Moreover, Plancia Magna was commemorated in a very prominent place within the city. Two inscriptions and two statues dedicated to her were displayed in three niches with marble revetment on the east wall of the south bath, between the *propylon* of the bath and the western tower of the Hellenistic Gate (Fig 50). Hence, before entering the courtyard, the visitors had the chance to learn more about the benefactor of this impressive gate complex.

Apparently, every niche had a statue with its base; while the central niche had a statue of a male,[171] the other two held those of females (Fig 51). The inscribed bases of the female statues suggest that they both belonged to Plancia Magna.[172] The better preserved statue from the south niche depicts her in a pose that is strikingly similar to that of Sabina which once stood on the ceremonial arch (Fig 52).[173] The inscription of this statue, dedicated by her freedmen M. Plancius Pius describes her

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[169] For these inscriptions, see Şahin (1999, pp. 156-164), no. 117-125.

[170] Her tomb, only the foundation of which is remaining, was placed at the south of the city, outside the city walls (Özdizbay, 2008b, pp. 206, fn. 76).

[171] According to Mansel (1970, p. 131), it may be a statue of Apollo, whereas Bulgurlu Gün suggests that it probably depicted a priest of Apollo (2008, p. 244).

[172] According to Bulgurlu Gün (2008), these niches were built in the Severan period. As the statues and inscriptions do not originally belong to each other due to their different treatments, Bulgurlu Gün suggests that they were brought from elsewhere for this display. So, these statues and inscriptions were dedicated to Plancia Magna at an earlier time but their previous display areas are unknown.

[173] This similarity is first put forward by Mansel (1970, p. 131). As Boatwright (2000, p. 66) suggests, "the similarities of Plancia's statue to that of Sabina would have implied to the citizens and visitors that their own patroness and 'city daughter' represented this empress in Perge" as a beneficent figure. This better preserved statue of Plancia Magna from the left niche is now on display in the Antalya Museum with the inscription from the right niche dedicated by M. Plancius Alexander. Sabina's statue from the ceremonial arch is also displayed in the same museum.

family (Fig 53).[174] The headless statue once stood on the northern niche was probably depicting her in another fashion, since its inscription, which was dedicated by her other freedmen M. Plancius Alexander, mentions her honorific titles.[175]

Consequently, Plancia Magna was an honorable citizen, who did not hesitate to expend her fortune for the sake of her city. She increased not only the prestige of her city and family but also her own reputation in a male-oriented society. In this way, she fulfills the second condition of being the "ideal Roman women". In this respect, the "Display Wall" is the most explicit proof, since it not only mentions her successes in the civic level but also in her family relations.

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[174] This inscription is discussed in p. 68,70 and fn.130.

[175] For the inscription, see Şahin (1999, p. 162) no.124.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

> Now that no one buys our votes, the public has long since cast off
> its cares; the people that once bestowed commands, consulships,
> legions and all else, now meddles no more and longs eagerly for
> just two things----Bread and Circuses
>
> Juvenal, (*Satires*, 10.75-81)

In his lament, the 1st century satirist Juvenal yearned for the distant memory of the Republic when benefaction was a celebration of military triumphs, instead of a political move which intended to distract citizens away from the realities of daily life. What he did not want to admit was that the military glories of the Republican Period left their place to a consolidated peace and that benefaction became a political tool to govern the masses and keep the provincial cities under the imperial hegemony.

After the expansion of the Roman Empire, as a "beneficent father" figure, Augustus became a role-model for the local aristocratic classes who were willing partners in the Romanization of their newly annexed cities. Like the other elites all over the empire, wealthy Greeks of Asia Minor spent their fortune in favor of their *poleis* to become a part of the Roman system and enjoy its privileges.

The primary choice of these benefactors was the architectural patronage since it was the most permanent type of benefaction, which resulted in the urbanization of the Greek cities with Roman architecture and institutions. This process not only increased the social welfare with enhanced civic activities but also raised the reputation of both the city and the donor. Moreover, through the merging Greek and Roman traditions together with their Anatolian origins, each city re-wrote their own history and generated unique urban narratives.

This thesis study reveals that, with its rich cultural accumulation, Perge was one of these cities. Originally, the city was an Anatolian settlement founded on the Acropolis, whose history goes back to prehistoric times. The traces of this native origin survived after the city was Hellenized in the 5th century B.C. and subsequently Romanized in the first centuries of the imperial period. One of the most conspicuous examples is the worship of the Anatolian goddess *Wanassa Preiia*, who was transformed into Artemis Pergaea in the Hellenistic times, renamed as Diana Pergaea in the Roman period and remained as the tutelary deity of Perge. The city continued to be the cult center of Artemis and drew many visitors for the festivals celebrating the goddess which enhanced Perge's urban narratives.

An important Greek *polis* in the Hellenistic era, Perge spread to the lower plain following the establishment of *Pax Romana* in the 1st and 2nd century A.D. It is especially in this period that the rich and ambitious Pergaean elite furnished the city with Roman amenities and accelerated the urban Romanization of their city. In return, they were rewarded for their generosity. Several inscriptions and statues, which were dedicated to these eminent citizens and displayed in the most prominent places of the city, declare not only the honorary titles but also the *cursus honorum* of these benefactors. Apparently, Perge raised many respectable politicians for the Roman government who did not turn their back to their native city, but instead proved their loyalty both to the empire and their hometown. As expected, their efforts were noticed by the emperor and the city was bestowed with imperial privileges like the title of "neokoros" and "metropolis".

Women benefactors of Perge are rare but Plancia Magna stands out among all the donors. Her architectural and sculptural project transformed the Hellenistic City Gate into a "Court of Honor" where the eponymous city founders and tutelary deities of Perge were celebrated together with the emperors and the imperial family. In this way, the gate became an inseparable part of the urban narratives and a source of pride for Perge, Plancia Magna and her family.

Physically, the city gate was located at the civic center and the daily activities revolved around it. The gate became a landmark at the south end of the city and determined the beginning of the main thoroughfare which led to the inner city and consequently the Acropolis. However, different than the regular gates, it did not

function as a transitionary element which connected the inside and outside of the town but instead stood as an enclosed monument. In this way, it invited the pedestrians to the courtyard with its grandiose round towers and encouraged them to appreciate the sculptural program rather than passing through the gate without noticing. On the other hand, the gate was probably opened during the important celebrations and functioned as a station where the past and present of Perge merged into each other along the "processional way". As this research has shown, the Hellenistic City Gate became an important part of the city armature as well as daily and spiritual narratives of Perge.

The Hellenistic City Gate was a presentation of Perge's history and identity. While the adapted legends of Greek heroes confirm Perge's Greek roots, the addition of contemporary Pergaeans, that is Plancia Magna's father and brother is a reference to the re-foundation of Perge under the Roman power. On the other hand, commemoration of the emperors and the imperial court is an indication of the loyalty to the emperor and the empire. And finally, the addition of Artemis Pergaea/Diana Pergensi and Tykhe to the program is a celebration of the city's most important deities.

This design was essentially made for the visit of Hadrian but apparently modified in the course of time. The inclusion of Olympian Gods that were worshiped in Perge added another layer to the program. Moreover, the placement of the statues of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, his wife Faustina and daughter Lucilla indicates the loyalty to the next imperial generation. Thereby, the gate was incorporated into the changing dynamics of Perge and the prestige it provided was long-lived.

This benefaction also brought an immense honor to Plancia Magna's father M. Plancius Varus and her brother C.Plancius Varus by referring to them as city-founders and perpetuated the reputation of the Plancii family. Doubtlessly, this also brought prestige to her husband's family and may have even aided the political success of his son. Beyond all, however, as this study suggests, it made the most important contribution to Plancia Magna's own public image.

Women were always assumed inferior to men and excluded from power. But some like Plancia Magna managed to achieve the honors which elevate their statues to the highest level and increase their visibility in public. As a reward for her

benefaction, Plancia Magna became the priestess of the most important cults of Perge, which were the native Anatolian Mother of the Gods, Hellenistic Artemis Pergaea and Roman imperial cult. Thus, just like her benefaction, she herself represented the past and present of Perge. Moreover, she was titled as *demiourgeos*, that is, her name was used for dating purposes. She was also embraced and adopted by the city.

Furthermore, her statues together with the inscriptions which pronounced her family background and honorary titles were displayed right before entering into the Hellenistic City Gate. Finally, her tomb was placed at the south of the city not far from the City Gate, which should also be an indication of how much she was respected since the necropoleis of the city mainly concentrated on the east and the west.

Woodhull suggests that the donated building becomes the *Res Gestae* of its benefactress by picturing her public persona through the "expression of ideas, motives, tastes, wealth and status" (1999, pp. 20-26). Hence, the *Res Gestae* of Plancia Magna suggests that she was taking Livia, the first empress of the Roman Empire as a model, who became the "ideal Roman woman" through devoting herself both to her family and to public welfare. Plancia Magna, following the footsteps of the empresses, fulfilled both of the requirements by being a respectable matron and bringing prestige to her family as well as making a contribution to the city that would serve for centuries. As Boatwright (1993, p. 205) indicates, Plancia Magna would have been surpassed by the imperial court in Rome. But in Perge, she surpasses all.

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FIGURES

Figure 1. The Latin version of the *Res Gestae* on the anta walls of both sides of the entrance of the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Ankara (photo by the author).

Figure 2. The Greek version of the *Res Gestae* on the south wall of the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Ankara (photo by the author).

Figure 3. The provinces and the client kingdoms of the Augustan Empire

Source: Galinsky, 2005, map 3.
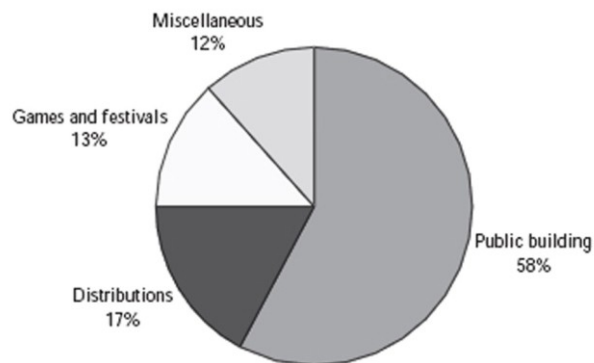
Figure 4. Frequency of benefactions in Asia Minor out of 529 materials

Source: Zuiderhoek, 2009, figure 5.1, p.77
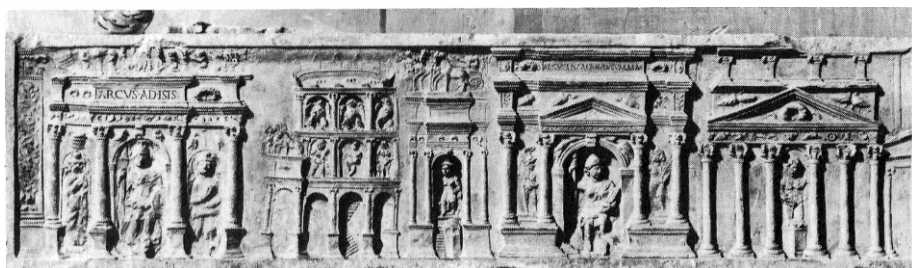
Figure 5. Relief from Tomb of Haterii of the early second century, depicting Flavian buildings with various façade combinations.

Source: MacDonald, 1986, figure 93, p.96
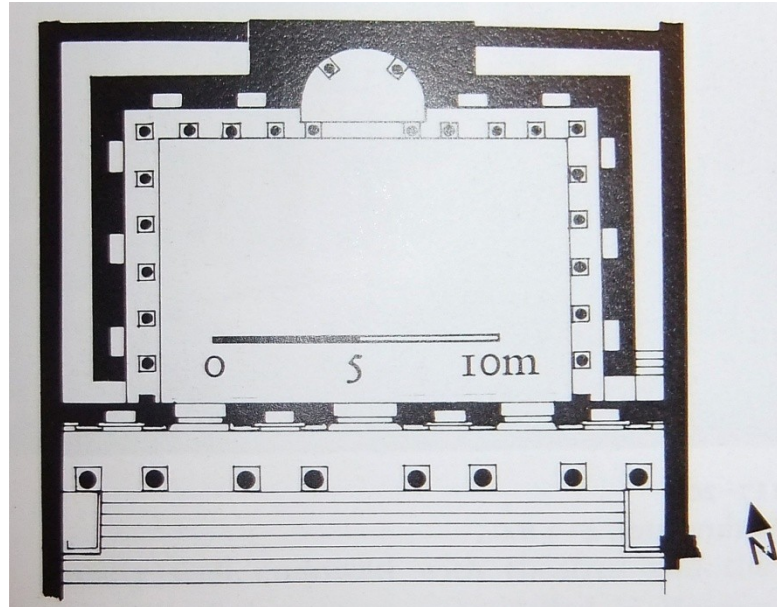
Figure 6. Plan of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus

Source: Ward-Perkins, 1981, figure 188, p.289

Figure 7. Columnar façade of the Library of Celsus, Ephesus (photo by the author)

Figure 8. Aphrodisias theater (photo by the author)

Figure 9. Aspendos theater (photo by the author)
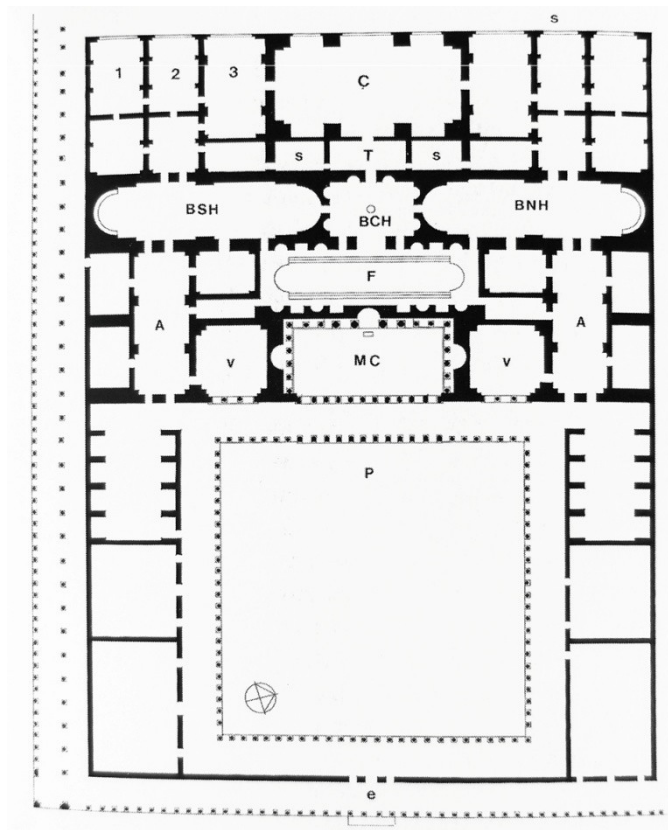
Figure 10. Sardis, Plan of the bath-gymnasium complex.

Source: Yegül, 2010 figure 73, p.163

Figure 11. Sardis, Marble Court of the bath-gymnasium complex

Source: http://www.stoa.org/gallery/album278/P1050223 [Last accessed June 17, 2011]
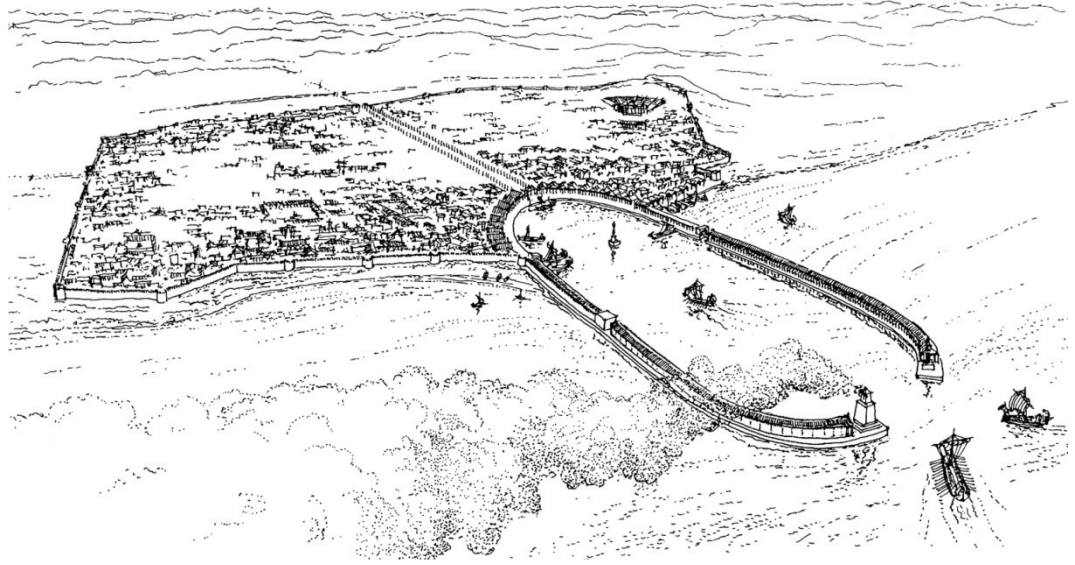
Figure 12. Soli-Pompeipolis, connection of the thoroughfare to the port

Source: Brandon, Hohlfelder, Oleson, & Rauh, 2010 figure 2, p.392

Figure 13. Perge, columns on the thoroughfare with the name plates of the modern benefactors (photo by the author)

Figure 14. Map of Asia Minor

Source: after Parrish, 2001, map 3, p.7.
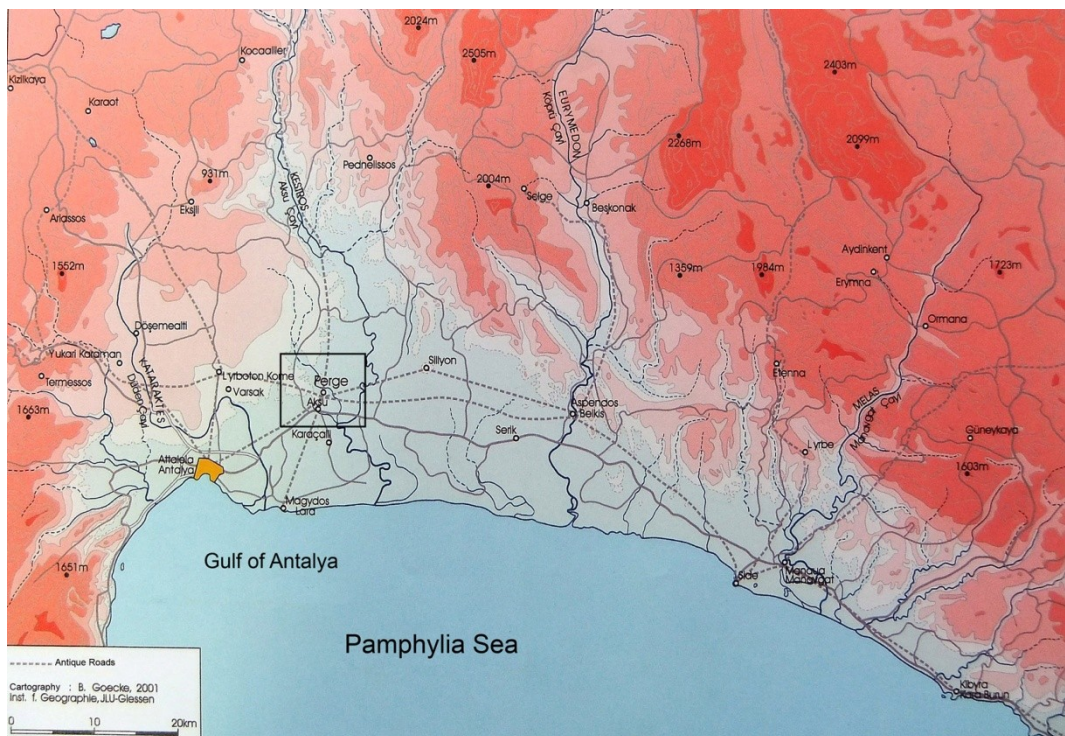
Figure 15. Map of the Pamphylia region

Source: after Abbasoğlu and Martini, 2003, Beilage 1.
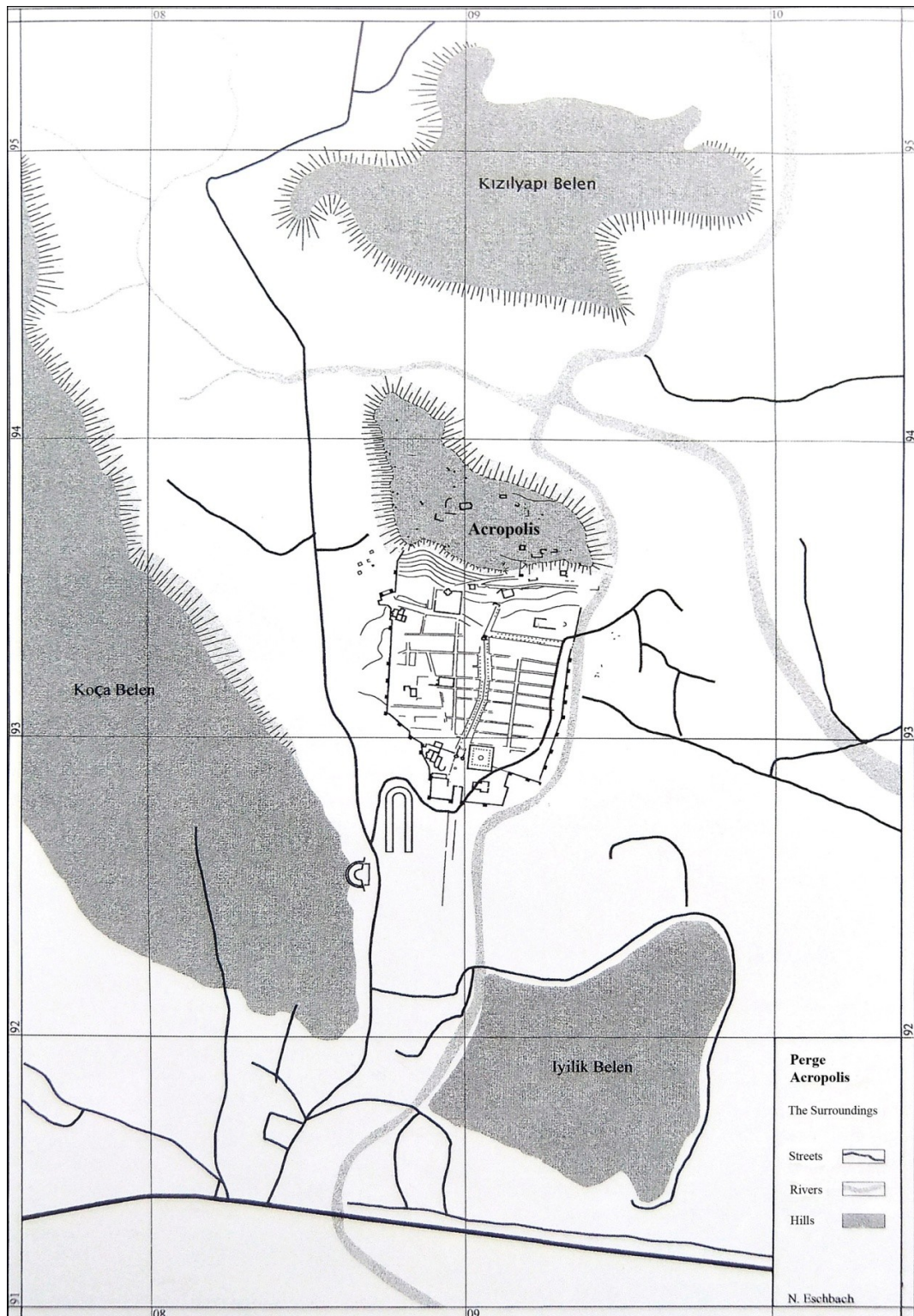
Figure 16. Acropolis, Perge and the surroundings

Source: after Martini, 2003a Abb. 1, p.15

115

Figure 17. Bronze Tablet from Hattusha (photo by the author)
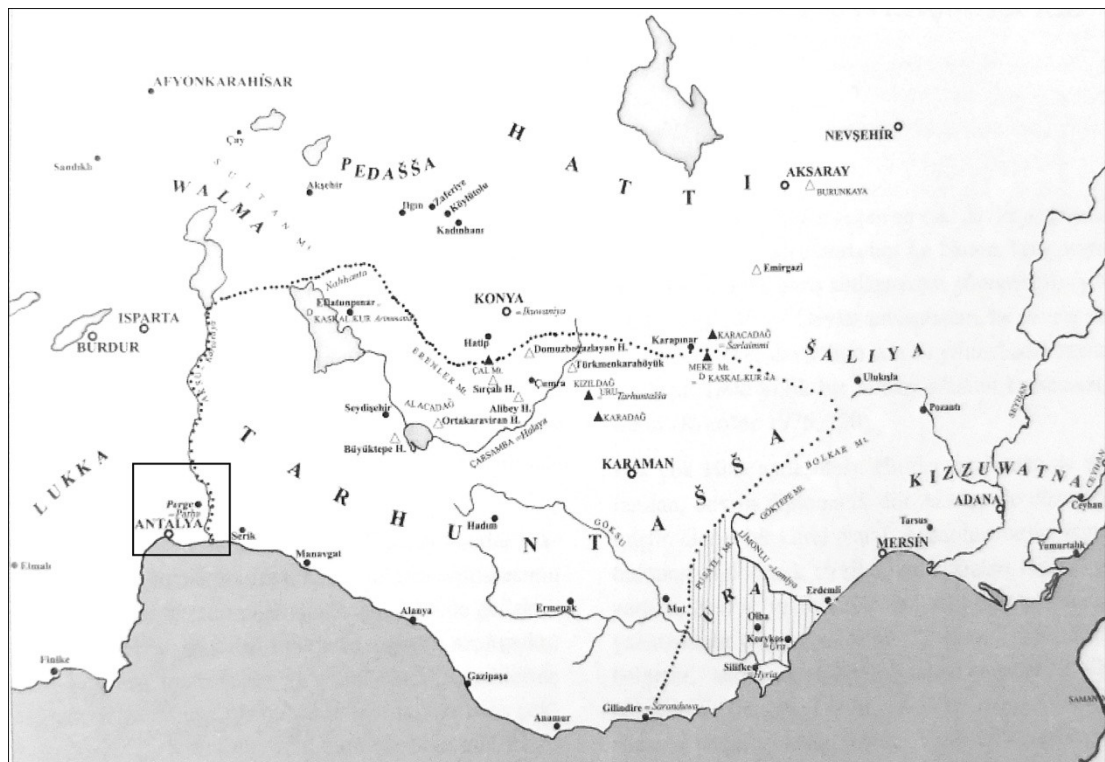
Figure 18. Boundaries of the Kingdom of Tarhuntassa and Perge at the border between Tarhuntassa and Lukka

Source: after Dinçol et.al., 2000 Fig. 1, p.19
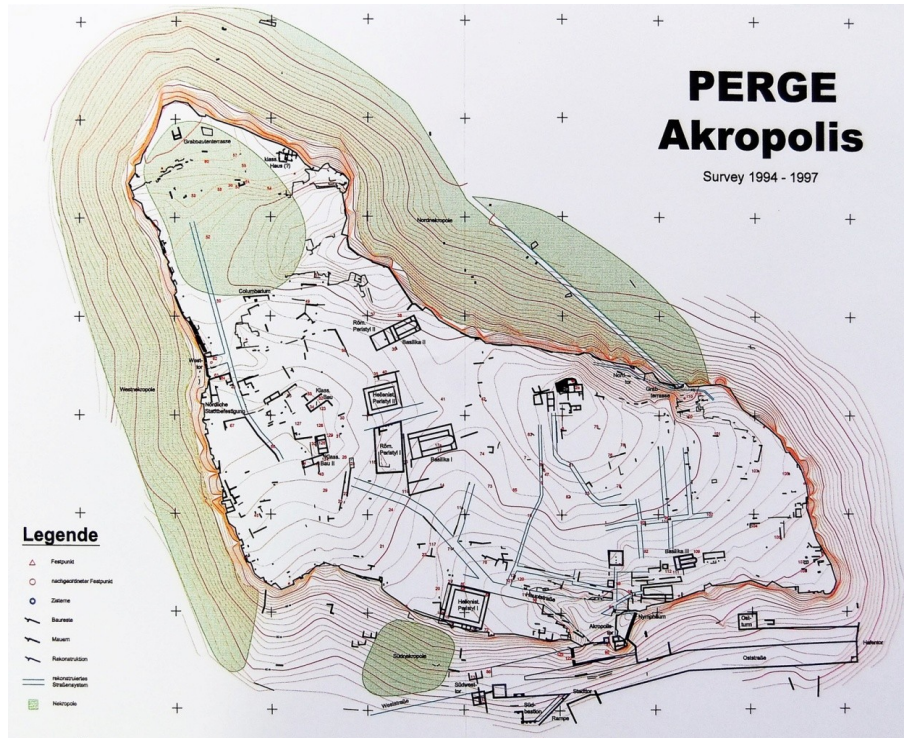
Figure 19. Plan of the Acropolis, Perge

Source: Abbasoğlu and Martini, 2003, Beilage 3.
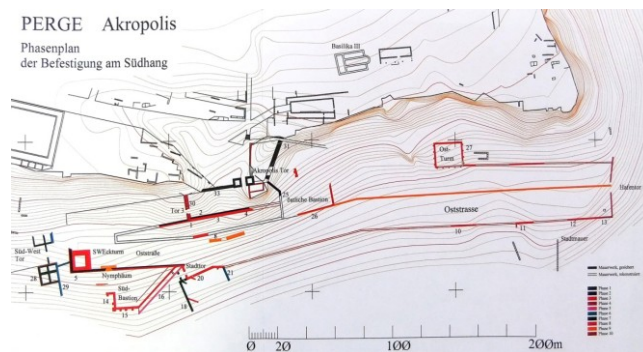
Figure 20. The road and wall system of the southern fortification of the Acropolis

Source: Abbasoğlu and Martini, 2003, Beilage 2
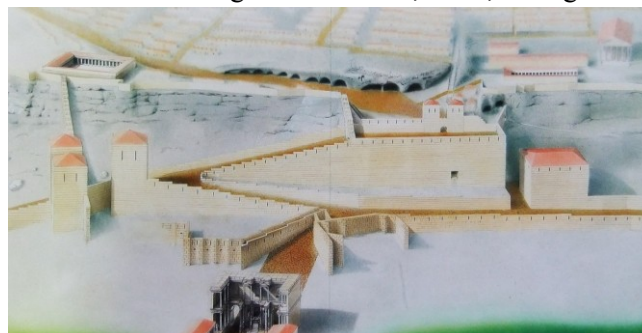
Figure 21. Reconstruction of the southern fortification system of the Acropolis

Source: Abbasoğlu and Martini, 2003, Beilage 4.
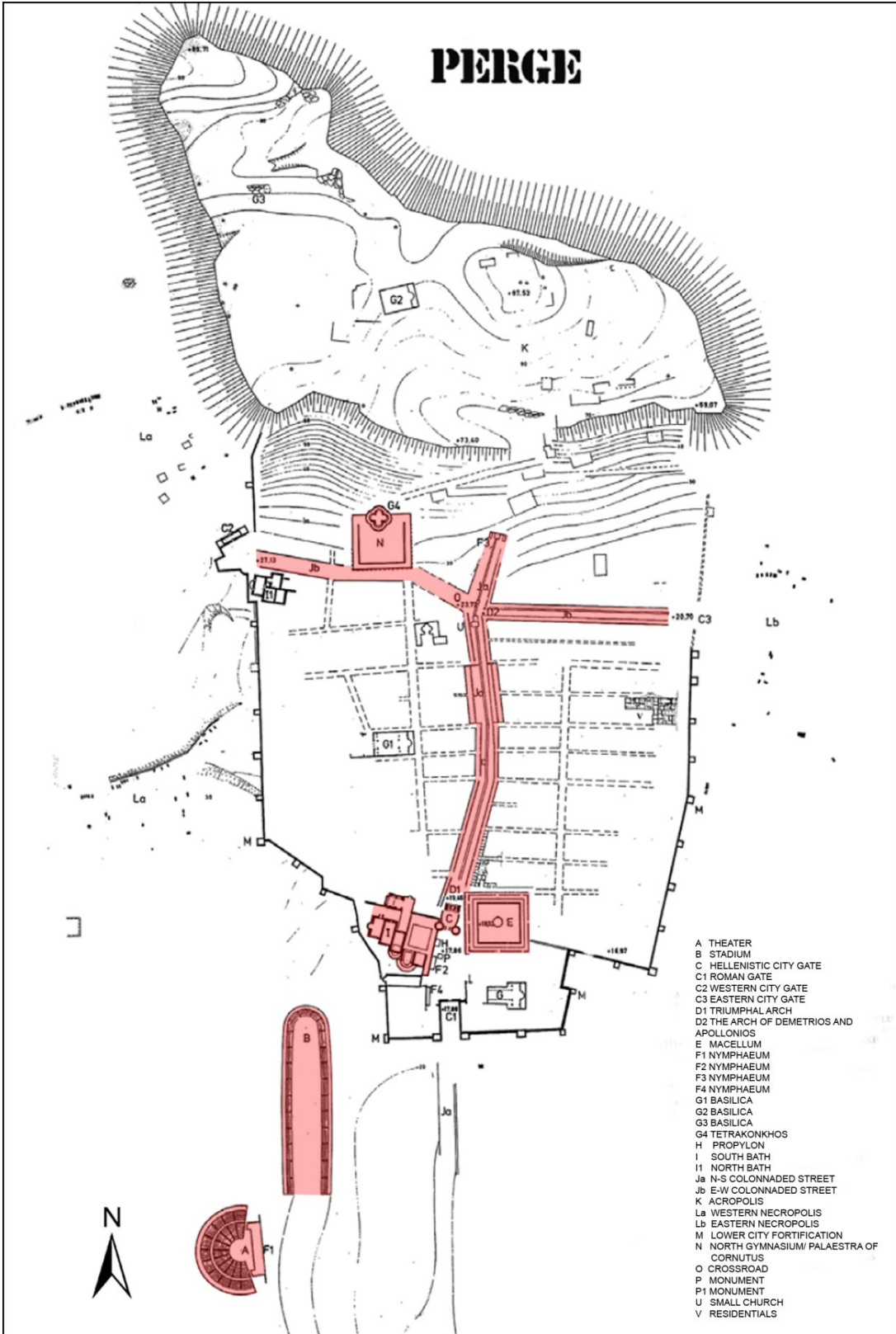
Figure 22. Perge Plan, indicating the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ century A.D. buildings

Source: after Abbasoğlu, 2001, Fig.7-2, p.174
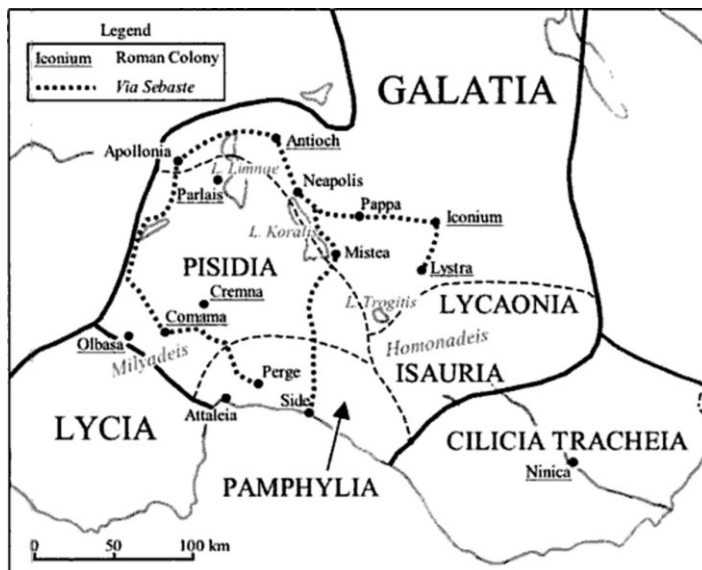
Figure 23. The route of Via Sebaste

Source: Hardin, 2008, Figure.1, p.55

Figure 24. Tabula Peutingeriana, Section IX

Source: Library of the British Institute at Ankara
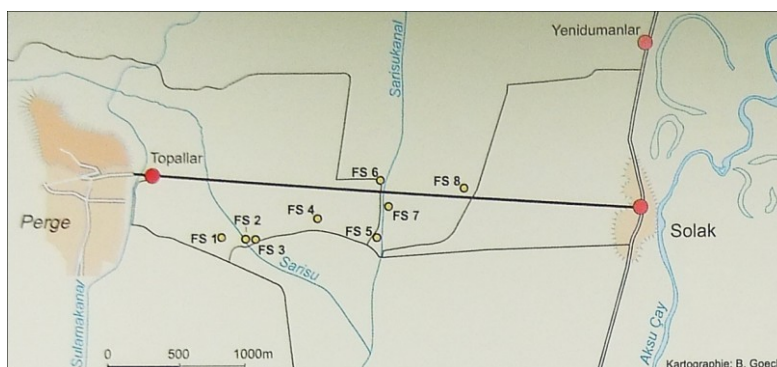
Figure 25. The Harbour on the Cestrus River in modern Solak, 4km east of Perge

Source: Martini, 2008, Abb.4, p.170

119
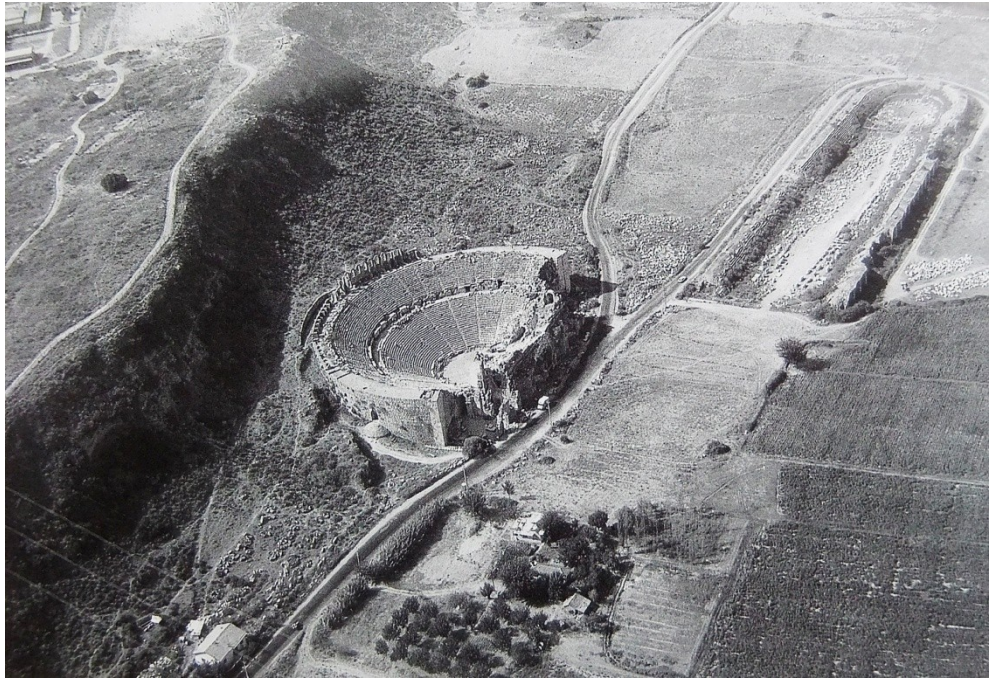
Figure 26. The theater and stadium complex, looking from south.

Source: Abbasoğlu, 2003, Abb.9, p.10
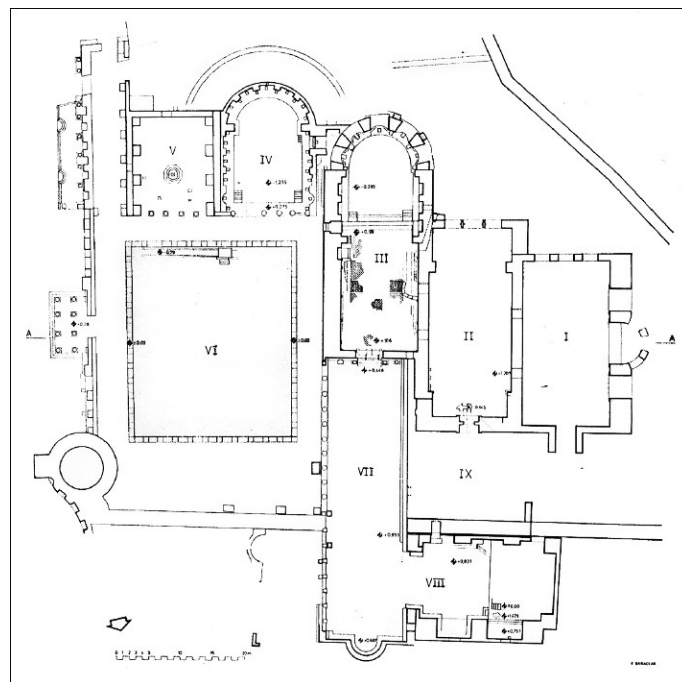
Figure 27. The plan of the South Bath of Perge. The western tower of the Hellenistic City Gate can be seen on the north eastern corner of the plan.

Source: Özdizbay, 2008b, Lev. 15, Plan 5.
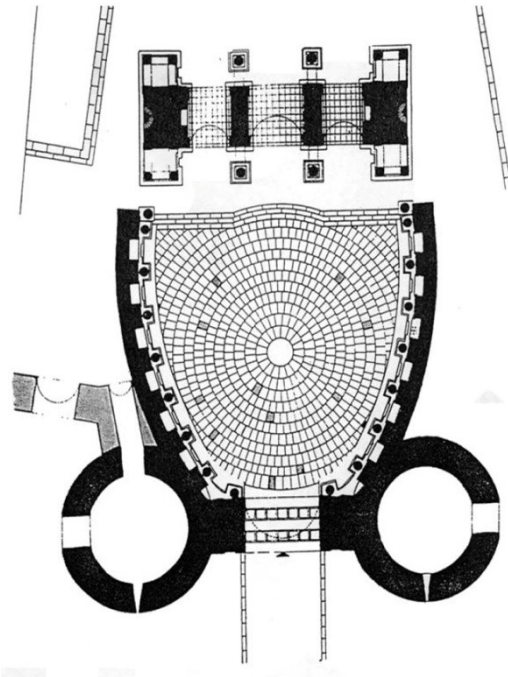
Figure 28. Plan of the Hellenistic City Gate

Source: Mansel, 1958b, Res.57

Figure 29. The towers of the Hellenistic City Gate (photo by Ayşe Ercan)

Figure 30. Hellenistic City Gate from north. The towers and the courtyard walls are still standing while the ceremonial arch and the arched gate between the towers are collapsed (photo by Ayşe Ercan)
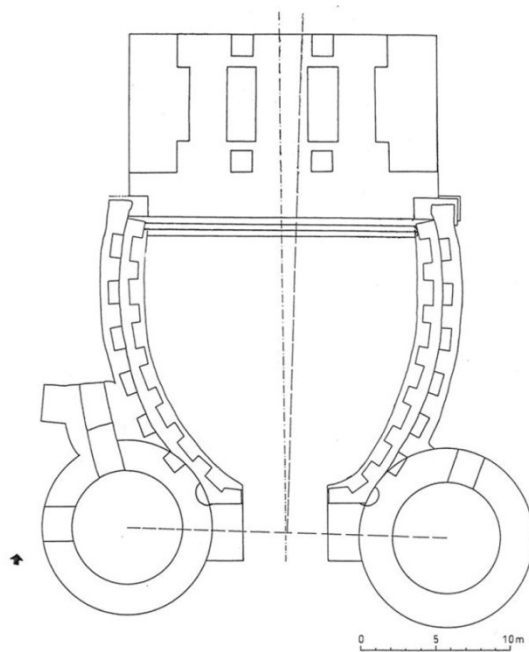
Figure 31. The two different axis of the Hellenistic City Gate

Source: Bulgurlu, 1999, çizim 7
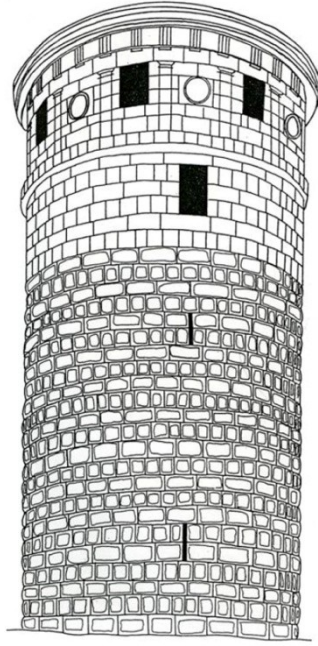
Figure 32. Reconstruction of the Hellenistic tower

Source: Bulgurlu, 1999, çizim 35
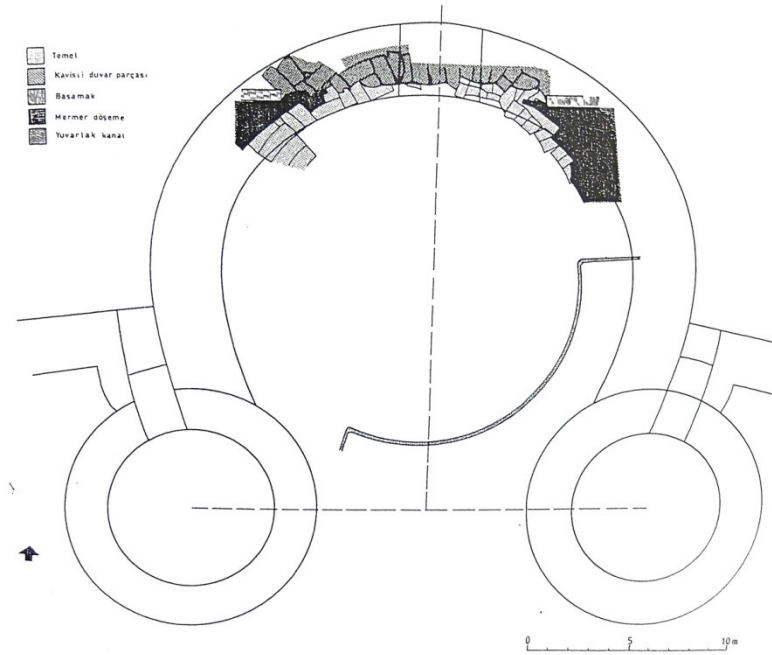
Figure 33. Plan of the original Hellenistic courtyard and the original floors

Source: Bulgurlu, 1999, çizim 4
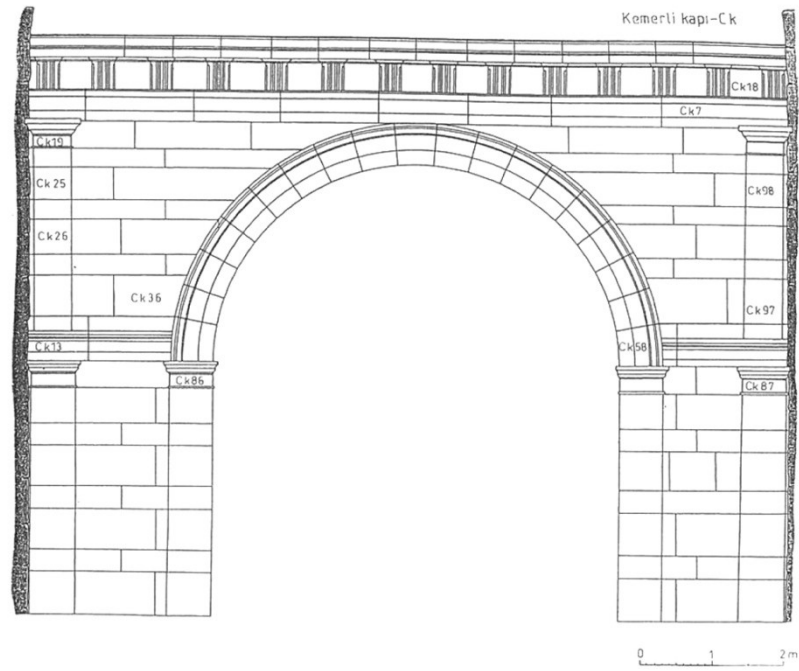
Figure 34. The reconstruction of the arched gate between the Hellenistic towers

Source: Bulgurlu, 1999, çizim 41

Figure 35. Remaining pylons of the arched gate (photo by the author)

Figure 36. Inner façades of the courtyard walls

(photos taken and edited by the author)
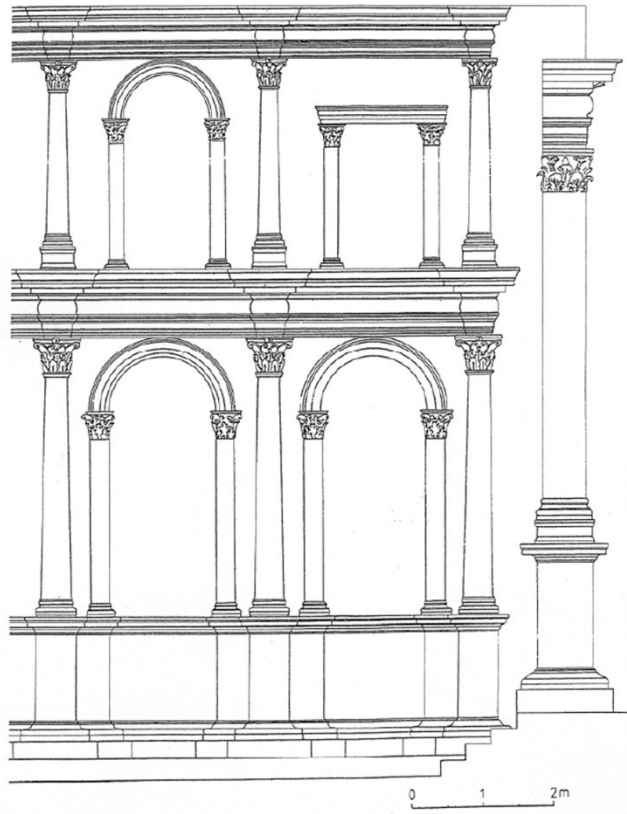
Figure 37. Reconstruction of the columnar façade of the courtyard

Source: Bulgurlu, 1999, çizim 53
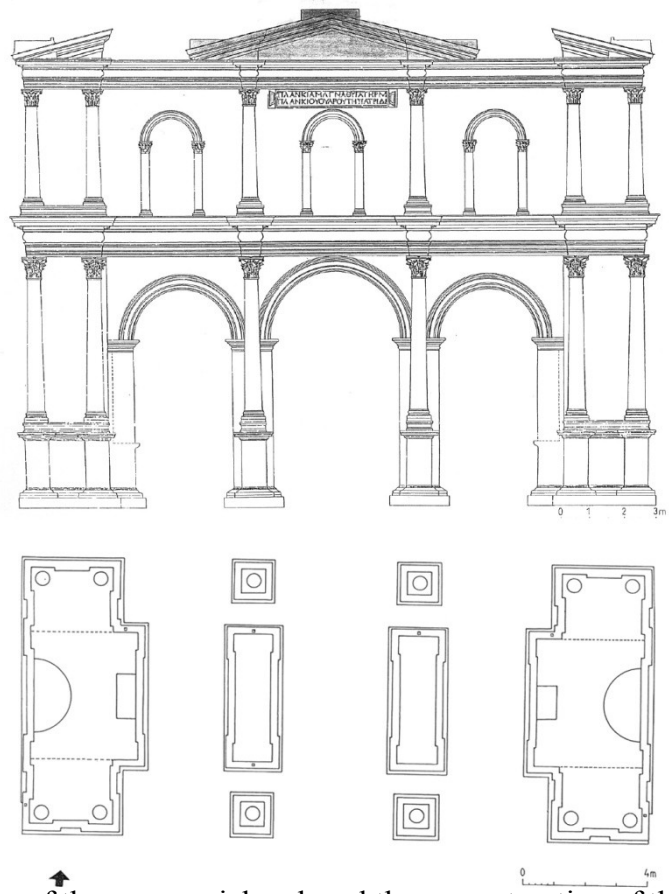
Figure 38. Plan of the ceremonial arch and the reconstruction of the south façade

Source: Bulgurlu, 1999, çizim 70 and 72

Figure 39. The N-S colonnaded avenue, from the Acropolis (photo by Ayşe Ercan).

Figure 40. The eastern portico of the N-S colonnaded street and the shops behind.
(photo by B. Nilay Kalınbayrak)

Figure 41. The water channel dividing N-S colonnaded street
(photo by B. Nilay Kalınbayrak)

Figure 42. The *nymphaeum* at the northern end of the N-S colonnaded street
(photo by B. Nilay Kalınbayrak)
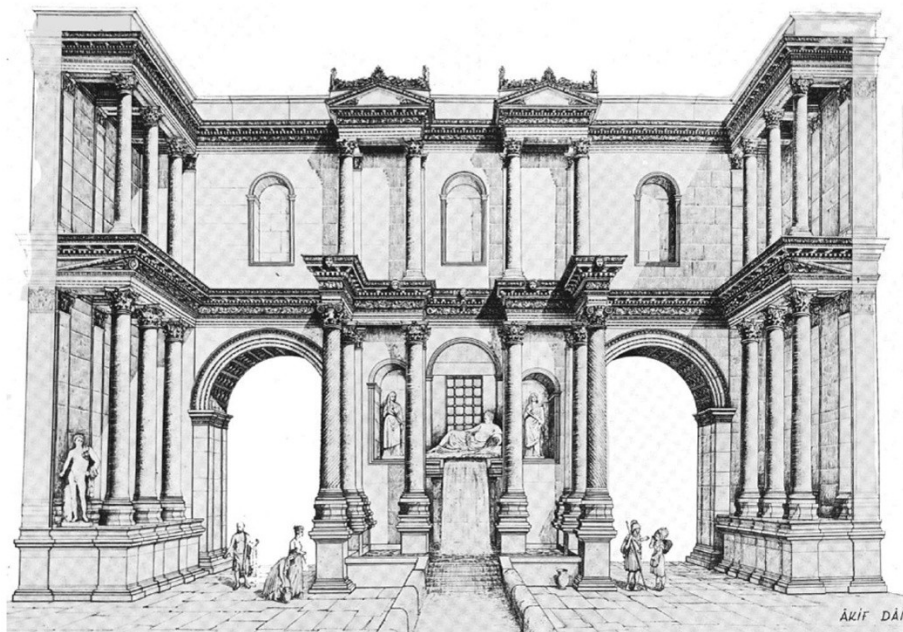
Figure 43. The reconstruction of the *nymphaeum*

Source: Özdizbay, 2008b, Lev.32 Plan 10
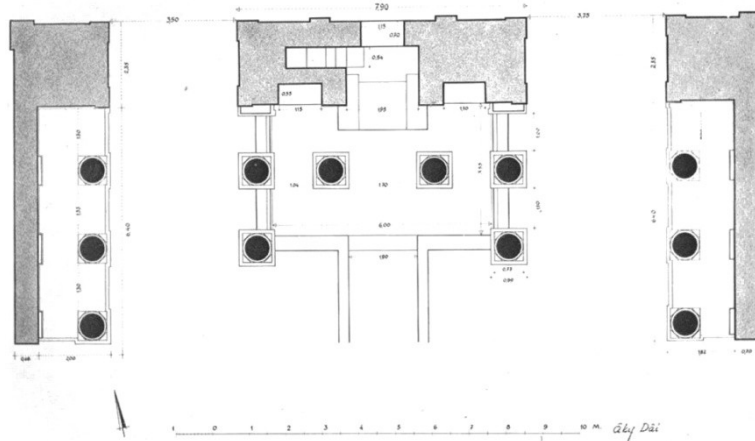
Figure 44. Plan of the *nymphaeum*

Source: Mansel, 1973, Res.57, p.150
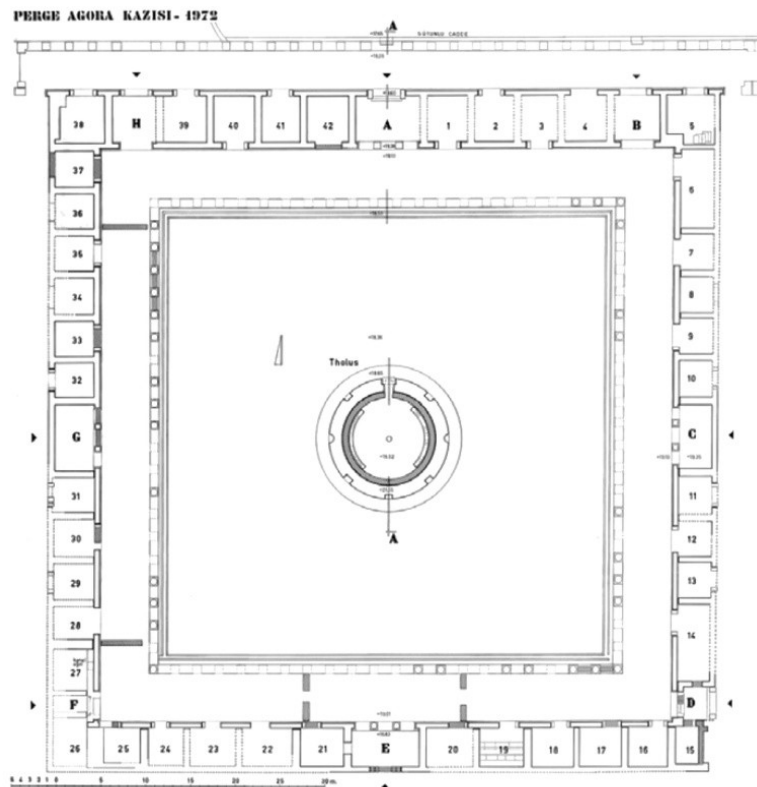
Figure 45. Plan of the *macellum*

Source: Özdizbay, 2008b, Lev.34 Plan 11
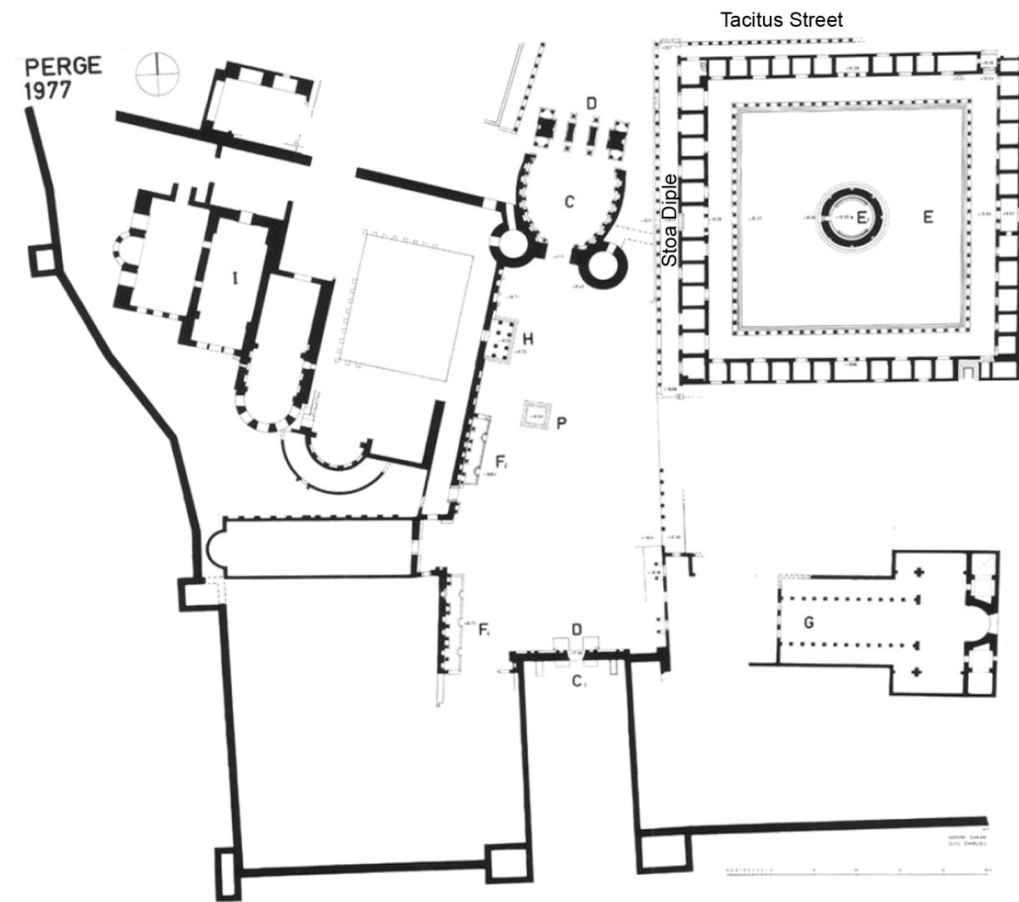
Figure 46. The plan of the south section of Perge
Source: after Bulgurlu, 2008, Abb.1, p.250

Figure 47. The narrow road between the Hellenistic City Gate and the *macellum*
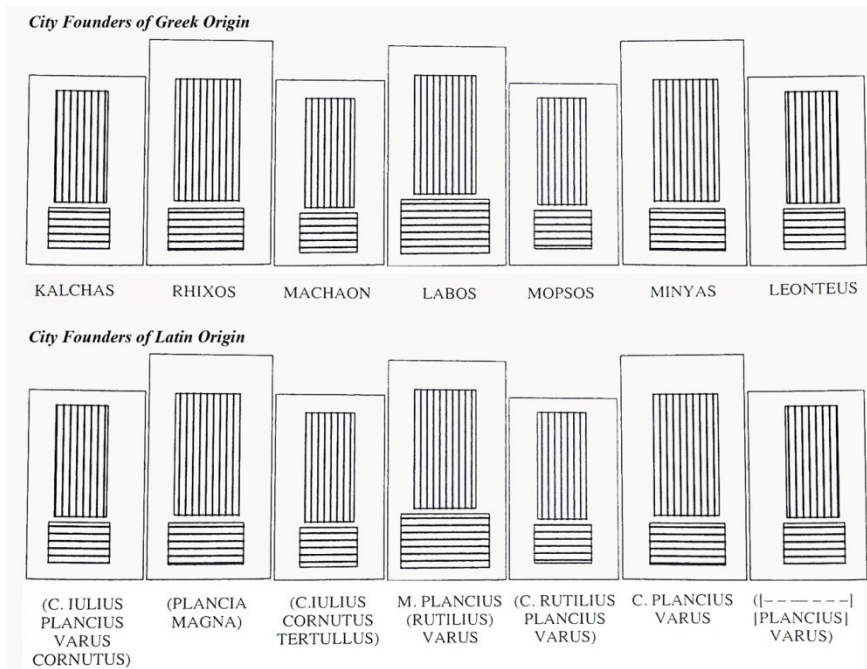(photo taken by Ayşe Ercan, edited by the author)

Figure 48. Sencer Şahin's arrangement of Perge's Greek and Latin city founders on the lower niches
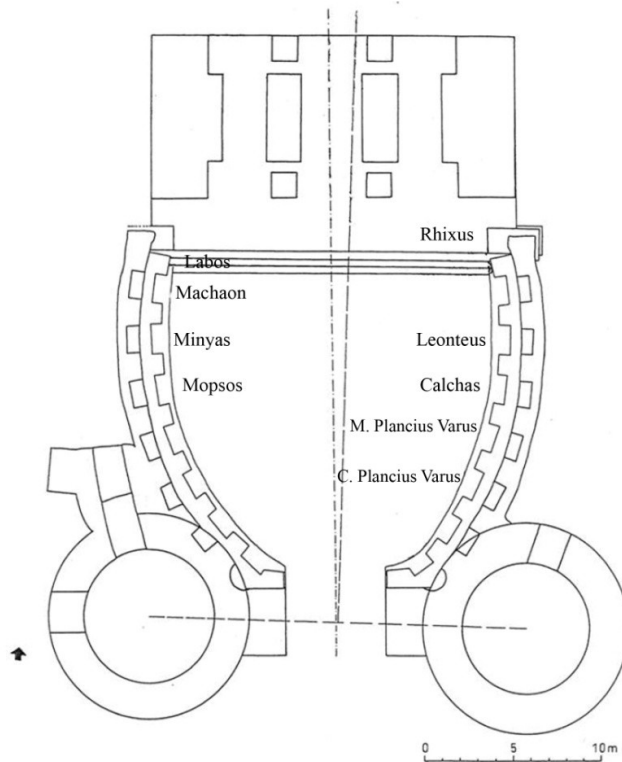
Source: after Şahin, 1996a, p.51

Figure 49. The excavation find spots of the *Ktistes*.
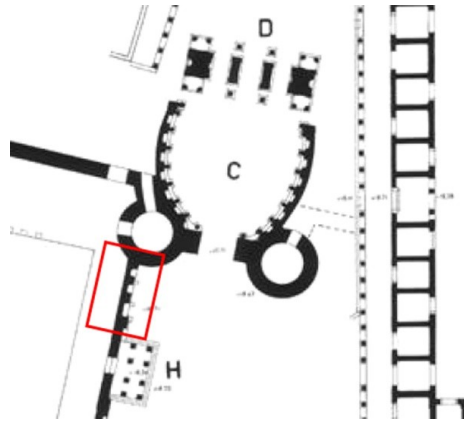
Source: after Bulgurlu, 1999, çizim 10

131

Figure 50. The location of the Display Wall
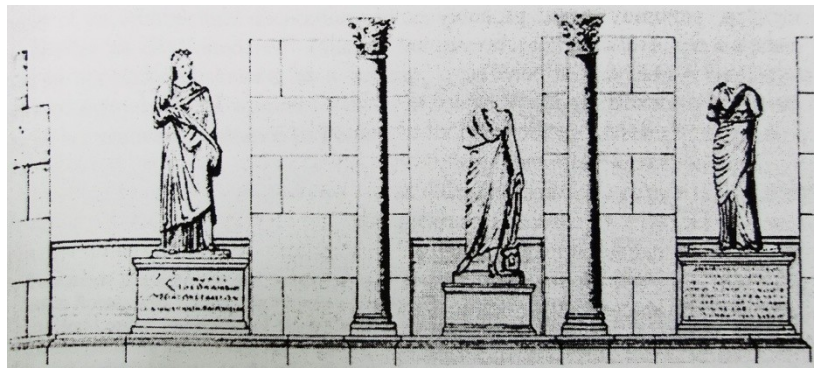
Source: after Bulgurlu, 2008, Abb.1, p.250

Figure 51. The reconstruction of the Display Wall. The better preserved statue of
Plancia Magna is on the left.

Source: Boatwright, 1993, Figure 87, 203

Figure 52. Comparison of the statues of Sabina (left) and Plancia Magna (right)
(photos by B. Nilay Kalınbayrak)

Figure 53. The statue of Plancia Magna and the inscribed base dedicated by her freedmen M. Plancius Alexander (photo by B. Nilay Kalınbayrak).