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Making an Artful Case: Public Sculptural Programs as Instruments of Civic Rivalry in Imperial Perge and Pamphylia

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Making an Artful Case: Public Sculptural Programs as Instruments of Civic Rivalry in Imperial Perge and Pamphylia

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The city of Perge in Pamphylia is well-known for its public monuments and sculpture. The Hadrianic monuments – in particular the South City Gate complex and the North Nymphaeum – have attracted wide-ranging scholarly attention. For instance, the former structure and its decoration have been examined in the contexts of female participation in euergetism and public life and of civic and cultural identity in the Roman provinces¹. The latter building appears in studies of the local patronage of a quintessentially Roman architectural type, the monumental nymphaeum, and of the use of popular elite portrait types across the Roman world². The sculptural programs of both the South City Gate complex and the North Nymphaeum – with their references to Greek city founders – are also often considered examples of appeals to Hadrianic and Second Sophistic philhellenism and a desire to partake in the prestige of the Panhellenion³. As well as these public buildings and sculptural programs lend themselves to the exploration of the broad imperial and cultural *milieux* of the 2nd cent. A.D., they also belong in Pergaian historical and architectural continuums extending into the next century, during which the city's status changed significantly. A constant concern for Perge – as for other cities in the Greek East – was competition with regional rivals for imperial favor and privileges. It was necessary to employ different strategies in different times to gain maximum advantage and to broadcast civic prestige to various

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¹ Boatwright 1991; Boatwright 1993; van Bremen 1996; Newby 2003; Ng 2007; Slavazzi 2007; Slavazzi 2010; Bravi 2011.

² Longfellow 2011; Richard 2011; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001; Trimble 2011.

³ Chi 2002; Newby 2003; Slavazzi 2007; Hervás 2014.

Fig. 1 City Plan of Perge with South City Gate complex, North Nymphaeum, Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina, and Late Antique City Gate labeled

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audiences. By viewing the sculptural programs of these famous Hadrianic buildings along with those which decorated two later monuments – namely, the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina from the early Severan period and the Late Antique City Gate begun after the mid-

Fig. 2 Interior of the renovated South City Gate at Perge



3rd cent. A.D. – through the lens of intercity rivalry, we can gain a new understanding of their meaning (*Fig. 1*). The sculptural programs reveal that Perge’s monumental self-representation shifted from an alignment with Hellenic culture during the 2nd cent. A.D. to one that embraced and promoted its Pamphylian cultic traditions in the 3rd cent. A.D. In this study I argue that these monuments’ ornamentation helped to articulate Perge’s claims of supremacy in Pamphylia, especially in its primary rivalry with the city of Side for imperial honors and privileges⁴.

THE SOUTH CITY GATE COMPLEX: HELLENIC FOUNDERS AS THE BASIS FOR CIVIC AND SOCIAL PRESTIGE

Though Perge had been inhabited since the Bronze Age and had traded with major Greek centers such as Rhodes since the 7th cent. B.C., it was not until the Hadrianic period that it placed strong emphasis on its identity as a community with Hellenic roots⁵. This is well illustrated at the South City Gate. No longer serving a real defensive need, the Hellenistic structure was transformed in several phases starting in the Julio-Claudian period into a civic ornament, receiving its fullest adornment under the patronage of Perge’s then-preeminent female citizen, Plancia Magna in the Hadrianic period⁶. Two curving walls were added to the round towers of the original gateway to form a horse-shoe shaped courtyard⁷ (*Fig. 2*). Typical of the marble-style architecture

⁴ The sculpture from the South City Gate complex and from other monuments at Perge have yet to be fully published, and ongoing research – which are cited below – has led to the proposal of different dates and therefore possibly different phases of work at these monuments.

⁵ Abbasoğlu 2001, 176–177.

⁶ Mansel 1956; Özgür et al. 1996, nos. 4–5. See Martini 2010 on the transformation of the South City Gate in response to changing historical circumstances from the Hellenistic into the Roman period.

⁷ Abbasoğlu 2001, 177–178; see also Lauter 1972.



Fig. 3 Statue base of Mopsos from the South City Gate



Fig. 4 Statue base of Kalchas from the South City Gate



Fig. 5 Statue base of Leonteus from the South City Gate

of Roman Asia Minor, these curving walls were ornamented with columnar façades that framed 28 statue niches. Surviving fragments of sculpture and numerous inscribed statue bases indicate that the niches held statues of gods and heroes such as Apollo and the Dioskouroi and portraits of the patron's family members⁸. Recent archaeological studies of the sculpture – which themselves have yet to be fully published – suggest that the smaller, marble statues of gods and heroes including Pan and Hermes were not part of the Hadrianic phase of the South City Gate renovations, and might have been moved to fill the upper storey niches of the walls as late as Late Antiquity. But, of particular relevance to my argument here are the seven bronze statues of the legendary founders of Perge – Kalchas, Mopsos, Machaon, Leonteus, Rhixos, Labos, and Minyas – and the bases honoring the family members of Plancia Magna, now preserved only in their inscribed bases, which are consistently associated with the Hadrianic period⁹ (Figs. 3–9). These heroes, all of whom are described as hailing from mainland Greece and most of whom are known as participants in the Trojan War, are the basis for Perge's

⁸ Mansel 1956, 104–106; Slavazzi 2010, 277.

⁹ The dating of the architectural phases at the South City Gate is still under study and debate. While the South City Gate complex is often assigned to the date of 119 to 122 A.D. as in literature cited above, archaeological and sculptural studies such as those by A. Özdizbay (Özdizbay 2008, 92–100, 248) and S. Bulgurlu Gün (Bulgurlu Gün 2010, 246) argue for several phases of work at this site after the Hellenistic period, for the dating of the founder statues to around 131 A.D., and for the later addition of the marble ideal statuary perhaps during Late Antiquity. The inscribed bases for the founders' statues are published in IK Perge 101–107; Scheer 1993, 187–202; Slavazzi 2010, 275–276. A. Bravi (Bravi 2011, 307–314) discusses these legendary founders. See also Weiss 1984, 181–182 on the widespread practice of promoting legendary foundations and founders in eastern cities, especially on their coinage.



Fig. 6 Statue base of Machaon from the South City Gate

claim to exalted Hellenic civic origins that other Pamphylian cities could not match¹⁰.

Some of these legendary founders are well-attested in literary sources. Kalchas is widely known as a participant in the Trojan War and as a seer; more importantly, he is part of an established tradition in which Greek Trojan War veterans wandered through Asia and founded cities in various places¹¹. Strabo, for example, names Kalchas as the founder of Selge in Pisidia¹². Furthermore, there is a mythological connection between Kalchas and another founder depicted at the South City Gate, Mopsos. The latter is identified by the inscription on his Pergaian statue base as a Delphian and son of Apollo¹³ (Fig. 3). Strabo describes Mopsos as the son of Apollo and Manto, the daughter of Tiresias; he defeated Kalchas in a contest of prophetic skills that took place at Kolophon¹⁴. The same author also credits Mopsos with leading Trojan War veterans over the Taurus mountains to settle in Pamphylia, and with founding the city of



Fig. 7 Statue base of Minyas from the South City Gate



Fig. 8 Statue base of Rhixos from South City Gate



Fig. 9 Statue base of Labos from South City Gate

¹⁰ Ng 2007, 47–57.

¹¹ Saladino 1990, cat. A 2.

¹² Strab. 12, 7, 3.

¹³ IK Perge 106. For Mopsos at Perge, see also Simon 1992, 653 no. 1.

¹⁴ Strab. 14, 1, 27.

Mallos in Cilicia¹⁵. Pausanias records a slightly different version, calling Mopsos the son of Manto and Rhiakos the Cretan, who had been an early settler in Caria¹⁶. Neither author connects Mopsos to Perge, but Pliny the Elder includes Perge among the cities of Pamphylia, a region that he notes was once called Mopsopia¹⁷. 5th and 4th cent. B. C. coins from Aspendos in Pamphylia depict Mopsos – claimed as the city’s founder – on horseback¹⁸. From still another Pamphylian city, Syllion, comes a Roman period statue base inscribed with the name of Mopsos, likely commemorating him as the city’s founder¹⁹. It is evident that the connection between this hero and the region was strongly felt. Similarly, Leonteus, a Lapith hero mentioned in the *Iliad*²⁰, is also thought to have wandered in Pamphylia and Lycia after the Trojan War, though again he is not ever connected directly with Perge²¹.

The statue base for the founder Machaon of Thessaly at the South City Gate alludes to his prominent cultic role in the early settlement of Perge²². According to most sources, Machaon, a son of Asklepios, was supposed to have perished in the Trojan War. Pausanias describes the tomb and bronze statue of the hero, wearing a crown, at Gerenia in Laconia, his death by Eurypylus, and repatriation of his remains after the Trojan War²³. Quintus Smyrnaeus gives a poetic account of the death of Machaon in battle²⁴. Machaon’s inclusion as a founder at Perge, however, relies on another tradition associated with Kos, in which he survived the Trojan War and traveled to Rhodes and Caria²⁵. The South City Gate statue base calls Machaon the founder of the local cult of Zeus Machaonios, whose temple is situated by the text on the Pergaean acropolis²⁶. Though Pergaean coins do not feature Zeus until the second half of the 3rd cent. A. D., this inscription implies that there had been a temple of Zeus Machaonios on the acropolis by the beginning of the 2nd cent. A. D. This is unusual, since in religious contexts Machaon tends to be connected to Asklepios; he is often venerated with his father or his siblings, usually Podaleiros, with whom he is jointly mentioned in the *Iliad* as healers of the Greek contingent²⁷. In Roman Argos, there

¹⁵ Strab. 14, 4, 3; 14, 5, 16. Mopsos is also the eponymous hero of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, who honored him in its coinage in the 1st cent. A. D., see Simon 1992, 653 and BMC Lycaonia etc. 8, pl. 18, 3. On coins from Hierapolis in Phrygia dating to the Trajanic or Severan period, featured with Torrebos on the reverse of a coin depicting Apollo on obverse, see BMC Phrygia 32, pl. 29, 9.

¹⁶ Paus. 7, 3, 1–5.

¹⁷ Plin. nat. 5, 96.

¹⁸ Robert 1960, 177–178 n. 5; SNG von Aulock 4487–4499; BMC Lycia etc. 10–13, pl. 19, 8–11, all of which have a rider with a spear on the obverse and a boar on the reverse.

¹⁹ D. Hereward (Hereward 1958, 57–58) does not give a more precise date for the Syllion base.

²⁰ Hom. Il. 2, 740.

²¹ Weiss 1997.

²² IK Perge 104; Pandermalis – Leventi 1997.

²³ Paus. 3, 26, 9–10.

²⁴ Quintus Smyrnaeus 6, 390–411.

²⁵ Stein 1928, 147 l. 10–33; 149 l. 43–53. A. Stein notes that this version is only attested in later sources, and also that it could have been a way for the Koans to lend antiquity to their Asklepios cult, by associating Machaon, the son of Asklepios, with a Koan Eurypylus.

²⁶ Excavations have not yet uncovered traces of this temple of Zeus despite the statue base inscription, which may be because of the circumstance of preservation. Excavations at the acropolis at Perge have uncovered three sites of sacred activity extending from the Bronze Age through the Roman periods, though no deities can be concretely linked to them; see Abbasoğlu – Martini 2003; Martini 2004; Martini 2008.

²⁷ Stein 1928, 145. 147–150. Hom. Il. 2, 729–733 mentions Machaon with Podaleiros as sons of Asklepios. Hom. Il. 4, 198–219 on Machaon being summoned to heal the arrow wound of Menelaus.

was a cult of Zeus Machaneus, the Contriver, that was linked to that of Athena Machanis, leading Scheer to suggest that the Pergaian Zeus Machaonios is in fact the result of Greek cultural influence in Pamphylia²⁸.

Though otherwise unattested, the cult of Zeus Machaonios enhanced the religious identity of Perge by highlighting an ancient devotion to the chief Olympian deity. With its specious similarity to Argive traditions, this cult also provided a Greek balance to the worship of Anatolian mother or fertility goddesses that was widespread in Asia and Perge itself²⁹.

Other founders represented at the South City Gate also allowed Perge to claim ties to the important Hellenic cult of Apollo Pythias –

through Mopsos and a hero named as Labos the Delphian. Labos and another founder, Rhixos the Athenian, are known only from their Pergaian bases, implying an exclusivity of association with this city based on lost mythical or fictive traditions³⁰. In sum, though many of these mythical founders have regional ties to Pamphylia or at least Anatolia, all of them come from traditional centers of the Greek world, not least of which were the prestigious sites of Delphi, Athens, and Argos. Their presence at the South City Gate supported a claim to multiple geographic and religious connections to the Greek mainland, thereby burnishing Perge's Hellenic cultic and cultural heritage³¹.

Alongside the statues of the Hellenic founders, there were also depictions of Plancia Magna's father, M. Plancius Varus, and her brother, C. Plancius Varus (*Fig. 10*). Both were also acclaimed as city founders on their statue bases, so that a direct comparison is made between these historical figures and the legendary heroes at the South City Gate, as though they inherited this position of benefaction and care for the city across the centuries³². Certainly, the Plancii – Italians who settled in Perge during the Republican period – were influential in their hometown and in Asia



Fig. 10 Statue base of C. Plancius Varus from South City Gate

²⁸ Paus. 2, 22, 2; Kruse 1928; Scheer 1993, 193.

²⁹ MacKay 1990, 2054–2055.

³⁰ IK Perge 102, 107; MacKay 1990, 2054–2055 n. 23. Labos may have founded (or been honored by) a Pergaian festival called the Labeia, which is mentioned in a single 3rd cent. A.D. inscription, and, based on that instance his name was restored on the South City Gate statue base by S. Şahin; Şahin 1999, 136–137, 142–143; Şahin 2004, 35–36. MacKay posits that the name Rhixos was concocted so as to align with personal names in the Pamphylian and Pisidian languages, and for the local topographical feature near the Kestros River that may be the »Rhixos' foot« mentioned in the statue base inscription.

³¹ It is very likely that the actual connections between Perge and Greece as promoted in the South City Gate were to some degree fictional or at least very tenuous. Cilician cities in the Hellenistic period are known to have exploited spurious connections between their names and the exploits of Hellenic heroes in order to establish a Hellenic heritage for themselves. For this phenomenon, see Strubbe 1984; Scheer 1993, 187–201.

³² IK Perge 108, 109; Strubbe 1984, 300. Strubbe 1984, 290–304 provides general discussion of the use of the term *ktistes* in the imperial period. The comparison between these 2nd cent. A.D. benefactors and Greek legendary heroes has been examined in the framework of collective memory in Ng 2016.

Minor as a whole³³. M. Plancius Varus was legate of Achaëa and Asia in the late Julio-Claudian or early Flavian period and the proconsul of Bithynia during the reign of Vespasian³⁴. It is possible that, as a result of his imperial connections and service, he had a hand in winning a *neokoros*, or the custodianship of the imperial cult temple, for Perge³⁵. C. Plancius Varus is believed to have been a legate of Cilicia during the Hadrianic period³⁶. S. Şahin conjectures that there were five additional statues of Plancia Magna's family members displayed in the niches of the South City Gate, perhaps dedicated to her husband, C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus and their son, C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus, as well as to her nephew, C. Rutilius Plancius Varus³⁷. Indeed, it has been suggested that all 28 niches of the horse-shoe shaped walls were once occupied by statues of mythical founders and members of Plancia Magna's extended family acclaimed as founders³⁸. Since the Cornuti were themselves major patrons of monumental building projects in Perge in an earlier generation, the prominent visual pairing of the two families in Plancia Magna's South City Gate complex is logical³⁹. Thus, Plancia Magna's own heritage by birth and marriage was a major element of the physically imposing monument⁴⁰. The inscriptions on the bases of M. Plancius Varus and C. Plancius Varus, which describe them in terms of their kinship to Plancia Magna, support the centrality of the female patron by highlighting the daughter and sister's own prestige and power in Perge⁴¹.

The sculptural presentation of Perge's early history as dictated by a member of its leading families was paired with another display on the monumental triple arch that closed off the elliptical courtyard of the city gate⁴². The arch, like the gate itself, was dedicated to the *patria* and Perge's tutelary deity, Artemis, by Plancia Magna, as recorded in two inscriptions, one Greek and one Latin, on the inner and outer faces of the arch, respectively⁴³. Architecturally, this triple arch is typical of Roman honorific arches, with a large central bay flanked by narrower side passages, each covered with a barrel vault reveted in marble⁴⁴. The sculptural decoration featured statues of Artemis, Tyche, and imperial family portraits – including those of the deified Nerva, Trajan, Marciana, and Matidia, and those of Plotina Augusta, Hadrian, and Sabina Augusta – on bilingual bases⁴⁵. The choice of a triple arch reveals an acute awareness of the symbols of

³³ Jameson 1965, 55; Mitchell 1974, 27–28; Slavazzi 2010, 279. Jones 1976, 231 on origins from Latium specifically.

³⁴ Jameson 1965, 56–58; Syme 1969, 366; Mitchell 1974, 28.

³⁵ Burrell 2004, 175. S. Şahin (Şahin 2010, 645) believes that these honors were due to the efforts of two Pergaean brothers, Demetrios and Apollonios, who were active architectural benefactors in Perge during the Flavian period. Mitchell 1974, 35. Jameson 1965, 55 on his own ties to the Cornuti.

³⁶ Şahin 1999, 143–144; Slavazzi 2010, 280.

³⁷ Özdizbay 2008, 98–100.

³⁸ IK Perge 36. For additional dedications at this gymnasium complex by C. Iulius Cornutus see IK Perge 37–39; Abbasoğlu 2001, 180.

³⁹ Syme 1969, 365–366; Boatwright 1991, 253; van Bremen 1996, 105–106.

⁴⁰ Boatwright 1993, 194. 204–205; cf. the way in which Plancia Magna is described in the inscriptions honoring her (Boatwright 1993, n. 52) as the daughter of M. Plancius Varus and wife of C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus (IK Perge 122).

⁴¹ Mansel 1956, 105–106. The date of the triple arch has also been reevaluated. A. Özdizbay (Özdizbay 2008, 104–106. 248) and B. Akçay Güven (Akçay Güven 2014, 215) both support a date of 131 A.D., close to Hadrian's second tour of Asia Minor. Plancia Magna would have been quite old by this later date.

⁴² IK Perge 86.

⁴³ Mansel 1956, 111–119.

⁴⁴ Mansel 1956, 118–119; IK Perge 89–99; Slavazzi 2010, 277. Portraits published in İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 68–69 no. 29; 72–73 no. 36; 78 no. 47; Fittschen 1973, 57 no. 36; Özgür et al. 1996, nos. 21. 33. 35. 37.

Roman political authority, and its presence in Perge marks the patron's, and her city's, willing acknowledgment of that power. The depiction of the cuirassed Hadrian based on imperial models and of the imperial women using the Large Herculaneum Woman type further places this triple arch monument into a visual context that was universally recognizable across the Roman empire⁴⁶. However, the dedication of the arch to the city and its patron goddess rather than to the emperor gives a local orientation to what is otherwise a purely Roman building type. There is an undercurrent of elite self-aggrandizement at this monument, too, as the iconic Roman form might have reminded viewers of the Italian roots of the Plancii and their service to Rome, adding further glory to the »founder« portraits of the male Plancii. The large number of imperial women honored with statues at the triple arch surely reflected positively on Plancia Magna's own position as the most prominent public woman in her own community and high priestess of the imperial cult⁴⁷. The effectiveness of this triple arch as a locus for the expression of both imperial loyalty and respect for imperial women endured even after a likely restoration or repair campaign in the Antonine period, during which one of the portraits of Hadrian was replaced and portraits of Marcus Aurelius, Faustina Minor, and Lucilla were added⁴⁸.

Though the architectural forms and themes of the two components of this complex – the Roman arch and the renovated Hellenistic gate – could be considered culturally distinct and to address different audiences⁴⁹, it is rather possible to understand the arch and gate working together to present Plancia Magna's forceful case for Perge's primacy in Roman Pamphylia. This case was supported not only by calling attention to the Plancii's personal and political loyalty to Rome, but also crucially to Perge's purported Hellenic beginnings. The South City Gate's promotion of Perge's numerous links to the Greek mainland is noteworthy in light of the origins of the other four major cities in Pamphylia. Visitors would enter Perge through the South City Gate and be confronted by Perge's seven foundation heroes, which surpassed in number the Greek founders claimed, for example, by Syllion or Aspendos. Only later in the Antonine period and mid-3rd cent. A. D. did coins from these two cities also name Leonteus as a founder in addition to Mopsos⁵⁰. Such a deeply Hellenic history was also not accessible to Attaleia, which was founded in the Hellenistic period, nor to Perge's emerging rival Side, which traced its origins to gods and regional figures rather than to Greek heroes⁵¹.

⁴⁶ K. Fittschen and P. Zanker (Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 44 cat. 46 no. 6) classify the cuirassed statue of Hadrian as a variation of the *Stazione Termini* type from the early Hadrianic period; see also Fittschen 1973, 57 no. 29. B. Akçay Güven (Akçay Güven 2014, 41–44 Kat. 1.1.4 PE 8.214–220) argues for a mid-Antonine date for this sculpture, and believes it was added during a repair of the arch. See also Fittschen 1973, 57 no. 36; Akçay Güven 2014, 150–152 PK 4.

⁴⁷ Boatwright 1991, 252; Boatwright 1993, 199. 202; van Bremen 1996, 104–107.

⁴⁸ Akçay Güven 2014, 147–149 Kat. 1.2.2 PK 3 (Faustina Minor), contra Fittschen 1982, 64 fn. 58 and Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 10 cat. 9 fn. 4; Akçay Güven 2014, 153–154 PK 5 (Lucilla) and Fittschen 1982, 79 fn. 43 b).

⁴⁹ Z. Newby (Newby 2003, 201) interprets the triple arch and its sculptures as a statement of »Perge's cosmopolitan status as a city«, aimed primarily at non-Greek speaking visitors, and the South City Gate and its depictions of founders as »more of a civic concern«. A. Bravi (Bravi 2011, 306) sees this as a space »suspended between Greece and Rome« (author's translation of Italian original).

⁵⁰ Weiss 1997; BMC Lycia etc. 88, pl. 22, 9.

⁵¹ See Weiss 1984, 188. 194 on the »Wertsystem« based on cities' heroic and Hellenic origins in the imperial period and the political value of civic antiquity, foundation legends, and heroes in distinguishing cities from each other in prestige.

Moreover, the cohort of founders celebrated at the South City Gate downplays the city's Anatolian religious traditions in favor of connections to Greek cults of Zeus and Apollo. Though Perge was not a member of the Panhellenion, the claims to Hellenic foundation and cultural and religious heritage at the South City Gate complex fit within the criteria for member cities⁵². The success of the Plancii as politicians during the reign of Hadrian suggests that they were fluent in contemporary cultural discourses and imperial priorities. Just as the male Plancii had brought prestige to Perge by serving the empire away from home in the late 1st and early 2nd cent. A.D., Plancia Magna – a holder of important civic offices such as *demiourgos*, priestess of Artemis, and high priestess of the imperial cult – was well-positioned to represent both her city and her family locally by advocating for Perge's position in the region via the choices she made in her architectural munificence⁵³. She surely deemed the version of Pergaian history and lineage promoted at the South City Gate to be the one most likely both to gain distinction and imperial favor for the city and to highlight her own stature in the city.

THE NORTH NYMPHAEUM AS NARRATIVE ECHO

The South City Gate complex's emphasis on Perge's Hellenic founders, ties to venerable Greek cults, and imperial loyalty as the bases of its regional importance is echoed by the sculptural program of the North Nymphaeum, situated at the base of the city's ancient acropolis. The North Nymphaeum is conventionally dated by its sculpture and architectural decoration to the Hadrianic or very early Antonine period⁵⁴. Not only is this grand fountain roughly contemporary with the South City Gate complex, but it is also visually linked to the monumental southern entrance to the city via an open-air water canal that ran from the North Nymphaeum down the center of Perge's north-south colonnaded street. For these reasons, it has been suggested that Plancia Magna was the patron of both structures, but as the dedicatory inscription for the North Nymphaeum is lost, this hypothesis can neither be supported nor disproved⁵⁵. However, analysis of the architectural decoration, materials, and layout of the structures suggests that the South

⁵² Spawforth – Walker 1985, 82; Boatwright 2000, 149–150; Hervás 2014, 67.

⁵³ Inscriptions with titles held by Plancia Magna, IK Perge 117–118. 120–121. 123–125. See also van Bremen 1996, 104–105; Boatwright 1993, 204. Nollé 1994, 250–252 on the honorific titulature's emphasis on Plancia Magna's service to her father and to the city by describing her as the daughter of both. J. Trimble (Trimble 2011, 234) presents a variation on this idea, in that Plancia Magna's use of the Large Herculeanum Woman statue type alongside the references to the legendary past of Perge demonstrated her familiarity with broad imperial and cultural currents and how best to situate Perge in such contexts. R. Raja (Raja 2012, 52. 185–186. 188–189. 193) focuses on the creation of public spaces and religious structures as showcases for civic identity in Greek-speaking cities in the Roman empire, and also demonstrates that emphasis on local cults from the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. onwards, especially those with asylum rights, not only contributed economically to cities by drawing worshippers but also promoted their importance within their regions.

⁵⁴ The North Nymphaeum is also known as Nymphaeum F3, see Mansel 1975a, 83–92; Mansel 1975b, 369–371; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 228; Atik 2003, 113–114; Longfellow 2011, 156–161; Bravi 2011, 310–315. For the use of architectural ornamentation to date this monument, see Vandeput 1997, 93–94.

⁵⁵ The original dedicatory inscription of the North Nymphaeum was erased sometime in antiquity, making a certain identification of the patron impossible, see Richard 2011, 82; Longfellow 2011, 160. F. Slavazzi (Slavazzi 2010, 281) believes that the North Nymphaeum was connected to Plancia Magna because she was the patron of the aqueduct that fed the fountain. J. Trimble (Trimble 2011, 234–235) believes that there were different and even competing patrons at the South City Gate complex and North Nymphaeum.

City Gate complex, the colonnaded street, and the North Nymphaeum were part of a unified urban planning project, financed in various parts by private patrons⁵⁶. Therefore, the patron of the North Nymphaeum, regardless of any connection to Plancia Magna herself, was likely aware of the interplay between this fountain and the gate at the far end of Perge's major thoroughfare.

The double-storied nymphaeum is *pi*-shaped, with two projecting side wings fronted by columnar façades flanking the central section, which was anchored in the lower level by a projecting balcony above the holding basin. The first story of the central rear wall is perforated by three openings: two barrel-vaulted passageways on either side of the holding basin and an arched opening in the central portion of the back wall. The barrel-vaulted passageways provided access to the street leading up to the acropolis, the site of Perge's earliest phases of settlement⁵⁷. The second story had three niches for the display of statuary.

In addition to reliefs with dionysiac themes such as thyrsos, masks, and tritons that are common on Hellenistic and Roman fountain houses⁵⁸, the freestanding statuary of the North Nymphaeum includes over life-sized statues of a Versailles-type Artemis, a heroically semi-nude Zeus, and a youthful nude hero convincingly identified in recent scholarship as Machaon⁵⁹. These three statues would most likely have been displayed in the three niches in the upper story of the central back wall⁶⁰. Another over life-sized statue of the reclining personification of the river Kestros, which fed the North Nymphaeum via an aqueduct, was set on the projecting balcony immediately above the spout that supplied water to the holding basin. Two life-sized portraits of Hadrian – one cuirassed, the other heroically nude – as well as two female portraits, which some have argued depicted family members of the North Nymphaeum's patron or imperial women, likely would have occupied positions in the lower level of either the central section or the side wings⁶¹. The overall visual effect of the North Nymphaeum would have been similar to that of the monumental triple arch at the other end of the colonnaded street. The association between Zeus and Machaon at the fountain also recalls the inscribed base of Machaon at the South City Gate, which referred to a temple of Zeus Machaonios on the acropolis. If this cult was indeed active during the 2nd cent. A. D., the North Nymphaeum itself could be seen as a monumental gateway to that sacred precinct⁶². At the very least, it is apparent that the nymphaeum's patron made the conscious decision to capitalize on the sculptural program of the South City Gate complex.

⁵⁶ Heinzlmann 2003, 215–217.

⁵⁷ Mansel 1975b, 370; Ng 2007, 58–60.

⁵⁸ Kapossy 1969, 74.

⁵⁹ Özgür et al. 1996, nos. 1. 8. 11; Chi 2002, 174–175; Bravi 2011, 313–314.

⁶⁰ Cf. C. Dorl-Klingenschmid (Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 228) who puts the two portraits of Hadrian in the upper story of the central wall, as would be typical in an imperial nymphaeum. J. Richard (Richard 2011, 77) and B. Longfellow (Longfellow 2011, 159) note both possibilities, though the latter suggests that the state of preservation for the Artemis, Zeus, and Machaon statues suggests a fall from the upper story of the central wall, as does Trimble 2011, 233.

⁶¹ Mansel 1975b, 370; İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 95–98 nos. 45–46; 249 nos. 226–227; Özgür et al. 1996, nos. 32. 34. 46–47; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 47 cat. 47 no. 20. J. Trimble (Trimble 2011, 232–233) places Hadrian's statues on ground level in the front, and the female portraits flanking the Kestros personification. B. Akçay Güven (Akçay Güven 2014, 181–184 Kat. 1.2.4 PK 12 and PK 13) points to stylistic differences and the flat carving of the folds to argue that the female portraits are not Hadrianic but rather Severan, suggesting a later phase of work, perhaps repair, credited to the patrons depicted by these female portraits.

⁶² Martini 2004.

Nymphaea in Asia Minor were closely associated with the emperor, either as imperial benefactions or as private dedications to the emperor, and in many instances the decoration of these monumental public fountains depicts the emperor as the metaphorical source of water⁶³. At Perge, however, even as Hadrian's military control and magnified persona are clearly acknowledged in the sculptural program, his portraits are not the focal point of the display⁶⁴. The positioning of the smaller imperial and female portrait statues of the North Nymphaeum beneath those of Artemis, Zeus, and Machaon attributes the prosperity of the city – in this context symbolized by the abundance of water – to Perge's origins⁶⁵. Though the North Nymphaeum's use of widely-distributed statue types such as the Large Herculean Woman and Artemis of Versailles partakes in the common visual tropes of both imperial female portraiture and Classical sculptural style⁶⁶, Pergaean historical awareness is, in fact, a major feature of this decorative program⁶⁷. The very specific time of the joint foundation of Perge and its cult of Zeus by Machaon is prominently referenced at the North Nymphaeum, and to this moment, the sculptural program claims, is also owed the gift of the river Kestros to Perge. The architectural design of the North Nymphaeum as a grand entrance to the acropolis, the site of the temple of Zeus Machaonios and the Bronze Age settlement of Perge, would only reinforce the message conveyed by the sculptural program⁶⁸.

The emphasis on the ancient origins of Perge and the presentation of its devotion to Hellenic – or Hellenized – cult bind together the North Nymphaeum and the South City Gate complex. The connection is embodied by the water channel, which physically and symbolically beckoned a citizen or visitor at Perge from the South City Gate to, and then through, the North Nymphaeum to the acropolis. The perforated North Nymphaeum allowed for the movement of people from the most recently developed part of Perge to the ancient citadel, thus serving as the transitional hub in the historical topography of the city. Therefore, the acropolis itself, the North Nymphaeum, and the South City Gate complex presented a unified narrative of Pergaean history in the 2nd cent. A. D. – one in which the legacy of foreign founders from Greece was carried on by a new generation of Pergaeans, some with foreign roots of their own. Together, they articulate the historical and visual arguments for Perge's exceptional origins and the outstanding excellence of its citizenry⁶⁹.

⁶³ Longfellow 2011.

⁶⁴ Cf. both Richard 2011, 82; Bravi 2011, 315.

⁶⁵ Longfellow 2011, 159–160 on the hierarchy implied by statue size and the patron's desire to aggrandize Perge itself in the program via the visual emphasis on the Kestros river personification; see also Richard 2011, 74–79; Trimble 2011, 233.

⁶⁶ See Longfellow 2011, 159 on the Hadrianic portraits' deviations from metropolitan models and hence their likely production in a local Pergaean workshop.

⁶⁷ Trimble 1999, 153–154. The significance of the choice to use generic statue types at this monument is refined by B. Longfellow (Longfellow 2011, 159) who believes that such a program was the most culturally inclusive and widely comprehensible to a blended Greek and Roman audience of the type that would have frequented Perge in the 2nd cent. A. D. It must be noted that Artemis Pergaia was represented similarly, in short hunting chiton with a hound, on Pergaean coins from the 3rd through 1st cent. B. C., for example, SNG von Aulock 4653–4663, pl. 151.

⁶⁸ Abbasoğlu 2001, 177.

⁶⁹ Ng 2007, 66. Maupai 2003, 158–159. 215. 221 argues that the South City Gate's sculptural program allowed Perge and Plancia Magna to showcase different kinds of beauty [*Schönheit*]: the architectural beauty that reflected Hellenistic and Imperial wealth; a historical glory of Hellenic heritage; and a magnificence of benefaction by elite citizens who were styled as founders.

These characteristics built upon Perge's already compelling case for Pamphylian primacy as the host of a *neokoros* and the home of a cult of the Artemis that enjoyed asylum rights, both since the Flavian period. These two privileges had been the objects of competition and signifiers of civic status since the beginning of Roman imperial presence in Asia Minor. During the reign of Tiberius, the leading cities of Asia – Smyrna, Ephesos, Pergamon – competed against each other for the right of asylum on the bases of the cities' long histories and their venerable local cults⁷⁰. In the 2nd cent. A. D., Plancia Magna and the patron of the North Nymphaeum burnished Perge's already prestigious reputation by promoting a civic identity that had the most contemporary relevance and appeal, highlighting those features that were unique among the cities of Pamphylia. These provincial elites were not only demonstrating their Second Sophistic cultural *paideia* by harkening back to the city's Trojan War veteran founders in the adornment of their public buildings. They were also positioning themselves as the heirs of these heroic founders, and as indispensable agents in upholding and pressing for Perge's political status and advantages.

NEW POLITICAL CURRENTS IN THE LATE 2ND AND 3RD CENT. A. D.
AND THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL CULT

The public sculptural programs of early 2nd cent. Perge projected an air of confidence based on its Hellenic beginnings, serving as statements of Pergaiaian superiority over its Pamphylian peers. In the early Severan period, a shift occurs: the indigenous, Anatolian Artemis Pergaia, not Hellenic founders or quasi-Argive cults, would provide the support for Perge's claims of primacy in Pamphylia. Furthermore, the imperial family is now depicted as a close partner and ally of the goddess' cult. This reorientation of civic identity and new visual rhetoric must have been responses to the historical developments that began in the mid-2nd cent. A. D. and that became critically important to the prestige and welfare of eastern provincial cities⁷¹.

The importance of imperial patronage to the cities of Asia Minor increased from the Antonine period into the 3rd cent. A. D., and small and medium-sized cities worked to build closer relationships with the sovereign⁷². The increasing reliance on hierarchical administrative systems in the imperial provinces led to a fierce competition among leading cities for titles and provincial rankings, which in turn yielded material benefits for the community⁷³. The *Digest* records that already in the time of Antoninus Pius, the emperor granted special exemptions and privileges to cities based on their relative size within their provinces, and the jurist Modestinus further holds that the »greatest« and »greater« cities – corresponding to metropoleis and assize centers respectively – received added benefits such as a larger number of citizens exempt from public duties⁷⁴. The imperial power to promote cities' rankings or to remove their status equated to

⁷⁰ Tac. ann. 3, 59–63; Weiss 1984, 179–182.

⁷¹ Ng 2007, 67–76.

⁷² Magie 1950, 631–633.

⁷³ Magie 1950, 635–637 addresses the leading Asian cities' rivalries for titles such as first city, metropolis, and for neokorates. The numerical ranking of cities extended down to Seventh, for Magnesia-on-Meander. Failing to earn actual designations as first city of Asia, Pergamon proclaimed itself to be »first city to be Twice Temple-Warden [*neokoros*]«.

⁷⁴ Digest 27, 1, 6, 2; Magie 1950, 634.

significant influence over their political and financial health⁷⁵. The victory of Septimius Severus in the civil war against Pescennius Niger in the late 2nd cent. A.D., for example, had adverse consequences for cities that had supported Severus' eastern rival. Severus stripped Byzantium of its civic status and territory and presented them as a gift to the city of Perinthos⁷⁶. As further evidence of the mutability of civic status and the fickleness of imperial prerogative, Caracalla partially restored Byzantium's rights during his reign⁷⁷. 3rd cent. A.D. emperors also controlled the granting of sacred games to cities⁷⁸. In a period when euergetic and civic spending was moving more and more towards games and festivals, major sacred and international games greatly enhanced a city's prestige and served as an economic boost by attracting visitors and trade⁷⁹.

At the same time, it became increasingly advantageous for a city not only to appear receptive to the ruler's authority and agenda, but also to prove its own worthiness by calling attention to significant local attributes such as ancient cults, because these were often vehicles to carry titles and honors bestowed by the emperor. While the competition during the Julio-Claudian and early Flavian periods between major cities was for asylum rights for their cults and the right to host a *neokoros* of the imperial cult, Caracalla granted Ephesos a *neokoros* under the condition that the honor applied not to the imperial cult but instead to its famous cult of Artemis Ephesia⁸⁰. Perge's Hellenic lineage, featured so visibly in the early 2nd cent. A.D. at the South City Gate and the North Nymphaeum, was in the 3rd cent. A.D. no longer the most effective status marker for the city in maintaining and advancing its claims of supremacy in Pamphylia⁸¹. Instead, that role was fulfilled by Perge's Anatolian religious identity.

Although the public sculptural programs of Hadrianic Perge took pains to emphasize the city's ties to Greek gods, Perge's most famous cult throughout antiquity was in fact that of the Anatolian *Wanassa Preiia*, or – after syncretization – Artemis Pergaia⁸². The goddess was worshipped widely, with evidence of dedications to Artemis Pergaia coming from Halikarnassos and Naukratis during the Hellenistic period. During the imperial period, several Pisidian cities featured Artemis Pergaia's cult image on their coinage⁸³. In the earliest literary references to the cult, from the Hellenistic period, Callimachus writes that Artemis favored the city of Perge

⁷⁵ Dion. Chrys. 35, 15 regarding assize centers in particular.

⁷⁶ Cass. Dio 74, 14, 1–4. C. Roueché (Roueché 1989, 217) states that this particular act by the emperor led to an increasing concern on the part of provincial cities over their respective ranks.

⁷⁷ Ziegler 1978, 495.

⁷⁸ Weiss 1998, 59.

⁷⁹ Weiss 1998, 62–65 on *homonoia* and *synthysia* between cities such as Perge and Side, and delegations at other cities' international festivals, as displays of regional political clout during the 3rd cent. A.D. Coins celebrating these diplomatic and sacred unions were central to intercity rivalries for provincial ranking and prestige. See Zuiderhoek 2009 on social and economic reasons for the shift away from architectural munificence towards games and festivals during the second half of the 2nd through the 3rd cent. A.D.

⁸⁰ Roueché 1989, 211.

⁸¹ Weiss 1991, 379.

⁸² MacKay 1990, 2049–2051; Onurkan 1969/1970, 290, 295–298; Mansel – Akarca 1949, 62–68. Coins from the Hellenistic period featuring images of Artemis are labelled both »Artemis Pergaia« and »Wanassa Preiia«.

⁸³ MacKay 1990, 2059–2066; cf. A. Filges (Filges 2008) who believes that numismatic imagery cited as evidence for the worship of Artemis Pergaia in other cities in fact refer to cults of local goddesses unrelated to, but imagery of which was inspired by that of Artemis Pergaia.

and the *Periplous* mentions Perge's sanctuary of Artemis⁸⁴. Pergaean coins from the Hellenistic period through the Roman imperial period most often featured Artemis as a huntress or her aniconic cult image within her temple, sometimes labeled *Wanassa Preiia*, an indication that the Anatolian nature of the cult remained important⁸⁵. The ancient, non-extant Pergaean sanctuary and temple of Artemis were known also in republican Rome; one of the charges Cicero leveled against Verres, quaestor of Cilicia in 79 B.C., was that he had despoiled the sanctuary and had stripped the cult image of its gold plating with the help of a Pergaean doctor named Artemidoros⁸⁶. Strabo, writing in the Augustan period, refers to Perge only in connection with the cult of Artemis and its annual festival⁸⁷. An inscription from the reign of Domitian confirms that the cult of Artemis Pergaia had by then earned the prestigious right of asylum⁸⁸. In the 2nd cent. A.D., the extramural temple of Artemis was hailed as one of great size and beauty⁸⁹.

By the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D., the Pergaeanians were aware of the growing political significance of its ancient cult. A relief depicting her aniconic cult image was incorporated at that time into the decoration of the city's theater⁹⁰. The triangle-topped relief shows the head of Artemis Pergaia wearing a tall hat; the head is surrounded by vertical rows of busts and floats above a crescent moon and cymbals. Victories near the top left and right sides hold up wreaths. The lower section of the relief is divided into three registers; on each register a procession of people, some dancing, hold a variety of items and musical instruments. There was yet another Antonine representation of this cult image in the theater, as part of a frieze decorating an *aedicula* in the first level of the *scaenae frons*. The frieze depicts a sacrificial procession, in which cattle offerings and cult servants approach the central figure of an enthroned Tyche, displaying in her left hand the aniconic cult image⁹¹. Together, these highly visible representations of Artemis Pergaia in an ancient and distinctly Anatolian form heralded Perge's prestigious local religious tradition at precisely the historical moment when it began to matter the most to the city's regional standing.

3RD CENT. RECONFIGURATION OF PERGAIAN IDENTITY: THE NYMPHAEUM OF AURELIA PAULINA

The worship of Artemis Pergaia is a main feature of both the sculpture and architecture of the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina at Perge, which was constructed between A.D. 195–204 and dedicated to Artemis, the entire Severan family and to the fatherland by Aurelia Paulina, a

⁸⁴ Callim. H. 3, 187; Scyl. 100, 2.

⁸⁵ Roman coins with Artemis as huntress, e.g. BMC Lycia etc. 22–23. 28. 36–38. 43–44. 46; SNG von Aulock 4666–4668. 4674. 4678. 4688–4689. 4698–4700. 4706. 4733. 4735. 4740. 8519. Coins with legend of »*Wanassa Preiia*« and the cult image of Artemis, e.g. BMC Lycia etc. 10–11. 15–20. 24. 26. 31. 41; SNG von Aulock 4649–4651. 4664–4665. 4669. 4671–4672. 4685. 4701–4702. 4731–4732. 8514. 8516. 8525.

⁸⁶ Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 54.

⁸⁷ Strab. 14, 4, 2.

⁸⁸ IK Perge 65; MacKay 1990, 2051; Rigsby 1996, 449–452.

⁸⁹ See Robert 1948, 66–67.

⁹⁰ This relief is now in Antalya Museum, inv. no. A3796; see Onurkan 1969/1970, 291; Fleischer 1973, 233–241.

⁹¹ Ateş 2000, 331–336 figs. 53. 54; Öztürk 2009, 51. 90 pl. 11, 7.

priestess of Artemis for life and high priestess of the imperial cult in the city of Syllion⁹². The fountain abutted the eastern wall of the bath complex just outside the South City Gate and was constructed in two distinct halves⁹³. The functional northern section, where the water spouts and large basin were located, followed a conventional form of a straight back wall fronted by a columnar façade with five niches; this configuration may have extended upward for a second story. Remains of several statues were recovered from this section of the nymphaeum, including parts of a nude male statue and of a Nike as well as several portraits⁹⁴. Two of them – a head of a youth, identified as either Caracalla or Elagabalus, and a female portrait that has been identified as that of Julia Soaemias, the sister of the empress Julia Domna – date to the original phase of the nymphaeum⁹⁵. Though Aurelia Paulina acted alone as the patron of the nymphaeum in Perge, her choice of sculptural decoration in the northern section may have been influenced by her role as the imperial cult priest, an office that she held jointly with her husband in Sillyon. In such shared duties, the wife is often responsible for the worship of the female members of the imperial family⁹⁶.

The nymphaeum's non-functional southern section incorporated a double-storied pedimental façade with a barrel vault that sheltered and highlighted a small spring. A statuette of Artemis Pergaia was found in the debris of the vault, and the spring is held to have been sacred to the

⁹² There are two sets of dedicatory inscriptions; see Mansel 1975b, 368–369; IK Perge 195 names Aurelia Paulina as the patron of the entire structure and describes her career and marital status; IK Perge 196 records a dedicatory inscription to Artemis Pergaia, holding the right of asylum, and to Septimius Severus and the entire imperial family, and to the fatherland. In his commentary on the inscriptions, S. Şahin (Şahin 1999, 233–235) gives a date range of A.D. 195–204, leaning towards a construction date for this nymphaeum around A.D. 200. B. Longfellow (Longfellow 2011, 185) gives a date of A.D. 198–211, allowing for its completion around the time of the accession of Caracalla.

⁹³ A description of the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina, also known as Nymphaeum F2, can be found in Mansel, 1975a, 65–71; Mansel 1975b, 367–369; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 230; Chi 2002, 164–185; Longfellow 2011, 185–187. C. Gliwitsky (Gliwitsky 2010, 41–44) argues that Nymphaeum F4, separated from F2 by a narrow passageway, was part of the same construction as the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina, and served to balance the unusual architectural composition. Interestingly, the visual program of the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina was closely followed at Nymphaeum F4. This fountain featured a very similar sculptured pediment, with the key iconographic differences of Artemis being depicted here in a short hunting chiton with a stag and dog, but accompanied by a priestess dressed in the Syrian style, perhaps the donor of the fountain, who is equal in size to the goddess. The god Dionysos is present with a griffin, alongside Aphrodite represented in the Capua type. The portrait identified as that of Elagabalus may have originally been displayed here prior to being moved to the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina, where it was found, suggesting that these two structures were built not just physically close together, but temporally as well with F4 dating to around 220 A.D., though the circumstances of patronage here are unknown. See Akçay Güven 2014, 72–73. 251–252 Kat. 1.1.4 PE 15.

⁹⁴ Akçay Güven 2014, 252.

⁹⁵ Mansel 1975a, 71; Mansel 1975b, 369. Portraits published in İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 119–120 no. 66; 124–125 no. 72; Özgür et al. 1996, no. 40. B. Longfellow (Longfellow 2011, 187) believes that these portraits represented members of Aurelia Paulina's family, and B. Akçay Güven (Akçay Güven 2014, 175–177 Kat. 1.2.4 PK 10) similarly believes that, because of the female portrait's smaller size compared to the portraits of Julia Domna and Septimius Severus, it was a donor portrait that emulated the style and appearance of the Severan imperial women; see also Fittschen 1984, 205 no. 66. B. Akçay Güven (Akçay Güven 2014, 72–73 Kat. 1.1.4 PE 15) matches the portrait head of Elagabalus with the Arm-Sling type body of a young male.

⁹⁶ Van Bremen 1996, 119–124. R. van Bremen notes that Plancia Magna held the office of high priestess of the imperial cult alone, and as such would not have been expected to direct her service towards imperial women in particular.

city's chief divinity⁹⁷. The dedicatory inscription of the nymphaeum, spread across two panels, was set just above the barrel vault. The inscription notes that the cult of Artemis Pergaia enjoyed asylum privileges. The pedimental sculpture depicts a radiant Artemis, holding a torch, and her priestess in the company of Helios and Selene⁹⁸, emphasizing the quasi-sacral nature of the site. It also includes depictions of a triton, Aphrodite and her attendants, the Three Graces, alluding to the magical properties of water⁹⁹. In the two *aediculae* flanking the barrel vault stood the over life-sized portraits of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, the latter of whom is shown veiled, with her hand extended perhaps in a gesture of piety or worship¹⁰⁰.

Judging from the unique architectural division and the placement of the dedicatory inscription, the balance of the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina seems to be tilted toward the section devoted to Artemis Pergaia. In contrast to the North Nymphaeum, where the portraits of the emperor were subsidiary elements in the statuary program, the Severan nymphaeum fills the northern half of the structure with the bulk of the imperial family portraits – and perhaps the patron's own familial portraits – while reserving the largest statues of the emperor and empress for the southern ›shrine‹ to Artemis Pergaia. In this way, a visual sense of partnership between the emperor and Perge's patron deity is created. The portraits of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna stand at the front of the sacred spring as guardians and perhaps – due to the costume and pose of Julia Domna – as worshippers of the goddess's cult. In addition, A. Schmidt-Colinet sees a strong Syrian influence in the depiction of the Artemis priestess in the pedimental sculpture, and has suggested that this priestess may have been modeled on representations of the Syrian imperial women¹⁰¹. This visual alignment reinforces the idea of the imperial family's care for the cult of Artemis Pergaia.

The subject matter of the nymphaeum's sculptural program may be related to Aurelia Paulina's dual roles as priestess of both Artemis Pergaia and the imperial cult – though at Syllion rather than at Perge – but the prominent display of the imperial couple's portraits in the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina likely also reflects the new realities of imperial prerogative and the rule of provincial cities¹⁰². Perge's internationally renowned cult is shown to enjoy the support of Septimius Severus and his wife, which Aurelia Paulina and the city undoubtedly hoped would translate

⁹⁷ Mansel 1975a, 67; Mansel 1975b, 368.

⁹⁸ Mansel 1975a, 67.

⁹⁹ T. S. MacKay (MacKay 1990, 2080) suggests that the priestess on the pedimental sculpture of this nymphaeum was actually a priestess of Aphrodite, but iconographically the representation of the priestess from the pediment is consistent with depictions of the priestess of Artemis from Perge. There is also a non-cultic reason for Aphrodite to be part of the relief. Her imagery may be linked to the pleasures and décor of the South Baths, the water from which was also supplied to the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina. Statues of the Three Graces and of Aphrodite were found in different areas of the South Baths, including in the ›Gallery of Claudius Peison‹. Depictions of the goddess of love were especially popular in bath buildings in Asia Minor; see Mansel 1975b, 368; Özgür et al. 1996, nos. 17–18. 30; Ng 2007, 71–72; Manderscheid 1981, 28–29. 32–33.

¹⁰⁰ İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 114–118 nos. 64–65; Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 28 fn. 7 cat. 28 no. 36; Özgür et al. 1996, nos. 38–39; Akçay Güven 2014, 61–66 Kat. 1.1.4 PE 12; 171–174 Kat. 1.2.4 PK 9.

¹⁰¹ Schmidt-Colinet 1991, 440–441.

¹⁰² Cf. Longfellow 2011, 185–186. E. A. Hemelrijk (Hemelrijk 2004, 234) notes that female patrons in the Latin West were ›expected to contribute to the interests of their client cities by intervening on their behalf with the central power, by embellishing their cities by public buildings...‹.

into the awarding of imperial honors to the cult of Artemis Pergaia and to the city itself. At the same time, the incorporation of statues of the extended imperial family and the dedication of the fountain to them expresses the loyalty of the high priestess Aurelia Paulina. Such a statement would be especially meaningful in the volatile early years of Severan dynasty, during which this nymphaeum was built. The erection of the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina was, therefore, not just an enhancement of the patron's social prestige, but also a move to promote her city's interests. Just as Plancia Magna astutely played on the politically expedient philhellenism of her time in the sculptural decoration of her city gate, so did Aurelia Paulina seek to capitalize on the reputation of the local cult so well-suited to carrying the privileges and titles that the emperor could dispense. The choices Aurelia Paulina made in the architecture and decoration of her monumental fountain were not made on the basis of theoretical political considerations. Rather, they are part of the evolving language of civic competition that was used to impressive effect by Perge's greatest regional rival, the city of Side just to its east¹⁰³.

SIDE'S 3RD CENT. A. D. CHALLENGE TO PERGE

Perge and Side were the only cities in Pamphylia to have multiple *neokoroi*; of all the other Pamphylian cities, only Aspendos could claim the title at all. J. Nollé has observed that Side, unlike the other major Pamphylian cities, did not heavily promote a Hellenic foundation legend; instead, the origins of Side are tied closely to the Taurus mountains¹⁰⁴. Due to its geographical advantage as a natural harbor close to the eastern frontier of the empire, Side had prospered in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A. D., and its rising prominence in Pamphylia was also manifested in its civic ornamentation¹⁰⁵.

The public sculptural programs from Side eschewed references to Greek lineage, focusing instead on local cults and on strategic assets of the city¹⁰⁶. The assemblage of statuary from Building M – a major public space of the mid-2nd cent. A. D. that has been variously identified as a library, gymnasium, *mouseion*, or a civic agora – differed from the displays at the South City Gate complex and North Nymphaeum at Perge in stressing not Greek founders but a local topicality and a marked stylistic archaism favored by imperial tastes¹⁰⁷. The sculptures included images of gods worshipped in Side, such as Asklepios and Apollo, alongside imperial

¹⁰³ Nollé 1993, 88–94. Side's first neokorate is likely to date to the 3rd cent. A. D., see Burrell 2004, 189; cf. Foss 1996, IV, 25 following Nollé 1993, 123 and IK Side 33.

¹⁰⁴ Side named Apollo as its founder during the imperial period in IK Side 4. 44. 129. 134 and there are less prominent traditions that city's name was related to that of family members of Kadmos, and also linked to the sister of Semele (Nollé 1993, 40–42. 113. 154–157). Strab. 14, 4, 2 calls Side a Cymeian colony, and remarks on a temple of Athena there. Arr. an. 1, 26 adds that the Aeolian Greeks who left Cyme forgot their language soon after founding Side, and used a new language instead.

¹⁰⁵ Mitchell 1993, 238; Foss 1996, IV, 24.

¹⁰⁶ Ng 2007, 92–96.

¹⁰⁷ İnan 1975, 1–11 notes the large number and broad range of copies of famous Greek statues at Side. At Building M, copies of athletic sculptures and Olympian deities mimic the styles and evoke common subject matter of Early Classical sculpture, such as athletics. F. Slavazzi (Slavazzi 2007, 134–136) discusses the possible influence of Roman imperial preferences on the selection of copies of Early Classical sculpture for display at Building M.

portraits¹⁰⁸. The Asian exploit of Apollo in his contest with Marsyas is also represented in the sculptural program to emphasize the regional prominence of the deity, who was claimed by Side as a founder¹⁰⁹. One of three statues of Hermes, the patron god of merchants, stood in the central niche inside Building M holding a money bag in his hand to emphasize the significance of Side to the provincial economy¹¹⁰.

The programmatic sculpture of the Great Nymphaeum, located just outside the city gate at Side, continued Sidetan tendencies from earlier in the 2nd cent. A. D. in broadcasting its regional economic influence and its loyalty to the imperial house. The fountain was begun during the reign of Septimius Severus, according to the inscription on the base of a statue of Caracalla recovered from the building¹¹¹. The architecture of this building may have been modeled on the Septizodium in Rome and therefore demonstrated a familiarity with and emulation of metropolitan imperial architecture¹¹². The remains of the statuary program from this monumental fountain are incomplete and fragmentary in both of its 3rd cent. A. D. phases, but its initial display included at least the portrait of Caracalla surrounded by Nike personifications. The presence of fragments of female portraits suggests the presence of further imperial portraits or perhaps portraits of the donor's family¹¹³. In addition, there were reliefs of mythical figures and gods, including a scene with Athena, Side's tutelary deity, at sacrifice with other gods in what Mansel has identified as the »Epibaterion-Fest« to celebrate the safe arrival of ships to Side's harbor¹¹⁴. If, as has been argued, the Great Nymphaeum and its Pergaian contemporary, the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina, were erected competitively, then it is all the more interesting that Perge was recalibrating its sculptural presentation of civic identity to stress imperial partnership and its indigenous religious traditions, putting itself on the same footing as Side¹¹⁵.

¹⁰⁸ Building M is discussed by Mansel 1956, 58–73; Mansel 1963, 109–121; Foss 1996, IV, 28; Slavazzi 2007, 131–134. Imperial portrait dating from the Antonine period recut in the 3rd cent. A. D., see Mansel 1963, 118. For statues from Building M, see İnan 1975, 29–31 no. 4; 149 no. 77; 120–121 no. 54; 135–137 no. 67; 138 no. 69. There are also a large number of athletic statues from Building M, see İnan 1975 *passim*. Preliminary excavation reports (Alanyalı 2012, 535) from Side point to the discovery of a large complex with four rooms adjacent to Building M as possible evidence that the structure was in fact an imperial bath. No plan of the recently excavated complex has been published, so the present author awaits fuller evidence before concurring with this identification.

¹⁰⁹ İnan 1975, 121–123 no. 55. On the regional significance of the myth of Marsyas, see D'Andria 2001, 108. Strab. 13, 1, 70 quotes, but disagrees, with an Euripidean passage stating that Marsyas lived in Kelainai (Eur. Frag. 1085).

¹¹⁰ İnan 1975, 74–77 no. 22; Chi 2002, 228.

¹¹¹ Inscribed base of statue of Caracalla published as IK Side 39, discussed in Nollé 1993, 82–83 and Chi 2002, 256.

¹¹² Longfellow 2011, 188; Chi 2002, 254–255.

¹¹³ İnan 1975, 119–120 no. 53; 139–140 no. 70.

¹¹⁴ Mansel 1963, 62–63; Nollé 1993, 109–110. 113. Inscriptions referring to the Epibaterion in IK Side 120–124. 126. Athena appears on Sidetan coins dating to the 5th cent. B. C., and may, like Artemis Pergaia, be a local version of the Anatolian female fertility deity, for which see Mansel 1963, 4–5 and Atlan 1967, 114–115. J. İnan dates all of the Nikes (İnan 1975, 43–47 no. 9; 133–134 nos. 64. 65; 183–184 nos. 129–130) no later than the early 2nd cent. A. D., meaning that they could have been part of the original installation or were reused there after being taken from their original contexts. For the cuirassed portrait of an emperor, originally dating to the late Hadrianic or more probably Antonine period, recut to depict Licinius, see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 86–87 no. 63. For other Tetrarchic imperial portraits from Building M, İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 87–89 nos. 64–65.

¹¹⁵ Longfellow 2011, 188. See Dorl-Klingenschmid 2006 for other examples of competitive nymphaeum construction in neighboring cities in western Asia Minor.

Side was especially successful in the mid-3rd cent. A.D. in reaping the rewards of imperial favor¹¹⁶. The strategic importance of Side's natural harbor for the *annona* and the supplying of Roman soldiers stationed in the Near East may have been the reason that Gordian III presented international isopythian games as a gift to the city, an honor which the Sidetans – tracing their heritage back to Apollo – proclaimed on their coinage to be the first such granted within Pamphylia, to the chagrin of Perge¹¹⁷. In the renovation of the Great Nymphaeum in the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D., images related to these games, such as prize crowns and victory wreaths, were carved in relief on the façade of the fountain to greet visitors to the city¹¹⁸. Side also linked its growing provincial stature to its local deities. By the end of the 3rd cent. A.D., Sidetan coins claimed 6 *neokoroi*, pairing the title with images of such locally worshipped deities as Athena, Apollo, Asklepios, and Dionysos¹¹⁹.

Perge was by no means ready to cede its position as Pamphylia's leading city to Side. On the contrary, it was loudly proclaiming its own vitality and prestige in the late 3rd cent. A.D. It, too, had gained isopythian games, though after Side, and much more besides¹²⁰. A well-known inscription found at Perge, dated to A.D. 275, hails the Artemis of Perge and boasts of Perge's important titles, including four *neokoroi*. The inscription itself was probably set up to commemorate the granting of the title of metropolis of Pamphylia to Perge by the emperor Tacitus¹²¹. The city was by then also an assize center, imperial treasury, and a *vexillum*; in short, Perge was a major administrative and economic center¹²². The inscription also stressed the

¹¹⁶ Burrell 2004, 182–183; MacKay 1990, 2056.

¹¹⁷ On effect on Side of Gordian III's wars in the east, see Nollé 1987, 258–262. On *annona* and supply to troops, see Nollé 1993, 91. 94–95. 102. 200 (commentary on TEp. 1). On isopythian games in Side and rivalry with Perge under Gordian III, IK Side 129. 134–136; Nollé 1993, 87–89. 114; Nollé 1990, 257 pl. 18, 93–97. The brief *homonoia* relationship between Perge and Side at this time, expressed in coinage showing Athena or Apollo of Side with Artemis of Perge is discussed by J. Nollé (Nollé 1990, 261–262 pl. 21, 113–116) and by P. Weiss (Weiss 1981, 339. 340–341. 344). P. Weiss (Weiss 1991, 354. 375) focuses on the prominence of the asylum rights, *neokoroi*, games, and the expression of loyalty to the emperors on Pergaean coinage from the 3rd cent. A.D., esp. during and after the reign of Gordian III.

¹¹⁸ Mansel 1956, 86–89; Mansel 1963, 55; IK Side 135. For related isopythian and other games-related imagery on a mid-3rd cent. A.D. monumental base and coins at Side, see IK Side 134 and P. Weiss (Weiss 1981, 332–339. 342) who also explicates the imagery on the Great Nymphaeum.

¹¹⁹ IK Side 26. 44; Magie 1950, 637; Nollé 1987, 256; Nollé 1990, 254–255; Nollé 1993, 106–115. 122–125; Burrell 2004, 181–187. C. Roueché (Roueché 1989, 211–212) notes that as more cities were becoming neokorates, the claim to be the first in a province to hold such a privilege started to be a sign of prestige.

¹²⁰ P. Weiss (Weiss 1981, 341 n. 119) points out that Perge moved to win its own sacred isopythian games under Valerian by relying on the fame of its cult of Artemis. On other games, the Asyilia Pythia and the Augusteia Olympia, at Perge in the 3rd cent. A.D., see Weiss 1991, 365–375.

¹²¹ IK Perge 331, column 2. This inscription is also the subject of Weiss 1991 and Roueché 1989, whose English translation of the text is quoted here. Burrell 2004, 175–180 discusses the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for Perge's *neokoroi*. See also Mansel 1963, 10; Foss 1996, 3. 25 fn. 109, and Nollé 1993, 123–133 on ecclesiastical metropolis status being held by both Side and Perge at the end of the 3rd cent. A.D., with imperial administrative metropolitan status held by Perge alone. See Weiss 1991, 384 on the contemporary issues of »Prestigeprägungen« by Perge around this time to celebrate the Tacitean Metropolitan Games. IK Perge 331, column 1, also dating to the reign of Tacitus, elaborates on Perge's metropolitan status and refers to the celebration of a festival of the divine Tacitus. I. Maupai (Maupai 2003, 318) notes the importance of civic ranking in the rivalry between Perge and Side as another aspect of the »Schönheit« of each city.

¹²² Foss 1996, 14. Roueché 1989, 213 speculates that Perge mentions the *thesaurus* because it still retained autonomous minting privileges under Tacitus; cf. Weiss 1991, 379–384.

legitimacy of Perge's metropolitan title, the early date of its first *neokoros* under Vespasian, and the asylum status of its local cult of Artemis, which, it is claimed, was enjoyed by no other cult in Pamphylia, undoubtedly a none-too-subtle reference to Side's cults and titles¹²³. Further indirect aspersions are cast on Side, implying that – because Perge was »not false in anything« and because »all [Perge's] rights (are confirmed) by senatorial decree«¹²⁴ – Side was making false claims of six *neokoroi* that were apparently applied to its local cults¹²⁵. Coins minted in Perge and Side during the reign of Gallienus reflect the importance of titles and the representational force of major local deities in this particular intercity rivalry¹²⁶. Among these are a set of coins that seem to respond to each other, with the issue from Perge showing Athena of Side crowning Artemis Pergaia, accompanied by a legend indicating that Perge's *neokoros* was the first in the province¹²⁷. This is undoubtedly related to Sidetan coins inscribed »*neokorōn*« depicting Athena of Side being crowned by Artemis Pergaia¹²⁸ (Fig. 11). Indeed, even though Perge was awarded its first *neokoros* under Vespasian, it was not until the 3rd cent., when Side was granted its first *neokoros*, that Perge put that title on its coinage¹²⁹. The interest in Hellenic founders reflected in the sculptural programs of the 2nd cent. A.D. South City Gate complex and North Nymphaeum had long-since faded, replaced by renewed pride in local cults.



Fig. 11 Sidetan alloy coin from reign of Gallienus, with Artemis Pergaia crowning Athena of Side

¹²³ Nollé 1987, 256–257; Roueché 1989, 209. 214–215; Burrell 2004, 177 on Side's cult of Athena gaining asylum status under Aurelian. See also Rigsby 1996, 453–454.

¹²⁴ Roueché 1989, 208.

¹²⁵ Roueché 1989, 209; Burrell 2004, 181–188.

¹²⁶ Weiss 1991, 354. 366–375; Nollé 1993, 89–90. 107; Weiss 1998, 60–63 for the importance of titulature, *homonoiā*, and agonistic references on the mid-3rd cent. A.D. coin issues of Perge and Side in their civic rivalry and their contest for regional prestige. See also Nollé 1990, 260 pl. 20, 103, a coin from Side with Athena holding the letter »Α« for first city. SNG von Aulock 8547 pairs Side's *neokoros* title with an image of Athena, while SNG von Aulock 8550 trumpets Side's status as *neokoros* and host of the sacred Mystikos games with a depiction of a prize crown. SNG von Aulock 8530 depicts the Tyche of Perge holding a statuette of Artemis, facing the cuirassed emperor Tacitus with a legend describing Perge as metropolis.

¹²⁷ Nollé 1990, 260 pl. 20, 107; Burrell 2004, 177; SNG Paris 553–554, pl. 28.

¹²⁸ BMC Lycia etc. 101, pl. 28, 16; SNG Paris 882, pl. 46; Nollé 1990, 260 pl. 20, 105–106. The chronological sequence of the Pergaia and Sidetan issues has not been determined.

¹²⁹ Burrell 2004, 174–180.

THE LATE ANTIQUE GATE: PERGAIAN PRESTIGE REAFFIRMED

Perge's immense Late Antique Gate echoes the message of civic vitality and Pamphylian primacy trumpeted by the A.D. 275 inscription¹³⁰. As in much of Roman Asia Minor, the level of new building activity in Perge fell over the course of the 3rd cent. A.D. Nevertheless, Perge, like a number of Asian cities, erected a monumental gate that was an important locus for civic self-presentation and for conducting imperial functions¹³¹. The Late Antique Gate was erected from brick in the third quarter of the 3rd cent. A.D.¹³². Situated to the south of the South City Gate complex, it spanned 54 m and had five niches across its width, fronted by a single-story marble columnar façade. The external face of the Late Antique Gate was decorated with reused elements, including a group of statues appropriated from other structures in the city, an assemblage that should nevertheless be considered a deliberately selected program¹³³. Brought together at the Late Antique Gate probably during the 4th cent. A.D., the statues included depictions of Artemis wearing a long chiton and holding her bow, Asklepios, Nemesis with a griffin at her feet, as well as a pair of female figures that may represent Aphrodite and her attendant¹³⁴.

The theme of the sculptural program was one of protection and abundance, a triumphal message directed at visitors and officials who would pass through or stop at the gate for personal and business reasons such as tax-collection¹³⁵. Such civic confidence undoubtedly derived from the imperial honors – most significantly its designation as provincial metropolis – attained in the late 3rd cent. A.D. Artemis, ever the tutelary deity, was still watching over Perge. Her depiction here matches the one used on 3rd cent. A.D. *homonioia* coins to represent the city, emphasizing again the inseparability of the goddess and Perge¹³⁶. Asklepios, the god of health, also implies safekeeping, especially after the plague carried by the armies of Marcus Aurelius swept through Asia Minor in the 2nd cent. A.D., prompting offerings and dedications at Perge to Asklepios, sometimes in conjunction with Nemesis¹³⁷. Thus, the Nemesis at the Late Roman Gate is also protective, and her left breast is shown bared perhaps so that she could spit upon it to ward off evil. It may also symbolize the fecundity of the city. This idea is carried further not only by vegetal and animal scrollwork on the interior façade of the Late Antique Gate, but also by the female figure with the similarly bared left breast who is paired with a veiled woman. Revealing and sensual drapery is usually associated with Aphrodite, and her presence at the gate with perhaps a cult servant would reinforce the message of fertility and prosperity¹³⁸.

¹³⁰ Ng 2007, 76–88.

¹³¹ Zuiderhoek 2009. For city gates specifically, see Jacobs 2009, 197–198.

¹³² The Late Antique Gate and its sculpture are discussed in Mansel 1975a, 60–64; Foss 1996, 14; Peschlow 2008. I. Jacobs (Jacobs 2009) calls this structure »the South City Gate« vs. »the Hellenistic Main Gates«, referring to the South City Gate complex of Plancia Magna. C. Gliwitsky (Gliwitsky 2010, 76–77. 85) dates the gate earlier than others, to A.D. 220–230, with a final stage of repair or renovation in the 4th or 5th cent. A.D., coinciding with Perge's designation as an ecclesiastical metropolis.

¹³³ Chi 2002, 200. U. Peschlow (Peschlow 2008, 978) dates the addition of the sculptures to the gate to the 4th cent. A.D. or later.

¹³⁴ Mansel 1975a, 62; Özgür et al. 1996, nos. 7. 23. 44; Akçay Güven 2014, 142 Kat. 1.2.3 PK 2.

¹³⁵ Jacobs 2009, 198. 207–208; Peschlow 2008, 978–979.

¹³⁶ E. g. BMC Lycia etc. 105–107.

¹³⁷ IK Perge 176. 242.

¹³⁸ Chi 2002, 202–033. 207–208.

The imposing Late Antique Gate and its decoration announced to visitors that Perge was thriving, and embodied the power of its numerous civic titles¹³⁹. Despite its rivalry with a very worthy Side, this monumental gate, just like the 2nd cent. A.D. South City Gate complex, proclaimed Perge's unmatched prestige. Now, instead of being unparalleled in Hellenic origins, Perge was preeminent as the metropolis of Pamphylia.

CONCLUSION

That public architecture and their decoration reflect the particular cultural and historical contexts of their time of creation is obvious and undeniable. But, studying a city's public sculptural programs together across periods can provide insight on a community's evolving identity and underscore the constant political significance of these monumental displays. Perge was portrayed variously as a bastion of Greek heritage and as an Anatolian cult center in the programmatic sculpture of the 2nd–3rd cent. A.D., but the overall tactic of civic self-promotion was consistent over time. Always, Perge's unique features were used to justify its leading position in Pamphylia. The Hadrianic patrons of the South City Gate complex and the North Nymphaeum extravagantly promoted the Greek origins and cultic affiliations of the city to distinguish it from other Pamphylian centers. Plancia Magna and her peers expressed their pride and ambition for their hometown in terms of the culturally and politically popular Hellenism of the day. A similar proficiency in the language of prestige can be seen in the Nymphaeum of Aurelia Paulina, though Hellenic founding heroes were set aside so that the famous cult of Artemis Pergaia could make the case for Perge's importance and court the favor of Septimius Severus.

This pivot demonstrates the fluidity of civic identity and the willingness of the notables and citizens of Perge to adapt to new political circumstances. Moreover, these sculptural programs helped Perge to maintain and progress on the ascendant trajectory that had begun in the 1st cent. A.D. Not content to rest on the laurels of the Flavian *neokoros*, Perge and its elites unwaveringly championed the prestige of the city. Even though such aggrandizing visual statements did not necessarily produce an immediate effect, as for example, Hadrian bypassed the city on his tour of the region, nevertheless they staked out Perge's dominant position on grounds that its regional rivals could not refute¹⁴⁰. This foundation of civic prestige allowed Perge to accrue more titles and privileges in the later Roman empire even as its rival Side was catching up, until the long-standing perceptions of primacy fostered by the rhetoric of its public sculptural programs were finally given official sanction by the imperial grant of the title of metropolis. Thus, the triumph of Perge at the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D., expressed by the sculptural assemblage of the Late Antique Gate, rested on the accumulative weight of its history and was a fitting outcome for a patiently executed strategy of civic self-presentation.

¹³⁹ That these visual statements were still being made in a competitive spirit is underscored by Side's possibly 4th cent. A.D. renovation of its Hellenistic East Gate, which was well decorated with reliefs and mosaics meant to be seen from the outside, see Jacobs 2009, 200–201. 205–206; Foss 1996, 33.

¹⁴⁰ S. Şahin (Şahin 1999, 121–123) and A. Bravi (Bravi 2011, 306) both note that Perge was anticipating an imperial visit in A.D. 122/123, around the time when the South City Gate complex and the North Nymphaeum were constructed, and S. Şahin (Şahin 1999, 145–147) and J. Richard (Richard 2011, 82) also consider a possible visit on the emperor's trip through the area in A.D. 131. There is nothing to suggest that Hadrian actually stopped at Perge in either A.D. 122 or 131.

Abstract: This essay examines the sculptural programs decorating four public monuments from 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. Perge within the historical context of Perge's rivalry with other Pamphylian cities, especially Side. I argue that, taken together, the themes of these displays reflect Perge's recalibration of its civic identity in response to changing imperial priorities and political circumstances. The shift from the promotion of Hellenic civic origins to the emphasis on its famous cult of Artemis Pergaia in these sculptural programs over the course of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. are, I conclude, part of a long-term strategy of self-presentation by which Perge continually positioned itself as the leading city in its province, culminating in its designation as metropolis of Pamphylia in A.D. 275.

EIN KUNSTVOLLES ARGUMENT – ÖFFENTLICHE STATUENPROGRAMME ALS INSTRUMENTE
STÄDTISCHER KONKURRENZ IM KAISERZEITLICHEN PERGE UND PAMPHYLIIEN

Zusammenfassung: Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Statuenprogramme an vier öffentlichen Monumenten aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. in Perge vor dem historischen Hintergrund der Rivalität Perges mit anderen pamphyliischen Städten, insbesondere mit Side. Meiner Ansicht nach reflektieren die dargestellten Themen die Neuausrichtung der städtischen Identität von Perge als Reaktion auf Veränderungen der kaiserlichen Prioritäten und der politischen Verhältnisse. Die Betonung in diesen Statuenprogrammen verschiebt sich im Laufe des 2. und 3. Jhs. n. Chr. von den hellenischen Ursprüngen auf den berühmten Kult der Artemis Pergaia; ich komme daher zu dem Schluss, dass dies Teil einer langfristigen Strategie der Selbstdarstellung ist, durch die Perge sich kontinuierlich als die führende Stadt in seiner Provinz positionierte, was schließlich in seiner Ernennung zur Hauptstadt Pamphyliens im Jahr 275 n. Chr. gipfelte.

İMPARATORLUK DÖNEMİ PERGE VE PAMPHYLİA'DA KENTLERARASI
REKABETİN ARACI OLARAK KAMUSAL HEYKEL DÜZENİ – SANATSAL BİR ARGÜMAN

Özet: Bu makale, Perge'nin diğer Pamphylia kentleriyle, özellikle de Side'yle tarihsel rekabeti bağlamında, Perge'deki M.S. 2. ve 3. yüzyıllara ait dört kamu anıtını bezeyen heykel düzenlemelerini incelemektedir. Benim görüşüme göre, tartışılan konular, Perge'nin kentsel kimliğinin imparatorluğa ait önceliklerdeki ve siyasi ilişkilerdeki değişikliklere bir tepki olarak yeniden düzenlenmiş olduğunu yansıtmaktadır. Bu heykel düzenlemelerindeki vurgunun M.S. 2. ve 3. yüzyıl boyunca Helen kökenlerinden Artemis Pergaia'nın ünlü kültürüne doğru değiştiği görülür. Bundan dolayı vardığım sonuç, Perge'nin kendisini sürekli olarak bölgenin önde gelen kenti olarak konumlandırmış olmasıdır. Bu olgu, uzun vadeli bir kendini gösterme stratejisinin parçasıdır ve bunun sonucunda Perge 275 yılında Pamphylia başkentliğine yükselmiştir.

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