

SETTING THE STAGE FOR THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN EMPEROR: THE FAMILY METAPHOR IN THE AEDICULAR FACADES OF ASIA MINOR

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1. Kertzer and Saller (1991) compile articles on the Italian family from antiquity to the Middle Ages to the modern period.

2. Recent bibliography on the issue of the Roman family includes Gardner (1998), Rawson and Weaver (1997), Rawson (1991, 1986), Saller (1994), Dixon (1992, 1988), Bradley (1991), Treggiari (1991).

3. Severy (2003) investigates transformation of Augustus' family into a public institution and establishment of the constant supremacy of the imperial family in place of a competing aristocracy in the empire. Rose (1997a) concentrates upon the dynastic group monuments of the Julio-Claudian family and situates these dynastic propaganda monuments within the context of transformation of the Republic into the Empire.

4. The issue of transformation of the Greek East under the Roman rule and emergence of a hybrid culture has been the subject of a number of recent studies. See Öztürk (2013), Galli (2013), Berns (2002), Webster (2001), Woolf (1997, 1994), MacReady and Thompson (1987).

Family has always been an important aspect of the Italian way of life from antiquity to the present. For Italians, family means much more than a kin relationship and is considered a purpose rather than a circumstantial end result. Family represents the strength of being together, therefore it constitutes a reason to stay together. The issue of the Italian family with these undeniable characteristics has, thus, always been an interest of popular culture and scholarly inquiry (1).

In-depth studies on the composition and dynamics of the ancient Roman family have recently been made by the historians of Roman culture (2). Literature on this topic generally investigates the Roman family from 200 BCE to 200 CE, within the confines of a period, which provides abundant literary evidence on the subject. Within this more general framework, there are also studies, which concentrate upon the Roman imperial family and especially focus on transformation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty into a state organ within the context of transformation of the Republic into the Empire (3).

The present study could be considered as a focused research contributing to the present literature on the Roman imperial family with its special emphasis on the implications of dynastic representation in Asia Minor by way of aedicular facades. How dynastic representation fits into the dynamics of imperial and provincial patronage and plays into the in-between Greek and Roman character of Asia Minor under the Roman Empire is the major question that this study aims to answer (4). The inquiry begins with the investigation of the emergence of the family metaphor as a propaganda tool in Augustan Rome and continues into Asia Minor, concentrating upon the implications of the family metaphor for the Greeks, who were thought to have kin relations through common ancestry with the Roman emperor. Two aedicular facades, the Sebasteion gate at Aphrodisias and the reconstructed Hellenistic gate at Perge, are scrutinized both as urban scale decorative features inserted into the Roman image of Greek

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5. Severy (2003, 52-6) gives an extensive bibliography on these laws.

cities and as propaganda billboards conveying messages particular to both the Roman and the Greek identity.

THE FAMILY METAPHOR AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL IN ROME

Before going into the family metaphor as a propaganda tool in Rome, definition of family for the Romans and concepts in relation to this definition should be briefly considered. In Latin, the term *familia* identified an estate or *domus* including the slaves, and frequently also included the extended family of blood relations not in relation to an estate. *Domus* was generally used for the physical estate and by extension connoted those who lived in it, both slave and free. Scholars, after much debate and diverse definitions, defined the Roman family as an extended unit including the blended nuclear family plus the slaves, and limited this definition to the members who inhabit a *domus* (Severy, 2003, 8; Dixon, 1992, 4-8).

Since the Roman Republic was an oligarchic state, the governing class had always been identified with families. The Roman family, therefore, was not a private assembly but a public phenomenon. As a result, familial concepts also had connotations in public and political life. Romans used the term *pietas* both to express devotion to gods, to *Res Publica* and to parents and close relatives (Severy, 2003, 11, 98; Saller, 1994, 105-14). The terms *concordia* (unity/ harmony) and *fides* (loyalty/trust) defined both the relationship between husband and wife, and peaceful and productive political relationships (Severy, 2003, 131-8; Bradley, 1991, 6-8; Treggiari, 1991, 237-8, 251-3). *Pietas*, *concordia* and *fides* ensured unity, order and the continuity of the Roman family, therefore, unity, order and the stability of the state.

These concepts inherent to the Roman family were advertised in the most public part of the Roman house, the atrium, by way of material paraphernalia. The atrium was the most accessible part of a Roman house, where the morning *salutatio* and family rituals on occasions of birth, coming of age, marriage and death were enacted. Here, as a backdrop to these events, busts, wax masks and shield portraits of the notable ancestors; trophies and wall-paintings illustrating the notable achievements of the family; and family trees and shrines to the *Lares*, *Penates* and *Genius* of the house were exhibited. These paraphernalia reminded the inhabitants of the household of the family pride to which they must be loyal and whose expectations they must fulfill. These images set up a definition for the unity of the family, a tradition, continuity of which the young members should ensure.

Augustus, within the process of his institution as the sole ruler of the empire, extensively employed the concepts of unity, order and continuity derived from the structure of the Republican Roman family as a propaganda tool. In his early years, Augustus praised the Roman family as a traditional Roman institution within the context of the restoration of order and unity of the Republic, and in his later years he employed familial notions in the institution of himself as an autocrat and for securing the continuity of the rule of his dynasty, and therefore of the Roman Empire.

Augustus' perception of the notion of family as the roots of order of the state is exhibited by *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* (the Julian law on the orders marrying) and *lex de adulteriis* (law on adultery) (5). These Augustan laws defined the moral boundaries of a Roman family by encouraging marriage within the same classes and discouraging adultery. Through these laws, a system of legal rewards for the married, and penalties for the

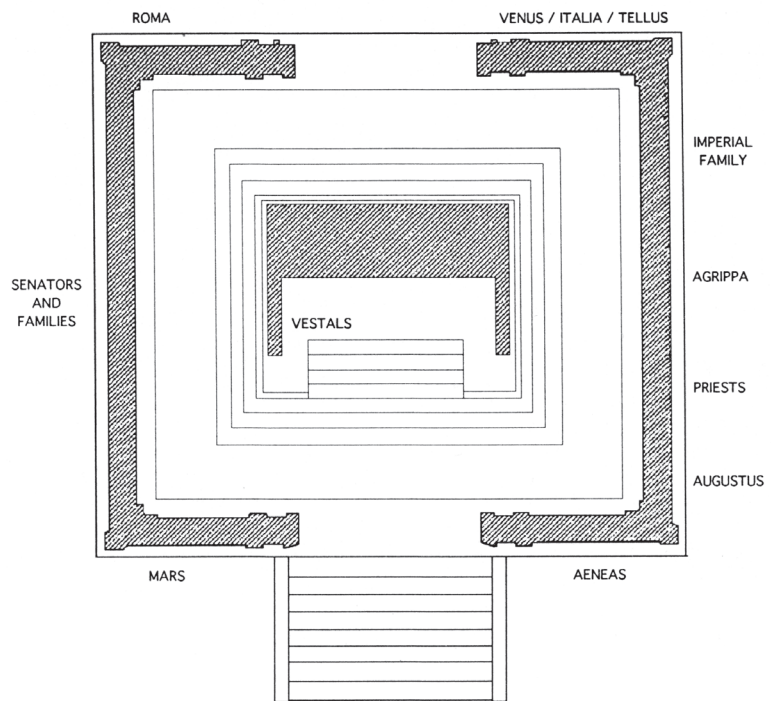


Figure 1. Plan of Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome (Galinsky, 1996, 144)

unwed and childless were instituted. The imperial family, exemplary in the institution of these laws, became the symbol of order.

Ara Pacis Augustae, an altar to the goddess Pax, represented the notions of peace and order brought to the country by Augustus through familial associations (Severy, 2003, 104-12). This altar, dedicated by the senate in 9 BCE, is one of the earliest monuments, on which Augustus is shown surrounded by his contemporary family including women and children. The family group is represented on the upper register of the long sides of the enclosing wall of the altar (**Figure 1**). The Augustan family, identifiable from their idealized Julian look, takes part in a religious procession together with state priests identifiable from their ritual implements and costumes (**Figure 2**, **Figure 3**). Great scholarly effort has been expended trying to individually identify the twenty figures represented (**6**). For the purposes of this paper, rather than the individual identities of these figures, their common Julian look is important. This common look attests to the fact that these individuals were designed to be perceived as a family group among the assembly of priests. The imperial family, at the root of the establishment and the continuity of peace, on this altar are shown to proceed to make an offering to the goddess Pax on behalf of the Roman people.

In addition to the contemporary imperial family, their mythological kin is also represented in Ara Pacis in the two relief panels decorating the western end of the enclosing walls. One of the panels shows Aeneas making sacrifice to the *Penates* (the family gods) with the aid of his son Julius. The other depicts Romulus and Remus, as sons of Mars, being saved by the famous she-wolf and discovered by their foster father Faustulus. Vergil, in *Aeneid* (VERG. Aen. 1, 257-96; 6,755-853), through a complex epic legend defined Aeneas as both the father of the *gens Iulia* and the entire

6. Consensus is still not reached regarding the identification of the figures. For the identifications see Rose (1997a, 103-4), Torelli (1992, 47-54), Syme (1986, 151-2), Holloway (1984, 625-8).



Figure 2. South Frieze of Ara Pacis Augustae, Imperial family (Galinsky, 1996, 143)



Figure 3. South Frieze of Ara Pacis Augustae, Augustus, priests and lictors (Galinsky, 1996, 143)

gens Romana, and Mars, Venus, Romulus and Remus as kin to the Julian dynasty. According to the legend, the Greek hero Aeneas, who was the son of Venus, having escaped from Troy during the Trojan War, led his men to Italy to settle in Latium. The Julian dynasty came from the line of Aeneas' son Ascanius, renamed as Julius by Vergil. Rhea Silvia, who also came from the line of Aeneas through the long line of the kings of Alba Longa, gave birth to the sons of the god Mars, the twins Romulus and Remus, who were the founders of the city of Rome. Therefore, Augustus by reinstating order after a period of wars and civil strife, in a way refounded the Rome and Roman nation as his ancestors had in the past. As a member of such a legendary family, he was divinely ordained to live up to their example.

Augustus' definition of himself as destined to be the refounder of the honored tradition of the Roman nation is also apparent through the prominent presence of Mars, Venus, Aeneas and Romulus in the Forum of Augustus (Severy 2003, 165-80; Zanker 1988, 210-15). The Forum of Augustus was dedicated in 12 BCE by Augustus as a huge colonnaded courtyard with a temple dedicated to Mars Ultor at its axis (**Figure 4**). This monument can be thought of as a glorified version of the private atrium,

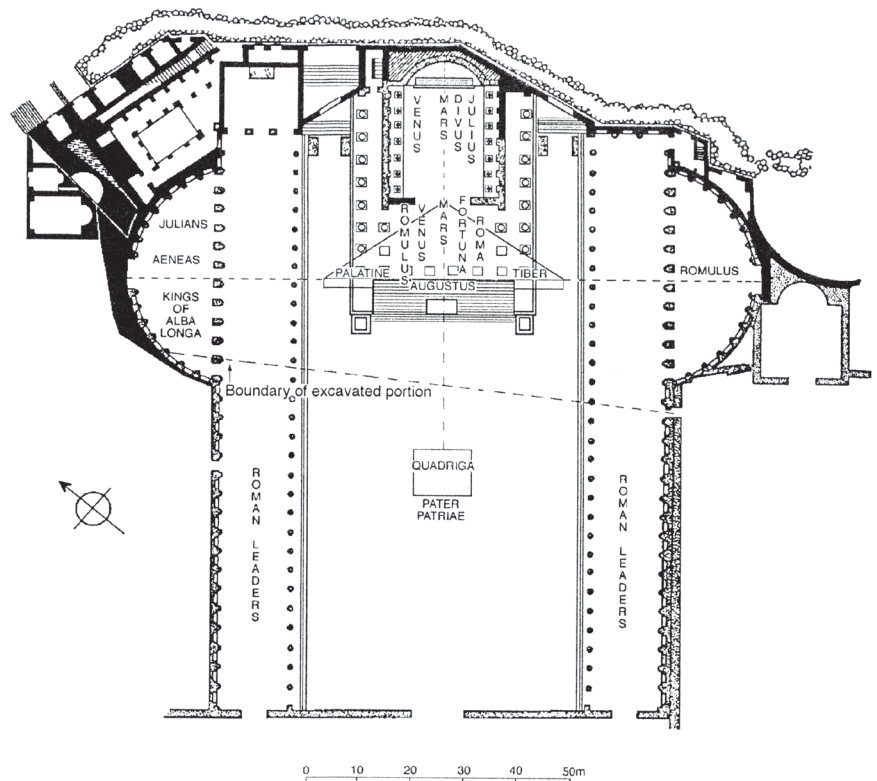


Figure 4. Plan of Forum Augustum, Rome (Galinsky, 1996, 198)

modeled on it and designed as a public atrium. Statues of the great men of Roman history (*summi viri*), featured in the niches along the walls behind the colonnades, resemble the images of ancestors located at the atria of the private homes of Romans. From the remains of the accompanying inscriptions recording the accomplishments of these great men, a long list of Roman national heroes can be identified, including Aeneas, the Alban Kings, and Romulus, to which a group of obscure members of the Julian family joined (Degrassi, 1937; Luce, 1990). Aeneas and Romulus occupied the most prominent niches in the assemblage of *summi viri*, at the center of the exedras at both sides of the Forum. At these locations, they honored their role as founders and fathers of the Roman nation, a role which Augustus himself strived to live up to. In the Temple of Mars Ultor, Venus, Mars and defied Julius Caesar, as the divine parents of Aeneas, Romulus and Augustus took their places. Through the presence of Venus, Mars and Julius Caesar in the same temple, Augustus again made his wish clear to be seen as equal to Aeneas and Romulus. So, by the presence of both his legendary kin and his more recent ancestors in his forum, Augustus equated the honorable past of his family with the honorable past of the nation. He was the victorious general, as represented on his chariot at the center of the forum, who was to continue this tradition.

In his statue at the center of his forum, Augustus was identified by inscription as the *Pater Patriae*, Father of the Country. *Pater Patriae*, as an honor with obvious familial connotations, was bestowed upon Augustus by the Senate in 2 BCE (Strothmann, 2000). This title had its roots in the notion of *Pater Familias* as the head of the Republican family. Beth Severy (2003, 32) claims that through the title *Pater Patriae* a new definition of state was formulated, joining the formerly two distinct concepts of *Res Publica*

7. Rose (1997a, 7-8) and Boatwright (2000, 62) attract attention to the fact that public statues of women were almost non-existent in Rome before Augustus. Widespread public representation of imperial women for political purposes coincides with the Julio-Claudian dynastic propaganda.

and family. This title enabled Augustus to govern the empire through his personal *autocritas* as Republican men managed their households, and made his dominating position acceptable to his Roman subjects.

Once Augustus was established as an autocrat, the issue of the legitimization of the Julio-Claudian dynasty as the future rulers of the empire came to the fore in the propaganda schemes of the capital. During the time of the successors of Augustus, dynastic concerns in imperial propaganda became more pronounced and monuments representing the imperial family became more widespread than ever before (7).

An early example of such a monument representing *domus Augusta* was in Rome. One of the decrees inscribed on the *Tabula Siarensis* (I. 10-1) stated "in the Circus Flaminius ... statues dedicated to the Divine Augustus and to *domus Augusta* had already been dedicated by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus". Flaccus was consul in the first half of 15 CE, so the statue group was probably dedicated as posthumous honors for Augustus after his death in 14 CE (Flory, 1996, 288). It is not known who was depicted in this statue group and how, but it is noteworthy that *domus Augusta* was honored by such a monument, probably celebrating the continuity of the dynasty shortly after the death of Augustus.

Tabula Siarensis (I. 1-10) states that this monument dedicated to *domus Augusta* was located near a triumphal arch dedicated by the senate in honor of Germanicus, nephew of Augustus, in 21 CE. The decorative repertoire of the triumphal arch of Germanicus was innovative in that, in addition to the references to his military success, this arch also portrayed his family (Trillmich, 1988). Statue of Germanicus in a triumphal chariot was placed on top of the arch, which was decorated by gilded reliefs of the nations that Germanicus conquered and statues of twelve members of Germanicus' family. Germanicus' father Drusus, his mother Antonia, his wife Agrippina, his sister Livia (Livilla), his brother Claudius and his daughters and sons were featured for dynastic propaganda.

Another such triumphal arch in Rome honored emperor Claudius' conquests in Britain in a familial context (Boatwright, 2000, 63). The dedicatory inscription of the arch referred to the submission of the eleven kings of Britain. Therefore, in a decidedly martial context, this arch portrayed statues of Claudius, his brother Germanicus, his mother Antonia and his wife Agrippina as well as his adoptive and natural children, Nero, Britannicus and Octavia.

Mary Boatwright in her article "Just Window Dressing? Imperial Women as Architectural Sculpture" (2000, 63) discusses the sculpture repertoire of these triumphal arches superimposing triumphal overtones with familial concepts. She suggests that imperial women and children in these victory monuments underlined a fundamental distinction between the Roman Empire and barbarian nations: that the empire was rooted in the Roman family as the symbol of order. The presence of imperial women and children in the sculpture repertoire of these triumphal monuments, therefore, represented Roman order brought to the barbarian lands. The Roman family, as we have seen, was defined as the extended family including even the slaves. In this respect, the family of the Roman emperor, as *Pater Patriae*, can be thought to extend even to the conquered nations. The Roman emperor, with this title, controlled and ordered his empire as Roman fathers managed their families.

8. It is generally within the context of the imperial cult or the aedicular facades that the emperor is represented in a familial context in Asia Minor; see Severy (2003, 219-28). Not all the aedicular facades featured the imperial family or even the emperor. In her comprehensive study of the aedicular facades Burrell (2006, 450-9) specifies only the Gerontikon at Nysa, the Bouleterion at Ephesus and the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia with the statue groups of the Antonine family in addition to the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the Hellenistic Gate at Perge.

THE FAMILY METAPHOR AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL IN ASIA MINOR

The examples in Rome are not the only monuments dedicated to the imperial family. Both in the western and eastern provinces, starting with the Julio-Claudian emperors such monuments became a widespread phenomenon with the aim of dynastic commemoration and as symbols of the order of the empire (Severy 2003, 219-27; Rose 1997a, 1997b). In addition to these more general concepts related to notions of an empire, provincial dynastic monuments also heralded concepts significant to their particular location.

Greece and Asia Minor, among the geographies conquered by the Romans, were unique regarding the use of the family metaphor as a propaganda tool, since the Julio-Claudian dynasty was defined to have kin relations with the Greeks through common ancestry. Two aedicular facades from Asia Minor, the propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the reconstructed Hellenistic gate of Perge, will be the focus of this paper, to argue how these monuments in their local contexts created a framework through which Greek cities defined themselves as part of the Roman Empire through familial associations (8).

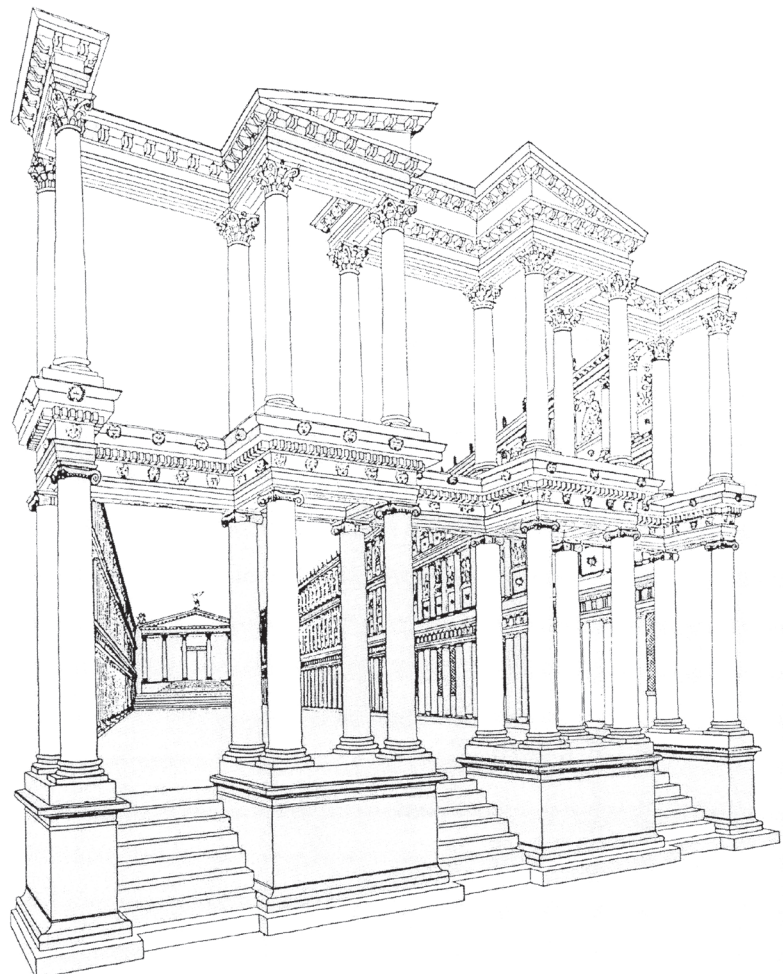


Figure 5. Reconstruction of Sebasteion propylon, Aphrodisias (Lenaghan, 2008,48)

9. Fishwick (1993, 238) discusses the possible meanings of the term *aedicula*.

10. Shrines to Lares, Penates and Genius were often aedicular in design. Flower (1996, 206-7) also suggests that *armaria*, cupboards into which wax masks, *imagines*, of the family were put could also have been aedicular in design. A funerary relief in the National Museum in Copenhagen depicts two cupboards with pediments and open doors. This relief does not represent an *armarium* since the images depicted are not wax masks, but busts. Yet, based on this relief, it might be suggested that *armaria* may even be designed as miniature aedicular facades.

11. Burrell (2006, 450-3) discusses the possible origins of the aedicular facades. She refers to Lauter (1986, 139, 172-5, 213, 263-4) for Hellenistic origins and von Hesberg (1981-1982, 82-6) for Republican origins. She is not satisfied by the argument that supports Hellenistic origins.

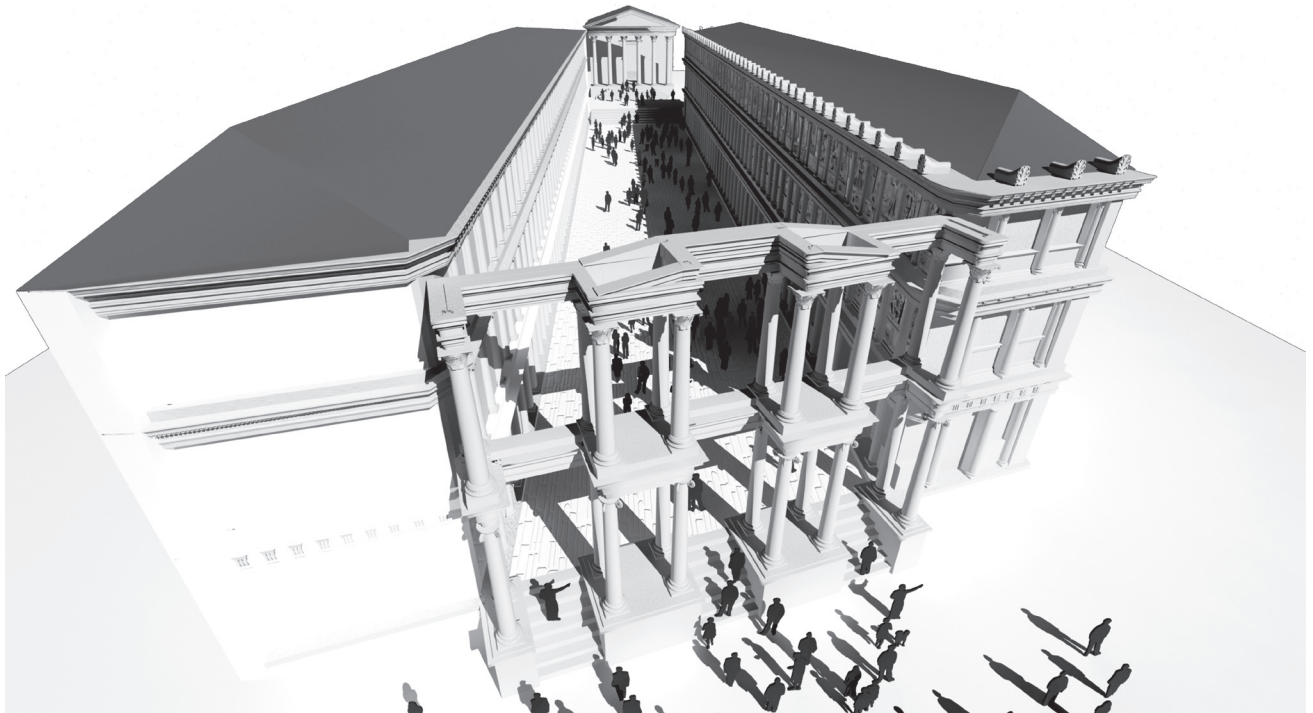
12. The urban image of imperial Roman cities is defined through the concepts of "urban armature" and "connective architecture" by MacDonald (1986). The issue of connectedness is further scrutinized by Öztürk (2013, 29) within the context of temples dedicated to the divine emperors in Asia Minor. Öztürk refers to Kevin Lynch's (1960, 4-5) concept of "imageability" to explain the experience of the unity of separate monuments in a Roman city.

Figure 6. Reconstruction of the Sebasteion, Aphrodisias (Öztürk 2011, 98)

Before going into these examples, we should briefly consider what an aedicular façade is and how it fits into the Roman image of the cities of the empire. In Latin, *aedicula* is the diminutive of *aedes*, which is a term that denotes a temple or a house (9). Connoting a small temple, the term *aedicula* had a wide range of uses. For example, it was used for small chapels bearing the gods image inside temples or sanctuaries, or it was also used for the household shrines in the atria of the Roman houses (10). Later *aedicula* came to be used more as a general term signifying an architectural form consisting of four columns supporting a roof with pediments. This form was either freestanding or it constituted a part of a larger structure as in the so-called aedicular facades.

The origins of the aedicular facades are often considered to be rooted in the early Republican theater facades (11). These facades later became urban scale ornamental features as parts of fountains, gates, libraries, baths and boulevards. In their public locations, they set the stage for the daily civic events that characterized the Roman way of life, and, as part of the marble colonnaded avenues, they established a Roman urban image that can be sequentially experienced by anyone walking in these avenues (12). The repetition of this experience in every civilized Roman city was a sign of the unity of the empire.

The propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, which was one of the earliest examples of aedicular facades of Asia Minor, was constructed as part of the developing Roman image of Aphrodisias (Figure 5). The Sebasteion was built as a result of the gratitude Aphrodisians felt towards the Julio- Claudian family and as a token of ensuring continuous imperial support (13). Under imperial rule, the city acquired free and allied status and gained immunity from imperial taxation. These privileges were accorded to Aphrodisias as a result of the connection of the local deity Aphrodite (Roman Venus) to the Julian family. Inscribed on the so-called Archive Wall of the theater, where Aphrodisians recorded decrees,



13. Most of the building projects of Roman Aphrodisias were sponsored by the local elite families, who saw these projects as ways to acquire close relations to the emperor. Through these relations, they acquired privileges both for their families and their city. The Sebasteion built by two Aphrodisian families desiring to be Roman citizens, is both Greek and Roman in its architectural design and sculpture repertoire. Smith (1987, 93) resembles the complex to the imperial fora of Caesar and Augustus in Rome.

14. Ratte (2002, 18) emphasizes the transparency of the gate facing both ways. Berns (2002) compares the early imperial examples where the statues were viewed in the aedicula in three dimensions and late examples where the statues were placed in niches their backs to a blind wall. He suggests that in the earlier examples the statues come to the fore as individual elements, but in later examples the individuality of the statues are lost and they are conceived more as part of a decorative scheme.

15. Sebasteion faced the North Agora of the city across from the north-south street. The space between the Sebasteion and the agora is exactly one block wide. Ratte (2002, 18) claims that when the Sebasteion was built either an unusually wide street or a small public square must have been envisioned in front of it. Across from the street to the south, the gate to the South Agora was also designed as an aedicular facade, yet it faced not the north-south street but only the agora.

treatises, laws and privileges of which they were particularly proud, Augustus claimed, "Aphrodisias is the one city from all of Asia I have selected to be my own." (Erim 1986, 1).

The Sebasteion was a sanctuary dedicated to the imperial cult of the deified emperors. It included a temple, two porticoes leading to the temple, and a propylon (Figure 6). The propylon of the Sebasteion was reconstructed as having four aedicula in two storeys topped by a large pediment. It was a semi transparent passageway facing two ways: to both the main north-south axis of the city and the porticoed way leading to the temple of the imperial cult (14). Even though the axis of the Sebasteion was at an angle to the north-south street, the propylon was oriented in line with the street (Figure 7). Therefore, it can be suggested that the gate was designed as a part of a larger urban layout and as a part of the experience of the major north-south axis of the city (15).

Inscribed statue bases were recovered in the excavations around the propylon, which are thought to belong to the statues placed in the aedicula of the propylon (Rose, 1997a, 163). The inscriptions identify Augustus'

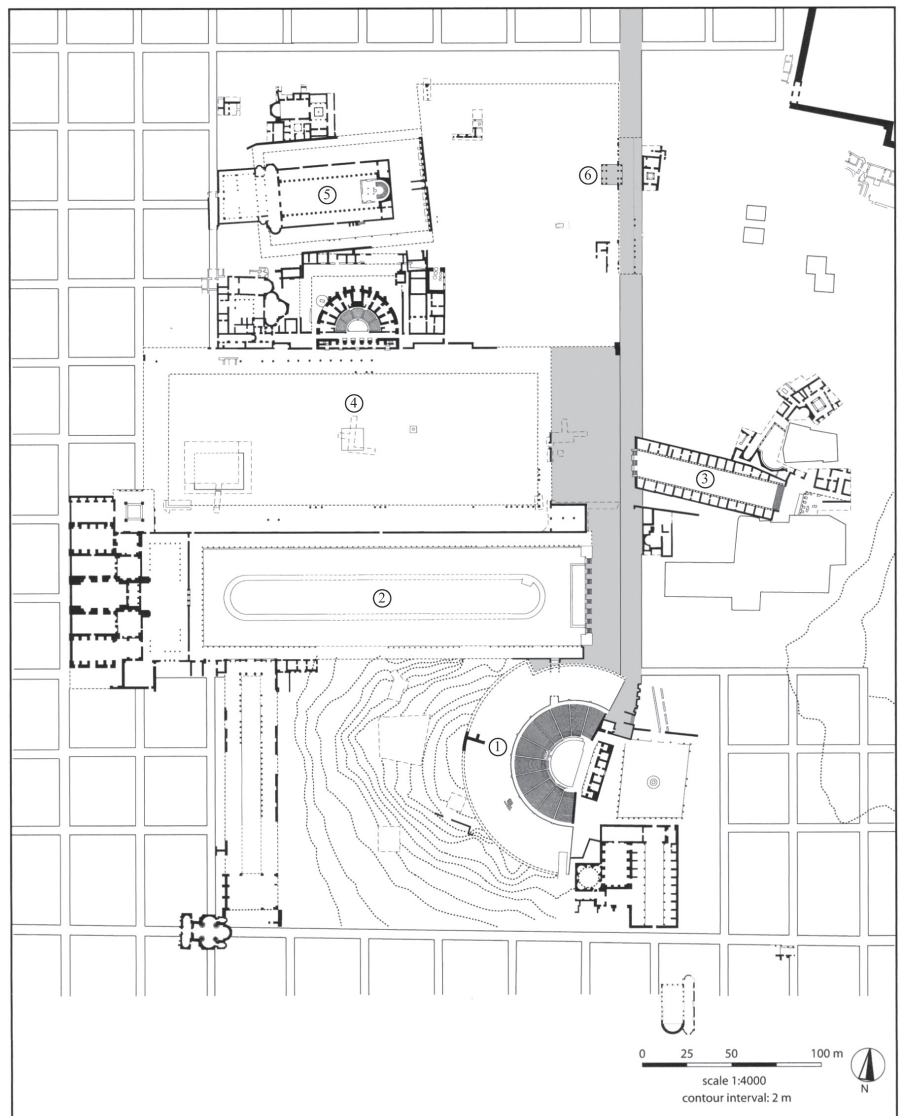


Figure 7. Plan of Aphrodisias, 1.Theater
2.South Agora 3.Sebasteion 4.North Agora
5.Temple of Aphrodite 6.Tetracylon (adapted
from Ratte, 2008, 14)

adopted sons Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar; Tiberius' son Drusus Minor and Drusus Minor's daughter Julia; Claudius' son Tiberius Claudius Drusus and Germanicus' (Claudius' brother) daughter Agrippina Minor. In addition to these statue bases identifying family members, there are also two inscribed bases belonging to Aeneas and Aphrodite. Moreover, statue fragments and inscribed bases belonging to Augustus's wife and Tiberius' mother Livia (16), Augustus' first great-grandchild and Claudius' fourth wife Aemelia Lepida and Augustus' mother Atia originally belonging to the Sebasteion Gate were recovered reused in the seventh century Byzantine wall at the theater of Aphrodisias (Lenaghan 2008, 38-9).

Only a portrait of Tiberius, which was discovered reused in a medieval wall built at the southeast corner of the North Agora, was identified as a part of the statue program of the Sebasteion Propylon (Ratte and Smith 2008, 745-7). Other than this, evidence for the statues of other Julio-Claudian emperors is lacking at the moment, so it is not clear whether or not statues of these emperors were featured in the façade. Their absence might be tied to the fact that they were abundantly represented in the reliefs decorating the porticoes defining the way leading to the temple of the imperial cult (17). It might also be argued that it does not really matter if they were present or not, since the individual identities of the figures present in the propylon were not important, but their togetherness signifying the concept of family.

Even though the members of the imperial family were identified as wife, son, daughter and sister of so and so emperor by inscriptions in this monument, to most of the Greek viewers the individual significance of these imperial personages were probably as obscure as they are to us. Imperial deaths and remarriages, as well as divorces and adoptions, were a common occurrence, and adaptations of personalities in these monuments in relation to the current situation was not made in all cases. Tiberius Claudius Drusus had been dead for nearly twenty years when he was featured in the Sebasteion propylon (Rose, 1997a, 164). At Ephesos, the statues of Augustus and Agrippa together with their wives Livia and Julia decorated the South Agora gate. These statues remained as they were even though Agrippa was dead by the time the gate was finished and his wife Julia was remarried to Tiberius (Rose 1997b, 111). Even in the case of *damnatio memoriae*, there is no a systematic erasure of names or adaptations of portraits (18). In this respect, it can safely be assumed that the members of the imperial family were not there as a result of their personal significances, but to signify family as a metaphor for the unity and continuity of the empire.

The Hellenistic gate of Perge was reconstructed by a prominent local woman called Plancia Magna in the second century CE, within the context of construction projects started in the city in preparation for the emperor Hadrian's expected visit in Asia Minor (19). By the reconstruction of Plancia Magna, the Hellenistic gate was transformed into a courtyard (20). Two-storey columnar facades were built in front of the niched walls of the gate and a Roman-style triple arch was added, closing off the northern side of the courtyard (Figure 8). This arch, facing both towards the courtyard and the major north-south colonnaded avenue of the city, marked the beginning of north-south axis, which established the Roman image of the city (Figure 9).

Within proximity to the Hellenistic gate, marble statue fragments and nine inscribed bases probably belonging to bronze statues were found.

16. Livia's statue is hybrid in style with Hellenistic and Roman traits. For the representations of Livia in the Greek East see Portale (2013), Bartman (1999) and Hahn (1994). On the base of the Sebasteion statue, Livia is identified as "Julia Augusta, daughter of Augustus, Hera." It is common to associate imperial personages with Greek gods and goddesses within the context of the imperial cult in the East. For imperial cult as an organ defining the power structures in the Greek East under the Roman Empire see Öztürk (2013), Burell (2004), Üçer (1998) and Price (1984).

17. Since the focus of this essay is the use of the family metaphor in the aedicular facades, use of familial associations in the Sebasteion reliefs will not be investigated in this article. For detailed information on the reliefs see Smith (1987) and Öztürk (2013, 37-133).

18. Rose (1997b, 112) attracts attention to the confusion in handling *damnatio memoriae* in the provinces. As in the case of Agrippina the younger at Epidauros, even in the same city, the name could have been erased from one inscription but left intact in another. Nero's name was erased from the inscriptions, even though his portraits were left untouched in Aphrodisias.

19. Hadrian originally planned to visit Perge in 122/123 CE, yet he was able to visit Perge only in 131/132 CE; see Özdizbay (2008, 105).

20. Plancia Magna was Latin in origin, but since her family had been residing in Perge for at least three generations, she can be considered as a Hellenized Roman citizen. As a result, in the restoration of Plancia Magna, we can trace local Hellenized concerns and Roman concerns together. For Family origins of Plancia Magna see Mitchell (1974).

21. In the two flanks of the gate, there are overall 28 niches in two storeys. We do not know who else was included in the remaining niches. Mansel (1958) and Boatwright (1993, 197) place the marble statues of gods and goddesses in the lower niches. Burrell (2006, 455) claims that the usual arrangement was that the higher ranking (and usually larger) figures were set on the first level and lower ranking on the second as in the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia. Since the dimensions and treatments of the marble statues differ from each other, Bulgurlu (1999, 99) suggests that marble statues belonging to Greek gods and goddesses were brought from some other buildings at a later rebuilding.

22. For family ancestry of these Greek heros see (Pekman, 1973).

23. Evidence attesting that a statue of Plancia Magna was also featured in the courtyard was not found. This might be due to the fact that she was mentioned dutifully in the inscriptions. In the dedicatory inscription of the triple arch, it is stated that Plancia Magna dedicated the arch to her city. In the statue bases, her brother and father are defined through their relation to her even though in general women are defined with reference to men of their family: City-founder M. Plancius Varus the Pergaian, father of Plancia Magna and City-founder, C. Plancius Varus the Pergaian, brother of Plancia Magna. A statue of her was found in a sculpture ensemble outside the gate. Here she is depicted very much like the Sabina in the Roman style triple arch. Boatwright (2000, 66) claims that this resemblance is not accidental and implies that Plancia Magna was the representative of Emperor Hadrian's wife in Perge. See Kalinbayrak (2011) for the significance of female benefaction in this monument.

24. The temple of Artemis Pergeae was never located, but it is known that it attracted rich offerings and visitors, sponsored pan-Hellenic games and sent out itinerant priests; see Akarca (1949, 62-4).

The marble statue fragments were identified as belonging to the Greek gods and goddesses, including Hermes, Apollo, Aphrodite, Pan, Heracles and the two Dioscuri (21). The bronze statues themselves are lost, but their inscribed bases indicate that they belonged to the legendary Greek founders of Perge and its contemporary Latin refounders. Inscriptions record Mopsos, Leonteus, Calchas, Machaon and Minyas, who were Greek survivors of the Trojan War that moved to Pamphlyia and founded cities; and Rhixus and Labos, who were local heros with Greek ancestors (22). M. Plancius Varus and C. Plancius Varus were the father and brother of Plancia Magna, also identified as city founders by inscription (23).

The inscribed bases found in proximity to the Roman-style triple arch show us that deified Antonine emperors were featured within a familial framework very much like the dynastic sculpture repertoire of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. Recovered bases bear inscriptions identifying Divus Augustus, Divus Nerva, Divus Trajan, Trajan's sister Diva Marciana, his wife Plotina Augusta, his daughter Diva Matidia, Hadrian, Hadrian's wife Sabina Augusta, and two inscribed bases identifying Artemis of Perge and *τύχη της πόλιος* (tutelary deity of the city) (24). In addition to these inscribed bases, there were also statue fragments identified as belonging to Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius' wife Young Faustina, his daughter Lucilla, and Hermes and Isis.

In Rome, the family metaphor was used as a propaganda tool for the legitimization of dynastic claims, imperial rule and conquest. The imperial family in the hands of the central authority was a symbol of order brought

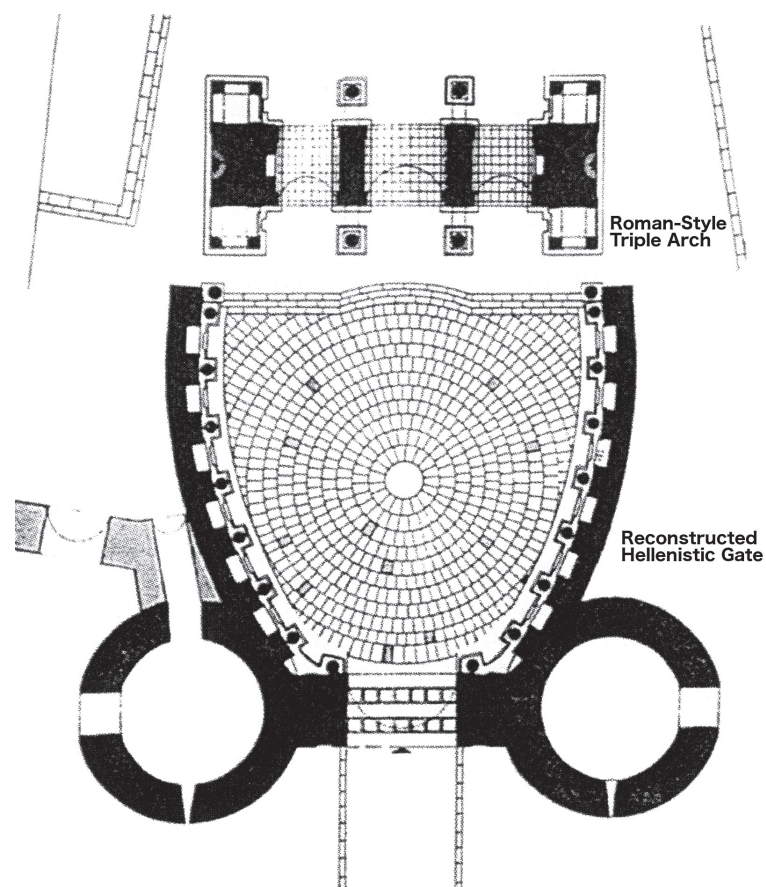


Figure 8. Plan of reconstructed Hellenistic gate of Perge (Mansel, 1958b, 57)

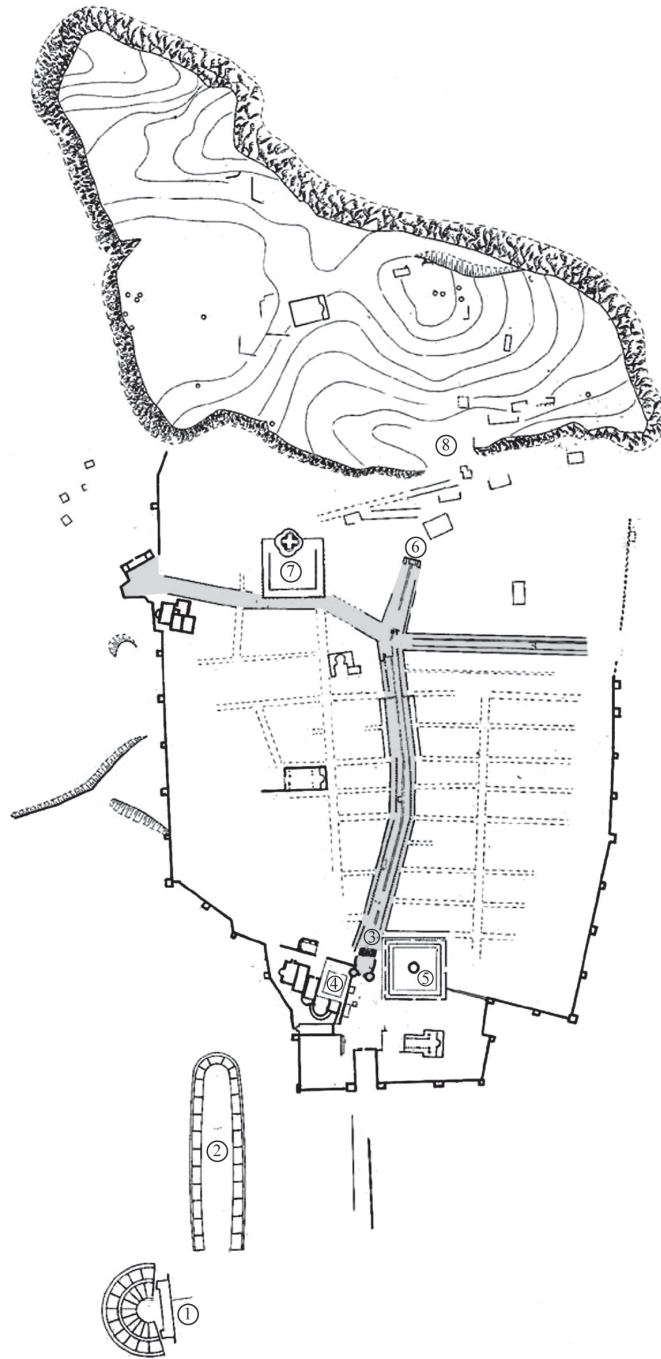


Figure 9. Plan of Perge, 1.Theater 2.Stadium
 3.Hellenistic Gate 4.South Bath 5.Macellum
 6.Nymphaeum 7.North Gymnasium
 (adapted from Abbasoğlu, 2001, 174)

to the barbarian lands by the emperor. The continuity of that order was ensured by the continuity of dynasty. In Asia Minor, this propaganda tool was not in the hands of the emperor or the senate, but in the hands of the Greek cities. These cities manipulated the family metaphor for their own purposes and used it to define their relationship to the empire. The Greek cities of Asia Minor, of course, did not represent themselves as the defeated subjects of the empire as barbarians were depicted in the imperial monuments of Rome. Rather, these cities defined themselves as destined and voluntary members of the order of the empire through the family

25. Presence of the Greek founders in the gate, and emphasis on the Greek identity can be interpreted as a sign of the wish of Perge to be included in the Panhellenion; see Şahin (1999, 144). This organization was created by Hadrian in order to organize Roman and Greek affairs. Only cities that could prove their Greek descent were able to join this union. Yıldırım (2004, 23-52) argues that the references to local mythology in the case of Basilica of Aphrodisias and the Sebasteion are a result of the cultural redefinition of the cities of Asia Minor with references to their past during the time of Second Sophistic. Viewed within this perspective, it could also be argued that references to the past of Perge in the gate could be a result of this general trend of the Greek cities during the Second Sophistic.

metaphor. By inserting their tutelary deities, Aphrodite, Artemis of Perge and *τύχη της πόλιος*, into the otherwise dynastic sculpture repertoires of these aedicular facades, these cities implied that they were tied to the empire with similar ties that links an individual to his/her family.

Greek cities not only tied themselves through familial concepts to the empire, but also drew a Greek framework for the alien authority of Romans by featuring Greek ancestors, which Romans formulated for themselves. In the dedicatory inscription in the propylon of the Sebasteion, Aphrodite was identified as *Προμήτωρ θεοί σεβαστοί*, the ancestral mother of the divine rulers (Rose, 1997a, 163). This inscription hinted at Aphrodite's also being the ancestral mother of Aeneas, who was present in the propylon, and at Aeneas' blood relation to the Julian dynasty. As a result, in the propylon of the Sebasteion, through Aphrodite and Aeneas as the ancestors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, a Greek framework was formulated for the alien authority of the Roman imperial dynasty.

In Perge, the presence of the Greek heroes of the Trojan War in the reconstructed Hellenistic gate not only defined Perge as an honorable Greek city, but also constituted concealed implications of the Trojan roots of the Roman Empire through Aeneas (25). The father and brother of Plancia Magna, identified as city founders by inscription in addition to these Greek heroes, represented the family of Plancia Magna as the inheritor of this honorable Greek city and refounder of it as a Roman city. This honorable Greek city, refounded as a Roman city, was tied through familial ties to the order of the empire, as announced by the inclusion of the tutelary deities of the city in the otherwise dynastic sculpture repertoire Roman style triple arch.

Ultimately, it can be stated that the aedicular facades in these cities can be thought of as large-scale versions of the familial paraphernalia in the atria of Roman houses. These paraphernalia set up stages in the atria of private homes, representing the family members within the framework of their extended family in the most public space of the *domus*. Through this representation, not only an honorable status for the family was defined through service to the state, but also loyalty to this legacy was pressured upon future generations through concepts of *fides*, *pieta* and *concordia*. In a similar way, Sebasteion gate at Aphrodisias and the reconstructed Hellenistic gate at Perge set up stages on the colonnaded avenues of their cities, representing their city as an extension of the empire. Through this representation, not only was an honorable Roman image established for the city, but also the subjugation to the unity of the empire was legitimized through the family metaphor. The willful loyalty and devotion to the alien authority of the Roman emperor was sealed through the evocation of a common ancestry by way of these aedicular facades.

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Roma İmparatorluğu; aile; heykel; propaganda; aediküler cephe.

ROMA İMPARATORLUK OTORİTESİ İÇİN SAHNE KURMAK: AİLE METAFORUNUN KÜÇÜK ASYA'DAKİ AEDİKÜLER CEPHELERDE TEMSİLİ

Romalılar için aile, antik dönemlerden itibaren yaşamın odağında geleneksel bir kavram olarak var olur. Oligarşik bir yapıya sahip Cumhuriyet Roması'nda aile şahsi bir birliktelikten ziyade kamuya hizmet ile ilintili bir kavram olarak düşünülür. Evlerin kamusal mekanı olan atriumlarında ailenin onurlu geçmişini yansıtan devlet büyüklerine adanmış büstler, ödüller, aile ağaçları, duvar resimleri ve aile kültürüne ait sunaklar bulunur ve gençlere ferdi oldukları ailenin onurlu geçmişini sürdürmeleri için örnek oluşturur.

Erken imparatorluk döneminde, ilk Roma imparatoru Augustus ailesini etkin bir politik propaganda aracına dönüştürür. Roma'daki imparatorluk anıtlarında ilk kez temsil edilmeye başlanan imparatorluk hanedanı, imparatorlukta barış ve düzen ile ilgili kavramlara işaret eder. Augustus'un senatonun üzerinde tek bir otorite olarak tanımlanması da yine aile metaforu üzerinden yapılır. Augustus, *Pater Patriae* unvanıyla, bütün imparatorluğun atası olarak – Cumhuriyet'in köklü ailelerinin reislerinin ailelerini yönettikleri gibi - imparatorluk ailesini yönetir. Onun bu statüye sahip olmasının sebebi ise ailesinin kökleridir. Augustus'un ataları Roma'nın kurucularından Aeneas ve Romulus'a kadar gider. Iulia hanedanı efsanevi ataları yoluyla ilahi bir kadere sahiptir ve imparatorlukta barış ve düzenin devamı ancak bu hanedanın bulunduğu statüde devamıyla sağlanabilir.

Augustus'un halefleri zamanında, imparatorluk ailesi sadece Roma'da değil bütün imparatorlukta yaygın olarak temsil edilmeye başlanır. İmparatorluk ailesinin temsil edildiği anıtların bu erken dönemde yaygınlaşması, Augustus'un ölümü sonrasında hanedanın yerini sağlamlaştırması çabasına bağlanabilir. Bu bağlamda, bu metinde Küçük Asya'dan iki örnek ele alınacaktır. Aphrodisias Sebasteion Kapısı ve Perge'deki Helenistik Kapı üzerinden imparatorluk ailesi ile işaret edilen aile metaforunun imparatorluğa genel ve yere özel anlamları irdelenecektir.

Aphrodisias Sebasteion Kapısı ve Perge'deki Hadrianus döneminde rekonstrüksiyonu yapılmış olan Helenistik Kapı aediküler cephe dediğimiz formdadır. Cephedeki aediküler birimlerin içine başka heykellerin yanı sıra imparatorluk ailesine ait bireylerin heykelleri yerleşir. Bu bağlamda, imparatorluk ailesi, imparatorluk genelinde, imparatorlukta düzeni ve onun devamını temsil eden bir metafor olarak düşünülebilir. Küçük Asya'daki bu iki anıtta, imparatorluk ailesine ek olarak kentlin koruyucu tanrıçaları da bulunur. Bu tanrıçaların imparatorluk ailesinin oluşturduğu heykel repertuarına dahil edilmesi yoluyla, kentlin imparatorluk bütününe, bireyin ailesine bağlı olduğu bağlara benzer bağlarla bağlı olduğu mesajı verilir. Aphrodisias'ta Afrodit ilahi imparatorların anası olarak tanımlanır. Bu sayede aslında imparatorluk hanedanının köklerinin Troia savaşında Troia'dan İtalya'ya kaçan Helen kahraman Aeneas'a dayandığına işaret edilir. Perge'de de Troia savaşında savaşıp sonra Perge'nin kurulmasında rol oynamış kahramanların heykelleri bulunur. Bu kahramanlar yoluyla Romalıların efsanevi Helen kökleri ima edilir.

Küçük Asya'daki bu aediküler cepheler, Romalıların şahsi evlerinin atriumlarında bulunan aile onurunu temsil araçlarına benzetilebilir. Bu cepheler kentlin kamusal alanlarında kentlin imparatorlukla olan ilişkisini aile metaforu üzerinden tanımlayan sahneler kurarlar. Bu tanım tabiiyete dayalı değildir ve sadakat ve bağlılık gibi ailevi unsurlar ve efsanevi akrabalık ilişkileri üzerinden şekillenir.

SETTING THE STAGE FOR THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN EMPEROR: THE FAMILY METAPHOR IN THE AEDICULAR FACADES OF ASIA MINOR

Family has always been an important aspect of the Italian way of life from antiquity to the present. Since the Roman Republic was an oligarchic state, the governing class had always been identified with families. The family pride in state affairs were advertised in the most public part of the Roman

house, the atrium, by way of busts, wax masks and shield portraits of the notable ancestors; trophies and wall-paintings illustrating the notable achievements of the family; and family trees and shrines to the *Lares*, *Penates* and *Genius*. These paraphernalia reminded the inhabitants of the household of the family pride, to which they must be loyal and whose expectations they must fulfill.

Augustus, within the process of his institution as the sole ruler of the empire, extensively employed familial concepts as a propaganda tool. He praised the Roman family as a traditional Roman institution within the context of the restoration of order and unity of the Republic. His definition as an autocrat above the senate was made through a familial concept, *Pater Patriae*. Augustus, as *Pater Patriae*, controlled and ordered his empire as Roman fathers managed their families. His dynasty was linked to Aeneas and Romulus by way of contemporary legends. Through these legends, he was defined as divinely ordained to reinstitute peace and order, in a way refound the honored tradition of Roman nation as his ancestors had in the past. His monuments in Rome, therefore, featured the imperial dynasty not only as a symbol of order and unity of the empire, but also as a token of the continuity of the reinstated peace implied by these legendary familial connections.

During the time of the successors of Augustus, monuments representing the imperial family became widespread both in Rome and in the provinces with the aim of heralding and ensuring the continuity of the imperial rule. Within this framework, two examples from Asia Minor, the propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the reconstructed Hellenistic gate of Perge, will be the focus of this paper, to argue how these monuments in their local contexts created a framework through which Greek cities defined themselves as part of the Roman Empire through familial associations.

Both of these examples are gates in the form of aedicular facades, which featured statues belonging to the contemporary emperor and his dynasty in their aedicular units. Within this context, the imperial family was a symbol of the order and unity of the Roman Empire and its continuity like in Rome. In addition to the imperial family, these facades also featured tutelary deities of Aphrodisias and Perge. By inclusion of tutelary deities of cities to the otherwise dynastic sculpture repertoire, it was implied that these cities were tied to the empire with similar ties that links an individual to his/her family. In Aphrodisias, Aphrodite was identified as the ancestral mother of the divine rulers hinting at Greek roots of the imperial dynasty through Aeneas. In Perge, statues of the Greek heroes of the Trojan War implied Trojan roots of the Roman Empire through Aeneas. So, through these associations, a Greek framework was formulated for the alien authority of the Roman emperor.

Ultimately, it can be stated that the aedicular facades in these cities can be thought of as large-scale versions of the familial paraphernalia in the atria of Roman houses. Sebasteion Gate at Aphrodisias and the reconstructed Hellenistic Gate at Perge set up stages on the colonnaded avenues of their cities, representing their city as an extension of the empire. Through this representation not only subjugation to the unity of the empire was legitimized through the family metaphor, but also willful loyalty and devotion to the alien authority of the Roman emperor was sealed through the evocation of a common ancestry.

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