

6 | Pergamene Panhellenism

The aim of the preceding holistic account of the Attalid fiscal system has been to recast the so-called liberal or bourgeois monarchy as a line of administrative savants, who won an empire not by the spear but by making the cultural reproduction of local constituencies, the elite of the gymnasium, the polis community, and emergent civic organisms in rural Anatolia, all depend on efficient taxation. When we view the Attalid kingdom from this perspective, the kings themselves fade out of view – just as they do on their own coin types.¹ Yet, if we follow the taxes back to the metropole, the relationship between culture and power only increases in salience. For we find the Attalids taking a hyperactive role in collecting, curating, producing, and circulating cultural artifacts.² From the Library of Pergamon to the Academy of Athens, tax revenues funded the Attalids' spending spree on culture. Taxes allowed the Attalids to capture pride of place in the archaeological record of Panhellenic centers such as Delphi and Delos. In addition, the manner in which the citadel of Pergamon and its hinterland were developed with the proceeds of empire also represented a cultural statement to would-be subjects. No picture of Attalid political economy can be complete without a consideration of the role of culture in determining the outcome of the Settlement of Apameia. In other words, did the cultural pageantry and positioning of the Attalids contribute to the ideological integration of the new state?

According to a standard reference article on the dynasty, cultural ideology masked real weakness, while monuments and bibliophilic lore have obscured the fact that Pergamon controlled neither its destiny nor its notional territory.³ Again, the scale, costliness, and prestige of Pergamene

¹ The inconspicuousness of the Attalids is in part an effect of our lack of confirmed portraits in any medium. In sculpture, a mix of charismatic and sober portraits – contrast, for example, the Terme Ruler with a head in Malibu – pervades the pages of Queyrel 2003 (see, here, esp. pp. 234–35). While many of Queyrel's identifications remain conjectural, note the persistent tendency among art historians to interpret even lost Attalid portraits as mixing divine, royal, and extraordinary elements with a noncharismatic or civic aspect, the so-called "bürgerliche Bild" (Schalles 1985, 148–49; Hoff 2018, 264).

² See, most recently, Kuttner 2015. ³ Kosmetatou 2003, 173–74.

cultural output would seem to belie such pessimism about its material basis. Yet the subject of an Attalid *Kulturpolitik*, of a commitment to “culture as policy,” has largely been approached as a matter of understanding the subtlety, even genius with which these unpedigreed latecomers to royalty constructed authentic Hellenic cultural credentials, not only by patronizing Athens and the Panhellenic sites of Old Greece but by cleverly building bridges of fictive kinship to Arkadia and coopting the Muses of Thespiai.⁴ Meanwhile, in Anatolia itself, we risk losing track of the kind of local reception that postcolonial scholarship has recovered for the other multiethnic kingdoms such as Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleukid Near East. And yet it is this internal, Graeco-Anatolian – in ancient terms – Asian audience that counts for assessing the impact of the cultural content of Attalid imperialism. However, unlike Hellenistic Egypt and the Near East, Anatolia was home to both indigenous Greeks and indigenous non-Greeks. Here, the encounter with the subaltern was strange and unique. In fact, mutual intelligibility was unparalleled, especially since a large population of Phrygians spoke the Indo-European language closest to Greek.⁵ Therefore, neither inauthenticity nor cultural appropriation is a suitable lens through which to view the Attalids. In the Mysian context, Greek identity was also bound to take its own forms, distinct from those of the mainland and the islands of the Aegean. Helpfully, by providing a cultural profile of the Greeks of the kingdom’s geographical core, recent studies of the Classical polis network of the Kaikos Valley and of collective memory and cult in Pergamon under the Gongylids shed light on specifically local resonances of the Telephos myth.⁶ We must also consider what particular currents of Panhellenism issuing forth from the Library may have meant for an audience of East Greeks. For all their connections abroad, the Attalids could not afford to ignore cultural dialogue with the Greeks at home.

On the other side of the ledger, the extent to which the Attalids acted like Anatolian kings has been seriously underappreciated in accounts of their rise. In fact, the Anatolian substrate of Attalid cultural identity is rarely investigated beyond takedown references to the mixed parentage of Philetairos: his mother was a Paphlagonian of ill repute, and his father, on shaky onomastic grounds, is usually counted a Macedonian. In the Classical period, the lords of the Kaikos Valley had been Greeks and Persians, but the population was a mix of Greeks, who have left us a few

⁴ Gruen 2000; Étienne 2003. On Thespiai, see Schalles 1985, 36–37. On Arkadia, see *I.Pergamon* 156.

⁵ Obrador-Cursach 2019, 238–40. ⁶ Dignas 2012; Grüner 2016.

Atticizing grave stelai, and, presumably, a silent majority of Anatolians.⁷ In the Bronze Age, the region had lacked the Aegean connections of the Milesia or the Troad.⁸ We must recall that for Herodotus Pergamon was not one of the eleven Aeolian poleis, and that for Xenophon, the citadel was still “Pergamon of Mysia.”⁹ Of course, the muted Hellenism of early Pergamon informs the idea that the Attalids “emerged from the sidelines of history to become one of the dazzling centres of antiquity.”¹⁰ Cruelly, the Anatolian cultural background of the Attalids is thereby rendered invisible when it should help us explain how Pergamon transformed itself from vassal to continental empire, adroitly governing both the coastal poleis and the inland *ethnê* and *demoi*. Measured against the coastal cities of the deltas of the great Anatolian rivers – Smyrna on the Hermos, Ephesus on the Kayster, and Miletus on the Maeander – early Pergamon is often rated a Hellenic backwater. Yet it was no accident that a city-state on the margins of two cultural spheres emerged with an empire. The Attalids represent a culturally “bilingual,” distinctly Anatolian response to the diasporic Graeco-Macedonian model of empire. This was not a settler state, and the Attalids were not “chameleon kings,” who manipulated local expectations.¹¹ In a groundbreaking study, Ann Kuttner has shown that the creative incongruity of Pergamene eclecticism in art and architecture is riven with Anatolian materials, motifs, and topophilia. As she points out, the Attalids continually proclaimed themselves something other than Hellenes.¹²

The goal of this chapter is to take stock of the Attalids’ cultural diplomacy to their own people. This means taking seriously the dynasty’s claim to rule a place called Asia, which is part of, but also apart from, Hellas. That claim is voiced already in an epigram of Philetairos, inscribed at Pergamon on an Olympic victory monument, which makes a distinction between Hellenes and Asians.¹³ Yet we find the programmatic statement reflected in the 184/3 decree of Telmessos in Lycia, a document for the scramble that pitted the Attalids against Anatolian rivals from Bithynia and Galatia. The inscription recounts that Eumenes II, savior and benefactor, declared war and undertook danger “not only on behalf of those ruled by him, but also

⁷ Grave stelai: Kelp 2014, 360–66. It has proven difficult to assess the cultural profile of Classical Pergamon from the relatively few imported Greek fine wares of the fifth and fourth centuries recovered in excavations, for which see Agelidis 2014, 76 n. 3.

⁸ Horejs 2014. ⁹ Hdt. 1.149; Xen. *An.* 7.8.8. ¹⁰ Gehrke 2014, 124.

¹¹ For a critique of the concept of “chameleon kings” (coined by Ma 2003a, 179), see Strootman 2017, 179.

¹² Kuttner 2005, 140. ¹³ *I.Pergamon* 11 lines 5–8.

on behalf of the other inhabitants of Asia.”¹⁴ Asia was the theater of war. The population of Asia looked to Eumenes for salvation. We can understand the ease with which such Pan-Asianism coexisted with Hellenizing tendencies only if we recognize the Attalids as the heirs of Anatolian kings such as Mausolus of Caria and Croesus of Lydia, occupying the same geographical niche defined by East Greece and the Anatolian steppe. We must avoid reducing the cultural universalism of the Attalids to an antithesis of Greeks and barbarians. This is the temptation of the mythic allegory of the Gigantomachy on the Great Altar and of the historical analogies of the Little Barbarians on the Athenian acropolis.¹⁵ In mainland Greece, the Attalids joined the Aetolians and others in portraying victory over the Gauls as a replay of the triumph of a united Hellas over the Persians. Unsurprisingly, at Athens, Attalos I catered to the Athenian version of the mythic cycle, which also juxtaposed Trojans and Greeks, as well as Amazons and Greeks. Meanwhile, in their own kingdom, the Attalids invested in the prestigious legacy of Troy and leaned heavily on the support of Aeolian cities allegedly founded by Amazons. Therefore, we begin by investigating the intellectual orientation of the official Panhellenism of the Library of Pergamon, in order to reconstruct a few of the lineaments of the cultural dialogue between the Attalids and the Greeks of Asia Minor. Next, we consider ancient perceptions of the capital as an Anatolian royal city rather than an inauthentic polis, first, from the perspective of its tumulus burials and, second, from the vantage of its mountaintop palace and urban plan. Pergamene Panhellenism, then, emerges as the particularistic expression of the civilization of *cis-Tauric Asia*. Finally, we reevaluate the relationship of culture to power in Attalid interactions with new or potential subjects in the highlands of central and southern Anatolia. In places like Galatia and Pisidia, we come to see Pergamene Panhellenism as a truly universalistic expression: civilization *in cis-Tauric Asia*.

The Library of Pergamon

The Attalids had always courted intellectuals, but Eumenes II was the first to attract an academic superstar to the capital, the Stoic philosopher and

¹⁴ Allen 1983, no. 7 lines 6–10. On a possible Pergamene claim to an Asian kingdom by dint of affiliation with Dionysus-Sabazios, see Burkert 1993, 265 n. 34, on Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.58.

¹⁵ Stewart 2004, 200–1; cf. Queyrel 2017, arguing strongly against the Galatian allegory; doubts also expressed by Ridgway 2018, 253.

literary critic Crates of Mallos. Crates arrived at an opportune moment: the physical setting of the Library, wherever it was, now took shape amid a flurry of book buying and book production on the city's famous parchment.¹⁶ In addition, an entire cast of Pergamene intellectuals now found themselves working for much higher stakes. As a Stoic, Crates must have cherished the opportunity to steer an ascendant king and the population of his new empire toward virtue and harmony with nature. He is best known for his work on the text of Homer, especially allegorical and lexical exegesis in pursuit of knowledge of the cosmos. For the Stoics, such knowledge on the global scale directly informed ethics on the local.¹⁷ However, we sorely lack any idea of the librarian's position on the ethical relationship of a wise man to his community of origin (*patris*). Yet the issue was a central concern of the Early Stoa, treated at length by Zeno of Citium in his *Politeia*. Building on Cynic critiques of norm and convention, Stoic cosmopolitanism reconsidered the act of political affiliation. Meanwhile, Pergamon's territorial monarchy was faced with the task of securing commitments from subjects whose primary affiliation remained the conventional one, the community of origin.

Symbolically, as a vast store of cultural prestige, the Library contributed to the power of the dynasty. As a self-proclaimed *kritikos*, Crates busied himself with the creation of a classical literary canon.¹⁸ This put the Attalids in direct competition with the Ptolemies of Alexandria. Emulation of Athens aside, Pergamon became a center of cultural production in its own right. For example, one suspects that the Library produced a royally commissioned, specifically Pergamene edition of Homer.¹⁹ Yet if the Library, under the stewardship of Crates, made a distinctive ideological contribution to the maintenance of an empire, which, as I have argued, promoted local, civic identities and institutions, it managed to do so by blunting the hardest edges of Stoic cosmopolitanism. Early Stoicism had inherited a critical stance on the *patris* from Diogenes the Cynic. The radical stance of an early Stoic named Aristo recalls the view of Diogenes. Aristo is cited for the claim that "the fatherland [*patris*] does

¹⁶ For an overview of the question of the Library's location, see Coqueugniot 2013, expressing skepticism about the traditional identification of the rooms behind the North Stoa of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias. Cf. Seaman 2016, 415. For the related testimonia, see Platthy 1968, 159–65, esp. testimonium 151: some translators take Strabo 13.4.2 to say that Attalos II built libraries. See further on architecture Hoepfner 2002. As a physical space for the collection of books, the library (βιβλιοθήκη) begins to appear in inscriptions only in the second century BCE – see Hendrickson 2014.

¹⁷ Brown 2009. ¹⁸ Nagy 2011. ¹⁹ Finkelberg 2006, 238.

not exist by nature.”²⁰ And for a Stoic, what does not exist by nature is of no concern. Aristo, however, was a dissident, and Zeno and his immediate successors, principally Chrysippus, counseled politically active men. In principle, the true polis of wise men stretched beyond the boundaries of any particular city. In fact, the achievement of the ultimate goal (*telos*) of Stoicism entailed the dissolution of each individual city-state. That the true foreigner (*xenos*) was the morally bad was a belief held by Zeno, who placed virtue over institutions.²¹ The realization of that *telos*, though, was safely set in the distant future. For the contemporary Stoic sage, to live a cosmopolitan life was to emigrate to the court of a king, even an enlightened barbarian, in order to promote virtue among the greatest number of people. Nevertheless, Chrysippean doctrine suggests the possibility of serving the fatherland and privileging its citizenship, if only as a worst-case scenario for a sage rendered immobile by circumstance. These ideas may have caused some embarrassment for later thinkers of the Middle Stoa, but they formed part of the intellectual background of Crates of Mallos. Later, too, arrived the more humanistic cosmopolitanism of universal community. The Stoicism of Crates would seem to have taken membership in the polis for granted, but harbored doubts about its citizens’ common destiny.²²

A more traditional attitude is in evidence in the writings of Arkesilaos of Pitane, an Academic and a client of Eumenes I, who began an epigram for a fallen friend from inland Anatolia, crying, “Far, far away are Phrygia and sacred Thyateira, your native land (*patris*), Menodoros, son of Kadanos.”²³ Plainly, no Pergamene school of thought existed.²⁴ Moreover, Stoicism seems to have gravitated back toward practical ethics under Panaetius, said to have been a student of Crates.²⁵ Rather, it is noteworthy that the intellectual climate of the Library contained an element of ambivalence about the more exclusive claims of the community of origin on an individual, even if the identity of the average Attalid subject remained rooted in place. Yet a different strain of scholarship, alive and well in the same

²⁰ Brown 2009, 554–55; Plut. *De exil.* 600 E. ²¹ Schofield 1999, 760.

²² Stoic obligation to honor one’s native land: Long 1986, 190. See here also Brown 2009, 555; Sellars 2007, 13. Stoic cosmopolitanism lived out in a *real* city: Sellars 2018, 161–64.

²³ Diog. Laert. 4.6.31.

²⁴ Pfeiffer 1968, 235. The Stoic Blossius of Cumae, a Gracchan exiled from Rome, ended his life at the court of Aristonikos (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 20; Cic. *Amic.* 11.37). This has led some to ascribe a radical and utopian social agenda to the regime of the last of the Attalids. For skepticism, see Africa 1961 and the careful work of Daubner (2006, 176–86, esp. 181) on the many strange bedfellows of the usurper’s coalition.

²⁵ Pfeiffer 1968, 245. On Panaetius’ innovations, see Long 1986, 211–16.

Library, responded directly to that silent majority's firm sense of place. This was what Rudolph Pfeiffer once termed "the new antiquarianism" of Pergamon, associated with periegetic art historians such as Antigonos of Karystos and Polemon of Ilion. Polemon deserves close attention, since we know enough about his oeuvre to try to reconstruct its target audience. Born a subject of the Attalids, he is widely believed to have been present at their court.²⁶ Like the Attalids, he was honored at Delphi, which he adorned with a history of its treasures.²⁷ He too was deeply familiar with the tribes of Athens and the city's acropolis, as well as cities such as Sikyon, dear to Pergamon. Yet the Panhellenism of an author nicknamed *Helladikos* encompassed scores of cities with little or no direct connection to the kings.

The titles and fragments of the works of Polemon point to an abiding interest in the histories of individual cities.²⁸ For example, he wrote books on the cities of the regions of Phocis, Lakedaimon, and Pontos. For each city, the antiquarian recorded genealogies, laws, institutions, festivals, and local lore. He wrote in an old, popular tradition, which had survived for centuries, usually alongside, but occasionally mixed in with the historiography of political affairs and military events.²⁹ Polemon aimed to distinguish himself from certain rivals in Alexandria by using autopsy to claim more accurate knowledge. He traveled to these locations and studied their monuments and inscriptions. One can imagine that the realia of his traveler's accounts resonated with readers' lived experiences and ritualized memories, perhaps more so than the erudite poems of the library-bound Callimachus.³⁰ The Attalids were famous for collecting art, and research such as Polemon's will have lent their prize pieces robust object histories, a context that stuck to the statues accumulating in Pergamon through purchase and spoliation. In fact, in the presentation of art in the citadel's sanctuary of Athena Polias, the Attalids pointed proudly to objects' provenance, appropriating prestige without denying individual cities their own histories. The island polis of Aegina, under Attalid rule from 206, is a case in point. In the Pergamene sanctuary, two images from Aegina were

²⁶ Engels 2014, 86–89, though see p. 77, arguing that Polemon's *To Attalos* is addressed to Apollo, not a king. Cf. Kosmetatou 2001, 124–25.

²⁷ *Syll.*³ 585. Pfeiffer 1968, 247.

²⁸ Titles: *Suda* s.v. Πολέμων (Π1888); with summary and analysis of fragments by Karl Deichgraeber in *RE*, s.v. Polemon.

²⁹ Bravo 2007.

³⁰ On the "realism" of Pergamene antiquarianism, celebrated in the nineteenth century, see *RE*, s.v. Polemon, 1319; Pfeiffer 1968, 251.

juxtaposed side by side, one a classical work of the Aeginetan sculptor Onatas, in the Severe Style, the other, a Hellenistic sculpture by the Boeotian Theron, but inscribed, “(The image is) from Aegina” (*I.Pergamon* 48–49). The juxtaposition of old and new artifacts, in different styles, both from Aegina, gestured toward the particularity of that city’s history, continually unfolding. The local histories of Polemon, like the statues of Aegina, belonged to a Panhellenic cultural patrimony, now under Attalid management. As Kuttner points out, from our perspective, the notion of a common patrimony of the Greeks sits in tension with the Attalids’ admiration for historically located pedigree and respect for original place.³¹

Polemon’s literary output can be considered a response to a crisis of Greek identity, even a reaction against the unmooring tendencies of conquest-driven migration and Stoic cosmopolitanism.³² He wrote auto-ethnography for a Panhellenic public. The modern label “antiquarianism” misleadingly implies pedantry; these writings invoked the deep past to buttress contemporary attachments to communities of origin. The figure of Polemon is an important clue about the specific character of Pergamene Panhellenism, which reaffirmed local differences for imperialist aims. One can detect the ideology as early as the reign of Philetairos, who when dedicating in Thespiai and Aigai, employed each city’s local dialect.³³ With the increase in their power, the Attalids were able not only to deploy local knowledge but to expropriate it, occasionally right along with the hard currency of cultural artifacts. The paradoxical, even jarring effects of this policy are evident in the signal case of Athens. Attalos I could not convince a certain Lakydes, head of the Academy, to join his court. In an extraordinary gesture for a royal patron, Attalos bowed to the primacy of the place: the king built a garden in Athens for the use of the philosophers, known as the Lakydeion.³⁴ From Athens, the Attalids were also not at liberty to remove colossal masterpieces such as the Athena Parthenos or Promachos. In a novel twist, they made copies for their own acropolis.³⁵ Close study of the cult and sanctuary of Athena Polias, as well as that of Demeter and Kore further down the slope, shows Athenian influence but not slavish imitation. Imperial Pergamon evoked, honored, and emulated,

³¹ Kuttner 2015, 49, 51. For Massa-Pairault (2010, 19), Polemon’s object histories simply reflect the unspecified “politica culturale’ del regno.”

³² Engels 2014, 88–92. ³³ *OGIS* 310, 311, and 312. ³⁴ Diog. Laert. 5.67.

³⁵ Schalles 1985, 53–54.

but, contrary to a scholarly cliché, never claimed to replace or supersede Athens.³⁶

The Panhellenism of Polemon's work is also noteworthy for its geographical limits. The Greek world, for Polemon, was a much smaller place than the effectively limitless domain once envisioned by Isocrates. The fourth-century philosopher had argued that education and acculturation could produce Hellenes, and by the second century, that vision was a reality. When Antiochos IV invaded Egypt, he was able to pick out the Greek residents of the polis of Naukratis, in order to award them each a gold stater.³⁷ Polemon, however, did not go looking for Greeks in Egypt. Whereas Polybius, for example, took the entire inhabited world (*oikoumenê*) as the stage of his history, or the narratives of earlier periegetes such as Herodotus and Hecataeus of Miletus wandered off into barbarian lands, Polemon's setting was an anachronistic vision of the confines of Hellenism.³⁸ As is often remarked, he restricted himself to studies of the Greeks of the mainland, the Aegean islands, Sicily, Magna Graecia, and, indeed, East Greece. For a Hellenistic intellectual, these were noticeably parochial interests. The exceptions, Carthage and Caria, seem to prove the rule, since their earlier histories had been so intertwined with the Greeks.³⁹ Polemon's project highlighted the differences between cities, celebrating the peculiarities of sanctuaries. Yet it also drew a boundary around a comfortably antiquated version of the Hellenic world, one which the Attalids now targeted for support.

Another view of this Panhellenic audience, with its strong local loyalties, emerges from a Polybian vignette about a boxing match at Olympia. It took place on the eve of the Third Macedonian War, as Greece faced the prospect of the destruction of the old geopolitical order at the hands of Rome. The story also highlights popular antipathy for kings. The match pitted a reigning champion named Kleitomachos against a challenger, Aristomachos, whom Ptolemy VI had trained for the occasion. Hungry

³⁶ See here the cogent arguments of Agelidis 2014 (esp. 99, 106), regarding the development of the cult of Athena Polias at Pergamon. At home, the Attalids emphasized the Trojan, not the Athenian connection.

³⁷ Polyb. 28.20.11.

³⁸ On the evolution of the antiquarian tradition, see Momigliano 1990, esp. p. 67. He is the rare commentator who considers Polemon worldly, though see too Massa-Pairault 2010, 18, alleging encyclopedism.

³⁹ *RE*, s.v. Polemon, 1299. Interestingly, a fragment mentions Telmessos, the Attalid possession in Lycia. On Carthage, the subject of the work does not seem to have been the origins, institutions, or customs of the Carthaginians, but a Punic textile bound up with the history of the western Greeks.

for an upset, the Olympic crowd began by cheering on the underdog Aristomachos. Polybius describes Kleitomachos on his heels, nearly vanquished, pleading with the crowd, “Did they think he himself was not fighting fairly, or were they not aware that Kleitomachos was now fighting for the glory of the Greeks and Aristomachos for that of King Ptolemy? Would they prefer to see an Egyptian conquer the Greeks and win the Olympic crown, or to hear a Theban and Boeotian proclaimed by the herald as victor in the men’s boxing match?”⁴⁰ In an instant, the two competitors, confirmed Hellenes insofar as they had managed to enter an Olympic boxing ring, assumed different, oppositional ethnic identities. The speech ignited the crowd, which carried the Boeotian champion to victory over his Egyptian challenger. The incident does more than simply demonstrate the celerity with which a mob can descend into the humiliation of a perceived outsider; it also captures a specific, popular notion of Hellenicity at a critical juncture in the political history of the ancient Mediterranean. After a century and a half of increased migration and the forging of polyglot monarchies on the eastern lands of Alexander’s conquests, the claims of the community of origin were as strong as ever. The determinant criteria for belonging to the community of Hellenes, at least the one conjured up during the Olympic bout, were backward-looking: identification with an ancestral polis, an *ethnos*, and a particular place in Old Greece. Idle curiosity did not bring us the methodologically rigorous antiquarianism of Polemon, but rather popular prejudice about the distinctiveness of a homeland. Polemon’s agenda is thus entirely Attalid in that these self-proclaimed stewards of the Greek cultural heritage evince an acute interest in topographic authenticity.

They shared that interest with another second-century intellectual, the historian Demetrios of Skepsis in the Troad. He has been imagined as an “independent country squire,” for Diogenes Laertes calls him a wealthy and noble man, who also may have had access to a first-rate local library – Neleos of Skepsis was purported to have once been in possession of Aristotle’s books.⁴¹ Unsurprisingly, Demetrios seems to have taken pride in his native city and participated in its rivalry with nearby Ilios for pride of place in Homeric lore.⁴² Yet his ancient reputation implies a broader stature both in the Attalid kingdom and in the world of letters. He practiced textual criticism of Homer and topographic exegesis. He

⁴⁰ Polyb. 27.9.12. Loeb trans. Paton, modified.

⁴¹ Pfeiffer 1968, 250. On the question of library access, Biraschi (2011, n. 12) is agnostic.

⁴² On this polemic, see Ellis-Evans 2019, 27–29.

delighted in distinguishing spatial homonyms and, like Polemon, could boast of autopsy, pointing to the very hill on which the Judgment of Paris took place. In fact, Strabo, delving into the hydronymy of Mount Ida, urges his reader to trust Demetrios, a local person with experience of the terrain.⁴³ The geographer made great use of the scholar, whom Diogenes Laertes also praises as an excellent *philologos*.⁴⁴ Just as Demetrios' fragments bear witness to an awareness of Attalid affairs and high politics, it can confidently be assumed that his ideas circulated in the emerging Library of the capital, even if he worked from home.⁴⁵ Moreover, his creation, the *Trojan Catalogue* (Τρωϊκὸς διάκοσμος), a mammoth commentary of 30 books on the 62-line description of Troy's federative army (*Iliad* 2.816–77), Anatolian history as much as local, provided the Attalids – true Trojans on his reckoning – with a model for their pan-Asian empire.

Demetrios' sprawling study was an attempt to organize the populations and lands of the Anatolian peninsula into a coherent whole. His description of his work as a *diakosmos* (ordering) implies as much.⁴⁶ On the one hand, his interests were restricted to the substance of the Homeric account, the subject of the exegesis. On the other hand, one senses that Homer's lines were felt to be an inadequate ethnography of contemporary Anatolia. Demetrios needed to account for entire peoples and regions, features of his world that seemed to be sorely missing from the poem. A further mystery was the origin of the toponym Asia itself, which Demetrios located squarely within Attalid territory, in Maeonia-Lydia.⁴⁷ To the bedeviling problem of where to draw the line between Trojans and non-Trojan allies, Demetrios offered an intriguing solution. Modern Homeric philology tends to posit a single Trojan contingent, made up of bands of warriors native to the various cities of the Troad, coupled with five allied contingents from distinct geographical zones. These were the likes of Hektor's Trojans and Aeneas' Dardanians, in other words, the true Trojans. Demetrios, by contrast, seems to have divided the Trojan core, at least, into nine so-called dynasties. Where did Pergamon fit in? Interestingly, whereas the

⁴³ Strabo 13.1.43.

⁴⁴ Diog. Laert. 5.83–84: πλούσιος καὶ εὐγενῆς ἄνθρωπος καὶ φιλόλογος ἄκρως ("A wealthy and well-born person, as well as an acute *philologos*").

⁴⁵ High politics: e.g., a comment on Antiochos III in *FGrHist* 2013 T 3. Attalid affairs: *FGrHist* 2013 F 6 and F 31a, both on the Καλή Πεύκη ("Beautiful Pine"), a lost work of Attalos I, which, according to Ellis-Evans (2019, 87–88), transmits boastful Pergamene claims to the wood and resin of the forests of Mount Ida.

⁴⁶ Trachsel 2017, 2–5. Technically, the work does not claim to be a catalogue at all.

⁴⁷ *FGrHist* 2013 F 41.

future site of the city and indeed the entire Homeric Mysia, on the basis of the primary text of Homer's epic alone, can be assigned to allied units, in Demetrios' exegesis, the Kaikos Valley and its Telephid rulers belong to the Trojan core. His Trojans ruled "up to the Kaikos."⁴⁸ Yet adding the Attalids' ancestors to Priam's kingdom was clearly a stretch. Strabo even seems to waver in his endorsement of Demetrios' schema, uncertain of the existence of the ninth dynasty, which belonged to Eurypylos son of Telephos, lord of the Kaikos. In an earlier part of the epic cycle, Achilles and company had mistaken Telephos' Teuthrania for Troy. Was it Troy after all? Pergamon was indeed an alternate name for Priam's citadel. Strabo's hesitation may also have stemmed from the fact that among the nine dynastic captains, only Eurypylos arrived at Troy *after* the events described in the *Iliad*. The *Odyssey* knows of the event, but a scholiast states that Priam was obliged to convince Eurypylos to enter the war as the allied king of Mysia.⁴⁹

A centuries-old tradition had linked the houses of Telephos and Priam: the mother of Eurypylos was Astyoche, a Trojan princess, and Andromache bore Pergamos, the eponymous founder of the city. The Attalids have been justly accused of constructing mythological links to the winning side of the war as well. In a grotesque twist, Neoptolemos fathered Pergamos, and the position of the stoa of Attalos I at Delphi seems to have stressed the Aeacid connection.⁵⁰ Equally ancient must have been the tradition of Telephos' Arkadian origins, which provided the Attalids with a prestigious link to Herakles (and Alexander). What is new in the work of Demetrios of Skepsis is the identification of the Attalids' forefathers as primeval Trojans. This anchored the dynasty to the rest of Anatolia – not just the Kaikos Valley.⁵¹ The Attalids now gained access to the deep, pan-Anatolian past to which Demetrios was determined to award cultural primacy. Many mountains were called Ida, but it was the one in the Troad, he argued, on which Zeus had been born. It was a daring argument, mounted against the authority of fifth-century Athenian tragedy. What was the proof? Demetrios took a characteristically empiricist tack, declaring that the rites of Rhea (Cybele) were indigenous to the Troad

⁴⁸ Strabo 13.1.2. ⁴⁹ Schol. Hom. *Od.* 11.520.

⁵⁰ On the Aeacid connection, see Schalles 1985, 114–15.

⁵¹ Cf. Bielfeldt 2019, 187: "Telephus is the expression of a Pergamene particularism."

and Phrygia alone. Any claim to the contrary was mythology, he declared, not history.⁵²

So much had changed since Trojans in Phrygian dress had graced the tragic stages and red-figure pots of Athens. As is well known, Homer depicts a war between Achaeans and Trojans, not Greeks and barbarians. Those categories had yet to be developed. It took the events of the Persian Wars to initiate a change in self-perception that recast the Trojans in the role of eastern, in the case of Paris, specifically Phrygian barbarians.⁵³ Inevitably, the idealized civilization of Priam's kingdom militated against any such downgrade. It has even proven possible to regard the *Ilioupersis* (Sack of Troy) depicted on the northern metopes of the Parthenon as a cautionary tale in hubris for imperial Athens.⁵⁴ However, it is difficult to deny that the fifth-century Athenians inflated their participation in the mythological war of the epic cycle to match their leading role in recent history's clash with Persia. The conflation of Troy with Persia followed suit. In the agora, the iconographic program of the Painted Stoa was the first to juxtapose the Battle of Marathon with *Ilioupersis*. Later, on the Periklean acropolis, in addition to the Parthenon metopes, one can point to a colossal bronze "Trojan Horse" set up in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, stocked with local, Athenian heroes. If in this montage, the acropolis of Athens came to stand in for the citadel of Troy, this was of a piece with Athenian attempts to claim their own primacy in the Troad by rescripting the Aeolian and Ionian migrations.⁵⁵ In other words, not only were the Trojans barbarians, by this account, but their occupation of Ilion was illegitimate.

As we have seen, the conception of Demetrios of Skepsis was entirely different. It served Hellenistic Pergamon's imperial needs, not those of classical Athens. In Demetrios' conception, Trojans claimed primacy in the Troad, and Pergamenes were counted among their ranks. Ties of kinship bound them to Phrygians, construed as a population of primordial Anatolians. Demetrios' work brings into focus the multifaceted character of the Trojan connection in Attalid cultural politics, which represented far more than a means of currying favor with the Romans.⁵⁶ Indeed, Ilion was the fulcrum by which the Attalids made themselves kinsmen of the

⁵² *FGrHist* 2013 F 61. Cf. *CIG* II 3538, a late second-century oracle from Klaros, which makes the rocky peak of Pergamon the birthplace of Zeus.

⁵³ Hall 1988, 1991. ⁵⁴ Ferrari 2000. ⁵⁵ Rose 2014, 146–50.

⁵⁶ Indeed, Demetrios disagreed with the idea that Aeneas was progenitor of Rome (*FGrHist* 2013 T 3; Gruen 1992, 41–42).

descendants of Aeneas. In 205, we find Ilion and Pergamon set side by side as signatories to the Roman-brokered Treaty of Phoinike. The dynasty's benefactions at Ilion and other interests in the Troad are well documented.⁵⁷ Yet at the very same time, Attalos I effected the transfer of the cult of Idaean Cybele to Rome from a seat in Pessinous, the ancient Phrygian cult center. Gruen has written of the way in which the Trojan lineage allowed the Romans to acquire a character "distinct from that of the Greeks but solidly within the Greek construct."⁵⁸ In an analogous fashion, the same lineage gave the Attalids a purchase on a distinct, Anatolian identity, now firmly embedded in the Homeric matrix. Troy was a bridge to Rome, but also to Pessinous.

The Attalids' stake in the glory of Troy was then of critical importance to their imperial project and no mere window dressing. It may be that a hint of their Trojan affinity is admitted by the historical narrative presented on the Athenian acropolis in the form of the dedication known as the Little Barbarians. In the reconstruction of Andrew Stewart, the Attalid monument presented a universal history, unfolding from the beginning to the present, a series of challenges to the civilizational order: Giants, Amazons, Persians, and, finally, Galatians. The Attalids could rely on a local tradition of assimilating the enemy of the hour to the Persian barbarian, as well as a Panhellenic one that likened the Galatian bands to Xerxes' army.⁵⁹ For Stewart, the dedication "created a Pergamene-Periklean alliance across time and space to defeat the entire gamut of civilization's foes."⁶⁰ Yet the Trojans were conspicuously absent from the rogues' gallery. By contrast, the Periklean prototype, as represented by the Parthenon metopes and the Stoa Poikile, included an *Ilioupersis*. The sack of Troy was later represented on highly visible temples such as the Argive Heraion and the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, and the iconography reemerged in the Troad itself at Ilion and Chrysa.⁶¹ The Attalids seem to have taken part in the construction of the new Athenaion at Ilion, which, ironically or not, featured an *Ilioupersis* on its metopes with Trojans in eastern garb.⁶² We have no

⁵⁷ Kosmetatou 2001. Note that a tribe of Ilion was named Attalis (*I.Ilion* 121).

⁵⁸ Gruen 2010, 247.

⁵⁹ The Macedonians were cast as the Persians in Chremonides' decree *IG II² 687*. On Galatians as Persians, see Stewart 2004, 200–1. Note especially the epic *Perseis* of Mousaios of Ephesus (*FGrHist* and *BNJ* 455), associated with the court of Attalos I. Fragments liken and compare the Galatians to the Persians.

⁶⁰ Stewart 2004, 200. ⁶¹ On these monuments, see Ridgway 1997, 25–30, 34–40.

⁶² On Pergamene participation in the construction of the temple, deduced principally from stylistic and technical affinities, see Rose 2014, 185. Tellingly, Webb (1996, 149) wavers between *Persikomachy* and *Ilioupersis*.

way of knowing what, if any, role Pergamene artisans or patrons had in the selection of the theme for the Athenaion. Its appearance, unusual in the Hellenistic period, must be related to the special relationship of the Troad to the Homeric past, especially at a time when Iliadic tourism was booming. On the other hand, we know that the Attalids did not evoke a Trojan theme among their dedications on the Athenian acropolis. This may have been because they saw themselves as the successors of Priam, as civilized a king as any who had ever lived.

The Attalid Way of Death

Faced as they were with the task of ruling a vast and diverse Anatolian territory, the Attalids' choice to play the part of Priam's heirs makes perfect sense. Like Priam's rule, they could argue, theirs too was just and rightful. Likening their empire to the Trojans' alliance, moreover, would have promoted an ideology of consent and cast a shadow over coercive measures. In the archaeological record, one can detect an allusion to the glory of the heroes of Troy in the form of a series of burial mounds (tumuli) scattered around the periphery of the city of Pergamon. Most of the tumuli of Pergamon are Hellenistic, built in the third and second centuries BCE.⁶³ In fact, adjacent to the city's gate, the early second-century fortification wall of Eumenes II sliced through a third-century tumulus encasing a chamber tomb, effectively incorporating it into the bulwark. Since Archaic times, the names – and cults – of Homeric heroes had been associated with particular hilltops, natural and man-made. On his way through the Troad, Alexander had visited a certain mound then known as the tomb of Achilles.⁶⁴ Under the Attalids, the citizens of Ilion undertook a major public works project at the site now known to archaeologists as the Neolithic settlement of Sivritepe. They artificially increased the height of the mound, from 5 to 13 m, an intervention that was sure to capture the imagination of would-be pilgrims. The site was soon roundly recognized as the Tumulus of Achilles.⁶⁵ Now, at just this moment, members of the ruling clique of Pergamon were burying themselves in tumuli. Surely, one impression conveyed by the choice of tomb type was the desire to assert Trojan filiation. Were the tombs, then, just one more baldly transparent effort to

⁶³ For the spatial distribution of the known tumuli at Pergamon, see Kelp 2014, 356. Maltepe, the second largest of 11, seems to be a construction of the Roman period.

⁶⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.12. ⁶⁵ Rose 2014, 190–93.



Figure 6.1 Yığma Tepe (courtesy of Pergamon Excavation of the German Archaeological Institute).

invent tradition? Quite the opposite: the tumuli fit into a well-documented Anatolian tradition, which informs us about the Attalids' cultural identity and helps explain their success.

With just a glance over the tumulus field at Pergamon, one notices both considerable diversity in mortuary practice, but also the unique grandeur of the Yığma Tepe tomb (**Fig. 6.1**) Given their number, differences in size and in the nature of the excavated grave goods, it must have been the case that kings and nonroyal elites alike shared this burial custom. The smaller tumuli, such as Tumuli 2 and 3, have a diameter of ca. 30 m and are braced by a low stone wall called a *krepis*. Both lack a burial chamber and contain only an andesite sarcophagus buried below ground level. Grave goods from Tumulus 3 are modest compared with those of Tumulus 2, which include a golden oak-leaf wreath. Another significant example is the tumulus on the saddle of the Ilyas Tepe, facing the east side of the acropolis. It is also just 37 m in diameter (5 m tall), but it contains a *dromos* (entry corridor) and an elaborate, Macedonian-style chamber tomb covered with a barrel vault. Yet the subterranean burial in a stone sarcophagus recalls the rite practiced by the builders of Tumuli 2 and 3.⁶⁶ The occupant of the tomb is thought to be an important general of the

⁶⁶ Kelp 2016, 603.

third-century reign of Attalos I. None, though, matches the grandeur of Yığma Tepe, which is 158 m across, 35 m tall, and surrounded by a deep ditch, the very source of its material, a cavity that enhances the visual impact of the mound. Despite several attempts to find it by digging and with geophysical prospection, a burial chamber has never been located, but a monumental *krepis*, without an entrance, has been exposed. New excavations have uncovered thin rows of stones above and perpendicular to it, which may be late additions to the monument. Ceramic finds from the excavations of the early twentieth century, taken together with the style of the masonry, offer a provisional date in the second BCE. An important clue for the identification of the occupant of the tomb is the orientation of the Yığma Tepe along an axis that joins both the west side of the Temple of Athena and the stairway of the Great Altar, over 3 km away. The city-builders Eumenes II or Attalos II are therefore the most likely candidates. Given its unique size and suggestive spatial context, the fact that we await the hard proof need not deter us from an analysis of the tumulus as a royal burial monument.⁶⁷

Comparison of the Attalid tumulus tradition with the burial customs of the major Hellenistic dynasties is instructive. The Ptolemies, we know, were interred and displayed alongside the body of Alexander inside a mausoleum known as the Sema or Soma. That building lay within the segregated royal quarter of the city of Alexandria, attached to a complex that also included the Library and the Museum. The monument housed Alexander's cult as well as the dynasty's. With this novelty, the Ptolemies clearly broke with pharaonic precedents, but in good Egyptian fashion, they had themselves mummified.⁶⁸ While aided by archaeology, our picture of the Seleukid practice is in fact less complete. We know that Antiochos I built a sacred precinct for the remains of his father Seleukos I, known as the Nikatoreion, set within the palace district of Seleukeia Pieria. The precinct contained a large, non-standard Doric temple that covered a crypt, in which, it has been conjectured, Seleukos I's descendants joined him in death. This combination of precinct, temple, and, therefore, posthumous ruler cult, all housed within a palace district, was repeated in breakaway Bactria at Ai Khanoum. It seems to represent the Seleukid way of death.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ No hard proof: Kelp 2014, 357. For recent archaeological work and preliminary dating, see Pirson 2016, 184–87; on latest geophysical results, Pirson 2019b, 110–13. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who first excavated Yığma Tepe, believed it contained the heroon of Pergamos. *Contra*, see Kosmetatou 1995, 140–41. Other possibilities include the tumulus of Auge, observed by Pausanias (8.4.9). On Auge and the Kaikos Valley, see Williamson 2016, 74–75.

⁶⁸ Thompson 2003, 114; Erskine 1995, 41. ⁶⁹ Seleukid royal burial: Canepa 2010, 7–10.

In the case of the Antigonids of Macedon, direct testimony is lacking. However, it seems very likely that they were buried in tumuli. Certainly, several of their Temenid predecessors were buried in chamber tombs under the Great Tumulus of the royal necropolis, which was not attached to the palace, but lay on the outskirts of Vergina/Aigai. Though the necropolis of Pergamon has not (yet) produced the exposed architectural facades of the conventional Macedonian tomb, shared features include the barrel vault on Ilyas Tepe, the common *krepis*, and the wreath of Tumulus 2.⁷⁰ The fundamental point of similarity between Pergamon and Macedonia is a consistent if not continuous tradition of tumulus building, which the powerful, almost by default, make their own. In Macedonia, we can trace it from the Iron Age mounds at Vergina to the proliferation of large (50–100 m wide) tumuli at Hellenistic Pella.⁷¹

Tempting as it is to interpret the Pergamene tumuli as little more than a claim to Macedonian identity, shoring up the link to Alexander that was tenuous at best, we risk overstating the importance of a single point of reference among many. Moreover, by positing diffusion from Macedon, we mistake correlation for causation.⁷² It is important to understand that in this respect, the Macedonians themselves were just one party to a heritage from prehistoric southeastern Europe. The neighboring Thracians were another, and as they moved from the central Balkans eastward, the practice spread into the region of modern Kırklareli in the Thracian Chersonnese.⁷³ With another Iron Age migration, that of the population that came to be known as the Phrygians, the tomb type appeared around Gordion.⁷⁴ To try to pick apart the issue of influence hundreds of years later is next to impossible, though Barbara Schmidt-Dounas has suggested that it was, in fact, Anatolia that influenced the growth in the size of the later tumuli of Macedonia.⁷⁵ In short, for an Attalid subject, a tumulus did not read as

⁷⁰ On underground, built chamber tombs in the Macedonian tradition, see Palagia 2016, 383. On the golden oak-leaf wreath in Macedonian burials, see Kyriakou 2014.

⁷¹ On Macedonian tumuli, see Schmidt-Dounas 2016, esp. 102, 111.

⁷² Link to Alexander: Kosmetatou 2003, 167–68. ⁷³ Yıldırım 2016.

⁷⁴ For the combination of linguistic and material cultural evidence that seems to confirm Herodotus' report (7.73) that the origin of the Phrygians lay in southeastern Europe, see Roller 2011, 560–61. Cf. Obrador-Cursach 2019, 242–43, on this "linguistic minefield," noting some similarities, not necessarily genetic, between Phrygian and Thracian, as well as the considerable distance between Phrygian and the Greek dialect of Macedonian.

⁷⁵ Tumuli at Hellenistic Pella based on impressions of Macedonian soldiers in the "East," which in this context, could mean only Anatolia: Schmidt-Dounas 2016, 111. Cf. Boardman and Kurtz 1971, 277–83, esp. 279: "While the chamber tombs within tumuli, survivors of Bronze Age practice or derived from Anatolian tradition, may have contributed something to the

Macedonian. In Anatolia itself, an impressive number of models for the Yiğma Tepe were available. The landscape was saturated with tumuli – from the fuzzy eastern border inland to the boundaries of the coastal city-states. They flanked the capitals of earlier Anatolian empires such as royal Phrygia and Lydia, and had more recently become a defining feature of the Granikos Valley in the Troad. Because these are highly durable monuments, an ancient viewer saw an accretion of tumuli from different periods. Their dates of construction, only a minority of which have been established by modern excavation, were hardly discernible in antiquity. Yet significantly, a chronological synopsis of the tumulus tradition in Anatolia demonstrates continuity of practice. It also provides a broader context for interpretation.

The earliest point of reference for the Yiğma Tepe is indeed the tumulus field at Gordion, capital of Iron Age Phrygia, filled with some 240 examples.⁷⁶ The Phrygians began building them in the ninth century BCE and increased their size and the richness of their contents in the eighth. If the number of such tombs seems to diminish in the sixth century BCE, Hellenistic examples have also been recorded at Gordion.⁷⁷ Now dated ca. 740 BCE, the most monumental of all is Tumulus MM, a royal burial consisting of a wooden chamber covered by a tumulus 53 m high and 300 m in diameter. In the second century BCE, it lay in a part of Galatia that bordered Attalid territory, but one can also find Phrygian tumuli in areas directly under Pergamene control. For example, in the late eighth or early seventh century BCE, Phrygians had built a spectacular series of tumuli far from Gordion, on the piedmont above the plain of Elmalı (Bayındır), in the southern Milyas.⁷⁸ Similarly, in western Phrygia, a recent survey identified 65 tumuli, most of which cannot be dated without excavation. The painted Taşlık tumulus exhibits Phrygo-Lydian architecture, but may date to the Achaemenid period, as does the painted tomb at Tatarlı. On the other hand, the find-rich Kocakızlar Tumulus, 80 m in diameter and erected in open country 3 km from the site of Midaion, is

development of the Macedonian tomb, they had nothing to do with its final form, especially in its detailed resemblance to a house.”

⁷⁶ A total of 44 have been investigated archaeologically.

⁷⁷ An early series ends in the sixth century: Roller 2011, 562. Hellenistic examples: Liebhart et al. 2016, 629.

⁷⁸ Others date the Bayındır tumuli to the sixth and early fifth century BCE, labeling them Phrygo-Lydian. See Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 158–59. See further on the state of the question, Tiryaki 2016, still allowing for an eighth- and seventh-century date for the Bayındır necropolis, but dating many of the Milyan tumuli to a period of local dynastic rule under the Achaemenids, 525–470 BCE.

Hellenistic.⁷⁹ After the collapse of the Phrygian state, Lydian royals and elites adapted the practice to their own architectural traditions in the second quarter of the sixth century BCE.⁸⁰ Certain Lydian tumuli possess a *krepis*. Ten kilometers from Sardis is a field known today as the Bin Tepe (“thousand hills”); around 100 tumuli have been identified at Bin Tepe, and 500 in greater Lydia. Of these 600, only 54 have been dated to within a century. While several of the largest and most prominent, such as Kocamutaf Tepe, associated with king Alyattes, date to the period of Mermnad rule, the tumulus tradition is best represented in Lydia during the first century of the Achaemenid period.⁸¹ At the same time, tumuli of the Lydian style appeared at Delpınar in Persian-controlled Pisidia.⁸² The Achaemenid period also witnessed the proliferation of tumuli in Troad’s Granikos Valley, such as the one at Kızöldün, dated ca. 500–490 BCE, the source of the Polyxena sarcophagus. These seem to belong to a mixed milieu of Anatolian, Greek, and Persian estate-holders. Once they were dispossessed of their lands, these sites were largely abandoned.⁸³

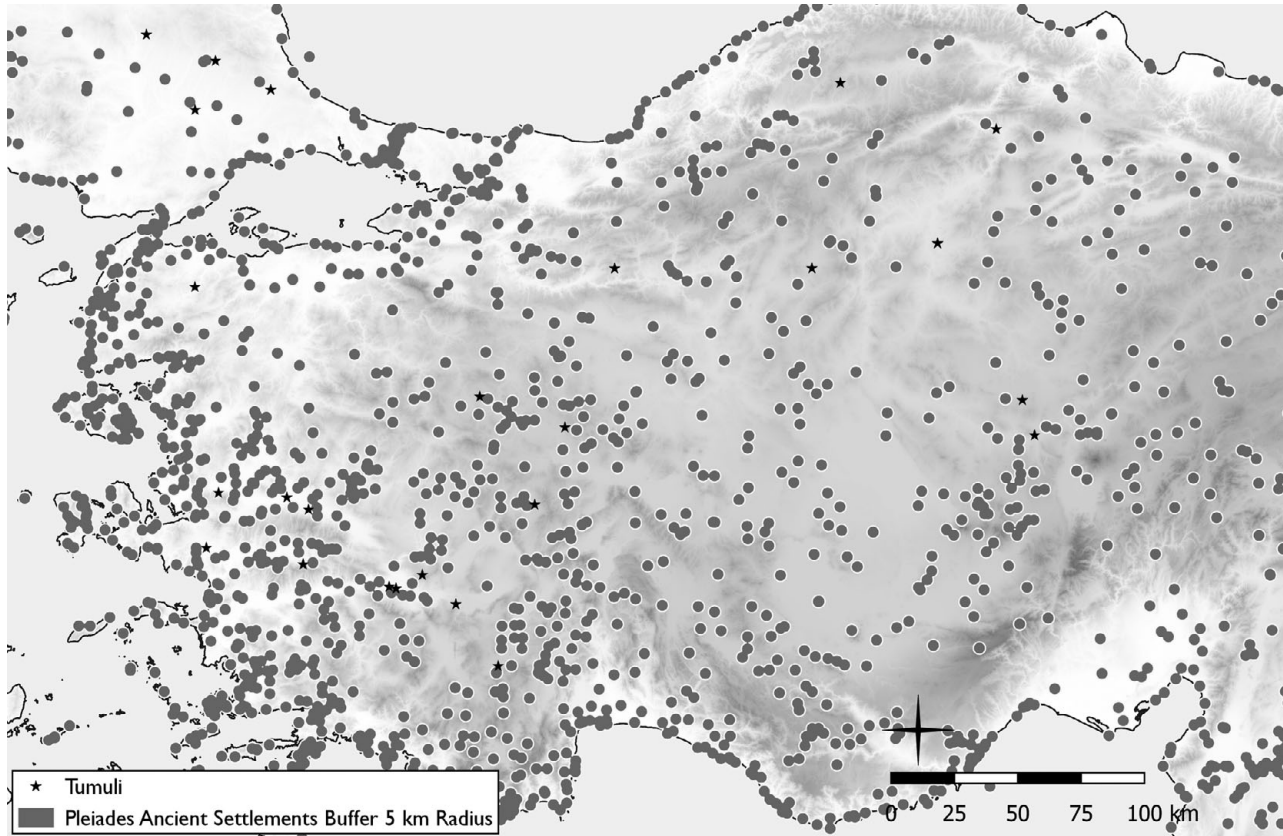
Clearly, dramatic shifts in the historical center of power affected the distribution of tumuli. A succession of empires left their mark on the landscape. The Attalids, it seems, as heirs to one of the petty fiefs of the Persian period, picked up where the likes of the Gongylids left off. Yet high political history hardly explains the ubiquity, durability, and historical continuity of the phenomenon. Salvage archaeology in contemporary Turkey, driven by the twin threats of economic development and looting, provides a reasonably random sample. The last 26 years of accidental discoveries has produced 43 excavated tumuli. Chronologically, they run the gamut from Iron Age to Late Roman. Significantly, 18, or 42%, have been dated to the Hellenistic period. Their spatial distribution is very broad, with a clustering in the upper Maeander and Lykos river valleys, which Ute Kelp has related to Attalid influence and even a possible refoundation of Hierapolis.⁸⁴ Another discernible pattern is that the tumuli seldom lie within a 5-km radius of recorded settlements (**Map 6.1**). Whether they belong to rural estate holders or to rulers residing in nearby towns and cities, the tumuli do seem to promote claims of land possession.⁸⁵ In political terms, they also present the face of power to wayfarers traversing a demarcated territory.

⁷⁹ Sivas and Sivas 2016. ⁸⁰ Roosevelt 2009, 140; Luke and Roosevelt 2016, 408.

⁸¹ Roosevelt 2019, 148–49. ⁸² Hürmüzlü 2016. ⁸³ Rose and Körpe 2016.

⁸⁴ Kelp 2016, 605–8.

⁸⁵ Cf. an unusual Hellenistic tumulus at the center of the Carian city of Hyllarima: Henry 2013.



Map 6.1 Tumuli recorded in salvage excavations (*Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Yayınları*, 1990–2016) and ancient settlements in the Pleiades data set (pleiades.stoa.org).

From the Aegean to the Euphrates, a dense scatter of tumuli emerged over the course of the first millennium BCE. Ultimately, Pergamon's tumuli belong to what can be termed an Anatolian *koinê* of burial practices.⁸⁶ In burial, the Attalids behaved precisely as their regional rivals did. The salvage results proffer a more or less approximate idea of the likely appearance of royal or princely Bithynian, Galatian, and indeed Pontic tumuli. At Üçtepe, for example, near Bithynian Izmit (Nicomedia), excavations have revealed a late Hellenistic tumulus 75 m across and 12 m high, containing a vaulted burial chamber and a *dromos* – a strong candidate for a Bithynian royal tomb.⁸⁷ Philetairos' native Paphlagonia recently produced a roughly contemporaneous tumulus with a painted burial chamber, at Selmanlar.⁸⁸ It is now well understood that the Galatians abandoned La Tène burial practice for the Anatolian tumulus.⁸⁹ At Karalar (Blucium), an inscription identifies the tomb's occupant as Deiotarus the Younger. Galatian tumuli have also been investigated outside Gordion and at Yalacık, near Ankara.⁹⁰ The Mithridatids are a fascinating case because they vacillated between Greek, Persian, and Anatolian traditions. Down to ca. 180 BCE, the kings of Pontus were laid to rest in the rock-cut tombs of the royal necropolis of Amaseia. With the transfer of the capital to Sinope under Pharnakes I, a change occurs, and it has been conjectured that later kings, including Mithridates VI, were buried in tumuli.⁹¹ The results of the excavation of a Hellenistic tumulus at Arafat Tepesi, 50 km from Çorum, as well as data from an intensive survey of the hinterland of Sinope, render the idea quite plausible.⁹² The spectacular monuments of Orontid Commagene also belong in our reckoning, but so too those of Cappadocia. While no Ariarathid royal burial is securely identified, the stone tumulus at Avanos in Nevşehir province is a candidate, while salvage excavations have dated two more Cappadocian mounds to the Hellenistic period.⁹³

To be fair, this sample contains a great variety of technical features of construction, size, and placement in the landscape. The tumulus is also an

⁸⁶ Harl 2011, 757. ⁸⁷ Turgut and Aksoy 1996; Gabelko 2017, 328. ⁸⁸ Bal 2014.

⁸⁹ Coşkun 2014, 142–47.

⁹⁰ Karalar and overview of Galatian burial: Darbyshire et al. 2000, 85–87. Gordion's Galatian tumulus: Temizsoy and Kaya 2001. Yalacık: Mermerci and Yağcı 1991.

⁹¹ Fleischer 2009, esp. 118. By contrast, Højte (2009, 128) suggests the possibility that the Amaseia complex remained in use down to the end of the dynasty and housed the remains of Mithridates VI.

⁹² Arafat Tepesi: İpek and Çakar 2009; Sinop: Doonan 2009, 72.

⁹³ Avanos: Thierry 2016. Belkuyu and Devebağirtan tumuli: Başal 2000.

enormous expenditure of wealth, and ostentatious consumption always had a local history and a distinctive role in social structure.⁹⁴ Yet what seems to justify analysis on this scale is Pergamon's own Pan-Asian political claims – enunciated in the Telmessos decree of 184/3. In death, how did the powerful comport themselves within the political space delineated for “the inhabitants of Asia”? Further, the bird's-eye view makes plain the stark difference between, on the one hand, Asia (Minor), as construed as the coastal Aegean zone conjoined with inner Anatolia, and, on the other, mainland Greece and the islands. Archaic and Classical Greece witnessed a boom-and-bust cycle of ostentation in burial, the record of which includes tumuli among other forms such as *peribolos* monuments. Broadly speaking, the fifth century seems to have witnessed restraint in the form of burial. Restraint seems to end, at least in Athens, already during the Peloponnesian War. A new cycle of ostentation began that petered out toward the end of the fourth century. The disappearance of monumental tombs like tumuli from the landscape of Greece is often tenuously attributed to sumptuary laws, though it surely also must reflect the redirection of disposable income toward other ends, such as house-building and public works.⁹⁵ A sharp decline in the number of tumuli can be discerned already ca. 600 BCE.⁹⁶ They disappear from the Kerameikos at Athens and also from the great tumulus fields of Thessaly at Krannon and Pharsalos.⁹⁷ Of course, there are some outliers such as the Macedonian-style Tomb of the Erotes at Eretria, but by and large, the tumulus is not a feature of the landscape in Hellenistic Greece. This contrasts markedly with the situation in East Greece. So what? Here, the tumulus tradition appears to be unbroken. From the archaic period, for instance, comes the sixth-century tumulus at Belevi near Ephesus, as well as the archaic tumuli of Larisa-on-the-Hermos.⁹⁸ Scores have also been detected in surveys of the Ionian cities Klazomenai and Teos.⁹⁹ Classical tumuli are known from the territory of

⁹⁴ On the problem of comparison, regarding burial in democratic Athens and aristocratic Thessaly, see Morris 1992, 147–48.

⁹⁵ Athens: Whitley 2001, 364–75; Morris 1992, 128–44.

⁹⁶ Schnapp-Gourbeillon 2016, 212; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: “Chamber tombs went out of fashion in the Classical period.” Among Hellenistic exceptions, Pergamon is singled out for special mention (p. 283).

⁹⁷ Thessaly's tumuli dated sixth to fourth centuries BCE: Stamatopoulou 2016, esp. 181–83.

⁹⁸ Larisa-on-the-Hermos: Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 176–77. Belevi tumulus: Kasper 1976–77.

⁹⁹ Ersoy and Koparal 2008. At Teos, Koparal and Tuna 2017 (pp. 213–15) record numerous tumuli, both in the *chora* and in the urban core (*asty*). The phenomenon seems to have begun in full force during the Archaic period, when the city was founded (seventh century, in their view), and stretched into the Classical period (tumulus at Kayalıca, e.g.).

Parion.¹⁰⁰ A recent salvage excavation investigated the Biçerova tumulus, a fifth-century tomb 2.5 km from Kyme.¹⁰¹ Hellenistic examples from Pergamon's immediate regional context are not lacking. In the second century, at the modern site of Maltepe near ancient Phokaia, a tumulus was founded on the archaic city wall in the second century.¹⁰² Near the port of Elaia, the Seç Tepe tumulus was also in use at this time.¹⁰³ In Anatolia, Greeks were not outsiders, socially distanced from the rest – though the modern discipline of Classics has often portrayed them this way. A possible royal tomb at Yiğma Tepe, therefore, aligns the Attalids not only with Anatolian kings of an earlier age but with the Graeco-Anatolian aristocracy of many neighboring cities.

City as Acropolis

With the conquest and acquisition by award of new territories, as well as a westward push to seize Aegean islands and gain ever more influence at Rome, it is a curious fact that the Attalids never moved their capital, but retained and embellished a mountain redoubt. As the landscape archaeologist Christina Williamson has shown, that mountainous viewshed makes of the lower Kaikos Valley an inward-looking, landed microregion. Indeed, standing atop the peak of Pergamon (329 m asl), the best line of sight points east and inland, up the Kaikos Valley toward modern Kınık and Soma. By contrast, it is only on a very clear day that the sea and the port city of Elaia are visible (**Fig. 6.2**).¹⁰⁴ With respect to the urbanism of their capital, then, the Attalids made a distinctive, even surprising choice. In Macedonia of the early fifth century, Archelaus had moved the Argead capital down from Aigai to the coastal estuary at Pella. In time, the polis of Pella was refounded on the so-called Hippodameian grid and appended to a royal residence. While the Ptolemies and the Seleukids both inherited the seats of ancient empires, they chose to stake out new cities according to Greek conventions of space. Further, Alexandria and the Syrian Tetrapolis both hugged the Mediterranean. Even contemporary Anatolian rivals did things differently. Mithridates I shifted his capital from inland Amaseia to the polis of Sinope on the Black Sea; the Bithynian Prousius I refounded Kios as Prousa-on-the-sea.¹⁰⁵ Logistically, the Attalids certainly could have decamped to Ephesus and ruled from a city that had hosted Antigonids,

¹⁰⁰ Tombul 2015. ¹⁰¹ Korkmaz et al. 2016. ¹⁰² Özyiğit 2009–11. ¹⁰³ Kelp 2016, 603.

¹⁰⁴ Williamson 2016, 86. ¹⁰⁵ Kaye 2013, 44–45.



Figure 6.2 View to the southwest of the Kaikos Valley from the acropolis of Pergamon (author's photo).

Ptolemies, and Seleukids. In fact, in recent excavations conducted above the city's theater (Panayırdağ), a lavish peristyle house on the scale of the Attalids' Palast V (2,400 m²) has been revealed. The excavator has dated the building to the second century and noted many Pergamene architectural features, suggesting an Attalid governor's residence, perhaps even a secondary palace.¹⁰⁶ Yet their capital remained what had been an important sub-satrapal stronghold of the late Persian period, which, as the military history reminds us, retained its defensive value. Less obvious, perhaps, is the ideological value of presenting this vertiginous and asymmetrical urban facade to would-be subjects.

Standard accounts of the monumentalization of the Pergamene acropolis underscore the builders' reverence for Classical Athens.¹⁰⁷ It was not Philetairos, in fact, but one of his immediate predecessors, Barsine or Lysimachus, who seems to have replaced the cult of Apollo with that of

¹⁰⁶ Baier 2013, 53–56; Ladstätter 2016, 263: major remodeling or rebuilding of palatial residence on Panayırdağ in Attalid period.

¹⁰⁷ The Atheno-centric interpretation of Pergamene spatial aesthetics is noticeably muted in the account of Seaman (2016, 411): "They *appear* to have evoked and thus competed with fifth-century Athens" (emphasis added).



Figure 6.3 Model of ancient Athens (courtesy of American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

Athena Polias as the central cult of the city. Yet the late fourth-century construction of the sanctuary and temple of Athena Polias, along with the introduction of the Panathenaia festival by the time of Eumenes I, it has been argued, speak to a wider effort to liken Pergamon, supposedly lacking traditions of its own, to storied Athens.¹⁰⁸ For Schalles, the equation of the two cities in Attalid self-presentation is assured by the time of Attalos I, who reorganized Athena's terrace.¹⁰⁹ However, if we zoom out from the sanctuary and consider the cityscape as a whole, the equation breaks down. Athens is a democratic city with an acropolis (**Fig. 6.3**); Pergamon represents an altogether different, Anatolian, and oligarchic model of urbanism,

¹⁰⁸ Massa-Pairault 2010, 3–4; Gehrke 2014, 123.

¹⁰⁹ Schalles 1985, 54. Reorganization of sanctuary by Attalos I: Kästner 2014b, 439–42.



Figure 6.4 Model of Hellenistic Pergamon (bpk Bildagentur; Antikensammlung/ Staatliche Museen/Berlin/Germany; Art Resource, NY).

in which the city *is* an acropolis (**Fig. 6.4**).¹¹⁰ Astoundingly, the excavated residential quarter (*Wohnstadt*) is laid out on a slope of about 20–25%, a fine point of comparison to the core of Lydian Sardis, which registers at 16–20%.¹¹¹ As once described by an excavator of Sardis, Pergamon is “a typical Anatolian acropolis town,” built on the spur of a mountain, just like the Lydian royal capital.¹¹² Many Lycian cities also seem to cascade down steep hillsides, a type of urbanism that is widely recognized as pre-Greek and indigenous. For example, at Xanthos, major changes in elevation (in sum, over 50 m) separate the city’s various districts. Some 25 m above the lower city stands the palace and dynastic monuments of the so-called Lycian acropolis; at about the same elevation is the public space of the presumed Lycian agora. Another 25 m up the hill, one reaches the citadel of Xanthos, conventionally known as the Roman acropolis, but exhibiting Classical-period remains.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 1330b: περί δὲ τόπων ἐρυμῶν οὐ πάσαις ὁμοίως ἔχει τὸ συμφέρον ταῖς πολιτείαις: οἷον ἀκρόπολις ὀλιγαρχικὸν καὶ μοναρχικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ’ ὁμαλότης, ἀριστοκρατικὸν δὲ οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἰσχυροὶ τόποι πλείους. “As to fortified positions, what is expedient is not the same for all forms of constitution alike; for example, a citadel-hill (*akropolis*) is suitable for oligarchy and monarchy, and a level site for democracy; neither is favorable to an aristocracy, but rather several strong positions” (Loeb trans. Rackham).

¹¹¹ Cahill 2008, 119. ¹¹² Hanfmann 1975, 6.

¹¹³ Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2013, 5, 10–11: Episcopal Basilica on the “Roman Acropolis,” also known as the Upper Hill, contains spolia from two Classical temples. Cf. Cavalier and des

Moreover, it was not only the siting of the city that evoked Anatolian precedents, but planners' treatment of the mountainous terrain. To a far greater extent than the prototypical Greek polis, Pergamon was "sculpted" out of towering volcanic rock.¹¹⁴ As has long been noted by archaeologists, the landscaping of Pergamon's peak into its several iconic, monumental terraces, a process accelerated if not completed by Eumenes II, finds a close parallel in Sardis.¹¹⁵ In the center of the Lydian city ("Acropolis North"), the revetment of the natural spurs of the mountain also created a series of terraces linked together by handsome staircases. Excavation has exposed the Lydian revetment, which consists of the kind of fine ashlar masonry found in royal tombs.¹¹⁶ These ashlar terrace walls were, in a sense, the face of the Lydian royal capital. The best understood of the terraces lie in Sardis sectors Field 49 and ByzFort. The latter is estimated to have enclosed an area of 1.2 ha. While visible from afar, these sculpted bluffs also stand apart from the lower city and its more expansive residential quarters. Yet their connection to the highest point of the acropolis seems assured. A tunnel cut in the bedrock in the valley between ByzFort and Field 49 leads the way. In essence, this regional technique of boldly terracing the mountainside creates dramatic vistas by taking advantage of natural contours. It does not seek to regularize the terrain or organize it modularly. As Nicholas Cahill puts it, "The Lydians, however, treated their sloping ground very differently from the later Greeks."¹¹⁷ Then, when, in the early Hellenistic period, the Sardians finally returned to this area, perhaps already or soon to become denizens of a polis, they recreated the spatial aesthetic of the Lydian period. Current excavations in Field 49 show a remarkable investment in stabilizing and raising the level of the hill with massive subterranean foundations that follow the Lydians' alignments (**Fig. 6.5**).¹¹⁸ In Sardis as in Pergamon, the geometry of Priene's fourth-century grid is nowhere to be found, but alongside the grandeur of the untreated rock, it is the sculpted earth and the terrace wall that stand as monuments and showpieces in their own right. It has proven difficult to find a precedent for the urban plan of Lydian Sardis in Anatolia, prompting considerations

Courtils (2001, 155), reporting only Classical spolia from a large basilica at the foot of the Upper Hill.

¹¹⁴ Seaman 2016, 408.

¹¹⁵ Hanfmann 1975, 28–33; Greenewalt et al. 1986, 17; Cahill 2008, 119.

¹¹⁶ See most recently, Ratté 2011. ¹¹⁷ Cahill 2008, 119.

¹¹⁸ Cahill 2019, 28–35. While no trace of a Hellenistic terrace wall survives in Field 49, the excavator expresses confidence in the existence of one along the line of the Lydian terrace.

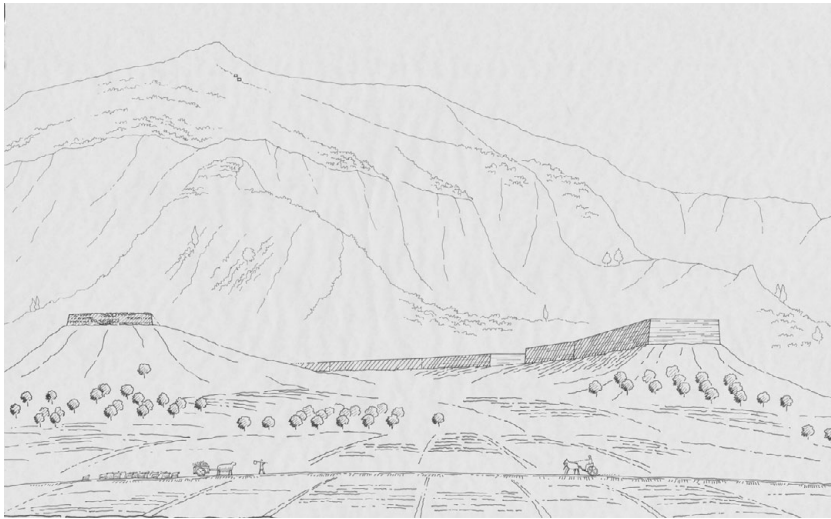


Figure 6.5 Archaic terrace walls of Sardis, reconstruction drawing by Philip Stinson (©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College).

of Near Eastern influence.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, the local vassals of the intervening Achaemenid period offered the Attalids a blueprint for a high-elevation capital.

First, Lycian dynasts were well accustomed to residence in cities built on precipitous slopes that descended from a fortified peak, often containing a necropolis. Just as in Xanthos, we often find important monuments on a level terrace, which is usually not the highest point, but again, set on a spur lower down the mountain. In Xanthos, this is the Lycian acropolis, with its dynastic heroa, palaces, and public buildings. Elsewhere in the same river valley, one finds the same pattern at Tlos and also at Pinara. It is telling that at Pinara the large (ca. 1.7 ha) *basileia* terrace was once referred to as the “lower acropolis.”¹²⁰ In the east of Lycia, the city of Arykanda controls a steep pass into the plain of Elmali. The earliest remains show it to have been a minor dynastic center, but one which conforms neatly to the pattern of a lofty fortified acropolis, set high above a city that itself clings to the sides of a mountain. The city grew in importance in the Hellenistic period, and, in fact, it seems that Arykanda received its stunning terraces at about the same time that Pergamon’s were completed (**Fig. 6.6**).¹²¹ Second, the

¹¹⁹ Cahill 2008, 120, pointing to Neo-Assyrian Dur-Sharrukin and Neo-Hittite Carchemish. On the terrace (8.41 ha and 12 m high) of the palace at Dur-Sharrukin as a point of comparison for Lycian royal residences, see Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2013, 174.

¹²⁰ Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2013, 123. ¹²¹ Knoblauch and Witschel 1993, 258.

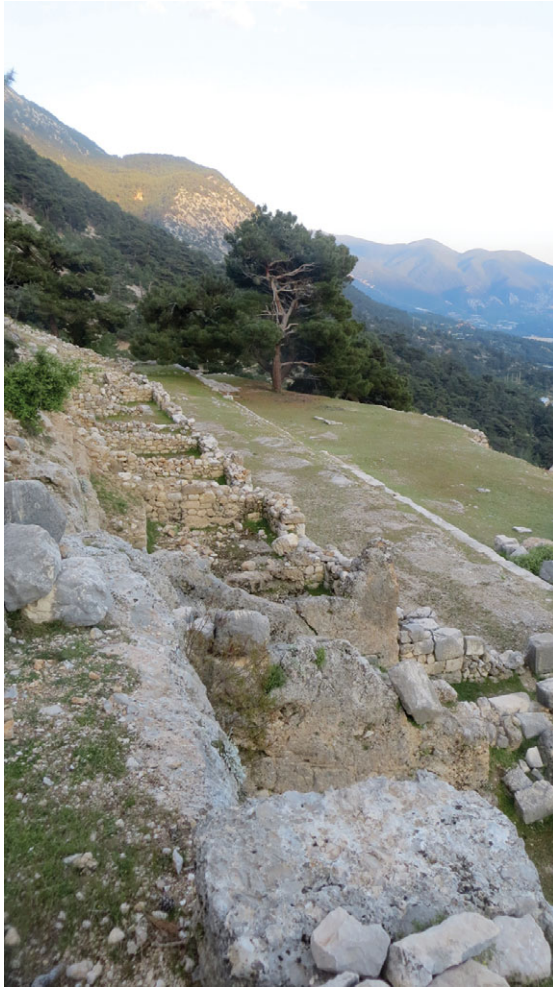


Figure 6.6 Late Hellenistic terraces at Arykanda (author's photo).

Hekatomnids of Caria had provided the Attalids with an obvious model in Halikarnassos, the capital of Mausolus, as well in other cities such as Amyzon. The Hekatomnid influence on Attalid urbanism is glimpsed through Pergamon's participation in the fourth-century BCE Ionian Renaissance, a cultural program that effectively restored parity between western Anatolia and mainland Greece.¹²² Indeed, the Hekatomnid

¹²² Pergamon and the fourth-century BCE Ionian Renaissance: Pedersen 2004; and on the significance of the Ionian Renaissance, see Pedersen 2013, esp. p. 44.

inheritance is also detectable in many other ways, for example, in the mythological gamesmanship that gave both royal houses an Arkadian pedigree and links to Herakles. Yet as a builder, specifically, Mausolus propagated the technique of using terrain and terrace to give a royal city an iconic facade. His two grand terraces dominated the cityscape of Halikarnassos, one belonging to the Temple of Mars, while the other, twice as large and visible from the island of Kos, supported the Mausolleion.¹²³ Another Hekatomnid terracing project has been identified at the sanctuary of Artemis in Amyzon, girding a spur of Mount Latmos. Two terraces joined at an angle form a line 168 m long, comparable to the 160 m of the upper terrace of Pergamon's theater. However, the visual effect of the rusticated terrace walls at Amyzon is to minimize the impact of the buildings themselves – the propylon, and even the temple.¹²⁴ In this architectural idiom, platform is as significant as superstructure. One can hardly say the same of Classical Athens, the Propylaia, the Parthenon, and the Acropolis.

Gallograeci

Around 281, a large, migratory movement of Celtic-speaking peoples arrived in the Balkans. Under their leader Brennos, they fought through Macedonian territory and threatened to sack Delphi, where Antigonos Gonatas and a coalition of Greeks featuring Aetolian and Athenian contingents stopped the Celtic advance. Reversing course, two offshoots of the original migration, one under Leonnorios and another under Luturios, set off for Anatolia. With their passage across the Hellespont, in 279/8, they came to be known as the Galatians – the Celts of Anatolia. Bands of Galatian warriors, sometimes serving as mercenaries in the armies of Bithynian, Attalid, and Pontic kings, at other times operating as unattached raiding parties, fought in the nude behind the long, oval shields distinctive of Europe's La Tène tradition. Torques around their necks, their hair dressed with lime, Asia's newest barbarians struck fear into the hearts of the city-dwellers of the coast. Down into the 260s, "Galatian war" (πολεμὸς Γαλατικός) was a common experience and a "Galatian fund" (τὰ Γαλατικά) a possible line item in city budgets. Ultimately, most – but not all – of the migrants settled in the central highlands, what had once been the upland

¹²³ Carstens 2002, 403.

¹²⁴ Pedersen 2004, 429–32.

core of the Phrygian and Hittite empires.¹²⁵ By then, they had formed three separate tribes. Each group claimed its own loosely defined territory around a regional emporium: the Tolistobogii in the west, holding Gordion; the Trocmi in the east, around Tavium, in the bend of the Halys; and the Tectosages in between, occupying Ancyra. We know that the Celts did not find these lands empty, and archaeology continues to reveal a subtle process of accommodation to preexisting conditions and culture. Beyond convening a pantribal council to try homicide cases once per year, the Galatians seem rarely if ever to have acted as a unified bloc in politics or war. Nevertheless, a capable set of adversaries confronted the Attalids on their eastern flank. As many have pointed out, the Galatians also presented Pergamon with an opportunity to garner much-needed legitimacy. The Attalids needed the Galatians.

This was certainly the case for Attalos I. He was the first king of Pergamon, the first of the dynasty to take the title of *basileus* and wear the diadem, and indeed the Hellenistic ruler who squeezed the most out of his triumphs over Galatians. Polybius' eulogy for Attalos reads, "For having conquered the Gauls, the most formidable and warlike nation of Asia, he built upon this foundation, and then first showed he was really a king."¹²⁶ This account of the birth of the Attalid kingdom as such in the years after 241 is very partial, but also very telling. It occludes the broader context of a breakdown of Seleukid authority beyond the Taurus and perhaps also Pergamon's enduring vassalage, but it grounds the Attalid kingship in the memory of specific, historical victories over the Galatians girded with myth. This is most evident in several large dedications in the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, which Attalos now remodeled, using free-standing sculpture to depict, it seems, multiple battle scenes featuring Seleukid and Galatian enemies, while the dismembered La Tène-style arms appeared as trophies on the surrounding architecture.¹²⁷ The connection between the

¹²⁵ Strobel 1996, 98. ¹²⁶ Polyb. 18.41.7–8.

¹²⁷ Multiple battle scenes with Seleukids and Galatians on the so-called Great Dedication or Long Base (19.6 m long), erected not long after 223 BCE in Athena's sanctuary at Pergamon: *OGIS* 273–279; Marszal 2000, 208–9; for oft-cited alternatives cf. Mitchell 2003, 285; Kunze 2012, 316. The controversy around the reconstruction of the Long Base, as well as the earlier Round Monument, itself a thank-offering for the victory over Galatians at the Kaikos in the late 230s (*OGIS* 269; Kästner 2014b, 440–43), requires cautious conjecture about Pergamene messaging. Certain scholars maintain that the Long Base supported the "Large Gauls" (Ludovisi Gaul and "Dying Trumpeter"); others, such as Stewart (2004, 210–12), place those statues before the Greek audience at mainland Delphi; finally, Ridgway (2018, 252–54) reasserts the case that the Large Gauls are in fact Roman originals – not Roman copies of Pergamene originals. Thus, the visual rhetoric of Galatian victory at Pergamon itself – before the internal Attalid

Attalid claim to kingship and the Galatian triumphs recorded in Athena's sanctuary appears so tight that scholars have long dated an alteration to the portrait head known as the Berlin Attalos, an update which may have added its diadem, to a moment not long after the "battle near the source of the Kaikos River against the Tolistoagioi Galatians" (OGIS 276).¹²⁸ Not only was this piece of local history soon internationalized when a team of high-profile Greek sculptors arrived to commemorate them in Pergamon, but Attalos also trumpeted the importance of his victory in the centers of Old Greece, Delos, Athens, and probably also at Delphi. In so doing, he joined other Hellenistic kings in a Panhellenic discourse that cast the Galatians as a barbaric threat to cosmic order. The Battle of the Kaikos has come to be seen by scholars as a kind of "Pergamene Marathon," in a construct which allegorizes the Attalids as the Athenians and the Galatians as the Persians. On the mainland, that interpretation holds more weight, as Greeks do seem to have interpreted the defense of Delphi in 279 in those terms.¹²⁹ In Asia, by contrast, the nature of events meant that the Galatians' crossing simply could not fit into the same mythico-historical tradition. Moreover, at home, the goal, as we have seen, was different: not only or even necessarily to burnish Hellenic credentials, but rather to normalize Attalid rule in Asia. For this reason, and because real-life Galatians inhabited the borderlands and surely some of the territory they already claimed, the Attalids' rhetorical rendering and interactions with the Galatians were more complicated than is usually assumed.

Rhetorically, the fit between the Galatians and the Persians, as expressed, for example, in Hellenistic panegyric, was in fact rather awkward. What

audience – was perhaps less strident and othering than we have thought. Note also that an internal Anatolian audience may not have recognized contemporary Galatians by arms depicted – anachronistically – on the balustrade reliefs of Eumenes II's stoa and propylon: Coşkun (2014, 148–51) argues that such *La Tène realia* were not present in the battles commemorated.

¹²⁸ For Tolistoagioi as Tolistobogioi, see Strobel 1996, 238–39 n. 377. According to Livy 38.16, Attalos I was the first to stop paying the Galatians tribute. However, note that the evidentiary basis is shaky for the use of the so-called Berlin Attalos to tell a story of pristine kingship earned in battle against the Galatians. There were clearly two phases for the head of the marble portrait statue, which stood 3 m and seems to have been displayed in the cultic Room H of the Upper Terrace of the gymnasium of Pergamon. Yet the question of whether and when the diadem was added, along with, or opposed to, the fuller head of hair, remains debated. For Stewart (2014, 63), the diadem was recut in the second phase; while Smith (2019, 79–82) presents a strong case for the diadem as an addition. Cf. Hoff (2018, 265, with Grüßinger et al. 2012, Kat. 5.8), maintaining that the diadem was original – and dating the remodeling of the second phase to the post-Attalid early first century BCE.

¹²⁹ Paus. 10.20; Strobel 1996, 221–22.

kind of barbarian was the Celt? The contemporary answer shades toward tropes of reckless ferocity, mindlessness, and bodily austerity. Barbaric traits, certainly, but hardly an established antithesis of all things Greek. One third-century elegiac poet goes so far as to *contrast* the effeminate Persian of his purple cloth and tents with the impetuous Galatian who camps in the open air.¹³⁰ The Persians of yore remained an important touchstone in political invective. Opponents could paint a Seleukid, even an Antigonid or Lysimachus as a new Xerxes.¹³¹ However, the effectiveness of the Persians in a historical analogy drawn to make sense of the Galatians in Anatolia was limited by the fact that one barbarian menace had crossed from Asia and left; whereas the other had crossed into Asia and remained, an event that cried out for explanation. In response, Hellenistic historiography seems to have generated a novel set piece, the unwelcome Crossing of the Gauls, while debating culpability. In multiple source traditions, narratives were built around this critical event. For instance, a chapter heading of Pompeius Trogus reads, “How the Gauls Entered Asia (*transierunt in Asiam*) and Waged War with Antiochos and the Bithynians.”¹³² In historical memory, the Gauls’ crossing to Asia merited its own treatment, distinct from other episodes. The epithet of that very Antiochos I, namely, Soter (Savior), is elsewhere attributed to his expulsion of the “Galatians who had invaded (*esbalein*) Asia from Europe.”¹³³ One of our earliest and best accounts, that of third-century Nymphis-Memnon of Herakleia Pontika, represents an apologetic perspective on the crossing. Amassed on the European side, the patriotic historian relates, the Gauls had long been harassing Byzantium, which his faithful Herakleia had supported with gold. Earlier, the Gauls had repeatedly attempted to cross, without success.¹³⁴ At last, on terms of an alliance with Herakleia and the

¹³⁰ Stewart 2004, 201. The text is *SH* 958, on which see Barbantani 2001, 118–35, who attributes this piece of encomiastic poetry to an Alexandrian poet, rather than Mousaios of Ephesus, writing for an Attalid, against commonplace in scholarship (e.g., Kosmetatou 2000, 51–52).

¹³¹ Diod. Sic. 21.12, e.g., on Lysimachus.

¹³² Pomp. Trog. *Prolog.* 25. On this historiographical tradition, the ideas here are indebted to several forthcoming articles by Thomas J. Nelson, who in discussing Trogus’ sources for the account of the Galatians’ crossing, suggests either Hieronymos of Cardia or a third-century Seleukid courtly writer.

¹³³ App. *Syr.* 65.343. This is typically seen as a reference to the so-called Elephant Battle, ca. 270–268 BCE, which is widely believed to have resulted in the creation of the savior cult and the adoption of the title *Soter* by Antiochos I. Cf. Coşkun 2012, esp. p. 62 n. 17, which casts the Elephant Battle as a fantasy of a Seleukid court poet, but also nicely summarizes the historiographic set piece transmitted by Appian: juxtaposition of Europe and Asia means that (in the fantasy) Anatolia was emptied out of Galatians.

¹³⁴ *FGrHist* 434 F 1 11.2: πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντας [εἰς] τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθῆναι.

other cities of the Northern League, it is stressed, Nicomedes I of Bithynia “transferred the Galatian population to Asia (τὸ Γαλατικὸν πλῆθος εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβιβάξει).” In a case of special pleading, Nymphis-Memnon contends that the inhabitants of Asia (*oiketorês Asias*) actually benefited from the arrival of the Galatians, who, he claims, supported democracies against kings. Clearly, the singular event of the migration of the Celts across the continental divide resisted assimilation to the Persian invasion. It also left a wound that stung so long as these newcomers menaced “the inhabitants of Asia.”

In short, the new northern barbarians threatened civilization in Asia, not Greece. Geographically, the concept of a Graeco-Macedonian mainland that was distinct from the continental notion of Asia had emerged in Alexander’s wake.¹³⁵ In the early third century, the painter of the Boscoreale Frescoes had personified the two as opposing female figures, inveterate enemies. Of course, in 279/8, many of those who incurred losses would have counted among them the assault on their dignity as Hellenes. This is precisely what the decree for Sotas from Ionian Priene reports: “It happened that many of the Greek inhabitants of Asia were ruined. They were not able to struggle with the Barbarians (πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνταγωνιζέσθαι).”¹³⁶ Yet the Attalids were not obliged to adopt the same stance – even in triumph. They could, for example, adopt the stance of the Lycians of Tlos. The epigram of Neoptolemos son of Kressos commemorates the defense of the city, perhaps during the initial wave of migration in the 270s and 260s: “I am Neoptolemos son of Kressos. In the Temple of the Three Brothers the citizens of Tlos set (me), glory of my spear. For them, so many Pisidians and [Paeonians] and Agrianians and Galatians I confronted and scattered away.”¹³⁷ For a Greek-speaking Lycian of the Hellenistic period, the Galatians were no more barbarous an enemy than the neighboring Pisidians. Similarly, when Eumenes II addressed the inhabitants of the town of Apollonioucharax in Lydia, with its local milieu of Mysians, the king described the Galatians straightforwardly as “enemies (*polemioi*).”¹³⁸

In Anatolia, there was nothing to gain by representing the Galatian as the non-Greek foil to the Hellene. Rather, advantage was to be had by entering the fight against the Galatians on the side of *all* of the inhabitants of Asia, irrespective of cultural identity. A decree from Lycian Telmessos, almost 100 years later than Sotas’ from Ionian Priene, strikes a very

¹³⁵ Kosmin 2014a, 124–25. ¹³⁶ OGIS 765. ¹³⁷ Trans. Barbantani 2007, 75.

¹³⁸ D2 Side A line 15.

different note, though the Galatians are still named as enemies. The Telmessians honor Eumenes II as the city's savior, who, invoking "the gods," undertook a war against Prousius I, Ortiagon, and the Galatians, "not only on behalf of those subject to him, but on behalf of all inhabitants of Asia ([ὕπερ ἄλλων τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀσίαν])." An Attalid king, just as a Seleukid, could claim to be "king of Asia," the title that the *Suda*, for example, applies to Attalos II.¹³⁹ That pseudo-Achaemenid rank required of its holder both a multifaceted cultural politics and a means of projecting power across the conceptual geography of Asia. In Asia, the ideological value of the victories over the Galatians was not Hellenic respectability, but a stronger claim to rule the nebulous territory allotted at Apameia.¹⁴⁰

The historiography of the Galatians' crossing evokes the specter of Asia's salvation from the beginning. Polybius, as preserved by Livy, also depicts the Gauls mounting their campaign from the European side of the Propontis where their cupidity overtook them, as "a desire for crossing into Asia seized them."¹⁴¹ The goal of what scholars take to have been a migration aimed at finding land for about 20,000 people is distorted into an expedition to plunder all of cis-Tauric Asia.¹⁴² According to Livy, the Galatians divided up the revenues of the entire territory into three (*tres partes*), with the Trocmi drawing tribute from the Hellespont, the Tolistobogii living off Aeolis and Ionia, and the Tectosages assigned the interior. While it is clear from this account that everyone settled upland, in historical Galatia, the barbarians continued to threaten all of cis-Tauric Asia. Thus, when Polybius praises the Romans for suppressing the Galatians in 189, he explicitly commends them for removing that threat.¹⁴³ In a dramatic reversal, the local heroes of these narratives stand up to the Galatians, especially at places already imbued with meaning in myth, and ultimately eject them from Asia altogether, or at least from the more civilized reaches of its western seaboard. The Attalids vied with other Anatolian rivals for this role. During the War with Achaïos, Polybius writes, Attalos I brought yet another band of Gauls over from Europe,

¹³⁹ *Suda* s.v. Ἀτταλος (A4316).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Koehn 2007, 110–35, esp. 129, for the compelling view that the Galatians were a distinct ideological resource for the Attalids, by means of which they pursued territorial expansion in Asia Minor. However, a purported defense of Greek civilization in Asia is absent from the decree of Telmessos.

¹⁴¹ Livy 38.16.4: *Cupido inde eos in Asiam transeundi, audientes ex propinquo quanta ubertas eius terrae esset cepit.*

¹⁴² For the size of the population on the move, see Strobel 2002, 3, 12, with ancient references and plausibility.

¹⁴³ Polyb. 3.3.5.

the Aigosages. They damaged the cities of the Hellespont and threatened to take Ilion, but were fought off by the citizens of Alexandria Troas. In the end, Prousius freed the cities of the Hellespont from the danger. In effect, by correcting the mistake of Attalos, he reversed that of his forebearer Nicomedes I, giving “a good lesson to the barbarians from Europe in the future not to be overready to cross to Asia.”¹⁴⁴

The assault of the Aigosages on Ilion in 218 would have recalled an earlier attack on the same city during the initial migration in 279/8. By 218, Ilion seems to have received its sturdy, 2.5–3 m thick fortification wall. On the other hand, Strabo tells us that in 278, the Galatians, fresh from Europe, had reconnoitered Ilion as a potential stronghold. Finding it unwallled, and so unsuitable, they moved on, and the city survived unscathed.¹⁴⁵ The appearance of two such incidents in our sources may not be a coincidence, but instead an indication of the significance to observers and memory makers of the heroic defense of Troy, perhaps seen as a symbol for the salvation of Asia. In other words, if Ilion could hold, the rest of Asia could also survive the onslaught. This is the implication of a complex of oracles that seems to have circulated in the third century as a series of *post eventum* interpretations of the Gauls’ crossing. Addressed to the king of Bithynia, one oracle ominously forecast a wave of destruction, but in congratulating “the Hellespont” seems to hint at Ilion’s survival. “O thrice blessed Hellespont, and the divinely built walls of men . . . by divine commands which [city] the dreadful wolf will frighten under mighty compulsion.”¹⁴⁶ This oracle may have issued from from the Temple of Apollo in Chalcedon, though it was at some point in Antiquity associated with the name of the

¹⁴⁴ Polyb. 5.111.7.

¹⁴⁵ Strabo 13.1.27, preserving Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas (*FGrHist* 45). However, Strabo 13.126 vexingly attributes the walls of Ilion to Lysimachus in the early third century, in time for the Galatian episode of 279/8. On the actual date of the walls, Rose (2014, 168–70) assigns them to Antiochos Hierax (230s); for other opinions, see Cohen 1995, 155; Strobel 1996, 244–45. There is a certain danger in using Strabo and his sources to help date the fortifications, since these authors clearly exaggerate the modesty of Hellenistic Ilion, in their words, just a village-city (*kōmopolis*), on which see Ellis-Evans 2019, 28–31. However, what is important here is the enduring historical memory: even a brief Galatian occupation of perhaps an unwallled settlement was, nevertheless, evocative of a Trojan defense of Asia.

¹⁴⁶ See Parke 1982, esp. p. 443, for restoration of Ilion in the lacuna in line 11. Zos. 2.37.12–14 (trans. Parke):

Τρίς μάκαρ Ἑλλήσποντε, θεόκτιτα τείχεά τ’ ἀνδρῶν,
 < . . . > θείαισιν ἐφετμαῖς
 ἦν λύκος αἰνόλυκος πτήξει κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης

Chaonian prophetess Phaennis. Pausanias records her prophecy that an Attalos, ruling in Pergamos, son of a bull and reared by Zeus, would rout the Gauls who had ravaged Asia and harmed those who inhabited its coast.¹⁴⁷ While we cannot be certain of the precise origin or authorship of these oracles, nor their relationship to each other, together they preserve a precious, near-contemporary perspective on events. The mythic archetype through which the inhabitants of Asia understood the Gallic crossing was the Trojan, not the Persian War, and they called on their kings to play the part of Priam, not Miltiades. In managing the migration, individual kings may have, in certain contexts, claimed to be champions of the Greeks, but they remained the helmsmen of Hellenistic states on Asian soil.

Despite their intercourse with the enemy, the Attalids managed to spread the idea that they were responsible for, as Pausanias puts it, driving the Galatians away from the sea and out of “lower Asia” (κάτω Ἀσίας).¹⁴⁸ Pausanias’ testimony is what Karl Strobel has envisioned as the official Pergamene version of the settlement of the Galatians after the victory of Attalos I.¹⁴⁹ This version of events is demonstrably false: not only were individual Celts settled in the urban west of the peninsula, but Galatia as a constellation of tribal polities in central Anatolia in time became a protectorate of the enlarged kingdom of Pergamon.¹⁵⁰ Yet the important point to note here is that the Attalids’ territorial claim is to parts of Asia that are emptied out of Galatians. That this territorial claim of an Asia without Galatians was foundational for Pergamon is glimpsed on the long, blue marble Base of Philetairos on the island of Delos. Its verse inscription, which seems to have been erected by Attalos I, celebrates the founder’s achievements in war, principally, that “he drove the Galatians far beyond his frontiers (*oikeioi horoi*).” He did not merely defeat them; he expelled them, defining a border in the process.

This is an exaggeration, since while Philetairos may have skirmished with the Galatians, no major victory on the scale of Antiochos I’s Elephant Battle was ever trumpeted. Further, the verse essentially backdates the birth of the Attalid kingdom by depicting the vassal Philetairos chasing the barbarians beyond borders that were scarcely notional. Yet the rhetoric worked. By Strabo’s writing, it was impossible to conceive of a place as both Pergamene and permanently settled with Galatians.¹⁵¹ The geographer describes a two-part process of settlement. First, the Galatians wandered about overrunning Attalid and Bithynian territory, and second, those two

¹⁴⁷ Pausanias 10.15.3. ¹⁴⁸ Paus. 1.4.5–6, 1.8.1. ¹⁴⁹ Strobel 1996, 252 n. 440.

¹⁵⁰ Mitchell 1993, vol. 1, 25–26, 57. ¹⁵¹ Strabo 12.5.1.

monarchies granted them permission to settle in historical Galatia. This neat picture obscures the fact that these dynasties contested each other's borders and surely competed with Galatian leaders for influence in many places. It also exculpates those who bear the guilt of inviting the Galatians to Asia by crediting them with the creation of a homeland on the periphery of the Mediterranean system.

In the Pergamene version of the Galatian settlement story, elements of truth are combined with major distortions. Both help us understand what was at stake for the Attalids in conjuring up certain Galatians while also interacting with those of flesh and blood. The extent to which any Hellenistic monarch was directly responsible for the creation of historical Galatia is difficult to determine. Yet it was Mithridates I of Pontos, the lord of those parts, who seems to have played the greatest role.¹⁵² Apart from the confusing notice in Strabo, the only evidence for Attalid involvement is the episode with the Aigosages, and they were settled in the west, deep inside Pergamene territory. Indeed, it is likely that many Galatians lived inside the Attalid kingdom. This is suggested, for example, by the appearance of Middle La Tène metalwork outside the Galatian core, or even by the Celtic name of one of Toriaion's ambassadors to Eumenes II. Galatian princes such as Ortiagon and Eposagnatus collaborated with the Attalids. After the dynasty's fall, a portrait statue of Adobogiona, the Galatian princess who married the powerful citizen Menodotos, was erected inside the Temple of Hera at Pergamon, where it stood next to images of Attalos II and Stratonike.¹⁵³ One has the impression that the Galatians never fully vacated the territory. Yet generally, this was a migration aimed at the acquisition of land, not the booty or mercenary pay of the ancient, even modern stereotypes.¹⁵⁴ Mithridates could offer large amounts of relatively fertile and resource-rich territory in the Anatolian highlands. Unsurprisingly, no Greek city on the Aegean seaboard offered to redistribute choice, alluvial land. In fact, the landless, non-Hellenes of Priene seem to have collaborated with the Galatians and avenged themselves on the landed classes.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² *FGrHist* 740 F 14.

¹⁵³ Statue of Adobogiona: *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912), 294–96. For display context, see Agelidis 2012, 181. According to Strobel (2009, 137), the queen presented a decidedly non-Greek portrait. Further on this line of Galatian royalty, see Mitchell 1993, vol. 1, 28–29.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Hansen 1971, 31: “[T]he Gauls regarded the districts assigned to them merely as a place in which the women and children could remain while the men went forth on their raids and to which the booty could be brought for safekeeping.”

¹⁵⁵ *I.Priene* 17 lines 5–6.

The old picture of the Galatians as semi-nomadic or unsettled has been completely overturned by anthropological and paleoenvironmental studies, although it still haunts scholarship.¹⁵⁶ The region between the Sangarius and the Halys was much more heavily forested in Antiquity and, to the incoming Celts, may have resembled the Central European lands of their origin.¹⁵⁷ In any case, its diverse resources supported a mixed agricultural regime for a sedentary population. Evidence from the well-studied site of Gordion provides a picture of long-term demographic and economic stability at odds with the turbulence of Pergamene art and rhetoric. For example, landscape analysis shows that the arrival of the Galatians did not alter land-use patterns or rates of erosion. A decline in the intensity of land use that had begun in the late Iron Age simply continued. This is indirectly confirmed by recent work on the domestic architecture of the Hellenistic town. Some houses were abandoned, some were taken over; in the end, the Galatians may have changed the layout of Gordion's urban plan and even its typical house type, but they preserved the character of the settlement.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, soil studies show that the rate of sedimentation in nearby streams was unaffected, continuing its decline. The Galatians, unlike, say, the LBA Hittites, did not direct or centralize land use in such a way that erosion was significantly curbed. Nor, however, did they degrade hill slopes with intensive pastoralism like, say, the later nomadic Turks.¹⁵⁹ Defying their reputation for disruptiveness, the Galatians maintained the structure of the agropastoralist economy, even if the Anatolian, Phrygian-Luwian population now found itself attached to Celtic tribes and clans.¹⁶⁰

Hellenistic Galatia would appear to have been more or less economically self-sufficient, lacking strong ties to Aegean and Pontic trade networks such

¹⁵⁶ Mitchell 1993, vol. 1, 15; but corrected by Darbyshire et al. 2000, 78. Still, see Coşkun 2016, 55: "for the most part nomadic." Similarly, Stewart writes (2004, 208) of the Ludovisi Gaul:

"[S]ince the Gauls were nomads, the inclusion of women in the carnage is unproblematic."

¹⁵⁷ Strobel 1996, 81–107, esp. 81–87 on the poor fit of nomadism as a model for understanding Galatian settlement in Anatolia. See also, already, Allen 1983, 138: "The aims of the Galatians seem from the beginning to have been settlement and security."

¹⁵⁸ Wells 2012, 263: "house clusters." See also Voigt 2003, 16, on a complex of buildings marked off by a 2-m-thick wall.

¹⁵⁹ Note, though, the presence of sheep-shears, one pair of which has been termed Celtic, and a wide array of textile kit from the abandonment levels of Mid-Hellenistic Gordion. See Stewart 2010, 101, 113.

¹⁶⁰ Kealhofer 2005, 147; Marsh and Kealhofer 2014, 697–98; Kealhofer and Marsh 2019, 96–98. Their own data and excavation results from Gordion, however, seem at odds with the unsupported claim (p. 95) that "Galatians – Celts from central Europe who established hegemony in central Anatolia in the 3rd c. BCE – are known to have disrupted settlement across the region."

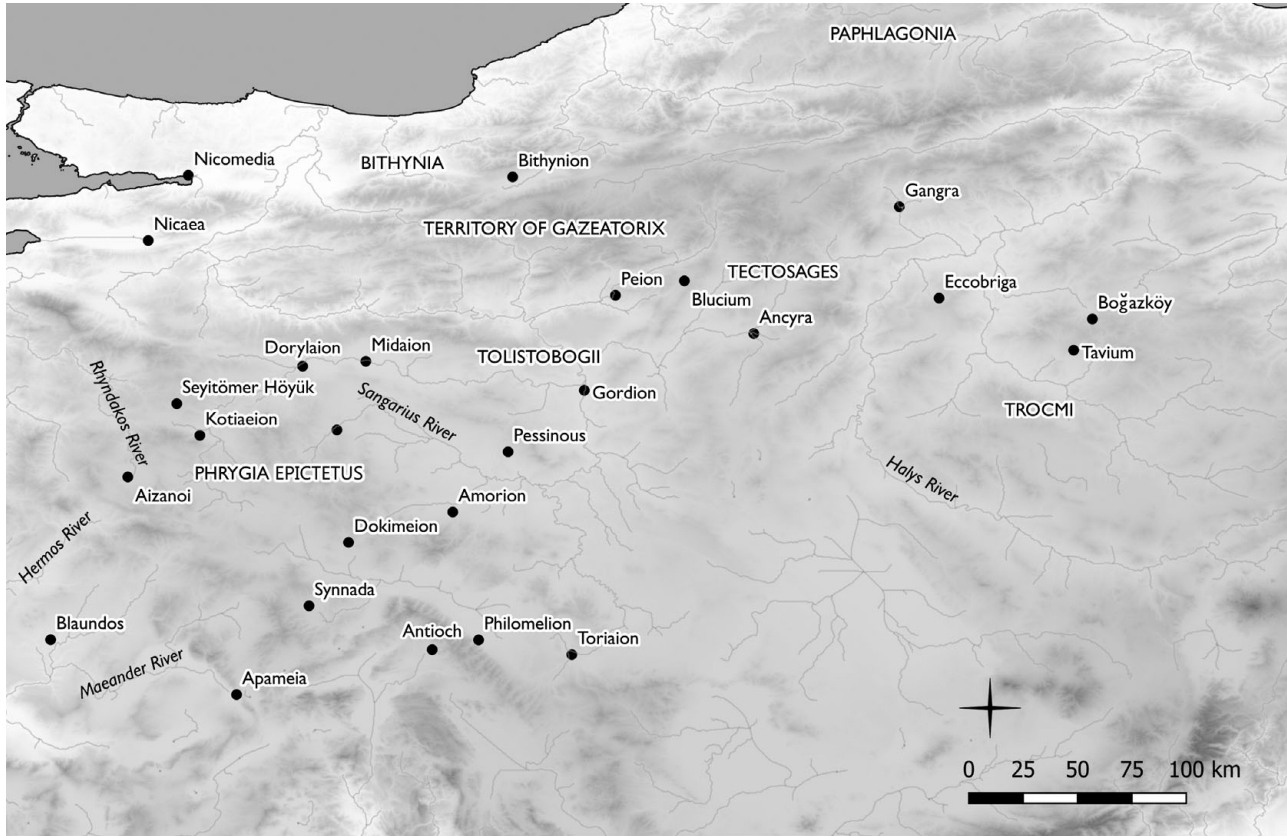
as had existed in the age of Alexander. Again, if we look to Gordion, the extended absence of imported Greek tablewares and amphoras during the second and third quarters of the third century was once attributed to hostilities, but perhaps it is the presence of these artifacts that needs to be explained. Mark Lawall has argued that caches of Rhodian amphoras at the site represent nontrade events, such as the expedition of Manlius Vulso. Goods from the Mediterranean or Black Sea arrived on an irregular basis through pulsatile trade.¹⁶¹ The regular contacts remained the pre-Hellenistic ones – links with the other emporia of Ancyra and Tavium, and with sites such as Boğazköy. In what excavators call the Early Hellenistic B and Middle Hellenistic periods (ca. 275–235 and ca. 235–189, respectively), finewares were either local or regional, such as the so-called Galatian ware, a Central Anatolian form, well known from the eastern lands of the Troceni.¹⁶² Similar conclusions can be drawn from an analysis of coin hoards from this region. Over time, large-denomination silver and even gold coins filtered in, accumulating in what appear to be savings, not circulation hoards. Perhaps the contexts in which coinage was useful were limited, though the significant amounts of third-century bronze recovered at the site are suggestive. While these smaller denominations and possible countermarking at Gordion show some low-level monetization, it does not appear that Galatia was fully integrated into the monetary systems to which Pergamon belonged.¹⁶³ While we cannot take too seriously the claim of Diodorus that Eumenes II, though not being too rich, “subdued the entire *ethnos* of the Galatians” with liberal but judicious gift giving, the anecdote may point to the informal nature of Attalid power in many parts of Galatia.¹⁶⁴ Conditions were never ripe, then, for an expansion east of the Sangarius, since the normal preexisting infrastructure never materialized. The Attalid imperial geography of a lower Asia defined in opposition to an up-country Galatia gained traction and was later endorsed by Pausanias. The cultural politics of Pergamon excluded those who were already outside.

The topography, however, did not always align with the cultural identity of Anatolia’s inhabitants, and a large part of western highland Phrygia, specifically, stretches of what later geographers called Phrygia Epictetus, fell squarely between Galatia of the Tolistobogii and the Attalid core (**Map 6.2**). Inside the Epictetus of Strabo, in this period, lay

¹⁶¹ Lawall 2008. ¹⁶² Özşait and Özşait 2003; Stewart 2010, 100.

¹⁶³ IGCH 1401, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406. Kenneth Harl’s forthcoming *Coins from the Excavations at Gordion, 1950–2008* will shed much light on these hoards and the monetary history of Hellenistic Galatia.

¹⁶⁴ Diod. Sic. 31.14.



Map 6.2 Central Anatolia.

the shifting boundaries between Bithynia, Paphlagonia, the Attalid kingdom, and the territory of the Tolistobogii.¹⁶⁵ Naturally, Pergamene activity is detectable all along this contested frontier zone. In the west, Attalos I was a major benefactor of the sanctuary of Zeus at Aizanoi, and a Pergamene official may have been resident in the handsome house uncovered nearby.¹⁶⁶ In the east of this buffer zone, the Attalids were present, we now know, not just at Pessinous, but also in Amorion. An important and early Galatian ally, Eposognatus, would seem to have held sway near here.¹⁶⁷ Presumably, the Attalids controlled the fortified mound of Seyitömer, as well as other former Seleukid strongholds with Macedonian identities, such as Dorylaion (Şarhöyük) in the north.¹⁶⁸ In southwestern Phrygia, we know that the Attalid monetary system reached into places such as Synnada, Lysias, and Dionysoupolis.¹⁶⁹ This was a militarized frontier, but it was not a cultural no-man's land. Or, rather, it did not lack a coherent, even if hybrid, cultural identity. It was widely seen, from some point in the second century, as Gallograecia (Γαλλογραίκια) or *Hellênogalatia*. The Latinate term, which appears in our earliest source, the younger Eratosthenes of Cyrene, and persists into Byzantine times, admits a Roman perspective. It recalls the speech of Manlius Vulso in Livy, the contemptuous comparison of the Galatians with the true *Galli* of Europe. Contrasted with the European Gauls, "These are a degenerate lot, mixed, and really, they are called Gallo-Greeks (*hi iam degeneres sunt, mixti, et Gallograeci vere, quod appellantur*)." Significantly, in the same speech, Vulso calls them Phrygians with Gallic arms.¹⁷⁰

Ironically, the pejorative usage of the Roman outsider may preserve an insider's perspective.¹⁷¹ The second-century inhabitants of the Epictetus may indeed have seen themselves as Gallo-Greeks, and aspects of their material culture were, in fact, Phrygian. Note that Livy's passive "they are called" lacks a subject. By whom were they called Gallograeci? We should

¹⁶⁵ On the fuzziness of the northern and western frontiers of the Tolistobogii, see Darbyshire et al. 2000, 79 n. 11. On the difficulty of defining the boundaries between Phrygia, Mysia, and Bithynia, see Strabo 12.4.4. On the border between the Tolistobogii and the Epictetus, see Strabo 12.5.2.

¹⁶⁶ Thonemann 2013c, 23. ¹⁶⁷ Livy 38.18.1.

¹⁶⁸ Seyitömer: Aydın 1991; Topbaş 1992; Topbaş 1993; İlaslı 1996.

¹⁶⁹ I am skeptical of the idea that the Attalids urbanized these valleys of the Maeander's tributaries. For example, excavations at Blaundos show exiguous Hellenistic remains (Filges 2003, 37–42). In fact, Willet (2020, 488) shows systematically how underurbanized this region was relative to the rest of Asia Minor.

¹⁷⁰ Livy 38.17.9. The same slur also entered Cicero's rhetoric (*Har. resp.* 28).

¹⁷¹ Darbyshire et al. 2000, 83.

take seriously the possibility that the term was one of self-ascription. Pompeius Trogus, for one, believed that the migrants themselves had come up with the idea.¹⁷² For Strabo, Gallograecia was distinct from and lay west of Galatia proper. The Galatians, he writes, “occupied that which is now called ‘Galatia and Gallograecia.’”¹⁷³ These inhabitants of the Pergamene frontier may have been uniquely positioned to claim shares in both the Hellenistic *koinê* and the barbarian prestige promoted by warring Galatian tetrarchs. Indeed, scraps of evidence tell us that the sociopolitical structures of second-century Galatia were indeed becoming quite sophisticated without shedding Celtic institutions. The nobles Ortiagon and Chiomara, for example, gave their son the evocative Greek name Paidopolites (“son citizen”), but his career in public life culminated with an appointment as a tribal judge.¹⁷⁴ Ideologically, the notion of Gallograecia would have potentially been at odds with the Attalids’ claim to an Asia without Galatians. In practice, however, the cultural makeup of the region boded well for its integration into the rest of the kingdom. Inscriptions show that Neo-Phrygian held a status here that it lacked farther east. Its everyday material culture also differed from that of the Galatian heartland. If we compare Gordion in its final, pre-189 phase to a site like Dorylaion/Şarhöyük, the contrast is striking. At Gordion, local potters had already dropped most Greek forms from their repertoire after ca. 275. In the town that Vulso conquered, just a few imported drinking cups existed. There appears to have been no real demand for drinking cups, as none of the imports were replicated in local fabrics.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, at Şarhöyük (Dorylaion, now Eskişehir), which had been the western outpost of the Hittites, Hellenistic houses have revealed a broad assemblage of Greek vessels that were duly copied in the Phrygian gray ware tradition, such as unguentaria, echinus bowls, and fish plates. Aegean-style drinking was entrenched here, as demonstrated by a series of mold-made bowls that spawned local imitations.¹⁷⁶ These patterns are surely the result of a multiplicity of factors, many of which are not recoverable. It is difficult to know what direct effects, if any, the sovereignty of a handful of Galatian elites had on the culture of the many, particularly in light of the fast pace of the leaders’ own assimilation. What we see among the Attalids’ Gallogreecian subjects, then, is perhaps an even higher degree of cultural fluidity, almost entrepreneurial in nature, stimulated by the region’s

¹⁷² Just. *Epit.* 25.2.11. ¹⁷³ Strabo 12.5.1.

¹⁷⁴ Mitchell 1993, vol. 1, 43, citing *Suda* s.v. Παιδοπολίτης (Π866).

¹⁷⁵ Stewart 2010, 231–37.

¹⁷⁶ Sivas 2018, 105; and on mold-made bowls, see Yedidağ 2015.

enduring link to the Aegean. Pergamene cultural politics needed to be sophisticated and imaginative enough to keep pace. The result was the extraordinary investment in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinous.

Pessinous and Aizanoi

The originality and creativity of Attalid cultural politics were on full display at the sanctuary of Cybele Agdistis in Pessinous. Rather than impose, imitate, or merely appropriate, the Attalids combined different elements of Greek, Phrygian, and Galatian culture in novel ways, in order to stretch and secure their influence along a restive eastern frontier. Several decades of excavation and a remarkable epigraphic dossier show that Pergamon transformed an open-air sanctuary in remote eastern Phrygia into a place of Pan-Asian and indeed international repute. It was once presumed that the Attalids intruded here on a native priesthood, its “temple state,” and a cult with deep roots in Phrygian or even Hittite religion, but that view has become untenable. In the Iron Age, several modest Phrygian settlements dotted the slopes of the Sivrihisar Mountains and the Gallos Valley. Beneath the riverside platform of the large, Julio-Claudian temple in Pessinous itself, modest late Phrygian houses have been uncovered and a presumed, nonmonumental “cult annex.”¹⁷⁷ However, nothing suggests that the site was a focal point of the valley before Hellenistic times, let alone a place of wider significance for Phrygian religion.¹⁷⁸ With no sign of a Phrygian sanctuary of Cybele in Pessinous, scholars have gone looking for a rock-cut shrine in the surrounding high places, on the order of the Midas Monument in Yazılıkaya. Several surveys of the environs, including the presumed Mount Dindymos, which gave the goddess her epithet Meter Dindymene, have turned up a handful of Phrygian cult sites, such as Tekören and Hamamtepe. None, however, is securely identified as a shrine of the Great Mother. Nor do any of these sites appear to have attracted long-distance pilgrimage or much attention at all. Following Altay Coşkun, it is even possible to doubt the authenticity of the earliest witness to the Pessinountine cult, the early fourth-century historian Theopompus,

¹⁷⁷ Verlinde 2015, 63.

¹⁷⁸ Coşkun 2016, 59, noting also the lack of any significant Iron Age settlements in the Gallos Valley.

as cited by Ammianus Marcellinus.¹⁷⁹ This would make Diodorus, in the first century BCE, our earliest literary source.¹⁸⁰

As a result, it has become clear that the so-called temple state of Pessinous grew significantly – or was born as such – in the Hellenistic period. Whereas we once puzzled over how Attalos I, as early as 205/4, could have pilfered the aniconic cult stone for transfer to Rome, in the form of an Idaean Magna Mater, the archaeology now forces us to contend with the question of what was there for the alleged temple-robber to take.¹⁸¹ The late Iron Age in Phrygia was characterized by dispersed settlement patterns and the absence of the state.¹⁸² It took an outside power, then, to reconfigure the late Phrygian cult on such a grand scale. Therefore, Strobel has argued that one of the Successors, either Antigonos or Lysimachus, drew the cult down from the mountains and equipped its client-priests with a citadel and a sanctuary.¹⁸³ This reconstruction has been aided by insecure dates for both the earliest monumental architecture under the Roman temple, that is, the *emplekton* citadel, as well as the hilltop necropoleis of the bustling Hellenistic emporion. The theory also receives a measure of support from Thonemann, who argues that Pessinous was the site of Kleonnaion, a Graeco-Macedonian settlement of the late fourth century. However, current readings of the pottery seem to point to the later Attalids and Galatian tetrarchs as the primary builders of the sanctuary, even if the citadel in Sector B receives an earlier date in the third century. Moreover, Strabo tells us, in no uncertain terms, that the “Attalic kings” equipped (κατεσκεύασται) the *temenos* with a temple and marble stoas.¹⁸⁴

Strabo’s description credits the Attalids with sponsoring the construction of the first monumental architecture in the sacred precinct. While Strabo takes for granted the prior existence of the sanctuary, he cannot be construed to point to a rebuild or an expansion of earlier buildings. Rather, the geographer’s use of the same verb elsewhere suggests that, from a conceptual standpoint, *temenos* and emporion alike were empty spatial

¹⁷⁹ Coşkun 2018, 212–13. ¹⁸⁰ Diod. Sic. 3.59.8.

¹⁸¹ Some, such as Gruen (1990, 5–33) and Bremmer (2004, 558), have cast doubt on the historicity of the tradition of an Attalid transfer of the cult from Pessinous to Rome, while others, such as Burton (1996) and Devreker (2018, 248), continue to uphold the idea.

¹⁸² Thonemann 2013c.

¹⁸³ Strobel 2003–7, 208–9, noting, however, stratigraphy that indicates major new constructions in the early second century BCE.

¹⁸⁴ Strabo 12.5.3. Kleonnaion at Pessinous: Thonemann 2015b, 122–26. However, as Coşkun (2018, 218) points out, no compelling archaeological evidence has emerged for an early Hellenistic floruit for the site under the likes of Antigonos, Lysimachus, the early Seleukids, or indeed Philetairos, though one is often assumed (e.g., by Roller 2018, 725).

containers for humans to fill with their works.¹⁸⁵ The Attalids had encountered, then equipped the sacred place with architecture that was appropriate to its holiness, or so it may have seemed in the Augustan age. Perhaps, by Strabo's time, Pergamene and Roman building had obscured the oddity and contingency of the Attalids' original investment, which a recent redating of the opening letter of the epigraphic dossier puts in the late third century.¹⁸⁶ In other words, it appears that the Attalids grafted their marble design on to a modest, open-air Phrygian sanctuary. As the Pergamene Temple of Cybele has never been located, it has been suggested that it stood on the site of an earlier mountain-top shrine. Philetairos' Doric temple and sanctuary of Meter on Mamurt Kale, 30 km southeast of Pergamon, may have provided a precedent.¹⁸⁷ The lost marble slabs of the epigraphic dossier, long thought to have formed part of the wall of an Attalid temple, as well as several column capitals discovered in upland Dinek, are intriguing hints.¹⁸⁸ Or the Attalid temple may lie unexcavated under the village of Ballıhisar. Either way, the new temple was part of a complex of buildings. Strabo's mention of the Attalids' marble stoas, along with the latest analysis of the pre-Roman architecture beneath the massive terrace in Sectors B and H, the core of the Hellenistic town's residential quarters, points to a break with the past. The material culture inside these buildings,

¹⁸⁵ We can approach the philological problem through the translation of Roller (2014, 543) of Strabo 12.5.3: "Pessinous is the greatest emporium in that region, having a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, which is greatly revered. They call her Angdistis. In antiquity the priests were essentially the masters and benefited from a great priesthood, yet today these honors have been greatly reduced, although the emporium remains. The precinct was developed by the Attalid kings in a manner befitting a sacred place, with a temple and stoas of white stone (Πεσσινοῦς δ' ἔστιν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη μέγιστον, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγχάνον. καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἄγδιστιν. οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν δυνάσται τινὲς ἦσαν, ἱερωσύνην καρποῦμενοι μεγάλην, νυνὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν αἱ τιμαὶ πολὺ μεμείωνται, τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον συμμένει. κατασκευάσται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν βασιλέων ἱεροπρεπῶς τὸ τέμενος ναῶ τε καὶ στοαῖς λευκολίθοις)." Difficulties arise around translating the verb κατασκευάζειν. Verlinde (2015, 39–40) strongly objects to the translation "enlarged, reconstructed," for which see, still, Devreker (2018, 248). Yet the epigraphic study of Uzunoğlu (2018) rightly cautions against taking the verb to mean construct, unequivocally, "from scratch." The problem resolves itself if we accept that the Attalids did indeed "develop" the *temenos*, which they were the first to monumentalize. Note further Strabo's usage with regard to his own city of Amaseia (12.3.39), "marvelously equipped by foresight and nature (κατασκευάσται δὲ θαυμαστῶς προνοία τε καὶ φύσει)." We also learn that the harbor of Assos was "created by means of a large mole (ὁ δὲ λιμὴν χώματι κατασκευάσται μεγάλῳ)" (13.1.57).

¹⁸⁶ *I.Pessinous* 1; Mileta 2010; see also Coşkun 2016.

¹⁸⁷ Roller's comment (2018, 725) on Strabo 12.5.3, "Remains of a temple of Hellenistic date are visible," is therefore quite misleading. On Mamurt Kale, utterly transformed despite cultic continuity, see, most recently, Bielfeldt 2019, 178–86.

¹⁸⁸ Verlinde 2015, 68.

wall paintings, and pottery is said to be broadly second-century and Pergamene.¹⁸⁹

If indeed an Attalid, posing as a new Midas, wrested Pessinous from obscurity, the question remains, to what end? Again, finding the answer requires us to take seriously the dynasty's claim to rule over all of the inhabitants of Asia and, not only that, to represent the cultural ambitions of those now invited, once again, to join civilization. The epigraphic dossier from Sivrihisar and the new Attalid letter, found in a house in Ballihsar, reinforce the impression that Pergamon was deeply involved with the priesthood, the cult, and the sanctuary, from as early as 207. This cannot have been because Attalos I anticipated the Roman request for aid a few years later or guessed at the Sibyl's oracular pronouncement. The king had his own reasons, strategic and ideological, for investing considerable resources in the remote Gallos Valley. Most of the epigraphic dossier records correspondence between the Attalids and a priest named Attis, who is a Galatian, we learn, when his brother is identified as a hostile leader named Aioiorix.¹⁹⁰ By a process that remains obscure to us, Galatians had entered the Pessinountine priesthood, in which they formally retained their non-Phrygian identity.¹⁹¹ The Attalids' cultivation of Attis was not aimed at instigating defection, since Galatian leaders had diverse interests and rarely engaged in collective action. He was their partner after 188, it seems, because Attalos I had conquered Pessinous around 207. Surely, its territory floated in and out of Pergamene control over the following decades, but this did not necessitate what has often been described as secret communication. On the contrary, the Attalids would have publicized their relationship with Pessinous' priests to the greatest extent possible. Here is an example of a context in which the Attalids encountered a flesh-and-blood Galatian subject, one ensconced in a (pseudo-?) Phrygian priesthood that occupied a militarily advantageous borderland position. The letters and the building project both attest to their zeal to win over such powerbrokers, who undoubtedly also received other offers, not only from their distant kin in Ancyra or Peion but also from the Bithynians, with whom the Attalids fought a series of border wars that stretched over many decades.

The war of Attalos I and Prousius I of Bithynia over the Epictetus (208–205) is now seen to form the backdrop of the first letter of the

¹⁸⁹ Verlinde 2015, 64–65. ¹⁹⁰ RC 56 line 5.

¹⁹¹ The Phrygian-Galatian distinction within the priesthood was maintained under Roman rule. Note that the Galatians may not have provided the apparently punning name *Galloi* for the castrate priests; for a summary of the issue, with linguistic details, see Bøgh 2007, 323–24.

Pessinous dossier. Christian Mileta has argued persuasively that *I.Pessinous* 1 is not a royal letter to the priest Attis, traditionally dated to the late 160s, but an internal Attalid directive issued during this, much earlier war with Prousius.¹⁹² Its brusque message, voiced not to an ally but to a subordinate officer, is to take Pessinous (rendered “Pessongoi”) by hook or by crook. The motivation for such an action is made explicit in the final sentence of the communiqué, which, if the letter were addressed to a priest, would be absurd: “For as the place is holy, it must be taken by all means” (ἱεροῦ γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ὄντος ληπτέον ἐστὶ πάντως).¹⁹³ The local priests surely took the holiness of the sanctuary for granted! Our copy of the document was a reinscription of the first century CE, when the sacred status of the land was at issue. Attalos’ memorandum seems to have been dug out of an archive in order to be offered as evidence to secure the sanctuary’s inviolability (*asylia*). Ironically, the original concern of Attalos, in the third century BCE, had been to take the place by force. Commentators have also noted the strategic connotation of the word *chorion*. It may be surmised that the king saw the immense value of a fortified indigenous sanctuary because he already anticipated its development as a platform for cultural pageantry. The Bithynians were a great threat to the Attalids in war and diplomacy – but nowhere near as adept at cultural politics.

The Attalids’ distinctive ability to reorganize a Phrygian cultic landscape in the service of securing the borders is also discernible at the site of Aizanoi. It lies in the northwestern Epictetus, in a plain around the river Penkalas, one of the sources of the Rhyndakos. The sanctuary of Aizanoi, as it now stands, is a Roman creation. At its center is a Roman temple of Zeus with a subterranean chamber that seems to have housed the cult of Cybele. Although the tidy work of the Roman builders has again obscured earlier activity on the site, recent excavations have managed to shed light on the Bronze and Iron Age mound beneath the temple’s terrace – and on Hellenistic remains. In Aizanoi, too, Attalos I faced off against Prousius I for control of strategic territory, which Macedonian cleruchs had perhaps already settled.¹⁹⁴ Yet the sacredness of the topography was also clearly a draw. A bilingual inscription of 128 CE from the wall of the Roman temple tells us that both Attalos I and Prousius I had once donated land to the city

¹⁹² Mileta 2010, 116–17. ¹⁹³ *I.Pessinous* 1 lines 8–9.

¹⁹⁴ Habicht 2006, 3–4, on the chronology of the Bithynian conflict. Evidence for a Macedonian settlement is slim: Berges (2010, 42) notes Macedonian shield iconography in the archive of the large house. Note, though, the presence of a “High Hellenistic,” i.e., third- or early second-century, Iron Age Phrygian-type oven housed in a mud brick structure (Hoff 2011, 130–31 with fig. 10).

and to the god.¹⁹⁵ By Hadrian's time, that land had fallen into private hands. An unpublished inscription is said to indicate that Attalos I distributed land to cleruchs, making it difficult to sort out the original relationship between king, sanctuary, settlers, and the Hellenistic political community that preceded the Roman *civitas Aezanitarum*.¹⁹⁶ Many scholars assume that a pre-Hellenistic sanctuary of some importance benefited from Attalid patronage or, alternatively, was dispossessed.¹⁹⁷ Control of a powerful Anatolian temple was the prize, on this view, and Attalos behaved much like other Hellenistic kings by assigning lands to a prominent indigenous sanctuary.¹⁹⁸ However, as in Pessinous, the antiquity of the temple institutions may be chimeric, or rather, the Attalids may have changed the cult so thoroughly that it bore only a distant relation to its Phrygian forerunner.

Archaeologically, the site of Aizanoi is complex, but excavation of a 7-m-deep trench on the settlement mound and the remains of a large Hellenistic house suggests wholesale transformation under the Attalids. The deep trench on the settlement mound did not turn up late Bronze or early Iron Age material. However, an early Bronze Age building was uncovered, which some suspect could be cultic.¹⁹⁹ In the later Iron Age (seventh to fourth centuries BCE), a Phrygian village existed at Aizanoi, but its gray ware pottery is idiosyncratic and out of sync with wares from major centers such as Gordion or Dorylaion.²⁰⁰ Clearly, the village was not the administrative seat of a robust, ancient Anatolian temple-state. No such temple has been found, but rather, the local, pre-Hellenistic cult of significance in the area seems to have been housed in the cave sanctuary of Steunos, typologically, a classic, rural shrine of Phrygian Matar, set above a streambed 2 km southwest of the settlement.²⁰¹ At Aizanoi itself, the laying of foundations for, first, a Roman pike wall and, then, the massive Roman temple has obliterated that building's predecessor. Nevertheless, excavator Klaus Rheidt all but assumes that an Attalid temple once existed, arguing that Pergamon transformed Aizanoi into one of the most important

¹⁹⁵ Bringmann et al. 1995, no. 253 [E].

¹⁹⁶ Daubner 2011, 54 n. 46. It is not clear to me if this unpublished inscription is among the series of boundary stones mentioned by Rheidt 2008, 109.

¹⁹⁷ Debord 1982, 273. ¹⁹⁸ Allen 1983, 87; Laffi 1971, 21–25; Roller 1999, 336.

¹⁹⁹ Lochner 2010, 29; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 163. ²⁰⁰ Dikbaş 2010, 44.

²⁰¹ A Palaeo-Phrygian date is evidenced by the step-like structure and circular shafts on a ridge above the cave. Roller (1999, 337–38) contends that here, as in comparable installations at Midas City and Findik, Iron Age shrines remained in use during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

sanctuaries of Asia Minor.²⁰² The suggestion of the excavator that the original Pergamene cult statue can be glimpsed in a Roman bronze figurine of Zeus of Aizanoi, as well as in the iconography of a Roman coin type, encourages us to reckon with the transformation of the local god on the Attalids' watch. This is now Zeus with a bushy beard, glimpsed in depictions of Zeus Bronton, which are particularly common in this very area of northwest Phrygia – and indeed reminiscent of the indigenous King Teuthras on the Telephos frieze.²⁰³ The deity worshipped at Aizanoi in Attalid times was surely an older Anatolian weather god propitiated by farmers, but the Greek language and architectural idiom now became vehicles for the religious imagination of conservative Phrygia. Local worshippers now saw their aniconic, male weather god (Ata?) anthropomorphized, and they named him “Zeus,” shorthand in these parts for “great god,” surely adding an epithet such as Bronton or any other from the region's rich palette.²⁰⁴ In a powerful display of Pergamene creativity, the god showed the Anatolian face assigned to him by Greek artists in the cosmology of the Great Altar. It also seems probable that the occupant of the large Hellenistic house somehow oversaw this hypothetical Pergamene temple of Zeus-Ata and, considering the sturdy, bronze lock fixture from a chest in one of its rooms, perhaps also its finances. The 46 clay bullae found in the house, surely a fraction of the original archive's contents, suggests a spike of administrative activity. Further, a cache of 18 nearly complete ceramic vessels, largely of Pergamene origin and datable to the second quarter of the second century BCE, along with a female statue head of fine crystalline marble, give us a sense of the scale and intense pace of change at Aizanoi.²⁰⁵

Evidently, Attalos I took the same steps at Aizanoi that Strabo's unspecified “Attalic kings” took at Pessinous. Picking up on a local mythographic

²⁰² Rheidt 2008, 108–11.

²⁰³ For the iconography of Zeus Bronton along the border between Phrygia and Bithynia, see Şahin 2001, 174–75.

²⁰⁴ On Phrygian gods represented in Greek, see Parker 2017, 79; further on the meaning of “Zeus” as “great god” in rural western Anatolia, as well as the unusually rich palette of Zeus epithets and Greek as a vehicle for religious imagination in conservative Phrygia, pp. 94, 107–10, noting too the agricultural Zeus Ἀνοδότης “sender up” in Aizanoi (SEG XLV 1719). On the persistence of Phrygian deities worshipped under the name Zeus in northwest Phrygia, see Şahin 2006, a large dossier of dedications from a rural sanctuary in the territory of Nakoleia (second and third centuries CE).

²⁰⁵ For the archive, see Berges 2010; the statuette, Lochner 2010, 34–35. For dates for the pottery from the destruction layer, closed just after the midpoint of the second century, see Ateş 2017, esp. 94.

tradition, he erected monuments to match the sacredness of the place, fixing the focus of the surrounding countryside on a new temple and its annexes. Similarly, if there were powerful priests in Hellenistic Aizanoi, it would seem that they were Pergamene creations, not just clients. Centuries later, Pausanias, in his description of the Meter sanctuary at the cave of Steunos, calls it one of the most famous such caves in Greek or barbarian lands. Yet this fame was anchored in the relatively recent past, though the periegete credited primeval Arcadian colonists with the foundation of the Phrygian cult.²⁰⁶ The cave has been thoroughly explored, and small finds indicate heavy traffic between the first century BCE and the end of the first century CE, when the cult seems to have been transferred to the Roman temple's subterranean chamber.²⁰⁷ In the recent discovery of a votive dump for the same cult of Meter at the village of Ilicikören, 5 km south of the settlement mound, we can see that the increase in longer-distance traffic to shrines of the Aizanitis had started already in the second century BCE.²⁰⁸ Significant numbers of Phrygian worshippers began to patronize a cult annex at Ilicikören, and this may have been a secondary effect of the Attalid elaboration of the sanctuary at Aizanoi. Nearly all of the pottery from Ilicikören is local and indigenous, and many of the figurines are, like those from Steunos, distinctly Anatolian in form. The goddess stands and wears a *polos* on her head, whereas she already appears seated in Greek iconography after the sixth century BCE.²⁰⁹ That a high volume of these decidedly un-Greek figurines appears in the sanctuary site's preserved cult annexes from the second century BCE suggests that the Attalids had elaborated religious life at Aizanoi in such a way as to make contact with a population of the Phrygian countryside that had remained largely hidden from the state during the later Iron Age.

The large house and Greek cult statue of the lost temple notwithstanding, one has the impression that the cultural identity of the local population remained Phrygian under Attalid rule, and yet the cave of Steunos is notable precisely for its mixture of Greek and Phrygian cult fixtures.²¹⁰ While the Phrygian and Greek conceptions of Meter/Matar had been influencing each other since the sixth century BCE, differences endured, and we should try to capture, to the extent possible, the Phrygian perspective at Aizanoi.²¹¹ It is often said that the combination of the cults of Meter and Zeus was facilitated by the early assimilation of Phrygian Matar and Greek Rhea, but we should not overlook the way in which the Attalids also

²⁰⁶ Pausanias 8.4.3; 10.32.3.

²⁰⁷ Roller 1999, 336–41.

²⁰⁸ Ateş 2010; Ateş 2015.

²⁰⁹ Standing: Bøgh 2007, 332.

²¹⁰ Roller 1999, 337.

²¹¹ Bøgh 2007, 316.

drew on much older traditions of paired deities, Mother and Father (Ata). The so-called Male Superior God of the early Phrygian pantheon, shown with Matar in double idols, survived into the Hellenistic period as Zeus Papas/Papias. In fact, the popular rural cult of Papias even appears outside Phrygia, in a dedication from Lasnedda in Lydia, dated to the late Attalid period.²¹²

It has also been suggested that the Male Superior God was worshipped on step structures like the one above the cave at Steunos.²¹³ In the Phrygian cultural context of this Hellenizing building program, the Attalids' new subjects probably understood Zeus as a strange new Ata, seductively endowed with human form and granted a Greek-style temple. The Attalids had long shown abundant creativity when it came to recasting Phrygian religion in monumental form. Philetairos had encased the Phrygian stone-cut base for an earlier cult-statue and a stone-cut altar inside his building complex on the sacred mountain of Aspordenon (Mamurt Kale). The impulse to combine creatively emerged from the Attalids' deep familiarity with both cultural traditions and the pressing need to integrate rural Anatolia. The luxury of appropriation was not available; they need to manufacture temple power. At the imperial center, the votives tend to be, as expected, rather more Greek in appearance, but the apparent clash of styles is repeated. The sacred geography of the countryside of the Kaikos Valley contained multiple rock-cut Meter/Matar shrines.²¹⁴ Matar seems to have had royal associations in Phrygian religion since ca. 700 BCE, and indeed we find the cult of Meter Basileia at Pergamon. Yet it is a civic priesthood, held by priestesses, not male eunuchs. The cult statue has been identified, and it is a magnificent Atticized and seated Cybele, holding her tympanum. Her sanctuary has not been conclusively identified, and may have been, in good Anatolian fashion, attached to the craggy rock of the highest peak of the Pergamene acropolis.²¹⁵ In other words, the cultural background of the Attalids matched their cultural politics, which is why at Pessinous and Aizanoi, they correctly identified places charged with local meaning but bereft of a

²¹² TAM V 2 1321; Cohen 1995, 215. ²¹³ Bøgh 2007, 320–22; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 170–71.

²¹⁴ I am referring here to Kapıkaya and also the newly discovered sanctuary at Mulla Mustafa Tepesi. On its rescue excavation, see Pirson 2013, 131–33, with illustration of Greek-style figurine of Meter-Cybele, fig. 54.

²¹⁵ On Meter-Cybele at Pergamon and its hinterland, see Agelidis 2012, 177–79; and now also Pirson et al. 2015, on a shrine built into the rock formations of Pergamon's rugged eastern slope, possibly dedicated to Meter-Cybele.

built environment. Iconoclastically, they developed them into showpieces that were no less important to their ambitions than the royal capital.

Pergamon in Pisidia

In the highlands above coastal Lycia and the plain of Pamphylia, the Attalids encountered a far less pliant set of indigenous populations. Geographically, Greater Pisidia includes the mountainous Pisidian heartland, with its deep river valleys and flat alluvial plains, as well as, in the west, the Milyas, the Lysis Valley, and the Kibyrtis, and, in the north, Phrygia Paroreios.²¹⁶ Already present in rapidly urbanizing Pisidia were precisely the robust forms of social and military organization that were missing in far more rural parts of Attalid Phrygia. Surely, the process had begun earlier, but our first tangible proof of these far-reaching changes dates to around 200 BCE. Ethnic Pisidians, members of the dominant group of Luwian-speakers living in the mixed milieu of the territory of a former Hittite vassal state, began to nucleate in ever greater numbers. Over 50 Hellenistic cities have been recorded. To compare, a Turkish census of 1950 lists only 12 towns across the same region with at least 2,500 inhabitants, or roughly the same size of small Greek and Roman cities.²¹⁷ The urban form and governing institutions of these new cities were, in part, modeled on the Greek polis. Indigenous urban antecedents were few and far between, limited, it seems, to Panemoteichos I and the site of Düzen Tepe. In addition to new Greek-style magistracies, a bicameral system appeared in many cities, consisting of a popular assembly (*ekklesia*) and a council of elders (*gerousia*), with Termessos and Adada, at least, representing themselves as democracies. Before long, a competitive peer-polity system emerged, a veritable city-state culture, rife with rivalry, war, a creative discourse about kinship and descent, and even colonizing migrations, a place that Mitchell has likened to a microcosm of Archaic Greece.²¹⁸ Recent research has shown that Pisidian ethnogenesis, perhaps directed by mercenaries of the Persian period and buoyed by a rising population, was followed by a period of acculturation to Hellenistic habits in the century or so after Alexander. When the Attalids arrived in 188 BCE,

²¹⁶ On definition of the region and its annexes, see Talloen 2013, 13–18. See further Mitchell 1998a, for the scope of the Pisidian Survey of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. On the definition of Milyas, see Syme 1995, 177–92; and on Phrygia Paroreios, see Bru 2017, 15–30.

²¹⁷ Mitchell 1998a, 238. ²¹⁸ Mitchell 1992, esp. 25.

the urban transformation was in full swing, so much so that we soon find Pisidians migrating westward and founding new cities in the Milyas and Kibyratís.

The famously martial Pisidians were indeed capable of mounting stiff resistance on the battlefield, which is why we find Attalos II campaigning in person against them for a considerable number of years. They were also conspicuously active agents in their own acculturation, fashioning a Hellenistic cultural bricolage that contains many indigenous elements in novel combinations with Greek ones. A fine example is the phenomenon of partly rock-cut temples, which are faced with a Greek *naos*, often in the Doric order.²¹⁹ The extent of the Attalids' involvement in Pisidia and the depth of their interference in local society has become increasingly clear.²²⁰ Again, however, the imperial project's success remains unexplained as long as the cultural politics are simply termed Hellenization. While the Attalids fought a high-profile war against the proud city of Selge, coercion may have been the exception rather than the rule. Selge, then, comes to look like a lone and isolated holdout, grasping for Bithynian or Roman support. Archaeological remains and a growing epigraphic record point to a broader projection of soft power that had the effect of reducing rebellion and keeping open this vital link to the eastern Mediterranean via Attaleia. Further, Pergamon's tactful support of the cultural aspirations of Pisidian cities allowed for their rapid and precocious integration within the kingdom of Asia.

While historians once doubted that the Attalids' presence in Pisidia was ever more than episodic, several decades of intensive archaeological work have served to highlight Pergamon's impact on the region.²²¹ By contrast, Seleukid activity appears to have been limited, both in its geographic scope (to the north) and in terms of its effect: colonies were planted along major arteries connecting Apameia to Lykaonia, such as Pisidian Antioch, Seleukeia Sidera, Laodikeia Katakakaumene, and, most likely, Apollonia; vestiges of the previous regime may be detected in Macedonian shield reliefs spread around the region and in Sagalassos' use of the elephant as a civic badge.²²² In two key cities, Termessos and Selge, the third century

²¹⁹ Talloen 2013, 107–8.

²²⁰ Kosmetatou 1997; Waelkens 2004; Köse 2004; Köse 2017, 66–68; Talloen 2013, 86–87.

²²¹ See, e.g., Allen 1983, 102. Pisidia figures scarcely in Allen's account, as his book was researched before a wave of archaeological surveys and excavations in the region. For Pisidia as a "frontier," see *RC*, 239. Cf. Bresson 2019, 292: "routes of circulation of men and goods . . . from Pergamon to Pamphylia and Pisidia."

²²² Daubner 2011, 46. Macedonian identity of Seleukid Sagalassos: Kosmetatou 1997, 22.

witnessed a prelude of budding civic consciousness and Greek-style urbanism. However, as Veli Köse has shown in a detailed analysis of the datable evidence, the new civic identity in Pisidia did not begin to take monumental form before ca. 200 BCE.²²³ The advent of the Attalids in Pisidia came amid a boom in fortification and, in many places, for the first time, the laying out of an agora and the construction of public buildings in stone ashlar. Much of the impetus for these changes was demonstrably ground-up.²²⁴ Yet the more we know about the timing of these developments, the more Pergamene influence is apparent. In Pisidia, Attalid influence was deep and unprecedented.²²⁵

For example, the well-studied site of Sagalassos now helps date Pisidia's cultural revolution quite precisely. From the Persian into the early Hellenistic period (fifth to third centuries), the site was occupied, though the character of the settlement has been difficult to tease out from Classical and Hellenistic pottery recovered in the vicinity of the later Upper Agora. Flanking Sagalassos, however, was a primitively fortified sister settlement, Düzen Tepe, which maintained an Anatolian, seemingly anachronistic form of urbanism and material culture until its abandonment, just as the more outward-looking Sagalassos took shape around its first agora.²²⁶ Düzen Tepe has been thoroughly explored and, along with Panemoteichos I, attests to the admittedly attenuated existence of a form of urbanism in Iron Age Pisidia. However, the emergence of some 50 cities in the Hellenistic period represents a sharp break with the past. The timing of that break and the character of one of the most important new cities were revealed in controlled excavations of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos in 2014 and 2015. Those digs put to rest old theories of rapid Hellenization immediately subsequent to Alexander's siege. In fact, the layout of the first, beaten-earth agora took place ca. 200 BCE, with the first ashlar buildings, such as the city's market building, arriving about half a century later.²²⁷ This new date for the onset of the acceleration phase of urban change at

²²³ Köse 2017, 44–59. This represents a major down-dating of key evidence adduced by Waelkens 2004. On different evidence, Waelkens and Vandeput (2007, 101) argue, "In fact, in general Attalid rule may have had less impact on the urban developments in Pisidia than was previously assumed." However, the strength of Waelkens' thesis that chronological fine-tuning of the archaeology reveals a more modest Pergamene impact on the region has now been considerably weakened.

²²⁴ Mitchell 1992; Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2005. ²²⁵ Kosmetatou 1997, 32.

²²⁶ Sequential rather than contemporaneous settlement at Sagalassos and Düzen Tepe: Talloen 2013, 26.

²²⁷ Cf. Waelkens 2004, 464–66, on the market building of Sagalassos, which he dated to the third century.

Sagalassos accords well with evidence from across Pisidia and coincides neatly with the appearance of the Attalids.²²⁸ Admittedly, the kings stimulated and contributed to a process already underway. Yet two cities, Apollonia and Ariassos, even chose to publicize a break with the past by inaugurating new city-eras in 188.²²⁹

Perhaps the strongest indication of the Attalids' presence is the distinctive form of urbanism that ultimately took root in Pisidia. It has become evident that the Pisidians took over or adapted specifically Pergamene urban features from the start. Some scholars have seen Attalid influence in the choice of a trapezoidal agora at Selge, Sagalassos, and Termessos.²³⁰ Interestingly, the centerpiece of the newly constituted community was not, for example, a gymnasium. Exceptionally, it seems, Termessos and Sagalassos acquired one in the second century.²³¹ The absence of that venue for royal munificence may help explain the oft-noted lack of honorific decrees for kings from Pisidia. In fact, civic life and the interaction with royal power were happening elsewhere. Across the region, the focal point of early civic life was the so-called Pergamene market building. In most places, this "market building," as the earliest monumental architecture, will have fulfilled a variety of administrative functions on the new city's agora.²³² The Pisidians tended to have added a *bouleuterion* soon thereafter, with the full complex taking shape ca. 150–100 BCE, though a firm early Imperial date for the *bouleuterion* at Sagalassos now reinforces the idea that in the initial layout of the agora, the market building stood alone.²³³ In smaller cities, such as Sia and Adada, the *gerousia* may have gathered on the agora in assembly places flanked by steps, the Pisidian version of a council house or *ekklesiasterion*. Dating these structures is difficult, but they are associated with paved, well-demarcated agoras, which themselves begin to appear only in the second century BCE. Ultimately, we have to contend with the fact that Pergamene market buildings anchored early civic life in Pisidia.²³⁴

²²⁸ Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010; Talloen and Poblome 2016, 120.

²²⁹ Kosmetatou 1997, 30 n. 91 with references.

²³⁰ The idea seems to go back to Martin 1974, 154–61. See Kosmetatou 1997, 33; cf. Waelkens 2004, 454; Waelkens and Vandeput 2007, 101.

²³¹ Termessos: Köse 2017, 67. In Sagalassos, geophysical prospection has detected gymnasium, for which see Degryse and Waelkens, 2008, 4.

²³² Köse 2005, 143–48. ²³³ Köse 2017, 61–64; Talloen and Poblome 2016, 118–19.

²³⁴ Termessos contains the only securely Hellenistic theater in Pisidia. For a date in the early second century BCE, see Waelkens 2004, 450.

What this visual quotation means is that the Attalids provided nascent urban communities in Pisidia with a specific vocabulary with which to express their civic identity, one drawn directly from a model built up in the metropole. New civic functions and big-ticket transactions were now conducted in surroundings that recalled Pergamon. Just decades before, the Attalids had developed their own spectacular multistoried stoa, with its substructure and rooms both behind and below the colonnades, bordering and in fact buttressing – as part of a giant terrace wall – the Upper Agora. The Pergamene market building had been a key feature of the Graeco-Anatolian synthesis in urban planning: inspired by East Greek antecedents, but innovatively designed to take advantage of the slope and enhance the prominence of the kind of terrace façade proper to Anatolian royalty. In hilly Pisidia, the idea caught on quickly. Market buildings of this type or a local variation are ubiquitous in a region in which many suspect Attalid builders were active.²³⁵ This does not mean that in every case we should suspect a royal architect, let alone Pergamene sovereignty. Several examples have been found in Pamphylia, but also in Caria at Herakleia-under-Latmos and Alinda. On the contrary, the local variations, built on flatter ground, without stoas on the top floor or storage galleries in the central story, show that smaller cities, such as the unidentified cities at Melli and Kapılıtaş, freely adapted the Pergamene blueprint to meet their own needs (**Fig. 6.7**). Does divergence in design tell us that a city remained outside the Attalids' direct control? It is foolhardy to use these buildings as a proxy for the kingdom's borders. Large cities such as Termessos, Pednelissos, and Selge all contain buildings that hew closely to type, but can hardly have shared the same political status. The density and variety of these earliest of all of the region's public buildings in stone are stark reminders of the power of Pergamene cultural affinity to mold new civic identities in a strategic province.

The appearance of the first temples in Pisidian sanctuaries also seems to coincide with the arrival of the Attalids and the departure of the Seleukids.²³⁶ At the turn from the third to the second century, a slew of large Ionic peripteral temples were built in the cities of Termessos, Selge, and Pisidian Antioch. In each case, it seems to be the most important local indigenous deity, now Hellenized and placed at the helm of a new civic

²³⁵ Technical features of the construction of the Stoa of Attalos II in Termessos provide evidence for the activity of Attalid builders in the region. See Kosmetatou 1997, 32–33, citing Korres 1984.

²³⁶ For two recent discussions, see Talloen 2013, 103–7; Köse 2017, 52–55.



Figure 6.7 Late Hellenistic Pergamene market building of the unidentified city at Melli in Pisidia (courtesy of Veli Köse and © Pisidia Survey Project).

pantheon, which acquired a new home. At Termessos, Temple N5 housed, most likely, Zeus Solymeus. On the acropolis of Selge, Zeus Kesbelios gained one such temple, and so too did Pisidian Antioch's main god, Mên, at the site of Karakuyu. Several factors point to an impetus from the outside. First, the similarity in architectural form is striking. Further, save for a possible temple at Panemoteichos I, there are no local precedents. Rather, the model is drawn from coastal Asia Minor. Finally, the scale of building would seem to have outstripped the revenues of these cities. This is especially true at Termessos, where two new temples, N5 and N7 (for Artemis), appeared in rapid succession. It is possible that competition between the two Hellenistic dynasties set off a cascade of construction across Pisidia, but the bulk of the activity appears to have been Attalid. While this is partly due to chronology, the behavior also fits a pattern discernible at Phrygian Aizanoi and at Pessinous, whereby the Attalids brought Greek temple architecture to indigenous sanctuaries.²³⁷ At Selge,

²³⁷ Compare also the Attalids' promotion of Mên Askaênos at Antioch and elsewhere. The sanctuary of Mên at Karakuyu, 3.5 km southeast of Antioch, seems to have origins in the second century BCE. While its Ionic peripteral temple dates, in its present form, to the Antonine period, close comparison with the temple of Dionysus at Teos and the temple of

at least, a Seleukid-era temple may have preceded the Ionic peripteral one that most scholars date to the period of Attalid rule. Polybius gives us a tantalizing hint of the existence of that temple (*hieron*) of Zeus during the siege of Achaïos in 218.²³⁸ Yet the appearance of the city's Kesbedion sanctuary, like much of the cultic landscape of Pisidia, changed indelibly over the course of the second century.

Architectural sculpture on some of the earliest public buildings in the region also provides a window onto the transformative impact of Pergamon in Pisidia. A traditional theme of military valor, a mainstay of third-century Pisidian ossuaries and even the earlier sepulchral monument of Alketas at Termessos, now found its way onto fortification walls, gates, public buildings, and monuments in the form of the weapons frieze. This was a distinctively regional, militaristic expression of civic identity, a Pisidian way of representing the new community.²³⁹ However, alongside the traditional repertoire of arms, we also find an imported iconography in an up-to-date style, indeed, direct quotations from the Great Altar of Pergamon. For example, a fragmentary frieze from Termessos depicts Iphigeneia as priestess in the service of Artemis in Tauris.²⁴⁰ Both stylistically and with its engaging continuous narrative, the monument recalls the Telephos Frieze. Current interpretations place the two fragments on the base of a pseudo-monopteros shrine to Artemis Tauropolos. Local lore may even have claimed that the cult-statue within was the original, which Iphigeneia herself whisked away from Tauris. If so, the people of Termessos used the Iphigeneia myth and the new medium to make an Attalid-style argument for authenticity, grounded in the primacy of place. Two other examples both feature the Gigantomachy, which admittedly also appears in a variety of non-Attalid contexts in Hellenistic Asia Minor. Yet at Termessos, the two badly damaged frieze slabs, unfortunately missing a secure architectural context, display a Gigantomachy that echoes the Great Altar in particular.²⁴¹

Athena Polias at Priene suggests a predecessor built by the Attalids between 175 and 125 BCE. See Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 68; Raff 2011, 139–40; cf. Khatchadourian 2011, 159–60. Mên appears to have been a pan-Anatolian deity, who took on an entirely new form and prominence in the second century BCE. See Hübner 2003, esp. 189–90.

²³⁸ Polyb. 5.76.2.

²³⁹ Baldiran 2016, esp. fig. 17, a Hellenistic architectural relief trophy from Amblada.

²⁴⁰ Stähler 1968; Ridgway 2000, 85–86.

²⁴¹ Talloen (2013, 103) attributes the frieze to the temple of Zeus Solymeus. For echoes here of the Great Altar, see Ridgway 2000, 87.



Figure 6.8 Late Hellenistic frieze of Gigantomachy in the agora of the unidentified city at Melli in Pisidia (courtesy of Veli Köse and © Pisidia Survey Project).

A second example is from the unidentified site of Melli, the sensational recent discovery of a Gigantomachy frieze on three sides of a rectangular block of local limestone, perhaps the base of a lost monument from the city's nascent agora (**Fig. 6.8**).²⁴² It has been dated to the second half of the second century or the beginning of the first century BCE. Most legibly, it features Artemis and Apollo with his bow drawn, taking on one serpentine Giant, while Herakles confronts another. The sculptor appears to have been influenced by images of the Temple of Artemis in Magnesia, but much of the iconography, especially the violent hair-pulling and limb-treading, the form of the Giants' bodies, as well as the distinctive baroque style, point to Pergamene influence. Art historians taking a bird's-eye view would rightly caution us from mistaking the appearance of the baroque style as surefire proof of an Attalid presence. Further, we cannot hope to reconstruct the path by which these motifs and techniques arrived in second-century Pisidia. Traveling Rhodian craftsmen are just as likely as royal work gangs to have brought them here. The reception of the Great Altar in Rome, by

²⁴² Köse 2004.

contrast, will probably always remain much better understood. Yet why should these memes have landed at all, and so quickly, in a place like Melli? It seems they provided the Pisidians with the means to vindicate their own cultural claims in a changing world. In the case of Iphigeneia and Termessos, we can discern a typical Mediterranean play for mythological inclusion. The Gigantomachy of Melli takes the armed struggle for civic identity, perhaps here too in allegorical form, the memory of specific battles, and elevates it all to the cosmic plain. The Pisidian townsmen join the gods' defense of civilization, not Hellenism as such. What does the reception of the Great Altar in Pisidia tell us about how subjects from the semi-Greek periphery may have interpreted the Great Altar's own Gigantomachy? It seems to call into question a common conception of the message of the Altar, voiced most recently by Filippo Coarelli, as a statement of the defense of the ostensibly timeless values of Panhellenism.²⁴³ Rather, it reveals a message of cultural universalism suited to the needs of communities still on the fringes of the poliad system.

Pergamon's armed interference in Pisidia certainly provoked resistance. Some scholars have even seen the symmarchy struck between Adada and Termessos as a military alliance against the Attalids.²⁴⁴ Still, the dynasty's lasting prestige in a region it ruled for just half a century underscores the effectiveness of its cultural diplomacy. Naming practice among an indigenous population, which continued to speak Luwian and Phrygian, is revealing in this regard. In northern Pisidia and the Paroreios, for example, the name Attalos is ubiquitous and persists for generations, with many occurrences at Neapolis, which, Hadrien Bru has argued, was in fact an Attalid colony.²⁴⁵ An example from the early Roman village of Tynada in the territory of Pisidian Antioch emblemizes the multifaceted cultural identity of the elite families that will have been the power brokers in Attalid times. The *demos* of the village of Tynada had honored a certain Attalos son of Philetairos with a statue.²⁴⁶ Two brothers named Attalos and Orokendeas, sons of Kralos, erected the statue. The two dynastic names are flanked by two local names, one certainly Anatolian, Orokendeas, which itself combines the Greek "of the mountain" (Oro-) with the common Pisidian name Kendeas. The same mixedness is evident in a

²⁴³ Coarelli 2017, 200. Cf. Queyrel 2017, arguing too against a Galatian allegory in the Gigantomachy of the Great Altar.

²⁴⁴ TAM III 1 2. For this interpretation, see Kosmetatou 1997, 28; Waelkens and Vandepuit 2007, 102; cf. Hopp 1977, 73 n. 81; Brandt 2002, 395.

²⁴⁵ Bru 2017, 49–61. ²⁴⁶ Labarre and Özsait 2015, 96 (no. 4).

family from Antioch itself. A man named Attalos and his wife Tateis erected a monument for a certain Manes son of Opnadeios. In a single family, three onomastic layers are visible: the Greek dynastic name, Anatolian names common in Phrygia (Tateis and Manes), as well as a Pisidian name (Opnadeios).²⁴⁷ To the ruling classes of mountain towns in the process of becoming city-states, the Attalids offered an entrée to a shared Mediterranean, in which it was possible to become Greek and still remain Pisidian.

On the island of Delos in 113 BCE, less than a generation after the Bequest of Attalos, we find the arrival of the Pisidians on the trans-Mediterranean stage advertised in a display context redolent of dynastic memory. Six envoys of the “*demos* of the Pisidians of Prostanna,” perhaps returning from an embassy to the Roman Senate, honored Marcus Antonius, the quaestor of the province of Asia, with a statue.²⁴⁸ The Pisidian ethnic identity shines through in the new community’s nomenclature. Here too, the persistence of indigenous names is also striking: five out of six are Anatolian, an impressive ratio after almost a century of urban living, half of that spent under a regime whose cultural politics have often been described as a Hellenizing mission. These ambassadors represented the Pisidians of Prostanna on Delos before Roman power and were already accustomed to the normal Hellenistic exchange of honors. One can only imagine that most nonelite Pisidians retained much more than their old names. Yet the findspot of the statue base points to a genuine affinity with the Attalids. It was a monument for one of Asia’s new Roman rulers, but placed near the stoa known as the Portique du Sud, it inevitably garnered some of the prestige of the province’s former kings.²⁴⁹ The stoa on the east side of the southern end of the processional way may very well have been a gift of Attalos I. Multifigure statue groups stood at each end, one starring the Pergamene general Epigenes. The other seems to have commemorated a victory of a mounted Attalos I over Galatians, which, perhaps, even depicted the fearsome barbarians.²⁵⁰ In such a context, men like Motoxis and Mistanisthos of Prostanna were perfectly at home. The Attalids had offered their fathers a version of civilization that was not the exclusive possession of Greeks.

²⁴⁷ SEG VI 576; Bru 2017, 211. ²⁴⁸ *I.Delos* 1603; Robert 1965, 83 (no. 1).

²⁴⁹ Bru 2017, 22.

²⁵⁰ *JG XI* 4 1109. For the monument, see Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 168. See Schalles 1985, 60–68, esp. 61, on the possibility of Galatian figures. Cf. Stewart 2004, 223, proposing a chariot monument instead.

In practice, that invitation could have looked much like the unpublished decree from Olbasa, a strange and unexpected recent addition to the dossier of the Nikephoria festival. What is so surprising about this discovery is the off-the-beaten-path location of the find. By contrast, the previously known invitations were addressed to political and cultural elites, powerful city-states such as Kos and likely Iasos, as well as to the Aetolians and the Delphic Amphictiony.²⁵¹ The new inscription shows a small, just-hatched city in the Milyas region of western Pisidia following the same standard conventions as the “Greek cities”: receiving a Pergamene sacred embassy, recognizing the refounded festival as crowned games and the sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros as inviolable, and arranging to participate themselves. This is remarkable given the way historians have understood the motivation and the message behind Eumenes II’s 182/1 upgrade of the Nikephoria to penteteric games, in which the musical section was promoted to isopythian status, the athletic and equine to isolympic. In the treatment of Allen, for example, the games became Panhellenic in an “outward sign to the Greek world of [Eumenes’] authority and influence after the Treaty of Apameia.”²⁵² For Domenico Musti, the festival instantiated a tripartite vision of Classical Greece: Olympia, Delphi, and Athens – but in second-century Asia.²⁵³ To be sure, grandiose Hellenocentric rhetoric was not missing from the fanfare. Famously, the Amphictionic decree is full of it. That text even describes the Pergamene ambassadors talking up the role of the Attalids as solicitous benefactors of “all the Greeks, both singly and according to city.”²⁵⁴ However, as Kent Rigsby points out, these arguments appear to have been tailored for Delphi.²⁵⁵ They would have made little sense in Pisidia, retailed to a population not yet, or even just now, identifying as Hellenes. After all, the trigger for the reorganization of the festival had been the triumph over Prousius I, Ortiagon, and the Galatians, which the people of Telmessos moved in 184/3 to commemorate with sacrifices to Athena Nikephoros.²⁵⁶ That text, again, had celebrated a victory on behalf of *all* of the inhabitants

²⁵¹ New Olbasa Decree: Corsten 2008. Nikephoria dossier with earlier bibliography: Rigsby 1996, 363–77 (nos. 176–179).

²⁵² Allen 1983, 129.

²⁵³ Musti 1998. See also Musti 2000. His arguments against the consensus on periodicity have failed to convince. See Allen 1983 121–29; Jones 1974; Jones 2000.

²⁵⁴ Lines 13–14: ἀ]πελογίσαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ θεωροὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως [εὐ]νοίαν ἦν ἔχων|δ[ια]τελεῖ κ[οινῆι τ]ε πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ καθ’ ἰδίαν π[ρὸς] τὰς πόλεις.

²⁵⁵ Rigsby 1996, 376–77. Cf. Koehn 2007, 71, 134, taking the Amphictionic decree as a rather too complete statement of Attalid ideology.

²⁵⁶ Bithynian war as trigger: Hopp 1977, 42; cf. Allen 1983, 128.

of Asia. Civilization in Asia, the Lycians of Telmessos claimed, was worth saving. Taken together, this evidence suggests that the ambassadors fanning out from Pergamon to announce the Nikephoria carried a culturally differentiated message. For Olbasa, then, participation in the festival was a means not of becoming Greek, but rather of claiming a share in civilization.

We find the Anatolian content of that message emblazoned on an intriguing coin type minted in the name of Athena Nikephoros, a rare silver tetradrachm (Attic standard) known from just three examples (**Fig. 3.9**).²⁵⁷ A date for the coin floats between the relaunch of the festival in 182/1 and ca. 165, making the coin broadly contemporaneous with the epigraphic dossier and a complementary instrument of ideology.²⁵⁸ The image on the coin's reverse seems to be a cult statue, though an epiphany has also been considered.²⁵⁹ In any case, this is not the expected Greek iconography – neither the helmeted profile of Athena of two other series minted in the name of Nikephoros nor the seated goddess of the Philetairoi. Yet another Classical model may have presented itself in the form of the Pheidian knock-off from the presumed Library's eastern hall: the Parthenos type carried a Nike.²⁶⁰ Instead, what this coin depicts is an Anatolian goddess with a number of Greek accoutrements: an aegis, a long *peplos*, the shield resting on her left leg, and the Nike in her right hand. Instead of the familiar Corinthian or Athenian helmet, the goddess wears a high *polos* and a long veil. Her pectoral and the manner in which she extends her arms are reminiscent of Artemis of Ephesus. The coin depicts an Anatolian mother goddess, perhaps Meter Basileia, who, on one theory, had been worshipped in Pergamon under the name Athena Polias since the late fourth century.²⁶¹ Another parallel worth considering is an image of a syncretized Athena Magarsia on a coin image from Mallos in Smooth Cilicia (**Fig. 6.9**). It is interesting to compare the two, since the posture

²⁵⁷ Le Rider 1973; Mørkholm 1984; Faita 2001; Marcellesi 2012, 125–27 (no. 44). The three coins were struck from two dies, but as Marcellesi (2012, 127) points out, nothing proves this was a one-off issue. Cf. Thonemann 2015a, 85.

²⁵⁸ The date of the Sitochoro hoard (*IGCH* 237; ca. 168–165) provides the lower limit of the chronology.

²⁵⁹ Epiphany: Meadows 2018, 303; see also Hölscher 2017, 238, for a similar interpretation of epiphany at Myra. However, for the cult statue glimpsed on the coin, see Rigsby 1996, 363; Agelidis 2014, 109.

²⁶⁰ Marcellesi 2012, 57–58. For the reconstruction of the Pheidian imitation in the Library as a Nikephoros, see Coqueugniot 2013, 120. Demargne (1984, 1041) does not outline a distinct iconography for Nikephoros, but points to the frequency with which a Pheidian Parthenos is represented as such in the Hellenistic period.

²⁶¹ Agelidis 2014, 95–99.



Figure 6.9 Left: reverse of silver tetradrachm of Demetrios II depicting Athena Magarsia, ca. 145–142 BCE (14.26 g, ANS 1984.116.1; courtesy of the American Numismatic Society); right [from Figure 3.9]: reverse of silver tetradrachm in the name of Athena Nikephoros, reign of Eumenes II, ca. 180–165 BCE (16.06 g, BM 1975,0208.1 © The Trustees of the British Museum).

of the goddess of Magarsos is so much more upright that scholars have been tempted to see there a *chiton* and *chlamys* as Greek textiles draped on an older, wooden Anatolian statue – a cultural intrusion. On our coin, by contrast, it is much harder to pick apart the two traditions. In a more subtle blending of cultures, arms flailing out stiffly in the North Syrian–Anatolian manner, Pergamene Athena Nikephoros strikes the unmistakable pose of the Greek contrapposto. Tellingly, it is not obvious whether we should see in the peculiarly hybrid figure an archaic original or a second-century sculptor’s idea of a traditional Anatolian *xoanon*.²⁶² She confounds our categories.

Yet if the coin represents, as has been supposed, the cult-stature from the extramural Nikephorion, the image ought to have been new under Eumenes II.²⁶³ Though an earlier mintmark of Lysimachus provided

²⁶² Fleischer 1978, 349. Further, on the comparison with Athena Magarsia, see Marcellesi 2012, 125 n. 45. The earliest of those coins date to the reign of Demetrios II (146–138). See, further, Fleischer 1973, 260–63; Houghton 1984, esp. 110.

²⁶³ Many scholars attribute the Nikephorion to Attalos I, who, having granted Athena the epithet some time in the late 220s, laid out the extramural sanctuary ca. 200 BCE – which Philip V promptly destroyed (Polyb. 16.1.5–6). Others prefer a date in the early 190s under Eumenes II, e.g., Allen 1983, 128.

cutters with an in-house model for an Anatolian goddess as an iconic badge for the city of Pergamon, the new image does not entirely reflect the prototype.²⁶⁴ This was not quite the archaic Trojan *palladion* nor the “original” cult statue, which Auge had brought from Arkadia. Such an image may well have existed since the fourth century in the form of an archaizing cult statue housed in the Temple of Athena Polias on the Pergamene acropolis.²⁶⁵ Indeed, the visual language for such a statement was available to engravers, as can be seen from a silver tetradrachm of Knidos of the 160s. There, an up-to-date, anthropomorphic Artemis leans on what is clearly her own archaic idol.²⁶⁶ Yet in this case, Eumenes made no such distinction between the present and the past. This was the goddess that the king wanted subjects such as the Pisidians of Olbasa to picture presiding over the Nikephoria. The numismatists have queried her origins. Le Rider sees an old Asian deity, coming to the surface in this form; Mørkholm suspects an import, the Cappadocian goddess Ma, riding into town in the 180s with Queen Stratonike.²⁶⁷ But perhaps such speculation is misplaced. We have good reason to suppose that the cult of Athena in Attalid Pergamon had always belonged to a multicultural system. The city’s very first temple for her, now credited to the acropolis-building activity of Herakles and Barsine (330–325), bore an unusually late, bilingual Lydian-Greek inscription. In a very prominent position, then, 4 m up on a column of the pronaos of the city’s central temple, a donor named Partaras had explicitly equated the Lydian goddess Malia with Athena.²⁶⁸ It seems that Greek and Anatolian elements were present from the beginning in the worship of Athena Polias at Pergamon, just as they had been, for example, in Classical Lycia – the local goddess in Eumenes’ time remained

²⁶⁴ Schalles 1985, 13 n. 67; Agelidis 2014, 110.

²⁶⁵ The key evidence here is a pre-Hellenistic gold stater of Pergamon with a martial Athena on the reverse, Fritze 1906, 49–50 (nos. 8–10); Marcellesi 2012, 44 (no. 5). For the image as a *palladion*, the cult statue of Athena Ilias, see Schalles 1985, 13–19, attributing the coin to Herakles and Barsine. Cf. Agelidis 2014, 78–88, associating the coin with Alexander and strengthening the case for Trojan overtones. For Auge’s mythical foundation of the Athena cult, see *I.Pergamon* 156, lines 23–24, though her cult is represented with the self-same *palladion* on the Telephos Frieze (Panel 20).

²⁶⁶ Meadows 2018, 301–3.

²⁶⁷ Le Rider 1973, 72; Mørkholm 1984, 192. According to Agelidis (2014, 110), the Cappadocian princess could only strengthen the indigenous elements of Athena’s cult already present at Pergamon. Later too, another Cappadocian god became Zeus-Sabazios – rather than the typical Dionysus-Sabazios – thereby facilitating his incorporation into the cult of Athena Nikephoros in the time of Attalos III (*OGIS* 332).

²⁶⁸ *I.Pergamon* 1. Payne and Sasseville 2016; Parker 2017, 40. Date of the temple: Schalles 1985, 20.

“an Athena who had been denatured.”²⁶⁹ Yet by emphasizing Anatolian features in the creation of an imperial Nikephoros, Eumenes code-switched in order to convince elites in places like Olbasa that they belonged. What effects if any this had on popular religion can be doubted. As Robert Parker has argued, Anatolia contained a large “zone of indifference to Athena,” in which, under her name, native goddesses were worshipped with native rites.²⁷⁰ But in Pisidian Apollonia, for example, Nikephoros did enter the official civic pantheon, presumably, due to Pergamene influence.²⁷¹ Similarly, at Blaundos, a late Hellenistic priest with the telling name of Philetairos Diogenous served a cult of Athena Nikephoros and Homonoia.²⁷² The ecumenical quality of this odd tetradrachm is further evidenced by the absence of a legend that tags the cult as the possession of any particular city. That is to say, Athena Nikephoros is not “of the Pergamenes,” the way Apollo Aktaios is “of the Parians” or Apollo Smitheus is “of the Alexandrians.” This is a glaring omission given that the design otherwise matches the almost 40 civic coinages minted ca. 175–140 with portraits of poliad deities – but suitably labeled.²⁷³ The collective behind the coin of Eumenes was both Pan-Asian and politically idiosyncratic. It was, in short, the Attalid coalition.

Intervention in Greater Pisidia was costly and fraught with risk. It resulted in military and – in the case of Selge – even diplomatic defeat at Rome. What justified all the effort? On the one hand, there was the need for passage. Important army tracks already ran through the region, the basis of the future Via Sebaste, connecting both Pamphylia and Lykaonia to southern Phrygia. It is significant that in the crucial zones of transition, such as the country of the Orondeis and the Milyas, there is a case to be made for the existence of Attalid settlements. A colony at Neapolis among the Orondeis will have secured passage to Lykaonia and indeed the Kalykadnos Valley of Rough Cilicia. The Milyas was, in Ronald Syme’s description, “A land of long plains and easy transit.”²⁷⁴ To control it was to keep the new foundation of Attaleia on the Mediterranean coast connected to the Aegean core of the kingdom. What this meant in practice may become clear as we learn more about the Attalids’ southern port from

²⁶⁹ Parker 2016, 74, 79, 81. ²⁷⁰ Parker 2016, 78.

²⁷¹ First suggested by Sterrett 1888, 367 no. 532; see also Talloen 2013, 90.

²⁷² *SEG* XLVI 149 = Filges 2006, 321 no. 1.

²⁷³ Meadows 2018, 304. As a sign of how far the coin of Eumenes departs from the same civic conventions it invokes, consider that Le Rider (1973, 75–79) argues for a minting authority on the model of the Confederacy of Athena Ilias – neither polis nor kingdom, but cultic koinon.

²⁷⁴ Syme 1995, 186.

salvage excavations, such as those recently conducted in a necropolis full of Hellenistic chamber tombs at the site of Antalya's Doğu Garajı. On the other hand, the goal – or perhaps simply the achievement – was to integrate the region to the kingdom, if not always administratively, by ties of culture. Once again, colonies were not the preferred tool of this empire. Yet the Pergamene imprint here was profound, though these effects must be understood in the broader context of epochal changes in Pisidian society, largely driven from below. The long-term cultural complexity of particular pockets of the region is stunning. The Iron Age artifacts from the Bayındır tumuli in the plain of Elmalı exhibit Phrygian, Lydian, and also East Greek influence. Centuries later, Strabo tells us that four languages were still spoken in the Kibyris.²⁷⁵ Ranged against such diversity and cultural fluidity, an attitude of Hellenic chauvinism would have spelled disaster.

In summary, the shrewd cultural ideology that contributed so much to the Attalids' success was not simply an antipodal Panhellenism that pitted the Greeks of the polis against everyone else. In short, the Polybian perspective, Eumenes' special pitch at Delphi or Attalos' at Athens, is not the full story. The Attalids were capable of playing several games at once. Their own cultural background prepared them for it. They had indeed arrived from the Aegean's semi-Greek periphery, but they returned to that same Anatolian hinterland in order to build an empire. A scholarly trope labels them parvenus. This invariably means that they lacked Hellenic credentials and, therefore, always stressed their links to Greece. "For Pergamon had no Greek mother-city and no proper past," writes Stewart.²⁷⁶ Yet the sting of parvenu status was just as much a result of their lack of illustrious ancestors in non-Greek or pre-Greek Asia. An anecdote from Strabo describes the Attalids' crucifixion of the grammarian Daphitas on a mountain near Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. His crime? Poking fun in this distich: "Purpled with stripes, mere filings of the treasure of Lysimachus, ye rule the Lydians and Phrygia."²⁷⁷ The joke turns on the idea that their (modest) pecuniary inheritance did not make them the rightful successors of Alexander, Croesus, and Midas. The reproach

²⁷⁵ Strabo 13.4.17. See, further, Corsten and Hülten 2013, on the recent survey of the archaic site near the Gölhisar Gölü known as "Old Kibyra," which has turned up both Lydian and Lycian tombs.

²⁷⁶ Stewart 1996a, 43.

²⁷⁷ Strabo 14.1.39. For the crucifixion of Daphitas of Telmessos, see Fontenrose 1960, proposing a historical context of the initial stages of the rebellion of Aristonikos in the last days of Attalos III.

responds to the Attalid claim to cis-Tauric Asia, a place full of Greeks, non-Greeks, and many people with multiple, fluctuating identities. These were “the inhabitants of Asia,” by no means a corporate identity, but still an imagined collectivity, personified in the Telmessos decree of 184/3 that praised Eumenes as its savior. Moreover, it may also have been present in the background at Magnesia in 208, in that city’s claim to be “the first of those dwelling (*katoikountes*) in Asia” to vote for stephanitic games.²⁷⁸ The task for Pergamene ideologues was to construct a Pan-Asian collective identity, while deploying the relevant symbols of power across a culturally heterogeneous territory.

To try to tell the more complete story of Pergamon’s cultural politics, it was necessary for the purposes of the analysis to make a dangerously arbitrary distinction between essentialized Greek and Anatolian subjects on the receiving end of the message. Many communities had since Alexander’s arrival sensed the economic and political benefits of presenting themselves as Greek to the outside. Further, in the second century, intensifying Hellenizing tendencies among elites in Galatia and Pisidia further contributed to a shared Greco-Anatolian culture. Yet by picking out the non-Greek elements in the Attalids’ self-presentation, we recover another audience for these theatrics and restore to history those who in many places were the silent majority underneath the Hellenic veneer. People who would never see Athens in their lives saw in Pergamon an Anatolian royal capital; in the Yığma Tepe tumulus, an answer to the taunt of Daphitas.

The risk of essentialism may also have been justified by the need to specify the ideological value of the Library of Pergamon. It was suggested that scholars such as Polemon of Ilion and Demetrios of Skepsis did not simply validate the dynasty’s weak association with Old Greece, but strengthened its claim to rule the Greeks of Asia, in part, by seeking to redress an imbalance of prestige between Hellenic East and West. So-called antiquarian research gave heft to the pretense that the king treasured the traditions of each city under his rule. It also placed Pergamon conveniently within the core of Priam’s ancient kingdom. Finally, we examined the tenets of cultural diplomacy and ideological outreach to two peoples of highland central Anatolia. Indeed, Pergamon was obsessed with imaginary Galatians, but not simply as a barbaric antithesis. Internally, the expulsion of the Galatians from the western lowlands – *κἀτω Ἀσίας* – was the

²⁷⁸ *I.Magnesia* 16 lines 16–18; Thonemann 2007, esp. 158, citing the roughly contemporary claim of Cyzicus to have been the first city in Asia to found a cult of Athena (*Anth. Pal.* 6.342).

territorial kingdom's founding creation myth. In truth, along the contested frontier of the Epictetus and nearby at Pessinous, the Attalids transformed local shrines in order to precipitate interactions with real-life Galatians. These flesh-and-blood Galatians were scarcely distinguishable from their Phrygian neighbors. Certain elites among them no doubt asserted Greek identity. The Attalids jockeyed with the Bithynians and the Galatian tetrarchs for their loyalties. The overarching goal was not to pacify a population. In Pisidia, where coercive power was least likely to work against a burgeoning city-state system, a lasting cultural affinity was established. Panhellenism cannot explain the integration of aspirant Pisidians, but as the ritual and symbolism of the refounded Nikephoria imply, a much broader notion of civilization in Asia can.