IN SEARCH OF THE PRESTIGE POLITICS: AN ALTERNATIVE READING REGARDING THE ARCHITECTURAL EVOLUTION OF THE ATHENA PRECINCT AND THE GREAT ALTAR OF HELLENISTIC PERGAMON

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis studies the architectural evolution of the Athena precinct and the Great Altar of Hellenistic Pergamon in the light of the principal premises of Classical Realism under the discipline of International Relations. This study provides a chronologically linear narrative to shed light on the political, militaristic, economic, artistic, cultural, and architectural events that all have reciprocal occurrences with each other in the clearest manner. While referring to the rulers prior to Eumenes II's reign, the thesis provides an in-depth focus on Eumenes II's era.

Keywords: Hellenistic Pergamon, Classical Realism, Athena precinct, Great Altar

ÖZ

PRESTİJ POLİTİKALARININ PEŞİNDE:
HELLENİSTİK PERGAMON AKROPOLÜNÜN ATHENA KUTSAL ALANI VE ZEUS ALTARI'NIN MİMARİ EVRİMİ ÜZERİNE ALTERNATİF BİR OKUMA

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Bu tez, Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplini altındaki Klasik Realizmin temel varsayımları ışığında Helenistik Pergamon'daki Athena kutsal alanı ve Zeus Sunağı'nın mimari evrimini incelemektedir. Bu çalışmada birbiriyle karşılıklı olarak gelişen siyasi, askeri, ekonomik, sanatsal, kültürel ve mimari olaylara en açık şekilde ışık tutmak için kronolojik açıdan doğrusal bir anlatım kullanılmıştır. Eumenes II devrinden önce gelen Attalos yöneticilerine yer de verilse en kapsamlı analiz Eumenes II devrinin olaylarına yönelik sağlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Helenistik Pergamon, Klasik Realizm, Athena kutsal alanı, Zeus Sunağı

To my beloved grandmother Remziye Tarı, who has always believed in me

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Prelude: Following the Memory of a Hellenistic Capital

"What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvelous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown."[1] In the essence of Herodotus' records there lies the will to remember, to solidify the ephemeral human memory and to pass on the knowledge acquired from the past events to the following generations. As a man of letters, his medium of recording was the fragile papyrus, and the audience of his first edition must have been a select few. But the fondness of preservation of memory was not a discrete habit of a certain class in antiquity at all. Citizens of various polities were surrounded with more durable, but still perishable objects like sculpture and architecture in their cities to be reminded of their shared past and the hard-earned victories of their heroes day in and day out.

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[1] *Hdt.,* I.I

In case an event or a person is forgotten, there may be remnants of it in the form of words/objects. A city from a distant past that was preserved under the earth was to be remembered again when Carl Humann, a German engineer, was assigned to supervise a potential road construction. From the field Humann reported friezes, which he dismantled from a Byzantine wall and alerted German academics in order to be further examined in 1871.[2] These friezes belonging to the famous Great Altar of Pergamon were indeed recorded by Lucius Ampelius in antiquity. His book *Liber Memorialis* was written to record the natural and manmade "memorials" including wonders of the world, and mentioned a great marble altar that was adorned with friezes of gigantomachy at Pergamon.[3] From a book of memorable objects to a monumental altar, the memory of the physically unknown friezes in Pergamon thus came alive.

Not so long after this discovery, thanks to the physical proximity of the altar to the precinct of Athena, the second terrace of the acropolis was excavated and the Athena temple with the surrounding stoas were unearthed in the early months of 1880.[4] As the excavations went on many sculptures that were regarded as signifiers of a library were found on the second terrace that belonged to the sacred precinct of Athena. Now, it is almost unanimously agreed that the northern stoa, especially the rooms on the second storey were somehow related to the renowned Attalid library. During the initial excavations, several busts of famous literary figures were also recovered near or in the

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[2] Kästner 2014, 25

[3] *Lucius Ampelius* 8.14

[4] Kästner 2014, 25

rooms attached to the northern stoa of the precinct. The public placement and display of statues, busts, portraits, and herms of the men of letters was a common practice in antiquity. In addition, a 2nd century B.C. Pergamene copy of the full-scale Athena Parthenos was found near the location of the stoa.[5] (Fig. 1) Another evidence that could be given to strengthen the existence of a library attached to the stoa is that "below the pediment, the propylon frieze included representations of the owl of Athena."[6] (Fig. 2) It is known that the owl of Athena symbolized the wisdom related to the goddess, and also there are other evidences that point to the existence of a library near this location. All of these were seen as the signifiers of a library and also a museum dedicated to the exhibition of a Greek sculpture and painting collection that belonged to the Attalids.

The rulers of Pergamon who aspired to perpetuate their deeds to posterity adorned their capital with monuments in stone and archived the memories of the past that they wanted to pass down to the future generations, but the silent ruins and some minute ancient literary testimony that have been preserved are the only remnants representing their past glory today.

1.2. Aims of the Study

As stated in the *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* "...Ritual and recorded tradition are the forces by which tribes and nations are

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[5] Coqueugniot 2013, 113

[6] Radt 1984, 13

held together and given a continuing and dominant personality."[7] Library, the space where the recorded tradition is preserved and circulated, becomes the temple of the memory of a society. In his recorded lectures on the sociological foundations of librarianship, J. H. Shera claims that the library acts as an agency under the intuitions that control knowledge[8] and also as a communicative medium[9] under the social structure of culture in a society. It is continually influenced by the society and its belief systems, but the library itself also affects the individual and the society in which one lives as a communicative medium that transmits the message of the authority.

Transmitters of information in the ancient world are not only the literal records and the space they were utilized in and circulated. The memory and message of the ruler was also set forth via the architectural and sculptural commissions in antiquity. As articulated by Edmund Thomas: "In the ancient world, buildings were not only a backdrop and setting for social interaction but also a form of social language. This language had meaning not just for the professional group who constructed those buildings, but for the whole population who experienced them."[10]

In the attempt to "decode" the social and cultural language of the library in Pergamon as well as its relation to the Great Altar, there the answers cannot be attained merely from the physical evidence that is

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[7] Vol. I, 399

[8] Shera 1970, 59

[9] *Ibid.*, 73

[10] Thomas 2007, 1

currently available. Although there might be less than enough evidence to fully grasp the full physicality of the library, I also believe that there is still ample room for raising new questions that may aid future researchers in fleshing out a larger picture.

Under this study, my aim is to seek answers for what exactly these two most controversial and celebrated examples of architecture from Hellenistic Pergamon were built to commemorate and try to unveil the "social message" they wanted to transmit to the ancient viewer. At very least, I hope that my suggestions may raise new questions and provide further considerations regarding the construction of the Hellenistic Pergamene library and its relation to the Great Altar on a greater scale.

1.3. Setting the Path

Under the influence of the relatively short existence of the Attalids and their rule, the scholars studying the history of the kingdom tend to overlook the differences regarding the political motives of each Attalid king and produce a single dimensional narration that overrules the multiplicity in political motives of the six consecutive rulers in charge.

In addition to the somewhat glossed over assessment of the rulers' idiosyncratic motives and political agendas, the most common focus of the scholars studying Hellenistic Pergamon is understandably the Treaty of Apamea, which the small kingdom became one of the mightiest among ruling Hellenistic kingdoms. I do not underestimate the importance of this specific turning point in the faith of the Attalid

dynasty but I rather believe that a fresh perspective regarding the kingdom's history and its reflection on the architecture of the Pergamene library and the Great Altar holds the potential to shed more light to some gaps in our understanding of the message that these important architectural spaces transmitted and also their relation to each other on a greater scale. Towards this end, I set the historical scene from the perspective of the classical realist school of International Relations and attempt to rationalize the architectural reorganization of the Athena precinct and the construction of the Great Altar in relation to the political choices of the royal family in general.

Following a chronological order without splitting periodical headings into thematic sub-heading, I constructed a flowing narration that respectively focuses on:

i. The political history of the kingdom from the perspective of the classical realist thought of IR;
ii. Commissioned art and architecture;
iii. Coinage;
iv. Patronage of knowledge;
v. Myths propagated by the Attalids.

For the convenience of a more congruent narration, I set the temporal anchor of this study as 197 B.C., the year that the second Macedonian War was terminated. 197 B.C. was also the year of Eumenes II's coronation, but the narration focuses on highlighted conflicts rather the general executive segments of the rulers. A comprehensive and undisrupted account of the events that led to the reorganization of the Athena precinct and commissioning of the altar appears to be the most

convenient and promising path to follow in reasoning the question in mind. Here, the chapters and subheadings primarily cover the political and militaristic events, and then focus on the cultural aspects of those from the perspective of classical realist thought in general.

1.4. Outline of the Study

Following this introduction, a short treatment on the realist school of IR is provided to set the theoretical framework for my historical assessment of the political events of the Attalid kings until the reign of Eumenes II. The third chapter that follows the theoretical framework dwells upon the actual physical environment of the Hellenistic capital and briefly touches upon some facts about the Athena precinct terrace and the terrace of Great Altar in order to set a frame to the study spatially. After these initial chapters, the fourth chapter treats the era of Philetairos, Eumenes I, and Attalos I. The subsequent chapter that focuses mostly on Eumenes II's reign attempts to answer the questions that were raised at the outset of the thesis. Using the narrative constructed in the previous chapters and based upon the analysis of both tangible and intangible evidence, fact and commentary are brought together in constructing a meaningful and convincing enough narrative. Lastly, the conclusion collates the most pressing ideas set forth since the introductory chapter.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL REALISM UNDER THE DISCIPLINE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2.1. Main Concepts of the Realist School of International Relations

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that before the increased economic and political interdependency of the nation states to each other roughly after the second half of the 20th century, the Realist School of International Relations[11] was the school of thought that both the politicians and the scholars relied on for centuries to explain the political activity of principalities, kingdoms, empires, and states in general. Even though the prime position of the Realist School in explaining world politics has been challenged by scholars with the rise of globalization[12], it should be reminded that throughout the centuries intellectuals and statesmen have made meaning of the political interaction among sovereign political entities almost solely relying

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[11] Any reference to the discipline of International Relations is abbreviated as IR on the following pages.

[12] Here the important point is that the process of globalization created an interdependent environment that every economic action of any state one way or another affects other states irrefutably. Such a level of complex and demanding inter relations among sovereign polities was not reached before the late twentieth century, therefore the premises that classical realists offered were almost precisely applicable to the world politics before the era of globalization. As the world politics got more and more complex and demanded cooperation more than ever for mutual survival of the different parties, revisionist realist theories started to appear alongside neo-liberal theories implementing cooperative mutualism in world politics.

on the main concepts of political realism.[13] The four main concepts of the realist school may be listed as *groupism*, *egoism*, *anarchy*, and *power politics*.[14]

Starting with *groupism*, realists assume that politics take place between groups. Here the important point is that the polities that are being studied may have various natures; any social setting in the form of a group is valid to the realist scholars and politicians, not just the modern nation-state system we know today.[15] Therefore analyzing an ancient kingdom and its relations to other kingdoms and independent polities varying in size and government models is applicable considering the overarching "groupist" concept of realism.

Following *groupism,* the proposition of *egoism* could be framed as all the actors of international politics being driven by self-interest. If a political entity is willing to take an action, it is assumed that the action benefits the political actor in one way or another. The main idea for this reason was believed to be that human nature is opportunist and egocentric; therefore for many centuries an anthropocentric analogy was utilized to explain the behavior of the political groups in general.[16] The opportunistic behavior of the sovereign reflected to the totality of his realm has been one of the main reasons that caused war

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[13] It should kept in mind that as every school of thought has a multifaceted identity that may not be undermined as a solid and overarchingly consistent theory throughout space and time, as I am providing a general introduction, I concentrate on the general aspects of the realist school that are mentioned time after time in the long history of world affairs.

[14] Wohlforth 2010, 133

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] *Ibid*.

and conflict among states and the reflections of this idea could be seen in the politics of Hellenistic kingdoms in general, as well as any other polity that existed before the era of economic globalization.

The third proposition indicated as *anarchy* connotes that without a supra-national authority to rule over all of the political entities in the international arena, *anarchy* is the only way of existence. This system of *anarchy* both restrains the acts of the polities and also feeds their egocentric opportunistic behavior as they interact with each other.[17] I believe that this is one of the most crucial concepts of the realist school of IR, as even to this date, states fail to form an overarching equitable supra-national organization that all the agents would abide to. The absence of such an authority perpetuates the anarchical society of independent polities that seek supremacy over others without being held accountable for their egocentric motives.

Adding up to all these "ingredients" listed above; the notion of *power politics* suggests that any political group that acts as an actor in the international arena with the motivation to maximize its profits and security acts in accordance with the power politics of the other political entities. In an environment without a principal authority that *would* and *could* ensure the survival of the political actors, every actor calculates his move in accordance with his power (militaristic and economic)[18] and the power possessed by the actors in opposition.[19] Here, the main problem is that power is not an easily quantifiable

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Which make up hard power

[19] *Ibid.*

asset regarding its nature and even if the opposing actors could quantify it, the information available to other actors could be misleading, thus resulting in a catastrophe for the opposing party/parties. Even though power is the main factor that needs to be checked and balanced constantly by the independent policies in the anarchical environment of international relations, it should be kept in mind that other factors such as geography, technology, and even "luck" could potentially affect the estimated outcome easily.

It may be claimed that the Realist School has three main theoretical schools under its vast umbrella, and in this study the focus is on the first one, namely Classical Realism.[20] Broadly speaking, all realist writings produced between Thucydides' *Histories* (5th century B.C.) up until Hans Morgenthau's *Politics among Nations* (1948) are classified as works belonging to the classical realist school of IR.[21]

Common assumptions among classical realists:

I. Human nature is "malicious";
II. States are made up and ruled by humans, therefore the states act in accordance with human nature;
III. International arena of the states is ruled by "anarchy": There is no single unified authority to control, prevent or punish the independent polities;
IV. Both domestic and international politics strive for maximization or at least preservation of political power.

[20] The other two are neorealism and neoclassical realism. For further information see Wohlforth 2010.

[21] An example of this assumption could be found in Lebow 2003.

It is assumed that from this vantage point, the ethical concerns of the state rulers' are almost altogether restrained, as "the ends justifies the means". The states' first and foremost aim is to first secure their survival and when it is possible, maximize their hard power. As none of the intentions of the other competitive states can be certainly known, there is little or no trust between the states, and there is no guarantee that a state will be safe and sound in this "anarchical society".[22]

Before proceeding further in this regard, it would be appropriate to briefly touch upon Thucydides and Hans Morgenthau.

More than two millennia ago, Thucydides claimed that the core reason for the Peloponnesian War was the Spartan fear of the ever-growing Athenian existence in the Aegean region that resulted in a long and destructive period of the war.[23] Morgenthau, in his well-known work *Politics among Nations*, claims that: "... [I]t is sufficient to state that the struggle for power is universal in time and space and an undeniable fact of experience. It cannot be denied that throughout historic time, regardless of social, economic, and political conditions, states have met each other in contests for power."[24] Another crucial assumption is

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[22] The term "anarchical society" was coined by Hedley Bull in his book published in 1977 *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* but the first scholar to utilize the word anarchy as a term to refer to the lack of authority in international politics was Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson. Interesting enough, Dickinson's specialty was classics and following his Cambridge years, he also taught at the London School of Economics as a political science lecturer. In his 1926 publication on WWI and its aftermath named *International Anarchy*, Dickinson claimed that WWI was the result of a vastly unauthorized "international anarchy".

[23] *Thuc.* 1.23.6

[24] Morgenthau 1948, 16

that: "The foreign policy of a nation is always the result of an estimate of the power relations as they exist between different nations at a certain moment of history and as they are likely to develop in the immediate and distant future."[25] As it may be easily seen, even countless decades before Morgenthau wrote his *magnum opus*, the power politics prevailed among the competing states in the anarchical international arena. The threatened polity's insecurities provoked by a rising power and the untrustable nature of the independent sovereignty led to an offensive interpretation of Athenian power in Sparta's eyes.[26] The solution that Spartans came up with was a destructive war rather than a cooperative or trust building move in the name of peace.

2.1.1. Adding Prestige and the Concept of "Soft Power" into the Classical Realist Framework

It is not that classical realists do not mention the charisma, prestige or culture of a state as relevant political tools, but the issue is that they usually do not see any one of these as an end in itself. Actually, to give an example, Morgenthau refers to "policy of prestige" as one of the "instrumentalities" utilized by the states to sustain the *status quo* or to support their imperialist policies that is being implemented simultaneously.[27] Under the chapter titled "The Struggle for Power: Policy of Prestige" Morgenthau names two main instrumentalities for this specific policy as being "diplomatic ceremonial" and "the display

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[25] *Ibid*., 56

[26] *Thuc.* 1.23.6

[27] Morgenthau 1948, 50

of military force". For a person not so interested in politics, this heavy focus on hard power might seem as a far-fetched viewpoint of world politics. But in fact, if one looks into the states with prestige and famous for their cultural "advancement", one sees that in one way or another that state has been militaristically and economically a hegemonic power at least once throughout its history. Security brings power and stability, which in turn foster economic productivity. As a result, the militaristically and economically strengthened polity seeks further enlargement of its authority to maximize its power and thus becomes one of the leading actors with abundant resources to endorse innovation and learning. According to the classical realist assumptions, even a hypothetical nation made up by the most intelligent and learned humans cannot prosper in an anarchical society without proper militaristic means and an economy to support the needs of the nation in general.

As a classical realist, it is not surprising to see that Morgenthau draws these two instrumentalities as close as possible to the dynamics of hard power. As a matter of fact, acts that could be classified under these two instrumentalities that yield to the shift in the hard power dynamics of the parties involved are quite relevant to this study.

At this point, before moving on to a milder version of these political tools under the label of "soft power", it would be highly useful to touch upon "diplomatic ceremonial" briefly.

Morgenthau classifies all the events that entail any form of a diplomatic "show off" under the title of "diplomatic ceremonial" and rather than giving a precise definition, he provides examples to clarify

this impetus of power. One of the examples he gives is an incident from the crowning ceremonial of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1804. As it was the custom of the continental European kings to be crowned by the Pope before the nation-state formation and abolition of kingship, Napoleon was supposed to follow the tradition and let the leader of Catholics bless his throne. But rather than accepting the supremacy of the church and thus God, he crowned himself at the ceremony. Although this event was then a preposterous act, the message was clear: Napoleon was above all the other kings that needed the affirmation of the Holy Highness, and thus superior to all the other kings that the Pope crowned before.[28] History is full of this kind of "show off"s intended to propagate prestige. Indeed, I believe this was instrumental in shaping the acts of at least two Attalid rulers in history too, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters of the study.

Nevertheless, if the lenses of the classical realists' heavily tinted with "hard-power" should be criticized, many neo-liberal scholars and statesmen differ with realists as they point out to the apparent reflections of globalization among states. Here the term "soft power" coined by Joseph Nye, Jr. comes handy. Even though his book was written as a practical booklet for American statesmen in the midst of the era of globalization, the core ideas of this "soft power" could be beneficial in understanding cultural policies of different states and polities regardless of spatial and temporal restraints. The first and most challenging idea that Nye puts forward is that "soft power is not a weakness".[29] Focusing on gaining allies that envy the prestigious

[28] *Ibid.*, 51

state's "culture, political ideals, and policies", Nye purports that increased legitimization in the eyes of the other states would end with cooperation and thus it "costs less to lead" the others.[30] He further states that: "A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it."[31] Nye also warns that beside the obvious benefits of owning prestige in the international area of politics, an over-ambitious cultivation of these policies might result in repulsing other states and end up stirring the arena for upcoming conflicts with unwanted consequences.[32] Even though Nye's book praises the long ignored "soft power", he adds that what matters is the optimal combination of *both* "hard" and "soft power"[33], which again brings the reader back to the indispensable position of militaristic and economic power in world politics.

Even though classical realism has been challenged by more recent intellectual conceptualizations mostly put forward by neo-liberalist intellectuals, it is obvious that the globalization that the late 20th and 21st century intellectuals refer to is not applicable to the era I study. My aim at including a liberal concept under this chapter was to demonstrate the significance of "soft power" that could be promoted by means other than "diplomatic ceremonial" and "the display of

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[29] Nye Jr. 2004, x

[30] *Ibid.*, 6

[31] *Ibid.*, 5

[32] *Ibid.*, x

[33] *Ibid.*, xiii

military force", as it is the case of libraries in antiquity. Again, I would like to caution that "soft power" without the appropriate means of "hard power" is not enough to ensure the security of a state in the midst of anarchy in the arena of egocentric sovereign polities that seek the maximization of security and economic power before any other form of legitimacy in the eyes of other political entities.

CHAPTER 3

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF HELLENISTIC PERGAMON: THE LIBRARY COMPLEX AND THE GREAT ALTAR

The ancient city of Pergamum is located in the northeastern part of the modern city Bergama, Turkey.[34] While the region of the ancient and modern city today is designated as the northern Aegean region, in ancient times the region was known as Mysia. (Fig. 3) The ancient city is currently approximately 27 km from the Aegean Sea. On the northern side, modern Kozak Mountain (ancient Pindasus), and on the southern side modern Yund Mountain (ancient Aspordenon) frame the ancient city of Pergamum.[35] In ancient eras, some of the nearest neighbors of Pergamum were Atarneus (modern Dikili), Teuthrania (modern Kalarga Tepe), Elaea (near modern Zeytindag), and Gambreum (modern Kınık).[36] (Fig. 4)

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[34] Short after Carl Humann's first discovery of the friezes, a team of German archaeologists were appointed at Pergamon in 1878. In 1900 German Institute of Archaeology took over the excavation and besides the interruptions that took place during the two world wars, the excavations have been held continuously. Today the complete collection of *Altertümer von Pergamon* is available online via the link https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/pergamonga . For two examples of collective studies on Pergamon that is mentioned in this study see Pirson and Scholl 2014; Grüßinger, Kästner, and Scholl 2012.
Besides these academic publications there are many travel booklets and archaeological guides of the acropolis such as Rahmi 1929; Akurgal 1978; Radt 1984; Tuna 2005.

[35] Radt 2002, 18

[36] See Ramsay 1962 for the ancient trade routes related to Pergamum during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine eras.

According to Sir William Smith (who notably relied on ancient testimony): "Near the point where Pergamum was situated, two other rivers, the Selinus[37] and Cetius[38], emptied themselves into the Caïcus[39]; the Selinus flowed through the city itself, while the Cetius washed its walls."[40] This designation might have been relevant considering the Hellenistic period of the city, but the ongoing excavations today reveal that the city considerably expanded in the following centuries. Until recently the ancient city of Pergamum was mostly known by its Hellenistic past, but excavations have now shown that there are many layers of ancient settlement in the region.[41] Indeed the ancient city is on the UNESCO World Heritage list with its "Multi-Layered Cultural Landscape".[42]

The French cartographer Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage created one of the earliest maps of Pergamum in 1806. Given the new archaeological discoveries, the map is not the most accurate that has been drawn, but at least it successfully designated the hill of the Acropolis and some other ancient monuments. Only a few monuments of the city could then be detected on the map, which are mainly Roman structures,

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[37] Modern Bergama Çayı

[38] Modern Kestel Çayı

[39] Modern Bakırçay

[40] Smith 1870, 575

[41] See Radt 2001

[42] See the article *Pergamon and its Multi-Layered Cultural Landscape* on UNESCO's online page

such as the Amphitheatre and the Red Hall (which was assumed to be the Temple of Asclepius). (Fig. 5)

After only a few years of excavation in Pergamum, the ancient Hellenistic city slowly became apparent. One example of the maps that gives a more detailed information is Carl Humann's 1879 map of the ancient citadel. On this map, there are specific designations such as Altar, Augusteum, Gymnasium, Basilica, and Byzantium Walls. (Fig. 6)

The most detailed map of the ancient city reveals the multi-layered existence of the ancient city and gives the viewer an almost complete image of it. Here the ancient Acropolis, the Hellenistic urban fabric, the Roman city and its urban fabric, the tumuli of the city, the sanctuary of Asclepius, and more are clearly seen. (Fig. 7)

Among several scholars writing about the famous acropolis, Ward-Perkins gives the most picturesque description of the site: "The site is a magnificent one - a detached, elongated eminence, defended on three sides by plunging slopes and only on the fourth side shelving more gently down from the citadel at the north end towards the plain of the river Kaikos[43], some 900 feet below."[44] Four terraces make up the "gently shelving" on the slightly southwestern side of the Acropolis.(Fig. 8)

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[43] Modern Bakırçay

[44] Ward-Perkins 1974, 18

Starting off with the topmost terrace, it was occupied with the palace complex of the Attalids and the dominant structure restored and highly visible now is the temple of Trajan on the summit of the hill. (Fig. 9) On the north side of the palaces, a plateau is located almost eleven meters lower than the summit and the arsenals of the city were located on this even parcel of land. Approximately nine meters lower than the level of the palaces on the summit, a second terrace (the second highest terrace when the terrace on the north is excluded from the list) facing slightly southwest houses the Athena precinct **(**Fig. 10**)** that comprises a temple dedicated to Athena, three stoas (Fig. 11), a circular *bathron*, and a propylon (Fig. 12) attached to the eastern stoa, which is now exhibited at the Pergamon Museum located in Berlin. (Fig. 13) The famous Great Altar (Fig. 14) was located on the third terrace, which was almost twenty-four meters lower than the second one. (Fig. 15) Together with the propylon, it is being exhibited at the Pergamon Museum. Last but not least, thirteen meters lower than the altar, the upper agora occupies the last terrace of the hill.

Moving on to the details regarding the structures on the second terrace (Fig. 16), I would like to focus on the northern stoa. (Fig. 17) There is no conclusive information on the construction periods of the three stoas framing the precinct. However, the time that northern stoa was excavated, its upper floor had been designated as the Hellenistic library of the Attalids. Starting from the very first excavations, it has been assumed that the library was founded within the precinct of the Athena Temple on the second terrace of the city, which also connects the first terrace to the second terrace with a ramp. (Fig. 18) One storey being on the terrace of the Athena precinct, the other was on the

terrace of the palaces; the rooms attached to the second storey were located very near the structures of Palace IV and Palace V.

When it comes to this particular study on the Pergamon library, limiting reference to the word *bibliothéke* with its exact translation as "bookcase" or in a mildly altered manner as "book storage", only the rooms where the books were kept could be designated as library. On the contrary, I would like to refer to the library as a totality of the spaces that were used for intellectual ends like reading, lecturing, editing, copying, etc. I believe that this wider conceptualization of the word has the potential to open up further possibilities in the way of understanding the organization and utilization of the space for knowledge production, circulation, and collection in the ancient times.

Concerning the Great Altar on the third terrace, besides the archaeological information provided in *Altertümer von Pergamon Band III* , there are also many questions that remain unanswered.[45] However, the structure that one has to deal with is spatially less complex compared to the assemblage of structures on the second terrace that make up the Athena precinct. Considering the many variables, the number of propositions regarding the spatial and visual connection of these two structures hold the potential for prolific imagination. The next three chapters highlight selective historical and archaeological evidence that has been structured to yield a cohesive and convincing commentary.

[45] For a summary record of the contrasting ideas on the Great Altar see Stewart 2000

CHAPTER 4

THE ATTALID RULERSHIP BEFORE THE YEAR 197 B.C.

4.1. Era of Philetairos (282-263 B.C.), the forefather of the Hellenistic Pergamene Kingdom

According to Strabo, what made Pergamum a significant town in ancient history before it was the capital of the famous Hellenistic kingdom was that it held Lysimacus' nine thousand talents, which was entrusted to a loyal eunuch named Philetairos.[46] Being a well-trained and trusted man of Lysimacus for a long time, Philetairos was charged with the protection of the city and its treasure. Born in the small town of Tieium located in ancient Paphlagonia, he was the son of a Paphlagonian courtesan and flute player named Boa[47] and a man known by the name of Attalos, whose ethnicity was most probably Macedonian[48]. (Fig. 19)

Towards the early third century B.C., Lysimachus was facing a major political turmoil that threatened his authority as a king. Seizing the opportunity that he was offered by these events, Philetairos openly revolted against Lysimachus and allied with the Seleucids to fight against his old master. The events ended up with Lysimachus' death

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[46] *Strabo* 13.4.1

[47] *Ath.* 13.38

[48] Kosmetatou 2005, 159

and Seleucids' rule over his former lands, including Pergamon. Ruling over a small territory made up by the small city of Pergamon and some lands in the vicinity, Philetairos was in charge of these lands with the permission of Seleucids until his death in 263 B.C.

Even though there is no information on Philetairos' initial motive regarding the future of Pergamon, it is easy to assume that he did not want to stand out among the mighty kings following the massive vacuum of power that came after Alexander's death. The coins struck during his reign reflect this low-key stance in accordance with his deeds in politics. So far three types of coins that were issued by the city of Pergamon under Philetairos' rule have been recorded. One of these three tetradrachms bore Seleucus' name, as he was the new ruler of Asia Minor including Pergamon. (Fig. 20) Hansen assumes that after Seleucus' death in 281 B.C., Philetairos decided to mint Alexander style tetradrachms abandoning the ones with Seleucus' image. In addition to this, Hansen claims that about 275 B.C. he returns to commemorating Seleucus' image on the coins with the addition of his name as both an act of homage to the assassinated ruler and as an opportunity to advertise his rulership at the same time. (Fig. 21) Here the important point is that all the issues lacked any image of Philetairos and they are regular coins compared to the contemporary coins struck by neighboring cities in western Anatolia at the time.[49] Indubitably the absence of Philetairos' image on the coins is totally in accordance with his low-key existence as a minor actor under the Seleucid power. It could be assumed that any man with a sense of

[49] For more information on Alexander coins and some other Hellenistic coins see Thonemann 2016

power politics would have acted the way Philetairos did following his alliance with Seleucus I in 282 B.C.

Considering the extreme vulnerability of the city in the midst of militaristic rivalry among the successor kings following Alexander's untimely death, defensive acts rather than offensive ones must have seemed as most beneficial in short term by the new ruler of the city. Reasonably, the ruler implemented necessary measures to protect his new possession with utmost care. In order to sustain the status quo, one of the first deeds of Philetairos was to increase the protection of the city without the economic and strategic burdens of raising militaristic power. The fortification of Pergamon's city walls and the addition of watchtowers to strategic points accordingly must have seemed to be the easiest and yet one of the most effective means of protection, therefore the most convenient to implement at the time. As an addition to these constructions, two arsenals were built on the summit as history proved that fortification was not always enough by itself during violent sieges. Locating the first foundations of the soon to be palace complex near the arsenals and on top of the citadel where all possible attacks could have been detected swiftly regarding the strategic location of the hillside, Philetairos' anxiety concerning the safety of his family and the city he held is apparent.[50] (Fig. 22)

Besides these pre-emptive but yet not offensive means of protection, the new ruler wisely utilized the fortune he landed from Lysimachus to "win the hearts and minds" of his new subjects and also the citizens from neighboring cities surrounding his realm. Ruling out the

[50] *Ibid.*, 17-18

possibility of territorial expansion under his rule on one hand, and his blatant betrayal that clouded his reputation on the other, the most reasonable act must have seemed as generous benefactions that would disperse the clouds shadowing his talents as a nonetheless legitimate ruler.

It is known that his authority was strengthened by handsome donations to subjects under his rule and the small cities neighboring Pergamon reflecting his will to construct a better image for himself following his alliance with Seleucus I.[51] Wisely targeting the "soft spot" of the local citizens, Philetairos commissioned the construction of a modest temple on Mount Aspordenon (modern Yunt Dağı) where an old extramural sacred precinct of goddess Cybele was located. The cult of the mother goddess must have been particularly important for the locals, as there were many clay figurines found at the domestic spaces in the city and also at the sacred spaces dedicated to the mother goddess near Pergamon. [52]

Another deity that was revered by the ruler and his brother Eumenes was the goddess Demeter. The siblings dedicated this possibly new or refurbished temple to the goddess in the memory of their mother Boa.[53]

However, the most prominent contribution of Philetairos to his new domain treated in this study is the construction of the temple of

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[51] *Ibid*., 19

[52] Roller 1999, 210-212

[53] Radt 1984, 22

Athena on the second terrace of the citadel. During the reign of Philetairos, the city walls of Pergamon circumscribed the king's court and the closest terrace just below the court, which belonged to the Athena precinct. One of the main entrances to the city during these times was located on the second terrace. This entrance was guarded with a tower adjoined to the city wall for protecting the southeast end of the citadel.[54] (Fig. 23) Considering the modest urban plan of the acropolis dating from Philetairos' reign, there was not much to see within the city walls, but nevertheless the ruler added and protected a temple dedicated to Athena Polias as a gift to the goddess following his triumph over Lysimachus. Just a few meters after entering the citadel, the visitors had the royal residence to their right and the Athena temple to their left.

Any visitor arriving in the city from the west must have noticed the temple located on the edge of the second terrace with its imposing arrangement that set the tone for the ruler's proud attitude and ambitious character. Even though the terrace was limited by physical restraints, the Attalids figured out ways to maximize the use of land in the following years of their reign. Before any other grand construction projects on the terrace, the temple stood on it alone with the exception of some dedicatory sculptures on the precinct. The foundation of the temple measured approximately thirteen meters wide and twenty-two meters long, and was surrounded by Doric columns, six at the ends and ten at the sides measuring somewhat more than five meters. Only some limited upper portion of the columns just below the echinus was fluted leaving the rest almost bare with just a little definition on the

[54] Hansen 1971, 235

shaft. No trace of decoration regarding the pediment or metopes was found, thus strengthening the assumption that the temple was not ornamented fully. Regarding the temple's cella, it was divided equally to two, suggesting that two deities were honored at the temple. Grayish brown andesite was used to construct the temple and wooden clamps were used to fasten the indents when needed. It is suggested that the altar that stood before the temple may have been removed by the order of Eumenes II while he was reorganizing and commissioning new projects during his reign.[55]

4.2. The Era of Eumenes I (263-241 B.C.), the Ruler who Fought the War of Independence

Strabo mentions Eumenes I only with few sentences and notes that he was the "sovereign of the places round about" and he "even joined battle with Antiochus the son of Seleucus near Sardeis and conquered him."[56] Even though Eumenes I was the ruler who won the war against the Seleucids, brought independence to the city and made some additions to the lands of the family, his name does not appear in the ancient sources as much as the other dynasts of the family, with the exception of the scant information available on the last dynast, Attalos III.

By the time Eumenes I was in charge of the city, there were two major powers in the Hellenistic world: the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic dynasties. It was the time when Ptolemy II reached as far as the

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[55] *Ibid*., 237

[56] *Strabo* 13.4.2

Aegean coast and his aim was ostensibly to reach as far as the Greek mainland in order to unify the western territories as the mighty Alexander had conquered during his short life. Here it might be reminded that: as the political actors aim to take advantage of any sign of weakness in others' and maximize their power for enhancing the security and revenue of their own polity, the anarchical society of autonomous polities is never a safe haven. While Ptolemy II was definitely after a superior position among the other kingdoms and being a threat for other relatively minor polities, Eumenes I was busy paving his way through his own victory with smart moves of alliance. Even though these two polities varied in size and power, they shared an "imperialist" outlook considering their will to enlarge. These two rulers with a harmonized expansionist view must have benefited and perhaps enjoyed the company of each other. Probably aided - politically if not militaristically - by Ptolemy II, Eumenes I stood up against Antiochus at Sardes in 262 B.C. and declared his victory over the old master. Now Eumenes was truly an independent sovereign with increased reputation and most importantly with increased revenues following the victory. But in the anarchical society, the increase of power equates more vulnerability at the same time. A small and so to say brand new kingdom like Pergamon must have felt much reasonable insecurity so that Eumenes I established not only one but two garrison posts to guard the northern and eastern frontiers of the kingdom. The exact extent of the kingdom is not unanimously known by modern scholars, but it may be easily deduced that the king felt threatened enough as he planned for his realm to be protected by multiple garrisons. An important point here is that the level of terror was intimidating enough for Eumenes so that he had to opt for major protective measures. The ambitions of Eumenes with a tint of

"imperialism" backed by Ptolemy were now substituted with a policy aimed to sustain the status quo. This policy seems to remain until the end of Eumenes' reign.

Now the existence of the once imagined Pergamene kingdom was officially obtained. Needless to say, the era of the Seleucid coins was over and now the ruler had to come up with a new design for coinage. After all, the rulers promoted a specific image of themselves; but the most significant point that has to be remembered is that they used the coins as a tool to actually downplay the image of the ruler himself during the formative years of the kingdom. The Attalids only used one image of Philetairos on their coins up until mid-160s B.C. almost without any alteration.[57] Most of the time the founder was portrayed wearing a laurel wreath rather than a royal diadem that all the other royal kings wore and he was portrayed "extremely fat" with a strikingly honest representation that was lacking in other royal portraits on coins.[58] (Fig. 24) As a matter of fact, different than the Attalids, the Hellenistic kings instrumentalized the power of representation fully when they issued their own coins for advertising their greatness to others, which mostly portrayed more charismatic leaders compared to the representation of Philetairos on the Pergamene coins. (Fig. 25) I believe that the Attalids deliberately used this rather modest image of a heavy forefather in order not to intimidate the people, as they were aware of the fact that everyone

[57] The only alteration on the profile image of Philetairos was regarding his crown, which was depicted as a laurel wreath, a diadem, or a diadem with laurel intertwined with the diadem. For a detailed account of the specimens issued see Meadows 2013.

[58] Thonemann 2016, 79

knew about the not so glorious history of the kingdom. This was a smart move as the citizens were able to relate this seemingly ordinary ruler with a wreath rather than an imposing crown on his head during the formation years of the dynasty. This "soft" image of the ruler and the selfless and loyal stance of his successors who did not promote their very own glorified representation as the other royal families may have facilitated winning the hearts of their citizens and sympathize with their "flesh and bone" ruler. Besides its "easing" effect on the commons, this portrait of the founding ruler on coins may have perceived as a non-offensive representation that did not alert the other competing powers. This was not a coin of an ostentatious "imperialist" court.

Looking at the coins that Eumenes I struck, it may be seen that, the reverse of the first coin struck after the independence of the Attalids had a regular seated Athena reverse with her shield, spear, and bow. This time, the difference was that the name of Philetairos that was represented behind Athena between her back and the bow was transferred to a position that located Philetairos' name before Athena in a manner that she crowned the name with a laurel wreath as the victor. As mentioned above, the obverse of the coins had a realistic representation of Philetairos crowned with laurel wreath. (Fig. 26)

Suggesting the idea of Eumenes' status quo preserving policies, during the other decade of Eumenes' rule, even more "humble" coins were struck. While the obverse remained the same, the reverse represented the seated Athena with Phileatiros' name mentioned between Athena's back. Furthermore, it could be suggested that the

representation of the shield before Athena might have indicated the defensive nature of the ruler's foreign policy.

Before I proceed to Attalos I's reign, I would like to mention Eumenes' patronage of knowledge. Recalling the seemingly amicable relations between Ptolemy II and Eumenes I, I would like to suggest that the peaking interest of the Attalids towards the intellectuals of the time mostly stemmed from this brief interaction. It is known that the first contact that was recorded between the Attalid royals and the intellectuals residing at Athens, the capital of learning, belongs to the era of Eumenes I.[59] Indeed, the possibility of other factors that led to this interest should be scrutinized and not ruled out, but the tempting coincidence of the sudden interest of the Attalids in philosophy and sciences, and the initiation of the relations with the son of the founder of the Alexandrian library is truly an irresistible hook.

The initial reason for contract between the Pergamene court and Athens was indeed related to a philosopher known as Arkesilaos, who later became the head of the Academy and founded the middle Academy. Diogenes Laertius mentions the amicable personal and economic relations between Eumenes and Arkesilaos and adds that Eumenes was the only king that he dedicated his work to. Even though Eumenes handsomely supported him financially, when he was offered the opportunity to reside at Eumenes' court, he politely rejected this offer.[60]

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[59] Habicht 1990, 561

[60] *Dio. Lae.* 4.38

During his lifetime, Eumenes I's interest in the members of the Athenian Academy was not limited to giving over the garden adjacent to the Academy to Lacydes, the following head of the school after Arkesilaos, to provide him with additional space for his lectures. As the new ruler, Attalos I, perpetuated the interest of the Attalid family in the Academy; it is not clear which ruler in person donated the garden to Lacydes, but it is usually assumed to be Eumenes I.[61]

4.3. Era Attalos I (241-197 B.C.), the First Pergamene King

Relaying on Strabo's account, Attalos I claimed the title *soter*, meaning "savior" after his victory over the Galatians (also known as the Gauls by the Romans). Another significant point about Attalos I's reign is that he was the first Attalid ruler that allied with the Romans against the Macedon threat in Greece.[62]

According to Hansen, Attalos I, the longest reigning king of the Attalids, was also the most "laudable" one among the other rulers of the family.[63] This is indeed backed up by his militaristic deeds that single-handedly increased the lands of the dynasty in a relatively short time span. Even though he lost almost all of his lands twice and won them back to a certain extent, he appears to have paved the way for the following Attalid with both his visionary motives and deeds with the "shoot for the moon" attitude.

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[61] Hansen 1971, 396

[62] *Strabo* 13.4.2

[63] Hansen 1971, 67

Soon after Attalos became the official ruler of the house, he confronted the Gauls and refused to pay the tributes that all the other Greek polities were paying at the time to avoid any costly and also deadly confrontation with these "barbarian" people. Opting for an offensive rebellion and leaving the path of sustaining the status quo, Attalos did indeed became the victorious one and gained supremacy over the terrorizing Gallic tribes of Asia Minor in 241 B.C. Following this victory, it is supposed that the circular *bathron* on the Athena precinct was adorned with sculptures depicting scenes from the battle.[64]

Following this victory were a series of other ones against the Seleucids between 251 B.C. and 228 B.C., the first one being fought by a united army composed of Seleucids and Gauls. After the first victory against this united army, Attalos must have figured out that he was indeed a competent commander with a powerful army that was able to defeat not only one but two fierce armies at once, thus from then on he became the aggressor and conquered lands as he spread his rule over the northeastern valleys of Asia Minor. By 228 B.C., the majority of Lydia, Hellenspontine Phrygia, Greater Phrygia, and Lycaonia were seized. This made up an enlargement of lands approximately equated to 145.000 km^2. [65](Fig. 27) As a result of this rapid expansion, the crude power of the military and the economic prosperity of the kingdom as well as their prestige in the eyes of the other Greek polities reached a peak. To perpetuate all the victories of the first king, a monument that bore the list of Attalos' victories was erected on the precinct of Athena

[64] For further information on varying accounts of the possible sculptures installed on this *bathron*, see Pollitt 1986, 85-90

[65] Hansen 1971, 38

accompanied with trophies of the wars exhibited at the same place. Even though these commemorative displays were dedicated to Athena, the soldiers also dedicated a portrait statue of Attalos to Zeus and Athena concomitantly.[66]

As it is well known, some of the most famous Attalid sculptures were crafted as a result of a victory for commemorative reasons. Some of the artists that resided at the Attalid court who created the famous Gaul sculptures were mentioned by Pliny in his *Natural History* as: "Several artists have represented the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls, Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus, who wrote books about his art."[67] Jerome Pollitt explains that the Attalos here referred to is the first Attalos and the Isigonus mentioned is actually Epigonos, who was a famous sculptor sponsored by the ruler. He further mentions that the Roman copies of the famous "Dying Gaul" (Fig. 28) and "Dying Gaul and His Wife" (Fig. 29) were intended to be on the circular *bathron* situated at the Athena precinct claimed by Heinrich Brunn in the late 19th century. This designation

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[66] *Ibid.*, 36
It may be speculated that even before Eumenes' reconstructions and refurbishments of the acropolis that included visual symbols attributed to the worship of Zeus on the Athena precinct, the reorganization of the interior of the temple that resulted with a double cella might have been arranged during the era of Attalos I.

[67] *Plin. HN* XXXIV.XIX.84

[68] Pollitt 1986, 85
For more detailed discussion on the spatial organization of these pieces by different scholars see page 89.

has been widely accepted, but the question of where specifically these pieces stood and how they were related to each other spatially is still open to debate.[68]

Here, according to Pollitt, what makes these sculptures important beside their enormous fame is that they embody the epitome of Pergamene Hellenistic baroque sculpture: representation of "pathos" and "drama". As emphasized by Pollitt, these defeated but still "dignified" and also proud opponents evoke "empathy" among their beholders. The skillful demonstration of the exaggerated anatomical features of the figures in immense detail and the intense facial features capture the "anguish, tension, and crisis" of their subjects, the defeated Gauls.[69]

In addition to Pollitt's claims regarding the famous Gaul figures, Onians states that: "For the first time in the history of art the viewer is made to identify not with the noble heroes who fought on his behalf, but with his enemies and inferiors."[70] It may be suggested that the new kingly rulership that changed the culture of citizenship was also on a mission to remind the citizens that they were now subjects, and thus inferiors of the king.

Another commemorative set that was commissioned by Attalos I that was installed on acropolis of Athens is recorded by Pausanias: "By the south wall are represented the legendary war with the giants who once dwelt around Thrace and on the Isthmus of Pallene, the battle

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[69] *Ibid*., 86

[70] Onians 1999, 133

between the Athenians and the Amazons, the engagement with the Persians at Marathon and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia. Each is about two cubits, and all were dedicated by Attalus."[71] As already mentioned, Heinrich Brunn had realized that some figures representing Gauls, Persians, Amazons, and giants that fitted the two-cubit sizing Pausanias recorded, and stylistically resembled the "Dying Gaul" and the "Dying Gaul and His Wife" that may now be seen in several different museums in Europe. Since then the number of figures attributed to Attalid dedication at Athens is over twenty.[72] These figures are known as the "Lesser Attalid Group" and their marble Roman copies are exhibited in European museums. Even without definitely knowing which sculptures were originally installed on the Athenian acropolis, the mere existence of such a group dedicated by Attalos for display at one of the most sacred and historically charged spaces on the Greek mainland must have definitely fueled the prestige of the Pergamene court.

As a result of Attalos' victory, one of most important examples of the coins struck by the Attalids before they introduced the *kistophoros* currency was issued. For the first time, both the obverse and the reverse of the coins stressed the victory of the dynasty and honored the founder with a laurel wreath crowning Philetairos' name and a diadem intertwined with laurel as the crown of the founding father. (Fig. 30)

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[71] *Paus*. 1.25.2

[72] Pollitt 1986, 90

The glory in the air was gone in just a few years, two years to be exact, when Achaeus was assigned as the governor of the central southern Asia Minor. The devastating plunder of Achaeus was not limited to the latest invasions of Attalos, even some of the lands that were passed down to him by Eumenes were lost, leaving the kingdom even more exposed and powerless than the earlier year of Attalos' reign.

Man fall in order to learn to rise again, and Attalos was a fast learner. After the truce was made between the Attalids and the Seleucids in 219 B.C., Attalos waited for a weak moment that he could thrive, and that opportunity arrived when the Seleucid armies were concentrated at the Pisidian expedition leaving the northeastern neighboring regions of the Pergamene kingdom defenseless and vulnerable. Just in a matter of three months, all the former lands of the Pergamene kingdom were retrieved due to the immaculate combat strategies and politically ambitious nature of Attalos I. But unfortunately, this victory did not last long. Achaeus' plan was not completed as he brutally continued to seize countless cities and slaughter the citizens right after the combat, invading city after city without any interruption to his plan. Hearing about the overly aggressive deeds of Achaeus, Antiochus III had to intervene in the ongoing situation. As an expected reaction the "aggressive conqueror", who happened to be a royalty at the same time, had offended the king and thus Antiochus III declared war against his own kin and sought the help of the polities in Asia Minor, including the Attalid kingdom. Desperate to save himself and his throne, the king merged powers with the old master and sacrificed many lands, but at last the menace of Achaeus was destroyed in a year or so and the Seleucids were once again the master

of the majority of Asia Minor. Once again Attalus was left with the lands he started his reign for the cost of survival of his kingdom.

With overall peace reigning over the northeastern Asia Minor that was secured by the Seleucids, the alliance of Macedonian Philip V and Hannibal, the arch enemy of Rome at the time, became the reason for Attalos to enter the First Macedonian War. This offensive alliance threatened the Romans as they sought help from the Aetolian League and agreed to assemble with the allies of the League, one of them which was Attalos I. Attalos I considered this invitation for alliance as a great opportunity to pump up money and prestige in return for a little role in the war. Victory came in 205 B.C., but the dissatisfaction of Philip brought upon another aggression into the Greek lands and started the Second Macedonian War in 200 B.C., which was also the first time, that Pergamon and Athens had militaristic alliance in history. Just in three years, this war was over, and the Macedonian power had to wait many years to strike the Greek lands again after this great loss.

After these multiple victories of the ruler and his rapid revival following the crushing defeat that followed consecutive victories over great powers with skillfully arranged alliances, Attalos I must have gained considerable confidence so that he followed the fashionable trend of designating a *ktistes* and thus promoted the myth of a lesser-known Greek hero Pergamus. Kosmetatou, referring to the material evidence, claims that: "the cult of Pergamus was established in the late 3rd century B.C. by Attalus I and played only a marginal role in Attalid dynastic propaganda."[73]

According to the myth, it was believed that Pergamus was the youngest son of Andromache and Neoptolemus, and therefore one of the grandsons of Achilles. According to this version of the narrative, Andromache and Neoptolemus had three
sons, the eldest one being Molossus, the second Pielus, and the youngest was named Pergamus. When it came to the third son, Pergamus, he left Greece and helped Telephus' grandson Grynus in his quest against the king of Teuthrania in Mysia. He slayed the king, then captured the capital and at the end his name honored the capital forever, thus making the story relevant to the Attalid case.[74] Above all, the myth indicated that, Molossus became king of the Molossians in Epirus and some royal families from Epirus claimed to be his descendants, including the royal family of Alexander the Great's mother Olympia. Therefore, through his mother, Alexander declared that he was the grandson of Achilles. Selecting Pergamus and claiming to be descendants of this particular hero, the Attalids were also covertly indicating that they were indeed related to Alexander the Great himself. It should be noted that, in a way Attalos was trying to compensate the lack of a founder who was the successor of Alexander as it was the case for all the other great kingdoms at the time.

But why was this particular myth not commemorated on monumental project as in the case with the *ktistes* Telephus? I believe that the reason for abandoning Pergamus has to do with a particular incidence that took place in 204 B.C.

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[73] Kosmetatou 1995, 144

[74] It should be noted that there is a little evidence on the deeds of the hero Pergamus. For further information on the myth summarized above and its relation to the Attalids, see Kosmetatou 1995

By now, it may be seen that Rome was becoming more and more engaged in the politics of the eastern Greek polities as her realm of authority sharply increased just in a matter of few decades. The main obstacle on the road of expansion was Carthage. Determined to get rid of Hannibal, the Roman Senate found a solution to the problem when they consulted the Sibylline scrolls that promised Roman victory in exchange of transferring the Anatolian goddess Cybele's cult to the capital. Further supported by the Delphic oracle, in 204 B.C. the Romans embarked upon the cult object to their home.[75] It should be noted that there were many Cybele shrines in Asia Minor[76], and yet the Romans preferred the sacred black stone from Mount Ida and had the Attalids deliver the object to them specifically.[77] An explanation could be that by 204 B.C. the Romans and Attalids were already allies and fought together, so they were acquainted in amicable terms and Romans probably assumed that a smooth transfer would occur between these two powers without much conflict. Besides this assumption, Brian Rose rightfully claimed that it was the cult's relation to Troy that was one of the main motives to transfer it to Rome, as the Romans wanted to propagate their historical ties with Troy via Cybele's cult. To consolidate this idea, Rose points to the fact that the sacred stone was placed in a temple on the southwest side of the Palatine Hill, which was affiliated with Remus and Romulus'

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[75] *Ibid*., 50

[76] For more in depth information on the goddess Cybele and her cult in the Greek and Roman world see Roller 1999

[77] I subscribe to the view that the cult object was located on Mountain Ida (modern Kaz Dağı) before the transfer, hence I constructed my narrative with the accounts that support this idea. But it should be noted that there are a number of ancient sources and consequently modern scholars differing on the original location of the Cybele cult object. For further information see Hansen 1971, 50-52.

primary settlement in Rome.[78] Quite interestingly Ilia[79] was declared as the mother city and benefited from some fiscal privileges in 188 B.C.[80], 16 years after the transfer, and most probably just after the Treaty of Apamea that also made the Attalids a major power in the east.

An envoy made up by five top executives from Rome was assigned for this important mission. Interestingly Livy gives an account of this incident: "They decided to send to the king a delegation consisting of Marcus Valerius Laevinus, consul on two occasions and a former commander in Greece; a former praetor, Marcus Caecilius Metellus; an exaedile, Servius Sulpicius Galba; and two ex-quaestors, Gnaeus Tremelius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto. To these men they officially assigned five quinqueremes in order that they could maintain the dignity of the Roman people when they approached those lands that needed to be impressed with the prestige and the might of the Roman name."[81]

Recalling Morgenthau's assessment of power politics, it would be in order now to quote his position: "A nation whose foreign policy[82]

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[78] Rose 2014, 120

[79] The contemporary city was founded on the skirts of Mount Ida, which is generally regarded as the site of Homer's Troy.

[80] Roller 1999, 206

[81] Livy 29, 11, 4-8

[82] Here I would like to remind that classical realists, including Morgenthau, do not differentiate between domestic and foreign policies, they assume all to be products of power politics. Furthermore, on the same page of this given quote above, he repeats this notion of similarity.

aims to demonstrate the power it has, either for the purpose of maintaining or increasing it, pursues a policy of prestige."[83] The important aspect is that, being a classical realist; he classifies only two forms in the names of "diplomatic ceremonial" and "display of military force", and in this specific incident the "diplomatic ceremonial" premise is highly relevant. As the Romans approached the lands of the Attalids by five warships commanded by three *curules* and two *quaestors*, they proudly displayed their military force to impress and intimidate the onlookers. And the grand incident of transferring the sacred object of the Idean Cybele had indeed the qualities of a diplomatic ceremonial that Morgenthau listed.

To further elaborate the significance of this event, I would like to mention the worship of Cybele at Pergamon. From the very beginning, the Attalids respected and promoted the cult of Cybele at Pergamon. Actually, almost from the beginning of their existence at Pergamon, the Attalids reigned over the lands where three of the important extramural Cybele temples were located. (Fig. 31) The Attalids and the citizens living in the city and its vicinity did worship Cybele as many figurines of the goddess were found in domestic spaces at Pergamon, and even the first ruler of the dynasty embellished the open-air sanctuary of the goddess at Aspordene Mountain (modern Yunt Dağı) with a small temple. The open-air sanctuaries of the goddess were indeed ancient and well established. It is known that they were important places of pilgrimage up until the first century B.C.[84] Furthermore, according to Varro, Pergamon had a

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[83] Morgenthau 1948, 21

[84] *Ibid.*, 206-12

Megalesion after the Meter Megala, the Greek name used by Pergamene citizens for Cybele, and to support this statement a life size sculpture of the goddess, one of the largest seated statues of the goddess found in Asia Minor, and Attis were found at the city near the old city walls.[85] (Fig. 32)

As mentioned above, Morgenthau classified diplomatic ceremonials under the heading examining the power of prestige, and according to him, if a polity wants to increase its prestige, it shall demonstrate its power in such a grand diplomatic "show off". Integrating Morgenthau's proposal to this particular case, I believe that the Romans overtly humiliated the Attalids in the eyes of the commons and the other neighboring rulers, as they turned this transfer into a grand diplomatic ceremonial that made sure every person in western Anatolia and Greek mainland heard about it. As soon as the Attalids gained further confidence in their power, they dared to claim Achilles as their grandfather. They were crashed with the diplomatic humiliation in which they had to hand over Cybele's symbol in order not to be militaristically humiliated by the Romans. The so-called grandsons of magnificent Achilles had to obediently transfer the symbol of the cult to the so-called grandsons of Aeneas. This was surely not an act contributing to the powerful image they wanted to build. I would like to suggest that the Pergamene rulers endorsed the legend of Telephus in order to vitiate the old foundation legend that left a bitter taste in their mouth. The solution appears to have come when Eumenes II commissioned the Great Altar and the addition of

[85] *Ibid.*, 207, 212

the inner Telephus frieze to the project in order to create an echo even more majestic than former Roman propaganda.

Considering the fact that Roman's consolidated their ties with Ilia by declaring her the mother city of the Romans, granting her with enlarged territory and tax-free fiscal privileges in 188 B.C., the Attalids must have totally given up on the myth of their hero Pergamus and opted for another hero related to Mysia and Pergamon. Telephus with his close tie to Alexander the Great's claimed paternal ancestry[86] and with its popularity among commons as well as royals compared to hero Pergamus' low-key reputation must have been seen as the right derivation at the time following the war.[87]

Turning to the incidents that significantly boosted the prestige of the Attalids and strengthened the dynasty's cultural ties with the former superpower as well as the safe haven of intellectuals, Athens, first I would like to start with the most significant event regarding the prestige politics of the Attalids.

As it is known, the first militaristic contact between the Attalids and Athens had occurred just before the Second Macedonian War following the overt threats of Philip V; the allies of Athens were invited to the city for further planning of a militaristic strategy to thwart the threat. According to Polybius:

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[86] Alexander the Great believed that he was the son of Zeus, therefore brother of Herakles.

[87] As this event took place in 188 B.C. more information on the issue is provided under the following chapter.

> Attalus, on the first day after his arrival at Piraeus, had an interview with the Roman legates, and was highly gratified to find that they were both mindful of his joint action with Rome in the past, and ready to engage in war with Philip. Next day he went up to Athens in great state accompanied by the Romans and the Athenian archons. For not only all the magistrates and the knights, but all the citizens with their wives and children went out to meet them, and when they joined them there was such a demonstration on the part of the people of their affection for the Romans and still more for Attalus that nothing could have exceeded it in heartiness.... Lastly they voted him such honours as they had never readily paid to any former benefactors. For in addition to other distinctions they named one of the tribes Attalis after him and they added his name to the list of the heroes who gave their names to these tribes.[88]

After the welcoming ceremony when the representatives of the allies were invited to the meeting of the *ecclesia* to further discuss the details of the prospective militaristic alliance, Attalos asked to be excused. Now this smart choice of Attalus is admirable, as it clearly indicates that he saw himself and also wanted others to see himself as superior to the other representatives, regardless of whether they were kings or senate members of Rome. One of the possible reasons for such a bold move might be the upsetting transfer that took place in 204 B.C. Considering the fact that Attalos might have wanted to soften the negative effects eroding his prestige of the event of the transfer of the cult object belonging to Cybele, he publicly asserted such a decisive move during a crucial meeting in Athens. The tone of the written message he sent to the meeting was similarly assertive; he "urged the Athenians to join the Rhodians, Romans, and himself"[89], as if he was

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[88] *Polyb.* 16, 25, 5-9

[89] *Ibid*.

the sole leader of all the entire militaristic assembly and the primary protector of Athens. It is clear that he wanted to propagate his supremacy even though his army was not present when Philip reached the Academy.[90]

In his 1990 article on Athenian and Pergamene relations, Habicht claimed that starting with the direct contact of these cities after 200 B.C., the Pergamene and Egyptian kingdoms were constantly in competition for the patronage of Athens.[91] Both Attalos I and Ptolemy III were declared eponymous heroes and they both had tribes named after their dynasty.[92] Understandably, Athens was trying to fuel the competition for her own benefit as both rulers were in constant eagerness to impress the intellectual and artistic haven of the Greek civilization and thus gain further acknowledgment and prestige in the eye of the other powers. Athens might have been a former superpower but now the only powerful asset of the city was in the realm of higher education. Hence, for the sake of survival in an anarchical world of multi-centered polities surrounding her, these kinds of actions were totally reasonable.

At the end of Attalus I's reign, Athens held conspicuous symbols of the Attalid dynasty on three crucial spots in the city: the first symbol was the garden donated to Lacydes adjacent to the Academy, the second was the bronze statue of Attalos I erected at the Athenian

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[90] Hansen1971, 51

[91] Habicht 1990, 563

[92] *Ibid*., 562

Agora, and lastly an ensemble of sculptures were installed near the south wall of the Athenian Acropolis.[93]

It should be noted here that even though his presence as "the" patron of intellectuals was not as solid as his militaristic bravery, Attalos I indeed sponsored higher education at the Academy. His own citizens, Telecles and Evander of Phocaea, and Hegesinus of Pergamum were educated in the Academy and became the heads of the Academy consecutively.[94]

Scholars overwhelmingly highlight the Attalid admiration and envy towards the "glorious" Athens at its peak, thus emphasizing the forming of cultural ties with the city ever since the first ruler of Pergamon. Regarding the intellectual sphere, Athenian acknowledgement and close cultural contacts were keys to Pergamene success in the realm of patronage of knowledge. Yet the cultural ties that were established with the other neighboring Greek cities were also important for the Attalids, some of which were established during the reign of Attalos I. Amicable cultural and political relations with many political entities like Delos, Delphi, Boiotia, Arkadia, Epiros, and Rome were established in varying degrees that would aid the Attalid political agenda during the following decades.[95]

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[93] See endnote number 48 on page 189 at Thompson's 1982 article. For a basic account on the sculptures installed on the Athenian Acropolis see Pollitt 1986, 90-95.
For the most detailed account on this group of sculptures see Stewart 2004

[94] Hansen 1971, 396
[95] Gruen 2000, 21-27

CHAPTER 5

THE ATTALID KINGDOM UNDER THE REIGN OF EUMENES II

5.1. Deeds of a Young King: The Years from 197 B.C. to *c.* 188 B.C.

The year of 197 B.C. was both the year that saw the militaristic end of the Second Macedonian War and the death of Attalos I. The Attalids' best and most fulfilling political strategy thus far was their militaristic victories against the common enemy of the time: first the Gauls and second, the Macedonian Philip. The first brought immediate respect and reverence towards Attalos from the neighboring cities of Asia Minor, and the latter victory in which they were involved brought recognition and respect in mainland Greece, specifically in Athens. The beneficial alliance with Rome must have been one of the most important assets for Eumenes II which is revealed in his own words to remind the Romans of the Attalid loyalty and bravery following his father's decease: "As my father was the first to become your friend and ally, so of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece he was the most nobly royal to you to the last day of his life, not only in heart but indeed. For he took part in all your wars in Greece, and furnished the largest contingents of men and ships of all your allies: contributed the largest share of supplies; and faced the most serious dangers; and to sum up, ended his life actually engaged in war with Philip, while

urging the Boeotians to join your friendship and alliance."[96] Sustaining the previous political and militaristic ties with a major power like Rome was crucial, as the new power vacuum on the Greek mainland was like a ticking bomb and the rising power of the Seleucids about to become more troublesome for all the Greeks in Anatolia and Europe of the time. Above every political issue, the Attalids had to maintain their prestigious image in the eyes of the Greeks and this seemed only possible with the Roman alliance in case of a militaristic emergency that was bigger than what Attalids could swallow. Eliminating possible attacks from the western cities, and almost enveloped by the overarching Seleucid hegemony in the east, Eumenes II had a relatively safe start during his tenure as the king, even though it was for a relatively short period of time.

It was not until the Isthmian Games of 196 B.C. that the Second Macedonian War was also politically over. The freedom of the Greeks from the Macedonian hegemony and a conveniently workable Roman control (economic or militaristic) was guaranteed when the proconsul Quinctius Flaminius declared that the Roman Republic freed all the European Greeks. In two years there was no ostensible Roman military presence on the Greek mainland and the Greeks were entrusted to rule themselves and be a buffer zone between the east and Rome while Rome was dealing with more pressing issues closer to home. Even though the Romans left Greece without any claims of hegemony, with a smart move of "declaring Greek freedom", they nevertheless held a long leash regarding their relation with the Greeks.

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[96] *Polyb*. 21, 20, 1-5

During these seven years up until 190 B.C., there are no records of a major war with just a few militaristic and/or political conflicts on the hands of the new Pergamene ruler. Secure in the west with polities trying to hold on to the status quo that are backed up by Rome, and surrounded almost (with the exception of immediate northern border) on every other side of his realm by the Seleucid power, which was still busy at the eastern frontiers until the late 190's, Eumenes had almost no choice but to maintain the lands his father handed to him. One fact that should be emphasized is that in 200 B.C., after Philip's siege of Pergamon, the structures left on the outer skirts of the capital hill were heavily damaged. At the time, Philip refused to pay any indemnity to Pergamon but following the harsh defeat, he was forced to do so. Being a young king having a treasury full of indemnity payments and no motive for expansion, it is highly possible that Eumenes II started "building up the city"[97] in his early years as a king, as mentioned by Strabo.

Unfortunately, there is not enough archaeological evidence or chronologically consistent mention concerning the structures of the acropolis by ancient writers to provide conclusive dating regarding the majority of the structures behind the walls of the acropolis including the theatre complex that leans on the western hill of the citadel. As I already mentioned under chapter I rather than following a thematic or object oriented narration that must be backed up with material evidence, I prefer a chronological one that provides reasonable room for academic speculation that would hopefully raise new questions and provide a fresh perspective especially for students

[97] *Strabo* 13.4.2

with interdisciplinary background. Following the historical clues and using the material evidence wherever available to assess the political motives and possible deeds that presumably followed the political intentions of the ruler, I humbly propose subsidiary evidence for some dating for the two controversial structures of the acropolis: the library and the the Great Altar.

As I suppose that the construction of the library complex (here indicating specifically the northern stoa on the Athena precinct) chronologically fits the early years of Eumenes' reign, I would like to start off with the library. There is no archaeological evidence that sheds light to the beginning year of the constructions regarding the stoas enveloping the Athena precinct on three sides. As mentioned earlier in this study, the most tangible evidence that the modern scholars subscribe to relies on the deciphering of the owl representations on the ornamental reliefs of the propylon that was attached to the western stoa, the Athena Parthenos copy, and the statues of literary figures found near the largest northeastern room of the northern stoa. Further suggestions regarding the dating of the stoa came as Peter Callaghan pointed out that the relief plaques belonging to the upper story of the northern stoa depicted the spoils of the Magnesia War including some Gallic spolia and marine objects accompanying them.[98] Responding to the opposing claims pointing to the depiction of Gallic spoils, Callaghan reminds that the Gauls had fought beside Antiochus during the Asia Minor phase of the Roman Syrian War, in which the Attalids were known to have been active.[99]

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[98] Callaghan 1981, 117

[99] *Ibid.*

And to justify the existence of the representation of ship prows he rightfully makes the note that even though they were not a decisive party when it came to the marine warfare, the Attalids did contribute to this war as well.[100] I am mostly convinced with these interpretations, but I have two objections to Callaghan's arguments: one is on the basis of the construction material used for the stoas, while the other is a historical criticism. When it comes to the archaeological and historical reasoning of the Great Altar, I do share a similar dating, but for different reasons.

Callaghan assumes that the central *tropeum* dedicated to the victories of the Attalids at the Roman Syrian war involved the refurbishment and rearrangement of the Athena Polias and her sanctuary.[101] First of all, from a historical point of view, I do not see any reason not to order any architectural commission prior to the Treaty of Apamea. I also believe that the material evidence suggests a structural evolution of the precinct as well.

It is known that the first vast use of marble was commissioned by Attalos I to commemorate his victories over the Gauls and other enemies as well.[102] The majority if not the totality of the marble used came from Kyzikos (which happened to be the hometown of Queen Apollonius, Attalos I' wife) and the island of Lesbos.[103] Local andesite and tuff were used abundantly in the construction projects

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[100] *Ibid.*

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] Kästner 2014, 456-7

[103] *Ibid.*

considering their abundance and obvious physical proximity.[104] Even though they are not as gleaming and eye catching as the luminous and more prestigious marble, their durability is truly impressive. It should be noted that the majority of the structures at the citadel, including the stoas of the Athena precinct, were built with andesite bases.[105] In fact, the Great Altar is the only structure, which was solely built with marble that was imported outside the capital.[106] Only the invisible substructure of the altar was made of andesite, tuff, and shattered material to fill the grid like base for the foundation of the altar.[107]

In the light of this, when we have a look at the basic construction material of the stoas on the Athena Polias precinct, it was mainly built of andesite ashlar blocks. The sumptuous marble was used only for the columns of the *propylon,* the façades of the stoas that are visible from the courtyard, the interior row of the columns of the northern stoa, the bottom half of the stoas' back walls, and for the demarcation of the openings of the walls. It is seen that almost only the immediately visible surfaces from the outside were adorned with marble, obviously to catch the attention of the beholder from afar. I believe that while the precinct was being built by Eumenes, the stoas were intended to reflect the surrounding tonal and façade scheme of the surrounding building, which was mainly made of andesite blocks. With the commissioning of a grand marble altar that would make visual reference to the temple, it was an effective choice to cover the

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[104] *Ibid.*

[105] *Ibid.*

[106] *Ibid.*

[107] Callaghan 1981, 115-6

immediate outer surface of the precinct to provide a total look that would clearly have a more impressive impact on the viewer. But for now, until a few years after the Treaty of Apamea, I believe that the construction project on the temenos of Athena was proceeding in a more modest manner, compared to the following marble "face –lift" of the following era.

And when it comes to my second objection: the focus on the Treaty of Apamea in Callaghan's 1981 article. I definitely understand why he focus on this particular event and the period following it, but I believe that the stoas surrounding the Athena temple[108] at the second terrace began during the early years of Eumenes II's reign and probably continued up until 181 B.C., as it was a time of relative stability and prosperity for the kingdom (excluding the wars that led to treaty of Apamea and the war against Bithynia). So, the rather naked terraces of the city were first embellished with the stoas surrounding the temple as a means of both "beautifying" the acropolis and a continuation of ancestral deeds that were unrealized due to various reasons. My belief is that this unrealized ancestral deed highlighted the construction of a library with an end in itself, and also as a mean of strengthening the cultural and ancestral ties with the center of knowledge and art, Athens. The important point is that the stoas of the precinct do not

[108] I also assume that the Palace IV complex was indeed related and concomitantly commissioned as the northern stoa (the stoa that is related to the library complex) As the kingdom enlarged unexpectedly after 188 B.C., Eumenes must have ordered the commission of the Palace V complex which most probably coincided with the commencement of the construction of the Great Altar, as there were many architectural pieces like column drums were built into the palace from the remnants of the altar. For clear and precise information on the palace complex of Pergamon with details that support the ideas mentioned above, see Zimmer 2014. For an elaborate study on the Hellenistic palaces see Nielsen 1994. Her diagram listing the diverse functionality of spaces and their architectural actualization as differentiated spaces p. 14 is in particularly useful as it provides a better comprehension of the multi-functional palace complexes in general.

need to be a direct outcome of the war; they may have been started out before it and most possibly shaped as the history unfolded.

As I have stated previously, the Attalids were indeed interested in the intellectual high status of former Athens, and there is historical testimony that records Eumenes I's and Attalos I's interest in the intellectual actors of the time.[109] On the other hand, having a tighter bond with Athens meant an instant increase of allies, as Athens had historical ties with the majority of Greek cities before the era of grand kingdoms. Reminding the theory of anarchical society, no polity is safe until an undisputable hegemon rules over, therefore following the evacuation of Roman soldiers and the aggressive imperialist move of the Seleucids, one must be ready for any possible attack in this highly unstable environment. Having a library complex and endorsing a patronage of knowledge ticks two boxes at the same time under these circumstances: one being the increased prestige and the other increased security measures that came with the cultural alliance with the former super-power of Greeks.

But what happened up until 181 B.C. so and how is this date important for the end of the construction of the stoas, therefore the library, on the second terrace of the acropolis? Going back to the historical account; only one militaristic conflict is recorded between the years 197 B.C. and 191 B.C. before the Roman-Syrian War. As I have mentioned above, Romans declared the Greeks free and by declaring this, they definitely asserted their claim of supremacy over the Greeks but there was a major problem: If a polity is powerful

[109] See the headings regarding Eumenes I and Attalos I's deeds under the fourth chapter.

enough to control the lands it almost singlehandedly helped to seize, it would without question take advantage of the situation. The "lofty" move of Rome was appreciated by many independent *poleis* but it was obviously interpreted as a sign of weakness by the Aetolian League so that they sent envoys to Nabis of Sparta, their former archenemy Philip V, and Antiochus III of Syria to merge their power against Rome. Not surprisingly, Philip declined the call, Antiochus claimed that he was not ready for such a war, but Nabis agreed to wage war against Rome on the side of the Aetolian League. Even though their alliance lacked the militaristic aid of two kings, Nabis agreed to fight against the coalition of Rome, Pergamon, and the Achaean League. Not surprisingly, the war ended rapidly in 192 B.C. and once again stability was established in Greece. But the outcome of this incident was not a favorable one regarding Pergamon, as the polities of the Aetolian League and the some Greek polities sympathizing with the league severed their ties with Pergamon, leaving the kingdom vulnerable to potential aggression from these polities.

After the defeat of Nabis, a retaliatory Roman attack was awaiting the Aetolians, so Antiochus witnessing all these events offered help if the Roman army was to attack any member of the League. Taking advantage of Antiochus III's word, the Aetolians made an offensive attack on some independent Greek cities and not surprisingly, the Romans promptly arrived to intervene the situation. Antiochus had claimed that he would get involved in the war if the aggressor was Rome, but even though the situation was the reverse, he took the advantage of waging war against Rome outside his main territory and landed in Greece with his troops. As soon as Antiochus landed in Greece, Achaeans declared war against the Seleucids and Philip took

his place on the side of Rome. Only the weakened Aetolian League on his side, Antiochus was doomed to be defeated. In 191 B.C. the war of Thermopylae was fought, and Antiochus was soon defeated. Even though the Aetolians resisted for a while longer, they soon opted for a truce. Now Antiochus was alone and he only had the option to retreat back to Asia Minor where he could round up his army and prepare for a highly possible Roman attack.

When Antiochus arrived in Asia Minor, Hannibal offered help but even Hannibal was not able to bring victory. The Romans, aided by Rhodes on the sea (Eumenes also aided the marine war but obviously Rhodes was the main actor of the seafare) and accompanied by Pergamon in western Anatolia, Antiochus' troops were defeated in Asia Minor within approximately two years. The militaristic combat was over in December 190 B.C., but negotiations took nearly two years and finally in 188 B.C. all the parties of the war agreed to sign the Treaty of Apamea.

Besides his evacuation of western and some parts of central Anatolia, Antiochus had to pay a large indemnity to the Romans and lesser indemnities to the victors involved in the war.[110] Being the leader of the victors, Rome distributed the lands that were evacuated and Eumenes II was the one who hit the jackpot. The significance of this treaty was that the Romans did not directly want to rule the lands taken by the Seleucids after the defeat. Instead, they gave the majority of the lands previously under Seleucid rule to the Attalids. This might seem like a generous move by the Romans, but it is more of a strategic move rather than a show of sympathy attached to a debt of gratitude

[110] Waterfield 2014, 134

for the Attalids' effort at the battlefield. There is a logical explanation for this: When one cannot rule, the conquered lands are shared with the allies. Of course, no one could be trusted in an "anarchical society", but considering the geopolitical situation of the time, Romans appeared to have layered some buffer zones to both protect themselves and to stabilize Asia Minor at the same time. First of all, neither Pergamon nor Rhodes (the second party that was rewarded with land) was powerful enough to fight against Rome. Second, the Seleucid Kingdom was considerably weakened together with the Aetolians. Independent Greek cities were politically polarized but left with no power or courage to wage war. Even if they did, there were literally no great kingdoms to back them up. Feeling that they are not ready to rule over these lands in western Anatolia, the Romans simply passed the rule over not to reward anyone but mostly for pragmatic reasons. What is more, once the lands were out of their control, Rome's responsibility to sustain her existence in these lands vanished.

This was a rational choice made by the Romans, but what about their image in the eyes of the others? This decision must have signified many things, but one of them was surely a weakening one for their powerful image in the outlook of others. In a way, the Romans admitted that they were not powerful enough to control the lands far from their homeland, thus passed those over to others. This is certainly not an ending with brazen glory. But why is this detail significant here? Because now, the Attalids, one way or another, acquired immense power and at the same time the Romans themselves signalized their incompetence.[111]

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[111] History proves this right, as there were many other wars in Greece and even an attempt of coalition against Rome before her irreversible invasion of the Greek

Turning back to the other possible outcomes of this move; now it was the Attalids that had to deal with the hostile neighbors in Asia Minor before any aggressor could reach to the contemporary borders of the Roman Republic. And even if potential aggressors wanted to reach Rome via sea routes, Rhodes was there to "police" the travelers beforehand. Under these circumstances, the only possible Roman intervention to any conflict would arise from Attalid failure to suppress a problem that could potentially interrupt the current Roman political agenda, or more importantly, that would possibly threat Roman territorial integrity, not the other way round.

Previously reigning over a small territory that at the most extent reached the lands as far as the Eliatic[112]and Adramyttene[113] Gulfs, Attalids were now one of the most powerful kingdoms in Asia Minor with a vast territory.[114] The defeated Seleucids gave up their lands north of the Tauros Mountains[115], which were primarily turned over to Attalids control. It may be generally stated that excluding the Lycian region, which was given to the Rhodians, the lands of the kingdom now reached as far as Cappadocia on the eastern border.

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mainland. Some of these events that are relevant to this study are noted in the following pages.

[112] Now corresponds to modern Çandarlı Gulf

[113] Now corresponds to the modern Edremit Gulf

[114] For a comparative map see Fig. 27

[115] Modern Toros Mountains

Following the Treaty of Apamea, Pergamon became the "first major Hellenistic territorial state arguably, the first major territorial state in world history for which the process of state-formation was entirely exogenous."[116] This new acquisition of lands meant new borders, thus new enemies and now the closest threats to the kingdom were Bithynia and Pontos in the north, and the old Galatians or Gauls as Romans called them. Even the Attalids deterred them more than once in their history. Yet they did not cease to exist in Anatolia and the possibility of their alliance with a more powerful enemy of the kingdom would have caused serious threat for the newly expanded Pergamene kingdom. Besides the external threats, Eumenes II now had to solidify his legitimacy as the new ruler of these foreign lands. Thonemann and also Allen perspicaciously treat this post-Apamea era as one of "state formation"; they stress the importance of the non-imperialistic character of the ruler that sought to maintain the status quo during his tenure under these circumstances.[117] I do agree that the period up until about 168 B.C. was a period focused on the maintenance of the *status quo* and increasing prestige and imposing legitimacy, respectively in the eyes of the other polities and the new subjects. But I also believe that during the last nine years of his reign Eumenes had a different tone in politics. He definitely had a more confrontational tone in politics compared to the era following the Treaty of Apamea until around 168 B.C.

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[116] Thonemann 2013, 3

[117] For further information see Thonemann 2013. For a more elaborate account of these new constitutional initiatives see Chapter 4 in Allen 1983.

5.2. Preparation for the Showcase: The Years from 188 B.C. to 181 B.C.

As expected, the allocation of lands by a non-Greek oblivious to the dynamics of the local citizens generated problems. The Lycians revolted against the new Rhodian authority immediately after the Treaty of Apamea. To put it simply, Lycians claimed that Rome had no right to pass their lands to Rhodes and rather than being subjects of another master, they demanded their freedom. This was rejected and a three-year civil war took place until the Lycians were pacified. This was not directly related with Eumenes' reign, but I would like to suggest that hearing about these upheavals, Eumenes might have preemptively opted for a more oppressive policy towards his new subjects to prevent any potential riot like the Lycian one.[118] I believe this claim should not be swept under the rug, as there is also the possibility of this claim being true.

Many scholars portray the kings of Pergamon as a submissive ally of Rome, making no justice to the dynamic political agenda of the ruler that had to be moderated to sustain newly attained power. The main route of these scholars is generally derived from a focus on the importance of the Treaty of Apamea and its immediate outcomes. Most of the time, this follows a fast-forward record to the era of other rulers most of the time without involving the historical incidences that might provide a deeper understanding regarding the political nature and motivations of Eumenes' era. From a more diverse perspective, I believe that many historical anecdotes and material evidence point out

[118] For an ancient testimony claimed Eumenes as an oppressive king, see Hansen 1971, 109-110

the incongruences of a one-dimensional submissive and peace-oriented identity of Eumenes II. One example of this may be seen in the case of three tetradrachms that have the portrait of Eumenes II on their obverse. As Marie-Christine Marcellesi has pointed out[119], 1892 was the first time that such as specimen was recorded. Today anyone curious about the coins of Mysia has the means to reach both the image and bibliographic detail of the coin online.[120] Another one is again available online with a high definition option via the digital archive of French National Library, *Gallica*. When one types the keywords "Mysie Pergame Eumenes" on the search bar, the record immediately appears on the first page of results.[121] (Fig. 33) This specimen was recorded in an auction held in 2013.[122] Even though these examples could be classified as exceptions considering the variety of issues bearing the portrait of Philetairos, they are immensely valuable. However, if I have not misinterpreted, these examples have not been sufficiently utilized by scholars in their historical narratives, resulting in a lopsided assessment in the totalizing pacifist portrayal of Eumenes II in general.

The reason why I mentioned Marcellesi's article is that it hits two crucial spots: First, she presents a dynamic political profile of

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[119] For detailed information see Marcellesi 2017

[120] The image of the coin is available online via the link https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1279897&partId=1&searchText=mysia+coin+collection&page=1

[121] The image of the coin is available online via the link https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b103037380/f2.item.r=Mysie%20pergame%20eumenes

[122] Marcellesi 2017, 96

Eumenes II and second, she mentions an Athena Illias tetradrachm that could be used evidence for the claims that portray Eumenes as an oppressive leader, that would in return support a more dynamic political profile of the ruler.

As I have stated before, the years following the Treaty of Apamea were engrained with the pressing issue of state formation, and Allen demonstrates this process on a constitutional level mostly referring to epigraphic evidence in a detailed manner. But the problem here is that there is not enough evidence on the nature of the ruler's relation with his subjects. A running bureaucratic system was most probably established within few years or in a decade at most, but when it came to assuring authority over his new citizens, it is probably that Eumenes engaged in more extreme measures tending toward oppression, as not an unconventional ruling attitude.

Following up, where I left chronologically; a minor incident in history that took place in 188 B.C. needs to be reminded: Romans declared Ilia as their mother city and granted her an enlarged territory in addition to tax-free fiscal privileges. This move was beneficial for Rome and her image at home, as she consolidated her ties with Aeneas, the mythical founder of Rome. But besides the fiscal privileges given to Ilia, the immediate ruler that was right beside her was Eumenes, not the Roman Senate. Here, claiming a religious tie to the tutelary god of Pergamon, the Athena Illias tetradrachm (Fig. 34) was issued suggesting the affirmation of the loyalty of the Ilians to Eumenes; therefore deterring any possible oppressive measures that might be taken by Eumenes to acclaim his authority over the small and obviously relatively vulnerable *polis* of Ilia. After all, a rebellion that

would question the authority of Eumenes as the case of Lycia was highly possible. But how is the tetradrachm relevant to this study? As I have stated above, this opens up the possibility for a different profile of Eumenes, a king not hesitant to implement his authority via offensive means. Such an action is in accordance with the political reasoning of classical realism. If one has enough power and authority, the sustenance may be achieved in many ways, and if the circumstances calls for destructive means when necessary. than it would be applied without hesitation. Unfortunately, history is full of such examples of brute oppression exercised by militaristically and economically powerful polities over the weaker ones. Eumenes might have really been a puppet of Rome, but at the end of the day, he was one of the most powerful kings in Asia Minor of the time, and his mission at the least extent must have been sustaining his power by all means that were available to him.

It is relatively easier to alter the actions of polities with lesser militaristic and economic resources than the polity with superior hard power compared to its peers. What about the ones that cannot be controlled but in the need to impress? As the library construction in Pergamon was on going, it was time to cultivate the seeds "soft power" in the kingdom. To claim authority one might use sticks, but if the intention is to impress others without threatening their very existence, carrots are used. In a nutshell, this is simply what "soft power" is. Athens was not directly under the rule of the Attalids and it was the city of arts and learning. Most importantly, it was the city of power and prestige in the eyes of almost all independent Greek cities. Impressing Athens was about dangling the carrot, and the stick could be used to impose power on others.

To reiterate, the fame of the Attalid dynasty came from two major accomplishments of its rulers (besides the recent extraordinary events that led to the expansion of the kingdom): the defeat of Gauls and the wars against Macedonian power. The Gauls were the menace of Asia Minor and once they were defeated, Attalos I attained the tile *soter*. When the Pergamene kings were on the side of Athens and allied for the second time with Rome, they proudly acclaimed the role of the protector of Athens as it was claimed previously by the Ptolemaic dynasty.[123] As stated by Hanfmann: "The truly novel ideological element of the propaganda by the Pergamenes was their insistence on their role as *Kulturtrager* of the heritage of Hellas."[124] On top of everything, the Attalid focus on strengthening cultural ties with Athens was now accompanied with crowning their victory over the Seleucids and their prestige "boom" at the same time. A grander kingdom must have meant a grander court, a greater pressure to maintain the prestige, and an even more cunning political agenda that would maintain the sudden increase in power by all means.

While discussing some of the possible short comings of Callaghan's proposal on the construction of the northern stoa on the second terrace of the Pergamene acropolis and consecutively the refurbishing of the Athena precinct itself, it seemed obvious that a king with a grander realm would need a grander court to deal with the increased number of official affairs, representative bodies, legal archives, and equally important: he would need a more lavish looking capital to reflect his

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[123] See Habicht 1990

[124] Hanfmann 1975, 29

mighty powers and wealth altogether at once. So chronologically, I believe that commencing the construction of the Great Altar, and possibly some other projects to reorganize the city, roughly coincide with the years that Eumenes first started to collect taxes from his new citizens. This would have enabled a sustainable flow of capital to the capital for a grand project like the Great Altar. Although this in itself may not be a novel idea, new suggestions may be put forth concerning dating and the state of completion. Following the reorganization of the Athena precinct that was commenced earlier than the Great Altar, the altar was built to be a flamboyant commemorative edifice that acted as an altar for the Athena precinct in the first place. In addition, I posit that the construction of the Great Altar was indeed *completed* in 181 B.C. *without* the Ionic colonnade and the Telephus frieze, to be advertised to the masses that flooded into the city for the first Panhellenic festival of the capital, the *Nikephoria*.

Material evidence to support the claims above are follows. Just like the library complex, the construction date of the Great Altar is not known precisely. Even the alleged function of the structure is a heated debate among the academics of twenty first century. In his essay *Pergamo Ara Marmorea Magna: On the Date, Reconstruction, and Functions of the Great Altar of Pergamon* Andrew Stewart compiles the theories of varied scholars regarding different perspectives and pressing issues concerning the Pergamene altar. This includes valuable archaeological evidence that has been mostly recorded during the twentieth century to give a general picture of the debates that have been in circulation for almost a century.[125]

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[125] Stewart 2000, 32-58

What provided a new eye-opening clue to this rather demanding puzzle came when a sondage was made near the center of the altar's podium in 1961 that resulted in the discovery of the filling that belonged to the base of the altar. Besides the random stones and debris, some pottery sheds were found among the infill of the sub-structure. And it is here that modern scholars came a step closer to the dating for the altar: As stated in Stewart's essay, pottery experts now believe that the years 185-170 should be regarded as *terminus ante quem* for the infill in the substructure of the altar, after their close examination of the pottery sherds that was used to fill the base.[126] When it comes to the upper parts of the altar, architectural historians date the interior colonnade's capitals to circa 160 B.C. And lastly, it is believed that the altar was in use by 149/8, "when the first securely dated dedication found on its terrace was set up."[127] Even though it was used, it is agreed that the altar was never completed in totality. Starting from the base to the top, the podium that was surrounded by the famous gigantomachy reliefs is assumed to have been completed. When it comes to the upper parts of the altar with the peripteral Ionic colonnade, however, scholars agree that there are many incomplete parts that were apparently left unattended as time passed, possibly because of the changing priorities and the political agenda of the ruler who was reigning at the time.[128]

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[126] *Ibid.*, 39

[127] *Ibid.*

[128] For a detailed account on the debated issue regarding the completion of the Great Altar see Stewart 2000 and as an addition Stewart see Kästner, V. 2014

Continuing with the artistic and historical evidence in support of my ideas, first I would like to mention the iconography of the friezes that surround the Great Altar's base. In his inclusive article on the altar, Stewart points out that, alongside the descriptive analogy of the giants as Gauls, there are visual references to the Macedonian army in the form of giants. What is significant is that there are no definite references to the Seleucid army as giants, even though the altar is believed to have been commissioned after the Roman-Syrian War.[129] So what does this information tell us about the altar? As stated several times above, even though modern scholars focus on the battles that led to the Apamea Treaty, the Attalids were most celebrated for their bravery against the Gauls and the Macedonian threat, not their alliance with Rome against the Seleucids. All the praise and honor that the royal family relied on was almost solely fueled by the prestige that was gained after their victory over the most aggressive and militaristically resilient foes of the Greeks in Asia Minor and the Greek mainland. When Eumenes wanted to enlarge and beautify his city and raise its status worthy of a lavish king, of course he was going to commemorate the most glorious deeds of his ancestors that raised the royal family to the level of heroes in the eyes of the other Greeks. A victory earned in the shadow of Rome was of clearly not the first and foremost notion that they wanted to remind the world, at least not overtly. There is a place and time for everything, and it was the Attalids who knew the best when it came to timing and organization. The Battle of Magnesia was indeed commemorated on the friezes of the stoas and propylon of the Athena precinct, but it should be reminded that this was a religious precinct with more restricted public

[129] *Ibid.*, 40

circulation. So how to promote a public image on the acropolis of the city without continuously pointing out to a series of battles that made the family seem as a pawn in the power game with Rome? A grand commission worthy of a proud sovereign king, commemorating his ancestral deeds publicly for all to see would serve well to this end. Choosing the spot for the altar terrace and locating it adjacent to the *temenos* of Athena that would both spatially adorn the total look of the acropolis and also have more open access must have ticked all the boxes for Eumenes at the time. A grand commemorative altar dedicated to be used as the altar of the Athena temple above it and at the same time honor Zeus and Athena as a means of showing gratitude just as Attalos had done after his Gallic victory was the initial step of the formation of the Great Altar that is known today.

Herbert Hoffmann's 1952 article named *Antecedents of the Great Altar at Pergamon* provides valuable data supporting this idea, which I have put forth. Accordingly, the altar reached a stage of completion without the Ionic colonnade and the Telephus frieze, just before the first celebration of the panhellenic Nikephoria festival in 181 B.C. at Pergamon. In his short but highly focused essay, Hoffmann deconstructs the evolutionary architectural stages that led to the initial formation of the Great Altar. The essay opens up with the statement that the Great Altar has two:

> outstanding structural components: the altar consists of a stepped square podium and an Ionic colonnade. The combination at Pergamon of these two elements inaugurates a new tradition of altar-building. Seen historically, the altar of Pergamon connotes the synthesis of two independent Eastern traditions, those of ground plan and elevation. One

of these was from the beginning associated with altars; the seems to have been more familiar to the Ionic grave monument, or *heroon*.[130]

Pointing to earlier examples of colossal stepped altars formed in Egypt and subsequently transferred to Ionian lands to be accompanied with the tradition of open-air sanctuaries, Hoffmann provides numerous examples going back to 850 B.C. at Samos.[131] But the problem occurs when the evolutionary formation of the Ionic colonnade is included in the picture. As stated by Hoffmann, all the known former structures with a stepped podium topped with Ionic colonnade happened to be "funerary monuments and not altars. Prior to the Pergamon Altar (ca. 180 B.C.) there is no really certain example of any monument combining elements from these disparate types. The manner in which these two independent traditions coalesced at Pergamon is not entirely clear..."[132]

Following these statements, Hoffmann then briefly provides some historical and political reasons for such an arrangement at Pergamon. The crucial point is that, from an altered point of view, he comes to the conclusion that the combination of a stepped altar and a heroon with Ionic colonnade was indeed a "late and intentional"[133] move made by the Attalids to suit the political motives of the time.

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[130] Hoffmann 1952, 1

[131] *Ibid.*, 1-4

[132] *Ibid.*, 4

[133] *Ibid.*, 6

When it comes to the historical events that led to such an architectural combination: it is known that in the years between the Treaty of Apamea and the celebration of the first Nikephoria festival, two minor wars were fought against the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus. It is widely suggested that the Nikephoria festival was organized to celebrate Eumenes' victory over Bithynia, but I believe that the Nikephoria was established at such an irrelevant time to advertise the new image of the capital and thus the royal family from all over the Greek lands in 181 B.C.

First of all, there is no epigraphic evidence that supports the idea of the Nikephoria being established to celebrate the victory over Bithynia. Second, it does not seem convincing enough to claim that the Attalids wanted to ritualize a relatively minor victory in their history over Bithynia, as the war with the Pontus armies was going on at the same time. What was so urgent about celebrating an easy won war against a minor kingdom in Asia Minor that even no epigraphic evidence makes a note of? Furthermore, the coin that was specifically struck for the first Nikephoria did not visually refer to any specific victory of the Attalids; it simply has Athena and Nike on the reverse and a shield with the head of Medusa which could be seen as immensely inclusive symbols of victory for the Greek audience at the time. (Fig. 35) Contrary to such an explanation, I would like to suggest that the reorganization of the Athena precinct and the construction of the Great Altar as a stepped altar with a colossal podium surrounded with the famous gigantomachy was most possibly the reason for the establishment of the panhellenic Nikephoria in 181 B.C. to simply publicize the jewels of the acropolis that was raised to the standards of a great kingdom after the enlargement of the kingdom in 188 B.C.

At this point, before proceeding with the historical events that followed 181 B.C., I would like to clarify some information on the location of the Nikephoria festival. The festival was celebrated at the Nicephorium *outside* the city walls. With the help of the ancient testimony and archaeological excavations, Hansen suggests that the Nicephorium was located somewhere between the Roman circus, theatre, and amphitheater that faced the western slope of the acropolis, which had a perfect view of the city that was recently adorned with a monumental marble altar and an upgraded temenos dedicated to Athena herself.[134] (Fig. 36) The view of these two terraces that were visually, historically, and thematically connected to each other must have captivated the minds of the beholders. As it was claimed by Samantha Martin-McAuliffe in her 2012 article based on her doctoral thesis, framing the urban symbols of victory as well as reminders of defeat were indeed practiced by Greeks since the classical period. Even though her focal point is the visual referential space created by the triangle of Salamis, the Athenian Acropolis and the Athenian agora, her insistence on focusing on the sightlines of the Acropolis is a crucial example to grasp the possibility of a similar approach in Hellenistic Pergamon.[135]

5.3. An Oxymoron of Submission and Ambition: The Years following the first Nikephoria under Eumenes II's Reign

[134] Hansen 1971, 246

[135] See Martin-McAuliffe 2012

As his self-esteem appears to have peaked in the year 175 B.C., Eumenes crowned Antiochus IV and for the first time acted with an upmost confidence diverging from the role of pawn to a king. This was the first of the events, which led to the suspicion of Rome that had disastrous results for Eumenes reign.

Even though the Treaty of Apamea is the most widely mentioned event in Eumenes' reign, I believe that the Third Macedonian War was equally important for the fate of the kingdom. Within five years after his enthronement, Perseus of Macedonia was on the way of establishing powerful alliances against Rome and her allies to overthrow her politically dominant place in the east. While Eumenes was a loyal ally to the Romans and thus warned Rome against the upcoming Macedonian threat in 172 B.C., he survived an assassination attempt that was allegedly organized by Perseus. Even though Perseus denied the allegations, the event created a chain of reactions that led to the disastrous Third Macedonian War that took place between 171 and 168 B.C. Just before the last battle of the war ended, a rumor that claimed the alliance of Eumenes and Perseus reached the Senate, which then resulted in the abrupt interruption of Roman support to Eumenes that was never truly gained back until the end of the kingdom. The situation was so bitter that when Eumenes himself went to visit the Senate to seek political help regarding the ongoing war against Gauls without knowing that he was framed with a rumor, the senators brushed him off by proclaiming a declaration to clarify that they no longer accepted kings to the Senate, which was obviously aimed to expel Eumenes from the city. Following this humiliation, Eumenes returned home and dealt with the issue himself.

It should be noted that following the Third Macedonian War, Rome was the only superpower left in the Mediterranean world. There was no other super power to challenge her militaristic and/or political hegemony over the Greeks. The only solution was to form an alliance of powers that could possibly knock Rome out before she was ready to permanently occupy the Greek lands once and for all.

In his 1994 essay, Andrew Erskine points out that as early as 182 B.C., the Greek states had started to mention Rome as the "common benefactor" of all Greeks living.[136] The crucial information for my study, which Erskine provides is that: "It was only after 167 B.C. and the fall of the Macedonian monarchy that the phrase really begins to be used in surviving inscriptions."[137] This clearly indicates the apparent fear of Greeks so that in a way they wanted to protect themselves from Rome by openly acknowledging her superiority. The only exception of the term "common benefactor" that was not used to identify Rome was uttered to identify Eumenes by the Ionians in a decree to honor his victory over Gauls in circa 167 B.C. It is widely accepted that this move of the Ionians was made in the wake of the humiliation of the Greek king at Rome. It is important to note that when the Ionians wanted to dedicate a golden statue of Eumenes to honor this title, he wanted the statue to be erected in Miletus.[138] As it is known, Miletus was *the* commercial hub of western Asia Minor. Considering the vast circulation people visiting Miletus for commerce, it was a perfect spot to reach thousands of citizens day in and day out.

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[136] See Erskine 1994

[137] *Ibid.*, 85-86

[138] Magie 2015, 24

The Ionians thus wanted to remind that they were standing by their king without the superpower of the era on his side. I believe that this could have made Eumenes realize the leadership potential regarding the Greeks in Asia Minor and positively pushed him to attain an assertive political role in the upcoming years of his reign.

When it comes to the actions that Eumenes took to fulfill the expectations of his subjects and quite possibly the trust of other Greeks in Asia Minor, a vital alteration in the fiscal policy of the kingdom took place concomitantly. The early years of the 160's saw the introduction of a new coinage known as *kistophoros*.[139] (Fig. 37) Unfortunately there is no evidence to shed a light on the reason why of this change and any accurate dating for the first time it was issued. Even though several scholars provide different explanations for the introduction of this new coinage, most of them accept that Eumenes introduced the *kistophoros* in 160's B.C.

Design-wise, the most striking features of these coins are the depiction of snakes and a basket as the main theme of the issues.
When it comes to the physical qualities of the *kistophoros* they were lighter than the regular Attic tetradrachm that was issued before and visually they seemed to resemble "federal coinage" of the Greek Leagues as opposed to the royal coinage used formerly. Thonemann explains the existence of the new coinage in two ways. First, he claims that the scarcity of silver following the shutting down of the silver mines by Romans after the Third Macedonian War until 158 B.C. in

[139] The name of the coinage comes from the basket depicted on the obverse of it, which is translated as *cista* in Latin.

Greece led to a more provident circulation of silver coins in order to sustain a stabilized and self-sufficient economy for the citizens of the kingdom.[140] The rulers having the aim of a self-sustained closed system of economy and also facing a state of silver deprivation prevented them from issuing more and more coins to circulate in larger areas other than their realm of control.[141] When it comes to the other reason for this change, Thonemann claims that the shame of Eumenes ruling over a vast land that had been "gifted" to him formed the idea of a "pseudo-federal" coinage with no visual trace of the ruler on it in order to implement the equality among the ruler and ruled cities to conceal the issue of legitimacy in the eyes of his new citizens.[142]

As I have stated before, I am not convinced with such an explanation that portraits Eumenes as a ruler that acted in accordance with a veiled shame throughout his rulership. Being a skillful and resourceful leader with considerable political impact, he was able to attain the respect of both his citizens and other polities' either with "sticks" or "carrots". The first reason that Thonemann puts forward does make sense considering the priority of sustaining the economic power of a state in the dawn of a scarcity. But basing this reason equally on the premise of an incompetent ruler seems father far-fatched considering the changing tone of Eumenes' rulership since the Treaty of Apamea. Acknowledging that Eumenes needed the full

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[140] Thonemann 2015, 78

[141] *Ibid*., 80

[142] *Ibid.*

support of his citizens following the events that obviously had the potential to threaten the future of his kingdom is an expected act under such circumstances. More importantly, as I have mentioned in the previous pages, it is crucial to recall the fact that Eumenes II indeed was not hesitant to strike coins with his portrait on them.[143] Again due to lack of evidence to accurately designate the date of these tetradrachms, there are various opinions on the minting date of these coins.[144] Keeping in mind the specific narrative I have constructed so far and considering the relatively less used condition of the mints together with the locations of the hoards (all of the hoards were located on the lands of Seleucids at the time) that these specimens were founded, I believe that they belong somewhere between the introduction of the *kistophoros* until circa 163 B.C. and they were issued to outside the realm of the king in Anatolia where he was not the official ruler. Remembering the crowning of Antiochus IV in 175 B.C., there was another such incident following the death of Antiochus in 164 B.C. Eumenes crowned an alleged heir of Antiochus named Alexander in 163 B.C. to maintain and at the same time secure his control over the realm of the Seleucids once again. Maintaining his realm of influence was of topmost importance to him under these circumstances, and as the incident clearly shows, he was not afraid to act as a decisive actor that could potentially increase the tension between him and the Roman Senate.

Last but definitely not the least, I would like to suggest that the Ionian colonnade and the Telephus frieze of the Great Altar were added to

[143] See Fig. 33

[144] See Marcellesi 2017

the stepped podium after the humiliation of Eumenes by the Senate and left incomplete as the course of history unfolded favoring the hegemony of Roman power.

So, what is crucial here is the specific narrative based on the Telephus frieze. This time the hero was not only the companion of Telephus' grandson, but he was Telephus himself, the son of Auge and Herakles. According to the myth that was recorded in ancient testimony and the visual narration on the frieze of the altar, the legend of Telephus followed the subsequent sequence: One day the oracle of Apollo of Delphi warns king Aleos of Arcadia that the son of his daughter will threaten his kingdom, therefore the king offers his daughter to the service of the temple of Athena as a priestess, where she would remain a virgin. Years after the oracle, while Herakles was a guest at Aleos' palace, he comes across the priestess princess Auge and this encounter triggers the events that leads to the birth of Telephus, the son that king Aleos was warned about. To outsmart the prophecy, the king sets his daughter adrift in a sealed boat. Following this incident, the daughter arrives at the coast of Mysia, where she is met by the Mysian citizens and also welcomed as a daughter by King Teuthras himself. Following her arrival, she establishes the cult of Athena in Mysia. By the time she arrives in Mysia, her child is abandoned in the grove[145] of the Athena temple in her hometown by King Aleos, where eventually Herakles finds Telephus while he is suckling a lioness. Following many eventful years, before he returns to Pergamon as the

[145] If Strabo's account is accurate, Eumenes II further emphasizes this detail from the legend as he plants "Nicephorium with a grove" (13.4.2) This must have been realized after the initiation of the construction as a signifier to further enhance the visual message of the frieze itself.

king of the city, he first fights against the Greeks with the Trojans, but as a plot twist he then ends up helping the Greeks to defeat Trojans.[146]

Besides historical references that may be discovered through a deeper and more thorough research, there are two obvious scenes from the myth that propagate a rather straightforward anti-Roman propaganda: First the lioness that suckles Telephus as opposed to the myth Romus and Romulus who were suckled by a she-wolf; second the initial plot twist where Telephus fights against the Greeks before joining them to defeat the Trojans, which perfectly conveyed the message that the Attalids were now ready to lead the Greeks to fight against the ancestors of the Trojans as their founder did centuries ago.

In his essay *Antecedents of the Great Altar at Pergamon,* which I have already mentioned, Hoffmann demonstrates that the peripteral Ionic colonnade structures were typical of *heroon* architecture in Asia Minor. Following this evidence he refers to Pausanias in order to remind the reader that Telephus had a cult at the city and further claims that Great Altar would have been the perfect place for the sacrifices made to the mythical founder of the city. I do agree that the Great Altar has definitely something to do with the cult of Telephus, but I am not really sure if the Great Altar was a structure mainly used as an altar on its own. Some convincing possibilities on multiple functions of the Great Altar are mentioned in Stewart's 2000 article *Pergamo Ara Marmorea Magna*, including the possibility of Great Altar being built on the heroon of Telephus. This argument seems most likely considering the arguments provided, but there is another layer that

[146] For a detailed account of the myth depicted on the frieze see Kunze 1995

should be considered that would possibly aid the arguments provided in the article.

As I have stated before, even though the second terrace and the third terrace were spatially detached as a result of the topography of the acropolis, they were directly related via a staircase that followed a subterranean path to the lower terrace during the reign of the Attalids. Besides this direct connection, they were also visually connected as the visible surfaces were ornamented with marble in order to create a matching and harmonized view of the two structures from afar. Beyond these visual and physical connections, there might be another relation between these two structures. If the Great Altar really acted as a multifunctional space including the function of a tomb-*heroon* dedicated to Telephus, then it might have followed the example of the Alexandrian library as it also contained the *soma* of Alexander the Great within its complex.

5.4. The Swansong of the Independent Sovereign: Post-Eumenes Era of the Kingdom

Even though Eumenes endorsed a political environment that was against the political Roman hegemony, it was not until the reign of Attalos II that any hope regarding a Greek alliance against the Romans was lost all together. It is known that "In 156 B.C., when Attalus II of Pergamum was contemplating action against the Galatians, he found it prudent to get the Senate's approval first."[147]

[147] Waterfield 2014, 215

The short-lived dream of Eumenes and the structures that reminded his deeds to the masses were soon left incomplete.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Paraphrasing Roland Martin's writings in his famous *L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*, Hanfmann notes that:

> Working with three dimensional units which emphasized vertical as well as horizontal composition, the new designs strove for a more dynamic and monumental environment that the linear Milesian grid based on two-dimensional geometry could provide. The new approach also paid much greater heed to the configuration of the landscape and utilized the site to create dramatic views.[148]

This dramatic effect was indeed showcased at the Pergamon acropolis as Hanfmann articulately describes. Similarly, Lyttelton also claims that: "..., baroque architecture is concerned with "picturesque" effects and the creation of vistas..., baroque buildings are often placed in pictorially interesting setting, which usually entails the limitation of view for the spectator."[149] Here considering the limited space available on the acropolis of Pergamon and the highly possible underlying motive to achieve a dramatic "scenery" for the visitors of the city, the acropolis was indeed designed to reflect the grandeur of the enlarged kingdom. Recalling the statement I made on the visual relation between the Nicephorium outside the center of Hellenistic Pergamon and the organization of the architectural structures of the second and

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[148] Hanfmann 1975, 27-8

[149] Lyttelton 1974, 13-4

third terraces of the city, these statements do indeed shed light on the specific intentions of Eumenes II.

The architectural evolution of the architectural structures on these terraces point out to the "targeted audience" of the era and the intentions of the ruler for the future deeds in particular.

Starting off with the reorganization of the second terrace which I believe was first started immediately following Eumenes II's coronation; it was in itself a relatively not so grand project compared to the upcoming Grand Altar project on the third terrace of the acropolis. Probably commissioned concomitantly some other more minor embellishing projects regarding the architecture on the acropolis, the stoas were situated to create a frame for the precinct and accordingly create a designated space for the intellectual endeavor of the invited and already residing academics of the time at Pergamon. As time passed and events led to the sudden enlargement of the kingdom, Eumenes' urge to affirm his "assigned" kingly power appears to have pushed him to beautify the capital so that was worthy of a glorious king. The former more modest construction projects were now being refurbished and the architectural structures within the designated area of the Athena precinct must have been the first ones to be included on the architectural agenda of improvement. Considering the spatial proximity and the visual connection between the structures of the second terrace and the Great Altar on the third terrace, the marble that was utilized to construct the monumental altar must have shone from afar, making itself gloriously visible especially for the visitors approaching the city form the western shores of the Aegean coast. Now, being a much more powerful and confident king, ready to "show off" the best face of his capital to date, Eumenes must

have been ready to level up his role as the protector of Athens and even create an image of the new "*Kulturtrager* of the heritage of Hellas"[150]. Above creating a library and becoming the patron of learning and the arts, the *gigantomachy* friezes of the Great Altar definitely constituted a follow up of the Athenian friezes on the acropolis that celebrated the Greek victory over the "barbarian" Persians. Signaling great ambitions and an image of not so humble grandeur, Eumenes was a king who was ready to portray himself as the grand victor of Greeks, even though his successes were not single handedly achieved. It was time for the Greek world to see the new king and his new capital so that even when Eumenes was at war with the Pontus king, this event did not affect the debut date of the panhellenistic Nikephoria festival that showcased the glamourous acropolis at its fullest.

Militaristically focusing on the east and culturally on the west, Eumenes was confined to a kingship that aimed to increase his influence on others. This strategy was opted until the Roman betrayal towards the end of the Third Macedonian War that led to a divergence in Eumenes' politics almost immediately. Backed up by the majority of his citizens in Asia Minor and the Seleucids further east, the new mission of Eumenes was to lead the fellow Greeks in Asia Minor, as their ancestor Telephus had done, and to assuage the Roman threat that would then eliminate a highly possible future permanent invasion of the Greek mainland and Asia Minor.

In crowning this new role and thus the new political agenda, the visual and symbolic narrative of architecture had a major share. The

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[150] Hanfmann 1975, 29

Great Altar was transformed into a space of commemoration of the great ancestor of the Attalids, Telephus. Borrowing architectural elements form Ionia, not from Greek mainland as it had been done before, now the Great Altar and its grandeur was geared to propagate a great cause via the image of a multifunctional altar that accompanied the heroon of the mythical founding father of the city.

Concerning the inevitable intertwining of human nature and worldly phenomena, the British theatre critic Kenneth Tyson once said: "Art and ideology often interact on each other, but the plain fact that both spring from a common source. Both draw on human experience to explain mankind to itself, both attempt, in very different ways, to assemble coherence from seemingly unrelated phenomena; both stand guard for us against chaos."[151]

In this regard, classical realism claims that the human nature is the cause of the supremacy seeking destructive power games among polities that form an unpredictable anarchical society. The very history of the Attalid kingdom and thus an exuberant Hellenistic Pergamon was built upon Philetairos' betrayal of Lysimachos. The opportunistic and brilliant political moves of the Attalid kings were the underlying reasons for their exceptional place in the Hellenistic history. Their dynamic political ideology created room for the political evolution of the kingdom itself in the chaotic post-Alexander world of Hellenism. Their commemorative art and architecture that was part of their image-building process was indeed a vivid response to the question of who they were and what they stood for. If the politics of the Attalids

[151]Weiss 1996 ,485

represented their inner reasoning of the outer anarchical society, their commemorative art and architecture did indeed reflect an Attalid manifestation of the Hellenistic power politics experienced on a humanistic level.

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APPENDIX A: FIGURES



Figure 1: The Pergamene copy of the Athena Parthenos from the catalogue of Pergamon Museum in Berlin
Source: Grüßinger, R., Kästner, V., & Scholl, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Pergamon: Panorama Der Antiken Metropole* . Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag. p. 560.

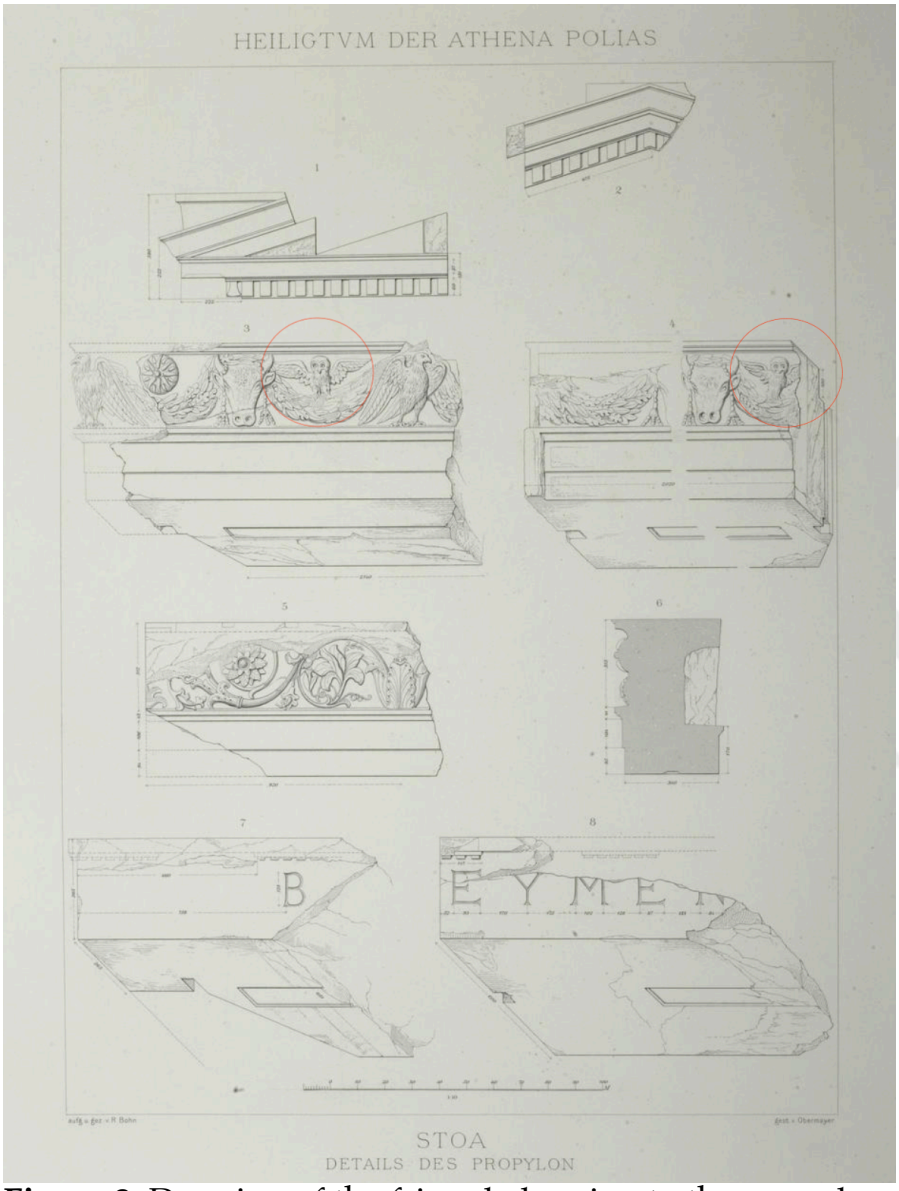


Figure 2: Drawing of the frieze belonging to the propylon of the precinct (The owl representations are demarcated with the red.)
Source: *Altertümer von Pergamon, Band II-Tafeln*, Plate No:29 available via https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/pergamon1885a



Figure 3: Edited Ancient Asia Minor map focusing on Mysia region and the environ of Pergamon, after K. Heinrich
Source: Heinrich, K. (1888). Asiae Minoris Antiquae Tabula in *Usum Scholarum Descripta* / ab Henrico Kiepert ; Leop. Kraatz Berol. Lith. Retrieved March 23, 2018, from http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53025343p?rk=42918;4

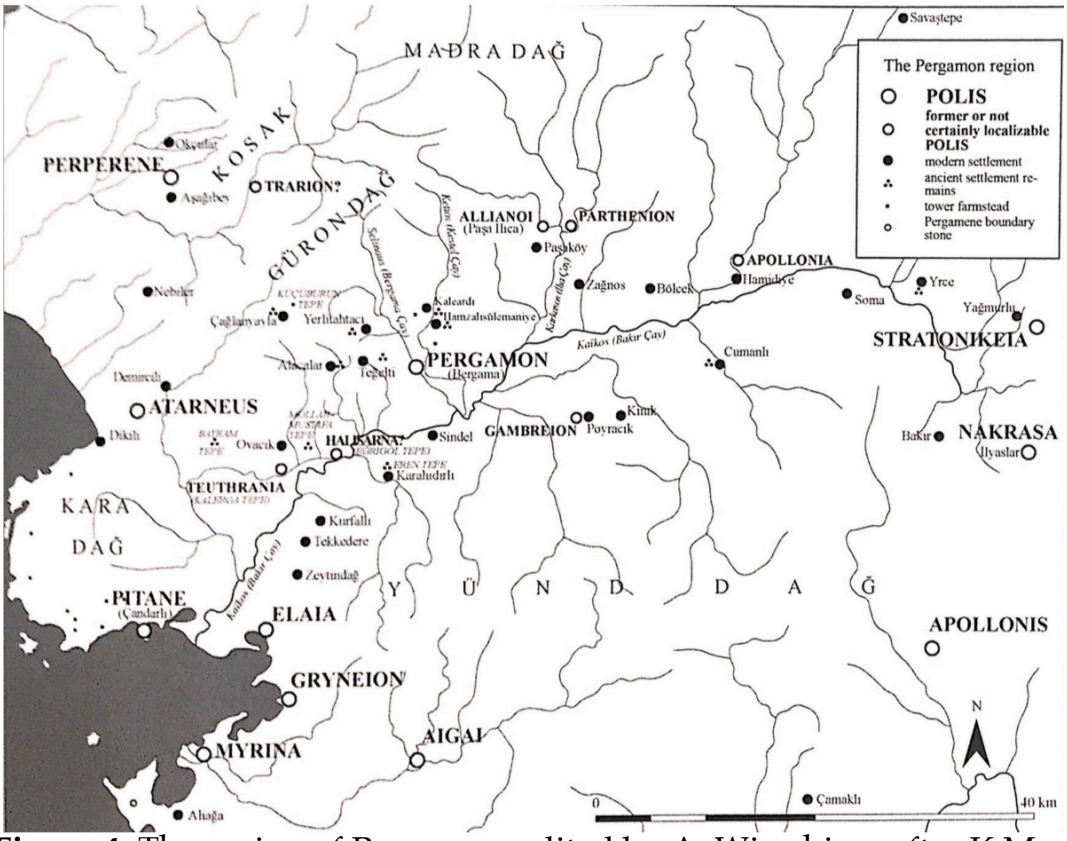


Figure 4: The region of Pergamon edited by A. Wirsching, after K.M. Sommerey

Source: Pirson F., & Zimmermann, M.. (2014). The Hinterland of Pergamon: Economic Resources, Rural Settlements and Political Manifestation. In Pirson, F., & Scholl, A. (Ed.) & G. Shephard & G. Ateş (Trans.) *Pergamon: A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia* (p. 145). İstanbul: YKY.

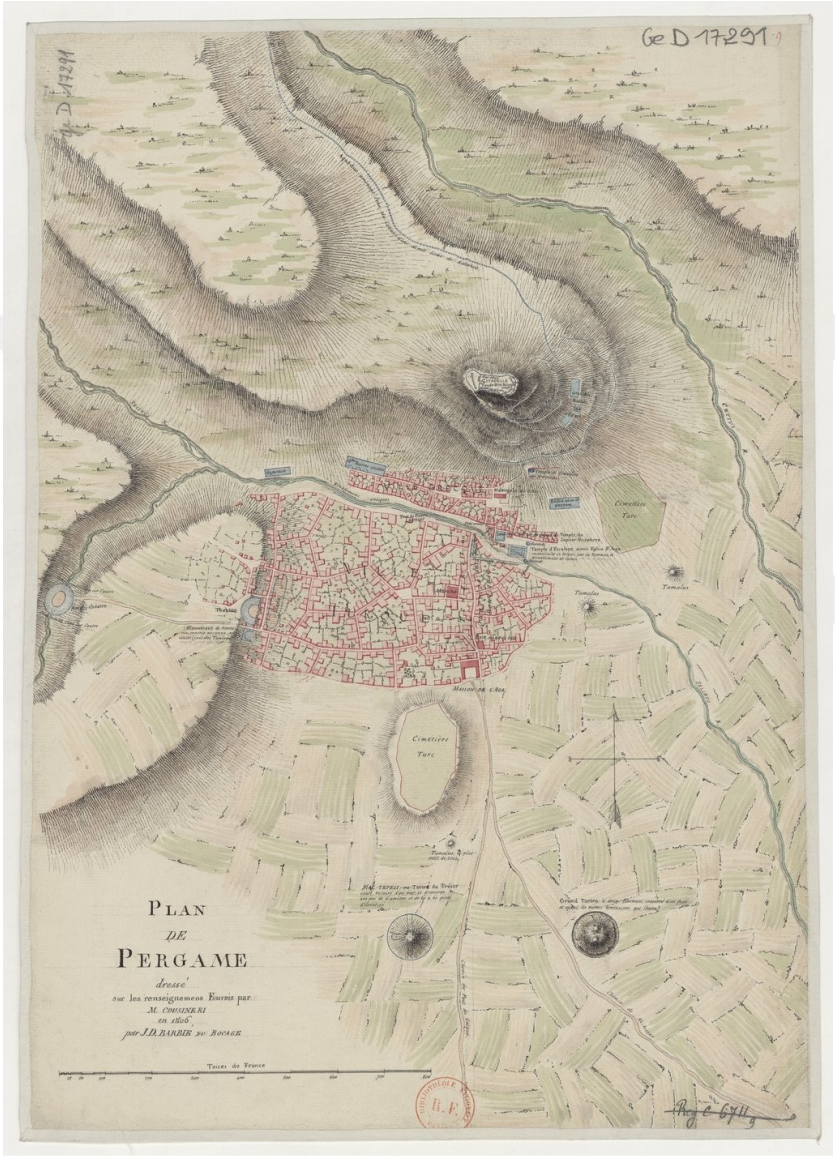


Figure 5: Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage's 1806 map of ancient Pergamon and modern Bergama
Source: Bocage, B. D. (1806). *Plan de Pergame* Dressé sur les Renseignements Fournis par M. Cousineri en 1806 par J.D. Barbié du Bocage. Retrieved March 20, 2018, from http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84949212.r=Plan de Pergame dressé sur les renseignements Fournis par M. Cousineri en 1806 par J.D. Barbié du Bocage?rk=21459;2



Figure 6: Carl Humann's 1879 archaeological map of Pergamon
Source: Conze, A., Humann, C., Bohn, R., Stiller, H., Lolling, G., & Raschdorff, O. (1880). *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon.* Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. pp. 121.



Figure 7: 2012 archaeological map of Pergamon
Source: Pirson, F.. (2014).The City and its Landscape: Tradition and Innovation in the Investigation of Pergamon. In Pirson F., & Scholl, A. (Ed.) & G. Shephard & G. Ateş (Trans.) *Pergamon: A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia.* İstanbul: YKY. (p.52)

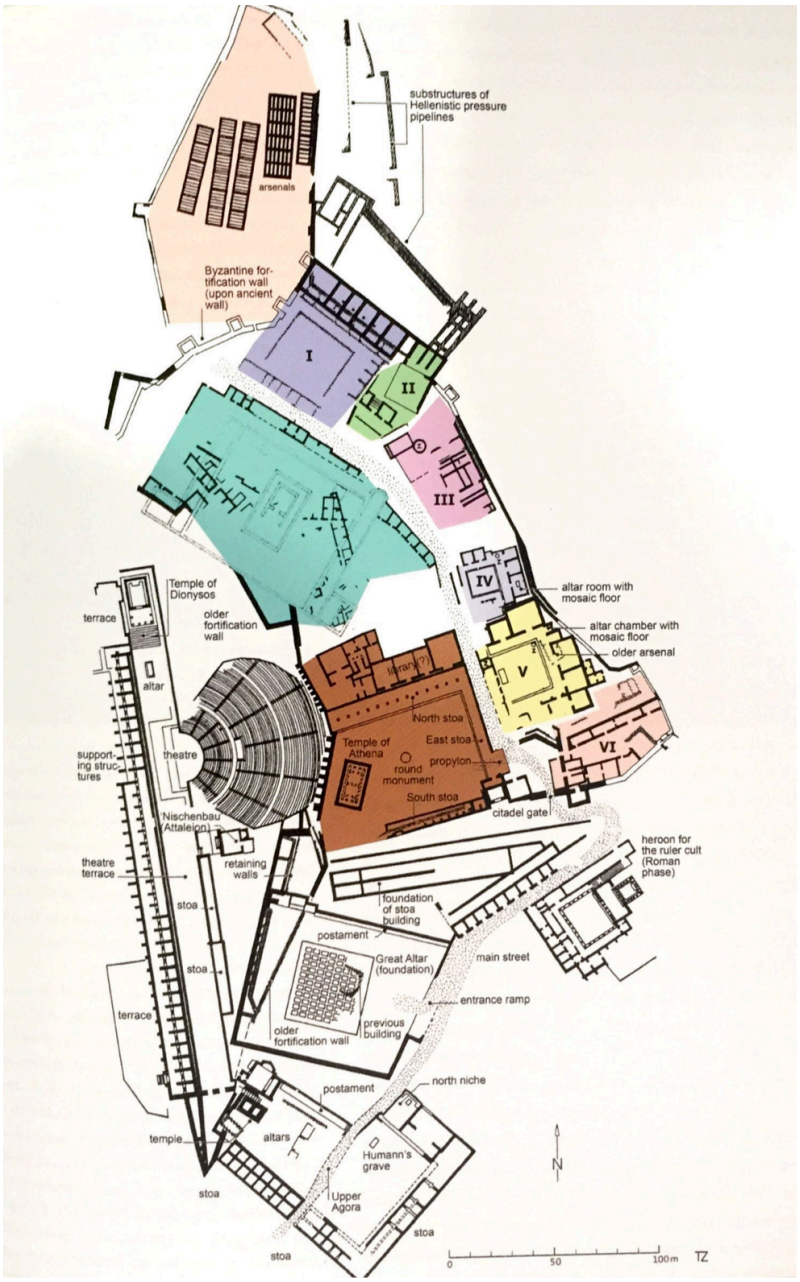


Figure 8: Plan of the Acropolis of Pergamon, T. Zimmer after W. Radt
Source: Torsten, Z.. (2014).The Basileia: The Palace District of Pergamon. In Pirson F., & Scholl, A. (Ed.) & G. Shephard & G. Ateş (Trans.).*Pergamon: A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia (p. 277). İstanbul:* YKY.



Figure 9: Photo of the Roman Trajaneum occupying the background of the second terrace

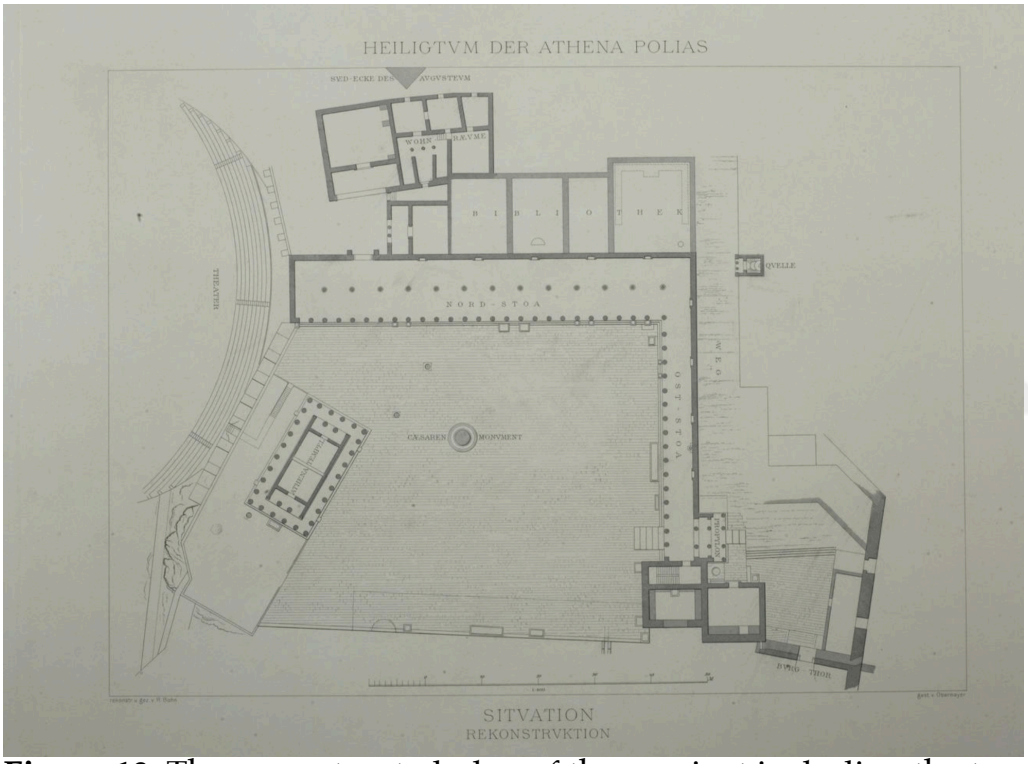


Figure 10: The reconstructed plan of the precinct including the temple, stoas, propylon, and the circular *bathron*
Source: *Altertümer von Pergamon, Band II-Tafeln*, Plate No:60 available via



Figure 11: The current view of the second terrace captured from the furthest northeastern corner of the precinct



Figure 12: The reconstruction of the propylon according to Bohn
Source: *Altertümer von Pergamon, Band II-Tafeln*, Plate No: 31 available via https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/pergamon1885a



Figure 13: An archival image of the propylon as exhibited at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin
Source: Grüßinger, R., Kästner, V., & Scholl, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Pergamon: Panorama Der Antiken Metropole* . Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag. p. 192

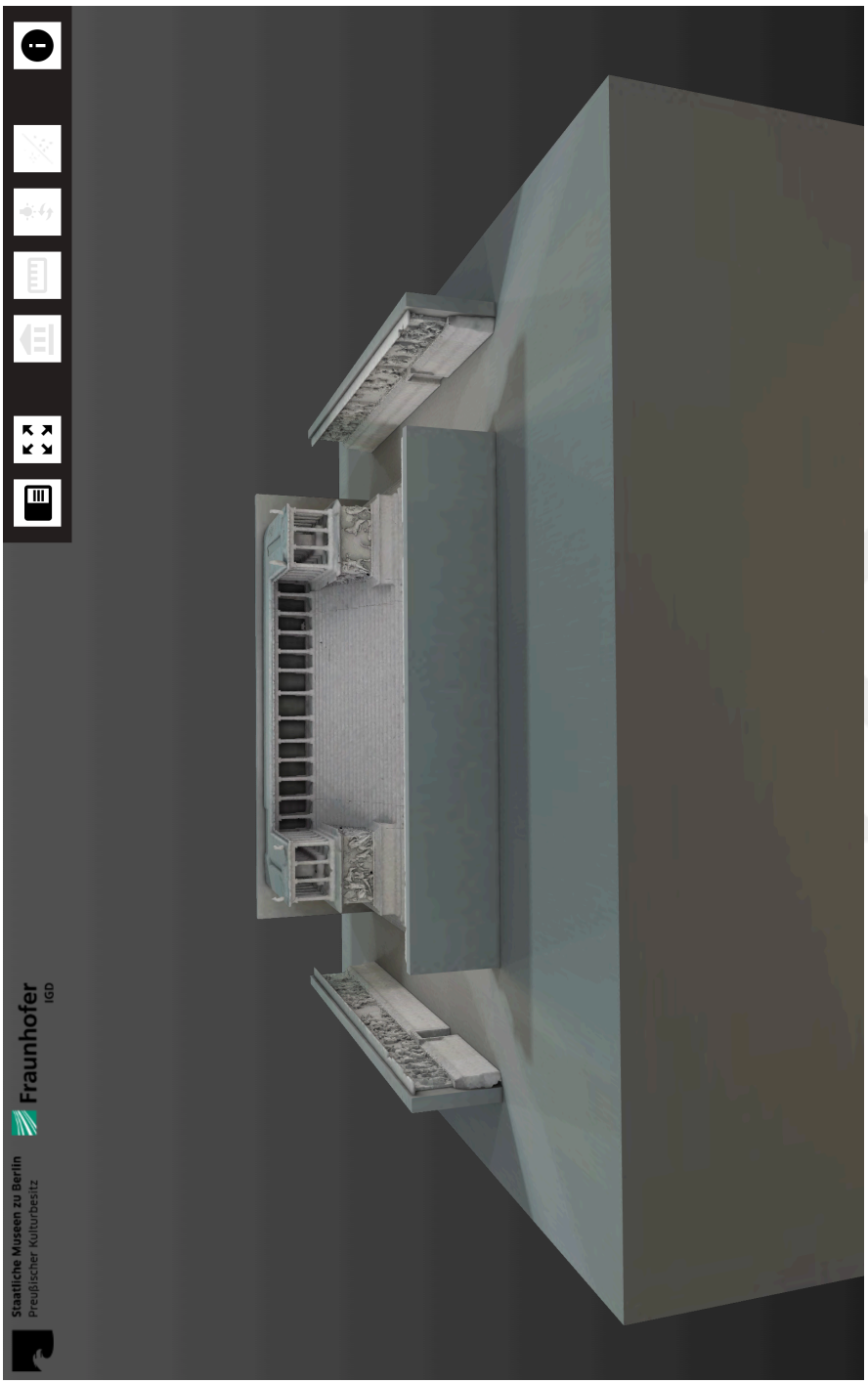


Figure 14: Screenshot from the interactive digital 3D reconstruction of the Great Altar arranged according to the actual physical installment of it in Berlin Pergamon Museum
Source: Der Pergamonaltar. Retrieved from http://3d.smb.museum/pergamonaltar/

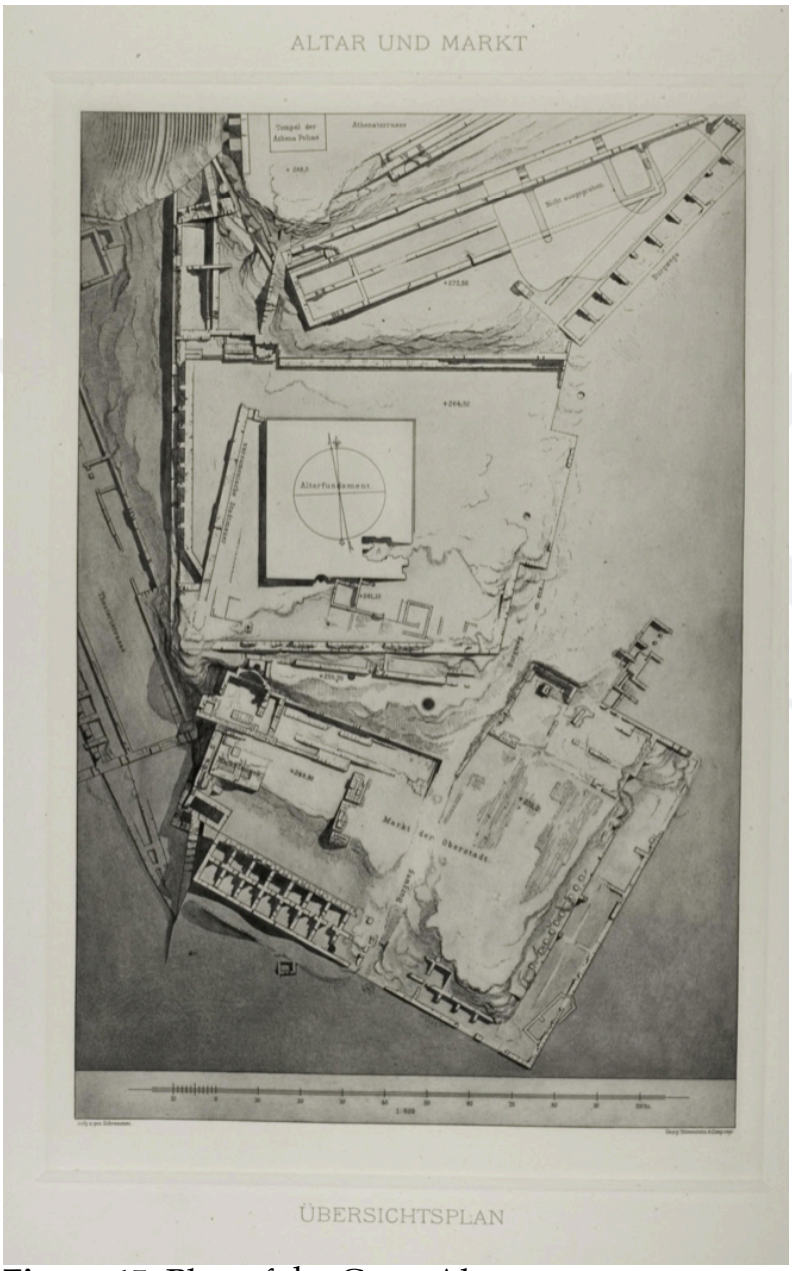


Figure 15: Plan of the Great Altar
Source: *Altertümer von Pergamon, Band III.I-Tafeln*, Plate No:1 available via https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/pergamon1906a



Figure 16: Northern Stoa captured from a slight southwestern angle. As it could be seen, the rooms that were attached to the stoa are leveled to the upper terrace

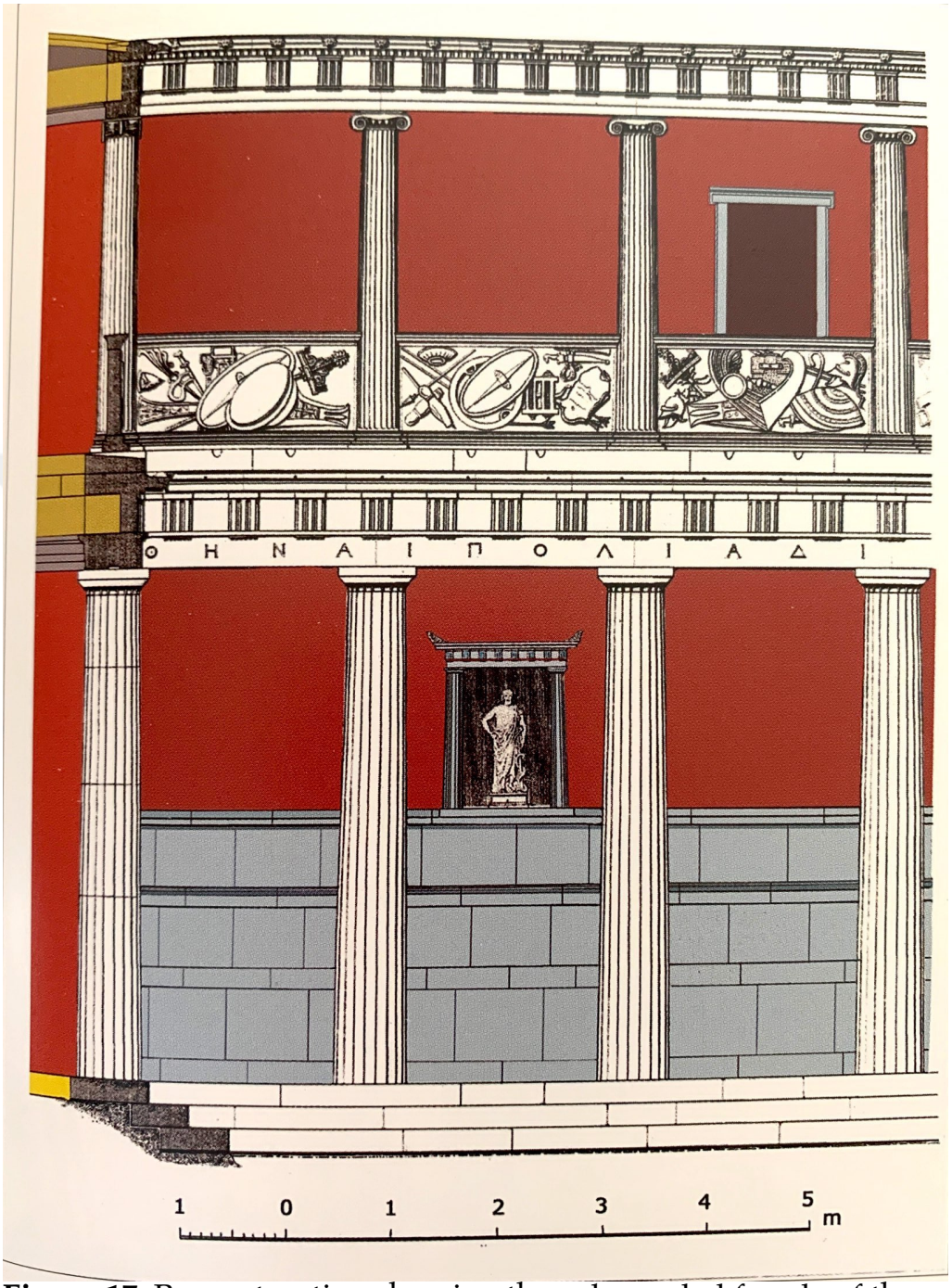


Figure 17: Reconstruction showing the colonnaded façade of the Northern stoa at the precinct
Source: Kästner, V. (2014). The Sanctuary of Athena. In Pirson, F., & Scholl, A. (Ed.) & G. Shephard & G. Ateş (Trans.), *Pergamon: A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*.İstanbul: YKY. (p.445)

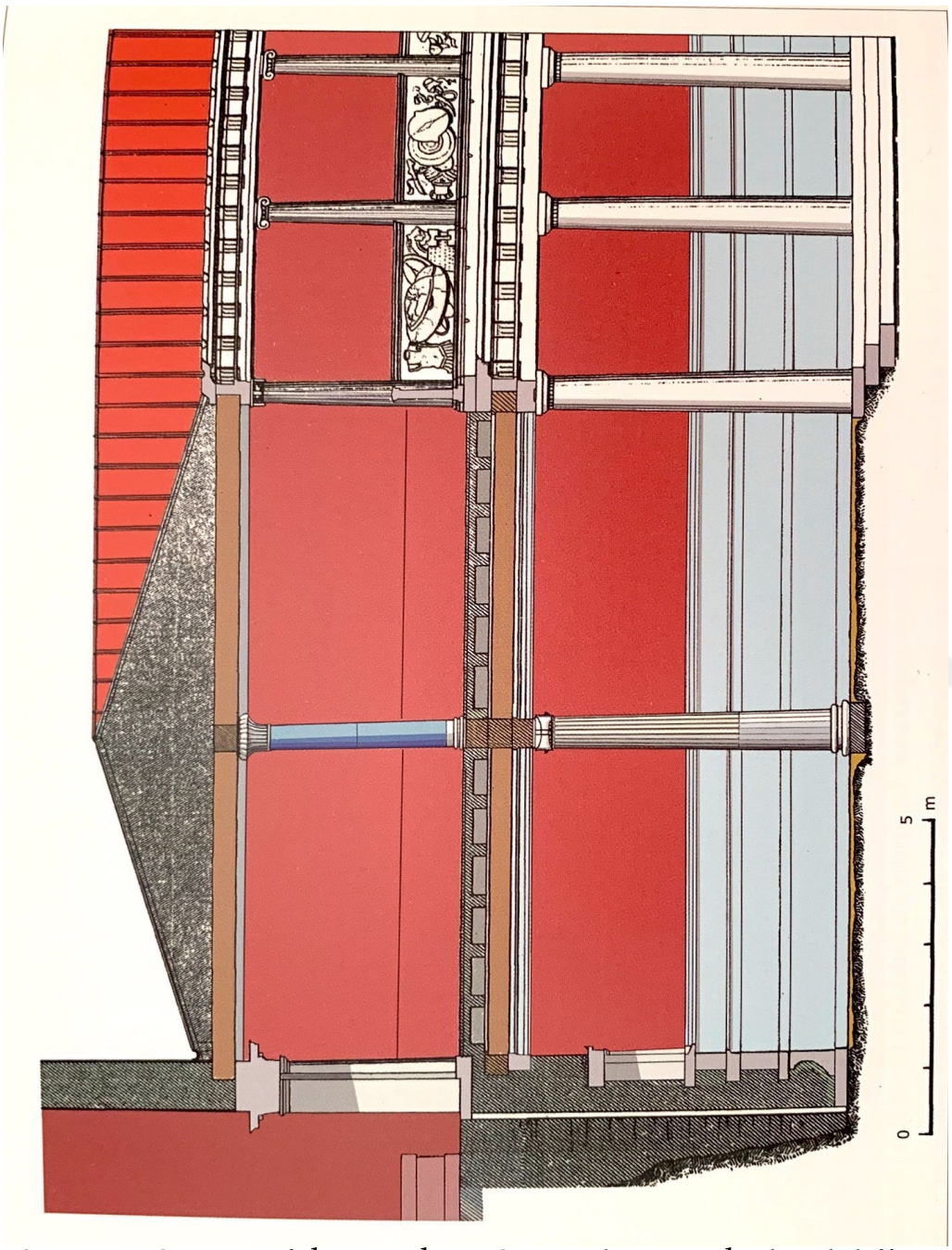


Figure 18: Section of the Northern Stoa indicating the level difference of the floors that reside on the first and second terraces of the acropolis

Source: Kästner, V. (2014). The Sanctuary of Athena. In Pirson, F., & Scholl, A. (Ed.) & G. Shephard & G. Ateş (Trans.), *Pergamon: A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*.İstanbul: YKY. (p.444)

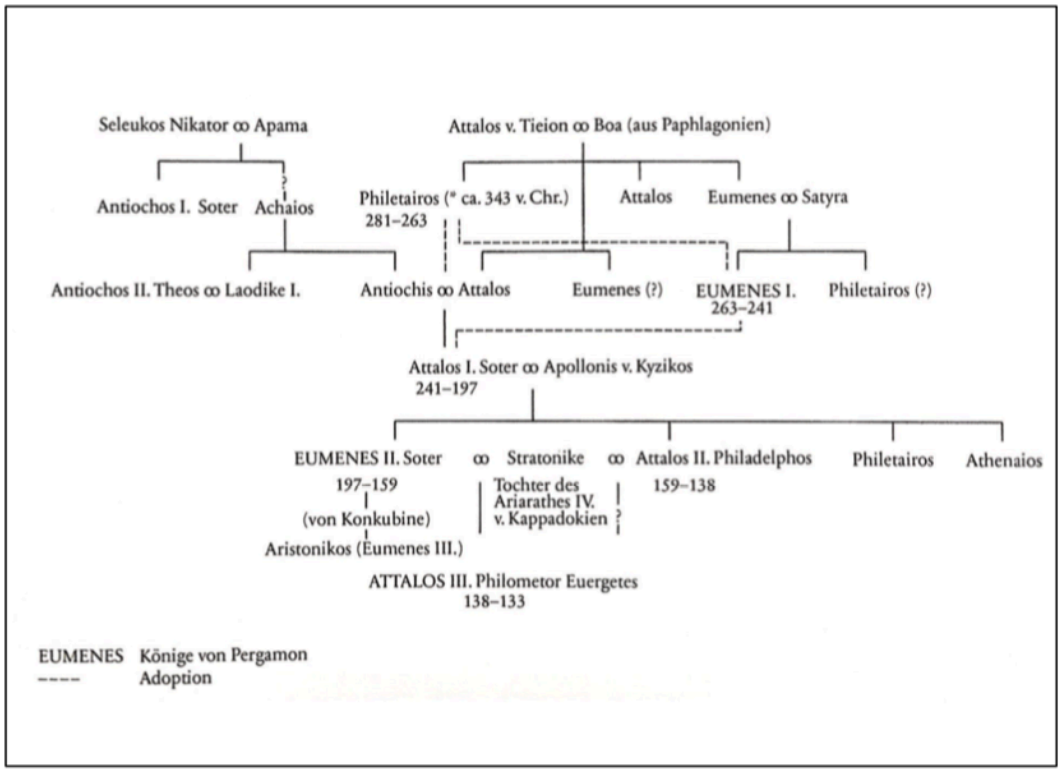


Figure 19: Family tree of the Attalid Dynasty
Source: Grüßinger, R., Kästner, V., & Scholl, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Pergamon: Panorama Der Antiken Metropole* . Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag. p. 15



Figure 20: Example of one of the first known coins from Philetairos' era under Seleucid rule.
Source: From the online database of CoinArchive via https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1462055&AucID=3010&Lot=348&Val=c889d06fdca9a1810e7242cbd9ea3c37



Figure 21: Example of the issues from Philetairos' era bearing Seleukos I's portrait on the obverse.
Source: From the online database of CoinArchive via https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1466692&AucID=3018&Lot=218&Val=7334eb27827b7d2ded8efa713bdec0e6

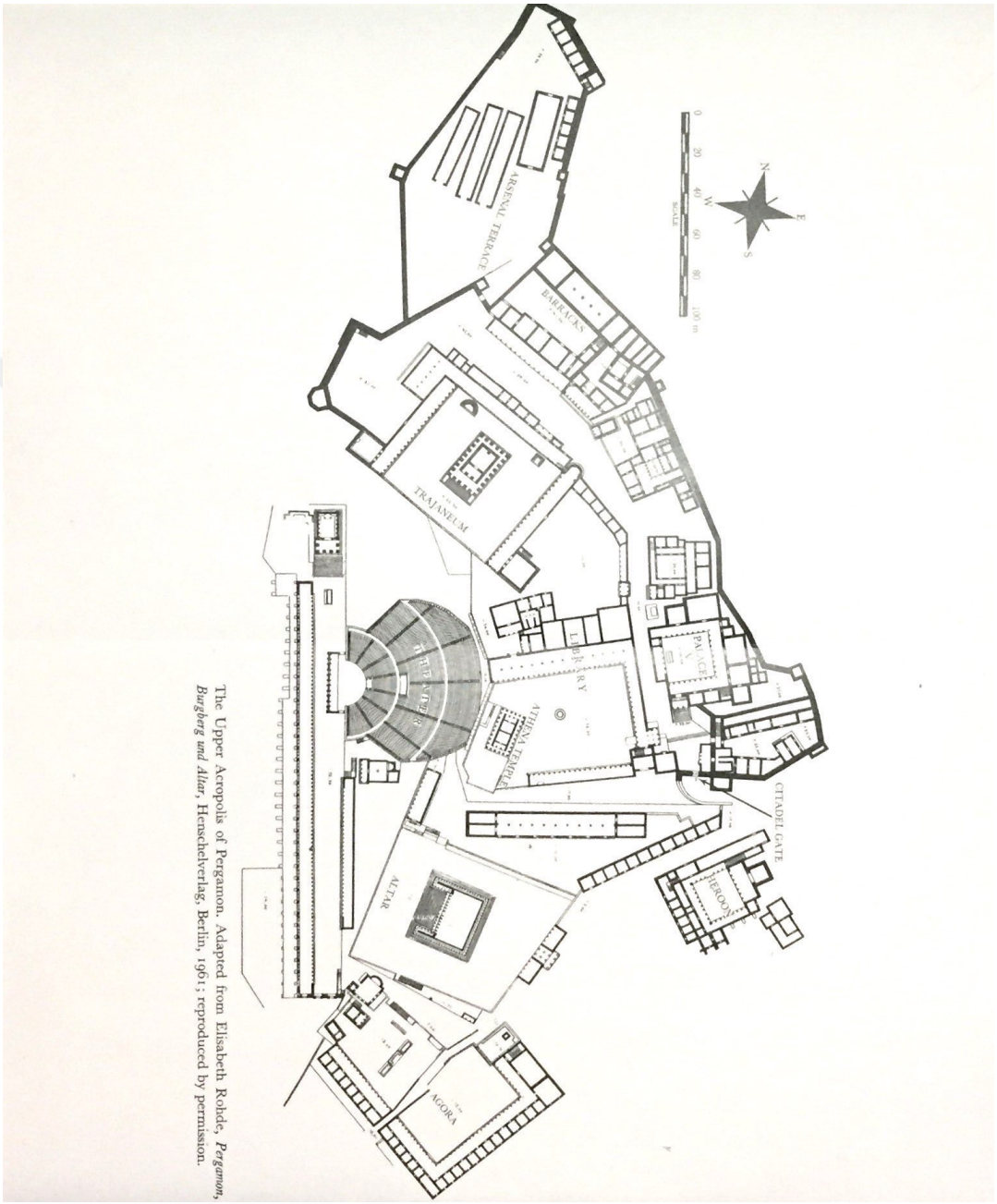


Figure 22: The arsenals on the northernmost side of the plan and the palace complexes nearest to those are regarded as structures dating back to the era of Philetairos

Source: Hansen, E. V. (1971). *The Attalids of Pergamon*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.



Figure 23: Panaromic view a few steps following the enterance form the main city gate during Philetairos' reign



Figure 24: One of the examples with a rather realistic portrait of Philetairos belonging to Eumenes I's reign
Source: From the online database of CoinArchive via https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1524997&AucID=3179&Lot=30119&Val=ba0309d4426134d1940d62a3dac9081d



Figure 25: An issue belonging to Antiochus III's reign (223-187 B.C.)
Source: From the online database of CoinArchive via https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1521069&AucID=3174&Lot=194&Val=68b1ca8c094feb43222c54991b8b4c7b



Figure 26: An example of the issues Eumenes I's reign with Athena crowning Philetairos' name on the reverse
Source: From the online database of CoinArchive via https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1523923&AucID=3178&Lot=2337&Val=1bc7daf637993254fb1e1dd674650870

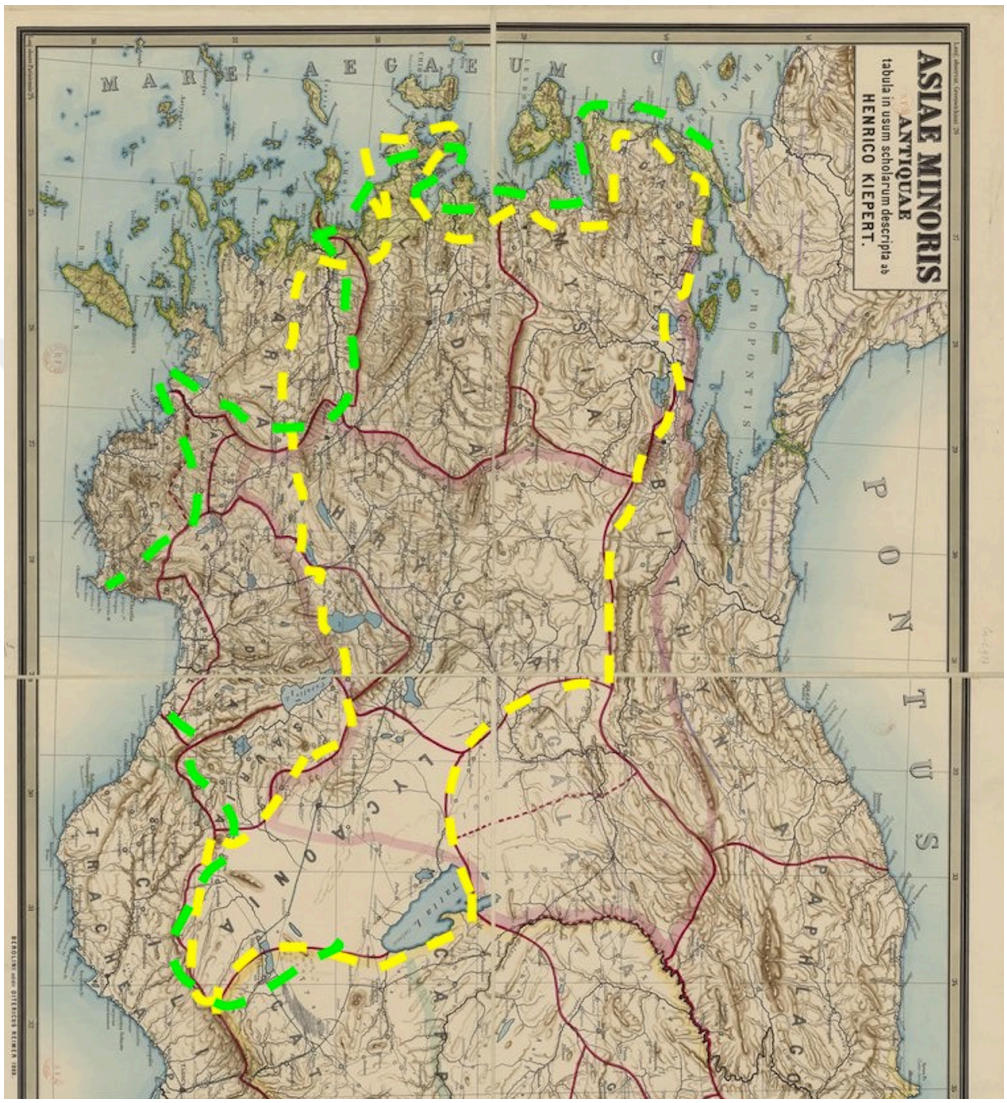


Figure 27: Edited comparative map that indicates the further most lands under Attalos I (yellow) vis a`vis Eumenes II (green) (The demarcations are made roughly according to the ancient testimony.) **Source:** Heinrich, K. (1888). Asiae Minoris Antiquae Tabula in Usum Scholarum Descripta / ab Henrico Kiepert ; Leop. Kraatz Berol. Lith. Retrieved March 23, 2018, from http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53025343p?rk=42918;4



Figure 28: Roman copy of the *Dying Gaul*
Source: Grüßinger, R., Kästner, V., & Scholl, A. (Eds.).
(2012). *Pergamon: Panorama Der Antiken Metropole* . Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag. (p. 516)

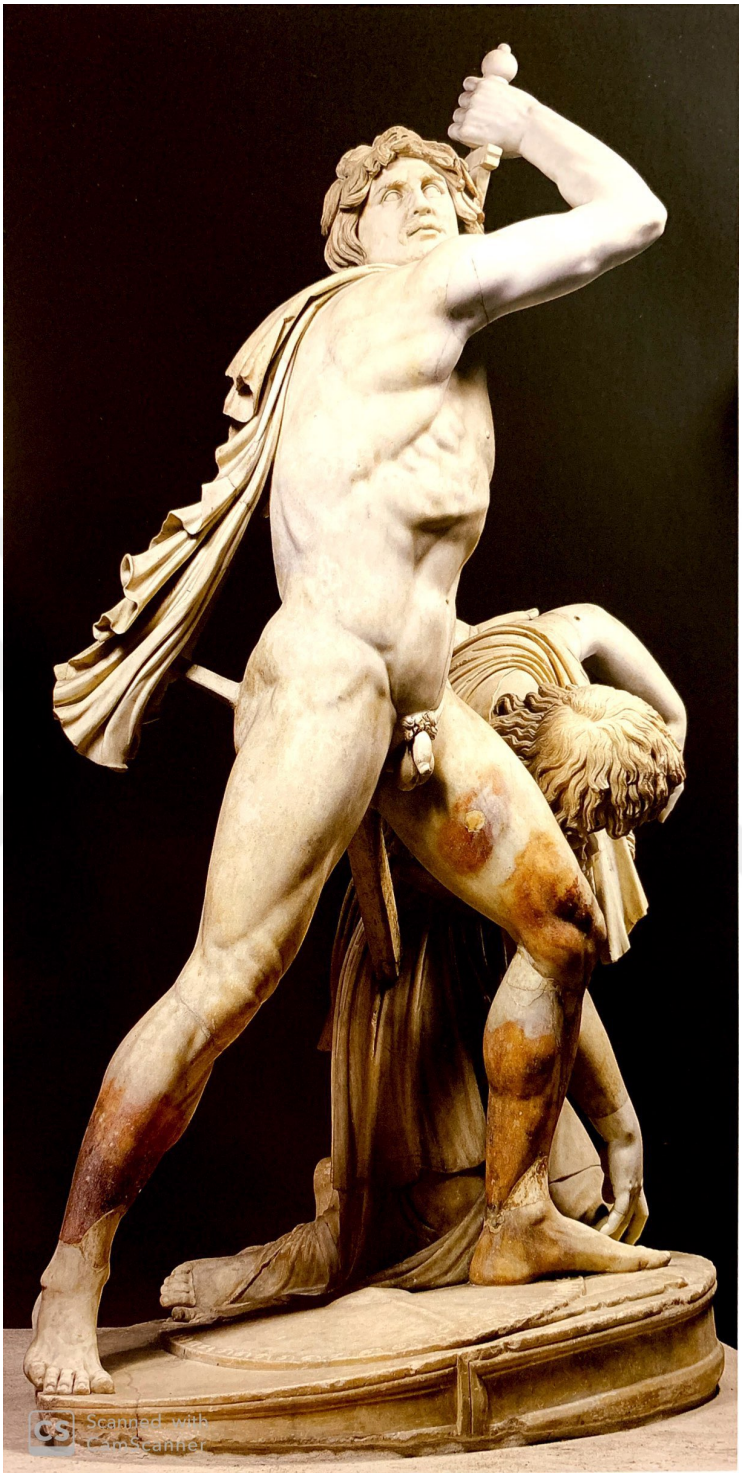


Figure 29: Roman copy of the *Dying Gaul and His Wife*
Source: Grüßinger, R., Kästner, V., & Scholl, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Pergamon: Panorama Der Antiken Metropole* . Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag. (p. 517)



Figure 30: A sample issue from Attalos I era representing Philetairos with a diadem intertwined with laurel wreath
Source: From the online database of CoinArchive via https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1483147&AucID=3070&Lot=279&Val=a7b15761d894271850e482257306a86c

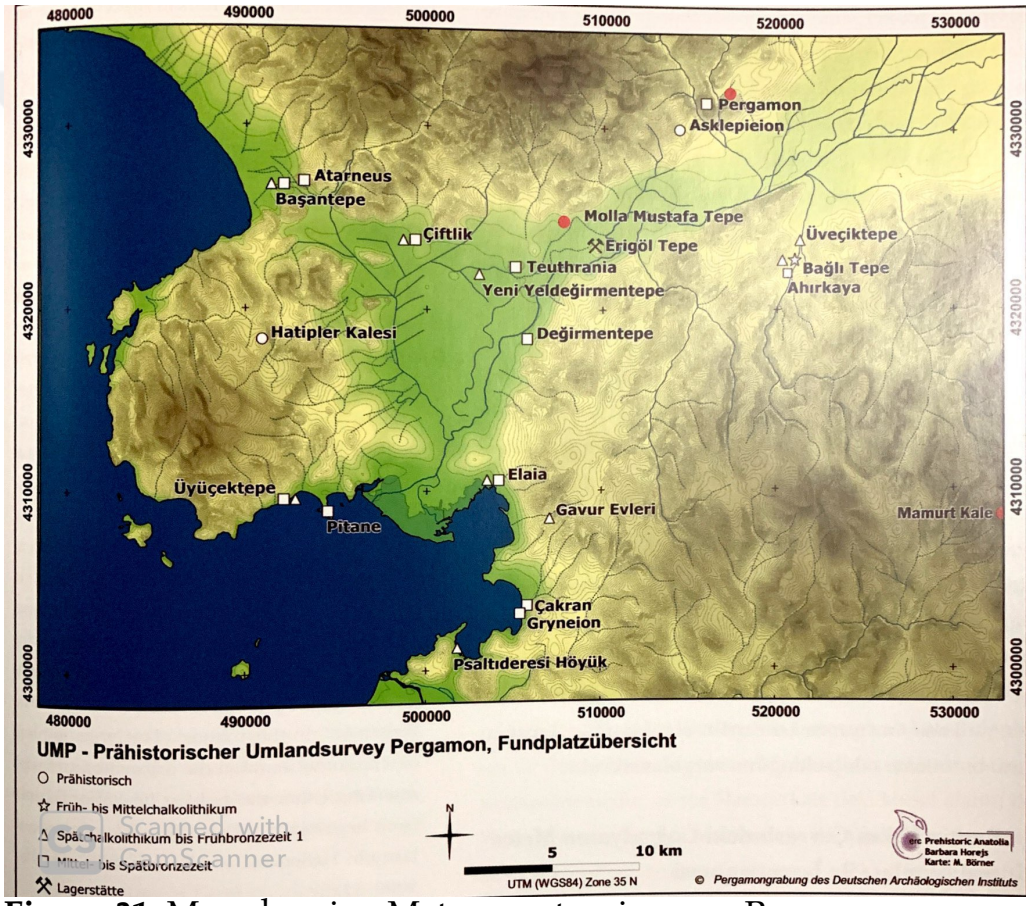


Figure 31: Map showing Meter sanctuaries near Pergamon
Source: Ateş, g. (2014). Nature and Cult in Pergamon: Meter Worship and Natural Sanctuaries. In Pirson, F., & Scholl, A. (Ed.) & G. Shephard & G. Ateş (Trans.), *Pergamon: A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*.İstanbul: YKY. (p.423)



Figure 32: The *Seated Cybele* and *Seated Attis* statues from the Acropolis
Source: Grüßinger, R., Kästner, V., & Scholl, A. (Eds.).
(2012). *Pergamon: Panorama Der Antiken Metropole* . Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag. (p. 534,5)



Figure 33: A tetradrachm baring the portrait of Eumenes II on the obverse
Source: BnF Gallica Archive via https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b103037380/f2.item.r=Mysie%20pergame%20eumenes



Figure 34: An example of Athena Ilias tetradrachm
Source: Marcellesi, Marie-Christine. (2017). Power and Coinage: The Portrait tetradrachm of Eumenes II. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*. 10. 94-106. 10.30549/opathrom-10-04. (p.99)



Figure 35: An example of Athena Nikephoria tetradrachm
Source: Marcellesi, Marie-Christine. (2017). Power and Coinage: The Portrait Tetradrachms of Eumenes II. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*. 10. 94-106. 10.30549/opathrom-10-04. (p.98)

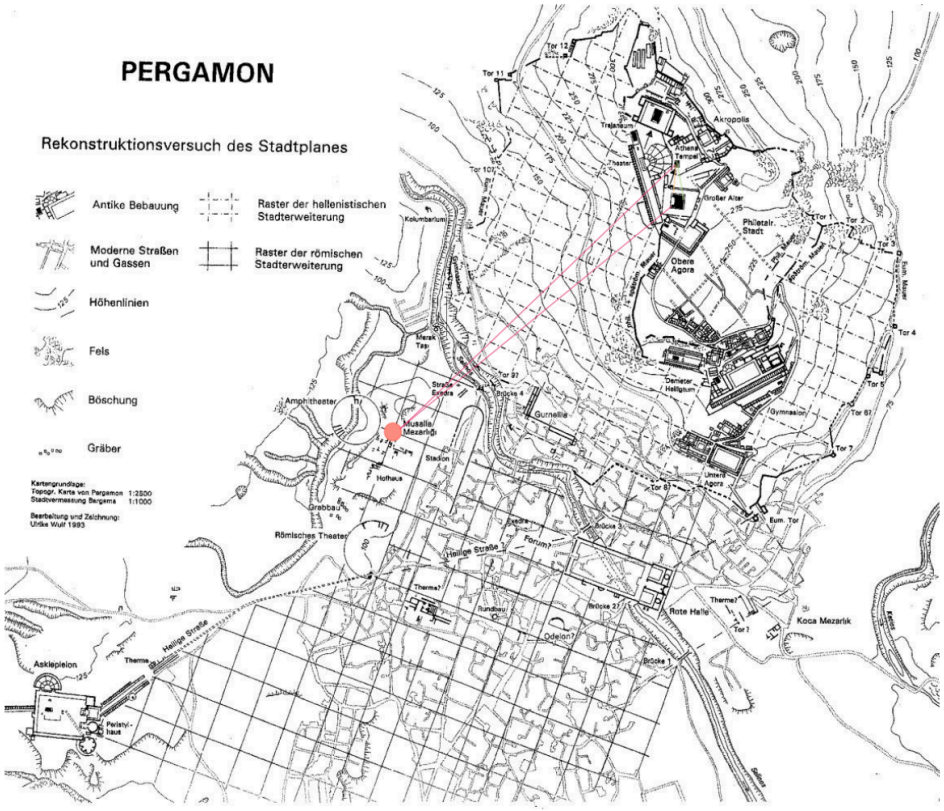


Figure 36: Edited map of Radt demarcating the possible location of the Nicephorium and its distance to the second and third terraces
Source: Radt, W. (2002). *Pergamon: Antik bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* (S. Tammer, Trans.). İstanbul: YKY. (p.56)



Figure 37: An example of *kistophoros*
Source: From the online database of CoinArchive via https://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=1478871&AucID=3058&Lot=63&Val=91054cdab87188703e986abcd3e33931

APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Tarih metinlerde olduğu gibi yıkıntılarda da kayıtlıdır. Geçmişin ihtişamının ve gurunun göstergesi olan bu yıkıntılardan seçinen birkaçı ise bu çalışmanın konusu olan Helenistik Pergamon akropolünde ikinci terasta yer alan Athena kutsal alanı yapıları ve üçüncü terasta yer alan Zeus Sunağı'dır. Günümüzde olduğu gibi geçmişte de anıtsal yapılar, toplumun günlük yaşamı içerisinde kentlere mekânsal bir "sahne" oluşturmaktan öte toplumun sosyal hayatının ve iletişimin bir parçasıdırlar. Antik Pergamon'un yöneticileri olan Attalid hanedanı ise, anıtsal mimariyi hem kendi halkıyla hem diğer halklarla hem de kendilerinden uzaktaki toplumlarla Attalid kimliğiyle ilgili özel mesajlar vermek üzere kullanmışlardır. Bu düşünceyi detaylandırarak açıklamayı amaç edinen bu çalışma iki temel bölümden oluşmaktadır. Çalışmanın birinci kısmını oluşturan iki ve üçüncü bölüm bu çalışmanın kavramsal çerçevesini açıklayan Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplininin Klasik Realizm okuluna kısa bir tanıtımla başlamaktadır. Takip eden ikinci kısım ise, bu çalışmanın mekânsal sınırlarını belirleyen; Pergamon akropolünün topoğrafyasına dair birtakım bilgiler ve ikinci terastaki Athena kutsal alanı yapıları ve üçüncü terastaki Zeus Sunağı'nın mimarisi üzerine temel bilgiler sunmaktadır. İkinci temel kısım ise, doğrusal bir düzlemde ilerleyerek tarihsel bilgiler vermektedir. Tarihsel bilgiler Attalidler'in kurucusu olan Philetairos'ın şehri yönettiği zaman olan M.Ö. 282'den başlar ve ikinci Eumenes'in kardeşi ikinci Attalos'un krallığına denk gelen M.Ö. 156 yılına kadar devam eder. Çalışma verilen bilgiler ışığında kısa bir genel bakışla kapanır.

Bu çalışma için önemli bir bakış açısı sağlayan Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplininin Realist okulundan bahsedildiğinde; Realist okulun savunduğu kavramlar yüzyıllar boyunca hem entelektüeller hem de politikacıların politik olayları anlamlandırmak için neredeyse her zaman başvurduğu söylenebilir. Son birkaç on yıl içinde küreselleşmenin etkisiyle artan işbirlikçi davranışlar için liberal kuramcılar Realist kavramlara alternatif kavramlar de üretmiş olsalar, Realist kuramın eski ve köklü analitik araçları hâlâ çok yaygın olarak kullanılmaktadır. Realizm'de temel olarak kabul edilen dört kavramdan ilki politik eylemlerin yalnızca politik aktörler seviyesinde gerçekleştiğini savunur. İkinci temel kavram, tüm politik aktörlerin öncelikle kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda hareket ettiğini öngörür. Üçüncü kavram, politik aktörlerin davranışlarını denetleyecek bir politik yapı olmadıkça uluslararası arenada anarşinin hüküm sürdüğünü öne sürer. Tüm bunlara ek olarak eklenebilecek son kavram ise, politik aktörlerin temel güdüsü varlığını koruma ya da mümkünse etki alanını genişletmek üzere kuruludur ve tüm politik aktörler etraflarındaki aktörlerin güç politikaları doğrultusunda hareket ederler.

Kökleri milattan önce Thucydides'in politik tarih analizlerine kadar dayanan ve Realizm'in en temel açılımı olarak görülen Klasik Realizm, yukarda belirtilen temel kavramlara ek olarak dört ayrı varsayımda bulunur. Bunlardan birincisi, insan doğasının kötü olduğudur. İkincisi, insanın bir ürünü olan devletin uluslararası arenada insan doğasına uygun olarak hareket ettiğidir. Üçüncüsü, uluslararası arenada rol alan politik aktörlerin anarşik bir topluluk oluşturduklarıdır. Son varsayıma göre ise, tüm politik aktörler hem iç

hem de dış politikada varlıklarını sürdürmek ve ardından da güçlerini arttırmak üzere çıkarları doğrultusunda hareket ederler.

Klasik Realizm her ne kadar bu çalışmada vazgeçilemez olsa da Klasik Realizm'in ve genel olarak Realist okulun üzerinde pek durmadığı bir konu olan prestij politikaları da bu çalışma için vazgeçilemez bir öneme sahiptir. Prestij politikalarına dair en ünlü *Reelpolitik* düşünürlerinden biri olan Hans Morgenthau'nun *Uluslararası Politika* kitabının "Güç İçin Mücadele: Prestij Politikası" adlı başlığına değinilebilir. Söz konusu başlığın altında Morgenthau hem "Diplomatik Seremoni" hem de "Askeri Güç Gösterisi" adlı iki kategori tanımlamıştır. Bunlardan ilki bu çalışma için oldukça önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Morgenthau, "diplomatik merasim" için örnek olarak Napolyon'un kendi kendine taç giydirmesinden bahseder. Normalde Papa'nın ve böylelikle Tanrı'nın kutsamasıyla taçlandırılan kralların tersine Napolyon'un vermek istediği mesaj her kutsallıktan yüce bir konumda olduğudur. Bu çalışmada da Roma'nın Kybele kült objesinin transferi sırasında ortaya koyduğu üstünlük Morgenthau'nun "Diplomatik Seremoni" sınıflandırması adı altında değerlendirilir.

Her ne kadar Realist okul sert güç unsurları olan iktisadi güç ve askeri güce odaklansa da, politik aktörler için bağlayıcı olan güç kavramının daha geniş bir kapsamı olduğu göz ardı edilmemelidir. Bu noktada "Yumuşak Güç" yapıtının yazarı Joseph Nye, Jr.'a göre devletlerin sert güçleri etkili olduğu kadar karizması ve diğer devletlerin gözündeki yeri de önemlidir. Buna örnek olarak bir ülkenin örnek alınası özgürlük, adalet, demokrasi, vb. kavramlarıyla ve bilim, sanat ve eğitimdeki ilerlemeleriyle de başka devletleri ve milletleri

etkileyebileceğinden bahseder. Fakat unutulmaması gereken nokta şudur ki, sert güç olmadan yumuşak güç gereğini yerine getirememektedir. Her politik aktörün ilk ve en önemli amacı sert gücünü arttırıp etki alanını genişletmektir.

Kavramsal çerçeveyi takiben çalışmaya altlık hazırlayan ikinci konu da antik şehrin topografyasıdır. Bilindiği üzere Helenistik Pergamon'un akropolü Ege Denizi'ne yaklaşık yirmi yedi kilometre uzaklıkta denizden, göreceli olarak çok da yüksek olamayan bir tepeye kurulmuştur. Antik dönemde Mysia bölgesinde bulunun bu şehir, etrafı nehirlerle donatılmış vadilerle çevriliydi. Antik dönemde Pergamon akropolüne batı yönünden yaklaşan bir ziyaretçi tepedeki dört ayrı kademeden oluşan terasları ve antik tiyatro kompleksini rahatlıkla seçebilirdi.

Bu çalışmanın konusu olan Athena kutsal alanı yapıları ve Zeus Sunağı sırasıyla akropolün ikinci ve üçüncü terasında yer almaktaydı. Helenistik dönemde Athena kutsal alanında Athena tapınağı, kuzey stoanın da yer aldığı Athena kutsal alanını batı hariç diğer yönlerde çerçeveleyen stoalar, bugün de ikinci terasta görülebilen *bathron*, son olarak da günümüzde Berlin'de sergilenen *propylon* yer almaktaydı. Bu kutsal alanda en tartışmalı olan konu Pergamon kütüphanesinin yeridir. İlk yapılan kazılardan beri kuzey stoanın kuzey-doğu yönünde olan en büyük odası ve bu odanın yanında stoanın ikinci katında yer alan kuzey doğu uçtaki odaya göre daha küçük olan odalar kütüphane kompleksinin bir parçası kabul edilmektedir. Üçüncü terasa gelindiğinde günümüzde sadece Zeus Sunağı'nın temelleri yer almaktadır, sunağın geri kalan kısımları Berlin'de sergilenmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın kronolojik sıralamayla ilerleyen kısmını temel iki başlıktan oluşmaktadır. Birinci başlık Attalid Hanedanı'nın M.Ö. 197 yılına kadar olan yöneticilerini kapsamaktadır. Bu başlık hanedanın kurucusu olan Philetairos'un kayda değer politik ve askeri kararlarıyla gerçekleştirilen mimari projeleri yer almaktadır. Krallığın kurucusunu ikinci yönetici ayrıca ilk resmi kral olan yeğeni Eumenes I takip etmektedir. Philetairos'a adanan kısımda olduğu gibi birinci Eumenes'in konu edildiği kısmının altında da Eumenes'in politik ve askeri kararları ve bunun yanı sıra Eumenes'in Atina'daki filozoflarla olan yakın bağı anlatılmaktadır. M.Ö. 197 yılını kapsayan ve kronolojik olarak ilerleyen kısmın sonunda ise ikinci Eumenes'den önce gelen, hanedanın en uzun hüküm sürmüş kralı olan birinci Attalos'a değinilmektedir. Birinci Eumenes'in oğlu olan birinci Attalos ilk defa Gallerin kestiği haraçlara karşı çıkıp, Gallerin ordusunu yenmiştir. Bu zaferinin ardından kurtarıcı lakabını ön-adını kazanan Attalos hayatı boyunca ilk zaferi kadar önemli zaferler kazanmaya çalışmıştır. Bu çalışmada da kısaca Attalos'un askeri ve politik seçimlerine yönelmenin yanında aynı zamanda Morgenthau'nun bahsetmiş olduğu "diplomatik merasim" kavramının mükemmel bir örneği olan Kybele kültünün kutsal objesinin diplomatik temsilciler eşliğinde Roma'ya transfer edilmesi olayına değinilmektedir. Her ne kadar birini Attalos devri zafer ve yenilgilerle dolu dinamik bir dönem de olsa, askeri kazanımlar ve kayıplar kadar, hatta belki de daha fazla, bu transfer olayının Attalos'un mimarisini anlamlandırmada büyük bir yeri vardır. Soylarını ilk defa mitoloji aracılığıyla Akhilleus'a bağlama cesareti gösteren Attalidler, bu cesareti gösterir göstermez, sözde Aeneid soyundan gelen Romalılar tarafından açıkça küçük düşürülmüşlerdi. Bu transferle ve onun

getirdiği küçük düşürülmeyle başlayan olaylar zincirinin etkileri ilerleyen yıllarda ikinci Eumenes'in Roma karşıtı propagandasında önemli bir etken olacaktır.

M.Ö. 197 yılı ve sonrasına gelişen olaylara değinen kısma gelindiğinde temel olarak ikinci Eumenes dönemine odaklı bir anlatım seyretmektedir. Bir önceki başlıkta olduğu gibi bu kısımda da kronolojik olarak ilerleyen anlatım boyunca ikinci Eumenes'in devri üç temel alt-başlığa ayrılmıştır. Bunlardan ilki Eumenes'in M.Ö. 197 yılından M.Ö. 188 yılına kadarki yönetimini, ikincisi M.Ö 188 ile M.Ö. 181 yılları arası ikinci Eumenes devrini, sonuncusu ise M.Ö. 181'den ikinci Attalos'un tahta çıkış yılı olan M.Ö. 159 yılına kadarki dönemi kapsamaktadır. Son olarak da ikinci Eumenes sonrası döneme dair kısa bir analizle çalışmanın bu kısmı sonlanmakta ve sonuç kısmına geçilmektedir.

İlk olarak M.Ö. 197 yılından M.Ö. 188 yılına kadarki olaylara odaklanılacak olunursa: Bu yıllarda Apamea Antlaşması'ndan önce gerçekleşmiş olan en önemli olgu mimari projelerdir. Politik, askeri ya da ekonomik açıdan göreceli olarak sakin geçen bu yıllarda çok büyük olasılıkla ikinci terası kapsayan mimari projeler başlatılmıştır. Bu yıllarda elinde sermayesi bulunan ve her bir yandan büyük tehditlere kapalı göreceli olarak küçük bir krallığı yöneten Eumenes'in geçmişte Pergamon'u yönetmiş olan aile bireylerinin çok büyük ihtimalle planladığı ama gerçekleştirmeye fırsat bulamadığı en önemli proje olan kütüphane projesini başlatmış olma olasılığı fiziksel kanıtlarla ve bu kanıtları destekleyen *Reelpolitik* çerçeveye oturtulmuş tarihi okumalarla desteklenmektedir.

M.Ö. 190 yılına gelindiğinde Roma-Suriye savaşının patlak vermesiyle yeni kral Eumenes savaşa dahil olarak krallığının görüp görebileceği en geniş sınırlara sahip olmasını sağlayacak olaylar serisine öncülük eder. 188 yılına gelindiğinde Eumenes, Roma aracılığıyla Anadolu'daki en geniş krallık konumuna yükselmiştir. Bu büyük değişimi takiben krallık kendi içerisinde yönetimsel bir yapılanmaya girmiştir. Krallığı etkin bir şekilde yönetebilmek adına atılan bürokratik adımlar aynı zamanda büyüyen krallığı temsil eden başkent olan Pergamon'un da büyümesini ve yüce kral ikinci Eumenes'e yaraşır bir şehir olmasını gerekmiştir. Tabii ki tüm bu masraflı projeleri gerçekleştirmek için kralın düzenli bir gelir kaynağına ihtiyacı olmuştur. Muhtemelen krallığın genişlemesini takiben ilk vergiler toplandığı andan itibaren başkent Pergamon'un kralı temsil eden kısmı olan akropolde mimari projelere başlanmıştır. Bunlardan en önemlisi kuşkusuz Zeus Sunağı'dır. Bu çalışmada Zeus Sunağı ile ilgili ileri sürülen en önemli düşünce bu sunağın M.Ö. 181 yılında sadece basamakları ve ünlü frizleriyle tamamlanmış olduğu savıdır. Arkeolojik araştırmalar sunak temelinin en geç M.Ö. 170 yılında tamamlanmış olması gerektiği ve İyonik kolonların ve sunağın kolonlarla kapatılmış iç mekanının ortasında bulunan Telephus frizinin ise M.Ö. 160 yılları civarı yapıya eklenmiş olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu bilgiler ışığında krallığın tarihine bir kez daha bakılacak olursa M.Ö. 188 yılını takiben en çok dikkat çeken olayın M.Ö. 181'de gerçekleşen, krallığın düzenlediği ilk panhelenik festival olan Nikephora festivalinin gerçekleşmiş olmasıdır. Tüm Yunan dünyasından katılımcılara yönelik bu festival kuşkusuz krallığın başkenti olan Pergamon'un güzelliğini sergilemek için mükemmel bir fırsat olarak görülmüştü.

Herbert Hoffmann'ın savına göre Zeus sunağının iki temel kısmından ilki frizle süslenmiş basamaklı podyum kısmıdır. İkincisi ise, İyonik kolonlarla çevrelenmiş Telephus frizidir. Tarihte basamaklı sunaklar mimari açıdan kullanılmış olsa da ilk defa Pergamon'da bir basamaklı sunak İon stilinde kolonlarla çevrelenmiş bir frizi taşımıştır. Burada dikkat çeken öge ise basamaklı sunak yapısına normalde kahramanların anıt mezarı mimarisinde kullanılan İon stilinde kolonların eklenmiş olmasıdır. Bu detaya bir de şehrin mitolojik kurucusu Telephus'un hayatını resmeden frizler eklendiğinde ortaya şahsına münhasır bir yapı çıkmıştır. Hoffmann'ın da bahsettiği gibi, tarihte ilk kez Pergamon'da birbiriyle alakasız görünen iki mimari gelenek harmanlanmıştır. Yukarıda da belirtildiği üzere bu çalışmada Zeus Sunağı projesinin iki ayrı aşamada geliştirildiği savunulmaktadır. Sadece basamaklı podyum ve bunu çevreleyen frizleri kapsayan ilk aşama M.Ö. 181 yılına kadarken, İon stilinde kolonları ve Telephus frizini kapsayan ikinci aşama M.Ö. 167 yılında başlayıp değişen politik yönelimler sonucu yarım bırakılmışıdır.

Tarihsel olarak bu mimari harmanı tetikleyen olgulara olaylara bakılacak olursa, yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi ilk dikkat çeken önemli olayın krallığın düzenlediği ilk panhelenik festival olan Nikephora festivali olduğu görülür. Tüm Yunan dünyasından temsilcilerin katılacağı bu festivale Eumenes kuşkusuz krallığını en şaşalı şekilde tanıtmak istemiştir.

Attalos ailesinin tarihinde en çok gurur duyduğu askeri başarıları düşünülecek olunursa kuşkusuz akla ilk gelen Attalos başarıları Galler'e karşı kazandıkları zafer ve Makedonya tehdidine karşı Yunan halkına Roma'nın yanında yardım etmiş oldukları gelmektedir. Bu iki

zafer Attaloslar'ı Yunan halkının koruyucusu konumuna yükseltmiştir. İkinci Eumenes'in başkent Pergamon'un statüsünü yükseltecek mimari ve sanatsal projeleri başlatırken kuşkusuz bunların Attalosların en değerli başarılarını hatırlatan simgelerle bezenmesini istemişti. Zeus Sunağı ise kesinlikle bu projelerin başında gelmekteydi. Her ne kadar Apamea Antlaşması Attalid Krallığı'nı Anadolu'daki en güçlü ve en büyük krallık statüsüne yükseltmiş olsa da, Roma'nın gölgesinde kazanılan bu başarı haliyle ikinci Eumenes'in en gurur duyduğu zaferi değildir. Tahmin edilebileceği üzere, bir kral kendini en güçlü gördüğü zamanları halkına ve diğer toplumlara hatırlatmak ister. Bu ikinci Eumenes için de geçerlidir. Hayal edebileceğinin ötesinde bir güce kavuşmuş olan Eumenes şimdi elinden geldiğince prestijini ortaya koymak istemekteydi ve bunu gerçekleştirmenin en etkili yolu tabii olarak tüm halkın ve ziyaretçilerin tanık olabileceği anıtsal mimariden geçmekteydi. Kuşkusuz M.Ö. 181 yılında gerçekleşmiş olan Nikefora festivali Eumenes için harika bir propaganda etkinliğini olarak görülmüştü ve bu etkinliğin baş rol oyuncuları da akropoldeki yeni sunak ve yenilenmiş Athena kutsal alanıydı.

Esther Hansen, Nikephora festivalinin gerçekleştiği yerin şehrin dışında bulunan Nikephorium olduğunu savunur. Tarihi kaynaklar ve arkeolojik bulgular ışığında bu tapınağın Helenistik dönemdeki yerinin akropolün güney doğusunda ve akropole birkaç kilometre uzaklıkta olduğunu ekler. Bu bilgiler ışığında görünen o ki, Nikephora festivaline katılan ziyaretçilerin akropolü mükemmel bir açıdan izlemeye imkân sağlayan bir noktada gerçekleşmiştir. Hem görsel hem tarihsel hem de tematik bağı bulunan ikinci teras

yapılarıyla üçüncü teras sunağı hiç kuşkusuz antik ziyaretçileri büyülemiştir.

Her ne kadar ikinci Eumenes Attalid ailesinin en şanslı yöneticisi olsa da hayatının son yıllarına doğru Roma ile arasında sürtüşmeye yol açan olaylar nedeniyle politik duruşunu gözden geçirmek durumunda kalmıştır.

M.Ö. 171 yılından M.Ö. 168 yılına kadar devam eden Üçüncü Makedon Savaşı kuşkusuz ikinci Eumenes'in Roma ile olan politik bağlarını zedelemiş ve bu çalışma açısında çok önemli olan olaylar zincirini başlatmıştır. Savaşın son bulmasına çok az bir süre kala yayılan bir dedikodu ikinci Eumenes ve Roma ittifakını çok ağır bir şekilde zedelemiş ve Eumenes'in Roma karşıtı politik söylem yoluna başvurmasına yol açmıştır.

Üçüncü Makedon Savaşı sonrası Helenistik dünya göz önüne alındığında Roma'nın Akdeniz bölgesindeki tek süper-güç olduğu görülür. Herhangi bir kral Roma'nın Akdeniz üzerindeki üstünlüğünü sarsmak istediği takdirde başka güçlerle ittifak kurması gerektiği açıkça ortadadır.

Andrew Erskin'in ortaya koyduğu üzere Yunanlılar yazılı belgelerde sadece Roma'ya ortak hayırsever *(common benefactor)* olarak hitabetmişlerdir. Her ne kadar bu özel hitap M.Ö. 182 yılından beri kullanılmış olsa da M.Ö. 167 yılından sonra bu hitabın kullanılmasında hayret veren bir artış yaşandığı görülmüştür. Buradaki en önemli nokta ise bu hitap şeklinin Roma dışında ilk defa ve yalnızca ikinci Eumenes için İyonyalılar tarafından kullanılmasıdır.

Buradan anlaşılacağı üzere İyonyalılar Eumenes'i desteklediklerini açıkça göstermek istemişlerdir. İyonyalıların bu desteği Eumenes'in liderlik potansiyelini açığa çıkarmış olmalı ki bundan sonraki yıllarda açıkça Roma karşıtı bir propaganda izlemiştir.

M.Ö. 160'larda gerçekleşen en önemli olaylara bakıldığında ilk göze çarpan yeni para birimi *kistophoros*'un krallık piyasasına sürülmüş olmasıdır. Krallık sikkelerinden farklı olarak bu yeni para birimi daha çok antik federasyon sikkelerini anımsatmaktadır. Peter Thonemann, bu yeni sikkelerin ortaya çıkışını iki nedene bağlamaktadır. Bunlardan birincisi ve en mantıklı olanı Üçüncü Makedon Savaşı'nın ardından Roma'nın altın ve gümüş madenlerini kapattırması olarak sunulmuştur. Uluslararası piyasadaki bu kayba istinaden krallığının değerli madenlerinin krallık dışı pazara mümkün olduğunca az çıkış yapmasını sağlamak amacıyla bu değişime gidilmiştir. İkinci olarak Thonemann, Eumenes'in halkına karşı alçak gönüllü ve alttan alan bir tavır takınarak krallığını koruma altına almak istediğini savunmuştur. Bu çalışmada Thonemann'ın bu düşüncesine karşıt olarak Eumenes'in Üçüncü Makedon Savaşı sonrası Roma karşıtı politik yönelimini işaret eden tarihsel bulgular öne sürülmüştür. Bu propagandalardan en bariz olanı kuşkusuz Zeus Sunağı'nın bir parçası olan Telephus frizidir. Bu friz, Pergamon'un mitolojik kurucusu olan Telephus'un hayatını anlatan görsel betimlemelerden oluşmaktadır. Önceki sayfalarda da bahsedildiği gibi birinci Attalos zamanında kabul edilen Aşil'in torunu Pergamus kahramanı mitolojisi, Aeneid torunu Roma'lıların antik Pergamonlular için önemli bir yere sahip olan Kybele kültünün kutsal objesinin transferini Attalidler için aşağılayıcı bir "diplomatik merasim" haline gittiklerinde büyük ölçüde önemini yitirmişti. Şimdi güçlü bir krallık olan Pergamon krallığı soyunu

gururla dayatabileceği, aynı zamanda Roma'ya karşı duruşunu da ortaya koyabileceği bir mitolojik kahraman seçmişti. Çok büyük olasılıkla bir üst terasta akademik çalışmalar yürüten entelektüellerin yardımıyla yeni mit krallığın o anki politik duruşunu yansıtacak şekilde kurgulanmıştır. Mitin kendisine kısaca değinilirse: Bir gün kral Aleos kızının soyundan gelen bir kişinin kendi krallığının sonunu getireceğinin kehanetini duyar. Bunun üzerine kızının bakire kalmasını sağlamak için prenses Auge'yi krallıktaki Athena tapınağına rahibe olarak adar. Ne var ki bu olay kehanetin gerçekleşmesinin önüne geçemez. Bir gün sarayda misafir olarak kalan Herakles Auge ile karşılaşır ve olaylar Auge'nin bu mitin baş kahramanı olan Telephus'a hamile kalmasıyla devam eder. Telephus'un doğmasının ardından bu olaydan haberdar olan kral Aleos Auge'yi içine kilitlediği bir salla denize bırakır. Bebek Telephus'a gelindiğinde ise o da krallığın Athena tapınağına korusunda yalnız başına ölüme terk edilir. Bu olayların ardından prenses Auge'nin salı Mysia sahiline varır ve yerel halk prensesi saldan kurtarır. Prensesi kızı olarak kabullenen Mysia kralı Auge'nin bölgedeki ilk Athena tapınağını kurmasına yardımcı olur. Bu olaylar olurken Herakles, Telephus'u koruda bir dişi aslandan süt emerken bulur. Birçok zorlu olayı atlattıktan sonra en sonunda Telephus kendini Yunanlılara karşı Troyalılara yardım ederken bulur. Bazı karmaşık olaylar sonucunda Telephus taraf değiştirir ve Troyalılara karşı Yunanlıların yanında yer alır. Troyalılar yenilgiye uğradıktan sonra da Telephus Pergamon'a kral olarak geri döner.

Açıkça görüldüğü üzere bu mitte iki bariz Roma karşıtı detay vardır. İlki dişi kurt tarafından emzirilen Remus ve Romulus kardeşlerin mitine karşılık dişi aslan tarafından emzirilen Telephus motifidir.

İkincisi ise Eumenes'in geçmişteki Roma yanlısı duruşunun yüz seksen derece değişmesine istinaden Telephus mitinde de Telephus'un Yunanlıların tarafına geçmesidir. Eumenes bu mitle yaptığı hatayı kabullenmiş ve gelecekteki olası Yunan ittifakı içinse bir güvence vermiştir.

Hoffmann'ın da makalesinde belirtilen İyonik sütun dizisi Anadolu'da kahramanların anıt mezarlarında kullanılan bir mimari öge idi. Hoffmann bu bilgi ışığında Zeus Sunağı'nın Telephus'a adanmış bir sunak olabileceğini önermiştir. Öte yandan Andrew Stewart'ın makalesine bakıldığında Zeus Sunağı'nın çok fonksiyonlu bir yapı olabileceğine dair kanıtlar sunmaktadır. Bu kanıtlardan biri de sunağın Telephus'un anıt mezarının üstüne inşa edilmiş olduğudur. Böylelikle sunak hem adaklar için hem de şehrin kurucusunun mezarı için devasa bir yapıta dönüştürülmüştür.

Hatırlanacağı üzere her ne kadar ikinci terasla üçüncü teras mekânsal olarak birbirinden ayrı olsa da, hem görsel hem de fiziksel olarak birbirleriyle ilişkililerdi. İki teras birbirlerine yarısı yeraltında kalan bir merdiven aracılığıyla bağlıydı. Attalidlerin bu kadar zahmete girmelerinin bir sebebi olmalıydı. Var olan görsel ve fiziksel ilişkiye ek olarak İskenderiye kütüphanesi kompleksinden ilham alınarak bu iki teras arasında bir bağ daha kurulmuş olabilir. İskenderiye'deki Helenistik kütüphaneye bakıldığında kütüphane kompleksi içerisinde İskender'in mezarı da mevcuttu. Eumenes İskenderiye kütüphanesi örneğinden yola çıkarak sunak alanını İskenderiye'de olduğu gibi bir mezar anıt olarak da planlamış olabilir.

Tüm bu geç-Eumenes devri Roma karşıtı politikaların son bulması Roma yanlısı ikinci Attalos'un tahta geçmesiyle son bulmuş ve krallığın sonunu getiren olayların başlangıcı olmuştur.

Attalid krallığının tarihine bakılacak olunursa bu ihtişamlı krallığın geçmişinin Philetairos'un ihanetine, genel olarak da Klasik Realizm'in öngördüğü gibi insan doğasının kötülüğüne bağlandığı görülür. Attalaid hanedanının başarısı mükemmel bir şekilde kurgulanmış çıkarcı politikalarının sonucu olduğu açıktır. Bu ailenin anıtsal mimari projeleri Attalid kimliğini kurgulamak ve dış dünyaya duyurmak üzere bir amaç olarak kullanılmıştır. Eğer ki Attalid hanedanının politik seçimleri anarşik uluslararası dünyadaki karmaşanın içsel birer anlamlandırılmasıysa, kuşkusuz Attalidlerin anıtsal sanat ve mimarileri projeleri de Helenistik güç politikalarının hümanistik düzeyde dışa yansımasıdır.

APPENDIX C: TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

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Bölümü / Department : Mimarlık Tarihi

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) : In Search of the Prestıge Politics: An Alternative Reading Regarding The Architectural Evolution of the Athena Precinct and the Great Altar of Hellenistic Pergamon

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master ■

Doktora / PhD ☐

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