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PERGAMON AND THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

II

THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMON

THE GERMAN EXCAVATIONS AT PERGAMON: A CHRONOLOGY

Ursula Kästner

1878–86

The scientific excavations in the ancient city of Pergamon that led to the rediscovery of its Great Altar were initiated by German engineer Carl Humann (1839–1896).[1] From 1864 to 1865, Humann was employed by the Ottoman Empire as a surveyor, scouting potential road and railway routes through the Levant from the Balkans to Palestine. Upon arriving in Bergama, in western Turkey, Humann saw the town's residents digging up fragments of ancient works in marble to burn in a lime kiln. After he successfully petitioned local officials to protect the ancient monuments, Humann appealed to the Berlin Museums (Königliche), hoping to convince them to undertake excavations there. To that end, he excavated reliefs from the Byzantine ruins of the city and sent them on to Berlin, where they attracted the attention of noted archaeologist Alexander Conze (1831–1914),[2] who in 1877 would be named director of the Berlin sculpture collection. As Conze recalled in his family records, "There I found [the reliefs] in the so-called hall of heroes in the Altes Museum, placed on the wall slightly above the floor; some of the broken-off pieces had been restored in plaster. I have always suspected that it was the excellent [archaeologist] Friedrich Matz, who passed away prior to my arrival, who happily associated the piece with the description in [Roman writer] Lucius Ampelius's 'Wonders of the World.'"[3] Indeed, the altar is catalogued by Ampelius, in his *Liber memorialis*, as one of the *miracula mundi*: "In Pergamon there is a huge marble altar, forty feet tall with large sculptures; it also includes a Gigantomachy."[4]

Once the Ottoman Ministry of Education had issued the necessary permit, or *firman* (cat. 26), for excavations in Pergamon, between 1878 and 1886 significant portions of the ancient city were uncovered by the German team.[5] Conze served as scholarly director of the excavations, while the on-site work was led by Humann, assisted by architect Richard Bohn (1849–1898) as well as other architects and classical scholars. As a first priority, Humann was commissioned to search for additional fragments from the altar reliefs and to locate the structure's foundations. Slabs from a frieze depicting the Gigantomachy—a mythical battle between gods and giants—and from a smaller frieze on the life of Telephos, Herakles' son, were found built into the Byzantine defense walls. Other architectural elements, roof figures (acroteria), and inscriptions from the altar came to light as more post-antique structures were removed. Other areas of the acropolis were also excavated, including a large Roman temple to Zeus at the crown of the hill, later dedicated to Emperor Trajan (Trajaneum), and a gymnasium on the south slope. Humann made pen drawings of the slabs (cats. 34a, b) from the two frieze cycles, which helped to establish the original sequence of scenes. In addition, the first documentary pictures of the excavation (cats. 31–33) were drawn by the Berlin painter Christian Wilberg, who arrived in Pergamon in the spring of 1879. Photographs were also taken that year.

According to the antiquities laws in force at the time,[6] the finds were to be distributed in thirds among the excavators, the state, and the owner of the property. Given their established priority of recovering the altar, in the first division of finds the excavators sought to obtain, where possible, all fragments related to the Gigantomachy and Telephos friezes, leading to further negotiations between the German embassy and the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman authorities). Ultimately, the Berlin Museums were able to acquire all the slabs and other sculptural

Fig. 31. Theater at the Pergamon acropolis during excavation in November 1883, with the terrace and foundation of the Great Altar in the background. Antikensammlung Archiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (PM 231/232)

fragments from the altar after the Ottoman Empire agreed to sell its portion of the finds. Shipped back to Germany, the reliefs and other sculptures were displayed temporarily in the Altes Museum, where they triggered immense excitement in archaeological circles and in Berlin society in general. As Humann asserted enthusiastically in his working report, "We have found an entire artistic epoch!"[7]

The success of the first campaign encouraged further study of the acropolis as Pergamon's religious, political, and cultural center. The Athena sanctuary, on the terrace above the Great Altar, was investigated and excavated, and while searching through rubble from the altar and the Athena terrace a third campaign discovered a large theater, with its own terrace and temple, on the west side of the acropolis (fig. 31). Additional excavations at the top of the hill exposed the royal palace and arsenal, and the upper agora also came to light, identified thanks to an inscription on the base of a water clock. Even Pergamon's technologically advanced ancient drainage system was studied. In each of these campaigns, Conze took an integrated approach to the excavations. Remains dating through Ottoman times were investigated in addition to those of the ancient ruins, and comprehensive topographic studies were carried out. The manifold results of these early Pergamon excavations continue to provide valuable study material for modern researchers.

In 1884 a new antiquities ruling took effect. Written primarily by the Ottoman Empire's curator of antiquites, Osman Hamdi Bey,[8] the law permitted the export only of fragments that could be joined together. Thus, when four larger portions of the Telephos slabs and one from the larger frieze were found, an unusual arrangement was agreed upon in which the Berlin Museums would send two statues back to Turkey—a hermaphrodite and a Zeus Ammon, both from an earlier division of finds—in exchange for the frieze slabs. With this, the first major excavations in Pergamon by the Berlin Museums ended. Conze went on to become secretary general of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), and Humann, working under Conze's successor at the museum, Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz (1839–1911), began investigating the site of Magnesia on the Meander, also in western Turkey.

1900–1913

From his new post, Conze pressed for a continuation (or revival) of Pergamon research, championing the publication of the previous results and convincing Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853–1940), an architect and archaeologist who had found earlier success in Olympia and Troy, to lead new excavations. These began in 1900 and continued until 1913.[9] Dörpfeld, whose meticulous and informative excavation journals (fig. 32) were models for his contemporaries and later excavators, uncovered the buildings on the lower part of the acropolis, the Eumenian Gate, the lower agora, and the so-called Attalos House, a sumptuous residence with wall paintings and floor mosaics. He also erected a new excavation headquarters on the ruins of a peristyle house next to the agora and, adjacent to it, built a depot for excavation finds kept on site, the "Market Museum." The gymnasium, with its sports facilites dating from various periods on three levels, and which had been partially explored in the first campaign, was now investigated further.[10] The nearby Temple of Hera and the Demeter sanctuary, with its stoas and ceremonial staircase, were also uncovered. In addition, the team explored some of the areas surrounding the ancient city, such as the Meter shrine of Mamurt Kale sanctuary (in the Yündağ mountains), which was excavated by Conze and Paul Schazmann (1871–1946).

In 1906 a new law prohibiting the export of antiquities had gone into effect, but a special accord reached between the Sublime Porte and the Berlin Museums in 1899 continued to provide for an equal division of finds at certain excavations, including Pergamon.[11] The outbreak of the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, however, brought an end to this era of the excavations.

1927–38

Following the First World War and the ensuing global economic crisis, the Berlin Museums resumed excavations at Pergamon in 1927 under Theodor Wiegand (1864–1936),[12] director of the Berlin Antiquities Departments, assisted by Erich Boehringer (1897–1971). Trial digs were made in the Asklepieion, the shrine dedicated to Asklepios, god of healing, which lay outside the city (fig. 33). With its healing spring, health facilities, theater, and stoas, this shrine, where the influential physician Galen did his initial studies, was widely renowned in Roman times. In addition to those investigations, Schazmann documented the ruins of the "Red Hall" in the modern city of Bergama—a shrine to Egyptian gods, named after the color of its exterior brickwork—as well as the Roman theater and amphitheater there. The arsenal on the crown of the hill was uncovered at this time, as was the heroon (shrine) for the cult of Pergamon's rulers.

In 1930 the Pergamon Museum in Berlin was formally inaugurated. At the same time, an archaeological museum in

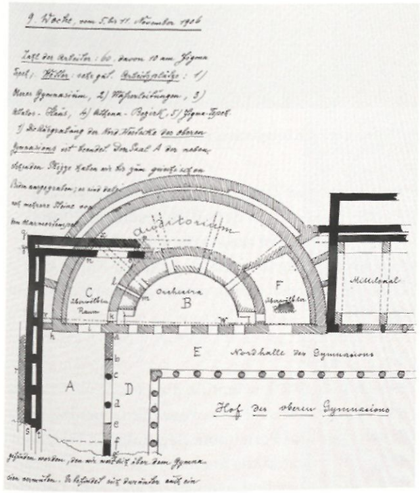

Fig. 32. Excavation diary of Wilhelm Dörpfeld, November 1906, with drawing of upper gymnasium. Antikensammlung Archiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (P 91)

Fig. 33. Theodor Wiegand at the Asklepieion theater, Proedrie, 1932. Antikensammlung Archiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Perg. 1932,67)

Fig. 34. View of the Trajaneum from the west, after anastylosis. Archive of the Pergamon Excavation, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Bergama was opened, financed in part by the German excavations.[13] After Wiegand's death, direction of the excavation was transferred to the DAI, which remains active there to this day, but in 1938, on the eve of the Second World War, excavations were once again suspended.

1955–71

Excavation resumed at Pergamon in 1955.[14] Erich Boehringer, by then president of the DAI,[15] directed the work until 1968, assisted by Oskar Ziegenaus and Gioia De Luca; Ziegenaus then led the campaign until 1971. After the refurbishment and enlargement of the excavation headquarters, the main goals during this period were the further exploration of the Asklepieion and the search for the so-called Nikephorion, a still-unidentified sactuary of Athena Nikephoros. Although test excavations in the Musala Mezarlik, the old Turkish cemetery in the vicinity of the amphitheater, produced no definitive results, Hellenistic structures could be identified in the Asklepieion,[16] and the colonnaded street connecting it to the city, the Via Tecta, was uncovered. Clearance and restoration work was also undertaken on the acropolis.

1972–2004

In 1972 Wolfgang Radt (b. 1940), scientific director of the Istanbul Department of the DAI, took over the excavation, opening a new chapter in the exploration of Pergamon. Beginning in 1973, Radt and his co-workers investigated the ancient residential structures on the acropolis lining the ancient main street above the Demeter sanctuary, especially to the east. The street network was studied, and dwellings as well as the heroon of Diodorus Pasparus were uncovered. At the same time, the later layers of Byzantine building on top of the ancient ruins were carefully documented. The remains of an archaic city wall were also discovered.

In 1990 research on the Great Altar was resumed as a collaboration between the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Technische Universität Karlsruhe. An exact inventory of its structural elements and a new measurement of the foundation[17] were taken, and in 1994 excavations were made into a few of its foundation chambers. Analysis of ceramic finds confirmed that the altar dates to about 170 B.C.[18] One of the largest monument-protection projects of this period was the partial reconstruction of the Trajaneum under the direction of Klaus Nohlen (b. 1945), completed in 1995 (fig. 34). Portions of the temple and the surrounding stoas were rebuilt, providing visitors with a vivid impression of the elaborate and imposing Roman architecture on the highest spot of Pergamon's acropolis (fig. 35).[19]

During the same period, a sizable peristyle house (Building Z) containing valuable mosaics and wall stuccos was enclosed within a protective structure and made accessible to visitors,[20] and the Red Hall was studied photogrammetrically, necessitated by the wartime destruction of important documents from earlier surveys. The restoration and partial renovation of a circular structure from the Red Hall was continued by Adolf Hoffmann beginning in 2001 and concluded, after Radt's retirement, under the direction of his successor.[21]

2005–15

Beginning in 2005, excavations at Pergamon have been overseen by Felix Pirson (b. 1968), director of the Istanbul Department of the DAI, assisted by architect Martin Bachmann (b. 1964), who is currently restoring the gymnasium.[22] Geodetic measurements of the street network have been carried out using the latest scientific methods, and the entire urban area and its surroundings have been explored, including the harbor of Elaia and the settlement at Atarneus.[23] Nature sanctuaries on the east slope of the acropolis and various necropoleis have also been studied.

Although there is still much to be discovered at Pergamon, especially in the Roman residential quarters, thanks to decades of research the site is one of the most fully investigated metropolises in Asia Minor. Over the course of 138 years of excavation, beginning with the search for the Great Altar, the acropolis has been systematically studied and the Hellenistic and large portions of the Roman buildings investigated and surveyed. Extensive restoration has secured the structures in situ, moreover, making them accessible to visitors and assuring that they will remain an inspiration for future generations.

Fig. 35. View of the acropolis from the south. Archive of the Pergamon Excavation, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

PERGAMON AND THE ATTALIDS

Volker Kästner

In contrast to the famous coastal cities of ancient Asia Minor—Miletos, Ephesos, and Smyrna—the kingdom of Pergamon lay twenty-five kilometers inland, apart from the major trading routes, in what was then the heavily forested region of Mysia. Pergamon was further isolated by a mountain chain along the coast, the headwaters of the river Kaikos (Bakırçay) to the south, and a generally rugged landscape that would have discouraged overland travel to much of the surrounding territory. To the east, however, there was easier passage by way of Thyateira (Akhisar) to the Hermos Valley and Sardis, capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia.

In antiquity, the local populace made their living from agriculture, as is still the case today. Olives thrive near the coast to such a degree that the Greek word for olive gave its name to Pergamon's harbor, Elaia. Wine, which is still produced in parts of the Kozak Mountains, was once the chief article of trade for the city of Perperenion, Pergamon's neighbor to the northwest, but it has since been displaced in the region by tobacco, cotton, and vegetables. The tall oak forests of antiquity have similarly disappeared, owing to logging and overgrazing, and given way along the coast to maquis scrub, which has also supplanted the pine trees once found in the higher mountain regions.

Pergamon's acropolis (fig. 36) consists of an andesite massif washed by the mountain streams Selinos (Bergama-Çay) in the west and Ketios (Kestel-Çay) in the east, whose gorges make the hill a natural fortress. In fact, the name Pergamon, a pre-Greek word meaning "castle," derived from the massif's distinctive position. Only its less steep south slope, especially once terraced, was suitable for habitation.

Although the settlement of the region can be traced archaeologically to the Early Bronze Age (late fourth millennium B.C.), the Greek legend of Telephos, the son of Herakles who became king of Mysia (see cats. 126, 127)—and whose myth Pergamon's Attalid rulers exploited to enhance their genealogy—places the origin of the settlement in the time of the Trojan War. Certainly, by the beginning of the first millennium B.C., Thraco-Phrygians had migrated into the area and mixed with the indigenous population, and Aeolian Greeks (members of northern and central Greek tribes) were settled along the coast. Greek influence, however, never penetrated far beyond the immediate coastal region, at most providing representatives of an upper class to the adjacent settlements of the hinterland. Early Greek ceramics and Late Archaic roof terracottas of the Lydian type indicate that Pergamon's acropolis was inhabited at this time.

The town is first mentioned in historical sources in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the Greek adventurer who led a mercenary force deep into Persia. On its return march from the East, in 399 B.C., Xenophon's army, the "Ten Thousand," passed through Pergamon. Xenophon tells of the widow and sons of

Fig. 36. Acropolis of Pergamon and modern town, view from the west. Watercolor on paper by M. Koch, 1866

Fig. 37. Temple and altar, Sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon

Gongylos, a Greek from Euboea who had placed himself under the protection of the Persian king during the earlier Greco-Persian Wars, and of a raid on nearby Persian estates.[1]

Persian domination of Mysia ended with the triumphal advance of Alexander the Great. Pergamon became Macedonian, and it was chosen to serve as the residence of Barsine, the wife of a defeated Persian general, with whom Alexander sired a son. It was probably during this period that the Temple of Athena was erected on the acropolis, as yet the oldest structure in Pergamon whose shape can be reconstructed. The hill town took on political importance during the time of struggles among the Diadochi (or Successors) after Alexander's death. The Macedonian general Lysimachos advanced to become king of Thrace and, beginning in 301 B.C., brought Mysia under his rule. He placed his war booty, totaling nine thousand talents of silver, in Pergamon's hilltop fortress and installed his retainer Philetairos as its guardian.[2]

Born in Tieion, on the Black Sea, Philetairos was the son of a Macedonian father and a Paphlagonian mother. In 282 B.C., he rose up against his former lord and defected to the rival general Seleukos, who had gained control over Alexander's far eastern territories. Lysimachos fell to Seleukos at the Battle of Koroupedion, but the victor was murdered shortly afterward. This gave Philetairos the unique opportunity, thanks to astute political maneuvering with Seleukos's heir and a considerable sum of "start-up capital," to put together his own dominion in northwestern Asia Minor. He was the founder of the Attalid dynasty, named after his father, Attalos, which subsequently managed to dominate an important expanse of Asia Minor with Pergamon as its seat.[3]

Gifts were routinely employed by Hellenistic rulers to better their reputations and gain political influence, and thanks to generous donations, Philetairos acquired the favor of the nearby Greek cities of Aigai and Pitane as well as Kyzikos, on the Sea of Marmara. He used gifts not only to consolidate his newly won position but also to enlarge the existing settlement of Pergamon, where he regularized the streets of the residential areas in accordance with contemporary practice in urban design and erected a new city wall. In addition, inscriptions document two sacred complexes as Philetairos's foundations: the temple and altar of the Sanctuary of Demeter, in the south of the city (fig. 37), and the Sanctuary of Meter Theon at Mamurt Kale, on the highest peak of the Yündağ mountain chain. The construction of the Demeter terrace and the up-to-date layout of Mamurt Kale, where the Temple of Meter was positioned on the central axis of a symmetrical enclosure of stoas, were important engineering achievements. These structures, however, were still relatively simple and built primarily of the local andesite. A hard local tufa was employed for most of the capitals and architectural ornaments. On the Temple of Demeter, and somewhat later on the Asklepieion, outside the city walls, imported marble—for the first time verifiable at Pergamon—was used for the entablature friezes and possibly the column capitals as well. It came from a place with which the Attalids always maintained close and friendly relations, the island of Prokonnesos in the Sea of Marmara, controlled by the city of Kyzikos. Under the Attalids and into Roman imperial times, Pergamon was one of the chief consumers of Proconnesian marble.

Fig. 38. Palm-leaf capital from the Sanctuary of Demeter

Regardless of material, the architectural ornamentation of Philetairos's structures was distinctive. On the colonnades of the Demeter sanctuary, traditional chalice-shaped, palm-leaf capitals were employed (fig. 38), whereas on the temple's marble frieze a contemporary Hellenistic decorative element, the garland swag, made its appearance. This deliberate blend of traditional and innovative decorative motifs would become a characteristic of Attalid architecture in Pergamon. A further feature, perhaps dating back to Philetairos, was the imposing dynastic donor inscription. Under the Attalids, Pergamon had its own municipal administration, to be sure, in which its rulers rarely intervened, but all the known public buildings were royal foundations and, as such, bore the Attalids' names. In this way, the dynasty engaged in the same euergetism (philanthropy) displayed with political calculation by other Hellenistic rulers. Honorary statues were also erected at this time to members of the dynasty, persons close to it, or especially deserving priestesses of Athena.

Since Philetairos had no offspring, he adopted Eumenes, his brother's son, to ensure the continuation of the family's reign. As Pergamon's ruler, Eumenes I (r. 263–241 B.C.) managed to expand his sway in the north as far as Adramytteion (Edremit) and to the south along the Gulf of Elaia as far as Myrina, though the coastal cities remained free. He ended dependency on the Seleucids and began, as an obvious sign of increasing self-importance, to place the portrait of Philetairos on Pergamon's coins as the heroicized founder of the Attalid dynasty. These coin portraits make it possible to securely identify a marble bust in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, as Philetairos (cat. 25). With but one exception, his would remain the sole portrait of an Attalid in the Hellenistic coinage of Pergamon. According to the sources, it was by this time, at the latest, that the cult of Asklepios was brought to Pergamon from Epidauros by a certain Archias. The Asklepieion—established southwest of the city in a low area featuring springs, and on the site of an earlier, prehistoric cult—soon developed into the city's most important suburban shrine.

From early on, Eumenes was forced to protect his lands from ravaging and plundering by the Galatians—a Celtic tribe that had migrated to Asia Minor as mercenaries—by paying them tribute. It was only his successor, Attalos I (r. 241–197 B.C.), who would manage to defeat the Galatians (sometimes called Gauls) in a battle at the source of the Kaikos. The liberation from danger was gratefully acknowledged by the Greek coastal cities, and Attalos was given the honorary title Soter (Savior). Outside the city, he founded a sanctuary to Athena Nikephoros, the "victory bearer." This new epithet indicates that Pergamon's municipal goddess had now evolved into the patron deity of the Attalids. Her central sanctuary in Pergamon's royal palace precinct on the acropolis was redesigned at this time to receive major honorary monuments (fig. 39). Impressive bronze statues, known today from the fragments of their marble bases with dedicatory inscriptions, proclaimed the military successes of the king and his army, while in the center of the square *temenos* (sacred enclosure) a round monument to the battle at the headwaters of the Kaikos was erected, whose inscription for the first time referred to Attalos by his new title, *basileus* (king). Victory monuments were also set up in a long row in front of the south wall of the *temenos* along the route from a new entrance structure. Of these, statues of defeated Gauls—the Ludovisi Gaul and the Dying Gaul (cat. 97)—are preserved in Roman copies. The most famous depictions of Celts from antiquity, they document the distinctive style of this major votive gift of Attalos. Indeed, it was at this time, in response to the need of its kings for imposing display, that Pergamon began to develop into a center for the visual arts.[4]

The victory over the Gauls brought increased political importance to the Attalid empire, but over time relationships with its neighbors proved unstable. A series of both successes

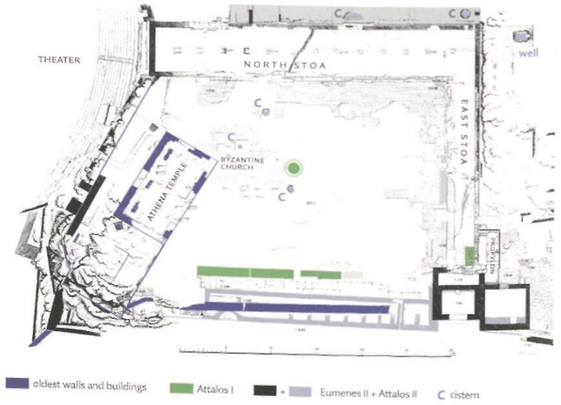

Fig. 39. Plan of the Sanctuary of Athena (AvP II, pl. III, modified by the author)

and defeats against the Seleucids made clear that there were few opportunities to expand Pergamon's territory in the east. Attalos therefore turned his attention to the west. He formed an alliance with the Aetolian League, which in cooperation with Rome fought the Macedonian king Philip V, an ally of Hannibal, Rome's bitter enemy. Thus Pergamon became an ally of Rome, sent troops for support, and purchased the island of Aegina from the Aetolians as a base for its fleet. When an oracle advised the Romans to establish a cult of the mother goddess of Asia Minor, Attalos presented them with the cult image of Kybele from Pessinous. This suggests that good relations had meanwhile been developed with the Galatian priesthood based there. In further battles both at sea and on land in Thrace and Asia Minor, Philip V sought to expand his rule at the cost of the Pergamenians and the Rhodians allied with Rome. Attalos did not live to see the final victory of this coalition against Philip at Kynoskephalai in Thessaly in 197 B.C.

Attalos married Apollonis from Kyzikos, who gave him four sons: Eumenes, Attalos, Philetairos, and Athenaios. The family bond in this generation was especially close. The ancient historians Livy and Polybius praise the queen's motherly love and the family harmony among the Attalid siblings, as contrasted with the rivalries in contemporary Hellenistic royal families. Apollonis enjoyed numerous honors and was even given a cult shrine in her native town. Her son Attalos erected a statue to her in Pergamon, of which a round inscribed base survives. The construction of the Sanctuary of Zeus with a small marble temple in the Upper Market (fig. 40) and new buildings in the Asklepieion also dates from the time of Attalos I. Foundations in Delos and Delphi must also be mentioned. At the latter's Sanctuary of Apollo, an entirely new terrace with a columned hall and honorary monuments was constructed as an annex to the old *temenos*.

Above all, the Attalids maintained close relations with Athens, the undisputed spiritual center of ancient Hellenism. Under Eumenes I there had been contacts with Plato's Academy, and later Attalos I donated a "philosophers' garden" there, called the Lakydaion after Lakydes, the head of the school at the time. Ties originally based on cultural interests, such as philosophy, would later assume a definite political character. Ultimately the Athenians honored Attalos by naming one of their phylai, or citizen units, after him and adding his portrait to the statues of phylai heroes in the agora.

The Pergamenian empire experienced its greatest flowering and extent under Eumenes II (r. 197–159 B.C.) and his brother Attalos II (r. 159–138 B.C.). Early in this period Rome was exerting new influence in Greece and forming strategic alliances. Eumenes

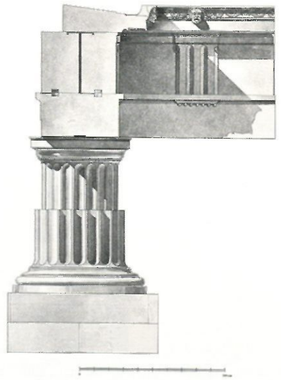

Fig. 40. Pergamenian-style elements from the Temple of Zeus in the Upper Market (detail of AvP III.1, pl. XXXIII)

supported the Romans and Achaeans with ships and troops in their wars against the Spartan king Nabis. In return, he could hope for Roman assistance in his dealings with Antiochos III, ruler of the Seleucid empire, in Asia Minor. His brother Attalos was constantly invoved in military campaigns and in diplomatic missions to Rome. In a decisive battle near Magnesia ad Sipylum (Manisa) in 190 B.C., Romans and Pergamenians were at last able to defeat Antiochos, who was in league with the Galatians, for good. In later battles, with Roman support Attalos successfully brought an end to the Galatians' marauding in the countryside, and they were finally forced to withdraw beyond the Halys River (Kızılırmak). Pergamene ships helped the Romans tranport their immense Galatian booty.

In the subsequent negotiations between Rome and Antiochos, Eumenes successfully represented Pergamene interests, to the extent that with the Peace of Apamea, in 188 B.C., Pergamon became the leading power in Asia Minor. Its territory now extended to the east as far as the borders of Cappadocia. The only areas excluded were Caria and Lycia, to the south, and a few coastal cities to the west that had not affiliated themselves with Antiochos. On the south coast, the port of Telmessos (Fethiye) was part of Pergamon's zone, and in the north the former possessions of the Seleucids in Thrace. Eumenes soon established friendly relations with Cappadocia—Ariarathes IV gave him his daughter Stratonike in marriage—and the Pergamenians helped with peace negotiations with the Romans.

The Attalids' major territorial expansion cannot obscure the fact that their dependency on Rome had increased. There were still problems with bordering Bithynia in the north and with the Galatians. It was only in 183 B.C. that these struggles could be ended victoriously, and Eumenes assumed the title Soter (Savior). Once again the Roman Senate ruled in favor of the Attalids in territorial disputes, so that Galatia came under their suzerainty.

Fig. 41. Pergamon as expanded and rebuilt by Eumenes II

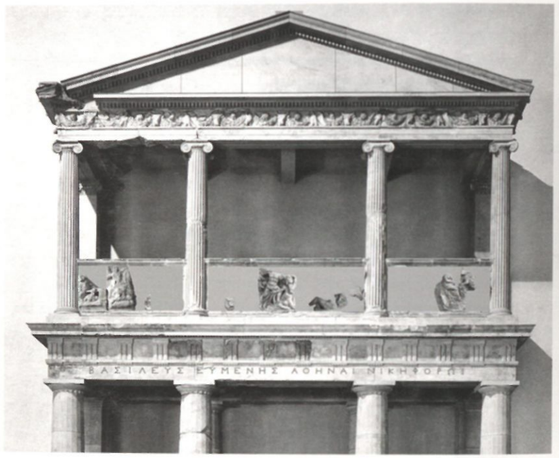

Fig. 42. Propylon of Eumenes II from the Sanctuary of Athena

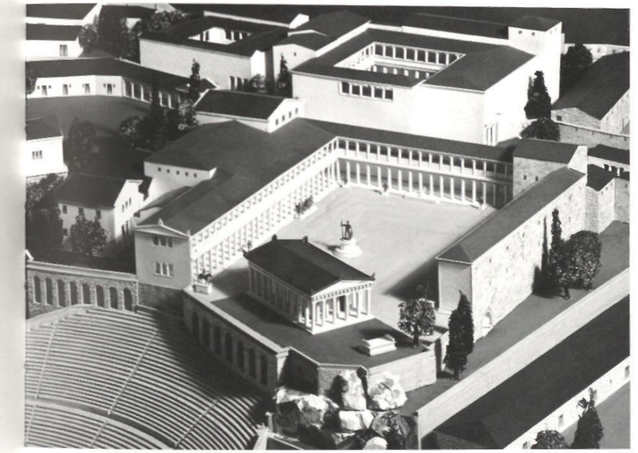

Fig. 43. Model of the upper city of Pergamon with the Sanctuary of Athena

Fig. 44. Possible shrine of Kybele and Attis near the acropolis gate

This led to conflicts with the bordering kingdom of Pontos, however, in which the Roman Senate played a dubious role, but with the help of his Cappadocian father-in-law, Eumenes was also able to settle that conflict in his favor in 179 B.C.

Early in his reign, probably after the Peace of Apamea, Eumenes launched an extensive rebuilding program in Pergamon that would transform the city (fig. 41). With a considerably enlarged ring of city walls roughly four kilometers in length, he expanded the town's area from twelve to ninety hectares, allowing for major new public structures. The central sanctuary to Athena was redesigned and provided with two-story stoas with marble facades in the north and east. Marble panels picturing captured weapons decorated the upper stories (see cat. 109a, b). The entrance was formed by a propylon, now reconstructed in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, with relief panels depicting Athena in various mythical scenes. According to the architrave inscription, the entire building complex, an architectural victory monument, was dedicated by the king to Athena Nikephoros (fig. 42).

With the building of the new wall and redesign of the Athena sanctuary, Pergamon's acropolis began to be transformed into a royal residence, and in the following decades the entire settlement area was turned into a building site. Ruins of the buildings dating from this Hellenistic flowering determine the appearance of the acropolis to this day. Adjoining the two-aisle north stoa of the Athena sanctuary, on the upper floor at the back, were rooms that are believed to have housed the storied Library of Pergamon (fig. 43). This new amenity was evidence of the passionate cultural engagement of the Pergamene dynasty, which always considered itself a champion of Greek culture in Asia Minor. Scholars such as the Stoic Krates of Mallos arrived to study Homeric and other prized texts, following the famous precedent of the scholarly community at the Mouseion of Alexandria. Part of the library complex was a large cult room in which stood a marble copy of the Athena Parthenos, a third smaller than the original in Athens but still colossal (cat. 39). Here the goddess was venerated as the patron of philosophy and the visual arts. Indeed, the Sanctuary of Athena came to hold numerous marble sculptures, in addition to bronze victory monuments added by Eumenes. Among the marble works was the Prometheus Group (cat. 110a–c), an ensemble of three statuettes subsequently placed in the sanctuary's north stoa. Fragments of Archaic marble sculptures, copies of Classical works, and statue bases inscribed with famous sculptors' names suggest that a virtual museum was established, mainly with war booty. Immediately adjacent to the acropolis gate there was a shrine in a vaulted room in which the sculptures of Kybele (cat. 64) and Attis (cat. 65) found nearby may have stood (fig. 44).

Unfortunately, the excavators of the residential buildings in the royal precinct to date have found only the foundation walls. To judge from their size, the Attalids' royal dwellings do not compare with the extensive palace complexes of Pella or Alexandria. In accordance with the "bourgeois" self-image of the dynasty, they are more reminiscent of the homes of well-to-do Hellenistic citizens. Even so, excavations did uncover fragments of precious mosaic floors and stucco wall decoration. Pergamon was famous in antiquity for its mosaicists. According to Pliny the Elder, both the "unswept floor" (*asarotos oikos*), a motif repeatedly copied in Roman banquet rooms—and the model for the Musei Capitolini's dove mosaic, renowned for its trompe l'oeil realism—were inventions of the Pergamenian artist Sosos. The excavated mosaic floors in the palaces reveal how tiny blocks of stone and glazed terracotta cones were employed to achieve effects of perspective and shading much like those in contemporary paintings. The detailed center panels were usually created separately, using especially small tesserae, then incorporated into more crudely worked ornamental frames. On the center panel of the banquet hall floor in Pergamon's Palace V, the artist's signature survives, proclaiming his achievement: the mosaic depicts a label, seemingly attached to the floor with sealing wax but with a corner already lifting up, bearing the name Hephaistion (see cat. 36). According to the excavators' notes, the rooms and stoas of the Sanctuary of Athena must also have been adorned with precious mosaics.

In the palace interiors, the wainscoting was executed in white and dark blue marble with niches, and the walls were stucco in various colors. To judge from the excavators' finds, the wall surfaces could also have been ornamented with cornice moldings, ornamental friezes, and even small stucco reproductions of architecture. Architectural ornament in Pergamon throughout the Hellenistic era and into the time of the early Roman Empire was detailed and playful, rococo-like in its reliance on botanical and figural motifs.

The above-mentioned rebuilding under Eumenes II was by no means limited to the upper acropolis area, with its arsenals, workshops, barracks, palace structures, and the central Athena sanctuary. Below the palace precinct, in a square space visible from afar, a terrace was created for the Great Altar—the supreme expression of Attalid dynastic ideology and to this day the city's most famous Hellenistic monument (see the essay "The Pergamon Altar: Architecture, Sculpture, and Meaning" in this volume). Based on archaeological and architectural evidence, the altar was most likely dedicated to Zeus and erected as a central monument of the new residence in the second quarter of the second century B.C. It stood adjacent to the *temenos* of Zeus, to the south, which was now expanded into the Upper Market. On the western slope of the acropolis a large theater with a terrace in front and the Temple of Dionysos were constructed, and on the south slope the magnificent cascade of terraces for the large gymnasium with an additional marble temple. Finally, a new lower commercial market was created near the main gate in the city wall.

The Pergamenians now took great efforts to improve their water supply, since the system of springs, cisterns, and a clay-

pipe conduit from the Selinos Valley, probably installed under Attalos I, was no longer adequate. The conduit was itself a remarkable piece of technology, running through the valley, nearly five hundred feet deep, in front of the northern tip of the acropolis, with a pressure line of stone pipes. One of the new conduits led from springs in the distant Madradağ Mountains to a reservoir north of the acropolis. From there it continued through the valley and up to the palace precinct at the top of the hill as a high-pressure line of lead pipes fastened to the ground with stones, unquestionably a masterpiece of ancient hydraulic engineering (fig. 45).

In 182 B.C., Eumenes revived the festival games of the Nikephoria, which were likened to the Panhellenic festivals at Delphi and Olympia. The sacred grove of Athena Nikephoros outside the city, laid to waste by Philip V, was splendidly restored (the geographer Strabo expressly refers to it in his description of Pergamon) and along with the Asklepieion survived well into Roman imperial times; however, its location is unknown today. Under Eumenes, the Asklepieion was linked to the city by a sacred way and underwent major expansion and new temple building.

Finally, it should be noted that local craftsmanship expanded greatly at this time. In the Ketios Valley, outside the city, an extensive ceramics quarter was discovered during dam construction. Evidently terracotta figures and various types of Hellenistic ceramics—from kitchenware to the more elaborate drinking vessels with applied clay reliefs that were a Pergamene specialty (see cats. 90, 91)—were produced there in great quantities.

With its ever-increasing political importance, the Attalid court became a major cultural patron in the eastern Mediterranean. Philetairos and Attalos I had already made donations outside Pergamon, and the latter's sons were considerably more active, intensifying cultural contacts with Athens. Eumenes II and his brothers participated in the Panathenaia and erected magnificent stoas and pillared monuments in the city. The material used in the building of the two-story stoa to the south of the Athenian Acropolis, donated by Eumenes II, was imported from Asia Minor and worked by stonemasons schooled in Pergamon.

After the death of Philip V, his son Perseus (see cat. 151) continued his anti-Pergamon policies and organized an assassination attempt in which Eumenes was badly wounded near Delphi. Paradoxically, the only slight successes against Perseus in the Third Macedonian War led the Romans to suspect that Eumenes was conspiring with Macedonia behind their backs. The Roman Senate felt that Pergamon had grown too powerful, and relations with the kingdom worsened. When Eumenes sent Attalos to Rome to seek its support against a renewed uprising of the Galatians in 168/167 B.C., the Senate intrigued to drive a

Fig. 45. Stone braces that supported water pipes serving the acropolis of Pergamon

wedge between the brothers in the hope that Eumenes, if left alone, would succumb to the Celtic attack. Attalid family loyalty could not be shaken, however, and even the Greeks of Asia Minor recognized that help in the face of the Celtic threat could be found only among the Pergamenians. Without Roman help, in 166 B.C. Eumenes managed to defeat the Galatians in Phrygia with an army of mercenaries. The grateful Greek cities of Asia Minor heaped honors on the victor, and monuments were once again erected in Pergamon. In the last years of his reign Eumenes named his brother Attalos co-regent.

In 159 B.C., Attalos II assumed the throne at the age of sixty-one. He was primarily concerned with acceding to the wishes of the Romans. Nonetheless, Rome's hesitant stance toward Pergamon led to the attacks by King Prousias II of Bithynia that placed Pergamon in dire straits. The enemy got as far as the city walls and ravaged the surrounding shrines. The grove of Athena Nikephoros was again destroyed, and the famous statue of Asklepios by the Attic bronze caster Phyromachos was stolen. The conflict ended only with the murder of Prousias in 149 B.C. and the accession of his son Nikomedes. In 146 B.C., a Pergamene contingent took part in the Roman conquest of Corinth, and accordingly a portion of the Corinthian war booty found its way to Pergamon. There Attalos continued the numerous building projects begun by his brother and brought them to completion. Among his own foundations in Pergamon were the Temple of Hera above the gymnasium. He also built stoas in Athens and Termessos. His stoa along the east side of the Athenian Agora, which has been reconstructed by American archaeologists as a museum (fig. 46), impressively exhibits the type of two-aisle, multistory stoa architecture developed in Pergamon. On the south coast of Asia Minor, Attalos founded the city of Attaleia (Antalya), which would become an important port.

Likely another of his gifts to Athens was the so-called Little Donation of the Attalids on the Acropolis. Following the pattern set at Pergamon's Athena sanctuary, groups of statues were placed in a row along the Acropolis's south wall. Extending to a length of nearly five hundred feet all together, they depicted the mythical battles against giants (cat. 100c) and Amazons (cat. 100a) as well as the historical struggles against the Persians (cat. 99) and Galatians (cat. 100b). These bronze statues were somewhat smaller than lifesize but must have been very effective grouped against an open landscape. In that politically significant location, they illustrated the Attalids' self-image as defenders of Greek culture against the barbarians.

According to the ancient sources, the last of the dynasty's rulers, Attalos III (r. 138–133 B.C.), was a somewhat problematic personality who lived in retirement and was considered pathologically suspicious. Interested primarily in zoological and botanical studies, he wrote a treatise on agricultural cultivation methods that was later admired and quoted. He eventually turned to sculpture and is said to have died of sunstroke suffered while he was working on a tomb monument for his mother. There are no known foundations from his brief reign, although a statue was erected to him in the Temple of Asklepios and a gilt equestrian monument near Pergamon's Prytaneion.

In a realistic assessment of the power relationships affecting Pergamon, the last Attalos bequeathed his empire—a most unusual act in antiquity—to the Romans. At first this led to quarrels in the Senate, and in Asia Minor it incited Aristonikos of Ephesos, who posed as an illegitimate son of Eumenes II, to lead an insurrection. Rome had difficulty putting down the uprising, even though larger cities such as Pergamon did not allow themselves to be drawn into the revolt. Asia Minor was finally pacified under Manius Aquillius, and a part of the Pergamene empire was declared the province of Asia; its Roman governor soon moved his seat from Pergamon to the port city of Ephesos. Pergamon continued to be a cultural center, however, and was the first city in the province to receive a temple for the cult of the emperor. And while Pergamon remained a highly valued health resort in Roman imperial times thanks to the Asklepieion (fig. 47), with its famous school of medicine, the city forever lost its political importance with the end of the Attalid dynasty.[5]

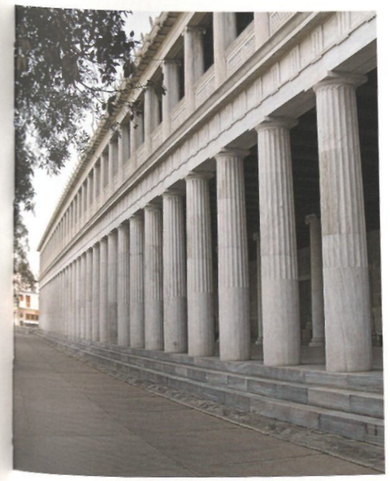

Fig. 46. Stoa of Attalos II in the Athenian Agora

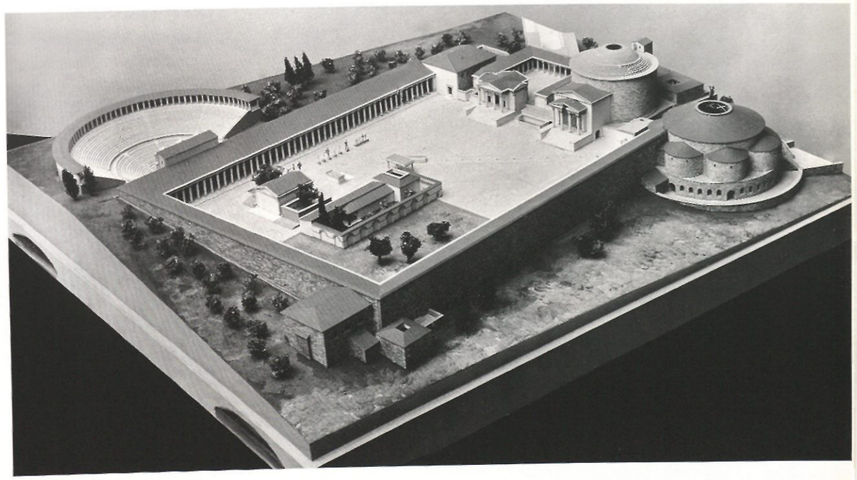

Fig. 47. Model of Pergamon's Asklepieion in Roman times

COMMEMORATIONS OF VICTORY: ATTALID MONUMENTS TO THE DEFEAT OF THE GALATIANS

Massimiliano Papini

The late-born Titans from the farthest West will rush on
like snowflakes.

—Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos*

The third century B.C. marked the limit of expansion by the Celtic peoples—they were also known as the Galatians, or Gauls, as the Romans called them—from homelands in Central Europe toward the south and east. Their advance in the Balkans was halted in the winter of 279 B.C. by the allied defenders of Greece, who viewed the invaders as the latest in a line of barbarians to attack Hellenic liberty. Having overwhelmed the Greeks at Thermopylae, the Gallic chieftain Brennos and his army pressed on, hoping to take the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Here the Gauls were driven off in a battle that took on mythical and supernatural significance, as a great thunderstorm came up, said to have been orchestrated by Apollo himself with Artemis and Athena. Contemporaries held the victorious defense on a par with Greek heroism during the Greco-Persian Wars, and monuments, statues, and ceremonies abounded in commemoration. The architraves of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi were decorated with Gallic shields dedicated by the Aetolians, who had played a major part in the rout. Statues depicting the Aetolian generals with Apollo, Artemis, and Athena were erected, as was, according to the traveler and writer Pausanias, a "trophy," or war memorial, displaying "the image of an armed woman, supposed to represent Aetolia" atop a hexagonal base with three steps.[1] The Gauls and their unprecedented brutality would not be forgotten, especially the way they had slaughtered the people of Kallion, near Delphi, even "children at their mothers' breasts," Pausanias went on, so that "every woman who chanced to find a Gallic sword" courageously killed herself rather than submit.[2] Henceforth, as the Successor kingdoms of the Hellenistic era looked for ways to legitimize their position as heirs to the empire of Alexander the Great, victories over the Gauls would be exploited to show off the charismatic power and dynastic prestige of the Hellenistic sovereigns and to present them as guardians of Greek identity.

From 240 B.C. onward, the Celts who had reached Asia Minor, now joined together in a Galatian federation based in northern Phrygia, plundered willfully and served as mercenaries. Often interfering in Hellenistic affairs of state, they were subject to frequent reprisals by Attalos I of Pergamon, who protected his city's northern territories with military might. His victories over the Gauls earned Attalos the title of *basileus* (king) and the appellation Soter (Savior). They furthermore shaped a foundation myth for the Attalid dynasty that was celebrated in several monuments at Pergamon and beyond, including at the sanctuaries of Apollo at Delphi and Delos. In the first century A.D., the people of Pergamon resisted in vain as Romans under Nero's orders stripped "signa et tabulae" (statues and paintings) from conquered provinces in Greece and Asia. It is thought that sculpture groups celebrating the wars Attalos and his successor, Eumenes II, waged against the Gauls—by artists such as Epigonos, Phyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos, as recorded by Pliny the Elder—were among the works unceremoniously sent off to Rome, first to adorn Nero's Domus Aurea, and then the Temple of Peace built by Vespasian.[3]

The Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon served as a principal site of Attalid commemoration of victory over the Gauls and other foes. At its center stands a monumental circular pedestal (3.2 meters in diameter, 2.48 meters high), with three steps and a slightly conical upper surface, that was inscribed with Attalos I's dedication to the goddess for a victory, early in his reign, over the Tolistoagian tribe of Galatians near the source of the river Kaikos.[4] On the south side of the sanctuary, another monument to Athena, built in 223–222 B.C., stood on an elongated base 1 meter high, 1.1 meters deep, and divided into sections, possibly eight, each about 2.4 meters wide. The six extant inscriptions from this base accompanied statues that commemorated a series of battles, beginning with that at the river Kaikos against the Tolistoagians, followed by those against Antiochos Hierax, and, finally, against the combined forces of the Lycian dynasty of Phrygia and the generals of Seleukos III.

The rectangular base bore an inscription naming the sculptor of its bronze statues: Epigonos, the same artist to whom Pliny attributes two works famous in his day, the "Trumpeter" (*tubicen*) and the "Weeping Child Pitifully Caressing Its Murdered Mother."[5] The latter was in the tradition of a fourth-century B.C. painting by Aristides of Thebes, an artist so adept at depicting emotion as to have painted a child in a defeated city crawling to the breast of his dying mother, she fearing her milk has dried up and that her baby will suck blood.[6] We can at best glimpse Epigonos's group with the dying mother today through its echo in the figure of a Dead Amazon from the Lesser Attalid Dedication on the Athenian Acropolis (cat. 100a).[7] Epigonos's Trumpeter, however, is almost certainly replicated in two marble copies discovered in Rome: a fragmentary example now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, that may have been excavated in the area of Piazza di San Gregorio,[8] and the Dying Gaul in Rome's Musei Capitolini, likely to have come from the Horti Sallustiani (cat. 97; fig. 48).

Another copy in marble, the so-called Ludovisi Gaul, or "Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife" (fig. 49), pertaining to the same original monument as the Trumpeter, may also come from the Horti Sallustiani.[9] The work, slightly larger than lifesize, privileges two points of view, from the front and from the Gaul's right, and indeed the inclined plinth is finished only on those two sides. The Gaul's dynamic pose, legs spread apart, draws the viewer's attention toward the focal point of the composition above, following an oblique line from the right leg to the raised head, which is turned so far to the right as to make the face visible only in profile. Viewed from the front, the figure reveals the purpose of its tension and energy: the Gaul is violently stabbing himself in the breast[10] while his limp wife hangs on his left arm. The dramatic moment is underscored by the figure's musculature, which is more pronounced than that of the Dying Gaul. The oval shields of both the Ludovisi Gaul and the Dying Gaul rest on the ground, signaling their defeat. In Kallimachos's *Hymn to Delos*—celebrating the victory over the sacrilegious Gauls at Delphi by Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who suppressed a mutiny of Galatian mercenaries in Egypt in 276–75 B.C.—Apollo

Fig. 48. Dying Gaul (cat. 97)

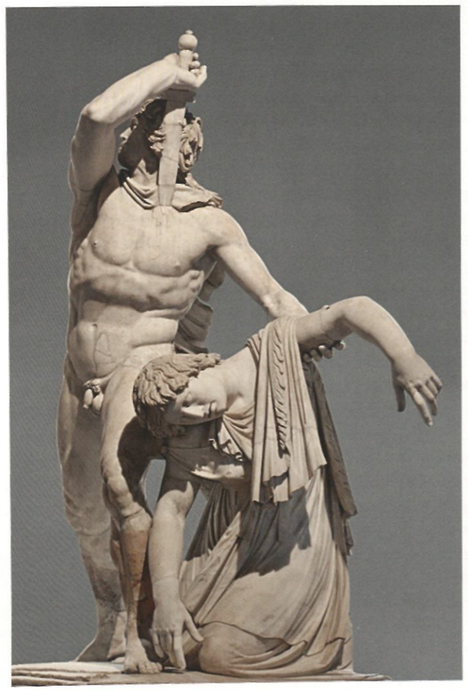

Fig. 49. Ludovisi Gaul. Roman, Late Republican or Imperial period, 1st century B.C.–early 2nd century A.D.; copy of a Hellenistic bronze statue of ca. 230–220 B.C. Asiatic marble, H. 83⅛ in. (211 cm). Museo Nazionale–Palazzo Altemps, Rome

Fig. 50. Reconstruction of Gauls on a cylindrical base, Sanctuary of Athena, Pergamon (Schober 1936)

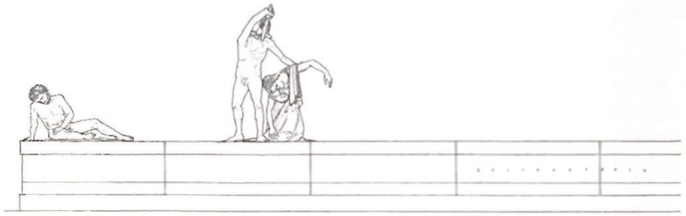

Fig. 51. Reconstruction of Gauls on a rectangular base, Sanctuary of Athena, Pergamon (Künzl 1971)

prophesies that the Gallic shields will become votive offerings, both to himself, at Delphi, and in Egypt. They will be "the prizes of a king who labored much," for as Kallimachos depicts them, the Gauls were a veritable moving forest of weapons, personified by their swords, military belts, and, especially, their shields.[11]

Leaving aside improbable attempts to attribute the original bronzes of defeated Gauls reflected in the large-scale copies (see figs. 48, 49) to Attalos I's terrace at Delphi, and even more the interpretation of the marble pieces as Roman works evoking Pergamon "in the grand manner,"[12] we might instead consider the debate that began in the mid-twentieth century about where the originals were placed at Pergamon. Did they stand on the circular pedestal, with the Ludovisi Gaul as the centerpiece (fig. 50),[13] or on the rectangular base (fig. 51)?[14] There are weak points in the arguments on both sides because the archaeological evidence is both scarce and ambiguous, but the matter is important, for it is linked to the question of how visitors to the Sanctuary of Athena in the third and second centuries B.C. perceived the sculptures and their staging, as well as to modern interpretations of their significance.

The hypothesis that these works, slightly larger than lifesize, were displayed on the rectangular base and made by Epigonos remains in favor today despite the discovery of what appears to be an imprint of a lifesize horse's hoof on a surviving slab of the base.[15] Other difficulties remain as well, for of the approximately eighteen statues formerly belonging to the long base, we can identify just two and propose at most a few others based on, for example, the head of the Dying Persian and the "dying" barbarian woman in Rome's Museo Palatino (cat. 98a, b). Indeed, we don't know whether the statues represented only the defeated Gauls and not the victors, as scholars have often too hastily assumed, convinced that ancient viewers would have been able to see the winning side in their imagination. The circular pedestal, for its part, was rare in the Hellenistic period, although it was used at Miletos to support a gilded statue of Eumenes II dedicated in 167–166 B.C. in a precinct honoring the ruler. In the case of the Sanctuary of Athena, we could imagine an Athena standing at the center, or war trophies, or both.[16]

The Gaul Killing Himself, whether belonging to the circular or long base, has presented a further puzzle. It is a powerful and tragic image, and like the Murdered Mother, clearly made by someone skilled at evoking emotions: is this a monument to human suffering, to the tragedy of war that brings even the bravest to ruin, and thus a model of pure heroism?[17] Or does it merely exemplify a lack of restraint?[18]

Keeping in mind the statue's context—the Sanctuary of Athena and the celebration of Attalid victory—the Gaul Killing Himself surely represents the topos of the excessive violence of a fighter in his prime, and the theme of irrational despair (*aponoia*) and panic among barbarians in wars of annihilation, leading to the slaughter of their own women and children.[19] There would be no pity for the defeated before the overwhelming superiority of the victors. It is inconceivable that the people of Pergamon would have burst into tears when faced with such images, as the Romans did during the triumph of Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. when shown paintings of the suicides of his adversaries, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica, Marcus Petreius, and Cato the Younger.[20] Those men, however, were victims of civil wars and "domestic ills," political martyrs. While at the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora, built in the fifth century B.C., a painting of the Battle of Marathon showed the Persians—the original "barbarian" foe—in the ignoble grip of panic, fleeing wildly and pushing one another into the swamps.[21]

The Attalids maintained close relations with Athens after 200 B.C., closer than that of any other Hellenistic dynasty. From the days of Alexander, the Athenian Acropolis had been a privileged locus for the memory of wars with Persia. Alexander celebrated his first great victory over the Persians, at the Granikos River in 334 B.C., by sending three hundred enemy shields and sets of armor to the Acropolis. Fourteen holes below the metopes on the east side of the Parthenon are thought to indicate where the shields were hung. The Attalids themselves were honored in Athens by a sequence of pillars built at key points along the route of the Panathenaic procession: near the Dipylon, in the Agora facing Attalos II's stoa and in front of the far west side of the Middle Stoa, and most significantly at the entrance to the Acropolis and near the northeast corner of the Parthenon. Nearby, at the south wall of the Acropolis, one of the Attalids also dedicated a set of sculpture groups consisting of a Gigantomachy, an Attic Amazonomachy, and depictions of the Battle of Marathon and the massacre (*phthora*) of the Gauls in Mysia.[22]

This so-called Lesser Attalid Dedication on the Athenian Acropolis can be reconstructed from the blocks of Pentelic marble that made up its four bases (overall 124 meters long and about 1.8 meters high), which once supported approximately 130 bronze figures, including some on horseback. Certain of the bronze originals seem to have been reproduced in at least ten marble statues of the wounded and dead in two-thirds scale, which once decorated a building in Rome's Campus Martius (see cats. 99, 100a–c). We can't be certain which Attalos is the one Pausanias refers to in connection with this monument, however. Was it Attalos I who dedicated the gift, on the occasion of one of his many visits to Athens between 200 and 198 B.C., during the turbulent years of war against the Macedonians?[23] Or was it Attalos II, as part of one of the multiple Pergamene donations made from the time his older brother and co-regent Eumenes II had come to the throne?[24] The second possibility cannot be ruled out, for the colossi of Eumenes II and Attalos II may have stood in topographical proximity.[25] The heads of the copies from the Lesser Attalid Dedication show a growing emotional expressiveness, and the treatment of the hair and beard (the length and consistency of the locks, for example, which tend to curl) is quite different from that of both figures of the Gauls mentioned above; the copies from the group are closer overall, formally and temporally, to the figures on the Great Altar of Pergamon. And while it is true that Hellenistic art does not follow a linear development, a formal comparison between similar subjects, such as these battle scenes, may still be valuable.

In a laudatory, vaguely Homeric poem honoring a third-century B.C. ruler (possibly a Macedonian king, such as Attalos I or Ptolemy II), the Gauls are described as hubristic and foolish (*hybristai te kai aphrones*), much like mythical *hybristai* such as the giants, and are compared to the Persians despite the sharp differences in their ways of life, the latter being dedicated to luxury while the former, accustomed to all kinds of hardship, lived outdoors.[26] In Athens, the depiction of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile had once served the same paradigmatic function, presenting an important historical battle alongside mythic episodes such as the Attic Amazonomachy and the epic tale of Troy, the *Ilioupersis*. In the Attalid dedication on the Athenian Acropolis, the battle against the Gauls similarly came to stand for a universal victory in a mythical-historical sequence, the apex of a crescendo—after the victories of the gods and the Attic heroes and then the Battle of Marathon—in which giants, Amazons, and Persians were all brutally defeated. Here the *Ilioupersis* was replaced by the Gigantomachy, a subject visible on the eastern metopes of the Parthenon but which on the Great Altar of Pergamon also contains allusion to the Attalid's historic enemies.

Fig. 52. Column of Trajan, Rome, detail showing the Suicide of Decebalus. A.D. 113. Carrara marble

The image of the noble adversary committing suicide would recur in Roman triumphal art with Decebalus, the Dacian king, portrayed at the top of the Column of Trajan (fig. 52). The king who killed himself, we learn from Cassius Dio, was a fearsome adversary worthy of having been defeated by the Romans.[27] The fearsome Gauls, too, were enemies worthy of being slaughtered by the Attalids. Thus shone the glory of rulers "who labored much to win."

THE PERGAMON ALTAR: ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND MEANING

Andreas Scholl

"ARA MARMOREA MAGNA": THE GREAT MARBLE ALTAR AND ITS SCULPTURES

To understand the architecture and sculpture of the Pergamon Altar and its potential meaning, one must begin with the justly famous reconstruction of the altar in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin (fig. 53).[1] Unprepared visitors to the museum are often overwhelmed by the monumentality of the altar within its grand, theatrical setting, and yet it bears remembering that only the west side of the altar has been rebuilt at its original size.

Five steps rise from the nearly square foundation (36 meters wide by 34 meters deep) to support a monumental pedestal, a massive substructure on which rests the most spectacular feature of the entire monument: the 2.3-meter-high Great Frieze. In terms of sculptural quality and iconographic audacity, the Great Frieze not only marks the crowning achievement of Greek relief sculpture—a medium that had been developed by Greek artists in marble since the seventh century B.C.—but also stands as one of the finest works in the history of world art.

Fig. 53. Reconstructed west side of the Pergamon Altar, Pergamon Museum, Berlin

Fig. 54. Telephos Frieze, detail showing Telephos receiving arms from Auge

The Great Frieze is carved in extremely high relief and crowned by a large projecting cornice. Gracefully fluted columns with Ionic capitals surround the entire altar structure, whose interior is designed as a peristyle courtyard, similar to those of the royal Attalid palaces nearby on the acropolis of Pergamon. The interior walls of this beautifully proportioned space were decorated with a smaller frieze—different in style from the Great Frieze and much more intimate in character—illustrating the adventurous life and deeds of Telephos (fig. 54; see also cats. 126, 127), son of Herakles and founder of the city of Pergamon. Alongside Zeus himself, this Greek hero was a central figure of the Great Frieze, and his prominent appearance in the smaller frieze provides the mythological link between the two strips of relief sculpture.

Originally a large number of sculptures in the round, representing the Olympian gods, stood on the peristyle's flat roof; Athena (cat. 116), Poseidon (cat. 117), and Apollo are still preserved. Along with their chariots and entourage, these roof figures, or acroteria, were depicted just after the moment when, according to myth, they arrive at the battlefield around the peak of Mount Olympus to await the brutal combat of the Gigantomachy: the battle for cosmic supremacy between the Olympians and a race of primordial giants, shown so vividly in the Great Frieze. Especially impressive when viewed on the roof of the altar must have been the well-preserved statue of Poseidon, represented with his hair still wet from a rapid journey across the ocean in his Triton-drawn chariot. Poseidon's chariot was also shown on the north side of the Great Frieze together with spectacular sea monsters. Other well-preserved acroteria include horses (cat. 120), centaurs, Tritons (cats. 118, 119), and griffins.

Within the Great Frieze itself, more than one hundred over-lifesize figures of unbelievably high artistic invention and sculptural quality crowd together in dramatic action. These almost freestanding figures are represented in a wide variety of

Fig. 55. Great Frieze, detail showing Athena battling the giants

scenes and depictions of fierce fighting. A number of goddesses join the battle (fig. 55); although they are seldom shown physically overcoming their enemies, their dominance is made evident through their cool and commanding gestures. In contrast, the bodies and faces of the giants reflect with unsparing realism the pain and suffering inflicted upon them by their adversaries (fig. 56; see also illustration on p. 26). It is nothing less than an artistic miracle, and an almost unbelievable achievement of the unknown artist responsible for these figures, that no fighting group resembles another; differences in clothing, weaponry, hair, and even footwear are elaborated down to the smallest detail. These included many attributes that were added in metal and enhanced by polychromy, of which only faint traces have been found: mainly red pigment to indicate the giants' gruesome, bleeding wounds.

The battle of the gods and the giants was a popular theme in Greek art from Classical times onward, and the monumental gathering of the Olympian gods on the altar's roof clearly alludes to Classical prototypes, such as those known from Greek vases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. A primary literary source for the Gigantomachy is Hesiod's *Theogony* (Creation of the Gods), an epic poem dating to the seventh century B.C., but the version depicted on the Great Frieze was derived from contemporary Hellenistic poetry in addition to older narratives, including allusions to Homer.[2] The myth of the Gigantomachy tells the story of the earth mother, Gaia, who from the blood of the emasculated Uranos gives birth to the giants—a monstrous, aggressive race imbued with great strength—who then attempt to overthrow the reign of the Olympians and rule the world. An oracle predicts that the gods will be able to resist the giants only if a mortal can be persuaded to fight on their side. Not surprisingly, this role falls to the hero Herakles, whose figure in the Great Frieze (destroyed in antiquity) was next to that of Zeus, one of the most prominent positions in the entire composition.

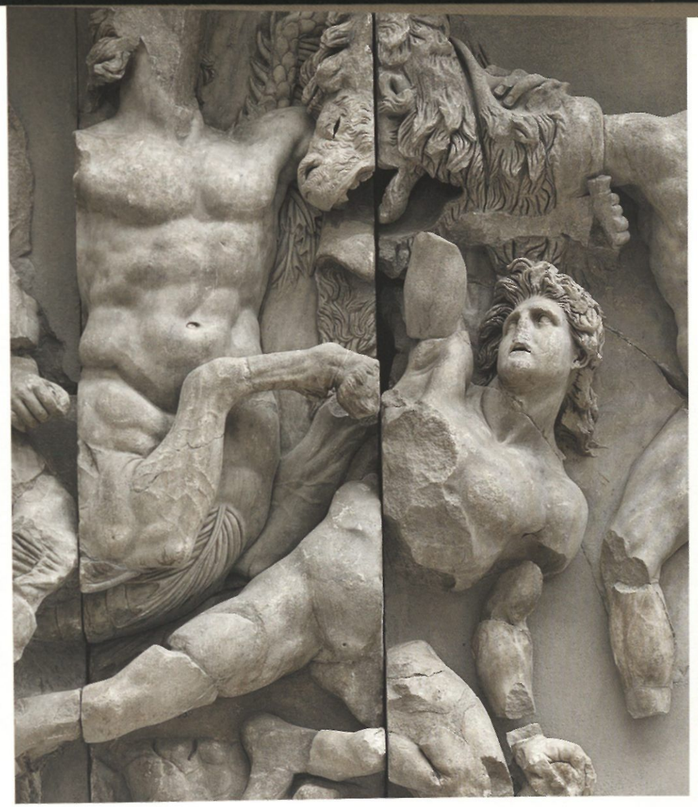

Fig. 56. Great Frieze, detail showing Triton, son of Poseidon, battling a fallen giant

The East Frieze, on the back of the building—but actually the first section seen by ancient visitors as they entered the surrounding walled sanctuary—was reserved for the Olympians. Hera participates in the battle on the left, and Herakles, Zeus (fig. 57), Athena, and Ares fight at center and on the right. Visual references to the genealogical relationships among the gods pull the narrative around the corners of the frieze and give it a certain continuity. On the southeast corner, for example, appear the names of goddesses such as Leto, Hekate, Phoebe, and Asteria, while on the northeast corner Aphrodite fights together with Ares. The gods of day and night—Eos (goddess of the dawn), Helios (sun god), and Selene (goddess of the moon)—wage war on the South Frieze, and the sea gods, who fight on the western side, spill over onto the adjacent northern corner and onto the monumental flight of stairs leading to the peristyle courtyard, with its sacrificial altar at center. The North Frieze provides the battlefield for both the followers of Ares (god of war) and the Fates and the Furies (the goddesses of destiny and retribution, respectively).

THE ARCHITECTURAL FORM OF THE PERGAMON ALTAR AND ITS MEANING

Other than the first publication of the architecture of the Pergamon Altar, in 1906,[3] archaeological research has tended to concern itself less with the typological and semantic derivation of the monument's architectural form than with the interpretation of the two famous relief friezes described above. The following lines will therefore focus on a synthesizing explanation of the interaction between the altar's architectural form and its sculptural decoration.

When the first two fragments—containing the scenes of the gods' battle against the giants—arrived in Berlin, in 1871, archaeologist Alexander Conze immediately concluded that they must have originated from the large marble altar mentioned

Fig. 57. Great Frieze, detail showing Zeus battling the giants

in a late Roman compendium, the *Liber memorialis* of Lucius Ampelius. Among the text's catalogued *miracula mundi*, or "wonders of the world," Conze found the following reference to a monument that, evidently, was already famous in antiquity: "Pergamo ara marmorea magna, alta pedes quadraginta cum maximis sculpturis, continet autem gigantomachiam" (In Pergamon there is a huge marble altar, forty feet tall with large sculptures; it also includes a Gigantomachy).[4] Thus, the monument had a generic name even before scholars began to reconstruct a picture of it through excavations.

Jakob Schrammen, one of the original excavators of the altar, credited fellow excavator Richard Bohn "for re-erecting before us the architectural superstructure of the ruined edifice from the jumbled mass of broken, disjunct building elements."[5] Schrammen's 1906 publication of the altar's architecture, which added newly incorporated architectural members, gave further credence to Bohn's proposed reconstruction.[6] In 1901, the French archaeologist and numismatist Antoine Héron de Villefosse had identified what is still the only ancient depiction of the altar, found on the reverse of a coin from the reign of Septimius Severus (cat. 28). The image shows the front of the Great Altar, although not naturalistically proportioned.[7] "It can be discerned," wrote Schrammen, "that a broad flight of steps led up to a platform on which stood a sacrificial altar roofed by a baldachin. Right and left of the stairway, at the height of the platform, four columns on each side carry an entablature upon which figures stand. Underneath these rows of columns are two pedestals, each of which carries a huge zebu."[8] Yet Schrammen did not let himself get carried away by the discovery, highly interesting though it was: "As pleasing as this find is, and however important it is for confirming what we know of the altar's form from the architectural remains, no details of arrangement can be discovered from this depiction; indeed it would rather seem to me as though the monument, as already reassembled from the remains, might contribute more to an understanding of the face design of the coin than the latter does to reconstruction of the altar building."[9] Indeed, it soon became clear to those studying the finds that there was little to be gained from comparisons not only with the coin but also with other known altar buildings, since the Pergamon Altar was, and to this day remains, the sole monument of its kind.

For many years scholars believed that the Pergamon Altar derived typologically from Ionian altar buildings, a tradition dating back to the Archaic period. (Typically, these buildings comprise a massive podium for the sacred precinct with the sacrificial altar on top; a broad flight of steps flanked by protruding walls, for easy access; and, on top of the podium, a *temenos*, or sanctuary wall, surrounding the relatively small altar.) This basic assertion was repeated in an almost mantra-like fashion by scholars, yet as early as 1978 archaeologist Klaus Stähler had identified certain structural features that distinguish the edifice of the Pergamon Altar from the development of the Ionian altar.[10] For one, the architectural framing of the altar proper forms an enclosed court, with an interior facade and a prospect-like exterior facade above the monumental stairway (fig. 58). The outward-facing colonnaded halls on top of the socle are also deep enough to step inside. Compared to the at-best "implied" inner halls of older courtyard altars, they have a true spatial dimension, and the column-framed court on the altar-building podium is conceived as a fully formed peristyle.

In addition, the lofty podium of the Pergamon Altar is completely at variance with the scale of older monumental altars in Ionia. It provides the colonnaded court around the sacrificial altar with a plateau, for example, not just a flat socle, as is the case with earlier monumental altars, beginning with the Poseidon altar of Cape Monodendri (6th century B.C.) and continuing to the Poseidon altar of Tenos (2nd century B.C.). Moreover, the exterior design of the colossal podium is highly sophisticated and graphically illustrative compared to those examples. From these observations, Stähler concluded that the altar building could not be explained by reference to itself alone, owing to the alleged lack of starting points for an interpretation. Yet the sculptural decoration and, especially, the architectural form of the Pergamon Altar contain clues to its meaning that have yet to be recognized.

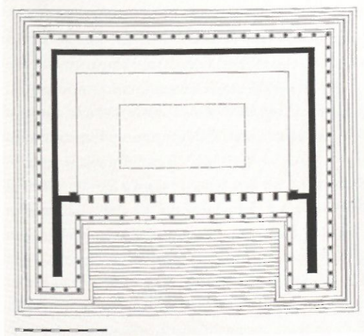

Fig. 58. Plan of the Great Altar

A RARITY IN GREEK ARCHITECTURE: THE STOA WITH PROJECTING WINGS

In antiquity, visitors entered the sanctuary of the Pergamon Altar from the east, as noted above, and first saw the rear of the altar. Once they had passed along the north or south side, where they encountered the extraordinary scenes from the Gigantomachy, they stood in front of the monumental flight of stairs framed by two long *risalits*, or projecting wings, and crowned by an Ionic colonnade. Only now did they realize that the building, which was hermetically sealed on three sides, could be entered, and that the dramatic, tumultuous action depicted in the reliefs of the Great Frieze culminated in the tapering ends on either side of the stairway. If we do not wish to speculate about what associations this unusual architectural ensemble may have evoked in those who saw it in antiquity, then to understand the altar we must instead search for typological comparisons among entrance facades in earlier Greek architecture. In doing so, it becomes clear that colonnaded halls with precisely symmetrical projecting wings were rare and, in terms of semantics, a highly specific motif in classical architecture.[11]

John James Coulton, who has examined the typology of wing-*risalit* stoas in depth,[12] cites as the oldest specimen the great Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora at Athens, dating from the last third of the fifth century B.C. He compares this monumental Zeus-dedicated edifice with other classical ensembles that combine a central building with wings of different lengths and designs, such as the asymmetrical propylaea of Mnesikles and the Brauronion, both on the Athenian Acropolis; the asymmetrical stoa in Brauron itself; "and possibly some sort of paraskenia at the Theatre of Dionysos."[13] The latter example is perhaps most compelling, because there are indications that the stage of the high Classical Theater of Dionysos, on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis, indeed incorporated *paraskenia* (side stages, or wing buildings) in its original wood superstructure in the second half of the fifth century B.C. Although this cannot be proved archaeologically, stage practice—insofar as what can be inferred from the dramatic plays of the three great tragedians of the fifth century B.C. and from Old Comedy—suggests the existence of such *paraskenia*. This supposition is further supported by the stone *skene* (a background building attached to the stage)

Fig. 59. Cup with the Gigantomachy, detail showing Zeus driving his quadriga into battle before the gates of his palace on Olympus, as suggested by the large Doric column in the background. Greek (Athenian), Late Archaic period, ca. 490 B.C. Attributed to the Brygos Painter. Terracotta, red-figure, H. 5⅜ in. (13.7 cm). Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (F 2293)

added at the end of the fourth century B.C. by Lykurgos, the politician in charge of Athenian finance and building policy after 338 B.C. Indeed, the manifestly Classicist and restorative tendencies of the Lykurgian building program make it not unlikely that when fifth-century plays came to be performed again in the fourth century B.C.—by which time they were already perceived as canonical—the type of stage associated with them had likewise been monumentalized in stone. Hence, in the Athens of the late fifth century B.C., in addition to the Stoa of Zeus, the only other structure with this type of symmetrical wing-*risalit* stoa was the *paraskenia* stage of the Theater of Dionysos.

Virtually all theater historians believe that this specific form of the Classical stage represented a palace. The evidence for this supposition comes from images of stages on Greek vases and, above all, from the fact that in two-thirds of the surviving classical tragedies the action is set in front of a palace or temple. The great Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, erected in the Athenian Agora in 430–420 B.C., can thus be seen as a quotation, in form and format, of a palace facade that would have been familiar to the public from contemporary theater, and one that was meant to allude to the mythical abode of the supreme god. Thus, by the beginning of the fourth century B.C. at the latest, the symmetrical wing-*risalit* stoa had acquired the connotation of a "palace." Translated into real architecture, the *paraskenia* stage makes its first appearance in the safely reconstructable marble *skene* building of the Athenian Theater of Dionysos, commissioned by Lykurgos and built between 338 and about 331 B.C.

In the third century B.C., we encounter buildings that combine the wing-*risalit* stoa with the architectural motifs of the stairway and the peristyle court, creating a thoroughly "theatrical" monumental facade. The stoa and propylon of the grandiose Sanctuary of Athena Lindia at Lindos on Rhodes, the most significant testimony to this development, link the freestanding wing-*risalit* stoa of the Classical style with the composite structure that the Pergamon Altar building represents. In the case of both the propylaea of Lindos and the Pergamon Altar, the monumental *risalit* facade is backed by a colonnaded court, but only at Pergamon does it form a fully enclosed peristyle. If we take the concept that the *risalit* facade of the Pergamon Altar represents a palace and extend it to the column-framed interior courtyard, then it becomes apparent that such peristyles must have been a regular component of Hellenistic palace buildings, such as those at Vergina and Demetrias but also at Pergamon itself. Indeed, some peristyle structures of Hellenistic *basileia*, as Wolfram Hoepfner has noted, are comparable to the peristyle of the Pergamon Altar, even in terms of architectural detail.[14]

THE PERGAMON ALTAR AND HOMER'S PALACE OF ZEUS

If we consider the evidence gathered here, then there are grounds to suppose that the colonnaded facade and peristyle court of the Pergamon Altar represent a visualization in stone of the mythical palace of Zeus on Mount Olympus in Thessaly—as the ancient Greeks imagined it—assembled at Pergamon from the repertory of forms and types of Classical and Hellenistic architecture. That the father of the gods and mortals dwelled in a magnificently appointed palace on Olympus was a fact known to every Greek from Homer's epics—especially the famously erudite Pergamenians—all the more so during the Hellenistic period, a time of intensive study of Homer and, indeed, when a cult of Homer flourished. The abode of the supreme god is

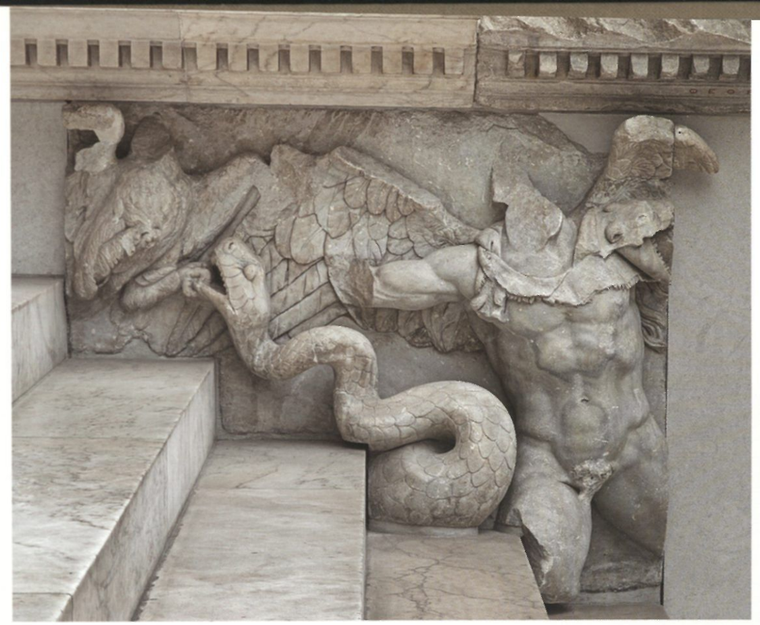

Fig. 60. Inner side of the right (south) *risalit* of the Great Altar at Pergamon, detail showing the eagle of Zeus attacking a serpent-legged giant

mentioned several times in both of Homer's great poems. In a vivid picture of the palace of Zeus from the *Odyssey* (4.71–79), for instance, Homer chooses the word *aulé*, meaning an open courtyard or hall of a lord's residence, whose essential furnishings included an altar.

It is unquestionably an archaizing, if not a *Homerizing*, trait of the Pergamene sanctuary of Zeus that the supreme god was worshiped there not in a conventional temple but at an open-air altar, as at Olympia, on the Acropolis of Athens, and in many genuinely old sanctuaries of Greece. Determined to lend their new sanctuary of Zeus the greatest possible degree of venerable antiquity, the Pergamenians, it seems, not only built a Homeric ash altar, possibly modeled on the one at Olympia, but also framed it and heightened it by means of a palace sanctuary composed of Classical and Hellenistic architectural forms. They may have gone even further and imagined the spectacular setting of the altar building to be an allusion to the mythological location of the palace of Zeus. This interpretation finds solid support in the long iconographic tradition of the Gigantomachy in Greek art, for beginning in the fifth century B.C., Greek artists—in a radical break with literary tradition, which sites the battle in the Phlegraean Fields or on the Pallene peninsula—regularly showed the battle taking place on the summit of Mount Olympus, even directly in front of the palace of Zeus (fig. 59).

In the interpretative model proposed here, then, the relief-decorated socle of the Pergamon Altar is an allusion to the steep summit zone of Mount Olympus, crowned with the palace of Zeus, and around whose exterior walls rages the savage battle between the gods and the giants in its decisive stage. The deep relief carving of the figures, which achieve maximum possible detachment from the architectural field surrounding them, reinforces the impression of the tempestuous, endlessly surging flood of nearly freestanding sculptures encircling the podium.

The breathless drama of the battle as it plays out in the altar's series of fighting groups reaches a climax in the tapered ends of the Great Frieze on either side of the stairs. The design of these sections, which in antiquity the visitor saw only when ascending the stairway, is frequently misunderstood. On the inward-facing sides of the north and south *risalits*, some of the giants have almost reached the Ionic colonnaded facade of the palace on the summit of Olympus and are about to storm the peristyle court containing the altar of Zeus, the imaginary seat of the father of the gods, but at the last possible moment they are halted by Zeus's eagles. In the better-preserved southern end section, on the right-hand *risalit*, the eagle of Zeus has sunk its claws into the lower jaw of a serpent-leg of a winged giant (fig. 60). On the opposite side of the stairway (figs. 61, 62), two giants have charged past the sea god Okeanos and his now all

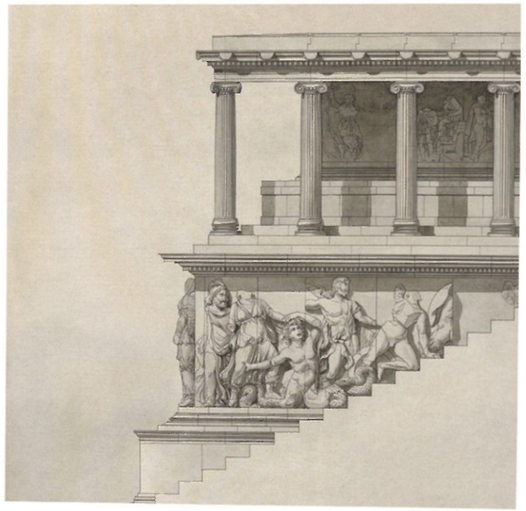

Fig. 61. Reconstruction of the north *risalit*

but completely destroyed spouse, Tethys. Defending themselves from the sea gods at their rear, the giants are on the point of breaking through to the altar courtyard; the giant on the left, as he rushes forward, grasps a rock lying on a step in order to hurl it at the supreme deity (fig. 63). Here, too, Zeus (in the form of an eagle) is barely able to prevent the giants from bursting through. Consequently, it is the ends of the Great Frieze, on the inner faces of the *risalits*, that show how the battle for world dominion was decided by the intervention of Zeus at the gates of his own palace on Mount Olympus. At the same time, it is clearly a celebration of Zeus as the victorious force in the Gigantomachy; not only does he appear in person and in all his majesty in the East Frieze (see fig. 57), he also battles against the giants in the form of an eagle at least four times in the frieze as a whole. Nowhere else in the altar did the master of the Great Frieze weave architecture and sculptural action so closely together as in these end sections on either side of the stairway. In an almost spectral manner, the larger-than-life figures seem to leave the cold stone, detach themselves from the relief ground, step out onto the stairs, and stand in front of their human spectators—quite literally on the same level.

Fig. 63. North *risalit*, detail showing Okeanos fighting two giants charging up the stairs

Unlike the giants, who were decisively repulsed at the last moment, it was granted to the Pergamenians and their visitors to enter the palace and altar of their victorious patron deity to give thanks and offer sacrifices. The inner courtyard of this sanctuary of Zeus—which we can probably take to be a stylized reflection of the contemporaneous royal palace at Pergamon—was decorated with a frieze that, as noted above, celebrates the hero Herakles in the presence of Zeus, imagined to be ever-present at the sacrificial altar. As savior of the world, without whose help the gods would have failed—and also as the father of Telephos, the city's founder—Herakles is accorded the place of honor in the Homeric-inspired *aulé*, the court of Zeus. This high-profile role links into the history of Pergamon and its kings, who built a palace for Zeus the Savior here, not far from their own residence, much as the Athenians may have done in the late fifth century B.C. when erecting the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, preserver of their liberty. Just as Zeus defeated the giants in a colossal struggle, so the Pergamenians, under the leadership of their kings, defeated the barbarian Gauls at the very gates of their city by dint of a supreme effort.

Opposite: Fig. 62. Inner side of the north (left) *risalit*, detail showing Okeanos and Tethys battling the giants