



Summary :

Pergamon (or Pergamos), the modern city of Bergama, built on the banks of the Caicus River, was the capital of the Hellenistic kingdom of the Attalids and one of the most important cities of Hellenistic years in Asia Minor. The kings of Pergamon turned their seat into a spiritual centre of the Greek world, thus aiming to offer their city the prestige of classical Athens. Pergamon had an ingenious city plan, while splendid monuments, such as the altar of Zeus, the sanctuary of Athena Parthenos or Nike, the sanctuary of Demeter, the gymnasium, the theatre and the palace, added charm and splendour to the Hellenistic city, which maintained its importance during the Roman period as well.

Other Names

Pergamos, Bergama

Geographical Location

Mysia, SW Turkey

Historical Region

Mysia

Administrative Dependence

Kingdom of Pergamon, Province of Asia

Geographical Coordinates

1. Topography

Pergamon (or Pergamos), the modern city of Bergama, is built on the banks of the Caicus River (now Bakır or Bergama Çay), within about 28 km from the river mouth. The volcanic composition of the soil is responsible for the medicinal character of several springs bubbling up in the valley and the surrounding elevations and low mountains, such as Pindasos (Kozak) to the north and Mount Aspendon (Yünlü Dağ) to the south. The city of Pergamon is built on an elevation 335 m high consisting of andesite, which gave the city its name, a Hellenised type of a pre-Greek word meaning 'burg'. In the Classical and Early Hellenistic period the cities of Atarneus and Pitane, as well as Elaea, which later became the seaport of Pergamon at the mouth of Caicus, thrived in the district.

2. Historical Background

2.1. Pre-Hellenistic Period: Myths and Reality

The earliest examples of habitation in the area date from the Bronze Age. In the 2nd millennium BC the region was part of the Hittite state, while Thracian-Phrygian populations as well as [Aeolian](#) colonists settled there in the 1st millennium BC.

According to Greek mythology, King Teuthras (Teleutas) reigned in the region. Auge, the priestess of Athena from Arcadia deserted at sea because she had had a sexual intercourse with Herakles and had given birth to a son called [Telephus](#), was driven ashore there. Teuthras adopted Auge's son, who later confronted the Achaeans, when they mistakenly landed on Teuthrania on their way to Troy. Telephos was considered the mythical founder of Pergamon, who helped the royal household of the Attalids stabilise.

The earliest historical evidence comes from [Xenophon](#),¹ who says that the Greek mercenary expeditionary corps was accommodated by the female satrap Hellada, descendant of the exiled aristocratic family of the Gogylides of Eretria. After the [battle of the Granicus](#) River (334 BC) the region came under Macedonian control. Alexander fortified Pergamon, while his second wife Stateira (Barsine)



with their little son Herakles lived shortly there.

2.2. Foundation of the Kingdom of Pergamon

Lysimachus, the ruler of Thrace, prevailed in Asia Minor after the [battle of Ipsus](#) (301 BC) among the Successors of Alexander. He made his [gazophylax](#) Philetaerus from Tieion of the Black Sea commander of the fortress of Pergamon. Philetaerus undertook to guard a great part of the loot sacked from the defeated [Antigonus I Monophtalmos](#) (One-Eyed), which amounted to 9,000 silver [talents](#). However, in 282 BC Philetaerus together with other officers defected to [Seleucus I Nicator](#). In 281 BC Lysimachus was killed in the battle of Corupedium and Seleucus was assassinated in the same year. Philetaerus took advantage of the vacant post and acted as an autonomous ruler of Pergamon. He never actually was awarded the title of king.²

Philetaerus extended the [fortification](#) enclosure of the city and created a new residential area. Moreover, he followed a beneficial and pan-Hellenic policy by making donations to neighbouring cities and to the Oracle of Delphi. He did not have any children of his own as, according to sources, he was a eunuch; however, he adopted his nephew Eumenes, thus laying the foundations of a subsequent dynasty.

[Eumenes I](#) ruled Pergamon –not as an official king– from 263 to 241 BC. After his decisive victory over Antiochus I, he included the largest part of Mysia in his country.³ Because he was childless, he adopted his nephew [Attalus I](#) (241-197 BC), who, after assuming power, won a crucial victory over the [Galatians](#) and was awarded the title ‘Soter’ (Saviour).⁴ The conflicts between the [Attalids and the Galatians](#) took place several times throughout the history of the kingdom and established Pergamon as a seawall against these redoubtable enemies.

One of Attalus’ political movements with long-term consequences was his alliance with the Koinon of Aetolians (Aetolian League) against Philip V of Macedonia. This made the Attalids ally with the Romans, who also supported the Koinon of Aetolians. The Koinon compensated Attalus for his help by selling him Aegina Island (210 BC), which became a naval base of Pergamon ever since.

The friendly relations of the [Attalids](#) with Rome continued until 205 BC, when Attalus intervened and the Galatians sent the [baetylus](#) of the sanctuary of [Cybele](#) from [Pessinus](#) to Rome. In 201 BC the attack of Philip V against Pergamon triggered the Second Macedonian War (199-197 BC).

Attalus was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, [Eumenes II](#) (197-158 BC). Arts and letters flourished in his reign and Pergamon gradually followed Rome slavishly. The disputes between Pergamon and Antiochus IV Epiphanes offered the Romans the opportunity to intervene in the political matters of Asia Minor.⁵ They were benefited both territorially and politically. However, it was clear that the political life of Asia Minor was directly dependent on the disposition and expediency of Rome.

Eumenes II beautified his city. He laid the foundation stone of the magnificent [altar of Zeus](#) and the Library of Pergamon, established the Nikephoria, games held around the sanctuary of Athena, and moved to Athens, where he successfully participated in a chariot race during the Panathenaea festival.

However, the pro-Roman policy of the Attalids annoyed several Greek cities. In 172 BC Eumenes II, on his way back from Rome, was attacked at Delphi.⁶ He was seriously hurt and his rivals put it about that he was already dead. This event caused the Third Macedonian War, which ended three years later with the battle of Pydna (168 BC) and the complete defeat of Perseus. The relations between Rome and the Attalids were then faced with crisis as the Senate feared that their open alliance would lead the Greek cities to revolt and ask for Galatian help. However, a new victory of the Attalids against the Galatians in Phrygia in 166 BC reminded the Greek cities that the Galatians were still a terrible danger. Eumenes II finally died in 158 BC before appointing his 61-year-old brother Attalus as his successor.

[Attalus II](#) (158-138 BC) resumed the pro-Roman policy of his predecessors: the Roman troops helped Pergamon avoid the serious danger from the attack of Prusias of [Bithynia](#). In return, military forces of the Attalids stood at the side of the Romans as they were



conquering the Greek cities. Attalus II spent the last years of his life mainly carrying out developmental work in Pergamon. He died in 138 BC appointing his nephew [Attalus III](#) (138-133 BC) as his successor. Attalus III was a highly controversial figure⁷ and died in 133 BC. His will was a big surprise as he bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people and not to some successor!⁸

3. Administration and Institutions

The Attalids respected several preexisting institutions established by Alexander and the Seleucids, while other institutions were adapted to their political ideology. In its heyday the kingdom of Pergamon was inhabited by some 5.5 million people. The country of Pergamon included, apart from the capital and its *chora*, military colonies (*katoikies*), cities,⁹ 'sacred lands',¹⁰ royal domain and regions, such as Abbaite, Abrettene, Morene and Phrygia Epiktetos, where semi-autonomous aboriginal tribes lived. Attalus II and Eumenes II were greatly visionary leaders and settled colonists in old Macedonian cities, thus boosting agricultural production and inspiring loyalty to the citizens. However, unlike the Seleucids, the Attalids contributed to the racial and cultural integration of the settlers.

Upon resolution of Eumenes II, part of the inhabitants of smaller cities from the 'chora' of Pergamon (such as Teuthrania, Alisarna, Gambrio, Palaegambrio and Parthenio) emigrated to the capital, thus increasing its population to about 150,000. The main bodies of the city were the boule, which drafted the resolutions, and the deme, the assembly of citizens, which validated them. In addition, the Attalids enforced laws not subject to modifications and, as a result, established a stable institutional framework that secured their power. The generals, who often replaced the members of the boule during the preparation of the laws, were also assigned with the task of auditing public finance in collaboration with the treasurers, as well as with the task of supervising the *astynomoi* – the officers who watched over the conformity to town-planning regulations, sanitation, etc.¹¹ The particular characteristic of the Attalid rule was that the king remained omnipresent by supervising most aspects of public life, without violating democratic institutions, though. This particular role is considered to have been the pattern followed by Octavian Augustus.

4. Economy

The kingdom of Pergamon was proverbially wealthy already from its establishment. The cities, the military colonies and the sanctuaries as well were subject to [taxation](#), which was usually fixed.¹² Taxes were also paid as part of all commercial and business transactions. The Attalids took particular care of stimulating agricultural activity. As a result, the country was quite densely populated and fully developed.

The main product was [cereals](#). [Wineyards](#) and [olives](#) were also extensively farmed. [Stock breeding](#) was intensive, mainly with sheep and, particularly, a black breed with sleek coat. Besides, the sheep gave the parchment, the processed skin of the newly-born sheep, which, together with scrolls from papyrus, was the basic writing material in Hellenistic years. Timber, precious [metals](#), [marble](#) and other rocks as well as salt were in abundance in the kingdom of Pergamon.

As regards handicraft, Pergamon was famous for its [textiles](#), perfumes and cosmetics. The Attalids must have employed methods and techniques of [Sardis](#) for producing fancy goods. Finally, the sedimentary soil around the city offered raw materials to [pottery](#), which was considered of high quality, while tile production was part of the state monopoly.

Pergamon had two mints, the royal and the city mint. The mint of Pergamon made mainly bronze coins with representations inspired by the cults of Athena, Asclepius and Zeus. Silver coinage was made only at the Attalid mint.¹³

5. Arts – Letters

Culture developed in parallel with economy in Pergamon. The Attalid kings invited notable artists of the Hellenistic world to their capital in order to build the monuments that would glorify them. Sculptors such as [Phyromachus](#) marked the artistic life of the city by founding two [schools of sculpture](#). On the other hand, the library of Pergamon became the centre of attraction for philosophers and students and, as a result, sciences, such as medicine, [mathematics](#) and astronomy, flourished.



6. Roman Pergamon

The voluntary accession of Pergamon to the Roman state resulted in its particularly favourable treatment. In 129 BC Pergamon was incorporated into the newly established [province of Asia](#) and became seat of the [conventus](#) . However, the Roman expansionism encountered resistance from the king of the Black Sea [Mithridates VI](#) Eupator Dionysus, who between 111 and 89 BC managed to create an autonomous and powerful state in Asia Minor thanks to his military supremacy and terrorism. The Roman citizens of Pergamon and other big cities were murdered as part of the political purge of the Roman element. But when in 85 BC Sulla managed to eliminate Mithridates the cities subjugated to him suffered reprisals. Archaeological findings from Pergamon evidence that in the first quarter of the 1st century BC the city was extensively destroyed. The city started to slowly recover in 71 BC, when, thanks to the proconsul Leucius Lucullus, part of the debts was written off and some taxes were lightened. The recovery of the city was accelerated after the intervention from Diodorus Paspurus, the ambassador of Rome in Pergamon, who managed to exempt the city from taxation and remove the Roman troops based there. The Roman civil wars had some impact on Asia as well. After the battle of Philippi (42 BC) Marc Antony became the commander of Asia and stayed for some time in the city, where he was worshipped as a 'new Dionysus'.

In the years of Octavian Augustus (31 BC – 14 AD) Asia became a senatorial province commanded by a consul. Pergamon was proclaimed a 'free' city, although this freedom concerned only the right to arrange its internal matters. The city suffered minor damage from the destructive earthquake of 17 AD, which struck several Asia Minor cities. However, towards the mid-1st century Emperor [Nero](#) deprived the city of significant monuments as part of his general policy on the transfer of works of art from provincial cities to Rome.

The most important development of the 1st century was that the [notable](#) citizens of Pergamon became Roman citizens and ascended to the senior offices of the Senate. The most typical example was Aulus Julius Cuadratus,¹⁴ who was nominated as consul in 94 and, as a result, benefited his birthplace. The benefits were even greater when he became commander of the province of Asia in the early 2nd century.

It was then that the competition between Pergamon and [Ephesus](#) and Smyrna became more intense on the occasion of the honour for the [imperial cult](#).¹⁵ The conflicts between the cities generated so much tension that the need for amity was expressed in special resolutions¹⁶ as well as on coin inscriptions.

In the mid-2nd century Pergamon was like an immense building site, as several [buildings and public works](#) were being simultaneously completed. Among others, the temple dedicated to the [Egyptian gods](#) (Red Basilica), the Roman theatre of the Lower City and the Amphitheatre, where shortly later, [Galen](#), the great physician of the Roman period, would proceed to his famous anatomical studies on wounded or killed gladiators.

In 214 Pergamon was granted lots of privileges by Emperor Caracalla (211-217), who visited the city in order to be treated at the [Asclepieion](#). After he was assassinated, his successor Marcus Opellius Macrinus (217-218) revoked these privileges and, when the citizens revolted, the city's position was lost (217).

Under the [administrative reforms of Diocletian](#) (284-305) Pergamon remained in the province of Asia, whose area was then drastically reduced. It was still the seat of a *metropolis* – the other three based in Ephesus, Smyrna and [Tralleis](#). In the early Byzantine period the [city](#) came under a different administration, while in the 11th century it was menaced by the Seljuk Turks. In the 1330s Pergamon came under Orhan, the founder of the Ottoman state.¹⁷

7. Religions and Cults

The earliest religious centre of the city must have been the [temple](#) to Athena Parthenos or Nike, exactly to the west of the entrance to



the walled acropolis. It was built in the years of Philetærus and was a doric **peripteral temple** with 6 columns on the narrow and 10 columns on its long side. In the years of Eumenes II in front of the temple there was a square surrounded by doric stoes, where one arrived through a monumental propylon.¹⁸

In the time of Philetærus more significant sanctuaries were built, such as the sanctuaries of Demeter and Mater Aspodene. The cult of **Demeter** in the Hellenistic period concerned mainly women, the sanctuary having been completed by Apollonis, the wife of Attalus I.¹⁹ However, in Roman years there was increased participation of men, both as mystics and as priests, always on behalf of the women of their family. According to archaeological findings, in the 4th and the early 3rd century BC the arrangement of the sanctuary of Demeter was suitable for rituals similar to the Thesmophoria. Besides, the dedicative inscription mentions Demeter Thesmophoros and Kore Thesmophoros. The sanctuary consisted of an **ionic** temple in antis and adjacent altars, a two-story **stoa** to the north ending in a small platform for spectators, and the 'oikoi', a type of auxiliary rooms. As regards the cult of Mater Aspodene, it was similar to the cult of Cybele or Agdistis or Great Mother, who had a mystic character and was mainly spread to central Asia Minor (Phrygia and Mysia).²⁰

The cult of Asclepius arrived in Pergamon in the 4th century BC.²¹ His sanctuary was founded about 2.5 km to the southwest of the acropolis and became particularly famous in the time of Eumenes II. However, the sanctuary was in its heyday in the Roman period and, particularly, in the 2nd century AD, when it was rebuilt by Emperor Hadrian. The sanctuary measured 102x140 m and was surrounded by ionic stoes on its north, south and western side. Apart from the circular peripteral temple of Zeus Asclepius – an unusual identification between the two gods –, built in 140, the complex also included vespasians, a theatre and a library. The two latter buildings indicate that the Asclepieion, apart from its medicinal character, also served as a spiritual centre. Perhaps that was the reason why **Aelius Aristides**, the famous orator of the 2nd century, went to the sanctuary and lived there for 13 years.²²

Other deities worshipped in Pergamon were Dionysus, Hera and, of course, Zeus, whose altar, reminiscent of the victories of Eumenes II against the Galatians, adorned a square exactly above the **Upper Agora** of the city.

Pergamon played an important role in the establishment of the imperial cult already from the time of Augustus. In the early 2nd century a second temple was built in the city, dedicated to **Trajan** and Zeus Philius so the city became 'δῖς νεωκόρος'. It was a corinthian peripteral temple with 6x9 columns, built on a high base, at the centre of a square measuring 68x58 m, surrounded by stoes on its north, western and eastern side. Fragments of colossal statues of Trajan and his successor Hadrian, who completed the temple (129), were found in the **Trajaneum**. In 114 a third temple dedicated to Caracalla, who had visited the city, was built in Pergamon.

In Hadrian's years the city started to worship the Egyptian deities of Sarapis, Isis and Harpokrates. A huge precinct measuring 260x100 m and consisting of a peristyle court and three temple buildings was built in their honour. The central building was the main temple, built according to Roman standards, with red bricks covered with marble. On either side there was a cylindrical building. The facade was adorned with a colonnade in the Egyptian order. In the 4th century it was transformed into a church possibly associated with martyrdom, since the Christians of the city are known to have been persecuted in the years of Domitian (81-96). Besides, a Christian community must have existed in Pergamon from early on because the *Apocalypse of John* reports the city as one of the **Seven Churches** of Asia Minor.

8. The Discovery of Pergamon

In 1871 a group of 4 German archaeologists under Ernst Curtius arrived in the Ottoman town of Bergama during an antiquarian expedition. They met the German engineer Carl Humann working on road construction. Humann, a lover of antiquity, showed the archaeologists fragments of a relief frieze he had found in the nearby hill. A quotation from *Liber Memorialis* by Lucius Curtius (2nd century) helped the identification of the monument with the great altar of Zeus of Pergamon. Excavations started 7 years later and continued for some decades bringing to light one after another all the important monuments of the city, which once was the centre of the Attalid kingdom.



9. Archaeology

The city of Pergamon is built on an elevation from andesite, 335 m high, with steep slopes. The buildings stand on 4 successive zones. The highest point was intended for the royal palace, which was equipped with 5 water tanks. The [palace](#) complex is walled. Before the entrance there is a heroon dedicated to the dead kings. On entering the acropolis one can see the palace to the right and the square leading to the sanctuary of Athena Parthenos or Nike to the left. Oddly enough, each of the first three kings built his own palace and, as a result, the building complex is quite meandering. The palace of Philetairos later housed the guard of the acropolis. In the northwestern corner of the complex is the [arsenal](#), where about 900 stone projectiles for catapults were found.

The square of the sanctuary of Athena demarcated the second zone of the acropolis. The temple of Athena Parthenos or Nike stood in the western corner of the square. Built on a bank, it was in Doric order with a double podium and measured 12.72x21.77. The square was surrounded by two-story stoas with Doric columns on the ground floor and Ionic columns on the first floor. The famous [Library of Pergamon](#) was in the eastern corner of the Northern Stoa. According to sources, it included some 20,000 manuscript rolls. It had a reading room measuring 15.35x13.53 m and 3 peripheral rooms, where the books must have been kept. A statue of goddess Athena 3.5 m high stood before the facade of the reading room. Marc Antony is said to have offered all the books of the Library of Pergamon to Cleopatra so that she could replace the material burnt during the fire at the Library of Alexandria in 47 BC.

The Trajaneum was built to the north of the square of Athena Parthenos or Nike in the 2nd century AD. It was a magnificent construction in the Corinthian order, which has been partly restored and still dominates the area.

The third zone of the acropolis included the [theatre](#), which is exactly below the temple of Athena and has the steepest slope of all Hellenistic theatres. It was built in the late 3rd century BC and seated 10,000 spectators. It consists of 80 rows and 3 diazomata, while near the orchestra there was a marble royal balcony. An oblong square with Doric columns on its western and eastern side opened in front of the theatre. The [temple of Dionysus](#) was built in the western corner of the square; it was an Ionic four-column, prostyle temple. However, the most important monument of this zone was the [altar of Zeus](#), dedicated by Eumenes II in commemoration of his victories against the Galatians. Because the monument is today at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, the only thing one can see is a fragment of the pedestal with 5 steps.

To the south of the altar of Zeus was the [Upper Agora](#) of the city, surrounded by Doric stoas. The agora occupied a great part of the fourth zone of the acropolis. The main street of the city crossed the agora, while the altar of the agora and the temple of Hermes were in the western corner. The sanctuary of Demeter, dedicated by Philetairos, was near the agora. A nearby building accommodates today the museum, where several findings are exhibited. The Small Gymnasium of the city was between the Agora and the sanctuary of Demeter.

The street starting from the Upper Agora led to the Middle City, where houses and workshops from the Hellenistic period have been excavated. Among these monuments stands out the [heroon](#) Pergamon dedicated to its notable citizen Diodorus Paspurus in the 1st century BC. Farther southwest of the sanctuary of Demeter is the Gymnasium, an impressive building made by Eumenes II on three levels ([Upper Gymnasium](#), Middle and Lower Gymnasium) joined together by means of arched staircases and passages. The first was intended for the children, the second for the adolescents and the third for the young. Inside the Gymnasium were the covered track of Xystos, several small sanctuaries and a small conservatory. On either side of the Gymnasium there were bath complexes, while on its northern side Attalus II had built a Doric four-column, prostyle temple dedicated to Hera Vassileia. In the northwestern corner was the bouleuterion, which seated 1,000 people.

To the south of the Gymnasium was an area where several mansions and luxurious residences decorated with [mosaics](#) were built in the Roman period.²³ The most known was the House of Attalus. He was not some Hellenistic king but the Roman consul Attalus Patricianus that restored an older mansion from 200 BC. Pergamon also had a second agora (Lower Agora) on the lowest part of the city. It had a paved floor and was surrounded by Doric stoas with large shops.

The most important Roman monuments, apart from the Trajaneum, lie outside the acropolis in a plain to the southwest, among the



houses of the modern city. These include the so-called Red Court or Red Basilica and the theatre, the amphitheatre and the stadium, all dating from the 2nd century AD. Excavations are being carried out in the area of the [theatre](#), which is almost certain to have been Roman, with a seating capacity of about 24,000 spectators. There are almost no remains of the stadium, while some retaining walls are the only part preserved from the [amphitheatre](#).

Several findings from excavations in Pergamon and other neighbouring cities – at least those not taken to Berlin – are today exhibited at the archaeological museum built in 1936 in the central street of the city. Among others, the museum includes parts of the frieze from the temple of Demeter, the acroterion of the Asclepium's propylon as well as a large number of Roman statues.

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1. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.8.4. Towards the late 5th c. BC Greek mercenaries took part in the conflict over the throne between the Persian king Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus. The Greeks helped Cyrus and after he was dead (Battle of Cunaxa, 401 BC), they directed to the Black Sea facing lots of dangers. Their return is one of the most outstanding achievements of the Greek military history.
 2. The coins of the time prove clearly these changes in policy, as they were originally minted in the name of Lycimachus and later of Seleucus, while after the latter was dead, Philetairos started to mint coins only in the name of Alexander. From 275 BC on, the coins represented the bust of Seleucus and the name of Philetairos, which indicates the dependence on the Seleucid Kingdom.
 3. He also replaced the portrait of Seleucus with that of Philetairos on the coins, thus underlining the independence of Pergamon.
 4. The Galatians, Celtic tribes living in Thrace, had campaigned against mainland Greece in the early 3rd century and after they were repelled, a part of them crossed the Bosphorus and settled on the central plateaus of Asia Minor circa 279 BC. The Phrygian region they settled in was called Galatia. For a period of forty years they looted the country making even the Seleucids pay contributions.
 5. The Roman army dominated over a large part of Asia Minor after beating Antioch III in the Battle of Magnesia (189 BC). A little earlier Eumenes had gone to Rome fighting a diplomatic battle over the primacy among the allies of Rome in the East. All Asia Minor regions to the north of Taurus as far as the Cappadocian border were ceded to him under the Peace of Apamea (188 BC). He also gained control over the Lycian harbour of Telmessus in the south. Pergamon also dominated over all the Thracian dominions of Antioch.
 6. The attack was carried out by supporters of the Macedonian King Perseus, as Eumenes visited Rome because he wanted to instigate a revolt against Perseus.
 7. Attalus III had a pathological phobia about conspiracies against him. That is why he had several relatives and friends of his murdered. However, probably out of remorse, he remained closed in the palace and was occupied with sculpture, pharmacology and botany.
 8. This legacy was questioned by Aristonicus of Ephesus, who led part of mainly the lower classes to a revolt, but without success. See Collins, F., *The Revolt of Aristonicus*, Diss. University of Virginia 1978.
 9. As for the cities, the Attalids maintained the existing ones and refounded others, such as Tralles, while they founded new, the most typical being Attaleia, a great commercial harbour until today.
 10. The term 'sacred land' indicated sanctuaries possessing their own territories, which they controlled economically. This status was not changed by the Attalids, while the economies of these regions often developed remarkably because the number of pilgrims increased and, as a result, the local trade fairs. In addition, the sanctuaries had to pay taxes for the land they possessed.
 11. An excellent source informing about the duties of the patrolmen as well as about the detailed legislative regulations concerning the works, cleanliness, etc., is the 'inscription of the astynomoi', written towards the late 1st century AD, which reflects earlier



regulations. The inscription had the power of a royal law probably instituted by Eumenes II. See Kolbe, W., *AM XXVII* (1902), pp. 47-77 = OGIS no. 483; Lecrivain, C., 'La loi des astynomes de Pergame', *Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences, Ins.et Belles Lettres de Toulouse*, X, series III (1903), pp. 363-376; Hitzig, H.F., 'Die Astynomeninschrift von Pergamon', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanist.Abtteilung XXVI* (1905), pp. 432-449. The patrolmen were assisted by the civil officials who collected the fines, while the generals were often assisted by the tax collectors and the guardians of the laws.

12. Tax exemption was granted only by the king to specific people or groups for certain reasons.

13. See von Fritze, H., 'Die Münzen von Pergamon', *AbhBerlin* (1910), pp. 1-108; Imhoof-Blumer, F., *Die Munzen der Dynastie von Pergamon* (Berlin 1884). As for the coinages of the Roman period, see Burnett, A. – Amandry, M. – Ripolles, P.M., *Roman Provincial Coinage* (London – Paris 1992).

14. Quadratus was the offspring of intermarriage between a Galatian royal family and an aristocratic family from Pergamon. See White, M., 'The social economy of Roman Pergamon', in Koester, H. (edit.), *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods*, pp. 331-373.

15. The competition was actually stronger and was due to the conflict over the primacy of the economic and political life of Asia Minor.

16. Kampmann, U., *Die Homonoia-Verbindungen der Stadt Pergamon* (Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte 9, Saarbrücken 1996).

17. As for Byzantine and Ottoman Pergamon, see Gelzer, H., *Pergamon unter Byzantiner und Oxmanen* (Abhandlungen der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2, Berlin 1903) and Rheidt, K., 'In the Shadow of Antiquity: Pergamon and the Byzantine Millenium', in Koester, H., (edit.), *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods* (Harvard Theological Studies 46, Harvard 1998), pp. 395-425.

18. Today restored at the Museum of Pergamon in Berlin.

19. See Thomas, Ch.M., 'The sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon: Cultic Space for Women and its Eclipse', in Koester, H., (edit.), *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods* (Harvard Theological Studies 46, Harvard 1998), pp. 277-297.


20. In the Greek pantheon the Great Mother corresponded to Rhea.

21. It is believed that Archias, a citizen from Pergamon who had been cured at the Asclepieum of Epidaurus, is responsible for spreading the cult.

22. See Jones, C., 'Aelius Aristides and the Asclepieion', in Koester, H. (edit.), *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods* (Harvard Theological Studies 46, Harvard 1998), pp. 63-77.

23. See Wulf-Rheidt, U., 'The Hellenistic and Roman Houses of Pergamon', in Koester, H., (edit.), *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods* (Harvard Theological Studies 46, Harvard 1998), pp. 299-331.

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Glossary :

	baetylus, the
	Also betylus, baetyl, betyles. In Classical antiquity a stone, either natural or artificially shaped, venerated as of divine origin, or as a symbol of divinity.
	chora, the
	The agricultural land (including villages and land-plots) belonging to a polis. It was bounded with the polis on an administrative and economic basis.
	conventus, us
	In the Roman provinces, the term referred to the meetings of the provincials in places appointed by the praetor or the proconsul of the province for the purpose of administering justice. In order to facilitate the procedure, the province was divided into districts or circuits called conventus, forum or jurisdictio. The Roman citizens living in a province under the jurisdiction of the proconsul, and accordingly had to settle any business at a conventus had to appear there.
	gazophylax, the
	Treasurer or rather guardian of the treasures in the Persian empire and the Hellenistic kingdoms.
	ionic order, the
	An architectural order devised in Ionia and developed in Asia Minor and the Greek islands in the 6th century BC. Its columns have elaborately moulded bases, fluted shafts (with fillets, ending in fillets), and volute capitals. The entablature consists of an three-fasciae architrave, a continuous frieze, usually richly decorated with reliefs, and a cornice. The Ionic order was more elaborate in dimensions, comparing with the Doric.
	peripteral temple
	Having a single row of columns on all sides.



stoa, portico, the

A long building with a roof supported by one or two colonnades parallel to its back wall.

talent, the

Numismatic weight unit. The silver talent equaled 60 mnai or 6000 silver drachmas.

Chronological Table

281 BC: Philetairos founds the Kingdom of Pergamon

263-241 BC: Pergamon is governed by Eumenes I.

241-197 BC: Reign of Attalus I.

210 BC: The Aetolian League sells Aegina to Pergamon and the island becomes a naval base of the Attalid Kingdom.

201 BC: Philip V attacks Pergamon.

197-159 BC: Eumenes II becomes King of Pergamon. Heyday of the Kingdom.

166 BC: The Attalids defeat the Galatians in Phrygia.

158-138 BC: Reign of Attalus II.

138-133 BC: Attalus III becomes the last King of Pergamon.

133 BC: Attalus III bequeathes the Kingdom of Pergamon to Rome.

133-129 BC: Aristonicus' Revolt

129 BC: Pergamon is incorporated in the province of Asia and becomes the base of a *διοίκηση*.

71 BC: Tax exemption and removal of the Roman army from Pergamon.

29 BC: Pergamon becomes the base of the Koinon of Asia and centre of the imperial cult.

94 AD: Aulus Julius Quadratus from Pergamon becomes senator and benefits his birthplace.

214 AD: Emperor Caracalla (211-217 AD) visits the city and grants lots of privileges.