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Philetairos *Ktistes* and Pergamon's Civic Memory in the Post-Attalid Period

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Abstracts

This paper provides a reappraisal of the representation of Philetairos as the new founder of Pergamon between the Hellenistic and the Imperial period. The link between Philetairos and the early development of Pergamon as a *polis* is reassessed in the wake of the recent archaeological scholarship and with particular attention to the occurrences of the toponym Philetaireia, by which the areas of the citadel urbanised before Eumenes II were known. The existence of a cult of Philetairos as *Ktistes* is possible but unproven for the Attalid period; conversely, its traces are evident in the late 2nd and 1st cent. BC. Finally, by reassessing the sources regarding the charge of "*prytanis* and priest (of Philetairos)" between 133/2 BC and the advent of the *Principatus*, it is possible to identify a rupture in the organisation of Pergamon's civic memory at the beginning of the Imperial period. This overview shows that the characterisation of Philetairos as city founder in Pergamon's civic memory was probably first shaped by his successors to spread a message of legitimacy but reached its peak in the century between the end of the Attalid dynasty and Augustus. At this time, the city looked at its grand past as a source of identity and prestige, with which the new ruling class wished to connect. Under the Empire, the legacy of Philetairos lost a great deal of its appeal without, however, causing the complete disappearance of Pergamon's dynastic past from the memory of the civic elites.

Keywords: Pergamon, Philetairos, Attalids, honours, *prytanis*, *ktistes*, civic memory, Diodoros Pasparos, Mithradates of Menodotos.

Introduction

Philetairos is unanimously acknowledged a crucial role in the history of Pergamon. The founder of the Attalid dynasty left his footprint in the monumentalisation of the city and contributed to the positioning of Pergamon in the geopolitical scenario of the Hellenistic world, providing his successors with an effective model in both respects. The evidence from his lifetime has delivered the image of a local dynast who enjoyed a remarkable degree of autonomy under Seleucid sovereignty and resorted to individual euergetism to strengthen his position in Pergamon and in Anatolia, even claiming a public role in major Greek sanctuaries like Delphi and Delos.[1] However, recent archaeological studies on Pergamon between the late Classical and the early Hellenistic period have questioned the actual contribution of Philetairos to the urban development of the city. Was the governor and then dynast of Pergamon the real founder of a new Hellenistic city, as has often been assumed? Or did he simply take part in an ongoing process that had been started by the city itself, rather marking his different approach by means of a novel interest in individual agency, which was drawn from contemporary Hellenistic kingship? Following the new hypotheses, not only the Temple of Athena on top of the citadel, which was certainly built in the Diadochi age,[2] but also several other aspects of the early Hellenistic city may have been established before Philetairos.[3] While precise dates remain elusive and thorough reappraisals of the stratigraphic data are still required, the following observations corroborate the nuances proposed by recent archaeological studies. Indeed, a residence suitable for royals must have already existed in the late 4th century as Alexander's concubine Barsine is said to have raised up her child Herakles in Pergamon before he was summoned to Greece by Polyperchon in 309 BC.[4] Moreover, since Lysimachos held part of Alexander's treasure on the citadel, barracks for a garrison must have been present here from the time of Philetairos' appointment in 301, and plausibly earlier, when the citadel

[1] On Philetairos' status as a semi-independent local lord in Pergamon, see Allen 1983, 8–24; Chrubasik 2016, 26–34, 52–54. On his use of the Pergamon treasure to start a vast programme of euergetic relations with cities in north-west Asia Minor (Kyme, Kyzikos, Aigai, Pitane, Temnos), see Manganaro 2000; Gauthier 2003; Orth 2008; Virgilio 2016. For his gifts to Delphi, Delos, and Thespiae, see Orth 2008, 486–487; cf. Chrubasik 2016, 27. His role in the monumentalisation of Pergamon is confirmed for the sanctuary of Demeter, erected by Philetairos and his brother Eumenes: for the dedicatory inscription, accomplished *hyper* their mother Boa, see *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 437, no. 22. The chronology of the earlier phases of the Asklepieion in the Kaikos valley—under Philetairos or Eumenes I—remains debated (see Riethmüller 2011, 345; Steuernagel 2015, 368). In the surroundings of Pergamon, the architrave of the temple of the Great Mother at Mamurt Kale advertises the name of its donor Philetairos: see Conze – Schazmann 1911, 10, 20–21; cf. Schalles 1985, 26–31; Agelidis 2011, 178–179.

[2] On Athena's sanctuary, see Kästner 2011.

[3] See the overview provided by Rheidt 2015, 300–305 and Pirson 2017, 54–62, with references. An early date of the city walls has been proposed on the ground of the observation that the so-called *Philetairische Stadtmauer* does not show the major structural innovations introduced by the new poliorcetics of the early Hellenistic period. On the Pergamon walls, cf. Laufer 2021, 43–49. The thesis dating the organisation and orientation of the street system to Philetairos' period has also been questioned. Finally, recent archaeological studies have identified the traces of a pre-Attalid theatre on the western side of the acropolis and of a market stoa on the upper agora, which can be dated before Philetairos: see esp. Rheidt 2015, 302–304.

[4] Diod. 20.20.1. See Heckel 2006, 138, *s.v.* Heracles.

was under Antigonos' control.[5] Finally, the written evidence suggests that the institutional transformation of Pergamon into a *polis* started in the 4th century with the establishment of the charge of the *prytanis*.[6] As limited as they could be at this early stage, the activities of civic magistrates must have required specific structures.[7]

All in all, if Philetairos' touch on the urban history of Pergamon remains important, it may have been lighter than previously thought. The new archaeological picture of late Classical Pergamon is that of a minor urban centre which had independently undergone the first stages of its poliadisation before Philetairos' appointment as "the custodian of the stronghold and treasury" on its citadel.[8] On the other hand, his intervention accelerated this process and inaugurated a period of monumentalisation that later Attalids brought to completion in the wake of Philetairos' model.

Waiting for further archaeological analyses that may fine-tune our understandings of the early urban history of Pergamon, this paper aims to contribute to the ongoing reassessment of Philetairos' legacy through the textual evidence and in a perspective of *longue durée*. More precisely, I intend to explore when, by whom, and for what purposes the age of Philetairos gained increasing success in the civic memory of Pergamon, ultimately becoming a symbol of the early Hellenistic history of the city. As we shall see, Philetairos' legacy was already meaningful for the early Attalids, yet its prestige grew greater in the post-monarchic history of Pergamon, and finally faded, together with many other aspects of the city's past, under the Roman *Principatus*.

Philetairos and Pergamon's history, from the third to the first cent. BC

The importance of Philetairos' legacy can be seen immediately after his death in 263 BC, when his nephew Eumenes I succeeded him and kept on issuing the numismatic types introduced by his uncle (the so-called *Philetairoi*), which displayed Philetairos'

[5] On Philetairos' early career, between his appointment in Pergamon by Lysimachos and his desertion to Seleukos' side, see Landucci Gattinoni 1992, 210–215, 249–250; cf. Lund 1992, 187, 200; Chrubasik 2013, 87–88 and 2016, 26–27.

[6] Apart from the *Pergamon Chronicle*, for which see below, the charge of *prytanis* is attested by a treaty of *isopoliteia* between Pergamon and Temnos, which has been dated to the early 3rd century on palaeographic grounds: see *IvP* I, no. 5, with discussion in Allen 1983, 16–18, esp. n. 29; Saba 2020, 103–108.

[7] The identification of the institutional buildings of Hellenistic Pergamon remains an open issue. For instance, various hypotheses have been advanced as regards the localisation of the *prytaneion*. Schwarzer 2004 reassesses the evidence concerning *Haus* H, *Haus* Z, and the so-called Hestiaion, all located halfway on the southern side of the hill; *Haus* I, near the lower agora, is favoured by Coarelli 2016, 186–191, but his hypothesis is contradicted by the later chronology of the development of this part of the city, which took place after the Attalid period (Pirson 2017, 82–83, 92); Rheidt 2015, 303–304, identifies the *prytaneion* with an early stage of development of the building known as *Temenos für den Herrscherkult*, at the border of the possible first location of the agora. Although the *prytaneion* has not yet been archaeologically identified, the surroundings of the upper agora are the most plausible option, both by analogy with other cities and on the ground of the sequence of rituals listed in a decree for Attalos III, where a sacrifice to Hestia (a goddess typically worshipped in *prytaneia*) and a banquet in the *prytaneion* are mentioned immediately after other rituals performed on the agora (*IvP* I, no. 246, lines 42–51): see Rheidt 1992 and 2015; Bielfeldt 2010, 169–183; Sielhorst 2015, 141; Caneva 2019, 177; Caneva 2020a, *passim*.

[8] Strabo 13.4.623.

bust instead of a legitimate Seleucid king.[9] Modern numismatists have associated Philetairos' death with the addition of a new visual detail—a laurel wreath replacing Philetairos' headband—in coins issued by Eumenes I, which has been interpreted as a possible visual statement of Philetairos' heroisation.[10] The hypothesis that a cult of Philetairos as the *Ktistes* of a renewed Pergamon was part of a dynastic message promoted by his successor is strengthened by the first attestation, under Eumenes I, of an eponymous priesthood that would later be explicitly associated with the name of Philetairos.[11] According to Holger Schwarzer, moreover, a mid-3rd cent. monumental building erected in the area of the agora of Pergamon, whose remains have been found under the foundations of Eumenes II's Great Altar, was possibly associated with a cult of Philetairos promoted by his early successors.[12] If this hypothesis is correct, then it is interesting to note that the obsolescence of this building, which was later replaced and covered by the Altar, should be roughly contemporaneous to Eumenes II's introduction of a new numismatic type displaying the *cista mystica* of Dionysos—the so-called *cistophoroi* coins.[13] Simultaneity might point to more than mere coincidence. The Treaty of Apamea of 188 BC, and the consequent rise of Pergamon as a macro-regional power in Anatolia and the Aegean world, started a new era for the Attalids: from this time on, their royal legitimacy and geopolitical aspirations arguably drew on grander motifs than the heritage of Philetairos, who—as important as he could be for the city—could appear to a pan-Hellenic and Roman public as nothing more than a local dynast (and a semi-barbarous eunuch with Paphlagonian roots).[14]

[9] On the history of the Pergamon mint under Philetairos, see Marcellesi 2012, 65–86; Meadows 2013, 153–158, with references. Seleukos was first acknowledged the issuing authority in Pergamon after Philetairos' secession from Lysimachos. In a second phase, the legend ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ appears on the reverse, whereas the observe still displays the face of Seleukos. The last memory of Seleucid sovereignty was eventually replaced by Philetairos' bust in his later issues, where the dynast bears a headband strikingly similar to a royal diadem. As pointed out by Chrubasik 2016, 30, it is impossible to say whether a Seleucid king granted Philetairos the right to strike his own coinage or he did so on his own initiative, counting on the difficulties Antiochos I encountered after his ascension to the throne.

[10] On Eumenes I's numismatic types, see Queyrel 2003, 65–70 (iconography); for the chronological debate, Meadows 2013, 158–159; cf. Chrubasik 2016, 33. For the connection between the laurel wreath and Philetairos' death and heroisation, see Marcellesi 2012, 88–92, with references.

[11] See discussion in Wörrle 2000, 550–554; cf. Caneva 2023, 80–82, and below.

[12] The building is known as the *Apsiden-Bau* in German scholarship, due to the apse-shaped outline of its eastern wall. Its erection is dated by Schwarzer 1999, 285 to the reign of Attalos I, but a slightly earlier date (*i.e.*, under Eumenes I) is defended by Rheidt 1992, 279–280. On its interpretation as a possible cult place of Philetairos and his successors, see Schwarzer 1999, 278-286; Schwarzer 2011, 111–114; cf. Caneva 2023, 81.

[13] The date of introduction of the *cistophoroi* is debated, ranging between the immediate aftermath of Apamea and the 160s: see Marcellesi 2012, 132–144; de Callataÿ 2013, 218–231; Meadows 2013; Kaye 2022, 140–142. The *Philetairoi* did not immediately disappear. The common scholarly opinion posits a few years of concurrent production of *cistophoroi* and *Philetairoi* before the abandonment of the latter in the early 170s. Meadows 2013, 164–169 proposes an alternative picture: the period between the late 190s and c. 180 would have witnessed a suspension of their production, which was resumed afterwards and continued until c. 160. Be that as it may, it was the new *cistophoroi* whose circulation was intensively promoted by Eumenes II and his successors in Attalid Asia Minor.

[14] The marked iconographic rupture between the *cistophoroi* and previous Pergamon coinages has been underlined by Kaye 2022, 147–149, who connects it with the new agenda of the Attalids after the expansion of their kingdom. The fact that the decade after Apamea witnessed Eumenes II's temporary suspension of the *Philetairoi* combined with the emission of a large amount of Attic-weight Alexanders can be interpreted

After Apamea, the urban expansion of Pergamon as the capital of Eumenes II's kingdom made it necessary to exceed the topographical limits of the old city, with the erection of new residential areas, temples, public facilities (including the multi-storey gymnasium at the southern foot of the hill), and defensive walls. This process was accompanied by the theatricalisation of Pergamon's urban landscape through a grand masterplan of monumental terraces and viewsheds that embraced the capital as a royal space and connected the citadel with the surrounding region under Attalid dominion.[15] At some point, the development of the new city led to the denomination of the districts belonging to the old town on the hilltop as Philetaireia, clearly evoking the name of the dynastic founder. In an ambitious paper reassessing the urban history of Pergamon, Felix Pirson suggested that this toponym has been misinterpreted as proof that the early Hellenistic city plan was conceived under Philetairos. Rather, the name would identify the old city in contrast to the new districts, which occupied the lower parts of the slope and the surrounding valley.[16] In what follows, I argue that this designation did not gain currency at the time of Eumenes II's enlargement of the capital, but after the dynasty ended in 132 BC.

The first text mentioning the toponym Philetaireia has been preserved by a monument dedicated by a certain Diogenes son of Epikles, who served as curator and protector of the walls and gates of the Philetaireia and of the sanctuaries "near the Eumeneion":[17]

> *IvP* I, no. 240: Διογένης Ἐπικλέους, | κατασταθεὶς πρὸς τῆι ἐπιμελείαι καὶ φυλακῆι | τῶν ἐν Φιλεταιρείαι τειχῶν καὶ πυλῶν | καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Εὐμένειον ἱερῶν, τῶι δήμωι.

The base was found in September 1880 in the Turkish tower at the southwestern corner of Athena's terrace. Comparison with other inscriptions and monuments reused in this tower reveals that Diogenes' dedication originally stood nearby the temple of the goddess,[18] a site of primary importance for the self-representation of the Pergamon elite.[19]

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as a tentative solution of the Attalids to make "their coinage acceptable and their royalty inconspicuous" to the cities that had just entered their broadened influence area (quote from Kaye 2022, 132). This goal was achieved by advertising the generic and pan-Hellenic legacy of Alexander instead of the dynastic identity of the Pergamene kings.

[15] On terracing as a paramount resource for monumentalisation in Hellenistic urban design, see Laufer 2021, 137–158 on Pergamon; cf. Portale 2017 for a comparison with Syracuse under Hiero. On the relevance of viewsheds in fashioning the perception of landscape and establishing hierarchies of power, see now Williamson 2014, 2016, and 2021. On their defensive implications for Pergamon, see Ludwig – Knitter – Williamson 2023.

[16] See Pirson 2017, 62; cf. Pirson 2012, 204.

[17] The obscure identification of this Eumeneion lies out of the scope of my present discussion. The monument has been interpreted as an independent sanctuary of the royal or dynastic cult (see already Fränkel in *IvP* I, p. 138; Schwarzer 1999, 259 considers its possible identification with the *Temenos für den Herrscherkult*; Coarelli 2016, 41–49 identifies it with a predecessor of the temple of Zeus and Trajan on the uppermost terrace of the acropolis), or as a possible denomination of the Great Altar (Schwarzer 1999, 294; Queyrel 2002 and 2005, 112–147; Schwarzer 2011, 112). This last interpretation has not won general consensus: see Bielfeldt 2010, 158, n. 114 for a *status quaestionis*. Another, to my knowledge overlooked hypothesis is that the Eumeneion could be a public building renamed by the city to honour the king, perhaps even the hitherto unidentified *prytaneion* of Pergamon: cf. *SEG* 59.1406 A (*CGRN* 137; 281 BC), a honorific decree passed by Aigai for Seleukos I and Antiochos I, which stipulates that the city's *prytaneion* and *strategion* shall be renovated and renamed Seleukeon and Antiocheon, respectively (lines 51–54).

[18] See Caneva 2019, 172–173.

[19] See Mathys 2014a.

Concerning the date of the monument, the writing displays a conservative style with elegant letters, without fully developed serifs but with small thickening at the end of long *hastae*; A has straight crossbar (**Fig. 1**). While these features can point to an early date (3rd to early 2nd cent.), the very conservative writing of *IvP* 248, the stela containing the famous letters of Attalos II and Attalos IIII on the regulation of the priesthoods of Dionysos and Sabazios (135 BC; **Fig. 2**),[20] warns against hasty conclusions, making a date in the late Attalid period or even after 132 perfectly possible.

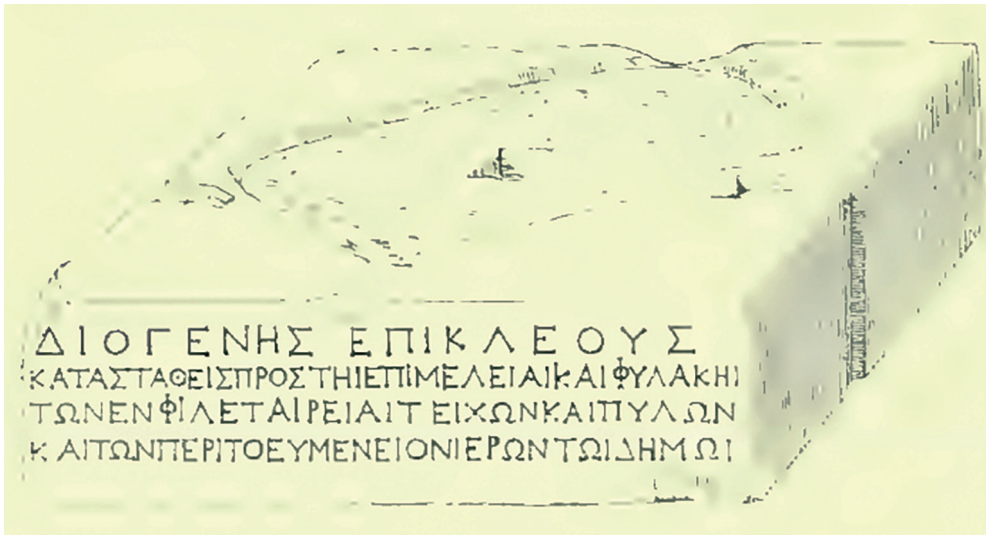

Fig. 1. Drawing of the stone *IvP* I, no. 240 (dedication by Diobenes to the *Demos* of Pergamon; post 132 BC?)

A decisive argument in favour of a date after 132 comes from the dedication "to the *Demos*." The central role ascribed to the Pergamon *Demos* together with the lack of any reference to a king are features that we may expect in documents issued after the end of the dynasty.[21] This is even more significant for Diogenes, whose office comprised the

[20] As already pointed out by Welles 1934, 264, various palaeographic features of this stele show similarities with inscriptions from the 3rd century: see also Caneva 2023, 82–83; cf. Caneva 2020b, 52–54.

[21] On the growing importance and self-awareness of the Pergamon *Demos* under Attalos III, and even more after 132, see Bielfeldt 2010; Chin 2018; Caneva 2023. An interesting comparison comes from two dedications made by Apollodoros son of Artemon, a magistrate active in Pergamon after the end of the dynasty, which have been discovered near the Nomophylakion (NW corner of the upper agora) and in the theatre, respectively. The first document (*IvP* I, no. 237; Bielfeldt 2010, 184, fig. 32) concerns the renovation of the door and façade of the Nomophylakion by Apollodoros and two other *nomophylakes*; the initiative is presented as a dedication to Zeus Tropaios and the *Demos*. The second text (*IvP* I, no. 236; Bielfeldt 2010, 184) has been inscribed on a decorated marble architrave dedicated to Dionysos Kathegemon and the *Demos* by Apollodoros after serving as γραμματεὺς δήμου. The dedication to Dionysos and the People reflects the use of the *cavea* for both theatre performances and meetings of the assembly. On the chronology of Artemidoros' career, see Bielfeldt

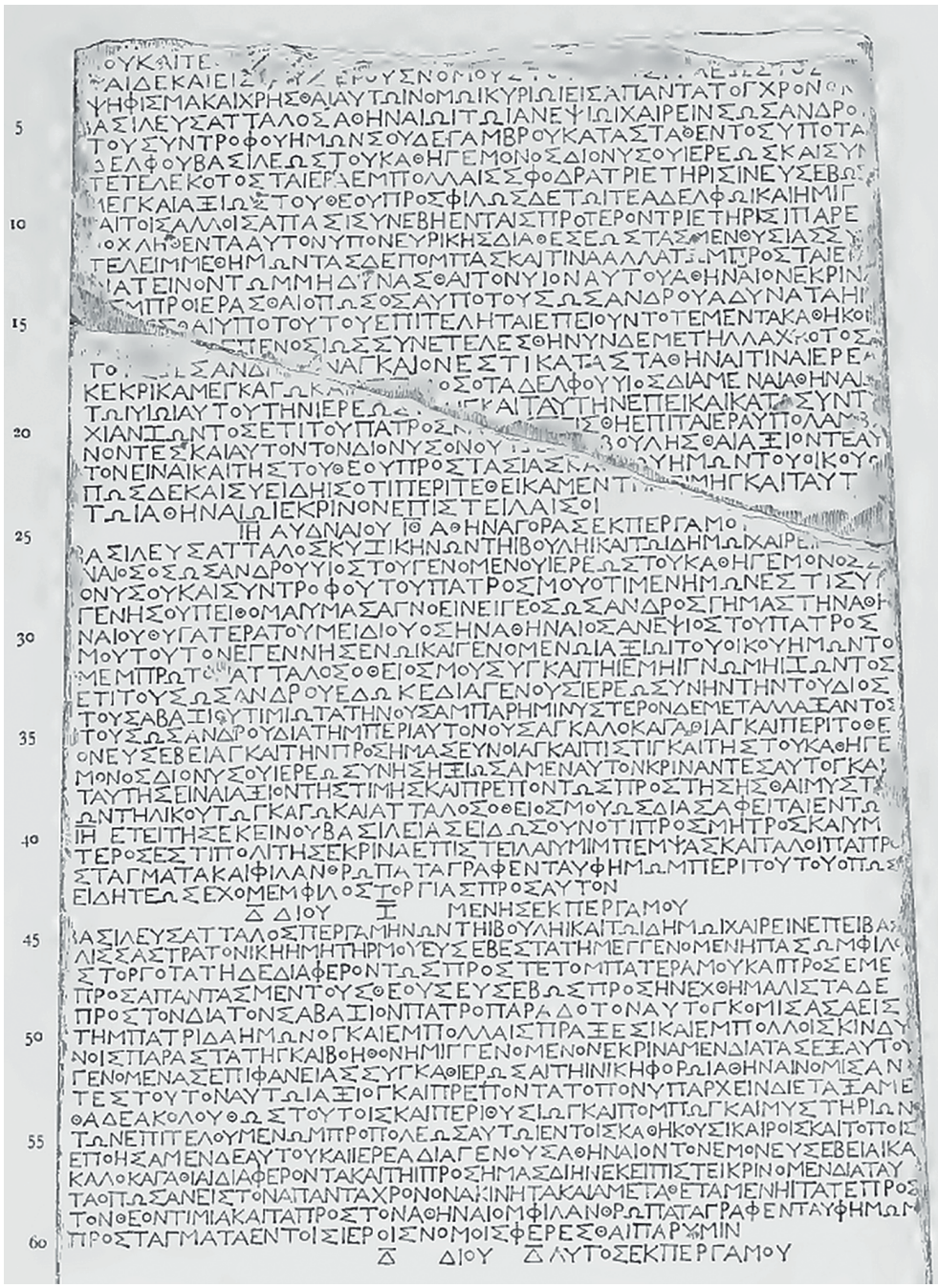

Fig. 2. Drawing of the stone *IvP* I, no. 248 (dossier of royal letters concerning the administration of the priesthoods of Dionysos and Zeus Sabazios; 135 BC)

military protection of the citadel's walls: in the royal period, it would have been inappropriate for a person holding a public function of this nature not to display any official link with the king.[22] Conversely, after 132, the joint protection of the walls and sanctuaries of the old city could be assigned to an important civic officer, especially if one considers that post-Attalid Pergamon underwent various moments of military threat during the wars of Aristonikos and of Mithridates VI.

In the first edition of the text, Max Fränkel identified the toponym with Philetaireia at Mount Ida, a foundation of Eumenes I, who would accordingly be the recipient of an oecist's cult in the *katoikia*.[23] However, the complete denomination of this town was "Philetaireia under Mount Ida."[24] Besides, the proposed date of the dedication after the end of the Attalid dynasty rules out any military control of Pergamon over the region surrounding Mount Ida. The correct identification of the toponym became possible when, in 1907, a newly published decree establishing honours for the 1st-cent. politician Diodoros Pasparos located a place called Philetaireia in the upper city of Pergamon.[25] Lines 40–42 of the decree refer to the consecration of a *temenos* to Diodoros, named Diodoreion, in the Philetaireia district:

> ἀνεῖναι δ[ὲ] | αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ τ]έμενος ἐν Φιλεταιρείαι, ὀνομάσαντας Διοδώ{δω}ρειον, ἐν ᾧι κατασκευασθ̣[ῆναι] | ναὸν λίθ̣[ου … ca. 5–6] λευκοῦ, εἰς ὃν ἀνατεθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα.

The text then stipulates the celebration of a procession starting at the *prytaneion* on the inauguration day of the sanctuary, followed by a sacrifice and the organisation of contests (lines 42–48). An anniversary festival shall take place every year on the same day (line 48). What follows is extremely fragmentary, but comparison with other honorific decrees of the late Hellenistic period suggests that references to Diodoros' old age and death imply the granting of honours including the future organisation of a state funeral and the public funding of his tomb, which was to be located on, or nearby, the agora of the Philetaireia.[26]

2010, 183–184; Halfmann 2004, 31 and Ventroux 2017, 61–61, 261 identify this character with the rhetor Apollodoros, a friend and private teacher of the young Octavian.

[22] See Caneva 2023, 77–80.

[23] *IvP* I, p. 138. Chrubasik 2016, 29 accepts a date of foundation of this Philetaireia under Philetairos, but see Cohen 1995, 171–172 in favour of a later chronology, under Eumenes I.

[24] *IvP* I, no. 13 (reign of Eumenes I), lines 20–21: στρατιῶται οἱ ὄντες ἐμ Φιλεταιρείαι | τῆι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἴδην (the same toponym appears in line 55). On the localisation of the Eumeneion in the Philetaireia of Pergamon, not near Mount Ida, see already Allen 1983, 23, n. 49.

[25] *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907) 243–245, no. 4. The date of the decree together with the record of Diodoros' euergetic acts and honours urge us to exclude any link with the homonymous settlement near Mount Ida. Out of the two *agorai* of Pergamon, the one situated in the Philetaireia must be the upper and older one, which was part of the city at the time of Philetairos' reign. On the career and merits of Diodoros Pasparos, see Jones 1974 and 2000; Virgilio 1994; Chankowski 1998; Musti 2000 (with a date of the dossier in the late 2nd cent. BC, which has not gained wide acceptance); Müller 2003, 433–445; Aneziri – Damaskos 2004, 264–265; Strubbe 2004, 320–323; von den Hoff 2004, 386–390; Mathys 2014b, 51–54; Forster 2018, 233–245.

[26] Lines 50–52: εὐγήρως τοὺς διαδεξαμένου[ς … | …]ιαν ἀπολιπὼν εἰς τὸ χρεὼν [… | … ἐν τῇ ἐν Φιλ]ε̣ταιρείαι ἀγωρᾶι ἐὰμ […]. I should point out that the integration ἐν τῇ ἐν Φιλ]εταιρείαι ἀγωρᾶι is not the only possible one. Restoring πρὸς τῆι ἐν Φιλ]εταιρείαι ἀγορᾶι is equally possible, and perhaps preferable, if we accept the identification of the Diodoreion with the late Hellenistic *temenos* excavated along the citadel road, whose location is in proximity of, but not overlooking the upper agora (on this monument, see Coarelli 2016,

To sum up, our evidence does not preserve any occurrence of the toponym Philetaireia before the end of the Attalid dynasty in 132. Of course, sound conclusions may not be drawn on one single argument *e silentio*. However, the evidence concerning the office of the "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos" in post-Attalid Pergamon supports this low date. The relevant dossier has been gathered and discussed by Michael Wörrle in 2000.[27] The office, which was yearly and elective, could be referred to with the simple denomination "*prytanis* and priest" or with a longer formula naming Philetairos as the recipient of cult. However, the latter denomination is only rarely attested. Wörrle could find it in a late-2nd cent. honorific decree for Menodoros, son of Metrodoros,[28] and in two small fragments, one from an ephebic list inscribed on the walls of Temple R (north-west of the gymnasium)[29], and one of unknown provenance.[30] Wörrle argued that this priesthood was the same as the eponymous one mentioned in *IvP* I, no. 18, a 3rd-cent. honorific decree for Eumenes I.[31] One detail particularly deserves our attention: the full formula "priest of Philetairos" is never attested before the end of the Attalid period.[32] Thus, although we cannot remove a certain degree of uncertainty, we should observe that the extant evidence points to 132 BC as the *terminus post quem* for the joint appearance of the toponym Philetaireia and of the long denomination "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos." If this is correct, the necessity the institutions of Pergamon felt to make a link with the dynastic founder explicit after the extinction of the dynasty suggests that the continuation of Philetairos' cult was not self-evident after the death of the last Attalid king. Rather, it must have been a voluntary and programmatic choice, showing that the people of Pergamon considered this reference of great importance for their identity and prestige. Since the decree for Menodoros can be dated soon after the end of Aristonikos' war, we may conclude that Pergamon did not relaunch the memory of Philetairos at a later date but decided to preserve this mark of continuity with its dynastic past at the very beginning of its history as a free city.

192–212). On honorific decrees allocating state funds to cover the costs of public funerary rituals and tombs, see Chiricat 2005; Frölich 2013, 259–274, esp. 259–263 on Diodoros; cf. Caneva 2022, 377–378.

[27] Wörrle 2000, 550–554; cf. Wörrle 2007, 509, 515.

[28] *SEG* 50.1211 (Wörrle 2000, 544), line 2, where the charge, mentioned with its full name, is held by the proposer of the honorific decree; lines 22–23 inform that Menodoros had been previously elected "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos" for the spirit of justice he had always displayed in his public life.

[29] All ephebic lists inscribed on Temple R are post-Attalid. See Wörrle 2000, 551–552. The relevant text is the result of the combination of three fragments: *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908), 395, no. 11+16+18. The beginning of the text reads Ἀσκληπι[…] ὁ καὶ Τρύφ[ων πρύτανι]ς κ[αὶ ἱ]ερεὺς Φιλετ[αίρου …].

[30] Wörrle found the fragment in the deposit of the Asklepieion, but the original place of publication of the inscription is unknown. The text is restored as follows: […πρύτανις καὶ ἱερε]ὺς Φιλε[ταίρου] (*SEG* 50.1214).

[31] *IvP* I, no. 18, lines 38–39 (τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι | τοὺς ταμίας τοὺς ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀρκέοντος), with Wörrle 2000, 551.

[32] See Bielfeldt 2010, esp. 153–154; Caneva 2023, 81–82, on *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908), p. 375, no. 1. In the dating formula of this honorific decree from the reign of Attalos III, one reads ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱ<ε>ρέως […]. The lacuna has no space for Philetairos' name, so the title of the office must be directly followed by the name of the person holding the charge: see Wörrle 2000, 556, n. 65 for a restoration identifying the eponymous priest with Eubiotos, son of Eubiotos. Therefore, this text does not contain a possible attestation of the priesthood with its full denomination "of Philetairos" before the end of the dynasty.

Cultic honours for Philetairos in 1st-cent. BC Pergamon

The existence of a civic cult of Philetairos after 132 BC is confirmed by the epigraphic dossier concerning Diodoros Pasparos, a prominent citizen of Pergamon whose distinguished political and diplomatic career unfolded in the period between the end of the 1st Mithridatic war and the mid-1st century.[33] A decree providing a long list of Diodoros' merits toward the gymnasium refers to the erection, on his initiative, of cult statues of members of the Attalid dynasty. The statues became the recipients of sacrifices which were equally supervised and sponsored by Diodoros. With this initiative, Diodoros intended to act in line with the People's gratitude "toward the benefactors of the past."[34] Philetairos' importance is revealed by the denomination of an area of the gymnasium as "the exedra where the [cult statue] of Philetairos [has been installed]" (line 36). Among the attendants of the gymnasium, the Neoi seized the meaning of Diodoros' initiative and, perhaps not without a previous agreement with him, proposed to add a statue of Diodoros himself in the Philetairos exedra, thus delivering a message of continuity between Diodoros and Pergamon's past benefactors.[35]

The evidence sheds light on the seminal role that honorific practices performed in the process of shaping Pergamon's civic memory in the 1st cent. BC. More specifically, it reveals the importance of the royal past as a paramount source of prestige, with which the new political class wished to be associated. This history-making process helps us better understand the ideological meaning of a statue by which Pergamon would later honour one of Diodoros' most remarkable successors, Mithradates son of Menodotos, as a "new founder of the fatherland after Pergamos and Philetairos":

> *MDAI(A)* 34 (1909), 331: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Μιθραδάτη]ν Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γέν[ους ἀρχιερέα] | [καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Κα]θηγεμόνος Διονύσου, ἀποκα[ταστήσαντα] | [τοῖς πατ]ρῴοις θεοῖς τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώρα[ν καὶ γενόμενον] | [τῆς πατ]ρίδος μ[ε]τ[ὰ Π]ἐργαμο[ν καὶ Φ]ιλέταιρον νέον κτ[ίστην].[36]

In his youth, Mithradates had been a courtier of the homonymous king of Pontos, and at some point he even claimed to be his illegitimate son and heir.[37] Via his father Menodotos,

[33] See above, n. 25.

[34] *MDAI(A)* 29 (1904) 152, no. 1, lines 19–21: τοῦ [… καὶ τοῦ Φιλεταί]|ρου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου τοῦ Φιλομήτορος βασιλέως ἀγά[λματα … χρεὼν ἡγη]|σάμενος εἶναι διὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς γεγονότας εὐεργέτας ε[ὐχάριστον …]. The same statue group is probably mentioned in lines 35–40 of the same decree; one should also add the fragmentary passage of another text, *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907), 257, no. 8, bc, lines 16–19: φιλο]|δόξως ἐμφανίζειν περὶ τοῦ [κ]αθιδρυμένου [ἀγάλματος …] | καὶ Φιλεταίρου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου καὶ τοῦ ΑΓ[…|…]ομήτορο[ς] βασιλέως κατε[…]. On the statues of Attalid royals in the gymnasium, see Chankowski 1998; von den Hoff 2004, 386–390; von den Hoff 2015 and 2018. For a detailed reassessment of the epigraphic evidence concerning the statues erected by Diodoros, see Caneva, forthcoming.

[35] *MDAI(A)* 29 (1904) 152, no. 1, lines 35–36: τῶν δὲ νέων τηρούντων τὸ πρέπον καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐχάριστον διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀγ[ωγῆς καὶ παιδείας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ φιλο]|τιμότατα καθιδρυκότων τὸ ψηφισθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα ἐν τῆι ἐξέδραι ἐν ᾗι τὸ τοῦ Φιλεταίρο[υ ἄγαλμα καθίδρυται …].

[36] On the statue base, see Damaskos 1999, 138; Mathys 2011, 278–280. The text was found during the 1908 excavation campaign. The same year, an identical inscription had been published in *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908), 407, no. 36. In the earlier text, however, the name of Pergamos was in lacuna.

[37] Strabo 13.3.625; *Bell. Alex*. 78. On Mithradates' profile, see Hepding 1909; Virgilio 1993, 95–99; Ventroux 2017, 230–232, 267; Saprykin 2019; Fündling 2020.

he also belonged to the highest-ranking echelons of the ruling class in mid-1st cent. Pergamon, where, as our inscription informs us, he held the hereditary tasks of *archiereus* and priest of Dionysos *Kathegemon*, one of the most prominent deities in the civic pantheon. His mother, the Galatian princess Adobogiona (from the Trocmi tribe), had been honoured in the same city with a portrait erected inside the temple of Hera sometime between 63 and 57 BC.[38] Adobogiona's portrait shared the inner space of the temple with other sculptures: the *agalma* of Hera sitting on a throne, surrounded by two standing portraits of an Attalid royal couple.[39] As a close collaborator of Caesar, Mithradates rescued the Roman general when he was under siege in Alexandria in 48/7 BC;[40] his service and friendship with Caesar were repaid with the restitution of Pergamon's autonomy and *chora*, which the city had lost a few decades earlier as a consequence of its ill-timed support to Mithridates VI.[41] The *dictaror* would also grant Mithridates the titles of tetrarch of the Trocmi and king of Pontos and Bosporos, to ensure the presence of a loyal collaborator in the East after the defeat of Pharnakes.[42]

In Mithradates' lifetime, honouring an outstanding leader and benefactor as a new *Ktistes* was a fitting way to inscribe him into the firmament of the city's history. As for Diodoros Pasparos, the citizens of Pergamon decided to embed the honours for their present benefactor within a broader historical picture that embraced their foundational past. And, once again, Philetairos was acknowledged a seminal role in this process as his magnified legacy even obscured the more relevant contributions of his Attalid successors to the urban history of Pergamon.

[38] *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912) 294, 20; cf. Mathys 2011, 279.

[39] See Damaskos 1999, 137–149 on the sculptural programme of the Hera sanctuary. For the dedicatory inscription to Hera Basileia, which was inscribed on the temple's architrave, see *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908) 402, 27: [βασι]λεὺς Ἀτταλο̣[ς βασιλέως Ἀττ]άλου | Ἥραι β[ασιλείαι]. The larger-than-life-size male statue is almost complete and shows a solemn posture of command, which may evoke Zeus; however, the treatment of the remaining lower parts of the head (which is otherwise lost) suggests the identification with an Attalid king rather than with Zeus himself. Only fragments of the female statue have been preserved. The identification of the couple is debated: Attalos II may have represented either his parents Attalos I and Apollonis (see Damaskos 1999, 143–146; Queyrel 2003, 50–52, 266; Palagia 2020, 77) or himself with his wife Stratonike (cf. Schmidt-Dounas 1993/1994, 106–107; Agelidis 2011, 181). The first hypothesis is generally favoured by scholars and might find support in a passage from Suda, s.v. Ἀπολλωνιὰς λίμνη, which informs that Attalos II buried his mother "alongside the greatest sanctuary of Pergamon which he himself had built" (κατὰ τὸ μέγιστον ἱερὸν Περγάμου κατέθετο, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐδείματο). The text has been misinterpreted as proof that Apollonis was buried inside Hera's temple (cf. Virgilio 1993, 49; Halfmann 2004, 30; Ventroux 2017, 173). However, there is no archaeological evidence supporting this statement, which is based on a wrong translation of the Greek formula with κατά + the accusative, which rather means "toward, opposite, in correspondence to" (*LSJ*). If any, the original burial of Apollonis should be sought in the sacred area nearby the temple, not inside the temple's *cella*. Be that as it may, the link between Hera Basileia and Attalos II's deified mother perfectly suits a message of dynastic continuity and legitimacy, making Attalos I and Apollonis better candidates for the sculptural group.

[40] *Bell. Alex*. 26–28.

[41] *IvP* II, nos. 379–380, with discussion in Segre 1938; Virgilio 1993, 96–98 (cf. Halfmann 2004, 31).

[42] *Bell. Alex*. 78.

The disappearance of the "*prytanis* and priest of Philetairos"

The title of the *prytanis* and priest of Philetairos continues to appear, usually with shortened denominations, until the period of the Roman Civil wars.[43] However, a significant change can be registered after Octavian's victory and the foundation of the imperial cult in the province of Asia.[44] The base of an honorific statue erected by the People of Pergamon refers to C. Otacilius Chrestus, "*prytanis* and *hiereus* of Caesar and *agonothetes* of the children of Augustus (i.e. Gaius and Lucius Caesares) at his own expenses:

> *IvP* II, no. 475 (= *IGR* IV 465; 17 BC–2 AD): ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Γ]ναῖον Ὁτακίλιον Χρῆστον, | τὸν πρύτανιν καὶ ἱερέα | Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην | τῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παίδων | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει, | ἀνυπερθέτως ἐν πᾶσ[ι] | φιλοδοξήσαντα.

A contemporaneous statue base of Augustus mentions Euangelion son of Metrodoros, "gymnasiarch at his own expenses and *prytanis* and *agonothetes* of the children of Augustus <and> of Kathegemon Dionysos."[45] Finally, a recently published altar jointly dedicated to "*theos Sebastos* Caesar" (Augustus) and his wife "*thea* Livia Hera" by a couple of the civic elite identifies the male donor, Menelaos son of Menelaos, as "priest of Caesar and *agonothetes*."[46] The charges held by these two elite members present both similarities and differences. The first two texts refer to the office of *prytanis*, combined with that of *agonothetes*. However, Otacilius holds the *agonothesia* only in relation to Augustus' adoptive sons, whereas the *agonothesia* of Dionysos Kathegemon is attached to the competences of Euangelion. Moreover, Otacilius is jointly *prytanis* and priest of Caesar while Euangelion is gymnasiarch, *prytanis* and *agonothetes*. In the case of Menelaos, the donor displays his charges as priest of Caesar and *agonothetes*, without any reference to the office of *prytanis*. Thus, the "*prytanis* + priest of Caesar" association only appears in one preserved case. Without excluding the possibility that a shortened formula was in use (thus continuing the Hellenistic habit described above), it is possible that the two charges were only occasionally associated. Also, the different formula used in Menelaos' dedication might depend on a change in the organisation of the involved charges, as this altar is not precisely dated and could be later than the first two texts.[47] Be that as it may, the priesthood associated with the charge of *prytanis* of Otacilius remarkably reveals that

[43] Ventroux 2017, 26.

[44] On the introduction of the cult of Augustus in the province in general, and more specifically in Pergamon, see Burrell 2004, 17–21.

[45] *IvP* II, no. 384 (= *IGR* IV 317): [θεὸν Κ]αίσαρα | [Σεβαστὸ]ν Αὐτοκράτορα | [Εὐ]αγγελίων | [τοῦ Μητ]-ροδώρου, ὁ γυμνα|[σίαρχος ἐκ] τῶν ἰδ[ί]ων καὶ πρύτα|[νις καὶ ἀγω]νοθέτης τῶν Σεβασ|[τοῦ παί]δων τοῦ Καθηγεμό|[νος Διονύσο]υ, ἐκ τῶν περισσῶν τῆς | [ἑορτῆς χρη]μάτων καθειέρωσεν.

[46] Lafli – Bru 2021, 24–252, no. 3, lines 4–7: Μενέλαος Μενελά|ου γενόμενος ἱερεὺς | Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγωνο|θέτης. The Bergama Museum has recorded the acquisition of the altar in 1974, without further information about the findspot. Menelaos' wife, Eirene, performs the dedication to Livia and describes herself as having served as priestess and gymnasiarch.

[47] Lafli – Bru 2021 date the text between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius. A date *post* 27 BC is the only certain information that can be evinced from the title *Sebastos*, which is already borne by Augustus in the dedication.

the Pergamon eponymous *prytanis* and priest changed its name at the beginning of the Principate: the deified Caesar has replaced Philetairos.

Our documents point to a short-lived transition in a period of experimentation with the cultic honours for the imperial family. The reign of Augustus marked a phase of change in the political and religious life of Pergamon. From Dio Cassius (51.20.6–9) we know that in 29 BC, Octavian allowed Roman citizens in Asia Minor to establish cult spaces of Rome and of "*heros* Ioulios" (ἥρωα … Ἰούλιον, *i.e.*, *divus* Iulius) in Ephesos and Nikaia, respectively the capitals of the provinces of Asia and Bithynia, while also giving permission to Greek subjects to install a precinct of himself in Pergamon and Nikomedia. In Pergamon, the *Princeps*' concession led to the introduction of the cult of Augustus, perhaps in the prestigious sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros on the citadel, as recently suggested by Filippo Coarelli.[48] The organisation of priesthoods and liturgies was also affected by the advent of the Empire and laden with great symbolic importance for the city's elite. For instance, Gabrielle Frija has observed that the Attalid *archiereus* disappears from the sources of the period, only to later reappear under Tiberius with the brand-new function of priest of the Emperor.[49] Moreover, a Latin funerary inscription of an elite family mentions one of its members, M. Tullius Cratippus, as the holder of the charge of *sacerdos Romae et salutis*.[50] Cratippus' father, Kratippos, was a philosopher and obtained Roman citizenship from Caesar thanks to the mediation of Cicero. The son of our Cratippus would later become the hereditary priest of Rome and Augustus. Olivier Ventroux has convincingly interpreted the priesthood of Roma and *Salus*/*Soteria* as a transitional institution, plausibly dated to the year 30/29 BC, before the attribution of the epithet *Augustus* to Octavian in 27 BC.[51] Following this new development, we may surmise that the priesthood held by Cratippus changed from the "Roma and *Salus*" formula to "Rome and god Augustus," which was then bequeathed to Cratippus' son.

Coming back to our discussion about the eponymous *prytanis* and *hiereus* of Philetairos, we must observe that neither the Hellenistic denomination nor the transitional one attached to the cult of Caesar appear in the epigraphic evidence of the Imperial period. The yearly charge of *prytanis* continued to exist but was always mentioned without the compound denomination documented in the Hellenistic period. The fragmentary *Pergamon Chronicle*, probably composed during the reign of Hadrian, shows that this office was felt as one of the most ancient and prestigious institutions of the city. The text associates its introduction with the initiative of a certain Archias, which is listed just before the revolt of Orontes against Artaxerxes II, making the period 370s-360s a suitable match for the introduction of the *prytanis* in Pergamon:

> *IvP* II, no. 613, A, lines 1–4: [συνέταξεν(?)] Ἀρχίας [πρυτάν]ε̣ις αἱρε̣[ῖσ]θαι τ̣ῆ̣[ς] | [πόλεως κατ'] ἔτος ἕκασ̣τον καὶ πρῶτος ἐπρυτά|[νευεν Ἀρχί]ας καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι νῦν πρυτά|[νεις εἶναι] διατελοῦσιν.

It is noteworthy that the *Chronicle* does not mention Philetairos in relation to the office introduced by Archias. Does this mean that the ancient link between the *prytanis* and the

[48] Coarelli 2016, 22, 55–59, 97, 104.

[49] Frija 2010; cf. Müller 2000, 540–541.

[50] *CIL* III 399, from Pergamon.

[51] See Ventroux 2017, 120–123, with references.

priesthood of the 3rd-cent. BC dynast was entirely forgotten in the Imperial period? One honorific decree from Mytilene suggests that this may not have been entirely the case. Dated to the end of the 1st / beginning of the 2nd cent. AD, the decree honours A. Claudius Perennianus, a citizen having held various official charges in Mytilene after moving from his original fatherland Pergamon, where he had "held the eponymous prytany from (the time of) the kings (τὰν ἐπώνυμον ἀπὺ βασιλέων πρυτανηΐαν), having inherited it from his family, and carried out in a way worthy of his standing."[52]

The formula used in the decree stands out for the celebratory tone by which the city stresses the noble origins of the honorand and is relevant to our discussion for two reasons. Firstly, it shows that the Hellenistic link between the eponymous *prytanis* and the Attalid dynasty was still remembered and perceived as a source of prestige. Secondly, it raises an apparent problem concerning the organisation of this office in the Imperial period. If we understand the text literally as an indication that the *prytanis* was a hereditary officer, we should conclude that this text is at odds with the normal functioning of this charge and the explicit indication by the *Pergamon Chronicle* that access to the *prytanis*' office was elective and yearly. Ventroux accepts this interpretation and concludes that this office might be an honorific institution different from the civic *prytanis* introduced by Archias. However, this honorific *prytanis* is otherwise unattested and creates an unnecessary duplication of the yearly charge. I think the passage can better be interpreted in relation to the celebratory purpose of the whole decree: the Mytilenians aimed to praise the ancient nobility of Perennianus. We should also notice that the text does not use the formula διὰ γένους, typically referring to a hereditary office, but a periphrasis highlighting the continuity between Perennianus and his ancestors. I would therefore suggest that we understand the clause ἐκ γένεος διαδεξάμε|νος (lines 15–16) in a metaphorical way, implying that Perennianus' ancestors had already held this prestigious charge in the past and perhaps that he could claim to belong to a family whose nobility dated back to the Hellenistic period.

Concluding remarks

The new archaeological image of Pergamon in the late Classical period is that of a urban settlement already possessing the basic features of a small Greek city. This is not necessarily in contrast with the traditional representation of Philetairos as a new *Ktistes*, on condition that we interpret this definition symbolically and ideologically rather than from a literal, urban point of view. From this perspective, the fact that Philetairos' successors magnified his legacy and probably worshipped him as a new founder of their capital appears as an unsurprising practice, which can be identified in the process of creating a message of legitimacy and continuity in the early stages of many other Hellenistic

[52] *IG* XII.2.243: ἀ βόλλα καὶ ὸ δᾶμος | Αὖλον Κλώδιον Περεν|νίανον, στραταγήσαν|τα ἄγνως καὶ εὐσταθέως | ἐν καίροις ἐπιμεληΐας | δευομένοις, τὸν εἴρεα | καὶ ἀρχείρεα καὶ λόγιον | πρύτανιν ἀγωνοθέταν | ἔνι ἐνιαύτω, πεπληρώκον||τα δὲ καὶ τὰν ἐν τᾶ πρώτα | πάτριδι καὶ νεωκόρω Περ|γαμήνων τῶν συνγενέων | πόλει τὰν ἐπώνυμον | ἀπὺ βασιλέων πρυτανηΐαν, | ἂν ἐκ γένεος διαδεξάμε|νος τοῖς τᾶς ἀξίας βάσ|μοις ἀνελόγησε. See Curty 1995, 43–44, no. 22; Ventroux 2017, 91–92.

dynasties. Just as Philetairos' euergetic behaviour on the international level was inspired by the model of contemporaneous kings, so the later Attalids' need to create and spread their own mythology of refoundation and renewal of their capital followed the same dynamics that led the urban and cultural development of other Hellenistic royal residences.

Although Philetairos' legacy may have lost part of its relevance in the royal ideology of the post-Apamea period, when Eumenes II had to fashion the image of a new royalty that largely exceeded the geographical limits of Pergamon, it seems that the dynastic founder never ceased to play a role in the identity of the Hellenistic city. On the contrary, the memory of Philetairos arguably gained greater success after 132 BC, with a growing number of references to his cult and urban legacy, combined with a consistent tendency to connect his figure with the most distinguished protagonists of 1st-cent. politics in Pergamon. As in many other respects, however, this situation changed with the advent of the Roman *Principes*. There is no proof that the charge of the *prytanis* was still linked with the cult of Philetairos in Imperial Pergamon. On the contrary, the analysis of the evidence confirms that Attalid royal cults survived the end of the dynasty in 132 BC, but not the institution of the *Principatus* about one century later.[53] Even the association of the *prytanis* with the priesthood of Caesar was short-lived and belongs to a transitional phase during the establishment of imperial cults in Pergamon. On the other hand, in the 2nd cent. AD, the city of Pergamon still valued the prestige of its ancient identity, which was shaped by drawing on the pre-Attalid, Attalid, and post-Attalid phases of its history. Thus, while the *Chronicle* underlines the ancient origins of the *prytanis* in the 4th century BC, some members of the civic elite could still be proud of holding an office that had been intimately related to the royal past of Pergamon.

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[53] On this rupture, cf. Caneva 2019, 180; Caneva 2020a, 62–63.

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