

# ATHENS AND THE ATTALIDS IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

DURING THE EARLY HELLENISTIC AGE, from the death of Alexander the Great to the outbreak of the war against Philip V of Macedon (323–200 B.C.), the major monarchies had, for longer or shorter periods, all come into close contact with the city of Athens. These were the monarchies founded by Antigonos, Kassandros, Lysimachos, Ptolemy, and Seleukos. By 280 B.C., the dynasties of Kassandros and Lysimachos had vanished. Macedon had always been Athens' closest and therefore, no matter which dynasty ruled there, most dangerous neighbor. It continued in this role once the Antigonids established themselves there for good in 277 B.C. Athens was more than once under Macedonian rule, while Ptolemaic Egypt, traditionally Macedon's rival, repeatedly played the role of Athens' protector, even if not always successfully. When the Ptolemaic empire began its rapid decline in the last years of the 3rd century, its usefulness to the city declined accordingly. The Seleucids, with their distant empire, were hardly ever in a position to exert strong political influence on the city's affairs, except for Seleukos I, who for some time was active in the Aegaeis and who restored the island of Lemnos to Athens after defeating King Lysimachos in 281 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

While in the course of the 3rd century some major realms collapsed and others declined, a modest principality slowly gained power and prestige, to become, by the end of the century, a major factor in Athenian politics. This was the dynasty founded in 281 B.C. by Philetairos of Pergamon and transformed by his second successor, Attalos I, into a kingdom: the house of the Attalids. Relations between Athens and the Attalids had begun in the cultural sphere. The principal agent seems to have been a former subject of the second dynast, Eumenes I (263–241 B.C.), who lived in Athens and there had become famous. He was Arkesilaos, born in 316/5 B.C. in Pitane, a city very close to, and dependent on, Pergamon. Arkesilaos had come to Athens to study philosophy with Theophrastos. He then joined

<sup>1</sup> C. Habicht, "Athen und die Seleukiden," *Chiron* 19, 1989, pp. 17–26.

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Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

Agora XIV	= H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XIV, <i>The Agora of Athens</i> , Princeton 1972
Agora XV	= B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XV, <i>The Athenian Councilors</i> , Princeton 1974
Allen, <i>Kingdom</i>	= R. E. Allen, <i>The Attalid Kingdom</i> , Oxford 1983
Hopp, <i>Untersuchungen</i>	= J. Hopp, <i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden</i> , Munich 1977
I. Délos	= F. Durrbach et al., <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , Paris 1926–1972
Moretti, <i>ISE</i>	= L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> , 2 vols., Florence 1967–1975
Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i>	= M. J. Osborne, <i>Naturalization in Athens</i> , 4 vols., Brussels 1981–1983
Schalles	= H.-J. Schalles, <i>Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert v.Chr.</i> , Tübingen 1985



Plato's school, the Academy, as a pupil of Krates and Polemon and a fellow of Krantor. In the end, he was himself elected headmaster of the Academy. Arkesilaos had personal contacts and influence with Eumenes, who sent him gifts.<sup>2</sup> He also composed a famous epigram in honor of Eumenes' successor Attalos I on the occasion of Attalos' Olympic victory in the chariot race sometime before 263 B.C., while Eumenes still ruled.<sup>3</sup> These two dynasts also maintained cordial relations with Lykon, the leader of Aristotle's school, who was born in Alexandria in the Troad, not far from the border of the Pergamene principality.<sup>4</sup> As king, Attalos I continued to be the Academy's benefactor under Arkesilaos' successor, Lakydes from Cyrene. While unsuccessful in his attempt to woo Lakydes to his court (the philosopher was quoted as having said "statues are best seen from a distance"), he gave him a garden in Athens to facilitate teaching and other operations of the School. Whereas Epicurus' school was simply known as "the Garden" (*Kepos*), Attalos' gift to the Academy became known as "Lakydes' Garden" (*Lakydeion*).<sup>5</sup>

It was during the time of Attalos I that politics began to play a role in Athenian-Pergamene relations and that the city of Athens finally became involved with the dynasty. The conflict between the city and King Philip V of Macedon drove Athens in 200 B.C. to the side of the Pergamene king and of the Rhodians already at war with Philip. Attalos himself, while in Athens, was primarily instrumental in bringing this about, for a written statement of his was read at the very meeting of the Athenian assembly that voted to declare war on Philip. At the same time the Athenians voted to establish a cult of Attalos, following the model of cults for Antigonos and Demetrios created in 307 B.C. (but just abandoned), and for Ptolemy III Euergetes in 224/3 B.C. This resolution clearly indicated how closely Athens now tied herself to the Pergamene king and what the city expected from him.<sup>6</sup> These expectations must have been disappointed in 196 when peace was concluded, since Athens did not gain from it. Attalos, however, did not bear the blame: he had died the previous year. An Athenian priesthood was established in 200 for Attalos, the eponymous hero of the new tribe Attalis (just as Ptolemy, being the eponymous hero of the tribe Ptolemais, had his priest). The priest of Attalos is first attested, together with the priest for Ptolemy III, in 193/2, in a decree honoring the prytaneis of Ptolemais.<sup>7</sup> It is still a matter of lively dispute

<sup>2</sup> Diogenes Laertius, 4.37, 38. See A. Long, "Diogenes Laertius, Life of Arcesilaus," *Elenchos* 7, 1986, pp. 429–449 and C. Habicht, *Hellenistic Athens and Her Philosophers* (David Magie Lecture, 1988), Princeton 1989, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Diogenes Laertius, 4.30 (*Supplementum Hellenisticum*, H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, edd., Berlin and New York 1983, no. 121); M. Fraenkel, *AvP*, VIII, i, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Berlin 1890, no. 10; Schalles, pp. 44–45.

<sup>4</sup> Diogenes Laertius, 5.67.

<sup>5</sup> Diogenes Laertius, 4.60. J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy*, Göttingen 1978, p. 235.

<sup>6</sup> C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, Göttingen 1982, pp. 142–150. For the relations of Attalos I with Athens, see also Schalles, pp. 136–143.

<sup>7</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 259, line 86: [ἴ]ερεὺς Ἀττάλ[ον] Ἄγθεμίων Περιθοίδης, He is no other than Ἄγθεμίων Θεοφῶντος Περιθοίδης, ephebe in 205/4 (*Hesperia* 45, 1976, p. 299, line 82 and p. 302) and was therefore not quite thirty years old when he served as priest of the king of Pergamon. For the date of *Agora* XV, no. 259, see H. Mattingly, "Some Problems in Second Century Attic Prosopography," *Historia* 20, 1971 (pp. 26–46), pp. 26–28; M. Piérart, "Le héraut du Conseil et du peuple à Athènes," *BCH* 100, 1976 (pp. 443–447),

whether it was Attalos I (214–197 B.C.) late in life or his son, Attalos II (159–138 B.C.), who dedicated those smaller-than-lifesize groups of Gauls, Persians, Amazons, and Giants at the southern wall of the Akropolis.<sup>8</sup> Andrew Stewart has made the most recent case in favor of Attalos I as the donor of this so-called “small Attalid dedication”; he interprets it as a token of gratitude from the king who, in Stewart’s view, wanted to show his appreciation for the uncommon honors bestowed upon him by the Athenians.<sup>9</sup> No such question exists with regard to another Pergamene donation, the portico 163 meters in length which runs west from the Theater of Dionysos south of the Akropolis. It was donated by King Eumenes II, who succeeded his father in 197 B.C. The Stoa of Eumenes provided shelter to theatergoers in case of rain.<sup>10</sup>

What began under Attalos I in 200 B.C. thus continued under Eumenes: the monarchs of Pergamon competed with the kings of Egypt as patrons of Athens and eventually surpassed them in that role. A not insignificant reason for this effort, among others, was that they had ruled over the island of Aigina since 206 B.C. With it, they possessed an important base just at

pp. 444–447; B. D. Meritt, “Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7,” *Historia* 26, 1977 (pp. 161–191), pp. 161–162; J. S. Traill, “Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 47, 1978 (pp. 269–331), p. 327. The year is no longer disputed or in doubt. An ancestor of the priest of Attalos was the Anthemion of Perithoidai in 369/8 B.C.: *νεωρίων ἐπιμελητής* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1617, line 77, and 1622, line 483).

<sup>8</sup> Pausanias, 1.25.2; Plutarch, *Ant.* 60.4. The inscription *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, line 25, lists offerings of King Attalos: [ . . . ἀναθή]ματα καὶ ἄγ]ά[λ]ματα τὰ ἀνατεθέντα ὑπ’ Ἀτ[τάλου β]ασιλέως, as restored in G. R. Culley, “The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup>, 1035,” *Hesperia* 44, 1975 (pp. 207–223), p. 213; Kirchner had not restored the words designating the dedicated objects. The assumption that the “small Attalid anathem” was meant here is rendered very doubtful by the phrase immediately following: *εἰς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς [πόλεως]*.

<sup>9</sup> A. Stewart, *Attika*, London 1979, pp. 19–23, followed by S. Howard, “The Dying Gaul, Aigina Warriors, and Pergamene Academicism,” *AJA* 87, 1983 (pp. 483–487), p. 485 and note 7; Allen, *Kingdom*, p. 31, note 9; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 90–91; J. S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, Toronto 1986, p. 74, note 16. On the other hand, B. Andreae voted in favor of Attalos II: “ΑΝΤΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΦΥΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΕΙ,” in *Eikones. Festschrift H. Jucker*, Bern 1980 (pp. 40–48), p. 42. For the same opinion, see: B. Palma, “Il piccolo donario pergameno,” *Xenia* 1, 1981, pp. 45ff. (non vidi); A. Linfert, rev. of Stewart, *Attika*, *Gnomon* 53, 1981, pp. 498–499; Schalles, p. 136, note 785; T. Hölscher, “Die Geschlagenen und Ausgelieferten in der Kunst des Hellenismus,” *AntK* 28, 1985 (pp. 120–136), p. 123; and *idem*, “Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System,” *Abh. Heid.* 1987, fasc. 2 (pp. 9–78), p. 23. Another strong case for the early date has just been made by F. Queyrel: “Art pergaménien, histoire, collections: le Persée du musée d’Aix et le petit ex-voto attalide,” *RA* 1989, pp. 253–296, esp. pp. 278–296. Queyrel dates the monument *ca.* 200 B.C., before or after the visit of Attalos I to Athens.

<sup>10</sup> Vitruvius, *de arch.* 5.9.1: “Porticus Eumeniae”. See *RE* Suppl. 13, 1973, s.v. Athenai (cols. 56–140), col. 129 (W. Zschietzschmann) and R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, pp. 184–185; and M. Korres, “Vorfertigung und Ferntransport eines athenischen Grossbaus und zur Proportionierung von Säulen in der hellenistischen Architektur,” in *Bauplanung und Bautheorie der Antike (Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung 4)*, Berlin 1983, pp. 201–207. Korres persuasively argues that, apart from the lower components of the Stoa, most parts, such as columns, capitals, bases, etc., were made from marble from the area of Pergamon. He holds that the architects and workmen also came from Pergamon and that they pre-fabricated these parts at home. He explains his findings as the result of a political decision made by the king, who wanted as much as possible of his project to be realized within his realm, so that as little capital as possible be spent abroad. See also H. Meyer, “Zur Chronologie des Poseidoniastenhauses in Delos,” *AM* 103, 1988 (pp. 203–220), p. 218, note 65.

the city's doorstep. There is ample evidence for relations between Athens and Pergamon during the reign of Eumenes II, down to 158 B.C.,<sup>11</sup> and these testimonies are highly instructive. From the first year of his kingship, 197 B.C., dates the Athenian decree *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 886 honoring one of his father's subjects (whose name is lost) who had served Athens well. It is said of him that from his ancestors he inherited his love for Athens<sup>12</sup> and that he came as a delegate to the festival of the Panathenaia but stayed to study philosophy with Euandros, a member of the Academy (who was born at Phokaia, a city in Attalos' and Eumenes' realm). It is also stated that he energetically helped in the defense of the city against the Macedonians in 200 B.C. and then returned home, where he prompted Attalos to grant Athens additional favors, such as, it seems, care for Athenian prisoners of war (line 17; nothing further can be retrieved from the fragmentary text). The honoree, who obviously had considerable influence with the king, and whose family is said to have entertained good relations with the city of old, could possibly be a member of the royal family, for instance Prince Attalos, born in 220 B.C. There is no space in line 7, however, for the indication, required in such a case, that he was a son of King Attalos I. The beneficiary of the decree could be Hegesinos of Pergamon, who succeeded Euandros as leader of the Academy and who was the teacher of the famous Karneades. All that is quite uncertain. The fact that in the year in which the decree was passed, Prince Attalos went to Rome as ambassador for his brother King Eumenes may have special significance if, as is more than likely, Attalos stopped in Athens on his way to Rome. While in Athens, a man in his entourage may have received the honors granted by the decree. Later that year, Eumenes himself visited the city.<sup>13</sup>

Several documents are dated shortly thereafter, in the year of the Athenian archon Achaios. Until recently, Achaios had seemed firmly placed in 166/5 B.C., but S. V. Tracy's demonstration that a decree from his year was inscribed by a stonemason who cannot have been active after 185 B.C. prompted the redating of Achaios to 190/89 B.C., two secretary cycles higher than hitherto accepted.<sup>14</sup> All the documents from Achaios' year, among them two or maybe three honoring men in the service of King Eumenes, must consequently be ascribed to that year.

It was therefore not in 165 as hitherto assumed, but in the spring of 189 that the Athenians honored Menandros, who lived at the court of Eumenes and had earned the gratitude of an Athenian embassy that came to Pergamon.<sup>15</sup> It has long been recognized that this

<sup>11</sup> There is now a fortieth year attested for Eumenes (*ZPE* 30, 1978, p. 263, no. 12). For the date of his death see C. Habicht, *CAH<sup>2</sup>* VIII, p. 334.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 905, lines 9–11, about Philetairos, the younger brother of Eumenes and Attalos: ἐπειδὴ Φιλέταιρος . . . παρειληφὼς τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν καὶ ἐπανέων . . . , and further, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 60–62, no. 3, lines 4–9: [ἐπειδὴ] Ἀντίοχος . . . παρειληφὼς τὴν [πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὡν . . . , about the Seleucid Prince Antiochos (IV).

<sup>13</sup> Livy, 35.39.1–2.

<sup>14</sup> *Agora* XV, no. 216. S. V. Tracy, "The Date of the Athenian Archon Achaios," *American Journal of Ancient History* 9, 1984 [1988], pp. 43–47.

<sup>15</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 946 (SIG<sup>3</sup>, 655); the embassy is mentioned in lines 10–11. For the restoration of lines 7–13 see A. Wilhelm, "Hellenistisches," *AnzWien* 1921 (pp. 70–83), p. 81; cf. also L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, 1961, p. 99, note 1.

Menandros is certainly none other than Menandros, the king's physician. The *Suda* says about him:<sup>16</sup> συνῆν δὲ τούτῳ (sc. Εὐμένει) . . . καὶ Μένανδρος ἱατρός. He is probably the "unknown physician" Menandros whom Pliny the Elder names among the medical authorities for the thirtieth book of his *Natural History*.<sup>17</sup>

The stele *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947 is beset with problems. It contains two decrees of the assembly honoring two citizens of Pergamon (or possibly, the same individual twice).<sup>18</sup> The stele is defective on top, and the prescript is missing, as is the name of the honoree, who, however, was the son of Theophilos. He was granted proxeny. The second decree was voted during the eleventh prytany in the year of the archon Achaios, that is to say, during the late spring of 189 B.C. The honoree is Theophilos, an agent of King Eumenes, who had supported Athenian ambassadors who had come to Pergamon. The text then breaks off.<sup>19</sup>

The honoree in the first decree was the son of a Theophilos; the honoree in the second decree was himself a Theophilos. Both were citizens of Pergamon, and it is natural to assume that they were related and that for this reason a single stele recorded both honors. It is also possible, but not certain, that both decrees were motivated by the same circumstances and passed simultaneously. For possible identification of the son of Theophilos, B. D. Meritt pointed to two other inscriptions,<sup>20</sup> first the base found in Pergamon of a statue in honor of Ἀπολλωνίδης Θεοφίλου, σύντροφος τοῦ βασιλέως,<sup>21</sup> second the base of a statue, dedicated in Delos by King Attalos II (or Attalos III), of the king's σύντροφος Ἀπολλωνίδης Θεοφίλου Ἀλαιεύς.<sup>22</sup> He mentioned that G. A. Stamires had restored [Ἀπολλωνίδην Θεοφίλου Περγαμηνόν] in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947, line 1 and had reasoned that the man honored at Delos was a citizen of Pergamon who had received (or inherited) Athenian citizenship and was registered in the tribe Kekropis and in the deme of Halai. The fact that the decree *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947, lines 1–8 grants the citizen of Pergamon only *enktesis* and proxeny and not Athenian citizenship should, however, have given him pause. Stamires recognized in this [Apollonides] the grandfather of the *syntrophos* of that name, and he identified the Pergamene Theophilos of the second decree of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947 (lines 9ff.) as his son, the father of the *syntrophos*.

When B. Helly resumed discussion of the inscription, he erroneously assumed that *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3171, the dedication of the Stoa of Attalos, had inspired the restoration of Stamires, whereas, in fact, *I. Pergamon*, no. 179 and *I. Délos*, no. 1554 had prompted it. Without referring to these texts, Helly proposed the restoration [Ἀσκληπιάδην Θεοφίλου] for

<sup>16</sup> *Suda*, s.v. Λεσχίδης, Adler III, p. 253.4.

<sup>17</sup> Pliny, *NH* 1.30; cf. *RE* XV, i, 1931, s.v. Menandros, col. 765, no. 20 (K. Deichgräber); *RE Suppl.* 6, 1935, s.v. Menandros, col. 297 (W. Kroll).

<sup>18</sup> Reprinted and discussed in Osborne, *Naturalization III–IV*, pp. 102–104. See also J. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966, pp. 120–122.

<sup>19</sup> For lines 17–18, see the correction of L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, 1961, p. 102, note 1.

<sup>20</sup> B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 23, 1954 (pp. 233–283), p. 253, note 11 (*SEG XIV*, 74).

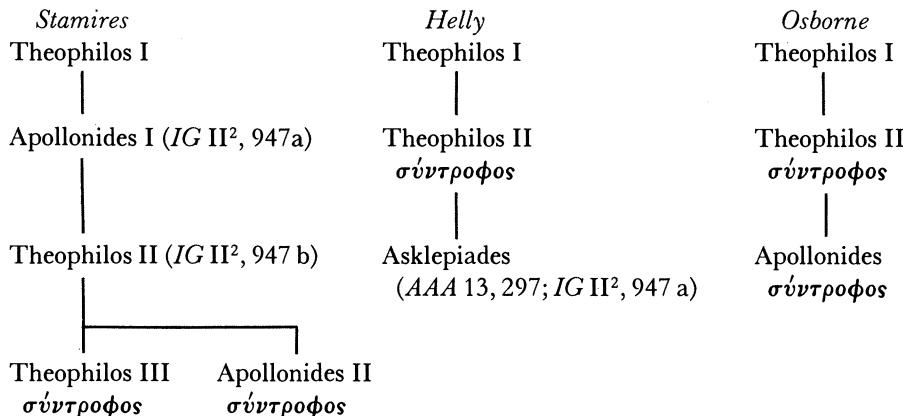
<sup>21</sup> *Inschriften von Pergamon* (footnote 3 above), no. 179 (*OGIS* 334). That no ethnic is given proves that Apollonides was a citizen of Pergamon.

<sup>22</sup> *I. Délos*, no. 1554.

*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947, line 1, and he identified this man with Asklepiades honored in 170 B.C. by the city of Larisa.<sup>23</sup> The restoration and identification are possible, but no more likely than Stamires' suggestion.

M. J. Osborne proposed still another name for *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947, line 1. Without knowledge of Helly's study, he restored [Θεόφιλον Θ]εοφί[λ]ον. His assumption is that the stele contained two successive decrees in honor of one and the same individual, Theophilos, son of Theophilos. This man, he reasons, received first, before the year of Achaios, *enktesis* and proxeny (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947 a), then, under archon Achaios, Athenian citizenship (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947 b).<sup>24</sup> His son, according to Osborne, was Apollonides, *syntrophos* of King Attalos (who, in Osborne's view, was Attalos III).

Finally, there is the base of a statue from the Athenian Agora, dedicated by Attalos II (his identity firmly secured by the mention of his mother, Queen Apollonis) for his *syntrophos* Theophilos, son of Theophilos, of Halai.<sup>25</sup> The family tree has been reconstructed as follows:



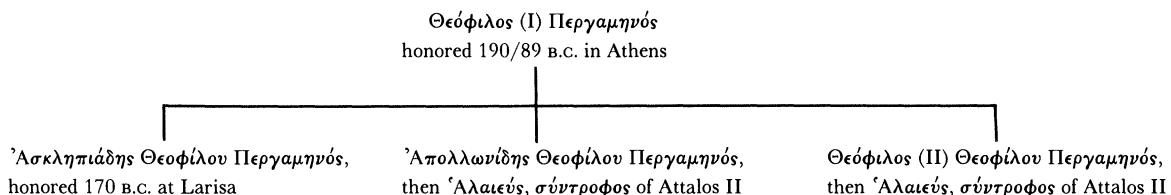
Asklepiades is missing from Stamires' and Osborne's stemmas, whereas Apollonides is missing from Helly's. Moreover, Helly's reconstruction is not easily compatible with the fact that Asklepiades, if he was a son of Theophilos II (who, like Attalos II, was born in 220 B.C.), would have been extremely young when he was honored in 170 B.C. by the city of Larisa. He should rather be placed in the same generation as this Theophilos. The new date

<sup>23</sup> "Grands dignitaires Attalides en Thessalie à l'époque de la 3<sup>e</sup> guerre de Macédoine," *AAA* 13, 1980 [1981–1982](pp. 296–301), pp. 297–298. See below, footnote 29.

<sup>24</sup> Osborne, *Naturalization* III–IV, pp. 103–104. M. B. Walbank pointed out to me in discussion that Osborne's suggested restoration of the name Theophilos in line 1 may not work, since the space available for the honorand's name is ca. 13–14 letters, too many for the name Theophilos. Moreover, it would not be wise to restore ἐπανέσαι [μὲν Θεόφιλον] in order to come closer to the number of letters required, since μὲν is not found in this clause in other proxeny decrees of the time (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 835, 884, 907, 908, 909, 926).

<sup>25</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954 (footnote 20 above), p. 252, no. 33; D. J. Geagan ("Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 52, 1983 [pp. 155–172], pp. 158–159) would see Attalos I (and Apollonis) as the dedicant, contrary to the text. See also M. L. Lazzarini, "Note onomastiche e prosopografiche," *RivFil* 112, 1984 (pp. 327–337), pp. 334–335.

for *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947 provided by Tracy's redating of the archon Achaios shows that the easiest solution is to identify the two *syntrophoi* Theophilos and Apollonides as brothers of Asklepiades, and all three therefore as sons of Theophilos the elder:



Another decree in honor of another official of King Eumenes seems to belong to the same year, the year of the archon Achaios, 190/89, in which the decree for Theophilos (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 947 b) was passed. It is a grant of citizenship to Pausimachos, son of Philostratos.<sup>26</sup> If this date is correct, it follows that in the course of that year at least three men in the king's service were honored by the Athenians: Pausimachos, the king's physician Menandros, and his *syntrophos* Theophilos. The result of this long discussion is of some importance, since it shows that some time before the spring, or the late spring, of 189 B.C. Athenian embassies had been present at the king's court in Pergamon. It is possible that one of these embassies was sent to congratulate Eumenes on the occasion of the victory at Magnesia over Antiochos III (December, 190 B.C.), to which the king had substantially contributed. But while both these embassies could also be dated somewhat earlier, it is likely that they belong to the years of the war against Antiochos (192–190 B.C.), when Athens, like Eumenes, fought on the side of the Romans.<sup>27</sup>

It was not much later that the Athenians honored a fellow citizen, whose name is lost, who had served during the Second Macedonian War (200–196 B.C.) as an ambassador to King Attalos I.<sup>28</sup> While Macedonian troops ravaged Attica in 200, he had obtained from the king support for Athens in the form of money and [grain?] and brought those royal gifts to the city. The text then speaks, among other things, about soldiers and generals, but its fragmentary character does not yield any other information. The decree was passed at the earliest in 188/7 (line 11), but probably not much later.

Another decree of the Athenian assembly, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 955, honors a citizen of Kyzikos in the service of Eumenes II. It is very fragmentary; the recipient, in the course of a mission (*ἀποσταλεῖς*, line 11), has earned the gratitude of a multitude (*τῶν κοινῶν [συμφερόντων?]*, line 11), apparently in the matter of their security (*τῶν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν [ἀνηκόντων?]*, line 12), perhaps the security of the city of Athens. What is certain is that he was a citizen of Kyzikos, in the service of Eumenes II (lines 7, 9, 13). Since name and patronymic together were about 15 letters long, it is very tempting to restore the name of the man from Kyzikos attested in Eumenes' service and honored by the city of Larisa in 170 B.C. for the

<sup>26</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 954; new edition by Osborne, *Naturalization I*, no. 100. For the name of the archon to be restored, see above, footnote 14.

<sup>27</sup> Habicht (footnote 1 above).

<sup>28</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 894.

role he had played in 171, during the first phase of the war against King Perseus of Macedonia: Φιλτῆς Ἰππολόχου Κυζίκεινός.<sup>29</sup> The Athenian decree was probably passed only slightly thereafter; the assumed date of 188/7 is in any event too early, and the decree was probably not earlier than 169/8 B.C.<sup>30</sup>

The next testimony to be discussed is a list of victors at the festival of the Panathenaia. Close to the end, all four brothers of the royal family, the sons of Attalos I and Apollonis, appear as victors in various equestrian contests. The sequence is Attalos, King Eumenes, Philetairos, and Athenaios.<sup>31</sup> It is not immediately clear why the younger brother precedes the king. The conventional explanation, that Attalos may have been present in Athens at the time and thus may have been mentioned first,<sup>32</sup> is not very convincing, far from certain, and not corroborated by any other indication. It is possible that the sequence of names preserves the sequence of events, so that Attalos' horses were the first to appear at the starting line and victorious before those of his brothers had even entered the contests.

More important is the question of the year to which one should ascribe these victories. Unfortunately, there is no sure answer. It is certain that the war against Antiochos the Great had already ended when these Panathenaia were celebrated. Two other lists, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2313, col. II and 2314, col. I, are to be dated earlier than the one in question. The first is from 190 B.C. at the latest, the second from 190 at the earliest. That leaves room in the years 186, 182, and 178 for the festival at which Eumenes and his three brothers were victorious, not to mention later (and less likely) dates. Ferguson ruled out 186 and 182 in his discussion of the chronology of these lists, the first because the Attalids were at war with King Prusias I of Bithynia in 186, the second because in that year, 182 B.C., their war against Pharnakes I of Pontos began.<sup>33</sup> He therefore judged 178 B.C. to be the most likely year for the victories of the Pergamene princes, the more so since he too assumed that Attalos, named first, must

<sup>29</sup> K. I. Gallis, «Νέα ἐπιγραφικὰ εὑρήματα ἀπὸ τὴν Λάρισα», *AAA* 13, 1980 [1981–1982] (pp. 246–262), p. 246, no. 1. Cf. Helly (footnote 23 above), pp. 296–301 (*SEG XXXI*, 575). Neither Gallis nor Helly refers to the Athenian decree *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 955. It was inscribed by a stonemason active from 169 to 134 B.C. but during the reign of Eumenes II, therefore between 169 and 158. Gallis gives the name of the honoree as Φιλ[ό]της in lines 12–13 and as Φιλ[ό]την in line 26. One would instead expect Φιλώτης, or, rather, in the dialect of the inscription, Φιλούτης, but there is not enough space. It seems, therefore, that Helly's reading Φιλτῆς is the correct one. This name is Ionian and is well attested, for instance, in Miletos (the mother city of Kyzikos), Samos, Priene, and Thasos; it is therefore fitting for a citizen of Kyzikos. For a possible restoration of important parts of the text, see below, p. 576. Together with Philites was honored his fellow ambassador, Asklepiades, son of Theophilus, of Pergamon. Both Gallis and Helly date the decree to the spring of 171 B.C., shortly before the engagement at Kallinikos (Gallis, p. 249), or shortly thereafter (Helly, p. 296). Because of the mention of the month Thyios it must indeed date from the spring, but the spring of 170 B.C., since the events of 171 to which the text alludes, especially the presence of King Eumenes, his brother Attalos, and the Roman consul Publius Licinius Crassus in Larisa at the same time (lines 15–19), are already in the past (lines 17–18: τὸν καιρὸν τὸν καὶ Πόπλιος (σ)τραταγὸς [= Πον]μαίονν). See C. Habicht, "Zu neuen Inschriften aus Thessalien," *Tyche* 2, 1987, p. 27, note 27; the redating has been accepted by B. Helly: *Bulletin épigraphique* 1988, no. 743.

<sup>30</sup> The date of 188/7 had been proposed by B. D. Meritt, "The Election of Athenian Generals," *Klio* 52, 1970 (pp. 277–282), p. 280; for the necessity to date the text at least twenty years later, see below, p. 576.

<sup>31</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314, col. 2, lines 83–90, and Addenda, p. 816.

<sup>32</sup> Thus, for example, U. Köhler, "Basis des Karneadeis," *AM* 5, 1880 (pp. 284–286), p. 285 and W. S. Ferguson, "Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents, II," *Klio* 8, 1908 (pp. 338–355), pp. 349–355.

<sup>33</sup> Ferguson (footnote 32 above), pp. 352–355. For the wars, see Habicht (footnote 11 above), pp. 324–330.

have been in Athens at the time.<sup>34</sup> This conclusion could be right, but it is far from certain. In the case of equestrian contests, the owners of the competing race horses did not have to be present; it is not easy to see why wars in Asia Minor should have prevented Pergamene horses from competing in Athens. The years 186 and 182 are as likely for those victories as the year 178.<sup>35</sup>

Already present in the city in the fall of 178 (and maybe some time before that) was the Seleucid prince Antiochos, son of Antiochos III the Great and brother of the reigning king Seleukos IV, after his release by the Romans, who had held him hostage since the peace of 188 B.C. His presence in Athens at that early date, not just in 175, is attested by a new inscription from the Athenian Agora, the remains of a decree in his honor from 178 B.C.<sup>36</sup> It is well known that after Seleukos' murder in 175, he gained the throne for himself as Antiochos IV Epiphanes, with the support of King Eumenes and his brothers. Besides Appianus' report (*Syr. 233*), another Athenian decree of 175/4 illustrates these events. This is *OGIS* 248, found at Pergamon, but other copies of which once existed in Athens and in the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne, near the Seleucid capital Antioch in Syria.<sup>37</sup> These events inaugurated a decade during which the royal houses of the Attalids and Seleucids not only lived in harmony with each other but also competed in bestowing benefactions upon Athens. It is quite possible that Prince Antiochos, released by the Roman Senate, was already in Athens when the four brothers from Pergamon won four equestrian contests. At a later celebration of the Panathenaia, in 162 B.C., Antiochos' son and successor, Antiochos V Eupator, was proclaimed the winner.<sup>38</sup>

In 175/4 the Athenians not only honored Eumenes and his three brothers for the support they had given Antiochos on his way to the throne, but they also honored Philetairos, the third of the brothers, with an individual decree. This is *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 905, from the tenth prytany of the year, or approximately May 174. Unfortunately, not much more than the prescript and the beginning of the motions are preserved, so that it is not possible to see what honors and privileges were granted. Supplementary information, however, comes from the inscription on a statue base found at Olympia<sup>39</sup> which says that the Athenians dedicated the statue of their benefactor Philetairos. It is quite likely that this statue was among the honors voted by the assembly through the decree just mentioned, and it is significant that the text describes Philetairos as an Athenian citizen: if he had not already possessed citizenship, he would have received it by the same decree of 174 B.C.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Ferguson (footnote 32 above), pp. 351–352. E. V. Hansen thinks that all four brothers were present in Athens at the time of their victories: *The Attalids of Pergamon*, 2nd ed., Ithaca 1971, p. 105.

<sup>35</sup> L. Moretti, in fact, prefers one or the other to the year 178 B.C. advocated by Ferguson: "Epigraphica," *RivFil* 92, 1964 (pp. 321–331), pp. 324–327 and *ISE* II, p. 34, *ap.* no. 82.

<sup>36</sup> *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 60, no. 3; see footnote 12 above.

<sup>37</sup> *OGIS* 248, lines 54–57.

<sup>38</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2317, lines 37 and 47.

<sup>39</sup> W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia*, V, *Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin 1896, no. 312 (*SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 641): 'Ο δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναῖων Φιλέταιρον βασιλέως Ἀττάλου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀπολλωνίδος Ἀθηναῖον, εὐεργέτην ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον ἀνέθηκεν.'

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Osborne, *Naturalization* III–IV, p. 95. The conventional assumption is that Attalos I, as the eponym of the tribe Attalis, must have been recognized as an Athenian citizen and that his son Philetairos inherited that

From about the same time, so it seems, must date the citizenship decree for Hikesios, son of Metrodoros, of Ephesos, of which only the prescript is missing. In the first preserved line, it mentions the position of trust that Hikesios enjoyed with the king.<sup>41</sup> The name of the king is lost but must be Eumenes, since that Hikesios has been identified by Adolf Wilhelm with Hikesios, Eumenes' governor of Aigina, honored in that function by a decree of the city of Megara.<sup>42</sup> Hikesios assumedly occupied that same position when he was honored by the Athenians.<sup>43</sup>

In June of 168 B.C., on the very last day of the year 169/8, the assembly voted honors for a fellow citizen, Kalliphanes, son of Kalliphanes, of Phyle. He was the bearer of good news: he had fought in the army of the allied forces, the Romans and the Pergamene Princes Attalos and Athenaios, that had just defeated King Perseus of Macedonia in the battle of Pydna, and he was the first to inform the Athenians of the victory.<sup>44</sup> This news was seen as important enough to call a meeting of the assembly on short notice.<sup>45</sup>

Exactly one year later, on the last day of 168/7 and likewise at a meeting called on very short notice, the assembly passed a decree in honor of Eumenes' φίλος Diodoros, who had earned the gratitude of Athenian citizens and Athenian ambassadors.<sup>46</sup> Diodoros was held in high esteem by the members of the royal family, φίλος ὑπάρχων τῷ βασιλεῖ Εὐμένει καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ [ἐν τοῖς] μάλιστα τιμωμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ προαγόμενος. The meeting took place at the time of the great uprising of the Galatians against Eumenes; the immediate cause for the decree seems to have been the support given by Diodoros to Athenian ambassadors sent to the court of Pergamon, and the report the ambassadors gave about this on their return (lines 13–16). The wording seems to imply that the gratitude was not only for the general care that Diodoros provided the Athenians but beyond that, his support of whatever the main goal of their mission to the king had been.

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citizenship. This assumption was vigorously disputed by P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, Paris 1985, pp. 208–209. As eponyms of new tribes, Antigonos and Demetrios in 307, Ptolemy III in 224/3, and Attalos I in 200 B.C. were the recipients of cults. Cult honors belong, as Gauthier argues, to a level different from that of a grant of citizenship. If he is right, as may well be the case, then the sons of Attalos I and Ptolemy V Epiphanes (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314, col. I, line 41) must have acquired, not inherited, Athenian citizenship.

<sup>41</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 922; improved edition by Osborne, *Naturalization I*, no. 106.

<sup>42</sup> *IG VII*, 15 (*SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 642).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Osborne, *Naturalization II*, p. 192.

<sup>44</sup> Moretti, *ISE I*, no. 35 (*SEG XXV*, 118). The fragmentary decree *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 911 was passed the same day. The text indicates that it was a meeting called by the Council at the request of the generals on short notice (ἐκκλησία σύνκλητος), whereas the decree in honor of Kalliphanes says that the meeting took place in the Piraeus.

<sup>45</sup> See M. H. Hansen, “Ἐκκλησία Σύγκλητος in Hellenistic Athens,” *GRBS* 20, 1979, pp. 149–156. Hansen discusses (p. 151) *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 911 but not the second decree passed that same day (Moretti, *ISE I*, no. 35; above, footnote 44), where the (optional) indication σύνκλητος is missing, but where, nevertheless, the same meeting is meant. For this reason, Hansen failed to realize that it was the news about the battle of Pydna that made the generals eager to have a meeting of the assembly called on short notice. Hansen's interpretation of ἐκκλησία σύνκλητος is disputed by E. M. Harris, “How Often Did the Athenian Assembly Meet?” *CQ* 36, 1986, pp. 363–377, in turn taken to task by Hansen (“How Often Did the Athenian *Ekklesia* Meet? A Reply,” *GRBS* 28, 1987, pp. 35–50). See further P. J. Rhodes, “Brief Reviews,” *GaR* 35, 1988 (pp. 96–97), p. 96 (in favor of Harris' view) and S. V. Tracy, “*Ekklesia synkletos*: A Note,” *ZPE* 75, 1988, pp. 186–188.

<sup>46</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 945 (*SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 651).

The last undisputed testimony for the relations of Athens with Eumenes is the decree *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 953, for an unknown official of the king, passed by the assembly in the winter of 160/59 B.C.<sup>47</sup> Its main interest lies in the last, partially preserved line 10: κ[αὶ] νῦ[ν] Εὐ[μέ]νο[ν τ]ὴν ἀρχ[ὴν καταλιπόντος] or [ἐπιτρέψαντος]. The words seem to indicate that Eumenes, towards the end of his life, shared his rule and the royal title with Attalos.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, there is the fragmentary decree *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 888 from 194/3 in honor of a royal employee. Who the king was is uncertain; among others, Attalos I and Eumenes are possible candidates. That the Athenians honored Queen Stratonike with a statue on the island of Delos also deserves mention; the text refers to her as the daughter of King Ariarathes of Cappadocia but not as the wife of Eumenes; on the other hand, the title of queen which she acquired through her marriage is given.<sup>49</sup> The date of the dedication cannot be established, but by far the most natural assumption is that the statue was set up at a time when Delos was Athenian, that is to say, in a year following 167 B.C. Stratonike was still alive in 135 B.C. but died before her son Attalos III, hence before 133.<sup>50</sup> The statue may have been dedicated after Stratonike had survived both her husbands, Eumenes and his brother Attalos, and therefore after 138 B.C.

In 1880, a base was found, close to the Stoa of Attalos, that once supported a statue of Karneades, the head of the Academy. It was erected perhaps under Eumenes II, perhaps during the reign of his successor Attalos II, and was dedicated, as the inscription reveals, by Attalos and Ariarathes, Athenian citizens from the deme of Sypalettos: Καρνεάδην Ἀξηνίέᾳ Ἀτταλος καὶ Ἀριαράθης Συπαλήττιοι ἀνέθηκαν.<sup>51</sup> It has been unanimously held that the two donors were the princes Attalos of Pergamon and Ariarathes of Cappadocia, before they became kings in 158 and 163, respectively. It was thought that they as enfranchised citizens, as was Karneades, wished to demonstrate their loyalty and respect for the famous philosopher who may or may not once have been their teacher, perhaps only for a short time. Against this canonical view, H. B. Mattingly has argued that the donors were, in fact, private Athenian citizens named after members of the Pergamene and Cappadocian royal families.<sup>52</sup> Mattingly stressed the point that, since there was a tribe Attalis in Athens, a member of the Pergamene dynasty, when becoming an Athenian citizen, would have chosen to be registered in that tribe and in no other (as King Ptolemy V was registered in the tribe Ptolemais<sup>53</sup>), whereas the deme of Sypalettos was part of the tribe Kekrops. Several scholars have since voiced agreement,<sup>54</sup> others disagreement. B. Frischer has argued more elaborately than other dissenters: he stresses the fact that, according to Diogenes Laertius, letters of Karneades sent

<sup>47</sup> See G. Petzl, "Inschriften aus der Gegend von Saittai (I)," *ZPE* 30, 1978 (pp. 249–276), p. 265; Allen, *Kingdom*, pp. 117 and 223, note 18.

<sup>48</sup> Hopp, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 3–15.

<sup>49</sup> *I. Délos*, no. 1575 (*OGIS* 350; F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1921, no. 89).

<sup>50</sup> T. Reinach, "Note sur une inscription de Délos en l'honneur de Laodice (Philadelphe), princesse du Pont," *BCH* 34, 1910 (pp. 429–432), p. 432.

<sup>51</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3781 (*SIG<sup>3</sup>*, 666). Osborne, *Naturalization III–IV*, p. 101. See *Agora XIV*, p. 107 and pl. 55:c.

<sup>52</sup> Mattingly (footnote 7 above), pp. 28–32.

<sup>53</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314, col. I, line 41.

<sup>54</sup> Meritt (footnote 7 above), pp. 165–166; Stewart (footnote 9 above), p. 22; Osborne, *Naturalization III–IV*, pp. 95–96; Hopp, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 62–65; Schalles, p. 139, note 808.

to the Cappadocian king Ariarathes still existed in his time, and he argues against Mattingly that Diogenes could hardly have erred, since the address alone would have revealed the identity of the recipient.<sup>55</sup> Other scholars too have expressed skepticism toward Mattingly's thesis.<sup>56</sup> P. Bernard and P. Gauthier both objected that the fact that the donors did not add patronyms to their names fitted nicely with their royal status, but that this practice would be awkward ('gênant') in the case of private citizens.<sup>57</sup> It was also pointed out by Ferguson that good relations between the Attalids and the Academy had long existed<sup>58</sup> and that Diodorus attests to the philosophical interests of Ariarathes of Cappadocia;<sup>59</sup> this then seemed to corroborate Diogenes' information that he was Karneades' correspondent. All these considerations, however, have now become untenable, since an unpublished inscription shows that Attalos of Pergamon and his brothers were, in fact, registered as Athenian citizens in the tribe Attalis.<sup>60</sup> The donors of the statue of Karneades were born Athenian citizens, as Mattingly rightly recognized, and were not enfranchised princes.

In the time of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Pausanias the periegete, when he came to speak of the eponyms of the Athenian tribes, mentioned Ptolemy III and Attalos I among them. He added that their time was so remote that hardly any knowledge was left about them and that the historians who had documented their actions had long been forgotten.<sup>61</sup> He makes this point in order to show how fragmentary and scattered the remains of the historiography of that time already were. For modern historians the truth of Pausanias' point is also illustrated by the fact that it is only through a casual mention by Plutarch that we hear of colossal statues of Eumenes II and Attalos II at Athens and that they were later reinscribed in the name of Marcus Antonius. Plutarch adds that these statues fell to the ground during a storm on the eve of the Actian War, which was taken as a bad omen for Antonius.<sup>62</sup> These statues of the Pergamene princes must have stood above the theater, not far from the "small Attalid anathem."<sup>63</sup>

<sup>55</sup> B. Frischer, *The Sculpted Word. Epicureanism and Philosophical Recruitment in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley 1982, pp. 194–196. Frischer also thinks that the list of ephebes *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1039, col. b 1, lines 3–5 (M. Mitsos, «Ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μονσείου V», Ἀρχ'Εφ 1964, παρένθετος πίναξ B, col. 1, lines 99–101) proves that a descendant of the Cappadocian prince Ariarathes was a citizen of the deme of Sypalettos. For the letters of Karneades to King Ariarathes, see Diogenes Laertius, 4.65.

<sup>56</sup> E.g., Wycherley (footnote 10 above), p. 77, note 111; Allen, *Kingdom*, p. 82, note 25.

<sup>57</sup> P. Bernard, "Les rhytons de Nisa, I, Poétesses grecques," *Journal des Savants* 1985 (pp. 25–118), p. 81, note 155. Gauthier (footnote 40 above), p. 209.

<sup>58</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London 1911, p. 234. Hopp, *Untersuchungen*, p. 64, note 38. Bernard (footnote 57 above), p. 81, note 155.

<sup>59</sup> Diodorus, 31.19.7–8. Hopp, *Untersuchungen*, p. 64, note 38. Frischer (footnote 55 above), p. 196.

<sup>60</sup> Col. I, lines 37 and 47 and col. III, line 24 of a new victor list from the Panathenaia, to be published by S. V. Tracy and C. Habicht.

<sup>61</sup> Pausanias, 1.5.1–6.1.

<sup>62</sup> Plutarch, *Ant.* 60.6: 'Η δὲ αὐτὴ θύελλα καὶ τὸν Εύμενον καὶ Ἀττάλου κολοσσὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένους Ἀντωνιείους Ἀθῆνησιν ἐμπεσοῦσα μόνους ἐκ πολλῶν ἀνέτρεψε. Cf. Dio, 50.15.3: Dio mentions, among the *omina* that preceded the battle of Actium, that lightning struck statues of Anthony and Cleopatra in the pose of a god and goddess, hurling them down into the Theater of Dionysos. Hölscher (1985 [footnote 9 above], pp. 124–128) thinks that Dio has blended together Plutarch's version with what Plutarch had just narrated in the preceding sentence.

<sup>63</sup> Hölscher 1985 (footnote 9 above), pp. 126–127.

About two generations after Eumenes' death, an inscription of *ca.* 100 B.C. mentions Εὐμενεῖα in a context that is unclear.<sup>64</sup> These *Eumeneia* may be a festival of that name. S. Dow identifies the fragment as part of a gymnasiarch's festival catalogue.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that a festival established in honor of King Eumenes at Athens survived, or was only instituted after his death.

In 158 B.C. Attalos II succeeded his brother as king and at the same time as tutor to Eumenes' son Attalos. For more than thirty years he had been familiar with the city of Athens and her citizens. While his brother Eumenes ruled, he had, beginning in 192 B.C., visited Athens repeatedly. His horses had been victorious more than once in the hippodrome at the Panathenaia. Together with his brothers, he had been honored by the Athenians for the support lent to Prince Antiochos on his way to gaining the throne of the Seleucid empire. He had also, together with his youngest brother Athenaios, fought in 168 B.C. alongside Athenian citizens in the battle of Pydna against King Perseus of Macedonia. Attalos, once he himself became king, continued the policy of his brother in the same spirit. He also continued in splendid fashion what other benefactors had begun some twenty-five years before his accession with the construction of the Middle Stoa in the south of the Agora:<sup>66</sup> the monumental extension of the historic site. At the eastern part of the large square, Attalos erected the Stoa that is named after him, with two stories and a length of 116 meters. Once erected, the building became the eastern border of the square. Specialists recognize in the Stoa of Attalos not only the influence of Pergamene architecture but also visible signs of work done by craftsmen from Pergamon, such as those attested, for instance, as being active at Delphi.<sup>67</sup> Considerable fragments of the dedicatory inscription on the epistyle have also been found.<sup>68</sup> The king also had a large monument erected in front of the Stoa in the form of a high pillar with a bronze quadriga on top. It was undoubtedly dedicated to the king and may have served to commemorate his victories at the Panathenaic festival. It was later rededicated to the Emperor Tiberius.<sup>69</sup> It resembles the monument of Agrippa at the

<sup>64</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2459, line 5.

<sup>65</sup> S. Dow, "Catalogi generis incerti, *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2364–2489. A Check-list," *AncW* 8, 1983 (pp. 95–106), p. 104; he promises a further discussion.

<sup>66</sup> As V. Grace has shown, work for the Middle Stoa must have begun in 183 B.C. or a date very close to that year: "The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps," *Hesperia* 54, 1985, pp. 1–54. Her opinion that King Pharnakes I of Pontos was the donor of the building, however, seems open to questions which are not relevant here.

<sup>67</sup> For the Stoa of Attalos, see *Agora* XIV, pp. 103–108. A crew of builders sent by King Eumenes II is attested at Delphi in 160/59 B.C.; it worked on the repair of the theater and certain offerings in the sanctuary (*FdD* III, iii, no. 237, lines 7–10; no. 239, lines 11–13). Attalos II sent three painters to Delphi to restore paintings in the stoa which his father Attalos I had dedicated: G. Roux, "La terrasse d'Attale I à Delphes," *BCH* 76, 1952 (pp. 141–196), pp. 184–185. The three painters were honored for their work by the city of Delphi in 140/39 B.C.: G. Daux, *Delphes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> siècle... 191–31 av. J.-C.*, Paris 1936, p. 509. See also footnote 10 above.

<sup>68</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3171; a more complete text is given in B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 26, 1957 (pp. 51–97), pp. 83–88, no. 31 and pls. 26–27.

<sup>69</sup> Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–88; E. Vanderpool, "Athens Honors the Emperor Tiberius," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 86–90; *Agora* XIV, p. 107; Zschietzschmann (footnote 10 above), p. 82; H.-J. Schalles, "Die hellenistische Umgestaltung der Athener Agora im 2. Jh. v.Chr.—Ausdruck von Rationalität oder Entpolitisierung?" *Hephaistos* 4, 1982 (pp. 97–116), p. 106.

approach to the Propylaia, which, according to the unanimous verdict of scholars, was likewise an Attalid monument before its rededication.<sup>70</sup>

Scholars date the erection of the Stoa of Attalos to the first half of the king's reign, *ca.* 158 to 148 B.C., and it is assumed that work began soon after his accession.<sup>71</sup> The new sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, the Metroön, was built shortly thereafter, in the third quarter of the 2nd century, according to historians of architecture. It occupied the spot where its predecessor had stood.<sup>72</sup> For centuries, since the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century, the Metroön had also served as the city archive, and it continued to serve in this capacity until work for the new building began; such function is still attested in 161/0 B.C.<sup>73</sup> Given the similarity of purpose, it is no wonder that its plan closely resembles that of the large library at Pergamon. The similarity goes so far as to convince scholars of a direct influence, that the library did in fact serve as model for the Metroön at Athens.<sup>74</sup>

A number of stamped roof tiles that once belonged to the Metroön have been found. They are inscribed *ἱερὰν Μητρὶ Θεῶν / Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος*, "sacred to the Mother of the Gods / Dionysios and Ammonios."<sup>75</sup> The names have been identified, no doubt correctly, as the names of the owners of the factory where these tiles were manufactured. The same two names also occur as a pair, if in reverse sequence, in two annual emissions of Athenian New Style silver coins. The first and the second mint magistrates of the years 150/49 and 148/7 sign their coins AMMΩ-ΔΙΟ. Margaret Thompson recognized that both were in all likelihood members of a well-known family from Anaphlystos.<sup>76</sup> In fact, the two magistrates are brothers, and sons of Ammonios. The older brother, Ammonios, was priest of the eponym of the tribe Antiochis in 140/39 B.C.<sup>77</sup> and epimelete of Delos for the second time in 128/7.<sup>78</sup> His younger brother Dionysios was the eponymous archon of Athens in that same year, 128/7.<sup>79</sup> As many as three members of the next generation were elected to the highly important office of epimelete of Delos. They were Ammonios' nephews Dionysios (111/0) and Ammonios (107/6), the sons of his brother Demetrios, in addition to his own son (whose name is not known) around 100 B.C.<sup>80</sup> The assumption that the owners of the tile factory that produced the roof tiles for the Metroön were members of this family

<sup>70</sup> See footnote 69 above and the works cited by Schalles (footnote 69 above), p. 113, note 55.

<sup>71</sup> Grace (footnote 66 above), p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937 (pp. 1–226), pp. 172–217; *idem*, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors* (*Hesperia Suppl.* 4), Baltimore 1940, pp. 148–151; Wycherley (footnote 10 above), p. 82; *Agora XIV*, pp. 35–38; Schalles (footnote 69 above), p. 106.

<sup>73</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 956, lines 20–22, where it said of the *agonothetes* of the Theseia: *ἀπενήνοχεν λόγους εἰς τὸ Μητρῶιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν λογιστᾶς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἔδωκεν*.

<sup>74</sup> *Agora XIV*, p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> Thompson (footnote 72 above), pp. 191–192, fig. 118 (p. 193); *Agora XIV*, pl. 30:c.

<sup>76</sup> *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, p. 550.

<sup>77</sup> *Agora XV*, no. 240, line 51.

<sup>78</sup> *I. Délos*, nos. 2143, 2144.

<sup>79</sup> *FdD III*, ii, no. 3, line 3 proves that the archon was this Dionysios of Anaphlystos.

<sup>80</sup> *I. Délos*, nos. 1531, 1959, 2125 (Dionysios); 2232 and 2249, with *Horos* 4, 1986, pp. 79–93 (Ammonios); 2600 (the son of Ammonios).

from Anaphlystos is therefore as likely as it is attractive. The owners of the factory may very well have been the two brothers Ammonios and Dionysios who twice served together as mint magistrates.

A very fragmentary epigram inscribed on the shaft of a herm has been connected with King Attalos: [στ]ῆσε παρὰ κλυτὸν Ε[--] / [--]ων Ἀτταλον ΑΝ[--].<sup>81</sup> It is uncertain, however, whether this does refer to the king rather than to one of the many Athenian citizens called Attalos.<sup>82</sup> Nothing whatsoever is known about relations between Athens and Attalos III (138–133 B.C.), the last king of the Pergamene dynasty.

It is not without significance for the relationship that existed in the 2nd century B.C. between Athens and the house of the Attalids that when, together with all the other intellectuals, the Athenian scholar Apollodorus was expelled from Alexandria and Egypt by King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in 145 B.C., he went to Pergamon. He found a position at court and remained there at least until the death of Attalos II in 138 B.C. and perhaps until the end of the dynasty five years later, before returning to his mother city. His chronicle, which ends with the year 144/3, he dedicated to King Attalos II, as attested by Pausanias of Damascus (better known under the name of Pseudo-Skymnos) in his description of the world, published sometime between 127 and 110 B.C.<sup>83</sup>

From the evidence presented above, it follows that only during a span of two generations beginning in 200 B.C. did there exist close relations between the Athenian State and the rulers of Pergamon, King Attalos I and his two sons, who succeeded him one after the other. By contrast, during the 3rd century, there exists evidence only of contacts between the dynasts of Pergamon and individual leaders of the Academy and the Peripatos. They may have contributed to the establishment of official relations, if one can extrapolate from the decree honoring a subject of Attalos I who had studied philosophy in Athens and then was instrumental in eliciting from the king benefits for the city (p. 564 above). With the establishment of a cult of Attalos I in 200 B.C. begins a series of honors for the kings, their queens, and the princes of the royal house, such as decrees or statues erected in Athens, Olympia, or Delos. King Eumenes II and his three brothers competed in equestrian contests at the Panathenaic festival, and all four were crowned as victors. Moreover, a surprisingly large number of Athenian decrees honoring men in the service of the Attalids still survives, undoubtedly only a small part of a much larger total.

If all this evidence testifies to intensive and cordial relations, no clearer sign of the importance of these relations exists than the monumental dedications of the kings in the city:

<sup>81</sup> S. N. Koumanoudes, «Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν», Δελτ 25, 1970, A' (1971) (pp. 54–86), p. 63, no. 13.

<sup>82</sup> The two letters that follow the name could be the beginning of either the patronymic or the demotic. There is an Ἀτταλος Ἀνακαιεύς attested for 135/4 B.C. as member of the Council (*Agora* XV, no. 243, line 108).

<sup>83</sup> *FGrHist* 244, T 2, 45–48. A. Diller has demonstrated that the author was Pausanias of Damascus: “The Authors Named Pausanias,” *TAPA* 86, 1955 (pp. 268–279), pp. 276–279 = Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, Amsterdam 1983, pp. 145–148. For the date of publication see *RE* XXIII, i, 1957, s.v. Prusias (cols. 1086–1128), cols. 1123–1124 (C. Habicht). See also *RE* I, 1894, s.v. Apollodorus, cols. 2855–2856 (R. Müntzel); F. Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, Berlin 1902, p. 16; and *idem*, commentary on Apollodorus, *FGrHist* 244.

the Stoa of Eumenes, the set of sculptures on the Akropolis, the Stoa of Attalos, the Metroön. The Pergamene kings changed the image of the city in ways no other monarch ever did, except for the Seleucid Antiochos IV, a friend of Eumenes II and his brothers, with the temple of Zeus Olympios. In Athens, as elsewhere, the Pergamene rulers depicted themselves as the champions of the Hellenes against the barbarians, understood as the Gauls in Asia Minor, and as the patrons of Greek culture in art, literature, and philosophy. Athens was the ideal spot for such a display.

### Appendix: *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 955*

For lines 1–7 and 18–22 I propose the following restoration:

[ <sup>4</sup> Επὶ . . . . .]	<sup>ca. 11</sup>	ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος δ[εκάτης πρυτανείας]	54
[εἰ . . . . .]	<sup>ca. 19</sup>	ἐγραμμάτευεν, Μουνιχιῶνος . . . . .	54
[. . . . .]	<sup>ca. 22</sup>	τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρχαιρεσίᾳ]	54
4 [κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν] προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν . . . . .	<sup>ca. 11</sup>		54
[. . . . .]	<sup>ca. 12</sup>	καὶ συμπρόεδροι] ἔδοξεν τ[ε]ῖ βουλ[εῖ καὶ τῶι δῆμωι]	52
[. . . . .]	<sup>ca. 25</sup>	]εὺς εἶπεν ἐπειδὴ Φιλτῆς Ἰππολόχου]	54
[Κυζικηνὸς φίλος ὁν τοῦ βασιλέως Εἰδύμενον διατελεῖ . . . . .]	<sup>ca. 11</sup>		54
<hr/>			
18 [. . . . .]	<sup>ca. 19</sup>	ἀγαθεῖ τ]ύχει δεδόχθαι τ[εῖ βουλεῖ τὸν λαχόν-]	56
[τας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκ] κλησίαν χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων,]			56
20 [γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ]			57
[ἐπαινέσαι Φιλτῆν Ἰππολόχου Κυζικηνὸν καὶ στεφανώσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι]			57
[στεφάνωι κτλ.]			

The width of this stone and the approximate number of letters for each line are provided by the restorations of lines 18–19 and 19–20, which are not in doubt. It is natural to assume that the first lines were shorter by two or three letters than the following ones, since such stelai usually taper from the bottom to the top. The text cannot be much earlier than 169 B.C., since the stonemason who inscribed it was active as early as 169 and as late as 134 B.C.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, it still dates from the reign of Eumenes II and is therefore not later than 159/8 B.C. Within the span of these years, there were two archons whose names have ten letters in the genitive case: Xenokles of 168/7 and Nikosthenes of 167/6. Neither can be restored in line 1, since the names of their secretaries require much more space than is available in line 2 (31 and 25 letters, respectively).<sup>85</sup> The names of the archons Poseidoniros of 162/1 and Aristaichmos of 159/8 have eleven letters each. Either of these names could be restored in line 1, but nothing more can be said as long as the names of their secretaries (or the lengths of their names, including patronymic and demotic) remain unknown.

<sup>84</sup> S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.*, Berkeley 1990, pp. 146–162.

<sup>85</sup> Σθενέδημος Ἀσκληπιάδον Τειθράστος (*IG II<sup>2</sup>, 945*, line 3) for 168/7 B.C.; [-ca. 13-] Μυρρινόστος (*Agora XV*, no. 215, line 2) for 167/6. Aphrodisios, the supposed archon of 170/69 (Meritt [footnote 7 above], p. 182) is imaginary: S. V. Tracy, “Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 53, 1984 (pp. 369–384), p. 375, lines 43 and 45.

The honoree is called a citizen of Kyzikos in line 21. A citizen of Kyzikos in the service of Eumenes II was honored in 170 B.C. by the city of Larisa.<sup>86</sup> His name would exactly fill the gaps that exist in lines 6–7 and 21. It seems justified, therefore, to restore his name. If this restoration is correct, it then follows that Philtes of Kyzikos, soon after he received honors at Larisa, was also honored by the city of Athens.

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<sup>86</sup> Above, pp. 567–568 with footnote 29.