

## The Attalids of Pergamon and Anatolia

Historians have long wondered at the improbable rise of the Attalids of Pergamon after 188 BCE. The Roman-brokered Settlement of Apameia offered a new map – a brittle framework for sovereignty in Anatolia and the eastern Aegean. What allowed the Attalids to make this map a reality and leave their indelible Pergamene imprint on our Classical imagination? In this uniquely comprehensive study of the political economy of the kingdom, Noah Kaye rethinks the impact of Attalid imperialism on the Greek polis and the multicultural character of the dynasty's notorious propaganda. By synthesizing new findings in epigraphy, archaeology, and numismatics, he shows the kingdom for the first time from the inside. The Pergamene way of ruling was a distinctively noncoercive and efficient means of taxing and winning loyalty. Royal tax collectors collaborated with city and village officials on budgets and minting, while the kings utterly transformed the civic space of the gymnasium.

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Noah Kaye  
Frontmatter  
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## The Attalids of Pergamon and Anatolia

Money, Culture, and State Power

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**NOAH KAYE**

Michigan State University



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When for several years, the manuscript languished while I taught Classics and archaeology at the University of Oregon and Indiana University, I received unstinting support from my PhD advisors, while mentors such as Nicholas Purcell and Andrew Monson, to name two, continued to show me, each in their own way, how to make a contribution to scholarship. Arthur Eckstein's feedback on Chapter 4 was a real boost and encouraged completion of the book. The Classicists at Indiana University, especially Adam Gitner and the Homerist Jon Ready, left their mark on Chapters 4 and 6, and Matt Christ helped me jump-start the project again by sending me to New York to join the discussion and festivities around the Met's 2016 exhibition *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*. Thanks in particular to Susan Rotroff for her encouragement and exchange at the exhibition colloquium. During this period, I was also given an apprenticeship in archaeology by Nathan Arrington and Tom Tartaron, under whom I worked on the Attalid frontier in Aegean Thrace, as well as Nicholas Rauh and Günder Varinlioğlu, with whom I investigated the ramifications of the Settlement of Apameia on the ground in coastal Rough Cilicia. It was of great importance that I finish the book by looking at the Attalids from an Anatolian perspective, and I was fortunate to receive a fellowship at Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) at Koç University in Istanbul for 2017–18. Special thanks are due to Koray Konuk for his support in this endeavor, and I had many interesting conversations with the director, Christopher Roosevelt, who taught me a lot. While in Turkey, I benefited from presenting the project at Boğaziçi University, thanks to Julia Shear. I am so very grateful for the warm reception, aid, and intellectual exchange I received from members of the Pergamon Excavation Project of the German Archaeological Institute, namely, director Felix Pirson, Ute Kelp, Ulrich Mania, Sarah Japp, Güler Ateş, Bernhard Ludwig, and Kivanç Başak, and to Turgut Saner of Istanbul Technical University for discussions about his work at Larisa-on-the-Hermos. Finally, I signal here my warmest appreciation for my traveling companion in Turkey, Evin Taş: I hope one beautiful morning at the

Klimax Pass (Doşemealtı) compensated for a dreadful evening in the Milyas (Korkuteli).

In its final stages, the book has benefited from the patient support of Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press and from the anonymous reviewers, who greatly improved the manuscript. In 2019, I was able to present a draft of Chapter 6 to Classics crowds at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst, by invitation of Simon Oswald, and at Harvard, by invitation of Paul Kosmin. I warmly thank my Harvard hosts, Supratik Baralay and Felipe Soza, for their hospitality and feedback. The History Department of Michigan State University supported a year in Turkey, which Walter Hawthorne helped arrange with funding from the Lab for Education and Advancement in Digital Research. My faculty mentor, Liam Brockey, has been a model and a bulwark. Amanda Tickner of the MSU Library patiently guided the cartography. Illustrations were funded by the Humanities and Arts Research Program Production grant that Kayla Van Dyke truly made happen. The illustrations elicit many expressions of gratitude: to Elena Stolyarik at the American Numismatic Society, Amelia Dowler at the British Museum, Karsten Dahmen at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Frédérique Duyrat and Julien Olivier of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Brian Rose of the Troy Excavation Project, Elmar Schwertheim of Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Sylvie Dumont and Craig Mauzy of the Athenian Agora Excavations, Veli Köse and Lutgarde Vandeput of the Pisida Survey Project, both Bahar Yıldırım and, again, the ever supportive Nicholas Cahill of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

In the end – in the beginning, actually – I was just curious about the way the Attalids used language and money to shift shape, about the vestiges of the Kingdom of Pergamon, which led me to a hunt in the library – and for that curiosity, for a love of books and of libraries, I have only my dear parents to thank, Dianne Vidmar and Michael Kaye.

## List of Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ANS	American Numismatic Society
<i>Arthur S. Dewing</i>	L. Mildenberg, <i>The Arthur S. Dewing Collection of Greek Coins</i> (New York, 1985)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
BMC	<i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum</i>
BNJ	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i>
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CH	<i>Coin Hoards</i>
CID	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1977–)
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> , 4 vols. (Berlin, 1828–77)
CLA	Customs Law of Asia
<i>Claros I</i>	L. Robert and J. Robert, <i>Claros I: Décrets hellénistiques</i> (Paris, 1989)
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes III: Épigraphie</i> (Paris, 1929– )
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (1923– )
HN	B. V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1911)
<i>Hunterian</i>	<i>Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow</i> (Glasgow, 1899–1905)
<i>I.Adramytteion I</i>	J. V. Stauber, <i>Die Bucht von Adramytteion, Teil I: Topographie Lokalisierung antiker Orte/Fundstellen von Altertümern</i> (Bonn, 1996)
<i>I.Adramytteion II</i>	J. V. Stauber, <i>Die Bucht von Adramytteion, Teil II: Inschriften – Literarische Testimonia – Münzen</i> (Bonn, 1996)
<i>I.Delos</i>	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , 7 vols. (Paris, 1926–72)
<i>I.Didyma</i>	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma, II: Die Inschriften</i> (Berlin, 1958)
<i>I.Ephesos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , 8 vols. (Bonn, 1979– )
<i>I.Erythrai</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> , 2 vols. (Bonn 1972–73)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGCH</i>	C. M. Kraay, M. Thompson, and O. Mørkholm, <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> (New York, 1973)

<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1911–27)
<i>I.Histriae</i>	D. M. Pippidi, <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae I: Inscriptiones Histriae et Viciniae</i> (Bucharest, 1983)
<i>I.Iasos</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> , 2 vols. (Bonn, 1985)
<i>I.Ilion</i>	P. Frisch, <i>Die Inschriften von Ilion</i> (Bonn, 1975)
<i>I.Iznik</i>	S. Şahin, <i>Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)</i> , 2 vols. (Bonn 1979, 1981–82)
<i>I.Kyzikos II</i>	E. Schwertheim, <i>Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung, Teil II: Miletopolis, Inschriften und Denkmäler</i> (Bonn, 1983)
<i>I.Kyme</i>	H. Engelmann, <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> (Bonn, 1976)
<i>I.Magnesia</i>	O. Kern, <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin, 1900)
<i>I.Metropolis</i>	B. Dreyer and H. Engelmann, <i>Die Inschriften von Metropolis I</i> (Bonn, 2003)
<i>I.Milet</i>	<i>Inschriften von Milet</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, 1997–2006)
<i>I.Mysia (und Troas)</i>	M. Barth and J. Stauber, <i>Inschriften Mysia &amp; Troas</i> (Packard Humanities Institute CD #7)
<i>I.Oropos</i>	V. Ch. Petракос, Οι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού (Athens, 1997)
<i>I.Pergamon</i>	M. Fränkel, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin 1890–95)
<i>I.Pessinous</i>	J. Strubbe, <i>The Inscriptions of Pessinous</i> (Bonn, 2005)
<i>I.Priene</i>	F. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> (Berlin, 1906)
<i>I.Prusa</i>	T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum</i> , 2 vols. (Bonn, 1991–93)
<i>I.Sardis</i>	W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, <i>Sardis VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part I</i> (Leiden, 1932)
<i>Iscr.Cos</i>	M. Segre, <i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i> , 2 vols. (Rome, 1993)
<i>ISE</i>	L. Moretti and F. Canali de Rossi, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> , 3 vols. (Florence, 1967–2008)
<i>I.Sestos</i>	J. Krauss, <i>Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones</i> (Bonn, 1980)
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> , 2 vols. (Bonn, 1982–90)
<i>I.Sultan Dağı</i>	L. Jonnes, <i>The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı I</i> (Bonn, 2002)
<i>I.Thespiai</i>	P. Roesch, <i>Les inscriptions de Thespies</i> (Lyon 2007–9)
<i>I.Tralleis</i>	F. B. Poljakov, <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, Teil I: Die Inschriften von Tralleis</i> (Bonn, 1989)
<i>Jameson</i>	<i>Collection R. Jameson</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1913–32)

*List of Abbreviations*

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Keil and Premerstein, <i>Bericht über eine Reise</i>	J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, <i>Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis</i> (Vienna, 1908)
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris, 1969)
MAMA IV	W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, and W. K. C. Guthrie, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Vol. 4: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia</i> (Manchester, 1933)
MAMA VI	W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Vol. 6: Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria</i> (Manchester, 1939)
MDAI(A)	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung)</i>
Michel, <i>Recueil</i>	<i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, 2 suppl.</i> (Brussels, 1900–27)
Milet I 3	G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, <i>Das Delphinion in Milet</i> (Berlin, 1914)
ML	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1988)
New Pauly	<i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World</i> (Leiden, 1996–2011)
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–5)
P.Cair.Zen	C. C. Edgar, <i>Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> (Cairo, 1925–40)
P.Rev.	B. P. Grenfell, <i>Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> (Oxford, 1896)
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i>
P.Tebt.	<i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i> (London, 1902– )
RC	C. B. Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period</i> (New Haven, CT, 1934)
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, et al., <i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Neue Bearbeitung (Stuttgart, 1893–1997)
RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> (Oxford, 2003)
Robert, <i>Carie II</i>	L. Robert and J. Robert, <i>La Carie: Histoire et géographie historique, avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques. Tome II, Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs</i> (Paris, 1954)

Robert, OMS	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta</i> , 7 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969–90)
RPC	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> (London, 1992– )
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGDI II	H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, and J. Baunack, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften II: Epirus, Akarnanien, Aetolien, Aenaniens Phthiotis, Lokris, Phokis, Dodona, Achaia und seine Kolonien, Delphi</i> (Göttingen, 1885–99)
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones et al., <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> (Berlin, 1983)
SNG Copenhagen	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Danish National Museum</i> (Copenhagen, 1942– )
SNG Leipzig	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland: Sammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig</i> , 1. Band, <i>Autonome Griechische Münzen</i> (Munich, 1993)
SNG München	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland: Staatliche Münzsammlung München</i> (Munich, 1968– )
SNG Paris	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, France: Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des médailles</i> (Paris, 1983– )
SNG von Aulock	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland: Sammlung von Aulock</i> , 8 vols. (1957–63)
Staatsverträge	H. Bengston and H. H. Schmitt, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> , 3 vols. (Munich, 1969–75)
Swoboda, Denkmäler	H. Swoboda, J. Keil, and F. Knoll, <i>Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien, und Isaurien</i> (Vienna, 1935)
Syll. <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd ed., 4 vols. (Leipzig 1915–24)
TAM III	R. Heberdey, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris III: Tituli Pisidiae</i> (Vienna, 1941)
TAM V	P. Herrmann, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris V: Tituli Lydiae</i> , 3 vols. (Vienna, 1981–2007)
Waddington	<i>Inventaire Sommaire de la Collection Waddington acquise par l'état en 1897 pour le Département des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> (Paris, 1898)
Wilhelm, Neue Beiträge	A. Wilhelm, <i>Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde</i> , 6 vols. (Vienna, 1911–32)