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PHRYGIA IN ANTIQUITY: FROM THE BRONZE AGE TO THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

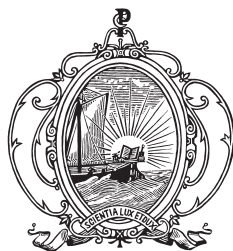
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Dedicated to the memory of Prof. G.K. (Ken) Sams

Edited by

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with the assistance of
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THE ‘TEMPLE STATE’ OF PHRYGIAN PESSINUS IN THE CONTEXT OF SELEUCID, ATTALID, GALATIAN AND ROMAN HEGEMONIC POLITICS (3RD–1ST CENTURIES BC)

Altay Coşkun

Abstract

The affluent and exotic ‘temple state’ of Cybele rendered Pessinus the most famous Phrygian cult site in the Graeco-Roman world. No other Phrygian cult or location is mentioned as often in Classical literature, and, likewise, the epigraphic and material evidence for the Roman city stands out amongst its peers in Asia Minor. In contrast, the primary record that predates the 3rd century BC is absent or minimal. Based on this lack of evidence, a recent study has tried to demonstrate that Pessinus as a super-regional sanctuary of the Great Mother should be understood as a creation by king Attalos I. The current article intends to specify the political relations of the priest elite of this newly created sanctuary with its neighbours, the Attalid kingdom to the west and the Galatian tribal states to the east and north, besides their connections with the court of the Seleucids and the Roman superpower respectively. The evidence for the mid- and late Hellenistic period continues to remain highly lacunose and controversial. But recent work on the political divisions and dynamic territorial changes among the Galatians suggests some modification to the currently prevailing view: Pessinus was not part of Galatia (however defined), but rather part of the Attalid kingdom, first from 207 BC to about 200/197, and then again from 188 BC until the dissolution of the kingdom (133/129 BC). Then it seems to have been controlled first by the Tektosages, a generation later by the Trokmoi and since the time of the Mithradatic Wars by the Tolistobogioi. Hence it developed into the urban centre of the Tolistobogioi under Augustus.

INTRODUCTION

The history of ancient Pessinus is somewhat of a conundrum. On the one hand, very few settlements of inland Anatolia and in fact not many cities of coastal Asia Minor can boast a comparable number of references in Graeco-Roman literature, covering genres as diverse as poetry, oratory and historiography, as well as antiquarian and Christian apologetic writings. Besides, we have substantial corpora of inscriptions and coinage at our disposition. Add to this that, despite the serious challenges that archaeologists are facing,¹ excavations and

¹ For decades, the resettlement of the modern village of Ballıhisar has been delayed. Recent excavation reports (Tsetskhladze *et al.* 2015, 75–77; *cf.* 2013, 74) lament about the damage due

surveys have been ongoing for much of the past half-century, not yet considering the work of pioneers such as William Ramsey or Kurt Bittel prior to the first site inspection by Pieter Lambrechts in 1966. The sustained efforts of the Ghent (1967–1973, 1986–2008) and Melbourne excavations (2009–2013) have yielded two volumes of condensed Pessinuntine scholarship that testify to a level of knowledge achieved of only very few other Anatolian sites.²

On the other hand, there is so much uncertainty about nearly every aspect of Pessinuntine history that a recent study on the interrelation of the Phrygian and Roman cults of the Magna Mater concluded with the following caution:³

The whole of our understanding of Roman religion in this period is based on very limited literary evidence after all, and I suspect that future discoveries, be they archaeological or epigraphic, will tend to challenge rather than support the current orthodoxy, which was established rather a long time ago.

The wide range of differing hypotheses notwithstanding, there is still something that may be called a main-stream view of Pessinuntine history. Despite some minor quibbles, most colleagues would agree that the chronological outline sketched by Inge Claerhout and John Devreker in their *Archaeological Guide* (2008) comes very close to such an orthodox account. It will be a good starting point for further discussion.⁴

According to tradition, the site dates back to the Phrygian era as a cult site and a settlement. The famous King Midas himself is supposed to have founded Pessinous and erected the first sanctuary of Kybele in the 8th century BC. Several written sources provide evidence that in the shadow of Mount Dindymos and/or Mount Agdos, near the sacred Gallos river, a rich theocratic temple state developed under a high priest, Attis, and a subordinate Battakes. When exactly this occurred is not clear, but it was most likely at the time when Phrygia ceased to be an independent state, although some scholars accord no important role to Pessinous before the 3rd century BC. ...

Thanks to its religious status, and like other sacred places, Pessinous was able to preserve its independence under the successive rulers of western Asia Minor. Under the Lydians (mid-7th–mid-6th century BC), as well as under the Greek Seleucids (late 4th–early 3rd century BC),⁵ the temple state retained its independ-

to looting and illegal excavations. The Melbourne team also conducted small-scale excavations in sectors R and S, where buildings and the fortification system of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods were discovered. Furthermore, extensive surveys and geophysical prospection were undertaken in Pessinus and surrounding areas. See now Tsatskhladze 2019.

² Tsatskhladze 2018; 2019.

³ Bowden 2012, 262.

⁴ Claerhout and Devreker 2008, 29–34; *cf.*, for example, Marek 2010, 150–51, 168; also Devreker 1984a; Mitchell 1993.

⁵ This is quite imprecise, for Seleucid rule was established in western Asia Minor through the victory at Koroupedion in 281 BC, but collapsed with the murder of Seleucus in 281/80. For further details, see below.

ence. This remained so when the Celtic tribes, after crossing to Asia Minor (278/7 BC) and their defeat at the hands of King Antiochos I in the 'Battle of the Elephants' probably in 268 BC (or 275 BC), settled in North-Central Anatolia in the region which became known as Galatia. When after a series of victories in 240/230 King Attalos I of Pergamon occupied the Galatian territory, Pessinous was not a part of it, but gradually came under the influence of the Galatians, i.e. the tribe of the Tolistobogioi who occupied north and west Galatia.

At the latest since the end of the 3rd century BC political influence by the Attalids of Pergamon can be demonstrated. It was through the mediation of King Attalos I of Pergamon that in 205/204 BC an embassy of the Roman senate came and took the sacred statue (conceivably a black meteorite or an autoglyphed stone)⁶ of Kybele in order to introduce the cult of the Mater Magna (the Great Mother) to Rome and thus defeat and repel the invader Hannibal. ... The Attalid kings enlarged and embellished the sanctuary at Pessinous with white marble and porticoes. This was probably done by the great builder Attalos I as compensation for giving the *baitylos* or meteoric stone to the Romans. There is no reason to put forward a date after 183 BC, when Pergamon assumed the sovereignty of Phrygia Epiktetos and Galatia until 166, when Galatia was declared autonomous by Rome.

In 189 BC the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso, who was conducting an expedition in Galatia, was visited by Galloi, sent by Attis and Battakes, the priests of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinous, who predicted him victory. He indeed defeated the Galatians in two battles.

The secret 'Royal Correspondence' between the Pergamene kings Eumenes II and Attalos II and the high priest Attis of Pessinous, between 163 and 157 BC, clearly indicates political and military dependence, paradoxically at a time when the Galatians occupied the great-priesthood of the temple (the brother of Attis is called Aioiorix, an obviously Celtic name). ...

In 102 BC, when the Romans were fighting the Cimbrians and Teutons, the priest Battakes went to Rome. He caused a great sensation with his enormous golden crown and his gaudy cape shot with gold, the marks of a king. The reasons for Battakes' trip to Rome are unknown. Had the temple been desecrated by Roman tax collectors from Asia? Were other privileges of the sanctuary at stake? It is probable that the priest's request for purification of the temple was granted and that the position of the priesthood was confirmed. ... A great number of victorious generals, including Marius in 98/7 BC, came to Pessinous to accomplish their vows to Kybele.

... Deiotaros (63-41 BC), tetrarch of the Tolistobogioi and Rome's ally against Mithradates, received authority over the temple state from 67/6 or 63 BC ... The priesthood probably passed to the royal family. In 58 BC his brother-in-law Brogitaros, tetrarch of the Trokmoi, bribed P. Clodius Pulcher to receive the title of rex, as well as the territories and temple of Pessinous. However, in 56 BC Deiotaros restored the temple to the priest, and he remained master. ...

⁶ It is now widely accepted that the meteorite of Pessinus (*baitylos*) was uniconic (see Roller 1999, 256; Strobel 2000, 658; also below with n. 23).

In 36 BC Galatia was given by Antony to Amyntas, king of Pisidia. After Amyntas' death in 25 BC his realm⁷ was annexed by Augustus and added to the Roman Empire as the province of Galatia with Ankyra (Ankara) as capital. ... Pessinous became the administrative capital of the Tolistobogioi. ...

Very soon after 25 BC the urbanization and the transformation of the Pessinuntian temple state into a Greek polis began.

It is the purpose of this paper to draw attention to a number of very recent publications that seriously question nearly every aspect of this kind of 'orthodoxy'. I do not of course claim that all of those new approaches will stand the test of time, but at least they provide us with the benefit of better understanding the limitations of our evidence and the fragility of our assumed knowledge. And, in a more optimistic light, such a radical confrontation of old and new views should have the potential of paving the way for overcoming at least some problems.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ROMANS IN THE GALLOS VALLEY AND THE BEGINNING OF PESSINUNTINE 'HISTORY'

A critical account of the history of Pessinus needs to single out the arrival of the Romans as the starting point of the settlement's 'history': at least until new evidence comes to light, every event prior to this date effectively belongs to the sphere of 'pre-history'; written sources that touch upon earlier times are confined to legendary narratives of Attis' death in the Gallos valley or mere mentions of the foundation of the sanctuary or city by Midas.⁸ It is true that archaeologists have uncovered a few structures that go back to the Phrygian and Achaemenid periods, but what needs to be emphasised is that these have so far been contextualised within a narrative constructed from the legendary evidence. This is especially the case for the Phrygian foundation of the cult site of Magna Mater. While the physical remains known to us today certainly confirm that there had been settlement and cult for the Mother God of Mt Dindymos, we are not yet in a position to locate the main cult site or

⁷ The authors have forgotten to mention that Amyntas also gained the heartland of Galatia for his kingdom, though at an uncertain date; see *Amici Populi Romani s.v.* Amyntas for discussion.

⁸ See, for example, Pausanias 1. 4. 6 on Midas, founder of Ancyra and Pessinus, the latter hosting the tomb of Attis on Mt Agdistis. The legendary nature of the founders is now widely accepted (see Roller 1999, 246; Strobel 2000, 658; Tsatskheladze 2009, 707–08; 2013, 50). On the Phrygian Mother Cult and various versions of the myth, see Roller 1999, especially 257 on the lateness of the evidence for Pessinus: its important role in the legendary sources is owed to the fame of Pessinus since the 2nd century BC. Also see Roller 2009, 7 on discontinuity, change and revival of the cult of Matar.

accompanying settlements; we cannot specify the size of the community nor whether at all there was a society that continuously lived anywhere in the Gallos valley from the 9th or 8th to the later 3rd century BC.⁹

Against this background, it is idle to speculate about the creation, development or constitution of the famous Pessinuntine 'temple state' in the Phrygian or Lydian period. This is all the more so, since not even the most important historiographical account for the Roman embassy to Pessinus contains any information about a complex society established around the Mother sanctuary. Clear indications of the existence of a monarchical – or rather dyarchical – political structure do not appear prior to the campaign of Cn. Manlius Vulso in 189 BC: when camping on the banks of the Sangarius, he received eunuch priests (Galloi) as ambassadors of the priests (*hiereis*) Attis and Battakes, apparently the leaders of the temple community; they foretold victory to the Romans.¹⁰

Somewhat surprisingly, Polybius' and Livy's narratives of this encounter (189 BC) make no explicit reference to the Roman mission of 205 BC. This silence raises doubts with a growing number of scholars that the quest for the *baitylos* leading as far east as Pessinus may be fictitious.¹¹ In combination with the lack of strong evidence for Pessinus hosting a sanctuary of regional importance by the late 3rd century, many sceptical views have been formulated as of old.¹² The current debate owes much to Erich Gruen, who denies that the search for the Mater Ideaea led the Romans deep into Phrygia. According to Ovid, Attalos got the *baitylos* from the Troad, which matches the version of the Attis myth we find in Catullus; the Roman embassy is supposed to have received the sacred object in Pergamon accordingly.¹³ Helmut Berneder, in turn, has put more weight on the testimony of Varro, who seems to be spelling out that the Roman celebrations of the Megalesia were derived from the sanctuary of the Magna Mater at Pergamon, the Megalesion; Berneder concludes that the royal city was thus the very origin of Roman cult, the *baitylos* includ-

⁹ See Tsatskheladze 2009, especially 707–09; 2013, especially 48–50; 2018.

¹⁰ Polybius 21. 37. 4–7; cf. Livy 38. 18. 7. On the dyarchical structure, see also below.

¹¹ The main narrative is Livy 29. 10. 4–29. 11. 8 for the quest in 205 BC and 29. 14. 5–14 for the return of the embassy in 204 BC. For parallel sources and discussions, see the following notes.

¹² For the wide range of older scholarship, which covered much of the same ground as recent works, see for example, Hansen 1971, 51.

¹³ Gruen 1990, with Ovid *Fast.* 4. 255–272. Cf. Catullus, *carmen* 63, on which see especially Bremmer 2004. Critical of Gruen are Burton 1996 and Leigh 2004, 10, 14. Radical counter-views that defend the trip to Pessinus by claiming a late addition of Trojan themes (such as Marek [2010, 282–83], who ultimately remains undecided) are discussed and rejected by Russo 2015, 140–44.

ed.¹⁴ Building on such arguments, Hugh Bowden has accepted Pergamene origin of the Roman Mother cult; but he adds that the *baitylos* itself may still be from Pessinus, though probably as a gift of the Battakes who visited Rome in 102 BC.¹⁵

While none of the three aforementioned scholars rejects the existence of a Pessinuntine temple state of old age, they question its significance for the 3rd century BC. Their arguments have much to commend them, not only for their many useful observations on the diverse and inconsistent literary traditions, but also for making it clear that the Roman quest for the Mater Idaea, as initiated by the Sibylline Oracle in 205 BC, must clearly have envisaged a destination in the Troad.¹⁶

This said, none of them has explained sufficiently why Livy wrote the account that we have.¹⁷ To start with Bowden, if the Pessinuntine connection should be as late as 102 BC, it would have been surprising for Livy that only the most recent sources told the story, whereas Fabius Pictor, Polybius and many others did not. In addition, no plausible motivation for the later creation of the legend has been put forward, nor for the circumstances under which it gained currency in Rome. Pessinus never became more prestigious than the royal city of Pergamon with its magnificent sanctuaries. It is thus hard to fathom anyone being so bold as to fabricate the embassy's travel to Pessinus in 205 BC.¹⁸ And Strabo seems to be quite clear about the fact that the sanctuary of Pessinus owed its fame to a combination of the transfer of the *baitylos* to Rome with Attalid euergetism. Since his testimony will be referred to repeatedly, it is worthwhile quoting it in full:¹⁹

¹⁴ Berneder 1994, with Varro *De lingua Latina* 6. 3. 15, quoted below, nn. 21–22. Cf. Russo 2015, 145–46 on possible later additions to the tradition.

¹⁵ Bowden 2012, with Diodorus 36. 13 and Plutarch *Marius* 17. 5–6 on 102 BC. More on this below.

¹⁶ For similar conclusions, though without discussion and based on a different bibliography, see John 2016, ch. II 3. 5. 3. The Livian narrative is also accepted by Chrubasik 2013, 99 without suspicion.

¹⁷ Cf. Hansen 1971, 51: 'The tradition that the cult of the Magna Mater was introduced into Rome from Pessinus is, however, so persistent in the ancient sources from the time of Cicero that it cannot be lightly rejected.'

¹⁸ Most recently, Russo (2015, 146–54) has defended the Livian narrative with regard to the consistency of the involvement of the Scipio family, who was steering this whole matter to rally support for taking the Hannibalic War to Africa.

¹⁹ See Strabo 12. 5. 3 (567–568 C): Πέσσινον δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη μέγιστον, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγχάνον, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀγγιδιστίν. οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν δυνάσται τινὲς ἦσαν ἱερωσύνην καρποῦμενοι μεγάλην, νυνὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν αἱ τιμαὶ πολὺ μμεῖνται, τὸ δ' ἐμπόριον συμμένει. κατεσκευάσται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν βασιλέων ἱεροπρεπῶς τὸ τέμενος ναῶ τε καὶ στοαῖς λευκολίθοις. ἐπιφανὲς δ' ἐποίησαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀφίδρυμα ἐνθένδε τῆς θεοῦ μεταπεμψάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς

Pessinus is the greatest of the emporiums in that part of the world, containing a temple of the Mother of the gods, which is an object of great veneration. They call her Agdistis. The priests were in ancient times potentates, I might call them, who reaped the fruits of a great priesthood, but at present the prerogatives of these have been much reduced, although the emporium still endures. The sacred precinct has been built up by the Attalic kings in a manner befitting a holy place, with a sanctuary and also with porticoes of white marble. The Romans made the temple famous when, in accordance with oracles of the Sibyl, they sent for the statue of the goddess there, just as they did in the case of that of Asclepius at Epidaurus. There is also a mountain situated above the city, Dindymon, after which Dindymene was named, just as Cybele was named after Kybela. Nearby, also, flows the Sangarius river; and on this river are the ancient habitations of the Phrygians, of Midas, and of Gordios, who lived even before this time, and of certain others, – habitations which preserve not even traces of cities, but are only villages slightly larger than the others...

The exact time that is reflected in Strabo's account is difficult to establish, not only due to the long writing process that extended over most of the long rule of Augustus and sporadic updates late in his life (he died under Tiberius), but also because some of his sources were no longer up to date when he used them. Much of what he describes reflects the conditions that Pompey encountered in Asia Minor, or left behind on his return to Rome. So while there is a passing remark on the end of Galatian kingship (26 BC) in a previous section and of the conquest of Gorgeus by Deiotaros (41 BC) just following the quotation above, the account of the Galatian territories and of Pessinus for the most part seems to mirror the times around 100 BC.²⁰

The testimony of Varro has also been misunderstood: he nowhere states that the *baitylos* hailed from Pergamon: the text, as it has been transmitted, seems to imply that only the Megalesia came to Rome, and therewith many of the ceremonies related to the Magna Mater.²¹ But even better is the solution offered by Matthew Leigh, according to whom Varro was pointing out that the Magna

Σιβύλλης χρησμούς, καθάπερ καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρος ὑπερκειμένον τῆς πόλεως τὸ Δίνδυμον, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Δινδυμήνη, καθάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυβέλων ἡ Κυβέλη, πλησίον δὲ καὶ ὁ Σαγγάριος ποταμὸς ποιεῖται τὴν ῥύσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν οἰκητήρια, Μίδου καὶ ἐτι πρότερον Γορδίου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὐδ' ἔχνη σώζοντα πόλεων, ἀλλὰ κῶμαι μικρῶ μείζους τῶν ἄλλων, ... (text ed. Radt 2004 III, 494; translation adapted from the Loeb ed.).

²⁰ Strabo 12. 5. 1–3 (566–568 C); with Mitchell 1993, 81: 'Strabo's book 12, which was probably completed in AD 18 or 19, but which draws heavily on sources of the first century BC, and pays little attention to developments that had occurred under Augustus ...'; Syme 1995, 356–63: 'Strabo depends almost wholly on written sources. Not merely compilation, but copying, and hasty at that' (361); Engels 1999, 23–26, 36–40, 45–46.

²¹ Varro *De lingua Latina* 6. 3. 15: *Megalesia dicta a Graecis, quod ex Libris Sibyllinis arcesita ab Attalo rege Pergama, ubi prope murum Megalesion, [in] templum eius deae, unde advecta Romam.*

Mater, on her way to Rome, stationed in the Pergamene Megalesion. Either way, Varro can no longer be seen as representing a different tradition from Livy; they may well have drawn from the same source, together with Strabo.²²

Admittedly, the reason for Attalos to guide the Romans so far away from the Troad or Pergamon cannot be known. An educated guess is, however, at hand: the fact that the Roman quest had been triggered by a shower of heavenly stones in Italy would be a plausible explanation for why an uniconic meteorite was accepted as the embodiment of the Mother.²³ In addition, doubts about the location of the Mater Idaea in eastern Phrygia could have been overcome by the homonymy of Mt Dindymos in the Gallos valley and the Troad. Taking further into account the skill and energy of Attalos as a diplomat and his active role in conveying the acceptance of the Romans as the descendants of the Trojans in Asia Minor, this reconstruction gains more credence. If this interpretation is accepted, it will, first of all, give further strength to the pessimistic view of the size and fame of pre-Attalid Pessinus.²⁴ Secondly, it will form a much better basis for tracing the (geographically diverse) threads of the early versions of the myth, given that neither Agdistis nor Attis are connected with Pessinus in the evidence that predates the 2nd century BC.²⁵ Be this as it may, we shall soon find corroboration for the close involvement of Attalos I with Pessinus (below).²⁶

²² Leigh 2004 reads Varro *De lingua Latina* 6. 3. 15: *Megalesia dicta a Graecis, quod <Magna Mater> ex Libris Sibyllinis arcessita ab Attalo rege Pergama; <i>bi prope murum Megalesion, [in] templum eius deae, unde advecta Romam. Arcessita* sounds indeed odd as predicative to *Megalesia*; one would rather expect a personal or material object; *Pergama* is best understood as accusative plural neuter, indicating direction, which would make it clear that Pergamon was only a temporary host to the goddess, not her origin. If accepted, I wonder if *in* before *templum* should not also be maintained, as an apposition to the accusative of direction *Pergama*.

²³ The theme of 'falling from the sky even' yielded a folk etymology for the name of Pessinus (Ammianus 22. 9. 6–7). And see above, n. 6, on the nature of the *baitylos*.

²⁴ Tsatskheladze 2009, 709–10 even ventured the hypothesis (among other alternatives) 'that the city we know archaeologically today was established by the Attalids, who tried to invent a past for it having taken over a Late Phrygian settlement. This is not an uncommon practice, at least for earlier periods and in the context of Greek colonisation, and it would clear up the apparent discrepancies in Strabo's account.' While I largely agree, I would like to emphasise nevertheless that such a sceptical view is in fact very much in line with Strabo 12. 5. 3 (567–568 C) (quoted above, n. 19), since he does not relate Midas specifically to Pessinus. Moreover, to uphold his hypothesis, Tsatskheladze (2009, 708) would have to reject the testimony ascribed to the 4th-century historiographer Theopompus (*FGH* 115 F 260 = Ammianus 22. 9. 6–7 = *I.Pessinus*, p. 254: T 50), as in fact we should (Coşkun 2018a).

²⁵ If we further exclude the name (or title) of the highest priest of Pessinus as attested since 189 BC, traces for the Gallos valley playing host to the holy sepulchre of Attis are not even available prior to the 1st century BC.

²⁶ See Coşkun 2018a for the full argument with further references. For the possibility of a military alliance between Attalos I with Pessinus, see Hansen 1971, 51–52.

PESSINUS IN THE PERIOD OF THE DIADOCHS

Next to be addressed is the relation between Pessinus and the various Hellenistic powers that may have held a grip on the Sangarius Bend. Traditionally, scholars such as Claerhout and Devreker felt the need to explain how the Phrygian sanctuary, with its complex organisation, was preserved from Phrygian to Hellenistic times.²⁷ Much weight had to be put on Cicero's claim that all rulers from most ancient times onwards had cherished the cult of Cybele.²⁸ Given the polemical context of Cicero's speech, this does not prove more than that there was a widespread belief in Rome around the year 58 BC that the sanctuary had been founded by the Phrygians; since it was still existing in their present day, all intervening rulers are supposed to have respected it.

Cicero thus seems to know of the tradition which names Midas as the founder; he alludes to this with the abstract noun *vetustas*. He skips the Lydian period, but spells out Achaemenid kingship (*Persae*) and then jumps to the Seleucid period (*Syri*). The rules of Alexander (334–323), Antigonos Monophthalmus (†301) and Lysimachus (†281) might be seen as subsumed under *reges omnes qui Europam Asiamque tenuerunt*. However, with a view to the sequence of the elements, Cicero seems to be thinking of the Attalids in the first place – the only kings whose close relation with the Pessinuntine sanctuary was common knowledge in Rome; and they had not only ruled over much of Asia Minor, but also controlled some stretches along the southern coasts of Thrace, thus parts of Europe.

The reconstruction of Seleucid rule over the Gallos valley is not as easy as it might seem: after his victory over Lysimachus at Koroupedion in 281 BC, Seleucus I was not in a position to consolidate his power, and he was assassinated only a few months later when crossing the Hellespont. Before his son Antiochus I came West, revolting principalities – such as Bithynia under Nicomedes I, but also Mithradates I of Pontus – had invited Galatian fighters over from Europe to support their endeavours, probably in 278 and 277 BC respectively.²⁹ The conflicts of those days also involved Antigonos Gonatas, who would soon establish himself as the new king of Macedon; Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, who was trying to carve out as many harbor places as possible along

²⁷ Cf. Verlinde 2010, 112, also pointing to the prestige of the sanctuary as the reason for its persistence.

²⁸ Cicero *De haruspicum responsis* 28: *omnia illa quae vetustas, quae Persae, quae Syri, quae reges omnes qui Europam Asiamque tenuerunt semper summa religione coluerunt, perver-* *teris*. See below for more context.

²⁹ For general overviews, see, for example, Strobel 1996; Errington 2008; Grainger 2010; 2014. For more specialist discussions, see references in subsequent notes.

the southern, western and northern shores of Asia Minor; the so-called Northern League under the lead of Heraclea Pontica; and the principality of Pergamon ruled first by the eunuch Philhetairos and then by his nephew Eumenes I.³⁰

THE ARRIVAL OF THE GALATIANS IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA

What exactly happened in the turbulent years to follow cannot be said with certainty. Most military confrontations that our literary sources report would take place in the coastal areas of western Asia Minor.³¹ The so-called ‘Elephant Battle’ in which king Antiochus defeated the Galatians (certainly only those who were allied with Nicomedes) was fought somewhere in Phrygia or Lydia, probably in 275 BC (rather than 269 BC). According to the traditional narrative, the Galatians were crushed: relegated to north-eastern Phrygia, they fell under the suzerainty of the Seleucids. Such a view is, however, incompatible with the ongoing strength especially of the Galatian Tolistobogioi and their Bithynian ally: both of them seem to have escaped subjection by the Seleucids, as did the Northern League and Pontus. Later sources show Galatians fighting with or against Seleucid kings, not without stressing the high payments they received when allied with them; similar conditions seem to have applied to Pergamon, which emancipated itself from Seleucid rule for the first time in the 260s BC.³²

It would take us too far to try to disentangle the convoluted history of Asia Minor during the 3rd century. But a crucial shortcoming that affects most ancient sources and modern studies is the lack of differentiation between the Galatian tribes, their political affiliations, the areas that they inhabited, roamed through or exacted taxes from. Traditional scholarship presupposes that the Galatians occupied their settlement areas, as we know them from the 1st century onwards, as early as the 270s or 260s BC. Accordingly, this would place the Tolistobogioi in the north-western part of the Anatolian Plateau, around Gordion and Blukion, though extending as far southwards as to (sooner or

³⁰ Verlinde 2010, 117 speculates – a bit wildly – that Philhetairos might have sponsored fortification walls (against a Galatian threat) in the area that was later occupied by the Roman temple.

³¹ Cf. Stähelin 1907; Moraux 1957; Mitchell 1993; Strobel 1996; Campbell 2009; Coşkun 2011a; 2013a.

³² See Coşkun 2012a on the ‘Elephant Victory’, questioning especially the views of Wörle 1975 (who established 269/8 BC as the most commonly accepted date) and Strobel 1996 (who claimed first subjection of the Galatians by the Seleucids and then collaboration with them). For a recent discussion, see also John 2016, ch. II 3.5.2. For payments to the Galatians, see Livy 38. 16. 12–13; Justin 27. 2. 10–12.

later) include Pessinus; the Tektosages had their centre around Ancyra and the Trokmoi settled east of the Halys around Tavion.³³

Such a rigid scheme is, however, highly anachronistic for the 3rd and 2nd centuries. It downplays the dynamics that must have gone along with the much higher number of tribes or mercenary units, about ten of which we are able to name.³⁴ Neither would it do justice to the volatility that tribal chiefdoms, especially if nomadic, tend to bring with them.³⁵ Further on, the term *Galatia* appears to be a late coinage: Polybius, for example, does not yet use it for his account of the campaign of Vulso, where he prefers the personalised notion of *hoi Galatai* (21. 46. 12), unless he is even more specific and mentions localities in the territories of the Tolistobogioi or Tektosages respectively. This habit continues even for the treatment of Ortiagon's attempt at 'uniting the power of all Galatians under himself' (22. 21. 1, 4 ἐπεβάλετο τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν Γαλάτων δυνάσκειαν εἰς αὐτὸν μεταστῆσαι). Only thereafter, the term *Galatia* is used in the context of the invasion of the Pontic troops under Leokritos in 181/80 BC (24. 14. 6; 24. 15. 6). Irrespective of whether this is the terminology of the day or an anachronistic choice by the historiographer (in the second half of the 2nd century BC), or that of his excerptor, we may tentatively accept this as a vague ethno-geographical descriptor; but even so it leaves open which Celtic tribes and settlements were supposed to be included and which not, let alone the question of whether this term was meant to include Pessinus.

Most of all, the geographic indications scattered through the ancient sources for the earlier Hellenistic period are barely reconcilable with the geopolitical division sketched above. On closer inspection, it seems that the Tolistobogioi first dwelled in the area south-west of Bithynia along the northern part of the Sangarius Bend, before gradually expanding to include the area around Gordion by the end of the 3rd century. But still in the days of Cicero and Caesar, the only two known Tolistobogian castles were located north-east of the Sangarius Bend. This said, through much of the 3rd and at least part of the 2nd century BC, their operational zone extended into Aiolia and Ionia.

³³ For example, Stähelin 1907; Hansen 1971, 31; Mitchell 1993; Strobel 1996; 1999; Marek 2010, 282, 266. Körte 1897, 15–16 has, however, convincingly claimed that Pessinus was not yet under Tolistobogian control in 189 BC, since Vulso had never considered it a destination of his campaign, such as Gordion or Ancyra; only afterwards it became Tolistobogian, as seemed to be warranted to Körte by *I. Pessinus* 2; but see below. On Pessinus and the Tolistobogioi, also see below nn. 46, 47 and 49.

³⁴ Livy 38. 16; Strabo 12. 5. 1–3 (566–568 C); Pliny *NH* 5. 146 (all sources are quoted below). It is assumed that Strabo was writing this section in the last decade of the 1st century BC, though probably drawing on sources from the mid-1st century BC; see above, n. 20.

³⁵ See especially Coşkun 2013b on nomadism and Payen 2016, 113 on tribal chiefdoms.

The conquest of parts of the Pontic kingdom was a result of Deiotaros' co-operation with the Romans in the Third Mithradatic War (73–63 BC); under the same Deiotaros, there was finally a close connection with Pessinus, which will be explored below. Extensions into south-eastern Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycaonia and even Pamphylia are reported for king Amyntas (*ca.* 41/37–26 BC).³⁶

But not even Strabo related the sanctuary or the *emporion* of Pessinus to the Tolistobogioi. Instead, he first mentions it when introducing the Tektosages as neighbouring Great Phrygia 'in the area of Pessinus and the (hitherto unidentified) Orkaorkoi'; he then adds that their territory had been contiguous with Lydia,³⁷ which further converges with their proximity to Pessinus. Soon thereafter, in a passage quoted above, Strabo goes on to present further detail on Pessinus, though this report is somewhat disconnected from the description of the Galatian landscape proper. One rather gets the impression that for him the Gallos valley was still an entirely Phrygian site, despite its location in the Galatian-Phrygian periphery. At any rate, we can conclude from other sources that the Tektosages were initially closely attached to the Mithradatic dynasty and may well have settled somewhere along the southern or south-western borders of Pontus. Luckily, we are in a position to contextualise their resettlement to the Ancyra region by combining various fragments that relate to the Seleucid War of Brothers; this can now be dated firmly to 246–242/1 BC.³⁸

Only thereafter, the Tektosages raided or 'taxed' areas in south-eastern Phrygia, as is attested by Livy – though this practice will have depended on the presence or absence of forces controlled by Hellenistic kings or rivalling Galatian tribes. There is further an astonishing confusion in Livy's account: an inconsistency in his account raises doubts as to whether the first hostile

³⁶ Mitchell 1993; Coşkun 2007; 2008a; and see references in following notes.

³⁷ Strabo 12. 5. 2 (567 C) (ed. Radt 2004 III, 492): "ἔχουσι δ' οἱ μὲν Τρόκμοι τὰ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ κράτιστα ὧν νέμονται Γαλάται· φρούρια δ' αὐτοῖς τετεῖχισται τρία· Τάουιόν τε, ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη, ὅπου ὁ τοῦ Διὸς κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς καὶ τέμενος αὐτοῦ ὕσυλον, καὶ Μιθριδατίον, ὃ ἔδωκε Πομπήϊος Βρογίταρῳ τῆς Ποντικῆς βασιλείας ἀφορίσας, τρίτον δὲ Πώσδαλα (ἴπως[.]αλα† Radt), ὅπου τὸν σύλλογον ἐποιήσαντο Πομπήϊός τε καὶ Λευκόλλος, ὃ μὲν ἦκων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διαδοχὴν, ὃ δὲ παραδιδούς τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἀπαίρων ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον. Τρόκμοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔχουσι τὰ μέρη, Τεκτόσαγες δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πεσσινοῦντα καὶ Ὀρκαόρκους· τούτων δ' ἦν φρούριον Ἀγκυρα ὁμώνυμος τῇ πρὸς Λυδίᾳ περὶ Βλαῦδον πολίχνη Φρυγιακῇ. Τολιστοβῳγιοὶ δ' ὁμοροὶ Βιθυνοῖς εἰσι καὶ τῇ Ἐπικτήτῳ καλουμένῃ Φρυγίᾳ· φρούρια δ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τό τε Βλούκιον καὶ τὸ Πήϊον, ὃ τὸ μὲν ἦν βασιλείῳ Δηϊοτάρου. τὸ δὲ γασσοφύλακιον.

³⁸ Apollonios of Aphrodisias *Karika* 17 = Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ankyra = *FGH* 740 F 14 = Tomaschitz 2002, T 55 on the arrival of the Tektosages *ca.* 277 BC (see Coşkun 2011a, 88). Porphyry *FGH* 260 F 32. 6 on the alliance of Mithradates II and 'Galatians' against Seleucus II, who was defeated near Ancyra in 246 BC; the ensuing marriage alliance with Seleucus' sister and the dowry of Phrygia acknowledged the new geopolitical situation: Justin 38. 5. 3 (see Coşkun 2016a, 111 and 2018c, 209 with n. 50 for more detail).

Galatians Manlius Vulso encountered were Tolistobogioi or Tektosages. It is quite possible that the contradiction is due to the geopolitical changes that had occurred over time. The same might be said about an inaccuracy in the testimony of Memnon of Heraclea, which calls the Tektosages 'founders' of Pessinus. All of this seems to indicate that the Galatians neighbouring, oppressing or infiltrating Pessinus in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC were most likely Tektosages.³⁹

The Trokmoi seem to have been allied to the Tolistobogioi throughout most of the 3rd and 2nd centuries, but still maintained their independence. During the first century after their arrival in 278 BC, they may have lived in south-western Paphlagonia, whence they tended to operate in Mysia. They were driven out of their homes by Pharnaces I around 181/80 BC, so that they may have been roaming around somewhere in eastern Phrygia or western Cappadocia. Permanent settlement east of the Halys seems to have been granted to them only by Mithradates VI Eupator towards the end of the 2nd or early in the 1st century BC.⁴⁰

At least one further tribe should be mentioned here: that of the Tosiopoi. We hear of this ethnic solely in the context of the First Mithradatic War: their tetrarch Eporedorix led a conspiracy against Mithradates in Pergamon in 86 BC, and was massacred together with many other Galatian aristocrats. Not least for onomastic reasons, I have suggested elsewhere linking this tribe tentatively with that of Eposognatos, whom Polybius and Livy mention as the fourth Galatian leader in 189 BC, the only one who had remained loyal to Eumenes II in the previous war against Antiochus III. We have no means to locate their territory other than anywhere in eastern Phrygia.⁴¹

³⁹ Livy 38. 16. 12 on the Tektosagen claim on inland Anatolia (quoted in next n.). Livy 38. 18. 3 on Vulso's first encounter with the Tektosages (conflicting with 38. 15. 15 and Polybius 21. 37. 2, naming the Tolistobogioi). Memnon *FGH* 434 F 11. 6f. = Photius 228a = Tomaschitz 2002, T 50.4: surprisingly, he presents the Trokmoi as founders(!) of Ancyra, the Tolistobogioi of Tavion and the Tektosages of Pessinus. If this testimony has any value as a source, one might argue that Memnon drew on an old testimony (Nymphis of Heraclea would be too early though) for the Tektosages, and assigned the remaining cities and tribes randomly.

⁴⁰ Livy 38. 16. 9–12, especially 12 (on 3rd century BC): *Trogmis Hellesponti ora data; Tolistobogii Aeolida atque Ioniam, Tectosages mediterranea Asiae sortiti sunt*. Pliny *NH* 5. 146 (referring to around 200 BC?): *simul dicendum videtur et de Galatia, quae superposita agros maiore ex parte Phrygiae tenet caputque quondam eius Gordium. qui partem eam insedere Gallorum, Tolistobogii et Voturi et Ambitouti vocantur, qui Maeoniae et Paphlagoniae regionum, Trogmi. praetenditur Cappadocia a septentrione et solis ortu, cuius uberrimam partem occupare Tectosages ac Toutobodiaci. et gentes quidem hae, populi vero ac tetrarchiae omnes numero CXCv*. Livy 38. 19–23 on the location of the Trokmoi in 189 BC. Strabo 12. 3. 41 (562 C) and Polybius 24. 14. 6 (on 181/80 BC) on Gaezatorix, see *Amici Populi Romani s.v. Gaezatorix*. See also Coşkun 2011b, 83; 2014b, 130–31; forthcoming a.

⁴¹ Plutarch *De mulierum virtutibus* 23 = *Moralia* 259a; Polybius 21. 7. 1, 8–9 and 21. 20; Livy 38. 18. 1, 18. 3. 10–15. See Coşkun 2011b; *Amici Populi Romani s.vv. Eporedorix, Eposognatos*;

PESSINUS IN-BETWEEN SELEUCID AND ATTALID OVERLORDSHIP

Where does all of this leave the Gallos valley? So far, we are safe to exclude the conclusion that Pessinus ever became a firm part of any Galatian tribal territory in the 3rd century. It may well have suffered occasional raids from one of the Galatian tribes or units acting independently, but most of the time it seems to have been left to itself. It is noteworthy that the belt of firm Seleucid colonies stretching from Apameia Kibotos over Apollonia Mordiaion, Antioch ad Pisidiam and Toryaion to Laodikeia Katakekaumene lies at a far distance south of Pessinus, so that Seleucid presence may have been felt only rarely, if ever in the Gallos valley, especially after the loss of Ancyra to the Tektosages in 246 BC.

Nominally, Great Phrygia was passed on to Mithradates II as a dowry by Seleucus II in about 245 BC.⁴² We do not know how long the king of Pontus – or the Tektosages or even other Galatians in their following – reaped its benefits, when the dissident Antiochus Hierax strengthened Seleucid control over Central Anatolia in the 230s BC, when his nephew Seleucus III Ceraunus reconquered much of this in the mid-220s BC, when the usurper Achaeus the Younger held sway over the same, or when Antiochus III re-established his lordship over Asia Minor by 213 BC. After all, the fact that the economic surplus of the fertile valley was not regularly harvested by an external power may well be the reason for the settlement's growing economic prosperity in the 3rd century: this is reflected in wine imports from the Aegean and enhanced construction activities.⁴³

In the long line of military conflicts that affected Asia Minor during the 3rd century, the fiefdom of Pergamon played a very active role, especially so under Attalos I, who seized the opportunity of Seleucid weakness at the end of the Third Syrian War (246–241 BC). Especially his *koinopragia* with Antiochus III in the War against Achaeus (220–213 BC), followed by the long absence of Antiochus during his *anabasis* to the Eastern satrapies (212–204 BC), may have created the opportunity for him to extend his power, whether by means of conquest or as a protector against the threats of whichever Galatians there were in the area.⁴⁴ The only (widely accepted) evidence for Attalos' influence reaching as far east as Pessinus are the reports on the transfer of the *baitylos* to Rome in 205 BC. If they are accepted as historical, as they should be, it still

John 2016, ch. II 3.5.3. Previously, Eposognatos had been regarded as one of various Tolistobogian rulers (for example, by Hansen 1971, 52; Mitchell 1993, 23; Strobel 1999, 398).

⁴² See above, n. 38.

⁴³ Verlinde 2010, 116.

⁴⁴ Dreyer 2007, 289–91; Chrubasik 2013, 96–104; Grainger 2015a, 41–54.

needs to be clarified whether the sacred object was obtained violently, through political power or diplomatic skill, or at a high financial cost. The latter might at first glance be implied by Strabo, who credits 'the Attalid kings' with 'adorning the sanctuary with a temple and porticoes of white marble, worthy of the holy place'.⁴⁵

However, the mention of 'kings' (in the plural) would at least involve Attalos I and his successor Eumenes II, which is indicative of a longer-going relation. Moreover, Attalid presence in eastern Phrygia is less easy to fathom in the few years to follow 205 BC: first, Philip V of Macedon started exerting pressure on Pergamon and her allies soon after the peace of Phoenike in 205 BC, and when he was defeated by a coalition under the supreme command of T. Quinctius Flamininus in 197 BC, Antiochus III had been back to the Anatolian stage. The latter was much more formidable after his many victories in the East and the conquests of the Ptolemaic possessions in southern Asia Minor and Koile Syria. Attalos I and, as of 197 BC, Eumenes II, were clever enough not to confront the king directly, but to confine themselves to their heartland around Pergamon for the time being. Their chance for a reversal came in 192 BC, when Antiochus III invaded Central Greece. This brought the Romans back into the game. They first defeated the king at the Thermopylai in 191 BC, and once more at Magnesia in 190 BC. In recognition of the outstanding services of the Pergamene fleet and cavalry, Eumenes was thanked by the Romans with territorial gains in the western half of Asia Minor, effectively making him the successor of the Seleucids in that region.

Against this background, there is nothing to support the view that Pessinus belonged to Galatia (however defined), or that it remained fully independent throughout the 3rd century.⁴⁶ The larger historical picture is best compatible with at least an ephemeral Attalid control over the sanctuary around 205 BC. This was likely lost to Antiochus III by 197 BC. But Eumenes regained control of Pessinus as a gift of the Romans in 189 or 188 BC. While it is not

⁴⁵ Strabo 12. 5. 3 (567 C), quoted in full above.

⁴⁶ While the majority of scholars only vaguely claim that Pessinus was part of Galatia (see above, n. 33, and below, nn. 47 and 49), Strobel (2002, 10) specifies that it was independent, though by a grant of the Tolistobogioi after adopting the cult; but Strobel goes on to claim that Attis was a 'tetrarchic prince' as early as the 3rd century BC. Previously, I conceded a possible impact of Pessinus on the tetrarchic structure of the Galatian territory, while still rejecting that the Attis priest ever was a tetrarch himself (Coşkun 2004, 692–93, n. 23). At any rate, Pessinus did not become a part of a Galatian territory prior to 129 BC, if not only in the 1st century BC (see below). Further note that there is neither evidence nor probability for the claim that the titles of tetrarch were imposed on (four, not 12) Galatian rulers prior to 107/102 BC (see Coşkun 2015; forthcoming a; John 2016, ch. II 3.5.3).

mentioned explicitly in Polybius' detailed account of the negotiations in Apameia (41. 43–46), it must have been subsumed under the notion of 'Great Phrygia' (21. 46. 10).⁴⁷

ATTALID LETTERS I:

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE COURT OF PERGAMON AND THE ATTIS OF PESSINUS

Besides the reports on the transfer of the *baitylos* and Strabo's attestation of Attalid construction activities, the strong connection between the community of Pessinus and the Pergamene kings is best attested through a group of letters found (and lost again) in Sivrihisar. As was the common view until very recently, seven letters authored by the king or his brother were carved into stone in the early Principate, and are thus known to us in substantial parts.⁴⁸ Based on the wide-spread misconception that Pessinus effectively belonged to Galatia, it has become common practice to speak of 'secret correspondence', such as if Attis was spying for or conspiring with the enemy of his effective Galatian lord, even trying to break free from him at the first opportunity.⁴⁹ But it should not be forgotten that most areas of Phrygia had not yet developed an epigraphic culture, and the publication of the letters under Augustus or perhaps more likely under Tiberius responded to a need of a later generation without implying that the original recipient had something to conceal.⁵⁰

Admittedly, as in most communications, discretion was advised. At least one included a call for help against Galatian threats or oppression. Such a request would not have surprised anyone in times of open hostilities; more embarrassing was the evasiveness of the response, which left the Pessinuntines without the strong support they had hoped for as long as the initiative did not enjoy the endorsement of the Roman senate. While the king is critical of the

⁴⁷ No Galatian territory was granted to Eumenes II by the Romans, as none of them had been subject to Antiochus III before. For a detailed discussion of the treaty of Apameia, see Payen 2016, 70–124, especially 114–15, although he still follows the general trend of attaching Pessinus to Galatia (150–51).

⁴⁸ The most important publications are Welles 1934, 241–53, nos. 55–61; Virgilio 1981; *I.Pessinous* 1–7. For no. 1, see also Mileta 2010.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Strubbe in *I.Pessinous* p. 1: 'they reveal conspiratorial efforts of the Attalids to gain control over Galatian territory, acting through the high-priest of Pessinous, who was their secret ally'. Cf. Virgilio 1981, 88–93; Boffo 1985, 36–37; 2007, 114; Claerhout and Devreker 2010, 53; Verlinde 2010, 117; Marek 2010, 281: 'der ursprünglich geheime Charakter dieser Korrespondenz'; Ma 2013, 54, 56; Avram and Tsetschladze 2014, 151, 162; Thonemann 2015, 121. On Pessinus as part of the Galatian (Tolistobogian) territory, see above, nn. 33, 46 and 47.

⁵⁰ For a date under Augustus, see *I.Pessinous* p. 1 (Strubbe). More convincingly, Mileta (2010, 110–12) suggests dating the publication of the dossier after AD 22/3, when the privileges held by sanctuaries were revised empire-wide.

superpower's attitude, the Romans would still have liked his decision not to make a major move without consulting with them first (*I.Pessinous* 7).

What do we learn from Letters 2–6 of the relationship between the king (or his brother) and the high priest? For about the years 163 to 156 BC (if at least we accept the traditional dates),⁵¹ they certainly reflect the high degree of respect that Attis enjoyed in the eyes of the king, but, politeness notwithstanding, he clearly appears as subordinate to the king, and not as a diplomatic partner of equal standing. True enough, there is no indication of a Pergamene garrison stationed in the Gallos valley (although Attalid forces conducted military operations in the nearby), nor do we hear about tax obligations to the king or the existence of a local cult for the monarch. None of this, however, impedes the view that Pessinus was part of the Attalid kingdom, as long as we understand that Hellenistic monarchies (and not only those) consisted of heterogeneous networks of interpersonal and institutional relations, giving room to various degrees of local autonomy.⁵²

ATTALID LETTERS II: THE CONQUEST OF PESSINUS (*I.PESSINOUS* 1)

Of particular importance is the first letter, whose opening lines (including the names of the author and the addressee) have been lost:⁵³

... therefore go now as quickly as possible into the country districts and inspect everything well, and then let me know how many more soldiers you will have need of. And if you can take Pessongoi by treachery, write me what is needed, for since the place is sacred, it must be taken by all means. Be well (Year) 34, the 7th day of the last decade of (the month) Gorpiaios.

The 27th Gorpiaios of the 34th year fell into August of either 207 BC, if the letter is ascribed to Attalos I, or 163 BC, if it is by Eumenes II (or his proxy Attalos [II]); no other Attalid king ruled for such a long period. Scholars have widely agreed on the latter date, claiming that Attalos I was less interested in

⁵¹ 163 BC is the traditional date of no. 1, which will be challenged below. 156 BC is mostly regarded as the *terminus ad quem* for no. 7, since a Pergamene embassy was yet to be sent to Rome at the outbreak of the next war with Bithynia (for 158 BC, see Avram and Tsetschladze 2014, 151, n. 2); this appears as a very 'soft' criterion to me, so that I would not really exclude a later date.

⁵² The correspondence between king and priest could be compared to the intensive exchange of letters between Antiochus III and the Greek cities of western Asia Minor (*cf.* Ma 1999).

⁵³ *I.Pessinous* 1: [...]μενους συστή- /σαι [ca. 10] διὸ καὶ νῦν τὴν τα- / χίστην π[αρα-]γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς τό- / 4 πους καὶ ἐπισκεψάμενος πάντα σα- / φῶς διασάφησόν μοι πόσων ἔτι χρει- / αν ἔξεις στρατιωτῶν. Καὶ τοὺς Πες- / σόγγους δὲ ἔαν δύνῃ πραξικοπήσῃ, / 8 γράφε μοι τίνων ἔστί χρεία· ἱεροῦ γὰρ τοῦ / χωρίου ὄντος ληπτέον ἔστί πάντως. / *vacat* Ἐρρῶσο δλ>, Γορπιαίου ζ> ἁπιόν(τος). The present section is a short version of Coşkun 2016c.

eastern expansion, or that otherwise the time gap between the first and the remaining letters would be too long.⁵⁴ But Christian Mileta has recently challenged this view. He argues convincingly that the recipient of the letter does not seem to be Attis, who tends to be addressed in a more friendly fashion elsewhere, but a subordinate official receiving military instructions from his king. The year 207 BC would coincide with the war between Pergamon and Bithynia (208–205 BC), and since both sides are likely to have employed Galatians, there is nothing surprising about part of the war unfolding in the area of Pessinus. Perhaps most importantly, Mileta claims that ‘Pessongoi’ has to be identified with Pessinus, since it is qualified as a ‘holy and fortified place’ that was ‘to be taken by all means’ (ἱεροῦ γὰρ τοῦ / χωρίου ὄντος ληπτέον ἐστὶ πάντως); the form τοὺς Πεσσόγγους may well be a pseudo-ethnic instead of the toponym, caused by a ‘Hörfehler’.⁵⁵ It would indeed be counter-intuitive not to identify the *Pessongoi* with *Pessinus*, all the more so in an epigraphic dossier collecting historical documents of prime interest for the cult place and settlement of Pessinus.

If τοὺς Πεσσόγγους is identified with τὸν Πεσσινοῦντα or τοὺς Πεσσινουντίους, Attis (or any other Pessinuntine priest) is automatically excluded as the recipient. At all events, the instructions about the nature of the place would be all too trivial. Accordingly, the present letter was addressing an Attalid official leading a military operation in the environs of Pessinus. Mileta has suggested exactly this based on the tone of the text. But we can go further: even a royal official would not have needed such superfluous explanations in 163 BC, which is 25 years after Pessinus had become part of the Attalid kingdom following the treaty of Apameia. In contrast, for the year 207 BC, the instructions make perfect sense. Pergamene army units had been dragged ever deeper into barely known Phrygian territory.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ For the traditional chronology, see *OGIS* I, 315, n. 7; Stähelin 1907, 75–76; Welles 1934, 247; Hansen 1971, 126: ‘we can infer that the king of Pergamon furnished troops to the priest for the conquest of religious strongholds’; Virgilio 1981, 37–47; *I.Pessinous* p. 1 (Strubbe).

⁵⁵ Mileta 2013. That his higher date has been discarded by Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014, 151, n. 2 (without explanation) may be due to an additional explanation: allegedly, the Romans’ interest in the *baitylos* meant a further motivation for Attalos to conquer Pessongoi. But the king could not yet know about the divine quest in 207 BC.

⁵⁶ Welles 1934, 247: ‘Pessongoi ... was a city or stronghold, a holy place of Anatolian or of Gallic religion. It is otherwise unknown’; Virgilio 1981, 75–80 for an etymology based on πίσ(σ)υγγος; *I.Pessinous* p. 6 (Strubbe) for an aporetic discussion. Surprising is Zgusta 1984, 487 (para. 1050), according to whom *Pessinus* does not have Anatolian parallels; accordingly, he declares the toponym as Celtic with reference to the name ‘des galatischen Stammes *Pessongoi*’. However, Delamarre (2003; 2007) does not offer any Celtic parallels.

Accordingly, the letter shortly predates the arrival of the Roman ambassadors searching for the Mater Idaea in Asia Minor (205 BC). We thus gain the key to understanding how Attalos I knew about the Pessinuntine sanctuary in 205 BC and why he had easy access to its most sacred object. What we do not know, though, is whether his troops had prevailed by arms or by bribery in 207 BC; nor can we be sure if the Pessinuntines were under control of those Galatians allied with Prusias of Bithynia, supported the Galatians as voluntary allies, or were simply trying to maintain neutrality and independence. The willingness with which the Galloi welcomed Manlius Vulso and Eumenes in 189 BC, in combination with the generous sponsorship displayed by the Attalids shortly thereafter speak against the idea that the take-over had a harmful effect on the relation between Pessinus and Pergamon. Nor should we assume that this affected Attalos' relation with Antiochus III, if he was protecting Pessinus against Galatians.

ATTALID LETTERS III: THE CASE OF ARIBAZOS⁵⁷

In 2003, a fragment of an eighth royal letter was discovered in Pessinus (Ballıhisar). We owe its first publication to Alexandru Avram and Gocha Tsetskhladze (2014), but I here reproduce the slightly improved text and translation of Peter Thonemann (2015):⁵⁸

⁵⁷ For a full version of this section, see Coşkun forthcoming b.

⁵⁸ Changes to the Greek text of the *editio princeps* (Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014) by Thonemann 2015 have been underlined. The (rough) line break of the translation is mine, the comments in brackets are Thonemann's. The two aforementioned editions come with English translation and lavish epigraphic, philological and historical commentaries. Also cf. the edition and comments by Riel 2014.

- Ἀγαθῇ(ι) τύχηι
 Ἀτταλος Σωσθένει καὶ Ἡρωίδει[ι]
 χαίρειν· ἐντυχὼν ἡμῖν Ἀρίβαζος
 4 ἡγεμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Κλεονναίου Γαλατῶ[ν]
 καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀμορίου κατοίκων ἔφησε[ν]
 ἀναφέρεισθαι ἐν τοῖς *vac.* ἐν τῷ Κλεονναε[ίωι]
 [κ]αὶ διὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὄντων πρότερ[ον]
 8 [μ]ισθοφόρων μηθὲν διατετάχθαι τοῖς [δὲ]
 ἡγεμόσιν, φιλάνθρωπον γεγραφέναι ἡμᾶ[ς]
 [ᾧ] δεῖν ἐκάστους ἔ<χε>ιν τῶν τὰς ὑποκάτω
 [ῆ]γεμονίας ἐχόντων, περὶ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μηθε[ν]
 12 [γ]εγονέναι, καὶ ἡξίου ἐπιγραφῆναι στρατηγία[ι]
 [καὶ] τοὺς κλήρους ἐαθῆναι ἔχειν οὐς προκ[α]-
 [τέ]χει (δ)ντας ἡγεμονικούς, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπά[ρ]-
 [χει]ν αὐτοῖ, ᾧ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς συνεχεῶ-
 16 [ρῆ]καμε[ν]· ἐπ(ε)ὶ *vac.* οὐδ' ἐν τε τῇ(ι) ἀ[ρ]χαίαι κ{ι}αὶ νῦν
 [χερίας καὶ πλε]ϊονας [π]αρείσχηται καὶ ἐν[.....]

- With good fortune!
 Attalos to Sosthenes and Heroïdes,
 greetings. Aribazos,
 4 *hegemon* of the Galatians from Kleonnaeion
 and the *katoikoi* from Amorion, has come before us and said
 that he is registered among those at Kleonnaeion,
 8 and that no instructions have been given
 7 concerning the former mercenaries stationed at the locality. (He also says)
 that we (i.e. Attalos) have written an edict (lit. a benefaction) to the *hegemones*
 concerning what (privileges) each of those holding subordinate
hegemoniai should have, but that concerning Aribazos himself, none of these
 things
 12 have in fact come to pass. And Aribazos has requested that he be enrolled in
 a *strategia*
 and that he be permitted to possess the *kleroi* which he already in fact holds
 from
 former times – being, as they are, *hegemonikoi kleroi* – and that he should
 receive all the other (privileges) which we have also granted to the *strategoi*.
 16 And since both in olden times and now
 he has provided [many good services] and ...

This letter was written by Attalos (II) before he bore the royal title. He is not addressing Attis, but two of his officials called Sosthenes and Heroïdes. The letter responds to the request of a certain Aribazos, ‘commander of the Galatians from Kleonnaeion and of the settlers from Amorion’ (ll. 3–5). The latter town is located about 40 km south of Pessinus, the former is here attested for the first time, and it is also the community where Aribazos was registered (l. 6). He had complained to Attalos that he and the other *hegemones* that had been residing in Kleonnaeion previously were not yet benefitting from any privileges due to their rank, although Attalos had already given orders specifying the benefits for lower-ranking officials (ll. 5–12). In order to achieve them, Aribazos requested to be enrolled into a *strategia*, which must be the term for a territorial unit in the Attalid administration that included a number of settlements (l. 12). This way, he also hoped to achieve the confirmation of his former possessions (ll. 13–14). However, in addition, he asked for the privilege of enjoying the benefits due to the rank of *strategos* (ll. 14–16). Unfortunately, the response by Attalos breaks off in the midst of the initial causal clause. But the very fact that this correspondence was published, and perhaps prominently near the Attalid temple of Cybele,⁵⁹ indicates that his request was granted. This view is further supported by the (fragmentary) reference to previous and present services by Aribazos (ll. 16–17).

⁵⁹ Note, however, that the text was carved into a local granular marble, thus not the high-quality stone that should be expected for the main temple and adjacent porticoes which Strabo claims have been of ‘white marble’ (12. 5. 3 [567 C], quoted above).

A major bone of contention is the date of the letter. All editors or commentators prior to Thonemann are inclined to accept a date near that of the previously known letters, thus around 160 BC. A full argument for this has only been developed in the *editio princeps*: *terminus ad quem* is the appointment of Attalos II as co-ruling king (ca. 159 BC) by his brother Eumenes II. In view of the recent settlement of veterans (at least) in Kleonnaeion, a *terminus post quem* is identified with the famous defeat of the Galatians in 166 BC,⁶⁰ though Avram and Tsetskhladze are inclined to accept Virgilio's suggestion that another war was fought with the Galatians in 162–160 BC. It is believed that Attalos II decided the case at the end of this latter conflict, before he travelled to Rome (also in 159 BC) and was promoted co-ruling king.⁶¹

Thonemann, in turn, is now advocating a date around 183 BC. He starts by explaining that Avram and Tsetskhladze's argument presupposes a recent military victory after which Amorium and Pessinus came under Attalid control, only to deny that this could have been after the declaration of Galatian autonomy by the Romans in 166 BC.⁶² Readers will not be surprised that I cannot accept this part of either argument, after having shown that there is no single piece of evidence to prove that Pessinus had belonged to Galatia however defined (at least until the end of the 160s BC – see above). Accordingly, Pessinus was not (or not directly) affected by the declaration of the Galatians' autonomy. Moreover, the notion of 'secrecy' of the royal correspondence has been shown to be a misleading assumption: while difficult diplomatic conditions required discretion, nothing in the texts constitutes treason.

At any rate, Thonemann suggests that we look at a time when Phrygia Epiktetkos and Galatia 'came under firm Attalid control', just after the war of Pergamon with Prusias I of Bithynia and the Tolistobogian Ortiagon, which he dates to around 187–184 BC. However, we know that his successor, most likely Kassinatos, refused to submit to Eumenes and turned to Pharnaces I instead. It is only in 181/80 BC that the anti-Pergamene coalition broke apart and Eumenes was implored for help against Pharnaces. In 180 BC, Pergamon prevailed over Pontus, and the subsequent peace of 179 BC forbade Pharnaces to enter 'Galatian' territory. Uncertain remains the effective status of the Galatians. Two, three or all four of them were forced into an alliance with

⁶⁰ As a first and approximate *terminus a quo*, 185 BC has been suggested as the earliest known year in which Attalos effectively acted with regal powers without yet bearing the title *basileus*.

⁶¹ For a detailed argument, see Avram and Tsetskhladze 2014, 160–63, with reference to Virgilio 1981, 101–02. For a similar date, see *I. Pessinous* p. 1, n. 1; Ma 2013, 64.

⁶² Thonemann 2015, 121, with reference to Polybius 30. 28 and 30. 30. 2. Also see p. 126, where he dates the loss of Attalid control over Pessinus to 168 BC, the year of the renewed Galatian revolt against Pergamon.

Eumenes, though we have no proof of a Pergamene occupation of their territory. Be this as it may, Pessinus and Amorium are not attested to have formed part of any Galatian territory proper, so that we are as yet without a *terminus a quo* other than the peace of Apameia.⁶³

Much more convincingly, Thonemann compares the new document with a letter from Attalos (II) to the *katoikoi* near the sanctuary of Apollo Tarsenos in the Kaikos valley: this was composed in 185 BC, opens with the same epistolary formula and also deals with the fiscal status of veterans.⁶⁴ In a similar vein, Eumenes' correspondence with the settlers of Toryaion is quoted: it had been founded under Antiochus III, but it was Eumenes who then granted *polis* status in or shortly after 188 BC, together with some material benefactions; the latter involved the financial official 'Heroides One-and-a-Half' (Ἡρώιδης ὁ ἡμιόλιος).⁶⁵ We may thus think of a time shortly after the Peace of Apameia (188 BC), no later than 185 BC. I agree with Thonemann that Aribazos, together with the former mercenaries, had previously served under Antiochus III, who rewarded them with land lots; Aribazos was then seeking his privileges to be confirmed, if not enhanced, by the new ruler(s).⁶⁶ The Persian name gives more credence to this reconstruction, since, in combination with time and place, it clearly hints at a recruitment by the Seleucids.⁶⁷ Aribazos' merits of old and young mentioned vaguely in the last readable half-sentence of the inscription most likely refer to military service both under Antiochus III and Eumenes, the latter of which might have benefitted from the Persian's support as early as 189 BC, when the Attalid was escorting Manlius Vulso into Galatia.⁶⁸

Next, Thonemann suggests that the toponym Kleonnaeion is best explained as being derived from an otherwise unknown Macedonian leader **Kleonnas*, in analogy to an early non-royal Macedonian foundation of the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, such as Dokimeion (<*Dokimos*) and Dorylaion (<**Dorylaos*).⁶⁹ Thonemann then goes on to present two bronze coins with the legend

⁶³ Polybius 25. 2, with Heinen 2005 and the context (now also see Avram 2016) and *Amici Populi Romani* s.vv. Kassignatos, Gaizatorix.

⁶⁴ Thonemann 2015, 121–22, with reference to Welles 1934, no. 47 = Chandezon 2003, 191–96, no. 50.

⁶⁵ Ἡρώιδης ὁ ἡμιόλιος is mentioned in *I.Sultan Dağı* 393 l. 44 in or shortly after 188 BC, cf. Jonnes and Ricl 1997, especially 24–26 for more commentary; the same identity is considered likely by Avram and Tsatskhladze 2014, 164, but rejected by Ricl 2014, 143.

⁶⁶ Thonemann 2015, 122. Very differently, Ricl 2014, 114.

⁶⁷ See Avram and Tsatskhladze 2014, 163–64 on further Aribazoi attested as Achaimenid or Seleucid commanders or as citizens of Seleucid colonies in Asia Minor. For further Persian name-bearers at the court of Antiochus III, see Coşkun 2016b.

⁶⁸ Similarly, Thonemann 2015, 122.

⁶⁹ Thonemann 2015, 122, rejecting some of the many suggestions by Avram and Tsatskhladze 2014, 165. Cf. Mitchell forthcoming on those early colonies.

ΛΕΟΝΝΑΙΤΩΝ, which he suggests to restore as [K]ΛΕΟΝΝΑΙΤΩΝ, the ethnic of Kleonnaeion. If correct, we would have proof that the settlement mentioned in the new letter from Pessinus would have enjoyed *polis* status, at least at the time when those coins were issued any time in the 2nd or 1st centuries BC.⁷⁰ However, the major clue of the argument is the assumed location of Kleonnaeion. Thonemann claims that the most likely place to exhibit the Attalid letter granting privileges to Aribazos was his own home town. This view is further supported by the similar iconography of the abovementioned coins and Pessinuntine bronze issues which he dates to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.⁷¹ Thonemann remains uncertain though as to whether *polis* status was granted in the Seleucid period or under Attalid rule; the community of Kleonnaeion is supposed to have been merged with the Pessinuntines under Augustus in 25 BC.⁷²

Following Thonemann's line of argument that emphasises Galatian autonomy (or the lack thereof), Germain Payen reaches the conclusion that 183 BC yields a reasonable *terminus a quo* for the grant of *polis* status, whereas the declaration of Galatian autonomy (166 BC) appears to him as the *terminus ante quem*.⁷³ If Thonemann and Payen are correct, one may, however, wonder why the reinforcement of Galatian autonomy had not resulted in the withdrawal of the military colonists from Kleonnaeion – if at least Pessinus had been part of a Galatian territory before. If, however, the declaration of Galatian independence did not affect Pessinus, the whole argument becomes void. It is thus becoming ever clearer that the question of Attalid (or Seleucid) control of Pessinus does not affect the integrity of a Galatian territory or autonomy.

At any rate, the time when [K]leonnaeion might have been raised to a *polis*, or rather when it was not yet a *polis*, can be specified. The cumbersome expressions for Aribazos' personal status (l. 4 ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἀπὸ Κλεονναείου Γαλατῶ[v]; l. 6 ἀναφέρεισθαι ἐν τοῖς vac. ἐν τῷ Κλεονναε[ίωι]) seems to exclude *polis* status when Aribazos was appealing to Attalos (II).

Another difficulty that arises from Thonemann's reconstruction is the long duration claimed for the cohabitation of the settlers of Kleonnaeion with the Phrygian Pessinuntines. This is hard to believe in the face of Strabo not knowing Kleonnaeion and not even conceding *polis* status to Pessinus.⁷⁴ The scarcity of early- and mid-Hellenistic architectural structures in the accessible material

⁷⁰ Thonemann 2015, 123, with reference to Imhoof-Blumer 1901, 276, no. 1, and *CNG Auction* 64 (24 September 2003), Lot 292.

⁷¹ Thonemann 2015, 125–26.

⁷² Thonemann 2015, 125–26.

⁷³ Payen 2016, 151–53, 224, 280. Note, however the tension on pp. 207–08 where Payen points out that the Romans had not questioned Galatian autonomy in 188 BC.

⁷⁴ Strabo 12. 5. 3 (567–568 C), quoted above.

evidence may still be temporary;⁷⁵ the lack of further epigraphic attestations of the name Kleonnaeion is a bit more troublesome; but, most of all, not a single coin with the full toponym or ethnic exists, nor can any of the Leonnaia coins be traced back to the Gallos valley – and this after a half-century of surveys and excavations in the area. This is an immensely qualified ‘silence’ which carries some weight, all the more so since we have to do with the largest *emporion* of inland Anatolia in the 1st and probably also the 2nd century BC.

I also find that Thonemann is overly optimistic in regards to the old age of the Pessinuntine coinage depicting Cybele or her lion. Datable types were either issued under king Deiotaros, thus not before 64 BC, or belong to imperial Pessinus, starting under Tiberius; positing earlier issue years for undated types is mere speculation.⁷⁶ This notwithstanding, similarity between the coinage should not be denied, and Thonemann’s link of the two Leonnaia coins with the home of Aribazos remains at least a reasonable hypothesis, as long as we look for Kleonnaeion outside of the Gallos valley.⁷⁷

ATTALID LETTERS IV: ATTIS, AIOIORIX AND EUMENES

Perhaps the most difficult problems are posed by Letter 2: in this, the *adelphos* of Attis is called by the Celtic name *Aioiorix* and blamed for carrying away votive offerings (l. 13 [22] ἀνα]θήματα).⁷⁸ How exactly Attis had responded to the incident is unclear: did he only take a firm stand against the theft, demand the return of the stolen objects, or cast a formal judgment?⁷⁹ Also the chain of communication is opaque (ll. 4–7 [13–16]): Eumenes states that Attis had explained the affair to him, after it had been brought to his notice in a separate writing by someone who remains anonymous to us. The king does express his approval of Attis’ action (ll. 6–7 [15–16]), even though it is clear that, when he was writing to Attis, Aioiorix had not yet returned the sacred objects, let alone suffered punishment for his sacrilege (ll. 8–13 [17–22]).

⁷⁵ Cf. also the epilogue of Thonemann 2015, 126.

⁷⁶ The references in Thonemann 2015, 124, n. 38 are quite limited; see final note below for further bibliography.

⁷⁷ That it was not too far away is in turn implied by the location of the inscription.

⁷⁸ *I.Pessinus* 2. 5 (15). There is much discussion on what exactly Aioiorix had stolen (see *I.Pessinus* p. 7). With Virgilio (1981, 97), I prefer to think of precious objects, not of monetary temple funds, let alone the annexation of Pessinuntine land, as Strubbe considers.

⁷⁹ See ll. 16–17: Ὁρθῶς οὖν καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν δι- / ἴστω. Strubbe translates, perhaps correctly: ‘You were absolutely right then in taking a stance against him’, but also see *OGIS* I 315 A n. 11 and Welles 1934, 248 and 327 on διίσταμαι.

While much remains in the dark, it does seem quite certain that, on the one hand, Attis enjoyed some autonomy in ruling the temple and its affairs independently, but, on the other, he ultimately had to report to Eumenes, not to mention his obligation to respond to general expectations that came with his role as guardian of the sanctuary. Bradford Welles has come to a similar conclusion by pointing to the omission of the title *hiereus* in the address: this does not seem to mean that he was not a priest, but rather to imply a 'less independent' position towards the king. This is worthwhile considering – at least as long as it is not conceded that the politer use of the title is meant to imply effective independence.⁸⁰ Perhaps even more telling is the fact that the anonymous letter writer had submitted something like a formal accusation, and Attis was asked by the king to explain or even justify his action, unless he took the initiative himself to come up with an apologetic version. At all events, the king's expression of his approval can be understood as releasing Attis from further investigation.

What Eumenes does not do, though, is taking action against Aioiorix himself, or announcing an according intention. His wishes that the goddess might have protected her priests better or that Aioiorix might come to his mind and return the sacred goods (ll. 8–13 [17–22]) mean moral support for Attis and the sanctuary of Cybele, but they do appear somewhat helpless nevertheless. And yet we should not resort to the explanation that Pessinus belonged to any sort of a Galatian state, which simply runs counter to the evidence, as shown above. While Aioiorix's relation to the sanctuary remains open, there is nothing to indicate that he had legal authority over the goddess's assets. What better alternatives can be offered then? As demonstrated above, with Letter 1 now assigned to 207 BC, we have a much wider time frame to date the preserved correspondence between Eumenes and Attis. But how far may we go up?

The first period of Attalid control of the sanctuary around 205 BC is excluded by the kingship of Eumenes. Any time since the start of the second phase of Pergamene power over eastern Phrygia, which is after the peace of Apameia (188 BC), is in principle possible. If we opt for a time before Eumenes' decisive campaign against Pharnaces I in 180 BC, inactivity might be explained by his limited means as long as the wars with the Galatians and Prusias I or Pharnaces I respectively were raging. From 180 BC on, his rule over the area remained uncontested until the Galatian revolt in 168 BC, and he even had influence on the Tolistobogioi and Trokmoi, if not also the Tektosages and Tosiopoi, so that this might appear to be the least likely period. More attractive is the time when fights with the Galatians were renewed. However, given the determined military

⁸⁰ Welles 1934, no. 56.

response by Eumenes, one might expect a more optimistic outlook. A time after the declaration of Galatian autonomy by the Romans (166 BC) would have the advantage of explaining why Eumenes did not consider invading Aioiorix's territory an option.

But certainty cannot be achieved. In fact, can we really be sure that the king wanted to get more involved into the matter, or that action from his part was expected? At least the text that we have does not imply that Attis had requested the king's intervention, nor is it obvious that the more mysterious first letter had done so. As far as I see, no firm decision can be made – or should be made without better understanding what was at stake.

The same holds true for the next questions: who was Aioiorix, and what does this tell us about Attis, his 'brother', and further for the organisation or control of the temple? The common view is to understand 'brother' literally, and thus to regard Attis (whose birth name escapes us) and Aioiorix as sons of a Galatian dynastic family. The latter name, which might tentatively be translated as 'King of Eternity' (or 'King of the World', or 'Long-Living King')⁸¹ is indeed fitting for the scion of a ruler, if not for an effective dynast. Which implication does this have for the Pessinuntine priesthood? Many scholars take this as an early example illustrating how Galatians and Phrygians had blended into a new, composite ethnic, sharing their land, cults and onomastic traditions.⁸² But it is quite unlikely that a Phrygian might have chosen a Celtic name for himself or his son.⁸³ Others have advocated the idea that the Galatians had conquered access to the priesthood, whether only after the campaign of Vulso (since no solidarity was shown with their fellow Galatians by Attis and Battakes) or possibly even earlier (since co-operation with Pergamon is attested before and after 189 BC).

⁸¹ Cf. Delamarre 2003, 36, 260–61. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the names of Galatian rulers is limited, but the abovementioned Trokmian(?) *Gaezato-rix* shares the second onomastic element, which re-occurs in the 1st century with the Tosiopan(?) *Adiato-rix* (see *Amici Populi Romani* s.vv. Gaizatorix, Adiatorix for details). The root *rix* is apparently frequent, whereas *aio(io)-* not yet attested in Hellenistic Galatia (but see Stähelin 1907, 110 on *Aiata* Matrona of imperial date), the suggestion of a genealogical link would thus be hazardous. Mommsen (*apud OGIS* I 315 A n. 11) has suggested to read *Aio{io}rix*.

⁸² Thus discussed but rejected by Stähelin 1907, 77–78, and put forward anew, with a strong focus on Gordion, by Strobel 2002, especially 18–24, but see the rejection by Coşkun (2012b, 53, 61–62; 2014b). For balanced discussions of the Galatians embracing local cults, see Darbyshire *et al.* 2000; Hofeneder 2004; John 2016, ch. II 3.5.3.

⁸³ Thus, for example, Strubbe in *I.Pessinous* p. 7. More recent onomastic research shows that, for much of the Hellenistic period, name choices continued to be dominated by genealogical links, before adaptations to Greek or Latin names slowly became a trend in the first centuries BC and AD (Coşkun 2012b; 2013c).

The latter view is often combined with an understanding that a compromise was negotiated to regulate access to the Pessinuntine priesthoods for both the Phrygian and the Galatian elites. On the one hand, a similar scheme is attested for the late Julio-Claudian and early Flavian period, where there seem to have been five Phrygian and five Galatian priests.⁸⁴ In addition, the dyarchic structure, namely the joint rule by Attis and Battakes as attested for 189 BC, might be read in a similar way,⁸⁵ if only it existed permanently. Such a reconstruction would realistically allow for occasional rifts among the Phrygians and the Galatians of Pessinus, and Virgilio has gone the farthest in delineating such a conflict based on the present letter;⁸⁶ but one of his premises has been discarded above on firm grounds: Letter 1 (on the planned conquest of *Pessongoi*) did not form part of the immediate context of the conflict with Aioiorix,⁸⁷ but dates to 207 BC.

On balance, I think that we ought not to put so much argumentative weight on one fragmentary and opaque inscription. Even if I am ready to accept that Attis may well have been Aioiorix's biological brother⁸⁸ and renounce speculating that their parents might have been a Phrygian dynast and a Galatian princess, many questions remain that have not yet been addressed, let alone answered in a satisfactory way.

1) How can we be sure that the double-headed structure of the sanctuary, which is exclusively attested for 189 BC, was a continuous feature throughout

⁸⁴ Ti. Claudius Heras and Ti. Claudius Attis Deiotaros, son of Heras: *I.Pessinous* 17–18 = *OGIS* II 540–541. Strubbe dates these inscriptions to the late 2nd century AD, but most scholars would now agree on a Flavian date; see the bibliography in Coşkun 2013a, 174, n. 23. It is often believed that this scheme was introduced under Augustus, see, for example, Strobel 2000, 659–60 and Boffo 2007, 117–18 (even claiming Roman citizenship for all of them at this early stage, which runs counter to Roman citizenship policy in Galatia though: Coşkun 2013c, 87–98). In *I.Pessinous* p. 33, Strubbe suggests a date under Claudius. But this scheme took perhaps as long as the reign of Nero to be designed (see Coşkun 2014, 45–47 and forthcoming c on the foundation of the Galatian *koinon*).

⁸⁵ Thus Stähelin 1907, 78–79.

⁸⁶ Virgilio 1981, 93–97, claiming that the Anonymous was of the opposing Phrygian faction, apparently reproaching Attis of connivance. Less convincingly, Welles (1934, 248) suggests that the first letter had still been passed on to Eumenes by Attis. More cautiously, in *I.Pessinous* pp. 6–7, Strubbe states: 'We do not know who had drawn up the letter of complaint. ... Galatians had gained access to the priesthood of Cybele.'

⁸⁷ Thus, however, still Strubbe in *I.Pessinous* p. 4 (cf. *OGIS* I 315 A n. 1), who combines Letters 1 and 2 into one inscription. Cf. also Stähelin 1907, 78, who regards the campaign of Attalos (II) attested in Letter 3 as the response to Aioiorix's wrongdoing.

⁸⁸ I previously preferred a metaphorical or diplomatic reading of 'brother' as peers among rulers. But it is difficult to produce a contemporary parallel. In addition, I acknowledge that Aioiorix's deed has done more damage to Attis indirectly because of his very relation to Aioiorix (resulting in the reproach of inadequate response) than directly (by suffering material damage).

the Hellenistic period?⁸⁹ And even if so, what allows us to claim ethnic parity as a persistent pattern? For example, even if we concede that the anonymous writer of the first letter to Eumenes regarding Aioiorix's theft was the Battakes, could we be sure of his Phrygian descent? At all events, our sources for the years 102 and 58–56 BC (on which see below) rather seem to presuppose that there was only one ruling priest. Moreover, the fact that the royal correspondence seems to be directed only to Attis and never to Battakes or two priests at a time, further speaks against parity with a Battakes for the years around 160 BC.

2) How would Galatian dynasts have responded to the requirement of castration? It is only since the days of Nero that castration is attested as no longer required – at least for the Galatian priests of Cybele. This is implied in a father and his son having served successively, and also in their Roman citizenship status, which is reflected in their naming formula.⁹⁰ One may add that the five Galatian priests of imperial times were always ranked below the five Phrygians: since this seems to turn the socio-political hierarchy upside down, I venture the suggestion that some duties within the cult were reserved for those priests who continued practicing self-castration as a sacrifice to the goddess. Although recently contested, I see no reason not to believe that, throughout the Hellenistic period, a Gallos, Battakes or Attis from Pessinus was expected to be castrated. The reports on Battakes' visit to Rome in 102 BC appear to be based on this assumption.⁹¹

⁸⁹ The double-headed structure is accepted, for example, by Stähelin 1907, 78–79; Thomas 1984, 1984: 'two priest kings'. Differently, Bremmer (2004, 554–55) suggests that the one leading castrate priest of Pessinus before the arrival of the Attis myth around 300 BC had been called Gallos. Bowden (2012, 4) regards Attis as Battakes' superior, whereas Strobel (2000, 658) believes that the monarch was either called Attis or Battakes. Mitchell (1993 I, 48) remains undecided as to whether the varying impressions are due to effective historical change or the lacunose nature of our sources.

⁹⁰ *I. Pessinus* 17–18 (see above, n. 84). Another Deiotaros, who issued coinage for the sanctuary in Pessinus, may well have been their ancestor (Coşkun 2007, 406–12). Roman citizenship was incompatible with castration, which we know precisely from the context of the cult for Magna Mater (see Thomas 1984, 1510–12, 1526; Bremmer 2004, 562 with nn. 170–171). On the mythical aetiology of castration, see Roller 1999, 252–54, 258; on the Anatolian background, see Bremmer 2004, 557; on the Roman re-interpretation as punishment, see Harrison 2004, 530; also Thomas 1984, 1504–12.

⁹¹ Pace Thomas 1984, 1511 and Bowden 2012, 254; 258, also considering that castration of Attis ended with the Galatian take-over of the sanctuary by the time of Aioiorix's brother. Admittedly, the reports on Battakes do not qualify him explicitly as a castrate, but the Roman people treated him with contempt due to the 'strangeness' of his clothing (Diodorus 36. 13) and his likeness with a begging priest (Plutarch *Marius* 17); the former may imply gender transgression, the latter equation with a Gallos despite his royal garb. On the Battakes of 102 BC, see below.

3) How or by whom was an Attis (or Battakes) appointed? We do not know of a priestly dynasty of Pessinus. We only have Cicero as witness for the fact that, by the 1st century, the Tolistobogian tetrarch (and temporarily his Trokmian rival) had acquired the right to appoint the ruling priest of Pessinus (see below). His words do not imply that a ruler coveted the priesthood for himself or used it as a *secondogenitura*; we rather learn about the prestige and economic benefits that came with the privilege of appointment. Ultimately, it was common practice amongst Hellenistic kings to choose the priests of temple states under their control,⁹² and as such it appears to me that the Tolistobogioi had eventually become the successors to the Attalids, who, in turn, are likely to have exercised a right of appointment as of 207 BC or as of 188 BC.

Whatever the historical context, the most likely is that Eumenes himself had appointed the brother of Aioiorix as Attis priest. If this was a short-lived experiment, perhaps even with singular concessions regarding castration, or became a trend setter cannot be said, since the next attestation of the appointment of Galatian Attis priests dates to the late Julio-Claudian period. The only thing we can be confident about is that Pessinus continued to be part of the Attalid kingdom until its dissolution in 133/129 BC.

PESSINUS UNDER GALATIAN CONTROL AFTER THE END OF THE ATTALID DYNASTY

We are left once more in the dark as to the fate of Pessinus during the final phase of the Attalid kingdom. Its mere geographical location would speak in favour of an attachment to Aristonikos (Eumenes III) after the death of Attalos III in 133 BC, since he also enjoyed the support of the military settlers in Phrygia. However, by 129 BC, resistance to Rome had been crushed, also thanks to a large pro-Roman alliance consisting of Greek cities and Anatolian rulers. Although the Romans established their first tax-paying province in Asia Minor, they generously shared the spoils with their allies, most famously with Mithradates V Euergetes of Pontus, who was rewarded with Phrygia Epiktetos. Did this include the Gallos valley (which is normally considered to border Great Phrygia), or was he at least granted the right to appoint the Attis priest?

⁹² See Olshausen 1987, 87, 196, etc. for the Mithradatids; *Amici Populi Romani* s.vv. Archelaos, Dyteutos, Kleon for appointments in Comana Pontica by Pompey or Augustus; and see below on the Galatians. For a general discussion of the ambivalent status of being autonomous and part of a royal (or civic) administration, see Boffo 2007.

Even if so, would the latter claim have been lost after his death (120 BC), when Rome took back the Phrygian territory and attached it to the province of Asia?

Since we do not hear that the senate ever concerned itself with the appointment of priests in Pessinus, it is more plausible that the Romans had chosen someone else as overlord of the temple around 129 BC. The most likely candidate would be one of the Galatian tribes who had joined the Roman coalition and deserved a reward as well. While positive evidence is missing entirely, we may at least gather some hints to support the view that either the Tektosages or the Trokmoi might have been awarded this privilege.⁹³

The next we hear about Pessinus is the aforementioned visit of the Battakes in Rome in 102 BC. Once again, much about his visit remains unclear. We cannot say for sure whether he was the monarch of Pessinus, as one would be inclined to conclude if solely drawing on the two narrative sources, Diodorus Siculus (36. 13) and Plutarch (*Marius* 17). However, a viable, though less likely alternative is that he visited Rome only as the deputy of Attis, perhaps because the latter's presence was indispensable for running the cult of Cybele.

There is much speculation about the concerns that Battakes brought before the senate – other than foretelling victory against the Cimbri and Teutones. But Diodorus specifies that the Romans were asked to purify the sanctuary. This would imply wrongdoing by some Romans, not by Mithradates VI or any Galatians. Violation of the temple's immunity by tax collectors is thus a good guess, all the more so since the wars against Jugurtha in Africa and the Germanic tribes in Italy and Gaul had exhausted the coffers. The Romans were thus addressed as wrongdoers, but also as the hegemonial power that might fix the problem.⁹⁴

If the Tektosages or Trokmoi had recently been the official protectors of the temple state, their inactivity could be explained with violent rivalries among Galatian tetrarchs and a military occupation by Mithradates VI; both challenges are attested around those years.⁹⁵ Under such conditions, any Galatian grip on Pessinus would have been lost. In the meantime, however, the Trokmoi were developing close ties to Mithradates. Most famously, Adobogiona, the sister of the tetrarch Brogitaros, was his mistress for a while, probably when

⁹³ For the Tektosages in the 3rd and early 2nd centuries, see above; for the Trokmoi, see below.

⁹⁴ On the death of the tetrarchs Sinatos and Sinorix, see Plutarch *Moralia* 257e–258f, 768; Hofeneder 2004. On the mission of Battakes, see Bowden 2012 (though with the caveat expressed above).

⁹⁵ On the occupation of Galatia, see Justin 37. 4. 6 with Ballesteros Pastor 1996, 56–60; Coşkun 2015, 170; forthcoming a.

he had his court in Pergamon during the First Mithradatic War (89/88–84 BC). Although she soon married Menodotos, one of the leading citizens of Pergamon, her son was called Mithradates in honour of the king.⁹⁶

While these are established facts, I have recently ventured the suggestion that it was the same Mithradates who had granted the Trokmoi the territory within the Halys Bend around Tavion (see above). It is not unlikely that the control of Pessinus was passed on to them as well, either during the Pontic occupation of Galatia 107/102 BC or when Mithradates started the war against most Galatians in 86 BC. The Tolistobogian Deiotaros is attested as the leader of the resistance, whereas the Trokmoi seem to have remained loyal to the king for another few years. Ultimately, they changed sides, too, and a marriage between Deiotaros' daughter Adobogiona and Brogitaros sealed the new alliance sometime around 80 BC. It was also thanks to the vigour of the tetrarch Deiotaros that Mithradates failed to occupy Galatia and Phrygia during the Third Mithradatic War (73–63 BC). For the later years of this last war with Mithradates, we eventually have positive evidence for Deiotaros using the economic hub of Pessinus, possibly even issuing his own coinage there.⁹⁷ Towards the end of the war, Pompey raised Deiotaros to the position of a *rex amicus populi Romani*, bestowing on him the rule over major parts of the dissolved Pontic kingdom.⁹⁸

But not much later, a violent conflict with his rival Brogitaros broke out: in 58 BC, the notorious tribune of the plebs Publius Clodius had the assembly of the Roman people transfer the rights over Pessinus to Brogitaros. Deiotaros abided with the new terms, as long as his friend and supporter Pompey was in a weak position back in Rome, even allowing Brogitaros to appoint a new priest. But, in 56 BC, Clodius had been silenced by Caesar and Pompey was resuming control of the political scene. At the first indications of such a change, Deiotaros did not hesitate to take back Pessinus, probably returning the previous priest at the expense of Brogitaros' candidate.⁹⁹

Our information on this episode is entirely confined to the testimony of Cicero, who was as much the arch-enemy of Clodius as a friend of Deiotaros. His speeches that mention the conflict mostly date within a year after his return from exile, which had been forced upon him by the same Clodius during his

⁹⁶ Heinen 1994; Ballesteros Pastor 2008; Coşkun forthcoming a.

⁹⁷ See below on Plutarch *Cato minor* 12. 2–3, 15. 1–3, and on Deiotaros' coinage.

⁹⁸ On Deiotaros' political biography, see Syme 1995; Coşkun 2005; 2007; John 2016, ch. II 3.5.4; also cf. Stähelin 1907; Mitchell 1993; Coşkun 2008a.

⁹⁹ For a fuller reconsideration of the sources and the events, see Coşkun forthcoming b. The view that Brogitaros became the Cybele priest of Pessinus himself (thus Klebs 1897, 887; Rawson 1973, 121) is mistaken, see the source quotations below.

turbulent tribunate in 58 BC.¹⁰⁰ The most detailed source is a lampoon against Clodius, which is part of *De haruspicum responsis*:¹⁰¹

But why do I wonder? when, having taken a bribe, you ravaged Pessinus itself, the habitation and home of the Mother of the Gods, and sold to Brogitaros – a fellow half Gaul, half Greek, a profligate and impious man, whose agents, while you were tribune, used to pay you the money for your share of the work in the temple of Castor – the whole of that place and the temple; when you dragged the priest from the very altar and cushion of the goddess; when you perverted those omens which all antiquity, which Persians, and Syrians, and all kings who have ever reigned in Europe and Asia have always venerated with the greatest piety; ...

And when Deiotaros was protecting this temple in the most holy manner with the deepest feelings of religion – Deiotaros, of all allies the most faithful to this empire and the most devoted to our name – you gave it to Brogitaros as I have said before, having sold it to him for a sum of money. And yet you order this Deiotaros who has been repeatedly declared by the senate worthy of the name of king and adorned with the testimony of many most illustrious generals in his favour, to be styled king together with Brogitaros. But one of them has been called king by the decision of the senate through my instrumentality. Brogitaros has been called king by you for money. ... For there are many royal qualities in Deiotaros; this was the most royal of all, ... that he recovered Pessinus, which had been impiously violated by you and stripped of its priest and its sacrifices, in order to maintain it in its accustomed religion; that he does not suffer the ceremonies which have been received as handed down from the most remote antiquity, to be polluted by Brogitaros; and that he prefers to let his son-in-law be deprived of your liberality, rather than to allow that temple to lose the ancient reverence due to its religious character.

For the most part, scholars have been ready to buy the story as presented by Cicero, understanding the events in Central Anatolia as mere extensions of

¹⁰⁰ Cicero *De haruspicum responsis* 28–29 (56 BC, quoted below). Also see Cicero *Pro Sesto* 56 (56 BC); *Pro domo sua* 60 and 129 (57 BC).

¹⁰¹ Cicero *De haruspicum responsis*. 28–29: *Sed quid ego id admiror? qui accepta pecunia Pessinuntem ipsum, sedem domiciliumque Matris Deorum, vastaris, et Brogitaro Gallograeco, impuro homini ac nefario, cuius legati te tribuno dividere in aede Castoris tuis operis nummos solebant, totum illum locum fanumque vendideris, sacerdotem ab ipsis aris pulvinaribusque detraxeris, omnia illa quae vetustas, quae Persae, quae Syri, quae reges omnes qui Europam Asiamque tenuerunt semper summa religione coluerunt, perverteris; ... / quod cum Deiotarus religione sua castissime tueretur, quem unum habemus in orbe terrarum fidelissimum huic imperio atque amantissimum nostri nominis, Brogitaro, ut ante dixi, addictum pecunia tradidisti. atque hunc tamen Deiotarus saepe a senatu regali nomine dignum existimatum, clarissimorum imperatorum testimoniis ornatum, tu etiam regem appellari cum Brogitaro iubes. sed alter est rex iudicio senatus per nos, pecunia Brogitarus per te appellatus. ... nam, cum multa regia sunt in Deiotaro, tum illa maxime, ... quod Pessinuntem per scelus a te violatum et sacerdote sacrisque spoliatum recipiavit, ut in pristina religione servaret, quod caerimonias ab omni vetustate acceptas a Brogitaro pollui non sinit, mavultque generum suum munere tuo quam illud fanum antiquitate religionis carere* (translation adapted from C.D. Yonge).

Roman Republican strife, with Clodius as the evil instigator and Brogitaros as the vile handyman.¹⁰² One may wonder, however, if the *populus Romanus* had indeed transferred the privileges over Pessinus from Deiotaros, the most highly appreciated among all allies, to the barely known rival Brogitaros, unless the latter had a better claim than payments to Clodius. I see a high plausibility that Brogitaros or his predecessor had enjoyed the control of Pessinus previously, possibly as a gift from Mithradates V Euergetes or more likely from Eupator. The sacrilege and a-religiosity that Cicero reproaches Clodius and Brogitaros of would then consist in no more than the disruptions caused by the expulsion of the ruling priest, a man chosen by Deiotaros.

Also remarkable is what Cicero does *not* say: Deiotaros' claim over Pessinus is *not* justified as a gift of Pompey or a grant by the senate.¹⁰³ To fill this gap, Cicero at least points out that Deiotaros' royal title had been decreed by the senate with the endorsement of Cicero (*est rex iudicio senatus per nos*). This is contrasted with the transfer of the power over Pessinus to Brogitaros *per scelus* due to Clodius' greed (*pecunia ... pecunia ... per syngrapham*). Seduced by this rhetoric, the average Roman citizen would somehow have taken for granted that Deiotaros, as the only remaining king in Central Anatolia, would have enjoyed the privilege over the neighbouring sanctuary. Modern scholars, in turn, have likely been misguided by the general assumption that Pessinus had been part of the Tolistobogian territory for about one or two centuries – an assumption though that has been shown to be fragile throughout this chapter on Hellenistic Pessinus. As has been documented above, the evidence for the 3rd and 2nd centuries implies either rivalling or complementary authority of the Attalids and the Tektosages.

Thanks to Cicero, we can now add some further indirect proof that the Tolistobogioi did not have any close links to Pessinus until the second-last generation of the Hellenistic age. Notably, Deiotaros could not base his claim on his father's or ancestors' influence. Accordingly, Clodius and Brogitaros had not infringed on any certified or inherited rights that Deiotaros enjoyed, but only on a *fait accompli*. It appears that the need for appointing a successor to a deceased Attis arose after Pompey had left Asia Minor in 62 BC, and Deiotaros – now being the only king in the vicinity of Pessinus and the most powerful individual of Asia Minor – seized the opportunity. Controlling Pessinus from the north and having the Tektosages (whose tetrarch was another of

¹⁰² See, for example, Rawson 1973, 114, 121; Thomas 1984, 1504; Syme 1995, 132. For further details, especially on Clodius' involvement with Asia Minor and his political activities, see *Amici Populi Romani* s.v. Brogitaros.

¹⁰³ Pompeius: Strabo 12. 3. 13 (547 C). Senate: Cicero *De divinatione* 2. 79; *Philippica* 2. 94; [Caesar] *De bello Alexandrino* 67. 1.

his sons-in-law) as a buffer from the east, but, most of all, having the effective protection of Pompey and Cicero back in the centre of power, Deiotaros could easily ignore the privilege of Brogitaros, who resided east of the Halys.

As a result, we can safely conclude that the Tolistobogian prerogative over Pessinus had been usurped under Deiotaros in the 60s BC. This, then, is the starting point that led to a gradual amalgamation of the Tolistobogians and the Phrygians of Pessinus, which would come into effect only later under Roman Imperial rule.

TOWARDS THE URBAN CENTRE OF THE TOLISTOBOGIOI UNDER ROMAN PROVINCIAL RULE

It is hard to tell how the organisation of the temple and the economy of the *emporion* of Pessinus developed under Tolistobogian control. We are in no position to decide on the ethnicity of the chief priest, or the number and titles of the dignitaries, or how the sanctuary, the estates of the Gallos valley or the market place of Pessinus generated income for the treasury of Deiotaros and his successors.¹⁰⁴ We have at least one passing remark by Plutarch showing that Deiotaros used Pessinus for his business transactions (here: an attempted bribery of Cato the Younger).¹⁰⁵ And, in one of his letters sent from his proconsulship in Cilicia (51/50 BC), Cicero reports that he had met the Galatian nobleman Adiatrix; the latter was on his way to Pessinus, where he was to meet with representatives of Marcus Caelius for business purposes.¹⁰⁶

Our extant literary sources lamentably do not mention Pessinus through the Roman Civil Wars (49–30 BC), under the rule of the last king of Galatia, Amyntas (41/37–26 BC), or in the context of Augustus imposing provincial rule in 25 BC. The next time we hear of Pessinus is in the priest inscriptions from the temple of Theos Sebastos and Thea Rhome in Ancyra, which specifies that Pessinus was included into the Imperial cult at Ancyra from early

¹⁰⁴ For a revision of the traditionally accepted line of succession, see the discussions in *Amici Populi Romani* s.vv. Deiotaros II, Brigatos, Kastor (III), Amyntas (I).

¹⁰⁵ Plutarch *Cato minor* 12. 2–3, 15. 1–3.

¹⁰⁶ Cicero *Epistulae ad familiares* 2. 12. 2 = 95 ed. Shackleton Bailey. As a result of my genealogical studies, I suggest identifying him with the son of Domnekleios, who, in the turbulent context of the Roman civil war, was denied to succeed to his father as tetrarch of the Tosioi (see *Amici Populi Romani* s.vv. Adiatrix, Domnekleios). His business in Pessinus is not indicative of any priestly role there, *pace* Devreker 1984a, 17–18 and Syme 1995, 132; nor does it qualify Adiatrix as a tetrarch residing in Pessinus (under king Deiotaros), as suggested by Claerhout and Devreker 2008, 33.

on. It is the most important document for the history of the early Roman province, detailing the list of the annual Sebastos priests, their gifts to the Galatian community, and the names of the Roman governors under which they served.

It further contains information on the construction of the temple itself. While its beginning was previously dated to around AD 14, latest research has revealed that this was in fact the year of the inauguration. The same year also saw the first part of the inscription carved into the left *anta* of the Sebasteion. This has led to a complete revision of the early chronology of the imperial cult in Ancyra. As it now appears, the first priest was appointed in 5 BC and the construction of the temple was begun in 2/1 BC. Pessinus is mentioned for the first time in the entry to year AD 8, when a copy of the divine image of Augustus was sent from Ancyra to Pessinus and celebrations were held in both cities. This seems to mark the beginning of a filial cult in Pessinus. And – more than that – I have argued in some detail elsewhere that this might also coincide with the year in which Pessinus was acknowledged as an independent *polis*. In this, two distinct ethnic communities, one Phrygian and one Galatian, shared the cults of Cybele and Theos Sebastos.¹⁰⁷

Based on the revised chronology of the inscription from Ancyra, the inauguration of the Sebastos cult in Pessinus is thus no longer dated to the late Tiberian period (AD 30s).¹⁰⁸ The new time grid aligns well with the reconsideration of the archaeological evidence for the main temple of Roman Pessinus by Angelo Verlinde, who now claims a late Augustan date.¹⁰⁹ Verlinde continues to uphold the traditional view that this temple was a Sebasteion,¹¹⁰ whereas I share the doubts expressed by Barbara Burrell. In fact, I would rather suggest to see the Roman temple dedicated to Cybele Agdistis, though admitting that Theos Sebastos became a *synnaos theos* perhaps from as early on as AD 8, whether this predates or coincides with the inauguration of the Roman temple of Pessinus.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Coşkun 2014a; cf. 2008a; 2008b; 2009a. This new chronology has now been widely accepted (see Kadioğlu, Görkay and Mitchell 2011, 26–30; *I. Ankara* I, no. 2; Coşkun 2012c; Verlinde 2015a, 49; John 2016, ch. II 4.6).

¹⁰⁸ Thus, for example, Strubbe in *I. Pessinous* pp. 278–79; Claerhout and Devreker 2008, 80.

¹⁰⁹ Verlinde 2015a; 2015b.

¹¹⁰ See also Waelkens 1986, 55–56; Mitchell 1993, 103; Strubbe 2006, 108–15; Claerhout and Devreker 2008, 80.

¹¹¹ Burrell 2004, 170–73; Coşkun 2009a, 184; 2013a; forthcoming b.

EPILOGUE

More excavations in Pessinus are needed to shed brighter light on the history of one of the most important sites of inland Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period. However, in the meantime, numismatic research is likely to permit us a better understanding especially of the transition from the temple state under Tolistobogian kingship to the city under early Imperial Rome. Many new coin finds have been made recently, coins known for a long time have finally been catalogued and specialist studies on the numismatic evidence been published. As far as I see, however, much of this work was done in isolation and with very limited bibliographies. Access to the full range of the numismatic evidence, in combination with the many arguments presented most recently will allow us to test or revise the many views expressed so far and to develop new and hopefully more consistent theories on ancient Pessinus.¹¹²

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¹¹² Until recently, research was mainly dependent on the first catalogue by Devreker 1984b, which also formed the basis for the catalogues in *RPC* I, 542–548 and Coşkun 2007, 518–26; cf. Mitchell 1993, 86, n. 70. The most important catalogue that is now available is Arslan 2006, though this will soon be superseded by the PhD thesis of his student Hacer Kumandas Yanmaz, Anatolian Museum of Civilisation, Ankara. It will, it is hoped, include all coin finds of the Ghent (Devreker and Verreth 2006), and Melbourne excavations. For the latter, cf. Dandrow 2018; 2019. For recent studies, see Strobel 2004; Coşkun 2007, especially 406–12 (where I question that the Pessinuntine temple issued coins in the Hellenistic period; conspicuously, Boffo [1985, 35] does not know any other Hellenistic temple state with minting authority, but accepts such nevertheless for Pessinus); Coşkun 2009a (systematic revision of the minting authorities of 'Galatian' coinage and interpretation of the iconography and legends as ethnic markers).

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