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Where Are the Dead of Pergamon? Remarks on the Funerary Inscriptions from Pergamon

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Where are the Dead of Pergamon? Remarks on the Funerary Inscriptions from Pergamon

Ursula Kunnert – Andreas Victor Walser

Introduction

In recent years, archaeological research on the necropoleis of Pergamon has produced a significant increase in knowledge about the funerary landscape of Pergamon, as Felix Pirson clearly points out in his contribution to this volume. Closely linked to the question of the design of this funerary landscape is the epigraphic evidence: What further light do the funerary inscriptions shed on individual facets of the funerary culture of Pergamon? How does the epigraphic material supplement the archaeological findings, especially for the Hellenistic period?

These questions are not easy to answer. Life in the polis of Pergamon is more readily accessible through the study of inscriptions in many areas and for certain groups of the population due to extraordinarily rich epigraphic material¹. Death in Pergamon, however, is less well attested: The number of funerary inscriptions is uncharacteristically low in relation to the size of the city and the longevity of the settlement. In her groundbreaking essay »Wo nur sind die Bürger von Pergamon?«, Ruth Bielfeldt investigated the visibility of the citizens of Pergamon, who, with the ex-

ception of those closely connected to the Attalid dynasty, do not appear in inscriptions in the public space before the last years of the royal period². The question of the visibility not only of the citizens but of the entire population living – and dying – in Pergamon arises in a comparable way in an evaluation of the funerary inscriptions of Pergamon. The small number of funerary inscriptions inevitably raises the question: Where are the dead of Pergamon?

After an introductory survey of the funerary inscriptions of Pergamon and their chronological classification we will look at the spatial dimension of the funerary epigraphy of Pergamon: How can the inscriptions be located in the known necropoleis? How do the inscriptions relate to the suburban infrastructure? What information can be obtained about the choice of a burial site within the limits of the city? The search for traces of the deceased also includes cultural and social aspects: How are the funerary inscriptions designed and the dead commemorated? And, finally, what do the funerary inscriptions of Pergamon tell us about the social networks of the deceased?

Death in Numbers

In total, just under 1600 inscriptions have been published to date, almost exclusively from Pergamon and its immediate surroundings in the area of modern

Bergama, and only sporadically from the wider *chora*. The large Pergamene epigraphical corpus is the object of two recent epigraphic projects under the di-

¹ See, for example, Bielfeldt 2010; Mathys 2014; Ventrux 2017.

² Bielfeldt 2010.

rection of Andreas Victor Walser. In an ongoing project, the inscriptions found in the large-scale excavations at the beginning of the 20th century, which so far remain unpublished or published only in preliminary reports, are being prepared for a definitive publication in a supplement to the volumes of »In-schriften von Pergamon I–III«. In a second project starting in 2023 the epigraphic evidence presented in the partially outdated volumes of the corpus will be revised and made accessible in a digital corpus³.

Of the roughly 1600 published inscriptions from the 4th century BC to Late Antiquity (for dating see below)⁴, only slightly more than 125 are funerary in nature, a share of less than 10 % of the total. About 70 more funerary inscriptions can be identified in the unpublished material, again about the same percentage of the total. Compared to other poleis, these numbers of funerary inscriptions are unusually low. Even taking into account the massive differences in the state of epigraphical research, most poleis on the west coast of Asia Minor show a higher proportion of funerary inscriptions⁵. This cannot simply be attributed to the current state of archaeological investigation, as more recent research in Pergamon has uncovered further necropoleis and funerary monuments that surround the city like a belt⁶. It is not so much the tombs themselves that are missing, but rather the funerary inscriptions that belong to them, even if the number of tombs from the Hellenistic period remains small. As is well known, not all burial

sites were marked with funerary inscriptions. Grave reliefs or, in Roman times, tomb cippi with and without inscriptions, or other uninscribed markers show this is also the case in Pergamon⁷. From our modern perspective, it is impossible to say what prompted the bereaved to put up an inscription or not. The availability of financial resources certainly played a role but were hardly the only decisive factor. Modest grave stelai, mostly from the Hellenistic period, probably bore painted picture fields below the inscription⁸ and it may be assumed that, on stelai without engraved inscriptions, texts could also have been written in paint and, like the pictures, are now lost.

In any case, the small number of funerary inscriptions cannot be explained by a lack of scholarly interest and, therefore, documentation: The first excavators at Pergamon in the 19th and early 20th centuries included the surrounding area, where the necropoleis are located, in their investigations. They were interested in all types of inscriptions and stone materials⁹, and recorded even the smallest fragments.

It goes without saying that a significant number of inscribed stones have been lost since antiquity. Some may have ended up more recently on the antiquities market, but a look at the archaeological map makes it clear that, to a large extent, the areas of the ancient necropoleis were covered by later buildings. Many funerary inscriptions in marble probably ended up in lime kilns, while the more modest ones provided building material.

3 See the information on the projects: <<https://www.hist.uzh.ch/de/fachbereiche/altegeschichte/lehrstuehle/walser/forschung/pergamon.html>> (last access: 14.10.2022).

4 The scattered nature of the publications does not allow for a complete listing within the scope of this article. A large part can be accessed through the indexes of the IvP volumes I–III as well as the compilation of the inscriptions published in the preliminary reports of AM 24, 1899 – 37, 1912; see also the »Searchable Greek Inscriptions« of the PHI, <<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/regions/1673>>, where new readings by Helmut Müller have been taken into account.

5 Since research and publications have concentrated on different areas in different cities, not everywhere including the necropoleis and all types of inscriptions, comparisons are only possible with reservations at best and they cannot take chronological fluctuations into account. Nevertheless, it appears that the funerary inscriptions in poleis north and south of Pergamon usually account for at least 25 % of the total number of inscriptions found (cf. for example, the volumes of the »In-schriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien« on Assos, Alexandria Troas, Kyme, Magnesia on the Sipylus, Smyrna, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Ephe-

sos, Tralleis; for Elaia the compilation by Stauber 2022, nos. 802–846). A similar percentage of funerary inscriptions as in Pergamon has been found in Priene, whose extensive necropoleis, however, have only been partially investigated (Kuru 2020, 141 with n. 1).

6 Cf. the compilation by F. Pirson in this volume with fig. 1.

7 Cf. for Pergamon the compilations in Kelp 2014 and Radt 2016, as well as the considerations of F. Pirson in this volume on the marking of tombs by conspicuous natural landmarks, such as freestanding rocks. – Cippus of Aphphias, daughter of Apollo-nios: Jacobsthal 1908a, 414 no. 53; 427; V. Kästner in: Grüßinger – Kästner – Scholl 2011, 492 no. 4.10.

8 Radt 2016, 271 assumes this for the simple gabled stelai made of andesite, e. g. IvP I 205–213. Cf. Filgis 1986, 33 on the use of the volcanic rock for architectural pieces, which were covered with stucco because of the rough surface and then painted.

9 Almost 80 % of the inscribed funerary monuments are made of marble, close to 20 % of andesite, just a few of other material. It is not possible to determine to what extent this distribution represents the original proportion of the materials used for these monuments.

Chronology

In the winter of 133/132 BC, a delegation from the Roman senate travelled to Pergamon to consider Rome's options in dealing with the Attalid empire, Rome's unexpected legacy of king Attalus III. Its most prominent member was the former consul and *pontifex maximus* P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the foremost enemy of Tiberius Gracchus who had been murdered shortly before. Scipio Nasica died in Pergamon while he was still on this mission. The tomb erected for him, with a bilingual inscription (see below), can be dated with reasonable certainty to the year 132 BC¹⁰. So far, no other funerary inscription from the Hellenistic period can be dated with relative precision based on historical events and the known identity of the deceased. All other Hellenistic inscriptions can only be dated roughly according to certain criteria, namely specific content, proper names or the lettering. Dating based on the charac-

ter of the lettering – always a dubious chronological criterion – is especially problematic in Pergamon because the ductus and letter forms do not follow a linear chronological development¹¹. Taking these uncertainties into account, the following rough picture emerges for the chronological classification of the funerary inscriptions as a whole: Two early funerary inscriptions of Pergamon may still be dated to the 4th century BC¹². About 20 % of the funerary inscriptions can be assigned to the Hellenistic period, but some of them may already belong to the early Imperial period¹³. About 70 % can be dated to the Imperial period; for the rest, the date cannot be determined¹⁴. The inventory of funerary inscriptions from the Hellenistic period, which is the focus of the present volume, is therefore not very large and cannot, in itself, provide a meaningful picture of the burial culture.

The Monuments and Their Urban Contexts

With very few exceptions, all known funerary inscriptions from Pergamon are stray finds without an original archaeological context. Therefore, it is almost never possible to analyse a funerary inscription in the context of an associated grave structure.

The scattered finds include a number of simple stelai with and without gables made of andesite, some of which can be assigned with confidence to the northern necropolis¹⁵. The stelai were originally placed in bases with rectangular carvings, which are known from several necropoleis. Two such bases

were recently found in the structural context of a Hellenistic and Roman burial area, which seems to have been laid out along one of the ancient access roads. The bases probably held stelai that marked earlier tombs within the burial district¹⁶. The short χαῖτε greeting, typical of many Hellenistic inscriptions, fits well with a placement along much frequented roads and paths¹⁷. In the shortest possible form, the inscription provokes a dialogue between the living – who read the greeting aloud as they pass by – and the deceased¹⁸.

¹⁰ Hepding 1910, 483 f. no. 77; Daubner 2006, 43 f.

¹¹ Müller – Staab 2017, 343: »Für den Versuch einer zeitlichen Fixierung ... sind diese Feststellungen [zur Schrift] freilich von nur geringer Aussagekraft, insofern die Graveure der pergamenischen Inschriften entgegen der Annahme einer linearen Entwicklung über die Jahrhunderte hinweg anscheinend nach Belieben auf ein schon früh existentes Repertoire vorhandener Buchstabenformen zurückzugreifen liebten.«

¹² von Prott – Kolbe 1902, 135 no. 163; Ippel 1912, 303 no. 33. An even earlier funerary inscription from this period comes from neighbouring Elaia (von Prott – Kolbe 1902, 133–135 no. 161; Stauber 2022, 108 no. 840). As in the following periods, marble as well as andesite are already used in these earliest testimonies. The earliest funerary reliefs without inscriptions are attested in Pergamon from the early 4th century BC (Radt 2016, 225 with fig. 171; 268; Kelp 2014, 361 f. with fig. 5).

¹³ Cf. the considerations on the dating of the epigram for the politician Dion (see below) by Müller – Staab 2017, 343 f.

¹⁴ The almost complete absence of funerary inscriptions from the later Imperial period onwards is striking, but cannot be investigated in the context of this article.

¹⁵ Kelp 2014, 365.

¹⁶ Pirson et al. 2021, § 18. 21 with figs. 2–4. See also the contribution by J. Krasel et al. in this volume. Other comparable bases come from the west terrace above the sanctuary in the necropoleis, in the vicinity of the Asklepieion (U. Mania in: Pirson et al. 2021, § 42 with figs. 23, 2 and 25).

¹⁷ E. g. on stelai possibly belonging to the northern necropolis: IvPI 205. 207–209. 213.

¹⁸ Meyer 2005, 10: »Wenn der Adressat den χαῖτε-Gruss, mit dem nicht wenige Grabinschriften enden, laut buchstabierend entziffert, hat er ihn zugleich schon vollzogen.«

The aforementioned bilingual inscription of the Roman legate P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica was found at or in the immediate vicinity of his funerary monument, although not during archaeological investigations. It consists of two matching blocks of an epistyle with a three-fascia architrave, frieze, denticulation and geison, with the Latin inscription in the frieze zone and the Greek equivalent on the uppermost fascia of the architrave. At the site, on the right bank of the Selinus river west of the front of the Red Hall, a follow-up excavation was carried out in 1909, which revealed further architectural parts of the tomb¹⁹. The exact location can no longer be determined today, but according to F. Pirson it could have been on the

processional road between the main city-gate towards the Asklepieion²⁰. As Klaus Tuchelt has shown with his attempt at a reconstruction, the tomb of the Roman ex-consul and legate Scipio Nasica was probably no more conspicuous than that of a wealthy citizen, neither in the choice of the burial place nor in the type of grave²¹. The choice of Latin and Greek for the funerary inscription seems obvious in his case, but was nevertheless highly unusual. Among the few bilingual inscriptions from Pergamon, this is by far the earliest example²². The choice of Latin for the frieze zone, which names Scipio Nasica's official functions as *legatus* and *pontifex maximus* in letters 4.4 cm high, set the tomb apart from its surroundings.

Burials within the City

In the second half of the 2nd century AD, the deaths of two highly deserving men confronted the Pergamenians with the challenge of finding a burial place worthy of their merits. They asked for help in this decision from the oracle at Didyma: »When the Pergamenians asked Apollo at Didyma where it was proper to bury the heroes Marcellus and Rufinus because of their virtuous lives, the god gave the following saying.«²³ Since the rest of the text, probably recorded on a second stone, is missing, we will never know the oracle's answer. But we know what the Pergamenians hoped to hear: As Christian Habicht has plausibly argued, the Pergamenians may have wanted to honour these deserving individuals with a burial inside the limits of the city, for example in a building donated by them or in a public place such as the agora or the gymnasium, even though this was probably forbidden by (sacral) law. The request

to the oracle opened the way for the prohibition to be circumvented, following the god's desire²⁴.

Burials within the city may therefore be considered for particularly deserving personalities in the Imperial period, if not earlier. One of the two »heroes« the oracle at Didyma had to evaluate can be identified as the great benefactor of the polis, L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, a citizen of Pergamon and Roman consul of the year 142 AD, while the second, Marcellus, is otherwise unknown.

Pergamon was not alone in honouring outstanding members of the community in this way with a burial in a prominent place within the city. Other Greek poleis of the Hellenistic and Roman periods honoured founders and revered benefactors with burial places where tombs were not normally allowed, made possible by a god's permission²⁵.

19 Hepding 1910, 483 f. no. 77: [P(ublius) Cornelius Scipio P(ublii) f(ilius)] Nasica l(egatus pontifex maximus) | [Π(όπλιος) Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων] Ποπλίου Νασίκας πρεσβευτής ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος]; Tuchelt 1979b, 309–316; Tuchelt 1979a, 14; on the titlature: Schleussner 1976, 105 f.

20 Cf. the contribution by F. Pirson in this volume.

21 Tuchelt 1979b, 315, who also supports his interpretation by Cicero's mentioning (Flacc. 75) that Pergamon had not decided on any special honours for Scipio Nasica, as Smyrna had done for a rich private man named Castricius; Daubner 2006, 44 n. 190 with further literature; on the funerary honours of prominent Romans in the Greek East see Ferrary 1997, 206.

22 All other bilingual and Latin funerary inscriptions are to be dated later and were set up for private people. Bilingual inscrip-

tions: Jacobsthal 1908a, 414 f. no. 54; IvP II 637; Latin funerary inscriptions: CIL III 399; Färber 2019; IvP II 638; Hepding 1907, 355, no. 111.

23 IvP III 2: πυνθανομένων Περ|γαμηνῶν τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοι[ς] | Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅποι ὄσιον |⁴ εἶη θάπτεσθαι τοὺς | ἥρωας Μάρκ[ε]- | λλον | καὶ Ρουφεῖνον διὰ τὸ | παρελθὸν αὐτοῖς |⁸ ἐνάρετον τοῦ βίου | ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός.

24 Ch. Habicht, commentary on IvP III 2; Staab 2018, 301.

25 Oracle enquiries regarding the choice of intramural burial sites: Herda 2013, 87 f.; Schörner 2007, 11–19, esp. 16 with n. 100; 121 f.; on the pre-Imperial evidence of intramural burials in general: Habicht 1995, 90–92; Schörner 2007.



1 Pergamon, Lapidarium. Funerary inscription. Scale 8 cm

Composition and Content of the Funerary Inscriptions

The non-metrical funerary inscriptions of Hellenistic Pergamon are of a very simple design and do not differ from those of the neighbouring poleis: the proper names of the deceased are usually given in the nominative, rarely in the vocative, followed by the respective name of the father in the genitive. In about half of the testimonies, the already mentioned greeting formula *χαῖρε* is added. A hitherto unpublished inscription (fig. 1) can serve as an example. It is engraved on a rectangular gabled stele made of andesite, which is broken below the inscription. The pediment is worked in relief with two slightly curved acroteria, which extend in a small bead towards the centre of the pediment. A round shield is depicted in the gable field. The find spot of the inscription is unknown; today it is kept in the lapidarium at the excavation house of the German Archaeological Institute in Bergama.

H 18. W 30.5 (pediment). D 10. Letters 1.8–2.0 (omicon 1 cm).

1 [Δο]λης Ταρουλου και
--- 3–4 --- Σ Δοληους χαιρε.

[Do]les, son of Taroulas, and ---s, son (or daughter) of Doles. Farewell²⁶.

The two deceased have Thracian names, which are well attested in Hellenistic and Roman times, predominantly in the Eastern Macedonian and Thracian regions²⁷. Louis Robert considered whether some of the non-Greek names known for Pergamon might point to mercenaries in the service of the Attalid kings. As is well known, the Attalids recruited their troops to a large extent in foreign lands as mercenaries, some of whom remained in Pergamon with their

²⁶ The singular in the greeting for two individuals is also found in IvPI 205.

²⁷ OnomThrac 157–159 and OnomThracSuppl [157–159] Doles; OnomThrac 349–350 Tarula, Taroulas and OnomThracSuppl [349–350] Tarula; Taroulas/Tarula: Dana 2014, 182.

descendants²⁸. Doles or his ancestors may well have arrived in Pergamon as mercenaries as well. If these assumptions are accurate, some of the other Hellenistic pediment stelai from the necropolis on the northern slopes of the city hill, which often commemorate deceased with non-Greek names, could also belong to mercenaries and their families²⁹. For the moment, the evidence is still scanty and does not allow for indisputable conclusions.

Metrical funerary inscriptions can provide more information about the deceased. Epigrams from Pergamon in the Imperial period lament the causes of death – an insidious disease, the loss in combat in the arena – or celebrate professional success³⁰. The handful of epigrams from the Hellenistic period, however, give almost no individual details. The fragmentary stones preserved the common motives: mortals cannot escape their powerful fate determined by the will of the gods³¹; the dead are to be commemorated in songs in annual celebrations at the grave³²; the dead greet the passerby, who reads the epigram and thus enters into dialogue with the deceased³³.

Because of the generic nature of these texts, the extraordinary epigram on the politician Dion published a few years ago stands out all the more among the metrical inscriptions of Pergamon³⁴. The deceased, who died in old age, is praised in words and pictures on a monument that came to light as a stray

find in the modern city of Bergama. It is dated by the editors to the second half of the 1st century BC or the first half of the 1st century AD. In two poems, the deceased is presented as an ideal citizen who, as a member of the city council, had always given advice to his home town in an exemplary manner like the Homeric Nestor: »With his proposals, he kept the city like a ship on course«³⁵. The first poem is a hymn to the glory of Dion, which is said to have been proclaimed by the god himself, and the oracle is also carved at the end of the inscription. The glory of Dion is underlined visually: wreaths commemorate honours awarded by the Koinon of Asia³⁶ as well as the Council, People and Gerusia of Pergamon; the depictions of a lion and a crab probably allude to theories about the ascent of the more perfect souls past the stars to the gods, as they were first developed by Herakleides Pontikos based on the teachings of Plato³⁷. The inscription thus shows a prominent member of the Pergamene elite, politically active both in the city and in the Koinon of Asia, familiar with the philosophy of the period, but whose person and activities are only known from this single source. In many aspects, the inscription is highly unusual, but in highlighting Dion's engagement for the state it is nevertheless in line with the countless more prosaic tributes to citizens who worked tirelessly in the service of their respective polis.

28 Cf. Robert 1963, 124. 432 with reference to the funerary inscription IvPI 206 and several references in the lists of ephebes. On the origin of the mercenaries in the Attalid army and their settlement: Ma 2013, 64 f. 72 f. and Daubner 2006, 162–171 with the evidence. On the integration of some of these groups into the citizenry of Pergamon after the death of Attalus III in 133 BC: IvPI 249.

29 Conze et al. 1912/1913, 238. For Hellenistic funerary inscriptions with non-Greek names see e.g. IvPI 205 (Νικάνωρ Φιλοξένου[u], Ταῖτις Νικάνωρος; Tataki 1994, 80 with n. 2; Zgusta 1964, 482 § 1497-2). 206 ([Κ]λειτώ Σαριάνδου; Zgusta 1964, 456 § 1375-1). 208 (Ἀττάλος Βωζήους, Λαδεῖς Ἀττάλου; vgl. Dana 2016b, 57 n. 42; Zgusta 1964, 140 § 244-3).

30 Disease: IvPI II 586 (SGO I 06/02/31). – Gladiator: IvPI II 577 (SGO I 06/02/28). – Successes in the profession: IvPI II 576 (SGO I 06/02/32).

31 Verse 5–6: ἀλλ' οὐτο<ι> μοῖράν <γ>ε θεῶν ἰότητι κ[ραταιήν] θνητὸς ἀνὴρ ἔφυγεν (CIG II 3557; SGO I 06/02/30; most recently Ledig 2021, 278–280 no. II-4.10.3).

32 Conze 1899, 172 f. no. 15 based on a reading by G. Kaibel (SGO I 06/02/29).

33 Hepding 1910, 482 f. no. 75 (SGO I 06/02/33; Ledig 2021, 277 f. no. II-4.10.2). Cf. above n. 17.

34 Müller – Staab 2017.

35 Verse 3: γνώμαις ὅποια ναῦν γὰρ εἵθυνεν πόλιν (according to the translation by Staab in: Müller – Staab 2017, 345).

36 In addition to the detailed commentary by Müller – Staab 2017, cf. most recently Hallmannsecker 2022, 50 f. for the small corpus of honours conferred by the Koinon of Asia.

37 Müller – Staab 2017, 361–365 (with the relevant evidence); Staab 2018, 286–304 no. *06/02/37, esp. 287.

Social Networks and the Limits of the Funerary Inscriptions of Pergamon

As Claudio Biagetti points out in his contribution to this volume for Kyme and Myrina, the funerary inscriptions of a polis often provide the critical foundation for onomastical and prosopographical studies, and thus form the basis for the analysis of social networks. Due to their small number and often fragmentary preservation – often missing the names of the deceased or the survivors who erected the gravestone – the funerary inscriptions from Pergamon cannot provide such a basis, especially for the Hellenistic period. Only in rare cases can the individuals named in

funerary inscriptions be tied to families or groups of people known from other sources, as shown, for example, in the considerations on the simple gabled stelai of andesite (see above). The funerary inscriptions, therefore, do not provide a basis for prosopographical studies. The gap left by the missing funerary inscriptions is, however, at least partially filled by the numerous lists of epebes that were found in the excavations of the gymnasium and in adjacent areas. This difficult and often fragmentary material mainly from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC has yet to be fully evaluated³⁸.

Conclusions

So, where are the dead of Pergamon? They remain sorely missed even though – or precisely because – they are rarely remembered in the surviving inscriptions. As this brief overview of the funerary epigraphy has shown, the city's heyday as a royal residence is not reflected in the inscriptions that have come down to us, in contrast to the archaeological evidence, be it the impressive tumuli or artistic funerary reliefs. The numerous members of the royal court who lived and died in Pergamon are not known from funerary inscriptions. The same applies to the wealthy citizens, who are so visible in other inscriptions from the end of the 2nd century BC onwards. As prolific as the city was when it comes to other inscriptions, the inhabitants of Hellenistic and Roman Pergamon seem to have left fewer funerary inscriptions than those of other poleis.

However, with regard to those aspects of the design of the funerary landscape that we have discussed, the funerary epigraphy of Pergamon does not differ from those of the surrounding poleis of Asia Minor³⁹. At this point, it would be rash to explain the small number of funerary inscriptions by postulating an ›epigraphic habit‹ that differs significantly from that in other cities of the region – not that such an assumption would actually provide an explanation rather than just another description. For now, it would be equally justified (or unjustified) to account for the small numbers with a massive degree of destruction that hit funerary inscriptions for unknown reasons, affecting these harder than other types of epigraphical texts. Perhaps it is this inconspicuousness that is the most striking feature of the funerary epigraphy of this rich and large polis and, as such, deserves further study.

³⁸ The inscriptions with lists of epebes were published in preliminary reports at the beginning of the 20th century, mainly as von Prott – Kolbe 1902, 115–132 no. 113–158; Kolbe 1907; Jacobsthal 1908a, 388–400 no. 6–23 and Hepding 1910, 416–436 no. 8–19; see also the »Searchable Greek Inscriptions« of the PHI, <<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/book/151?location=1673>>, with

new readings by Helmut Müller. In addition, there are numerous unpublished fragments of similar lists.

³⁹ This also applies to Elaia. From the epigraphic material, however, no differences in the funerary landscapes of the two poleis can be determined, cf. the contribution of F. Pirson in this volume with specific differences on the basis of the archaeological material.

Abstract

Taking the surprisingly small number of funerary inscriptions from Pergamon as our starting point, we discuss the socio-cultural design of the funerary landscape of this polis from an epigraphical point of view: Where were the funerary inscriptions located in the known necropoleis, and what is their relation to the suburban infrastructure? What information do they provide, and what do they tell us about burial practices within the limits of the inhabited space? What is their relevance in the study of the social networks of the deceased?

The study establishes the inconspicuousness of the grave inscriptions as the most striking feature of the funerary epigraphy of Pergamon: Not only is the number of funerary inscriptions very small in relation to the large total number of epigraphic finds, but they also do not reflect the importance of the city as a royal residence, where numerous members of the royal court lived and died, or as one of the most important poleis in the province of Asia after the end of the monarchy.

Keywords: Pergamon, funerary epigraphy, funerary landscape, burial practices, onomastics

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