

Eric Laufer, **Architektur unter den Attaliden. Pergamon und die Städte zwischen herrscherlichem Bauengagement und Lokaltradition.** Pergamenische Forschungen, volume 19. Publisher Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2021. 379 pages with 17 tables and 53 plates, mostly black and white.

A proper study of the so called Pergamene architecture has long been overdue, especially one based on the actual remains. Many earlier works have discussed what is exceptional or special in Pergamene art and architecture, whereas this study by Eric Laufer concentrates on what Pergamene architecture actually is in a more thorough overview of the third and second century B. C., and where and why buildings were constructed. This study does not only concentrate on the town of Pergamon, but also the Attalid realm and its constructions in towns outside the kingdom's borders. With a com-

bination of architectural remains and historical sources, the author examines how the rulers of this dynasty used the Pergamene specific architecture for their political purposes.

The volume under review consists of twenty-three chapters, apart from the unnumbered Introduction (p. 1–7), Appendix (p. 333 s.), Bibliography (p. 335–366), Index (p. 367–373), List of plates (p. 375–379) and Plates (unnumbered pages). Chapter 23 (p. 325–332) is a summary in German, Turkish and English. The publication discusses large questions about the particular characteristics of the Pergamene architecture during the Attalid period, which elements can be defined as Pergamene and which buildings can be proved to have been constructed by the royal dynasty and how the rulers used their own local style of architecture for their own advantage in buildings inside and outside their kingdom. The book goes from the small elements to the large historical picture; therefore, different details of the buildings are discussed before the overall constructions and historical circumstances. Of course, a full overview of previous research on the town and kingdom of Pergamon could not be included, since that would make another large volume. The Pergamene architecture has been discussed for a long time, Laufer realised that the architecture of the Pergamene Empire and its influences on the region have been greatly neglected in research and that is precisely on what he focuses his grand study. This publication is a revised version of the author's dissertation »Architektur unter den Attaliden. Pergamon und die Städte des Reiches zwischen herrscherlicher Baupolitik, Rezeption und Lokaltradition«, presented at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Cologne in 2012, a fact that sometimes shines through in the book's layout. Published nine years later, it is indeed an impressive work. Laufer admits that the new publications since his dissertation could not all be considered, which is noticeable in some parts of his study, as is the predominantly German bibliography.

Printed illustrations are continuously referred to in order to exemplify the material under study. External illustrations are also available in the online catalogue on DAIs Arachne webpage: <https://arachne.dainst.org/project/pergamenscheforschungen19>, which will be continuously updated when new information about these sites is published. The text will be online by October 2023. The catalogue posts can be found here either in an alphabetical-topographical list or a thematically structured list following the chapters of the book. The online catalogue allows consulting the pictures and drawings from the old excavations that are relevant or interesting to study, without consulting other printed publications, thus greatly decreasing the weight of this rather heavy book.

The book's sections are subdivided in connected chapters. The first four (p. 9–42) form the introduction to the study, discussing the background, history and framework of the realm and the royal dynasty. In the

first chapter the author states that the sphere of Attalid influence prior to 188 B. C. did not extend beyond Pergamon's core region of the Caecus valley and the neighbouring coastal towns. In the period 188–133 B. C., the Attalid kingdom covered most of western Asia Minor, except for some parts of the coastal zones. The strength of the control over different towns and regions fluctuated a lot, but the differences in geography and control do not affect this study of Pergamene influence on the architecture. The second chapter starts with a quick overview over the development history of the town of Pergamon. Laufer is instructive in explaining which dates are secure or not, and which monuments have not been located so far and which can barely be studied due to later overbuilding. He concludes that all Attalid buildings in the town of Pergamon could be erected in a few years so that the king could soon reap the fruits of his constructions. The third chapter discusses where and how the Attalids founded new towns in the kingdom and chapter four names the Attalid donations of and for buildings as royal »prestige politics«, outlining the general conditions for the Attalid royal euergetism. Who built what, when and where? This is a big question researched in this volume.

The archaeological remains are properly examined in chapters five to seventeen, beginning with chapters five to eight (p. 43–135) that discuss the buildings divided in fortifications (fifth chapter), stoas (sixth ch.), temples, cult buildings and monumental altars (seventh ch.) and other buildings (eighth ch.). There is a table in the beginning of each subchapter to facilitate the study of the archaeological remains for the reader; such tables are present in some later chapters, too. Small appendices are added in the chapters containing case studies when the author disagrees with older studies of a building or element, as for example 6.5 where the re-reconstruction of a colonnade is discussed. Chapters five to seven also are reader-friendly subdivided in similar subchapters.

The multi-storey stoas are often seen as a Pergamene invention. The author dates their first construction in the second century B. C. in an L-shaped or peristyle form, inspired by Macedonian palace architecture. The terrace stoa (sometimes called market building) is also first attested in Pergamon as well. He states that the geographical closeness to Pergamon for all these buildings and the technical and stylistic similarities cannot only depend on the Attalid influence, but could just as well depend on one town wanting for prestige reason to erect a building similarly styled as in the neighbouring town, so that new building types spread across the geopolitical borders. Concerning the religious buildings, the author concludes that among the specific Pergamene in antis or prostyle temples placed on several steps, only a few outside the town of Pergamon can be confirmed to be Attalid constructions, most remain uncertain. As for the discussion of the Pergamon Altar, the author does not intend to repeat everything that has been written about it, but to put it in the context of

other monumental luxurious altars in the Greek world, especially the long tradition in Asia Minor, beginning in the Archaic period. The other building categories are too few in numbers to result in any general conclusion. After going through all building types, Laufer states that the Attalids seem to have sponsored more useful constructions in their kingdom and in free cities in its vicinity, whereas prestigious buildings were only built as prominent donations in e. g. Athens or Delphi.

The chapters nine to eleven (p. 137–172) go through different aspects of urban planning, starting with terracing in chapter nine, urban design and streetscapes in chapter ten and agorai and sacred areas in chapter eleven. Massive terraces were made in Pergamon already in the fourth century, as well as the major projects under the later kings. The author thinks that the multi-story *souterrain stoa* was probably developed due to these massive terraces. Terrace buildings were used in classical Asia Minor prior to their erection in Pergamon, they were probably then developed as a local element. Laufer presumes this might have been an inspiration from Sardis rather than Ionic-Caria as argued by earlier scholars. A relationship with the terraced sanctuaries of the Dodecanese and Caria and the large terraces in Asia Minor cannot be determined, some inspiration could have moved in either direction in the early Hellenistic period according to Laufer. In the discussion of streetscapes, he finds no consensus on how Pergamon acted, some towns have kept their old irregular grid, others got an overlaid Hippodamian grid. So the Attalids seem to have followed the local traditions in new and old cities, both for roads and terracing.

In the Hellenistic period, the ideal Ionic agora became a square surrounded by stoas. Since most agoras were monumentalized in that period, it is hardly determinable whether any of these constructions indicates a Pergamene influence or sponsorship. The agoras in Asia Minor seem to differ from town to town, depending on economic status and terrain. Laufer concludes that the two-story stoa, the terrace stoa or the stoa with *cryptoporticus* might be inspired by Pergamon, but cultural inspiration cannot be stopped, so any spreading of ideas does not implicate an active Attalid influence. However, the terraced agora with multiple stoas can easily be seen in the light of neighbouring cities competing in monumentality. Sanctuaries also strove for symmetry and ended up having stoas on three sides of the temple terrace, leaving one side open for view and access. This design seems to have been a larger Hellenistic trend in the Aegean islands and Asia Minor.

In the twelfth chapter (p. 173–179), the author discusses building techniques and materials to understand the development of the building decorations. Some of the Pergamene designs of building decorations depended entirely on the quarrying sites of the building material, especially the local andesite or trachyte. Laufer also provides a good discussion on which kinds of walls and buildings are covered by plaster, paint or metal decoration.

In the section of chapters thirteen to seventeen (p. 181–249) chapter thirteen begins with a discussion of building examples within the kingdom and outward that have previously been defined as Attalid constructions. Chapter fourteen is dedicated to the Doric style of architecture, chapter fifteen to the Ionic, chapter sixteen to specially shaped building elements, and chapter seventeen to the Corinthian and leaf capitals (*Blattkelchkapitell*). The eighteenth chapter (p. 251–263) gives a summary of the Pergamene decorative building elements in their artistic environment. These four chapters are of the same length, twelve to eighteen pages, even if chapter seventeen concerns quite unusual elements, compared to the massive use of the Doric style in stoas and other large building complexes. This is hardly surprising since he wants to discuss what is particularly Pergamene, and different elements are easier or harder to define as elements specifically belonging to or originating in Pergamon. To me, I must confess, the material-rich chapters are the most interesting part of the book, and I would have loved an even deeper discussion, but with this large survey of elements and locations it would have been impossible to fit into a one-volume work.

All decorations are used to trace the spreading of Pergamene elements and to understand how and when they spread to new towns or regions. In Laufer's view the andesite architecture in the kingdom was very regional Doric until 188 B. C., only in the second century did the Pergamene elements appear. There is a large variation in form in the Doric superstructure, but there is an equally large variation in general on Doric buildings, only a few were solemnly used in the Pergamene kingdom, whereas others are regional to the Aegean or Asia Minor.

The Ionic elements are only found in sacral buildings, the Great Altar and building niches in larger buildings, and they were not mainly the Asia Minor Ionic types, e. g. the Attic Ionic bases and Attic *antae* capitals were preferred and the Ionic double capitals were probably developed from Macedonian predecessors. The Ionic decorative elements, especially the capitals, indicate Pergamon's individuality from the Asia Minor types, and the style is confined to Pergamon.

The Ionic entablature was used on Ionic, Doric and buildings of what is here called 'mixed orders'. Laufer uses the traditional word 'order' in his discussion without explanation, a word invented in the renaissance indicating a stiffness in the Greek style of architecture that has never existed. A flexibility of differentiation and regionalism has always subsisted, as is clearly pointed out in this study, the choice of terminology therefore feels slightly misplaced or old-fashioned. Mixtures of Doric and Ionic style already appear in the Archaic Asia Minor. In Attalid Pergamon intermixing is mostly visible in new capital forms (*Cyma recta* and leaf capitals) or Ionic elements in Doric buildings.

The author observes that the Attalids wanted their architecture to appeal not only to the Ionian or Asia

Minor public, but to the entire Panhellenic society. The Attalid rulers were indeed a driving force in the artistic landscape of architectural development, where surrounding towns adopted the new styles without additional own elements. These neighbouring towns did not have the same status or economy as Pergamon and therefore should be compared with each other, rather than to Pergamon, according to Laufer (which is done in this study). Currently certain elements are first attested in the town of Pergamon. However, once such a component with an earlier dating is found somewhere else, the assumed origin of the motive will shift.

In chapter nineteen (p. 263–270), the organisation of the construction logistics and workshops are discussed. A Pergamene workshop might be indicated, but is hard to prove, therefore it is concluded that we cannot know if it is a Pergamene workshop or a tradition in the region. The historical sources claim that the kings sent people to construction sites, both regionally and abroad: architects and master builders to prestige projects and workmen and slaves to more regional non-prestigious but well needed buildings. In other cases they donated material or money for buildings. There was no standardized procedure on how financial or logistical matters were slowed in external constructions, but local systems were used everywhere. Until proven otherwise, Laufer concludes, it must be assumed that the towns themselves paid for all these constructions, only a small number might have been sponsored by the Attalid rulers.

Chapters twenty (p. 271–289) and twenty-one (p. 291–311) can also be seen as interconnected, as the author discusses urban development under the Attalids in the empire from different aspects, questioning when and where the influence of architecture did move in which directions. Laufer deduces that the spreading of the Pergamene styled architecture differs greatly from town to town between an entirely Pergamene urban planning to only individual decorative elements. Most of the Pergamene building décor must be seen as town specific of Pergamon, the elements did not become widely used. Many of the surrounding towns used Pergamene architectural style in their buildings, but none of the edifices can be attributed to royal construction or sponsorship, rather it seems to be the architectural style used in the region. Farther away, in Asia Minor, it is impossible to determine if there was a direct influence by the Attalids, an inspiration or a secondary inspiration. Some Pergamene styled buildings are dated after the Attalid period, however, the Pergamene architecture and urban planning is unlikely to have disappeared with the fall of the kingdom. Laufer summarizes that most of the Pergamene styled architecture seem to have had none or little lasting effect outside Pergamon, only the nearby regions followed their lead. These chapters also discuss where the Attalid rulers actually constructed their buildings. The town of Pergamon was undoubtedly monumentalised by its rulers, and probably the nearby cities as well. Fortifications

were built all over the empire, most probably on the ruler's command and money, but entirely without the Pergamene style of architecture. Local styles in sanctuaries were likewise political, reflecting the king's patronage.

The Attalid prestige policy maintained relations with towns outside the kingdom. These international influences worked where the Attalids spent enough money, competing with other royal dynasties. Therefore, the common interest in Pergamene construction depended on the political rank or international reputation of the recipient.

In chapter twenty-two (p. 313–324), the Attalids are compared to other Hellenistic dynasties building profiles. The Attalid building program seems to have had the greatest resemblance to the preceding Hecatomnid satrap dynasty in the way they used architecture as a manifestation of power with their own version of Asia Minor Ionic, and a mixture of Ionic and Doric in their buildings. The Attalid architecture must be described as Greek, they took most of their ideas from Greek poleis, and almost none from the other (older) kingdoms in Asia Minor, thus making them appear to be protectors and benefactors of the Greek world.

Did the author succeed in writing a new handbook on Attalid architecture? He goes through all elements which might be considered Pergamene as well as the local architectural traditions of the region. He is not so quick in judging that everything was constructed by the Attalids as some earlier scholars and he does not make statements from uncertain materials, but points out what is reasonable or not. Some elements are proven to be entirely Pergamene, some are regional, and in other cases he proves what researchers have suggested before him by proper analyses. The reader has to remember that most of the Pergamene architecture follows the general development in the Hellenistic period, only a few elements stand out as specific for Pergamon, only representing one of many local variations of Hellenistic architecture.

Pergamene architecture is not the only regional variation in Greek architecture, not even the only one in Hellenistic Asia Minor, which Eric Laufer successfully clarifies. He paints a more diverse and true picture of Attalid architecture, not only regarding the specific Pergamene elements and prestige buildings. He clearly defines when an element is or can be a Pergamene invention or only is a further development of a previous local or regional style. The author wants to speak of Pergamon-associated architecture, since its elements are particular, but sometimes cannot be traced back to the Attalids, but ideas of style and construction technique further radiated from the metropolis. Doing a still more detailed study based on recent fieldwork would probably be a work of a lifetime or even impossible. Future research on the Pergamene architecture will indeed benefit from this volume.