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## Visual and spatial dynamics of written texts: dedications in the Asclepieion of Pergamon

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LAVINIA FERRETTI

Visual and Spatial Dynamics of Written Texts:  
Dedications in the Asclepieion of Pergamon

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LAVINIA FERRETTI

## Visual and Spatial Dynamics of Written Texts: Dedications in the Asclepieion of Pergamon<sup>1</sup>

*Keywords:* Pergamon, Asclepieion, dedications, type of support, geographic information system

*Schlagwörter:* Pergamon, Asklepieion, Weihinschriften, Inschriftenträger, Geoinformationssystem

*Anahtar sözcükler:* Pergamon, Asklepieion, adak yazıtları, yazıt gövdesi, coğrafi bilgi sistemi

### INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the visual impact inscribed dedications had on the visitors of the sanctuary of Asclepios in Pergamon<sup>2</sup>. Such monuments are part of, and connected with, their surrounding environment (other inscriptions, buildings, etc.) and structure the space in which they are exposed. On public display, they produce information not only through their text, but also through their material appearance and the place where they were erected<sup>3</sup>. Recovering the loca-

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*Sources of illustrations:* *fig. 1* = Hoffmann 2011, Beil. 1, with additions by L. Ferretti. – *fig. 2* = D-DAI-IST-PE-63-188 (unknown author, 1963), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/113694](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/113694). – *fig. 3* = D-DAI-IST-PE-62-523 (unknown author, 1962), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/184038](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/184038). – *fig. 4* = D-DAI-IST-PE-63-342 (unknown author, 1963), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/113739](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/113739). – *fig. 5* = D-DAI-IST-PE-62-564 (unknown author, 1962), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/184047](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/184047). – *fig. 6* = D-DAI-IST-PE-63-189 (unknown author, 1963), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/113695](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/113695). – *fig. 7* = D-DAI-IST-PE-62-381 (unknown author, 1962), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/110753](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/110753). – *fig. 8* = D-DAI-IST-PE-63-267 (unknown author, 1963), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/113700](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/113700). – *fig. 9* = D-DAI-IST-PE-58-151 (unknown author, 1958), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/183747](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/183747). – *fig. 10* = D-DAI-IST-PE-62-379 (unknown author, 1962), [arachne.dainst.org/entity/1143791](https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1143791).

<sup>1</sup> This article synthesizes the results of my Master's thesis, discussed at the University of Geneva in June 2019; the original thesis can be accessed at <<https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:119831>>. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Anne-Françoise Jaccottet, for her continuous help and support throughout the writing process. My thanks also go to my professors, especially Prof. Lorenz E. Baumer and Prof. Paul Schubert, as well as to all the reviewers and friends who read and improved this paper. For the images I wish to thank Prof. Adolf Hoffmann and the Fotothek of the DAI section in Istanbul.

<sup>2</sup> Ninety-four dedications are relevant for this paper, cf. joint catalogue. From the dedications list of AvP 8, 3, the inscriptions **114**, **118**, **130** have been excluded because they are not related to an offering, and **134** because it was probably not exposed in the sanctuary. In this paper, all numbers in bold, unless otherwise specified, refer to the AvP 8, 3 numbers.

<sup>3</sup> For the same bases, with another methodology, applied to another corpus, cf. Mylonopoulos 2006, 84–92; Day 2019, especially 73f. 99.

tion of inscribed offerings within the sanctuary, mapping their groupings into visually coherent assemblages, considering the connections between dedications and assemblages, as well as with their surrounding environment, all enhance the comprehension of the visual impact dedications had on the visitors of the sanctuary.

Adopting the point of view of the public means to question its perception of dedications, individually or in connection to each other, and thus of the space it was moving in. Reconstructing the physical aspect and the spatial distribution of inscriptions gives us insights not only into the appearance of a place, but also into the complex dynamic relation it had with the visitors, by informing, structuring and limiting their experience of the space they were inserted in. The concept of space as a constructed, meaningful ensemble, such as amply theorised in the last decades of research, underlies the present paper<sup>4</sup>.

The Pergamon Asclepieion offers first-rate conditions to test these methodological considerations on visual and spatial dynamics and to study the text and materiality of the dedications found in a sanctuary; for instance, such a study has already been completed for the honorific statue bases found there<sup>5</sup>. The Roman structures are fully excavated and well preserved, and there is not as much destruction and dislocation affecting the epigraphical material compared to most of Pergamene (and other) sanctuaries<sup>6</sup>. The general distribution pattern of dedications found there will be analysed first; the insights thus obtained will help better understand some pieces that made the most of the interplay between their visual, spatial and textual dimensions.

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF DEDICATIONS WITHIN THE SANCTUARY

### *General Distribution Pattern*

The sanctuary, founded in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, was completely renovated in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, as was documented by the excavations<sup>7</sup>. The distribution pattern of inscriptions pertains to the last phase of the sanctuary, after its complete renovation and before its decline in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE<sup>8</sup>. This is confirmed by some observations on the history of the excavation

<sup>4</sup> Transdisciplinary research on space was notably restructured and expanded with the development of the so-called spatial turn in humanities. For an idea of this development applied to antiquity cf. for instance Hofmann 2014/2015; Hölkeskamp 2015, especially 15–24, 33–40, with ample bibliography on the development of the theoretical concepts.

<sup>5</sup> Mathys 2014, 75–88, 143–152, 178–186.

<sup>6</sup> Mathys 2014, 10. The inscriptions found in the city of Bergama pertaining to the sanctuary are as rare as the inscriptions from the city found in the sanctuary excavations, and the discovery of metal inscriptions points to a rather low rate of material destruction and reuse. It is nevertheless illusory to believe that all of the original material has been preserved.

<sup>7</sup> On the Hellenistic sanctuary cf. Ziegenaus – De Luca 1968; Ziegenaus – De Luca 1975; Riethmüller 2005, 336–359. On the Roman sanctuary cf. Ziegenaus 1981; Hoffmann 1998; Radt 1999, 220–242; Hoffmann 2011; Strocka 2012. The dating of the renovation phase, traditionally located under the reign of Hadrian (Habicht 1969, 9–14; Ziegenaus 1981, 3; Hoffmann 1998, 43, 50; Hoffmann 2011, 5f. 216–222), has been recently revised by Strocka 2012, who argues convincingly for enlarging the timeframe from the reign of Domitian to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

<sup>8</sup> On the decline of the sanctuary cf. Ziegenaus 1981, 101; Radt 1999, 242; De Luca 2009, 107–109; Riethmüller 2011, 229, 234; Pirson 2017, 109–116. The structures remained occupied during the Byzantine period, when a church with baptismal font was installed in the ancient buildings, cf. Rheidt 1991, 186–193.

of the sanctuary. The majority of the dedications were found in the 1930s, when the goal was to clear the imperial structures of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE<sup>9</sup>; among the few inscriptions discovered during the uncovering of the Hellenistic structures, most do not have a precise findspot, and only one, 111 c, may have been uncovered in a trench in the Hellenistic strata; yet it is dated to the imperial period<sup>10</sup>. The findspots of the inscriptions can thus be attributed in general to the later layers covering the 2<sup>nd</sup> century structures and reflect the location of the dedications in the imperial sanctuary. This is especially important for the numerous inscriptions that can be only roughly dated to the imperial period and whose relevance for the analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century structures is confirmed by this pattern of discovery<sup>11</sup>. It is also important for the pieces predating the renovation works: except for two pieces, the context of their findspots points towards a re-exposition in the later sanctuary<sup>12</sup>. Yet this state of preservation does not allow the adoption of a narrower chronological frame nor the identification of an evolution between the beginning and the end of the considered period.

Dedications were found throughout the sanctuary; since what is preserved represents only a small part of the original record, it is clear that the Asclepieion was filled with such offerings<sup>13</sup>. None of the inscriptions in the corpus were discovered in situ; yet the general good state of preservation, as well as the large size of some pieces and the existence of clear distribution sectors according to shape, means that the findspot is likely to be representative of the sector in which the inscription was last displayed.

Generally speaking, the northern part of the sanctuary has yielded more inscriptions and notably most of the larger pieces<sup>14</sup>; this can be easily explained by the good state of preservation of this sector, which was soon covered by the erosion strata coming from the slope above<sup>15</sup>. The other sectors are not so well preserved, and this affects the analysis: in the badly preserved southern portico no assemblage can be identified so far. The dedications found in the colonnaded

<sup>9</sup> On the goals of this excavation campaign cf. Ziegenaus – De Luca 1968, 3f.; Hoffmann 2011, 3. Although some trial trenches for testing the preservation of the Hellenistic structures were made, these were sparse and all located in sectors where no inscription was uncovered, as can be seen through the plan in Deubner 1938, pl. 1.

<sup>10</sup> In addition to this, 111 b, which could not be precisely located in the sanctuary, comes from a mainly Hellenistic stratum, cf. Albert 1972, 41.

<sup>11</sup> This applies to thirty-five inscriptions (66. 68. 69. 71. 72. 74. 75. 76. 85. 92. 94. 95. 95 b. 95 c. 96. 99. 100. 101. 102. 107. 111. 112. 119. 120. 122. 124. 126. 129. 131. 135. 136. 138; SEG 59 1429. 1430. 1431).

<sup>12</sup> SEG 34 1253 was reused in Late Antiquity; 67 was found in the debris strata in the so-called library, its burying being thus later than the construction of this piece; 65. 109. 123. 142 were found no later than 1934 according to their inventory numbers, well before the excavation of the Hellenistic structures after World War II; 133 was found in the same period in front of the northern portico, a sector where no Hellenistic strata were preserved (Ziegenaus – De Luca 1968, 4); 70 was found »auf dem Festplatz im nördlichen Osthof« (Habicht 1969, 108), a sector where no Hellenistic structures have been uncovered. The exceptions are 121, found in trenches under the theatre and thus buried before the theatre was built under the Flavian dynasty, and 111 b, found in a mainly Hellenistic stratum. 97. 143. 144 have no precise findspot.

<sup>13</sup> On the abundance of dedications in ancient sanctuaries cf. Veyne 1983.

<sup>14</sup> Among altars and bases, which have the most variations in size, all the pieces with at least one dimension longer than 50 cm were found in the northern half of the sanctuary; for the altars: 120. 132. 133 (78. 85. 127 were found in Bergama); for the bases: 74. 79. 119. 131 (80 was found in the round temple, 124 in an unknown spot in the sanctuary).

<sup>15</sup> Hoffmann 2011, 23; Stročka 2012, 229.



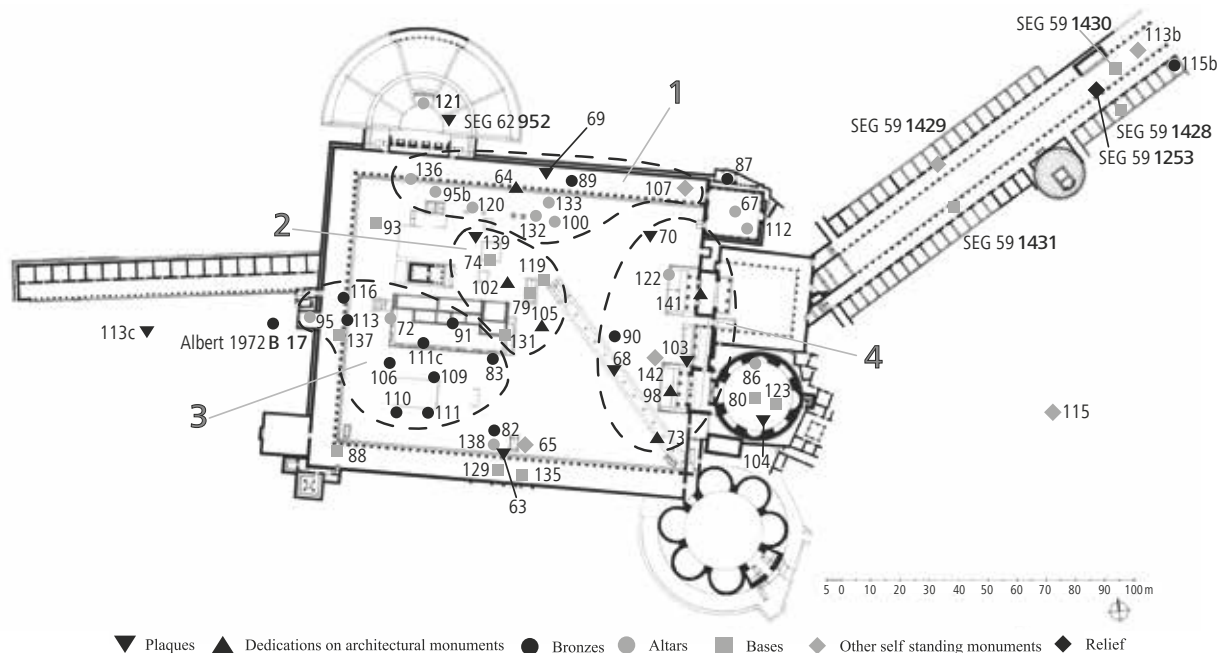


Fig. 1 Dedications found in the sanctuary, according to support shape

street coming from the city have not been fully published; therefore, this sector is not included in the following analysis<sup>16</sup>.

There is only one building that has not yielded any dedication or other inscriptions, neither inside nor around its access points, despite its very good state of preservation: the inferior circular building or »Unterer Rundbau«<sup>17</sup>. The structure is located slightly off the central part of the sanctuary, and its access is limited, suggesting a low attendance<sup>18</sup>. Since inscriptions are preferably displayed in visible and frequented places in order to reach many readers, this remote building with its limited access would not have been very attractive for display<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Only part of the inscriptions mentioned in De Luca 1984, 153 f. were published by Meier 2009.

<sup>17</sup> On this building Ziegenaus 1981, 76–100. 68 was found in the cryptoporticus connecting the building to the central court of the sanctuary, but probably fell there from above (Habicht 1969, 108). The cellar of the southern portico is also problematic, because it is impossible to know whether the three pieces 88. 129. 135 should be attributed to the portico (as assumed in the publication) or to its cellar. The sector has however certainly yielded inscriptions, notably the heterogeneous collection of four pieces located near the central access to the cellar, which was thus probably attended (63. 65. 82. 138); since this entrance was a later addition of uncertain date (Hoffmann 2011, 94 f.), they must have been gathered there at this later time.

<sup>18</sup> Ziegenaus 1981, 82–87, especially 85; Stročka 2012, 259 f.

<sup>19</sup> The building has been interpreted as either an incubation building, or a thermal complex, or a banquet room. On the first interpretations cf. Ziegenaus 1981, 97; Radt 1999, 237, as well as the synthesis of the debate in Stročka 2012, 261; the last interpretation was made independently by Friese 2006, 104; Stročka 2012, 264–267. On the rite of incubation see the recent syntheses von Ehrenheim 2015; Renberg 2017, and for a summary of the debate concerning the incubation places in the Asclepieion of Pergamon cf. von Ehrenheim 2009, 249–251; Renberg 2017, 138–146.

The distribution pattern of the ninety-four dedications from the Pergamon Asclepieion does not follow any rigid rule; yet different tendencies point to a fine visual construction of the sanctuary's internal space. Four main inscription assemblages can be delineated, each displaying pieces with a similar visual appearance but with a more varied text (*fig. 1, 1–4*). The distribution of the dedications was not based on external factors, like the dedicatee, or the social status or the gender of the dedicator, but mostly on the shape of the support or carrier. In order to highlight this phenomenon, the pieces of the corpus have been distributed into six main categories according to material, shape, and display solutions: bronzes, stone altars, stone bases, other stone self-supporting stone monuments, plaques, and dedications on architectural monuments<sup>20</sup>.

### *Assemblages Analysis*

#### First Assemblage

The northern portico was an easily accessible and highly attended part of the sanctuary. People gathered there in order to access the theatre and possibly also to take advantage of the shade during sunny days<sup>21</sup>. It was the favourite place for erecting honorific and imperial statues<sup>22</sup>, and the buildings themselves were endowed by wealthy members of the local elite<sup>23</sup>. This defines the northern portico as a place of self-representation.

This same portico also displays the first clear assemblage of dedications, predominantly in the form of larger and smaller altars (*fig. 1, 1*)<sup>24</sup>. Many dedications shaped as large altars with a height of more than 60 cm were found in front of the central part of the northern portico, close to the honorific statues, along the passageway, but also near the main cult altars of the sanctuary<sup>25</sup>. Their shape, large blocks decorated with cornices (*figs. 2, 3*), is similar to the altar-shaped

<sup>20</sup> There is no typology of the supports available and it is not possible to supply one based only on the published descriptions; yet a systematic categorisation allows the identification of the visual assemblages of dedications. For this sake, pieces were first distinguished according to their material (bronze dedications, including tablets and few inscribed objects, versus stone ones); the stone pieces were subsequently separated according to the way they were displayed (self-supporting monuments versus monuments needing a supporting wall). Finally, self-supporting stone monuments were further divided into altars (blocks decorated with cornices without fixation traces on their superior surface), bases (blocks, with or without cornices, with fixation traces on their superior surface, presumably for statues), and other individual monuments (blocks without cornices and fixation traces, cippi and round bases, flat stelae); non-self-supporting stone monuments were divided into plaques and dedications carved on architectural buildings. Two reliefs, 144 and SEG 34 1253, form a last subgroup, characterised by the marginal place of the text on it.

<sup>21</sup> Mathys 2014, 86, note 877.

<sup>22</sup> For the honorific statues: 18. 20. 23. 27. 28. 29. 31. 32. 34. 35. 37. 38. 39. 47. 48. 49. 53. 55; i.e. two thirds of the honorific statues of the sanctuary that were found either in front of the northern portico's west half or reused in the restoration works of its back wall (Mathys 2014, 86). For the imperial statues: 7. 8. 9. 10. 12. 13. A statue of Demosthenes, 33, on which cf. Jones 1998, 72; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 267–269, also belongs to the corpus of statues exposed in the northern part of the sanctuary.

<sup>23</sup> For the portico: 64; for the theatre: SEG 62 952; see also the statue of Hadrian dedicated by Flavia Melitine inside the so-called library, for which cf. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Altars can be less than 30 cm high (small altars: 67. 72. 77. 94. 95. 95 b. 100. 101. 112. 121. 126. 136), or more than 60 cm high (large altars: 78. 85. 120. 127. 132. 133) – the altar 86, with its 40 cm high, falls in the middle. 122 and 138 are too badly preserved for assessment.

<sup>25</sup> Of the six large altars, three were found in front of the centre of the northern portico (120. 132. 133) and three in the modern city of Bergama (78. 85. 127).



Fig. 2 Altar 133. H 122; W 53; L 53 cm. »Θεοίς | τοῖς πανταχοῦ | ὁ ἱερεὺς | Ἀσκληπιάδης«, »Asclepiades the priest to the Gods that are everywhere«



Fig. 3 Altar 132. H 123.5; W 72; L 54.5 cm. »Τάραι | κατὰ ἐνυπνίου | ὄψιν | Γ. Ἰούλιος Νάβος | συνκλητικὸς | τὸν βωμόν«, »Gaius Iulius Nabos, of senatorial rank, [offered] the altar to Taras according to a vision in sleep«

bases of the honorific statues displayed in this same location (*fig. 4*)<sup>26</sup>. Such dedications, which often exhibited an elaborate and fine decoration, implied a noticeable economic investment, as for instance the dedication made by the priest Asclepiades (133, *fig. 2*). Their wealthy dedicators clearly displayed their status, as for instance Gaius Iulius Nabos, who states on 132 that he is »συνκλητικὸς«, (»of senatorial rank«)<sup>27</sup> (*fig. 3*). In addition to this, smaller dedications shaped as stone altars tend to be located in this same sector<sup>28</sup>.

The spatial proximity of dedications in the shape of large altars and altar-shaped honorific statue bases led to an association between them. Yet the visual interaction of the public with these pieces would have been different, since the honorific statues capture the gaze vertically, towards

<sup>26</sup> On the type of honorific statue bases in the northern portico cf. Mathys 2014, 85–87.

<sup>27</sup> 120, by Euthydemus, »ἀρχιερεὺς«, an unclear but certainly high rank; 132, by Gaius Iulius Nabos, Pergamene of senatorial rank; 133, by Asclepiades, member of the prestigious family of the Asclepius priests in Pergamon. The dedicators of 78 and 127 are Roman citizens known to come from other cities of Asia Minor: they had the means to make the trip and to offer an impressive altar.

<sup>28</sup> Smaller altars have been found in the northern portico (95 b. 100. 136), the so-called library (67. 112) and the western portico (72. 95); 77. 94. 101. 126 have no known findspot. The small altar 121 is Hellenistic and was found in trenches under the theatre. It does not pertain to the present analysis of the Roman sanctuary.



Fig. 4 Honorific statue base 32. H 108; W 53; L 53 cm. »[Η βολὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | τῆς] μητροπόλεως | [τῆς] Ἀσίας καὶ δις | [νεω]κόρου πρώτης | [Περγαμ]ηνῶν πόλεως | [ἐτε]λήθησεν | [Τι. Κλα]ύδιον Παυλεῖνον | [τὸν] φιλόσοφον, Ἀντι[οχέα] τῆς κολωνείας«, »The council and the people of the metropolis of Asia and the first twice neokoros city of the Pergamenes honour the philosopher Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, from the *colonia* Antioch«

Opposite the southern portico is the less well-preserved part of the sanctuary<sup>29</sup>, and the distribution of inscriptions in this sector is hard to assess. However, this portico yielded three small bases decorated with cornices (fig. 5), hinting towards a preference for smaller dedications different from those of the northern portico, which, although better preserved, yielded many small altars and no such base<sup>30</sup>.



Fig. 5 Small base with cornices 135. H 13.5; W 8; L 7 cm. »Τατια|νός | εὐχρήν«, »Tatianos, a vow«

the sculptural representation of their honorand, while the dedicated altars attract the gaze horizontally, towards their inscribed text.

Besides, this abundance of large self-standing inscriptions filled the space and was thus a nuisance to the free circulation of visitors. Honorific statues and dedications both took advantage of the crowd reaching the theatre to display their message and channelled it by occupying part of the surface and impeding some axes of circulation.

<sup>29</sup> For example, twenty-two capitals from the northern portico colonnade were found, but only two from the western and none from the southern. Hoffmann 2011, 33. 82. 87; Stročka 2012, 229.

<sup>30</sup> Bases can be divided into three groups: small bases with cornices (mostly less than 25 cm high, with 88 up to 45 cm high and 128 up to 34 cm: 88. 93. 128. 129. 135. 137; SEG 59 1428. 1430. 1431), small bases without cornices (75. 76. 92. 97. 123) and large bases without cornices (at least one preserved side more than 50 cm and originally longer: 74. 79. 80. 119. 124. 131). The small bases decorated with cornices were found in the southern portico (88. 129. 135), the western portico (137), the north-west place (93), the access road (SEG 59 1428. 1430. 1431) and in the city of Bergama (128). It is impossible to study the distribution of small bases without cornices, since for the most part they have no precise findspot (round temple 123; unknown sector: 75. 76. 92. 97).





Fig. 6 Large undecorated base 74. H 18; W 77; L 85 cm. »Ἀσκληπιῶι Σωτῆρι | Λούκιος Ἀλβεῖν<ι>ος Γερμανός | Τρωαδεύς χαριστήριον«, »Lucius Albinus Germanus, from Alexandria Troas, [offered] this thank-offering to Asclepius the saviour«

### Second Assemblage

The bases for tall statues dedicated to the gods, which represent the second cluster of dedications, were clearly separated from the honorific statues and the large altars discussed above. They were mainly found in the centre of the sanctuary, near the three cult altars (*fig. 1, 2*)<sup>31</sup>. These dedicatory statue bases have a distinct shape, undecorated, low and wide; a good example is 74, 77 cm large and only 18 cm high (*fig. 6*)<sup>32</sup>. Like the dedications shaped as large altars, these pieces put the wealth of the dedicators on display<sup>33</sup>; yet their visual aspect was different from that of the inscriptions in the first assemblage.

This area around the cult altars saw investment by the elite in the form of such expensive dedications, but also in the form of honorific statues, some bases of which were found nearby<sup>34</sup>. This observation goes against the older interpretations of this sector, which were only based on the analysis of the architecture. The latter stated that this older core of the sanctuary was a centre of popular piety and that there was a cultic division between an elitist Zeus Asclepius in the round temple and a popular traditional Asclepius in the Hellenistic temples<sup>35</sup> – yet the elite invested in the Hellenistic cult centre and the cult of Asclepius, as is shown not only by the distribution pat-

<sup>31</sup> 74. 79. 119. 131. The other large bases are 80, found in the round temple, and 124, without a precise findspot.

<sup>32</sup> This shape is attested by four bases for dedicated statues: two near the central altars, 74. 119, and two found in the circular temple, 80 and the smaller 123. Another base found near the altars displays the same proportions, although it is higher and thicker: 131. The exceptional case of 79, the last large base found near the altars, will be discussed later.

<sup>33</sup> 79 is dedicated by Publius Afranius Flavianus, of consular rank, perithytes and therapeutes; 119 by Attalos, son of Attalos, therapeutes who won the Asian games; the dedicator of 74 is again a Roman citizen from Alexandria in the Troad who had the means not only for the trip but also for an expensive offering; 131 is the only collective dedication of the sanctuary.

<sup>34</sup> 36. 57. 59, on which cf. Mathys 2014, 86 f.; their bad state of preservation does not allow for a reconstruction of their original shape.

<sup>35</sup> This interpretation has found acceptance over several decades, cf. Habicht 1969, 13 f.; Hoffmann 1998, 52; Radt 1999, 230. 241 f.; De Luca 2009, 106.

tern of the inscriptions, but also by the record of Aelius Aristides, who focused on Asclepios and often mentioned the older temples<sup>36</sup>.

The idea of an untouchable ›museum‹ collecting the abandoned ruins of the older sanctuary, as it was recently proposed by M. Melfi, is equally contradicted by the distribution of the inscriptions<sup>37</sup>. This part of the sanctuary was characterised by the abundance of imperial period honorific and dedicatory statues that crowded the place and, in combination with the architecture, marked it as highly important. It was moreover directly visible once entering the sanctuary from the propylaea, creating a direct link between the visitor and the core of the sanctuary<sup>38</sup>.

### Third Assemblage

The overall picture changes abruptly as soon as the south-western corner of the sanctuary is considered; only small bronze dedications have been uncovered there (*fig. 1, 3*)<sup>39</sup>. These findings are extremely formulaic in both text and shape: tablets with or without *ansae*, often equipped with fixation rings or tenons, dedicated after a vow to Asclepios; the squarish tablet offered by Herakleides, measuring 4.7 × 5.3 cm, is a good example (*fig. 7*)<sup>40</sup>. The general impression is that of a coherent ensemble. Nearby, in the middle of the western portico, three marble pieces were found, two of them connected with bronze offerings: the base of a metal statuette and an



Fig. 7 Bronze tablet 110. H 5.3; W 4.7; L 0.2 cm.  
»Ηρακλῆς vac. | ὑπὲρ Θεο|τέιμου τέκ|νου Ἀσκληπ|ιῷ  
εὐχῆν«, »Herakles [made] a vow to Asclepios for his  
son Theotimos«

<sup>36</sup> On Aelius Aristides cf. Jones 1998, 69. 75 f.; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 201–203.

<sup>37</sup> Melfi 2016, 106–108; Melfi 2018, 102 f.

<sup>38</sup> Hoffmann 1998, 48; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 182. 186 f.; Hoffmann 2011, 9 f.; Melfi 2016, 106.

<sup>39</sup> Bronze tablets were found to the south-west of the sanctuary (82. 83. 91. 106. 110. 111. 113. 116; plus the bronze bracelets 109. 111 c); to the north (87. 89); to the east (90); along the western long portico (Albert 1972 B17) and the access road (115 b). The findspot of 71. 81. 84. 99. 108. 111 b. 117, Albert 1972 B13 is unknown, likewise for the bronze band 143. On the technology and typology of Pergamene bronze tablets cf. Albert 1972; for a general discussion of the tablets accompanying vows cf. Veyne 1983, 290–292. Two inscribed bronze snakes, whose texts are not published or deciphered, were also found in the south-west of the sanctuary: 160 b = AvP 11, 1 465 was found in a stratum dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE and has an unreadable text in unknown signs; AvP 11, 1 Anhang C is unpublished (it is mentioned by Habicht 1969, 109, in the commentary to 71, but no text is given; the indication in AvP 11, 1 that it should be 6 is false). Another such snake, Vienneis 1978 23, is attributed to the sanctuary, but it is not clear whether this may simply have been inferred from the inscribed text.

<sup>40</sup> Only few pieces vary from this general description, for example showing an anatomic decoration (ears or eyes) or another dedicatee (Apollo or Artemis). For Apollo: 115 b. 116; for Artemis: 117. With ears: 89. 91. 115 b; with eyes: 111 b. Of these, 91. 116 were found in the south-west of the court; 89. 115 b elsewhere in the sanctuary; 111 b. 117 have no precise findspot. 111 b was probably never exposed in the Roman phase of the sanctuary, since it was found in a mainly Hellenistic stratum somewhere in the sanctuary.

altar associated with a long listing of offerings<sup>41</sup>. Even if the absence of larger dedications might be due to the state of preservation of this part of the sanctuary, it is striking that no other small dedications were discovered in this part of the sanctuary, neither altars, bases, nor any other pieces, whereas bronzes remain rare elsewhere. This sector was thus reserved one this specific category of dedications: bronze tablets and ex-voto. These dedications do not occupy much space because of their small dimensions, thus allowing the accommodation of large groups of visitors. At the same time, they need a support to be displayed upon, likely a wall on which they could be suspended through their various fixations; this hanging technique gave these small pieces a high visibility by placing them at eye level. Because the south-west of the sanctuary is mostly open space they had to be grouped together on the few walls available. Visitors gathered freely in this large empty space where the accumulation of numerous similar bronze ex-voto impressed them not through size but through accumulation, thus indicating the power of the saviour god that so often granted the requests. As the buildings in this sector, including both the building to the north of it and the cellar to the south of it, are usually interpreted as incubation facilities<sup>42</sup>, one may postulate a link between this function and the display of the effective powers of the god that impressed the visitors seeking his help.

#### Fourth Assemblage

In the eastern part of the sanctuary the record is dominated by thin horizontal plaques that needed to be fixed on a vertical surface (*fig. 8*), or by dedications that were carved directly on the walls<sup>43</sup>, whereas self-supporting stone monuments, like altars or bases, are rare (*fig. 1, 4*).

This observation, despite the bad state of preservation of this sector, points to an occupation of the space in elevation rather than on the ground. The walking area left free allowed for the circulation of visitors in what was the largest empty space of the sanctuary and for their dissemination either to the highly occupied central and northern part of the complex, with the temples, the theatre, the honorific statues and many large dedications, or to the emptier southern sector with the southern portico, its cellar and the Hellenistic buildings, the two locations where incubation facilities are usually located and where bronze tablets were displayed.

The eastern part of the sanctuary was probably another sector devoted to the representation of the elite, although it is visually different from the other observed assemblages. There are dedications in this sector that point to the high social status of their dedicators through their impressive size and their textual content<sup>44</sup>. Moreover, Aelius Aristides tells us that he dedicated an

<sup>41</sup> 137, with footprints on the upper surface indicating the initial presence of a bronze statuette (on the statue fixations cf. Mathys 2014, 6–7); 72, whose dedicator previously dedicated to Asclepius various metal objects (cf. l. 8–15: »χαλκία ζώδια ε', ἀργύρεα δ', κύεθον, καὶ [...] δακτύλιον χρυσέ[ο]ν, ἐσθῆτας γ', ὠθόν[ιο]ν, εἰκόνα, νάρθηκα, ΣΙΛΩΜΑΤΑ, ξυστόν [λ.]ήκυθον, πινακί[διον] καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα [...]«). The last piece, 95, is more difficult to assess due to its bad state of preservation.

<sup>42</sup> On incubation facilities in the Pergamon Asclepieion cf. von Ehrenheim 2009, 249–251; Renberg 2017, 138–146.

<sup>43</sup> Plaques: 68. 70. 103; inscriptions carved on architectural fragments: 73. 98, to which 141, the inscription of the propylaea, may be added; self-supporting monuments: 122. 142; bronze tablet: 90. Four pieces found inside the round temple can be added to this list: 80 and 123 (undecorated bases), 86 (middle size altar), 104 (plaque). The inscriptions carved on architectural fragments, 73. 98, but also 102. 105 (found near the »hellenistischer Schöpfbrunnen«), await a proper study to attribute them to their original monument (the only two for which such a study has been made are 64, the inscription of the northern portico, and 141, the inscription of the propylaea).

<sup>44</sup> 103, of very high quality, is the dedication of an ὠρολόγιον offered by a wealthy Roman citizen; 73 and 98 are part of a building. Inside the temple, the base 80 is notable for size and quality, and 86 is quite large for an altar (40 cm high).



Fig. 8 Plaque 103. H 40.5; W 83; L 3 cm. »Π. Αἰλῖος Ἰνγένους [Ἀσκληπιῶι ?] τὸ ὥρολόγιον σὺν τῇ [μηχανῇ] νοποία κατασκευ[άσας ἐκ τῶν] ιδίων ἀνέθη[κεν]«, »Publius Aelius Ingenuus offered the dial with its mechanism to Asclepius having built it at his own expense«

inscribed silver tripod to Asclepius and another offering to Zeus in the circular temple<sup>45</sup>, where a couple of honorific statues were also found<sup>46</sup>.

The distribution of dedications in the sanctuary proves to be ordered, and the visual and spatial interactions woven between the dedications in the Asclepieion of Pergamon reveal a complex but visibly organised structure, in which each part of the sanctuary had its own specificities. Although there seems to be no absolute rule, dedications tend to be gathered in formally coherent groups, which give a more distinctive visual identity to architecturally similar structures like the porticos. Thus, in the northern portico, mostly altars were found; in the other porticos (especially the southern one), small statuette bases decorated with cornices; around the Hellenistic cultic centre, massive undecorated statue bases; in the south-western part of the sanctuary, bronze ex-voto; and in the east, dedications placed on the vertical surfaces of the sanctuary. This created sectors where the dedications were rather hung on walls and the free circulation of crowds was facilitated, and others, like the northern part of the sanctuary, where the circulation was partially obstructed by the presence of numerous self-standing dedications. These differences reflect a different occupation of the various sectors, which does not come as a surprise, since we know that circulation in the sanctuary was at least on some occasions regulated<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Aristeid. Or. 50 Keil, 45–46 (»ἀναθεῖναι ἐν Διὶς Ἀσκληπιῶϊ«).

<sup>46</sup> 22. 42; cf. Mathys 2014, 87.

<sup>47</sup> On the ritual prescriptions in the sanctuary cf. the *lex sacra* 161, with commentary by Wörrle 1969; on the Asclepieion's *leges sacrae* cf. Renberg 2017, 193–198. These prescriptions originated obliged paths, as underlined by Petsalis-Diomidis 2005, 203 f.; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 227–231. Yet the date of the *lex sacra* is uncertain, and such prescriptions may have changed over time, cf. von Ehrenheim 2009, 251.



## THREE CASE STUDIES

Three examples show the potential of a multifaceted analysis: by considering their location and shape, in addition to their text, a better understanding can be achieved of the rich message these dedications aimed to transmit. This will be the subject of a more detailed analysis in the following and last part.

*AvP 8, 3 132*

A large altar, almost 125 cm high, used text, shape, size and location to set itself apart from other dedications (132, *fig. 3*). Its inscription reads as follows: »Τάραι κατὰ ἐνυπνίου ὄψιν Γ. Ἰούλιος Νάβος συνκλητικὸς τὸν βωμόν«, (»Gaius Iulius Nabos, of senatorial rank, [offered] to Taras the altar according to a vision in sleep«). It seems to be a regular offering made to a god after an appearance in a dream – a usual gesture after incubation<sup>48</sup>. Yet the god mentioned is not Asclepios, but Taras, the eponymous founder of Tarentum. Moreover, the familiar phrase »κατ'ὄναρ« or »κατ'ὄνειρον« has been replaced by a poetic expression paralleled in Aeschylus (Pers. 518), »κατὰ ἐνυπνίου ὄψιν«, a display of the dedicator's fine education. The text also directs attention to the offering, an altar (»βωμόν«); altars are quite common among dedications but are rarely as conspicuous and finely decorated as in this case<sup>49</sup>. The dedicator, Gaius Iulius Nabos, was a Pergamene of senatorial rank and did not refrain from mentioning it on his dedication, as opposed to Publius Afranius Flavianus whose case will be considered hereafter<sup>50</sup>. The author of the text thus exploits all formulaic elements of the text (dedicator, dedicatee, offering, reason for the offering) to set this dedication apart from the others.

The material aspect of this dedication follows a dynamic of self-representation. Its size and fine carving sets it apart from the average altar and displays the wealth of the dedicator. It was found in front of the middle of the northern portico, i. e. in a passageway not far from the theatre and from the centre of the sanctuary, where it would be visible to the crowd of visitors and where honorific and imperial statues were located. The altar of Gaius Iulius Nabos interacted with this environment; it was not like an honorific statue since the effigy was lacking, but resembled their bases, enhancing the prestige of its dedicator. This piece participated in a dynamic of promotion of its dedicator, textually putting forward his *paideia* and his *pietas*, materially displaying his wealth, and spatially connecting him with the surrounding honorific statues.

*AvP 8, 3 79*

Another dedication takes the interplay between dedications further (79, *fig. 9*). The text reads »[Ἀσκληπιῶι Σωτῆρι Π. Ἀφράνιος] Φλαβιανὸς ὑπατικὸς περιθύτης καὶ θεραπευτής«, (»Publius Afranius Flavianus, former consul, perithythes and therapeutes, to Asclepios the saviour«). It does not give much information on the impressive career of the dedicator, consul in 115 CE and proconsul of Asia in 130, but focuses instead on his religious duties within the sanctuary, »περιθύτης« and

<sup>48</sup> Other pieces made after a dream vision are 75. 76. 77. 91. 116. 117. 127.

<sup>49</sup> On dedications shaped as altars cf. Veyne 1983, 288; in the Asclepieion altars are the most common support (67. 72. 77. 78. 85. 86. 94. 95. 95 b. 100. 101. 112. 120. 121. 122. 126. 127. 132. 133. 136. 138).

<sup>50</sup> On this senator cf. Ventroux 2017, 293.

»θεραπευτής«<sup>51</sup>. Yet, the information given on the dedicator is enough to highlight his prestigious status, in society in general as well as within the sanctuary.

According to C. Habicht's description, this inscription is carved on a large, narrow and tall undecorated base, found inside the »hellenistischer Schöpfbrunnen«. Such a base has no parallel neither in shape nor in size to the other dedicatory bases, resembling much more the altar-shaped bases of honorific statues<sup>52</sup>. Yet this vertical piece was found around the main cult centre, where flat horizontal dedication bases were discovered, and not along the northern portico, where vertical bases for honorific statues and vertical dedicated altars were found. The format thus associates it with the bases for honorific statues found in the northern portico, while its findspot points towards a spatial separation from them. Such a unique choice in shape and location blurs the borders between honorific statues, dedicated statues and dedicated altars, marking the specificity of this piece.

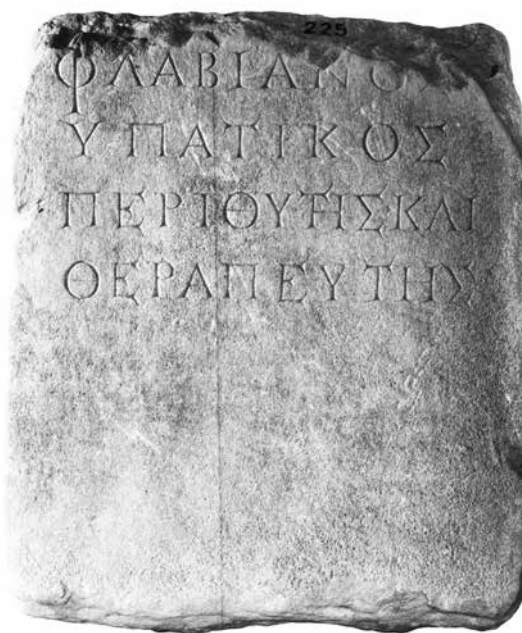


Fig. 9 Base 79. H 55.5; W 45; L 42 cm. »[Ἀσκληπιῶι | Σωτήρι | Π. Ἀφράνιος] | Φλαβιανὸς | ὑπατικός | περιθύτης καὶ | θεραπευτής«, »Publius Afranius Flavianus, of consular rank, perithythes and therapeutes, to Asclepios the saviour«

#### *AvP 8, 3 91*

The south-western part of the sanctuary was characterised by a multiplication of bronze ex-voto hung on walls. Small variations in size or the presence or absence of *ansae* did not change the overall impression of accumulation of similar pieces in this particular part of the sanctuary. What struck the viewer was the multiplication of proof of the powers of the god and the number of his followers. Yet some bronze tablets presented anatomical decorations, like ears<sup>53</sup>; 91, found in the sector of the incubation buildings and dedicated by a certain Fabia Secunda to Asclepios, is a good example (*fig. 10*)<sup>54</sup>. The inscribed text is standard: »Ἀσκληπιῶ Σωτήρι Φαβία Σεκοῦνδα κατ' ὄνειρον«, (»Fabia Secunda to Asclepios the saviour according to a dream«). But the appearance of this tablet is not standard: it is gilded and presents a decoration in the form of a repoussé ear.

<sup>51</sup> On the therapeutai of Asclepios cf. Habicht 1969, 114 f.; Nicosia 1980; Jones 1998, 75; Brabant 2006; Friese 2006 and the syntheses in Mathys 2014, 82; Ventrux 2017, 213 f. The perithytai are attested only in the Asclepieion of Pergamon (79. 140. 152) and their exact duties remain mysterious.

<sup>52</sup> Habicht 1969, 114.

<sup>53</sup> Tablets with ears: 89. 91. 115 b; moreover, 111 b, which was probably never exposed in the Roman sanctuary, is decorated with eyes. On such votives cf. van Straten 1981; Forsén 1996.

<sup>54</sup> On this piece and its discovery context cf. in addition to the main edition Ziegenaus – De Luca 1968, 171 f.; Albert 1972, 41.



Fig. 10 Tablet 91. H 9; superior W 4.3, inferior W 7.3; L 0.5 cm. »Ἀσκληπιῶ Σω|τήρι Φαβία Σεκοῦν|δα κατ' ὄνειρον«, »Fabia Secunda to Asclepios the saviour according to a dream«

The anatomical decoration distinguished this tablet from the mass, thus catching the attention of the visitor; the gilding of Fabia Secunda's dedication also exploited the preciousness of the material to distinguish itself from surrounding tablets<sup>55</sup>.

Yet anatomical decorations in form of ears are not only an eye-catcher for a specific ex-voto. They have been interpreted in two, non-exclusive ways: they can either indicate the fact that the divinity healed those parts of the body, or that a sensorial communication was established during healing rituals between the deity, who heard, and the devotee, who spoke<sup>56</sup>. Fabia Secunda's tablet was exposed precisely where the incubation ritual is supposed to have taken place, where people dreamt, were heard by the deity and healed. Thus, during their stay incubators witnessed not only the mass of bronze ex-voto gathered in the south-west of the sanctuary, proof of the powers of the god they were appealing to, but also the fact some older visitors had a sensorial contact with the deity during a dream. To display bronze tablets in general and 91 in

particular precisely in the sector of the incubation rooms enhances their capacity to address visitors, since people that attended incubation facilities were those most interested by the listening and healing skills of the god<sup>57</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

The Asclepieion of Pergamon clearly shows that the impression made by dedications on the visitors of the sanctuary was not only based on the text, but on the combination of wording, support (shape, size, finesse), and location. Reconstructing the general context, with its assemblages of visually coherent pieces in specific parts of the sanctuary, allows for a better understanding of the visual interplay among inscriptions and also of the meaning carried by some specific dedications.

<sup>55</sup> The distinctiveness of 91 was already analysed by Ziegenaus – De Luca 1968, 172; Petsalis-Diomidis 2005, 216 f.

<sup>56</sup> Ziegenaus – De Luca 1968, 172; Habicht 1969, 119; Forsén 1996, 13–19; Petsalis-Diomidis 2005, 215 f. This interpretation is usually made for votives in form of ears, but it can be extended to votives in form of eyes.

<sup>57</sup> The link between dedications, anatomical votives and later incubators was already amply commented by A. Petsalis-Diomidis, cf. Petsalis-Diomidis 2005, 214–217; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 238–275, especially 257–262. Her analysis did not consider the specific distribution pattern of dedications in the sanctuary, but considered the sanctuary as a general space where incubators came. The spatial link between incubation facilities and bronze tablets confirms and enhances her interpretations concerning this specific category of dedications, for which the link with the incubation ritual is now further confirmed.

In the case of 79, whose shape is unparalleled among dedications, especially in the place where it was erected, the combination of various methods of analysis proved particularly informative.

The sanctuary of Asclepios in Pergamon is known to be a showcase for the leading provincial and imperial families<sup>58</sup>; this dynamic of self-promotion is not only attested by literary texts, impressive endowments and the presence of honorific statues for members of the imperial elite, but is also perceptible in the dedications and in their interactions with other inscriptions. With the choice of massive supports, displayed in highly attended parts of the sanctuary near honorific statues, and of texts highlighting the wealth and the social status of the dedicator along with his culture or piety, dedications play an important role in the self-representation of the elites. Such a role not only favoured individuals, but was also beneficial for the sanctuary itself, which enhanced its own prestige through the prestige of its visitors and dedicators. Moreover, offerings had a collective impact, reinforcing, by the many accounts of successful healings, the reputation of the sanctuary and of its divinity, Asclepius.

In addition to this, the chosen framework and methodology allows a clearer understanding of the distribution of dedications inside the sanctuary, which was not chaotic, but well organised. This implies some form of regulation, or self-regulation, of the location of inscriptions. This question cannot be answered in a simple and straightforward way; an analysis of the sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi in Archaic and Classical times showed, for instance, how the placement of dedications was probably the effect of multiple factors, notably a balance between the power and needs of the sanctuary administration and of the dedicators<sup>59</sup>. It is also possible that specific rules may have existed, or that clusters of dedications may have attracted similar pieces in the same part of the sanctuary. Whatever the mechanisms behind the choice of shape and location, dedications ended up as meaningful visual assemblages, that could impress the visitors of the sanctuary, in an information exchange supported by their textual, visual and spatial features.

#### CATALOGUE OF THE DEDICATIONS FOUND IN THE ASCLEPIEION OF PERGAMON

	Date	Shape and dimensions (height, width, length, in cm)	Place and date of discovery
Albert 1972 B13	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Bronze tablet, H 3.6, W 5	In the sanctuary, no later than 1961
Albert 1972 B17	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Bronze tabula ansata, 4.4×6.2×1.5	Outside the sanctuary, to the south of the east end of the Hellenistic portico, in 1967
AvP 8, 3 63	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Marble plaque, 34.3×57.5×4.7	Found re-employed in the central access to the southern cellar, in April 1963
AvP 8, 3 64	117–138 CE	Marble architectural frag- ment, 88×261–270×84.5	Unknown, belongs to the northern portico
AvP 8, 3 65	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE	Marble stela, 26×29×10.8	At the central access of the southern cellar, no later than 1933

<sup>58</sup> Habicht 1969, 6–18; Radt 1999, 241 f.; Riethmüller 2011, 229; Mathys 2014, 87 f. 95 f.; Ventrone 2017, 130–133. 209–214 and *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> Scott 2010, 29–40.

	Date	Shape and dimensions (height, width, length, in cm)	Place and date of discovery
AvP 8, 3 66	Imperial period	Marble plaque, 8.5×11.5×4.4	In the debris inside the sanctuary, no later than 1932
AvP 8, 3 67	First half of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE	Marble altar, 24.5×12×8	In the debris of the so-called library, no later than 1931
AvP 8, 3 68	Imperial period <sup>60</sup>	Marble plaque, 19.8×20.5×5.2	In the cryptoporticus connecting the court to the southern round building, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 69	Imperial period	Marble plaque, 11×19×5	In the debris in the middle of the north- ern portico, no later than 1932
AvP 8, 3 70	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE	Marble plaque, 10.5×12.5×7.5	To the north of the east court, no later than 1961
AvP 8, 3 71 (Albert 1972 B9)	Imperial period	Bronze tabula ansata, 5.3×10.7×0.3	In the city of Bergama, no later than 1938
AvP 8, 3 72	Imperial period	Marble altar, 28×18×17	In a trench in the western part of the sanctuary, in autumn 1933
AvP 8, 3 73	ca. 125–200 CE <sup>61</sup>	Marble architectural frag- ment, W 135, l. 65	Some 20 meters to the south of the staircase of the round temple, near the eastern end of the southern portico, no later than 1929
AvP 8, 3 74	Imperial period	Marble base without cor- nices, 18×77×85	Found re-employed in the pavement to the north of the southern altar, date unknown
AvP 8, 3 75	Imperial period	Marble base without cor- nices, 27×45×18	Found re-employed in modern barracks near the sanctuary, at the end of the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
AvP 8, 3 76	Imperial period	Marble base without cor- nices, 28×45×18 cm	Found re-employed in modern barracks near the sanctuary, at the end of the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
AvP 8, 3 77	After 66/67 CE	Marble altar, 30×12×12	Found re-employed in modern barracks near the sanctuary, at the end of the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
AvP 8, 3 78	ca. 125–200 CE	Marble altar, 105×62×47	In the city of Bergama, in 1904
AvP 8, 3 79	ca. 115–130 CE	Marble base without cor- nices, 55.5×45×42	In the »hellenistischer Schöpfbrunnen«, in autumn 1933
AvP 8, 3 80	Imperial period	Marble base without cor- nices, 18.8×52×29	Inside the round temple, in 1933
AvP 8, 3 81 (Albert 1972 B18)	Second half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>62</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, 4.8×6.2×0.15	In the sanctuary, no later than 1934

<sup>60</sup> Habicht 1969, following Wiegand 1932, 36, read, l. 1–2, »L(ucius) Sempr[onius Faus]tinae l(ibertus?)« and considered that the dedicator of this plaque was a freedman of the empress Faustina maior, cf. Habicht 1969, 18. He thus dated the inscription to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. However, his restitution and proposed date cannot be accepted, because the nomen Sempronius does not belong to the onomastic of the empress.

<sup>61</sup> Architectural fragment probably belonging to the round temple or the southern portico.

<sup>62</sup> Albert 1972, 41.

	Date	Shape and dimensions (height, width, length, in cm)	Place and date of discovery
AvP 8, 3 <b>82</b> (Albert 1972 <b>B2</b> )	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Bronze tabula ansata, H 4.3, W 7.1	At the central access to the southern cellar, in spring 1934
AvP 8, 3 <b>83</b> (Albert 1972 <b>B8</b> )	Second half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>63</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, 2.9×5.4×0.4	To the south-east of the incubation building, in autumn 1934
AvP 8, 3 <b>84</b> (Albert 1972 <b>B10</b> )	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE (?) <sup>64</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, H 2.0, W 4.4	In the sanctuary, out of context, in April 1958
AvP 8, 3 <b>85</b>	Imperial period	Marble altar, 64×26×20	In the city of Bergama, in the 19 <sup>th</sup> cen- tury
AvP 8, 3 <b>86</b>	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE	Limestone altar, 40×28×28	In the north part of the round temple, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 <b>87</b> (Albert 1972 <b>B11</b> )	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>65</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, 4.3×6.5×0.5	In the »Nordkammer« 1, Horizont 4, no later than 1959
AvP 8, 3 <b>88</b>	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE	Marble base with cornices, 44.2×24×17	At the western end of the southern portico, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 <b>89</b>	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE	Bronze tabula ansata dec- orated with ears, H 10.8, W 14.4	In the northern portico, before 1932
AvP 8, 3 <b>90</b> (Albert 1972 <b>B14</b> )	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>66</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, H 2.5, W 7.2	In imperial strata between the »Nordost- bau« and the cryptoporticus, no later than 1961 <sup>67</sup>
AvP 8, 3 <b>91</b> (Albert 1972 <b>B20</b> )	ca. 117–138 <sup>68</sup>	Bronze tablet decorated with an ear, 9×7.3×0.5	In the sector of the incubation buildings, out of context, no later than 1959 <sup>69</sup>
AvP 8, 3 <b>92</b>	Imperial period	Marble base without cor- nices, 5.6×8×9.5	In the sanctuary, no later than 1933
AvP 8, 3 <b>93</b>	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE	Alabaster base with cornic- es, 6.2×12×11.5	To the west of the »römischer Bade- brunnen«, in front of the temples, no later than 1931
AvP 8, 3 <b>94</b>	Imperial period	Marble altar, 11.6×14.5×6.3	In the sanctuary, in autumn 1933
AvP 8, 3 <b>95</b>	Imperial period	Marble altar, 19×14.5×14	In the central exedra of the western portico, in spring 1933
AvP 8, 3 <b>95 b</b>	Imperial period	Marble altar, 15.5×16.5×13.5	Near the »römischer Badebrunnen« in front of the northern portico, no later than 1931
AvP 8, 3 <b>95 c</b>	Imperial period	Marble undetermined frag- ment, 14×31×20	Found re-employed in modern barracks near the sanctuary, at the end of the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
AvP 8, 3 <b>96</b>	Imperial period	Marble cippus, H 13.7	In the sanctuary, no later than 1958

<sup>63</sup> Albert 1972, 38.<sup>64</sup> Albert 1972, 39.<sup>65</sup> Albert 1972, 38.<sup>66</sup> Albert 1972, 40.<sup>67</sup> Albert 1972, 40.<sup>68</sup> Albert 1972, 41.<sup>69</sup> Ziegenaus – De Luca 1968, 171; Albert 1972, 41.



	Date	Shape and dimensions (height, width, length, in cm)	Place and date of discovery
AvP 8, 3 97	First half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE	Marble base without cornices, 6.5×11.5×11.5	In the sanctuary, no later than 1961
AvP 8, 3 98	ca. 125–200 CE <sup>70</sup>	Marble architectural fragment, 113×20×61	On the staircase of the round temple, no later than 1929
AvP 8, 3 99	Imperial period	Bronze tablet, 4.0×12.0×0.03	In the XLIII E Ost trench, impossible to locate on the maps of the sanctuary, no later than 1962
AvP 8, 3 100	Imperial period	Marble altar, 23×22×15.5	In the debris in front of the northern portico, no later than 1932
AvP 8, 3 101	Imperial period	Marble altar, 19×11×7.5	In the sanctuary, in April 1933
AvP 8, 3 102	Imperial period	Marble architectural fragment, 11.5×83.5×34	To the west of the »hellenistischer Schöpfbrunnen«, in October 1934
AvP 8, 3 103	After 117 CE	Marble plaque, 40.5×83×3	To the north of the portico of the round temple, no later than 1929
AvP 8, 3 104	After 117 CE	Marble plaque, 12×7.3×2.4	Inside the round temple, no later than 1929
AvP 8, 3 105	After 117 CE <sup>71</sup>	Marble architectural fragment, 43×166×44	In a trench in the middle of the sanctuary, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 106 (Albert 1972 B1)	Second half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>72</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, 6.4×8×0.1	In the west trench on the court, in autumn 1933
AvP 8, 3 107	Imperial period	Marble cippus, diam. 35	To the east end of the northern portico, no later than 1931
AvP 8, 3 108 (Albert 1972 B12)	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE <sup>73</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, H 2.4, W 4.6	In the sanctuary, out of context, no later than 1961
AvP 8, 3 109	Not later than the 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE <sup>74</sup>	Bronze bracelet, H 2, diam. 5.5	To the south of the Hellenistic incubation buildings, no later than 1934
AvP 8, 3 110 (Albert 1972, B6)	2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>75</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, 5.3×4.7×0.2	In the east-west wall of the west trench, no later than 1934
AvP 8, 3 111 (Albert 1982 B4)	Imperial period	Bronze tabula ansata, H 3.8, W 6.2	In the east-west wall of the west trench, in spring 1934
AvP 8, 3 111 b (Albert 1972 B21)	Before Hadrian <sup>76</sup>	Bronze tablet decorated with eyes, tablet 5.9×2.1×0.2	In a Hellenistic stratum in trench VIII <sup>77</sup> , no later than 1959
AvP 8, 3 111 c	Imperial period	Bronze bracelet, H 3.3, circumference 18	In the sector of the incubation buildings, no later than 1959

<sup>70</sup> Architectural fragment probably belonging to the round temple.

<sup>71</sup> cf. Habicht 1969, 124, on the name Aelius in Pergamon.

<sup>72</sup> Albert 1972, 37.

<sup>73</sup> Albert 1972, 39.

<sup>74</sup> Later, a cognomen would be expected.

<sup>75</sup> Albert 1972, 38.

<sup>76</sup> Albert 1972, 41.

<sup>77</sup> Albert 1972, 41; the trench is not located on the published excavation plans.

	Date	Shape and dimensions (height, width, length, in cm)	Place and date of discovery
AvP 8, 3 112	Imperial period	Marble altar, 12×14×8	In the debris of the so-called library, no later than 1931
AvP 8, 3 113 (Albert 1972 B3)	Second half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>78</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, 4.2×5.7×0.15	In front of the access to the western portico, in spring 1934
AvP 8, 3 113 b	First half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Marble stela, 26.5×28×7.5	In the colonnaded access road <sup>79</sup> , no later than 1963
AvP 8, 3 113 c	First half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Marble plaque, 9×10.5×2.1	Outside the sanctuary, in a trench near the Hellenistic portico, no later than 1964
AvP 8, 3 115	First half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Marble block, 14×28×36	Outside the sanctuary to the east, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 115 b (Albert 1972 B19)	Second half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE <sup>80</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata decorated with ears, 8.5×5.5×0.5	In imperial strata in trench 2 of the exca- vation of the colonnaded access road <sup>81</sup> , no later than 1964
AvP 8, 3 116 (Albert 1972 B7)	Second half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE – beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE <sup>82</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, 3.6×7.4×0.5	In front of the access to the western portico, in spring 1934
AvP 8, 3 117 (Albert 1972 B5)	ca. 117–138 <sup>83</sup>	Bronze tabula ansata, H 6, W 10.2	In the sanctuary, in spring 1934
AvP 8, 3 119	Imperial period	Marble base without cor- nices, 11.5×84×40.5	Near the »hellenistischer Schöpfbrun- nen«, in autumn 1933
AvP 8, 3 120	Imperial period	Marble altar, 82×66×50	In front of the northern portico, some 20 m east of the »römischer Badebrun- nen«, no later than 1931
AvP 8, 3 121	2 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE	Marble altar, 18×8.5×14	In trenches under the theatre, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 122	Imperial period	Marble altar, 12×31×5	Near the staircase of the propylaea, no later than 1931
AvP 8, 3 123	1 <sup>st</sup> century BCE	Marble base without cor- nices, 6.7×16.3×23.5	Inside the round temple, no later than 1933
AvP 8, 3 124	Imperial period	Marble base without cor- nices, H 77, W 98	In the sanctuary, no later than 1934
AvP 8, 3 125	98–102 CE	Marble round base, H 87, diam. 45	Near the sanctuary, no later than 1932
AvP 8, 3 126	Imperial period	Marble altar, 17×12×12	In the city of Bergama, no later than 1929

<sup>78</sup> Albert 1972, 36.

<sup>79</sup> De Luca 1984, 153.

<sup>80</sup> Albert 1972, 41.

<sup>81</sup> Albert 1972, 41; De Luca 1984, 153.

<sup>82</sup> Albert 1972, 38.

<sup>83</sup> Albert 1972, 38.



	Date	Shape and dimensions (height, width, length, in cm)	Place and date of discovery
AvP 8, 3 127	After 117 CE <sup>84</sup>	Marble altar, 91×46×44.5	In the city of Bergama, no later than 1905
AvP 8, 3 128	After 70 CE <sup>85</sup>	Marble base with cornices, H 34	In the city of Bergama, before 1895
AvP 8, 3 129	Imperial period	Marble base with cornices, 14×15.5×12	In the middle of the southern portico, in May 1933
AvP 8, 3 131	Imperial period	Marble base without cornices, 67.5×142.5×57	In the middle of the central court, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 132	First quarter of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE	Marble altar, 123.5×72×54.5	In front of the middle of the northern portico, no later than 1932
AvP 8, 3 133	1 <sup>st</sup> century CE	Marble altar, 122×53×53	In front of the middle of the northern portico, no later than 1932
AvP 8, 3 135	Imperial period	Marble base with cornices, 13.5×8×7	In the middle of the southern portico, in May 1933
AvP 8, 3 136	Imperial period	Marble altar, 20×16×13	On top of the debris in front of the theatre, in April 1932
AvP 8, 3 137	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE	Marble base with cornices, 4.3×4.4×3.3	On top of the staircase of the western portico, in May 1933
AvP 8, 3 138	Imperial period	Marble altar, 14×30×21.5	Near the central access to the southern cellar, in May 1933
AvP 8, 3 139	3 <sup>rd</sup> century CE	Marble plaque, 17×18×3	Between the »hellenistischer Schöpf- brunnen« and the »römischer Badebrun- nen«, in May 1933
AvP 8, 3 140	ca. 125–200 CE	Marble undetermined frag- ment, H 49, W 39.3	In the sanctuary, no later than 1930
AvP 8, 3 141	ca. 117–138 CE	Marble architectural fragment, H 130, diam. inscription 80	In the propylaea courtyard, no later than 1930; belongs to the propylaea
AvP 8, 3 142	1 <sup>st</sup> century BCE – beginning of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century CE	Marble block, 7.8×51×35	To the north-west of the staircase of the round temple, in January 1931
AvP 8, 3 143	Hellenistic	Bronze band, W 1.2, l. 0.2, diam. 14	In the sanctuary, before 1933
AvP 8, 3 144	ca. 70–96 CE	Marble relief, 7.8×51×35	On the central court out of context, no later than 1961
SEG 34 1253 (De Luca 1984, 129f.)	Hellenistic	Marble relief, 47.4×76.4×13	In the Quadrats 30D-31D of the excavation of the colonnaded access road, re-employed in the late-antique fountain, no later than 1965
SEG 37 1019 (Müller 1987)	After 117 CE	Marble stela, 32.5×56×15.5	In the city of Bergama, in 1983

<sup>84</sup> cf. Habicht 1969, 124, on the name Aelius in Pergamon.

<sup>85</sup> The name Flavius points towards a date not before the Flavian reign.

	Date	Shape and dimensions (height, width, length, in cm)	Place and date of discovery
SEG 59 1428 (Meier 2009 3)	After 117 CE	Marble base with cornices, 8.2×22×10	In the Quadrat 31E of the excavation of the colonnaded access road, in Septem- ber 1965
SEG 59 1429 (Meier 2009 5)	Imperial period	Marble block, 18×26×9.8	In the Quadrat 15B of the excavation of the colonnaded access road, in October 1965
SEG 59 1430 (Meier 2009 6)	Imperial period	Marble base with cornices, 16.1×20×20	In the Quadrat 32C of the excavation of the colonnaded access road, in Novem- ber 1965
SEG 59 1431 (Meier 2009 7)	Imperial period	Marble base with cornices, 23.6×28.5×28.5	In the Quadrat 14E of the excavation of the colonnaded access road, in October 1965
SEG 62 952 (Wörrle, in Stročka 2012)	95–113 CE	Marble plaque, 59.5×100×8	In the sanctuary, before 1973, belongs to the theatre

*Abstract:* This paper focuses on the visual and material dimensions of the dedications found in the Asclepieion of Pergamon. To assess them, their findspots are mapped on the sanctuary plan; four main assemblages are highlighted, each characterised by a particular type of carrier or support. Some of them clearly display investment by the elite, based on the dedication of conspicuous offerings near honorific statues and building endowments. Three case studies show the potential of analysing textual, material and spatial elements in order to better understand the message each dedication carried. The case of the Asclepieion of Pergamon proves that the impression made by dedications on the visitors of the sanctuary was based not only on their text, but on the combination of wording, support and location, as well as on the interplay among different inscriptions. Understanding such dynamics enhances our understanding of the sanctuary as a whole.

#### VISUELLE UND RÄUMLICHE DYNAMIK SCHRIFTLICHER TEXTE: DIE WEIHINSCHRIFTEN IM ASKLEPIEION VON PERGAMON

*Zusammenfassung:* Dieser Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die visuellen und materiellen Dimensionen der im Asklepieion von Pergamon gefundenen Inschriften. Zur Auswertung wurden die Fundstellen der Inschriften auf dem Plan des Heiligtums kartiert. Vier Hauptgruppen wurden hervorgehoben, die sich jeweils durch eine bestimmte Art von Inschriftenträgern charakterisieren lassen. Aufgrund auffälliger Opfergaben, die im Bereich von Ehrenstatuen und Baustiftungen gefunden wurden, zeigen einige dieser Fundgruppen deutlich, dass sie von der Elite gestiftet wurden. Drei Fallstudien zeigen das Potenzial der Analyse der textlichen, materiellen und räumlichen Elemente, um die Botschaft der einzelnen Weihinschriften besser nachvollziehen zu können. Diese Untersuchung beweist, dass der Eindruck der Weihinschriften auf den Besucher nicht nur auf ihrem Text beruhte, sondern auch auf der Kombination von Wortlaut, Träger und Standort sowie auf dem Zusammenspiel verschiedener Inschriften. Das Verständnis dieser Dynamik verbessert unser Verständnis des Heiligtums als Ganzes.

YAZILI METİNLERİN GÖRSEL VE MEKÂNSAL DİNAMİĞİ:  
PERGAMON ASKLEPIEIONU'NDAKİ ADAK YAZITLARI

**Özet:** Bu çalışmada, Pergamon'daki Asklepios Kutsal Alanında bulunan adak yazıtları görsel ve mekânsal açıdan değerlendirilmektedir. Yazıtlardan bir kısmının heykel ve yapı gibi şeref anıtlarının yakınında yer alması, bu yazıtların elit sınıf tarafından bağışlandığını gösterir. Adak yazıtlarının aktardığı mesajı daha iyi anlamaya yönelik üç durum değerlendirmesi içerik, materyal ve mekân gibi unsurların analiz gücünü göstermektedir. Asklepieion örneği, adak yazıtı yanı sıra, metnin ifade biçimi, adak sahibi ve yazıtın yerinin de kutsal alan ziyaretçisini etkilediğini kanıtlamaktadır. Bu dinamikler, kutsal alanın bir bütün halinde anlaşılmasını sağlamaktadır.

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