

DEVOTIONS AND DYNASTY: VOTIVE RELIEFS AND THE PERGAMON ALTAR'S
TELEPHOS FRIEZE

Klint Ericson

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Art (Art History).

Chapel Hill
2009

Approved by:

Dr. Mary Sturgeon

Dr. Eduardo Douglas

Dr. Carol Magee

© 2009
Klint Ericson
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

KLINT ERICSON: Devotions and Dynasty: Votive Reliefs and the Pergamon Altar's
Telephos Frieze

(Under the direction of Dr. Mary Sturgeon)

This thesis compares the Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamon to Classical and Hellenistic votive reliefs. Previous authors have alluded to connections between votive reliefs and the Telephos Frieze, but this paper demonstrates the similarities and important differences between the frieze and specific votive reliefs. It argues that the Telephos Frieze evokes compositions and pictorial techniques that also occur in processional, banquet, Pan and Nymph, and hero reliefs. The final chapter addresses the function of the Altar and the Telephos Frieze, which were essential elements of Eumenes II's urban consolidation in the second century B.C.E. This paper concludes that the votive elements of the Telephos Frieze efficaciously associated Attalid dynastic ideology with the personal emotions and beliefs of worshipers, reinforcing dynastic authority within the Pergamene kingdom.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	iv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. CHAPTER 1: EXCAVATION AND SCHOLARSHIP OF THE TELEPHOS FRIEZE.....	5
1. Early Excavations and Scholarship.....	5
2. Recent Excavations and Scholarship.....	9
III. CHAPTER 2: VOTIVES IN CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREECE....	21
IV. CHAPTER 3: VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE TELEPHOS FRIEZE.....	38
1. The Scene of the Rescue of Telephos.....	38
2. The Banquet Scene of Telephos in the Court of the Argives.....	45
3. The Foundation of a Pergamene Cult.....	51
V. CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSIONS.....	58
VI. FIGURES.....	70
VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	84

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

1. Model of the Pergamon Altar. After Wolfram Hoepfner, "Model of the Pergamon Altar," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, 2 vols., ed. Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996), vol. 1, 58.
2. Plan of the Pergamon Altar. After Wolfram Hoepfner, "The Architecture of Pergamon," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, vol. 2, 54.
3. Archinos Relief from Oropos, Athens NM 3369. After Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pl. 49.
4. Votive Relief from the Athenian Asklepieion, Athens NM 1335. After Gerhard Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1979), pl. 45a.
5. Banquet Votive Relief from the Piraeus Asklepieion, Athens NM 1501. After Ulrich Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960), 30, ill. 15.
6. Banquet Votive Relief from Megara, Athens NM 1532. After Folkert Van Straten, *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), 100, ill. 106.
7. Neoptolemos Relief from Athens, Agora I 7154. Source: Neumann, *Probleme*, pl. 31a.
8. Pergamon Cavalier Hero Relief, Istanbul Archeological Museum 362. After Franz Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon VII₁: Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1908), pl. 33.
9. Pergamos Votive Relief, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1886 6566. After Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, 253, fig. 310.
10. Telephos Votive Relief, Pergamon Museum 432. After Doris Pinkwart, "Katalog," in *Pergamon: Ausstellung in Erinnerung an Boehringer* (Ingelheim am Rhein: C. H. Boehringer Sohn, 1972), 47, no. 35.
11. Telephos Frieze, Panel 12. After Ellen Schraudolph, "Catalogue: Sculpture and Architectural Fragments," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, vol. 1, 61.
12. Telephos Frieze, Panel 7. After Hermann Winnefeld, *Altertümer von Pergamon III₂: Die Frieze des groszen Altars* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1910), 165, ill. 74.

13. Telephos Frieze, Panel 8. After Huberta Heres, "The Myth of Telephos in Pergamon," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, vol. 2, 85, fig. 3.
14. Munich Glyptothek 206. After J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 196, fig. 210.
15. Pan and the Charites Relief, Kos Archeological Museum, no number. After Folkert Van Straten, "Daikrates' Dream. A Votive Relief from Kos and some Other Kat'onar Dedications," *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 51 (1976): 29, fig. 2.
16. Telephos Frieze, Panels 38-40. After Heres, "The Myth," 92, fig. 14.
17. Telephos Frieze, Panel 48. After Heres, "The Myth," 95, fig. 19.
18. Banquet Relief Fragment, Martin von Wagner Museum 2428. After Christa Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1971), 11.
19. Telephos Frieze, Panel 42. After Schraudolph, "Catalogue," 73.
20. Telephos Frieze, Panels 49-50. After Heres, "The Myth," 94, fig. 17.
21. Telephos Frieze, Panel 11. After Heres, "The Myth," 85, fig. 2.
22. Telephos Frieze, Panel 20. After Schraudolph, "Catalogue," 65.
23. Telephos Frieze, Panel 1. After Heres, "The Myth," 90, fig. 11.
24. Telephos Frieze, Panels 44-46. I produced this photomontage after two photographs in Heres, "The Myth," figs. 15-16.
25. Telephos Frieze, Fragment 68. After Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, pl. 5.2.
26. Plan of the apsidal structure from the Altar foundation. After Jakob Schrammen, *Altertümer von Pergamon III₁: Der grosze Altar der obere Markt* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906), 84.
27. Plan of the foundation excavations of the Altar, with the remains of the apsidal structure in the upper right quadrant. Source: François Queyrel, *L'Autel de Pergame: Images et Pouvoir en Grèce D'Asie* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 2005), 36, fig. 16.

INTRODUCTION

During the Hellenistic period, the city of Pergamon became an important kingdom and artistic center under the rule of the Attalid Dynasty.¹ The Attalids saw themselves as the heirs to Athenian Classical culture and sought to demonstrate their power and sophistication by sponsoring important commissions in Athens, Delos, and Delphi, as well as developing the city of Pergamon itself. Perhaps the most memorable construction of the Attalid period is the Great Altar of Pergamon, a monument that stood upon the Pergamene Akropolis, south of the Temple to Athena, and overlooked a theater and the upper agora.² The Altar was an elaborate raised structure in the Ionic order, with an internal open-air courtyard that may have contained a smaller, functional altar for performing sacrifices.³ The Altar comprised a high,

¹ The modern city of Bergama now sits below the Pergamene acropolis in western Turkey. Pergamon was an unimportant village until Alexander's former general, King Lysimachos, deposited his treasure there under the protection of an officer named Philetairos. Philetairos eventually claimed the treasure for himself and defected to Lysimachos' rival, King Seleukos in 282 B.C.E. Seleukos was assassinated shortly afterwards, allowing Philetairos to rule while only nominally under the authority of the Seleucids. His successor Eumenes I won independence in 262 B.C.E., marking the beginning of the Attalid kingdom and dynasty (named after Philetairos' father Attalos). Eumenes I was succeeded by his adopted son Attalos I, followed by Attalos I's sons Eumenes II and Attalos II. Attalos II's son Attalos III willed Pergamon to Rome upon his death, marking the end of the kingdom in 133 B.C.E. See Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947); R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); and J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 79-83.

² As I discuss below, the function of the structure is still in question, and therefore I will follow Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway's use of the term "Altar" as a means of conforming to the conventional and historical designation of the monument, rather than as an indication of function. See Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture II: The Styles of ca. 200-100 B.C.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 47, n. 1 (hereafter cited as *HS II*). When capitalized, "Altar" refers to the Ionic structure on the Pergamene Akropolis; when in lowercase, it refers to altars in general or to a hypothetical sacrificial altar that some scholars reconstruct within the Altar court.

³ Excavators recovered three fragments of a sima and fasciae. For possible reconstructions of the altar see Volker Kästner, "The Architecture of the Great Altar and the Telephos Frieze," in *Pergamon: The Telephos*

pi-shaped podium with an Ionic colonnade above and two projecting colonnaded antae flanking a steep stair on the western side (figs. 1-2). Around the podium was a Gigantomachy Frieze in high relief, consisting of perhaps as many as one hundred interlocked, monumental combatants.⁴

Visitors to the Altar entered its terrace on the eastern side, where they first encountered the Gigantomachy's representations of Olympian gods Zeus and Athena. Following the frieze around the Altar, they would have climbed the stairs on the western side, ascending between the projecting antae to the Altar's open courtyard inside the Ionic colonnade and walls. The courtyard had a peristyle colonnade of small engaged column pairs, on freestanding rectangular piers along all four sides. Behind this colonnade, on the western spur walls and the north, east, and south walls was a continuous frieze depicting the life of Telephos, mythical founding hero of Attalid Pergamon (figs. 11-13, 16-17, and 19-25).⁵

Initially, viewers of the Telephos Frieze might have found it anticlimactic after the Gigantomachy's cacophony of powerful gods, beasts, and writhing giants. Closer inspection

Frieze from the Great Altar, ed. Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 2 vols. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996), vol. 2, 78-82; and Andrew Stewart, "Pergamo Ara Marmorea Magna: On the Date, Reconstruction, and Functions of the Great Altar of Pergamon," in *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, ed. Nancy T. de Grummond and Brunilde S. Ridgway (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 46-49. Ridgway, *HS II*, 25-32, doubts that these fragments belonged to the Altar since they were not found *in situ*, and instead hypothesizes that they may have belonged to an incomplete propylon at the entrance to the Altar terrace.

⁴ The blocks of the frieze are 2.3 meters tall, and the total length was originally 112.27 meters: see Pamela A. Webb, *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 61. See also Ridgway, *HS II*, 32-42, for description, recent scholarship, and bibliographic information on the Gigantomachy Frieze. Reconstructions of the Altar often include monumental free-standing female figures between the Ionic columns on the exterior, and roof sculptures including horses, centaurs, tritons, griffins, and lions. These sculptures are beyond the scope of my treatment of the Altar. See Ridgway, *HS II*, 43-47, for a summary of the free standing sculpture and its possible reconstructions, and Stewart, "Pergamo," 41-43, for his theory on the identity of the female figures.

⁵ The blocks of the frieze stood 1.58 meters tall, and the frieze probably extended to a length of 57.6 meters (Webb, *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture*, 61), though there is debate over the total reconstructed length. Kästner, "Architecture of the Great Altar," 73, reconstructs a length of 59.6 meters.

revealed a complex work of relief sculpture, with the colonnade framing individual scenes, and abrupt cinematic jumps in time and location. A cast of characters became familiar as the viewer followed their repeated appearances through the dramatic narrative, with columns and trees separating individual scenes. Recognizable plant species in full leaf, cult altars, and architectural structures established a sense of place and pictorial depth, rooted in rocky, uneven ground lines.

The Telephos Frieze's combination of narrative and iconographic features was novel for architectural sculpture, and yet it might not have been entirely unfamiliar to second-century viewers. In trying to explain the frieze's unique combination of features, art historians have attributed their origins to Greek paintings on walls or manuscripts.⁶ Yet, few traces of original Greek paintings survive outside of literary accounts, and barring new archeological discoveries, efforts to trace the origins of the Telephos Frieze to wall painting will remain a largely speculative effort mediated through the minor arts, literature, and later Roman works.⁷

While the narrative structure and iconography of the Telephos Frieze may have originated in lost Classical paintings, their first surviving manifestations occur in a closely

⁶ See Toshihiro Osada, *Stilentwicklung hellenistischer Relieffriese*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993). Osada addresses the pictorial style of the Telephos Frieze and its possible sources. Her text is valuable for its summary of previous arguments. Osada concludes that the artists of the frieze derived some of their scenes from earlier paintings, but also acknowledges the influences of Classical votive reliefs (62-63). Ridgway, *HS II*, 73-73, argues against monumental paintings as a source for the Telephos Frieze, and Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 192-196, notes that monumental paintings are important for the development of figurative technique, but not pictorial devices.

⁷ Stewart's effort to trace the antecedents of the narrative structure of the frieze is a good example. He argues that the pictorial space originated in fifth century wall paintings, but in the absence of surviving frescos, Stewart relies upon Classical Attic red-figure vases to make his argument ("A Hero's Quest: Narrative and the Telephos Frieze," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, vol. 1, 42). To show that continuous narrative derived from the Hellenistic literary genres of prose novels and epic verse, Stewart turns to representation in cheaply molded Megarian bowls (47). Exceptional in their preservation are the tomb paintings from Vergina, which hint at the range and dynamism of fourth-century wall painting. See Manolis Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1984); Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 191-193.

related art form, votive relief sculpture. Stone votive reliefs survive in great numbers because of the durability of their medium and their widespread production. Preceding scholars have occasionally suggested that the Telephos Frieze exhibits motifs similar to votive reliefs, but the connection between the two remains undeveloped. This paper systematically compares the Telephos Frieze to specific types of votive reliefs, including processional, banquet, nymph, and hero reliefs from the fourth through second centuries B.C.E. The first chapter summarizes prior scholarship on the Altar and its friezes, focusing on recent debates such as the date and function of the Altar. The second chapter introduces four votive relief types, and follows their development from Classical Athens to Hellenistic Asia Minor. A close comparison between specific scenes from the Telephos Frieze and votive reliefs follows in the third chapter. In my conclusion, I argue that the iconography and narrative structure of the Telephos Frieze are closely related to votive reliefs. Moreover, a comparison of the formal elements of the frieze and votive reliefs offers new insights into the connotations of the Telephos Frieze, its relationship to its broader visual context, and the function of the Altar as a whole.

CHAPTER 1: EXCAVATION AND SCHOLARSHIP OF THE TELEPHOS FRIEZE

1. Early Excavations and Scholarship

Modern excavations of Pergamon began in 1869 when German engineer Carl Humann settled in Bergama hoping to preserve its antiquities. Humann began full-scale excavations in 1878, with Ottoman approval and the support of Alexander Conze, director of Berlin's Royal Museum sculpture collection.⁸ The first excavation campaign lasted until the spring of 1880, during which Humann and Conze's crew excavated and exposed the Pergamon Altar's substructure. Excavators also demolished a nearby Byzantine defensive wall, recovering sculptural fragments that Byzantine occupants of the site had reused. Humann and Conze's first campaign discovered the majority of the Altar's sculptural blocks and fragments.⁹ A second campaign, from August 1880 until December 1881, dismantled several more walls and scoured the debris of the lower terrace west of the Altar, yielding more sculptural fragments. A third campaign, from April 1883 till December 1886 focused on the western terrace, clearing debris and exposing the theater located there, but producing only a few more

⁸ Ursula Kästner, "Excavation and Assembly of the Telephos Frieze," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, vol. 1, 21. For the complexities of German nationalism, archeological acquisition, and the Ottoman government, see Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁹ Including 94 panels of the Gigantomachy, three-fifths of its total length, and 35 panels of the Telephos Frieze, as well as numerous fragments: see Kästner, "Excavation and Assembly," 23-25.

fragments of the Altar.¹⁰ Later excavations in Pergamon, including work on the Altar, continued under Conze's direction from 1901 until his death in 1915, and had just recommenced in 1933 when the National Socialist Party came to power in Germany and discontinued such archeological endeavors.¹¹

Through diplomatic negotiations and payment, the German government ended up owning all the significant finds of the first two campaigns, and the fragments of the Gigantomachy and Telephos Frieze that Humann uncovered in the third campaign also came to rest in Berlin. Italian sculptors Antonio Freres and Temistocle Possenti conducted the restoration of the friezes, and Carl Robert produced the initial reconstruction of the Telephos Frieze based on his study of literary sources.¹² In 1879 the fragments were exhibited in the rotunda of the Altes Museum in Berlin, but the museum lacked sufficient space and architect Fritz Wolff designed a temporary building to house the fragments in 1901. Alfred Messel designed a new Pergamon Museum, dedicated in October of 1930, where the Altar reconstruction resides today.¹³ Jakob Schrammen published the official description of the

¹⁰ Ibid., 25.

¹¹ Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 94-95.

¹² Carl Robert, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Frieses, pt. 1-2," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 2 (1887): 244-259; Carl Robert, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Frieses, pt. 3-6," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 3 (1888): 87-105.

¹³ Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, "History of the Display of the Telephos Frieze in the Twentieth Century," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, vol. 1, 29. It is worth noting that the Telephos Frieze was not displayed at all in the Altes Museum installation, due to lack of space and understanding of its proper arrangement: see Kästner, "Excavation and Assembly," 28. In Wolff's building, they were arranged not as a continuous frieze with its own internal order and lacunae, but rather side by side, like autonomous funerary stelai. During World War II, the museum staff stored the Altar sculptures in the safety of a bunker near the Berlin Zoo. Soviet forces took the sculpture to Leningrad in 1945, and did not return them to the Pergamon Museum, then part of East Berlin and the Deutsche Demokratische Republik, until 1958 (Heilmeyer, "History of the Display," 30-34).

Altar in 1906, and Hermann Winnefeld followed in 1910 with a publication of the Gigantomachy and Telephos Friezes.¹⁴

Initially scholars dated the Altar as early as 190 B.C.E., but more often between 180-170 B.C.E., based on stylistic analysis, interpretations of the partially preserved dedicatory inscription, and correlations with Attalid victories during this period.¹⁵ The inscription mentions a queen who may have been Apollonis, mother of Eumenes II, to whom Strabo (*Geography*, 13.4.2) attributed Pergamon's greatest achievements. Scholars combined these clues with the dates of key military victories and Eumenes' death in 159 B.C.E. to arrive at the traditional dating for the monument.¹⁶

Heinz Kähler's *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon: Untersuchungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte Pergamons* is among the salient publications on the Altar from the mid-twentieth century.¹⁷ Kähler began to work with the Altar remains in the Berlin Museum in 1936, and inspected them closely as he assisted museum staff in removing and storing the sculptures for protection during the war.¹⁸ Kähler saw the work as a victory

¹⁴ Jakob Schrammen, *Altertümer von Pergamon III₁: Der grosse Altar der obere Markt*, (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906); Hermann Winnefeld, *Altertümer von Pergamon III₂: Die Frieze des grossen Altars* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1910). See also Hans Schrader, "Die Opferstätte des pergamenischen Altars," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophischhistorische Klasse* 6 (1899): 612-625; and Hans Schrader, "Die Anordnung und Deutung des pergamenischen Telephosfrieses," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 15 (1900): 97-135.

¹⁵ P. J. Callaghan, "On the Date of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon," *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin. University of London* 28, (1981): 115. Alfred Brückner ("Wann ist der Altar von Pergamon errichtet worden?," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [1904]: 225) had independently proposed a similarly late date in 1904. See also Ridgway, *HS II*, 19; Stewart, "Pergamo," 51, n. 3.

¹⁶ Ridgway, *HS II*, 21.

¹⁷ Heinz Kähler, *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1948). See also Margarete Bieber, review of *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon: Untersuchungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte Pergamons*, by Heinz Kähler, *American Journal of Archaeology* 55, no. 4 (1951): 428-430.

¹⁸ Heilmeyer, "History of the Display," 38.

monument that Eumenes II erected after defeating the Gauls and Prusias in 186-183 B.C.E. Kähler contended that Eumenes II dedicated the Altar to both Athena and Zeus, a novel joint cult that he believed to have originated at Pergamon during the early second century B.C.E.¹⁹

In the initial publication of the two Altar friezes, Hermann Winnefeld gave equal attention to both works. In the years afterwards, scholars seemed primarily interested in the Gigantomachy, and gave the Telephos Frieze little consideration. Kähler's work seems to typify his era, as it focuses exclusively on the external frieze. Scholars at the time were most concerned with a stylistic analysis of what they believed to be a securely dated ensemble, with surviving inscriptions and signatures. The more fragmentary and less "baroque" internal frieze seemingly had little to offer the stylistic concerns of the time. Klaus P. Stähler's work from 1966, *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries*, is a notable exception to the general neglect of the Telephos Frieze.²⁰ Whereas the frieze had often been taken as a later and deliberate reaction to the pathos-rich style of the Gigantomachy, Stähler saw its style as post-classical and indicative of changing preferences during the Hellenistic period. In his estimate, the figures of the frieze exhibit an artistic concern with surface treatment rather than a classical preoccupation with form, and he connected this stylistic tendency to Hellenistic concerns with external manifestations over underlying causes.²¹

¹⁹ Kähler, *Der grosse Fries*, 144-148. See also A. W. Lawrence, review of *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon*, by H. Kähler, and *Pergamon*, by H. Kähler, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 69 (1949): 88-89.

²⁰ Klaus P. Stähler, *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries* (Aschendorff: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966). Another important work on the Telephos Frieze from this time is Christa Bauchhenss-Thüriedl's Würzburg dissertation, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1971), 40-70, which dedicates thirty pages to the interpretation of the frieze as the single most important representation of Telephos in Greek art.

²¹ Stähler, *Das Unklassische*, 185-187. See also D. E. Strong, review of *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries*, by Klaus P. Stähler, *The Classical Review*, n. s. 17, no. 2 (1967): 232.

When commentators directed attention to the Telephos Frieze, one of the most frequent points of interest was the composition of the frieze as a continuous narrative, in which time advances as the frieze progresses and the same characters appear within multiple scenes of the same narrative frame.²² Franz Wickhoff was the first to describe continuous narrative, which in his opinion was a Roman innovation.²³ Although he was aware of the Telephos Frieze, his preference for Roman art led him to describe it as “Pseudo-continuous.” Kurt Weitzmann also treated the subject of continuous narrative, though he preferred to use the term “cyclical method” to describe what he saw as a broadly varied Hellenistic rather than Roman development. Weitzmann’s cyclical method describes a chronological arrangement of multiple pictures with unified iconography for the purposes of illustrating a text.²⁴ According to Weitzmann, a frieze format was the natural expression of the cyclical method, because all the “pictures” could share a unified ground line, and the artist could distinguish scenes through landscape or other pictorial means. Accordingly, he described the Telephos Frieze as one of the earliest examples of Hellenistic cyclical narrative in sculpture.²⁵

2. Recent Excavations and Scholarship

Much had changed by the time that Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway published *Hellenistic Sculpture II*. Ridgway writes that through the middle of the twentieth century, most scholars

²² Definition taken from Ridgway, *HS II*, 68.

²³ Franz Wickhoff, *Roman Art: Some of Its Principles and Their Application to Early Christian Painting*, trans. S. Arthur Strong (New York: Macmillan Company, 1900), 16.

²⁴ Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 21.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

considered the Pergamon Altar to be dated and reconstructed with relative finality.²⁶ Yet by the time that she wrote in 2000, important new publications and interpretations of the Altar were available, and the restoration and publication of the Telephos Frieze occasioned by a traveling exhibition to New York and San Francisco were catalysts for new scholarship. Ongoing excavations in Pergamon provided new material for analysis, including Jörg Schäfer's 1961 sounding of the rubble fill in one of the central grid-like chambers of the Altar's foundation, and the more extensive foundation excavations of Wolfgang Radt and Gioia de Luca in 1994, concluding with their re-measuring and drawing of the foundations in 1996.²⁷ Issues of contention and renewed analysis include the reconstruction of the freestanding sculptures and sacrificial table, the interpretations of many of the sculptures, as well as the dedicatory inscription, and above all, the date and function of the monument.²⁸

P. J. Callaghan re-opened debate on the Altar's date with his 1981 article in the University of London's *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin*. Callaghan returned to the virtually forgotten pottery sherds that Schäfer had recovered, as well as earlier fragments from Conze's excavations, and used specific bowl types and motifs from Megarian bowls to

²⁶ Ridgway, *HS II*, 19-20.

²⁷ Wolfgang Radt, "Recent Research in and about Pergamon: A Survey (ca. 1987-1997)," in *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods*, ed. Helmut Koester (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 19. Schaefer was attempting to find securely dated ceramic material in order to date finds from other locations in the city. He took the date of the foundation to be firmly established in the 180s. For the excavation, see Jörg Schäfer, "Hellenistic Keramik aus Pergamon," *Pergamanische Forschungen: Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), 26, and pl. 1,2. For Radt and de Luca's excavations, see Gioia de Luca and Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamenische Forschungen: Sondagen im Fundament des grossen Altars* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999). See also Susan I. Rotroff, review of *Sondagen im Fundament des grossen Altars*, by G. de Luca and W. Radt, *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, n. 1 (2001): 129-130.

²⁸ Ridgway, *HS II*, 20. For the publication of the Telephos Frieze, see Dreyfus and Schraudolph, eds., *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*.

lower the date of the Altar to 166 B.C.E.²⁹ Callaghan constructed his argument using comparanda in mosaic, pottery, and coins from Lefkadia, Corinth, and Delos, along with similar material from soundings at the Pergamene Asklepieion on the plain below the acropolis. He concluded that the Altar was constructed during the final seven years of Eumenes II's reign (197-159 B.C.E.).³⁰ Gerhild Hübner used the same fragments from the Altar, along with ceramic finds from the Pergamene Asklepieion, cisterns, and the Spargi shipwreck to attempt a solid chronology of Pergamene appliqué ceramics. She saw the appliquéd vessels as part of an Attalid ruler cult, and dated its inception to around 170 B.C.E., the same date that she assigned to the Altar.³¹ De Luca and Radt conducted their excavations of the remaining foundation chambers during the mid-1990s in the hope of addressing the ongoing date controversy. Their 1999 publication includes pottery fragments that they recovered from eleven different compartments of the Altar foundation. Similar to Hübner's findings, de Luca and Radt settle on a date of 172 B.C.E. for commencement of the Altar's construction, following the assassination attempt on Eumenes II in that year.³² De Luca in particular compares the excavated fragments to Asklepieion artifacts, the only other

²⁹ In particular, Callaghan focuses on the trefoil-style garland motif and fragments from shield bowls and long petal bowls. Max Kunze ("Neue Beobachtungen zum Pergamonaltar," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* supplement 31 [1990], 123-139) arrives at a similar date of 165 B.C.E. based on a thematic comparison between the Altar's sculptures and second century political events.

³⁰ Callaghan, "On the Date," 118-119.

³¹ Gerhild Hübner, *Pergamanische Forschungen: Die Applikenkeramik von Pergamon. Eine Bildersprache im Dienst des Herrscherkultes* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 181. See also Susan I. Rotroff, review of *Die Applikenkeramik von Pergamon: eine Bildersprache im Dienst des Herrscherkultes*, by Gerhild Hübner, *Gnomon* 68 (1996): 359, who finds Hübner's dates consistently too early and her dating of the Altar unconvincing.

³² De Luca and Radt, *Sondagen im Fundament*, 102-109.

published stratified chronology of Pergamene ceramics, and she argues for an earlier chronology for all of Callaghan's key fragments.

Ceramics specialist Susan Rotroff contributed to the debate with her 2001 review of de Luca and Radt's findings. Rotroff accuses de Luca and Radt of circular reasoning, as they undermine Callaghan's argument and raise the age of the Altar. She leans towards a lower date, noting that in Athenian chronology, the Altar ceramic fragments could not date to before 150 B.C.E., and that in comparison to ceramic finds from the Pergamene Asklepieion, the Altar fragments seem to be closest to those dating from the post-157 B.C.E. building phase.³³

On the whole, it seems difficult to adjudicate between the early and late date proponents. Rotroff herself admits that one can rarely date Hellenistic ceramics more precisely than a quarter-century, a margin of error that would include both Callaghan and Hübner's proposed dates. If the debate over the altar's date is ultimately indeterminable given the fragmentary material record, it calls attention to the potentially more fruitful debate surrounding interpretations of the Altar's function. Early and late date proponents all rely to some extent upon the belief that the Attalids constructed the Altar as a dynastic monument, and that one can connect it to certain historic events in their reigns. Callaghan expresses this belief overtly, writing, "The Altar represents a propagandistic monument, and represents a political statement *at a precise moment* in the King's tenure of power."³⁴ He sees this precise moment

³³ Rotroff, review of *Sondagen im Fundament*, 129. Rotroff admits the limited usefulness of Athenian comparanda, as each ceramic center differs in its chronological development. Ridgway, *HS II*, 22, proposes an even later date for the commencement, just before Eumenes II's death in 159 B.C.E., and the termination of the project by the end of Attalos III's reign in 133 B.C.E., but admits that her rationale is readily disputable.

³⁴ Italics added. Callaghan, "On the Date," 115.

as Eumenes II's unassisted victory over the Gauls in 166 B.C.E. De Luca, on the other hand, sees the near assassination of Eumenes II in 172 B.C.E. as the inspiring event.³⁵

Many scholars continue to believe in the Altar's primary function as dynastic propaganda, possibly dedicated to Zeus, Athena Nikephoros, or the broader pantheon. Other possibilities raised within recent years propose that the Altar might have been a mausoleum for Queen Apollonis, the mother of Eumenes II and Attalos II, a monument to Agathe Tyche, or a heröon to Telephos. Andrew Stewart addresses these various possibilities, and concludes that none of these theories is credible.³⁶ Stewart prefers to see the Altar as a dedication to Zeus and Athena Nikephoros who are pictured together on the eastern face of the Gigantomachy, below the dedication, and two of the most impressive figures in the frieze that visitors would see first upon entering the terrace sanctuary. Stewart ultimately treats the Altar as an inclusively multifunctional monument that broadcast worldly and divine power, and celebrated civic abundance and military victory.³⁷

While Stewart's arguments are plausible, and his analysis of the multifunctionality of the monument is undoubtedly correct,³⁸ it seems worthwhile to revisit one of the theories that he dismisses. Stewart does not believe that the Altar could be a heröon to Telephos for several

³⁵ Rotroff, review of *Sondagen im Fundament des grossen Altars*, 130. If the Altar is actually a heröon as Pamela Webb argues (see below), then there is no reason that the date of its construction needs to be tied to specific events: see Ridgway, *HS II*, 25. De Grummond and Ridgway warn against "semiotic overreach," interpreting Hellenistic religious works as political propaganda in the modern sense ("Introduction," in *Pergamon to Sperlonga*, 5-6).

³⁶ Stewart, "Pergamo," 34.

³⁷ Ibid., 49-50.

³⁸ Ridgway (*HS II*, 27-28, 31) agrees and sees the presence of victory connotations in the Gigantomachy and hero glorification in the Telephos Frieze, but suggests that the akroterial sculptures carried funerary connotations and that the winged stair recalled the monumental gateway and gallery of the Athenian Propylaia. She finds it unlikely that an altar stood in the center of the monument, and attributes the three fragments of fasciae and sima to the unfinished entablature of a pylon entryway to the monument terrace.

reasons. He believes that Pausanias suggests that the Pergamenes worshipped Telephos in the Asklepieion, near where excavators found a votive relief dedicated to Telephos.³⁹ He is also unconvinced by interpretations that describe the apsidal ruins built into the Altar foundation as the remains of a preexisting heröon, finding the surrounding buildings too domestic.⁴⁰ Yet Stewart does not address the arguments of Pamela Webb, the strongest proponent of a heröon function for the Altar.

Webb suggested re-designating the Altar as a heröon to Telephos in her 1996 *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands*. Webb deferred her argument to a subsequently published essay, merely noting in the book that such a function would require a location within the structure for libations.⁴¹ The Telephos Frieze is important to Webb's analysis, and she interprets it as an allegorical celebration of the Attalid dynasty through the guise of the city's heroic founder.⁴² In her

³⁹ Stewart, "Pergamo," 35 refers to Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, 3.26.10.

⁴⁰ Stewart, "Pergamo," 35, notes Klaus P. Stähler's early proposition identifying the structure as a heröon ("Überlegungen zur architektonischen Gestalt des Pergamonaltars," in *Studien zur Religion und Kult Kleinasiens*, ed. Sencer Şahin, Elmar Schwertheim, and Jörg Wagner [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978] 847-860, 863), and also cites Wolfram Hoepfner ("Siegestempel und Siegesaltäre. Der Pergamonaltar als Siegesmonument," in *Die griechische Polis. Architektur und Politik*, ed. Wolfram Hoepfner and Gerhard Zimmer [Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1993], 113) for his identification of the apsidal structure as a nymphaion. Radt ("Recent Research," 20) notes Hoepfner's later proposition of the same interpretation in the course of a lecture at the 1988 International Congress of Classical Archeology in Berlin, but says that such an interpretation was quickly rejected. Radt notes other interpretations, including Klaus Rheidt's interpretation of the apsidal structure as a public building in connection to the nearby marketplace ("Die overe Agora: Die Entwicklung des hellenistischen Stadtzentrums von Pergamon," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* [1992]: 279), and Eugenio la Rocca's treatment of the building as a pantheon ("Il Pantheon," in *L'Altare di Pergamo: il fregio di Telefo* [Milan: Leonardo arte, 1996], 157). For the original publication of the apsidal structure see Schrammen, *Der Grosze Altar*, 83-87. De Luca and Radt's excavations in the mid-1990's determined that no previously unknown parts of the building were preserved, and therefore all reconstructions must remain hypothetical since not enough remains for a definitive identification (Radt, "Recent Research," 20; see n. 27, above).

⁴¹ Pamela A. Webb, "The Functions of the Sanctuary of Athena and the Pergamon Altar (The Heröon of Telephos) in the Attalid Building Program," in *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, eds. Kim. J. Hartswick and Mary C. Sturgeon (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1998), 241-254. Webb does not attempt to reconstruct a site for libations herself.

⁴² Webb, *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture*, 65. See also Webb, "The Function of the Sanctuary," 244-245.

1998 essay, Webb agrees that the Altar was multifunctional, and she discusses it as both a dynastic military monument and as the Heröon of Telephos.⁴³ She sees the form of the structure as that of a monumental altar, while the martial themes, especially in the Gigantomachy, suggest that its function was as a victory or dynastic monument. Webb finds it unlikely that the structure was primarily an altar because she feels that the archeological evidence does not support the reconstruction of an internal sacrificial altar. She is more sympathetic to Stähler's dynastic interpretation, which connects three mythical generations (Zeus and Herakles on the Gigantomachy, Herakles and his son on the Telephos Frieze) with the generations of the Attalid dynasty, thus unifying the themes of the exterior and interior.⁴⁴ Hellenistic Greeks most commonly dedicated heroa to their purported ancestors who laid claim to martial achievement. Such monuments honored both the ancestral figure and the descendants who worshipped there. During the Hellenistic period these structures often stood on podia, sometimes containing burial chambers; altars for libations were part of heroa's ritual complex, but might be located outside of the structures themselves. Webb follows Stähler in identifying the apsidal structure as an earlier heröon to Telephos preserved within the foundations of the new Attalid construction.⁴⁵

⁴³ Webb, "The Function of the Sanctuary," 241.

⁴⁴ Webb, "The Function of the Sanctuary," 246; and Stähler, "Überlegungen zur architektonischen Gestalt," 850-857. For the importance of familial and especially maternal relationships to Greek cult practices, see Jennifer Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 24, 89-96.

⁴⁵ Stähler, "Überlegungen zur architektonischen Gestalt," 248; Ridgway, *HS II*, 24-25, and n. 19, appears to doubt that the apsidal structure could have been a nymphaion because it lacked a reliable water supply and had windows incompatible with such a purpose. Likewise, she doubts that the walls could have supported a vault, and therefore also doubts whether it could have been a heröon.

In 1994-1996, the Berlin Museum, with the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, undertook a long overdue restoration of the Telephos Frieze. The iron dowels of the original restoration were rusting and cracking the marble, necessitating the work of chief restorer Silvano Bertolin.⁴⁶ In return for their assistance, panels of the frieze traveled to New York and San Francisco for exhibition, and a two-volume English catalog edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph accompanied it. Huberta Heres's 1994 entry on Telephos in volume seven of the *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* is another publication that has stimulated a renewed interest in the frieze.⁴⁷ An important consequence of these publications is the verification of the frieze's position within the Altar's structure and the establishment of the order of many of the fragments, thanks to careful analysis of the beveled edges which joined at the corners of the inner courtyard.⁴⁸ In his short essay explaining the new reconstruction, Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer describes it as the collaborative product of Huberta Heres and Christa Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, relying upon drawing by Marina Heilmeyer and a new model of the altar by Wolfram Hoepfner.⁴⁹ In addition to establishing the panels with beveled corners as fixed positions within the narrative, the new reconstruction also moves several other panels

⁴⁶ Heilmeyer, "History of the Display," 38. For details of the original and the recent restorations, see Ellen Schraudolph, "Restoration of the Telephos Frieze," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, 130-154; and Josef Riederer, "Artificial Stone Fills in the Telephos Frieze," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, 159-162.

⁴⁷ Huberta Heres, "Gesamtdarstellung: Telephosfries am Großen Altar von Pergamon," in *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 7, s.v. "Telephos," 857-862. The *Lexikon* is hereafter cited as *LIMC*.

⁴⁸ Ridgway, *HS II*, 67. Yet note Ridgway's critique of the new arrangement (71 and n. 11).

⁴⁹ Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, "New Arrangement and Interpretation of the Telephos Frieze from the Pergamon Museum," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, 127. For criticism of Hoepfner's model, see Ridgway, *HS II*, 46-47.

for iconographic reason, resulting in a more complex narrative.⁵⁰ According to Heilmeyer, the new reconstruction allows a more accurate estimate of the entire frieze's length, which he places at fifty eight meters with approximately seventy five carved panels.

Although it brings legibility to several previously confusing scenes, the new reconstruction significantly complicates the narrative structure of the frieze. The earlier models had featured a relatively unbroken narrative, following first Auge on the north wall, and then Telephos across the east and south walls. In the new reconstruction, the narrative makes a sudden jump in character and/or location on each wall, while continuing smoothly around the partially obscured back corners.⁵¹ Heilmeyer briefly addresses the additional complexity of the new arrangement, attempting to establish narrative landmarks on each wall, but his points of reference seem questionable and too obscure to have been useful guideposts.⁵² Andrew Stewart revisits the question of narrative in his first contribution to the 1996 catalog, "A Hero's Quest: Narrative and the Telephos Frieze," where he acknowledges the many jumps of the frieze's narrative.⁵³ Stewart describes the frieze as multi-vocal, with individual scenes in a broad range of tones from heroic to romantic to tragic, and with

⁵⁰ Panels one, seven to nine, fifty-one, and forty-seven to forty-eight.

⁵¹ On the north wall, the narrative follows Auge to Mysia and sees her found her cult, but then jumps back to Tegea and the exposed Telephos. Telephos' narrative apparently continues around the corner uninterrupted (despite a pillar that would have obscured the view of someone in the courtyard), and the east wall recounts his military exploits in Pergamon. Towards the end of the east wall, Achilles wounds Telephos and he must travel first to the Lykian oracle and then to the Argive court in search of healing. The narrative at Argos continues around the corner through the attack on Orestes. At some point after this encounter, the narrative flashes forward in time and back to Pergamon, to see Telephos and his cultic foundations, and eventual death.

⁵² Heilmeyer, "New Arrangement," 128, sees Auge's altar on panel eleven of the north wall as corresponding to the cult foundation reconstructed roughly opposite in panels forty-nine to fifty. He interprets this second altar as belonging to the cult of Zeus, therefore placing the two prominent deities of the east side of the Gigantomachy in opposite positions flanking the courtyard.

⁵³ Stewart, "A Hero's Quest," 39-40.

occasional abrupt shifts in tone. He sees a reflection of heroic epics in the frieze's complexity, and compares it to the Hellenistic innovations of verse epics and prose novels as well as antecedents in a series of metopes, Megarian bowls, and wall paintings.⁵⁴

Ridgway also discusses the narrative structure of the frieze in her *Hellenistic Sculpture II*, but she does so in terms of sculptural antecedents and is more rigorous in her application of continuous narrative, rejecting many of Stewart's examples. Ridgway introduces an example of continuous narrative that deserves more attention, the Archinos votive relief from the Sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos (fig. 3, Athens NM 3369).⁵⁵ This fourth-century relief is a rectangular stele with antae supporting a lateral sima, which both frame the scene and protect the carving from the elements. The sculptor represented Archinos three times, first entering the sanctuary on the right, then sleeping as a snake touches his shoulder, apparently the location of the injury for which he seeks aid, and finally standing directly before the healing hero. Amphiaraos is larger in scale than Archinos and leans on a staff as he bandages the wounded shoulder.⁵⁶ According to Ridgway, the repeated presence of Archinos in the same frame, alongside the progression of time from his entrance to his healing, establish the Archinos Relief from Oropos as an example of continuous narrative prior to the Telephos Frieze. Ridgway concludes her discussion of the Archinos

⁵⁴ Ibid., 42, 45-48.

⁵⁵ Ridgway, *HS II*, 68-70. See Nikolaos Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archeological Museum, Athens*, trans. David Hardy (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002), 209, ill. 425, for bibliographic information.

⁵⁶ Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 195-196.

Relief by saying that “such an early and unpretentious precedent can hardly have had an impact on the Telephos Frieze.”⁵⁷

Ridgway discounts the possibility that the Archinos Relief from Oropos could have directly influenced the Telephos Frieze, and probably with reason. Yet votive reliefs were an important and widely distributed artistic form during the Hellenistic period, and as part of the general visual culture, one should not disregard their potential influence so readily. Classical Athens was instrumental in developing both votive reliefs and the better known funerary reliefs, to which they are closely related. Craftsmen broadly disseminated both relief types until the end of the fourth century, and they were part of the Hellenistic world and the larger context of the Pergamon Altar. For their part, the Attalids made every effort to represent their kingdom as the cultural successor of Classical Athens, emulating sculptural styles and commissioning major buildings and works of sculpture in Athens.⁵⁸ It should come as little surprise that particular votive motifs seem to occur in the iconography of the Telephos Frieze; as Esther Hansen noted in *The Attalids of Pergamon*, the similarity of the frieze’s scenes to votive and grave reliefs is apparent.⁵⁹ Hansen goes so far as to describe these minor reliefs as the primary sources for the frieze’s “idyllic” scenery, but she provides no substantive analysis. Hansen does not specify in which scenes she sees the influence of votive and funerary reliefs, and while she references a few reliefs from Winter’s 1908 publication of Pergamene sculptures, she does not attempt to make a direct comparison

⁵⁷ Ridgway, *HS II*, 69.

⁵⁸ For Attalid *Kulturpolitik*, see Erich S. Gruen, “Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon,” in *Pergamon to Sperlonga*, 17-31.

⁵⁹ Hansen, *The Attalids*, 314.

between them and the frieze.⁶⁰ Outside of Hansen's short reference, few other writers have explored the potential influence of Greek votive reliefs on the Telephos Frieze.⁶¹ In order to undertake an analysis of the relationship between Greek votive reliefs and the Telephos Frieze, it is first necessary to review the historical development of several votive relief types, from the fourth through second centuries B.C.E., that appear to bear the closest relationship to the frieze.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 315. See Franz Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon VII₁: Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarrelief* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1908), 245-269.

⁶¹ See J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, vol. 1 (Athens: Beck and Barth, 1908), XXXIV-L; Arnold Von Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barock-Stils in Kleinasien* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), 100-102; and Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 69-70. For the influence of funerary reliefs see Huberta Heres, "The Myth of Telephos in Pergamon," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, 98.

CHAPTER 2: VOTIVES IN CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREECE

While Greek votives could take many different forms, votive reliefs like the Archinos Relief from Oropos are the most relevant to the Telephos Frieze because they share similar mediums, techniques, and compositions. Classical artists in Attica developed specific types of votive reliefs, such as processional, banquet, and Pan and Nymph reliefs, which exhibit features comparable to scenes in the Telephos Frieze. A fourth type, the cavalier hero relief, is also important since it was the primary votive type produced in Hellenistic Pergamon.

The term votive describes a broad range of objects that worshipers might present to various supernatural powers, often along with prayer and sacrifice.⁶² Votives were a significant form of social and religious transaction throughout the ancient world, and yet as Robin Osborne argues, they have not received sufficient attention from archeologists. In many cases, votives acquire their significance through context and assemblage, putting them at a disadvantage in archeological publications that are organized by individual object

⁶² Scholars also use the terms *ex voto*, dedication, or offering, to describe votives, depending upon their emphasis and interest. See Robin Osborne, "Hoards, Votives, Offerings: The Archaeology of the Dedicated Object," *World Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2004): 5, for the distinctions between these terms. According to Osborne, the term votive implies a connection between a prior vow or prayer and the offered object. While prior prayers may be a part of Greek votive reliefs, they will not be a significant element of my analysis. I have chosen to use the term votive in order to maintain consistency with the earlier literature, in which relief works like the Archinos Relief from Oropos are usually described as votives.

classifications.⁶³ Votives could take many different forms in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world. Folkert Van Straten has written extensively on Greek votive practices, and he considers votives in relationship to acts of prayer and sacrifice, which together comprised a Greek individual's relationship with the gods. A worshiper (or votary) might offer a votive as a material form of worship that would remain in the sanctuary after the sacrifice had been consumed and keep prayers materially present and effective before the deity.⁶⁴ The votary might orient his or her prayers (or votums) towards the past in gratitude for actions on the part of the deity, towards the future as requests for such action, or to the present moment in honor of the god.⁶⁵ In many cases, the votive was a public statement that established a relationship between a votary and the god(s), and incidentally between the votary and other

⁶³ Osborne, "Hoards, Votives, Offerings," 3. See also Richard Bradley, *The Passage of Arms: An Archeological Analysis of Prehistoric Hoards and Votive Deposits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), xv, on the neglect of offering deposits among archeologists. Jens David Baumbach, *The Significance of Votive Offerings in Selected Hera Sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, Ionia and Western Greece* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), 2, notes the general paucity of resources on ancient Greek votives. The only comprehensive treatment of Greek votives is William Henry Denham Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902). See also the critical response in Arthur Bernard Cook, "Greek Votive Offerings," *Folklore* 14, no. 3 (1903), 260-291. Recent conferences and anthologies have revived interest in votive offerings, see Tullia Linders and Gullög Nordquist, eds., *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium, 1985* (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1987); and Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos, and Gullög C. Nordquist, eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens, 1988). Scholars have also written extensively on specific aspects of votive offerings. See for example Charles Malcolm Edwards "Greek Votive Reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs, parts 1-3." (PhD diss., New York University, 1985) on votive reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs; Baumbach, *The Significance of Votive Offerings*, on offerings to Hera; or Catherine M. Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) on the freestanding votive statues of the Athenian Acropolis. In the area of votive reliefs, Ulrich Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960) and Neumann *Probleme*, made important contributions that have been further developed by Edwards "Greek Votive Reliefs," and Folkert van Straten (most recently in *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* [New York: E. J. Brill, 1995]).

⁶⁴ Folkert van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," in *Faith Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H. S. Versnel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 64-65.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 74. See also J. Bergman, "Religio-Phenomenological Reflections on the Multi-Level Process of Giving to the Gods," in *Gifts to the Gods*, 37. In some cases, the votary may be a group of people, either family members, or members of a club or religious association, see Folkert van Straten, "Votives and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries," in *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, ed. Albert Schachter and Jean Bingen (Geneva: Vandoeuvres, 1990), 282.

worshippers, as an economic transaction and statement of identity.⁶⁶ One might dedicate a votive on behalf of another person, but once dedicated, it became the property of the deity.⁶⁷ According to textual evidence, sanctuaries were full of votives in many materials, to the point that they became cluttered and difficult to pass through.⁶⁸

The conventions of the sanctuary and the character of its deity were significant in determining the form that votives took, but the private needs and means of the votary also played an important role. Almost any type of object or material could serve as a votive.⁶⁹ Some votives were lavish and even architectural; John H. Kroll argues that the Parthenon's Panathenaic Frieze might have been a votive dedication, showing the Athenians progressing towards the gods and expanding upon an existing tradition of processional votives.⁷⁰ Sanctuary inventories suggest that votaries could dedicate a wide variety of objects in bronze, silver, gold, terracotta and painted wood panels called *pinakes*. Because of their perishable or valuable materials, these votives generally do not survive except in written records.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Helmut Kyrieleis, "Offerings of 'the Common Man' in the Heraion at Samos," in *Early Greek Cult Practice*, 215.

⁶⁷ Van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," 70.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 78.

⁶⁹ Baumbach, *The Significance of Votive Offerings*, 2-4.

⁷⁰ John H. Kroll, "The Parthenon Frieze as a Votive Relief," *American Journal of Archaeology* 83 (1979): 351.

⁷¹ Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles*, 194-195; see also Baumbach, *The Significance of Votive Offerings*, 5, for the social significance of materials; Sara B. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1991), 39-48, for the variety of votives, including relief panels, left at the Athenian Asklepieion in the mid-Fourth Century; Gloria R. Hunt, "Foundation Rituals and the Culture of Building in Ancient Greece" (PhD. diss., University of North Carolina, 2006) 22-37, for votives in precious metal from the Artemision at Ephesus; and Van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," 79, for *Pinakes*.

Votives in more humble mediums like terracotta were also common, and votaries might even appropriate natural or quotidian objects as offerings.⁷²

Votive reliefs are a particular category of offerings that are similar in format to funerary relief stelai. Votive and funerary reliefs typically employ a framing device to surround the figurative scene. In funerary stelai, the frame usually takes the form of a small naiskos with antae supporting a temple pediment, while votive relief frames often take the form of a lateral sima with antefixes.⁷³ The Archinos Relief from Oropos (fig. 3) has a tenon on its lower side, allowing it to stand on a pillar and increasing its visibility within the sanctuary.⁷⁴ In a self-referential gesture, the artist of the relief chose to represent a similar votive within the figurative scene, indicating that it occurs within the sanctuary of Amphiaraios, where Archinos sleeps and has a healing vision. The frame of the Archinos Relief is unique because of the pair of eyes set between its antefixes, which probably had an apotropaic function.⁷⁵ The symbolism of the eyes coincides with the functional purpose of the architectural frame, which protected the relief carving from the elements and served as a symbolic setting for its representation.⁷⁶

⁷² For votives of hair, clothing, and keys, see Van Straten, “Gifts for the Gods,” 89-90, 99-100. Kyrieleis, “Offerings of the ‘Common Man,’” 215-222, surveys the common objects left at the archaic Heraion on Samos.

⁷³ A fourth-century Attic votive relief combines both architectural forms. A procession of worshipers within a lateral sima frame approach Asklepios, who is seated in a higher naiskos placed at a right angle to the worshipers’ relief. See Ridgway, *Fourth-Century*, 197.

⁷⁴ See n. 55, above. For the use of raised votives, see Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331-200 B.C.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 248-250. Hereafter cited as *HS I*.

⁷⁵ See Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles*, 195-196; and Elpis Mitropoulou, *Five Contributions to the Problems of Greek Reliefs* (Athens: Pyli, 1976), 35-40.

⁷⁶ Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles*, 195.

Greek production of votive reliefs may go back as far the seventh century B.C.E., but early votive reliefs are sporadic and hard to distinguish from funerary reliefs.⁷⁷ At the end of the Periclean building campaign, the production of both relief types accelerated in Athens. The presence of trained craftsmen and the conclusion of the major Periclean projects probably contributed to the increasing Athenian relief production in the late fifth century.⁷⁸ Other contributing factors included the mounting death toll of the Peloponnesian War, which led to the production of grave monuments valorizing the dead and civic duty, and the introduction of the cult of Asklepios to Athens (419/418 B.C.E.), resulting in the production of votives reliefs representing healings associated with the god.⁷⁹ An efflorescence of relief sculptures occurred during the first three quarters of the fourth century, leading many sculptors of grave monuments to profit by manufacturing both funerary and votive reliefs. The increase in demand was probably the result of Athenian economic affluence and the Lykourgan program of encouraging Athenian cults.⁸⁰

⁷⁷Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Fifth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 129; see also Edwards, *Greek Votive Reliefs*, 346-347.

⁷⁸ Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 264-267.

⁷⁹ Ridgway, *Fifth-Century Styles*, 129-130. The Telemachos Monument, comprising a carved pinax upon a bracket capital and square pillar, is a late fifth-century Athenian votive relief dedicated to Asklepios. The fragments of the relief are now distributed between museums in Athens, London, and Padua, and several reconstructions have been proposed; see Luigi Beschi, "Il rilievo di Telemaco ricompletato," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 6 (1982): 31-43; Luigi Beschi, "Rilievi attici del Museo Maffeiano," *Nuovi Studi Maffeiani* (Verona: Comune di Verona, 1983), 13-32. The Telemachos Monument exhibits several characteristics relevant to the Telephos Frieze as discussed below, including a banquet relief composition on the bracket capital, pictorial space established through multiple compositional plans and a tree, horse head protomes reminiscent of hero reliefs, and the recognizable space of a temenos. See Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial in Greek Relief Sculpture," in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, ed. Warren G. Moon (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 198-201, for a discussion of the Telemachos Monument's pictorial characteristics, and Bronwen L. Wickkiser, *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece: Between Craft and Cult* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 67-70, 136, n. 19, for a description and translation of the monument and bibliography of recent scholarship.

⁸⁰ Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 264-265.

Attic votive reliefs in the fourth century establish the themes and motifs that are most relevant to an analysis of the Telephos Frieze. Like the Panathenaic Frieze, many votive reliefs represent a procession of worshipers approaching gods. A fragmentary votive from the Athenian Asklepieion is typical in this regard (fig. 4, Athens NM 1335).⁸¹ The procession of worshipers approaches from the left, with Asklepios and Hygieia on the right. Asklepios is seated on a throne, while Hygieia leans against a tree with a snake wrapped around it. A servant, shown on a smaller scale, accompanies the worshipers carrying a *kanoûn* basket containing the ritual instruments and sacrificial material.⁸² The separation of mortal and deity is a typical feature of fourth-century votives, in which the gods reside on one side and the worshipers approach from the other. Artists distinguished the two parties and emphasized their differences through hierarchic scale. When standing, the gods take up the full height of the relief, their heads just below the architectural frame. The approaching worshipers, on the other hand, are shorter, with space left open above their heads. Servants, children, and sacrificial animals are often at an even smaller scale. The votive serves as a permanent record of ritual interactions between mortals and supernatural beings, and it represents this function with a graphic literalism. An altar or sacrificial table often stands between the human procession and impassive gods. In this case, it is a sacrificial table, or *hierà trápeza*, loaded with a bloodless sacrifice of various round cakes.⁸³ Like the votive plaque within the Archinos Relief, altars and tables indicate that the offering takes place within a particular sanctuary, and they are therefore rudimentary architectural features. The snake-entwined tree

⁸¹ See Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, vol. 1, 254-256, pl. 36, 4; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 70, ill. 70; and Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 214, ill. 438.

⁸² See Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 10-11, 162-164, for *kanoûn* baskets.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 70.

is an important landscape feature because it emphasizes the division of the scene, creates a second plane of depth, and possibly alludes to a sacred grove.⁸⁴

Banquet reliefs are a variation on the theme of a sanctuary procession dating back to the Archaic period. A late-fifth-century banquet relief from the Piraeus Asklepieion clearly illustrates the key characteristics of the type (fig. 5, Athens NM 1501).⁸⁵ A worshiper stands on the right of the scene, at the head of Asklepios' kline. The god leans on one elbow and is holding out a phiale to Hygieia, who sits upright at his feet. A bony dog lies beneath the kline, and a nude male servant stands behind Hygieia. He is a wine bearer, an *oinochoos*, his pitcher dangling loosely in his hand over a krater. A similar constellation of features occurs in another relief from fourth-century Megara (fig. 6, Athens NM 1532).⁸⁶ This work is less crisply carved and more poorly preserved, but it shows Asklepios with phiale and cornucopia, reclining, with Hygieia seated before him. To their right is a miniscule *oinochoos* in low relief on the anta. In front of Asklepios and Hygieia is a sacrificial table set with offerings, and to the left a group of worshipers approaches, leading a sheep and pig (barely visible behind the sheep).⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 18. See also Maureen Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions in Greek Relief Sculpture: Development and Conventionalization* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985), 117.

⁸⁵ Rhea N. Thönges-Stringaris, "Das griechische Totenmahl," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts athenische Abteilung* 80 (1965), 78, n. 65, pl. 7.2; and Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 136, ill. 261.

⁸⁶ J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, vol. 3. (Athens: "Eleftheroudakis" Verlagsgesellschaft, 1937), 562, pl. 90; Kaltsas, *Sculpture*, 229, ill. 482. Excavators have recovered an almost identical, though more fragmentary fourth century relief from Pergamon's upper city (Berlin AC 919). See Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, 257-258 and pl. 35, who describes it as a "Totenmahl," and Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 315. This relief has the added detail of a horse's head in a window in the upper left corner, which identifies it as a type of hero relief, as discussed below. See also Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 94.

⁸⁷ See Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 100, ill. 106.

In the past, scholars have described banquet scenes as “funeral banquets” or *Totenmahlreliefs*, associating them with funerary cults.⁸⁸ Van Straten recognizes that funerary banquet scenes appear on grave stelai, but argues that this term is an inaccurate description for votive relief stelai that have nothing to do with funerary rituals.⁸⁹ The hierarchic scale is an indication that these are not scenes of funerary ritual, but rather encounters between mortals and supernatural beings. The arrangement of the Piraeus and Megara reliefs is the most common, with a male deity and female companion. Worshipers are most often individual males or family groups; large groups of male worshipers are particularly rare, occurring in only three or four extant reliefs.⁹⁰ The worshipers, reclining god, seated companion, and *oinochoos* are key elements of a banquet relief.

Votive reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs were a distinct type of relief common in fourth-century Athens, particularly in the caves on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.⁹¹ Nymph reliefs are thematically tied to other classical votive types. Several important deities were raised by nymphs, including Zeus, Dionysos, and Asklepios. Hygieia, the daughter of Asklepios, was a nymph herself, and thus she appears both in banquet reliefs and Pan and Nymph reliefs. Along with other votive reliefs, the production of Pan and Nymph reliefs

⁸⁸ For funerary banquets, see Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 20-23. For *Totenmahlreliefs*, see Thönges-Stringaris, “Das griechische Totenmahl,” 1-126; Jean-Marie Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII au IV siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1982); and Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults*, 43-50.

⁸⁹ Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 94.

⁹⁰ See van Straten, “Votives and Votaries,” 281-282, who tallies the numbers and types of figures for two hundred known banquet reliefs and finds that approximately seventy-five percent depict couples, with or without other figures, and that approximately seventy percent of those couples had children. Only three or four banquet scenes consisted of large groups of male figures.

⁹¹ Edwards, “Greek Votive Reliefs,” 23-27.

increased significantly in fourth-century Attica.⁹² For the purpose of understanding the Telephos Frieze, Pan and Nymph reliefs are most important for their frames. While many Pan and Nymph reliefs had conventional architectural frames, after the middle of the fourth century a new type of frame developed. Sculptors rounded the edges of their reliefs in an attempt to evoke naturalistically the cave sanctuaries where votaries offered the reliefs.⁹³ Symbolically, cave scenes originated as the setting for various monsters and mythical creatures during the Archaic period, but by the fourth century the specific arched motif had evolved into a setting for scenes depicting nymphs, fertility gods, and especially scenes of Dionysos' childhood, feasts, and cultic celebrations.⁹⁴

The Neoptolemos Relief from the northern slope of the Areopagos in Athens (fig. 7, Athens, Agora I 7154) dates to the most naturalistic period of cave frame development, around 340 B.C.E.⁹⁵ The Neoptolemos Relief is named for its votary, a wealthy Athenian and benefactor of several cults in 330-320 B.C.E., and it represents the delivery of Dionysos, the son of Zeus and the mortal Semele. Zeus' thunderbolts consumed Semele as she conceived his divine son, and the god rescued his child by placing Dionysos into his own thigh as a surrogate womb until he was ready for delivery.⁹⁶ There is significant variation in the different versions of the birth myth. In some, Semele's sister Ino raises the young god,

⁹² Ibid., 265.

⁹³ Ibid., 52-59.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 60-62.

⁹⁵ T. L. Shear Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42 (1973): 168-169, pl. 35; Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 419-432.

⁹⁶ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Dionysos." Hereafter cited as *OCD*.

while in others he is delivered to nymphs who then raise him.⁹⁷ The Neoptolemos Relief depicts nine figures of gods and nymphs arranged in a receding semicircle, with Zeus reclining on an outcropping behind and above the foreground group.⁹⁸ A square altar projects from the ground line directly below Zeus, and between the altar and the god, two figures carefully transfer a bundle, presumably the infant Dionysos.⁹⁹

The lower corners of the Neoptolemos Relief are right angles but the rest of the frame is a rounded arch that resembles undulating, rocky crags. The frame has traces of a rectangular tenon on the bottom, so it may have stood upright or on a pillar like the Archinos Relief from Oropos.¹⁰⁰ In other cases, votaries would set their reliefs into niches in the walls of cave sanctuaries, where the frames harmonized with their setting.¹⁰¹ The cave frame indicates the location of the scene in the nymphs' grotto, but it also creates pictorial space. The figures are arranged in a rough semicircle, with some sitting on rocky outcrops and others standing. Ridgway describes the pictorial in sculpture as "illusionistic effects of spatial penetration and depth perspective," and argues that sculptors achieved the strongest pictorial effects when they placed figures on different ground lines amidst landscape elements.¹⁰² Within the arched frame, the artist of the Neoptolemos Relief created pictorial

⁹⁷ Apollodoros, *The Library*, 3.4.3.; see trans. James George Frazer's ([Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995] 317-323.) detailed notes on the various accounts of the myth; and *OCD* s.v. "Semele." The nymph Nysia was worshipped in Athens as the nurse of Dionysos, as well as a healing deity: see *OCD*, s.v. "Nymphs."

⁹⁸ From left to right: Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, unidentified god with infant Dionysos, matronly nymph, nymph with bared shoulders, young nymph, pan, mask of Acheloos, and above, Zeus.

⁹⁹ Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 421-425.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 419.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰² Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial," 193, 197. Motifs such as the rocky pedestals on which the figures sit had occurred in architectural relief as early as the fifth century, while architectural sculptors occasionally employed

effects through the outcroppings upon which figures lean and perch and the multiple ground lines. These ground lines create the illusion of a receding space in which Zeus lies above and behind the assemblage, at the apex of the scene.¹⁰³

The naturalistic cave frame did not remain in production for a long time. After about 340 B.C.E., the frames were simplified and artists used slightly modulating forms in place of naturalistic rocks, until only an undulating “ribbon-like” trace remained by the end of the third century B.C.E.¹⁰⁴ The Neoptolemos Relief coincides with the flourishing of Attic votive production during the third quarter of the fourth century. The end of the century, in contrast, saw a significant decline in both the quality and quantity of votive production. In explaining the rapid decline of Attic relief sculpture, scholars have suggested that Demetrios of Phaleron’s anti-luxury decree of 317-316 B.C.E. may have played a role.¹⁰⁵ The decree forbade expensive grave stelai, not votive reliefs, but it is likely that many of the same sculptors who produced grave reliefs were also responsible for votive reliefs.¹⁰⁶ When the anti-luxury decree curtailed their income, it is likely that many relief sculptors had to leave

an undulating ground line to stress the wildness of a scene and create compositions with toppling figures. These motifs rarely occurred together and never with the elaborate development of fourth-century Pan and Nymph cave scenes. See Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 6-17.

¹⁰³ Ridgway does not discuss the Neoptolemos Relief in her 1983 article, but she does illustrate a nymph relief from Mount Parnes (Athens NM 1879), along with several other pictorial votive reliefs. The Mount Parnes relief’s date is uncertain, but it exhibits an arched cave frame and receding ground lines like the Neoptolemos Relief. In her 1997 treatment of fourth-century votive reliefs, Ridgway adds the Neoptolemos Relief to her discussion (*Fourth-Century Styles*, 198-199).

¹⁰⁴ Edwards, “Greek Votive Reliefs,” 57.

¹⁰⁵ For the anti-luxury decree of Demetrios of Phaleron, see Cicero, *Leg.* 2.26.66; and Reinhard Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* (Münster: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, 1977), 135-137, and 90, n. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles*, 193. See also Folkert van Straten, “Images of Gods and Men in a Changing Society: Self-Identity in Hellenistic Religion,” in *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, ed. Anthony Bulloch, Erich S. Gruen, A. A. Long, and Andrew Stewart (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 253.

Attica in order to make a living, since the demand for votive reliefs would not have been sufficient to sustain the same level of production.¹⁰⁷ While sculptors had been leaving Athens even during the height of fourth-century production, there was a notable rise in the occurrence of Attic relief motifs in other regions at the end of the century.¹⁰⁸ Cave frames had become familiar in Boeotia, the Peloponnese, and the Greek islands by that time, but did not appear to have been common in Pergamon or Asia Minor as a whole.¹⁰⁹ Processional scenes were present in Rhodes and Pergamon.¹¹⁰ Banquet relief scenes were by far the most popular Athenian votive type to spread into the eastern Greek-speaking world. They were carved in Pergamon and Asia Minor from the fourth century onward. During the late Hellenistic Period, Pergamon continued to supply banquet relief votives, and Samos, Kyzikos, and Rhodes saw significant increases in their production.¹¹¹

Social conditions also played a role in the expansion of Attic models of votive reliefs. A greater need for personal protection from and interaction with the divine developed during

¹⁰⁷ Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 266-267; Van Straten, "Images of Gods," 253.

¹⁰⁸ Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 266. Jiri Frel, "The Krito Sculptor," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 3 (1970): 367-371, traces one such émigré sculptor, designated the Krito sculptor, from Athens to Rhodes during the early fourth century.

¹⁰⁹ Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 256. Examples include Corinth, S 2690 (ibid., 771-774); a relief from Sparta or Megalopolis, Athens NM 1449 (ibid., 777-783); a votive to the Nymphs from Andros, Archeological Museum (no number, ibid., 784-789); and a relief carved into the wall of the marble quarry outside of Parikia on the island of Paros (ibid., 795-809). A rare example of an East Greek cave frame is a third-century relief from Kos (Kos Archaeological Museum, no number, 851-856, see n. 146, below. Fragments of Nymph reliefs have been found in Pergamon, but they lack cave frames and were probably associated with the Asklepieion or a nymph sanctuary whose location is no longer known (Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 889-891).

¹¹⁰ Rhodes 4633 (second century B.C.E.; Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 300-301). A fourth century processional relief from Pergamon, now in the collection of Sir Charles Nicholson, is interesting for its combination of a processional composition with a deity of the cavalier hero type (Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 97, 300-301).

¹¹¹ For the Pergamene banquet scene, see n. 86, above; see Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 182, for a table charting the production of banquet reliefs in Asia Minor from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., and 113-115, for a summary of her findings. Carroll-Spillecke interprets banquet reliefs as primarily funerary in function.

the fourth century, which contributed to the expansion of the pantheon and of cultic sites where worshipers frequently offered votives.¹¹² In the second century, after the diffusion of Attic sculptors, the distinction between votive reliefs and funerary reliefs largely broke down. Funerary stelai incorporated motifs traditionally associated with votives, including landscape elements and the banquet format. Second-century funerary relief figures are often detached and heroic, without mournful emotion. The dead were increasingly addressed in the terms and iconography typical of votive reliefs; inscribed dedications confirm the shift in their frequent reference to the dead as heroes. The conflation of the two genres is significant, and probably was a consequence of the tumult of the second century. Residents of Asia Minor may have sought security in the protection of the dead under the influence of eastern ruler cults as well as Italian and Roman practices of ancestor veneration.¹¹³

Votive relief production increased in northwestern Asia Minor during the second century.¹¹⁴ The popularity of hero reliefs is characteristic of the late Hellenistic revitalization of votive relief production. Hero reliefs were largely private offerings, that votaries might have dedicated at small shrines or heroa, which were probably quite common sights in the post-classical Greek world. Worshipers venerated their heroes for their martial skill, or for their benevolent and helpful character. Local hero cults had the advantage of being close,

¹¹² Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles*, 203.

¹¹³ Ridgway, *HS II*, 192-193. Many authors refer to the hero reliefs discussed below as funerary reliefs. Ridgway stresses the votive over the funerary aspects of Hellenistic reliefs from Asia Minor, arguing that votive functions better explain their proliferation and distribution. I follow Ridgway's recommendation and treat Hellenistic hero reliefs as votives, whose funerary connotations are secondary. The standard publication for East Greek funerary reliefs is Ernst Pfuhl and Hans Möbius' *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, 2 vols. (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977-1979); see also Stefan Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs: Typologische und chronologische Beobachtungen* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1991), for further analysis of funerary reliefs by region, and Ridgway, *HS II*, 215, n. 5, for further bibliographic information.

¹¹⁴ Van Straten, "Images of Gods," 253.

and their heroes familiar and local.¹¹⁵ Apart from the architectural friezes, hero reliefs are the most prevalent type of relief sculpture that excavators have recovered from the ruins of Pergamon, most of which represent the hero as a horseman.¹¹⁶ Cavalier hero reliefs were not an invention of the second century, but they became much more common in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods.¹¹⁷

A well preserved example of a cavalier hero relief from Pergamon (fig. 8, Istanbul Archeological Museum 362) is typical of the iconography of most Pergamene productions.¹¹⁸ The unidentified hero stands dismounted and nude except for his *chlamys* in the center of the panel. In his right hand, he holds a phiale above the round altar. To his left, an armored attendant holds his spirited horse, while to his right a demure female companion leans against a low pillar watching the libation. Behind the altar are a gnarled tree and a contorted snake reminiscent of the Pergamene Gigantomachy Frieze or the Laocöon. A hunting dog sits at the base of the altar, looking back at his master. The attendant is shown at a smaller scale than the other two figures, whose size difference is natural. The figures stand on a unified ground line, but there is ample space above their heads, which suggests pictorial space, as do the overlapping tree and altar and the sharply projecting shield of the attendant. Cavalier hero reliefs typically include the hero, his horse, an attendant and an altar, and frequently a

¹¹⁵ Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 92-96.

¹¹⁶ Hero reliefs with horsemen have been described variously as “Rider” or “Horse Leader” reliefs (Ridgway, *HS II*, 192), or “cavalier” reliefs (Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 54). I employ Carroll-Spillecke’s terminology for its ease of usage.

¹¹⁷ Cavalier hero reliefs have been found throughout the Mediterranean region, dating from as early as the late sixth century B.C.E. (Ridgway, *HS II*, 196).

¹¹⁸ Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, 248-249 and pl. 33. See also Doris Pinkwart, “Katalog,” in *Pergamon: Ausstellung in Erinnerung an Boehringer* (Ingelheim am Rhein: C. H. Boehringer Sohn, 1972), 46, no. 34; Pfuhl and Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 2, 350, ill. 1477; and Ridgway, *HS II*, 198, who dates this relief to the late second century based on the motif of the foreshortened horse.

snake hanging from a tree. In variations, the horseman may be mounted, or the horse may be absent and the hero seated upon a *diphros*, in which case he is often accompanied by attributes like a horse's head, weapons, or a female companion.¹¹⁹

Two cavalier reliefs from Pergamon are inscribed with dedications to the city's founding heroes, the eponymous Pergamos and Telephos.¹²⁰ The first is in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (fig. 9, Ashmolean Museum 1886 6566).¹²¹ This relief, dedicated by the "Son of Apollonios, temple overseer (in the sanctuary) of Athena Nikephoros, to the Hero Pergamos," contains many of the iconographic elements of other hero reliefs: a mounted rider, his female companion, and a tree with a dangling serpent that extends its head towards the hero.¹²² The Ashmolean relief suggests that Pergamos may have been the recipient of the many uninscribed rider reliefs, and in the catalog for an exhibition of Pergamene sculpture, Doris Pinkwart speculates that this relief may have come from a heröon to Andromache, the patron of Pergamos mentioned in Pausanias.¹²³ Excavators have not uncovered a heröon for Andromache or Pergamos, though Pausanias suggests that his cult existed.¹²⁴ A round

¹¹⁹ Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 93-94.

¹²⁰ "Pergamos" refers to the eponymous hero and supposed founder of Pergamon.

¹²¹ Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, 252-253, fig. 310. This relief was purchased in Izmir, but scholars agree that it probably originated in Pergamon (Pinkwart, "Katalog," 47). Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 26, describes two similar cavalier reliefs from Pergamon dedicated to Pergamos, but it is unclear if either is the work in the Ashmolean museum.

¹²² Pinkwart, "Katalog," 47 (my translation). Pinkwart attributes the relief to the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman period, describing it as purchased in Izmir but probably originating in Pergamon. See also Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, 252-253, who describes the relief as Roman, and supposedly found in Smyrna.

¹²³ Pinkwart, "Katalog," 47; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.11.2. Pausanias also mentions a heröon for Auge, Telephos' mother (ibid., 8.4.9).

¹²⁴ Other heroa in Pergamon include the cult building of the Attalid kings near the sanctuary of Athena and the Altar terrace, and the Heröon of Diodoros Paspáros (c. 70 B.C.E.) in the city. There are many sepulchral tumuli in and around Pergamon, and it may be that some of them may also have functioned as heroa. Webb, "The

heröon-like structure with a two-roomed chamber inside, covered by an earthen tumulus, once stood on the Via Tecta, a stoa-lined street leading to the Asklepieion outside of the Hellenistic city.¹²⁵ Pinkwart associates another inscribed hero relief with this structure (fig. 10, Pergamon Museum 432).¹²⁶ In a rectangular frame it depicts a hero in his chariot dressed for combat and urging on his team of rearing horses. Opposite the hero is the votary, “Nysios son of Menkeles of Ainos,” with his hand raised in worship. Open space separates the votary from the oncoming horses, while at the horses’ feet a large, writhing snake reaches towards Nysios. An eagle occupies the upper left corner of the relief. On the upper border a damaged inscription indicates that Nysios dedicated his offering to Telephos. While it is a unique composition and lacks many of the elements of other examples, the relief is clearly a hero relief, and along with the Ashmolean relief, it calls attention to contradictory myths of Pergamos’ and Telephos’ foundation of Pergamon. Webb explains the divergence by attributing the eponymous hero to Pergamon’s pre-political period and Telephos to the period of polis formation, but her explanation falls short of explaining why votaries would identify with and seek the favor of one founder or the other within the same historical period.¹²⁷ These reliefs suggest that Hellenistic Pergamon was a place where votive reliefs played an

Functions of the Sanctuary,” 248-249, proposes that the largest, a vast earthen mound on the plain outside of Pergamon known as Yigma Tepe, may have been the Augeion mentioned by Pausanias. Radt, “Recent Research,” 36, notes that the tumuli on the plain are in urgent need of excavation, as the urban development of Bergamo threatens to destroy them.

¹²⁵ See Oskar Ziegenaus and Gioia De Luca, *Altertümer von Pergamon XI₂: Das Asklepieion* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 45-50, pls. 29-33 and 116-118.

¹²⁶ Pinkwart, “Katalog,” 47, no. 35, describes this relief as Late Hellenistic. See also Webb (“The Function of the Sanctuary,” 249), who notes that the relief cannot be connected with certainty to the round building on the Via Tecta.

¹²⁷ Webb, “The Functions of the Sanctuary of Athena,” 248. See also Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults*, 71-72; and François de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 1995), 132.

important role in private religious worship and where votaries employed a limited iconographic vocabulary to express divergent concepts of identity and personal meaning.

CHAPTER 3: VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE TELEPHOS FRIEZE

The Telephos Frieze survives in a fragmentary state; excavators have recovered only about a third of its original length. Even with this reduced length, the narrative of the frieze and its scenes are complex. In order to compare the Telephos Frieze to the votive reliefs discussed in the previous chapter, I will focus on three specific sections of the frieze: Herakles and the Nymphs' rescue of the infant Telephos; the banquet scene of Telephos in the court of the Argives; and the cult foundation scene from the later period of Telephos' life. These scenes each exhibit a number of characteristics similar to those of votive reliefs, and they help to demonstrate the frieze's relationship to processional, banquet, Pan and Nymph, and cavalier hero reliefs.

1. The Scene of the Rescue of Telephos

Telephos was born the son of the wandering hero Herakles and Auge, the daughter of the Arkadian King Aleos.¹²⁸ In fear of an inauspicious oracle declaring that he would die at the hands of Auge's offspring, King Aleos exiled his daughter and exposed Telephos in the Parthenion Mountains. While Auge drifted on the sea and eventually landed in the kingdom of Mysia on the western coast of Asia Minor, Herakles happened upon his helpless son sprawled on his belly and nursing from a lioness in a cave-like grotto.¹²⁹ The discovery and

¹²⁸ For the frieze's account of the Telephos myth see Heres, "The Myth," 83-108.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 84-85. In all other accounts of the myth, Telephos is nursed by a hind. The political implications of the lion have been a matter of some speculation. Andrew Stewart ("Telephos/Telepinu and Dionysos: A Distant Light on an Ancient Myth," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, 109-119) suggests that the hind was an animal

rescue of Telephos is the theme of panels twelve, seven, and eight of the frieze (figs. 11-13).¹³⁰ In panel twelve, the heroically nude Herakles encounters his son for the first time. He leans on his club and lion skin in a pose that seems to allude to Lysippos' *Weary Herakles*, as he props himself against the rocks of the grotto's entrance. Scholars have often noted the Altar's many allusion to fifth- and fourth-century Greek sculptures and sculptural styles, and this resting Herakles is only one such reference in the Telephos Frieze.¹³¹ A crinkly texture and chiseled grooves distinguish the rocks at the entrance to the grotto, which begins behind Herakles' feet and arches over the lioness to the right. The undersized lioness nestles ambiguously in the cavern. Herakles' lion skin hangs down to touch her projecting knee, in front of the rock on which he supports himself, suggesting that she lies only partially within the shallow space. The panel is broken, so the heads of Herakles and the lioness are missing, as well as Telephos' lower torso, and the remainder of the grotto is left to the imagination. A plane tree behind Herakles defines the edge of the scene and adds to the sense of a pictorial landscape. Heres identifies the following scene in panels seven and eight as the bathing of

sacred to the Gauls and would not have been appropriate for a monumental program celebrating their defeat, as much of the acropolis did. Other writers, Ridgway *HS II*, 93, for example, have noted the similarity to the wolf nursing Romulus and Remus, and suggested that the lion represents an upgrade of the Roman mythology and was therefore anti-Roman in theme (Ridgway, *HS II*, 93). Both may well have been possible, as the Attalids sought to distinguish themselves as the new Greeks, in opposition to both the antagonizing Gauls and the Romans.

¹³⁰ Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des grossen Altars*, 170-171, 165-166, fig. 74, and pls. 31.6, 32.3, 36.11. The panels retain the standard numbers that Winnefeld established in 1910, though their arrangement has changed in the new reconstruction.

¹³¹ The gods of the Gigantomachy were represented with serene, Classical faces, some of which are very similar to the figural style of the Parthenon's sculptures. Zeus and Athena seem to be modeled after two figures of the Parthenon's west pediment, and figures amongst the giants may quote Classical battle scenes like the Dexileos stele in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens (Gisela M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, 6th ed. [London and New York: Phaidon, 1969], fig. 217; Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990], 212). See Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 105 and 309 n. 24; Ridgway, *HS II*, 34-36.

Telephos.¹³² Panel seven is all that remains of the right side of the scene, with a fragmentary female figure, possibly a nymph, kneeling over the infant Telephos.¹³³ The more complete panel eight represents the right side of the scene. At the center of the scene is a tripod cauldron, and to the right is another kneeling female who stokes the fire with a piece of wood. Above her, a detached woman sits on a rocky outcropping, placing her at a higher plane and possibly a larger scale. Heres identifies this figure as a mountain goddess.¹³⁴

The scenes of the rescue and bathing of Telephos combine a rocky, naturalistic landscape with a botanically correct tree and reduced figural proportions to create a sophisticated pictorial scene. While isolated trees with leafless, often cropped branches and rocks in the form of undulating ground lines or pedestals for seated figures occur in architectural friezes as early as the fifth century, these pictorial landscape motifs also figured prominently in votive reliefs, where artists frequently used them in novel combinations.¹³⁵ Trees in fourth-century votive reliefs were similar to those in architectural reliefs during the period, usually lacking branches and of the same size or smaller than the figures that they

¹³² Heres, "The Myth," 85.

¹³³ Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 64, believes that this kneeling figure may be part of one of the cult scenes in the last section of the frieze.

¹³⁴ Heres, "The Myth," 85. Ridgway, *HS II*, 74, suggests that it may be Arkadia. Personifications of landscape also appear in panel fifty, where two recumbent figures signify the Silenos and Ketios rivers, discussed below. The right side of panel eight preserves a fragmentary mitred edge, indicating that it stood in one of the corners of the Altar courtyard. According to the new reconstruction, it was located in the northwest corner, where it abutted the fragmentary panel nine, with its nude torso in an elevated, rocky landscape. See Heilmeyer, "New Arrangement," 127-128. This scene may depict Telephos growing up with Arkadian herdsmen, as the literary tradition recounts: see Heres, "The Myth," 85.

¹³⁵ For landscape motifs in Classical architectural reliefs, see Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 6-17. In the discussion that follows, I exclude complex pictorial reliefs from the Heröon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa from discussion here. The complexity of its fusion of Greek and non-Greek eastern elements is beyond the scope of this paper. See Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles*, 88-94; Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 11-12.

framed, and this Classical model continued through the Hellenistic period.¹³⁶ In the second century, however, relief sculptors began to experiment with the proportions and foliage of trees in votive reliefs.¹³⁷ As the second-century hero relief (Pergamon Museum 432) demonstrates, trees became taller, while relief figures became smaller in relationship to the tree and naiskos frame. The result was a more naturalistic scene, with empty space above the heads of the figures, which created the illusion of spatial recession.¹³⁸ The Telephos Frieze exhibits similarly naturalistic proportions that contrast markedly with the Altar's Gigantomachy Frieze. Whereas the Gigantomachy employs monumental figures that fill the entire height of the register, the artists of the Telephos Frieze represented their characters at a reduced scale in relation to the overall height of the frieze. In the case of panel twelve, Herakles' head would have been located just above the frieze's midpoint. Though the fragmentary state of this panel requires an imaginative reconstruction, the plane tree would probably have expanded in the ample open area above his head, helping to situate him in the realistically receding space.¹³⁹

The trees in the Telephos Frieze are remarkable for the artists' attention to botanical details. The two leaves in the upper left corner of panel twelve are accurate representations of the leaves of a plane tree, with carefully carved poly-lobed forms and incised primary and

¹³⁶ The tall, straight tree in Athens NM 1335 (fig. 4, see n. 81, above) is an exceptional example in its proportionate relationship to the other figures.

¹³⁷ Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 49.

¹³⁸ See Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial," 194. The hierarchical scale of many Classical processional votive reliefs results in a similar effect, with taller gods filling the height of the relief plane and open space remaining above the shorter worshipers.

¹³⁹ The illusion of space through reduced figural proportions is particularly evident in panel ten, where King Teuthras of Mysia runs to greet the exiled Auge with his entourage. This is not in particularly high relief, and so the sense of pictorial space is the result of the smooth open surface above Teuthras' head.

secondary veins. In addition to plane trees, which occur in three panels, the frieze includes accurate representations of grape vines and laurel and oak trees, the latter complete with minute acorns.¹⁴⁰ The sculptors represented each leaf parallel to the relief surface, overlapped slightly with crisp, detailed carving and undercutting. Maureen Carroll-Spillecke considers the frieze's botanically accurate foliage as the first to occur in Classical or Hellenistic Greek sculpture, but she notes that leaves also begin to appear on votive reliefs during the second century.¹⁴¹ In fact, the chronology of foliate trees in votive reliefs and the Telephos Frieze is unclear, since many of the relevant votives are not securely dated, or are dated by comparison to the frieze itself, assuming that foliate representations originated with the frieze. An example is the well-published votive relief now in Munich (fig. 14, Munich Glyptothek 206), which represents worshipers in a sanctuary with a large plane tree. The tree's foliage is similar in form and technique to trees in the Telephos Frieze, leading some scholars to attribute it to the second half of the second century, after the completion of the Pergamene monument.¹⁴² Yet other scholars have disputed the date of the Munich relief;

¹⁴⁰ Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 18-21. The plane trees occur in panels four (Winnefeld, *Die Friese des groszen Altars*, 161-162, pl. 31.4), eleven (ibid., 168-170, pl. 31.5), and twelve, the laurel branch occurs in panel one (ibid., 157-159, pl. 31.1), the oak in panel three (ibid., 159-161, pl. 31.2), and the grapes vines entangle Telephos in the fragments that comprise panel thirty (ibid., 183-184, pl. 35.4).

¹⁴¹ Winnefeld, *Die Friese des groszen Altars*, 24, 49. See Volkmar von Graeve, "Thessalische Weihreliefs an die apollinische Trias," in *La Thessalie: Actes de la Table-Ronde 21-24 Juillet 1975*, ed. Bruno Helly (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, 1979), ill. 2.4, for a second century processional relief from Gomphoi, Thessaly, with a leafy laurel branch behind a tripod (Volos Museum 4532).

¹⁴² See Ridgway, *HS II*, 227, n. 52, for recent bibliography. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 197 and 314, n. 10, argues for dating the Munich relief after the Telephos Frieze, and notes that the source of this relief is unknown; it is made of Pentelic marble, but Rhodian sources have also been suggested. Other possible sources include Corinth or a Kykladic or East Greek workshop (Ridgway, *HS II*, 208-209). Ridgway argues for a late second century date as well, based on the cropping (what she calls a "porthole viewing") of the relief's frame, which overlaps the figures and scene that it contains. She notes that Classical votive reliefs exhibited overlap in the opposite direction, with figures projecting before the architectural frame. Ridgway also compares the female figures to Tanagra figurines, the female figures in terracotta that flourished from the late fourth century onward in Boiotia and Asia Minor. For Tanagra figures, see *Tanagra. Mythe e Archéologie* (Paris: Louvre, 2003).

Gisela Richter places it in the third century B.C.E. based on a comparison between the relief's male worshiper and numismatic portraits of King Euthydemos I of Bactria.¹⁴³

The Telephos Frieze establishes the existence of leafy, realistically-proportioned trees in relief sculpture by the mid-second century B.C.E. The Munich relief makes it clear that there was a close correlation between the appearance of foliage in the Telephos Frieze and in votive reliefs, but the relationship between these works remains uncertain without secure dates. Like foliate trees, the rocky landscape of the rescue and bathing scenes appears to have a close relationship to votive reliefs, the angular contours evoking the undulating crags of fourth-century Athenian cave frames like the Neoptolemos Relief. The multiple ground lines of panel twelve, which establish pictorial space, and the high pedestal upon which the mountain goddess of panel eight sits are common features of many cave-frame reliefs.¹⁴⁴ The rocky grotto in panel twelve appears to descend directly from a particular manifestation of the cave-frame votive relief. While most artists who used cave frames placed it around the outer edges of their reliefs in the place of an architectural frame, they occasionally situated figures (such as Pan or shepherds with animals) on the outer border of the cave.¹⁴⁵ In more extreme examples, the artists reversed the cave frame and relief ground entirely, representing a small cave entrance as part of the larger scenery within a rectangular relief. A third-century

¹⁴³ Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London: Phaidon, 1965), 278.

¹⁴⁴ Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial," 197. Uneven ground lines figure prominently in other scenes such as panels five and six, where workmen construct Auge's boat in the foreground, while Auge and her maidservants mourn in the distance. The workmen stand on a hill that overlaps the women, who are located above on a higher ground line and at a smaller scale to show their distance. For further analysis of pictorial techniques in this scene, see Heres, "The Myth," 102-103. The seated goddess in panel eight also recalls a certain figural type of matronly nymph who arranges her drapery in her lap in order to receive the infant. A comparable nymph figure sits on the left side of the Agathemeros Votive Relief, from the ancient Athenian quarries of Mount Pentelikon (330-320 B.C.E., Athens NM 4466). The Agathemeros nymph sits in a mirrored pose, rearranging her robes in order to receive the unexpected infant Dionysos: see Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 478-488.

¹⁴⁵ See Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 58-59 and ill. 10.1, for two examples from 340-320 B.C.E.

votive relief from Kos showing Pan and the Charites is a good example of an inverted cave frame (fig. 15, Kos Archeological Museum, no number).¹⁴⁶ This relief has a typical architectural frame (with a horizontal sima and antefixes) around the exterior. Within are four large female figures, two standing at the left, and two dancing at the right. A diminutive Pan peeks out of the rocks from the upper left corner, barely visible above the left-most Charis' shoulder.¹⁴⁷ In front of the four women is a roughly-worked, concave, semi-circular projection with a beardless youth inside. This strangely upright projection is the cave frame, and because of the presence of Pan, the youth within is probably Dionysos.¹⁴⁸

In the scene of Herakles discovering Telephos (panel twelve, fig. 11), the artists of the Telephos Frieze employ a cave-frame motif that is startlingly similar to the frame in the Pan and Charites Relief from Kos. They represent the cave as a narrow arch that sits ambiguously within the pictorial space of the frieze. The relief carving of the grotto is shallow, and emulates the naturalistic facets that had become conventional signifiers for caves in the fourth century, and which continued sporadically in an East Greek context. Even the frieze's proportions are similar to the Koan relief, with the grown Herakles towering over the grotto and its occupants, an appropriately small infant and half-sized

¹⁴⁶ See Folkert van Straten, "Diakrates' Dream. A Votive Relief from Kos and some Other Kat'onar Dedication," *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 51 (1976): 1-2; Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 851-856; and Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 59. The Charites or Graces were personifications of charm, grace, and beauty. See Evelyn B. Harrison, *LIMC*, vol. 3, s.v. "Charis, Charites," 191-193 and 199-200, ill. 42, 202, who suggests that the Koan relief actually depicts two nymphs and two charites, since four charites would be an unprecedented iconography and the relief's inclusion of Pan suggests a connection to the nymphs.

¹⁴⁷ Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs," 852.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 854. Van Straten, "Diakrates' Dream," 2, identifies the recumbent figure as the votary, known through an inscription to be Diakrates. For the birth of Dionysos, see ns. 96-97, above. For another East Greek example of a cave frame within the votive scene, see the Nymph Relief from Rhodes, Archeological Museum 4633; Edwards, "Greek Votives Reliefs," 810-814.

lioness. The formal similarities of these scenes are echoed by their thematic parallels. Both tell the story of infants raised in the mountainous wilderness by kourotrophic or nurturing figures, the nymphs who raised Dionysos, and the lioness and nymphs who care for Telephos.¹⁴⁹ Other mythical figures were believed to have had similar childhoods, including Asklepios and the brothers Romulus and Remus.¹⁵⁰ The use of the cave-frame motif allowed the sculptors of the Telephos Frieze to allude to these earlier myths and to position their founder as another Greek hero of similar status through a sculptural vocabulary (the cave frame) that carried mainland Greek connotations in its Attic origins. While the scene of Telephos suckling a lion has political undertones, strictly political interpretations obscure the obvious cultic iconography. The artists deliberately portrayed Telephos as a divine or semi-divine hero in a setting that recalled both Dionysian cults and the healing cult of Asklepios, thus referring to and reinforcing the worship of Pergamon's founding hero.

2. The Banquet Scene of Telephos in the Court of the Argives

While scenes of Telephos' rescue are important for comparison to votive reliefs, they are hardly the end of the fortunate hero's story. Telephos grew up and eventually arrived in

¹⁴⁹ In some versions of the myth, Dionysos is raised by humans rather than nymphs, see n. 97, above. For the connection between Telephos and Dionysos in this scene, see Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 72; for kourotrophic figures and their frequent occurrence in Greek mythology, see Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults*, 121-130.

¹⁵⁰ The Epidaurian version of the Asklepios myth, as recounted in Pausanias, *Description*, 2.26.3-5, tells of Asklepios' exposure on Mount Titthion, where he survived by suckling from a goat. A fourth-century votive relief representing the birth of Asklepios (Athens NM 1351) includes a cave frame similar to that in the Telephos Frieze. See Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, vol. 1, 268-270, pl. 49; Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial," 203-204; and Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles*, 200. For other versions of the Asklepios myth, some going back to the sixth century B.C.E., see *OCD*, s.v. "Asclepius." For a summary and bibliography of the myths of Romulus and Remus, fragments of which go back as far the fourth century, see Jocelyn Penny Small, *LIMC*, vol. 7, s.v. "Romulus et Remus," 639-644.

Mysia, seeking his mother. He endeared himself to King Teuthras by fighting on behalf of Mysia, and eventually became king of Mysia himself. Once upon the throne, Telephos had to deal with a new difficulty: the ships of Agamemnon, Achilles, and the Argives land in Mysia, and the disoriented warriors attack, mistaking Telephos' kingdom for Troy. Telephos and his forces successfully repelled the Greeks in a battle in the Kaikos River valley, but in the process, he received a grave wound. Telephos had angered Dionysos by neglecting his proper sacrifices, and Dionysos responded by ensnaring the hero in grapevines, and allowing Achilles to spear him in the thigh. When the wound fails to heal, Telephos consults an oracle and journeys to the court of Agamemnon in Argos, seeking a cure. The Argives receive Telephos cordially, and it is not until the banquet dinner that he reveals his identity and purpose to his former foes.

Panels thirty-eight to forty (fig. 16) illustrate the banquet a moment before the hero's revelation, as he pulls back his robes to reveal his bandaged thigh.¹⁵¹ This scene is a large and particularly complex composition, whose fragmentary state renders it difficult to read. A group of five stately men are seated in a semi-circle, heroically semi-draped. Telephos sits on the right side of the group, his left hand pulling back his cloak to reveal his wounded thigh and thereby his identity as King of Mysia. Behind the princes stands a spearbearer, and two flat pilasters with ornate capitals, which demarcate the edges of the scene.¹⁵² To the left, a young nude *oinochöos* pours wine for one of the princes, while at the far right a servant

¹⁵¹Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des grossen Altars*, 188-191, pl. 33.3.

¹⁵²The left pilaster is largely missing, but one of its edges can be seen above the head of the *oinochöos*. This pilaster and capital appear very similar to plaster relief columns recently excavated and restored in the remains of a structure labeled building Z, above Pergamon's gymnasium and near the Demeter Sanctuary. Building Z originally dates to the first half of the second century, B.C.E. though it was occupied and renovated during the Imperial phase; see Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 102-110, ill. 56-57.

stands holding a large platter of fruit or cakes. This servant stands in front of the pilaster and marks the end of the scene.

While this scene is quite fragmentary, enough survives to demonstrate the general composition and suggest several notable similarities to banquet relief scenes, some of which have been noted previously.¹⁵³ At a superficial level, the composition of the banquet scene shows a group of reclined figures between framing pilasters; the pilasters echo the antae of a votive banquet relief, isolating the scene and creating a compositional field of similar dimensions and proportion. The peristyle colonnade of the altar complex would have added another level of framing, as did the overhanging roof and blue ashlar blocks on which the frieze rested.¹⁵⁴

Heres describes the composition of this scene as intentionally archaizing in the seated pose and dress of the gathered princes, who wear cloaks that are wrapped around their waists and over the shoulder, leaving their chests bare.¹⁵⁵ The semicircular arrangement of the figures, and the spearbearer and pilasters behind, establish a moderate sense of depth, which

¹⁵³ Von Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon*, 102, 134-139; Heres, "The Myth," 99 and 178 n. 47, compares the pose of the Argive princes to Classical figures in reliefs like Athens NM 1471 (Marion Meyer, *Die Griechischen Urkundenreliefs* [Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1989], 290, A88, ill. 28.1). They are also strongly reminiscent of the gods seated in the east frieze of the Parthenon: see Robin Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), ill. 110.

¹⁵⁴ The colonnade was open, so viewers could pass between the columns and inspect the frieze up close, but it seems reasonable to assume that a viewer's first glimpse of the frieze as he or she entered the courtyard would have been from a distance, framed by the colonnade. For the framing effect of the colonnade, see Heilmeyer, "New Arrangement," 127. For the framing effect of the colonnade and the blue-gray-colored ashlar blocks, see Ridgway, *HS II*, 67-68.

¹⁵⁵ Heres, "The Myth," 99. Heres uses the term "archaizing" but "classicizing" is probably a more accurate description, since she compares the scene with works from the Fourth century. For Heres' comparison, see n. 153, above. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway (*Hellenistic Sculpture III: The Styles of ca. 100-31 B.C.* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002], 142) defines a work as "archaistic" when its style is coherently Archaic, with only a few anachronistic traits or mannerisms hinting at its later creation. A work is "archaizing" when its style is nearly contemporary to its creation (post-480 B.C.E.), but its "underlying pattern" is Archaic.

is appropriate for an indoor setting. The sense of depth in the scene distinguishes it from Classical banquet reliefs, as does the realistically consistent proportions of the figures. The *oinochöos* and the food-bearing attendant are smaller than the dining princes, but their size is consistent with what one would expect from youthful servants.

The banquet scene from the Telephos Frieze shares some key features of a Classical banquet relief, but it also exhibits significant departures from the votive formula. The seated male figures emulate Classical gods like Asklepios in their dress and posture, and the *oinochöos*, a common but marginal figure in earlier reliefs, introduces the scene. The food-bearing attendant is not common in earlier votive reliefs, but the abundance of cakes on the platter that he carries suggests the plentitude of offered goods heaped upon the *hierà trápeza* in Athens NM 1335. The food attendant is an addition to traditional banquet compositions, but he has a function analogous to the offering table.

Banquet scenes of the fifth and fourth centuries typically include a female companion who sits or stands alongside the reclining deity, a fact that led Christa Bauchhenss-Thüriedl to propose that the last scene of the frieze (panel forty-eight, fig. 17) represents Telephos as a hero analogous to those of banquet reliefs.¹⁵⁶ This panel depicts a woman rushing toward a figure reclining on a kline. The second half of the scene is missing, so we do not know how to reconstruct this figure, except that he is half reclined, with his right arm outstretched and the fingers pointing towards the foot of the kline. The upper half of the panel consists of unarticulated relief ground. According to the new reconstruction of the frieze, this panel would have stood on the western spur wall of the Altar, abutting panel forty-seven, whose

¹⁵⁶ Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 70; Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des grossen Altars*, 194-195, pl. 34.7.

fragmentary remains depict a woman pushing aside a curtain and rushing into the room.¹⁵⁷

Bauchhenss-Thüriedl argues that this scene does not represent the death of Telephos, since his arm is raised, and she proposes that it shows Telephos heroized after death. She relies upon a relief fragment in Würzburg (fig. 18, Martin von Wagner Museum 2428), depicting another reclining hero on a kline, with his right arm and hand extended towards the female companion who stands at his feet.¹⁵⁸ On the evidence of this relief scene and other Hellenistic scenes, Bauchhenss-Thüriedl proposes that the right panel may have shown Telephos reclining against the head of his kline, his upper torso nude, with a tree to the right filling the upper half of the register with its branches. She also suggests that a snake might have been wrapped in the tree branches, conforming to other hero reliefs from Pergamon.¹⁵⁹

Unlike most banquet relief scenes, in which sculptors used hierarchic scale to differentiate the supernatural beings entering the identifiable earthly space of the sanctuary, the figures in the Argive banquet scene appear to be proportionate to one another.¹⁶⁰ The consistent proportions could signify that no deity is present. Alternatively, one could interpret all of the princes as heroes; regardless, it is evident that the artists represented

¹⁵⁷ Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des groszen Altars*, 194, pl. 34.6.

¹⁵⁸ Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 70, pl. 11. Bauchhenss-Thüriedl does not provide a date for this relief.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 70. See the second of her folding plans for a drawing of her proposed reconstruction. See also Heres, "The Myth," 94. Heres follows Bauchhenss-Thüriedl's reconstruction, and imagines that the women of panels forty-seven and forty-eight might be rushing out of the preceding scene (entirely lost) where they might have encountered an epiphany of Dionysos. Heres' reconstruction of the proceeding scene is entirely speculative, but it would be a tidy conclusion to the narrative, reuniting Telephos with Dionysos, whom he had previously offended.

¹⁶⁰ For gods entering the space of the sanctuary see Kroll, "The Parthenon Frieze," 352.

Telephos as equal in status to the established Homeric heroes.¹⁶¹ Arrangements consisting of all-male groups are extremely rare amongst votive reliefs, though a few examples do exist. In a survey of almost two hundred known banquet reliefs with worshipers, Folkert Van Straten determined that only three or four votives depict a group of all-male worshipers, who were probably members of a club or religious group.¹⁶² One must wait for the following scene, (panel forty-two, fig. 19) for a female presence in the Argive court.¹⁶³ Achilles refuses to assist his vanquisher, and in response Telephos grabs Orestes, the infant son of Agamemnon, and threatens the child on the house altar. Between Telephos on the right and the traces of Agamemnon's hand and thigh on the left, kneels Orestes' wet-nurse, who looks towards the altar in shock.¹⁶⁴ Just as the banquet scene suggests earlier banquet votive reliefs, the altar and victim of panel forty-two evoke processional reliefs, but without conforming to votive norms, since it is rare to depict the actual act of sacrifice.¹⁶⁵

A close analysis of the banquet scene calls attention to the sculptors' notable divergences from votive traditions. At a thematic level, however, there is a close accord between votive reliefs and Telephos' visit to the Argive court. He arrives as a weakened and wounded

¹⁶¹ In the Telephos Frieze, gods mingle with mortals in several other scenes, including Herakles (panels three and twelve), the Nymphs (panel eight), an unidentified goddess (panel forty-nine) and more importantly Dionysos in panels thirty to thirty-one. In these cases, the deities do not appear to be markedly out of proportion in relation to the mortal figures, but see below regarding the scale of the unidentified goddess.

¹⁶² Van Straten, "Votives and Votaries," 282.

¹⁶³ Winnefeld, *Die Friese des grossen Altars*, 191-192, pl. 33.4, 36.1.

¹⁶⁴ Ellen Schraudolph, "Catalogue: Sculpture and Architectural Fragments," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, vol. 1, 72.

¹⁶⁵ Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 103. Van Straten finds only one Classical votive relief that may depict the votary in the moment before cutting the throat of his ram. Van Straten later notes that representations of human sacrifice outside of the mythical realm are equally rare (*ibid.*, 113).

supplicant, leaning on a cane in the fragmentary panel thirty-seven.¹⁶⁶ Votive reliefs frequently represent gods and heroes as older men leaning on canes in the same pose.¹⁶⁷ In these votive reliefs, the hero is a healing deity to whom the votary supplicates. Telephos' visit to the Argive court reverses expectations, placing the hero of the frieze as a supplicant before the Classical and self-possessed Argive heroes. These scenes place Telephos in the position of the votary, hinting at a connection between this panel of the frieze and the healing cult of Telephos in Pergamon.¹⁶⁸ The healing god is forced to seek healing himself, suggesting that this important scene from the frieze presents Telephos as model and precedent for the Pergamenes' worship.

3. The Foundation of a Pergamene Cult

The scenes following Telephos' abduction of Orestes are missing. According to tradition, Achilles capitulated and healed Telephos by scraping rust from his spear into the wound.¹⁶⁹ The remainder of the south wall consists of scenes representing the important cultic activities in the city of Pergamon, possibly concluding with the posthumous heroization of Telephos.¹⁷⁰ Panels forty-nine to fifty (fig. 20) represent the foundation of an unidentified

¹⁶⁶ Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des groszen Altars*, 188, pl. 33.2.

¹⁶⁷ For example, Amphiaraos in the Archinos Relief from Oropos (Athens NM 3369), or Asklepios in a fourth century Kynourian Relief believed to have originated at the Athenian Asklepieion (Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 279, ill. 66; Athens NM 1402).

¹⁶⁸ Webb, "The Sanctuary of Athena," 249; Otfried Deubner, "Pergamena," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 34 (1984): 345-351.

¹⁶⁹ LIMC, vol. 7, s.v. "Telephos," 856-857; and Heres, "The Myth," 96-97.

¹⁷⁰ Heres, "The Myth," 93.

cult within Pergamon.¹⁷¹ The top third of panel forty-nine is preserved, with the head and shoulders of a goddess standing at the left, in front of an insubstantial naiskos with unfluted Doric columns. She faces the scene, with the augury of a bird taking flight against the unarticulated relief ground to the right. The bottom third of panel fifty survives, showing workmen laying the capstone of a new sacrificial altar in front of the naiskos. At the foot of the altar two male figures recline, probably allegorical figures representing the Silenos and the Ketios rivers that flow on either side of the Pergamene acropolis.¹⁷² Three workmen gather around the altar, the one to the right pushing or supporting the capstone wears a chiton and mantle, while the other two are nude to the waist. The first workman stands behind the altar, while the second approaches from the right, with his arms raised, apparently bearing a load above his head.¹⁷³

In terms of composition, this scene recalls processional votive reliefs like the one from the Athenian Asklepieion (fig. 4, Athens NM 1335).¹⁷⁴ Since the foundation of an altar and its respective cult are themselves a form of worship and dedication, the workmen can be understood to stand for mortal votaries. As in processional reliefs, the worshipers approach from one side with their offering, while an altar separates them from the deity opposite. The goddess stands in her sanctuary, watching the worshipers as they approach. She wears a diadem, but scholars have not secured her identity.¹⁷⁵ It is unclear whether she sits or stands

¹⁷¹ Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des grossen Altars*, 195-196, pl. 32.6.

¹⁷² Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 60.

¹⁷³ Heres, "The Myth," 94. Heres suggests that the clothed figure may be Telephos himself.

¹⁷⁴ See n. 81, above.

¹⁷⁵ Robert, "Beiträge zur Erklärung, Pt. 3-6," 93, identifies the goddess as *Meter Basilea*, a title meaning the royal mother of Zeus according to Bauchhenss-Thüriedl (*Der Mythos von Telephos*, 61-62).

in this scene, or whether she is elevated before the naiskos. The question is important, because she rises almost a full head above the workmen, but it is difficult to determine from the fragmentary remains of her head whether she was represented at the same scale or larger than the workmen. Even if the goddess were not shown at hierarchic scale, she still towers over the workers and appears to emulate votive relief conventions for deities within the identifiable earthly space of the sanctuary.

The foundation of the altar scene is not the only processional scene in the frieze. In panel eleven (fig. 21), Auge establishes the cult of Athena in Pergamon, advancing with her attendants to make offerings at the cult statue.¹⁷⁶ In panel twenty (fig. 22), King Teuthras of Mysia brings Auge before a statue of Athena, in preparation for giving her away in marriage.¹⁷⁷ In panel one (fig. 23), Telephos consults an oracle, in hopes of healing his wounded thigh.¹⁷⁸ He approaches the small statue with his arm raised, and an attendant kneeling beside him. In panels forty-four through forty-six (fig. 24), a woman and her young female attendant enter a sanctuary, possibly belonging to Dionysos, in order to make an offering.¹⁷⁹ Each of these scenes incorporates aspects of processional votive reliefs,

¹⁷⁶ Heres, "The Myth," 85.

¹⁷⁷ Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des groszen Altars*, 176-177, pl. 31.7. In reward for his military victories on behalf of Mysia, Teuthras awards Auge to her son in marriage, none of the parties yet aware of their relation. In the following scene, a snake intrudes on the marriage bed, startling Telephos and Auge, preventing an Oedipal union, and alerting them to their true relationship. See Heres, "The Myth," 86; Schraudolph, "Catalogue," 64; and Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 55-56.

¹⁷⁸ In Winnefeld's original construction, this panel was located on the southern spur wall, and identified as Arkadian King Aleos receiving the oracle that Auge's offspring will threaten his reign. Heres ("The Myth," 89-90) identifies the figure as Telephos (based on his long sleeves characteristic of Asia Minor and his royal fillet) seeking an oracle's help when his wounded thigh does not heal. She moves it to its present location in the most recent reconstruction, on the east wall, but retains Winnefeld's original numbers. See also Ridgway, *HS II*, 71.

¹⁷⁹ Heres, "The Myth," 93; Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des groszen Altars*, 192-194, pls. 32.2.

particularly in the attitudes of worshipers approaching an altar or cult statue within a sanctuary. Yet the use of cult statues is a marked departure from processional reliefs' usual epiphany of a deity within the space of the sanctuary.¹⁸⁰ In these scenes, the artists of the Telephos Frieze substituted culturally mediated representations for the physical presence of gods, a contrast to the deities who appear bodily in other scenes: Herakles, Dionysos, and the naiskos goddess.

The frequent presence of altars and cult statues also suggests the close relationship between the frieze and votive reliefs. Altars figure prominently in processional, banquet, Pan and Nymph, and hero reliefs. In the case of processional and banquet reliefs, they usually separate worshipers from the deities. In cavalier hero reliefs on the other hand, they typically are situated next to the hero and between him and his female companion or the tree with its snake.¹⁸¹ Van Straten describes the two basic altar forms as *bomós* altars, which were rectangular structures standing on bases, and *eschára* altars, which were low cylindrical altars that stood directly on the ground and were probably hollow.¹⁸² Altars represented on votive reliefs were necessary for scenes of sacrifice. They signify the sanctuary of the deity,

¹⁸⁰ The artists of votive reliefs rarely substituted statues for the gods themselves, but in a relief in Berlin's Staatliche Museen (n. 690, Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 59, pl. 10.1) a goddess appears to be represented in the same scene as her cult statue. Carroll-Spillecke identifies this work as a fourth-century votive dedicated to Hekate. It has a rough cave frame on which Pan and four animals perch. Within the mouth of the cave stand the goddess and a male figure, and farther back stands what appears to be a statue of the same goddess, on a higher ground line and at a smaller scale suggesting the receding space of the cave. The Telephos Frieze's substitution of statues for gods and goddesses raises questions about how one is supposed to interpret its representations of cult statues. In the case of the Hekate relief in Berlin (ibid., 690), the difference in the nature of the goddess and her statue is made obvious by their juxtaposition, but it may be that the statues in the Telephos Frieze were intended to represent the epiphany of the deity just as much as the more "realistic" representations of Herakles, Dionysos and the naiskos goddess.

¹⁸¹ Altars in cavalier hero reliefs are usually small, and without physical connections to the hero, suggesting modest status. See Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 82.

¹⁸² Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 166. Van Straten argues that there is not a clear correlation between altar types and the deities that they served. Ridgway, *HS II*, 202-206, describes a specific type of round altar that apparently had funerary and votive purposes, again blurring the line between the two genres. These altars occasionally had votive relief panels incorporated into their sculptural ornament.

and pictorially represent the actual cult objects of the sanctuary.¹⁸³ The two surviving altars within the Telephos Frieze are both of the *bomós* type, occurring in the scene where Telephos seizes Orestes (panel forty-two), and in the foundation scene of panels forty-nine to fifty. The artists rotated both of these square altars in space, so they are not parallel to the relief plane, a manner of representation that develops in votives during the second half of the fourth century.¹⁸⁴ The rotated altar adds to the sense of pictorial space through foreshortening, which creates the illusion that the corner of the altar projects out of the relief. No altars of the cylindrical *eschára* type occur in the surviving scenes of the Telephos Frieze, but small round altars are the most common type in Pergamene votive reliefs such as Istanbul Archeological Museum 362 (fig. 8), and were very common in the Hellenistic period.¹⁸⁵

In several of the Telephos Frieze's processional scenes, the artists used cult statues mounted on columns instead of altars to signify sanctuaries. Pillars and columns were common in Greek sanctuaries, often supporting votives and offerings, as well as figures and cult statues.¹⁸⁶ As they did with altars, artists of votives began to represent cult figures on columns in the late-fifth to early-fourth century B.C.E. The cult figures that stood upon the columns were sometimes archaic in style, possibly suggesting the antiquity of the cult.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 72-73. Carroll-Spillecke does not believe that altars in reliefs usually function in a pictorial fashion, creating a sense of depth, except when they are foreshortened so that a corner projects away from the relief plane.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 72, and ns. 154-155 for a list of votives with rotated altars.

¹⁸⁵ See n. 118, above. For round altars, see P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); and Dietrich Berges, *Hellenistische Rundaltäre Kleinasiens* (Freiburg: Kommissionsvertrieb Wasmuth, 1986).

¹⁸⁶ In the Archinos Relief from Oropos (fig. 3, see n. 55, above), a pillar supports the votive pinax behind the incubation scene. In Istanbul Archeological Museum 362, the hero's female companion leans against a smaller pillar in the foreground.

Columns were also effective pictorial devices, since they could stand behind the foreground figures. Artists could create a sense of perspective and pictorial illusion by manipulating the scale and by using shallow relief carving.¹⁸⁸ In panel eleven, Auge and her attendants approach a cult statue that was probably a monumental representation of Athena, standing on a low base preserved in the lower left corner of the panel (fig. 21).¹⁸⁹ In panel twenty (fig. 22), Auge and King Teuthras approach an Archaistic statue of Athena before Auge's marriage to Telephos.¹⁹⁰ The Athena statue is of the Palladium type, mounted on a type of pillar base common in the fifth century.¹⁹¹ Heres contrasts the pillar type in panel twenty to the cylindrical column with moldings on which the Apollo figure stands in panel one (fig. 23).¹⁹² She argues that the cylindrical column was a second-century type, and that the combination of the Archaistic column and figure indicates the antiquity of her cult.¹⁹³ The torso of a second Archaistic Athena statue wearing an aegis is all that remains of another scene (fragment sixty-eight, fig. 25), but this statue probably stood on a column too.¹⁹⁴ Finally, at the right edge of the Dionysian cult scene in panel forty-four stands a tall fluted

¹⁸⁷ Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions*, 75.

¹⁸⁸ Ridgway, *HS II*, 192, 210; and Ridgway, *HS I*, 319-320. See also the discussion of the same motif in a second-century Attic document relief in Carol L. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs: Art and Politics in Ancient Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 73, ill. 61.

¹⁸⁹ See n. 176, above. For an attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the statue, see Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 47.

¹⁹⁰ Heres, "The Myth," 100; and Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 55. See n. 177, above.

¹⁹¹ Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 178, n. 62; *LIMC*, s.v. "Athena," 965-969, no. 117.

¹⁹² See n. 178, above.

¹⁹³ Heres, "The Myth," 100.

¹⁹⁴ Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 45, pl. 5.2, believed that panel one represented Aleos seeking his oracle, and she reconstructed fragment sixty-eight immediately following panel one.

column with an animal on top, probably a small lion (fig. 24).¹⁹⁵ This column is a particularly good example of the artist's use of columns for pictorial effect. The size of the statue was probably intended to suggest its distance from the viewer, rather than its actual size in proportion to the other figures.

The cultic scenes of the Telephos Frieze evoke votive reliefs in their representation of altars, cult statues, and the related activities of worshipers. Many of these scenes emulate processional votive reliefs in their compositional treatment of worshipers advancing towards the divine, and yet the artists replaced gods and goddesses with manmade, historically situated sculptures. In the altar foundation scene, they emphasize the labor and craft of the workmen, rather than the ceremonial implications of the sanctuary.¹⁹⁶ The processional aspects of these cultic scenes are not the only votive aspects evident in the Telephos Frieze; the trees of hero reliefs and the rocky landscapes of Pan and Nymph reliefs anticipated the pictorial landscapes of the Telephos Frieze, and banquet reliefs inform the scenes of Telephos' reception in the Argive court and possibly the final scene of the frieze. While there may be other motifs in the frieze that also borrow from or allude to scenes common to votive reliefs, a close analysis of processional and banquet reliefs, Pan and Nymph reliefs, and hero reliefs makes evident the importance of these sculptural genres to the Telephos Frieze.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des grossen Altars*, 192-194, pl. 32.2; Heres, "The Myth," 93.

¹⁹⁶ Heres, "The Myth," 93.

¹⁹⁷ Other motifs worth consideration include the large serpent that coils between Telephos and Auge in panel twenty-one, reminiscent of both Asklepios and the serpent in the Telephos Relief from the Pergamene Asklepieion and of a salutary if not healing effect; the torch-bearing procession of panel forty-four; and the various combat scenes of the east wall, which bear compositional similarities to combat votives (see Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial," 201, ill. 13.10, and 13.11).

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSIONS

A close visual analysis of the Telephos Frieze establishes its incorporation of elements from Classical and Hellenistic votive reliefs. While previous authors have noted the connection in passing, this paper compares scenes from the Telephos Frieze to specific votive reliefs and demonstrates their close relationship throughout the frieze, a relationship too consistent to be incidental. The artists of the Telephos Frieze employed scenes with compositional fields of similar proportions to typical votive reliefs, but they set them within an uninterrupted frieze. Many of these scenes evoke the compositions of specific categories of votive reliefs, for example banquet and processional reliefs.¹⁹⁸ The artists of the frieze used pictorial techniques that were well established in votive reliefs by the second century B.C.E. These techniques include foliate trees with naturalistic proportions in relation to human figures, as well as relative proportions producing an illusion of receding space behind the figures; multiple rocky ground lines; and rock pedestals. While the precise origin of accurate botanical representations is uncertain, the naturalistic trees in the Telephos Frieze occur in votive relief sculptures from around the same time. The frieze contains many iconographic elements such as trees, altars, and cult statues that have multiple functions, identifying the actors and scene even as they add to the pictorial sense of space. The banquet scene in the Argive court with its flanking *oinochöös* and food-bearing attendant, for instance, evokes

¹⁹⁸ If Bauchhenss-Thürdiedl's reading of the final scene is correct, it would add hero relief to a list of votive compositions present in the frieze. See n. 159, above.

banquet votive reliefs, while the scene with Telephos' rescue incorporates the cave-frame motif that originated in Pan and Nymph votive reliefs. The frieze also has thematic similarities to some votive reliefs, including scenes with kourotrophic caregivers and supplicants approaching healing heroes.

While some of these compositional, iconographic, and thematic elements appeared individually in architectural sculpture during the fifth and fourth centuries, and while they may have occurred in wall or book paintings, it is in the surviving evidence of votive reliefs that one sees artists bringing these elements together in a coherent fashion. Fourth-century Athens was an innovative center for votive relief production, and Athenian developments were gradually disseminated to the Greek islands and to Asia Minor, where they would have been known to sculptors in Pergamon and the surrounding regions.¹⁹⁹ Representations of altars and trees would have been familiar to Pergamene viewers, since the city was one of the primary producers of cavalier votive reliefs. Pergamene artists had made banquet reliefs since the fourth century, and comparable reliefs were common in nearby locations like Samos. The similarity between the banquet type of votive relief and the Telephos Frieze would have been evident to Pergamene viewers, while the cave-frame motif might have been less familiar. Attic production of votive reliefs with cave frames peaked in the third quarter of the fourth century and declined rapidly after that. Yet as pieces like the Koan Pan and

¹⁹⁹ The evidence from surviving inscriptions on the Gigantomachy Frieze suggests that the sculptors of the Altar came from not only Asia Minor but also a broad spectrum of the Greek-speaking world. Fragments of fifteen or sixteen signatures survive with the Gigantomachy Frieze, but only five ethnics have been derived. Signatures suggest that at least three of the sculptors were Pergamene, but one was probably Athenian, and a double sculpture suggests that artists may have come from Tralleis, near Magnesia. See Ridgway, *HS II*, 32-34, for a discussion of the identity of the Altar masters. It is important to remember that it is uncertain whether the sculptors of the Telephos Frieze were the same as those of the Gigantomachy Frieze, and therefore the inscriptions on the Gigantomachy are more suggestive than conclusive evidence.

Charites Relief (fig. 15, Kos Archeological Museum, no number) show, artists were aware of the cave-frame motif in third-century Asia Minor, even if its occurrence was rare.²⁰⁰

A careful comparison between specific votive reliefs and the Telephos Frieze reveals the close relationship between their formal and thematic elements, but the significance of this relationship remains in question. How do allusions to votive reliefs inflect the meaning of the Telephos Frieze? In his interpretation of the Panathenaic Frieze from the Parthenon, John Kroll argues that the Athenian frieze is in itself a votive relief.²⁰¹ While it might be tempting to follow Kroll's example and interpret the Telephos Frieze as an especially complex votive relief, there are significant differences in the Pergamene frieze that would complicate any such reading. Cavalier hero reliefs would have been the most familiar form of votive relief in Pergamon, and yet the Telephos Frieze differs from them since it lacks the round *eschára* altars and horses that are typical of their iconography.²⁰² The Argive banquet scene lacks the usual female companion, and even more importantly, it differs from votive tradition in its all-male assembly. While a few scenes may intimate hierarchic scale by means of elevated figures, the convention of representing deities at a larger scale than mortals is muted or absent from compositions where it usually occurs, for example, in banquet scenes.²⁰³ Though similar to processional scenes, panel forty-two departs from convention in depicting the

²⁰⁰ See n. 146, above.

²⁰¹ Kroll, "The Parthenon Frieze," 83.

²⁰² The only horse remains amongst the fragments of the Telephos Frieze are in panel twenty-three, one of the battle scenes. The Amazon Hiera probably rode this horse, based on the style of the ax that the rider swings. See Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, 56.

²⁰³ Panels eight and forty-nine to fifty seem to suggest hierarchic scale with their elevated deities, but it is difficult to determine if these figures are proportionately different from the mortal characters. The Argive banquet scene employs smaller figures, but in a naturalistic manner, since they appear to be young boys serving the gathering.

dramatic moment of sacrificial violence, a scene that is even more exceptional since its potential victim is human. Finally, votive processional scenes normally represent the entry of the gods into real human space. Yet in analogous compositions, the frieze artists substituted Archaizing statues for the physical epiphany of the gods. Together, these key departures from earlier votive relief conventions suggest the complexity of the Telephos Frieze's relationship to votive reliefs. In certain passages the artists of the frieze seem to evoke votive reliefs intentionally, even as their work represents a significantly more complicated narrative, which was itself a single element in a larger and equally complicated architectural ensemble.

Any interpretation of the frieze as a votive relief would have to explain not only its iconographic and thematic similarities to other votives but also how it *functioned* as a votive relief. The function of the frieze is of interest not only in itself, but because it may offer insight into the overall function of the Altar, an issue of continued debate. Votive reliefs were acts of worship or prayer whose purpose was to maintain the votary's material presence before the deity. The Telephos Frieze does not appear to represent a prayer or request since it depicts a mythological narrative rather than the gods' interaction with a mortal worshiper or votary. However, it could conceivably function to honor Telephos as a deified hero.²⁰⁴ Such a hypothesis would appear to support an interpretation of the Altar as a heröon, and it is surprising that arguments for re-designating the Altar contain little analysis of the frieze or of the implications of its votive elements.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ An attempt to identify the Telephos Frieze as a votive would also need to explain who the votary was, presumably Eumenes II or Attalos II, and the occasion of their dedication.

²⁰⁵ Webb, "The Sanctuary of Athena," 248-252. Webb describes the frieze as suggesting "most strongly" that Telephos was the Altar/heröon's dedicatee (245), but she does not analyze the frieze itself in her article, relying

Webb describes the primary function of the Altar as honoring the founding hero Telephos, though it also celebrates the Attalid dynasty and its military victories. Webb's attention to the various cults and cult sites known to have existed in Pergamon furnishes insight into the context of the Altar. Passages from Pausanias inform us that the Pergamenes worshiped both Telephos and Pergamos as founding heroes, as well as their respective mothers Auge and Andromache.²⁰⁶ Pausanias describes the tumulus of Auge, but provides no specific information regarding the location of the worship of Telephos, Pergamos, Auge, or Andromache. Webb follows Deubner in arguing that the worship of Telephos as a healing hero began in the lower city and then moved to the citadel when the cult of Asklepios developed on the plain outside the city in the third century B.C.E.²⁰⁷ Webb identifies the apsidal structure below the Altar as the initial site of the Telephos cult on the acropolis, and interprets the Altar as Eumenes II's effort to consolidate the worship of Telephos and to connect it to Attalid dynastic aspirations.²⁰⁸

Recent arguments against the re-designation of the Altar as a heröon have raised relevant questions without undoing Webb's position. Stewart interprets Pausanias as suggesting that the Pergamenes worshipped Telephos on the plain below the acropolis rather

more on the evidence of the apsidal structure in the foundation, the Altar's form, location, roof sculptures, and the evidence for cults and heröa in Pergamon. Webb's 1996 analysis of Hellenistic architectural sculpture includes a more careful analysis of the frieze, but does little to connect it to the function of the Altar, other than arguing that the Telephos narrative may be an allegory for the Attalids' family history: see Webb, *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture*, 64-65.

²⁰⁶ Telephos (Pausanias, *Description*, 3.26.10 and 5.13.3), Auge (ibid., 8.4.9), and Pergamos and Andromache (ibid., 1.11.2). Pausanias does not actually say that the Pergamenes worshipped Pergamos, only that they were named after him. Scholars have inferred the worship of Pergamos, which the Pergamos Votive Relief (Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1886 6566, fig. 9, see n. 121, above) confirms.

²⁰⁷ Webb, "The Sanctuary of Athena," 249-250. See Deubner, "Pergamena," 345-351.

²⁰⁸ Webb, "The Sanctuary of Athena," 251.

than on the citadel. He argues that the Telephos Votive Relief from Pergamon (fig. 10, Pergamon Museum 432, found near the Asklepieion) and the round cult building on the Via Tecta indicate that the hero's cult was located there on the plain, and he doubts that the apsidal structure below the Altar was a heröon.²⁰⁹ Stewart's use of Pausanias is problematic, given that the reference is vague and Telephos' cult may not have taken the same form under Roman rule in the second century C.E. as it did four centuries earlier under the Attalid dynasty. Stewart seems to assume that Telephos was worshipped exclusively at the building along the Via Tecta, but the testimony of the Telephos Votive Relief from Pergamon is uncertain, since its exact source is unknown.²¹⁰ Even if one could securely link the Telephos Votive Relief to a location on the plain, it would not necessarily exclude the possibility that Telephos was also worshipped elsewhere, and it may simply have been a manifestation of heterogeneous cult practices. As modern observers have argued, cults and cult sites are often arenas for competing discourses and contested meanings, in many cases between those who can exert control over the cult site and the personal and divergent needs of the people who come to take part in rituals there.²¹¹

Mary Sturgeon questions the identification of the apsidal structure as an earlier heröon to Telephos, noting that heroa in Pergamon come in a variety of architectural forms and that they usually include a clearly marked precinct and a place for making libations. She

²⁰⁹ Stewart, *Pergamon*, 35. See ns. 40 and 126 above.

²¹⁰ Webb, "The Sanctuary of Athena," 249.

²¹¹ John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, "Introduction," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, eds. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 2-3. Eade and Sallnow write about modern Christian pilgrimages and the saint shrines, but the contestation that they discuss is a likely by-product of any attempt to channel popular religious expression, regardless of the context.

also notes that that the structure's windows do not seem appropriate for a shrine or heröon, since they consist of narrow slots reminiscent of fortifications.²¹² While the apsidal structure is distinctly visible in plans of the Altar's foundation, the buildings that once stood around it are more difficult to read (figs. 26-27). They have been described as houses, and Sturgeon's question of whether the Pergamenes would have built a sanctuary with secular or domestic buildings so near is pertinent.²¹³ The apsidal structure may not be a definitive diagnostic tool in the heterogeneous environment of Pergamene cults; while it may possibly have served cult functions, scholars remain undecided on its identification and purpose.²¹⁴

Rather than contradicting the identification of the structure as a heröon, the encroaching domestic buildings might furnish an explanation for Eumenes II's choice to replace the earlier structure within approximately a century of its construction. The apsidal structure must have been insufficient for its purposes, or for the changing context of the city in the second century B.C.E. As the many cult sites, literary accounts, and votive reliefs suggest, second-century Pergamon was a place of diverse religious activity, and the Altar was part of Eumenes II's great rebuilding and reorganization of the city's symbolic and political center. The redeveloped upper city emphasized dramatic vistas and a symbolic ascendance from the mundane concerns of the lower agora to the divine and worldly powers

²¹² Mary Sturgeon, "Pergamon to Hierapolis: From Theatrical "Altar" to Religious Theater," in *From Pergamon to Sperlonga*, 66. Sturgeon goes on to argue that Zeus was the primary honoree of the Altar, and proposes that a colossal statue of the Olympian may have sat in the center of the Altar's open courtyard. Zeus is centrally located on the East face of the Gigantomachy, and a thunderbolt on a capital from the exterior colonnade alludes to his importance to the Altar. The German excavators uncovered a seated marble sculpture of Zeus on the altar's terrace. Sturgeon suggests that this sculpture may be a copy of the proposed monumental cult statue, reproduced at a reduced scale (ibid., 73-75).

²¹³ Stähler, "Überlegungen," 850-857; and Webb, "The Sanctuary of Athena," 248.

²¹⁴ See n. 40, above.

of the citadel.²¹⁵ The replacement of the apsidal structure and adjacent domestic buildings reinforced the move towards symbolic consolidation. The new Altar terrace lent clarity and drama to the profile of the acropolis and functionality to the cult site. The Altar's location places it just below and before the structure that honored the Attalid rulers.²¹⁶ The Telephos Frieze allowed Eumenes II to establish a definitive version of the dynastic foundational myth, and as a heröon, the Altar would have secured a connection between the cult of Telephos and the Attalid dynasty.

While questions remain regarding the identification of the apsidal structure, the argument for the re-designation of the Altar as a heröon remains compelling, and the preceding analysis of the votive elements of the Telephos Frieze reinforces this argument. It is not necessary to imagine that the Telephos Frieze was itself a votive relief writ large. Rather, the votive elements of the Telephos Frieze suggest that its artists employed the vocabulary of votive reliefs strategically, adopting some conventions while rejecting or altering others. Not only did the Altar establish the preeminence of Telephos in the Attalid foundation myth but it also elaborated on the hero's biography, and it attempted to combine this dynastic foundation with affective meaning. In appropriating elements of votive reliefs, the creators of the Telephos Frieze infused the political implications of their foundation

²¹⁵ Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 233-235. See also Ridgway, *HS II*, 24, who notes that the Altar's location seems to be determined to create the most dramatic vista from below, with all the monumental structures grouped above the steep slope of the theater.

²¹⁶ The exact function of this building remains uncertain, like that of the Altar. The excavators described the building complex near the palace and the Altar terrace as a "Temenos of the ruler cult," but the identification of the building and its precise function remain uncertain. See Erich Boehringer and Friedrich Krauss, *Altertümer von Pergamon IX: Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult* (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1937), 85. Allen (*The Attalid Kingdom*, 145-158) argues that the Attalids were worshipped but not deified during their lifetimes, and therefore they did not have a full fledged royal cult. He sees the evidence for the excavators' description of the building complex as circumstantial (*ibid.*, 153).

narrative with personal religious piety and urgency, an example of a process that anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner describe as ritual efficacy.²¹⁷

The Turners see religious symbols as multivocal or polysemous signifying structures, each religious symbol having a full spectrum of associative connotations.²¹⁸ The disparate connotations of each symbol tend to gravitate towards two general and opposite poles of meaning. The normative or ideological pole comprises those interpretations and meanings that refer to social orders and hierarchies; thus, the connotations of the normative pole structure social relationships. The orectic or sensory pole groups together connotations related to physiology and psychology; these are the meanings associated with physical sensation, desire, and emotions. The functional purpose of religious rituals is to bring the orectic and normative poles into contact with one another. This contact charges religious symbols, and their normative ideologies become “saturated” with personal and emotional meanings. Conversely, common emotions take on an elevated purpose when they are associated with larger social values. The Turners describe rituals which use religious

²¹⁷ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 247. Turner and Turner develop their concept of ritual efficacy through their method of processual symbolic analysis, an attempt to understand religious symbols (in their case Christian symbols from the Medieval to Modern periods) as dynamic systems of signifiers, signifieds, and modes of signification that exist in historical, social contexts. While the particulars of Hellenistic religious practices are very different from the Christian contexts that the Turners studied, they furnish a methodology and vocabulary that are useful in conceptualizing the function of religious art in general. See “Appendix A,” 243-255, in *Image and Pilgrimage* for a summary of their terminology and method.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 245-246. The Turners distinguish the term “symbol,” which they see as containing multiple meanings and a metaphoric or metonymic likeness to its referent, from “sign” which they describe as a conventional or arbitrary bearer of meaning with no likeness to its referent. These terms are confusing in their relationship to the field of semiotics, where Charles Sanders Peirce’s influential trichotomy of terms defines “symbol” as a purely conventional and arbitrary signification (more like the Turners’ “sign”), while “icon” roughly equates to the Turners’ metaphoric likeness and “index” to their metonymic likeness. See Winifried Nöth, *Handbook of Semiotics* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 39-47.

symbols to establish this charged contact between normative and orectic poles of meaning as ritually effective.²¹⁹

If one takes votive reliefs as religious symbols in the Turners' sense, normative significations are manifested in the relief's surprisingly consistent types and iconographies (the banquet relief, the cavalier hero relief, and so forth), as well as its canonization of a particular version of the city's foundational myth.²²⁰ However, since votive reliefs are a form of private worship, the influence of the orectic pole is often stronger than the normative pole. Many reliefs, like the Archinos Relief from Oropos (fig. 3, Athens NM 3369), exhibit unique compositions that reflect the particular needs and experiences of the votary.²²¹ These meanings are associated primarily with the orectic pole. Even relatively formulaic votive reliefs like the Banquet Relief from Megara (fig. 6, Athens NM 1532) would have had strong orectic meanings for their votaries, making their offering in a context of personal need or gratitude.²²² I would argue that votives of all types are primarily orectic symbols that accord sufficiently with normative expectations to allow their presence in the sanctuary, but which primarily reflect the physical and psychological needs and preoccupations of their votaries.

If the Altar was indeed a heröon, then its primary function was as a place of worship for the cult of Telephos. Yet ritual efficacy is a powerful tool for shaping and maintaining social order and hierarchies. Just as Eumenes II's plan for urban consolidation reinforced Attalid dynastic authority through the built fabric of the city, the Altar as heröon would have

²¹⁹ Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 247.

²²⁰ There were undoubtedly other normative significations in the access to the Altar terrace, and in conventions of viewing and worship within it, but no accounts of these practices have come down to us.

²²¹ See n. 55, above.

²²² See n. 86, above.

consolidated the worship of Telephos under the close attention of its patron. Even though the primary function of a heröon is religious, Eumenes II might have benefitted from the Altar's concomitant functions, as his reign and its social structures become charged with emotional content through the Altar's religious symbols. In particular, the artists of the Telephos Frieze used elements of votive reliefs in their depictions of the definitive version of the Attalid foundational myth, a calculated representational strategy that infused the normative dynastic and religious connotations of the frieze with personal piety and emotion. The Pergamon Altar seems to have specific associations with the worship practices of the *demos* of Pergamon, suggesting that the intended audience of this semiotic transfer consisted of the people of the city as much as the ruling elite.²²³ Many of the votive relief elements had an additional value in their associations and origins in Classical Athens, conforming to the Attalids' aspirations to succeed Athens as a center for Greek culture. The Attalid rulers, even as early as Philetairos in the second quarter of the third century B.C.E., represented themselves as Hellenic in taste and protectors against barbarian incursions.²²⁴ The Attalids consistently emphasized their connections to the Greek mainland, evident even in their account of the Telephos myth. In the earliest known version of the myth, Telephos was born in Mysia rather than Arkadia. The Attalids preferred a later, Classical version of the myth that broadcast their preferred connection to the Greek mainland, as well as to the deified hero Herakles and his Olympian father.²²⁵ By employing elements of votive reliefs in the Telephos Frieze, the artists of the Altar added to what was already a dense weave of Athenian and

²²³ Stewart, "Pergamon Ara Marmorea Magna," 37.

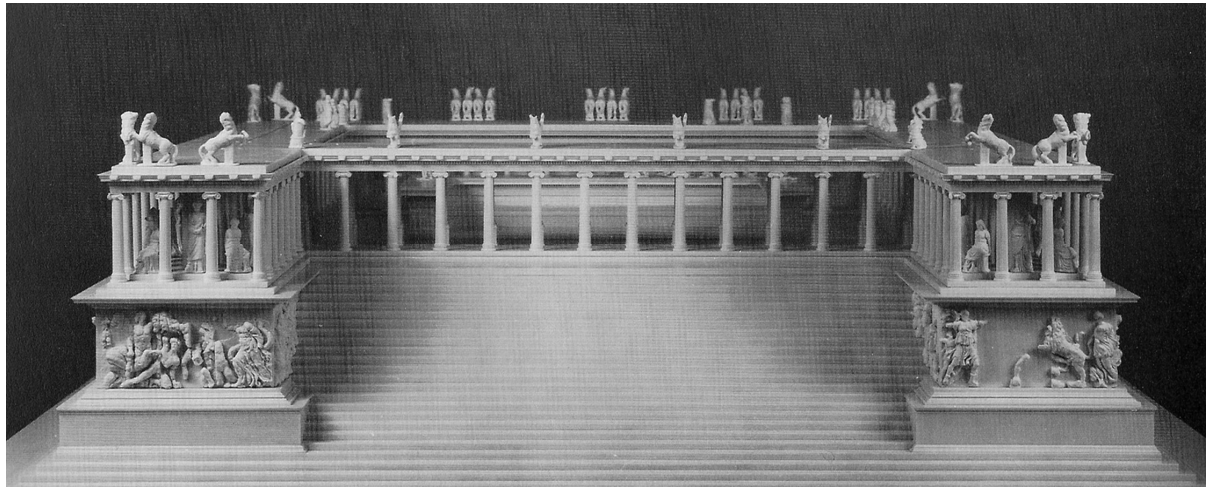
²²⁴ Gruen, "Culture as Policy," 18.

²²⁵ Ibid., 22-23.

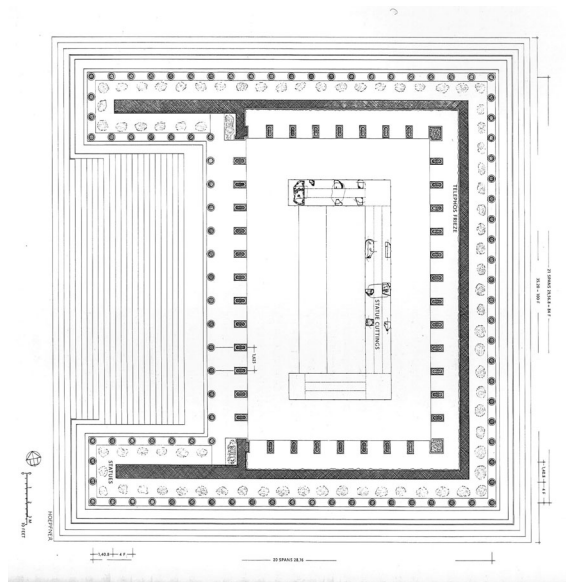
mainland Greek allusions that the Attalids used to assert their cultural and governmental claims.

Votive reliefs furnished many of the key compositional, iconographic, and thematic elements of the Telephos Frieze, itself an essential component of the Altar and Eumenes II's cultural consolidation in the second century B.C.E. The structure of the Altar as heröon directed worshipers past the Gigantomachy's overwhelming pantheon and its suggestions of military, cultural, and ancestral superiority. The worshiper climbed the steep western staircase between the last writhing giants, and passed through the colonnade into the ritual stage of the inner courtyard, surrounded by the cinematic narrative relief of the Telephos Frieze. Here the worshiper would have stood in a charged space, surrounded by images and motifs familiar in form, but powerfully linked to ideologies tied to Attalid ambitions and authority. The religious space of the inner courtyard became a stage, carefully prepared for the exchange of orectic and normative connotations, for the efficacious association of personal emotions and political leaders.

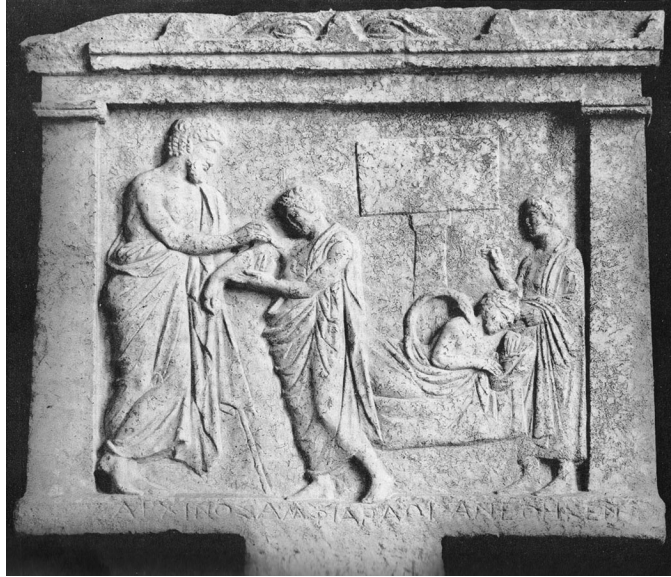
FIGURES



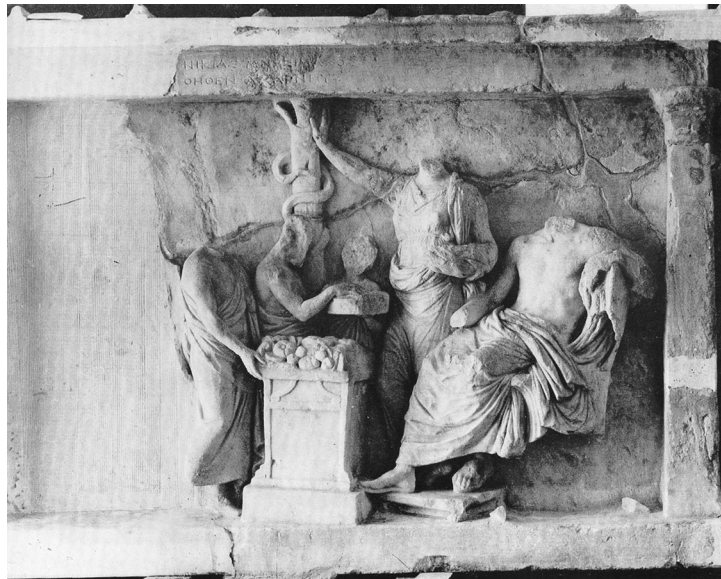
1. Model of the Pergamon Altar. After Wolfram Hoepfner, "Model of the Pergamon Altar," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, Vol. 2, 58.



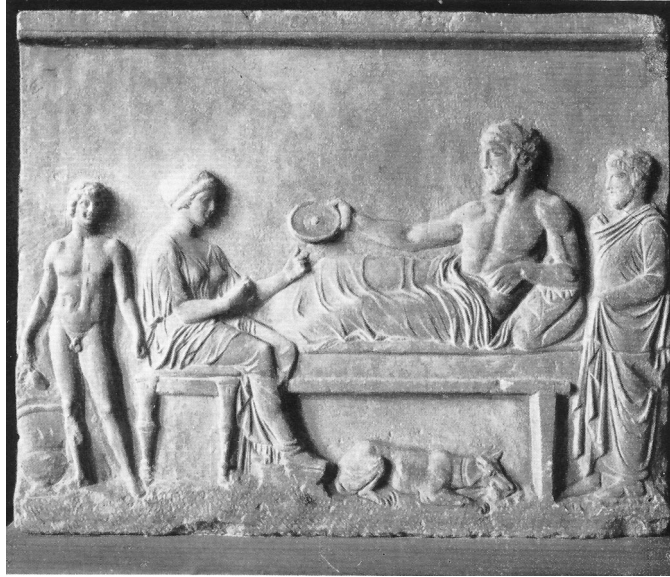
2. Plan of the Pergamon Altar. After Wolfram Hoepfner, "The Architecture of Pergamon," in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze*, Vol. 2, 54.



3. Archinos Relief from Oropos, Athens NM 3369, fourth century B.C.E. After Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles*, pl. 49.



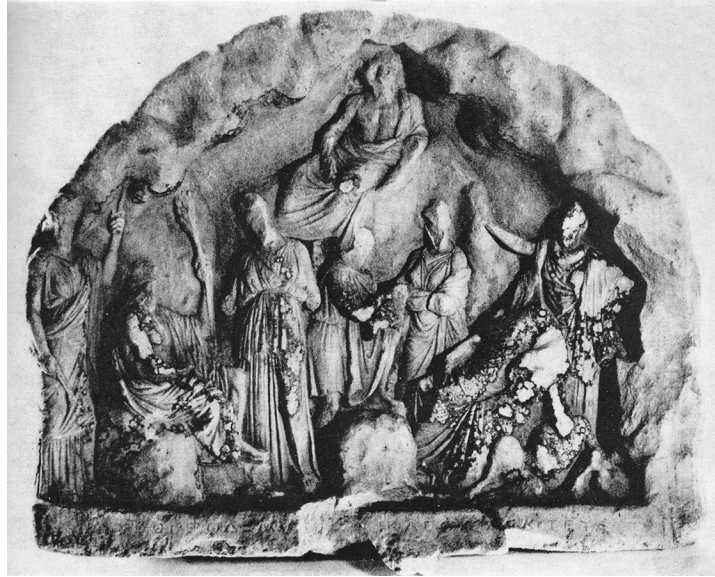
4. Votive Relief from the Athenian Asklepion, Athens NM 1335, fourth century B.C.E. After Neumann, *Probleme*, pl. 45a.



5. Banquet Votive Relief from the Piraeus Asklepion, Athens NM 1501, late fifth century B.C.E. After Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, 30, ill. 15.



6. Banquet Votive Relief from Megara, Athens NM 1532, fourth century B.C.E. After Van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 100, ill. 106.



7. Neoptolemos Relief from Athens, Agora I 7154, c. 340 B.C.E. After Neumann, *Probleme*, pl. 31a.



8. Pergamon Cavalier Hero Relief, Istanbul Archeological Museum 362, late second century B.C.E. After Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, pl. 33.



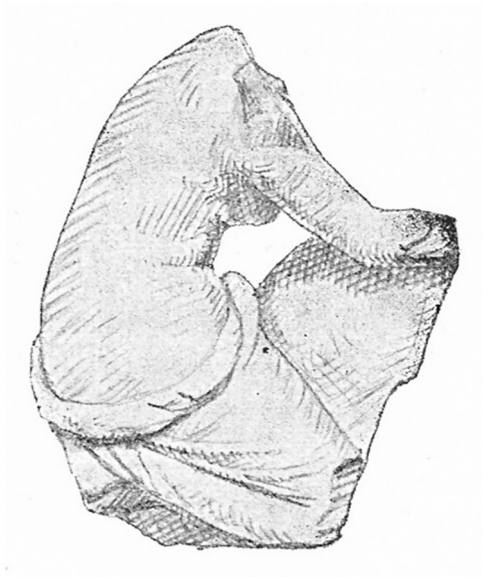
9. Pergamos Votive Relief, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1886 6566, Late Hellenistic or Early Roman. After Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, 253, fig. 310.



10. Telephos Votive Relief, Pergamon Museum 432, Late Hellenistic. After Pinkwart, "Katalog," 47, no. 35.



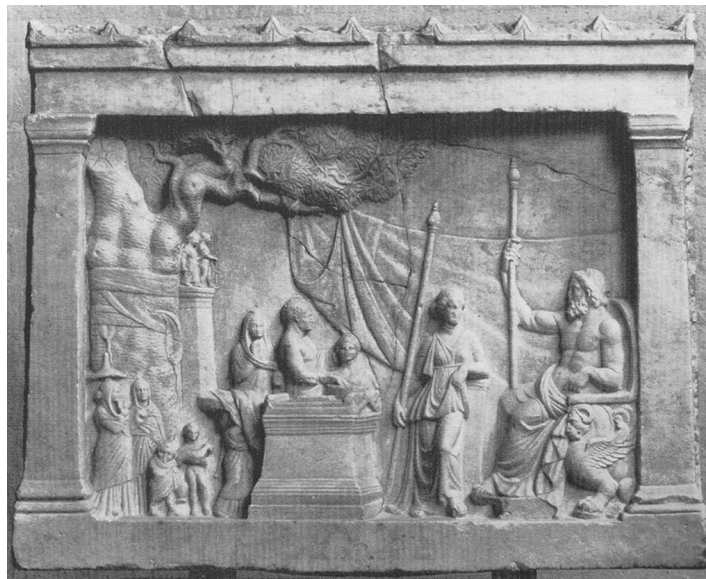
11. Telephos Frieze, Panel 12. After Schraudolph, "Catalogue," 61.



12. Telephos Frieze, Panel 7. After Winnefeld, *Die Frieze des grossen Altars*, 165, ill. 74.



13. Telephos Frieze, Panel 8. After Heres, "The Myth," 85, fig. 3.



14. Munich Glyptothek 206, third to second century B.C.E. After Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 196, fig. 210.



15. Pan and the Charites Relief, Kos Archeological Museum, no number, third century B.C.E. After Van Straten, "Daikrates' Dream," 29, fig. 2.



16. Telephos Frieze, Panels 38-40. After Heres, "The Myth," 92, fig. 14.



17. Telephos Frieze, Panel 48. After Heres, "The Myth," 95, fig. 19.



18. Banquet Relief Fragment, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 2428, nd.
After Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, pl. 11.



19. Telephos Frieze, Panel 42. After Schraudolph, "Catalogue," 73.



20. Telephos Frieze, Panels 49-50. After Heres, "The Myth," 94, fig. 17.



21. Telephos Frieze, Panel 11. After Heres, "The Myth," 85, fig. 2.



22. Telephos Frieze, Panel 20. After Schraudolph, "Catalogue," 65.



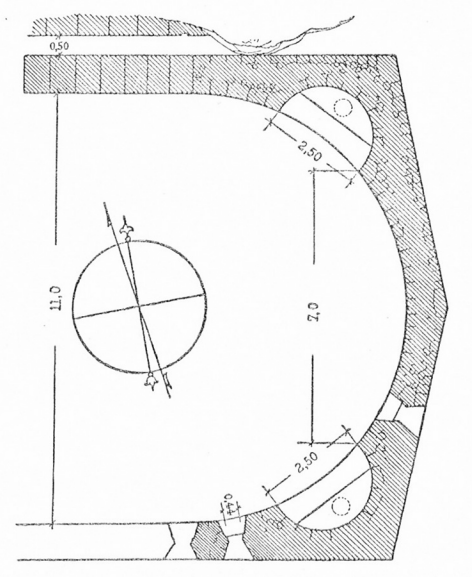
23. Telephos Frieze, Panel 1. After Heres, "The Myth," 90, fig. 11.



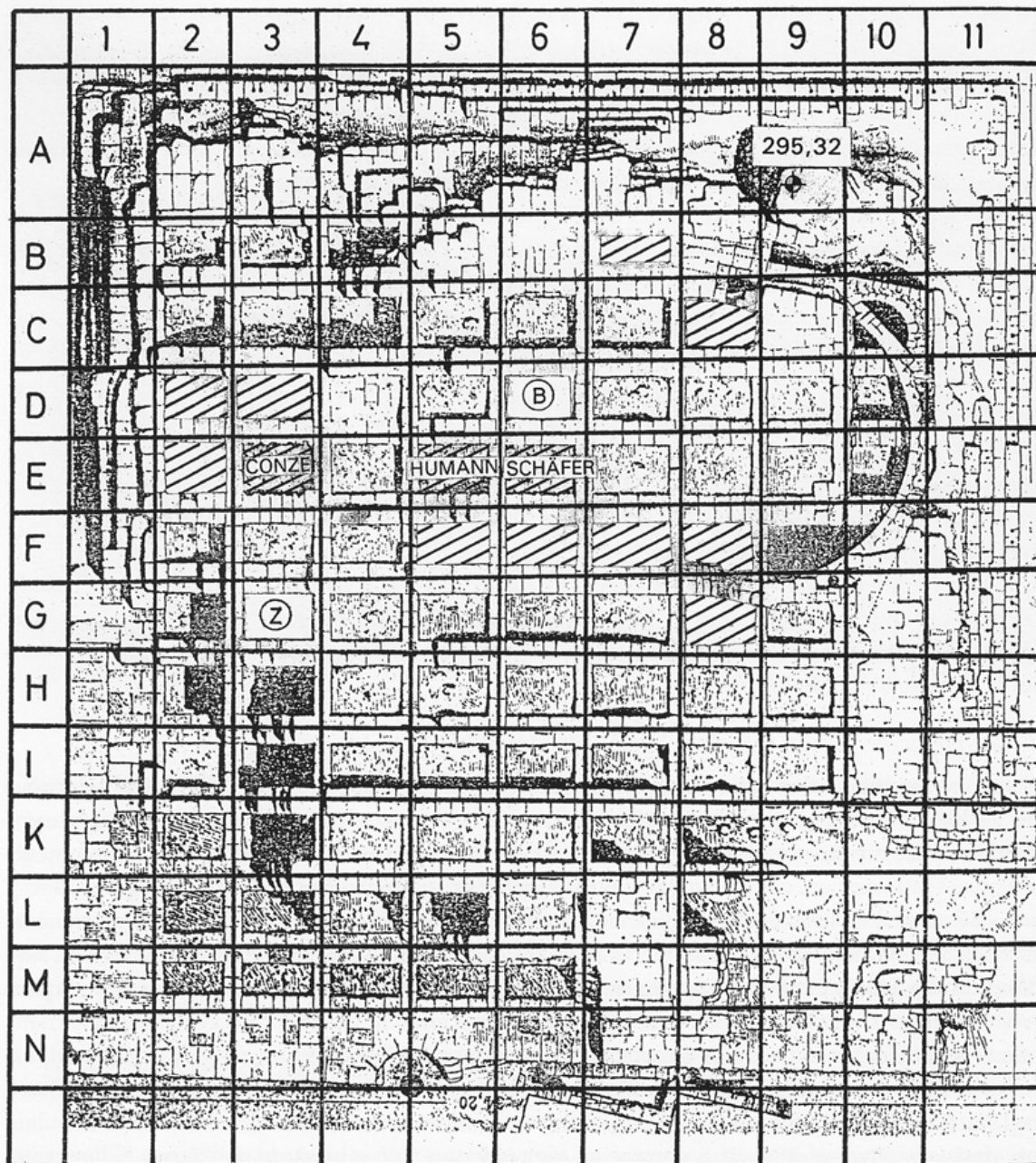
24. Telephos Frieze, Panels 44-46. This photomontage produced after two photographs in Heres, "The Myth," figs. 15-16.



25. Telephos Frieze, Fragment 68. After Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos*, pl. 5.2.



26. Plan of the apsidal structure from the Altar foundation. After Schrammen, *Der große Altar*, 84.



27. Plan of the foundation excavations of the Altar, with the remains of the apsidal structure in the upper right quadrant. Source: François Queyrel, *L'Autel de Pergame: Images et Pouvoir en Grèce D'Asie* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 2005), 36, fig. 16.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aleshire, Sara B. *Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1991.
- Allen, R. E. *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Andronicos, Manolis. *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1984.
- Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, Christa. *Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst*. Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1971.
- Baumbach, Jens David. *The Significance of Votive Offerings in Selected Hera Sanctuaries in The Peloponnese, Ionia and Western Greece*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004.
- Berges, Dietrich. *Hellenistische Rundaltäre Kleinasiens*. Freiburg: Kommissionsvertrieb Wasmuth, 1986.
- Bergman, J. "Religio-Phenomenological Reflections on the Multi-Level Process of Giving to the Gods." In *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, edited by Tullia Linders and Gullög Nordquist, 31-42. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1987.
- Beschi, Luigi. "Il rilievo di Telemaco ricompletato," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 6 (1982): 31-43.
- . "Rilievi attici del Museo Maffeiano," *Nuovi Studi Maffeiani* (Verona 1983), 13-32.
- Bieber, Margarete. Review of *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon: Untersuchungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte Pergamons*, by Heinz Kähler. *American Journal of Archaeology* 55, no. 4 (1951): 428-430.
- Boehringer, Erich, and Friedrich Krauss. *Altertümer von Pergamon IX: Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult*. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1937.
- Bradley, Richard. *The Passage of Arms: An Archeological Analysis of Prehistoric Hoards and Votive Deposits*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Brückner, Alfred. "Wann ist der Altar von Pergamon errichtet worden?" *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1904): 218-225.

- Callaghan, P. J. "On the Date of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon." *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin. University of London* 28 (1981): 115-121.
- Carroll-Spillecke, Maureen. *Landscape Depictions in Greek Relief Sculpture: Development and Conventionalization*. New York: Peter Lang, 1985.
- Cook, Arthur Bernard. "Greek Votive Offerings." *Folklore* 14, no. 3 (1903), 260-291.
- de Luca, Gioia, and Wolfgang Radt. *Pergamenische Forschungen: Sondagen im Fundament des grossen Altars*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.
- de Polignac, François. *La naissance de la cité grecque*. Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 1995.
- Dentzer, Jean-Marie. *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII au IV siècle avant J.-C.* Rome: École française de Rome, 1982.
- Deubner, Otfried. "Pergamena." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 34 (1984): 345-354.
- Dreyfus, Renée, and Ellen Schraudolph, editors. *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vols. I-II. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1996.
- Eade, John, and Michael J. Sallnow. "Introduction." In *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, edited by John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, 1-29. Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Edwards, Charles Malcolm. "Greek Votive Reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs, parts 1-3." PhD. diss., New York University, 1985.
- Fraser, P. M. *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Frazer, James George, trans. *Apollodorus: The Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Frel, Jiri. "The Krito Sculptor." *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 3 (1970): 367-371.
- Gruen, Erich S. "Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon." In *Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, edited by Nancy T. de Grummond and Brunilde S. Ridgway, 17-31. Berkeley: California University Press, 2000.
- Hägg, Robin, Nanno Marinatos, and Gullög C. Nordquist, editors. *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens, 1988.
- Hansen, Esther V. *The Attalids of Pergamon*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947.

- Harrison, Evelyn B. "Charis, Charites." In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* Vol. 3, 191-203. Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1986.
- Hausmann, Ulrich. *Griechische Weihreliefs*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960.
- Heilmeyer, Wolf-Dieter. "History of the Display of the Telephos Frieze in the Twentieth Century." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 1, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 29-38. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- . "New Arrangement and Interpretation of the Telephos Frieze from the Pergamon Museum." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 2, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 127-128. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- Heres, Huberta. "Gesamtdarstellung: Telephosfries am Großen Altar von Pergamon." In *LIMC*, Vol. 7, 857-862. Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1981-1999.
- . "The Myth of Telephos in Pergamon." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 2, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 83-108. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- Hoepfner, Wolfram. "Siegestempel und Siegesaltäre. Der Pergamonaltar als Siegesmonument." In *Die griechische Polis. Architektur und Politik*, edited by Wolfram Hoepfner and Gerhard Zimmer, 111-125. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1993.
- Hübner, Gerhild. *Pergamanische Forschungen: Die Applikenkeramik von Pergamon. Eine Bildersprache im Dienst des Herrscherkultes*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993.
- Hunt, Gloria R. "Foundation Rituals and the Culture of Building in Ancient Greece." PhD. diss., University of North Carolina, 2006.
- Kaltsas, Nikolaos. *Sculpture in the National Archeological Museum, Athens*, translated by David Hardy. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002.
- Kähler, Heinz. *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1948.
- Kästner, Ursula. "Excavation and Assembly of the Telephos Frieze." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 1, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 19- 28. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.

- Kästner, Volker. "The Architecture of the Great Altar and the Telephos Frieze." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 2, edited by Renée Deyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 68-82. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- Keesling, Catherine M. *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Kroll, John H. "The Parthenon Frieze as a Votive Relief." *American Journal of Archaeology* 83, no. 3 (1979): 349-352.
- Kunze, Max. "Neue Beobachtungen zum Pergamonaltar," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* supplement 31 (1990): 123-139.
- Kyrieleis, Helmut. "Offerings of 'the Common Man' in the Heraion at Samos." In *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*. Edited by Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos, and Gullög C. Nordquist, 215-222. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens, 1988.
- La Rocca, Eugenio. "Il Pantheon." In *L'Altare di Pergamo: il fregio di Telefo*, 157. Milan: Leonardo arte, 1996.
- Larson, Jennifer. *Greek Heroine Cults*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- Lawrence, A. W. Review of *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon*, by H. Kähler, and *Pergamon*, by H. Kähler. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 69 (1949): 88-89.
- Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 8 Vols. Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1981-1999.
- Linders, Tullia, and Gullög Nordquist, eds. *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium, 1985*. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1987.
- Linders, Tullia. "Gods, Gifts, Society." In *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, edited by Tullia Linders and Gullög Nordquist, 115-122. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1987.
- Marchand, Suzanne L. *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Meyer, Marion. *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1989.
- Mitropoulou, Elpis. *Five Contributions to the Problems of Greek Reliefs*. Athens: Pyli, 1976.

- Neumann, Gerhard. *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1979.
- Nöth, Winifried. *Handbook of Semiotics*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Osada, Toshihiro. *Stilentwicklung hellenistischer Relieffriese*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993.
- Osborne, Robin. *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- . “Hoards, Votives, Offerings: The Archaeology of the Dedicated Object.” *World Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2004): 1-10.
- Otto, Walter F. *Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, translated by Robert B. Palmer. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965.
- The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., edited by Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Pfuhl, Ernst, and Hans Möbius. *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, Vol. 1-2. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977/1979.
- Pinkwart, Doris. “Katalog.” In *Pergamon: Ausstellung in Erinnerung an Boehringer*, 34-58. Ingelheim am Rhein: C. H. Boehringer Sohn, 1972.
- Pollitt, J. J. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Radt, Wolfgang. *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999.
- Radt, Wolfgang. “Recent Research in and about Pergamon: A Survey (ca. 1987-1997).” *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods*, edited by Helmut Koester, 1-40. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998.
- Rheidt, Klaus. “Die overe Agora: Die Entwicklung des hellenistischen Stadtzentrums von Pergamon.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1992): 235-282.
- Richter, Gisela M. A. *A Handbook of Greek Art*, 6th ed. London and New York: Phaidon, 1969.
- Richter, Gisela M. A. *The Portraits of the Greeks*. London: Phaidon, 1965.

- Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo. *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- . *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.
- . *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331-200 B.C.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- . *Hellenistic Sculpture II: The Styles of ca. 200-100 B.C.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000.
- . *Hellenistic Sculpture III: The Styles of ca. 100-31 B.C.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
- . “Painterly and Pictorial in Greek Relief Sculpture.” In *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, edited by Warren G. Moon, 193-208. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- Riederer, Josef. “Artificial Stone Fills in the Telephos Frieze.” In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*. Vol. 2., edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 159-162. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- Robert, Carl. “Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Frieses, pt. 1-2.” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 2 (1887): 244-259.
- . “Beiträge zur Erklärung des pergamenischen Telephos-Frieses, pt. 3-6.” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 3 (1888): 87-105.
- Rotroff, Susan I. Review of *Die Applikenkeramik von Pergamon: Eine Bildersprache im Dienst des Herrscherkultes*, by Gerhild Hübner. *Gnomon* 68 (1996): 356-361.
- . Review of *Sondagen im Fundament des grossen Altars*, by G. de Luca and W. Radt. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, n 1 (2001): 129-130.
- Rouse, William Henry Denham. *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902.
- Schäfer, Jörg. *Pergamanische Forschungen: Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968.
- Schmidt, Stefan. *Hellenistische Grabreliefs: Typologische und chronologische Beobachtungen*. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1991.

- Schrader, Hans. "Die Opferstätte des pergamenischen Altars." *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophischhistorische Klasse* 6 (1899): 612-625.
- _____. "Die Anordnung und Deutung des pergamenischen Telephosfrieses." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 15 (1900): 97-135.
- Schrammen, Jakob. *Altertümer von Pergamon III₁: Der grosze Altar der obere Markt*. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906.
- Schraudolph, Ellen. "Catalogue: Sculpture and Architectural Fragments." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 1, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 53-102. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- _____. "Restoration of the Telephos Frieze." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 2, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 130-154. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- Shear, T. L., Jr. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971." *Hesperia* 42 (1973): 121-179.
- Small, Jocelyn Penny. "Romulus et Remus." In *LIMC*, Vol. 7, 639-644. Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1981-1999.
- Stähler, Klaus P. *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries*. Aschendorff: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966.
- _____. "Überlegungen zur architektonischen Gestalt des Pergamonaltares." In *Studien zur Religion und Kult Kleinasiens*, edited by Sencer Şahin, Elmar Schwertheim, and Jörg Wagner, 838-867. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.
- Stewart, Andrew. "A Hero's Quest: Narrative and the Telephos Frieze." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 1, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 39-52. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.
- _____. *Greek Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- _____. "Pergamo Ara Marmorea Magna: On the Date, Reconstruction, and Functions of the Great Altar of Pergamon." In *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, edited by Nancy T. de Grummond and Brunilde S. Ridgway, 32-57. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- _____. "Telephos/Telepinu and Dionysos: A Distant Light on an Ancient Myth." In *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Vol. 2, edited by Renée Dreyfus and Ellen Schraudolph, 109-119. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum, 1996.

- Strong, D. E. Review of *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries*, by Klaus P. Stähler. *The Classical Review*, New Series 17, no. 2 (1967): 232.
- Stupperich, Reinhard. *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*. Münster: Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, 1977.
- Sturgeon, Mary C. "Pergamon to Hierapolis: From Theatrical 'Altar' to Religious Theater." In *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, edited by Nancy T. de Grummond and Brunilde S. Ridgway, 58-77. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Svoronos, J. N. *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Vol. 1, Athens: Beck and Barth, 1908.
- _____. *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Vol. 3, Athens: "Eleftheroudakis" Verlagsgesellschaft, 1937.
- Tanagra. Mythe e Archéologie*. Paris: Louvre, 2003.
- Thönges-Stringaris, Rhea N. "Das griechische Totenmahl." *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts athenische Abteilung* 80 (1965): 1-126.
- Turner, Victor, and Edith Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
- van Straten, Folkert. "Daikrates' Dream. A Votive Relief from Kos and some Other Kat'onar Dedications." *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 51 (1976): 1-38.
- _____. "Gifts for the gods." In *Faith Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, edited by H. S. Versnel, 65-151. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981.
- _____. "Votives and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries." In *Le Sanctuaire Grec*, edited by Albert Schachter and Jean Bingen, 247-284. Geneva: Vandoeuvres, 1990.
- _____. "Images of Gods and Men in a Changing Society: Self-Identity in Hellenistic Religion." In *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, edited by Anthony Bulloch, Erich S. Gruen, A. A. Long, and Andrew Stewart, 248-264. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- _____. *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. New York: E. J. Brill, 1995.
- von Graeve, Volkmar. "Thessalische Weihreliefs an die apollinische Trias." In *La Thessalie: Actes de la Table-Ronde 21-24 Juillet 1975*, edited by Bruno Helly, 143-155. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, 1979.

von Salis, Arnold. *Der Altar von Pergamon: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barock-Stils in Kleinasien*. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912.

Webb, Pamela A. "The Functions of the Sanctuary of Athena and the Pergamon Altar (The Heröon of Telephos) in the Attalid Building Program." In *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, edited by Kim. J. Hartswick and Mary C. Sturgeon, 241-254. Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1998.

_____. *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

Weitzmann, Kurt. *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947.

Wickhoff, Franz. *Roman Art: Some of Its Principles and Their Application to Early Christian Painting*, translated by S. Arthur Strong. New York: Macmillan Company, 1900.

Bronwen L. Wickkiser, *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece: Between Craft and Cult*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

Winnefeld Hermann. *Altertümer von Pergamon III₂: Die Frieze des grossen Altars*. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1910.

Winter, Franz. *Altertümer von Pergamon VII₁: Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs*. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1908.

Yavis, Constantine G. *Greek Altars: Origins and Typology*. Saint Louis: Saint Louis University Press, 1949.

Ziegenaus, Oskar, and Gioia De Luca. *Altertümer von Pergamon XI₂: Das Asklepieion*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975.