

Kristoph Hammerschmied (née Jürgens)

The Panhellenic Festival of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia-On-The-Meander. A Spatial Analysis of a Hellenistic Procession

Summary

From an archeological perspective, this article discusses sacred mobility and ritual movement in Greek Hellenistic festivals. It focuses on the Panhellenic festival of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia-on-the-Meander. Instructively, this festival shows the various forms of festive movements in ancient Greece and their contextual meaning. Firstly, the article examines movement during the preliminary stages of the festival as an instrument to create a cultural framework. Secondly, it takes a look on the procession conducted in the festival in which the celebrating community mediated an image of its civic identity. The architecture, monuments, and inscriptions of the Magnesians topography are given due consideration to gain information about trajectories, participants, and the procession's ritual framework.

Keywords: Feasts; ritual structures; religious networks and identities; archaeological and epigraphical sources

Der Artikel diskutiert aus einer archäologischen Perspektive sakrale Mobilität und rituelle Bewegung in griechischen Festkontexten hellenistischer Zeit. Im Mittelpunkt steht das panhellenische Fest der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander. Dieser Befund zeigt exemplarisch Funktion und Bedeutung verschiedener Bewegungsformen in panhellenischen Festen: einerseits im Vorfeld der Feste zur Positionierung innerhalb eines größeren kulturellen Bezugssystems, andererseits als konkretes Festritual, in dem die feiernde Gemeinde ein Bild ihrer selbst inszenierte. Die funktionale und inhaltliche Bedeutung der bestimmenden Architekturen, Monumente und Inschriften der magnesischen Festtopographie steht hierbei im Zentrum, um zu Aussagen über Prozessionsroute, Teilnehmer und Rituale zu erhalten.

Keywords: Fest; rituelle Strukturen; religiöse Netzwerke und Identitäten; archäologische und epigraphische Quellen

Ute Luig (ed.) | Approaching the Sacred. Pilgrimage in Historical and Intercultural Perspective | Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 49 (ISBN 978-3-9818369-3-6; ISSN (Print) 2366-6641; ISSN (Online) 2366-665X; URN urn:nbn:de:kobv:188-fudocsdokument00000027524-4) | www.edition-topoi.org

This article is an excerpt from my dissertation on the Magnesian festival of Artemis Leukophryene. The Berlin Graduate School of Ancient Studies and the Excellence Cluster Topoi generously supported this work. Special thanks I owe to Orhan Bingöl, director of the Magnesia excavation, who helped me in the friendliest way in word and deed during my several stays on the site. Boris Dreyer from the University of Erlangen provided me necessary epigraphic assistance. Volker Kästner from the Berliner Antikensammlung gave me access to the museum archives and valuable insights into the history of the Magnesia excavations. The architect Annika Zeitler from the University of Regensburg shared her professional knowledge on various architectural matters with me.

I New ‘Panhellenic’ festivals – pilgrimage and procession in the Hellenistic period

An examination of the significance of pilgrimage and processions in Greek antiquity cannot omit the ‘new Panhellenic’ festivals, which took place in large numbers in the Hellenistic period.¹ From the beginning of the third century BC we observe that various local cults were upgraded into Panhellenic festivals in many city-states (*poleis* [Pl.], *polis* [Sg.]) throughout the Greek world. Referring to literary and epigraphic sources, K. Rigsby listed 45 festivals that were enhanced to this new status down to the end of the second century BC.² In this context we hear of extensive festive embassies (*theoriai* [Pl.], *theoria* [Sg.]) sent out from various *poleis* to announce the new festivals to all corners of the Greek *koine* (community) addressing other cities, city-leagues, and monarchs.³ As a core element, the new festivals centred on a large sacrifice for the chief deity of the hosting *polis* to which the festive ambassadors (*theoroi* [Pl.], *theoros* [Sg.]) invited their addressees to send delegations to join the rituals. Together the inviting citizens and the foreign delegates were to partake in festal processions (*pompai* [Pl.], *pompe* [Sg.]) to honour the gods. To attract further visitors the new games included large-scale festivities, banquets, and customs-free markets. A major part in this was played by extensive

1 On the definitional problem of the term ‘pilgrimage’ for the Greek world see Elsner and Rutherford 2005, 1–14. Compare Friese and Kristensen 2017, 10; Bremmer 2017, 275–284.
2 Rigsby 1996, compare Chaniotis 1995, 164–168; Parker 2004, 18–22. For a general overview see Robert 1989, 35–45.

3 One might compare the Magnesian efforts to those conducted in course of the establishing of the Koan festival of Asklepieia with *theoroi* sent to Italy, Sicily, Macedonia, the Greek mainland, the Aegean Island, and Asia Minor; see Hallof and Rigsby 2010, nos. 208–233. – In general on *theoria* see Boesch 1908, Dillon 1997, 99–123; Elsner and Rutherford 2005, 7–11; Rutherford 2013. Compare also the article of J. Kubatzki in this volume.

and competitive ‘crowned games’ (*agones stephanites*) modelled after the traditional Panhellenic festivals in Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and Isthmia in which the victors were awarded crowns and extensive honours.⁴ To provide protection for the traveling visitors a sacred state of inviolability (*asylia*) for the hosting *polis* was negotiated. Various inscriptions about the sending of official delegations (also called *theoriai*) attested the acceptance of the new festivals in the Greek world. But also the further festivities, free meat and drink, as well as the markets attracted merchants, craftsmen, and idlers of all kinds.⁵ The Isthmian games in 196 BC, for example, were attended by tens of thousands of visitors.

The increase in Panhellenic festivals is closely linked to the political, social, and economic development that the Greek *poleis* had to endure in Hellenistic times. The military campaigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great, the establishment of the Successors’ kingdoms, and the appearance of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean formed central powers that threatened the political sovereignty of the *poleis*. This situation encouraged a kind of civic vitalization within the city-states.⁶ The focus on internal policy and the stressing of civic bodies such as the *boule* (city council) and the *ekklesia* (city assembly) formed part of this development. The same applied for the educative institutions of *gymnasion* and *ephebia* to increase the self-identification with the hometown.⁷ Great and lavish building measures emphasized the significance of urban space mainly conducted by wealthy citizens.⁸ In return the benefactors received extensive honours from their fellow citizens.⁹ We can also trace the attempts to underline a city’s ideal status in the Greek *koine* by mythography and historiography.¹⁰ Finally, the brisk ‘diplomatic’ relations between the *poleis* attest the importance of a Panhellenic consciousness. Traveling ambassadors, judges, merchants, artists, athletes, and scholars provided a tight communication network.¹¹

Against this background the new festivals formed another way for the *poleis* to mediate civic awareness. As A. Giovannini pointed out, the Panhellenic festivals – the traditional as well as the Hellenistic – served as meeting places for the Greek city-states.¹² The collective worship of the gods, the renewal of kin- and friendship, the negotiation of

4 Parker 2004, 11–12; Robert 1989, 710. For the Koan Asklepieia we observe an intermingling of Pythian and Isthmian style games; see Hall of and Rigsby 2010, nos. 453–454.

5 On the attendees at festivals see Köhler 1996, 148, 150–152. – The significance of ritual feasting during the festival is thoroughly discussed by Schmitt Pantel 1997.

6 For an introductory overview and further literature on specific themes see Giovannini 1993; Gruen 1993; Wörrle and Zanker 1995; Gehrke 2003; Harland 2006; Gehrke 2007; Nijf 2013.

7 The gymnasium was in Greek antiquity a facility for physical training and an educational institution for especially the young members of the community; see Kah and Scholz 2004.

8 Lauter 1986; Hesberg 1994; Heinle 2009; Zimmermann 2009.

9 Habicht 1995, 87–92; Wörrle 1995, 241–250.

10 Chaniotis 1988, 162–173, 372–377; Schepens 2001, 3–25.

11 Giovannini 1993, 274–279; Gruen 1993, 339–354.

12 Giovannini 1993, 280, 283.

political affairs, and the exchange of information, values, and ideas under a sacred truce brought together official delegations and private persons alike and fostered a sentiment of shared identity based on cultural, political, social, and ethical bonds.¹³ In addition, the festivals were sites of competition. Political, military, and social rivalries between the *poleis* were a driving force in Greek society to raise a city's profile. The Panhellenic festivals provided an opportunity to stage these rivalries through sporting agonistics: artists and athletes competed for their personal reputation and the glory of their hometowns alike.

Although we may consider the aspect of Panhellenic communication to be paramount for the popularity, for the hosting *polis* the establishment of such an event was interlinked with further-reaching intentions. The endowment of such large-scale festivities gave the host an opportunity for self-display to a Panhellenic audience and the opportunity to stress its affiliation to the *koine*. Accordingly, the new festivals were thoroughly choreographed presenting the political, social, and economic integrity of the hosting *poleis*, their cultic and cultural traditions, their mythological and historical past, as well as their place and status within the Greek community.¹⁴

The main tool for staging these various contents was the processions that formed a regular feature of ancient Greek festivals since the Geometric period. The original purpose of the procession was the escorting of sacred objects, offerings, and/or victims by the festive community to a certain place where they were sacrificed to a divine recipient.¹⁵ In this function *pompai* were also occasions on which their participants would represent themselves to the gods and fellow men as a pious and united community. The proper execution of the procession was a serious matter regulated by sacred laws (*hieroi nomoi*). A. Chaniotis pointed out that in the Hellenistic period an increasing effort and diligence was put to regulate every single detail of the *pompai* in order to ensure their appropriate execution:¹⁶ It was determined who may take part in the procession, the right clothing, as well as the adornment of the sacrificial animals. The line-up of the procession was commonly conducted in terms of hierarchical criteria in order to provide a representative and elaborate sample of the festive community – that could be age divisions or civic groups, religious and political functions, birth and social background, gender and beauty, or the status as citizen or foreigner. We find regulations for the position of cult objects and images within the procession, of aesthetic and artistic elements such as musicians, acrobats, and choirs, of athletes and artists. All together, the main concern of the Hellenistic decrees was to stage the procession, as an ideal image of the

13 Kowalzig 2005, 43–44; Rutherford 2007, 23–27; Rutherford 2013.

14 Chaniotis 1995, 160–163; Chankowski 2005, 185–206; Beck and Wiemer 2009, 26–35; Wiemer 2009a, 116–127; Wiemer 2009b, 83–108.

15 Bömer 1952, 1878–1913; Burkert 1985, 99–101. For further literature see Bruni 2004. See also the article of J. Kubatzki in this volume.

16 Chaniotis 1995, 155–160.

civic body, as aesthetically and harmoniously as possible.¹⁷ In this context A. Chaniotis has spoken of the increasing theatricality of Hellenistic ritual.¹⁸

2 The Panhellenic festival of Artemis Leukophryene – an archaeological approach

While the abovementioned regulations for processions governed the criteria of personnel, structure, performance, and timing, a central aspect of *pompai* concerned space. The reaching of a spatially determined place where the dedications are made can be said to be the primary aim of a procession. This place is regularly the altar of a deity commonly located in its sanctuary (*temenos* [Sg.], *temene* [Pl.]), but the starting point of the procession and the route leading to its goal were also matters of importance. The way to the altar connected significant spaces and structures, which could be specific landscapes and locations, architectures and monuments, streets and gates, or images and statues related in a religious, mythological, historical, political, or social way to the cult, the festival, and/or the self-conception of the festive community.¹⁹ In fact, many of the *poleis* hosting new festivals were greatly concerned with the spatial setting of their festivities.²⁰ We are informed about large-scale building measures in the *temene* to foster the festive procedures and their significance. This can be seen in the tendency towards holistic site planning and specific architectural forms that promoted ritual performances, for example porticoes, gates (*propyla* [Pl.], *propylon* [Sg.]), monumental stairways, altars, and benches (*exedrai* [Pl.], *exedra* [Sg.]).²¹ Together with other monuments, votives, and inscriptions, the buildings merged into proper festive spaces.²² This development can be traced in the sanctuaries of Asklepios on Kos, of Apollo Didymeus in Miletus, and of Zeus Naios in Dodona.²³

Among these refurbished sites the certainly most instructive and extensively studied is the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia-on-the-Meander. In 208 BC the

17 Chaniotis 1995, 158–160; Chaniotis 1999; Chankowski 2005, 204–206.

18 Chankowski 2013, 173–174. He defines theatricality as the effort to evoke emotional impacts on an audience to achieve a certain reaction to or perception of sacral conditions through non-verbal communication such as performance, people, physical structure or space.

19 Bömer 1952, 1902–1906; Burkert 1985, 99–100; Bruni 2004, 2; compare also J. Kubatzki's article on this issue.

20 Hesberg 1981, 114–117; Hesberg 1994, 78–88; Mylonopoulos 2008, 49–60; Heinle 2009, 41–69; Zimmermann 2009, 23–40; Mylonopoulos 2011, 43–56.

21 Hesberg 1994, 4–29; Thüngen 1994, 30–47; Linfert 1995, 131–146; Becker 2003, 298–302; Hollinshead 2012, 27–66.

22 On images: Hesberg 1994, 97–114. – On honorific monuments: Bielfeldt 2012, 78–122; Ma 2013. – On inscriptions: Witschel 2014.

23 For the sanctuary of the Koan Asklepios see Gruben 2001, 440–448, and Interdonato 2013. – For Didyma see Dignas 2002, 23–24. – For Dodona see Cabanes 1988, and Gruben 2001, 116–119.

citizens of Magnesia established a new Panhellenic festival, the Leukophryena, on the occasion of an epiphany of their patron deity Artemis some fifteen years earlier.²⁴ The festival should be held every four years and include a sacrifice (*thysia* [Sg.], *thysiai* [Pl.]) for Artemis and festivities (*panegyris* [Sg.], *panegyreis* [Pl.]) with athletic, equestrian, and artistic games that took the Panhellenic festival of Apollo Pythios at Delphi as a model.²⁵ A crown worth fifty gold coins was awarded as winning prize.²⁶ To proclaim the new festival several groups of *theoroi* were sent out from Magnesia to travel the Greek *koine* from Sicily to the Persian Gulf (Fig. 1). The embassies' request for acknowledgement of the Leukophryena and recognition of *asylia* was in nearly every way successful: all major monarchs and at least 152 cities and city-leagues accepted the invitation to the new festival. The decrees (*psephismata* [Pl.], *psephisma* [Sg.]) and letters with the positive answers to the Magnesian invitation were arranged, together with the festival's deed of foundation and a transcript of the city's founding myth, in a large epigraphic dossier in the *polis's* marketplace.²⁷ Together with the Magnesians, the foreign *theoroi* should take part in a large and elaborate procession that formed the core element of the new festival.

Simultaneously with the decree of the Leukophryena, the Magnesians planned an enormous building program. Besides extensive alteration works on the theatre, the focus of the measures was the entire redesign of the city's main places: the marketplace (*agora* [Sg.]; *agorai* [Pl.]), and the adjoining sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene.²⁸ For this purpose, the Magnesians commissioned the famous architect Hermogenes. Under his aegis the construction of two vast, portico-framed plazas was initiated featuring new spatial and visual concepts. The centrepieces of the construction work were a great new temple and an altar for Artemis in the sanctuary. In addition, archaeological field research in Magnesia was firstly conducted in the 1890s by a German excavation team led by C. Humann and, secondly, since the 1980s by the University of Ankara under O. Bingöl has produced a large body of architectural remains, monuments, images, statues, and inscriptions.²⁹ Already during the German campaign it had become clear that the building works in the *temenos* and the *agora* corresponded in terms of content and chronology to the establishment of the festival.³⁰ Heortological issues remained predominant in the further research on the Magnesian record especially within the historical and philological disciplines. Numerous case studies have been presented on different aspects of the

24 Kern 1900, no. 16 = Rigsby 1996, no. 66. On the date see Thonemann 2007, 151–154.

25 Kern 1900, no. 16 l. 27–35 = Rigsby 1996, no. 66.

26 Kern 1900, no. 16 l. 29 = Rigsby 1996, no. 66. Critical on this topic is Slater 2006.

27 Kern 1900, nos. 16–87. On the dossier see below, section 3.1.

28 For the construction work on the theatre see Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 23–26. – For the

topographical situation of the *temenos* and the *agora* see below section 3.

29 An outline of the earliest research in Magnesia provides O. Kern (Kern 1901, I–IX). On the German excavations see Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, Kekulé von Stradonitz and Kern 1894, and Kern 1901. On the Turkish excavations see Bingöl 2007.

30 Kekulé von Stradonitz and Kern 1894; Kern 1901.

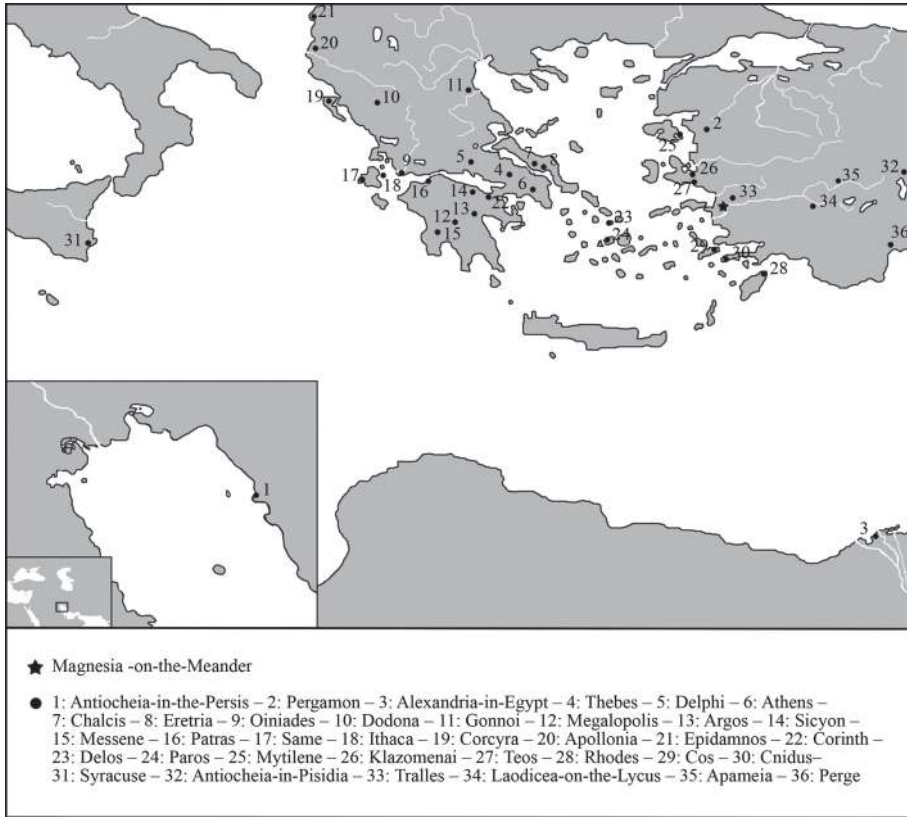


Fig. 1 Catchment area of the Magnesian festival of Artemis.

festival of Artemis. Here, major topics were the epigraphic dossier, the *theoria* and *asylia* related to the Leukophryena, as well as the mythological and historical integration of the Magnesians into the Panhellenic community.³¹ On the other hand, archaeological work on the Magnesian site and its monuments has provided a large quantity of data that demand a new archaeological approach to the Leukophryena.³²

As T. Hölscher pointed out, classical archaeology provides the necessary methods to read ancient sanctuaries as ‘significant spaces’ of concrete cultic activities. In these spaces

31 *Theoria*: Boesch 1908; Robert 1989, 711–712; Chaniotis 1999; Flashar 1999. – *Asylia*: Mainly, the *asylia* was seen as a protection against the Hellenistic monarchs (compare Gauthier 1972, 270–274; Buraselis 2003 143–156) or pirates (see Gauthier 1972, 270). S. Dušanić proposed that the establishment of *asylia* was an attempt to gain the Cretan *poleis* as allies against Miletus; see

Duganić 1983/1984, 18–48. In a more general sense, K. Rigsby regarded *asylia* as a primarily formal proclamation to enhance a festival’s reputation and acceptance; see Rigsby 1996, 179–185. – *Identity*: Gehrke 2000, 1–9; Parker 2004; Robert 1989; Sumi 2004; Wiemer 2009b.

32 Köhler 1996, 12–13; Flashar 1999, 415.

the natural environment, architecture, images and signs were interwoven with the sacred rituals. Archaeology can make ritual movements visible by interpreting these elements in relation to their infrastructural functions and symbolic meaning.³³ The meaning and memories that lie within symbols can be produced and reproduced in certain actions and have an identity-creating effect. Their deciphering can provide insight into the cultural, social, and political conception of the celebrating community.³⁴

To take up this point, this paper's further intention is to examine the topography of the *temenos* of Artemis and the Magnesian *agora* in order to reconstruct the festive procession of the Leukophryena. This attempt has a threefold aim: Firstly, to extrapolate the infrastructure and route, which directed the formal movements of the procession. Secondly, to map out the symbolic landscape, which contained topics related to the civic awareness of the *pompe*'s participants. In conclusion, the article will deal with the question of how the civic self-image of the Magnesian citizens was activated and mediated by the personnel composition of the procession as well as its route and ritual performance within the Magnesian topography.

3 The topographical setting of the Leukophryena

The festival's centre stage was the *temenos* of Artemis Leukophryene and the *agora* adjoining it to the west (Fig. 2). Together the plazas occupied a vast area of about 36 000 m² in the north eastern part of the city at the junction of the *polis*'s two main roads.³⁵ Simultaneously with the Leukophryena's establishment, an overall reshaping of the plazas was initiated. Vitruvius mentioned Hermogenes as the builder of the great temple of Artemis Leukophryene.³⁶ However, for good reasons recent research has tended to attribute to him the overall design of the two plazas including the altar of the goddess and the architectural framing of the *temenos* and the *agora* with surrounding porticoes (*stoai* [Pl.], *stoa* [Sg.]) creating two separate plazas connected with a gatehouse (*propylon* [Sg.], *propyla* [Pl.]).³⁷ The Hellenistic construction works, however, were primarily focused on executing the most essential architectures needed in the festivities, which were the altar and the temple of Artemis in the *temenos* and the southern, western, and northern porticoes of the *agora* with the main entrance to this square. In fact, the completion of

33 Hölscher 2002, 331.

34 Lefébvre 2000; Löw 2001, 152–230; Langenohl 2005, 51–72.

35 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 8 fig. 1, pl. 2.

36 Vitruvius 3.2.6 (Morgan 1914).

37 For Hermogenes in Magnesia see Kreeb 1990, 103–114. The chronology of the Magnesian building measures has recently been outlined by F. Rumscheid; see Rumscheid 1994, 25–28, 170–174, 198–216.

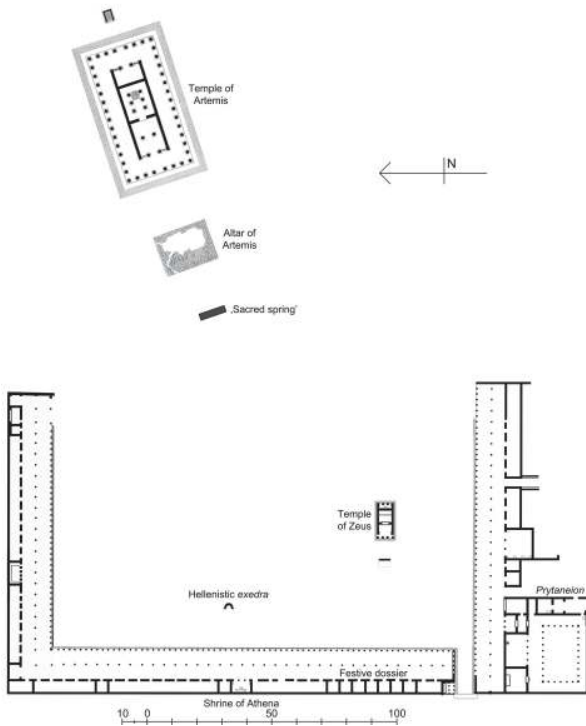


Fig. 2 Magnesia-on-the-Meander. Temenos and agora in the Hellenistic period. Plan of temenos and agora by author based on Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, pl. 2; Gerkan 1929, pl. 1.

the works took some 300 years.³⁸ In the following, we will concentrate the Hellenistic topography of the two plazas.

3.1 The agora

Hermogenes designed the *agora* as a north–south orientated, great open space of 1.8 ha of oblong, slightly trapezoid, form. It was crossed along its southern edge by one of the *polis*'s main roads (Fig. 2). On the northern side of the road, on the area's longitudinal axis, stood a small temple from the last third of the third century BC. Its prostyle façade of four columns faced west towards a small altar.³⁹ The shrine was dedicated to Zeus Sosipolis, the 'Saviour of the City'. His cult image appeared in the type of the Olympian Zeus.⁴⁰

38 For the situation in the imperial period compare Hammerschmid 2016, 226–231.

39 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 141–157; Rumscheid 1994, 170; Gruben 2001, 424–426; Kreutz 2007, 242–246.

40 The dedication to Zeus is confirmed by an inscription in the northern anta of the temple's porch; see Kern 1900, no. 98. – Fragments of the cult image are

To this architectural situation Hermogenes added a three-sided frame of porticoes. In the southwest a gap between the porticoes took account of the crossing road and formed an entrance. On its north western edge the entrance was equipped with a springhouse with a large water basin.⁴¹

The *stoai* were two-aisled with a Doric façade. Their load-bearing walls and columns were erected in marble. To the rear of the porticoes we see small square chambers, which probably served as shops and stores.⁴² Occasionally the chambers were replaced by different structures. In the western part of the southern *stoa* a large building complex with a peristyle court and annex rooms can be identified with the official rooms of the *prytaneion* where the Magnesian magistrate and the altar of Hestia with the sacred hearth fire of the *polis* were located.⁴³ Central within the southern portico a large room with columned façade can be identified as the sanctuary of an unknown deity.⁴⁴ Analogously, in the axis of the western *stoa* we find a small shrine of the goddess Athena, attested by a cult table and two figurines.⁴⁵

The western portico also housed the abovementioned dossier related to the Leukophryena (Fig. 3). On the marble slabs of the southern flanking wall and along the rear wall to the shrine of Athena 71 deeds were preserved over a stretch of 54 m. The dossier was hierarchically arranged from the south wall to the north. At the beginning the dossier presented the deed of endowment of the Leukophryena followed by an epigraphic account of the foundation myth of Magnesia and two documents claimed to have been preserved from mythological times.⁴⁶ The main body of the dossier was made up of letters and *psephismata* first from the Hellenistic monarchs and then from the other *poleis* and city leagues.⁴⁷ One remarkable architectural feature are the four large windows in the southern wall of the portico that shed light on some of the documents.

Besides the main architectural structures, we must imagine the *agora* (and also the sanctuary) as being densely filled with smaller monuments, structures, altars, inscriptions, statues, and images of all kind.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the only remaining structure is a single *exedra*, a semi circular seating bench, in front of and facing the shrine of Athena (Fig. 2). Of the honorific monuments and state documents once displayed on the *agora* only a small number survived, mainly the bases of honorific statues of Magnesian cit-

preserved; see Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 155–156 fig. 167; also, it is depicted on coin images; see Schultz 1975, nos. 75–76 pl. 6; no. 145 pl. 11; no. 167 pl. 14; no. 170 pl. 14.

41 For the springhouse see Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 109–110 figs. 117–118.

42 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 126 fig. 133.

43 An altar of Hestia was found in the complex; see Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 112; Kekulé

von Stradonitz and Kern 1894, 83; Kern 1894, 94–95; Kern 1900, no. 220.

44 Kern 1900, nos. 230, 231.

45 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 109 figs. 114–115 pl. 3.

46 Kern 1900, nos. 16, 17, 20–21 = Rigsby 1996, no. 66.

47 Kern 1900, nos. 18, 19, 22–87 = Rigsby 1996, nos. 67–131.

48 Hesberg 1994, 120–123; Thüngen 1994, 7–21.

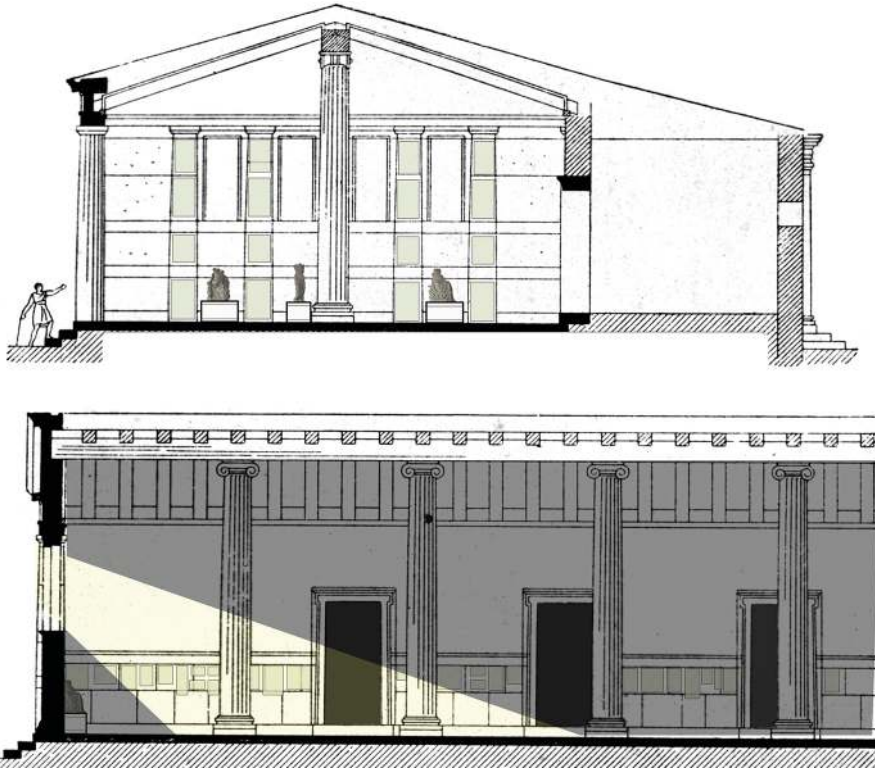


Fig. 3 Festive dossier in the western portico. Reconstruction of the fall of light on the festive dossier in the agora's western portico by author based on Kern 1900, pl. 2; Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 116 fig. 120.

izens and athletes, as well as foreigners, especially Roman officials. Moreover, several male and female statues were discovered during the excavations.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, due to the spotty excavations on the *agora* in the 1890s and the modern re-silting of this area the original spatial arrangement of these monuments cannot be restored with certainty. The greatest number of the monuments was found in the south western entrance of the market, mostly stelae from the third to the first century BC honouring Magnesians embassies and traveling arbitrators.⁵⁰ The other monuments were found scattered over the *agora*.⁵¹

49 Hellenistic statue bases of Magnesians citizens: Kern 1900, nos. 127, 134. – Athletes: Kern 1900, no. 149. – Foreigners: Kern 1900, no. 138. – Romans: Kern 1900, nos. 142–146, 155. – For the statues see Hu-

mann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 175–228; Linfert 1976, 28–51.

50 Kern 1900, nos. 15, 89, 90, 93, 97, 101, 102, 103, 106, 179, 202.

51 Kern 1900, nos. 88, 100a, 100b, 104, 110, 111. – Votives: Kern 1900, nos. 206, 208, 225.



Fig. 4 Sema of Themistokles. Redrawing of a Magnesian drachme, second century AD.

A monument (*sema* [Sg.], *semata* [Pl.]) of seemingly greater importance located on the Magnesian marketplace was dedicated to the famous Athenian statesman Themistocles. Today lost, we know the monument from the literary sources and coin images from the Roman imperial period.⁵² The coins show a bearded figure with a sword belt associated with an altar and a sacrificed bull in front of it; the legend THEMISTOKLES hints that it is a depiction of this monument (Fig. 4).⁵³

3.2 The temenos

The construction works in the *agora* corresponded with the erection of the major structures in the *temenos* of Artemis (Fig. 2). The sanctuary of the goddess, also ca. 1.8 ha in size, bordered the *agora* to the east. Diverting from the *agora*'s north–south direction the *temenos* and its structures lay along an axis oriented from northeast to southwest. This aberrant orientation was owed to the circumstance that the Hermogeneic temple of Artemis followed the direction of an archaic predecessor.⁵⁴ Within the sanctuary all major buildings were situated along its longitudinal axis including the temple and the altar of Artemis Leukophryene, a basin in the southwest, and a small shrine (*naiskos* [Sg.], *naiskoi* [Pl.]) in the northeast. A marble pavement enclosed all these structures.⁵⁵

Within the festival, the altar was the place where the sacrifice to the goddess was conducted. In fact, the construction of the altar started shortly before that of the tem-

52 Diodorus Siculus 11.58 (Oldfather 1946–1963); Nepos, Themistocles 10 (Rolfe 1984). – For the coins see Rhausopoulos 1896, 18–26; Schultz 1975, 42–43, 60 no. 103 pl. 7; 85–86, no. 244 pl. 19.

53 On the monument, see section 3.2.

54 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 41.

55 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 38 fig. 27, 100; Hesberg 1994, 182.



Fig. 5 Tethering spots for the sacrificial animals.

ple.⁵⁶ Today, only the altar's limestone foundation, some 23×15 m in size, has remained *in situ*. Among the preserved structural components of the altar, the most impressive belonged to an over-life-size frieze with a depiction of an assembly of gods. Among them we can trace a seated Zeus, Apollo, Hephaestus, Heracles, Aphrodite, Poseidon, and Asclepius.⁵⁷

Although several reconstruction proposals have been made so far, the form and type of the altar still remains the subject of discussion.⁵⁸ Most plausible seems a reconstruction of an altar situated on an elevated platform with a broad flight of stairs to its western side.⁵⁹ A narrow portico might have surrounded the platform on the other three sides. However, it can be said that the frieze was facing to the southwest where most of its parts were found.⁶⁰ Also in front of the western altar basement two rows of 22 bung-

56 Gerkan 1929, 4 fig. 1.

57 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 175–182, fig. 6.

58 Reconstruction proposals were made by (in chronological order): J. Kothe (in Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 91–99), A. von Gerkan (Gerkan 1929), A. Linfert (Linfert 1976, 164–167), R. Öz-

gan (Özgan 1982, 196–209), W. Hoepfner (Höpfner 1989, 601–634), and C. Çetin (Çetin 1993).

59 The reconstruction of the Magnesian altar similar to the Pergamene altar of Zeus was propagated by A. v. Gerkan (Gerkan 1929) and recently confirmed by T. Becker; see Becker 2003, 199–200.

60 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 91.

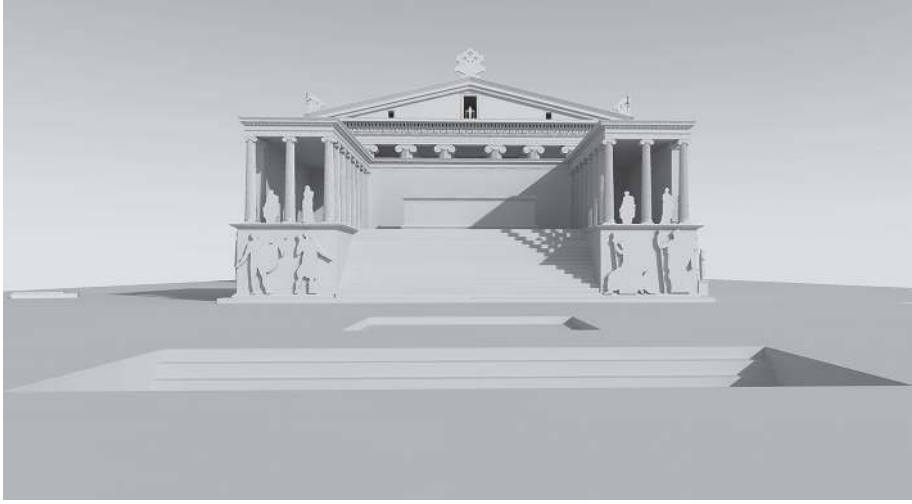


Fig. 6 3D reconstructed elevation of the Magnesian Artemision and the altar.

holes can still be spotted (Fig. 5). They were intended to hold iron rings for tethering the sacrificial animals before their ritual killing.⁶¹

23 m beyond the altar towered the temple of Artemis. With its 41 × 67 m in size, the building was the fourth largest temple in Asia Minor.⁶² According to the Magnesian literary sources, it outshone everything that had gone before in “size and magnificence.”⁶³ Formally, the temple was erected as an Ionic octostyle *pseudodipteros* that featured two constructional specifics. On the one hand, it was the first Ionic temple with a circumferential figural frieze in the entablature zone. The frieze, of which a great part has been preserved, depicted Amazons fighting against Greek warriors (*amazonomachia*).⁶⁴ On the other hand, the western pediment showed three door-like openings, a structural phenomenon the Magnesian building shared with several other temples in Asia Minor, most prominently the Artemision in Ephesos (Fig. 6).

Some 21 m southwest of the altar, a rectangular depression within the *temenos*'s pavement was located. It measured ca. 12 × 3 m at the pavement's top level. From the east, six marble stairs led down to a ground floor that was intersected in two parts. The southern part was thoroughly paved and supplied by a water pipeline coming from the west.⁶⁵ Similar structures in Delos and Tegea make one think of a well.⁶⁶ However, the

61 Bingöl 2007, 82–83.

62 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 39–90; Gruben 2001, 426–431.

63 Kern 1900, no. 100a l. 14–15.

64 Yaylılı 1976.

65 Bingöl 2007, 84.

66 Compare the “Krene Minoe” on Delos; see Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 296 no. 30. For Tegea see Dugas 1924, 69–71.

northern part of the basin had a raised pavement of limestone slabs, which enclosed a large natural rock. It seems that this rock was intended to be visible in antiquity.

About the *naiskos* only few is known (Fig. 2). The small rectangular building had a *pi*-shaped ground plan, its entrance facing to the southwest.⁶⁷ There is no evidence for the function of this structure. Comparisons might hint towards a structure for a prominent votive offering or the cult image of a ‘smaller’ god or hero who was worshipped in the sanctuary of Artemis. However, given the *naiskos*’s remote location in the sanctuary, this seems quite unlikely. As on the *agora*, a number of honorific monuments, state documents, and votives from the Hellenistic period were found in the *temenos*. Unfortunately, the original arrangement of these monuments remains even more uncertain than of those in the market.⁶⁸

4 Civic spaces

The spatial outline of the central Magnesian topography will be considered in the following under the aspect of civic self-representation that, as we will see, expressed itself, on the one hand, in the staging of the time-honoured Magnesian past oscillating between cult, mythology, and history. On the other hand, it is the self-representation of the citizens, demonstrating themselves to be a living community in the sense of a traditional *polis* society deeply related to the myth-historical framework of the city.

As H.-J. Gehrke has shown, there was a tendency in Hellenistic culture to measure the ideal rank of a *polis* especially against its ancient and honourable past.⁶⁹ A glorious past formed a point of reference within the civic identity standing against the political and social developments and impacts, which the *poleis* had to undergo in Hellenism as well as being a subject of agonal competition.⁷⁰ In this context we may think of the increasing importance of historiography and mythography and the ‘new interpretation’ of old myths, for example, in the widespread creation of foundation myths.⁷¹ In this horizon also belong the new presentation of *heroa* (tombs or shrines of heroic personalities) and other ‘ancient’ monuments.⁷²

67 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 101–102.

68 For the honorific inscriptions see Kern 1900, nos. 2–6, 8–10, 95, 108, 119. – Honorific statues: Kern 1900, nos. 124, 125, 131, 153. – Votives: Kern 1900, nos. 204, 205, 207.

69 Gehrke 2000, 1–9.

70 See above, section 1. Studies of this phenomenon are provided by Leschhorn 1984, Malkin 1987, and Scheer 1993.

71 Lesky 1971, 102; see also below chapter 4.2.

72 Compare the cenotaph of Battos on the *agora* of Cyrene (see Stucchi 1965, 58–59) or the *theke* of Opis and Arge in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delos (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 197–198 no. 32). In general on this phenomenon see Pfister 1974; Förtsch 1995, 173–188.

4.1 Cult and mythology – the temenos

For Magnesia a constitutive pillar of the civic identity was the cult of Artemis whom the citizens worshipped as *archegetis*, the founder and leader of the city.⁷³ A. Laumonier suggested that her cult tied in with that of a pre-Greek Carian goddess who was worshipped at a location called Leukophrys.⁷⁴ After the arrival of Greek settlers in Asia Minor, this indigenous goddess merged with the Greek deity Artemis, but kept the toponym as her surname. Anacreon was the first who mentioned the cult of Magnesian Artemis in the sixth century BC.⁷⁵ In the fifth century BC Xenophon stated that the cult was related to hot thermal springs and that it had some regional significance.⁷⁶ The extent to which the Magnesians cultivated this cultic antiquity can be detected, firstly, by reference to the cult image of Artemis Leukophryene, which is only known from coin images and literary quotes.⁷⁷ Although the image was probably a creation of the Hellenistic period, it was mentioned to be a *xoanon*, a wooden, under-life size, and time-honoured statue.⁷⁸ Additionally, the image showed some iconographic features, a *polos* and an *ependytes* – a cylindrical hat and a conical apron – that related to very ancient cult images.⁷⁹ This type of image that was possibly ‘invented’ to express cultic antiquity was widespread in Asia Minor. Its most prominent exponent is the famous Artemis Ephesia.⁸⁰

Secondly, the architecture and the orientation of the temple of Artemis give some indications. The temple faced westwards, which is quite unusual for Greek shrines that were normally oriented to the east (Fig. 2). Perhaps this orientation was related to the worship of Artemis as a lunar goddess as it is prevalent in Asia Minor.⁸¹ Furthermore, the aberrant orientation of the Hermogeneic temple, following its archaic predecessor, is relevant here. A topographical continuity between old and new cultic buildings is commonplace in Greek sanctuaries and is widespread all over the Greek world. However, what is striking is how the whole area of the *temenos* stood out against the surrounding *agora* and expressed the greater antiquity of the sanctuary against its surroundings areas, something that must have been evident to all visitors (Fig. 2).⁸²

Another element indicating the cult’s great age were the abovementioned pediment doors. W. Held has recently discussed their meaning and function. He referred

73 See for example Kern 1900, nos. 16, 18, 19, 50, 89. Compare also Kern 1901, 491; Gehrke 2000, 3, and Sumi 2004, 82.

74 Laumonier 1958, 216, 528–530.

75 Anacreon Fr. 384 (Page 1975).

76 Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.2.19 (Straßburger 2005).

77 Kern 1900, no. 100a.

78 On the creation see Bumke 2011, 256.

79 For coin images of the *xoanon* see Fleischer 1973, 140–146. – For the attributes see Fleischer 1973 and Thiersch 1936, 108–110.

80 Fleischer 1973.

81 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 4; Burkert 1985, 200–201.

82 R. Förtsch speaks of an “Isolierung der Objekte aus dem Umraum” to render the greater age of older structures compared to their surroundings; see Förtsch 1995, 181. Compare Hartmann 2010, 150–151.

these openings to the ancient, pre-Greek cult of Cybele in Caria and Phrygia and suggested that they were intended for staging epiphanies in the temple's pediment.⁸³ This interpretation was already made by C. Humann who proposed that the cult image of Artemis was shown through the pediment doors in occasion of festivals to remember the epiphany of the goddess that led to the foundation of the Leukophryena (Fig. 6).⁸⁴ Similar to the *xoanon* type statue, the pediment doors that were quite widespread in Asia Minor first occurred at the Hellenistic Artemision in Ephesus. It seems likely, as with the cult image, made the openings were intended to express cultic authority by quoting antique architectural forms.

Thirdly, the basin in the southwest of the *temenos* was likewise oriented to match the temple. It seems plausible to relate the structure to the same contextual horizon. O. Bingöl proposed that the basin was a "sacred spring" and the water pipe certainly confirms this.⁸⁵ As Xenophon mentioned, Magnesia was famed for its thermal springs.⁸⁶ Possibly, the basin referred to that feature. Especially in Asia Minor, thermal springs are assigned to the goddess Artemis.⁸⁷ Often such springs were the 'germ cell' of sanctuaries because of mythological events that were said to have taken place there. For example, the spring where Heracles raped Auge at Tegea would become the site of the sanctuary of Athena Alea.⁸⁸ Perhaps the Magnesian spring was similarly connoted. As we have seen, the basin also included a natural rock that could be interpreted as some kind of aniconic image of a deity or as a marker of mythological events. Greek religion knows of many such rocks. Especially in Caria pyramidal rocks (*baityloi*) were a common cultic phenomenon.⁸⁹ For Magnesia there is unfortunately no clue that could lead to an interpretation of the stone.

The antiquity of the Magnesian cult of Artemis was part of the broader mythological framework that we find depicted within the friezes of the Artemision and the altar. As already mentioned, the temple frieze depicts an *amazonomachia*. Female warriors fight on foot or on horseback against Greek combatants. The Greeks are supported by the *heros* Heracles wearing the lion pelt and wielding a club. H.-J. Gehrke sees in this depiction the topical struggle between the Greeks and the eastern barbarians, which is surely

83 Held 2005, 119–159.

84 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 64; Hommel 1957, 29–31. For different interpretations of the doors see Held 2005, 154–159; Bingöl 1999, 240; Bingöl 2007, 70–71.

85 Bingöl 2007, 184.

86 Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.2.19 (Straßburger 2005). See also Athenaeus 2.42–43 (Gulick 1959–1963). – Today, these thermal springs still exist and supply a modern spa near the ruined site of Magnesia.

87 Croon 1956, 193–220.

88 Pausanias 8.47.9 (Jones 1959–1971). Compare the myth behind the springhouses of Glauce and of Peirene in Corinth (Pausanias, 2.3.2–3, 2.3.6; Jones 1959–1971). – About myths connected to springs and wells in general see Pfister 1974, 358–361.

89 In general on this topic see Pfister 1974, 363–264; Gaifman 2012, 131–136. – Compare also the "Leokorion" on the Athenian *agora*; see Batino 2001, 55–66. – For the Carian *baityloi* see Diler 2000, 51–77.

one possible statement of the frieze.⁹⁰ However, as H.-U. Wiemer has mentioned, an interpretation more closely related to the Magnesian past could refer to the Amazons' significance as founding personalities in the mythology of Asia Minor.⁹¹ As one of his twelve deeds Heracles fought the Amazons to gain the famed girdle of Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons. As a result of the fight the women were expelled from their homeland at the river Thermon from where they spread out over all Asia Minor and became founders of towns and/or cults such as in Smyrna, Cyme, or, most famously, Ephesus.⁹² For Magnesia a connection to this tradition can be traced in the literary work of the historian Possis, who wrote a volume on the history of Magnesia named *Amazonis*.⁹³ Noteworthy in this context is a quotation by Zenon of Myndos, a writer from the Tiberian period, who mentioned a tomb of Leukophryne in the *temenos* of Artemis, which could be assigned to a female heroine, possibly but not demonstrably with Amazonian roots.⁹⁴

An additional interpretation of the frieze would centre on the person of Heracles. The myth of Heracles in his quest for the girdle of Hippolyta was handed down from at least the sixth century BC in the context of the Argonautica.⁹⁵ According to this narrative, Heracles fought the Amazons together with the Argonauts. The *amazonomachia* frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassai also depicts this topic, which besides, is quite common in Attic vase painting.⁹⁶ Seemingly, the narration of the Argonauts was quite important in the Magnesian mythology. According to the writer Possis, the Magnesian founder hero Leukippos was kin to Jason, leader of the Argonauts, and to Glaucos, helmsman of the ship Argo.⁹⁷ By referring to the myth of the Argonauts on their temple, the Magnesians could connect to a very prominent Panhellenic narration, which should have greatly underlined the Magnesians' claim for status in the Greek koine. As we will see later, the same strategy was used for the city's founding myth that was adjusted to fit the famed Panhellenic narration of the Trojan War.

In contrast, the altar frieze did not show a narrative scene.⁹⁸ It depicts an assembly of gods standing calmly around the altar as it is demanded of pious devotees during sacrifice.⁹⁹ We may consider whether the deities depicted the Magnesian *phylai* that were named after the gods or they represented the canonical Greek pantheon. Either way, the altar frieze had the potential to connect local *polis* traditions to a greater Panhellenic background.

90 Gehrke 2000, 6 fn. 34.

91 Wiemer 2009b, 89–90.

92 Generally on this topic see Klügmann 1870, 524–556.

93 Athenaeus 533e (Gulick 1959–1963).

94 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus* 3.45 (Butterworth 1919).

95 Pindar, *Nemean* 3.36–40 (Sandys 1937); Diodorus Siculus 4.16 (Oldfather 1946–1963).

96 Scheffold 1949, 83.

97 Athenaeus 7.296d (Gulick 1959–1963).

98 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 175. – A narrative scene is suggested by Linfert 1976, 170–171, and Flashar 1999, 417.

99 Burkert 1985, 56.

4.2 Mythology and history – the agora

Since the symbolic landscape of the *temenos* was mainly focused on mythological pre-history of the cult of Artemis, topics on the *agora* were linked to the ‘political’ past of the city. Most obviously this applies to the dossier of festive inscriptions in the *agora*’s western *stoa*. Prominently, just second in its hierarchical order, the dossier presented a copy of the Magnesian founding myth. According to F. Graf, this myth replaced an older version from the classical period.¹⁰⁰ Thanks to Athenaeus we know that the above-mentioned Possis wrote his history of his hometown simultaneously with the foundation of the Leukophryena and might have influenced this text.¹⁰¹ The inscription tells how the Magnesians settled on Crete at the command of a Delphic oracle. Eighty years later, due to a miraculous appearance of a white raven, the Magnesians again sent to Delphi. There, Apollo ordered them to settle over to Asia Minor under the leadership of the Lycian Leukippos.¹⁰² The preliminary events of this myth were reconstructed by F. Prinz: The Magnesians settling on Crete were descendants of the Magnesians in Thessaly who participated in the Trojan War. On their journey home they were shipwrecked and came to Crete. This short sketch is instructive in comparison to the classical version of the myth for it shows that the Magnesians were anxious to set their past in relation to the Trojan War.¹⁰³ The Homeric narrative – telling the story of the Sack of Troy as a joint fight of all Greeks against an eastern non-Greek enemy – can truly be said to be the founding myth of a Panhellenic identity. The eager claim to have participated in the war led the Magnesians to show among the other inscriptions of the dossier the copy of an obviously fictitious Cretan deed from the mythological times, which listed supplies the Cretan cities were to have provided to the Magnesian settlers for Asia Minor.¹⁰⁴

A prominent role in the myth was played by the *heros* Leukippos, the founder of the *polis*. His genealogy shows him to be kin to some of the most prominent heroes of Greece as well as of Asia Minor through his ancestor Bellerophon. Mythological relations were major subjects of the *theoroi* when seeking acknowledgement for the Leukophryena. They could refer not only to the Magnesian participation in the Trojan War but also to more intimate mythological contacts between certain *poleis* as it is shown in the *psephisma* from the *polis* of Same on the island of Cephalonia that relates to the kinship between their eponymous heroes, Magnes and Cephalos.¹⁰⁵

The neat ties between the mythological and historical past are most vivid in the case of the faked Cretan *psephisma*, which rooted in the mythological period but pointed

100 Prinz 1979, 112–121.

101 Athenaeus 12,533d (Gulick 1959–1963).

102 Kern 1900, no. 17; compare Kern 1894; Prinz 1979, 121–137.

103 Prinz 1979, 137; Gehrke 2000, 5.

104 Kern 1900, no. 20; Chaniotis 1999, 61–64.

105 Kern 1900, no. 35 l. 14 = Rigsby 1996, no. 85; compare Scheer 1993, 67–70.

out towards the subsequent historical decrees of the dossier. These letters and *psephismata* were not mere declarations of consent to partake in the Leukophryena but also literal accounts of mythological and historical deeds and benefactions the Magnesians had performed to the Greek community. They recalled the efforts of the Magnesians in the defence of Delphi against the Celts in 278 BC as well as the arbitration of Magnesians delegates in settling a military conflict on Crete.¹⁰⁶ The donation of money for the city wall of Megalopolis and the sending of settlers at the request of the Seleucid king Antiochos I to help founding the city Antiocheia-in-Persis were also mentioned.¹⁰⁷ H.-J. Gehrke characterized the dossier as a carefully arranged panoply of mythological and historical relations which achieved credibility and authenticity by their affirmation through foreign cities and monarchs as well as by their formal official character.¹⁰⁸ The hierarchy within the dossier, beginning with the founding myth, followed by the Cretan *psephisma*, and, finally, going over into the recent letters and decrees, formed a kind of timeline through the history of the Magnesians state that also depicted the relations between the Magnesians and the Panhellenic world.

The abovementioned inscriptions in the *agora's* south western entrance honouring Magnesians arbitrators in Cnidus, Antiocheia, Labena, Samos, and Teos took up this topic.¹⁰⁹ For these inscriptions we can certainly speak of a thorough assembly of monuments communicating a similar message.

Another element in the staging of the past on the *agora* surely was the *sema* of Themistocles (Fig. 4). The honouring of public figures is a common phenomenon in Hellenistic Greece. According to the coin images, the monument of Themistocles comprised a statue and an altar similar to the *sema* of the athlete Theogenes in Thasos.¹¹⁰ The Athenian Themistocles, victorious admiral of the naval battle at Salamis in 480 BC, was ostracized from his home city in 471 BC. He fled to Persia, where he received the rule over Magnesia-on-the-Meander from the Persian king. In Magnesia he died in 465 BC.¹¹¹ Because of his military achievement during the Persian Wars, Themistocles became posthumously a famed figure of Panhellenic history. Although the Athenians brought his mortal remains back to Athens, the citizens of Magnesia honoured Themistocles with a *heroon* on the *agora*. In the festive context of the Leukophryena the prominent location of the *sema* on the *agora* made it certainly an important structure presenting another significant connection between the Magnesians past and the Panhellenic history.

106 For the Magnesians aid to Delphi see Gehrke 2000, 6. – For the arbitration see Kern 1900, no. 46 l. 9–15 = Rigsby 1996, no. 96.

107 City wall: Kern 1900, no. 38 l. 28–29 = Rigsby 1996, no. 88. – Settlers: Kern 1900, no. 61 l. 19–21 = Rigsby 1996, no. 111.

108 Gehrke 2000, 1–9. Compare Hartmann 2010, 468–479.

109 See above section 3.1.

110 Chamoux 1979, 144–153.

111 Literary sources about Themistocles in Magnesia are provided by Diodoros Siculus 11.57.7 (Oldfather 1946–1963); Plutarch, *Themistocles* 29–30 (Perin 1914); Athenaeus 12.533d (Gulick 1959–1963); Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.2.19 (Straßburger 2005).

4.3 The polis's past and its civic present – the pompe

As we have noted above, the new Panhellenic festivals aimed at the re-creation of a civic awareness as well as Panhellenic bonds between the city-states. Therefore, the cultic, mythological, and historical past formed the core element in constituting a sense of community. In fact, the monumental and symbolic structure of Magnesian festive topography mainly focused on these topics. The last question to deal with is how the celebrating citizens hooked into this thematic map. In this regard the structure and route of the procession gain in importance.¹¹²

4.3.1 *The structure and formation of the pompe*

Unfortunately, only few sources give direct information on the personnel structure of the Leukophryena procession. However, some conclusions can be deduced from inscriptions about other Magnesian festivals that seem to have followed a commonly known structure of Greek *pompai* (Fig. 7). For the festival of Zeus Sosipolis and the festival of Eisiteria, celebrated on the occasion of the transfer of the cult image of Artemis into its new Hermogeneic temple, we know that the *pompe* was hierarchically formed up.¹¹³ The high ranking religious and state officials, the priestess of Artemis and the *stephanephoros*, the eponymous magistrate of Magnesia, stood at the head of the procession.¹¹⁴ Subaltern cult officials and servants who drove the sacrificial animal and carried the cult objects of the goddess followed them, possibly together with the *neokoros*, the warden of the temple of Artemis, and the *thytes*, the slaughterer of the sacrificial animals. Referring to the tethering points in front of the altar, at least 22 victims may be assumed, possibly bulls or cows.¹¹⁵ Perhaps the *xoana* of the twelve Olympian gods carried in the procession of Zeus were also shown at the Leukophryena.¹¹⁶ Just beyond would have marched choirs, musicians, and artists, performing sacred chants and ritual performances. A choir of young maidens is mentioned for the Eisiteria, musicians playing the *syrix*, *kithara*, and *aulos* for the Zeus festival.¹¹⁷ Also, *aulos* players had, together with acrobats, their own dining room in sanctuary of Artemis in the imperial period.¹¹⁸

After them marched representatives of the Magnesian citizenship arranged by age and social rank starting with the members of the *gerusia*, the city's council of elders. State officials and priests of the other Magnesian deities followed representing the adult citizens and the *polis's* political administration. Further age divisions – the *paidēs*, the

112 On this topic in general see the article of J. Kubatzki in this volume.

113 Kern 1900, no. 98, 101a, 101b. Compare Sumi 2004, 86.

114 Kern 1900, no. 98 l. 32–34, 100a l. 31–34.

115 Kern 1900, no. 98 l. 49–50.

116 Kern 1900, no. 98 l. 41–42.

117 Kern 1900, no. 98 l. 45. For these instruments in Greek processions see the article of J. Kubatzki in this volume.

118 Kern 1900, no. 237.

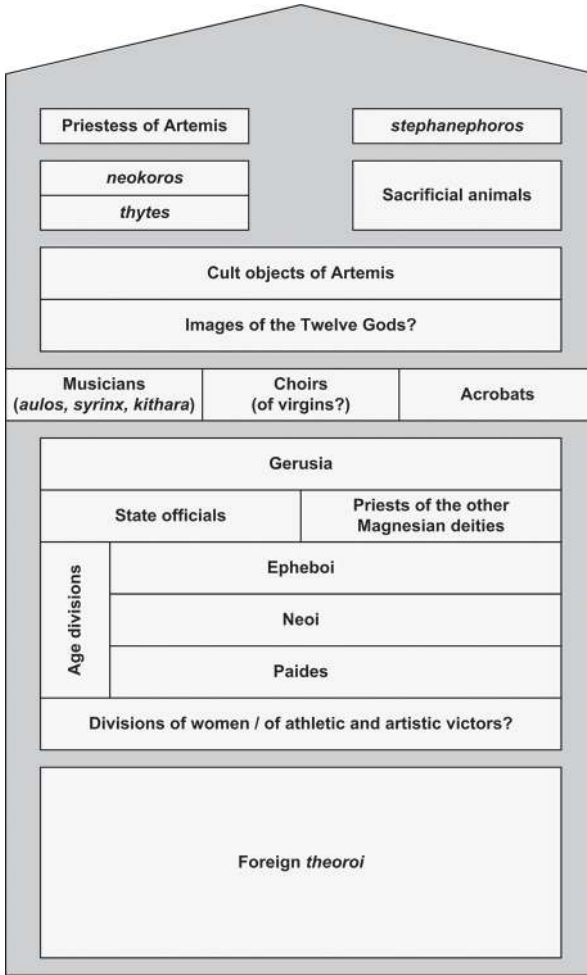


Fig. 7 Ideal procession of the Leukophryena.

neoi, and the *epheboi*¹¹⁹ – joined the *pompe*.¹²⁰ For the Eisiteria a group of women is also mentioned.¹²¹ This social and functional organization of the *pompe* staged an exemplary civic order, in which every age division, every gender, and every institution served its role for the functioning and well being of the city.¹²² State delegates from the various

119 The *neoi* (“new ones”) commonly include those male youths aged 18 to 30 who had not reached the full citizenship. The *epheboi* consist of those who had reached puberty. The *paides* (boys) had not yet reached puberty; compare Wiemer 2011, 487–539.

120 Kern 1900, no. 98 l. 35–40, 100a l. 39–42.

121 Kern 1900, no. 100a l. 26–27; see also Dunand 1978.

122 For the festival of Zeus Sosipolis, this topic has recently been discussed by Wiemer 2009a, 116–127. For the Eisiteria see Dunand 1978. Compare also Chankowski 2005, 187–188.

cities and communities taking part in the Leukophryena joined the Magnesians on parade. If we assume two to three *theoroi* for each delegation, as mentioned in the dossier inscriptions, we could think of ca. 130–200 foreign participants in the procession. By including the foreign delegates, the Magnesians again showed their share in a Panhellenic community.

4.3.2 *The processional route*

Finally, the various references to a civic identity embedded in the Magnesian topography had to be communicated in the festival. For this purpose, the route of the procession through the topography and its interaction with it were key. The main task of the *pompe* was, as mentioned above, to accompany the sacrificial animals on their way to the altar. In fact, the altar can be defined as the destination for the procession. For its starting point we might consider the *bouleuterion*, the ‘town hall’, situated just southeast of the *agora*.¹²³ Therefore, the route between these two spots – *bouleuterion* and altar – must have led through the residential areas of Magnesia before hitting the plaza of the *agora*. This hints towards a centripetal route towards the sanctuary of Artemis, which symbolized a movement towards the sacred core of the civic community. Such routes were common for Greek *pompai* and presented the hierarchy between the different urban areas.¹²⁴ This was similarly conducted in the Eisiteria festival in which the residents were requested to set up small altars for Artemis in front of their houses to express individual piety towards the city’s main goddess.¹²⁵

The point at which the procession at last reached the plazas would surely be the south western entrance singled out by its architectural, monumental, and functional features. The channelling of the processional route, flanked by the springhouse in the north and the southern *stoa*, could have evoked a changed sense of space: Against the more ‘open’ residential areas the narrow entrance stressed the beginning of a new section of the route.¹²⁶ Perhaps this transgression was marked with some kind of ritual cleansing at the springhouse, which caused the procession to stop.¹²⁷ When coming to halt, the participants would have had the opportunity to take in the set of inscriptions that depicted the Magnesians’ diplomatic efforts and achievements for the benefit of the Greek *koine*. Especially for the foreign pilgrims such a compilation of the Magnesian reputation could have made an impressive impact. Furthermore, these state documents

123 Kern 1900, no. 100a l. 41; Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, pl. 2.

124 Graf 1996, 57–59. – A route starting from the sanctuary of Artemis is proposed by Sumi 2004, 86–87,

which seems problematic in regard of the inscriptions.

125 Kern 1900, no. 100b l. 36–39.

126 Hesberg 1994, 115–116.

127 On ritual cleansing in Greek rituals see Parker 1983, 19–25.

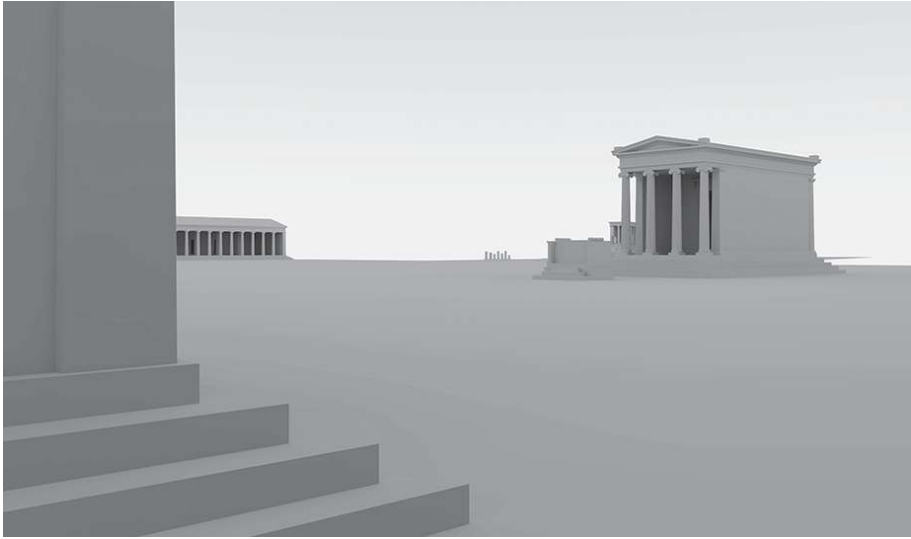


Fig. 8 3D reconstruction of the temple of Zeus situated in the line of sight towards the temenos.

created link to the forthcoming encounter with the city's main civic space, the *agora*, which was situated behind the narrow entrance corridor.

Seemingly, the passing of the entrance was part of a visual strategy. After the narrow passage, the view was widened. Because of the spatial relation between the entrance and the temple of Zeus the entrants' line of sight towards the Artemision was nearly completely blocked (Fig. 8). As a result perception would have focused on the façade of the shrine of Zeus or would have been directed into the vastness of the plaza guided by the rapports of white marble and shadowy *intercolumnnia* of its lavish colonnades. This directing of the view was surely intended to lead to a perception of the official market as an independent space that was set off from the urban surroundings by its architectural and symbolic features.¹²⁸ The increasing number of enclosed plazas in the Hellenistic period is often stressed by scholars under the aspect of creating a hierarchy between certain urban spaces by isolating them each other. For the *agorai* Ruth Bielfeldt speaks of this enclosure as an emphasizing of civic order that was expressed by the rhythm and the symmetry of the colonnades and surely comprised also an aesthetic perception.¹²⁹ For the Magnesian *agora* this impression was even enlarged by its imposing dimensions.

128 This visual staging massively stressed the intrinsic value of the two plazas and aimed at a hierarchy between the 'profane' space of the *agora* and the 'sa-

cred' one of the *temenos*; see Doxiadis 1937, 47–53; Schmaltz 1995, 134–140.

129 Hesberg 1994, 155–156; Bielfeldt 2010, 133–134.

After passing the entrance we can assume a movement along the southern *stoa* following the main road that crossed the plaza in this direction.¹³⁰ On this road the procession would have had the opportunity to unfold before the eyes of the spectators that were surely assembled in the porticoes.¹³¹ As G. Kuhn has shown, in the Hellenistic period porticoes were often erected along processional routes to gather the festival's visitors and direct their view on the passing parade.¹³² In addition, the *stoai* provided shelter against sun and rain. A hint for a route along the *stoai* is also given by the small *exedra* in front of the western portico. In general, *exedrai* were seating benches for members from the upper social classes of a *polis*. Like the *stoai*, *exedrai* were usually directed towards routings and other spots of interests.¹³³ Together with the facing *stoa* a pathway between these architectures seems obvious.

The route along the southern *stoa* would also have led the procession along two places, the *prytaneion* and the small sanctuary in the centre of the portico, that might have been connected to some kind of ritual, which can, however, not be singled out. At the end of the southern portico the *pompe* might have turned northwards to the northern *stoa*.

On this way the procession might have passed the *sema* of Themistocles that played an important role in creating links between the Magnesian and Panhellenic past. But with its location unknown, we cannot say at what point and how that worked. The coins show an altar and a sacrificed bull related to the monument indicating a bloody offering (Fig. 4).

After reaching the northern *stoa* the *pompe* might have followed it over to the western portico. There, the *exedra* formed an index towards the shrine of Athena opposite to the bench that was otherwise hidden in the dark portico. The small sanctuary occupied a conspicuous place in the festive topography as it marked the northern starting point of the great dossier (Fig. 2). Although it remains unknown how Athena was related to Artemis in cult, the procession surely made station at the shrine for a small reference towards the goddess. The cult table hints towards food or incense offerings.¹³⁴ Perhaps the offering might have been related to the dossier, which, for sure, was the one of the most prominent monuments on the *agora* within the Leukophryena festival.

The dossier, as we have seen, was not only a collection of deeds that grant the Leukophryena's recognition within the Greek *koine* – a significant fact in itself – but also an extensive report on the mythological and historical past of the *polis* Magnesia. For this

130 A different, clockwise route around the agora is discussed by K. Hammerschmied (Hammerschmied 2016, 238–241; Hammerschmied 2017, 94–96), which is possible but perhaps less convincing.

131 On the role of visitors at the festivities see Köhler 1996, 150–153; Wiemer 2009a, 125–126.

132 Kuhn 1985, 187–308; see also Coulton 1979, 8–18; Hesberg 1994, 120–121.

133 Hesberg 1994, 122; Thüngen 1994, 36–39. As an example of the function of *exedrai*, see the situation at the West Gate Road in Priene: Bielfeldt 2012, 102–107.

134 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 115.

reason already the topographical position of the dossier was meaningful. In the southern part of the western portico it occupied “an important conceptual and rhetorical space” directly opposite the *temenos* of Artemis where it worked “as a counterpart and aetiological guide to the monumental altar and Ionic temple.”¹³⁵ Of course, due to vast amount of uncountable, small lines of text, it cannot be assumed that these inscriptions were read during the Leukophryena festival. However, the dossier, exhibited next to the *agoras*’s main entrance, at one of the plaza’s most frequented spots, was surely meant to be noticed by the visitors. Certainly, it was perceived as a physical monument that gained its value and expressiveness from its bare physical existence, its marble material, and its public display. Moreover, their content might have been, at least superficially, recognizable, as comparable deeds existed in every Greek *polis*.¹³⁶ When the procession passed along the western *stoa*, as we may assume, the extent and monumentality of the dossier would become visible to the *pompe*’s participants. A key spot can be identified at the southern wall of the *stoa* where the four windows shed light on the documents (Fig. 3). We might also consider that on the leg from the shrine of Athena to the southern end of the dossier some kind of vocal recitation – perhaps a hymn sung by the choir¹³⁷ – referred to the inscriptions or, at least, their most important passages such as the foundation of the festival and of the *polis*.

After passing the dossier the *pompe* certainly turned towards the temple of Zeus. The procession might have approached the building frontally where the altar of Zeus was situated, but also to come into view of the god present in his image. According to his name, Zeus Sosipolis was the “Saviour of the city” with the *agora* as his domain.¹³⁸ Because of his patronage over the city and especially the market, which the *pompe* had just traversed, a ritual reference to Zeus seems more than likely. Additionally, several sacred relations between Zeus and Artemis can be traced that justified that assumption. For the cult festival of Zeus, he and Artemis were – together with Apollo – cult associates with goddess receiving a sacrifice at her own altar in the *temenos*.¹³⁹ Furthermore, coin images showing the cult image of Zeus holding the *xoanon* of Artemis seem to confirm this companionship.¹⁴⁰ Lastly, a sacrifice to Zeus would fit the general design of the processional route: The temple of Zeus as the final station of the *pompe* on the *agora* would have reflected the procession’s overall centripetal route in a smaller scale by marching around the market place heading towards its sacred centre.

Accordingly, the next movement of the procession should have been directed towards the *temenos*. The route from the temple of Zeus towards the sanctuary must, at

135 Quoted after Platt 2011, 153.

136 Witschel 2014, 116–124. Although C. Witschel refers to situations in cities of the western Roman empire, his thoughts can surely be applied to the Greek east.

137 On hymns, music, and other vocal rituals in the processions see J. Kubatzkis article in this volume.

138 Kreutz 2007, 242–246.

139 Kern 1900, no. 98 l. 50–53.

140 Schultz 1975, cat. 145 pl. 11; cat. 170 pl. 14.

last, have confronted the participants of the *pompe* with the divergent orientation of the *temenos* against its surroundings. This surely exposed the abovementioned fact of the sanctuary's greater antiquity and underlined the hierarchy between the 'profane' *agora* and the 'sacred' *temenos*.

For the Hellenistic period the point of transgression into the sanctuary is unclear. However, we can conclude that the *pompe* entered the *temenos* along its central axis as it is indicated by the position of first century AD gateway and a second century AD assembly place. The passing of the gateway opened, according to B. Schmalz, a *point de vue* perspective on the sacred architectures directed by "symmetries, building lines, and staggered arrangement" (Fig. 6).¹⁴¹ Such visual strategies appeared already in the Hellenistic architecture and can be spotted in various sanctuaries and can also be proposed for Magnesia.¹⁴²

In this *point de vue* perspective the main cult architectures – the sacred spring, the altar, and the new Artemision – would have merged in one perspective layer. However, this effect would not have come up at once, but was staged in the course of the proceeding rituals. In fact, one must imagine the sacrificial fire on the altar already burning and the ascending smoke hazing the view of the incoming *pompe* on the temple. Accordingly, the sacred spring and the altar were the predominant visual features at this point. Especially the altar with its flight of stairs leading up to the platform would have drawn the attention and directed the movement towards it.¹⁴³ Even more, the large frieze depicting the Magnesia *phylengötter* seemed to have welcomed the arriving procession and marked the sacred atmosphere of the place.

Against this background, the sacred spring was the first station of the procession in the sanctuary. At this point the *semata* of spring and rock should have explained the mythological roots of the sanctuary and the cult to the participants of the *pompe* to embrace and understand the high authority of Artemis and the significance of her festival.

How the procession interacted with this monument remains speculative, although the spring situation might indicate an act of purification for the upcoming sacrifice for Artemis. The spring's position directly in the way towards the altar made it necessary for the procession to move around it. By doing so, the participants would have gained a good view on the structure.

The following route should have been directed to the temple of Artemis, which was the pride of the Magnesian citizens. Not only did its pseudodipteral form express

141 Schmalz 1995, 134, 135–150. – On the assembly place see Bingöl 1998, 41–43 figs. 54–55; Ehrhardt 2009, 104. – On the spatial design of the Magnesian *temenos* see Doxiadis 1937, 48–51, Hesberg 1994, 143–144, and Ehrhardt 2009, 103–104. – In general

on urban spatial planning Hellenistic times see section 2.

142 Lauter 1986, 99–113, 180–201; Gruben 2001, 440–485.

143 Becker 2003, 298–302; Hollinshead 2012, 28–32, 55–56.

a new kind of architectural aesthetic, the temple was also the symbolic centerpiece of the *temenos* staging the cult traditions of Artemis Leukophryene framed within the pediment doors and the amazonomachy frieze.¹⁴⁴ To embrace its aesthetic and symbolic content a circumambulation of the temple seems to have been the best way. Especially the frieze would have been recognizable in some detail. P. Hommel showed that the frieze of the Artemision was squared for a view from an angle diagonally below, so a passing of the *pompe* along the temple's edges is likely.¹⁴⁵ On this route also the small *naiskos* on the backside of the Artemision became apparent.

After this possible rounding of the temple, the sacrifice would have been conducted in front of the altar where the animals were staked. For this ritual the members of the *pompe* together with the other audience might probably have gathered in a semicircle around the altar's front. After the sacrifice and the burning of the goddess's portion, directed by the priestess of Artemis, we can expect that the smoke from the sacrificial flame on the altar slowly dispersed and revealed the temple beyond. As indicated above, in this moment altar and temple would have merged into a coherent scenery, forming a narrative of hierarchically ordered themes constitutive of the cult of Artemis (Fig. 5). At the bottom, the gods of the altar frieze represented the religious basis of the Magnesians and their political constitution of *phylai*. Above, in the temple's entablature, the *amazonomachia* connected local mythology with regional and Panhellenic traditions. At the topmost point, the pediment doors framed an apparition of the goddess herself. If we accept C. Humann's suggestion, an image of the Artemis was presented to her devotees indicating that the goddess had accepted their offerings (Fig. 5). Furthermore, this apparition might have re-staged the epiphany from which her festival originated. By all means, the elevated spot of this staging made perfectly clear the predominant role of Artemis as the divine patron of all Magnesia.

5 Conclusion

As we have seen, the heortological phenomenon of the increasing numbers of Panhellenic festivals in the Hellenistic period was related to the political and social shifts that affected the Greek *poleis* and fostered a strengthened civic and Panhellenic self-awareness. In this context, the new festivals provided a platform for a city-state to communicate its identity to a large Panhellenic audience. For this purpose, the performance of a lavish and elaborate procession was a vehicle to present and mediate civic unity, images of the *polis*'s past, and affiliation with the Greek *koine*. Exemplified by the Panhellenic festival of

144 Haselberger and Holzman 2015, 371–391, especially 384–385. 145 Hommel 1957, 54.

Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia-on-the-Meander, it has been shown that the spatial staging of the procession was crucial in communicating these identity-forming contents. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Magnesian festival, extensive building measures were conducted in order to provide a festive topography. The arrangement of architecture and monuments not only formed an infrastructural and visual guideline along which the procession moved through this topography towards the altar of Artemis; moreover, this route focused on various structures, images, and inscriptions that created references to the civic and Panhellenic identity of the Magnesians. Here, the focus was set on the mythological and historical horizon of the Magnesians and their relation to the Panhellenic past by recalling the Magnesians' share in the myths of the Trojan War, the journey of the Argonauts, and the myths of the Amazons in Asia Minor. These links were subsequently drawn into the recent present in order to stress the city's current pertinence to the all-Greek audience. A special emphasis was laid on the city's chief goddess, her venerability and her time-honoured cult, which formed the religious focal point in the civic life world of Magnesia. Indeed, the trajectory of the procession ended at the altar of Artemis so that we can speak of a spatial hierarchy towards the sacred. As far as we can reconstruct the personnel line-up, we witness the Magnesians' intention, on the one hand, to present themselves in the *pompe* as a well-ordered and harmonious civic body and, on the other hand, to integrate participants from all the *poleis* invited to their festival in order to underline the Magnesians' Panhellenic affiliation.

Bibliography

Batino 2001

Sabrina Batino. "Il Leokorion. Appunti per la storia di un angolo dell'agora". *Annuario dell Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 79 (2001), 55–81.

Beck and Wiemer 2009

Hans Beck and Hans-Ulrich Wiemer. "Feiern und Erinnern – eine Einleitung". In *Feiern und Erinnern. Geschichtsbilder im Spiegel antiker Feste*. Ed. by H. Beck and H.-U. Wiemer. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009, 9–54.

Becker 2003

Thomas Becker. *Griechische Stufenanlagen. Untersuchungen zur Architektur, Entwicklungsgeschichte, Funktion und Repräsentation*. Münster: Scriptorium, 2003.

Bielfeldt 2010

Ruth Bielfeldt. "Wo nur sind die Bürger von Pergamon? Eine Phänomenologie bürgerlicher Unscheinbarkeit im städtischen Raum der Königsresidenz". *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 60 (2010), 117–201.

Bielfeldt 2012

Ruth Bielfeldt. "Polis Made Manifest: The Physiognomy of the Public in the Hellenistic City with a Case Study on the Agora in Priene". In *Politische Kommunikation und öffentliche Meinung in der antiken Welt*. Ed. by C. Kuhn. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012, 78–122.

Bingöl 1998

Orhan Bingöl. *Magnesia am Mäander*. Ankara: Dönmez Offset, 1998.

Bingöl 1999

Orhan Bingöl. "Epiphanie an den Artemistempeln von Ephesos und Magnesia am Mäander". In *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos*. Ed. by H. Friesinger and F. Kritzinger. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, 233–240.

Bingöl 2007

Orhan Bingöl. *Magnesia am Mäander*. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2007.

Boesch 1908

Paul Boesch. *ΘΕΩΡΟΙ. Untersuchung zur Epangelie griechischer Feste*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1908.

Bömer 1952

Franz Bömer. "Pompa". In *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21. Ed. by K. Ziegler. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1952.

Bremmer 2017

Jan N. Bremmer. "Pilgrimage Progress". In *Excavating Pilgrimage. Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*. Ed. by W. Kristensen M. T. and Friese. London and New York: Routledge, 2017, 275–284.

Bruneau and Ducat 2005

Philippe Bruneau and Jean Ducat. *Guide de Délos*. Paris: De Boccard, 2005.

Bruni 2004

Stefano Bruni. "Greek Processions". In *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum I. Processions*. Ed. by V. Lambrinoudakis and J. C. Balty. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2004, 1–20.

Bumke 2011

Helga Bumke. "Review of U. Muss, Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums". *Klio* 93 (2011), 254–260.

Buraselis 2003

Kostas Buraselis. "Zur Asylie als aussenpolitischem Instrument in der hellenistischen Welt". In *Das antike Asyl. Kulturelle Grundlagen, rechtliche Ausgestaltung und politische Funktion*. Ed. by M. Dreher. Köln: Böhlau, 2003, 143–156.

Burkert 1985

Walter Burkert. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Butterworth 1919

George W. Butterworth, ed. *Clement of Alexandria*. London: Heinemann, 1919.

- Cabanes 1988**
Pierre Cabanes. "Les concours de Naia de Dodone". *Nikephoros* 1 (1988), 49–84.
- Çetin 1993**
Cengiz Çetin. *Magnesia ad Maeandrum Artemis Tapınağı altarı altyapısı ve Vevresiyle etkisi*. Dissertation. University of Ankara, 1993.
- Chamoux 1979**
Françoise Chamoux. "Le monument "de Théogènes": Autel ou statue?" In *Thasiaca*. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Beiheft 5. De Boccard, 1979, 144–153.
- Chaniotis 1988**
Angelos Chaniotis. *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1988.
- Chaniotis 1995**
Angelos Chaniotis. "Sich selbst feiern? Städtische Feste des Hellenismus im Spannungsfeld von Religion und Politik?" In *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*. Ed. by M. Wörle and P. Zanker. München: C. H. Beck, 1995, 147–173.
- Chaniotis 1999**
Angelos Chaniotis. "Empfängerformular und Urkundenfälschung: Bemerkungen zum Urkundendossier von Magnesia am Mäander". In *Urkunden und Urkundenformulare im klassischen Altertum und in den orientalischen Kulturen*. Ed. by R. G. Khoury. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1999, 51–69.
- Chankowski 2005**
Andrzej S. Chankowski. "Processions et ceremonies d'accueil: une image de la cite de la basse époque hellénistique?" In *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique*. Ed. by P. Fröhlich and C. Müller. Genève: Librairie Droz S. A., 2005, 185–206.
- Chankowski 2013**
Andrzej S. Chankowski. "Staging and Feeling the Presence of God: Emotion and Theatricality in Religious Celebrations in the Roman East". In *Pantheé. Religious Transformation in the Graeco-Roman Empire*. Ed. by L. Bricault and C. Bonnet. Leiden: Brill, 2013, 169–190.
- Coulton 1979**
John J. Coulton. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Croon 1956**
J. H. Croon. "Artemis Thermia and Apollon Thermios (With an Excursus on the Oetean Heracles-Cult)". *Mnemosyne* 9 (1956), 193–220.
- Dignas 2002**
Beate Dignas. *Economy of the Sacred in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Asia Minor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Diler 2000**
Adnan Diler. "Sacred Stone Cult in Caria". In *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien und des ägäischen Bereiches. Festschrift für Bakı Ögün zum 75. Geburtstag*. Ed. by C. Işık. Asia Minor Studien 39. Bonn: Habelt, 2000, 51–77.
- Dillon 1997**
Matthew Dillon. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Doxiadis 1937**
Konstantinos A. Doxiadis. *Raumordnung im griechischen Städtebau*. Heidelberg: K. Vowinckel, 1937.
- Duganić 1983/1984**
Slobodan Duganić. "The ΚΤΙΣΤΙΣ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΣ, Philip V and the Panhellenic Leukophryena". *Epigraphica* 45/46 (1983/1984), 11–48.
- Dugas 1924**
Charles Dugas. *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IVe siècle*. Paris: Geuthner, 1924.
- Dunand 1978**
Françoise Dunand. "Sens et fonction de la fête dans la Grèce hellénistique. Les cérémonies en l'honneur d'Artemis Leukophryéné". *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 4 (1978), 201–215.
- Ehrhardt 2009**
Wolfgang Ehrhardt. "Hellenistische Heiligtümer und Riten: Die westlichen Sakralbezirke in Knidos als Fallbeispiele". In *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*. Ed. by A. Matthaei and M. Zimmermann. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009, 93–115.

Elsner and Rutherford 2005

Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford. "Introduction". In *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods*. Ed. by J. Elsner and I. Rutherford. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 1–38.

Flashar 1999

Martin Flashar. "Panhellenische Feste und Asyl. Parameter lokaler Identitätstiftung in Klaros und Kolophon. Klaros-Studien III". *Klio* 81 (1999), 412–436.

Fleischer 1973

Robert Fleischer. *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1973.

Förtsch 1995

Reinhard Förtsch. "Zeugen der Vergangenheit". In *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*. Ed. by M. Wörle and P. Zanker. München: C. H. Beck, 1995, 173–188.

Friese and Kristensen 2017

Wiebke Friese and Troels M. Kristensen. "Introduction: Archaeology of Pilgrimage". In *Excavating Pilgrimage. Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*. Ed. by M. T. Kristensen and W. Friese. London and New York: Routledge, 2017, 1–10.

Gaifman 2012

Milette Gaifman. *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Gauthier 1972

Philippe Gauthier. *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cites grecques*. Nancy: Université de Nancy II Annales de l'Est, 1972.

Gehrke 2000

Hans-Joachim Gehrke. "Mythos, Geschichte und kollektive Identität. Antike Exempla und ihr Nachleben". In *Mythen, Symbole, Rituale. Die Geschichtsmächtigkeit der Zeichen in Südosteuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by D. Dahlmann and W. Potthoff. Peter Lang, 2000, 1–24.

Gehrke 2003

Hans-Joachim Gehrke. "Bürgerliches Selbstverständnis und Polisidentität im Hellenismus". In *Sinn (in) der Antike. Orientierungssysteme, Leitbilder und Wertekonzepte im Altertum*. Ed. by K.-J. Hölkeskamp, J. Rüsen, E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, and H. T. Grütter. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003, 225–254.

Gehrke 2007

Hans-Joachim Gehrke. "Der Hellenismus als Kulturepoche". In *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus. Von Alexander dem Großen bis Kleopatra*. Ed. by G. Weber. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2007, 355–379.

Gerkan 1929

Armin von Gerkan. *Der Altar des Artemis-Tempels in Magnesia am Mäander*. Berlin: H. Schoetz & Co, 1929.

Giovannini 1993

Adalberto Giovannini. "Greek Cities and Greek Commonwealth". In *Images and Ideologies. Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*. Ed. by A. W. Bulloch, E. S. Gruen, A. A. Long, and A. Stewart. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 265–287.

Graf 1996

Fritz Graf. "Pompei in Greece. Some Considerations about Space and Ritual in the Greek Polis". In *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis*. Ed. by R. Hägg. Jonsered: P. Åström, 1996, 55–65.

Gruben 2001

Gottfried Gruben. *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer*. München: C. H. Beck, 2001.

Gruen 1993

Erich S. Gruen. "The Polis in the Hellenistic World". In *Nomodeiktēs. Greek Studies in Honor of Martin Oswald*. Ed. by R. M. Rosen and J. Farrell. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993, 339–354.

Gulick 1959–1963

Charles B. Gulick. *Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959–1963.

Habicht 1995

Christian Habicht. "Ist ein ‚Honoratiorenregime‘ das Kennzeichen der Stadt im späteren Hellenismus?" In *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*. Ed. by M. Wörrle and P. Zanker. München: C. H. Beck, 1995, 87–92.

Hallof and Rigsby 2010

Klaus Hallof and Kent Rigsby. *Inscriptiones Graecae XII 4. Pars I. Inscriptiones Cuius insulae: Decreta, epistulae, edicta, tituli sacri*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.

Hammerschmied 2016

Kristoph Hammerschmied. "Städtische Wahrnehmungsbereich im Fest. Die Leukophryena in Magnesia am Mäander." In *Stadterfahrungen als Sinneserfahrungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Ed. by A. Haug and P.-A. Kreuz. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016, 223–246.

Hammerschmied 2017

Kristoph Hammerschmied. "Pilgrimage and Procession in the Panhellenic Festivals: Some Observations on the Hellenistic Leukophryena in Magnesia-on-the-Meander." In *Excavating Pilgrimage. Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World*. Ed. by T. M. Kristensen and W. Friese. London and New York: Routledge, 2017, 87–105.

Harland 2006

Philipp Harland. "The Declining Polis? Religious Rivalries in Ancient Civic Context." In *Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity*. Ed. by L. Vaage. Waterloo: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 2006, 21–49.

Hartmann 2010

Andreas Hartmann. *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie. Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften*. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2010.

Haselberger and Holzman 2015

Lothar Haselberger and Samuel Holzman. "Visualizing Asperitas: Vitruvius (3.3.9) and the 'Asperity' of Hermogenes' Pseudodipteral Temple." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015), 371–391.

Heinle 2009

Melanie Heinle. "Stadtbilder im Hellenismus – Wahrnehmung urbaner Strukturen in hellenistischer Zeit?" In *Stadtbilder im Hellenismus*. Ed. by A. Matthaei and M. Zimmermann. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009, 41–69.

Held 2005

Winfried Held. "Kult auf dem Dach. Eine Deutung der Tempel mit Treppenhäusern und Giebeltüren als Zeugnis seleukidischer Sakralarchitektur." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 55 (2005), 119–159.

Hesberg 1981

Henner von Hesberg. "Bemerkungen zu Architekturepigrammen des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 96 (1981), 55–119.

Hesberg 1994

Henner von Hesberg. *Formen privater Repräsentation in der Baukunst des 2. und 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Köln: Böhlau, 1994.

Hollinshead 2012

Mary B. Hollinshead. "Monumental Steps and the Shaping of Ceremony." In *Architecture of the Sacred. Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*. Ed. by B. D. Wescoat and R. G. Ousterhout. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Hölscher 2002

Tonio Hölscher. "Rituelle Räume und politische Denkmäler im Heiligtum von Olympia." In *Olympia 1875–2000. 125 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabungen. Internationales Symposium*. Ed. by H. Kyrieleis. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002, 331–345.

Hommel 1957

Peter Hommel. "Giebel und Himmel." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 7 (1957), 11–55.

Höpfner 1989

Wolfram Höpfner. "Zu den großen Altären von Magnesia und Pergamon." *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1989), 601–634.

Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904

Carl Humann, Julius Kohte, and Carl Watzinger. *Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: Reimer, 1904.

Interdonato 2013

Elisabetta Interdonato. *L'Asklepieion di Kos. Archeologia del culto*. Rome: Bretschneider, 2013.

Jones 1959–1971

William H. S. Jones. *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959–1971.

Kah and Scholz 2004

Daniel Kah and Peter Scholz, eds. *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004.

Kekulé von Stradonitz and Kern 1894

Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz and Otto Kern. "Ausgrabungen in Magnesia am Mäander". *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1894), 76–84.

Kern 1894

Otto Kern. *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1894.

Kern 1900

Otto Kern. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900.

Kern 1901

Otto Kern. "Magnetische Studien". *Hermes* 36 (1901), 491–515.

Klügmann 1870

Adolf Klügmann. "Ueber die Amazonen in den Sagen der kleinasiatischen Staedte". *Philologus* 30 (1870), 524–556.

Köhler 1996

Jens Köhler. *Pompei. Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Festkultur*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1996.

Kowalzig 2005

Barbara Kowalzig. "Mapping out 'Communitas' Performances of 'Theoria' in their Sacred and Political Context". In *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods*. Ed. by J. Elsner and I. Rutherford. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 41–72.

Kreeb 1990

Martin Kreeb. "Hermogenes – Quellen- und Datierungsprobleme". In *Hermogenes und die hochhellenistische Architektur*. Ed. by W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1990, 103–114.

Kreutz 2007

Natascha Kreutz. *Zeus und die griechischen Poleis. Topographische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen von archaischer bis in hellenistische Zeit*. Rahden/Westf.: Marie Leidorf, 2007.

Kuhn 1985

Gerhard Kuhn. "Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Säulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit". *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 100 (1985), 169–317.

Langenohl 2005

Andreas Langenohl. "Mental Maps, Raum und Erinnerung. Zur kultursoziologischen Erschließung eines transdisziplinären Konzepts". In *Mental Maps, Raum, Erinnerung. Kulturwissenschaftliche Zugänge zum Verhältnis von Raum und Erinnerung*. Ed. by S. Damir-Geilsdorf. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005, 51–72.

Laumonier 1958

Alfred Laumonier. *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*. Paris: De Boccard, 1958.

Lauter 1986

Hans Lauter. *Architektur des Hellenismus*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986.

Lefébvre 2000

Henri Lefébvre. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos, 2000.

Leschhorn 1984

Wolfgang Leschhorn. „Gründer der Stadt“. *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Antike*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1984.

Lesky 1971

Albin Lesky. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. Bern: Francke, 1971.

Linfert 1976

Andreas Linfert. *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit. Studien an weiblichen Gewandfiguren*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976.

Linfert 1995

Andreas Linfert. "Prunkaltäre". In *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*. Ed. by M. Wörrle and P. Zanker. München: C. H. Beck, 1995, 131–146.

- Löw 2001**
Martina Löw. *Raumsoziologie*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2001.
- Ma 2013**
John Ma. *Statues and Cities. Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Malkin 1987**
Irad Malkin. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. Leiden: Brill, 1987.
- Morgan 1914**
Morris H. Morgan, ed. *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Mylonopoulos 2011**
Jannis Mylonopoulos. "Das griechische Heiligtum als räumlicher Kontext antiker Feste und Agone". In *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum VII. Festivals and Games*. Ed. by Antoine Hermay and Bertrand Jaeger. Los Angeles: Getty Publication, 2011, 43–78.
- Mylonopulos 2008**
Jannis Mylonopoulos. "The Dynamics of Ritual Space in the Hellenistic and Roman East". *Kernos* 21 (2008), 9–39.
- Nijf 2013**
Onno van Nijf. "Ceremonies, Athletics and the City. Some Remarks on the Social Imaginary of the Greek City of the Hellenistic Period". In *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period. Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Ed. by E. Stavri-anopoulou. Leiden: Brill, 2013, 311–338.
- Oldfather 1946–1963**
Charles H. Oldfather. *Diodorus of Sicily*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946–1963.
- Özgan 1982**
Ramazan Özgan. "Zur Datierung des Artemisaltars in Magnesia am Mäander". *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 32 (1982), 196–209.
- Page 1975**
Denys L. Page. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Parker 1983**
Robert Parker. *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Parker 2004**
Robert Parker. "New 'Panhellenic' Festivals in Hellenistic Greece". In *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. Ed. by R. Schliesier and U. Zellmann. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004, 9–22.
- Perrin 1914**
Bernadotte Perrin, ed. *Plutarch: Plutarch's Lives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Pfister 1974**
Friedrich Pfister. *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974.
- Platt 2011**
Verity J. Platt. *Facing the Gods. Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature, and Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Prinz 1979**
Friedrich Prinz. *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*. München: C. H. Beck, 1979.
- Rhousopoulos 1896**
Athanasios Rhousopoulos. "Das Monument des Themistokles in Magnesia". *Attenische Mitteilungen* 21 (1896), 18–26.
- Rigsby 1996**
Kent Rigsby. *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Robert 1989**
Louis Robert. "Discours d'ouverture du VIIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine à Athènes, 1982". In *Opera Minora Selecta* 6. Ed. by L. Robert. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1989, 709–719.
- Rolfe 1984**
John C. Rolfe. *Cornelius Nepos*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Rumscheid 1994**
Frank Rumscheid. *Untersuchungen zur kleinasiatischen Bauornamentik des Hellenismus*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994.

Rutherford 2007

Ian Rutherford. "Network Theory and Theoric Networks". *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22 (2007), 23–37.

Rutherford 2013

Ian Rutherford. *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece. A Study of Theoria and Theoroi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sandys 1937

John Sandys, ed. *Pindar: The Odes of Pindar*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937.

Scheer 1993

Tanja Scheer. *Mythische Vorväter. Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte*. München: Editio Maris, 1993.

Schefold 1949

Karl Schefold. "Review: Hedwig Kenner, Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia". *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 2 (1949), 82–84.

Schepens 2001

Guido Schepens. "Ancient Greek City Histories. Self-definition Through History Writing". In *The Greek City from Antiquity to the Present: Historical Reality, Ideological Construction, Literary Representation*. Ed. by K. Demoen. Leiden: Peeters, 2001, 3–25.

Schmaltz 1995

Bernhard Schmaltz. "„Aspectus“ und „Effectus“ – Hermogenes und Vitruv". *Römische Mitteilungen* 102 (1995), 133–140.

Schmitt Pantel 1997

Pauline Schmitt Pantel. "Public Feasts in the Hellenistic Greek City: Forms and Meanings". In *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks*. Ed. by P. Bilde. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1997, 29–47.

Schultz 1975

Sabine Schultz. *Die Münzprägung von Magnesia am Mäander in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975.

Slater 2006

William J. Slater. "Crowns at Magnesia". *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 46 (2006), 275–299.

Straßburger 2005

Gisela Straßburger, ed. *Xenophon: Hellenika*. Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 2005.

Stucchi 1965

Sandro Stucchi. *L'Agorà di Cirene*. Rom: Bretschneider, 1965.

Sumi 2004

Geoffrey S. Sumi. "Civic Self-representation in the Hellenistic World. The Festival of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia-on-the-Maeander". In *Games and Festivals in Classical Antiquity*. Ed. by S. Bell and G. Davies. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004, 79–92.

Thiersch 1936

Hermann Thiersch. *Ependytes und Ephod. Gottesbild und Priesterkleid im alten Vorderasien*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936.

Thonemann 2007

Peter Thonemann. "Magnesia and the Greeks of Asia". *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007), 151–160.

Thüngen 1994

Susanne von Thüngen. *Die frei stehende griechische Exedra*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994.

Wiemer 2009a

Hans-Ulrich Wiemer. "Bild der Polis oder Bild des Königs? Zur Repräsentationsfunktion städtischer Feste im Hellenismus". In *Stadtbilder im Hellenismus*. Ed. by A. Matthaei and M. Zimmermann. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009, 116–134.

Wiemer 2009b

Hans-Ulrich Wiemer. "Neue Feste – neue Geschichtsbilder? Zur Erinnerungsfunktion städtischer Feste im Hellenismus". In *Feiern und erinnern. Geschichtsbilder im Spiegel antiker Feste*. Ed. by H. Beck and H.-U. Wiemer. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009, 83–108.

Wiemer 2011

Hans-Ulrich Wiemer. "Von der Bürgerschule zum aristokratischen Klub? Die athenische Ephebie in der römischen Kaiserzeit". *Chiron* 41 (2011), 487–537.

Witschel 2014

Christian Witschel. "Epigraphische Monumente und städtische Öffentlichkeit im Westen des Imperium Romanum". In *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text. XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae* 27.–31. Augusti MMXII. Ed. by W. Eck and P. Funke. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014, 105–134.

Wörrle 1995

Michael Wörrle. "Vom tugendsamen Jüngling zum ‚gestreßten‘ Euergeten. Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete". In *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*. Ed. by M. Wörrle and P. Zanker. München: C. H. Beck, 1995, 241–250.

Wörrle and Zanker 1995

Michael Wörrle and Paul Zanker. *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*. München: C. H. Beck, 1995.

Yaylali 1976

Abdullah Yaylali. *Der Fries des Artemisions von Magnesia am Mäander*. Istanbuler Mitteilungen Beiheft 15. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1976.

Zimmermann 2009

Martin Zimmermann. "Stadtraum, Architektur und öffentliches Leben in der hellenistischen Stadt". In *Stadtbilder im Hellenismus*. Ed. by A. Matthaei and M. Zimmermann. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2009, 23–40.

Illustration credits

1–3 Kristoph Hammerschmied. 4 Rhousopoulos 1896, 22. 5 Photograph by Kristoph Hammerschmied. 6–8 Kristoph Hammerschmied.

KRISTOPH HAMMERSCHMIED (NÉE JÜRGENS)

studied Classical Archaeology, Prehistoric Archaeology and Ancient History in Kiel, Athens, and Berlin. At the Freie Universität Berlin he graduated in 2010. There, he also accomplished his dissertational project on the festival of Artemis Leukophryene on Magnesia-on-the-Meander as part of the Berlin Graduate School of Ancient Studies in 2016. His main interests are ancient sanctuaries and the spatial relations between the built environment and ritual movements and performances.

Kristoph Hammerschmied, M. A.
Herderstraße 33
12163 Berlin, Germany
E-Mail: kristoph.hammerschmied@gmail.com