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 Magnesian 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
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1 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. From the beginning of the third century BC we observe that various local cults were upgraded into Panhellenic festivals in many city-states (πολεῖς [Pl.], πόλις [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. In this context we hear of extensive festive embassies (θεωρίαι [Pl.], θεωρία [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. 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 (θεωροὶ [Pl.], θεωρός [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 (πομπαι [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

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 Hall of and Rigsby 2010, nos. 228–233. – In general on theoría see Boesch 1928, Dillon 1997, 99–123; Elsner and Rutherford 2013, 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

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4 Parker 2004, 11–12; Robert 1989, 710. For the Koan Asklepieia we observe an intermingling of Pythian and Isthmian style games; see Hallof 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 a 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 gymnasion 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.
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. 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.

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. 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: 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

15 Bömer 1952, 1878–1913; Burkert 1985, 99–121. For further literature see Bruni 2004. See also the article of J. Kubatzki in this volume.
civic body, as aesthetically and harmoniously as possible.\textsuperscript{17} In this context A. Chaniotis has spoken of the increasing theatricality of Hellenistic ritual.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{19} In fact, many of the *poleis* hosting new festivals were greatly concerned with the spatial setting of their festivities.\textsuperscript{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.]).\textsuperscript{21} Together with other monuments, votives, and inscriptions, the buildings merged into proper festive spaces.\textsuperscript{22} This development can be traced in the sanctuaries of Asklepios on Kos, of Apollo Didymeus in Miletus, and of Zeus Naios in Dodona.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{17} Chaniotis 1995, 158–162; Chaniotis 1999; Chankowski 2005, 204–206.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{19} Bömer 1932, 1922–1926; Burkert 1985, 99–100; Brun 2004, 2; compare also J. Kubatzi’s article on this issue.
\textsuperscript{23} For the sanctuary of the Koan Asklepios see Gruben 2001, 446–448, 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. 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. A crown worth fifty gold coins was awarded as winning prize. To proclaim the new festival several groups of theoroi were sent out from Magnesia to travel the Greek koinē 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. 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.]; agoraï [Pl.]), and the adjoining sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene. 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 1980s 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.

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. 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
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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 1928; 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. Rigby regarded *asylia* as a primarily formal proclamation to enhance a festival’s reputation and acceptance; see Rigby 1996, 179–185. – Identity: Gehrke 2000, 1–9; Parker 2004; Robert 1989; Sumi 2004; Wiemer 2009b.

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. 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.

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. 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. 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.]). 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.
35 Humann, Kohle, and Watzinger 1924, 8 fig. 1, pl. 2.
36 Vitruvius 3.2.6 (Morgan 1914).
the works took some 300 years. 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. The shrine was dedicated to Zeus Sosipolis, the ‘Saviour of the City.’ His cult image appeared in the type of the Olympian Zeus.

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


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-
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 Magnesian embassies and traveling arbitrators.50 The other monuments were found scattered over the agora.51

49 Hellenistic statue bases of Magnesian 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 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1924, 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.
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. 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).

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. 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.

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 temenos:

52 Diodorus Siculus 11.58 (Oldfather 1946–1963); Nepos, Themistocles 10 (Rolfe 1984). – For the coins see Rousopoulos 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 1924, 41.
55 Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1924, 38 fig. 27. 100; Hesberg 1994, 182.
ple. Today, only the altar’s limestone foundation, some $23 \times 15$ 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.

Although several reconstruction proposals have been made so far, the form and type of the altar still remains the subject of discussion. Most plausible seems a reconstruction of an altar situated on an elevated platform with a broad flight of stairs to its western side. 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. Also in front of the western altar basement two rows of 22 bung-

56 Gerkan 1929, 4 fig. 1.
57 Humann, Kohle, and Watzinger 1924, 175–182, fig. 6.
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, Kohle, and Watzinger 1924, 91.
holes can still be spotted (Fig. 5). They were intended to hold iron rings for tethering the sacrificial animals before their ritual killing.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{62} According to the Magnesian literary sources, it outshone everything that had gone before in “size and magnificence.”\textsuperscript{63} Formally, the temple was erected as an Ionic octostyle \textit{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 (\textit{amazonomachia}).\textsuperscript{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 11 m southwest of the altar, a rectangular depression within the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{65} Similar structures in Delos and Tegea make one think of a well.\textsuperscript{66} However, the

\textsuperscript{61} Bingöl 2007, 82–83.
\textsuperscript{62} Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1924, 39–92; Gruben 2001, 426–431.
\textsuperscript{63} Kern 1900, no. 1004 l. 14–15.
\textsuperscript{64} Yaylalı 1976.
\textsuperscript{65} Bingöl 2007, 84.
\textsuperscript{66} Compare the “Krene Minoe” on Delos; see Bruneau and Ducat 1985, 196 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. 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

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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.  
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; Fürtsh 1993, 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 archegonis, the founder and leader of the city.\(^7^3\) A. Laumonier suggested that her cult tied in with that of a pre-Greek Carian goddess who was worshipped at a location called Leukophrys.\(^7^4\) 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.\(^7^5\) In the fifth century BC Xenophon stated that the cult was related to hot thermal springs and that it had some regional significance.\(^7^6\) 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.\(^7^7\) 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.\(^7^8\) 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.\(^7^9\) 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.\(^8^0\)

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.\(^8^1\) 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).\(^8^2\)

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 1920, nos. 16, 18, 19, 50, 89. Compare also Kern 1921, 491; Gehrke 2000, 3, and Sumi 2004, 82.

\(^{74}\) Laumonier 1958, 216, 528–530.

\(^{75}\) Anakreon Fr. 384 (Page 1975).

\(^{76}\) Xenophon, Hellenika 3.2.19 (Straßburger 2005).

\(^{77}\) Kern 1900, no. 1002.

\(^{78}\) 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, Kohle, and Watzinger 1924, 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 architectonical 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Amazonis}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{temenos} of Artemis, which could be assigned to a female heroine, possibly but not demonstrably with Amazonian roots.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{95} According to this narrative, Heracles fought the Amazons together with the Argonauts. The \textit{amazonomachia} frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassai also depicts this topic, which besides, is quite common in Attic vase painting.\textsuperscript{96} Seemingly, the narration of the Argonauts was quite important in the Magnesian mythography. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{98} It depicts an assembly of gods standing calmly around the altar as it is demanded of pious devotees during sacrifice.\textsuperscript{99} We may consider whether the deities depicted the Magnesian \textit{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 \textit{polis} traditions to a greater Panhellenic background.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{90} Gehrke 2000, 6 fn. 34.  \\
\textsuperscript{91} Wiemer 2009b, 89–90.  \\
\textsuperscript{92} Generally on this topic see Klügmann 1875, 524–556.  \\
\textsuperscript{93} Athenaeus 533e (Gulick 1959–1963).  \\
\textsuperscript{94} Clemens Alexandrinus, \textit{Protrepticus} 3.45 (Butterworth 1919).  \\
\textsuperscript{95} Pindar, \textit{Nemean} 3.36–40 (Sandys 1937); Diodorus Siculus 4.16 (Oldfather 1946–1963).  \\
\textsuperscript{96} Schefold 1949, 83.  \\
\textsuperscript{97} Athenaeus 7.296d (Gulick 1959–1963).  \\
\textsuperscript{98} Humann, Kohne, and Watzinger 1924, 175. – A narrative scene is suggested by Linfert 1976, 172–171, and Flashar 1999, 417.  \\
\textsuperscript{99} Burkert 1985, 56.
\end{flushright}
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{100} Prinz 1979, 112–121.

\textsuperscript{101} Athenaeus 12.533d (Gulick 1959–1963).

\textsuperscript{102} Kern 1900, no. 17; compare Kern 1894; Prinz 1979, 121–137.

\textsuperscript{103} Prinz 1979, 137; Gehrke 2000, 5.

\textsuperscript{104} Kern 1900, no. 20; Chaniotis 1999, 61–64.

\textsuperscript{105} Kern 1900, no. 35 l. 14 = Rigby 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 Magnesian delegates in settling a military conflict on Crete. 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. 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. 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 Magnesian state that also depicted the relations between the Magnesians and the Panhellenic world.

The abovementioned inscriptions in the agora’s south western entrance honouring Magnesian arbitrators in Cnidus, Antiocheia, Labena, Samos, and Teos took up this topic. 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. 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. 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 Magnesian past and the Panhellenic history.

106 For the Magnesian aid to Delphi see Gehrke 2000, 6. – For the arbitration see Kern 1900, no. 46 l. 9–15 = Rigsby 1996, no. 96.
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 (Perri 1914); Athenaeus 12.533d (Gulick 1959–1965); 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 ȋȖ 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 syrinx, 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 paides, the

112 On this topic in general see the article of J. Kubatzki in this volume.
113 Kern 1900, no. 98, 101a, 121b. 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.
neoi, and the epheboi\textsuperscript{119} – joined the pompe.\textsuperscript{120} For the Eisiteria a group of women is also mentioned.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{122} State delegates from the various

\textsuperscript{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. Thepaides (boys) had not yet reached puberty; compare Wiemer 2009, 487–539.

\textsuperscript{120} Kern 1900, no. 100a l. 26–27; see also Dunand 1978.

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

\textsuperscript{122} For the festival of Zeus Sosipolis, this topic has recently been discussed by Wiemer 2009, 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. 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. 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.

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. Perhaps this transgression was marked with some kind of ritual cleansing at the springhouse, which caused the procession to stop. 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. 10cb l. 36–39.
127 On ritual cleansing in Greek rituals see Parker 1983, 19–25.
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 *intercolumnia* 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. 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. For the Magnesian *agora* this impression was even enlarged by its imposing dimensions.

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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 ‘sacred’ one of the *temenos*; see Doxiadis 1937, 47–53; Schmaltz 1995, 134–140.

After passing the entrance we can assume a movement along the southern stoa following the main road that crossed the plaza in this direction.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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, exedra were seating benches for members from the upper social classes of a polis. Like the stoai, exedra were usually directed towards routings and other spots of interests.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{134} Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1924, 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.” 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 agora’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.

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 choir – 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. 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. Furthermore, coin images showing the cult image of Zeus holding the xoanon of Artemis seem to confirm this companionship. Lastly, a sacrifice to Zeus would fit the general design of the procession: 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.
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

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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. 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. On this route also the small naïskos 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 Magnesian citizenry and its 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

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 Magnesian citizens. 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.
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