

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE URBAN SPACE: WORDSCAPE IN MAGNESIA AD  
MAEANDRUM

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MAEANDRUM**

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## ABSTRACT

### INSCRIPTIONS IN THE URBAN SPACE: WORDSCAPE IN MAGNESIA AD MAEANDRUM

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Magnesia on the Maeander, the ancient city in Ionia, was first mentioned by William Martin Leake in 1824, in order to prove that well preserved inscribed pedestals on site belonged to the magnificent Temple of Artemis; and was first excavated in 1891 by the German archaeological team lead by Carl Humann, who documented much of the architectural remains still in situ today. Around 400 inscriptions are now known from the site, full of information both about the life of the city and that of the Ancient Greece and Roman Empire. Most of these inscriptions are in-situ or the findspots are recorded in the entries. Considering these inscriptions in an urban framework with their architectonic values creates the opportunity to not just study the narrative of history, or who wrote them for what reason, but to study the ways in which the Magnesians responded to inscriptions after their creation. The sheer volume of this material and the wealth of documentation allows this thesis to formulate a wordscape in the urban

context of Magnesia. The aim is to visualize the ongoing interaction between imperial and individual initiative and collective memory, and thus to reflect upon the shaping of the urban memory through the inscribed texts.

**Keywords:** Epigraphy, inscriptions, Magnesia on the Meander, event space, epigraphic landscape

## ÖZ

### KENTSEL ALANDA YAZITLAR: MENDERES MAGNESİASI'NDA YAZIT PEYZAJI

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Bir İyonya antik kenti olan Menderes Magnesiası, literatürde ilk defa William Martin Leake tarafından, alanda bulunan ve iyi korunmuş olan yazıtlı kaidelerin Artemis Tapınağına ait olduğunu kanıtlamak için bahsedilmiştir. İlk kazı çalışmalarıysa 1891de Carl Humann liderliğindeki Alman arkeoloji ekibi tarafından yapılmış olup, bu kazılarda bugün halen alanda bulunan birçok yapı taraflarınca belgelenmiştir. Tüm bunların yanında, hem Magnesia'daki şehir hayatı hem de Antik Yunan ve Roma İmparatorluğu hakkında bilgilerle dolu yaklaşık 400 yazıt alanda bulunmuş ve belgelenmiştir. Bu yazıtların birçoğu alanda in-situ halindedir veya buluntu noktaları kayıt altındadır. Bu yazıtları, mimari değerleriyle birlikte kentsel bir çerçeve içinde ele almak, sadece tarih anlatısını ya da yazıtları kimin ne amaçla yazdığını değil, aynı zamanda Magnesialıların yazıtlarla nasıl bir etkileşime girdiklerini de inceleme fırsatı sunar. Bu malzemenin bolluğu ve dokümantasyon zenginliği, bu tezin Magnesia'nın kentsel bağlamında bir yazıt peyzajı formüle etmesine olanak tanır. Amaç, emperyal

ve bireysel inisiyatif ile kolektif bellek arasında süregelen etkileşimi canlandırmak ve böylece yazılı metinler aracılığıyla kentsel belleğin şekillenmesi üzerine düşünmektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Epigrafi, yazıtlar, Menderes Magnesiası, etkinlik mekanı, yazıt peyzajı

*To my parents.*

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I feel truly lucky to have such supportive, loving, and fun companionship from my amazing friends. They make my life much easier and enjoyable when things get hard. I am forever grateful for each and every one of them, but I would like to specifically

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

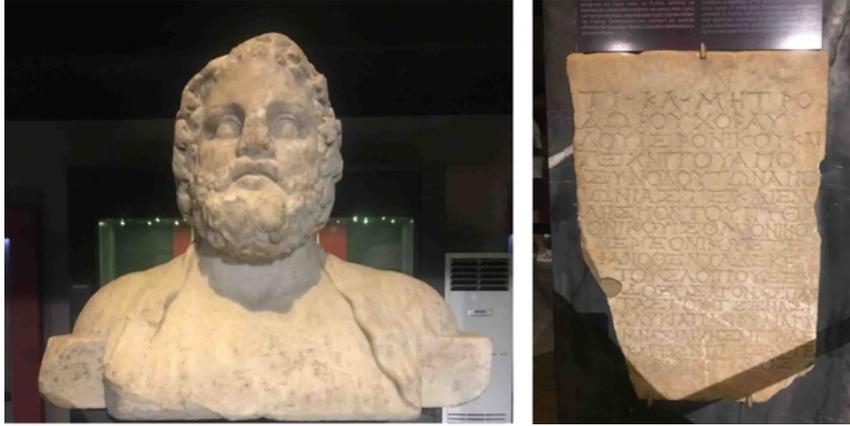


Figure 1: The statue and inscription of Metrodoros in Aydın Archaeology Museum.

Source: Photographed by the author.

When you walk into the Aydın Archaeology Museum, after a series of historical artifacts from the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, you encounter an inscription and its statue (Figure 1). It is a double statue of an accomplished flute player from Magnesia, Tiberius Claudius Metrodoros, who won several contests. It was found in the ancient stadium along with another double statue of the same man, precisely just south of the two small pillars that mark the finishing line of the races. Research on it showed no connection with the pillars.<sup>1</sup> The reason why this statue was a double-headed one was investigated by Orhan Bingöl and he came up with several suggestions, based on the

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<sup>1</sup> Orhan Bingöl, "Metrodoros'un Magnesia'daki Çifte Hermes'i" *Anatolia Ek III/1* (2012): 51, 47-60.

achievements of Metrodoros. Initial thought was the fact that he was a double-headed Herme may indicate that he was a contestant who won the prize in two separate races held in the cities of Isthmia and Nemea.<sup>2</sup> But later when a funerary inscription revealed that Metrodoros also won the prize in Delphi, Bingöl became more inclined to the idea that there is a third, as yet undiscovered, double statue at the site and that each statue represents a victory.<sup>3</sup>

Majority of information on this statue is obtained from the inscription, and its setting. We learn from the inscribed pedestal that this statue belonged to an artist named Metrodoros, his achievements and his place in the history of Magnesia. Again, with the important contribution of the inscription, we have an idea about the cultural context in the city. Since it was exhibited to almost 30.000 people in the stadium where it was found,<sup>4</sup> we understand that accomplished artists had a distinguished place in the city and that Metrodoros was one of them.

Also, another inscription found in the city changes the conclusions reached while investigating why it is a double statue. This is an example of what inscriptions have to offer, both with their content and their physical environment. The content reveals direct facts while the physical environment provides insights about the culture in the city.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>4</sup> Orhan Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander 1984-2020* (Ankara: Bilgin Kültür Sanat, 2020), 112.

In antiquity, when communication agents were limited, inscriptions had crucial functions: they honored the God, the dead, the elite, and the emperor; they transported messages across empires through monuments and buildings. Today, they still bear one of the most essential roles in studying history as solid and reliable written evidence. Back then, the mainstream media was not the internet, TV, or newspapers; and one of the ancient ways of communicating with the world was through inscriptions. Emperors who would like to inform citizens of their achievements, elites who would like to honor their name or announce their respect to God, or commemorate their dead would go for the medium of inscription as the permanent and possibly the most convincing way of communication in the classical world.

Of all the forms of literacy, inscriptions are not only the most familiar but also the most widely studied, documented, and reported form of communication in academia. Whether it be imperial, where the audience scope is quite large, or a scribble-like graffiti hidden at some part of a small ancient city, inscriptions constitute a large body of ancient material culture. Examples are abundant both in the context of Greek and Roman geography at large and at the cities of Asia Minor. This resourceful condition provides further opportunities to examine the data through different lenses. Some studies focus merely on the translation and content for the sake of historiography, some read them through those days' political environment, some others handle the issue within the urban context and implementation of inscriptions to the everyday life of citizens.

Inscriptions had various uses and purposes. Some inscriptions, especially imperial ones, were used as news boards. Emperors often used inscriptions to convey their

messages and announce their services to citizens, particularly those who live far from the administrative center Rome, like the eastern provinces. In this way, the communication between the ruler and his people was kept alive in the Roman Empire that spread over a vast geography. One of the most famous examples of this is the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. The inscription is on the deeds and achievements of the founder of the Roman Empire and the first Roman Emperor Augustus. The original text is engraved on the walls of Temple of Augustus in Turkish capital Ankara, in both Latin and Ancient Greek languages. Before telling the emperor's story, a passage directly addresses and informs the beholder on what they are about to read:

Below is a copy of the acts of the Deified Augustus by which he placed the whole world under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and of the amounts which he expended upon the state and the Roman people, as engraved upon two bronze columns which have been set up in Rome.<sup>5</sup>

Another imperial inscription dating back to 216 AD – 217 AD informs the citizen about the services of Emperor Caracalla in Podandus (modern day Pozantı, Adana, Türkiye):

(Caracalla) repaired the road through the Taurus Mountains with new bridges, after the road had collapsed through old age (*viam tauri vestutate*), by levelling mountains, cutting through rocks, and widening the tracks.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from emperors; upper class citizens, benefactors and architects also claimed their place in the city and consequently the urban memory through inscriptions. For example, the famous Pantheon in Rome bears an inscription of its architect Marcus

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<sup>5</sup> Bill Thayer, "Monumentum Ancyranum (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*) Part I," *LacusCurtius - Res Gestae Divi Augusti (I)*, February 9, 2019, [https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Augustus/Res\\_Gestae/1\\*.html#note1](https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Augustus/Res_Gestae/1*.html#note1).

<sup>6</sup> "Inscription from Podandus, Bei – Pozantı, Bei (Cappadocia)," *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*, January 31, 2020, <https://edh.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD012343>.

Vipsanius Agrippa on its pediment despite being reconstructed several times after disasters (Figure 2).



Figure 2: The inscription on Pantheon dedicated to Marcus Agrippa, that translates to “Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul three times, made [this].”

Source: “Pantheon - Inscription,” Piranesi in Rome, accessed July 31, 2023, <http://omeka.wellesley.edu/piranesi-rome/exhibits/show/pantheon/inscription>.

Some benefactors chose a more direct language by skipping illeism (third-person rhetoric) and made sure everyone knew precisely who did the service. An inscription from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC found in Lucania, a milestone also known as The Polla Tablet, marks the public service of none other than the consul Publius Popillius, son of Gaius:

Publius Popillius, consul, son of Gaius. I made the road from Regium to Capua and on that road placed all the bridges, milestones, and sign-posts. From here there are 51 miles to Nuceria; 84 to Capua; 74 to Muranum; 123 to Consentia; 180 to Valentia; 231 to the strait at the Statue; 237 to Regium. Total from Capua to Regium 321. I also as praetor in Sicily sought out the runaways belonging to men from Italy and gave up 917 persons. Again, I was the first to cause cattle-breeders to retire from public state-land in favour of ploughmen. Here I put up a forum and public buildings.<sup>7</sup> (CIL\_1<sup>2</sup>.638)

And some people opted for a stronger language to ensure the safety of their property, which was apparently possible to acquire through curses in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC Spoleto, Italy:

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<sup>7</sup> “Latin Inscriptions: Public Works,” Attalus, December 7, 2019, <http://www.attalus.org/docs/cil/works.html>.

Let no one damage this grove. No one must cart or carry away anything that belongs to the grove, or cut wood in it, except on the day when holy worship takes place every year. On that day, person may without offence cut wood as required for the procedure of worship. If any one does damage, he shall make sin-offering to Jupiter with an ox; if any one does damage knowingly and with wrongful intent, he shall make sin-offering to Jupiter with an ox, and moreover let there be a fine of 300 as-pieces. The duty of exacting the said sin-offering and fine shall rest with the dedicator.<sup>8</sup> (CIL\_1<sup>2</sup>.366)

A similar example is also found in Teos, an ancient city from the Ionian League (koinon). Among the earliest found in the city, two inscriptions dating to early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC feature damnation to those who do wrong to the city and its people (theft, piracy etc.), without any palpable punishment.<sup>9</sup> So, the authorities occasionally relied on religious “threats” conveyed through inscriptions, most probably displayed in public places.

It was also possible to encounter a sentimental commemoration that gave out orders. A rather commanding funerary inscription dating back to 135-120 B.C discovered in Rome directly addresses the passer-by, captivating their attention with a concise yet powerful message:

Stranger, my message is short. Stand by and read it through. Here is the unlovely tomb of a lovely woman. Her parents called her Claudia by name. She loved her husband with her whole heart. She bore two sons; of these she leaves one on earth; under the earth has she placed the other. She was charming in converse, yet proper in bearing. She kept house, she made wool. That's my last word. Go your way.<sup>10</sup> (CIL\_1<sup>2</sup>.1211)

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<sup>8</sup> Attalus. "Latin Inscriptions: Public Works."

<sup>9</sup> Hüseyin Uzunoğlu, "Anadolu'nun Önemli Tarihi Yazıtları (5): Dirae Teiorum," in *Eskiçağ Yazıtları 5*, edited by N.E. Akyürek Şahin, B. Takmer, and F. Onur (İstanbul: Akdeniz Üniversitesi - Akdeniz Dillerini ve Kültürlerini Araştırma Merkezi Yayını, 2013): 115, 105-129.

<sup>10</sup> "Latin Inscriptions: Epitaphs," Attalus, September 12, 2019, <http://www.attalus.org/docs/cil/epitaph.html>.

Besides honoring, commemorating and even threatening, another kind of “informative” inscriptions included calendars (fasti) that recorded religious or governmental events, usually set up in a highly frequented public space. The Fasti Praenestini is one of them (Figure 3). Named after the town Praeneste in Italy where it has been found, the calendar dates back to early 1st century AD, probably around 8 AD as a dedication to the Emperor Augustus after his calendar reform. From the surviving fragments, researchers were able to reconstruct the rest of it partially, and the whole of it allowed for the reconstruction of another calendar, Fasti Anni Juliani. The calendar was set up in the Forum of Praeneste.<sup>11</sup>

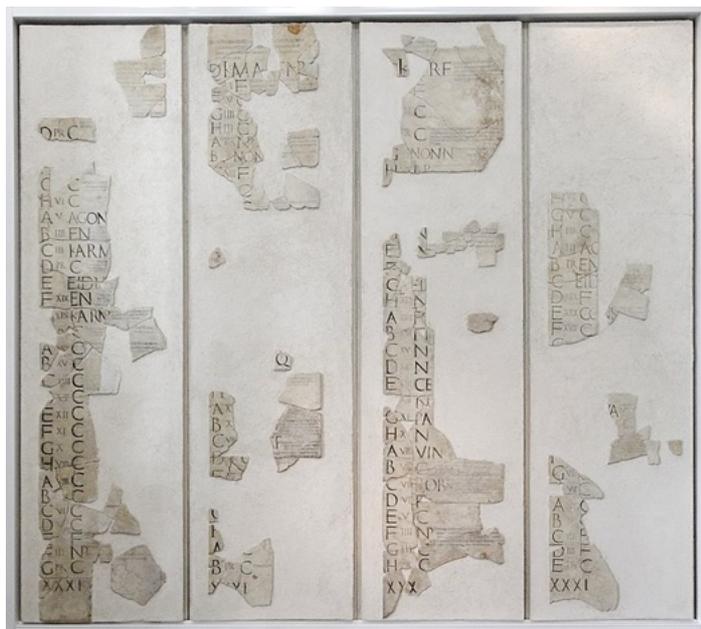


Figure 3: Fragments of Fasti Praenestini, consisting of the months of January, March, April, December and partially February.

Source: “Fasti Praenestini,” Fasti Praenestini (Praeneste calendar), [https://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia\\_romana/calendar/pranestini.html](https://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia_romana/calendar/pranestini.html).

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<sup>11</sup> “Fasti Praenestini,” Fasti Praenestini (Praeneste calendar), [https://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia\\_romana/calendar/pranestini.html](https://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia_romana/calendar/pranestini.html).

In our case, the inscription of Metrodoros by itself does not represent the sheer volume of textual material in Magnesia. A single inscription in the museum might convey a sense of epigraphic scarcity in the city, whereas it is quite the opposite: the epigraphic richness and versatility in Magnesia is outstanding and it is possible to trace a “wordscape” within the city. In the context of this thesis, “wordscape” refers to the dissemination of inscriptions and their interplay with the urban environment. There are at least 400 inscriptions found throughout Magnesia, inscribed on horizontal and vertical surfaces within carefully designed settings. As illustrated through the inscription of Metrodoros, this thesis explores how the wordscape in Magnesia on the Meander contributes to the civic life and how inscriptions are utilized in diverse ways to guide movement, convey solidarity among citizens, enhance citizenship, show off diplomatic achievements or piety of the state. This analysis offers a comprehensive understanding of how inscriptions were integral to Magnesia’s urban environment.



Figure 4: An inscribed statue base in the Artemision.

Source: “Magnesia,” Slow Travel Guide, n.d., <https://slowtravelguide.net/magnesia-tr/>.

In antiquity, inscriptions had a basic yet powerful function and sometimes interacted directly with people, occasionally offering them directives and even assuring them that

their message would not take long. They were the intermediary between the dedicatee and the recipient, sometimes similar to a modern-day pamphlet distributor on the street trying to convince the passer-by to spare a bit of their time, so that it provided visibility for the owner or the dedicator as these written testimonies became part of their daily life. This concept of direct engagement with the public manifests itself in the urban landscape and creates a particular wordscape.

In Magnesia, for instance, the deliberate arrangement of movement and the conscious manipulation of perception were crucial elements, where public spaces act as dynamic exhibitions adorned with statues, decorations, and inscriptions—all intended for absorption, observation, and potential discourse. The combination of movement design and spatial layout formed a cornerstone of the everyday urban experience. In particular, Artemis Leukophryene Festival comes forward as the moving body interacts with inscriptions in several ways as it takes place.<sup>12</sup> Within this procession, for example, inscriptions took on a major role, positioning the beholder not solely as a passive observer, but as an engaged participant in the ongoing dialogues integrated into the spatial organization. In this sense processions serve as prime examples.

### **1.1.State of the Art**

Academic works on Magnesia on the Meander dates to as far as 1715 with the brief mentions of Paul Lucas, a French archaeology enthusiast who misidentified a part of

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<sup>12</sup> Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander. Topographie, Semantik und Handlungskontexte eines panhellenischen Festkomplexes im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mit einem Exkurs zu den Asklepieia auf Kos" (PhD diss., Freien Universität Berlin, 2019).

the remains of Tralles as the remains of Magnesia during his archaeological trip to Eastern Mediterranean by the order of the French King XIV. Louis.<sup>13</sup> Despite the misidentification, His work maintains its importance, as the very first literature entry on Magnesia on the Maeander. However, in the official sense, Magnesia on the Maeander was first mentioned by William Martin Leake in his 1824 work, in order to prove that well preserved inscribed pedestals on site belonged to the Temple of Artemis.<sup>14</sup> The site was first excavated in 1891 by the German archaeological team led by Carl Humann, who documented much of the architectural remains still in situ today, the work which make up a big part of the corpus on Magnesia, along with the work of another German archaeologist Otto Kern who mostly worked on the epigraphy.

During the long period between the first mention from Leake and the first excavations in the site, there are some travelers' entries of Magnesia, most of which provide a foundation for Humann and Kern's works. To this day, documentations and interpretations of Humann and Kern are the primary sources of the scholarly works on Magnesia on the Meander, partly because the German archaeologists' work belongs to the period when the ancient city's remains were relatively more conserved which gave them the opportunity to do neat and thorough documentation of the city's remains and even of the pieces that are not available today due to plundering, treasure hunting, earthquakes and so on.

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<sup>13</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Magnesia ad Maeandrum: 300 Yıllık Araştırma Tarihçesi "1715-2015"". *Anadolu* (2015): 160, 159-185.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

In his book *“Magnesia am Maeander”*, Carl Humann examines the architectural remains of Magnesia in great detail and creates restitution drawings of the important buildings in the city including the Temple of Artemis and the Temple of Zeus.<sup>15</sup> Still, his interpretation of these buildings consists the foundation of reconstruction works of the present time.

On the other hand, Otto Kern was predominantly occupied with the inscriptions. In *“Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander”* he presents a comprehensive documentation of the 400 inscriptions that are mostly found in situ, under 6 categories as following: Documents (1-122), Signatures (123-228), Labels (229-257), Epitaphs (258-318), Graffiti (319-343) and Fragments (344-400).<sup>16</sup> In the book, Kern also provides the main subject, dimensions and location of the inscriptions. In 1894, 6 years before publishing this book, he also wrote about the founding history of Magnesia where the inscription I.Magnesia 17 (also known as Ktisis) was the primary source.<sup>17</sup> Other scholars have also worked on the inscriptions of Magnesia, for example, prominent works that are regularly cited in Kern’s book is carried out by Deschamps and Cousin between the years 1888 and 1894.<sup>18</sup> As Otto Kern’s book is the most

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<sup>15</sup> C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre, 1891-1893* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1904).

<sup>16</sup> Otto Kern. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900.

<sup>17</sup> Otto Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), 1894.

<sup>18</sup> G. Deschamps and G. Cousin, "Inscription de Magnésie du Méandre," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 12 (1888): 204-223; "Lettre de Darius fils d'Hystaspes," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 13 (1889): 529-542; "Voyage en Asie Mineure," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 18 (1894): 5-43.

comprehensive guide to inscriptions of Magnesia with crucial data for architectural studies, it is the one of the major sources for this thesis. Currently, epigraphic works in Magnesia are studied under the lead of Mustafa Adak of Akdeniz University.

After Humann and Kern's field work, studies on Magnesia slows down in the academia, as the ancient city was not excavated nor surveyed until 1984 when Orhan Bingöl took the lead and restarted the excavations. During this period of stagnation when field works on Magnesia are not conducted, scholarly works on the city are rather rare, limited and focused on particular aspects like archaeology and art history.

Numismatics is one of those areas of focus, as some coins found in Magnesia were mentioned within the context of Hellenistic numismatics. A 1915 study on numismatic symbolism mentions a coin from Magnesia,<sup>19</sup> almost 60 years later in 1974 an exclusive study on Magnesia's coinage is published by Schultz where coin images are examined.<sup>20</sup> Later, Kenneth W. Harl studied the imperial image on coins in 1981.<sup>21</sup> On the architectural history site, the Altar of Artemis receives great deal of attention with studies on its tall appearance, a controversial matter as mentioned before in this thesis.

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<sup>19</sup> Agnes Baldwin, "Symbolism on Greek Coins." *American Journal of Numismatics (1897-1924)* 49 (1915): 169, 89–194.

<sup>20</sup> Sabine Schultz, "Zur Deutung Einiger Münzbilder von Magnesia Am Mäander." *Forschungen Und Berichte* 16 (1974): 227-237+T29-T30.

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth W. Harl, "Caracalla or Elagabalus? The Imperial Imago at The Greek Mint of Magnesia ad Maeandrum," *Museum Notes (American Numismatic Society)* 26 (1981): 163–84.

Gerkan,<sup>22</sup> Linfert,<sup>23</sup> Özgan,<sup>24</sup> and Hoepfner<sup>25</sup> are among the scholars that studied the altar and produced restitution drawings. The debate on this matter seem to come to an end with the scholarly focus of Cengiz Çetin, where he takes the data accumulated overtime, combines them with fieldwork findings and compares with suitable case studies from similar contexts. Aside from these, during this period, Magnesia's name is occasionally mentioned in the studies on nearby ancient cities like Ephesus, Pergamon, Priene and such.

As the city of "Artemis with white eyebrows", it is not a surprise that the majority of works focus on the Temple of Artemis. One of the biggest reasons why the temple is so prominent is that according to Vitruvius' book "Ten Books on Architecture", Hermogenes, the famous architect of the time, invented and first applied the pseudodipteral temple plan in his construction of the Temple of Artemis.<sup>26</sup> In this sense, the temple is studied both within the context of renowned architect Hermogenes' works, and within Hellenistic architecture in Asia Minor. Moreover, as

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<sup>22</sup> Armin von Gerkan, "Der Altar des Artemistempels zu Magnesia a.M.," *Archäologischer Anzeiger (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts)* 38-39 (1923/24): 344-348.

<sup>23</sup> Andreas Linfert, *Kunstzentren Hellenistischer Zeit: Studien an Weiblichen Gewandfiguren* (Wiesbaden, 1976).

<sup>24</sup> Ramazan Özgan, "Zur Datierung des Artemisaltars in Magnesia am Maeander," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 32 (1982): 196-209, Table 42-47.

<sup>25</sup> Wolfram Hoepfner, "Zu den Grossen Altären von Magnesia und Pergamon," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1989): 601-634.

<sup>26</sup> Vitruvius et al., *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), III,2,6.

mentioned before, it was the remains of the Temple of Artemis that paved the way for Magnesia's identification by William Martin Leake. Thus, the first ever deliberate mention of the city came along with the temple, and as the consequence of many factors including this one, it is the most prominent and well-studied feature of Magnesia on the Meander. As the temple also has been in the focus of the excavations for many years, scholarly works and the fieldwork on it have been reciprocal. Highlighting the exemplary pseudodipteral plan of the Temple of Artemis, Görkem Kökdemir questions if the temple in Alabanda is also a work of Hermogenes by heavily referring to the temple.<sup>27</sup> Another study by Görkem Kökdemir explores the possible Egyptian influences on the temple.<sup>28</sup> Technical and workmanship features of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia is the subject of Mazlum Baki Demirtaş's dissertation,<sup>29</sup> where he focused on the temple in order to contribute to the fieldwork by forming a basis of technical matters. Also, on his comparative study of lewis (a type of hook to lift heavy stones) usage in Carian-Ionian cities, Demirtaş gives special attention to the Temple of Artemis in Magnesia as it is chronologically the last example where one-piece lewis was used.<sup>30</sup> Aforementioned works of Cengiz Çetin

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<sup>27</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Vitruvius III.2.6: Hermogenes, Menesthes ve Pseudodipteros Planlı Apollon Tapınağı (?)," *Arkhaia Anatolika* 4 (2021): 83-108, DOI: 10.32949/Arkhaia.2021.27.

<sup>28</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Some Egyptian Influences on the Temple of Artemis in Magnesia on the Meander" in: G. Kökdemir (Ed.), *Orhan Bingöl'e 67. Yaş Armağanı – A Festschrift for Orhan Bingöl on the Occasion of His 67th Birthday*. Ankara (2013), 289-300.

<sup>29</sup> Mazlum Baki Demirtaş, "Magnesia Artemis Tapınağı'nın Teknik ve İşçilik Özellikleri / Technical and Workmanship Features of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> Mazlum Baki Demirtaş, "Karia-İonia Tipi Kurt Ağzı Kanca ve Magnesia Artemis Tapınağı," in *Metropolis Ionia II* (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2010), 105-115.

have a similar method of combining fieldwork findings with academic knowledge. Furthermore, not all studies are necessarily solely focused on the temple but the concepts revolving around it like the festivals, cult, and epiphany. For instance, in his dissertation and further publications, Kristoph Hammerschmied (Jürgens) examines the spatial features of the Artemis Leukophryene Festival in great detail.<sup>31</sup> The cult of Artemis is a popular subject as per the temple, but there are traces of other cults as Kökdemir studied on the cults and religious practices in his publication of a possible cult of Athena in Magnesia.<sup>32</sup>

Other buildings at the site are also studied to some extent, some more than others. For instance, ornamental features of the Agora's Propylaea has been the subject of Görkem Kökdemir's master's thesis<sup>33</sup> and he took the study further with his PhD dissertation.<sup>34</sup> The Agora, with the abundance of inscriptions that it hosts, has been also studied widely, however, the focus is barely on its architectonic features. The Temple of Zeus and Stadion are two recently highlighted structures. The Stadion was in fact one of the

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<sup>31</sup> Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis"; Kristoph Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia-On-The-Meander. A Spatial Analysis of a Hellenistic Procession," in *Approaching the Sacred: Pilgrimage in Historical and Intercultural Perspective*, ed. Ute Luig (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2018), 93, 91–127.

<sup>32</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Yeni Değerlendirmeler Işığında Menderes Magnesiası'nda Athena Kültü, Panathenaia ve Bilinmeyen Bir Athena (?) Başı". *Cedrus* 7 (2019): 107-12.

<sup>33</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Menderes Magnesiası Propylonu Anthemion Bezemeleri / The Anthemion Decoration of the Propylon in Magnesia on Meander" (M.A. thesis, Ankara University, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Menderes Magnesiası-Propylon / Magnesia on the Meander-Propylon" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2009).

buildings mentioned by Leake in 1824, along with the theater.<sup>35</sup> Unearthed between 2004-2018 under the lead of Bingöl, the Stadion is one of the biggest ruins in the city. It has proved to be a prominent building of Magnesia with its very well-preserved state and wealth of inscriptions. The inscriptions include *topos* inscriptions and are currently studied by Mustafa Adak within an epigraphy project.

Moreover, there are remarkable features of the Stadion that create the opportunity to take studies further from archaeological and architectural examinations, and look into the social context through the physical evidence. For example, a study by Boris Dreyer examines the social hierarchy via the seating plan in the Stadion, in connection with the possible doping usage and doping dealers in the Magnesian games.<sup>36</sup> The Temple of Zeus, first excavated by Humann and his team at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, is excavated again under the lead of the current excavation chair Görkem Kökdemir and efforts to excavate it fully continue as of 2022 season.

The unearthed part of the temple is in fairly good condition. It is planned to be reconstructed with nearly 600 blocks that are unearthed during the last two excavation seasons. Nearly all buildings in the site are mentioned in the preliminary excavations works in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the excavation team, but some of them are rather neglected in the modern studies. There are not many works on the theater, theatron,

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<sup>35</sup> W. M. Leake, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor, with comparative remarks on the ancient and modern geography of that country*, London (1824), 243-245.

<sup>36</sup> Boris Dreyer, "Ehrenplätze für Dopinghersteller – Die (Kranz-)Agone und ihre Bedeutung im Licht neuer Ausgrabungen von Magnesia am Mäander". *PHILIA Suppl.* 1 (2016): 291-302.

gymnasiums and the Byzantine and Ottoman additions to the site, aside from the excavation findings.

Although, it is possible to find information on all of the buildings and findings in Magnesia, in the books written by the former excavation chair Orhan Bingöl. Designed as a guide to the city, the book “The City of Artemis with White Eyebrows: Magnesia ad Maeandrum” by Bingöl gives insight on all the major things in Magnesia, including the buildings, inscriptions, and events.<sup>37</sup> Published in 2007, the guide was updated recently in 2020.<sup>38</sup> The city has been the subject of digital reconstructions by various scholars for different aims. A past project of UCLA’s Digital Humanity Lab, “Digital Anatolia” where the aim is to implement a 4D map-based approach in archaeology studies in various scales, experimented with the material in Magnesia.<sup>39</sup> Marie Saldana worked on the city as a whole including the residential landscape, a rather neglected part of the city, and proposed a potential city plan for her dissertation where she experiments with procedural modeling.<sup>40</sup> Her work is the only one that displays a complete 3D visualization of Magnesia, and features the parts of Magnesia that are relatively neglected.. In 2015, Haselberger and Holzman worked on the 3D

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<sup>37</sup> Orhan Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander: An Archaeological Guide* (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2007).

<sup>38</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*.

<sup>39</sup> "Digital Anatolia Project," *UCLA Center for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, <https://humtech.ucla.edu/project/digital-anatolia/>.

<sup>40</sup> Marie Saldana, "Cave and City: A Procedural Reconstruction of the Urban Topography of Magnesia on the Maeander" (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2015).

visualization of the temple to study Hermogenes,<sup>41</sup> after which Holzman further focused on the subject in his recent work in 2022.<sup>42</sup>

As for the inscriptions in Magnesia, asyilia archive has been in the center of attention as it is the largest surviving archive of its kind,<sup>43</sup> with over 60 documents on the inviolability and sacredness of the city. Kent J. Rigsby investigates asyilia inscriptions from different Hellenistic states, where he revisits the numbering of Kern as well as this classification of some texts, which Rigsby argues are in fact are not asyilia.<sup>44</sup>

Numerous scholars, including Joshua D. Sosin, Sevgi Sarıkaya, Sara Saba, Naomi Carless Unwin, Paola Ceccarelli, and Peter Thonemann have significantly enriched the field of epigraphy studies on Magnesia by delving into the asyilia documents at both comprehensive and selective levels.<sup>45</sup> Their examinations encompass the entirety

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<sup>41</sup> Lothar Haselberger and Samuel Holzman, "Visualizing Asperitas: Vitruvius (3.3.9) and the 'Asperity' of Hermogenes' Pseudodipteral Temple," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 371–91, doi:10.1017/S1047759415002536.

<sup>42</sup> Samuel Holzman, "Modeling Hermogenes: An Experiment of Bauforschung in Three Dimensions," in Elisha Ann Dumser and Dorian Borbonus (eds), *Building the Classical World: Bauforschung as a Contemporary Approach* (New York, 2022; online edn, Oxford Academic, 23 June 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190690526.003.0006>.

<sup>43</sup> Sara Saba, "Magnesia on the Meander and Samos," in *Isopoliteia in Hellenistic Times* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020), 84, doi: [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004425705\\_004](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004425705_004).

<sup>44</sup> Kent J. Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1996).

<sup>45</sup> Joshua D. Sosin, "Magnesian Inviolability." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 139, no. 2 (2009): 369–410; Sevgi Sarıkaya, "Asyilia: Zaman İçindeki Tarihsel Gelişimi," *Akron* 2 (2012): 67-91; Saba, "Magnesia and Samos"; Naomi Carless Unwin, "Inscribing History at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander:

of Magnesia's asyilia records or specific segments thereof, with certain researchers dedicating their attention to individual inscriptions.

While the architectural studies about Magnesia on the Meander are mostly focused on the history and architecture of the Temple of Artemis and its surrounding structures, the most studied aspect for the inscriptions is the content. The works focusing on the content of inscriptions have a rather static approach since they are focusing on one inscription at a time, whereas, in this thesis, the aim is to have a kinetic perspective where flow, sequence and perception are studied together; and the epigraphic content and the architectonic features are handled as a whole in the urban context.

The architectural context provides a lot of valuable input in understanding the inscriptions, their authors, readers, and the general framework of the fragment of history that the inscription offers to shed light on. In this sense, the architectural context may change the understanding of the discourse of inscriptions for the better, especially in an urban space subject to collective activities such as processions and festivals, where the inscriptions become not only first-hand legible evidences but also a document of collective urban memory. Magnesia on the Meander hosts many processions and festivals, that sheds light on the inscriptions' place in the city

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Civic Engagement with the Past," in *Caria and Crete in Antiquity: Cultural Interaction between Anatolia and the Aegean*, ed. Naomi Carless Unwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 169-188, doi:10.1017/9781108151801.007; Paola Ceccarelli, "Letters and Decrees: Diplomatic Protocols in the Hellenistic Period," in Paola Ceccarelli and others (eds), *Letters and Communities: Studies in the Socio-Political Dimensions of Ancient Epistolography* (Oxford: Oxford Academic, 2018); Peter Thonemann, "Magnesia and the Greeks of Asia (I.Magnesia 16.16)," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 (March 1, 2007): 151-160.

## 1.2. Structure of the Thesis

Magnesia on the Maeander, the ancient city in Ionia, was first mentioned by William Martin Leake in 1824, in order to prove that well preserved inscribed pedestals on site belonged to the magnificent Temple of Artemis;<sup>46</sup> and was first excavated in 1891 by the German archaeological team lead by Carl Humann, who documented much of the architectural remains still in situ today. Around 400 inscriptions are now known from the site, full of information both about the life of the city and that of the Ancient Greece and Roman Empire. Most of these inscriptions are in-situ or the findspots are recorded in the entries. Considering these inscriptions in an urban framework with their architectonic values creates the opportunity to not just study the narrative of history, or who wrote them for what reason, but to study the ways in which the Magnesians responded to inscriptions after their creation. The sheer volume of this material and the wealth of documentation allows this thesis to formulate a wordscape in the urban context of Magnesia. The aim is to visualize the ongoing interaction between imperial and individual initiative and collective memory, and thus to reflect upon the shaping of the urban memory through the inscribed texts.



Figure 5: An inscribed block in Magnesia.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>46</sup> Leake, *Tour in Asia Minor*.

The inscriptions in Magnesia were first published by Otto Kern, who used a specific numbering system for the inscriptions in his book.<sup>47</sup> Kent J. Rigsby partially revised this numbering system in 1996.<sup>48</sup> This thesis is based on Otto Kern's numbering, as Kern's guide provides a more comprehensive record of inscriptions compared to Rigsby's limited focus on *asylia* texts. Since this thesis covers a broader scope beyond *asylia*, it is preferred to utilize Kern's numbering to ensure clarity.

Research methods employed in this thesis include a site survey in 2022 summer season, survey of the excavation's archive, as well as the excavation reports submitted to Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism published in "Kazı Sonuçları Toplantıları."<sup>49</sup> With the kind curtesy of the head of the excavation, Doç. Dr. Görkem Kökdemir and his team, drawings of the site are adapted from AutoCAD and Rhinoceros 3D files drawn by the excavation team from 2012 to 2022, and by the author. Lastly, research on both ancient epigraphy and on Magnesia on the Meander; published as books, academic dissertations, journal articles and online journals are utilized widely. The data extracted from published sources pertaining to over 400 inscriptions was organized within an Excel spreadsheet, categorizing them by name, findspot, content, and material characteristics (Table 1). The illustrations and drawings made by the author are diagrammatic and aim to visualize the arguments presented in the text.

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<sup>47</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*.

<sup>48</sup> Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability*, 179-278.

<sup>49</sup> "TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü," n.d., <https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-44760/kazi-sonuclari-toplantilari.html>.

Table 1: A section of the Excel spreadsheet, showing inscriptions found in the theater.

Source: Author.

Name	Location	Date	Content & Extras	Dimensions, Materials, etc.
Magnesia 100	Theater in the northwest building near the theater.	1st century BCE	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 129	Along the city heights southwest of the theater.	1st century BCE	Status of Annanor	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 130	Along the city heights southwest of the theater.	1st century BCE	Status of Annanor	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 131	Along the city heights southwest of the theater.	1st century BCE	Status of Annanor	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 132	Between the columns of the northern late Roman Loggia	1st century BCE	Status of Alshyphos, b. of Apollonios.	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 133	Between the columns of the northern late Roman Loggia	1st century BCE	Status of Alshyphos, b. of Apollonios.	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 135	Far south end of the late Roman plain	1st c. BCE	Status of Hephestos	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 136	Founding probably at the northern Loggia	1st c. BCE	Winged Nike, a descendant of the previous one (150)	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 151	Theater found in the orchestra about before the middle of the Loggia	1st c. BCE	Winged Nike, a descendant of the previous one (150)	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 154	Theater: at the southeast corner of the narrow passage south of the Stene building.	1st c. BCE	Winged Nike, a descendant of the previous one (150)	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 160	Theater: in front of the northern retaining wall of the auditorium outside the stage building	1st c. BCE	Status of Aulus	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 165	Probably from the northern late Roman Loggia	1st c. BCE	Status of Aulus	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 174	Theater: along with m 175 in front of the north-east corner of the auditorium	10 Dec. 120—9 Dec. 121	Honoring the gladiolus myrmis. Inscription from Smyrna Athens.	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 175	Theater: along with m 174 and 175	10 Dec. 120—9 Dec. 121	Honoring the gladiolus myrmis. Inscription from Smyrna Athens.	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 185	Theater: along with m 174 and 175	140-130 BCE	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 186	Theater: along with m 174 and 175	140-130 BCE	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 198	Southern edge of the orchestra, theater	140-130 BCE	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 199	Pillar in the theater in front of the north-east corner of the auditorium, where also No. 174, 175, 185 are located	140-130 BCE	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 210	Outer north corner of the auditorium	1st c. BCE	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 211	Found on the outer corner pillar of the South Auditorium, only about 1m below its summit top edge	1st c. BCE	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 216	Found on the outer corner pillar of the South Auditorium, only about 1m below its summit top edge	1st c. BCE	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 218	The auditorium probably stood on the hilltop above the theater	1st c. AD	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 219	Northern Stene building	1st century	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 220	Southern half of the late Roman Loggia between the columns	1st century	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 221	Southern half of the late Roman Loggia between the columns	1st century	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 222	In front of the (destroyed) central portal of the northern auditorium	1st century	Emperor Hadrian	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 224	m 224, m 225, m 226, m 227, m 228, m 229, m 230, m 231, m 232, m 233, m 234, m 235, m 236, m 237, m 238, m 239, m 240, m 241, m 242, m 243, m 244, m 245, m 246, m 247, m 248, m 249, m 250, m 251, m 252, m 253, m 254, m 255, m 256, m 257, m 258, m 259, m 260, m 261, m 262, m 263, m 264, m 265, m 266, m 267, m 268, m 269, m 270, m 271, m 272, m 273, m 274, m 275, m 276, m 277, m 278, m 279, m 280, m 281, m 282, m 283, m 284, m 285, m 286, m 287, m 288, m 289, m 290, m 291, m 292, m 293, m 294, m 295, m 296, m 297, m 298, m 299, m 300, m 301, m 302, m 303, m 304, m 305, m 306, m 307, m 308, m 309, m 310, m 311, m 312, m 313, m 314, m 315, m 316, m 317, m 318, m 319, m 320, m 321, m 322, m 323, m 324, m 325, m 326, m 327, m 328, m 329, m 330, m 331, m 332, m 333, m 334, m 335, m 336, m 337, m 338, m 339, m 340, m 341, m 342, m 343, m 344, m 345, m 346, m 347, m 348, m 349, m 350, m 351, m 352, m 353, m 354, m 355, m 356, m 357, m 358, m 359, m 360, m 361, m 362, m 363, m 364, m 365, m 366, m 367, m 368, m 369, m 370, m 371, m 372, m 373, m 374, m 375, m 376, m 377, m 378, m 379, m 380, m 381, m 382, m 383, m 384, m 385, m 386, m 387, m 388, m 389, m 390, m 391, m 392, m 393, m 394, m 395, m 396, m 397, m 398, m 399, m 400, m 401, m 402, m 403, m 404, m 405, m 406, m 407, m 408, m 409, m 410, m 411, m 412, m 413, m 414, m 415, m 416, m 417, m 418, m 419, m 420, m 421, m 422, m 423, m 424, m 425, m 426, m 427, m 428, m 429, m 430, m 431, m 432, m 433, m 434, m 435, m 436, m 437, m 438, m 439, m 440, m 441, m 442, m 443, m 444, m 445, m 446, m 447, m 448, m 449, m 450, m 451, m 452, m 453, m 454, m 455, m 456, m 457, m 458, m 459, m 460, m 461, m 462, m 463, m 464, m 465, m 466, m 467, m 468, m 469, m 470, m 471, m 472, m 473, m 474, m 475, m 476, m 477, m 478, m 479, m 480, m 481, m 482, m 483, m 484, m 485, m 486, m 487, m 488, m 489, m 490, m 491, m 492, m 493, m 494, m 495, m 496, m 497, m 498, m 499, m 500, m 501, m 502, m 503, m 504, m 505, m 506, m 507, m 508, m 509, m 510, m 511, m 512, m 513, m 514, m 515, m 516, m 517, m 518, m 519, m 520, m 521, m 522, m 523, m 524, m 525, m 526, m 527, m 528, m 529, m 530, m 531, m 532, m 533, m 534, m 535, m 536, m 537, m 538, m 539, m 540, m 541, m 542, m 543, m 544, m 545, m 546, m 547, m 548, m 549, m 550, m 551, m 552, m 553, m 554, m 555, m 556, m 557, m 558, m 559, m 560, m 561, m 562, m 563, m 564, m 565, m 566, m 567, m 568, m 569, m 570, m 571, m 572, m 573, m 574, m 575, m 576, m 577, m 578, m 579, m 580, m 581, m 582, m 583, m 584, m 585, m 586, m 587, m 588, m 589, m 590, m 591, m 592, m 593, m 594, m 595, m 596, m 597, m 598, m 599, m 600, m 601, m 602, m 603, m 604, m 605, m 606, m 607, m 608, m 609, m 610, m 611, m 612, m 613, m 614, m 615, m 616, m 617, m 618, m 619, m 620, m 621, m 622, m 623, m 624, m 625, m 626, m 627, m 628, m 629, m 630, m 631, m 632, m 633, m 634, m 635, m 636, m 637, m 638, m 639, m 640, m 641, m 642, m 643, m 644, m 645, m 646, m 647, m 648, m 649, m 650, m 651, m 652, m 653, m 654, m 655, m 656, m 657, m 658, m 659, m 660, m 661, m 662, m 663, m 664, m 665, m 666, m 667, m 668, m 669, m 670, m 671, m 672, m 673, m 674, m 675, m 676, m 677, m 678, m 679, m 680, m 681, m 682, m 683, m 684, m 685, m 686, m 687, m 688, m 689, m 690, m 691, m 692, m 693, m 694, m 695, m 696, m 697, m 698, m 699, m 700, m 701, m 702, m 703, m 704, m 705, m 706, m 707, m 708, m 709, m 710, m 711, m 712, m 713, m 714, m 715, m 716, m 717, m 718, m 719, m 720, m 721, m 722, m 723, m 724, m 725, m 726, m 727, m 728, m 729, m 730, m 731, m 732, m 733, m 734, m 735, m 736, m 737, m 738, m 739, m 740, m 741, m 742, m 743, m 744, m 745, m 746, m 747, m 748, m 749, m 750, m 751, m 752, m 753, m 754, m 755, m 756, m 757, m 758, m 759, m 760, m 761, m 762, m 763, m 764, m 765, m 766, m 767, m 768, m 769, m 770, m 771, m 772, m 773, m 774, m 775, m 776, m 777, m 778, m 779, m 780, m 781, m 782, m 783, m 784, m 785, m 786, m 787, m 788, m 789, m 790, m 791, m 792, m 793, m 794, m 795, m 796, m 797, m 798, m 799, m 800, m 801, m 802, m 803, m 804, m 805, m 806, m 807, m 808, m 809, m 810, m 811, m 812, m 813, m 814, m 815, m 816, m 817, m 818, m 819, m 820, m 821, m 822, m 823, m 824, m 825, m 826, m 827, m 828, m 829, m 830, m 831, m 832, m 833, m 834, m 835, m 836, m 837, m 838, m 839, m 840, m 841, m 842, m 843, m 844, m 845, m 846, m 847, m 848, m 849, m 850, m 851, m 852, m 853, m 854, m 855, m 856, m 857, m 858, m 859, m 860, m 861, m 862, m 863, m 864, m 865, m 866, m 867, m 868, m 869, m 870, m 871, m 872, m 873, m 874, m 875, m 876, m 877, m 878, m 879, m 880, m 881, m 882, m 883, m 884, m 885, m 886, m 887, m 888, m 889, m 890, m 891, m 892, m 893, m 894, m 895, m 896, m 897, m 898, m 899, m 900, m 901, m 902, m 903, m 904, m 905, m 906, m 907, m 908, m 909, m 910, m 911, m 912, m 913, m 914, m 915, m 916, m 917, m 918, m 919, m 920, m 921, m 922, m 923, m 924, m 925, m 926, m 927, m 928, m 929, m 930, m 931, m 932, m 933, m 934, m 935, m 936, m 937, m 938, m 939, m 940, m 941, m 942, m 943, m 944, m 945, m 946, m 947, m 948, m 949, m 950, m 951, m 952, m 953, m 954, m 955, m 956, m 957, m 958, m 959, m 960, m 961, m 962, m 963, m 964, m 965, m 966, m 967, m 968, m 969, m 970, m 971, m 972, m 973, m 974, m 975, m 976, m 977, m 978, m 979, m 980, m 981, m 982, m 983, m 984, m 985, m 986, m 987, m 988, m 989, m 990, m 991, m 992, m 993, m 994, m 995, m 996, m 997, m 998, m 999, m 1000	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)		
Magnesia 229	In the valley south of the theater	1st c. BCE	Dedicator inscription for Men?	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 233	On the theater on the face of the south doopcut of the central entrance to the south auditorium	1st c. BCE	Dedicator inscription for Men?	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 240	In the theater on a block of north masonry cladding between the central portal and the outer corner pillar	1st c. BCE	Dedicator inscription for Men?	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 250	from the Theater	1st c. BCE	Dedicator inscription for Men?	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 320	Late Roman Loggia	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 321	Late Roman Loggia	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 322	Late Roman Loggia	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 323	Late Roman Loggia	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 327	In the corridor that is attached to the Stene building	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 330	Late Roman Loggia middle column of the late Roman Loggia columns	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 333	On a low, round base, which stood between the late Roman Loggia columns	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 339	Late Roman Loggia middle column of the third column position from the north	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 345	from the area of the southern Loggia columns.	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 364	between the middle columns of the Loggia	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 366	from the area of the southern Loggia columns.	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 368	In the orchestra of the theater	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 376	Theater	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 388	In the theater in front of the north masonry cladding, between the central portal and the outer corner.	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)
Magnesia 398	Theater	1st century BCE	Probably identical to Konoleon	Fragment of a stela of a Roman official, (see I. Magn. 1007)

This thesis consists of five chapters. In the first chapter, the aim of this thesis is introduced and its approach to inscriptions in Magnesia is explained through an

exemplary case study from the site. The first chapter also features the method and structure of this thesis, as well as a literature survey on Magnesia on the Meander.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the epigraphic habit in antiquity at large, and looks into the different academic approaches in the field of ancient epigraphy. It aims to trace trends based on the time of the study and background training of scholars working on epigraphy. The chapter illustrates how different disciplines execute epigraphic studies, and shows that most of them highlighted the content of inscriptions. It also features rather recent studies where inscriptions are examined as a whole with their physical context.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on Magnesia on the Meander, where the former illuminates the urban history of the public spaces and buildings; and the latter focuses on the inscriptions. In the third chapter, the site is analyzed focusing on focal nodes in the context of this thesis. It is important to highlight the urban landscape and architectural design to understand the physical context of inscriptions. The physical context constitutes the setting, which plays a vital role in experiencing inscriptions.

Fourth chapter, with the basis of epigraphic and urban knowledge from previous chapters, delves into the documented inscriptions and their effect on the civic life in Magnesia; and formulates a wordscape in the city. Movement within the wordscape is also explored in this chapter. Concepts like citizenship, experience, and civic identity are also studied in relation with inscriptions. Main arguments of this thesis are presented in the fourth chapter.

Finally, last chapter summarizes the main ideas and draws conclusions from all of the inputs. It presents a synthesis of the amassed information, and summarizes how the wordscape acts as a socio-spatial ground in the city.

## CHAPTER 2

### STUDYING INSCRIPTIONS IN ANCIENT WORLD

Roman inscriptions embody many valuable inputs to study different areas and perspectives, so the corpus of studies on Roman inscriptions includes various approaches to studying history. It is possible to detect some patterns in these approaches based on the researcher's background and the scholarship trends at the time of the study.

As argued by Suna Güven, who is an architectural historian; historians, philologists and epigraphists often analyze the textual aspect of inscriptions, while archaeologists focus on putting them together for the sake of recording.<sup>50</sup> Pointing out that both disciplines usually miss out on the architectonic features, she argues that the ideal method is the overlay of them, which is the method she proceeds to display in her study on the renowned bilingual inscription of Res Gestae Divi Augusti. As Güven highlights, some disciplines are more inclined to read the inscriptions as solid, first-hand documentation of history since most ancient inscriptions contain precise data, especially on significant events, religious acts, political environments, and literature. As for the trends in approaches to the inscriptions, it is better to have a chronological

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<sup>50</sup> Suna Güven, "Displaying the Res Gestae of Augustus: A Monument of Imperial Image for All," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57, no. 1 (1998): 30–45, <https://doi.org/10.2307/991403>.

view of the studies on inscriptions while being considerate of other factors of the time of the study. Fundamental factors like access to inscriptions, preserving inscriptions, knowledge of ancient history, and the grasp of ancient languages differed for every scholar and every period. So, it is important to consider the limitations at the time of the study, especially while reading the studies that depend on quantitative analysis. As an example of these limitations' effect on studies, in late 20<sup>th</sup> century, in his epigraphic analysis of Egyptian ostraca and papyri, Ramsay MacMullen points out that the large number of papyri that are hard to date is not included in his analysis, which creates an impression of underestimation.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, some inscriptions are hitherto not excavated, private archives that are not in access to the scholar; ancient material that are damaged, used as building material, or destroyed before the scholar could access them, and so on (Figure 7). Any person to walk around settlements near ancient cities can easily see dozens of village houses built with spolia, ancient column capitals used for grinding flour, and meet locals who fetched ancient materials to use for decorating their garden (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Ancient building materials at a local's garden in a village in Kızılcahamam, Ankara, Türkiye.

Source: Photographed by the author.

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<sup>51</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire," *The American Journal of Philology* 103, no. 3 (1982): 235, 233-46, <https://doi.org/10.2307/294470>.



Figure 7: De-contextualized inscriptions used as spolia on the walls of Ankara Castle.

Source: Adapted from Joshua Bryant, "Ancyra Castle/Ankara Kale," *Architecture and Asceticism*, accessed August 12, 2023, <https://architectureandasceticism.exeter.ac.uk/items/show/45>

All of these factors increase the rate of error, that is if they allow for a scholar to conduct research in the first place. So, earlier studies display a tendency to figure out the basics such as the dating of inscriptions, and getting a deeper knowledge on the ancient languages and history. Joyce Reynolds points out that in early 20<sup>th</sup> century, majority of studies on epigraphy focused on paleography for dating the texts. Reynolds emphasizes the contributions that recently discovered inscriptions have made to the histories of the Etruscan Civilization, Roman Republic, Principate, religion, and other topics like law and kinship, making it clear that new inscription discoveries primarily contribute to the corpus of historical studies.<sup>52</sup> With the fundamentals covered, and rich harvest of epigraphic material from proliferated excavations, the quantity of studies increased and got more elaborate.<sup>53</sup> So, over the years, the number of studies

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<sup>52</sup> Joyce Reynolds, "Inscriptions and Roman Studies 1910-1960." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 50 (1960): 204–9. <https://doi.org/10.2307/298301>.

<sup>53</sup> In the surveys of *The Journal of Roman Studies*, covering 100 years of epigraphy studies in the academia between 1910-2010, the increasing elaboration on inscriptions is evident as the survey comes closer to its end. See: Joyce Reynolds, "Inscriptions and Roman Studies 1910-1960," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 50 (1960): 204–9,

on inscriptions and others that heavily rely on inscriptions has increased exponentially, with the additional help of economic improvements and the increasing number of archaeological excavations. In the early 2000's, the contribution of the increase in locally directed excavations in Türkiye is especially significant.<sup>54</sup>

## 2.1. The Epigraphic Culture

It is hard to determine the exact start of the studies on inscriptions. However, early 16th century is roughly the starting point as scholars used inscriptions to study the ancient world, mainly law, and to comprehend the Latin language better.<sup>55</sup> The first attempt to create a corpus of inscriptions came 300 years later, in 1828 with the Corpus

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<https://doi.org/10.2307/298301>; Joyce Reynolds, "Roman Epigraphy, 1961-65," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966): 116–21, <https://doi.org/10.2307/300138>; Joyce Reynolds, "Roman Inscriptions 1966-1970," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 136–52, <https://doi.org/10.2307/300013>; Joyce Reynolds, "Roman Inscriptions 1971-5," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 66 (1976): 174–99, <https://doi.org/10.2307/299787>; Joyce Reynolds, Mary Beard, Richard Duncan-Jones, and Charlotte Roueché, "Roman Inscriptions 1976-80," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 71 (1981): 121–43, <https://doi.org/10.2307/299502>; Joyce Reynolds, Mary Beard, and Charlotte Roueché, "Roman Inscriptions 1981-5," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986): 124–46, <https://doi.org/10.2307/300370>; Richard Gordon, Mary Beard, Joyce Reynolds, and Charlotte Roueché, "Roman Inscriptions 1986-90," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 131–58, <https://doi.org/10.2307/300983>; Richard Gordon, Joyce Reynolds, Mary Beard, and Charlotte Roueché, "Roman Inscriptions 1991-95," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997): 203–40, <https://doi.org/10.2307/301375>; Richard Gordon and Joyce Reynolds, "Roman Inscriptions 1995-2000," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003): 212–94, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3184644>; Alison E. Cooley, Stephen Mitchell, and Benet Salway, "Roman Inscriptions 2001-2005," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 97 (2007): 176–263, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20430576>; Alison E. Cooley and Benet Salway, "Roman Inscriptions 2006-2010," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 172–286, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41724970>.

<sup>54</sup> Cooley and Salway, "Roman Inscriptions 2006-2010," 172.

<sup>55</sup> William Stenhouse, "Classical Inscriptions and Antiquarian Scholarship in Italy, 1600-1650," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement*, no. 75 (2000): 77, 77–89, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43767716>.

Inscriptioun Graecarum (CIG),<sup>56</sup> which later became Inscriptiones Graecae (IG) in 1903. This project aims to document and publish every inscription from Greek lands that have been hitherto discovered. A parallel to this is the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL) which also appeared in the 19th century, a few decades later than CIG. CIL contains about 180.000 inscriptions in seventeen volumes.<sup>57</sup> Both collections are the staples of epigraphic discussion as they provide the basic yet crucial information needed to read, classify, compare, and understand inscriptions and concepts related to inscriptions like the epigraphic culture, textual production, and epigraphic presence in antiquity.

More relevant to the scope of this thesis, there is also a corpus of inscriptions found in Asia Minor, namely "Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (Inscriptions of Greek cities from Asia Minor)", a much more recent work that appeared first in the 1970s. With the emergence of CIL and CIG (IG), epigraphy seems to have attracted more scholarly attention.

There was an increase in interest in inscriptions in the early 20th century, and the increased attention has remained constant. The *Journal of Roman Studies* surveys discoveries of inscriptions and the academic works on them starting from the period

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<sup>56</sup> Christer Bruun, "The Major Corpora and Epigraphic Publications", in Christer Bruun, and Jonathan Edmondson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford Handbooks (2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Jan. 2015): 66, 66-77, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195336467.013.004>.

<sup>57</sup> Alison E. Cooley, "A Technical Guide to Latin Epigraphy." Chapter. in *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, 327–448. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139020442.005.

between 1910-1960.<sup>58</sup> This fifty-year period is examined as a whole in a six-page long survey, and after 1960, the survey focuses on five-year periods, where papers get longer and longer due to the growing increase of attention to inscriptions. Although the period of time under investigation decreases to one-tenth of the first survey, from fifty years to five years, the length of surveys increased exponentially. The survey focusing on the period between 2006-2010 is 90 pages long with hundreds of entries, where authors start the paper by stating that it is no longer possible to provide a comprehensive coverage of all the studies published in a five-year period of time, because of the unmanageable quantity.<sup>59</sup> The 100-year survey then comes to an end, providing an invaluable source to trace the trends on epigraphic studies, and the discovery of new inscriptions.

Between 1910-1960, although there has been growing attention to the monumentality of inscriptions, epigraphists mainly focused on paleography for dating the texts where lettering and layout have been under investigation along with the content of the text. Classicist Joyce Reynolds relates the growing interest in paleography and monumentality to each other, where attention to monumentality and monumental context is labeled as an "archaeological" approach.<sup>60</sup> As argued by her, this approach displays a tendency to explore the medium that conveys the message. A major example is Arthur E. and his wife Joyce S. Gordon's "Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions"

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<sup>58</sup> Reynolds, "Inscriptions 1910-1960."

<sup>59</sup> Cooley and Salway, "Roman Inscriptions 2006-2010," 172.

<sup>60</sup> Reynolds, "Inscriptions 1910-1960," 204.

published by University of California Press between the years 1958 and 1965 in seven volumes.<sup>61</sup> They examined the lettering and layout of 365 inscriptions from Rome and its neighbors. On the side of Greek epigraphy, a 1940 study on the chronology of inscriptions from Hellenistic Athens was conducted by Pritchett and Meritt.<sup>62</sup> A rather different approach comes from Jean Mallon in 1952, in his book where he examines the way inscriptions are written, and trace their development from draft to the final version.<sup>63</sup> Looking at the studies conducted during this period, it is possible to say that the attention was more towards the scientific documentation, as the main concern was grouping the texts based on lettering and monumental features, to trace the trends and to create a method of dating undated texts. This way of approaching inscriptions remained more or less the same until the 1980s.

Although there is some exploration of broader concepts, most studies read the inscriptions as documents of history, highlighting their content more than any other aspect until rather recently (an exception might be the study of linguistics). As mentioned, works on the history of religion, law, politics, and literature benefited greatly from the content of inscriptions from the beginning of epigraphy studies. For

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<sup>61</sup> Carlos F. Norena and Nikolaos Papazarkadas, "From Document to History: Introduction," in *From Document to History: Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Carlos F. Norena and Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy, vol. 12 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2019): 2, 1-10, accessed August 12, 2023, <https://brill.com/view/serial/BSGRE>.

<sup>62</sup> William Kendrick Pritchett and Benjamin Dean Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940).

<sup>63</sup> Jean Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de filología, 1952), 189 p. (*Scripturae, monumenta et studia*, 3).

example, in his works, ancient historian and classicist Angelos Chaniotis looks into the epigraphic material to study the social and political context. In one of his papers, he studies the representation of imperial initiative and political atmosphere in Aphrodisias through the inscriptions.<sup>64</sup> In another paper, he looks into the divine and secular law in the Classical and Hellenistic period and examine the inherently conflicting authority of them.<sup>65</sup> Only with the introduction of new concepts the works became more specifically classified with the inclusion of different disciplines to the field.

One of the most prominent examples is the introduction of the "epigraphic habit" concept by the historian and classicist Ramsay MacMullen in 1982, which then became a popular concept in epigraphy. This conceptualization reflects the slowly building tendency of scholars to handle the inscriptions as a cultural activity of public communication, especially in the first 300 years of the Roman Empire where there was a significant increase in the epigraphic production.

MacMullen uses Egyptian ostraca and papyri to investigate the motives of inscribing texts in Roman Egypt between 1st and 3rd centuries AD. He chooses to work with this material for its convenience in quantity with nearly 4000 samples, and reliability as

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<sup>64</sup> Angelos Chaniotis, "The Perception of Imperial Power In Aphrodisias: The Epigraphic Evidence". in *The Representation and Perception Of Roman Imperial Power*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2003) doi: [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004401631\\_022](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004401631_022)

<sup>65</sup> Angelos Chaniotis, "Conflicting Authorities. Asyilia between Secular and Divine Law in the Classical and Hellenistic Poleis," *Kernos*, no. 9 (1996), <https://doi.org/10.4000/kernos.1157>.

the body of evidence proved to be safe after being traced three times in 1925, 1965, and 1980.<sup>66</sup> The study consists of numerous analysis from different regions through graphs on numbers of public and private papyri from Egypt, percentage of Latin and Greek inscriptions in Rome, frequency of Latin inscriptions during each emperor's reign, all within the scope of the period between 20-300 AD. The result of this detailed analysis displays no apparent force to trigger the urge to inscribe. He states the conclusion upfront in the first pages of the article: "...the epigraphic habit, within (inevitably within) the boundaries of the literate part of the population, traced its own distinct life-line: people who could write did so often or seldom according to motives so far unclear."<sup>67</sup> This study have influenced many works in the academia, cited or at least mentioned in almost every academic work on "epigraphic habit", a term coined by MacMullen himself.

After the publication of this highly influencing work by MacMullen, epigraphic habit became a concept frequently encountered in studies on inscriptions, where scholars approach epigraphic behavior as an act of culture and not a routine.<sup>68</sup> Studies of epigraphic habit go hand in hand with "epigraphic curve", another widely attributed concept that is rather focused on the quantitative analysis of inscriptions, where the number of inscriptions dating back to specific periods are compared, usually on a bar

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<sup>66</sup> MacMullen, "Epigraphic Habit," 234.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>68</sup> Dominika Grzesik, *Honorific Culture at Delphi in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 09 Dec. 2021): 13, 13-39, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004502499>.

graph, and peaks and lows are analyzed through the social and political context of the time. This method is applied in many provinces of the Roman Empire in an attempt to explore epigraphic behavior. As already mentioned, MacMullen employs this technique to examine Egyptian epigraphic habit (Figure 8); in addition, practically almost every researcher who has been inspired by MacMullen's methodology also employs this technique. For example, with the help of this method, Dominika Grzesik on her paper where she frequently refers to MacMullen, finds out that the epigraphic production Delphi is mostly honorary and reaches its peak during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC,<sup>69</sup> which contrasts with the epigraphic boom in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, observed especially in the eastern provinces of the empire (Figure 9).

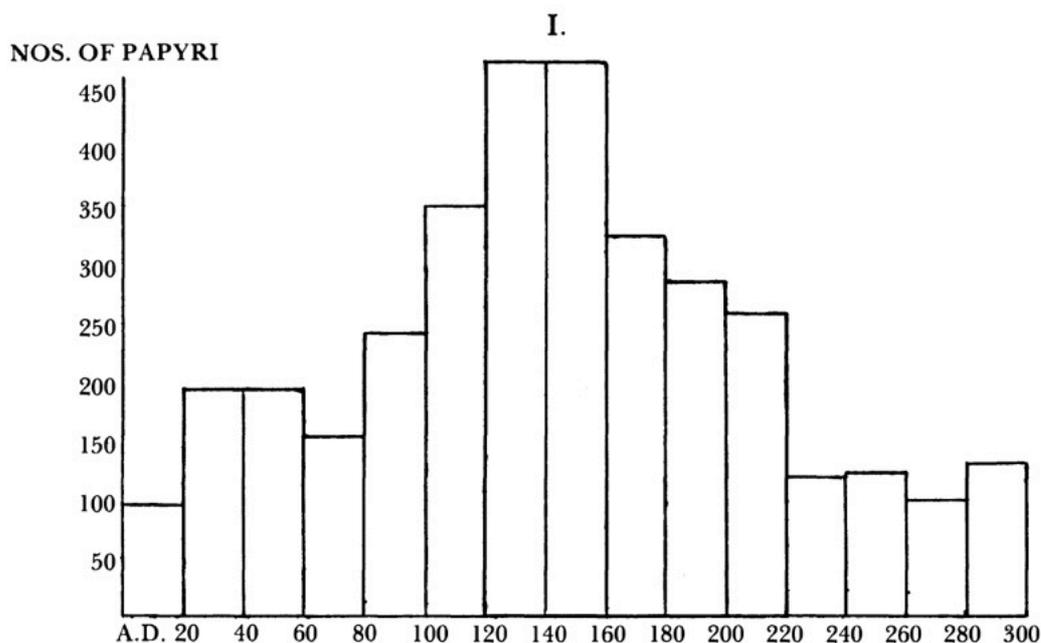


Figure 8: A bar graph displaying the epigraphic curve in Roman Egypt through number of Papyri dating back to 20-300 AD.

Source: Ramsay MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire," *The American Journal of Philology* 103, no. 3 (1982): 235. Table I.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

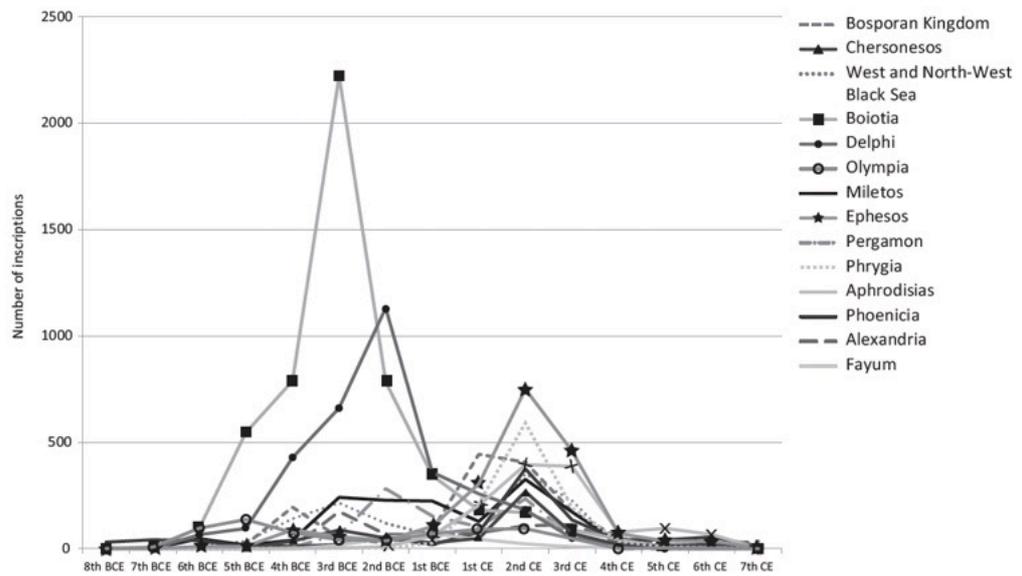


Figure 9: Epigraphic curves in the cities and regions of Eastern Mediterranean, by century.

Source: Krzysztof Nawotka, ed., *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2020), 222. Graph 11.1.

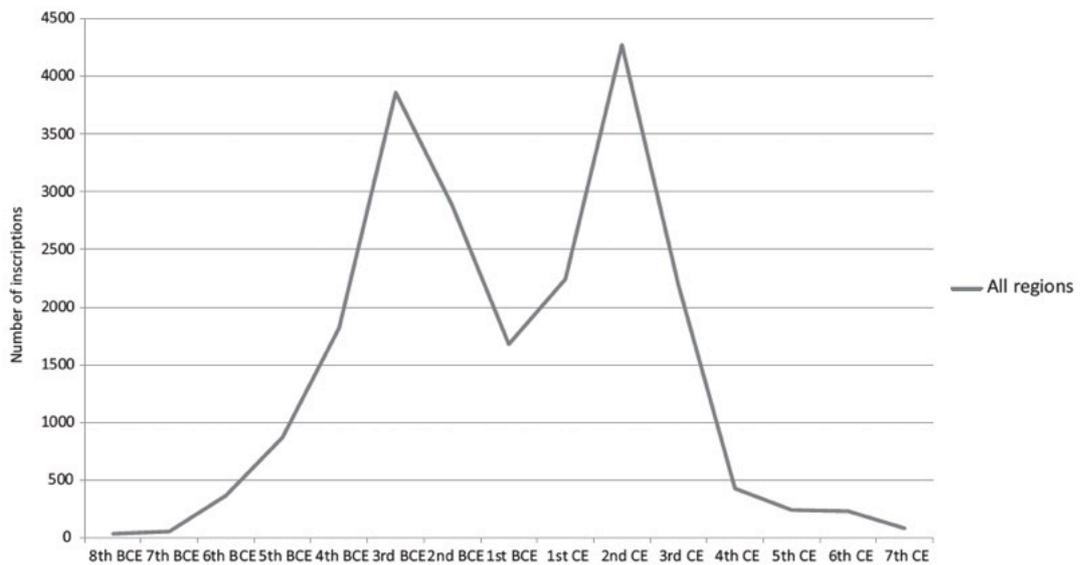


Figure 10: A cumulation of the different epigraphic curves in the Eastern Mediterranean in general, showing the “epigraphic boom” in 2nd century AD.

Source: Krzysztof Nawotka, ed., *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2020), 222. Graph 11.2.

On another continent of the empire, Elizabeth A. Meyer develops MacMullen's approach within the context of North African epitaphs between 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, detects a significant increase in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and relates it with commemorative culture.<sup>70</sup>

Another important scholar who made great contributions to the field, ancient historian Greg Woolf notes that the concept of epigraphic habit contributed greatly to the corpus of epigraphy by calling out to take the audience of inscriptions into consideration while researching, and he proceeds to do so in his paper on Roman monumental writing.<sup>71</sup> There is a whole book dedicated to examining the epigraphic behavior, production and perception in the Roman east, namely "Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity" with 10 chapters focusing on different provinces, and all of them make use of the concept of epigraphic habit.<sup>72</sup> There are numerous examples of works that adopt and develop MacMullen's concept, and they constitute evidence on the claim that each province in the Roman Empire had its own cultural approach to epigraphy.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Elizabeth A. Meyer, "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 82, 74–96. <https://doi.org/10.2307/300281>.

<sup>71</sup> Greg Woolf, "Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996): 24, 22–39. <https://doi.org/10.2307/300421>.

<sup>72</sup> Krzysztof Nawotka, ed., *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2020).

<sup>73</sup> Woolf, "Monumental Writing," 23.

## 2.2. Public Display of Inscriptions

In academia, explorations like this popularized a new approach to the study of inscriptions where the public display of inscriptions is considered. This comprehensive approach -where factors like citizenship, audience, literacy, and monumentality are examined in detail along with the content of inscriptions- led to an expansion of the scholarly works, as the inclusiveness enabled scholars from various fields to explore their take on the study of inscriptions with their professions in architecture, art history, archaeology, digital humanities, and architectural history. For example, in her doctoral study, architect Amy Papalexandrou investigates how the architecture, sculpture and inscriptions work together in the 9<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine church, The Church of the Virgin of Skripou.<sup>74</sup> A prominent name in the literature, Charlotte Rouche, with her special interest in epigraphy and digital humanities, investigates the use of public space and ceremonial behavior in Ephesos and Aphrodisias, by looking at late antique epigraphy on acclamations.<sup>75</sup> As an art historian, Anne Marie Yasin looks into Roman funerary epigraphy and states that they contribute greatly to the construction of Christian collective memory and cohesion within the Christian community.<sup>76</sup> In another study, Yasin also argues that the funerary inscriptions in Church of S. Maria

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<sup>74</sup> Amy Papalexandrou, "The Church of the Virgin of Skripou: Architecture, Sculpture and Inscriptions in Ninth-Century Byzantium" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1997).

<sup>75</sup> C. M. Roueche, "Looking for Late Antique Ceremonial: Ephesos and Aphrodisias," in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (Eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposions Wien 1995*, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 161-170.

<sup>76</sup> Ann Marie Yasin, "Funerary Monuments and Collective Identity: From Roman Family to Christian Community." *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 3 (2005): 433–57. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25067190>.

in Travestere were more than historical documents but sacred objects, due to the fact that they were made visible by the Church in order to make the history of Christianity more accessible.<sup>77</sup> Using archaeological discoveries, written records, and inscriptions, art historian and archaeologist Joannis Mylonopoulos explores how changes in rituals shaped the architecture of their "spaces of performance."<sup>78</sup> Architectural historians Gregor Kalas and Diane Favro created a 4D digital reconstruction of late antique inscriptions and statues in the Roman Forum to understand the ritual experience, within HyperCities, a digital humanities project on mapping.<sup>79</sup>

Before these efforts to understand the epigraphic habit, culture, or behavior, studies were rather focused on more "formal" texts like imperial, funerary, or honorary inscriptions. This leaves out graffiti, another recently popularized topic in epigraphy. Ancient graffiti, unlike other forms of inscriptions, only sometimes gives precise or attainable information on central topics of history. Consequently, graffiti is usually brought up in the studies that question the ancient urge to inscribe and immortalize by leaving a mark and is regarded as a part of the epigraphic habit. Moreover, as graffiti is usually paired with dipinti (engraved, sketchy drawings) they also contribute to the studies on ancient literacy. Historian John Bodel shows the example of a graffiti with

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<sup>77</sup> Ann Marie Yasin, "Displaying the Sacred Past: Ancient Christian Inscriptions in Early Modern Rome," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 7, no. 1 (2000): 39–57, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30222652>.

<sup>78</sup> Joannis Mylonopoulos, "The Dynamics of Ritual Space in the Hellenistic and Roman East," *Kernos* 21 (2008): <http://journals.openedition.org/kernos/1601>. doi:<https://doi.org/10.4000/kernos.1601>.

<sup>79</sup> "Ritual Experience - Inscriptions," YouTube, November 1, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2yaTlMAa7A>.

dipinti in the Forum of Caesar in Rome in his study on ancient inscriptions and literacy (Figure 11).<sup>80</sup> L. Y. Lee argues that it is a crucial part of an individual's expression of a sense of community,<sup>81</sup> and Ömür Harmanşah further emphasizes this point by stating that carefully analyzed graffiti could be a valuable tool of analyzing collective creativity and performance.<sup>82</sup> Greg Woolf argues that not only the graffiti but also the more "insignificant" writings, such as notices on a temple's walls and inscriptions on everyday objects, should be handled as a whole with the more formal inscriptions in order to understand the place of epigraphy in the Roman public.<sup>83</sup>

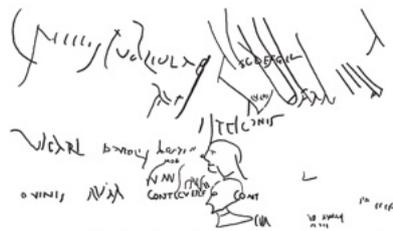


Figure 11: Graffiti on the wall of Forum of Caesar in Rome, with dipinti and graffiti.

Source: John Bodell, 'Inscriptions and Literacy', in Christer Bruun, and Jonathan Edmondson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford Handbooks (2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Jan. 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195336467.013.034>, 747, Figure 34.1.

<sup>80</sup> John Bodell, 'Inscriptions and Literacy', in Christer Bruun, and Jonathan Edmondson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford Handbooks (2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Jan. 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195336467.013.034>, accessed 10 Aug. 2023.

<sup>81</sup> L. Y. Lee, "Foreword," in L. Goodwin and K. Koval, *This is Modern Art*, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016): 9, 7-13.

<sup>82</sup> Ömür Harmanşah, "Graffiti or Monument? Inscription of Place at Anatolian Rock Reliefs," in *Scribbling through History: Graffiti, Places and People from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Chloé Ragazzoli et al. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019): 62, 49–65.

<sup>83</sup> Woolf, "Monumental Writing," 24.

So, even something small in impact like graffiti can effectively contribute in understanding the ancient world, and be interpreted as an individual's way of communication -clustering of graffiti in certain places show the desire to engage in a conversation, informing us about the ancient use of space and human behavior.<sup>84</sup> Rebecca R. Benefiel's work on House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii shows that there is a significant cluster of textual graffiti on the third floor of the house, predominantly in frequented central spaces.<sup>85</sup> This gives an insight on where people spend their time the most, and on the social interactions. People would scratch a piece of graffiti to leave a mark, claim superiority or ownership of something, get in a conversation and even argue.

Maybe the most fitting form for inscribed dialogues, graffiti dialogues were widespread especially in Pompeii. A famous and humorous example is the one from a tavern, where two men in first-century Pompeii named Severus and Successus fight over a girl named Iris, apparently someone who they both love. Severus starts the fight by writing that Iris did not love Successus, and adds "A rival wrote this, see you" at the end. Successus responds with a mildly threatening attitude, saying that he is not only handsome but strong. Severus responds: "I said it, I wrote it. You love Iris, who doesn't care about you."<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Rebecca R. Benefiel, "Dialogues of Ancient Graffiti in the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii," *American Journal of Archaeology* 114, no. 1 (2010): 87, 59–101, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20627644>.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Benefiel, "Dialogues," 66.

As much as broader concepts around inscriptions have received some attention especially after 1980s, there are not many works that focus on the architectonic features of inscriptions. It is rare to encounter elaborate discussions on inscriptions within an architectural space, nevertheless, these infrequent studies prove to be highly valuable, introducing new perspectives to the field.

Architectural historian Suna Güven examines the renown *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, inscribed in both Latin and Ancient Greek on the walls of the Temple of Augustus in Ankara, Türkiye (Figure 12). It is a widely studied inscription written by the founder of the Roman Empire, Emperor Augustus, on his accomplishments. A remarkable feature of this inscription is that it adds to the value of the building it is inscribed on. The Temple of Augustus is already a sacred place, and the *Res Gestae* inscription makes it a “monument in service of imperial ideology”, in Güven’s words.<sup>87</sup> Evidence shows that the temple was not intended to host *Res Gestae* inscription, moreover, it was a temple dedicated to Meter Theon (Magna Mater), mother goddess of Anatolia. Augustus chose this specific building amongst other potential options much likely for its connection with the cult of Asia Minor, which adds another layer of significance to the setting. This indicates that the interplay between the building and the inscription is very much designed, as well as the perception of them together.

The inscription's setting and multilingual nature prove that it was a symbol of the unity of Anatolian Romans, who were dispersed across the Roman Empire and regularly

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<sup>87</sup> Güven, “*Res Gestae*,” 30.

traveled to the capital Ancyra of Galatia. Even though central Anatolia hosted Greek-speaking Romans, *Res Gestae* is inscribed in both Greek and Latin, where the presence of Latin transmits a message of Roman citizenship. As J. N. Adams states, bilingual inscriptions were not aiming for maximum readership, but conveying a sense of Roman imperial power and inclusiveness with the presence of Latin text.<sup>88</sup> Suna Güven’s study on the “queen of inscriptions” display a remarkable example of the interplay between the inscription and its architectural setting.



Figure 12: *Res gestae divi augusti*, engraved on the walls of Temple of Augustus in Ankara, Türkiye.

Source: Matson Photo Service, “Turkey. Ankara. Temple of Augustus Caesar. Greek Inscription,” Library of Congress, n.d., <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2019696663/>.

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<sup>88</sup> James Noel Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 32.

In her 2011 book, Julia Shear argues that civic inscriptions found on the western side of the Agora of Athens engaged with structures, activities within them, as well as neighboring inscriptions and monuments. By encountering these collections and the inscriptions, citizens were repeatedly reminded of enduring narratives concerning democratic citizenship and Athens' political history.<sup>89</sup> With a more holistic approach to inscriptions, Shear investigates the inscriptions in their physical, social and political contexts; and draws attention to the role of architecture and setting.

In 2013, classical archaeologist Abigail Graham explores concepts of monumentality, literacy, bilingualism and architectural interpellation through the inscriptions in Ephesos, where she emphasizes the importance of physical context and in part criticizes the content-based approach, right at the start with the title “The Word Is Not Enough”.<sup>90</sup> On monumentality, she highlights that the perception of claim of imperial power is much stronger in sacred settings like the Artemision at Ephesos, and refers to inscriptions as “objects” within the architectural or urban context.<sup>91</sup> There is a preconception of a textual object that it is bound to be read, which creates a prerequisite of literacy. However, in this approach where the display of inscriptions in an architectural setting is regarded more prominent than other factors, textual feature of

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<sup>89</sup> Julia L. Shear, *Polis and Revolution: Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>90</sup> Abigail S. Graham. “The Word Is Not Enough: A New Approach to Assessing Monumental Inscriptions. A Case Study from Roman Ephesos.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 117, no. 3 (2013): 383–412. <https://doi.org/10.3764/aja.117.3.0383>.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 385.

inscriptions lose their significance, at least for the ancient viewer. Graham captures this in her take on monumentality:

In a way, reading an inscription as a text is like reading a play: one can read the text and stage directions in the upper margins, but this reading does not capture the dram of performance, which is conveyed by the set, the costumes, the actors, and the inflection of voice.<sup>92</sup>

In this sense, the architectural setting does so much work that literacy almost becomes an option. By manipulating monumental features and setting of inscriptions, even the illiterate could benefit from the epigraphic material. Graham's take on this matter displays a developed version of the epigraphic habit, often referred as the "epigraphic culture".

Joseph W. Day states that monuments featuring epigrams often engaged in interactive and sometimes competitive dialogues with others of their kind. These exchanges unfolded within public spaces, drawing visitors into the spatial dynamics, and transforming them into active participants.<sup>93</sup> So, their categorized setting within a designated place allowed viewers to observe and read numerous individual pieces, and to connect them mentally. For instance, encountering multiple family monuments allowed individuals to construct an understanding of a family and its history. This notion extends to competitive dynamics too; an achievement of a particular state or

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Joseph W. Day, "The 'Spatial Dynamics' of Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram: Conversations among Locations, Monuments, Texts, and Viewer-Readers," in *The Materiality of Text – Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity*, 73–104 (Leiden: 2018). doi:10.1163/9789004379435\_005.

athlete remained vivid when inscribed. In this sense, individual texts collectively contributed to a greater whole.

Other scholars take spatial dynamics into consideration while handling inscriptions, although not focusing solely on them. For example, art historian Ann Marie Yasin, on her paper on the display of Christian inscriptions, immediately addresses the architecture, and claim that the architectural setting of inscriptions supplants their function.<sup>94</sup> Francisco Beltran Lloris, in his take on the Roman epigraphic habit, makes use of the floor plan of the forum at Thamugadi, where the findspots of inscriptions are marked,<sup>95</sup> much like Roueche's mapping work of inscriptions at Aphrodisias.<sup>96</sup>

If we look at the material itself rather than how it is handled in academia, we see that epigraphic findings are abundant from the cities of Roman Eastern Mediterranean and they display a diverse epigraphic tradition, not limited to Latin or Ancient Greek. As the Mediterranean geography played host to many civilizations throughout history, there are many inscriptions that come in the languages of Lydian, Aramaic, Hittite, or Luwian, often appearing individually or in combinations. The linguistic diversity serves as evidence of the cultural and historical complexity of the region. For example,

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<sup>94</sup> Yasin, "Displaying the Sacred Past."

<sup>95</sup> Francisco Beltrán Lloris, "The 'Epigraphic Habit' in the Roman World," in Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford Handbooks (2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195336467.013.008>, accessed August 12, 2023.

<sup>96</sup> Charlotte Roueche, "Main Plan," *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: Main plan*, accessed August 13, 2023, <https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/iPlans/index.html>.

a bilingual inscription from Sardis dating back to the 4th century BC reads in Lydian and Aramaic, and another bilingual funerary inscription from Lmiyra comes in Aramaic and Ancient Greek (Figure 13).<sup>97</sup> These are among the examples of many bilingual inscriptions that shed light onto the multicultural and rooted epigraphic tradition that extends through the cities of the ancient Eastern Mediterranean.



Figure 13: Sardis bilingual inscription, in Lydian and Aramaic languages.

Source: “Inscription. Lydo-Aramaic bilingual. no. L. 17 Littman. found on north slope,” *Archaeological Archives* <https://vrc.princeton.edu/archives/items/show/20566>

### **2.3. The Epigraphic Habit in Roman Asia Minor**

Although epigraphy is a popular historiography method among the cities in the eastern Mediterranean, the lack of similarity in epigraphic cultures between these cities does not lead us beyond the inference that epigraphy is only a widely employed practice in this geography. As a result of a comprehensive study involving many cities, no common and significant epigraphic trend or pattern was found among the cities in the

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<sup>97</sup> H.C. Butler, *Sardis I: The Excavations, Part 1: 1910-1914*, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1922).

Eastern Mediterranean and even in the more limited area of Asia Minor.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, the wealth of inscriptions dating back to different periods in nearby cities in the area show that epigraphy was a big part of cultural production, especially in ancient Asia Minor. Cities such as Ephesus, Miletos, Aphrodisias, and Pergamon hosted an abundance of inscriptions where each of them respectively had 5766, 2475, 3344, and 1305 inscriptions. One might argue that these cities were important centers in Ancient Greece and in the Roman Empire, which explains the abundance of inscriptions. However, it is not accurate to claim that every major city had a similar quantity of inscriptions. A study reveals that Alexandria, one of the largest cities of the Roman East, has less inscriptions than all the aforementioned cities of Asia Minor, despite its size, prosperity and population.<sup>99</sup> Another example is Phoenicia, a wealthy civilization of the Levant with a rooted tradition of writing, and has less inscriptions (2578) than relatively minor city of Ephesus (5766).<sup>100</sup> These examples display that the habit of inscribing is more about culture than resources. The evidence from Phoenicia also displays that there is no direct link between writing and inscribing. Moreover, even though the increase in the epigraphic production or the plenitude of inscriptions are generally associated with “Romanization”, in Asia Minor, most cities already had a history of inscribing before they were Romanized. All of these lead us to the conclusion that there was a cultural tendency to inscribe in Asia Minor, that led each city in the area to establish its own epigraphic habit. The inscriptions were also

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<sup>98</sup> Nawotka, *Epigraphic Culture*.

<sup>99</sup> Nawotka, *Epigraphic Culture*, 216.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

utilized within urban settings, and when they are handled together with the urban landscape, inscriptions provide valuable insights into how public spaces functioned in ancient cities. Ephesus, in this regard, is an outstanding example. Epigraphic evidence suggests that the inscribed statue bases in Curetes Street (Embolos) in Ephesus were relocated and placed along the street to set the scene for the statue of the empress for a ceremonial function (Figure 14).<sup>101</sup> These inscriptions were dedications to the victorious of Ephesus, and created an “image of victory.” This is an invaluable example to understand the contribution of inscriptions to the urban landscape in Asia Minor, as Roueche argues that the findings about the ceremonial behavior of eastern Roman cities are all complementary, and the evidence of one enables us to understand the other better.<sup>102</sup>

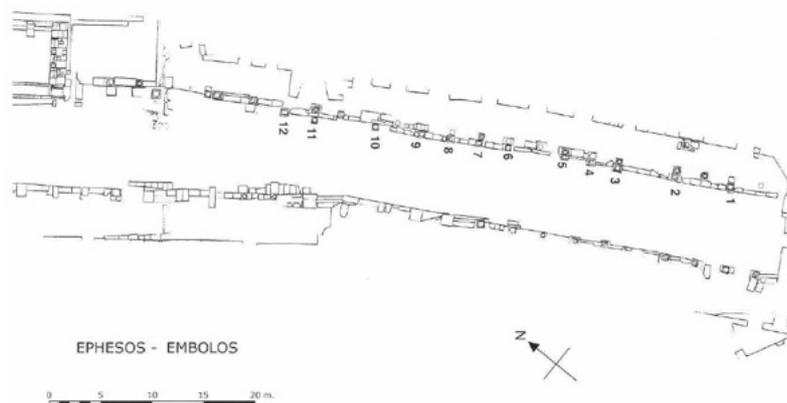


Figure 14: Locations of inscriptions along the Curetes Street in Ephesus.

Source: Adapted from Charlotte Roueche, "The Image of Victory: New Evidence from Ephesus," in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, ed. Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, vol. 14 (2002): 529. Figure 2.

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<sup>101</sup> Charlotte Roueche, "The Image of Victory: New Evidence from Ephesus," in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, ed. Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, vol. 14 (2002): 527-546.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 546.

This thesis explores the epigraphic production and dissemination in Magnesia on the Maeander, a prominent city in Asia Minor with its significant share of epigraphic production and tradition in Asia Minor. There is a substantial textual richness in Magnesia. 400 inscriptions, which were documented in detail by Otto Kern for the first time, were scattered in various parts of the city. Inscriptions in general, and asyilia archive in particular have been in the center of scholarly attention, especially since the wealth of data creates a fertile ground for research. In his book “Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability In The Hellenistic World” where he examines the asyilia texts from various Hellenistic cities, Kent J. Rigsby gives a great deal of attention to Magnesia on the Meander as the largest corpus of asyilia inscriptions comes from Magnesia,<sup>103</sup> with 65 documents (from Kern no. 16 to no. 87) on the inviolability and sacredness of the city.<sup>104</sup> Sosin, Sarıkaya, Saba, Unwin, Ceccarelli, Thonemann and many more made valuable contributions to studies on Magnesian inscriptions through examining the asyilia documents of Magnesia as a whole or in certain parts, some of them focusing on one specific inscription.<sup>105</sup> For example, the inscription that marks the start of asyilia documents, I.Magnesia 16, gives a great deal of information about Artemis Leukophryene, her temple and her cult; thus, works on the city’s religion use this inscription as the primary source of the study. Other frequently encountered inscriptions are I.Magnesia 100A-B on Isiteria Festival, which is not one of the asyilia documents, and constitutes the basis of the papers on the festivals of Magnesia.

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<sup>103</sup> Saba, "Magnesia on the Meander."

<sup>104</sup> Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability*.

<sup>105</sup> Sosin, "Magnesian Inviolability"; Sarıkaya “Asyilia”; Sara Saba, "Magnesia on the Meander"; Unwin, “Inscribing History”; Ceccarelli, “Letters and Decrees”; Thonemann, “Greeks of Asia”.

The richness and versatility of epigraphic material, disseminated throughout the public spaces in the city, provide the opportunity to trace a wordscape in Magnesia. Over 400 texts, inscribed on both horizontal and vertical surfaces, are utilized in diverse ways to guide movement, convey solidarity, enhance citizenship, show off diplomatic achievements or piety of the state. These inscriptions were intentionally set up to interact with the beholder, as an integral part of the architecture and urban design in the public areas. The sheer number of inscriptions, their intentional placement and various functions, provide compelling evidence that there is indeed a vibrant and multifaceted wordscape in Magnesia, that deserves thorough investigation and exploration.



Figure 15: Two examples of inscribed blocks found throughout Magnesia.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

## CHAPTER 3

### URBAN HISTORY OF MAGNESIA ON THE MEANDER

Before analyzing the inscriptions in Magnesia in detail, it is useful to examine the city, where they are scattered on horizontal and vertical surfaces throughout. Since not only the content of the inscriptions but also the physical context in which they are found is very important, the architecture of the public spaces in the city will be closely studied in this chapter. The earliest excavations in the city took place more than a hundred years ago, so the sources and documentation on Magnesia are abundant. In particular, Carl Humann, Julius Kohte and Carl Watzinger's 1904 book *Magnesia am Maeander*<sup>106</sup> and Otto Kern's 1900 book *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*<sup>107</sup> are very important sources for the city's architecture and inscriptions. These sources will be frequently cited. In addition to these sources, the works that will be frequently cited include publications of Orhan Bingöl, who was the excavation head at Magnesia between 1984 and 2021, and Görkem Kökdemir, who took over the position from 2021 onwards. Particular focus will be held on four main areas, one area at a time, in the following order: The Artemision (Sanctuary), Agora, Theater and The Stadion. Certainly, here's an elongated version of your text by 5-7 words without subtracting anything: These areas of focus, which have been carefully considered, are

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<sup>106</sup> Humann, Kohte and Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*.

<sup>107</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*.

by no means reflective of the actual extent of the city. However, they are the most relevant both within the context of the thesis and the available data regarding the inscriptions at hand.

Magnesia on the Maeander is located on the Menderes (Maeander) valley, the area that hosts many ancient cities including Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Priene and Alabanda, each of them leaving traces around the valley if not standing tall to this day. Magnesia is one of the oldest ancient cities in the area with a significant location at the center of the triangle formed by Ephesus, Tralles and Priene (Figure 16).

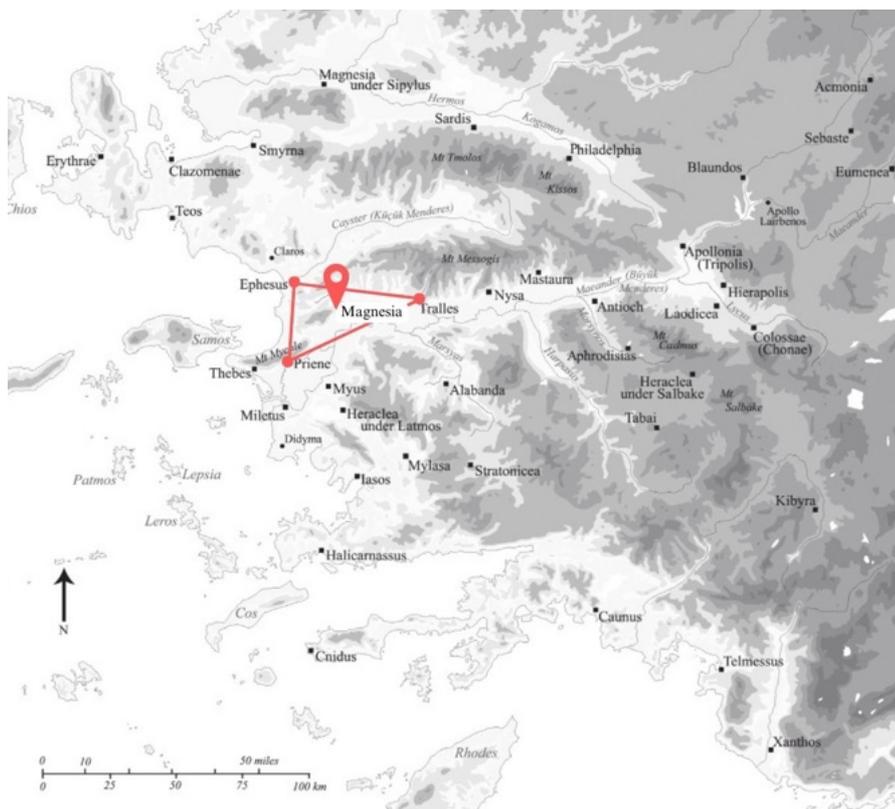


Figure 16: Map of Maeander Valley, showing Magnesia's place within the triangle formed by Ephesus, Tralles, and Priene.

Source: Adapted from Peter Thonemann, "The Maeander Valley." Chapter. In *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium*, xxiv-xxvi. Greek Culture in the Roman World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511974847.003.

The ancient city is located in present-day Aydın, Türkiye; within the borders of Tekinköy Neighborhood in Germencik district. The renowned “Founding Myth” inscription dating back to late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (I. Magnesia 17, also known as Ktisis) found in the south-west corner of the Agora, reveals that the history of Magnesia on the Maeander starts one generation before Trojan War, around late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC with the reign of Gyges of Lydia.<sup>108</sup> There is an interesting remark of this inscription, that its content is about the events of a thousand years ago. Orhan Bingöl claims that this was Magnesians’ attempt on accepting themselves through propaganda since for a city to have the custody of a temple (neokoros), it had to descend from Hellen.<sup>109</sup> Studies on this inscription unveil the extensive past of Mangesia and reveals that Magnesians were involved with the city’s founding, history, and diplomacy. Magnesia is one of the few cities that had an inscription on their origin, and although the beginning and the end is missing, the text provides a lot of information on the origin myth of Magnesia:<sup>110</sup>

... when, after some time, they had rapidly completed the things for which they had come, they awaited the signal of the god to return. When he (the god) took his time, they founded a prosperous city on Crete, in the middle of the plain of Gortyn and Phaistos. They settled their children and wives and handed down to their descendants the instructions of the god about their migration. Around eighty years after their arrival, white crows appeared, and immediately, with sacrifices of thanks to the god, they sent a delegation to Delphi to ask about whether they could return to their own land. This happened when Themisto was priestess in Argos, while Xenyllos was in his ninth year as proarchon in Delphi. But the god gave them an oracle contrary to their wishes: ‘You Magnesians have come here, turned away from distant Crete, having seen a bird with white wings in place of black. It appeared to you mortals as a portent, and you desire to know whether it is advantageous for you to return to your fatherland. But you must go to a land away from your fatherland. My father

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<sup>108</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>110</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 16.

and myself and my sister will take care that the Magnesians will not have poorer soil to divide among themselves than the land which Peneios and high Pelion hold.’ Having received the advice of the oracle about their return home, they hastened to accomplish the message of the god, and they sent back to ask where they should be dispatched and in what way. The god replied: ‘Noble Magnesians, you have asked where you should go. The man who stands before the doors of the temple will lead you and show you the way to the land of Pamphylia, beyond high Mount Mykale. There you will find the wealthy house of Mandrolytos with his many possessions on the banks of the much winding river. There the Olympian will bestow victory and great glory upon those who defend themselves and do not rule by trickery.’ Then they inquired who this man was who would lead them away, and from where he came, the god replied: ‘There is in the sanctuary a brave man, descended from the line of Glaukos, who will be the first to meet you when you leave my temple; for it has been ordained. He will show you land rich in corn on the mainland.’ Having met Leukippos, as prophesied, and having renewed their kinship with him, and having shown him the oracles, he gladly heeded it; nevertheless, he asked a question of the god himself, and the oracle proclaimed: ‘Set off to the Pamphylian gulf, Leukippos, and lead the arms-bearing people of Magnesia, your kinsmen, to Mount Thorax by the precipitous Manthios River and high Mount Mykale, opposite Endymion. There the Magnesians will inhabit the house of Mandrolytos and be prosperous and admired by the neighbouring cities.<sup>111</sup>

As per the inscription, upon the prophecy of Apollo, Magnesians left their homeland Thessaly and settled on the island of Crete, where they lived for 80 years waiting for the appearance of white crows as a signal from the God, to fulfill the prophecy. When the white crows finally appeared, they sent a delegation to Delphi for another oracle, hoping to return to their homeland Thessaly. But the oracle of Apollo told them to follow the lead of Leukippos and settle on the fertile lands of the Meander (“Manthios” in the inscription). Magnesians migrated to the city of Mandrolytus, near Mount Thorax (Gümüşdağ) on the bank of Manthios River (Meander River) under the lead of Leukippos. There, Leukippos met the daughter of Mandrolytus, namely

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<sup>111</sup> Naomi Carless Unwin, "Appendices," App-group, in *Caria and Crete in Antiquity: Cultural Interaction between Anatolia and the Aegean*, 215, 213–30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), doi:10.1017/9781108151801.010.

Leucophryene, who opened the gates of her father's city for Magnesians.<sup>112</sup> There the Old Magnesia (Palaimagnesia) was founded. There is no precise information on where this initial city was founded, but evidence suggests that it was located not very far from today's Magnesia.<sup>113</sup>



Figure 17: A view of Mount Thorax (Gümüşdağ) as seen from the Temple of Artemis.

Source: Photographed by the author.

The old city was captured by the Lydian King Gyges in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, and was destroyed by the Cimmerians, an equestrian nomadic tribe, in 657 BC. The city was later rebuilt with the help of Ephesians.<sup>114</sup> In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the city fell under the Persian rule after the seize of Commander Mezares. Nearly 130 years later in the early

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<sup>112</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 20.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>114</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 24.

4<sup>th</sup> century, Spartan Commander Thibron captured Magnesia, and the new city was founded around 392 BC. So, the “Palaimagnesia” refers to the period between 7<sup>th</sup> century and early 4<sup>th</sup> century. During the foundation of the new city, the Temple of Artemis was still in its Archaic state. In the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, King of Macedonia, Alexander the Great captured the city. The reign of Seleucids around 240 BC is known as a glorious era (along with the rule of the Kingdom of Pergamon around 189 BC). The temple and sanctuary took on their Hellenistic form in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC with the renovation of architect Hermogenes, around the same time where the first Leukophryene games<sup>115</sup> were held.<sup>116</sup> Under the reign of the Kingdom of Pergamon, Magnesia fought a war with Miletos and won, after which the city borders expanded.<sup>117</sup> In 133 BC, Magnesia became an independent city under the rule of Roman Empire after the Kingdom of Pergamon was bequeathed to Rome, and was the seventh city of the Province of Asia according to the coins of 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>118</sup> During the Roman period, the city expanded once more, suggesting an increase in the population as well.<sup>119</sup> Following the Gothic invasion in 262 AD, Magnesia became a Byzantine

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<sup>115</sup> Leukophryene games was wreath-rewarded games held in Magnesia on Meander. Magnesians showed intense diplomatic efforts to elevate the status of the institution of Leukophryene games and to make it an equivalent of Pythian games (one of the four Panhellenic games, held in honor of Apollo, in Delphi). As a result of their efforts, Leukophryene games became equivalent to Pythian games (iso-Pythian), and the inscribed documents of these diplomatic affairs were displayed to the public in the Agora, among the asyilia archive.

<sup>116</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 26.

<sup>117</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 35.

<sup>118</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 29.

<sup>119</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 35.

diocese in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, until the 12<sup>th</sup> century “Beylik” period in the city.<sup>120</sup>

Later, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, land of Magnesia became a part of the Ottoman Empire.

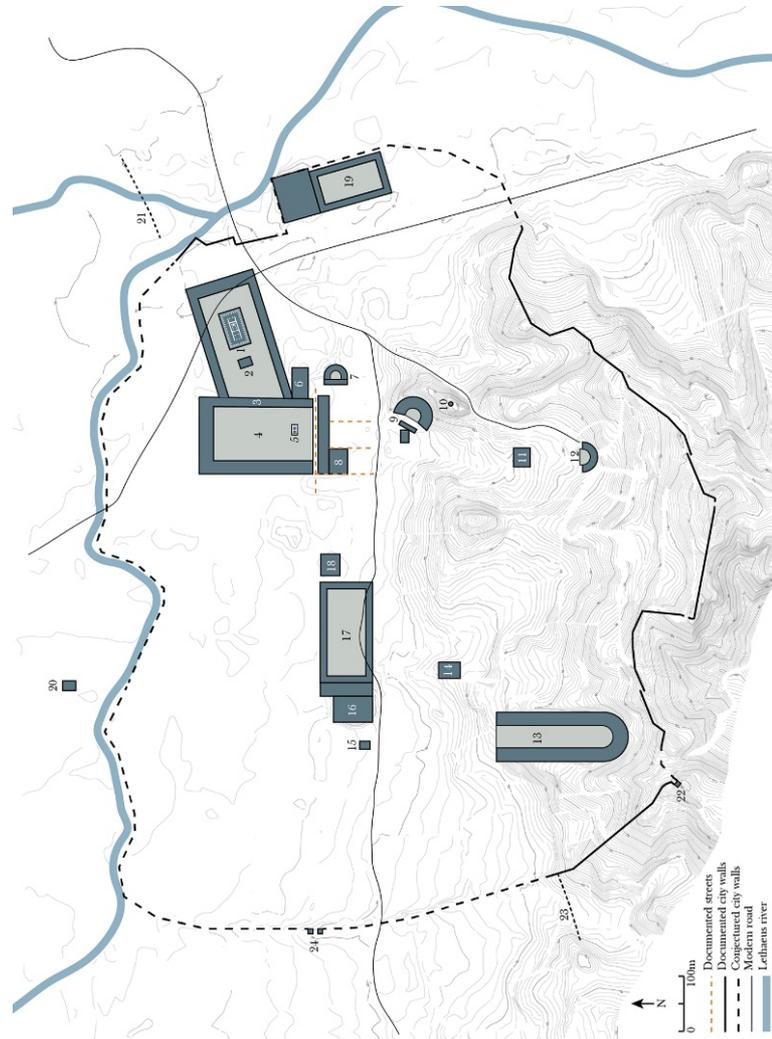


Figure 18: Actual state plan of Magnesia on the Maeander. (1) Temple of Artemis Leukophryne (2) Altar of Artemis (3) Propylaea (4) Agora (5) Temple of Zeus Sosipolis (6) Market basilica (7) Odeion (8) Prytaneion (9) Theater (10) Temple of Athena (11) Dioscuri (12) Theatron (13) Stadion (14) Serapeion (15) Temple of Dionysos (16) Gymnasium baths (17) Gymnasium palaestra (18) Large roman building (19) Lethaios gymnasium (20) Roman temple (21) Remains of bridge (22) Tower (23) Aqueduct (24) Gate of Ephesus.

Source: Marie Saldana, "Cave and City: A Procedural Reconstruction of the Urban Topography of Magnesia on the Maeander" (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2015), 12. Figure 2.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 27.

Although Magnesia was registered as “First Grade Archaeological Site” in 1990, a large part of the site is still private property.<sup>121</sup> The city covers an area of 1.5 km in diameter, surrounded by walls, some remains of which have survived to the present day. On its western border is a gate of Ephesus, and similarly in Ephesus the gate of the road leading to the south is called the gate of Magnesia.

As part of her doctoral research, Marie Saldana examined the residential fabric of Magnesia, resulting in the proposal of a gridal residential layout. Due to the scarcity of excavations and discoveries in the residential area, Saldana utilized Priene and Abdera as case studies for comparative analysis. Incorporating the grid derived from the city's public spaces and main roads, she formulated a “domus rule.” According to Saldana’s domus rule, houses were oriented towards the major east-west roads, while also allowing for southern sun exposure in the courtyards.<sup>122</sup> Within this rule, Saldana generated multiple variations of potential housing types in Magnesia (Figure 19).



Figure 19: Housing types in Magnesia, generated with Saldana’s domus rule.

Source: Marie Saldana, "Cave and City: A Procedural Reconstruction of the Urban Topography of Magnesia on the Maeander" (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2015), 64. Figure 20.

Having examined the general urban fabric of Magnesia, let us shift the focus to the areas where most inscriptions were found. The Artemision, Agora, Theater, and

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<sup>121</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 31.

<sup>122</sup> Saldana, “Cave and City,” 85.

Stadion were highly frequented public areas and also a part of Magnesia's festivals. Examining these areas to set the scene before delving into the inscriptions they host is essential to constitute the foundation of the arguments in this thesis.

### **3.1. The Artemision (Sanctuary)**

A widely studied area in the city, the Artemision refers to the buildings and monuments inside the boundary defined by the stoas, and the stoas' immediate surroundings: The Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, The Altar of Artemis, sacrifice area, assembly area, stoas, latrine (public toilets), and a library. Today, main access to the ancient city goes through the Artemision, which is the first area visitors see upon entering the site.

The cult of Artemis was a big part of Magnesia's identity. The city annually organized wreathed games in the honor of Artemis, called the "Leukophryene games". In the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, citizens of Magnesia decided to elevate the status of Leukophryene games, and make it a part of the Panhellenic games.<sup>123</sup> Pan- meaning "all" and Hellenic meaning "a Greek", Panhellenic games were open to the participation of everyone from the Greek lands. There were four major Panhellenic games: Olympic games held in honor of Zeus, Pythian games held in honor of Apollo, Nemean games held in honor of Zeus and Heracles, and lastly Isthmian games held in honor of Poseidon.<sup>124</sup> In the

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<sup>123</sup> Robert Parker, "New 'Panhellenic' Festivals in Hellenistic Greece: Mobility and travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages" (2004): 9, 9-22, *Historische Bibliographie Online*, <https://www.degruyter.com/database/HBOL/entry/hb.20508688/html>.

<sup>124</sup> Oscar Broneer, "The Isthmian Victory Crown," *American Journal of Archaeology* 66, no. 3 (1962): 259–63, <https://doi.org/10.2307/501451>.

Hellenistic period, in order to attract more visitors, Panhellenic games also featured festivals and banquets. In the festivals, the focal point was to honoring the main deity of the hosting city by offering sacrifices.<sup>125</sup> In addition to honoring the goddess, the festival had another significance: people from all over the mainland Greece were invited. This was a great opportunity for networking, and establishing diplomatic and commercial relations, as well as for the prestigious recognition of the host city. So, the new festivals were carefully planned to show how the hosting cities were all united in terms of politics, society, and economics. They also highlighted the cities' history, culture, and position within the larger Greek community.<sup>126</sup> Magnesia sent delegations to various city-states around, both to upgrade the Leukophryene festival to Panhellenic status and to demand that the city be granted the status of inviolability. Requesting both the inviolability and the status upgrade for the local festivals at the same time was a common practice in the Hellenistic period.<sup>127</sup> Starting from 207/206 BC, Leukophryene games were equal to the Pythia games (one of the four major Panhellenic games, held in honor of Apollo) and were open to all the Greeks of Asia Minor.<sup>128</sup>

After succeeding in this endeavor and gaining the positions it pursued, more than 60 inscriptions (asylia archive) documenting this diplomatic success were set up on

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<sup>125</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival," 92.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>127</sup> Parker, "New 'Panhellenic' Festivals," 10.

<sup>128</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 27.

display in the southwest corner of the Agora. However, this was not the only reflection of this diplomatic success on the urban fabric. After elevating the Leukophryene games to Panhellenic status and acquiring inviolability, Magnesia planned a large-scale renovation. The sanctuary underwent a major renovation during the Hellenistic period with the rise in the institution of Leukophryene games.

The renovated Temple of Artemis is referred as one of the representatives of the architectural renaissance in the Anatolian coast during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, along with the Temple of Apollo in Didyma.<sup>129</sup>



Figure 20: A view of the sanctuary with the reconstruction of the Temple of Artemis. A digital image of the temple is added to the original photo of the sanctuary of Artemis.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>129</sup> Andrew Stewart, "Piety," chapter in *Art in the Hellenistic World: An Introduction*, 156, 154–76 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), doi:10.1017/CBO9781107262270.010.

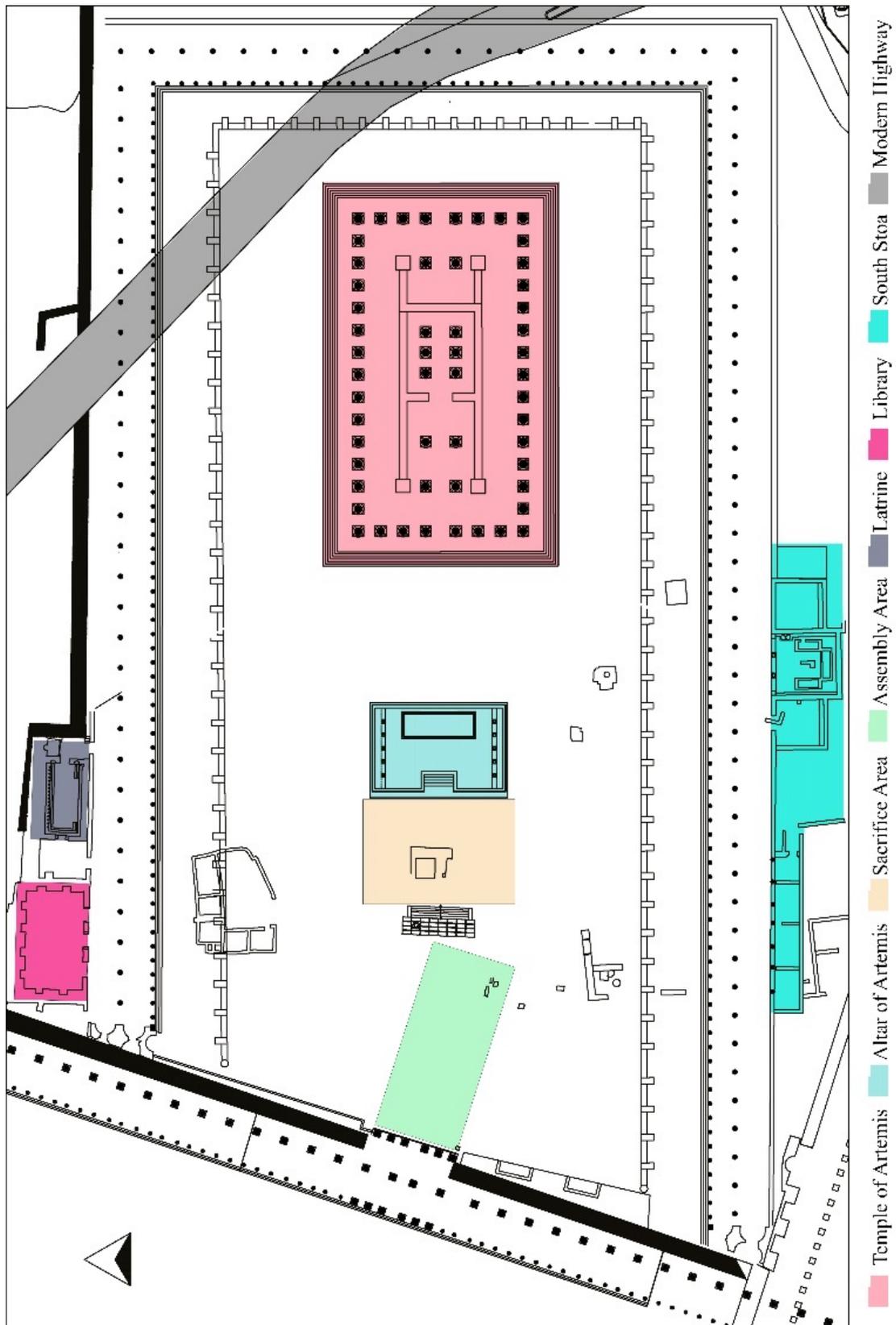


Figure 21: Plan of the sanctuary.

Source: Author.

### 3.1.1. The Temple of Artemis Leukophryene

The Temple of Artemis in Magnesia has remarkable features that makes it a significant monument. It is fourth largest Hellenistic temple in the Asia Minor, with a stylobate measuring 41 x 67 meters and 11.2-meter columns.<sup>130</sup> The temple faces west unlike most ancient Greek temples that face east, and the significant orientation towards Mount Thorax (Gümüşdağ) might be associated with the Origin Myth of Magnesia. It has an epiphany window on its western pediment, which is a feature that it shares with the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus (Figure 23). The pediment is in good condition and is currently on display at the site.

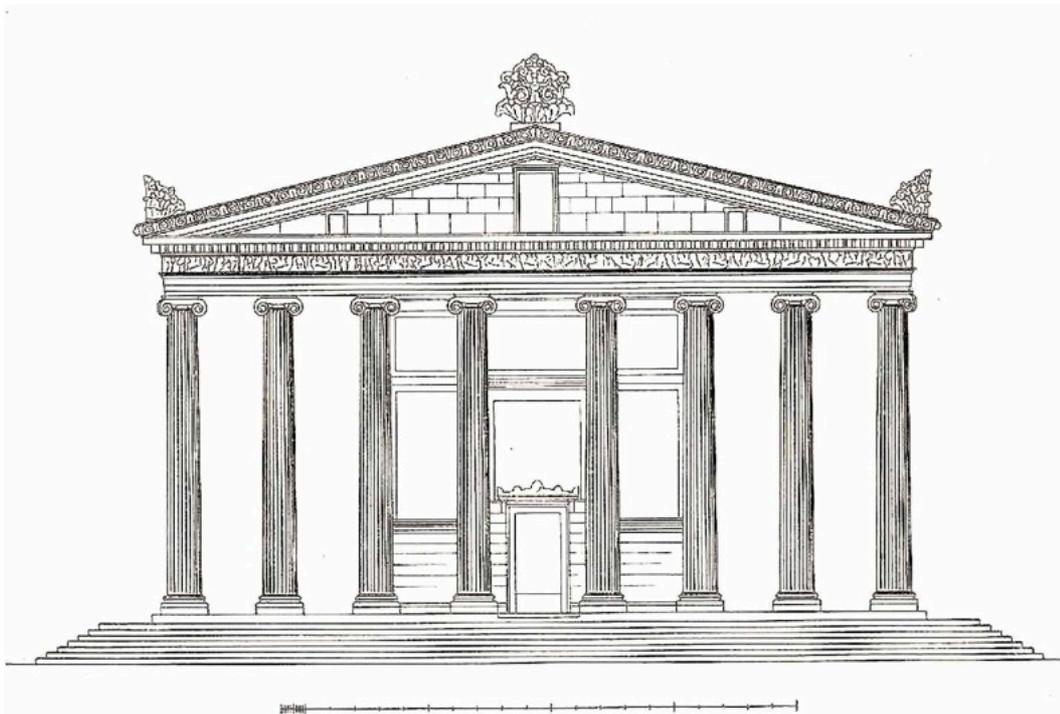


Figure 22: Hellenistic Temple of Artemis in Mangesia, west elevation drawing.

Source: C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre, 1891-1893* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1904), 47. Figure 32.

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<sup>130</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 56.



Figure 23: Western pediment, re-assembled and on display at the site.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

Two inscriptions indicate that the temple was planned to be built in stages between 220-130 BC, where initially the naos was built and its colonnade (pteron) was built later. One of those inscriptions is I.Magnesia 100, which suggests that the naos might have been built first and the temple as a whole was completed later. The other inscription is a double-sided one with a height of 3.12 meters, found in the sanctuary during the excavations. It has a title that reads “Peri ton Naon Stoas” (Stoas around Naos) and features a list of benefactors.<sup>131</sup>

According to Vitruvius, the first major building with the innovative pseudodipteral plan is the Hellenistic Temple of Artemis in Magnesia, which was invented by the architect Hermogenes. Pseudodipteral, meaning false-dipteral, implies a plan type where there is a single row of columns, ideally 8 by 15 like it is in Temple of Artemis,

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<sup>131</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 55.

with the walls of the cella facing four columns at the front and the back.<sup>132</sup> This order of Hermogenes was associated with a visual effect where light and shadow created the impression of a dipteros temple, with less columns. It is true that this order achieved an eye-catching visual effect with strong shadows of columns reflected on the walls of the cella,

However, in light of digital reconstruction studies, Bingöl argues that this visual effect cannot be the main objective of this design because the light and shadow is inconsistent, and dependent on many variables such as the sun and its angle, the season, and the time of the day (Figure 24).<sup>133</sup>



Figure 24: Temple of Artemis in Magnesia, rendered under 9 lighting conditions to show daily and seasonal variation.

Source: Lothar Haselberger and Samuel Holzman, “Visualizing Asperitas: Vitruvius (3.3.9) and the ‘Asperity’ of Hermogenes’ Pseudodipteral Temple,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 371–91, doi:10.1017/S1047759415002536, 382.

Figure 8.

<sup>132</sup> Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, III,2,6.

<sup>133</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 57.

It goes without saying that a single row of columns is much cheaper than double, regarding both material and required labor time. That is why, the austerity of this plan type is highlighted, which creates the impression that Hermogenes invented it with economic concerns.<sup>134</sup> It is of course not possible to be absolutely certain of Hermogenes' intentions, but it is possible to see a fruitful consequence of this plan type. Especially, in the context of this thesis, the most remarkable part of the pseudodipteral plan of Temple of Artemis is the extra space that it provides compared to a dipteral temple (Figure 25).

Vitruvius states that the space that would be occupied by 34 large columns in a dipteral temple is unoccupied in this case, and although he claims that this extra space could be used "if a number of people have been unexpectedly cut off by showers of rain"<sup>135</sup> this extra space could mean much more than that in an urban and, potentially, cultural context.

Particularly if we consider the fact that this renovation of the temple and agora took place when Magnesians planned a small-scale urban renovation after the decree of the Leukophryene festival,<sup>136</sup> it is likely that there was a concern about movement. Stewart claims that eliminating the inner colonnades and doubling the movement area, provided a much more practical and impressive space to host religious processions.<sup>137</sup>

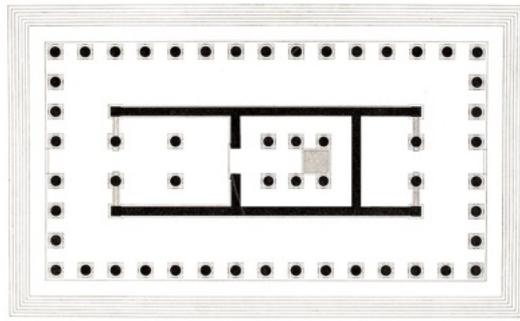
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<sup>134</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 59

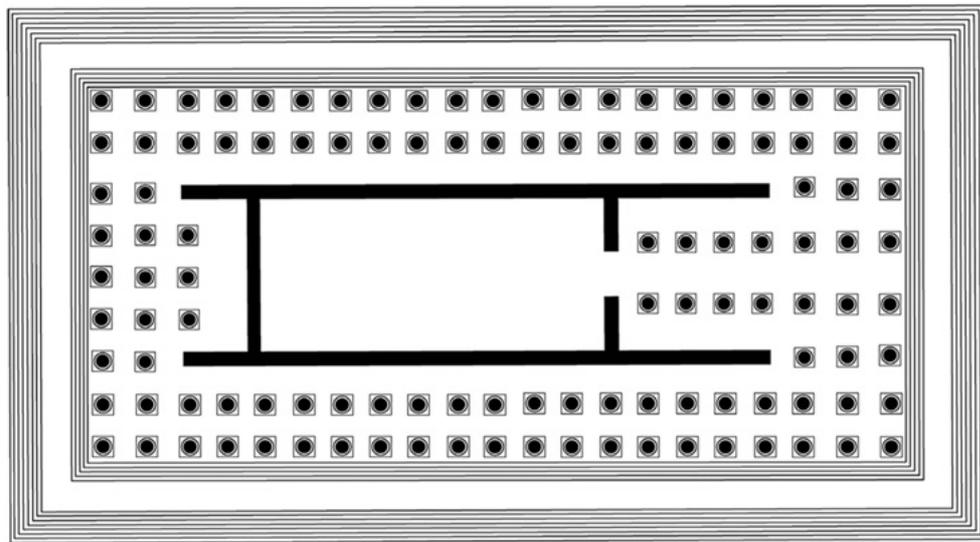
<sup>135</sup> Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, III,3,8-9.

<sup>136</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival", 96.

<sup>137</sup> Andrew Stewart, "Piety," 161.



Temple of Artemis, in Magnesia. 2nd century BC.



Temple of Artemis, "second temple" in Ephesus. ca. 334-300 BC

0 10 20 30 m

Figure 25: Pseudodipteral Temple of Artemis in Magnesia and dipteral Temple of Artemis in Ephesus.

Source: Adapted from Yegül, Fikret K. "Architectural Analysis, Design and Comparisons." in Report 7: The Temple of Artemis at Sardis. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 2020. Figure 4.2.

In the excavations, Ionic column drums, Ephesus-type bases and some wall remains were found in the foundations of the present Hellenistic Temple of Artemis, which, according to Humann implies that there was once an archaic temple that formed the foundation of the Hellenistic one.<sup>138</sup> As already mentioned, Palaimagnesia was not

<sup>138</sup> Humann, Kohte and Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 46-49.

founded on the territory of Magnesia as we know it today, but it was still close to it. Although the city was not built in its present location, the temple was always located where it is today, as the archaic foundation shows. Therefore, there was probably a sacred path connecting the city to the archaic Temple of Artemis during the Palaimagnesia period.<sup>139</sup>



Figure 26: Ruins of the Temple of Artemis.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

Although the architectural elements of the temple have been identified and preserved, it is in a state of ruins (Figure 26). As of 2022 season, preliminary work continues for the temple's reconstruction project. The reconstruction project aims to restore the temple to its former glory and provide a deeper understanding of its historical significance.

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<sup>139</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 25.

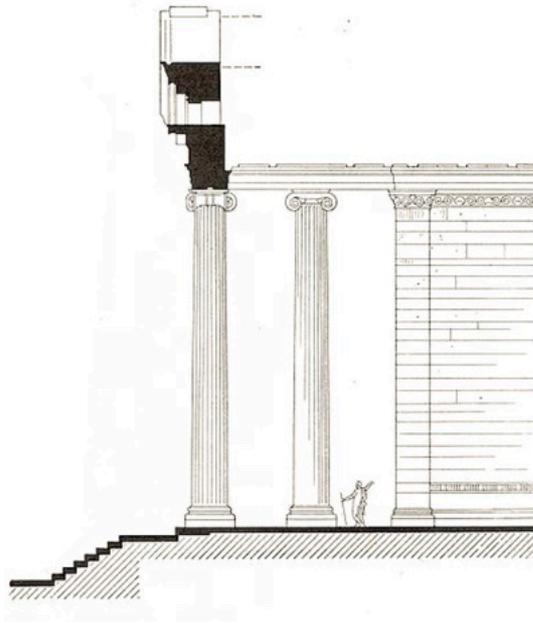


Figure 27: Section through east-west axis, showing the scale of the temple.

Source: C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre, 1891-1893* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1904), 61. Figure 50.



Figure 28: Digital reconstruction of the sanctuary, seen from the north-west corner in the sanctuary.

Source: Bora Sezer and Yiğit Kaan Kara, "Artemis Temple & Sanctuary - Magnesia Ad Meander," Art Station, August 2023, <https://www.artstation.com/artwork/PXgPv8>.

### 3.1.2. The Altar of Artemis and Sacrifice Area

Located to the west of the temple, the altar of Artemis dates back to 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, during the Hellenistic Period where the “altar architecture” took its peak monumental form with peristyle buildings with the depiction of mythological scenes and gods.<sup>140</sup>

As formulated by Çetin, the altars dating to Hellenistic era were monumental buildings with colonnaded galleries and colonnaded courtyards decorated with reliefs depicting mythological or heroic scenes.<sup>141</sup> The Altar of Zeus in Pergamon is a remarkable example of this (Figure 29).



Figure 29: Reconstruction of The Altar of Zeus displayed in Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

Source: *Altar to Zeus in the Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.*, photograph (Berlin, September 9, 2007), Wikimedia Commons.

Excavations carried out under the lead of Orhan Bingöl exposed its foundation and the bottom base floor, yet the lack of evidence on its tall appearance led to controversy in

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<sup>140</sup> Cengiz Çetin, "Sütunlu-Avlulu Altarlarda Altyapı," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 47, no. 2 (2007): 27, 27-47.

<sup>141</sup> Çetin, "Altarlarda Altyapı".

this topic. However, as mentioned by Bingöl, it was unquestionably a west-facing Ionic monument,<sup>142</sup> and the depiction of the twelve gods on the altar is point of agreement among the major proposals on its appearance. This argument is supported by the inscriptions that refer to a "Altar of the Twelve Gods", one of them being I.Magnesia 98, a decree concerning the festival of Zeus Sosipolis: "...dressed in as beautiful attires as possible, and he should pitch a round tent in the agora by the altar of the Twelve Gods..."<sup>143</sup> Also, there is a relief with six human figures that have survived, four of which are now in Berlin's Pergamon Museum (Figure 30).



Figure 30: Relief of Hermes, Dionysus, Asclepius and Zeus or Poseidon, from the Altar of Artemis in Magnesia, displayed in Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

Source: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB), Antikensammlung, Inventory Number Sk 1926.

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<sup>142</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 78.

<sup>143</sup> Jan-Mathieu Carbon, Saskia Peels, and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, "CGRN 194: Decree concerning the festival of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia-on-the-Maiander," in *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, 2017-, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN194>.

There are multiple reconstructions regarding the architecture of the altar. J. Kothe suggested a higher platform with frontal approach and colonnaded areas on both sides. A. von Gerkan proposed a U-shaped altar with central approach and monumental stairs. Linfert's proposal is very similar to that of Gerkan's (Figure 32).

Recently, Çetin compared the ratio between the volume of space occupied by the podium and the volume of space occupied by the superstructure of the altars from Ephesus, Kos Asklepios, Magnesia, Priene and Pergamon, based on the fact that they are all Hellenistic altars with columns and courtyards.<sup>144</sup> Based on the overall common ratio, the author suggested that Gerkan and Linfert's proposals might be more accurate than others in terms of the volumetric mass of the monument.<sup>145</sup>



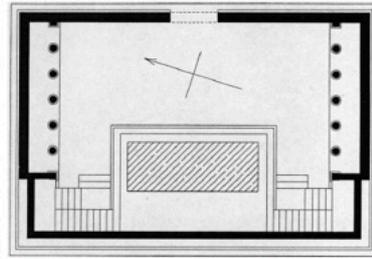
Figure 31: South view of the temple and altar.

Source: Author.

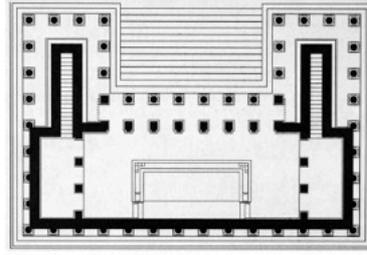
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<sup>144</sup> Çetin, "Altarlarda Altyapı."

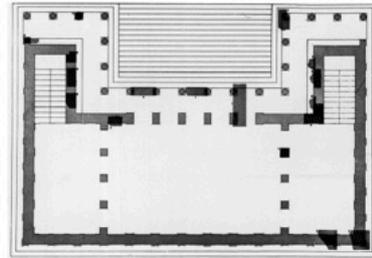
<sup>145</sup> Çetin, "Altarlarda Altyapı," 38.



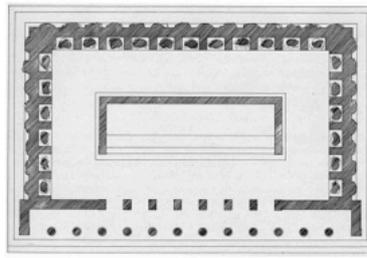
1. Magnesia, Temenos. Rekonstruktion des Artemisaltars nach J. Kothe (ohne Maßstab)



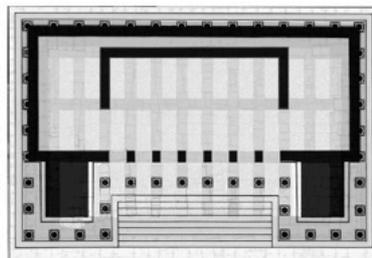
2. Magnesia, Temenos. Rekonstruktion des Artemisaltars nach A. von Gerkan (ohne Maßstab)



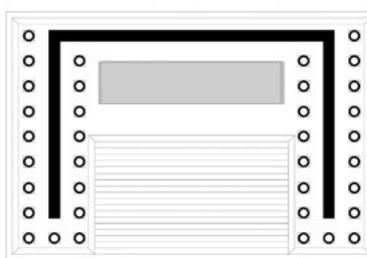
3. Magnesia, Temenos. Rekonstruktion des Artemisaltars nach A. Linfert (ohne Maßstab)



4. Magnesia, Temenos. Rekonstruktion des Artemisaltars nach W. Hoepfner (ohne Maßstab)



5. Magnesia, Temenos. Rekonstruktion des Artemisaltars nach C. Çetin (ohne Maßstab)



6. Magnesia, Temenos. Rekonstruktion des Artemisaltars nach Verfasser (ohne Maßstab)

Figure 32: Proposals on the altar, by Kohte, Gerkan, Linfert, Hoepfner, Çetin and Verfasser.

Source: Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander. Topographie, Semantik und Handlungskontexte eines panhellenischen Festkomplexes im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mit einem Exkurs zu den Asklepieia auf Kos" (PhD diss., Freien Universität Berlin, 2019), Table 14.

Sacrifice area lays between the altar and the assembly area, and it was paved with marble blocks on top of limestone blocks, where iron rings were fixed into to tie the animal (Figure 33). Some of the limestone blocks are exposed at the present time, marked with letters or symbols conveying where they have come from, or which stone mason sent them (Figure 34). There are multiple cavities due to the abrasion of rings' which convey an idea about the number of sacrifices and at the same time prove that

the area was indeed used for sacrifice (Figure 35). It is ambiguous whether or not it can be classified as a hecatomb that hosts 100 sacrifices, however, the recent findings from the site suggest that the area has the capacity.<sup>146</sup>

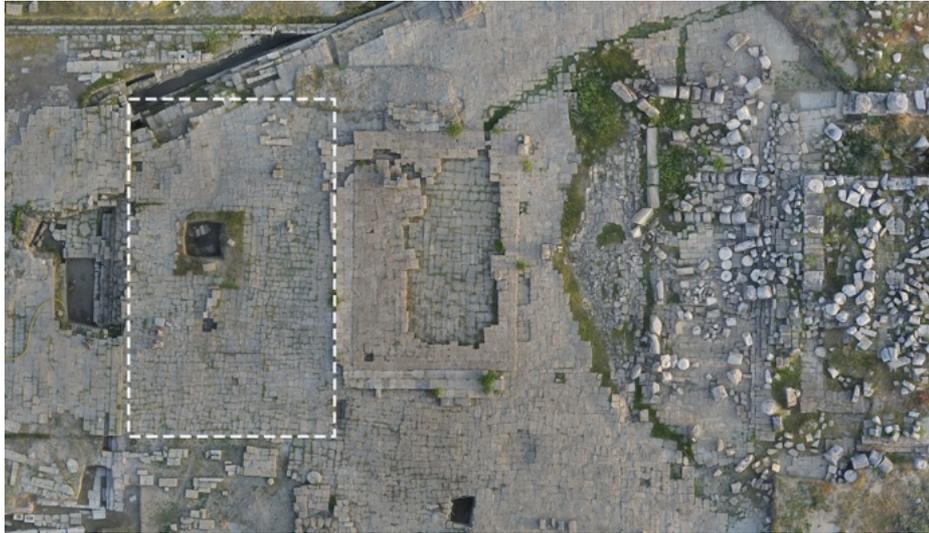


Figure 33: An aerial view of the sacrifice area.

Source: Adapted from Magnesia Excavation Archives.



Figure 34: Limestone blocks marked with letters.

Source: Photographed by the author.

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<sup>146</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 83.



Figure 35: Cavities formed due to abrasion of rings.

Source: Adapted from Magnesia Excavation Archives.

### 3.1.3. Assembly Area

The assembly area between the sacrifice area and the Propylaea leading to Agora is younger than the temple and the altar, dating back to 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Vertical boundaries of the area are defined by the Propylaea’s two outermost pillars. A prominent feature of Magnesia, topos<sup>147</sup> inscriptions extend here along this area following the axis defined by rectangular pillars, leaving the central axis passing through Propylaea, sacred spring and the altar (Figure 36).



Figure 36: Location of the topos texts inscribed on the pavement.

Source: Adapted from Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>147</sup> “Topos” means “place” in the Greek language. In ancient epigraphy, topos indicates the place of something -a person, a group etc. Within the context of this thesis, it translates to “the place of (someone)”.

Also known as the “place inscriptions”, topos texts were a part of the epigraphic culture in Magnesia as well as in the Asia Minor. There is not a precise entry on how many topos inscriptions there are in Magnesia, but a number of them have been found in the public areas subject to collective activities like processions and games like the Stadion, Theater and Agora.<sup>148</sup> Zooming out on Asia Minor, 28 out of 254 inscriptions found and documented in Aphrodisias were topos texts.<sup>149</sup>

Topos inscriptions in the sanctuary generally address groups like “Lovers of Dionysos”, “Women” etc. Most of them were unearthed after 1994 and are still not published.<sup>150</sup> As explained by Hammerschmied, the ceremonies would start here once every participant takes their place and proceed to other parts of the city. The whole area is paved with marble, and most of them are still in good condition. As understood from these place-markers, this area must be a focal location for the festivals and processions held in Magnesia.

#### **3.1.4. Stoas, Latrine and Library**

Joannis Mylonopoulos states that Greek sanctuaries are visually shaped by stoas, and stoas enhance the experience of a sacred area. Also pointed out by Mylonopoulos, Magnesia is no exception but a prominent example of this notion.<sup>151</sup> There are two parallel stoas that stretch along the North and South of the temple that enhance the

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<sup>149</sup> Charlotte Roueche, “Inscriptions by Number,” ALA: Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, <https://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/inscription/bynum.html>.

<sup>150</sup> Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis," 97.

<sup>151</sup> Mylonopoulos, “Dynamics of Ritual Space,” 52.

image of the Artemis sanctuary (Figure 37). Especially south stoa has been one of the recent focuses of excavations. Chambers, artifacts, statues, and inscriptions from the south stoa are being studied, and conservation works continue with the interior marble claddings of the chambers.

Originally, there is also a stoa to the East, but it has been almost completely destroyed due to the modern road passing close by the temple, and on the Western side, the Agora encloses the area, leaving us with only two stoas. North and south stoas are identical except the northern one is cut shorter due to the diagonal orientation of the Agora. Aside from that, they both have ascending three steps, Doric facades, and inner Doric colonnades that received an “Ionic treatment” (Figure 38).

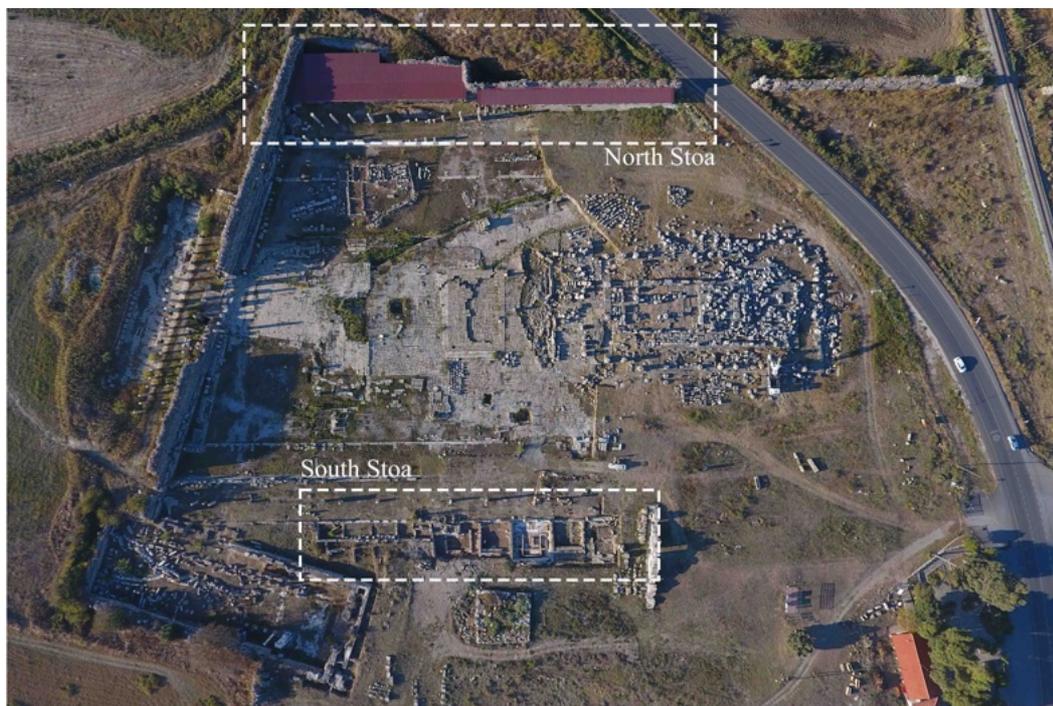


Figure 37: An aerial view of the Artemision in 2022, showing north and south stoas.

Source: Adapted from Magnesia Excavation Archives.



Figure 38: A Doric column capital that received an “Ionic treatment.”

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

However, the stoas have different spaces behind them. North stoa has 3 subsequent spaces on its western end: a Latrine, a library and a transitional space between them that is not yet clearly identified (Figure 39). All 3 of these spaces are currently covered with a canopy on top for the sake of conservation.

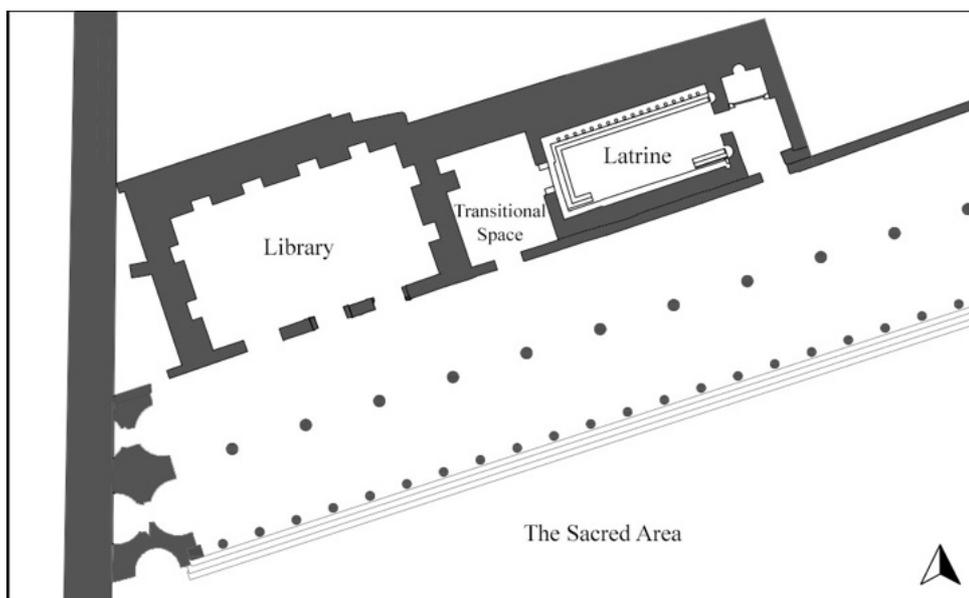


Figure 39: Spaces behind the north stoa.

Source: Author.

The latrine stands out with relatively well-preserved opus sectile on its walls and is a typical Roman public bathroom (Figure 40). It is a 15.85 x 8.40-meter rectangular structure, with two niches on its eastern wall, presumed to be the place of fountains.<sup>152</sup> An indication that supports this presumption is that the footrests closer to niches are more abraded so they were used more frequently, presumably to be closer to the fresh water source to clean up with relatively clean water.



Figure 40: The Latrine in 2022.

Source: Photographed by the author.

The library is located on the westernmost end of North stoa and has some opus sectile decorations on the floor. It has 8 niches, 3 entrances, and podiums on its walls, which all suggest that it was indeed a library.<sup>153</sup> Both the library and the latrine were built around 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

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<sup>152</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 67.

<sup>153</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 69.

South stoa, one of the major focuses in recent excavations, has 6 rooms (5 of which are unearthed) behind it as of 2022 season (Figure 44). There are many inscriptions found in these rooms. The most important and unique ones are topos inscriptions. Similar to the ones from the Assembly area, the topos inscriptions found in the Triclinium (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> spaces) indicate the place of “Acrobats” and “Drunkards’ Association.” The triclinium is a long and narrow space with eight columns on its entrance facing the sanctuary. Its interior is divided into four sections with brick walls that were probably built in a later time.<sup>154</sup>

The 3<sup>rd</sup> space “Pausanias Heroon” has a square plan, and has a podium on its southern wall. Seven statues were found in this space, five of which depict women. Although the first thing that comes to mind is that these statues belong in this room and the southern podium pedestaled them, this was probably not the case, and only one of them belonged here.<sup>155</sup>

The most important room in the South Stoa is the 4<sup>th</sup> space referred as “Hall of the Flavian Emperors.”<sup>156</sup> In this room, there is a podium that pedestaled statues of Vespasian, Domitian, and Titus, each with their own dedicatory inscriptions (Figs. 41-42-43). His statue being on the center, the space was evidently dedicated to Domitian,

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<sup>154</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 79.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

but his name was erased, and statue was destroyed after his damnatio memoriae (Figure 42).<sup>157</sup>



Figure 41: Inscribed podium of Vespasian, in 2022.

Source: Photographed by author.

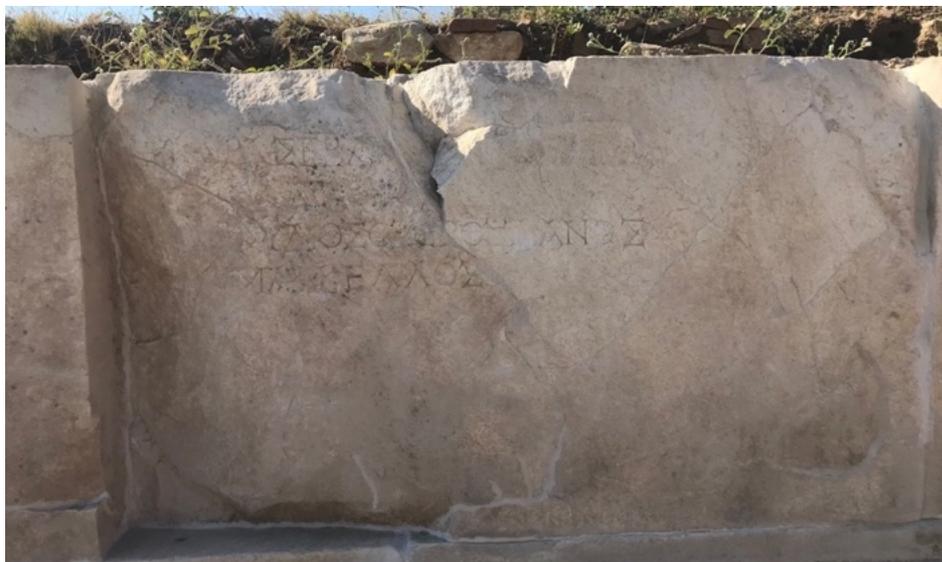


Figure 42: Inscribed podium of Domitian, in 2022.

Source: Photographed by author.

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 82.



Figure 43: Inscribed podium of Titus, in 2022.

Source: Photographed by author.

The 5<sup>th</sup> space is named “Marcellus Heroon” and is very similar to the 3<sup>rd</sup> space in terms of dimension, depth and the presence of a podium on its southern wall. Some bronze statue pieces were found in this space, which makes it highly likely that it is a “heroon”<sup>158</sup> dedicated to a prominent figure.<sup>159</sup> There is not much information about 6<sup>th</sup> space.



Figure 44: Six spaces behind the south stoa.

Source: Produced by the author based on a drone photo from Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>158</sup> A heroon is a sacred space in honor of an ancient Greek or Roman hero, serving as a space for commemorating and engaging in cult practices.

<sup>159</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 82.

All of the six spaces including the Hall of the Flavian Emperors are positioned to have a direct visual connection with the front facade of the Temple of Artemis, and the space between the temple and its altar (Figure 44). This connection might indicate that upper-class beholders of the ceremonies, festivals, and processions in the city used these spaces. Another possibility is that these spaces were the starting point for temple personnel during the festivals, especially considering the topos. Works on the south stoa continue with an emphasis to conservation projects. In the 2022 season, materials were studied, and drawings were prepared for further restitutions.

### 3.2. The Propylaea and the Agora

The Agora of Magnesia ad Maeandrum, located west of Artemision includes a grand entrance through a colossal Propylaea. While there hasn't been extensive excavation, research on the Agora has provided valuable information through its inscriptions, statues and monuments.

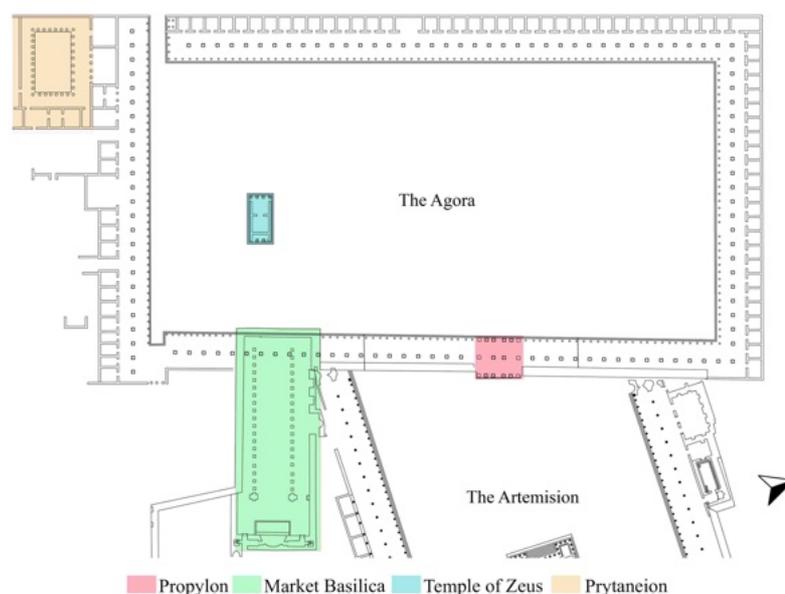


Figure 45: Plan of the Agora.

Source: Author.

### 3.2.1. Propylaea

Located to the east of Artemision, the Agora of Magnesia ad Maeandrum is reached through a colossal Propylaea. Along with the eastern stoa, it was built towards the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, according to the extensive research based on the gate's architectural decorations by the current Head of Excavations, Görkem Kökdemir.<sup>160</sup>

Located in the middle of the Agora's eastern stoa, the structure is bordered by rectangular pillars, and just like the stoa its attached to, has two naves. Ionic columns form five bays on its facades. There are a total of six rectangular pillars on the start and end of each row of columns. The rows of columns are grouped with respect to their location, as east, west and middle columns. There are four ionic columns on the eastern and western rows, and two ionic columns on the middle row, making it a structure with a total of ten columns.<sup>161</sup> Its columns are 7.974 meters high which is the same column height with the Temple of Zeus (with the base and capital included).<sup>162</sup> It has two facades in hexastyle order, and it has a tetrastyle in antis plan (Figure 47).<sup>163</sup>



Figure 46: West facade of the Propylaea in 2022.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>160</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Menderes Magnesiası – Propylon: Mimari Bezemeler," *Anadolu* (2011): 93-141.

<sup>161</sup> Kökdemir, "Menderes Magnesiası-Propylon," 23.

<sup>162</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 90.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

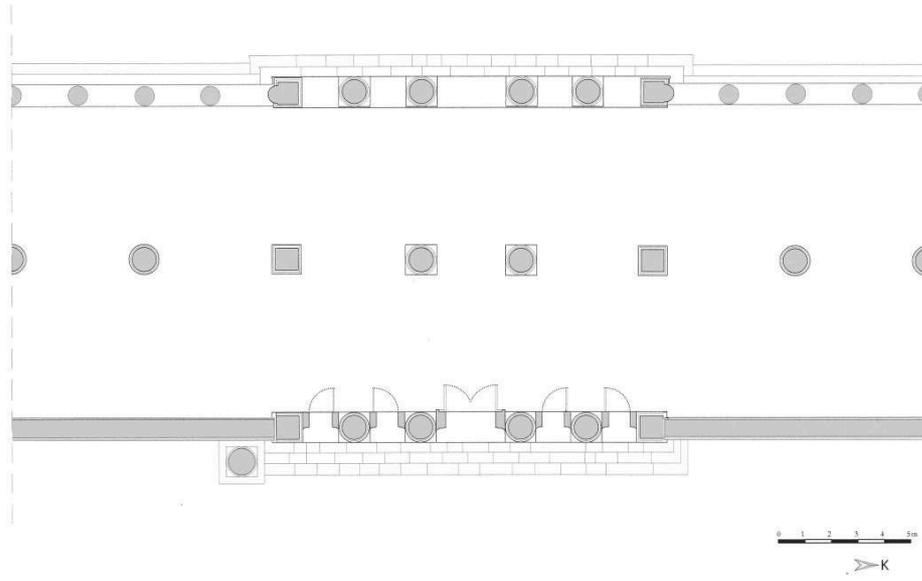


Figure 47: Plan of the Propylaea.

Source: Görkem Kökdemir, "Menderes Magnesiası-Propylon / Magnesia on the Meander- Propylon" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2009), Drawing 3.

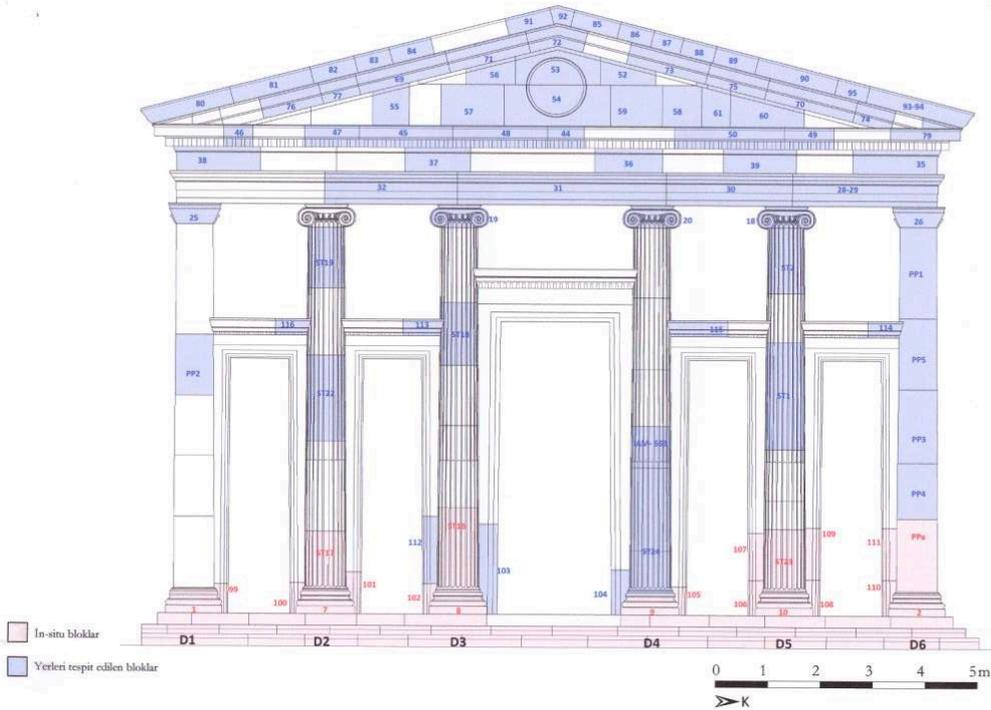


Figure 48: Reconstruction drawing of the Propylaea. Blocks hatched with color were found on the site. The blocks hatched with pink were in-situ.

Source: Görkem Kökdemir, "Menderes Magnesiası-Propylon / Magnesia on the Meander- Propylon" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2009), Drawing 25.

### **3.2.2. Agora**

The Agora was built in stages where northern, southern and western stoas were built in the Hellenistic period, whereas the eastern stoa and the Propylaea were built in the early imperial period along with the Artemision's stoas.

Two steps lead down to the Agora surrounded by stoas on all four sides. The entire Agora square was paved with marble blocks placed in a regular order.<sup>164</sup> It covers an area of nearly 1400 square meters and measures 22 by 63 meters. There is not much information on this area since the preliminary German excavations were limited to probing which were filled back up.<sup>165</sup> However, despite limited extent of excavations conducted within the Agora, 3 topos inscriptions were found here (I.Magnesia 230, 231 and 232) and all three of them mark the place of priests.

#### **3.2.2.1 The Temple of Zeus**

The Agora is not just a marketplace but a sacred place for several reasons. First and foremost, it contains The Temple of Zeus, the king of the Gods. Built around the same time as the Hellenistic Temple of Artemis, The Temple of Zeus and its altar are the most prominent features of the Agora, making it a sacred space in itself. Temple of Zeus is a much smaller structure than the Temple of Artemis, yet it is not a “lesser” building but a part of religious practices in the city. It was central in the Zeus Sosipolis Festival and also a part of the Artemis Leukophryene festival upon entering the Agora.

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<sup>164</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 96.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

From the inscription I.Magnesia 98, we know that there was a sacrificial act at the Altar of Zeus during the festival of Zeus Sosipolis:

...the oikonomoi should supply three sacrificial animals in the month Artemision, on the 12th, which they will sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis and to Artemis Leukophryene and to Apollo Pythios: to [Zeus] a most beautiful ram, to Artemis a goat, to Apollo a he-goat (called attegos), sacrificing to Zeus on the altar of Zeus Sosipolis, to Artemis and to Apollo on the altar of Artemis...<sup>166</sup>

Yet another innovative design by Hermogenes, it is a small temple with 3 spaces, and in-antis and peristyle facades. Until recent excavations, the building was completely buried underground. Currently, it is the major focus of excavations and as of 2023 season, it is almost completely unearthed, very well-preserved, and efforts continue for the possible reconstruction of the temple. Recently, the temple's altar has been unearthed (Figs. 3.35-3.36). Located to the west of the temple, the altar has a width of 3.53 meters, a depth of 5.1 meters and a height of 0.7 meters.

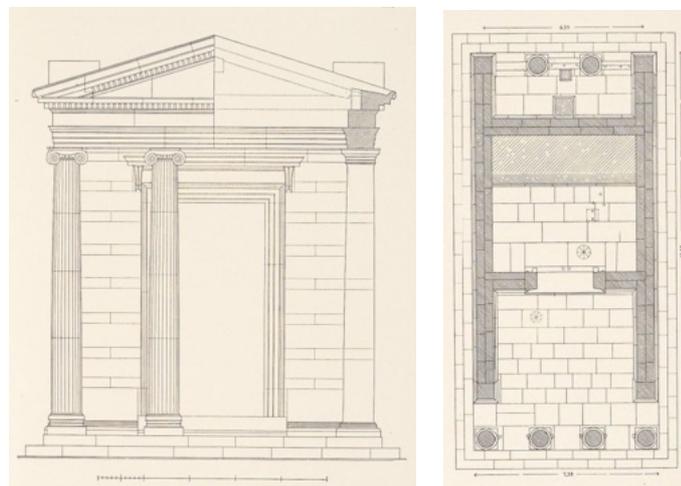


Figure 49: a. West facade of the Temple of Zeus. b. Plan of the Temple of Zeus.

Source: C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre, 1891-1893* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1904), Figure 152-154.

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<sup>166</sup> Carbon et al., CGRN 194.



Figure 50: Aerial view of the Temple of Zeus in 2023, with the newly unearthed altar.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.



Figure 51: Altar of Zeus in 2023.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

### 3.2.2.2. Stoas

The stoas of the Agora built during the Hellenistic period except for the eastern one, have two aisles and Doric facades. northern, southern, and western stoas have small

chambers which were likely to be used as small stores. However, there are some rooms and chambers with specific functions other than being a store. One of them is a chamber on the center of western stoa and is related with the cult of Athena,<sup>167</sup> as two marble figures of Athena were found in it (Figure 52).



Figure 52: Two marble figures of Athena, found in the west stoa of the Agora.

Source: C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre, 1891-1893* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1904), 226. Figure 230-231.

Southwestern corner of the stoas is one of the most focal zones in the whole city for several reasons. To begin with, there is a prytaneion located to the west of the southern

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<sup>167</sup> Humann, Kohte and Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 225-6.

stoa with a columned courtyard and small rooms of its own which giveaway that it was an important place in the city. It was the meeting point of government officials. Furthermore, one of the main roads in the city stretches just by the southern stoa, the main gate of which is located on the southwest corner. There is a springhouse by the gate, for “ritual cleansing” during the ceremonies.<sup>168</sup> Most importantly, the majority of the inscriptions on the city’s history, the imperial cult, the political success, and the *asylia* archive are said to be on display on the walls of the south half of the western stoa.<sup>169</sup> This grouping – which will be studied further in the next chapter- indicates that southwestern corner of the stoa was undoubtedly a strategic location with significance in urban and political context of the city.

### **3.2.2.3. Market Basilica**

The final building in the Agora is the Market Basilica that was built attached to the east stoa during the mid-imperial period, around 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>170</sup> It is a 78 x 29.9-meter structure that stretches along east-west axis with an apse on its eastern wall. Two rows comprising 20 columns each divide the space into three naves. Its western end opens to the Agora. The basilica was misidentified as a Byzantine Church by Humann and his team.<sup>171</sup> It was identified as a market basilica after the excavations that took place from 1989 on. There are two symmetrical entrances through descent of stairs

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<sup>168</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), “The Panhellenic Festival,” 113.

<sup>169</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*.

<sup>170</sup> Hammerschmied, “Das Fest der Artemis,” 347-349.

<sup>171</sup> Humann, Kohte and Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 33.

from the north and south of the apse. Like the Temple of Artemis, the basilica fits to the “ideal” in Vitruvius’ standards.<sup>172</sup>

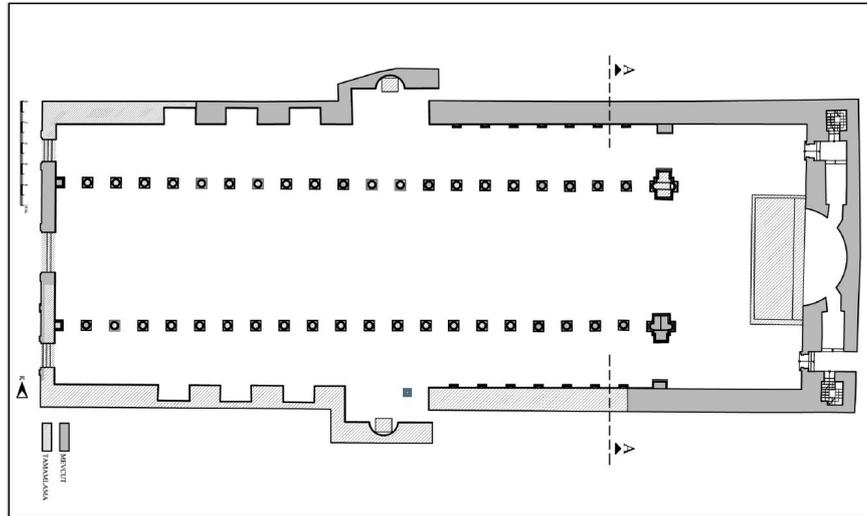


Figure 53: Restitution proposal for the Market Basilica.

Source: S. H. Öztaner, "Menderes Magnesiası Çarşısı Bazilikası," *Anadolu* (2006): 144. Plan 3.



Figure 54: North-east view of the Market Basilica in 2022.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>172</sup> S. H. Öztaner, "Menderes Magnesiası Çarşısı Bazilikası," *Anadolu* (2006): 129, 123-152.

In summary, the Agora is not just a marketplace but a sacred place for several reasons. First and foremost, it contains The Temple of Zeus, the king of the Gods. Secondly, with all the necessary functions and buildings the agora is the heart of the city. Thirdly, from the inscriptions and the primary sources describing the festivals, the religious festivals and ceremonies in the city starting in the Artemision proceeded to the Agora, so it was a remarkable stop during these events. Lastly, many inscriptions of great importance were once located here, including religious ones like the cult and epiphany of Artemis, and the asyilia dossiers that display the political power of Magnesia. There is no doubt that the Agora was one of the most frequented and sacred places in the whole city.

### **3.3. The Theater**

The theater in Magnesia was built in three stages (Figure 55). The first building was constructed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The limestone stage building constructed in this stage was also used in the following phases of the building. During this stage, at a later time, a building with two staircases on its side was added to the back of the stage building. Also in this period, a tunnel from the stage to the orchestra was added.<sup>173</sup>

The theater was probably a part of the major renovation plan during the Hellenistic period. Second construction phase is dated to 200s BC,<sup>174</sup> which aligns with the period when Magnesians acquired the asyilia status and Leukophryene games became Panhellenic. Moreover, the building fits the ideal Greek theater standards defined by

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<sup>173</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 136.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

Vitruvius.<sup>175</sup> Based on this fact, Bingöl suggests that the theater’s architect might be Hermogenes as it is a habit of Vitruvius to narrate the works of Hermogenes without mentioning his name.<sup>176</sup> So, the building being altered in the Hellenistic period probably by Hermogenes strongly suggests that it was among the buildings renovated for the new festival in Magnesia.

The third construction phase took place after 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, in the mid-imperial period. Three rows of columns in front of the stage building were built in this period, as well as an addition to the tunnel.<sup>177</sup>

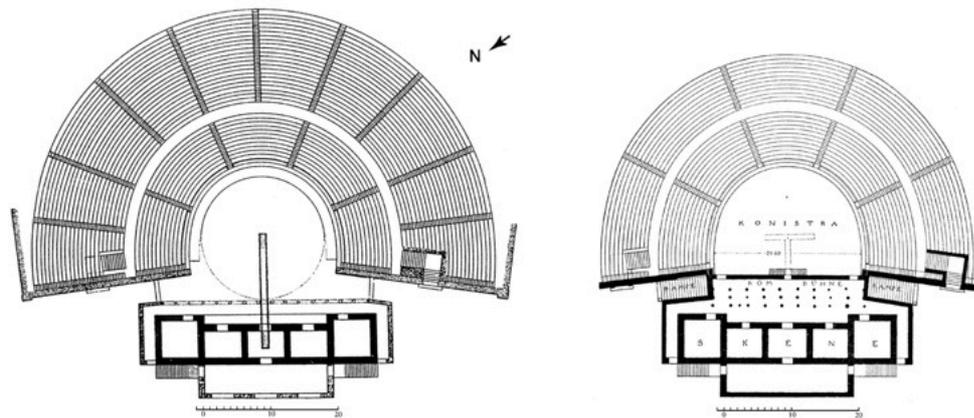


Figure 55: a. The theater in the Hellenistic period (200s BC). b. The theater in the mid-imperial period (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD).

Sources: Adapted from W. Dörpfeld, “Ausgrabungen im Theater von Magnesia am Maiandros 3. Das Theatergebäude,” *AM* 19 (1894): 65–92. Table 2; W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das griechische Theater. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und anderer griechischer Theater* (Athen, 1896). Figure 64.

<sup>175</sup> Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, V,7,1-5.

<sup>176</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 137.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

There is an inscribed statue base found in the agora, during the excavations in 2000 (Figure 56).<sup>178</sup> It pedestaled a bronze statue of a female benefactor named Flavia Bereneike, who donated 10.000 denarii to the city, as per the inscription.<sup>179</sup> The money was used for the new theater, precisely for the construction of the white marble wall around the theater's podium. The lettering suggests that it belongs to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, around 150.<sup>180</sup> Its original location appears to be the sanctuary, where it is currently displayed.



Figure 56: Inscribed statue base of Flavia Bereneike.

Source: Jeanne Capelle, "Le "nouveau théâtre": une nouvelle inscription de Magnésie du Méandre," in *Revue des Études Grecques* 134, no. 2 (2021): 418.

Figure 2

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<sup>178</sup> Jeanne Capelle, "Le "nouveau théâtre": une nouvelle inscription de Magnésie du Méandre," in *Revue des Études Grecques* 134, no. 2 (2021): 417, 413-462.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 420.

<sup>180</sup> Capelle, "Le nouveau théâtre," 421.

### 3.4. The Stadion

The Stadion is a crucial part of Magnesia's identity, as well as its urban and cultural history. It is a grand structure with a track size of 189 meters that could host thousands of people (estimated to be around 30.000), much more than the population of Magnesia at any given time (Figure 57).<sup>181</sup>

The Stadion was a place that welcomed the whole Mediterranean world as Magnesia hosted many games, and some of those games were held in the Stadion. Although it is not the biggest in Asia Minor, the scale of it indicates that it was a frequented structure, definitely built for commercial purposes.



Figure 57: An aerial view of the Stadion in 2022.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>181</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 112.

On the podiums, there are reliefs depicting games held in the Stadion like running, boxing, hoop-rolling, and gladiator fights (Figure 58). The reliefs also feature chariot races; however, there were free-standing pillars that would not endure the physical toll, and the layout is not suitable for hard turns. In light of these, Orhan Bingöl points out a potential hippodrome, that was at least planned to be built in Magnesia.<sup>182</sup>



Figure 58: Reliefs discovered in the Stadion.

Source: Magnesia Excavation Archives.

There are many inscriptions in the Stadion as well. At least 17 of the *kerkis*<sup>183</sup> are inscribed, most of which are *topos* inscriptions for the beholders (Figure 59-60).<sup>184</sup> They referred to both groups and individuals, such as “The Place of Imperial Cult Priests” and “The Seat of the Governor of Asia”. Today, with these striking features, the Stadion is one of the highlighted structures in the city.

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<sup>182</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 119.

<sup>183</sup> *Kerkis* means one of the wedge-shaped sections of seating in ancient Greek theaters and stadiums, usually divided by circulation.

<sup>184</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 116.



Figure 59: Seats with topos inscriptions in the Stadion.

Source: “Magnesia,” Slow Travel Guide, n.d., <https://slowtravelguide.net/magnesia-tr/>.



Figure 60: Topos texts at the Stadion.

Source: Ali Gökmen Şireci, Doping 2 Bin Yıl Önce de Varmış, photograph, (Anadolu Agency, September 11, 2013), Anadolu Images, <https://www.anadoluimages.com/p/doping-2-bin-yil-once-de-varmis/2270016>.

As such, this fast review on the urban history sheds light on the architectural features of Magnesia's significant buildings and public spaces, with brief mentions on the city's historical and cultural background. These spaces were not only monumental in their architectural grandeur but were also intentionally designed to facilitate various aspects of public life, including religious ceremonies, games and public gatherings. Moreover,

this chapter sets the stage for the following discussion where the inscriptions found within these architectural contexts will be examined in connection with the civic life in Magnesia. As we will see in the following chapter, these inscriptions are not mere textual remnants; they are integral to the experience of the city. They inform, instruct, and engage the inhabitants and visitors of Magnesia, and their placement within the architectural context further enhances their significance. The architectural setting plays a crucial role in shaping the experience of these inscriptions, engaging the beholder in an interaction with the city's history and identity that goes beyond the inscribed text.

## CHAPTER 4

### WORDSCAPE IN MAGNESIA ON THE MEANDER

To fully understand the epigraphic culture and habits in one city, there are some key concepts and methods for a comprehensive approach. First, we need to investigate how the inscriptions were displayed and understand the reason behind the decisions made in this sense, as well as the consequences of those decisions. In order to do this, we need to take a closer look into the development of the city's identity and the physical development of the city itself, as the tangible and intangible phenomena are usually interdependent in building a city with the concerns of creating a sense of citizenship.<sup>185</sup> Secondly, we need to understand the target audience, which usually includes a crowd beyond the local citizens of the city. In this matter, the public display of inscriptions becomes the public display of a city's keystones, like political power and piety. In this point, the rivalry between ancient cities comes forward in the discussion.<sup>186</sup>

Despite the separation of these points, they are, in fact, very much intertwined and usually lead to similar conclusions. When delving into both these crucial aspects, the architectural and urban contexts will take center stage, given their pivotal role in regulating movement, shaping perception, and shaping the overall narrative.

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<sup>185</sup> Woolf, "Monumental Writing."

<sup>186</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival," 93.

This chapter aims to examine the contribution of inscriptions to civic life and collective memory in Magnesia on the Meander, with a particular focus on the urban and architectural setting of the inscriptions. This will be achieved by analyzing the location, setting, and content of inscriptions that depict the state's political achievements, religious practices, and imperial endeavors. By drawing comparisons with other prominent cities in Asia Minor, I aim to unfold the Magnesian wordscape as a significant component of the city. Conclusions from these analyses will develop into an investigation of the representation of these elements in the urban environment and a comprehensive understanding of Magnesia's social and political fabric within ancient Asia Minor.

#### **4.1. Agora and the Display of the Wordscape**

In Roman cities, the organization of movement and the deliberate shaping of perception were integral aspects of urban planning. Considering the average beholder was walking at a rather slow pace, the frequented public spaces became almost like exhibitions with decorations, statues, and inscriptions on display for the citizens, intended to be absorbed, observed, and debated upon. The design of movement is directly connected with the design of the space, if not entirely dependent. As these are deeply intertwined, the spatial organization of public spaces subject to collective movement constitutes a big part of the experience of everyday life in the city.<sup>187</sup> Inscriptions, in this context, enhance the experience within the spatial organization by

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<sup>187</sup> Amy Russell, "Political Space and the Experience of Citizenship in the City of Rome: Architecture and Interpellation," in *Urban Space and Urban History in the Roman World*, edited by Miko Flohr (Routledge, 2020), 32, 19-38.

positioning the viewer as a recipient of the conveyed message, thereby actively engaging them in the ongoing dialogue.

Dale and Burrell summarize how people and the built environment interact with each other in three categories: enchantment, emplacement, and enactment.<sup>188</sup> Enchantment refers to the process where a visitor understands the message conveyed by the spatial narrative, emplacement is the way physical context guides movement, and enactment indicates how spaces are used. In this sense, urban design and architecture determine a citizen's interaction and relationship with a place. Amy Russell gives the examples of Forum Romanum and Forum of Augustus on this matter: while the design of Forum Romanum subjects the Roman visitor as an active citizen, Forum of Augustus emphasizes spectatorship by keeping the interaction strictly visual.<sup>189</sup> Forum Romanum is designed as an interactive place for announcements and public meetings (*contio*) where a speaker on a platform (rostra) would address the crowd, and everybody knew where to stand.<sup>190</sup> The Forum's layout guided citizens towards the broad open area directly facing the platform through narrow roads squeezed between buildings. This arrangement, constituted by urban landscape and architectural design, hails citizens into their place within the public area and conveys a sense of citizenship through unity. On the other hand, the Forum of Augustus offers a different mode of engagement that is both more restrained and enduring. It was heavily furnished with

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<sup>188</sup> Karen Dale and Gibson Burrell, *The Spaces of Organisation and the Organisation of Space: Power, Identity and Materiality at Work* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007), 47-77.

<sup>189</sup> Amy Russell, "Political Space", 20.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

sculptures and texts honoring Roman heroes. Here, the use of sculptures, inscriptions, and their monumental settings serves to construct a lasting narrative, showcasing the city's history, political achievements, and the honors bestowed upon its elite members. The carefully curated urban landscape provides a tangible and enduring connection, leaving a lasting impression that solidifies one's civic identity and attachment to the community (Figure 61). This form of spatial engagement is suitable if the aim is to build a local identity and construct a lasting narrative regarding the building blocks of a society. The approaches to public engagement with space manifested in both the Forum Romanum and the Forum of Augustus are also manifested in Magnesia on the Meander. In Magnesia, public spaces engage the observer through a blend of spatial and historical storytelling, diverging from singularly spectatorial forums like the Forum of Augustus or dedicated functional spaces like the Forum Romanum. The intertwining of these concepts in Magnesia is facilitated by inscriptions encountered in a dynamic pattern of movement.

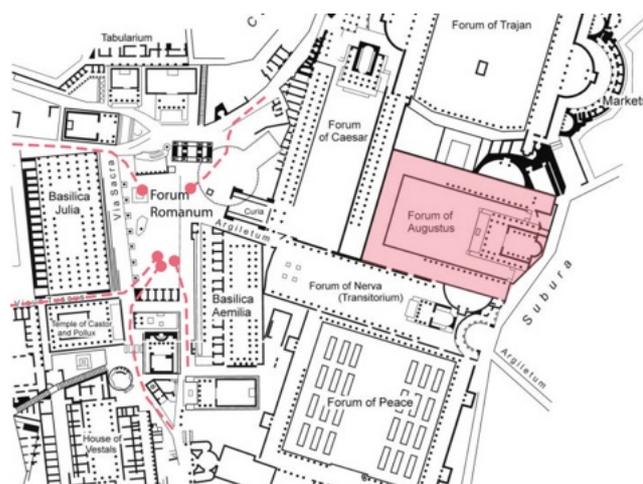


Figure 61: Plan of the imperial fora, around 330 AD.

Source: Adapted from Amy Russell, "Political Space and the Experience of Citizenship in the City of Rome: Architecture and Interpellation," in *Urban Space and Urban History in the Roman World*, edited by Miko Flohr (Routledge, 2020), 29. Figure 2.3.

As per the example of the Forum of Augustus, in addition to the architecture and urban design, objects such as sculptures and inscriptions that make up the urban landscape also play a role in determining the city's movement patterns. Setting a scene with decorations, statues, or inscriptions for a purpose, whether for imperial propaganda or display of the state's power, was a common practice in Roman cities in Asia Minor and the entire empire at large. Evidence suggests that they were an integral part of the design, sometimes relocated properly present grander concepts. For example, Roueche argues that the statues located at the southern end of the Embolos in Ephesus were moved from their original positions to flank a statue of the empress.<sup>191</sup> A similar application is seen in the Forum at Aquileia or in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, where both practices were executed for the sake of propaganda.<sup>192</sup>

In these examples and in many Hellenic and Roman cities, factors like visibility, frequency, and sacredness played a big role on the placement of statues or inscriptions within an urban context.<sup>193</sup> It is evident that these objects served not only for their content or imagery but also functioned as enhancements within a specific contextual framework. So, the function of inscriptions within a carefully curated architectural setting extended beyond their textual reality, and they assumed a crucial role. This highlights their broad contribution to enriching the spatial narrative. Each combination of architecture, inscriptions, and sculpture had its purpose within the urban space.

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<sup>191</sup> Roueche, "The Image of Victory," 537.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 539.

<sup>193</sup> Dominika Grzesik, "The Power of Space and Memory: The Honorific Statuescape of Delphi," *Antichthon* 52 (2018): 23–42, doi:10.1017/ann.2018.6.

Magnesia, in this regard, is no exception and possesses the potential to be an exceptional case study of the phenomena discussed above. Various surfaces in the city's public areas prominently showcase texts about the local games, inviolability of the city, official correspondences, myths, religion, and other literary compositions, creating an immersive environment for the inhabitants to engage with, contemplate, and discuss. In particular, potentially the most frequented space due its function and location, the agora in Magnesia hosts an abundance of inscriptions, where the inscriptions are not stacked arbitrarily but put together attentively as an integral part of the design.

Nearly 38% of Magnesia's inscriptions are found in the agora, which is evidently a sacred space aside from being the main public square in the city. The Agora is in close relation with both religious figures of the city: it is adjacent to the sanctuary of the Temple of Artemis, the main cult and deity of Magnesia, and more than that, it contains the Temple of Zeus within its sanctuary. It also possesses political significance as the city's prytaneion, a governmental chamber that represents the unity of the society, is located on its southwest corner. On the same vertical axis with the prytaneion lies the largest known collection of asyilia inscriptions<sup>194</sup> in the southern half of the Agora's west stoa. This corner is also where two of the main arteries of the city intersect, one of them being the road between Ephesus and Priene. Similarly, two fragments of a well-known inscription on Magnesia's Isiteria Festival, I.Magnesia 100A-B were found in the same corner (west anta of the south stoa). This inscription, no. 100,

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<sup>194</sup> Asyilia inscriptions include nos. 17 and 20, that were discussed previously.

contains information about the festival of Isiteria, which was celebrated on the sixth day of the month of Artemision held in the goddess' honor, so it has a religious significance:

... may it be decided by the council and the people: the neokoros and the priestess of Artemis should accomplish on the 6th of the month Artemision the re-establishment of the goddess in the Parthenon with the most conspicuous sacrifice, and this day has been proclaimed as holy for all time, being called Isiteria ...<sup>195</sup>

The southwest corner is also where one passes by to reach the civic parts like settlements, or gymnasium when approaching from the city's eastern parts. The cumulation of many functions and important features in the southwest corner shows that the inscriptions that are chosen to be displayed there are likely the most important texts in Magnesia on the Meander. A similar placement of important inscriptions is seen in Ephesus, as bilingual inscriptions in Latin and Greek are located at the crossroads where three main roads intersect just near the Hellenistic Agora.<sup>196</sup> In fact, one of those three roads stretches from the Magnesian gate. So, in both cities, the most important texts are displayed in an almost identical manner: Magnesia, the city that hosts the largest collection of asyilia dossiers, chooses to exhibit them near the crossroads at the agora (Figure 63); and Ephesus, the city that has the largest collection

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<sup>195</sup> Carbon, Saskia Peels, and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, "CGRN 200: Decree concerning the annual festival for Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia-on-the-Maiander," in *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)*, 2017-, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN200>.

<sup>196</sup> Barbara Burrell, "Reading, Hearing, and Looking at Ephesos," in *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, ed. William A. Johnson and Holt N. Parker (New York: Oxford Academic, 2011), 71.

of bilingual inscriptions, more than all the other cities in Asia Minor combined, chooses to display them at the crossroad near the agora.

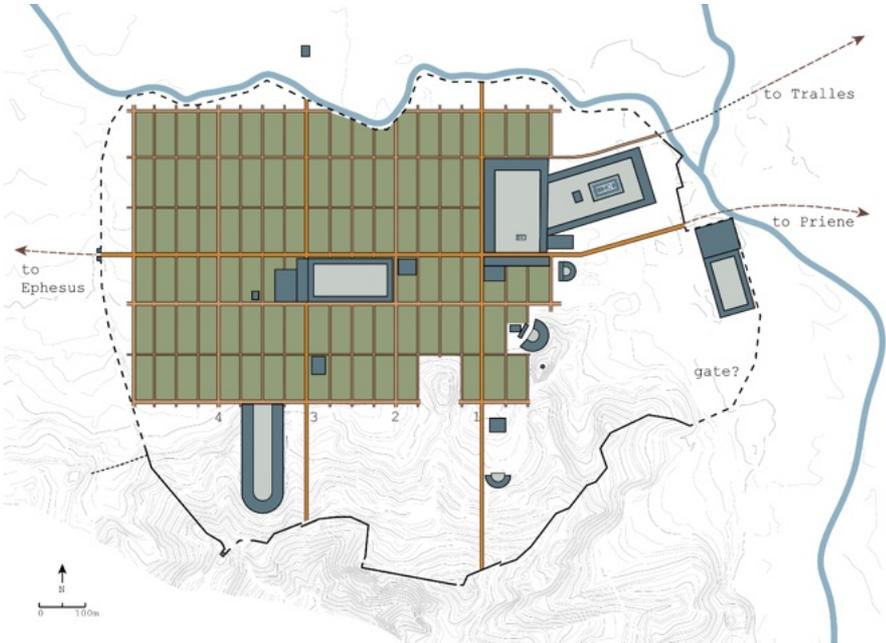


Figure 62: Map of the main roads in Magnesia on the Meander, based on the proposal of Marie Saldana.

Source: Marie Saldana, "Cave and City: A Procedural Reconstruction of the Urban Topography of Magnesia on the Maeander" (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2015), 89. Figure 31.

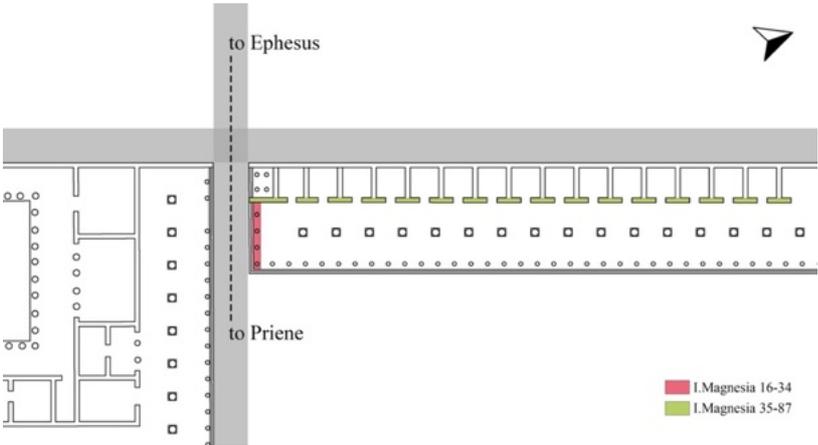


Figure 63: A focused view of the southwest corner of the agora, showing the location of asyilia inscriptions.

Source: Author.  
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Asylia inscriptions are not present at the site, and the only information we have on their display in the southwest corner of the agora comes from Otto Kern's drawings, which were based on photos taken by Carl Humann (Figure 65).<sup>197</sup> Kern's drawing shows the inscriptions displayed on the walls of the western stoa, nos. 35-87, which were mostly found in situ. In his book, Kern does not feature a drawing of the southern pillar wall (Pfeilerwand), where inscriptions no. 16-34 are displayed, as there is very little information on the order of inscriptions no 16-29b.<sup>198</sup> However, Kern is certain that nos. 18, 19, and 20 were displayed after one another on the same pillar. It is also known that the inscriptions are attached on the pillars, starting from the uppermost block of them, although this display exceeds the eye level.<sup>199</sup> Based on the descriptions of Kern, Hammerschmied presents a proposal on the appearance of the pillar wall and the order of inscriptions on it (Figure 64).<sup>200</sup>

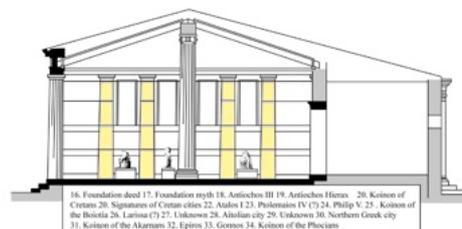


Figure 64: Inscriptions no. 16-34 on the pillar wall.

Source: Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander. Topographie, Semantik und Handlungskontexte eines panhellenischen Festkomplexes im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mit einem Exkurs zu den Asklepieia auf Kos" (PhD diss., Freien Universität Berlin, 2019). Table 21.1.

<sup>197</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*, 12.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>199</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*, 12.

<sup>200</sup> Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis," Table 21.1.

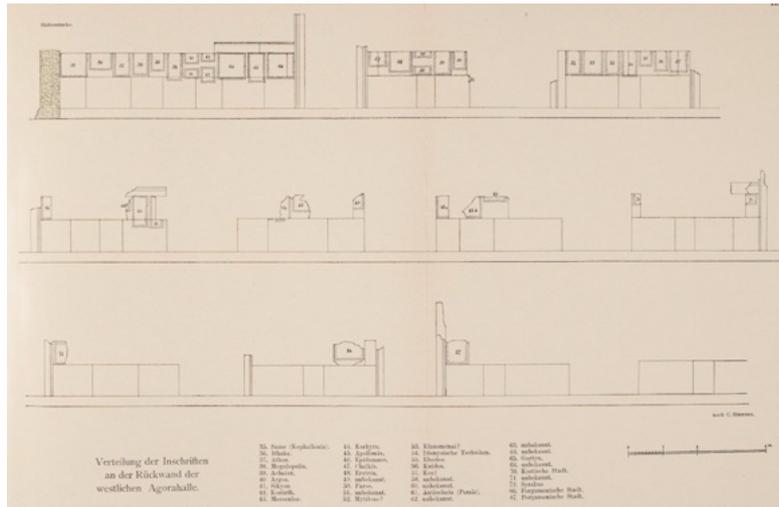


Figure 65: The order of asyilia inscriptions displayed on the walls of west stoa of the Agora – as reconstructed by Otto Kern.

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

The arrangement of asyilia inscriptions on the walls of west stoa appears to be an integral part of the agora's design. The southern rear wall had openings, letting the sunlight in on the inscriptions through the day (Figure 67). It is a remarkable example of setting a scene and enhancing the conveyed message through architecture. This feature might also reference the epiphany window on the western pediment of the Temple of Artemis. It is known from the inscription I.Magnesia 16, that the goddess revealed herself to her people which has been attributed to performing of epiphany (Figure 66).<sup>201</sup> Another inscription, I.Magnesia 98 reveals that the epiphany takes place during the full moon, where the moonshine illuminates the cult of Artemis through the epiphany window.<sup>202</sup> Both the cult of Artemis and the status of asyilia constitute a big part of the Magnesian civic identity.

<sup>201</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 66.

<sup>202</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 39.

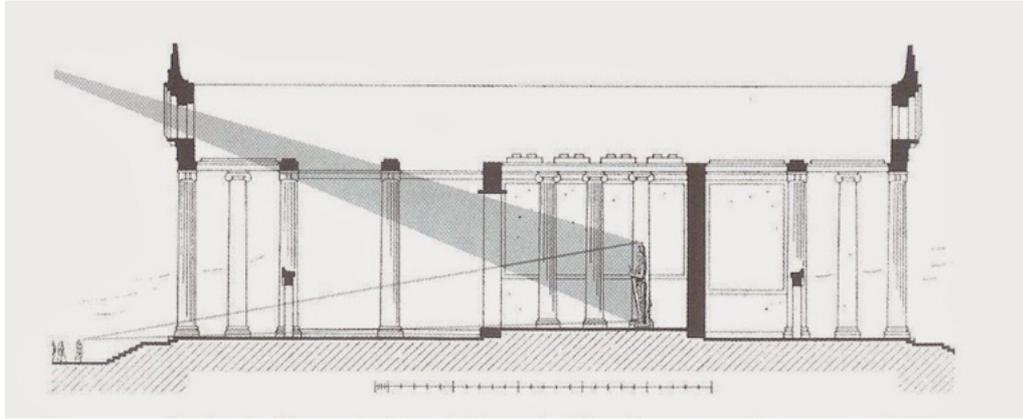


Figure 66: A proposal on the epiphany in Artemis temple.

Source: Orhan Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander: An Archaeological Guide* (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2007), 71.

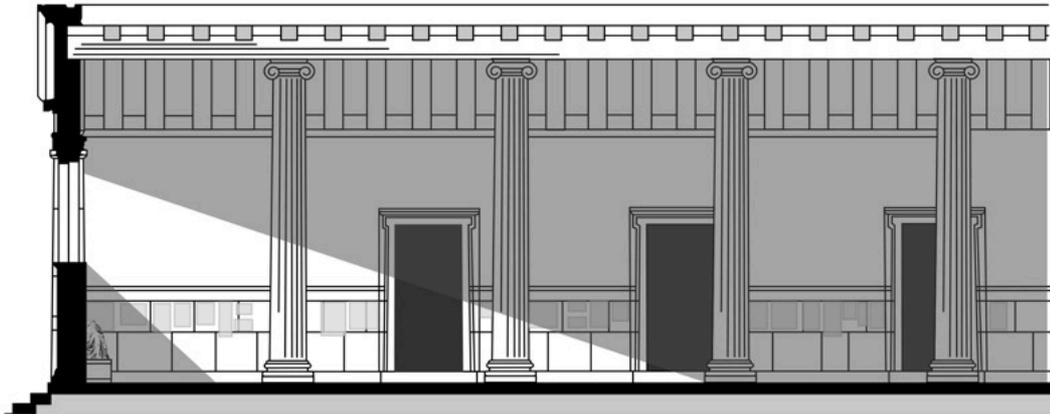


Figure 67: An illustration of sunlight hitting the inscriptions no. 35-87 on the walls of west stoa.

Source: Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander. Topographie, Semantik und Handlungskontexte eines panhellenischen Festkomplexes im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mit einem Exkurs zu den Asklepieia auf Kos" (PhD diss., Freien Universität Berlin, 2019). Table 21.2.

#### 4.1.1. The significance of asyilia documents

As mentioned earlier, the location, display, and content of asyilia inscriptions suggest that they are potentially the most important texts in the city. The word "asyilia" ("Asylum" in Latin) means the inviolability of a city, place or person, in the most basic

definition. If a temple or a city had inviolability, its security was ensured. A temple or city with the asyilia privilege was untouchable during violent occasions like war or raids. If a person had asyilia, their safety of life and possessions was secured within the borders of the cities that recognize their right of inviolability. Multiple terms implied inviolability in antiquity. The term “hiketeia” or “hikesia” also implies inviolability and was predominantly used in the Archaic period. This term was in close connection with religion, as it was granted to sacred places and temples; every ancient temple had “hikesia”.<sup>203</sup> So, inviolability was a right more than a privilege, but this changed in the Hellenistic period because it was not possible to maintain this right with the endless wars of kings who fought to protect and expand their lands.<sup>204</sup> Then, with the term “asyilia”, inviolability became a privilege more than a right, something that required diplomatic efforts to acquire, which consequently holds higher regard than hiketeia/hikesia.

Cities continued to pursue the state of inviolability although the process has become more difficult in the Hellenistic period. Rulers started to ask for the privilege of asyilia from other cities or armies to elevate their status and honor their deity and their people as a form of religious and public service. The earliest document of asyilia comes from Nysa on the Maeander dating to 281 BC when the city asked for inviolability for the sanctuary of Plouton and Kore.<sup>205</sup> Eventually, only the temple received the privilege

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<sup>203</sup> Kent J. Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability*, 9-11.

<sup>204</sup> Sarıkaya, "Asyilia," 73.

<sup>205</sup> Sevgi Sarıkaya, "Hellenistik Dönem'de Asyilia: Ionia ve Karia'daki tapınaklarla birlikte kent ve egemenlik alanına tanınan Hiera Kai Asyilia" (M.A. thesis, Akdeniz University, 2009), 130.

of asyilia, and this right wasn't extended to the city or its people. The asyilia inscriptions found in Nysa represent the earliest instance of a temple being granted the asyilia right in the Asia Minor.<sup>206</sup> Similarly, only the Temple of Aphrodite was granted asyilia in Aphrodisias. However, it was granted in the 1st century BC, and there is no record of Aphrodisias acquiring asyilia in the Hellenistic period. So, the practice of asyilia in Aphrodisias began under Roman rule, which is a rare occurrence.<sup>207</sup>

In light of these, it is safe to claim that the choice to display asyilia inscriptions implies more than announcing political success; it is also a badge of honor regarding piety and citizenship. In this sense, asyilia texts are crucial because they convey many underlying meanings and messages. This is why acquiring asyilia was a major concern in the cities of Asia Minor in the early Hellenistic period. In Magnesia, the first attempt of asyilia came nearly 60 years later than Nysa, in which Magnesians became unsuccessful, then tried again for the second time after 13-14 years and succeeded.<sup>208</sup> The asyilia inscriptions found in Magnesia are all from the successful second attempt dating to 208-207 BC. It is reported in the first inscription of the asyilia archive, I.Magnesia 16, every state, emperor or king who was asked accepted the inviolability of Magnesia:<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability*, 399.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 428.

<sup>208</sup> Although most scholars agree upon the notion that there were two attempts based on the inscription I.Magnesia 16, some of them reject this and say there never was a second attempt. For a study on this counterargument, see: Joshua D. Sosin, "Magnesian Inviolability." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 139, no. 2 (2009): 369–410.

<sup>209</sup> Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability*, 186.

... they awarded a wreath equivalent to that, at the Pythian games and valued at fifty gold staters, the kings having agreed and all the other [Greeks] to whom they had sent embassies, both nations and cities, [having agreed] to honor Artemis Leukophryene and to recognize as inviolate the city of the Magnesians and its territory because of the recommendation [of the goddess] ...<sup>210</sup>

According to Otto Kern, the collection consists of 72 inscriptions from no. 16 to no. 87. The review of Kent J. Rigsby suggests that there are in fact 66 texts from no. 66 to no. 131 in his numbering.<sup>211</sup> Rigsby's reevaluation leaves out some texts because they are in fact not asyilia decrees.

The remaining inscriptions in the archive include letters and decrees from Hellenic rulers on their approval of Magnesia's inviolability and the elevation of Magnesian games to the status of Panhellenic games, as well as the recognition of Leukophryene festival. These approvals were acquired through envoys sent all over the Greek lands. However, despite the efforts, the status of asyilia does not seem to protect Magnesia from war. Just seven years after being granted with asyilia, Philip V imposed demands on Magnesia with his army, and another 20 years later Magnesia fought a war with Miletos.<sup>212</sup>

Majority of asyilia inscriptions date back to 208-207 or 203 BC, so Rigsby assumes that unless pointing otherwise, all of the archive is from 208 BC. There are some

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<sup>210</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 66.

<sup>211</sup> Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability*.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 184

exceptions like the Aetolian decree of 221 BC, Seleucid letters, decrees from certain Attalid cities and the Roman recognition in 189 BC.<sup>213</sup> According to their own narrative, the Magnesians' motivation in pursuing asyilia was rooted in religious aspirations rather than political or military ones. However, as mentioned before, there is one interesting note: they attempted to take asyilia twice, the first unsuccessful attempt being in 221 BC. They tried again in 208 BC, after their rival Miletus had been granted asyilia. So, the major motivator could also be the triumph of their rival.<sup>214</sup>

#### **4.1.2. Display of inscriptions in the Agora**

From the way in which they chose to display the asyilia inscriptions to the tidy planning of the destination of each envoy carrying the message of Magnesians, many features of the epigraphic corpus display that Magnesians had a careful and disciplined manner in the process of getting inviolability approvals. This is among the many indicators that the city and its people took their reputation very seriously and were determined to reach the status of asyilia. The underlying motivation to enhance the state's stature and to display the documents of this diplomatic affair also have a lot to do with the rivalry between the cities of Asia Minor. In fact, displaying inscriptions or any object that represents honor and achievement in frequented public spaces often implied bragging: Pliny the Elder refers to this practice as the "most civilized sense of rivalry" (*humanissima ambitione*).<sup>215</sup> Although he implies the elite who would like to leave an

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>215</sup> Lloris, "The Epigraphic Habit", 132.

honorable mark and distinguish themselves amongst others in their social class, the same motivations apply to the reasoning behind a state's practice to display diplomatic success. For example, in early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, a theater wall in Aphrodisias was covered with inscriptions regarding the privileges of the city.<sup>216</sup> Two of the 16 documents that were chosen to be inscribed not only highlighted the privileges of Aphrodisias but also compared the city with other cities of Asia Minor.<sup>217</sup> The first inscription of the asyilia archive, I. Magnesia 16 is another example of the competition among the cities of Asia Minor, although it mentions the unsuccessful first attempt of Magnesians to acquire asyilia while it tells the story of upgrading the status of the city and Leukophryene festival.

It was seldom that a state revealed its failures, but in this case, the text is displayed to claim superiority. It is well known that Magnesians were rivals with their neighbor Miletos, and, as mentioned earlier, fought a war with it in 180s BC. Miletos was among the cities that asked for the privilege of asyilia, and although the exact date is unclear, got it before the successful second attempt of Magnesia.<sup>218</sup> However, Magnesia's first attempt and oracular sanction were earlier than that of Miletos. Inscription no. 16 proves this, so it was still a prestigious document, well worth displaying on the walls of the agora despite the failure it features. The competition with Miletos might be the main motivation behind the second attempt of Magnesia as rivalry was a major driving

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<sup>216</sup> Angelos Chaniotis. "Perception of Imperial Power," 251.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 253.

<sup>218</sup> Peter Thonemann, "Greeks of Asia," 159.

source among Greek societies.<sup>219</sup> Magnesians had the ideal opportunity to showcase their political and social integrity as the city hosted Panhellenic games where Greek community came together. However, this does not mean any inscription conveying this sense of integrity was worth public display.

The act of inscribing certain texts and putting them on display for generations to see was a tidy process that required a lot of decision-making. Evidence shows that Magnesians inscribed less than half of the answers they have received on their quest to acquire asyilia.<sup>220</sup> The fact that they did not exhibit all of them despite the hard work they put into obtaining the documents, is one of the many indications that the inscriptions to be exhibited in the Agora of Magnesia and the locations of these inscriptions were chosen very carefully. To begin with, it appears that the decision to display inscriptions on the walls of the Agora was made prior to receiving the replies. Paola Ceccaralli supports this assertion by referring to a sentence in the inscription I.Magnesia 64 (one of the asyilia documents), where a city's response includes the phrase "this decree may be inscribed in their stoa."<sup>221</sup> This assumption has to be strongly connected with Hermogenes' Hellenistic reshaping of Magnesia's city center where most of the inscriptions were found.

In antiquity, a major renovation of the city center was often reciprocal with the commercialization of urban space. The construction of monumental temples and

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<sup>219</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival," 93.

<sup>220</sup> Ceccarelli, "Letters and Decrees", 139.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., 138.

public spaces indicated that the city was developing into a real polis. Similarly, the pursuit of hosting large scale events and becoming inviolable did the same thing. It was mentioned earlier in this thesis that the renovation of the Temple of Artemis presents the temple as more movement-friendly with its pseudodipteral floor plan, which might have been utilized during festivals and games where the entire Greek Asia was invited to participate. So, it is possible to speculate that the preparations for acquiring *asylia* involved more than diplomatic efforts: architecture also had a big role. In this sense, the focus should be on how buildings and urban landscape worked together to create environments for everyday life and communal activities rather than focusing on each individual building. Although the only surviving smaller structure is the semi-circular *exedra* in the Agora, the place was probably filled with multiple small structures and monuments like statues, altars, or inscriptions.<sup>222</sup> Especially considering the density of political representation and image of power prevalent in the atmosphere of the Agora, there must have been many honorific texts and statues of the elite, athletes, or Roman officials, which might have been got lost, stolen, or used as *spolia* elsewhere. Nevertheless, the epigraphic evidence shows that there is still a significant number of honorific inscriptions and statue bases in the city, constituting more than 10% of Magnesia's recorded inscriptions.

As mentioned before, some of the honorary documents found in Agora were mistakenly identified as *asylia* documents by Otto Kern, which Kent J. Rigsby later corrected. Aside from them, some honorary texts were found in or near the Agora, in

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<sup>222</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival", 100.

which 3 inscriptions were found particularly at the southwest corner, near the entrance.<sup>223</sup> One of them, I.Magnesia 103, holds diplomatic significance as it potentially points out an agreement of citizenship between Magnesia and Samos, and acts as an indirect evidence on the Samos' wide use of citizenship as a diplomatic tool.<sup>224</sup>

To sum up, the location of the agora and the inscriptions it hosts are significant within the urban context. The southwest corner appears to be the most frequented, permeable and nominal part of not only the agora but potentially the whole city, by both the Magnesians and travelers from other cities. The attributed sacredness alone alters the perception of the space for the average beholder, and the enhancement of visual experience through the architectonic features further elevate the imperial, honorific or religious imagery presented in the inscriptions displayed in the agora.

There is no disagreement on the original location of inscriptions in the agora -from the first studies to the most recent ones, the academia is in agreement upon Otto Kern's suggestion especially in the case of asyilia decrees.<sup>225</sup> In any case, even if the inscriptions were relocated by the Magnesian state, from their original positions to

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<sup>223</sup> Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften*.

<sup>224</sup> Saba, "Magnesia on the Meander," 96.

<sup>225</sup> In his widely accepted guide to the Magnesian inscriptions, Otto Kern states that asyilia inscriptions were located in the southwest stoa of the Agora. There is no objection to Kern's argument in the following works on Magnesian inscriptions, including the work of Kent J. Rigsby where he in fact altered some aspects of asyilia inscriptions, sparing their location.

their findspots in the agora, the point still stands as the relocation implies an effort to set a scene.

#### **4.2. Portrayal of success, history, and citizenship in Magnesia**

For a city to establish its historical identity, collecting and transmitting the past was as essential in the classical world as it is now. The Magnesians were apparently aware of this fact, as there were many texts on display all over the public spaces of the ancient city, which offered an insight into the collective memory and discourse that have been transmitted through generations. These inscriptions in Magnesia reflect the tendency of ancient communities to generate a narrative of history that works best with their political interests. Since this recourse of history is in alignment with political interests, it often appeared within diplomatic contexts.<sup>226</sup>

Some of the inscriptions found in Magnesia display a similar effort of Magnesians on shaping their narrative of history, where they highlighted their Cretan origin over alternative scenarios and put the texts on display among the archive of asyilia inscriptions on the enhancement of Magnesia's political status within Greek antiquity.

Two inscriptions show how committed the Magnesians were to their Cretan origins and how concerned they were with their image within Greek lands. The first one is I.Magnesia 17, which tells the story of the origin of Magnesia, and the process of settling by the Maeander River in Asia Minor upon the order of an oracle (Figure

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<sup>226</sup> Naomi Carless Unwin, "Inscribing History," 170.

68).<sup>227</sup> Initially, the inscription may appear to be a typical mythological text, however, it actually displays a preference of Magnesians. The people and state of Magnesia apparently chose to be the descendants of Leukippos, and to be originated from Crete as it is the story being told in I. Magnesia 17,<sup>228</sup> although there were different entries on the origin of Magnesia on the Maeander.

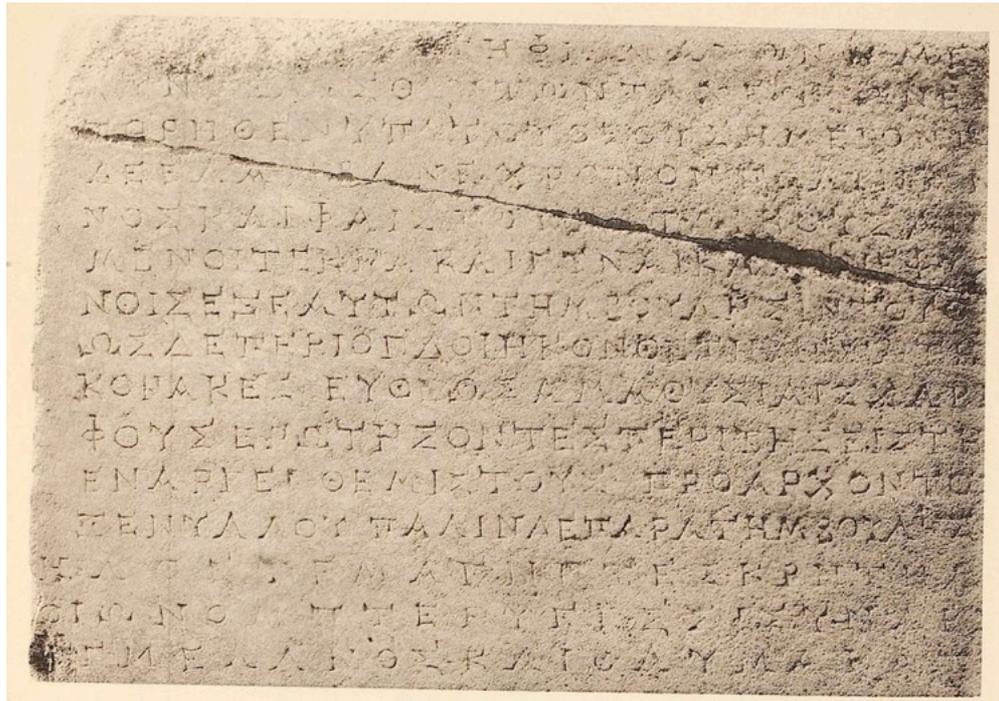


Figure 68: The inscription I. Magnesia 17.

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

The second inscription is a fabricated one produced to support the narrative of the founding myth,<sup>229</sup> namely I. Magnesia 20. Similar to no. 17, this inscription is also

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<sup>227</sup> Ceccarelli, "Letters and Decrees," 138.

<sup>228</sup> Görkem Kökdemir, "Yeni Değerlendirmeler Işığında Menderes Magnesiası Kuruluş Mitosu (Ktisis) ve Leukippos (Ktistes) Heykeli". *TÜBA-AR Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* (2018): 159, 157-178.

<sup>229</sup> Ceccarelli, "Letters and Decrees", 138.

about the founding myth and Leukippos. The text presents an Archaic document from the Cretan league (*koinon* as per the original text) dating back to the migration of Magnesians to Asia Minor, and grants specific entitlements to Magnesia such as inviolability, the right to own land and tax exemption.<sup>230</sup> Both nos. 17 and 20 were displayed at the southern end of the western stoa of the Agora, on the “Pfeilerwand” pillar wall, and are meant to be read in tandem with each other. They both tell the story of Magnesians who migrated to Asia Minor with the help of Leukippos, Delphic oracle, and their relatives in Crete.<sup>231</sup>

The prominent display of these two inscriptions on the walls of the Agora shows that the Cretan origin myth was more meaningful to Magnesians. Whether or not it was the correct narrative of history, the collective memory of Magnesian community favored their Cretan episode. The motivation behind this might be to get the approval of Cretan *koinon* easier on diplomatic affairs, and make use of the potential privileges to enhance their relationship with the Greek lands. The following text I. Magnesia 21 lists the cities in Cretan league that supports Magnesians, so, in a sense the fabrication of no. 20 acts as an enhancer for the legitimate texts representing relations between Magnesia and Crete. The fabricated decree also shows that Magnesians valued the acceptance of Cretans greatly. The fact that this inscription was fabricated and displayed on the most prominent space in the city indicates that the inscribed text was a communal practice

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<sup>230</sup> Unwin, “Inscribing History”, 178.

<sup>231</sup> For further information on Leukippos, and Magnesians' journey from Thessaly to Crete and Anatolia, see: Görkem Kökdemir, "Yeni Değerlendirmeler Işığında Menderes Magnesiası Kuruluş Mitosu (Ktisis) ve Leukippos (Ktistes) Heykeli". TÜBA-AR Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi (2018): 157-178.

that served the society's interests and shaped the collective urban memory. In this sense, the display of such web of political relations is a tool to enhance the civic identity.

In particular, two factors (both regarding the inscription's setting) reveal the intentions on choosing this narrative, and how important this text was for Magnesians in a larger framework. Firstly, the placement of the text within a diplomatic framework, among the collection of *asylia* texts documenting city's endeavors to enhance the stature of the Magnesian games, reinforces its role as a foundational justification for the Magnesians' claims and appeals. Secondly, its strategic location on the pillar wall (*Pfeilerwand*) at the southern end of the western stoa in the Agora holds immense significance. This space serves as a bustling intersection, acting as the first stop of *Artemis Leukophryene* procession in the city center (until the starting point became the sanctuary in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD)<sup>232</sup>. Its location was also close to that of the fabricated text concerning the approval of the Cretan *koinon* (*I.Magnesia 20*). The prominent showcasing of inscriptions in the city's primary public spaces points out the role and significance of these inscriptions in the everyday life of the community. The same notion goes the other way around: as much as the place of display proves the inscriptions' worth, the fact that the setting of a particular place was chosen to display the inscriptions proves the significance of that place in the city. The interplay of these factors makes it possible to alter the collective memory where the inscriptions provide

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<sup>232</sup> Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis," 296.

the information, and the architectural setting in a festive and commemorative place provides exposure.

### 4.3. Sanctuary of the Temple of Artemis

As much as the agora of Magnesia comes forward with its official texts on state affairs, the scope of the epigraphic landscape in the city goes beyond the *asylia* inscriptions. The sanctuary of the Temple of Artemis, and the stoas enclosing the area also host significant inscriptions. A total of 44 inscriptions have been found in the sanctuary of Artemis.<sup>233</sup> The content of these inscriptions varies. A number of them are religious texts (i.e. nos. 205, 207). There are proxeny documents where a member of an external political community was granted honors by Greek states (i.e. nos. 5, 6, 9, 12).<sup>234</sup> Some of them are inscribed statue bases including the *damnatio memoriae* of Emperor Domitian, in which his name was scratched off,<sup>235</sup> statue base was damaged severely and the statue was destroyed.<sup>236</sup> Several inscribed statue bases are located near the north stoa of the sanctuary (Figure 69). There are topos texts and some legal texts such as a lease (no. 8). Most of them are found around the Temple of Artemis. One inscribed

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<sup>233</sup> This number is based on Otto Kern's guide to inscriptions in Magnesia, however, some inscriptions recorded in his book does not feature a findspot, which might have belonged to the sanctuary. So, there were probably more inscriptions in the sanctuary.

<sup>234</sup> William Mack, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 7th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), s.v. "proxeny (proxenos)," <https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-5395>.

<sup>235</sup> Another inscription where the emperor's name was scratched off from the block is I.Magnesia 201, found at the southeast corner of the Temple of Zeus. It Emperor Julian whose name was erased although there is no record of him being subject to *damnatio memoriae*. See: Kern, *Die Inschriften*, Table X.

<sup>236</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 82.

block found to the south of the temple features the Coat of Arms of Magnesia (Figure 70).

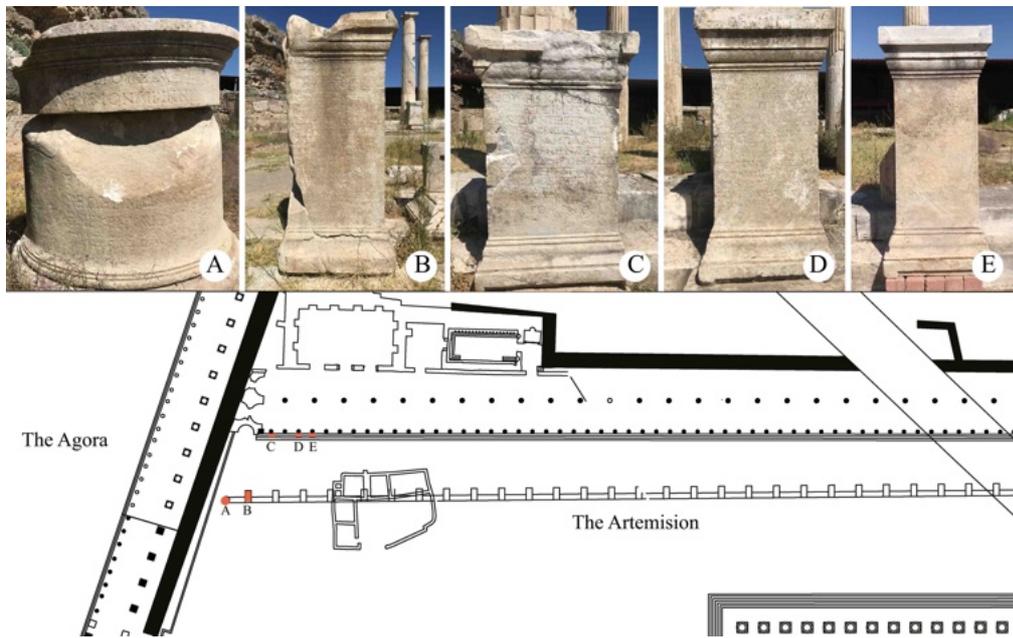


Figure 69: Inscribed statue bases and their locations in the Artemision.

Source: Author.

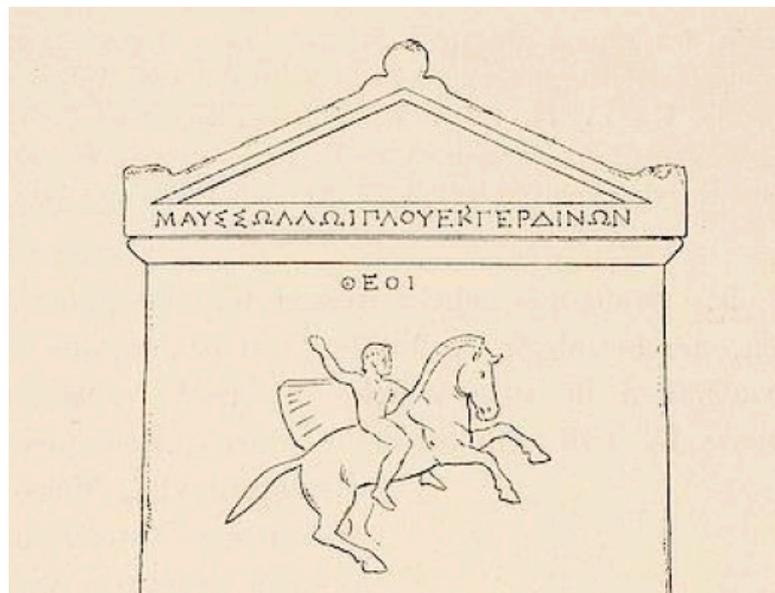


Figure 70: Inscribed block of the proxeny of Maussolos, featuring a relief of the Magnesian Coat of Arms (I.Magnesia 4).

Source: Otto Kern. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900, 3.

Inscriptions, statues and inscribed statue bases in the sanctuary of the Temple of Artemis are generally concerned with mythology and the cult of Artemis.<sup>237</sup> Dedications to the goddess Artemis and the demos of Magnesia were found to the west of the temple. In the south stoa of the sanctuary, one of the chambers (Hall of the Flavian Emperors) contained the statues of deified Roman emperors Vespasian and Titus (Figure 71). Inscriptions found to the west of the temple featured another deified Roman Emperor, Caracalla (nos. 197 and 198).

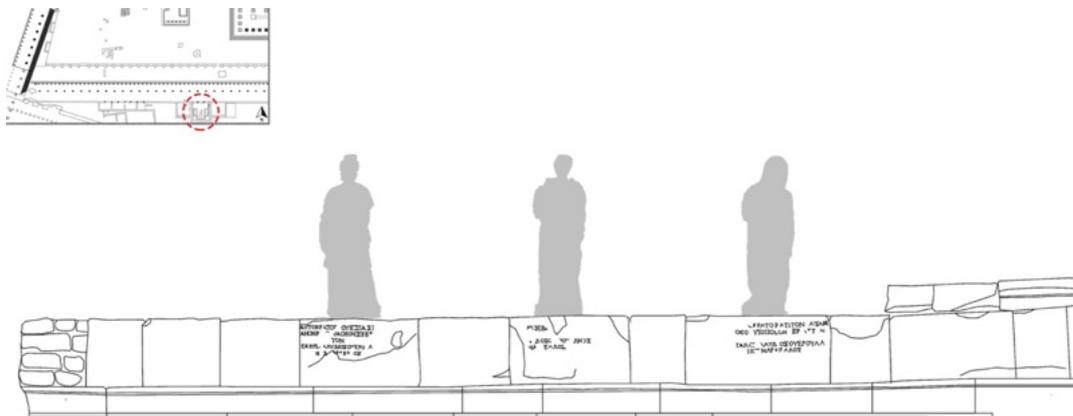


Figure 71: South wall of the 4<sup>th</sup> space in the South Stoa, namely “Hall of the Flavian Emperors”, as of 2022. Sculptures are not present at the site and placed representatively.

Source: Author.

It is mentioned earlier with reference to the Forum Romanum, that in Roman public spaces each participant knew their place through the guiding of architecture, but in Magnesia, this conception is further enhanced by the topos inscriptions where a text engraved on pavement indicated one’s exact standing point. Leaving the main axis free

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<sup>237</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), “The Panhellenic Festival”, 109.



As described previously, around 208 BC Magnesians were granted Panhellenic games along with *asylia*. Now the Leukophryene games was Panhellenic, held every four years, featuring a sacrifice and a festival for the goddess Artemis. Upon acquiring this prestigious recognition, the city of Magnesia planned a major renovation on the main public spaces. The renovation was completed in the mid-imperial period, and its completion transformed the procession route of the Leukophryene festival.

In the Hellenistic period, the procession route started from the residential areas, proceeded to the Agora and ended in the Artemision. Upon entering the agora from the southwest corner, the procession toured stoas and made stops in certain chambers. Then, it stopped by the *asylia* archive before moving onto the altar and temple of Zeus. The procession visited the sacred spring and an unknown monument, toured around the Artemis temple, and terminated the movement at the Artemis altar.<sup>238</sup>

After the renovation was completed in the mid-imperial period, the ceremony started to commence from the sanctuary instead of the residential area as it did previously (Figure 73).<sup>239</sup> The crowd gathered in the assembly area, where they stand on their assigned places indicated by *topos* inscriptions. From there, the procession started and made its way to the southeastern exit of the agora, near the market basilica. Hammerschmied states that it is possible that once the procession left the agora, it visited the buildings newly erected in the mid-imperial period, such as the Stadion or

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<sup>238</sup> Hammerschmied, “Das Fest der Artemis”.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

the renovated Theater.<sup>240</sup> After touring the city, the procession came back to the agora and for the rest, the ritual movement was the same with the Hellenistic one.

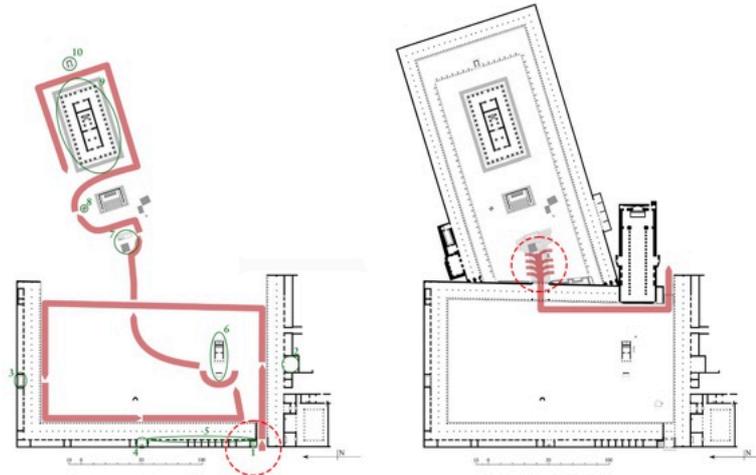


Figure 73: Starting route of the procession in different eras, on the proposal of Hammerschmied. Starting points are circled. a. Route of the Hellenistic procession. b. Route of the mid-imperial procession in 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Source: Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander. Topographie, Semantik und Handlungskontexte eines panhellenischen Festkomplexes im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mit einem Exkurs zu den Asklepieia auf Kos" (PhD diss., Freien Universität Berlin, 2019). Plan 8.I-10.



Figure 74: Plan view of topos inscriptions indicating the location of the triclinium and acrobats, engraved on the doorstep of the 1<sup>st</sup> space in South Stoa.

Source: Adapted from Magnesia Excavation Archives.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 251.

Most inscriptions found in the Sanctuary of Artemis do not have a designated location (except the *topoi*). But still, like the Agora, it is possible to generate a dynamic spatial narrative. We can construct a spatial scenario by analyzing the sequence of movements in festivals and processions that partly take place in the sanctuary.

The topos inscriptions, which determine the position of certain participant groups, can guide us on the interaction between inscriptions and movement within the urban space. Furthermore, the spatial sequence during these activities is worth analyzing to understand the overall movement within the city better.

Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, who wrote his dissertation on the *Panhellenic festival of Artemis Leukophryene* in Magnesia, proposes an interesting perspective. Most studies featuring this festival focus on the asyilia and Magnesians' process of transforming into a Panhellenic community,<sup>241</sup> whereas Hammerschmied focuses on how the self-perception of Magnesian citizens was activated and communicated through the festival.<sup>242</sup> He argues that urban movement during the festivals is directly linked to Magnesian citizenship.

According to Hammerschmied, Hellenistic procession's route -starting from residential areas, proceeding to the Agora, and terminating in the Artemis sanctuary-

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<sup>241</sup> Slobodan Dušanić, "The ΚΤΙΣΤΙΣ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΣ, Philip V and the Panhellenic Leukophryena," *Epigraphica* 45/46 (1983/1984): 11-48; Chaniotis, "Conflicting Authorities"; Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability*.

<sup>242</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival," 98.

represents the symbolic approach of citizens to the essence of their civic identity.<sup>243</sup> Hammerschmied reaches this conclusion by reconstructing the procession routes and mapping out the symbolic environment that encompassed themes relevant to the civic consciousness of the participants in the procession. Within this context, the sanctuary of Artemis as the procession's termination point, symbolizes the essence of Magnesian civic identity.

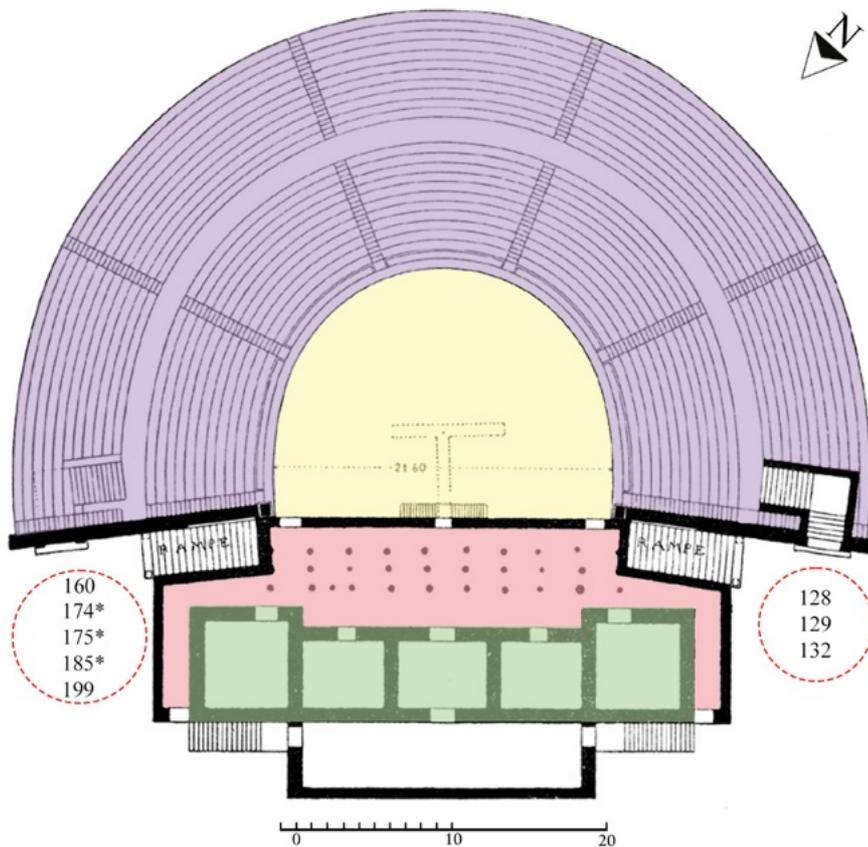
#### **4.4. Theater**

The inscriptions discovered in the Theater of Magnesia show that the place was a frequently used area in the city. Aside from the abundance of inscriptions here (nearly 14% of all the inscriptions in Magnesia), a significant portion of all the graffiti found in Magnesia was found on and around the walls of the theater (nos. 320, 323, 328, 333, 339 were found at the Roman Logeion; no. 322 at the auditorium; no. 327 at the Skene; and no. 342 near the building).

As mentioned before, the abundance of graffiti in an area, both today and in ancient times, indicates that the public frequently used the area, because graffiti is a citizen's way of leaving a mark. Moreover, more than 50% of all inscriptions found in Magnesia were found in the Agora and Theater combined. This fact suggests that these two places were probably the most "visible" sites in the city. The abundance of graffiti not only emphasize its frequent use by the city's residents but their reading provides a window into the social and cultural dynamics of ancient Magnesia.

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<sup>243</sup> Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis," 295.



- Logeion:** Inscriptions no. 130 - 133 - 135 - 139 - 151 - 152 - 165 - 167\* - 188 - 221 - 222 - 320 - 323 - 328 - 333 - 339 - 345 - 364
- Skene:** Inscriptions no. 154 - 213 - 219 - 327
- Orchestra:** Inscriptions no. 92 - 190 - 368 - 372
- Auditorium:** Inscriptions no. 210 - 211 - 223 - 233 - 247\*\* - 322
- Not specified:** Inscriptions no. 203 - 224 - 249\*\* - 250 - 342 - 376 - 389 - 397 - 398 - 399

\*Imperial \*\*Topos

Figure 75: Diagram displaying the locations of inscriptions in the Roman theater.

Source: Produced by the author based on W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das griechische Theater. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und anderer griechischer Theater* (Athen, 1896). Figure 64.

The Theater was an honorific place where the statues of emperors, doctors, artists, benefactors or the elite were erected to pay homage for their services. For the elite,

getting a place among these statues and being honored by the community was apparently a great pride, so much so that a family decided to fake it: the inscription I.Magnesia 160 is a decree of honor that belongs to the statue of Pankradites, which was inscribed to give the impression that the statue was erected by the community when in reality it was erected by his father.<sup>244</sup>

Two inscriptions belonging to the statue of Emperor Hadrian were found in the northeast corner of the auditorium (nos. 174 and 175) together with that of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (no. 185), and Emperor Vespasian's inscribed statue base was found in the northern *logeion* (no. 167). The accumulation of imperial inscriptions on the northeast corner might indicate that emperors and important political figures used the northern entrance to the building. The city center's location to the north of the theater further supports this.

Another indication that the Agora and the Theater were the two main focal points of attraction in the city is that one of the two works dedicated to Anaxenor, a bard and one of the most important figures of Magnesia, was found in the Agora and the other in the Theater. Strabo says that there was a portrait of Anaxenor wearing the garment of a priest of Zeus Sosipolis in the Agora.<sup>245</sup> As for the Theater, the most important inscription found in here is the one dedicated to Anaxenor (I.Magnesia 129) (Figure 77). In this inscribed statue base, he was praised through a quotation from Homer's

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<sup>244</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*, 123.

<sup>245</sup> Strabo. *The Geography of Strabo*. Edited by H. L. Jones. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1924, 14.1.41.

Odyssey: “Surely this is a beautiful thing, to listen to a singer such as this man is, like unto the gods in voice.”<sup>246</sup> His bronze statue was placed in front of the end of the southern *parados* near the statues of the benefactor Apollophanes (I. Magnesia 128) and probably a relative of the benefactor (I. Magnesia 132).<sup>247</sup> Anaxenor’s statue was placed in front of the benefactor’s relative, blocking his inscribed base (Figure 76).<sup>248</sup>

John Ma calls this practice “double parking” where a statue is arranged in such a way that it blocks another one, a phenomenon seen in other Greek cities such as Olympia.<sup>249</sup> In the case of Magnesia, this double parking reflects a choice of representation: Anaxenor’s statue was placed in a way that blocks the statue of the benefactor’s relative. Anaxenor was a benefactor too, but he was also an accomplished artist, a favorite of Marcus Antonius.<sup>250</sup>

The statues of Apollophanes and his relative date back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, before the time of Anaxenor, so the double parking can be interpreted as a way of paying homage to a more recent and renown benefactor who is held in high regard by prominent names of the time. Anaxenor’s statue was positioned closer to the orchestra, resulting in a lower sidewall height compared to the other two statues due to the

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> John Ma, *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 137.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>250</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.41.

descending wall of the parados. So, his statue base (and probably his figure) was shorter than the other two statues to match the theater's architectonic features.<sup>251</sup>

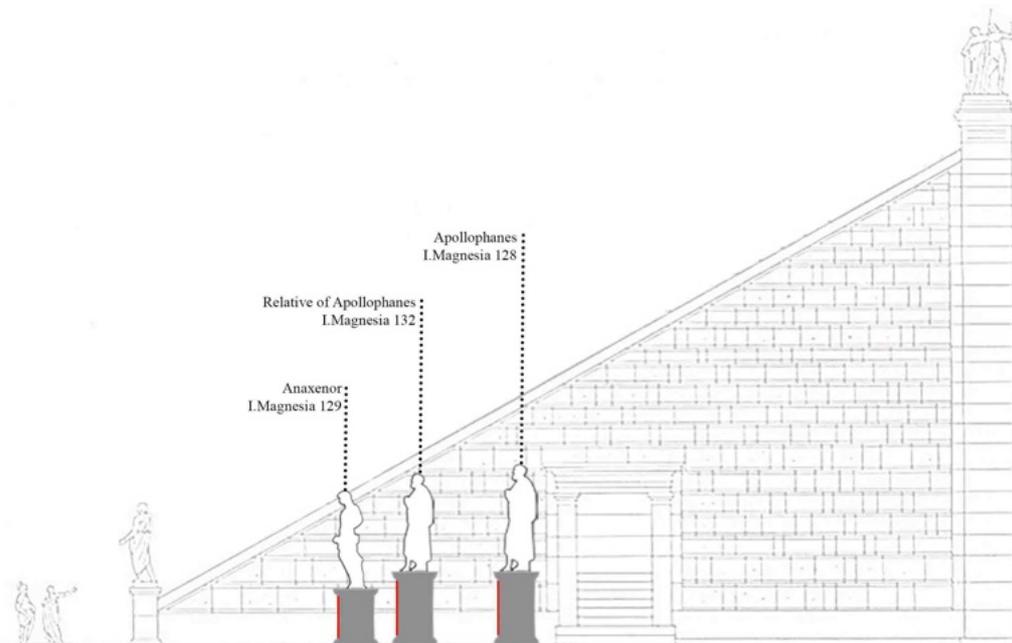


Figure 76: A proposal on the arrangement of sculptures in the theater. Inscribed surfaces are shown in red.

Source: Produced by the author based on C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre, 1891-1893* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1904), 25. Figure 9.

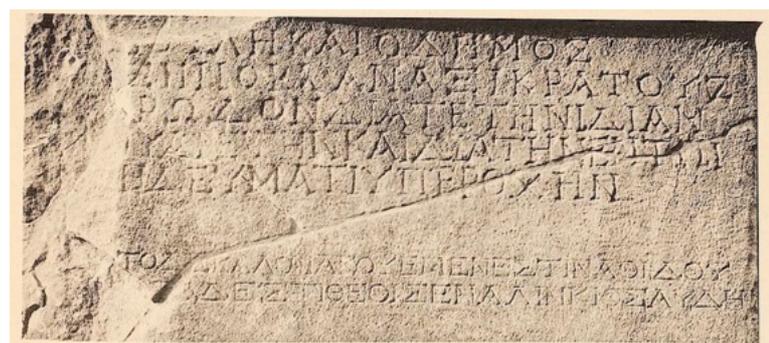


Figure 77: Inscription I.Magnesia 129, also known as the Anaxenor inscription.

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

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<sup>251</sup> Ma, *Statues and Cities*, 137-138.

Found to the northwest of the theater, there is also a marble statue base from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC that features a minor deity of the Greek mythology, Hermes Tychon. The deity figure stands on a small inscribed block I.Magnesia 203 (Figure 78-79).<sup>252</sup> Besides these, vast majority of inscriptions found at or near the theater are honorary texts presumably dedicated to the elite.



Figure 78: The tripod base with Hermes Tychon and inscription. In Berlin Staatliche Museen.

Source: DECAInDION, “Minor Deities in Dion. Praxidika and Hermes Tychon.,” DECAInDion, <https://decaindion.gr/en/minor-deities-in-dion-praxidika-and-hermes-tychon/>.

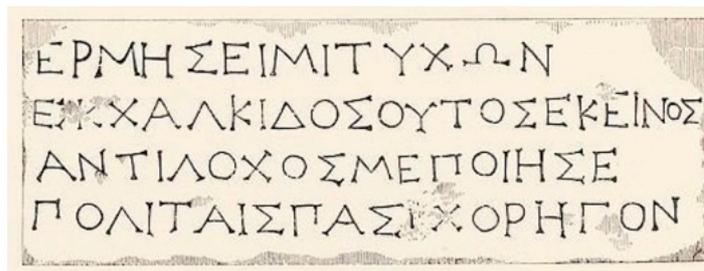


Figure 79: Inscription I.Magnesia 203.

Source: Otto Kern. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900, 132.

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<sup>252</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*, 132.

#### 4.5. Stadion

The inscriptions discovered in the Stadion provide significant insights into the social dynamics and hierarchical structure within the city, shedding light on Magnesia's relationship with neighboring cities. Here, similar to the ones in the sanctuary of Artemis, there are topos inscriptions on the seats, backrests or podium facades that indicate the place of spectators and vendors. Some of these inscriptions refer to specific people with their names. Four rows in the tenth kerkis have the names of Claudius Marcellus Artemon and Aulus Claudius on the backrests of its seats, who appear to be the members of "The Council of Elders".<sup>253</sup> Aside from this example, topos inscriptions usually referred to a group of people. The podium facade of the tenth kerkis has the word "Ephesians" inscribed on it. The seats that the inscription marks were reserved for spectators coming from Ephesus (Figure 80). This emplacement through topos inscriptions not only emplace the spectators but also give insight on the diplomatic relations between the cities. Other groups that have reserved places via topos in the Stadion include "Goatskin-Wearers Community", "Dancers", "Bird Vendors", "Sinners" and more.



Figure 80: The podium façade of the seats reserved for Ephesians.

Source: Orhan Bingöl, Görkem Kökdemir, and Muharrem Oral. "Menderes Magnesiası Stadion Kazıları (2004, 2007, 2008)". *Anadolu* (2008): 141. Figure 15.

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<sup>253</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 115.



Figure 81: Topos dedicated to the “Guild of Gardeners”.

Source: Boris Dreyer, "Ehrenplätze für Dopinghersteller – Die (Kranz-)Agone und ihre Bedeutung im Licht neuer Ausgrabungen von Magnesia am Mäander". *PHILIA* Suppl. 1 (2016): 301. Figure 9.

Two rows with the best view of the finish line have the topos inscriptions dedicated to the village's citizens who sell “Mandrake”.<sup>254</sup> Mandrake was a performance-enhancing plant root. The fact that mandrake producers were given this privileged location with the best view of the race's most important stage shows that doping was a standard practice in the games and that doping producers were held in high regard. In this sense, these inscriptions shed light on the norms of antiquity.

#### 4.6. Scattered Inscriptions

In addition to specific accumulation points, Magnesia had an epigraphic landscape spread over the whole city. Some inscriptions dating to different periods of the city were found on the Byzantine walls (i.e. nos. 7, 178, 187, 277, 278), some in the Beylik period's mosque (i.e. no. 173), and some in the neighboring villages outside the city boundaries (i.e. nos. 164, 253, 349). Although many of the findspots are recorded in Kern's book, there are a considerable number of inscriptions whose original locations are not recorded in the literature.

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<sup>254</sup> Bingöl, *Magnesia 1984-2020*, 116.

The Necropolis stands out as another accumulation point with 33 recorded inscriptions consisting of epitaphs and fragments. However, although there has been some works on the area, the excavations have not yet focused there to provide enough data for an analysis. In any case, most of the epigraphic remains of the necropolis probably belong to sarcophagi, which would not provide sufficient input to form part of the architectural narrative.



Figure 82: Excavation works in the Necropolis. Photo taken by Nimet Özgönül in 2016.

Source: Başak Kalfa, "Interpretation and Presentation of Archaeological Sites: The Case of Magnesia on the Meander" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2017), 110. Figure 3.63.

#### **4.7. Moving Within the “Wordscape”**

The dissemination of inscriptions throughout the city creates a “wordscape” in Magnesia on the Meander. The pedestrians were subjected to these inscriptions on both vertical and horizontal surfaces, to be emplaced, spectate, or pay homage. Public

spaces in Magnesia interacts with the beholder in a fashion that conveys both a spatial and historical narrative. They are not solely places of spectacle like the aforementioned Forum of Augustus, nor a sole gathering place assigned for a particular function like the example of Forum Romanum. These concepts are intertwined in Magnesia, which is largely achieved through the inscriptions that are experienced within a pattern of movement.

Processions are invaluable tools to examine how people engaged with the inscriptions within a movement pattern, so it is helpful to examine the wordscape within the guideline of processions. Epigraphic evidence suggests that there were multiple processions held in the city, like the annual procession of the Isitera Festival on the sixth day of Artemision month or the procession of Zeus Sosipolis festival.<sup>255</sup> However, only the Artemis Leukophryene procession is published in detail including its route. In his doctoral dissertation, Hammerschmied works on the Leukophryene procession and suggests possible routes that have transformed in different periods along with the architectural context (Figure 83).<sup>256</sup> Knowledge, or at least a general understanding of the procession's route, is essential to construct a meaningful narrative on how spaces and their integral elements interacted with the crowd. Artemis Leukophryene procession offers an ideal movement pattern to encounter the inscriptions within their settings: the inscribed locations are experienced sequentially by the moving body. In this context, the wordscape, architecture, and movement work

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<sup>255</sup> Carbon et al., CGRN 200.

<sup>256</sup> Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis."

harmoniously to convey the intended messages: greatness, piety, diplomatic prestige, and prosperity. Moreover, when we examine the procession path, we see that the wordscape is experienced constantly throughout the city.

Sequences of spaces and sequences of events can, of course, become totally interdependent and fully condition each other's existence -say "machines a habitier," (...) where each action, each movement is designed, programmed.<sup>257</sup>

The sequence of movement within the procession of Artemis Leukophryene Festival and where the procession takes place appear to be designed in relation to each other. Hermogenes' renovation of the city center finalized in the mid-imperial period; the magnificent temple, stadium, and theater; the way in which inscriptions are displayed in these spaces; and the fact that a significant number of these inscriptions, displayed prominently, show an effort to obtain positions that would glorify Magnesia - all of these factors point to this. The procession passes through all of these places, and potentially stop at some crucial spots: the location of a springhouse just by the entrance to the Agora might indicate that the procession stopped for a ritual cleanse right next to the asyilia inscriptions.<sup>258</sup>

In Hammerschmied's analysis, Artemis Leukophryene procession's route is derived from the Ephesian Artemis procession in Ephesus, another Asia Minor city and a prominent Magnesia neighbor. In the Ephesian procession, the moving body begins

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<sup>257</sup> Bernard Tschumi, "Sequences," in *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996), 159, 153–71.

<sup>258</sup> Hammerschmied (geb. Jürgens), "The Panhellenic Festival", 113.

and ends its movement at Artemision, like the movement pattern suggested in Magnesia (Figure 85).<sup>259</sup> According to the study of Hammerschmied, the mid-imperial procession starts from the sanctuary right where the topos texts are, and leaves from the southeastern exit of the Agora, by the Market Basilica.

Before heading back to the Agora and the Sanctuary of Artemis, there is a strong possibility that the procession paid a visit to the Stadion where it would be exposed to up to 30.000 participants.<sup>260</sup> When the procession comes back to the Agora, the moving body makes a stop at the springhouse, and visits the sanctuaries located at southern, northern, and western stoa respectively. Then comes the spectacle to the asyilia archive on the southern end of western stoa walls (Figure 84) before moving on to temples and altars of Zeus and Artemis, ending where it started. In this sense, Magnesia displays a resemblance with its prominent neighbor in culture as Artemis Leukophryene procession in Magnesia resembles the Ephesian Artemis procession.

Almost all the places where the procession passes through or stops are inscribed places with texts on their vertical or horizontal surfaces. This interconnected network of inscribed places along the procession route reflects the rich cultural and religious tapestry of Magnesia. Their continuous and holistic presence creates a narrative within the city, which is why it is possible to formulate a wordscape in Magnesia on the Meander.

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 250.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 250-251.

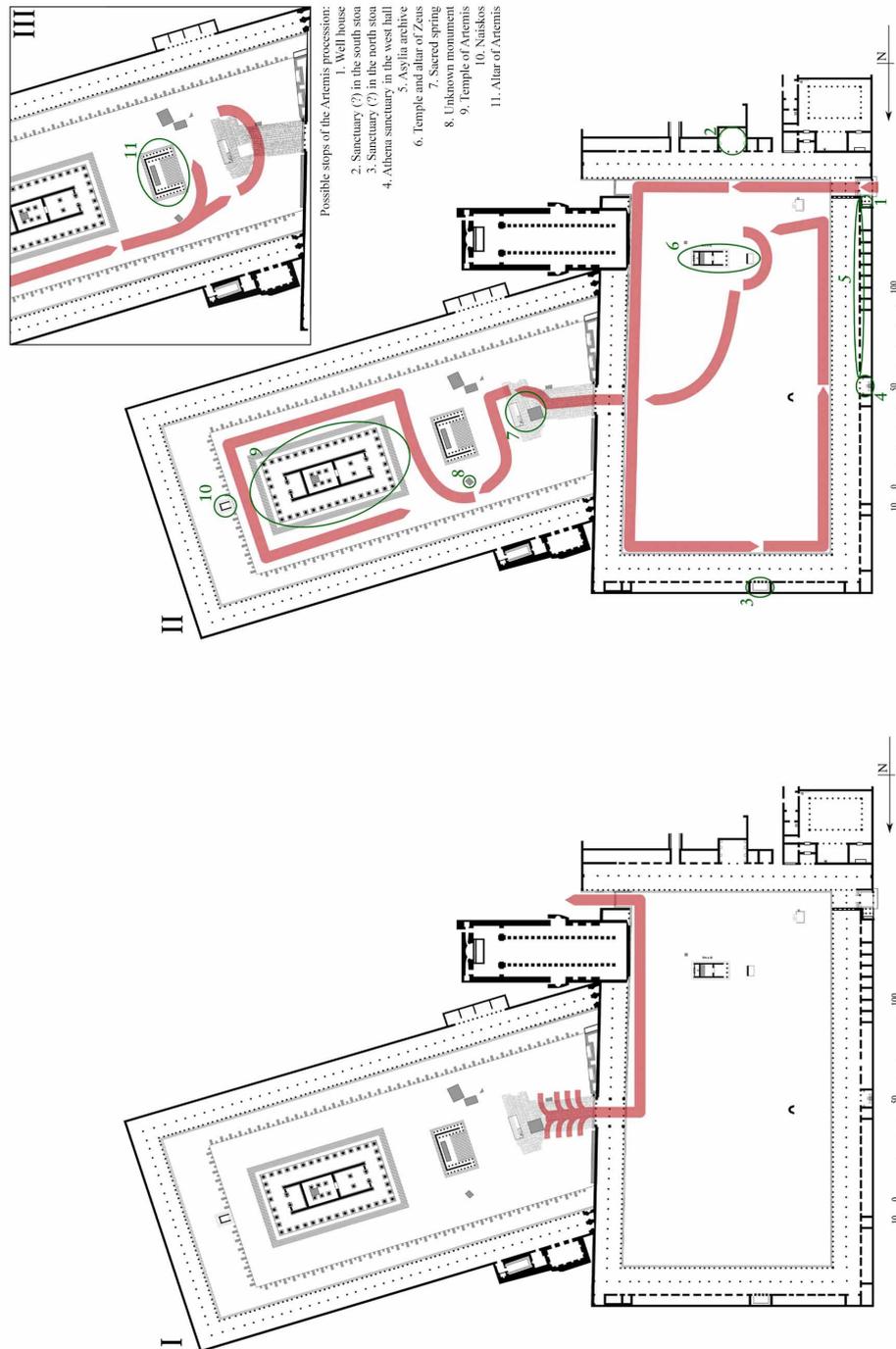


Figure 83: The possible processional route within the Agora and Sanctuary. a. Start of the procession before heading to the city. b. The route after the procession comes back to the Sanctuary.

Source: Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander. Topographie, Semantik und Handlungskontexte eines panhellenischen Festkomplexes im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mit einem Exkurs zu den Asklepieia auf Kos" (PhD diss., Freien Universität Berlin, 2019). Plan 10-11.



Figure 84: South corner of the Agora's western stoa, fifth stop of the procession upon arriving the Agora. Inscriptions are representative.

Source: Produced by the author based on the model from Magnesia Excavation Archives.

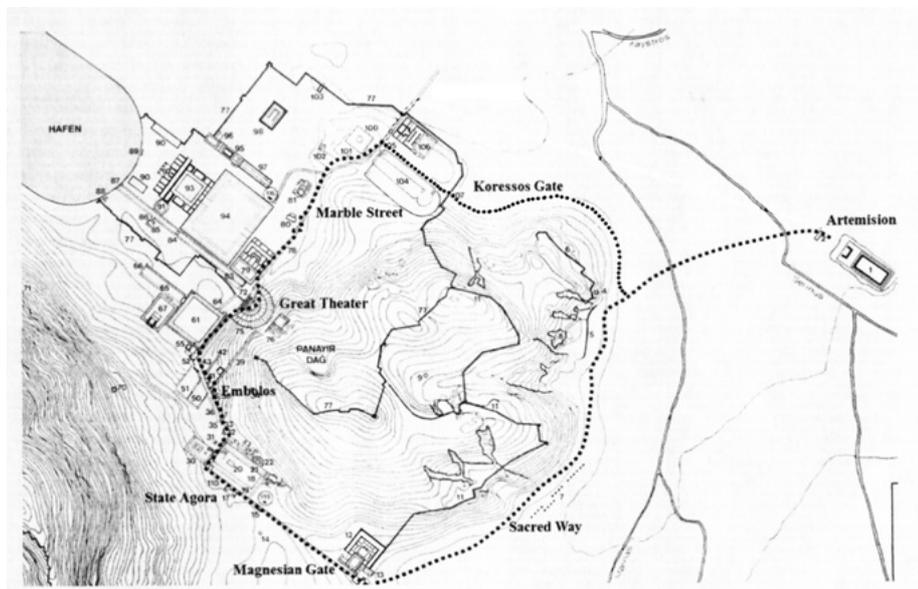


Figure 85: Processional route of the Ephesian Artemis in 2nd century AD.

Source: Stefan Feuser, "A Stroll along the Sea: The Processional Way in Ephesus and the Littoral." *CHS Research Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (2014). [http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hinc.essay:FeuserS.A\\_Stroll\\_along\\_the\\_Sea.2014](http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hinc.essay:FeuserS.A_Stroll_along_the_Sea.2014). Figure 1.

In this sense, the public spaces, if not the whole city, were designed as event spaces.<sup>261</sup> The presence of topos inscriptions further supports this notion -while other inscriptions suggest a certain “ideal” route for the crowd and come out as display materials for vanity, topos texts have a direct effect on the organization of the events by placing large groups of people. It is mentioned before that the sanctuary of the Artemis Temple, precisely the gathering place between the altar and propylaea is filled with topos inscriptions. In addition to this area, topos inscriptions were also found in the stadium and theater. However, there is one fact that has not been mentioned before due to the lack of examples: topos inscriptions are also present in the pavement of Agora. Inscriptions no. 230, 231 and 232 were found at the south hall of Agora and they all translate to “The Place of Priests” (Figure 86). Based on these, Otto Kern had even suggested that the entire Agora could be a festival place.<sup>262</sup>

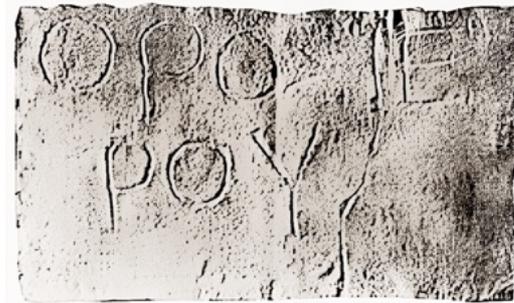


Figure 86: Topos inscription (I.Magnesia 231) found at the south hall of the Agora, reads “The Place of Priests”.

Source: Otto Kern. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900, 145.

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<sup>261</sup> In modern architectural literature the term “event spaces” was formulated and used by Bernard Tschumi. His understanding of space is connected with its use, the movement within it, and its dynamics that constitute the experience.

<sup>262</sup> Kern, *Die Inschriften*, 145.

Moreover, the perception of inscriptions in the agora is not limited to their contribution in the festive activities. The agora was the most frequented place in the city, hosting multiple activities, a temple, a governmental chamber and more. Thus, its constant daily use provided visibility for the inscriptions. As Graham states, public writing in the Greek and Roman world was not only documenting but a way of physically representing the values the texts recorded.<sup>263</sup> So, an average citizen of Magnesia was exposed to the inscriptions while executing their daily activities, and they received the essence of the message that the inscriptions conveyed. In the case of asyilia inscriptions in the southwest corner of the agora, these messages constituted the foundations of a state. They displayed piety of the city, diplomatic success, and nationalism, advertising the governmental initiative.



Figure 87: Southwest corner of the Agora. Inscribed surfaces are shown in dark gray.

Source: Produced by the author based on the model from Magnesia Excavation Archives.

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<sup>263</sup> Graham, “The Word Is Not Enough,” 410.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

This thesis looks into the interplay between the urban design, architecture, and inscriptions in Magnesia on the Meander. The abundance of inscriptions, both in quantity and in versatility, provides a fertile ground for studying the engagement between the text and its context and makes it possible to formulate a wordscape in Magnesia. This wordscape acts as a socio-spatial ground in daily life and ritualized activities, shaping collective memory and experience in the city.

In antiquity, inscriptions served as a tool for communicating and engaging a dialogue between multiple parties. They were utilized in multiple ways to honor deities, commemorate the distinguished, and convey the achievements of states. In a time when modern forms of communication did not exist, inscriptions played a pivotal role in spreading messages and connecting distant regions within empires. They continue to serve as a foundational source of credible historical evidence.

In the academic realm, inscriptions represent a vast reservoir of ancient material culture, spanning geographical regions such as the Greek and Roman worlds, including Asia Minor. For the last three centuries, scholars from diverse disciplines have approached inscriptions from various angles, each offering a different perspective on epigraphy. Some scholars have focused on translating and analyzing the content of

inscriptions for historiographical purposes; others have examined inscriptions within their broader context and looked into how inscriptions were integrated into the daily lives of citizens within urban settings. Rather recently, a new approach emerged, emphasizing public display, citizenship, audience, literacy, and monumentality. This approach encouraged scholars from diverse fields, including architecture, art history, archaeology, digital humanities, and architectural history, to examine the physical context of inscriptions. It became evident that inscriptions were dynamic components of a city, which actively engaged with the public and contributed to the collective identity of communities. This approach revealed the interplay between inscriptions and the structures that framed them, highlighting how the architectural context elevated inscriptions from mere text to integral parts of the city's narrative.

The public spaces in Magnesia on the Meander offer a multilayered experience as they engage the beholders as active participants and receptive observers. The binary engagement is achieved through daily movement patterns as well as the interactive nature of festivals, processions and games where participants are guided through the architecture and immersed in the administrative initiative through the wordscape. Together, the interplay of architecture and epigraphic landscape constitute an environment where individuals are positioned as active participants and spectators simultaneously. In this sense, how the inscriptions are disseminated throughout the city, and how they engage with their architectural context and the beholders at the same time is an integral part of the urban design.

In Magnesia, there are various elements that constitute the urban landscape, which contribute greatly to the design of the movement. Among these elements, inscriptions

potentially possess the most significant role for several reasons. Firstly, most of them are prominently displayed in monumental and frequented settings that catch the attention of beholders, or in Dale and Burrell's terms, enchant them.

The settings in question include sacred spaces in the city that are closely connected with religious practices and rituals, which leads to the second point: there is an abundance of topos inscriptions found in various public areas that indicate the point where a particular group stands or sits during festivals and games. Along with the spatial guidance of architecture, these inscriptions emplace the visitor in the most direct sense possible. Finally, the heavy influence of inscriptions on the movement within the city potentially formed certain habits among citizens through repeated navigation patterns, which fulfills enactment. Fulfilling all three of Dale and Burrell's categories,<sup>264</sup> together with the inscriptions the urban design and architecture in Magnesia actively shapes the movement, perception and interaction of individuals within the city, functioning as an event space.

Movement is designed through architecture, and in the case of Magnesia, inscriptions also play a big part in it. These texts that are found on various surfaces throughout the city work in harmony with the movement patterns and affect civic identity and collective memory. This notion is valid for both everyday life and festive activities. For everyday life, the placement of inscriptions in the public centers in the city indicates that they were carefully curated to be looked at and to build an idea of

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<sup>264</sup> Dale and Burrell, *The Spaces of Organisation*.

citizenship upon the basis of a particular narrative. They adorned prominent parts close to the religious and governmental places to be associated with greatness.

Moreover, these inscriptions were on display for the gaze of visitors coming from other cities for the festivals. On the occasion of the Panhellenic festival of Artemis Leukophryene, Magnesia hosted thousands of people and also a procession where the crowd would move through all the public spaces of the city. Processions are essential for examining how people engaged with inscriptions within a movement pattern, particularly when exploring the urban wordscape. While multiple processions occurred in the city, only the Artemis Leukophryene procession is extensively documented, and it serves as an ideal pattern for encountering inscriptions sequentially, conveying messages of greatness, piety, diplomacy, and prosperity through the interplay of wordscape, architecture, and movement. This examination reveals a continuous experience of the wordscape throughout the city. In addition to the vanity acquired through diplomatic and pious texts, topos texts were also directly related to the experience in the city since, during the festivals, participants were enlivened by the topos inscriptions. This relation is as literal as it gets in regulating movement, and the presence of topos inscriptions alone proves that the public areas in Magnesia were designed as event spaces.

Drawing these conclusions was possible by conducting a study where the inscriptions were handled as an integral part of the urban design and architecture. Inscriptions, like any other urban element, functioned beyond mere informational utility or mere aesthetics. Looking into their physical context and going in-depth on how they were displayed offer fruitful insights into the civic experience. While many studies focus

solely on inscriptions as textual entities, it is important to consider their contextual relationship with the environment. This approach can help to better grasp the cultural nuances embedded within a specific city, and also liberates researchers from the issue of ancient literacy, which was mostly reserved for the upper-class minority. In carefully curated settings, the ability to read is not a prerequisite for interpreting civic inscriptions. Through the collaboration of architecture and urban design, inscriptions can transcend their status as mere textual elements and integrate into the spatial environment, and be liberated from the constraints of literacy in order to function. A contemporary illustration of this concept can be found in the Anıtkabir (mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk) in Ankara. Atatürk's Address to Turkish Youth and the Republic's Tenth Anniversary Speech displayed on the facades of Anıtkabir are not necessarily meant to be read but serve a representative purpose, enhancing the overall spatial experience. It is reasonable to assume that inscriptions in Magnesia serve a similar function, as they are thoughtfully arranged to be accessible even to illiterate citizens, enriching their experiential engagement with the urban environment. Displaying the inscriptions in the most frequented parts of the city ensures that an average citizen would read the message. "Reading" in this context is not necessarily in the literate manner of reading words and sentences but rather involves perceiving or experiencing the message in a different way, through visual or symbolic means. So, the message is made accessible to the average person in a manner that doesn't require traditional literacy skills. In this sense, the inscription and its architectural setting serve the senses of the beholder. Moreover, even if the average beholder could not read, chances are they were already familiar with the content of inscriptions in monumental settings due to the collective urban memory. Accumulation of certain inscriptions in a particular place helps in this sense. In Magnesia, an illiterate citizen most probably

knew the southwest corner of the agora hosted asyilia inscriptions, was aware of their importance, and perceived them accordingly.

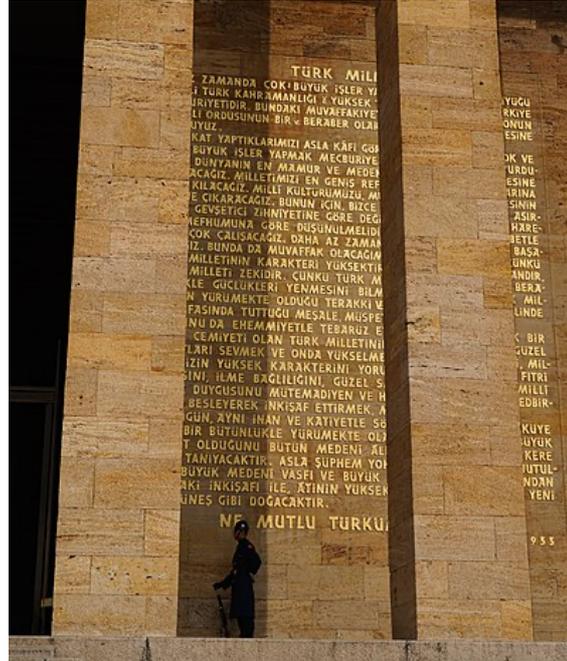


Figure 88: Atatürk’s “Republic’s Tenth Anniversary Speech” on Anıtkabir’s façade.

Source:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1f/20180108\\_Atat%C3%BCrk\\_2800\\_%2825957462678%29.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1f/20180108_Atat%C3%BCrk_2800_%2825957462678%29.jpg)

The epigraphic richness in Magnesia is discussed widely in this thesis; however, if one were to visit the site today, s/he could only encounter a fraction of the epigraphic material in the city. Most inscriptions are not on display but stored in the archives. The majority of asyilia inscriptions are in Berlin’s Pergamon Museum, and their squeezes are in the archives of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin.<sup>265</sup> These inscriptions are decontextualized, so unlike the ancient beholder, it is not possible to experience the

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<sup>265</sup> Rigsby, *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability*, 185.

wordscape in Magnesia today. But it is possible to trace it to some extent through published material.

This thesis is limited to the published epigraphic material from Magnesia, yet a significant number of inscriptions remain unpublished. As additional inscriptions are discovered and made available with essential details including their findspots and translations in the future, the arguments presented here can evolve to become more comprehensive and elaborate. Moreover, as the corpus of discovered epigraphic material expands, the opportunity might arise to delve into a more extensive wordscape and explore patterns of civic movement. This, in turn, enables speculation about everyday routes, or potentially multiple routes, depending on the wealth of available data. Different from festival routes that depict rather formal movement patterns, these “epigraphic routes” might offer insights on the civic everyday life in the city such as the circulation within the city, or which buildings were frequented more by the citizens. For instance, it is stated previously before that the presence of graffiti and dipinti indicates the ancient citizens’ urge to leave a mark in places they visit regularly, thus the abundance of graffiti in a place signal that it was a highly circulated place.

In Magnesia, as expected, most of the graffiti were found in the agora since it hosted a big part of the everyday activities in the city. The theater, however, comes in second for having the most graffiti after the agora according to the available data. So, the examination, dating, and translation of the graffiti in the theater might provide valuable information about the structure’s contribution to the urban life. Benefiel’s work on the

graffiti of House of Maius Castricius is an example of this.<sup>266</sup> Perhaps, with more information on the theater's inscriptions, further studies might show that the cultural activities in Magnesia resulted in the frequent use of the theater; and the place of theater in the cultural production of Magnesia can be examined with the help of epigraphic production. Furthermore, detailed documentation of the inscriptions' findspots can suggest frequented routes the ancient citizens used, which might ignite archaeological research along that route. These conjectures are some examples of the potential contributions of epigraphic data to further research on Magnesian civic life within an urban context.

Also, Magnesia's other festivals and processions, such as Isiteria and Zeus Sosipolis, need in-depth examination. The movement patterns observed during processions partially mirror the daily movement patterns of citizens. Thus, examining them offers valuable insights into commonly traveled routes, shedding light on how places were utilized and experienced. This thesis has been able to examine the wordscape within the framework of a movement pattern, thanks to the detailed research conducted by Hammerschmied on the Artemis Leukophryene festival.<sup>267</sup> Thorough analysis of other Magnesian festivals' historical, social, and urban context, coupled with a route reconstruction like that of the Artemis Leukophryene festival would yield a deeper understanding of the role of inscriptions in the city.

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<sup>266</sup> Benefiel, "Dialogues."

<sup>267</sup> Hammerschmied, "Das Fest der Artemis."

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## APPENDICES

### A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKGÇE ÖZET

Menderes Magnesiası, Efes, Afrodisyas, Priene ve Alabanda gibi birçok antik şehri barındıran Menderes Nehri Vadisi'nde bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda haritada Efes, Tralleis ve Priene tarafından oluşturulan üçgenin merkezinde önemli bir konumda yer alan, bölgedeki en eski antik kentlerden biridir. Antik kent, günümüz Türkiye'sinde Aydın ilinin Germencik ilçesinde bulunan Tekinköy Mahallesi sınırları içerisinde yer alır. Magnesia, literatürde ilk defa William Martin Leake tarafından, alanda bulunan ve iyi korunmuş olan yazıtlı kaidelerin Artemis Tapınağına ait olduğunu kanıtlamak için bahsedilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, kentteki en eski kazılar yüz yıldan daha uzun bir süre önce gerçekleşmiştir, bu nedenle Magnesia ile ilgili kaynaklar ve belgeler oldukça fazladır. Özellikle Carl Humann, Julius Kohte ve Carl Watzinger'in 1904 tarihli "Magnesia am Maeander" kitabı ile Otto Kern'in 1900 tarihli "Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander" kitabı kentin mimarisi ve yazıtları üzerine çok önemli kaynaklardır. Tezde bu kaynaklara sık sık atıfta bulunulmuştur. Bu kaynakların yanı sıra 1984-2021 yılları arasında Magnesia'da kazı başkanlığı yapan Prof. Dr. Orhan Bingöl ve 2021 yılından itibaren görevi devralan Doç. Dr. Görkem Kökdemir'in yayınları da sıklıkla referans gösterilmiştir.

Kentin kutsal Agora'sında bulunan ve M.Ö. 3. Yüzyıla tarihlenen kuruluş öyküsü yazıtına göre (I.Magnesia 17, "Ktisis" yazıtı olarak da bilinir) Menderes Magnesiası'nın tarihi Truva Savaşı'nın bir nesil öncesine, yani M.Ö. 7. yüzyıla

dayanır. Bu yazıt üzerine yapılan çalışmalar Magnesia tarihini aydınlatırken aynı zamanda Magnesialıların kentin tarihini şekillendirmede rol aldıklarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Çünkü bu yazıt, antik kaynaklarda kentin kuruluşu ve kökeni hakkında anlatılan birkaç öyküden birini aktarmaktadır. Aynı zamanda Magnesia, kuruluş ve kökenini anlatan bir yazıtta sahip olan ender kentlerden biridir.

Kentte bulunan yazıtlara göre, Apollon'un kehaneti üzerine Magnesialılar anavatanları Teselya'yı terk ederek Girit adasına yerleşmiş ve burada 80 yıl boyunca kehanetin gerçekleşmesinin işareti olarak beyaz kargaların ortaya çıkmasını beklemişlerdir. Beyaz kargalar nihayet görüldüğünde, anavatanları Teselya'ya dönmeyi umarak başka bir kehanet için Delphi'ye bir heyet göndermişlerdir. Ancak Apollon'un kehaneti onlara Leukippos'un izinden gitmelerini ve Menderes'in verimli topraklarına yerleşmelerini söylemiştir. Bunun üzerine Magnesialılar Leukippos'un önderliğinde Büyük Menderes Nehri üzerindeki Thorax Dağı'nın (Gümüşdağ) yakınlarına yerleşmişlerdir. Bu yerleşkede öncelikle eski Magnesia olarak bilinen "Palaimagnesia" kurulmuştur. "Palaimagnesia" kentin tarihinde 7. yüzyıl ile 4. yüzyılın başları arasındaki dönemi ifade eder. Bu ilk kentin nerede kurulduğuna dair kesin bir bilgi yoktur, ancak araştırmalar bugünkü Magnesia'dan çok uzakta olmadığını gösterir.

Kentin ana tanrıçası Artemis'tir ve kentte bir Artemis Tapınağı bulunur. Bugünkü haliyle Helenistik dönemde inşa edilen tapınağın temelinde Arkaik tapınağın izleri bulunmuştur. Aynı zamanda kentte tanrıça Artemis adına festivaller ve oyunlar düzenlenmiştir. Bunlardan biri olan ve tanrıçanın adını taşıyan Artemis Leukophryene Festivali kapsamında düzenlenen oyunlar Panhellenik oyun statüsündedir. Magnesia

kenti bu statüyü MÖ 3. yüzyıl civarında, hem Artemis Leukophryene festivalini Panhellenik statüye yükseltmek ve hem de kente dokunulmazlık statüsü (asylia) verilmesini talep etmek için çevredeki çeşitli şehir devletlerine heyetler göndermesinin sonucunda elde etmiştir.

Girişiminde başarılı olan Magnesia, Leukophryene oyunlarını Panhellenik statüye yükselttikten ve dokunulmazlık kazandıktan sonra mimar Hermogenes ile kentte büyük çaplı bir yenileme planlamıştır. Yenilenen yapılardan biri olan Artemis Tapınağı, Hermogenes'in bulucusu olduğu pseudodipteral planı uyguladığı ilk tapınaktır ve Didyma'daki Apollon Tapınağı ile birlikte Anadolu'da "mimari rönesansın" temsilcilerinden biri olarak anılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, Magnesia'nın taleplerine cevaben heyetler ile kente gönderilen ve kentin diplomatik başarısını belgeleyen 60'tan fazla yazıt kentin en uğrak noktalarından biri olan Agora'nın güneybatı köşesinde sergilenmiştir. Bu yazıtlar, literatürde "asylia arşivi" olarak anılan ve bilinen en büyük örneği Magnesia'da bulunan koleksiyonu oluşturur.

Bütün bunların yanı sıra, Magnesia'dan hem kent hem de Antik Yunan ve Roma İmparatorluğu hakkında bilgilerle dolu yaklaşık 400 yazıt bilinmektedir. Bu yazıtların çoğu in-situ durumdadır ya da buluntu yerleri kayıtlara geçmiştir. Bu yazıtları mimari bağlamlarıyla birlikte kentsel bir çerçevede ele almak, sadece tarih anlatısını ya da bu yazıtların hangi nedenle yazdığını değil, Magnesialıların yazıtlarla nasıl etkileşime geçtiğini inceleme fırsatı yaratır. Verinin hacmi ve dokümantasyon zenginliği, bu tezin Magnesia'nın kentsel bağlamında bir "yazıt peyzajı" formüle etmesine olanak tanır.

Antik çağda yazıtlar, kamusal iletişim araçları olarak hizmet etmiştir. Tanrıları onurlandırmak, seçkinleri anmak ve devletlerin başarılarını aktarmak için çeşitli şekillerde kullanılmışlardır. Modern iletişim biçimlerinin mevcut olmadığı bir dönemde yazıtlar, mesajların yayılmasında ve imparatorluklar içindeki uzak bölgelerin iletişimde kalmasında da çok önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Günümüzde yürütülen tarih çalışmalarında ise güvenilir kaynaklar olarak hizmet etmeye devam etmektedirler.

Son üç yüzyıl boyunca, farklı disiplinlerden akademisyenler yazıtlara çeşitli açılardan yaklaşmış ve her biri epigrafi çalışmalarına farklı bir bakış açısı sunmuştur. Bazı akademisyenler tarih yazımı amacıyla yazıtların içeriğini tercüme ve analiz etmeye odaklanırken, diğerleri yazıtları daha geniş bağlamları içinde incelemiş ve yazıtların kentsel ortamlarda vatandaşların günlük yaşamlarına nasıl entegre edildiğini araştırmışlardır. Yakın zamanda ise yazıtların kamusal gösterimi ve anıtsallığına vurgu yapan yeni bir yaklaşım ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu yaklaşım, mimarlık, sanat tarihi, arkeoloji, dijital beşeri bilimler ve mimarlık tarihi gibi farklı alanlardan akademisyenleri yazıtların fiziksel bağlamını incelemeye teşvik etmiştir. Bunun sonucunda yazıtların, halkla aktif olarak etkileşime giren ve toplulukların kolektif kimliğine katkıda bulunan, şehrin dinamik bileşenlerinden olduğu görülmüştür. Bu yaklaşım, yazıtlar ile onları çerçeveleyen yapılar arasındaki etkileşimi ortaya çıkararak, mimari bağlamın yazıtları nasıl salt metin olmaktan çıkarıp kentin anlatisinin ayrılmaz parçaları haline getirdiğini vurgular.

Bir kentteki epigrafi kültürünü ve alışkanlıklarını tam olarak anlamak adına kapsamlı bir yaklaşım yürütmek için değerlendirilmesi gereken bazı ana konseptler ve

yöntemler vardır. İlk olarak yazıtların nasıl sergilendiğini araştırmamız, bu anlamda alınan kararların ardındaki nedenleri ve bu kararların sonuçlarını anlamamız gerekir. Bunu yapabilmek için kent kimliğinin gelişimine ve kentin fiziksel gelişimine daha yakından bakmamız gerekir; zira bir kentin inşasında somut ve soyut olgular genellikle iç içe geçmiş durumdadır. İkinci olarak, genellikle kentin yerel vatandaşlarının ötesinde bir kalabalığı içeren hedef kitleyi anlamamız gerekir. Bu bağlamda, yazıtların teşhiri; esasında siyasi güç ve dindarlık gibi bir şehrin kilit taşlarının teşhiri haline gelir. Bu bağlamda, antik kentler arasındaki rekabet de araştırmalarda öne çıkmaktadır. Bu noktalar birbirinden ayrı tutulmasına rağmen, aslında birbirleriyle iç içedirler ve genellikle benzer sonuçlara götürürler. Her iki noktayı ele alırken, mimari ve kentsel bağlamlar, kent içindeki hareketi ve kent mekanlarının algılanma biçimini etkiledikleri için büyük önem taşırlar.

Kent içindeki hareketin düzenlenmesi ve mekân algısının bilinçli olarak şekillendirilmesi kent planlamasının önemli unsurlarıdır. Antik dönemde ortalama bir kentlinin oldukça yavaş bir tempoda yürüdüğü düşünülürken, sık kullanılan kamusal alanlar, vatandaşlar için sergilenen; özümsemi ve gözlemlenmesi amaçlanan süslemeler, heykeller ve yazıtlarla neredeyse birer sergi alanları haline gelmiştir. Bu anlamda, kentteki hareketin gelişimi mekân tasarımıyla doğrudan bağlantılıdır. Bu kavramlar iç içe olduğu için, kolektif harekete ev sahipliği yapan kamusal alanların mekânsal organizasyonu, kentteki gündelik yaşam deneyiminin büyük bir bölümünü oluşturur. Yazıtlar, bu bağlamda, kentliyi iletilen mesajın alıcısı olarak konumlandırılarak ve böylece devam eden diyaloga aktif bir şekilde dahil ederek mekânsal deneyime katkıda bulunur.

Magnesia'daki kamusal alanlar, izleyenleri aktif katılımcılar ve gözlemciler olarak etkileşime sokarken çok katmanlı bir deneyim sunar. Mimari ve epigrafik peyzajın karşılıklı etkileşimi, bireylerin aynı anda hem aktif katılımcı hem de izleyici olarak konumlandığı bir ortam oluşturmaktadır. Bu nedenle, yazıtların kente nasıl yayıldığı ve aynı anda hem mimari bağlamlarıyla hem de izleyicilerle nasıl ilişki kurdukları kentsel tasarımın ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır.

Magnesia'da kentsel peyzajı oluşturan ve kent içindeki hareketin şekillenmesine büyük katkı sağlayan çeşitli unsurlar vardır. Bu unsurlar arasında yazıtlar, en önemli rollerden birine sahiptir. İlk olarak, yazıtların önemli bir kısmı sık kullanılan anıtsal mekanlarda belirgin bir şekilde sergilenmektedir. Söz konusu mekânlar, kentteki dini pratikler ve ritüellerle yakından bağlantılı kutsal alanlardır. Dahası, bu alanların ev sahipliği yaptığı festivaller ve oyunlar sırasında belirli bir grubun durduğu veya oturduğu noktayı gösteren çok sayıda “topos” yazıtı vardır (“topos” Eski Yunanca’da “yer” anlamına gelir.) Mimarinin sunduğu mekânsal rehberliğin yanı sıra bu yazıtlar ziyaretçileri kelimenin tam anlamıyla alan içinde konumlandırır. Son olarak, yazıtların kent içindeki hareket üzerindeki yoğun etkisi, tekrarlanan dolaşım örüntüleri yoluyla vatandaşlar arasında potansiyel olarak belirli alışkanlıklar oluşturmuştur. Bu bağlamda Magnesia'daki kamusal alanlar, yazıtlarla birlikte bireylerin kent içindeki hareketini, algısını ve etkileşimini aktif bir şekilde şekillendirir.

Yazıtların kentin her köşesine yayılması, Magnesia'da bir "yazıt peyzajı" oluşturur. Bu yazıtlar, dikey ve yatay yüzeylerde hem yerli halka hem de ziyaretçilere sunulmuştur. Yazıtların yardımıyla kamusal alanlar, izleyicilerle hem mekânsal hem de tarihsel bir anlatı paylaşma amacıyla etkileşime girmiştir. Bu bağlamda geçit törenleri, yazıtlarla

nasıl etkileşime geçildiğini incelemek için önemli araçlardır. Dolayısıyla, yazıt peyzajını bu geçit törenlerinin bağlamında incelemek anlamlı olacaktır. Epigrafik kaynaklar, Artemision ayının altıncı gününde düzenlenen Isitera ya da Zeus Sosipolis gibi şehirde birden fazla geçit töreninin olduğunu gösterir. Ancak yalnızca Artemis Leukophryene Festivali'nin geçit töreni, güzergâh dahil olmak üzere ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenmiş ve yayınlanmıştır. Johann Kristoph Hammerschmied, doktora tezinde Leukophryene geçit törenini çalışarak olası güzergâhlar önermiştir. Mekânların ve onları bütünleyen unsurların kalabalıklarla nasıl etkileşime girdiğine dair anlamlı bir anlatı oluşturmak için geçit töreninin güzergâhı hakkında bilgi sahibi olmak ya da en azından genel bir kavrayışa sahip olmak esastır. Artemis Leukophryene geçit töreni, yazıtları kendi bağlamlarında deneyimlemek için ideal bir rota sunar ve yazıtlı mekanlar tören alayı tarafından sırayla deneyimlenir. Bu bağlamda yazıt peyzajı, mimari ve sirkülasyon, yazıtlar aracılığıyla amaçlanan mesajları iletmek için uyum içinde çalışır. Geçit rotasını incelediğimizde, yazıt peyzajının tören boyunca sürekli olarak deneyimlendiğini görürüz.

Daha önce bahsedilen *asylia* yazıtlarının içeriği, konumu, gündelik hayatta ve geçit törenlerinde sergilenme biçimi bu yazıtların potansiyel olarak kentteki en önemli metinler olduğunu gösterir. "*Asyilia*" (Latince "*asylum*") kelimesi en temel tanımıyla bir şehrin, yerin ya da kişinin dokunulmazlığı anlamına gelir. Bir tapınak ya da şehir dokunulmazlığa sahipse güvenliği sağlanmış demektir. Antik dönemde *asylia* ayrıcalığına sahip bir tapınak ya da şehir, savaş ya da baskın gibi şiddet içeren durumlarda dokunulmaz sayılırdı. Bir kişi *asylia*'ya sahipse, dokunulmazlık hakkını tanıyan şehirlerin sınırları içinde can ve mal güvenliği güvence altındaydı. Bununla birlikte antik dönemde dokunulmazlığı ima eden birden fazla terim vardır. "*Hiketeia*"

ya da "hikesia" terimleri de dokunulmazlık anlamına gelir ve ağırlıklı olarak Arkaik dönemde kullanılmıştır. Bu terimler, kutsal yerlere ve tapınaklara verildiği için dinle yakından bağlantılıydı; bütün tapınaklar "hikesia" statüsündeydi. Dolayısıyla, dokunulmazlık bir ayrıcalıktan çok bir haktı, ancak bu durum Helenistik dönemde değişti çünkü kralların topraklarını korumak ve genişletmek için çıkardığı ardı arkası gelmeyen savaşlarıyla bu hakkı sürdürmek mümkün değildi. Bunun sonucunda "asylia" terimiyle dokunulmazlık bir haktan çok bir ayrıcalık, elde edilmesi için diplomatik çaba gerektiren ve dolayısıyla hiketeia/hikesia'dan daha fazla itibar gören bir statü haline geldi.

Helenistik dönemde süreç daha zor hale gelse de kentler dokunulmazlık hakkını kazanmak için çaba göstermeye devam etmiştir. Bu uğurda yöneticiler statülerini yükseltmek, tanrılarını ve halklarını onurlandırmak için diğer kentlerden ya da ordulardan asyilia ayrıcalığı talep etmişlerdir. Bunların ışığında, asyilia yazıtlarını sergileme arzusunun siyasi başarıyı ilan etmenin ötesinde, dindarlık ve vatandaşlığa ilişkin bir onur nişanesi olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. Bu anlamda asyilia metinleri çok önemlidir çünkü alt metinlerinde kente dair birçok mesaj ve anlam taşırlar. Bu nedenle erken Helenistik dönemde Küçük Asya kentlerinde asyilia edinmek büyük bir mesele olmuştur. Magnesia'nın ilk asyilia istemi başarısız olduğu halde, 13-14 yıl sonra ikinci kez aynı zorlu süreçten geçerek asyilia'yı elde etmesi, Helenistik dönemde asyilia statüsüne verilen değeri kanıtlar. Magnesia'da bulunan asyilia yazıtlarının tümü MÖ 208-207 yıllarına tarihlenen ve başarılı olan ikinci denemeye aittir. Asyilia arşivinin ilk yazıtı olan I.Magnesia 16'da, başvuru her devletin, imparatorun ya da kralın Magnesia'nın dokunulmazlığını kabul ettiği bildirilmektedir.

Asyilia arşivi, kentin kutsal Agora'sının güneybatı köşesinde sergilenmiştir. Buna ek olarak, Magnesia yazıtlarının yaklaşık %38'i, kentin ana kamusal meydanı olmasının yanı sıra kutsal bir alan olduğu da aşikâr olan agorada bulunmaktadır. Agora, kentin her iki dini figürüyle de yakın ilişki içindedir: Magnesia'nın ana kültü ve tanrısı olan Artemis Tapınağı kutsal alanına bitişiktir ve bunun da ötesinde Zeus Tapınağı'nı sınırları içinde barındırır. Ayrıca, kent meclisinin toplandığı prytaneion da Agora'nın güneybatı köşesinde yer alır, bu nedenle mekân siyasi bir öneme de sahiptir. Söz konusu köşe aynı zamanda kentteki iki ana arterin kesiştiği yerdir. Bunlardan biri Efes ile Priene arasında uzanan yoldur. Bu yol, kentin doğusundan yaklaşıldığında yerleşim yerleri ya da gymnasium gibi sivil alanlara ulaşmak için de geçilen yerdir. Birçok işlev ve önemli özelliğin Agora'nın güneybatı köşesinde toplanması, burada sergilenmek üzere seçilen yazıtların muhtemelen Magnesia'daki en önemli metinleri olduğunu göstermektedir. Dahası, Artemis Leukophryene geçit töreni Agora'nın bütün stoalarına uğrar. Asyilia arşivi de tören alayının Agora'daki duraklarından biridir.

Yazıtların sergileme biçimlerinden, Magnesia'nın mesajını taşıyan elçilerin gideceği yerin titiz bir şekilde planlanmasına kadar asyilia arşivinin pek çok özelliği, Magnesialıların asyilia statüsünü kazanma sürecini dikkatli ve disiplinli bir şekilde yönettiklerini göstermektedir. Bu, kentin ve halkının itibarını çok ciddiye aldığı ve asyilia statüsüne ulaşmaya kararlı olduğunun göstergelerinden biridir. Devletin itibarını artırma ve bu diplomatik ilişkinin belgelerini sergileme motivasyonunun altında yatan neden, Küçük Asya kentleri arasındaki rekabetle de yakından ilgilidir. Nitekim yazıtların ya da onur ve başarıyı temsil eden herhangi bir nesnenin sıkça kullanılan kamusal alanlarda sergilenmesi genellikle övünme anlamına geliyordu: Yaşlı Plinius bu uygulamadan "en medeni rekabet şekli" olarak bahseder. Asyilia

arşivinin ilk yazıtı olan I.Magnesia 16, her ne kadar kent in asyia statüsünü elde etme yolundaki başarısız girişiminden bahsetse de, Küçük Asya kentleri arasındaki rekabetin bir başka göstergesidir. Bir devletin başarısızlıklarını ortaya koyduğu nadiren görülmüştür, ancak bu durumda metin üstünlük iddiasında bulunmak için sergilenmektedir. Magnesialıların komşuları Milet ile rakip oldukları ve MÖ 180'lerde Milet ile savaştıkları bilinmektedir. Milet, asyia statüsünü talep eden kentler arasındadır ve kesin tarih belli olmamakla birlikte bu ayrıcalığı Magnesia'nın başarılı ikinci girişiminden önce elde etmiştir. Ancak Magnesia'nın ilk girişimi Milet'inkinden daha öncedir. 16 numaralı yazıt bunu kanıtlamaktadır, dolayısıyla göz önüne serdiği başarısızlığa rağmen agoranın duvarlarında sergilenmeye değer prestijli bir belgedir.

Belirli metinlerin yazıt haline getirilmesi ve nesiller boyu sergilenmesi, bir dizi önemli karar gerektiren titiz bir süreçti. Magnesialılar asyia statüsünü elde etme sürecinde aldıkları cevapların yarısından daha azını yazıt haline getirmişlerdir. Söz konusu belgeleri elde etmek için harcadıkları yoğun çabaya rağmen hepsini yazıt haline getirip sergilememiş olmaları, Magnesia Agora'sında sergilenecek yazıtların ve bu yazıtların yerlerinin çok dikkatli seçildiğinin birçok göstergesinden biridir. Örneğin, belirli asyia yazıtlarını Agora'nın duvarlarında sergilenmesi kararının yüksek ihtimalle yanıtlar alınmadan önce verildiği, bir kent in yanıtında geçen şu cümleden anlaşılır: "...bu kararname, [Magnesia'nın] stoasında sergileniyor olabilir." Bu varsayım, yazıtların çoğunun bulunduğu Magnesia kamusal alanlarının Helenistik dönemde Hermogenes tarafından yenilenmesiyle güçlü bir şekilde bağlantılı olmalıdır. Bununla beraber, antik dönemde kent merkezinin büyük ölçüde yenilenmesi genellikle kentsel alanın ticarileştirilmesiyle paralellik gösterirdi. Benzer şekilde, büyük ölçekli etkinliklere ev sahipliği yapma ve asyia statüsü elde etme çabası da aynı amacı

taşıyordu. Dolayısıyla, asyia'yı elde etmek için yapılan hazırlıkların diplomatik çabalardan daha fazlasını içerdiğini söylemek mümkündür: mimari yenilenmenin de büyük bir rolü vardı. Bu anlamda, tek tek binalara odaklanmak yerine, binaların ve kentsel peyzajın günlük yaşam ve toplumsal faaliyetler için nasıl bir ortam yarattığına odaklanılmalıdır.

Modern mimarlık literatüründe "etkinlik mekânları" terimi Bernard Tschumi tarafından formüle edilmiş ve kullanılmıştır. Tschumi'nin mekân anlayışı, mekânın kullanımı, içindeki hareket ve deneyimi oluşturan dinamikleri ile bağlantılıdır. Bu bağlamda, Magnesia'daki kamusal alanlar etkinlik mekânları olarak tasarlanmıştır diyebiliriz. Neredeyse bütün kamusal alanlarda bulunan topos yazıtları da bu düşünceyi destekler niteliktedir: Artemis kutsal alanının, sunak ile propylon arasındaki toplanma yeri topos yazıtlarıyla doludur. Bu alana ek olarak stadyum ve tiyatrodaki topos yazıtları bulunmuştur. Ayrıca Agora'nın döşemesinde de topos yazıtları mevcuttur. Agora'nın güneyinde bulunan 230, 231 ve 232 numaralı yazıtlar "Rahiplerin Yeri" anlamına gelmektedir. Hatta Otto Kern bu yazıtlara dayanarak Agora'nın bir etkinlik mekânı olarak tasarlanmış olabileceğini öne sürmüştür.

Sonuç olarak, kent içindeki hareket mimari aracılığıyla tasarlanır ve Magnesia'da yazıtlar da bunda büyük bir rol oynar. Kentin çeşitli yüzeylerinde bulunan bu metinler, süregelen hareket örüntüleriyle uyum içinde çalışarak kent kimliğini ve kolektif hafızayı etkiler. Bu durum hem gündelik yaşam hem de festival etkinlikleri için geçerlidir. Gündelik yaşam için, yazıtların kent kamusal merkezlerine yerleştirilmesi, sergilenmek ve belirli bir anlatı temelinde bir yurttaşlık fikri inşa etmek

için özenle seçildiklerini göstermektedir. Yazıtlar, yücelikle ilişkilendirilmek üzere dini ve idari mekânlara yakın, göze çarpan yerleri yerleştirilmiştir.

Yazıtların kentsel tasarım ve mimarinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak ele alındığı bir çalışma ile bu sonuçlara ulaşmak mümkün olmuştur. Yazıtlar, diğer tüm kentsel unsurlar gibi, salt bilgi sağlama ya da salt estetiğin ötesinde bir işleve sahiptir. Mimari bağlamlarına bakmak ve nasıl sergilendiklerini derinlemesine incelemek, kent deneyimine dair önemli çıkarımlar sunar. Birçok çalışma yazıtları yalnızca metin olarak ele alırken, yazıtların çevreyle olan bağlamsal ilişkisini de göz önünde bulundurmamak aslında çok faydalıdır. Bu yaklaşım, belirli bir kentte gömülü olan kültürel nüansların daha iyi kavranmasına yardımcı olabilir. Ayrıca araştırmacıları, antik zamanlarda çoğunlukla üst sınıf azınlığa mahsus olan okuryazarlık sorunundan kurtarır. Çünkü dikkatle tasarlanmış ortamlarda, yazıtları okuma yetisi, onları deneyimlemek için bir önkoşul olmaktan çıkar. Mimari ve kentsel tasarımın iş birliği sayesinde, yazıtlar salt metinler olmanın ötesinde mekânsal çevreyle bütünleşebilir ve işlevlerini yerine getirebilmek için okuryazarlığın kısıtlamalarından kurtulabilirler. Bu kavramın modern bir örneği Ankara'daki Anıtkabir'de mevcuttur. Anıtkabir'in cephelerinde sergilenen ve birçok kaynaktan kolayca ulaşılabilen Atatürk'ün Gençliğe Hitabesi ve Onuncu Yıl Nutku okunmaktan ziyade genel mekânsal deneyimi zenginleştiren temsili bir amaca hizmet etmektedir. Magnesia'daki yazıtların da benzer bir işleve hizmet ettiğini düşünmemek için sebep yoktur. Zira okuma yazma bilmeyen vatandaşların bile deneyimleyebileceği şekilde özenle düzenlenmişlerdir. Aynı zamanda yazıtların şehrin en uğrak yerlerinde sergilenmesi, ortalama bir vatandaşın mesajı algılamasını sağlar. Bu bağlamda "algılama", sözcükleri ve cümleleri okuma anlamında değil, mesajın görsel ya da sembolik yollarla farklı bir şekilde algılanması

ya da deneyimlenmesini anlamında kullanılmıştır. Böylece mesaj, geleneksel okuryazarlık becerileri gerektirmeyen bir şekilde ortalama bir insan için erişilebilir kılınmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak bu tez, Menderes Magnesiası'nda kentsel tasarım, mimari ve yazıtlar arasındaki etkileşimi incelemektedir. Yazıtların hem nicelik hem de çeşitlilik açısından bolluğu, metin ile bağlamı arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemek için verimli bir zemin sağlar ve Magnesia'da bir yazıt peyzajı formüle etmeyi mümkün kılar. Bu yazıt peyzajı, gündelik yaşamda ve ritüelleşmiş faaliyetlerde sosyo-mekânsal bir zemin olarak işlev görür ve kentteki kolektif hafızayı ve deneyimi şekillendirir.

Unutulmamalıdır ki bu tez argümanlarını Magnesia'daki yazıtların yayınlanmış olanlarıyla temellendirir, ancak önemli sayıda yazıt henüz yayınlanmamıştır. Bununla birlikte, yayınlanan çalışmaların çoğu asyilia yazıtlarına odaklanmıştır. Oysa kentin çeşitli noktalarına dağılmış olan yüzlerce yazıt mevcuttur. Gelecekte yeni yazıtlar keşfedildikçe ve buluntu yerleri ve çevirileri de dahil olmak üzere gerekli ayrıntılarıyla birlikte literatüre kazandırıldıkça, bu tezde sunulan argümanlar daha kapsamlı ve ayrıntılı hale gelebilir. Dahası, keşfedilen epigrafik malzeme külliyatı genişledikçe, daha kapsamlı bir yazıt peyzajı formüle etme ve kentteki sirkülasyon modellerini keşfetme fırsatı ortaya çıkabilir. Bu da eldeki verilerin zenginliğine bağlı olarak gündelik güzergâhlar ya da potansiyel olarak birden fazla güzergâh hakkında çıkarımda bulunmayı mümkün kılar. Daha ziyade törensel hareket kalıplarını betimleyen festival rotalarından farklı olarak, bu "epigrafik rotalar" kent içindeki dolaşım ya da hangi binaların kentliler tarafından daha sık ziyaret edildiği gibi kentin gündelik yaşamına dair iç görüler sunabilir.

Bununla birlikte, Magnesia'nın Isiteria ve Zeus Sosipolis gibi diđer festival ve trenlerinin de derinlemesine incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Geit trenleri sırasında gzlemlenen hareket rntleri, vatandařların gnlk hareket rntlerini yansıtılmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu trenlerin incelenmesi, sıklıkla kullanılan gzerghlar hakkında deđerli bilgiler sunmakta, meknların nasıl kullanıldıđına ve deneyimlendiđine ışık tutmaktadır. Bu tez, Hammerschmied'in Artemis Leukophryene festivali zerine yrttđ detaylı arařtırma sayesinde yazıt peyzajını bir hareket rnts çerevesinde inceleyebilmiřtir. Diđer Magnesia festivallerinin tarihsel, sosyal ve kentsel bađlamının kapsamlı bir analizi, Artemis Leukophryene festivalindeki gibi bir gzergh rekonstrksiyonuyla birleřtiđinde, yazıtların kentteki rolnn daha derinlemesine anlařılmasını sađlayacaktır.

## B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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