FLUID IDENTITIES AND PERFORMATIVE DISCOURSE: HELLENISTIC *TEMENE* OF DEMETER IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR

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ABSTRACT

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Taking the Sanctuaries of Demeter produced during the Hellenistic Period in Western Asia Minor into its focus, this research unpacks dichotomies within a broader context. By challenging binary oppositions and investigating dichotomies, this research proposes to contextualize the narrow categorization of the Hellenistic Period. The study explores the formation of identities as a form of appropriation and scrutinizes the historiography of the era for its generalizing tendencies. It analyzes the intricate relationship between religion and politics within which the agency of women emerges as a focal point, prompting an examination of the roles and influence they wielded. The cult of Demeter and its all-women festivals appear as significant sites of performance of agency and further scrutiny is directed towards the potential of the transformative power of religious engagement. These dynamics collectively reverberate beyond individual spheres, impacting the fundamental concepts of oikos and leaving an indelible mark on the larger canvas of the Hellenistic oikoumene.

Additionally, the thesis confronts methodological challenges inherent in studying the Hellenistic Period, elaborating on those related to women's ritual experiences. The study systematically explores "exceptions" within established systems and argues that the inherent fluidity of the Hellenistic period demands a diverse range of perspectives and frameworks to comprehensively contextualize its multi-dimensional nature. In opting for a contextual and experiential outlook that places all identities within a spectrum, this study consistently directs attention to a myriad of overlooked dimensions, including architectural features of temple precincts, often unrecognized as defining elements of spatial experience.

Keywords: Demeter, Hellenistic Period, Women

ÖZ

AKIŞKAN KİMLİKLER VE EDİMSEL SÖYLEM: BATI ANADOLU'DA HELENİSTİK DÖNEM DEMETER *TEMENOS*'LARI

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Batı Anadolu'da Hellenistik Dönem'de üretilen Demeter tapınaklarını odağına alan bu araştırma, ikilikleri daha geniş bir bağlamda yeniden değerlendirmektedir. İkili zıtlıklara karşı çıkarak ve onları keşfederek, bu araştırma, sıklıkla kategorize edilen Hellenistik Dönemi bağlamsallaştırmayı önermektedir. Çalışma, bir kendine mal etme biçimi olarak kimliklerin oluşumunu incelemekte ve dönemin tarih yazımını genelleştiren eğilimleri açısından mercek altına almaktadır. Din ve siyaset arasındaki içi içe geçmiş ilişki analiz edilirken, kadınların failliği odak noktası olarak ortaya çıkmakta, bu da kadınların üstlendikleri rollerin ve sahip oldukları etkinin incelenmesine yol açmaktadır. Demeter kültü ve tümüyle kadınlardan oluşan festivalleri, failliğin icra edildiği önemli alanlar olarak ortaya çıkmakta ve daha ileri incelemeler, dini performansların dönüştürücü gücünün potansiyeline yönelmektedir. Bu dinamikler kolektif olarak bireysel alanların ötesinde yankı bulmakta, oikos algısının temelini etkilemekte ve Helenistik oikoumene'nin daha geniş yelpazesinde silinmez bir iz bırakmaktadır. Buna ek olarak tez, Helenistik Dönem'i incelemenin

doğasında var olan yöntemsel zorluklarla yüzleşmekte ve kadınların ritüel deneyimleriyle ilgili olanları detaylandırmaktadır. Çalışma, yerleşik sistemler içindeki "istisnaları" sistematik olarak araştırmakta ve Helenistik dönemin doğasında var olan akışkanlığın, çok boyutlu doğasını kapsamlı bir şekilde bağlamsallaştırmak için çeşitli bakış açıları ve çerçeveler gerektirdiğini savunmaktadır. Tüm kimlikleri bir spektrum içine yerleştiren bağlamsal ve deneyimsel bir bakış açısını tercih eden bu çalışma, tapınak bölgelerinin mimari özelliklerini incelerken, genellikle mekansal deneyimin tanımlayıcı unsurları olarak kabul edilmeyen çok sayıda gözden kaçmış boyuta dikkat çekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Demeter, Helenistik Dönem, Kadınlar

To all women
who carry their roots
and plant their strength
facing softer light

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that there remains much yet to be accomplished. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zeynep Aktüre's enthusiastic appreciation of my work, coupled with her insightful suggestions for further expansion, has catalyzed a cascade of new inquiries. Assist. Prof. Dr. Ekin Pınar consistently provided me with assistance and guidance whenever I sought it, demonstrating a commitment to support and mentorship. It has been a privilege to encounter such formidable, insightful and intelligent women in academia.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One reason we study (or teach) history is that historical training, in any period, can help us learn to be better thinkers in general. We encounter conflicts or gaps in the evidence that force us to choose between alternative interpretations and distinguish good arguments from bad.[1]

The Hellenistic Period, spanning approximately the last three centuries BC commences with the death of a Macedonian conqueror and concludes with the demise of an Egyptian pharaoh. The nomenclature itself, "Hellenistic," resonates with Hellenic ideals, suggesting a cultural milieu shaped by and divergent from its Greek progenitor. Despite its temporal framing, the term implies a cultural continuum, resonating with Hellenic ideals while undergoing dynamic transformations. The civilizing aspects of this influence have been commented upon by authors, ancient and modern alike. In culture, art and architecture, the title “Hellenistic” denotes many characteristics, but it is perhaps best to start any study of the period by acknowledging, as Green recognizes, that the complexity of the period had no collective title in antiquity and that it could not be understood merely through the direct intentions of neither Alexander nor the *Diadochoi*.[2] Tracing the beginning of the Hellenistic period to the death of Alexander has the tendency to locate and generalize his actions and approaches, giving way to a Hellenistic

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[1] Shipley, D.G.J., “Recent Trends and New Directions”, ed. Bugh, G.R., *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.317.

[2] Green, P., *Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Age,* Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 2007, p. 52.

Figure 1: Map of Alexander's Expeditions. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Inc.)

zeitgeist that tunnels the complexities of the period into a single narrative.[3]
A concise historical overview is essential to grasp the contextual backdrop shaping the trajectory of the Hellenistic Period. Alexander the Great is inseparable from the Hellenistic Period as his conquests united a vast expanse of land spanning the West in Greece and ending in the East in India and to the South, Egypt (Figure 1). This amalgamation had previously, in the very recent past, been connected by the Achaemenids (Figure 2). Following Alexander's demise without an apparent heir, a power vacuum ensued, leading to multiple claimants from his family and satraps. These former satraps, known as the *Diadochi*, eventually established their own kingdoms, assuming the title of kings. The first among them were the Ptolemies in Egypt, the Seleucids in Asia, and the Antigonids in Macedonia.[4] The ensuing tumultuous decades witnessed the rise of additional kingdoms and continual adjustments to their borders. While it was not the last Hellenistic kingdom to fall, the end of Cleopatra VII's reign in Ptolemaic Egypt, the last of the *Diadochi,* defined the end of the Hellenistic Period.

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[3] The beginning of the Hellenistic period is also seldom dated to the rule of Alexander's father, Philip II; however, Ogden argues "the term *Philippic*, with its focus properly on the dynastic superstructure of the period, might be considered a preferable alternative to 'hellenistic'".; Ogden, D., "Introduction. From Chaos to Cleopatra", ed. Ogden, D., *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, Duckworth, London, 2002, p.xiv.

[4] Antigonus and Demetrius assume kingship in 306 BC, followed by Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy and Cassander in 305 BC. Green offers a comprehensive chronological table of major events of the Hellenistic Period in; Green, pp.159-179.

Figure 2: The Achaemenid Empire at its greatest territorial extent in 500 BC. (Wikimedia)

In the course of the Hellenistic era, the once self-sustaining city-states underwent a metamorphosis into integral components of vast empires. The archetype of the citizen soldier gave way to the prominence of mercenaries, marking a notable shift in military dynamics. The semblance of individual agency and choice underwent a profound transformation, evolving into a pervasive fear of falling victim to the machinations of power.[5] In the realm of art and architecture, a discernible shift towards heightened expressiveness, otherwise known as theatricality, took hold.[6] Spheres of influence expanded and the scale of impact became immeasurable. So unfathomable that looking at the Hellenistic past often comes with a set of biases that compartmentalize its inherent complexity. Gender, for example, is often a specialized study of its own, not integrated into the predominant narratives of Hellenistic historiography.[7] The Hellenistic past is categorized into components, i.e., politics, poetry, art, and architecture, which are seldom contextualized.

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[5] Discussed exquisitely by Onians, especially in the sub-chapter “From the Viewer as a Hero to the Viewer as a Victim”.; Onians, J., “Hellenistic Art and the Culture of Character”, Onians, J., *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome,* Yale University Press, 1999, pp. 131-145.

[6] Although Pollitt argues that Hellenistic architecture was not as expressive as Hellenistic art, stating it was not where “artistic originality” was prominently expressed, the chapter discussing the theatricality of architecture for emotional effects does present an opposing case. Pollitt, J.J., *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.230.

[7] Shipley states scholars have “barely scratched the surface of gender relations” while discussing the shortcomings of Hellenistic historiography. Shipley, pp.318-322.

The study of the Hellenistic world presents, first and foremost, a need to resolve dichotomies as a result of preconceptions in order to further understand not only the perception of its spatial productions but the agencies of the many actors and their performance of identity. Dichotomies assume a pivotal role in shaping the conceptual framework of the Hellenistic period, a term inherently marked by duality, signifying a state "like Hellenic." There is the Hellenic and the other, which, in the ideal scenario, is transformed to become like it. The epoch is characterized by the polarity between the self, considered the norm and identified as Greek, and the other, the deviation, often referred to as the barbarian. The Hellenic perspective delineates the other by what it lacks – the markers of a 'civilized self'. In the realm of art, and although less prevalent, in architecture, the transition between epochs is abrupt, with the Classical encountering not a gradual evolution but a conversion into its opposite, the Baroque. Delving deeper into the Hellenistic past, one realizes that these dichotomies can never be regarded as polar opposites preserved within a binary system but can only be regarded as two points within a spectrum, having representatives of their own but not entirely representing the system.

Although the transformative shifts leading to Hellenistic production marked a distinct departure from preceding periods, it is also crucial to recognize that this influence was not unidirectional. Contemporary scholarship acknowledges the bidirectional nature of influence, with Greek thought evolving through each interaction, yet it is imperative to understand that this was not a linear exchange of ideas either.[8] Instead, the Hellenistic period is characterized by a multidirectional flow of ideas, identities, and values, traversing intersecting paths. The influence was not a linear or bilateral process but rather a composite interplay of infinite contacts. The Hellenistic period's political turbulence and ephemeral boundaries facilitated a dynamic exchange among diverse agencies. This complex yet historically conscious system led to the production of architecture that appropriated the vocabulary of its past, yielding spaces designed to make a profound impact.

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[8] Kuhrt, A., "Ancient Mesopotamia in classical Greek and Hellenistic thought',' ed., Sasson, J.M., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1995, pp.55–65.; Noegel, S.B., "Greek Religion and the Ancient Near East", ed., Ogden, D., *A Companion to Greek Religion,* Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p.22.; Morris, S.P., "Linking with a Wider World: Greeks and "Barbarians"", eds., Alcock, S.E., Osborne, E., *Classical Archaeology*, Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, pp.396-414.

Conventional practices and innovation were poised to amalgamate in the remarkable interplay of contrasting elements.[9] Amidst this interconnected network encompassing diverse regions and temporal realms, no singular locus of authority resulted in myriad cultural clashes.[10] The concept of "social imaginary", defined as the value system through which people imagine the social system they are part of, was impacted by intercultural entanglements, which led to the co-existence of multiple social identities simultaneously.[11] The ramification of this was the designation of the rise in individualism to the Hellenistic period, where individuals were no longer part of a whole but an entire system shaped by various influences. The communal values that defined previous eras were replaced by an emphasis on private experiences and emotions as well as personal happiness and aspirations.[12] Autonomous identities liberated from presuppositions were motivated and formed by social and geographical mobility.[13] Within this context, there even arose the opportunity for people to choose their own religion, and pre-Hellenistic cults of the *polis* gave way to personal guardian gods.[14] Manifesting itself in arguably the most established tradition that is religion, a notion that will be illustrated to be inextricably linked to politics, personal agency became a defining factor of the era.

[9] Green calls this "the tensions of opposites". Green, p.70, f.5.

[10] Morris, p. 396.

[11] Taylor defines social imaginary as: "I speak of imaginary because I'm talking about the way ordinary people "imagine" their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms; it is carried in images, stories, and legends. But it is also the case that theory is usually the possession of a small minority, whereas what is interesting in the social imaginary is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole society. Which leads to a third difference: the social imaginary is that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy." Taylor, C., "Modern Social Imaginaries", *Public Culture* 14.1, 2002, 91-124., Also; Castoriadis, C., *The Imaginary Institution of Society,* trans., Blamey, K., Cambridge, MA, 1987. In Stavrianopoulou, E., "Introduction'", ed. Stavrianopoulou, E., *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices and Images,* Leiden, Boston, 2013, pp. 1-21.

[12] Blundell, S., *Women in Ancient Greece,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995, p. 200.

[13] Westgate, R., "Making Yourself at Home in the Hellenistic World", eds., Ager, S.L., Faber, R.A., *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World,* University of Toronto Press, 2013, p. 261.

[14] Winter, F.E., *Studies in Hellenistic Architecture*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2006, p. 5., Pakkanen, P., *Interpreting Early Hellenistic Religion: A Study Based on the Mystery Cult of Demeter and the Cult of Isis*, Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Helsinki, 1996, p.108.

Sacred architecture, serving as a convergence point for religious belief, political influence, and sizable congregations, contestably epitomized the essence of the era. Structured around maximizing impact, *temene* served as settings where diverse elements aimed to resonate with a broad spectrum of individuals. According to Pollitt, these sites were produced "purely for the purpose of offering a kind of touristic thrill to those who visited them".[15] While acknowledging their undeniable theatricality, attributing this effect solely to provide a transient thrill would be an understatement. Each sacred site intricately mirrors a myriad interwoven influences, meticulously referencing its distinctive historical, social, geographical, and sacred context. Hellenistic sacred architecture aligns with the notion that; "It is not enough to *see* architecture, you must experience it".[16] But as to see is a culturally loaded experience, it is crucial to equip oneself with the fundamental ways of seeing that are intrinsic to the Hellenistic period. Like the morphologist, the aim is to focus on "not the study of forms, but of forming powers".[17] The dual nature of space, being shaped by action whilst also structuring action, engenders a cyclical system in which the sanctuary functions both as the outcome and the instrument for the performance of identity.[18]

Within the Hellenistic period, Western Asia Minor, the geographical focus of this contextualized study, became a setting fostering hybrid identities. Asia Minor became not only a theatre for military conflict between Hellenistic kingdoms but also a stage to exercise their rule through architectural production. The dominance of coastal cities in Western Asia Minor emerged as a focal point for numerous major

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[15] Pollitt, p. 230. Although recognizing the theatricality of Hellenistic architecture, Pollitt prioritizes art in the Hellenistic period to be the manifestation of many of the characteristics associated with the Baroque.

[16] The italics belong to the author. The paragraph continues with "You must observe how it was designed for a special purpose and how it was attuned to the entire concept and rhythm of a specific era." Rasmussen, S.E., *Experiencing Architecture*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959, p. 33

[17] Brown, M., "The Classic Is the Baroque: On the Principle of Wölfflin's Art History", *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 9, No.2, Dec. 1982, p. 380.

[18] Maran explains this relationship as; "This means that space structures action, but is in itself realized through action and patterns of perception." Maran, J., "Architecture, Power and Social Practice-An Introduction", eds., Maran, J., Juwig, C., Schwengel, H., Thaler, U., *Constructing Power: Architecture, Ideology and Social Practice*, Konstruktion Der Macht, 2006, p.10.

kingdoms, even if their sphere of influence lay elsewhere.[19] Consequently, the region was not only recognized as "the most productive region, architecturally speaking, following Alexander"[20] but also "the original home of Hellenistic art."[21] For the particularity of the region in the Hellenistic period, Hanfmann brings forth the question

> Yet was it by chance that not Egypt nor Syria, nor mainland Greece but western Anatolia produced this most concentrated expression of dynamic colossality and Baroque élan, or was there, in the Anatolian population, not all of whom were yet fully Hellenized, something which responded to this particular image of reality and ideality?[22]

While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to bring forth a conclusive response to this query, Hanfmann's inquiry as to why Pergamon was responsible for the "highest and most intensive expression of the Hellenistic age"[23] does highlight crucial elements that contribute to understanding the essence of the epoch and why western Asia Minor plays a central role in its representation. The ephemeral notion of being denoted levels of Greekness is intricately linked to the ability and willingness of communities to appropriate this commodity without altering it completely. Pergamon, in this regard, is the quintessential embodiment of the Hellenic model, skillfully amplifying past traditions to resonate with the contemporary ethos. However, these broad notions of the *zeitgeist*, regarding the Hellenistic period, constructed mainly through the material evidence of royal capitals to then apply to the entire *oikoumene* to find its best representative in

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[19] For example, the Ptolemies who were prominently based in Egypt strived for the control of coastal cities while showing little interest in penetrating deep into the mainland. Heinen, H., "The Syrian-Egyptian Wars and the new kingdoms of Asia Minor", Walbank, F.W., Astin, A.E., Frederiksen, M.W., Ogilvie, R.M., eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History: Second Edition, Volume VII, Part I: Hellenistic World,* Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 430.

[20] Lehmann, P.W., "The Setting of Hellenistic Temples", Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 13, No.4, 1954, p.15.

[21] Fyfe, T., *Hellenistic Architecture: An Introductory Study*, Cambridge University Press, 1936, p. 5.

[22] Hanfmann, G.M.A., "Hellenization Takes Command", Hanfman, G.M.A., *From Croesus to Constantine: The Cities of Western Asia Minor and their Arts in Greek and Roman Times*, Ann Arbor, University of Chicago Press, 1975, p. 33.

[23] Ibid.

Pergamon, is a confirmation bias.[24] In reality, there is no universal *zeitgeist* at work, no underlying theme unifying the experiences of all women or men, no single ambition driving the acts of every individual, and certainly no distinct category within a predetermined binary that can accommodate the complexities of being.

A similar confirmation bias applies to the study of women in the Hellenistic period. The predominant narratives of women's lives in the ancient past often reinforce preconceived notions regarding their boundaries to the point where they surface in historical records when their lives or religious practices align with or uphold men's ideology.[25] Women's lives are narrated and categorized by men in a study of prosopography, identifying people through their particular historical context, emphasizing the external similarities. While it is noteworthy to recognize that the gradual disintegration of the *polis* system inevitably shaped the lives of women, it is crucial to acknowledge the period also saw a change in the representation of women. On the other hand, textual material narrating the experience of non-Greek women are mostly disregarded while constructing a cohesive narrative.[26] Like the history of the Hellenistic period, shaped by piecing together various sources, the past of Hellenistic women should refrain from sweeping generalizations of a collective experience of the world and instead amplify voices of personal agency.

The rites of Demeter are the archetypal setting to examine women's agency in the ancient past. Although Demeter is not the principal god of an ancient Greek city, she has "the most widespread cult in Greek religion".[27] Greek civilization's continuation and self-perception, according to Zeitlin, rests on the three institutions of Olympian sacrifice, regulating the dynamic between gods and mortals,

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[24] Confirmation bias occurs when individuals selectively perceive, interpret, or recall information in a way that aligns with their preexisting beliefs or expectations. For the biases in the Hellenistic period the "Reading the Landscape: Survey Archeology and the Hellenistic *Oikoumene*" is a good place to start. Alcock, S.E., Gates, J.E., Rempel, J.E., "Reading the Landscape: Survey Archeology and the Hellenistic *Oikoumene*", Erskine, A., ed., *A Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Blackwell, 2005, pp. 354-372.

[25] Just, R., *Women in Athenian Law and Life*, Routledge, London and New York, 1989, pp. 2-4.

[26] Fantham, E., "The Hellenistic Period: Women in a Cosmopolitan World", eds., Fantham, E., Foley, H.P., Kampen, N.B., Pomeroy, S.B., Shapiro, H.A., *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1994, p. 140.

[27] Nilsson, M. P., *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedestund: Mit Ausschluss der Attischen*, B.G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1906, p. 313.

agriculture, determining the relationship between rulers and subjects, and marriage, controlling the link between men and women.[28] Demeter crucially occupies the intersection of all these associations. Primarily, the agricultural cycle relies on the collaboration of Demeter, without whose participation, there is a consequential absence of crops and the animals that depend on them for sustenance, affecting the offerings made to the gods. When Demeter withholds her aid, a notable consequence ensues, resulting in the scenario where: "no sacrifice was offered to the gods, and on the altars were no cakes to burn".[29] Furthermore, Demeter occupies the eminent role of civilization through her duty in governing agriculture. This concept of civilizing life within the *polis* is also intricately interwoven with the overarching narrative of Hellenization. While marriage may not be explicitly within Demeter's dominion, her influence extends to realms intricately linked to it, including women's reproductive choices and mediation of the dichotomies between the public and private spheres.

Festivals, acting as anchors in the tumultuous Hellenistic period, take on special significance in the rites of Demeter, uniting women for several days each year and providing a distinctive setting for the reproduction of communities. The settings of these gatherings uniquely mirror the goddess and her rituals. Due to the absence of an account of these exclusively women's gatherings from an actual attendee, various periods, locations, spaces, and domains are intricately woven together to comprehend the full cultural significance of these events. Most significantly, this study bridges a notable gap by synthesizing the existing knowledge of the rituals with the spatial insights derived from archaeological research. By mapping the evolution of these rites from mythical origins to ritualistic practices and, eventually, to physical spaces, this investigation establishes a link between pre-Hellenistic ritual sites and Hellenistic venues of identity enactment. Demeter's significance is underscored throughout this exploration by a succinct comparison with deities such as Artemis and Athena in Hellenistic Western Asia Minor. This research emphasizes the architectural intricacies within Demeter's *temene*, shedding light on often overlooked elements, namely the *propylea*, altars, and steps. These elements

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[28] Zeitlin, F. I., "Cultic Models of the Female: Rites of Dionysus and Demeter", *Arethusa*, Spring and Fall 1982, Vol. 15, No. 1/2, Texts & Contexts: American Classical Studies in Honor of J.-P. Vernant (Spring and Fall 1982),The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982, p. 137.

[29] Euripides, *Helen*, trans., Coleridge, E. P., *The Complete Greek Drama*, eds., Oates, W.J., O'Neill, E., vol.2., Random House, New York, 1938, 1330.

assume a crucial role in molding the nuanced spatial perception within the precinct, aligning with the renowned reputation of Hellenistic sacred architecture for conveying a sense of wholeness. Illustrated in Pytheos's account for the profession of producing spaces in the Hellenistic period as: "[A]n architect ought to be able to accomplish much more in all the arts and sciences than the men who, by their own particular kinds of work and the practice of it, have brought each a single subject to the highest perfection."[30]

Pytheos, credited by Vitruvius as the architect of the Hellenistic Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, presents a profile of the Hellenistic architect, not interested in a single aspect of architectural production brought to its perfection but rather on a drive for wholeness. Pytheos's focus on creating spaces with "visual effectiveness" while considering technical and structural factors positions Hellenistic spatial production as a consolidator of its distinct components under a conceptual framework, even when these components are later additions carried out over generations. The dissertation concentrates on the often overlooked components in the histories of Hellenistic temple precincts, considering them integral parts of a unified whole that narrates the experience of those entering them.[31]

The tendency to treat the architectural unit of the temple with its own setting to shape the experiences within it in the Hellenistic period was, as Lehmann terms it, an 'irresistible new architectural concept.'[32] This concept, recurring in various accounts of Hellenistic temples, aimed to convey an "impression of wholeness".[33]

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[30] Pytheos, *Commentaries* quoted in; Vitruvius, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*, trans., Morgan. M.H., Dover Publications, New York, 1960, 1.1.12.

[31] I would like to note here my reason for not including the stoa as an architectural element in my study. Although stoas function as important spatial contributors to the theatricality of the Hellenistic temples of Asia Minor, their utilization is far more varied than those of entrances, altars and steps making an analysis of their impact based on their placement or function nearly impossible. As the stoa could have been used as a storage area, a place to showcase offerings, shelter for those staying overnight, a boundary defining the sacred or a space for commercial activities, a separate analysis based on their architectural type would not be practical as an overarching component within a comparative analysis. However, as they are an indispensable part of the Hellenistic temple precinct, they will be included in the research in relation to the *temene* of selected sites.

[32] Lehmann, p. 15.

[33] Fyfe, p. 7.

The *temenos*, rightfully defined as a "single coherent scheme",[34] encompasses all constituting elements contributing to the overall effect of the religious precinct. While the architectural setting of Hellenistic temples has garnered attention, research has seldom delved into a comprehensive analysis of these elements and their interrelationships, both with the temple and among themselves. Pollitt's observation of 'an increasing interest in the manipulation of interior space for emotional effects' prompts the argument that, for Hellenistic temples, this interior space extends beyond the temple itself to include its precinct.[35] A notable example is the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, where the expansive *dipteros*, perceived as the temple from the outside, functions as the *temenos* for the smaller *naikos*, which serves as the actual temple. The Hellenistic temple 'designed to be taken in at a glance, to be apprehended as a whole, for its single units only achieve their fullest value as part of the whole,'[36] has long required a comparative analysis looking at those elements that are often regarded as the deuteragonist to the protagonist that is the temple itself. While it is imperative to recognize that not all religious activities left material evidence,[37] each architectural feature contributes significantly to our understanding of the rites and experiences of women.

Through meticulously examining architectural elements such as altars, propylaea, and steps contextualized within the political and religious milieu shaping their creation, this study unveils a nuanced portrayal of women's encounters with Demeter's rites during the Hellenistic period. Within this discourse, individuals assuming distinct roles—the ruler, priestess, and attendee—are positioned within a discourse that not only accentuates gender dynamics but also adopts an intersectional lens to delve into the multifaceted lived experiences of women. The performative identities inherent in the Hellenistic Western Asia Minor, characterized by binaries such as self and other or civilized and barbarian, are juxtaposed with theatrical spaces of religious festivals often categorized through strict notions of monumental and secluded, interior and exterior, gaze and perceived together with a

[34] Winter, F.E., "Building and Townplanning", Walbank, F.W., Astin, A.E., Frederiksen, M.W., Ogilvie, R.M., eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History: Second Edition, Volume VII, Part I: Hellenistic World,* Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 375.

[35] Pollitt, p. 230.

[36] Lehmann, p. 18.

[37] Osborne, R., "Cult and Ritual, The Greek World", eds., Alcock, S.E., Osborne, E., *Classical Archaeology*, Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, p. 252.

particular placement of values upon women within Demeter’s rites. This study proposes a mode of thinking that challenges prominent spatial and social codes that cannot be tunneled down to a binary opposition often present in the approach to the past. The preceding discussions aim to disrupt established frameworks, emphasizing the necessity of discerning authentic experiences of women in antiquity from the inherited perceptions often shaped by men's perspectives across generations.

The fluidity inherent in the Hellenistic period necessitates a multiplicity of perspectives and frameworks to contextualize its multidimensional nature. Adopting a contextual and experiential outlook, as opposed to a formal one that would highlight dissimilarities of Demeter's sanctuaries, this study consistently emphasizes a common theme: a focus on aspects that have not been thoroughly considered. Whether it pertains to men's perspectives on a women's festival, the Hellenistic historiography's inclination to compartmentalize, or the architectural features of temple precincts being unrecognized definers of spatial experience, this research brings attention to a diverse range overlooked dimensions and in reconstructing the narrative, the ritual takes center stage.

Utilizing archaeological and literary evidence, this research investigates the sites of Pergamon, Priene, and Miletus to varying extents, employing diverse methodologies. Factors such as distinct spatial configurations, variations in attendee numbers, and potential festival scenarios across these sites present a broad tapestry of evidence. These sites, embedded within the broader tradition of Demeter's sanctuaries and sacred architecture in Western Asia Minor, unfold a complex narrative that goes beyond the confines of generalizations. The era, geography, and subject matter are all embedded with inherent presuppositions; the study commences by questioning the most fundamental component in looking at the past, how it produced its own history. The architectural components of the *temene* are analyzed based on their spatial and experiential implications. The *propylon* is examined in terms of its role in defining access, the altar is analyzed for its contribution to establishing position and the steps are assessed for their impact on shaping perception.

Acknowledging the fragmented nature of Hellenistic history necessitates an examination of how historical narratives functioned during this period. Chaniotis's exploration of Hellenistic epigraphy reveals that the word *historia* appears only in its

plural form.[38] This underlines a view towards the past in terms of various independent narratives rather than a continuous process. The *historiographoi* of the period “Collected materials from the archives and combined it with oral traditions, thereby ‘rewriting’ or inventing local history, and, if necessary, even performing it in front of an audience.”[39] The past for the Hellenistic present was performative, tailored to specific objectives and not necessarily grand narratives. The absence of figures akin to Homer or Herodotus highlights this era's distinct character of historical discourse. Consequently, when examining this period, it is crucial to acknowledge the absence of a contemporary historical narrative.[40] The performative nature of history writing in the Hellenistic era involved a strategic utilization of the past to align with current agendas. The Homeric past, for example, became the grounds on which new cults were established.[41] In the context of the Hellenistic era conceptualizing its own history, contemporary discourses tend to adopt a generalizing outlook, often overlooking the inherent agency within this historical period.

Embarking from the notion that "the nature of our sources dictate the questions we ask and the framework we use”, this dissertation commences by acknowledging the influence of source nature on shaping inquiries while recognizing the malleability of sources according to a reader's perspective. Established scholarly frameworks dating back to the Hellenistic period necessitate reassessment, particularly concerning their treatment of women and Demeter's festivals. Acknowledging that a study into Demeter’s sanctuaries requires accepting that much is still unknown and may remain that way, this fascinating and humbling exercise is done to ask how far we can take our questions if we build new

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[38] Chaniotis, A., *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften,* ed., Alföldy, G., Heidelberger Althistorische Beitrage und Epigraphische Studien*,* Franz Steiner Verlag Weisbaden, Stuttgart, 1988, pp. 355-360.; Also in, Stavrianopoulou, E., “Hellenistic World(s) and the Elusive concept of ‘Greekness’”, ed. Stavrianopoulou, E., *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices and Images,* Leiden, Boston, 2013, p.197.

[39] Stavrianopoulou, p. 197.

[40] Shipley, p. 316.

[41] Agememon in Mycenae, Odysseus in Ithaka, Achilles in Troad, Hector in Thebes.; Alcock, S.E., "The Heroic Past in a Hellenistic Present”, eds., Cartledge, P., Garnsey, P., Gruen, E., *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History and Historiography*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1997, pp.23-27.

frameworks. These frameworks, influenced by Hellenistic historiography, guide the exploration of Hellenistic history, delving into the inextricable dynamics of Hellenistic politics and religion, further examining their repercussions on gender. Tracing the transfer of myth to ritual across the Hellenistic landscape—from Greece to Asia Minor— elucidates its culmination in the specific context of the Hellenistic period. The overarching objective is to comprehend how these multifaceted factors shaped and influenced the design and function of Demeter's *temene*, exploring, in turn, women's responses to the amalgamation of these impactful sources, within the precinct and beyond it.

In sum, the study is structured around seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the dissertation unfolds with a tripartite structure (in Chapters 2, 3 and 4) encompassing Histories, Politics, and Geography, paying homage to the titles of venerable ancient authors Herodotus, Polybius, Aristotle, and Strabo. The Histories chapter embarks with a historiographical survey of the Hellenistic period, while also delving into how the past was perceived in the contemporary Hellenistic context. This dual exploration illuminates the intricate connection between the production of Hellenistic identity and its role in shaping the understanding of the historical epoch. Subsequently, the Politics section scrutinizes the inseparable nexus between Hellenistic politics and religion, unveiling their reciprocal influence, with a dedicated focus on gender politics. The Geography chapter traces two journeys associated with Demeter: a conceptual transfer from myth to ritual and a spatial expedition from Greece to Western Asia Minor. After firmly situating Demeter within the religious landscape of Hellenistic Western Asia Minor, the chapter continues with contextualizing her sanctuaries within the political milieu. As the narrative progresses, the ensuing chapter 5, investigates *propylea*, altars, and steps, considering them as both manifestations of previously discussed themes and intentional configurations designed to shape the experiences of festival attendees. The final chapter 6 examines women's agency within the context of Demeter's festival, highlighting its potential to disrupt conventional perceptions of women in antiquity. In the end, the concluding chapter serves as a reflective denouement, both exposing and dissecting the overarching themes that bind the entire work. In the appendix, there is a visual catalogue provided of the sanctuaries of Demeter in Pergamon and Priene.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORIES: THE PRESENT AND THE PAST

A study of the Hellenistic period must recognize two fundamental pillars before entering its domain. First, how sources, namely those written on the Hellenistic period, have conceptualized it. Second, how the past was perceived and appropriated in the Hellenistic period itself. These inevitably shape how we perceive a world two millennia before our own and the questions we ask of it. They also define our recognition of Hellenistic agencies and therefore their perception of the world. Hence, the first sub-chapter surveys the historians looking at the Hellenistic past, while the second examines how the past was perceived in the Hellenistic present. A unifying conceptual phenomenon is that of the Hellenistic baroque, how it was utilized by 19th and 20th century scholars and the productions of the rulers whom they have subjected the concept to. Although this study treats the baroque as an underlying component, it does so not to amplify an opposition but rather to reveal how the Hellenistic baroque as a concept actually works to alleviate the dichotomies so often presented in its historiography. The chronology is reversed in this chapter as we come to this conceptualized history from reverse, where accounts closer to our time inevitably shape the understanding of the past. Inevitably, any source we come across is shaped by the agencies of historians introducing us to the Hellenistic past. Past centuries have produced documents of the Hellenistic period that have also created unavoidable biases towards it. This conceptualized history will be juxtaposed with the acutely self-aware Hellenistic rulers governed by their anxieties. Architectural production deeply embedded in a context that gave way to distinct self images are read in light of approaches towards their own history.

Greek history before the Hellenistic period centered on the immediate environment, with its subject being the world of the *polis*.[42] The immense change in territorial scale meant that the topic at hand was no longer the free city but the entire *oikoumene.* Ambitious attempts to view the entire Greek inhabited world as a single whole and conceptualize it accordingly may be sufficiently observed in the *Library* of Diodorus Siculus who writes in the last century BC as

> For if a man should begin with the most ancient times and record to the best of his ability the affairs of the entire world down to his own day, so far as they have been handed down to memory, as though they were the affairs of some single city, he would obviously have to undertake an immense labour, yet he would have composed a treatise of the utmost value to those who are studiously inclined.[43]

The task of the historian no longer concerned with the deeds of the immediate environment but of the larger whole meant that the *polis* was no longer perceived as a separate and autonomous entity but recognized as part of a larger whole. This translated into local histories as well. The notion of "intentional history" meant that the combination of myth and history served to establish the importance of the *polis* within the *oikoumene*.[44] These narratives were formed to perform a political and social role no longer only for those living in the city but also to those who perceived it from afar. This shift in the cultural tradition of history production also created the underlying issues that shaped its handling centuries later. The Hellenistic period was conceived as a unanimous, homogeneous epoch often translated to the present day as a single homogeneous concept. Attempts of both ancient authors and modern scholars are ambitious, and to dwell further on the architectural production of the era requires a decoding of generalizing tendencies. Both aspects of the historiography acknowledged as the "underlying cultural tradition"[45] and the way in which it was viewed under the particular historical moment it was conceived and mobilized will be taken under consideration.

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[42] Jacoby, F., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Komm. II B. 543-544 in Dillery, J., "Hellenistic Historiography", eds., Feldherr, A., Hardy, G., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 1: Beginnings to AD 600*, Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 176.

[43] Diodorus Siculus's Library Books 1-7, trans. Charles Henry Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library, 1933,1.3.6.

[44] Gehrke, H. J., "Myth, History and Collective Identity: Uses of the Past in Ancient Greece and Beyond", *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus,* 2001, pp. 298-299.

[45] Schultz, P., "Style, Continuity and the Hellenistic Baroque," Erskine, A., Jones, L.L. eds., *Creating a Hellenistic World,* Classical Press of Wales, 2010, p. 316.

2.1. Approaching the "Hellenistic"

The Hellenistic period is inextricably linked to Alexander to the point where no account mentioning the era can exclude him from the narrative. Yet both in ancient accounts and the contemporary, Alexander is presented as an idea, abstraction, or symbol rather than a historical figure and idealized to the extent where he seems to have more in common with a Homeric hero rather than an actual living human. This is partly due to the material evidence being abundant yet contradictory and non-contemporary.[46] Yet what this ambiguity presents is an opportunity to project imagined identities to the revered figure. Alexander in 20th century accounts is recognizably presented as "a rationalist, almost gentlemanly genius, a man entirely beyond reproach."[47] Projecting such present-day values to the past makes Alexander be perceived along the same lines of the wealthy, educated and white scholarly community predominantly consisting of men. And this perception of the ancient hero begins the chain reaction where identifying a past with a single figure, unavoidably imagined, leads to the entire period being palpably fictionalized.

Theodore Fyfe and John Onians are both prominent figures in the scholarly production on architecture and art in ancient Greece. Accounts of both on Hellenistic period carry a similar tone where they reapproximate the era with their own times quite significantly. Fyfe quotes from Eric Arthur Barber's *The Hellenistic Age, Aspects of Hellenistic Civilization* as

> Hellenistic monarchies with their mixed populations and their crowded capitals, or the great increase in wealth and luxury, or the foundation of endowed institutions of learning or the advancement of science… by virtue of these things the Hellenistic world… is in many respects nearer to the world of today than are the Greeks of the classical age.[48]

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[46] Cartledge, P., *Alexander the Great: The Hunt for a New Past,* The Overlook Press, New York, 2004, p. 269.

[47] Tarn, W.W., *Alexander the Great,* 2 vols., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1948. And Hammond, N.G.L., The Genius of Alexander, Duckworth, London, 1997; in Cherry, J.F., "The Personal and the Political Introduction: The Greek World", eds., Alcock, S.E., Osborne, E., *Classical Archaeology*, Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, p. 314.

[48] Fyfe, T., *Hellenistic Architecture: An Introductory Study*, Cambridge University Press, 1936, p.2.

Only few decades later, Onians continues the tradition by explicitly stating, “In some ways the independence of [Hellenistic] individual styles in both art and life were to be matched only in the modern period.”[49] His sub-chapter including the quote is titled “The ‘Modern’ Artist” and it is in this spirit the accounts of art and architecture of the Hellenistic period become meshed with viewpoints of the contemporary historians. Both historians regard the production of the Hellenistic period to be somewhat similar to their own. This was not an isolated phenomenon that occurred only in the 20th century, in fact, Graham Shipley argues that the architecture and art of the Hellenistic period were systematically taken as a model *until* the 20th century.[50]

Although the point of contact with the Hellenistic period precedes the coinage of the term “Hellenistic”, a point of departure from its conception, enabling a consistent conceptualisation will be practical. The term Hellenism, “Hellenismus" in German, used to refer to the period after Alexander’s death was originally conceived by Johann Gustav Droysen (1808-1854). In his seminal work *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Droysen conceived of the notion as the “Hellenic influence upon foreign lands”.[51] This single-sided interaction uniting a vast geography undergoing centuries of political upheaval under one title undermined many complex webs of influence among various actors. One inevitable consequence of this was the projection of Hellenistic history as somewhat of a colonialist history.[52] The Eurocentric approach that gave way to *Hellenismus* defined the lands of Near and Middle East as a *tabula rasa*, awaiting to be civilized by the sublime culture and intellect of their Westerners.[53] The colonizers, on the other hand, had lost their

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[49] Onians, p.116.

[50] Shipley, p. 318.

[51] Green, p. xiv.

[52] Kuhrt, A., Sherwin-White, S., *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander,* University of California Press, 1987, pp. ix-x; Preaux, C., *Le monde hellénistique,* 2 vols., Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1978, pp. 5-9; Briant, P., *Rois, Tribus et Paysans*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1982, pp. 7-12; Davies, J.K., “Cultural, social and economic features of the Hellenistic World”, eds., Walbank, F.W., Astin, A.E., Frederiksen, M.W., Ogilvie, R.M., Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 263; In Alcock, S., “Breaking up the Hellenistic World: Survey and Society”, ed., Morris, I., *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 173.

[53] Alcock, 1994, p.171.

"purity" following this contact, as if contracting some sort of disease, and weakened in the face of it.[54] This narrative set off the reaction to the art and architecture of the Hellenistic period showcasing a decline following the Classical. The undeniable currency such a title held is apparent in the fact that centuries later, the values Droysen placed upon the notion still hold their merit.[55]

Another aspect worth noting about Droysen's utilization of *Hellenismus*, is similar to Onians and Fyfe, the manner in which he relates history to the present day. The unification of Germany under the Prussian Kingdom took place during his time and Droysen strove to promote the emulation of ancient Greek success. It was a way for Droysen to foreshadow what could be realized for German states united under the leadership of one monarch.[56] But the past was a means to make sense of the present in more ways than one. The avenue that gave way to Christianity was, according to Droysen, set by the Hellenistic period. This was indeed the main significance of the era where the fusion of Greek (pagan) and Oriental (Jewish) elements created the main impetus to this transition.[57] In both ways Droysen was utilizing the past as a means of promoting the political and religious standpoints of the present.

While Droysen was producing work that argued for an overarching and dominating Greek influence, he was also somewhat aware of the complex interaction taking place in the Hellenistic period. This was apparent in his own perception of Hellenismus as "the mingling of occidental and oriental life has produced an infinite wealth of new phenomena."[58] Although he set this up to be a binary between the East and the West, there was a certain hybridity he had come to recognize. Even the conception of the word etymologically rooted in the Hellenic, unavoidably

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[54] Ibid., p.173.

[55] Bosworth, A. B., "Alexander the Great and the Creation of the Hellenistic Age", Bugh, G. ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Cambridge Companions to the Ancient World, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.9.

[56] Ibid., p.9.

[57] Droysen, J.G., Geschichte des Hellenismus, 3 vols., Schwabe, Basel, 1952; Bravo, B., *Philosophie, histoire, philosophie de l'histoire: étude sur J. G. Droysen, historien de l'antiquité*, Polskij Ajkademii Nauk, Warsaw, 1968 in Alcock, 1994, 171.

[58] Original quote: "[d]ie Vermischung des abend und morgenländischen Lebens hat einen unendlichen Reichthum neuer Erscheinungen hervorgerufen". Droysen J. G., *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Erster theil, Friedrich Perthes, Hamburg, 1836, p. v.

meant that Greek culture was the prominent figure. However, this was also the case for the Hellenistic period. The manifestation of self-Hellenization occurred when local agencies performed Greek identities to fit in within the wider *oikoumene.*[59] Non-Greek communities assigned themselves values in a process of *syngeneia* (kinship) as a continual adaptation and reinterpretation of Greek ideas and practices.[60] A part of how cities were defined as 'kinsmen' was the sudden discovery of their previously unknown Greek pasts and now claiming to be Hellenic rather than Hellenized. With Teos, Magnesia on the Meander and Alabanda being few examples from Western Asia Minor, the practice assured safety and most likely acceptability among other *poleis*.[61] The practice of self-Hellenization laid the groundwork for future scholars looking back at the period to see a unanimous picture that predominantly presented a Greek identity. As their subject matter emulated a Greek way of living for practical reasons, they saw an interaction informed by the superior Hellenic values. By placing Hellenic and non-Hellenic on opposite ends of the spectrum rather than a fluid state of being that was shaped by agencies of actors in every scale, polarity rather than hybridity endured in Hellenistic scholarship. Through this, the art and architecture produced in the Hellenistic period came to be viewed as completely "new phenomena" as Droysen anticipated. The different kind of dichotomy of the Classical and baroque conserved the rupture between two epochs in history.

Now in contact with the East, Hellenic production loses its idealized purity and through this infection mentioned earlier to create art and produce spaces that are strikingly different than what had been done before. In his book *Architecture of*

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[59] Self-hellenization can even be seen in the inlands of Asia Minor (often assumed to be far less subjected to Hellenic influence than their coastal counterparts) such as Pisidia argued in; Vanhaverbeke, H., Waelkens, M., "If you Can't Beat Them, Join Them? The Hellenization of Pisidia" *Mediterranean Archaeology* , 2005, Vol. 18, 2005, pp.49–65. While hybridity is often easier to argue for the Hellenistic period; Western Asia Minor should also be taken into consideration in terms of earlier forms of contact such as Hekatomnids reconciliation of Persian and Greek modes of production discussed in; Carstens, A. M., "Karian Identity: Game of opportunistic Politics or a Case of Creolisation?", Henry, O., ed., *4th Century Karia. Defining a Karian identity under the Hekatomnids,* Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil, 2013, pp.209–215. Both studies succeed in having a critical stance towards the struggles Alcock stresses, mainly Hellenistic research being based on polarity and a short-term Hellenocentric perspective. Alcock, 1994, pp.189-190.

[60] Stavrianopoulou, p. 181.

[61] Ibid., pp. 180-181.

Ancient Greece, William Dinsmoor titles the chapter on the period as “Beginning of the Decadence”, signaling clearly his stance where he finds the architecture produced following the death of Alexander being less than satisfactory.[62] The point of departure for this decline, needless to say, is the Classical. The “classic” often equated with the pinnacle or topmost level within a canon or hierarchy.[63] By placing the Classical within a contrast with what it has turned into as it evolved, the dichotomy becomes hierarchal where the concept of classical implies a norm.[64] Winckelmann’s 18th century work of the four phased development scheme for Ancient Greek art defined the last as a stage of the age of *diadochi* as the period of imitation and decline.[65] However the handling of Hellenistic art through its baroque tendencies would sharply change with the conception of the term Hellenistic Baroque.

Coining the term Hellenistic Baroque was possible following the German encounter with the Gigantomachy. The frieze depicting the battle between Giants and Gods on the Zeus altar of Pergamon both impressed and changed the prevailing view towards the age of the *diadochi* upon its arrival in Berlin in 1880 (Figure 3). Following his visit to the Altes Museum, Heinrich von Brunn wrote in 1884 of its similarity with the Sala dei Giganti of the Palazzo del Té in Mantua (Figure 4) stating that both the work of Giulio Romano and Pergamene artists

> …belong to a stage in the development of the art of two different times and peoples that came after the art of these peoples had reached and passed its zenith. Both were in full possession of all the means and techniques of their art and were alike in their ambition to surpass, with the help of those techniques, everything that had preceded them—not.[66]

The idea of likening the work of a late Renaissance painter to the Pergamene production was gaining popularity and perhaps nobody mobilized the concept to

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[62] Dinsmoor, W., *Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of Its Historical Development,* Biblo and Tannen Publishers, 1973, p. 216.

[63] Freedberg, D., “Editor’s Statement: The Problem of Classicism: Ideology and Power”, *Art Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 1, The Problem of Classicism: Ideology and Power, 1988, p. 7.

[64] Zerner, H., “Classicism as Power”, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 9, No.2, Dec. 1982, p. 35.

[65] Winckelmann, J.J., *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, Dresden, 1764, pp.127-288.

[66] Brunn, H.,*Über die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der pergamenischen Gigantomachie*, Berlin, 1884, p. 287.

Figure 3: The Gigantomachy exhibited on the reconstructed Zeus altar, Pergamon Museum, Berlin. (Photograph by the author, 2012)

the extent Wölfflin did in his work *Renaissance und Barock* published shortly only four years later. Contrary to its perception at first glance Wölfflin's work did not promote the classical while condemning the baroque. Instead, it centered on an eventual and inevitable transformation of styles from the classic to baroque where the former was the flower and the latter its going to seed.[67] Although his works centered around the Renaissance and Baroque of Europe from the 14th to the 17th centuries, its stylistic inferences made it applicable to different periods with similar characteristics.[68] In *Renaissance und Barock* Wölfflin recognized that the term "baroque" was gradually coming into use in the history of ancient art as it performed with "symptoms analogous" to those of late Renaissance.[69]

Wölfflin's system in differentiating between the classical and baroque rested on five concepts. The classical was linear with rhythmic succession while the baroque was

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[67] Brown, p. 381.

[68] Lyttelton, Margaret., *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1974, p. 10.

[69] Wölfflin, H., *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien,* München, 1888, p.15.

Figure 4: Giulio Romano, Fall of the Giants, Sala dei Giganti, Palazzo del Té, Mantua. (Wikimedia)

painterly with its illusion of movement.[70] The classical was defined by plane (state of rest) as it settled into definite movements while the baroque was a homogeneous presentation of movement in recession.[71] The classical was closed, where elements manifested their clearness and sharpness while baroque, being open gave the semblance of lawlessness.[72] In classical multiplicity meant that parts had a chance to breathe independently while in baroque openness it was swallowed up by the whole.[73] And the clearness of the classical meant it was perfectly comprehensible in its appearance while baroque with its flawless rendering was still obscure.[74] This dichotomy where the classical and baroque were the opposite of each other in

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[70] Ibid., 32.

[71] Wölfflin, H, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*, trans., Hottinger, M.D., Dover Publications, 1950, pp. 119, 82.

[72] Ibid., pp. 126, 149.

[73] Ibid., p.185.

[74] Ibid., pp. 221, 196.

every conceivable way did not promote or prioritize any one way of production over the other. Although Gombrich argued that Wölfflin had set out to present the Classical as the norm, not presenting it in equal footing with the Baroque, a closer look reveals that they were the two sides of the same coin.[75]

A recent reassessment of Wölfflin's binary system conducted by Marshall Brown approaches the notion from a completely different angle than that of Gombrich. Brown promotes the idea that Wölfflin was in actuality a silent advocate for the Baroque. Reexamining his five concepts, Brown concludes: "On the one side, we have absence, rest, law, silence, death; on the other, presence, movement, freedom, voice, life."[76] While such a reading reframes a reading of Wölfflin completely, it simultaneously demonstrates the extent to which such binaries can be bent to the will of the reader.[77] In Brown's reassessment of Wölflin's work, this dichotomy is seen as a structure which continuously problematizes the value system that it entraps the reader in.[78] As emphasis and perspective change our ideas of change and continuity, the rupture presented between the classical and the baroque dualities that are presented as polar opposites are revealed to be what define each other and coexist in a mutual relationship only to be separated by one's viewpoint. Perhaps the question is not whether Wölfflin advocated for the classical or the baroque, but rather releasing his work of such obligation.

Before concluding this section on the mediating role of Wölfflin's work on the classical and the baroque, a final glimpse on his past linking him to Johann Gustav Droysen, founder of the term *Hellenismus* is helpful. This link is established by a newcomer to the scene Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), a student of Droysen and a teacher of Wölfflin. Burckhardt is renowned for creating our conception of the

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[75] Gombrich, E.H., *Norm and Form: Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, Phaidon Press, 1966, p. 94.

[76] Brown's analysis; linear is objective while the painterly is subjective, plane is the equivalent of rest while recession is movement, the open forms in contrast with the closed forms are not lawless but only give "the effect of lawlessness", multiplicity is the rhythm and harmony while unity is the "expressive accent of the leading voice", clearness is lifeless while in unclearness "the body breathes". Brown, pp. 391-394.

[77] For Wölflin's preference for Baroque; see also, Zerner, p. 35.

[78] Brown, 384.

Renaissance.[79] His views on the period advocate the 'changeless purity and remoteness' of the Classical which "could change only to decay."[80] However, he was one of the first to comment on the exceptional quality of the Gigantomachy.[81] And described the frieze to his students as "an astounding eruption, compared with which all previous representations of the gods seem formal, still, and restrained."[82] This was the scholar who defined the Baroque as the "barbarian dialect" of Renaissance."[83] Wölfflin also notes that Burckhardt supported the view that every occidental style had its baroque when it has time to "live itself out."[84] However, the experience Burckhardt had in the Altes Museum where he was completely overwhelmed by the dramatic expression of the frieze led him to enthusiastically question "academic aesthetics" having been shaken to the core.[85] But this was not because he found the Hellenistic, the era defined by his teacher Droysen, to be Baroque like his student Wölfflin would come to do later. There was a rupture between the two epochs and although he recognized the cyclical nature of the classical-baroque continuum, Burckhardt refrained from philosophizing art history.[86]

Tracing the process by which the past was perceived through three scholars of the 19th and early 20th century, a scheme arises where the term Hellenistic came to be used first by Droysen, followed by an occupation with the Baroque separate from the antiquities in Burckhardt and finally in Wölfflin, a unification of the two. But

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[79] Goetz, W., *Propylaen Weltgeschichte,* IV, Berlin, 1932, p.157. in Ferguson, W.K., "Burckhardt and the Formation of the Modern Concept", *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of* Interpretation, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948, p.179.

[80] Burckhardt, J., *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* Phaidon, London, 1860; in Brown, p. 395.

[81] Bilsel, C., *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*, Oxford University Press, 2012, p.100.

[82] Gossman, L., "The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany", The Journal of Modern History , Vol. 78, No. 3, 2006, p. 552.

[83] Burckhardt, J., *Gesammelte Werke,* 10 vols., Basel, 1955-59, vol. 9, p.305; in Brown, p. 398.

[84] Wölfflin, 1950, 232.

[85] Burckhardt, M., *Briefe*, vol. VIII, p. 67 (letter of 17 August 1882); Basle lecture course, 1875, 1882 (see Fritz Stahelin in Gesamtausgabe, vol. XIII, pp. 14-18) in Gossmann, L., "Jacob Burckhardt as Art Historian", *Oxford Art Journal*, 1988, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1988, p.30.

[86] Ferguson, p. 186.

Burckhardt was not disinterested in the ancient period, apparent in his book *The History of Greek Civilization (Griechiche Kulturgeschichte).* In fact, he was deeply invested in Winckelmann's categorization of the past as he put it: "The history of style **...** begins with Winckelmann, who was the first to distinguish between the periods of ancient art and to link the history of style with world history.'[87] However, Winckelmann's categorization of ancient Greek art defined the Hellenistic as a period of imitation and decline. This did not account for the Gigantomachy since he had not seen it. Winckelmann's work on idealizing and historicizing Greek history did not account for the fact that several sculptures he examined belonged to his period either.[88] What Winckelmann associated this decline with was the loss of freedom for the Greeks under subsequent empires.[89] His style of history writing focused on what should be heard by his contemporaries, utilizing the past to make claims about the present.[90] Belonging to the Enlightenment, his idealization of Ancient Greece lay on the freedom of the *polis* allowing citizens to fulfill their artistic potential.

Both Winckelmann and Droysen were born into the Prussian Empire. While Winckelmann associated the Hellenistic rule as a loss of freedom, Droysen, a century later, approached its history through appreciation of its unifying qualities. Neither found their inquiry into the Hellenistic period to warrant the use of the term baroque. Then two Swiss historians came along, Burckhardt and Wöllflin. Both were interested in antiquity to an extent but much more so in an age of enlightenment much closer to their own time, the Renaissance, as a way to make sense of 19th century upheavals. Wöllflin as the point of accumulation of the works of these scholars, introduced the possibility of approximating the two periods. Works of Winckelmann and Droysen reapproximating their own time to the antiquities in a way made it valid to overlap histories of different centuries. It was

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[87] Dilly, H., *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin,* Suhrkamp, Berlin, 1979, p. 86. The passage comes from an article by Burckhardt on the history of art published in an encyclopaedia in 1843. In Potts, A., *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History,* Yale University Press, 2000, p. 70.

[88] The Niobe and the Laocoon being the only masterpieces of antique sculpture that Winckelmann did place in the classic period. Potts, pp.60-61.

[89] Although he specifically mentions the Romans, the example he gives is the Belvedere Torso. Winckelmann, p.371.

[90] Flavell, M.K., "Winckelmann and the German Enlightenment: On the Recovery and Uses of the past", *The Modern Language Review*, Jan., 1979, Vol. 74, No. 1, 1979, p.82.

through this accumulation that the Hellenistic Baroque was created, not through the intentions of the *diadochi* but scholars reinterpreting their own world as they looked to the past.

At the point of arrival of Hellenistic art and architecture in more contemporary accounts, the baroque is inseparable from the Hellenistic. For architecture, Lehmann states that the first appearance of baroque in Europe was in the Hellenistic period.[91] While according to Fyfe, the qualities which the baroque possesses strike a chord in Hellenistic works in Asia Minor.[92] Baroque found a particularly evident match in the Hellenistic as its characterizations could easily be observed initially in the Gigantomachy for scholars of the late 19th century. These features were grandiloquence, theatricality, emotionalism, energy, obsession with extreme contrasts and fondness for surprises.[93] These values were soon transferred to architecture as Pollitt describes the Hellenistic production of spaces

> …a certain theatricality in planning and design, which is primarily a reflection of the theatrical mentality of the age but in some instances, particularly when it involves an increasing interest in the manipulation for interior space for emotional effects, may also be an expression of that tendency towards mysticism which was an aspect of Hellenistic individualism.[94]

By Pollitt's time the Hellenistic period had reached the vocabulary imbuing it with characteristics of individualism, theatricality and emotionalism. Performativity of architecture was now commonly accepted. Pollitt's emphasis on the interior spaces could also be read in terms of baroque 'fondness for surprises'. An example for these "interior" spaces that could be taken at face value without much need for elaboration are the two renowned works of the Hellenistic period, the Altar of Zeus in Pergamon and the temple of Apollo at Didyma. What looked like the altar from the exterior in Pergamon was actually a structure that housed the altar. The same was true for Didyma where the structure perceived from the outside to be the temple was actually the shell for the much smaller chapel inside. Both manipulated the interior space of the built form for surprising effects where the actual structure

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[91] Lehmann, p.18.

[92] Fyfe, p.192.

[93] Stewart, A., "Narration and Allusion in the Hellenistic Baroque", Holliday, P.J., ed., *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.134.

[94] Pollitt, p. 230.

was revealed. It is easy to assume that the experience of the modern spectator upon encountering these interiors would be somewhat similar to the ancient viewer.

Defining the characteristics of the Hellenistic period with the baroque had reached an extent where even the classical was now under scrutiny. Margaret Lyttelton claimed that Greek architecture before the Hellenistic was more reflective of the qualities of the Renaissance than the Renaissance itself.[95] The mutualist rendering of the baroque and classical is what made the existence of both possible.[96] Through the employment of this dichotomy they were intrinsically bound. But what this dichotomy in earlier accounts missed was that by the mid-Hellenistic period, the heyday of the Hellenistic Baroque, the baroque was the classic. It was, as Stewart put it, the "exemplary, canonical or definitive way to render the pathos".[97] The association constructed between the ancient and early modern periods on the basis of notions such as unification, enlightenment and individualism created a duality not consciously practiced by Hellenistic monarchs. The patrons of these monuments were not interested in creating something that opposed the classical but rather appropriated it. Hellenistic styles did not aim to continue the traditions that came before them but worked through an inevitable process of accumulation.[98] The conscious decisions of Hellenistic rulers not employing the fluid binary of Classical versus Baroque but rather that of the Citizen versus Barbarian will help demonstrate why early modern scholars had the need to place the age of *diadochi* in such stark contrast to the Classical.

Before transitioning to the world of Hellenistic monarchs one last facade of the baroque should be explored, and that is the actual root of the metaphor. The initial definition of baroque refers to the imperfect form created by a mollusk as a result of impurities entering its system. As the system within the mollusk knows nothing of the necessity of producing smooth surfaces, it overlaps layers upon each other

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[95] Lyttelton, 13.

[96] Brown, 387.

[97] Stewart, A., "Baroque Classics: The Tragic Muse and the Exemplum", ed., Porter, J., *Classic Pasts: The Classical tradition in Greece and Rome,* Princeton, pp. 139-140. In Schultz, 332.

[98] Stewart, A., "Hellenistic Art: AD 1500-2000", Erskine, A., ed., *A Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Blackwell, 2005, p. 506.

until an external force ends the process.[99] This analogy refers perfectly to the Hellenistic production as well as its later perception. The interpretations of the past define “the pearl" as something imperfect because it does not conform to set standards. While acknowledging no pearl is without its “flaws” and must be externally shaped to fit the criteria, the baroque pearl is so far from it that changing its shape is not an option and it is accepted exactly as the exceptionally original production that it is. And although they are placed under the same category, no two baroque pearls are the same.

Five points of departure are deduced from this analogy. Firstly, the baroque is bound with interaction and the admission of external input into the system. This makes it crucial for its study to be that of an analysis of the forms of contact. Secondly, it is the local that shape the forms resulting from contact. This means any value added was translated through the agencies of local actors and require handling as such. Thirdly, neither Hellenistic nor the baroque were self-denoted notions. The external forces that defined them are reassessed through a closer consideration of Hellenistic historiography. The fourth point would be that of the mollusk’s oblivious stance towards producing smooth surfaces. The formula of standard versus deviation applied to the past must be re-examined as these dichotomies do not present an adequately realistic picture of the Hellenistic production. And fifth and final point, through discussing the characteristics of the Hellenistic period, the multitude of different orientations in the production of art and architecture should by no means be seen as independent from the past nor their context. Like the baroque pearl, every product is unique and requires an examination in its specific context.

2.2. The Past in the Hellenistic Present

The encompassing title, “Hellenistic period” has now come to define an era with remarkable change and mobility. Continuously shifting borders of kingdoms meant that a sense of belonging became a fluctuating construct. Claims of identity and belonging were tied to claims to land while the ownership of land was often in a transient state.[100] Although the *polis* with its agora, theatre, council and gymnasium*,* resembled that of Classical Greece in every perceivable way, it could

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[99] Serim, M., *Bir Modernlik Zemini-Barok Aşırılık*, Akın Nalça, 2017, p. 226.

[100] Alcock, Gates and Rempel, p. 371.

not function independently from the kingdom. By all means, it was a reflection of the kingdom and the ideologies of the dynast by whom it was ruled. Councils, magistrates and even the religion of the *polis* was Hellenic, but the purely local administration held no power nor independence.[101] There was no longer a local identity of the *polis* to define oneself through completely, nor was it possible to individually comprehend a unifying characterization that distinguished an entire kingdom. This is where the unifying notion of being defined in opposition to the "other" became useful. The "self" as a concept continuously in flux could place itself in an opposing position to the other and the consistently persevering notion of the Hellenic came to be defined through what it is not.

Before probing further into the notion of the "other", a demonstration of the perception of the "self" in Greek thought is useful. The definition of Hellenic was a permeable one, even before the Hellenistic period. Isocrates (436-338 BC) writes from classical Athens: "…the name Hellenes suggests no longer a race but intelligence (mindset), and that the title Hellenes is applied rather to those who share our culture that to those who share a common blood."[102]

In this explanation of what Hellenic meant, it is clearly an abstract notion. No longer defined by race, language or family, it becomes closely tied to the strictly intellectual categorization of culture. This standpoint precedes Alexander's conquests and the many kingdoms it gave way to. It precedes the mingling of different cultures, ethnicities and races at a scale that was the Hellenistic period. Yet there is a recognition that there is "no longer" a Greek race. Greekness as an elusive concept was defined through a "culture" which in the Hellenistic period was a notion continuously in flux. This transient nature of Greekness gave way to the anchor which was the barbarian. The concept of the barbarian was the ultimate other, one no Greek would want to be associated with. This is apparent in Thales and Socrates in Hermippus's account

> Hermippus in his *Lives* refers to Thales the story which is told by some of Socrates, namely, that he used to say there were three blessings for which he was grateful to

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[101] Blundell, p. 199.

[102] Isocrates, *Panegyricus,* Norlin, G. trans., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1980, 50.

> Fortune: "first, that I was born a human being and not one of the brutes; next, that I was born a man and not a woman; thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian."[103]

The barbarian was the notion utmost threatening to the Greek condition. The "brute" is so far removed from being human that it poses little threat to civilization while women shared, albeit only partially, in men's experiences of the world. The barbarian, a human completely uncivilized, poses the ultimate menace as it embodied an alternate to what man can turn into. Those who did not partake in Hellenic culture, values and way of life were the barbarians. Juxtaposing Isocrates and Hermippus's accounts, a picture emerges where although the notion of the Hellenic was a fluid one, it stood in stark opposition to the barbarian. The notion of the barbarian as a means of Hellenistic civilization's construct of itself and the purpose it served can best be summed up by a quote by the Greek poet C.P. Cavafy (1863-1933) who wrote: "Now what's to become of us without barbarians? Those people were some sort of solution."[104] The notion of the barbarian was the solution for the identity crises witnessed by the Hellenic population after centuries of exposure to cultures that aimed to dominate it, and those it strived to tame.

In a similar manner to how historians have utilized the past to reinforce their viewpoints towards their own present discussed in the previous chapter, Hellenistic rulers did so to acquire, hold and justify their claims to sovereignty. A narrative instrumentalized by Hellenistic dynasts was their self-identification as the "saviours" of the civilized world.[105] For this notion to function properly they needed to advocate for a life that "saved" people from a barbaric way of living. Nobody was a more suitable candidate to emulate than Alexander himself. The narrative of the Hellenic self versus the "barbarian other" can be grounded upon Alexander's conquest presented as their elimination which 'provided the main impetus for the whole concept of Panhellenism.'[106]

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[103] Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers, Volume I: Books 1-5,* trans., Hicks, R. D., Loeb Classical Library 184, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1925, 1.1.33.

[104] Cavafy, C.P., *Collected Poems,* ed., Savidis, G., trans., Keeley, E., Sherrard, P., Lockert Library of Poetry in Translation, Princeton University Press, 1975, p. 32.

[105] Coşkun, A., "Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: The Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World", eds., Ager, S.L., Faber, R.A., *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World,* University of Toronto Press, 2013, p. 75.

[106] Green, p. 54.

The formal Greek education of Alexander was shaped to a significant degree by Aristotle. Alexander was advised by Aristotle to be a leader to the Greeks but a master to barbarians, treating the former as kinsmen and latter as not even human.[107] Barbarians here were the people living in the global East. This civilizing aspect of Alexander's conquests was also apparent in Plutarch: "By founding more than seventy cities among barbarian peoples and sowing Asia with Greek institutions, Alexander overcame its uncivilized and savage way of living."[108]

According to Droysen, Alexander's biggest achievement was to "emancipate [Eastern people] for a life in history".[109] The narrative that persevered through centuries is that Alexander was emulating the Greek myths of the past, namely Herakles and Dionysos. Like the former he was traveling the globe to take on the barbarian foe and like the latter advanced to the boundaries of the known world.[110] One thing to note here is Alexander's self-awareness towards how his identity would be perceived. Macedonians were not always considered one of the Greeks therefore Alexander had to perform to live up to his earned position. Herodotus narrates the tale of Alexander I's (498-454 BC) decision to partake in the contests at Olympia which he was barred from on the grounds of his status as a foreigner. The Greeks that were to be his opponents rebuked and argued that he was not Greek. However, as Herodotus concludes the tale; "Alexander, however, proving himself to be an Argive, was judged to be a Greek."[111] This occurrence demonstrates a possible internalization of a fear of not being perceived as part of the Greek community on the part of Alexander III. Hence, even after his success as a conqueror, Alexander still had an image of himself to construct. He had with him, Callisthenes, an official historian keeping records of his expeditions, Lysippus, his sculptor, Apelles, painter and Pyrgoteles, a gem cutter, important for portraits on

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[107] Plutarch, *Moralia,* ed., Bernardakis, G.N., Leipzig, Teubner, 1889, 329b. Also in, Gruen, E.S., "Greeks and Non-Greeks", Bugh, G.R., ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Cambridge University Press, 2006, p.296.

[108] Plutarch, *De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute,* ed. Babbitt, F.C., Harvard University Press, London. William Heinemann Ltd., 1936, 328-329.

[109] Droysen, 1952, p.443. Also; Bosworth, f.6.

[110] Stavrianopoulou, p.182.

[111] Herodotus, *The Histories,* ed., Godley, A.D., Vol. III, Books V-VII, The Loeb Classical Library 303, Cambridge MA, London, 1982, 5.22.

coinage.[112] The manner in which Alexander was portrayed on every medium was thus carefully sculpted. Performing Greekness was crucial for Alexander if he was to gain the support of the Hellenic community.

Alexander's strive to prove his Greekness stemmed from the fact that prior to his unification of the Hellenic world, Macedonians were thought of as barbarians.[113] Because of this fluid nature of the term, the idea of the barbarian other in modern accounts should be revisited in ancient ones to discover its often performative nature. Strabo views the notion of the barbarian from a linguistic perspective stating; "I suppose that the word "barbarian" was at first uttered onomatopoetically in reference to people who enunciated words only with difficulty and talked harshly and raucously."[114] Hence, it is not a genealogical separation he has in mind but rather an accent, something that could just as easily have been influence by one's immediate surroundings. Tracing the root of the word before it arrives at Strabo, Gruen argues that the word may have originated from the Babylonian *barbaru* meaning 'foreign', hence not even a Greek invention.[115] In Homer's *Iliad*, the barbarian does not refer to the enemy nor an opposing other, but is simply used to refer to the Carians.[116] It has no negative connotations, nor is it used as a derogatory term. This begins later, with the conquests of the Achaemenid Empire.

The notion of "barbarians" persevering in the Hellenic psyche for generations was a Greek construct resulting from Persian contact. The Achaemenid Empire had extended its boundaries to reach Greece by the 5th century (Figure 2). The Persian invasion unified the Greeks to an extent that it led them to develop a clearer sense of collective identity among themselves.[117] This collective identity had the chief aim of opposing the barbarian other and as Isocrates would state in his speech, the

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[112] Cherry, p. 307.

[113] Green, p. 73.

[114] Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo,* ed., Jones, H.L., Vol. VI, Books XIII-XIV, The Loeb Classical Library 233, Cambridge, London, 1970, 14.2.28.

[115] Gruen, p. 297.

[116] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Green, P.*,* University of California Press, Oakland, 2015, Book II, 867.

[117] Hall, J. M., *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 47; Also, Gruen, p.295.

fight was a “joint expedition against the barbarians”.[118] The word “barbarian” had no collective negative connotation attached to it previous to the Persian attack. However, its usage as a derogatory term stemmed from the Athenian defeat of the Achaemenid Empire.[119] After that point on, even the slightest appreciation of the traits of non-Greeks was heavily criticized. Herodotus (484 – c.425 BC), writing from Halicarnassus which part of the Persian Empire, admired the traits of non-Greeks and was later labeled by Plutarch as a *philobarbaros*, barbarian lover.[120] On the other hand, along the same lines of colonization that would take part centuries later, the “oriental” goods of the “other” were welcome with “an appetite for the culture of the enemy”.[121] It was a complex relationship with the other as was the relationship with the self. The other was a threat to be reckoned with until it could be subjugated under the self’s way of living. The war with Persian armies proved that it needed to be taken seriously, while Hellenization demonstrated the extent to which it could be managed and manipulated.

The conquests of Alexander were regarded as the “panhellenic revenge against the Persians”.[122] They demonstrated Hellenic superiority not only in the battlefield but also in the Hellenic psyche. With the Iliad always at hand, Alexander substituted the Homeric hero for generations to come.[123] He was acutely self-aware of what duty he was performing, to the point where following his campaigns he was no longer a man but an idea. Starting his career as an “other” himself, he suggested to those who came after him that they too could achieve greatness. The only prerequisite was to perform a Greek identity. This resonated with later Hellenistic dynasts. One facade of this was self-Hellenization discussed in the previous chapter, where common Greek roots were suddenly discovered by *poleis* during the course of the

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[118] Kennedy, G., “Isocrates' Encomium of Helen: A Panhellenic Document”, Transactions of the American Philological Association, 89, 1958, p. 80. Also mentioned in Heilbrunn, G., “The Composition of Isocrates' Helen”, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1977, Vol. 107, p. 147.

[119] Hall, E., *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy,* Oxford, Clarendon
Press, 1989. Also in Morris, p. 407.

[120] Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate (Moralia Collection),* 857a. Also in, Gruen, p. 196.

[121] Morris, p. 407.

[122] Cherry, p. 303.

[123] Onians, p.109.

Hellenistic period. Another and perhaps more lasting form was utilizing the narrative of the barbarian to establish oneself as the civilized self.

The Pergamene Kingdom succeeded in establishing itself as the "*Kulturtraeger* of the heritage of Hellas" in the Hellenistic Period.[124] Fyfe writes on Pergamon stating that it had "something more purely Greek which we do not find in Syria or Egypt".[125] The means whereby Pergamon succeeded to set itself up as the transmitter of Hellenic values having no match in any other Hellenistic kingdom was closely related to how it managed to construct its identity. During the course of its conflict with the Galatian forces, Pergamon succeeded in setting itself up as the "bastion of civilization against chaos and barbarism, as the 'Athens of the East'".[126] To set itself up as the civilized self, Pergamon had to face off the "barbarians" in what was in actuality a battle between two Seleucids.

Before Pergamon became involved with the Seleucid ascension to the throne, the Gauls had been a prominent figure in Hellenistic claims of ownership to land. They had invaded Macedonia, Asia Minor, Thrace and Illyria whilst occupying Galatia for the last decade before the infamous Elephant Victory.[127] The battle defines the victory of Antiochus I Soter, king of the Seleucid Empire and as narrated by Coşkun, following the defeat: "They are said to have remained 'uncivilized barbarians' for the next two and a half centuries being little affected by the spread of Hellenic language or urban culture among their direct neighbours."[128]

Although this likely laid the groundwork for their perception as the uncivilized other, it would not be until Pergamene intervention that would concretize their place for centuries. Heinen argues that it was the Battle of Ancyra that led to the cultural impact of defining the Galatians as the barbarian other and not the Elephant Victory.[129] The Battle of Ancyra took place between two Seleucids fighting for the throne. Seleucus II fought Antiochus Hierax in the War of Brothers and during the

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[124] Transmitter of the culture of the Greeks (my translation). Hanfmann, p. 29.

[125] Fyfe, p. 10.

[126] Pollitt, pp. 81-2, 105. Also in Stewart, 1993, p. 153.

[127] Green, pp. 165-166.

[128] Coşkun, p. 75.

[129] Heinen, pp. 423-424.

war Antiochus involved Galatian mercenaries, which provoked Attalus I's involvement with the battle.[130] Attalus I was the first Pergamene ruler who had refused to pay tribute to the Galatians.[131] He also had more than one valid reason to oppose the Galatian mercenaries of Antiochus. By confronting the Galatians, Pergamon could gain economic freedom from tributes and protect its claim over the land from Galatian raids and occupation. But perhaps more important that these, Pergamon could now claim to be the protector of Greek lands from the insatiable other. As Heinen puts it: "In the Pergamene kings's perception of themselves, the Galatians came to occupy the place that had once been filled by the Persians in the political thought and the art of Athens."[132]

This deliberately planned move to join the Seleucid War of Brothers was fruitful because following the victory of the Battle of Ancyra, Attalus I took on the title of the first king of Pergamon.[133] This victory was far more fruitful than any other battle between the *diadochi*. It could be instrumentalized by the Attalid king to legitimize his rule whilst amplifying his status as a defender of Hellenic values. By positioning

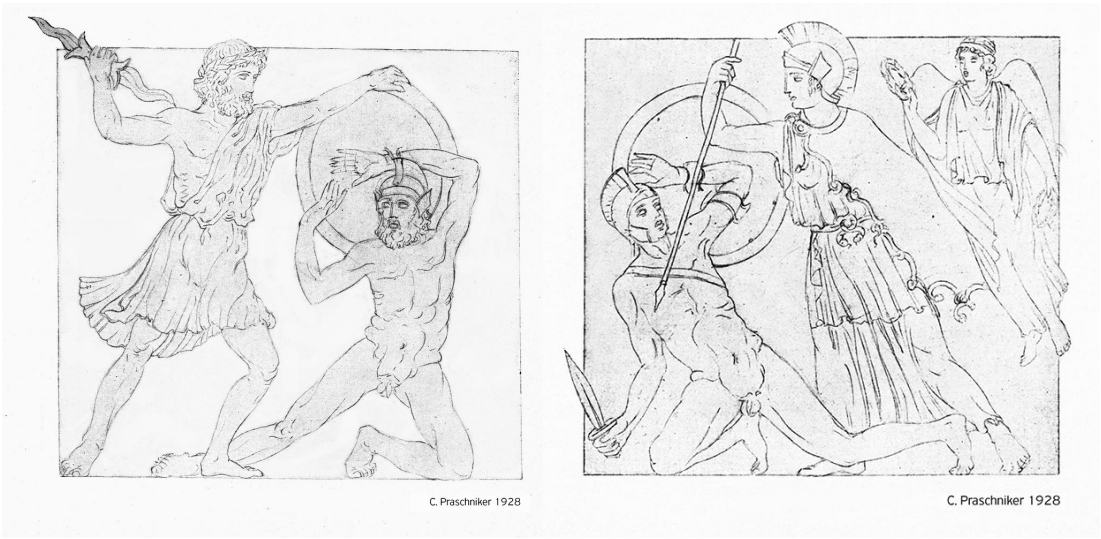

Figure 5: Parthenon East metope, Zeus and Athena about to strike kneeling Giants. (Praschiniker, 1928, Acropolis Museum)

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[130] Dittenberger, W., *Orientisgraeci inscriptiones selectae*, 2 vols. Leipzig,1903, pp. 269ff. Also in Heinen, pp. 423-424.

[131] Dittenberger, W., *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum,* 4 vols. Ed. 3. Leipzig, 1915-24, Erythrae. Also in, Livy, *The History of Rome, Book 38*, ed., Weissenborn, W., Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873, 16.14.

[132] Heinen, p. 431.

[133] Polybius, *Histories,* trans., Shuckburgh, E.S., London, New York, Macmillan, 1889, 18.41.

himself in stark opposition to the Galatians, Pergamon emulated the values that had once been the backbone of Alexander's conquests. Attalus himself was the "champion against the barbarians".[134]

Attalids promoted this victory in a manner that was to endure for centuries. The Gigantomachy that would prompt 19th century scholars to reconsider their own perception of "academic aesthetics" was created to align itself with centuries of myth and history to create an image recognizably powerful in any context. The relief depicting the battle between the Gods and the Giants was in effect a depiction of a battle between civilization and chaos, or in other words Pergamon and the Galatians. The abstract ideas of civil and barbaric depicted gave way to a particular conception of history, one that resurrected the past to portray a culture aspiring to overcome humankind's greatest struggle.[135] It was a new working of a Classical motif, one that was also present in the metopes of the Parthenon (Figure 5). The work should be described not as an influence but rather an appropriation, as it would give more initiative to the agency of those performing the identity. But the appropriation of the Classical motifs and ancient myth was acutely self-aware. This "borrowed authority"[136] achieved a far more effective response than the sober encounter between the Gods and Giants depicted in the Parthenon Gigantomachy. It was far more brutal and dramatic. For all intents and purposes, it was baroque.

The Gigantomachy could be defined by all the aspects of the baroque as constructed by Wölfflin, as a work of art that encompassed "presence, movement, freedom, voice, life."[137] Beyond these stylistic qualities, it was persuasive in character, theatrical and convincing. These were qualities attributed to Hellenistic production, and defined by Stewart as being rhetorical.[138] Just like language which

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[134] Heinen, p. 424.

[135] Stewart, 1993, pp.165-166.

[136] Described as the borrowing and reworking of classical motifs. Carpenter, R., *Greek Sculpture,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960, p. 199.

[137] Brown's analysis; linear is objective while the painterly is subjective, plane is the equivalent of rest while recession is movement, the open forms in contrast with the closed forms are not lawless but only give "the effect of lawlessness", multiplicity is the rhythm and harmony while unity is the "expressive accent of the leading voice", clearness is lifeless while in unclearness "the body breathes". Brown, pp. 391-394.

[138] Stewart, 2005, p. 513.

had developed into persuasive speech, so too had Hellenistic art become convincing. Marrou states, that for the Hellenistic period “the categories of eloquence were imposed on every form of mental activity”.[139] The need to adopt such a persuasive narrative in art had two major uses. Firstly, to establish Pergamon's dominance as the promoter of civilized, Hellenic way of living and secondly, to convince its citizens to collaborate with this narrative.

The citizens of Pergamon operated on values that were much more independent than the citizens of a previous *poleis*. Unlike Archaic and Greek modes of art, Hellenistic art invoked a different set of insight. Where the former productions aimed to construct an identity that aligned itself with the merits of the independent *polis,* the Hellenistic state was no longer a self-sustained unit. This made the task of typecasting an ideal citizen to project to the entire kingdom impossible. Unlike Archaic and Classical Greek art and architecture, the Hellenistic modes of production were no longer characterized by their service to the needs of the independent *polis*, and now one was made to identify with the “other”.[140] As there was no longer an ideal civilized self; control and unity within the *polis* could only be achieved by establishing a cautionary tale. Such was the case with Pergamene production, the Dying Galatian being one climax of the ideology. With such a drastic change in subject matter in art, from idealized figures to disfigured stances, came a unique capability of the Hellenistic audience to “comprehend many forms of otherness”.[141] This was certainly the case with the Gigantomachy, where the dying Gauls were the antagonists and placed at eye level with the passers by, were more relatable than the Gods above. As Onians has solemnly observed: “Anyone approaching the altar and walking round the steps at the base found not only that the giants were his closest companions but that he shared with them the experience of looking up at the divine forces of law and order.”[142]

This was a particular moment in history where great heroes were not the ones identified with. They belonged to a mythical past that was orderly, a time when lives

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[139] Marrou, H. I., *A History of Education in An*tiquity, New York, 1956, p. 195.

[140] Stewart, A., “Introduction (Part Three: Self-definition in Hellenistic Art)”, Bulloch, A., Gruen, E.S., Long, A.A., Stewart, A., eds., *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, University of California Press, 1993, p. 199.

[141] Onians, p. 130.

[142] Onians, p. 132.

could be spent within the confines of the *polis,* with familiar surroundings. But the Hellenistic period meant that a hostile contact with any form of otherness could be imminent. Whether this was through official armies or sackings of mercenaries was the case of defining the other as barbarian. This is where the mode of production termed Hellenistic Baroque becomes useful. The Galatians were deemed the other and through the language of brutal, grotesque and quite convincing art portrayed as such. The moment of utmost brutality and suffering was chosen to freeze the narrative.[143] And with this the familiar theme of civilized self versus the barbarian other was resurrected. The Galatians were not redeemed by the fact that the word Galatai meant brave fighters and were utilized as such by the Pergamon as mercenaries.[144] Nor were they recognized as promoters of Hellenization in Central Anatolia even though they included local Phrygians culturally and socially instead of abolishing them from their land.[145] They were, at face value, no different than the Pergamene monarchs in their effort to carve themselves a piece of land in the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. The approach to the Galatians by the collective Western history proves above all the extent to which "all history is a construction".[146]

Regarding the art and architecture of Pergamon as the epitome of Hellenistic Baroque accentuated not only the "persuasive, powerful and unitary"[147] character of the baroque but also the agency of the "other" in othering another.[148] Accomplishing this dual task, it leads to the audience of the Hellenistic. The Baroque made to "identify with their inferiors"[149] becoming acutely self-aware to perform their identities in opposition with the "other" whilst acknowledging their

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[143] Pollitt, p.122.

[144] Coşkun, p. 84.

[145] Strobel, K., *Die Galater 1: Geschichte und Eigenart der keltischen Staatenbildung auf dem Boden des hellenistischen Kleinasien,* Berlin, 1996, pp. 10, 55–115, 263–4. From Coşkun, p.78.

[146] Coşkun, p. 90.

[147] Leach, A. "Considering the Baroque", Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 74, No.3, 2015, p. 286.

[148] Agency here, refers not to the individual whose actions are traced in material evidence as an isolated being but the context through which it operates as discussed in; Barrett, J.C. "A Thesis on Agency", *Agency in Archeology,* Dobres, M.-A., Robb, J.E., eds., Routledge, 2000, pp. 61-68.

[149] Onians, p. 134.

position as separate from the “norm”. This Baroque mode of production expressed cultural authority with a clear sense of the appropriation taking place.[150] Utilizing myth and history, Pergamene dynasts established themselves as a dominant political figure through art that sustained throughout centuries. Hellenistic production at a time of transformation and crisis, reflected the establishment of strong ties with the past.[151] As Green states all over the Hellenistic *oikoumene* they; 'looked to the past as the only viable basis from which to face the future.'[152] They constructed an identity that was by no means an imitation of Classical Greece but an conscious appropriation of its vocabulary.

Although the Gigantomachy symbolized a battle, it did not simply present figures of soldiers who were idealized. This was because citizens of Pergamon looking at the relief were not the ones fighting the battles. Using its royal treasury, the Pergamene kingdom funded mercenaries to fight in the battles.[153] At different points in time, these mercenaries had been Galatians. So the main theme was never about the Galatians themselves, it was the concept of the barbarian. This could even have been citizens that defied the rules of civilized living. When prolonged crisis continues for centuries, as it had done in the Hellenistic period, uncertainty caused by constant change of allies and rulers was combated by creating an anti-identity, where in the lack of a fixed idea of one’s identity one can at least be certain who they are not. In such a reading, this reflects the agency of the “other” in othering another. And as Pergamon, a royal capital occupied by people of differing backgrounds, any one viewer could likely have been an “other”.

Within the cosmopolitan setting of a Hellenistic royal capital three modes of forging a collective identity within the community operated. Three methods of establishing a community are categorized by Kosmetatou as founders, wandering figures and

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[150] On the cultural authority of the Hellenistic baroque see; Schultz, p. 330.

[151] An example of this is the emergence of the interest in the heroic past and Homer, which was a “pervasive element in Hellenistic society” which Alcock argues could have not only functioned to universalize the claims of local heroes and practices but also present an origin and identity; Alcock, 32-33. Scheer states that in the Hellenistic period, myth was now “open to new combinations and new emphases: it could be logically ‘thought out further’”; Scheer, T.S., “The Past in a Hellenistic Present: Myth and Local Tradition”, Erskine, A., ed., *A Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Blackwell, 2005, p.231.

[152] Green, p.68.

[153] Onians, p.132.

particular events.[154] The Gigantomachy achieved all three with one story. Attalus I, the first king of Pergamon, travelled to Galatian lands to defeat them in the Battle of Ancyra. This narrative that struck all the chords later utilized sculpture by a means of theatrical persuasion. The story had no need to be recited in public occasions, or forced upon the public by the monarchy, the Gigantomachy was a living monument preaching Pergamene identity. The narrative where the audience feared becoming one of the Giants, or barbarians, reinforced the Hellenic identity in which they could only look up at their rulers to emulate. The Gods in the Gigantomachy were not the civilized citizens, they were the rulers who were in charge of civilizing the citizens. Therefore the cautiously presented narrative provoked fear in the audience both from the standpoint of the Giants and the Gods. The Gigantomachy was a clever way to utilize social imaginary. The notion of social imaginary is described as the "fluidity of meaning provoked by the continually shifting process of appropriation".[155] It was not a static evoking of Hellenic myth nor a direct homage to battles won. Its authenticity came from a recognition of the changing psyche both of the rulers and the citizens. The description of the Baroque as a "hybrid and therefore historically conscious style"[156] defined Pergamene production flawlessly.

Pergamene production of both art and architecture remains exceptionally impressive even today, even in ruins.[157] The thematic dichotomy of the battle between the Gods and the Giants gave the Pergamene empire the necessary vocabulary to promote itself as the champion of Greek civilization. In the 19th century this dichotomy was emulated once more through recognizing its versatile and adaptable narrative. The Franco-Prussian War of 1871 had resulted in German unification. This was only nine short years before the Gigantomachy's arrival in Berlin. The French were a natural descendant of the Gauls, who had immigrated from Gaul, Western Europe. While the Germans, as owners of the Gigantomachy felt intrinsic connection to the Attalids as inheritors of their values. It is a noteworthy coincidence that the monument, also from a monarchy, celebrating a ruler's victory over invading Celts, arrived in Berlin just years after Prussian King Wilhelm I's triumph over Germany's historic Gallic enemy and the founding of the Second

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[154] Kosmetatou, E., "The Attalids of Pergamon", Erskine, A., ed., *A Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Blackwell, 2005, pp. 159-174.

[155] Stavrianopoulou, p.179.

[156] Stewart, 1993, p.133.

[157] Winter, 1984, p. 372.

German Empire.[158] Germany as transmitter of very Hellenistic values was also apparent in the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin recreating the procession of Attalus I for its 100th anniversary.[159] Through vastly different methods and resolutions, the Gigantomachy and the objectives of the Pergamene Kingdom thus found their counterpart in 19th century Germany. The persuasive visual language resonated with the image of an empire in its early years, and it could hardly be considered a coincidence.

To conclude, the aim of this chapter was to demonstrate the extent to which historical binaries can be bent to the will of the reader. The dichotomy of the Classical versus the Baroque reproduced the civilized self versus the barbarian other. Both polarities were highly permeable and often travelled to each other's denoted realms. For the Hellenistic period, identities in flux made it impossible to anchor oneself within the bounds of a single territory and identity. As a result, constructing the opposite, and defining oneself and kingdom as its contrast became a viable means to position oneself within a network of synthesized identities. The borders between the self and other were easily penetrable. Alexander as the conqueror tasked with civilizing the barbarian was formerly the other, whilst Macedonias were considered barbarians. This was because the idea of the barbarian was heavily influenced by the context in which it was located. One could become the barbarian other just as Alexander made the reverse transition to the civilized self. The notion of the barbarian held the power to unite dissimilar peoples under the same category, while it could also be utilized to cement the ties of those who did not belong in this group. What the Pergamene kingdom achieved was a narrative appropriation of a common theme that was not only a powerful rhetorical tool to unite the polis but the Hellenistic *oikoumene.* Hellenistic production became "baroque" as it reflected notions of the cultural authority associated with the Classical through a rhetorical discourse, the other became self through performing an identity in relation to another other and barbarian became an elusive term with each contact. By evoking empathy from its audience the Gigantomachy made the viewer comprehend a form of otherness. And in that moment, the civilized citizen permeated the binary and identified as one of the Giants, if only for a brief moment in time.

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[158] Lionel Gossman, 2006, p. 552.

[159] Bilsel, pp. 109-113.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICS: BELONGING AND INCLUSION

Hellenistic politics are intricately intertwined with elaborate systems, with a substantial portion of these systems being closely related to religion. The approach taken by monarchs to establish their dominance utilized old forms of Hellenic belief, a combination of these with local divinities and a whole new set of divinities, the monarchs themselves. The organization in which rulers could be deified made any segregation in the practice on the basis of gender unnecessary. Both men and women belonging to the royal family could take on divine titles. This meant that the Hellenistic period saw the blurring of the boundaries in both the divine and the mortal as well as men and women.

Obscuring of these dichotomies was observed significantly in religious architecture. In order to understand the complexities that give way to a myriad of different spatial experiences of Hellenistic temple precincts, it is necessary to comprehend the embedded political implications of Hellenistic religion. This immensely public sphere, often commissioned by the members of the ruling family, was the setting in which both patron and citizen could perform their identities. Traditional religious obligations merged with newly constructed identities created the particular sphere to practice cultural heteronomy. These areas where communal control could be exercised by the rulers is argued in the first sub-chapter to be highly tied with dynasties' link with divinities, which is a particularly mutualist relationship in the Hellenistic period. The reciprocal relationship between the *polis* and the ruler on the basis of religion and politics serves as a fundamental impetus for understanding the spatial production of Hellenistic temples.

Gender, on the other hand, witnessed a significant shift in the Hellenistic period. Royal houses demonstrated to the larger population that power knew no gender segregation. Kingdoms could be ruled by women and would see no objections. This would have most likely translated into the daily lives of citizens as the

Hellenistic period witnessed an increase of women's autonomy, education and mobility. The second sub-chapter traces the perception of women's place in Hellenistic kingdoms from royal women to priestesses. As the multitude of women's experiences across a vast geography throughout centuries could not be handled in a way that would generalize a common tendency to the approach towards women or women's perception of the world, the two specified groups with the most documented lives available to us today will ground any hypothesis regarding women's lives in the Hellenistic period. The evolving dynamics of gender roles in the Hellenistic era, especially the prominence of women in royal and religious contexts, will be explored in this section, shedding light on how these changes permeated the broader society and influenced women's place in the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.

This chapter will be used to ground the sanctuaries of Demeter which are at the intersection of religion, politics and gender. It will not only prove useful in understanding the agency of Apollonis in commissioning the refurbishment of the *temenos* at Pergamon, but create the setting through which to perceive the experiences of women attending the festival to be discussed in the following sections.

3.1. Religion and Politics

> *…"[T]he ancient" is that situation in which religion is not one system of culture coexisting among many others, but occupies the central position and plays a unique role—informing, inflecting, integrating, stabilizing, even at times controlling and determining all others.*[160]

Religion constituted an integral facet of virtually all aspects of ancient Greek society. Nevertheless, preceding the advent of the Hellenistic era, the domains of politics and religion were meticulously delineated. Aristotle, in his treatise *Politics*, notably segregated religion from the realm of politics, a perspective that was likely

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[160] Lincoln, B., "Epilogue", ed., Johnston, S.I., *Ancient Religions,* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, p. 241. Also stated by Ogden as: "…there was no sphere of life (or death) in ancient Greece that was wholly separate or separable from the religious: the family, politics, warfare, sport, knowledge…", Ogden, D., "Introduction", ed., Ogden, D., *A Companion to Greek Religion*, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p.1.

shared in his teaching of Alexander.[161] However, during the tumultuous era of the *diadochi*, religion underwent a profound transformation and assumed a position alongside politics. The Hellenistic period ushered in a distinctive struggle as numerous self-proclaimed monarchs vied for supremacy and sought to solidify their political authority through deeply entrenched religious connections. Throughout this epoch, the pursuit of power among these rulers necessitated the intertwining of politics and religion because for the Hellenistic rulers, the two realms were inseparable. As astutely noted by Hedric, "religion is society's worship of itself".[162] Consequently, the prevailing religious practices often revolved around the veneration of rulers, as society was inextricably influenced by their actions, found itself drawn to the worship of these monarchs who had such a profound impact on its very essence.

The tradition of attributing divine qualities to a ruler, a practice notably exemplified in the case of Alexander, served as a compelling template that resonated with subsequent Hellenistic dynasties. However, it is noteworthy that prior to Alexander's ascendance, it was his father, King Philip II, who is reputed to have taken a momentous step by having his own image prominently displayed among the revered Twelve Olympian deities. The event narrated by Diodorus went as

> Along with lavish display of every sort, Philip included in the procession statues of the twelve gods wrought with great artistry and adorned with a dazzling show of wealth to strike awe in the beholder, and along with these was conducted a thirteenth statue, suitable for a god, that of Philip himself, so that the king exhibited himself enthroned among the twelve gods.[163]

This act presented an ambitious break with Hellenic tradition through the use of sculptural narration.[164] Although religion was an integral part of every aspect of Greek life, deified rulers, or a ruler placed on par with the Olympians was not conceivable within the *polis* of Hellenic culture of prior centuries. Carney comments on the general public opinion of the fifth and easy fourth centuries stating that "monarchy seemed like an outmoded institution, perpetuated largely by

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[161] Hedrick, C.W. Jr., "Religion and Society in Classical Greece", ed., Ogden, D., *A Companion to Greek Religion,* Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 287.

[162] Ibid., p. 285.

[163] Diodorus Siculus*,* 16.92.5.

[164] Cherry, p. 305.

barbarians."[165] The notion of a deified monarch was a departure from the traditional conceptions within Classical Hellenic thought, a concept that would have been met with skepticism and resistance. It is essential to recognize that while Macedonia underwent a process of Hellenization over the centuries, it remained distinct from the Greek city-states. Alexander, who had received a comprehensive education in Greek philosophy under the tutelage of Aristotle, exhibited a nuanced understanding of Greek thought but he was also observant of the changing political climate. Consequently, the governance structures established in the lands he conquered did not espouse the democratic ideals of Athens, which he championed rhetorically, but rather, they bore resemblance to the Persian administrative systems from which these regions had been "liberated".[166] This paradigm shift engendered a distinctive fusion of religion and politics, where these domains were interwoven to mutually reinforce each other's authority.

An essential determinant of the viability of this system rested upon the populace's imperative need for the security and stability proffered by the monarch. Amidst a backdrop of rapid and frequent transformations, the reliance upon the ruling royal house emerged as the sole projection of assurance and safety. Ascribing divine attributes to these monarchs served as a means of reinforcing the belief that the protection they afforded was immutable and enduring. Religion as a way to secure the safety of a *polis* manifested in the deification or dedication of divine honors to kings in the Hellenistic period. The processional song of the Athenians for Demetrios, reflected the reasons behind such a practice in its chorus: "For the other gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or do not take any notice of us, but you we can see present here; you are not made of wood or stone, you are real."[167]

Deified kings, unlike the great heroes of the past or the kings worshipped after death, were expected to offer their protective services during their lifetime. And offering the honor to a king was not only a means of appreciating the service done,

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[165] Carney, E. "'What's in a Name?': The Emergence of a Title for Royal Women in the Hellenistic Period", ed., Pomeroy, S., *Women's History and Ancient History*, Chapel Hill, 1991, p. 161.

[166] Green, p.56.

[167] Processional song by the Athenians upon King Demetrios Poliorketes' return to Athens from Kerkyra in 291. Chaniotis, A., "Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers", ed., Erskine, A., *A Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Blackwell, 2005, p.431.

as in the case of the Athenian's to Demetrios, but as a way of securing protection within the tumultuous Hellenistic period. This action epitomized a manifestation of both gratitude and anticipation.[168] Divine honors given to ruling monarchs was such an integral part of their identity that they were manifested in epithets. The epithet *Soter,* meaning savior was given to Antiochus I, Seleucus III, Demetrius I and Demetrius III of the Seleucids as well as Ptolemy I and Ptolemy IX of the Ptolemies. This not only meant that they saved the people who had given them the epithet but were, in return, expected to offer their services in the future.

Chaniotis classifies the emergence of deified rulers into three distinct categories: the establishment of a cult by a city-state, the posthumous deification of a deceased ruler by the royal administration, and the initiation of a cult by a reigning monarch.[169] All these forms of relationships linking the ruler to divinity were reflections of the idea that during these uncertain times, rulers showed themselves more helpful than the gods themselves whose aids were not as nearly as tangible.[170] For the majority of local populations residing within ever-shifting borders, the specific identity of the ruler held less significance. These local populations exhibited minimal concern for the identity of their distant rulers, often located hundreds of miles away; their primary desire was to enjoy the freedom to lead their lives without undue interference.[171] What mattered the most was the protection these rulers provided, thereby elevating the agency of the city-state in cultivating a religious connection with the monarch. Conversely, city-states sought to influence and leverage the rulers to secure privileges and favors, while rulers aimed to align themselves with their perceived divine image.[172] This mutual dynamic served as a fertile ground for the assertion of the agency of the polis and the performed identity of the monarch.

Hellenistic religion transcended the mere deification of rulers; it encompassed a multifaceted fusion of religious and political elements, resulting in the emergence of distinct branches within this intricate tapestry. Hellenistic religion consisted of a

[168] Ibid., p. 440.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Green, p. 61.

[171] Green, p. 68.

[172] Billows, R., "Cities", ed., Erskine, A., *A Companion to the Hellenistic World,* Blackwell, 2005, p. 213.

unique combination of Hellenic divinities, ruler cults and the hybrid religions that were a result of the combination of previous deities (*interpretatio*).[173] All three were utilized by Hellenistic kingdoms to different ends; Hellenic divinities were used as a means of grounding the present in a mythic past, ruler cults functioned as a continuation of Alexander's example by establishing the persona of the kings as larger than life, and "translation" worked as a means of consolidation of local divinities with the Olympians.[174] Each of these components deserves further elaboration to anchor any discourse on Hellenistic religious practices.

The first facet of Hellenistic religion to examine is that of the Hellenic divinities. Although the practice of worshiping Hellenic divinities might suggest a dogmatic continuation with the past, it was deeply embedded in contemporary politics. To avoid making sweeping generalizations, a particular example to demonstrate the relationship between a Hellenic divinity and Hellenistic monarch is chosen, namely, the Temple of Apollo at Didyma and its Seleucid patronage. The preference for this temple is hardly arbitrary. The sanctuary is regarded by Lehmann as the "greatest single building of the Hellenistic age"[175] and for the significant portion of its construction was not Seleucid territory. The oracular centre offers an example to discuss this complex relationship between rulers, cults and the *polis*.

Seleucids are noted to be the largest of all Hellenistic kingdoms, but such a great title is transient like everything else in the Hellenistic period. Still, the size of the kingdom is an indication of the necessity to adopt alternative strategies of utilizing religion. With its centre of power located in today's Syria, Seleucid effect on any of the cities it conquered in the Mediterranean needed to rest on unorthodox modes of influence. The kingdom with its vast scope needed to promote its impact through methods beyond battles won, so as not to become "victims of the sheer dimensions of the area they governed".[176] A particular means of asserting presence when its seat of power rested half way across the globe was the implementation of an of an oracular shrine. Seleucus I Nicator's drive to insert his influence upon

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[173] This religious syncretism according to Droysen defined the Hellenistic centuries to be in "an increasingly strident cry for a redeemer" which gave way to monotheism. Bosworth, 10, footnote 5.

[174] Chaniotis, 2005, pp.431-445.

[175] Lehmann, p. 17.

[176] Heinen, pp. 421-422.

coastal Ionia under the control of Demetrios, by aiding in the building of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma stands as testimony to the power of architectural production within the times of uncertainty during the Hellenistic period.[177] Military achievements and armed conflict were not the only means of active Hellenistic politics, in fact they led to short-term victories as in the case of the Antigonids, who would soon lose control of the area to Lysimachus. However, Seleucus's relationship with the Temple of Apollo at Didyma had long been established before his own kingdom. As a young soldier following Alexander, his consultation with the oracle might have been an important factor in his political career aiming towards the east after the prophecy; "Haste not to Europe, Asia is far better for you."[178] As Parke in his extensive research on the Temples of Apollo in Asia Minor states, this relationship between the Milesians and the Seleucids worked both ways as the former's compliments in addressing the king in high honors gained them support and the latter could utilize the prophecies benefiting him to encourage his troops.[179] In turn this beneficial relationship transcended beyond the reign of a single ruler.

After Seleucus I Nicator (312/5-281 BC) began work at the temple, his successor Antiochus I Soter (281-261 BC) continued benefactions to the shrine while Lysimachus was ruling the region. Afterwards, his successor Antiochus II Theos (261-246 BC) regained the control of the region and received the epithet *Theos*, (meaning god) from the Milesians.[180] And in this generational relationship, his successor Seleucus II Callinicus (246-226 BC), granted *asylia* to the Milesians.[181]

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[177] Parke, H.W., *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor,* Croom Helm, 1985, pp. 44-68.

[178] Parke, p.44. Seleucus's return to Europe in 281BC being followed by his assassination also stands as a peculiar case.

[179] Parke, p. 46. As loyalty to a king meant political advantage for a *polis*, with the constant changing of the boundaries of administration of Hellenistic kingdoms, it also meant disloyalty to other kings. In the case of the Milesians, this brought with it heavy punishment by Lysimachus when he resumed power. Parke, p. 56.

[180] Appian, *The Syrian Wars*, ed., White, H., *The Foreign Wars,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1899, 11.65.

[181] The *poleis* which were recipients of inviolability in Western Asia Minor are; Smyrna, Miletus, Magnesia on the Meander, Alabanda, Amyzon, Xanthus, Cyzicus, Colophon, Pergamon, Ephesos, Nysa, Mylasa, Tralles, Stratoniceia, Stratoniceia, Sardis, Hieracome, Nicomedia, Nicaea, Aezani, Perge. While the abundance of granted *asylia* make Miletus far from exceptional, it does reflect the tendency to utilize religion for protection on the part of rulers. For further reading; Rigsby, K.J., *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, University of California Press, 1996.

This intricate relationship between a monarch and a cult center proved a clear instance of a religious establishment whose holiness could sanctify the boundaries of the city.[182] This mutual relationship between a noble family and an oracular centre transcending several reigns became a mutually beneficial contact where the initiation of the construction of the temple by Seleucus, Antiochus's continuation of his father's work, Antiochus II Theos's receiving of the epithet *theos* from the Milesians and Seleucus II's granting of *asylia* to Miletus manifested the reciprocal relationship between religion and politics within which the temple stands at the intersection.

The reason why the Seleucids devoted time and attention that transcended generations to the construction of the shrine was twofold. Firstly, there was a prominent claim of descent from Apollo.[183] Through this, the Seleucids could claim to be a natural ruler to peoples who were loyal to the guidance and prophecies of Apollo. This transfer of rights to Apollo's descendants would only be expected. Secondly, the Archaic temple previously located where the Hellenistic temple was built meant that a Hellenic tradition could be redeemed, one that was destroyed by the Persian other. A previous Temple of Apollo was robbed and burned to the ground by the Achaemenids after the revolt and capture of Miletus in 494 B.C.[184] The destruction also involved an incident where the cult image was carried off to Ecbatana, but was later brought back to Didyma by Seleucus I.[185] For the Seleucids, their role in restoring a temple to Apollo at the site on which the former was destroyed by the Persians, must have arguably offered them a perception as a redeemer. The descendants of Apollo saving the cult image and re-establishing the oracular shrine reinforced their prestige and solidified their connection to the divine. This in turn, secured Miletian loyalty in Seleucid rule even when it was ruled by another kingdom.

The second facet of Hellenistic religion were ruler cults. The Seleucid claim of descent from Apollo was certainly not an isolated case and the ruler cults established often created an intrinsic connection to an existing deity. Even the

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[182] Parke, p.61. Dr. Günther suggests the declaration of *asylia* was organized by Seleucus II.

[183] On Seleucids' claim of descent from Apollo; Parke, p. 59, Chaniotis, 2005, p. 432.

[184] Smith, W., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1854, *Branchidae*.

[185] Pollitt, p.236.

attribution of divine characteristics to Alexander was partially rooted in the narrative of his ancestry linking him to Zeus.[186] The Ptolemies were a particularly effective dynasty in establishing their reign through religious foundations. They emulated the example of Alexander, and Phillip before him, to form a connection with Hellenic myth. Their claim of descent was from Herakles and Dionysus.[187] While the former connected the dynasty to Alexander through the patronage of Zeus, the latter could find a counterpart in the Egyptian Pantheon as Osiris. The Ptolemaic effort to link the dynasty with Alexander manifested most prominently in Ptolemy I Soter's hijacking of Alexander body after his death in Babylon.[188] Bringing Alexander's body to Alexandria promoted the belief that even in death the Ptolemies were inseparable from Alexander, making their rule a natural continuation. Ptolemy I was also the first of the *diadochi* to have Alexander's portrait on a coin, likely around the same time as his abduction of the body.[189] The silver coin minted featured an elephant-scalp headdress signaling how Ptolemies fought alongside Alexander during his victory over Porus in India and the horns of Ammon, the Egyptian god syncretized by its Hellenic counterpart Zeus (Figure 6).[190] Through this convergence

Figure 6: Tetradrachm, showing the head of Alexander with the horn of Zeus Ammon. Alexandria, Egypt 314 BC. (Cherry, p.308, fig.8.4)

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[186] Chaniotis, 2005, p. 434-435.

[187] Chaniotis, 2005, pp. 435-434.

[188] Erskine, A. "Life After Death: Alexandria and the Body of Alexander", *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 49, No.2, October 2002, pp. 163-179.

[189] Morkholm, O., *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-186BC),* Cambridge, 1991, pp. 63-4.

[190] Cherry, pp. 308-309.

of divine lineage, religious symbolism, and strategic actions, the Ptolemies constructed their rule as a innate continuation of Alexander's.

Continuation of Alexander's legacy also came with an acquired divinity. To orchestrate this, the Ptolemies ignored Alexander's request which was to be buried at the Temple of Zeus Ammon in the Siwa oasis in Northern Africa upon death, where he was recognized as the son of Ammon.[191] This would strengthen his divine status and his claim of descent from Zeus. But Ptolemy had a different idea. By placing the body of Alexander in the *Sema*, in the center of Alexandria, and burying generations of Ptolemaic dynasts with it, the divine status acquired by Alexander through Ammon, transferred to this particular monarchy.[192] It was also Ptolemy I's establishment of a cult of a ruler, a practice they could emulate. Recognizing that during this time there were several monarchs who claimed to be rightful owners of Alexander's legacy, the Ptolemaic kingdom based and secured itself within Egyptian territory through means of religion. After such vigorous religious propaganda in the political sphere, Ptolemaic lands became the setting where the two operated inextricably. Clement of Alexandria (150-250 AD) wrote centuries later: "All temples are basically monuments to ancestors and are the tombs of men and women who have been deified and are now worshipped."[193]

Attributing divine status to Ptolemaic monarchs provided them with a status that would not diminish with the changing of borders. Within the palimpsest of religious systems that operated in Ptolemaic Egypt, the ruler cult reproduced the "Pharaonic system". It merged politics with religion so inextricably that the power of the dynast's ancestors was veneered in the same light as divine authority, creating a seamless fusion of earthly rule and celestial endorsement. This fusion of divine and mortal operated within a setting where Greek and Egyptian divinities merged. The influence of existing Egyptian divinities on the Hellenic pantheon during the Hellenistic period, as Noegel aptly argues, seems to have been more significant

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[191] Diodorus Siculus, 18.3.4. and Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander*, translated by John Yardley (London: Penguin Classics, 2001, 10. 5.4. in Erskine. Also; Quintus Curtius Rufus, 4.7.25. In O'Connor, L., "The Remains of Alexander the Great: The God, The King, The Symbol", *Constructing the Past*, Vol. 10, Issue 1, 2009, p.35.

[192] Strabo 17.1.8.; Erskine, p. 177.

[193] Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, 3.39, 4.49 (?)

than the reciprocal impact of Hellenism on Egyptian religious traditions. [194] Herodotus comments on the subject prior to the Hellenistic practices fusing the systems together in syncretism: “In fact, the names of nearly all the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am convinced by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt.”[195]

The impact of Egyptian gods on Hellenistic religion can also be traced in the assimilation of the cult of Demeter with the cult of Isis. This brings us to the third and final faced of Hellenistic religion which is syncretic belief systems that emerged from the amalgamation of preexisting deities. The stronghold existing deities held over Egypt was recognized by Alexander. As he was laying out the city plans he especially recognized the significance of Isis and consequently allocated a space for her dedicated temple while assigning temples for the Greek gods.[196] The conjunction of Isis with Demeter was a process of fermentation based on the similar perceptions of both. Similar to how the Ptolemies utilized paternal gods to establish their own ruler cults, women in Hellenistic Egypt played a crucial part in forming the union between Demeter and Isis.[197] And Isis, closely linked to the monarchy through her identity as the mother of Horus, the deity most strongly associated with the pharaoh in the Old Kingdom made any synthesis with her and a Hellenic deity inevitably beneficial to the Hellenistic Kingdom.

There are several theories as to how the two realms merged into one. One approach is that the native rural community's understanding of Demeter as analogous to their local deity Isis was a way for the wider population to accept foreign religious systems.[198] Recognizing that both deities were associated with agriculture, cultural differences could easily be put aside by people whose main

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[194] Noegel, p.31.

[195] Herodotus, 2.50.1.

[196] Flavii Arriani Anabasis Alexandri, *Arrian,* Roos, A.G., B. G. Teubneri, Leipzig, 1907, 3.1.5.

[197] Pachis, P., ’‘Manufacturing Religion’ in the Hellenistic Age: The Case of Isis-Demeter Cult’, eds., Martin, L.H., Pachis, P., *Hellenisation, Empire and Globalisation: Lessons from Antiquity. Acts of the Panel Held during the 3rd Congress of the European Association for the Study of Religion*, Bergen, Norway, 8-10 May 2003, Thessaloniki, p.168.

[198] Perpilou-Thomas, Fr., “Fetes d'Egypte Ptolémaque et romaine d’aprés la documentation papylologique Grecque”, *Studia Helllenistica*, 3, 1, Louvain, 1993, p. 81. And Herrmann, Jr., J.J., "Demeter-Isis or the Egyptian Demeter?," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 114,* 1999*.* In Pachis, p.169.

concern was to sustain their land and gather their crop. However, this approach accepts that the outside intrusion that was Hellenic religion was applied to local belief systems. Another is, in line with his comments on the affect of Egypt in Hellenic religion, Herodotus's claim that Demeter, as well as her rites originated from the worship of Isis stating

> Let me preserve a discreet silence, too, concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, except as much of it as I am not forbidden to mention. The daughters of Danaus were those who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of the Peloponnese were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians, the Peloponnesian people which was not driven out but left in its home.[199]

The account narrates the transformation of Isis to Demeter through an Egyptian deity's influence on a Hellenic one, not the appropriation of Greek systems into an Egyptian goddess. This does not mean to say Demeter did not have an influence on the Egyptian deity. The transfer of agricultural aspects to Isis's cult is argued to have taken place during the Hellenistic period.[200] According to Tobin, the motherhood and immortality inducing features of Isis were political symbols, associated strongly with Horus, but Demeter was not perceived to hold any political significance within the Hellenic pantheon.[201] An inscription bearing the narration of Isis herself reads: "I am Isis.. I am she who is called Thesmophoros"[202] bearing the epithet of Demeter meaning 'the bringer of laws'. As the following chapter on the myth of Demeter will demonstrate, Demeter was recognized to hold significant space within the political sphere through civilizing aspects of her rites and the role agriculture had on sustaining the *polis.* Hence, assuming the political aspects of the syncretism were recognized by the Ptolemies, the larger public and the women partaking in her rites is reasonable. Making the inference that both deities were highly involved within the political sphere becomes inevitable when observing the dynastic approach to their unification.

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[199] Herodotus, 2.171.2-2.171.3.

[200] Solmsen, F., *Isis among the Greeks and Romans*, Harvard University Press, 1979, p.121, f.19.

[201] Tobin, V.A., "Isis and Demeter: Symbols of Divine Motherhood", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 1991, Vol. 28, 1991, pp. 187-200.

[202] Burstein, S., *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Cleopatra VII*, New York, 1985, 146-148. no. 112, Die Inschriften von Kyme 41. In Fantham, p. 155.

The unification of the two created the balance of Hellenic systems with which the monarchy wanted to operate on and local values reinforced through a Pharaonic structure throughout centuries. The new monarchs did not strive to implement a completely new structure because the previous one that merged rulers with divine powers was an advantageous one. Demeter's cult on the other hand, was heavily promoted by the Ptolemies.[203] This began with the extensive efforts of Arsinoe II, who through introducing Egypt with the deity also associated herself with her.[204] Arsinoe II was a prominent example in incorporating existing belief as a means of acquiring divine status. Architectural testimony of her ambitions can be recognized through the temple she shared with Aphrodite in Cape Zephyrion and her sanctuary with, Serapis and Isis in Halicarnassus.[205] Apart from these forms of amalgamations, she also acquired divine status as an unaccompanied deity as seen in her altars in Cyprus.[206] The following queen, Berenice II followed in Arsinoe's footsteps and continued Demeters's worship but more importantly, presented the Hellenized form of Isis's cult for the first time.[207] The tradition of women rulers's association with the cult of Demeter-Isis endured for generations and this amalgamation even led to the cult of Isis being accepted within predominantly Greek geographies.[208]

The syncretism of the Hellenic Demeter and Egyptian Isis thus reflected a particularly adaptable nature of religion in the period. During a time when the limits

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[203] Constantinou, M., *Demeter in Hellenistic Poetry: Religion and Poetics,* Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to Classics Department School of History, Classics and Archaeology The University of Edinburgh, 2014, p. 7ff.

[204] Pachis, p. 171., Turner, A.E., "Ptolemaic Egypt", Walbank, F.W., Astin, A.E., Frederiksen, M.W., Ogilvie, R.M., eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History: Second Edition, Volume VII, Part I: Hellenistic World,* Cambridge University Press, 1984, p.168.

[205] Chaniotis, 2005, p. 442.

[206] Nicolaou, I., "Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae XXXII", *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1992, pp. 223-32. Anastassiades, A. "Aspects of a specific cult in Cyprus", *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1998, pp. 129-40., In Chaniotis, 2005, p. 442.

[207] Pantos, P.A., "Berenike II Demeter", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique,* 1987, pp. 345-346. For the association of later Ptolemaic queens with Isis see; Heyob, Heyob, S. K., *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World,* Leiden, 1975, pp. 20-21, f. 119.

[208] Delos, where the cult of Demeter was widely popular, made Isis a prominent figure in their religious system. Pachis, p.179.

of society, tradition and geography were persistently contested, cultural differences of divinities did not hinder a synchronous use. In a similar manner, the fact that someone was born a mortal did not prevent them from attaining divine attributes. A connection between a ruler and divinity did not even have to take place within the bounds of the monarch's own land. The temple served as the nexus where these dichotomies found reconciliation, ultimately intertwining religion and politics into a unified entity. As Hollinshead rightfully argued: "The distinction between sacred and secular existed, but within and around sanctuaries categorizing the nature of activities is often arbitrary and disregards the variety of meanings attached to ancient practices."[209] This suggests that while the boundary between sacred and secular may have been acknowledged, it was frequently blurred by the strategic manipulation of religion by ruling powers. Monarchs of this era adeptly harnessed the power of religion to solidify their dominion, effectively erasing the conventional demarcations between the terrestrial and the celestial, as well as between domains of men and women.

3.2. Gender Politics

The Hellenistic period stands as the only period in the history of ancient Greece and Rome defined by the rule of a woman.[210] The last dynasty of the *diadochi* to fall was the Ptolemies, and Cleopatra VII was its final ruler. During the time of the Ptolemaic Kingdom's demise, Cleopatra was more than a queen consort; she was the sole ruler of Egypt.[211] Even when she ruled with a partner, her agency surpassing the king's will has always been under consideration. Cleopatra VII married her 10-year-old brother Ptolemy XIII and later her 12-year-old brother Ptolemy XIV, effectively setting the groundwork for much of the claims of her ruling the kingdom.[212] As she stands at the end of the Hellenistic period, she offers a convincing case for the accumulation of the changes that took place during the era concerning women's role in society. Acceptance of a deified woman ruler by the entire kingdom was a result of centuries of increase in women's agency and could

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[209] Hollinshead, M.B., Shaping Ceremony: Monumental Steps and Greek Architecture, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2015, p.24.

[210] Fantham begins his chapter with this anecdote that is strikingly evident. Fantham, p.136.

[211] Blundell, p. 189.

[212] Pomeroy, S.B. "Hellenistic Women", *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity,* Schocken Books, New York,1976, p. 124.

not have happened without the women rulers before her. This became possible with Ptolemaic queens being deified and held in the same respect as the kings. The tradition began with the first Ptolemaic ruler, Ptolemy I, being declared a god with his wife, Berenice I.[213] Setting their kingdom as ruled by two deified monarchs who were often siblings as well, the Ptolemies recreated a practice observed in the Olympians, namely Zeus and Hera. The narrowing of differences in entitlement based on gender resulted from a political structure prioritizing power in the monarchy's stronghold. In this system, marrying inside the family ensured the acquired deified status and political advantages would be recycled with each generation. Family members born to rule and worshipped when they did could just as easily have been women as they could be men. The earthly and terrestrial power they held gave them authority and agency, not their gender. Women's bearing presence in Ptolemaic Egypt and the status Cleopatra VII acquired by the end of the Hellenistic period was signaled in the era's early beginnings.

Women of royal families were afforded a vital role as they secured bonds between royal houses. A key aspect of royal marriages was that they legitimized power, which was not always hereditary.[214] Amidst the perpetual flux of territorial boundaries and the proliferation of contested land claims, the men ruling found themselves compelled to seek stability and security through the strategic institution of marriage. Positioning women within a political agenda was even practiced by Alexander when he married Roxana and Stateira, daughters of the ruler of the Achaemenid Empire, Darius III, and the daughter of the previous Achaemenid king Parysatis II.[215] Even though narratives of Alexander's life presented him as a triumphant conqueror, alliances like these afforded him a security the battlefield could seldom sustain. Even Alexander was not immune to marriages being political contracts securing claims of rule, nor would he have been a stranger to the power a woman could exert on the political sphere as he was the son of Olympias. It is evident that Olympias, as the mother of Alexander the Great, wielded substantial political influence and nurtured her son's ambitions. A look into Plutarch's history of Alexander reveals Olympias sending her son to his expedition with a clear directive

[213] Chaniotis, 2005, p. 436.

[214] Carney, p.155.

[215] About the Susa weddings; Arrian, *Anabasis,* 7.4.4.-7.4.7, Plutarch, *Alexander,* 70.2., Diodorus Siculus, *Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes,* trans., Oldfather, C. H., Vol. 4-8. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd. 1989, 17.107.6.

to “have purposes worthy of his birth”.[216] Her strength and astuteness transcended traditional gender roles, allowing her to participate in the complex world of ancient politics actively. She was chosen to preside over the court of Macedonia as Alexander was engaged in military campaigns.[217] Although the scope of her agency was nowhere near Cleopatra’s at the end of the Hellenistic period, her strong presence in history was later emulated and amplified by women rulers.

The political role of marriages in the Hellenistic period can also be demonstrated in the union of Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II, with Antiochus II. Berenice traveled to the Seleucid kingdom to marry as a way to secure political bonds between kingdoms while expecting to be the primary partner of Antiochus II and assure her children’s ascension to the throne.[218] However, Antiochus exhibited a clear preference for his former spouse, from whom he had separated, to espouse Berenice, and this marital discord culminated in a vengeful act on the part of Berenice, resulting in the monarch's demise.[219] This inability to honor the agreement led to a chain of events resulting in the Third Syrian War. Hence, marriage served not only as a means to consolidate alliances but also presented a perilous undertaking fraught with potential complications and risks. The Ptolemies were well-versed in this and for generations, decided to marry each other to overcome any unnecessary transfer of power.

Recognizing the gravity marriage held for the security of a kingdom, the Ptolemies ensured that the power remained in the hands of their royal house through the common practice of marrying their siblings. This practice inevitably led to the accumulation of power among the women members of the dynasty. Arsinoe II, a full sibling of Ptolemy II, is considered even more powerful than her husband,[220] whereas Cleopatra VII’s impact on history is needless to discuss here at length. A noteworthy inference by Pomeroy is that the agency these women exerted was not only recognized by other aristocratic women but also emulated by the larger

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[216] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 3.2.

[217] Pomeroy, 1976, p. 122.

[218] Ibid., p. 124.

[219] Bevan, E. R., "Seleucid Dynasty”, ed., Chisholm, H., *Encyclopædia Britannica,* Vol. 24, 11th ed., Cambridge University Press, 1911, p. 604.

[220] She was the first Ptolemaic queen to be deified in her lifetime. Fraser, P. M., *Ptolemaic Alexandria I-III*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972, p. 217.

population. Queenship did not constitute isolated occurrences where women led lives distinct from earlier generations but instead represented one facet of the broader transformation in women's agency within Hellenic society. Whether they were the token examples that the wider public emulated, as Pomeroy suggested or a reflection of the *zeitgeist* shaping the experiences of all women is difficult to ascertain but shall be discussed.

There was a shift in how women were perceived in the Hellenistic period. If we consider Aristotle's intellectual influence as a contributing factor in the development of the Hellenistic worldview, particularly through his teachings to Alexander, it becomes evident that the perception of women during the 4th century may not necessarily align with the evolving perspectives of the Hellenistic era. He considered women as naturally inferior to men and by necessity, ought to be under men's control.[221] However, a notable shift occurred during the Hellenistic period, marking a significant departure from previous norms. For the first time in Greek history, a conscious recognition of the presence and agency of women emerged.[222] This shift marked a departure from the traditional subordination of women, reflecting changing societal dynamics and a more nuanced acknowledgment of the roles and contributions of women within the Hellenistic society.

Royal women did contribute to this change of conception. In transitioning authority from an individual or a select group of men, as was characteristic of the democratic structure within the *polis*, to a dynasty structure, every member of that family, including women, assumed a significant role in influencing the perception and reputation of the monarchy. Elevating women of the ruling class was a readily available way of promoting the dynasty.[223] One such significant way was to honor women by naming entire cities after them. The establishment of new cities was a prevalent practice among Hellenistic dynasts. Among the notable endeavors, the Seleucids alone founded over a hundred cities, and the gravity exerted by the women members of the dynasty is exemplified by the nomenclature such as Laodikeia for Laodike, Apameia for Apame, and Stratonikeia for Stratonike, to name

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[221] Aristotle, *Politics, Aristotle in 23 Volumes, Vol. 21*, trans., Rackham. H., Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1944,1254b.

[222] Cantarella, E., *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity,* trans., Fant, M. B., The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, London, 1987, p. 98.

[223] Carney, p.160.

but a few illustrative instances.[224] However, the conceptualization of power led to isolating the royal family from broader societal contexts.[225] Simply put, their values and way of living were not the norm, nor were their view towards women. Although royal women of the Seleucids were not regarded along the lines of divinity like the Ptolemies, they were certainly not perceived the same as the larger population of women. However, their presence within the public sphere inevitably reflected a change in mindset unavoidably perceived by the entire population.
In the Hellenistic period, the narrative shifted from men, whose decisions and performances in battle affected the lives of all members of society to rulers, who could just as easily have been women controlling the lives of all their subjects. Because of ruling women, there was now a significant case for the narrowing of entitlement based on gender.[226] This translated to the daily practices of the larger population. Living in a city named after a woman was one significant aspect. Like Athena, having a city named after her, there was undoubtedly a supernatural aspect to these women. But being perceived along the same lines as the ruling men who emulated Alexander himself, these queens were living proof of the high honors and respect a woman could receive. They could exercise their agency through acts of benevolence, much like the men in positions of authority, and similarly make their presence felt by incorporating religion into the political sphere.

Two significant examples within Hellenistic Western Asia Minor are the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon, refurbished by Apollonis, and the temple of Artemis in Sardis, by Stratonike. Apollonis was the wife of Attalus I, the first king of Pergamon. Additionally, Strabo mentions a city named after her, which, within the context of the discussion in this paragraph, is noteworthy for its location equidistant between Pergamon and Sardis.[227] Although Apollonis was not responsible for founding the sanctuary of Demeter, her substantial additions made it into one of the most monumental religious settings not only in Pergamon but within the wider Hellenistic *oikoumene.*[228] According to Zanon, she was responsible for expanding the size of

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[224] Cohen, G., *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, Berkeley, 1995., Billows, pp. 198-199.

[225] Carney, p. 161.

[226] Pomeroy, 1976, p.125.

[227] Strabo, 13.4.4.

[228] Apollonis's spatial contributions and their impact will be discussed further in the chapter: Demeter's Sanctuaries in Hellenistic Western Asia Minor.

the cult terrace more than three times, while an inscription found on the *propylon* also credited her with the addition of stoas and rooms.[229] Arguably, the most remarkable aspect of Apollonis's endeavor was the construction of a retaining wall, a feat of engineering that supplied essential structural support to the entire precinct. The significance lies in the fact that she, the wife of the founding king, spearheaded these initiatives. Not only did she provide the goddess of civilization with a place of worship within the city, effectively civilizing the entire kingdom, but she also established a communal space facilitating the development of a shared collective identity among women. In a kingdom that was acutely self-aware of its perceived image, a woman ruler commissioning the refurbishing of a goddess's temple where the women of the kingdom could form bonds can hardly be perceived as the outcome of duty or obligation. Apollonis's exercise of her agency was likely a deliberate act of service for women by a woman, considering she most likely attended the festivals among the women members of the community.[230] There was undoubtedly a significant paradigm shift in the Attalids from the earlier precinct dedicated to Boa by her sons Philetairos and Eumenes to Apollonis, dedicating the *temenos* directly to the gods.

While the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon has irrefutable evidence for the patronage of Apollonis in the form of an inscription, the temple of Artemis at Sardis by Stratonike has a contested sponsorship. Stratonike was the wife of Seleucus I Nicator and also his son Antiochus I Soter. Similar to the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon, the site of the temple of Artemis at Sardis had long been regarded as sacred prior to any Hellenistic construction. Hellenistic work is argued to have begun in 281 BC, after the battle of Corupedium, which gave Seleucus access to Western Anatolia.[231] Following the same trajectory they did with the temple of Apollo at Didyma, the Seleucids promoted the revival of ancient religious traditions

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[229] Zanon, pp. 85ff.

[230] Zanon argues that the rooms on the West stoa were reserved for the queen. Zanon, p. 112.

[231] Yegül, F. K., "The Temple of Artemis", Berlin and Kosmin, 2019, pp. 132-138.; Yegül, F. K., "The Temple of Artemis at Sardis", ed., Schulz, T., *Dipteros und Pseudodipteros: Bauhistorische und Archaeologische Forschungen, Byzas* 12, Vienna, 2012, pp. 95-105.; Yegül, F. K., "Sardeis Artemis Tapınağı / The Temple of Artemis at Sardis", ed., Cahill, N.D., *Lidyalılar ve Dünyaları /The Lydians and Their World*, Yapı Kredi, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 372-373.; Cahill, N. D., "Inside Out: Sardis in the Achaemenid and Lysimachean Periods", Berlin and Kosmin 2019, pp.24-26.; Yegül, F., "Artemis Tapınağı ve Altın Sardes'in Kraliçeleri", *Seleucia 10*, Olba Kazısı Serisi, 2020, p. 14.

in Sardis, which served as a means of asserting dominance and authority.[232] However, before having the chance to realize this project, Ptolemy Keraunos murdered Seleucus in the same year as the battle of Corupedium.[233] Hence, the year 281 BC is given as the date of initiation for the temple's construction, at the beginning of Antiochus's reign.

The likelihood of Stratonike being responsible for sponsoring the temple rather than her husband is argued by Fikret Yegül. Three critical factors contribute to his inference. First, it is accepted that she played an active role in the construction of the temple of Apollo in Didyma, illustrating the extent of her involvement in matters concerning religion and politics.[234] Second, she is credited by Lucian to be the founder of a temple in Sidon, showcasing she was more than competent in taking on such projects.[235] Thirdly, the presence of a marble sphere, bearing an inscription indicating it was a gift from Stratonike, discovered at the temple site, further bolstered the assertion.[236] Although Yegül makes no claims of the infallibility of his inference, the fact that Stratonike lived in Sardis and died there makes his suggestion a distinct likelihood. One final remark to add here is that much like the temple of Apollo at Didyma, which solidified the bonds between citizens and the Seleucid rulers, a parallel connection was established between the people of Sardis and the Seleucid queens. Several generations later, Sardians decreed a *temenos*, an altar, and a yearly festival to Laodice III.[237] Just like the men in the dynasty who had secured bonds with the *polis,* the women of the Seleucid dynasty, including Stratonike, actively contributed to shaping their domains' political and religious landscape. This demonstrates that within the Hellenistic period, the influence of

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[232] Didyma discussed further in length in the previous chapter (Religion and Politics).

[233] Green, p.165.

[234] Yegül, 2020, p.16.

[235] Schnayder, J., "Lucian's Guide to Hierapolis in Syria", Lucian, *De Syria dea*, ed., Harmon, A.M., Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1925, 12-17, p.101.

[236] Buckler, W.H., Robinson, D.M, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part I*, Sardis VII.1., Brill, Leiden, 1932, no. 86, pp. 91-92.

[237] Gauthier, P., *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II,* Geneva, 1989, no. 2-3.; Ma, J., *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 285-8. In Chaniotis, 2005, p. 436.

queens extended beyond societal gender norms, fostering connections between the ruling queens and the communities they governed.

What Yegül challenges in his work is the man-centric approach to history. Concluding that the men who rule the kingdom must bear sole responsibility for all significant political developments represents an oversimplified and fallacious generalization. Although we do not have strong enough evidence to claim for certainty that Stratonike commissioned the temple of Artemis at Sardis, he recognizes that we seldom find such assurances in archaeology. However, especially during the Hellenistic period, we must acknowledge the possibility of women who have had active roles in shaping politics and religious life. Since religion had a significant role in how politics was conducted in the Hellenistic period, a prominent place in politics could also have been reserved for women. Apollonis stands as a compelling case where her patronage remains incontestable. The fact that she wielded an active role in influencing religious practices underscores the significance of Hellenistic queens who, like her, may have had a substantial impact on their world in line with the traditional role of queens evolving with time. The significance of Apollonis' influence, and potentially Stratonike's as well, within the public sphere implies that in a system where ultimate authority rests with rulers, both men and women possess equal potential in terms of political capabilities.

Alongside examining the influence of royal women, it is imperative to explore noteworthy instances of how non-royal women's roles underwent transformation within Hellenistic society. The allocation of monarchical power to women served to acknowledge the possibility of exceptional women who could accomplish feats beyond the capabilities of men. However, when laying the groundwork to understand women's experiences within the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, it becomes evident that broad generalizations are not universally applicable. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to introduce some hypotheses at this juncture, as they provide valuable insights into certain prevalent tendencies of the period. Two prevailing thoughts about the lives of Hellenistic women are that they had the benefit of receiving education and their capabilities of exercising their economic rights surpassed the generations of women that came before them. Although a majority of women’s lives was never documented, there were the lives of several women that could attest to these hypotheses. The education of young women became a prized commodity in the Hellenistic period and became a highly sought-after quality among prosperous

families.[238] The education received by women yielded more than just abstract knowledge of the world; it conferred tangible privileges and opportunities in the real world. An example of this would be poet Aritodoma, who was given citizenship of Smyrna in 218 BC on account of her enthusiastic performance.[239] The Hellenistic period demonstrated the connection between individuality and reading, which was often regarded as a solitary practice fostering intellectual development apart from public or collective events.[240] Within this context, it is particularly noteworthy to view Aritodoma as a woman whose profound inner life influenced the public sphere to such an extent that she not only obtained citizenship but also secured its extension to her family.

Another distinctive aspect that set apart the experiences of Hellenistic women from those of preceding generations was increased economic independence. A notable transformation in women's social and economic status became evident as they gained the legal capacity to possess and manage land, in addition to being permitted to engage in financial transactions such as borrowing money.[241] One such woman who utilized her economic freedom was Phile of Priene, who, in the 1st century BC, became the first woman to construct a reservoir for the city water and provide it with an aqueduct.[242] Phile, like Aritodoma, was certainly an exceptional, wealthy, and accomplished woman who stood out among others, but what distinguished the era of their time was that their gender was not an impediment. Both cases from Western Asia Minor exemplify a prevailing trend, highlighting Hellenistic women as possessing greater levels of education and economic autonomy compared to their Hellenic predecessors. However, it remains essential to approach any generalizations regarding the experiences of Hellenistic women with caution. Portraying all Hellenistic women as uniformly well-educated, economically empowered, and possessing unwavering agency would be an oversimplified and erroneous characterization.

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[238] Fantham, p. 166.

[239] “Since the performance was done with great enthusiasm…she shall be given citizenship” *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum,* 532. Burnstein, S., *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII,* Cambridge University Press, New York, 1985, pp. 86-87, no.64.

[240] Green, p. 72.

[241] Blundell, p.199.

[242] Burstein, p. 59, no.45.

The abundance of diverse sources from the Hellenistic period complicates the formulation of overarching claims. As one could construct an overall image of the lives of women in Classical Greece with evidence from Athens or Sparta, no singular point of reference exists for the Hellenistic period.[243] Conversely, due to the diverse range of circumstances women encountered – whether as enslaved people, matrons, maidens, queens, or priestesses – and the influence of contributing factors such as age and social background, the identification of a shared, common experience for women during the Hellenistic period remains an elusive endeavor. Morgan proposes a potential solution to address the challenges posed by the complexity of research in this context, which is "controlling investigation by directing it at a specific group of women".[244] Standing at the threshold of religion, politics, and gender, an exceptional figure that emerges prominently is that of the priestess. The priestess was neither part of the select few that ruled kingdoms with virtually unlimited resources nor anonymous like most women of her time. With their lives, rituals, and contexts exceptionally well documented, the priestesses offer a particular insight into the Hellenistic period.

As the religious rites associated with various deities changed depending on contexts, so did the roles and responsibilities entrusted to the priestesses overseeing their sacred precincts. Instead of offering sweeping generalizations about the experiences of priestesses, such as their pivotal position straddling the divide between the sacred and the secular, thereby challenging conventional notions of daily life for women, this study will narrow its focus to a particular and distinctive group with unique divine and political role—the Locrian maidens. These maidens occupied a singular position at the intersection of the past and present and at the crossroads of Eastern and Western influences.

The Locrian maidens, who served in the temple of Athena in Troy in the Hellenistic period, had a profound connection to the legacy of the Homeric past. Within the narrative of the *Iliad*, Athena was a firm supporter of the Achaeans, refusing to help the Trojans even upon their request for aid.[245] Nevertheless, this steadfast devotion faced a significant setback when Achaean soldiers, under the leadership of Ajax the

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[243] Fantham, p.140.

[244] Morgan, J., "Women, Religion, and the Home", Ogden, D., ed., *A Companion to Greek Religion,* Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 298.

[245] *Iliad,* VI. 311.

Figure 7: Ajax the Lesser drags Cassandra from the Palladium. Detail from a Roman fresco in the atrium of the Casa del Menandro in Pompeii. (Wikimedia)

Lesser, assaulted her sacred cult image, known as the Palladium. The Palladium was a wooden statue of Pallas Athena, deciding the faith of Troy from its early beginnings. The statue is said to have fallen from the sky in response to the prayer from Ilus, the founder of Troy.[246] The first temple of Athena, built to protect the cult statue, was intrinsically connected to the identity of Troy. Throughout the events depicted in the Iliad, Athena consistently remains aligned with the Greeks, refraining from offering her protection to the Trojans.[247] However, it is outside the scope of the Iliad that we learn from Helenus that it has been the image of the deity,

[246] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca,* trans., Frazer, G., Vol. II, Book III, *Epitome,* The Loeb Classical Library 122, Cambridge, London, 1979, 3.12.

[247] The sole exception to this pattern is the mention of Phereclus, a lesser-known hero fighting on the Trojan side, who is noted to have received the favor of Pallas Athena. *Iliad*, V. 60.

the Palladium, which has been protecting Troy all along.[248] However, it is during the sack of Troy that an Achaean commits the ultimate crime. As Cassandra, the prophetic daughter of Priam, takes refuge in Athena, Ajax the Lesser drags her away, forcefully separating her from the cult image (Figure 7).[249] The narrative of the *Iliou persis* then continues with the Greeks' anger towards Ajax, deciding to stone him and his escape by taking refuge in the altar of Athena.

This unusual act of retribution for the transgression against the principal guardian deity of the Greeks takes on a distinctive form through an annual ritual aimed at reclaiming Trojan territory. Ajax's lineage traced back to Locris meant that to atone for his crimes, the Locrians were required to send two maidens each year.[250] A thought worth considering is whether the choice of sending two maidens, rather than one, was influenced by the fact that Ajax's transgressions targeted not only Cassandra but also another maiden, Athena herself. Athena's fury over Ajax's deeds, compounded by the indifference of the Achaeans to the horrors inflicted, led to a significant shift in her stance. In Euripides's play "Trojan Women", she resolves to withdraw her support from the Greeks and align herself with the Trojans instead.[251] However, the perpetual presence of a Locrian maiden tending to her temple in Troy served to assuage Athena's anger while it also simultaneously reenacted the events of the Homeric epic.[252] Through this ongoing ritual, a communal identity for the Locrians was forged as they collectively atoned for the transgressions of their ancestor, Ajax. These two women represented their collective ancestor Ajax and, much like him entered Trojan territory. The annual ritual of sending these two women meant that the Locrians were re-conquering the Trojan territory. Their means of access and status while residing in the precinct further support this narrative.

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[248] West, M.L. ed., *Greek Epic Fragments,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, London, 2003, Little Iliad, Argument 4, note 31, p. 123.; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities,* Cary, E. trans., Vol. 1, Books I-II, The Loeb Classical Library 319, Cambridge MA, London, 1968, 1.68.2-69.

[249] West, Sack of Ilion, fragment 3, p. 147.

[250] Strabo, 13.1.40; Polybius, *The Histories,* trans*.,* Paton, W.R., Vol. IV, Books IX-XV, The Loeb Classical Library 156, Cambridge MA, London, 1976, 12.5.7.

[251] Euripides, *The Plays of Euripides*, E. P. Coleridge trans., Volume I, London, George Bell and Sons, 1891, Ed. 48.

[252] Redfield, J.M., *The Locrian Maidens: Love and Death in Greek Italy,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2003, p.91.

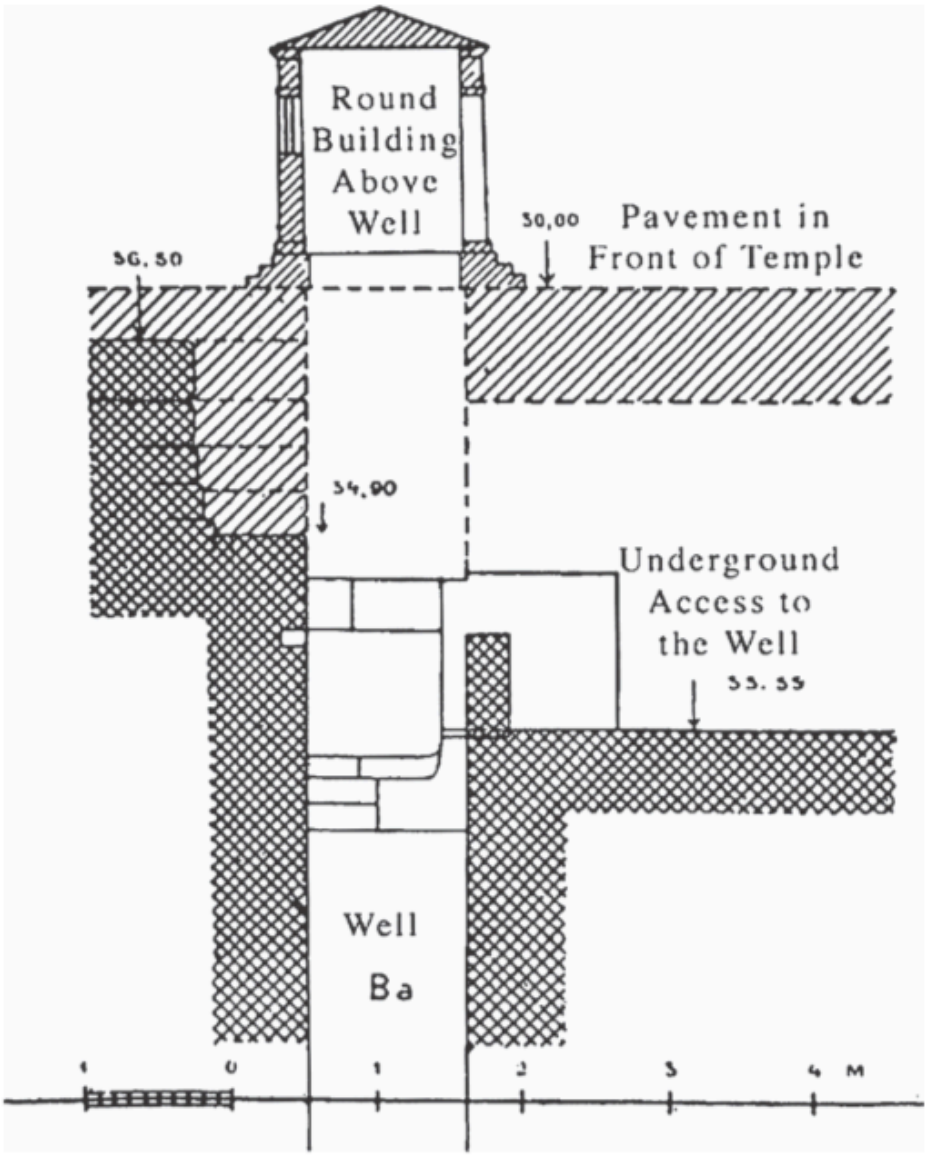

Figure 8: Section of Well Ba in the Athena Sanctuary.
(After Dörpfeld 1902, p.178, fig. 68 in Rose, p.190, fig.8.20)

The ritual surrounding the two maidens, who served the temple for a year and were replaced annually, carried a set of intriguing conditions with it. A notable aspect of this ritual was their imperative to remain unseen upon their arrival in the city. Guided by instructions from the oracles at Delphi, the maidens' lives would only be spared if they managed to reach the temple without being recognized. Trojan men would be honored if they intercepted and killed a maiden before she reached her destination.[253] Furthermore, the two women were strictly forbidden from being seen

[253] *Lykophron*, trans., Mair, A.W., The Loeb Classical Library 129, Cambridge MA, London, 1977, 1141-1173.

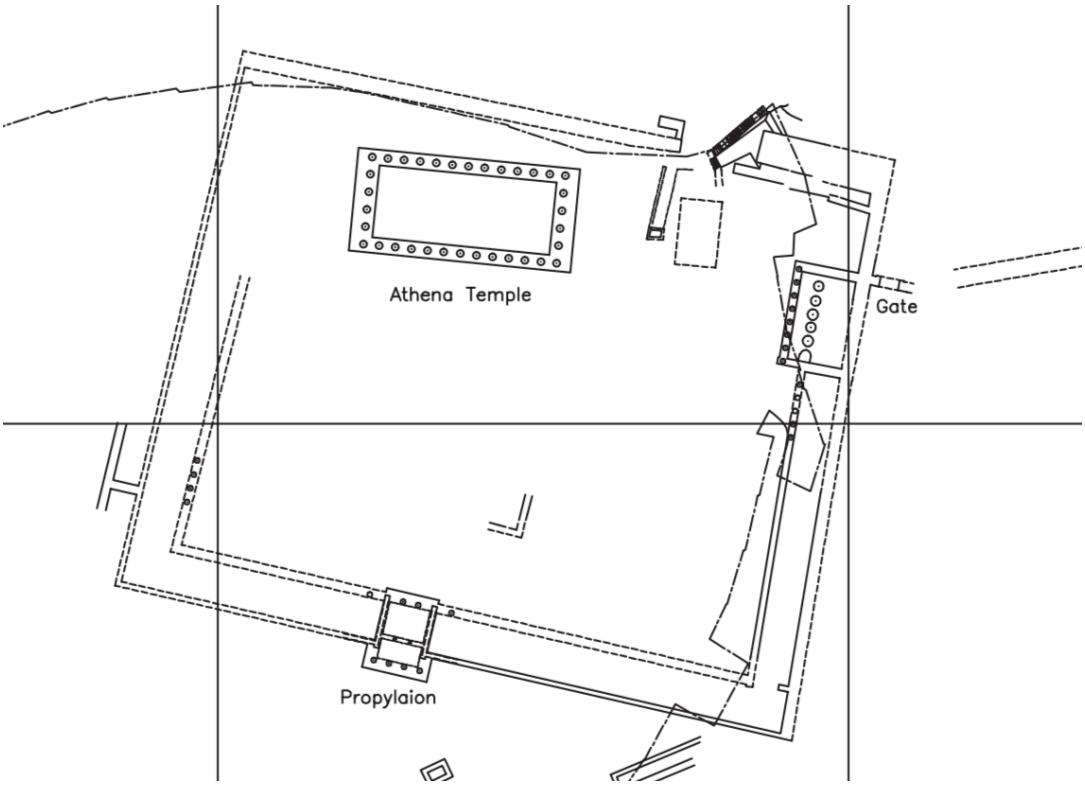

Figure 9: Excerpt of the sanctuary of Athena from the plan of Troy VIII, during the Late Hellenistic period. (Prepared by Elizabeth Riorden for the Troy Excavation Project in Rose, p. 164, fig. 8.3)

by the goddess Athena or leaving the temple during daylight hours. Navigating this challenging task, fraught with the potential for encounters along the way, was made possible through a clever solution embodied by an underground well (Figure 8). Positioned strategically between the altar and the Hellenistic temple and sharing the same axis, the well was initially believed to be accessed via the temple precinct (Figure 9). Interestingly, it was concealed by a decorative marble enclosure, surrounded on all sides by vertical slabs, effectively masking the entrance to the well and this underground tunnel, and it could only be accessed from a location more than 10 meters north, which provided a secure path for the maidens to reach the temple undetected.[254]

While the well and its subterranean structure are believed to have been constructed during the Hellenistic period, the origins of the custom itself, According to Strabo,

[254] Dörpfeld initially though the enclosure was open in one side but Leaf revealed it was completely blocked. Dörpfeld, W., *Troja und Ilion. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion, 1870-1894*, 1902, p. 228.; Leaf, W., *Troy, A Study in Homeric Geography,* London, 1912, pp. 126-127.

date back to a time when the Persians held power or possibly even earlier.[255] Rose suggests that both the custom and the construction of the Archaic temple of Athena likely began as early as the 7th century BC, coinciding with the emergence of the *Iliad.*[256] This period was marked by the "Aetolian Migration" and the prominence of Siegion, a neighboring city of Troy that served as an Athenian colony while also being the time when efforts were under way to identify the monumental tombs of Homeric heroes and establish a treasury containing relics from the Trojan War.[257] During the period, there were significant efforts to establish a link with the past and also create an association with Greece. Whether originating during a period of non-Greek rule or evolving during an era of integration of the Homeric epic into local identity, this custom certainly served as a means of reviving and adapting the Homeric past to align with the contemporary identity of the region. The temple built in the Hellenistic period provided the Locrian Maidens with the necessary physical context within a historical setting that was acutely aware of its Homeric past. The priestesses played an integral and enduring role in this intricate tapestry of historical transformation. Their journey to Troy was both a travel in space and a journey through time to a Homeric past.

Alexander's first act upon crossing the Aegean to Asia Minor was sacrificing at Achilles's Tomb in Troy.[258] The city and its past constituted an integral part of Greek identity. The role of the Locrian maidens encompassed a profound responsibility that involved carrying forward generations of duty. This responsibility created a unique connection, linking not only the present to the past but also bridging the gap between their homeland in Locris and their commitment to fulfill their duties in Troy. Carrying out this responsibility was made possible not despite their gender but rather because of it. The two women overtake the responsibility of a ritual that took place overseas, which was not a common occurrence for Hellenic rites. By challenging the conventional notion that Greek women were confined to the domestic sphere, the sense of ancestral duty compelled these women to embark on a journey to a distant and undoubtedly hostile land. The conventional practice of maidens leaving their natal families due to marriage was disrupted, destabilizing

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[255] Strabo, 13.1.40.

[256] Rose, C.B., *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy,* Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 60-61.

[257] Ibid., pp.45, 58, 61, 63.

[258] Cherry, p. 307.

this norm. This was a consequence of the annual arrival of new maidens and the departure of those who had served their term, resulting in a lasting and enduring effect.[259] They not only served Athena within her precinct but also bore the immense responsibility of upholding their ancestral commitment. This dual role encompassed both religious and political responsibilities.

The substantial responsibilities carried by the Locrian maidens did not prevent them from resuming ordinary lives once their year of service concluded. Redfield argues that upon returning to Locris their status would have been enhanced because of their ritual service.[260] This enhanced status within their community was not due to the personal growth and experiences these women gained during their service but because of the deep-rooted significance of their duties. Their journey to Troy was not merely physical; it was a symbolic voyage through time and space, connecting the present with the distant past and their homeland with their responsibilities in Troy. Their unique role challenged traditional gender roles and offered a different perspective on the capabilities and agency of Greek women. The Locrian maidens became living embodiments of a sacred commitment, transcending the boundaries of both gender and geography to uphold an ancient duty.

A comparable responsibility was assigned to the priestesses of Demeter, albeit without the need for journeys to fulfill ancestral duties. Their role involved acting as intermediaries between the realms of civilization and death. The priestesses held exclusive authority over all aspects of Demeter's rituals, including organization, convening councils, and making decisions, making them the primary figures in charge during these religious rituals. The fact that women were in charge of Demeter's temples, which were exclusively reserved for women, was not merely a coincidence but rather a logical outcome of the gender-segregated nature of these spaces. However, due to Demeter's inherent connection to the sustainability of the *polis*, these priestesses occupied a prominent position in the intersection of religion and politics. The statue bases of the priestesses Timonas and Hegeso, located at the entrance of the Hellenistic sanctuary of Demeter in Priene, served as evidence

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[259] Vidal-Naquet, P., ”Les esclaves immortelles d'Athena Ilias”, ed., Bingen, J., Lambier, G., and Nachtergael, G., *Le Monde Grec: Pensie, littirature, histoire, documents,* Brussels, pp. 496-507. In Redfield, p.91.

[260] Redfield, p.88.

of their significant roles within the cult.[261] Furthermore, their placement adjacent to the entrance symbolized their function as mediators granting access to this sacred realm.

Both the Locrian maidens and the priestesses of Demeter exemplified a common theme: women were highly capable of living within the intermediary realm, bridging the sacred and the profane. Like the women responsible for washing the statue of Athena for the Panathenaea, acts deemed too dangerous for men were regarded as appropriate for women within the religious context.[262] Locrian maidens entering Trojan territory and the priestesses of Demeter being responsible for controlling the chthonic deity's rites were both dangerous acts. Both services surpassed the religious domain and entered the political sphere. They conveyed that women were in positions that influenced the lives of all citizens, whether they were royalty or not. The rituals associated with Demeter reveal that the capacity to impact the *polis* transcended beyond the priestess and encompassed all women who participated in Demeter's festivals.

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[261] Wiegand, T., Schrader, H., Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895-1898, Inktank, Berlin, 1904, pp.147-149.; Çetinkaya, G., *Arkeolojik ve Epigrafik Buluntular Işığında Priene'deki Kültler,* Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Archaeology, Bursa University, p. 40.

[262] Burkert, W., *Greek Religion*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p.79. As gods were thought to inhibit statues, washing them was a dangerous act. Schnapp, A. "Are images animated? The psychology of statues in ancient Greece", eds., Renfrew, C., Zubrow, E.B.W., *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 40–4.

CHAPTER 4

GEOGRAPHY: SITUATING DEMETER IN HELLENISTIC WESTERN ASIA MINOR

> *When Demeter came to our land, in her wandering after the rape of Kore, and, being moved to kindness towards our ancestors by services which may not be told save to her initiates, gave these two gifts, the greatest in the world-the fruits of the earth, which have enabled us to rise above the life of the beasts, and the holy rite which inspires in those who partake of it sweeter hopes regarding both the end of life and all eternity.*[263]

Demeter, the mother of Persephone, daughter of Kronos and Rhea, is the goddess associated with both civilization and the end of life. Her rites commemorate both her story, most often focusing on the abduction of Persephone and the continuity of agricultural production, specifically grain. The story of Persephone's abduction, narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* ties the separation of mother and daughter inextricably to the fertility of the land. In the *hymn,* the pair unite only with the condition that Persephone returns to her abductor-turned-husband Hades in one-third of the year.[264] During this period, Demeter withdraws from her duties, as she had done when Persephone was abducted, and leaves the land barren annually. In the rituals concerning Demeter, citizens try to favor the chthonic goddess so that when the winter ends and she rejoins with her daughter, agrarian fertility is once again restored.

The *Homeric Hymn* is a literary work, rather than a religious text, that narrates the separation of daughter from mother. The narrative begins with the abduction

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[263] Isocrates, *Panegyricus,* 4. 28.

[264] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* trans.*,* Nagy, G., Indianapolis, Hackett, 2005, 446. According to Hesiod, Persephone was not abducted but given to Hades by her father Zeus. Hesiod, *Theogony*, in *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, trans., Evelyn-White, H.G., Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd, 1914. 912-914.

of Persephone and ends with Demeter, finally being calmed down by the words of Rhea, teaching her sacred rites to humans. The rites are intricately linked to Demeter and Persephone's story and are particularly noteworthy as the goddess teaches them herself. They serve as a reflection of Demeter's journey and effectively establish a bond based on empathy with the goddess. Her festivals taking place at prominent milestones during the agricultural year assure a continuity of this bond and reassure the larger population that they will not suffer Demeter's wrath.[265] Within the context of Demeter's worship, the myth translates seamlessly to the ritual.

The settings where these festivals occurred directly mirrored the rituals conducted within them as well. Departing from established norms of sacred Hellenic architecture, the sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter were deliberately crafted to facilitate the intricate rituals that unfolded within the precincts. This made it possible to understand the contents and activities of the secret all-women festival, which had little historical record of its happenings, through direct translation from archaeological evidence. The *bothros,* the steps, dark and covered spaces or fountains all corresponded to a specific aspect of the ritual and therefore, the myth. This chapter will trace the intricate relationship between the myth, ritual and space, providing the context for Demeter's worship. Locating Demeter within the Hellenic psyche will provide the framework for the inferences made with regard to the deity's journey to Asia Minor and where she was located within the Hellenistic pantheon.

4.1. From Myth to Ritual

Demeter's myth is intricately connected to the abduction of Persephone to the extent that all her rituals mirror some aspect of this narrative. The tale, narrated in the *Homeric Hymn*, was composed sometime in the 6th to 7th centuries BC at Eleusis.[266] The story begins with Persephone as she gathers flowers, eventually reaching for the narcissus blossom. Upon picking the flower, the earth splits, and

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[265] Brumfield, A.C., The Attic Festivals of Demeter and Their Relation to the Agricultural Year, Arno Press, New York, 1981.

[266] Karataş, A. M. S., "Rock-Cut Sanctuaries of Demeter and the Cultic Significance of Rocky Outcrops for the Cult of Demeter", eds., Döhl, R., van Rensburg, J.J., *Signs of Place: A visual interpretation of landscape,* Berlin Studies of the Ancient World, 2019, p. 149. Blundell dates it between 700 BC to 550 BC. Blundell, p.40.

Hades emerges on a chariot, seizing her and driving away. Persephone calls out for her father, Zeus, but it is Demeter who eventually hears her. Demeter tirelessly scours the earth for days in her quest to find her daughter, abstaining from both food and drink. Eventually, Hecate joins her in her search and the pair visit Helios, with torches in their hands. He reveals that it was Zeus who gave Persephone to Hades as a bride.[267] Upon learning this, Demeter renounces all her divine attributes and conceals herself among mortal humans. One day, looking like an old woman, she sits at a well close to the house of Keleos, the ruler of Eleusis. As the daughters of Keleos ask who she is, Demeter, concealing her true identity, presents herself as Dôsô, which translates as "giver of gifts".[268] She narrates her background, explaining that she comes from Crete and was abducted by pirates, from whom she managed to escape. Seeking employment, she requests a job as a nanny, to which the daughters offer their home, saying their mother Metaneira has a son she could tend to. Upon the mother's invitation, Demeter goes to the house and as she enters, astonishes Metaneira with her presence. Metaneira asks Demeter to sit down but the goddess refuses until Iambe[269] offers her a stool which she finally accepts. As Demeter sits with her sorrow, refusing to eat or drink Iambe begins making jokes, eventually making the goddess smile.

Demeter starts her occupation as the child's caretaker and as a result of her nurturing, the child begins to acquire divine attributes. The deity's ultimate aim of granting immortality to the child is disrupted when, one night, Metaneira finds her submerging him in fire. Following Metaneira's lament, Demeter reveals her divine self and begins a rant about her motives. During this speech, she reveals that a war will occur among the Eleusinians and demands worship. She asks for a temple and an altar at the foot of the Acropolis, looming over a prominent hill. She also states that she will teach the mortals her sacred rites and how to

[267] It is also suggested that Zeus bestowed Persephone to Hades as a result of a promise made after the war with the Titans. Following their victory, Zeus gave himself dominion over the sky, Poseidon over the seas, and Hades over the underworld. However, Hades, unsatisfied with this division among the three brothers, contested the arrangement. Zeus then proposed that if Hades were to agree to these terms, he would fulfill any request made by Hades. Hades's request was Persephone. Zeus giving Persephone to Hades also in; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 914-914.

[268] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* trans*.,* Nagy, G., f.9.

[269] Iambe is the servant of Metaneria in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* she is described as an "old crone" in Apollodorus, *Library,* 1.5.1.

perform them. The king Keleos, being informed of what has happened, obeys Demeter's orders and commissions a grand temple to her. Upon the completion of her sacred precinct, Demeter takes up residence there. However, as she is still in mourning over the loss of her daughter, she withdraws from her divine responsibilities, leading to a catastrophic year for humanity. During this time, she prevents the growth of any crops, posing a severe threat to the survival of the human race. The crisis escalates when humans, struggling to make sacrificial offerings to the Olympian gods due to their own scarcity, are finally noticed by Zeus. Zeus only decides to intervene when he recognizes that Demeter's grief puts the worship of the other gods, including himself, in jeopardy.

Numerous deities are sent to persuade Demeter by Zeus, but she remains steadfast in her refusal, insisting that she will not return to Olympus until she is reunited with her daughter. Zeus then sends his messengers to Hades, imploring him to release Persephone. Hades accepts, albeit not without a cunning stratagem. Before allowing his wife to ascend to the surface, he bestows upon her pomegranate seeds, effectively binding her to return to him.[270] Eventually, mother and daughter are reunited, but Zeus imposes a condition upon their reunion: Persephone would be required to spend one-third of the year with Hades and the remaining two-thirds with her mother. Demeter agrees to this arrangement and proceeds to finally teach her sacred rites to mortals.

The *Homeric Hymn* unveils several critical facets of Demeter's personification. Firstly, she emerges as a benefactor of humans, endowing them with capabilities they would otherwise lack. Secondly, she is just as readily able to withdraw these blessings and unleash terror upon them. Lastly, her ultimate solace can only be found through the reunion with her daughter. The crucial agricultural role of Demeter leads to the argument that her worship, in some capacity, may have originated in the "fertile crescent" that is Asia Minor with the cultivation of wheat.[271] Although it can be argued that Demeter's story gained larger mobility in the form of the *Homeric Hymn*, thought to have been composed in

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[270] One interpretation suggests that consuming the pomegranate seed signified a marital union, while another posits that the mere act of eating something within the confines of the underworld implied that she would be regarded as belonging to that realm.

[271] Işık, F. "Zur Anatolischen Demeter", ed. Kökdemir, G., Orhan Bingöl'e 67. Yaş Armağanı / A Festschrift for Orhan Bingöl on the Occasion of His 67th Birthday, 2013, p. 209.

approximately 6th century B.C., her “sacred rites” already mentioned in the *hymn* must predate its creation.[272] While acknowledging that the mobility of the Hymn likely played a role in the dissemination of Demeter's rites, it is important to note that the Hymn also likely served the purpose of solidifying and explaining the preexisting rituals associated with Demeter.

Essentially, the narrative centers on the deep bond between mother and daughter. Annually, when Persephone journeys to the underworld, Demeter undergoes intense sorrow, causing her to neglect her duties, leading to infertility in the land. This narrative serves to elucidate the seasonal changes, attributing Persephone's return to the arrival of spring. Additionally, an alternative explanation can be Zeus, known for his cunning nature, deliberately timed this separation to align with the winter months, a season characterized by reduced agricultural productivity. The real-life consequences of the myth do not end there. The three-part organization of the most renowned festival of Demeter, called the *Thesmophoria,* directly references the stages of her myth.[273] The return of Persephone is symbolized by *anodos*, meaning ascent, back to her mother. Demeter’s sorrow leading her to refrain from food or drink is reflected in her rituals as a fasting period called *nestia.* Furthermore, Iambe, making the deity laugh in the narrative of the *Homeric Hymn*, is present in her rites during the period of *kalligenia* when the women would be involved in acts of jesting.

The notion of rituals and their relationship with myth has been succinctly summarized by Zeitlin, who states: “Rituals are, after all, dramas, acted out with specific gestures, words and instruments according to defined sequences, following the logic of a special discourse, overdetermined by multiple symbolic clusters and supported most often with aetiological myths of their foundation.”[274] In this sense, the story of Persephone’s abduction is more than a

[272] Clinton, K., *Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries, The Martin P. Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion*, delivered 19-21 November 1990 at the Swedish Institute at Athens. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet in Athens, 8, 11. Stockholm, 1992, pp. 28-36.

[273] Bremmer, J. N., *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World,* De Gruyter, 2014, p. 173.; Also, Dillon, M., *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002, p. 113.; And, Thomas, C. M., “The Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon: Cultic Space for Women and Its Eclipse”, ed., Koester, H., *Pergamon Citadel of the Gods*, Trinity Press International, Harrisburg, PA, 1998, pp. 277–298.

[274] Zeitlin, p.131.

simple tale; it is a multi-faceted exploration of themes ranging from the cyclical rhythms of nature to the fundamental components of the human condition. The demand for worship, the erection of a temple, and the transmission of sacred rites in Eleusis underscore the myth's role in shaping cultural practices and institutions. Demeter herself becomes a central figure in not only shaping her worship but also introducing her worshippers to a higher, more civilized way of living.

Through the sanctuary of the Eleusinian mysteries, the myth introduces a tangible dimension of Demeter's presence in the mortal realm. This sanctuary, constructed in response to the deity's directive, serves as tangible evidence of the intricate connection between myth and ritual, effectively embodying the fusion of mythological narratives with physical ritual spaces. Apart from the agricultural dimensions of Demeter's myth, the sanctuary at Eleusis offers a unique perspective with its enigmatic mysteries. These sacred rites were shrouded in secrecy, confined solely to initiates, and continue to elude comprehension due to their inherently private nature. Even among initiates, sharing knowledge about the mysteries was forbidden, as understanding could only be acquired through direct personal experience or transmitted directly from the goddess herself.[275] These initiates would gain particular insight into the afterlife and their rituals would be significantly different than the rites held to honor Demeter.

One aspect that translated to the agricultural rites of Demeter from the mysteries was its preoccupation with death. Symbolically, the myth of Persephone's abduction meant that she no longer occupied the land of the living. The underworld represented an allegorical rite of passage where she would become someone's wife. An experience shared by a majority of the women attending the festival, leaving one's own family and identity behind to marry into an unknown *oikos* came with both imagined and real dangers, namely childbirth. Persephone marrying the literal embodiment of death itself translated to the anxieties undoubtedly shared by the young girls and their mothers attending her festivals.[276] On the other hand, Demeter's control over crops meant that a

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[275] Johnston, S.I., "Mysteries", ed. Johnston, S.I., *Ancient Religions*, Harvard University Press, 2007, p.110.

[276] Blundell, p. 42.

withdrawal of her support would result in famine. As she had done so in the myth, she could starve the entire population.

With her unwavering control over agricultural production, Demeter was responsible for the most fundamental component of civilized life. Her epithet, *Thesmophoros*, eloquently attested to this role, signifying "the bringer of law."[277] In this manner, Demeter was not only the bringer of law for the secret rites of the mysteries that would guarantee a better afterlife but also a vital emblem for the preservation of life itself. Euripides regarded her as the "queen of all," for she was unequivocally accountable for furnishing humanity with the essential resources to pay homage to other Olympians.[278] This made Demeter's worship a prerequisite for the worship of other deities, as humans could not provide them with sacrifices without the agricultural produce provided by Demeter. Furthermore, she was considered the "nurse of all" because she nourished the entire human populace. These designations draw parallels to her myth, wherein her neglect of duties led to the gods' suffering, and even in that grief, she could not resist the instinct to nurse a child.

Demeter, bestowing her gifts and sacred rites upon the Hellenic population, also presented them with this knowledge before the rest of the world. She specifically presented these rites to Eleusis, a *deme* of Athens, to pass on to the entire *oikoumene*. The epithet *Thesmophoros* describes Demeter as the 'revealer of the "laws" of agriculture'[279] and with it lies the groundwork for civilized life in the city. Her story in the *Homeric Hymn* originating in Eleusis, in close proximity to Athens, with Demeter's own request for a temple there, makes Demeter an expression of utmost Greekness in Hellenic thought.[280] This civilized way of life, brought to order through Demeter's rituals, inevitably places great political power within her control. Agriculture, being an essential token of civilization, was a

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[277] Morgan, p. 304; Lowe, N.J., "Thesmophoria and Haloa: myths, physics and mysteries", eds., Blundell, S. and Williamson, M., *The Sacred and The Feminine in Ancient Greece,* Routledge, London and New York, 1998, p. 155; Zeitlin, p.138; Burkert, p. 246.

[278] Euripides, Phoenissae, 685.

[279] Stallsmith, A.B., "The Name of Demeter Thesmophoros", Paper delivered at the MAR-AAR Meetings in Baltimore, 2007, p.118.

[280] For Demeter's request for a temple; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* 270. For Demeter as an expression of Greekness; Thomas, p. 297.

pervasive thought for the Greeks.[281] And it was Demeter who, in a "spirit of civilizing generosity"[282] chose to bestow the laws of agriculture to the Athenians. Demeter's particular domain within agriculture was the production of grains. Since grain could not be transported or stored like other goods such as oil or wine, its consumption depended entirely on constancy.[283] Another aspect of grain and its product bread, elucidated in its role within the context of civilization, is described in Constantinou: "…the bread, is the symbol of civilized diet, not only because it represents the team-effort needed for its creation, but also because it is a divisible food, the 'political' form of nourishment par excellence that allows everyone to have an equal portion."[284]

This underscores why Demeter not only held a paramount role as a deity for the advancement of civilization but also as a symbolic emblem of democratic culture. This civilized way of life, brought to order through Demeter's rituals, placed great political power within her control and positioned her as a pillar of Hellenic political ideology. Demeter's instruction encompassed not only the laws of agriculture to ensure favorable crop outcomes, such as the cultivation of grains, but for the Eleusinians, she conveyed an entirely distinct realm of wisdom —the mysteries. While the Eleusinians could widely disseminate their knowledge on Demeter's agricultural rites, the mysteries remained an exclusive domain. This exclusivity effectively conferred upon them a level of civilization unattainable by others.

It is also imperative to acknowledge that during the era when the Homeric Hymn emerged, a substantial proportion of Greeks were believed to have resided in

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[281] Lowe, pp. 124-125.

[282] An excellent phrase used by Clinton. Clinton, p. 345. Although many inferences could be made on the notion of being civilized, mine here reflects a general tendency with regard to Demeter's role in it where it is the act of living together in a manner that does not endanger the continuation of the society.

[283] Cole, S.G., "Demeter in the Ancient City and its Countryside", eds., Alcock, S. and Osborne R., *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994, p.201.

[284] Constantinou, p. 196 referencing; for collaboration, Parker, R.C.T., *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford, 2005, p. 280, And for civilizing aspects, Chirassi Colombo, I., 'Biografia di una dea: Demeter', ed., Di Stefano, C.A., *Demetra: la divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda ; Atti del I congresso internazionale,* Enna, 1 - 4 luglio 2004, 2008, p.18.

rural areas, sustaining themselves primarily through agriculture and farming, activities that were inextricably intertwined with the cultivation of crops.[285] Within this non-urban demographic, it is highly probable that Demeter indeed held a higher degree of significance compared to other deities, although it is essential to note that our knowledge of rural areas remains considerably less comprehensive in comparison to urban ones. For the Hellenistic period, a common misconception of it as an "age of city dwellers"[286] can be rebuked by the fact that this inference is due largely to the lack of archaeological finds of rural settlements, which is being effectively challanged.[287] It is, however, noteworthy to acknowledge that rural communities during this period were probably in relatively close proximity to major cities. Given the increased prevalence of travel during the Hellenistic period compared to earlier eras, it can also be argued that even individuals residing outside cities likely visited urban centers.[288] Hence, the majority of the population occupied with agricultural production was aware of the intricate link between Demeter and her role in sustaining civilization. They would have attended her festivals and performed her rites *together* with those residing in the city, effectively forming a bond between the two realms.

The festivals held for Demeter were undoubtedly related to the fertility of the fields to ensure the continuity of healthy crops. This interpretation is derived from the elements evident in her myth and apparent in the rituals associated with her. However, two other inferences made of Demeter's rituals are highly problematic, highlighting how the 'male gaze' often attempts to make sense of the unknown. The first is the festivals, namely the *Thesmophoria*, being related to the fertility of women. Human fertility being a prominent, if not the principal, aim of Demeter's rites is mentioned in several accounts of men looking back at the Hellenic past from the 20th century. An example of this is Versnel's statement that at the heart of Demeter's festival lies a deep concern for the promotion of human fertility, assigning both agricultural and female prolificacy equal status within the

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[285] Larson, J., "A Land Full of Gods: Nature Deities in Greek Religion", ed., Ogden, D., *A Companion to Greek Religion,* Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p.46.

[286] Cook, J.M., The Troad: An Archeological and Topographical Study, Oxford, 1973, p. 368.

[287] Alcock, 1994.

[288] Billows, p. 199.

festival's setting.[289] Another figure who advocated for this theory was Parke, who argued that the goddess of the crops also presided over female fertility.[290] Some approached this inference with caution, criticism and skepticism, but it was nevertheless a mainstream approach.[291] The second problematic approach, intrinsically bound to the first, was that only married women could attend the festival. Rites promoting human fertility accompanying agrarian fertility would certainly only apply to married women.[292] The theory that only women married to citizens could participate in her rituals made her domain less diverse, less inclusive of women from various backgrounds, and, in essence, more exclusive. But marriage and childbirth were not in the domain of Demeter. She had no story of assisting birth like Artemis, nor was she concerned with the domain of marriage, which belonged to Hera.[293] She was, however, a nurturer. She nurses Metaneira's son in her myth and is regarded as the "nurse of all" as it is through her jurisdiction that humanity is fed and civilized. That being said, she was not a "prolific child bearer" and was, therefore, not particularly invested in promoting human fertility.[294] One theory proposed to explain the connection between Demeter's rituals and human fertility is the 1870s paradigm, popularized and canonized by Frazer's Golden Bough, asserting that, at its core, all religious practices are fundamentally concerned with fertility.[295] Such a broad generalization became the grounds for establishing Demeter's rites because there was insufficient evidence available to substantiate a theory linking them to human fertility.

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[289] Versnel, H.S. Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion, Leiden, 1994, p. 236.

[290] Parke, H. W., *Festivals of the Athenians*, Ithaca-New York, 1977, p. 87. Also Parker, pp. 275-276.

[291] Nixon, L., "The Cults of Demeter and Kore", eds. Hawley R. and Levick, B., *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*, Routledge, London, 1995, p. 92.; Foxhall, L., 'Women's ritual and men's work in ancient Athens', eds., Hawley, R. and Levick, B., *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*, Routledge, London, 1995, p. 97.

[292] Simon, E., *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison, 1983, p. 21.

[293] Artemis is narrated to assist the birth of Alexander, leaving her temple at Ephesus unprotected. Hera; Stallsmith, p. 129.

[294] Dillon, p. 138.

[295] Linking agrarian fertility and human fertility in: Frazer, J.G., *Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, vol. IX, London, 1925, pp. 210-212, 282, 287, 468. The connection established by Lowe, p.122.

There is something to be recognized in the efforts of men trying to establish Demeter's festival as related to human fertility. For ancient men, regarding it as such had a comforting nature as it made the setting that excluded them being ultimately about them, as a way for them to acquire an offspring. An account from Lysias of a husband states, "when a child was born to me, thence-forward I began to trust her".[296] The woman, from another *oikos* is a virtual stranger to the man, one that is in charge of his entire household. Only upon bearing a child, a common interest is created, a bond that unites both their houses. There is no wonder that they would envision women of the family leaving their homes only to engage in an activity that would reinforce familial bonds. This soothing mental exercise also applies to scholars of the 20th century. Imagining a group of women living thousands of years ago coming together for days and nights only to pray for their husbands' offspring aligns immaculately with the men's self-perception. But all religion was not concerned with human fertility, and in Demeter's case, the festivals were hardly tame spaces only for married women.

The festivals of Demeter only allowing married women and women of a child-bearing age aligns perfectly with the festival's perception of promoting human fertility.[297] This narrative excludes prostitutes,[298] enslaved people,[299] and

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[296] The full passage: "When I, Athenians, decided to marry, and brought a wife into my house, for some time I was disposed neither to vex her nor to leave her too free to do just as she pleased; I kept a watch on her as far as possible, with such observation of her as was reasonable. But when a child was born to me, thence-forward I began to trust her, and placed all my affairs in her hands, presuming that we were now in perfect intimacy." Lysias, *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*, trans., Lamb, W.R.M., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1930, 1.6.

[297] An ancient account for married women attending; Isaeus, *Ciron*, trans., Forster, E.S., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1962, 8.19-20. A modern account for women of child-bearing age; Nixon, p.78.

[298] For the exclusion of prostitutes; Isaeus, *Philoctemon*, trans., Forster, E.S., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1962, 6.49-50.

[299] For the exclusion of slaves; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, The Complete Greek Drama, vol.2, trans., O'Neill, E., Random House, New York, 1938, 294.; Isaeus, *Philoctemon*, 6.49-50.

unmarried women[300] from Demeter's rites. This scenario portrays a festival environment that is notably uniform, devoid of any external influence or unfamiliar perspectives intruding upon the married women's psyche. A gathering of women of similar backgrounds with aligning moral codes and desires is a picture most scholars are comfortable with imagining. Yet some still object to this image and argue that all women could enter Demeter's festivals. Brumfield's careful investigation leads to the conclusion that all women members of the community, regardless of their social standing, age, marital status and occupation, could attend the festivals.[301] This makes the festivals function as an equal ground for all women, with the only common denominator being their gender and their duties in honoring Demeter as only women could do. During the festivals, these women with vastly different backgrounds come together through an immense responsibility for the city's survival to make decisions regarding all the aspects of the festival.

Although Deubner specifically argues that prostitutes were excluded from the festival, Alciphron's account mentions they were present during the rituals.[302] Enslaved people working as wet nurse and servant, as well as a dancer, who could be regarded as a courtesan, are mentioned in Aristophanes's *Thesmophoriazusae*.[303] While it is essential to recognize there was no uniform demography of attendees across the entire Hellenic *oikoumene*, generalizations should not be made on who was allowed and prohibited from entry that encompasses all Demeter's rituals in all their settings. While it is incorrect to assume that only married women were permitted to participate in these festivals, it is also a flawed assumption to believe that all women had unrestricted access

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[300] For the exclusion of unmarried women; Callimachus, fragment 63. Magnelli, E., 'Callimaco, fr. 63 Pf.: ambiguità sintattiche e autenticità', *Callimaco: cent'anni di papiri. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 9-10 giugno 2005,* eds., Bastianini G., Casanova, A., Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli, Firenze, 2006, pp.47-55.

[301] Brumfield, pp. 87-88.

[302] Deubner, L., *Attische Feste,* Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1962, p.53.; Letters of Courtesans of Alciphron include a mention of the courtesans visiting the *Haloa* and another which could point to the *Thesmophoria* as well as the *mysteries.* Benner, A.R., Fobes, F.H., *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949, IV.6, IV.,18.

[303] In order of appearance; wet-nurse (609), servant (728, 739, 754) , dancer brought by Erupides (1177ff), Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*.

to all of Demeter's festivals across different regions. Within this acceptance of regional variations, it would be reasonable to assume that a broader spectrum of groups, rather than solely married women, participated in these festivals, as statistical probability would suggest. However, it's essential to remain open to the possibility of inclusive practices encompassing various groups.

The festivals these women took part in spanned the scope of the entire year. Before fleshing out the details of the festivals, taking place at different times of the year in line with the agricultural calendar, it is crucial to recognize that their entirety had one thing in common. As Detienne explains, the conditions they occurred under is a system that "push women to the borders of the politico-religious system but entrust women with the reproduction of the entire system."[304] Ensuring the continuity of the crops was a highly political act as it sustained the *polis*. The gathering these women held and the rites that they performed were a service for all citizens. Theirs was a responsibility that endured throughout the entire year, with several assemblies held to perform a sacred and civic duty. Denoting festivals the characteristics of being a gathering of married women promoting fertility aligns with the mindset that separates these women from the political sphere. But recognizing that the rites of Demeter were significantly related to agriculture, through which women gained substantial influence upon the public sphere, transforms these rituals into manifestations of women's agency in Hellenic politics.

The sacred rites held in Demeter's honor take the form of various festivals, most often attended only by women and performed several times a year, were dependent on the agricultural calendar. Although the most well known of these is the Thesmophoria, argued by Clinton as the rites mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn*,[305] festivals covering different stages from sowing to harvest are opportunities to honor the deity. Following a chronological approach starting from spring, the first of these gatherings is the *Kalamania*. Occurring during the spring or possibly early summer, this specific festival was conducted to

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[304] Detienne, M., *Violentes eugénies: En pleines Thesmophories: des femmes couvertes de sang*, La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec., eds. Detienne, M., Vernant, J.-P., Garllimard, Paris, 1979, p. 184. Translation in Zeitlin, 142.

[305] Clinton, p.32.

safeguard the still young grain stalks.[306] Soon after, the *Skira*, also called *Skiraphoria*, took place on the month of the *Skirophorion* (May-June), named after the festival.[307] This festival is thought to be when the piglets were thrown into the *bothros* to rot and be taken out during the *Thesmophoria*.[308] No other known gatherings or festivals are documented during the summertime when agricultural activities are at their zenith. It appears that these festivals temporarily recede, likely to accommodate the critical farming tasks and to grant Demeter the opportunity to spend time with her daughter.

It is when Persephone prepares to return to the underworld and winter months arrive that women gather in Demeter's precinct to perform the ultimate rite. Before the *Thesmophoria,* there is one more minor festival called *Stenia.*[309] Taking place during the same month, it is presented as another possibility for when the event of placing the piglets in the *bothros* would have taken place.[310] Whether the piglets were placed during the Skira or the Stenia does not change the fact that a single ritual took place not only on one occasion but spread out through several weeks, if not months. What distinguishes the *Thesmophoria* from the previously mentioned festivals is that they cannot be definitively confirmed to have occurred in *every* sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, as there is a lack of concrete evidence supporting their occurrence across the Hellenic world. Even the *Thesmophoria* cannot definitively be claimed to have occurred in all of Demeter's sanctuaries, as the precinct necessitates a specific designation as a *Thesmophorion* for a conclusive verification. Regional variations and different interpretations of her rites may have given way to very different ways of conducting the rituals.

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[306] Cole, p. 202.

[307] For the *Skira; Dillon*, p. 124.; Deubner, pp. 40–50.; Parke, pp.156–169.; Simon, pp. 22–4.; Burkert, W., *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans., Bing, P., University of California Press, 1983, pp.143–149. Although Lucian's account of the *Thesmophoria* regards the Skirophoria to be synonymous, contemporary scholarship differentiates between the two.

[308] Argued by Deubner, 41. Versnel also agrees with this hypothesis; Versnel, 1994, p. 235.

[309] For the *Stenia*; Deubner, pp.53-54.; Parke, p.88.; Brumfield, pp. 80-81; Simon, p. 20; Dillon f.2, p.324.

[310] Simon, pp. 19-20. Dillon thinks that it would have been too soon as the piglets would not have rotten by the *Thesmophoria*. Dillon. f.33, p.326.

Although the rituals within these gatherings are not as fleshed out as the Thesmophoria, their known existence verifies Demeter and her sanctuary's prominent place as offering a connection with the land and the *polis* all year round. A majority of this responsibility of Demeter's rites depended on women's religious labor, however, this does not mean that men were completely excluded from all her rites. Although most ancient sources refer to them as such, an account by Pausanias that within the Sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, the 7-day festival included men who left on the 3rd day and returned the next assure for a role of men taking place at various points in the cult.[311] However, the most well-known of her festivals, *Thesmophoria* was certainly an occasion where only women would perform the rites. The most comprehensive account narrating the festival is offered in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*

> The Thesmophoria is a festival of the Greeks including secret rites which are also called Skirophoria. They are celebrated in accordance with a myth that Kore was seized by Pluton while gathering flowers. At that place a swineherd named Eubouleus was tending his swine, and they were all swallowed up in the chasm of Kore. In honor of Eubouleus, piglets are thrown into the chasm of Demeter and Kore. The rotted remains of the piglets thrown down into the 'rooms', are brought up by women called 'drawers', who, having purified themselves for three days, descend into the innermost sanctuaries, and, carrying them up, lay them on the altars. For they believe that one who takes these remains and mixes them with his seed will have a good harvest. They say also that there are snakes below in the chasms, which eat most of what is thrown down; therefore noise is made when the women 'draw' and when they put away again these forms, so that the snakes, which they believe to be the guardians of these innermost sanctuaries, will withdraw. The same are also called Arretophoria and are celebrated for the same reason, for the generation of crops and the procreation of men. They also bring up at that place holy, secret objects made from wheat, representation of snakes and male shapes. And they take branches of the pine tree because the tree is prolific. They throw these, along with the piglets, into the megara, as the innermost sanctuaries are called, as we already said. The piglets, because of their fertility is a symbol of the generation of animals and men, are a thank-offering to Demeter, since by providing Demetrian crops, she civilized the race of men. The above reason for the festival is mythical, but the following is natural. The festival is called Thesmophoria, just as Demeter is named Thesmophoros, since she established the laws or thesmoi, according to which men must work to get their food. [312]

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[311] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans., Jones, W.H.S., Litt, D., Ormerod, H.A., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1918, 7.27.9-10.

[312] Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* in Brumfield, pp. 73-74.

The Thesmophoria is noted as not only the most renowned festival of Demeter but also the most widespread of *all* Greek festivals.[313] It took place at the beginning of Pyanopsion (October-November).[314] An estimated fifty cities in Greece, Sicily, Southern Italy, Asia Minor and North Africa are possible settings for the festival.[315] The festival takes place in the fall, when Persephone, according to the deal made with Hades, travels to the underworld to be with her husband. The annual separation of mother and daughter, causing Demeter to bring fall and winter upon humans, is a cause for anxiety among people. Hence, taking place during the sowing season in the fall, the festival functioned as the rite to ensure the seeds would survive the winter. The anxiety-inducing nature of the plant's endurance through uncontrollable circumstances required an assurance that Demeter's verdict would be in the citizens' favor.[316] Asking for her support during a period when she suffered from the annual loss of her daughter was a dangerous act that could arguably have only been done through establishing a connection with the deity based on empathy for her circumstances.

The *Thesmophoria* was composed of three parts: *anodos* ("ascent")*, nestia* ("fasting") and *kalligenia* ("beautiful birth")*,* leading to the assumption that it might have often lasted for three days.[317] This assumption has been derived from the festival at Athens, known to have lasted for three days. However, it is important to recognize regional variations of it lasting ten days in Syracuse, one of the most populated cities in the Hellenic world, or Sicily, leading to the inference of the festival's higher position within said pantheons.[318] Sicily's ten-day festival is narrated in Diodorus Siculus's accounts, noting that this importance paid to the deities was because it was in Sicily where Persephone's

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[313] Stallsmith, p. 119.

[314] Zeitlin, p.138.

[315] Stallsmith, p. 119.; Nilsson, pp. 313-316. The number Brumfield gives is more than thirty. Brumfield, 70.

[316] On the reasoning behind why the festival did not take place during harvest season; Brumfield, p. 95.

[317] Bremmer, p.173.; Dillon, p. 113.; Thomas, pp. 277–298.

[318] For Syracuse, Plato, *Letters*, trans., R.G. Bury, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966, 7.349d and Cole, p. 215; for Athens and Sicily, Bremmer, p. 172.

abduction occurred.[319] Its tripartite system, whether spread out through several days or denoted a single day for each, was symbolically packed.

The first part of the Thesmophoria, *anodos,* begins with the ascension of women to Demeter's sanctuaries. The act of carrying votive objects and offerings up the hill to the festival site was the ascent performed by the women attending the festival.[320] Demeter's own request of having bestowed a temple on top of a prominent hill in the *Homeric Hymn* (272) led to this request's emulation in the selection of other sites of her worship occupying an elevated position. Priene and Pergamon, both with commanding views over the landscape, are examples of this tradition. This act of ascending towards Demeter's realm was a way to mirror Persephone's journey to her mother from the underworld. It was a return to the mother in more ways than one, as married women would have viewed the festival setting as an opportunity to reunite with their own mothers.[321] This act of *anodos* performed on the first day of the festival was a reassuring act of the cyclical nature of the separation between mother and daughter while also recognizing the recurrent themes of loss and reappearance. This was, indeed, the hope that was needed for the upcoming winter months. The uncertainty that winter brought could only be endured by holding on to the belief that it would eventually end.

The first day of the festival is also argued to be the day when pigs are placed within the *bothros*, the sacrificial pit.[322] However, this theory would not hold as the remains would not have rotted by the time they would need to be taken out a few days later. Another theory is that the remains would have been left in the *bothros* for a year and be used in the next year's *Thesmophoria*. This theory is problematic as well. Firstly, the remains would have turned to bones rather than rotten flesh in a year.[323] Secondly, putting the remains on the first day and then taking them out on the last day meant that new remains could not be placed on the first day without taking out the remains from the previous year, which is

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[319] Diodorus Siculus, 5.3.1.

[320] Blundell, p. 163.

[321] Foxhall, pp. 106-107.

[322] Thomas, pp. 44-45.

[323] Brumfield, p. 77.

supposed to take place on the last day. Hence, the theory of the piglets being placed in the *bothros* during the Skira, taking place several *months* before the *Thesmophoria,* presents a more likely case. Symbolically coinciding with the coming of spring, it could also be interpreted as a symbolic representation of Persephone during her absence from the underworld as the sacrifices would work to fill the void of her absence from under the earth.

The second part of the festival was the *nestia* or *nesteia*, meaning fasting. When narrating Demeter's festival, Plutarch clearly states, "[women] sitting upon the ground" during the fasting period.[324] By sitting on the ground and refusing to eat or drink, women attending the festival recreated Demeter's actions of sitting on the "Laughless" rock after the abduction of Persephone.[325] The very act of the attendees sitting on the ground is argued to be the primary reason for Demeter's sanctuaries not being paved.[326] Fasting, on the other hand, references two points in the narrative of the *Homeric Hymn*. First, when Demeter searches the earth for Persephone immediately after her abduction (49), and second, when she enters Metaneira's house (200). Although it is not explicitly stated, her time residing in the temple Keleos had commissioned for her when she was "wasting away with yearning for her daughter" (304) could also be considered a time when she refused earthly pleasures. The act of fasting with the deity, as she had done as an outcome of grief, created a strong connection between the festival attendees and Demeter. Unlike rituals where participants showcased their adoration, respect or even fear of a god, this was an act of bonding through empathy. Just as they reconnected with their mothers or daughters, the attending women recognized that they too, would separate once more and the harsh winter months were ahead.

The third part of the festival, the *kalligenia,* meaning beautiful birth was the balancing opposite of the deep sorrow of the *nestia*. On the one hand, the remains were taken out of the *bothros* and mixed with the seeds to produce healthy crops for the coming year. This assured the participants that the seeds would survive the winter with the goddess's help. On the other hand, acts that made Demeter laugh during her depressed state are recreated not only to

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[324] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, in *Moralia*, 69.

[325] The rock also called the Mirthless rock narrated in Apollodorus, 1.5.1.

[326] Karataş, p. 155.

reassure the goddess, for whom these rituals are primarily conducted, but also to offer a release for the women attending. Iambe and Baubo are two prominent figures that come into play during this stage of the festival. Iambe is mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn,* making Demeter laugh after she refuses food in Metaneira's house (202). Her act is recreated in the *Thesmophoria*'s setting in the form of jesting, to the extent that the language spoken at the festival is likened to that of a brothel.[327] Baubo, on the other hand, is narrated by the Clement of Alexandria through her "shameless" act of revealing her genitalia and exposing herself to Demeter, effectively relieving the deity of her sorrow, even if only for a brief moment.[328] Both Iambe and Baubo serve the same purpose, one through speech and the other through *anasyrma,* making Demeter laugh.[329] The Baubo figurines discovered at Demeter's sanctuaries are most closely associated with the *kalligenia* phase, as they represent a time for laughter, humor, and emotional relief.[330]

The *Thesmophoria* consists of an intricate system symbolizing Persephone's abduction, Demeter's grief and their final reunion. By performing the rites, not only were the attendees comforted by knowing their crops would survive the winter, but they also reassured Demeter that she would eventually reunite with her daughter. *Thesmophoros*, an epithet of Demeter derived from the festival in her honor, translates to the 'one who brings order'.[331] The *Thesmophoria* was effectively responsible for reproducing the city.[332] The festival, relates not to the reproduction of a single citizen but through the fertility of the land, concerns itself with the reproduction of the *polis* as a whole and as a result, the restoration of order.

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[327] Cleomedes, *De motu circulari corporum caelestium II*, trans., Ziegler, H., Lipsiae, B.G. Teubneri, 1891, p.166. in Brumfield, p. 80.

[328] Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, trans., Butterworth, G.W., Loeb Classical Library, 1919, Chapter II.

[329] Di Nola, A., "Riso e oscenita", *Antropologia religiosa*, Firenze, 1974, pp.15-90. in Zeitlin, p.144.

[330] Both Iambe and Baubo can be regarded as representations of women's empowerment, sexual agency and temporary liberation which is discussed in further detail in the chapter "Demeter's Cult for the Hellenistic Woman".

[331] Burkert, 1985, p. 246.

[332] Detienne, p. 138.

The timing of the festival is particularly critical. Just as Persephone descends to live in Hades's realm, so do the seeds, as they are buried within the earth. By the time she returns to her mother, the crops are harvested.[333] Apart from this symbolic nature, the festival also addresses the personal concerns of the attendees. For them, the anxiety-inducing nature of the plant's endurance through uncontrollable circumstances required an assurance that Demeter's verdict would be in the people's favor. Hence, her most prominent festival was not conducted during harvest but in the season of sowing.[334] But if Demeter's judgment did not favor the people, another festival was held to implore a change in her verdict. For this, the *Proerosia* worked as a sequel to the *Thesmophoria.* This festival consisted of animals sacrificed to the goddess and offerings of grain.[335] Although like the other festivals apart from the *Thesmophoria,* it is contested to have only taken place in Attica. However, its date so close to the *Thesmophoria* makes two arguments possible. First, it reinforces the sowing season's significance as paramount that several festivals were deemed necessary to secure a successful crop yield. The *Stenia, Thesmophoria* and the *Proerosia* taking place in the scope of a single month reflected how crucial the sowing season was for the harvest and how surviving the upcoming winter required a divine intervention. Second, it implies the presence of potentially distinct groups of participants, with one festival being more exclusive than the other, perhaps the *Proerosia* allowing entry of men.

Another festival aimed at reinforcing Demeter's verdict in people's favor was the *Haloa*, meaning "threshing-floor" or "garden", taking place in the winter during Poseidon (December /January).[336] If, by that time, the crops had not yet grown, the purpose of the festival was to change the goddess's verdict.[337] A theory is presented that the festival only took place in Eleusis as Lucian defines it as a

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[333] This connection is established by Blundell. Blundell, p. 41.

[334] On the reasoning behind why the festival did not take place during harvest season; Brumfield, p. 95.

[335] Robertson, N., "New Light on Demeter's Mysteries: The Festival of Proerosia", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Vol.37, Issue 4, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996, pp. 326, 341.

[336] Cole, p. 202.; Brumfield, p. 104.; Dillon, p. 120.

[337] Brumfield, pp. 121-122.

festival in Athens.[338] He describes the *Haloa* as a festival where women say what they want, eat what they wish, and drink plenty of wine. The festival can easily be perceived as a Dionysian rite when reading Lucian's accounts. Added to this abundance are sexual connotations with the pastries mentioned, which are in the shape of genitalia. Deubner's reading of the festival based on vase paintings showing women holding phallic shapes even led to his assumption that the gathering must have been an orgiastic festival of prostitutes.[339] When looking at the *Haloa* in relationship with the *Thesmophoria*, an overlap of similar activities occurs, namely in the form of the *kalligenia*. Both *Haloa* and *kalligenia* embody otherwise prevented actions of obscenity now expected of women within the festival. Within both contexts, women were prompted to perform acts for the safety of the *polis,* which within any other setting, would have endangered its continuity. And with no discernible evidence that these acts were done in an attempt to promote human fertility, they could be regarded as a form of collective catharsis.

In its entirety, the rituals dedicated to Demeter demanded significant departures from societal norms for women. Throughout the year, women of all social strata, ages, and occupations united to perform rites aimed to ensure the continuity of the *polis*. This bestowed considerable agency upon women, granting them the power to influence the political sphere. The combination of this substantial influence wielded by women and the unconventional acts conducted within the festival setting, which could be deemed unbecoming of citizens' wives, led the festival to be widely perceived as primarily concerned with fertility. Ancient as well as modern scholars struggled to envision any other underlying objective for women's participation.

However, the reality was that women departed from their homes to spend nights at the sacred precinct, engaged in ritual acts involving deceased animals, genitalia, and jesting. Perhaps most significantly, they engaged in conversations among themselves, discussing topics over which men had no control over. All

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[338] Lucian, *Dialogues of Courtesans*, trans. Macleod, M.D., eds., Page, T.E., Capps, E., Rouse, W.H.D., Post, L.A., Warmington, E.H., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1961, Vol. VII., pp. 357, 401.

[339] Although my translation of Deubner's text does not lead me to this conclusion, with the vase painting being explained as a naked woman performing "fertility magic", Brumfield's sharp inference is worth recognizing. Deubner, pp. 65-66. in Brumfield, p.112.

these actions were performed in the service of Demeter, remaining faithful to her myth by reenacting acts that had caused her both grief and joy. These, in effect, change assumptions about the nature of the festival from being a gathering of wealthy women praying for more offspring to a setting where women teach, learn from each other and perform acts in service of the *polis* in a festival that included all women where activities would be kept entirely detached and secret from men.

4.2. From Greece to Asia Minor

At the root of all Demeter's rites is the recognition that she has devised them herself. Although Hellenic belief recognizes sanctuaries to be places where the gods reside, one particular location is particularly attributed to the residency of Demeter. After asking the royal family of Eleusis to build her a temple where she would reside while she waited for Persephone's return, it is narrated in the *Homeric Hymn* as

> Let a great temple, with a great altar at its base,
> be built by the entire *dêmos*. Make it at the foot of the acropolis and its steep walls.
> Make it loom over the well of Kallikhoron, on a prominent hill.
> And I will myself instruct you in the sacred rites so that, in the future,
> you may perform the rituals in the proper way and thus be pleasing to my *noos*.[340]

In return for this gesture, the goddess would not only withdraw her wrath from the humans, a direct result of Metaneira's insult, but she would also teach them her rites, the *mysteries.* While a significant portion of Demeter's rituals remains unknown, the mysteries, as implied by their name, constitute the most enigmatic of her ceremonies. They are thought to have evolved from and expanded upon the much older Thesmophoria,[341] even though their underlying purposes are distinctly separate from any of Demeter's known agricultural rites. Although, as Chaniotis argues, any ritual has the effect of changing those who perform them, the *mysteries* offered a significantly different promise of change, the prospect of a better afterlife.[342] The knowledge of how to achieve this was only available to those

[340] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* 270-274.

[341] Clinton, K., "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis", eds. Marinatos N., Hägg, R., *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches*, Routledge, London and New York, 1993, p.95.

[342] Chaniotis, A., "Introduction", ed. Chaniotis, A., *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2011, p.10.

Figure 10: A rendering of the interior of the Telesterion during the initiations. (Eleusis: The Inner Experience by Elena Partida and John Goodinson)

initiated. While there is no specific evidence to flesh out how the initiation occurred, one factor apparently at play during the rituals was the dichotomy of light and darkness.

The *Homeric Hymn* makes clear that the uninitiated will not get to experience what the initiated do and fall into an obscure and misty realm after they die.[343] This theme is more explicitly underscored by Aristophanes, who states that an afterlife with "light" is only possible to those who have been initiated into the *mysteries.*[344] Initiation is considered to be an imitation of the act of dying. Arguably, the most insightful evidence of the *mysteries* comes to us from Plutarch

> Thus we say that the soul that has passed thither is dead (*olôlenai*), having regard to its complete (*eis to holon*) change and conversion. In this world it is without knowledge, except when it is already at the point of death; but when that time comes, it has an experience like that of men who are undergoing initiation into great mysteries; and so the verbs *teleutân* (die) and *teleisthai* (be initiated), and the actions they denote, have a similarity. In the beginning there is straying and wandering, the weariness of running this way and that, and nervous journeys through darkness that reach no goal, and then immediately before the

[343] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* 481-482.

[344] Aristophanes, *Aristophanes Comoediae,* eds., Hall, F.W., Geldart, W.M., vol. 2., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907, 455.

> consummation every possible terror, shivering and trembling and sweating and amazement. But after this a marvellous light meets the wanderer, and open country and meadow lands welcome him; and in that place there are voices and dancing and the solemn majesty of sacred music and holy visions. And amidst these, he walks at large in new freedom, now perfect and fully initiated, celebrating the sacred rites, a garland upon his head, and converses with pure and holy men; he surveys the uninitiated, unpurified mob here on earth, the mob of living men who, herded together in mirk and deep mire, trample one another down and in their fear of death cling to their ills, since they disbelieve in the blessings of the other world.[345]

The linguistic similarity between the words "dying," "teleuton" and "to be initiated," "teleisthai" alludes to the connection between death and the rites taking place within the *mysteries*.[346] The *Telesterion,* where the initiations took place in Eleusis, was a monumental hall that was significantly dark. A torch-lit space with no discernible windows and doors that most likely closed during initiation rituals, it was, by all means, defined by darkness (Figure 10). One theory is that such darkness was a re-enactment of Demeter's search for her daughter with torches in her hand, while another, in line with Plutarch's descriptions of the events, is that it was symbolic of the darkness that falls upon oneself after death.[347] While the first example is valid as it demonstrates how the myth correlates with the ritual, the second is particularly intriguing as it indicates the influence of darkness on the initiate.

Boutsikas defines the Hellenic conception of darkness as two stages. First is temporary darkness, experienced when the night comes with the knowledge that it will eventually end. The second is permanent darkness, experienced in death, and is the indefinite state of the underworld.[348] The initiation rites had the capacity to transform the permanence of death to a transient state. Those initiated did not fall into the darkness of the underworld but were keepers of secrets about the afterlife

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[345] Plutarch, *Fragments,* trans., Sandbach, F.H., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1987, fr. 178, pp. 317-319.

[346] Along a similar line, Johnston reads the *Telesterion* as the place of "completion". Johnston, p.100.

[347] Avgerinou, P., Dreni, S., "The Acoustics of the Eleusinian Telesterion", ed. Eneix, L.C., *Archaeoacoustics: The Archaeology of Sound: Publication of Proceedings from the 2014 Conference in Malta*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014, p. 148.

[348] Boutsikas, E., "The role of Darkness in ancient Greek religion and religious practice", ed., Papadopoulos, C., Moyes, H., *The Oxford Handbook of Light in Archaeology,* Oxford University Press, 2017.

that non-initiates did not acquire. Transmission of this knowledge was done directly through experience. Following the initiation rites within the dark and fearfully loud[349] *Telesterion*, the initiates would return to the light-filled world of the mortals by stepping outside its bounds. Through the initiation, they experienced a rite of passage that prepared them for the darkness of the afterlife. As timing was inseparable from the purpose of rituals, arguing that these rites took place at night only to reveal the outside world to the initiates in the early morning hours supports this narrative.[350] The initiation rituals spanning several days, beginning with the procession, continuing with the secret rites, and then the sacrifice before returning home, would certainly have accommodated night rituals within its schedule.[351] Another reference to the darkness experienced by the initiates refers to the root of the word *mysteries*. The term "Mysteria" is likely linked to *mystes* meaning an initiate, coming from *muein*, signifying "to close," possibly alluding to initiates who were initially blindfolded and guided by a figure called the *mystagogue*.[352] Through both cases, the darkness of the *Telestrion* and being blindfolded, the initiate temporarily loses sight. Consequently, they learn to see the light in the afterlife by temporarily experiencing the absence of it as mortals.

Revealing the light of the afterlife to the initiates was a particularly noteworthy case of civic identity for the Greeks. Its emphasis on tradition and the unique identity of the Greeks as Hellenes was likely a driving force in keeping its secrets within a defined group.[353] With their secrets possibly being the best preserved in the ancient world, they constituted the most exclusive and secluded group in the Hellenic world. The Samothracian mysteries were equal to the renown of the Eleusinian mysteries, dedicated to a diverse array of deities and prominently featuring the great mother, who is associated with Demeter. Notably, this sacred tradition

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[349] The archaeoacoustics study conducted on the initiation rituals by Avgerinou and Dreni include the presence of speeches given, screaming, metal drums, music, chants, with all the sounds echoing back to the initiates through the walls covered with resonant materials. Avgerinou and Dreni, p.148.

[350] Boutsikas, p.43.

[351] Clinton, K., “The Mysteries of Demeter and Kore”, ed. ed., Ogden, D., *A Companion to Greek Religion,* Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 345.

[352] Ibid., p. 343.

[353] Pakkanen’s comment on the Eleusinian cult of Demeter was that: “It focused people's attention on the old traditions and on the special identity of the Greeks as Hellenes.” Pakkanen, p. 29.

assumes historical significance as it was during their initiation into the Samothracian mysteries that the illustrious figures of Philip II and Olympias, the parents of Alexander met.[354] Indeed, the mysteries were akin to an exclusive and secretive club, with initiation reserved for a select few, connecting individuals with considerable influence and power. However, the mysteries of this highly exclusive community are yet to be understood, as George Mylonas, who has worked as an archaeologist in Eleusis for decades writes

> How many nights have I spent standing on the steps of the Telesterion, flooded with the magic silver light of the Mediterranean moon, hoping to catch the mood of the initiates, hoping that the human soul might get a glimpse of what the rational mind could not investigate! All in vain- the ancient world has kept its secret well and the Mysteries of Eleusis remain unrevealed.[355]

The Eleusinian *mysteries,* although there were theories that they derived from them, were not annual festivals held in honor of Demeter. The *Telesterion* was not a *Thesmophorion.* Eleusis was a deme of Athens, and the initiations there accommodated a procession from Athens 22km away.[356] The *Thesmophoria* had no discernible procession other than the ascent (*anados*) that took place on the festival's first day. Hence, the *Thesmophoria* celebrations of Athens are thought to have occurred on the Pnyx or the Acropolis.[357] While there is no archaeological evidence, the Pnyx mentioned in Aristophanes's *Thesmophoriazusae* presents a possible case of its proximity to it. As the passage narrates: "let us pass round the whole Pnyx, examine the tents and the passages" it also asserts the conditions under which the festival took place.[358] The existence of tents and sleeping huts at the site of the *Thesmophoria* suggests that it might have been a temporary resettlement of the Pnyx. The Pnyx, a hill where assemblies took place when it was not occupied by the women of the *Thesmophoria,* indicates a displacement of men

[354] Plutarch, *Alexander*, trans. Perrin, B., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1919, 2.; Burkert, W., "Concordia Discordia: the Literary and the Archaeological Evidence on the Sanctuary of Samothrace", eds., Marinatos, N., Hägg R., *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches*, Routledge, London and New York, 1993, p. 185; in Loman, P., *Mobility of Hellenistic Women*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2004, p. 155.

[355] Mylonas, G.E., "Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries", *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 1947, p.141.

[356] Clinton, 1993, p.88., Loman, p.153, Brumfield, p.82.

[357] Dillon, p.113.

[358] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 655. For sleeping huts; Blundell, p.163.

from the site.[359] In Zeitlin's words, this transition was an: "…alternative reality to everyday life, a temporary surrender to the natural sacrality of life at its source, narrated in the female body and correlated with the founding myth of Demeter and Persephone."[360]

As the rites of Demeter had a highly political character of reproducing the entire *polis*, the transfer of political rights of men to the political rites of women for the duration of the festival is a compelling case. As the setting witnessing both events, the Pnyx remains the only constant within this transition. With its loaded political character, the continuity of events held for the benefit of the *polis*, whether within the sphere of men's democratic assemblies or women's religious rituals, rightly occupied the same space. However, as the temporary occupation in the Pnyx left no material residue, the sanctuary at Eleusis presents a particular case for the dissemination of the sacred architecture of Demeter.

The sanctuary of the Eleusinian mysteries, including the *Telesterion*, is akin to a palimpsest, bearing multiple layers that mirror the transformations and different occupancies it underwent across the centuries (Figure 11). Mylonas describes today's sanctuary as a "maze of foundations and broken stones" with remains of occupation dating as far as 2000 BC on the Eleusinian hill.[361] Most significant remains of cult activity, however, date to the Late Helladic II and III periods, the Mycenaean Age from c. 1500-1100 BC, when Demeter visited the Eleusinian king Keleos and demanded a place of worship.[362] The Mycenean megaron, followed by the Geometric temple, which was replaced by the Archaic temple, gave way to Peisistratos's sixth-century *Telesterion*.[363] The transformations of the sanctuary were likely a direct result of its spaces proving inadequate for the rising numbers of attendees in Demeter's rites. However, the next stage in the sanctuary's

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[359] Blundell, p.164. The same displacement happened in Thebes "while the senate was in session in the portico in the market-place, for the reason that the women were celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria in the Cadmea" Xenophon, *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*, *1 and 2,* trans., Brownson, C.L., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., William Heinemann, Ltd., London, vol. 1, 1918; vol. 2, 1921, 5.2.29.

[360] Zeitlin, p. 139.

[361] Mylonas, 1947, pp.132-133.

[362] Ibid., p.133.

[363] Ibid., p.135.

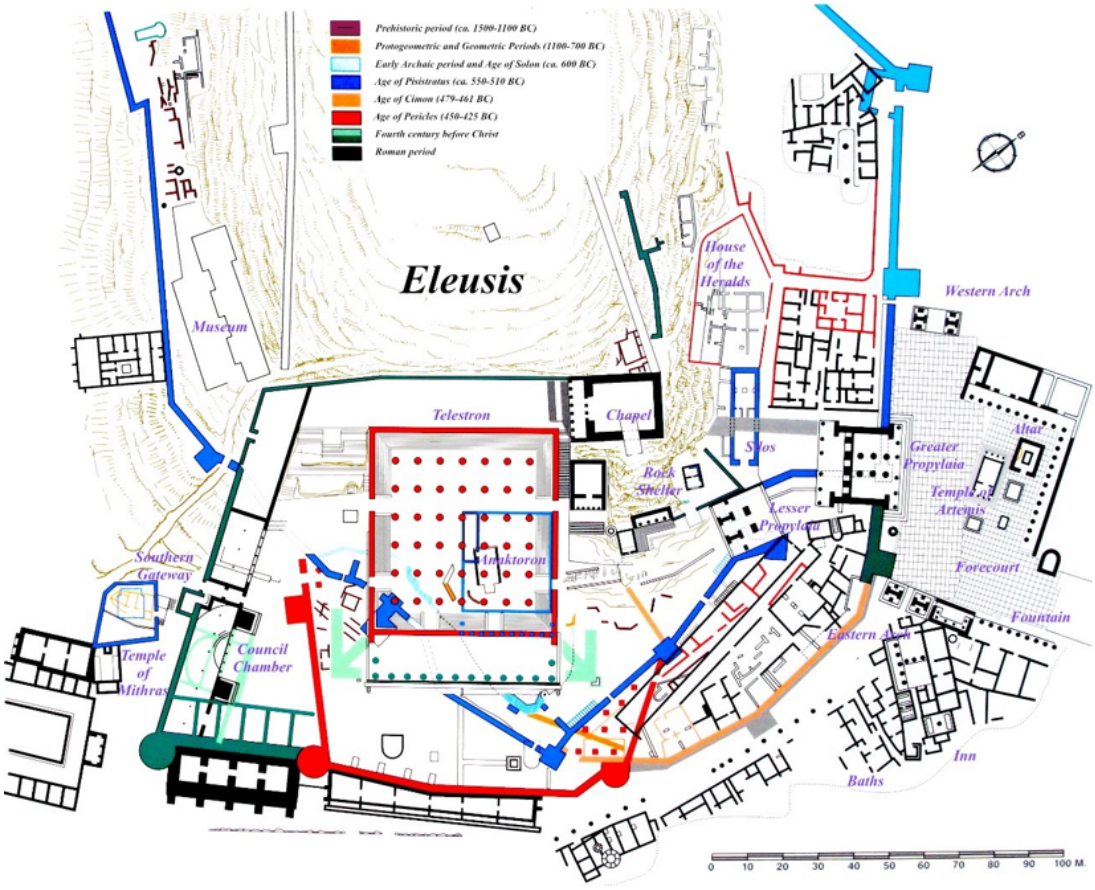

Figure 11: Changes to the architectural layout of Demeter's precinct in Eleusis. (Patricia Duff, University of Cambridge)

refurbishing occurred as a direct result of the Persian attacks of 480-479 BC.[364] The Pericleian *Telesterion* was the largest constructed and consisted of a two-story layout, with the main floor being the large opening at the center where the initiations took place and the second floor above the stairs where the initiates would sit to watch the rituals taking place. The Roman rule also saw significant additions to the sanctuary like the refurbishing of the two *propylaea*, the addition of pavement, statues and altars.[365] It is, however, a secure assertion to affirm that the sanctuary dating back to the 4th century retained a unique and enduring legacy (Figure 12). It continued to serve as a quintessential archetype for subsequent

[364] Ibid., p.136. Demeter is told to be the deity who afforded victory to the Greeks in the Battle of Salamis, so honoring her with a new temple was a religious and political act. The tale narrated in Herodotus, VIII, 65.

[365] Mylonas, G.E., *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1961, pp.155ff.

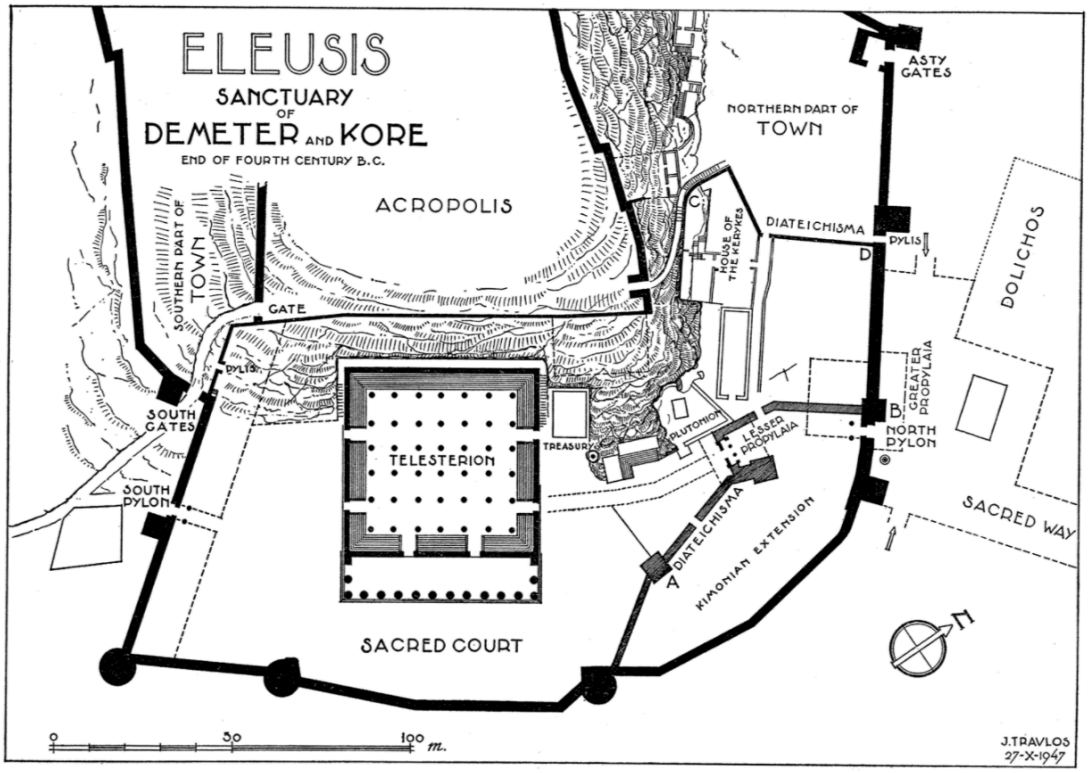

Figure 12: Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at the end of the fourth century. (Travlos, 1947, fig.2)

Hellenistic communities devoted to Demeter, offering them a compelling model to emulate in their religious traditions and rituals.

To anchor the connection between the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis and the continuation of the tradition established there, six architectural features will be analyzed to be constants within the spaces related to her worship. These are; retaining walls that presented a stark separation from the outside world, *propylaea* that reinforced this divide, fountains to facilitate the essential purification rituals, altars employed for making offerings, the *bothrai* that are used to prepare the offerings, and the steps from which all the sacred rites could be observed. While the following chapter will focus on how these features were manifested within Hellenistic sanctuaries of Demeter in Western Asia Minor, some connections to their presence will be made here. However, the main scope of the analysis here will encompass their presence within the deity's sanctuaries prior to the Hellenistic period.

The sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis, which itself was “a hidden city, buried in a fold of the land”[366], was a heavily fortified precinct (Figure 13). It afforded a thick fortification wall of polygonal masonry even before the Persian attack.[367] After the attack, the reconstruction of the walls led by Kimon and Perikles resulted in an expansion of the precinct, also necessitated by the now larger *Telesterion*. The sanctuary also needed to grow in size because of the additional structures introduced to its program, such as storehouses for the offerings and burials.[368] The expansion not only provided the precinct with a larger area but employing earlier fortification walls within its program created several layers of access. The *Telesterion*, the innermost zone, could now be entered through two *propyla.* Although the monumental entrances were built during the Roman period, there were predecessors. The Lesser *Propylaea*, defining the innermost chamber of the precinct, stood in the place of an earlier *propylon* of the Peisistratean period.[369] The gate defining the fortification of the inner chamber remained intact while Kimon and Perikles erected walls, creating additional rings. Upon Kimon’s expansion of the precinct to the east and north, an addition of another *propylon*, later rebuilt by the Romans and called the Greater *Propylaea*, facilitated a dual entry system.[370] Between the two gates were spaces that served the sanctuary’s staff while also possibly settings for holding minor religious rites.[371] What has particular significance here, as was also replicated in the Hellenistic precincts dedicated to Demeter, is the existence of hierarchical levels of access, with the *Telesterion* at its very core.

To the left of the external entry, where the later Greater *Propylaea* would be located, stood a fountain with a well that was dated to the second half of the sixth century B.C.[372] The well was named Kallichoron, meaning “the beautiful place of dancing”, which, according to Apollodorus, was where Demeter sat when she arrived in

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[366] Waterhouse, A., "Cities in a God-Filled Landscape", *Boundaries of the City: The Architecture of Western Urbanism*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1993, p.104.

[367] Mylonas, 1947, p.136.

[368] Mylonas, 1961, p.125ff.

[369] Ibid., p.93.

[370] Ibid., pp.104, 110-111.

[371] Ibid., p.173.

[372] Ibid., p. 98.

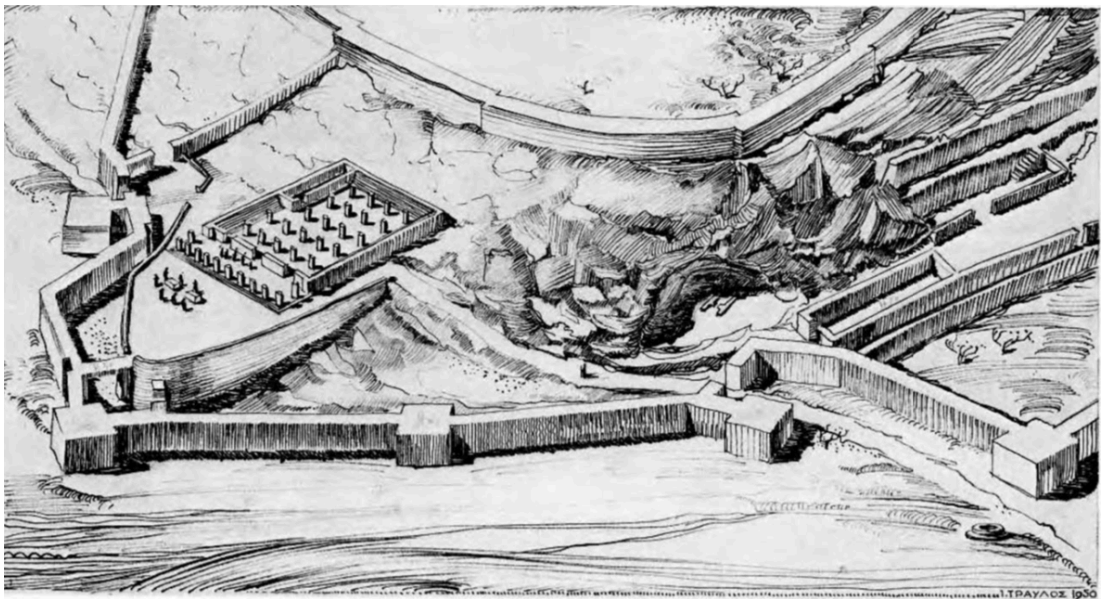

Figure 13: Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. (Travlos, 1950)

Eleusis.[373] The *Homeric Hymn* also mentions the well in Demeter's request for a temple to "Make it loom over the well of Kallikhoron".[374] Hence, this fountain serves not only as a practical element upon entering Demeter's sanctuary for purification but also as a symbolic representation, deeply intertwined with her myth. Placing the fountain outside the boundaries of the temenos served a dual purpose. It not only created a transitional zone into the realm of Demeter but also, arguably, offered water to those who were not permitted to enter her sacred precinct. The tradition established through myth and ritual finds emulation in the placement of fountains at the entrances of sites such as Pergamon and Priene.

The Eleusinian sanctuary housed several altars spanning centuries. The altars held great reverence, and in a commitment to perpetuating the traditions, any renovation or expansion of the sanctuary consistently incorporated measures to ensure the preservation of the earlier altars. The remains of the Archaic altar found in front of the temple were encircled by the Peisistratean *peribolos* that went around it.[375] The same Peisistratean wall defines a triangle-shaped portico to the South of the *Telesterion* where the twin altars of the goddesses mentioned by Euripides are

[373] Apollodorus, 1.5.1.

[374] Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 272.

[375] Mylonas, 1961, p.70.

thought to have been located (Figure 13).[376] Mylonas suggests this altar to be next to the *Telesterion*, but the lack of concrete evidence of such a structure leads Evans to rebuke this claim and argue that all altars were deliberately placed outside the inner *temenos.*[377] Noack's hypothesis that the initial site of worship of Demeter consisted of a retaining wall housing an altar and the Archaic temple was built on top of the altar reinforces the argument that altars were the primary focus of ritual attention in Demeter's rites.[378] The continuation of the tradition is present in Pergamon, where each ruler's addition to Demeter's sanctuary further incorporated pre-Philetarian altars. Another aspect mimicked in the Pergamene sanctuary was the location of an altar placed beyond the sanctuary walls before Apollonis's refurbishing. Evans argues that the Eleusinian sanctuary had all its altars outside the inner walls. As the sanctuary was not a *Thesmophorion* but a location where egalitarian secret rites took place, the decision is explained as

> Altars represent, among other things, the locus for a common and significant type of mediation with the gods which simultaneously places those with political power in the cultic center, and those with less power at the margins. If altars were absent from the interior of the sanctuary, then the *teletai* in the Telesterion were experienced in a more egalitarian way by those who chose to participate in the Eleusinian Mysteries.[379]

While the Eleusinian sanctuary remains the sole example where the mysteries occurred, and thus the most likely candidate for using altars outside the sanctuary's boundaries to create a sense of equality among participants, the inherent exclusivity of Demeter's rituals held within the precinct may have made it necessary to employ altars outside the *temenos*. This likely allowed access to certain aspects of her cult for those unable to enter the sacred precinct, providing more inclusivity.[380]

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[376] Euripides, *Suppliants,* ed., Murray, G., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913, 33 mentioned in Mylonas, 1961, p.91.

[377] Evans, N.A., "Sanctuaries, Sacrifices, and the Eleusinian Mysteries", *Numen*, Vol. 49, No. 3, 2002, p. 243.

[378] Noack, F., Eleusis: Die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes, Walter de Gruter & Co., Berlin, Leipzig, 1927, p.10.

[379] Evans, p. 230.

[380] Participation in Demeter's rites of certain groups is discussed in the chapter "From Myth to Ritual" while the exclusion of a large portion of the population, men, is widely established.

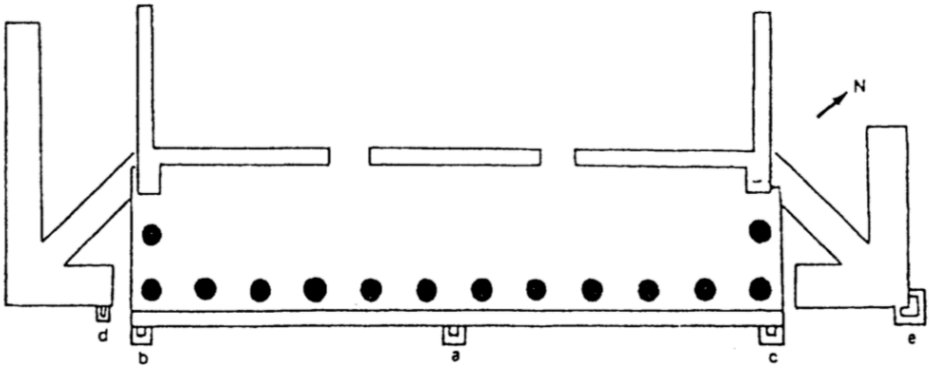

Figure 14: The porch of the Telesterion showing in a-e the *botrai*.
(Evans, fig.5 reproduced from Clinton, 1988, p.74)

Another crucial element present in all of Demeter's precincts was the *bothros.* Given its considerable size and significance within the Hellenic world, the Eleusinian sanctuary featured multiple *bothrai*. Although the *Telesterion* did not host altars, its portico had five pits (Figure 14).[381] Additional pits, presumed to be *bothrai*, were situated in front of the Plutonium and within the "sacred house" just outside the sanctuary's southern gateway.[382] The abundance of *bothrai* within the sanctuary is a testimony to the link between the *mysteries* and the *Thesmophoria.*[383] The votive offerings brought up from the *bothrai* within and around the *temenos* suggest that even though the *mysteries* were an event separate from the agricultural rites, they were still intricately linked. This leads to Travlos's argument that the "sacred house" just outside the *temenos* functioned as a *Thesmophorion.*[384] This theory also leads to the *bothrai* in front of the portico serving Demeter's agricultural rites. As the mysteries offered initiates knowledge that could only be acquired through direct experience or from Demeter herself, forging a connection between the secret rites and the sacrifice she endured as she sent Persephone to the underworld would establish a deep and personal bond.[385]

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[381] Evans, p. 241.

[382] Mylonas, 1961, Plutonium; p.147.; Sacred House; pp.59,60,73.

[383] Evans, p.248.

[384] Travlos, J., *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika,* Tübingen, 1988, p. 93. In Clinton, 1992, p.120.

[385] The *bothros* and its connection to Demeter's experience is further elaborated in the chapter "Acts of Sacrifice".

Despite the absence of a clear recorded account due to its secretive nature, the initiation ritual was undoubtedly a profoundly sensory experience. The event in a completely enclosed environment meant that *all* aspects of the senses could be controlled. It was, after all, an experience that the initiate had to go through to gain insight. While it is challenging to reconstruct olfactory experiences, there is no doubt that the circumstances surrounding the initiation were highly visually charged.[386] Having "seen" things the initiation reveals was a prominent aspect of the rituals.[387] Therefore, the area designated for the initiation functioned in a manner akin to a theater, albeit with a roof. Designed in a way that diverged from known forms of religious architecture in the Hellenic world, it was profoundly utilitarian. It was enclosed on all four sides by seating steps, allowing the initiates to witness the rituals despite the interior featuring a forest of 42 columns. The labyrinthine interior likely heightened the sense of mystery surrounding the rites, underscoring the notion that even witnessing or experiencing them could only provide a fragment of the complete truth. This striking seating arrangement led to later discoveries of steps within Demeter's sanctuaries, an example being Pergamon, being immediately likened to the *Telesterion.*[388] Nonetheless, there was an additional seating area that bore a more significant resemblance to Pergamon's *theatron*. Like the *theatron* facing the five altars on the precinct floor, seating steps between the inner and outer fortification wall faced the Archaic altar. Mylonas defined the only possible purpose of the seating steps as the designated area to watch the spectacles that took place within the court, specifically the altar.[389]

While the Eleusinian sanctuary was realized to serve the singular purpose of initiation rituals for the *mysteries*, it provided the vocabulary to construct Demeter's sanctuaries during the gradual process of Hellenization. Two arguments connected the mysteries to Demeter's agricultural rites. The first posited that the mysteries represented an expanded version of the *Thesmophoria*, while the second suggested that the contents deposited within the *bothrai* were employed in the context of the *Thesmophoria*. It remains uncertain whether a definitive connection can be established between the two. What is certain, however, is that the sanctuary

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[386] Avgerinou and Dreni have worked on sound as an important aspect of the initiations.

[387] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 480.

[388] Dörpfeld, W., *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908- 1909: I. Die Bauwerke,* Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung Bd. 35, 1910, p. 370.

[389] Mylonas, 1961, p. 72.

of the Eleusinian mysteries was not a Thesmophorion. Nevertheless, it served as the nexus for the transmission of Demeter's rites to Asia Minor and facilitated the transfer of the associated architectural elements.

4.2.1. The Arrival of Demeter's Sanctuaries in Western Asia Minor

The Hellenistic period is often regarded as an era where Hellenic culture, values and religion were disseminated at a large scale. However, with its proximity to the Greeks, Western Asia Minor experienced such interaction far earlier than the majority of the lands conquered by Alexander. The transmission of the cult of Demeter from Greece is argued by Karataş to have taken place during the years when the Delian League was intact.[390] The 5th-century league enabling constant dialogue between the two sides of the Aegean does provide a convincing case for the dissemination of Demeter's rites. However, an exception that predates this theory and argues for an earlier establishment of Demeter's worship is Ephesus. The Ephesian sanctuary of Demeter was certainly a *Thesmophorion.* The sanctuary was mentioned in Herodotus's account of the Ionian Revolt of 499 BC, where the women gathered to celebrate the *Thesmophoria.*[391] The sanctuary is thought to have been located at the gates of the city and dated to the 6th century BC (Figure 16).[392] There were, however, others who suggest that Demeter's place of worship was initially where the later temple of Artemis would be located. Bammer makes the striking inference that: There is some evidence that the Artemision was originally dedicated to Cybele and Demeter and that the influence of Artemis became dominant only after the Lydian kings had built the great temple on the site of the former places of sacrifice."[393]

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[390] Karataş, A.M.S., *The Sanctuaries of Demeter in Western Asia Minor and on the Islands off the Coast*, Unpiblished PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 2015, p. 41. In Bulba, M., "Kaunos Demeter Kutsal Alanı: Mimarisi ve İdentifikasyonu",*TÜBA-AR Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi*, vol.24, 2019, p.223, f.50.

[391] Herodotus, 6.16.

[392] Schipporeit, S.T., *Kulte und Heiligtümer der Demeter und Kore in Ionien*, Byzas 16, Ege Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013, p. 29. The gate suggested by Schipporeit is the Magnesian Gate of Ephesus.

[393] Bammer, A., *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos,* Graz, Akademische Druck-u, Verlagsanstalt, 1984, p.259. In Topal, V., *Romanization of Urban Spaces in Ephesus*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Program of History of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, 2020, p.41.

Figure 15: Locations of the sanctuaries of Demeter in Western Asia Minor. Red- Hellenistic, Blue-Pre-Hellenistic with located sites, Green-Pre-Hellenistic no identified sites.

Both theories support the presence of Demeter's temple outside the bounds of the Archaic and Classical city.[394] Herodotus's account is also a testimony to the *Thesmophoria* taking place outside the bounds of the city and being an event attended only by women. The Chians being recognized first by the women meant they had to be outside the city. As a significant majority of Demeter's sanctuaries were extramural sites of worship, *temene* located outside city bounds constitute crucial evidence for their identification. Sanctuaries of Demeter situated within city boundaries are found in the outer limits, significantly separated from the rest of the

[394] Demeter's sanctuaries being located in the suburbs of the *poleis*, and the reasoning behind this setting is further discussed in the chapter "Situating the Sanctuaries".

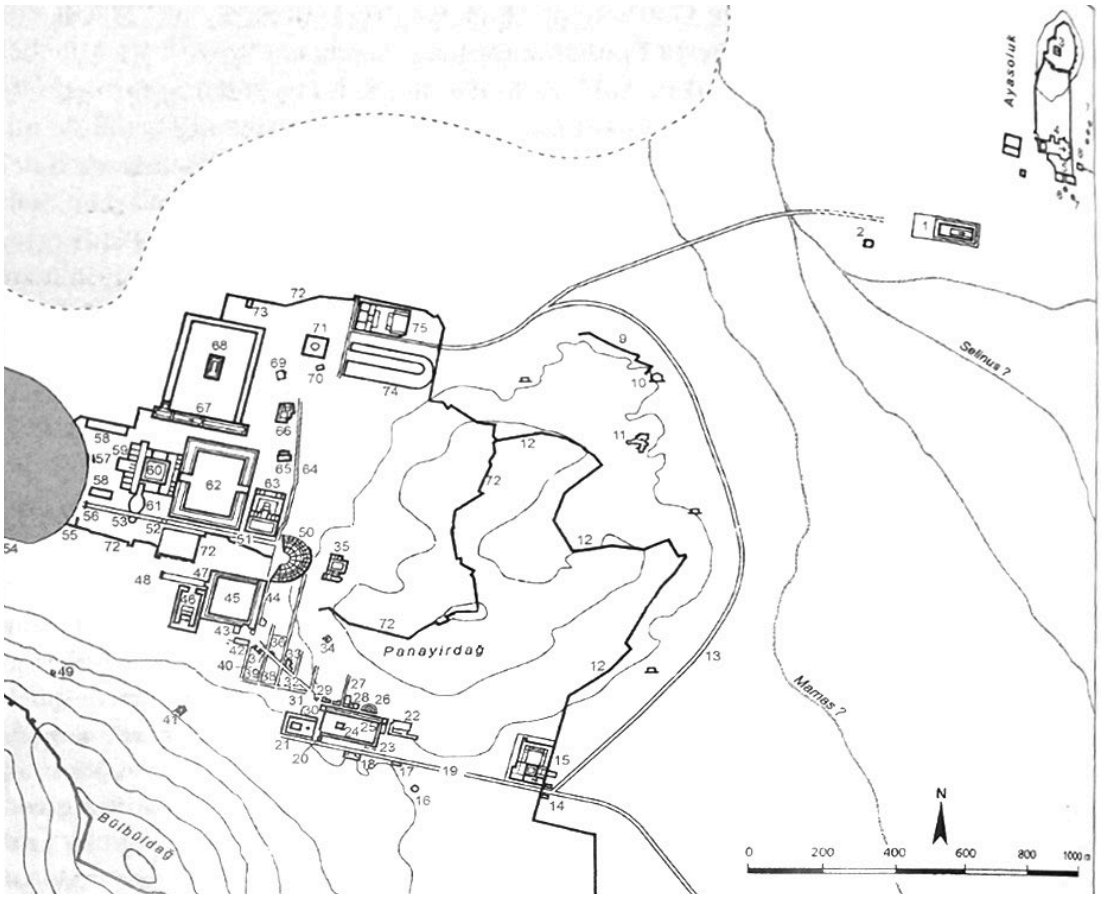

Figure 16: Ephesus plan, Magnesian Gate where the sanctuary of Demeter is thought to have been located nearby numbered “14”. (Schipporeit, p.26, Abb. 4)

sacred and secular life.[395] However, Demeter’s sanctuary in Halicarnassus offers a noteworthy exception.

Halicarnassus’s sanctuary of Demeter was an exception in that it was located within the city in a remarkably central position (Figure 17). However, the cult activity at the site is argued to have started in the 5th century BC which would place it a century before the establishment of the city which would become the Hecatomnid capital.[396] At the point of the cult’s establishment, it was likely outside the settlements on Zephyrion Hill, placing it within the tradition of extramural sanctuaries of Demeter. Another feature typical of Demeter’s sanctuaries was the *peribolos* wall around the precinct, which reveals that it was strictly cut off from the

[395] Cole’s work in “Demeter in the Ancient City and its Countryside” and chapter “Situating the Sanctuaries” offers a thorough discussion on the topic.

[396] Schipporeit, p.67.

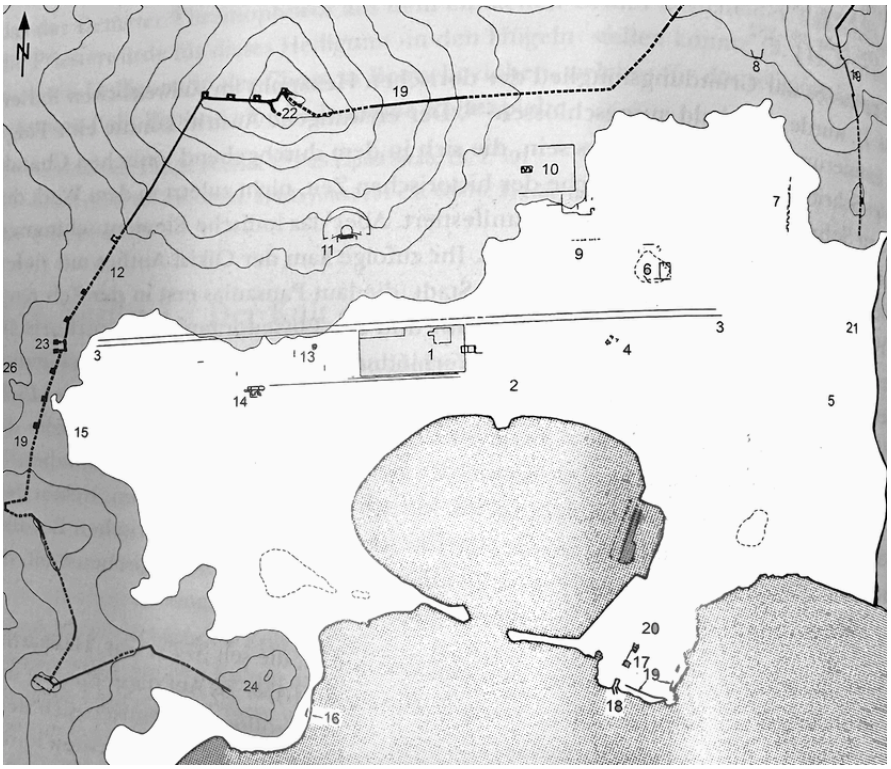

Figure 17: Halicarnassus plan, the sanctuary of Demeter is numbered “4”. (Schipporeit, p.66, Abb. 7)

rest of the urban fabric.[397] According to Newton, the dedicatory inscription defining the *temenos* as belonging to Demeter and Persephone formed part of the Hellenic wall, clearly defining the space as a separate entity.[398] The size of the sanctuary is 109.2m x 74.6m, which signals a significantly monumental precinct for Demeter, making it larger than the sanctuary at Priene at 46.5m x 19.4m and even the Pergamene sanctuary at 110 x 50m.[399] Architectural finds within the precinct are limited to small rooms, which are argued to have been used as storage as their narrow spaces could not have been utilized for any gathering (Figure 18).[400]

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[397] Ibid., 68.

[398] Newton, C.T., *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, Volume II, Day and Son, Lithographers to the Queen, London, 1862, p. 330.

[399] For Pergamon: Bohtz, C.H., Altertümer von Pergamon XIII: Das Demeter Heiligtum, W. de Gruyter, Berlin, 1981, p.6.; For Priene: Wiegand-Schrader, p.149.; For Halicarnassus: Schipporeit, p.68.

[400] Schipporeit, p. 69.

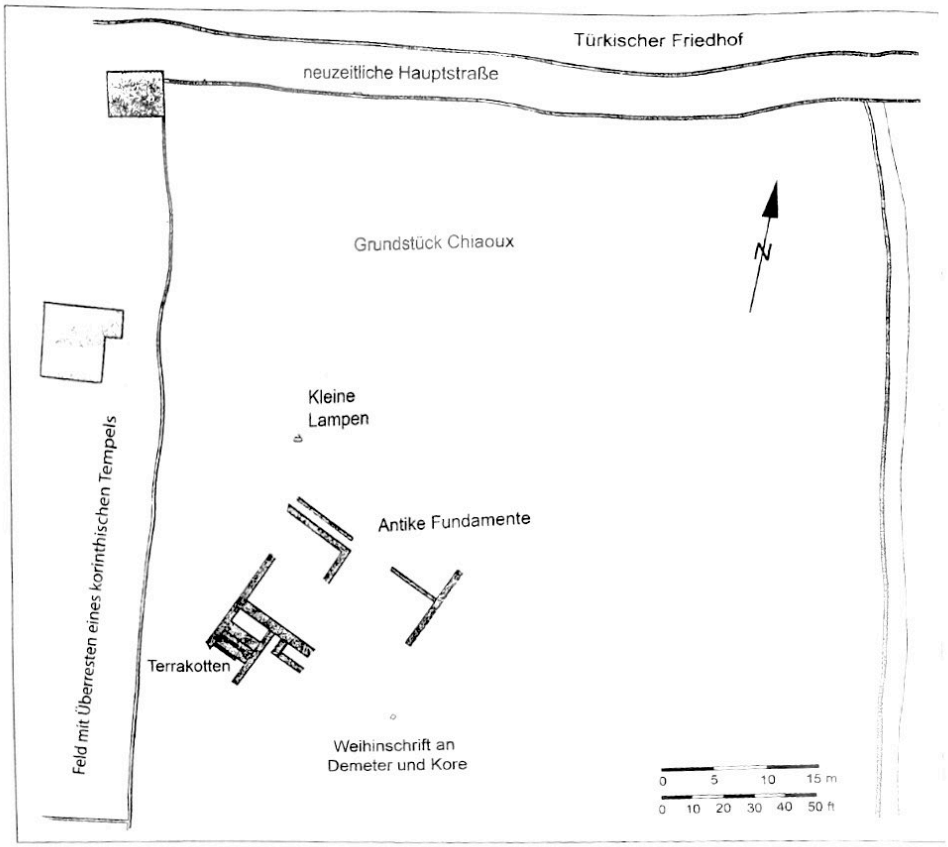

Figure 18: Sanctuary of Demeter, Halicarnassus. (Schipporeit, p.68, Abb. 8)

Like Ephesus, the sanctuary in Halicarnassus could also be regarded as a *Thesmophorion*. Significant evidence that can attest to this are discoveries of lamps and votive offerings related to Demeter's worship found at the site.[401] The lamps testified to the fact that events at night took place which required their use. Votive statues of Demeter, Kore, and Hades, as well as piglets and pomegranates, all signaled a direct connection to the myth. Similar figurines and lamps were also found in the sanctuary at Iasos and Kaunos, making both likely to be a *Thesmophorion.*[402] Another factor contributing to Ephesus, Iasos and Kaunos being considered a possible setting for the festival is their location, namely their suburban position.

The sanctuary at Kaunos, placed on the side of a hill, preserving votive offerings commonly associated with the worship of Demeter and its location on the periphery of the rest of the urban fabric attest to its identification as a site of worship for the

[401] Ibid., p. 77.

[402] Ibid., p. 96.

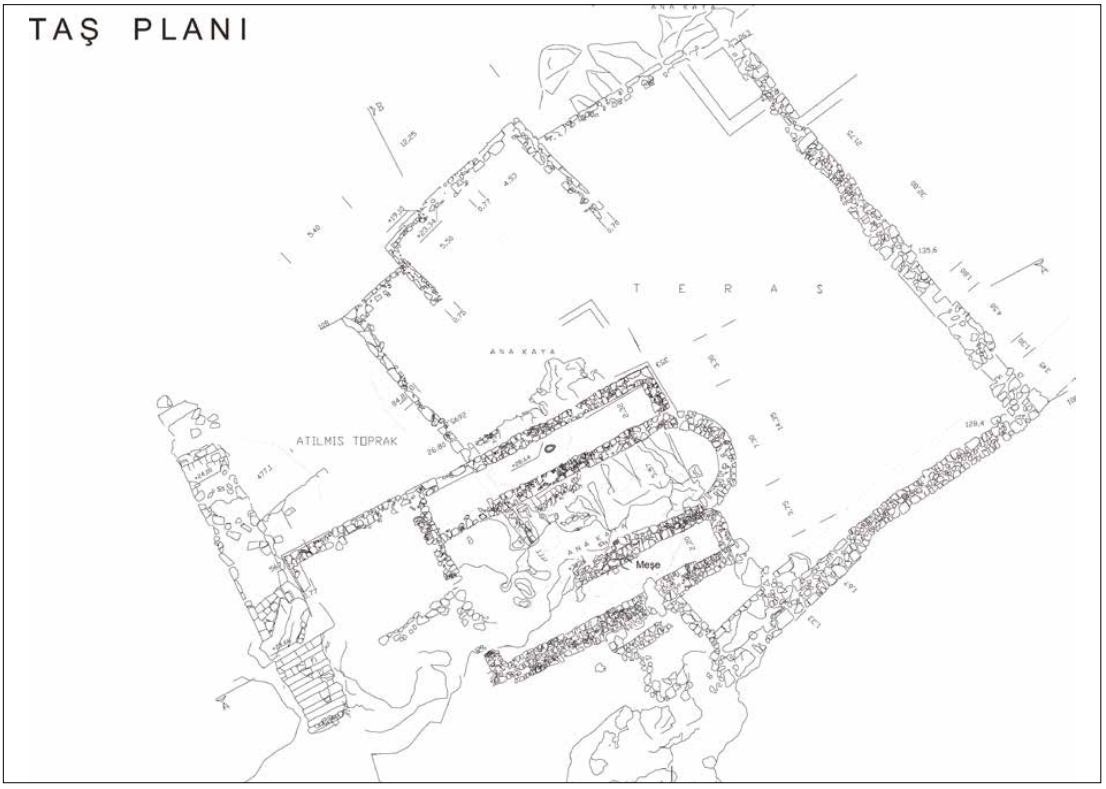

Figure 19: Sanctuary of Demeter, Kaunos. (Oğuz Özer in Bulba, p. 212, fig.2)

deity.[403] Similar to Ephesus, the cult activity at the site is argued to have begun in the Archaic Period, but evidence of worship directed at Demeter dates to the Hecatomnid period of the 4th century BC.[404] Considered to be an open-air shrine, the site of worship in Kaunos was built on rocky ground, a facet also commonly attributed to Demeter's worship (Figure 19).[405] The carved niches on the rock are presumed to have functioned as altars.[406] Other characteristics of Demeter's sanctuaries present in Kaunos are the presence of a peribolos wall and its location on the slope of a hill.[407] The sanctuary's location on the hill's slope outside the city, the existence of notable rock formations, and the discovery of figurines associated

[403] Bulba, pp. 220-221, 223. 100.000 lamps were found in Kaunos.

[404] Bulba, p. 230.

[405] Karataş describes the phenomenon of utilizing rock formations in the sanctuaries of Demeter in the Archaic period as: "The sanctuaries of Demeter at Apollonia Pontica, Neandria, Kaunos, and Iasos date to the 6th century BCE, suggesting that rocky outcrops were considered significant for the cult of Demeter during the Archaic period in different regions." Karataş, 2019, p.150.

[406] Bulba, p.229.

[407] Bulba, p. 230. Karataş, p.157.

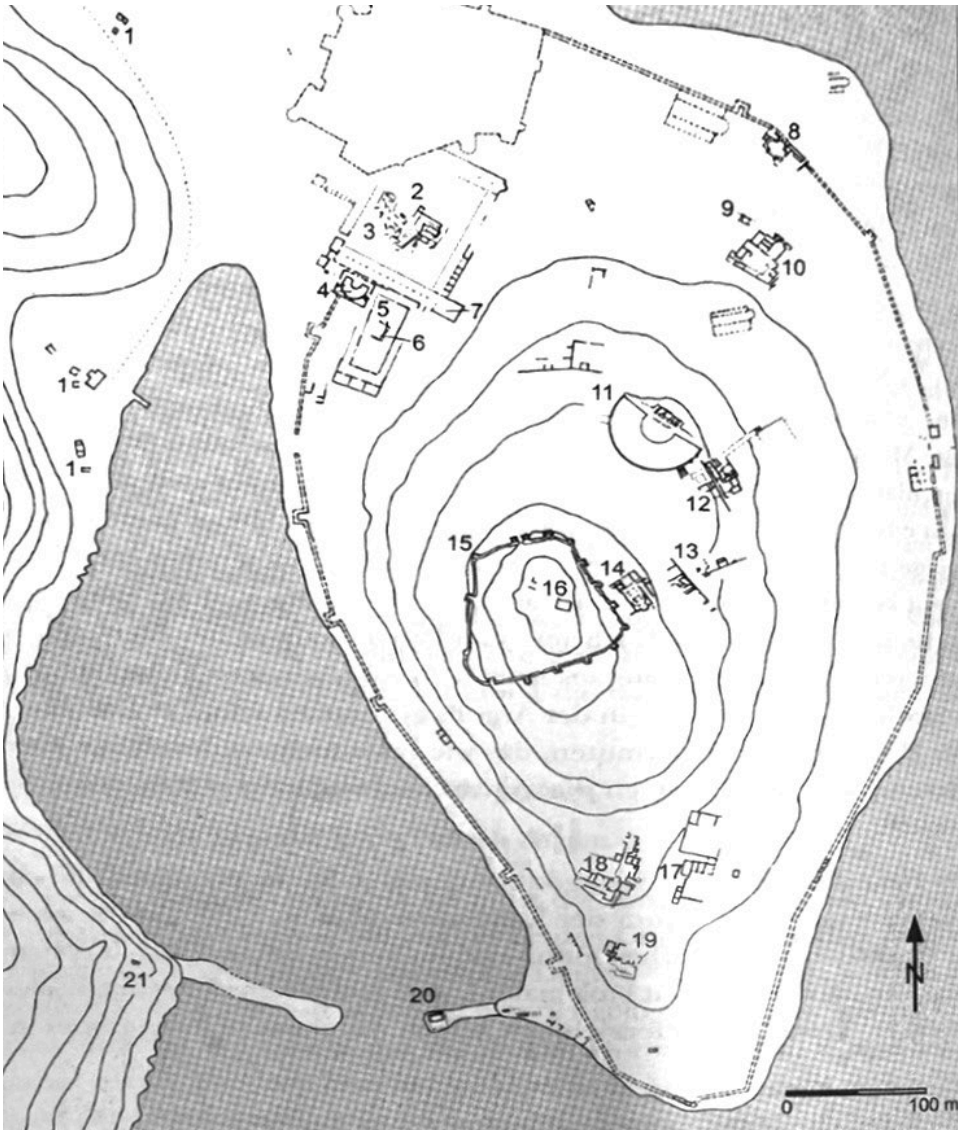

Figure 20: Iasos plan, sanctuary of Demeter numbered “19”. (Schipporeit, p.82, Abb. 9)

with Demeter's worship are more compelling pieces of evidence to identify the area as a site dedicated to the deity than the presence of a temple.

Another sanctuary with a noteworthy utilization of natural rock formations that attest to its use as a sanctuary of Demeter is in Iasos. The setting of Demeter’s sanctuary at Iasos is remarkably similar to her sanctuary at Miletus with both placed at the tip of a peninsula overlooking the sea (Figure 20). Iasos’s dating starting from the 6th century BC makes it a significantly earlier construction.[408] Although it consists of several layers of building activity, overlapping at times, the

[408] Schipporeit, p. 83.

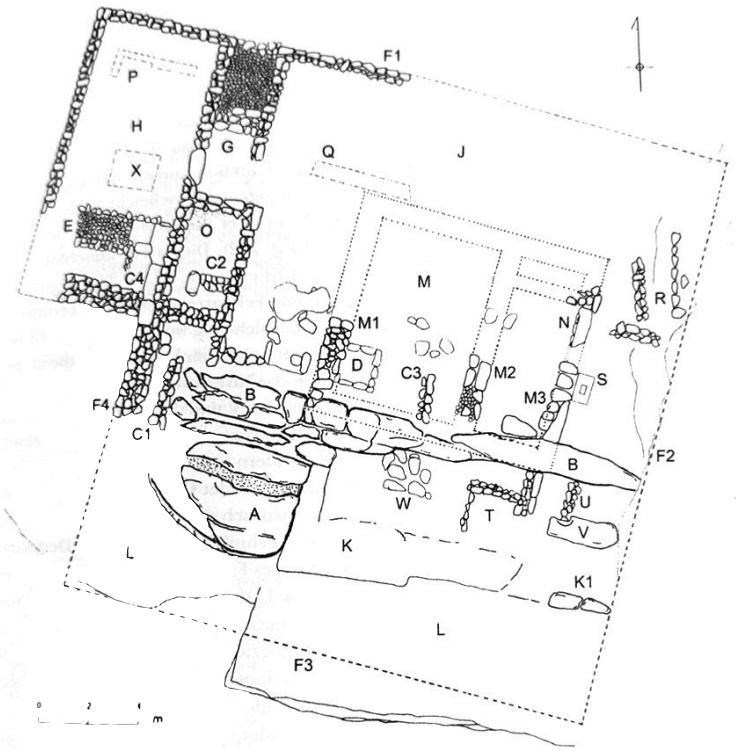

Figure 21: Sanctuary of Demeter, Iasos. (Schipporeit, p.87, Abb. 12)

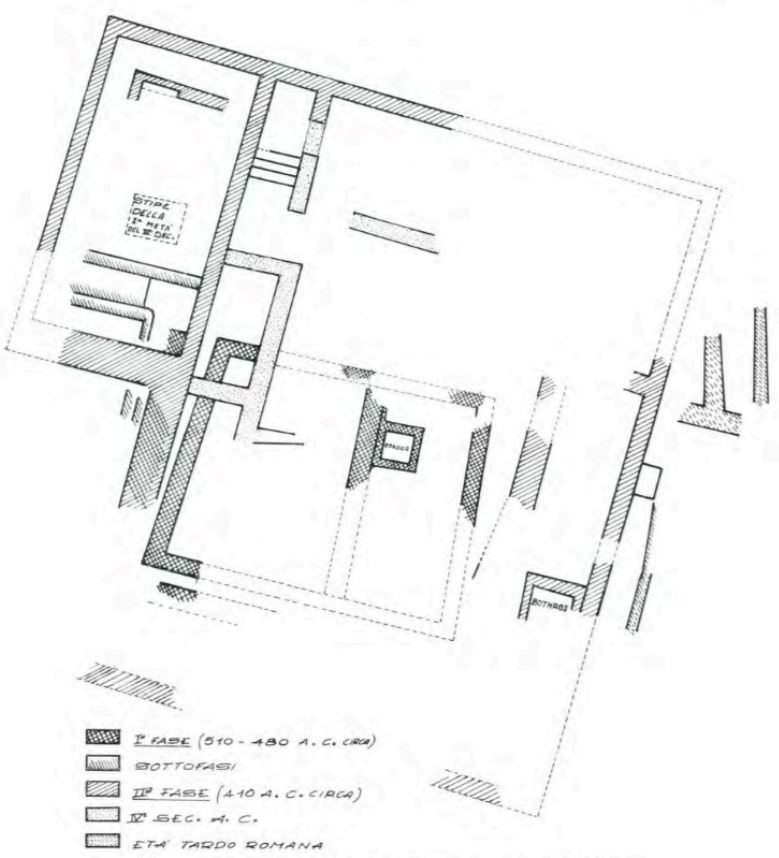

Figure 22: Sanctuary of Demeter, Iasos. (Levi, p.570, fig.37)

eschara dated ca. 510-480 BC remains the central element (Figure 21).[409] While Levi's theory suggests that the *eschara* (D) stood on the *pronaos* of the Archaic temple, Shipporeit does not find the theory convincing.[410] Instead, a proposition is made that the *eschara* was a separate entity with connections to the rock table (B) and the natural rock formation (A) (Figure 22).[411] While the first rock formation (B) spans the length of the entire precinct, effectively separating it into two terraces, possibly having sections of it used as an altar, the second (A) located on the lower terrace is argued to have been a direct reference to the Mirthless rock, where Demeter sat while she was grieving.[412] The unusual and utilitarian planning of the temple resembles that of the sanctuary at Priene, with its altars located within the temple. Another similarity between the two sanctuaries is the location of the *bothrai* right next to the *pronaos*.[413] Shipporeit remarks on this resemblance, noting that both *temene* primarily evoked the tradition of domestic architecture, featuring a house within a courtyard rather than sacred architecture. These symbolic borrowings from secular architecture are read along the lines of Demeter's sphere of influence being the preservation of the house.[414] If we accept Levi's theory that the *eschara* stood within the temple's *pronaos,* a direct reference to the altars in Priene's *cella* and *pronaos* would also be established.

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[409] Levi, D., "Gli scavi di Iasos", *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene,* Vol. XLV-XLVI, 1967/1968, p.570, fig. 37. The word *eschara* used both by Levi and Schipporeit is understood to be the same as a *bothros.* As Ekroth puts it "In correct use of the language, it has been claimed, *bothros* was distinguished from *eschara*, but such a distinction was not always observed in practice and both kinds of sacrificial installations have been considered as being used in the same cults and for the same kinds of rituals." Ekroth, G., *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults in the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic Period*, Presses Universitaires de Liège, Liège, 2002, 2.75.

[410] Levi, p. 572. Schipporeit argues that the Archaic *bothros* was located within the cella of the Classical temple. Schipporeit, p.91.

[411] Schipporeit, pp. 85ff.

[412] A theory thoroughly argued in Karataş's work "Rock-Cut Sanctuaries of Demeter and the Cultic Significance of Rocky Outcrops for the Cult of Demeter".

[413] Iasos's presumed *bothros* "T" in plan. Priene's *bothros* discussed further in the chapter "Acts of Sacrifice".

[414] Schipporeit's perspective relates to the commonly ascribed characteristic of Demeter regarding her role in human fertility. This misconception is explored in chapters titled "From Myth to Ritual" and "Religious Performance as a Form of Liberation". The idea of preserving the house, however, is a direct influence of Demeter's role in providing grain. Schipporeit, p. 92.

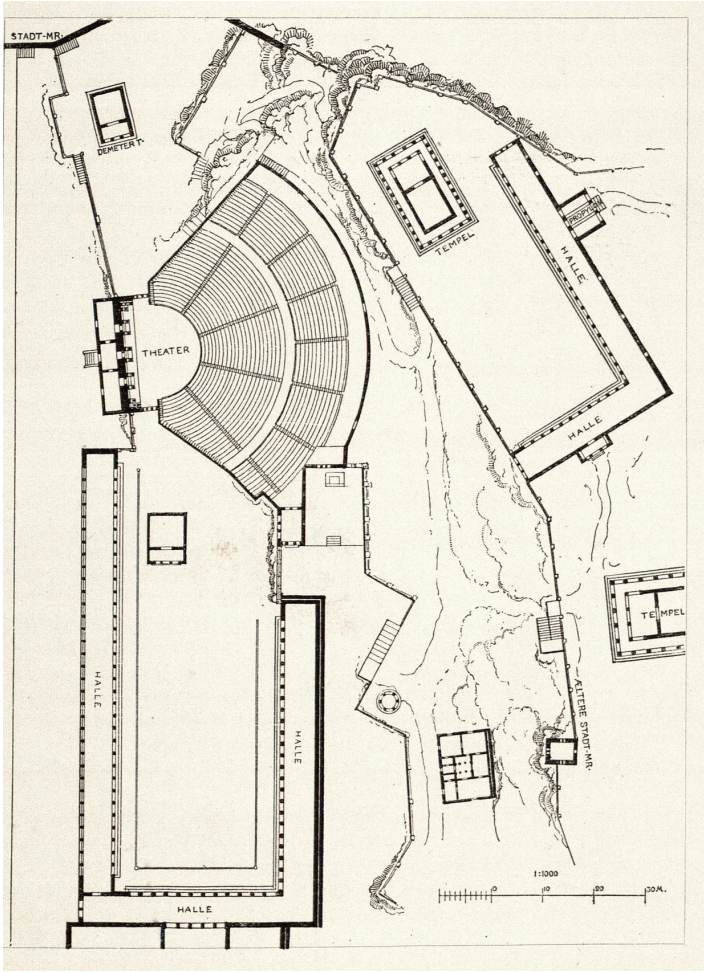

Figure 23: Aigai plan, sanctuary of Demeter on the North of the theatre, sanctuary of Athena above the theatre. (Bohn, Abb.40)

As significant similarities lie between the location of Iasos with both Miletus and Priene, another pair with striking resemblance is the temple of Demeter in Aiagai and the temple of Dionysus in Pergamon (Figure 23). The temple in Aiagai on the northwest corner of the theatre has been identified by an inscription to belong to Demeter and Kore.[415] While the inscription is dated to the 2nd century BC, the

[415] Bohn, R., *Altertümer von Aegae*, Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin, 1889, pp.41-44, 52. Bean, G.E., "Aigai", eds. Stilwell, R., MacDonald, W.L., Holland McAllister, M., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1976.

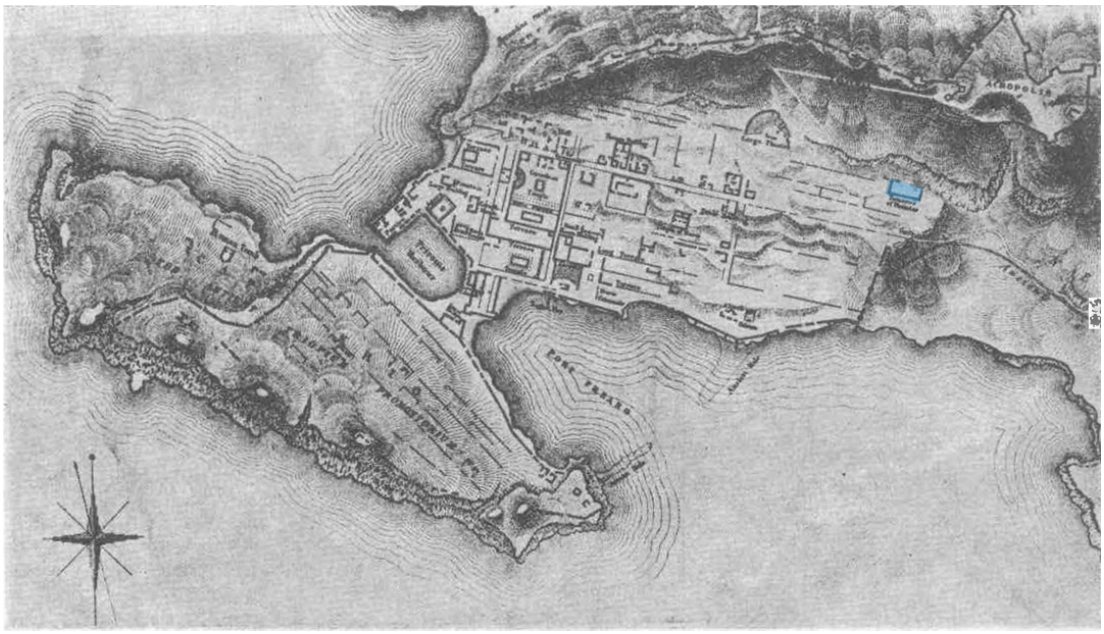

Figure 24: Knidos plan, sanctuary of Demeter indicated by blue mark. (Newton, pl. L)

temple is attributed to the 3rd century BC, or perhaps earlier.[416] Its location is remarkably similar to the Temple of Dionysos in Pergamon below the theatre. Similar to the Temple of Dionysos, it utilizes the temple terrace as a forecourt.[417] Like the Dionysian rituals that likely utilized the theatre in Pergamon, the temple in Aigai can be argued, albeit with hesitation, to have used the theatre during the rites of Demeter. With a *bothros* inside the *cella,*[418] its system of rituals also resembles that of Iasos and Priene with their *bothrai* within the *pronaos*, effectively making the sacrifice to the pit the central element of their rites.

The striking omission in Demeter's temple in Aigai is the surrounding *peribolos* wall. With the temples nearest to Aigai dedicated to Demeter, situated over 150km away to the south (Iasos) and north (Neandria), it can be considered one of the most isolated within the network of the tradition of Demeter. Both Iasos and Neandria

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[416] In a personal conversation with Karataş, she commented that the temple must have been built earlier making Miletus, Pergamon and Priene sanctuaries of Demeter to be the only Hellenistic building activity related to the goddess in Western Asia Minor. Nevertheless, even if the Aiagai temple is regarded to having been built in the Hellenistic period, the absence of a defined *temenos* would have placed it outside the scope of this dissertation.

[417] Winter, 2006, p.18.

[418] Sezgin, Y., "Aigai 2019-2020 Yılları Çalışmaları", *2019-2020 Yılları Çalışmaları,* Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*,* Cilt 4, Ankara, 2020, p. 447.

contained *peribolos* walls. The reason for Iasos's *peribolos* wall can be associated with its proximity to the rest of the city.[419] Similar to Kaunos and Halicarnassus, both featuring a surrounding wall, its location aligns with the rationale behind constructing a *peribolos* wall. However, in Neandria in the Troad, the sanctuary of Demeter adjacent to and located outside of the city walls also contained a *peribolos* wall.[420] The selection of the site in Neandria is likely informed by the large rock outcrops used as shelters, which play an integral part in Demeter's sanctuaries, as observed from their prominence in her sanctuaries in Iasos and Kaunos. Like Kaunos, the precinct in Neandria also functioned as an open-air shrine dated to the 6th century BC.[421] As Karataş argues for the characteristics of the shrine being open air, containing a *bothros* and prominently featuring rocky outcrops to attest to its use as a shrine for the *mysteries*, while such features would also suggest Kaunos and Iasos to have been used in the secret rites.[422]

The sanctuary of Demeter in Knidos is also surrounded by masonry walls while located on the city's boundary (Figure 24).[423] The renowned statue of Demeter discovered at the site and currently on display in the British Museum dates back to the second half of the 4th century BC, indicating that the site's religious significance likely predates this period (Figure 25).[424] Newton's discoveries of dedicatory inscriptions to Demeter and Persephone, several statues, votive offerings deposited in a chamber together with remains of pigs and lamps, as well as its location on a slope with rocky ground attest to the site being associated with Demeter's worship.[425] However, the extreme measures Newton went to, including blasting and rigorous digging, made Love's work on the site later on significantly more difficult to the extent that she later called it "Sir Charles Newton's

[419] For the presence of the *peribolos* wall: Levi, p.572.; Schipporeit 2013, 89.; Karataş, 2019, p.156.

[420] Karataş, 2019, p.152.

[421] Filges, A., Matern, P., "Eine Opfergrube der Demeter in Neandria", *Die Troas: Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas*. ed., Schwertheim, E., Asia Minor Studien, Band 22. Bonn, Habelt, 1996, pp.45–70.

[422] Karataş, 2019, p.154. Karataş does separate these *mysteries* from the Eleusinian ones.

[423] Love, I.C., "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos, 1971", *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 76, No. 4, 1972, p. 399.

[424] Constantnou, p.62.

[425] Newton, pp. 380-381, 387, 390, 395, 414.

Figure 25: Marble statue of Demeter seated on a throne. (The British Museum)

monumental dump".[426] As Newton seemed to have been primarily focused on finding objects, conducting a comprehensive architectural analysis of the sanctuary remains imperative.

In addition to Demeter's sanctuaries constructed prior to the Hellenistic era, which have been identified through architectural archaeological evidence, there are other sites, such as Ephesus, where a sanctuary dedicated to the deity has yet to be conclusively identified. One of these is Teos, where although women are credited

[426] Love, p. 399.

with celebrating the *Thesmophoria*, no architectural remnants of the *Thesmophorion* have been unearthed.[427] Another case is the West Sanctuary in Troy, which has been suggested as a potential place of worship for Demeter, although there is not yet conclusive evidence to support this claim.[428] Suggestive of this theory, however, are several factors, including the precinct wall of the open-air sanctuary, the location of the *temenos* outside Troy VI walls and later inside the Hellenistic walls and a ceremonial space with seating, likened to the Pergamene sanctuary of Demeter.[429] However, determining Demeter's role within the sanctuary's cultic network presents a challenging endeavor, making a conclusive assertion complicated.[430]

While certain characteristic aspects related to Demeter's worship transfer directly from Eleusis to Western Asia Minor, it is in the Hellenistic period that their full manifestation is observed. Nevertheless, *peribolos* walls, *bothrai*, altars and steps are recognizable in sites of Demeter’s worship prior to the Hellenistic period. Walls surrounding the sanctuary are present in Halicarnassus, Kaunos, Iasos, Neandria, Knidos and presumably Troy. They are also prominent features in the Hellenistic temples of Pergamon, Priene and although partially defined, in Miletus. While the walls remain a more common feature, it's worth noting that *bothrai* have been identified in Demeter’s sanctuaries in Iasos, Aigai, and Neandria, in addition to all of her Hellenistic sanctuaries. Altars found only in Iasos and Kaunos, while steps that could only be located in Iasos and Troy indicate the tendency to utilize the features that would achieve their fullest potential in the Hellenistic period, particularly in her temple in Pergamon. While the *propyla* and fountain present at Eleusis and Demeter’s Hellenistic temples in Western Asia Minor are not found in the pre-Hellenistic sanctuaries, this could be read along the lines of a lack of absence of grand architectural elements. As the sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period reflected political as well as religious agendas, their utilization of the idea of Demeter aligned with Hellenic values more than their predecessors.

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[427] Schipporeit, pp. 202-204.

[428] Rose, pp. 196ff

[429] Rose, pp. 204-205, 212.

[430] Rose identifies Cybele, Dardanus, and the Samothracian Gods within this network. Rose, pp. 209-213.

A feature of the Eleusinian sanctuary, which is the utilization of natural rock formations, namely in the form of the Ploutonion, is also a prominent feature in Demeter's sanctuaries before and during the Hellenistic period. Rock formations feature as a predominant element in the sanctuaries of Demeter in Kaunos, Iasos, Neandria and Knidos.[431] In the Hellenistic period, Pergamon utilized rock formations within stoa rooms, Miletus was built on rocky ground and Priene has a *bothros* carved from rock.[432] Demeter's request for a temple on the side of a hill, as narrated in the *Homeric Hymn,* also transfers to Western Asia Minor from Eleusis. The sanctuaries in Kaunos and Knidos as well as Pergamon and Priene, reflect this tradition. With this, being outside the immediate center of a *polis* is a characteristic shared by Ephesus, Iasos, Knidos and Troy, as well as Pergamon, Priene and Miletus.

While several architectural features associated with Demeter's worship did translate from the sanctuary of Eleusinian mysteries, their full manifestation could be argued to have been realized in the Hellenistic period. The pre-Hellenistic sacred spaces dedicated to Demeter were less likely influenced by their contemporary across the Aegean and instead appeared to continue the traditions established in the worship of Cybele, with her open-air, rock-cut shrines. What is recognizable from these precincts is that the cult of Demeter, albeit syncretically, was well established within the local pantheon of several *poleis* from the Troad to Caria before its performative utilization by Hellenistic monarchs.

4.2.2. Demeter at the Intersection of Artemis and Athena

In a polytheist system, the more gods one knew the better… there was no need to avoid one god in order to please another.[433]

The intricacy of the Hellenistic pantheon is evident through the distinct roles played by each deity, and the worship of any one deity was not competing with another as

[431] Other sites of worship of Demeter that prominently feature rock formations are the sanctuaries of Demeter at Nymphaion, Apollonia Pontica, Stageira, Thasos, Megara, Corinth, Thera, Naxos, Vetralla, Vaste, Oria, Eloro, Agrigento, Lindos, Hyrtakina, and Kastellos of Vryses Kydonia at Chania. Karataş, 2019, p. 150.

[432] Further analysis of these features as well as their possible indications is discussed in the chapter "Demeter's Sanctuaries in Hellenistic Western Asia Minor".

[433] Johnston, p. 107.

each served a specific function that mirrored a designated aspect of society. Although deities associated with women's attributes are often celebrated for their feminine characteristics, such as promotion of fertility, facilitating smooth childbirth, or safeguarding the household, their influence extends across a broad spectrum encompassing all aspects of life. Within this spectrum, it is possible to argue that Artemis and Athena represented two ends of a dichotomy. On one end, is Artemis, the goddess of the hunt and wilderness, who embodies an untamed and independent spirit, emphasizing the freedom and fierce protection of the natural world. On the other end of the spectrum, Athena, the wise and strategic goddess of wisdom and warfare, exemplifies the intellect and strength of womanhood. While Artemis is regarded as the protector of untamed lands, Athena is the preserver of life in the *polis.* On the other hand, Demeter's realm is also concerned with the land outside the bounds of the *polis*, but unlike Artemis, her domain rests in the domesticated landscape. Like Athena, Demeter's concern is intricately connected to the continuation of life in the *polis*, not through war but through providing people with sustenance and civilizing rites. Positioned at the intersection of the domains of Artemis and Athena, Demeter's place within the Hellenistic pantheon as a mediator between the two realms becomes clearer through a more in-depth examination of the two goddesses.

Artemis's adaptation in Asia Minor represents a profound shift in how she is perceived and portrayed. The Greek Artemis, known for her hunting prowess with a bow and arrow, often accompanied by a deer, embodying athleticism and youthful vigor, finds a significant contrast in Hellenistic Anatolia (Figure 26). Here, she takes on the characteristics of a fertility goddess, where wild animals only adorn her heavy drapery (Figure 27). Whether the sphere-like protrusions on Artemis's chest in this famous depiction are breasts, eggs, pearls, bull testicles, corn, fat, or any other symbolization of abundance, it is certain that they were, in effect, making any of the activities her athletic Greek counterpart could do impossible. In a multifaceted process of syncretism, her identity is argued to have entwined with that of the Anatolian goddess Cybele. The stele found at Sardis, a prominent site of Artemis's worship, even presents the two deities side by side, being worshipped together (Figure 28). The figure on the left, Artemis, holds a hind, a small deer, while the shorter depicted Cybele in the middle is holding a lion.[434] In the Ephesian case, however, the lion, a symbol of Cybele, is embedded to the body of Artemis,

[434] Hanfmann, G.M.A., Waldbaum, J.C.,. "Kybele and Artemis: Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis." *Archaeology* 22, 1969, p. 266.

Figure 26: Artemis as a huntress, Classical sculpture. (Louvre, Paris)

merging them to be one and the same. Brenk's research conducted across various phases of Ephesus reveals a paradox that persists: Artemis Ephesia, the profoundly Hellenistic emblem of a city and its quintessential suburban goddess, continues familiar Anatolian origins.[435]

Neither Athena nor Demeter's transition to Western Anatolia undergoes such drastic changes in personification. This is perhaps due to their establishment in Western Asia Minor far earlier than the Hellenistic period. Demeter's worship on Anatolian soil is likely to have begun by the 6th century, around the time of the conception of the *Homeric Hymn.* While the Hellenistic period arguably brought changes in her

[435] Brenk, F.E., "Artemis of Ephesos: An Avant Garde Goddess", *Kernos* 11, 1998, p. 170.

Figure 27: Artemis 1st century AD. (Photograph by the author, Efes Müzesi, 2021)

worship, this did not denote a completely new identity. Athena's worship, on the other hand, can be traced to Homer's *Iliad*, which narrates a temple of Athena within Troy, effectively placing her worship before the 11th or 12th centuries.[436] While the emergence of Artemis's worship in Anatolia predates the Hellenistic period, her widespread popularity in the region can be attributed to the monumental sites dedicated to her, notably in Ephesus, Magnesia, and Sardis, which played a crucial role in propagating her identity. The quintessentially Hellenistic practice of syncretism, where local beliefs merged with Hellenic deities, did not affect Athena, Demeter, Hecate, Hera or Aphrodite in their transition to

[436] Temple of Athena in Troy is visited by Hecuba and the women of Troy upon Hector's request, *Iliad*, VI. 306-307.

Figure 28: Stele with Artemis, Cybele, and two worshippers, front.
(Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Anatolia, but metamorphosed Artemis, the symbol of an untamed young woman without children.

Artemis and Athena reflected a stark contrast in their spheres of influence. Other than the fact that Athena was primarily concerned with civilization while Artemis resided over natural lands, one was primarily responsible for the public sphere while the other the private realm. Athena was the protective token of the *polis*, safeguarding its citizens and the Greeks abroad.[437] In contrast, Artemis, apart from her duties safeguarding nature, was intricately linked to the *oikos*, the household, due to her particular focus on matters of fertility. The pre-Hellenistic temple of

[437] A striking example to this is the dual role Athena plays in the Trojan war as the active protector of the Achaeans whilst also providing safety to Troy in the form of the Palladium. West, Little Iliad, Argument 4, note 31, p. 123. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.68.2-69.

Artemis at Ephesus was burnt to the ground on the day of Alexander's birth as it was believed that the deity had temporarily abandoned her sanctuary to attend to his birth.[438] As Cole notes on the rites of Artemis: "Service to Artemis required not one but a whole cycle of rituals to mark the stages in the reproductive process: just before puberty; on the eve of marriage; between marriage and first pregnancy; during pregnancy; and at childbirth. Artemis was the gatekeeper at each stage."[439]

Artemis, in her dual capacity as the guardian of wildlife beyond the city's borders and as the preserver of life within the *oikos*, serves as a protector overseeing natural transitions. As Artemis had a prominent role in human reproduction and Athena protected the *polis,* Demeter's position was that of a mediator, as her sphere of influence was the reproduction of the *polis.* During the Hellenistic period, the location of Athena, Demeter, and Artemis's sanctuaries closely mirrored the domains they presided over, reflecting the alignment between their presence and their respective spheres of influence. As Hellenic divinities were regarded to be present in the landscape, the realization of sacred architecture was often seen as a response to the inherent sanctity of a place.[440] Athena's temples were located within the center of the *polis*, traditionally within a higher position that dominated and ruled over the rest of the city. Artemis's sanctuaries, on the other hand, were traditionally placed within untamed lands and particularly between mountains where they would blend with the rest of nature. Demeter's sanctuaries, in comparison to the two, were located within city bounds but on slopes of hills overlooking the landscape. This reflected the inherent nature of her sanctuaries, catering to the residents of the *polis* while dominating the domesticated lands.

Hellenistic temples of Athena at Heraclea at Latmus, Magnesia, Pergamon, Aigai, Notion, Priene and Troy are all located within central urban positions. Another commonality is that the temples in Pergamon, Aigai and the *tholos* at Magnesia are all placed on top of a theatre. One could contend that this decision has a practical basis, as the choice of a location atop the theater, which utilizes the natural topography, positions its summit at a relatively elevated point compared to the surrounding landscape. The same reasoning is also present in Heraclea at Latmus,

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[438] Plutarch, *Alexander,* 3.

[439] Cole, S.G., *Landscapes, Gender and Ritual: The Ancient Greek Experience*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2004, p.209.

[440] Cole, 2004, pp.37-8., Larson, p.57.

Figure 29: Plan of Heraclea at Latmus, temple of Athena (“3”) next to the agora (“4”). (Akurgal, p.241, fig.90)

where the temple identified as belonging to Athena from a surviving inscription, is placed at an angle on top of a commanding hill above the harbor (Figure 29).[441] This brings another facet of Athena’s temples’ prominence within the urban setting, apart from their elevated position, which is their placement at an angle, even if the rest of the urban fabric follows an orthogonal plan. The positioning of Heraclea's temple of Athena, at an angle to the agora, bears a striking resemblance to the temples of Artemis in Magnesia, situated approximately 40 km to its north, and in Iasos, located just over 25 km to the south. Although they are both denoted to Artemis, their proximity suggests the possibility of having influenced the temple's orientation.

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[441] MacDonald, W.L., “Heraclea under Latmos”, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Also; Akurgal, E., *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, Phoenix Yayınevi, Ankara, 2019, p.240.

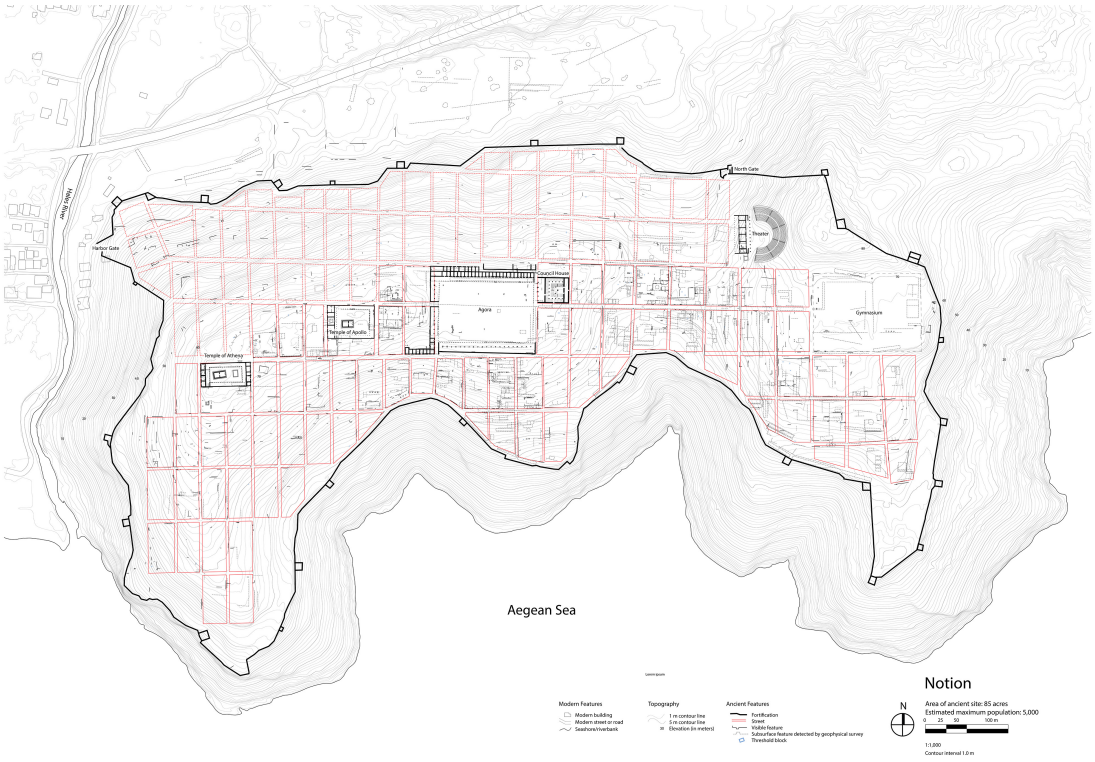

Figure 30: Plan of Notion. (Notion Archeological Survey, University of Michigan)

As with Heraclea at Latmus, Notion also has a temple of Athena that diverges from the otherwise strictly orthogonal city plan (Figure 30). Recent theories of Christopher Ratté advocate a pre-Hellenistic date for the temple based on its placement because it is the only structure not aligned with the city grid.[442] It is, however, safe to assume that a deviation from the form of the city grid may not necessarily imply a pre-Hellenistic origin for the temple based on the examples from the period. Other instances, the temples of Athena in Pergamon and Aigai also raise the possibility of a deliberately angled positioning of Athena's temples during the Hellenistic period. Despite the absence of a strictly orthogonal city plan in Pergamon, the positioning of the temple within the precinct, bordered by the rectilinear layout of the Library, does not form a right angle either (Figure 31). Aigai, on the other hand, is practically identical to Pergamon in its planning sanctuary of

[442] Ratté C., Rojas, F., Commito, A., “Notion Archaeological Survey, 2017-2018,” forthcoming in *36. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Çanakkale, p.4.

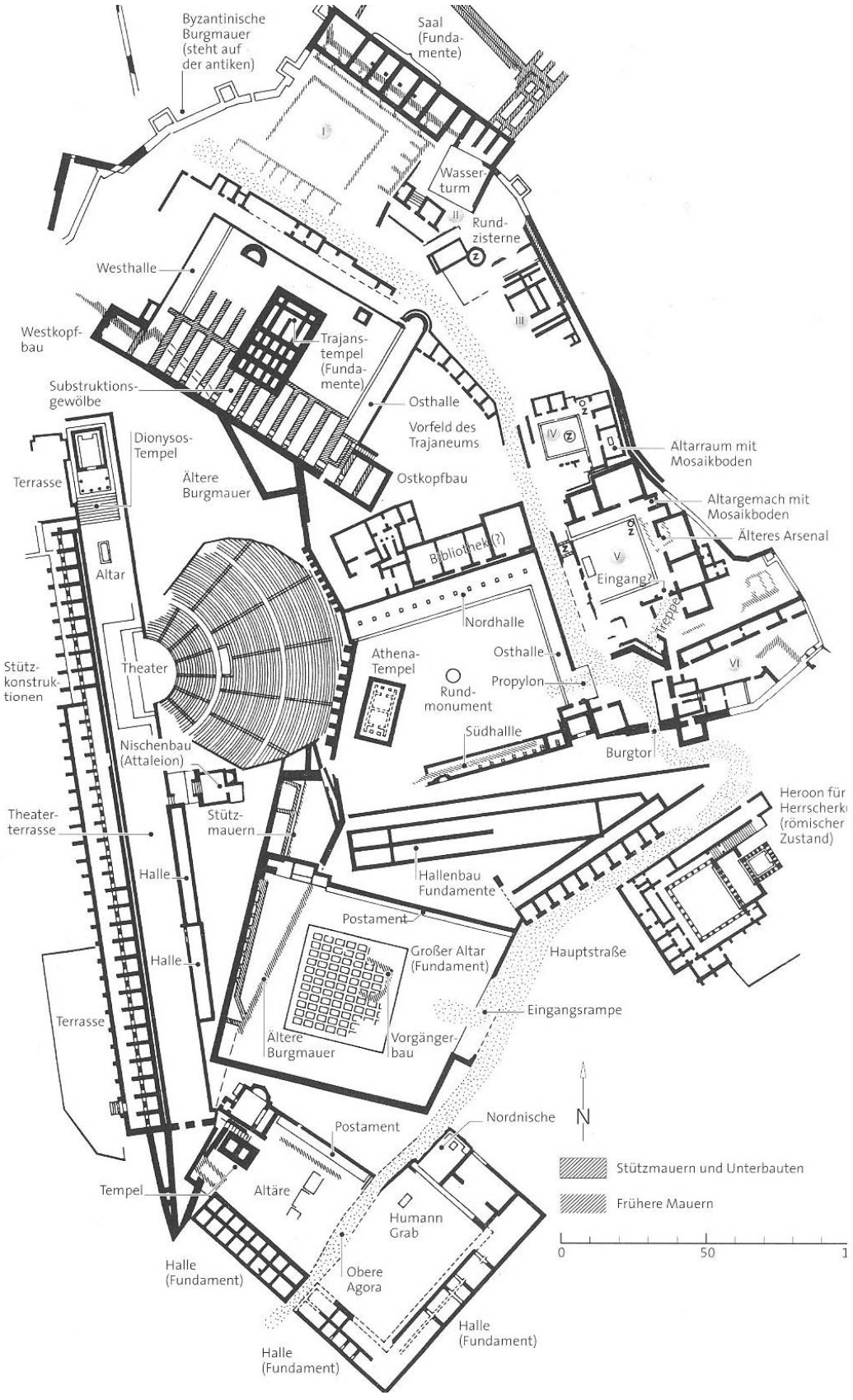

Figure 31: Plan of the Upper City, Pergamon. (Radt, Abb.15)

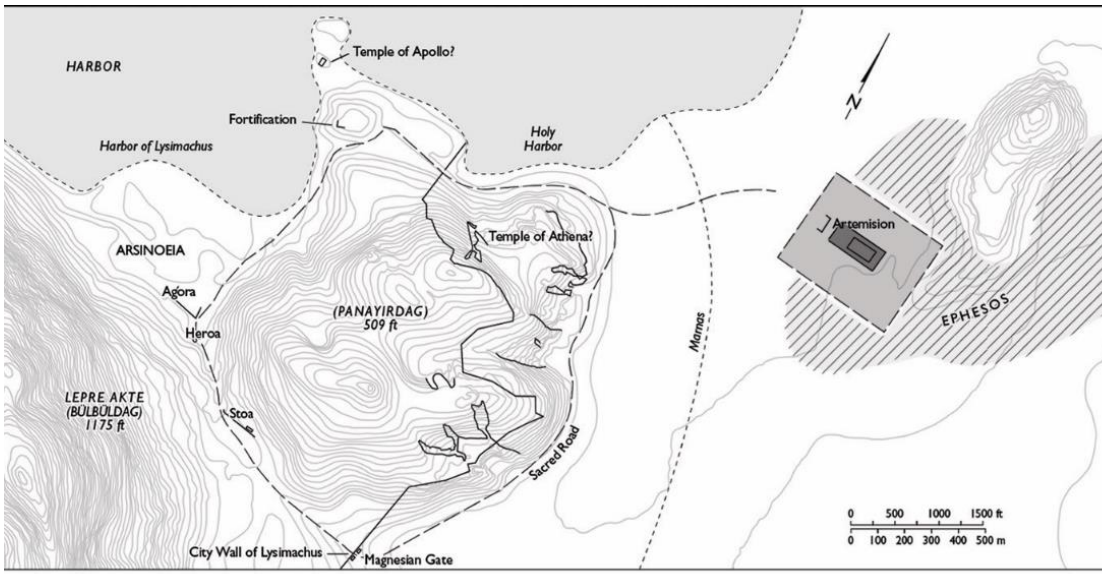

Figure 32: Plan of Ephesus, ca. 294 BC.
(Topal, p.223, fig. 4 adapted from G.M. Rogers, 2012)

Athena, arguably due to Pergamene patronage (Figure 23).[443] Similarly, the temple within the sanctuary of Athena in Troy exhibits a slight misalignment compared to the surrounding *temenos* walls (Figure 9). In this line of thought, a temple of Athena in Hellenistic Western Asia Minor, adhering to the strict organization of the city or its immediate surroundings, is the exception, manifested in Priene, where all religious structures adhere to the grid.

While a conclusive assertion cannot be made as to why Athena's temples were mostly placed at an angle that deviates from the norm of their surroundings, a straightforward answer can be that just like their placement on top of prominent hills, an angled position offered them immediate attention, setting them apart from the rest of their surroundings. Athena, perched atop the urban landscape, appears entirely disconnected from the natural world, with a distinctly singular presence. Artemis, wholly entrenched within the natural world, was in complete contrast with this and never in a position that dominated the larger landscape. Whether located on the swamps of Ephesus or the valleys of Sardis, Artemis's sanctuaries are acutely reflective of the deity's domain of "unattended lands".[444] While Demeter's

[443] Another similarity being the presence of an altar of Zeus within the precinct based on an inscription found at the site. Malay, H., Rici, M. "Two New Hellenistic Decrees from Aigai in Aiolis", *Epigraphica Anatolica*. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens 42, p. 42.

[444] Scully, V., *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, Trinity University Press, San Antonio, Texas, (1962) 2013, p.80.

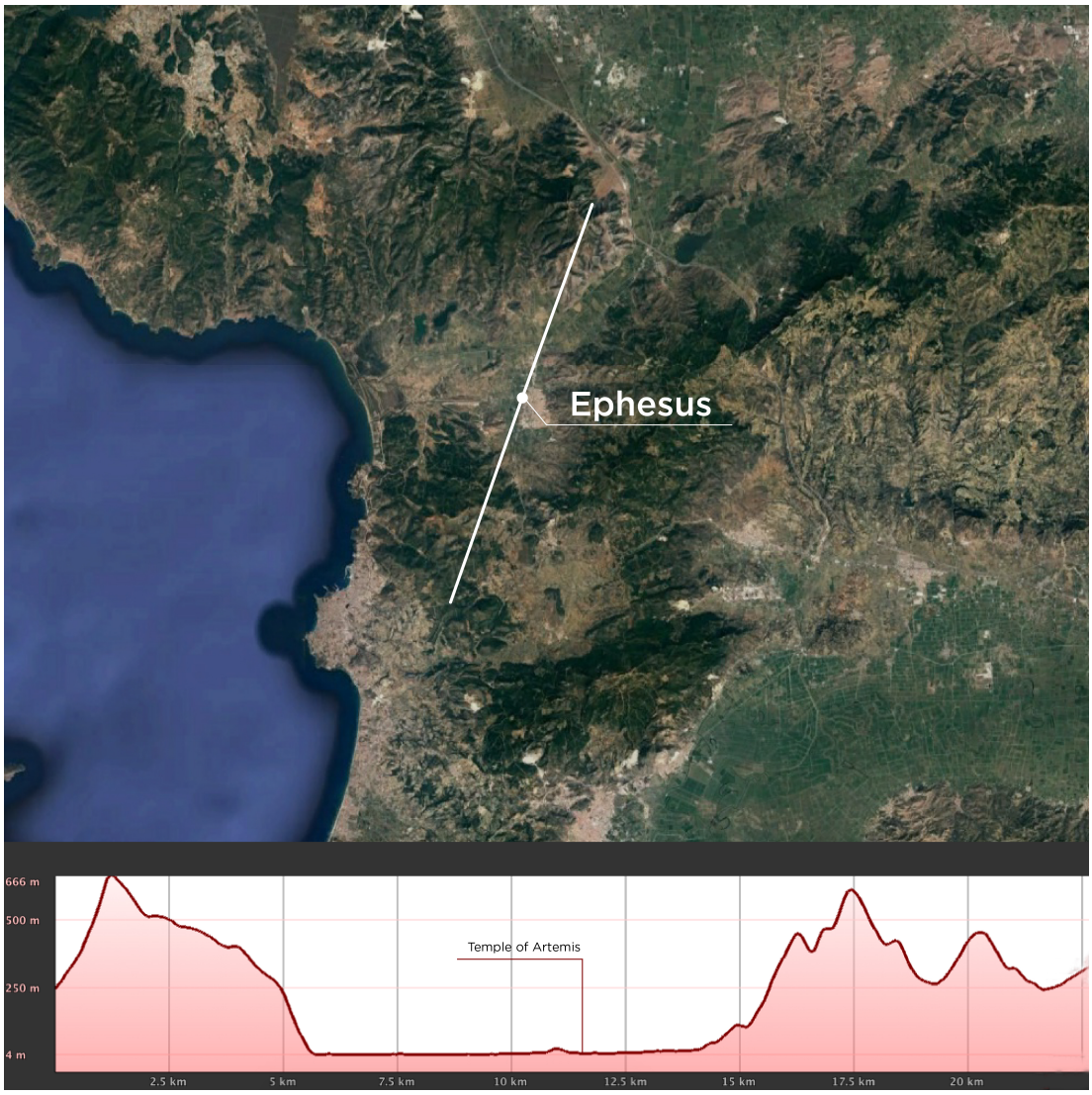

Figure 33: Topographical section showing the location of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

sanctuaries were located on the sides of hills, overlooking the plain below, Artemis had her sanctuaries located between mountains in the valley below. Rather than asserting dominance over the landscape, its presence acknowledged and respected it.

The Artemision of Ephesus was located between Mount Pion and a lesser hill behind the sanctuary while also being placed next to the Marnas River (Figure 32). Looking at the more extensive topography of the region through a “geographical section”, the setting of the sanctuary’s elevation is significantly below its surroundings in a particularly level plane (Figure 33). Its proximity to sea level is evident in the swampy ground on which it is situated. The altar of the Artemision, discovered in 1965, presents an interesting case as it was also a practical necessity

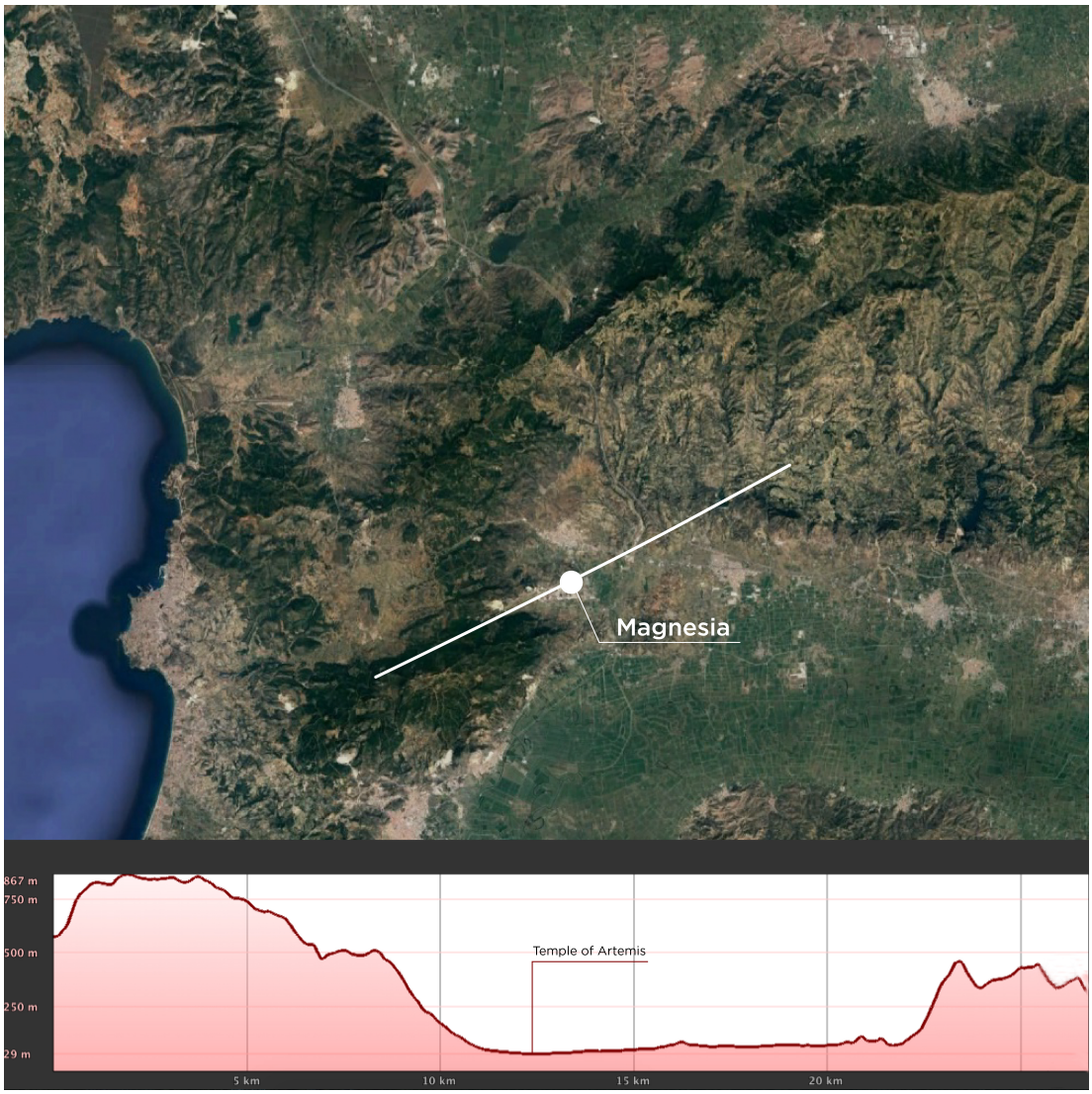

Figure 34: Topographical section showing the location of the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia.

as water channels around it were used to carry off the water rising from below, a situation the site often encountered as the temple's location in marshy land.[445] The Artemision of Magnesia, located roughly 18 km inland from Ephesus, on the other hand, shows a striking similarity (Figure 34). However, in Ephesus, the section is obtained by cutting parallel to the short side of the temple, while in Magnesia, similar results are achieved when cut parallel to the long side of the temple, likely done to accommodate the fact that in both cases, the temple entrances face West. Likewise, in Sardis, where the temple entrance faces West, taking a section along the long side of the temple as a base, similar to Magnesia, yields the same result (Figure 35). The remarkable aspect of the Artemision of Sardis, however, lies in the

[445] Bammer, A., Muss, U., *Der Altar Des Artemisions von Ephesos*, Verlag der Österreichsichen Akademie der Wissenchaften, Wien, 2001, p.35.

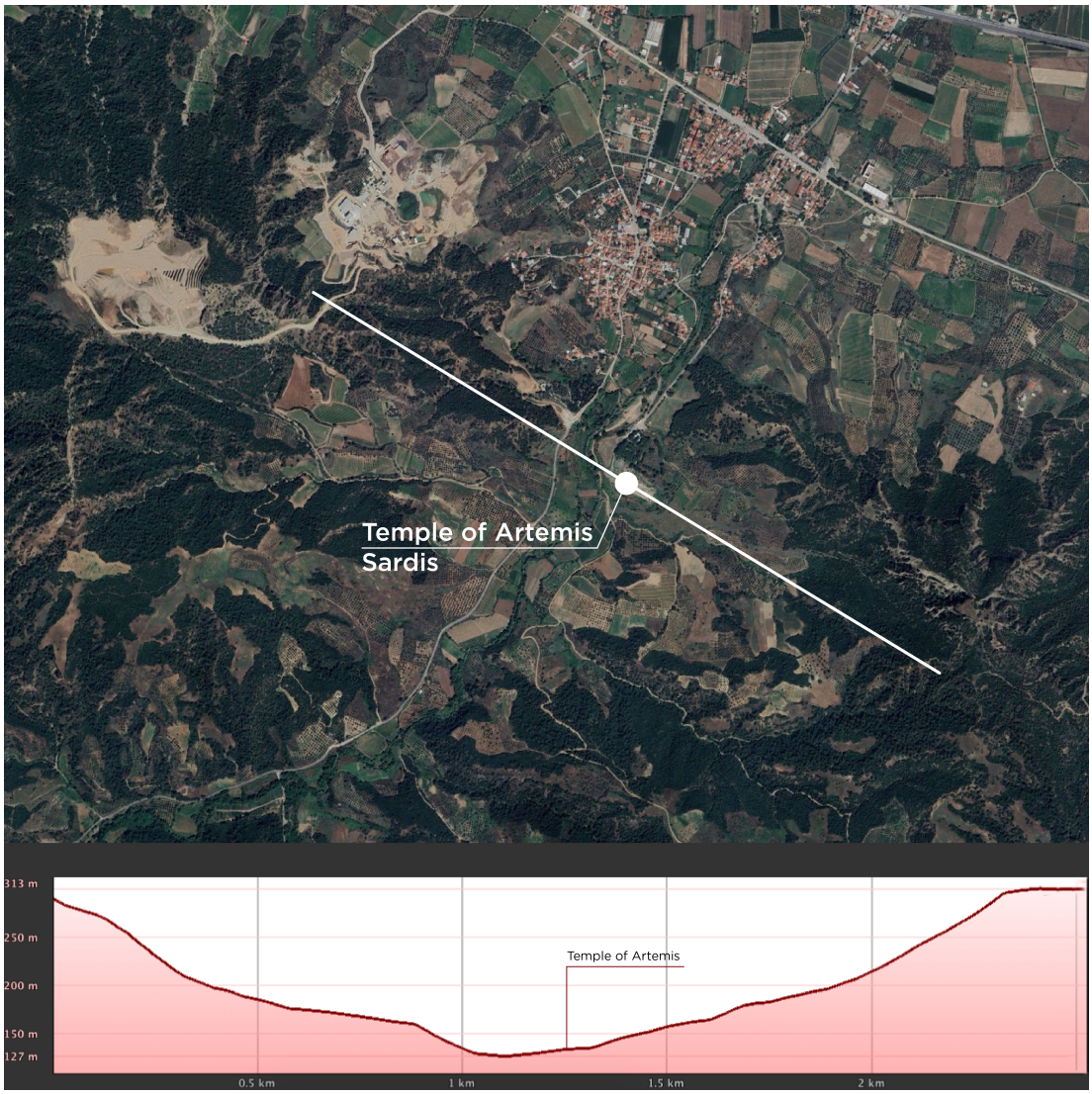

Figure 35: Topographical section showing the location of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis.

extent of this effect. While neighboring Ephesus and Magnesia have their temples in expansive areas with nearby mountains rising to heights exceeding 650 meters and 850 meters, respectively, the more confined setting of Sardis, where the surrounding mountains are only half the height, intensifies this phenomenon. All three were monumental temples of Artemis built during the Hellenistic period in Western Asia Minor and placed between mountains on valleys. Artemis was enveloped by the sheer presence of nature, the land itself, arguably one of the most untamed forces in the natural world.

It is noteworthy to emphasize that not all of Artemis's sites of worship referenced the land in the same manner, as this was a feature observed in her monumental temples. Her Hellenistic temple in Iasos, situated on a gulf, had no mountainous

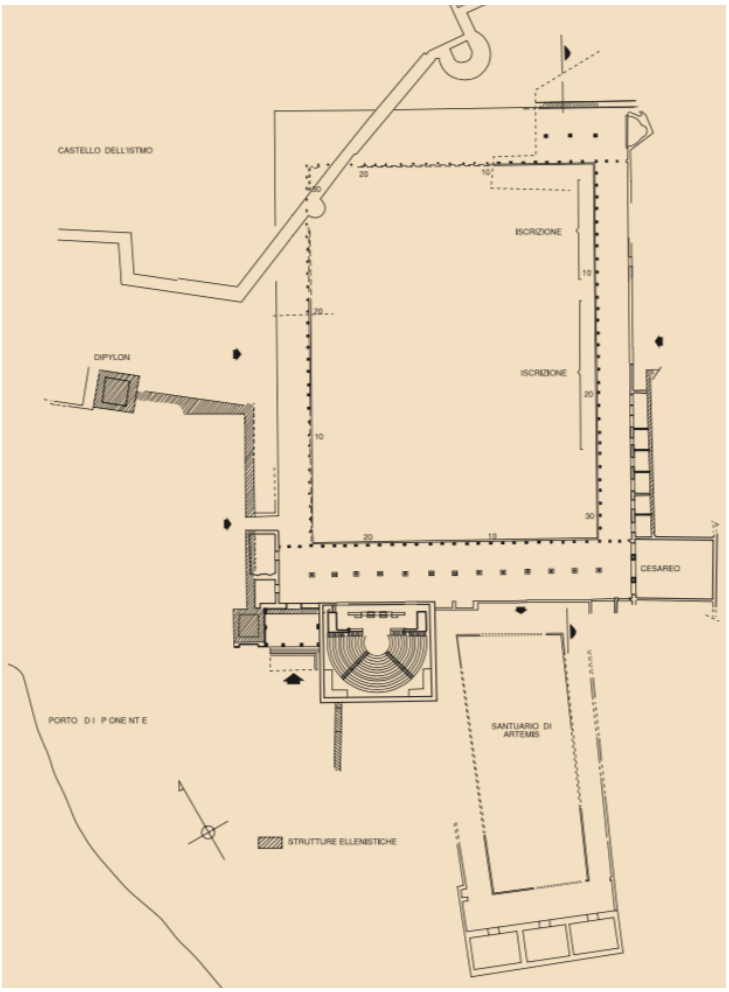

Figure 36: Plan of the agora and the Temple of Artemis Astias, Iasos.
(Baldoni, et.al., p.77)

terrain to reference. However, the temple reflects the tradition later emulated in the Artemision of Magnesia, located a little over 60 km North. The sanctuary at Iasos exhibits an almost identical similarity in its orientation to the agora, as observed in Magnesia (Figure 36). While Magnesia adheres to a strict North-South city grid from which its Artemision deviates, Iasos, despite not conforming to an orthogonal system, features a temple oriented in a North-South direction. As the *temenos* at Iasos predates its Magnesian counterpart, it might demonstrates the influence of Carian urban layout on the architecture of one of the most notable Hellenistic structures in Ionia, Hermogenes's *pseudodipteros*.[446] Given the similar arrangement of Heraclea at Latmus's temple of Athena, which is situated approximately 25 km north of Iasos and almost midway between the two, it is plausible to assert that

[446] The Ionian sanctuary's oldest structure is a 8 by 17 m temple *in antis* dated to the 4th century B.C. Baldoni, D., Franco, C., Manara, M., Berti, F., *Carian Iasos*, Homer Kitapevi, 2004, p.86-87.

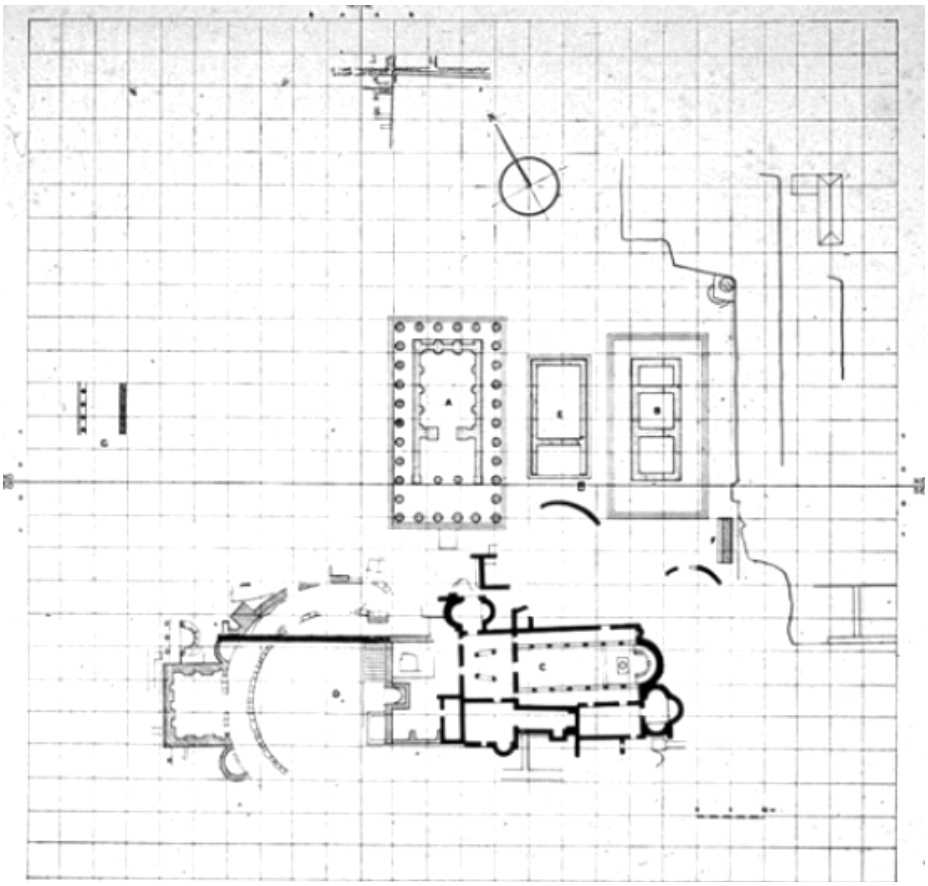

Figure 37: Plan of Letoon near Xantos, 3 temples, left-Leto, middle-Artemis, right-Apollo. (Le Roy, 1974)

Iasos was the original influence for Magnesia primarily due to its dedication to the same deity.

Hellenistic temples dedicated to Artemis in Western Asia Minor, namely those in Didyma and Claros, do not align with the theory of being situated between two mountains either while Letoon, presents a peculiar instance. In their case, it is imperative to stress that in contrast to monumental temples in Ephesus, Magnesia, and Sardis, the temples in Didyma, Claros, and Letoon are neither grand in scale nor situated within a dedicated *temenos* exclusively reserved for Artemis. Didyma and Claros are renowned sites of the oracular temples of Apollo, where designated temples and altars of Artemis emphasize her role as his sister. Letoon, on the other hand, is practically a family gathering with the temples of Apollo, Artemis and their mother Leto. The temple of Artemis is located between the two and is considered the earliest, dating to the 4th century B.C (Figure 37).[447] The possibility of the structure being a very large natural rock altar enclosed by an architectural frame is

[447] Akurgal, p. 260.

also presented.[448] Conversely, it's worth noting that since Artemis's worship predated that of her mother and brother, the site is once again situated between two mountains.

It is imperative now to return to the temples of Demeter and their locations in relation to the temples of Artemis and Athena. The Hellenistic temples of Demeter, in Priene, Pergamon and Miletus are all sites where there is no designated temple of Artemis, but there are temples of Athena. All three sites feature Athena in prominent, central and urban settings within the *polis.* While the Milesian worship of Athena began in the Archaic period, replaced by a Classical temple, the temples in Pergamon and Priene are quintessentially Hellenistic.[449] While Ephesus and Iasos featured the temples of Artemis and Demeter, it is worth noting that the temples of Artemis were built during the Hellenistic period, whereas those of Demeter had much earlier origins. It could be argued that there was a Hellenistic tendency not to employ Artemis in locales where the veneration of Demeter took place. An explanation could be the perceived notion of the two deities serving similar purposes, employed at the intersection of nature and fertility. However, this would be an oversimplification of the complexity of the realms they presided over. Demeter was not concerned with childbirth and Artemis was a huntress, not an agriculturalist. One way to explain this phenomenon would be through the Hellenistic mindset that was more interested in taming, conquering and controlling land rather than being subjugated by it. Those residing in Ephesus, Magnesia and Sardis, enveloped by mountainous terrain yielded to the nature and the inevitability of its forces. They denoted grand temples to the deity rummaging through these untamed lands. Whereas Pergamon tamed the land below its heights and exerted its presence, Priene tamed the forest and built a city and Miletus tamed the sea and established colonies.

Cole recognizes three distinguishable landscapes inhabited by the Hellenes; the natural, the human, and the imagined.[450] In this context, we can attribute the three to the three deities as Artemis presides over the natural world, Athena over the realm of humanity, and Demeter, with her secretive rituals and exclusive gatherings,

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[448] Winter, 2006, p.16.

[449] Dinsmoor, W.B., *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of Its Historic Development*, Unwin Brothers Ltd., 1950, p. 136.

[450] Cole, 2004, p.7.

holds sway over the world of imagination and mystery. Just as the imagined landscapes where the divinities resided had complete control of mediation over the mortal realm, so did Demeter's sphere of influence preside over all three realms. She was in control of the food supply for the *polis*, in charge of taming and harnessing wild nature and cast her presence on the imaginations of the uninitiated or men. Demeter served as a mediator between Athena and Artemis, with one foot in both their realms.

CHAPTER 5

DEMETER'S SANCTUARIES IN HELLENISTIC WESTERN ASIA MINOR

In the Hellenistic period, Demeter's sanctuaries held an elevated position, emphasizing their role in civilizing society.[451] While the sanctuaries at Miletus and Priene paid homage to the modest roots of the deity's worship established in pre-Hellenistic *temene*, Pergamon's monumental undertaking reflected the ambitions of its commissioners. The overall aim of this chapter is to situate the broader concerns experienced in the Hellenistic period within the physical setting of Demeter's sanctuaries to examine how the perceived image of the deity and utilization of her rites functioned at a personal level for those commissioning the precinct. The extensive size of the Pergamon precinct served as an expression of the kingdom's influence and a practical requirement for accommodating the larger population. While the *temenos* at Priene measured 46.45 x 19.35 m, Pergamon was more than twice its size at 110 x 50 m.[452] Priene, with 65 housing blocks and four dwellings per block with 10-12 inhabitants, including all family members and slaves, is thought to have had a population of approximately 2600-3000 people.[453] On the other hand, even the theatre of Hellenistic Pergamon could seat more than

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[451] A reading of the civilizing mission of Hellenization is given in the chapter "The Past in the Hellenistic Present" and Demeter's role in civilizing the *polis* is discussed in the chapter "From Myth to Ritual".

[452] For Priene; Wiegand-Schrader, p.149. For Pergamon: Bohtz, p.6. While there is no certain measurement of Miletus's sanctuary, because the precinct walls have not been completely identified, its size is approximately between the two.

[453] Billows, p. 201.

three times that number at around 10,000 people.[454] If we accept the theory that all women residing within and around the *polis* would be welcomed to attend Demeter's festivals, then the population would have directly influenced the size of the *temenos.*

Apart from its size and domination over the landscape, Pergamon's sanctuary reflects and preserves its earlier stages of development. Having been a site of worship before Attalid patronage, its modest roots are reminiscent of theories regarding the genesis and evolution Eleusinian sanctuary. Noack's hypothesis that the Eleusinian site of Demeter's worship consisted of a retaining wall housing an altar finds its counterpart in Pergamon, where the site is believed to have comprised initially of five altars and a surrounding *peribolos* wall before the construction of a temple (Figure 38).[455] Aligning with Scully's proposition that "each *temenos* is complete at any stage" the meanings assigned to Demeter's precincts change with each added stage.[456] Pergamon's presence as an outpost on a prominent hill had existed for centuries.[457] It was, however, Philetairos (283-263 BC), the founder of the Attalid dynasty, who introduced the kingdom to the world. Although the sanctuary of Demeter was functional prior to his undertakings, it was he who changed the appearance of the sanctuary completely.

Philetairos's addition of a temple, a monumental altar accompanying the five older altars, rooms on the north stoa as well as the first phase of the *theatron* steps were all, except one altar, enclosed within the new *temenos* walls (Figure 39). At the time, the sanctuary was located outside the city walls and required its own form of protection. While the presence of this new dynasty could be perceived at first sight at the new sanctuary, the dedicatory inscriptions could not have been seen until one reached the newly constructed structures. The inscription on both the temple

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[454] Radt, W., *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole*, Du Mont, Köln, 1988, p.288. in Helm-Rommel, I., *Das Theater am Burgberg von Pergamon*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Karlsruhe, 2009, p.151. Galen, writing from 1st century AD gave a number for the population of 120.000 people including women and slaves. Galen, ed. de Boer, W., de propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione etcuratione/ de animi cuiuslibet peccatorum dignotione et curatione, Leipzig, Berlin, 1937, p.9.

[455] Noack, p. 10.

[456] Scully, p.5.

[457] Billows, p.206.

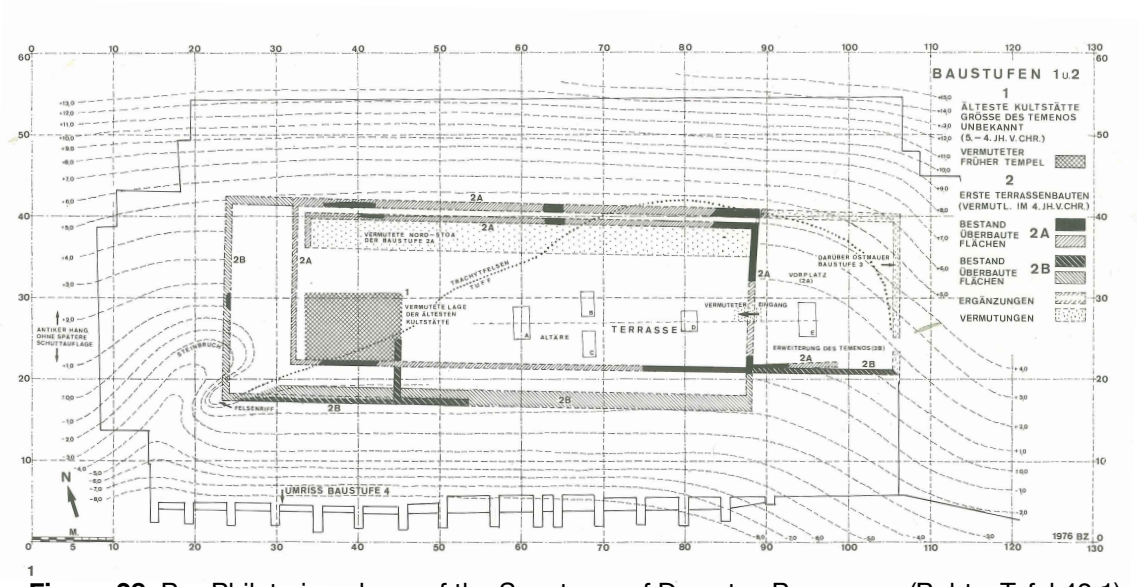

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Figure 38: Pre-Philetarian phase of the Sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon. (Bohtz, Tafel 42.1)

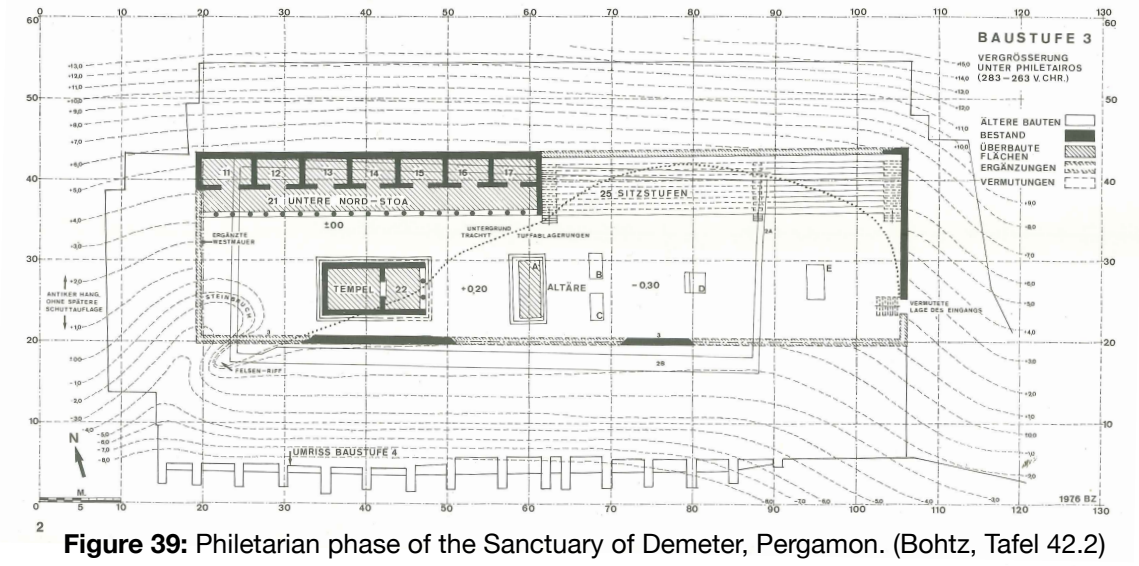

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Figure 39: Philetarian phase of the Sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon. (Bohtz, Tafel 42.2)

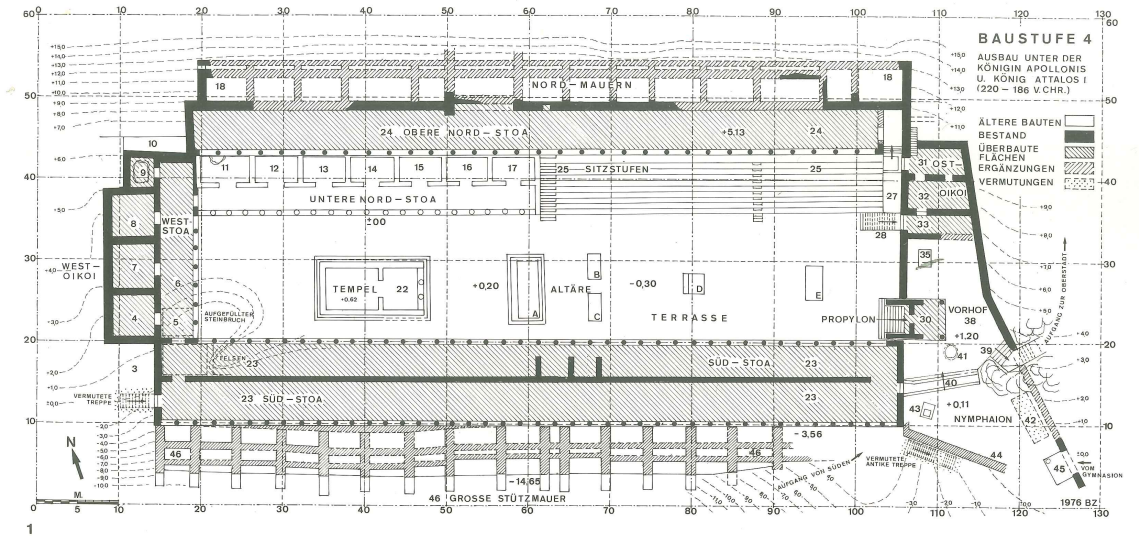

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Figure 40: Apollonian phase of the Sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon. (Bohtz, Tafel 43.1)

and the altar read, “Philetairos and Eumenes dedicate [this] to Demeter on behalf of their mother Boa.”[458] According to this inscription, the primary impetus for the construction was the emphasis on family. The self-proclaimed monarch aimed to establish his family as an exemplar of support and harmony, all while diverting attention from the fact that he lacked substantial lineage.[459] By dedicating the temple to his mother Boa, together with his brother Eumenes, Philetairos presented a unified front for the family, one that could deflect from his eunuchism.[460]

The sanctuary of Philetairos was significantly less impressive than the refurbishment of Apollonis. Built at the early stages of the kingdom, its effect was more concerned with establishing presence rather than exerting dominance, as Apollonis would later achieve. Like the pre-Philetarian altars, Philetairos’s altar and temple were also built of local andesite, a dense volcanic rock.[461] Philetairos' additions appeared to prioritize the preservation of Demeter's earlier traditions while also asserting their role in enhancing and contributing to the existing customs. By Apollonis’s time (240-175/159 BC), Pergamon was a well-established stronghold of Western Asia Minor. While Philetairos reigned throughout the Gallic Invasion (278-277), Apollonis’s husband Attalos I (241-197 BC) ruled during the reign of the first king to refuse to give tribute to the Celts[462], the two stages representing a crucial shift in Pergamene politics. Attalus I was also responsible for the infamous battle of Ancyra against the Galatians, effectively being the first in the dynasty to take on the title of king.[463] The War of Brothers taking place in the early years of the reign of Attalos I, Antiochus Hierax’s employment of Gallic mercenaries combating Seleucus II supported by Attalos I, effectively made Pergamon master of

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[458] For the temple; Dörpfeld, 1910, Nr. 22. For the altar; Dörpfeld, W., *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1910- 1911: I. Die Bauwerke,* Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung Bd. 37, 1912, Nr. 5. And Zanon, p.21.

[459] Zanon, p.16.

[460] Strabo states: "He became an eunuch in childhood by compression, for it happened that a great body of people being assembled to see a funeral, the nurse who was carrying Philetairos, then an infant, in her arms, was entangled in the crowd, and pressed upon to such a degree that the child was mutilated.” Strabo, 13.4.1.

[461] Zanon, pp. 24,52.

[462] Livy, XXXVIII.16.14.

[463] Polybius, trans., Shuckburgh, 18.41.

Asia Minor as a result by 226-223 BC.[464] Viewing the Gigantomachy, designed to portray the battle as another symbolic projection of the changing Pergamene identity, it marked a time when Pergamon started to assert its influence with greater and conspicuous force. Apollonis's contribution to the construction of this identity was to transform the somewhat modest sanctuary of Demeter into a monumental spectacle, the most prominent feature to be seen while approaching the Acropolis. Unlike Philetairos's dedicatory inscription emphasizing family, placed within the innermost confines of the *temenos*, Apollonis's dedication was placed on the *propylon,* making a grand statement for all to see. The inscription read: "Queen Apollonis [dedicates] these stoas and these structures as a thank-offering to Demeter and Kore Thesmophoros."[465] While the extent of Apollonis's renovation is disputed, several significant enhancements, including the *propylon*, expansion of the *theatron*, construction of the West, South, and upper North stoas, and the impressive system of retaining walls, which laid the foundation for these developments are attributed to her patronage (Figure 40). Unlike Philetairos, who dedicated his *temenos* to his mother, Apollonis's dedication was directly to the goddesses. During Apollonis's era, it becomes evident that a direct connection between the ruling monarchies and deities had been established, enabling a woman ruler to communicate directly with the goddess, acting as a mediator between the world of the living and divinities.

The architectural production of Pergamon communicates a narrative that the monarchy intends to convey at every scale. In this context, Pollitt assigns the concept of the "theatrical tradition" to the architectural and artistic works originating from the kingdom of Pergamon.[466] Conversely, the term "didactic tradition" is associated with Priene, reflecting a more conservative approach that adheres to established rules and continues existing traditions. The term "theatrical" in this context suggests a tradition characterized by being expressively performative, while "didactic" signifies an approach that reinforces self-noted rules. The guidelines, literally in the form of the grid system as well as figuratively, which the city had been refounded in the third quarter of the 4th century BC, established

[464] Walbank, F.W., Astin, A.E., Frederiksen, M.W., Ogilvie, R.M., *Cambridge Ancient History 7.1: The Hellenistic World*, Cambridge, 1984, Appendix: Chronological Table.

[465] Hepding, H., "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908-1909: II. Die Inschriften", *Mittelungen des Kaiserlich Deutchen Archaologischen Instituts Athenische Abteilung*, 35, 1910, pp. 439-442, n. 24.

[466] Pollitt, p. 246.

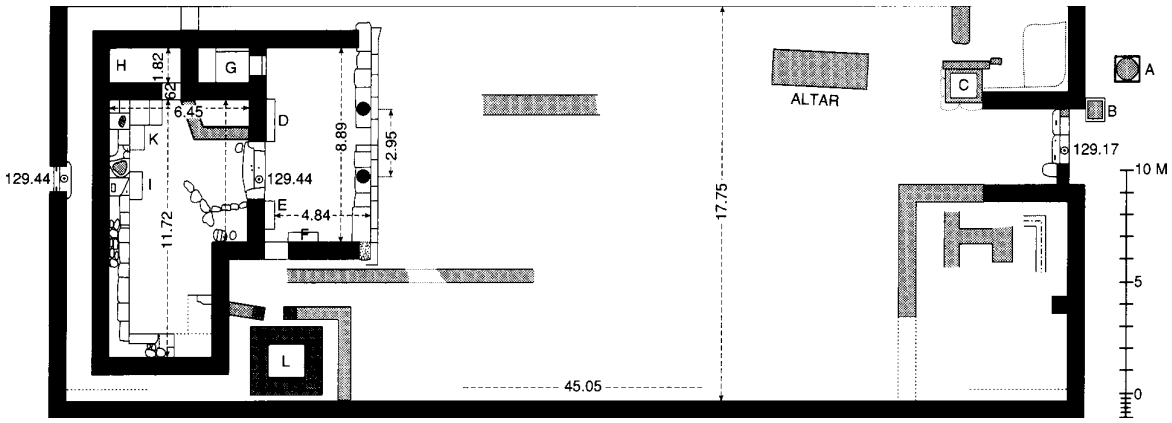

Figure 41: Plan of the Sanctuary of Demeter, Priene. (Wiegand-Schrader, p.148)

the standards that all subsequent architectural projects in the city adhered to. Priene presents an example of an ordinary town, albeit a model one of the era.[467] It is considered a “perfectly undisturbed Hellenistic city” and one of the earliest Hellenistic cities with notably little Roman overlay.[468] The sanctuary of Demeter assigned to a date that overlaps with the relocation of the *polis* presents a particular case of the idealization of the deity in the early Hellenistic period.[469]

The sanctuary of Demeter at Priene is nowhere near as monumental as its counterpart in Pergamon. More than that, it does not adhere to known forms of temple architecture. While there is a structure that resembles a temple, it is pushed to the end of the precinct, accompanied only by two columns at its entrance, and turned sideways where the *pronaos* is located on the longer side of the *cella* (Figure 41). The *temenos* is completely hidden within the woods, above the city, even though it is within city walls. While it starkly contrasts with the sanctuary of Pergamon, the sanctuary in Priene finds its counterpart in a sanctuary of Demeter established elsewhere, in Eleusis. Like the Telesterion at Eleusis, an example of unorthodox planning that serves the purpose of the rituals, the temple at Priene does not conform to temple architecture associated with other deities since how it employs elements such as the altar, *bothros, pronaos* and *cella* is entirely utilitarian. Similar to the Eleusinian sanctuary, this site features retaining walls that create a distinct boundary from the surrounding area, *propylaea* that accentuate this

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[467] Rumscheid, F., Koenigs, W., *Priene: a Guide to the ‘Pompeii of Asia Minor’*, Istanbul, 1998.

[468] Billows, p. 200.

[469] Thomas, p. 45.

division, a fountain for the necessary purification ceremonies, altars for offerings, and a *bothros* used in the preparation of these offerings, all within its enclosed confines. While Pergamon's sanctuary also has these features, with the addition of the steps, Priene achieves the same effect without any monumentality. And what the Eleusinian sanctuary and the sanctuary at Priene share that is peculiar to the two is the location of the *bothros* right next to the *pronaos.* This model, ordinary town of the Hellenistic period utilized all aspects of the Hellenic worship of Demeter while also employing local elements of Demeter's worship established in Asia Minor. With the closest sanctuary of Demeter in Iasos located less than 50 km south, the organizational layout of the sanctuary in several small rooms follows a remarkably similar trajectory in Priene. With several contradicting theories for Iasos, an identical arrangement is found in Priene if we accept the idea that the bothros (T) stood at the *pronaos* and an altar (D) stood at the *cella*. The utilization of small rooms rather than a grand temple is indicative of a continuation of local tradition, as the pre-Hellenistic sanctuaries of Demeter in Halicarnassus, Kaunos, Iasos and Neandria employ a similar spatial organization. All these aspects lead to in the claim that while Priene implemented elements of Hellenic influences into its vocabulary, the resulting arrangement was remarkably in line with the Anatolian tradition of Demeter's worship.

While Priene and Pergamon exhibited quintessentially Hellenistic characteristics, with the former merging local and imported customs and the latter exerting performative power through architecture, Miletus was also attuned to its unique context. Unlike the model town of Priene and the royal stronghold of a kingdom in Pergamon, Miletus had a strong 'maritime *chora*' ('maritime territory').[470] Having established colonies as early as the Archaic period, Miletus's sphere of influence lay in the sea.[471] The sanctuary of Demeter was the only shrine on top of Humei Tepe at the peninsula's tip. As noted earlier, its position in relation to the city and the surrounding landscape was identical to that of Iasos, less than 40 km to its south (Figure 42). The layout of Miletus, characterized by interconnected rooms like

[470] The term is proposed by Lana Radloff as a replacement to Peter Thonemann's usage of 'maritime hinterland'. Radloff, L., "'Placing' a Maritime Territory at Hellenistic Miletos", eds., Döhl, R., van Rensburg, J.J., *Signs of Place: A visual interpretation of landscape,* Berlin Studies of the Ancient World, 2019, p.100.

[471] Strabo mentions the Milesians colonization of Icarus, Lerus, Limnæ on the Hellespont, in the Chersonesus; in Asia, Abydus, Arisba, and Pæsus; on the island of the Cyziceni, Artace and Cyzicus; in the interior of the Troad, Scepsis; while also noting that there were omissions. Strabo, 14.1.6.

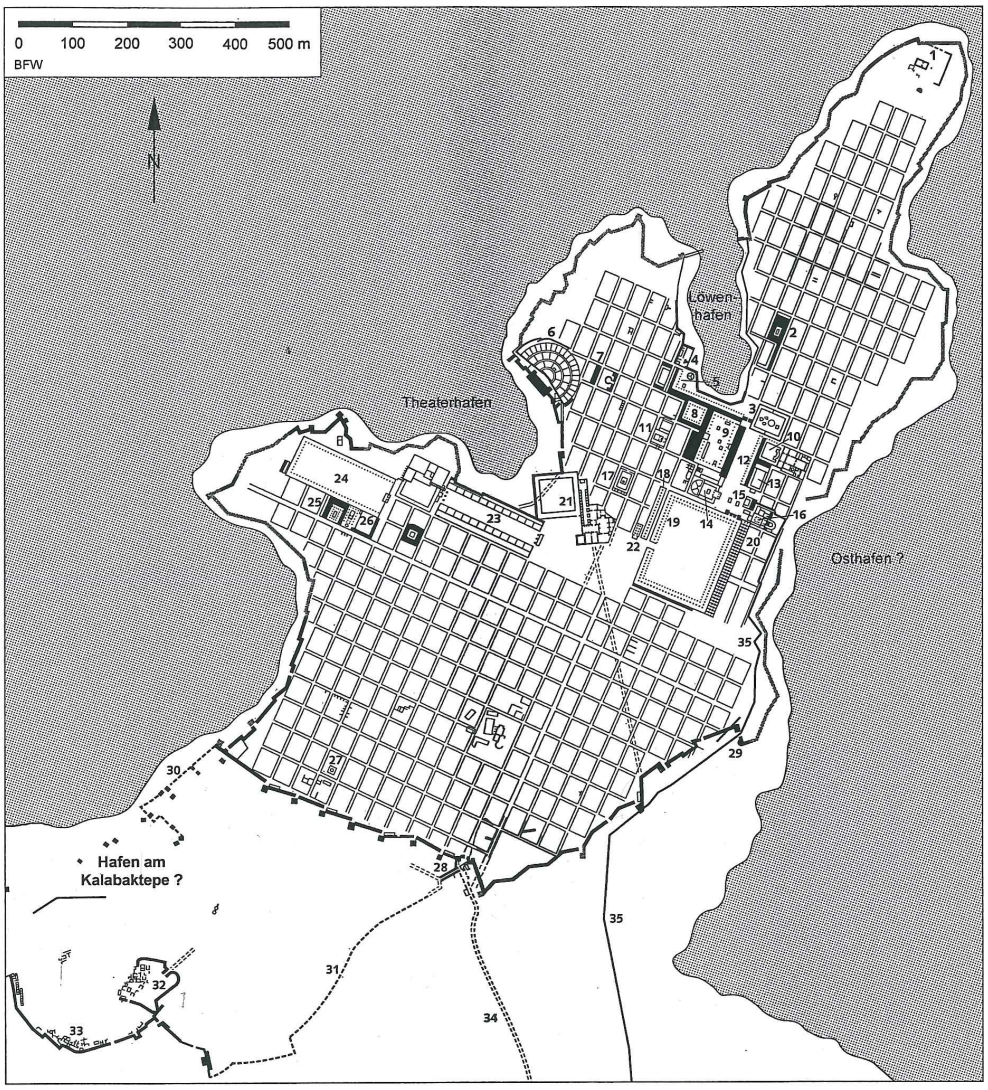

Figure 42: Plan of Miletus with the sanctuary of Demeter on the tip of the peninsula ("1"). Temple of Athena is numbered "26" and the Delphinion "3". (Schripporeit, Abb.13)

Iasos, though not as intricate, indicates a history of cultic practices predating the temple's construction.[472] The presence of votive offerings dating back to the 5th and 3rd centuries BC further supports the notion that the worship of the deity at the site predates the construction of the Hellenistic temple.[473] The sanctuary at Miletus

[472] The temple is dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC. Müller-Wiener, W., "Milet 1978–1979". *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 30, 1980, pp. 30–38.; Müller-Wiener, W., "Milet 1980", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 31, 1981, p.103.; in Karataş, 2019, p.155.

[473] Pfrommer, M., "Zur Typologie der Miniaturhydrien von Humeitepe", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 33, 1983, p. 80; Held, W., "Heiligtum und Wohnhaus. Ein Beitrag zur Topographie des klassischen Millet". *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43, 1993, p. 373.; Karataş, 2019, p.156.

was likely an open-air sanctuary, like its contemporaries in Kaunos, Neandria and Troy, for centuries before it was denoted a temple.

The motivation to build a temple within the *temenos* can be interpreted as the Hellenistic drive to exert presence over the landscape and in this case, the sea. As Radloff elaborates on the effect these shoreline monuments had on the gaze of the viewers

> They highlighted the coasts and hilltops and reflected and reinforced social memory of Miletos' Cretan, Ionian, Anatolian, and maritime roots, and, thereby, functioned as bridges to communication and transportation networks at sea that turned the seascape enclosed between the coast and islands into a maritime canvas showcasing important maritime deities, figures, and events from Miletos' past. As sailors journeyed through Milesian territory, they saw the monuments and used them to navigate along the rough Ionian coast from religious site to religious site, integrating the monuments into the living fabric of the sea. [474]

The temple of Athena, commanding the Athena harbor, and the Delphinion dedicated to Apollo, holding the harbor of Dokimos, attest to the domination of deities over the seascape (Figure 43). Demeter's sanctuary is not located within a harbor, a zone that would undeniably have been heavy with traffic. Defined by secrecy, her worship necessitates a secluded location, albeit within city limits, as seen in other sites denoted to Demeter. A noteworthy aspect in Miletus is the deliberate intention for the temple to be visible from the sea. With their extensive influence through utilizing the sea, Milesians aimed to emphasize their deep roots in Hellenic tradition. Demeter, the goddess associated with civilized lands, served as their prominent symbol to convey this to all those who passed by. While Demeter's domain involved the taming of the lands, the people of Miletus, through colonization, were "taming" civilizations by means of the seas. Ultimately, this juxtaposition of Demeter's sanctuary and their maritime prowess exemplified the dynamic interplay between land and sea, tradition and expansion.

Demeter's role as the bringer of laws of civilization in the Hellenistic period ultimately boils down to the question of what civilization is. Whether in a monumental manner or modest in size or character, all sanctuaries of Demeter in Hellenistic Western Asia Minor reflected a facet of the civilizing aspects of the deity. For Pergamon, with its vast influence within Asia Minor, the quest would be that of control. Her sanctuary is defined by its dominating presence and performative

[474] Radloff, p.107.

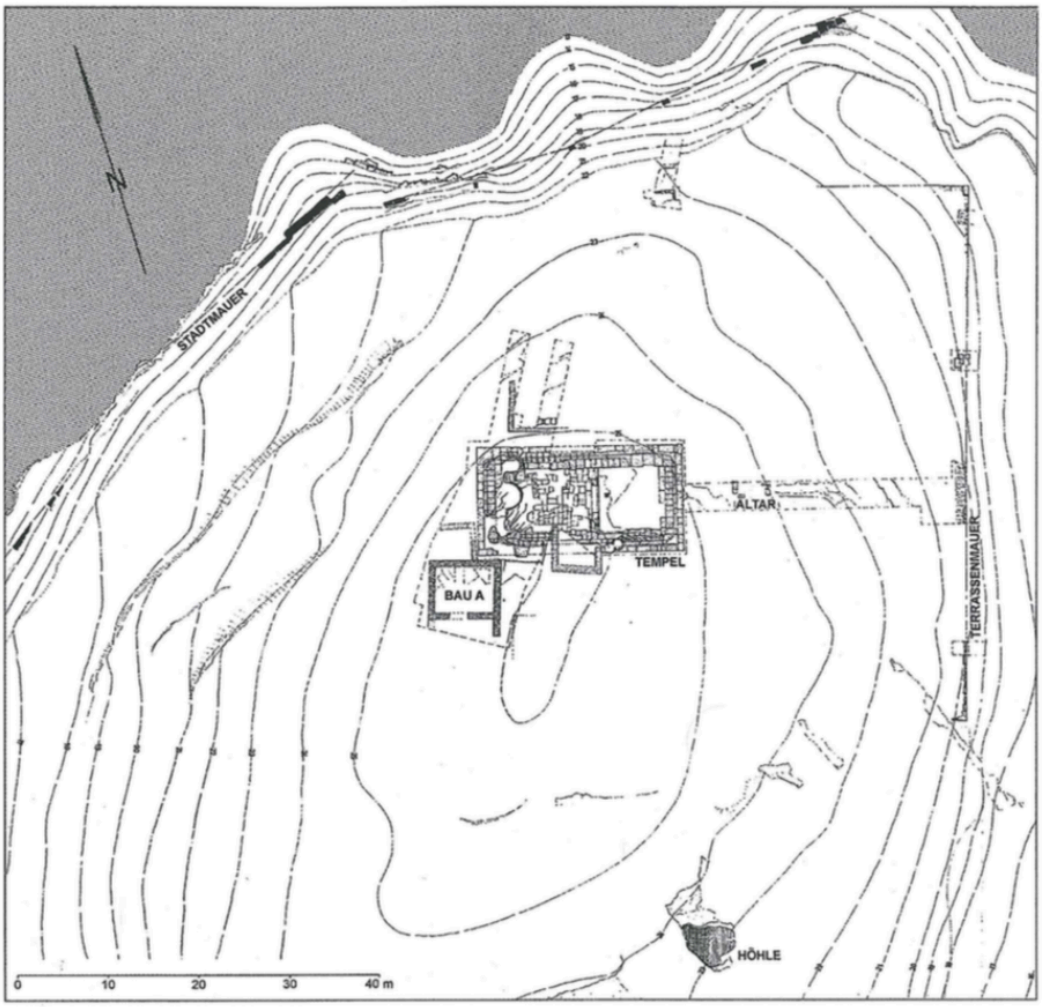

Figure 43: Sanctuary of Demeter at Miletus. (Schripporeit, Abb.14)

architecture in line with this mission. For Priene, it is about representing an idealized Hellenic presence. Because of this motivation, her sanctuary is a token of adaptive reuse of familiar vocabulary in an inclusive manner. For Miletus, it is centuries of dominance exerted through 'maritime *chora*', mirrored in her choice to showcase Demeter as a symbol of Hellenic civilization to anyone approaching from the sea. Further exploration of these architectural features within Demeter's sanctuaries will provide valuable insights into the specific intentions and ambitions of each city, shedding more light on how they incorporated the worship of Demeter into their unique contexts and strategies.

Lehmann describes the quintessentially Hellenistic characteristics of "the desire to provide each significant architectural unit, like the temple, with its own architectural

environment, its own setting or surrounding".[475] Indeed, the entire combination of factors, including the temple's placement, the commissioning, and the arrangement of architectural elements within the *temenos*, significantly shaped the entire scenario and the experience. Hellenistic planning of sanctuaries accounted for all these factors to create a unified spatial experience. After this brief introduction providing a temporal and political context to the sanctuaries at Pergamon, Priene and Miletus, situating them geographically will be followed by how the architectural features, namely the altars, *propylea* and steps have served this narrative.

5.1. Situating the Sanctuaries

Demeter's association with the earth itself makes her a chthonic deity. The "life-giving, death-bringing forces" of the earth under her domain result in the sites of her ritual worship evoking a sense of the earth's interior.[476] The necessity for privacy also highlights the introverted nature of Demeter's sanctuaries during her rituals. Whether as the setting of an all-women's festival or a place where secret rites took place, the nature of Demeter's worship required isolation from the rest of the *polis.* The introverted and well-protected sanctuaries served as spaces where community members could perform rituals to ensure the safety and well-being of the entire city, all within a secure and secluded environment.

The expansionist ambitions of Hellenistic politics, characterized by the constant acquisition of new lands, likely underscored the significance of the deity associated with taming and civilizing the lands, making her a prominent figure within local pantheons. Demeter's role as the goddess of civilization and order of the land aligned well with these territorial aspirations. Her rites embedded the *polis* within a land, ensuring its sustenance and prosperity. Demeter's presence also responded to notions of safety on a more personal level. The notion of security associated with the land, which Demeter represented, was translated into individual security. According to Scully, her sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period "reduced the alternatives of choice and provided an enclosed, sure end to a journey."[477] In a time when empires' boundaries were shifting, the necessity for a definite "end to a journey" could signify performing rituals for the security and stability of the land and its current circumstances to be its final form. Spatially, her sanctuaries provided an

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[475] Lehmann, p.15.

[476] Scully, p.70.

[477] Scully, p.79.

introverted, protected, and well-defined environment during a period characterized by external turbulence and dynamism.

The choice of location for a deity's sanctuary is intricately connected to the divinity being worshipped. The identity of the deity and the purpose of worship played a pivotal role in determining the precise location of the *temenos*.[478] As discussed in the previous chapter, the selection of sites of Demeter in comparison to those of Artemis and Athena demonstrate the apparent differences. This principle was particularly evident in Hellenistic sacred architecture, as emphasized by Pollitt, who observed that; “The theatrical mentality in Hellenistic architecture is expressed in the choice of dramatic settings for temples”.[479] Demeter’s sanctuaries in the Hellenistic Western Asia Minor, all within city walls but at the utmost limit of the town, carry a particular characteristic of defining the border between the natural world and its civil counterpart. Sanctuaries at the edge of *polis* territory have the capacity to either “mark religious significance of natural phenomenon” or define the “boundary of civic territory”.[480] While sanctuaries within the urban fabric represented a clear benefit for the *polis*, those within its periphery protected it by sanctifying its borders.[481]

Although the sanctuaries at Pergamon, Priene and Miletus occupied relatively remote locations from the cities, their positions denoted different meanings to Demeter. Locations of Demeter’s precincts were dependent on her role in the *polis.* While it was more likely that she be employed within the city's borders, the threshold between the realm of agriculture and that of civilization, their relative position within the *polis* signified her role in the local pantheon. Cole gives Demeter’s sanctuaries at Eretria and Corinth as examples of her sanctuaries located within the slopes of the Acropolis, even though the precincts were remote and removed from the rest of the religious life. The exceptional case which is her sanctuary at Thebes, on the other hand, is located at the center of the Acropolis. Cole narrates this intersectional identity of Demeter in Thebetian Kadmeia as

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[478] Dignas, B., “A Day in the Life of a Greek Sanctuary”, Ogden, D., ed., *A Companion to Greek Religion,* Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p.166.

[479] Pollitt, p.230.

[480] Dignas, p.166.

[481] Non-urban sanctuaries defined the boundaries of a city: de Polignac, F., *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State,* trans. Lloyd, J., The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, 1995, pp. 22-25.

> She was called Demeter Thesmophoros, had a temple on the Kadmeia, and was represented both as an agricultural divinity rising from the earth and as a political divinity, seated on a throne, wearing a crown, and holding a sceptre. Euripides recognized both functions of Theban Demeter when he identified her with Ge and called her possessor of Thebes, protector of the land. Theban Demeter received the sacrifice of a bull, leaders took omens at her altar when magistrates took office and before battle, and soldiers dedicated booty in her sanctuary if a battle was won.[482]

In Thebes, Demeter acquires additional roles to her status as the keeper of agricultural lands. With her temple located within the Acropolis*,* she takes on attributes commonly associated with Athena through her involvement in matters of war. Making generalizing claims on where Demeter's sanctuaries are located also overlooks the fact that there were *poleis* where she had several sites of worship. The presence of four Demeter sanctuaries in Megara and seven or more in Hermione suggests the potential diversity in the worship and cultic practices associated with the goddess.[483] Another common attribute denoted to Demeter's sanctuaries is that they are all located on the sides of hills.[484] While there are numerous sites where this is the case, including Pergamon and Priene, and the *Homeric Hymn* attests to Demeter's own request for a temple on the side of a hill, there are nonetheless exceptions, including Miletus.

While it would be an oversimplification to generalize about all of Demeter's sanctuaries, it is safe to state that Hellenistic sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter in Western Asia Minor were situated in locations distinct from other religious structures and the city's urban life. Their presence outside the boundaries of city life located them in the threshold between the city and its agricultural land. Although their domain was concerned more with the agricultural territory, they were placed within city walls. This was because the primary focus on agriculture was through its benefit to humans and the deities they made offerings to, rather than the continuity of plant life itself. In Miletus, Pergamon, and Priene, the sanctuaries were incorporated as integral symbols of their respective cities' identities. They benefited

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[482] Cole, 1994, p. 210. Lepreon, Mytilene, and Iasos are also given as places where Demeter's sanctuary was located within the Acropolis, albeit without any signifiers of her role in the political sphere. Cole also recognizes that the sanctuary at Iasos is not located on top of the Acropolis hill but as they often are, on the side of the hill.

[483] Cole, 1994, p.206.

[484] The first deliberate analysis of the location of Demeter's sanctuaries on the slopes of hills is presented as a "working theory" in: Béquignon, Y., "Déméter, Déesse Acropolitaine", *Revue Archéologique*, T. 2, 1958, pp. 149-177.

from the protection of the city walls and served as transitional spaces bridging the realms of nature and humanity. Despite not offering easy access, their prominent positions ensured their visibility and significance in the urban landscape.

Pergamon's sanctuary of Demeter is located south of the citadel, on the slope of the Acropolis hill. Depending on whether its visitor is coming from the upper or the lower city, it requires a steep ascent or descent. Lehmann narrates the experience of arriving at the sanctuary: "…in the sanctuary of Demeter we are led downward, down from the heights of the Upper Gymnasium terrace below which it clings to the hillside, down into its funnel-shaped forecourt, down again into the cramped precinct where the mass of the temple stands bulkily before us."[485]

While the modern visitor likely arriving at the Acropolis through a cable car would need to descend to the sanctuary, ancient arrival to the sanctuary would have, for the majority of people attending Demeter's festivals, required an *anodos* ("ascent") from the lower city. In Pergamon's tripartite organization of the city layout (Figure 44), the sanctuary was located in the middle city. The upper city paid homage to those who manifested divine attributes and achieved remarkable cultural accomplishments throughout royal palaces, military complexes and public spaces.[486] In Pollitt's words, the lower city was concerned with the "mundane affairs" of daily life.[487] The middle city, where the sanctuary of Demeter was located, afforded a middle ground between the highly ambitious and unremarkably mundane. It neighboured public complexes such as the three-level gymnasium, its accompanying baths, a small temple of Hera and likely the temple of Asclepius all the while being surrounded by residential quarters. Pollitt regarded the activities of the middle city as "those concerned with education and the development of the mind".[488] In this sense, the middle city was seen as a stepping stone, literally and metaphorically to the high honors denoted to the activities in the upper city. While the library was in the upper city, the middle city offered the prerequisite for training

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[485] Lehmann, p.16.

[486] Pollitt, p.233.; Billows, p.206.

[487] Pollitt, p.233.

[488] Ibid.

the mind, which was to train the body.[489] In Demeter's case, she provided civilizing rites and control over agriculture, separating *polis* residents from mere beasts.

The sanctuary of Demeter was not placed on top of the hill that would afford it more visibility but was placed far below other temples, such as Athena, Dionysus and Zeus and arguably gained a more dominating presence over the landscape as a result. Given her domination over agricultural land and her non-Olympian status, it was appropriate for her presence to oversee the plains rather than be in close proximity to the heavens. Although as a sanctuary of Demeter it was introverted in nature, the colossal undertaking of Queen Appolonis afforded the sanctuary with a retaining wall and the south stoa that would have been impossible to miss while approaching Pergamon from afar. As the temple terrace was outside the city walls until Eumenes,[490] its placement in such a dominating location granted its presence a political aspect. Piok Zannon's dissertation, which is by far the most comprehensive study on the sanctuary, demonstrates the utilization of the temple by rulers Philetairos and Appolonis as a way to reproduce a sense of control over not only citizens but the larger empire as well. The well-ordered spaces and rituals that find no parallel in other sanctuaries of Demeter reflect the dynasty's control over its citizens.[491] The strategic placement of the sanctuary, emphasizing its authority in rituals related to the earth, carries significant implications when assessing the overall extent of Pergamene influence in Hellenistic Asia Minor.

In contrasts to Demeter's sanctuary in Pergamon in several ways, the Priene sanctuary was located high above the citadel but afforded absolutely no

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[489] The late Stoic philosopher Epictetus (50-135 AD) of Hierapolis has commented on disciplining the body as a way to control the mind as: "You must conform to rules, submit to a diet, refrain from dainties; exercise your body, whether you choose it or not, at a stated hour, in heat and cold; you must drink no cold water, and sometimes no wine, -in a word, you must give yourself up to your trainer as to a physician…Otherwise, take notice, you will behave like children who sometimes play wrestlers, sometimes gladiators; sometimes blow a trumpet, and sometimes act a tragedy, when they happen to have seen and admired these shows. Thus you too will be at one time a wrestler, at another a gladiator; now a philosopher, now an orator; but nothing in earnest." Epictetus, *The Works of Epictetus: His Discourses, in Four Books, the Enchiridion, and Fragments,* trans., Higginson, T.W., Thomas Nelson and Sons, New York, 1890, 3.15.

[490] Thomas, p. 283. In a personal discussion with Felix Pirson he commented that it was highly unlikely that the city walls attributed to Eumenes were built at his time, making the inclusion of the sanctuary within city walls much later.

[491] Zanon, p.146, f.4.

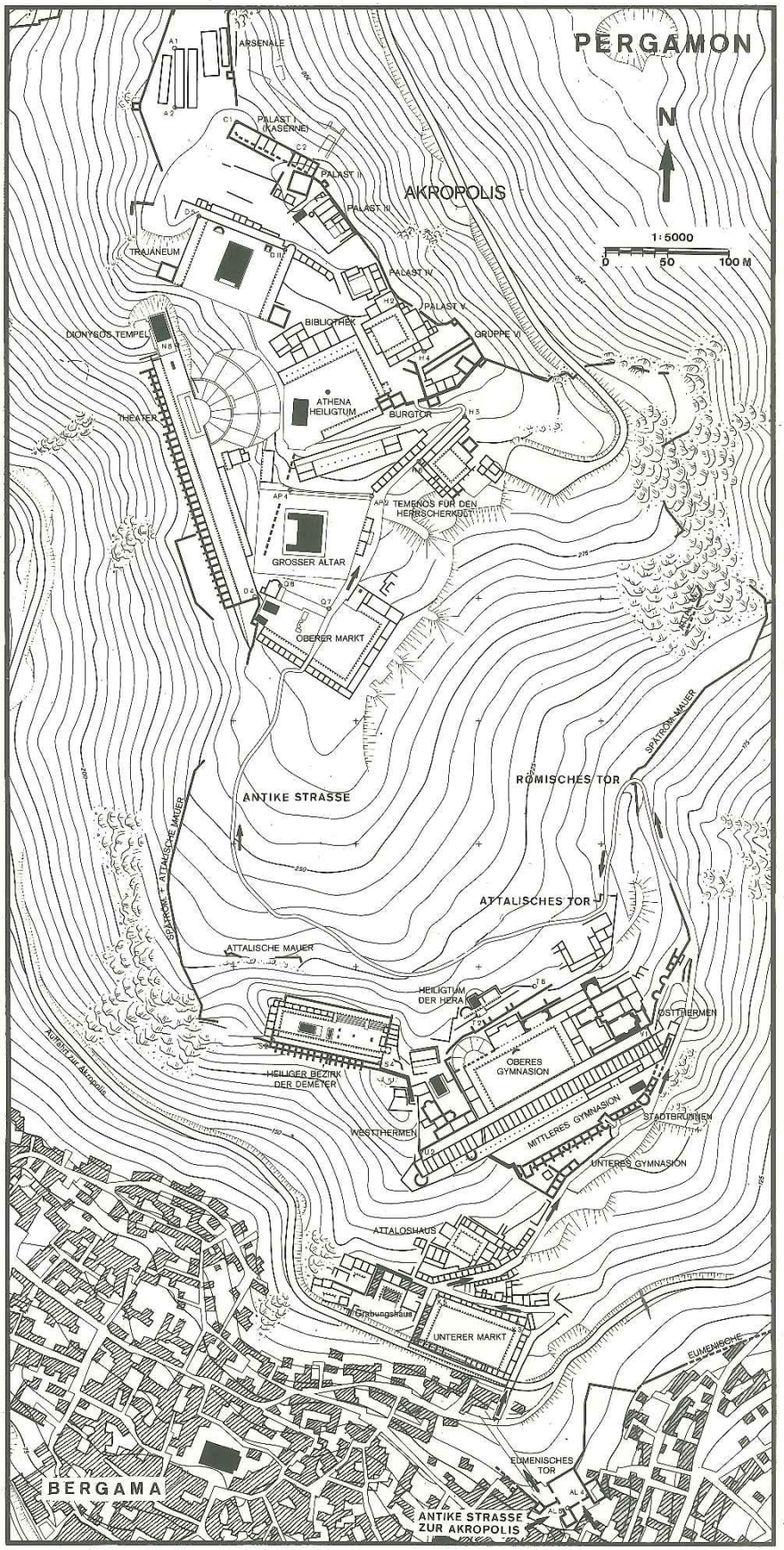

Figure 44: Plan of Pergamon showing the upper, middle and lower city. (Bohtz, Abb.1)

monumental character. Its remote location, according to Waterhouse, made it inaccessible especially in winter months when North-South streets “turned into cataracts, sluicing mud from the mountain slopes above”.[492] An interesting reading to this inaccessibility would be that like Persephone, unable to reach her mother in winter months, neither could her worshippers in Priene. While the sanctuary’s scale was one of the reasons for its lack of monumental character, another crucial aspect was its location within the forest. The temple appropriated the surrounding woods to its own territory, which are argued to have been thicker in ancient times, not only as a screen for privacy but also as a way of protection from falling rocks from above.[493] The forest would certainly have also added to the sacrality of the sanctuary, as Pliny states “trees formed the first temples of the gods, and even at the present day, the country people, preserving in all their simplicity their ancient rites, consecrate the finest among their trees to some divinity”[494] and Lucian narrates that Greeks fenced off trees in groves before they erected temples.[495] Trees would also be used as altars where sacrificial remains would be placed on them.[496] It is essential to acknowledge that the open-air shrines dedicated to Demeter predated the construction of temples, underscoring the significance of sacrality evident in the altars used for her worship. Although the perishable nature of trees makes it impossible to confirm whether they were utilized as altars, the sanctuary’s location deep within wooded areas evokes the sacred symbolism associated with trees. Callimachus vividly illustrates Demeter's profound reverence for trees.[497] Her sacred grove, a place of great significance to her worship, was callously felled by Erysicthon to construct a banquet hall. In retribution for this sacrilegious act, Erysicthon was afflicted with an unrelenting and insatiable hunger,

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[492] Waterhouse, p.102.

[493] Wiegand-Schrader, p. 147.

[494] Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, trans., Bostock, J., Riley, H.T., Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, London, 1855, 12.2. A similar statement also made by Boetticher in Hersey, G. L., *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi*, MIT Press, 1988, p. 11.

[495] Lucian, *Works,* trans., Harmon, A.M., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1921, On Sacrificiis, 10.1.

[496] Rutowski comments on the practice stating that it had likely been established by Minoan times. Rutkowski, B., The Cult Places of the Aegean, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1986, p. 55. Also in Hersey, p.13.

[497] Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter, trans. Mair, A.W., The Loeb Classical Library, 1921, 31ff.

serving as a stark reminder of the consequences of disrespecting the sanctity of Demeter's groves. Hence, the sanctuary's presence among the trees is not a monumental human-made statement over nature, as in Pergamon, but rather a reflection of unity and tactical appropriation that align with Priene's politics within the Hellenistic world.[498]

When examining the Telesterion at Eleusis, the primary temple dedicated to Demeter, Scully aptly describes it as a labyrinth-like interior of a grove.[499] A similar characteristic is observed in Priene, where the sanctuary, nestled within a grove, remains discreet and challenging to access. This difficulty is partly due to its non-conformity with Priene's renowned city grid plan. While its East-West orientation aligns with the grid plan, its position within the middle of a street axis results in it occupying a double block, making it an exception to the usual layout and creating a veritable labyrinth in terms of navigation (Figure 45). The site selection for the sanctuary is also attributed to the sacred spring that feeds the lion's head fountain at its entrance.[500] Given that Demeter's rituals involved various forms of cleansing, the symbolic significance of water in agricultural rites becomes evident, emphasizing the necessity of access to water during her ceremonies.[501] Apart from these symbolic and utilitarian references, the sanctuary's unique location must also be understood within its historical context. It is suggested that the temple was built along with the city, potentially benefiting from the influence or input of Alexander, like the temple of Athena, who likely spent some time in Priene.[502] This introverted, secluded, and unconventional temple plan is not influenced by the monumental sacred architecture of Hellenistic kingdoms but rather by the rites associated with the chthonic deity and their adaptation into Hellenic ideologies. The stark difference

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[498] Another testament to Priene's political dynamics can be found in the presence of an altar dedicated to the Egyptian Gods within the city. This establishment, likely constructed due to commercial interactions, not primarily for the local population's use, showcases Priene's willingness to intertwine religious practices with political objectives. Bean, G.E., "Priene", *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites.;* Akurgal, p.196.

[499] Scully, p.76.

[500] Cole, 1994, p. 213.; Wiegand-Schrader, p.148.

[501] An example to water's importance within the cult is the excessive amount of *hydria* found at Demeter's sanctuaries.

[502] Temple of Athena; Winter, 2006, p.6. Alexander in Priene; Evans, J. A., *The Hellenistic Age: From Alexander to Cleopatra,* Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut and London, 2008, p. 19.

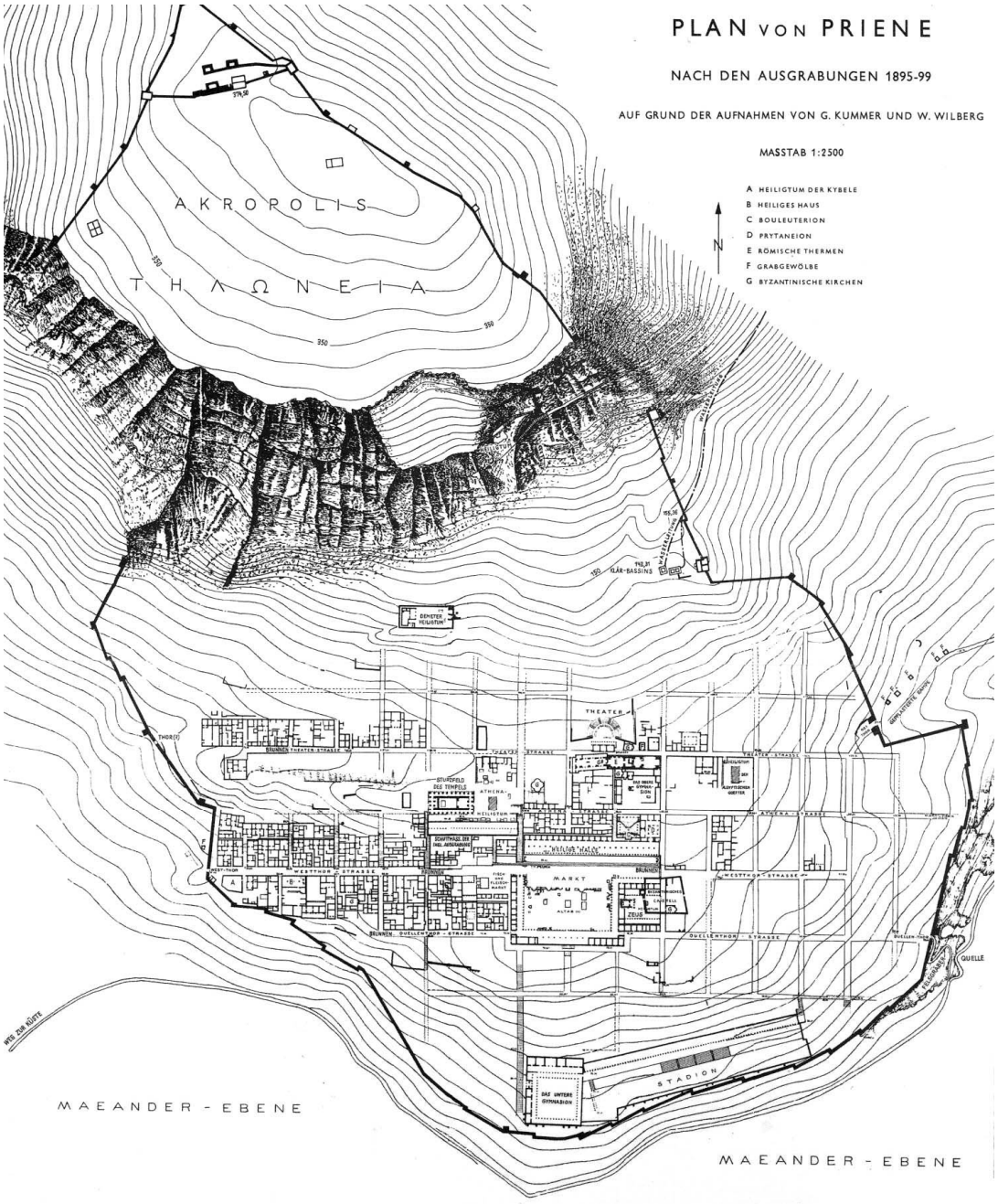

Figure 45: Plan of Priene. (Rumscheid-Koenings, Abb.30)

between the Temple of Athena in Priene and the Sanctuary of Demeter makes the speculation of the latter's influencer be found not in the likes of other Hellenistic sanctuaries in Western Asia Minor but, as discussed earlier, the Sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis as well as pre-Hellenistic sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter. These inspirations have resulted in a secluded, modest, and introverted sanctuary that stands apart from typical Hellenistic sanctuaries in Western Asia Minor.

The selection of the site above the city references the “ascent” toward the sanctuary at the Thesmophoria. In contrast, its presence within the city’s confines places it deeply within the tradition of Demeter’s sanctuaries within city walls and on sloping hills. Like the sanctuary of Pergamon, it overlooks the fertile plains below. The seclusion provided by the surrounding trees and the *temenos* walls may obstruct the panoramic view of the fields, but this aspect can be interpreted within the context of Priene's relatively unpretentious approach to expansion and territorial dominance. In contrast to Pergamon's extroverted sanctuary dedicated to Demeter, Priene's introverted precinct had a different focus. It was less concerned with making grandiose statements to the Hellenistic world and more focused on providing a practical and secluded setting for the secretive rituals of the deity.

Similar to Pergamon and Priene, the temple of Demeter in Miletus is situated within the city walls. However, this placement complicates its identification, as Parthenius's account in *Narrationes Amatoriae* of a Thesmophoros in Miletus suggests it to be a suburban sanctuary located at a short distance from the city. The relevant passage reads:

> During the invasion of Ionia by the Gauls and the devastation by them of the Ionian cities, it happened that on one occasion at Miletus, the feast of the Thesmophoria was taking place, and the women of the city were congregated in temple a little way outside the town. At that time a part of the barbarian army had become separated from the main body and had entered the territory of Miletus; and there, by a sudden raid, it carried off the women.[503]

While it is entirely plausible to assume that there may have been several religious sites associated with Demeter in Miletus, as is the case for Megara or Hermione, another possible explanation is the lack of an architecturally defined setting for the *Thesmophoria*. The Pnyx as the site of the *Thesmophoria,* where temporary huts were set up during the course of the festival, is a case that could attest to this possibility.[504] An additional element to add to this theory involves the account provided by Stephanos of Byzantium, where he mentions the use of pine branches for constructing temporary shelters during the Thesmophoria in

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[503] Parthenius, *Narrationes Amatoriae*, ed., Hercher, R., BG Teubneri, Leipzig, 1858.; English translation in; Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* and Parthenius, *Love Romances,* trans., Edmonds, J.M., Gaselee, S., Loeb Classical Library Volume 69, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1916, 8.1.

[504] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 655. For sleeping huts; Blundell, p.163.

Miletus.[505] This differentiation between an urban and a rural temenos dedicated to Demeter suggests that the urban setting might not have functioned as a *Thesmophorion.*

Despite speculations about the existence of another sanctuary located south of the citadel derived from these accounts, the only tangible archaeological evidence linking it to Demeter is at Humei Tepe.[506] Positioned at the northern tip of Miletus and projecting into the sea, this sanctuary was surrounded by water on three sides. The temple itself occupied the highest point on the hill ridge, making it easily recognizable when approached from the sea.[507] Although fewer remnants have been uncovered at this sanctuary compared to the previous two, the remains of the southeast *temenos* wall provide a general sense of its size, which can roughly situate it between Pergamon and Priene in terms of size. Unlike Priene and Pergamon, where the Demeter sanctuaries were placed on the slopes of hills, the sanctuary's location atop a hill conveyed an impression of heightened visibility, primarily directed towards the sea rather than the city.[508] The sanctuary's positioning also had another significant impact where it created the illusion that visitors entering the *temenos* had reached the absolute end of the *polis*. Located at the tip of the peninsula, the precinct defined the geographical boundary of the city.

All three of these sanctuaries share a standard East-West orientation, with their temple entrances consistently located on the eastern side. This adherence to such an axis is a prevailing feature in Hellenic sanctuaries, yet Scully's analysis offers a different understanding. Strict adherence to the East-West axis implies a desire to liberate the deity from earthly matters, whereas a more informed alignment, such as the Artemision in Magnesia with its Northeast-Southwest orientation, suggests a stronger connection with the terrestrial realm.[509] In Pergamon and Miletus, the Northwest-Southeast orientation seems to strike a

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[505] Stephanos of Byzantium, *Stephani Byzanti Ethnica, Volumen III: K-O,* trans., Billerbeck, M., De Druyter, 2014.

[506] Schripporeit, p.122.

[507] Ibid., p. 124.

[508] This could be due to Miletus's sphere of influence directed towards the sea as attested by its numerous colonies, which is discussed under the previous heading.

[509] Scully, p.44.

balance between celestial and terrestrial references. In contrast, Priene strictly adheres to the East-West axis as the city's grid plan dictates. The fact that Demeter's sanctuary abides by the grid plan only in its orientation makes a reading of this decision possible. However, this reference to the sky is somewhat obscured by the dense surrounding woods, creating a compromise despite its axial organization's celestial connotation. Hence, even with its axial organization referring to a celestial connection, there is still a compromise, linking the deity to the land.

In Miletus, the sanctuary also conforms to the city grid, in this case however, at a Northwest-Southeast orientation. Therefore, in Pergamon alone, Demeter's sanctuary appears to be more influenced by the topography and, possibly, celestial considerations than any predetermined plan. This is mainly because Pergamon lacked a pre-established master plan that would dictate urban layout. Nevertheless, despite their distinctive features, all three sites share a common characteristic of harmonious integration into the urban fabric, always abiding by the city's rules. The remarkable ability to seamlessly integrate into the urban environment unites all three sites, always respecting the established regulations. This holds true whether it's the adherence to the grid plan in Priene and Miletus or Pergamon's inclination for scenic layouts, as it lacks a predetermined masterplan dictating the city's layout. As the goddess of order and law in civilized lands, Demeter is positioned to blend seamlessly with the *polis*, adhering to its requirements and becoming an integral part of its pattern. Located within the city walls and commanding over the landscape, these sanctuaries served as distinctive symbols of identity for their respective cities. They enjoyed the protective embrace of the city walls and acted as transitional spaces bridging the realms of nature and human civilization.

5.2. Crossing the Thresholds

Let me preserve a discreet silence, too, concerning the rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, except as much of it as I am not forbidden to mention.[510]

Demeter's rituals being some of the best kept secrets of the ancient world is due, remarkably, to their secret rites being reserved for a designated audience. Whether

[510] Herodotus, *The Histories,* 2.171.2.

catering to an audience that was the exclusive group of initiates to the *mysteries* or the gender-segregated communities of the agricultural festivals, the sanctuaries had to protect the secrets occurring within its bounds. The privacy and security offered by Demeter's sanctuaries were reinforced by the emphasis afforded to thresholds. These thresholds were not merely linear boundaries separating the realm of the sacred from the profane but a zone designated with the task of preparing those approaching to enter them. Given the secrecy of the deity's rituals, it was vital to consider the levels of access and privacy within these sanctuaries. Thresholds served the dual purpose of guarding the sanctity of the rituals, welcoming the privileged attendees and sending a clear message to those who might not be allowed entry. As such, they could not afford the luxury of subtlety. The sanctuaries were venues for sacred and exclusive rituals, making entry into them a challenging endeavor. As already mentioned, the forbidden access of men is narrated in several accounts, often resulting in harsh punishment. Pausanias mentions Aristomenes's men being attacked upon entering the sanctuary, while Herodotus tells the story of Militiades breaking his thigh trying to get in and later dying as a result of his injuries.[511] There is also the myth of King Battus of Cyrene being castrated by the women in Thesmophoria as punishment for interrupting the secret rites.[512] Whether by divine intervention or the fury of the women attending the festivals, the secluded nature of the sanctuary was rigorously protected with cautionary tales enhancing the idea of its privacy. A recurring theme in these accounts is that the sanctuary of Demeter was "the place devoid of men"[513] even when the man in question was a king.

The emphasis on controlling access to Demeter's sanctuaries serves the dual purpose of safeguarding privacy and security while enforcing strict regulations on entrants. This theme of control and secrecy is aptly illustrated through the narrative involving King Battus, who expressed a desire to partake in Demeter's rituals. Initially, the priestesses attempted to dissuade Battus; however, they eventually relented, permitting him to attend the initial segment of the ceremonies, which

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[511] Pausanias, *Description of Greece,* 4. 17. 1., Herodotus, *The Histories*, 6.134. 2. Dillon also mentions the founding king of Cyrene, Battos's castration by the women attending the festivals. Dillon, p.110.

[512] Dillon, p. 110.

[513] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 1150.

“contained nothing out of the ordinary”.[514] This concession was quite surprising, given the exclusive nature of Demeter's rituals reserved only for women. Nevertheless, the narrative takes a dramatic turn as the priestesses subsequently behave as if it were their predetermined decision, culminating in the act to “remove the part of him that made him male”.[515] Consequently, it becomes clear that this is not the tale of a king persuading the women of the festival to watch the spectacle but rather the elimination of “manhood” from the sacred grounds by any creative means. The priestesses do not let go of their conviction to please their ruler but practice complete devotion and control the festival by any means necessary, including deceiving the king. Although historians have found the events that inspired this tale doubtful,[516] it is still worth noting the authority the story held over the imagination of those who might consider trespassing into Demeter’s sacred ground.

Although not much is known of Miletus’s entrance apart from the reasonable assumption it must have been located south of the *temenos* wall,[517] several inferences could be made based on known evidence from Pergamon and Priene regarding the entrance to Demeter’s sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period. As a result of the secrecy surrounding the chthonic deity’s rites, the entrances were not monumental but at the same time far from inconspicuous. However, to grasp the significance of the entrances to Demeter's sanctuaries, it is crucial to situate them within the broader context of entrances to Hellenistic sanctuaries in Pergamon and Priene, helping delineate the distinctive features that set apart the entrances to Demeter's sanctuaries. Athena’s precincts, her being the Hellenic symbol of the *polis* and the protector of its public sphere, are arguably an example that starkly contrasts Demeter’s *temene*’s secluded nature*.* With Athena’s sanctuaries brought to the forefront of urban life in both Pergamon and Priene, her *propylaea* served the purpose of amplifying the precinct’s presence. In Pergamon, the *propylon* of Athena’s *temenos*, which also happened to include the library, is the first thing the visitor sees once entering the upper city. The *temenos* was considered a “holy

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[514] Tale narrated by Claudius Aelienus. Detienne, 1989, p.130.

[515] Ibid.

[516] Chamoux, F., *Cyréne: Sous La Monarchie Des Battiades*, ed., Boccard, E. de., Rue De Medicis, 1953, p. 265.

[517] Schipporeit, p. 114.

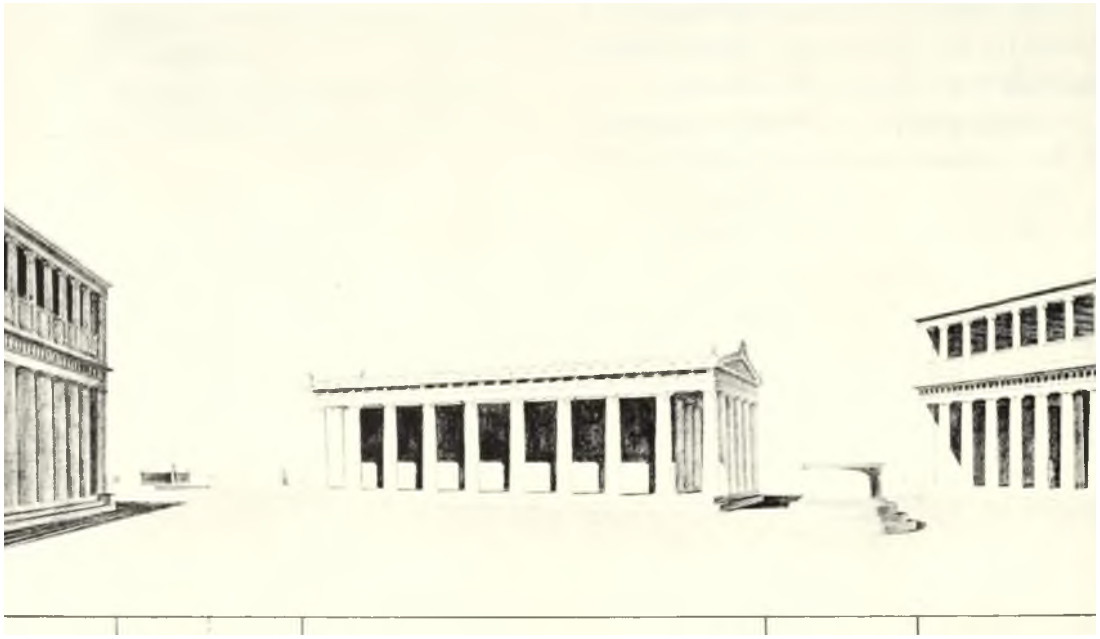

Figure 46: View of the precinct of Athena at Pergamon from the entrance. (Doxiadis, p.106, fig.60)

shrine of culture and intellect"[518] and the monumental entrance frames not only the view but the experience of entering one of the most revered zones of Pergamon. Doxiadis's analysis of the view from the *propylon* indicates that upon entering, visitors were met with an open view of the temple and altar, framed by the surrounding stoas (Figure 46).[519] The entrance to this "shrine" sought to create a unified impression, blending Athena's domain of warfare and dominance with the library's influence on knowledge and culture. With a single glance, visitors encountered the Pergamene narrative, identifying them as champions of cultural dissemination.

In the Hellenistic period, the overall effect achieved by the entirety of the *temenos* was a more significant feat than the architectural form of the entrance itself.[520] Therefore, the *propylon* must be understood in terms of its role within the larger setting of the precinct. In Pergamon, this is achieved by the *propylon'*s reinforcement of the Pergamene identity, whereas in Priene, it demonstrates the effects of the personal patronage of Alexander. This manifestation of architecture as a way to form bonds with communities was recognized in the inscription "King

[518] Pollitt, p. 235.

[519] Doxiadis, C. A., *Architectural Space in Ancient Greece,* trans. and ed. Tyrwhitt, J., MIT Press, 1972, pp. 104-107.

[520] Winter, 2006, p. 40.

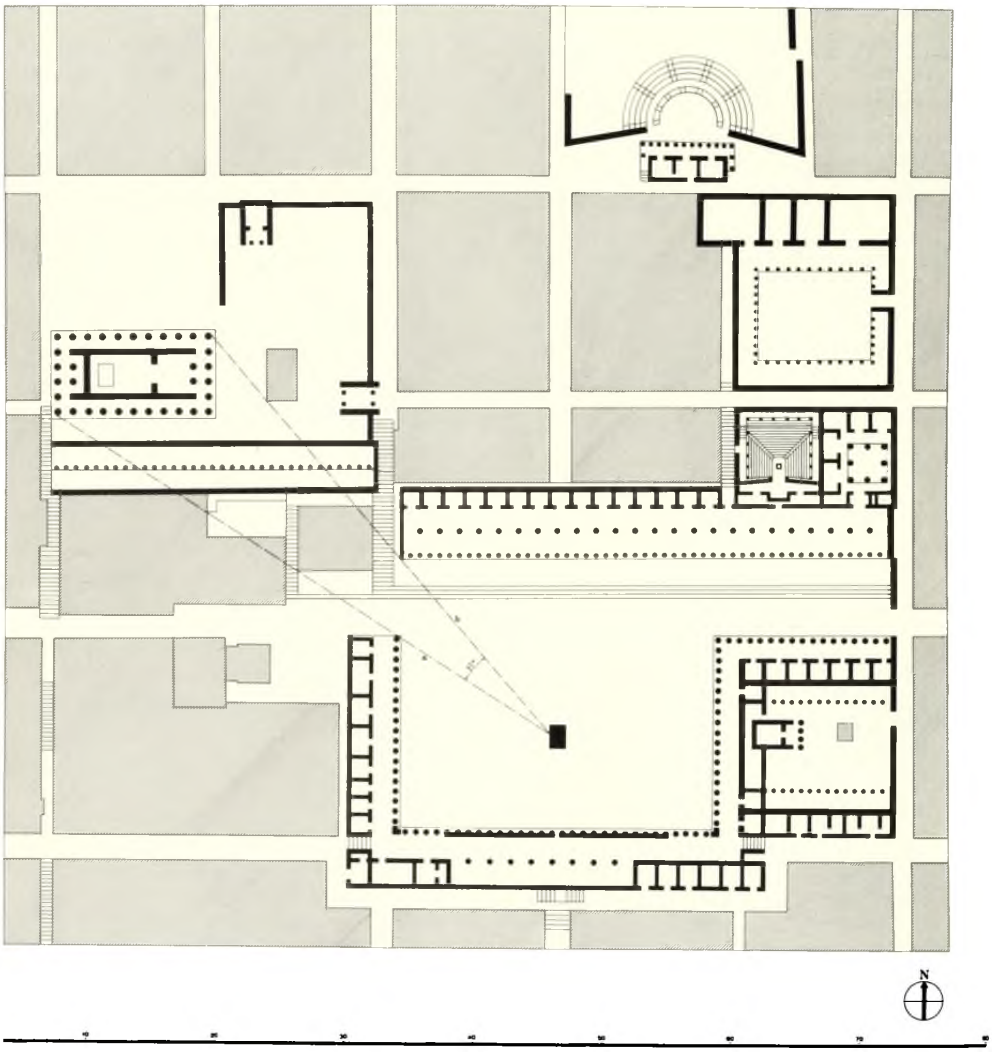

Figure 47: Plan of the temple of Athena, Agora and theatre relations in Priene. (Doxiadis, p.138, fig.84)

Alexander dedicated the temple to Athena Polias".[521] After Alexander's request for commissioning the temple of Artemis at Ephesus had been refused on the grounds that a god could not possibly offer a tribute to another god, the Prienians allowed his patronage.[522] As a token of the good relations established with Alexander and Athena, the temple occupied a strikingly prominent position within the *polis*, visible from both the theatre and the agora (Figure 47). The placement of the entrance was deliberate, strategically facilitating access from both the theater and the agora. The entrance is aligned not with the temple within the precinct but with the East-West

[521] Gaertringen, H. von, *Inschriften Von Priene*, Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin, 1906, p.129. nr. 156., Society of Dilettanti, Antiquities of Ionia IV, Macmillan and Co., London, 1881, p.23.

[522] Strabo, 14.1.22.

street that extends to the city walls. Although the *propylon* was a later addition, dated to the 1st century BC, it defined this controlled relationship with the rest of the urban fabric.[523] Like in the entrance of the temple of Athena at Pergamon, the framed view of the *temenos* afforded by the *propylon* included the temple and the altar, not symmetrically balanced but laterally aligned. The intention in both Athena sanctuaries was to enhance the grand monumentality of the *temenos*, a goal intricately tied to the deity's significance in the respective *poleis*. These entrances served as monuments, showcasing Athena's prowess, strategically positioned to welcome outsiders and as utilitarian features intended to impress those entering the precinct.

As Demeter's rituals were responsible for the reproduction of the entire city, the entrances were tasked not only with the individual security of the women entering the precinct but were intricately bound to the safety of the *polis.* The fact that the doors to Demeter's sanctuaries were traditionally closed can be deduced from Herodotus's narrative of two separate events. First, when a man comes to ask for Demeter's help only to cling to the handles on the door before being captured, and second, when Miltiades is unable to open her door.[524] Neither incident specifies a women's festival taking place during the attempted entries, so it is reasonable to infer that even in the absence of ongoing rituals, casual entry into the precincts was not permitted. The *propylaea* were more than grand statements of transition to a sacred zone; they afforded the indispensable privacy of her secret rites. Demeter's sanctuary at Eleusis was considered one of mainland Greece's most heavily fortified small sites.[525] The presence of two *propylaea* defining levels of access to the Telesterion also assured the admission of only the initiates. While providing more control over the entrance, the double *propylaea* also structured the degrees of sanctity denoted to zones of the precinct. The area between the two gates served as spaces for the sanctuary's staff and potentially as settings for conducting minor religious rites.[526] The same gradual access was also present in Corinth, where the terraced layout of the sanctuary utilized a *propylon* to control access. The middle and lower terraces were separated by a Hellenistic *propylon,* so even upon entering

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[523] Hennemeyer, A., *Das Athenaheiligtum von Priene*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Technischen Universität München, 2006, p.174.

[524] Herodotus, *The Histories,* 6.91, 6.134.

[525] Winter, 2006, p. 44.

[526] Mylonas, 1961, p.173.

the precinct, the arrival to the middle terrace where rituals took place required the transmission through another portal.[527]

Crossing the threshold of Demeter's sanctuaries was a ritual act itself. The fleshed-out rites of the *Thesmophoria* provide us with the information that the first day of the festival consisted of *anodos* ("ascent"), where women entered the confines of the *temenos.* In all cases where Demeter's sanctuaries presided on the sides of hills,[528] this meant a literal ascent had to be made to reach the precinct. The act of ascent referencing Persephone's return to the realm of the living can be considered the first rite of the festival, while returning from the festival can be regarded as its last.[529] The attendees reaching Demeter's sanctuary in Pergamon from the lower city, Priene's attendees coming from the town located below the precinct and the sanctuary Miletus at the tip of the peninsula occupying a higher ground all required this ascent to the *temene.* Even arriving at these precincts were ritual acts and crossing several borders would still be required to enter the deity's realm. In the context of Demeter's *temene*, it is an oversimplification to describe the crossing of a single threshold as entry into the ritual space. Priene and Pergamon exhibit varied accessibility levels, delineating multiple layers of spatial privacy. Entering one sanctum might signify being outside another, emphasizing these ritual spaces' nuanced and multifaceted nature.

The procession, starting with traversing steep terrain, progressing through the forecourt, and passing through the propylon, or *propylaea*, when present, revealed a communal space divided into smaller areas for specific rites. This layout within the precinct allowed for various levels of access through the transition from profane to sacred space. The threshold right outside the *propylon* made the ritual characteristic of the space that was about to be entered daringly obvious. In Pergamon, this threshold consisted of a *bothros*, a fountain and an altar placed within several levels connected by stairs at differentiating angles (Figure 48).[530]

[527] Bookidis, N., Stroud, R.S., *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Topography and Architecture*, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey, 1997, p. 432.

[528] This is discussed in the chapter "From Greece to Asia Minor".

[529] The connotations behind these rituals are further expanded in the chapter "Religious Performance as a Form of Liberation".

[530] Bothz and Zanon both offer accounts on the different stages of construction of the forecourt. Bohtz, pp. 35ff., Zanon, pp. 134ff.

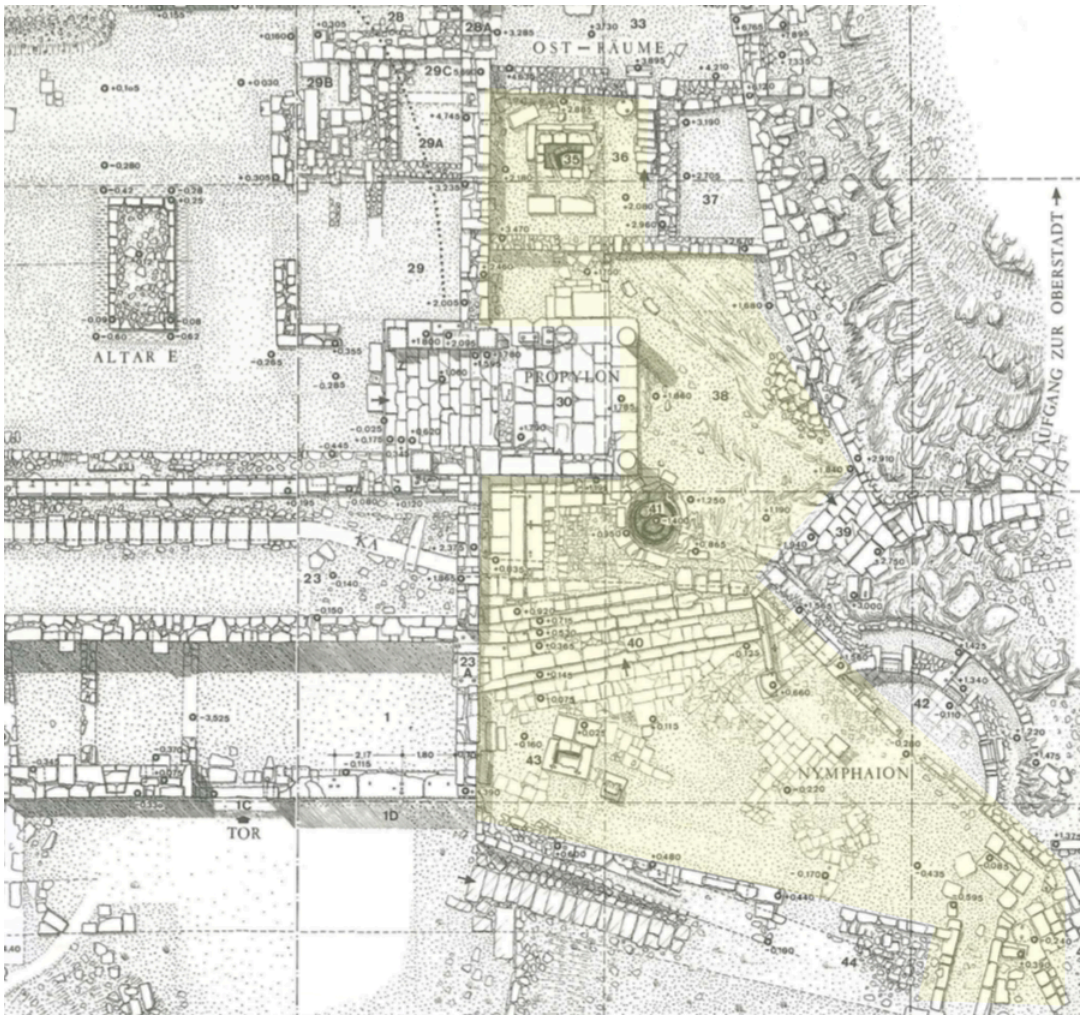

Figure 48: The forecourt of the Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon. The *bothros* (“41”), fountain (“42”) and ash altar (“35”). (Partial view from Bohtz, 1981)

Dörpfeld argues that the Eleusinian sanctuary served as a model for Pergamon, with its forecourt consisting of a well and sacrificial pit.[531] The water feature as a staple at the entrances of Demeter’s sanctuaries, also present in Eleusis, provided the setting for purification before entering the *temenos.*[532] The lion’s head fountain in Priene also defined the entrance to the sanctuary by employing a water feature.[533] This act of purification can be said to have separated the act of *anodos*

[531] Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 355.

[532] Running water as a prominent requirement for Demeter’s sanctuaries: Cole, S.G., "The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries", eds., Hägg, R., Marinatos, N., Nordquist, G.C., *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, 26–29 June, 1986, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae IV.38, Stockholm 1988, pp. 161–165. in Cole, 1994, pp.204-207.

[533] Wiegand-Schrader, p.148, fig. 119, location “C”.

from the rest of the rites within the sanctuary's bounds. The forecourt functioned as a threshold connecting the precinct to the urban fabric but also acted as an extension of the *temenos,* with sacred rituals of washing, sacrifice and offerings taking place within its bounds. With this, the forecourt to the precinct also required a level of privacy and was separated from a main road that would have been in use daily. Hence, the forecourt was accessed via a narrow path on its south side in Pergamon, protected by steep mountainous terrain.

In Pergamon, the *propylon* was only visible upon entering the forecourt, signifying that one had to enter the ritual space to see it.[534] The *propylon* was not a grandiose statement to the city but a clear expression of the precinct to those approaching it. Not even under Roman rule, during which the forecourt fountain was immensely transformed, did the *propylon* become the recipient of a monumental makeover.[535] Although it did not occupy a monumental position within Pergamon, Demeter's *propylon* was still quite expressive. It featured an inscription crediting Appolonis as the benefactor responsible for the remodeling of the precinct, which read: "Queen Apollonis [dedicates] these stoas and these structures as a thank-offering to Demeter and Kore Thesmophoros."[536] The inscription was placed on top of the *propylon* as if to address a divine gaze.[537] The small inscription defining the *temenos* not as a Sanctuary of Demeter but as a setting for the festival Thesmophoria is expressive of the types of activities taking place there and who as well as when they were allowed to enter.

According to Zannon's in-depth analysis, the *propylon* was much more ornate and decorated on its side facing the forecourt than its side facing the *temenos* itself.[538] Its expressive character on the east side was an indicator of Appollonis's extensive work on the site, affording the visitor a glimpse of the scale of the labour that went into the sanctuary. On the western side, the plain surfaces and refrain from decoration were deliberately maintained to not compete with Philetairos's temple and altar but, most importantly, the pre-Attalid altars much closer to the *propylon*.

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534 Cole, 1994, p. 214.

535 Bohtz, p. 6.

536 Hepding, pp. 439-442, n. 24., Zanon, p.85.

537 Dörpfeld notes on its position. Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 359.

538 Zanon, p. 91.

Figure 49: View upon entry from the propylon of the sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon. (İzmir Time Machine v2.0)

The *propylon* was also lifted from the temenos floor by ten steps and a krepidoma-like system that assured its complete separation. A majority of the steps, excluding the bottom two, were part of the monumental *propylon*. The act of entering the precinct could be read in terms of its performative nature where the attendees would need to descend to the sanctuary. As this path defined by the *propylon* would reach its end, attendees would be out of the propylon structure itself and the transition would be complete in the last two steps outside the gate. The continuous passage through this monumental, albeit narrow, door was likely quite dark and made the impression of the large open-air precinct upon entry even more impressive (Figure 49). After the ascent procession to the sanctuary and the purification that took place within the forecourt, the descent through the *propylon* would signal the arrival to Demeter's realm, which is the interior of the earth. The sanctuary on steep terrain, with stoas surrounding its three sides, certainly gave the effect of having been enveloped by the land.

As Pergamon's forecourt was concealed by mountainous terrain, the sanctuary at Priene was hidden within the woods. Nature's role in guarding access to the sanctuary ends upon reaching the *propylon*, and control over access to ritual spaces transfers to the priestesses. The priestesses of Demeter had the challenging task of overseeing all activities within the precinct, as Dignas recognizes: "… one important duty of those employed in sanctuaries was to

supervise the behavior of visitors to the precinct and to facilitate their interaction with the deity."[539]

The significant authority wielded by the priestesses over determining who could enter the sanctuary makes the presence of statues of priestesses at the entrance to the Priene sanctuary a logical and expected feature. The statues of the two priestesses, Timonassa and Hegeso, were arguably the most prominent feature of the sanctuary's entrance. Although the sanctuary was afforded a roofed *propylon,* its presence hidden within the woods would have been less indicative of the sanctuary's purpose than the two priestesses located in front of it.[540] The two were portrayed as fully realized individuals, highlighted not solely in their roles as priestesses of Demeter and Persephone but also emphasizing their identities as daughters and wives.[541] These were exceptional women, their status indicated by their service to Demeter and their roles as mothers and daughters. The inscriptions introducing them to the arrivers indicated that they realized both the role of Persephone as daughters and Demeter as mothers. They possessed a perspective that allowed them to empathize with the experiences of both deities. The presence of two priestesses at the *temenos* entrance could be interpreted in two ways: either as a welcoming gesture to the fellow women of the sanctuary, who shared the bonds of motherhood and daughterhood, or as a final cautionary message to those who had ventured this far.

Apart from the symbolic function of the two statues of priestesses, the rooms denoted to working priestesses were located immediately to the left once entering the sanctuary in Priene.[542] This likely served the purpose of monitoring the entries to the sanctuary. The rooms suggest that priestesses were not afforded privacy but, on the contrary, were responsible for the privacy of the ritual. Like the Eleusinian sanctuary with its rooms for priestesses located between the greater *propylon* and the lesser *propylon,* the presence of priestesses's quarters can be said to have defined a somewhat transitionary space for the *temenos.* The fountain, also in this relatively narrow passage to the precinct, can also attest to the notion of this zone serving a similar transitional role to that of the forecourt in Pergamon.

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[539] Dignas, p. 173.

[540] Wiegand-Schrader, pp.147-149., Çetinkaya, p. 40.

[541] Wiegand – Schrader, pp.149-152.

[542] Schipporeit, p. 150.

Although their access was controlled, the view offered to the visitor upon entering the sacred precinct was encompassing. Doxiadis's study into the system of polar coordinates places the *propylon* as the vantage point to observe the precinct. The theory presupposes the perception from the entrances of sacred precincts as

> The visitor's eyes were led to the most significant goal (usually an altar), which was approached by a clearly visible path, free of structures. But no organized routes led to the different buildings, nor was the site dominated by its largest structure. Every form was distinctly visible, and the visitor was at liberty to choose his [her] own way. [543]

In Priene, this study concludes that all space-defining elements of the precinct, from the temple to the altar, are placed in a manner that does not obscure the view of each other.[544] As a result, the visitor not only gets to gaze at the entire structure upon entry but is allowed a direct view of the front facade of the *pronaos*. Doxiadis does not perform a similar analysis of the sanctuary at Demeter, even though Dörpfeld, one of his professors,[545] conducted archaeological work on the site two decades ago. To speculate, this may be partly due to Doxiadis's system of dividing the view into 10-part and 12-part systems being too limiting. Even for Priene, Doxiadis accepts that the sanctuary of Demeter is an exception to this system and perhaps has applied to Pergamon the 12-part system, which he has denoted to the Attalids, to reveal unsatisfying results (Figure 50).

Although the sanctuary of Pergamon cannot neatly be explained by Doxiadis's system of polar coordinates, it is still, like Priene, governed by the principle of offering the visitor a view of the significant structures of the *temenos.* The *propylon* raised from the *temenos* floor by ten steps afforded this view to be an elevated one. The most dominant focus of this general view was the altar, and in the case of Pergamon, the altar in question was in front of the temple, which it extended in width and was preceded by five smaller, much older altars. Doxiadis, in his system, referred to the altar as the most usual goal to the visitor's gaze upon entry.[546] Although this argument matches perfectly with his omitted case in Pergamon, for Priene, the altar placed on the side in quite an

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[543] Doxiadis, p. 23.

[544] Ibid., p. 176.

[545] Doxiadis acknowledges him as such in the Preface to his infamous book, Ibid., p. ix.

[546] Doxiadis, p. 23.

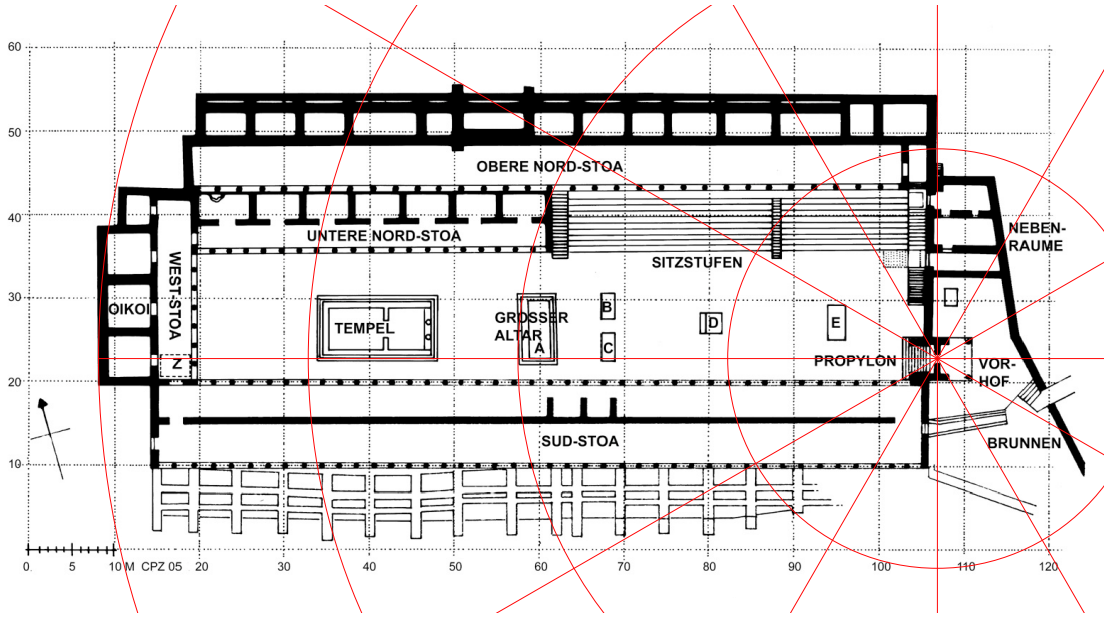

Figure 50: Application of Doxiadis's 12-part-system to Pergamon
(Original plan by Zanon, 2009, p.20)

inconspicuous way requires a closer look into the functioning of the temple. For in Priene, the temple functions like an altar in many ways.[547]

The steep climb, the forecourt and the *propylon* were not the only thresholds to be crossed that separated sacred spaces. Although the *temenos* was entered via a closed door in the *propylon*, such as Pergamon's double leaf door opening inward,[548] there were also varying degrees of privacy within the precinct. In Pergamon, the temple's *cella* was permanently closed off with fixed metal surfaces on its two sides, while the middle gate was moveable.[549] In Priene, the rooms adjacent to the temple were closed off with a method that would be appropriate to their accessibility. Room G, which could be accessed directly from the pronaos, was closed with a lockable door, whereas Room H, which could only be accessed via the cella, was likely closed off with a curtain (Figure 41, Figure 51).[550] The differing levels of privacy and accessibility within these spaces reflect varying degrees of sanctity, correlating highly with the responsibility associated with each level of access. Not all who could enter the sanctuary were allowed free access to

[547] This theme is explored in the chapter "Act of Sacrifice".

[548] Bohtz, p. 18.

[549] Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 381.

[550] Wiegand-Schrader, p. 154.

Figure 51: Left, the entrance to the Room H from the cella; right, Room H and Room G with the latter's entrance from the pronaos, sanctuary of Demeter, Priene. (Photograph by the author, 2021)

all its spaces; hence, movement and presence were controlled even within the precinct. With the decrees honoring the priestesses upon entry into Priene's sanctuary, it would be safe to assume they guided the control and movement of attendees and they alone had the privilege of entering these locked and secluded spaces. With Demeter being 'the one who brings order' the amount of control through zones of access being controlled by her priestesses would be reasonable.

Apart from the "public" entrances to the sanctuaries, less conspicuous access to the *temene* was likely provided for the preparation of the rites. One case is the small opening from the Western end of the precinct in Priene. The path between the *peribolos* wall and the temple provided a narrow passage, leading directly to the *bothros* on the South and the *temenos* floor through the North. An overhead division cut the passage from the North, an extension of the wall within the temple structure between rooms G and H. Dividing the two rooms into units so small they could only be identified as closets is the least curious aspect of the wall. The wall extends beyond the temple structure to connect it to the *peribolos* wall. It does not

Figure 52: Extension of the wall between Room G and Room H to the peribolos wall, sanctuary of Demeter, Priene. (Photograph by the author, 2021)

restrict movement, as it is possible to walk from under it at its height of 1.80m (Figure 52), but its purpose remains unknown.[551] It certainly did not function as a reinforcement for the *peribolos* wall, as it would not have made much difference. One possible use is as a frame for a separator. This would have stopped anyone entering from the West door of the *temenos* from going any further. This frame limiting access from the North path and the *bothros* not affording passage from the South path would have offered a limit to the passage through the West door. As no identified function is denoted to this wall, its utilization as a frame for a second door

[551] Wiegand-Schrader, 154.

after trespassing the West door would have aligned with the preoccupation with controlling access to Demeter's sanctuaries.

In Pergamon, the additional entrances are all situated within the South stoa, this grouping potentially facilitating a more guarded access. Doors 23B and 23A, as indicated by Bohtz's plan, are at the East and West facades of the South stoa's upper floor (Figure 53).[552] In the basement floor of the same stoa, along the southern direction, additional entrances include doors 1A on the East and 1B and 1C on the West side of the structure.[553] These doors led to perhaps the precinct's most secluded and separated zone. The basement was an exceptionally private area, with windows close to the ceiling, which provided little light, no visual access and only ventilation.[554] The two sets of stairs from the basement provided access to the back of the temple, next to the West stoa and directly to the monumental Altar A of Philetairos. The presence of concealed entrances in Pergamon and Priene are notable as they both offer two paths to enter the *temenos* and in both cases, one of these paths leads to the *bothros*. This setup suggests that the preparation of offerings could have occurred outside the sanctuaries and these offerings were then brought through these discreet entrances to be deposited in the *bothros.* This behind-the-scenes preparation was not carried through the main entrances used by festival participants. This sort of 'backstage' area provided utilitarian access, distinct from the ceremonial one used during rituals.

The rites of Demeter conducted within the festival settings reinforce the notion of theatricality within Hellenistic sanctuaries. The careful regulation of access, those responsible for overseeing all aspects of movement and preparation work done discreetly to avoid the attention of the participants attested to the inclination of deliberate orchestration and management of the rituals within the sanctuaries. Architectural features facilitated and guided the flow of participants and enabled the discreet execution of essential preparations, strategically guiding the ceremonial processes. The threshold served as a decisive moment in determining access, crafting initial impressions upon entry, and delineating the nature of activities occurring within the sanctuaries. Upon entry, the acts of sacrifice allocated to the altar and the *bothros* created zones of sacred activity within them,

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[552] Bohtz, 24.

[553] Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 356.

[554] Bohtz, p. 24. Dörpfeld, 1910, p.365.

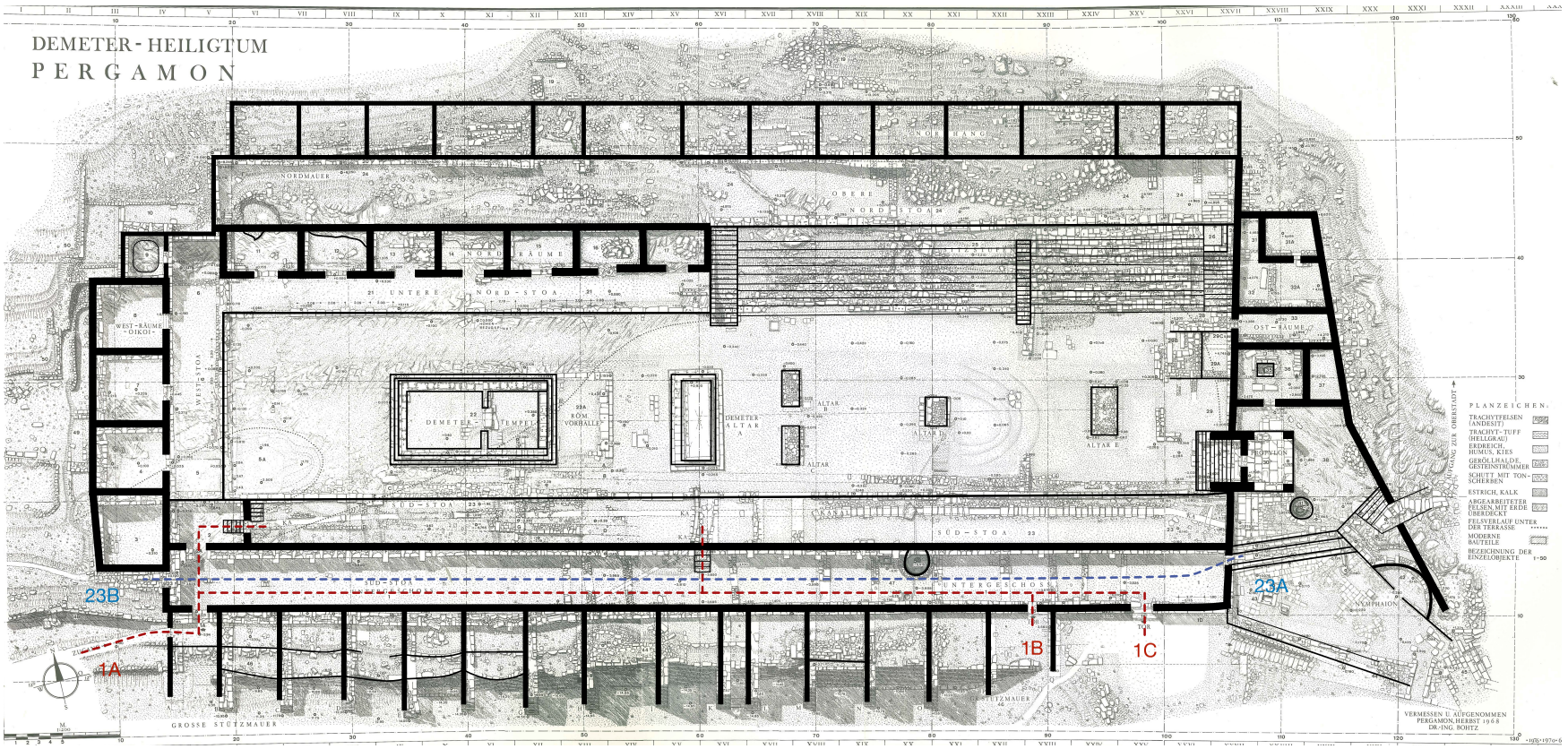

Figure 53: Additional entrances to the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon.
(Reproduced on Bohtz, 1981)

and the seating defined the extent of these ritual acts. The entrances to Demeter's sanctuaries acted as more than mere gateways; they orchestrated the narrative of access, establishing layers of sacred engagement and ritual activities within, framing the scope of these defined spaces.

5.3. Acts of Sacrifice

Hellenic religion regards the altar as the most predominant focus of ritual activity. Burkert goes as far as to say that the *temenos* is in actuality, the space around the altar enclosed by the participants.[555] The altar defines the connection between the gods and the worshippers and the bond between the terrestrial and the divine realm. The identity of those tasked with presenting the deity with the offerings played a crucial role in understanding the scope of the rite's importance. As Gauthier comments, the access to altars was reserved mainly for the local community and foreigners could only attend the rites only if they had "the official mediation of a citizen who speaks on their behalf before the gods and the local community".[556] The requirement for this supervision was a testament to the need to protect not only the sacredness of the ritual but also the bond between the local community and their gods. With the act of presenting the gods with offerings held to such high standing, it is hardly contradictory with the patriarchal structure of the time that a majority of festivals excluded the participation of women from this act.[557] Hence, the only setting where women established a close and personal connection with a deity through sacrifice was in settings where men were absent.[558] As the majority of Demeter's festivals were all-women settings, it was a prerequisite that they performed the act of sacrifice.

Prior to discussing the sacrificial rituals associated with Demeter, it is necessary to understand the Hellenistic traditions of altar architecture, of which Demeter was a part. Western Asia Minor was defined by monumental altars in the Hellenistic period to the extent that the Altar of Zeus at the epitome of the tradition has been

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[555] Burkert, 1983, p.4., in Hersey, p. 15.

[556] Gauthier, P., *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, Annales de L'est Publiéers Par L'Université de Nancy II, 1972, p.47. in Detienne, p.131.

[557] Detienne, p.131.

[558] Other facets of women's religious labor are explored in the chapter "Religious Performance as a Form of Liberation".

regarded as a “valid symbol of an entire age”.[559] Monumental altars are considered by Winter to be “virtually a new, and peculiarly Hellenistic, form of religious architecture”.[560] The Hellenistic altar of Artemis at Ephesus serving as a prototype for the altar of Athena at Priene, Artemis at Magnesia and reaching its zenith at the altar of Zeus at Pergamon is a theory linking the continuation of this tradition.[561] A noteworthy approach is that the emergence of the monumental altar in Hellenistic Asia Minor resulted from their predecessors in Achaemenid architecture.[562] The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus in Caria, as well as the Nereid Monument in Lycia, are thought to have provided Hellenistic architects with the blueprint and inspiration for columned podiums used in monumental altars.[563] Although their form may have derived from these monuments, the status denoted to the altar's purpose was a continuation of an even earlier tradition.

Altars that did not have accompanying temples occurred in the religious architecture of Western Asia Minor. The late Archaic and Classical *temene* of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus were open courtyards surrounded by stoas to enclose the altars (Figure 54).[564] The precinct’s proximity to the harbor may have required it to function as somewhat of a pantheon where Hecate, Apollo, Zeus and Artemis could all be revered in their separate altars. The altar of Poseidon at Cape Monodendri near Miletus from the 6th century BC, on the other hand, is argued to have functioned as a lighthouse, attesting to the utilitarian role of altars.[565] The Hellenistic sanctuary of the Egyptian gods Isis, Sarapis, Anubis and Harpokrates in Priene also had a similar function of providing a place of worship for several deities. As the

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[559] On Pergamon, Hanfmann, 1975, p.32.

[560] Winter, 2006, p. 21.

[561] Ibid., 20.

[562] Şahin, M.C., *Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentalaltare,* R. Habelt, Munich, 1972. In Winter, 20.

[563] Çetin, C., “Sütunlu-Avlulu Altarlarda Altyapı”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 47, 2, 2007, p. 29.

[564] Herda, A., “How to Run a State Cult: The Organization of the Cult of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos”, eds., Haysom, M., Wallensten, J., *Current approaches to religion in ancient Greece, Papers presented at a symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens,* 17–19 April 2008, p. 67.

[565] Mert, İ.H., “Kap Monodendri Poseidon (Enipues) Altarı: Bir Altar mı Yoksa Deniz Feneri mi?", *OLBA XXV,* 2017, pp. 183-210.

citizens of Priene were not thought to be the worshippers of the Egyptian deities, the sanctuary likely offered a place of worship to outsiders coming into the town for trade.[566] Beyond offering a concentration of deities in densely populated urban locales, the utilization of altars fostered a divine connection independent of formal temple structures. An example is the sanctuary at Mamurtkale, located roughly 30 km from Pergamon, dedicated to Meter. Prior to Philetairos's refurbishing of the sanctuary, cultic activity at the site is argued to have centered around the altar.[567] Another functioning site that was denoted a temple by Philetairos was the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon. The four altars preserved in the Hellenistic remodeling of the sanctuary were dated to the late 5th or early 4th century BC.[568] This indicated cultic activity at the site prior to the construction of a temple, even perhaps a *temenos.*

Scully's theory of 'god-centered' versus 'human-centered' design places the altar in the latter category.[569] The reason behind categorizing altar-only sanctuaries as 'human-centered' is their allowance for the worshipper to connect with the entire landscape. While the theory makes this inference based on the gaze and perception of the worshipper and their link to the nature around them, it does not account for two factors that can also attest to this conclusion. Firstly, as gods were thought to have resided in the temples, the absence of a temple meant that the god did not occupy the precinct but merely visited it. The presence of only altars, lacking a residence for these deities in the precinct, might be interpreted as transient hosts, accommodating their presence for fleeting periods. Secondly, as Scully's theory accounts only for extramural sanctuaries of divinities where worshippers are connected with the natural landscape, it overlooks urban sanctuaries where only altars are present. However, recognizing that altars provided temporary connections with the deities without the presence of temples, these urban altars can be argued to have formed a bond with gods that were not necessarily primarily worshipped in the *polis*. The Egyptian Gods of Priene were not natively revered by the citizens and Apollo's presence in Miletus could not eclipse Didyma. Although the altars served as a meaningful and necessary means of

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[566] Bean, G.E., "Priene", *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. and Akurgal, p.196.

[567] Agelidis, S., "Cult and Landscape at Pergamon", eds., Gates, C., Morin, J., Zimmermann, T., *BAR International Series 2034*, 2009, p.51.

[568] Bohtz, 1981, p.56.

[569] Scully, pp. 43-45.

connecting with the deities, they were ephemeral. Returning to Scully's theory, they were certainly 'human-centered' as they fulfilled the human need to revere the gods in its most essential form.

With the recognition that altars formed the most fundamental spatial component of a deity's worship, it is also necessary to acknowledge the element with which Demeter's altars would have been rendered useless. Arguably, the most fundamental feature of Demeter's sanctuaries is the *bothros*, sacrificial pit. It is where, during the festivals of Demeter, piglets are thrown in later to be brought up and mixed with seeds during the Thesmophoria.[570] The pigs that had to have been rotten by the time of the Thesmophoria are argued to have been placed in the *bothros* far earlier. While *Skira* is a possible candidate brought forward by Deubner and later supported by Versnel, Simon's proposition of a far closer-in-date festival of *Stenia* is also a presented possibility.[571] Either way, the ritual occurred not on one occasion but spread out through several weeks, if not months, throughout the year. Along with the piglets, phallic cakes and pine cones are also mentioned to have been thrown into the *bothros*. The phallic cakes are seen as a balancing element to the raw, natural and femininely coded piglets as cooked, cultured and masculinely coded products.[572] While the mixing of pigs, seen as "*polutokos"* (giving birth to many offsprings), and pines, "*polugonos*" (produce a lot of seeds),[573] was symbolically packed, the mixture also created a compost for the seeds where the acidic nature of the pines helped break down the amino acids in the flesh faster. This was, of course, far from a practical rite as the amount of seeds mixed with the compost would be far greater than needed to be an effective fertilizer, but recognizing Demeter's rituals were somewhat pragmatic in nature and not entirely symbolic is noteworthy.

The act of leaving the animal to rot is informed by ensuring the sacrifice is consumed neither by fire nor digestion. The ritual also ensures that the sacrifice's

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[570] Lucian, *Dialogues of Courtesans* in Brumfield, pp. 73-74.

[571] As discussed in the chapter "From Myth to Ritual", I support the theory of Debuner as well. Deubner, pp. 40f.; Versnel, 1994, p. 235.; Simon, pp. 19-20. Discussed in Dillon, p. 326, footnote 33.

[572] Winkler, J.J., *The Constraints of Desire The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece,* Routledge, London, New York, 1990, p. 198.

[573] Lowe, p. 124.

"blood flows neither on the ground nor on the altar".[574] Demeter being a chthonic deity, this manner of honoring her is far from unusual as she is neither concerned with the happenings of the underworld nor the surface and the sky but mainly related to the interior of the earth itself. The source of the ritual is often explained as a reference to Eubuleus's pigs that fall into the underworld during Persephone's abduction.[575] Another possible reading of the ritual is their symbolization of Persephone's journey itself. As the pigs in the myth fall to the underworld during Persephone's descent, they could be regarded as a symbol for her journey. Each year, the act of placing the offerings into the soil during the spring festival of *Skira* could be regarded as a placeholder for Persephone's absence from the underworld until she would return to her husband in the fall, which is when the remains would be taken out. Another function of the offerings placed in the *bothros* could be that they symbolically served as a reassurance of the idea that things descending to the earth would eventually come back up. The remains brought up from the *bothros* in the *Thesmophoria,* at a time when Persephone returns to Hades, could have served to comfort Demeter that her daughter would eventually return, just like the pigs that have fallen with her.[576]

The *bothros,* like the altar, functioned as a space where sacred forces accumulated. As Brumfield explains, it is where the "power of generation is passed from the *megara* to the remains to the seed."[577] It was not restricted to the confines of the sacred temenos, as the *bothros* was a commanding entity on its own. In Pergamon, one pit is located next to the *propylon,* accompanied by the ash altar in the forecourt (Figure 48).[578] If an assumption is to be made that its presence preceded Apollonis's project, it was also accompanied by the Altar E outside the temenos before it (Figure 38). As the *propylon* did not restrict ritual activity and merely

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[574] Detienne, p.134.

[575] Lucian, *Dialogues of Courtesans* in Bremmer, p. 169. and Brumfield, pp. 73-74. Also for the inference; Tzanetou, A., "Something to Do with Demeter: Ritual and Performance in Aristophanes' Women at the Thesmophoria", *The American Journal of Philology,* 2002, pp. 333-334.

[576] Another level of reading here would be that just like the pigs coming from the pit dead, Persephone returns from the underworld queen of the dead, no longer occupied with the realm of the living, if one could say it for gods, dead.

[577] Brumfield, p. 79. The term *megara* is used to refer to sacrificial pits associated with Demeter and Kore. Ekroth, 2.93.

[578] Sacrificial pit [41], ash altar [35] Bohtz, pp. 15-16.

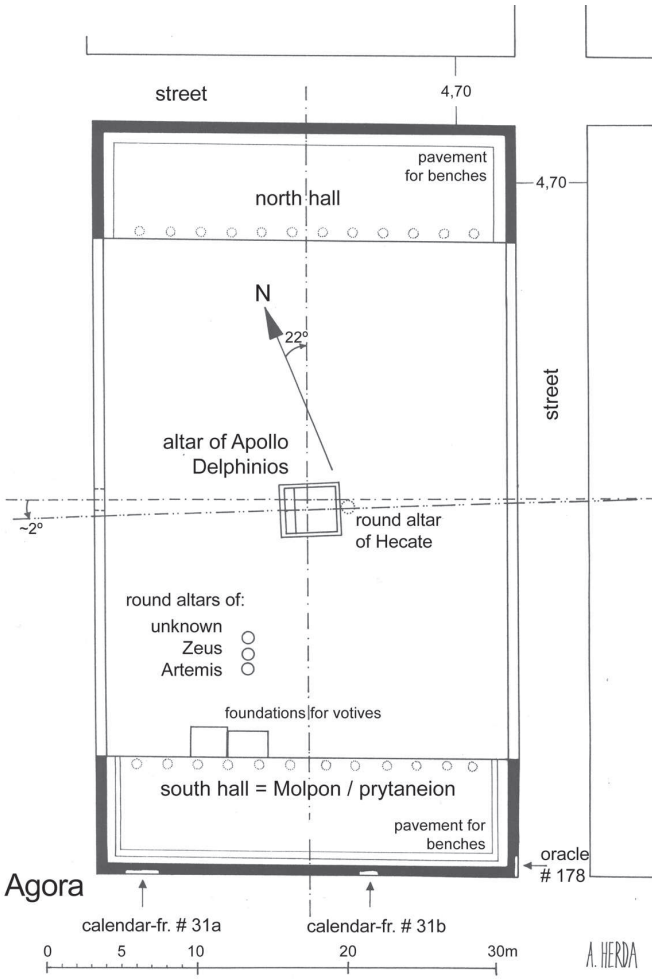

Figure 54: Plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios (Delphinion) at Miletos in Classical Times (Herda, p.66, fig.3)

organized it, it created zones of activity in relation to proximity. The same could be said of the cave located roughly 20 meters outside the *temenos* wall in Miletus (Figure 43).[579] The possibility of the cave being used as a *bothros,* unlike the human-made *bothrai* found in Pergamon and Priene, comes from the chthonic deity's rites incorporating many natural rock formations into the rituals.[580] One such instance is Priene's sacrificial pit carved 2 meters deep into the bedrock.[581] Hence, the cave in Miletus can not only be considered a valid candidate as the sanctuary's *bothros* but, in turn, also present a convincing proposition for the entrance to the sanctuary as it was most likely located close to it, such was the case for Pergamon.

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[579] Schipporeit, p. 113.

[580] Natural rock formations in Demeter's sanctuaries are discussed at length in the chapter "The Arrival of Demeter's Sanctuaries in Western Asia Minor" in their many forms.

[581] Wiegand-Schrader, p. 154.

Figure 55: South stoa basement of the sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon.
(Photograph by the author, 2021)

A theory would be that as the rituals concerning the sacrificial pit were reminiscent of the notion of descending to the underworld, rock formations, unlike soil, would hold the offerings in Demeter's realm, which is the interior of the earth, without allowing them access to Hades's which is the underworld. This theory would partially override the prior two inferences but would recognize the *bothros* as reflecting Demeter's agency over her own realm.

Pergamon's exhaustive undertaking of the sanctuary demonstrated a more methodical approach to concretizing the concept of the underworld. The South Stoa, an addition of Apolllonis, had a basement level which Bohtz characterized as a "symbolic entrance to the underworld".[582] Although Dörpfeld defined the space as storage, Bohtz strictly argued for a ritual purpose.[583] Bothz stated it was similar to the *Telestrion* in that it functioned as a necessary space of darkness for Demeter's rites.[584] Zanon, on the other hand, attributed a direct purpose to the space as the location for the *nestia,* which was a ritual to commemorate

[582] Bohtz, p. 8.

[583] Dörpfeld, 1912, p. 237; Bohtz, p. 25.

[584] Bohtz, p. 20.

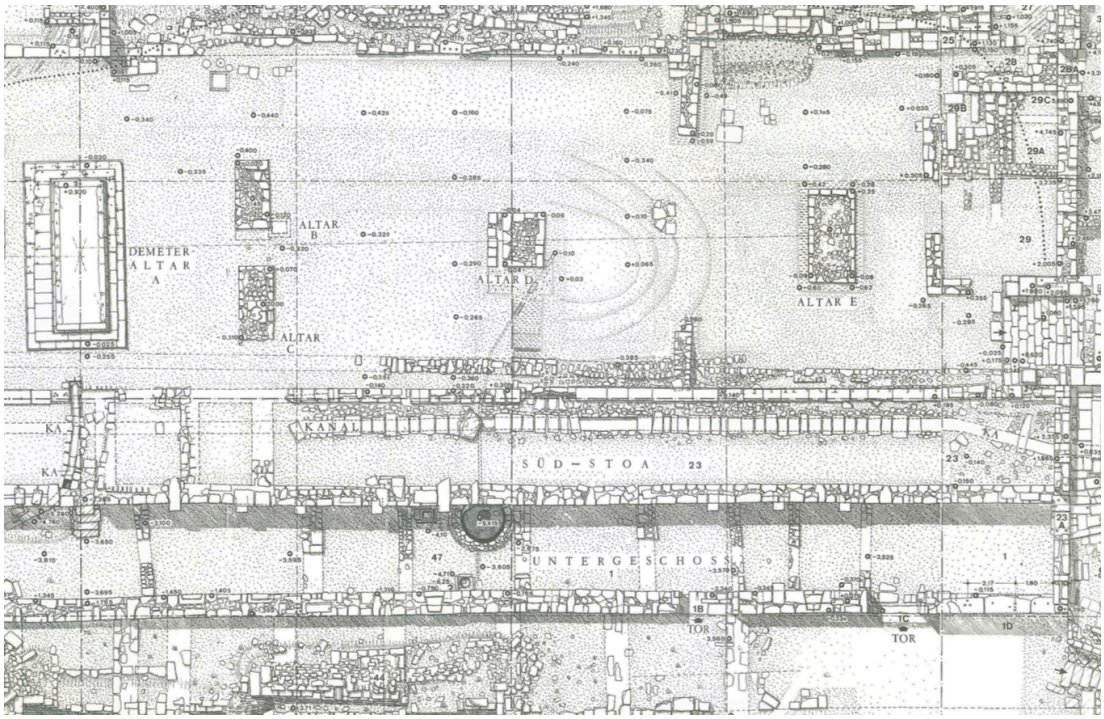

Figure 56: Plan showing the tunnel from altar D to sacrificial pit, Pergamon.
(Partial view of the plan of the sanctuary, Bohtz, 1981)

Persephone's abduction by sharing in Demeter's sorrow in the form of fasting on the second day of the Thesmophoria.[585] As Boutsikas proposes, in cults "descent was mimicked through movement within the structure".[586] The journey to the South stoa basement and back in the form of an underground chamber could be read as a direct representation of Persephone's annual journey to Hades and back to Demeter.[587] Including a basement level under a stoa with the use of an engineering feat that was the retaining walls was no small feat (Figure 55). A noteworthy feature of the south stoa basement is a pit with a channel leading down to it from Altar D (Figure 56, Figure 57). Bohtz's assertion about the pit functioning as a drainage element, collecting rainwater, appears questionable.[588] There seems to be no logical reason to retain rainwater within the sanctuary if that were its sole purpose. There is, however, another canal leading from altar A, which does continue through the South stoa basement and outside the precinct's retaining walls that could actually have performed as a drainage system. The fact that altar D stood at the

[585] Zanon, p. 117.

[586] Boutsikas, p. 59.

[587] Tzanetou, p. 334.

[588] Bohtz, p. 55.

Figure 57: South stoa basement pit, Pergamon.
(Photograph by the author)

highest point on the *temenos* floor would also attest to the fact that it could not have served as a sensible point of drainage.

There are several factors that can attest to the pit fed from Altar D being used as a *bothros.* The pit is a likely candidate for a *bothros*, as access to it from outside, just like the access to the *bothros* in Priene, was made possible through inconspicuous entrances.[589] On the other hand, Altar D is located on the highest point in the *temenos* floor and numerous terra-cotta finds within its vicinity make it a substantial candidate to be the principal altar for where the seeds were mixed with the rotten remains.[590] Considering Altar D predated the sanctuary itself, the presence of a *bothros* in close proximity to it would have been practical. And although the particularities of it cannot possibly be grounded on evidence, the channel, leading from the altar to the pit, might have been used to transport the remainder of the liquids back to the pit in the basement without letting them be absorbed into the soil after the mixing. Using the natural slope of the land, they would flow through the terra-cotta channel to the pit.

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[589] Discussed in detail in chapter “Crossing the Thresholds”.

[590] For the terra-cotta finds, Bohtz, p. 55.; and the mention of the pit, Bohtz, p. 30.

The return of some of the remainder of the sacrifice back to the underground chamber, which can be interpreted as a symbolic representation of Hades's realm, is illustrative of the compromise of Persephone's journey. Dörpfeld, in his initial confrontation with Pergamon's precinct, likens it to the Eleusinian sanctuary and states it was likely modeled after it.[591] If so, no space within the precinct is more similar to the private *Telesterion* in Eleusis than the South stoa basement. Like the *Telesterion*, the South stoa basement is not visible from the outside and only offers light through windows close to the ceiling.[592] With this level of privacy, symbolic reference to the underworld and engineering that went into its conception, the South stoa basement was indeed a deliberately conceived space with a clear ritualistic purpose. It was a hall with what could only be assumed to have been a sacrificial pit which received its contents through a tunnel from an altar, representing a final destination, perhaps an afterlife. The configuration and symbolism of a temple were evidently influenced by the landscape, adapting to the specific site and its relationship with the deity it was dedicated to. The South stoa basement was emblematic in that it held the entire *temenos* together. The architectural integrity of the precinct was reinforced by the basement, as its location on a sloping hill would have made its sustainability through centuries an improbable feat.[593] It was also an homage to Demeter's realm of the interior of the earth as it was deliberately dark and enwrapped by the land.

The significance of the *bothros* in Demeter's rites is matched only by the altar. It is where the attendees interact with the sacrifice itself, transferring its powers to the seed. An additional element of the rituals conducted at the altars involved the observation of these rites and their performers by the festival participants. The bodies of participants limiting the bounds of sacredness actively give attendees the agency to restrain the sphere of ritual activity while locating the altar as its focal point. Given that the rituals primarily centered on the altars, the sanctity within the precinct was predominantly associated with these areas rather than the temples themselves.[594] The concentration of rituals in a particular location inherently resulted in older altars being perceived as more sacred compared to their more

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[591] Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 355.

[592] Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 365; Bohtz, p. 24.

[593] Bohtz notes on the South stoa basement having been filled with rubbles when unearthed, signaling a deliberate effort of its preservation. Bohtz, 22.

[594] Zanon, p. 14.

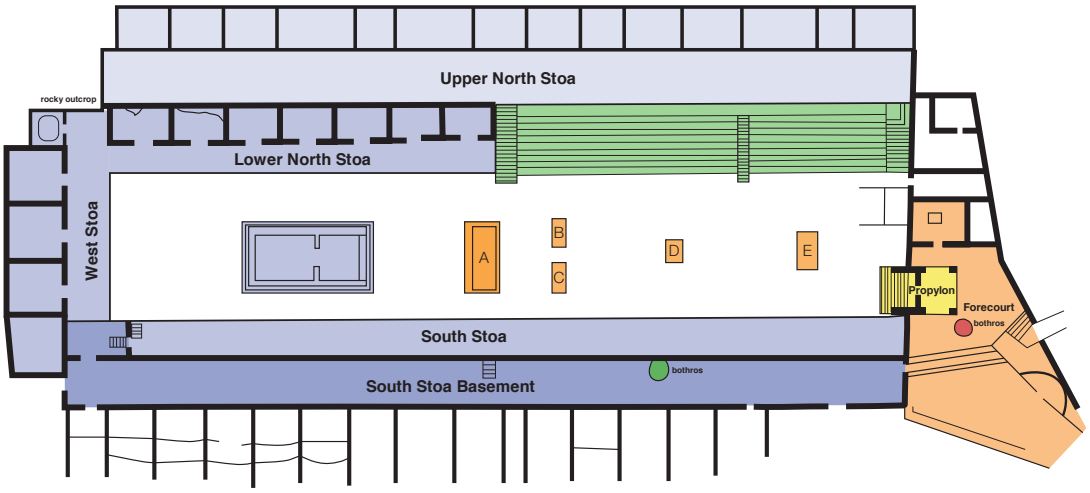

Figure 58: Sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon. (Prepared by the author)

recent counterparts.[595] In Demeter's sanctuary at Pergamon, altars B, C, D and E predate not only the monumental altar A, but the temple itself (Figure 38, Figure 58).[596] Even though Dörpfeld's initial archaeological investigations of the site did not encompass the altars constructed before Philetairos's undertaking, the very absence of these altars and their omission from the representations underscore the prominent role they held within the spatial organization of the precinct, rendering their absence palpably felt (Figure 59).[597] This conspicuous void in the archaeological record accentuates the significance of these altars, emphasizing their integral contribution to the site's overall spatial and symbolic dynamics.
The altars, denoted as B-E, likely functioned as the site for the amalgamation of seeds with sacrificial offerings retrieved from the *bothros*. The presence of multiple altars suggests the simultaneous occurrence of multiple rites. Occupying half of the *temenos* floor area, these altars were fully visible from the *theatron* to their North. The *theatron*, overlooking these altars, extended the boundaries of the "sacred precinct," as defined by the bodies of the attendees, across the *temenos* floor. This zone concluded at the exact alignment with the eastern facade of Phileatarian altar A. With the onset of the altar A on the *temenos* floor, the *theatron* steps gave way to the lower North stoa. The zone defined by the altars on the *temenos* floor was extended vertically to determine the spatial organization of the precinct on a monumental scale. This constituted a twofold division of activity where the Eastern

[595] Hersey, p.15.

[596] Zanon, p. 23.

[597] Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 362.

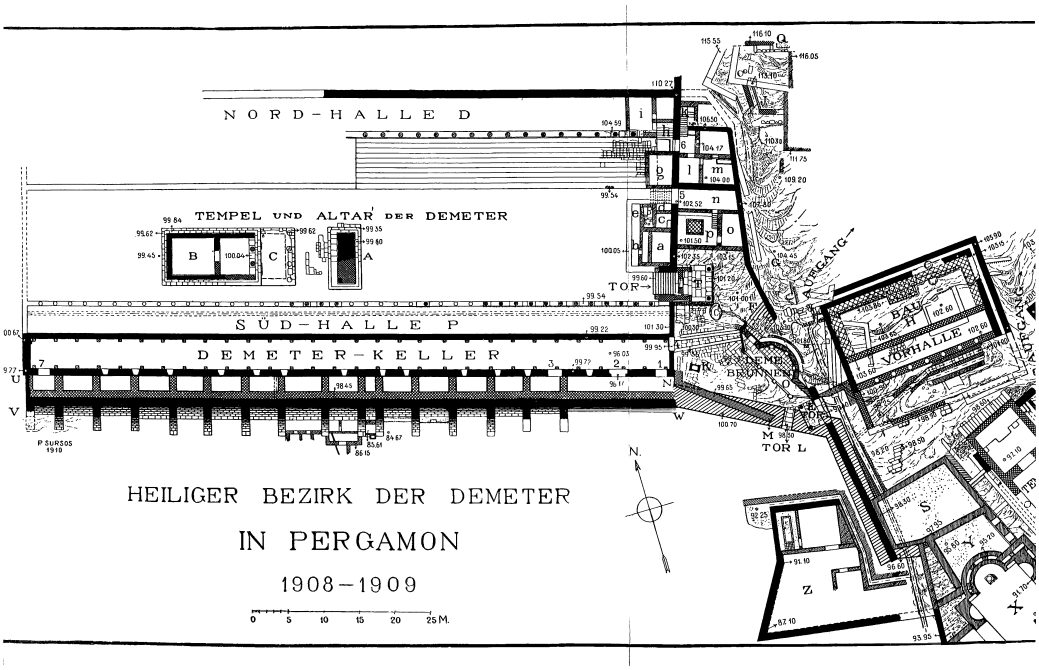

Figure 59: Dörpfel's plan of the Sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon (Dörpfeld, 1910, xxxv)

half of the precinct, defined by the pre-Philetarian altars and the *theatron* served time-honored sacred rituals and the Western half was occupied with reinforcing the contemporary Pergamene royal identity. The precinct's eastern half found definition solely through altars, exerting minimal influence on the third dimension. It operated akin to a conventional open-air shrine dedicated to Demeter. In contrast, the western half, characterized by the temple and enclosed on three sides by stoas, served as a means for the dynasty's presence to be palpably felt.

Altar A on the *temenos* floor functioned as the mediator between these two spheres. Although it operated as an altar, it was commissioned through royal patronage, making it a mediator bridging the realms represented by the distinct spatial zones. Unlike the prior four altars, altar A of Pergamon was defined much more through its monumental reflection of the dynasty than as a focal point of ritual activity. The monumental altar divided the precinct into two, defining its Eastern half as the zone for sacrificial ritual. Although it could be seen from the *theatron,* the gaze was far more tangential. Where the *theatron* offered direct visual access to altars B-E, altar A was clearly meant to be something other than the visual focus of the view from the steps. However, from the *propylon,* which was raised from the ground by approximately 1,5 meters, it received a direct line of sight. The altar A was designed to hold such a commanding position from the *propylon* that even its width exceeded the temple. Built in the scope of a single project, the temple and altar A housed the same inscription that said, “Philetairos and Eumenes dedicate

[this] to Demeter on behalf of their mother Boa."[598] Although placing the same inscription on both reflects an equal importance denoted to both, their execution reflected vastly different purposes. Zanon compares Philetarios's additions to conclude that while the temple employed more innovative methods in design and decoration, the altar remained more traditional.[599] This attests to the theory that altar A served as a mediator between the grand statements of the monarchy and the preexisting ritual spaces. In parallel with altars B-E, Altar A derived its value not only from its permanence and age but also from its continuity of tradition. In contrast, the temple, marked by more contemporary design choices, conveyed a grand statement about the dynasty's future, as envisioned by its founder.

Even though Altar A drew inspiration from the past in terms of its stylistic features, its purpose was not to compete with the older altars. Instead, it was crafted to occupy a distinct and unique position within the broader context of the sacred space. This was demonstrated by the fact that the *theatron* begun during the scope of Philetairos's project was not extended to it.[600] The scope of the *theatron* was defined by the older altars and deliberately placed the new altar A outside its direct line of sight. However, even though altar A was not offered a direct view from the *theatron,* the raised altar, with a broader place to stand on its West side, offered all participants to the East of the *temenos* a view into the happenings of the sacrifice.[601] It could confidently be stated that the priestesses stood on the West side of the altar facing East as the width of the steps there measured 0.87m, whereas the remaining three sides were 0.35m.[602] Hence, the priestesses performing the rituals facing East would have certainly been visible to almost all seated in the *theatron*. The twofold organization of the *temenos* floor where the older altars B-E defined even the latter spatial organizations and the monumental altar A reflected monarchal power was a strategic method to separate the two realms. Altar A, belonging to the monarchal sphere with its location and inscriptions, mediated this transition by employing the design vocabulary utilized by

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[598] Dörpfeld, 1910, Nr. 22 (temple) and Dörpfeld, 1912 Nr. 5 (altar) in Zanon, p. 21.

[599] Zanon, p. 67.

[600] Bohtz notes that the Altar A ends approximately where the steps begin. Bohtz, p. 51.

[601] Dörpfeld, 1910, pp. 378-9.

[602] Dörpfeld, p.377.

the earlier altars and the positioning of the rites oriented not towards the temple where the deity would reside but the festival attendees.[603]

A similar systematic program of architecturally informed rites also found their counterpart in Priene. However, unlike the Attalids, who orchestrated the entire ritual through clearly designated spaces, Priene's sanctuary was far from a monumental statement. This does not mean that the sanctuary was not informed by spatial indicators governing the rituals. It could be said that the sanctuary's form was informed strictly by the rites taking place and avoided grand statements, even known architectural configurations. The most significant advocate for this is the temple's form being informed by the *bothros.* Unlike Miletus and Pergamon, with sacrificial pits located outside the *temenos*, Priene placed its *bothros* in arguably the most central position within the precinct, on the side of its *pronaos*.[604] The sacrificial pit dictated the shape of the temple, which became 1.5 meters narrower.[605] As a result, the *pronaos* did not follow the whole width of the cella but extended over half of it. The deliberate alignment of the temple's form with the sacrificial pit highlights the sanctity accorded to the ritual and the prominent role of the *bothros.* This integration of the *bothros* into the architectural layout attests to Priene's commitment to prioritizing the utilitarian requirements of the rituals over monumental statements.

In line with this unconventional approach, the altar was not in front of the temple, on the same axis, which would have been the conventional approach, but on the North side of the precinct, closer to the entrance. This created a large opening in the *temenos* floor, unobstructed but also undefined by the presence of any structures. The functionally informed approach extended towards the temple structure as well. Most likely because of its vicinity to the *bothros,* the *pronaos* held three tables (D, E, F), while the *cella* itself had two (K, I), argued to be sacrificial tables (Figure 60).[606] This would have resulted in the temple functioning similarly to

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[603] Another component of this divide positioning members of the royal family within the Western half of the *temenos* in the West stoa is discussed in the chapter "Connecting to the Goddess".

[604] An similar arrangement took place at Eleusis. Evans, 2002, p. 241.

[605] Wiegand-Schrader, p. 151.

[606] Wiegand-Schrader, pp. 152-154. The interior of the cella was surrounded by a podium with indentations for marble figurines.

an altar. Because of this, the degree of visual and physical access the attendees would have to rituals held in the altars had three levels. The sacrificial tables K and I, located within the *cella*, were acutely private and accessible perhaps only to the priestesses and did not offer any views to others within the precinct.[607] The interior of the *cella* was also surrounded by a podium with indentations identified as having been used for figurines.[608] In the absence of sufficient space for a monumental cult statue within the temple, these figurines can be considered to have assumed the central role of the cult image. Consequently, any ritual conducted at the sacrificial tables K and I could be interpreted as a direct dedication to the deity, partially exempt from events occurring outside the *cella*.

The tables on the *pronaos,* D, E and F were expectedly related directly to the *bothros* and were partially open to spectators from the *temenos* floor. Being in the direct path from the *bothros*, the tables here indicate the principal use of the *pronaos* as the zone where the remains would be mixed with the seeds during the *Thesmophoria*. Although a larger and much more prominent altar is present on the Northeast corner of the *temenos*, the division of the task between smaller altars resonates with the circumstances in Pergamon with altars B-E. Another factor was the larger altar's position at the *temenos* entrance. Carrying the remains from the opposite corner of the *temenos* floor rather than utilizing the three tables directly accessed from the *bothros* presents a less likely case. The altar next to the entrance was open to all attendees to observe the likely much more performative rituals.[609] Observing the gradual privatization of the sacrificial tables, K and I, located at the *cella,* serving only the deity and allowing access to only a designated few, likely priestesses, D, E and F allowing attendees to watch but still relatively exclusive in terms of entry, would place the altar at the entrance the most open to the presence of festival attendees to partake and define the ritual space.

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[607] Their probable use as sacrificial tables has been noted by Wiegand-Schrader. Wiegand-Schrader, p. 154.

[608] Wiegand-Schrader, p. 153.

[609] While there is no indiscernible evidence that attests to the altars' use for any purpose other than those including the mixing of seeds with the remains taken from the *bothros*, the presence of several altars in the precincts make a compelling case that they may have been used for varying purposes. The first that comes to mind is their possible use for sacrifices which would be consumed by the festival attendees after their fast ended and *kalligenia* begun.

Figure 60: Plan of the sanctuary of Demeter, Priene. (Prepared by the author)

If the tables within the *cella* and *pronaos* are utilized as sacrificial altars within the context of the Priene precinct, it is possible to infer that a similar activity could have been denoted to rooms within the *temenos.* A possible inference can be made for Room G in Priene, which consisted of podiums on its West and North sides, not unlike those that occupied the *cella,* except that it did not have indentations for figurines. However, the size of the room would have made it impractical for more than one or two individuals to be present simultaneously. The fact that the room did not open into the *cella* like room H and that it had a podium makes its use as a storage space unlikely. Being directly in line with the large altar and its proximity to the three smaller tables in the *pronaos* does make it possible to speculate that it might have been used to conduct necessary preparations for the rituals. Using a cultic room for ritual purposes is also more likely if it incorporates rocky outcrops within its setting. In line with their use for the *bothros*, rocky outcrops reflect a direct connection to the chthonic deity. This approach to integrating the rock formations into the architectural spaces is found in Pergamon's lower North stoa rooms 9, 11, and 12 (Figure 61).[610] The rooms situated at the farthest Western end of the lower North stoa were arguably the most inconspicuous among all the rooms, as they were less likely to be seen than any other room providing an outlet to the *temenos* floor. They would have certainly been impossible to see to the seaters of the *theatron* steps. Even those entering from the *propylon* would not have been able to see the rooms. Although they would have been offered a tangential gaze to the end of the lower North stoa, the alignment of the columns at the present angle would have provided no gaze between them, rendering the rooms behind them invisible (Figure 62). Although an overarching inference cannot be

[610] Bohtz, p. 35.

made regarding the purpose of cult rooms, especially when they integrate rocky outcrops, their presence certainly signals a utilization for cult purposes. The rocky outcrops extending into the rooms in varying degrees could have been carved out, especially when considering the scope of engineering that went into the conception of the Pergamene sanctuary. However, these natural formations were deliberately incorporated into the design as perhaps an intimate connection to the chthonic deity.

The altar did not stand alone in its significance but collaborated with the *bothros* in a complementary role. Together, they played a vital part in orchestrating the rites, each contributing to the symbolic and practical aspects of the sacrificial process within the sacred precinct. According to Detienne, the Thesmophoria was “a sowing festival that gives the altar the modest role of a table”.[611] The statement falls short of capturing the nuanced intricacies embedded within the collaborative dynamics of the altar and its intricate relationship with the *bothros.* The retrieval of sacrificial remains from the *bothros* and their unification of the seeds at the altar merged the two realms in which the two zones operated. While the *bothros* symbolized the interior of the earth, governed by Demeter, the altar was its reflection in the mortal sphere. The altars were less concerned with presenting the goddess with offerings and more so with the deity extending her help to humans. The remains ascending to the mortal realm from the pit, like Persephone returning from the underworld, united with the primary cause for any agricultural activity, Demeter’s most essential element, the seed. The altar was the setting for this symbolically packed unification. The altar defined the scope of the ritual area defined by the bodies of the participants who protected the sacred sphere. It defined layers of privacy and control, and had the potential to reflect both older traditions and monumental statements of power. This religious labor, devoid of men, entrusted the women with reproducing the annual crops and symbolically reuniting mother and daughter. If the altar was the stage for this unification, then all present were witnesses and assuming the role of performers in the intricate drama of ritualistic expression.

[611] Detienne, 133.

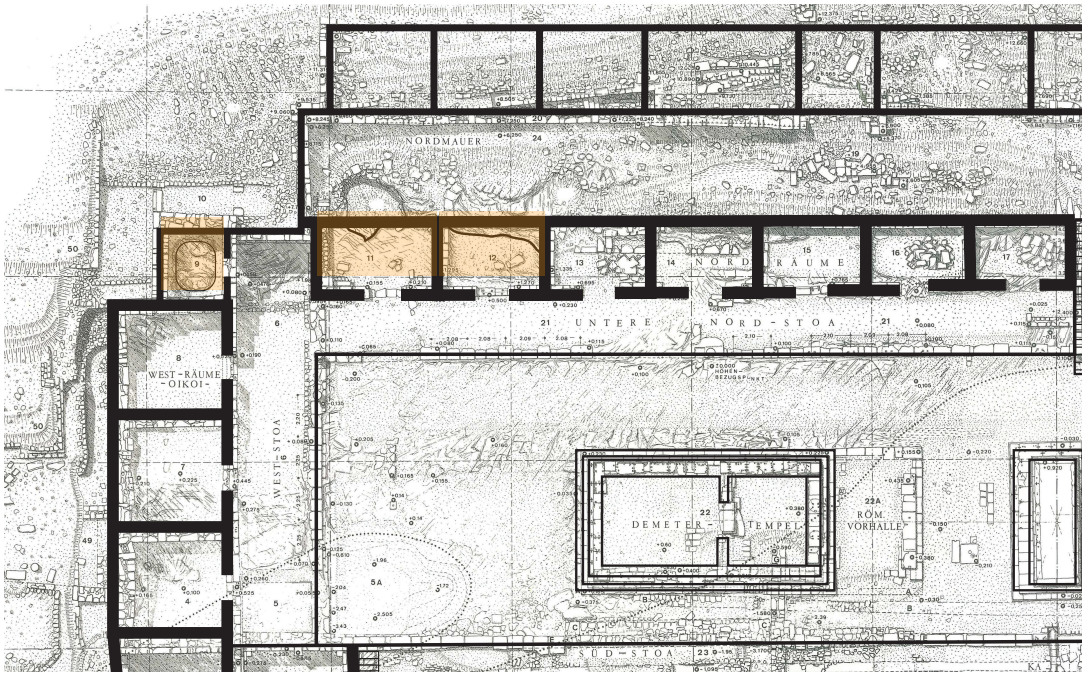

Figure 61: Northwest corner of the sanctuary of Demeter, Pergamon. (Original plan by Bohtz, 1981)

Figure 62: View from the west corner of the North stoa (approximately the entrance to Room 11), Pergamon. (İzmir Time Machine v2.0)

5.4. Connecting to the Goddess

Building broad steps is one strategy for establishing—or intensifying—a sense of place, whether by mediating between exigencies of terrain and architectural structures, by introducing movement, or by defining boundaries and focal areas. [612]

The most monumental component of the Pergamene sanctuary of Demeter is arguably the *theatron* steps. Following the elevation in the topography, they are inevitably informed by and bound to the earth. Their introverted character, with the focal point being the altars, presents a physical indicator of their purpose during the rites of Demeter. Even though the sanctuary was located on the slope of the Acropolis hill, the view offered by the seating steps did not extend beyond the *temenos* as the South stoa would have completely blocked any view to the plain below. Dörpfeld's initial confrontation with the steps immediately led him to think of the Telesterion at Eleusis.[613] Like the steps of the Telesterion, they are placed in a manner that transforms the seater into a spectator. While the Telesterion seats are carved into the rocky ground, the Pergamene *theatron* is somewhat more articulated.[614] Although the *theatron* steps do not utilize the ground it is placed upon as seating directly, this connection with the earth is constructed and defined, as are all the features of the Attalid sanctuary. The steps do, however, provide the setting to establish a close connection with the deity, form a community on the basis of each member being able to perceive one another and at the same time reflect the monarchy's power to bend the land to their will.

Comprehension of the ritual importance of the seating steps in the Pergamene *theatron* would benefit from locating it within the geographical, temporal and cultic context. Unlike the steps surrounding the interior of the Telesterion, which the Pergamene example was likened to by Dörpfeld, monumental seating steps in Hellenistic Western Asia Minor were placed in open-air settings. They cannot all be said to have occupied the exterior of the temple structures, as steps of the oracular temple of Apollo at Didyma were within the monumental *dipteral*. The area where the steps stood was open to the sky but completely cut off from the outside

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[612] Hollinshead, 2015, p. 25.

[613] Dörpfeld, 1910, p. 370.

[614] Karataş, 2019, p. 150.

Figure 63: View from the interior of the temple of Apollo at Didyma.
(Photograph by the author)

world.[615] The steps led from the unusual *cella* to the oracular room with its opening to the *pronaos.* Seating on the steps would have offered a view of the happenings at the small shrine, for which the exterior temple was a frame,[616] as well as the oracular activities happening on the *temenos* floor (Figure 63). Above the steps stood the oracular room, the *chresmographeion* where the oracles would have been delivered.[617] Although the room had a "door" opening to the *pronaos*, it did not allow access and reaching the oracular room could only be achieved by following an intricate path. First, one had to descend to the *cella* through the two vaulted corridors on the two sides of the *pronaos* and then climb the monumental stairway. As symbols of ascent, the steps carried a profound ritualistic significance, marking the progression towards the oracular room. The deliberate positioning

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[615] Parke, 1985, p. 53.

[616] Lehmann, p.17.

[617] Soyöz, U., *Temples of Apollo at Didyma and Klaros in Ionia as the Centers for the Oracular and Political Activity, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Program of History of Architecture, Middle East Technical University*, 1999, p. 72.

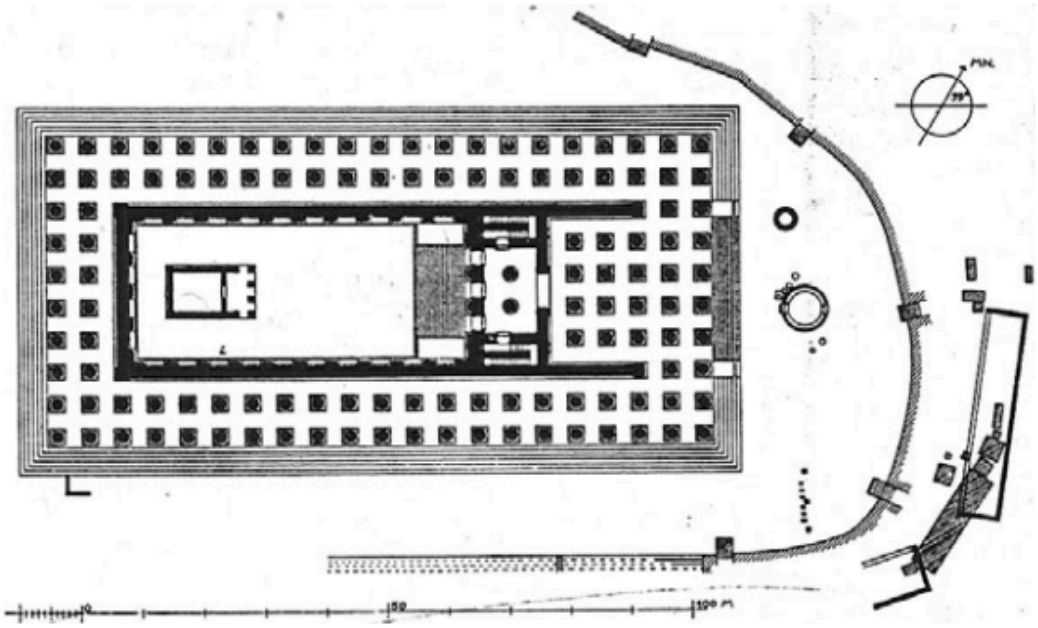

Figure 64: Plan of the temple of Apollo at Didyma. (Knackfuss, 1941)

allowed those ascending to gain a unique vantage point, having witnessed the events within the cella before reaching the oracular room. The seating steps mediated the transition between oracular activity and its declaration. From the angle of those listening to the oracles outside, the steps would have been entirely invisible from the *pronaos*, adding an element of secrecy and mystique to the ritual experience.

Although the *cella* was reserved for those partaking in oracular activities, the temple also accommodated those visiting the shrine with seating. Steps alongside the temple with levels and dimensions matching the temple *crepidoma* had three preserved levels with a possibility of having had seven (Figure 64).[618] These steps used for accommodating spectators at footraces also served as a reflection of the *crepidoma* of the temple.[619] These seating steps would facilitate an echo achieved in the immediate surroundings of the temple, both of the temple *crepidoma* and the steps within the temple. The seating steps within the temple and those surrounding it turned the seater into a spectator. While the varying levels of access granted to the individuals in the two seating zones presented a stark contrast, their collective presence designed these spaces as areas where activities requiring prolonged viewing unfolded. This dynamic sheds light on the purposeful construction of

[618] Knackfuss, H., *Didyma*, Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1941, pp. 140–41.

[619] Hollinshead, 2015, p. 69.

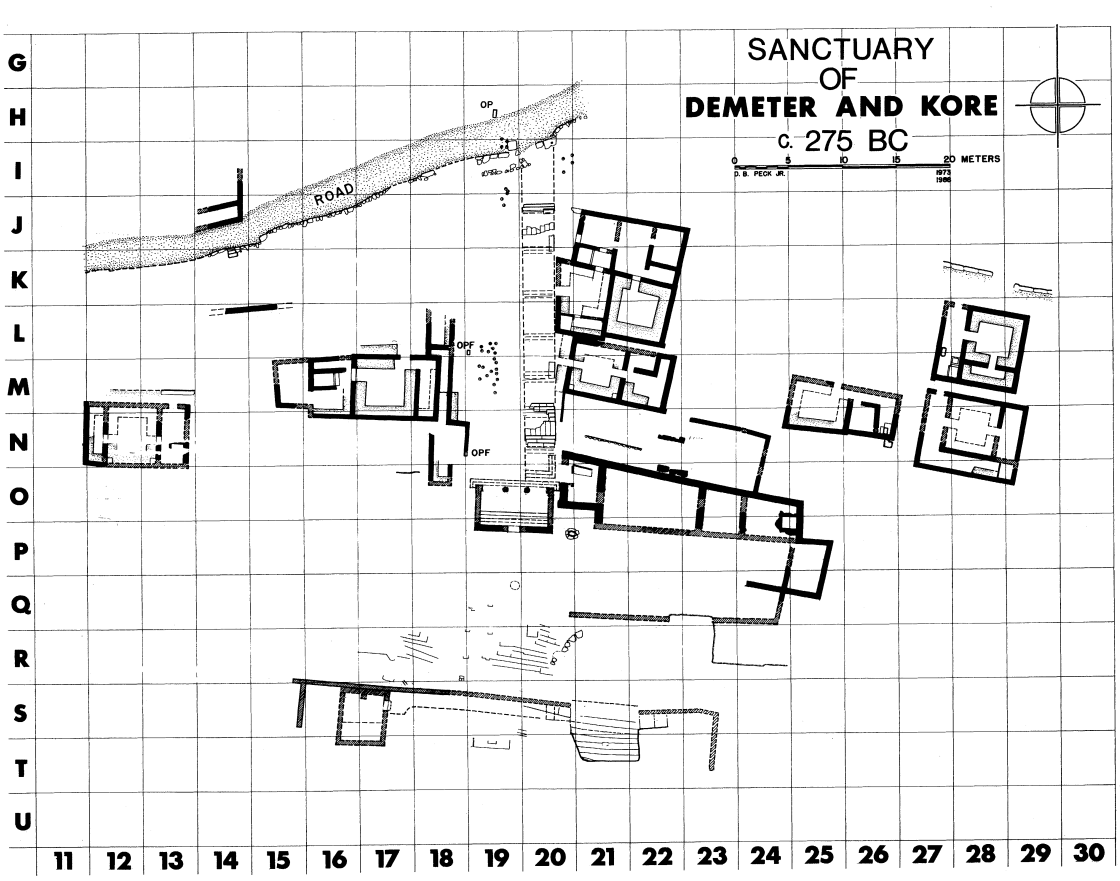

Figure 65: Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, ca. 275 BC.
(Bookidis, 1997, Plan 5)

oracular spaces, emphasizing the significance of these zones for rituals and events that demanded extended witnesses.[620]

The seating steps in Didyma's temple of Apollo offering a geographical context, the sanctuary of Demeter in Corinth presents the cultic context for seating steps. The sanctuary, consisting of three levels, had purposefully designated activities denoted to them, connected through steps. The lowest level accommodated 52 rooms for dining, the middle level areas designated for sacrifice and offerings, and the highest

[620] The symbolically loaded nature of steps in Didyma is also present in the steps leading up from the oracle room. Although Knackfuss states that these steps were utilized for the service of maintenance of the building, Parke argues that the amount of decoration within the roof of the stairs indicate a far more important purpose than a service stair would require. Parke, p.54 The fact that they were "referred to as 'labyrinths' in inscriptions and their ceilings are decorated with labyrinth-like meander designs in stone relief" makes their perception even more interesting. Pollitt, 237.

level, a theatre.[621] The terraces were linked via steps to create a “unified, more monumental design”.[622] The flaking of steps complemented the existing plan and did not follow an arbitrary rhythm (Figure 65). The *propylon* separating the middle terrace from the lower certainly mediated a transition to a separate realm. The coordination between the middle terrace, designated for sacrificial rites, and the upper level, featuring seating steps for observation, operated in unison. The *theatron* carved into the bedrock not only provided a vantage point for observing the activities unfolding below but also accommodated the cultic significance of sitting on the ground during Demeter's rituals.[623] Although they were symbolically analogous, the sanctuary’s seating steps for 85 seaters were distinctly different from the Pergamene *theatron*, built to accommodate between 800 to 850 spectators.[624] Although the seating steps were each tailored to the unique demands of their respective rituals, those in the temple of Apollo at Didyma and the sanctuaries of Demeter in Corinth and Pergamon, the steps symbolized more than physical elevation.

Mary Hollinshead’s refreshing outlook in her book *Shaping Ceremony: Monumental Steps and Greek Architecture* emphasizes steps as a means of framing boundaries, defining focal points and informing movement within temple precincts.[625] In the book, the analysis is presented that even in their unoccupied form, monumental steps “constituted a visual reminder of the organization and capacity of the lavish celebrations by the large number of participants”.[626] Even in ruins, the Pergamene *theatron* is a testament to the large crowds that occupied the precincts during the festivals. Although not much may be inferred on the precinct’s daily program on days when the festivals did not occur, the seating steps would undoubtedly serve

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[621] Nixon, 82., Dillon, p.126.

[622] Bookidis and Stroud, p.429.

[623] Ibid., pp. 253-272.

[624] For Corinth; Bookidis and Stroud, For Pergamon; Becker, 2003, 250. Also, Hollinshead, 2015, f.80, p.189.

[625] On the agency of broad steps; McGuire, R. H., Schiffer, M. B., “A Theory of Architectural Design”, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 2*, 1983, p. 280. in Hollinshead, 2015, p. 25.

[626] Hollinshead, M.B., “Monumental Steps and the Shaping of Ceremony”, eds., Westcoat, B.D., Ousterhout, R.G., *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 35.

as a tangible spatial cue, indicating the setting's intended purpose. The steps were clearly intended for large-scale participation and, with that, served to reinforce the notion of inclusion rather than exclusion.[627] As the happenings within the festival did not consist of following a pre-determined path, as a procession would accommodate, the *theatron* was a reflection of free movement, participation and fostering community. As the seaters all faced the *temenos* floor, watching a common spectacle, they undoubtedly conversed among themselves, forming and reinforcing personal connections.

Hollinsead proposes the theory, while accepting it is somewhat reductionist, that steps on which viewers sat on were likely utilized for political events, whereas steps that offered room for standing must have been intended for religious activities.[628] The Pergamene *theatron* steps had a treads of 0.70-0.71m with risers of 0.38m.[629] The thread's width would have accommodated both scenarios of seating and standing, as the average depth needed for seating is 0.45m. However, if the attendees had been required to stand, it most likely needed to be done by the whole group. A woman who wanted to be on her feet, with a seated woman in the thread where she would need to stand, would have been left with 0.25m of space, which could only be adequate for passing through and not a prolonged stay. This theory, of course, assumes that the steps would have been entirely occupied by the crowd on the festival days. Analyzing measurements in light of Hollinshead's assumption that seated viewing was reserved for religious events while standing accommodated political functions unveils the politically charged nature of Demeter's *theatron*. The requirement for women to stand together, emphasizing unity, reflects the ritual's political dimensions, intertwining religious and communal aspects. While the religious symbolism associated with sitting in Demeter's rites is evident, it is equally significant to recognize that standing mandated collective participation from all attendees. This underscores the communal and participatory nature of the rites, emphasizing a shared experience among the worshipers while also underscoring the political implications of the rites.

The motion of sitting in Demeter's rituals and its symbolic nature is intricately

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[627] Hollinshead, 2015, p. 27.

[628] The fundamental component of this theory being that "steps for observing need not mean seated viewers". Hollinnshead, 2015, p. 23.

[629] The riser itself is 0.21m and the thickness of the thread 0.17m. Zannon, p.78.

connected to her myth. The *Homeric Hymn* narrates several occasions where Demeter is found sitting in her sorrow.[630] Hence, the act of connecting to the earth while within the *temene* of Demeter is highly significant. The connection between the chthonic deity and the festival participants is established by this very act of contact physically as well as in spirit. When narrating Demeter's festival, Plutarch clearly mentions, "[women] sitting upon the ground" during the fasting period.[631] This act not only relates to the deity's chthonic nature but also to the act of sharing in her sorrow by sitting on the ground as she had done so while sitting on the Mirthless rock after Persephone's abduction.[632] Another reason for sitting on the floor is Demeter preferring to sit on a simple stool after refusing the splendid couch offered at the palace of Eleusis.[633] Karataş argues these factors result in many of Demeter's sanctuaries not being paved.[634] Although Pergamon's sanctuary does not utilize the natural ground for seating steps, the incorporation of permanent materials into the landscape suggests a similar intention behind the use of the *theatron* within the ritual. This design choice signifies a deliberate effort to embed the seating structure into the sacred landscape, reinforcing its intrinsic connection to the ritual practices within the sanctuary.

Although its significance is apparent from indicators of its place within the ritual, the *theatron* does not receive enough credit due to its inconspicuous nature. This is related not to its size, covering half the width of the *temenos*, but to the recognition it receives. Thomas's inference is that because among the two inscriptions of Philetarios and Appolonis, neither mentions the steps within their benefactions, it could not have been a central element of the building program.[635] However, Zannon notes that the Greek word *oikos,* used in Appolonis's inscription, was very general and could have included the *theatron* amongst many other additions she made to

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[630] Near the road to Keleos's house: 98-100, 179, in Metanaria's house: 197-201, at her temple: 303. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

[631] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, trans. Babbitt, F.C., Cambridge, MA., Harvard University Press, London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1936, 69.

[632] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca,* 1.5.1.

[633] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 193-199.

[634] Karataş, 2019, p. 155.

[635] Thomas, p. 286.

the temple.[636] The *theatron* being perceived as a natural and unimposing part of the *temenos* indicates the necessity for its presence. One indisputable fact to attest to the *theatron*'s significance is that it literally holds the entire sanctuary together. Functioning similar to a leveled retaining wall, it incorporates the natural slope of the land to the *temenos.* The only other feature that forms such an intricate relationship with the landscape can be said to be the *bothros.* Both offer a direct connection to the land and, therefore, Demeter. While the *bothros* mediates the relationship of the sacrifice, the *theatron* facilitates the connection of the attendee. Together, the *bothros* and the *theatron* form a symbiotic relationship within the ritual landscape. While the *bothros* channels the essence of the divine towards the sacrifice, the *theatron* opens a ceremonial space for the human participants, bridging the gap between the earthly and the divine.

The attendees' experience of the step is beyond the act of sitting on the ground. The gaze, mediated by the steps, defines the ritual experience. Extending the space defined as sacred around the altars above the precinct floor, the scope of the gaze of participants sitting on the steps entails ritual space. The steps overlooking the large opening on the Eastern half of the *temenos* defined by pre-Philetarian altars were undoubtedly intended to be a place to watch the rituals taking place within these altars. Apart from these rituals, Zanon argues for theatrical performances as well as initiation rites taking place within this open space of the Eastern half.[637] Altar A, an addition of Philetarios, defines the end of this zone and the separation of communal rituals from more private activities. The *theatron* steps are also divided to two uneven sections, 23.50m on the West side and 15m on the East side.[638] This division indicates two distinct phases of construction, the Western section erected during Philetairos's building activity and the subsequent Eastern part extended by Apollonis. An essential factor contributing to this separation is Apollonis's expansion, encompassing altar E and integrating it within the *temenos*. Philetairos's earlier project had left the altar outside the precinct, devoid of seating steps (Figure 39). Consequently, the overall design of the monumental *theatron* was significantly shaped by the configuration of the pre-Philetarian *temenos*.

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[636] Zanon, p. 79.

[637] Ibid., p. 14.

[638] Ibid., 107.

The seating steps offered a designated zone to keep the women attending the festival together for extended periods of time. The seating and events it offered assured a way to focus the gaze and control behavior. Like the Telesterion, the *theatron* steps did not face a predetermined stage. Instead, all the activities aligned with the direct line of sight were likely intended to be performative. The same could also be said of the activities being watched from the *theatron* of Corinth, with the sacrificial acts taking place and the seating steps both within and around the temple of Apollo at Didyma. Another case could be the steps of the sanctuary of Hecate at Lagina, where this time, the gaze would have been directed to the South frieze of the temple.[639] The frieze, showing an assembly of gods without any particular action being depicted, created a setting where the divinity responded to the gaze of the mortals. This mutual gaze between the still gods and the active humans reverted the purpose of the seating steps unto itself. Humans on the steps were no longer the observers but the ones being watched. The same notion held true in any configuration of steps. Just as steps offered better viewing of activities taking place below, they afforded those below to glimpse at the entire crowd. Those conducting the rituals at the altars in Pergamon had a view of the entire group of festival attendees occupying the *theatron*, as a result these attendees would have been thoroughly self-aware of their behavior. With the participatory behavior promoted and facilitated by the broad steps,[640] this mindset would have been shared. This was not a simple case of being perceived by one's surroundings; women at the steps were put on a pedestal, where all their actions were part of the ritual.

Not being perceived by others was a luxury afforded only to a select few. Zanon suggests that the rooms behind the West stoa were reserved for the elite members of the community, with their size, exclusion, and placement being contributing factors to the statement that it was probably the Queen who spent her nights during the festival there.[641] They would have been impossible to see from the *theatron* with the lower North stoa and the temple structures obscuring the view completely (Figure 66). Similarly, it could also be argued that the lower North stoa, with rocky outcrop integrated into its rooms, also not visible from the *theatron* but

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[639] Herring, A., "Reconstructing the Sacred Experience at the Sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 79, No.3, 2020, p. 256.

[640] Hollinshead, 2012, p. 27.

[641] Zanon, p. 112.

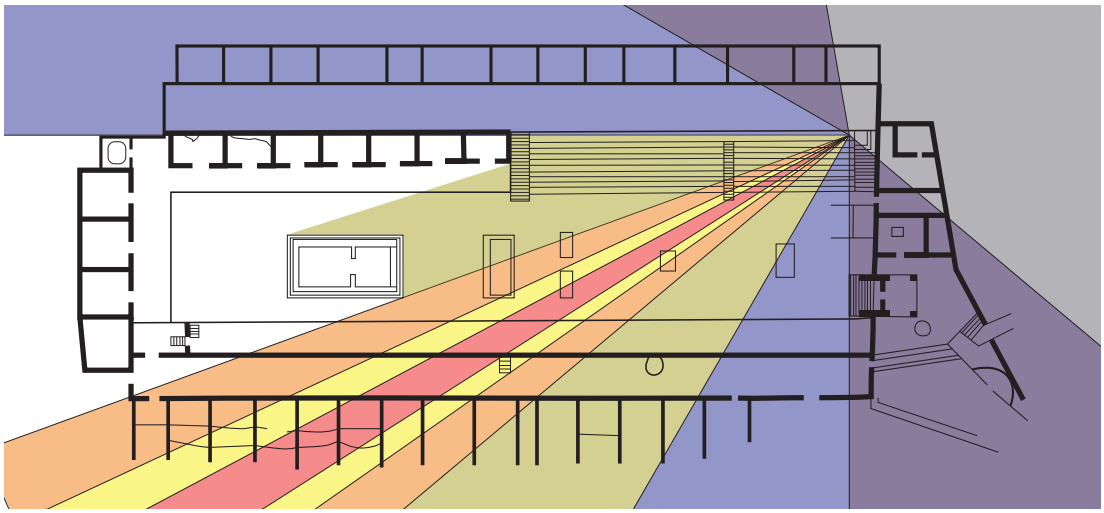

Figure 66: Maximum field of vision from the Northeast top step of the *theatron*. (Prepared by the author)

only from the *temenos* floor, was a place reserved for the access of priestesses to prepare for rituals.[642] In this context, the level of privacy granted to the dynasty members, surpassing even that of the priestesses of the deity, illustrates the Attalid approach to religion. This approach is evident not only in the design of the sanctuary but also extends to the broader urban layout of the city, where palaces were located over religious structures. These inferences made based on visual access offered from the seating steps give way to the likely possibility that they reflected the communal acts of the ritual, whereas their end defined a private sphere. The Altar A, a benefaction from the dynasty's founder, also defined this separation on the *temenos* floor, indicating who and what this division was for, the royal family and the religious rituals they guide and govern.

The symbolic significance of the steps, particularly in terms of the sense of movement it conveys, also warrants attention. The annual journey of Persephone denotes a distinct role to the vertical movement informed by her ascent and descent. The directionality and potential for movement granted by the steps in a sanctuary of Demeter inevitably evoke the motion inherent in her myth. In her ascent, Persephone traverses the realms of Hades in the underworld, Demeter in the interior of the earth, and arriving on the land, to the mortal realm. In the Pergamene sanctuary, the underworld could best be symbolized by the South stoa basement. The *temenos* floor, surrounded by the stoas and entrenched by the landscape is the mediating realm symbolizing the interior of the earth. The *theatron*

[642] The rooms' utilization for cultic activity of priestesses discussed in chapter "Acts of Sacrifice".

steps above the *temenos,* the realm of Demeter, but entirely connected to it, is the finest allegory to the realm of humans. This layered symbolism not only enriches the spatial narrative within the sanctuary but also underscores the interconnectedness of myth and architecture. As worshippers ascended the steps, they physically and symbolically traced the mythic journey of Persephone, reinforcing their connection with the divine. The deliberate design of the sanctuary, aligning with the mythical narrative, created a collective journey that bound participants together. Occupying the same space designated for mortals reinforced a communal identity shaped by the rituals within the sacred space.

Seating steps fostered the "communal authority of well-attended ceremonies".[643] In Pergamon, the intricate design of the sanctuary served multifaceted purposes. Beyond connecting festival attendees to the revered divinities, it functioned as a catalyst for forming communal bonds. The deliberate inclusion of seating steps granted agency, particularly to women, enabling them to be active participants who gaze upon the rituals while acknowledging their own presence within the sacred space being perceived. This emphasis on agency and visibility within the religious rituals transformed the seating steps into not only a space of divine connection but also a platform for individual and collective empowerment, shaping a unique and inclusive communal experience in the worship of the gods. As Hellenic sanctuaries were recognized not to have been open most days of the year, the presence of the *theatron* served as a visual reminder of the organization and its large number of participants even when the steps were not filled.[644] The seating steps concretized the experiences of women, and although we may never be sure of what these personal journeys were, they stood as testimony for centuries, making all these inferences possible.

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[643] Hollinshead, 2012, p. 56.

[644] Dignas, p. 163.

CHAPTER 6

DEMETER'S CULT FOR THE HELLENISTIC WOMAN

One of the more provocative reports which have come down to us concerning ancient Greek women is that they gathered several times a year apart from men and indulged in hilarious obscenity.[645]

The lives of women in the Hellenic world are purported to have undergone significant transformation following the death of Alexander. Supporting this assertion are narratives highlighting increased autonomy among women, along with accounts of royal women achieving feats that, on occasion, surpassed those of their partners and sons.[646] Along similar lines, the rites of Demeter emerge as remarkable arenas where women not only assert authority over a religious festival but also shape the collective experience for the entire *polis*. However, amid these affirmations of women's evolving roles and the influence they wielded in the rites of Demeter, it is imperative to scrutinize whether the lives of women attending Demeter's festivals during the Hellenistic period genuinely experienced substantial changes. While the rituals remained constant, the intricacies stemming from evolving societal norms and the uncertainties of the era undeniably affected the experiences of women participating in Demeter's rites. Nevertheless, the narratives penned by men recounting this exclusively women's festival have missed the mark on several occasions.

Acknowledging the gendered nature of historical accounts is crucial when exploring the rites of Demeter, as men's perspectives have predominantly shaped the available records. When reconstructing women's experiences in a setting that excluded all men, it is imperative to recognize that all existing accounts have originated from men's imaginations, significantly influencing our overall

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[645] Winkler, p. 188.

[646] Several cases are discussed in the chapter "Gender Politics".

understanding. The first task of narrating women's experiences of the events must be to navigate through the patriarchal lens through which these accounts have been transmitted, allowing for a more discerning interpretation that considers the influence of gender dynamics on historical narratives. This approach enables a more balanced and empathetic understanding, acknowledging the potential biases and gaps in the narratives that may have influenced our comprehension of women's perceptions and roles in the context of Demeter's rites.

One of the most comprehensive accounts of Demeter's festivals is the play *Thesmophoriazusae* by Aristophanes, reflecting the anxiety felt by men towards the secret festival by narrating two men spying on the festival disguised as women. This anxiety is evident in the plot of Aristophanes's work, as the women in the festival are portrayed as having been carrying adulterous affairs and scheming for vengeance on men.[647] The apprehension exhibited by men towards the festival is undeniably, in part, a manifestation of the fear stemming from the unknown. Another crucial aspect contributing to this unease is the discernible rise in women's autonomy through the course of the festival. The exaggeration of women's behavior is a narrative device employed to affirm men's fears concerning the all-women gathering. Morgan's assertion that "women are narrative tools in the hands of an author"[648] resonates particularly in this context, where the depiction of women's actions and behavior, framed through a lens of fear, predominantly reflects the imaginative constructs of men. Hence, the women of Aristophanes's *Thesmophoriazusae* are not representations of women of Thesmophoria but reflect men's idea of the women attending the festival and the activities they partake in.

Aristophanes's *Thesmophoriazusae* is still noteworthy as it offers the only account of the events of Thesmophoria placed within a plot, a storyline. The play acknowledges the agencies of women taking part in the festival, albeit begrudgingly. The gathering of women is presented as a setting where, apart from their role in the reproduction of the *polis*, they also take on a judicial function. The premise of the play being Euripides trying to stop women from exacting revenge on him because of how his plays portray them is somewhat self-conscious of Aristophanes. The fear felt by Euripides, who trespasses into the realm of women, is apparent in his statement, "Today the women at the festival, Are going to kill me

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[647] Tzanetou, p. 329.

[648] Morgan, p. 298.

for insulting them!".[649] The theatrical rendition of Thesmophoria is more indicative of the concerns harbored by men regarding the occurrences of the festival rather than an accurate portrayal of the factual events that transpired. Like Euripides, Aristophanes depicts women as having adulterous affairs, deceiving their husbands and married women taking on lovers.[650] And again, like Euripides, Aristophanes is the insider informing us of the festival's happenings. The revelation of Euripides at the end of the play is indicative of Aristophanes's approach towards the event. As Bowie narrates the shift in Euripides's persona

> Towards the end of the play, after being forced to take the female role of Echo behind the scenes, he [Euripides] makes a final appearance on stage dressed in comic guise as an old woman with a dancing girl; he has then to make a truce with the women whereby he will write no more plays about their misdemeanours. Both of his characteristics therefore, of masculinity and anti-woman playwright, are lost to him, and one might say that, in a manner reminiscent of Battus, he suffers something of a symbolic castration, both as a man and as an artist.[651]

Similar to the cautionary tales of men entering Demeter's sanctuaries, manhood is eliminated from the premise. As Dillon states, Aristophanes "reveals next to nothing about the rites because they were secret".[652] In his narrative, he is "careful to provide no particulars".[653] Whether this was due to his lack of knowledge regarding the festival's occurrences or a deliberate choice on his part remains open to interpretation. However, similar to Euripides abandoning his artistic intentions, Aristophanes, too, refrains from disclaiming any further knowledge of the festival. The experience of Euripides is enough for the audience not to ponder any further and respect the boundaries set by the women of the festival. The lack of ritual information in the play and men's unease towards the festival stemmed from the same root, which is that much is still unknown of the happenings within the sanctuary's closed doors. This is why looking at architecturally defined spaces centuries later and theorizing on their functioning might give us glimpses into the

[649] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae,* 181-82.

[650] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae,* 340-4, 395ff, 477-501, 812-813., Gardner, J.F., "Aristophanes and Male Anxiety - The Defence of the 'Oikos'", *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1989, p.52ff., Tzanetou, p.332.

[651] Bowie, A.M., *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 214.

[652] Dillon, p. 110.

[653] Hedrick, p. 291.

experiences of women even the men of their time lacked access to. That said, it is crucial to note our understanding of the use of the sanctuaries' spaces is informed only by what has persevered through centuries. Temporary structures such as sleeping huts[654] placed for women to sleep in during the festivals would have defined the setting differently, informing movement in ways that would be impossible for us to fathom.[655]

Recognizing the capacity of archaeological evidence from Demeter's sanctuaries to convey insights surpassing those derived from narrative evidence across centuries, it is also crucial to acknowledge the inherent bias in the transmission of these accounts as well. The experiences of women within Demeter's festival is an anxiety-inducing phenomenon for ancient men and contemporary researchers alike. These researchers being German men in all of Demeter's sanctuaries in Western Asia Minor for the last centuries is perhaps not an astonishing coincidence. The archaeologists cited in this research, Carl Helmut Bohtz and Wilhelm Dörpfeld in Pergamon, Theodor Wiegand and Hans Schrader in Priene, and Wolfgang Müller-Weiner in Miletus, have conducted important work during the late 19th and early 20th century. Their work could be placed under Bilsel's reading as the process of "excavating the 'other' in search of the 'self'".[656] Theirs was a mission that incorporated much of their own biases towards sacred architecture devoid of many of the nuances inherent in the rituals of Demeter.

A particular bias contributing to the distorted perception of Demeter's sanctuaries pertained to preconceived notions of sacred architecture. Sanctuaries of Demeter did not conform neatly to anticipated forms and sacred practices. A notable instance where German researchers fell short was their consideration of the temple as the paramount feature of a sanctuary. In Bothz's account of Pergamon, he asserts that the temple was the most important feature of the sanctuary, however, Zanon challenges this assertion, contending that in antiquity, the temple did not

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[654] Kron, U., "Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: Das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi", Eine Archaologische Fallstudie, *Archaologischer Anzeiger*, W. de Gruyter, Berlin, 1992, pp. 620-623. in Zanon, p. 14.

[655] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*. Also; Thompson, H., "Pnyx and Thesmophorion," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1936, p. 189.

[656] Bilsel, p. 20.

occupy such a central role.[657] The spatial arrangement of the *temenos*, evident in the visibility and utilization afforded to the temple, suggests that the temple assumes a secondary role compared to the altar. The temple was not a priority for Demeter's precinct in Pergamon as the pre-Attalid *temenos* consisted of only five altars. After the Attalid work on the sanctuary, the altars were still the initial feature encountered upon entering the sanctuary and the focal point observable from the *theatron* as they played a central role in facilitating the rituals. The temple was not the principal feature of the sanctuary but rather played a minor role in the rituals. On the other hand, the altars were where sacred forces accumulated and ritual focus was placed.

This observation, namely the temple not being the most pivotal feature of the sanctuary, is distinctly evident in Priene, where the configuration of the sacrificial pit dictates the form of the temple. The temple is intentionally positioned at the periphery of the precinct, allowing for an expansive open space conducive to festive gatherings.[658] Consequently, the rituals and their corresponding spaces were not constrained by established Hellenic norms in the production of sacred architecture. Whether influenced by the altars, as seen in Pergamon, or the *bothros*, as observed in Priene, the spatial arrangements of Demeter's sanctuaries were intricately connected to the rituals they facilitated. Even in their grandiose manifestation, exemplified by the Pergamene sanctuary, the rituals dictated the spatial arrangement. Conversely, monumentality played no role in the sanctuary's design in Priene, and conventional forms of sacred *temene* found no parallels. In both instances, the spaces were configured not only to accommodate the rituals but also to host the gatherings of women who would spend extended periods within the precinct. According to Scully's analysis, Demeter's sanctuaries were not "mass-positive" but rather "space-positive", where architectural articulation was meant to inform the unoccupied spaces.[659] The adaptability of these sanctuaries, as revealed through their unique spatial configurations, reinforces the idea that architectural expression is purposeful in delineating, directing and enclosing the human-occupied spaces within these sacred precincts. These notions of definition,

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[657] Bohtz, p. 40. Zanon, p. 28.

[658] The inference regarding the reason behind the open space's use for gatherings in; Wiegand-Schrader, p. 151.

[659] Scully, p.71.

guidance, and enveloping being prominent elements in Demeter's sanctuary are thus manifested in every scale.

The perception of open spaces within these sanctuaries was also influenced by a preconceived bias that shaped the understanding of women's experiences. While Bothz considered the temple to be the principal feature of the sanctuary, Doxiadis identified the *propylon* as its most significant point of contact. However, Doxiadis's study introducing an analysis through offering views to monumental structures from the *propylon* does not produce satisfying results when it comes to the sanctuaries of Demeter. For Priene, Doxiadis accepts that the sanctuary of Demeter is an exception to this system of dividing the view from the *propylon* into 10-part and 12-part systems.[660] In the case of Pergamon, Doxiadis does not undertake a comparable analysis of the Demeter sanctuary, even though Dörpfeld, one of his professors, conducted archaeological investigations on the site.[661] Apart from his system of polar coordinates not being applicable to either site, Doxiadis overemphasizes the impact of the view from the *propylon.* As Scully argues for in the criticism of Doxiadis, he does not examine the possibilities presented by considering movement while within the *temenos,* this notion of "penetrating" while walking.[662] The wording regarding the perception of the space in motion being penetration does not align with the ancient women's experience either, as women were not infiltrators of the precinct. While Scully does highlight a critical aspect of the perception of space, it is crucial to recognize that this viewpoint reflects a modern man's perspective toward the sacred space of ancient women. As Doxiadis argues, "it was the man himself -not the god in the temple- who was the measure of all things"[663], it is possibly the most crucial reading to note that perhaps for these scholars, the "man" in question was not the ancient hu*man*, but the scholar himself.

The discovery of the temple of Demeter in Pergamon by Carl Humann in 1875, only to be briefly mentioned in passing, attests to the idea that, in the broader context, its significance was relatively inconsequential.[664] In contrast to the Zeus altar, which

[660] Doxiadis, p.176.

[661] Ibid., p. ix.

[662] Scully, p.5.

[663] Doxiadis, p. 21.

[664] Humann, C., Bohn, R., Frankel, M., *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon 3*, Vorlaufiger Bericht 1882-1886, Berlin, 1888, p.16. In Bohtz, p.1, and Dörpfeld, p.379.

had the potential to symbolize the entire era, the limited attention given to Demeter's sanctuary can be attributed to its lack of resonance with an epoch predominantly shaped by powerful men. Even after the research afforded to the sanctuary, the misconceptions that followed resulted from the lack of empathy and nuance towards these spaces that were exclusively employed by women. Whether grappling with the acknowledgment of its significance, its divergence from established standards of sacred architecture, or the perception of women in dynamic motion within these spaces, the bewilderment experienced by both ancient and modern men may stem from a challenge in comprehending the extent of agency exercised by women in these festivals.

The festivals dedicated to Demeter were unequivocally defined and orchestrated by the agency of women. In every facet, from the sacred rituals to the communal gatherings, women held a central and proactive role in shaping the dynamics and significance of these festivities. Women's agency permeated the spatial configurations of sanctuaries, where they wielded control over the experience and production of these sacred spaces. The limits signaled by the architectural features such as the altars, *propylaea* and steps were orchestrated by priestesses. The authority they exercised over the sanctuary was vividly portrayed through the statues of two priestesses of Demeter positioned at the entrance to the *temenos* in Priene. In Pergamon, the control exercised by a woman in establishing the architectural layout of the sanctuary was demonstrated by Apollonis's patronage. The women participating in the festival also wielded significant agency, experiencing liberation from the performative expectations associated with being in the presence of men. However, as Blundell aptly defines the rituals, they were "not a way to break free from social constraints but an emphasis on community".[665] The agency granted to women was inherently political; it did not imply unrestrained actions at will throughout the festival.

The politically loaded character of Demeter's festivals was often misunderstood and reduced to control over a realm solely dominated by women, fertility. Even the enactment of jesting, which can be regarded as the liberty to express oneself in a coarse manner, has been oversimplified as a way to promote fertility.[666] This perspective reflects a distinctly men-centric viewpoint regarding an exclusively

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[665] Blundell, p. 165.

[666] Diodorus Siculus, 5.4.7., Dillon, p.113.

women's festival, reducing it to a narrative where the primary goal is perceived as attaining offspring.[667] According to Detienne, the feminine character of the festival operated to veil its underlying political dimension.[668] For the longest time, even the concept of ancient women engaging with dead animals was deemed inconceivable, contributing to the assumption that, during this harvest festival, only vegetables could have been present.[669] In recognizing these misconceptions, it becomes imperative to delve beyond simplistic interpretations and acknowledge the nuanced layers of agency and political significance embedded in Demeter's festivals. Re-evaluating these preconceived notions is an essential step toward comprehending the multifaceted nature of the ancient women's experiences within these sacred rituals, transcending the limitations imposed by historical biases and allowing for a more profound appreciation of the intricate dynamics at play.

This chapter endeavors to thoroughly examine the intricate and multifaceted experiences embedded within the festivals dedicated to Demeter. A primary focus of this inquiry is to critically assess whether these festivals functioned as authentic sites of liberation for women. Simultaneously, the chapter seeks to delve into the nuanced role of these festivals within the dichotomous realms of *polis* and *oikos*. An additional objective is to meticulously analyze the festival's mediating function in women's lives within the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, aiming to unravel the complex interplay between religious practices and the quotidian realities of women.

6.1. Religious Performance as a Form of Liberation

Women of importance leave the house to sacrifice to the leading divinity of the community on behalf of themselves and

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[667] Nixon also references the men's perception. Nixon, 92.

[668] Detienne, p. 133.

[669] Festugiere lists raw or cooked wheat, dried figs, wine, oil, honey, black sesame seeds, white poppy seeds, garlic, cheese, and pomegranate seeds. Festugiere, A.J., "La Grece Religion", ed. Gorce, M., Mortier, R., *Histoire générale des religions*, Paris, 1944, vol. 2, p. 71.

their husbands and households. They do not leave home at night, nor in the evenings. [670]

The festivals of Demeter, spanning the course of several days, appear to be consistent with Phinty's narrative of women not leaving the house at night. However, she does not explicitly mention women spending the night outside the home, as her narrative focuses only on the act of leaving. These narrative loopholes in the depictions of ancient women's lives contribute to a prevailing narrative of a standardized life, emphasizing their domestic presence while providing limited visibility into their potential involvement with the public sphere or exercise of individual agency. On the other hand, religious obligations and cult performances are viewed as the "only legitimate reasons for leaving the house".[671] An instance of ancient men lamenting the absence of women in political affairs is evident in Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, where the titular character expresses discontent, suggesting that women would have participated if the event were of a religious nature.[672] For the perceived ancient women, religious events held a discernible character that elucidates their active engagement in the public sphere, allowing them to assert their presence. However, within the context of Demeter's festivals in the Hellenistic period, the religious transcended mere spirituality; it became inherently political, with the sacred being utilized for all facets of life in the kingdom.[673] The intricate interconnection of Hellenistic politics with religion, coupled with the rites of Demeter carrying political connotations related to the reproduction of the polis, resulted in a scenario where active participation in these communal acts positioned women as active political agents.

Although participation in religious events facilitated the active presence of women within the public sphere, they were far from acts of rebellion against a patriarchal

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[670] Phintys, a 3rd century philosopher, by Stobaeus 4.23.61-4.23.61a in Thesleff, H., *Pythagorean texts of the Hellenistic Period*, Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora A, 30.1, 1965, pp. 151-53. Translation by, Lambropoulou, V., "Some Pythagorean Female Virtues", eds., Hawley, R. and Levick, B., *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*, Routledge, London, 1995, pp.130-131.

[671] Zeitlin, p.129.

[672] Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* in Morgan, 303.

[673] The intricate relationship of Hellenistic politics and religion elaborated in chapter "Religion and Politics" and Demeter's role in politics discussed in the chapter "From Myth to Ritual".

system. The performative presence of women was primarily an obligation and, consequently, labor. However, this did not negate that women actively asserted their agency in the settings of Demeter's festivals. Women asserted their agency through three distinct stages: firstly, their patronage of spaces dedicated to the worship of Demeter; secondly, their responsibility for organizing her rites; and thirdly, their active involvement in forming communities. Apollonis's patronage of the sanctuary at Pergamon was a political act in its own right, underscoring the recognizable presence of the kingdom in Asia Minor. By transforming the *temenos* to its monumental form, she claimed ownership of the sanctuary, making a statement that reinforced the image of the entire dynasty. One can argue that by refurbishing a temple specifically to the goddess of the land, she intricately forged a connection between her ruling family's territorial expansion during a time when her husband Attalos I defeated the Galatians and took on the title of the king.[674] However, her refurbishing the sanctuary was not only an act of allegiance to her royal family. She reflected her origins by importing the cult of Kore-Persephone from her hometown of Kyzikos, where she was the chief deity.[675] The inscription in which Philetairos dedicates the temple to Demeter on both the temple and altar was essentially overshadowed by Apollonis's inscription, where she devotes it to Demeter and Kore Thesmophoros, prominently written on the *propylon*. While Apollonis seamlessly incorporated earlier architectural elements in the final chapter of the sanctuary's history, she did not abstain from asserting her voice, thanking the two goddesses herself.[676]

In addition to the royal family, who wielded absolute control over all aspects of Hellenistic life, the priestesses exercised complete authority over the rituals of Demeter. The pivotal sacrificial ritual within the festival, occupying the most prominent position, was exclusive to the priestesses for its execution.[677] The evidence that priestesses did not merely adhere to prescribed rules but actively exercised their own agency within the context of Demeter's worship is illustrated in Chrysina's account. The inscription about the Knidian priestess narrates

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[674] Polybius, trans., Shuckburgh, 18.41.

[675] Hepding, pp. 440-441. Also; Zanon, p.141.

[676] A reminder that Philetairos had dedicated his additions on behalf of his mother.

[677] Brumfield, p. 116.

> Chrysina, the mother of Chrysogene, wife of Hippokrates, dedicated a house and votive statue to Kore and Demeter because a sacred vision had appeared to her at night and Hermes told her to serve as priestess to the goddess.[678]

The account highlights Chrysina applying her agency through a spatial offering and her own decision to become a priestess. Through direct contact with the herald of the gods, the dedicant, with adequate means to offer the deity a house[679] and a statue, chooses to serve as her priestess. What is peculiar here is that the vision does not mention the dedication of a house and a statue, only that she becomes the priestess to the deity. Rigsby then asks, “Are these then concrete tokens of her new status? or a substitute for it?”[680] Whether Chrysina aimed to assert her influence in her new place of work or sought to emphasize her decision to channel her resources towards the goddess rather than mundane affairs, one certainty was that she was the one in control. This transcended the agency typically exercised by priestesses in the organization and guidance of movements within sacred spaces; it mirrored an action analogous to Apollonis, that of commissioning the spaces of worship.[681] Although Chrysina’s patronage did not reach the grandeur of Apollonis’s refurbishment, its significance lay in the agency of Demeter’s worship, which enabled a powerful woman to perpetuate her legacy.

The notion of perpetuating one’s legacy also extended to the women who took part in Demeter's festivals. The collective fasting and communal dining practices within the festival settings undoubtedly nurtured a sense of collective identity among the participants.[682] The pivotal aspect is the festival's capacity to mend the fractures witnessed within Hellenistic families. Despite the complexities introduced by migration and the noteworthy transformations in the relationship between *oikos* and

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[678] Blümel, W., *Die Inschriften von Knidos I*, Bonn, 1992, p.131. in Chaniotis, "From Woman to Woman: Female Voices and Emotions in Dedications to Goddesses”, ed., Prêtre, C., *Le donateur, l’offrande et la déesse. Systèmes votifs dans les sanctuaires de déesses du monde grec*, Kernos supplément 23, Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Liège, 2009, p. 63.

[679] Blümel notes that a house suggests a small shrine as opposed to the main temple building. This speculation leans towards the possibility that this smaller structure could have been intended for housing the statue of a deity. Ibid.

[680] Rigsby, K. J.,“Chrysogone’s Mother”, *Museum Helveticum*, Vol. 60, No. 1, 2003, p. 61.

[681] Priestesses controlling access discussed in the chapter “Crossing the Thresholds”, their role in guiding movement argued in "Acts of Sacrifice”.

[682] Constantinou, p. 188.

polis during the Hellenistic era, the convergence of women in the festival served as a dynamic force in reproducing communal bonds.[683] Arguably, the most significant of these bonds was the reunion of mothers with their daughters. Entering into different *oikoi* through marriage, young women departed from their natal families and the festival served as a setting where they could reconnect with their mothers.[684] Notably, the poignant reunion of mothers with daughters separated through marriage into different *oikoi* stands out as a profound manifestation of the festival's power to rekindle familial connections within this complex landscape.

In their respective roles, the patron queen, serving priestesses, and attendees collectively served three fundamental aspects in establishing the festival space, actively contributing to its production. Firstly, this space was defined by women's decisions, and no man could interfere. Apart from the priestesses responsible for orchestrating the rituals, the *archousai*, known as women rulers and *boule*, its official council, assured the effective functioning of the festival and upheld the customary practices to ensure its seamless execution.[685] The political character of Demeter's rites translates to those performing them. For the duration of the festival, the city becomes the property of women who control the rituals and, in turn, the city whose destiny lies in the hands of the attendees.[686] A decree from a 3rd century B.C. statue from Mylasa in Caria reads "as the women have decided,"[687] illustrating the agency women held within the festival. They would assemble, hold councils, vote and rule within the sphere of Demeter's festival, not to mention leave all domestic responsibilities (such as childcare to give an example) to the men of the community that otherwise occupied women's time and hindered their presence within the public sphere.

Secondly, women protected this territory rigorously. Architectural configurations reinforcing the narrative of exclusivity within the precincts include the rooms and

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[683] Both aspect will be further elaborated in the chapter "Permeable Transitions Between *oikos, polis* and *oikoumene*".

[684] Foxhall, pp. 106-107. The participation of mothers and daughters together is also noted in Lucian's account of the festival in *Dialogi meretricii*. Lucian, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, ed. Jacobitz, L.K, Vol III, BG Teubneri, Leipzig, 1896, II.1.

[685] Zeitlin, p. 146.

[686] For the gender politics of Thesmophoria; Detienne, 1989, p. 145.

[687] Detienne, p. 70.

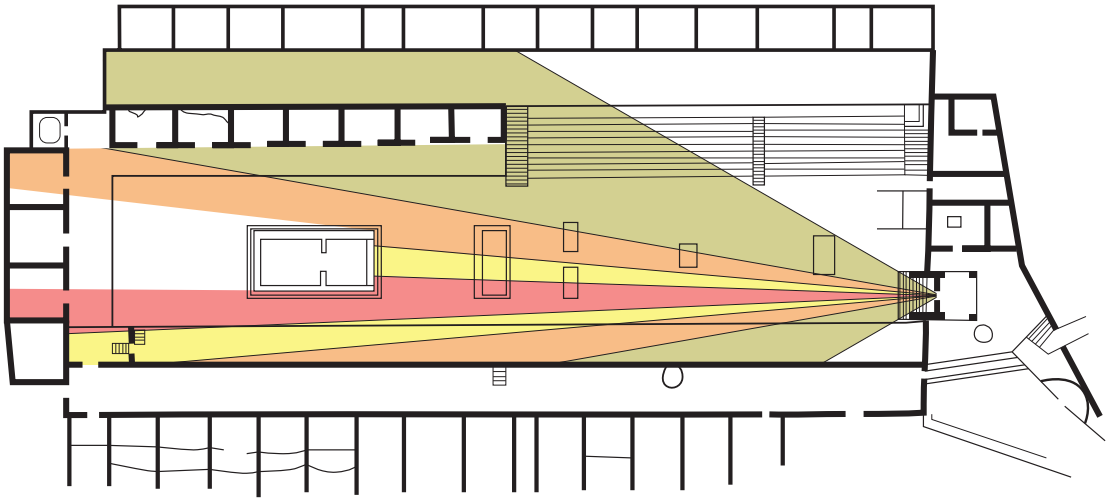

Figure 67: Field of vision from the *propylon* to the precinct. (Prepared by the author)

statues of priestesses positioned at the sanctuary's entrance in Priene, attesting to their control over entry.[688] Additionally, the entire organization of the Pergamene *temenos* is orchestrated by accounting for women's gaze, ensuring comprehensive surveillance.[689] For the duration of the festival, the sanctuary was women's home, their *oikos*. In the Pergamene context, considering the elevated status of royalty, the queen's chambers acquired profound significance in terms of both observation and visibility. If we endorse Zannon's assertion that the West stoa rooms accommodated the queen and her entourage, employing the peripheral vision diagram on the plan unveils a compelling scenario: upon entering from the *propylon*, its South room emerges as the immediate focal point of visual attention (Figure 67). Tucked away behind the stoa and characterized by a considerably dimmer ambiance than the light-filled open-air precinct, arguing that those entering from the propylon could have seen anyone residing within the room would be inaccurate. However, the opposing perspective from the room directly facing the *propylon*, with its steps serving as a visible platform, effectively could have been utilized by the queen and her guests to surveil those entering the precinct from a distance (Figure 68, Figure 69). Although those coming in could not see the queen, the dark corner at the end of the *temenos* would be a reminder that the queen might be watching. This panopticonian situation, however, was limited to the *propylon.* Only upon entry were the attending women visible from the West stoa

[688] Discussed at length in the chapter "Crossing the Thresholds".

[689] Women's viewpoints examined in the chapter "Connecting to the Goddess".

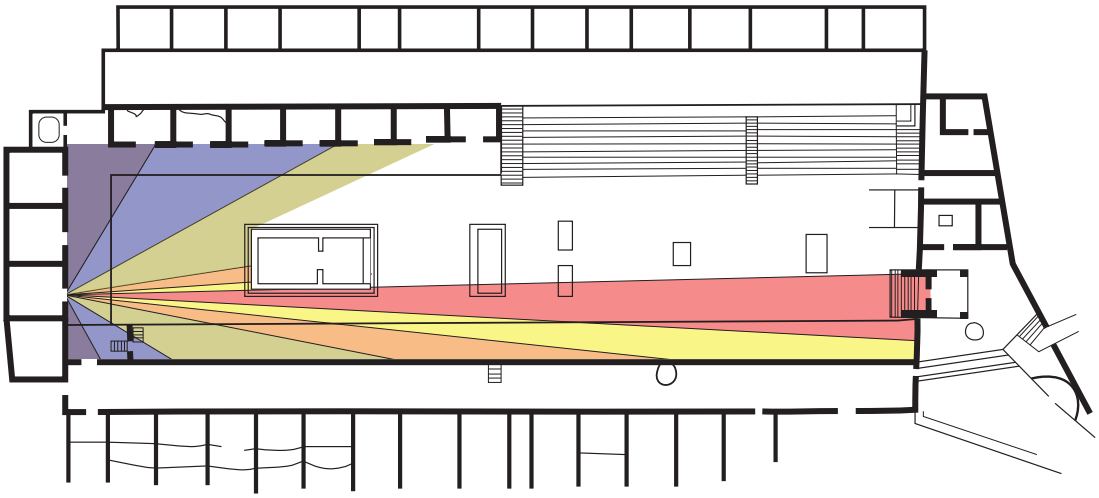

Figure 68: Field of vision from the "queen's quarters" to the *propylon.*
(Prepared by the author)

rooms and once they passed the threshold, and reached the altars or the *theatron*, they were free from the gaze of the queen.

Thirdly, women attending the festival were actively exercising their agency. The practices of active agency on behalf of women narrated thus far warrant a closer look at the notion within the circumstances surrounding Demeter's rites. Agency, in the context of this dissertation, is regarded as the capacity to act and effect change. Rituals, on the other hand, due to their perceived nature, are unchangeable. As Hollinshead puts it: "Agency is about change, a process that is often considered the opposite of ritual, which is by definition a repeated behavior".[690] However, contrasting this assertion is Bell's approach to rituals, which is much more open to change as

> Yet if ritual is interpreted in terms of practice, it becomes clear that formality, fixity, and repetition are not intrinsic qualities of ritual so much as they are a frequent, but not universal strategy for producing ritualized acts. That is to say, formalizing a gathering, following a fixed agenda and repeating that activity at periodic intervals, and so on, reveal potential strategies of ritualization because these ways of acting are the means by which one group of activities is set off as distinct and privileged vis-a-vis other activities. Yet in a different situation, informality might be stressed to dominate other ways of acting.[691]

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[690] Hollinshead, 2015, p. 28.

[691] Bell, C., *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, 1992, p.92.

Figure 69: View from the “queen's quarters” to the *temenos* with the propylon clearly visible. (Photograph by the author)

Regarding Demeter’s festivals as a hybrid setting encompassing both formalized rituals and informal actions offers a comprehensive if not a realistic, approach to the events taking place. While particular facades of rituals, mainly, the formal rites, have been fleshed out, activities such as inhabitants of the queen's quarters watching those entering the precinct in Pergamon have not been considered a possibility. Assuming that ritual actions were the sole occurrences within the precinct undermines the intricate complexity of social activities taking place. If we accept Zeitlin’s claim that “the woman can act publicly only in her ritual capacity”[692], we cannot simply assume that she employed said capacity only to serve the deity. It should, therefore, be recognized that the gathering of women during Demeter’s festivals was a religious event with significant social connotations and political implications.

The festival setting was, first and foremost, an affair where the women would be perceived by each other. In the scope of the festival, they would undoubtedly meet,

[692] Zeitlin, p.139.

feast and enjoy themselves.[693] As the visibility of women in the public sphere relied heavily on participation in religious events, Demeter's festivals were settings where women could "break free from domestic constraints".[694] This liberation, reflected in the anxieties of men, manifested itself in criticism of women's actions, such as in Cleomedes, who likened the language of women within the festivals to that of a brothel.[695] The use of foul language, for the most part, can be explained as part of the jesting that occurs as an homage to Iambe, making Demeter laugh.[696] But the women using language they would generally restrain from is likely effective throughout the festival. Lucian, on *Haloa*, notes that throughout the festival, "since only women are present, they have the freedom to say what they want".[697] This freedom to act without the male gaze and a patriarchal society's control distinguished the sanctuaries of Demeter from any other space within the ancient world. In this communal setting, arguably even safer and more liberating than the domestic sphere, women performed their rites while perhaps performing their genuine identities. This very political act of collective liberation from assumed identities is undermined by Stallsmith, who argues: "Lewd joking and abuse may create a man-threatening atmosphere, but it is not political speech".[698] Approaching the subject with an assumption that a sphere devoid of men in the ancient world may limit the recognition of its political dimensions, the argument defines "political speech" based on language commonly employed by men, thereby excluding any that does not adhere to these established standards. This also perpetuates the notion of women being unruly and irrational by nature, which just so happens to be the main reasoning behind women's behavior being controlled and contained within the scope of the festival. Affording freedom to women during

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[693] Morgan, p.303., Zeitlin, p.129., Lefkowitz, M.R., and Fant, M.B., *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook in Translation*, 2nd ed., Baltimore, 1992, p. 273., Versnel, H.S., 'The festival for the Bona Dea and the Thesmophoria." eds., McAuslan, I., and Walcot, P., *Women in Antiquity*, Greece and Rome Studies 3, Oxford, 1996, p.187.

[694] Morgan, 2007, p. 303.

[695] Cleomedes, *De motu circulari corporum caelestium II*, ed., Ziegler, H., B.G. Teubneri, 1891, pp.166-167. Also in Brumfield, p. 80.

[696] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* 200-205.

[697] Lucian, *Dialogues of Courtesans*, VI. 1. In Brumfield, p. 109.

[698] Stallsmith, p.122.

festivals was seen as a necessary measure to keep their unruly nature under control at other times.[699]

Another limitation imposed on the perceived festival, which overlooked its social and political connotations, was regarding it as an event in service of men. The initial aspect of this phenomenon was human fertility, frequently emphasized in men's narratives of the festival. The human-centric standpoint regarding Demeter's rites results in Price's statement that during the festivals, "the principal fertility at stake was human".[700] Stallsmith argues that this would absolutely be an overstatement,[701] and while female fertility might have played some part during the rituals, the festival certainly did not incorporate merely "hints of agrarian fertility".[702] As Demeter's role regarding the fertility of the land is now well-established and accepted, a new outlook towards the festival's aspects concerning human fertility is changing the narrative. Nixon's study of plants recurring in Demeter's rituals (e.g., pennyroyal, pomegranates, pine and vitex) resulted in their commonly accepted properties, by ancient as well as modern physicians, as anti-fertility chemical compounds.[703] These plants also had their roots in myth, where pennyroyal was asked for by Demeter herself from Metaneira and pomegranate seeds given to Persephone by Hades forced her to return to him annually.[704] Nixon discusses at length that pomegranates, like pennyroyals, had anti-fertility usages that ancient scholars were quite familiar with, which were also applicable to pine and vitex.[705] The reasoning behind why, for centuries, scholars have not recognized these anti-fertility properties is the symbolic perception of pine cones and pomegranates (both containing an abundance of seed).[706] This allegorical reading of the plants perpetuated the notion of human fertility already ingrained in the minds of those who did not partake in the rituals, overriding reality with assigned objectives.

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[699] Zeitlin, p. 134. On Dionysiac rituals but I argue that they can also be applied to Demeter.

[700] Price, S., *Religions of the Ancient Greeks*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.99.

[701] Stallsmith, p. 122.

[702] Price, p. 99.

[703] Nixon, pp. 75–96.

[704] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 209, 372.

[705] Nixon, p.86.

[706] Ibid.

The human fertility aspects of Demeter's rites were not meant to promote but rather control women's fertility, giving them the agency to regulate their own reproductive lives.[707] Demeter was far from a virgin deity or abstaining from intercourse, but she was also far from being concerned with the realm of marriage, which was Hera's domain. The anaphrodisiac plants present in her rituals were also regarded as a symbolic return of the participant's prior status as virgins.[708] Apart from the anaphrodisiac plants, the only specific known information from the festival *Skira* being women's consumption of garlic to "keep sex at bay" also supports the claims related to sexual abstinence.[709] However, Demeter was far less concerned with virginity than giving women agency to control their lives. Hesiod narrates Persephone's abduction as having been plotted by Zeus, who agreed to give his daughter to his brother Hades.[710] The circumstances that cause Demeter so much grief and give way to what could be called the root of all her rites are orchestrated by Zeus. Hence, the festival attendees gaining agency within their lives would be a likely reason behind the use of anaphrodisiac plants during the rites of a deity with a clear motivation to assume control over her life. And what better place to teach, learn and perform such acts of reproductive health than in an all-women's festival whose activities are kept entirely secret from men? The transmission of knowledge regarding women's reproductive matters, inherent in the myth but somewhat distinct from the rituals, constituted a social exchange that could scarcely occur on a large scale among women except within the framework provided by Demeter's *temene*.

The second aspect that overlooks the women's perspective in favor of assuming the entire setting was in service of men was, ironically, its role in the reproduction of the *polis*. Foxhall argues that "female ritual activities ensured male agricultural success".[711] While the rituals did indeed have significant repercussions for the entire *polis*, the initial consideration here is that they also had effects on the participants at a personal level. Zeitlin contends that the personal and communal

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[707] Nixon, pp. 85ff.

[708] Versnel, H.S., "The Festival for Bona Dea and the Thesmophoria", *Greece & Rome,* Vol. 39, No. 1, 1992, p. 39.

[709] Philochoros in Jacoby, F., *Die Fragmente der Griechishen Historiker*, Volume II, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1954, p.375, f.89, in Dillon, p. 125.

[710] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 912-914.

[711] Foxhall, p.106. Also; Stallsmith, p.123

aspects were distinct and could even contrast with each other.[712] While Dillon argues that agricultural concerns surpassed private interests within the religious setting, neglecting personal experiences is a common pitfall encountered when considering the experiences of women.[713] This line of thought also fails to consider that agricultural success did not exclusively benefit men. Instead, the labor necessary for healthy crops was divided among genders, women's religious labor being just as valid as men's work in the fields.

Regarding women's religious activities as merely facilitating men's agricultural activities, settings to provide them with offsprings, devoid of structure and agency, erases the reality that this was indeed labor. Women's religious labor encompassed all aspects of daily life considered too daunting, specifically those involving experiences of separation and vulnerable positions. Morgan emphasizes three pivotal transitional periods—birth, death, and marriage—during which women play a crucial role in "healing both family and community."[714] Birth and death in themselves were seen as sources of pollution to the extent that Theophrastus's *Characters* narrate the "superstitious man" not to enter houses where either has occurred.[715] Marriage, conversely, signified the departure from one's own *oikos* to establish a new one, a transition comparable to death. All three aspects of ritual labor are observable within the context of Demeter's festival. The symbolic birth of crops, guided by the aid of Demeter, the acceptance of death through lamentations and initiations into the mysteries, and embracing the inevitable departure through marriage, symbolized by Persephone's journey to the underworld, serve as comprehensive symbols encapsulating all facets of women's engagement in religious labor. Just as birth, death, and marriage involve acts where "ritual space is created, defined, and dissolved by the bodies of the women"[716], similarly, in Demeter's festivals, women actively produce ritual space.

This space was devoid of men not only because Demeter would have preferred it, but joining a goddess who, in her grief, could single-handedly anger all other

[712] Zeitlin, p. 130.

[713] Dillon, p. 109.

[714] Morgan, p. 306.

[715] Theophrastus, *Characters,* trans., Diggle, J., Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 43, Cambridge University Press, 2004, 16.9.

[716] Morgan, p.308.

divinities by preventing the production of their libations, was a risky endeavor that could only be performed by women. A comparable example is the festival of *Plynteria*, where Athenian women were responsible for washing the statue of Athena for the *Panathanea*.[717] As gods were considered to have occupied their statues, washing them was seen as a dangerous act, and in this case, women's bodies constructed a border that contained the danger.[718] The introverted character of the precincts reinforced this border in Demeter's sanctuaries. The altars, which could be regarded as the focus of her ritual activity rather than monumental statues, surrounded by festival attendees, safeguarded the sacred forces.

Although Demeter's festivals are not typically regarded as settings where women's agency had implications outside the all-women sphere, where all they did could be seen only as mediators to the deity's will, they nonetheless posed legitimate disruptions to the system. All-men's festivals taking place on close dates attest that men strove to restore masculine community bonds that women's festivals have fractured. The *Apaturia*, for Apollo, a few weeks after the *Thesmophoria* or the *Dipolieia*, for Zeus, two days after the *Skira,* served as patrilineal opposites of Demeter's festivals.[719] The widespread festival of *Apaturia* celebrated in Athens and most Ionian cities directly mirrored themes of the *Thesmophoria.*[720] Chirassi-Colombo recognizes a common theme, which is handled in a contrasting manner in both festivals as

> On the mythic level, the model proposed is: separation between mother and sons (Theseus myth) or between mother and daughter (Demetrian myth) in a movement toward a distant place on the horizontal (Crete) or vertical (Hades) axis, a movement which is the equivalent of death as a prelude to a return of the companions of Theseus who have been 'saved,' and of Kore who has also been 'saved.' But these models are inserted into a new situation that can be qualified as civic in the first case and cosmic in the second.[721]

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[717] Burkert, 1985, p.79.

[718] Schnapp, 1994. Morgan, p. 308.

[719] Foxhall, p. 108.

[720] Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.147. Only Ephesus and Colophon did not partake in the tradition.

[721] Chirassi-Colombo, I., "'Paides e Gynaikes' note per una tassonomia del comportamento rituale nella cultura attica", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, Volume 1, 1979, p.50. trans. Zeitlin, p. 141.

In this parallel, the prevailing notion is that men bonded through civic duties, while women performed their responsibilities through rites, without repercussions or agency. Another festival that took place in the same month, the *Oschophoria*, required the participation of both men and women in a particularly noteworthy manner. The procession, in which young boys wore women's clothes and citizen women served them their meals, was also a reenactment of the story of Theseus.[722] While the women serving the meal symbolized the mothers sending their children sailing off to Crete with Theseus, young boys dressed as girls represented the girls who constituted half of Theseus's group.[723] The exclusion of young girls from the political facade of the reenactment, in which they played a part in the original narrative, only to be relegated to the role of supporting mothers, attests to a viewpoint that renders them invisible within the political sphere. This approach is similar to those that distort the purpose of Demeter's festivals and the experiences of women within them, perpetuating a narrative that marginalizes their agency and significance in the political context.

Festivals such as the *Thesmophoria*, emptying the *polis* of likely of a majority of women and leaving the men to claim domestic tasks, while the rites of Demeter with teachings of anti-fertility compounds giving each generation of women control over their reproductive health at first glance seem to present a unique setting for women's liberation in the ancient world. The Hellenistic period, on the other hand, witnessed the increase in women's agency in all aspects of social life with various indicators of women's autonomy in the public sphere, from law to economic freedom, albeit within a patriarchal structure.[724] The festivals of Demeter, particularly in the Hellenistic era, emerged as dynamic spaces where women actively exercised agency and played integral roles in shaping both the religious and political landscape. Despite prevailing narratives that limit women's visibility to domestic realms, Demeter's festivals provided a platform for them to break free from traditional constraints. The festival's impact transcended the spiritual, delving into the political as women patronized sacred spaces, organized rites, and formed communities. The existence of men's festivals occurring in close temporal proximity underscored their efforts to restore masculine community bonds in response to the

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[722] Parke, 1977, p. 77. Morgan, p. 305. Plutarch, *Theseus,* trans., Perrin, B., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1914, 22.

[723] Zeitlin, f.10, p. 154. Plutarch, *Theseus,* 15.

[724] Fantham, p. 161.

influence of women's festivals. The festival space, exclusively controlled by women, became a political arena where decisions were made collectively. Architectural arrangements reinforced this exclusivity, symbolizing women's authority in shaping their sacred territory. Contrary to the assumption that women's involvement in Demeter's festivals was confined to religious roles, they were hybrid settings where formalized rituals and informal acts coexisted.

6.2. Permeable transitions between *oikos, polis* and *oikoumene*

At first glance, the *oikos*, *polis*, and *oikoumene* may seem like entirely distinct notions, with the first pertaining to the household, the second to the city, and the third to the entire world. However, it is pivotal to recognize that the *oikoumene* is composed of *poleis*, and each *polis* is comprised of *oikoi*. These spheres interconnect, mutually influencing and shaping one another, creating a network where they derive sustenance and offer feedback on how each should perform. The concepts of *oikos* and *polis* are inseparable, mutually reinforcing each other's continuity. The *oikos* is associated with the private sphere, traditionally attributed to women, while the *polis* is linked to the public sphere, often associated with men.[725] Acknowledging the permeable and flexible nature of the division between these realms, recognizing that the influence of the *oikos* extends to define the public sphere is crucial.[726] Although seemingly distinct and serving separate genders, both notions represent unity among people regarding security and advantages that cannot be achieved independently. The two constructs inevitably feed each other through marriage alliances and guest-friendship bonds, actively shaping the social

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[725] While Cohen argues for a complete confinement of women to home, others like Westgate disagree and propose a more flexible scenario. Cohen, D., “Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens”, *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1989, p.3., Westgate, R., “The Greek House and the Ideology of Citizenship”, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2007, p.236. The discussion of how even the spaces of the house were segregated by gender is presented in Pomeroy. Pomeroy, S.B., *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece, Representations and Realities*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1997, p. 29-31.

[726] Sjöberg, B.L., “The Greek *Oikos*: A Space for Interaction, Revisited and Reconsidered”, eds., Karlsson, L., Carlsson, S., Kullberg, J. B., *Studies Presented to Pontus Hellström,* Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala, p. 315. The *oikos* as the basic unit of the *polis* is also noted by Aristotle. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1253b.

sphere of the entire *polis*.[727] The notion of *oikoumene*, on the other hand, is the "Hellenistic term for the inhabited world".[728] This particularly Hellenistic concept of the 'inhabited world' inevitably shapes the idea of both the household and the town, adding an unforeseen dimension to the known and interacted scale of the world.

The central element upon which this entire system hinges is the concept of the *oikos,* regarded as the "sanctuary of the family"[729]. While the term could encompass various architectural forms, ranging from temples to single rooms or even buildings, the focus here will be on its common usage to denote a house and its inhabitants, namely the household.[730] From a gender perspective, the notion of the *oikos* is employed to exert control over women and their behavior. Two notable purposes of this control strategy are to ensure the legitimacy of offspring and to protect the family's wealth.[731] As Morgan puts it, "The home offers a symbolic stage on which to idealize female behaviour".[732] This performative control within the *oikos*, the dynamics between women and their households intricately shape and reflect the broader societal structures, while their permeability underlines the symbiotic relationship between the private and public realms.

In this context, women's festivals disrupt the established system of the *polis* as a public sphere dominated by men while women remained within the confines of the *oikos*. Beyond their participation in the public sphere, Demeter's festivals restricted men's presence in the public sphere. According to Aristophanes's narrative, neither

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[727] Gardner, p.54. Guest-friendship, *Xenia*, is a form of ritualized hospitality with significant impact, a notable example of which is the battle between Diomedes and Glaukos ending once they realize their guest- friendship. Homeros, *Iliad,* 119-236.

[728] Alcock, 1994, p. 171.

[729] Waterhouse, p. 123.

[730] Caution against "automatic translation" of the term is handled in Osborne. Osborne, R., "Buildings and residence on the land in classical and Hellenistic Greece: the contribution of epigraphy", *Annual of the British School at Athens,* Vol. 80, British School at Athens, 1985, p.121.

[731] For the importance of legitimate offsprings; Cohen, D.J., *Law, Sexuality and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 141. Also discussed in; Morgan, p. 299.

[732] Morgan, p.299.

the *diskasteria* nor the *boule* are held because *Thesmophoria* was taking place.[733] Other festivals also offer a platform for women to not only assert their presence in the public sphere and exercise their agency but also afford them mobility beyond the confines of the *oikos* and even the *polis*. Foreign women attending the festivals of Athena in Pergamon, Delian and Ionian festivals at Ephesus and Aphrodite in Comana attest to the permeable boundaries between what is often regarded as the confines of women and the *oikoumene*.[734] As Morgan puts it, "Religion allows women to break free from domestic constraints. It brings women into the streets of the city and makes them visible."[735] This imperative departure from home is essential, even required, in religious labor, as in the circumstances of marriage. Similar to Persephone, who experienced separation and vulnerability, daughters from the household marry into another *oikos* and also succumb to their roles as bridges between different households.

Even within the confines of the house, religion could provide a platform for women to gain visibility. The festival of *Adonia*, celebrated from the rooftops of women's homes, granted them visibility and audibility from the city, attesting to their presence within the *polis*.[736] Within the *Adonia,* the house still constituted a boundary, making the streets inaccessible to women. Yet the *Thesmophoria* allowed women to spend several days away from home, perhaps the only opportunity.[737] It is possible to state that Demeter's festivals transformed the sacred space into a private sphere. The exclusivity of the *temenos*, designated zones of activity, and traditions, which should not be shared with those who do not belong, all echo notions associated with the idealized *oikos.* The transformations that the notions of oikos and polis undergo in the Hellenistic period reveal a broader interpretation of what these terms might encompass, lending more credibility to this theory.

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[733] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 78ff.

[734] In order of mention; Grant, F.C., *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism*, The Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1953, p.6., Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans., Warner, R., Penguin Books, London, 1954, 3.104.3-5., Strabo, 12.3.36. Also; Loman, pp. 147-151.

[735] Morgan, p.303.

[736] Winkler, p. 191.

[737] Zeitlin, p. 130.

The relationship between *oikos* and *polis* in the Hellenistic world cannot be grounded in a unifying set of values encountered in the Classical period. Setting aside the immense change in scale, the permeable nature of the binary can be attributed to the fact that the ruling *oikos* was essentially and single-handedly responsible for all major decisions regarding the *polis*. In an era devoid of autonomous city-states, the decisions emanating from this singular *oikos* could exert influence over the entire *oikoumene*. Once closely intertwined, the convergence of the concepts of *oikos* and *polis* for the security of citizens now exhibited a significant detachment, with the notion of a royal family epitomizing the pinnacle of this transformative shift in values. Unlike the Classical period, defined by the "bipolar world of Athens and Sparta"[738], which had its inherent complexities, there was now a network of influence among *oikoi* encompassing the entire Hellenic world. Having relinquished political power, Athens transformed into a town steeped in tradition, aptly characterized by its museums.[739] The values inherent in the Classical world lost their validity, rendering it, much like its museums, a thing of the past. As the royal house symbolized the zenith of this change on a monumental scale, individuals' social and geographical mobility also played a pivotal role in this growing detachment. The shift of individuals from small city-states to larger, intricate, and diverse communities is posited to have instigated a sense of dislocation and isolation.[740] Consequently, the foundational premise of the *oikos-polis* relationship, hinging on a sense of belonging, became outdated.

In the dynamic landscape of the Hellenistic period, the connection between the *polis* and the *oikoumene* assumed a profound significance, mirroring not only the evolving political structures but also navigating identities in the transformative era. The interplay between the *polis* and the *oikoumene* extended its influence through the religious domain as a conduit for connectivity and influence. As an illustrative instance, the invitations extended for participation in the festival of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia carried an implicit plea for *asylia* (inviolability), seamlessly blending the sacred and civic dimensions inherent in the act of invitation.[741] The festival functioned not only as a means to fortify alliances between

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[738] Shipley, p. 316.

[739] Morris, p. 414.

[740] Westgate, 2013, p.245.

[741] These relations were also renewed every four years on the occasion of the festival. Stavrianopoulou, pp.183-190., Gehrke, p. 295.

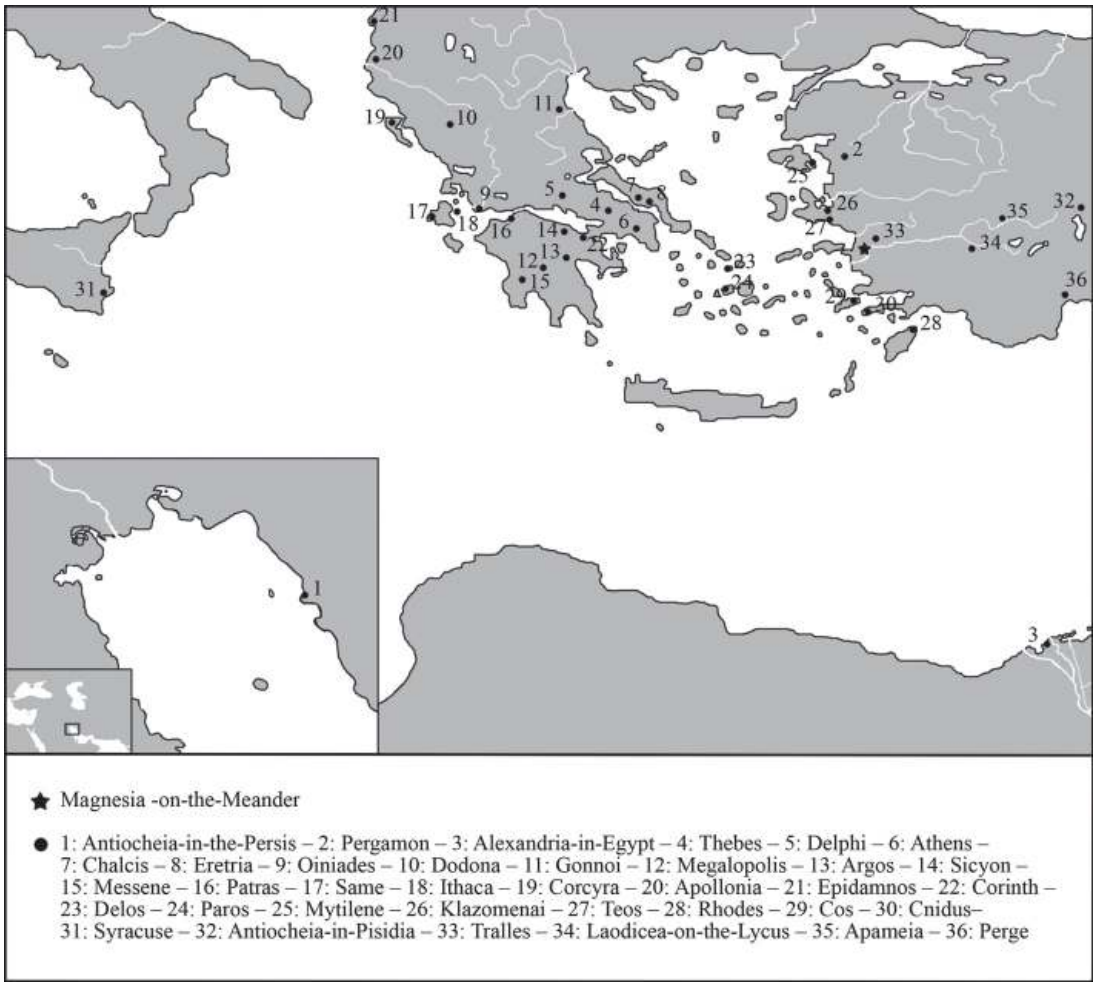

Figure 70: Catchment area of the festival of Artemis at Magnesia. (Hammerschmied, fig.1)

Magnesia and the invited *poleis* (Figure 70), strategically bolstering diplomatic through the protection offered by kinship ties but also as a grand stage for the expression of collective identity and a prime opportunity for self-presentation on a large scale.[742] By utilizing the cult of Artemis, the Magnesians could recognize their status within the Hellenic *oikoumene* as the festival “served to remind the Magnesians themselves on an everyday basis that they were indeed an important hub in a wider network of Greek cities.”[743] The festival's setting was not the sole manifestation of the *polis*'s engagement with the *oikoumene*. An exemplar of this

[742] Hammerschmied, K., “The Panhellenic Festival of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia-On-The-Meander: A Spatial Analysis of a Hellenistic Procession”, ed., Luig, U., *Approaching the Sacred: Pilgrimage in Historical and Intercultural Perspective, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 49*, Edition Topoi, Berlin, 2018, pp. 92-95.

[743] van Nijf, O.M., Williamson, C.G., "Connecting the Greeks: Festival Networks in the Hellenistic World”, *Proceedings of Anchoring Innovation in Antiquity*, OIKOS, 2015, p.9

interaction was the role of the *historiographos*, serving as the embodiment of the connection between “intra-polis historiography and inter-polis networks."[744] Consequently, this linkage was actively pursued, acknowledged, meticulously documented, and intentionally preserved for transmission.

Another particularly Hellenistic interaction was that between the *oikos* and the *oikoumene*. While the royal houses stand as exemplars of this intricate relationship, the discernment that Hellenistic households leveraged their domestic environments as status symbols corroborates the inclination to proving oneself to the world.[745] In the Hellenistic Period, the absence of a unifying civic identity, characteristic of previous centuries, led to notable shifts in the concept of the *oikos* closely intertwined with the *oikoumene*. The fluidity of geographical and social mobility not only provided individuals with the freedom to traverse diverse landscapes but also allowed them to reinvent their identities, embracing the newfound sense of anonymity within large cities. In the article "Making Yourself at Home in the Hellenistic World”, Westgate skillfully illustrates how Delos and Crete, despite sharing the common goal of aligning their values with that of surrounding *oikoi*, also strived to project a unified identity to the Hellenic *oikoumene*. While at the diversely populated trade hub of Delos, this performance of identity manifested itself through domestic decoration, signaling a shared value system through the enjoyment of similar activities; at Crete, on the other hand, the performative identity aimed to convey an identity unaffected by external forces.[746] Although Delos was regarded as a melting pot of cultures, domestic architecture was so uniform that it was likened to speaking the same Greek language in public dealings.[747] The utilization of decoration served as a visual language through which individuals communicated

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[744] Clarke, K., *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008, p.358.

[745] Nevett’s chapter on Ancient Greek housing titles the Hellenistic section as "From the Later Classical into the Hellenistic Period: Housing as Status Symbol”.; Nevett, L.C., “Housing and Households in Ancient Greece, The Greek World”, eds., Alcock, S.E., Osborne, R., *Classical Archaeology*, 2nd ed., Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA, 2012, pp. 220-224.

[746] Westgate, 2013, pp. 245-267.

[747] Bruneau, ‘La maison délienne,’ *Revue d’archéologie moderne et d’archéologie générale 12,* CNRS Éditions, Paris, 1994, pp. 107-8. In Westgate, 2013, p.246.

their societal standing embedded within their specific social circles.[748] This unified identity was nevertheless affected by the myriad cultures it was in contact with, resulting in unorthodox practices. The *Thesmophoria* of Delos was not only held in the summer, during the harvest, but butchers who were men performed the sacrifices on women's behalf.[749] The deliberate departure from conventional practices in Delos, in both private and religious spheres, underscores their proclivity for establishing and adhering to distinct traditions crafted uniquely by the community.

In stark contrast to the heterogeneous nature of Delos, Crete is distinguished by projecting an identity of being impervious to external influences. The domestic architecture of Crete performed "conscious archaism, designed to project an impression of deep traditionalism" with values that outside forces had not altered.[750] Houses with central courtyards, which typically separated the communal activities of the *oikos* from the broader community, were notably absent in houses, and socialization, instead, appeared to transpire prominently in front of dwellings.[751] Crete's deeply entrenched traditionalism manifested even in the narrative of Demeter, with the goddess herself claiming origin from the island in the Homeric Hymn.[752] Hesiod recounts that Demeter fell in love with Iasion and gave birth to Plutus, the god of wealth, on the island of Crete.[753] In stark contrast to the inventive tendencies observed on the island of Delos, the island of Crete manifested a profound commitment to traditionalism. The traditional ethos of Crete is exemplified in its architectural and social fabric, where adherence to the past prevailed over innovative departures. Nevertheless, whether through ostentatious displays of wealth or unwavering commitment to deep traditionalism, both approaches align with the wisdom encapsulated in Strabo's counsel

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[748] The decoration Westgate refers to included both mobile elements such as masks and figurines and fixed elements such as mosaics, which were so abundant in Delos that they constitute almost half the mosaics discovered from the Hellenistic period. Westgate, 2013, pp. 253-255, and f.45.

[749] For the date: Kron, n.22 in Tzanetou, p.331., For the butchers: Dillon, p. 116.

[750] Westgate, 2013, p. 256.

[751] Westgate, 2013, p. 258, f.54.

[752] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 123.

[753] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 971.

> Now harmony ensues when dissension, which is the result of greed and luxury, is removed; for when all citizens live a self-restrained and simple life, there arises neither envy nor arrogance nor hatred towards those who are like them.[754]

The notion of being surrounded by those like them prevails in the tumultuous Hellenistic period. The *oikos,* no longer merely a constituent element within the larger fabric of the *polis*, now assumes a prominent role in shaping the presentation of a particular *polis* to the broader *oikoumene*. Through diverse means such as displays of wealth or performances of traditionalism, the social fabric orchestrates a unified front to the rest of the world, with each household contributing to the collective rhythm. Through this response of the *oikoi*, communal identity is not only preserved but strategically projected beyond the confines of the immediate community. On the other hand, within the intricate dynamics of the *oikos*, the entire *oikoumene* unfolds like a narrative waiting to be deciphered. The notions of the self and the other, prevalent in the Hellenistic period, unravel within the confines of the house.[755] In a departure from the rigid structures of the classical polis, the fluidity of identities in the Hellenistic period, facilitated by significant social and geographical mobility, turned the spaces within the house into stages that meticulously signaled the standing of its inhabitants. As Westgate elucidates: “The architecture and decoration of Hellenistic houses seem to reflect a growing desire to reinforce the exclusion of those who did not belong- and hence, of course, the inclusion of those who did.”[756]

Within domestic architecture, the allocation of dark, inconspicuous, narrow rooms at the corners of houses as service rooms, distinct from the rest of the household, prompts an exploration of segregation in terms of status.[757] Despite the challenges in unraveling explicit gender distinctions, the discernible factors of status and wealth emerged as distinctive elements influencing this architectural division. Similar to the role of women in Hellenistic society, their social standing was shaped more by their status or wealth than solely by their gender.[758] Yet, in speculation, it is

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[754] Strabo, *Geography*, 10.4.16

[755] A closer examination of the dichotomy is discussed in the chapter “Histories: The Present and the Past”.

[756] Westgate, 2013, p. 258.

[757] Westgate, R.C., “Space and Decoration in Hellenistic Houses”, *The Annual of the British School at Athens,* Vol. 95, 2000, pp. 405, 409, 419-420, 423-426.

[758] The exceptional lives led by women are discussed in the chapter “Gender Politics”.

reasonable to assume that these discreet service quarters might have been frequented more by the women of the house than the men, perhaps to oversee the smooth progression of domestic affairs. Engaged in various economic activities, women within the *oikos* contributed significantly to the household's sustenance and economic well-being. Put simply, the Greek *oikos* was the place of work for women. Despite its categorization as the private sphere, the Greek *oikos* encapsulated a diverse array of activities that could be aptly characterized as labor, particularly when contextualized within the framework of men's experiences in the public sphere.

The festivals dedicated to Demeter operated as intermediaries bridging the realms of the public and private spheres, providing tangible evidence of women's labor that served both domains. Despite their initial appearance of being placed in the public sphere, a closer examination unveils numerous nuances, underscoring their multifaceted nature. There is the example of the temple of Demeter Achaia, which served a single family, the Gephyraioi, restricting the access of all others and allowing the deity to become part of their *oikos*.[759] On the other hand, purposefully public sanctuaries of Demeter also became *oikoi* through different means. Schipporeit likens the unconventional sanctuary of Demeter in Priene, with its unique spatial configuration, to a house, drawing parallels to an *oikos*.[760] The statue bases at the entrance to the *temenos*, both of married women, on the other hand, welcome the attendees as if to invite them into their own houses. In Pergamon, the rooms added by Apollonis are mentioned in the inscription by naming them *oikos*. The simple fact that women spent several days and nights within the *temenos* in a context where women were not permitted to stay outside the *oikos* at night leads to the argument that perhaps the sanctuary was the *oikos*. Much like the *oikos*, which wielded the power to influence the reproduction of the entire *polis*, effectively making it a political tool, the rites performed and the community formed within Demeter’s sanctuary also functioned similarly, exerting an impact on the broader *polis*.
The exclusive setting of Demeter’s festivals extends the scope and scale of women’s sphere of influence. The freedom granted to women during the rituals within this confined setting is viewed positively, though approached with caution. Aristophanes' narrative suggests men's discontent when women leave the house,

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[759] Johnston, p. 108.

[760] Schipporeit, p. 92.

but this sentiment hardly applies to *Thesmophoria*.[761] The rites taking place outside the home, including a political dimension and effectively shaping life in the *polis*, stand nowhere within the binary and challenge the ways we view ancient daily practices. The act of pushing women away from all political systems yet entrusting them with the reproduction of the entire system through Demeter's rites is paradoxical. In this context, women are obligated to perform their religious duties within another *oikos* to benefit their *polis*. At the end of the festival, women return to their families, leaving the realm of Demeter that united them behind. Like Persephone, who travels from one home to another, leaving her mother's realm to return to her husband, the attendees perform the last ritual.

[761] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 794-795

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has meticulously delved into a scholarly investigation, conducting a rigorous examination of the dichotomies intrinsic to the study of the Hellenistic period, Demeter's worship, and gender in antiquity and has endeavored to unravel the multifaceted webs of influence interconnecting these frameworks. Commencing with a detailed analysis of Hellenistic historiography, it elucidates the permeable boundaries between the Classical and the Hellenistic, often characterized as baroque. Additionally, by interrogating the binary opposition between the self and the other, a dynamic relationship was revealed that eludes fixed categorization. The thesis has shown that within this shifting system, the confluence of religion and politics into a unified system, shaping the operational dynamics of Hellenistic governance, effaces the boundary between the sacred and the profane. Within this framework, the thesis has revealed how Demeter's myth transforms into rituals that transcend the divine realm, leveraging their political potency. Through this study, it was made evidently clear that the spaces dedicated to this worship emerge as pivotal mediators between the public and private spheres, embodying profound introversion within the extroverted landscape of the Hellenistic period.

By converging upon the encompassing scope of the term "Hellenistic" this exploration unifies diverse spaces, ideas, and experiences. The intrinsic dichotomies embedded in the Hellenistic era provide the conceptual framework for this ambitious undertaking. Like Alcock who delves into the geographical and historical facets of this schism, in this study too, there emerges a recognition that those navigating this field inevitably find themselves handling dichotomies as: "… any valid understanding of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* is greatly hampered by sharp scholarly divides: Greek versus Near Eastern, Classical versus Hellenistic versus Roman history, Achaemenid versus Seleucid history and so on."[762]

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[762] Alcock, 1994, p.190.

To start with, this dissertation directly confronts and critically examines the dichotomies it encounters and amplifies their possible meanings. The Hellenistic period is often presented as a bridge whether between Greece and Rome, of East and West or of Paganism and Judaism. This inevitably places it binaries, while it also presents the possibility of its role in mediating dichotomies. From as much as what could be deduced from Demeter's rites, they too conciliate the dichotomies between life and death, rites of passage and the changing of seasons. Demeter's particular place in Hellenic life allowed women to mediate between realms of the *oikos* and *polis.* While the primary focus of this dissertation mitigated various dichotomies across different scales and contexts, the concluding remarks here highlight instances where the gradually evolved concept of Demeter challenges these dichotomies. The initial facet delves into the embodiment of multifaceted roles of womanhood epitomized by Demeter and Persephone, as well as societal expectations projected onto it. Demeter epitomizes motherhood, her myth intricately linked to this facet of her personality, while Persephone embodies maidenhood, whose marriage provokes an angry response from her mother; collectively symbolizing the cyclical nature of life.[763] According to Zeitlin's hypothesis, "mother and daughter are not separate entities but only two facets of a single female figure".[764] This idea regards the linear human transformation pattern from maiden to mother reconciled through the synchronic divine pattern where the two stages coexist. Persephone's capacity to revert to her role as a daughter annually was also performed by women who reunited with their mothers during the festival. In the festival setting, there was no husband to define oneself through; instead, the crucial aspect was the mother, and it was significant whose daughter one was.

The festival settings not only reunited mothers and daughters but also urban and rural communities of women.[765] As the festival lasted for several days, those attending from the countryside and residing within the city had ample time to share their experiences of the world. Although impossible to confirm, these interactions

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[763] Also discussed in; Jung, C.G., Kerényi, C., Introduction to a Science of Mythology, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1951, pp.158-179.

[764] Zeitlin, p. 149.

[765] How this contact was utilized by Greek colonizers discussed in; Bookidis, N., "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth and Colonisation", ed., Di Stefano, C.A., *Demetra, La divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda, Atti del I congresso internazionale*, Enna, 1-4 Luglio 2004, Pisa, Rome, 2008, pp. 99-105. In Constantinou, p. 198.

arguably gave way to networks among women far surpassing the city's boundary. As a deity firmly embedded within the urban life but certainly concerned with the agricultural land outside, Demeter was the cohesive element that bound them together. For this reason, the placement of Demeter's sanctuaries between Greek settlers and native communities served as a mediator between the two realms.[766] The Archaic sanctuary of Demeter in Cyrene is even read along the lines of defining aspirations of later territorial expansion.[767] Setting aside Demeter's involvement in the agendas of Greek colonizers, her presence undeniably served the purpose of uniting the city with its agricultural territory. During the Hellenistic period, this functioned on both the scale of the kingdom and its relationship with its immediate surroundings while also operating on a personal level, facilitating connections among women.

Another facet of this embodiment is the dual nature of identities attested to women. While the Hellenistic period showcases instances of remarkable women exercising agency, the study shows that it is crucial to recognize that they operated within a predominantly man-dominated system. This also intersects with the concept of identity and influences how the past is perceived. As Kampen demonstrates in the effect of the "Classical" on gender

> Its stories and its idealizations may be used to give form to the conflict between oppositions and at the same time attempt to mediate that conflict in two ways: first, by demonstrating the moral and physical superiority of male Self over female Other; secondly, by convincing the Other that it is possible to become like self.[768]

This view of the "Classical" applied in Kampen's work to Roman and even 18th-century ideology against barbarianism, could not have completely overlooked the Hellenistic woman. The improper behavior transforming women into an "outsider" is met with punishment and the ultimate aim of the "classicizing gender program" is women's adherence to rules established by men that have long passed. It should also be added that the notion of morality plays a large part in controlling women's

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[766] Kane, S., "Transforming Power: the Use of Statues in the Cult of Demeter at Cyrene", ed., Di Stefano, C.A., *Demetra, La divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda, Atti del I congresso internazionale*, Enna, 1-4 Luglio 2004, Pisa, Rome, 2008, p. 167. In Constantinou, p. 44, 198-99.

[767] Constantinou, p. 198.

[768] Kampen, N.B., "The Muted Other", *Art Journal,* Vol. 47, No. 1, The Problem of Classicism: Ideology and Power, 1988, pp. 15.

behavior while also shaping the narrative of the perceived past, which women can never be said to be entirely liberated from. On the other hand, the study demonstrates that Demeter's rituals provide a particularly notable setting as a reconciling antithesis to these “norms”. While the festivals of Demeter promote abstinence from intercourse as well as disseminating knowledge regarding birth control, jesting, phallic cakes and figurines emphasizing vulvas collectively encourage women’s sexual nature.[769] This is reflective of what Zeitlin describes as; “This double bind demands chastity from the wife and yet insists on her sexual nature.”[770] The polar opposites of chastity and promiscuity, both embodied within the festivals, reflect the expectations imposed on women. The festivals console this dichotomy and provide a stage for women to perform both. They could perform their sexual agencies on both ends of the spectrum, allowing them to gain insight into a more expansive vocabulary.

Demeter’s rites introduce opposites as two ends of a spectrum that define, complement and balance each other. There is ascent and descent, fasting and feasting, and women refraining from and exercising their sexual agencies. Winkler’s theory that piglets and phallic cakes were mixed in the *Thesmophoria* regards one to symbolize the female, natural and raw, with the other embodying male, cultured and cooked.[771] Demeter and Persephone, in their respective roles, wield control over forces that govern life and loom over the underworld. Light and darkness are mutually present and as Boutsikas suggests that gods were excluded from this rhythm, Persephone becomes the embodiment of the cycle.[772] The worship of Demeter and Persephone embraces contrasts and amplifies the dual nature that enables them. This mediating role of the rites allows for permeability and fluidity within systems which are not necessarily polar dichotomies but rather spectrums that offer an array of possibilities.

The dissertation clearly reveals that the spaces of the sanctuaries of Demeter align with this oscillation and allow for open-ended architecture. The *temenos*, for those entitled to preside within its bounds, is organized by architecture but does not use

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[769] These facets of the festivals are discussed in detail in the chapter “From Myth to Ritual”.

[770] Zeitlin, p. 149.

[771] Winkler, p.198. The word for piglet, *choiros,* also being the slang word for vagina leads to the assumption that they symbolized women. Blundell, p.164.

[772] Boutsikas, p. 47.

it to limit motion. Designated zones guide festival participants, yet no predetermined path constrains their non-linear movement, and unlike a procession, there are no predefined vistas. Spatial and experiential analysis in the study indicate how during the festival, the sanctuary becomes a space where women occupy nearly every conceivable point of view. As women traverse the precinct, their actions embody a "process of appropriation of the topographic system".[773] The sanctuary's organization empowers women to appropriate the spatial vocabulary, informing them of boundaries while granting agency to express independent languages of movement. On the other hand, these non-restrictive spaces host contrasting activities, like fasting and jesting, sacrifice, and entertainment, all done within the scope of just a few days in the same spaces. The sanctuaries' architecture is not structured entirely around the festivals, defining every rite, but allows for flexibility. Women's use of temporary huts and woven mats for nighttime residence is a noteworthy aspect confirming this flexibility.[774] With the *Thesmophoria*, the most widespread festival taking place in the Fall, the cold weather at night is not a factor in including quarters for all women to reside at night to the design of the sanctuary.[775] Instead, the temporality of all events within the festival requires versatile spaces. The transient nature, akin to Persephone's time in the underworld, allows women to permeate every boundary, mirroring her transcendence of life and death. As claimed in the study, the symbolically packed festival and its porous spaces become representations of the permeability of dichotomies.

Above all, examining the Hellenistic sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter necessitates a distinct understanding, acknowledging their role in fostering a connection to the local land within the broader context of an extensive world. The rites conducted within these sacred spaces reflected a process of "regional differentiation,"

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[773] de Carteau, M., *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans., Rendall, S., University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1984, p. 97.

[774] Zeitlin, p. 142.

[775] While the *temenos* in Pergamon does have several rooms, those in the West stoa are arguably occupied by the queen and her entourage, those in the lower North stoa are used by the priestesses, which only leaves the upper North stoa as the occupiable space which could not host the entire community. The banquet halls in Corinth on the other hand could have been used as places of sleep at night, which would make it an exception to the temporary huts used everywhere else.

manifesting distinct characteristics influenced by local contexts.[776] Notably, the meticulously delineated spaces in Pergamon exemplified a higher degree of control, mirroring imperial ideals, while Priene ingeniously developed spaces tailored to specific rituals. In line with the recognition that there is no monolithic "'typical' daily life in Greek sanctuaries", the diversity among festivals and sanctuaries becomes apparent.[777] Each festival and sacred site emerges as a unique entity, defying a simplistic classification into standardized categories. This individuality underscores the multifaceted fabric of religious practices and spatial configurations present within the Hellenistic sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter.

The dissertation has intentionally employed a diverse array of frameworks to contextualize the significance of Demeter's festivals within the dynamic landscape of the Hellenistic period, thereby affording a considerable degree of flexibility in its analytical approach. Examining the collectivity of women within this tumultuous era has underscored the imperative to incorporate multiple viewpoints when addressing the experiences exclusive to underrepresented groups. This approach's versatility lies in simultaneously considering all possible evidence, mitigating the risk of sweeping generalizations. Future research potential resides in systematically exploring "exceptions" within established systems, a practice consistently undertaken in this study. This framework can be utilized when handling other mystery sites which knowledge is seldom transferred from and the ritual labour of women. Another noteworthy aspect of this study is its self-aware acknowledgment of bias. While critiquing the man-dominated discourse, the thesis recognizes its own predisposition, consciously bringing a woman's perspective and the performativity paradigm of queer theory into the scholarly discourse, applying the theory's treatment of gendered identities to a broader performativity inherent in the Hellenistic period. This perspective serves to disrupt the binary system often imposed on ancient identities, presenting them within a spectrum.

Herodotus narrates the transfer of the rites of Demeter to Greece through Danaid women who brought it over from Egypt.[778] The Danaid sisters, who are renowned for killing their husbands on their wedding night to free themselves, teach *Thesmophoria* and Demeter's mysteries to Pelasgian women, the precursors to the

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[776] Alcock, Gates and Rempel, p. 356.

[777] Dignas, p. 165.

[778] Herodotus, *Histories*, 2.171.3

Greeks.[779] This mythological lineage firmly situates the worship of Demeter beyond conventional norms of womanhood, positioning it on the periphery of established societal paradigms. The Danaid women, distinctly non-Greek, embody the "other," deviating from marital conventions and exacting vengeance in its most brutal form. In its nascent form, these rites emerge as inherently exterior to the political core of man, subverting traditional power structures.[780] Instead, this origin story embraces the savage nature of barbarianism and exalts the celebrated otherness of these rites. The women associated with this myth transcend imposed boundaries around their presence and, as a result, have a story that resonates with Greek women. The idea of “self” so embedded in manhood does not find a parallel within the fluid identities of womanhood. This perhaps explains the notable historical figure, Cleopatra VII, who defined the Hellenistic era, confidently engaging in dialogues with "barbarians" without the need for an interpreter, symbolizing a potent manifestation of a woman navigating the dichotomies constructed by men.[781]

In conclusion, the exploration of the Hellenistic period, while undeniably exhilarating, is also accompanied by a sense of trepidation owing to the myriad broad generalizations that veil its intricate complexities. This intrinsic dichotomy, wherein our perceptions lead us to believe we possess ample knowledge about an era defined by such universal contemplations, underscores the nuanced nature of this historical epoch. The significance of the "other" assumes paramount importance, transcending categorizations, as it could manifest in diverse forms. Particularly noteworthy is its application to an entire gender, where the activities of women in the public sphere find a confined yet potent expression within the religious context. This dissertation, through its multidimensional analysis, unravels these layers of complexity, challenging conventional narratives and contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the Hellenistic period and the lived experiences of its diverse actors.

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[779] Bonner, C., "A Study of the Danaid Myth", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 13, 1902, p.129.

[780] Zeitlin defines the male political life as the center and the savage nature, barbarians and women, so those who held an inferior status, as the periphery. Zeitlin, p. 143.

[781] Plutarch notes she “had no need of an interpreter”. Plutarch, Antony, 27.3. Fantham, p. 136.

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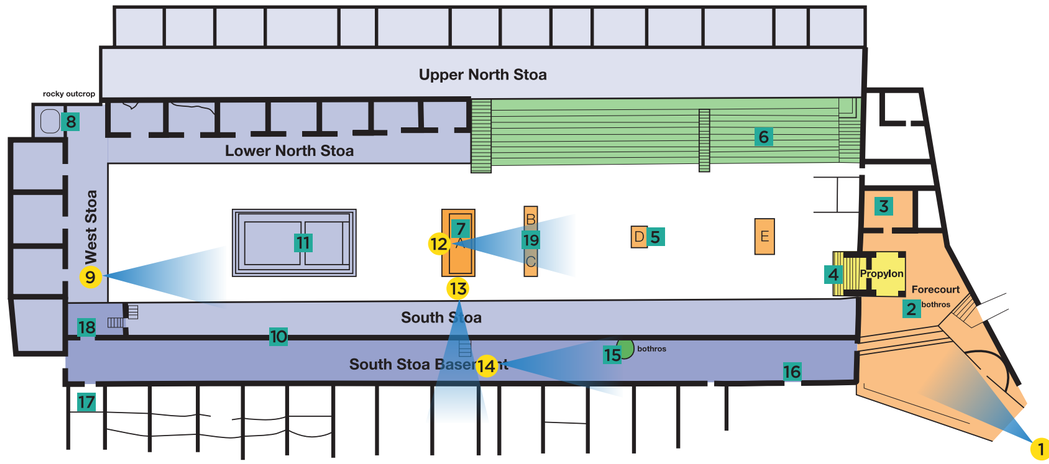

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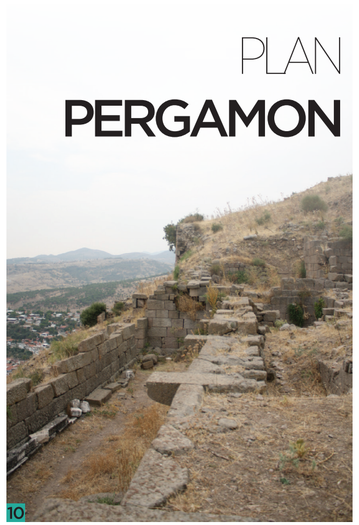
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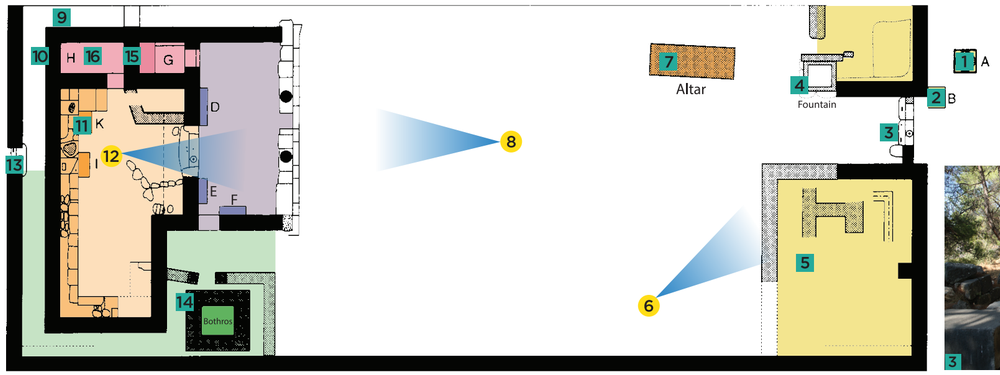
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C. CURRICULUM VITAE

Gizem Güner

Research Assistant | Department of Architecture

Education

2017-2024 PhD in History of Architecture, Middle East Technical University
Fluid Identities and Performative Discourse: Hellenistic *Temene* of Demeter in Western Asia Minor
Advisor: Prof. Dr. Suna Güven
Co-supervisor: Dr. Pelin Yoncacı Arslan

2014-2017 MA in History of Architecture, Middle East Technical University
Space as Protagonist in the Narrative of the Iliad
Advisor: Prof. Dr. Suna Güven

2009-2013 BA in Landscape Architecture and Urban Design, Bilkent University

Publications

Güner, G. "Collecting the Past: Visualizing the Roman bath in Ankara", Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series, Volume 307, Virtual Reconstructions and Digital Tools, IASTE, 2021.

Güner, G., "Yunan Efsanesinde Mekân Anlatıları: Truvalılar ve Akhaların Mücadelesi / *Narrating Space in Greek Legend: Trojans and Achaeans in Battle*", Proceedings of Settlement Archaeology Symposium Series VII: Adaptation and Resistance, Ege Yayınları, 2021.

Güner, G., Turan Özkaya, B., eds., *Spaces/Times/Peoples: Gender, Sexuality and Architectural History*, Proceedings of the IV. Graduate Studies Symposium, ODTÜ, 2020.

Presentations

2022 Myth Beyond The Ruins: The Hellenistic Temple of Athena in Troy, 24th Annual Mediterranean Studies Association Congress [25 May 2022]

2021 Collecting the Past: Visualizing the Roman Bath in Ankara, IASTE 2021: The Seventeenth Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments [31 August 2021]

2018 Narrating Space in Greek Legend, METU Settlement Archaeology Symposium Series VII: Adaptation and Resistance [18 May 2018]

2018 A Study on the Iliad, METU Department of Archeometry Seminar [23 March 2018]

Work Experience

2017-present Research Assistant in the Department of Architecture, METU
2015 Bütüner Architecture, Ankara
2013-2014 Arma Architecture, Ankara
2012 Design for Xanthos, Miyar Architecture, Ankara (Internship)
2010-2013 Bilkent University Introduction Office, Ankara
2011 Ünal Landscape Architecture Firm, İzmir (Internship)
2011 Atatürk Arboretum, İstanbul (Internship)
2003-2004 Ralph Waldo Emerson Middle School Library Volunteer, CA

Organizations

2023 METU Architectural History Graduate Symposium Spaces/Times/ Peoples: Health and Architectural History, Member of Organizing Committee

2021 METU Architectural History Graduate Symposium Spaces/Times/ Peoples: Dispossession and Architectural History, Member of Organizing Committee

2021 'Architecture and Endurance' European Architectural History Network (EAHN) Thematic Conference, Organizing Committee

2019 METU Architectural History Graduate Symposium Spaces/Times/ Peoples: Fiction and Architectural History, Member of Organizing Committee

2019 METU Architectural History 30th Anniversary Events, Committee Assistant

Languages

Turkish Native/Bilingual
English Native/Bilingual
Italian Intermediate
Dutch Beginner

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Helenistik döneme özgü akışkanlık, çok boyutlu doğasını bağlamsallaştırmak için çok sayıda bakış açısı ve çerçeve gerektirmektedir. Demeter'in kutsal alanlarının farklılıklarını vurgulayacak biçimsel bir bakış açısının aksine bağlamsal ve deneyimsel bir bakış açısını benimseyen bu çalışma, sürekli olarak ortak bir temayı vurgulamaktadır: kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınmamış yönlere odaklanmak. İster erkeklerin bir kadın festivaline bakış açıları, ister Helenistik tarih yazımının bölümlere ayırma eğilimi, ister tapınak alanlarının mekansal deneyimin tanımlayıcılan sıklıkla göz ardı edilen mimari elemanları ile ilgili olsun, bu araştırma gözden kaçan çeşitli boyutlara dikkat çekmekte ve anlatıyı yeniden inşa ederken ritüelleri ön plana çıkarmaktadır.

Helenistik dönemde Batı Anadolu'da bulunan Demeter'in tapınak alanlarında kadınların mekansal deneyimi üzerine hazırlanan bu çalışma yedi bölüm etrafında yapılandırılmıştır. Giriş bölümünü takiben tez, tanınmış antik dönem yazarların başlıklarına referans veren Tarih, Politika ve Coğrafya'yı kapsayan üçlü bir yapıyla (Bölüm 2, 3 ve 4'te) ortaya çıkmaktadır. Takip eden 5. bölüm, *propylea*, sunak ve basamakları incelemekte, bunları hem daha önce tartışılan temaların ışığında hem de festival katılımcılarının deneyimlerini şekillendirmek için tasarlanmış kasıtlı konfigürasyonlar olarak değerlendirmektedir. Son bölüm olan 6. bölümde ise Demeter festivali bağlamında kadınların eylemliliği incelenmekte ve festivalin antik dönemdeki geleneksel kadın algısını bozma potansiyeli vurgulanmaktadır. Sonuç bölümü, tüm çalışmayı birbirine bağlayan kapsayıcı temaları hem açığa çıkaran hem de inceleyen yansıtıcı bir kapanış işlevi görmektedir.

Helenistik dönem, zamansal çerçevesine rağmen, dinamik dönüşümler geçirirken Helen idealleriyle yankılanan kültürel bir sürekliliği ifade eder. Helenistik dönemin başlangıcını İskender'in ölümüne kadar götürmek, İskender'in eylemlerini ve yaklaşımlarını tüm dönemi tanımlayacak şekilde konumlandırma ve genelleme eğilimi taşır ve dönemin karmaşıklığını tek bir anlatıya sıkıştıran Helenistik bir *zeitgeist*'a yol açar. Helenistik dönem fikri, Büyük İskender'in bu toprakları birleştirdiği düşüncesiyle başlar, ancak ondan önce bunu yapan Pers

imparatorluğunu anlatısının dışında bırakır. Dolayısıyla dönemi tanımlayan bu yaklaşım, dönemin tarih yazımının genelleyici eğilimlerini yansıtan önyargıyı gösterir.

Diadokhlar tarafından tanımlanan bu dönemde şehir devletleri imparatorlukların bileşenleri haline geldi, yurttaş asker arketipi yerini paralı askerlerin öne çıkmasına bıraktı ve bireysel eylemlilik ve seçim algısı derin bir dönüşüm geçirerek iktidara kurban gitmeye dair yaygın bir korkuya dönüştü. Tüm bu büyük değişimler genellenemeyecek kadar çeşitli olsa da, önceki dönemlere kıyasla geniş coğrafyalara yayılan etki alanı, tek tip bir yaşam algısı oluşmasını destekledi.

Helenistik geçmiş çoğu zaman kendi içsel karmaşıklığını bölümlere ayıran, kategorize eden ve kavramsallaştıran bir dizi önyargıyla birlikte gelir. Burada ikilikler, doğası gereği ikiliğin damgasını taşıyan ve "Helen gibi" bir durumu ifade eden Helenistik dönemin kavramsal çerçevesini şekillendirmede önemli bir rol üstlenmektedir. Bu çalışmadaki amacım, Helenistik tarihi bir bağlama oturtmak ve böylece varsayılan ikiliklerin birçoğuna aracılık etmek ve onları bir spektrumda değerlendirmektir. Bunu yapmak için, tanımlanmış bir coğrafi ortam, Batı Küçük Asya, Demeter'in kültü kadınların eylemlerini anlamak için açık bir güdü ile kurulmuştur.

Morfologlar gibi, amaç "biçimlerin değil, biçimlendirici güçlerin incelenmesine" odaklanmaktır. En önemlisi, bu çalışma ritüellere dair mevcut bilgileri arkeolojik araştırmalardan elde edilen mekansal içgörülerle sentezleyerek önemli bir boşluğu doldurmaktadır. Bu ayinlerin mitik kökenlerden ritüelistik uygulamalara ve nihayetinde fiziksel mekanlara doğru evrimini haritalandıran bu araştırma, Helenistik öncesi ayin mekanları ile Helenistik kimlik canlandırma mekanları arasında bir bağlantı kurmaktadır.
Helenistik döneme ilişkin bu çalışma iki temel unsuru tanımayı içermektedir: birincisi, tarihsel kaynakların dönemi nasıl kavramsallaştırdığını anlamak, iki bin yıl önceki bir dünya hakkındaki algımızı ve sorgulamalarımızı şekillendirmek; ikincisi, Helenistik dönemde geçmişin nasıl algılandığını ve sahiplenildiğini incelemek, özellikle Helenistik barok ve tarihsel söylemdeki rolünün araştırılması yoluyla Helenistik kurumları ve onların dünya görüşlerini anlamamızı etkilemek. Daha yakından incelendiğinde, biri Droysen'e diğeri İskender'e dayanan her iki bakış açısının da zamanlarının siyasi ve dini bakış açılarını desteklemek için geçmişi kullandığı ortaya çıkmaktadır. Helenistik dönem, genellikle günümüze tek bir homojen kavram olarak tercüme edilen bir çağ olarak düşünülmüştür. Helenistik

söylem, farklı ölçeklerdeki çeşitli aktörlerin eylemleriyle şekillenen akışkan bir bütünü tanımak yerine, Helenik olan ve olmayan, yurttaş ve barbar, klasik ve barok gibi ikililikleri sürdürmeye devam etmiş, böylece akışkanlıkları anlamak yerine kutupluluğu tercih etmiştir.

19. ve 20. yüzyıl akademisyenleri Helenistik dönemi kendi zamanlarına benzetme eğilimindedir. İskender bir beyefendidir, kalabalık başkentler kendi başkentleri gibidir, bağımsızlık ve bireysellik gibi kavramlar aydınlanma sonrası bir tona sahiptir. Helenismus terimini icat eden Droysen, Yakın ve Orta Doğu topraklarını Batılıların yüce kültürü ve aklıyla medenileştirilmeyi bekleyen bir *tabula rasa* olarak tanımlarken Avrupa-merkezci bir yaklaşıma sahipti; Helen ve Helen olmayanları, her ölçekteki aktörlerin ajansları tarafından şekillendirilen akışkan bir varlık durumundan ziyade spektrumun zıt uçlarına yerleştiriyordu. Bu anlatıda, Helen sanatı ve mimarisi bu etkileşim sonucunda saflığını yitirir ve ardından "Çöküşün Başlangıcı" başlar. Buna Helenistik barok adı verilmiş ve 19. yüzyılın sonlarında, özellikle Wöllfflin'in *Renaissance und Barock* adlı eseri aracılığıyla popülerlik kazanmıştır. Wölfflin'in ikili sisteminin Brown tarafından yapılan yakın tarihli bir yeniden değerlendirmesi, bu kavrama Wölfflin'in Klasik olanı norm olarak sunmak üzere yola çıktığını savunan Gombrich'inkinden tamamen farklı bir açıdan yaklaşmaktadır. Brown, Wölfflin'in aslında Barok'un sessiz bir savunucusu olduğu fikrini desteklemektedir. Böyle bir okuma Wölfflin okumasını tamamen yeniden çerçevelendirirken, aynı zamanda bu tür ikiliklerin okuyucunun isteğine göre ne ölçüde bükülebileceğini de gösterir.

Geçmişin 19. ve 20. yüzyılın başlarındaki akademisyenler tarafından algılanma sürecinin izini sürdüğümüzde, Helenistik teriminin ilk olarak Droysen tarafından kullanıldığı, ardından Burckhardt'ta Barok'un antikitelerden ayrı olarak ele alındığı ve son olarak Wölfflin'de bu ikisinin birleştirildiği bir şema ortaya çıkar. Bu birikim sayesinde Helenistik Barok, diadokhların niyetleriyle değil, geçmişe bakarken kendi dünyalarını yeniden yorumlayan akademisyenler aracılığıyla yaratıldığını görürüz.

Ancak daha önceki anlatılarda bu ikiliğin gözden kaçırdığı şey, Helenistik Barok'un en parlak dönemi olan Helenistik dönemin ortalarında barokun klasik olduğuydu. Bu anıtların hamileri klasik olana karşı çıkan bir şey yaratmakla değil, onu sahiplenmekle ilgileniyorlardı. Krallıkların sürekli değişen sınırları, aidiyet duygusunun değişken bir yapıya dönüşmesi anlamına geliyordu. İşte bu noktada, “öteki”, karşıtlık içinde tanımlanan birleştirici kavram, kullanışlı hale geldi.

Bu nosyon, Atina'nın Perslerle temasına bir yanıt olarak ortaya çıkmış ve İskender'in fetihlerinden sonra "artık" bir Yunan ırkının olmadığının kabul edilmesiyle, Yunanlığın geçici doğası yerini barbar olan temele bırakmıştır. Barbar ötekinin karşıtı olarak imaj inşası İskender'le başlamadı ama İskender'in kendi kimliğini yeniden inşa etmesi ve Yunan olmayışından özgürleşmesi gerekti. Bu daha sonra kendilerini paralı asker olarak kiraladıkları aynı insanlardan kurtarıcı olarak tanımlayan Helenistik hükümdarlar tarafından taklit edildi. "Öteki", benliğin yaşam tarzına boyun eğdirilene kadar hesaba katılması gereken bir tehditti. Ve bu anlatıda, Helen kültüründen etkilenmeyen Galatlar uygar değildi ve Pergamon, Yunanlılığı başarıyla benimseyerek medeniyetin kalesi haline geldi. Helenistik Barok üretim biçimleri, kültürel otoriteyi, mit ve tarihi kullanarak, teatral ikna yoluyla bir diğerini ötekileştirmede "öteki"nin failliğini karakterize ederek, gerçekleşen benimsemenin açık bir ifadesi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu kimlik inşasında din ve politikanın iç içe geçmiş yapısı kullanışlı bir yapı olmuştur. Helenistik hükümdarlar, Helen inancının eski formlarını, bunların yerel ilahlarla birleşimini ve hükümdarların kendileri olan yepyeni bir ilahlar grubunu kullanarak egemenliklerini kurdular. Bu da Helenistik dönemde hem tanrısal ve ölümlü olan hem de kadın ve erkek arasındaki sınırların bulanıklaştığı anlamına geliyordu. Nihai otoritenin hükümdarlarda olduğu bir sistemde, hem erkekler hem de kadınlar siyasi yetenekler açısından eşit potansiyele sahipti. Helen tanrıları kendi zamanlarını mitik bir geçmişe dayandırma aracı olarak kullanılmış, hükümdar kültleri kralların kişiliğini hayattan daha büyük göstererek İskender'in örneğinin devamı olarak işlev görmüş ve birleştirmeler, yerel ilahları Olimposlularla birleştirme aracı olarak çalışmıştır.

Bir hükümdara ilahi nitelikler atfetme geleneği, babası II. Philip'i taklit eden İskender'in durumunda belirgin bir şekilde örneklenen bir uygulama, sonraki Helenistik hanedanlarda yankı bulan zorlayıcı bir şablon olarak hizmet etti. Bu sistemin yaşayabilirliğinin temel bir belirleyicisi, halkın hükümdarın sunduğu güvenlik ve istikrara olan zorunlu ihtiyacına dayanıyordu. Bu belirsiz zamanlarda hükümdarlar kendilerini, yardımları neredeyse elle tutulur olmayan tanrılardan daha fazla yardımcı olarak göstermişlerdir. Önemli bir örnek olan Seleukosların Didyma ile karşılıklı fayda sağlayan ilişkisi, tek bir hükümdarın saltanatının ötesine geçerek sadece tanrısal nitelikler kazanmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda kendilerini Akamenidler tarafından yok edilen Helen mirasının kurtarıcıları olarak sunarken Apollon'un soyundan gelme iddialarını da güçlendirmiştir.

Ptolemaioslar din-politika ilişkisinin her boyutunu kullandıkları için özellikle önemli bir konumda bulunurlar. İskender'in bedenini kaçırmak, dolayısıyla soylarını onun üzerinden Zeus'a bağlamak; Zeus'u Mısır panteonunu da kapsayacak şekilde Osiris'le birleştirmek; ve İskender'le birlikte Sema'ya gömülerek iki haneyi birleştirmek ve kendilerini tanrılaştırmak. Siyaset ile dini öylesine ayrılmaz bir şekilde birleştirmiştir ki, hanedanın Bu durum, Eski Krallık'ta firavunla en güçlü şekilde ilişkilendirilen tanrı olan Horus'un annesi kimliğiyle monarşiyle yakından bağlantılı olan İsis ile Demeter arasındaki ilişkiyle de pekiştirilmiştir. Hatta Demeter ve ayinlerinin Mısır'da ortaya çıktığı düşünülmektedir.

Dolayısıyla, kutsal ve dünyevi arasındaki sınır var olsa da, bu sınır dinin egemen güçler tarafından stratejik olarak manipüle edilmesiyle sık sık bulanıklaşıyordu. Bu dönemin hükümdarları, egemenliklerini sağlamlaştırmak için dinin gücünden ustalıkla yararlandılar ve ölümlü ile ilahi olanın yanı sıra kadın ve erkeklerin egemenlik alanları arasındaki geleneksel sınırları etkili bir şekilde sildiler.

Helenistik dönemin sonunu tanımlayan VII. Kleopatra'nın yönetimi, aynı zamanda kadınların toplumdaki rolüne ilişkin olarak dönem boyunca meydana gelen değişimlerin birikimini temsil eder. Cinsiyete dayalı yetki farklılıklarının daralması, monarşinin kalesinde iktidarı önceleyen bir siyasi yapıdan kaynaklanmıştır. Ve Helenistik dönemde kraliçelerin etkisi toplumsal cinsiyet normlarının ötesine geçerek yönetici kraliçeler ile yönettikleri topluluklar arasındaki bağları güçlendirmiştir.

Bu kadınların uyguladıkları eylemlilik sadece diğer aristokrat kadınlar tarafından tanınmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda geniş halk kitleleri tarafından da taklit edilmiştir. Burada, geniş genellemelerin evrensel olarak geçerli olmadığını kabul etmek zorunludur. Helenistik dönem kadınlarının yaşamları hakkında yaygın olan iki düşünce, eğitim alma avantajına sahip oldukları ve ekonomik haklarını kullanma becerilerinin kendilerinden önce gelen kadın nesillerini aştığıdır. Buna karşılık, kadınların karşılaştıkları koşulların çeşitliliği -köle, evli, bekar, kraliçe ya da rahibe gibi- ve yaş ve sosyal geçmiş gibi katkıda bulunan faktörlerin etkisi nedeniyle, Helenistik dönemde kadınlar için paylaşılan, ortak bir deneyim tanımlamak imkansız bir çaba olmaya devam etmektedir.

Sorgulamayı belirli bir kadın grubuna yönlendirerek kontrol etme fikriyle, din, siyaset ve toplumsal cinsiyetin eşiğinde duran rahibe figürü öne çıkan istisnai bir figürdür.

Helenistik Truva'nın Locrialı genç rahibeleri Homeros'un geçmişini, ataların görevlerini ve Truva'yı yeniden fethetme kavramlarını birleştirmiştir. Yunanlıların başlıca koruyucu tanrısı olan Athena'ya karşı işlenen bir suçun intikamını almak için yapılan bu alışılmadık eylem, tüm sorumluluğunu iki genç kadına yüklemişti ve bu kadınların ikili rolü hem dini hem de siyasi sorumlulukları kapsıyordu. Yunan kadınlarının ev içi alanla sınırlı olduğu yönündeki geleneksel düşünceye meydan okuyan atalarından kalma görev duygusu, bu kadınları uzak ve kuşkusuz düşman topraklara doğru bir yolculuğa çıkmaya zorlamıştır.

Hem Locrialı rahibeler hem de Demeter rahibeleri ortak bir temayı örnekliyordu: kadınlar kutsal ve politik olan arasında köprü kurarak aracı alanda yaşama konusunda son derece yetenekliydiler. Panathenaea için Athena heykelini yıkamaktan sorumlu kadınlar gibi, erkekler için çok tehlikeli görülen eylemler, dini bağlamda kadınlar için kabul görüyordu.

Demeter bir antik Yunan kentinin baş tanrısı olmasa da, Yunan dinindeki en yaygın külte sahiptir. Dahası, Demeter tarımı yönetme görevi aracılığıyla uygarlığın seçkin rolünü üstlenir. Kent içindeki bu uygarlaştırıcı yaşam kavramı, Helenleşmenin kapsayıcı anlatısıyla da karmaşık bir şekilde iç içe geçmiştir. Tezde, Demeter'in festivallerinin Helenistik Batı Anadolu'ya gelişinin izi sürülürken, biri mitten ritüele, diğeri Yunanistan'dan Batı Anadolu'ya uzanan iki yol izlenmekte ve aynı zamanda bunların zaman içinde nasıl evrildiklerine bakılmaktadır.

Demeter'in miti onun ritüellerine karmaşık bir şekilde bağlıdır. Demeter'in *Homeros İlahisi*'ndeki karakterizasyonu daha yakından incelendiğinde, bunun Demeter'le ilişkili önceden var olan ritüelleri sağlamlaştırma ve açıklama amacına hizmet ettiği ortaya çıkar. Mit aracılığıyla Demeter'in kendisi yalnızca tapınmayı şekillendiren değil, aynı zamanda tapınanlara daha yüksek, daha medeni bir yaşam biçimi sunan merkezi bir figür haline gelir. Persephone'nin ölümün birebir vücut bulmuş haliyle evlenmesi, şüphesiz festivallerine katılan genç kızlar ve anneleri tarafından paylaşılan kaygılara tercüman olmuştur; kişinin kendi ailesini ve kimliğini geride bırakarak bilinmeyen bir *oikos*'la evlenmesi hem hayali hem de gerçek tehlikeleri beraberinde getirmiştir. Homeros İlahisi'ndeki öyküsünün Atina'ya yakın Eleusis'te geçmesi ve Demeter'in orada bir tapınak istemesi, Demeter'i Helen düşüncesinde en üst düzeyde Yunanlılığın ve medeniyetin bir ifadesi haline getirir.

Bu noktada ayrıca Demeter'in ayinlerinin genellikle insanların doğurganlığıyla ilgili olduğu yanılgısını ve binlerce yıl önce yaşayan bir grup kadının günler ve geceler boyunca sadece kocalarının çocukları için dua etmek üzere bir araya geldiğini hayal etmenin neden erkeklerin kendilerini algılama biçimleriyle kusursuz bir şekilde örtüştüğünü belirtmek gerekmektedir. Bunun yerine, Demeter'in festivallerini tüm yıl boyunca süren bir sorumluluk olarak yeniden çerçeveliyorum; kutsal ve yurttaşlık görevlerini yerine getirmek için düzenlenen toplantılar, ayinlerin tarımla önemli ölçüde ilişkili olduğunu ve kadınların kamusal alan üzerinde önemli bir etki kazandığını kabul ederek, bu ritüelleri kadınların Helen siyasetindeki failliğinin tezahürlerine dönüştürüyor. Yıl boyunca her sosyal tabakadan, yaştan ve meslekten kadın, *polis*'in devamlılığını sağlamayı amaçlayan ayinleri gerçekleştirmek için bir araya gelirdi. Ve katılımcıların bir tanrıya olan hayranlıklarını, saygılarını ve hatta korkularını sergiledikleri ritüellerin aksine, Demeter'in ayinlerinin empati yoluyla bağ kurma eylemleri olduğunu iddia ediyorum.

Demeter'in Helenistik Batı Anadolu'daki kutsal alanlarını incelemeden önce, ilk olarak Eleusis kutsal alanını anlamak gerekmektedir çünkü Demeter'in tüm ayinlerinin kökeninde, onları kendisinin tasarladığı ve bizzat bu kutsal alanı talep ettiği kabul edilir. Eleusinuslular Demeter'in tarımsal ayinleri hakkındaki bilgilerini geniş çapta yayabilseler de gizemler özel bir alan olarak bu bölgede kalır. Bu ayrıcalık onlara diğerlerinin, yani Yunanlı olmayanların, ulaşamayacağı bir uygarlık düzeyi bahşetmiştir.

Demeter'in sonraki tapınaklarında hangi mimari öğelerin tekrar edildiğini anlamak için tapınak alanının ortak unsurları üzerine yürütülen çalışma, bunların mite doğrudan göndermeler olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Demeter'in Batı Anadolu'da bulunan Helenistik dönem öncesi kutsal alanlarıyla ilgili yürütülen kapsamlı çalışma sonucunda vurgulanması gereken en önemli argüman ise; Demeter'in kutsal alanlarının bu ortak özelliklerine Helenistik dönem öncesi kutsal alanlarında rastlansa da, Eleusis'in kutsal alanını neredeyse tamamen taklit edecek kadar tam anlamıyla gerçekleşmeleri Helenistik dönemde olduğudur. Helenistik dönemdeki kutsal alanların dini olduğu kadar siyasi gündemleri de yansıtması nedeniyle, Demeter'in bir fikir olarak kullanımının önceki uygulamalarına kıyasla Helenik değerlerle daha fazla örtüştüğünü iddia ediyorum. Demeter'e adanmış Helenistik dönem öncesi kutsal mekanlar, Ege'nin diğer tarafındaki çağdaşlarından daha az etkilenmiş ve bunun yerine açık hava, kayaya oyulmuş tapınaklarıyla Kibele'ye tapınma geleneğini sürdürmüş gibi görünmektedir. Bu alanlardan anlaşıldığı

kadarıyla Demeter kültü, senkretik de olsa, Helenistik hükümdarlar tarafından performatif olarak kullanılmadan önce Troas'tan Karya'ya kadar birçok kentin yerel panteonu içinde iyi bir şekilde yerleşmişti.

Demeter'i Helenistik *pantheon* içinde konumlandırırken, onu Artemis ve Athena'nın kesiştiği noktada konumlandırmayı da faydalı buldum. Artemis evcilleşmemiş toprakların koruyucusu olarak kabul edilirken, Athena *polis*'teki yaşamın koruyucusudur. Helenistik dönemde Athena, Demeter ve Artemis'in tapınaklarının konumu, etki altına aldıkları bölgeleri yakından yansıtıyor ve varlıkları bu alanlarla sağladıkları uyumu yansıtıyordu. Athena'nın tapınakları *polis*'in merkezinde, geleneksel olarak şehrin geri kalanına hükmeden ve yöneten daha yüksek bir konumda yer alıyordu. Artemis'in mabetleri ise geleneksel olarak evcilleşmemiş topraklarda ve özellikle de dağların arasında doğanın geri kalanına karışacak şekilde yerleştirilirdi. Demeter'in tapınak alanları ise bu ikisine kıyasla şehir sınırları içinde ama tarım peyzajına hakim tepelerin yamaçlarında yer alırdı.

Athena'nın Priene hariç tüm Helenistik tapınakları çevrelerinden farklı bir hizalama sergilemiş ve tıpkı belirgin tepelerin üzerine yerleştirilmeleri gibi, açılı bir konum onlara hemen dikkat çekmiş, onları çevrelerinin geri kalanından ayırmış, onu doğal dünyadan tamamen koparmış ve belirgin bir şekilde tekil bir varlığa sahip kılmıştır. Öte yandan, ister Efes'in bataklıklarında ister Sardeis'in vadilerinde yer alsın, Artemis'in kutsal alanları tanrının etki alanını keskin bir şekilde yansıtmaktadır. Bölgenin daha geniş topografyasına bir "coğrafi kesit" aracılığıyla bakıldığında, Artemis'in doğa tarafından, yani doğal dünyanın tartışmasız en evcilleşmemiş güçlerinden biri olan toprağın kendisi tarafından kuşatılmış olduğu görülür.

Ayrıca, Priene, Pergamon ve Miletus'teki Helenistik Demeter tapınaklarının hepsinin Artemis tapınağının bulunmadığı, ancak Athena tapınaklarının bulunduğu yerler olması da ilginç bir gerçektir. Bu olguyu açıklamanın bir yolu, toprağa boyun eğmektense onu evcilleştirmek, fethetmek ve kontrol etmekle daha çok ilgilenen Helenistik zihniyet olabilir.

Pergamon yüksekliğinin altındaki toprağı ehlileştirip kontorlünü ortaya koyarken, Priene ormanı ehlileştirip bir şehir inşa etmiş, Miletus ise denizi ehlileştirip koloniler kurmuştur. Kutsal alan düzenleri çarpıcı biçimde farklı özelliklere sahip olsa da, Demeter'i geleneğin ve çağdaş kimlik performanslarının kesiştiği noktada kullanmışlardır. Pergamon'daki krallığın kalesi, yenilenmesinin her aşamasında

değişen monarşiyi yansıtırken, Priene'nin model kenti sadece Eleusis'in değil, aynı zamanda Anadolu'nun Demeter'e tapınma geleneğinin söz dağarcığını da bünyesinde barındırıyor ve Miletus'un kolonyal gücü, Demeter'in uygarlaştırıcı yönünü denizdeki varlığı üzerinde kullanıyordu.

Demeter'in toprakla olan ilişkisi onu yeraltı ile bağlantılı bir tanrıça haline getirmekte, dolayısıyla tepelerin kenarlarında belirgin bir şekilde yer alan tapınakları, yeryüzünün iç kısımlarına ilişkin bir his uyandırmaktadır. Bu durum, tümüyle kadınlardan oluşan festivalleri için bir önkoşul olan mahremiyet kavramıyla da pekiştirilir ve bu festivallerin içe dönük mekanlarda gerçekleştiğini gösterir. Demeter'in temsil ettiği toprakla ilişkili güvenlik nosyonu, çalkantılı Helenistik dönemde bireysel güvenliğe de dönüştürülmüştür ve *polis*'in sınırındaki bu kutsal alanlar, şehir surlarının korumasından yararlanırken "sivil bölgenin sınırını" tanımlama kapasitesine sahiptir.

Helenistik kutsal alanların fark edilebilir bir yönü de, ulaşılması çok kolay olmasa da, belirgin bir şekilde görünür olmalarıydı. Pergamon'da onun orta kentteki varlığı uygarlaştırıcı değerlerin somutlaşmış hali olarak tartışılırken, Priene'de ağaçlarla ilişkilendirilen labirentvari kutsal sembolizmden yararlanılır. Miletus'un kuzey ucunda yer alan ve denize doğru çıkıntı yapan kutsal alan ise denizden bakışa hakimdir. Farklı özelliklerine rağmen, her üç alanın da ortak özelliği, kentin kurallarına her zaman uyarak kent dokusuyla uyumlu bir şekilde bütünleşmeleridir. Uygar topraklarda düzenin tanrıçası olan Demeter'in *polis* ile sorunsuz bir şekilde kaynaşacak, onun gerekliliklerine uyacak ve dokusunun ayrılmaz bir parçası olacak şekilde konumlanmıştır. Şehir surları içinde yer alan ve manzaraya hakim olan bu kutsal alanlar, kendi şehirleri için ayırt edici kimlik sembolleri olarak hizmet etmiştir.

Demeter'in ritüellerinin antik dünyanın en iyi saklanan sırlarından biri olması, dikkat çekici bir şekilde, ayinlerinin *temene'*ye kontrollü bir erişime sahip olan belirli bir kitleye ayrılmış olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Demeter'in ritüelleri tüm kentin yeniden üretiminden sorumlu olduğu için, tapınak alanına giriş sadece festivallere katılan kadınların bireysel güvenliğinden sorumlu değildi, aynı zamanda *polis*'in güvenliğine de bağlıydı. Bu eşikleri, kutsalın alanını günlük olandan ayıran anıtsal sınırlar olarak değil, içine girmek için yaklaşanları hazırlama göreviyle de belirlenmiş bölgeler olarak ele aldım. *Propylon* ritüel faaliyeti kısıtlamadığı ve sadece organize ettiği için, eşiğin her iki tarafında da yakınlıkla ilişkili faaliyet alanları yaratmıştır.

Demeter'in tapınaklarının eşiğinden geçmek başlı başına ritüel bir eylemdi. *Thesmophoria*'nın tanımlanmış ayinleri bize festivalin ilk gününün anodos'tan ("yükseliş") oluştuğu, kadınların *temenos*'un sınırlarına girdiği ve ele alınan her üç tapınak alanında da gerçek bir yükseliş eylemiyle gerçekleştiği bilgisini verir. Demeter'in *temenos*'ları bağlamında, tek bir eşiğin geçilmesini ritüel alanına giriş olarak tanımlamanın indirgeme olacağını belirtmek gerekmektedir.

Pergamon'da, dik bir araziden geçerek ve dar bir patikayı takip ederek başlayan tören alayı, ön avluda bir *bothros*, bir çeşme ve bir sunak da dahil olmak üzere belirli ayinler için daha küçük alanlara bölünmüş ortak bir alanı ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ancak ön avluya yaklaşıldığında *propylon* ve Appolonis'in yazıtı görülebiliyordu. Temenos'u annesine adayan Philetairos'un aksine, Apollonis'in adağı doğrudan tanrıçalara olup, Pergamon siyasetinde önemli bir değişimi temsil etmektedir. Temenos'u Demeter Tapınağı olarak değil de Thesmophoria festivali için bir ortam olarak tanımlayan yazıt, orada gerçekleşen etkinlik türlerini ve kimlerin ne zaman girebileceğini ifade etmektedir. Priene'de benzer bir etki, Demeter'in rahibeleri Timonassa ve Hegeso'nun *temenos*'a girişin rahibeler tarafından kontrol edildiğini yansıtan iki heykel kaidesiyle sağlanmıştır. Onları gelenlere tanıtan yazıtlar, hem birer evlat olarak Persephone hem de birer anne olarak Demeter'in rollerini gerçekleştirdiklerini göstermektedir. Pergamon'a benzer şekilde, giriş bir eşik değil, heykelleri, çeşmeyi ve odaları içeren bir eşik alanıydı.

Temenos'a *propylon*'daki kapalı bir kapıdan girilmesinin yanı sıra, bölge içinde odalar gibi farklı derecelerde mahremiyet de bulunmaktaydı. Bu mekanlardaki farklı mahremiyet ve erişilebilirlik seviyeleri, her erişim seviyesiyle ilişkilendirilen sorumlulukla yüksek oranda korelasyon gösteren farklı kutsallık derecelerini yansıtmaktadır. Aynı doğrultuda, Pergamon ve Priene'deki *temene*'ye göze çarpmayan birkaç giriş yolunun seçkin bir azınlık için ayrıldığını da iddia ediyorum. Belirgin bir şekilde bothrai'ye çıktıkları için, bu hakkın rahibelere ayrıldığını söylemek mümkündür. Erişimin dikkatli bir şekilde düzenlenmesi, hareketin tüm yönlerini denetlemekten sorumlu olanlar ve katılımcıların dikkatinden kaçınmak için gizlice yapılan hazırlık çalışmaları, kutsal alanlardaki ritüellerin kasıtlı olarak düzenlenmesi ve yönetilmesi eğilimini kanıtlamaktadır. Demeter'in kutsal alanlarına girişler sadece birer geçitten daha fazlası olarak işlev görüyordu; erişim anlatısını pekiştiriyor, bu tanımlı alanların kapsamını çerçeveleyerek içinde kutsal ritüel faaliyet katmanları oluşturuyorlardı.

Bir diğer mekan tanımlayıcı mimari eleman olan sunaklar Helen mahallelerindeki ritüel faaliyetlerin odak noktasıydı ve Demeter'in tapınak alanları, kadınların diğer bağlamlarda dışlandıkları bu alanlara erişimini sağladıkları için çok önemliydi. Anıtsal sunaklar neredeyse yeni ve Helenistik döneme özgü bir dini mimari biçimiydi ve Batı Anadolu mimarisinde tapınaksız sunaklara rastlandığı gerçeğiyle birleştiğinde sunaklardaki tapınmanın "insan merkezli" olduğu düşüncesini güçlendiriyordu. Sunaklar, insanların tanrılara saygı gösterme ihtiyacını, tanrının ikamet etmesi için gerekli tapınak olmaksızın en temel haliyle karşılıyordu.

Demeter'in kutsal alanlarının tartışmasız en temel özelliği, sunakla yakın ilişki içinde olan *bothros*, yani kurban çukurudur. *Bothros*'dan çıkarılan çürümüş kalıntılar *Thesmophoria* sırasında sunak üzerinde ekilecek tohumlarla karıştırılırdı. Eubuleus'un domuzlarına yapılan en tanınmış göndermelerden biri olan sembolik olarak yeryüzünün iç kısımlarına inme ritüeli, aynı zamanda Demeter'in alanına ve Persephone'nin yeraltı dünyasına inişine bir göndermedir. Bir teoriye göre, kurban çukuruyla ilgili ritüeller yeraltı dünyasına iniş kavramını anımsattığından, *bothros*, toprağın aksine, sunuları yeraltı dünyası olan Hades'in alanına erişmelerine izin vermeden, yeryüzünün içi olan Demeter'in alanında tutmaktadır.

Pergamon'un Güney stoa bodrumunun da yeraltı dünyasına sembolik bir giriş olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Sınırları içinde, merkezi sunak D'den ona giden bir tünel olan bir *bothros* olarak tanımladığım çukur da bu düşünceyi desteklemektedir. Güney stoa bodrumuna yapılan yeraltı yolculuğu, Persephone'nin Hades'e ve Demeter'e yıllık yolculuğunun doğrudan bir temsili olarak okunabilir. Güney stoa bodrumu aynı zamanda tüm *temenos*'u bir arada tutması ve istinat duvarlarını güçlendirmesi açısından da semboliktir gücü yüksektir.

Pergamon'da ayrıca biri temenos'un dışında yer alan dört küçük Philetairos öncesi sunak ve Philetairos zamanına tarihlenen bir anıtsal sunak vardır. Ritüel alanının sunağı çevreleyen katılımcıların bedenleri tarafından tanımlandığı fikri, bu alanın *theatron* kullanımıyla *temenos* tabanının üzerine genişletildiğini savunmak için kullanılır. Tiyatrodan net bir şekilde görülebilen B-E sunaklarının kutsal güçlerin daha belirgin bir şekilde biriktirildiği yerler olduğunu, *theatron* ile aynı süre zarfında inşa edilen ancak tiyatrodan doğrudan görülemeyen A sunağının ise monarşinin varlığının yarattığı etkiyi pekiştirme işlevi gördüğünü ve eski sunaklar kadar net görülemediğini belirtmek önemlidir. A sunağı aynı zamanda *temenos* alanın iki bölgesine de aracılık etmek görevini üstlenmiştir; batı yarısı çağdaş Pergamon

kraliyet kimliğini yansıtırken doğu yarısı bu yönetim uygulamaya geçmeden çok önce benimsenmiş kutsal ritüellerine hizmet ediyordu.

Mimari açıdan tanımlanmış benzer bir sistematik ayin programı Priene'de de karşılığını bulmuştur. Ancak, tüm ritüeli açıkça belirlenmiş mekanlar aracılığıyla düzenleyen Attalosların aksine, Priene'nin kutsal alanı anıtsal bir ifade değildi. *Temenos*'un dışında kurban çukurları bulunan Miletus ve Pergamon'un aksine Priene, *bothros*'unu *pronaos*'unun yanına, bölgenin tartışmasız en merkezi konumuna yerleştirmiştir. İşlevsel olarak bilgilendirilmiş yaklaşıma baktığımda, tapınağın kendisinin, *pronaos*'daki kurban masaları ve farklı erişim bölgelerini tanımlayan *cella* ile birlikte bir sunak işlevi görmüş olabileceği sonucuna vardım. Ayrıca Pergamon'daki çıkıntılı kaya oluşumları ve Priene'deki masaların bulunduğu kült odalarının muhtemelen ritüel amaçlara hizmet ettiğini ve fiziksel ve görsel erişim zorluğu nedeniyle rahibeler tarafından kullanıldığını iddia ediyorum. Özetle, *bothros* Demeter tarafından yönetilen dünyanın içini sembolize ederken, sunak da onun ölümlüler dünyasındaki yansımasıydı. Sunaklar tanrıçaya sunular sunmaktan çok tanrının insanlara yardım elini uzatmasıyla ilgiliydi.

Demeter'in Pergamon kutsal alanının en anıtsal bileşeni tartışmasız *theatron* basamaklarıdır. Topografyadaki yükselmeyi takip eden bu basamaklar, kaçınılmaz olarak zeminin hareketinden referans alır ve toprağa bağlanırken, tüm kutsal alanı bir arada tutan bir takviye işlevi görür. Basamaklar, görsel odağı sunaklar olmak üzere, oturanı bir seyirciye dönüştürür. Helenistik Batı Anadolu'nun anıtsal oturma basamaklarından farklı olarak, Demeter'e tapınmanın gerekli bir bileşeni olan yere oturma ve tanrıyla bağlantı kurma işlevini de yerine getirirler. Basamaklar, sınırları çerçeveleyen, odak noktalarını tanımlayan ve tapınak bölgeleri içindeki hareketi bilgilendiren bir araç olarak ele alınmaktadır. *Theatron*'un aynı zamanda festivallerin sosyal bir bileşenini de yansıttığını belirtmek gerekmektedir; bu bileşen *temenos* içinde tek bir yerde toplanmak, sunaklarda gerçekleşen ritüelleri birlikte izlemek ve kuşkusuz kendi aralarında sohbet etmek, kişisel bağlar kurmak ve güçlendirmek için kullanılmıştır. Basamakların izlerinden yola çıkan bir başka teori de, kadınların basamaklarda dururken, ki bu herhangi bir siyasi faaliyet için gerekli olabilirdi, bunu birlik içinde yapmaları gerektiğidir. Kadınların bir arada durma zorunluluğu ve birlik vurgusu, ritüelin dini ve toplumsal yönlerini iç içe geçiren siyasi boyutlarını yansıtmaktadır.

Bakış aynı zamanda oturma alanının mekansal deneyimini tanımlayan önemli bir faktördü. Oturanlar icra edilen ayinleri izleyebiliyor ve karşılığında ayinleri yönetenler tarafından gözlemlenebiliyorlardı. Elbette bu kontrol süreci, önerilen odaları Batı stoasında olan ve *theatron*'dan görülemeyen kraliyet ailesinin üyesi olan kadınlarına ya da alt Kuzey stoasında önerilen rahibe odalarına uygulanmamaktadır ve iki bölge de basamaklarda oturulan kadınlar tarafından görülmemektedir. Ayrıca basamakların yer altı, yer ve yer üstü olarak tanımlanabilecek üçlü yapının ayrılmaz bir parçasını oluşturduğunu, Güney stoa bodrumunun yeraltı dünyasının sembolik hali, *temenos* zemininin topografyadan oyulmuş yeryüzünün içi ve oturma basamaklarının da insanlar için ayrılmış alan olduğunu iddia edebiliriz. Yer üstünün temsili olan merdivenlerde otururken, kutsal *temenos* zemininde gerçekleştirilen ritüeller tarafından şekillendirilen bu deneyimin ortak bir kimliği pekiştirdiğini düşünmek yerinde olacaktır.

Demeter ayinlerinin kült, sosyal ve siyasi sonuçlarını göz önünde bulundurarak, festivale yönelik çeşitli çıkarımları yeniden ele almak önem taşımaktadır. Demeter ayinleri, kadınların yalnızca dini bir festival üzerinde tam bir otorite kurmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda tüm *polis* için kolektif deneyimi şekillendirdiği, ancak çeşitli vesilelerle hedefi ıskalayan erkekler tarafından sıklıkla yanlış aktarılan olağanüstü arenalar olarak ortaya çıkıyor. Erkeklerin festivale karşı sergiledikleri kaygı, inkar edilemez bir şekilde, bilinmeyenden kaynaklanan korkunun bir tezahürüdür. Festival sürecine dair en bilinen eserlerden biri olan Aristophanes tarafından aktarılan Thesmophoria'nın teatral yorumu, yaşanan olayların gerçekçi bir tasvirinden ziyade, festivalde meydana gelen olaylarla ilgili olarak erkeklerin taşıdığı endişelerin bir anlatısıdır.

Demeter'in kutsal alanlarından elde edilen arkeolojik kanıtların, yüzyıllar boyunca anlatılardan elde edilen kanıtların ötesine geçen kavrayışlar sunma kapasitesini kabul etmekle birlikte, bu anlatıların aktarımındaki doğal önyargıları da kabul etmek çok önemlidir. Tıpkı Helenistik dönemi kuramsallaştıran tarihçiler gibi, bu dönemle ilk temasa geçen arkeologlar da Demeter ritüellerinin doğasında var olan pek çok nüanstan yoksun yorumları ile kutsal mimariye yönelik kendi önyargılarının büyük bir kısmını bünyelerine katmışlardır. Demeter'in kutsal alanlarının çarpık algılanmasına katkıda bulunan bir önyargı, kutsal Helen mimarisine dair çıkarımlar ile ilgiliydi. Helen gelenekleri ile yerel adetlerin özel bir karışımı olan bu mabetler, yerini tapınak yapısından ziyade *bothrai*, sunaklar, basamaklar ve farklı bölgelerin sınırlarını vurgulayan faydacı mekan organizasyonlarına bırakmıştır. Dolayısıyla, mekanlar

yalnızca ayinlerin doğrudan bir yansıması olarak değil, aynı zamanda bölgede uzun süreler geçirecek kadınların bir araya gelmesini sağlamak şekilde de hazırlanmıştır.

Doxiadis'in iddia ettiği gibi, "her şeyin ölçüsü tapınaktaki tanrı değil, insanın kendisiydi", iken belki de bu araştırmacılar için söz konusu "insanın" antik dönemde yaşayan kadın değil, söylemi üreten kişinin kendisi olduğunu belirtmek en önemli okumadır. Demeter'in festivaliyle ilgili yaygın yanlış kanılar yıkıldığında, festivalin doğasıyla ilgili varsayımlar, daha fazla çocuk için dua eden zengin kadınların bir araya geldiği bir toplantıdan, kadınların birbirlerine öğrettikleri, birbirlerinden öğrendikleri ve tüm kadınların dahil olduğu bir festivalde *polis'*in hizmetinde eylemlerde bulundukları, faaliyetlerin erkeklerden tamamen ayrı ve gizli tutulduğu bir ortama dönüşür.

Geçmişe dönük baktığımızda algıladığımız antik kadınlar için dini etkinlikler, kamusal alana aktif katılımlarını açıklayan ve varlıklarını ortaya koymalarına izin veren ayırt edilebilir bir karaktere sahipti. Kadınlara bahşedilen eylemlilik doğası gereği politikti ve erkeklerin üzerine spekülasyon yaptığı gibi festival boyunca sınırsız eylemlilik anlamına gelmiyordu. Hem *Haloa* hem de *kalligenia*, festivalde kadınlardan özellikle beklenen, başka bağlamlarda engellenen müstehcenlik eylemlerini somutlaştırmaktadır. Her iki bağlamda da kadınlar *polis'*in güvenliği için, başka herhangi bir ortamda *polis'*in sürekliliğini tehlikeye atacak eylemlerde bulunmaya teşvik edilmişlerdir. Dini etkinliklere katılım, kadınların kamusal alanda aktif olarak yer almasını kolaylaştırsa da, ataerkil bir sisteme karşı isyan eylemleri olmaktan uzaktı. Kamusal alana bu katılımı, özgürleşme anlatısından ayrı, belirli bir tür dinsel emek olarak görürken, aynı zamanda "failliğin" performansının karmaşık ikiliğini de kabul ediyorum. Bir yandan ritüel olanın öncekini tekrar etme sürekliliği üzerinden tanımlanırken öte yandan Demeter'in festivallerine katılan kadınların ritüeller ötesinde enformel eylemler içerisinde bulunarak bu kapsayıcı deneyimde kendi varlıklarını da gerçekleştirdiklerini söylüyorum. Bu noktadan hareketle, failliğin farkına varılabileceği durumlar her ölçekte kendini gösterir; Apollonis kendi kimliğini kendi yenilemesine uygular, rahibelerin yanı sıra kadın yöneticiler de festivalin etkili bir şekilde işlemesini sağlar ve sorunsuz bir şekilde yürütülmesini sağlamak için geleneksel uygulamaları sürdürür ve festival ortamlarındaki toplu oruç ve ortak yemek uygulamaları şüphesiz katılımcılar arasında kolektif bir kimlik duygusunu besler.

Kadınların tüm nüfuzlarını kullandıkları bu alan aynı zamanda onlar tarafından titizlikle korunuyordu. Zannon'un Batı stoa odalarının kraliçe ve maiyetini barındırdığı görüşünü kabul edersek, plan üzerinden çevresel görüş şemasını kullanımıyla önemli bir senaryo ortaya çıkmıştır: *propylon'*dan girildiğinde, Güney stoa'daki kraliçe odası görsel dikkatin hemen odak noktası olarak ortaya çıkar. Stoanın sütunlarını ve ışığın etkisini hesaba katarak, *propylon'*dan girenlerin odaları göremediklerini ancak onlardan açıkça görülebildiklerini, bunun da kraliyet ailesinin görülemeyen ancak hissedilebilen kontrolüne tanıklık eden panoptikonvari bir durum yarattığını öneriyorum.

Kadınların "ritüel kapasitesi", yani emeği, yalnızca tanrıya hizmet etmek için değil, aynı zamanda yönetici aileye, topluluğuna ve kendisine, özellikle de üreme sağlığı biçiminde, hizmet etmek için kullanılmaktaydı. Erkek bakışı ve ataerkil toplumun kontrolü olmaksızın hareket etme özgürlüğü, Demeter tapınaklarını antik dünyadaki diğer tüm mekanlardan ayırır. Kadınlar doğum, ölüm ve evlilik konularındaki ortak emek biçimlerini yakından yansıtan bu ritüel alanı aktif olarak üretmişlerdir.

Kadınların dini emeğinin diğer biçimlerinden farklı olarak, Demeter'in festivallerinin *oikos*, *polis* ve *ouikoumene* arasında genellikle katı ayrımlar olarak kabul edilen sınırların geçirgenliğini vurgulayan özel alanlar olduğunu dile getirmek önemlidir. *Polis* ve *oikos*'un ikili yapısı, evlilik ittifakları ve misafir-arkadaşlık bağları aracılığıyla kaçınılmaz olarak birbirini besler. Kadınların davranışları *oikos*'un sınırları içinde idealize edilse de, Demeter'in festivali bağlamında *polis*'te değişim yaratmak için *oikos*'tan ayrılmaları gerekir. Helenistik dönemde *oikos*'tan kopuş, kadınların festivaller için seyahat ederek *polis*'in sınırlarını aşmalarında da kendini gösterir. *Oikos* kavramı, kraliyet hanesi olan tekil *oikos*'tan çıkan kararların tüm *oikoumene* üzerinde etkili olabildiği muazzam bir ölçek değişikliğine de tanık olmuştur. Coğrafi ve sosyal hareketliliğin akışkanlığı, bireylere aidiyet ya da izolasyon çizgisinde kendilerini yeniden keşfetme fırsatı sunarak, evin içindeki mekanları, sakinlerinin konumunu titizlikle işaret eden ve karşılığında *oikoumene*'ye komünal kimliği yansıtan sahnelere dönüştürdü. Ayrıca Demeter'in festivallerinin kutsal alanı özel bir alana dönüştürdüğünü öneriyorum. Temenos'un ayrıcalığı, belirlenmiş etkinlik alanları ve ait olmayanlarla paylaşılmaması gereken gelenekler, idealize edilmiş *oikos* ile ilişkili kavramları yansıtmaktadır. Evin dışında gerçekleşen, siyasi bir boyut da içeren ve *polis*'teki yaşamı etkin bir şekilde şekillendiren törenler, bu ikiliğin hiçbir yerinde durmamakta ve antik dönem günlük pratiklere bakış açımıza meydan okumaktadır.

Demeter'in mabetleriyle ilgili bir çalışmanın, pek çok şeyin hala bilinmediğini ve öyle kalabileceğini kabul etmeyi gerektirdiğini kabul ederek, bu çalışma yeni çerçeveler oluşturursak sorularımızı ne kadar ileri götürebileceğimizi sormak için yapılmıştır. Sonuç bölümünde, Demeter'in kadınların tanık olduğu ikilemlere aracılık eden rolü olan sisteme son bir bütünleyici çerçeve daha ekliyorum. Demeter'in ayinleri, kadınların festival sırasında anneleriyle yeniden bir araya geldiklerinde kız evlat rollerine geri dönerek Persephone'nin eşzamanlı ilahi modelini taklit etmelerini sağlar. Ayrıca kentli ve kırsal kadın topluluklarını birbirine bağlayarak Yunan yerleşimciler ve yerli topluluklar arasında arabuluculuk görevi görmüştür. Ve son olarak, kadınlıkla ilişkilendirilen ikilikleri tamamen benimseme biçiminde, Klasik benliğin öteki kadınlar üzerindeki üstünlük iddialarını çözmüşlerdir. Demeter'in ayinleri zıtlıkları birbirini tanımlayan, tamamlayan ve dengeleyen bir spektrumun iki ucu olarak sunar. Yükseliş ve alçalış, oruç ve ziyafet, kadınların cinsel eylemlerinden kaçınmaları ve bunları kullanmaları söz konusudur.

Tez, Demeter tapınaklarının mekanlarının bu salınımla uyumlu olduğunu açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Belirlenmiş bölgeler festival katılımcılarına rehberlik eder, ancak zıt etkinliklere ev sahipliği yapan bu mekanlarda önceden belirlenmiş bir yol hareketi kısıtlamaz. *Temenos*'un organizasyonu, kadınları mekansal söz dağarcığını sahiplenmeleri için güçlendirir, onlara sınırlar hakkında bilgi verirken bağımsız hareket dillerini ifade etmeleri için eylemlilik tanır. Sonuç olarak bu tez, çok boyutlu analiziyle karmaşıklık katmanlarını ortaya çıkarmakta, geleneksel anlatılara meydan okumakta ve Helenistik dönemin ve bu dönemin farklı aktörlerinin, yani kadınların yaşam deneyimlerinin daha kapsayıcı bir şekilde anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Bu tez, Demeter festivallerinin Helenistik dönemin dinamik sistemi içindeki önemini bağlamsallaştırmak için stratejik olarak çeşitli çerçeveler kullanmış, böylece analitik yaklaşımında önemli ölçüde esneklik sağlamıştır. Bu çalkantılı dönemde kadın kolektivitesinin incelenmesi, yeterince temsil edilmeyen gruplara özgü deneyimleri ele alırken çoklu bakış açılarını dahil etme zorunluluğunun altını çizmiştir. Bu yaklaşımın çok yönlülüğü, tüm olası kanıtları eş zamanlı olarak değerlendirerek genelleme riskinin azaltmasını sağlamaktadır. Gelecekteki araştırma potansiyeli, bu çalışmada tutarlı bir şekilde üstlenilen bir uygulama olan, yerleşik sistemler içindeki "istisnaların" sistematik olarak araştırılmasında yatmaktadır. Bu çerçeve, bilginin nadiren aktarıldığı diğer gizemli kült alanları ve kadınların ritüel emeği ele alınırken kullanılabilir. Bu çalışmanın dikkate değer bir diğer yönü de önyargıların farkında

olmasıdır. Erkek egemen söylemi eleştirirken, tez kendi yatkınlığının farkına vararak, bilinçli bir şekilde kadın bakış açısını ve queer teorinin performatiflik paradigmasını akademik söyleme dahil etmiş, teorinin cinsiyetli kimlikleri ele alışını Helenistik döneme özgü daha geniş bir performatifliğe uygulamıştır. Bu bakış açısı, antik kimliklere sıklıkla dayatılan ikili sistemi bozmaya ve onları bir yelpaze içinde sunmaya hizmet etmektedir.

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