

Workshop

Artemis in the Taberna: Religious Entanglement and Appropriation in Urban Spaces

Vienna, 5/6 December 2022

Austrian Archaeological Institute at the Austrian Academy of Sciences | University of Graz, Institute of Antiquity, International Graduate School »Resonant Self-World Relations in Ancient and Modern Socio-Religious Practices«

Topic

Investigating the relationship between religion and the city in Graeco-Roman antiquity is one of the fundamental questions of ancient studies. It is therefore not surprising that the interpretative approaches have taken several turns in recent years: The idea of polis-religion (de Polignac 1995; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000) has been modified and non-communally-regulated as well as individual religious expressions have been recognised (Kindt 2012; Rüpke/Fuchs 2021). The »lived« rather than exclusively »civic« religion is especially well attested in urban spaces which are characterised by their complexity (Rüpke 2011; Albrecht et al. 2018). The most recent approaches interpret urban environments as a precondition for religious change (Urciuoli/Rüpke 2018; Rau/Rüpke 2020).

With an eye on the metropolis of Ephesos and especially recent research on the sanctuary of Artemis, as currently being conducted by the Zukunftskolleg »Temenos and Territory« at the OeAI, and starting from approaches to modern and ancient socio-religious practices (Graduate School of the Universities of Erfurt and Graz), we seek to apply these conceptual modifications in the relationship between religion and the city to concrete material evidence – i.e. objects, inscriptions, architecture. The workshop aims at discussing how religious practices relate to, and appropriate, urban habitats on the basis of case studies from the ancient Mediterranean.

Vice versa, it will be asked how an urban environment is particularly suitable for »religious markings« by individuals and groups or communities of different social background and identities who act as religious agents and locate themselves in various ways within the urban fabric. They sacralise urban spaces permanently through the construction of cult sites such as temples,

scholae, synagogues and churches, but also ephemerally through religious practices such as processions, prayers, sacrifices, etc. In this way, they create places of religious communication. At the same time, urban spaces are desacralised and, if necessary, re-sacralised, for example, when they are occupied and transformed by new religious agents.

The relationship between religion and the city will be examined diachronically from different disciplinary perspectives in the Graeco-Roman, Jewish, Christian and Islamic traditions. The following questions will be in the focus of consideration: What specific elements characterise places of religious communication in urban spaces? How are certain spaces within the city occupied and shaped by religious agents? How are religion and the city intertwined? What agency is attributed to artefacts such as paintings or statues that were erected in urban spaces? What role do inscriptions or graffiti play in the process of spatial appropriation? Where do cult continuities become tangible in the city and how are they expressed in the archaeological material or in inscriptions?

In order to obtain a picture as comprehensive as possible across several periods, the workshop's contributions will cover the Hellenistic to Byzantine times.

Abstracts

KEYNOTE 1

JÖRG RÜPKE (Universität Erfurt)

Religious Change in Imperial Cities

The lecture starts from the recent research performed by the Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe "Religion and urbanity: Reciprocal formation" at the Max Weber Kolleg of the University of Erfurt. Focusing on the reciprocal formation of religion and urbanity allows us to take a new look at religious practices, ideas and institutions in Greco-Roman cities of the imperial age, beyond public or domestic cult. A number of changes in religious practice appear to be closely linked to developments in urbanity, that is, urban imaginaries as constituted by materialities, practices, and ideas intended to render the inhabited settlement specifically 'urban'. In turn, such materialities, practices, and ideas are themselves frequently shaped through close interaction with religious developments. It is this close nexus of religion and urbanity that is reflected in, negotiated through, and again shaped by the archaeological material – which in turn forms the decisive basis of evidence for any reconstruction of the entanglement of religion and urbanity.

The contribution will introduce the basic concepts of the approach and try to analytically disentangle the aforementioned nexus by suggesting an analytical grid and sketching some long-term processes of change (such as monumentalisation, theatricalisation, scripturalisation). The focus is on ancient Mediterranean and in particular Greco-Roman cities.

KEYNOTE 2

LUTZ DOERING (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)

Jerusalem in the Second-Temple Period: Conceptualisations of the Judaeen Temple City

Jerusalem has a special place in Judaism. The post-exilic community in Judaea took the call in Deuteronomy to sacrifice only at “the place that the Lord your God will choose out of all your tribes as his habitation to put his name there” (Deut 12:5) to refer to Jerusalem and the temple rebuilt there. Although other Israelite temples existed for some time during this period (Elephantine, Garizim, Leontopolis), it was the Jerusalem temple that was the focus of most Judaeans and Jews at the time. This paper outlines different conceptualisations of the Judaeen temple city in contemporary sources and in the material record: Jerusalem as sacred space that needs to be protected against ritual defilement (in different ways, e.g., the Dead Sea Scrolls, the temple balustrade inscriptions), Jerusalem as walled space in which Torah commandments can be communally kept (e.g., Nehemiah, rabbinic retrojections), Jerusalem as “mother city” (metropolis) of the Jews (Philo of Alexandria), to which the temple tax, gathered locally, also in the Diaspora, was brought from time to time (e.g., Josephus). The paper will also address how other cities in which Jews dwelled, and the practices therein (focusing especially on synagogues), related to the city of Jerusalem.

DAVIDE BIANCHI (Universität Wien)

Jerusalem. The Making of a Holy City in Late Antiquity

The city of Jerusalem is a privileged case study for the analysis of urban space in the Late Antique Levant. The diachronic intertwining of biblical episodes and historical events that took place in this very particular city has contributed to profoundly shaping the urban topography, especially the religious one. The construction of temples, synagogues, basilicas, memorial churches, and mosques as well as the establishment of ritual practices related to the pagan, Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities acted as important religious markers in the city and strongly defined the urbanism of Jerusalem. Furthermore, the phenomenon of the Christian pilgrimage and the creation of many devotional paths, which connected the religious poles and sacralised the city, transformed it into the *Hagia Polis* par excellence.

This paper aims to investigate how the archaeological evidence and devotional practices acted as performing agents in defining the urban space of Jerusalem in Late Antiquity. Through a multidisciplinary approach, which pays attention to material evidence, architecture and pilgrims’

travelogues, it will be possible to define which artefacts, monuments and religious practices became tangible and spiritual religious markers that actively interconnected religion with the city.

MICHAEL BLÖMER (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)

Religion and urban space in Doliche

In the Roman Imperial period, Doliche, a city of ancient North Syria, emerged as a religious centre of supra-regional importance. The main god of city, who is usually referred to by his Latin name Jupiter Dolichenus, had become popular with Roman officers and soldiers and was venerated in many parts of the Roman Empire. The development of the sanctuary, which was rooted in Iron Age traditions, into a major religious centre, which catered to the needs of an international audience, had massive implications for Doliche. The small city in the hinterland of North Syria attracted a diverse group of visitors with different religious backgrounds and experiences, ranging from common soldiers to Imperial officials. This manifests itself not only in the architecture and layout of the sanctuary and in the variety of monuments and buildings dedicated by various actors. It also affected the urban space in a more general sense and re-shaped local religious traditions and urban identity. In this paper, I will collect the fragmentary material evidence for the presence of different actors in the religious life of the city and discuss their impact on the cityscape, the development of urban religion, and the re-shaping of local identities in the second and third century CE.

JONAS DERICHS (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)

The suppliant city? Some considerations on the appropriation of hiketeriai in urban spaces of Ephesos

During the reign of Antoninus Pius, a new motif was established on the reverse of the coinage of Ephesos: Apollon approaches his twin sister Artemis and hands over a hiketeria, an olive branch that is wrapped with white wool. With the help of the inscription, the god can safely be identified as Apollon Hikesios, either the divine prototype of Ephesian suppliants or deliverer of their supplications.

Within scholarship, there has been a debate on the possible origins of the cult of Apollon Hikesios as well as the localization of his assumed sanctuary. During the presentation, however, repercussions of this cult in ‚profane‘ urban spaces – mainly by the use of hiketeriai – will be identified in a first step and interpreted in their specific spatial context in a second step. By using this approach, the presentation aims to build a bridge between cultic practices, which were inaugurated and regulated by the institutions of a polis, and the lived religions of individuals.

ALEXANDRA DOLEA (ÖAI/ÖAW Wien)

Take Me to Church. Religious manifestations in the antique and post-antique Limyra

The ancient city of Limyra is located in the south-western coastal region of Asia Minor, modern day Turkey, and five kilometres north-east of the modern town of Finike at the foot of the Toçak Dağı massif. The city was a well-developed urban centre in the Lycian region between the Classical and the Byzantine period.

Religious practices had a strong impact on the city's structure from the antique to the post-antique times. Over 50 years of systematic archaeological research in Limyra has brought to light substantial evidence to shape a general idea on how the religious aspects manifested in and entwined with the city structure. Temples and sanctuaries were built from the Late-Classical-Early Hellenistic times throughout the Roman era. During the Byzantine period, several churches were erected and marked their impact within the city plan. Furthermore, the presence of a Jewish community was also identified as co-existing within the Christianised city. After the abandonment of the city sometime during the middle-Byzantine period, the Muslim practices found their way in this area, as well.

This presentation aims to introduce these religious manifestations in correlation to the city fabric, the adherents, and the archaeological and historical evidence.

RACHELE DUBBINI (Università degli Studi di Ferrara)

Marti extra urbem sed ad campum (Vitr. De Arch. I,7): The cult of Mars at the borders of the urban spaces of Republican Rome

It is well known that the cult of Mars was not allowed inside the urban spaces of Rome until the Augustan age. For this reason, scholars have generally considered the cult of Mars extra-urban, also basing on the famous lines of Vitruvius, who positioned his worship extra urbem. Most recently, in view of his bellicose connotation, Mars was considered particularly suitable as the warden of the frontier in the debate on the borders of the city of Rome (Ziólkowski 2009). However, can we really restrict this topic to the extra-urban areas or solely to Mars's association with war? At Rome Mars was invoked in the traditional lustratio ceremonies at the edges of the fields as in the rites of passage presided over by Anna Perenna, which took place during the month of March at the "frontier sanctuary" of the goddess. Mars also played a central role in youth training complexes, such as the campus, generally located at the borders of urban spaces, as the most famous Campus Martius demonstrated. And the presence of a huge sanctuary of Mars Gradivus at the first mile of via Appia, placed between the city and the agrarian space, i.e. again at the borders of the urban area (Dubbinì 2015), may further demonstrate the influence of the urban setting on the religious practices related to the god, representing a truly promising case study to understand the dynamics that animated the cult of Mars in Republican Rome. In this perspective, the aim of this paper is to stress the special connection between the figure of Mars and the border

spaces of the city of Rome in the Republican era. In order to analyse the most important cultural features of the cult of Mars and then to reconstruct the role of his worship at Rome before the Augustan age, a mapping of the evidences linked to the god will be provided. Despite the enormous inhomogeneity and dispersion of existing documentation, an attempt will be made to apply a single coherent interpretation to the various categories of evidence available on the time period and the places in question: literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources. Such an overview will help to further define the liminal position of the religious actions related to Mars, not only in view of his association with war, but especially regarding his relationship to the agrarian world and the formation and rites of passage linked to juveniles.

BENJAMIN ENGELS (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

Naturheiligtümer im Neubaugebiet: Der letzte Schrei oder rurale Reminiszenz?

Der Beitrag widmet sich erneut den intraurbanen Naturheiligtümern, die im späten Hellenismus in mehreren westkleinasiatischen Städten eingerichtet werden. Insbesondere in der Eumenischen „Neustadt“ Pergamons wurde in den vergangenen Jahren ein kleinteiliges System solcher Anlagen erschlossen, von denen das sogenannte Grottenheiligtum als aufgrund der besonderen Befundsituation hinsichtlich der Kultpraxis besonders beredtes Beispiel inzwischen monographisch publiziert ist. Der dort und in verschiedenen anderen Beispielen zu beobachtende Umgang mit den vorgefundenen natürlichen Gegebenheiten kann als Vorläufer der für die Kaiserzeit zahlreich belegten Beispiele fingierter Natur in architektonischen Zusammenhängen verstanden werden. Es liegt ferner nahe, diese Entwicklung als spezifisch urbanes Phänomen anzusehen, das zeitgenössischen ästhetischen Figuren folgt, die sich etwa mit der bukolischen Dichtung parallelisieren lassen.

In dem Workshop wird diese einigermaßen unverfängliche Erklärung, nach der das Grottenheiligtum und vergleichbare Befunde als konstruierte Sehnsuchtsorte gebildeter Eliten dastehen, hinterfragt. Anhand einer Einordnung der Heiligtümer in ihren stadtgeschichtlichen und damit auch sozialen Kontext kann dank der mittlerweile dichten archäologischen Überlieferung für Pergamon diskutiert werden, ob und in welchem Umfang bei dessen Implementierung nicht auch oder sogar vor allem Bottom-up-Prozesse zum Tragen kommen, die ein neues Licht auf die Genese des Phänomens künstlicher Natur in urbanen Kontexten werfen können.

JESKO FILDHUTH (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

Stadt und Kloster in Byzanz

Klosterwesen und Mönchtum stellten einen bedeutenden Faktor innerhalb der Byzantinischen Gesellschaft dar: Klöster verfügten über erheblichen wirtschaftlichen, politischen und religiösen

Einfluss, zudem waren Mönche und in geringerem Umfang auch Nonnen im Alltag der Byzantiner präsent und stammten aus allen sozialen Schichten der Bevölkerung.

Während sich die Mehrzahl der byzantinischen Klöster im ländlichen Raum verorten lässt, weisen auch Städte Klostergemeinschaften auf. Insbesondere in den Großstädten des Byzantinischen Reiches wie Konstantinopel und Thessaloniki befanden sich zahlreiche Konvente, deren Lage vor allem durch Schriftquellen überliefert ist. Ferner weisen auch kleinere Städte und Siedlungen Klöster auf, deren Identifizierung vor allem aus dem archäologischen Befund erfolgte.

Im Rahmen des Beitrags soll ein Überblick zu städtischen Klöstern in mittel- und spätbyzantinischer Zeit aus archäologischer und topographischer Perspektive gegeben werden, wobei folgende Fragen anhand ausgewählter Beispiele diskutiert werden sollen: Wie waren städtische Klöster architektonisch ausgestaltet? Welche topographischen Lagen nehmen Klöster in Städten ein, wie waren sie in die urbane Infrastruktur eingebunden und in welchem Verhältnis standen sie zu den Wohngebieten? Welche spezifischen Funktionen nahmen Klöster in Städten ein und in wie fern unterscheiden sich von ländlichen Klostergemeinschaften?

VERENA FUGGER (ÖAI/ÖAW Wien)

From Artemis to John the Theologian. Religious appropriation of urban space in late antique and Byzantine Ephesus

Starting from the Artemision – one of the largest and most famous sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman world – this paper explores the religious appropriation of urban space in late antique and Byzantine Ephesus. Due to its numerous local saints, among whom John the Theologian assumed a major role for the metropolis' urban and religious identity, Ephesus experienced a radical change to Anatolia's most important Christian pilgrimage site. At the turn of the 4th to the 5th century, Christian religion started to transform the cityscape sustainably. Today more than twenty churches and chapels are documented by archaeological and textual sources that were partially built in abandoned building structures or by using spolia material. Christianity not only manifested itself in collective monumental architecture, but left its visual signs in urban spaces also in the form of individual expressions of lived religion such as prayers and invocations. Thus, various processes of sacralization and de-sacralization of urban and religious space become apparent in the cityscape. Focusing on these transformative processes the paper addresses the following questions: Which urban spaces were appropriated and transformed for communal and individual Christian religious practices? Where within the urban fabric were these places located and how did they change? And, do any cult continuities between Greco-Roman and Christian religion become tangible? In order to show Ephesus' special characteristics in regard to the entanglement of urban space and religion change, a brief look also will be taken at neighboring cities in Western Anatolia for comparison.

CONSTANZE GRAML (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Artemis im asty: attischer Artemis-Kult jenseits der weiblichen Initiation

Die Vorstellung von den Zuständigkeitsbereichen der Göttin Artemis in Athen und Attika ist stark vom Wissen über die Verehrung im ländlichen Heiligtum von Brauron und den dort praktizierten Initiationsritualen für junge Mädchen geprägt. Die idyllische, scheinbar abgelegene Lage am Fluss Erasinos sowie die Nähe zum Meer in Zusammenschau mit antiken Schriftquellen bestärkten das allgemeine Verständnis von Artemis als Göttin des Draußen und Herrin der (Wild-)Tiere. Im Umkehrschluss wurden Landschaften mit Bezug zu Wasser, in denen Artemiskult nachgewiesen ist, als typisch weibliche Landschaften interpretiert. Dabei wurde Artemis zur Göttin der Grenzbereiche und der Peripherie stilisiert.

Gerade in Athen ist Artemis jedoch auch im städtischen Raum an zentralen Orten wie der Agora und auf der Akropolis belegt, wo sie unterschiedliche Epiklesen trägt, die nicht mit der rein weiblichen Lebenswelt verbunden sind. Im Rahmen des Vortrags werden diese Beinamen, die häufig in Zusammenhang mit der polis-Gemeinschaft gebracht werden können, vorgestellt und im Hinblick auf ihre Bedeutung vor dem Hintergrund der räumlichen Verortung innerhalb Athens interpretiert.

MARIOS KAMENOU (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz / Universität Erfurt)

Domesticated lions: the welcoming of the Mother of the Gods in Ephesus

The globalization of the polis after the conquests of Alexander was one of the major impetuses of the religious processes that took form in the Hellenistic period. Foundations of cities with culturally heterogeneous background presented new opportunities for localized religious adaptations shaped by diverse socio-political political factors. At the same time, the expansion of urban spaces permitted certain gods of Greek and foreign origin to acquire a status of integrative elements to the Hellenistic political and religious landscape which allowed them to be appropriated, adopted and disseminated on a large scale. Such is the case of the Mother of the gods whose cult spread from central Asia to the Italian peninsula, presenting a surprising diversity of religious expressions.

My presentation focuses on the Hellenistic cult of Meter in Ephesus, tracing sacred spaces, texts and practices interwoven in the urban space of the Hellenistic polis. It aims to analyze by what means and to what purpose religious agency transformed the goddess in an urban context? How the appropriation of the cult is reflected in its spatial expression? This research aims to exemplify the manifold interdependencies between city and religion and how these are “manipulated” by historic instances.

ALICE LANDSKRON (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz)

Die Macht des Standbilds - Götter im Stadtgefüge von Side

Skulpturen auf öffentlichen Plätzen oder in Gebäuden prägten oftmals über einen langen Zeitraum hinweg das Erscheinungsbild einer antiken Stadt. Funde von Statuen in situ vermitteln einen Eindruck der repräsentativen Ausstattung einer Stadt in den letzten Jahren ihrer Nutzung. Die Statuenausstattung eines urbanen Raumes umfasst Kaiser, Euergeten, Bürger einer Stadt sowie Gottheiten und Inschriftenweihungen. Die Stifter dieser Statuen und Inschriften trugen somit entscheidend zur Gestaltung und zur Transformation urbaner Räume bei und eigneten sich diese an. Am Fallbeispiel der antiken Hafenstadt Side wird einerseits dem Erscheinungsbild der Orte und Plätze durch die Aufstellung von Götterstatuen oder inschriftlichen Weihungen nachgespürt, andererseits wird untersucht, unter welchen Voraussetzungen urbane Räume einer religiösen Kommunikation erschlossen werden. Der Wiederverwendung von Götterstatuen in öffentlichen Gebäuden und im urbanen Raum kommt dabei eine bedeutende Rolle zu, da sie meist aus einem Aufstellungskontext herausgenommen und einem anderen eingefügt werden und wiederum zur Sakralisierung beitragen, Aufstellungsorte mitunter neu definieren und Resonanzen evozieren. Die Langlebigkeit von Statuen der griechischen Götterwelt in öffentlichen Räumen funktionierte unter der Voraussetzung einer Transformation, einer sichtbaren religiösen Aneignung, im Sinne ikonoklastischer Handlungen: urbane Räume werden desakralisiert und erneut sakralisiert.

ASUMAN LÄTZER-LASAR (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

Challenging Urban and Sacred Boundaries – Republican Deathscapes in Rome

In research history it is generally assumed that in Latium and later the Roman West, at least since the 5th century BCE, the dead were buried outside the city. This is attested by various literary sources or their transmissions, such as the Twelve Tables Law or the lex Ursonensis. However, cities are not static, and one consequence of constant growth was that urban space became a scarce resource that then had to be negotiated even harder for. Another consequence of urban expansion was that tombs originally located outside were suddenly inside the city at a certain point.

In my paper, I discuss the dilemma between the growing population and territory of the city Rome, and the desire of the inhabitants to follow older traditions of burial places, as well as to create an infrastructure for the care of the dead that was also accessible to broad sections of the population. Analyzing the “place identity” or “place biography” of Republican tombs in a diachronic perspective, serves to shed light on the social spaces that challenged the urban and sacred boundaries of the city.

PAWEŁ NOWAKOWSKI (University of Warsaw)

“Domestic” inscriptions from the Limestone Massif (North Syria) as manifestations of religiosity in late antique townscapes

Subsequent surveys of the towns and villages of the Limestone Massif in North Syria brought us unique datasets for the history of settlement networks in the hinterland of Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Late Antiquity. In the voluminous publications by Howard Butler’s American/Princeton Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, George Tchalenko’s missions, and subsequently of more recent Syrian, French, and German explorers, one comes across a significant number of reports signaling the presence of Greek and Syriac inscriptions commemorating the construction of ordinary houses and dwellings, and of graffiti (or better: “secondary inscriptions”) casually scratched on the walls of buildings. Often overshadowed by the spectacular epigraphy of churches and large civic establishments, these “domestic” inscriptions also deserve a study of their own. Even more since a usual part of their formulae are religious exclamations, prayers, and requests for protection which may illustrate the religious mindset of the local dwellers. In my paper, I will explore the types of religious contents one can find in these texts and will contextualize them in the realities of life in a late antique small town.

KATHARINA RIEGER (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz)

Mithras in town – how Ostia shaped its characteristic Mithraism

The mithraea of Ostia are a unique phenomenon among the mithraic cult places in the Roman Empire of the first centuries AD. Their number in comparison the size of the city is outstanding and their locations in the urbanistic layout follow a certain pattern. Only the decoration and spatial layout of the cult rooms form a rather homogenous group with other mithraea.

The paper starts from the hypothesis that beside a religious interest in the new deity of Mithras in the Imperial period the social requirements and architectural particularities of the harbour city of Ostia explain the number and the locations of the mithraea. It is the city and its community which “produces” these cult places.

The argument unfolds along the line of a characterisation of the city of Ostia and its social groupings, and analysis of the locations, layouts and decoration of mithraea in order to show that

- a) the kind of deities, cults or religions, which find their place in a city, is influenced by its character of urbanistic function and society. In brief: Ostia is apt for mithraism.
- b) once a deity, cult or religion arrived at a city and its community, they start to adjust and appropriate it which is manifest in their local religious practices. In brief: There are many mithraisms, not all are “urban”.

To corroborate this argument, I compare mithraea in other cities, such as Rome, as well as with mithraea in less densely populated areas for example, the northern Adriatic.