

LAYOUT AND MATERIALITY OF THE *LEUKOPHRYENA* EPIGRAPHIC DOSSIER IN MAGNESIA ON THE MAEANDER – DID THEY MATTER?*

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Over the past decade, scholarship on the epigraphic cultures of the Greco-Roman world has undergone a significant “material turn”. The format of inscriptions, their location, and their interaction with the surrounding monuments are now routinely examined.¹ Epigraphists are also increasingly interested in how potential audiences interacted with inscriptions. These interactions fall within a broad spectrum of possibilities that range from mere viewing to full reading, and opinions on the matter vary.² However, few scholars have applied their interest in materiality, layout, and readability to the interpretation of monumental epigraphic dossiers.³ This is particularly significant for inscriptions designed as an integral part of a monumental landscape and displayed on the same epigraphic surface.

This chapter aims to address this gap in the scholarship by dealing with a specific case study, the *Leukophryena* dossier from Magnesia on the Maeander. The dossier attests to a request that the Magnesians made in 208/207 to seek acceptance of new stephanitic and isopythic games for Artemis *Leukophryene* and to have their city and territory acknowledged as sacred and inviolable.⁴ The Magnesians addressed their request through numerous envoys (θεωροί) to kings (Antiochos III, Attalos I, Ptol-

* I would like to express my gratitude to D. Amendola, C. Carusi, and E. Rosamilia for their insightful feedback. I am also thankful to my friends A.R. Kilman and N.H. Levine for enhancing the clarity of my writing. Unless stated otherwise, all dates are BCE.

¹ E.g., Edmund 2014; Meyer 2016; Berti *et al.* 2017; Bolle *et al.* 2017; Petrovic *et al.* 2018; Faraguna 2020; Rosamilia 2020.

² Burrell 2009 (“meant to be read”); Veyne 1988, 3, 11; Cooley 2018, 28–35 (“meant to be seen, not read”); Graham 2013 and 2021 (a compromise between the two).

³ Exceptions: Kokkinia 2016 and Graham 2021 on the “Archive wall” of Aphrodisias.

⁴ *LMagnesia* 16–87; Rigsby, *Asylia* 66–131; Knäpper 2018, 113–131.

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Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Flavio Santini, *Layout and Materiality of the Leukophryena Epigraphic Dossier in Magnesia on the Maeander – Did They Matter?*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9.13, in Davide Amendola, Cristina Carusi, Francesca Maltomini, Emilio Rosamilia (edited by), *Text, Layout, and Medium. Documents from the Greco-Roman World between Epigraphy and Papyrology*, pp. 217–234, 2024, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0456-9, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0456-9

emy IV, [Philip V]⁵), leagues (the Achaian, Boiotian, and Phokian leagues, to mention but a few), and cities (from Syracuse to the eastern Seleucid *apoikia*). Overall, about 165 respondents are attested, but the number must have been greater.

From an epigraphic point of view, the *Leukophryena* dossier affords a unique context in which to investigate the multiple strategies of display adopted by the local stonecutters. The Magnesian dossier is exceptionally well-preserved, in contrast to other extant contemporary Hellenistic *asylia* dossiers that were displayed on a single surface but are poorly preserved.⁶ This allows us to understand not only its overall design but also its elaborate “paratextual” apparatus, which includes prominent titles and appended lists, as well as paragraphing, differentiation in lettering size, and peculiar lectional signs.⁷ Hence the value of the *Leukophryena* dossier for the theme of this volume. But the dossier can also offer valuable insights about the readability of ancient epigraphic documents.

This chapter begins by analyzing the collocation of the documents within the dossier, the principles guiding their organization, the relation between formats and document typologies, and the use and meaning of the appended lists. The first section of the chapter aims to unveil the complexity that underlies the dossier, from its conception to its realization. In the second section, the chapter narrows its focus and considers some paratextual elements of the dossier, starting with the large-scale and gradually focusing upon ever smaller, but still significant, features. This section considers issues of *mise en page* and other devices of layout, such as the variation in size of the letters, rubrication, and the use of titles and lectional signs, focusing in particular on two documents (*IMagnesia* 16 and 17). Ultimately, this chapter proposes that the layout and materiality of the dossier, both at a macro- and micro-scale, functioned to facilitate the documents’ readability, at least for some selected readers and on specific occasions, such as during the celebration of the newly established games for Artemis *Leukophryene*, when public readings plausibly took place.

1. PLANNING A DOSSIER: MACROSTRUCTURE AND HIERARCHY OF DOCUMENTS

The remains of the *Leukophryena* dossier were uncovered in the southwest corner of the agora between during the 1891/1892 excavations conducted by Humann

⁵ Philip V’s letter is lost (perhaps only a small fragment survives: *IMagnesia* 24), but the decree from Chalkis refers explicitly to it (47, ll. 1-2).

⁶ Teos: Rigsby, *Asylia* 136-152, 154-157, 159-161; cf. Knäpper 2018, 136-146. Mylasa: *IMylasa* 641-663 (cf. Rigsby, *Asylia* 187-200), on which see Carless Unwin 2016 and 2017, 137-149, 155-160, 217-230. Other Hellenistic *asylia* dossiers were preserved on several stelae and/or different stone media, like the one from the *Asklepieion* of Kos: *IG XII.4* 208-245 and Bosnakis and Hallof 2020; for the date (243/242) see Coşkun 2021. We know neither the original location of the stones nor the relative order in which the freestanding stele were displayed: Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 111; Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 288-290.

⁷ On the paratextuality of inscriptions: Cooley 2014, 2015, 2019, 271-275; Del Corso 2017.

and his team.⁸ This location was significant from an urban planning perspective, as it was one of the two main entrances to the agora, with the *Prytaneion* of the city located nearby.⁹ The inscriptions of the dossier faced directly across the agora toward the temple of Zeus *Sosipolis* and the opening in the east stoa that provided access to the *temenos* of Artemis *Leukophryene* (Map 1).

More than seventy documents were discovered during the excavation, with the majority being found *in situ*. However, it is not always possible to determine the exact position of each inscription.¹⁰ The inscriptions were all placed inside the west stoa; some of them (*I.Magnesia* 16–34) occupied the “Pilaster wall” that enclosed the west stoa from the south (Map 2). The dossier began with an introductory section, which included three noteworthy documents: a chronicle of the historical phases that led to the departure of multiple teams of *θεωροί* to ask for the recognition of new panhellenic games for Artemis and inviolability for the city (16), a document concerning the mythical foundation of the city (17), and a forged decree passed by the Cretan *κοινόν* at the time of the foundation of Magnesia (20, to which 21 may be attached¹¹). Next came the royal epistles (18–19, 22–24), as well as the decrees passed by *κοινά* and by some cities fully or partially approving the requests of the Magnesian envoys (25–34). The remaining texts (35–87) were inscribed on the southern half of the back wall of the west stoa (Map 3). Except for the decree of Tralles (85) and two unknown Attalid cities (86–87), all the responses had a single round of requests as their source, starting in the summer of 208/207 and ending with the second celebration of the games in 203/202.¹² This narrow date range is confirmed by the palaeographic features of the dossier: with the exception of the last three decrees (85–87), all the documents have formal characteristics that can be traced back to the last years of the 3rd and the first years of the 2nd centuries.¹³

The arrangement of epigraphic corpora has inevitably obscured the complex and carefully planned structure of this epigraphic dossier, creating a series of disembodied texts that follow one another.¹⁴ However, if we focus on the archaeological context, it becomes clear that the documents (or, at least, some of them) were in-

⁸ See O. Kern in *I.Magnesia* at pp. 4–5.

⁹ On the agora: Humann *et al.* 1904, 107–138; Bingöl 2006; Sielhorst 2015, 42–46.

¹⁰ See O. Kern in *I.Magnesia* at pp. 11–12.

¹¹ See below, 222.

¹² Sosin 2009. Chronology: Ebert 1982, 202, 216; Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 182; Osborne 2010, 170–172; Iversen 2017, 188–191.

¹³ On the palaeography of the dossier see below, 223–224.

¹⁴ Panciera 2006, 585: “In realtà nessuna edizione [...] può mai pretendere di sostituire il contatto diretto con l’originale, il quale [...] non è d’altronde costituito soltanto dal testo e dalla sua forma, ma anche dal suo supporto e da tutto ciò che ne fa parte, per non parlare del suo contesto ambientale”. Cf. Graham 2021, 571–574.

scribed following precise organizational principles.¹⁵ To begin with, the Magnesians decided to open their dossier with the three aforementioned documents illustrating the dossier's *raison d'être* (*IMagnesia* 16, 17, 20+21). Secondly, they established a hierarchy among the various responses, with the royal letters being inscribed at the beginning of the dossier.¹⁶

The special collocation assigned to the introductory documents and the prominence given to royal letters mark them as a special group. As Ceccarelli has pointed out, the idea of assigning a special status to royal letters is reflected by *IMagnesia* 16, ll. 28–35, in which the Magnesians state that they succeeded in establishing new stephanitic and isopythic games for Artemis ἀποδεξαμένων ν τῶμ βασιλέων [κ]αὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ων Ἑλληνί]γωμ, ἰ πρὸς οὐς ἐπρέσβευσαν, ν κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ πό[λεις ψηφισα[μ]ένων (ll. 30–32).¹⁷ Kings are mentioned first, and their letters are set apart from the decrees of the other Greeks, who are further divided into leagues and cities. Additionally, it is worth noticing that the primacy and separation of royal letters from the rest of the responses is also visually marked through vacats.¹⁸

Effective organization, prioritization, and division of documents are crucial strategies, particularly when the documents were received at different times by different teams of envoys. For example, the letters from Antiochos III and his son (*IMagnesia* 18–19) were only handed over to the Magnesian θεωροί after 205, when Antiochos was in Antiochia in Persis on his way back from his triumphant campaign in the eastern satrapies of the kingdom.¹⁹ Similarly, the civic decrees passed by the Seleucid *apoikiai*, such as the one from Antiochia in Persis,²⁰ where the Magnesian envoys met the king and received his letter, must have arrived together with the royal documents but were inscribed almost at the end of the dossier, on the opposite side of the king's letter.²¹

¹⁵ Rigsby, *Asyria* at p. 185; Ceccarelli 2018, 151–152, 175–179.

¹⁶ On royal epistolography and the recognition of *asyria*: Ceccarelli 2018; Knäpper 2021.

¹⁷ Ceccarelli 2018, 177–178.

¹⁸ On the use of vacats see below, 224–225.

¹⁹ Kosmin 2014, 217–218, 233–237. In Santini 2020, 77–80, I argue that other documents inside the dossier might belong to ca. 205, in particular *IMagnesia* 65a+75, 65b+76, 67, and 70, all of them belonging to Cretan cities.

²⁰ *IMagnesia* 61; cf. also 60, in which Antiochos III is presumably mentioned.

²¹ In contrast to the Magnesian dossier, the Koan dossier follows a different organizational principle. Each freestanding stele displayed the documents brought by a single team of envoys; opisthographic stelae could accommodate the documents of one or two separate *theoriai* (one: *IG XII.4* 214, 216, 226; two: 221, 223, Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 291–293). Additionally, the documents were not displayed according to a specific hierarchy within each stele; for instance, royal letters were not always inscribed first. See, e.g., Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 291–293: the letters by the Bithynian king Ziaēlas and queen Laodike were inscribed at the bottom of side B of the stone after decrees passed by some Macedonian cities and Temnos.

When it comes to the documents stemming from other political actors, the *Leukophryena* dossier also reveals a logical but less clear structuring. For example, the decrees passed by κοινά (*IMagnesia* 25, 31–32, 34) are separated from the royal letters and generally precede civic decrees.²² By and large, the in-between position of the leagues' decrees (less than a royal letter, more than a civic decree) seems to reflect the specific perceived status of such polities (less than a king, more than a city). However, civic decrees passed by two Thessalian cities (26, 33) were inscribed on the "Pilaster wall". It is unclear why this was done, but it may have been to highlight the political and diplomatic importance of such cities.²³ Indeed, Magnesia's Thessalian roots stand out as a constituent part of the local historiographical tradition(s) on the foundation of the city, as crystallized in *IMagnesia* 17.²⁴ As for the rest of the civic decrees found *in situ*, it is possible to pinpoint different geographical clusters of responses, but the order and sequence of such clusters do not seem to correspond to a specific rationale.²⁵

The Magnesians' meticulous planning is evident not only in how they arranged the epigraphic material but also in their rigorous selection of which responses to inscribe. In at least sixteen cases, they appended the names of cities that had taken a similar decision to the answer of a given city.²⁶ It is unclear whether this selection was influenced by foreign political actors or was entirely a local decision. While some lists may reflect a "federalist" structure, as seen in the Arkadians' decree (*IMagnesia*

²² Exceptions are the decrees of the Arkadians (*IMagnesia* 38), Achaians (39), and Messenians (43, ll. 6, 16–17). It should be noted, however, that *IMagnesia* 38 is actually the civic decree of Megalopolis, to which an appended list with the votes of "the other Arkadians" is attached, and there is no clear mention of federal assemblies or magistrates. With regard to the Messenians, it is true that, as noted by Luraghi 2015, 263, "the designation *κοινων* is used only for federal states, with no single exception". However, the title *παρὰ Μεσσηνίων*, which is certainly added by the Magnesians to the decree of the Messenians, does not include the word *κοινόν*, as is the case with other federal decrees: *IMagnesia* 25, 34.

²³ A similar explanation can be advanced for the decree of Kalydon (*IMagnesia* 28), which was accompanied by a list of Aitolian cities and included in the "Pilaster wall". *IG IX.1*² 4 attests to strong diplomatic connections between the Magnesians and the Aitolians towards the end of the 3rd century, when the Magnesians were granted a seat on the Amphictyony (*FDelphes* III.2 134b). However, the reason why the Magnesians approached individual members of the league, as well as the league as a whole (Rigsby, *Asyilia* 78, which was found in Delphi), remains unclear.

²⁴ Biagetti 2010, 46–50.

²⁵ A cluster of Peloponnesian documents (*IMagnesia* 38–43) is followed by documents from communities on the Ionian and Adriatic seas (44–46; but see 35–36, respectively Same and Ithaka) and a Euboean cluster of decrees (47–48), the latter preceding a group of documents related to islands and coastal cities of Asia Minor (49–57); finally, cities linked to the Seleucids were grouped together (60–61). Thereafter, the dossier's fragmentary status hinders a clear reconstruction. Traces of a Cretan cluster are still recognizable (65a+75, 65b+76, 70, to which also add 67, found nearby the Cretan documents still *in situ*); the Syracuse decree (72) might have been part of a group of western cities; cities under Pergamon's influence were grouped at the end of the dossier (83, 86–87).

²⁶ The following remarks expand on Santini 2020, 75 n. 59.

38),²⁷ the redactors employed multiple criteria when shaping the lists. For example, the list attached to the Laodicea on the Lycus decree (59) appears to be primarily geographical, while the Seleucid *apoikiai* listed under the Antiochia in Persis decree (61) reflects a combination of broader political kinship and geographical factors. Additionally, the forged decree of the Cretan κοινόν (20) likely had its own subscription list (21),²⁸ indicating that the groupings were ultimately determined by the Magnesians redactors, irrespective of any suggestions from envoys or other political actors.²⁹ Internal organizing factors, such as balancing monumentality and exhaustiveness, may have played a role in the redactors' decision-making process as they sought to draft the lists and manage the considerable volume of documents generated by their request.

Together with the general organization of the different documents, the presence of such subscription lists suggests that the idea of collecting, selecting, and inscribing the epigraphic material in such a conspicuous location was an important part of the project itself. In fact, the Magnesians' envoys broadcasted this idea. Decrees like *IMagnesia* 64 seem to reveal rather precise knowledge of what the Magnesians intended to do with the responses they elicited, as they allude to the final epigraphic publication of the decree (l. 21: [ὅπως τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε ἀν]αγραφή ἐν τῇ στοᾷ αὐτῶν).³⁰ The Magnesians' decision to determine the placement of the answers returned by the ambassadors during the planning phase provides additional evidence of their careful consideration of the positioning of the texts on the walls of the stoa.

This raises the question of who might have been responsible for creating the dossier. Some sort of specialized personnel, the ἀρχιτέκτονες, were in charge of the erection of epigraphic documents on the walls or doors of some public buildings in Magnesia, as well as in their vicinity, as attested in documents ranging from the be-

²⁷ Rigsby 2001.

²⁸ See already Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 193. The plausible connection of this fragmentary list to *IMagnesia* 20 may represent a further argument in favor of the sophistication that Chaniotis 2015, 677-680 attributes to the Magnesians' forgery.

²⁹ Roy 2003, 125-126; Ceccarelli 2018, 153 n. 21.

³⁰ *IMagnesia* 67, ll. 5-6: εἰ οὖν ποιήσετε ἀναγράψαν[τες ἐς τ]ὰν στοῖαν καὶ ὑμῶν. It is however worth noticing that some other documents allude to publication not in the stoa but in the sanctuary of Artemis (59b, ll. 18-19; 80, ll. 9-11). Rigsby, *Asylia* at p. 185 n. 28 suggested that both cities were "simply ignorant and relying on formula in asking the Magnesians to place the decree in the temple of Artemis *Leukophryene*". It is not surprising that documents could be eventually inscribed in a different location than the one established (cf. *Choix Delphes* 103, ll. 10-11; 104, ll. 9-10). However, it is worth considering that such an anomalous request is consistent with the broader attitude shown by the two cities, Laodicea on the Lycus and Antiochia in Pisidia (?). Both cities passed numerous additional honors (59, ll. 13-28; 80, ll. 14-20) otherwise unattested in the rest of the dossier, which may reflect a particularly strong relationship between those cities and Magnesia. In this sense, the two cities were not fully respecting the "Empfängerformular" practice so widely attested in the *Leukophryena* dossier (Chaniotis 1999).

ginning of the 2nd century to the early 1st century.³¹ While speculative, it is possible that the same personnel were involved in the planning and concrete erection of the *Leukophryena* dossier. Furthermore, it is tempting to connect such careful planning and the potential involvement of a local ἀρχιτέκτων with the decision to redesign and monumentalize Magnesia's city center. The *Leukophryena* dossier was positioned facing the two recently constructed temples of Artemis *Leukophryene* and Zeus *Sosipolis*, which were commissioned at the conclusion of the 3rd century to one of the most renowned architects of the era, Hermogenes of Priene.³²

2. MICROSTRUCTURE: THE DOCUMENTS, THEIR LAYOUT, AND LECTIONAL SIGNS

Even on a more granular level, layout plays a critical role in expressing hierarchies and conveying broader messages. By and large, the documents passed by the leagues and cities were introduced by a heading, as attested in at least thirteen cases, following the formula παρά + genitive, with letters of a larger size (ca. 1.5 cm). These headings allow one to identify, at first glance, the various addressees, besides functioning as a break in the long sequence of decrees and letters; furthermore, they are a product of the Magnesian redactors.³³ Quite differently, the beginnings of the royal letters were marked by the reverse indentation (*ekthesis*) of the first letters of the word βασιλεύς, followed by the name of the sovereign.³⁴ This means that a different formatting coincided with a difference in the origin of each document.³⁵

All these texts were inscribed in elegant letters, carefully carved and regularly spaced, made more visible on the white marble by a dark red/brownish color.³⁶ The decrees have letters which are 1.0 cm high and have a constant interlinear distance of 0.5 cm. The *ductus* is extremely regular, and all the strokes end in hypertrophic apexes, leaning towards the outside. The introductory documents, along with the letters from the kings, have larger letters (2 cm).³⁷ By and large, the palaeographic

³¹ *IMagnesia* 93a, ll. 17-33; 100b, l. 24.

³² Ceccarelli 2018, 151-152. On Hermogenes: Hoepfner and Schwandner 1990; Mylonopoulos 2013.

³³ *IMagnesia*, pl. V. An analogous use of headings (but only in genitive plural and only for some of the cities involved) is attested in the *asylia* decrees from Kos (*IG* XII.4 215 I-V, 216A I-IV, 220 I-III, 221A I-II, Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 291 and 293) and in the *asylia* dossier from Teos (see above, n. 6).

³⁴ *IMagnesia*, pl. III. Reverse indentation is a layout device commonly adopted by masons to highlight the beginning of a new text (cf. the Opramoas dossier from Rhodiapolis: *TAM* II 905; Kokkinia 2000) or section within epigraphic dossiers (cf. the Rhodian arbitration between Priene and Samos: *IPriene B - M* 132, l. 180; Magnetto 2008, 258). In Magnesia, reverse indentation is adopted graphically to introduce metrical citations, too: see below, 224.

³⁵ Ceccarelli 2018, 174-175, 177.

³⁶ O. Kern in *IMagnesia* at p. XXX: "Die Linien waren mit brauner Farbe ausgefüllt".

³⁷ O. Kern in *IMagnesia* at pp. XXIX-XXXIX and pls. III-V. See also Santini 2020, 306-307 (table of diagnostic letters from *IMagnesia* 31, 43, 58, 61, 65a+75, 65b+76, 73, 85).

vest of the dossier conveys a sense of homogeneity and unity, which almost certainly suggests the work of a single mason.

This visual impression is also obtained through the use of specific punctuation and lectional signs across the various documents, one of the least explored aspects of the *Leukophryena* dossier. In contrast to contemporary epigraphic dossiers from Miletos or Priene, but similarly to later ones, such as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* at Ankyra and Antiochia, the Magnesian dossier stands out because of the variety of lectional signs and the frequency with which these appear throughout the surviving documents.³⁸ The most common, by far, is the use of vacats. They signal the beginnings of paragraphs, sentences, or parts of sentences. So, for example, in the Akarnanians' decree (*IMagnesia* 31, l. 36; Fig. 55) vacats were used to separate the different sections of the document, such as the prescript, the body of the decree, and further additional provisions. The same decree shows how vacats are also used to highlight smaller units, such as a particularly relevant sentence or the names of the Magnesian θεωροί (31, l. 42; Fig. 55). Royal letters receive the same treatment: vacats precede the king's name, separating it from the royal title, which, in turn, is indented.³⁹

However, the paratextual apparatus of the decrees is rather minimalistic if compared to that of *IMagnesia* 16 and 17.⁴⁰ As previously noted, both documents occupied a privileged position at the beginning of the dossier. My intention is to focus now on three paratextual features of these two documents: reverse indentation (*ekthesis*), the frequent use of vacats, and the presence of peculiar long dashes. I have chosen to focus on these layout features as they are highly relevant to the broader issue of how viewers and readers engaged with the dossier.

Reverse indentation was used in prosimetric documents to indicate the transition from the main text to oracular citations, thereby improving readability.⁴¹ This is why oracle sections in *IMagnesia* 16, ll. 7, 9–10 and in *IMagnesia* 17, ll. 16–23, 28–35, 38–41 are presented in *ekthesis*. Several parallels can be cited to compare this layout device, such as the inscription of Mnesiepes from Paros, dated to the 3rd century, which features reverse indentation for quotations of Archilochos and citations of oracles.⁴² Another example is the dossier from Miletos regarding grants of citizenship

³⁸ Miletos: *IDelphinion* 33–38. Priene: the late Hellenistic dossier of honorific decrees from the walls of the “Heilige Halle” (*IPriene B - M* 63–85). On the materiality and paratextuality of the *Res Gestae*: Cooley 2015, 2018, 2019.

³⁹ Royal letters in the *asylia* dossier from Kos show a similar layout strategy: cf., e.g., *IG* XII.4 209, l. 1. However, it is worth noting that in some instances this layout device is not employed: cf. Bosnakis and Hallof 2020, 293 (texts III and IV).

⁴⁰ See above, 219.

⁴¹ It is also widely attested in documents, commentaries, and lists written on papyrus: see Turner 1971, 9–10.

⁴² *SEG* XV 517A, col. 2, ll. 1–15, 50–52; col. 3, ll. 6–8, 31–35, 47–50; B, col. 1, ll. 14–44. On the layout and the use of lectional signs in the inscription: Gomis Garcia 2015, 113–117.

to Cretans in 234/233 and 229/228, which was displayed, among other inscriptions, on one of the walls of the *Delphinion*.⁴³ In this case, first-line indentation (*eisthesis*) is adopted to separate citations of oracles from the main text.⁴⁴

The apparent function of vacats in *IMagnesia* 16 and 17, as well as in the other documents in the dossier, is to indicate keywords, relevant phrases, or the beginnings of new sections. However, their presence in *IMagnesia* 16 and 17 is much more frequent, resulting in a particularly fragmented appearance of the epigraphic surface, especially in *IMagnesia* 16 (Fig. 56). The detailed dating formula at ll. 11–16, for example, is broken down into smaller units through the use of vacats. The fragmentation of the epigraphic surface may have been an intentional device to facilitate visual interaction with the text. This feature likely helped readers navigate through the elaborate synchronisms and different steps that led to the recognition of new games for the goddess.

A similar function may be shared by a series of dashes in mid-line position with prominent apices (*IMagnesia* 16, ll. 11, 16, 24, 28), which the stonemason employs in one case in combination with a vacat (l. 24; Fig. 56).⁴⁵ This same kind of dash can be found only once in *IMagnesia* 17, l. 4.⁴⁶ Although the precise relationship between this lectional sign and its role in the text is not evident in every instance, especially when compared to vacats, there are distinguishable patterns in its application. In some instances, it seems to highlight a keyword (*IMagnesia* 16, l. 11: τὸν χ[ρ]ησμόν; l. 16: πρῶτ[οι]). In others, it marks the beginning of a new section (ll. 23–24: [γεγο]λυτόων. >< νννν ὡς δὲ ἐπιβ[α]λόμενοι παρηλικύσθησ[αν]; ll. 27–28: [ἐκέχρησ]το >< στεφανηφοροῦντος δὲ Μοιραγόρου τὸν στεφαν[ίτην ἀγῶνα]; 17, l. 4: [... ca. 10 ψ]ηφισμάτων >< μέχρι μὲν [τούτων κατὰ νοῦν]).

From a modern standpoint, this is by far the most noticeable lectional sign employed in the whole dossier, mainly because of the scarcity of epigraphic parallels and, to my knowledge, complete absence in the papyrological evidence. It is otherwise unattested in Magnesia except in two instances. The first instance comes from the Tralles decree, which pertains to a later stage in the composition of the dossier (ca. mid-2nd century). In this document, the dash marks the beginning of a new section within the document, preceding the invocation of good fortune and the motion

⁴³ *IDelphinion* 33–35 (first series) and 36–38 (second series).

⁴⁴ *IDelphinion* 33f–g (drawing at p. 174).

⁴⁵ Ebert 1982, 206 is puzzled by the abnormal length of the vacat; consequently, he posits a *rasura* between >< and ὡς, suggesting that the phrase may originally have read as follows: οὕτως δὲ ἐπιβαλόμενοι παρηλικύσθησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ στεφανηφόρου (the stonemason is supposed to have forgotten the second δέ and subsequently to have erased [οὔτ]ως to correct the syntax). However, both extant squeezes of *IMagnesia* 16 do not show any clear trace of *rasura* (Fig. 56). Moreover, vacats and dashes are used together in Ephesos, too: see below, 226.

⁴⁶ Pace Slater and Summa 2006, 282 n. 25; see *IMagnesia*, pl. IV.

formula.⁴⁷ The second instance is *IMagnesia* 215a, a 2nd-century CE re-inscription of an allegedly original Hellenistic document (possibly 3rd century) that records a diplomatic mission by two θεότροποι and comprises the text of an oracle about the organization of Dionysiac θίασοι.⁴⁸ Dashes serve here as separators of personal names both in the prose introduction and in the text of the oracle (ll. 11, 32–33). They also isolate groups of one (ll. 13–14, 20–21, 23–24, 27–28, 28–30) or two hexameters (ll. 14–17, 17–20, 24–27) in the oracle. Neither usage is attested in the *Leukophryena* dossier or other Hellenistic inscriptions (see below), which might indicate that this is, in fact, a different lectional sign. After all, it is unclear whether these dashes were already present in the Hellenistic document that the inscription claims to be based upon, or if they were added when the text was re-inscribed in the 2nd century CE.⁴⁹

The presence of this long dash outside of Magnesia is rare, with only a few epigraphic attestations found.⁵⁰ These include the so-called “Gesetz über Schuldentilgung” from Ephesos (*IEphesos* 4; ca. 299) and the arbitration of Rhodes in the territorial dispute between Priene and Samos (*IPriene B - M* 132; ca. 196–192). The first document, a law concerning a crisis of the credit market, was inscribed on several blocks of a monumental wall that probably stood in the *Artemision*.⁵¹ The document consistently uses dashes with small serifs, usually placed in mid-line position, to separate different clauses; the dashes are paired with pronounced vacats in two instances, where they isolate titles of broader thematic sections (ll. 42–43: *ννν* >—< *ννν* ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγγύων τῶν ἐγγυωμένων πρὸς [αὐτὰ] τὰ κτήματα *ννν* >—< *ννν*; ll. 74–75: *ννν* >—< *ννν* ὑπὲρ τῶν δανε[ιστ]ῶν τῶν ἐμβεβηκότων εἰς κτήματα *ννν* >—< *ννν*). The second document, from Priene, was part of a wider epigraphic dossier displayed on the northern anta and external wall of the temple of Athena *Polias* in Priene.⁵² This document uses long dashes in two instances: first, at l. 112, to introduce a new sec-

⁴⁷ *IMagnesia* 85, ll. 13–14: φιλία πολλαπλασιόνως ἐ[παύξεται ἀκολού]θως τῆ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλε[ων φιλοτι]μίας >—< τύχη ἀγαθῆ δεδόχθαι.

⁴⁸ The document (photo in Henrichs 1978, 124) was engraved following the initiative of a private citizen, Apollonios Mokoldes (*SEG* XLV 1595), who was *mystes* of Dionysus (*IMagnesia* 215b). For the imperial date of the inscription: Henrichs 1978, 126 with n. 10; Lombardi 2007/2008, 550. Both authors are convinced of the authenticity of the document (cf. *BNJ* 482 F 5), thus placing the diplomatic mission either ca. 275 (Henrichs) or the last decade of the 3rd century (Lombardi). Jaccottet and Massa 2014, 288–289 and n. 4 voice instead skepticism about the authenticity of the oracle, without questioning the Hellenistic origin of the document copied by Apollonios.

⁴⁹ Dashes with serifs were indeed used in lists to separate names, sometimes in connection with numerals, in Attic inscriptions of the Roman period: Threatte, *Grammar* I nos. 5, 9 at pp. 90–91. Cf. also *IMagnesia* 116, a decree from the reign of Hadrian recording a decision to increase the city’s daily supply of olive oil for the Gymnasium. There, dashes are used to separate the products and the produced amount of each plot of land (ll. 36–67).

⁵⁰ For a survey of the attestations of this lectional sign see D. Amendola’s chapter in this volume.

⁵¹ Walser 2008, 11–15.

⁵² Magnetto 2008, 245 offers a reconstruction of the whole dossier.

tion where the Samians reply to the claims of the Prienians ([μέρη τινά, διελόντες εἰς] ἄλλους κλάρους πέντε.)—(ἔφα[σαν δὲ Σάμιοι]); and second, at l. 185, within a sentence in the section concerning the delimitation of the border (ll. 180–192), seemingly to emphasize a specific portion of the border that Priene intended to keep in its possession (τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν λόφον καὶ τὴν φάραγγα καὶ τοὺς ἐπικολαφθέντας ὄρους)—(εἴμειν Πριανέων).⁵³

The examples above illustrate that the use of the long dash was not confined to a specific type of document. They also seem to suggest that it had a dual function: emphasizing keywords and marking the beginnings of new sections. But caution in this regard is warranted. Closer examination of the aforementioned Ephesian inscription suggests that the dash was in fact not meant to fulfill the first of these functions.

In this inscription, three long dashes are positioned between lines at the left margin of the text columns (*IEphesos* 4, ll. 78–79, 86–87, 89–90). These three dashes have puzzled scholars,⁵⁴ but they clearly appear to serve as markers for the beginnings of new clauses. This positioning may have been necessary because the clauses to which they refer begin at the start of the line. In this respect, they bear a close resemblance to a *paragraphos*, which is a lectional sign of identical shape. The *paragraphos* was used to separate phraseological or conceptual sections within papyrological and epigraphic documents and was typically placed at the left margin of the text between lines.⁵⁵

It is conceivable that, in the original copy of the law on perishable material, all thematic section titles and clauses started at the beginnings of lines, with the *paragraphoi* placed in their standard position in the left margin of the text columns. The relocation of the *paragraphoi* inside the lines may have been a deliberate decision by the stonemason to save space and prevent blank lines, possibly achieved by arranging titles and clauses to follow one another without interruption. With the Ephesian example in mind, I suggest that this long dash in mid-line position be construed as a specifically epigraphic rendition of a *paragraphos* that aimed to assist the reader in navigating long and complicated texts. The transfer and relocation of left marginal *paragraphoi* from the perishable template to the mid-line of the epigraphic text could, however, result in mistakes and give the false impression of an effort to highlight keywords that was never actually intended. In reality, this was not a standard function of *paragraphoi*. This appears to be the case in *IMagnesia* 16, where the dashes at

⁵³ Photo in *IPriene B - M II* at pp. 108, 111; cf. Magnetto 2008, 66.

⁵⁴ H. Wankel at *IEphesos* 4, p. 12: “Die einzelnen ‘Paragraphen’ sind durch Spatien und waagrechte Linien markiert, wenn auch nicht konsequent (auf Block 3 finden sich diese Linien dreimal auch am linken Rand zwischen den Zeilen: vor Z. 79, 87 und 90)”; Walser 2008, 14: “Unklar ist die Funktion dreier solcher Linien, die auf Block 3 am linken Rand zwischen die Zeilen 78 und 79, 86 und 87 und schließlich 89 und 90 gesetzt sind”.

⁵⁵ Faraguna 2020, 117 with n. 37 and 119–122 on the widespread use of *paragraphoi* in different epigraphic genres.

lines 11 and 16 may have originally served to isolate the elaborate temporal indication (ἐπὶ στε[φανηφόρου] . . . Μεσσηνίου) rather than to emphasize two keywords (see above). Similarly, in Priene, there might be a slight displacement: the dash should have come after εἴμεν Πριανέων (l. 185), thereby marking the beginning of a new subsection of the document.⁵⁶

3. CONCLUSIONS. LAYOUT, MATERIALITY, AND READABILITY OF THE *LEUKOPHRYENA* DOSSIER

The epigraphic dossier displayed by the Magnesians in the center of their city offers valuable insights not only into a crucial moment of their civic history but also into the dynamics that shaped diplomatic interactions in the Hellenistic world. It illustrates the sophistication with which a polis could display its official correspondence on stone and in monumental form. To fully understand its meaning, it is essential to consider the spatial setting and layout, as well as the “paratextual” apparatus, as integral parts of the message(s) that such epigraphic monuments aim to transmit.

In examining the layout of the Magnesian epigraphic dossier, questions inevitably arise regarding its readability. Was the monument meant to be read, and if so, to what extent and how? These questions have surfaced in the discussion regarding lectional signs and the layout of specific documents, and they are the focus of the chapter’s concluding remarks.

The dossier’s location in the Magnesian public landscape ensured its persistent presence, both for citizens and residents (especially those who worked on a daily basis in the stores at the back of the stoa). Regardless of the overall literacy of the Magnesian population, it is certain that the documents could be viewed without being properly read.⁵⁷ A passerby could still be vaguely aware of the monument’s meaning while appreciating it as a visual memento of that specific moment in the city’s history.

The monument’s location and structure also raise questions about the full readability of the dossier. One concern is whether the documents inscribed on top of the pillars of the southern wall of the stoa, which were located at a height of ca. 4/5 meters from the ground, were visible and readable for someone standing inside the stoa (Map 2). Despite the size of the letters (ca. 2 cm) and their dark red/brownish

⁵⁶ I thank the editors of the volume for pointing me to the possible displacement of the dashes in *LMagnesia* 16 and *IPriene B - M* 132. For the idea that dashes at mid-height should be regarded as graphic variants of the “traditional” interlinear *paragraphoi* at the left margin see Amendola’s chapter in this volume.

⁵⁷ To assess the extent and social distribution of literacy in Magnesia during the Hellenistic era is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, for the purpose of my argument, the actual degree of literacy may not be crucial, as I propose that the dossier was intended to be read by specific readers, as discussed below, 229–230.

color, it would not have been easy for someone standing in the stoa to distinguish the letters. Another issue is the orientation of the “Pilaster wall”. According to the archaeological reconstruction of the stoa, the five pillars were flanked by four wide windows.⁵⁸ As the wall faces south, the documents inscribed on the pillars may have been against the light of the sun for most of the year, making them harder to read. In contrast, the documents displayed along the southern half of the western stoa were carved at eye level and would have benefited from different sources of light, such as direct light coming through the four south-facing windows and indirect light from the side facing the agora (Map 3).

Despite the challenges posed by the location and orientation of the Magnesian epigraphic dossier, the idea that it was intended to be read should not be abandoned. There are two reasons for this. First, the obstacles are not insurmountable and do not affect the entire dossier. Second, layout devices and lectional signs are functional in the epigraphic context and serve to create a recognizable visual framework for the observer, dividing the texts into logical units. Even if these elements were residual and carried over from a document on perishable material, they still served an epigraphic function in the monument.

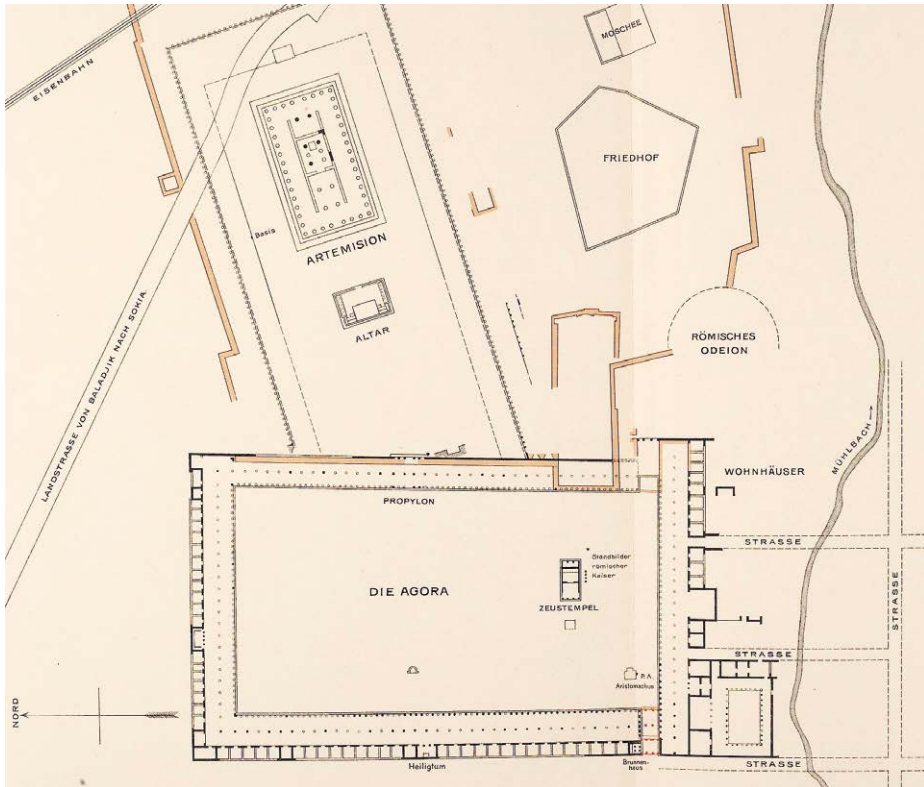
One final question remains: what type of reading was intended for the dossier? I propose that at least a portion, if not all, of the dossier was intended to be read aloud in a cultic context.⁵⁹ This suggestion is indirectly supported by evidence from Magnesia itself. While we do not possess sources attesting to public readings of the *Leukophryena* dossier, we do know that public readings of other documents displayed in the agora were part of celebrations of cult activities related to Artemis during the 2nd and 1st centuries. For example, in the context of the *Eisiteria*, the appointed secretary of the Council, along with the *antigraphus*, was responsible for publicly reading the decree regarding the organization of the *Eisiteria* four days before the feast celebration and after the appointment of Artemis’ priestess and the *stephanephoros*, under penalty of a substantial fine.⁶⁰ If such public readings were also connected to the *Leukophryena* epigraphic dossier, as I am proposing, we may interpret the dossier as the narrative complement to the celebrations taking place every four years – a vital component of the new games that made Magnesia the center of the Greek world.

⁵⁸ Humann *et al.* 1904, 112–113, 116–117.

⁵⁹ Reading inscriptions in cultic and ritual contexts was often the responsibility of specific readers in the Greek world. This practice is attested in various locations, such as Teos and Abdera, where magistrates were obliged to read out the inscription concerning public curses and could even compel scribes to do so (Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 102 C.d); in Hellenistic Crete, *kosmoi* were instructed to publicly read interstate agreements in the context of different festivals (Chaniotis, *Verträge*, at pp. 125–126); funerary inscriptions were also meant to be read out loud (*TAM* V.1 687, ll. 20–25).

⁶⁰ *IMagnesia* 100b, ll. 26–35.

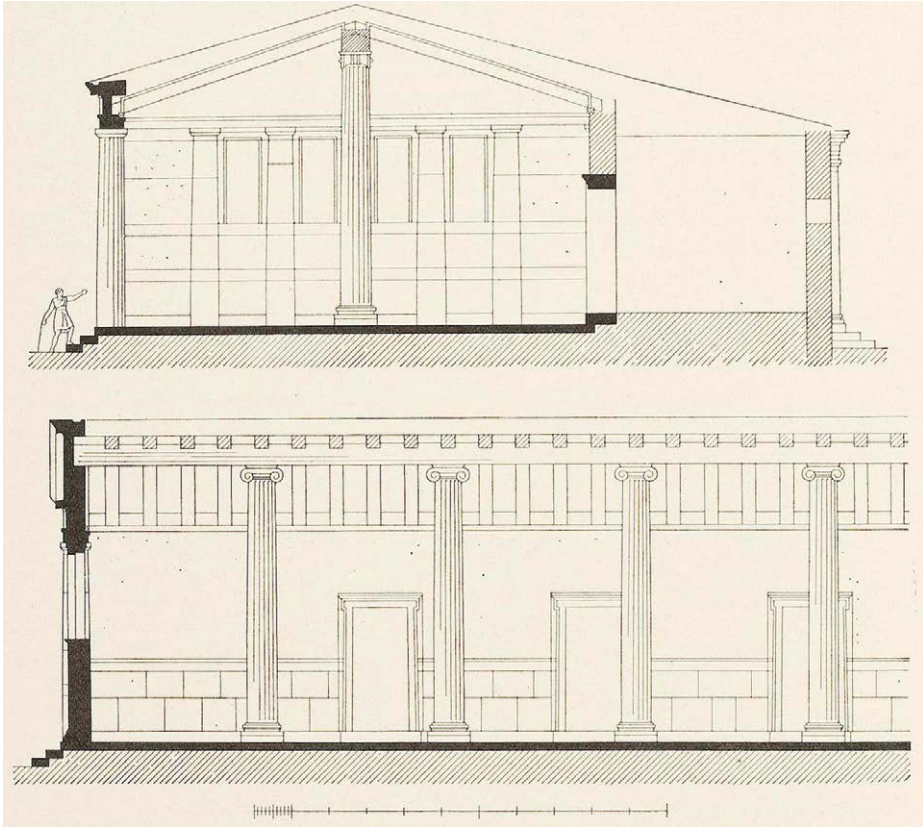
The dossier should be viewed in the context of the performative aspect of the celebrations honoring Artemis.⁶¹ Drawing on epigraphic testimonies that detail the processions during the feast in honor of Zeus *Sosipolis* and the *Eisiteria* for Artemis (*IMagnesia* 98, 100a–b), Hammerschmied has suggested that a procession would have taken place during the *Leukophryena*, passing through the agora *en route* to the *temenos*.⁶² Participants, including local priests and priestesses, magistrates, citizens, and foreign $\theta\epsilon\omega\pi\omicron\iota$, would have traversed the four porticoes of the agora counterclockwise, eventually arriving at the imposing dossier located in the west stoa. Procession attendees may have beheld the tangible markers of the Magnesian diplomatic effort with their own eyes while someone, perhaps a herald or the secretary of the Council and his *antigraphus* (as in *IMagnesia* 100b), read selected portions of the dossier aloud.



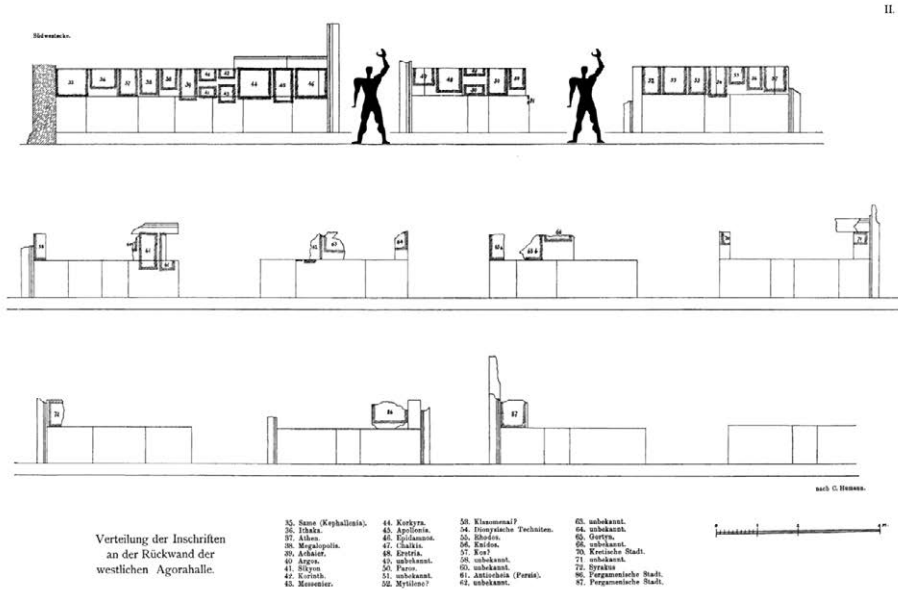
Map 1. The agora of Magnesia on the Maeander and the *temenos* of Artemis Leukophryene. From Humann *et al.* 1904, pl. II.

⁶¹ Ceccarelli 2018, 151–152; Santini 2020, 6 with n. 25.

⁶² Hammerschmied 2018, 98–110.



Map 2. The “Pilaster wall” and the southern sector of the west stoa.
From Humann *et al.* 1904, 116.



Map 3. The *Leukophryena* dossier: the back wall. From *IMagnesia*, pl. I, modified.

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