CHAPTER 4

Nobody Is Gonna Rain on My Parade: Experiencing Salutaris's Procession As a Ritual Event

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Risky Business: Ritual Performances As Cognitive Events

Performances are a risky business. A parade or procession is not just a performance but a metaphor for life, where one must accept a basic truth: into every life, a little rain must fall. The unpredictable and infelicitous nature of life is captured in the feature song from the popular Broadway musical 'Funny Girl' (1964), a tale about a charming but not conventionally attractive comedienne. Knowing that the odds may not be stacked in her favour, the heroine attempts to control the outcome of her performance with a positive acclamation: 'Don't rain on my parade!' The performance is a powerful event that, like the lyrics of the song, provides a cognitive feast for senses with opposing sounds, sights, tastes, and textures: sweet hard candy versus savoury hot butter, sensations of flying and falling, rhythms like the beat of a drum, the march of a band, perfection versus imperfection, the scent of a rose. The array of sensations and possibilities that greet the viewer accept the power and vulnerability of a performance as an event with a plurality of variables and outcomes.

The imperative acclamation against rain is, in reality, an affirmation of the negative impact that weather can have on a ritual performance. Her claim of control should thus be viewed as a reaction against the uncertainties and variables that constrain performances, not as proof of a successful outcome. Through the power and cadence of her voice, the vivid and emotive song lyrics, and a series of gestures, Funny Girl implores her

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audience to believe that she will succeed, even that she has control over the outcome of her performance. The positivist claims of the 'Funny Girl' performer echo the sentiments of many ritual accounts, in which a set of scripted actions and outcomes act in defiance of a precarious fate. Failure to differentiate between the claim (the presentation of an event in the text) and the reality of the performance (the event as it was experienced) can result in a reading of the event that is fundamentally rooted in the ideological world of the text rather than in the eyes of the ancient audience. Performers and patrons will naturally make efforts to secure a positive outcome for their performances, but these positivist claims, often reflected in surviving accounts of ritual events, may not accurately represent the experience of a ritual, particularly, the possibility of negative outcomes and/or ritual failure.[1] Variables and mixed outcomes apply to all ritual performances; success is never guaranteed.[2] Roman rituals had to be performed correctly, failure to do so could result in the failure of the ritual.[3] In reality, the outcome of a performance depended on physical and emotional contexts, and the behaviour of both the performers and the audience, most of which are taken for granted in a scripted account of a ritual.

Scripts of ritual performances can be problematic on a number of levels, not only for the aspirations they record but also for the way in which these sources tend to be treated by scholars as holistic guides or accounts of a performance. For example, in a modern context, few would assume that a film adaptation of a book is a faithful reproduction; characters and scenes are adapted or omitted and even the outcome/ending can be changed. In the ancient world, however, the paucity of surviving information can lead scholars to treat a surviving script of a ritual event as a faithful account of both the experience and the outcome of the ritual. These static script-based reconstructions of ritual events can obscure the mutability and spontaneity that made these events exciting, engaging, and memorable experiences.

Chaniotis's scholarship of emotions and ritual events, however, suggests a different perspective, which considers the role of cognitive perception, practicalities, and negative outcomes in ritual events, through a Murphy's

[1] Chaniotis 2013: 172 states: 'Regulations concerning the organisation of festivals, such as known from the Hellenistic East and Roman East, often take measures to ensure that a prescribed mood prevails: concord, pride, and joy'. See also Latham 2016: 39–42 and Rüpke 2016: 4–5.

[2] Chaniotis 2007, 2012. Latham's recent study (2016) of the *pompa circensis* highlights ritual failures in processions, presenting some interesting parallels for contextualising Salutaris's procession. Broader interdisciplinary approaches on ritual failure include Schieffelin 1998, Chaniotis 2007, Grimes 1988, Hüsken 2007, and Latham 2016.

[3] Chaniotis 2007, 2013, Latham 2016: 39–43.

Law perspective (what can go wrong, will go wrong).[4] Assessments of ritual in broader fields such as anthropology, geography, philosophy, and archaeology acknowledge the difficulties in a script-based approach, such as disassociations between a ritual act, its materials, and location, together with inevitable variations between the script, the context of the event, and the performance.[5] Those who seek to understand a specific ritual performance must address both the script and the experience of an event.[6] One cannot know exactly what the audience experienced but one can read the emotional context of an event by a close examination of a text's social, cultural, and urban contexts.[7]

Salutaris's foundation, a long monumental inscription inscribed outside the theatre at Ephesus circa 104 CE, provides a unique opportunity to examine a scripted ritual in action. The foundation, though damaged, has been well-documented: bases for the ritual performance survive, the urban context of the city, the route, and the theatre, are well preserved. A roughly contemporary fictive account of a procession for Artemis in Ephesus by Xenophon of Ephesus, *An Ephesian Tale*, also provides a means of assessing the emotional context and experience of a ritual event. As one might expect, the voice of Salutaris in surviving documents resonates with repeated claims of control over time, space, objects, performers, and the outcome of his procession. While he does not claim to control the weather, repeated attempts to control future outcomes should be regarded carefully, in terms of how these claims were presented in the inscription and how they may have come to fruition in the ritual event.

Salutaris's foundation provides a wonderful dream of his ideal performance but is it accurate to project his claims as the only possible outcome of his ritual performance? Attempts to restore and recreate the past, like Salutaris's attempt to control his ritual event, invariably impose one's own values and vision of what an event should be.[8] As long as we are open to different interpretations and outcomes, this exercise in analysis and imagination need not be an impediment. Just as Funny Girl's claims of success arise from a juxtaposition of possible (positive and negative

[4] Chaniotis 2007: 48–66, esp. 49–51.

[5] Schechner 1988, Schieffelin 1998, Stavrianopoulou 2006, Elsner 2007, Chaniotis 2007, Hüsken 2007, Graff 2011, Moser and Feldman 2014, Cresswell 2015, Dillion, Eidinow and Maurizio 2016, Latham 2016.

[6] Chaniotis 2012: 85.

[7] Chaniotis 2012: 94–5: 'Although the ancient historian cannot study what people felt, he or she can study the external stimuli that generated emotions, as well as the social parameters that determined when or how emotions were represented in texts and images.'

[8] Latham 2016: 70–2.

outcomes), a careful reading and reconstruction of Salutaris's processions offer a reconstruction of an event with various experiences and outcomes.

Recent scholarship in a broad range of fields has fundamentally shaped the way that scholars approach ritual documents, contexts, and performances.[9] In light of new approaches to epigraphy, emotions, and rituality, there are a few aspects of Salutaris's inscription that could be reconsidered. This chapter aims to step beyond the directives of his foundation, to consider how the procession may have functioned as a cognitive experience with positive and negative outcomes. Starting from Salutaris's script for the ritual event, this chapter will consider how each aspect of performance may have functioned as an experience: Part I: Experiencing the Script: Salutaris's Foundation and monuments, Part II: Experiencing the Procession, and Part III: Experiencing the Ritual Performance. The aim is to examine the scope of variability in the performance of a ritual in a specific time and place: how each procession was not a static performance but a transformative experience with a plurality of meanings and outcomes.

Part I Experiencing the Script: Salutaris's Foundation

Scholarship and Salutaris's Foundation

The foundation of Gaius Vibius Salutaris, ratified late December 103 CE or early January 104 CE, records a financial gift of 21,500 denarii (the interest of which was to be distributed to civic groups in lotteries during the celebration of Artemis's birthday) and a series of thirty-one gold and silver statuettes, which were to be carried by certain civic groups in a procession from the Artemision to the theatre (and then back to the Artemision).[10] There has already been a great deal of scholarship on Salutaris' foundation and the resulting procession. The history of the monument can be traced

[9] Recent studies are numerous. Those most relevant to this survey include: Schechner 1988, Schieffelin 1998, Gardiner and Richardson-Klavehn 2000, Stavrianopoulou 2006, Elsner 2007, Chaniotis 2007, 2011, 2012, 2013, Hüsken 2007, Graff 2011 and 2015, Weiss 2012, Moser and Feldman 2014, Cresswell 2015, Van Nijf & Williamson 2015, Dillion, Eidinow and Maurizio 2016, Latham 2016, Ng 2018, 2019, Campbell 2021, Van der Graaff and Poehler 2021.

[10] *I.Eph* 27. Rogers's comparison of Salutaris's foundation to analogous foundations attests to the unparalleled nature of this benefaction (Rogers 1991: 186–90). Subsequent studies have come to the same conclusions (Gebhard 1996, Elsner 2007, Graff 2011). The number of statues can change: thirty-one are mentioned in the text, twenty-seven were carried in the first version of the procession, then two more were added (twenty-nine) the following month. For detailed discussion, see Kokkinia 2019.

from its discovery by J. T. Wood, drawings and reconstructions of the text by Heberdey, its publication in the first volume of *Inschriften von Ephesos* to more recent publications such as Guy Rogers' detailed reconstruction of the procession.[11] Published after Price's ground-breaking scholarship on the Imperial Cult, Rogers remains a seminal work of scholarship, offering a careful assessment of the inscription, the foundation, the procession, and its route through the urban context.[12]

Rogers's reconstruction of Salutaris's procession reflects the order, the solidarity, and the permanency conveyed by the text, presenting an event that took place 'exactly as it was scripted'.[13] This approach to ritual reconstructions can seem a bit static, it does not consider the significant changes that could be caused by variant circumstances, performers, types of performance, audience, atmosphere, etc.[14] Subsequent scholarship has often employed this information with a focus on connecting the text and the event it describes, with particular focus on the portable images and buildings along the processional route, in a 'dynamic, stereoscopic display'.[15] Subsequent scholars, however, have raised issues with Rogers's text-based readings of Salutaris and the *boule* (the local assembly) and *demos* (translated as 'the Ephesian people', generally male citizens of the city who attended the *boule*) in particular, his interpretation of the event as a primarily didactic experience for the *ephebes* (young male citizens (circa fourteen to seventeen years of age)) 'to educate the youth and future leaders about the city's history and social order'.[16] While surviving monuments clearly attest to the fact that the procession took place, they are not, as Rogers suggests, proof that the ritual performance took place 'exactly as Salutaris planned it' or that it had a consistently successful outcome.[17]

Recent scholarship on Salutaris's procession, including Weiss's reconstruction of the procession as a place-making event and Ng's assessment of the ritual performance, have provided valuable contributions to our understanding of the event. Weiss's work on place-making steps beyond Rogers's

[11] Rogers 1991: 80–126. See also Feuser 2014.
[12] Price 1984. Rogers's scholarship of local institutions continues to flourish (Rogers 2012).
[13] Rogers 1991: 83.
[14] This issue is noted by Weiss 2012 and reviewers: Guettel Cole 1993: 590 and Walbank 1994: 90.
[15] Ng 2018: 74. Previous scholarship on this aspect of the foundation includes Rogers 1991: 112–15, Gebhard 1996: 121–3, Yegül 2000: 152, Elsner 2007: 233, Weiss 2012: 59–61.
[16] Rogers 1991: 40 and Rogers 2012: 184–5. Critiques note a need to differentiate between the claims of the text and the ritual events. Van Bremen 1993: 246 who notes that many questions in the text have not been explored, resulting in an analysis 'almost too streamlined . . . without allowing for loose ends'.
[17] Rogers 1991: 102. Weiss (2012, 58 n. 48) and Van Bremen in her review of Rogers (1993: 246), who question whether the procession took place exactly as prescribed, still suggest a successful outcome.

benefactor-centred approach to consider broader meanings and contexts for the ritual. Ng considers how ritual performance, often labelled as 'ephemeral', could have a more longstanding impact by means of a 'symbiosis between physical artefacts, recurring ritual, and honorific practice', which served to honour Salutaris through a repeated ritual performance and visual association.[18] While Weiss and Ng offer constructive insights to the ritual experience, their assessments are built upon Rogers's reconstruction of the procession as a successful event that adheres faithfully to Salutaris's claims of a positive outcome.[19]

Ng's insightful observations about semantic learning (things that we 'just know') and ritual repetition cite an equation '2+2=4' as an example of how repetition embeds expectation and/or knowledge of an outcome. While 2 + 2 almost invariably equals 4, and the script of a ritual may present a similar sense of repetition and outcome, the performance of a ritual is a more complex endeavour.[20] Ritual events could provide a myriad of different experiences and outcomes. The assumption that a ritual had a predictable or guaranteed outcome seems to overlook the capricious and organic atmosphere that made these experiences unique and exciting. The perception of a ritual was shaped by its outcome. A key factor in understanding the experience of a ritual, therefore, is a consideration of how different outcomes impacted the perception of a ritual performance.[21] While positive outcomes are likely, recent scholarship on the concept of ritual failure prompts us to approach ritual events with caution. The concept of ritual failure does not undermine Ng's observations on the value of semantic learning, rather, it adds another level of understanding; repetitions that were intended to embed continuity could also come to represent change. The Roman term *instauratio* refers both to the repetition of a ritual and attempts at expiation: correcting a failed ritual performance.[22] It is worth questioning whether this event took place as it

[18] Ng 2018: 79–81. Ng makes insightful points about the impact of recurring rituals and the deficit of previous scholarship (save Weiss) in considering how periodic performances interact with monuments.

[19] Ng 2018: 76–7 notes the 'positive public image of an elite' was 'the objective of successful commemoration'.

[20] Discussion of the role of repetition in the perception of ritual is also featured in Blanka Misic's Chapter 1 in this volume.

[21] One could develop a semantic understanding of a ritual that was continually repeated with a similar outcome. The outcome, however, impacted the perception of the ritual, perhaps resulting in a degree of disengagement; we tend not to pay much attention to things that we 'just know'.

[22] Concepts of *instauratio*, repetition, and expiation in ritual performance are explored more thoroughly in Latham 2016: 39–44 and 151–2.

was scripted and if the experience of the ritual was the same for all audience members (citizens, performers, foreigners).

Kokkinia's recent study of Salutaris as a benefactor illustrates how little we know of the man: he was a Roman citizen of the equestrian order and member of the Ephesian *boule*, who held posts as a military tribune, a tax farmer, a grain supply contractor, and subprocurator in Sicily, Mauritania, and Belgium.[23] Building upon critiques of Rogers, Kokkinia's revisions of the fragmentary inscription raise a number of important questions about how the foundation worked in practice: if Salutaris retained the principle sum, whether the statuettes of Trajan and Plotina were added to the procession after his death, whether he was well-received by the local elite.[24] She examines a number of the monumental claims: how Salutaris managed the funds, the significance of terminology, the sizes of the statuettes, and subsequent changes to the foundation.[25] Her presentation of Salutaris as a well-connected, savvy businessman-benefactor steps beyond script-based approaches, questioning the accuracy of a script as a sole source for reconstructing the ritual event.

Salutaris Foundation As a Script: Repetition, Rituality, and Claims of Control

Gaius Vibius Salutaris's bequest, which was proposed and formally ratified on the sixth day of the month of Poseidon (December/January in late 103 or 104 CE) was probably the product of substantial discussion and negotiation with the *boule* and *demos*.[26] The resulting monument, often called 'Salutaris's foundation' was inscribed on the south parodos of the Theatre

[23] Surviving bases include the Tribes of the Sebaste (*I.Eph* 28), the Teians (*I.Eph* 29), the Karenaeans (*I. Eph* 30), the Bembinaeans (*I.Eph* 31) as well as civic groups: the *Paides* (*I.Eph* 33), the *Ephebes* (*I.Eph* 34), the *Gerousia* (*I.Eph* 35); base for gold statues (*I.Eph* 36B). A house that has been identified with Salutaris, on account of a fulminous bit of graffiti, has not afforded much information in connection with his foundation (Kokkinia 2019: 235–43).

[24] Ng suggests that Salutaris's 'minimal long-term planning' may have come at his own expense, implying that *boule* and *demos* kept the principle (2018: 83). Kokkinia contradicts this, suggesting that the principle sum was never relinquished by Salutaris, and prescriptions for future donations were deliberately vague and within his control (Kokkina 2019: 225–31). Her reading of syntax for the Imperial statues (Trajan and Plotina) implies that they were already in Salutaris's possession: we do not know if they were ever given to the Artemision or used in the procession (2019: 233–5).

[25] Kokkina 2019. Claims of immutability were countermanded within months of the ratification and claims that the foundation would last 'for all time' are undermined by contingency plans for future buyers.

[26] Rogers's assessment of Demosthenes's foundation at Oenoeanda suggests that negotiating foundations was a significant undertaking: 'negotiating the role of the imperial cult in the festival took the better part of a year . . . the result . . . was not . . . a tension free link . . . rather, the incorporation of the imperial cult . . . into a procession which displayed the civic hierarchy of the polis'. Rogers 1991: 91.

at Ephesus by the *boule* and *demos*.[27] The term 'foundation' is a bit of a misnomer: the monument is a collection of seven documents from local institutions and Imperial officials (proconsul and legate) which records complex interactions between a private citizen, civic institutions (e.g. the *ephebes* and Ephesian tribes, the *boule* and *demos*) and Imperial authorities. These documents, which repeat key information (i.e. dates, ritual directives, and successful affirmations), present a relatively seamless and streamlined process.[28] This image is at odds with the complexity of the foundation and the process recorded in other foundations.[29]

1. Document 1: An honorary decree for Salutaris and his foundation (ll. 1–133).
2. Document 2: Salutaris's proposal διάταξις as ratified by the Boule (ll. 134–332).
3. Document 3: Letter from Aquillius Proculus, the proconsul (ll. 333–69).
4. Document 4: Letter from Afranius Flavianus, *legatus pro praetore* (ll. 370–413).
5. Documents 5–6: Decrees by the Ephesian council allowing gold bearers to participate in the procession and providing seating (ll.414–30; 431–46).
6. Document 7: Salutaris's further proposal (διάταξις) (ll. 447–568).

The foundation is a monument to control, it sets out what was given including the capital sums that were awarded to each civic group in the lottery, the weight, material, and image of the statuettes, when the processions took place, who would carry and care for the statuettes, how the procession would proceed as well as where the statuettes would be placed within the theatre.[30] Of equal importance were forbidden actions: changes to the foundation, selling off the foundation, and damaging the statuettes.[31] Rogers observes the 'relentless use of ritual language' and the use of repeated *formulae* also convey ritual action.[32] These repetitions have important ramifications for rituality and questions of readership.

[27] *I.Eph* 27, l. 4. A copy of the foundation was also set up in the Artemision.
[28] Using the consular dates for Salutaris's bequests (Doc. 2 and Doc. 7), the foundation was ratified in January 104 CE with subsequent additions ratified at the end of the third week in February.
[29] Rogers 1991: 91.
[30] For the role of epigraphic evidence in staging theatre rituals, see Chaniotis 2007: 48–66, for the need to regulate ritual and theatrical performances for emotional outcomes, cf. Chaniotis 2013: 170–2.
[31] For the role of emotions in epigraphy, cf. Chaniotis 2012: 11–36; 91–129 (esp. 94–7).
[32] Rogers 1991: 29. Chaniotis 2007: 54: 'The fact that we have stereotypical formulae should not be misinterpreted as evidence for a routine, the formula presupposes a stereotypical action: a ritual.'

More than 10 per cent of the 568 lines in five of the seven documents refer to the inviolability (e.g. penalties against changes determined by the Roman governing officials) of the ritual event, making this feature possibly the most important point of the foundation: 25,000 denarii to Artemis, 25,000 to the emperor. 'If anyone either private citizens or city officials should put to vote anything against the bequest, which is ratified by this decree, or change it, let the whole thing opposite be invalid.'[33] The language of the penalty clause, not unlike Greek or Roman curse tablets or the Customs Law of Asia, sets out both a punishment and a wide net of possible offenders, including urban officials at Ephesos.[34] The penalty for changing the foundation claimed to be about twice its net worth, and these funds would be split between Artemis and the fiscus of lord Caesar.[35] The repeated nature of the penalties suggests genuine fears, which may reflect Salutaris's experience as a tax official and as a witness at ritual events. Attempts to control the success of the foundation should be seen as an attempt to create stability, rather than proof of its existence. Despite warnings, changes were made to the inscription and the ritual performance.[36] Claims that the event took place 'for all time' were not applicable in practice: organising officials were only employed for their lifetimes.[37]

Salutaris's foundation provides numerous stage directions regarding space. Instructions for the execution of the procession are set out five times.[38] The placing of the statuettes on the bases is repeated five times in the different documents and appears to be a key part of the ritual performance at the theatre (explored in Part III).[39] The statuettes were carried by the guards and two *neopoioi* (temple wardens) from the Temple of Artemis to the Magnesian Gate, where they were handed over to the *ephebes*, who carried them to the theatre, returning them to the *neopoioi* and the guards at the Koressian gate after the precipitating event

[33] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 108–16. Threats against changes, alterations, reallocations of funds or statues are repeated throughout: *I.Eph* 27 ll. 108–16, 315–25, 358–65, 403–13, 556–68.

[34] For common curse tablet *formulae*, see Gager 1992: 13–14.

[35] Rogers 1991: 27–8. The total fine (50,000), worth nearly twice the value of the foundation, is in character with similar fines recorded in the Customs of Asia: a fine for double the value is imposed on persons who have not registered and paid customs duty on property (Cottier *et al.* 2008: ll. 87–8).

[36] *I.Eph* 27 (Docs. 5–7) ll. 414–568. Subsequent changes (107 CE) included statuettes and bases in the theatre (*I.Eph* 27 and *I.Eph* 36 A-D). Penalties do not appear to have been imposed for these changes.

[37] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 278–84.

[38] Twice in the record by the *boule*, twice in Salutaris's bequest, and once in Salutaris's later bequest: *I. Eph* 27 ll. 38–48, 90–104 (Doc. 1); 202–12, 270–3 (Doc 2); 552–68 (Doc. 7).

[39] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 156–8, 202–7, 439–41, 465–8, 470–7.

(**Figure 4.1**). This procession was to occur repeatedly: at the first new moon's sacrifice of the archieratic year, during the twelve sacred gatherings and regular assemblies every month, at the Sebasteia, the Soteria, and Penteric festivals, at all athletic contexts, and on any other days determined by the *boule* and *demos*.[40] The text prescribes many factors, such as who carries the statues (the guards, the *neopoioi*, and the *ephebes*) and how they are meant to be carried 'with due dignity'.[41] Later additions scripted where statue bearers could sit and what they should wear (white robes).[42] These elements, added to the staging of the ritual, seem to focus on the performance at the theatre, rather than the procession.

The statuettes, like the foundation, are presented as inviolate, barring a detailed list of changes to 'cult images' or 'other images', melting them down or 'doing any evil' or adjusting the weight of the statuettes (111 pounds in total), which is to be measured and checked.[43] Descriptions, types, weights, and pairings of the statues are subject to fifty lines of text.[44] The descriptors for the types of statuettes (*apeikonismata* (a likeness or possibly a reproduction of a statue)) and *eikona* (portrait/likeness) have been the subject of much discussion and debate but definitive conclusions on the meanings are not forthcoming.[45] The groupings present an amalgamation of different local and Roman institutions, presenting an image of successful cultural syncretism.[46]

Trajan and Plotina: kept by Salutaris in his house during his lifetime

1. Artemis and The Boule: Artemis, 2 deer, The Senate, The Boule
2. Artemis and The Gerousia*: Artemis, The city of Rome, the Gerousia[47]
3. Artemis and the Ephebes*: Artemis, The Equestrian Order, the Ephebes
4. Artemis and the Tribe of Sebaste*: Artemis, Deified Augustus, Sebaste Tribe

[40] *I.Eph* 27. 48–56 and 213–14.

[41] Who carries the statuettes is set out in *I.Eph* 27 ll. 48–56, 103–5, 204–13. How the statuettes are to be carried is set out in *I.Eph* I 27 ll. 212–13.

[42] Seating and costumes are described in *I.Eph* 27 ll. 429–32.

[43] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 214–19.

[44] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 148–97.

[45] Kokkinia 2019: 233–5 and 244–5. Ng (2018: 72) explores these terms on a less detailed basis.

[46] Whether or not this syncretism was successful in reality is a different question. Rogers's (1991) grouping of images into separate categories such as 'Roman Road' (p. 86) and 'Roman Images' (p. 91) can undermine the image of syncretism and/or cultural hybridisation. Rogers' exclusion of cultural hybridisation is noted by van Bremen 1993: 246 and Guettel Cole 1993: 590. For the role of these pairings with Imperial Cult worship, see Price 1984: 102–4 and Gebhard 1996: 121–3.

[47] The city of Rome has been restored from a surviving base to the Gerousia *I.Eph* 35. Ll. 7–8 *unam urbis Romae*, ll. 17–18 ἡγεμονίδος Ῥώμης. Divine Augustus is restored from *I.Eph* 28 ll. 8 and 18.

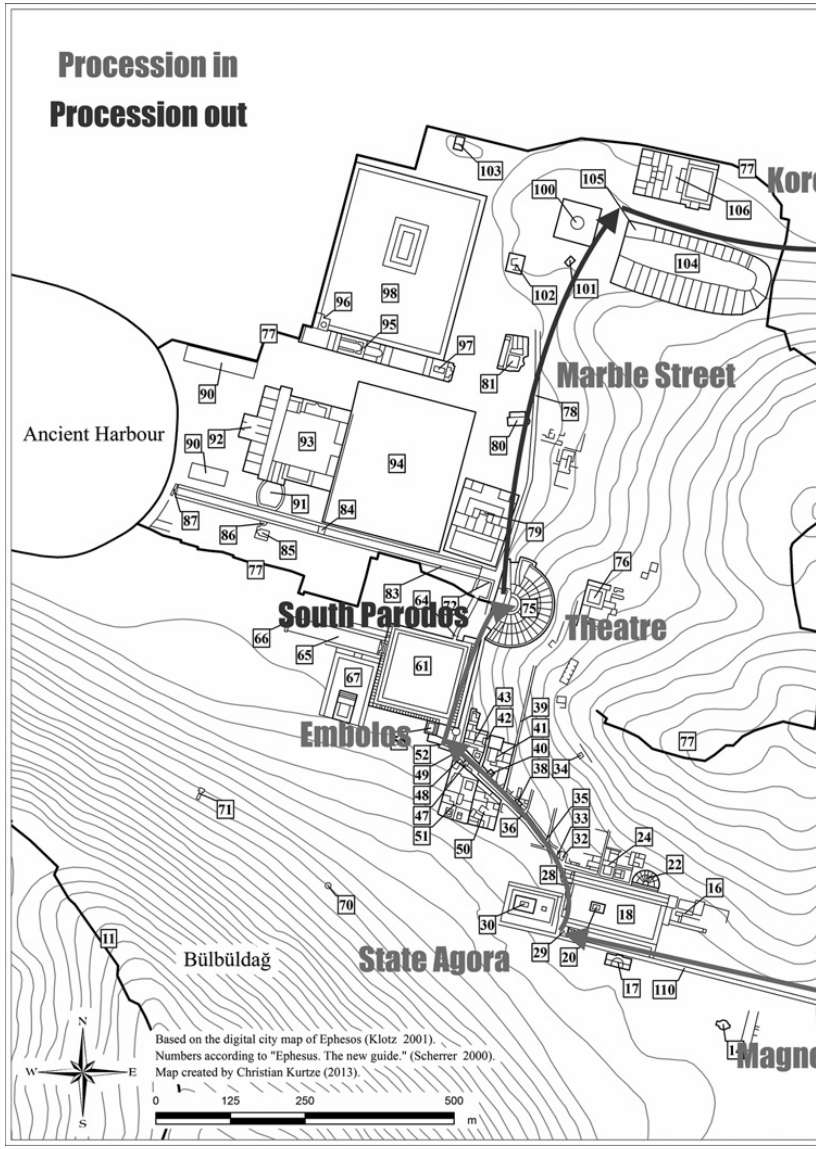

Figure 4.1 Map of Ephesus depicting the Processional Route. Courtesy of the Austrian Archaeological Institute/Academy of Sciences (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften). Copyright ÖAW/ÖAI. Labels and arrows added by A. Graham

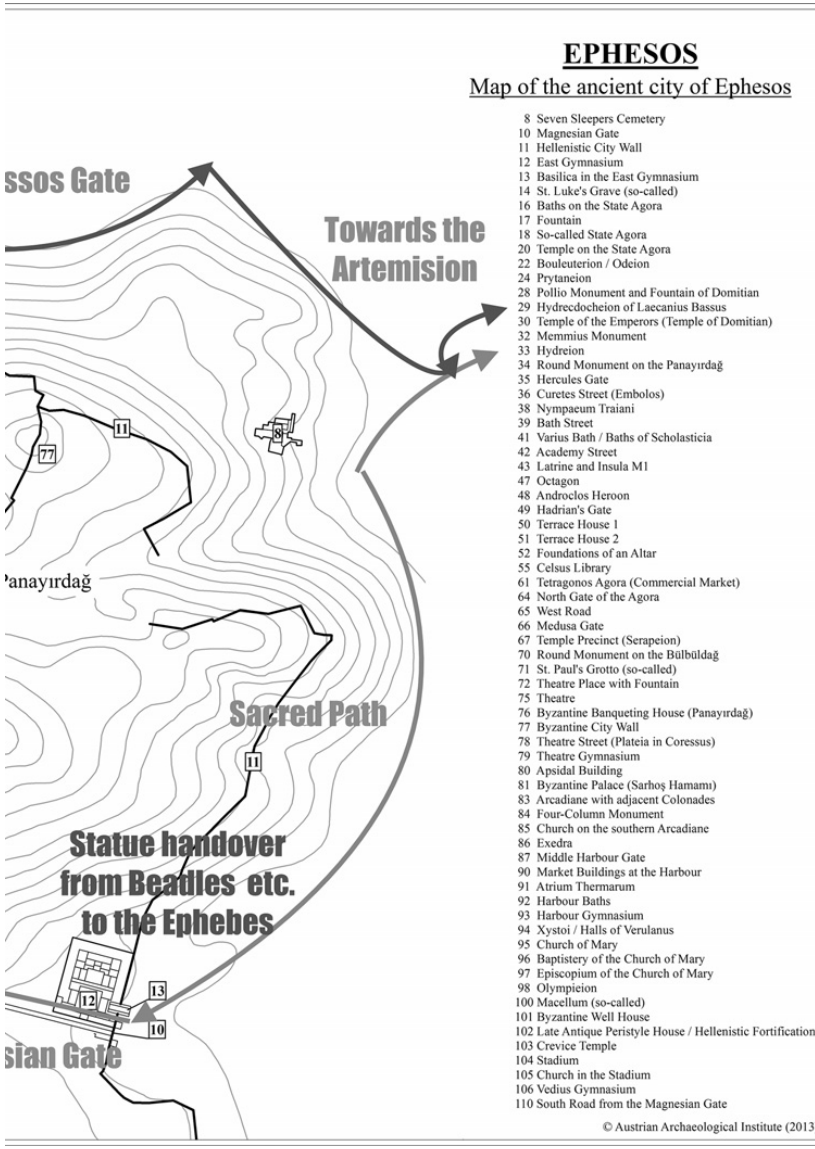

Figure 4.1 (cont.)

5. Artemis and Tribe of Ephesians: Artemis, Demos of Rome(?) Ephesian Tribe
6. Artemis and Tribes of Karenaeans*: Artemis, Androkles, Karenaean Tribe
7. Artemis and Tribe of the Teians*: Artemis, Lysimachus (?) Teian Tribe
8. Artemis and Tribe of Euonumoi: Artemis, Euonumos, Tribe of Euonumoi
9. Artemis and Tribe of Bembinaeans*: Artemis, Pion Tribe of Bembinaeans
10. **Artemis and Ephesian Boys (*Paides*)*: Athena Pammousos
11. **Artemis and the Chrysophoroi: Sebaste Homonoia Chrysophoros[48]

The record of the statues asserts control over a positive outcome: setting out weights, material, maintenance, and conduct of those who carried them. However, these claims of positive outcomes and perpetuity in the text are contradicted by the numerous repetitive clauses of threats and penalties against a stream of possible negative outcomes for performers, props and the procession itself (e.g. changes, desecration, even death). The weights for statuettes, some of which survive (this part of the foundation is quite fragmentary), do not reveal the size of the statuettes. While further study could add to these discussions, there is a general consensus that the figures were statuettes rather than statues, which impacts visibility and one's ability to recognise specific figures or connections within the urban space.[49]

Salutaris's foundation makes several attempts to control the staging of the ritual performance, including elements such as timing, money, space, and appearance (of the images and the performers), to ensure a positive outcome for the event. Assurances include the inviolability of the foundation (time), the solvency of the finances (money), the course and frequency of the procession, the ritual placement of statues on bases (space), as well as the care of statues and the proper behaviour of the performers (imagery). Each of these positivist claims represents an element of unpredictability and a possible negative outcome in the foundation. The need to fund and establish clear directives for the ritual performance acknowledges the difficulties that Ephesians experienced in performances, which was also attested in a monumental inscription

[48] *Bases for these statuettes have survived in the Theatre. **Addenda to the original dedication.
[49] Gebhard 1996: 122, Kokkinia 2019: 235–9.

on the theatre's north parodos.[50] While repetitions are an integral part of the document, the extent to which ritual language and repetitions were visible to a passing viewer, requires more consideration.

Reading Salutaris's Foundation: The Visibility of the Foundation

While repetitive language and clauses in Salutaris's foundation have been a subject of much scholarship, the way that these features were presented in the monumental inscription and how this message was understood by the audience, has received less attention. The British Museum's image of the reconstructed foundation inscription (**Figure 4.2**) is used by Rogers

Figure 4.2 Photograph of Salutaris's Foundation. © The Trustees of the British Museum

[50] *I.Eph* 17. The Decree of Paullus Fabius Persicus (circa 44 CE) regulated expenses (including payments and benefits for civic groups) at games and performances in Ephesus. The document is often seen as a rebuke of the Ephesian civic institution for poor financial management. For commentary on Persicus's decree within the Imperial framework and history at Ephesus, see Dignas 2001: 148–52.

and several scholars, who tend to adopt his views that the text was 'difficult to read', labelling the inscription as a 'conspicuous' but a largely 'symbolic' monument.[51] This conflation between reading a script and viewing a performance is understandable, especially given the difficulties in accessing the monumental inscription in its current state.[52] In ancient and modern contexts, the idea of bringing a script into a performance may seem strange. The script, like the root of a tree, tends to remain below ground with the performance rising up from it. The conspicuous nature of the text's location does not necessarily imply a reading of the text, but it does suggest visual engagement with the appearance of the monument.

One needs to differentiate between reading a script and reading a monument. While there is not sufficient time or space here to devote a full study to the monumental inscription and the surviving bases, a few key aesthetic observations can be made.[53] The foundation inscription was a work of art: with 568 surviving lines of text beautifully arranged across six columns at a height from 2.08 to 4.30 metres, it was some carver's or his workshop's masterpiece. The varying letter sizes (1–4 cm) are used to illustrate key sections of the text, and not, as has been implied, only decreasing in size from top to bottom.[54] While we think of text as two-dimensional writing (this is often how we read inscriptions in a published format), inscribed letters present a fundamentally different experience: they are tangible, three-dimensional with light and depth. They are much larger than conventional writing, which emphasises their monumentality. The location of the script in a prominent place outside the theatre (**Figure 4.1**, no. 75), where the procession would pause before going up the steps to the balustrade, was not coincidental: it gave performers and the prospective audience a moment to glance at a visual record of the event. A glance was not sufficient to read part or all of the text, but it may have

[51] Weiss 2012: 52 and 59, Ng 2018: 69.

[52] The inscription, damaged during its removal by British excavations, is now in pieces, propped on the wall of a crowded storeroom in the British Museum. While the British Museum is very helpful in allowing access, the state of the materials, the space, and the lighting do not make for an enriching cognitive experience: it can be very difficult to get a decent photograph. As a result, most scholars use the British Museum's photograph of the reconstructed text, where the text is almost impossible to read.

[53] A more detailed study of the appearance and organisation of the monumental inscription is forthcoming by the author.

[54] This aspect of descending letter sizes, although a feature of the statuette bases, is not a primary part of organisation in the foundation inscription (Ng 2018: 64–5). Letter size varies throughout the foundation inscriptions, usually to emphasise key phrases and formulaic elements such as headings.

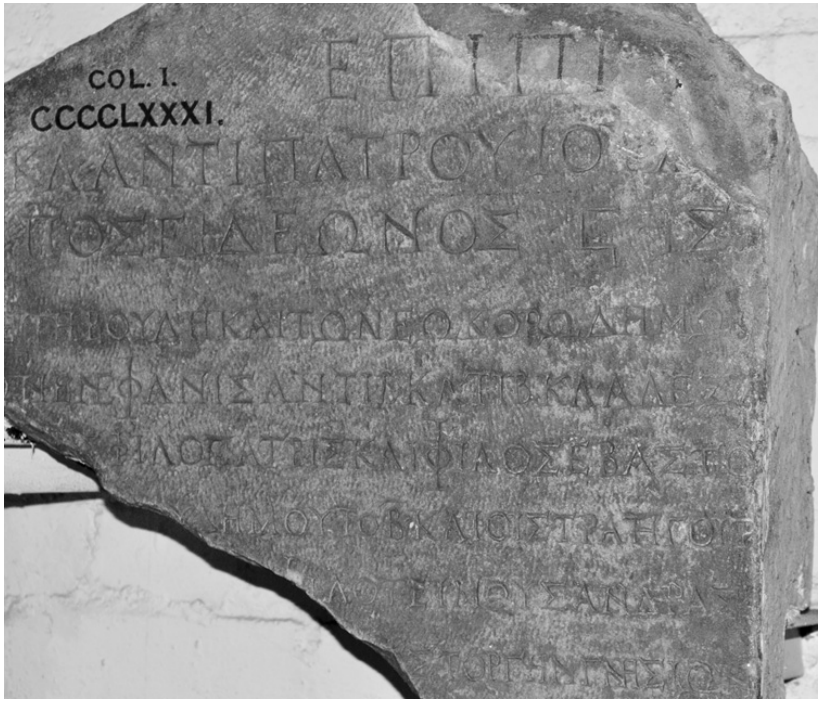

Figure 4.3 Photograph of the Salutaris Inscription: Column One: lines 1–9. Photo by the author, courtesy of the British Museum

allowed a passing viewer to observe the overall appearance and visual framework of the inscription as a ritual document.[55]

A quick visual survey of the monumental inscription illustrates several key points that reflect the ideology of the text and the resulting performance. Document headings with repetitive *formulae* situate the different documents in time and space. Headings are emphasised visually with larger letters, margins, and spacing (**Figure 4.3**).[56] Capitalisation (use of larger letters at the start of key and/or repetitive clauses: 'likewise' and ritual clauses 'if anyone') in the left-hand margin provides a defined shape for the writing, visual breaks for the eye, and further emphasises the rituality of the

[55] For approaches to reading large monumental documents 'at a glance' in a similar context, see recent studies on the 'Archive Wall' at Aphrodisias by Kokkinia 2016 (on the design) and Graham 2021 (on visual cues and reading).

[56] *I.Eph* 27 lines 1–9. Letter sizes: Line 1 (4 cm), Line 2 (3 cm), Line 3 (2.5 cm).

event (**Figure 4.4**).[57] These visual cues and framework of writing, evident in parallel documents at the theatre (e.g. Persicus's Decree on the adjacent north parodos), could also apply to Ng's 'semantic learning' in which the eye could recognise and 'just know' a frequently repeated image or icon of a document without necessarily reading it.[58] Literacy is required to read a document but not to recognise the time, effort, and precision that is reflected in this ornate inscription. The complexity and repetition in the inscription reflect monumental efforts in creating, ratifying, and inscribing text or carrying out the ritual event.

While Rogers claims that 'there was no ritual act' in the procession, the act of inscribing the long series of documents could be considered a ritual behaviour that allowed both performers and the audience to connect the reification of Salutaris's foundation as a document with the ritual procession statuettes and the bases in the theatre. Those who witnessed the event did not need to read the script, simply viewing the writing and its appearance in context would be enough to embed the experience as a memory, that could be recalled at the sight of the monumental inscription, the bases, or the ritual performance.[59] The role of repetition, and interaction with objects and spaces, together with community engagement, as observed in Blanka Misic's Chapter 1 and Religious Learning Network theoretical model, served to embed a memory in a dynamic format of associations that was readily stored and accessed by an audience.

Part II: Experiencing the Procession in Context

> Staging of rituals takes aesthetics, order and performance into consideration. Theatricality is a particular aspect of staging: in which groups construct an image that is at least partly deceiving, either a contrast to reality, or an exaggeration . . . in an effort to gain control of emotions . . . provoking specific reactions.[60]

Salutaris's foundation makes many claims about being able to control the outcome of the ritual event by means of controlling time, space, the performers, and the objects. This section will consider how these attempts to assert control may have worked in practice. Although the

[57] *I.Eph* 27 lines 528–36. Note the use of large capital forms in the left margins to mark formulaic ritual languages: Ἐὰν δέ τινες: 'If anyone' (Line 528) and ὁμοίως 'likewise' (Lines 532 and 536).
[58] Ng 2018: 77–9. The topic of cognitive reading of ancient documents is currently the subject of a monograph at Ephesus by the author.
[59] Dignas and Smith 2012: 2. [60] Chaniotis 2013: 172.

Figure 4.4 Photograph of the Salutaris Inscription: Column Six: lines 528–36. Photo by the author, courtesy of the British Museum

foundation text appears to cover a plurality of different performative aspects, this reconstruction of Salutaris's procession will also explore what aspects of the performance have not been scripted. Practical attempts to reconstruct the procession as a performance, suggest several possible difficulties in the execution of the ritual procession.

Rogers's assessment of Salutaris's procession begins in an inspired place: the experience of a modern procession that he witnessed.[61] Rogers makes impressive efforts to connect with the urban context, however, his consideration of the emotive contexts and practical limitations does not pervade the work. For example, Rogers derived his figure of thirty-five minutes by personally retracing the path of the procession.[62] While this is an accurate means of assessing the processional route in a modern context, it does not necessarily apply the constraints of a ritual performance to the event. Even in the best possible climatic conditions, men carrying very valuable statues probably did not process briskly, and their foot-ware was probably far less comfortable or able to cope with adverse conditions. Those who have walked in a procession will know, it generally proceeds at the pace of its slowest mover. Walking in a single file can also obscure all but the first individual's view of the landscape, and forward motion requires constant frontal focus (often on an individual in front) to accommodate for alignment and speed.

This is not to say that performers in a procession could not be distracted by the crowds or buildings on the sidelines, but that this distraction could have negative results, losing pace, losing footing, or losing balance. While there may have been music to keep the pace, one is assuming that every performer can maintain the same rhythm.[63] This approach also fails to account for varying speeds (e.g. traffic on urban thoroughfares) and pauses required by the procession. Modern parade directives, which specify walking speeds (circa three miles an hour), meeting times (an hour before the scheduled event), spacing rules (clauses about gap avoidance and proper order of performers), and traffic prohibitions can be instructive in understanding the adversities presented by these events.[64]

[61] Rogers 1991, xi–xii.
[62] Rogers 1991: 118 n.33. Rogers did the walk himself in circa thirty minutes, however, his estimate of thirty-five minutes for the procession seems like a very tight estimate.
[63] My experience in a marching band unilaterally contradicts this assumption.
[64] For comparative materials www.lansingmi.gov/DocumentCenter/View/7961/July-4th-Parade-Rules, accessed 27 October 2019.

Timing the Procession: A Performer's Perspective

Rogers carefully maps the procession and its route from the Artemision to the theatre 'the first and only stop' (**Figure 4.1**, no. 1).[65] The distance covered was over seven stades (1.3 kilometres) and probably more like two kilometres including the procession through the city.[66] While the route, the distance, and the timing of the procession are well constructed from the text, one must question if the record of the event is a complete account. In an ideal scenario, the procession could have taken as little as thirty-five minutes but for the participants, the planning and execution would have taken significantly longer.[67] The participants of a procession (and part of the audience) must have understood that detailed planning was required in the execution of such an event.

For Mousaios and the temple workers, the statuettes had to be taken from the Artemision, cleaned, polished, weighed, and placed in the proper order and assigned to a specific individual who carried them in the procession to the Magnesian gate.[68] The initial groupings contained twenty-seven statues on nine bases, later twenty-nine (possibly thirty-one, if Trajan and Plotina were added after Salutaris's death) on eleven bases. Arranging the statues in the correct groups for the eleven statuette bases at the theatre would have been difficult and confusion was possible.[69] The preparation of these figures would have added at least thirty minutes for these participants. Those carrying statuettes from the Artemision, Mousaios, the *neopoioi*, the *chrysophoroi* ('the gold-bearers' an association of sacred priests and victors), and the beadles, had to arrive well before the departure of the procession to arrange themselves. To assure that a procession arrived in the theatre by noon, participants must have arrived at the Artemision at least an hour before (circa 11 am), leaving their homes considerably earlier (circa 10.30 am).

In the city, the *ephebes* needed to assemble at the Magnesian gate to receive the statuettes at the appropriate time, probably thirty minutes

[65] Rogers 1991: 102.

[66] The distance for a procession from the city to the Artemision (*Xen.Ephes*. 1.2.1) was seven stades (1.3 km). Adding the space from the city gates to the theatre, the distance would have been closer to 2 kilometres.

[67] Thirty-five minutes could be the time it took one individual to reach the theatre but it is likely that a larger group (circa 260 people) would have taken significantly longer.

[68] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 90–2, 209–212, 279–84, 540–50.

[69] Statuettes were meant to be recognisable images. For statuettes of Artemis (*apeikonismata*), at least one was modelled on an existing statue type of Artemis in the city 'in the exedra of the ephebes' (*I. Eph* 27 ll. 168–9). With many different deities, including nine Artemis figures, some confusion was possible for the statue carriers.

before the main event (circa 11.30). The timing of the procession would also depend on the number of participants if, as Rogers suggests, all 250 *ephebes* attended.[70] The assumption that Ephesian youths were ever-present (e.g. not travelling to other festivals) and assiduously attended meetings and/or festivals, seems somewhat optimistic.[71] Although Rogers presents the theatre as the sole 'stop' in the procession, the handover of nearly thirty valuable gold and silver statuettes at the gate must have been a quite complicated baton-passing event, which required some pause in the procession.[72] Scholarship on place theory has shown how pauses can act as points of determination for the place meaning: movement travels through space, while pause creates a concept of place.[73] If this transfer was ritually significant, playing 'on a physical and ritual distinction between city and country' it would have to be well orchestrated.[74]

In practice, this transfer of statues could be quite complicated. Performers had to be in the proper order for their base pairings and maintain that order throughout the procession. For those that have ever passed a baton at a sporting event, it is a complex and nerve-wracking process. Ng's study refers to 'rehearsals' for this event but no rehearsals are scripted in the text and a positive outcome is assumed. Performers, at this stage, were probably more concerned about staying in the right order, taking the correct statues and not dropping them, as opposed to contemplating their role in society. This is not to say that people would have ignored the historical significance of the urban gateway, but that the complexity of the handover would have been a more pressing and immediate concern.

Once inside the Magnesian gate, timing also depended on the behaviour and experience of the statuette carriers: the *ephebes*. Proper behaviour ('with due dignity') on the part of the *ephebes* is scripted in the foundation text, but the need to set out stipulations suggests that good behaviour was not guaranteed.[75] The fact that statuettes were weighed before and after the event also suggests that damage, intended or accidental, could befall these objects.[76] While performers naturally bonded with the images they carried, they also bore responsibility for the safe delivery of these objects, which

[70] Rogers 1991: 86.
[71] One should probably not assume of 100 per cent attendance for young *ephebes* when adult attendance at assemblies was well below this figure.
[72] Rogers 1991: 102.
[73] Tuan 1977, Casey 2001, Weiss 2012. For scholarship on movement and placemaking, cf. Cresswell 2015: 14–19 and 50–5.
[74] Weiss 2012: 59. [75] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 211–12. [76] *I.Eph* 27 ll. 214–19.

could have resulted in positive feelings of inclusion and/or negative feelings of apprehension or anxiety. If the performers were 'regulars' (carrying the statuettes to and from the city gates or the Artemision as frequently as twice a month), then a smooth process certainly could have developed over time. However, the *ephebes* were, by nature, an inconsistent civic group, continually growing into adulthood. Further questions emerge about how the performers were designated (was the lottery somehow connected to designating individuals from each of these groups). The text does not reveal how the *ephebes* carried the statuettes (single file or in groups) though this would impact how they were viewed during the procession.[77] Another factor in the recognition and perception of these figures is their size: Rogers refers to them as 'statues' but recent scholarship correctly identifies them as smaller figures: statuettes.[78]

The procession then marched through the city's most crowded urban thoroughfares and into the theatre, both of which offered potential adversities, to be explored in the next section. Entering into the theatre and aligning the twenty-nine statuettes on the bases required significant organisation.[79] If there were 250 *ephebes*, this part of the procession would consume more time and space: as *ephebes* gathered along the balustrade waiting to place the figures on the bases, extra performers (only thirty *ephebes* were needed) could potentially obfuscate a view of the ritual performance. There would be an inevitable pause when the statuettes were placed on the bases.

For an assembly meeting that was scheduled at midday, one probably needed to leave the Artemision significantly (at least circa forty-five minutes) earlier. Participants would have to arrive well in advance, leaving their homes in the city, while workers at the Artemision rose early to polish the statuettes. The *ephebes* must have been at the Magnesian gate well before the meeting, also leaving their homes about an hour before the scheduled meeting time. The return procession was presumably another thirty minutes (less for the *ephebes*). In the event of a ninety-minute assembly meeting, *ephebes* would be committed for three hours (circa 11 am–2 pm) while the guardians, *neopoioi, chryosphoroi*, sacred victors, and the beadle going to and from the Artemision

[77] For further discussion on sensorial interaction with ritual objects, see Emma-Jayne Graham's Chapter 2 in this volume and Papadopoulos et al. 2019 on the role of sensory interactions with figurines.

[78] Kokkinia 2019: 235–9 notes that while earlier scholars referred to 'statuettes', others have followed Rogers's interpretation of these forms as 'statues' (e.g. Graff 2015: 42). Considering weights and sizes of the surviving bases, Kokkinia suggests that these figures were smaller (cf. Graff 2015: n. 63). Further analysis of the weights (forthcoming by the author) could add to this discussion.

[79] This was the last opportunity for performers to check that the images were in the proper order.

were committed for four hours. When one considers this time commitment for participants, as often as twice a month, their efforts could be viewed as a form of sacrifice, perhaps one that merited payment.[80]

When one tries to recreate this event on a practical level, it becomes clear how much the prescriptive document does not tell us about the procession's organisation: how many people walked in it, how these people were determined and organised, how they marched (single file or in groups of three). At a time when no one even possessed a wristwatch or a means of communication with people in different places, the arrangement of individuals, meeting times, and ritual action would have been a significant feat of organisation with a significant capacity for error.

Controlling Space and Place: The Route of the Procession

A commonly recurring factor in the foundation, which could impact the experience of a procession, was the route it took through the city. Rogers and Feuser suggest different routes through the State Agora, each of which would have had a different visual impact and associations with buildings. Rogers suggests that the procession turned right (north) off the street from the Magnesian Gate, proceeding along the west side of the State Agora and then entering the Basilica stoa (**Figure 4.1**, no. 21), which fronted several key civic buildings (e.g. the Temple of Dea Roma, the Bouleuterion, and the Prytaneion).[81] Feuser and Weiss propose a traditional processional route, continuing along the south side of the State Agora past a fountain, and a reservoir, turning right (north) past more fountains and an Imperial Cult temple to the *Divi Vespasiani*.[82] Rogers describes the procession route as a 'physical map of the foundation', a journey through space and time that can be quite difficult to follow.[83] The route, like the urban contexts through which it travelled, was not chronologically, geographically, or architecturally linear.[84] Rogers's analysis of the urban context, particularly the State Agora, seems predicated on associations between images and the

[80] Rogers 1991: 81, Gebhard 1996: 121.

[81] Rogers 1991: 86–91.

[82] Feuser 2014 and Weiss 2012: 55 figure 2. There was a prescribed route for sacred processions along the Kathodos (Knibbe 1995: 141–55) and Kuretes street (Thür 1995: 156–200). It is clear that Augustan projects in the State Agora (e.g. Stoa Basilica, Temple of Roma and Julius) were built upon Hellenistic precedents (Scherrer 2001: 67–8). Whether this was on a processional route remains unclear.

[83] Rogers 1991: 112 and Ng 2018: 74. The journey through the Artemision through the Magnesian Gate (associated with the Hellenistic founder Lysimachus) to the State Agora (developed under Roman influence), stepped back in time at the Embolus, which contained Classical and Hellenistic monuments.

[84] Rogers's grouping of buildings, statuettes, and contexts as 'Greek' and/or 'Roman' is unhelpful and seems to overlook elements of cultural hybridisation (also noted by van Bremen 1993: 246).

urban space.[85] Practical elements in selecting the route (e.g. it was the most expedient or well-paved path available) are not included.[86]

While it is important to understand the history of the urban context at Ephesus, the assumption that it was a primary factor in the audience's perception of the event may be pushing the envelope. If the procession moved quickly through the urban thoroughfares, how much time or visibility would be given to specific images or buildings? For an historian or author of a foundation, connections between the imagery and background may have been a part of scripting the event and setting the stage for the ritual. The role that the urban context played in the experience of the ritual procession for performers or the audience, however, is less clear. Neither the description of a ritual procession in *An Ephesian Tale* (Part III) nor the foundation text refer to more than a few specific buildings in Ephesus, all of which serve as liminal points (starting, pausing, or stopping) in the procession.[87] This is not to say that spectators did not read the imagery carried by statue bearers, but that associations between images and buildings may not have been the primary concern.[88]

A more immediate concern than the cultural heritage of the buildings along the processional route was probably the physical limitations imposed by the urban space. During the handover of statuettes at the Magnesian Gate (**Figure 4.1**, no. 13), Rogers places circa 250 *ephebes* in a courtyard by the gate. Though the dimensions appear generous (22.8 × 28 metres), the gateway had two towers and the procession route bisected this space, reducing it significantly.[89] The dimensions do not include stalls, shops, monuments, and altars, which likely occupied the space as well.[90] The remaining space would struggle to hold 250 *ephebes* and the statuette bearers (the *neopoioi*, *chrysophoroi*, and beadles) let alone an observing crowd.[91] Assuming that the

[85] Connections between images of Artemis, founders, tribes, and Roman entities would have been more prominent on the route that he has selected. Ng 2018: 74 makes similar connections, particularly with Imperial figures on the Kuretes street, though Trajan and Plotina were not included in the procession until after Salutaris's death, if at all (Kokkinia 2019). Similar limitations apply to interpretations on Imperial figures by Price 1984: 102–4 and Gebhard 1996: 121–3.

[86] Noted also by Weiss 2012: 60 and Walbank 1994: 90.

[87] *Xen. Ephes*. 1.2.1 names only the Artemision, Salutaris's foundation names the Artemision, the theatre with references to the two (Magnesian and Koressian) gates.

[88] A performer could easily be preoccupied, as recorded in *An Ephesian Tale* (cf. Part III) by immediate concerns connected with the event: the atmosphere, one's appearance and/or how the crowd reacted.

[89] Sokolicek 2019: 109–10. The gate was discovered by Wood in the late nineteenth century but also studied by G. Seiterle in the 1980s, and more recently in Sokolicek 2009, 2010.

[90] Altars to Artemis, for example, pervaded the procession route (Knibbe 1995: 144). The idea that this courtyard did not contain additional monuments and statues is contradicted by monumental reconstructions of all other sections of the processional route (Thür 1995 and Thür 1999).

[91] Rogers 1991: 86.

procession did not walk alongside moving vehicles, measures would have been taken to halt traffic through the Magnesian gate.[92] While this was expected on festival days, the frequency of the procession (twice a month) would have had a significant impact.

Regardless of which path the procession took through the State Agora, the path down the Embolus, often called the 'Kuretes Street', was potentially treacherous and was probably not undertaken at a 'brisk' pace. The steep incline on the upper half of this road has an average gradient between 10–11 degrees (**Figure 4.5**).[93] For modern hill walkers, wearing hiking boots on thick surfaces, this gradient is at the upper limits of what is considered a 'gentle incline'; for young men walking single file in strappy sandals while conspicuously carrying silver statuettes, this was a significant adversity to maintaining pace and balance. Even today, the walk on smooth stones is difficult in a pair of sandals, on a wet surface it could be lethal. While young performers may have marvelled at the solid weight in their hands and considered historical connections between passing buildings, it is equally possible that they were sweating with anxiety, focused on navigating the paving stones, trying to ignore burning muscles from holding the statue upright for ten minutes. As noted in Emma-Jayne Graham's Chapter 2 in this volume, understanding religious materials requires an attempt to rematerialise objects and those who carried them, to restore a 'real world substance' to these symbols.

Construction along these urban thoroughfares was also a significant concern. The Embolus, recently repaired under Domitian, was subject to many urban projects during Trajan's reign: Tiberius Claudius (Ti. Cl.) Aristio undertook a series of urban projects at Ephesus (circa 102–117 CE) including an aqueduct with a reservoir and two fountains in the State Agora (**Figure 4.1**, nos. 15 and 38).[94] Varius Valens commissioned a temple structure, baths, and public latrines (**Figure 4.1**, nos. 41 and 42).[95] As a number of these projects relied upon the completion of an aqueduct, it seems unlikely that they were finished before Trajan's visit to the city (circa 113 CE).[96] On the Embolos, a Trajanic arch was built (**Figure 4.1**, no. 49) at the Triodos (114/115 CE) while the library of Celsus (110–120 CE), was overseen

[92] Similar limitations were placed on plaustra during the *pompa circensis* in Rome (Latham 2016: 74).
[93] The gradient was measured with a geospatial recording application called Strava. For modern gradient calculation, cf. Naismith's rule.
[94] *I.Eph* 424 and 424a. Rogers 1991 offers an extensive catalogue of buildings along the route but does not note how many projects were ongoing (simultaneous/within the first decade of the foundation).
[95] *I.Eph* 455, 500. The so-called 'Hadrian's Temple' is of unknown purpose (*I.Eph* 429). Vowed in 114 CE, it was not completed until after Trajan's death (Scherrer 2001: 75).
[96] Wilpinger 2006: 29–31.

Figure 4.5 Photograph of the Kuretes Street from the Embolos, by the author

by Ti. Cl. Aristio (**Figure 4.1**, no. 53 and **Figure 4.6**).[97] The theatre also had spatial limitations. Renovations during Domitian's reign transformed the stage building, adding seating wedges at the upper level of the theatre.[98]

[97] *I.Eph* 422 and *I.Eph* 5001. [98] *I.Eph* 2034 and 2035. Krinzinger and Ruggendorfer 2017: 500–1.

Further renovations, carried out by Flavius Montanus (circa 102–112 CE), added covered entranceways for the upper seating (**Figure 4.1**, no. 72).[99]

While one cannot speculate on the adjustments that were made for the procession (e.g. did work stop, were workers given the morning/day off so that drilling and hammering would not disturb the procession?), one can observe that, even in a modern world, building works are disruptive to urban thoroughfares. In Ephesus, where there was only one major route connecting the harbour to the State Agora, building works would have presented significant obstacles on the processional route. These projects illustrate the mutable nature of the urban landscape: another aspect of the ritual procession which could not be controlled.[100]

There were some practical considerations that no amount of planning or scripting could have controlled. A non-scripted route offered a level of flexibility for variants such as weather, building works, or the number of spectators and participants. The assumption that the procession was the same each time it was performed implies a similar audience, performers, atmosphere, and a consistent urban context for the ritual event. A closer examination of these variables, however, demonstrates that few of them were constant. Inconsistencies in performances do not negate the claims of the foundation, they contextualise these claims as attempts to regulate the outcome of an event that was difficult, if not impossible, to control in reality.

Reconstructing the practicalities of timing and the route of the procession highlights several potential issues for the ritual performers. Applying Chaniotis's concept of 'Murphy's Law' in ritual events illustrates the numerous ways that the perception of this event could be affected: what if there had been a raging symposium the night before and only a few hungover *ephebes* arrived to carry the statuettes? Poor weather could slow down a procession, if a carrier slipped and fell, a statuette could be damaged and the carrier may have struggled to find his place in line or knocked over others (in addition to being humiliated before his peers). Attempts to control the timing and execution of the event are acknowledgements that infelicity and less dignified behaviour were potential outcomes. Assessments of the performance raise questions about the

[99] *I.Eph* 2037. These changes reflect a larger and broader audience for Ephesian performances.

[100] Rogers' (1991) detailed consideration of monuments along the procession route can present challenges in terms of chronology. Monuments set up before, during, and after the procession was ratified are included together, making it more difficult to view the processional route as it was set out in 104 CE.

audience in Salutaris's procession particularly, who, what, and where an audience was meant to have been during the ritual performance.[101]

Part III Experiencing the Ritual Performance: The Role of the Audience

> Religious festivals may aim to the virtual communication between humans and superhuman beings, but above all, they are a communication between real people, between agents and spectators.[102]

Script-based assessments of Salutaris's procession can focus on the ideological objectives of the procession, prioritising claims of success and control over the experience and variant outcomes of the ritual event. This perspective, however insightful, comes at the expense of exploring the role of the audience in the ritual performance. This part of the work considers the role of the audience in interpreting the emotional context and the performance of the ritual event. The first section assesses the emotional context from the perspective of an audience described in a contemporary literary account of a procession for Artemis by Xenophon of Ephesus. The second part examines the role and location of an audience of Salutaris's procession at the theatre in Ephesus.

The Emotional Context of a Procession: An Ephesian Tale

It can be difficult to place oneself in the mindset of the ancient viewer. Assessing the emotional context and experience for different members of the audience requires an understanding of the atmosphere around a procession and the positive or negative outcomes that could occur. This process is facilitated by the survival of a roughly contemporary (albeit fictional) account of a procession from the Artemision.[103] Although it is not an account of Salutaris's procession, *An Ephesian Tale* offers a unique insight into an Ephesian procession from the perspective of an ancient viewer. The author, who did not necessarily aim to provide an unbiased or

[101] Interaction between those who attended rituals (performers and spectators) is occasionally noted in literary sources and cult regulations but these materials have not been systematically collected or studied. Chaniotis 2006: 211–38.

[102] Chaniotis 2013: 170.

[103] Recent scholarship seems to have shifted from a date of mid second century CE to the mid first century CE. This chronology, which seems to rely on stylistic development, is inconclusive. See Hoag 2015: 13–15 for a summary of the debate. Both dates fall within a lifetime of Salutaris's foundation.

accurate account of events, was likely to be influenced by personal motivations, such as self-promotion, that apply to benefactors in epigraphic evidence. He did not need the outcome of the procession to be successful, so he was free to record an event as it happened, without regard for what *should* have happened. While one should be cautious about extrapolating too much from a literary source, the account provides a unique portrayal of a procession at Ephesus from the perspective of a contemporary viewer.

Xenophon of Ephesus writes in a style that, like the text of Salutaris's foundation, was formulaic and repetitive in its wording and structure, and was probably built upon earlier oral traditions.[104] A ritual procession to the Artemision is described in *An Ephesian Tale* (Book 1 Chapter 2) as a theatrical performance with the dress, conduct, order and roles of participants carefully scripted.[105] The account begins by setting the event in context: a local festival march from the city to Artemis's shrine (a distance of seven stades) where local girls were 'sumptuously adorned' and the *ephebes* marched with Habrocomes as the leader (*An Ephesian Tale* 1.2.2).[106] The audience is also described 'for the spectacle there was a large crowd, both local and visiting.'[107] The broad nature of the audience sets the scene in a bustling provincial capital city and makes the uniformity of their responses to Anthia and Habrocomes all the more striking.

> (2) A local festival for Artemis was underway, and from the city to her shrine, a distance of 7 stades, all the local girls had to march sumptuously adorned, as did all the ephebes who were the same age as Habrocomes; he was about 16 and already enrolled in the ephebes, and he headed the procession. (3) For the spectacle there was a large crowd, both local and visiting, for it was custom at this assemblage to find husbands for girls and wives for the ephebes. (4) The procession marched along in file, first the sacred objects, torches, baskets and incense, followed by horses, dogs and hunting equipment, some of it martial, most of it peaceful < . . . > each girl was adorned as for a lover. (5) Heading the girls was Anthia, daughter of Megamedes and Euippe, locals, Anthia's beauty was marvellous and far surpassed the other girls. She was 14, her body was blooming with shapeliness and the adornment of her dress enhanced her grace. (6) Her hair was blond, mostly loose, only a little of it braided and moving as the breezes took it. Her eyes were

[104] Capra 2009, O'Sullivan 1995.

[105] Note staging and clothing descriptions throughout the account (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.2, 2.4–2.7). Elsner 2007: 232–3, also cites the Ephesian tale in an effort to interpret the role of Salutaris's ritual procession.

[106] *Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.2. κεκοσμημένας πολυτελῶς. Translation and Greek text from Loeb classical text: Xenophon of Ephesus, 'The Ephesian of Anthia and Habrocomes' *LCL* 69, 214–18).

[107] *Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.3: πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν πολὺ μὲν ἐγχώριον, πολὺ δὲ ξενικόν. This further supports the idea of an increased international audience attending festivals at Ephesus.

> vivacious, bright like a beauty's but forbidding like a chaste girl's; her clothing was a belted purple tunic, knee length and falling loosely over the arms, and over it a fawnskin with a quiver attached, arrows < . . . >, javelins and dogs following behind (8) Often seeing her at the shrine, the Ephesians worshipped her as Artemis, as also at the sight of her on this occasion the crowd cheered; the opinions of the spectators were various, some in their astonishment declaring that she was a goddesss herself, others that she was someone fashioned by the goddess, but all of them prayed, bowed down and congratulated her parents and the universal cry among the spectators was 'Anthia the beautiful' (9) As the crowd of girls passed by, no one said anything but 'Anthia', but as soon as Habrocomes followed with the ephebes, as lovely as the spectacle of the girls had been, they all forgot about them and turned their gaze towards him, stunned at the sight and shouting 'Handsome Habrocomes, Peerless likeness of a handsome god'.

The staging directions, like those set out in Salutaris's procession, are evident throughout: the order of the procession 'marching in a file', the order of the objects, and ending with a further reference to the attire of the young women.[108] Anthia and Habrocomes are both seen as leaders of their lines, and their physical descriptions are given the most detail, recording their ages and costumes.[109] One can nearly imagine the gleam in Anthia's eye, feel the light breeze flowing through her braided golden locks, shifting the purple tunic and soft fawnskin as she moved gracefully. The diverse audience responds uniformly to the procession, particularly to the arrival of Anthia and the Habrocomes: worshipping each of them 'like gods' in their spoken responses and their actions (praying and bowing).[110]

Weiss's reconstruction of the procession emphasises the role of ritual performance as a mode of 'paying attention'.[111] Xenophon's account of the procession takes the reader one step forward, focusing on what the audience is paying attention to: a spectacle of beauty in the young and attractive performers. While foreigners and locals alike are bonded by a common experience of viewing beautiful youths, there is little in the account to

[108] *Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.4: παρήεσαν δὲ κατὰ στίχον . . . ἑκαττη δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτως ὡς πρὸς ἐραστὴν ἐκεκόσμητο

[109] *Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.5 (Anthia); 1.1.3 and 1.2.8 (Habrocomes).

[110] Anthia is worshipped ὡς Ἀρτέμιν and τὼν θεωμένων φωναί, τὼν μὲν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τήν θεόν εἶναι λεγόντων, (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.7). She is called Ἀνθία ἡ καλή (*Xen. Ephes.* 2.7). Habrocomes is προσεῖχον δὲ ὡς θεῷ τῷ μειρακίῳ (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.1.3). He is called 'καλὸς Ἁβροκόμης' λέγοντες καὶ οἷος οὐδὲ εἷς καλοῦ μίμημα θεοῦ (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.8). The act of praying and bowing by the audience is noted: *Xen. Ephes.* 2.7 (Anthia): προσηύχοντο δὲ πάντες καὶ προσεκύνουν; 1.1.3 (Habrocomes) καὶ εἰσιν ἤδη τινὲς ὃι καὶ προσεκύνησαν ἰδόντες καὶ προσηύξαντο. Capra's comparison (2009) with Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is interesting and the repetition *proskynesis* (bowing down) is perhaps another parallel with Xenophon of Athens.

[111] Weiss 2012: 53.

convey a sense of religious sanctity for Artemis, who seems to be merely the framework for displaying beauty. The audience was not looking at the objects being carried or their relationship to the goddess and the urban structures in the city, they are not contemplating their civic roles, they are captivated by the experience of watching two beautiful people in a motion picture of a ritual event.

The spontaneous nature of the audience's response to the performance is repeatedly reinforced by the language of 'sight/seeing' (ἰδόντες or ὀφθείης) 'at the sight of' and temporal words like 'as' (ὡς) and 'now' (ἤδη).[112] This description of a procession captures the 'in the moment' experience, where an audience's response does not last beyond their peripheral vision. This echoes Weiss's observations regarding the relationship that ritual performances can create between two 'nows' – the now of everyday experiences, and the now of a ritual experience, which co-exist simultaneously.[113] While the focus of the crowd's attention is clear, so is the limited nature of their attention span. 'Now' is only 'now' for a moment, and this is conveyed in transition between Anthia (and the young ladies) and Habrocomes (and the young men): 'as lovely as the spectacle of the girls had been, they all forgot about them and turned their faces to him' (2.9). In this context of transiency, focused on a spectacle of beauty, it is difficult to imagine an audience that was also contemplating the city's Ionic past, forging connections between props and urban buildings.

The relationship between human and divine in the procession has modern social parallels, where star performers are received and, in the case of Habrocomes, can behave a bit like a diva.[114] The procession was meant to be a celebration in honour of Artemis but the focus of the attention is not on the goddess, her objects, or the Ephesian *demos*: the event emerges as a display of the two most beautiful people in the city, or at most, a celebration of beauty personified by these two individuals. The language, comparing both Anthia and Habrocomes to divine figures in their appearance and their reception by the audience illustrates how ritual

[112] ἰδόντες is used repeatedly to describe the audiences' reaction: (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.1.3, 1.2.7, 1.2.8.), ὡς . . . ὡς (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.7, 1.2.8), ἤδη (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.1.3), ὀφθείσης (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.7) ὄψεις (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.8).

[113] Weiss 2012: 61. Weiss builds upon scholarship of ritual theory, particularly Smith 1987: 109–110. This point is also explored in Emma-Jayne Graham's Chapter 2 in this volume.

[114] *Xen. Ephes.* 1. 4–6. At the start of the tale Habrocomes's *hubris* is laid out in a way that would challenge even the likes of Beyonce, 'Everything generally reckoned fine he despised as inferior' (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.1.4), 'He did not even recognize Eros as a god but rejected him wholesale' (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.1.5), 'Whenever he saw a statue or shrine of Eros he would laugh and declare that he was superior' (*Xen. Ephes.* 1.1.6).

processions could conflate the roles of divine and mortal characters, making one each seem part of the other. Xenophon's passing comment about the function of the religious procession as a social mixer (an opportunity for marriage) and spectacle for youths seems to be an accurate description of the event.[115] This observation reveals the different functions that a ritual procession could serve in society both as a religious act and as a form of entertainment with a practical purpose: a mixer for young people.[116]

There are a few key points of commonality and difference between Salutaris's procession and the one described in *An Ephesian Tale*. Both processions provide many directives for staging and the behaviour of the performers, placing young members of society at the forefront. While the route of both processions is set out (from the Artemision into the city), the route is not described in detail and specific urban structures are not recorded (apart from pausing points in Salutaris's procession). The focus in both accounts is the performers, their appearance, and their actions. This is consistent with modern concepts of place and performance theory, where motion through 'space' is often juxtaposed with pauses at a significant 'place'.[117] Both processions employ performers who are young members of society, though Salutaris's foundation was only the *ephebes*. The audience is international and, despite differences, it responds almost uniformly to the spectacle. Commonalities between scripted and fictive rituals provide insights into how rituals were viewed and how they functioned as experiences, a point that is also noted in Steven Muir's Chapter 5 in this volume.

While Rogers assumes that the inclusion of youths served a didactic purpose, Xenophon's version of a procession makes no such implication. Indeed, it appears to be an event where a predominantly older audience worships youth, perhaps as an act of reminiscence or as an act of hope for the city's future. This could be a point in reconciliation between the cognitive experience of rituals and positivist literary accounts. Almost invariably, the authors of ritual events and/or their sponsors are not youths. The choice of young people as performers in these processions, though didactic as a 'rite of passage' into society, provides a point of connection for the adult audience (both Ephesian and foreign). The procession of historic figures is borne by the next generation of citizens, who carry images of the

[115] *Xen. Ephes.* 1.2.1.
[116] For conflations of ritual with entertainment cg. Schechner 1988: 127–33 and 151–9.
[117] Tuan 1977: 6, Casey 2001: 408–9, Cresswell 2015: 15–17.

past into the future. The inclusion and reverence for youth played an important social function in uniting the audience under a common experience, perhaps prompting a memory of youth. The continuity of the event is contrasted by changes over time to the urban context, the atmosphere and the audience, as *ephebes* grew into manhood. The procession is a celebration of continuity and change, of permanence (historical figures and events) and ephemeral elements (youth, beauty, and the attention span of the audience).

The limitations of this account in reference to Salutaris's foundation are significant, and it would be dangerous to use this account closely as a guide. As a ritual event, Salutaris's procession had several significant variations. Functionally, the procession recorded by Xenophon of Ephesus was the 'main' event, which ended at the Artemision with a few pauses along the way.[118] His audience is clearly the spectators at the side of a spectacular procession. Salutaris's procession, a precursor to many different events (games, council meetings, performances), was inclined to more frequent changes in the audience, the atmosphere, and the performers with each performance. The location of the audience in Salutaris's procession, often implied but seldom addressed directly, also merits further consideration.

The frequency of Salutaris's procession may also have impacted the cognitive perception of the event. Weiss notes the role that frequency played in integrating Salutaris's procession into the cadence of daily life at Ephesus.[119] The negative impacts of frequency on the act of 'paying attention', however, are not explored. The same principle that demonstrates how a surreal annual event made an audience 'pay attention' to a ritual procession, seems to suggest that everyday events commanded comparably less attention.[120] The blending of Salutaris's procession into the cadence of everyday life may have resulted in an event that was less

[118] The inclusion of *homophoroi* in Xenophon's account suggest that the procession stopped at times to offer sacrifices, but this aspect of the ritual is not described, the focus remains upon the two characters.

[119] Weiss 2012: 56 'the procession itself became part of the urban landscape through frequent enactment of the performance and the participants continuous engagement with the urban environment'.

[120] Weiss 2012: 52. On ritual repetition and mental disengagement, see Schechner 1988: 221–4 and McCauley and Lawson 2002: chapter 2. On the stultifying aspects of repeated rituals, see Chaniotis 2007: 55 'Repetitions of similar texts and actions are as exciting as commencement ceremonies at American Universities. They are tolerated only because all the persons involved as actors or spectators have a few seconds in which they or the person they love stands at the centre of attention.' Assessments of repeated rituals in cognitive psychology have made similar observations about memory, repetition, and disengagement (McCauley and Lawson 2002: 1–3).

novel for an audience and, therefore, more likely to be overlooked after repeated viewings.[121]

Xenophon's account may be an exaggeration of a performance as Salutaris's foundation may make claims of control or a positive outcome that were not guaranteed. The crowd will respond to images as they arrive and forget them as they pass. There may be an intentional or even exaggerated irony in presenting a crowd for a religious procession that idolises beauty above all else, literally bowing down to it. This is not a reason, however, to dismiss the innate truth about the spontaneity and unpredictability of an audience's response. Within a carefully scripted event, there are a number of variables. Some of these variables, such as emotions (love, lust, awe), cannot be prescribed or controlled, though they are undoubtedly key elements in the experience. For all the scripted elements of this procession, no one (neither the audience nor the participants) appears able to control their reactions.

Whether it is an account of a ritual procession at Ephesus or in a novel, Lucian's account of Proteus's suicide or Tacitus's portrayal of a cheeky Calusidius, Roman authors clearly understood that an attempt to draw upon the emotions of a crowd was a double-edged sword.[122] It is in this emotional context that one should view Salutaris's procession: as an event that had a script and a stage but may not have adhered to all these directives. An analysis of these sources as well as a contemporary description of the procession at Ephesus in the first/second century CE suggests that, depending on the immediate emotional context, the experience of the viewer could diverge significantly from the script of a ritual event. While it is impossible to judge how a person felt on a given day (e.g. the weather/mood in the city), accepting the 'best case scenario' outcomes implied in Salutaris's foundation may be equally problematic.[123]

Juxtaposing Salutaris's description of his procession with contemporary sources, such as literature (*An Ephesian Tale*) in a reconstruction of the ritual experience reveals several similar themes. From the use of repetitive

[121] Rogers 1991: 83 suggests that repetition would serve to internalise the message of the procession. For a simple message about where one is meant to sit, this interpretation is viable. However, for a didactic experience regarding one's Ionic past, the theory is less compelling.

[122] Chaniotis 2013: 169 discusses the failed performance of Peregrinus Proteus, who offered to leap into fire to prove his faith (Lucian, *De mort. Peregr*. 32–3). Tacitus records how Germanicus dramatically offered to bury his sword in his breast rather than turn traitor to his men. Calusidius replied by offering his own sword, claiming it was sharper (Tac. *Ann.* 1.35). Both accounts reflect performances where the actor failed to elicit the expected response from his audience.

[123] Elsner 2007: 232. Elsner's survey of the ancient viewer poses similar questions about Salutaris's procession from the point of viewer.

ritual language in writing to the visual representation of divine and mortal relationships in art, Chaniotis's observation about the role of religious festivals in communicating between spectators and agents comes to life in the reconstructed 'experience' of Salutaris's ritual procession.

Considering possible differences in the emotional context, such as the type of event (e.g. a festival or assembly meeting), the ambience (e.g. a sunny or rainy day, warm or cold) and the urban context (e.g. the implications of numerous building projects), and the performers (e.g. were they well-behaved, happy, or hungover), acknowledges ways in which repetition did not always create consistency in a performance.

The Audience and the Ritual Performance: Putting People in Their Places

> Ritual cannot be studied as a disembodied event or a series of events – removed from its location and from the physicality of its performance . . . ritual must be examined in its specific material and topographical context in which ritual action impacts its physical setting while, simultaneously, the location in which ritual is enacted informs and guides the religious experience.[124]

Despite Rogers' claims that there was 'no ritual action' in Salutaris's procession, Chaniotis's survey of ritual performances and recent scholarship on the procession suggest that the placement of the statuettes on bases at the theatre was the primary ritual action in the procession.[125] The theatre, which is the epicentre of the processional route, was the one major 'stop' in the ritual procession and could accommodate the largest audience. Although the location of the audience may reflect the focus of the ritual event, reconstructions of Salutaris's procession pay remarkably little attention to the location of the audience.[126] The foundation text and the statuette bases do not offer an explicit answer, but both emphasise the context of the theatre and the act of placing images on the bases.[127] Salutaris's addenda to the procession, which includes more performers

[124] Moser and Feldman 2014: 1.

[125] Rogers 1991: 81, Chaniotis 2007: 54–9. Scholars have suggested that the placing of the statues on the bases at the theatre was a focal point of ritual performance: Gebhard 1996: 122 'What seems equally if not more important is the effect created by the figures when they were set up in the theater.' Ng 2018: 84 conveys a similar notion in her reconstruction of the event.

[126] Weiss 2012: 57 discusses membership of the audience, arguing convincingly for a broader sense of audience than Rogers has suggested (he excludes slaves and foreigners).

[127] The statuette bases explicitly set out the placement of the statuettes ('*poneruntur*'). Salutaris's foundation also focuses on the role of the theatre and the placement of the statues on the bases repeatedly *I.Eph* 27 ll. 157, 204–7, 468–9, 475–7.

(and two figurines) with specified dress and seating locations, supports this point.[128]

Script-based scholarship that focuses on the procession seems to suggest that there was an audience for the procession, presumably not the same people who were attending the precipitating event at the theatre.[129] The assumption that an audience viewed both the procession (outside the theatre) and ritual performance (inside the theatre), while possible, is impractical and would have added more time and difficulty to the organisation of the procession.[130] The most practical solution, which also offered the greatest visibility, would be for the procession to arrive after the general public had entered the theatre.[131] This timing would also minimise opportunities for theft or damage to the statuettes.[132] To see this event was to witness the juxtaposition between the inscribed record of the procession, the bases above the seating wedges, and the imagery of the statuettes, as the claims of the text were translated into a ritual act.

Upon entering the theatre, the statuettes were carried to their corresponding bases for a significant ritual pause, which may have played an important role in defining 'place' at the theatre.[133] Ng recreates the pageantry of 'twinkling' statuettes as a key element in the event.[134] These bases (**Figure 4.6**) placed along the balustrades above the first level of seating wedges, probably faced outwards, where they were most visible to those in front of them (the upper levels of seating).[135] The bilingual bases, set up by Salutaris, are different from the foundation inscription in message and appearance. Set within the theatre, these monuments were directly associated with the ritual act, attesting to the success of the ritual

[128] The addenda (adding two more statues) sets out a specific location for the placement of statuettes as well as stipulating white attire for the statue bearers (*I.Eph* 27 ll. 439–42).

[129] It is possible that the procession was viewed by those who were not attending the scheduled event, but this audience would vary, depending on the event.

[130] If the audience was not already seated in the theatre, two potential problems could have been created: there would be crowding on the street outside the theatre during the procession and more time would be required after the procession had entered, for the audience to take their seats.

[131] This order is also implied in the language of the foundation; Rogers (1991: 162–3) text and translation of *I.Eph* 27, ll. 202–6: 'The aforementioned type statues should be placed during every regular assembly . . . on nine inscribed bases in three groups over the [seating] blocks on the bases . . . After the assemblies have been dismissed [they] . . . will be carried back.'

[132] Fines were set for damage to the statuettes, which were weighed after each procession (*I.Eph* 27 ll. 214–19).

[133] Weiss 2012: 58–61. [134] Ng 2018: 79–80.

[135] Krinzinger and Ruggendorfer 2017: 500–1. Recent excavations in the theatre still cannot determine exactly where they were placed, but it is clear that Phase 2 (Domitianic-Trajanic works) enlarged the *diazoma* significantly, allowing more space for a procession and a growing number of entrants. The foundation text, which records the location of the bases also specifically stipulates the location of the bases. Rogers 1991, *I.Eph* 27 ll. 467–468 and 475–478.

Figure 4.6 Statue base for the Teians. *I.Eph* 29. Kunsthistorisches Museums: Ephesos Museum (Vienna). Photograph by the author

event even when the statuettes were absent. The Greek and Latin texts carry Salutaris's full name and *cursus honorum* (sequence of political offices), which is not provided in the foundation. The ritual performance brought the city's patron deities into a performance as members of the audience and as physical markers to define specific places in the theatre.

The experience of viewing these bases, however, had limitations. The bases were only visible to those in the lower seating areas when they entered: once they passed the bases and stepped down towards their seats, they could only see inscriptions on the back of the bases, which often repeated the tribe's name in large Greek letters (**Figure 4.7**).[136]

[136] For example, *I.Eph* 2083 records the name 'Teion' in letters circa 6.5 centimetres high.

Figure 4.7 Diagram of theatre at Ephesus with added arrows indicating possible base locations and the site of Salutaris's foundation on the south parodos. Photo from the Austrian Archaeological Institute, licensed by CC BY-SA 3.0

Averaging just over a meter in height (.6–.7 metres in width and .4 metres in depth), the writing on these bases fell largely below eye level (as opposed to the foundation text, which was at eye level). Their bilingual character also meant that repeated information may not have been as obviously repetitive. The most prominent and visible writing on these bases, closest to the shining statuettes, was a Latin text inscribed on the cornice in larger (circa 2.5–4 centimetres) letters recording the recipients of the dedication: Ephesian Diana and the name of the tribe/civic institution. Salutaris's names were carved in large letters on the upper lines, though this space was sometimes slanted and/or in shadow, where it was more difficult to see. Letters decrease in size dramatically as the text continues, placing the majority of the Latin text in smaller letters (circa 2–1.5 centimetres) in lower (less visible) space, while the Greek text fell in the least visible space, inscribed in the smallest letters (circa 1.5–1 centimetre in height). On a practical level, the limited visibility of the text was not necessarily an

issue: Ephesian citizens, who had ratified Salutaris's foundation, probably knew who he was, as well as their designated seating areas.

What was the purpose of this ritual action? Although the performance was, as Rogers suggests, an educational experience for the *ephebes*, this seems a somewhat elaborate event for the benefit of, at most, 250 people.[137] The following discussions will consider what a broader audience might have drawn from this ritual performance. In the broadest possible terms, recent scholarship of theatre rituals and performances has demonstrated that pre-performance events played an important part in a ritual performance, setting the scene and the tone of the event and providing a sense of regularity, even if they were viewed as almost commercial-like events.[138]

Performance theory provides a framework for addressing different audiences and experiences: it separates individuals by their connection with a ritual into 'integral' (those required in the performance) and 'non-integral' (purely spectators). Integral audiences often had a semantic understanding of a ritual event and thus, they did not need to pay the same level of attention.[139] An 'integral' audience at the theatre in Ephesus would be citizens from the prescribed seating locations for tribes and civic institutions. These individuals would be most able to recognise and appreciate the pairing of the statuettes and their role in portraying the city's Ionic past. Although the ritual act served to reaffirm a citizen's local affiliations and traditions as well as their physical allocations within the theatre, after many repeated performances, the sight of Salutaris's procession may not have been a novelty or an event that was likely to draw one's attention. This disengagement is also suggested by the location of the bases at the top of the seating wedges: in order to see the statuettes, these members of the audience would have to crane their necks behind their backs.[140] On a practical level, this makes sense: citizens who regularly attended assemblies and performances knew the location of their seats and images relevant to their tribes/civic institutions.

Performing *ephebes* had more to gain in terms of learning their place and role in society but numerous repetitions were probably an education of diminishing returns; after a point (e.g. one or two processions) they would know also their place and role.

[137] Rogers 1991: 112. 'The lesson of this drama, acted out through the streets of Ephesos was that Androkles and ultimately Artemis gave the Ephesians their essential civic identity. Based on this structure, we can conclude that the primary purpose of this procession was to acculturate the ephebes, who acted and watched this drama into their father's reconstruction of the past.'

[138] Chaniotis 2007: 55, Latham 2016: 233. [139] Schechner 1988: 220–3.

[140] The bases, which probably faced outward from the balustrade, would not be visible.

A further point of assumption in scholarship, for which there is little direct description, is where the statuettes faced on their bases. Some scholars have described the statuettes as looking out over the performance, but if this was the case, their backs would have faced the majority of the audience, preventing a visual juxtaposition between text and image on the bases.[141] On a practical level, one may expect the statuettes to face outward, like the writing on the bases, towards the majority of the audience. Their role in this context may have been both as members of the audience and as guarantors of the claims inscribed on the bases: the lower seating wedges belonged to Ephesian citizens.

A foreign 'non-integral' audience would predominantly be seated in the upper two seating areas at the theatre, where they could readily view Salutaris's bases and shining silver statuettes. Whether Greek or Roman, this audience could recognise the opening of a ritual performance or the entrance of a procession, which had ritual parallels with Hellenistic and Roman performances.[142] Foreigners may not innately know their seat allocation, the figures representing the city's Ionic Past or their place in Ephesian society.[143] As a result, these individuals needed to pay closer attention to the ritual, taking cues from the figures or the information on the bases, helpfully inscribed in large and prominent Latin letters.[144] As in a modern context, those who were dismayed with seating allocations (lower level 'good seats' were reserved for local citizens) may have considered poaching 'better' seats that lay vacant.

The prominent Latin text on the upper cornices of the bases recording Ephesian Diana and the name of the tribes/civic institutions refers both to the imagery of the statuettes and the physical space with which it was associated: a specific seating area.[145] Like signs at glass shops in Venice or sites across Greece that read 'do not touch' (in English) this message may not have been intended for locals but for tourists, who may not know local rules or traditions. At Ephesus, this message was conveyed diplomatically

[141] Rogers 1991: 102, Gebhard 1996: 121–3.

[142] Chaniotis 2007: 48–52, Graff 2011: 113–14, Latham 2016: 11–13. For Hellenistic parallels in the documents, see Crowther's study of documents in the theatre at Iasos (Crowther 2007: 294–334).

[143] For more discussions on foreigners experiencing theatrical space, see Ng's discussion (2019: 122–4) on Tac. *Ann.* 13. 54 and Salutaris.

[144] Schechner 1988: 221. Names of tribes were inscribed in separate Greek texts (e.g. *I.Eph* 2084 and 2085 for the Bembinaean tribe), which may also have been part of the balustrade. There are similarities in size, with the letterforms circa 4 centimetres in height (similar to the Latin counterparts). Though one text is a block (*I.Eph* 2084) and the other is a slab (*I.Eph* 2085) and the height of these slabs varies, the width (circa 60 centimetres) is almost exactly the same as the width of the surviving statue bases.

[145] For a broader cognitive discussion on seating and status, cf. Ng. 2019: 120–6.

by a Latin text and a ritual performance, sponsored by a Roman citizen. Rather than viewing this as a gauche or imperious statement from Salutaris, one could see it as a thoughtful gesture from a fellow Roman, carrying Roman and local authority. The message could be almost apotropaic: thinking of poaching a seat? Ephesian Artemis, the Roman Senate, and the Gerousia are watching . . .

The procession of divine statuettes, whilst having a clear significance for Ephesians, also had a discernible meaning for other cities in the Greek world as well as in Rome.

Latham's recent study of the *pompa circensis*, and in particular, the *pompa deorum*, together with recent scholarship on processions in Pompeii, provide a clear Roman precedent for this type of processions as well as the possibility for ritual failures.[146] Similarly, the use of prescribed seating in a public venue as a means of reinforcing social organisation, set out in the *Lex Julia Theatralis*, was an established practice in Rome. The act of inscribing seats is a testament to an Empire-wide phenomenon in which expanding audiences and changing social groups attended public events.[147] The visual illustration of how and why the seating allocations had been made, through deities and mythological founders, was a performance that could be understood and appreciated by a broad audience.

A consideration of Salutaris's ritual event as a cognitive experience provides a practical function for the performance: the ritual interaction between the performers and the statuettes is a place-making activity, which literally and figuratively 'put people in their place' through the medium of ritual. In addition to Rogers's conclusions about the event as a didactic experience for the *ephebes*, Salutaris's procession provided a ritual means of defining the identity of the divine images, the performers who carried them, and the audience who observed the ritual event at the theatre. Experiencing this ritual performance, members of the audience gained a better understanding of how and why their seats had been allocated. The inclusion of different groups and figures, like the experience of sitting

[146] Latham 2016. There are notable differences in these processions. The *pompa deorum*, a procession of divine statues through the city before circus performances, was part of a larger procession (*pompa circensis*), which included a procession of youths (*pompa hominum*). The processions were less frequent than Salutaris's and statuettes were carried in pulvinars. As a pre-performance ritual, there are many parallels in these processions, including adversities (Latham 2016: 39–43 and 61–6). Recent scholarship on processions in Pompeii including funeral processions (Campbell 2021) and statue processions (Van der Graaff and Poehler 2021), further explore processions and processional routes as physical and topic experiences.

[147] Ng 2019, Rawson 1987, Small 1987, Roueche 1993, Zuiderhoek 2009.

together and observing an event, was designed to be inclusive rather than exclusive.

Applying 'Murphy's Law of Ritual Events' to this procession has illustrated the number of ways in which a prescribed action in the text could have been humanised by its performers and the ancient audience. One should be careful, however, not to overstate the role of the ritual event. As the honorific crowning of benefactors during performances has been likened to a 'commercial', Salutaris's procession, which included a gold crown for Salutaris, the ritual placing of statuettes on bases during assemblies and performances and festival days, could be seen as a pre-performance 'commercial', which served to advertise the beneficence of Salutaris and assure a proper seating allocation.[148] As modern service announcements remind the audience to turn off phones or demonstrate a powerful sound system in cinemas, Salutaris's pre-performance event was, like the inscription on the south parodos, a liminal event: a brief but functional precursor to the main performance.

Conclusions: Salutaris's Procession As a Cognitive Experience

> The opportunity for public self-display in the parade and the arena was always matched by the prospect of public criticism, ridicule or more devastatingly, indifference.[149]

A recent concert at the theatre of Ephesus went viral on the internet in 2017: during an orchestral performance, a dog wandered out onto the stage.[150] The fluffy golden retriever approached cautiously at first, but after sniffing around the violinists and cellists, he took his seat at the front of the stage. In a flash, the atmosphere in the theatre was transformed from solemnity to levity and delight. The video shows both the reaction of the performers and the audience. The audience whispers, points, and laughs at the dog. Breaking with accepted social norms, they applaud in the middle of a song, when the dog finally takes his seat. As the audience's attention shifts, the performers, initially bemused, seem somewhat annoyed at being upstaged by a dog. This was not a scripted outcome, but such is the nature of performances: they can vary, they can fail, and they can be interrupted.[151]

[148] Chaniotis 2007: 55. [149] Latham 2016: 150.
[150] See Hamilakis and Theou 2013 on archaeological sites as shared performative spaces. For a videolink of this performance, see: www.youtube.com/watch?v=H6N2qBiIRqI.
[151] Latham 2016: 234.

The unpredictable nature of performance renders a successful ritual and/or outcome a great achievement. It does not necessarily follow, however, that ritual failures had unsuccessful outcomes or that negative outcomes did not play a transformative role for the audience. Just as great sporting matches are not predicated on victory alone, a negative outcome, be it a fallen performer, a dropped statue, or inclement weather, need not remove the value or didactic experience of a ritual event. On the contrary, these outcomes could render the experience even more memorable.[152] Ancient sources such as Cicero and Cassius Dio, illustrate how the reaction of an audience, either responding in silence (rather than clapping) or throwing stones and statues, could shape the function and role of a ritual event.[153] Negative outcomes can help to contextualise ritual processions as potentially infelicitous events, demonstrating the definitive role that atmosphere, audience, and experience play in the perception of a ritual event. Assessments of ritual failure allow one to understand why clauses against changes and complex staging directives occupy such a crucial and continuous role in the script, the monuments and the ritual performance. None of these directives could prevent adversities but all acknowledge an attempt to overcome a negative outcome. In the words of Funny Girl, 'I'll march my band out, I'll beat my drum.'

Funny Girl's siren song illustrates how claims of success may also admit a capacity for failure. To fully understand the experience of a ritual performance, one probably needs to acknowledge the plurality of variant outcomes these events presented to the director, the performers, and the audience. Salutaris's foundation, the resulting monuments, and the ritual procession represent an epic effort at place-making on a number of levels: Salutaris is trying to mark his place in Roman and Ephesian spheres, socially, politically, and spatially at the theatre, whilst also situating performers and the audience within a historical, monumental, and spatial framework of the theatre. This was achieved through an elaborate visual narrative of cultural and mythological history, which served a didactic purpose for some, and a practical purpose for others.[154] Assessing the adversities involved in the organisation and experience of the ritual event

[152] Cognitive research in neuroscience and psychology (Tyng *et al.* 2017) has illustrated how negative emotions/experiences may be equally if not more readily recalled and accessed than positive ones.

[153] Latham 2016: 148–9. Both negative reactions were the result of changes to a ritual event. Cicero, expresses his pleasure at an audience's refusal to clap for a figure of Victory carried with an image of Caesar (Cic. *Att.* 13.44). Octavian's decision to remove a statue of Neptune from a procession was met with stones and rioting (Dio Cass. 48.31.5).

[154] Rogers 1991: 146.

is another way of understanding and contextualising the repeated claims of control over cognitive perception in scripts for these events.

A cognitive approach to the 'experience' of Salutaris's foundation allows one to construct a new narrative of the ritual event that considers a plurality of possible outcomes. While these efforts may be as imaginative as those applied to constructing a successful event, they can, potentially, add to our understanding of the ritual performance as a dynamic, and at times, infelicitous endeavour. Observations about the difficulties in engaging with the script, the procession, and the ritual performance do not negate Rogers's conclusions about the didactic purpose of the procession for the *ephebes*, rather, they suggest that there were additional roles and functions for the event within a broader viewing audience. A person's need to understand his/her place both in society and at the theatre was a longstanding social requirement with a function and value as permanent as the building. Weiss's discussions about the role of place-making in the procession can be applied further to understanding how pauses and ritual actions may have been place-making directives. Ng's application of semantic learning and her arguments for treating 'ephemeral' events as significant and potentially permanent features in society can be expanded to the monumental inscription and the ritual act. Kokkinia's portrayal of Salutaris as a savvy financier, whose claims may not have been met in reality, has parallels in reconstructed 'experiences' of his monuments and ritual events.[155]

Funny Girl's song fills the audience with hope, if trouble can be anticipated, it can be overcome. Underlying that hope, however, is fear and an acknowledgement of an unpredictable future. Assuming that ritual events and their outcomes were successful or controllable undermines both the experience of a performance and the undaunted character of those who sought to stage and perform these rituals. Salutaris and the ancient audience must have known the truth: the fabric of society at Ephesus would continue to change, new civic groups would arise, and some rain would fall on his procession. Salutaris's attempt to organise a ritual procession despite these adversities and the fact that it appears (in some respects) to have been carried out, was a remarkable achievement, whether or not the performance was successful.

[155] For Salutaris's less than universal success in Ephesian society, cf. Kokkinia's analysis of a graffito at Ephesus (2019: 242–4) and the letter of Afranius Flavianus in the foundation (*I.Eph* 27.ll 377–8): 'Even if it has escaped the notice of the majority, how much goodwill and devotion he has for you' implies that the Imperial legate was not impressed by the Ephesians reaction to Salutaris's beneficence.

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