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#### The Cult of *Arkhêgetai* and *Ktistai* in Magnesia (Thessaly)

This paper argues that both IG ix.2 1099b (Glaphyrai/Boibe?: post IVa) and McDevitt 1030B (Iolkus: 276-239a), fragmentary sacred laws concerned with a cult of *arkhêgetai* and *ktistai*, originated from the *kômai* of Demetrias and reflect an ongoing negotiation of conflicting identities through cult. These identities were contested at the overlapping levels of *polis* -- between Demetrias and the older, pre-synoikism communities of Magnesia and *ethnos* -- between Macedonia and Magnesia.

After casting doubt upon the conventional assumption that IG ix.2 1099b was originally set up at Demetrias (Leschhorn 1984, 263), this paper, on the basis of the language of the inscription and findspot (the modern village of Kanalia some 15km north of Demetrias), will suggest that the sacred law belongs to one of the *kômai* of Demetrias, most likely Boibe or Glaphyrai, and not to Demetrias proper. It therefore compares well with McDevitt 1030 which certainly originated from the *kômê* of Iolkus.

Comparison of the two texts, fragmentary as they are, reveals that both are concerned with sacrificial matters (IG ix.2 1099b 6, 8: McDevitt 1030B 2-3) and, more importantly, that both foreground the relationship between *polis* and *kômê* (IG ix.2 1099b 12-13: McDevitt 1030B 8). While the extremely fragmentary character of the Iolkus document makes it difficult to determine how the *polis/kômê* relationship was expressed, a plausible reading of the Glaphyrai/Boibe law reveals the desire of the *kômê* to memorialize their performance of cult, *qua kômê*, for the city of Demetrias. This paper associates this impulse to commemorate with a renewal of the cult of *arkhêgetai* and *ktistai* or at least its reestablishment on a more secure basis. Therefore, the cult is realized as both a means of asserting the individual identity of the *kômê* and of demonstrating the interdependence of *polis* and *kômê*

The opisthographic front side of the Iolkus stele contains an honorary decree for Antigonos Gonatas issued by the Iolkians in recognition of, among other things, his participation in sacrifice and establishment of contests. Although no specific mention of *arkhêgetai* and *ktistai* is preserved in the fragment, it is probable that reference was made to his sacrifice to the heroes who occupy [Iolkus?] (McDevitt 1030A 12). The regular synonymy of the words *hêrôs*, *arkhêgetês* and *ktistês* (cf. IG ix.2 1129, a dedication to *hêrôes*, *hêrôissai* and *ktistai* from Demetrias) coupled with the presence of the sacred law on the back make it probable that Antigonos did take part in the cult of *arkhêgetai* and *ktistai* at Iolkus. When considered in light of Hegesandrosí testimony (FHG iv 418) about Macedonian kings sacrificing at the Magnesian festival of Zeus Hetairios (*pace* Nilsson 1992, 34), the outlines of a broader strategy of Macedonian royal participation in Magnesian cults, particularly those with political overtones, become clear. The traditions of the genealogical connections between the two *ethnê*, which date to the archaic period (Hes. fr. 7 West), are therefore renewed and updated through the cult of *arkhêgetai* and *ktistai*.