

THE ASIATIC ARTEMIS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the effects of colonization in Asia Minor on the cult of the Hellenic Artemis, as the Greek goddess comes into contact with and is influenced by her Asian counterparts. The result of this contact is a goddess whose nature both remains unchanged and is changed, being at the same time both Greek and Oriental, and whose new image, reshaped after the Asiatic Mother Goddess, reflects the religious needs of her new worshippers, who were themselves a mixture of Greek and indigenous peoples.

The first part of this work investigates the nature and functions of Artemis in Greece, exploring in greater detail the goddess' connections with nature, childbirth, and the different transitions undergone by individuals and communities. The second part looks at the cult of Artemis in the four major centres of the goddess' worship in Asia: Ephesos, Sardis, Magnesia on the Maeander and Perge. In order to explore more closely Artemis' connections with the Mother Goddess, whom the former replaces, a survey of the Asiatic precursors of Artemis was necessary. Consequently, this study attempts to analyse the nature and functions of other goddesses in Asia, related to the Mother Goddess, namely Kubaba-Kybele, Ma, Atargatis (a conflation of Anat, Astart and Asherah), Anahita and Ishtar, goddesses who share various features not only with each other, but with the Hellenic Artemis as well. The study of these goddesses follows the order in which Greek colonists encountered them.

The thesis concludes with a synthesis and summary of the particular features of the Hellenic Artemis which facilitated her identification with the various examples of the Asiatic mother goddess.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse étudie les effets de la colonisation en Asie Mineure sur le culte de l'Artémis hellénique: en effet, la déesse est mise en contact avec ses homologues asiatiques et subit leur influence. Le résultat de ce contact est une déesse dont la nature change, tout en restant la même, à la fois grecque et orientale, et dont l'image, façonnée d'après celle de la Déesse-Mère, reflète les besoins religieux de ses nouveaux fidèles qui étaient eux-mêmes un mélange des Grecs et des peuples indigènes.

La première partie de ce travail analyse la nature et les fonctions d'Artémis en Grèce, en explorant plus en détail les relations de la déesse avec la nature et la naissance ainsi qu'avec les différentes transitions subies par les individus et les communautés. La seconde partie étudie l'adoration d'Artémis dans les quatre principaux centres du culte de la déesse en Asie: Éphèse, Sardes, Magnésie au Méandre et Perge. Afin de pouvoir explorer de plus près les relations d'Artémis avec la Déesse-Mère qu'elle remplace, un aperçu des homologues asiatiques d'Artémis était nécessaire. En conséquence, dans la présente étude nous tentons d'analyser la nature et les fonctions d'autres déesses d'Asie, apparentées à la Déesse-Mère, comme Kubaba-Kybele, Mât, Atargatis (une combinaison d'Anat, Astart et Asherah), Anahita et Ishtar, déesses qui ont plusieurs caractéristiques en commun, non seulement entre elles-mêmes, mais aussi avec l'Artémis hellénique. L'étude de ces déesses suit l'ordre dans lequel les colons grecs les ont découvertes.

La conclusion de cette thèse est un résumé et une synthèse des caractéristiques particulières d'Artémis qui ont permis de la rapprocher des différentes représentations de la Déesse-Mère asiatique.

PREFACE

A chapter of this study has been presented before the Canadian Classical Association in May 1993, at the Learned Societies Conference in Ottawa. This study could not have been possible without the support of certain people and institutions. I would first like to thank my supervisor, Professor Albert Schachter, for his continuous guidance and illuminating comments. I would also wish to thank Professor S. C. Bakhuizen, former visiting Professor at McGill University, for his valuable suggestions, Professor B. Sheppard from the English and French Language Centre for her contribution to my French abstract, as well as Professor A. U. Turgay, Director of the Institute of Islamic Studies, for kindly translating and discussing with me the contents of an article published in Turkish which I could not have read otherwise. I am also grateful to Prof. G. M. Woloch for his comments and suggestions. I would like to thank as well the staff of Interlibrary Loans, McLennan Library, for the trouble they took to provide me with much needed material, as well as the staff of the Classics Department. The last word goes to my family, both here and overseas, who have shown me a great deal of support throughout my years of study.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of migration on the cult of the Hellenic Artemis, when, brought to the east by Greek colonists, it came into contact with local fertility goddesses whose natures were more or less similar to hers. The question of the particular features of Artemis which facilitated her identification with various examples of the Asiatic mother goddess is addressed; in order to attempt to answer this question it is first necessary to examine the nature and functions of the Hellenic Artemis, as this paper deals with a goddess whose nature was both changed and unchanged by the effects of emigration. In the east, the Hellenic Artemis takes on a more or less indigenous form, as she becomes identified with different goddesses in different places. The study of these Asiatic goddesses, conducted in the order of their encounter with the Greek colonists, has yielded some very interesting results. These goddesses - whom I refer to as the Mother Goddess type- have features which relate them not only to each other, but to the Hellenic Artemis as well.

Contact with the Asiatic mother goddess permanently coloured the iconography and worship of the Hellenic Artemis in the east. However, some of the features of the Hellenic Artemis, such as her fertility aspects, her connections with wild spaces (as mistress of animals) and her characteristics pertaining to the protection of the weak -- young animals, children, communities in situations of extreme danger -- characteristics which are shared by both her and the different Asiatic goddesses, remained and developed. The protectress of communities in distress becomes the protectress of the colony itself; the goddess of margins and guardian of frontiers becomes the goddess of the agora in a context in which the centre of the colony is just another margin of the mother city. Because of the very nature of this goddess and also because of her particular importance to them, it was Artemis, more than any other Greek goddess, who was mostly felt by the

Greek colonists as the natural counterpart of the mother goddess and whom they therefore named "Artemis".

PART I - The Hellenic Artemis

"Ποῦ γὰρ ἡ Ἀρτεμις οὐκ ἐχόρευσεν;" ("where has Artemis not danced?")¹. This proverb of Aisopos might be taken as an allusion to the widespread worship of Artemis². As the number and diversity of her cults suggest, Artemis was worshipped throughout the Greek world. The purpose of this section of the dissertation is to investigate the nature and functions of the Hellenic Artemis.³

Recent scholarship perceives Artemis as a goddess of undefined space on all levels: human, animal and vegetal.⁴ As a goddess of transition, Artemis presides over the *eschatiai*, where her role is crucial: from this marginal position, the goddess watches over the proper completion of things. The description of a man as "servant of Artemis" (a-te-mi-to do-e-ro) in a Linear B tablet from Pylos⁵ and the appearance of the word a-te-mo at Knossos⁶, make it at least possible that the goddess was known by that name in the Bronze Age; there is no doubt that her particular traits were present from the eighth century B.C. on.⁷

Artemis as Potnia Theron During the seventh and sixth centuries, the goddess is commonly shown as *Potnia Theron* (Mistress of wild beasts), often

¹ Aisopos *Prov.* 9.

² Calame 1977, 174: "Selon le dicton rapporté par Ésope, les Grecs se demandaient, dans une question toute rhétorique, s'il pouvait exister un seul endroit où Artemis ne participe pas aux chœurs .."

³ Although Artemis became identified with Hekate at a later date, the study of the latter does not concern the present paper. The early perception of Hekate who, according to mythology, was the daughter of Perseus and Asteria (sister of Leto), hence Artemis' cousin (Hesiod, *Theogony* 411), was very different from her later image and did not include any lunar or magic connotations. The early Hekate, as presented by Hesiod (*Theogony* 411-452), a goddess of an older generation than her cousin, is closer in functions to Zeus and Athena than she is to Artemis herself, whose darker side she would eventually become, perhaps through identification with the Thessalian cross-road goddess Emodia. The later assimilation of Artemis and Hekate goes beyond the scope of this paper. See West 1966: 45; 276-290 (commentary on lines 404-452); de Polignac 1984: 36; Marquardt 1981: 243-260 and 252 for the identification of Hekate with Emodia.

⁴ Earlier approaches to the study of Artemis are exemplified by Farnell 1896, vol.II.

⁵ Eh 650 5, Chadwick 1976: 89; Burkert 1977: 85-86; Sourvinou-Inwood 1970: 42; Lloyd-Jones 90 & n.18.

⁶ Chadwick et al., 1990 2.1298b; 2.1520; 2.1648.

⁷ Vernant 1986: 17

winged⁸, and attested as such at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta⁹, the earliest evidence in the form of ivory plaques, seals and terracotta figurines¹⁰ being found together with Geometric pottery.¹¹ These images, connecting the goddess with the *Potnia Theron*, are consistent with the early perception of Artemis as Mistress of Nature (Homer, *Iliad* 21.470), whose haunts are the mountains and the deep forests (Homer, *Odyssey* 6.102-109; Homeric *Hymn* 5.16-20; Kallimachos 3.18), the wild space which she sternly protects from human intrusion. Otherwise, Artemis haunts all places which the Greeks call *agros*, uncultivated lands, *eschatiai*, whence she bears the epithet Agrotera¹². As Limnatis, the goddess is to be found in the vicinity of lakes, marshes and pools as well as on the seashore, anywhere between water and land, where cultivation is precarious.¹³ The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia is placed in the Erasinos valley, near the mouth of the river,¹⁴ that of Artemis Limnatis in the Taygetos and the sanctuaries of Artemis Karyatis and Hemerasia in the mountains of Arkadia.¹⁵ The sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos at Kalapodi is situated within a frontier area which is represented as a succession of transitional zones.¹⁶ The two spaces, civilized and uncivilized, must preserve distinct identities. It is the role of Artemis to maintain their proper balance by cautiously permitting a certain overlapping of the two, while keeping

⁸ For representations of Artemis as *Potnia*, see Kahil in *LIMC* 2.624.2-9 (holding birds by their necks); 2.624-625.11-20 (wingless), 2.626-628.21-58 (winged).

⁹ The excavation of the sanctuary began on the virgin site in the spring of 1906, and was concluded in 1910. See Dawkins et al., 1929, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London.

¹⁰ Dawkins et al., 1929: 145-162 ("The Terracotta Figurines"), esp. 149-151 ("Orthia with Animals as *Potnia Theron*"). Representations of Artemis Orthia are discussed by Kahil in *LIMC* 2.631-632 (winged: 2.632.93-97; see also 2.627.48, 2.669.638).

¹¹ For a discussion of these early examples, see Thompson 1909: 287-297; Dawkins 1909-1910: 49 and 1929: 145-162, see also Boardman 1963: 7 n.24. Crude hand-made figures of human beings and animals are first recorded at this sanctuary in levels about the middle of the eighth century B.C. See Higgins 1967: 24.

¹² Artemis and margins: Vernant 1984: 13-27, 1985: 15-24. See also Schachter 1992: 52.

¹³ Vernant 1986: 17.

¹⁴ Osborne 1985: 157.

¹⁵ De Polignac 1984: 45.

¹⁶ See Ellinger 1987: 95.

them firmly apart.¹⁷ The myth which best illustrates Artemis as guardian of the fragile frontier which separates civilization from wilderness is the story of the intrusion and final de-humanization of Aktaion. M. C. Astour traces this story back to a West Semitic myth described in the poem of *Aqht*, whence the name of "Aktaion" might have originated.¹⁸ In a Hellenic context, the myth refers to a human violation of a space inaccessible to humans which causes the intruder to become de-humanized. The story of the bath of Artemis which Aktaion interrupts by mistake is told by Kallimachos (*Hymn* 5.110-115), Apollodoros (*Bibliothèque* 3.4.4) and Pausanias (9.2.3) who also speaks of a statue of Aktaion at Orchomenos (9.38.4). In anger, Artemis transforms Aktaion into a deer, causing the hunter to undergo the fate of the prey and to be torn to pieces by his own dogs. The total overturning of the normal order of things in this myth, the hunter becoming prey and the dogs devouring their master, points to the risks which may be incurred if the laws of Artemis are not respected. In another version of the same myth, the anger and punishment of Artemis occur as a result of Aktaion's wooing of his own aunt, Semele, future mother of Dionysos¹⁹, while Euripides (*Bakchai* 337-340), speaks of Aktaion being torn to pieces on account of his boast of excelling Artemis in hunting. While it has been argued that the bath of Artemis was an invention of Kallimachos (*Hymn* 5.113-114), hence not attested before the Hellenistic period²⁰, L. R. Lacy suggests that it may be as old as the wooing of Semele mentioned by

¹⁷ See also Vernant 1986: 18.

¹⁸ Astour 1965: 165ff *Aqht* brought upon himself the wrath of the virgin goddess Anath (the equivalent of Artemis, according to Astour) for his haughty refusal to give the latter a bow made by the artificer-god *Ksr*, which the hero received as a gift from his father. Anath, who obtained from the supreme god El the permission to kill *Aqht*, lured him to hunt and ordered her servant *Ytpn* to kill *Aqht*, having taken the shape of an eagle. *Aqht* dies as a result of the fatal blows delivered to him by Anath's servant and is subsequently torn to pieces by eagles. According to the Ugaritic myth, *Aqht*'s murder provoked a seven year drought.

¹⁹ Aktaion's wooing of Semele: Hesiod, fr. 217A M.-W.; Pausanias 9.2.3 (quoting Stesichoros of Himera); Stesichoros, *PMG* 236; Apollodoros *Bibliothèque* 3.4.4; Akousilaos *FGrH* 2F33.

²⁰ See Lloyd-Jones 1983: 99.

archaic sources, being perhaps the earliest tale concerning the Boiotian hunter.²¹

Aktaion's fatal mistake, which violated the sanctity of the goddess' space and caused an abnormal turn of events, illustrates the fragility of the line which separates the hunter from the prey in a world which is no longer controlled by men. Here Artemis acts in her rôle of *Potnia Theron*. The ambiguous representations of *Potnia* holding two birds or animals by their necks²², suggests the twofold rôle of the goddess who at the same time protects and destroys. In Aischylos (*Agamemnon* 141-143), Artemis is "gracious to the tender cubs of mighty lions and to the breast-loving young of all the wild beasts roaming in the field".²³ At Patrai, during the festival celebrated in honour of Artemis Laphria, whose image Pausanias states was brought from Kalydon (Pausanias 7.18.8-13), edible birds, as well as every kind of victim, young or full-grown, are thrown into the fire and burnt alive.²⁴

Artemis as protectress of the weak As early as the Homeric Hymns, Artemis is associated with the cities of "just men" (5.20),²⁵ to which she will not descend unless she is needed²⁶, in order to protect them from savagery and excess. The protective role of Artemis has a regulatory function: the cycle of life must be completed and any breaching of the proper order of things will eventually attract the wrath of the goddess. Untimely slaughter of young animals will disturb the proper order and prevent them from completing the course of their destinies. Artemis loathes the feast of eagles which devour the pregnant hare (Aischylos,

²¹ Lacy 1990: 26-42; Klossowski 1972: 112-113.

²² See Thompson 1909: 286-297 and fig. 1-4,10,11; Burkert 1985: 42, 124, 172; Bevan 1987: 18; for Artemis as *Potnia Theron* see also Christou 1968: 175, 177, 181; Lloyd-Jones 1983: 90; Nilsson 1950: 503f.; Dietrich 1974: 146f; Kahil in *LIMC* 2.624.2-9.

²³ My translation. See also Burkert 1985: 149.

²⁴ See also Lloyd-Jones 1983: 90 and n.20; Lepore 1984: 109-113; representations of Artemis Laphria: Kahil in *LIMC* 2.641-642.191-209.

²⁵ On the basis of the abundant post-Homeric modifications, forms and usages, Janko argues for a post-Homeric date of the Homeric *Hymn* 5. According to him, *Hymn* 5 was composed in Aiolis, in the decades before the middle of the 7th century. See Janko 1982: 151-180.

²⁶ Vernant 1986: 17.

Agamemnon 137) and punishes those who are guilty of the premature killing of animals or of rape of virgins, such as the Messenians who attacked the young Spartan girls in the Spartan version of the Messenian conflict (Pausanias 4.4.1). The fire of Laphria, on the other hand, proves the goddess' incontestable rule over the wild world. Delighting in the hunt, she is often called "ιοχέαῖρα" (among the numerous examples: Homer, *Iliad* 5.53; 21.480; *Odyssey* 11.198; Homeric *Hymns* 3.15 and 159; 9.6; 7.2; Hesiod, *Theogony* 14.918). However, her arrows, by means of which she is believed to kill, as well as those of Apollo, are referred to as "ἀγανεί", "gentle" (Homer, *Odyssey* 15.410-411):

"ἐλθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξὺν
οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν."

These two aspects --protection and destruction of the same beings-- are reflected in other functions of the goddess. "A lion to women" (Homer, *Iliad* 21.483), Artemis is invoked as Locheia to assist in childbirth. The fact that the same goddess is involved in both birth and death is not altogether paradoxical; Artemis presides over the zone in between the two, the coming into being and the going out of being.²⁷

Artemis Eileithyia The function of Artemis as helper of women in labour²⁸ brings her into contact with Eileithyia²⁹, with whom she is identified as Artemis Eileithyia³⁰. However, the roles of the two goddesses do not overlap entirely. While Eileithyia is the goddess of childbirth, Artemis is present rather as a goddess

²⁷ See Schachter 1992: 50.

²⁸ According to Lloyd-Jones 1983: 99, Artemis came to be thought as a kind protector of women in labour; originally she had been "a dangerous enemy, to be propitiated at great cost".

²⁹ Eileithyia figures in Linear B tablets from Knossos as "e-re-u-ti-ja"; Chadwick et al. 1986: 268 [Gg(3) 705: A-mi-ni-so, / e-re-u-ti-ja]; the goddess also receives wool 271 [Od(2) 714] and 272 [Od(2) 715, 716]. Homer (*Odyssey* 19.188), speaks of "Amnisos where there is a cave of Eileithyia" ("στῆσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῶ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυΐης"). The actual site was continuously used from Minoan down to Roman times. See also Chadwick 1976: 98; Dietrich 1974: 87-88; Willets 1958: 223.

³⁰ See Farnell 1896: 444, 566-569 n.36-46; Burkert 1985: 151; Dietrich 1974: 87-88; for representations of Artemis Eileithyia, see Kahil in *LIMC* 2.676. 721a; 722.

of transition. A double transition is involved in childbirth: on the one hand, the transition of the child from physical non-existence into existence and on the other hand, that of the mother from social non-existence into social existence, as the young wife will not be considered fully married until she has given the *oikos* an offspring.³¹ If the transition is not completed, the garments of the women who died in the ordeal were dedicated at Brauron (Euripides, *IT* 1464-1467)³² and the child left in the care of the goddess as Kourotophos, the latter replacing the mother of orphaned children.³³ Childbirth, aside from coming into life in an environment of extreme danger --in the more unfortunate cases being a mixture of birth and death-- is also the completion of the girl's destiny, and the beginning of a new being who is to be initiated through the different and difficult stages of its life. As Kourotophos, the function of Artemis is to nourish the young, make them grow and mature until they have become accomplished adults, the boys turning into citizen-soldiers and the girls into wives and mothers.³⁴ Furthermore, the process of pregnancy and childbirth which as a whole represents a transitional period, places the woman in an abnormal condition physically, and socially, in a state of isolation³⁵. The marginality of the mother, as well as that of the new born, still foreign to any rule of civilization and similar to an animal,³⁶ falls within the sphere of Artemis as a goddess of fertility and the growth of humans, animals and vegetation³⁷.

Artemis as goddess of transition The concern of Artemis with marriage brings her close to Hera, their functions however remaining distinct. As goddess of

³¹ Dowden 1989: 44.

³² See Kondis 1967: 161, 173-175 and pl. 106; Cole 1984: 239; for Artemis' connection with the diseases of virgins and the practice of dedicating garments to the goddess by girls: the Hippocratic treatise *Peri Parthenion* 13; Osborne 1985: 158.

³³ Bevan 1986: 21 and 1987: 19; Price 1978: 121-122; for the bear as *kourotophos*, see also Bachoffen 1863: *passim*, esp. 4-5.

³⁴ Vernant 1986: 19, 22.

³⁵ Van Gennep 1960: 41; Osborne 1985: 170.

³⁶ Vernant 1986: 22; on the new born perceived as a stranger see Van Gennep 1960: 50.

³⁷ See also Vernant 1986: 16, 19; Lloyd-Jones 1983: 91; Farnell 1896: 428-429.

transition, Artemis is concerned rather with the preliminaries of the marriage, as the girl who has so far been under the goddess' protection is about to leave her. At Sparta, the young girls who had been placed under the protection of Artemis, upon reaching a certain age, passed to the protection of Helen, whose task was to make them into women in her image; this passage was marked by an initiation rite which involved segregation, disorder and reversal of sex roles.³⁸ Thus, a young girl was put in the hands of a woman called the *nympheutria*, who would shave her head and dress her like a man (Plutarch *Lykourgos* 15.5), so as to exorcise savagery and finally control it.³⁹

Every Athenian girl had to perform the sacrifice known as *proteleia* before her wedding (Euripides, *IA* 433)⁴⁰. The first day of the *gamos* (*proaulia hemera*), belongs to the goddess. On this day, the young bride dedicates her toys to Artemis⁴¹ (*Anth. Palat.* 6.59), as she is about to enter a transitional stage which will be completed only with the birth of the first offspring.⁴² Thus, the rôle of the Arkteia at Brauron (and also Munychia - see below) is to integrate and prepare the girls for a proper entry into society and the assumption of their rôle as mothers and wives.⁴³ An absolute requirement for marriage, at least according to the myth⁴⁴, the rite of Arkteia smoothes a passage otherwise uneasy, by taming the young girls and chasing away any remaining tendency towards insubordination and savagery, associated with their unstable age⁴⁵. The story of Melanippos and Komaitho, the aition for the allied cults of Artemis Triklaria and Dionysos Aisymnetes at Patrai

³⁸ Cantarella 1987: 21; Brelich 1969: 113ff.; for Helen as a goddess of vegetation and fertility see Lloyd-Jones 1983: 95; Calame 1977: 333f.

³⁹ Vernant 1986: 45.

⁴⁰ Burkert 1972: 75 n.20; Lloyd-Jones 1983: 94.

⁴¹ See Cantarella 1987: 45 on marriage ceremonies.

⁴² See Dowden 1989: 44.

⁴³ See Cole 1984: 233, 238-244.

⁴⁴ See Osborne 1985: 165. Perhaps not all the Athenian girls took part in the rite but only those whose financial situation permitted them to do so (see below).

⁴⁵ On the literary image of marriage as taming and the interaction of the wild and the tamed in the aetiology of the Arkteia see Osborne 1985: 165.

(Pausanias 7.19-20), represents what the Arkteia strives to avoid: untimely entry into maturity, in an improper manner. The two adolescents refused to abide by the rules of a union socially accepted and regulated, thus leaving their feelings unrestrained and attracting the wrath of Artemis.⁴⁶ Another example to be avoided by young girls is that of Atalanta. Abandoned and raised by a bear (Apollodoros, *Bibliothēke* 3.9.2; Lykophron, *Alexandra* 137 and *scholion*; Ailianos, *Variae Historiae* 13.1),⁴⁷ Atalanta grew up in the wilderness. Her unwillingness to complete her destiny and be married turned Atalanta's courtship into a race (Hyginus *Fabulae* 185.2), in which the prize was either Atalanta or the life of her defeated suitors. When finally vanquished by Melanion (Apollodoros 3.9.2) or Hippomenes (Hesiod, fr. 74, 76 M.-W.), Atalanta, because of her excessive savagery, was incapable of proper conduct and therefore violated a sanctuary of either Zeus (Apollodoros 3.9.2; Hyginus *Fabulae* 185) or the Mother of the Gods (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.686), for which both she and Melanion were turned into lions⁴⁸. The world of Artemis, unlike that of Atalanta, is open to adulthood, and the rites pertaining to the goddess are intended to take the young to their destinies.⁴⁹ One of the functions of the Arkteia must have been to avert the excesses represented by Komaitho (untimely entry into maturity) and Atalanta (refusal of one's destiny). Thus Artemis acts as guardian of the limits and contact points between the uncontrolled fertility of uncultivated nature and the rejection of marriage, to achieve a balance between wilderness and civilization; the

⁴⁶ Artemis sent death and pestilence upon Patrai. When consulted, the Delphic oracle ordained that the pair be sacrificed. The sacrifice was to be repeated annually with the most beautiful representative of each sex as sacrificial victims. The hero Eurypylos, arriving with a chest containing the image of Dionysos, puts an end to this sacrifice and turns it into a harmless rite in which the young people bathe in a river henceforth called Melichos (previously Amelichos). See Nilsson 1957: 216-225; Calame 1977: 73, 245, 273; Lloyd-Jones 1983: 91; Hughes 1991: 86-88.

⁴⁷ According to other versions Atalanta was the daughter of Iasos, son of Lykurgos of Arkadia, and Klymene, daughter of Minyas (Apollodoros 3.9.2) or of Schoineus, son of Athamas (Hesiod, fr. 72, 76.20 M.-W. = Apollodoros *Bibliothēke* 3.9.2, quoting Hesiod "καὶ τινες ἕτεροι").

⁴⁸ Vernant 1986: 20.

⁴⁹ Vernant 1986: 21.

integration of the young into the stable world of the adult cannot be achieved without the goddess who guards its frontiers⁵⁰.

Brauron Artemis was worshipped at Brauron as goddess of childhood and infancy, protector of young, unmarried women, as well as goddess of the hunt.⁵¹ The numerous dedications of statues of young boys and girls reflect the concern of the goddess for childbirth and protection of children.⁵² The presence at Brauron of jewellery, mirrors, and pottery representing scenes of domestic activity as well as of utensils for spinning and weaving such as spindles, loom weights and objects called *epinetra* (the exact use of which has not been determined⁵³) suggests that the cult was concerned with the training of young girls in the tasks they were expected to perform as wives and mothers.⁵⁴

Viewed by ancient writers either as a rite (*telete*: Hesychios *sv* ἄρκτεια), or a *mysterion* (*schol.* Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 645), the Arkteia takes its name from the bear which the girls were required to imitate in honour of the goddess⁵⁵ (Suidas *sv* ἄρκτοι; *schol.* Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 645), perhaps envisaged as a bear herself.

Krateriskoi from the sanctuary at Brauron representing girls either nude or dressed in short chitons, running, sometimes towards an altar upon which a flame burns, have been connected with this ritual,⁵⁶ the krateriskoi being used in the course of the ceremony, for pouring libations on the altar.⁵⁷ Judging from the

⁵⁰ De Polignac 1984: 52; Vernant 1984: 17.

⁵¹ Cole 1984: 238.

⁵² Kondis 1967: 180, 190; Price 1978: 121-122; Cole 1984: 238; on Artemis *Kourotrophos* see Kahil in *LIMC* 2.676.720 (marble relief from Rome, first quarter of the 4th century B.C., figuring worshipers presenting a child to Artemis); 2.676.721 (terracotta statuette from Brauron, middle of the 5th century B.C., representing Artemis *Kourotrophos* carrying a little girl) and commentary 2.743-752 (Artemis as protectress of childhood and family). For Artemis and Apollo as *kourotrophoi* see also Calame 1977: 206-209.

⁵³ Kondis 1967: 186, 189; Kahil 1963: 12 & pl. 5.

⁵⁴ Cole 1984: 239-240.

⁵⁵ Calame 1977: 187; see also Walbank 1981: 276-81.

⁵⁶ Kahil 1963, pl. 6; 1965: 20-33 and fig. A-C; 1977: 86-98; 1981: 252-63; Sourvinou-Inwood 1985: 125-146 & pl. 7,8.; on ritual nakedness see Osborne 1985: 169.

⁵⁷ Kahil 1965: 24 and plate 8.8.

presence of Artemis and Apollo on an Athenian vase, together with a man and a woman wearing bear masks (priest and priestess) and from the passage of Hesychios which defines the bear both as the animal and as the priestess of Artemis ("ἄρκτος...καὶ τὸ ζῶον καὶ ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος"), as well as from the material presence of a bear at Brauron, L. Kahil suggests that a mysterion was performed at Brauron in connection with the Arkteia.⁵⁸ The cult aition speaks of the killing of a sacred bear by the brothers of a little girl whom the bear had scratched⁵⁹. When the angered Artemis sent plague and famine, Apollo ordered the sacrifice of a daughter by her father. Most versions contain a story of substitution, an animal being sacrificed instead.⁶⁰ By imitating the bear, the girls expiate the original fault, ritually participating in the wildness of the animal.⁶¹ I would go further, suggesting that they partake of the nature of the goddess herself and identify with her through an animal which is so closely connected with the goddess.⁶² The connection between Artemis and the bear can also be seen at Kydonia in Western Crete, where the cult of the divine nurse of Zeus, Kynosoura, transformed into the constellation of the Little Bear, was connected with the pre-historic cave at Akrotiri, north-west of Chania, still called the "Cave of the She-Bear", as well as with the cult of Artemis at Aptera.⁶³ The presence of bears in connection with Artemis and motherhood is attested also in the form of

⁵⁸ Kahil 1977: 93 and fig.7 (the mask), 91 and fig. 4 (the bear); Cole 1984: 240 disagrees that the mysterion itself could have been represented on vases.

⁵⁹ Dowden 1989: 35 considers the bear scratching the girl's face an initiatory mutilation, familiar in other cultures; see also commentary by Osborne 1985: 166.

⁶⁰ See Sale 1975: 265-84.

⁶¹ Cole 1984: 242.

⁶² Kallisto, who was changed by Artemis (or by Hera: Pausanias 8.3.6-7) into a bear for concealing her pregnancy (Hesiod, fr.163 M.-W.; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.8.2; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.5.401-495; Pausanias 8.3.6; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 177) is considered to have been initially the goddess herself (Fontenrose 1981: 69-85); the sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste lies near Skias in Arkadia on a mound taken to be the tomb of Kallisto (Pausanias 8.35.8); see Jost 1985: 190 (location of the tomb), 406-410 (rejecting the connection between Artemis Kallisto and the bear); Bevan 1987: 19 supports the association; statuettes depicting Artemis with bears: Kahil in *LIMC* 2.676.722, 723a, 724 (uncertain); on the human characteristics of the bear, see Osborne 1985: 163, 167.

⁶³ See Price 1978: 88-89, citing Willetts 1962: 275f.

dedications in her sanctuaries, particularly that of Artemis Orthia, where Artemis and Eileithyia were worshipped as goddesses of childbirth.⁶⁴ There is also an intimate connection among bears, Iphigeneia and the Brauronian cult. According to tradition, Agamemnon's daughter Iphigeneia (or Iphimede⁶⁵), was sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis⁶⁶ before the departure of the allied Greek forces for Troy, at the goddess' command (*Kypria*⁶⁷; Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 126-36, 198-201; Euripides, *IA* 1587); in a variant version a deer was substituted for the girl (*Kypria*, followed by Euripides *IT* 28ff, where Iphigeneia becomes the first priestess of Artemis in the land of the Tauroi) or a bear (Schol. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 645).⁶⁸ The latter substitution concerns the ritual at Brauron. C. Sourvinou-Inwood⁶⁹ sees in Iphigeneia's gesture of shedding her robes (Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 239: "κρόκου βαφὰς ἐς πέδον χέουσα"), a correlation with the Brauronian practice of "shedding the krokotos" mentioned in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 645. By using the Ravenna codex of *Lysistrata* (137, 4A) which reads "καταχέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν", in correlation with krateriskoi depicting nude girls, she suggests that "shedding the krokotos" was a ritual act marking the successful fulfilment of a "bear's career", the

⁶⁴ See Bevan 1987: 17-21, esp. 20-21.

⁶⁵ Hesiod fr. 23a M.-W. See Solmsen 1981: 353-358; Dowden 1989: 46 & 212 n.62 argues that the Linear B Iphimede/Iphimedeia (PY Tn 316) cannot come from <w>is (might), but rather from an adjective (ἴφης) attested by Hesychios (sv 'Ιφιγένεια: Ἀρτεμις), the meaning of which might be "pretty", thus making "Iphigeneia" an equivalent of "Kalligeneia". However, the equivalent of ἴφης given by Liddell and Scott 1968 sv, is ταχύς.

⁶⁶ Dowden 1989: 47 sees Iphigeneia as a prototype for girls performing a passage rite; Foley 1982: 171 considers Iphigeneia's marriage/sacrifice to have been undertaken with a hint of re-birth or survival, ratified by Artemis' substitution of a deer for Iphigeneia, "if the play closed this way".

⁶⁷ Proklos, *Chrestomathia* 1:

"Κάλχαντος δὲ εἰπόντος τὴν τῆς Θεοῦ μῆνιν καὶ Ἰφιγένειαν
κελεύσαντος θύειν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὡς ἐπὶ γάμον αὐτὴν Ἀχιλλεῖ
μεταπεμψάμενοι, θύειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Ἀρτεμις δὲ αὐτὴν
ἐξεργάσασα, εἰς Ταύρους μετακομίζει καὶ ἀθάνατον ποιεῖ ἔλαφον
δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς κόρης παρίστησι τῷ βωμῷ."

⁶⁸ Yet another version states that Iphigeneia was changed by the will of Artemis into Einodia (hence into Hekate through the identification of latter with Einodia) being called "Ἀρτεμιν Εἰνοδίην πρόπολον κλυτοῦ ἰοχειαίρης" (Hesiod, fr. 23a M.-W.; fr. 23b; Pausanias 1.43.1 "οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν Καταλόγῳ Γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι"; Stesichoros fr. 215 PMG). See also Schachter 1981: 96-97.

⁶⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1971: 339-342; see also Stinton 1976: 11-13.

exact ritual which Iphigeneia performed before her sacrifice.⁷⁰ Iphigeneia, once perhaps an independent goddess⁷¹ or a heroine⁷², was herself connected with childbirth and received as dedications the garments of women who died in labour (Euripides *IT*, 1450-1467).

By imitating the bear and partaking of its savagery⁷³, the girls at Brauron, like the boys in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, were allowed to experience a change of identity (see below) as part of a transitional phase, the final purpose of which was their passage into maturity. Thus, the meaning and function of the Arkteia, based on Artemis as protectress of women in labour and Kouroutrophos, was to prepare girls for marriage and childbirth. The Arkteia or a similar ritual was performed in the sanctuaries of Artemis Munychia at Piraeus⁷⁴ and on the Athenian akropolis, of Artemis Aristoboule in Athens and Melite, as well as in the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides, where krateriskoi connected with the ritual have been identified.⁷⁵ At Aulis, the girls would have been not bears but deer.⁷⁶ "Playing the deer for Artemis" is suggested by an inscription from Demetrias-Pagasai (*IG* 9² 1123), which records a dedication to Artemis of Pagasai made by Dyantis daughter of Melanthias, who has served as a *Nebros* (deer) for the goddess.

The question whether all girls participated in the Arkteia or only a select few, those who could afford the cost⁷⁷, has often been addressed. The passage of

⁷⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1971: 341; Osborne 1985: 164 (the link between the *arktoi* and Iphigeneia).

⁷¹ See Sale 1975: 274.

⁷² Dowden 1989: 45; for the plan of the sanctuary and the heroon of Iphigeneia see Kahil 1963, pl.16; 1977: 96.

⁷³ Cole 1984: 242.

⁷⁴ Kahil 1991: 518; For a discussion of Artemis Munychia at Piraeus, see Garland 1987: 113-114 and 208 (notes).

⁷⁵ Kahil 1981: 254-255; 1991: 518; for the similarities between the cult of Artemis at Brauron and Munychia, see Sale 1975: 265-284, who suggests that the "story of Iphigeneia at Aulis began life as a obscure Munychian temple-legend" and moved from Aulis to Brauron to Munychia, although Iphigeneia never reached the last destination.

⁷⁶ See commentary by Dowden 1989: 41.

⁷⁷ Dowden 1989: 26.

Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 641-647⁷⁸) remains problematic and we are constantly reminded of the fact that only two girls served as *arrhephoroi* for Athena, although they may have represented all the girls born at the same time⁷⁹. By analogy, Lloyd-Jones argues that only a small number of girls represented an entire age group.⁸⁰ Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood also argues against the possibility that all the girls served as bears, despite E. Simon's opinion that the poor quality of numerous *krateriskoi* proved every young girl's participation in the *Arkteia*.⁸¹ Analogically, not all Athenian youths served as *ephebes* but only those of the *hoplite* class.⁸²

The same passage of Aristophanes seems to imply that the girls were at least ten years old, while the scholiast on the passage states that the bears were between five and ten. Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood has demonstrated, through a series of iconographical analyses, that the "bears" on ritual *Krateriskoi* were five to seven/eight years old (the younger ones) and ten (the older ones), concluding that the *Arkteia* represented a rite of transition from childhood to puberty⁸³. However, its social and religious implications make the *Arkteia* much more than a simple puberty ritual.⁸⁴

Artemis Orthia⁸⁵ Another rite of transition, this time concerning *ephebes*, took place in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. As in the case of the

⁷⁸ "ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρου·
εἴτ' ἄλειπρις ἢ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι
καὶ ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτῶν ὄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις·
κάκαιηφόρου ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ'
ισχάδων ὄρμαθόν."

καὶ ἔχουσα Bentley; κατέχουσα ΓBC; καταχέουσα R.

⁷⁹ See Lloyd-Jones 1983: 92 & n.32, referring to the comment by Wilamowitz 1927: 162 on the number of the girls who served as *arrhephoroi*; on the age of the *arrhephoroi* see Osborne 1985: 165.

⁸⁰ Lloyd-Jones 1983: 93.

⁸¹ Simon 1983: 86; Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988: 115-116.

⁸² Osborne 1985: 44.

⁸³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988: 1-67; Osborne 1985: 165.

⁸⁴ See Osborne 1985: 172ff., for the political and social implications of the *Arkteia*.

⁸⁵ The meaning of the epithet is not germane to my argument here. See Appendix I for one possible interpretation.

Arkteia, it may also have been reserved to the upper classes. Osborne's argument that not all the young Athenians served as ephebes but only those of the hoplite class (see above) may also have been valid for Sparta, where not all the youths were flogged but only those who were destined to rank among the *homoioi*. The flogging of the Spartan ephebes is reported by various sources, some ancient authors stressing the cruelty of a ritual which they attributed to a foreign goddess (Pausanias 3.16.9: "ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων") and others recording incidents of death under the whip of Orthia (Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 18.2: "πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἐωράκαμεν <έν> ἀποθυήσκοντας ταῖς πληγαῖς."; *Apophthegmata Lakonica*, 40 (239C-D); Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 2.14.34;). Xenophon (*Lak.Rep.* 2.9) reports a rite of stealing cheeses from the altar of the goddess by groups of young boys, who were in turn pursued and whipped by other groups of young boys. Plato (*Leg.* 1.633B) alludes to the same custom. On the basis of the different reports of the same ritual, Hughes concluded that the rite mentioned by Plato and Xenophon eventually degenerated into the brutal scourging and that the myth of human sacrifice (replaced by Lykourgos with the whipping of the ephebes, so that the altar would always be filled with human blood: Pausanias 3.16.9-10) was invented only when the ritual had assumed its bloodier form, a development contrary to the "mitigation" often present in myth.⁸⁶

When incorporated into the sphere of Artemis, the ritual assumes a different rôle and the masks worn by the ephebes serve to provide an alternative identity in order to eliminate any tendency which might lead them astray from the course of becoming warrior-citizens⁸⁷: grotesque masks⁸⁸ representing different types --the

⁸⁶ Hughes 1991: 80. For another possible origin of this ritual cruelty, see Appendix I.

⁸⁷ Vernant 1984: 14-15; 1986: 39-54, esp. 29-30 on the duality of the mask.

⁸⁸ See Dickins G., in Dawkins et al., 1929: 163-186 ("The Masks"); the custom of dedicating masks arouse according to Dickins (p. 165) early in the 7th century B.C. and began to become popular at its very close, although one "warrior" mask was found in a purely Geometric layer. See also Boardman 1963: 6, who suggests that the series did not begin before 600 B.C.

shy, the vulgar, the ugly, the vile and the coward-- are put on in the course of the ritual in order to eliminate these undesirable tendencies. The flogging of the ephebes, which might have Punic-Phoenician origins⁸⁹, becomes in a Greek context the supreme trial, possibly intended to remove the greatest fear of all: the fear of the blood which would be spilled on the future battlefields and ultimately, the fear of death. If indeed substituted by Lykourgos for a human sacrifice performed at random (Pausanias 3.16.10), the flogging may represent an initiatory death (which might occasionally have turned into real death), followed by a rebirth of the ephebe as a citizen with full rights.⁹⁰ This "death" would be both the end of the ordeal of a childhood spent in humiliation during which the child resembled a helot⁹¹, also perceivable as a non-existence, and the beginning of a real life, as a *homoios*, a fully integrated citizen.⁹² The rite of passage clearly belongs to Artemis.

The presence of Artemis in the context of war is motivated mainly by her function of *Kourotrophos*⁹³; she is there in order to protect those whom she had brought to the threshold of maturity and are beginning their adult lives as warrior-citizens. The motivation is also territorial, as battles tend to be fought in spaces considered to be the domain of the goddess: marginal areas, disputed frontiers (*eschatiai*), where the goddess is always present⁹⁴. Not a warrior goddess traditionally, Artemis has no place within the battle ranks and is easily intimidated by an angry Hera, harshly ordering her to restrict her activity to the mountains and the hunting of wild animals (Homer, *Iliad* 21.486). Even in later times, Artemis was not perceived as a warrior but as a guide, and her presence was more strongly

⁸⁹ Carter 1987: 381: "The whipping of the ephebes on Ortheia's altar could be a substitution for the original rite of child sacrifice introduced by the Phoenicians".

⁹⁰ Brelich 1969: 203-7; Van Gennep 1960: 75; Burkert 1985: 260-1; Hughes 1991: 80-81; Vernant 1984: 21-22.

⁹¹ On the treatment of the helots and their "less than human" status, see Ducat 1990, esp. 107-127 ("Les moins qu'humains").

⁹² Vernant 1984: 21-27.

⁹³ See Lonis 1979: 200-203; Vernant 1988: 223; Brelich 1961: 83-4.

⁹⁴ See Brelich 1961, esp. 46-52.

felt in the moments which preceded the actual battle or whenever the war leaned towards a disastrous end, in the so called "wars of annihilation", when the existence of an entire community, including women and children, was threatened with extinction.⁹⁵

The rôle of the preliminary sacrifice offered to Artemis was to ensure that in the transition from peace to war, savagery would not prevail.⁹⁶ The sacrifice was performed in front of the troops (Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5.18; Thucydides 6.69.2) when the enemy was in sight. Xenophon (*Hellenika* 4.2.20), writing about the battle of Nemea in 394 B.C., states that the distance between the two armies was less than one stade when "the Lacedaimonians, after having sacrificed to Agrotera the usual goat, advanced towards the enemy". The sacrifice, consisting of a goat, an animal neither wild nor fully domesticated⁹⁷, was performed in perfect order, when the two sides were visible to each other "αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὁρώντων" (Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 22.4). If the omens were favourable the army advanced calmly towards danger ("ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον"), without leaving a single gap in the phalanx "μήτε διάσπασμα ποιούντων ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι μήτε ταις ψυχαῖς θορυβουμένων" (Plutarch *Lykourgos* 22.5). No signal for advance could be given before receiving the favourable omens. In such a case, a second sacrifice to Artemis was required, at the risk of being killed by the enemy (Plutarch *Aristeides* 17.7-10). An interrupted sacrifice was seen as a bad omen. According to Plutarch (*Agesilaos* 6), the fact that Agesilaos' sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis before his departure for Asia in 396 B.C. was interrupted by angry Boiotians, was an omen for the ultimate failure of the expedition. The massacre by wolves of the goats (κατοιάδες), which the Spartans had taken along to lead the flocks of sacrificial

⁹⁵ Ellinger 1978: 7-35; 1987: 88-99; for Artemis Hegemone and Soteira, see Vernant 1988: 224; Farnell 1896, vol.II, p. 576, 585-6 n. 67 and 123.

⁹⁶ Vernant 1988: 221-239.

⁹⁷ Vernant 1988: 231.

sheep, predicted a bad end for the battle of Leuktra as well (Pausanias 9.13.5). Thus, the sacrifice to Artemis performed in the moments before combat was marked by extreme tension and insecurity. It occurred at the end of what was known and familiar and at the beginning of what would be uncertain and confused. The ambiguity and tension of these particular moments required that they be dedicated to the goddess who rules over the *eschatiai*.⁹⁸

After a successful battle, thanksgiving sacrifices were offered to Artemis in recognition of her aid. Five hundred goats were sacrificed annually after the battle of Marathon (Xenophon *Anabasis* 3.2.12; Herodotos 6.117; Plutarch *De Herodoti Malignitate*, 27), three hundred according to Ailianos (*Variae Historiae* 2.25). At Athens one of the functions of the polemarch was to sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera and to organize games and funerary sacrifices for those who had died in combat (Aristotle, *Athenian Politics*, 58.1). The goddess' presence appears in the form of a light (moonlight in the case of the Greek victory at Salamis: Plutarch, *Moralia* 349F), or in the form of an unusual clarity of vision and mind, even in the most hostile circumstances. Thrasyboulos and his followers were able to find their way to Munychia during a moonless night and surrounded by a terrible snow storm (Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2.4.14)⁹⁹, guided by a flame, a manifestation of Artemis *Phosphoros*.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand the visibility and judgement of the enemy are darkened by the action of the goddess and their minds are filled with panic (Diodorus 14.32.3). They are incapable of discerning clearly or of taking the right decisions. According to Pausanias (1.40.2-3), the soldiers of Mardonios, blinded by Artemis Soteira, were easily defeated by the Greeks after having wasted their arrows against a rock, the sound of which seemed human to their disturbed senses. The same panic overtook the Gauls when they attacked Delphi in 279 B.C.

⁹⁸ On the military *mantike*, see Pritchett 1979: 47-90.

⁹⁹ See also Pritchett 1979: 124.

¹⁰⁰ See Vernant 1988: 227.

Confused by a snow storm and by the blurred light of nightfall, unable to recognize their shields or the sound of their own language, they massacred each other, having fallen into "ἄγνοια" (Pausanias 10.23.6-8).¹⁰¹

The goddess' intervention, also as *kourotrophos*, is to be recognized by similar actions in the so called "battles of despair", in which Artemis protects not only the youths over whose *paideia* she had so far watched but an entire community in a vulnerable and defenceless state. By the annihilation of this community in danger, the order which Artemis helps to preserve would be permanently disturbed and the outcome would represent an unacceptable transgression of both divine and human laws. The festival of the Elaphebolia, celebrated at Hyampolis (near modern Kalapodi) in honour of Artemis Elaphebolos (*IG* 9.1.90; Plutarch *De Mulierum Virtute*, 244b-e; Pausanias 10.1.6-10; Polybios 16.32.1) commemorates the episode of the "Phokian despair", in the conflict between Phokians and Thessalians near Hyampolis. The rôle of Artemis in such "wars of annihilation" has been analysed by Ellinger in a series of articles¹⁰². The Phokian victories analysed by Ellinger are examples of a conflict which has been described as "ἄσπουδος." (Plutarch *Mul. Virt.* 244b); they are "wars of annihilation". The position of Artemis in relation to such wars is further explained by the fact that the "war of annihilation" is first of all an unequal combat.¹⁰³ The Phokian victory over the Thessalians at Kleonai near Hyampolis, commemorated by the Elaphebolia, was perceived as the direct result of a desperate solution proposed by Daïphantes of Hyampolis, at a time when the Thessalians were about to wage a "war of annihilation" in response to a widespread Phokian rebellion, and following the defeat of the Phokian leader Gelon who perished together with his picked men at the hands of the enemy (Pausanias 10.1.5). Daïphantos gathered all women,

¹⁰¹ See Pritchett 1979: 31.

¹⁰² Ellinger 1984: 51-67; 1978: 7-35; 1987: 88-99. See also Pritchett 1979: 55.

¹⁰³ Ellinger 1978: 8.

children and goods near a funerary pyre under the guard of thirty men, who were to kill the women and children, burning them as sacrificial victims together with the goods in case of defeat, and then kill each other or let themselves be killed by the Thessalian cavalry (Pausanias 10.1.6-7; Plutarch *Mul. Virt.* 244c).

The battlefield is north of Hyampolis. At its southern extremity, c. 5 km from Hyampolis is the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos, at the very entrance of the pass, a corridor measuring a few hundred meters in width and some four km in length along a north-south axis. Located in a position of *eschatiai*, within a frontier space represented not as a clear separating line but as a succession of transitional zones at the margins of cultivated areas, the sanctuary is inseparable from the battlefield.¹⁰⁴

Two other episodes, seen by Herodotos as manifestations of the eternal hostility between the Thessalians and the Phokians, took place "a few years before the expedition of the King (Xerxes)" (Herodotos 8.27; Pausanias 10.1.11). On the one hand, the Phokians, having retreated on Mount Parnassos, crushed the Thessalian infantry through a trick devised by Tellias of Elis, the prophet of the Phokian army, "upon whom rested all the Phokians' hopes of salvation" (Pausanias 10.1.9): under a full moon, six hundred chosen men (five hundred according to Pausanias 10.1.11) whitened their faces and took the Thessalians by surprise. The latter, fearing a divine appearance, were overtaken by panic to the point of not being able to defend themselves. In this state of mind they were easily massacred by the six hundred, whose order was clear; to kill all those who were not "whitened". On the other occasion, the Thessalian cavalry was defeated in the pass of Hyampolis¹⁰⁵, after the Phokians had dug a ditch across and filled it with amphorae, causing the horses of the Thessalians to stumble and fall, overturning

¹⁰⁴ See Ellinger 1987: 94-95.

¹⁰⁵ This route has been successively taken by the Thessalians, Persians, Macedonians and Romans. See Ellinger 1978: 13.

and killing their riders (Herodotos 8.28; Pausanias 10.1.3).¹⁰⁶ These episodes, which have in common the fact that victory was secured by a "trick", have traditionally been spread throughout the Archaic period, the Phokian liberation around 575-570 B.C. and the conflicts described by Herodotos shortly before 480 B.C. More recent theories however argue in favour of a single war which supposedly occurred shortly after 510 or 491 B.C.¹⁰⁷

The actions of Artemis in the last two episodes can be defined, as in other instances seen above, in terms of visibility/non-visibility. The whitened warriors more visible than usual in the light of the full moon, to the point of seeming supernatural, are superior to their enemies exactly because of their excessive visibility. In the other episode they prevail through invisibility, being hidden from the eyes of the Thessalian invaders. The physical phenomenon is paralleled psychologically by the clarity of mind which Artemis confers to those under her protection in contrast to the panic and confusion she inflicts upon their enemy.

Artemis as protectress of colonies The function of the goddess as protectress of communities in danger can be seen in the case of the colonies as well, *eschatai* of the mother city, living in a permanent state of uncertainty as to their existence and often threatened by large and hostile native populations. More than a goddess of colonization, Artemis has been perceived as a goddess of hellenization, presiding over the integration of certain indigenous elements into the world of hellenism¹⁰⁸. The colonies belong to the sphere of Artemis inasmuch as they are margins, extensions of the original city, bordering an unfamiliar and sometimes dangerous environment.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, the location of sanctuaries of Artemis in the colonies differs from their location in the motherland. The

¹⁰⁶ For a detailed treatment of these episodes see P. Ellinger, cited above.

¹⁰⁷ See Ellinger 1978: 90.

¹⁰⁸ Frontisi-Ducroux 1981: 46.

¹⁰⁹ See Malkin 1987, *passim*; de Polignac 1984: 23-126.

sanctuaries which in Greece itself are placed at the *eschatiai* of the *oikoumene*, often in zones where land and water meet to create a space by its very nature escaping the control of man, become sanctuaries of the agora in the colonies. This central location can be explained by the fact that the entire colony is perceived as an *eschatia*, rather than by a change in the nature of the goddess.¹¹⁰

In the process of colonization Artemis came into contact with local deities whose natures were more or less similar to hers, as was the case in the East, where the Greeks met with an older and more sophisticated civilization than their own. This contact affected the perception of Artemis in the major cult centres of Asia Minor in different ways. In places such as Ephesos, the assimilation of Artemis with a local mother goddess was more striking than at Miletos, where the influence of the goddess' Asiatic counterpart was hardly visible.¹¹¹ The question how much of the new Asiatic Artemis is the continuation of the ancient goddess of the earth and how much of her Hellenic character has been preserved will be treated in the second part of this thesis, as will the nature, functions and worship of the Oriental Artemis.

Summary In the light of recent scholarship, Artemis is a goddess of undefined space, on all its levels --human, animal, vegetal-- a goddess of transition who, presiding over the *eschatiai*, watches over the proper completion of things.

The possible presence of Artemis in Linear B tablets from Pylos and perhaps from Knossos proves the antiquity of her worship. Mistress of nature, Artemis haunts the mountains and the deep forests, protecting the wild space from human intrusion; as seen in the myth of Aktaion, human violation of the non-human space causes the de-humanization of the intruder. In the same way, the goddess defends

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of the location of these sanctuaries see Schachter 1992: 1-57, esp. page 50.

¹¹¹ On Artemis at Miletos see Tuchelt 1989: 143-217, esp. 180-187 (the archaeological finds); 1992: 25-38 (the temple of Artemis at Didyma); Ehrhardt 1983: 148-161 and notes on p. 351-375 (Miletos and its colonies).

the cities of "just men" from savagery and excess. The two species, civilized and uncivilized, must preserve distinct identities, and it is Artemis who achieves their proper balance, by cautiously permitting a certain overlapping of the two, while keeping them firmly apart.

Artemis' protection of animal cubs, which falls within the concept of the goddess as *Potnia Theron*, is compatible with the goddess' regulatory function: the cycle of life must be completed, and any breaching of the proper order of things will eventually attract the wrath of the goddess; untimely slaughter of young animals will prevent them from completing the course of their destinies. The protection, as well as the destruction of the same animals, represented by the fire of Laphria, are reflected in other aspects of the goddess: "a lion to women", the goddess is also invoked to assist in childbirth, together with Eileithyia. Why was Artemis chosen for this purpose? First of all, childbirth is a double transition: that of the child from physical non-existence into existence and that of the mother from social non-existence into social existence. In the case of the mother's death, the new-born child would be left in the care of the goddess as *Kourotrophos*. Second, childbirth, besides being a transition in and out of life in an environment of extreme danger, is also the completion of the girl's destiny and the beginning of a new being, who is to be initiated through the different stages of its life.

The Arkteia at Brauron was intended to prevent excesses such as untimely entry into maturity or unwillingness to complete one's destiny. The rôle of the Arkteia might have been to integrate and prepare the girls for a proper entry into society and the assumption of their rôles as wives and mothers. A similar ritual, this time involving ephebes, took place in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Whether or not Ortheia is the Ugaritic goddess Asherah (much more research is needed before reaching a conclusion), the ritual was essentially Greek and its meaning was connected with the integration of the young into society. If it

was indeed substituted for human sacrifice, the flogging of the ephebes may represent an initiatory death, followed by a rebirth of the ephebe as citizen with full rights. This "death" would be both the end of a childhood spent in humiliation, equal to non-existence, and the beginning of a true existence, as a fully integrated citizen.

Unlike Athena, Artemis is not a warrior-goddess and has no place on the battlefields. However, the moments before engaging battle clearly belong to this goddess. The purpose of the preliminary sacrifice to Artemis was to ensure that she would not permit savagery to prevail over order. The presence of the goddess was more strongly felt in so-called "wars of annihilation" which threatened the existence of an entire people. Her intervention in these situations is motivated by her rôle of protectress of the vulnerable, this time an entire community threatened with extinction. Her actions are psychological rather than physical: she confers or denies a certain clarity of vision and judgement. Moreover, as wars often take place in disputed areas, where the power of the goddess is absolute, the moments before combat being of a particular ambiguity and tension, they fall within the sphere of the goddess who rules over the *eschatiai*. Colonization, another form of aggression, requires the goddess' presence owing to the very nature of the colony. The almost permanent state of uncertainty and the continuous need of the Greek colonists to coexist with native populations in a hostile environment, made Artemis a major goddess in the Greek colonies, the goddess herself taking on a more or less indigenous form.

PART II - The Asiatic Artemis

Introduction

In the process of colonization, deities and cults were transplanted from the mainland to the newly founded colonies. As the degree of contact between Greek colonists and native populations varied from place to place¹¹², the effect on the Greeks' gods could have been minimal or massive, depending also on the functions of the individual god; Poseidon, the pan-Ionic ethnic god remained strictly Greek¹¹³, while other deities such as Apollo, Zeus, Hera, Aphrodite and especially Artemis underwent the influence of local cults to a larger extent. The purpose of this part of the thesis is to investigate the worship of Artemis in the east, as a goddess whose nature was both unchanged and changed by the effects of immigration.

The first part of this thesis has shown the Hellenic Artemis as a goddess whose field of competence --whose μοῖρα¹¹⁴-- was the critical transitions faced by individuals and communities. At the level of the individual she exercised her power at birth, puberty, and maturity, preparing the person -- or beast-- to play her/his/its rôle in life; male humans were intended to become warriors and hunters, females to become mothers, beasts to be tamed either by hunting or husbandry. At the communal level, the function of Artemis was extended to cover the areas between wilderness and civilization, matching the individual's untrained and trained states, and between safety and danger, again matching the individual's exposure to life-threatening experience. Because of her functions, the Hellenic

¹¹² For a general survey of this problem, see J.-P. Descocudres ed., 1990, *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, Oxford.

¹¹³ Poseidon's cult epithets in Asia Minor (e.g. 'Ασφάλειος, 'Ελικώνιος, 'Ορθώσιος, Φράτριος, Φυτάλμιος) go back to Greece, unlike some epithets of Apollo or Artemis, which show a higher degree of assimilation (e.g. Διδυμεύς, 'Εφεσία). For Poseidon in Asia Minor see Graf 1985: 42-43, 207-208, 383, 409.

¹¹⁴ As defined by Adkins 1972: 16: "...μοῖρα...is concerned with what it is, or is not one's 'share'- or some else's - to say or to do".

Artemis was a goddess of the *eschatiai*, the limits of the *chora* of the *polis*. In the context of the colony, her functions can be better understood if one takes into consideration the fact that a colony can be perceived as an extension of the polis, and thus a further displacement of the *eschatiai*. The same goddess, who in a mother polis can be found at the outskirts of the *chora*, in a colony can be found at the physical centre of the new community, which in itself constitutes a new no-man's land, as was the case at Thasos, Kerkyra and Syracuse.¹¹⁵

As opposed to the west, where the Greeks settled in areas whose local population was at a lower level of development than they were, in Asia Minor the settlers encountered a civilization older, more sophisticated and more highly developed than their own. It was an inevitable consequence of this contact that some deities, particularly those who played a great rôle in colonization, underwent in the east a more extensive change than they might otherwise have suffered.

Major Cults of Artemis in Asia

As far as both their importance and antiquity are concerned, the major cult centres of this goddess in Asia Minor were at Didyma (Miletos), Ephesos, Sardis, Magnesia on the Maiander and Perge. The archaeological finds from Didyma (Miletos)¹¹⁶ do not suggest significant influence from local elements. However, the presence of priestesses of Artemis called *hydrophoroi* seems to connect the goddess' cult with water.¹¹⁷ The rôle of water in the cult of Artemis at Didyma,

¹¹⁵ See Schachter 1992: 49-51.

¹¹⁶ See Tuchelt 1989: 184-186 and fig. 50-53 (four seated female figures dressed in chitons); 192-201 and fig. 60-84 (sphinxes); Tuchelt 1992: 25-38 (the temple of Artemis).

¹¹⁷ The fact that the word *hydrophoros* was applied to a priestess of Artemis in Asia Minor is clear from Kaihel *Epigr. Gr.*, 872, text revised by Preuner 1922: 185-186:

"Αγαθῇ τύχῃ.
Αὐτὴ παρθενικὴ Ἐλαφιβόλος ἀρήτεφαν
θήκατο κυδ(α)λίμην Γλαυκιέω θύγατρα
ὕδροφόρον Βήραν Πατνίην παραβώμια ῥέξαι
σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν ἔμβρυα καλλιθύτων."

For the *hydrophoros* as priestess of Artemis at Didyma and Patmos, see also Haussoullier 1902: 140.

retained in the name of her priestesses, points, according to Tuchelt,¹¹⁸ to an original native-Anatolian female goddess. The *hydrophoroi* are particular to the cult of Artemis and can be found not only at Didyma¹¹⁹ but at Patmos, a colony of Miletos, as well.¹²⁰ A terracotta head of Artemis found at Didyma presents, according to Tuchelt, Anatolian features¹²¹. The temple itself, while preserving its ancient appearance has also preserved its local importance,¹²² but the overall image of Artemis, worshipped as Pythie, Lykeie, Chitone and Boulaia¹²³, suggests that the goddess had retained most of her Hellenic characteristics.

Ephesos At Ephesos, the legend of the primitive tree sanctuary and its first worshippers links Artemis of Ephesos to the autochthonous populations, known to be devotees of a mother-goddess. In Kallimachos (3.237-239), the Amazon Hippo founds the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Whether the Lydian *Artimu* is an adaptation of the Greek Artemis, as Burkert suggests,¹²⁴ or not, her popularity reflects a high degree of assimilation among Eastern peoples who saw no difficulty in the goddess' identification with Kybele and Anaïtis.

The xoanon of Artemis at Ephesos¹²⁵ is well known on account of the so-called "breasts", round-shaped decorations which cover the goddess' upper body,

¹¹⁸ Tuchelt 1992: 37: "Die Rolle des Wassers im Artemiskult von Didyma ist in der Amtsbezeichnung ihrer Priesterinnen den *Hydrophoren* oder Wasserträgerinnen, enthalten und in der einheimisch-anatolischen Erscheinungsform der mit einer weiblichen Gottheit verbundenen Quelle."

¹¹⁹ Tuchelt 1992: 37.

¹²⁰ An inscription from Didyma (third century B.C.) names a *hydrophoros* who had also held this office for Artemis Patnia (= Patmia): "ὕδροφόρος εὐσεβῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Παιτνίας" (*I.v.Didyma*, 315; Robert *Hell.* 11/12 [1960], 466f). In another inscription (on which see *RhM* 107 [1964] 315-325; Ehrardt 1983: 446 n. 597), the name of the *hydrophoros* (Βήρα) is mentioned. See also *SEG* 30.1286 (Didyma, 1st century A.D., inscription of a *hydrophoros* of Artemis Pythia). An archaic marble head from Didyma dated ca 540 B.C. represents a young woman wearing priestly attire (Tuchelt 1992: 32 fig.50; 37). For the cult of Artemis at Miletos and Didyma see Ehrardt 1983: 148-149 and 443-445 n.573-587; 149 and 446-447 n. 595-613 (Patmos).

¹²¹ See Tuchelt 1992: 34 fig. 52; 37: "Deutlicher noch spricht der Fund eines Terrakottakopfes mit den Zügen der anatolischen Artemis für sich."

¹²² Tuchelt 1992: 38.

¹²³ Ehrardt 1983: 148 and 443 n. 574, 579; 444 n.580, 585.

¹²⁴ Burkert 1985: 149.

¹²⁵ See Fleischer 1973: 74ff; 253; 410ff and plates.

not uncommon with Oriental divinities.¹²⁶ On a cuneiform tablet containing an enumeration of clothes and ornaments of Ishtar, fruit-shaped beads of gold are mentioned as part of the goddess' costume.¹²⁷ The pastiche decorations undoubtedly point to the fertility aspect of the Ephesian goddess¹²⁸. Zeus Labraundos wears three such "breasts", symbol of a deity associated with fertility rather than of an androgynous one.¹²⁹ On a statue of Kybele now in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum), the decorations are clearly fruit-shaped.¹³⁰ The semi-aniconic representation of the goddess bears a close link to columnar images of the Mother Goddess, basically resembling a cylinder, as if cut from a tree-trunk.¹³¹ The black colour of the Ephesian goddess is another element linking the goddess to a pre-Hellenic cult (a deity known as the "black goddess" was worshipped by the Hittites) and also to Kybele, whose cult figure was a black stone.¹³²

Deer and lions alternate on the goddess' dress with flower and bee patterns. The presence of animals indicates a goddess of wildlife, a mistress of animals. The flower, also the emblem of the Persian Anahita,¹³³ together with the bee, connect the Ephesian goddess with vegetation. Like Kybele, Artemis Ephesia wears the turret-crown, sign of her pre-eminence. In the Artemision at Ephesos, the goddess was worshipped as *πρωτοθρονία*, filling the first seat (Pausanias 10.38.6;

¹²⁶ The gourd-shaped "teardrops" of amber with an elliptical cross section discovered in the Artemision at Ephesos and dated to the Geometric period, were taken by Bammer to be part of the breast jewelry of the ancient xoanon. See Bammer 1990: 153 & fig. 24, 27, Plates XXI(b),(c), XXII(a).

¹²⁷ Leemans 1952: 1-2, lines 3 and 25 on the cuneiform tablet.

¹²⁸ The only surviving terracotta figurine recorded as coming from Ephesos (Higgins 1967: 120 & pl. 58E), represents Artemis Ephesia with veil, high polos and four rows of such decorations. The terracotta type has been dated in the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. On the breast decorations as representations of actual fruit, seeds or "eggs", see Bammer 1990: 153. Dietrich 1974: 96, connects Ephesia's breast decoration with the women's breasts modelled in plaster on the east walls of the First and Second Shrines of Level VIB at Çatal Huyuk.

¹²⁹ See Fleischer 1973: 315ff and pl.141 a-d.

¹³⁰ Fleischer 1973 pl. 58.

¹³¹ Barnett 1967: 18.

¹³² See Barnett 1967: 22.

¹³³ Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 301.

Kallimachos 3.228). To ancient Greek writers, the Ephesian Artemis appeared as a goddess of clearly non-Hellenic origin. Pausanias sees the goddess as an aboriginal divinity of the Lydians and the Lelegians, worshipped by the Amazons (7.2.4; 4.31.8). The Amazons as first worshippers of Artemis at Ephesos are also mentioned by Kallimachos (3.237) and Hyginus (*Fabulae*, 237) while Tacitus (*Annales* 3.61) associates the cult of Artemis Ephesia with the Lydian Herakles ("Auctam hinc concessu Herculis, cum Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam templo").

The cult of Artemis at Ephesos comprises obvious non-Greek elements, survivals of previous worship, such as the office of Megabyzos and the college of the Essenes. The eunuch archpriest known by the Persian name of Megabyzos or Megabyxos¹³⁴, meaning either "set free by God"¹³⁵ or "he who is in the service of the God"¹³⁶ (Strabo 14.1.23 [641] "'Ιερέας δ' εὐνούχους εἶχον, οὓς ἐκάλουν Μεγαβύζους"; Appian *Bell.Civ.* 5.9 "τὸν ἐν 'Εφέσῳ δὲ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν μεγάβυξον ἡγοῦνται") is a survival of the worship of a Mother Goddess, related to Kybele. Oriental Mother Goddess types are often served by eunuch priests both in cult and in legend. Attis and Kumbabos (Lucian, *Dea Syria* 19-23) are legendary prototypes of eunuch priests, whom their Oriental followers strove to imitate. The fact that the practice, totally repugnant to the Greek mentality, was maintained in the cult of Artemis of Ephesos is not altogether surprising when applied to Artemis, a goddess who demanded absolute purity from her male followers; Hippolytos, entirely dedicated to the goddess, maintained his vows of chastity at the price of his own life. After all it was an obsession with absolute purity and complete identification with the great goddess which motivated the followers of

¹³⁴ The only correct form according to Benveniste (1966: 108).

¹³⁵ Bean 1979: 135-7.

¹³⁶ Benveniste (1966: 112) argues on linguistic grounds that the name *Baga-buxa* (the Greek Μεγαβύζος) must be translated as "he who is in the service of the God". This would correspond almost exactly to the Greek equivalent given by Xenophon (*Anabasis* 5.3.24ff.: "καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ").

the Mother Goddess to commit savage acts of mutilation upon themselves. As attested by the testimony of Strabo, the Megabyzos was always an Oriental, never a Greek, sometimes sent from remote countries (14.1.23 [641]: "...καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν μετιόντες αἰεί τινας ἀξίους τῆς τοιαύτης προστασίας, καὶ ἦγον ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ."). In Xenophon's *Anabasis* (5.3.24ff) the name "Megabyzos" is provided with a Greek equivalent ("καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ"- see n.135). It appears that after his consecration in the Ephesian Artemision, the Megabyzos lost his personal name.¹³⁷ According to Picard,¹³⁸ the new Megabyzos was adopted by the previous one at his consecration. Although the term Μεγάβυζος or Μεγάβυζος seems to be of Persian origin, related to the old Persian *Baga-buxsa*, the institution itself goes back to much earlier times.¹³⁹ The presence of Megabyzoi at Ephesos was interpreted as an indication of the fact that the Ephesian goddess, like Kybele had, initially, a youthful attendant and lover.¹⁴⁰ Another particular feature in the cult of Artemis at Ephesos is the presence of the so-called college of Essenes, priests who lived secluded in the Artemision (in Roman times the period of abstinence was limited to one year), observing strict rules of ἀγνεία (Pausanias 8.13.1) and supervising the sacred banquets of the Ephesian Artemis. According to the definition given by the *Etymologicon Magnum*, the Essenes were kings, comparable to the king-bee (*Etymol. Magn. sv ἐσσην· ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ' Ἐφεσίους, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ Μελίσσων Βασιλέως*). Their life has been described by Pausanias as follows, when speaking of a similar practice in the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia in the territory of the Arkadian Orchomenos:

"Τούτοις οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐς τὰς μίξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλο ἀγιστεύειν
καθέστηκε τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα, καὶ οὔτε λουτρὰ οὔτε δίαίτα

¹³⁷ Picard 1922: 165 ff.

¹³⁸ Picard 1922: 165.

¹³⁹ Picard 1922: 167 and n.2.

¹⁴⁰ See Guthrie 1950: 103.

λοιπή κατὰ τὰ αὐτά σφισι καθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐς οἰκίαν παρίασιν ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου. τοιαῦτα οἶδα ἕτερα ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ οὐ πρόσω Ἐφεσίων ἐπιτηδεύοντας τοὺς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἰστιάτορας τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ γινομένους, καλουμένους δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Ἐσσηνας. τῇδὲ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ὑμνίᾳ καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον." (Pausanias 8.13.1)

According to Picard,¹⁴¹ this practice is essentially Oriental and does not pertain to Greek religion, the ritual prohibitions being performed in imitation of Oriental customs. A possible argument in favour of the Oriental character of the Essenes might be the occurrence of the term in the religious practice of the ancient Israel, which knew a sect by the same name. However, the Jewish sect was referred to as "Essenes" only by those who communicated in Greek, namely Hellenized Jews such as Josephus and Philo. Neither Hebrew nor Aramaic has a term which can be identified beyond doubt as "Essene", unless one accepts the possibility that "Essen" was used by those who wrote in Greek as a transliteration of the Hebrew *hoshen* (or *chosen*), which designates the breast-plate worn by the high priest when he ministered in the Holy Place.¹⁴² Nevertheless, the term was applied to both the Jewish sect and to the priests of Ephesia, perhaps on account of the strict laws of purity observed by both, including the avoidance of women, and the importance with which they regarded meals: the Jewish Essenes were in charge of the Messianic feast at the end of days, considering each meal as its forerunner, while the priests of Ephesia were *histiatores*, in charge of the sacred banquets of the goddess (Pausanias 8.13.1).¹⁴³

The connection of the Ephesian Essenes with bees and the overall importance of the bee in the cult of the Earth Goddesses, including Kybele whose

¹⁴¹ Picard 1922: 194.

¹⁴² Jones 1985: 105. For other possible etymologies see Vermes and Goodman 1989: 1-2.

¹⁴³ See Jones 1985: 113.

priestesses were called Melissai,¹⁴⁴ and Demeter whose priestesses were also known as bees,¹⁴⁵ may suggest, as Jones points out, that the *Essenoi* were originally priests concerned with fertility rites.¹⁴⁶ While Jones considers that purity in the practice of the Essenes came only with the introduction of the chaste Artemis of the Hellenes, a different interpretation is possible. The association between strict purity and fertility is not a contradiction in terms as it may seem, if one considers that in the Hittite religion, violations of the canon of purity, either corporeal or spiritual, were considered the main reason for the wrath of the gods and the source of their blessings was seen in purity and cleanliness¹⁴⁷.

Artemis was associated with the bee not only at Ephesos, where her priestesses bore the name of Melissai¹⁴⁸ and the bee figured on the Ependytes of the goddess¹⁴⁹ as well as on coins of the city, but elsewhere as well. The winged goddess with the body of a bee figures on a series of plaques discovered at Kamiros on the island of Rhodes, while pieces of jewellery depicting a female head with a bee's body, found in a grove on the island of Thera, as well as *tesserae*, figuring the bee on one side and the stag on the other, were connected with the secret rites of Artemis.¹⁵⁰ A version of the birth of Zeus in Crete connects the bee-priestess with the infant Zeus, whom Rhea entrusted to the two daughters of king Melisseus, Amaltheia and Melissa, the former feeding him with milk and the latter

¹⁴⁴ Picard 1922: 184 and n.6.

¹⁴⁵ Cook, *Zeus* I, p.444-445; Picard 1922: 184 and n.5; For the connection of bees with life and death, and with the annually born male infant, symbol of vegetation, see Dietrich 1974: 120-126, esp. 120 on Artemis Ephesia, Demeter and the bees.

¹⁴⁶ Jones 1985: 99.

¹⁴⁷ Goetze 1965: 58.

¹⁴⁸ Picard 1922: 182-185.

¹⁴⁹ Fleischer 1973: 99ff. and plates.

¹⁵⁰ Jones 1985: 92 citing Ransome 1937: 59-60; see also Kahil in *LIMC* 2.629.71 and commentary on p. 739:

"Peut-être faut-il réellement intégrer à ce type de Potnia celui de la Déesse-Abeille, si fréquent dans l'orfèvrerie rhodienne et qui figure une divinité ailée avec un corps d'abeille mais un buste féminin, mains sur les seins ou tenant des rosettes (71). On sait que cette forme de Potnia Abeille a souvent été rapproché à l'A. d'Ephèse, principalement parce que l'abeille est à Ephèse l'animal sacré de la déesse."

with honey. The presence of the bee in the context of an Earth Goddess and her youthful son, supports the idea that bee-priestesses were mainly associated with earth deities.¹⁵¹

Apart from the Essenes, the Melissai and the Megabyzos, one may notice at Ephesos the presence of the ἀκροβάται, also attested as part of the personnel of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander. Twenty in number,¹⁵² they probably served as "dancing sacrificers".¹⁵³ The choreographic element is an important feature in the worship of the Anatolian Mother Goddess, as attested by the numerous figurines of dancing Attis.¹⁵⁴

The cult of Ephesia, comprising sacred banquets, Oriental-style processions and the noisy mysteries of the Solmissos, had yet another interesting feature. Both in cult and in legend, Ephesia appears as a divinity of suppliants. The legend speaks of the Amazons finding *asylon* in the sanctuary of the goddess (Pausanias 7.2.7; Tacitus, *Annales*. 3.61.7; *Etym. Mag.* sv "Εφεσος; *Schol.* Dion. Per. 827; Eust. Dion. Per. 828). In Plutarch (*Quaestiones Graecae*, 56.303E) the Amazons fleeing from Dionysos, are sheltered and protected by the Ephesian Artemis. According to a reference in the *Etymologicon Magnum* (p. 402.20), sheep were never sacrificed to Artemis of Ephesos because of the sanctity of the woolen fillets borne by the suppliant. At Ephesos and Magnesia on the Maiander, Artemis is represented wearing woolen fillets attached to her wrists.¹⁵⁵ Ephesia wearing woolen fillets also appears on a relief from Selçuk, together with Serapis.¹⁵⁶ Other Oriental divinities are known to have woolen fillets as part of their iconography, such as Atargatis

¹⁵¹ Jones 1985: 77, referring to a myth discussed by E. Neustadt, *De Iove Cretico*, Berlin 1906, p.144 (non vidi).

¹⁵² Bean 1979: 137.

¹⁵³ See Picard 1922: 256-257.

¹⁵⁴ See Vermaseren 1987, *passim*.

¹⁵⁵ See Fleischer 1977, pl. 38-57 on Artemis Ephesia; pl. 62a-d and 63a-b on Artemis Leukophryene.

¹⁵⁶ Fleischer 1973 pl.41b.

from Damascus,¹⁵⁷ the Goddess from Neapolis in Palestine,¹⁵⁸ the goddess in Izmir,¹⁵⁹ Hera from Samos,¹⁶⁰ Hera from Perinth¹⁶¹ and Zeus Labraundos from Labraunda,¹⁶² who also shares with the Ephesia the so-called "breasts".

The presence of non-Greek elements in the worship of Artemis Ephesia leads to the conclusion that the Greek settlers of Ephesos, Ionians traditionally led by Androklos son of Kodros, king of Athens (Strabo 14.1.3 [632]; Pausanias 7.2.8), a population composed of emigrants from Boiotia, Corinth, Arkadia and the Argolid,¹⁶³ found upon their arrival the well developed cult of an earth-goddess, to whom they gave the name of Artemis, on grounds which will be discussed later on.

At Sardis, a marble stele, reused in the stylobate of the forecourt of the synagogue¹⁶⁴ and dating ca. 400 B.C., represents Artemis and Kybele, the two main goddesses of the city. Artemis, on the left, holds a hind in her bent arm, while Kybele, standing next to the Greek goddess, but somewhat smaller in stature, reflects her gesture by holding a lion. The tympanum, attribute of Kybele, is visible in the upper right corner. The figures of two worshippers, a man and a woman, are depicted as approaching from the right, with arms raised in adoration. According to Vermaseren, the architectural framework of the stele is intended to represent a temple front.

The fact that Kybele and Artemis are represented together could be taken as a proof of their worship as different goddesses at Sardis, although Artemis may have been equated with Kybele, and the combined image could have represented the great goddess of Sardis.¹⁶⁵ According to Hanfmann and Waldbaum, the

¹⁵⁷ Fleischer 1973: 267.

¹⁵⁸ Fleischer 1973: 269-270.

¹⁵⁹ Fleischer 1977: 283 and pl. 53f.

¹⁶⁰ Fleischer 1973: 214 and pl. 83b; 85a-b; 86b; 87b.

¹⁶¹ Fleischer 1977, pl. 88a-c.

¹⁶² Fleischer 1973 pl. 142b, 143a.

¹⁶³ Sakellariou 1958: 123-146.

¹⁶⁴ Vermaseren *CCCA* 1.135-136.460. Kahil in *LIMC* 2.702.1042.

¹⁶⁵ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969: 264 and 266. On the syncretism of Artemis and Kybele, especially at Sardis, see Kahil in *LIMC* 2.752.

equation of the lion goddess Kybele with Artemis, must have taken place towards the end of the Lydian culture, when the Greek language began to displace the Lydian.¹⁶⁶ Although Kybele and Artemis were worshipped together at Sardis, it appears that each goddess possessed her own temple. A passage of Herodotos (5.102), mentions the burning down of the temple belonging to the "native goddess Kybele" (ἱερὸν ἐπιχωρίας θεοῦ Κυβήβης) by the Ionians in 499 B.C. Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.6.7) states that the Younger Cyrus and Orontas had sworn friendship at the altar of Artemis, shortly before 401 B.C.¹⁶⁷ An archaic temple of dipteral plan, similar to that of the Artemision in Ephesos was built during the reign of Kroisos, ca. 550 B.C. According to Hanfmann and Frazer, the archaic altar LA1 probably belongs to the great series of Samian, Ephesian and Milesian altars, presenting fine Ionic decorations, which are dated to the 6th century B.C.¹⁶⁸ Another passage (Plutarch, *Them.* 31), records the existence of a Metrôon in the 5th century B.C., and inscriptions of the Imperial period still mention at Sardis a "Mother or the Gods" or a "Lydian Mother of the Gods".¹⁶⁹ It is certain that there were two distinct temples at Sardis, a Metrôon and an Artemision, which the latter goddesss shared with Zeus Polieus (or at least, these two sanctuaries were very close to each other).¹⁷⁰ The temple of Artemis, revealed and studied by H.C. Butler during the excavations of 1910 to 1914, was situated south of the city, on the right bank of the river Paktolos, as suggested by inscriptions from the cemetery which mention fines paid to Artemis for violation of the graves.¹⁷¹ Although the precise location of the temple of Kybele (or the Metrôon) is not yet known, it was probably situated more in the north, perhaps close to the synagogue, since blocks

¹⁶⁶ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969: 269.

¹⁶⁷ See also Sahin 1972: 60.

¹⁶⁸ Hanfmann and Frazer 1975: 75 and 103. According to Sahin, the altar (or the so-called "Lydian Building") was built towards the end of the 5th century B.C. See Sahin 1972: 60.

¹⁶⁹ See Gauthier 1989: 55; L. Robert *BCH* 106 (1982): 359-361.

¹⁷⁰ Gauthier 1989: 57. The temple of Zeus Polieus is mentioned by Arrian *Anabasis* 1.17.3-6.

¹⁷¹ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969: 264-265; Gauthier 1989: 55-56.

from the temple were reused in the building of the latter.

An inscription of the 3rd century B.C., from the Prytaneion at Ephesos,¹⁷² records the death sentence ("τίμημα τῆς δίκης θάνατος") imposed upon 45 Sardians guilty of sacrilege for attacking a sacred embassy, which was on its way, according to ancestral custom, "to Sardis, and (to) the sanctuary of Artemis which had been founded by the Ephesians" ("εἰς Σ[ά]ρδεις καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἰδρυμένον ὑπὸ Ἑφεσίων"). F. Sokolowski¹⁷³ deduces that the Ephesian theoroi were bringing chitons to Sardis with the intention of supplying the goddess with new clothing, as such offerings by women to Artemis were common. However, J. and L. Robert do not see how this could be deduced from the words: "θεορῶν ἀποσταλέντων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπ[ὶ] χιτῶνας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸμ πάτριον", especially since the group of syllables after πόλεως remains enigmatic and might have hidden a place name¹⁷⁴. Interestingly, the names of the people sentenced to death reveal the participation in the "sacrilege" of a great number of indigenous citizens as well as Greek. The motives can only be speculated upon.

The tradition that the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardis was a foundation of the Ephesian Artemis is maintained, according to J. and L. Robert,¹⁷⁵ in a 3rd century B.C. inscription from Sardis, with an interesting mixture of Greek and Oriental names, which mentions a certain Ἑφεσος μάγειρος, his wife Seddis (a kithara player), son Attalos and daughter Artemis. The fact that the Artemision at Sardis was built by the Ephesians sheds some light upon the nature of the goddess worshipped as Artemis of Sardis. Although the goddess' representations are mostly

¹⁷² J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Épigr.* 63.211; 66.369; see also Fleischer 1973: 200; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969: 265; more recently, Masson 1987: 225-239.

¹⁷³ 1965, "A new testimony on the cult of Artemis of Ephesos", *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 58: 427-431.

¹⁷⁴ *Bull. Épigr.* 66.369: "Le groupe de syllabes après πόλεως nous reste énigmatique et devrait cacher un nom de lieu."

¹⁷⁵ *Bull. Épigr.* 77.481.

aniconic, her xoanon shows what looks like the so called "breasts" of Artemis Ephesia, possibly rows of heavy, superimposed necklaces.¹⁷⁶ The two goddesses figure side by side on Homonoia coins of Ephesos and Sardis from the reign of Marcus Aurelius,¹⁷⁷ in which the representation of the goddess from Sardis resembles the statuette of Artemis Ephesia from Solothurn, with column-shaped lower body and rows of round shaped objects starting a little above the waist of the goddess¹⁷⁸.

The ear of grain and the poppy head are customary attributes of the goddess of Sardis,¹⁷⁹ at least on Roman Imperial coins, where they seem to spring from the earth on either side of the goddess, sometimes one from the earth and another from the idol. On coins of Gabala, Atargatis-Astarte figures seated between two sphinxes, holding in her right hand a poppy flower and two ears of grain.¹⁸⁰ Atargatis from Damascus is represented in a similar way, with ears of grain on either side and radiated head.¹⁸¹ The same attributes also appear with numerous Tychai of Syria and Asia Minor, (e.g. of Antioch, of Pisidia, etc.)¹⁸² as well as with male deities connected with vegetation, such as Zeus Heliopolitanus, symbolized by these attributes on coins of Baalbek, Hadad of Damascus, Baal of Ivriz, the Phoenician Dagan and the vegetation god Tammuz, who often figures with ears of grain in hands on the Mesopotamian glyptic.¹⁸³

Coins of the Imperial period portray the goddess of Sardis either alone or in a tetrastyle temple. The oldest of these dates to the reign of Hadrian.¹⁸⁴ Artemis

¹⁷⁶ Fleischer 1973: 193-194 and plates 79 a,b; 80 a,b; 81a; 82a,b.

¹⁷⁷ Fleischer 1973 plate 79a.

¹⁷⁸ Fleischer 1973: 194 and pl. 33.

¹⁷⁹ Lacroix 1949: 165; Fleischer 1973: 187ff and plates 78-82; Hajjar 1985: 65.

¹⁸⁰ Hajjar 1985: 64 and n.5.

¹⁸¹ Fleischer 1973: 263ff and plates 111a-113a.

¹⁸² Hajjar 1985: 64.

¹⁸³ Hajjar 1985: 65 and n.6.

¹⁸⁴ Lacroix 1949: 162.

Ephesia figures in a similar temple on a Claudian kistophoros from Ephesos.¹⁸⁵ On some representations,¹⁸⁶ the goddess of Sardis wears a long veil and kalathos, the latter being clearly connected with deities of vegetation and fertility, as well as several rows of necklaces, superimposed around her chest and neck. Other goddesses of Asia Minor such as Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, Artemis of Ephesos and Hera of Samos wear necklaces and flower garlands as ornaments.¹⁸⁷ Celestial symbols, namely crescent and star, figure on either side of the goddess¹⁸⁸. Such symbols can be equally found with other Anatolian and Syrian deities among whom are Kybele, Atargatis of Gabala, Artemis Ephesia and Artemis Pergaia, as well as Zeus-Hadad of Baalbek, who figures with star, crescent, Sol and Luna¹⁸⁹. According to Y. Hajjar,¹⁹⁰ the celestial symbols might bear a connection with the dead, to express the celestial immortality which the latter are supposed to enjoy.

Like her counterpart from Ephesos, the hellenised Artemis of Sardis conceals an Oriental divinity, related to the Lydian Kubaba/Kybebe¹⁹¹ whom the Persians identified with their Anahita/Anaitis, the syncretised deity being called the Persian Artemis. Artemis and Anaitis were worshipped as a single goddess at Hypaipa, under the name of Artemis Anaitis.¹⁹² Kybele appears as mother of Anaitis in an inscription carved underneath a marble relief from Ayasviran, depicting Kybele enthroned between two lions. The inscription is a thank-offering

¹⁸⁵ Fleischer 1973 plate 55b.

¹⁸⁶ Fleischer 1973 plate 78b; Lacroix 1949: 165.

¹⁸⁷ Fleischer 1973 plates 64-71 (Aphrodite of Aphrodisias), 86b, 87a,b, 88a (Hera of Samos), 1-38, esp. 22, 26, 28 and 34 (Artemis of Ephesos); Hajjar 1985: 81-82.

¹⁸⁸ Fleischer 1973 plates 78a-d.

¹⁸⁹ Hajjar 1985: 222-223.

¹⁹⁰ Hajjar 1985: 223.

¹⁹¹ See Fleischer in *LIMC*: 766 *sv* Artemis Sardianae.

¹⁹² Robert 1987: 347; Fleischer 1973: 185-187 and plates 75-76; *LIMC*: 753-4 *sv* Artemis Anaitis; Lacroix 1949: 143 n.1 and plate XI,12; on the games of Artemis Anaitis at Hypaipa see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Épig.* 77.419; representations of Artemis Anaitis at Hypaipa: Fleischer in *LIMC* 2.753- 754.

by Admetos son of Admetos and his wife Glykea, to Kybele, the Mother of Anaitis (‘Αδμητος Ἀδμήτου | καὶ Γλυκέα ἡ γυνὴ Μητρὶ Ἀνάτιδος χαριστήριον).¹⁹³

The flower (also a symbol of Anahita) and the ears of grain which accompany her, suggest that Artemis was worshipped at Sardis, as in most parts of Asia Minor, as a goddess of vegetation and fertility. Her presence next to Kybele, holding a hind, suggests that here, as well, she was a mistress of animals.

At Magnesia on the Maiander, the initial Greek settlers, traditionally lead by Leukippos, claimed ties with both Thessaly and Crete.¹⁹⁴ If the Cretan connection is genuine, it is worth remembering the worship of a great goddess in Crete, a mountain goddess related to Kybele, whose familiar animals were the lion and the snake, also conceived as a virgin, and accompanied by a youthful deity, as well as the figure of Zeus Kretagenes who was thought to be born anew every year in the manner of Tammuz, Attis, Adonis or Osiris.¹⁹⁵ Strabo (14.1.42 [648]) cites as inhabitants of the lower Maiander plain the Lydians, the Karians, the Ionians and the Aiolians. In addition to the Karo-Lyidian indigenous element, the tradition speaks of a Cretan connection, the memory of which survives in a false decree of the Cretan Koinon, which Kern characterizes as "eine offenkundige Fälschung".¹⁹⁶ According to this decree, the Lycian Leukippos, the *hero archegetes* of the Magnesians, had led the Thessalian colonists from Crete into Asia Minor, following an oracle. The official version of the foundation of Magnesia, inscribed around 200 B.C., also mentions Crete as an intermediate point in the voyage of the Thessalian Magnesians to Asia Minor.¹⁹⁷ The event has been placed by Konon (*FGrH* 26F1) soon after the Trojan War.

¹⁹³ Vermaseren *CCCA* 1.144-145.482; see also 1.146.486.

¹⁹⁴ Sakellariou 1958: 106-116.

¹⁹⁵ See Farnell 1912: 9ff. A terracotta from Crete (7th century B.C.) might represent Kybele with veil and tympanon (Higgins 1967: 28 & pl. 10A). On Zeus Kretagenes, see Dietrich 1974: 14-15.

¹⁹⁶ Kern 1967 no. 20.

¹⁹⁷ Kern 1967 no.17.

According to Dusanic,¹⁹⁸ the story of the Cretan connection, both hybrid and late, had a political motive, namely the Magnesians' interest in obtaining Gortynian aid in their struggle with Miletos over Myous. On the other hand, a Thessalian origin for the Magnetes would fit persistent mentions of Aiolian *syngeneia*. Magnesia as a *Polis Aiolis*, which appears in various testimonia (Strabo 14.1.39 [647]; *OGIS*, 503; Konon *FGrH* 26 F1) contradicts the fact that the Magnesians spoke Ionic, although they were never part of the Ionian League. A tradition of their Ionian descent is however preserved by Herodotos (I, 147).¹⁹⁹

The name of the oikist, Leukippos, is based upon the root *Leuk-* which appears also in the epithet Leukiane borne by Artemis at Panamara, in the name of the goddess Leukothea, worshipped at Miletos, as well as in the month of Leukatheon, attested at Magnesia on the Maeander.²⁰⁰ There may be also a connection with the horse, protected by Artemis Leukophryene, as seen in the Amazonomachy frieze which decorates the temple of the goddess, as well as on coins of Magnesia where the horse sometimes figures alone.²⁰¹ On the other hand, the frieze of the Amazonomachy may suggest a Hellenic triumph over Asians, particularly Karians, especially since the proclamation of *asylia* was directed mostly against Miletus, Myous, Pergamon and certain Karians.²⁰² Anti-Karian policy at Magnesia could account for the legend of a Lykian leading the Greek colonists into Karian land.

The ancient city of Magnesia, destroyed by the Kimmerians around 657 B.C., (more precisely by the Treres, a Kimmerian tribe, according to Strabo 14.1.40 [647]), was rebuilt with the aid of the Milesians and again abandoned in 400/399 B.C., when it was moved to the pre-Hellenistic site of Leukophrys, some three

¹⁹⁸ Dusanic 1985: 11-48, esp. 23-31.

¹⁹⁹ Dusanic 1985: 30.

²⁰⁰ Kern 1967 no. 89,6 (μηνὸς Λευκοθεῶνος); on *Leuk-* see Laumonier 1958: 528-9.

²⁰¹ Laumonier 1958: 529.

²⁰² Dusanic 1985: 42-44.

miles from the river, at the foot of Mt. Thorax, apparently because of flooding.²⁰³ The new Magnesia was built around the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene, which was initially outside the city walls and protected from floods. The sanctuary itself, also destroyed during the Kimmerian invasions, was rebuilt by the Ephesians, hence the great resemblance between Artemis Ephesia and Leukophryene. The presence of thermal and mineral waters at Magnesia is attested by Xenophon:

"εἰς Λευκοφρύν, ἐνθα ἦν Ἄρτεμιδος τε ἱερὸν μάλα ἅγιον, καὶ λίμνη πλεόν ἢ σταδίου ὑπόψαμμος ἀένας ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ ὕδατος". (Xenophon *Hellenika* 3.2.19)²⁰⁴

The goddess of Magnesia on the Maiander, like Artemis from Ephesos and Hera from Samos, is another example of the Great Mother, once worshipped in the ancient city under the name of Meter Theon Dindymene, the goddess to whom Themistokles had dedicated a temple and of whom he made his daughter priestess for life (Strabo 14.1.40 [647]; Plutarch *Themistokles*, 30). This goddess, whose epithet can also be found in the name of the neighbouring Karian god Apollo Didymaeus,²⁰⁵ was slowly replaced by her more famous counterpart, Artemis Leukophryene. A late text (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptikos* 3.45) mentions the tomb of Leukophryene in the sanctuary itself, perhaps a local deity supplanted and annexed by Artemis²⁰⁶. According to Laumonier, the name Leukophrys, probably not Greek, is an assimilation of an indigenous name.²⁰⁷ In this context it just might be possible that Leukophrys is actually a name of the original mother goddess, also found in the epithet Leukiane borne by Artemis and in the name of the goddess Leukothea, herself a mother goddess. Again, this is just a possibility.

²⁰³ See Sakellariou 1958: 106; Laumonier 1958: 527.

²⁰⁴ Attested also by Aristotle *Probl.* 24, 16 p.937b 7; 937b 11; Athenaios 2.43.

²⁰⁵ Laumonier 1958: 527; on the site and sanctuary of Didyma see Tuchelt 1992, *passim*; on the temple of Artemis Pythie at Didyma see Robert 1967: 47; 48 and n.1.

²⁰⁶ A similar situation occurred at Brauron, where there was a herôon of Iphigeneia.

²⁰⁷ Laumonier 1958: 528.

The connection between Artemis Leukophryene and the Mother Goddess is suggested by the lions which decorate the temple of the goddess, together with the flower and the palm friezes.²⁰⁸ Like her Ephesian counterpart, Artemis Leukophryene appears as protectress of birds of prey, with which she figures on coins of the city.²⁰⁹ As mistress of the animals, she is associated with the deer, as well as with the horse. The presence of winged female figures wearing the *polos*, also attested in the temple of Zeus Sosipolis, suggests a clear connection of the goddess with vegetation.²¹⁰ The xoanon of the Magnesian Artemis, which presents overall similarities with that of the Ephesia, appears to have been decorated with the so called "breasts", at least in the case of a coin from the reign of Nero.²¹¹ Representations of the goddess as aniconic or wrapped in ribbons, are mentioned by Fleischer.²¹² The woolen fillets (see above p. 23) are shared by both Artemis Ephesia and Leukophryene. According to Picard,²¹³ the same fillets appear on a cult statue resembling Anassa Pergaia. As seemed to be the case at Ephesos,²¹⁴ Hierocaisareia²¹⁵ and Perge (see below) the recognition of Artemis as goddess of suppliants is strengthened by the declaration of *asylia*, which rendered the territory inviolable.

The cult of Artemis Leukophryene is well documented from the third century B.C. onwards. According to Pausanias, an earlier image of Artemis Leukophryene, dedicated by Bathykles of Magnesia, stood in the Amykleion in Sparta (Pausanias 3.18.9). Another image of Artemis "surnamed Leukophryene" had been dedicated

²⁰⁸ See Hamiaux 1988: 93-103.

²⁰⁹ Laumonier 1958: 533; on Ephesia and birds of prey see Picard 1922: 496-497.

²¹⁰ Laumonier 1958: 532.

²¹¹ Fleischer 1973: 143-144 and pl. 62(d); Picard 1922: 530-531.

²¹² Fleischer 1973: 143.

²¹³ Picard 1922: 533.

²¹⁴ Robert 1980: 252.

²¹⁵ Robert 1948: 34 ("Οἱ οὗτοι ἱερὸς ἄσυλον ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις") and 1987: 329: the right of asylum given to the Persian Artemis at Hierocaisareia may date to 46-44 B.C., when Publius Servilius Isauricus, also benefactor of Artemis Leukophryene and the city of Magnesia on the Maiander, was proconsul of Asia for Caesar.

by the sons of Themistokles at Delphi (Pausanias 1.26.4). Pausanias adds that the Magnesians, whose city the king had given Themistokles to rule, held Artemis Leukophryene in honour. Themistokles had been given Magnesia, Lampsakos and Myous by Artaxerxes I, after his trial for high treason at Athens which took place *in absentia*, about 471/470 B.C.

In 221/220 B.C., an epiphany of the goddess, accompanied by Apollo,²¹⁶ brought about the decree of 207/6 requesting the *asylia* and establishing the pentaeteric festival of Leukophryena, including a musical, hippic and gymnastic agon, which was stephanites and of Pythian rank (*Syll.*³ 557-562).²¹⁷ One inscription²¹⁸ describes the sacrifices, both public and private, performed yearly in honour of the goddess on the sixth day of the month of Artemision,²¹⁹ the Isiteria. The day was marked by an *exodos* of women to the temple, where they were to keep the goddess company, sitting by her side (παρεδρεῖαν ποιούμεναι τῆς θεοῦ) (100a, lines 26-28) as well as by choruses of maidens singing hymns to Artemis Leukophryene, supervised by the neokoros (lines 29-30 "συντελείτω δὲ ὁ νεωκόρος καὶ χοροὺς παρθένων αἰδουσῶν ὕμνους εἰς Ἀρτεμιν Λευκοφρυηνήν"). There was equally a πομπή (line 33), attested, among others, also as part of the cult of Artemis of Ephesos; similar processions occurred in the worship of Kybele, Ma, Atargatis and other Oriental deities. In return for the dedication of her worshippers, Artemis was to grant "good health to the Magnesians and to their women" (line 46 "καὶ Μάγνησιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι καὶ γυναιξὶν ὑγ[ί]ειαν"), an indication of the association of the goddess with the healing of diseases, particularly in women.²²⁰

²¹⁶ Kern 1900 no.16 and commentary by Ebert (1982: 198-213).

²¹⁷ Also Kern 1900 sv index III.8; *Hermes* 36 (1901): 491 ff.; Nilsson 1957: 248-251; Laumonier 1958: 530-531; Welles 1974 no. 31-34.

²¹⁸ Kern 1900: 100a,b.

²¹⁹ On the month of Artemision at Magnesia see Ebert 1982: 212.

²²⁰ See J. Rendel Harris 1916 (*Artemis*): 14-28, esp. 19-24; see also the Hippocratic treatise on the diseases of virgins (*De Virg*, 17f.).

The construction of the temple by Hermogenes of Alabanda (Vitruvius 3.2.3) began late in the third century B.C.,²²¹ as the earlier sanctuary which probably dated to the sixth century B.C.,²²² could no longer meet the needs of the new city. Although the city of Magnesia itself was built along a north-south axis,²²³ the temples of Artemis Leukophryene and Zeus Sosipolis face west, as was the case of the Artemisia at Sardis and Ephesos. This orientation, which follows an established tradition drawn from the archaic structure,²²⁴ may prove the relation of the sanctuary to the ancient cults of Anatolia, particularly to the worship of Kybele and Men.²²⁵

Like most oriental deities, Artemis Leukophryene was a goddess of the polis, worshipped as ἀρχηγέτις τῆς πόλεως, εὐεργέτις καὶ καθαγέμων,²²⁶ presiding at trials and guaranteeing treaty oaths. Νικηφόρος was another cult title of the goddess of Magnesia as attested by an inscription published by Kern,²²⁷ the goddess figuring with two Nikai on coins of the Empire.²²⁸ In the same inscription (line 19), the goddess is invoked "for good fortune and salvation of the people". Artemis was worshipped as Soteira at Ephesos, the epithet being applied also to the Phrygian Great Mother (Salutaris), as well as to Semitic and Egyptian deities, and especially to Isis.²²⁹

No mention is made of eunuchs in the cult of Artemis Leukophryene, perhaps because the bulk of the evidence dates from a period when the cult was hellenised to a large extent. The elements which relate Artemis Leukophryene to the previously worshipped Mother Goddess, such as the presence of the ἀκροβάται or

²²¹ Ebert 1982: 211; Fleischer 1973: 140.

²²² Bean 1966: 250; Marchese 1986: 210.

²²³ Marchese 1986: 208.

²²⁴ Marchese 1986: 210.

²²⁵ Vermaseren *CCCA* 1.16.36.

²²⁶ Kern 1900, index, Ebert 1982: 204.

²²⁷ Kern 1900 no. 100b.41.

²²⁸ Laumonier 1958: 533.

²²⁹ Picard 1922: 365-366.

ἱεροὶ ἀκροβάται,²³⁰ are less striking than they are at Ephesos. One might mention here, as at Ephesos, the presence of the *chrysophoroi*, attested by the inscription: "καὶ χρυσοφόρησας τῇ θεῷ"²³¹.

Artemis Leukophryene was closely associated at Magnesia with Zeus Sosipolis whose temple was next to that of the goddess and served as gathering place during the Leukophryena. The priestess of Artemis took part in the annual sacrifice offered to Zeus "Protector of the City" (*Syll.*³ 589, 1.15-16 and 40). The god, who according to coins and fragments of the cult statue held in his right hand the statue of Artemis, was connected with agricultural life (*Syll.*³ 589; Kern, *Arch. Anz.* 1894, 78 ff) and received the sacrifice of a bull.²³²

The triad formed by Artemis, Apollo and Zeus, among whom the goddess is predominant, follows the pattern of a Mother Goddess accompanied by a youthful deity and a mature god, often represented as bearded, who was also her paredros. This pattern, known all over Asia Minor appears also with the Semitic deities of Heliopolis-Baalbek in the latinized form of Venus, Juppiter and Mercur Heliopolitanus.²³³

A mother goddess whose sanctuary is mentioned by Strabo (14.1.40 [647] "ἐνταῦθα δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ τῆς Δινδυμήνης ἱερόν, Μητρὸς Θεῶν"), was also worshipped at Magnesia on the Maiander. A relief from Magnesia, representing the goddess dressed in chiton and himation, with bowl and tympanon in hands, carries the inscription: "' Ἀρτεμισία Μη[τρὶ Θεῶν]".²³⁴

There is no evidence that Artemis Leukophryene, although she had some of the features of the Anatolian goddess, was worshipped together with Kybele or a mother goddess at Magnesia, as was the case at Sardis. By the time when the

²³⁰ Kern 1900: 119,7; 122a,2; 237,3.

²³¹ Kern 1900: 225.1; see also 119,8.23.

²³² Laumonier 1958: 535.

²³³ See Hajjar 1977 vol. I,II and 1985.

²³⁴ Kern 1900 no. 217a.

evidence is most abundant, the goddess had acquired much of the Hellenic character, and only a few features still evoke an original earth goddess upon which the figure of the later Artemis Leukophryene was built.

One of the most peculiar representations of the Oriental Artemis can be found at **Perge** in Pamphylia, where Artemis replaced a city-goddess whose name cannot be recovered and to whom coins in Pamphylian script refer as "Φάνασσα Πρετίας".²³⁵ Unlike Artemis of Ephesos, who had a universal reputation, the goddess of Perge had a more limited audience outside her original places of worship in Pamphylia and Pisidia. However, there is evidence for her worship in other places, such as Halikarnassos, Rhodes, Thera, Naukratis, Ambrakia and Lindos.²³⁶ The first indication of the cult of Artemis of Perge comes from Kallimachos (3.187 "πολίων δέ τοι εὔαδε Πέργη"). Strabo (14.4.2 [667]), mentions the temple of the goddess, somewhere outside the city ("πλησίον ἐπὶ μετεώρου τόπου"). The temple, not yet uncovered,²³⁷ is probably to be sought in the countryside, a natural location for a great indigenous sanctuary.²³⁸

From the second century B.C. onwards, the image of the goddess appears on coins of the city.²³⁹ This type, with no arms and wrapped in a veil, appears on coins of the empire as well as in two sculptures, a statuette in the museum of Burdur and a relief from the theatre at Perge.²⁴⁰ Artemis Astias ("Of the City") with veil descending to her waist, kalathos and no arms also figures on a coin of Iasos in

²³⁵ Nilsson 1957: 256; Dietrich 1974: 182 n. 281; on the worship of Artemis with the epithet Wanassa at Perge, together with her youthful male paredros, see Hemberg 1955: 20.

²³⁶ See Robert 1948 vol.V: 64 and n.1; 1969: 975 n.5 (Naukratis); 1987: 237 and n.21; *Bull. Epigr.* 68.315; 69.343 (Ambrakia). For Lindos see Pace 1923: 311 (a dedication from the sanctuary of Lindos to "Ἀρτάμιτι Περυαία").

²³⁷ See Fleischer in *LIMC*: 765.

²³⁸ See Robert 1948 vol. V: 64-65 who thinks that the most probable location of the sanctuary is on the neighbouring hills of plateau II; Pace 1923: 314 suggests that the temple stood on the hill of Eilik Tepé, in the vicinity of the present Christian church.

²³⁹ Fleischer 1973: 236 pl. 102a and *LIMC*: 765; Hajjar 1985: 115; Lacroix 1949: 154 pl. XIII,5 and 6; see also Onurkan S., 1969-1970, "Artemis Pergaia", *IstMitt* 19-20: 290 pl.55.

²⁴⁰ Fleischer 1973: 233 and pl. 96-98, 99-101; Hajjar 1985: 88 n.5, 100, 121.

Karia,²⁴¹ where the goddess was worshipped as foundress (προκαθηγμένων).²⁴² In the two sculptures, the body of the goddess takes the shape of a rectangular block decorated with reliefs and surmounted by a head with kalathos. The veil which starts from the top of the kalathos and reaches the ground gives the idol a conical shape. Sixteen busts are visible on either side of the head and kalathos, twelve of which can be attached to zodiacal deities. The zodiacal signs, also figuring on the chest of Artemis Ephesia, can be found with other Oriental deities such as Hadad and Atargatis at Hierapolis (in the form of the semeion and planetary symbols), Bel of Palmyra and particularly Mithra.²⁴³ The rectangular block representing the body of the goddess, surmounted by a head wearing kalathos and a veil descending from it, appears on Imperial coins as a block divided horizontally into several decorated zones, their number varying between two and four. The upper part of the block is curved and the kalathos, decorated with a disc is placed in the curve of a crescent.²⁴⁴ According to Lacroix,²⁴⁵ the worship of the goddess as a *baetyl* (a stone, perhaps originally meteoric) represents an intermediary phase between the worship of the stone and that of the antropomorphic effigy.

The idol of Artemis Pergaia, like that of Artemis from Sardis, is sometimes depicted in a distyle or tetrastyle temple, the fronton of which is decorated with an eagle, the coins bearing the legend "ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ". The idol, often flanked by sphinxes sitting on pedestals, and by torches or cypresses, is accompanied by crescent and star, even by military symbols (on a coin of Gallienus).²⁴⁶ The sphinxes are seen by Pace as guardians, a function well attested

²⁴¹ Hajjar 1985: 121; Fleischer 1973: 228-229 and pl. 92a; Lacroix 1949: 148-149; Laumonier 1958: 594-597 and pl. XV,3.

²⁴² Farnell 1977: 470.

²⁴³ Fleischer 1973: 70 pl. 18-19, 24-25, 28, 34 (Artemis Ephesia); Hajjar 1985: 100.

²⁴⁴ Lacroix 1949: 159-160.

²⁴⁵ Lacroix 1949: 160; see also Laumonier 1958: 411; Pace 1923: 310.

²⁴⁶ Lacroix 1949: 154-160, esp. 155 (coin of Gallienus), 156, 158 and pl. XII, 7,8; Hajjar 1985: 143; see also Pace 1923: 308-309.

in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, while the cypresses are interpreted as a possible survival of a tree cult ("sopravvenza di un culto degli alberi"),²⁴⁷ which would not be impossible due to the antiquity of the goddess without name of Perge but difficult to prove. Coins of Perge may also portray the goddess as huntress with bow and torch or riding in a cart pulled by deer.²⁴⁸

Strabo (14.4.2-3 [667]) mentions a festival of Artemis Pergaia which was celebrated yearly ("πανήγυρις κατ' ἔτος συντελεῖται"). According to Pace,²⁴⁹ these games were called Pythia, probably under the influence of a strong cult of Apollo Helios. However, the Pythia²⁵⁰ and the Artemisia²⁵¹ are also attested at Ephesos, where they seem to be two different agons and this might be the case at Perge as well. Like Kybele, Artemis of Perge was attended by wandering priests²⁵² and the goddess herself was believed to go wandering about (*Souda* sv. 'Η Περγαία "Αρτεμις· τάσσεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγυρτῶν καὶ πλανητῶν. Παρ' ὅσον ἡ θεὸς αὕτη νομίζεται ἀγυρτεῦειν ἀεὶ καὶ πλανᾶσθαι). It has been suggested that the mendicant priests of Artemis of Perge were called ἀγύρται and πλανῆται, just as the priests of Kybele were known as Μητραγύρται or ἀγύρται²⁵³. Concerning the priestesses of the goddess, there seem to have been no strict requirements for their virginity, according to Pace,²⁵⁴ under the influence of neighbouring Lykia. Like the beggar priests, the priestesses in service of Artemis of Perge also went about and "gathered" (*SIG*³ 1015 = *LSAM* 73), an Oriental feature in the cult, comparable to the eunuch priests of Artemis Ephesia.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁷ Pace 1923: 310.

²⁴⁸ Robert 1987: 41.

²⁴⁹ Pace 1923: 307.

²⁵⁰ See J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Épig.* 77.419.

²⁵¹ J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Épig.* 74.500; 77.226.

²⁵² See Farnell 1896: 469.

²⁵³ Pace 1923: 305. The ἄγερμος was not limited to Asia, but was used by Greek poleis on the mainland as well. See also Schachter 1984: 258-270 (*IG* 7.4136).

²⁵⁴ Pace 1923, 313.

²⁵⁵ Burkert 1977: 167; 1985: 149.

The goddess of Perge, initially conceived as a city goddess, preserved her character of protectress of the city. Thus, Artemis was worshipped as protectress of the city of Perge as attested by an inscription honouring a priestess of Artemis "προεστῶσης τῆς πόλεως" (*IGR* III. 797). The goddess bears the title "Ἄσυλος", as recorded in several dedications, which attest that in Pamphylia, Artemis of Perge was the goddess *Asylos*, *par excellence*, as Artemis Ephesia was in Ephesos.²⁵⁶ Few other Asian deities had the epithet ἄσυλος ("whose sanctuary had the right of asylum"): this was the case of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, Athena at Side and Men at Sillyon. The *asylia* of Artemis of Perge dates from at least the reign of Domitian, and since Gordian coins often bear the inscription "Περγαίᾱς Ἀρτέμιδος ἁσύλου".²⁵⁷

The goddess of Perge was not only a protectress of the living, but also of the dead, as fines for the violation of tombs were to be paid to the sanctuary of Artemis.²⁵⁸ Celestial symbols, which might be connected with the dead (see above), are present in the iconography of the goddess, whose main symbol is the crescent.²⁵⁹ Her association with an indigenous solar god, further identified with Apollo Helios, is suggested by Pace, who sees the goddess as being of lunar nature.²⁶⁰ However, the goddess of Perge cannot be considered entirely celestial, since her worship as a *baityl* connects her to Agdistis ("She of the Rock") and to Kybele, essentially earth divinities. The goddess of Perge appears to have been of rather mixed nature, both chthonic and celestial. She is both a mother goddess and a protectress of tombs and she might well have been associated with a Sun god; the

²⁵⁶ Robert 1980: 252; see also Pace 1923: 304 and n.3 who gives the complete text of the inscription *IGR* III. 797.

²⁵⁷ Robert 1980: 252.

²⁵⁸ See Pace 1923: 311 and n.4.

²⁵⁹ See Fleischer 1973: 247 and plates 96, 99-101; Hajjar 1985: 92ff.

²⁶⁰ Pace 1923: 311-312.

worship of a solar deity represented by Apollo, Zeus or Men and of a Moon goddess, mostly Artemis, was fairly common in Anatolia.²⁶¹

Asiatic goddesses assimilated to Artemis²⁶²

Brought to the East by Greek colonists, Artemis supplanted and assimilated an autochthonous Anatolian goddess who appears to have been a type of mother goddess, worshipped throughout Anatolia and the Mediterranean region. In order to analyse this goddess, whose nature represents the substratum of the Eastern Artemis, one must consider several Asiatic deities of this common stock. Besides Kubaba-Kybele-Agdistis, there are other oriental goddesses such as Ishtar²⁶³, Ma, Atargatis and the Persian Anahita, who share common features with both the oriental Artemis and with the Mother Goddess²⁶⁴. On the vast Anatolian plateau, where movements of peoples were frequent and religious ideas travelled over vast areas, where empires rose on the ruins of previous civilizations, there are two essential factors: the element of replacement and the element of continuity. I shall, therefore, attempt to analyse in this chapter the elements which make up the early type of mother goddess and are consequently adopted by Artemis, in order to define the character of the latter, as well as those particular features which made possible the identification of Artemis with the autochthonous goddess. These goddesses are presented in the order in which they were encountered by the Greek colonists and subsequently identified with their Artemis.

Kubaba/Kybele A Hittite document written in Akkadian mentions the "Lady Kyubaba, mistress of the country of Carchemish". The document is on a seal, found in the Royal palace at Ugarit, dating from around 1340 B.C.²⁶⁵ Another

²⁶¹ See Pace 1923: 312.

²⁶² I have relied on translations in dealing with non-Greek/Asiatic documents.

²⁶³ Ishtar is included in this paper because of this goddess' identification with Artemis in a dedication from the Piraeus and the presence of a temple of Artemis Nanaia at Dura Europos (see below), apart from her overall connections with the mother goddess.

²⁶⁴ On the Great Mother and her satellite goddesses, see Dietrich 1974: 11f.

²⁶⁵ Vermaseren 1987: 1.3 (CCC4 1.1.3).

document, a cuneiform inscription on a Cylinder seal, found at Ras-Shamra Ugarit, which dates from the 14th century B.C., mentions Ini-Teshub, King of Carchemish, "servant of Kubaba".²⁶⁶ The goddess Kupapa is mentioned on a fragment of a rectangular block, now built into the wall of a house in Ancoz, dating from the late ninth century B.C.²⁶⁷ From Hierapolis Castabala in eastern Cilicia, comes an inscription on a basal* stele, dating from the fifth or fourth century B.C. The inscription, written in Aramaic, sets the border of K R B Y L and of K R S Y, the town which Kubaba of P W S D/R owns, who is at Kastabalay²⁶⁸. The fact that Kubaba is mentioned as the goddess of Kastabala may suggest a connection with the Asiatic goddess whom the Greeks called the Persian Artemis and whose priestesses used to walk bare-foot over a charcoal fire, remaining unharmed (Strabo 12.2.7 [537]).²⁶⁹

The gods Samnuha and Gubaba are mentioned on a cylinder seal from Assur dated about 1000 B.C., now in Istanbul (National Museum for the Orient, Inv. no 6702),²⁷⁰ where Gubaba is no other than the goddess Kubaba. Finally, a jar found at Sardis and dated before 570 B.C. reads from right to left the name Kuvav(a), possibly the Kubaba-Kupapa from Hittite sources.²⁷¹ E.Laroche,²⁷² in his article on the origins of Kybele, has traced the distribution of the goddess' worship through Asia Minor during the last two millenia B.C., from Carchemish via Alalach to Ugarit and northward to Kanis in Cappadocia where a priest of Kubabat is mentioned in the cuneiform files of the Assyrian trading colony.²⁷³

²⁶⁶ Vermaseren CCCA 1.1.4.

²⁶⁷ Vermaseren CCCA 1.9.23.

²⁶⁸ Vermaseren CCCA 1.252.854 and fig. 45, citing A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert: "Ceci et la frontière de K R B Y L et de K R S Y, la ville que possède Kubaba de P W S D/R, qui est à Kastabalay."

²⁶⁹ See Frazer, vol.1: 115.

²⁷⁰ Vermaseren CCCA 1.266.898.

²⁷¹ Vermaseren 1977: 23 and fig. 9.

²⁷² E. Laroche "Kuoubaba, déesse anatolienne et le problème des origines de Cybèle" in *Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960): 113-28.

²⁷³ See also Vermaseren 1977: 24.

From Carchemish and Yazilikaya, Kubaba reaches Pessinus and under the Phrygian name of Kybele, begins her voyage westwards.

Representations of Kubaba seated on a throne which rests on the back of a bull or a lion (1050-850 B.C.) show that the goddess had been viewed since ancient times as a *Potnia theron*, a deity of nature and mistress of animals.²⁷⁴

The great Mother of Nature was called Kubaba by the Luwians east of the Halys, Kybele or Kybebe by the Lydians, Kybila or Mater Kybila in Phrygia where she was called also Agdistis, "She of the rock"; she was also the goddess whom the Lydians called *Artimu*, the equivalent of the Greek Artemis.²⁷⁵

The Hittites played an important rôle in spreading the worship of Kubaba, and so some comments on Hittite civilization and religion are called for at this point. The period of importance of Carchemish seems to be late Hittite.²⁷⁶ Documents found at Ras-Shamra show the city to have been the seat of the viceroy of the Hittite Emperor in the Late Bronze Age, from which he ruled over most of the regions of Syria. Considered by the Assyrians as the chief of the Hittite states, Carchemish controlled the road and the ford across the Euphrates, leading to Mesopotamia. The Hittites used the cuneiform system of writing which had been developed in Mesopotamia and had become by that time the vehicle of a sort of internationalism which united Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Hittite cultures. Through the Hurrians of Upper Mesopotamia (a branch of the Hittites), the epic of Gilgamesh became known in Anatolia, as extant Hittite and Hurrian fragments show.²⁷⁷

The Hittite civilization is the product of a complicated process. The Hittites, known from the *Old Testament* as the "people of Hatti", had absorbed the older

²⁷⁴ Hajjar 1985: 52; Van Loon 1991: 9; Vermaseren 1977: 18.

²⁷⁵ See Barnett 1967: 23,24 and Burkert 1985: 149.

²⁷⁶ See Barnett 1967: 26.

²⁷⁷ See Goetze 1965: 58.

civilization of the Khattians, an eastern people speaking a non-Indo-European language. The new wave of peoples speaking Indo-European languages such as Palaic, Luwian and Neshian blended with the autochthonous element. In the period 1750-1600 B.C., the Hittite religion incorporated the Khattian, and Khattian deities such as the Sun-goddess of Arinna, became the national patrons of the new Hittite rulers.²⁷⁸ A major element in this picture are the Hurrians. Originally from easternmost Anatolia, the Hurrians spread to Upper Mesopotamia and entered into close contact with the Sumero-Akkadian civilization.²⁷⁹

The rock sanctuary at Yazilikaya, near the Hittite capital Khattusha (Bogazköy) where a procession of sixty-three deities was carved on a large rock (1275-1260 B.C.), had originally belonged to a dynasty of possible Hurrian origin. The procession depicts the goddesses coming from the right and the gods coming from the left, with the Storm-god and the Sun-Goddess of Arinna in the middle. The names given to each figure, although inscribed in Hittite hieroglyphs, are Hurrian.²⁸⁰ The central goddess, also known as Hepatu, wears a high polos and stands on a panther.

Around 1180 B.C. the Hittite Empire fell to Thracian conquerors from the Balkans, the ancestors of the Phrygians, who brought with them the orgiastic cult of (Dionysos-)Sabazios.²⁸¹ Although the Phrygians inherited the Hittite culture, several centuries elapsed before the emergence of a new empire with its capital at Gordion, founded by Midas (725-675). In late 8th century Phrygia had conquered Lydia. Contacts with both the Greeks and the Assyrians are attested.²⁸² Moreover, Mita of Mushki (Assyrian sources mention the Phrygians by the name of Mushki),

²⁷⁸ See Gurney 1962: 6, 29-30.

²⁷⁹ Goetze 1965: 55; On the contacts between the Hittites and Mesopotamia, see also Deitrich 1974: 27.

²⁸⁰ Goetze 1965: 57, and Vermaseren 1977: 18.

²⁸¹ See Vermaseren 1977: 19-20.

²⁸² Barnett 1967: 14-24.

probably the king Midas known to the Greeks, had joined in a coalition against Sargon II (ca. 720 B.C.) together with Pisiris of Carchemish and a prince of Tabal by the name of Kiakki of Shinukhti. The result of this expedition was disastrous for Pisiris who was made prisoner while Carchemish was turned into an Assyrian province.

Although the Phrygian language remains unknown, Neo-Phrygian inscriptions used an alphabet of the Greek type. Thus Phrygian texts can be read, but not deciphered. Much Hittite art has been preserved, especially in the tradition of free-standing sculpture. The basic religious attitudes of the Hittites, ceremonialism and ritualism, together with a notion of cultic purity also survived.²⁸³ If the Phrygian worshippers of (Dionysos-)Sabazios are responsible for the orgiastic tendencies in the cult of the Mother Goddess, the strict maintenance of the canon of purity, avoiding contamination of any kind, seems to come from the Hittite religion, which perceived uncleanness or "sin" as the reason for human misery and the cause of the wrath of the gods. The importance of the Hittite queen *Tawannanash*, possibly going back to the matrilineal successions which once prevailed among the ancient Khattians,²⁸⁴ is an important factor in understanding the pre-eminence of the Mother Goddess over her male counterpart.

Also related to the Hittites were the Lykians. As for the Karians, who claimed to be autochthonous in Anatolia and related to the Lydians and the Mysians, they had, like the Pamphylians, their own language and script.²⁸⁵ A common thread seems to run through this complicated picture: the worship of a Goddess of Nature, source of all life, and of a male vegetation god, either her

²⁸³ See Goetze 1965: 58.

²⁸⁴ Gurney 1966: 11.

²⁸⁵ Barnett 1967: 25.

husband or her son, together with the story of the goddess' love for the young shepherd or king and his brutal death, circulated in various variants.

Herodotos (1.34-45) records the Lydian version of the death of Atys, killed by a wild boar. In the version recorded by Herodotos, Atys is the son of Kroisos and his death does not occur until after his wedding. At 7.17.7, Pausanias, quoting Hermesianax of Kolophon, since he himself "could learn no secret about Attis", states that Attis was a eunuch by birth. Growing up, he migrated to Lydia, where he celebrated for the Lydians the orgies of the Mother. His death, according to Hermasianax, was caused by a boar sent against him by Zeus. This could be an aition for the fact that the *Galloi* from Pessinus abstained from pork. Another version, an ἐπιχώριος λόγος (Pausanias 7.17.10; Arnobius, *Adv. Nat* 5.5-7), records the miraculous birth of Attis from a fruit sprung from the blood of Agdistis, which a daughter of the river Sangarius had laid in her bosom. The origin of Attis is thus traced to Agdistis, offspring of Mt. Agdus. The passion of Agdistis for the youth proves disastrous. On his wedding day, Agdistis' jealousy causes the madness and emasculation of Attis. In Pausanias' version (7.17.12), the father-in-law does the same thing, probably as a result of a collective frenzy (ἀπέκοψε δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ διδούς). Regretting her actions, Agdistis persuades Zeus to grant that the body of Attis neither rot at all, nor decay. A further fact of interest is the name of Attis' mother, Nana, which could be, according to Gasparro,²⁸⁶ the hellenized name of an Elamite and Babylonian divinity, identified with the Persian Anahita and assimilated by Artemis²⁸⁷. Also, (I)nanna is a name or an epithet designating the goddess Ishtar, herself a mother-goddess, connected with the vegetation god, Tammuz. The common thread in these Attis stories is the death of

²⁸⁶ Gasparro, 1985: 50-51.

²⁸⁷ Nana appears also as a personal name in a Neo-Phrygian inscription (Calder 1911: 182.XXXIV). Νάνα is here the name of Mouzos' daughter: "Μοῦζος Δειναρχίδι συμβίῳ καὶ Βωδορεὶ καὶ Νάνα τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν μνήμης χάριν."

the young king or shepherd and his survival in death, a form of immortality. Attis appears directly connected with vegetation. His blood produces violets and his death occurs under a pine-tree. A terracotta lamp from Tarsos represents Attis as a child, nude, sitting on a flower.²⁸⁸ Unlike Persephone, Attis is not granted a periodical return. Nevertheless, in the manner of the pine-tree with which he is identified, he remains "evergreen".²⁸⁹ On earth, he is, together with the Mother Goddess, a protector of tombs, hence his frequency on funeral monuments. His name figures in sepulchral inscriptions containing the Phrygian formula against the violation of graves, for the rest impossible to understand, "τετικμενος Αττι αδειτου".²⁹⁰

The role of Attis is always secondary to that of the great Goddess of Nature, Agdistis/Kybele. He is found either suffering the effects of her passion or wandering around teaching the rites of the goddess. The worship of a Mother Goddess goes back, as seen from the Yazilikaya reliefs, to the Hittites who were known to worship a deity called "the black goddess".²⁹¹ According to Vermaseren,²⁹² between the 12th and the 6th centuries B.C., a syncretism ought to have taken place between the ancient Kubaba, perceived as a mother goddess and a new mysticism, probably of Balkanic origin. The product of this syncretism, Kybele, is known to us through various epithets, generally connected with the places or mountains where she was worshipped. The goddess was believed to have sprung from rocks, usually in the vicinity of fresh water. At Kyzikos, she appears as Mater Dindymene (Apollonios Rhodios, I, 1092ff), Kotiane (W. Dittenberger,

²⁸⁸ Louvre, Inv. no. T 66; Vermaseren CCCA 1.250.842.

²⁸⁹ See Gasparro 1985: 125.

²⁹⁰ The variants of this formula have been analysed by Calder (1911: 161-215, esp. 204-206 [LXII]). The author suggests (185.XLIV) that the phrase "Αττι αδειτου", with omission of "τετικμενος", must mean "let him belong to Attis", while "Τετικμενος" with the dative, corresponding to "κατηραμένους" is taken to mean "devoted to" (207.LXII). See also Vermaseren 1977: 24.

²⁹¹ See Barnett 1967: 22.

²⁹² Vermaseren 1977: 18.

Syll³.II, 763), Lobriane (Nikander, *Alexipharmakos* 8) and Plakiane (*CIG* 3657; Lolling, *AM*, VII (1882), 150ff).²⁹³ Her temples are generally situated in a cave or near a rock as was the case of the sanctuary of Meter Steunene near Aezani in Phrygia. Kybele appears thus primarily as a mountain goddess, (ὄρεϊν). The "all nurturing one" (Sophokles, *Philoktetes* 391) was supposed to inhabit among others Mount Ida, Mount Agdos, Mount Dindymos and Mount Sipylos. The Hittite goddess Tesker was called "Mistress of the Mountains" and "Mistress of the Soil",²⁹⁴ while the Sumerian goddess Ninharag, who shared with Ishtar various fertility aspects, was known as "The Lady of the Great Mountain".²⁹⁵

As goddess of nature, Kybele extends her reign over wild animals. The lion and the hawk are among her favourites;²⁹⁶ just as in the Yazilikaya relief, where the Mother Goddess appears standing on the back of a panther, so representations of Kybele portray her flanked by two lions in a tamed attitude, although the Hittite version of the goddess standing on the back of an animal subjected to her is not usually reflected in the iconography of Kybele.²⁹⁷ Occasionally, the goddess places her hand upon the head of a sitting lion.²⁹⁸ In other instances, the goddess holds a lion or a lion cub on her lap.²⁹⁹ For the Greeks she was the "nurse of the Phrygian lion" (*Anthologia Palatina* 6.51). A statuette from Halicar, Turkey (ca. 6000 B.C.) represents the mother Goddess holding a cub, leopard or lion, and sitting on a leopard throne.³⁰⁰ The Mother Goddess appears as a type of *Potnia Theron*, sometimes even dressed in animal skins, as represented by a statuette from Çatal Hüyük, Turkey (7100-6300 B.C.).³⁰¹ Her power affects the lives of plants and

²⁹³ See also Vermaseren 1977: 28.

²⁹⁴ Farnell 1911: 108.

²⁹⁵ See Price 1978: 6.

²⁹⁶ Vermaseren *CCCA* 1 *passim*.

²⁹⁷ See Vermaseren 1977: 18 for commentary and exceptions.

²⁹⁸ Vermaseren *CCCA* 1.32.87.

²⁹⁹ Vermaseren *CCCA* 1.117.381.

³⁰⁰ See Johnson 1981: 102 and fig.113.

³⁰¹ Johnson 1981: 102 and fig.114.

humans as well. Already on the stele of Kubaba of Carchemish (dating from the period between 1050-850 B.C.), the goddess wears a high Syrian *polos* adorned with two rosettes and holds a pomegranate as a second attribute.³⁰² Another piece, dating from a much later period (end of the third century B.C.) represents the right side of Kybele's throne, decorated with a row of eggs. Her designation as Meter or Matar connects the goddess directly with natural fertility. An altar at Küthük Hassan, dating from the Hellenistic period, bears a dedication to "Kybele as the goddess of the four seasons" (Μητρί Τετραπροσώπῳ, which may also mean "the four-faced mother").³⁰³ A serpent in relief (a well-known chthonic symbol) appears on another altar,³⁰⁴ bearing a prayer-offering to Agdistis ("Ἀνγδίσι εὐχήν"), while in Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, Attis is treated as καταχθόνιος³⁰⁵. A white marble statue of Attis from Kyzikos (third century B.C.), represents the god wearing a long sleeved tunic which is fastened at his breast by a circular fibula, decorated with a Gorgoneion.³⁰⁶ A final example, a marble monument from Sardis (540-530 B.C.) figures the goddess holding a lion to her breast, with snakes coiled on either side.³⁰⁷ A fertility goddess, Kybele is also a *Kourotrophos*. From Crete (where Aegeo-Anatolian and Egyptian influences were very strong) comes a metrical epigram inscribed on the pediment of the Metrôon of Phaistos, dated in the 3rd-2nd century B.C., which guarantees the favour of the goddess to all those who care for their own children³⁰⁸. Representation of the goddesses bearing on

³⁰² See Vermaseren 1977: 18.

³⁰³ Anderson 1899: 303.237. The dedication is made by Menandros son of Menandros "ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων κὲ τετραπύδων εὐχὴν". See also Vermaseren CCCA 1.20.48.

³⁰⁴ Vermaseren CCCA 1.53.149.

³⁰⁵ MAMA I, 200 no 384 and fig.; Vermaseren CCCA 1.33.90; Calder 1911: 207-208 (LXII) takes the recurrent phrase "δεῶς κε ζεμελῶς", which can be found on funerary inscriptions together with Attis, to be the equivalent of the Greek "θεοῖς οὐρανίοις καὶ καταχθονίοις", the Phrygian "δεῶς" and "ζεμελῶς" both being datives.

³⁰⁶ BCH 33 (1909) 257ff no 8 and fig 6.; BCH 45 (1921): 458 and fig.9; Vermaseren CCCA 1.91.280 and 1.255.864- 2nd century A.D.).

³⁰⁷ See Vermaseren CCCA 1.134-135.459.

³⁰⁸ See Sfameni-Gasparro 1985: 86 n.7 for interpretation and publications.

her knees a child who could be identified as Attis, designates the goddess as *kourotrophos*. Votive statuettes of *kourotrophoi*, dating from different periods, have been discovered at Kyme, representing seated women with children, sometimes bearing the attributes of the goddess, lion and tympanon.³⁰⁹ Representations of the aboriginal Aegeo-Anatolian goddess suckling a grown-up boy,³¹⁰ recall representations of Ishtar, fertility goddess and *kourotrophos*, "directing all births": a cuneiform text recommends that the goddess Ishtar should be represented suckling a child at her breast.³¹¹

Invoked in situations of danger, Kybele has also been conceived as a rescuing deity. In Tell Acana-Alalach in northern Syria (in the vicinity of Al-Mina) the theophoric names Sili-Kubabat meaning "Kubabat is my protection" and Kubabatum have been attested.³¹² In later times the beneficial character of the goddess is frequently expressed in dedications. At Aphrodisias in Karia, she is called θεὰ ἐπηκόος, in a second century A.D. inscription (μητρὶ θεῶν ὁρεῖα ἐπηκόω θεῶ).³¹³ An inscription on a relief now in Paris (Louvre, Inv.no. 2850) records a dedication to the Great Mother by Soterides Gallos (the name is relevant).³¹⁴ The latter had invoked the goddess' aid on behalf of his comrade Marcus Stlaccius, taken prisoner in Libya and sold into slavery. This dedication, although late in date, provides a connection between the Mother Goddess and individuals in difficult situations, in this case war and loss of freedom. The epithet Soteira given to the Great Goddess, places her, according to Sfameni-Gasparro, in the category of the saviour gods.³¹⁵ Unfortunately, I do not know of a local

³⁰⁹ See Price 1978: 158.

³¹⁰ Price 1978: 7 and n.23.

³¹¹ M. Jastrow, Jr. *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (New York 1911): 136f.

³¹² See Vermaseren 1977: 24.

³¹³ T. Reinach *BCH* 32 (1908): 499-513; Vermaseren 1977: 28.

³¹⁴ Kybele as rescuing goddess. Gasparro 1985: 71, 85, 88-89; Vermaseren 1977: 29.

³¹⁵ Sfameni-Gasparro: 88-89.

equivalent of the Greek epithet. Funeral monuments point to the rôle of the goddess as protectress of tombs, which could be an extension of the protection offered to individuals during their lifetime. In numerous places throughout Asia Minor, the Mother Goddess and Attis appear as guardians of the inviolability of graves. Images of the goddess with lions or the simple image of the lion occur frequently on tombstones; inscriptions in the Neo-Phrygian language contain deprecatory formulas against violators of tombs, the sense of which remains uncertain. The formula mentioned above "τετικμενος Αττι αδειτου", appears to be an equivalent of the Greek "κατηραμένος "Αττι ἔστω".³¹⁶

Eunuch priests are attested in the cult of the Mother Goddess as well as in the cults of other Oriental goddesses. Lucian mentions eunuchs in the service of the Syrian goddess Atargatis at Hierapolis. The story of Kombabos (whose name echoes the goddess Kubaba) related by Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, 19-23) attests their presence at Hierapolis. As in other parts of Asia Minor, the reason for emasculation appears to be a desire for purity and identification with the goddess on the part of her worshippers. At Ephesos, as I have noted, Artemis was served by a eunuch priest, known by the Persian name Megabyzos, although this particular institution seems to be much older, belonging to the times of the worship of a local Mother Goddess type.³¹⁷ This practice appears also in connection with the goddess Ma of Cappadocia, a counterpart of the Mother Goddess (the name Ma designating the mother³¹⁸), and with Mother Hipta of Lydia. These goddesses, according to Farnell, are descended from specialised forms of an aboriginal Aegean or Anatolian goddess, whose cult was maintained by the Hittites as well.³¹⁹ No eunuchs are attested in the worship of Ishtar. The Babylonians, like the

³¹⁶ Calder 1911: 161-215; Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 90 and n.21.

³¹⁷ See Picard 1922: 163-182, esp 167.

³¹⁸ Farnell 1911. 169

³¹⁹ Farnell 1911 92

Greeks, rejected the idea of corporeal mutilation.

Ma of Comana and Pontos. Like Kybele, Ma is a goddess of earth and mother of all things³²⁰, associated with a male god, Attis who is otherwise addressed by the Phrygians as Papas (a sort of father-god) and regarded as her husband (Diodoros of Sicily 3.58.4)³²¹. Although belonging to the same substratum as Kybele, the worship of Ma underwent additional influence from the Semites and Persians. The epithet 'Ανεΐκτης is applied to both the Cappadocian goddess and to the Persian god Mithra. The goddess was identified (like Artemis) with the Persian Anahita with whom she shares the practice of the taurobolium.³²² Her rites, bloody and savage, in which frenzied followers inflict wounds upon themselves, accompanied by the sounds of drums and trumpets, reveal her warlike character. According to Picard, the Amazons who founded the first sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos were supposed worshippers of Ma.³²³ Barnett³²⁴ also suggests that if the legend of the Amazons were at all connected with a historical people, these could have been one of the peripheral branches of the Hittite Empire or perhaps armed priestesses of a war goddess such as Ma of Comana.

The practice of sacred prostitution in the service of Ma is a clear Semitic influence (see Ishtar, below); the presence of *hierodouloi* is attested in Canaanite communities as well as in the case of the so-called "congregation of the people of Astart" at Carthage.³²⁵ This practice, also connected with the worship of Mylitta at Babylon (Herodotos I, 199), is attested in the cults of Aphrodite at Eryx (Strabo 6.2.6 [272]) and Aphrodite Ourania at Corinth (Strabo, 12.3.36 [559]). In the case of Ma of Cappadocia and Pontos (Strabo 12.3.32 [557]; 12.3.36 [559]), a possible

³²⁰ On Ma/Amma/Mother Goddess see Perrot and Chipiez 1892: 30 and n.3; Farnell 1911: 87, 169.

³²¹ See Cumont 1956 (Dover edition): 48.

³²² Cumont 1956 (Dover): 227 n.34.

³²³ Picard 1922: 335.

³²⁴ Barnett 1967: 4.

³²⁵ Farnell 1911: 272.

connection with Anahita, who was honoured by this service at Acilisenê (Strabo 11.14.16 [532]) and Zela (Strabo 11.8.4 [512]), is responsible for the presence of sacred prostitution, otherwise unattested in the cults of the Anatolian Mother Goddess.³²⁶

Anahita. The Persian Anahita (Anaïtis), whom the Lydians identified with Kybele and Artemis of Ephesos, thus calling her Mother Anahita, Artemis Anahita or simply the Persian Artemis³²⁷ was a goddess of fertility, namely of fertilizing waters, probably also worshipped as a fire goddess. Pausanias (5.27.5-6) mentions a ritual of the Lydians surnamed Persian in whose sanctuaries at Hierocaisarea and Hypaipa, sacred wood was lit by the magi without fire, while Isidor of Charax (*Stationes*, 6) mentions a temple of Anaïtis at Ecbatana where fire is continuously burning.³²⁸ Representations of the Persian Artemis appear on coins of Hierocaisareia, bearing the legend Περσική. The goddess is shown either alone (sometimes in a temple) or accompanied by deer and dogs.³²⁹

The complete, triple name of the goddess (Aradvi Sura Anahita) refers to her three functions as "the humid, the strong, the pure".³³⁰ In the *Yasts* or hymns to the gods from the *Avesta*, Anahita, the goddess of waters is described as a young, beautiful maiden, wearing a high girdle (*Avesta*, Yt.5 § 119-132). As goddess of fertility and *kourotraphos*, Anahita often figures on intaglios holding a flower, a bird or a child.³³¹ As a celestial divinity, certain days and months were dedicated to the goddess as the moon and the counterpart of the sun-god Mithra.³³² The

³²⁶ It is the opinion of Farnell 1911: 272.

³²⁷ See Cumont 1956 (Dover): 227 n.32.

³²⁸ On representations of Anahita surrounded by flames and her the overall connection with fire see Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 292, 299

³²⁹ Robert 1948 vol.VI: 27-28.

³³⁰ See Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 36; 180. The name of Anahita is translated as "L'humide, la forte, l'immaculée".

³³¹ Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 299. For Artemis represented with the same attributes, see Kahil in *LIMC* 2.664.557, 558, 559 (Artemis with flower or fruit and bird); 2.666.594-596 (Artemis with flower or fruit and animal); 2.676.720, 721 (Artemis and children).

³³² Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 234.

attributes of the goddess, the rosette-star and the water jug (the pitcher usually accompanying deities connected with fertility), characterize Anahita in this double aspect. The presence of two crescents with busts on a silver plate from the Sassanid period, equally suggests the celestial character of the goddess. The plate, representing a dancing scene performed in honour of a female deity, holding a fabulous animal, was identified by certain accessories such as the lustral water jug and the flower as being connected with the worship of Anahita.³³³

The cult of Anahita came under the strong influence of the Elamite and Babylonian Nanaia (a form of Ishtar). According to Farnell³³⁴ the association of Nana and Anahita, which preceded the introduction of the latter's cult at Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Damascus and Sardis by Artaxerxes II³³⁵, triggered the occasional identification of Artemis with the Babylonian Nana. Anahita, who became known as the Persian Artemis, was closely associated with Kybele in Lydia and Phrygia and was particularly popular at Philadelphia, Hierocaisareia³³⁶ and Hypaipa.³³⁷ On dedications found at Philadelphia, where a syncretism between Meter and Anaitis took place, a goddess by the name of Meter Anaitis was represented with the lions of Kybele and the deer, known from coins of Anaitis at Hierocaisareia and Hypaipa.³³⁸ According to L. Robert, the deer was not brought by Anaitis from Iran but acquired in Asia Minor, when the goddess became the Persian Artemis.³³⁹ Moreover, the image of Anaitis in Lydia bore the form of the Tauric goddess.³⁴⁰ Her identification with Artemis is sustained by the nature of the two goddesses,

³³³ Duchesne-Guillemin: 301.

³³⁴ Farnell 1977: 484.

³³⁵ See Lewis 1977: 78 & n.4 (Darios Nothos stresses his orthodox ancestry as well as his belief in Ahuramazda, in contrast with his rival who acknowledges the "newfangled Anaitis and Mithras") Artaxerxes' II introduction of the worship of Anaitis and Mithras is attested by Berossus (*FGH* 680 F11).

³³⁶ Robert 1948: 27ff; Holleaux 1952: 251.

³³⁷ Robert 1987: 347

³³⁸ Robert 1967: 74-75; see also Fleischer in *LIMC* 2.753-754

³³⁹ Robert 1967: 75.

³⁴⁰ Farnell 1977: 485.

both divinities of vegetation and ruling over the animal world. The worship of Anaitis/Anahita was well known at Zela in Pontos as well as in Cappadocia. Tamed lions, with whom the goddess was associated, are mentioned by Aelian (*De Natura Animalium* 12, 23) as being kept in her temple at Elymaïs. The importance of the goddess is made obvious by depictions of Persian kings receiving the crown from the goddess.³⁴¹ Plutarch (*Artaxerxes II*, chapt.III) describes Anahita as *Thea Polemikè*, in this respect comparable with Athena.

Atargatis. Lucian mentions that the Syrian Goddess whom he calls Hera (since her consort Ba'l Hadad has been identified with Zeus) has features relating to Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis and the Fates (*Dea Syria*, 32). The goddess identified as Lucian's "Dea Syria" bears the name of Atargatis, a combination of the three major Canaanite goddesses, Astart, Anat and Aserah. The description given by Lucian (31-32) of the representation of the deity corresponds with the images of Hadad and Atargatis on coins and reliefs, in which Ba'l (Lucian's Zeus, who he admits was called by another name) sits on bulls while Atargatis (Hera), holding a sceptre in one hand and a spindle in the other, is supported by lions. The goddess is said by Lucian to bear on her head rays and a tower and to wear a girdle similar to that of the celestial Aphrodite (*Dea Syria*, 32). A relief from Dura-Europos shows the throne of Atargatis flanked with large lions. The goddess is wearing chiton and girdle. Judging from the hole in one of her hands, she might have been holding a sceptre or a spindle.³⁴² On coins of Palmyra the goddess often appears seated on a lion.³⁴³ A representation of Atargatis with lions appears also in the temple of the goddess at Palmyra.³⁴⁴ Roman reliefs, bearing a striking resemblance to the images of the goddess in the east, show

³⁴¹ See Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 282 and 298.

³⁴² P.V.C. Baur et al., 1932, *The Excavations of Dura Europos, Preliminary Report of the third Season of Work*, New Haven, p 100, cited by Oden 1977: 51.

³⁴³ Rostovtzeff "Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra" *AJA* 37 (1933): 58.

³⁴⁴ H.W. Haussig *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, vol.1 (Stuttgart 1965): 426; Oden 1977: 52.

Atargatis enthroned between two lions, with sceptre, spindle and mirror in her hands, sometimes wearing a kalathos. A crescent is also visible above her head.³⁴⁵

The presence of lions in the company of Atargatis emphasizes her character of *Potnia Theron*, while the kalathos accompanies other Asian deities associated with fertility. The crescent found above the head of the goddess is connected with her celestial character. The goddess is described by Pliny as part-fish, part-woman (*NH* 30.2(8).17). The fish (Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 45) suggests the marine aspect of the goddess, as well as the goddess' journey to the sea twice a year and the observation of her festivals by the sea (*Dea Syria*, 33, 48). According to Y. Hajjar, the goddess had been essentially conceived as a goddess of fertility and the humid principle sustaining life.³⁴⁶ The varied nature of Atargatis supports Oden's view that in fact the Syrian Goddess is not one but three goddesses combined: Astart, Anat and Aserah, each with similar and different attributes.³⁴⁷ Of the three goddesses, Aserah (found in Ugaritic texts as "The lady who treads upon the sea"³⁴⁸), also called "Creatress of the gods",³⁴⁹ is connected with the sea and with fishermen, as attested by the invocation:

"Fisherman of the Lady Aserah of the Sea

Take a net in your hands" (*CTCA* 4.2.31-32)³⁵⁰

Called "mother of the gods" in Ugaritic myths, Aserah appears as a goddess of fertility, associated with the sea. As Lucian's Syrian Goddess does, Aserah of Ugarit holds a spindle:

"She grasps her spindle.../The
spindle... in her right hand"³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ Cumont 1929: 96 fig.6.

³⁴⁶ Hajjar 1977 (vol.1): 191 and n.4 (no. 170).

³⁴⁷ Oden Jr. 1977: 66ff.

³⁴⁸ Oden Jr. 1977: 72 and 89.

³⁴⁹ Albright W.F., 1968, *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan*: 121; Oden Jr., 1977: 90.

³⁵⁰ Herdner A., *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*, Paris 1963 (*CTCA*).

³⁵¹ *CTCA* 4.2.3-4; Oden Jr. 1977: 101.

Anat and Astart on the other hand are hunting goddesses.³⁵² In Egypt, where Anat and Astart are almost interchangeable, the goddesses appear as "the two great goddesses who were pregnant but did not bear",³⁵³ a phrase which presents the paradox of both motherhood and maidenhood, already seen in the case of Ishtar and the standard epithet of Anat at Ugarit is "virgin" (*batultu*). Anat and Aserah, "the Creatress of the Gods", are known as divine nurses.³⁵⁴ Anat is also represented as a bloodthirsty war goddess, whose happiness depends upon the shedding of blood (*CTCA* 3.4.6ff). Astart is also identified with Isis on a stele at Memphis bearing the dedication:

"To my lady, the awesome deity Isis, the deity Astart"(KAI 43)³⁵⁵

Here she is a goddess of both war and love, which may explain her usual association with Aphrodite³⁵⁶. In a representation from the New Kingdom, Astart is shown as a nude girl, riding a galloping stallion and armed with either bow and arrows or with shield and javelin.³⁵⁷ Theophoric names derived from Astart, meaning "Astart is the Divine Mother" (*KAI* vol.I p.17 and vol.II p.22), reveal her character as mother goddess, similar to that of Aserah.

A noun formed from Astart's name which appears in the *Old Testament* (*Deuteronomy* 7: 13; 28: 4,18,51) in the phrase commonly translated as "increase of your flock" and parallel to the phrase "offspring of your cattle",³⁵⁸ suggests her function as fertility goddess. Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 4), speaking of the goddess' major cult centre at Sidon, identifies Astart with Selene. Depictions of the sign of Tanit from Carthage (an extension of Asherah and Astart), are often combined with disc

³⁵² See Oden Jr. 1977: 95 for the text and references.

³⁵³ Oden Jr. 1977: 96.

³⁵⁴ Oden Jr. 1977: 81-83; In the Ugaritic epic of Keret, the king is nursed by the goddess Atherat and the Virgin Anat. See Dietrich 1974: 33.

³⁵⁵ Donner H. and W. Röllig, *Kanaanaische und Aramaische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 1964-1968 no.43.

³⁵⁶ See Graf 1984: 245-254; On Aphrodite as a war goddess see also Burkert 1985: 153.

³⁵⁷ Oden Jr. 1977: 75.

³⁵⁸ Both translations are by Oden Jr. 1977: 80.

and crescent.³⁵⁹ Like Astart, Tanit was seen as a heavenly deity who also had chthonic aspects. Her name, *Tnt*, is derived from the Semitic *Tnn*, meaning "dragon, serpent", a feature which Tanit shares with the Dragon Goddess Aserah of Ugarit.³⁶⁰ Tanit is also called "nutrix" in both Latin and Punic inscriptions (*CIS* vol.1 no. 196).³⁶¹ Sphinxes accompany the Phoenician Astart as well as the Heliopolitan Atargatis.³⁶²

Rays appear in representations of the nature goddess Ma, as well as in depictions of Artemis Leukophryene. In both cases, aspects pertaining to fertility and light are combined, the radiated head suggesting the celestial character of the divinity.³⁶³ Another attribute which the Cappadocian goddess shares with Atargatis, Kybele, Artemis Perasia, Artemis Leukophryene and other divinities both solar and chthonic is the eagle. On a hellenistic bronze,³⁶⁴ the goddess carries two eagles on her shoulders, while the same birds flank the image of Artemis Leukophryene on coins of Magnesia on the Maeander, with a star surrounded by crescent between them, the probable symbol of the goddess.³⁶⁵ Atargatis appears with an eagle above her head in a relief from Hirbet et-Tannur, as well as on a grafitto from Dura-Europos and on a sculpture from Hatra, showing the goddess in the company of another deity and Kerberos.³⁶⁶

Ishtar. The presence of a mother figure among the treasures given to Ishtar suggests that the goddess shared aspects of the ancient Mother Goddess.³⁶⁷ This type, worshipped in Sumer under different names, such as Ama-gestim, later Gestim-Ama, was identified with Ishtar in the Old-Babylonian period. Ishtar or

³⁵⁹ See Oden Jr. 1977: 144; 160 fig. 5-10.

³⁶⁰ Oden Jr. 1977: 93; Carter 1987: 378.

³⁶¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris 1881-, vol. 1 no. 196.

³⁶² See Hajjar 1977 no.91 and 189 (vol.1).

³⁶³ Seyrig 1970: 76-78; Laumonier 1985: 534; Hajjar 1985: 210.

³⁶⁴ Seyrig 1970: 76-78 pl. 35,6.

³⁶⁵ Laumonier 1958: 533. pl.XIV, 14, 16; Hajjar 1985: 212.

³⁶⁶ See Hajjar 1985: 212.

³⁶⁷ See Leemans 1952: 17 esp. line 27.

Inanna-Ishtar was primarily a fertility goddess.³⁶⁸ Gifts alluding to this function were offered to her; a large number of primitive figures have been found in Syria, representing the local counterpart of Ishtar as mother goddess. The figures have pierced ears and wear ear-rings or drops.³⁶⁹ As goddess of fertility, Ishtar was closely related to the mother goddess. Often designated as "The mother of Gods and Men", she was considered the source of all life: human, animal and vegetative.³⁷⁰ At Kish she was worshipped as a war goddess, while at Uruk in the late period, she was a love goddess. The lion was the most common symbol of Ishtar, as the goddess appears on seals with one foot on the animal.³⁷¹

A relief,³⁷² prior to the period of Hammurabi, discovered near Zohab, shows the goddess In-Hinni bringing captives to king Anubanini; according to Farnell, the relief attests the prevalence of goddess-cult in the third millenium, which the conquering Semites found at a well developed stage. The pre-Semitic character of Ishtar is supported by phonetic equivalents of her name in Semitic Anatolia.³⁷³

As the embodiment of nature's creative forces, Ishtar can assume, like Agdistis, the powers of both masculine and feminine natures. In a hymn of praise to the goddess, dating from the reign of Assurbanipal (668-629 B.C.), Ishtar is described as wearing a beard ("Like Ashur, she wears a beard").³⁷⁴ Originally the chief goddess of the Sumerian pantheon, she acquired in the Assyrian empire the

³⁶⁸ In "The Courtship of Inanna and Dumuzi" (Wolkstein and Kramer 1983: 33), Utu, the brother of Inanna, addresses her as following:

"You who adorn yourself with the agate necklace of fertility..."

On the chief goddess of Uruk/Erech, the Mother Goddess Innin or Inanna, supplanted by Ishtar, see Dietrich 1974: 29.

³⁶⁹ Leemans 1952: 17; 22 n.85.

³⁷⁰ Farnell 1911: 120.

³⁷¹ Leemans 1952: 23-24.

³⁷² Farnell 1911: 42, 83.

³⁷³ Farnell 1911: 83.

³⁷⁴ Farnell 1911: 58; Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 88.IG2a: a stone statuette, of unknown date, bears a dedication in Akkadian to a "virile Inana":

"Lamgi-Mari, le roi de Mari, le grand-vicaire
d'Enlil, a voué sa statue à Inana virile."

highest position, next to the Assyrian national god, Asshur. In this rôle, Ishtar is a goddess of war, armed with bow, quiver and sword, ordering the battle ranks. Thus, Ishtar appears as a fertility mother-goddess, war goddess and love goddess. Performances of the marriage of Inanna and Dummuuzi (Tammuz) were given yearly, together with representations of the goddess' descent into the Nether World.³⁷⁵ The vegetation god Tammuz, identified with the life of trees and corn, appears as a counterpart of Attis. Like Attis, Tammuz suffers the effects of the goddess' passion. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the hero reminds Ishtar of her treatment of Tammuz "the spouse of thy youth" upon whom she lays yearly affliction.³⁷⁶ In one of his hymns, the god is invoked as "Lord of the world of Death", because of his descent into the underworld.³⁷⁷ The connection of Attis with death is obvious from the presence, in sepulchral inscriptions, of formulas against the violation of graves, containing his name (see above).

The worship of Ishtar, like that of the Mother Goddess and of Artemis, combines the ideas of motherhood and virginity. The presence of these opposite ideas in the concept of a single goddess is explained by the fact that Ishtar, like Artemis, took over the cult of a mother goddess in many places. In liturgies and hymns, the goddess is invoked as both virgin and mother:

"Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the kur,
Entered the palace of Ereshkigal, the Queen of the Underworld,
and said:

'My queen, a maid
As tall as heaven,
As wide as the earth,

³⁷⁵ Leemans 1952: 22.

³⁷⁶ See Farnell 1911: 164.

³⁷⁷ Farnell 1911: 106; The Tammuz liturgies have been collected by Witzel (1935). On Ishtar and Tammuz (Sumerian Dumuzi, "True Son"), see Dietrich 1974: 29.

As strong as the foundations of the city wall,
Waits outside the palace gates."³⁷⁸

In the same song, the maid Inanna appears as the mother of the gods Shara and Lulal:

"Inanna cried:

'No! Not Shara!

He is my son who sings hymns to me.

He is my son who cuts my nails and smooths my hair

I shall never give Shara to you."³⁷⁹

.....

"Inanna cried:

'Not Lulal! He is my son.

He is a leader among men.

He is my right arm. He is my left arm.

I will never give Lulal to you."³⁸⁰

In inscriptions of Sargon (ca 700 B.C.) Ishtar appears as "The Lady of the Heavenly Crown, the Mother of the Gods".³⁸¹ Cuneiform texts mention sacred

³⁷⁸ Wolkstein and Kramer 1983: 56 ("The Descent of Inanna. From the Great Above to the Great Below"). Inanna is addressed as "virgin" in a hymn of prayer to Inanna and Iddindagan (Falkenstein and von Soden, 1953: 93):

"Die Herrin des Abends, Inanna, die Hohe,
die Jungfrau Inanna preise ich immerdar,
die Herrin des Abends, die bis ans Ende des Himmels [groß ist]."

Like the Asiatic Artemis, the Sumerian Inanna is attended by maiden priestesses:

"die Jungfrauen, die schugi'a-Pristerinnen, das Haupt mit
Blumen umwunden,

treten vor die heilige Inanna." (Falkenstein and von Soden 1953: 93).

³⁷⁹ Wolkstein and Kramer 1983: 70.

³⁸⁰ Wolkstein and Kramer 1983: 71.

³⁸¹ See Farnell 1911: 166.

prostitutes in the temple of the goddess at Uruk/Erech,³⁸² as in certain cult centres of Asia Minor.

A dedication originating from the Piraeus, probably from the Metrôon of the *orgeones*, (IG II² 4696) to Artemis-Nana³⁸³ becomes all the more interesting when one thinks that Nana (Νάνα) could be a hellenized form of Inanna³⁸⁴. If so, it would link the goddess with both Attis (whose mother is Nana) and with Artemis, as Nana was identified by the Persians with Anahita and later assimilated by Artemis. It is thus possible that a form of Ishtar was identified with not only the Mother Goddess but with Artemis herself.

³⁸² "The art of prostitution" is mentioned among the gifts given to Inanna by her father Enki:

"He gave me the art of prostitution.
He gave me the art of speeding.

.....
He gave me the cult prostitute.
He gave me the holy tavern". (Wolkstein and Kramer 1983: 17).

See also Farnell 1911: 165.

³⁸³ For Artemis Nana at Piraeus see Garland 1987: 114.

³⁸⁴ See Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 50-51.

CONCLUSION

In Asia, the Hellenic Artemis acquired a whole new aspect, with parts of her nature being changed and others unchanged by the effects of migration. Most features of the Hellenic Artemis can be matched in her Asiatic counterparts with the exception of the rites of passage, which appear to be restricted to the Hellenic Artemis in Greece. In Asia, she continued to be a goddess of fertility and fertilizing waters, a goddess of childbirth and *kourotrophos*. These functions, as well as that of *Potnia Theron*, were not only preserved but emphasized through the contact with local deities who were fertility goddesses and mistresses of nature. She was influenced by these deities and, in turn, influenced some of them. Her rôle as a goddess of *eschatiai* was adapted to the needs of the colony and brought to the heart of the new no-man's land. The goddess of margins fills the first seat, as foundress: she is a goddess of the polis, and the polis itself is a margin. Interestingly, when the Asiatic Artemis returns to the mainland, she returns as an Oriental goddess and a curiosity for the Greeks. The temple of Artemis Ephesia at Alea in Arkadia as well as her cult image at Megalopolis (both attested by Pausanias: 8.23.1; 8.30.6) appear to be cases of re-importation; they could have been brought to Arkadia by mercenaries returning from the expedition of the Ten Thousand. Xenophon himself consecrated a sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia at Skillous in Elis (*Anabasis* 5.3.7-13)³⁸⁵. The "Greekness" of this returning Artemis, although not entirely lost, was permanently coloured by the goddesses with whom she had been identified in different places.

Of all the Greek deities Artemis was by far the most widely worshipped in Asia Minor and most freely identified with the Great Mother Goddess. As far east

³⁸⁵ See Jost 1985: 107-108; 395-396. Another cult statue of Artemis Ephesia stood in Roman Corinth (Pausanias 2.2.6), while from Epidauros comes a private dedication of the first century B.C. to Artemis of Ephesos (*IG* 4².1.501). The image of Artemis Leukophryene which stood in the Amykleion in Sparta (Pausanias 3.18.9) was dedicated by a citizen of Magnesia on the Maiander, and the sons of Themistokles, who dedicated an image of Artemis Leukophryene at Delphi (Pausanias 1.26.4), had obvious connections with Asia Minor.

as Dura Europos, an Artemis identified with the local goddess Nanaia³⁸⁶ bears the epithet of Azzanathkona, "Attendant of the Creatress".³⁸⁷

A goddess of untouched nature and of wild animals, roaming the mountains and bathing in springs, followed by her nymph companions, virgin and cruel to her lovers and yet a fertility goddess and a helper in childbirth, Artemis was felt to be the most suitable goddess to assume the rôle of the Great Mother. Other Greek goddesses such as Hera, Demeter and Aphrodite did not have the same degree of success. Of all goddesses of the Greek pantheon Artemis was described by Homer as *Potnia Theron* (*Iliad* 21.470), the wild huntress of the mountains (*Odyssey* 6.102-109; *Homeric Hymn*, 5.16-20). In both the *Odyssey* and the *Homeric Hymns*, Artemis wanders through the mountains, accompanied by a noisy retinue, a picture which must have looked familiar to the worshippers of the Great Goddess. The passage in the *Odyssey* represents Artemis as she was perceived around the time of her identification with the Mother Goddess- moving across the mountains, delighting in boars and swift running hinds and ranging in the wilds together with the nymphs, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus:

οἷ δ' Ἄρτεμις εἴσι κατ' οὔρεος ἰοχέαιρα,
ἣ κατὰ Τηϋέγον περιμήκετον ἣ Ἐρύμανθον
τερπομένη κάρποισι καὶ ὠκείης ἐλάφοισι.
τῇ δὲ ἅμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
ἄγρονόμοι παῖζουσιν."(*Odyssey* 6.102-106)

In a *Homeric Hymn* to Aphrodite (5.16-20)³⁸⁸, Artemis is described as "noisy" ("κελαδωνή"). Unsubdued by Aphrodite, she wanders through the mountains, enjoying not only the art of archery but also dancing and thrilling cries, shady woods and the city of just men:

³⁸⁶ On the temple of Artemis Nanaia at Dura Europos and on its similarities with the temples of Atargatis and of Adonis on this site, see Bernard 1976: 267 and fig. 10.

³⁸⁷ J. and L. Robert, *Bull.Épigr.* 73.485.

³⁸⁸ Dated by Janko in the decades before the middle of the 7th century. See Janko 1982: 151-180

"οὐδέ ποτ' Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον, κελαδεινὴν
 δάμνεται ἐν φιλότῃ φιλομμείδῃς Ἀφροδίτῃ.
 καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θήρας ἐναίρειν,
 φόρμιγγές τε χοροὶ τε διαπρύσιοι τ' ὅλολυγαι
 ἄλσεά τε σκιάοντα δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν."

Thus, Artemis resembles the Mother Goddess in her association with mountains and groves, her love of music and dance ("φόρμιγγές τε χοροί"), as well as of piercing cries ("διαπρύσιοι ὅλολυγαι"). Like Kybele who often wears the turret-crown, Artemis may protect the cities of men as well ("πτόλις δικαίων ἀνδρῶν").

As seen in Homer's description of the battle of the gods, Artemis has no place among warriors. In the *Iliad* (21.486), Hera tells her to confine her activity to the mountains and the hunting of wild animals:

"ἦ τοι βέλτερόν ἐστι κατ' οὔρεα θήρας ἐναίρειν
 ἀγροτέρας τ' ἐλάφους ἢ κρείσσοσιν ἱφι μάχεσθαι".

In tears, terrified, Artemis rushes to the protection of her father, leaving behind her bow and arrows to be picked up by Leto (Homer, *Iliad* 21.493-6).

Such is the picture of the goddess left by the Homeric epic. This early tradition depicts the goddess as *Potnia Theron*, herself compared to a lion who kills women at random ("Zeus has made you a lion to women" Homer, *Iliad* 21.483-4), huntress of the wilderness who delights in the sounds of music as well as in thrilling *ololygai*. It is in this picture that one finds the starting point for her subsequent identification with the Great Mother, herself a goddess of the mountains, sprung from the mountain itself, mistress of animals, loving music and dance and ranging the mountains accompanied by the din and piercing sounds of her followers. The fact that Artemis is portrayed as a virgin is not a real obstacle against her identification with the Great Goddess, since the virginity of Artemis (which is

probably not original) might be due to a change in the meaning of the word "parthenos", originally used for an unmarried girl or even a young wife.³⁸⁹ According to Farnell³⁹⁰, epithets such as "λυσίζωνος", "λοχεία" and "σωδίνα" suggest that the goddess was not concerned with virginity but rather with the loss of it, particularly with childbirth. In the *Odyssey* (6.109), Artemis is called "παρθένος ἄδμής" which can be translated both as "unsubdued virgin" or "unmarried virgin", as "unmarried" is an alternate meaning of "ἄδμής", used especially for maidens.³⁹¹ We have also seen that in Asia the epithets "virgin" and "mother", applied to the same deity, were not seen as being contradictory.

The protection of animals, and especially of their young, is another feature shared by both Artemis and the Great Mother, in all her forms. These Oriental goddesses, to whom I have referred as the "Mother-Goddess type", are often represented in the company of animals, and Kybele in particular is often depicted holding in her arms a lion cub. A passage in Aischylos (*Agamemnon* 141-143), describes Artemis as one who is "gracious to the playful cubs of fierce lions and delights in suckling young of every wild creature that roves in the field".³⁹² Like the Mother Goddess who nurtures all life, Artemis is the nurse of young creatures, the *kourotrophos*.

The goddess who protects can also destroy. The stories of Attis, Kumbabos, Tammuz, Aktaion (once a hunting companion and favourite of Artemis³⁹³), of Endymion, as well as the stories of the many lovers of Ishtar, end in the same way, with the destruction (in some form or another) of the goddess' favourite. The goddess demands absolute devotion from her male companion, devotion which

³⁸⁹ Frisk 1965: 475 sv.; for the usage of "parthenos" to designate a maiden-mother, see Chantaine 1974: 858 sv.

³⁹⁰ Farnell 1977: 444.

³⁹¹ Liddell and Scott, 1968 *Greek-English Lexicon*, sv.

³⁹² Raffan's translation in Burkert 1985: 149.

³⁹³ See Fontenrose 1981: 33-47.

goes as far as self sacrifice (Hippolytos), self-mutilation (Attis, Kumbabos), yearly affliction (Tammuz) or some other kind of death (the eternal sleep of Endymion). In time, Artemis acquired other aspects which further identified her with Oriental deities, chthonic (through Hekate) and celestial (through Selene), but these developments occurred after her equation with the mother goddess had already taken place. These later features, although important, do not answer the question why Artemis became, with the Greek colonization of Asia Minor, the Mother Goddess *par excellence*. "The Mother Goddess type" is essentially a *Potnia Theron*, always depicted with a wild animal, ruling over the kingdom of nature, feared and worshipped with absolute devotion, a fertility goddess with power over life and death, delighting in music and dance as well as in savage cries, at the same time kind and cruel, pitiless towards her lovers, compassionate towards those in distress, protectress of wilderness but also of cities, the embodiment of the creative forces of nature and yet sometimes described as a "maiden". Aphrodite, Hera, Demeter and even the austere Athena, have some of these aspects. Aphrodite is the Mother Goddess at Aphrodisias in Karia, Hera at Samos, Demeter is the goddess usually identified by the Greeks with the Earth and Athena is addressed as "Mother" at Elis. However, when the Greek colonists had to give a name to the autochthonous "Mother Goddess", they usually called her Artemis. For, in the minds of these colonists and precisely because of her particular importance to them, the one goddess who inspired the kind of devotion and demanded such sacrifices as those asked by the Great Mother, the unquestionable mistress of nature, was Artemis.

The problem of Artemis in the east is far from being solved. This thesis has focussed on what happened to Artemis, but it recognizes nonetheless that other Greek goddesses (Hera, Aphrodite) were identified with an Asiatic precursor -- sometimes even the same ones-- in different places. Moreover, our knowledge of these Asiatic precursors is affected to a certain degree by their identification with a

Greek goddess as well as by the numerous syncretisms and points of contact among these goddesses themselves; Kybele began as Kubaba, goddess of Carchemish; Anat, Astart and Asherah-- three goddesses with their own natures-- have been combined to form the goddess known to the Greeks as Atargatis. Anahita, a goddess strongly influenced by Ishtar, was combined with Meter into Meter Anaïtis, while Artemis and Anahita became the Persian Artemis. Artemis and Inanna Ishtar were, at least in one instance, worshipped as Artemis Nana.

Much of the purely Asiatic character of these goddesses has also been subject to the interpretation of Greek sources, while the Phrygian language remains unknown. Whatever evidence can be extracted from cuneiform tablets as well as from Semitic and Persian myths sheds some light on the nature of these goddesses whose many common features make the analogy possible, but the risk of error is always present. One can only hope that more evidence will be made available and that with it, some of the problems will appear in a somewhat clearer light.

APPENDIX I

Orthia - The Pillar of Asherah?

Pausanias makes a point of stressing the foreign origin of Orthia (3.16.9: "Μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ὀρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξοάνον"). On the basis of the mask types uncovered at the sanctuary and of the presence there of what looks like an Asherah (a grove, tree or stylized tree, therefore an upright pillar which came to represent the goddess Asherah ³⁹⁴) as well as the ritual itself, a Punic or Phoenician origin of Ortheia has been argued by Carter: the goddess could have been brought to Lakonia by Phoenician traders sometime during the ninth century B.C.³⁹⁵ Tracing the prototypes of the two major types of masks, the "furrowed" demons and the idealized heroes, to Old Babylonian, Canaanite, Cypriot, Phoenician and Punic examples, and analysing the similarities between the Near Eastern-Punic cults and the Spartan cult, the author suggests that the goddess may have been established at Sparta by Phoenicians, Ortheia being the Greek name of Asherah-Tanit and describing the upright pillar which had represented the Ugaritic Asherah. Since the name of the goddess Asherah also became the name of the wooden poles which represented her,³⁹⁶ Ortheia (meaning "upright") could have been the Greek version of the upright pillar found in an Asherah. A further argument can be made. Astour derives the first half of the compound name of Atargatis not from an original Aramaic form of Astart but in a straight line from Asherah and translates it as "Asherah the Oppressor".³⁹⁷ If Orthia is a development of the Ugaritic goddess, the wife of the bull-god El to whom children were sacrificed,³⁹⁸ "Asherah the Oppressor" would very well fit into the context of a goddess who has kept her fondness for human

³⁹⁴ See Astour 1965: 187.

³⁹⁵ Carter 1987. 355-383.

³⁹⁶ See also Astour 1965: 187.

³⁹⁷ Astour 1965: 206.

³⁹⁸ Astour 1965: 86 and n.3, 206.

blood (Pausanias 3.16.11). One might view in a different light the passage of Pausanias which states that the wooden image held by the priestess of Orthia during the scourging, although initially small and light, could grow so heavy that it could hardly be carried whenever the scourgers spared the lash.³⁹⁹ Could the tradition of the growing weight of the xoanon be linked with the perception of Orthia-Asherah as "Oppressor"?

³⁹⁹ Pausanias 3.16.11: "...τὸ χόανον γίνεται βαρὺ καὶ οὐκέτι εὐφορον..." For "oppressor" as another meaning of the Greek "βαρὺ", see Woodhouse 1910 *sv.*

APPENDIX II

Artemis and her Asiatic counterparts⁴⁰⁰

1) Characteristics of the Hellenic Artemis shared by Asiatic goddesses

- Potnia Theron*: all Asiatic goddesses.
- Fertility goddess: all.
- Connected with water:
 - fresh: Kybele, Anahita, Ishtar.
 - sea: Atargatis, Asherah.
- Kourotrophos*: all to some extent, Ishtar, Kybele, Anahita in particular.
 - Asherah and Anat- divine nurses.
- Virginity: Anahita, Anat. Ishtar and Kybele also invoked as maidens.
- Dance, noisy retinue: Kybele, Ma, Anahita, Atargatis, Ishtar.
- Demand for human blood: Ma, Anat.
- Marginality: Kybele, Ma.
- Transitions:
 - childbirth: Ishtar.
 - children: Kybele, Ishtar.
 - dangerous situations: Kybele, Ishtar.
 - warfare: Atargatis, Ishtar.

2) Some of the Particularities of Artemis in Asia shared by other Asiatic goddesses

Ephesos

a) Iconography:

- "breasts" or round shaped objects: Kybele, ?Atargatis, Ishtar.
- turret crown: Kybele.
- flower: Anahita, Ishtar.
- animals: All goddesses.

⁴⁰⁰ See Tables I and II.

-woolen fillets: Atargatis.

-polos: Kubaba/Kybele.

-celestial symbols, zodiacal signs: Kybele, Atargatis, Tanit, Anahita, Ishtar.

b) Priesthoods:

-eunuch priests (Megabyzos): Kybele, Atargatis.

-Essenoi or priests concerned with sacred banquets: Kybele.

-akrobatai: Kybele.

c) Cult:

-temple facing west: Kybele, Atargatis.

Sardis

a) Iconography

-ear of grain and poppy head: Atargatis.

-flower: Anahita, Ishtar.

-kalathos: Kybele.

-veil: Kubaba-Kybele.

-ornaments (necklaces, flower garlands): All.

-celestial symbols, zodiacal signs: Kybele, Atargatis, Tanit, Anahita, Ishtar.

c) Cult:

-protection of graves: Kybele.

Magnesia on the Maiander

a) Iconography:

-"breasts": Kybele, ?Atargatis, Ishtar.

-woolen fillets: Atargatis.

c) Cult:

-triad: Kybele, Atargatis.

Perge

a) Iconography:

-baityl: Kybele (as Agdistis, "She of the Rock").

-veil, kalathos: Kybele.

-celestial symbols, zodiacal signs: Kybele, Atargatis, Tanit, Anahita, Ishtar.

b) Priesthoods:

-wandering priests: Kybele.

c) Cult:

-protection of graves: Kybele.

3) Influence of the Hellenic Artemis on Asian goddesses

-deer became part of the iconography of Anahita only after her identification with the Greek goddess as the Persian Artemis.

4) Influence of Asian goddesses on Artemis

-columnar or aniconic representations.

-iconography: "breasts", polos, kalathos, veil, necklaces, flower garlands, winged youths, flowers, animals both real and fabulous.

-eunuchs, wandering priests.

-pompe, sacred banquets.

-triad formed by the goddess and two male gods, young and mature.

-celestial symbols, zodiacal signs.

-temples facing west.

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ARTEMIS AND HER ASIATIC COUNTERPARTS

TABLE I

Characteristics of the Hellenic Artemis shared by Asiatic goddesses

Hellenic Artemis	Kybele	Ma	Atargatis	Anahita	Ishtar
Potnia Theron	*	*	*	*	*
Fertility	*	*	*	*	*
Water:	*	*	*	*	*
Fresh	*			*	*
Sea			*		
Kourotrophos	*	*		*	*
Virginity	?*		*	*	?*
Dance, noisy					
retinue	*	*	*	*	*
Marginality	*	*			
Transitions					
Childbirth					*
Children	*				
Protection					
in disaster	*				*
Warfare			*		*

TABLE II
Some Particularities of Artemis in Asia
shared by other Asiatic Goddesses

Artemis in Asia	<u>Ephesos</u>				
	Kybele	Ma	Atargatis	Anahita	Ishtar
a) Iconography					
"Breasts"			?*		*
Turret crown	*				
Flower				*	*
Animals	*	*	*	*	*
Woolen					
fillets			*		
Polos	*				
Celestial					
symbols	*		*	*	*
Ornaments	*	*	*	*	*
b) Priesthoods					
Eunuchs	*	*	*		
Essenoi	*				
Akrobatai	*				
c) Cult					
Temple facing					
west	*		*		

Sardis

Artemis

in Asia

	Kybele	Ma	Atargatis	Anahita	Ishtar
--	--------	----	-----------	---------	--------

a) Iconography

Ear of grain/

poppy head

*

*

Flower

*

*

Kalathos

*

Veil

*

Ornaments

*

*

*

*

*

Celestial

symbols

*

*

*

*

b) Cult

Protection of

graves

*

Magnesia on the Maiander

a) Iconography

"Breasts"

*

?*

*

Woolen fillets

*

b) Cult

Triad

*

*

Perge

a) Iconography

Baityl

*

Veil, kalathos

*

Celestial symbols

*

*

*

*

b) Priesthoods

wandering priests *

c) Cult

Protection of graves *