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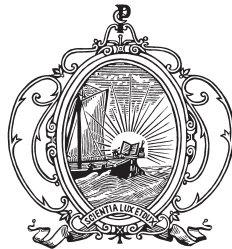
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BETWEEN TARHUNTAS AND ZEUS POLIEUS

Cultural Crossroads in the Temples and Cults
of Graeco-Roman Anatolia

Edited by

MARÍA-PAZ DE HOZ, JUAN PABLO SÁNCHEZ HERNÁNDEZ
and CARLOS MOLINA VALERO



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THE GODDESS OF SARDIS: ARTEMIS, DEMETER OR KORE?*

María-Paz DE HOZ

Abstract

Epigraphic, numismatic, literary and archaeological sources do not seem to agree in the identification of the main goddess of Imperial Sardis. The traditional Artemis Sardiane disappears from the epigraphic evidence in the 1st century AD, and it is not attested on coin legends, although her temple undergoes reconstruction in the time of Antoninus Pius. The Chrysanthina games and an archaic Anatolian cult image appear from the 1st century AD onwards as city symbols. Late in the 2nd century AD the image is accompanied by the legend Koraia Aktia on a coin, and other epigraphic evidence related to a goddess named Kore surfaces. Demeter is called the goddess of Sardis by Apollonius of Tyana; she symbolises the fertility of the city on coins of the 1st century AD in relation to the image of the emperors, and the Eleusinian myth becomes a usual coin-motif. This paper re-evaluates the existing material and concludes that Artemis Sardiane is still the main goddess of Sardis in the Imperial period, while it tries to explain the relation between the three goddesses and the apparent inconsistencies in the sources, focusing on the use of ancient traditions, Hellenic identification and cult syncretism by the self-representation politics of the city.

INTRODUCTION

If one were to walk through the ruins of the ancient city of Sardis and read the conclusions drawn by archaeologists regarding the temples contrasting them with the epigraphic sources, the obvious conclusion is that Sardis was the city of Artemis. Nevertheless, in the 1st century AD, Apollonius of Tyana calls Demeter the goddess of Sardis. This goddess appears on coinage next to the head of Tiberius, indirectly related to Livia and Octavia and, later on, by itself or in relation to the myth of Persephone's abduction. Furthermore, in the mid-1st century and especially during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, an archaic

* This paper has been drawn up within the research projects FFI 2011-25506 and FF 2011-29180, sponsored by the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación. In *BMC Lydia*, the numbers relate to Sardis coins (pp. 236–77). 'Paris' and 'Vienna' are references to coins from the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale and the Münzkabinett, Kunsthistorisches Museum, not published in *corpora*.

effigy that represented the patron goddess of the city was identified with Kore. The problems of interpretation posed by the literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources regarding who was the main patron goddess of Sardis have led modern scholars to propose different alternatives, which at times have been contradictory. The purpose of this article is to study the sources available for each of the deities mentioned above in order to move forward in the elucidation of this issue. In addition, due to the fact that this problem is directly connected to the question of Hellenisation and the survival of the local culture, as well as with the cultural politics in the cities located in Asia Minor during the Imperial period, this study intends to show a particularly significant example of cultural exchange and religious syncretism in Anatolia during this period.

ARTEMIS. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The archaeological record already attests to the functioning of the cult of Artemis from the 4th century BC. Around the year 500 BC, but probably from 499 BC when the temple of Cybele was destroyed (Herodotus 5. 102), a monumental altar in the shape of a stepped pyramid was constructed on the south side of the city – extramural – in the Pactolus valley. This is indeed the altar in which, according to Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1. 6. 7), Cyrus and Orontes swore upon before 401 BC, and it is to this phase that a stele engraved *ca.* 400 BC corresponds. This stele depicts Artemis next to Cybele, both of them standing, with staffs, the former taller and with a deer on her arms while the latter shorter and with a lion cub; on the right there are two worshippers (Fig. 1).¹ The identity of Artemis is confirmed by epigraphic inscriptions from the 6th to the 4th centuries BC written in Lydian, where she is known under the name Artimuk/Artimuś.² The construction of a new great temple at the beginning of the 3rd century BC marks a new phase confirmed by abundant Greek epigraphy. In this century, a long inscription shows that the sanctuary carried out important economic activities and had vast territories;³ the dedication of a statue of this goddess as a votive offering can be dated to this period as well.⁴ The continuity and importance of her cult is demonstrated by the existence of several Greek inscriptions found until the 2nd century AD:

¹ Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, no. 20, figs. 78–83; Cahill 2010, 438, no. 35 (with Greenewalt's comment on p. 234).

² Gusmani 1964, nos. 1, 2, 5, 11, 20, 23, 24, 26, 46; 1975, A I 2; *Sardis* VII 1, 85 (de Hoz 1999, 7.26).

³ *Sardis* VII 1, 1 = de Hoz 1999, 7.18.

⁴ *Sardis* VII 1, 87 = de Hoz 1999, 7.27.



Fig. 1. Stele depicting Artemis and Cybele (after Cahill 2010, 438, no. 35).

an honorific decree dedicated to a benefactor of the sanctuary that can be dated to the 2nd century BC;⁵ several dedications by priestesses dating from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, which appeared inscribed in marble balls of 30–35 cm of diameter, with the representation of a crown or a rosette,⁶ a custom that could be traced back to the 3rd century BC;⁷ yet, in another inscription found in the second half of the 1st century BC, Caesar offered the right to asylum to several temples in Sardis, among them the one belonging to Artemis Sardiane.⁸ Dating to this same century are the archaeological remains and epigraphic sources that demonstrate that Artemis receives Zeus Polieus as her *paredrus*. The ‘inhabitants of the temple of Zeus Polieus and Artemis’ (οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ τε Πολιέως Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οἰκοῦντες)⁹ promote an honorary decree for a euergetes of the city. It was during the time of the greatest political strife, between 41 and 31 BC, that the priestess Moschine dedicated a prayer to the goddess Artemis so that the city of Sardis would be continuously saved and in *homonoia*.¹⁰ In the 1st and 2nd century AD, the continuity and importance of the cult to Artemis is manifested through the dedication of the demos to the priestesses of the goddess.¹¹ These honorific inscriptions, similar to the ones that the demos of Pergamon dedicated to the goddess Athena Nikephoros,¹² commemorate the main priestesses of the main temple in the city. In the last phase of the epigraphic evidence, during the time of Antoninus Pius, the temple was the object of an important reconstruction. Among other reforms, the cella was divided to hold the cult to the emperor and his consort, Faustina Maior.¹³

From this moment on, the epigraphic evidence of the cult of Artemis disappears. This fact next to the absence, at least explicitly, of Artemis on the coinage of Sardis poses the first problem.¹⁴ Furthermore, during the pre-Imperial period, several cults of the goddess Artemis are attested in Sardis: those of Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Anaitis, Artemis Koloene and Artemis Sardiane. It is possible that the cults of Artemis Ephesia and Koloene were still in place in the 1st century BC in the city, even though the only evidence is the aforementioned

⁵ *Sardis* VII 1, 4 = de Hoz 1999, 7.19.

⁶ *Sardis* VII 1, 90–93 = de Hoz 1999, 7.28–31.

⁷ Cf. *Sardis* VII 1, 86.

⁸ Herrmann 1989 (*SEG* 39, 1290; *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1990, 307); Rigsby 1996, 433–37, no. 214; de Hoz 1999, 7.17.

⁹ *Sardis* VII 1, 8 = de Hoz 1999, 7.20.

¹⁰ *Sardis* VII 1, 50 = de Hoz 1999, 7.21.

¹¹ *Sardis* VII 1, 51–53, 55 = de Hoz 1999, 7.22–25.

¹² *IvP* 489–525: 2nd century BC to 2nd century AD.

¹³ Hanfmann 1983a, 145; Price 1984, 260; Yegül 2010, 382–83.

¹⁴ Artemis appears only in mints from the 2nd–1st centuries BC as the huntress Greek Artemis following a 3rd-century Ephesian model (*BMC Lydia* 53).

deteriorated inscription of declaration of *asylia* to a series of temples by Caesar. Besides, it is not clear if this decree refers to the temples of these goddesses in Sardis, Ephesus and Koloe respectively.¹⁵ Artemis Anaitis is attested in two private inscriptions from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD,¹⁶ but it seems clear that the Artemis without epithet in the Imperial inscriptions refers to Artemis Sardiane, still designated with the ethnical in the honorific dedication of one of her priestesses.¹⁷

DEMETER

At the same time that the demos dedicated honorific inscriptions to the priestesses of Artemis, apparently as the patron goddess of the city (see above), in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD another goddess, Demeter, appears not only in the numismatic and epigraphic examples of the period but also in the literary references of Sardis. This is the goddess that Apolonius Tyanensis, who lived in the 1st century AD, considers the goddess of the city of Sardis when in a letter (*Epistulae* 75, cf. 75a) addressed to its inhabitants he says: ‘... you would think that your city belonged to the Erinyes and not Demeter. But the goddess is *philanthropos*, so why are you so enraged?’

Demeter, Symbol of Wealth. Numismatic Evidence

Head dates a coin to the 2nd century BC, post 133, where Dionysus appears in the obverse and the figure of Demeter in the reverse; she is depicted standing and dressed with the *chiton* and the *peplos* holding heads of grain on her right hand and a long torch on the other hand.¹⁸ Demeter also seems to have been represented with veil, heads of grain, poppies and supported by a sceptre in coinage from AD 80 to AD 100, whose obverse carries the inscription IEPA ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ and the bust of the senate.¹⁹

The heads of grain also appear on coinage from the reigns of Tiberius and Nero, but in another context: Livia, seated and supported by a sceptre, holds three heads of grain on her outstretched left hand. In the obverse of the same coin, Tiberius extends his right hand towards the goddess of the city, Sardis,

¹⁵ See n. 8.

¹⁶ de Hoz 1999, 3.67–68. Pausanias attests the existence of a sanctuary for the Persian Artemis in Sardis ca. 323–322 BC. For evidence of the different facets of Artemis in Sardis, see Hanfmann 1983a, 129–30; de Hoz 1999, pp. 34–35.

¹⁷ *Sardis* VII 1, 55 = de Hoz 1999, 7.25.

¹⁸ *BMC* Lydia 60, pl. XXIV.17.

¹⁹ Johnston 1981, 46: *SNG* Copenhagen 506.

who prostrated before him on one leg, also offers the heads of grain.²⁰ Octavia is also represented with the heads of grain over her head.²¹ The reverse of this coin leads to another frequent representation on the coins of Sardis from this moment on: a goddess that Head identifies with Demeter (or Hekate-Selene) with a long chiton and fluttering veil, who rides a chariot driven by two winged serpents; she carries a long torch on each hand; over this image a crescent moon can be discerned.

The chariot driven by serpents is typical of Attic iconography of Triptolemus, which served as a model for the coinage of Cyzicus or the Hellenistic relief from the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon.²² Nevertheless, the use of the chariot as the vehicle of Demeter herself is a Roman motif that appears for the first time in Roman Republican coinage from 76 to 48 BC, in which Ceres symbolised the Roman *aurea aetas*.²³ The representation of the emperors in Rome and the image of Ceres and Triptolemus with the serpent chariot is the original iconographical model in which the representations of the empresses in Sardis were based. Here they appear with heads of grain, and the goddess Demeter is mounted on a chariot pulled by serpents in the reverse of the coin of Octavia. The Roman model travels to the East, where it is attested for the first time in a coin from Thessaloniki during the reign of Tiberius, and it spreads through different cities of Asia Minor, some of them in Lydia, from the reigns of Nero to Domitian, and then with the Antonine dynasty.²⁴ The crescent moon in the coin of Octavia in Sardis would have been a local element that can also be seen in the cult image of the goddess that represents the city (see below).

The Abduction of Persephone. A Local Version of a Panhellenic Myth

Nevertheless, in some other coins, the goddess Demeter appears standing, either supported by or holding one or two torches, with either serpents coiling at her feet,²⁵ or with a serpent emerging from the earth.²⁶ In a coin from the

²⁰ *BMC* Lydia 98.

²¹ *BMC* Lydia 125, pl. XXVI.7. Both *Agrippae* are also assimilated to Demeter on coins of Philadelphëia and Magnesia ad Sipylum (Herrmann 1998, 507, with other examples from outside Lydia). Faustina Minor is represented the same way in Cyzicus, though as Kore Soteira, as stated through the legends (Marten 2003, 120–22). Also Tyche has poppies and grain heads on a Sardinian mint of Caracalla (*BMC* Lydia 182; cf. *BMC* Lydia 176).

²² Lindner 1994, 123.

²³ Lindner 1994, 123–24. For the same type in other places, cf. 122–27.

²⁴ Lindner 1994, 127–28.

²⁵ *BMC* Lydia 138: Antoninus Pius.

²⁶ *BMC* Lydia 138, 154, 173, 193: Antoninus Pius, Iulia Domna, Iulia Soemias and Tranquillina.

reign of Antoninus Pius, Demeter directs the flaming torch towards an open pit from where a coiled snake emerges.²⁷

The connection between the numismatic iconography of Demeter and the Eleusinian myth in Sardis is manifested by the explicit iconographic motif of the abduction of Persephone, found on coins of Vespasian,²⁸ Trajan²⁹ and again, on coins from the end of the 2nd century AD, between the reigns of Commodus and Caracalla.³⁰ In the first two mints mentioned above, the bust of the emperor appears on the obverse and the abduction motif, with Hades riding in a quadriga and tugging at Persephone, in the reverse. In the third mint there are some additional elements: above the horses' head stands Eros with two torches; underneath the horses there is an overturned flower basket and a snake emerging from the earth. In the obverse, instead of the bust of the emperor, the goddess of the city appears with a veil among towers, and the inscription: ΑΣΙΑΣ ΛΥΔΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ Α ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΣΑΡΔΙΣ.

The representations of a goddess with heads of grain and torches, and that of the abduction of Persephone allude to the myth of Demeter and Persephone as it appears in the Greek literary evidence from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* dated to the end of the 7th century BC or to the early 6th century BC. The flowers, represented in the coins from the 2nd century AD, play a fundamental role in the part devoted to the abduction in the Hymn (vv. 6–8: roses, saffron, violets, gladioli, hyacinth and narcissus). In the Homeric Hymn the snakes are only mentioned as dragons that pull the chariot that the goddess gives to Triptolemus so that he could sow wheat throughout the earth. In the numismatic iconography of Sardis, these snakes are a particularly prominent element. In some cases the snakes emerge from the earth, quite possibly referring to the underworld god that abducted Persephone, but in other cases they appear next to the feet of the goddess Demeter coiled in a spiral, almost as if they were dancing. A passage of the Orphic Hymn to Demeter alludes to the snakes that dance around the goddess, perhaps referring to an Asian religious ritual (40. vv. 14–15):

ἄρμα δρακοντείουσιν ὑποζεύσασα χαλινοῖς
ἐγκυκλίους δίναις περὶ σὸν θρόνον εὐάζουσα (corrected by B. Hermann as
εὐαζόντων).

Translation

having yoked (Demeter) a chariot with dragon brakes that make the religious cry with cyclic dances around her throne.

²⁷ *BMC Lydia* 138, pl. XXVI.11.

²⁸ Johnston 1981, 50, no. 277: *SNG Copenhagen*.

²⁹ *BMC Lydia* 131.

³⁰ *BMC Lydia* 89, pl. XXVI.1.

I believe that B. Hermann's amendment³¹ is corroborated by the iconography found in coinage that clearly connects the snake dance with the goddess Demeter. The probability that the Orphic Hymns were composed in the area of Asia Minor, more specifically in Pergamon, which was part of Lydia, has already been proposed by Kern. He based his conclusions in the presence of Meter Hipta and Zeus Sabazios in the Hymns. These gods are attested in Lydian inscriptions, and his observation has recently been reaffirmed by new data.³² The snakes are a central element in the Lydian myths and religious cult. They appear in the ancient sculptural representation of the altar of Cybele (6th century BC), where they are depicted standing on either side of the goddess;³³ they also appear in a votive marble in which a feminine figure with archaic features is shown holding a snake on her right hand;³⁴ in addition, they appear in the stele found in Kula, which can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, with a representation of Demeter, Artemis (in the guise of Cybele) and Nike: the throne of Artemis is decorated with two flanking lions over two heads of bulls, while two small snakes top the sides of the back of the throne; there are two bigger snakes that crawl upwards on Demeter's right and Artemis' left (Fig. 2).³⁵ Moreover, the snake is considered to be a central attribute in the Lydian myth of Heracles, as can be seen in the posterior side of the ancient altar of Cybele already mentioned above, and also in a number of coins, as well as in the Lydian legend of Tylos and Masnes where Tylos, predecessor of the Lydians, dies at the hands of a snake that is later killed by the giant Masnes, and is resurrected thanks to a magic plant with which the female snake tries to resuscitate the dead male snake.³⁶

As Lindner has pointed out, the iconography of Demeter in a snake-driven chariot could correspond to an Imperial panegyric iconographic formula or to the iconography of a local myth in the self-representation of the city.³⁷ In the case of Sardis, this iconography appears to have been related to an Imperial panegyric after the reconstruction of the city following the earthquake of

³¹ Hermann 1827.

³² Kern 1910, 102–04. Cf. Morand 2001, 194–97 with references in n. 203, and for discussion on the possibility that the original location of the Hymns can be traced to Pergamon.

³³ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969; Hanfmann 1983a, fig. 150; 1983b, 224–25, pl. 43; Greenewalt 2010, fig. 1.

³⁴ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969, 268; Hanfmann 1983a, fig. 149.

³⁵ Vermaseren 1977, fig. 16. For the inscription, see TAM 6, 244 = de Hoz 1999, 3.22. Demeter and Artemis have moon crescents among their attributes.

³⁶ On this story, see Xanthos, *apud* Pliny NH 25. 5. 14; Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 25. 451–453; BMC Lydia CXI–CXIII (Head); Gusmani 1960; Herter 1965.

³⁷ Lindner 1994, 131.



Fig. 2. Stele depicting Demeter, Artemis and Nike (after Vermaseren 1977, fig. 16).

AD 17. The initial motif would have been extended to the myth of Persephone's abduction and its different episodes (abduction and search). This iconography was widely used in the cities from Asia Minor, especially Cyzicus and the nearby Nysa, possibly following a local version that can be found in the Orphic Hymns. In these Hymns, Demeter and Persephone play a central role, and the abduction seems possibly to have taken place on the eastern side of the Mediterranean Sea (*cf.* Orphic Hymn 18 to Plouton).³⁸ The Eleusinian version, in which Triptolemus spreads the seed, also appears in Sardis in the

³⁸ On Persephone's abduction in Nysa, see Lindner 1994, 112–16. On the same event in Cyzicus, Martin 2003, 116–17.

3rd century AD, but readapted to a local myth: it is possible that the Lydian hero Tylos is the one represented, in the manner of Triptolemus, in the obverse of a coin of Iulia Domna.³⁹

Epigraphic Evidence for the Cult of Demeter in Sardis

However, the Demeter that symbolises the fertility of the city in the coins and gives said city a role in the Panhellenic myth of the abduction of Persephone is not simply a symbol. Her cult has been attested in a Lydian inscription of the 4th century BC and it reappears in the Hellenic (and possibly mysteric) context with the epithet Karpophoros in an inscription dated to *ca.* AD 50.

A rectangular altar made out of white marble with acroteria, found in the north east of Sartmustafain, the ancient city of Sardis, *ca.* 1 km west of the Pactolus, contains two inscriptions in opposite sides of the altar that were respectively dedicated to an *agoranomus*, *grammateus* of the demos and holder of other offices, and to a priestess of Demeter Karpophoros who is related to him. On the other remaining sides of the altar, it is possible to discern two torches joined by a bow and a *kalathos* from where a snake emerges flanked by two torches.

The text of the second inscription, dedicated to the priestess of the goddess, says the following:⁴⁰

Ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν
 Κλαυδίαν Θεογένους
 θυγατέρα καυειν,
 γυναῖκα δὲ Κλαυδίου
 Διοδώρου Λαχανᾶ,
 μήτηρ δὲ Κλαυδίων
 Θεογένους καὶ Μη-
 νογένους καὶ Διοδώ-
 ρου, ἱέρειαν Δήμητρος
 Καρποφόρου, ἥτις
 ἐνθάδε καθιέρωται.

Translation:

The citizens have honoured Klaudia daughter of Theogenes, priestess, wife of Klaudios Diodoros Lachanas and mother of the Klaudioi Theogenes, Menogenes and Diodoros, priestess of Demeter Karpophoros, consecrated here.⁴¹

³⁹ *BMC Lydia* 152, see pp. 112–13. See above with n. 37.

⁴⁰ Just mentioned in Greenewalt *et al.* 1987, 44–46, and first edited by P. Herrmann (1998) (= *SEG* 48, 1472).

⁴¹ *Cf.* Herrmann 1998, 505–06, who interprets the word *καθιερώω* as referring to the priestess. For parallels for the *consacratio* of the deceased, especially priests, to a divinity, see bibli-

It is noteworthy that the honoured is called priestess twice, one with the Lydian term *kauein*, without specifying the divinity, and the other one with the Greek term *hierēia* followed by the genitive of the goddess, Demeter Karpophoros. A woman by the name Melitine Theogenous, who according to Herrmann probably belongs to the same family as Klaudia Theogenous, is attested as *kauein* of Artemis.⁴² As a matter of fact, the term *kauein* in Greek inscriptions was attested only in relation to the goddess Artemis until the discovery of this text. Is it possible that Klaudia Theogenous may have been *kauein* of Artemis at the same time than *hierēia* of Demeter Karpophoros? Regardless, it is not impossible that the title *kauein* could be connected to the priesthood of Demeter, for it was attested in a Lydian funerary imprecation in which Demeter and Artemis are the invoked goddesses.⁴³ In addition, this Lydian inscription, found in Mersindere, 3 km west of Sardis, is explicit epigraphic evidence of the ancient presence of the goddess Demeter in Sardis, whose Lydian name *Lamêtruś* is a Greek borrowing.⁴⁴

The epithet Karpophoros of the goddess Demeter marks an attribute that, as can be inferred from the coinage, is the most appreciated in the city of Sardis.⁴⁵ Her cult was attested in the nearby cities of Pergamon, Ephesus and Dareiukome, 40 km north east of Sardis.⁴⁶ The iconography of the torches and the *cista mystica* in the inscribed altar as well as in the numismatic iconography probably alludes to the celebration of mysteries, attested in Ephesus and in the *Almourenon katoikia*, in the Kaystros valley.⁴⁷

Demeter is used in the 1st century AD as the symbol of productivity and wealth of the city of Sardis in connection with Roman panegyric, and as element to link a Panhellenic myth with ancient local traditions. At the same time she is the object of a cult that was probably in place at least since the 4th century BC in which she was worshipped by the Lydians.

ography in Herrmann 1998, n. 28 and de Hoz 1997. I think that what we have here is a *post-mortem* dedication.

⁴² *Sardis* VII 1, 51.

⁴³ Gusmani 1964, no. 26. On the Lydian word *kaues*, cf. Hipponact (Diehl 5); Masson 1950, with the epigraphic, literary and further evidence.

⁴⁴ Cf. Gusmani 1964, 158 s.v., with references for the alternation *d/l* and the root in *-u*.

⁴⁵ Cf. Herrmann 1998, 507–08 for parallels of this epithet of the goddess.

⁴⁶ H. Hepding, *AM* 35 (1910), 442, no. 25; *I.Ephesos*. 10 l. 28; 1210, cf. 1228; *TAM* 5 2, 1335 = de Hoz 1999, 14.1; possibly also *TAM* 5 2, 1336.

⁴⁷ *SIG*³ 820 = *I.Ephesos*. 213: annual μυστήρια καὶ θυσίαι for Demeter Karpophoros and Thesmophoros, *ed. pr.*; *I.Ephesos* 3252 = de Hoz 1999, 14.2.

THE IMAGE OF THE SARDIAN GODDESS. ARTEMIS OR KORE?

The existence of a cult dedicated to a goddess named Kore, be that an ancient Lydian Kore or the Greek Persephone, is more complicated to establish. Various scholars have identified Kore with an archaic image bearing Asian features that appears in the coinage of Sardis for the first time during the reign of Nero and then becomes the representative effigy of the city.⁴⁸ The representation on this coin probably corresponds to a cult statue: a standing goddess, with a long *chiton* that covers her all the way to the tip of her feet, with a mantle placed over the *polos* above her head, and raising her arms at either side of her body; the folds of the *chiton*, that forms pleats at each side of the lower part of her body, are characteristic of this goddess and without any other known parallel; the chest area is divided into four parts: a wider band with a smooth surface; another band of equal size but convex; and a row of five round objects. In many cases, the image of this goddess is flanked by heads of wheat and/or poppies or pomegranates.⁴⁹ Precisely, one of the clearest representations of this goddess is located in the *cistophori* of Hadrian (Fig. 3),⁵⁰ the first testimony of this iconography after the one from Nero's reign. The rigid pleats that form the *chiton* in these *cistophori* assimilate a head of grain, the features of the face are very schematic, and the figure is flanked by heads of wheat and a pomegranate. What stands out the most is the fact that apparently these *cistophori* were minted in the name of the city, but not in the city itself, and that in the following source, a mintage of Marcus Aurelius regarding the alliance between Sardis and Ephesus,⁵¹ this *xoanon* also represents the city. The image represents Sardis again in the mintages of the alliance with Hypaipa,⁵² with Ephesus⁵³ during the reign of Caracalla,⁵⁴ and with Hierapolis.⁵⁵ The identification of this goddess with the principal

⁴⁸ For the only known evidence in Nero's times (*SNG* von Aulock 8, Taf. 100, 3141), cf. Fleischer 1973, 187–88.

⁴⁹ On two different types of this image, see Fleischer 1973, 189–90. He mentions the image of Atargatis in Damascus for the same plants flanking the goddess. See Fleischer 1973, 188 for the appearance of the image on gems.

⁵⁰ Fleischer 1973, Taf. 81a.

⁵¹ Johnston 1981, no. 90.

⁵² *BMC* Lydia 218, pl. XLI.4.

⁵³ *BMC* Lydia 215.

⁵⁴ In another alliance coin with Ephesus – of Caracalla – Sardis is represented by Zeus Lydios (*BMC* Lydia 214).

⁵⁵ *SNG* von Aulock 3668 and 3670. Cf. L. Robert 1967, 70, who criticises Aulock the denomination 'Kultbild der Göttin von Sardeis' without specifying Kore as the name of the goddess. We may deduce from this observation that Robert identifies the archaic image with Kore as different from that of Artemis. See below.



Fig. 3. The goddess on a *cistophorus* of Hadrian (after Fleischer 1973, Taf. 81a).

goddess of the city is corroborated by the fact that she appears in coins that celebrate the second and third neocate: *ca.* AD 200–220 there is a mint with the image of this goddess in the reverse accompanied by the inscription ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ Β ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, and with the bust of the goddess of the city, turreted and with a veil in the obverse.⁵⁶ In the reverse of a coin, whose obverse carries the representation of Iulia Domna as Tyche with *kalathos* and cornucopia, appears the effigy of the goddess with the same inscription than in the previously mentioned coin, but this time with a crown on her right and a bucranium on her left; above the heads of wheat and poppies (or more probably, pomegranates), respectively.⁵⁷ In two mintages of Elagabalus⁵⁸ the inscription ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΤΡΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ celebrates the third neocate

⁵⁶ Johnston 1981, 47; *BMC Lydia* 90, 91, pl. XXVI.2. On the Sardinian neocates, see Burrell 2004, 100–15, with a list of epigraphic and numismatic evidence at 114–15.

⁵⁷ *BMC Lydia* 148, pl. XXVII.2; *cf.* *BMC Lydia* 149.

⁵⁸ *BMC Lydia* 170, 171, pl. XXVII.10.

of the city: on *BMC* Lydia 171 there are two cult effigies of the goddess and that of another male god or an emperor next to the representation of two temples with eight columns in the lower part and two sanctuaries or temple façades on the top; on *BMC* Lydia 170, the cultic statue appears with the inscription ΧΡΥΣΑΝΤΙΝΑ. The close relationship of this archaic image with Tyche as the personification of the city in the 3rd century AD confirms the importance of the divinity that it represents; in the coins of Caracalla (*BMC* Lydia 159) and Severus Alexander (*BMC* Lydia 177), Tyche appears before the *xoanon*, and between both figures, a bucranium and a crown that may allude to the Chrysanthina games or Koraia Aktia, games which were also representative of the city of Sardis (see below).⁵⁹ In another coin of Severus Alexander, *BMC* Lydia 176, Tyche already appears represented with the attributes of Kore, the head of wheat and the poppy or pomegranate, besides the *kalathos*, oar and cornucopia.

This image has an architectonic parallel in a capital found in 1958 during the excavation of the *gymnasion* and dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD (Fig. 4).⁶⁰ The goddess has been carved standing over what appears to be a bull's head; behind her shoulders, a crescent moon emerges, similar to the one that appears behind Artemis Anaitis when she is represented as Artemis Ephesia, next to Men, in a Lydian stele currently located in Leyden, or in the bust of the Artemis Ephesia in Selçuk.⁶¹ Hanfmann and Balmuth traced back the original image of Sardis to an Anatolian stele of the 7th century BC, coinciding with the date that has been proposed for the wooden statue of Artemis Ephesia and, perhaps, with the original image of the Artemis Anaitis of Hypaipa, which in any case has been dated to a period prior to the rise of the Persian empire.⁶² The bucranium and the moon crescent that accompany the goddess also on coins are typical divine Anatolian attributes that intensify the archaic and local character of the image.⁶³

⁵⁹ Cf. *BMC* Lydia 148: bust of Iulia Domna as Tyche on obverse; archaic cult image with its usual attributes and with moon crescent, bucranium and crown on reverse.

⁶⁰ Hanfmann 1959, 33; Hanfmann and Balmuth 1965, 261–64, pl. 34.1–2; Fleischer 1973, 187, 193, pl. 77.

⁶¹ Fleischer 1973, Taf. 39 and 23a; cf. 195 for other examples of Izmir and Sibiu.

⁶² Hanfmann and Balmuth 1965, 266; Fleischer 1973, 195. On the similarities between this image and the images of the Ephesian Artemis and the Artemis Anaitis in Hypaipa, see Fleischer 1973, 185–95.

⁶³ On these attributes, see van Haepere-Pourbaix 1984, 225–30.

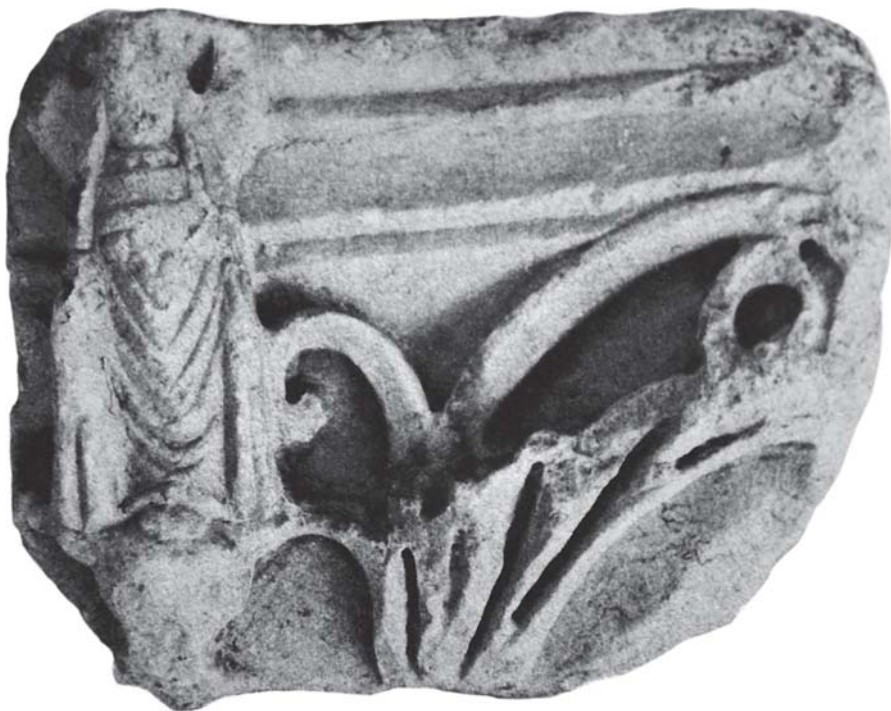


Fig. 4. Capital with image of the goddess (after Hanfmann 1983a, fig. 148).

KORE. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

In a coin of Caracalla⁶⁴ this cult image is accompanied by an inscription that commemorates the Koraia Aktia games (see below). This association has led to the identification of the divinity represented in the coinage image with Kore. The name of Kore also appears in some epigraphic sources.

Two images of the goddess Kore dedicated in Rome to a community, or association, of people from Sardis are dated to the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Even though these images have been lost, the dedications still remain, which were done respectively by Loukios Aur. Satyros and Markos Aur. Symphoros, Imperial *liberti*: θεάν·Κόρην Σαρδιανοῖς (*IGRR* 1, nos. 86, 87 = *IG XIV* 1008, 1009).

⁶⁴ Paris 1267 *apud* Johnston 1981, 13.

In AD 211/2 a certain Glykon, son of Glykon, dedicates the double statue of Koros and Euposia – children of Kore – to the emperors Caracalla and Geta and to the Imperial house, and also to the city of Sardis, the most beloved of all, ancestral homeland, and twice *neokoros*. The dedication is for bringing prosperity and a flourishing to the city and its territory. The statues, now lost, were placed in the *gymnasion* of the city, where the base has been found with the inscription:⁶⁵

ll. 4-8

...Κόρης παιδάς Κόρον Εὐπο[σίαν]
 ὑπὲρ εὐετηρίας καὶ εὐθαλείας πόλεως καὶ περιχώρου Σάρδε[ων]
 ἀνέθηκεν Γλύκων Γλύκωνος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ καὶ κυρί[α πατρίδι]
 πρῶτόχθονι καὶ β' νεωκόρῳ.

Satiety (Koros) and Abundance (Euposia) do not appear in any literary source as children of Kore, whether a local Kore or Persephone. The personification of both concepts adapts nevertheless perfectly to what this goddess and her mother Demeter ‘conceive’ for the mortals, and it responds to the same idea as the symbolism of the heads of wheat, which are systematically associated with the goddesses. What is especially significant for the interpretation of this dedication is the presence in the coins of Nysa of the head of the city’s Tyche with a cluster of wheat heads and the inscription of Koros, and the inscription of Euposia next to a cornucopia full of fruits.⁶⁶ In Hierapolis of Phrygia a certain Zeuxis dedicates the statue of the goddess Euposia to the emperors upon ending his term as *agoranomos*: τοῖς Σεπαστοῖς [καὶ]/ τῷ δήμῳ θεὰ<ν> Εὐπο/σίαν Ζεῦξι<ς> Ζεὺ<ξ>ι</δ>ος τοῦ Μενεστράτο[υ]/ <φιλό>πατρὶς ἀγο<ρ>ανο/μ[ή]<σ>ας ἐκ <τ>ῶν ἰδίων/ ἀνέθηκε (*Alt. von Hierapolis* 26).⁶⁷ It is possible that Glykon made his dedication as a sort of prayer to obtain a good harvest in the city whilst holding a similar position. In various inscriptions of Imperial Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 917, 921, 923, etc.) there appears a proclamation of abundance (κόρος) next to the *ἀγνεία* of the city during the term of the *agoranomos*. Abundance (κόρος) is also requested, along with peace, wealth and health, in the Orphic Hymn to the goddess Athena (32, ll. 15–16).

⁶⁵ Greenewalt 1973, no. 27, Abb. 8; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 32; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 277, Abb. 470; *SEG* 28, 927; *SEG* 36, 1095.

⁶⁶ *BMC* Lydia 22, Nysa (Koros in Antoninus Pius’ times; other coins at the same time with ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΙΣΑΕΩΝ in obverse: *BMC* Lydia 20, 21). For Euposia, see Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 108–09, no. 12 (Domitian and Domitia); Regling 1913, no. 69, pl. 13; *LIMC* IV s.v. Eubosia, Euposia, no. 4.

⁶⁷ For the cult of Thea Euposia in Hierapolis, see *LIMC* IV s.v. Eubosia, Euposia, nos. 1–2; *BMC* Phrygia, p. 69 and nos. 35–38 (Annia Faustina). For Koros and Euposia, see Lindner 1994, 158, 194; Robert 1949, 75–76. See Strabo 12. 8. 17 for the existence of a Charonion in Hierapolis.

And it is attested as well as a personal name in Lydia: in Silandos (*TAM* 6, 56; AD 63/4) and in Thyateira (*CIG* 3674).⁶⁸

Moreover, Glykon also uses other abstract concepts well attested since Hellenistic times as symbols of the city's desired or obtained virtues. The εὐετηρία is mentioned with ὑγιεία and sometimes also with εἰρήνη in inscriptions from Delos from the 3rd–1st centuries BC (*IG* XI 2. 105, 108–113, 115, etc.). In Asia Minor it appears linked to similar concepts: in Lindos (ἐφ' οὗ ἡ εἰρήνη καὶ εὐετηρία ἐγένετο; *Lindos* 347, 42 BC); in Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 1398; 1st century AD); in Heraclea Pontica (ὑγίεια ῥ' πλοῦτος εἰρήνη εὐετηρία; *I.Heraclea Pont.* 69).⁶⁹ This concept, connected in the inscriptions to the concepts of peace, health, good constitution and salvation as the key virtues that the citizens wish for their city, is susceptible of being deified, just like the concepts of *koros* and *euposia*. In the 3rd–2nd centuries BC a door from the city of Smyrna receives the name of Eueteria (*I.Smyrna* 613a, where it is mentioned next to the door of Agathe Tyche), and, as in the case of the *agoranomos* of Hierapolis who makes a dedication of Euposia, already in the 1st century BC, an *agoranomos* of Gortyna made a dedication of Eueteria (*IC* IV 250, 252). Nonetheless, it is during Imperial times that evidence of the deification of the concept abound. The connection between Kore and Pluto appear in Corinth in the 2nd century AD: ...καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς/ τῆς Εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ τὸ Πλου/τόνιον καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις καὶ τὰ ἀναλήμματα ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ παλαιότητος δια/λελυμένα ἐπεσκεύασεν ὁ αὐτὸς... (*IG* IV 203). In Asia Minor, Eueteria is deified in Kasara (*I.Rhod.Peraia* 51, Imp.), Pergamon (*AM* 37 [1912], 287, 18; second half of the 2nd century AD), Kamiros (Agatha Tyche Eueteria: *Tit.Cam.* 145) and in Seleucia of Cilicia (*MAMA* 3. 6: Seleukeia Kalykadnos).

The personification and deification of these and other similar concepts is a very Greek phenomenon that can be seen since Hellenistic times in various places of the Aegean; and in Asia Minor it is the ancient Greek cities the first to adopt them. In spite of this, the special relevance placed on the symbolism of wealth and fertility of the land in Sardis has a long standing tradition that can be observed from the oldest Greek literature and continuing to the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis (13. 466–467.), where expressions as Πλούτοιο

⁶⁸ Cf. also Mionnet III, 363 (Nysa) and *CIG* 3674 (Cyzicus, post AD 166). The anthroponyme Euposia is not attested in Lydia, but it is attested in other places of Asia Minor: Claros (*SEG* 37, 968; AD 2); Kyzikene (*IMT KyzPropKüste* 1933, AD 3); Cibyra (*I.Kibyra* 186).

⁶⁹ Cf. in Tomis: καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑγίας /τε κὲ σωτηρίας τ[ε] κὲ/ εὐετ<η>ρίας τῆς μητρο/πόλεως Τόμεως (*I.Scyl.Min.* 2 116; AD 169–172).

τιθήνας / Σάρδιας εὐώδινας can be found.⁷⁰ Glykon's dedication is understood within the general tradition of the time, particularly in Asia Minor, of making dedications to abstract deified concepts such as abundance, peace, health, etc., and also within the tradition that highlights and promotes the own quality of the city of Sardis as a wealthy and productive land. The inscription is not testimony of the existence of a cult to Koros and Euposia. These goods, representing the virtues of the city, stand out through their deification, which is made by attributing a divine mother to them. The dedication is a petition to the emperors that is reinforced through the panegyric of the city. It is thus not devoid of meaning that this is named 'sovereign ancestral homeland and twice *neokoros*'. It is roughly during the same period of time that the aforementioned coin *BMC* Lydia 89 was minted with the inscription *Asias Lydias Hellenados Metropolis Sardis*. The city's propaganda is made through titles that recall its antiquity and adherence to different cultural worlds, and by claiming its virtues transformed into gods. The fact that the statues were placed in the *gymnasion* confirms the symbolic and propagandistic value rather than cultic dedication.

Apart from this epigraphic evidence, there is another one of doubtful ascription to Sardis. In Allahdiyen, south of Sardis, a tombstone dated to the 1st or 2nd century AD was found with a votive offering dedicated to Mên Kamareites, Pluto and Kore for attending the pleas. An iconographic representation shows a winged Nike with a palm.⁷¹ Mên Kamareites is associated with Pluto and Kore in Nysa where this Mên is attested numismatically.⁷² The sanctuary of Pluto and Kore in Acharaka near this city is well known from written and archaeological evidence.⁷³ This led the first editor of the inscription to think that the tombstone may originally have come from the region of Nysa.

Lastly, although also of questionable origin and interpretation, P. Hermann has suggested the possibility of the existence of mysteries dedicated to the goddess Kore in Sardis.⁷⁴ In Allahdiyen, 9 km south-west of the city, a base

⁷⁰ Quoted by Weiss (1995, 87–89), who refers also to the epigram dedicated to Kore's children and to other literary texts, some of them not so well known, such as the poem of the Macedonian Hypatos (*Anthologia Palatina* 9. 645). The fertility of the city and its territory is probably the feature that was aimed to be reflected on the basement from Puteoli, copy of a dedication made in Rome in AD 30 by 14 cities from Asia Minor that had been privileged by Trajan after the terrible earthquake that seriously damaged Western Asia Minor in AD 17. Sardis is there represented as a matron, with a little child by her feet and a rhyton in her hands (Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 180–81).

⁷¹ Malay 1994, 165, Abb. 56; de Hoz 1999, 35.2, *cf.* p. 16, n. 75.

⁷² *BMC* Lydia, p. 177, no. 36.

⁷³ Strabo 14. 1. 44; *cf.* Robert and Robert 1954, 295.

⁷⁴ Herrmann 1996, 335–39.

was found containing an agonistic inscription dedicated to a citizen of Sardis and Hypaipa who won a boxing competition. It was dated by the *boularches* and the *agonothetes* and contained a mention to the titlature of Sardis that is common in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (ἐν τῇ πρωτόχθονι κ(αί) ἱερᾷ τῶν θεῶν καὶ μητροπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρω τῶν Σεβαστῶν κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου φίλη καὶ συμμάχῳ Ῥωμαίων Σαρδιανῶν πόλει). The inscription also registers the name of two *xystarchai archenbatai* (ξυσταρχούντων ἀρχενβατῶν...). The term ἐμβαταί is attested in relation with the consultants of the oracle of Claros, often referred to the initiated in the mysteries.⁷⁵ But ἐμβαταί are attested also in relation of the mysteries of Kore in Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* II 1, 726): κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα/ Κόρης μυστῶν σηκοῦ/ καὶ ἐνβατῶν/ τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ.... Hermann suggests the possibility that the festival in question may be that of the Chrysanthina, which are dedicated to Kore (see below) according to some authors, and that the *xystarchai* (presidents of the games) may also be initiated in the mysteries of Kore, or members of a special group with permission to enter in the *adyton*. Perhaps they were similar to the *eisporuomenoi* from the cult of Zeus Bagadates known through the famous inscription of Sardis, which is a 2nd-century AD copy of a 4th-century BC text that prohibits the ‘*neokoroi therapeutai* that enter in the *adyton*’ (τοῖς /εἰσπορευομένοις εἰς τὸ ἄδυτον νεωκόροις θεραπευταῖς) to participate in the mysteries of Agdistis, Sabazios and Ma.⁷⁶

THE GAMES OF THE CHRYSANTHINA AND THE KORAIA AKTIA

The archaic image of the goddess that clearly represents the city of Sardis in the coins appears in two mints in relation to the games that were attested as well through the epigraphy of Sardis and other cities such as Ephesus or Rome: the Chrysanthina and the Koraia Aktia. In the reverse of a coin of Caracalla, the legend KOPAIA AKTIA appears inscribed on the base where the goddess is seated.⁷⁷

The establishment of the Chrysanthina was dated by the first editors of the epigraphic evidence, Buckler and Robinson, to the time of Septimius Severus.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Picard 1922, 303–11, cited by Herrmann 1996, 337, n. 70.

⁷⁶ Robert 1975; Sokolowski 1979, 65–69; Herrmann 1996, 329–35; de Hoz 1999, 2.1.

⁷⁷ Paris 1267, *apud* Johnston 1981, 13. On the commemoration of *agones* and festivals in coins of Asia Minor from Severan times onward, especially when they have been granted Imperial concessions, see Harl 1987, 63–70. On the case of Sardis, Johnston 1981, 12–14. On agonistic types on coins in the East and main representations, see Klose 2005.

⁷⁸ Buckler and Robinson 1932, 82–83.

This was accepted by Hanfmann, who justified it with the particular revival of local cults and myths documented in this time, when there are also recorded the most magnificent constructions, the largest games and festivals, and the greatest grandiloquence.⁷⁹ In the 1960s, Louis Robert established a date of *ca.* AD 150–175 and attributed them to the goddess Kore.⁸⁰ This proposal is also found in Moretti and Johnston, based above all in the mention to the games in the inscriptions of Ephesus and Rome,⁸¹ and coincides roughly with the one proposed by Caldelli after conducting an exhaustive analysis of all the testimonies. The author of this research has reached the conclusion that the Chrysanthina already existed during the reign of Marcus Aurelius – Commodus, though an earlier foundation cannot be excluded; that they still existed in the times of Valerian and Gallienus; and that they show especial vitality during the Severan dynasty when it is apparent that the emperor donated money to the games and promoted them, a peak that is commemorated through the minting of coins.⁸² In the year AD 177 the games were named *isopythioi*: Χρυσάνθινον ἰσοπύθιον ἐν Σάρδεσιν.⁸³ In several times they were identified as ‘the first sacred *Chrysanthinoi eis elastikoi* games, accessible to all the oikoumene’ ([τ]ῶ[ν] π[ρ]ώτων ἀ/[γ]ώνων Χρυσανθίνω[ν]/ [ἰερ]ῶ[ν] εἰσε]λαστ[τ]ικῶν/ [τῶν εἰς τῆ]ν οἰκο[υ]μέ/[ν]ην).⁸⁴ Furthermore, the games are denominated as *protoi* in *Sardis* VII 1, 7, 79, and the letter A is inscribed in the agonistic wreath and encircled by the name of the games in *BMC Lydia* 196 and 201.⁸⁵

In any case, the name is not explicitly related to a specific theonym. Buckler and Robinson attributed the name to the marigold (χρυσανθές) that was consecrated to the goddess Artemis, or more probably to Chrysanthe, a divine cultic epithet that appears in a dedication from the 4th century BC in the Latmian Gulf published in *I. Didyma* 125.⁸⁶ However, neither Rehm and Harder nor Buckler and Robinson offer parallels for the consecration of the marigold to Artemis, and it is unknown who is the goddess to whom the epithet in the

⁷⁹ Hanfmann 1983a, 145–46.

⁸⁰ *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1963, 34

⁸¹ Moretti 1953, 220–21, comment to no. 75; Johnston 1981, 13 (institution in the first quarter of the 2nd century AD).

⁸² Caldelli 1995, 62–70. See Caldelli (1995) for a list of epigraphic testimonies; Fraser (1981, n. 16) for epigraphic and numismatic evidence; Johnston (1981, 13) for numismatic evidence.

⁸³ Blümel and Malay 1993, 132, l. 13 (*SEG* 43, 731).

⁸⁴ *Sardis* VII 1, 77, ll. 13–17.

⁸⁵ For a letter inscribed in a wreath in Nysa and Magnesia ad Maeandrum denoting the range of the cities within the province, see Robert 1987, 66–68. On the achievement of the categories of *hieroi*, *eis elastikoi*, *oikoumenikoi* and *isopythioi* by games in Imperial cities of Asia Minor, see Klose 2005, 126–27.

⁸⁶ Buckler and Robinson 1932, 82–83. Cf. Fraser 1981, n. 15.

Latmian Gulf inscription is dedicated. Following Head, J. and L. Robert explain the name as a reflection of Kore's myth and the prize earned by the winners. Thus the name would symbolically allude to the golden flowers that must have been given to the winners of the game, in the same way that crowns could have been made some times with flowers, and therefore the points that appear in the crowns of some coins may represent the flowers.⁸⁷ Going back to the proposals, and thinking about Kore's golden flowers when she was kidnapped – which are represented in the coins of the city – Fraser points out that in an inscription related to these games copied by Acland there were – according to him – two roses above and underneath the text.⁸⁸

Indeed, the flowers play a key role at the start of the myth of Persephone's kidnapping (Homeric Hymn to Demeter 2, vv. 6–8), when the goddess was picking roses, saffron, violets, gladioli, hyacinths and narcissi in the meadow of Leimon. Among these flowers, the saffron is particularly related to the subterranean gods, and besides κρόκος, as it is named in Homeric Hymn to Demeter 2, v. 6, it is also named χρυσανθής 'golden flower' in Nicander *fr.* 74. 69 (*apud* Athenaeus 15. 31. 74) and in *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 256 (Meleager). However, the flowers do not appear in coinage iconography related to Persephone's kidnapping until the end of the 2nd century AD. But on top of this, of all the flowers gathered by Persephone according to the Homeric Hymn, the narcissus is the one that seemingly had a symbolic value connected to the goddess according to the literary evidence.⁸⁹

The data also do not support the possibility of a connection with Chrysanthis – the woman that learns about the kidnapping and tells Demeter when she arrives in the home of Pelasgus in Argos according to the version narrated by Pausanias (1. 14. 2).⁹⁰ This character is unknown in other versions and it does not appear to have any connection to the location of the myth in Asia Minor.

The commentary found in the *Etymologicum Magnum* on the term Ἐλίχρυσος, 'a type of flower', supports a connection to Artemis: ... Ἐπὸ Ἐλιχρύσης τινὸς Ἐφεσίας, ἥτις πρώτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθους τοῦ χρυσανθέμου ἐστεφάνωσε τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ('from certain Ephesian woman named Elichryse,

⁸⁷ *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1963. 234; cf. Robert 1976, 51, n. 17 (= *OMS* VI, 163); Robert in *CRAI* 1982, 268, n. 185 (*OMS* V, 831), quoting Dressel, who recognises flowers in the wreath on a coin of Caracalla with the inscription *Chrysanthina*. There could also be flowers in a wreath on a coin of Iulia Domna (*BMC Lydia*, pl. XXVII.3).

⁸⁸ Fraser 1981, 135.

⁸⁹ Cf. Sophocles *Oedipus Coloneus* 681–684 and *scholion* to this passage with discussion about the original wreath of Demeter and Kore, if it was made of narcissus or not. Cf. comment in Jeff's edition, p. 106; Richardson 1974, 144, commentary *ad* vs. 8.

⁹⁰ A possible relationship with this figure is already proposed by Guarducci (1969, 681). Cf. Richardson 1974, 141; Hanfmann 1983a, 92.

who was the first to crown Artemis with the chrysanthemum flower'). Taking into account that the woman to whom this tradition is attributed is Ephesian, and given the relation between the Ephesian and the Sardian Artemis, it would not be strange for the name to be linked to Artemis in Sardis. Nonetheless, the relation between Artemis and the chrysanthemum appears in Dioscorides (*De materia medica* 113), where the name of the goddess is used for the flower: ἀρτεμισία ἑτέρα πολύκλωνος· οἱ δὲ χρυσάνθεμον, Ῥωμαῖοι ῥάνιουμ, οἱ δὲ ἔρβα Διανάρια, οἱ δὲ ἀρτεμισίαμ.

Although I am inclined to support the idea that there is a link between the name and the goddess Artemis, we cannot discard the proposition that it may be related to the city of Sardis in a more general way, instead of being linked directly with any of its goddesses. The component χρυσ- is particularly linked to Sardis in literature due to the wealth of gold that originated from the Pactolus river and the active gold mines in that city, where an important refinery existed since the times of Ardys or Alyattes.⁹¹ The Tmolus, the mythical hill where most of the myths related to the city and the Lydian are set, appears in the literature as a fragrant hill full of flowers.⁹² In Virgil (*Georgics* 1. 56–57) it is precisely the *crocus* (saffron) flower that is linked to Tmolus.

In the anthroponomy of the city the name is attested in the 4th-century AD philosopher Chrysanthios, and in Lydia in general it is known in Daldis (*Chrysanthe*: Buresch, no. 28; Chrysanthos 63. 38) and in Saïttai (*SEG* 31, 1013; AD 191/2).⁹³ It is also attested, in masculine and feminine, in Ephesus and, in general, in all the Anatolian regions, especially in Galatia and Mysia, and in lesser numbers in Pisidia, Bithynia, Licaonia and Lycia (see *PHI* 7).

The reasons that led to the naming of the games could be related to the desire to highlight the wealth and tradition of the city, more than to a desire to refer to the deity in relation to whom they were celebrated. The games could have had the same aim as the use of the old image of the cult of the goddess that shows as its principal attributes symbols of fertility and abundance: the

⁹¹ Hanfmann 1983a, 76–77. Cf. Aeschylus *Persae* 45 (πολύχρυσοι Σάρδεις); Sophocles *Philoctetes* 393 (*Paktolos euchrysos*); Pliny *NH* 5. 110 (Chrysoorroas is the name of the Pactolus river, cf. Solinus 40. 10; Hyginus *Fabulae* 191; Eustathius *Com. Hom. Il.* 20. 385); Lycophron *Alexandra* 1352 (the *chryserga* of the Pactolus river).

⁹² ἀνθεμώδη Τμῶλον (said by Dionysus when he states his origin: Euripides *Bacchiae* 462); *nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores* (Virgil *Georgics* 1. 56–57); Τόφρα δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος ὑπὸ κλίμα Λυδῶν ἀρούρης, (Nonnus *Dionysiaca*. 10. 139–140). On literary sources on Sardis, see Pedley 1972.

⁹³ Maybe it is not a coincidence that two brothers are called Ἀρτέμων and Χρυσάνθος in this inscription, and that in Saïttai there is an association attested, whose members are called *chrysanthinoi* (see below).

pomegranate (in some cases poppies) and the wheat. On the other hand, as it has been pointed out by Klose, the newly founded *stephanitai* games had to be promoted and they had to attract participants through prizes of greater value than merely honorific prizes – hence the increased use of gold crowns in the Imperial cities of Asia Minor.⁹⁴ The semantic component of gold in the name Chrysanthina could be another resource to fulfil that aim of promotion and dissemination of the games.

In a Iulia Domna coin (*BMC Lydia* 150), on the pedestal inscribed with the names of the games we can see an urn of agonistic prize with a palm and decorated with five circles, each of them enclosing a pellet. Could these five circles be the same that the goddess is wearing in her gown of the cult's image?

An association of *chrysanthinoi* is attested in the Lydian cities of Philadelphia and Saittai. The *chrysanthinoi* of Saittai honour a fellow of the association in a funerary stele dated to AD 225/6 (*TAM* 6, 93). In Philadelphia the construction of a building is attributed to this association (ἡ Χρυσανθίνων συμβίωσις; *TAM* 5 3, 1524, Imp.). None of these provide any information regarding the character of the association. Perhaps it is an athletic association, as suggested by Moretti, who considers that it is related to the Chrysanthina of Sardis and that Kore is the corresponding goddess.⁹⁵

Moretti considers that the Chrysanthina are the same as those named Koreaia in an inscription from Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 1132, ll. 16–17: Κόρηα ἐν Σάρδεσιν [δία]υλον) and Aktia Koreaia in minted coins.⁹⁶ However, there is evidence to suggest that they were different games. The Aktia Koreaia are attested in coins from Caracalla and Elagabalus. On a reverse of Caracalla (Paris 1267) the cultic archaic statute can be seen on a base with the name Koraia Aktia. The same name appears written in crowns represented in coining from Caracalla and Elagabalus (*SNG Hunterian* 23, 26); and Johnston thinks it possible that the Elagabalus type with the cultic statue between a bucranium and a crown is related to the games.⁹⁷ The reverse of Caracalla's coinage, dated by the magistrate Rufus, shows a table with three prize crowns, and the corresponding three games appear mentioned in smaller coins from the same magistrate: Koraia Aktia (*cf.* above), Chrysanthina (*SNG von Aulock* 3160) and Koinon Asias.⁹⁸ As has already been suggested by Johnston, the fact that only two crowns appear in a similar coinage from *ca.* AD 200 suggests that the Koraia Aktia were not yet established in this time. According to Klose, they

⁹⁴ Klose 2005, 128, 129.

⁹⁵ Moretti 1953, 220, no. 75.

⁹⁶ Moretti 1953, 221.

⁹⁷ Paris 1984 *apud* Johnston 1981, 13.

⁹⁸ Paris 1259 *apud* Johnston 1981, 13; Johnston 1981, 14.

were established by Caracalla in his trip to the East against the Parthians in the year AD 214/5.⁹⁹ These testimonies show that, although one festival may have had different names, the Koraia Aktia and the Chrysanthina were different games, or that the Koraia Aktia were a particular type of games created at a later date but associated to the Chrysanthina.¹⁰⁰

The conclusion suggested by the evidence from the games is that since the 1st century AD there were certain *agones* called Chrysanthina dedicated to the main goddess of Sardis whose cultic image is shown in coins, and that there were others known as Koraia Aktia that appear from AD 214/5 dedicated to Kore – if we are to judge by the name. Both are linked to an archaic cultic image represented on top of the agonistic table in the aforementioned coins of Caracalla (Koraia Aktia) and Elagabalus (Chrysanthina). Caracalla's coin possibly commemorates the establishment of these games by the emperor. The fact that both names are related with the same cultic image suggests that they were two different components of the same *agones* related to the same deity, or perhaps some large *agones* celebrated every four years, and minor ones celebrated every two years.¹⁰¹ The evidence from these games lead us once again to the problem of identifying the main goddess to whom the Chrysanthina were certainly dedicated.

INTERPRETATION OF THE TESTIMONIES AND ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE MAIN GODDESS OF SARDIS

Previous Suggestions

The problem of how to match the available data to identify the image of the coins, identify the main goddess of Sardis in the Imperial period, and identify the deity in honour of whom the Chrysanthina games were celebrated has been approached from different angles. These can be separated into three basic interpretations: the image represents 1) a Lydian Kore, 2) a Greek Kore, that is Persephone, and 3) the cultic image of Artemis Sardiane.

From the start it was considered an image that represented the goddess Kore, probably a Lydian indigenous Kore. This was the position of Head in 1902, and of Hanfmann and Bamuth in 1965, who considered that the name is

⁹⁹ Klose 2005, 132.

¹⁰⁰ There is evidence for the same games with different names, or different names for different components of the games (Klose 2005, 127).

¹⁰¹ See Marcianus *Dig.* 33. 1. 24 for the celebration of the Chrysanthina every four years (cited by Caldelli 1995, n. 41 as proof of Severus' interest for these festivals).

nothing more than the translation of the Lydian word for ‘maid’ and therefore could be a general definition.¹⁰² In 1973, Fleischer proposed the identification of this image with Artemis. He supported his interpretation with the presence of this image in other cities in the Lydian north-east, where the Artemis Anaitis goddess is well attested.¹⁰³ Price and Trell considered that the excavated temple and the one that appears in the coins in connection to the archaic effigy were the temple of Artemis/Kore, and that Kore continued late into the Roman period as the main goddess of the enclosure.¹⁰⁴ In her numismatic analysis of the evidence conducted in 1981, Johnston agreed that there was only one temple of Artemis/Kore and proposes that Artemis and Kore were the same goddess or that the cult to Kore evolved from that of Artemis.¹⁰⁵ In 1983 Hanfmann rejected the identification made by Fleischer and affirmed that an image as old as the one of the Lydian corn maiden, or a copy, would become the official representation of the city after AD 17 – supplanting Artemis – during the course of a Lydian-Persian renaissance. In this way, he explained an assimilation of a Maiden and a Mother of the gods (Meter-Cybele) with the Greek legend of Demeter-Kore.¹⁰⁶

Artemis, Main Goddess of Sardis also in Imperial Times

Artemis in Lydia and Her Assimilation to Meter

Taking into account the material I have brought forward related to the cult of Artemis, Demeter and Kore in Sardis, I think that Artemis remained the main goddess of the city – as in many other Lydian cities – but that her cult and, above all, her presentation as symbol of the city evolved following the characteristic pattern of the cities in Imperial Asia Minor. The Roman panegyric, the inclusion of the cult in the Panhellenism and the renaissance of local traditions as identity marks modified the cult of the goddess and its relation with other goddesses. The religious syncretism so evident in religions from Graeco-Roman times played a crucial role as well in cultic politics.

¹⁰² Head, *BMC Lydia*, p. CX; Hanfmann and Balmuth 1965, 269. Cf. Fleischer (1973, 192–93) for earlier references. Same opinion in Robert 1976, 47, n. 103 (= *OMS VI*, 159); Moretti (1953, 220–21) considers that the name Chrysanthina probably refers to Chrysanthe, a goddess of Kore’s circle (?).

¹⁰³ Fleischer 1973, 187–201.

¹⁰⁴ Price and Trell 1977, 137, figs. 240–242.

¹⁰⁵ Johnston 1981, 7–10.

¹⁰⁶ Hanfmann (1983a, 131), who thinks it less probable that a new cult was created as archaic in Imperial times. Cf. Hanfmann 1983b, 226–28.

Artemis Sardiane, clearly the main goddess of the city until the end of the Hellenistic period, is a local goddess, a version of the Anatolian Meter that is well attested in Lydia, identified with Anaitis in Persian times in the nearby cities of Hypaipa and Hierokaisareia and all the east of Lydia, and from whom there are numerous epigraphic documents in Imperial Lydia. This Anatolian goddess receives the names of Artemis Koloene, Artemis Anaitis, Meter Anaitis or Artemis Persike.¹⁰⁷ We thus have a clear syncretism between the Anatolian Artemis and Cybele or Meter Theōn. This syncretism is confirmed in the iconography and in the adscription of determined functions and attributes to the goddess. In a plaque from Kula dated to the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD, a goddess represented with *timpani* and a *patera* seated between two lions is identified in an epigraph as Artemis (Fig. 2).¹⁰⁸ In another stele from Kula the creation of everything is attributed to a goddess named Artemis Anaitis:¹⁰⁹ Ἀρτέμιδι Ἄναεῖτι ἐπηκόω καὶ βοηθῶ πάντοτε γεγонуῖα.... In a votive stele from Katakekaumene (SEG 4, 645; 3rd century AD) the goddess is invoked as Μητρὶ θεῶν ... τῆ Διὸς ἐκ Λητοῖς (= Λητοῦς) κούρη, βασιληῖδι κόσμου. Here, Artemis is the Mother of all the gods, is the *kore* of Zeus and Leto, and she is also the queen of the cosmos. She is possibly the Heavenly Goddess (Θεῶν Οὐρανία) of a stele found in the same region.¹¹⁰ In the stele from Kula (TAM 6, 244) the goddess shows a crescent moon in her head and another one hanging from the belt. The crescent moon, a symbol used mainly in relation to Men, the most common *paredrus* of Artemis Anaitis in Lydia, appears as well in the archaic cultic image of the goddess of Sardis in coins and in the capital found in the *gymnasion* – as has been seen before.¹¹¹

The Cult Image of Artemis in Ephesus and Artemis Anaitis in Hypaipa

The Artemis of Hypaipa identified with Anaitis, appears in Imperial coins represented by a cultic image of archaic style that shows a great similitude with that of Ephesus and Sardis.¹¹² This cultic image, attested for the first time in

¹⁰⁷ de Hoz 1999, pp. 11–12, 13–14.

¹⁰⁸ TAM 6, 244 = de Hoz 1999, 3.22.

¹⁰⁹ TAM 6, 236 = de Hoz 1999, 3.18.

¹¹⁰ SEG 39, 999 = de Hoz 1999, 55.11; AD 202/3.

¹¹¹ Cf. p. 198 and n. 63. For other Anatolian goddesses identified with Artemis and showing attributes in common with Meter, such as the crescent moon, *polos*, *timpani* and *patera*, cf., for instance, Artemis Pergaia, whose image in Imperial times is an archaic schematic figure that resembles the archaic Sardian goddess of the coins. Cf. Onurkan 1969–70.

¹¹² BMC Lydia 21–23, 26–30, 33–36, 41, 42, 46, 52–54, 59, 61–66, 68–72. On the image, see Fleischer 1973, 185–87.

the 2nd century BC,¹¹³ reappears with slight changes in Nero's time (*BMC Lydia* 21) when the image of the goddess Sardis is attested for the first time; it is also associated to Tyche from the reign of Caracalla (*BMC Lydia* 41) onwards; in time of Gordianus Pius and Trajan Decius the image shows on each side two children playing;¹¹⁴ and in a coin of Salonina¹¹⁵ she is crowned by Nike in the same way that the Artemis from the aforementioned Kula stele. The identity of this cultic image with Artemis Anaitis has not been put into question. Hypaipa is found half way through the Persian road that linked Ephesus and Sardis, which easily explains the similarities between the cultic images. But in various cities of the Lydian north-east (Daldis, Ioulia-Gordos, Maionia, Silandos and Tmolos Aureliopolis), an area where Artemis Anaitis or the Anatolian Meter are well attested, the goddess also appears represented by the Ephesian image until the mid-2nd century AD when it is substituted by that of Sardis.¹¹⁶ It can be presumed that both images are representing the same goddess in the coinage and not that the Ephesian image symbolises a cult to Ephesian Artemis in these cities (which is not attested), that was later substituted by that of the goddess of Sardis. Both images represent without a doubt the main goddess of the area, Artemis Anaitis, or an Anatolian mother goddess whose attributes are not essentially different from those of the Artemis of Asia Minor. Perhaps the archaic image of Sardis existed already in the 2nd century BC, as in Hypaipa, but it was never used in coinage iconography until a later date. Could the balls with dedicatory inscriptions of the priestesses of Artemis dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC be representations of the mysterious balls found on the robe worn by the goddess in her cultic statue?

The Sanctuary of Artemis and Zeus Polieus (Lydios) in the 2nd century AD

The fact that the sanctuary of Artemis and Zeus Poleius was chosen to incorporate the cults to Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior in Sardis suggests that this is still the main sanctuary of the city, and in fact the image of Zeus, called *Lydios* in the coins from AD 90 onward (*BMC Lydia* 77) is constant between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD. As proposed by Johnston, it seems that an ancient Lydian deity, possibly the Lev or Lef from the inscriptions in

¹¹³ Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 78, no. 1, pl. 4.3.

¹¹⁴ *BMC Lydia* 59, pl. XII.11; 65. Cf. Salonina's coin in Sardis (*BMC Lydia* 210), where the turreted goddess is Cybele-Leto, with veil, a child in her arms and a girl beside her.

¹¹⁵ *BMC Lydia* 72, pl. XII.14.

¹¹⁶ Daldis (*BMC Lydia* 3, 14, 15, 19), Iulia-Gordos (*BMC Lydia* 24), Maionia (*BMC Lydia* 26), Silandos (*BMC Lydia* 5, 19, 20), Tmolos-Aureliopois (*BMC Lydia* 5, 6). Cf. Johnston 1981, 9.

Lydian language, was adopted by the Greeks as Zeus Polieus or Zeus Megistos Polieus.¹¹⁷ From the 1st century AD, just when archaic images of the goddess are starting to appear, Zeus is called Lydios in the coins.¹¹⁸ If the sanctuary of Artemis and Zeus Polieus/Lydios remains the most important of the city in times of Antoninus Pius and if the second neocorate was conceded to the cult of this emperor as seems to be the case, he is thus undoubtedly one of those represented in the coins that celebrate the second and third neocorate, where the archaic image of the goddess is represented. Nonetheless, as it has been pointed out by Burrell, the coins that celebrated the second neocorate with the image of the three temples represent a problem, since the temple of Artemis and the temple of Antoninus Pius are the same.¹¹⁹ Burrell thinks that said coins were proof that Kore and Artemis were two different deities with different temples, and that the archaic image represents Kore. According to her, there are no parallels where two different temples appear in the cases where the cult to an emperor is established in the temple of a deity. On the other hand, if her argument is to be accepted, the reason why an image of Kore between two temples and not between three was found in a coin of Iulia Domna¹²⁰ would be left unresolved. Perhaps it is not a coincidence the fact that what is seen in Paris 1268, 1269¹²¹ where there are apparently three temples for two neocorates, are not complete temples like other cases, but façades of temples, or most likely, places of cult that do not necessarily need to coincide with a temple. In *BMC Lydia* 171, where there are four temples for three *neokorai*, two of them are complete, and the other two are façades with the image in the centre (Fig. 5). Could the two upper façades represent the different cults of Antoninus Pius and Artemis in the temple of the latter?¹²²

The Priestesses of Artemis as Priestesses of the Main Goddess in the City

The epigraphic evidence shows that the people of Sardis made dedications to the priestesses of Artemis during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD as priestesses of the main deity of the city. In some cases there is a mention of The Goddess, although her identity is clear given the location of the inscriptions in the sanctuary of Artemis, and because in other cases she is called Artemis or Artemis

¹¹⁷ Johnston 1981, 10–11. For the inscriptions in Lydian, see Gusmani 1964 nos. 3, 50.

¹¹⁸ For epigraphic evidence of Zeus Polieus, see de Hoz 1999, 5.26b, 7.17, 7.20, 61.52, 61.53.

¹¹⁹ Burrell 2004, 110.

¹²⁰ Paris 1251 and Vienna 19580, *apud* Burrell 2004, 110.

¹²¹ *Apud* Burrell 2004, 110.

¹²² On the practice of representing buildings on coins as a Roman innovation and its importance in the expression of identity, see Howgego 2005, 4–5.



Fig. 5. Coin depicting four temples (*BMC Lydia* 171).

Sardiane. These dedications, or at least part of them, are contemporary to the cultic images of the coins. During the time when this cultic image of archaic and Asiatic character appears, the Lydian term *kauein* is revived in Sardis to name the priestess of Artemis. Nonetheless, the name of a goddess Kore is not attested in Sardis in epigraphy or in coins until the end of the 2nd century AD or perhaps beginning of the 3rd century AD. In literature there is not a single testimony of a goddess Kore in Sardis. It is also very unlikely that in the 2nd century AD the city would have selected a new goddess that did not have a long standing tradition in the area as symbol of its coins of alliance with other cities.

Demeter as Link between Artemis and Kore

I think that the evidence shows that the archaic image of the coins identifies an Artemis Sardiane, and that she therefore remains the main goddess of the city during the Imperial period, at least until the end of the 2nd century AD. It is

true that certain Koraia games are attested in numismatics and in epigraphy from the time of the emperor Caracalla onward, and that in one coin the archaic image of the goddess appears next to the representation of an agonistic table with the inscription Koraia Aktia. This connects the games with the main goddess of Sardis. The question is whether the goddess Artemis was named Kore from this moment onwards. I think that the answer to this question is offered by Demeter, whose cult is attested in ancient Lydia in the 4th century BC, in Greek coins from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD, and in Greek epigraphy in the 1st century AD.

Although Artemis is associated with Zeus Polieus in Sardis, it is Mên who generally appears as the main *paredrus* of Artemis, Meter and Demeter in Lydia. Mên and Demeter are the standard types in the coins of 20–22 mm in Sardis, with the Augustae in the obverse from the times of Iulia Domna to the times of Tranquillina.¹²³ In the reverse of Tranquillinan coins the effigy of Demeter was chosen for one coinage and Men's for another.¹²⁴ The association of Mên and Demeter in Lydia is attested epigraphically in a stele of the Almourenon *katoikia*, in the valley of the Kaystros,¹²⁵ where the celebration of mysteries that were common to the gods Mên and Demeter are mentioned. In another stele dedicated to Mên and Menos *tekousa*¹²⁶ it is possible that the 'mother of Mên' is identified with Demeter judging by the *kalathos* that she is wearing on the head.¹²⁷ The goddess has *kalathos*, *timpani* and *patera*, just like the goddess called Demeter in the aforementioned stele of Kula. The Demeter of the Kulan stele and the one that appears in the reverse of a coin of Octavia Neronis¹²⁸ share a crescent moon with Men. On the other hand, Artemis (Anaitis) and Mên are the best attested divine couple in the Greek inscriptions of Lydia.¹²⁹

The relation between the Greek Demeter and the Anatolian Meter Theōn is established very early in the Greek world and in Asia Minor. The Phrygian Mother Goddess also had a high *polos* as a *kalathos* on the head and wheat heads as attribute, and went over the fields in a chariot pulled by beasts.¹³⁰ The

¹²³ Johnston 1981, 86.

¹²⁴ *BMC Lydia* 193, 194.

¹²⁵ *CMRDM* I.75 = *I.Ephesos* 17, 3252 = de Hoz 1999, 14.2.

¹²⁶ de Hoz 1999, 39.2.

¹²⁷ Turcan 1979, 285.

¹²⁸ *BMC Lydia* 125, pl. XXVI.7.

¹²⁹ Cf. de Hoz 1999, pp. 81, 83.

¹³⁰ On the relation Meter-Cybele and Demeter, cf. Gusmani 1971, 317; Lindner 1994, 150; especially in Greece: Roller 1999, 174–76. On the high *polos* as symbol of fertility, see Neumann 1959, 101–05, in relation to a statue of the Mother Goddess in Bogazköy, dated to the 7th/6th centuries BC.

Plutoneion and the sanctuary of Cybele have the same personal cult in Hierapolis, and in Pessinus in Severan times, Meter Dindymene adopts Demeter's coinage iconography where the goddess appears in a chariot driven by two snakes. But perhaps the clearest and closest testimony to the case of Sardis is that of Pergamon. Phileterus and his brother already erected a temple to Demeter in honour of their mother in the terrace located south of the pre-Eumenean wall, a place probably dedicated previously to the Mother of the gods, although the cults to these goddesses were already separated during the times of Attalus I. In times of Eumenes II the mother queen Apolonis expanded the cult to Kore, introducing ceremonies from her hometown Cyzicus, one of the main centres of the cult of Kore. An important change happens once again in the 2nd century AD, in the times of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, and in connection to the rise of Eleusine mysteries. At this time the cult is associated with a large series of cultic personifications.¹³¹ In Sardis, as in Pergamon, Demeter comes by the hand of a local goddess, but her Hellenic and Eleusine character is rapidly highlighted in Pergamon and in the Imperial period in Sardis, by emphasising the myth of Persephone's kidnapping. As it has been seen, in the coinage iconography from Sardis Demeter appears first with a chariot driven by two snakes, then Demeter standing with torches and snakes, and then the scene of the kidnapping to which other elements are added, such as the basket of flowers, towards the end of the 2nd century AD. In the context of rivalry between cities to demonstrate their Hellenic character and tradition, Sardis adopted in its official iconographic program the motifs of the myth as they appeared in Cyzicus, Nysa and Hierapolis, cities that attributed their foundation to Kore (in the case of Cyzicus), or that identified their territory with the place where the goddess was kidnapped.¹³² It is significant that Kore never appears in these cities with an archaic image of Asian character like the one some authors have identified with Kore in Sardis.

Relation between Artemis (Meter) and Kore

It is not contradictory to the religious processes in Asia Minor from this time that just when Artemis appears represented with her most archaic and local features there is also a desire to create an association with a Greek goddess. The relation between Meter and Demeter, and the association Meter-Artemis

¹³¹ On Demeter's sanctuary in Pergamon, *cf.* Hansen 1971, 446; Ohlemutz 1968, 207–09.

¹³² See Lindner 1994, 109–58 (especially for Nysa, but also for Hierapolis, Cyzicus and other Minorasiatic cities). On the motif on Cyzicus' coins, see Martin 2003, 123–27.

leads directly to the association Artemis-Kore.¹³³ Artemis, the main deity of Sardis, is involved in a Panhellenic myth that has been converted into an Anatolian myth, as the appropriation of the myth by the aforementioned cities shows. This phenomenon is well known in this period through the appropriation of Greek legends to explain foundations or local events. The local elements of the myth undoubtedly favoured this assimilation. In the Orphic Hymns, considered from Asia Minor and probably from the area of Pergamon-Lydia as it was mentioned earlier, Persephone is a mother goddess like the local Artemis. A coin from Sardis, dated to *ca.* AD 212–217 bearing the inscription ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΚΟΡΑΙΟΣ,¹³⁴ confirms the version of the local myth according to which Persephone begot Dionysus with Zeus – a version of this story is found in Orphic Hymn 30 to Dionysus.¹³⁵ In a dedication to a priestess (*I.Kyme* 38) that was found in the outskirts of Pergamon, she is identified as well as an ancient mother goddess of Anatolia, Mise, attested in an altar of Demeter's sanctuary in Pergamon.¹³⁶ The maternal aspect is the one that appears in the epigram of Sardis dedicated to her children Koros and Euerteria. An inscription found in Chios, with a representation in relief of a glass flanked by two lions and a dedication to Θεᾶ Κόρη ἐπηκόω ἀνεικήτω οὐρανίᾳ, has been identified by Graf as possibly originating from the border between Lydia and Phrygia.¹³⁷ The three epithets of the goddess are typical among eastern deities and could very well be attributed to an Anatolian Meter. Demeter and Kore are without a doubt an assimilation of the Greek goddesses by Anatolian deities in Cnidos, where women imprecate to them in the form of judicial plea, demonstrating an intermediate step of an eastern religious tradition whose final result is well attested in the so-called Lydian confessions, generally directed to Meter or Atermis Anaitis and Men. Probably the ones hidden behind Pluto and Kore in a Pisidian sanctuary of Kaynar Kalesi are an Anatolian mother goddess and her masculine *paredrus*. In this sanctuary, located west of Kestel, we can find attested in the 2nd century AD the *hierodouloi* of the gods (*SEG* 19,

¹³³ Cf. already Hanfmann 1983, 131.

¹³⁴ Johnston 1981, 83 (with mention of Paris 1174); cf. Johnston 1981, no. 263: ΚΟΡΑΙΟΣ, with representation of Dionysus.

¹³⁵ As on Sardis' coins, the Dionysus of the Orphic Hymns has bull horns and kidskin (Orphic Hymn 52, where he is Nysian and son of two mothers; cf. 44, 45, 53). Bacchus appears in the Orphic Hymns as dancer, and this is the way (as satyr and with *thyrsus*) he is represented on a stele from Philadelphia dedicated to an initiated in the mysteries of Dionysus Kathegemon (Keil and von Premerstein 1908, 42, Abb. 36 = de Hoz 1999, 15.26; 2nd century AD). On the child Dionysus in the iconography of Nysa's theatre, see Lindner 1994, 116–22.

¹³⁶ Ohlemutz 1968, 213–14. An Orphic Hymn (no. 42) is dedicated to the goddess Mise, where she appears together with the Eleusinian goddesses and also together with the Phrygian Mother. See Morand 2001, 169–74.

¹³⁷ Graf 1985, 70–73.

827, 828), a type of cult personnel typical of Anatolia and of the sanctuaries of Mên and Meter.

The name of Koraia Aktia in Sardis could refer to Artemis, who from the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century AD begun to be known as Kore due to the influence of Demeter's cult and the relation between Demeter and Meter, the relevance of the Eleusinian myth in the city's political propaganda, and the elements shared by both goddesses. An independent cult of Kore may perhaps also have appeared, associated to the cult of Artemis.

In Imperial times, the old Artemis of Sardis shows the typical features of the main deities of the period: she is a cosmic goddess to whom the star or the crescent moon are attributed; the abstract character and the symbolic value associated with fertility are emphasised through the attributes of the wheat head and the pomegranate, her association or even her assimilation with Tyche, and through the identification with Cybele or Meter Theōn, sometimes even representing her with children (*cf.* the Hypaipa coins mentioned, the representation of Sardis in the base of Puteoli through a goddess with a child, and the assimilation of Meter and Artemis in Lydian epigraphy).

The Evidence of Apollonius of Tyana

The case of Artemis-Demeter is more problematic than that of Artemis-Kore. The existence of an independent cult to the goddess Demeter in Sardis in the 1st century AD is confirmed by the epigraphic dedicatory to a priestess of the cult. When in the same century Apollonius of Tyana writes to the Sardians criticising them for the disturbances between factions that practically resulted in a civil war, he mentions Demeter in two occasions as the goddess of the city. In letter 75 he says that anyone would say that the city is of the Erinyes, and not of Demeter, and in letter 75a, he writes that the inhabitants of Sardis are known for their adoration and veneration of their ancestral goddess, and that she is called by some Mother of the gods, by others Mother of humans and by all Mother of the harvest, but that she is the one and only common mother of all. He finishes the letter asking how it could be that having Demeter as their goddess, they may have clubs that are enemies of the established law, nature and custom. In letter 56 he ends stating that despite their behaviour, the land gives them produce, and he says that the land is unfair. The topic of the fertility of Sardis was apparently a cliché of the time that was promoted by the city through its coins. Judging from letter 75a, where Apollonius clearly identifies Demeter with Meter, the goddess that he refers to – who is identified as ancestral – could have been Artemis, an ancient Anatolian Meter with whom

the fertility of the city was undoubtedly linked. Taking into account the Roman panegyric iconography of the representation of the empresses and the fertility symbolism of the city through the image of Demeter, the identification of both goddesses by Apollonius is not impossible. It is possible that Apollonius used the theonym to express the true character of the indigenous goddess – mother goddess of fertility – which is not indicated in the Greek theonym of Artemis.

CONCLUSIONS

The changes in coinage iconography are owed to changes in style and art, and to political and propagandistic motives, but also to the process of religious syncretism that happened in the Imperial period and that peaks precisely in the second half of the 2nd century and the 3rd century AD. It is in this time when the coinage iconography and the cultic epithets and invocations are wealthier, more varied, and more difficult to classify and connect with deities.

The case of Artemis Sardiane and her relation to Demeter and Kore is a very clear example of the evolution of an archaic cult in the Imperial period, and its adoption and adaptation by the cultic and self-representation politics of the city.¹³⁸

The image of Demeter in a chariot pulled by two snakes brought from Rome, the identification of the empresses with her and the use of her attributes – particularly the wheat head – in connection to the image of Tiberius is part of the Roman panegyric politics typical of the beginning of the empire, used here for propaganda and to acclaim the relation between the clichéd wealth of the city with Rome and the *Pax Romana*. The connection between this goddess with the Eleusinian myth develops in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD like an instrument of Hellenic representation, and shows the adscription to a general Greek culture shared with many other cities of Asia Minor.¹³⁹ The way in which this myth is used reflects another characteristic of these cities in this period; that is, the adaptation of a Panhellenic myth to local traditions. This can be seen in the role of the snakes in the image of Demeter – probably linked to a ritual of Asia Minor that reflects as well the Orphic Hymn of Persephone – in the representation of Dionysus as son of Kore in the coins – also attested in Orphic Hymns – and in the assimilation of the Lydian myth of Tylos and

¹³⁸ On the new trends in coins iconography from Augustus onward, especially in late Flavian times, and its relation to the status dispute between cities in the provincial *koinon*, see Weiss 2004, 179–97.

¹³⁹ On the importance of mythology and the ways it was used articulating inter-city relationships, see Price 2005, 121–22.

Masnes to the Eleusinian myth.¹⁴⁰ The revival of cults and ancient and local images is typical, particularly from the mid-2nd century AD, as a sign of originality and identity within a Roman Panhellenic world, and at the same time it is a sign of antiquity, one of the primordial elements in the rivalry between cities.¹⁴¹ At this time the archaic and Asiatic cultic image of the goddess predominates in the iconography of coins, showing a series of attributes that are typical of Asia Minor, such as the crescent moon, the high *polos* or the bucranium. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD this clearly archaist Graeco-local cult is used to represent the city in coins of alliance and in neocorate celebrations,¹⁴² the image of the goddess is linked with the ancient Chrysanthina that were given new support and are named *isopythioi*, and with the new games of Koraia Aktia. The image of the goddess is also linked directly with the deification of virtues desired by the cities, particularly Tyche in coins, and Koron and Euposia in the inscription that identifies them as the children of Kore. Around this time the city promotes itself through the use of titles such as ‘the First metropolis of Asia, Lydia and Greece’. These are all instruments of rivalry between cities, and all of them revolve around the ancient Anatolian goddess of Sardis, the Lydian Artimuk that the Greeks called Artemis, and that the people of Sardis – made up of Lydians, Greeks and Romans – associated with Demeter and Kore in Imperial times.¹⁴³ The role of these Panhellenic goddesses in propaganda politics is attested in various cities of Asia Minor, and it is not a coincidence that, next to Dionysus, they are the most important goddesses in the Orphic Hymns. Artemis continues to be the main goddess of Sardis, as she continues to be the main goddess of so many Anatolian cities where she represents a local Anatolian mother-goddess. It cannot be discarded that this is the actual goddess that is referred to by Apollonius of Tyana when he writes of Demeter being assimilated with Meter and calling her a sole goddess, common to humans, gods and harvests. It can neither be discarded that Kore is a new name given to Artemis in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD: a name that connects her with the Panhellenic myth of Demeter but also with that Anatolian Kore who is a maiden but also a mother goddess in the Orphic

¹⁴⁰ On the creation of the local from supra-local perspectives, and on the idea of local identities that are constantly changing in a dialogue with the trans-local, see Whitmarsh 2010. On the exchange between global and local interests, see Woolf 2010. On the idea of the malleable myth, the Panhellenic myth in a local version, see Price 2005, 116.

¹⁴¹ On Sardis’ claims of great antiquity, see Weiss 1984, especially 188; 1995, 88, 93. On Lydian ‘nationalism’, see Robert 1987, 360–61.

¹⁴² On the importance of the system of neocorates for the self-promotion of cities, see Price 2005, 123–24.

¹⁴³ See Howgego 2005 for an analysis of the different elements used by cities in order to show their identity: Greek past, Roman present, festivals, temple-representations, mythology.

Hymns. The strong similarities between Artemis, Demeter and Kore, the deep religious syncretism from Hellenistic times onwards and the search for Hellenic identity are the reasons for such a confusion when we try to identify the patron goddess of Roman Sardis. As a matter of fact, that is what makes Artemis Sardiane a great goddess. She is The Goddess and she has the attributes of Cybele, Demeter and Kore.¹⁴⁴ This feature of Artemis is not exclusive of Sardis in Asia Minor, as we have seen. The assimilation of a local Anatolian goddess with Artemis, Demeter (and also Hekate, Selene and Kypris) is very nicely expressed in a 2nd-century AD epigram from Hierapolis Castabala dedicated to the goddess of the city, Perasia, so that she grants a safe journey back to Rome to a governor:¹⁴⁵

[εἶτε Σ]εληναίην, εἶτ' Ἄρτεμι[ν, εἶτε σ]έ, δαῖμον,
 πυρφόρον [ἐν τριό]δοις ἦν σεβόμεσθ' Ἐκ[ά]την,
 εἶτε Κύπριν Θήβης λα[ὸς] θυέεσσι γεραίρει,
 ἢ Δηώ, κούρης μητέρα Φερσεφόνης,

Translation

Whether it is Selene whom the Thebaian people (from Cilicia) celebrates, or Artemis, or you, divine being, torchbearer at the crossroads to whom we venerate, Hekate, or Kypris or Deo, mother of the maid Persephone...

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¹⁴⁴ The fact that the Lydian stele of 400–380 BC (Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, no. 20, figs. 78–83) with representations of Cybele and Artemis was re-used in the synagogue of Sardis but carefully placed upside down to protect it from breaking or being stepped on in a section of the perystile colonnade that forms the forecourt is a reflection of the relevance of Cybele/Demeter and Artemis/Kore throughout the Imperial period. Cf. Mitten and Scorziello 2008, 138–39, who connect this case with the one concerning the famous Eleusinian monument with a representation of Demeter, Persephone and Triptolemus or Plutos. This marmor was reused in the 10th century AD, placed upside down in one of the entrances of the narthex of a Byzantine church, close to the north side of Demeter's temple.

¹⁴⁵ *IGR* III 903; Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964, 51–53. It is very significant that Strabo (12. 2. 7) calls the goddess Perasia of Castabala Artemis Perasia, though there is no local evidence of this identification. Cf. Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964, 50.

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