

AUFSTIEG UND NIEDERGANG DER RÖMISCHEN WELT

BAND II. 18.3

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE ROMAN WORLD

VOLUME II. 18.3

AUFSTIEG UND NIEDERGANG
DER RÖMISCHEN WELT
(ANRW)

RISE AND DECLINE
OF THE ROMAN WORLD

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON / EDITED BY

WOLFGANG HAASE

UND / AND

HILDEGARD TEMPORINI

TEIL II: PRINCIPAT

BAND 18.3

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BAND 18:

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(HEIDENTUM: DIE RELIGIÖSEN VERHÄLTNISSE
IN DEN PROVINZEN [FORTS.])

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RELIGION

(HEIDENTUM: DIE RELIGIÖSEN VERHÄLTNISSE
IN DEN PROVINZEN [FORTS.])

Der Kaiserkult in Asia am Beispiel von Ephesos

von DIETER KNIBBE, Wien

(Dieser Beitrag, dessen Manuskript nicht rechtzeitig zum Redaktionsschluß des vorliegenden Teilbandes II 18,3 abgeschlossen werden konnte, erscheint als Nachtrag am Schluß des Teilbandes II 18,6. – W.H.)

Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate, I. Paganism before Constantine

by RICHARD E. OSTER, Memphis, Tennessee

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This article was virtually completed in 1981. Several important books and numerous articles on this topic have appeared in the intervening years. Several factors made it impossible to integrate all of the later research and publications into the original article. Additional bibliography is available in R. OSTER, *A Bibliography on Ancient Ephesus* (Metuchen: N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1987).

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I. Introduction

Since approximately 1895,¹ the determined, though at times interrupted, efforts of the Austrian Archaeological Institute have put the remains and artifacts from ancient Ephesus at the disposal of the scholarly world.² A catalyst for

¹ O. BENNDORF, *Vorläufige Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesus, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* (henceforth cited JOAI) 1 (1898), Beibl. p. 55. The best one-volume treatment of the history of excavations is W. ALZINGER, *Die Stadt des siebenten Weltwunders. Die Wiederentdeckung von Ephesos* (Vienna: Wollzeilen-Verlag, 1962).

² The Austrian Archaeological Institute regularly disseminates its research through the following series:

I) 'Forschungen in Ephesos' (henceforth cited FiE) vols.

1. BENNDORF, O., *Zur Ortskunde und Stadtgeschichte*; WILBERG, W. and HEBERDEY, R., *Der Viersäulenbau auf der Arkadianestraße*; NIEMANN, G. and HEBERDEY, R., *Der Rundbau auf dem Panajirdagh*; BENNDORF, O. and WILBERG, W., *Studien am Artemision*; KUKULA, R., *Literarische Zeugnisse über den Artemistempel*, Vienna 1906.
2. HEBERDEY, R., et al., *Das Theater*, Vienna 1912.
3. WILBERG, W., *Die Agora*, Vienna 1923.
- 4.1. REISCH, E., et al., *Die Marienkirche*, Vienna 1932.
- 4.2. MILTNER, F., *Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer*, Vienna 1937.
- 4.3. HÖRMANN, H., *Die Johanneskirche*, Vienna 1951.
- 5.1. EICHLER, F., *Die Bibliothek*, Vienna 1944.
6. THEUER, M. et al., *Das Mausoleum von Belevi*, Vienna 1979.
7. EICHLER, F. et al., *Das Monument des C. Memmius*, Vienna 1971.
- 8.1. STROCKA, V., *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesos*, Vienna 1977.
- 8.2. JOBST, W., *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I: Die Hanghäuser des Embolos*, Vienna 1977.
- 9.1.1. KNIBBE, D., *Der Staatsmarkt. Die Inschriften des Prytaneions*, Vienna 1981.

II) 'JOAI,' Vol. 1 (1898) ff.; three distinct parts: 'Hauptblatt,' 'Beiblatt,' and 'Grabungen.' There are also occasional articles in 'JOAI Beihefte.'

III) 'Anzeiger' (der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Vienna; henceforth cited AAWW) and the series 'Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes' carry, periodically, research related to Ephesus.

these excavations was a New Year's Eve discovery in 1869 when JOHN TURTLE WOOD, an agent of the British Museum, located the foundation of the temple of Artemis, long buried under approximately 20 feet of soil.³ As a result of WOOD's efforts, the lament of the nineteenth century scholar CHARLES FELLOWS that the site of Ephesus was characterized by a "few silent walls which remain" would never be heard again.⁴ Indeed, the wish of the British explorer EDMUND CHISHULL, who visited Ephesus in the spring of 1699,

"that some curious traveler might remain two or three days at Ephesus; during which time by removing the weeds, and clearing the confused ruins, he might possibly discover many valuable inscriptions,"

has been granted a thousandfold.⁵ The resultant long term commitment of the Austrian Archaeological Institute has yielded an impressively restored metropolis, more Roman and Byzantine than Hellenistic, yielding abundant information in all areas of Ephesian life and history under the Principate.

One area of research which has benefited especially from the excavations is the knowledge of various cults and religions in ancient Ephesus. There is, indeed, hardly a phase or dimension of the excavation and research which has not contributed to piecing together the multifarious and variegated phenomenon of religious life in ancient Ephesus. Whether it be sculpture, architectural remains,

- IV) In conjunction with the Austrian Archaeological Institute the Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität Köln has been publishing a Collection of Ephesian Inscriptions. Consequently, the periodical 'Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik' (henceforth cited ZPE) contains frequent studies giving attention to Ephesian inscriptional data.

Informative, though popularly written, presentations include W. ALZINGER, *Die Ruinen von Ephesos* (Vienna: A. F. Koska, 1972) with resplendent color photographs; C. TOKSÖZ, *Ephesus, Legends and Facts* (Ankara: Ayyildiz Matbaasi, 1962); A. BAMMER, R. FLEISCHER, D. KNIBBE, *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum in Selçuk-Ephesos* (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1974); and W. OBERLEITNER, K. GSCHWANTLER, A. BERNHARD-WALCHER, A. BAMMER, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake, Katalog der Antikensammlung 2* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1978); J. KEIL, *Ephesos. Ein Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte*, 5th ed. (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1964). Beautiful and large color photographs with little interpretation are found in J. ROEWER, *Ephesos. Lebendige Vergangenheit, mit Texten von W. ALZINGER und F. HUEBER* (Gießen: Mikado-Verlag, 1976). — The long-awaited multi-volume corpus entitled 'Die Inschriften von Ephesos' is now available as part of the series 'Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien,' vols. 11–17.

³ The autobiographical narration of the lengthy, and at times unproductive, excavations is preserved in: *Discoveries at Ephesus, including the Sites and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1877). J. T. WOOD, an architect, conducted campaigns there from 1863–1874. A more popular account of the excavations is J. T. WOOD, *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus, By-Paths of Bible Knowledge* 14 (London: Religious Tract Society, 1890).

⁴ CHARLES FELLOWS, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, More Particularly in the Province of Lycia* (London: John Murray, 1852), p. 205.

⁵ EDMUND CHISHULL, *Antiquitates Asiaticae Christianam Aeram Antecedentes* (London: G. Bowyer, 1728), p. 28.

numismatic evidence, mosaics and frescoes, or epigraphical sources, each sheds its distinctive light on this sometimes penumbral facet of ancient civilization.

Selected Publications

Even before the riches of the excavations were forthcoming in the last century, the long and well-known literary sources from antiquity (along with incidental inscriptions and coins) adumbrated the broad contours of Ephesian cults and religious life. E. GUHL's 'Ephesiaca'⁶ contained a copious chapter entitled 'De rebus sacris Ephesiorum,' and EDWARD FALKENER, 'Ephesus and the Temple of Diana,'⁷ is replete with references to the literary and numismatic evidence for pagan religions. G. ZIMMERMANN, 'Ephesos im ersten christlichen Jahrhundert,' outlines the political, social, and religious conditions under the Julio-Claudian emperors with a final chapter of Judaism and Christianity there in the same period.⁸ JULIUS MENADIER's Inaugural Dissertation at Berlin, 'Qua Condicione Ephesii Usi Sint Inde ab Asia in Formam Provinciae Redacta,'⁹ written shortly after the publication of J. T. WOOD's 'Discoveries at Ephesus,' likewise sketched various facets of Ephesian religious life. Also written during these early decades of excavations was G. SEUNIG, 'Das ionische Kleinasien. 1. Teil. Ephesus.'¹⁰ The article by L. BÜRCHNER, 'Ephesos' in PAULYS Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,¹¹ reflected the expanding pool of information. D. G. HOGARTH, 'Excavations at Ephesus. The Archaic Artemisia,' begins with the literary evidence for the temple of Artemis and then provides an extensive catalogue, with notes, of the artifacts excavated at the temple site under the auspices of the British Museum. In addition to WOOD's earlier excavations, HOGARTH also conducted diggings from late 1904–late 1905.¹² The more than half century's research between BÜRCHNER's article and

⁶ E. GUHL, *Ephesiaca* (Berlin: Frederick Nicolaus, 1843).

⁷ EDWARD FALKENER, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana* (London: Day & Son, 1862).

⁸ G. ZIMMERMANN, *Ephesos im ersten christlichen Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Druck von F. A. Brockhaus, 1874). Rev. J. MCCLINTOCK and J. STRONG, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1878), vol. 3, pp. 244–46 for religious life of the city. E. LE CAMUS, *Éphèse*, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. VIGOUROUX (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1899), vol. 2, cols. 1831–49, is remiss toward the religious life of the city. This lacuna, however, is filled to some degree by P. ANTOINE, *Éphèse*, in: *Dictionnaire de La Bible, Supplément*, ed. L. PIROT (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1934), vol. 2, cols. 1091–1104.

⁹ JULIUS MENADIER, *Qua Condicione Ephesii Usi Sint Inde ab Asia in Formam Provinciae Redacta* (Berlin: Gustavus Schade, 1880).

¹⁰ G. SEUNIG, *Das Ionische Kleinasien. 1. Teil. Ephesus* (Triest: Verlag des K. K. Staats-Gymnasiums, 1914), pp. 14–39; of a popular nature is G. WEBER, *Guide du Voyageur à Éphèse* (Smyrne: La Presse, 1891).

¹¹ L. BÜRCHNER, *Ephesos*, in: PAULYS *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (henceforth cited RE) 5, 1905, cols. 2773–2822.

¹² D. HOGARTH, *Excavations at Ephesos. The Archaic Artemisia. Text* (London: British Museum, 1908), pp. 19–51 for the temple excavations, while pp. 323–38 contain views

its corresponding article in PAULYS Realencyclopädie, Supplementband 12 is reflected in the treatment of Ephesian cults in the respective articles by Drs. DIETER KNIBBE (Historisch-epigraphischer Teil),¹³ STEFAN KARWIESE (Numismatischer Teil),¹⁴ and WILHELM ALZINGER (Archäologischer Teil).¹⁵ An abbreviated synthesis of the material related to religion in PAULYS Realencyclopädie, Supplementband 12 has recently appeared in an article entitled 'Ephesos – Nicht nur die Stadt der Artemis. Die 'anderen' ephesischen Götter'¹⁶ which strives to offer „eine kurze, übersichtliche Zusammenfassung“¹⁷ to update the original article by BÜRCHNER.

Even though all the pagan cults of Ephesus have received a certain amount of scholarly attention throughout the years, two cults have received special attention, namely, the Ephesian Artemis and the Egyptian cults. It is only appropriate, then, to list briefly some of the more seminal studies which have stemmed from these particular interests.

Artemis of Ephesus has quite deservedly received the greatest attention in this regard. Understandably, the scanty remains of the temple site have been examined thoroughly. The first significant publication after the discovery of the temple of Artemis was J. T. WOOD, 'Discoveries at Ephesus.'¹⁸ HOGARTH's 'Excavations at Ephesus' contains a final chapter on the goddess.¹⁹ The magisterial, though at times speculative, volume by CHARLES PICARD, 'Éphèse et Claros,' is noteworthy.²⁰ A proclivity for psychologizing and romanticizing characterizes the popularly written work 'Mysterienstätten der Menschheit. Ephesos.' Indicative of H. GSÄNGER's approach is a chapter entitled 'Die Erneuerung der ephesischen Mysterien durch Paulus und Johannes.'²¹ A more recent work on the temple and altar is ANTON BAMMER, 'Die Architektur des

regarding the religion of Artemis, H. LECLERQ, Éphèse, in: Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, ed. F. CABROL and H. LECLERQ (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1922), vol. 5, cols. 118–42 writes in this same general time frame but his purview is only the Christian religion.

¹³ D. KNIBBE, Ephesos: A. Historisch-epigraphischer Teil, RE Suppl. 12, 1970, cols. 248–97.

¹⁴ S. KARWIESE, Ephesos: C. Numismatischer Teil, RE Suppl. 12, cols. 297–364.

¹⁵ W. ALZINGER, Ephesos: B. Archäologischer Teil, RE Suppl. 12, cols. 1588–1704 (Nachträge).

¹⁶ D. KNIBBE, Ephesos – nicht nur die Stadt der Artemis. Die 'anderen' ephesischen Götter, in: Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien. Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner, eds. S. ŞAHİN, E. SCHWERTHEIM, J. WAGNER, EPRO 66 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 489–503.

¹⁷ Ibid., 489. The recent publication by C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity: A late antique, Byzantine and Turkish City (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) treats material from a period not within the purview of this study.

¹⁸ Cf. footnote 3 above.

¹⁹ Excavations at Ephesos, pp. 323–38.

²⁰ CH. PICARD, Éphèse et Claros. Recherches sur les Sanctuaires et les Cultes de l'Ionie du Nord (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1922).

²¹ H. GSÄNGER, Mysterienstätten der Menschheit. Ephesos (Freiburg: Verlag Die Kommanden, 1959).

jüngeren Artemision von Ephesos.²² The bibliography assembled by W. ALZINGER should also be consulted.²³ Unfortunately, the title of the work 'Ephesos. Stadt der Artemis und des Johannes' belies the content of the book, for the work does not emphasize either Artemis or John.²⁴ To my knowledge the best collection (though in need of revision) of literary and epigraphical sources for the temple of Artemis is still RICHARD C. KUKULA's contribution to 'Forschungen in Ephesos.'²⁵ The most extensive published collection of numismatic evidence for the temple is gathered and interpreted by Prof. BLUMA TRELL in 'Architectura Numismatica: Part Two. Temples in Asia Minor';²⁶ 'The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos';²⁷ and 'Coins and Their Cities.'²⁸ S. KARWIESE is compiling a catalogue of Ephesian coinage. The now definitive work on the iconography of the Ephesian goddess (statues, gems, coins) is ROBERT FLEISCHER, 'Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien.'²⁹ A supplement to this magisterial work is found in the F. K. Dörner Festschrift, 'Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens.'³⁰

The last decade has witnessed an upsurge in the study of the Egyptian religions in Ephesus. To be sure there were earlier articles on the topic (e.g., J. KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes in Ephesos*, AAWW 91 [1954], pp. 217–29), but the most thoroughgoing investigations have appeared in the series *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* (= EPRO) edited by M. J. VERMASEREN. REGINA SALDITT-TRAPPMANN, 'Tempel der ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasiens',³¹ includes a discus-

²² A. BAMMER, *Die Architektur des jüngeren Artemision von Ephesos* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972); in addition A. BAMMER, *Die Entwicklung des Opferkultes am Altar der Artemis von Ephesos* (Beilage 1–6. Tafel 1–13), *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23/24 (1973–74), pp. 53–62. More recently see A. BAMMER, F. BREIN, and P. WOLFF, *Das Tieropfer am Artemisaltar von Ephesos*, in: *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens*, vol. 1, pp. 107–57.

²³ W. ALZINGER, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, cols. 1591, 1654–73.

²⁴ F. MILTNER, *Ephesos. Stadt der Artemis und des Johannes* (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1958).

²⁵ FiE 1, pp. 237–82.

²⁶ B. TRELL, *Architectura Numismatica: Part Two. Temples in Asia Minor* (Unpublished Dissertation, New York University, 1942).

²⁷ EAD., *The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 107 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1945).

²⁸ M. J. PRICE and B. L. TRELL, *Coins and Their Cities. Architecture on the ancient coins of Greece, Rome; and Palestine* (London: V. C. Vecchi and Sons, 1977).

²⁹ R. FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, EPRO 35 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973). FLEISCHER's work supplants H. THIERSCH, *Artemis Ephesia. Teil 1* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935).

³⁰ R. FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien. Supplement*, in: *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens*, vol. 1, pp. 324–58, Pls. 111–18. — Also consult R. FLEISCHER, *Eine bekleidete Nachbildung der Artemis von Ephesos*, JÖAI 52 (1978–80), pp. 63–66 and ID., *Artemis Ephesia und Aphrodite von Aphrodisias*, in: *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, EPRO 93 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), pp. 298–315.

³¹ REGINA SALDITT-TRAPPMANN, *Tempel der ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasiens*, EPRO 15 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 26–32.

sion on the Sarapis temple in Ephesus. From the same series the works by WILHELM HORNBOSTEL, 'Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes'³² and by G. J. F. KATER-SIBBES, 'Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments',³³ contain brief sections on Ephesus. FR. DUNAND, 'Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée',³⁴ is also noteworthy. The most comprehensive work in this regard, however, is GÜNTHER HÖLBL, 'Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus',³⁵ which is concerned solely with the influence of Egyptian cults in Ephesus.

II. *Cults and Deities*

1. Aphrodite

Though sparse, the evidence points to a long-standing and diverse veneration of Aphrodite in Ephesus. At the end of the Roman Republic her name occurs in connection with Julius Caesar. She is, in harmony with Julian propaganda,³⁶ identified as the mythological mother of Caesar who is honored by the people and council of Ephesus as "the God Manifest, born of Ares and Aphrodite."³⁷ The imperial writer Polyaeus refers to a shrine of Aphrodite in Ephesus,³⁸ and Athenaeus specifically relates the construction at Ephesus of a temple to Ἐταίρα Ἀφροδίτη.³⁹ A later inscription dating from the third century records the dedication by a certain brother and sister who were μύστις καὶ μύστις Δαιτίδος Ἀφροδείτης. This Aphrodite Daitis is in all probability identical with

³² WILHELM HORNBOSTEL, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, EPRO 32 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 146f., 320f.

³³ G. J. F. KATER-SIBBES, *Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments*, EPRO 36 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 68–69.

³⁴ FR. DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, 3 vols., EPRO 26 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973).

³⁵ GÜNTHER HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus*, EPRO 73 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978).

³⁶ The mythological genealogy of the Julian family was traced through the goddess Venus. This facet of Caesar's propaganda was disseminated through literary, epigraphical, numismatic, and architectural media; see S. WEINSTOCK, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 15–18, 80–90; also C. KOCH, *Venus*, RE 8 A 1, 1955, col. 864. Cf. W. ALZINGER, *Augusteische Architektur in Ephesos*, *Sonderschriften* 16 (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1974), vol. 1, p. 14, on 'Venus Genetrix . . . Stammutter des iulisch-claudischen Hauses.'

³⁷ W. DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3d ed. (henceforth cited SIG), 760.4, τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδείτης θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ; cf. WEINSTOCK, *Divus Julius*, pp. 84, 166, 296–97, 403.

³⁸ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.18, τὸ Ἀφροδίτης τέμενος.

³⁹ Deipn. 13.573a, cf. the discussion of 'Companion Aphrodite,' in Deipn. 13.559a, 571b–e and DÜMMER, *Aphrodite*, RE 1.2, 1894, cols. 2733–34.

the Aphrodite Automata or Epidaetida mentioned by the later writer Servius, though the brevity of the sources leaves much to imagination.⁴⁰ To my knowledge Aphrodite does not appear on the coinage of our period.⁴¹

2. Apollo

Various manifestations of the god Apollo were worshipped by the Ephesians. From a monument of an unusually early date one learns that by the fifth century there was a sanctuary of Ἀπόλλων Πατροῖος in Ephesus.⁴² In this regard Apollo Patroios may have been incorporated into the cult of the Phrygian Mother Goddess along with Attis.⁴³ Inscriptions from a later date mention the worship of the Klarian Apollo,⁴⁴ the Pan-Ionic Apollo,⁴⁵ and

⁴⁰ J. KEIL, Aphrodite Daitis, JÖAI 17 (1914), pp. 146–47; K. LATTE, Aphrodite in Ephesos, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 17 (1914), pp. 678–79 explains the epithet of Aphrodite Epidaetida at Ephesus in the following way: „Das so gewonnene, formal einwandfreie Ἐπίδαιτις lässt sich leicht erklären. In Ephesos gab es einen Platz Δαιτίς, zu dem die δειπνοφοριακή πομπή der Artemis ging. . . . An ihm lag also der Aphroditetempel, und die Göttin ἐπὶ Δαιτίδι wurde durch 'Hypostase' zur Ἐπίδαιτις. Αὐτομάτη als Beinamen gerade der Aphrodite ist verständlich; die Αὐτοματία Timoleons (Plut. Tim. 36,3) und Αὐτόματον (oder Αὐτόματος?) in Pergamon (Hepding, Ath. Mitt. XXXV 1910, 458) bieten nur sehr entfernte Analogien.“ For the use of lamps in this cult see M. P. NILSSON, Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike, Opuscula Archaeologica 6 (1950), p. 106 (= Id., Opuscula Selecta, vol. 3 [Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1960], p. 205).

⁴¹ This goddess does not appear in the index by KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 353f.

⁴² J. KEIL and G. MARESCHE, Epigraphische Nachlese zu Miltners Ausgrabungsberichten aus Ephesos, JÖAI 45 (1960), Beibl. p. 76. This evidence necessitates some modification to the idea of L. R. FARNELL, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. 4 that “It was specially, perhaps solely, at Athens that he (Apollo) enjoyed this position (as Patroios),” p. 153, and “in Ionia, on the other side of the Aegean, Apollo Πατρώος is nowhere found,” p. 161; also M. SANTORO, Epitheta Deorum in Asia Graeca Cultorum ex Auctoribus Graecis et Latinis, Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità 44 (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1973), p. 229 cites Pl. Euthd. 302c–d.

⁴³ KNIBBE, Die anderen ephesischen Götter, p. 494; cf. also J. KEIL, Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes, JÖAI 18 (1915), pp. 76–78.

⁴⁴ F. MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 292, fn. 66. According to D. KNIBBE the ὁ μαντεῖος Ἀπόλλων of a second century A.D. inscription „nicht mit dem klarischen Apollon identisch zu sein scheint,” see Die anderen ephesischen Götter, p. 499; cf. the suggestion of J. KEIL, Ein Orakel des klarischen Apollon, AAWW 82 (1945), pp. 47–53. — ‘Die Inschriften von Ephesos’ contains three examples of Ἀπόλλων Κλάριος, vol. 4, nos. 1060; 1072; 1077 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

⁴⁵ KEIL and MARESCHE, Epigraphische Nachlese, JÖAI 45 (1960), Beibl. pp. 75–77. D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 871, no. 54 details the Pan-Ionic League; cf. KNIBBE who states that the Pan-Ionic Apollo „mit Ephesos nichts zu tun hat,” Die anderen ephesischen Götter, p. 494.

ὁ μαντεῖος Ἀπόλλων.⁴⁶ An epigraphical record of certain Ephesians who sponsored the Dionysia, dating from the first century B.C., preserves the name of a priest of the Pythian Apollo,⁴⁷ and a writer of the second century A.D. mentions a littoral temple of the Pythian Apollo at Ephesus.⁴⁸ Two distinct appellations of Apollo in Ephesus are preserved only on coins. These are Ἰκέσιος⁴⁹ and Ἐμβάσιος.⁵⁰ The first term is based upon Apollo's close identification, as the brother of Artemis,⁵¹ with the asylum rights of Artemis' temple.⁵² The second term, Ἐμβάσιος, clearly refers to Apollo's kind disposition toward the launching and sailing of ships. Literary sources illuminate this nautical epithet of Apollo. In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius one reads the line:

τείως δ' αὖ καὶ βωμὸν ἐπάκτιον Ἐμβασίῳ
θεῖομεν Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃ μοι χρεῖων ὑπέδεκτο
σημανεῖν δεῖξιν τε πόρους ἄλός

"Meantime let us build upon the beach an altar to Apollo Embasius who by an oracle promised to point out and show me the paths of the sea."⁵³

Since ships and themes related to sailing frequently appeared on coinage of harbor cities,⁵⁴ S. KARWIESE correctly concluded: „*Ob in E(phesos) nun ein Kult des Embasios bestanden hat oder nicht, so mußte jedenfalls für diese Hafenstadt die sichere Seefahrt von größter Bedeutung sein.*“⁵⁵

3. Asclepius

The standing of Asclepius and his devotees in the Ephesian community was somewhat different from others since these were so closely tied to the art and practice of medicine and healing. The professional academy of these devotees

⁴⁶ D. KNIBBE, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, p. 494. — See now D. KNIBBE, *Der Staatsmarkt*, FiE 9.1.1, pp. 102–3, esp. fn. 203. Cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin Épigraphique*, in: *Revue des Études Grecques* (henceforth cited REG) 95 (1982), pp. 370–71.

⁴⁷ FiE 2, no. 30 B. 21–22.

⁴⁸ Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 8.361e. None of the suggested sites for this ancient temple conform to the evidence and artifacts, W. ALZINGER, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 1646.

⁴⁹ B. V. HEAD, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (Bologna: Arnaldo-Forni-Editore, 1964), no. 238 (p. 79); S. KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 337.

⁵⁰ KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970 cols. 338–39.

⁵¹ See below pp. 1706–08, footnote nos. 348–63.

⁵² See below pp. 1714–16, footnote nos. 426–37.

⁵³ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 1.359–61, Loeb Classical Library, trans. R. C. SEATON (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), cf. 1.402–4; 1.966; 1.1186; cf. also Pausanias 2.32.2 for veneration of Apollo Epibaterios by sailors.

⁵⁴ P. R. FRANKE, *Kleinasien zur Römerzeit. Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Münzen* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1968), p. 23.

⁵⁵ KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 339.

was known as τὸ Μουσεῖον, and it still remains to be discovered.⁵⁶ In association with the academy, inscriptions mention both medical professors (οἱ παιδευταί)⁵⁷ as well as an ἀρχιατρός.⁵⁸ A small stone monument from the early Hellenistic period contains the short reference Ἀσκληπιῷ ἱερόν.⁵⁹ The names of priests of Asclepius at Ephesus are extant in epigraphical evidence from the period of the Roman Republic and Empire.⁶⁰ In addition to the priests, doctors also participated in the cultic activities. An imperial inscription reads [οἱ] θύοντες τῷ Προπάτορι Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ἰατροί.⁶¹ Sometimes Asclepius was venerated in conjunction with other deities connected with the therapeutic arts. Indicative of this is the following inscription: ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀνέθηκαν Ἀσκληπιὸν σὺν Ὑγείᾳ καὶ Ὑπνῷ σὺν παντὶ αὐτῶν κόσμῳ.⁶² The imperial sophist Aelius Aristides was ordered by Asclepius to bathe himself in a sacred ψυχρὸν λουτρόν at Ephesus ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ.⁶³

⁵⁶ This structure is yet to be located, KNIBBE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 1636–7; for inscriptional evidence see FiE 2, no. 65.1 (p. 177) and FiE 3, no. 68.10 (p. 151). A fragmentary inscription from the early second century relates a decree which provides for a waiver of taxes for doctors and others who belong to the Mouseion, FiE 4.1, no. 1 (pp. 80–82).

⁵⁷ FiE 2, no. 65.2 (p. 177) and FiE 3, no. 68.11 (p. 151).

⁵⁸ J. KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. p. 263–64; J. KEIL, Ärzteinschriften aus Ephesos, JÖAI 8 (1905), pp. 136–38; cf. KNIBBE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 276.

⁵⁹ J. KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. p. 263. For inscriptional evidence regarding the contests at the Asclepian Ceremonies see BAMMER, FLEISCHER, KNIBBE, Führer durch das Archäologische Museum, pp. 110–13. – A fragmentary altar bearing an epigram with appreciation to Asclepius has been published in: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1254 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]); for further evidence for athletic winners at the Asclepian ceremonies see: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1081 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]) and ibid., vol. 7.2, no. 4101B.

⁶⁰ FiE 2, no. 30B.22 (Republic) and E. L. HICKS, The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum (henceforth IBM), Pt. III, Sec. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), no. 600/49 (p. 221) for a second century inscription.

⁶¹ J. KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. pp. 263–64; also see J. KEIL, Ärzteinschriften aus Ephesos, JÖAI 8 (1905), pp. 128–38.

⁶² FiE 4.1, no. 23.8–9 (cf. p. 97); KEIL, Ärzteinschriften aus Ephesos, JÖAI 8 (1905), p. 136 records the brief inscription Ἐπιφανεῖ θεᾷ Ὑγείᾳ (sic); J. H. OLIVER, The Sacred Gerusia, Hesperia Supp. 6 (Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 1941), no. 6.16–18 (p. 88) records the erection of a statue of Ὑπνος designated σύνβωμος of Asclepius; cf. SANTORO, Epitheta Deorum, p. 34 for Pergamum. – Note also: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 5, no. 1591 (= I. K. 15 [Ephesos]), Ἀσκληπιῷ [καὶ Ὑγείᾳ Τρόφιμος]. For Ὑπνος see ibid., vol. 6, no. 2113 and vol. 7.2, no. 4123.

⁶³ Aristides, Oratio 48.82 (p. 487d) cited according to B. KEIL, Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei Quae Supersunt Omnia, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1888). The precise location of γυμνάσιον is tied to the complex issue of the identity of Koressos. In regard to the location of Aristides' washing, W. ALZINGER, Koressos, in: Festschrift für Fritz Eichler zum achtzigsten Geburtstag (ÖAI: Vienna, 1967), p. 8, observed: „Somit bleibt für das γυμνάσιον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ nur noch ein Platz außerhalb des Stadtgebietes von Ephesos, und zwar im wörtlichen Sinn der Bezeichnung 'beim Koressos'“; cf. L. ROBERT, Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse, Revue de Philologie 41 (1967), pp. 73–77.

4. Athena

The sources which attest the worship of Athena in Ephesus are brief and center chiefly upon the existence of her temple. Athenaeus mentions her temple,⁶⁴ and Strabo refers to τὸ Ἀθηναίων⁶⁵ which in his day was located outside of the city. Some Ephesian coins, according to BLUMA TRELL, bear the image of the temple of Athena.⁶⁶ The Salutaris inscription from the Principate of Trajan contains the *hapax legomenon* Ἀθηνᾶ Πάμμουσος which, in HICK's judgment, refers to Athena as the "patroness of all the Arts."⁶⁷ An additional suggestion is put forth by L. ROBERT who, after relating the adjectival uses of πάμμουσος, remarks: «D'après la fondation de Vibius Salutaris à Éphèse, à chaque assemblée du peuple on mettra au théâtre, au-dessus de la rangée où sont assis les παῖδες, une statuette d'argent d'Athéna Pammousos; ainsi Athéna est aussi bien Πάμμουσος que Πάμμαχος, et elle est en relation avec les παῖδες.»⁶⁸ S. KARWIESE notes the presence of Athena Areia on Ephesian coinage minted during the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁶⁹

5. Demeter

The participation of the Ephesians in the worship of Demeter dates from a period earlier than the historian Herodotus since he recounts an episode of nocturnal worship of Demeter in the Thesmophoria.⁷⁰ A later inscription of

⁶⁴ Deipn. 8.361e; for the location of the temple on Mount Pion see KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 341–42.

⁶⁵ Strabo, Geog. 14.1.4.

⁶⁶ These coins have been collected and discussed by BLUMA L. TRELL, *Architectura Numismatica: Pt. II, Temples in Asia Minor* (unpubl. dissertation, New York University, 1942), pp. 66–79; KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 341–42, lists a coin from the late second century which may depict the temple of Athena.

⁶⁷ E. L. HICKS, IBM, no. 481.336 (p. 140). — For a more recent edition of the Salutaris inscriptions see: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 1A, nos. 27–37 (= I. K. 11.1 [Ephesos]); *ibid.*, 33A mentions Minerva Pammusa.

⁶⁸ L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 13 (1965), p. 56.

⁶⁹ KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 337. M. P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (henceforth cited GGR), 3rd ed. (1974–76), vol. 1, p. 518, fn. 7 lists inscriptional references to Athena Areia in Asia Minor; also JESSEN, *Areia*, RE 2, 1896, cols. 620–21; for numismatic evidence from the other Asian cities see BARCLAY HEAD, *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911, repr. Chicago: Argonaut Inc., 1968), pp. 535–36. — *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1260 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]) mentions a fragmentary inscription from the Embolos dedicated to Ἀθηνᾶ Ἐργά[νη]. A better known albeit fragmentary inscription from the late second century A. D. mentions [Ἀ]θηνᾶ(ς) Σωτεί(ρας), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 5, no. 1600 (= I. K. 15 [Ephesos]). A third fragmentary inscription reads *Deanae Ephes[iae] et Minerva[e et Imperatori]*, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1209 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]). *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 6, no. 2200A lists a *collegium Minervium tabulariorum* (= I. K. 16 [Ephesos]).

⁷⁰ Herodotus, Hist. 6.16.

uncertain date includes the phrase εὐχαριστοῦμεν . . . Δήμητρι καὶ Δήμητρος Κόρη.⁷¹ Especially associated with the veneration of Demeter at Ephesus was an order of devotees known as οἱ πρὸ πόλεως Δημητριασταί,⁷² a title which appears in a resolution of ca. A.D. 19–23. In this resolution Augusta is deified as Δημήτηρ Καρποφόρος.⁷³ Later empresses were also portrayed in sculpture as the goddess Demeter.⁷⁴ The importance and long-standing observance of the rites of Demeter in Ephesus are clearly reflected in a request for permission to perform the μυστήρια καὶ θυσίαι . . . ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Δήμητρι Καρποφόρῳ καὶ Θεσμοφόρῳ . . . ὑπὸ μυστῶν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνείας καὶ νομίμων ἐθῶν.⁷⁵ A ceremonial highpoint in the mysteries of Demeter at Ephesus was the bearing of sacred baskets,⁷⁶ a fact attested by the occurrence of the title καλαθηφόρος⁷⁷ and ὑποκαλαθηφόρος⁷⁸ in Ephesian inscriptions. The same festival may be included in Strabo's mention of the τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος in Ephesus.⁷⁹ Serious objection, however, has been raised in this regard by JOSEF KEIL: „Aber die ephesische Überlieferung, in welcher der Beiname Ἐλευσινία sonst niemals vorkommt, stützt diesen Schluß (i.e. daß in Ephesos eine Art Filiation des eleusinischen Heiligtums bestanden habe) nicht.“⁸⁰ Zeal for the rites and religion of Demeter was yet strong in the second century A.D.

⁷¹ MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 292. FARNELL, *Cults*, vol. 3, p. 336, no. 125 cites a first century inscription which reads ἱερῶς Πλούτωνος [καὶ] Κόρης. — Additional inscriptions mentioning Demeter and Kore are: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, nos. 1058; 1060; 1067; 1070A; and 1071 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]). These are also discussed by D. KNIBBE, *Der Staatsmarkt*, FiE 9.1.1 Nachträge no. 4 (p. 169), no. C1 (p. 56), no. F 8 (p. 66), Nachträge 5 (p. 169), and no. F 11 (p. 67).

⁷² J. KEIL, 13. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 24 (1929), Beibl. pp. 65–66 (= FiE 4.3, no. 37.27). The same organization appears in a second century A.D. inscription οἱ πρὸ πόλεως Δημητριασταί in HICKS, IBM, no. 595. 3–6 (p. 218).

⁷³ FiE 4.3, no. 37.18–19 and notes p. 287.

⁷⁴ C. C. VERMEULE, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 112.

⁷⁵ SIG 820.1–6 (= HICKS, IBM, no. 506.3–7 and notes [p. 169]). — For further references to Fruitbearing Demeter see BAMMER, FLEISCHER, KNIBBE, *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum*, pp. 100–3 (= Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 1A, no. 10 [= I. K. 11.1 (Ephesos)]); Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1210 (footnotes 81–82) (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]); BAMMER, FLEISCHER, KNIBBE, *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum*, pp. 91–92 (= Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1228 [= I. K. 14 (Ephesos)]). Dating from a century into the Christian period is a reference to Δημήτηρ Καρποτόκος, Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1305 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

⁷⁶ J. KEIL, *Kulte im Prytaneion von Ephesos*, in: *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, eds. W. M. CALDER and JOSEF KEIL (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), p. 125; note, however, G. E. MYLONAS, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 300–301 and K. CLINTON, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 64.3 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974) for the absence of “basket carriers” in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

⁷⁷ KEIL, *Kulte im Prytaneion*, no. 3.13 (p. 121); no. 5.5 (p. 121); no. 6.4 (p. 122); p. 125.

⁷⁸ MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 291, fn. 66, l. 9.

⁷⁹ 14.1.3.

⁸⁰ KEIL, *Kulte im Prytaneion*, p. 125; cf. HICKS, IBM, p. 80.

According to the dedicatory inscription of his son, a certain Rutilius Bassus, the γραμματεὺς (of the gerousia?) in A.D. 120,⁸¹ τὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ναὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησεν καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ.⁸² Also indicative of the importance attributed to Demeter Karpophorus is the attentive care for her statue and shrine in the Ephesian Prytaneion. Archaeologists have also discovered a „*Bildchen (100×75 cm) der thronenden Demeter an der Rückwand des Gewölbes, das hinter der dritten Westkammer der Domitiangasse liegt.*“⁸³ Unfortunately, archaeologists have not yet uncovered the foundation of the temple of the goddess Demeter, a goddess whose religion prospered in Ephesus longer than half a millennium.

6. Dionysus

In addition to legendary episodes which placed the god Dionysus in Ephesus,⁸⁴ there is abundant additional evidence that Dionysus was revered and his cult was faithfully maintained there. Noteworthy is the fact that the month Lenaeon, sacred for the Dionysia, was part of the Ephesian calendar.⁸⁵ If one assumes that the problematic Cistophoric coinage of Asia, dating from the mid-second century B.C., had the goal, at least in part, of serving as propaganda for religious cults or using religious symbolism to establish dynastic political claims,⁸⁶ then these provide early evidence for the veneration of Dionysus (and possibly other deities, e.g., Sabazius and Egyptian gods) in pre-Imperial Ephesus.⁸⁷ From the period of the late Republic one also discovers epigraphical references to priesthood and ceremonies associated with the worship of Dio-

⁸¹ HICKS, IBM, no. 486.16 (p. 150).

⁸² R. HEBERDEY, 5. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 5 (1902), Beibl. p. 66.

⁸³ The above Prytaneion inscription is given by H. WANKEL, Zu dem ephesischen Opfergesetz Inv. 1273 (= SOKOŁOWSKI Suppl. 121), ZPE 29 (1978), p. 51.28ff.; see below p. 1691 fn. 238. The wall painting is described by V. M. STROCKA, Wandmalerei, JÖAI 50 (1972–73), Beibl. p. 469 and F. EICHLER, Ephesos – Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht, AAWW 98 (1961), pp. 72–73.

⁸⁴ Tacitus, Ann. 3.61.2.

⁸⁵ HICKS, IBM, no. 477e.70 and Josephus, Jud. Ant. 14.10.12. – For a general treatment of Ephesian calendar see R. MERKELBACH, Die Ephesischen Monate in der Kaiserzeit, ZPE 36 (1979), pp. 157–62; see also H. ENGELMANN and D. KNIBBE, Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern, JÖAI 52 (1978–80), p. 36, no. 43, for additional occurrence of Ἀθηναίων.

⁸⁶ D. KIENAST, Literaturüberblicke der griechischen Numismatik: Cistophoren, Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 11 (1961), pp. 158–88, includes several entries which specifically relate to the possible religious significance of this coinage; nos. 52, 53, 60, 63, 77, 78, 78a, 87, 88, 91, 100, 102, 104, 112, 115; also F. S. KLEINER and S. P. NOE, The Early Cistophoric Coinage, Numismatic Studies 14 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1977), p. 17.

⁸⁷ On Ephesus see F. S. KLEINER, The Dated Cistophori of Ephesus (Plates XI–XV), American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 18 (1972), pp. 17–32; for possible Egyptian influence see W. DREXLER, Der Isis- und Sarapis-Cultus in Kleinasien, Numismatische Zeitschrift 21 (1889), pp. 80–81.

nysus.⁸⁸ Numismatic evidence dating from 39 B.C. also establishes the influence and veneration of Dionysus in Ephesus.⁸⁹ An event contemporary with this coinage is recorded by Plutarch and preserves a vivid picture of the vitality of this cult there.⁹⁰ When Mark Antony entered Ephesus it was during the Dionysia. The city was appropriately decorated with ivy and thyrsus wands. He was greeted by women dressed as Bacchanals and by men and boys dressed like Satyrs and Pans. Amid the din of music coming from harps, flutes, and pipes, he was hailed as the personification of Dionysus.⁹¹

A fragmentary white marble column of imperial date mentions μύσται of the enigmatic⁹² Διονύσου Φλέω who were closely associated with οἱ πρὸ πόλεως Δημητριασταί by the second century A.D.⁹³ Epigraphical evidence from the Ephesian agora attests to the celebration of the winter festival of Dionysus known as ἡ τῶν καταγωγίων ἡμέρα,⁹⁴ while the "periegete Dionysius mentions Dionysiac choruses of dancing women at Ephesus."⁹⁵ There is now testimony to the Ephesian Βαχχεῖον (= Βακχεῖον)⁹⁶ which in this inscription refers to the devotees' house of assembly.⁹⁷ A later Christian work entitled 'Martyrium Timothei' records a celebration of the Dionysian activities which resulted in the supposed martyrdom of the Bishop of Ephesus, Timothy.⁹⁸ Throughout

⁸⁸ FiE 2, no. 30B.17–18 gives an extensive list of yearly sponsors of τὰ Διονύσια; cf. also KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. pp. 3–5. — *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1211, mentions a dedication to Dionysus by the hierophant Mundicius (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

⁸⁹ H. A. GRUEBER, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), vol. 2, p. 503, no. 135, pl. 114.3; P. R. FRANKE, *Kleinasien zur Römerzeit*, no. 472; KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 329.

⁹⁰ Plutarch, *Vita Ant.* 24.3. — For the epithets κισσοφόρος and Ὀρεῖος see: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, nos. 1310 and 1267 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

⁹¹ A related story takes place when Antony resides at Athens and is known as νέος Διόνυσος, Dio Cassius 48.39.2.

⁹² M. P. NILSSON, GGR, vol. 1, p. 584. — This epithet for Dionysus is found four times at Ephesus, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 3, no. 902; vol. 4, nos. 1257, 1270; vol. 5, no. 1595.

⁹³ HICKS, IBM, no. 595.5–6. — On the unusual phrase πρὸ πόλεως, R. MERKELBACH, *Die Ephesischen Dionysosmysten vor der Stadt*, ZPE 36 (1979), pp. 151–56, writes: „Götter 'vor der Stadt' (πρὸ πόλεως) können Götter sein, welche die Stadt schützen (z. B. Aeschylus, *Septem 164*), oder Götter, deren Heiligtum vor der Stadt liegt und deren Feste im Freien gefeiert werden. Dies letztere ist hier (at Ephesus) gemeint“ (p. 151, fn. 1), and: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 5, no. 1595 and notes p. 98 (= I. K. 15 [Ephesos]).

⁹⁴ D. KNIBBE, *Epigraphische Nachlese*, JÖAI 47 (1964–65), Beibl. pp. 29–30; see also M. P. NILSSON, *Katagogia*, RE 10.2, 1919, col. 2459; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin Épigraohique*, in: REG 81 (1968), pp. 510–11 on inscriptional testimony to Katagogia reported by KNIBBE, *Epigraphische Nachlese*, JÖAI 47 (1964–65), Beibl. pp. 29–30.

⁹⁵ M. P. NILSSON, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1957, repr. New York: Arno Press, 1975), pp. 59–60.

⁹⁶ D. KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos V*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. pp. 45–46.

⁹⁷ Cf. NILSSON, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, p. 63.

⁹⁸ The text of this obscure work is given in FiE 1, no. 272 (p. 257) and H. USENER, *Acta S. Timothei* (Bonn: University Press, n.d.); discussion of this text is presented by J. KEIL, *Zum Martyrium des heiligen Timotheus in Ephesos*, JÖAI 29 (1935), pp. 82–92 and in

the later imperial period the city was still vibrant with enthusiasm and dedication to Dionysus. This presence of devotees is evident in the words inscribed by οἱ τοῦ Προπάτορος θεοῦ Διονύσου Κορησεῖτου σακηφόροι μύσται φιλοσέβαστοι which honor the Emperor Commodus as νέος Διόνυσος.⁹⁹ The term Κορησεῖτου, in all probability, indicates that „*das ephesische Dionysosheiligtum im Bezirke der Koressiten zu suchen ist*.“¹⁰⁰ The word σακηφόροι, on the other hand, refers to those wearing garments made of “goats’ hair” and which were “worn by the mystae of Dionysos.”¹⁰¹

Recent epigraphical studies on Ephesus have revealed previously unknown appellations of Dionysus occurring there, namely Ποιμάντριος¹⁰² and ὀρειογυάδων.¹⁰³ The former is an allusion to the shepherd theme¹⁰⁴ while the latter „*ihn als den Herrn der die Berge durchstreifenden Bakchantinnen zeigt*.“¹⁰⁵

The above inscription which designates Commodus as νέος Διόνυσος reflects the long history of association between the god and the contemporary ruler.¹⁰⁶ Between the reign of Commodus and the much earlier example of

H. DELEHAYE, *Les actes de Saint Timothée*, in: *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, pp. 77–84.

⁹⁹ KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. p. 265; the epithet Προπάτωρ should be added to KERN’s list in RE 5, 1905, cols. 1026–33.

¹⁰⁰ KNIBBE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 284; on the question of Koressos and Ephesian topography see W. ALZINGER, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 1592 and Id., Koressos, in: *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, pp. 1–9; see also fn. 259.

¹⁰¹ NILSSON, *Dionysiac Mysteries*, p. 48; more recently see D. KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos VII*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. pp. 72–73 and: *A Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th ed., s.v. σακκοφόρος, compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and R. SCOTT, revised by H. S. JONES (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

¹⁰² KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften IV*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. p. 16.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 21–23.

¹⁰⁴ This appellation should be added to the list of ‘*Cultnamen des Dionysos*’ by KERN, *Dionysos*, RE 5, 1905, cols. 1026–33.

¹⁰⁵ KNIBBE, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, p. 496.

¹⁰⁶ In general see R. TURCAN, César et Dionysos, in: *Hommage à la Mémoire de Jérôme Carcopino* (Paris: Société d’Édition ‘Les Belles Lettres’, 1977), pp. 317–25. The temporary liberator of Asia, the Aegean Islands, and much of Greece, Mithridates VI was heralded by the Artists of Dionysus at Athens as νέος Διόνυσος (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* V. 212d). Mark Antony, while living in Greece (ca. 39 B.C.), demanded for himself the epithet νέος Διόνυσος (Dio Cassius 48.39.2) and later during his liaison with Cleopatra, adopted a politicized version of this trend by regarding Cleopatra as Isis or Selene and himself as Osiris or Dionysus (Dio Cassius 50.25.3–4). This maneuver by Antony has been correctly analyzed by G. HÖBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 21: „*Einen besonderen neuen Inhalt bekam die Beziehung des Antonius zu Dionysos durch seine Verbindung mit Ägypten und der Lagidendynastie. In Ägypten wurde Dionysos mit Osiris identifiziert. Kleopatra ließ sich aber entsprechend alter Tradition der ptolemäischen Königinnen mit Isis gleichsetzen. Ihr Vater Auletes trat als νέος Διόνυσος auf, sie selbst als νέα Ἴσις. Dadurch, daß Antonius den Dionysoskult aufgriff und dessen Heilsideen auf seine Person bezog, stand er jetzt ganz in der Familientradition der ptolemäischen Könige*.“ Cf. also NILSSON, *GGR*, vol. 2, p. 174. An informative analysis of this term in its many contexts is given by A. D. NÖCK, *Notes on Ruler-Cult I–IV*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 48 (1928), pp. 30–38 (= NÖCK,

Antony's deification by the Ephesians, one sees a similar pattern at work in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian. He was acclaimed frequently as New Dionysus¹⁰⁷ and, at Ephesus, as σύνθρονος τῷ Διονύσῳ by οἱ πρὸ πόλεως μύσται.¹⁰⁸

An abbreviated report about the longstanding guild of οἱ τεχνῖται¹⁰⁹ of Dionysus in Asia¹¹⁰ is appropriate at this juncture. The roots of this guild of dramatic and musical artisans¹¹¹ were planted in the Greek world of an earlier age.¹¹² Although traditionally thought to have been centered at Teos in Asia, this was not its permanent home.¹¹³ The guild's history and reputation were checkered politically,¹¹⁴ morally,¹¹⁵ and civically,¹¹⁶ and this may have led to some of its erratic relocations. According to STRABO this guild was headquartered at one time in Ephesus.¹¹⁷ An inscription from the reign of Antoninus Pius mentions the presence in Ephesus of the "Actors' Guild devoted to Dionysus" on the occasion of the contests of the Great Ephesia.¹¹⁸

Essays on Religion and the Ancient World [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972], vol. 1, pp. 144–52).

¹⁰⁷ D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 1, pp. 617f.; vol. 2, pp. 1477f., no. 24.

¹⁰⁸ KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften VII*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. p. 76. For the use of the epithet σύνθρονος in ruler cults see A. D. NOCK, *Notes on Ruler-Cult I–IV*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 48 (1928), p. 22 (= NOCK, *Essays*, 1, p. 135, fn. 7); ID., ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930), pp. 24ff.; pp. 57ff. (= NOCK, *Essays*, vol. 1, pp. 221ff.; pp. 246ff.).

¹⁰⁹ Most helpful is ARTHUR PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. revised by JOHN GOULD and D. M. LEWIS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 279–305 and 'Appendix,' pp. 306–21 which gives epigraphical texts for this guild; cf. also MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 2, pp. 899–900; 940–41; 1477–78, and POLAND, *Technitai*, *RE*, 5 A 2, 1934, cols. 2473–2558 (Nachträge).

¹¹⁰ One of its frequent titles was τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.

¹¹¹ They, of course, worshipped deities and performed at cultic activities; see POLAND, *Technitai*, *RE* 5 A 2, 1934, cols. 2521–26.

¹¹² PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 279ff.

¹¹³ C. B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (Chicago: Ares Publishers, Inc., 1974), pp. 231–32; PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 294–301.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

¹¹⁵ Aristotle, *Prob.* 30.10 Διὰ τί οἱ Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πονηροὶ εἰσιν;

¹¹⁶ There were tensions (Strabo, *Geog.* 14.1.29) which resulted, perhaps, from the guild's desire to stand above local laws and obligations; compare Letter of Eumenes II to the Guild of Dionysiac Artists Concerning Their Relations with the City of Teos, no. 53 in C. B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, pp. 219–37 with the privileged rights granted by Sulla, PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *Dramatic Festivals*, p. 318, text no. 13 and R. K. SHERK, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), pp. 263–66, no. 49.

¹¹⁷ Strabo, *Geog.* 14.1.29.

¹¹⁸ For a general discussion and further bibliography on this particular testimony see F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (31 B.C. – A.D. 337), (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 459; earlier H. W. PLEKET, *Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds*, *ZPE* 10 (1973), pp. 210–11. – For an extensive bibliography and German translation see: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 1A, no. 22 (= I. K. 11.1 [Ephesos]).

7. Egyptian Cults

Evidence for the influential presence of Egyptian religions in Ephesus has been preserved in literary, numismatic, inscriptional, architectural, statuary, and other sources.¹¹⁹ While there are isolated artifacts which witness to Egyptian presence in Ephesus as early as the seventh century B.C.,¹²⁰ a significant religious impact cannot be detected prior to the Hellenistic period. More specifically, it is not until after the death of Alexander the Great and the distribution of his territorial legacy that Egyptian influence, including cults and shrines, began to appear on the Aegean coast of Turkey.¹²¹

We begin with a survey of the inscriptional data,¹²² first those that explicitly mention an Egyptian deity, then those regarded to be such. The earliest Hellenistic record of an Egyptian cult in Ephesus is epigraphical and stems from a period before the middle of the third century B.C. This inscription adorns an altar

¹¹⁹ The specialized work by G. HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus* (= EPRO 73) incorporates the evidence and results of previous studies of larger scope. Inscriptions were the principal concern of the works by J. KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes in Ephesos*, AAWW 91 (1954), pp. 217–29 and L. VIDMAN, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 28 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969), pp. 153–57, nos. 296–304; ID., *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern*, *Epigraphische Studien zur Verbreitung und zu den Trägern des Ägyptischen Kultes*, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 29 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970). Numismatic evidence was of primary interest in the works of W. DREXLER, *Der Isis- und Sarapis-Cultus in Kleinasien*, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 21 (1889), pp. 78–94 and: ID., *Nachtrag zum Isis- und Sarapis-Cultus in Kleinasien*, p. 390; D. MAGIE, *Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and Coins*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 57 (1953), pp. 163–87; W. HORNBOSTEL, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* (= EPRO 32), pp. 146f., 318ff. Architectural structures are the main interest of R. SALDITT-TRAPPMANN, *Tempel der ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasien* (= EPRO 15), pp. 27–32 and G. J. F. KATER-SIBBES, *Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments* (= EPRO 36), pp. 68–69. Also helpful is FR. DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* (= EPRO 26), vol. 3, pp. 66–75 (cf. *Noms Géographiques*, p. 353). The exact significance of the Greek novels by Achilles Tatius and Xenophon of Ephesus is still uncertain. Both works serve as literary propaganda for the goddess Isis. R. MERKELBACH, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1962) has shown that „*das Werk des Achilles Tatios ist – wie das des Xenophon – ein Isisroman*“ (p. 114) although throughout the work of Xenophon the name of Artemis of Ephesus is only a „*Deckname*“ of Isis (p. 92); J. GWYN GRIFFITHS, *Xenophon of Ephesus on Isis and Alexandria*, in: *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* (= EPRO 68), vol. 1, pp. 409–37 has also shown that the name Ephesus may be used as a surrogate for Alexandria.

¹²⁰ D. G. HOGARTH, *Excavations at Ephesus, The Archaic Artemisia*, p. 341, s.v. *Egyptian Art*; HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 1–15.

¹²¹ VIDMAN, *Isis und Sarapis*, pp. 44–45; DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis*, vol. 3, p. 66; HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 16–20.

¹²² VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, pp. 153–57, nos. 296–304; HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 27, 43–53.

dedicated to Σαράπ[ιδι] Ἰσιδι, Ἀνουβιδι, Θεοῖς συννάοις.¹²³ The term Θεοὶ σύνναοι is to be taken as an appositive, thereby identifying these as Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis.¹²⁴ Another inscriptional text, this one dating from the first century before Christ, tersely states: Σαράπιδι ἀνέθηκεν.¹²⁵

A third inscription, this one from the second century A.D., mentions φιάλη and σπονδεῖον dedicated to Ἰσιδι καὶ Σαράπιδι.¹²⁶ This same inscription reveals the names of two Ephesian men who served as ceremonial sailors (ναυβαιοῦντες)¹²⁷ in the annual nautical festival of Isis known as πλοιαφέσια, a festival which insured another year of safety on the seas.¹²⁸ "When the storms of winter have been calmed, and the wild waves of the sea have been stilled," these two Sacred Sailors would have helped to consecrate and launch a new ship, sacred to Isis, and "to offer it as first-fruits of a new year's navigation," thereby securing a blessing especially desirable for a harbor city of Ephesus' magnitude.¹²⁹

Another second century inscription is dedicated to "[Artemis], Antoninus Pius, the city of Ephesus and to those employed at the custom-house of the fishery." It was erected by a certain Kominia Junia who dedicated, from her own resources, σὺν τῷ βωμῷ τὴν Εἰσιν.¹³⁰

From the early third century there is a statue base in honor of the Emperor Caracalla. The imperial statue was dedicated τοῖς ἐπὶ θεοῦ μου Νεῖλου Σεράπιδι θύουσι.¹³¹

There are, in addition, inscriptions which may reflect a connection with Egyptian cults though never mentioning them explicitly. One such inscription refers to the construction of τὸ ἱερό[ν], ὁ ναός, τὸ τέμενος. The establishment of these was performed κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ and τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος.¹³² Because of the reference to divine instruction and direction, which was

¹²³ VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 153, no. 296; HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 43 ff., no. 1; KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes*, AAWW 91 (1954), p. 221, no. 2.

¹²⁴ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 45; for this triad see s.v. Sarapis-Isis-Anubis, in: DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis*, vol. 3, p. 335 and VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, s.v. theoi synnaoi, p. 341; cf. also NOCK, *ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ*, pp. 1–62 (= NOCK, *Essays*, vol. 1, pp. 202–251).

¹²⁵ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 47, no. 3; VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 154, no. 298; KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes*, AAWW 91 (1954), pp. 222–23, no. 4.

¹²⁶ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 47–48, no. 4; VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 155, no. 302; KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes*, AAWW 91 (1954), pp. 223–25, no. 5.

¹²⁷ VIDMAN, *Isis und Sarapis*, pp. 76–80, 83.

¹²⁸ VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 59 notes on no. 130; HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 48–49; DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis*, vol. 3, pp. 223–30.

¹²⁹ These quotations are from Apuleius, *Meta.* 11.5, trans. J. G. GRIFFITHS, *The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* = EPRO 39 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), p. 77. The principal literary source for this festival dating from the imperial era is the *Meta.* 11.16–17; see especially J. G. GRIFFITHS, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 31–47 and commentary ad loc. 11.16–17.

¹³⁰ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 52, no. 6; VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 155, no. 301; HICKS, *IBM*, no. 503.

¹³¹ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 53, no. 7; VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 156, no. 303; KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes*, AAWW 91 (1954), pp. 225 f.

¹³² HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 47, no. 2; VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 153, no. 297; KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes*, AAWW 91 (1954), p. 222, no. 3.

occasionally used in the Sarapis cult, some have seen this as pointing to an origin in the Egyptian cults. While this interpretation is possible, it is not demanded by the evidence.¹³³ There is also disagreement regarding another so-called Sarapis text. G. HÖLBL¹³⁴ demurs to the suggestion of J. KEIL¹³⁵ that the imperial inscription which begins Μέγα τὸ δν[ο]μα τοῦ θεοῦ alludes to Sarapis.¹³⁶ And finally, the fragmentary inscription . . . ἀρχιστόλος καὶ νεωκόρος . . . has been convincingly linked to a cultic functionary in the Egyptian religions.¹³⁷ The ἀρχιστόλος (= ἀρχιστολιστής),¹³⁸ much like the ἱερόστολος, had charge of the sacred vestments for the Egyptian deities.¹³⁹ The term νεωκόρος fits well into this theory since it is elsewhere employed with regard to sacerdotal functionaries of Sarapis.¹⁴⁰

Our earliest sources, inscriptions, do not reveal what kind of reception the Egyptian deities received at their advent in Ephesus in the third century B.C. To the best of our knowledge, however, their devotees in Ephesus did not incur the adversity experienced by their counterparts on Delos.¹⁴¹ In any case, by the first century B.C., the Egyptian cults were experiencing full public recognition, a fact based in part on the growing commercial and mercantile significance of Egypt for Ephesus.¹⁴²

Ephesian coinage, a later mirror of the influence of Egyptian cults, clearly attests the reception of these cults. Numismatic testimony dating from 88/87 B.C. reveals a series of Cistophoric coins which depict the headdress of Isis,¹⁴³ thereby, according to HÖLBL,¹⁴⁴ demonstrating „daß die Symbolik und ikono-

¹³³ D. MAGIE, *Egyptian Deities*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 57 (1953), p. 181, observes, however, that the expression "by command" need "not be regarded as evidence for the existence of a regularly established cult." J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin Épigraphique*, in: REG 68 (1955), p. 258, agree with MAGIE against KEIL. Nock's brief, but informative, study of this facet of religious terminology has been overlooked by many, A. D. NOCK, *Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 45 (1925), pp. 95–97 (= Nock, *Essays*, vol. 1: 45–48).

¹³⁴ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 53, no. 8.

¹³⁵ KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes*, *AAWW* 91 (1954), pp. 218f., no. 1; J. KEIL, *Zur Topographie der ionischen Küste südlich von Ephesos*, *JÖAI* 11 (1908), Beibl. p. 155 posits the same notion in regard to another inscription found in the vicinity of Ephesus.

¹³⁶ In general see VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, pp. 129, 156f., 181, nos. 245, 304, 357 and notes there.

¹³⁷ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 49–52, no. 5; VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, p. 154, no. 299; KEIL, *Denkmäler des Sarapiskultes*, *AAWW* 91 (1954), p. 225, no. 6.

¹³⁸ See s.v. in *Supplement of 'A Greek-English Lexicon'*, ed. H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, and H. S. JONES, with *Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

¹³⁹ For the duties and significance of this office see HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 49–51; VIDMAN, *Isis und Sarapis*, pp. 62–63; DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis*, vol. 3, pp. 153, 308.

¹⁴⁰ VIDMAN, *Isis und Sarapis*, pp. 53–60; HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 51–52.

¹⁴¹ H. ENGELMANN, *The Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis*, *EPRO* 44 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 23–25; p. 7.23–28.

¹⁴² In general M. WÖRRLE, *Ägyptisches Getreide für Ephesos*, *Chiron* 1 (1971), pp. 325–40; also *FiE* 3, no. 16 (p. 106).

¹⁴³ F. S. KLEINER, *The Dated Cistophori of Ephesus*, *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 18 (1972), pp. 26–27, nos. 47, 49, 53; cf. also HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 69–71.

¹⁴⁴ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 20, 27 respectively.

graphischen Elemente der Isisreligion in der Stadt, wenn schon nicht allgemein verständlich, so doch in der ganzen Bevölkerung bekannt gewesen sein mußten.“ More specifically, „dürften die . . . Cistophoren mit dem Isiskopfschmuck auf offizielle Anerkennung und Ausübung des Isisdienstes in Ephesus weisen.“ Ephesian coins also attest the cultic use of the *cista mystica*, a facet of the Isis religion illuminated by Apuleius and others.¹⁴⁵ The third century saw a significant increase in Homonoia-Coins between Ephesus and Alexandria, especially under Gordian III,¹⁴⁶ which usually depicted Sarapis, Isis, and Apis. Isis πελάγια,¹⁴⁷ venerated as Mistress of the Sea (θαλάσσης Κυρία), is on numerous Homonoia coins of Ephesus and Alexandria.

Numerous sculptures, bronzes, and reliefs also testify to the pervasiveness of Egyptian cults in imperial Ephesus.¹⁴⁸ Only a small percentage of the lamps excavated at Ephesus has been published. Those that have been published, as well as those that have not, often bear the image of Egyptian deities.¹⁴⁹ The lamps discovered call to mind the festival to Isis known as λαμπαδεία, a festival celebrated already in the Hellenistic period at the nearby city of Priene,¹⁵⁰ and, in all probability, at Ephesus.¹⁵¹

Two temple foundations in Ephesus have been attributed to the presence of Egyptian deities there. One lies on the north side of Mount Bülbül-Dagh and west of the agora and dates from the time of the Antonines.¹⁵² This temple ruin was previously thought to be a temple of Claudius,¹⁵³ a Nymphaeum,¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁵ Apuleius, *Meta.* 11.11 *cista secretorum* and notes ad loc. in J. G. GRIFFITHS, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 222–26 and PLUTARCH, *De Is. et Os.* 39 (366f.).

¹⁴⁶ KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, col. 362; HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 71–77; for the god Apis see G. J. F. KATER-SIBBES and M. J. VERMASEREN, *Apis*, *EPRO* 48, (Leiden: E. Brill, 1975), vol. 3, nos. 70–73.

¹⁴⁷ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 73–76.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 54–66. BAMMER, FLEISCHER, KNIBBE, *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum*, pp. 147–48 list a fragmentary relief and inscription to „*Harpokrates, die griechisch-römische Version des Horuskindes.*“

¹⁴⁹ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 67–69; *FiE* 4.2 (Cömeterium), pp. 106, 173, 199, *Tafel X*, XIV; also H. B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* (London: William Clowes and Son, 1914), lamp fragment no. 860.

¹⁵⁰ VIDMAN, *Sylloge*, pp. 149–51, no. 291; DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis*, vol. 3, pp. 56, 238–39. F. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955), no. 36 (pp. 101–4).

¹⁵¹ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, p. 68.

¹⁵² ALZINGER, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, cols. 1652–54; SALDITT-TRAPPMANN, *Tempel der ägyptischen Götter*, pp. 26–32; R. HEBERDEY, 11. vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos 1913, *JÖAI* 18 (1915), *Beibl.* pp. 77–88; J. KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, *JÖAI* 23 (1926), *Beibl.* pp. 265–70; G. J. F. KATER-SIBBES, *Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments*, pp. 68–69. The seminal study on this structure is still J. KEIL, *Das Serapeion von Ephesos*, in: Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı, *Cilt* 1 (= *In Memoriam Halil Edhem*, vol. 1), *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları* 7, *Seri No.* 5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimev, 1947), pp. 181–92.

¹⁵³ See *FiE* 1, p. 93, fn. 4.

¹⁵⁴ R. HEBERDEY, 11. vorläufiger Bericht, *JÖAI* 18 (1915), *Beibl.* pp. 77–88.

or a second century imperial temple.¹⁵⁵ The suggestion that these ruins are the foundation of a third century Serapeion was at an early date promoted by JOSEF KEIL. In these ruins he discovered a statue base dedicated to Emperor Caracalla which included the name of an individual, „*der die Kaiserstatue τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μου Νεῖλου Σαράπιδι θύουσι geweiht hat. Man wird sich schwer dem Gedanken verschließen können, daß eine solche Widmung eines Ägypters an seine Landsleute ganz gesonders gut in ein Heiligtum der ägyptischen Götter in Ephesos paßt.*“¹⁵⁶ Today KEIL's suggestion is not always accepted.¹⁵⁷

There is still no consensus, however, regarding the identification of the second temple foundation, the one situated in the Ephesian State Agora. Certain archaeologists have identified this temple, constructed during the last half of the first century B.C. and renovated at a later date, as an Isis Temple.¹⁵⁸ It was erected, they suggest, during the ephemeral Egyptian influence of Cleopatra and Antony on Ephesus. Less confident of this interpretation is G. HÖLBL.¹⁵⁹ He does grant the probability that Antony and Cleopatra left their religious mark on Ephesus, somewhere. Notwithstanding his acknowledgement that „*der Tempel auf dem Staatsmarkt könnte eine Möglichkeit sein,*“¹⁶⁰ he is still unconvinced that the evidence inexorably leads to the conclusion that this temple foundation must be that of an Isis Temple.¹⁶¹

8. Hero Cults

The veneration of individuals, both during and after their lifetime, was often initiated and maintained by Greek cities in the ancient world.¹⁶² The

¹⁵⁵ H. LIETZMANN, *A History of the Early Church* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), vol. 1, p. 163; W. ALZINGER, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 1654 has conjectured: „*Vielleicht haben wir es bei dem Bau doch mit einem Kaisertempel zu tun, und zwar mit einem, der für Caracalla und Serapis vorgesehen war und später dem Macrinus bzw. dem Elagabal überschrieben wurde.*“

¹⁵⁶ KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. p. 268.

¹⁵⁷ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 33–43; cf. W. ALZINGER, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 1652–1654. For arguments against the ascription, however, see R. A. WILD, *The Known Isis–Sarapis Sanctuaries of the Roman Period*, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ANRW), II. 17.4, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 1829–31.

¹⁵⁸ ALZINGER, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, col. 1601; E. FOSSEL, *Zum Tempel auf dem Staatsmarkt in Ephesos*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), pp. 212–19.

¹⁵⁹ HÖLBL, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 27–32; also WILD, *The Known Isis–Sarapis Sanctuaries*, pp. 1775–76.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–32. — More recently W. JOBST, *Zur Lokalisierung des Sebasteion-Augusteum in Ephesos*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 30 (1980), pp. 241–59, asserts that this temple foundation is more likely a „*Heiligtum des Augustus (und der Dea Roma)*“ and that the *Staatsmarkt* is an „*Augustusforum*,“ p. 257.

¹⁶² In general see C. HABICHT, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, 2nd ed., *Zetemata* 14 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1970); M. P. NILSSON, *GGR*, vol. 1, pp. 184–91, 715–19; vol. 2, pp. 563–64; cf. also A. D. NOCK, *The Cult of Heroes*, *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944), pp. 141–74 (= NOCK, *Essays*, vol. 2, pp. 575–602) on sacrifices

exact reasons and circumstances for the establishment of these cults are as different as the cities themselves,¹⁶³ though recurring themes can be detected in this phenomenon. Miraculous assistance, sacrificial service, defense and advocacy of the city to higher authorities, or other salient contributions to the history and welfare of the city were frequently the grounds for this cultic veneration. The reason that this phenomenon is of such interest for this study is that these cults were established and maintained, in a singular way, on the initiative of the city, thereby mirroring a unique facet of the religious life and profile of the city.¹⁶⁴

a) Alexander the Great

The worship of Alexander, his family and successors, in the Hellenistic period is a well established fact.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, it seems incontestable that this veneration of Alexander was begun during his own lifetime.¹⁶⁶ The League of Asia, as well as numerous cities of Asia Minor, worshipped him not only during his lifetime but well into the period of Roman domination of the Mediterranean.¹⁶⁷ His earliest recorded contact with the city of Ephesus was when he offered to pay all expenses for the restoration of the temple of Artemis.¹⁶⁸ His motivation was clearly his own glory and self-aggrandizement, so the Ephesians declined with the tactful response that it was not fitting for a god (Θεός, i.e. Alexander) to dedicate offerings to other gods (Θεοῖς). Some form of his cult was maintained into the second century and is reflected in the Ephesian inscription, dating from the reign of Trajan, which mentions a ἱερεὺς . . . Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέως.¹⁶⁹

b) Androclus

Androclus, a descendant of the legendary Athenian King Codrus, was regarded as a founder (κτίστης) of the city of Ephesus.¹⁷⁰ As was often customary

in Hero cults. — Related information is treated more recently by H. WREDE, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum. Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1981).

¹⁶³ HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum*, pp. 160ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 192–95.

¹⁶⁵ NILSSON, *GGR*, vol. 2, pp. 132–54; HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum*, pp. 11–81, 245–57.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–25, 245–52.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–25.

¹⁶⁸ Strabo, *Geog.* 14.1.22.

¹⁶⁹ J. KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, *JÖAI* 23 (1926), Beibl. pp. 263–64.

¹⁷⁰ TOEPFFER, *Androklos*, *RE* 1.2, 1894, col. 2148; Strabo, *Geog.* 14.1.3; 14.1.23. Other names were also occasionally mentioned in this regard; cf. C. HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum*, pp. 40f. — A recently published inscription mentions the renewal of a statue of Ἀνδροκλον τὸν τῆς πόλεως κτίστην, H. ENGELMANN and D. KNIBBE, *Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern*, *JÖAI* 52 (1978–82), p. 47 (no. 81) (= *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 2, no. 501 [= I. K. 12 (Ephesos)]). Another inscription refers to Ephesus as Ἀνδροκλείος πόλις, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1064 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

in Greek society, this meant that sacrifices would be offered to him.¹⁷¹ So significant and prestigious was this honor to ancient cities that even at the time of Strabo, Androclus' progeny was called Βασιλεῖς and received numerous religious and civic privileges.¹⁷² In the time of Pausanias, the site of Androclus' tomb was still known and honored, strategically located near the Magnesian Gate.¹⁷³ An Ephesian inscription dating from the imperial era and discovered in the agora mentions οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ πραγματευόμενοι Ἀνδροκλεῖδαι.¹⁷⁴ J. KEIL interprets this phrase to refer to „wohl ein Verein ephesischer Kaufleute, welche sich nach dem Könige Androklos zu benannten.“¹⁷⁵ TOEPPFER, on the other hand, prefers to interpret οἱ Ἀνδροκλεῖδαι as alluding to an aristocratic Greek family whose name was known from earlier sources and continues into the Roman period.¹⁷⁶ This royal descent would be an appropriate explanation of the privileges given to the descendants of Androclus as well as the financial strength they held. Another inscription from Ephesus contains the phrase τῇ τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου ἡμέρᾳ,¹⁷⁷ a day on which oil was to be distributed to all the gymnasiums in the city. This practice demonstrates, according to D. KNIBBE, „daß dieser dem sagenhaften κτίστης τῆς πόλεως geweihte Tag, der im ephesischen Festkalender seit altersher zweifellos seinen besonderen Platz hatte, unter anderem auch mit gymnischen Spielen begangen wurde.“¹⁷⁸

Artistic sources attest the continued use of the Androclus motif into the second and third centuries. A third century frieze, later placed in Hadrian's temple,¹⁷⁹ „(enthält) offenbar Szenen der Gründungslegende von Ephesos“.¹⁸⁰ This depiction is, however, a conflation of the tradition reflected by Strabo and Pausanias on the one hand and that reflected by Athenaeus on the other hand. The former stressed the military conquest of Androclus over the indigenous

¹⁷¹ Herodotus, Hist. 6.38; NILSSON, GGR, vol. 1, pp. 718–19; HABICHT, Gottmenschentum, p. 162.

¹⁷² Strabo, Geog. 14.1.3.

¹⁷³ Pausanias 7.2.9; W. ALZINGER, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 1673–74.

¹⁷⁴ FiE 3, no. 79 (p. 161).

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.; D. KNIBBE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, col. 288 lists this text under his section 'Zünfte und Vereine.'

¹⁷⁶ TOEPPFER, Androkleidai, RE 1.2, 1894, cols. 2145–47.

¹⁷⁷ D. KNIBBE, Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos III, JÖAI 49 (1968–71), Beibl. p. 68 (no. 7).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 68–69; cf. J. and L. ROBERT, Bulletin Épigraphique 87 (1974), pp. 281–82.

¹⁷⁹ This date has been held to by the majority of scholars, e.g., F. MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 269; N. Saporiti, A Frieze from the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus, in: Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann, Marsyas Supp. 1 (New York: NYU, 1964), pp. 269, 275–78. R. FLEISCHER, however, has argued for a late fourth century date: Der Fries des Hadrianstempels in Ephesos, in: Festschrift für Fritz Eichler, pp. 23–71; cf. W. ALZINGER's comments regarding the difficulty with this late date in Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 1700. A. BAMMER, R. FLEISCHER, D. KNIBBE, Führer durch das Archäologische Museum, pp. 24–26, describes two statues of Androclus which „stammen aus einem dem Kaiser Trajan geweihten Brunnenhaus an der Kuretenstraße“ (p. 25).

¹⁸⁰ MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 269.

population (hence the figure of the warrior on Androclus' tomb),¹⁸¹ while the latter relates a totally different picture. In the account preserved by Athenaeus,¹⁸² Androclus and his companions are directed by the Delphic oracle in regard to the site of the future city of Ephesus. They were instructed to establish the city where a boar would run and hide. The prophecy came to pass, and the site where the boar was mortally wounded by a javelin became the location of the future city.¹⁸³ The frieze from Hadrian's Temple gives a conflation by depicting a warrior dressed in military apparel as well as a figure pursuing a boar.¹⁸⁴ This frieze, along with statuary monuments presenting the same sage,¹⁸⁵ highlights the founding of the city through the divinely guided efforts of Androclus.

The concept embodied in the term κτίστης was also utilized to exalt the stature and deeds of military and political rulers.¹⁸⁶ Accordingly, numerous Roman emperors appropriated this designation to enhance personal esteem in certain regions and cities. Consequently, the figure of Androclus was used in a typological fashion to accentuate this dimension of a contemporary individual's significance for the city of Ephesus.¹⁸⁷

c) Apollonius of Tyana

The itinerant philosopher and thaumaturgist Apollonius also belongs in this study of Ephesian hero cults. He was esteemed in Ephesus because of his wisdom, life-style, oracular knowledge, prophetic powers, and therapeutic skills.¹⁸⁸ The highpoint of Apollonius' assistance to Ephesus came when he saved it

¹⁸¹ Pausanias 7.2.9.

¹⁸² Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 8.361c–e.

¹⁸³ A wild boar and fish were both part of the saga. They both, consequently, appear in a numismatic iconography of the city; cf. Saporiti, *A Frieze from the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus*, in: *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, p. 271 notes 11–12, Fleischer, *Der Fries des Hadrianstempels in Ephesos*, in: *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, p. 35, notes 31–33. — For epigraphical and additional artistic depictions of the boar hunt, see *Die Inschriften aus Ephesos*, vol. 2, nos. 557; 557A; 501A(?) (= I. K. 12 [Ephesos]).

¹⁸⁴ For detailed description see Fleischer, *Der Fries des Hadrianstempels in Ephesos*, in: *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, pp. 24–28, 34–37.

¹⁸⁵ The Vedius Gymnasium contained “a statue of the mythical First Founder of the city, the hero Androklos, shown during the boar hunt which led him to the site of Ephesus,” George M. A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine. The Cities of Western Asia Minor and Their Arts in Greek and Roman Times* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975), p. 65; cf. also R. Fleischer, *Der Fries des Hadrianstempels*, in: *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, pp. 35–36.

¹⁸⁶ Prehn, *Ktistes*, *RE* 9.2, 1922, cols. 2085–87.

¹⁸⁷ For this phenomenon on Ephesian coinage under Hadrian see S. Karwiese, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, cols. 334–35 (and later cols. 340, 346). Statues perhaps accomplished a similar goal in the Vedius Gymnasium, G. M. A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine*, p. 65; cf. W. Alzinger, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, cols. 1616, 1701.

¹⁸⁸ Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 4.1–4.

from a devastating plague.¹⁸⁹ He accomplished this by locating the evil demon, disguised in the form of an old man, and having the Ephesians stone him. He did this in the Ephesian theater in front of a statue of the Apotropaic God.¹⁹⁰ Because this deity had aided Apollonius, he afterwards erected a temple in gratitude to Hercules Apotropaic.¹⁹¹ In all probability, then, this miraculous rescue of the city of Ephesus from a contagion provided the basis for the worship of Apollonius in a hero cult, as is affirmed by the Christian writer Lactantius,

*Apollonium . . . eum dicas 'et adoratum esse a quibusdam sicut deum et simulacrum eius sub Herculis Alexicaci nomine constitutum ab Ephesiis etiamnunc honorari'.*¹⁹²

d) Pixodarus

In two recent works S. KASPER¹⁹³ has presented new evidence on the cult of Pixodarus Evangelos at Ephesus. According to the literary tradition¹⁹⁴ this Pixodarus discovered the marble quarry at Ephesus from which the Ephesians took the marble for the construction of Artemis' temple.¹⁹⁵ Consequently, the city magistrate of Ephesus was required to offer sacrifice to him at specified times. From this sketchy testimony it is patent that Pixodarus was venerated in ways typical of hero cults.¹⁹⁶ KASPER's contribution is the association of this hero cult with the archaeological remains at the tumulus of Belevi. Two facts in particular are mentioned by KASPER. In the first place,¹⁹⁷ „die Gebrauchs-

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 4.10; 7.21. E. L. BOWIE, Apollonius of Tyana: Tradition and Reality, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (henceforth cited ANRW), II. 16.2, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), p. 1687, suggests that this “protection of Ephesus from the plague should also be accepted.” G. PETZKE, *Die Tradition über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament. Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1, eds. H. D. BETZ, G. DELLING, and W. C. VAN UNNIK (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) is of general value, esp. the bibliography, pp. 239–50.

¹⁹⁰ Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 4.10, τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀποτροπαίου ἔδος, ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς, ἴδονται περὶ τὸ χωρίον.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 8.7.9, τὸ ἱερὸν δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἰδρυσάμην, Ἡρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἐστί.

¹⁹² Lactantius *Inst.* 5.3.14.

¹⁹³ S. KASPER, *Der Tumulus von Belevi*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Beibl. zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) 90 (1975), pp. 223–32; *Id.*, *Der Tumulus von Belevi* (Grabungsbericht), *JÖAI* 51 (1976–77), Beibl. pp. 127–80.

¹⁹⁴ Vitruvius, *de Arch.* 10.2.15: *Ita statim honores decreverunt ei . . . Hodieque quotiensibus magistratus in eum locum proficiscitur et ei sacrificium facit, et si non fecerit, poena tenetur.*

¹⁹⁵ In general see *FiE* 1: 38–41; also W. ALZINGER, *Ritzzeichnungen in den Marmorbrüchen von Ephesos*, *JÖAI* 48 (1966–67), pp. 61–72.

¹⁹⁶ For the role of regularly appointed sacrifices in hero cults see HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum*, pp. 138–59.

¹⁹⁷ KASPER, *Der Tumulus*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 90 (1975), p. 230. The most comprehensive work is the multi-author ‘*Das Mausoleum von Belevi*,’ *FiE* 6. A brief but in-

keramik als Grabspende belegt eine Zeitspanne von Mitte des 6. Jh. v. bis Ende des 4. Jh. n. Chr. Diese Kontinuität der Spenden läßt den Schluß zu, daß hier keine Privatperson, sondern ein Heros verehrt wurde.“ Equally significant is the fact that the grave mound is located in the vicinity of the ancient marble quarry used in the construction of Artemis’ temple.¹⁹⁸ In light of Vitruvius’ statement and these two facts about the tumulus of Belevi, KASPER asks is it not possible that the tumulus could be „das berühmte Heroengrab des archaischen Hirten, Pixodaros Evangelos.“¹⁹⁹

e) P. Servilius Isauricus

Even though it is not within the purview of this study to undertake an investigation of the Imperial Cult in Ephesus, the long-term veneration of a particular Roman official, Publius Servilius Isauricus, in conjunction with the goddess Roma, deserves attention.²⁰⁰ P. Servilius Isauricus was proconsul of Asia from 46–44 B.C.²⁰¹ and, unlike many of his peers, demonstrated an unusual degree of justice and magnanimity in the administration of his office.²⁰² More than one of Cicero’s letters to P. Servilius Isauricus²⁰³ contains praise and commendation for him. Cicero’s use of the words *clementia*, *iustitia tutissima*, *benigne*, *tua claritas* and *fides* with regard to him clearly demonstrates this.²⁰⁴ His official demeanor and reputation are also evidenced in honors bestowed

structive *Forschungsbericht* on the various interpretations of the date and cultic significance of the Belevi Mausoleum is assembled by R. FLEISCHER, in: *Das Mausoleum von Belevi*, pp. 123–28, 203, and by W. ALZINGER, *ibid.*, pp. 167–70, for the Pixodarus story.

¹⁹⁸ KASPER, *Der Tumulus*, pp. 230–31; ALZINGER, *Ritzzeichnungen in den Marmorbrüchen*, JÖAI 48 (1966–67), pp. 70–72. E. ATALAY, *Antiker Marmorsteinbruch bei Ephesos*, JÖAI 51 (1976–77), pp. 59–60, reports concerning a recent discovery: „Es dürfte damit einer der bedeutendsten antiken Marmorbrüche in Kleinasien entdeckt worden sein. . . . Es ist zu vermuten, daß die Ephesier in römischer Zeit die Kuş-ıni-Brüche für ihre Stadt verwendet haben.“ (p. 60).

¹⁹⁹ KASPER, *Der Tumulus*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 90 (1975), p. 231.

²⁰⁰ FiE 3, no. 66 (p. 149); J. KEIL, *Ephesische Funde und Beobachtungen*, JÖAI 18 (1915), Beibl. p. 281. It has been suggested by J. KEIL, *Ephesos. Ein Führer*, pp. 115–16, and W. ALZINGER, *Augusteische Architektur*, p. 39, that „der Rundbau auf dem Panayirdağ“ was erected in honor of P. Servilius Isauricus. Cf. K. TUCHELT, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen Beiheft* 23 (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1979), pp. 107–12. — More recently see the survey by D. KNIBBE and W. ALZINGER, *Ephesos vom Beginn der römischen Herrschaft in Kleinasien bis zum Ende der Principatszeit*, in: *ANRW II. 7.2*, ed. H. TEMPORINI (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), p. 754.

²⁰¹ The older articles misidentified this man with his father; this error no longer seems to be in the modern literature, see D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 1, pp. 416–17; vol. 2, pp. 1270–71.

²⁰² D. KNIBBE, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, cols. 261–62.

²⁰³ On the relationship between Cicero and P. Servilius Isauricus see MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 2, p. 1270.

²⁰⁴ Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* 13.66–72.

upon him by the cities of Pergamum, Aegae, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Hierocaesarea, Tenos, Calymnos, and Ephesus.²⁰⁵ Because of his protection and advocacy of the city's interest, Pergamum declared him σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως, and at Ephesus there existed a cult, even into the imperial era, with a ἱερεὺς Ῥώμης καὶ Ποπλίου Σερουειλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ.²⁰⁶

It is a grave error to suppose that this cult was maintained for P. Servilius Isauricus in response to the deeds of Julius Caesar. It was quite typical for the Asians to dedicate temples and institute cults to beneficent governors, as in their attempt with Cicero.²⁰⁷ Consequently, S. WEINSTOCK's judgment that P. Servilius Isauricus was honored at Ephesus only because he "represented Caesar" and not because of his own merit seems injudicious.²⁰⁸ Rather, he was venerated there because of his propitious advocacy and upright character in the treatment of the city of Ephesus.

9. Mother Goddess

Worshippers of the Anatolian Mother Goddess (= Μήτηρ Φρυγίη = Μήτηρ Ὀρεΐη) have left evidence for the veneration of this goddess which dates from the pre-Hellenistic, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.²⁰⁹ Dating from approximately 500 B.C. is a „*Stelle des Nordabhanges des Panajir Dagh, . . . wo in die Felswand des Berges eingeschnittene Nischen das Vorhandensein von Kultstätten vermuten ließen.*“²¹⁰ Found at this location were both inscriptions and votive monuments testifying to the worship of the Mother Goddess.

The votive works frequently depict the goddess, sometimes standing, sometimes enthroned, with two lions at her feet and flanked by two standing male deities. Although all of these monuments cannot with certainty be attributed

²⁰⁵ MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 2, p. 1271 for epigraphical evidence.

²⁰⁶ FiE 3, no. 66.6, p. 149; see R. MELLOR, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ*. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World, *Hypomnemata* 42 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), p. 58.

²⁰⁷ Cicero, Ep. ad Q. Fr. 1.1.26; Ep. ad Att. 5.21.7; cf. L. R. TAYLOR, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, *Philological Monographs* published by the American Philological Association 1 (Middletown, Conn.: American Philol. Assoc., 1931. Reprint: Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, Inc., 1975), pp. 38–39.

²⁰⁸ S. WEINSTOCK, *Divus Julius*, p. 297.

²⁰⁹ KNIBBE, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, pp. 490–91; principal sources are HICK's IBM, no. 576; J. KEIL, *Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes*, JÖAI 18 (1915), pp. 66–78; Id., 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. pp. 256–61. — In addition there is a possible dedication to [μητρὶ] ἀγν[ῆ], *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1224 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]); a dedication to μητρὶ Ὀρεΐη φρυγίη πατρω[ῆ], *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 1218; and to μητρὶ φρυγίη πατρω[ῆ], *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 1217. In general see: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, nos. 1214–27 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]); D. KNIBBE, *Der Staatsmarkt*, FiE 9. 1.1, pp. 71–72, 103 (fn. 203); J. KEIL, *Ephesos. Ein Führer*, pp. 55–56; BAMMER, FLEISCHER, KNIBBE, *Führer durch das Archäologische Museum*, pp. 163–66.

²¹⁰ KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. p. 256.

to Ephesus, KEIL has argued that „*diese Umstände sowie die große Ähnlichkeit im Typus und in der Ausführung lassen mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit vermuten, daß sie alle . . . in Ephesos entstanden und als Denkmäler des dortigen Meter-Kultes anzusprechen sind.*“²¹¹

Regarding the full identification of the three deities who appear in the votive monuments and the attendant inscriptional testimony, there is not sufficient evidence for a dogmatic assertion. At one time KEIL suggested: „*So haben wir in Zeus, Meter-Agdistis und Attis – Vater, Mutter, und Sohn – eine Dreieit göttlicher Personen vor uns, die dem Dreiverein der Votivreliefs aufs Beste entspricht.*“²¹² At a later date he suggested that the younger deity might be Hermes or Apollo.²¹³

Little more can be said about this ancient cult in Ephesus. A dearth of primary texts is still the principal impediment to research, and this situation exists principally because the mother Goddess was so totally overshadowed by the Artemis cult, at least in the Roman era. The earlier situation which is lamented in the following quotation has not significantly improved through the decades KEIL observed that „*die ungemein reiche Numismatik von Ephesos gar keine Spuren eines solchen Kultes aufweist und daß die an 2¹/₂ Tausend Nummern umfassenden Inschriften der Stadt keinen einzigen Priester der Göttermutter nennen, ja ihres Kultes – von den wenigen oben angeführten Ausnahmen abgesehen – niemals Erwähnung tun.*“²¹⁴

The names and cult of Attis and Cybele are likewise poorly attested in Ephesus.²¹⁵

10. The Prytaneion and Its Gods

It is the enthusiastic judgment of W. ALZINGER that „*Wenn man in der Geschichte der Grabungen von Ephesos nach Höhepunkten sucht, so muß wohl die Entdeckung des Prytaneions im Jahre 1955 als ein solcher bezeichnet werden.*“²¹⁶ The Ephesian Prytaneion was situated adjacent to one of the city's agoras, the State Market, and was, along with the so-called Odeion and the Temple of Dea

²¹¹ ID., Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes, JÖAI 18 (1915), p. 71.

²¹² Ibid., p. 76.

²¹³ ID., 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. p. 261.

²¹⁴ ID., Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes, JÖAI 18 (1915), p. 72.

²¹⁵ M. J. VERMASEREN, Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA), EPRO 50.7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), no. 175, pp. 49–50, is perhaps from Ephesus.

²¹⁶ W. ALZINGER, Regierungsviertel, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. p. 229. In general see also W. ALZINGER, Augusteische Architektur, pp. 51–55, for the Prytaneion and its cults. – See now D. KNIBBE, Der Staatsmarkt. Die Inschriften des Prytaneions, FiE 9.1.1. (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1981) for the Prytaneion, its inscriptions, and the Curetes. For additional epigraphical and bibliographical research, consult: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, nos. 1001–1080b (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

Roma and Divus Julius,²¹⁷ separated from the agora on the north by a colonnade designated in an inscription with the words Βασιλική στοά.²¹⁸

As an architectural structure, the Prytaneion served many functions and housed several activities. S. G. MILLER categorized the functions of the Prytaneion throughout its centuries of existence under five rubrics: 1. Dining, 2. Religious, 3. Archives and Museum, 4. Law Court, and 5. Social Welfare Institution.²¹⁹ It is the first two categories which are of particular interest to us.

Dining was closely related to the role of the Prytaneion within the political life of the Greek city. In this regard it served politically as a surrogate edifice for all of the houses in the polis,²²⁰ thereby functioning „als das Repräsentationsgebäude, . . . wo die offiziellen Gäste der Stadt empfangen und bewirtet wurden.“²²¹ With the advent of Roman hegemony under the Empire the political autonomy of the Greek polis diminished. The truncated autonomy which remained did so under the auspices of the Roman ruler, creating ipso facto a situation in which the Ephesian Prytaneion “became more important as the center of religious activity concerning Hestia than as the center of the city’s political life.”²²² Remnants, however, of the Prytaneion’s political and civic significance, even into the Roman era, are extant. For example, the frequent, though not constant, epithet Βουλαία²²³ mirrors the civic and urban significance of the goddess of the Prytaneion, Hestia. Equally noteworthy is the fact that the city’s so-called Odeion was also adjacent to the Prytaneion.²²⁴ In reality this Odeion can be considered „nach seiner Lage, Grösse, Grund- und Aufrißgestaltung mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit als Buleuterion.“²²⁵

In the course of the evolution of the Prytaneion, its religious functions became strongest under the Empire.²²⁶ The principal deity of the Prytaneion was the goddess Ἑστία.²²⁷ This goddess was symbolized by the Eternal Flame

²¹⁷ W. ALZINGER, Regierungsviertel, JÖAI 50 (1972–75) Beibl. 241–54; see S. G. MILLER, The Prytaneion. Its Function and Architectural Form (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 98–108 for later interpretation of the archaeological data.

²¹⁸ W. ALZINGER, Regierungsviertel, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. pp. 257–81.

²¹⁹ S. G. MILLER, The Prytaneion, pp. 4–24.

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 4–13.

²²¹ W. ALZINGER, Regierungsviertel, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. p. 234.

²²² S. G. MILLER, The Prytaneion, p. 23.

²²³ MILLER objects to the conclusion of MILTNER and ALZINGER that this epithet confirms the identification of the Prytaneion and Bouleuterion, The Prytaneion, pp. 81, fn. 27; 103, fn. 16.

²²⁴ In general see ALZINGER, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 1630 and especially E. FOSSEL, Zum sogenannten Odeion in Ephesos, in: Festschrift für Fritz Eichler, pp. 72–81.

²²⁵ Id., p. 81.

²²⁶ S. G. MILLER, The Prytaneion, p. 24.

²²⁷ On this goddess see ibid., s.v. Hestia in Index, p. 256, and the older work by Süss, Hestia, RE 8.1, 1912, cols. 1283–93; for Hestia at Ephesus see J. KEIL, Kulte im Prytaneion von Ephesos, in: Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, eds. W. M. CALDER and JOSEF KEIL, Publications of the University of Manchester, 265 (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1939), pp. 119–28; F. MILTNER, 21. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, JÖAI 43 (1956), Beibl. pp. 27–36;

(πῦρ ἄφθαρτον) which burned day and night at the altar of the Prytaneion.²²⁸ In addition to Ἑστία Βουλαία and πῦρ ἄφθαρτον, numerous other deities were invoked and worshipped within the Prytaneion or in conjunction with Hestia in other locations. J. KEIL, in his important article 'Kulte im Prytaneion von Ephesos',²²⁹ includes inscriptional evidence for: 1. Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσία,²³⁰ 2. Δημήτηρ,²³¹ 3. Δήμητρος Κόρη,²³² 4. Ἀπόλλων Κλάριος,²³³ 5. Σώπολις,²³⁴

F. MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. pp. 291–92, fn. 66; D. KNIBBE, Epigraphische Nachlese im Bereiche der ephesischen Agora, JÖAI 47 (1964–65), Beibl. pp. 37–38, 41–42; and D. KNIBBE, Die anderen ephesischen Götter, pp. 497–99.

²²⁸ In general, Pausanias 5.15.9 πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὡσαύτως καίεται. In addition to πῦρ ἄφθαρτον the expression πῦρ ἀθάνατον was also sometimes used. — The following inscriptions refer to the Immortal Flame of Hestia: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, nos. 1058; 1060; 1067; 1070; 1071; 1072 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]). D. KNIBBE, Der Staatsmarkt, FiE 9.1.1, p. 101, succinctly describes the place and the theology of Immortal Fire in the cult at the Prytaneion. „Die göttliche Personifikation des heiligen Stadtherdes ist Hestia. . . . Ihrem (Hestia) Kult vornehmlich diente der Prytane, dessen wichtigste Aufgabe darin bestand, das als Πῦρ ἄφθαρτον zu gleichfalls eigener göttlicher Selbstständigkeit personifizierte heilige Feuer zu hüten. Besonders schön zeigt sich die aus diesem Feuerkult entwickelte 'Feuertheologie' an den Gedichten der Prytaninnen Κλαυδία Τροφίμη und Τυλλία; wird bei Τροφίμη das Feuer als 'λευπανον εὐμετρίας', als 'Überbleibsel der (im ganzen Kosmos herrschenden) Wohlgemessenheit' gefeiert, so erscheint es in dem Gedicht der Τυλλία als moralische Macht, die alles Gute in der Welt verkörpert, 'σαοφροσύνη σοφίη τε', Besonnenheit und Weisheit. Eben dieses unsterbliche Feuer ist es, das den Menschen Nachkommen schenkt und so ihren Fortbestand sichert.“ One should also consult R. MERKELBACH, Der Kult der Hestia im Prytaneion der griechischen Städte, ZPE 37 (1980), pp. 77–92.

²²⁹ In: Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, pp. 119–22, nos. 1–6.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 120, no. 2. The κουρήτες, so important to the cult Artemis, officiated also in the Prytaneion.

²³¹ Ibid., pp. 120–21, no. 3; p. 122, no. 6; MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 292, fn. 66.

²³² J. KEIL, Kulte im Prytaneion, in: Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, pp. 120–21, no. 3; p. 122, n. 6; MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 292, fn. 66.

²³³ J. KEIL, Kulte im Prytaneion, in: Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, pp. 120–21, no. 3; p. 122, no. 6; MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 292, fn. 66. D. KNIBBE, Die anderen ephesischen Götter, p. 499 states: „Nicht mit dem klarischen Apollon identisch scheint jener μαντεῖος Ἀπόλλων zu sein, der einer (bisher unpublizierten) Inschrift zufolge bald nach dem Beginn des 2. Jhds. n. Chr. im Prytaneion installiert worden ist.“

²³⁴ J. KEIL, Kulte im Prytaneion, in: Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, pp. 120–21, no. 3; p. 122, no. 6; on p. 126 KEIL noted concerning this ambiguous deity: „Von größtem Interesse, aber auch schwer zu deuten, ist der . . . genannte Gott Sopolis.“ After reviewing suggested theories he concludes: „Wir werden in Sopolis vielmehr einen Gott oder Daimon zu sehen haben, dessen Wesen sich in der durch den Namen bezeichneten Tätigkeit eines Retters und Schützers der Stadt erschöpfte und dessen Verehrung eben deshalb die σωτηρία der Stadt verbürgte.“ Strabo, Geog. 14.1.41 notes Zeus

and 6. πάντες οἱ θεοί.²³⁵ To KEIL's list one may add θεὸς Κινναῖος.²³⁶ Excavations in the area of the agora produced the additional names of Zeus and Θεοὶ προγενέστεροι ἄλλων.²³⁷ There was also a shrine and statue of Demeter Karpophorus in the Prytaneion.²³⁸ Notwithstanding this multiplicity of deities associated with the Prytaneion, one should not lose sight of the fact that it was Hestia who was specifically regarded as the Δαῖμον πόληος²³⁹ and stood as the supreme god of the Prytaneion.

11. Zeus

A. B. COOK has suggested that "the Zeus cult of the Ephesians can be traced back to the first half of s. vii B.C."²⁴⁰ The oldest inscriptional attestation to the presence of the Zeus cult in Ephesus stems from the fifth century B.C., and that in conjunction with the cult of the Mother Goddess. This ἱερὸν τοῦ Zeus was established on the face of Panayirdağ.²⁴¹ In the Graeco-Roman period

Sosipolis at Magnesia; as does DITTENBERGER, SIG, no. 589. — The three inscriptional sources are now given by: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 2, no. 128; vol. 4, nos. 1060, 1233 (!) (= I. K. 12, 14 [Ephesos]) and D. KNIBBE, Der Staatsmarkt, FiE 9.1.1, pp. 56, 63 and esp. pp. 102–3, for this little known deity.

²³⁵ J. KEIL, Kulte im Prytaneion, in: Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, pp. 120–21, nos. 3, 4, 5; MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 292, fn. 66; the expression Θεοὶ πάντες (οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγορευόμενοι) also occurs in FiE, 2, no. 29.14 (p. 150).

²³⁶ MILTNER, 22. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 44 (1959), Beibl. p. 292, fn. 66. This enigmatic reference has been interpreted by D. KNIBBE, Die anderen ephesischen Götter, p. 498: „Durch diese Funde hat sich die Zahl der Prytaneiongottheiten um einen bisher unbekannten Θεὸς Κινναῖος vermehrt, dessen Name vielleicht verständlicher wird, wenn man Κινναῖος als Κύννεος versteht, was auf einen Hunde-Apollon verweisen würde.“

²³⁷ D. KNIBBE, Epigraphische Nachlese, JÖAI 47 (1964–65), Beibl. pp. 37–38; KNIBBE, Die anderen ephesischen Götter, p. 39, fn. 89, is not completely certain of the identity of Θεοὶ προγενέστεροι ἄλλων. R. MERKELBACH, Die ephesische Prytanin Tullia, ZPE 9 (1972), p. 76, favors an identification with Zeus and Hestia.

²³⁸ For this statue see above fn. 83 and S. G. MILLER, The Prytaneion, Appendix A, no. 312, p. 190.

²³⁹ J. KEIL, Kulte im Prytaneion, in: Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler, p. 119, no. 1. R. HEBERDEY, 4. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, JÖAI 3 (1900), Beibl. p. 88, dates this inscription „etwa des ersten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.“

²⁴⁰ A. B. COOK, Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion (Cambridge: University Press, 1925), vol. 2, p. 962, no. 2.

²⁴¹ J. KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. p. 257, cites a fifth century B.C. inscription, „die diesen Platz als ἱερὸς (sic!) ἱερὸν Πατρώο bezeichnet und damit auch einen alten Zeuskult an dem Bergabhänge sicherstellt“; *ibid.*, p. 259, cites another inscription dating, this time, from about 300 B.C. which reads ἱερὸν Πατρώο. J. KEIL and G. MARESCHE, Epigraphische Nachlese zu Miltners Ausgrabungsberichten, JÖAI 45 (1960), Beibl. p. 76, reports the inscriptional reading Ζηνὸς Πατρω[ί]ο ἱερὸν, dating from the fifth century B.C. and perhaps coming from Panayirdağ.

numerous epithets were used of the Ephesian Zeus,²⁴² including: Δεσπότης,²⁴³ Κεραύνιος,²⁴⁴ Κτήσιος,²⁴⁵ Μελίχιος,²⁴⁶ Ὀλύμπιος,²⁴⁷ Πανελλήνιος,²⁴⁸ Πατρώιος,²⁴⁹ Σαβάζιος,²⁵⁰ Σωτήρ,²⁵¹ and Ὑέτιος.²⁵²

²⁴² In general see H. SCHWABL, Zeus I. Epiklesen, RE 10 A 1, 1972, cols. 253–376; more recently consult H. SCHWABL, Zeus (Teil II, III, Nachträge), RE Supp. 15, 1978, cols. 993–1481; col. 1141 esp. for Ephesus. – Zeus Ὑπατος is mentioned now in: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1063 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

²⁴³ J. KEIL, Drei neue Inschriften aus Ephesos, JÖAI 35 (1943), Beibl. p. 106; cf. SCHWABL, Zeus, RE 10 A 1, col. 297.

²⁴⁴ Yet unpublished epigraphical evidence is cited by KEIL, Drei neue Inschriften, JÖAI 35 (1943), Beibl. p. 108; for numismatic sources from Ephesus see S. KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 357 and B. V. HEAD, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia, no. 357 (p. 101). For Zeus Keraunios in general see J. G. FRAZER, Pausanias's Description of Greece (London: MacMillan and Co., 1913), vol. 3, p. 561 (ad loc. 5.14.7); ADLER, Keraunios, RE 11.1, 1921, col. 267; COOK, Zeus, vol. 2, p. 807; NILSSON, GGR, vol. 1, p. 202; vol. 2, p. 168; H. SCHWABL, Zeus, RE Supp. 15, 1978, cols. 1018–1020. – This inscription has now been published in: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1239 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]). For a relief from the imperial period with related iconography see BAMMER, FLEISCHER, KNIBBE, Führer durch das Archäologische Museum, p. 156.

²⁴⁵ KEIL, Drei neue Inschriften, JÖAI 35 (1943), Beibl. p. 108. In general see SCHWABL, Zeus, RE 10 A 1, 1972, cols. 326–27; PREHN, Ktesios, RE 11.2, 1922, cols. 2078–79, and NILSSON, GGR, vol. 1, pp. 403–04.

²⁴⁶ J. KEIL, 14. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, JÖAI 25 (1929), Beibl. p. 45 cites an early Hellenistic inscription, Αὐτ Μελίχιωι. In general see CH. PICARD, Sanctuaires, représentations et symboles de Zeus Meilichios, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 126 (1943), pp. 97–127; SCHWABL, Zeus, RE 10 A 1, 1972, cols. 335–37. NILSSON, GGR, vol. 1, pp. 411–14; PFISTER, Meilichioi Theoi, RE 15.1, 1931, cols. 340–45; H. SCHWABL, Zeus, RE Supp. 15, 1978, col. 1054. – Cf. H. VETTERS, Der Schlangengott, in: Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleasiens. Festschrift für F. K. Dörner, eds. S. ŞAHİN, E. SCHWERTHEIM, J. WAGNER, EPRO 66 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 976–77.

²⁴⁷ A yet unpublished inscription contains an altar inscription to Zeus Olympius, KEIL, Drei neue Inschriften, JÖAI 35 (1943), Beibl. pp. 107–08. KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 332 and 334 (Domitian and Hadrian) gives numismatic evidence for Zeus Olympius; cf. HEAD, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia, no. 215, p. 75; no. 313, p. 93. See SCHWABL, Zeus, RE 10 A 1, 1972, cols. 342–44 and KRUSE, Olympios, RE 18.1, 1939, cols. 251–57. Fragmentary remains of a Sphinx group which formed part of a monumental throne of Olympian Zeus (Pausanias 5.11.2) have been discovered at Ephesus; see D. KNIBBE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 1690–91 and E. SIMON, Die Götter der Griechen (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1969), pp. 32–34; consult also H. SCHWABL, Zeus, RE Supp. 15, 1978, cols. 1466–1468. – Now Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 5, no. 1556 (= I. K. 15 [Ephesos]).

²⁴⁸ HICKS, IBM, no. 600, is a suggested restoration [Διὸς Πανελλήνιου; see SCHWABL, Zeus, RE, 10 A 1, 1972, cols. 348–49; KRUSE, Panhellenios, RE 18.3, 1949, col. 593, and KEIL, Drei neue Inschriften, JÖAI 35 (1943), Beibl. p. 108.

²⁴⁹ See footnote no. 241 for texts; cf. SCHWABL, Zeus, RE 10 A 1, 1972, cols. 355–56. – The four relevant inscriptions are: Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 2, nos. 101–4 (= I. K. 12 [Ephesos]).

²⁵⁰ Yet unpublished inscription cited by KEIL, Drei neue Inschriften, JÖAI 35 (1943), Beibl.

According to Pausanias, Ephesus also possessed a temple to the Olympian Zeus, an Ὀλυμπιεῖον, which was constructed near the Magnesian Gate.²⁵³ Little is known of the history of this particular temple at Ephesus, though if the Olympieum at Athens is exemplary,²⁵⁴ then it may have been greatly expanded and adorned under the influence of Hadrian.²⁵⁵ The storm powers of Zeus epitomized by the epithets Ἰέτιος and Κεραυνίος are witnessed to by numismatic, literary, and archaeological evidence.²⁵⁶ KARWIESE, commenting on a coin type of the second century depicting both Ephesian mountains and Zeus,²⁵⁷ concludes:²⁵⁸ „Es ist klar, daß damit die beiden Stadtberge (i.e. the modern Bülbüldağ and Panayirdağ) gemeint sind, wobei Zeus den höheren, den Bülbüldağ bezeichnet. . . . Obwohl in der Münzlegende nur Pion (= Panayirdağ)²⁵⁹ auftritt und nicht noch ein zweiter Name für den Berg, auf dem Zeus

p. 108. – Zeus Sabazios is attested by H. ENGELMANN and D. KNIBBE, Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern, JÖAI 52 (1978–80), p. 48 (no. 87).

²⁵¹ Yet unpublished inscription KEIL, Drei neue Inschriften, p. 108. In general NILSSON, GGR, vol. 1, pp. 414–16. – Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 4, no. 1243 (= I.K. 14 [Ephesos]).

²⁵² This evidence is principally numismatic; KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 337–38; HEAD, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia, no. 237, p. 79, and FiE 1, pp. 56–57. In general see JESSEN, Hyetios, RE 9.1, 1914, cols. 89–90 and SCHWABL, Zeus, RE 10 A 1, 1972, col. 368, for literary and epigraphical sources. Ps. Aristotle, de Mundo 7 (p. 401a), proclaims that Zeus ἀπὸ τῶν ὑετῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καλεῖται (cf. Lucian, Dial. Deor. 4.2); also H. SCHWABL, Zeus, RE Supp. 15, 1978, col. 1046.

²⁵³ Pausanias 7.2.9.

²⁵⁴ See in general K. ZIEGLER, Olympieion, RE 18.1, 1939, cols. 187–99. On the significance of the Athenian Olympieum in the philhellenic plans of Hadrian and the veneration of Zeus see R. E. WYCHERLEY, The Olympieion at Athens, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 5 (1964), pp. 161–79; cf. also Pausanias' account 1.18.7–8.

²⁵⁵ D. MAGIE, Roman Rule, vol. 1, p. 619; vol. 2, p. 1479 (no. 30), (though not the first) suggests that Hadrian was the moving force behind the construction of the Ephesian Olympieum. This theory is generally accepted today (e.g., KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 334), though it cannot be proven only on the basis of the traditionally cited passage of Pausanias 7.2.9.

²⁵⁶ See footnotes 244 and 252.

²⁵⁷ Examples in: HEAD, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia, no. 237, p. 79 and FiE 1, p. 56.

²⁵⁸ KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 338.

²⁵⁹ While it is more relevant to the issue of Ephesian topography than to the presence of a Zeus cult in Ephesus, it must be pointed out that this equation of the modern mountain Panayirdağ with the ancient Pion has been the traditional scholarly position. It is held by KARWIESE and has been held by the majority of the scholars of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. It has, however, been questioned, quite recently, by F. BREIN, Zur ephesischen Topographie, JÖAI 51 (1976–77), Beibl. pp. 65–76, who concludes with the statement: „Der Pion ist im Bülbül Dağı, der Koreossos im Panayir Dağı zu finden.“ – F. BREIN's conclusions are still rejected by most scholars; cf. H. ENGELMANN, Zum Gedicht der Prytanin Claudia Trophime, ZPE 36 (1979), p. 90, and D. KNIBBE and W. ALZINGER, Ephesos vom Beginn der römischen Herrschaft in Kleinasien bis zum Ende der Principatszeit, in: ANRW II. 7.2, ed. H. TEMPORINI (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), p. 811 (fn. 1).

thront, ist sicher die geographische Gegebenheit der beiden Berge gemeint. . . Daß ausgerechnet der Hyetios für den Bülbüldağ gewählt wurde, muß darauf zurückzuführen sein, daß ein Regenkult auf diesem Berg allgemein bekannt war; für einen solchen spricht u.a. der südöstlich vom Bülbüldağ aufgefundene Felsthron, der dem des Zeus auf den Münzen entspricht.“

A stone altar dating from the first Christian century reflects typical pious feelings toward the god Zeus. This monument, discovered in the Vedius Gymnasium, contains the following inscription:

Σοὶ τόνδε Βωμόν, δέσποτα Ζεῦ Κτήσιε,
Κορνηλιανὸς εὐξάμενος εἰδρύσατο.²⁶⁰

Zeus Ktesios was venerated throughout the Graeco-Roman world²⁶¹ and was called upon as the deity „*der den Besitz schützt und mehrt*.“²⁶²

A political ramification of the veneration of Zeus at Ephesus was the adaptation of Zeus Olympius to the veneration of the emperor Hadrian. Because of his philhellenic proclivity, Hadrian actively encouraged the cults of famous Greek deities.²⁶³ Shortly before his second visit to Asia Minor (ca. A.D. 129), Hadrian completed the construction of the Olympieion at Athens,²⁶⁴ thereby “appropriating to himself a share both in the title and the temple of the God,” becoming “identified with him as Zeus Olympius.”²⁶⁵ Numerous cities, both Greek and Asian, had statues erected at home as well as at Athens in the newly completed Olympieion; among these cities was Ephesus.²⁶⁶ When Hadrian, shortly thereafter, arrived in Ephesus (A.D. 129) he was greeted by the Boule and People of Ephesus as Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Ὀλύμπιος and ὁ ἴδιος κτίστης καὶ σωτὴρ of the Ephesians.²⁶⁷ Coming from the proconsulship of P. Afranius Flavianus²⁶⁸ is another inscription dedicated to Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ

²⁶⁰ KEIL, *Drei neue Inschriften*, JÖAI 35 (1943), Beibl. p. 106.

²⁶¹ PREHN, Ktesios, RE 11.2, 1922, cols. 2078–79 and SCHWABL, Zeus, RE 10 A 1, 1972, cols. 326–27.

²⁶² PREHN, Ktesios, RE 11.2, 1922, col. 2078.

²⁶³ MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 1, pp. 611–29; vol. 2, pp. 1469–90, for Hadrian's activities in Asia Minor. An aside to the political use of Zeus was the politicization of his mythological scions Castor and Pollux. These two, known also as the Dioscuri, were adapted in a first century inscription which referred to „*die Zwillingssöhne des jüngeren Drusus und der Livilla, die leiblichen Enkel des Tiberius*“ as νέοι Διόσκοροι, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 7.2, no. 4337 (= I. K. 17.2 [Ephesos]); also J. KEIL, 13. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, JÖAI 24 (1929), Beibl. p. 61–67.

²⁶⁴ Pausanias 1.18.7–8; MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 1, p. 618, and R. E. WYCHERLEY, *The Olympieion at Athens*, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964), pp. 161–79.

²⁶⁵ MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 1, p. 618; see in general H. SCHWABL, Zeus, RE Supp. 15, 1978, cols. 1408–1409.

²⁶⁶ A. S. BENJAMIN, *The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program*, *Hesperia* 32 (1963), pp. 57–86, is quite helpful and replete with inscriptional sources; the cities which participated are also cited by MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 2, p. 1478.

²⁶⁷ SIG, no. 839.

²⁶⁸ R. HEBERDEY, 6. vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos 1903/4, JÖAI 7 (1904), Beibl. p. 42.

Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ. A more recently published inscription contains a brief reference to the dedicatee: Ἀυτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.²⁶⁹

Numismatic testimony also illuminates this veneration of Zeus Olympius and Hadrian Olympius. W. E. METCALF²⁷⁰ has argued that a group of Jovis Olympius "cistophoric tetradrachms" from Ephesus provides "the first positively datable evidence for Hadrian's divine pretensions." Furthermore, he continues: "The issue of a coin presenting the emperor as a god is therefore an 'official' document, and a far more positive gesture than simple acceptance of divine honors or toleration of that emperor worship which was so prevalent throughout the Greek world."²⁷¹

In addition to the honors bestowed in official inscriptions and the testimony of the current coinage, there was also the contemporaneous establishment of the Ὀλύμπια games.²⁷² This occurred in about A.D. 130 when the Ephesians „bei der Adventusfeier des Kaisers einen Agon gründeten, den sie in Anlehnung an seinen neuen Titel 'Olympia' nannten."²⁷³ The force of the religious significance of the Ephesian Olympia was reflected in the fact that instead of following the traditional method of awarding a statue to the competitors, the Ephesians dedicated an altar to the god Zeus.²⁷⁴ A later visit by Hadrian to Ephesus evoked a celebration named 'Hadrianic Olympics.'²⁷⁵

12. Other Deities

In addition to the deities and cults discussed above, several other ones were also represented, in various degrees, at Ephesus,²⁷⁶ though usually with

²⁶⁹ D. KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos VII*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. p. 78.

²⁷⁰ W. E. METCALF, *Hadrian, IOVIS OLYMPIUS*, *Mnemosyne* ser. IV, 27 (1974), pp. 59–66.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁷² The following information is drawn from M. LÄMMER, *Olympien und Hadrianeen im antiken Ephesos* (Cologne: Universität Köln, 1967).

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁷⁶ Several older works contain extensive lists which are helpful in this regard; these include E. FALKENER, *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana* (London, 1862); G. ZIMMERMANN, *Ephesos im ersten christlichen Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1874); E. GUHL, *Ephesiaca* (Berlin, 1843); and BÜRCHNER, *Ephesos*, RE 5, 1905, cols. 2773–82. Contemporary resources include D. KNIBBE, *Ephesos*, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 284–87; *Id.*, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, in: *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien. Festschrift für F. K. Dörner*, vol. 2, pp. 489–503; the indexes of FiE, vols. 1ff. and the 'Orts-, Sach- und Personenregister,' in the individual issues of 'JÖAI' are also beneficial in this matter. — With the recent publication of the indexes to 'Die Inschriften von Ephesos' one can now assemble a more thorough list of

less significance, less ostentation and with fewer extant testimonies than the major cults. This brief catalogue will be divided, for the sake of convenience, into three categories: 1. traditional deities, 2. personifications, and 3. deified objects of nature.

The first category includes "all the gods,"²⁷⁷ the Cabiri,²⁷⁸ the enigmatic Ἐνέδρα,²⁷⁹ Fruit Bearing Earth,²⁸⁰ Hecate,²⁸¹ Hephaestus,²⁸² Heracles (Apo-

deities mentioned in Ephesian sources. The following are additional lesser deities and personifications from Ephesian sources.

- a. Ἀδης is mentioned only in four sepulchral inscriptions and not as an object of worship or cult (nos. 2101a; 2104; 2105; 2108).
 - b. Ἐρμῆς is mentioned in H. ENGELMANN and D. KNIBBE, *Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern*, JÖAI 52 (1978–80), p. 47 (no. 82) (= *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1102 [= I. K. 14 (Ephesos)]); *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 6, no. 2122 (= I. K. 16 [Ephesos]); *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 7.1, no. 3214 (= I. K. 17.1 [Ephesos]).
 - c. Ἐρως has minimal significance in extant remains; however, epigraphy includes references to Eros statuettes, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1202 (= J. KEIL, *Aphrodite Daitis*, JÖAI 17 [1914], p. 146) (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]), also to 120 Nikes and Eros statues placed in the theater, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 3, no. 724 (= I. K. 13 [Ephesos]); cf. T. PEKÁRY, *Statuen in kleinasiatischen Inschriften*, in: *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleasiens*, vol. 2, pp. 727–44, refers to Eros statuettes in the marketplace, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 7.1, no. 3015 (= I. K. 17.1 [Ephesos]), and perhaps (?) to a sanctuary, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1252 as interpreted earlier by J. and L. ROBERT, *Éphèse*, *Bull. Epig.*, in: REG 59–60 (1946–47), p. 348 (no. 182).
 - d. Ἥρα is found on a fragmentary inscription in: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 3, no. 883 (= I. K. 13 [Ephesos]).
 - e. Νίκη is the object of several dedications listed in: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 2, nos. 504–6, 521–25; vol. 3, no. 724; vol. 4, 1077.
 - f. Παῖων is mentioned in a fragmentary epigram, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 3, no. 605 (= I. K. 13 [Ephesos]) and in a hymn to Asclepius, *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 1253.
 - g. The goddess Ῥέα is mentioned only once and that in a fragmentary inscription of the Hellenistic era, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1269 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).
 - h. The goddess Σώτειρα is mentioned in: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 1A, no. 26; *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 1587B.
 - i. The goddess Δικαιοσύνη is found in *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 503 (cf. *Addenda et Corrigenda*).
- ²⁷⁷ FiE 2, no. 29 (p. 150), Θεοὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγορευόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος; there was also an Ephesian festival τῶν μεγάλων Πασιθῶν cited by J. KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, JÖAI 23 (1926), Beibl. pp. 281–82. — For a provocative interpretation of *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 2, no. 504 (= I. K. 12 [Ephesos]) in this regard see CHR. BÖRKER, *Eine Pantheistische Weihung in Ephesos*, ZPE 41 (1981), pp. 181–88.
- ²⁷⁸ KEIL, 12. vorläufiger Bericht, pp. 263–64 ἱερεὺς Ἀνακτόρων.
- ²⁷⁹ D. KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos IV*, JÖAI 50 (1972–75), Beibl. p. 21; KNIBBE, *ibid.*, p. 24, concludes that „wir es zweifellos mit einer lokalen Erscheinung zu tun haben, offenbar um die Personifikation des von dem Substantivum ἐνέδρα umschlossenen Begriffsinhaltes.“ Since this term Ἐνέδρα occurs in conjunction with Dionysus, KNIBBE, *ibid.*, pp. 24–26 has given additional interpretations: „Ist man zunächst geneigt, an die Jagd auf Wildtiere zu denken, so paßt dies schlecht zu der überlegten Ruhe und Stille, die ein

tropaic Heracles,²⁸³ Idaian Heracles,²⁸⁴ and Victorious Heracles²⁸⁵), Most High God,²⁸⁶ the goddess Nemesis,²⁸⁷ Pan,²⁸⁸ Pluton,²⁸⁹ and Poseidon.²⁹⁰ The second

erfolgreiches ἐνεδρεῦειν erfordert. Die Rolle einer Ἐνέδρα erscheint in ganz anderem Licht, wenn man das den bakchischen Festen in nicht geringem Maße mitzugrundeliegende erotische Motiv in Rechnung stellt, da es keinem Zweifel unterliegen kann, daß die nächtlichen Feiern fernab der Stadt zugleich auch erhöhte Gelegenheit zu freierem Umgang der Geschlechter boten.“ – More recently see: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 2, no. 106 (= I. K. 12 [Ephesos]).

- ²⁸⁰ KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos* IV, p. 16, ὁ ἱερεὺς καρποφόρου Γῆ[ς].
- ²⁸¹ Strabo, *Geog.* 14.1.23, mentions τὸ Ἐκατήσιον. For numismatic sources see KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, col. 355; *ibid.*, col. 341; „*Artemis mit 2 Fackeln in Biga: Die Verbindung Artemis–Hekate tritt uns hier zum ersten Mal entgegen.*“ – Inscriptional attestation to Hekate is now found in H. ENGELMANN and D. KNIBBE, *Aus ephesischen Skizzenbüchern*, *JÖAI* 52 (1978–80), p. 40, no. 54 (= *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 2, no. 567, with figure of Hekate) (= I. K. 12 [Ephesos]) and: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1223 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]). The former inscription presents a „*Strafandrohung für Pissen an verbotener Stelle.*“
- ²⁸² HICKS, *IBM*, no. 600 [τὰ ἱερὰ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Διὸς Πανέλλη]νίου καὶ Ἡφαίστου, dated by HICKS “about the time of Hadrian,” p. 222; also see D. KNIBBE, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, pp. 494–95. – See also: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 6, no. 2091 (= I. K. 16 [Ephesos]).
- ²⁸³ In general see GRUPPE, *Herakles*, *RE Supp.* 3, 1918, cols. 910–1121. For Heracles Ἀποτρόπαιος, see above footnote nos. 190–92.
- ²⁸⁴ L. ROBERT, *Sur des inscriptions d’Éphèse. Fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes*, *Revue de Philologie* 41 (1967), pp. 64–73, no. 7, ‘Divinités à Éphèse et à Pergame, dédicaces et honneurs,’ interprets the Ephesian inscription Ἡρακλ[ῆς] Εἰδαῖος (= Ἰδαῖος) (= *FiE* 4.3, no. 29, p. 283); GRUPPE commented, „*In hellenistischer Zeit verstand man unter H. Ἰδαῖος einen über die See fahrenden und mit den Attributen der Schifffahrt dargestellten Gott,*“ *Herakles*, *RE Supp.* 3, col. 1002.
- ²⁸⁵ Heracles Ἐπινεΐκιος (= Hercules Victor) is attested by imperial coinage at Ephesos, *ibid.*, col. 965, though not specifically listed in KARWIESE’s survey, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, col. 339. – Hercules is the object of thanksgiving on a small altar, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 3, no. 860. An athletic guild is associated with Heracles in: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1084 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]). *Ibid.*, vol. 8.2 (*Verzeichnis der Eigennamen*), s.v. Ἡρακλῆς also lists Ἡράκλειον γυμνάσιον.
- ²⁸⁶ KEIL and MARESCHE, *Epigraphische Nachlese*, *JÖAI* 45 (1960), *Beibl.* p. 77, lists two epigraphical examples: Θεῷ ὑψίστῳ εὐχαριστήσας and an altar inscription reading Θεῷ ὑψίστῳ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀττάλου εὐξάμενος. In general see A. D. NOCK, C. ROBERTS, T. C. SKEAT, *The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos*, *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936), pp. 39–88 (= NOCK, *Essays*, vol. 1, pp. 414–43); A. T. KRAABEL, “Ὑψιστος and the Synagogue at Sardis,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 10 (1969), pp. 81–93 sheds light upon the question of this epithet and the influence of Hellenistic Judaism. This term has not yet, to my knowledge, appeared at Ephesus with specific regard to Judaism. – For further bibliography consult: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, nos. 1234–35 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).
- ²⁸⁷ R. HEBERDEY, 2. vorläufiger Bericht, *JÖAI* 1 (1898), *Beibl.* p. 78, Ἡ πόλις ἐπεσκ[εῦ]σεν τὸ πρόν[α]ρον τοῦ Νε[μ]ε[ο]ρείου which can be dated, on the basis of prosopographical information omitted here, in the early third century A.D., see *FiE* 2, no. 42 (p. 164); cf. R. HEBERDEY, 9. vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos, *JÖAI* 15 (1912), *Beibl.* pp. 181–82.

and third categories include Agathe Tyche,²⁹¹ Concord,²⁹² Tyche Soteira,²⁹³ as well as Pion the mountain god²⁹⁴ and several river deities.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁸ Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 8.6; Sculptural artifacts of the Pan cult in Ephesos are catalogued by K. TUCHELT, *Pan und Pankult in Kleinasien*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19–20 (1969–70), pp. 233–36. — Epigraphical testimony is now present in: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 2, nos. 506, 520 and *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 1600.

²⁸⁹ J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. Épig.* 80 (1967), p. 533, no. 504. — See now: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 6, no. 2104 (= I. K. 16 [Ephesos]) and possibly *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 1228.

²⁹⁰ Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 10.425c, bulls (ταῦροι) was a sobriquet at Ephesos for οἱ οἰνοχοοῦντες ἦθροι τῇ του Ποσειδῶνος ἑορτῇ. An inscription from the late Republican period mentions Ταυρεασταὶ οἱ Κρεόντεοι (= *FiE* 2, no. 75, p. 182) which probably relates to the Poseidon Festival called Ταύρια, NILSSON, *GGR*, vol. 1, pp. 449–50; cf. Artemidorus, *Onir.* 1.8, ταύροις δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παῖδες Ἐφεσίων ἀγωνίζονται. A month of the Ephesian calendar was named Ποσειδεῶν (= HICKS, *IBM*, pp. 78–79). D. KNIBBE, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, p. 502, cites an inscription, *CIG* no. 3028, which mentions ἐργάται προπυλεῖται πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. S. KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, col. 356, lists no numismatic illustrations; cf., however, KNIBBE, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, p. 502, fn. 94. — See: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1229.

²⁹¹ In general see KNIBBE, *Die anderen ephesischen Götter*, p. 501; *Id.*, *Tyche und das Kreuz Christi als antithetische Bezugspunkte menschlichen Lebens in einer frühchristlichen Inschrift aus Ephesos*, in: *Festschrift für Fritz Eichler*, pp. 96–102. Inscriptional examples are found in: R. HEBERDEY, 2. vorläufiger Bericht, *JÖAI* 1 (1898), *Beibl.* p. 78; D. KNIBBE, *Epigraphische Nachlese*, *JÖAI* 47 (1964–65), *Beibl.* pp. 41–42; *Id.*, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos I*, *JÖAI* 48 (1966–67), *Beibl.* pp. 13–14; 17–18; *Id.*, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos II*, *JÖAI* 49 (1968–71), *Beibl.* p. 48; *Id.*, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos III*, *JÖAI* 49 (1968–71), *Beibl.* pp. 61, 85; *Id.*, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos V*, *JÖAI* 50 (1972–75), *Beibl.* pp. 33, 39, 45, 50; *Id.*, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos VII*, *JÖAI* 50 (1972–75), *Beibl.* pp. 69, 70, 78; *FiE* 2, no. 20, p. 110 (cf. no. 27, p. 128, ln. 17). For Ephesian coinage see KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, col. 341. — Since D. KNIBBE's 'Die anderen ephesischen Götter,' p. 501, there has been published an inscription with a dedication to a personal Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. 4, no. 1237 (= I. K. 14 [Ephesos]).

²⁹² ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς Ὁμονοίας was placed at the front of the Ephesian theater according to the famous *Salutaris* inscription, *FiE* 2, no. 27.440 (p. 138), cf. no. 27.470.

²⁹³ D. KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos VII*, *JÖAI* 50 (1972–75), *Beibl.* pp. 67–68 for text of this inscription and statue erected in Ephesus by Antioch of Pisidia; cf. H. ENGELMANN, *Zu Inschriften aus Ephesos*, *ZPE* 26 (1977), pp. 155–56.

²⁹⁴ For Pion see KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, cols. 337–38, 341; *FiE* 1, pp. 52–56; *FiE* 2, p. 189; cf. also Pausanias 7.5.10.

²⁹⁵ The numismatic testimony has been treated most thoroughly by F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Fluß- und Meerergötter auf griechischen und römischen Münzen (Personifikationen der Gewässer)*, *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 23 (1924), pp. 278–80, 403 (nos. 261–66, 560), and KARWIESE, *Ephesos*, *RE Supp.* 12, 1970, cols. 331, 335–36, 342. On the inscriptional sources see J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. Épig.* 86 (1973), pp. 145–46 (no. 379); *Id.*, *Bull. Épig.* 90 (1977), p. 405 (no. 439); H. ENGELMANN, *Zum Pollionymphäum in Ephesos*, *ZPE* 10 (1973), pp. 89–90; and *Id.*, *Inschriften aus Ephesos*, *ZPE* 24 (1977), p. 203, all of which are adverting to the text of F. MILTNER, 23. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, *JÖAI* 44 (1959), pp. 343–44. Statues of these river gods are also on display in the museums holding Ephesian artifacts. For the mythological significance attributed to the Ephesian rivers note Pausanias, 7.2.7. and 7.5.10.

III. Artemis of Ephesus

1. Introduction

The most prominent and significant religion in Ephesus during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire was incontestably Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσσία (= *Diana Ephesia*).²⁹⁶ The acclaim bestowed upon this goddess is patent in the frequency of her name in official documents – both inscriptional and numismatic – in sacred lore concerning the history of Ephesus, in local architectural monuments, in pertinent literature, and in the various ways she dominated the liturgical calendar of pagan Ephesus.

At the outset of this inquiry a point of methodology and procedure is appropriate. Because of the duration of the tenure of Artemis as the regnant deity in Ephesus, and since, attendant to this regality, she was so inextricably tied to the changing fortunes and misfortunes of the city of Ephesus, one must be careful not to collapse the span of her reign (at least a millennium) and the vicissitudes of her cult (under Anatolian, Persian, Greek, Roman, and Christian influences) into one synoptic construct.²⁹⁷ The story of this goddess and her cult is shown to us in, as it were, a motion picture, and not just in a single snapshot. And the scope of our interest will be the latter portion of this lengthy story. This study, then, will delineate the role and character of the goddess primarily during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire. The imperial writer Strabo was himself aware of the fact that with the passage of time certain aspects and trends within the religion of the Ephesian Artemis were altered or dropped. In a passage discussing some of the cultic as well as non-cultic facets of the Artemis cult, he writes:

“But though at the present some of their usages are being preserved; yet others are not; but the temple remains a place of refuge, the same as in earlier times, although the limits of the refuge have often been changed.”²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ Certain paragraphs in the following sections are expansions of portions of R. E. OSTER, *The Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent of Early Christianity*, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 19 (1976), pp. 27–44. For a general list of relevant primary and secondary sources see footnote nos. 6–30. G. ZIMMERMANN, *Ephesos im ersten christlichen Jahrhundert*, p. 87, was accurate when he observed that the Ephesian Artemis was the deity, „welche zu allen Zeiten Mittelpunkt des religiösen Lebens in Ephesos war.“ – The work by P. DEBORD, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine*, *EPRO* 88 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982) contains numerous references to various aspects of the Artemis cult.

²⁹⁷ Studies do evidence a concern for the evolutionary nature of this religious phenomenon. In general CH. PICARD, *Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 451–721 and R. FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos*, pp. 1–137.

²⁹⁸ Strabo, *Geog.* 14.1.23; translated by H. L. JONES, *The Geography of Strabo*, Loeb Classical Library (henceforth cited LCL) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), vol. 6, p. 229.

The modern researcher would do well to be sensitive to the danger of forcing the Ephesian Artemis of the Roman period into a mold forged by different cultures in earlier generations.

2. Artemis and the City of Ephesus – Covenant Bond

While the city of Ephesus provided a propitious location for any worldwide religion,²⁹⁹ it held a unique place within the cult of the Ephesian Artemis. The goddess and her cult were quite influential in the civic, economic, cultural, political, and religious affairs of the metropolis of Ephesus. These facts and circumstances were predicated upon the belief that there existed a distinctive and unique bond between the city of Ephesus, its denizens, and the goddess Artemis. In the course of history the Ephesians employed several concepts and terms to articulate this belief in the tutelary character of the Ephesian goddess and their reciprocal responsibilities to her in this divinely directed covenant relationship.³⁰⁰

The most basic expression of this relationship was the expression ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσίων³⁰¹ or the similar phrase ἡ μεγίστη Θεὰ Ἐφεσία Ἀρτεμις;³⁰² even her name was influenced by the name of the city. Among the Ephesians she was also known as [ἡ π]ροεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν Θεός,³⁰³ ἡ προκαθηγε[μὴν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν Θεὰ Ἀρτεμις]³⁰⁴ ἡ ἀρχηγέτις³⁰⁵ and ἡ πάτριος ἡμῖν Θεός.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, Ephesus' unique bond with her is reflected in the phrase ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρίδι [ιδί]α.³⁰⁷ A numismatic illustration of this covenant is found on Homonoia coins whereon the goddess Artemis represents Ephesus' place in celebrating

²⁹⁹ In regard to Ephesus' geographical situation on land and water routes see Strabo, Geog. 14.2.29; MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, vol. 1, p. 39ff.; vol. 2, p. 786ff.; T. R. S. BROUGHTON, *Roman Asia Minor*, in: *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), vol. 4, p. 599ff.; W. M. RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1962), pp. 27–62, 164ff.; and M. P. CHARLESWORTH, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), pp. 75–97, 256–60. For Ephesus' economic growth and attendant urban sprawl see Strabo, Geog. 14.1.24 and in general E. GREN, *Kleinasien und der Ostbalkan in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Uppsala Universitets-Årsskrift 9 (Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1941).

³⁰⁰ SIG 867.48–56 is a typical expression of the mutuality of benefit in the covenant between the city and deity; cf. FiE 2, no. 27.12–15 for giving honor to Artemis and her benevolent character.

³⁰¹ Acts of the Apostles 19.28.

³⁰² FiE 2, no. 27.453–54; cf. Xenophon of Ephesus 1.11.5.

³⁰³ SIG 867.29.

³⁰⁴ FiE 2, no. 20.10–11.

³⁰⁵ FiE 2, no. 27.20.

³⁰⁶ FiE 2, no. 26.17.

³⁰⁷ SIG 867.30.

the treaties between Ephesus and Alexandria.³⁰⁸ In this way the goddess is homologous, in numismatic symbolism, to a personification of the city of Ephesus.³⁰⁹

A technique of sculptural iconography employed to emphasize this concept of covenant between the goddess and the city was that of a mural crown and sanctuary headdress placed upon the head of the idol of Artemis.³¹⁰ Both of these are attested by the coinage as well as statuary remains from the early Roman Empire onward.³¹¹ The use of these motifs in ancient artistic symbolism was frequent, and its use shows „*daß man den Tempelaufsatz ähnlich wie die Mauerkrone mit einer Schutzfunktion über das Heiligtum und die Stadt verband.*“³¹² In the case of Ephesus, the mural crown depicted the goddess' protection of the city's fortifications and thereby its general welfare. In the course of the city's long history, Artemis' divine power and reputation were reported to have saved the city from foreign powers.³¹³

When the leaders of Ephesus mentioned the goddess and the city they often utilized terms illustrative of a covenant bond. The Ephesian Demos and Boule of the second century A.D. described Ephesus as ἡ τροφὸς τῆς ἰδίας θεοῦ τῆς Ἐφεσίου.³¹⁴ The word τροφός (and τροφεύς) was often used in antiquity as a theological *terminus technicus* to illustrate the relationship between divinities and devotees. In some cases it depicted deities as „*fördernde und lebenspendende Kräfte*“³¹⁵ and highlighted „*die nährende und wartende Kraft der Gottheit.*“³¹⁶ On other occasions it was utilized to define a certain city's relationship to a deity as the „*Wohltäter eines Heiligtums.*“³¹⁷ It is this latter sense which the

³⁰⁸ HEAD, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia, no. 417 (p. 112), Pl. 38. 4.

³⁰⁹ CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE, Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 148–49, displays a similar alliance coin between Pergamon and Ephesus (from reign of Commodus) with a reverse depicting the cult statue of Asclepius of Pergamon and Artemis of Ephesus. This coin, he concludes, “presents firmer evidence in speaking of cult images as symbols of cities,” p. 148. — Cf. also CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE, The Basis from Puteoli: Cities of Asia Minor in Julio-Claudian Italy, in: Coins, Culture, and History in the Ancient World. Numismatic and Other Studies in Honor of Bluma L. Trell, eds. L. CASSON and M. PRICE (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), p. 97.

³¹⁰ The following material draws heavily upon R. FLEISCHER, Artemis von Ephesos, pp. 55–58.

³¹¹ Ibid., pp. 55–57.

³¹² Ibid., p. 58; See also U. BRACKERTZ, Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte (Diss. University of Berlin, 1976), pp. 128ff.

³¹³ See below the material on the Artemis asylum rights. — Public sanitation was also within the purview of Artemis' protection of the city. Artemis' divine retribution is threatened for those who urinate in public places, Die Inschriften von Ephesos, vol. 2, no. 569 (= I. K. 12 [Ephesos]).

³¹⁴ SIG 867.42.

³¹⁵ K. PREISENDANZ, Trophos, in: Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, ed. W. H. ROSCHER, vol. 5 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1914), col. 1278.

³¹⁶ KRUSE, Trophos, RE 7 A 1, 1939, col. 695.

³¹⁷ PREISENDANZ, Trophos, in: Ausführliches Lexikon, vol. 5, col. 1279. — Certain individuals were also considered „*Patron und Wohltäter der Artemis*“ according to epigraphical sources; see in this regard R. MERKELBACH, Ephesische Parerga 19: Eine weitere Inschrift des L. Antonius, ZPE 31 (1978), pp. 36–37.

Ephesians emphasized when they designated themselves as the τροφός of their own³¹⁸ goddess Artemis.

Another religiously pregnant term used to describe Ephesus' bond with her goddess is νεωκόρος. This idea is attested under the Principate from literary, numismatic, and epigraphical records. A coin minted during the reign of Nero,³¹⁹ the Christian document 'Acts of the Apostles,'³²⁰ and a later inscription³²¹ explicitly designated the city of Ephesus as νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. As a religious term the word νεωκόρος expressed a variety of notions. The word was frequently employed both by pagan³²² and Jewish³²³ writers of the Graeco-Roman period to designate those persons of the temple hierarchy in charge of temple administration, proper performance of sacrifices, and other cultic events. With this urban self designation of νεωκόρος, the city was affirming its divine appointment as the keeper and protector of the religion and cult of the goddess, and is the recipient of the privileges and blessing which go with that office.³²⁴

The special Neocorate relationship with Artemis was depicted on coins minted at Ephesus. A numismatic motif frequently used in antiquity to depict this type of relationship was employed by the Ephesians in the service of proclaiming their tie with Artemis. This coin type portrays a woman holding a temple in her out-stretched hand.³²⁵ The woman figure symbolizes a particular city, and the temple either the temple of a deity or an emperor. The meaning of this numismatic iconography is „*daß die Stadt als Besitzerin und Unterhalterin des Tempels erscheinen soll, und sie ist also ein passender bildlicher Ausdruck für dasselbe, was die Sprache mit dem Worte νεωκόρος bezeichnet.*“³²⁶ The presence of this motif on Ephesian coins, with the personified woman of Ephesus holding the statue or temple of Artemis, was yet another way they could boast of this divine bond between their city and the Ephesian Artemis.³²⁷

There are at least two clear examples of the city of Ephesus stepping forward to assume its role as benefactor and defender of the goddess Artemis. The first comes from the Hellenistic period and shows that the city officials

³¹⁸ The use of the word ἴδιος is significant in SIG 867.30, 42.

³¹⁹ KARWIESE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, col. 330 and MAGIE, Roman Rule, vol. 2, pp. 1432–34.

³²⁰ Acts of the Apostles 19.35.

³²¹ FiE 2, no. 40.4–5; a third century inscription from Ephesus reads νεωκόρο[ς τῆς] ἀγιω- [τάτ]ης Ἀρτέμιδος, FiE 1, p. 211.

³²² See s.v. in J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1972).

³²³ For Jewish use see Josephus, Bell. Jud. 1.7.6 and Philo, Spec. Leg. 1.32 and De Fuga 17.

³²⁴ Numerous inscriptions relating to the cult of Artemis were authored by the Boule and Demos of Ephesus, e.g., SIG 867.

³²⁵ This numismatic iconography is set forth by A. PICK, Die tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie auf den Münzen, JÖAI 7 (1904), pp. 1–41.

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

³²⁷ HEAD, Catalogue of Greek Coins of Ionia, no. 314 (p. 94); no. 346 (p. 99); no. 384 (p. 106).

would brook no serious threat to the goddess' dignity and cult.³²⁸ An inscription reports a procession of the Ephesian Artemis during which the city of Ephesus sent ambassadors to the city of Sardis to deliver sacred garments to the shrine of the Ephesian Artemis there.³²⁹ At the termination of a particular procession some of the Sardinians defiled the ἱερά and τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος and mistreated the ambassadors. In retaliation for this deed of sacrilege, the advocates of the goddess (οἱ προήγοροι ὑπὲρ τῆς Θεοῦ) sentenced the offenders to death.³³⁰

A second example comes from the reign of Marcus Aurelius.³³¹ Report made its way to the city officials that the Roman Proconsul of Asia was transacting business during the sacred festival of Artemisia, an act both impious and illegal. The Proconsul was notified and admonished by the Ephesian Boule of the seriousness of his violation of these Holy Days of Artemis, providing yet another example of the Boule's legislation relating to the Ephesian goddess.³³²

Lastly, the city of Ephesus' relationship to the goddess placed upon it the responsibility of serving as a catalyst and impetus for the missionary expansion of the cult of the Ephesian goddess.³³³ The ancient testimony is unanimous that the goddess had devotees and shrines over much of the Roman world. An informative article by WERNICKE lists numerous sites where the cult of Artemis had been planted in the ancient world.³³⁴ Strabo mentions that her cult was active as far west as Massilia and Carthage.³³⁵ Caesarea Maritima has also yielded a statue of the Ephesian Artemis dating from the reign of Hadrian.³³⁶ FLEISCHER's work 'Artemis von Ephesos' maps the geographical dissemination

³²⁸ This inscription is presented and discussed by D. KNIBBE, *Ein religiöser Frevel und seine Sühne. Ein Todesurteil hellenistischer Zeit aus Ephesos*, *JÖAI* 46 (1961–63), pp. 175–82; F. SOKOŁOWSKI, *A New Testimony of the Cult of Artemis of Ephesus*, *Harvard Theological Review* 58 (1965), pp. 427–31; FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos*, pp. 200–201; and H. WANKEL, *Die Bekanntmachung des Todesurteils in der ephesischen Inschrift Inv. 1631*, *ZPE* 24 (1977), pp. 219–21. Cf. J. M. A. HANFMANN and J. C. WALDBAUM, *Kybebe and Artemis. Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis*, *Archaeology* 22 (1969), 264–69.

³²⁹ Θεωρῶν ἀποσταλόντων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, lines 3–5.

³³⁰ Τίμημα τῆς δίκης Θάνατος, line 11; see the comments by J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. Épig.*, in: *REG* 76 (1963), pp. 163–64, no. 211, and *Id.*, *Bull. Épig.*, in: *REG* 78 (1965), p. 155, no. 342.

³³¹ *SIG* 867; this was during the proconsulship of Popilius Carus Pedo.

³³² See the references given in footnote 463.

³³³ Officials of the Ephesian Artemis were both sent out (ἀποσταλόντες) and stationed (ἀποστελλόμενοι) ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως at regional sanctuaries of the Ephesian goddess according to L. ROBERT, *Sur des Inscriptions d'Éphèse*, *Revue de Philologie* 41 (1967), pp. 36–40.

³³⁴ WERNICKE, *Artemis*, *RE* 2.1, 1895, cols. 1385–86.

³³⁵ Strabo, *Geog.* 4.1.4–8; 3.4.6.

³³⁶ L. I. LEVINE, *Caesarea under Roman Rule*, *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), p. 43; A. FROVA, *La Statua di Artemide Efesia a Caesarea Maritima*, *Bollettino d'Arte* 47 (1962), pp. 305–13 was unavailable to me. Cf. also L. M. HOPFE, *Caesarea Palaestinae as a Religious Center under the Roman Empire*, in: *ANRW* II. 18.4, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin–New York: W. de Gruyter, 1990), p. 2389.

of the 'Artemis Ephesia' type on coinage in Asia Minor.³³⁷ A ψήφισμα ιερόν dated in the second century B.C., from Oenoanda, contains a reference to, among others, the Ephesian Artemis. This imprecatory inscription from a temple is illustrative of the goddess' significance in adjacent regions of Asia Minor.³³⁸

All of this is confirmed by the writer Pausanias who reports that

Ἐφεσίαν δὲ Ἄρτεμιν πόλεις τε νομίζουσιν αἱ πᾶσαι καὶ ἄνδρες ἰδία θεῶν μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ.³³⁹

These outside witnesses confirm the claim made by the Ephesians themselves that their goddess was worshipped throughout the world. One such claim by the Ephesians is preserved in an imperial inscription which boasts:

Θεὸς Ἄρτε[μις οὐ μόνον] ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρίδι τειμᾶται . . . [ἀ]λλὰ καὶ παρὰ [Ἑλλησίν τε καὶ [β]αρβάρ[οις], ὥ[στε παν]ταχοῦ ἀνείσθαι αὐτῆς ἰερά κα[ὶ] τεμένη, ναοὺς δὲ] αὐτῇ τε εἰδρῶσθαι καὶ βωμούς.³⁴⁰

A second example of this Ephesian claim appears in the 'Acts of the Apostles.'³⁴¹ In this account one reads that worship of the goddess had been upset in Ephesus by the preaching of the Christian evangelists. One of the Ephesian artisans whose trade was tied to the Artemis cult came forward both to attack the Christians and to defend his goddess. In his desire to rout the Christian disrupters he claimed that the goddess Artemis is the deity ἣν ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία καὶ ἣ οἰκουμένη σέβεται.

In the actual establishment of the Artemis cult in other cities and locations the goddess would often take a direct hand in the guidance of the missionary. Xenophon's act of taking the cult of the goddess home with him is indicative of this. We are told that when he decided to erect an altar and temple for the goddess, he was guided by revelation (ἔπου ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός)³⁴² to the proper

³³⁷ FLEISCHER, Artemis von Ephesos, Karte II; FLEISCHER's commentary on this map is noteworthy. „Eine Verbreitungskarte von Münzbildern in der Art der ephesischen Göttin gibt somit nicht die Verbreitung des ephesischen Kultes an, sondern zeigt in erster Linie das Gebiet, in dem man den Typus der Artemis Ephesia für verwandte epichorische Gottheiten verwendete“ (p. 136). Notwithstanding the truth of FLEISCHER's point, it is nevertheless the case that one must explain why the „Typus der Artemis Ephesia“ was utilized in conjunction with indigenous deities and its significance. Pausanias' (4.31.8) observation regarding the immensely broad dissemination of Artemis worship must be reckoned with. It must be added, however, that „(man) das Erscheinen unserer Göttin auf Münzen fremder Städte nicht einfach damit erklären (kann), daß die Göttin hier geehrt werden sollte. . . . Derartige Darstellungen von Kultbildern einer fremden Stadt konnten ihre Ursache auch in religiösen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen haben,“ FLEISCHER, p. 134.

³³⁸ A. HALL, A Sanctuary of Leto at Oenoanda, *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977), p. 194.

³³⁹ Pausanias 4.31.8.

³⁴⁰ SIG 867.29–34.

³⁴¹ Acts of the Apostles 19.27.

³⁴² Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.3.7; cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 8.7.5.

piece of land. Moreover, one also reads that effort was made to make the cult like the one in the city of Ephesus, i.e., there was a consciousness that the Ephesian arrangement provided a pattern which ought to be followed whenever possible.³⁴³

The fullest and richest account of the establishment of an Artemis cult is preserved by Strabo and is given here in its entirety:

ἀπαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς Φωκαεῦσιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας λόγιον ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν, ἡγεμόνι χρήσασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ παρὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος λαβοῦσι· τοὺς μὲν δὴ, προσαχθέντας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ζητεῖν ὄντινα τρόπον ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πορίσαιντο τὸ προσταχθέν. Ἀριστάρχη δὲ τῶν ἐντίμων σφόδρα γυναικῶν παραστήναι κατ' ὄναρ τὴν θεὸν καὶ κελεῦσαι συναπαίρειν τοῖς Φωκαεῦσιν, ἀφίδρυμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν λαβοῦσιν· γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀποικίας λαβούσης τέλος, τό τε ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ τὴν Ἀριστάρχην τιμῆσαι διαφερόντως ἰέρειαν ἀποδείξαντας, ἐν τε ταῖς ἀποίκις πόλεσι πανταχοῦ τιμᾶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ταύτην τὴν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ ξοάνου τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τᾶλλα νόμιμα φυλάττειν τὰ αὐτά, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει νενόμισται.

“When the Phocaeans were sailing from their homeland an oracle was delivered to them, it is said, to use for their voyage a guide received from the Ephesian Artemis; accordingly, some of them put in at Ephesus and inquired in what way they might procure from the goddess what had been enjoined upon them. Now the goddess, in a dream, it is said, had stood beside Aristarcha, one of the women held in very high honour, and commanded her to sail away with the Phocaeans, taking with her a certain reproduction which was among the sacred images; this done and the colony finally settled, they not only established the temple but also did Aristarcha the exceptional honour of appointing her priestess; further, in the colonial cities the people everywhere do this goddess honours of the first rank, and they preserve the artistic design of the *xoanon* the same, and all the other usages precisely the same as is customary in the mother-city.”³⁴⁴

The sentence “they preserve . . . all the usages precisely the same as is customary in the mother-city,” powerfully demonstrates the central position of authority held by the city of Ephesus in this cult. Since the idea of following the ‘pattern’ of the mother-city is found in both this account and Xenophon’s,³⁴⁵ one can rightly assume that this was a customary part of the missionary procedure of Artemis’ devotees, i.e., to establish cult centers of their goddess through the entire world, among both Greeks and barbarians,³⁴⁶ which reflected a high degree

³⁴³ Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.3.12–14.

³⁴⁴ Strabo, *Geog.* 4.1.4, translated in: *The Geography of Strabo* (LCL).

³⁴⁵ See footnote 343.

³⁴⁶ SIG 867.33, 39–40 and ‘The Epistles of Apollonius of Tyana’, no. 67, mention Artemis’ outreach to Greek and barbarian alike.

of uniformity which pointed back to their dependence upon the central shrine and cultic center in Ephesus.³⁴⁷

3. Myths, Festivals, and Mysteries

a) Myths

The most prominent myth of the goddess in the Roman period was her nativity.³⁴⁸ The nativity story of the Ephesian Artemis was, except for certain geographical details, identical with that of the traditional Greek Artemis. It is quite questionable whether „*der ephesische Artemiskult reichte . . . in die Zeit der ionischen Wanderung zurück. Sein Ursprung war pylisch-attisch.*“³⁴⁹ On the other hand, there is no evidence from the birth story of Artemis of Ephesus in the Graeco-Roman period to suggest that she „*gehört ohne Zweifel zu der Reihe der kleinasiatischen Göttinnen, deren bekannteste Vertreterin die Große Mutter oder Bergmutter ist.*“³⁵⁰

The Greek myth narrates that Artemis was born of Leto and Zeus, a union opposed by Hera who attempted to arrest the birth of the two scions, Artemis and Apollo.³⁵¹ In order to hinder the birth of these two children Hera sent a serpent³⁵² to chase Leto. In another version, Hera forbids cities from extending hospitality to the pregnant Leto. In the various versions of the myth, different locations for the nativity of Apollo and Artemis were sometimes reported. On occasion, even different sites were claimed for the birth of Artemis since she and Apollo were not born at the same time, in certain versions of the story. Generally the island of Delos was the principal beneficiary of the Apollo nativity story, possessing as a result the famous Apollonian sanctuary.³⁵³ In regard to Artemis' birthplace, a grove known as Ortygia was the principal location designated in the myths.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁷ It should be pointed out that the numerous 'types' and groups of Artemis statues reveal that a rich diversity was present in the various cults of Artemis, both in Ephesus and abroad, FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos*, pp. 1–137.

³⁴⁸ In general CH. PICARD, *Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 392–402.

³⁴⁹ E. SIMON, *Die Götter der Griechen*, p. 162; this theory of SIMON has been repudiated by FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos*, pp. 130–31.

³⁵⁰ NILSSON, *GGR*, vol. 1, pp. 497–98.

³⁵¹ Ancient sources are given by WEHRLI, *Leto*, *RE Supp.* 5, 1931, cols. 555–76.

³⁵² A Christian adaptation of this version is possibly found in the 'Revelation of John,' 12, and testifies to the circulation of this aspect of the myth within imperial Asia; see H. D. SAFFREY, *Relire l'Apocalypse à Patmos*, *Revue Biblique* 82 (1975), pp. 410–17 and A. Y. COLLINS, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, *Harvard Dissertations in Religion* 9 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976), pp. 65–67, 71–72.

³⁵³ Callimachus, *Hym. in Del.* passim; *Hym. in Ap.* 4ff.; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.61.1; *Hym. Hom. ad Ap.* 16 and other texts given by WERNICKE, *Apollon*, *RE* 2.1, 1895, cols. 21–23.

³⁵⁴ *Hym. Hom. ad Ap.* 15f. and others cited by WERNICKE, *Artemis*, *RE* 2.1, 1895, cols. 1366–67, 1375 and WEHRLI, *Leto*, *RE Supp.* 5, 1931, cols. 565–71.

Turning now to the Ephesian perspective of the nativity myth of the Ephesian Artemis, one discovers that in the region of Ephesus there was an area known as Ortygia.³⁵⁵ The Ephesians, according to Strabo, had for centuries³⁵⁶ identified this region with the nativity site³⁵⁷ (μυθεύουσι τὴν λοχείαν . . . καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον ἐν ᾧ ἡ λοχεία) of Artemis and Apollo. Ortygia was also the place where Leto recuperated after her travail and concealed from Hera the two offspring. A similar picture of Ephesus' understanding of the birth story, its provenance in Greek mythology, and the importance of the nativity to the city's welfare emerges from an incident recorded by Tacitus.³⁵⁸ There had been widespread abuse of temple asylum rights during the early Empire, and Tiberius decided to scotch the malpractices by requiring the Greek cities to petition the Senate for continuation of this privilege. In order to authenticate the antiquity and, thereby, the validity of its own Temple of Artemis,³⁵⁹ the Ephesians presented a series of myths related to the cult of Artemis and her temple. They were the first to appear before the Senate, and, according to Tacitus,

*memorantes non, ut vulgus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse apud se Cenchrium amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnissam edidisse ea numina, deorumque monitu sacratum nemus.*³⁶⁰

Though the nativity celebration of the Ephesian Artemis will be discussed later, it is appropriate at this place to mention that the date designated as the birthday (6th of Thargelion)³⁶¹ of the Ephesian goddess was identical with the birthday of the Greek Artemis.³⁶² Also of note in comparing mythological

³⁵⁵ J. KEIL, Ortygia, die Geburtsstätte der ephesischen Artemis, JÖAI 21–22 (1922–24), pp. 113–19.

³⁵⁶ Strabo, Geog. 14.1.20 mentions both ἀρχαῖοι ναοὶ and ναοὶ δ' ὕστερον γεγόμενοι. In addition, he refers to works of the Hellenistic artist Scopas that depict this myth; see also A. F. STEWART, Scopas of Paros (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1977), pp. 111–12 and Appendix 1, no. 21.

³⁵⁷ Strabo, Geog. 14.1.20.

³⁵⁸ Tacitus, Ann. 3.60–61.

³⁵⁹ See footnote nos. 426–37 for privileges of the Artemis temple.

³⁶⁰ Tacitus, Ann. 3.61.1.

³⁶¹ FiE 2, no. 27.224–25; CH. PICARD, Éphèse et Claros, pp. 287–302. The apocryphal 'Acts of John,' 38, mention the γενέθλιος τοῦ εἰδωλείου; to my knowledge this is the only reference to the anniversary of the temple itself; cf. A. STUIBER, Geburtstag, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (= RAC), vol. 9 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1972), col. 223. For serious doubts about the knowledge of Ephesian matters with the author of the 'Acts of John' see now E. JUNOD–J. D. KAESTLI, Le dossier des 'Actes de Jean': état de la question et perspectives nouvelles, in: ANRW II. 25.6, ed. W. HAASE (Berlin–New York: W. de Gruyter, 1988), p. 4354 with note 243. – On the months of the Ephesian calendar see R. MERKELBACH, Die ephesischen Monate in der Kaiserzeit, ZPE 36 (1979), p. 159.

³⁶² W. SCHMIDT, Geburtstag im Altertum, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 7.1 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1908), pp. 94ff.

genealogies of the Greek and Ephesian Artemis is an Ephesian inscription which designates the Ephesian Artemis as the daughter of Zeus.³⁶³ M. P. NILSSON is of the opinion that the Ephesian adaptation of this Greek birth narrative probably had already taken place in the Hellenistic period.³⁶⁴ Whatever the date of the origin of this Ephesian understanding, it is incontestable that by the time of the early Empire the nativity of the Ephesian Artemis had been closely aligned, at least in the minds of the Ephesians, with that of the Artemis of Greek heritage.

b) Festivals

There is a lamentable dearth of evidence from the Roman period for documenting the various religious festivals held in honor of the goddess of Ephesus.³⁶⁵ Notwithstanding this dearth of detailed information, one can, nonetheless, sketch the broad outline of at least two major religious festivals conducted in honor of the Ephesian Artemis.³⁶⁶

The festival of Artemis to which we first turn is the Ἀρτεμίσια,³⁶⁷ an annual celebration held in the month of Artemision (March–April);³⁶⁸ both the festival and the month received their names from the goddess Artemis.³⁶⁹ Agnostic inscriptions reveal that the Artemisia included certain athletic competition such as boxing (ἀνδρῶν πυγμῇ)³⁷⁰ and theatrical competition such as comedy (παῖς κωμῳδός).³⁷¹ An Ephesian festival dedicated to Artemis (though not specifically called the Artemisia)³⁷² depicts, in all probability, some of the typical

³⁶³ J. KEIL, 19. vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, JÖAI 30 (1936–37), Beibl. p. 198, no. 4, originated in first century A.D. and reads [Οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ Ἐφέσιοι] παρακομίσαντες τὴν ἐκ Διὸς Λητοῦς καλλιτέκνον λ[εγομένην Ἀρτεμιν].

³⁶⁴ NILSSON, GGR, vol. 2, p. 368.

³⁶⁵ M. P. NILSSON, Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1957), p. 243.

³⁶⁶ I. R. ARNOLD, Festivals of Ephesus, American Journal of Archaeology 76 (1972), pp. 17–22 is very cursory. I have intentionally omitted the festival of Artemis Daitis (R. HEBERDEY, Δαιτίς. Ein Beitrag zum ephesischen Artemiskult, JÖAI 7 [1904], pp. 210–15) and the vague materials preserved in the romance by Xenophon of Ephesus.

³⁶⁷ STENGEL, Artemisia, RE 2.2, 1896, col. 1442; HICKS, IBM, p. 79; I. R. ARNOLD, Festivals, American Journal of Archaeology 76 (1972), pp. 17–18.

³⁶⁸ HICKS, IBM, pp. 78–79. — More recently see R. MERKELBACH, Die ephesischen Monate in der Kaiserzeit, ZPE 36 (1979), p. 159.

³⁶⁹ SIG 867; for additional occurrence of term Artemisia see KEIL and MARESCHE, Epigraphische Nachlese, JÖAI 45 (1960), Beibl. pp. 81–82; HICKS, IBM, no. 615.11 (p. 239).

³⁷⁰ HICKS, IBM, no. 605.15 (p. 234).

³⁷¹ Ibid., no. 606.8–12 (p. 235).

³⁷² Earlier generations of scholarship identified the Ἀρτεμίσια with the Ἐφέσια but there is no proof for this; cf. HICKS, IBM, p. 79; KNIBBE, Ephesos, RE Supp. 12, 1970, cols. 278–79. I. R. ARNOLD, Festivals, American Journal of Archaeology 76 (1972), pp. 17–18, appeals to certain inscriptions and literary texts for the Artemisia without the presence of the word there.