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ARTEMIS ANAHITA. PERSIAN TRACE IN THE CULTURE AND IDENTITY OF THE ROMAN CITY

The article analyses historical sources, mainly Greek and Latin, on the goddess Artemis Anahita, of Persian origin, who became an important part of the urban culture of several cities in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In terms of functions and visual representations, the Persian goddess Anahita was incorporated into the Greek worldview under the “appearance” of Artemis, not in the iconography of the well-known Hellenistic statue by Leochares, but in a form similar to the statue of Artemis of Ephesus. During the second and third centuries AD, the magistrates of Sardis, Hypaepa, and Philadelphia adopted this goddess as one of the symbols of their cities. Coin types featuring Artemis Anahita appeared not only on issues of autonomous minting but also alongside the busts of emperors. Thus, numismatic sources reveal the visual representation and function of the goddess in maintaining the local identity of city elites of the Roman provinces in Asia Minor.

Key words: Roman province of Asia, Artemis, Anahita, Greek religion, Persian religion, coins, archaeology.

The spiritual life of any society is an interesting and complex topic for research, especially when it comes to territories inhabited since ancient times or areas where several historical traditions intersect. The change of historical periods and state formations, the objective circumstances of climate change and natural disasters affect the worldview of the region's inhabitants, and, as T. Pratchett rightly noted, the gods do not die. They simply turn into ghostly voices or footnotes in a textbook on the history of religion. Old gods do new work. The phenomenon of human culture shows the amazing flexibility and continuity of primitive beliefs. The pantheon of the Greek gods,

despite its rationality, especially in Roman times, still retained a proportion of totemism and animism. A striking example of this is the figure of Artemis, a goddess whose origin, meaning, functions, and visual representation varied enormously depending on the territory, ethnicity of the believers, and time period. Among all the Olympic gods, it is the brother and sister, Apollo and Artemis, who exemplify sophistication, style, elegance, and divine qualities. Few others equal them in the number of visual representations. The proposed study aims to expand the context of the figure of Artemis Anahita discussed in previous publications (Баукова 2021; 2022). It is also suggested to adopt a broader perspective on the figure of the goddess in the context of coinage and to further develop the observations of J. Nollé (2012), K. Jarzęcki (2012), and S. Altniluk (2013). The relevance of the article is determined by the fact that the ancient world provides many answers to the challenges of modernity, such as identity formation, and the study of the ways in which the population of Roman times constructed or demonstrated identities can help to identify common paths and key aspects of these identities.

Anatolia was rich in various local deities who were gradually absorbed into the hypostases of the main Greek or Phrygian gods. Their universal essence made them acceptable across the Mediterranean, and they became gods of the whole Greek polis world. An example is Apollo and Artemis, whose Asia Minor origin is beyond doubt (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1925, p. 50). The inhabitants of Lydia, Mysia, Phrygia, and further on, under different names, honoured Zeus (Lydios), Apollo (Smintheus, Lyceus (Licean)), Athena (Troas), mountain, and river gods. However, Artemis (Leukophryene, Boreitene, Anaitis, Ephesia, etc.) retained the foremost place. In addition to architectural remains, epigraphic sources, and information from ancient writers, numismatic materials play a significant role in reconstructing the function and characteristics of her cult. They will constitute the main focus of this paper.

Written sources on Artemis provide an extensive body of evidence from the beginnings of Greek writing. She was the personification of inviolability

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and the purity of wild nature, and it was in her nature to disappear, to stay away (Otto 2022, p. 96). In myths and literary works, it is repeatedly emphasised that she cares for wild animals as a mother would. On the so-called François Vase (or François Krater), Artemis is shown as *Pótnia Therón* (the Mistress of Animals), the epithet by which Homer refers to her (Hom. *Il.*, 21. 468). Her favorite animals were lions, leopards, and deer. She also intervened in human affairs. Pausanias writes about human sacrifices offered to Artemis (Paus. VII, 19, 4), and mythological tradition recalls the intended sacrifice of Iphigenia to the goddess. It is interesting that Artemis' arrows, like those of her brother Apollo, brought a quick and gentle death; for this reason, Artemis was regarded as the giver of an easy death, without long-term illness or pain (*Odyssey*, V, 124; XI, 172; XV, 411; XVIII, 202; XX, 61).

In the Hellenistic period, coinage flourished, and the depiction of the gods became a form of worship and patronage. In the numismatics of Asia Minor, Artemis is typically depicted as a bust with a bow slung across her shoulders and accompanied by her symbols — a bee or a deer — as was common in Ephesus. At this time, with the development of art and architecture, the tradition of placing images of shrines and statues of gods on coins emerged. In this context, Asia Minor became particularly recognisable for one of the wonders of the world — the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus — and for the statue of the goddess with a hundred exposed breasts, which symbolised her maternal care. Greek cities under Roman rule not only continued minting coinage, but they also developed important traditions. The Romans, as is known, honoured Artemis under the name Diana, and this Greco-Roman symbiosis on the western coast of Asia Minor evolved into the cult of the so-called Diana of Persia — a fusion of Artemis and Anahita. It should be noted that publications use different transliterations of the Persian name of the goddess — Anahita, Anahit, Anaitis, Ardivi Sura Anahita, Anāhīta (Boyce 1983, p. 1003). In this article, we will use the form Anahita or Artemis Anaitis (Ἀναΐτις Ἀρτέμις) as mentioned in a Lydian inscription (Meriç et al. 1981, p. 38-40).

Written sources allow us to trace who this Persian goddess was and how her cult reached Anatolia. In the third book of the *Babyloniaca*, Berossus wrote that during the reign of Artaxerxes II, statues of Anahita were erected in Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, and that the king himself “encouraged” the Persians, Bactrians, and inhabitants of Damascus and Sardis to worship the goddess, who is identified in the text with Aphrodite. This priest notes that Artax-

erxes II was the first Persian king to build a temple to this goddess and erect a statue. Anahita, known in the sources as Anāhītz, was of Mesopotamian origin and became one of the main goddesses of the Zoroastrian pantheon (Wójcikowski 2010, p. 14). She was considered the goddess of fertility and natural forces. In his biography of Artax. II, Plutarch mentions this goddess and the peculiarities of her cult in several places (Plut. *Artax.*, 3). At the beginning of the biography, Plutarch notes that the king went to Pasargadae, where there was a temple to the goddess of war, so that Persian priests could perform an initiation rite confirming his kingship. For Plutarch, the essence of this goddess remains unclear. He assumes that she can be identified with Athena; however, translators and scholars commenting on the Russian translation of *Parallel Lives* (S. Lurie, S. P. Markish, M. E. Grabar-Passek, and S. I. Sobolevsky) point out that this goddess is in fact Anahita, not Athena. Still, there is a place for debate. Plutarch tells us that the method of initiation was intriguing: the candidate for initiation had to enter this sanctuary, lay aside his robe, and put on the garment that Cyrus the Elder used to wear before he became king. He then ate a cake of figs, chewed some turpentine-wood, and drank a cup of sour milk. In the quoted passage, Plutarch emphasises that whatever else is done besides this remains unknown to outsiders (Plut. *Artax.*, 3).

The long life of Artaxerxes II became a historical canvas for the development of the cult's philosophy. In the final part of his biography, we find the episode of Aspasia, whom Artaxerxes appointed as a priestess of the Artemis of Ecbatana — identified with Anahita — so that she might remain chaste for the rest of her life (Plut. *Artax.*, 27). Strabo also left some information about Anahita in his *Geography*. In describing Armenia, Strabo notes: “*Now the sacred rites of the Persians, one and all, are held in honour by both the Medes and the Armenians; but those of Anahita are held in exceptional honour by the Armenians, who have built temples in her honour in various places, and especially in Acilisenê. Here, they dedicate male and female slaves to her service. This, indeed, is not a remarkable thing; but the most illustrious men of the tribe actually consecrate to her their daughters while maidens; and it is the custom for these first to be prostituted in the temple of the goddess for a long time and after that to be given in marriage; and no one disdains to live in wedlock with such a woman.*”¹ (Strabo, XI, 14. 533).

¹ Translation by H. L. Jones.

The erection of statues and the construction of temples dedicated to a personified goddess, rather than to a fire, as it was in earlier Zoroastrian tradition, in the territory of Lydia represents an important development in Persian religion. Significantly, Anahita became the first goddess to be honoured in the Greek manner. In official documents, Artaxerxes II, alongside Ahura Mazda, also began to refer to Anahita and Mithra (de Jong 1997, p. 40).

Tacitus, in the third book of his *Annals*, reports, “*Hierocæsarea went back to a higher antiquity, and spoke of having a Persian Diana, whose fane was consecrated in the reign of Cyrus. They also quoted the names of Perperna, Isauricus, and many other generals who had conceded the same sacred character not only to the temple but to its precincts for two miles.*”² (Tac. Ann. 3.62). When the Persians conquered Phrygia and Lydia in 546 BC, Anahita became part of the spiritual culture of the region. At this time in Phrygia and Lydia, the dominant deities were the Great Mother (Mother Cybele) and Artemis. Over time, local ideas about deities, particularly those concerning Anahita, were shaped by the religious traditions and beliefs brought by the Persian colonists. The Greeks of the region sometimes identified her as Artemis. Epigraphic evidence from the Roman period indicates that Greek-speaking believers who worshiped the Great Mother addressed her as Artemis Anahita. In Philadelphia and in Maonia, she was known as *Matar Anaitis* (Wright 1895, p. 66). In his study, S. Wikander indicates that in the Lydian-Phrygian region there were conditions for the rapprochement of the two mother goddesses, the Phrygian and the Iranian, who were worshipped there. This was indicated by her cult name, especially in combination with local deities, especially Men Tiamou. However, a true “syncretism” between these two goddesses, who are nevertheless quite similar in nature, never took place in the homeland of the Cybele cult, where Anaitis is also so abundantly attested. (Wikander 1946, S. 220).

The complex situation arising from the presence of such local variants of deities can be clearly explained by Diodorus of Sicily: “*Demeter, for example, crossed over into Attica and then removed from there to Sicily and afterwards to Egypt; and in these lands her choicest gift was that of the fruit of the corn and instructions in sowing it, whereupon she received great honours at the hands of those whom she had favoured. Likewise, Aphrodite made her seat in Sicily in the region of Eryx, among the islands near Cyth-*

era and in Paphos in Cyprus, and in Asia in Syria; because of the manifestation of the goddess in their country and her extended sojourn among them, the inhabitants of the lands appropriated her to themselves, calling her, as the case might be, Erycinian Aphrodite, and Cytherian, and Paphian, and Syrian. And in the same manner Apollo revealed himself for the longest time in Delos and Lycia and Delphi, and Artemis in Ephesus and the Pontus and Persis and Crete; and the consequence has been that, either from the names of these regions or as a result of the deeds which they performed in each of them, Apollo has been called Delian and Lycian and Pythian, and Artemis has been called Ephesian and Cretan and Tauropolian and Persian, although both of them were born in Crete. And this goddess is held in special honour among the Persians, and the barbarians hold mysteries which are performed among other peoples even down to this day in honour of the Persian Artemis.”³ (Diod. Sic., *Library of History*, V, 77).

At the end of the 1st century AD, the Roman historian Tacitus, in his work on the Germanic tribes, describes a *practicus* phenomenon (*interpretatio Romana*), in which a Roman rendered a foreign deity by the name of a deity known to him (Tac. *Germ.* 43). When the Greeks or the local inhabitants of Phrygia and Lydia acted similarly, we speak of an *interpretatio Graeca* (Pfeiffer 2015, p. 37), that is, the Greek translation of a foreign god (in our case, Anahita). The possibility of translating or identifying gods is of central importance, as it seems to make possible a rapprochement between the two cultures in the field of religion, and even more so when it comes to the restoration of archaic, non-Greek gods in Greek cities during the Roman period.

The images of Anahita on the stone stelae published in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC, p. 610) do not correspond exactly to the known coin types, nor do they replicate the famous bronze statue associated with Anahita. More can be said about Artemis Anahita on the basis of numismatic evidence. The number of coin issues and the length of time during which the image of Artemis Anahita was used in Asia Minor can allow us to identify several characteristic features. In the Roman province of Asia, formed from the territories of the former Pergamon Kingdom in 133 BC, the figure of Anahita appears on the coins of Sardis, Philadelphia, Apamea, and Hypaepa. The mints of these cities, except for Sardis, produced small bronze change for the local market, and therefore, the magistrates placed

² Translation by J. Jackson.

³ Translation by C. H. Oldfather.

busts of local deities or phenomena significant for the region on their coins. The relatively small area of the bronze flan became a medium for displaying traditions, the importance of the city, religious cults, and outstanding architectural monuments dating back to the earliest times. It can be assumed that the design of coins was one of the manifestations of local self-government and depended on the preferences of a particular official. Since coins also functioned as a medium for maintaining good relations with the Roman authorities, there is a debate among numismatists about whether the magistrates needed to coordinate their design with government officials. Scholars are not sure whether coins can be used unconditionally to study local identity. It has been suggested that they should be seen as a “form of common discourse” between those who selected the types and the Roman authorities. On the other hand, the limited sphere of coin circulation, confined to the local market, leaves little room for concluding the reaction of the central government or the forms of interaction between the magistrates and the provincial administration (Williamson 2005, p. 19). In general, coins constitute a particularly valuable source as their design was determined by local elites, while their primary users were ordinary residents with diverse social and educational backgrounds. However, the symbols and figures depicted on coins were generally clear and recognisable to all categories of users.

As a rule, coins depicting the statue of Anahita contain an ethnicon and indicate the promotion of a primarily local identity. Also, not all existing coins mention the magistrate responsible for the issue. Unlike the coins with the emperor's bust, the legend on the coins depicting Anahita is written in Greek. These factors suggest that the local pro-government elites primarily sought to satisfy their own need for legitimation and self-promotion, rather than promote broader Roman values (Butcher 2005, p. 145).

In connection with the above, it is important to consider the very appearance of Anahita's figure on the coins of cities in Asia Minor. During the Hellenistic period, the dominant type of Artemis image was based on the statue by Leochares, known today as Diana of Versailles or Artemis, Goddess of the Hunt. The statue depicts the goddess running on the hunt, supported by a tree trunk and a fawn. Artemis is wearing a Dorian chiton, a himation, and sandals. However, coins depicting Anahita from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD show a statue of an archaising type, visually reminiscent, though only vaguely, of the statue of Artemis of Ephesus. The goddess (Anahita) is depicted standing, dressed in a chiton, fac-

ing the viewer, with her head adorned by a band. The clothing beautifully emphasises, yet covers, the waist and chest, and a veil draped over her arms falls in lush folds. Ribbons extending from the band to the arms, together with supports in the form of dots running from the hands to the tips of the feet, create a trapezoidal contour around the figure. Sometimes, birds or deer were placed near the arms or legs of the statue. This emphasised the hypostasis of Anahita as the ruler of animals or reflected a visual resemblance to the statue of Artemis of Ephesus. M. Riel confirms that the iconography of Anahita was significantly influenced by local traditions, and that on Lydian monuments she appears in the form of the Greek or Ephesian Artemis (Riel 2002, p. 201).

It is worth noting that Anahita did not supplant other types of Artemis figures — coins depicting the statue of the city's patroness continued to be minted in Ephesus, and a bust of Artemis with a bow appears on coins of many cities, including Perga (Pamphylia), Amphipolis (Macedonia), Thyateira (Lydia), Thasos (Thrace), Apameia (Phrygia), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (Ionia), Philadelphia (Lydia), and Nacrasa (Lydia), among others.

In addition to coins featuring local themes, mints in the cities produced legal tender bearing the emperor's bust and an accompanying legend. Artemis Anahita appears earliest on coins with the bust of Augustus, minted in Apamea (fig. 1) and Hypaepa (fig. 2).

This example is important not only because of its early dating — since Anahita mostly appeared on the coinage of the emperors Domitian, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, that is, in the late 1st and 2nd centuries AD — but also because it shows the common development of the tradition of depicting emperor Augustus on provincial coins. First of all, these coins bear the Greek legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ and occasionally include the name of the emperor or his magistracy. By contrast, elements of local significance — such as the Meander pattern or inclusion of magistrates' names — are particularly informative. For example, the legend of a coin bearing the bust of Emperor Augustus from Apamea informs us about the magistrate's family and origin — ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΑΠΙΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝ ΑΠΙΑΜΕΩΝ (“*magistrates Dionysus, son of Apollonios and Melito, of Apamea*”⁴). On the coin bearing the bust of Emperor Augustus from Hypaepa, the legend reads ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ ΕΡΜ-ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ, i.e., “*the inhabitants of Hypaepa, Herm and Menandros*”. The magistrate Herakleidos of Maconia also

⁴ Translated by A. Baukova.



Fig. 1. Bronze (AE20) coin of Apameia, Phrygia (27 BC — 14 AD), depicting the cult image of Artemis Anaitis on a Maeander pattern, after: SNG von Aulock 3486



Fig. 2. Bronze (AE16) coin of Hypaepa, Lydia (27 BC — 14 AD), depicting the cult image of Artemis Anaitis facing forward, wearing a polos and veil, after: Kurth 2020, no. 52

left an informative legend: ΕΠΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ ΑΡΧ ΤΟ Γ ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ (“*Herakleidos archontes to Maeonians*”⁵) (Head 1901, no. 51).

The next important point of analysis is the image on the reverse of the province’s coins. When examining coins from Hypaepa or Philadelphia featuring the classical representation of the statue of Artemis Anaitis alongside the bust of Agrippina

the Younger (Kurth 2020, no. 102), Emperor Nero with Statilia Messalina (SNG Cop, no. 191), Emperor Trajan (Kurth 2020, no. 106), another significant feature emerges. The statue of Artemis Anaitis was sometimes presented as an attribute in the hands of other goddesses — Athena (Kurth 2020, no. 116), Roma (SNG Cop, no. 387), or Tyche (Babelon 1898, no. 5156) — or displayed within the interior of a temple. One good example of what the temple in Hypatia looked like is, for example,

⁵ Translated by A. Baukova.



Fig. 3. Bronze (AE28) coin of Philadelphia, Lydia (AD 98–117), depicting the deity seated left on a throne, right leg drawn back, holding a statue of Artemis Anaitis, after: Kurth 2020, no. 239

the coins of this city with the bust of Julia Domna (Tekin 2012, no. 331–334). Notably, such cult images of deities — especially Zeus, but in the province of Asia also Tyche, Cora, or Anahita — functioned as symbols of power and were transformed into well-known emblems in the hands of the ruler.

The coin bearing Domitian's bust features a composition depicting a handshake between two goddesses — Tyche of Philadelphia and Tyche of Ephesus — where the patroness of Ephesus holds a statue of Anahita. This design represents a variant of the visualisation of the concept of *homonoia* (Greek: ὁμόνοια), understood as order and unity, or the union of hearts (Tarn 2002, p. 400), a notion known since Hellenistic times. In the Greek cities of the Roman province of Asia, as well as in the eastern provinces broadly, *homonoia* functioned as a symbolic mechanism for managing intra-city tensions and forming alliances (Price 1985, p. 129). Although there was a separate personification of the goddess of consent in the ancient world, coins depicting a female figure with the legend OMONOIA reflected not the cult of this goddess, but rather political consent or other forms of inter-city alliances. The composition of a female figure seated on a chair holding a statue of Anahita was also used to symbolise consent. This type was selected by the magistrates of Philadelphia for a coin bearing a bust of Emperor Trajan (fig. 3).

At first glance, identification of the statuette is complicated because the coin is not well-preserved, but other coin issues from Philadelphia help con-

firing that it is Anahita. This is a semi-autonomous coin, dated to AD 198–217, issued in honor of the alliance with Smyrna (Kurth 2020, no. 96).

The statuette of Anahita held by another character is also found on coins featuring the busts of Faustina the Younger (Kurth 2020, no. 289) or Julia Domna (Kurth 2020, no. 208). An interesting composition is found on the coin bearing the bust of Commodus of Hypaepa: the goddess Tyche bearing the iconic image of Anahita, faces right toward Apollo, who sits opposite with a lyre and also holds a statuette of Anahita in his right hand (fig. 4).

The connections and religious connotations between the goddesses Anahita and Tyche are strongly attested by coinage (fig. 5). In other words, it can be inferred that these two goddesses personified good fortune or divine protection for the city magistrates or the ruler.

The cities of the province were comparable in economic terms, making direct competition unlikely. However, ideological and cultural rivalry between them served as a driving force for the promotion of cultural values and local cults. Given the ideological dispute among the magistrates of the major cities in the province of Asia over the right to perform imperial worship, this privilege also became an element of local identity. Obtaining permission to build a temple in honour of the emperor — a *neokorate* — took time and required the efforts of the entire community. The presence of a *neokorate* added considerable prestige and political weight, and undoubtedly be-



Fig. 4. Bronze (AE35) coin of Hypaepa, Lydia (AD 177–192), depicting Tyche standing right, holding a transverse sceptre and cult image of Artemis Anaitis in her right hand, facing Apollo seated left, holding a lyre in his left hand and cult image of Artemis Anaitis in his right, after: SNG von Aulock 2965



Fig. 5. Bronze (AE 36) coin of Hypaepa, Lydia (AD 193–211), depicting the statue of Artemis Anaitis, combined with the image of the goddess Tyche, holding a horn of plenty and a rudder, after: Kurth 2020, no. 168.

came the focus of public display, including through the medium of coins. It is important to note that compositions celebrating the neocorate also feature the statue of Artemis Anahita. Such coins were based on the main “whales” of the Greek cultural model under Roman rule — the personification of the *demos*, the *boule*, and the goddess Tyche. This tradition dates back to the era of Antoninus Pius in the semi-autonomous mint of Apamea. During the reign of emperor

Septimius Severus, coins were circulating in Philadelphia with a reference to the neocorate in the legend surrounding the cult statue of Artemis Anahita. The wide range of coin types and compositions attests to the significant role of Anahita in the worldview and self-identification of the city dwellers of the Roman province of Asia for a considerable period of time. Yet, despite this informative content, coins remain “texts of silence”. For example, none of the



Fig. 6. Bronze (AE34) coin of Philadelphia, Lydia (AD 161–180), depicting a distyle temple with a curved architrave, depicting the cult image of Artemis Anaitis standing facing forward, wearing a polos and veil, after: Kurth 2020, no. 280

coins available for analysis bear the goddess's name; they depict only her statue and statuettes. Due to the lack of information, it is difficult to understand what the locals called the goddess and who is referred to as the “Persian Diana” in Roman sources. The coins also contain information about the temple or temples where the cult statue was placed, but this information has not yet been confirmed archaeologically. For example, while written sources unanimously indicate the existence of a temple of Anahita in Sardis dating to the time of Persian rule, the city's coinage presents the goddess as one of the personifications of the city in the context of alliances with Ephesus or Hypaepa, without mentioning the temple. The magistrates of Sardis generally preferred to depict temples on coins, but some of them were not identified due to ambiguity in the legend, the statue of the deity, or the image. A coin from Philadelphia bearing a bust of Marcus Aurelius depicts a distyle temple with an arched architrave, within which stands a statue of Anahita (fig. 6). Similarly, the image of the tetrastyle temple and the iconic statue of Artemis Anaitis appears on the coin of Emperor Trajan from Hypaepa (fig. 7).

However, in general, among the surviving coins of the city minted between 133 BC and 251 AD, temples featuring statues of various gods — Aphrodite, Artemis, and Helios — appear in 23 cases. In other words, in Roman times, local communities constructed their identity and engaged in self-promotion around cult centres, and Anahita was no exception. The appearance of temples that differed

only in minor details nevertheless suggests that the magistrates depicted actual architectural objects. This is confirmed by a coin bearing the bust of Emperor Claudius. Firstly, this represents a rare case in which a monument can be identified by the inscription on the reverse side of the coin — the legend *DIAN(A) EPHE(SIA)* encircles the temple. Secondly, the visual design of the Ionic-style column capitals of the temple corresponds with descriptions from other sources (Jarzęcki 2012, p. 166).

On the other hand, a temple featuring a statue of Anahita is depicted on a coin from Zela in Pontus, a city remote from the main centres of the goddess worship. The temple had an arched pediment and elaborate capitals on the columns, with a burning altar inside. This image was accompanied by a bust of Septimius Severus on the other side (Dalaison 2007, p. 9).

As noted above, various animals functioned as symbols of Artemis. Partridge and quail were considered sacred birds to the goddess. From the Greek name for quail, *ortyks*, and from the island where these birds nested and the goddess was said to be born, Artemis was sometimes called *Ortigia*. One depiction of a statue of Anahita holding birds in her hands is found on a coin of semi-autonomous minting from the reign of Antoninus Pius in Apamea (fig. 8).

It is noteworthy that the coin depicts an interesting phenomenon of the personification and veneration of the *boule* (for more details, see: Байкова



Fig. 7. Bronze (AE31) coin of Hypaepa, Lydia (AD 98–117), depicting a tetrastyle temple with Artemis Anaitis standing within, after: Kurth 2020, no. 105



Fig. 8. Bronze (AE22) coins from Apameia, Phrygia, semi-autonomous issue (AD 138–161), depicting the cult image of Artemis Anaitis, with supports surmounted by birds, after: Babelon 1898, no. 5694

2021). Some images of the Anahita statue on the coins resemble those of Artemis of Ephesus, often accompanied by two stags at her sides.

It is important to mention the coins from Maeonia. In two cases, identification as Anahita is questionable, since the coin bearing the bust of Emperor Caracalla (Kurth 2020, no. 134) more likely depicts the cult statue of Kore, and the coin with the bust of Emperor Nero shows torches in

her hands, instead of supports in the form of dots (Amandry et al. 2014, no. 3013). Therefore, these images most likely represent Hecate.

In addition, it should be noted that according to the inscriptions from Philadelphia, the goddess retained her original name *Ἀναΐτις*, often prefixed by *Θεα*, *Μήτηρ* or *Ἄρτεμις*, although her cult seems to have lost much of its Iranian character. The highest number of dedications addressed to



Fig. 9. Bronze (AE35) coin of Hypaepa, Lydia (AD 161–180), with countermarks depicting the statue of Artemis Anahita, after: Kurth 2020, no. 139

Anahita, mostly dating from the 2nd and 3rd century AD, comes from Maeonia, and contains Κυρία, Μήτηρ or Ἀρτεμις Αναίτις. The most notable feature of Anahita's rural cults in Maeonia is her complete integration into the local Anatolian pantheon: her Maeonian paredroi are not Iranian, but strictly local deities — Apollo, Men and Sabazius, whom she dominates in their shared shrines (Riel 2002, p. 207).

Finally, it should be emphasised that the cult image of Anahita was also used as a countermark on coinage (fig. 9). We will not be able to establish the reasons for the countermarking of provincial coins. This could have occurred in cases of monetary reform, to extend the circulation of coins, to integrate them into new systems, or for political reasons. Countermarking was always a cheaper alternative to withdrawing coins, melting them down, and replacing them. In most cases, either the bust of Tyche or letter symbols were used as countermarks in the province. The figure of Anahita is of particular significance because her statue appears as a countermark. In some instances, her image and status seem to have outlived the original myth, cult, or even the historical circumstances of the goddess's introduction into Anatolia.

Separate attention should be paid to the figure of the Persian Diana (Artemis Persika) in the prism of numismatic material. Such a plot appeared extremely rarely — on coins of Hypaepa (in the form of a head with a bow over his shoulders (Tekin 2012, 271)) and Hierocaesarea in Lydia (with a

bust of Marcus Aurelius and a full-length statue of the goddess in the middle of the temple (Babelon 1898, no. 5008)). The iconography of the goddess as the Persian Diana is extremely complex due to the lack of confirmation in the legend of the coin of the name of the represented person. From the attributes and deer around the figure of a young girl in a chiton, but in an unconventional pose for Artemis, it can be assumed that this is the Persian version of the goddess. For example, on coin with bust of Nero shown Artemis Persika standing facing between two stags, right hand raised to her quiver (Babelon 1898, no. 5004; Kurth 2020, no. 66). In another case, Magistrate P. Sex. Philippus in Hierocaesarea placed a complex composition on a coin with a bust of Commodus, where Artemis Persika is standing in a biga left, turning to her right, clasping hands with Tyche, turreted, standing left before her and holding a rudder; on the left Perseus, standing front, looking right, holding harpa and the horses' reins (Kurth 2020, no. 105).

Thus, the figure of the Persian Anahita, combined with the hypostasis of local female deities, and most importantly, with the figure of Artemis, became an important part of the worldview of the urban population of Lydia. The importance of studying the cult of Anahita lies in the fact that she and Mithras became the only Persian deities who were revered by the Romans.

The coins combine features of archaeological and iconographic sources, and therefore their significance is undeniable. City magistrates, following

a certain policy of self-presentation for local market participants, included well-understood figures of gods, phenomena, or monuments. Debate continues regarding for whom and by whom the “selection” of motifs and deities was made, and to what extent it was influenced by the local Roman administration. Nevertheless, during this period, Artemis Anaitis became one of the symbols of local identity. The magistrates of Hypaepa, Sardis, Maeonia, and Philadelphia used a highly archaic image of the goddess to represent good neighbourly relations, the affirmation of the right to perform imperial worship, city alliances, and the veneration of the *demos* or *boule*. First and foremost, this concerns opposing, departing from, or copying the image of Artemis of Ephesus as the principal standard for visualisation of the symbol of fertility and care. Although the region was familiar with the type of goddess known as the Great Mother, Cybele, the emphasis in the case of Artemis Anaitis was not on Phrygian roots, but on Persian traditions and Greco-Persian heritage. The “invention” or rediscovery of a very ancient deity was necessary to enhance the city’s image and

importance in the region and to exert influence on the Roman administration. This is clearly evident from written sources, especially Tacitus’ *Annals*. The reigns of the Antonine and Severus dynasties were a time of reinterpreting meanings and of the formation of a local tradition by local elites, based on indigenous deities and associated symbolism. The reasons for this phenomenon are not fully understood, but it was in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD that a “renaissance” of anachronistic, very ancient deities took place in the province. Why did magistrates of Greek origin, under Roman rule, consciously select a goddess of Persian origin for self-presentation? What processes are reflected in the “obsolescence” of cultural tradition, and for what purpose were these “searches for the source” publicised? Perhaps it was to attract economic flows, perhaps to assert cultural dominance, or perhaps to distinguish themselves from the cultural trends of the era.

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АРТЕМІДА АНАІТА. ПЕРСЬКИЙ СЛІД В КУЛЬТУРІ ТА ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ РИМСЬКОГО МІСТА

Духовне життя будь-якого суспільства є цікавою і складною темою для дослідження. Особливо коли йдеться про заселені здавна території чи території перетину кількох історичних традицій. Зміна історичних епох та державних утворень, об'єктивні обставини змін клімату та природні катаклізми так чи інакше відбиваються на світогляді мешканців регіону, і, як слушно зауважував Террі Пратчетт, боги не помирають. Вони просто перетворюються на примарні голоси чи зноски в підручнику з історії релігії. Old gods do new job. Феномен людської культури показує дивовижну гнучкість і тяглість первісних вірувань. Пантеон грецьких богів, незважаючи на свою раціональність, особливо в римський час все ще зберігав питому частку тотемізму та анімізму. Яскравим прикладом цього є постать Артеміди, богині, чие походження, значення, функції та візуалізація вкрай різнилась від території, етнічної приналежності віруючих та відрізка часу. Територія Анатолії мала складну політичну історію, наслідком чого стало також і поширення різних культурних традицій. Довготривале панування персів в регіоні призвело до поширення культу Анаїти, а міста Лідії стали центрами вшанування богині, званої в римський час як Діана Перська Артеміда-Анаїта. Археологи поки що не віднайшли статуй чи залишків храмів, які б можна було твердо ідентифікувати як центри вшанування богині, однак нумізматичні джерела містять іконографічні відомості з цього питання. Привертає увагу факт звернення до постаті Анаїти, давнього перського божества в часи династій Антонінів та Северів. По-друге, вражаючим є і звернення не до елліністичної моделі показу Артеміди, а до дуже архаїчного, прадавнього зображення, близького до статуї Артеміди Ефеської. Монети міст римської провінції Азія показують як Артеміда Анаїта стає символом місцевої ідентичності. Магістрати Гіпайпи, Сард, Філадельфії використовують зображення статуї богині для показу таких важливих явищ, як добросусідські відносини, підтвердження права імператорського культу, союзи міст та пошанування демосу чи буле. Зауважимо, що, хоча в регіоні був відомий тип богині — Великої Матері, Кібелли, однак у випадку Артеміди Анаїти акцент чомусь був зроблений не на фрігійські корені, а на перські традиції греко-перської спадщини. «Винахід» чи віднайдення (повернення) дуже старого божества був потрібним для посилення іміджу й значення міста в регіоні та впливу на римську адміністрацію.

К л ю ч о в і с л о в а: римська провінція Азія, Артеміда, Анаїта, давньогрецька релігія, перська релігія, монети, археологія.

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