

Wandering Images: From Taurian (and Chersonesean) Parthenos to (Artemis) Tauropolos and (Artemis) Persike

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This paper contains more questions than answers. It was occasioned by my attempts to explain why and more importantly how the notion of the Taurian goddess turned up in the writings of Ovid and Strabon concerning the Sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis in Italy.¹ During this work it became clear that there must have existed a relationship between the epithet *elaphochthonos*, “deer-killing”, for the pre-Greek, Taurian goddess by the name of Parthenos mentioned by Euripides in his play *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1115) and the repeated depiction of a deer-killing female deity on the coins of Chersonesos. It also became evident that not only was the epithet *elaphochthonos* extremely rare, but so too were the depictions. The coincidence could thus hardly be fortuitous. The question is therefore whether there might be a relationship between the wandering image of the Taurian goddess known from literary sources and the sparse diffusion of the iconography of a deer-killing female deity.

From Taurian Parthenos to Tauropolos

As is well known, the notion of the Taurian goddess expressed through the wanderings of her image became a literary topos of long-standing popularity in antiquity, providing the chief example of a god demanding human sacrifice, and it was used as a convenient cultural marker to set up a demarcation between the civilized and the barbarian world.² The first preserved description of the Taurian goddess was created in the third quarter of the 5th century BC by Herodotos. The well-known passage in 4.103 reads:

“Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all shipwrecked men, and any Greeks whom they capture in their sea-raids, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess as I will describe: after the first rites of sacrifice, they strike the victim on the head with a club; according to some, they then place the head on a pole and throw the body off the cliff on which their temple stands; others agree as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not

thrown off the cliff. The Tauri themselves say that this deity to whom they sacrifice is Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia" (translation: A.D. Godley).

A few years later, Euripides turned to the same subject in his play *Iphigenia in Tauris* (*IT*), written in 412 BC or slightly earlier. Whether he drew on Herodotos' description of the Taurian goddess Parthenos created a few decennia earlier or whether they had a common source is not of importance here. But as Herodotos also Euripides vividly described the deity and the human sacrifice demanded by her.

It was foremost Euripides' image of how Iphigenia administered the sinister cult of a Taurian goddess on the southern shore of the Crimea that had a considerable impact on later Greek and Roman culture.³ Throughout the play the goddess is called Artemis, but also in one instance *Anassa Parthenos* (1230), and the deity's epithet, *elaphochthonos*, is also provided (1115). Euripides operated within a particular *Athenian* discourse, as his play was the aithiological explanation for a symbolical human sacrifice in the Sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphnides through the exegesis of her epithet, Tauropolos.⁴ This aithiology cemented the fundamental misunderstanding that Tauropolos meant "worshipped by the Taurians",⁵ a misunderstanding that is important when trying to establish where, when and how the perception of the spread of the Taurian cult beyond the Black Sea region has been understood by ancient (and modern) authors.

The wanderings of the image of the Taurian goddess

With Euripides' *IT* and the transfer of the image from the Taurian sanctuary to Attica, the cult statue became a wandering image, primarily appearing in the eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 1).⁶ Pausanias 3.16.7-8 is particularly illuminating as to the existence of rivalling myths in various cities. According to him, especially Sparta and Athens had competing versions of the myth. Pausanias professed himself to be inclined to believe the Spartans in their claim to possess the Taurian image in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (3.17.7). Apart from informing us that the "Cappadocians in the Euxine" and the "Lydians venerating Artemis Anaitis" also claimed to have the image, he furthermore refers to the Athenians' complicated version – which even differs from that of Euripides: that the image was taken by Iphigenia to Brauron,⁷ whence it was removed as booty by the Persians to sojourn in Susa until it was donated by Seleukos to Laodikeia in Syria (3.16.8).⁸ We shall return below to a possible identification of the Kappadocian and Lydian localities hinted at by Pausanias.

Strabon provides us with a different set of localities mentioning the image of the Taurian goddess. According to him, Orestes and Iphigenia established her cult not only at Halai Araphnides (9.1.22), but also at two



Fig. 1 Distribution map of sites where according to ancient literary sources the image of the Taurian goddess was taken.

Cilician localities in the Tauros Mountains(!), Komana (12.2.3)⁹ and Hieropolis-Kastabala (12.2.7). Also the Sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis near Lake Nemi in Central Italy could, following Strabon, boast of the Taurian image (5.3.12).¹⁰ According to Cassius Dio, even Komana Pontike had a filial of the cult (36.11.1-2).¹¹ Earlier versions of the myth, moreover, linked the image to Phokaia,¹² and also to Rhodos.¹³

Starting with Euripides, the reason for claiming to house the Taurian image was in many cases to explain local rites with (symbolical) human sacrifices. This is mentioned in particular in the case of Halai (cutting a man in the throat with a sword)¹⁴, Phokaia (a man burnt as a holocaust offering),¹⁵ Sparta, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (flogging of male youths),¹⁶ Lake Nemi (duel until death between the priest, Rex Nemorensis, and his challenger),¹⁷ and it is reconstructed for other localities.¹⁸

Tauropolos in other sources

It was frequently with the Euripidean epithet "Tauropolos" that the image of the Taurian goddess traveled throughout the ancient world. Besides from Euripides, a goddess of the same name was also known from other literary and epigraphical sources.¹⁹ The earliest attestation of her cult comes from Attica and the above-mentioned sanctuary at Halai – and Euripides is, to my knowledge, the oldest known literary source for it.²⁰ Apart from Halai, Tauropolos was known above all as the primary goddess of Amphipolis, especially favoured by the Macedonian kings.²¹ She was also venerated in many localities in Asia Minor,²² in particular in Karia.²³ The connection between the various Tauropoloi remains to be studied. It is doubtlessly necessary to discriminate between localities where we have epigraphical evidence, the majority of which are documented in the 4th through 2nd centuries BC (Fig. 2), and localities mentioned exclusively in literary sources (Fig. 1), predominantly Roman, as we may potentially be dealing with two

separate phenomena: on the one hand, (i) an actual cult of a “bull-handling” female deity (*Tauro-pólos*) originating in Attica (Halai or Brauron) and (perhaps) spreading with the Macedonians through Amphipolis to the Hellenized East as far as Ikaros in the Arabic Gulf, and on the other hand, (ii) a female deity “worshipped by the Taurians” (*Tauró-polos*) and based on the false etymology created by Euripides and spread throughout the ancient world especially through Strabon’s writings²⁴ as a literary topos, in particular as aithiological explanations of the above-mentioned local bloody rites.²⁵ These two deities did not necessarily share anything but their name. At Brauron²⁶ and Amphipolis,²⁷ Tauropolos was with certainty depicted as a bull-handler riding side-saddle on a bull, frequently with a torch in her hand. Moreover, with the evident exception of Halai, in none of the localities claiming to possess the Taurian image do we also find inscriptions mentioning the veneration of Tauropolos.

Elaphochthonos and representations of a deer-killing goddess

As mentioned above, Tauropolos was also elaphochthonos. In general, the extreme rarity of the term “deer-killer” in ancient literature²⁸ is matched by the almost complete lack of depictions of a female deer-killer as well. Some of the depictions have been collected in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* by L. Kahil in her 1984-article on Artemis; more can be added. An early example is a marble relief from Attica in Kassel from the late 5th century BC showing a female standing with raised spear beside a deer already hit by another spear.²⁹ However, the main iconographical type features a female forcing the deer down with her knee in its back, aiming at it with a torch – as in a *pelike* ascribed to the Herakles Painter in British Museum E 432³⁰ and a *kalyx krater* ascribed to the LC Group in Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA4516,³¹ with a sword or knife – as in a terracotta mould from Syrakousai,³² or with a spear (see below).³³ The representations mentioned above date to the late 5th and 4th century BC and they make up the almost complete repertoire of the iconographical type of a deer-killing deity. There are a few later depictions to which we shall return below.

Related depictions are found on two other monuments of the 4th century BC: a beautiful handle attachment from a bronze *hydria* in the Metropolitan Museum, where a winged female deity is forcing down a deer,³⁴ and a fragmentary relief *lekkythos* found at Lamprai in Attica.³⁵ In respect to both depictions, we are uncertain which deity is represented and of the intent of subduing the deer. A series of later Imperial coins minted in Ephesos showing Artemis wrestling (not killing) a fallen stag or forcing it down by the antlers is also vaguely related.³⁶ But since none of these depictions show with certainty the killing of the deer, they should at the outset be excluded from the investigation, inasmuch as the semantics of the scene with the shift in ritual acting from subduing to actual killing must be considered decisive.

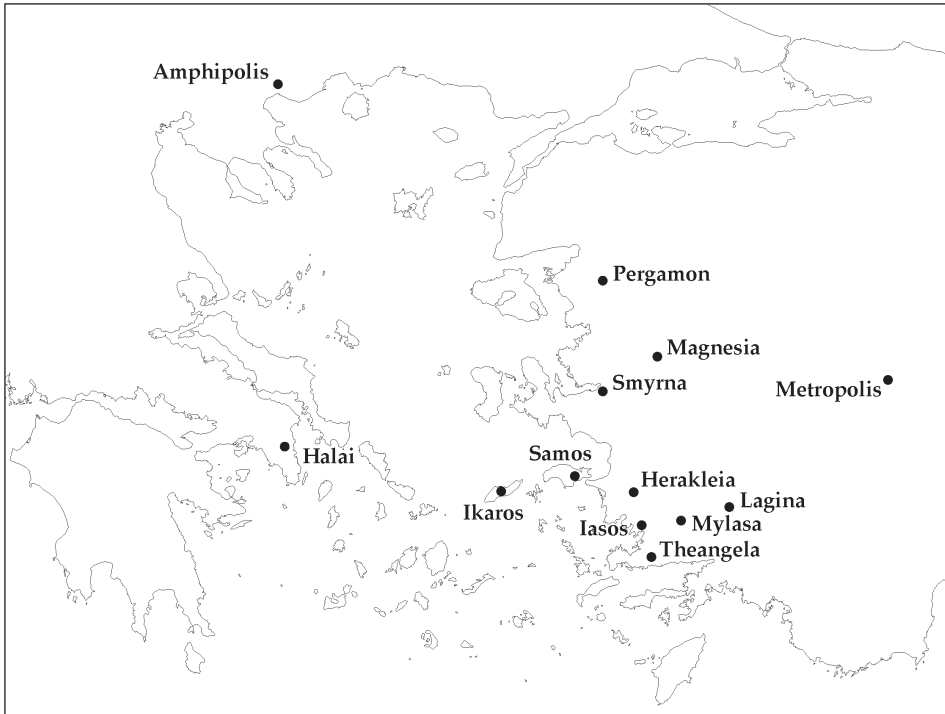


Fig. 2 Distribution map of sites where according to inscriptions (and literary sources) *Tauropolos* was venerated. One further site, *Ikaros* in the Persian Gulf, is not included on the map.

Parthenos as elaphochthonos

The only locality where a deer-killing goddess was depicted in profusion and through almost eight centuries was Taurian Chersonesos. In the late 4th century BC, a coin type was created that shows the city goddess *Parthenos* kneeling with her right knee on the back of a deer, forcing it down and at the same time thrusting a spear into its neck with her right hand (Fig. 3).³⁷ This type continued basically unaltered with short intervals until the latest ancient issues of the city in the mid-3rd century AD. It has been suggested by A.N. Zograf that this coin type depicted a well-known Chersonesean statue.³⁸

The scientific discussion of the relationship between the pre-Greek, Taurian goddess and the later main goddess of the Chersonesean state, *Parthenos*,³⁹ and both deities' relation (or lack thereof) with *Artemis* has been long and shall not be repeated here.⁴⁰ As expressions of state cult institutions, Chersonesean coins are the most reliable sources of *Parthenos*'s iconography,⁴¹ and from these we can easily deduce why Euripides interpreted *Parthenos* in Greek terms as *Artemis*, since her iconography, at least



Fig. 3 Chersonesos. Head of Parthenos/Deer-killing Parthenos. Silver, 5.8 g. Late 4th century BC. Previously in W. Niggler's collection. After a cast (V.F. Stolba).

from the 4th century BC, coincided with that of the Greek goddess. Considering the extreme rarity of the epithet and of depictions referring to a deer-killing goddess, the connection between the Taurian goddess called *elaphochthonos* by Euripides and the Chersonesean Parthenos portrayed repeatedly as a deer-killer on the city's coins supports the hypothesis that the Chersoneseans incorporated the local, powerful goddess of the recently conquered land of the Taurians into their own city pantheon (Fig. 4). However, it is unknown whether deer-killing was a particular element in the cult of the Taurian deity, which then inspired Euripides, or rather whether it was a trait that the Chersoneseans took up precisely *because* it was described by Euripides as part of an older (local) cult. On the one hand, the deer figured prominently as one of the main symbolic animals in the local, Scythian animal-style, wherefore it would be natural for the main, local deity to curb precisely that animal. But as the Chersonesean coins featuring the deer-killing goddess are no older than the late 4th century BC, the latter interpretation is certainly a possibility too.

The same scene is repeated on a handsome but fragmentary marble relief also found in Chersonesos in 1911, probably dating to the late Classical or Hellenistic period and now in the archaeological museum of Sevastopol.⁴²

Late Hellenistic statues of a deer-killing goddess

Though still rare (with the exception of Chersonesos), in the late Hellenistic and Roman period, the frequency of representations of a deer-killing goddess increased slightly. In Delos, the main meeting place of the *oikoumene* in



Fig. 4 Chersonesos. Head of Parthenos/Deer-killing Parthenos. Silver, 2.62 g. Early 2nd century BC. The National Preserve "Taurian Chersonesos". After a cast (V.F. Stolba).

the late Hellenistic period, two statues of a deer-killing goddess have been found, both dating to the years around 100 BC. The best-preserved one was unearthed in the *Quartiere du théâtre*, House III S (Fig. 5),⁴³ and the second one, sadly fragmented, in the sanctuary complexes on Mount Kynthos.⁴⁴ The presence of a deer-killing Artemis(?) in the island of Delos may be due to the fact that this is one of Artemis' main cult localities, and that this rare depiction is just an expression of the island's extraordinary richness in representations. However, it cannot be completely excluded that the statues could be representations of the Chersonesean Parthenos, or, as we shall see below, of Tauropolos. No inscriptions were found in House III, so we are not informed of its inhabitants. It is even possible, as suggested by Chamondard,⁴⁵ that the find spot was not the statue's original place of erection. However, the second fragment came with certainty from the public space.

Chersonesos and its citizens were prominently present on Delos. As we can glean from inscriptions found in the island, they provided the temples with rich offerings and they instituted a festival, called the Chersonesia, of which we, unfortunately, do not possess much information.⁴⁶

In Rome, one or perhaps two representations presumably of the same statue group and the same date have been found. In one group only the collapsed deer and the sandalled right foot of its female attacker are preserved. This group made of Parian marble was found on the Esquiline Hill in via del Principe Umberto, where the Horti Tauriani belonging to Statilius Taurus(!) were situated.⁴⁷ These *horti* went into the Imperial domain under Claudius,



Fig. 5 Delos, *Quartiere du théâtre*, House III S, courtyard. H. with base 1.44 m. C. 100 BC. In Delos Museum. After M. Kreeb, *Untersuchungen zur figürlichen Ausstattung delischer Privathäuser*. Chicago 1988, frontispice.

and later Nero donated them to his favourite *liberti*, Pallas and Epaphroditus (hence the subsequent name of the *horti*).⁴⁸

One further representation can probably be identified in an otherwise poorly known and little discussed beautiful statue segment in the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio, again in Parian marble and definitely of late Hellenistic date (Fig. 6).⁴⁹ It derives from the Roman art market in the beginning of the 20th century, and it may have come from the Sanctuary near Lake Nemi, though this cannot be proved.⁵⁰



Fig. 6 Bought in Rome, from Nemi? C. 100 BC. The Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio, inv. 1937.5. Photo courtesy of the Museum.

Late Hellenistic and Roman coins with a deer-killing goddess

Apart from Chersonesos, a few more localities in the eastern Mediterranean also depicted a deer-killing goddess on their coins. None of them are earlier than the late Hellenistic period, and, accordingly, contemporary with or slightly later than the marble sculptures just mentioned.

Hierakome, later called *Hierokaisareia* (Lydia)

- (a) Obv. Bearded head with Persian cap turned right
 Rev. Deer-killing female in short dress turned right. Monogram
 IEP (Fig. 7).⁵¹
 Date: (early) 1st century BC?⁵²
- (b) Obv. Bust of Artemis with bow and quiver on her back turned right.
 Rev. Deer-killing female in short dress turned right. Inscription
 ΗΙΕΡΟΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΟΝ.⁵³

Whereas type (b) is firmly ascribed to Hierokaisareia due to its reverse inscription, type (a) has been attributed to various localities with names starting with the syllable "Hier-".⁵⁴ Only one additional coin type provides us with the same monogram, namely, coins with a bust of Artemis on the obverse, occasionally inscribed with the name of Persike and with the forepart of a kneeling stag and the monogram on the reverse.⁵⁵ The male head in a Persian cap of type (a) is reminiscent of the representations on the anonymous Pontic obols dating to the time of Mithridates VI.⁵⁶ However, in contrast to the clean-shaven youth on the Pontic obols, the coin from Hierakome-Hierokaisareia represents a male with a beard. In both cases, however, the male with the Persian cap may allude to the cult's Persian priesthood. Thus, with some probability, the coin from Hierakome-Hierokaisareia can also be dated to the time of Mithridates VI.

Stratonikeia (Karia)

- Obv.: Head of Zeus Panamaros turned right.
 Rev.: Deer-killing female in short dress turned right.
 Date: 2nd-1st century BC or Roman?⁵⁷

Sebastopolis (Karia)⁵⁸

- (a) Obv.: Head of Marcus Aurelius turned right.
 Rev.: Deer-killing female in short dress turned right.
 Date: Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, AD 139-161.⁵⁹
- (b) Obv.: Bust of the personified Senate turned left.
 Rev.: Deer-killing female in short dress turned right.
 Date: Roman.⁶⁰

The coins mentioned are all extremely rare and exist in limited numbers only, so to make any definite interpretations based on them may seem hazardous. We have no external identification of the deity shown on the coins of the two Karian cities of Stratonikeia and Sebastopolis. Only the inscriptions on the coins from Hierakome-Hierokaisareia offer an identification of the deer-killing goddess, namely, as the Persian Artemis, Artemis or Thea Persike.

Inscriptions also reveal that Persike was worshipped in Hierakome-Hierokaisareia,⁶¹ where a Persian or Persianized cult prevailed, as vividly



Fig. 7 Hierakome-Hierokaisareia (Lydia). Bearded head with Persian cap/Deer-killing deity. Bronze, 5.97 g. (Early) 1st century BC? SNG Copenhagen (Lydia), 1947, no. 172. Photo courtesy of the Museum (Helle Horsnæs).

described by Pausanias. The cult featured a *magus* and Oriental fire magic inside a temple (5.27.5). That the priest put on a *tiara* during the rites was also mentioned by Pausanias, and it is therefore tempting to accept Imhoof-Blumer's identification of the above-mentioned male with a Persian cap on the obverse of the coin type (a) of Hierakome as that of a Persian priest.⁶²

In connection with identifying the deer-killing goddess on the coins of Hierakome-Hierokaisareia as (Artemis) Persike, the aforementioned passage by Pausanias concerning the rivalling myths of possession of the Taurian image, should be briefly mentioned:

“And yet, right down to the present day, the fame of the Tauric goddess has remained so high that the Cappadocians dwelling on the Euxine claim that the image is among them, a like claim being made by those Lydians also who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaeitis” (3.16.8. Translation: G.P. Gould (ed.)).

With Artemis Anaitis and Artemis Persike the same deity is intended, a Persianized hypostasis of Artemis.⁶³ It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that Hierakome-Hierakaisareia, the main sanctuary of Persike, is to be identified with the Lydian locality housing the image of the Taurian goddess, since the first mentioned locality must refer to Komana Pontike. If this is the case, even though this does not explain why this deity was suddenly conceived of as Persian,⁶⁴ we have valuable evidence of a locality not only claiming to house the image of the Taurian goddess, but also having the visual representation of her as a deer-killer on its coins.



Fig. 8 Distribution map of sites with Hellenistic and Roman representation of a female deer-killing deity.

Mithridates VI and Tauropolos?

Obviously, the Taurian cult statue, if it ever existed, could not have been physically present at all the localities claiming to possess it. When depicted as imagined in its Taurian temple, it was shown as an under life-sized Archaic statue.⁶⁵ This was the normal way of depicting venerable age in antiquity after the Archaic period. However, although plenty of Archaising sculptures have been preserved from antiquity, to my knowledge not in one single instance was such a sculpture ever employed as a cult statue.⁶⁶ It was, therefore, not an option to “reproduce” an imaginary Archaic statue for a cult statue in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Due to the general rarity of representations of a deer-killing goddess, I propose considering the significance of Chersonesean depictions in several media thereof. The very eccentricity of its iconography, which shows acts of killing, could have been decisive for the choice of iconography apart from the Crimean origin of both myth and image. Accordingly, it is likely that in the late Hellenistic and Roman period, the iconography of the wandering image of the Taurian goddess, the Tauró-polos in the Euripidean sense, may have been understood in terms of the deer-killing deity known from Tauric Chersonesos and from Chersonesean representations.

The approximate contemporaneity of the four preserved marble statues of a deer-killing goddess all dating to the years around 100 BC may suggest the reign of Mithridates VI as the most likely period for the creation of this

iconography of the wandering image of the Taurian goddess (Fig. 8).⁶⁷ In all probability, the years of the Mithridatic Wars were also the time when Tauropolos was first recognised in the Sanctuary of Diana near Lake Nemi.⁶⁸ The iconography may even have been created in the Persian milieu of the Pontic Kingdom. One of the localities possessing the Taurian image, Komana Pontike, was a significant religious site in that kingdom.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the sources for its cult are scarce, so we have no means to evaluate the city's role in the spreading of the cult to, for instance, Cilician Komana. However, if the cult's secondary Persian elements were introduced during Mithridates VI's reign it would be in keeping with Mithridatic religious policy.

Notes

1. *Ov. Met.* 14.331; *Strab.* 5.3.12. The considerations were first given as a paper at the St Petersburg conference *Bosporskij Fenomen II*, November 2002; see Guldager Bilde, forthcoming.
2. Graf 1979; Rives 1995.
3. E.g., Graf 1979; Kahil 1984; Kahil 1990; Rives 1995; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997.
4. Probably to be identified with modern Loutsia in Attica. Here there was a temple dedicated to (Artemis) Tauropolos, which is also known from inscriptions. Kotzias 1925; 1926, 168-177; Staupoullos 1932, 30-32; Papadimitriou 1956, 87-89; Papadimitriou 1957, 45-47; Knell 1983, 39-43; inscriptions: see also *SEG* XXXIV, 103.
5. With the explanation that Tauró-polos meant "worshipped by the Taurians", Euripides suggested that the root *-polos* is passive. According to similar word constructions, the root must be active, so that *tauro-pólos* signifies a person handling or taming bulls in an actual context – e.g., agricultural – or in a symbolic context – e.g. in cult or ritual. I am grateful to G. Hinge for providing me with the reading of the word Tauropolos. Oppermann (1934, 35) reached the same conclusion with different arguments.
6. E.g., Oppermann 1934; Graf 1979.
7. Brauron was mentioned already in Euripides' version of the myth: Iphigenia was destined to go there from Halai to become the priestess in the Braurionian sanctuary (1463-1464).
8. Susa, the Achaemenid capital, came in the possession of Alexander the Great after the battle at Gaugamela. Seleukos must be one of the Seleucid kings, but Pausanias does not note which one he is. As Laodikeia was founded by Seleukos I Nikator (305/4-281 BC), Pausanias was probably referring to him.
9. Also mentioned in *Cass. Dio* 36.11.1-2.
10. Guldager Bilde, forthcoming. Lake Nemi is the only place in the West where it is certain that the image ended up. It was also thought to have been brought to Rhegion as Artemis Phakelitis; see Schmidt 1937, 1609; or to Tyndaris; see Graf 1979, no. 4 with references, but the sources are late and inconclusive.
11. Olshausen 1990, 1870-1871.
12. Pythokles, a 4th century BC author, quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, *Protr.* 3.42.22 (Marcovich).
13. Apollodoros 6.27 (Frazer p. 277).

14. Eur. *IT* 1459-1460.
15. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 3.42.22 (Marcovich).
16. Paus. 3.16.7.
17. Strab. 5.3.12.
18. Graf 1979. This may even have been the case concerning Laodikeia, where at some point a virgin was sacrificed annually to Athena (Porph. *Abst.* 2.56). We do not know whether this goddess was Tauropolos; however, from the city's coins it can be seen that the iconography of the goddess mixes elements of Athena (shield), Artemis (stags) and probably the local Astarte (battle ax); see Imhoof-Blumer & Gardner 1887, 56-58, pl. N.XI-XII.
19. The only general study of Tauropolos is Hans Oppermann's short article in *RE* from 1934 (33-38). Tauropolos has not yet been included in *LIMC* with a separate article. She is mentioned briefly in the article by Kahil on Artemis (Kahil 1984). Since the appearance of Oppermann 1934, especially the inscriptions have become much more numerous. This makes an updated study of Tauropolos a *desideratum*.
20. Further attestations from mainland Greece: Lokris (*IG IX*, 1², 716); Attica (*IG II*², 1604, *IG II*², 1611 face A front col. b and c (three times), *IG II*², 1605 face A front, *IG II*², 1612 face A front col. A); Dion (*SEG XXXVIII*, 603); Epidauros (*IG IV*, 1², 496 = *IAEpid.* 201); Sparta (Paus. 3.16.7). Ikaros in the Persian Gulf (Strab. 16.3.2; Dionys. *Per.* 610).
21. *SEG XXVII*, 245; *SEG XXVIII*, 534 and 536; *SEG XXXI*, 614-615; *SEG XXXIII*, 499; Liv. 44.44.4; Diod. 18.4.5; Lorber 1990, 12-13.
22. Komana (Strab. 12.2.3); Hieropolis-Kastabala (Strab. 12.2.7); Ikaros near Samos (*SEG XLII*, 779; Strab. 14.1.19); Ilion (*IGSK* 3, 118, 123); Magnesia ad Sipyllum (*CIG* 3137 = *OGI* 229, 60); Metropolis (*MAMA* 4, 122); Mylasa (*Mylasa* 427; *IGSK* 34.1, 404; *CIG* 2699 = *Mylasa* 261); Pergamon (*I. Pergamon I*, 13.24 = *OGI* 266.24 and 52); Phokaia (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 3.42.6, p. 32, 6 Stäh.); Rhodos (Apollod. 6.27 Frazer p. 277); Samos (*I. Samos* 330.5); Smyrna (*IGSK* 24.1, 573).
23. Herakleia by Latmos (*SEG XLVI*, 1563); Iasos (*Iasos* 83 = *IGSK* 28.1, 2; *Iasos* 95; *Iasos* 96 = *IGSK* 28.1, 3); Lagina (*Lagina* 189); Mylasa (*IGSK* 34.1, 404); Theangela (*Theangela* 8).
24. Halai, Lake Nemi, Kastabala, Komana, Ikaros in the Arabic Gulf, the island of Ikaros near Samos.
25. It is only for Halai, Amphipolis and Ikaros near Samos that we possess evidence both in the form of inscriptions *and* literary sources. The varied and abundant sources at Halai and Amphipolis underline the key position of these two localities in her cult.
26. Terracotta reliefs, c. 500 BC; see Kahil 1984, 674, nos. 700-701.
27. Kahil 1984, 674, no. 703. This was the dominating reverse type of civic bronze coins between Augustus and Commodus (Lorber 1990, 13); cf. *SNG American Numismatic Society* 7 (Macedonia I), 1987, nos. 150-154, 195 and numerous coins in-between. The identification is ascertained by frequent inscriptions on the coins labelling her Tauropolos.
28. Guldager Bilde, forthcoming.
29. Bieber 1915, 36 no. 75, pl. 32; Kahil 1984, no. 397.
30. Kahil 1984, no. 396.
31. Beazley 1963, 1457.12; Carpenter et al. 1989, 380.
32. Borbein 1968, pl. 9.1-2; Kahil 1984, no. 397a. See also below.
33. The origin of the type is briefly discussed in Guldager Bilde, forthcoming.
34. Richter 1937, 532-538, fig. 4; Kahil 1984, no. 403a.
35. Themelis 1975, 275-291, pls. 6-8. It should be noted that the figure subduing the

- deer on the *lekythos* is dressed in long trousers, which sets the scene in a “barbarian” milieu. On the group of Attic relief vases, see Zervoudaki 1968.
36. Commodus (*ANS* inv. 1944.100.46111), Septimius Severus (*ANS* inv. 1944.100.46112), Caracalla (*ANS* inv. 1944.100.46120, 1944.100.46121), Geta (*SNG Deutschland* (v. Aulock, Ionien), 1968, no. 7874), Severus Alexander (*ANS* inv. 1944.100.46147, 1956.28.211; *SNG Deutschland* (v. Aulock, Ionien), 1968, no. 7880); Gallienus (*ANS* inv. 1944.100.46185). The same representation is found on a coin of Valerian minted at Hadrianoi in Mysia: v. Fritze 1913, 544, pl. IX.10; *SNG Deutschland* (v. Aulock, Mysien), 1957, no. 1144.
 37. Stolba 1989, 62-63. The date is now further confirmed by the stratigraphy of Panskoe I, U6, see Gilevič 2002, 248-249.
 38. Zograf 1922.
 39. An essential text on the Chersonesean Parthenos is E. Diehl’s article from 1949 in *RE* and the recent monograph Rusjaeva & Rusjaeva 1999. Parthenos is also briefly mentioned in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997. It should be noted that we have absolutely no evidence that the Chersonesean deity was ever worshipped locally under the name of Tauropolos.
 40. Diehl 1949, 1965-1967 with earlier literature. A good overview of especially Soviet and Russian scholarship on this issue can be found in Rusjaeva & Rusjaeva 1999, 4-9; see also Braund, forthcoming.
 41. Anokhin 1980; Stolba 1996.
 42. Inv. 22226, see Ivanova et al. 1976, no. 94, fig. 55. The relief has been interpreted mistakenly as Mithras killing the Bull, and has, accordingly, been dated (probably wrongly, but I have not had the opportunity to see the relief) to the Roman period. The person kneeling on the back of the animal, far too slender to represent a bull, has bare legs and is not wearing trousers, which Mithras always does. There can, therefore, hardly be any doubt that Parthenos as *elaphochthonos* is intended.
 43. *Exploration archéologique à Délos* VIII. Paris 1922, 222, fig. 98; Kahil 1984, no. 402.
 44. *Exploration archéologique à Délos* XI. Paris 1928, 127, fig. 28; Kahil 1984, no. 403.
 45. *Exploration archéologique à Délos* VIII. Paris 1922, 222.
 46. *I. Délos* 1-2.328, 353, 354, 399, 439, 442, 461, 465; see also Grakov 1939, 262. According to Ps.-Scymnos, Delos may even have taken part in the founding of Chersonesos (828).
 47. Capitol, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 320: Stuart Jones 1926, 95-96, pl. 34.12; Mustili 1939, 136, pl. 85.
 48. Royo 1999, 197.
 49. Inv. 1937.5. I am very grateful to curator S. Knudsen of the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio, for providing me not only with information about and photos of the statue, but also for allowing me to publish the picture, Fig. 6. See Ridgway 2000, pl. 69a-b; 241; 260 n. 31, pl. 69a-b, with earlier references; Knudsen, Craine & Tykot 2002, 231-239, esp. p. 234, fig. 3.
 50. This is tentatively argued in Guldager Bilde, forthcoming.
 51. *SNG Copenhagen* (Lydia), 1947, no. 172; Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 354, no. 23a, pl. H.7; Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 6-7, pl. I.3; Imhoof-Blumer 1901-1902, 447.
 52. Imhoof-Blumer (1897, 6) suggests a date in the 1st century BC or (1897, 10-11) in the period of “Augustus or earlier”.
 53. Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 13, pl. I.9; Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum (Lydia), 1901, 102, no. 3.
 54. Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 354; Imhoof-Blumer 1901-1902, 447. The issue was finally settled by Imhoof-Blumer himself (1897, 5-11). However, much confusion still exists in the scientific literature; see Robert 1964, 47-51, which discusses this further.

55. Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 353-354, no. 23; Imhoof-Blumer 1887, 5-6, pl. 1.2 (with the inscription PERSIKE); Imhoof-Blumer 1901-1902, 447 (with the correct attribution). *SNG Copenhagen* (Lydia), 1947, no. 170-171; *SNG Deutschland* (v. Aulock, Lydien), 1963, no. 2951 (with the inscription PERSIKE). An anonymous single bronze coin with the head of Apollo carries the same monogram. It has been ascribed to Hierakome too (Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 11).
56. Golenko 1969, 130-154. I am much obliged to V.F. Stolba and J.M. Højte for alerting me to this fact.
57. *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum Catalogue (Caria and Islands)*, 1897, pl. 24.3; *SNG Deutschland* (v. Aulock, Karien), 1962, no. 2659 (date between 167 BC and Augustus); ANS inv. 1944.100.48067 (Roman); Kahil 1984, no. 401.
58. Robert & Robert 1954, 313-336, esp. p. 333, the present name is from the Augustan period; the pre-Augustan name is unknown; 330, 332 (coins with deer-killing Artemis).
59. *SNG Deutschland* (v. Aulock, Karien), 1962, no. 2651.
60. Robert 1970, 359-360, pl. XXVII.19.
61. TAM V, 1244-1245 and 1396. The find spot of 1396 is uncertain but is probably in a village near Hierakome; see Welles 1966, 2, 273-276. The inscription is dated to the late Hellenistic period, 138 BC or later. See also Tac., *Ann.* 3.62.1 (Diana Persica).
62. Imhoof-Blumer 1897, 10-11; Imhoof-Blumer 1901-1902, 447.
63. Brosius (1998) thoroughly discusses the relationship between the Persian Artemises and the actual Persian Anahita, concluding that Anahita is not a Hellenized Persian goddess, but rather that the Persian Artemises signal the Persianization of a Greek deity.
64. The existence of a variant tradition of the transmission myth involving a certain Persian aspect has already been mentioned above (Paus. 3.16.7-8). At Hieropolis-Kastabala, according to Strabon (12.2.7), the Taurian goddess was venerated as the Perasian Artemis, and the author explains that the Kastabala "Tauropolos was called "Perasian" because she was brought "from the other side"". The epithet Perasian is only known from this passage (and repeated in Steph. Byz., s.v. *Castabala*) and from a single inscription found in the city, where it was used as a theophoric name (Robert 1964, 51). The apparent similarity between Perasian and Persian has (mis)led many researchers to view the cult in Kastabala as *Persian* (Robert 1964, 47-51). Yet, however tempting it may be to assume that Strabon's need to explain the meaning of the word originated from information he misunderstood, Perasian and Persian cannot be equated linguistically, as I have been kindly informed by G. Hinge.
65. E.g. Kahil 1990, 714-715, nos. 19, 22.
66. Ridgway 1975, 445-461; Zagdoun 1989; Fullerton 1990.
67. Not only Chersonesos was active in Delos, but also to a considerable extent Mithridates VI, of whom portraits were erected on the island and to whom a monument was dedicated by the priest Helianax in 102/1 BC with portraits of Mithridates' *philoi*; see Bruneau & Ducat 1983, 69, 77, 222-223, no. 94 with references.
68. Guldager Bilde, forthcoming.
69. Saprykin 1996, 248-266.

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Abbreviations

ANS	<i>The American Numismatic Society.</i>
IGSK	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien. Bonn 1972-.</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.</i>