

The Sanctuaries and Cults of Demeter in Asia Minor
and the Islands off Its Western Coast



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Cover: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Priene (photo by Aynur-Michèle-Sara Karatas). Marble head from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Priene (Antikensammlung Berlin SK. 1535, photo by Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung / Archiv)

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To my sister, Aysun Karatas

Es wächst heran ein neues Geschlecht,
Ganz ohne Schminke und Sünden,
Mit freien Gedanken, mit freier Lust –
Dem werde ich alles verkünden.

A new generation is growing up,
Without makeup and sin,
With minds set free, with desires free—
To them, I shall reveal all.

Heinrich Heine, *Germany. A Winter's Tale*, Caput 27.642

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Abbreviations Journals and lexica

<i>AA</i>	Archäologischer Anzeiger
<i>AAA</i>	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Αθηνών (Archaiologika analekta ex Athenen)
<i>ABSA</i>	Annual of the British School of Athens
<i>AD</i>	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (Archaiologikon Deltion)
<i>AE</i>	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς (Archaiologike Ephemeris)
<i>AHB</i>	Ancient History Bulletin
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AJP</i>	American Journal of Philology
<i>AM</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
<i>Anat. St.</i>	Anatolian Studies
<i>AntPl</i>	Antike Plastik
<i>APAW.PH</i>	Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe
<i>AR</i>	Atene e Roma
<i>ARw</i>	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
<i>ASCSA</i>	The American School of Classical Studies at Athens
<i>ASSR</i>	Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions
<i>AZ</i>	Archäologische Zeitung
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
<i>BICS</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies at the University of London
<i>BMFA</i>	Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts
<i>BPhW</i>	Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift
<i>BSA</i>	British School of Athens
<i>CAJ</i>	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
<i>ClAnt</i>	Classical Antiquity
<i>CJ</i>	The Classical Journal
<i>CPh</i>	Classical Philology
<i>CQ</i>	Classical Quarterly
<i>CRAI</i>	Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
<i>CW</i>	The Classical World
<i>DHA</i>	Dialogue d'histoire ancien
<i>Ejb</i>	Eranos Jahrbuch
<i>EM</i>	EMERITA. Revista de Lingüística y Filología Clásica
<i>EMC/CV</i>	Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views

GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review
<i>Ill.C.S.</i>	Illinois Classical Studies
<i>IstMitt</i>	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>JdI</i>	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JGA	Journal of Greek Archaeology
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>ÖJh</i>	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>MedHistR</i>	Mediterranean Historical Review
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>Pallas</i>	<i>Pallas – revue d'études antiques</i>
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RA	Revue archéologique
RE	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RBPH	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
<i>RhM</i>	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RN	Revue numismatique
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici
TAD	Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi
TAPhA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i>
ZSS	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie and Epigraphik

Abbreviations

Epigraphic volumes and online sources

AE	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i> . Athens: Archaiologike hetaireia en Athēnais.
Agora 15	Meritt, B.D., Traill, J.S. 1974. <i>The Athenian Agora, Inscriptions the Athenian Counsellors</i> , Vol. 15 (Princeton (N.J.): American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
Agora 16	Woodhead, A.G 1997. <i>The Athenian Agora, Inscriptions the Decrees</i> , Vol. 16. Princeton (N.J.): American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
Alt. v. Hierapolis	Judeich, W. 1898. Inschriften, in Humann, C., Cichorius, C., Judeich, W. (eds.) <i>Altertümer von Hierapolis, Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 4</i> : 67–202.
ASAA	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i>
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane</i>
Audollent, Defix. Tab.	Audollent, A.M.H. 1904. <i>Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt, tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas</i> . Paris.
Bean-Mitford, Journeys 1964–68	Bean, G.E., Mitford, T.B. 1970. <i>Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968</i> , Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften» [DAW], 102, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris, 3. Vienna.
Bernard, Inscr.Métr.	Bernard, E. 1969. <i>Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte</i> , Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
CGRN	Collection of Greek Ritual Norms: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/
Chaniotis, Verträge	Chaniotis, A. 1996. <i>Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit</i> . Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.
CIRB	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani</i>
Clara Rhodos	<i>Studi e Materiali pubblicati a cura dell'Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi</i>
Clinton, Eleusis	Clinton, K. 1974. <i>Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries</i> , <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> . Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
Corinth 8,3	Kent, J.H., ed. 1966. <i>The Inscriptions, Corinth VIII,3</i> . Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
CTH	Laroche, E. 1966. <i>Catalogue des Textes Hittites</i> . Paris.
DAW 44,6 (1896)	Heberdey, R., Kalinka, E. 1896. <i>Reisen in Kilikien</i> . Vienna: Gerold.
DAW 45,1 (1897)	Heberdey, R., Kalinka, E. 1897. <i>Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien, ausgeführt im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> . Vienna: Gerold.
EA	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
EAM	Rizakes, T., Touratsoglou, G. 1985. <i>Epigraphes Ano Makedonias (Elimeia, Eordaia, Notia Lynkestis, Orestis)</i> . Tomos A', <i>Katalogos epigraphon</i> . Athens.
EKM 1. Beroia	Gounaropoulou, L. 1998. <i>Kato Makedonias (metaxy tou Vermiou orous kai tou Axiou potamou). Teuchos A'. Epigraphes Veroias</i> . Athens: Hypourgeoio Politismou, Etnikon Hidryma Ereunōn; Paris: de Boccard.
Epigr.Anat.	<i>Epigraphica anatolica</i> , ed. by Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Türk Tarih Kurumu. Bonn: Habelt.
Epigr. Tou Oropou	Petrakos, C. 1997. <i>Hoi Epigraphes tou Oropou</i> . Vivliothekē tes en Athēnais Archaiologikēs Hetaireias, 170. Athens: Archaiologikē Hetaireia.
Foyoum	Bernard, E. 1981. <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum</i> , Vol. 3. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
FD III	Pouilloux, J., ed. 1985. <i>Fouilles de Delphes, III Epigraphie</i> , Ecole Française d'Athènes. Paris: de Boccard.
Fouilles de Byblos II	Dunand, M. 1954. <i>Fouilles de Byblos</i> , Vol. II. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
FRGrH	Jacoby, F., Schepens, G. 1998. <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill.
Graf I.Ch.	Graf, F. 1985. <i>Nordionische Kulte</i> . Rome: Schweizerisches Institut in Rom.
Herzog KFF	Herzog, R. 1899. <i>Koische Forschungen und Funde</i> . Leipzig: Dieterich.

HGK I.Aeg. Thrace	Herzog, R. 1928. <i>Heilige Gesetze von Kos</i> . Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaft. Loukopoulou, L.D., Parissaki, M.G., Psoma, S., Zournatzi, A., eds. 2005. <i>Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου: μεταξύ των ποταμών Νέστου και Έβρου (νομοί Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης και Έβρου)</i> . Athens: Ethnikon Hidryma Ereunōn, Kentron Hellēnikēs kai Rhōmaikēs Archaioiētōs.
I.Akrai	Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1956. <i>Silloge delle epigrafi Acrensi</i> , in: Bernabò Brea, L. (ed.) <i>Akrai, Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale</i> , Biblioteca, serie III. Monografie Archeologiche della Sicilia. Catania: La Cartotecnica.
I.Assos IC	Merkelbach, R., ed. 1976. <i>Die Inschriften von Assos</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
I.Cilicie	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> Dagron, G., Feissek, D. 1987. <i>Inscriptions de Cilicie. Avec la collaboration de Antoine Hermay, Jean Richard et Jean-Pierre Sadini. « Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Collège de France. Monographies », 4</i> . Paris: de Boccard.
ID	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . 7 vols. Paris 1926–1972. Vol. 6 [1], Nos. 1–88, ed. André Plassart 1950 ; vol. 7 [2], nos. 89–104, ed. Jacques Coupry 1972 ; vol. 1 [3], nos. 290–371, ed. Félix Durrbach (1926); vol. 2 [4], nos. 372–509, ed. Félix Durrbach 1929 ; vol. 3 [5], nos. 1400–1496, ed. Félix Durrbach and Pierre Roussel 1935 ; vol. 4 [6], nos. 1497–2219, eds. Pierre Roussel and Marcel Launey 1937 ; vol. 5 [7], nos. 2220–2879, eds. Pierre Roussel and Marcel Launey 1937.
I.Didyma I.Ephesos	Rehm, A. 1941–1958. <i>Die Inschriften von Didyma</i> . Berlin: Mann. Wankel, H., Engelmann, H., Nollé, J. (eds.) 1979. <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , Vol. Ia, nos. 1–47. Bonn: Habelt. Engelmann, H., Knibbe, D. Merkelbach, R. (eds.) 1980. <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , Vol. IV, nos. 1001–1445. Bonn: Habelt. Meriç, R., Merkelbach, R., Nollé, J., Şahin, S. (eds.) 1981. <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , Vol. VII, 1, nos. 3001–3500. Bonn: Habelt.
I.Erythrai	Engelmann, H., Merkelbach, R., eds. 1972. <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
IG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Borussicae editum (Inscriptiones Graecae)</i>
IG III App. IGASMG I2	Wuensch, R. 1897. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae III, Appendix: Defixionum Tabellae</i> . Berlin. Arena, R. 1994. <i>Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Iscrizioni di Sicilia, Iscrizioni di Megara Iblea e Selinunte</i> , Vol. 1, 2nd edn. Iscrizioni di Gela e Agrigento. Pisa.
IGASMG I22	Arena, R. 2002. <i>Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Iscrizioni di Sicilia</i> . Vol. 2, 2nd edn. Iscrizioni di Gela e Agrigento. Pisa.
IGASMG V	Arena, R. 1998. <i>Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Iscrizioni di Sicilia</i> . Vol. 5. Iscrizioni di Taranto, Locri Epizefiri, Velia e Siracusa. Milan.
IGBulg12	Mihailov, G. 1970. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> . Sofia: In aedibus typographicis Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae.
IGLSyr 3,1	Jalabert, L., Mouterde, R., eds. 1953. <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, III,1. Région de l'Amanus. Antioche</i> . Paris: P. Geuthner.
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes</i>
IGSK	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
IGUR	Moretti, L. 1968–1990. <i>Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae</i> . Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica.
I.Kaunos	Marek, C. 2006. <i>Die Inschriften von Kaunos, Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte 55</i> . Munich: Beck.
I.Knidos IK Kibyra	Blümel, W. 1992. <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos</i> . Bonn: Habelt. Corsten, T. 2002. <i>Die Inschriften von Kibyra, I: Die Inschriften der Stadt und ihrer näheren Umgebung, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , vol. 60. Bonn: Habelt.
IK Laodikeia am Lykos	Corsten, T. 1997. <i>Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 49</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
IK Prusias ad Hypium	Ameling, W. 1985. <i>Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
IK Rhod. Peraia	Blümel, W. 1991. <i>Die Inschriften der rhodischen Peraia</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
I.Kyme	Engelmann, H. 1976. <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
I.Magnesia	Kern, O. 1900. <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin: W. Spemann.

IMC Catania	Korhonen, K. 2004. <i>Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania. Storia delle collezioni — Cultura epigrafica — Edizione</i> . Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.
I.Milet	Herrmann, P. 1998. <i>Inschriften von Milet</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter. Herrmann, P. 2006. <i>Inschriften von Milet, nos 1020–1580</i> , Vol. 3. Berlin: de Gruyter.
IMT	Barth, M., Stauber, J., eds. 1975–1996. <i>Inschriften Mysia & Troas</i> . Munich: University of Munich.
I.Myasal	Blümel, W., ed. 1987. <i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
I.Napoli	<i>Iscrizioni greche d'Italia, Napoli</i> . 2 vols.
IosPE	<i>Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i>
IPArk	Thür, G., Taeuber, H. 1994. <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien</i> . Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
I.Patras	Athanasios, R.D. 1998. <i>Achaie, II. La Cité de Patras : Épigraphie et histoire</i> . Athens.
I.Priene	von Gaertringen, F.H. 1906. <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> . Berlin: G. Reimer.
IK Priene	Blümel, W., Merkelbach, R., Rumscheid, F. 2014. <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
Iscr. di Cos	Segre, M. 1993. <i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i> , Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente 6. Rome.
I.Smyrna	Petzl, G., ed. 1987. <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
I.Stratonikeia	Şahin, Ç.M., ed. 1982. <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
I.Tralleis	Poljakov, F.B. 1989. <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
IvEtenna	Nollé, J. 1992. Zur Geschichte der Stadt Etenna in Pisidien: Mit einem Exkurs zur Interpretation von Götterdarstellungen auf den kaiserzeitlichen Stadtmünzen Kleinasien, in Schwertheim, E. (ed.) <i>Forschungen in Pisidien</i> , Asia Minor Studien 6. Bonn: Habelt. 61–141.
IvO	Dittenberger, W., Purgold, K. 1896. <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> . Berlin: A. Asher.
KUB	Forrer, E.O., ed. 1922. <i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
Lane, CMRDM	Lane, Eugene N. 1971. <i>Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis (CMRDM)</i> Vol. 1, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain. Leiden: Brill.
LGS	von Prott, H.T.A. 1869–1903. <i>Leges Graecorum Sacrae</i> . Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.
Lindos II	Blinkenberg, C. 1941. <i>Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, Inscriptions</i> , Vol. 2. Copenhagen; Berlin: de Gruyter.
LSAM	Sokolowski, F. 1955. <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> . Paris: de Boccard.
LSCG	Sokolowski, F. 1969. <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris: de Boccard.
LSS	Sokolowski, F. 1962. <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques : Supplément</i> . Paris: de Boccard.
Malay, Manisa Mus.	Malay, H. 1994. <i>Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum</i> . Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
MAMA 1	Calder, W. 1928. <i>Eastern Phrygia, Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua [MAMA] 1</i> . Manchester: Manchester University Press.
MDAI(A)	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Athen</i>
Milne, Cairo Mus.	Milne, J.G. 1905. <i>Greek Inscriptions. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte : Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> . Oxford: Printed at the University Press by Horace Hart.
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph
Nécropole de Myrina	Pottier, E., Reinach, S., Veyries, A. 1887. <i>La nécropole de Myrina</i> . Recherches archéologiques exécutée au nom et aux frais de l'Ecole française d'Athènes, Bibliothèque des Ecoles française d'Athènes et de Rome 2, no. 8.
Nymphaeum	Mitford, T.B. 1980. <i>The Nymphaeum of Kafizin. The Inscribed Pottery, Kadmos Supplement 2</i> . Berlin; New York: de Gruyter.
OGIS	Dittenberger, W. 1903–1905. <i>Orientes Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 1–2 vol. Leipzig: Apud S. Hirzel.
Paphos V	Nicolaou, I. 2005. <i>Paphos</i> , Vol. 5, <i>The stamped amphora handles from the House of Dionysos</i> . Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
Petrakou, Rhamnountos	Petrakou, V.C. 1999. <i>Ho dêmos tou Rhamnountos: synopsis tōn anaskaphōn kai tōn ereunōn (1813–1998)</i> . Athens: Hē en Athēnais Archaialogikē Hetaireia.
PH	Paton, W.R., Hicks, E.L. 1891. <i>The Inscriptions of Cos</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
PMG	Page, D.L. 1962. <i>Poetae melici Graeci</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Polemon	<i>Polemon. Epistemonikon archaiologikon periodikon</i> (Athens).
P. Oxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy .

<i>Prose sur pierre</i>	Bernard, A. 1992. <i>La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine</i> , vol. II. Paris : Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
PY	Bennett, E.L., Olivier, J.P. 1973. <i>Thy Pylos Tablets</i> . Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
Ramsay, <i>Cities and Bishoprics</i>	Ramsey, W.M. 1895. <i>The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Being an Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest</i> , Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon.
RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i> . Nicosia: Govt. Print. Office.
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>Rhodian Peraia</i>	McCabe, D.F., <i>Rhodian Peraia Inscriptions</i> , "The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia", The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (1991). Packard Humanities Institute
RPh	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoires anciennes</i>
<i>Sardis 7,1</i>	Buckler, W.H., Robinson, D.M. 1932. <i>Sardis, VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> , Part I. Leiden.
SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , eds. Friedrich Priesigke, Friedrich Bilabel, Emil Kiessling and Hans-Albert Rupprecht. Vols. 1–18, 1915–1993. Strassburg (vol. 1), Berlin and Leipzig (2–3), Heidelberg (4) and Wiesbaden (5–18). — Vol. 1 (1915), nos. 1–6000, ed. F. Priesigke ; vols. 3 (1926–1927), nos. 6001–7269, and 4 (1931), nos. 7270–7514, ed. F. Bilabel ; vol. 5 (1934–1955), nos. 7515–8963, ed. F. Bilabel and E. Kiessling; vols. 6 (1958–1963), nos. 8964–9641, 8 (1965–1967), nos. 9642–10208, and 10 (1969–1971), nos. 10209–10763 ed. E. Kiessling; vols. 12 (1977), nos. 10764–11263, 14 (1981–1983), nos. 11264–12219, 16 (1988), nos. 12220–13084, and 18 (1993), nos. 13085–14068, ed. H.A. Rupprecht.
<i>Schwenk, Athens</i>	Schwenk, C.J. 1985. <i>Athens in the Age of Alexander, the Dated Laws and Decrees of "the Lykourgan Era" 338–322 B.C.</i> Chicago: Arès.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGD	Jordan, D.R. 1985. A Survey of Greek Defixiones, <i>GRBS</i> 26: 151–197.
SIA	Miller, M.C.J. ed. 1992. <i>Inscriptiones Atticae. Supplementum inscriptionum Atticarum</i> , VI. Chicago: Arès.
<i>Side Kitabeleri</i>	Bean, G.E. 1965. <i>Side Kitabeleri (Inscriptions of Side)</i> , Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, V. Seri, 20. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basınevi.
SIG	Dittenberger, W. 1883. <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> , Vol. I. Leipzig: Herzl.
SIG ³	Dittenberger, W., von Gaertringen, F.H., Kirchner, J. (eds.) 1920. <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> , Vol. 3. Leipzig: Herzl.
<i>Stephanou, ChMel</i>	Stephanou, A.P. 1958. <i>Χιακὰ Μελετήματα I</i> . Khios: Eleutheria.
<i>Sterrett, EJ</i>	Sterrett, J.R.S. 1888. <i>An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor</i> , Papers of The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Vol. 2, 1883/84. Boston: Damrell and Upham.
<i>Strubbe, Cat. Pessinus</i>	Strubbe, J.H.M. 1984. Descriptive Catalogue and Bibliography of the Inscribed Monuments of Pessinus, in Devreker, J., Waelkens, M. (eds.) <i>Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte</i> , Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses 22. Brugge. 216–244.
TAM III	Heberdey, R. 1941. <i>Tituli Pisidiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti. Tituli Termessi et agri Termessensis</i> . Vienna: In aedibus Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky.
TAM V,2	Herrmann, P. 1989. <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris, V. Tituli Lydiae, linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti</i> . Vienna.
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>Tit. Calymnii</i>	Segre, M. 1952. <i>Tituli Calymnii</i> , <i>ASAtene</i> 22–23: 1–248.
<i>Tit. Cam.</i>	Segre, M., Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1949–1951. <i>Tituli Camirenses</i> , <i>ASAtene</i> 27–29: 141–31.
<i>Tyriaion</i>	Naour, C. 1980. <i>Tyriaion en Cabalide: Épigraphie et géographie historique</i> . Zutphen: Terra Publishing Co.

Abbreviations

Ancient sources and editions

Aesch. Or.	Aeschylus, <i>Oresteia</i>
Anth. Pal.	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i> (Greek Anthology)
Apollod.	Apollodorus, <i>Bibliotheca</i> Frazer, J.G. 1976. <i>Apollodorus</i> , Vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann.
Ap. Rhod.	Apollonius of Rhodes, <i>Argonautica</i>
Arethas of Caesarea	Arethas of Caesarea Bidez, J. 1934. <i>Arethas de Cersarée</i> , <i>Byzantion</i> 9: 391–408.
Aristoph. Ach.	Aristophanes, <i>Acharnians</i>
Aristoph. Birds	Aristophanes, <i>Birds</i>
Aristoph. Eccl.	Aristophanes, <i>Ecclesiazousai</i>
Arsitoph. Frogs	Aristophanes, <i>Frogs</i>
Aristoph. Lys.	Aristophanes, <i>Lysistrata</i>
Aristoph. Peace	Aristophanes, <i>Peace</i>
Aristoph. Pl.	Aristophanes, <i>Plutus</i>
Aristoph. Thesm.	Aristophanes, <i>Thesmophoriazousai</i> Roche, P. 2005. <i>Aristophanes: The Complete Plays</i> . New York: New American Library.
Arn. Adv. nat.	Arnobius, <i>Adversus nationes</i>
Artem.	Artemidorus Pack, R.A. 1963. <i>Daldianus Artemidorus, Onirocriticon Libri</i> . Leipzig: Teubner.
Ath.	Athenaeus Gulick, C.B. 1928. <i>Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists</i> , Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann. Yonge, C.D. 1954. <i>Athenaeus: Banquet of the Learned</i> , Vol. II. London: Henry G. Bohn. Mair, A.W., Litt, D. 1921. <i>Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams</i> , Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann.
Callim. Ap.	Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Apollo</i>
Callim. Dem.	Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Demeter</i>
Callim. Dian.	Callimachus, <i>Hymn to Artemis</i>
Cic. Nat. D.	Cicero, <i>De natura deorum</i>
Cic. Verr.	Cicero, <i>In Verrem</i> Rackham, H. 1967. <i>Cicero, De naturam deorum</i> , The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann.
Clem. Al. Protr.	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protreptikos</i> Butterworth, G.W. 1909. <i>Clement of Alexandria, The Exhortation to the Greeks</i> , Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann.
Cleom.	Cleomedes Bowen, A.C., Todd, R.B. 2004. <i>Cleomedes' Lectures on Astronomy. A Translation of the Heavens</i> . Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press.
Cornutus, Theol.	Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, <i>Theology</i> Berdozzo, F. 2009. <i>Cornutu: Die griechischen Götter</i> . Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
Dem.	Demosthenes Vince, M.A. 1926. <i>Demosthenes</i> . London: William Heinemann Ltd. Simpson, F.P. 1882. <i>The Oration of Demosthenes. On the Crown</i> . Oxford: James Thornton.
Didymos Chalkenteros	Didymos Chalkenteros Schmidt, M. 1964. <i>Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini</i> . Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus Oldfather C.H. 1935. <i>Diodorus Siculus, Library of History</i> , Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann.
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertios

	Hicks, H.D. 1924. <i>Diogenes Laertius: Lives of the Philosophers</i> , Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann.
Dion. Al.	Dionysios of Alexandria Feltoe, C.L. 1918. <i>Letters and Treatises, St. Dionysius of Alexandria</i> . London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus Cary, E. 1937. <i>The Roman Antiquities. Dionysius of Halicarnassus</i> . Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard University Press.
Dioscorides	Pedanius Dioscorides Beck, L.B. 2005. <i>Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus "De material medica"</i> . Hildesheim: Olms.
Eunap. VS	Eunapios, <i>Vitae sophistarum</i> Wright, W.C. 1921. <i>Eunapius, Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists</i> , The Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann.
Eur. Bacch.	Euripides, <i>Bacchae</i>
Eur. Ion	Euripides, <i>Ion</i>
Eur. Supp.	Euripides, <i>Supplicant Women</i>
Eur. Tro.	Euripides, <i>Trojan Women</i> Potter, R. 1832. <i>Euripides</i> . London: A.J. Valpy. Murray, G. 1915. <i>Euripides, The Trojan Women</i> . New York; London: Oxford University Press. Warren, R., Scully, S. 1995. <i>Suppliant Women by Euripides</i> . Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
Euseb. Praep. evang.	Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> Gifford, Tr.E.H. 1903. <i>Eusebius of Caesarea: Praeparatio Evangelica</i> . Oxford.
Firm. Mat. Err. Prof. rel.	Firminus Maternus, <i>De errore profanarum religionum</i>
Fulg.	Fulgentius, <i>Mythologiarum libri</i>
Hdt.	Herodotus, <i>The Histories</i> Godley, A.D. 1920. <i>Herodotus</i> . Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Hdn.	Herondas Buck, M.S. 1921. <i>The Mimes of Herondas</i> . New York: Privately Printed for Subscribers.
Hes. Erga.	Hesiod, Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι (Erga kai Hemeraí – Works and Days)
Hes. Theog.	Hesiod, Θεογονία (Theogonia – Theogony) Evelyn-White, H.G. 1914. <i>Hesiod, Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle, Homerica</i> . London: William Heinemann. G.W. Most 2006. <i>Hesiod. Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia</i> , Loeb Classical Library. Boston: Harvard University Press.
Hesychius	Hesychius of Alexandria Schmidt, M. 1867. <i>Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon</i> . Jena: Sumptibus Hermannii Dufftii.
Hom. Il.	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
Hom. Od.	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> Murray, A.T. 1919. <i>Homer, The Odyssey</i> . London: William Heinemann. Murray, A.T. 1924. <i>Homer, The Iliad</i> . London: William Heinemann.
Hom. Hymn Dem.	<i>Homeric Hymn to Demeter</i> Cashford, J. 2003. <i>The Homeric Hymns</i> . London: Penguin.
Hyg. Fab.	Hyginus, <i>Fabulae</i> Grant, M. 1960. <i>The Myths of Hyginus</i> . Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications.
Isoc.	Isocrates
Isoc. Pan.	Isocrates, <i>Panegyrikos</i> Norlin, G. 1928. <i>Isocrates</i> , Vol. I, Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press.
Lactant. Div. inst.	Lactantius, <i>Divinae institutiones</i> Bowen, A., Garnsey, P. 2003. <i>Lactantius, Divine Institutes</i> . Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
Lycoph. Alex.	Lycophoron, <i>Alexandra</i> v. Holzinger, C. 2009. <i>Lycophoron. Alexandra</i> . BiblioLife.

Malalas	Jeffreys, E., Jeffreys, M., Scott, R. 1986. <i>The Chronicle of John Malalas</i> . Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies.
Men. Rhet.	Menander Rhetor Russel, D.A., Wilson, N.G. 1981. <i>Menander Rhetor</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Michael Psellos	Michael Psellos Collisson, M. 1843. <i>Psellus' Dialogue on the Operation of Daemons</i> . Sydney: J. Tegg. Sewter, E.R.A. 1966. <i>Michael Psellus. Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia</i> . London: Penguin Books.
Nic. Alex.	Nicander of Colophon, <i>Alexipharmaca</i>
Nic. Ther.	Nicander of Colophon, <i>Theriaca</i> Gow, A.S.F., Scholfield, A.F. 1953. <i>The Poems and Poetical Fragments</i> . London: Bristol Classical Press. Keil, H. 1856. <i>Scholia in Alexipharmaca</i> , in Schneider, O. (ed.) <i>Nicandrea</i> . Leipzig: B.G. Teubner. 75–111.
Nonnos, Dion.	Nonnos, <i>Dionysiaka</i>
Origin	Origines, <i>Contra Celsum</i> Chadwick, H. 1953. <i>Origen: Contra Celsum</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Orphic Hymns	<i>Orphic Hymns</i> Taylor, T. 1792. <i>The Hymns of Orpheus</i> . London.
Ov. Fast.	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i>
Ov. Her.	Ovid, <i>Heroides</i>
Ov. Met.	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> Fantham, E. 1998. <i>Ovid, Fasti</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i> Jones, W.H.S., Omerod, H.A. 1918. <i>Pausanias: Description of Greece</i> , Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd.
Pamphos	Pamphos Allen, T.W. 1907. <i>The Homeridae</i> , CQ 1: 135–143.
Parth. Amat. Narr.	Parthenius of Nicaea, <i>Narrationum amatoriarum libellous (Erotica Pathemata)</i> Edmonds, J.M., Gaselee, S. 1916. <i>Longus, Daphnis and Chloe. Parthenius, Love Romances</i> . Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Körte, A. 1931. Der Demeter-Hymnos des Philikos, <i>Hermes</i> 66: 442–454.
Philiatas of Cos	Philiatas of Cos Page, D.L. 1942. <i>Greek Literary Papyri</i> . London; Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press. Spanoudakis, K. 2002. <i>Philiatas of Cos</i> . Leiden: Brill.
Phlegon, Mir.	Phlegon of Tralles, <i>Miracula</i> Hansen, W. 1996. <i>Phlegon of Tralles' Book of Marvels</i> . Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
Plin. HN	Pliny, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Plut. Alc.	Plutarch, <i>Alcibiades</i>
Plut. Demetr.	Plutarch, <i>Demetrius</i>
Plut. De Is. et Os.	Plutarch, <i>De Iside et Osiride</i>
Plut. Mor.	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
Plut. Pomp.	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> Goodwin, W.W. 1874. <i>Plutarch's Morals</i> , Vol. IV. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company.
PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> Page, D.L. 1962. <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Porph. Abst.	Porphyry, <i>De abstinence</i> Clark, G. 2000. <i>Porphyry, On Abstinence from Killing Animals</i> . London: Duckworth.
Pseudo-Scylax	Pseudo-Scylax Counillon, P., ed. 2004. <i>Le périple du Pont-Euxin. Pseudo-Skylax</i> . Bordeaux: Ausonius; Paris: de Boccard. Shipley, G. 2002. <i>The Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax: An Interim Translation</i> . http://www.le.ac.uk/ar/gjs/skylax_for_www_02214.pdf
scholia in Theocritus	scholia in Theocritus Wendel, C. 1967. <i>Scholia in Theocritum Vetera</i> . Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner.

<i>scholia</i> to Lucian, <i>Dial. meret.</i>	<i>scholia</i> to Lucian's <i>Dialogi meretricii</i> (<i>Dialogues of the Courtesans</i>) Rabe, H. 1906. <i>Scholia in Lucianum</i> . Stuttgart: Teubner. Fowler, H.W. 1905. <i>The Works of Lucian of Samosata</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press. Harmon, A.M. 1936. <i>Lucian</i> , Vol. V, Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann.
Semos of Delos	Semos of Delos Meineke, A. 1846. <i>Scymni Chii Periegesis et Dionysii Descriptio Graeciae</i> . Berlin: Friderici Nicolai.
Sen. <i>Her. O.</i> Soph. <i>Ant.</i>	Seneca, <i>Hercules Oetaeus</i> Sophocles, <i>Antigone</i> Lloyd-Jones, H. 1996. <i>Sophocles: Fragments</i> . Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press.
Stat. <i>Theb.</i> Steph. <i>Byz.</i>	Papinius Statius, <i>Thebaid</i> Stephanos of Byzantios, <i>Ethnika</i> Meinecke, A. 1992. <i>Stephanos ho Byzantios, Ethnik</i> . Chicago: Arēs Publishers.
Str.	Strabo, <i>Geography</i> Jones, H.L. 1924. <i>Strabo: Geography</i> , Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann.
Souda	<i>Suidae Lexicon</i> Adler, A. 1928–1938. <i>Suidae Lexicon</i> . Lipsiae: in Aedibus B.G. Teubneri.
Synesios of Cyrene	Synesios of Cyrene Druon, H. 1878. <i>Oeuvres de Synésius</i> . Paris: Hachette.
Tert. <i>Apol.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus</i> Holmes, P. 1880. <i>The Writings of Quintus Sept. Flor. Tertullianus</i> . Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
Theok. <i>Id.</i>	Theokritos, <i>Idylls</i> Edmonds, J.M. 1912. <i>The Greek Bucolic Poetes</i> , Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Thuc.	Thucydides, <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>
Val. Fl. <i>Argon.</i>	Valerius Flaccus, <i>Argonautica</i>
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus, <i>De factis dictisque memorabilibus</i>
Varro, <i>Rust.</i>	Varro, <i>De re rustica</i>
Verg. <i>G.</i>	Virgil, <i>Georgics</i> Sillig, I. 1817. <i>Publius Virgilius Maro</i> . London.
Virt.	Vitruvius, <i>De architectura</i>
Xen. <i>Hell.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>
Zosimus	Zosimus Mendelssohn, L. 1887. <i>Zosimos, Historia Nova</i> . Leipzig.
Zosimus	Zosimus 1814. <i>Zosimus: The history of Count Zosimus, sometime advocate and chancellor of the Roman Empire</i> . London: W. Green & T. Chaplin.

Abbreviations

Descriptive Terms

diam.	diameter (measured at greatest width)
est. diam.	estimated diameter (measured on a chart of concentric circles)
L	length
P.L.	preserved length
W	width
P.W.	preserved width
D	depth
P.D.	preserved depth
T	thickness
P.T.	preserved thickness
H	height
P.H.	preserved height

Maps

Sanctuaries and cults of Demeter and Kore attested by archaeological and epigraphic sources.

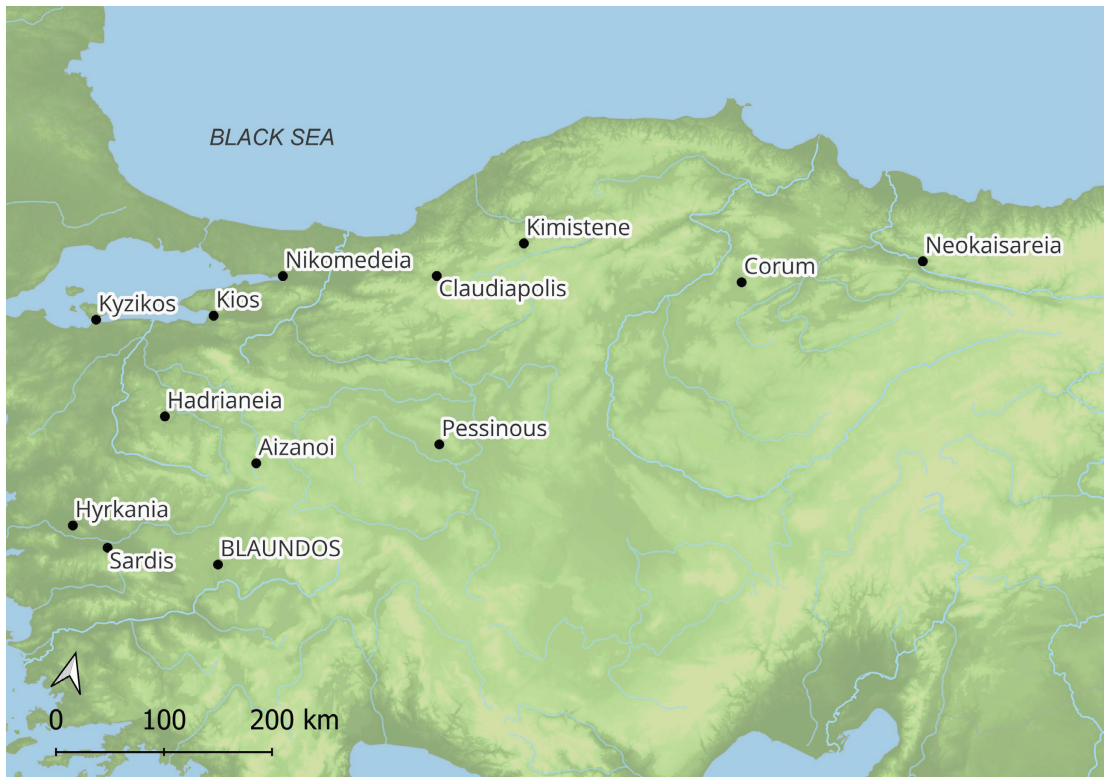
City names written in capital letters indicate sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone/Kore attested by archaeological sources.

City names in lowercase letters denote cults of Demeter and Persephone/Kore, attested by epigraphic sources or single finds.

The names of the cities are written in transliteration.



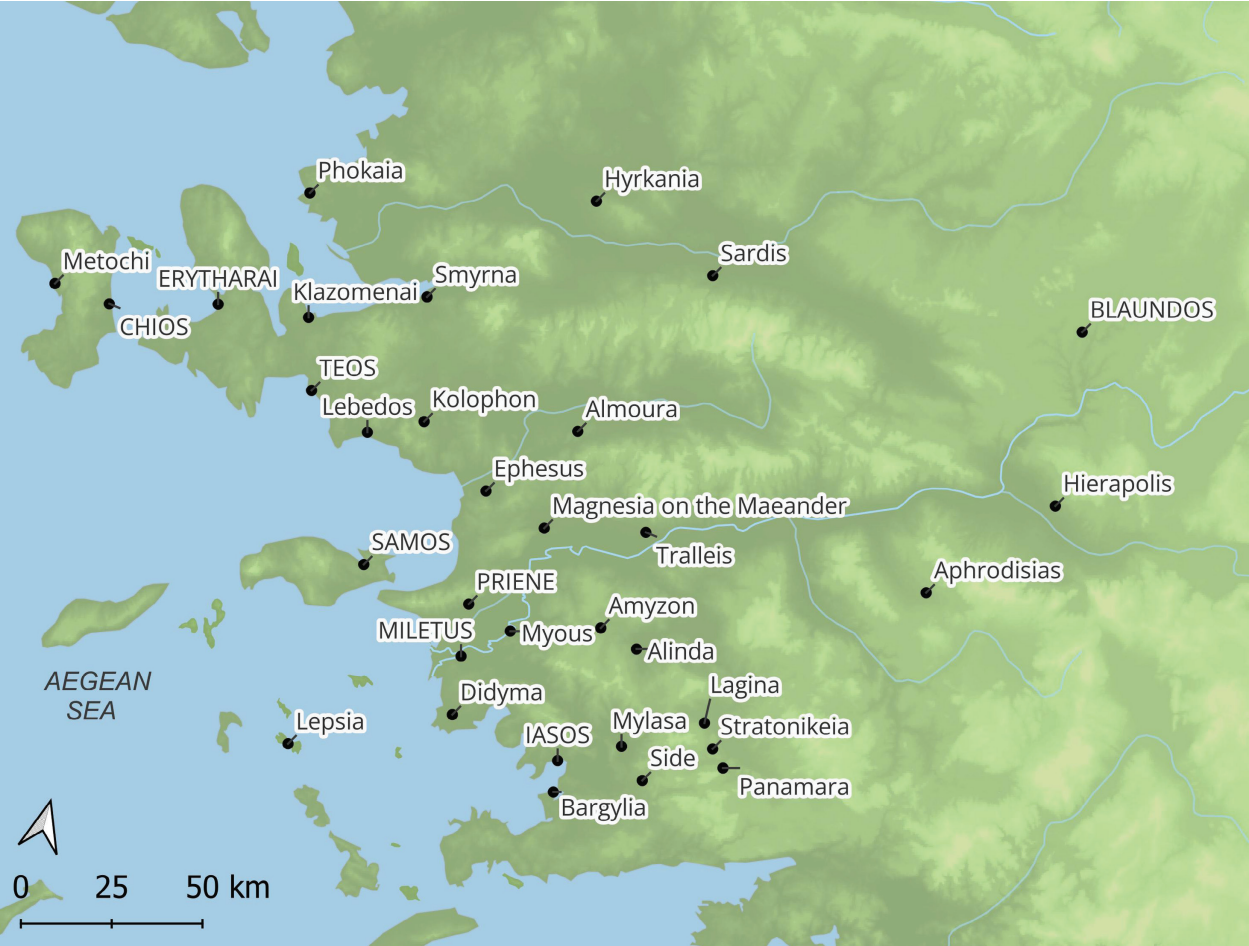
Map 1. Crimea and Taman peninsulas



Map. 2. Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Pamphlagonia, and Pontus



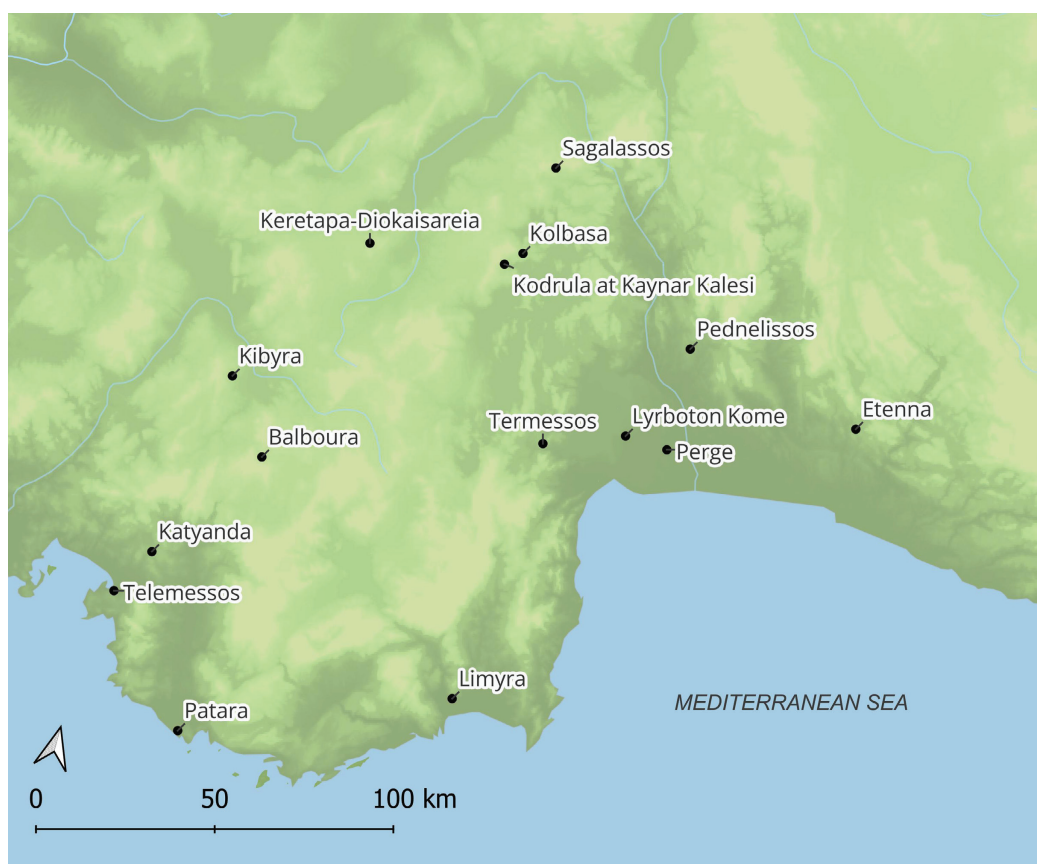
Map. 3. Mysia, Troas, Aeolis, Lydia, and Ionia



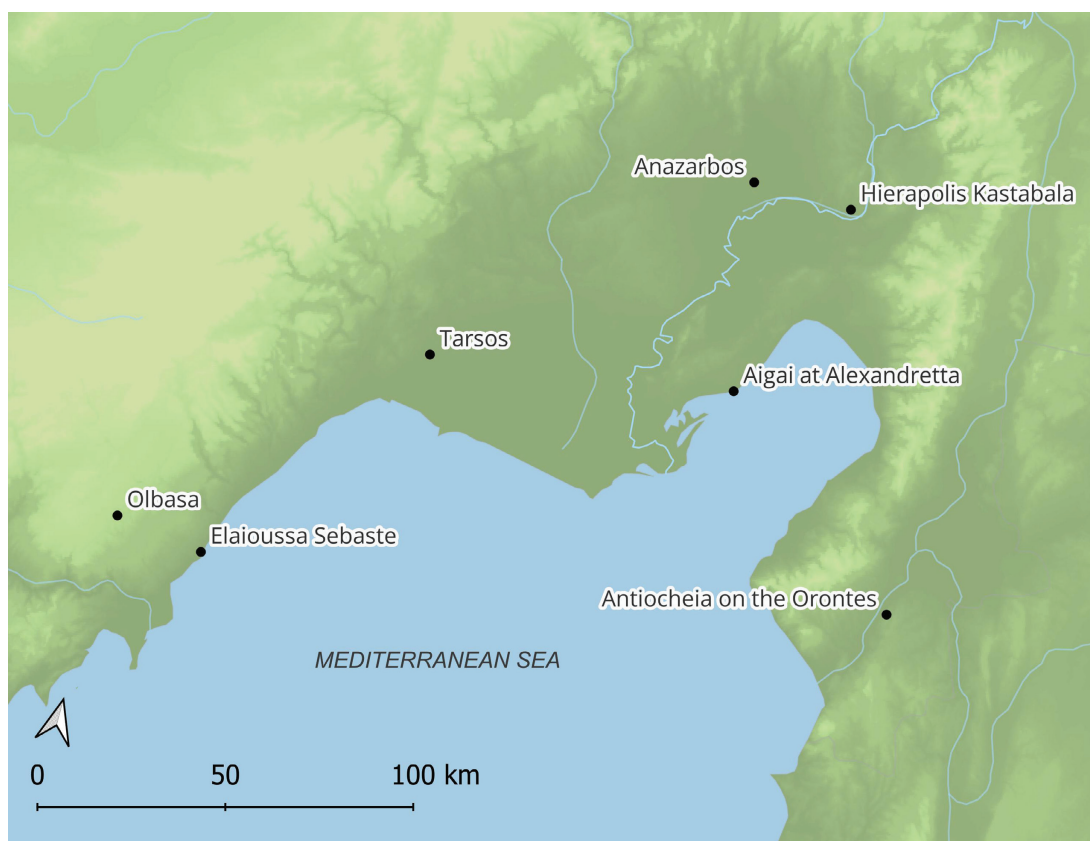
Map. 4. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, and the islands off the western coast



Map. 5. Islands off the coast, Caria, and Lycia



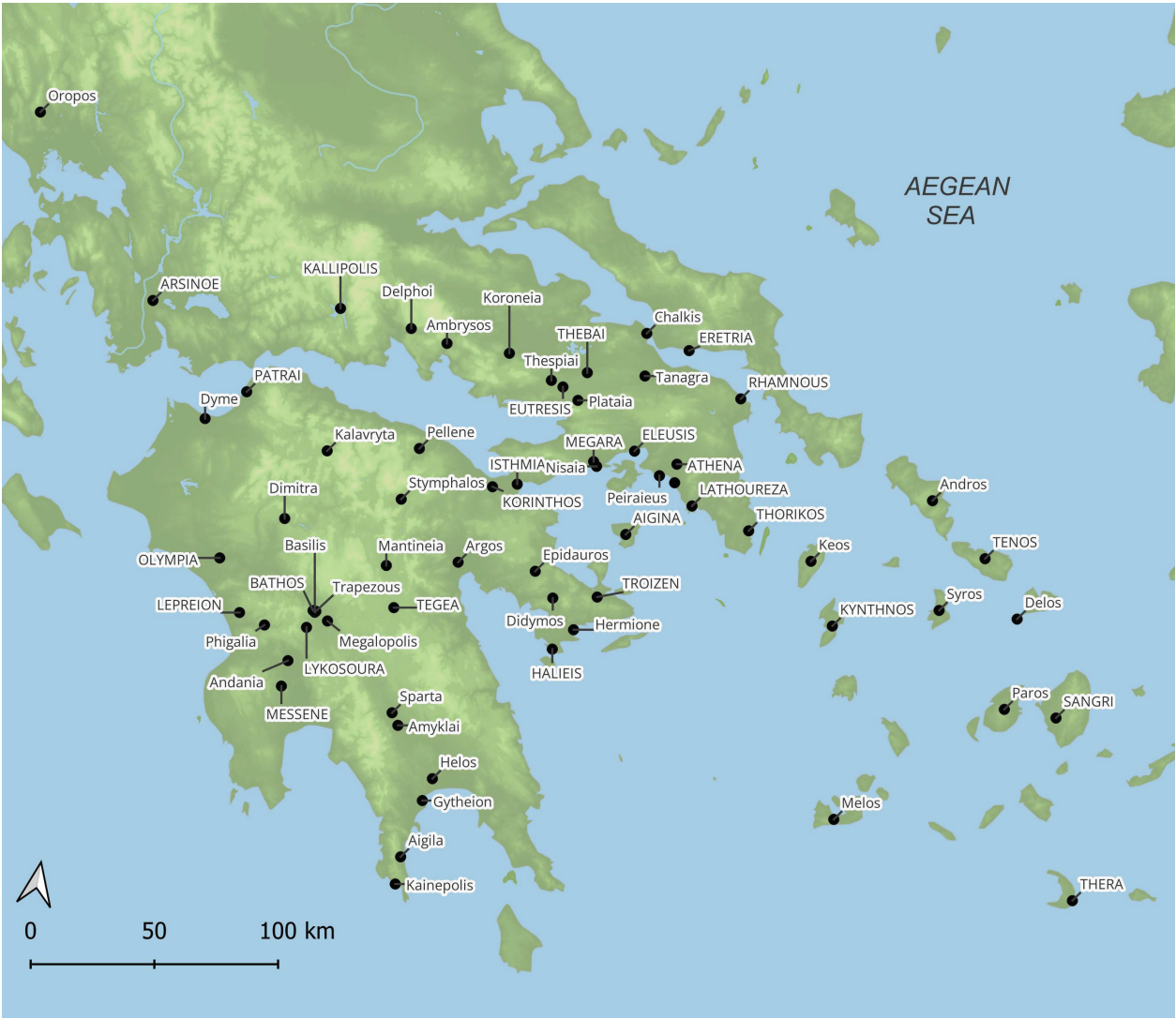
Map. 6. Lycia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia



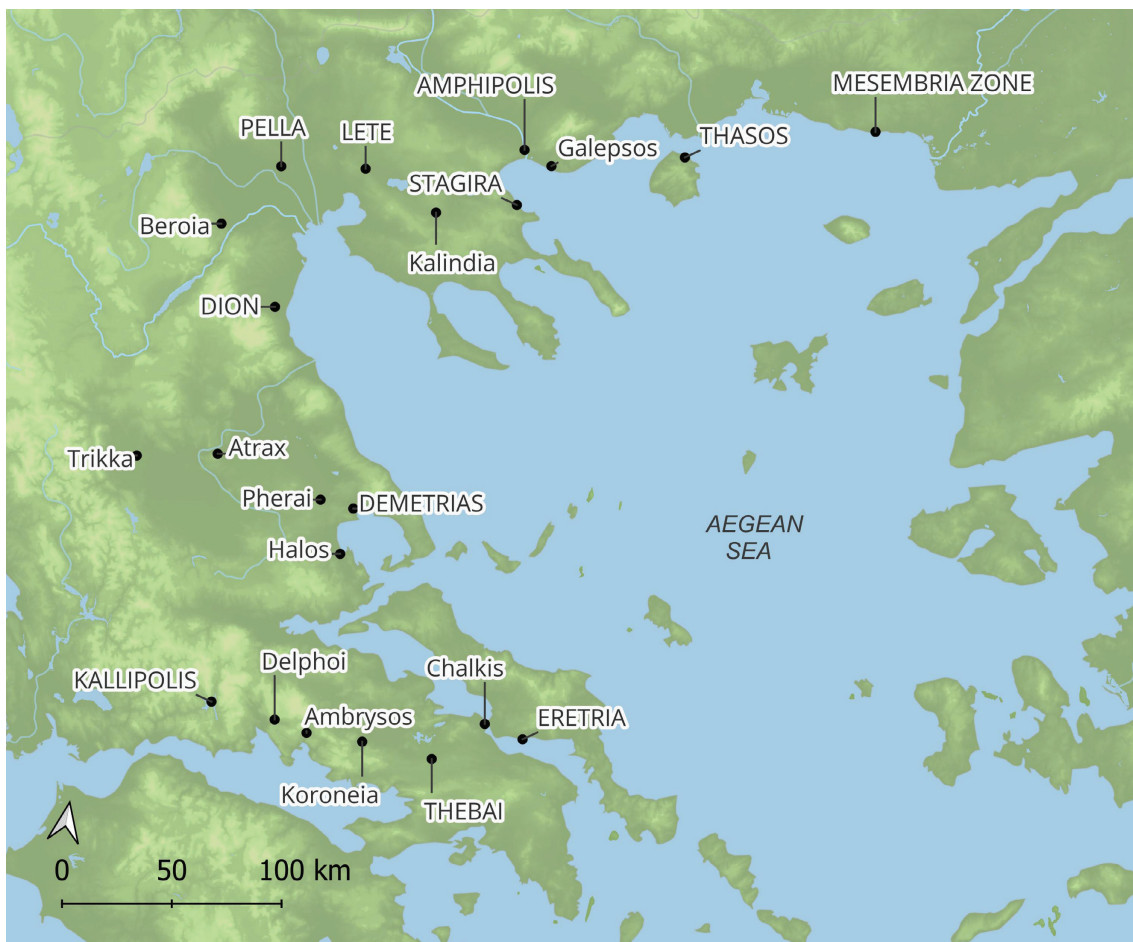
Map. 7. Cilicia



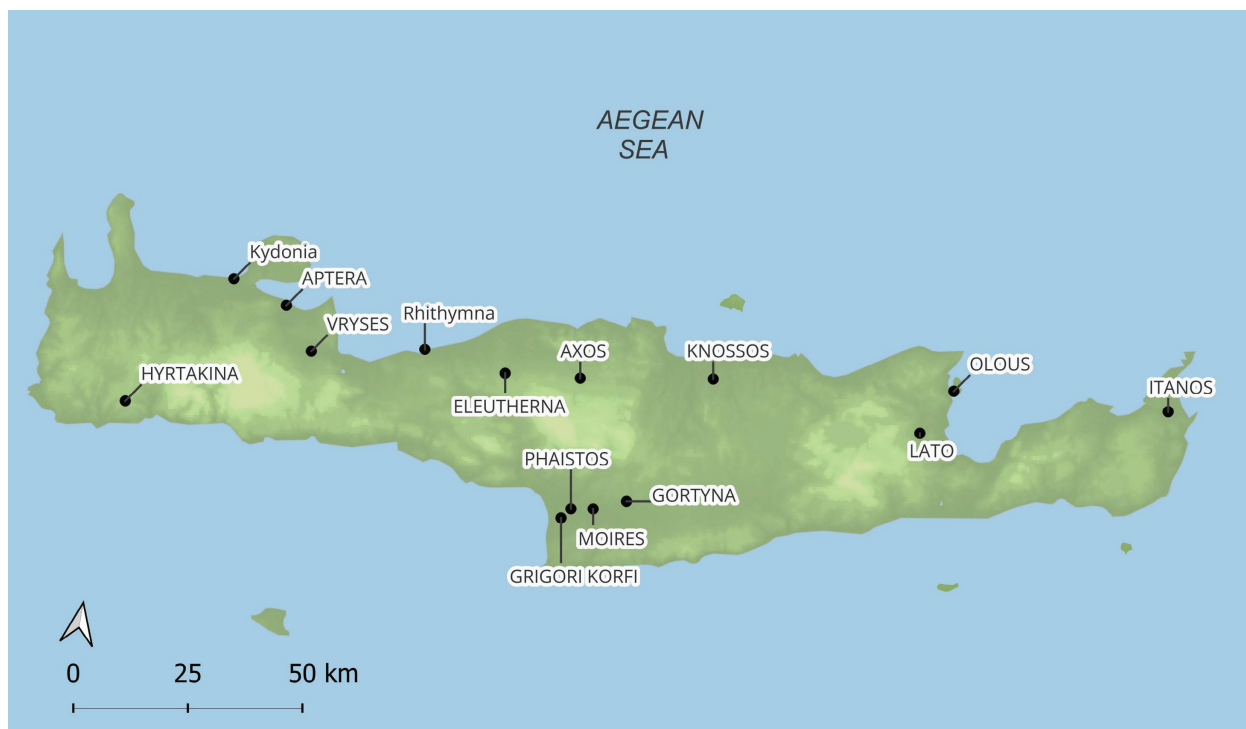
Map 8. Near East, Egypt, and Libya



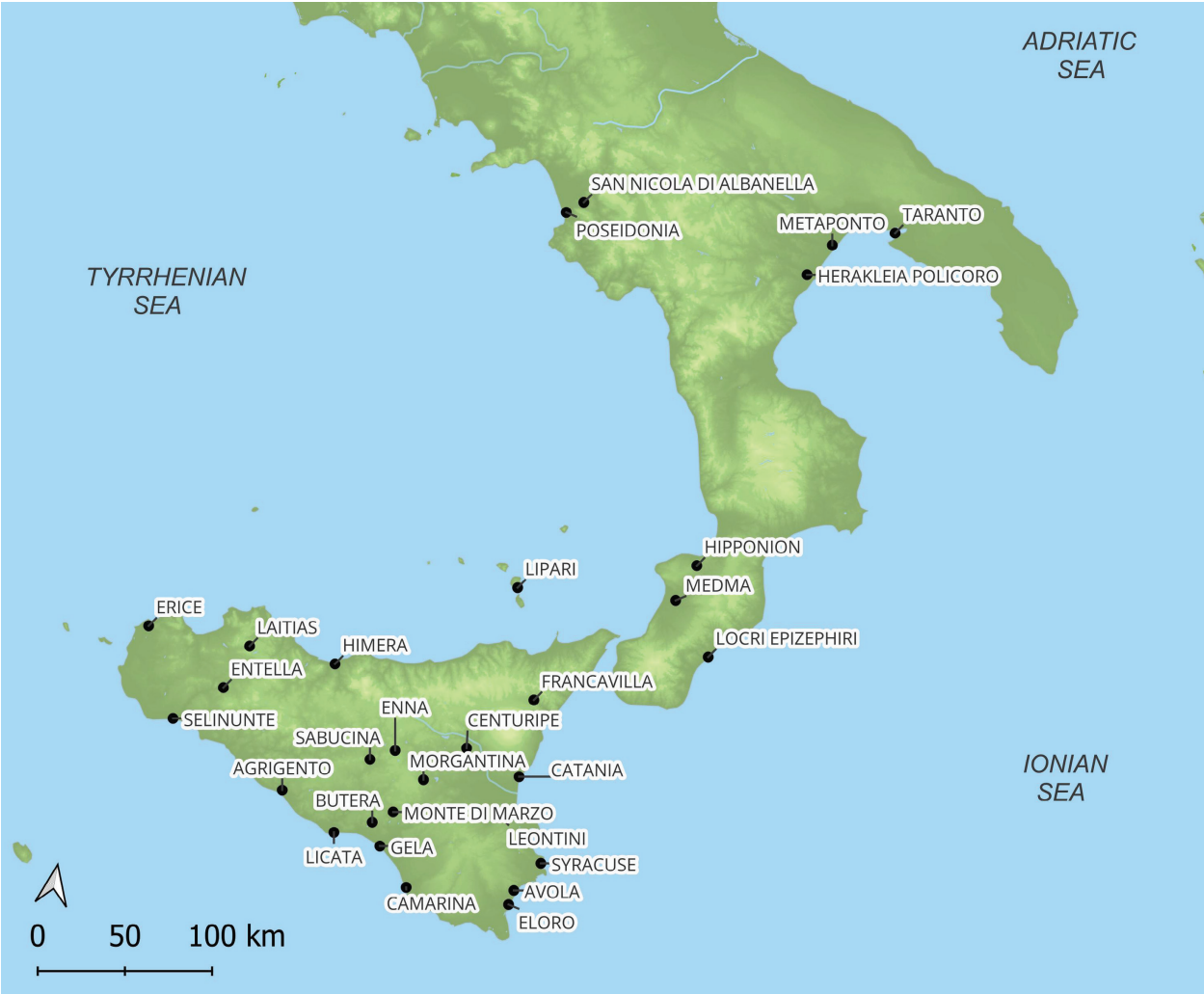
Map 9. Thessaly, Macedonia, Chalcidice, and Thrace



Map 10. Acarnania, Aitolia, Phokis, Boiotia, Attica, Euboia, the Peloponnese, and the Cyclades



Map 11. Crete



Map 12. Magna Graecia (Western Greece)

Acknowledgement

Quin etiam obest plerumque iis qui discere volunt auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur; desinunt enim suum iudicium adhibere, id habent ratum quod ab eo quem probant iuducatum vident.

Indeed, the authority of those who profess to teach is often a hindrance to those who desire to learn; they cease to employ their own judgement and take what they perceive to be the verdict of their chosen masters as settling the question.

Cicero, *De natura deorum* I.10

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Introduction

Sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter have been excavated in over 121 Greek cities, while her cult is documented by written sources in 223 cities (see Appendix Tables 1–2). Eleusis, home to the most prestigious mysteries of ancient Greece, played a central and pivotal role in the cult of Demeter, underscoring its immense historical significance. Magna Graecia was renowned for the cults of Demeter and Persephone/Kore. In contrast, the Greek East has traditionally been overlooked as a significant region for the worship of Demeter. Asia Minor, more commonly associated with the fertility deities Artemis and Cybele, has attracted greater research on these two goddesses. Nevertheless, despite the region's established traditions of Cybele and Artemis, Demeter was venerated in numerous cities (see Maps 4 and 5). Archaeological evidence has revealed 22 sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East, including sites at Neandreia, Aigai, Pergamon, Erythrai, Teos, Priene, Miletus, Iasos, Halicarnassus, Theangela, Cnidus, Kaunos, Blaundos, Mytilene, Chios Town, Metochi on Chios, Samos Town, Cos Town, Kyparissi on Cos, Rhodes Town, and Lindos (Maps 2–7). These sanctuaries varied in form, with some being open-air sanctuaries featuring preserved sacrificial pits, while others included buildings and altars. The architectural features and associated findings provide a rich basis for understanding the development of Demeter's cult, particularly when examined in conjunction with literary and epigraphic sources from over 90 cities in the Greek East and other parts of Asia Minor. Investigating the architectural elements and votive offerings of these sanctuaries may reveal regional distinctions in worship practices, reflecting local traditions or broader Hellenistic influences. In other regions of Asia Minor—such as Bithynia, Lydia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Lycaonia—before the Imperial period, the cults of Demeter and Kore appear to have played a minimal or insignificant role within the religious landscape.

The religious landscape of the Greek East and the sanctuaries of Demeter

The religious landscape of Asia Minor, deeply rooted in fertility and chthonic cults, reflects the region's profound connection to the cycles of life and agriculture. The prominence of deities such as Artemis, Athena, Apollo, Zeus, Dionysus, and Aphrodite illustrates a fusion of traditional Olympian worship with local and regional elements, mainly through the worship of Cybele and Hecate. Cybele,¹ strongly associated with the earth and natural forces, shares thematic affinities with Demeter and Persephone/Kore. Similarly, Hecate, revered for her links to magic and the underworld, emphasises themes of death and the afterlife. Under Hellenistic and Roman rule, Egyptian deities like Isis were introduced to the region. Associated with fertility and rebirth, Isis seamlessly integrated into the chthonic themes prevalent in the Greek East. Inscriptions from the Greek East attest to the multifaceted roles of Demeter and Kore, with a primary focus on agricultural fertility.

The term 'chthonia' (χθονία), meaning 'of the earth', is central to understanding the interplay between fertility and death in Greek religious thought.² Many deities, even those typically associated with the heavens or natural phenomena, possess chthonic aspects, reflecting the duality of life and death, as well as growth and decay. This duality is most evident in the roles of fertility and underworld deities, such as Demeter (Hes. *Theog.* 912, 969; Hes. *Erga* 465), Kore (Diod. Sic. 5.2.4; *Orphic Hymn to Persephone*), and Dionysus. The underworld, known as Hades (Ἅδης) and Tartaros (Τάρταρος), served not only as the domain of the dead but was also intrinsically connected to the earth and agricultural fertility.³ In his chthonic aspect as Zeus Chthonios, he presided over the earth's fertility (Hes. *Erga* 465; Diod. Sic. 5.2.4). Poseidon's chthonic role related to earthquakes and the depths of the earth.⁴ Other deities, including Apollo,⁵ Artemis,⁶ Athena,⁷ Aphrodite (*Orphic Hymn to Aphrodite*), Dionysus (Suda s.v. Bromios), Hermes (Hes. *Theog.* 444; *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 571–573; *Orphic Hymn to Hermes Chthonios*), Hecate (*Orphic Hymn to Hecate*), and Asclepius,⁸ also possessed chthonic dimensions. These connections are evident in their associations with healing, prophecy, and the cyclical nature of life and death.

¹ Bernabé Pajares, Jiménez San Cristóbal, 2008: 159–160.

² See also Fairbanks, 1900: 241–259; Scullion, 1994: 75–119.

³ Scullion, 1994: 92.

⁴ Dillon, 2003: 124; Kledt, 2004: 157.

⁵ Graf, 2008: 100.

⁶ Arnold, 1989: 25–27.

⁷ Deacy, 2007: 38.

⁸ Rouse, 1902: 193; Farnell, 1921: 235.

The cult of Demeter as a polis cult

Aleshire⁹ and Purvis¹⁰ define state cults as those organised and funded by the *polis*.¹¹ De Polignac expands this definition by associating state sanctuaries with areas controlled by the *polis*.¹² Purvis emphasises the varying degrees of *polis* involvement in cult activities,¹³ noting that some cults were directly managed by the *polis*, while in others, responsibility for rituals and festivals was delegated to subdivisions of the state, including familial, non-familial, or *dēmos* associations. In the Greek East, most of Demeter's sanctuaries were located in civic areas, such as the *acropolis* or near city walls, spaces often reserved for the cults of the *polis*. The religious calendar, especially the naming of months, frequently reflected the festivals and deities central to the worship of the *polis*. Months named after the festivals of Demeter and Kore—Thesmophorios, Eleusinos, and Kalamaion—demonstrate the prominent status of Demeter's cult as a *polis* cult in several cities of the Greek East (Table 1.5).

The evidence further underscores this status. For example, a statue of Demeter Karpophoros was erected in the *prytaneion* of Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 10; see Chapter 2.6), and the festival Chrysanthina, celebrated in honour of Demeter and Kore, was organised by Sardis (Chapter 3). Demeter's epithet *Dēmosi*, derived from *dēmos*, highlights her connection to civic identity (Chapter 2.10). At least eight inscriptions regulating the cults of Demeter have been discovered in the Greek East, including those from Cos (*LSCG* 175; *HGK* 8; *HGK* 17); Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 201); Gambrion (*IMT Kaikos* 922); Kios (*Epigr.Anat.* 27,29,14); Ephesus (*I.Ephesos* 10); Miletus (*I.Didyma* 496). The *poleis* actively organised, funded, and regulated Demeter's rituals and festivals. This involvement is evident in the strategic placement of her sanctuaries, the public display of inscriptions, and the inclusion of her cult in civic festivals. Together, these elements demonstrate that her cult functioned as a *polis* cult in many cities across the Greek East. However, inscriptions dedicated to Demeter and Roman rulers do not necessarily indicate that her cult was always a *polis* cult. In rural areas, dedications were primarily made to deities without including Roman emperors,¹⁴ reflecting the limited interaction of countryside inhabitants with the Roman administrative system. Unlike the urban ruling class, rural populations lacked access to the political and social privileges of the *poleis*. Consequently, they had fewer incentives to honour Roman emperors in their dedications, which were instead focused on local religious traditions.

Previous research

The foundational focus of early research on Demeter's cult at Eleusis and her festival, the Thesmophoria, has significantly shaped our understanding of the cult's nature and its associated festivals. Brumfield's dissertation, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (1981), highlights the agricultural basis of Demeter's worship, emphasising the integral connection between her festivals and the farming cycle. Complementing this, Sfameni Gasparro's comprehensive study (1986) expands the scope of research to include Demeter's influence across the Greek world, encompassing both the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Thesmophoria. Kevin Clinton's epigraphic contributions (1974) have provided invaluable insights into the Eleusinian cult's ritual practices and administrative aspects, shedding light on local variations and regulatory frameworks.

While these studies have illuminated the centralised practices at Eleusis, they have also underscored the contrasting regional diversity of Demeter's worship in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. Shield's study on Lesbos (1917), Laumonier's research on Carian cults (1958), and Herzog's exploration of cultic regulations on Cos (1928) reveal the localised nature of religious practices influenced by indigenous traditions and regional identities. For instance, Laumonier's omission of Demeter's cult in Caria highlights perceptions of her worship as foreign in some regions, delineating the boundaries between local and Pan-Hellenic religious elements. Further contributions by Sherwin-White (1978) and Graf (1985) enrich our understanding of Demeter's cults in these regions, with Sherwin-White offering a historical overview of the sanctuaries and cults of Cos and Graf documenting the northern Ionian cults in greater detail.

The increasing scholarly interest in Demeter's sanctuaries in the Greek East marks a shift toward examining her worship beyond Attica, emphasising local adaptations and regional contexts. Cronkite's PhD thesis (1997) on the sanctuary of Demeter in Mytilene and Rumscheid's study (2006) of terracotta figurines from multiple sites provide new insights into the iconography associated with Demeter's worship in this area. Architectural analyses by Bohtz

⁹ Aleshire, 1994: 9.

¹⁰ Purvis, 2003: 1.

¹¹ Aleshire, 1994: 9; Purvis, 2003: 1.

¹² Purvis, 1995: 33; see also Welwei, 1998: 58–59; Sourvinou-Inwood, 2000; Krauter, 2004: 53–56; Hedricks Jr. 2010.

¹³ Purvis, 2003: 2.

¹⁴ Pilhofer, 2006: 91.

(1981) and Piok-Zanon (2009) of the Pergamon sanctuary illustrate the relationship between religious architecture and local dynastic influences, revealing how political factors shaped sacred spaces. Schipporeit's extensive research (2013) on the Ionian sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore remains a cornerstone for understanding the sanctuaries in the Greek East, drawing on archaeological and written sources from sites such as Smyrna, Erythrai, Teos, Klazomenai, Kolophon, Lebedos, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Iasos, Halicarnassus, Myous, Magnesia on the Maeander, Chios, and Cos. In addition, studies focused on individual sanctuaries of Demeter—including those at Mytilene, Priene, Miletus, Halicarnassus, Iasos, Cnidus, Kaunos, and Rhodes—offer valuable insights into the architectural features and votive iconography recovered from these sites (see Chapter 2). These works collectively highlight the regional diversity and adaptability of Demeter's cult within the broader religious landscape of the Greek East.

Aims and methodology

The present study represents the first comprehensive assessment and analysis of archaeological and written sources related to the sanctuaries of Demeter in Asia Minor, set within a broader comparative framework. This approach aims to identify regional similarities and differences in cult and votive practices, offering critical insights into how the worship of Demeter evolved across diverse cultural and geographic landscapes. By comparing the sanctuaries in Asia Minor with those in other Greek regions, the study seeks to highlight both unique adaptations and enduring continuities in the cult of Demeter.

The methods employed by Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet (1984) in her research and classification of Demeter's sanctuaries in Sicily serve as a key inspiration for this study's approach to interpreting religious architecture. Le Dinahet categorised Sicilian sanctuaries of Demeter into three groups: (1) open-air sanctuaries, (2) sanctuaries with a single *oikos*, and (3) sanctuaries featuring multiple *oikoi*, an altar, and a temple.¹⁵ This classification provides a framework for understanding the development of these sanctuaries over time and exploring regional variations. It has been adapted here to analyse the sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East.

The architectural analysis in this study is organised into thematic sections:

- Examining the placement of Demeter's sanctuaries in relation to cities and their surroundings.
- Investigating sanctuaries' boundaries and spatial layout.
- Assessing examples where worship took place without substantial architectural enclosures.
- Analysing temple forms, including distinctive features like transverse *cella*.
- Reviewing additional buildings, such as altars, *escharai*, *bothroi*, and votive deposits.
- Considering fountains, wells, basins, and cisterns played a significant role in ritual practices.

The geomorphology of each sanctuary's location and the cult's specific needs significantly influenced the types and locations of Demeter's sanctuaries. Factors such as local and Pan-Hellenic traditions, the prominence of her cult, and the financial resources of the *poleis* also played a crucial role in shaping these spaces. This study includes comparative analyses of Demeter's sanctuaries from other Greek regions to situate the sanctuaries in Asia Minor within a broader context. This comparison allows a detailed exploration of how regional and Pan-Hellenic elements influenced sanctuaries' design, function, and evolution in the Greek East. Ultimately, the findings aim to contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of religious architecture and cult practices in the ancient Greek world.

A comparative approach is also applied to the votives recovered from the sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek East. The iconography and quantity of votives reflect each city's preferences and priorities, shaped by local rituals, Pan-Hellenic traditions, and regional customs. The iconography of clay figurines, in particular, offers valuable insights into cultic rituals and the intentions behind the dedications. Votives are systematically classified by type and quantity, enabling a detailed analysis of their distribution and significance across sanctuaries in the region.

For the first time, this study has collected nearly all inscriptions related to the cults of Demeter and Kore in the Greek world, comprising approximately 289 inscriptions, including 176 epigraphic records and 113 pottery stamps associated with the month of Thesmophorios. These inscriptions are of significant importance for understanding the cults of Demeter, Kore, and Hades/Pluto. Additionally, most relevant literary sources referring to figures such as Demeter, Persephone/Kore, Hades/Pluto, Zeus Eubouleos, Triptolemus, Eubouleos, and Baubo have been analysed (see Chapter 1, Appendix Tables 3 and 6).

¹⁵ Le Dinahet, 1984: 147–152.

To facilitate interpretation, the inscriptions are categorised into five groups:

- Inscriptions addressed to Demeter,
- Inscriptions addressed to Demeter and Kore together,
- Inscriptions addressed to Kore,
- Inscriptions addressed to Kore and Pluto,
- Inscriptions referencing the epithets of both goddesses and their festivals.

This categorisation identifies patterns in dedication practices and reveals whether inscriptions predominantly focused on Demeter, Kore, or both goddesses. Additionally, Demeter's epithets provide valuable insights into the specific features of her cults in different cities and regions (see Table 1.2).

The integration of written and archaeological sources forms the foundation of this study, offering a comprehensive perspective on the development and characteristics of the cults of Demeter and Kore in the Greek East. This systematic compilation of epigraphic and archaeological evidence expands our understanding of the evolution of votive iconography, changes in architectural features, and cult practices over time.

This study establishes a chronological correlation between archaeological and epigraphic evidence from each city in the Greek East, addressing the lifespan of the sanctuaries. This analysis provides a more precise understanding of the duration and evolution of the cults of Demeter within the region. However, not all questions surrounding these cults and sanctuaries can be addressed comprehensively, as each city and region exhibited unique traditions and cross-cultural influences.