

ARTEMIS AND HER CULT

by

RUTH MARIE LÉGER

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of DOCTOR OF  
PHILOSOPHY

Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology

School of History and Cultures

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

April 2015

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM

**University of Birmingham Research Archive**

**e-theses repository**

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

## ABSTRACT

---

This thesis provides a first attempt to bring together archaeological and literary sources from two main Artemis sanctuaries in the hope of contributing to building a clearer picture of her cult. First Artemis' character is described as that of a mother of the gods, a goddess of wilderness, animals and hunt; a goddess of birth, infants and children (and young animals); as well as a goddess of youths and marriage: rites of passage.

These descriptions are followed by a section that provides an up-to-date account of the archaeological record of the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia at Sparta and Artemis Ephesia at Ephesus. For comparison with those the site of Athena Alea at Tegea is brought in. These three accounts are a full study of the architectural development and the range of artefacts in different materials. In the analysis, the different characters of Artemis are further explored by looking at the aspects of her cult through the archaeology relating to the cult and the rites of passage taking place at the sites. These rites of passage are reconstructed by using the literary accounts.

The conclusion is a description of Artemis and her cult based on the character of this distinctive goddess through archaeological and literary evidence.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

I would like to start by thanking my supervisor, Ken Wardle, for his guidance, patience and encouragement, for seeing and believing in my full potential. His support and that of the ladies at the kitchen table has been unending. My colleagues in the Department and beyond have been very valuable for discussions on research topics, giving advice and feedback at all stages of this project.

The College of Arts and Law at the University of Birmingham funded the necessary research visits to the British School at Athens and Ephesus for which I am grateful. During these visits the staff and archaeologists at museums and sites throughout Greece and Turkey were helpful and patient with all my questions and searches for artefacts, making sure I could study everything I needed. I would also like to thank Michael Kerschner and Erik Østby for sharing their research before publication.

Thanks are also due to my friends in both the UK and back home, without your support and friendship I could not have done this. You have kept me sane in the process of writing (up) this thesis. Whether it was with a chat, a cup of tea, or simply being there, you truly are amazing. It is thanks to you guys that I can finally say: it has been written.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. First of all my Mam, who also accompanied me during some of the fieldwork, for giving me her valuable insight, never ending support on so many levels and most of all her belief in my abilities. There were moments where I doubted myself, but you always manage to bring back my confidence. Lastly to my brothers, Jesse and Jethro, for being part of this process and encouraging me to follow my dreams, never doubting I could do this; you helped make me what I am.

## CONTENTS

---

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. ARTEMIS .....	22
3. ARCHAEOLOGY RELATED TO CULT ACTIVITY.....	51
4. COMMON FEATURES .....	177
5. CULT ACTIVITY.....	220
6. ARTEMIS AND HER CULT .....	263
BIBLIOGRAPY .....	271

## LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

---

### Thesis

Table 1: identification of the goddess at Sparta.....	11
Table 2: foundation myths for Artemis Ephesia sanctuary.....	16
Table 3: Spartan lead figures in conjunction with pottery and their dates.....	82

### Appendices

Appendix 1: A summary of the three main Attic cult sites for Artemis.....	1
Appendix 2: Votive objects found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.....	6
Appendix 3: Votive objects found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus.....	18
Appendix 4: Dawkins' 1910 and 1907 excavation plans. Dawkins 1929.....	30
Appendix 5: Modern overview of Artemis Orthia site, Sparta.....	32
Appendix 6: Comparison of dating by Dawkins and Boardman.....	34
Appendix 7: Inscription by Soixiadas Arikrateos.....	35
Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.....	36
Appendix 9: Examples of the masks from the <i>Spartan Museum of Archaeology</i> .....	42
Appendix 10: Wrinkled masks: same or different category? .....	44
Appendix 11: The origin of masks.....	45
Appendix 12: Lead figurines.....	47

Appendix 13: Plans of the different phases of the architecture at the site of Artemis Ephesia. ....	50
Appendix 14: Modern overview of Artemis Ephesia site, Ephesus. ....	55
Appendix 15: Ephesian Coins (BCE unless otherwise stated). ....	56
Appendix 16: Artemis Ephesia statues and their features tabled based on plate numbers Fleischer 1973. ....	61
Appendix 17: Plans of the temple of Alea Athena, Tegea ....	65
Appendix 18: The legend of Telephos. ....	68
Appendix 19: Votive objects found at Alea Athena, Tegea ....	70
Appendix 20: Common features at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta, Ephesus, Brauron and Athena at Tegea ....	82
Appendix 21: <i>krateriskoi</i> depicting clothed females ....	94
Appendix 22: <i>krateriskoi</i> depicting naked females ....	97
Appendix 23: <i>krateriskoi</i> depicting musical instruments ....	98
Appendix 24: <i>krateriskos</i> showing a bear-like figure ....	100

# 1. INTRODUCTION

---

1.1 Approach.....	3
1.1.1 Source Material.....	6
1.2 Introduction to the sites.....	10
1.2.1 Artemis Orthia.....	11
Evidence.....	13
1.2.2 Artemis Ephesia.....	15
Evidence.....	15
1.2.3 Artemis Brauronia.....	17
Evidence.....	18
1.2.4 Alea Athena.....	19
Evidence.....	19

Why study Artemis? Throughout my PhD I have been asked this question many times. The short answer is, to better understand her worship. This is difficult; Artemis, as a principal Greek deity, was worshipped at a wide variety of places with different names, characters and functions. Researching when, where and how the cults of Artemis took form both materially and socially, it will become possible to understand her worship a little better. She is at the same time a virgin who aids women in childbirth, a fierce huntress who fosters wild beasts, and a bloodthirsty deity who both nurtures the young and demands their sacrifice. Moreover, the goddess for whom young girls danced at Brauron and the goddess of Ephesus are clearly distinctive, but both are called Artemis. Her different appearances can only be explained and examined after close analysis of various Artemis cults and the various ideas attached to those cults. This thesis will look at the context of three cult sites, the worship, the setting and the offerings to examine the nature of Artemis' cult.

My research into the cult of Artemis started off during my Masters year at Utrecht University, the Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> Looking into the three main cults of Artemis in Attica: Brauron, Halai Araphenides and Mounichia,<sup>2</sup> initiated the plan to research more Artemis sanctuaries, her cult and the rituals taking place.<sup>3</sup> In cultic life, women played a significant role and they held the most important offices. In contrast, Artemis' cult was by no means exclusive to women. This research is developing into a modern account of the cult of Artemis and the different sanctuaries where rites of passage for boys and girls are attested. Of particular interest is what these cults have in common and what their differences are.

---

<sup>1</sup> Léger 2011.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of these three cults can be found in 1.

<sup>3</sup> Following Morgan 1996: 45, ritual may be defined as a means of transmitting cultural regulations about ethical relationships within the community and between humans and the divine. It centres on performance, rehearsing a series of defined and meaningful acts.

As Burkert mentioned in his account on Greek religion, Artemis did not only enjoy the most widespread cults, but she was also one of the most distinctive and oldest deities known.<sup>4</sup> These aspects result in the following questions: What was the role of Artemis in Greek society and how does this relate to Greek religion?

My aim is to understand the relationship between cult and community and the ways in which the rituals differ in different Artemis cults. My hypothesis is that the existence of a cult was an expression of identity which should become clear in the architecture and archaeological evidence. By identifying the archaeological sites as cultic and by exploring the associated rituals we can reconstruct a part of the community that is otherwise invisible.<sup>5</sup> Studying Artemis throughout the Greek world will enable me to widen my field of research and create a complete account of this goddess within ancient religion.

## **1.1 Approach**

The Oxford Dictionary defines cult as: ‘a system of religious veneration and devotion directed towards a particular figure or object’. Cult practice can be defined and contrasted in terms of material remains and the literary tradition. A cult site needs votives and/or an offering place to qualify as such. Other possible actions that might refer to rituals and that are of sacred significance are the public display of wealth, the use of specific symbolism in architecture as well as in iconography, and the use of a distinctive set of architectural features. The former may consist of terracotta or stone figurines, iron, bronze or ivory pins, other jewellery, weapons, full-sized or miniature bronze tripods, miniature terracotta

---

<sup>4</sup> Burkert 1985: 149.

<sup>5</sup> There are, amongst others, several publications on this topic: Farnell 1896, Nilsson 1941, Dietrich 1974, Burkert 1985, Bremmer 1994, Ogden 2007, and Mikalson 2010.

shields and, above all, pottery. The location or natural context is quite often an important determinant in defining a cult site. Identifying an archaeological site as cultic is not always straightforward as one has to take into account several of the aforementioned materials, as well as time, place and traditions. A focus on a combination of cult features, both inherent in the cult and as part of the physical context in which it existed, will give the most complete view of the evidence. Through the combination with cult-inherent attributes such as votives and traces of sacrifice and the physical setting of a statue for example, the cult's existence can be reconstructed. I have applied these principles to the case studies in order to reconstruct the nature of the cult sites at Sparta, Ephesus and Tegea.

The nature of Artemis' cult and how she was worshipped is illustrated through three case studies of the evidence relating to rites of passage taking place at the Artemis Orthia (Sparta) and Artemis Ephesia (Ephesus) sites. The monographs we have for the Spartan and Ephesian sites are over a hundred years old and are in need of a thorough revision. The three main cults in Attica which I studied earlier in my Master's thesis will, where appropriate, be used to further illustrate common features and ideas. It is clear that in order to put the Artemis cults in a broader perspective, a study of a small number of other related cult figures is necessary. The cults I use are the worship of Iphigeneia (also worshipped at the Artemis sanctuary at Brauron), Helen (another figure worshipped at Sparta)<sup>6</sup>, and the cult of Athena Alea at Tegea.<sup>7</sup> The case study of the cult of Athena Alea

---

<sup>6</sup> Helen was worshipped as a goddess in Sparta (Pausanias 3.15.3). She was a goddess of vegetation and fertility. She oversaw the maturation rites of young women into adulthood. In mythology however, she is known daughter of Zeus (Homer, *Iliad* 3.199, 3.418, 3.426; *Odyssey* 4.184, 4.219, 23.218; Euripides, *Helen* 16-21, 257-259). She is compared to Artemis in the *Odyssey* (4.122). See also modern scholars: Burkert 1985: 205, Skutsch 1987: 188-189, Brown 1996: 675.

<sup>7</sup> For the Tegean site, two new monographs are in the process of publication. Østby: forthcoming 2015. I would like to thank Professor E. Østby for his kindness in sending me some of the material from this publication to use for my research.

especially contributes to this study, because it is an account of a different deity in a different community with similar kinds of evidence relating to the cult. One striking example is the little lead figurines, apparently identical to the ones found at the temple site of Artemis Orthia.<sup>8</sup> Another is the large sculpted altar which shows similarities to the fourth century BCE altar for Artemis at Ephesus in both scale and decorations.<sup>9</sup> The comparison of these cults enables me to show patterns across time and place and highlight principal characteristics of Artemis.<sup>10</sup> The archaeological and historical evidence is particularly important in the reconstruction of how the sites were used. My PhD study combines this evidence and creates a coherent account of the role and character of Artemis and her place in Greek religion.<sup>11</sup>

Many of the finest products of Greek culture, like architecture, sculpture and dramatic art are inspired by religious practice.<sup>12</sup> As Muss explained<sup>13</sup>:

Heiligtümer sind vor allem Ritual in Kontinuität und Veränderung, aber auch Gestaltung des heiligen Platzes durch Architektur. Dieser heilige Ort ist zuerst durch eine besondere Lage, durch ein Naturmal, ..., aus dem profanen Raum herausgehoben.

---

<sup>8</sup> More on the Spartan lead figurines can be found in 3.1.3 Spartan Artefact, Lead figurines. More on the Tegean lead figurines can be found in 3.3.3 Tegean Artefacts, Lead figurines.

<sup>9</sup> More on the Ephesian altar can be found in 3.2.2 Ephesian Architecture, Sequence of altars, fourth century 'hofaltar'. More on the Tegean altar can be found in 3.3.2 Tegean Architecture, Sequence of altars, Late Classical.

<sup>10</sup> The principal characteristics of Artemis will be described in chapter 2 Artemis.

<sup>11</sup> For the definition of religion I follow Geertz 1968: 4, 'a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men [sic] by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seen uniquely realistic'.

<sup>12</sup> Dietrich 1974: 1.

<sup>13</sup> Muss 2008: 9.

### 1.1.1 Source Material

The starting point for this research is the primary literary sources and their accounts of ritual and religion. My research shows that these rituals are mainly based on local culture and community and that in this way the rituals vary between the different Artemis cults. It is clear in the architecture and archaeological evidence that the existence of a cult was an expression of identity.<sup>14</sup> I investigate the Artemis cults in a way that allows a (partial) reconstruction of how the cults were created and shaped. The cult of the goddess Artemis transcends the interests of a single, mostly local, group of people. It goes beyond a real or perceived notion of common ancestry. It can be described as a shared cultural heritage, common to all Greeks, although expressed slightly differently according to community. The different Artemis cults which I have explored, give an overview of her worship in different times at different places. Similar case studies would strengthen the hypotheses this thesis offers even further. The more information about the cults becomes known by researching similar topics for each region, the better the goddess can be distinguished and the better an overall picture could be provided.

It is important for the interpretation of each site that the source materials complement each other. The literary evidence of the ancient writers is important, because those stories in combination with the archaeological evidence (for example with the offering of clothes to Artemis in Brauron), provide us with the best possible view about what religion in ancient times meant.<sup>15</sup> Another example is the training of boys in Sparta and the masks

---

<sup>14</sup> For the definition of identity, I follow Revell 2009: 8. As any single person's identity is an amalgam of a number of different elements, such as their gender, age, status, occupation, religion and layers of ethnicity, there is a tension between the individual identity and the group identity, with the possibility of variance. Identity becomes more of a position within a range of possibilities (or discourse) rather than a fixed set of givens. One of the possibilities is religion: a symbolic code of communication and a focus for social organisation. Sanctuaries were important for the early development of the community and for preservation of traditions. Pretzler 2000: 106.

<sup>15</sup> For further information, see section 5.2.2 Ephesus, Marriage.

found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The different forms of masks either embodied the model with which the young boys had to identify themselves (i.e. the youths and warriors) or they were the form of the savage (the Gorgons) and the grotesque (the caricatures), the horrible and ridiculous. In the end the evidence will make it possible to construct a coherent story about the nature and history of the cult in the context of a wider view of Artemis.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the epigraphical evidence is important source material as well:<sup>17</sup> in the case of Brauron the clothing catalogues and in the case of Sparta the dedications of victors, who won prizes in contests held in honour of Artemis Orthia. These inscriptions confirm the story provided by the literary sources and the archaeological finds.

Artemis has several epithets, for example Artemis Tauropolos or Artemis Orthia, and these are of great importance for getting to know how she was worshipped at a particular place.<sup>18</sup> These epithets are quite often connected with literary evidence and can be of an etiologic origin. In my analysis I will combine this knowledge with the iconography, the offerings and the cult architecture as well as other finds like pottery and the epigraphical evidence. In a sense all this evidence is needed to confirm the story about the sanctuary and what it was used for. In Brauron the *krateriskoi* (miniature kraters) show girls dancing. These girls stayed in the sanctuary for a while, as they were prepared for initiation, which can be confirmed by the rooms available in the stoa for the girls to eat

<sup>16</sup> Each site has a description of the cult, see sections 3.1.6, 3.2.6 and 3.3.6. For the description of the nature and history of the cult in the context of a wider view of Artemis, see chapter 6.

<sup>17</sup> To incorporate the complete epigraphical material would go beyond the scope of this thesis, which is why I use some examples to illustrate the story.

<sup>18</sup> Strelan 1996: 46-47. An epithet described the gods and indicated their very essence or nature. These distinctions might well have been blurred at a given point in time, presumably different forms of Artemis were called upon different purposes or by different groups of people. More than one character might exist in the same temple without being identical.

and sleep. The architecture contributes to the story told by the archaeological evidence and the literary sources.

For the archaeological records I have looked in great detail at the Spartan, the Ephesian and the Tegean sites and I have completed an up-to-date account of these sites with regards to the physical finds as the remains of ritual practices. I gathered all information available on both architecture and archaeological finds, to create tables which allow me to compare the material remains of all of them. To complement these modern literary accounts I have been on research visits to Greece (Athens, Brauron and Sparta) and Turkey (Izmir and Ephesus).<sup>19</sup> The research visit to the British School at Athens for five weeks allowed me to further study the cults of Artemis, especially at Brauron and Sparta. This visit to Greece enabled me to have a look at the original 1900's excavation records of the work at the Artemis Orthia site in Sparta that are only available in the archive of the British School in Athens.<sup>20</sup> It also gave me the opportunity to study the archaeological materials that are available for research in the different museums (National Archaeological Museum, Agora Museum, Piraeus Museum, Brauron Museum (all possible from a base in Athens), and the Archaeological Museum in Sparta where a week's stay was necessary. Studying these materials at first hand benefitted my research greatly, because it enabled me to make my own notes, drawings and pictures to supplement the published materials that are available to everyone. Besides that I had access to the excellent research library of the British School at Athens and all the libraries

---

<sup>19</sup> The site of Tegea was added after my research visits to Greece and Turkey.

<sup>20</sup> I would like to thank Mrs. Tzavara, Mrs. Gerousi and Ms. Kakissis for all their help and support in making this research visit possible and in getting me access to the sources and musea that I requested.

of the other International Schools to research resources I would not have been able to access otherwise.<sup>21</sup>

My research visit to Izmir and Ephesus had a similar purpose. Little of substance has been available to English-speaking scholars about the Artemis cult in Ephesus with relation to its architecture and archaeological finds since the excavations started in the late nineteenth century. The materials were published in 1877 by John Wood and in 1908 by David Hogarth. More recently the Austrian Institute for Archaeology (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut - OeAI) has been excavating at Ephesus, but their finds have not been published in a monograph. I visited the ancient site of Ephesus as well as the museums and sites connected to this excavation in order to provide a new study of the material. This research visit to Turkey enabled me to have a look at the archaeological materials that are on display in the different museums and at the different sites that have archaeological and epigraphical testimonies to Artemis of Ephesus (the Archaeological Site of Ephesus, the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, the Archaeological Museum in Selçuk<sup>22</sup>, the Archaeological Museum in Izmir, Museum for History of Art in Izmir, the ancient Agora in Izmir, the temple of Artemis in Sardis). The visit to the temple site of Artemis Ephesia has proven particularly helpful in order to understand the plans and diagrams published about the site. It especially helped distinguish the different strata. Additionally, the temple site of Artemis at Sardis was important to understand the actual scale of the temple site at Ephesus.

This introduction and outline of the approach will be followed by a brief introduction of the archaeological sites used in this thesis: Artemis Orthia (Sparta), Artemis Ephesia

---

<sup>21</sup> Examples are the libraries of the American and Canadian School and the German School.

<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately at the time of my visit, the museum was closed for refurbishment.

(Ephesus), Artemis Brauronia (Brauron), and Alea Athena (Tegea). What follows, as the first part of this thesis, is a description of Artemis based on the literary sources. This part is a description of Artemis as mother of the gods; a goddess of wilderness, animals and hunting; a goddess of birth, infants, children (and young animals); and a goddess of youths and marriage with as its most important component the rites of passage. The second part is an up-to-date account for each of the sites of the archaeology related to cult activity: architecture, artefacts, and inscriptions (where appropriate), cult statues and Artemis' identification with previously worshipped deities. The third part is case studies of cult activity at the sites, structured as boys' transitions in Artemis cults and girls' transitions in Artemis cults. Following this there is a comparison of the different sites, according to architecture and artefacts. The latter is divided into the following categories, jewellery/valuables, such as musical instruments, miniature masks and combs, mythological figures, human figures, animal figures and sacrificial remains. The last part of this thesis will be a concluding description of the cult of Artemis, based on the three case studies.

## **1.2 Introduction to the sites**

In this section a description of each studied site will follow. This description will consist of a short introduction of the deity that was worshipped and the kind of evidence that is available. The specific primary sources used will be presented, after which a summary of the excavations and their reports follows. Further source material can be found in the individual descriptions of the sites.

### 1.2.1 Artemis Orthia

The goddess worshipped within the sanctuary near the Eurotas River in Sparta is known by many names. Alkman's *Partheneion* (*Partheneion* 1, 61) in the first instance mentioned ὀρθρία, but was later changed by the Scholiast to ὀρθία. The translation of ὀρθία is either written down as Ortha, Orthia or Ortheia. Moreover, Lakonian II pottery yielded inscriptions to Orthasia and Orthaia. Not only did the pottery show inscriptions to the goddess, but there were also inscriptions in limestone, which were associated with the building of the sixth century BCE temple.<sup>23</sup> Nowadays the goddess is identified as Artemis Orthia.

Alkman	seventh century BCE	Orthria
Lakonian II	620 - 570/560 BCE	FOrtheia/FOrthaia/ FOrthasia/FOrtha
Lakonian IV	fifth – fourth century BCE	FOrthia / FOrtheia
Hellenistic period	second century BCE	Orthia / Ortheia
Flavian period	50-100 CE	Artemis Orthia / Ortheia

*Table 1: identification of the goddess at Sparta.*

The goddess Orthia was in Sparta at later times identified with Artemis.<sup>24</sup> Both Orthia and Artemis were nature goddesses, concerned with animal life and ties with the Mistress of the Animals.<sup>25</sup> Nilsson suggested that Orthia was one of the many local goddesses surviving from the Minoan-Mycenaean pantheon. Judging from her representations in

<sup>23</sup> Davison 1938: 457. Davison recalls samples of all the different forms of the name Orthia used at Sparta during the existence of the sanctuary.

<sup>24</sup> For more information on the identification of Orthia and Artemis, see section 3.1.6.

<sup>25</sup> Nilsson 1950: 433.

ivory, she could be considered a *potnia theron*.<sup>26</sup> The name Orthia varies in different places. In addition to Alkman's Orthria, she is also mentioned as Orthia, Ortygia, Orthosia or Ortha.<sup>27</sup> Identifying local deities with those worshipped abroad was, to a certain extent, something which the Greeks of all ages were very ready to do. However, to actually import a cult, or be seriously influenced by foreign ritual, is something very different, much less characteristic of the Greeks, and there is no reason for imagining that was done in the case of Artemis Orthia.<sup>28</sup> Already during the first building period of the sanctuary, the period of the earliest altar<sup>29</sup>, votive offerings were made to Artemis Orthia.<sup>30</sup> Throughout time, the goddess is either mentioned as Orthia or Artemis Orthia, never just Artemis. That could have to do with the identification the Greeks had with local deities which is explained by Woodward: 'The dedications are in prose, but there are also nine examples wholly or partly metrical.'<sup>31</sup> In this thesis I will use her last known name Artemis Orthia, even when it is not entirely certain the two goddesses were already identified with one another.

Artemis Orthia was just one of the deities and characters of Artemis worshipped in the city of Sparta. Pausanias mentioned besides the sanctuary for Artemis Orthia six other Artemis cults in different locations throughout the city: Artemis Dictynna had a temple close to the walls of the city (3.12.8); Artemis had a temple at the place called the Forts (3.12.8); Artemis Aiginaia and Issoria had sanctuaries west of the Agora (3.14.2); Artemis Hegemone near the sanctuaries of the Dioskouroi, the Graces, Eileithyia and Apollo

---

<sup>26</sup> For more information on the *potnia theron*, see section 2.2.1.

<sup>27</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906: 334. The actual connotation of Orthia (straightness or uprightness) is still open for interpretation. Pausanias (3.16.11) explained that her statue stood upright. The statue was the image of the goddess and was taken by Iphigeneia and Orestes from the Tauric land in the Chersonese (3.16.7-9). In addition inscriptions mention also: Borsea, Borthea, Ortheia, and Wortheia. Woodward 1929: 285ff.

<sup>28</sup> Rose 1929: 401.

<sup>29</sup> For more information on the earliest altar, see section 3.1.2 Spartan Architecture, Sequence of altars.

<sup>30</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 8.

<sup>31</sup> Woodward 1929: 286.

Karneios (3.14.6); and the site of Artemis Knagia is not further identified (3.18.4-5). The Spartans had also images of Artemis, Apollo and Leto on their market-place (*choros*, Pausanias 3.11.9). Orthia was the barbarian, the Scythian Artemis (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonius* 6.20). This is the goddess whose statue was taken by Orestes and Iphigeneia from Tauris,<sup>32</sup> where Artemis was called Tauropolos. The epithet Tauropolos occurred in several places in Asia Minor as well.<sup>33</sup> The Greeks identified the local goddesses with their Artemis. The cults of Artemis Tauropolos seem to involve the suspension of everyday conditions by the importation of something strange or uncanny. They were linked with the incorporation of young persons into the adult world by means of rites of passage, like the *epebes* in the allied cult of Artemis Orthia.<sup>34</sup> Further evidence can be found in the connection of the Tauropolos with male sexuality; this is not surprising. After all, Artemis was a goddess whose protection is sought by young males approaching puberty.

## **Evidence**

The Spartans left behind little written history. Therefore most accounts of ancient Sparta come from non-Spartan Greeks. These accounts however are sufficiently informative and allow us to paint a reasonable accurate picture of Sparta's political, social, legal and religious institutions. The literary evidence used to construct the story of Artemis Orthia's role at Sparta was mostly contemporary with the existence of the sanctuary. It is important with regards to these sources to keep in mind that they all had their own agenda and influences. Evidence for the Spartans' religious beliefs and practices is quite plentiful,

---

<sup>32</sup> This interpretation changes the destination of Halai Araphenides as can be read in Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1438-1468 to Sparta.

<sup>33</sup> Lloyd-Jones 1983: 96-97 based his account on Farnell 1896: 451, who listed Ikaria, Phocaea, Pergamon, Smyrna, Magnesia on the Maeander, Amphipolis and Andros.

<sup>34</sup> See also section 5.1.1 on boys' transitions in Artemis cults.

albeit thinly spread.<sup>35</sup> It is provided principally by the historians of the Classical period: Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, and by authors of the second century CE: Plutarch and especially Pausanias.

Further evidence became available through excavations carried out at the site. The excavation at Sparta by the British School at Athens in the years between 1906 and 1910 yielded many objects and architecture from different periods.<sup>36</sup> The archaeological evidence of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia used in this thesis is directly related to the individual cult and character of the goddess. In that way it contributes to the overall picture of the character and role of Artemis in Greece. The evidence is restricted to the pottery as an offering (and for dating purposes), terracotta figurines, terracotta masks, limestone reliefs, bronzes, bone and ivory carvings and lead figurines. The tables with the archaeological evidence are ordered according to period of manufacture, material, and figure/representation in appendix 2. By comparing these finds to those from the Artemis Ephesia sanctuary and the Alea Athena sanctuary a full analysis can be given. In addition to these artefacts, inscriptions were found. In this thesis, inscriptions are used to complement the story told by the literary sources and the archaeological finds.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Richer 2007: 236.

<sup>36</sup> To be able to discuss all these finds the strata will be referred to by a letter. These will represent the following: A = Geometric deposit, B = Lakonian I and II, C = Sand, D = Lakonian III and IV, E = Roman floor level. In general, when is spoken about the Archaic period, what is meant is the period between seventh century-480 BCE. However, Archaic used in the context of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta means dating to the first periods below sand, the periods with the Lakonian I and II deposits, dating 650-570/560 BCE.

<sup>37</sup> As previously mentioned, studying the epigraphical material in great detail goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

### 1.2.2 Artemis Ephesia

Artemis Ephesia was one amongst many deities at Ephesus and protectress of the city.<sup>38</sup> She was a local deity who became associated with the PanHellenic character of Artemis. Her sanctuary was located outside the city, where the Selinus River flows. The temple became known as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The name of the local deity is no longer known, but she had common features of Kybele.<sup>39</sup>

#### Evidence

In comparison to Sparta, there is a lot of material from ancient sources about Ephesus. Writers such as Xenophon (*Anabasis* 5.3.8), Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis* 237-250), and Strabo (14.1.3) and Pausanias (7.6.2) describe the founding myths of the sanctuary and its cult.<sup>40</sup> In addition to these founding myths Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistai* 361c-e) and Strabo (14.1.20) explain the importance of the Artemis sanctuary at Ephesus. The place of the sanctuary, according to Strabo, was of importance not because it was an Ionian colony or a sacred place for the Amazons, but because it was the birthplace of Artemis and Apollo. Strabo was followed by Tacitus (*Annals*)<sup>41</sup> and commented on by Himerius (*Orations* 60.3). Both Athenaeus and Strabo tell a story where the founder established the sanctuary where a boar was slain. This story shows parallels with the story

---

<sup>38</sup> Oster 1990: 1661-98. Oster mentions: Aphrodite, Apollo, Asclepius, Athena, Demeter, Dionysus, Egyptian cults, Hero cults, the Mother Goddess, Hestia, gods associated with the Prytaneion and Zeus.

<sup>39</sup> Işik 2001: 99. Kybele's home was Anatolia.

<sup>40</sup> See also Thür 1995, which gives a nice overview of literary, archaeological and epigraphical sources. Another example is an inscription mentioned by Engelmann and Knibbe 1978-80: 47 nr. 81 [501] which was set up when the statue of their founder [Androkles] in the city was renewed.

<sup>41</sup> Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* tells us a whole different story: 'and she [Leto] gladly ceased from her grievous wandering and sat by the stream of Inopus, which is the earth sends forth in deepest flood at the season when the Nile comes down in full torrent from the Aethiopian steep. And she loosed her girdle and leaned back her shoulders against the trunk of a palm-tree, oppressed by the grievous distress, and the sweat poured over her flesh like rain. And she spoke in her weakness: "why, child, dost thou weigh down thy mother? There, dear child is thine island floating on the sea. Be born, be born, my child and gently issue from the womb".'

about the bear at Brauron.<sup>42</sup> At both sanctuaries the goddess had to be appeased to make sure no wrath would be received.

Xenophon	<i>Anabasis</i>	Androkles
Callimachus	<i>Hymn to Artemis</i>	Amazons
Strabo		Androkles
Pausanias	<i>Description of Greece</i>	‘another goddess’
<i>Table 2: foundation myths for Artemis Ephesia sanctuary.</i>		

The two ancient works in which the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia plays an important role, Xenophon of Ephesus’ *Ephesiaka*<sup>43</sup> and Achilles Tattius’ *Leukippe and Kleitophon* are both of the second century CE. Xenophon of Ephesus’ story starts and ends in Ephesus and features invented characters, action and adventure.<sup>44</sup> As Thomas already mentioned, this story can still be used as an index of religious attitudes and shows perspectives on the cultic festivals in Ephesus, at least for contemporary readers.<sup>45</sup> Achilles Tattius’ novel is a traveller’s tale as well, but starts and ends in Phoenicia, with Ephesus as a desired destination.

British, Greek and the Austrian excavators spent over a hundred-and-fifty years excavating the Ephesian sanctuary of Artemis, which has yielded a lot of interesting materials. The excavations not only revealed the complicated architectural history of the sanctuary, but also a wide range of artefacts such as pottery, terracotta figurines, ivory objects, bronzes, gold, electrum and silver, glass, amber, iron, rock crystal and faience.

<sup>42</sup> For the complete story of the bear at Brauron, see section 2.4.

<sup>43</sup> Xenophon of Ephesus’ novel is known with three different titles: *Ephesiaka*, *The Ephesian Tale* and as *Anthia and Habrocomes*. Throughout this thesis I will use the title *Ephesiaka*.

<sup>44</sup> Henderson 2009: introduction.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas 1995: 82.

Tabulation of all these artefacts can be found in appendix 3. By analysing these objects it is possible to explore the nature of Artemis' character in Ephesus.

The investigations by Wood, towards the end of the nineteenth century CE, brought to light the ancient wonder of the world, the Ionian temple in marble, the Artemision.<sup>46</sup> The second stage was the excavation by Hogarth, at the beginning of the twentieth century CE that demonstrated that the sanctuary of Artemis had a series of earlier shrines.<sup>47</sup> Finally, the Austrian excavations, which started in the 1950s and are still on-going, showed an altar and have cast light on the functions of the Artemision as a cult place. Over a hundred-and-fifty years of excavations thus resulted in our modern knowledge of the architecture around the sanctuary. The archaeological evidence used in chapter 3.2 relates to the cult and nature of Artemis Ephesia. The evidence left out is the glass, amber, rock crystal and faience objects. The tables in appendix 3 show the archaeological evidence ordered according to period of manufacture, material, figure and representation. In addition, I use a table for coins, which are of importance in their iconographic appearance, and a table for the cult statue in all her different appearances.

### **1.2.3 Artemis Brauronia**

The cult site of Artemis Brauronia was located at the shore and in use between the eight and third centuries BCE.<sup>48</sup> Artemis' cult at Brauron is one of the most well documented Artemis sites concerned with the overseeing of childbirth and nurture of young children.

---

<sup>46</sup> Wood 1877.

<sup>47</sup> Hogarth 1908.

<sup>48</sup> Léger 2011.

According to Euripides the site was established by Iphigeneia (*Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1462-1466):

You, Iphigenia, must be key-holder for this goddess on the hallowed stairs of Brauron, and will die there and be buried; and they will dedicate adornment to you, finely-woven robes which women who have died in childbirth leave in their homes.

According to Euripides, Iphigeneia did not just establish the sanctuary, she was also worshipped as a heroine. Additionally, Artemis was not the only deity worshipped in the sanctuary of Brauron; her mother Leto and her brother Apollo as well as Dionysus were also worshipped.

## **Evidence**

The literary sources are very important when it comes to reconstructing both the sanctuary and its use at Brauron. Euripides is probably one of the best examples we have when it comes to information about the existence of the cult of Artemis Brauronia (*Iphigeneia in Aulis* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris*). Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 641-647) is a good source when it comes to what was happening at the sanctuary in terms of rituals.<sup>49</sup> Similar rites of passage took place in the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia in the Piraeus.<sup>50</sup> Pausanias describes both the image of Brauron (1.23.7) and retells the story by Euripides (1.33.1).

---

<sup>49</sup> In the Leiden manuscript of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* the scholiast adds that 'some say the affairs concerning Iphigeneia were at Brauron, not at Aulis. Euphorion, "At Brauron by the sea is the cenotaph of Iphigenia." Agamemnon seems to have sacrificed Iphigeneia at Brauron, not at Aulis, and to have killed a bear instead of her, not a deer. Wherefore they celebrate a mystery in her honour [*arkteia*].'

<sup>50</sup> Léger 2011.

The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia was excavated from the 1940s to the early 1960s and yielded both objects and architectural structures (appendix 1).<sup>51</sup> The records exist of excavation reports and short articles; however there is no coherent account of all the available material.<sup>52</sup> The archaeological evidence, and in particular the evidence for the *arkteia*, will be used as another example of rites of passage in Artemis sanctuaries. Of great importance in understanding the rites of passage are the inscriptions that were found at the other sanctuary (τὸ ἱερόν κωνηγέσιον) for Artemis Brauronia, which was located on the Athenian Akropolis (Pausanias, 1.23.7).<sup>53</sup>

#### **1.2.4 Alea Athena**

The sanctuary of Alea Athena was located at the border of the Tegean city. Alea Athena, like Artemis Orthia, Artemis Ephesia and Artemis Brauronia is the result of a local deity that is identified with a PanHellenic deity. The goddess Alea was a nature goddess, whereas Athena was mostly known as the goddess of arts, crafts, war, and she was the protectress of the city (Hesiod, *Theogony*; *Homeric Hymn 39 to Athena*).

#### **Evidence**

In comparison to Artemis Orthia and Artemis Ephesia, there are hardly any literary sources for Athena Alea.<sup>54</sup> Pausanias' lengthy descriptions of ancient cults and primitive myths, which still existed in Arkadia in the second century CE, provide a good impression

---

<sup>51</sup> Léger 2011.

<sup>52</sup> The most recent publications are catalogues of the sculptures the excavations at Brauron. For example Mitropoulos-Leon 2009.

<sup>53</sup> See Linders 1972.

<sup>54</sup> Herodotus (1.66 and 9.70) mentions the temple twice and Xenophon (*Hellenica*, 6.5.27) once. Both authors mention its existence to describe where they are in their description of something else.

of the degree of cultural continuity that must have existed here; they also seem to go unusually far back in time.<sup>55</sup> Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, particularly book eight, is a source of immense importance in identifying the history of Arkadia, its mythology and the standing remains. When archaeological research did take place in the region, it was with Pausanias as a guide that the hope to discover the ancient art and architecture arose.

The sanctuary of Alea Athena has had a long history of excavations. Since the Norwegian excavations at the sanctuary of Athena Alea (1990-1996), we are able to better understand the developments at the site from the tenth century BCE onwards.<sup>56</sup> The site of the ancient temple has been known since 1806, when Dodwell, using Pausanias (8.45.4-5) as a source, recognised the structure from the numerous architectural remnants visible above ground.<sup>57</sup> Although it was recognised earlier, it was first excavated by the Germans in the 1870s.<sup>58</sup> Milchhöfer published his finds from 1879 in the *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Institutes in Athen* in 1880. At this time, almost the entire area of the sanctuary was covered by the houses of the modern village, which made it difficult to excavate more than the temple area. Further finds were published in 1881 by Treu and in 1883 by Dörpfeld in the same journal. The French excavators took over the site ca. 1900 for a couple of campaigns.<sup>59</sup> The Greeks excavated in 1908<sup>60</sup> and more recently in 1976-

---

<sup>55</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015.

<sup>56</sup> The excavation programme was conducted by the Norwegian Institute at Athens in collaboration with Greek, Swedish, American, French and Italian colleagues.

<sup>57</sup> Dodwell 1819: 418-420, followed by Norman 1984: 169. Dodwell was not the only traveller to have seen and written about the ruins. In addition there are accounts by Leake 1830: 90-93, Ross 1841: 67-68, Curtius 1851: 254 and Bursian 1868: 218-220.

<sup>58</sup> These early excavations have resulted in an undistinguishable stratigraphy at the site of Athena Alea in more modern days. Therefore it is necessary to keep to a broad division between Geometric, Archaic and Classical finds unless stated otherwise.

<sup>59</sup> Mendel 1901, Dugas 1921, Dugas *et al.* 1924.

<sup>60</sup> Rhomaios 1909.

1977.<sup>61</sup> Norman and Voyatzis independently studied the finds in 1984 and 1990 respectively.<sup>62</sup>

The Tegean finds, which will be thoroughly revised in the forthcoming publication (Østby *et al.* 2015), seem to be quite equally divided between the Geometric and Archaic period. As at many sites excavations started in the late nineteenth century and continued until the end of the twentieth century. These excavations yielded some interesting finds, which are tabulated in appendix 19 in accordance with the finds of Sparta and Ephesus. The amount of artefacts found seems to be less than at the Artemis sites. This might be due to several reasons. One might be the popularity of the site; there was another Athena site in Tegea. Another might be that the votive offers were stolen or simply did not exist in very large numbers. A lot of the finds tabled are bronzes, which are probably the result of the metal workshop that was present on site. After the metal workshop disappeared, bronzes appeared probably due to the availability of the material. Interestingly enough not a lot of imports are mentioned, even though Tegea was located on the main trading route from Lakonia to the Argolid.

---

<sup>61</sup> Unpublished material by Dr. G. Steinhauer of the Greek Archaeological Service, which was studied by Norman 1984.

<sup>62</sup> Voyatzis later became part of the excavation team at Tegea.

## 2. ARTEMIS

---

2.1 Mother of the gods.....	24
2.2 Goddess of the wilderness, animals and hunting.....	25
2.2.1 Potnia theron.....	27
Origin.....	27
Aegean – Late Bronze Age.....	28
Greece.....	29
Animal figures.....	31
2.2.2 Gorgon.....	32
2.3 Goddess of birth, infants, children (and young animals).....	33
2.3.1 Eileithya/Kourotrophe.....	35
2.3.2 Hunting: preparation for war.....	36
2.4 Goddess of youths and marriage: rites of passage.....	40
2.4.1 Festivals and dance in Artemis cults.....	44
2.4.2 Bloodthirsty goddess.....	48
2.5 Conclusion.....	50

That the Greek gods did not appear out of nowhere is commonly known to everyone studying ancient Greek religion. It is however not easy to answer the question where and when the Greek gods appeared in their well-known form of the PanHellenic twelve Olympians.<sup>63</sup> The cultural interaction around the Mediterranean Sea resulted in widely adapted characteristics of deities from this area. As Walter Burkert mentioned, this was the result of both positive input; transfer of technology, skills, and ideas in a large sense, and negative input; invasion, oppression and exploitation.<sup>64</sup> This transfer of ideas makes it hard to distinguish which characteristics were solely reserved for a certain deity. The goddess Artemis is no exception to this principle and it is worth looking into the development of her characteristics and which of those were the results of the cultural interaction with ancestors all around the Mediterranean.

The origins of the cults of Artemis are quite obscure: there is a distinction in Artemis from region to region and from site to site. As Minucius Felix said (*Octavian* 21): ‘the Ephesian Artemis was distinguished from the huntress Artemis in the short *chiton* and also from the Artemis who was multi-headed and frightened people at crossroads.’ As Coldstream and De Polignac stated, Artemis is usually the deity worshipped on the edge of the town by a spring.<sup>65</sup> On top of that, Artemis is known in several different characters and her cult is genuinely Greek, although in some places the oriental influences and ideas can be discovered. In order to be able to distinguish in which of her characters she was worshipped at which site, it is necessary to briefly discuss the most important ones: Mother of the gods; goddess of the wilderness, animals and hunting; goddess of birth,

---

<sup>63</sup> See also for example Burkert 1977, 1985, Bremmer 1994, 2010 and Farnell 1896.

<sup>64</sup> Burkert 2004: 5.

<sup>65</sup> See section 4.1 for more information on the location of Artemis sanctuaries. See also Coldstream 1979: 327-328, De Polignac 1984: 21-23.

infants and children (and young animals); goddess of youths and marriage: rites of passage.

## 2.1 Mother of the gods

One of Artemis' characters is that of μήτηρ θεῶν (mother of the gods), which is recognised in different parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>66</sup> There are Mycenaean female divinities known with the name *Ma-te-re te-i-ja* (the Mother of the Gods) and possibly *Ma-ka*, *Mater Gâ* (Mother Earth), however Potnia<sup>67</sup> is frequently mentioned as well.<sup>68</sup> Her name also appears in Phrygian inscriptions of the seventh century BCE, where she is called Matar – mother. The mother of the gods of ancient Greece (and Rome) echoed the sentiments of power and ferocity known of this Phrygian Matar.<sup>69</sup> In Greece she was described as μήτηρ<sup>70</sup>: 'She delights in the clangour of castanets and drums, the roar of flutes, the clamouring of wolves and bright-eyed lions' (*Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*). In other literature there are several additional variations in describing her: μήτηρ θεῶν<sup>71</sup>, μεγάλας θεοῦ<sup>72</sup>, ματρὸς μεγάλας<sup>73</sup> and μητραγύρτη<sup>74</sup>. In Roman literature

---

<sup>66</sup> This characteristic is not one found in Hesiod's *Theogony*.

<sup>67</sup> Examples are 'Asian' Potnia: po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja, Potnia Hippeia: po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-a, and the Grain Potnia: si-to-po-ti-ni-ja. These examples come from Pylos and Mycenae. Whether or not this is a single deity representing different aspects is discussed in Laffineur and Hägg 2001.

<sup>68</sup> Nosch 2009: 22.

<sup>69</sup> Robertson 1996, Roller 1999: 1-2.

<sup>70</sup> Euripides, *Hippolytus* 141.

<sup>71</sup> Aristophanes, *Birds* 875.

<sup>72</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.24.2.

<sup>73</sup> Strabo, 10.3.13.

<sup>74</sup> Referring to the deity these officials served: the mother. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.2.10.

she was described as the magna mater<sup>75</sup>, dea magna<sup>76</sup>, mater Idaea<sup>77</sup>, grata deum matri<sup>78</sup>, antiquam mater<sup>79</sup>, mater cultrix Cybeli<sup>80</sup> and sacris matris deum Idaeae<sup>81</sup>.

## 2.2 Goddess of the wilderness, animals and hunting

In modern scholarship, Artemis is most commonly known as the goddess of hunting and hunters.<sup>82</sup> Hunters honour her by hanging their equipment, or the horns and skins of their prey, on a tree or any other special place (*Greek Anthology* Book VI 111, 121). In the Homeric poems, Artemis is a girl. In ancient literature, for example the *Iliad* (21.470-21.514), she is an adolescent girl beside the severe Hera, even though she is called *agrotera* and *potnia theron*. In the *Odyssey* (6.102-6.109) she is presented quite differently: showering arrows, delighting in boars and hinds, ranging the wild with her nymphs, dancing and playing. In the *Homeric Hymn 27 to Artemis* she is a strong, fierce character, making ‘the tops of the high mountains tremble and the tangled wood echo awesomely with the outcry of beasts.’ Artemis’ ruling over the mountains is also to be read in Aeschylus’ *Fragment 188* and Callimachus’ *Hymn 3 to Artemis*.

Closely related to the roaming of the wild was the character of Artemis as the goddess of wild beasts and the hunt. Artemis was a ‘lion among women’ (*Iliad* 21.483), and trained the hunters herself (like Skamandrios in *Iliad* 5.51; and Euripides’ *Hippolytus*). With the

<sup>75</sup> Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.4.97.

<sup>76</sup> Catullus, *Carmina* 63.

<sup>77</sup> Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 29.10 and Cicero, *On the responses of the Haruspices* II. This is a reference to Kybele, the Ideaen (Phrygian) mother of the gods.

<sup>78</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.104, 10.686. Ovid 10.696 has another variation: turritaque Mater, the tower-crowned mother.

<sup>79</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.96.

<sup>80</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.111.

<sup>81</sup> Suetonius, *Tiberius* 2.

<sup>82</sup> Examples are: Burkert 1985, Vidal-Naquet 1986, Marinatos 1998, Fisher-Hansen and Poulsen 2009, Petrovic 2010.

hunt there also came a 'wildness' in her behaviour: showering arrows, a boldness of heart, destroying the race of wild beasts or slaying wild beasts (*Homeric Hymn 27 to Artemis* and *Homeric Hymn 5 to Aphrodite*).

This huntress' character in association with wild life dominated in literature as well as art.<sup>83</sup> In her cults however, other aspects or characteristics are much more prominent and important. In the Peloponnese she was a nature goddess, taking care of the fertility of the land and she was a mistress of animals.<sup>84</sup> In Boeotia and Attica she was a helper in childbirth and marriage: a good example is the Brauronian sanctuary, where women offered their garments to Artemis Brauronia after childbirth. As Elliger mentioned:

Als Herrin der Tiere, Fruchtbarkeitspenderin und Liebhaberin ausglassener Funze zeigt sie durchaus Wesenszuge, die von den verschiedenen Ausformungen der kleinasiatischen Großen Mütter her bekannt sind un der ionischen Kolonisten die Gleichsetzung der Ephesia mit ihrer Artemis erleichterten.<sup>85</sup>

The aetiological myth of Brauron points to an even more intimate relation; the dedication of young girls could be seen as atonement for the death of her sacred bear killed by Attic youths. As goddess of the wild, it is believed Artemis not only presided over hunting, but also over the initiation of young girls (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 78-87).<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Elliger 1985: 121.

<sup>84</sup> See for example the description of the cult of Artemis Orthia at Sparta in section 3.1.6.

<sup>85</sup> Elliger 1985: 121.

<sup>86</sup> See also Burkert 1985: 151.

### 2.2.1 Potnia theron

The eastern motif of the Mistress of Animals has become one of the key features of Artemis' nature.<sup>87</sup> Since the Bronze Age, Artemis' antecedents in Greece were a number of local goddesses who presided over rites of passage and the ancient figure known as the *potnia theron* (Homer, *Iliad* 21.470 - Mistress of wild Animals). It shows a goddess, often with wings, standing between wild animals. She is a Potnia of the whole of wild nature, the fish of the water, the birds of the air, lions and stags, goats and hares. The goddess herself is wild and vicious and sometimes shown with a Gorgon head to illustrate this wildness. Homer characterises Artemis in the *Iliad* with two more epithets; *iocheaira* (shooter of arrows: for example 5.53, 5.446, 9.538<sup>88</sup>) and *agrotera* (of the wild: 21.471). These epithets all qualify her as a goddess ruling over wild animals. In her myths, like in Homer's *Iliad*, Artemis is often described as archer.<sup>89</sup>

### Origin

As first suggested by Studniczka, in the nineteenth century CE, the composition of a central placed female figure which is flanked by two animals grasping them is called *potnia theron*.<sup>90</sup> Both Bronze Age Aegean and Iron Age Greek art were familiar with this type and motif and their inspiration probably came from the Mesopotamian glyptic motif

---

<sup>87</sup> Burkert 1985: 149.

<sup>88</sup> Jensen 2009: 55-56, this epithet occurs twenty times in the works of Homer, which means that this epithet was more popular than the other two.

<sup>89</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 5.51, 6.428, 16.183, 20.39, 20.72, 21.483, 24.607, *Odyssey* 4.122, 6.102-3, 15.478; *Homeric Hymn 2 to Demeter* 424; *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo* 15, 159, 199; *Homeric Hymn 5 to Aphrodite* 16, 118; *Homeric Hymn 27 to Artemis*; Pindar, *Dithyrambs Heracles the Bold*; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1358-1359, *Thesmophoriazousae* 114-119; Euripides, *Hecuba* 455, *Helen* 1301, *Hippolytus* 161, 1431; Sophocles, *Electra* 563, *Trachiniae* 212; Callimachus, *Hymn 3 to Artemis*; Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 3 and 4; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.535-537, *Heroides* 4.38-45, 4.87-88; Strabo, 5.1.9; Pausanias, 1.41.3, 2.30.7, 5.19.5, 6.22.8; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.21; Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines* 1.28; Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines* 3; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Fall of Troy* 1.905-907.

<sup>90</sup> 1890: 153-165. Followed amongst others by Christou 1960 and Barclay 2001.

of a 'hero', struggling with animals.<sup>91</sup> When this Master of Animals developed a female variant, it is termed the Mistress of Animals.<sup>92</sup> As Barclay recognised, this mastering of animals is a symbol of control and power, but also as a symbol of protection.<sup>93</sup> The Near Eastern Master of Animals was one of the most popular subjects in glyptic art of the East, especially Mesopotamia.<sup>94</sup> In the Near East the Mistress is by modern scholarship identified with different deities, amongst them were Ishtar-Inanna, Anat and Qudshu.<sup>95</sup> There were three variations. The first one are the designs on stamp and amulet seals from early levels in Susa, the second are seals from the Early Sumerian Period at Uruk showing a man, bearded, rounded hairstyle and a skirt marked in diagonals. The third type is the figure depicted on an Early Dynastic vase, not bearded, with a different hairstyle and a skirt that too is marked by diagonals. Mesopotamian art added to this the warlike Ishtar/Inanna-Ishtar who wears a horned helmet, is fully clothed, has her wings displayed and was armed. In the Orient she was also depicted with wings, holding birds of prey.<sup>96</sup>

### **Aegean – Late Bronze Age**

The motif of a deity holding the hind legs of an animal already appeared in Mesopotamia and got more widely known between the fifteenth and twelfth century BCE.<sup>97</sup> In the

---

<sup>91</sup> Barclay 2001: 377, Palmer 2014.

<sup>92</sup> The female figure with animals did not appear until the early second millennium BCE in Syria and Anatolia. Crowley 1989: 34-35, Barclay 2001: 375.

<sup>93</sup> Barclay 2001: 378.

<sup>94</sup> Barclay 2001: 374-377. See also Palmer 2014, Marinatos 2000, Collon 1987 and 1995. Via Mesopotamian art the composition was spread to the Levant, Egypt and the Aegean. The type appeared as early as the fourth millennium BCE and became more popular in the third millennium BCE. None of these Masters bear any identifying attributes to make sure they are divine. The type remains in use during the late third and early second millennium BCE, but it becomes rare. In the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE the composition finds resurgence in Mesopotamia. The central figure changes slightly and is depicted as a winged male figure. The male figure is no longer only accompanied by lions, bulls and caprids, but by fantastic animals; for example griffins, start to appear as well. A characteristic that survived through the Iron Age was the stance and gesture of the upraised hands.

<sup>95</sup> Ishtar-Inanna was often depicted with a lion, Anat was a Syrian huntress and warrior and Qudshu (Qudu-shu) was a Syro/Palestinian import to Egypt, she was the naked goddess of Syria holding snakes. Westenholz 1998. Also discussed by Marinatos 2000.

<sup>96</sup> Christou 1968: 64-66. More often, lions were favoured as an attendant animal.

<sup>97</sup> Christou 1968: 156.

Orient the Mistress of Animals was a forceful deity.<sup>98</sup> In Minoan and Mycenaean art she was a mistress without force of violence. As Crowley mentioned, motifs like that of the Master/Mistress of Animals were imported through artefacts.<sup>99</sup>

In the Aegean, the Mistress and Master of Animals occur in glyptic art, with a strong preference for the female variant.<sup>100</sup> The Mistress of Animals both appears in Late Minoan (Early – Middle Bronze Age) and Mycenaean art (LH II).<sup>101</sup> The iconographical details parallel eastern usage, with the exception of the militancy theme and the nourishing theme that occur rarely. The theme of control over the animal world is handled in a similar way; the animals that appear are lions, bulls, sheep, sphinxes and griffins. The examples come from Crete and on the mainland from palace or tomb contexts.<sup>102</sup> It remains unclear if the Mistress of Animals was representing a specific deity, possibly with different aspects, or whether she was used to represent several goddesses. The Mistress of Animals is seen either controlling the animals or subduing them.

## **Greece**

Crete was an important centre for the diffusion of the different types of images, the different motifs, Cyprus was important in transferring the motif of the goddess holding animals by their hind leg, and Delos has both figures of winged and wingless goddesses.<sup>103</sup> These types represent the pre-Homeric goddess with animals. Christou divided Mistress of Animals figures in Greece in two main types.<sup>104</sup> The first type is the

---

<sup>98</sup> Christou 1968: 194.

<sup>99</sup> Crowley 1989: 24-25. See also Palmer 2014: 50-52.

<sup>100</sup> Barclay 2001: 379.

<sup>101</sup> Palmer 2014: 50-51. The composition first appears in LM IB with a handful of examples. See also Crowley 1989: 38.

<sup>102</sup> Palmer 2014: 82-86. She for example mentions Knossos, Ayia Triadha and Mycenae.

<sup>103</sup> Christou 1968: 65, 85, 96.

<sup>104</sup> Christou 1968: 34.

deity in a frontal view, accompanied by animals, but not shown interacting with them. This type was influenced by Minoan-Mycenaean art. The second is the goddess in profile view, shown whilst mastering the animals. According to Marinatos, this group evolved from Hittite and Syrian influences, where it originated in the second millennium BCE.<sup>105</sup> In addition there were oriental depictions of the Mistress of Animals which are showing the goddess standing upon the back of the animals.<sup>106</sup> There is a development in portrayal of the goddess as well.<sup>107</sup> The first motif was a winged goddess, with upward wings which was the oriental and early Greek type. The second type was the deity who no longer had wings.

All the types are essentially a representation of the same goddess, who had different functions. This *potnia theron* is consequently identified with a large number of Greek deities. She is most often connected by scholars with Athena, Artemis, Aphrodite, Demeter, Hekate, Hera, Rhea, Persephone, Gaia and Nemesis.<sup>108</sup> The fact that different goddesses are shown in connection with for example lions or birds of prey, proves that all of them could be a representation of the *potnia theron*.<sup>109</sup> All the goddesses have some of the characteristics and all of them have the original motif, but it seems safe to say that Artemis got most of the characteristics that were originally ascribed to the *potnia theron*.<sup>110</sup> However, there is an example where the Mistress of Animals and Artemis appear on the same vase.<sup>111</sup> Within all her different characters, Artemis has different

---

<sup>105</sup> Marinatos 2000: 11.

<sup>106</sup> Christou 1968: 113. The earliest example in Greek art can be found at an Olympian tripod (first half of the eighth century BCE). No such examples were discovered in Cretan and Mycenaean art.

<sup>107</sup> Christou 1968: 97.

<sup>108</sup> See for example Christou 1968: 176-178 and references.

<sup>109</sup> Christou 1968: 78, 193. The earliest examples of a goddess with beast of prey come from Ephesus, the Spartan examples are just a little later.

<sup>110</sup> See also section 4.3.1 Mythological figures, Potnia Theron. There are various theories about the association of Artemis and the Mistress of Animals. For a short summary, see Nosch 2009: 23-24.

<sup>111</sup> François vase, painted by Kleitias, first half of the sixth century BCE (Beazley 300000).

characteristics in different places. For example, Artemis Orthia is more of a nature and vegetation goddess rather than connected to graves.<sup>112</sup> Artemis Ephesia had a connection to the underworld, but was a protectress of children as well.<sup>113</sup> Artemis Brauronia was above all the guardian of young girls. Another example is a goddess with dogs as an attribute which shows that the goddess Artemis in that case is more connected to Hekate (with whom she was also identified: Aeschylus, *Suppliant Women* 647; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1358; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 4.45.1) and the underworld.

### **Animal figures**

As is shown above, the *potnia theton* motif developed around the East-Mediterranean area. Due to the different backgrounds and different functions of the deity, she was depicted and associated with different animals. These could be earthly animals as well as mythological creatures. The goddess with animals was shown with three characteristics.<sup>114</sup> The first was that the deity could be accompanied by different animals, plants or other attributes. In that light, the depiction of the animal is sometimes not symbolic, but just represents an attribute. The second variety is the deity in close connection to its attributes, holding them in some way or another. The last one is that the deity could be depicted in different forms: nude or fully clothed, enthroned or standing up.

---

<sup>112</sup> For more information on Artemis Orthia's character, see the sections on the identification of Orthia and Artemis 3.1.6, Boys' transitions in Artemis cults 5.1.1 and Girls' transitions in Artemis cults 5.2.1.

<sup>113</sup> Knibbe 1998: Artemis was the protectress of the dead; she visited them from time to time during the procession. According to Knibbe there were three different processions: from the Artemision around Mount Pion in the Imperial period, amongst other sources described by Salutaris (see section 3.2.4 Inscriptions, Inscriptions mentioning the cult of Artemis) and also in I.Eph. 742, 792, 875, 892, 980; to Ortygia on the goddess' birthday, the sixth of Thargelion (I.Eph. 27); and a procession to the Artemision.

<sup>114</sup> Christou 1968: 136.

### 2.2.2 Gorgon

Each function of the *potnia theron* had a different form, and one of the well-known forms is a Gorgon or a deity seen wearing a gorgoneion.<sup>115</sup> Gorgon as a Mistress of Animals, known for holding birds by their necks, could then be identified with Artemis, but also with Athena and Demeter.<sup>116</sup> A good example, in Greek religious architecture, can be found at the temple of Artemis at Corcyra. The temple of Artemis at Corcyra shows Gorgon, flanked not only by two leopards, depicting her as a Mistress of Animals, but embracing the winged horse Pegasus and the youth Chrysaor, her children.<sup>117</sup>

Homer already mentioned the Gorgon, but never went as far as to describe what the figure looked like (*Iliad* 5.741, 8.349, 11.36; *Odyssey* 11.634). Hesiod, *Theogony* (274-5): ‘Γοργούς θ’, αἱ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς Νυκτός - the Gorgons (!) who dwell beyond Glorious Ocean at the edge towards the night.’ In all these passages the glance or look of the Gorgon is the most frightening and the rest of the body is not even mentioned. It took some time to develop a traditional image out of the features which were far from specific or commonly recognisable.<sup>118</sup> In the seventh century BCE the first formulation appears and from that time on it is possible to show images that are unmistakably identified as Gorgon. The Gorgon head still can be found, not only as masks, but on coins, vase-paintings, shields as a relic, a symbol of the original ritual masks.<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> Payne 1931: 79. The Gorgoneion appears in Greek art after the Geometric period.

<sup>116</sup> Marinatos 1998: 120.

<sup>117</sup> Marinatos 2000: 64-65. Other examples, mostly on pottery are a sixth century BCE plate from Rhodes (British Museum: Greek and Roman Antiquities: 1860,0404.2, AN287539), a sixth century BCE *dinos* (Beazley 300055), the Proto-Corinthian Chigi vase dated circa 640 BCE (Hurwit 2002: especially figure 6 and p. 17), and a fifth century BCE kyathos from Attica (Beazley 10150).

<sup>118</sup> Howe 1954: 213.

<sup>119</sup> Croon 1955: 13, Napier 1986: 106-124. Napier compares the Greek Gorgon to a lion.

### 2.3 Goddess of birth, infants, children (and young animals)

It is mentioned in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* (674ff) that Artemis watched over the childbirth of women. Aeschylus described this deity as Artemis-Hekate, a combination that is seen more often.<sup>120</sup> The connection of Artemis and Hekate is for example illustrated by a statuette of Hekate that was claimed to have been found at Brauron.<sup>121</sup> Plato (*Theaetetus* 149b-d) mentioned that even though Artemis is a childless goddess, she 'had childbirth allotted to her as her special province [...] she did not allow barren women to be midwives, [...], but she gave the office to those who on account of age were not bearing children, honouring them for their likeness to herself'. In addition to what the chorus says in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (135-145) about Artemis: '[you] take delight in the suckling young of every wild creature that roams the field' she was the divinity concerned with the growth of the young ones of humans. Callimachus (*Hymn 3 to Artemis*) makes clear that 'I [Artemis] will only visit when women vexed by the sharp pang of childbirth call me to their aid'.

Demosthenes defined the growth of children a little further in his speech *Against Neaera* (122) by saying that the most important task for a man and a woman in marriage was 'to have children and to introduce the sons into one's *phratry* and one's deme and to give out the daughters to the men as one's own'. The children were supported by Artemis. Artemis accompanied young women along the way to their marriageable age and young men along the way to their citizenship. When the girls and boys were old enough, they had to take part in a rite of passage.

---

<sup>120</sup> For example: Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1358ff; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 44.198ff.

<sup>121</sup> *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1948* (1949): 527.

‘Sure, there are rites of passage for males as well as females; every culture has them, even those that aren’t aware of it’.<sup>122</sup> Rites of passage are an anthropological constant going back to our earliest times and quite often they are ‘secret and mysterious’ as is made clear in Euripides (τέλη μυστηρίων, *Hippolytus* 20-30).<sup>123</sup> Van Gennep described his three stages through which the young people passed in the rites of passage;<sup>124</sup> the rites of separation followed by rites of transition and the rites of reincorporation. Ferrari mentioned in accordance with Van Gennep that an initiation involves integration into a group of people who are alike; it marks a profound change in the individual and it is irreversible.<sup>125</sup> In Greece the goddess Artemis was concerned with the maturing of children; she played an important role in their upbringing and especially in the last part of their journey to adulthood, the rite of passage. For boys this was the one stage through which they were supported by Artemis. For girls it was a little different. Artemis supported girls towards their adulthood, but she again supported women in getting married and becoming a mother. For girls coming of age meant, in Van Gennep’s model, that they had to pass through three stages of transition. Although the rite of passage is said to be about becoming of age, the focus of the rites of passage was a social, status change; a transitional change.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> R.A. Heinlein 1973: Time Enough for Love, in Graf 2003:3.

<sup>123</sup> Rites of passage is a modern term used to describe the mysteries of the gods.

<sup>124</sup> Van Gennep 1960: 65-114.

<sup>125</sup> Ferrari 2003: 27.

<sup>126</sup> The last transitional change in human life, death, will not be considered here, because it does not normally concern the goddess Artemis. This is different when she is connected to Hekate, but that goes beyond the scope of the thesis and will not be considered.

### 2.3.1 Eileithyia/Kourotrophe

Artemis was friend and foe to pregnant women and needed to be propitiated (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 742-745). A woman calls upon Artemis in her character of Eileithyia, the goddess of birth, to hold back the labour pains. When Niobe, mother of twelve, likened herself to Leto and said Leto borne only two and she herself had borne many, the two [Apollo and Artemis] destroyed all the children of Niobe. Apollo killed her six sons and Artemis killed her six daughters (Homer, *Iliad* 24.602). This aspect of the goddess is often linked in myth with sexuality. Her virginity is 'a peculiarly erotic, challenging ideal'<sup>127</sup>, to which all women should devote themselves.

In Crete and Lakonia, Eileithyia was worshipped as an independent goddess of childbirth with a cult of her own which became widespread in Greece and the neighbouring islands.<sup>128</sup> Her association with Artemis was the result of their common functions in connection with midwifery.<sup>129</sup> Artemis, at Brauron, Sparta and Ephesus was associated with Eileithyia. At the Brauronian sanctuary women dedicated their clothing to Artemis after a successful childbirth.<sup>130</sup> At Sparta, Pausanias (3.14.6, 3.17.1) says that the Sanctuary of Eileithyia was 'not far' from that of Orthia. Her sanctuary may even have been within Artemis' sanctuary since Eileithyia's name is inscribed on a bronze votive die and on roof-tiles found inside Orthia's sanctuary.<sup>131</sup> At Ephesus, Artemis is described as the goddess of fertility assisting females of all species to bring forth their young and helping women in the pains of childbirth. In Ephesus her powers were stressed in her

---

<sup>127</sup> Lloyd-Jones 1983: 99.

<sup>128</sup> James 1959: 150 based on Nilsson 1950: 130.

<sup>129</sup> According to James 1959: 150-151 the statue at Ephesus gave expression to this role. For more on this topic see below section 3.2.5 Ephesian Cult Statue.

<sup>130</sup> Léger 2011: 20-22, 38. See also Cleland 2005.

<sup>131</sup> Dawkins 1929: 51

‘many-breasted’ image<sup>132</sup> believed to have fallen from heaven. It had outstretched arms and was accompanied by lions, rams or bulls. Amongst the Ephesian sacrificial rites was a bullfight (*taurokathapsia*, see also Heliodorus of Ephesus, *Aethiopica* X.28-39).<sup>133</sup>

Vernant and Vidal-Naquet described the character of Artemis as a *kourotrophe* goddess. She was presiding over the delivery, birth and upbringing of children; standing between the wild and the tame. Artemis raised the children from their wild, unformed state to maturity, crossing the threshold by citizenship or marriage. Children were set to a series of trials, which had to be completed in the context of the wild.<sup>134</sup> Artemis had sanctuaries at borders of different *poleis* or land and sea. De Polignac defined these sanctuaries located on the margins of the inhabited areas either as suburban or peri-urban.<sup>135</sup> According to De Polignac it is quite true that most of the sanctuaries, in particular the non-urban ones, were built on top of ruins from the Bronze Age. However, Sparta is listed as one of the exceptions. What he meant by that was that they were situated on the edge of the town or just a little way off, separate from the urban area. In confirmation, he listed amongst his examples the seashore sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron (and Mounichia), and the peri-urban sanctuaries at Sparta and Ephesus.

### **2.3.2 Hunting: preparation for war**

Artemis is associated with initiation rites for males and females, some of which seem to date from the primitive period of the hunting cultures.<sup>136</sup> The poems of Homer represent

---

<sup>132</sup> For more information on the cult statue at Ephesus see section 3.2.5.

<sup>133</sup> For the rites at Ephesus, see sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.2.

<sup>134</sup> Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1990: 197.

<sup>135</sup> De Polignac 1984: 22. See also Nilsson 1950: 505-506. Other exceptions are Eretria, Corinth and Argos.

<sup>136</sup> Not surprising in view of her status as one of the main heiresses of the Mistress of Animals.

Artemis as a divinity of the natural world, a chaste huntress. Artemis for example taught Skamandrios (a fine huntsman of beasts) to strike down every wild thing that grows in the mountain forest (Homer, *Iliad* 5.51). Often the reference to her bow is a reminder that she was a huntress (for examples *Homeric Hymn 27 to Artemis*).<sup>137</sup> In the early history of mankind, sacrifices have been offered to the power that ruled over the wild and forests. As Lloyd-Jones suggested, I am inclined to conjecture that in the culture from which that of the Greeks descended, Artemis was the descendant of the Mistress of Animals. According to Lloyd-Jones, this divinity may have been the first deity to receive sacrifices as part of the initiation rites.<sup>138</sup> During the Prehistoric period human life depended on the hunting of animals by a group of mature males and each man had to risk his life during long residences in the domain of the Mistress of Animals. Each man would be trying to kill the animals that belonged to the goddess, which would give cause to fear her wrath. For example there was Agamemnon, who claimed to be a better hunter than Artemis, because he had killed one of her sacred stags (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 135-139). He incurred the wrath of the goddess and in the end it meant he had to sacrifice his daughter.

Artemis' concern for and intervention in war are due to the uncertain boundary between savagery and civilisation, the boundary whose fragility is marked both by war and the hunt (Homer, *Iliad* 21.470-471, 21.479-488).<sup>139</sup> Her role in warfare is the outcome of ritual struggles that turned into border skirmishes and open warfare (Homer, *Odyssey* 5.123, 11.324-325, 11.172-173).<sup>140</sup> However, her intervention in war is not of a military nature.<sup>141</sup> Instead, she acts by means of a supernatural manifestation that muddles the

---

<sup>137</sup> For full references see section 2.2.1 on Artemis as the goddess of the wilderness, animals and hunting; Potnia Theron.

<sup>138</sup> Lloyd-Jones 1983: 98-99.

<sup>139</sup> See also: Burkert 1985, Vernant 1991.

<sup>140</sup> Artemis mingling in warfare means someone caused her wrath to explode. Vernant 1991: 245.

<sup>141</sup> Vernant 1991: 246.

normal arena of combat in order to destroy the attackers and give the advantage to those under her protection (Homer, *Odyssey* 20.60-65, 20.80-90, and 25.478-480; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 36.28ff and 48.113n). Her effect is similar to that of Athena who in Sophocles' *Ajax* influenced Ajax to think the cattle he murdered were the leaders of the military forces. Artemis does not fight directly, she just guides and rescues (Pollux, 8.106; Pausanias, 1.40.2, 3.14.6) even though nothing in her character prepares her for that role.<sup>142</sup> A solution is to connect warfare directly to her nature as a *kourotrophos*. Artemis *kourotrophe* supervises the training of young men and oversees their practices of the hunt and war (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.3.7). Besides that, Artemis was patron of the *agoge* and she was called *potnia* of the gymnasia (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 229-230). As patron the goddess joined her protégés by ruling over the gymnasia where the youths practiced the different skills of combat. Military training and supervision of the youth comprised two intertwined aspects of Artemis *kourotrophe*. The two aspects resulted in the education of future soldiers, from the cradle to the battlefield. In thanks the youths dedicated their equipment after their training to Artemis (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.4.18).

As can be read in Herodotus' *Histories* (9.62), disciplined order and constant self-control were the goals of the military training for young men. On the threshold of battle, before launching the attack, every precaution was taken to put the whole army in order (Herodotus, 9.61; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.4.9-12; Plutarch, *Phocion* 13.1-4). The young men acquainted themselves with this order in the gymnasia, for example throughout the Spartan *agoge* where young men were trained since childhood (Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 1). Besides their military training, it was customary for warriors to sacrifice a goat to Artemis on the front lines of the army where the enemy was in view before unleashing an attack

---

<sup>142</sup> For further ancient references to Artemis as Hegemone and Sotereia, see Farnell 1896: 576 n. 67 and 585-586 n. 123.

(Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.2.11-12).<sup>143</sup> According to Achilles Tatius (7.12) and Xenophon (*Hellenica* 4.2.20, 6.5.18) the Lakedaemonians lived up to that custom:

4.2.20

οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὃ σπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἡγοῦντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν.

And when the armies were now not so much as a stadium apart, the Lakedaemonians sacrificed the goat to [Artemis] Agrotera, as was their custom, and led the charge upon their adversaries, wheeling round their overlapping wing in order to surround them.

The sacrificial goat symbolised the human blood that the battle would cause to be shed, and at the same time it diverted the threat onto the enemy. The goat sacrifice protected the army in battle arrangement, from the danger of falling into terror or rage. The sacrifice to Artemis at the beginning of an expedition or before undertaking a battle, in order to ensure its success, may well refer to what Agamemnon did with Iphigeneia at Aulis/Brauron (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1-66).<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> After the battle of Marathon, an annual festival was instituted, during which goats were sacrificed to Artemis as a commemoration of her assistance in the military victory (Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 58.1; Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate* 862B.9-13).

<sup>144</sup> See Vernant 1991: 256-257 n. 25 for references to more sacrifices made to Artemis at the beginning of an expedition.

## 2.4 Goddess of youths and marriage: rites of passage

Artemis is rarely depicted as a goddess of fertility. Artemis protects youths of both sexes, protects mothers in childbirth, but she is not thanked for her gift of fertility nor are there known prayers to her asking for fertility. In the romantic novels, the third century CE Artemis is far from being a goddess of fertility (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka*).<sup>145</sup> She is the defender of chastity, virginity and faithfulness (Plato, *Cratylus* 406b). In Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* (1030ff) the role Artemis plays before marriage becomes clear: 'May pure Artemis look upon this band [of unwed maidens] in compassion, and may marriage never come through Kythereia's [Aphrodite's] compulsion'. Probably one of the most illuminating examples is the rites of passage at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. What happened can be read in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (641-647):

ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἠρρηφόρου:  
εἴτ' ἀλετρις ἦ δεκέτις οὔσα τάρχηγέτι:  
645 κᾶτ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις:  
κάκανηφόρου ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ'  
ισχάδων ὀρμαθόν:

When I was seven, I immediately served as an *arrephoros*

then, at ten, I was an *alertis* for Athena Archegetis.

Then, wearing the saffron dress, I was a bear at the Brauronia.

And once I, a beautiful child, was a basket-carrier, wearing a necklace  
of dried figs.

---

<sup>145</sup> Strelan 1996: 92.

And Suidas, *Arktos e Brauroniois*:

Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους: ἀρκευόμεναι γυναῖκες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἑορτὴν ἐτέλουν, κροκωτὸν ἡμφιεσμέναι, οὔτε πρεσβύτιδες ἢ ἐτῶν, οὔτε ἐλάπτους εἰ, ἀπομειλισσόμεναι τὴν θεόν: ἐπειδὴ ἄρκτος ἀγρία ἐπιφοιτῶσα διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ Φλαυιδῶν: καὶ ἡμερωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον γενέσθαι. παρθένον δὲ τινα προσπαίξειν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀσελγαινούσης τῆς παιδίσκης παροξυνθῆναι τὴν ἄρκτον καὶ καταξέσαι τῆς παρθένου: ἐφ' ᾧ ὀργισθέντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῆς κατακοντίσαι τὴν ἄρκτον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λοιμώδη νόσον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐμπεσεῖν. χρηστηριαζομένοις δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶπε λύσιν τῶν κακῶν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ τῆς τελευτησάσης ἄρκτου ποινὰς ἀρκεύειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν παρθένας ἀναγκάσουσι. καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ πρότερον συνοικίζεσθαι ἀνδρὶ παρθένον, εἰ μὴ ἀρκεύσειε τῇ θεῷ.

I was a Bear at the Brauronia: women doing the Bear ritual used to perform the festival for Artemis, dressed in the *krokōtos*, aged between 5 and 10, placating the goddess. For there was a wild bear about in the deme Philaidai and it was tamed and lived with men (another source tells us: 'it was given to the shrine of Artemis'). But a girl poked fun at it, with her lack of restraint upset it, and it scratched her. This angered her brothers and they shot the bear, as a result of which a plague befell the Athenians. The Athenians consulted an oracle and it said their ills would end if, as a penalty for killing the bear, they made their maidens do the Bear-ritual. And the Athenians voted that no girl should be married to a man without performing the Bear-ritual to the goddess.

Oster points out ‘the deafening silence from all the primary sources’<sup>146</sup> of any fertility association with Artemis, and also demonstrates quite pertinently that in the Roman period, the Artemis cult was ‘not characterised by base sensualism or a focus upon sexuality and fertility’.<sup>147</sup> It is a point that still needs to be made. Trebilco says that connections between Artemis and fertility are unfounded because ‘none of our evidence suggests that fertility was thought to be a prominent characteristic of Artemis at this time [Roman period]’ and more importantly, she was represented on coins as a huntress with stags.<sup>148</sup> In the same volume Gill writes that the Ephesian Artemis was ‘not the usual Classical hunting goddess. Rather she appears to have been closer to a fertility goddess’<sup>149</sup>.

Rites of passage had different purposes from rituals.<sup>150</sup> There were rites to mark the transformation from adolescence to adulthood, but there were other rites relating to the individual and social status. Within a cult, like that of Artemis Orthia, the cult added a religious aspect to the rite of passage.<sup>151</sup> According to Lonsdale, one of the purposes of the rites of passage was concerned with was the installing of correct behaviour, imparting information and integrating the children in a new age group as is demonstrated in for example in the *Arkteia* in Brauron and the *Lykaia* in Arkadia.<sup>152</sup> In addition, Vernant concluded that Artemis made sure that boys and girls embarked correctly on their quest to learn the model to which they one day would have to conform.<sup>153</sup> The significance of the rites of passage for boys was preparation for both the condition of a warrior and

---

<sup>146</sup> 1990: 1726.

<sup>147</sup> 1992: 548.

<sup>148</sup> Trebilco 1994: 319-320.

<sup>149</sup> Gill 1994: 88.

<sup>150</sup> For a description of the rites of passage studied in this thesis, see chapter 5. See also Brelich 1969: 22.

<sup>151</sup> Brelich 1969: 138.

<sup>152</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 173-174.

<sup>153</sup> Vernant 1991: 111-112.

marriage, and for girls the preparation for marriage. According to Vernant, war was for boys what marriage was for girls.<sup>154</sup> A remarkable fact about the male and the female initiations is that while the rituals appear to follow initiatory patterns, the participants are not an entire age-class, but only a few, aristocratic representatives of that class. The initiation rites are the legacy of Artemis in her role as *potnia theton*, where she transforms her support to the context of civic religion. The main role of Artemis was to prepare children for their return to the centre, the community to which they belonged (Callimachus, *Hymn 3 to Artemis* 20). As Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 28.1-6) shows, Artemis practiced the nurture of the young in a zone of the wild. On the one side the initiation rites relied on children's innocence in play, on the other side they involved intimidation and ritual terrorisation, carried out by the use of masks, ritual wounding and sometimes even death.<sup>155</sup> This illustrates the 'wild' character of the goddess and the zone of the wild in which the initiation took place. The initiation was accompanied by (human) sacrifices made to the goddess, which are known from literary and archaeological sources. For example the secret performance of the *krypteia* for the Spartan boys took place in the fields and forests away from the community. They were only equipped with daggers and supplies that were necessary. During the day they hid themselves and by night they killed the Helots they caught.<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup> Vernant 1980: 23.

<sup>155</sup> On the use of masks at Sparta, see section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Terracotta Masks. On the rites of passage, see section 5.1.1 Sparta, Tests of manhood.

<sup>156</sup> Helots were Spartan state serfs without political rights and freedom of movement.

### 2.4.1 Festivals and dance in Artemis cults

In Artemis' festivals dancing in many forms was an essential element.<sup>157</sup> It will be shown below that the particular role of dance and its relationship to sacrifice in displaying the status transition of young ones is best known from the literary, archaeological and ceramic evidence.<sup>158</sup> Parts of the rites of passage were dance and song: choruses of girls were known to dance and sing for Artemis (Homer, *Iliad* 16.181 and the *Homeric Hymns* to both Artemis and Aphrodite). A good example of a chorus is the one Alkman wrote about in his *Partheneion I*. Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistai* 616e-639a) showed the importance of music, song and dance to the Greeks. And Lincoln interpreted it as follows: 'If you don't do that [celebrate an initiation rite], you won't learn how to do anything'<sup>159</sup>, which was based on Plato (*Laws* 672e) who described choral training as education, going as far as stating that 'choral activity as a whole is the whole of education'.

Plato (*Laws* 814e-817e) provides us with indirect proof that dance held a place in cult that was in certain respects privileged. Plato distinguishes two opposites. The first, the serious and dignified, imitates the beautiful; and the second, the frivolous and vulgar, mimics the ugly. Good dance had two categories, the warlike and the peaceful dance. There is also a type of dance that cannot be placed in either category or in any one of a distinct kind. The dances in which one mimes, imitates and carries out purifications and initiations. According to Plato this type of dance is not a genre that befits good citizens. These dances were the ones that were practiced in cults and cultic places, for example at the sanctuary

---

<sup>157</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 171. For more information on dance as part of rites of passage see sections Boys' transitions in Artemis cults: 5.1.1 Sparta, Dance in the context of military training, 5.1.2 Ephesus, Dance in the context of education, and Girls' transitions in Artemis cults 5.2.1 Sparta, Dance in the context of education, 5.2.2 Ephesus, Dance in the context of education.

<sup>158</sup> See chapter 6.

<sup>159</sup> Lincoln 1981: 106. See also Ingalls 2000.

of Orthia in Sparta.<sup>160</sup> As Plato (*Laws* 771e-772a) put it ‘Boys and girls must be made to dance together at an age when suitable pretexts can be found for their doing so, and they should be made to view one another and to be viewed’.

Reasons for performing dances vary from preparation for war (Plato, *Cratylus* 406d-407a), gymnastic training (Plato, *Laws* 653a-654e, 655d-e) and athletic competition in celebration of victory and thanksgiving (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1302-1315; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.1.1-13). Dances play an even greater part in the initiation rites and fertility charms practiced in the cults of Artemis. Throughout the Greek world the transition from childhood to manhood was effected through military training. Dancing was of great importance, because it had social and religious meaning and was part of the ritual character of warfare in ancient Greece. The significance of the *pyrrhic*, ‘weapon’ dance, held for women dancing in the context of the cult of Artemis, represents the same danger that the battlefield represents for males, i.e. a critical situation from which the warrior hoped to emerge unharmed. Initiation programmes had to include ritual battles between groups of young men from neighbouring cities, where the common sanctuaries of Artemis were situated.<sup>161</sup> Such contests would take place at Artemis’s festivals in the sanctuaries located on the border between the two states. These ritual struggles could have turned into real border skirmishes and continue as open warfare between the two communities. For example there is the mythic tradition about the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis where the conflict between the Messenians and Spartans began.<sup>162</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> See for more information the sections on Sparta and dance, 5.1.1 and 5.1.2.

<sup>161</sup> Vernant 1991: 245-246.

<sup>162</sup> Other examples of sanctuaries where struggles took place: Artemis Elaphebolos: Eretria and Chalcis, Argos and Sparta, Phocians and Thessalians; Artemis Strophæa: Chios and Erythraea.

The same term is used for women and for men doing the 'weapon' dance, however a very different training is meant. Childbirth was a perilous activity that potentially endangered the life of the mother and child (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 161-169).<sup>163</sup> Although difficult to prove, the weapon dance in the cult of Artemis was plausibly a fertility dance of a very real sort in which the dancer, a priestess of the cult or the would-be mother, performed the steps of the dance to guarantee the growth and future protection of her child, as well as herself (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.1.1-13). During the *pyrrhic* both men and women are at the most critical moment, be it in an ambush situation or a birthing place. The battle suggested by the military metaphor conforms to the notion that the competition among females distantly mirrors the male military organisation on which the female structure was based, and for which dance provides a natural medium for reproducing military hierarchy and manoeuvres.<sup>164</sup>

Another reason for performing dances was to find possible suitors. Three novels start off with girls dancing at a festival for Artemis where they arouse the desire of their suitors; Anthia and Habrocomes (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka* 1.2-3), Ktesylla and Hermochares (Ant.Lib.Met. 1.1) and Kydippe and Akontios (Aristaenetus 1.10). However, Artemis was most pleased with eternal virgins, as she was herself.<sup>165</sup> People who chased her for her beauty (Pausanias, 6.22.8, 8.27.17) or even accidentally saw her bathing with her nymphs (Aktaion: Callimachus, *Hymn 5 The Bath of Pallas* 106ff; Diodorus Siculus, 4.81.3-5; Pausanias, 9.2.3), were punished.

---

<sup>163</sup> See also Lonsdale 1993: 167.

<sup>164</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 202.

<sup>165</sup> This virtue can be read in Plato (*Theaetetus* 149b); Sophocles (*Electra* 1239); Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 122); Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.10.6) and Diodorus Siculus (16.26.6).

As said before, one of the most important rituals for girls were the ones leading up to marriage. Dances, music, choruses, and processions were important aspects of these rituals<sup>166</sup> and helped to mark the changes in the social order (Homer, *Iliad* 18.490-497, 18.590-607; Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 832-835; Pausanias, 7.19.1-10). In order for a girl to get married, there were contests held among suitors so they could choose their future husbands. An example is given in Aristophanes' play *Lysistrata* (1303-1315):

εἶα μάλ' ἔμβη  
ὦ εἶα κοῦφα πάλλων,  
ὡς Σπάρταν ὑμνίωμες,  
τᾷ σιῶν χοροὶ μέλοντι  
καὶ ποδῶν κτύπος,  
ᾗ τε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι  
πὰρ τὸν Εὐρωταν  
ἀμπάλλοντι πυκνὰ ποδοῖν  
ἀγκονίωαι,  
ταὶ δὲ κόμαι σείονθ' ἄπερ Βακχᾶν  
θυρσαδδῶν καὶ παιδδῶν.  
ἀγείται δ' ἅ Λήδας παῖς  
ἀγνὰ χοραγὸς εὐπρεπῆς.

Step now, with many a nimble turn, so we may sing a hymn to Sparta, dancing  
in honour of the gods, with stamping feet in that place where by the river  
Eurotas young maidens dance, like fillies raising dust, tossing their manes, like

---

<sup>166</sup> The same goes for wedding ceremonies.

bacchantes who play and wave their thyrsus stalks, brought on by Leda's lovely child, their holy leader in the choral dance.

The girls themselves tried to live up to Artemis in beauty, grace and stature. That is one of the reasons why Iphigeneia was presented to Artemis before she could participate in her so-called marriage with Achilles (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 430-439).

#### **2.4.2 Bloodthirsty goddess**

Female puberty is accompanied by the start of menstruation, the biological maturation of the girls. Since there was not always a clear distinction between blood and amniotic fluid, women in good health had their blood gushing out 'like that of a sacrificial victim'.<sup>167</sup> There was no distinction in the sort of blood for Artemis. Blood was a potent creator of life; whenever divine blood was shed; it produced new life (Hesiod, *Theogony* 173ff; Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 7.35-37). Artemis was seen to slay women with her arrows as she slew hunters, because giving birth could be fatal to the mother and the child alike, as is demonstrated several times by Homer (*Iliad* 6.427, 19.59, 21.483 and *Odyssey* 11.172, 11.324, 15.478-480, 18.202, 20.60-65, 20.80-90).

The most famous Greek myth associated with human sacrifice is the story of Iphigeneia. *Iphigeneia in Tauris* by Euripides was of special interest for the study of the main cults of Artemis in Attica. Burkert described the use of this myth: 'The maiden as vicarious victim for the animal to be killed – presented in mythology as the bride of the bear or of the buffalo – is a very widespread motif in hunting cultures.'<sup>168</sup> Another example in the

---

<sup>167</sup> Lloyd-Jones 1989: 99.

<sup>168</sup> Burkert 1985: 151.

*Iliad* is the story about Bellerophon. As a punishment for Bellerophon's behaviour, Artemis has slain his daughter (Homer, *Iliad* 6.205). In Euripides' *Hippolytus* (161-175) the chorus gives a good description of the female life and the protection that can be provided by the goddess Artemis.<sup>169</sup> A completely different example of the savage character of Artemis, demanding the blood of her refugees is given by Achilles Tatius (*Leukippe and Kleitophon* 8.2.1-3): whilst Kleitophon is looking for asylum in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus, one of the wardens at the temple strikes him and draws his blood. He was struck in the sanctuary, where the floor was stained with human blood.<sup>170</sup> A last example comes from Aelian (*Varia Historia* 5.16) where the punishment of a little boy is described. The boy was condemned for sacrilege at the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus. The boy took a πέταλον χρυσοῦν, a leaf of gold, which had fallen from the crown of Artemis and was put to death for it, regardless of his age.

As an alternative for blood, pomegranate buds and flowers were a common offering to a *kourotrophos* deity.<sup>171</sup> The pomegranate was a symbol of the underworld and at the same time of fertility.<sup>172</sup> The Minoan goddess of caves, identified with Eileithyia, was associated with childbirth and the underworld. The same goes for the deities related to fertility, like Artemis, they often had a connection to the underworld as well.<sup>173</sup> The connection of a pomegranate to the underworld and fertility is quite clear: Persephone had to live with her (unwanted) husband Hades in the underworld for half a year and she was allowed to live the rest of the year with her mother on earth (Hesiod *Theogony* 912ff; *Homeric Hymn 2 to Demeter*). During the time she was living with her mother the earth

---

<sup>169</sup> Evidence for choral activity was already found in Homer's language: εὐρύχορος (*Iliad* 2.498, 9.478, 23.299 and *Odyssey* 4.635, 6.4, 11.256, 11.265, 13.414, 15.1, 24.468), καλλίχορος (*Odyssey* 11.581).

<sup>170</sup> More on this practice can be found in the section on Boys' transitions in Artemis cults, 5.1.2 Ephesus.

<sup>171</sup> Price 1978: 208.

<sup>172</sup> Castleden 1990: 108.

<sup>173</sup> See also section 2.2.1 Potnia Theron, Greece.

began to blossom again; it became spring and summer. During Persephone's time in the underworld, the earth was less fertile and it became autumn and winter.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has given an overview of some of the main characteristics of Artemis, starting off with the mother of the gods who was recognised in different parts of the Mediterranean, but especially Greece and Rome. The character of the goddess of wilderness, animals and hunting, probably the most commonly known to Artemis, shows a duality in both caring for, and hunting in the wild. The *potnia theron* motif, described by its history, clearly is one of the key features of Artemis, especially in her character as the goddess of wilderness. The character of goddess of birth, infants and children would not initially be expected of Artemis, herself a virgin goddess, but is especially apparent in the connection with both Eileithyia and Kourotrophe. The goddess of youths and marriage and in particular rites of passage, is a characteristic of Artemis that is well-known from the sanctuaries at Sparta and Brauron. This character, like that of the goddess of the wilderness has a contrast to it, where she both cares and protects children, but she also scares them and expects their sacrifice. These often forgotten characteristics of Artemis, as the goddess of birth, infants, children (and young animals) and the goddess of youths and marriage (and rites of passage) will be looked at further in the following chapters as they play an important part in the worship at Sparta, Ephesus and Brauron.

### 3. ARCHAEOLOGY RELATED TO CULT ACTIVITY

---

3.1 Sparta – Artemis Orthia.....	55
3.1.1 Earliest Activity.....	56
3.1.2 Spartan Architecture.....	56
Sequence of altars.....	56
The Artemisium.....	59
Theatre.....	63
City walls.....	65
3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts.....	67
Pottery.....	67
Terracotta figurines.....	68
Terracotta Masks.....	69
Bone and ivory carvings.....	80
Lead figurines.....	82
3.1.4 Spartan Inscriptions.....	84
Archaic to Classical: votive fragments.....	84
Roman period: dedications by the winners of the contests for boys.....	86
Roman period: honorific inscriptions.....	87

3.1.5 Spartan Cult Statue.....	88
3.1.6 Artemis' identification with Orthia.....	90
3.2. Ephesus – Artemis Ephesia.....	94
3.2.1 Earliest Activity.....	96
3.2.2 Ephesian Architecture.....	97
Sequence of altars.....	97
The Artemision.....	102
Theatre.....	113
3.2.3 Ephesian Artefacts.....	114
Pottery.....	114
Gold and Silver.....	116
Bronze, lead and iron.....	118
Ivory carvings.....	119
Terracottas.....	120
Coins.....	121
3.2.4 Ephesian Inscriptions.....	123
From the temple site of Artemis.....	123
From the temple of Artemis (found in the theatre).....	124

Roman period.....	125
Inscriptions mentioning the cult of Artemis.....	126
3.2.5 Cult statue.....	128
3.2.6 The Cult of Artemis Ephesia.....	132
The Establishment of the Ephesian Mysteries.....	136
3.3 Tegea – Alea Athena.....	142
3.3.1 Earliest Activity.....	144
3.3.2 Tegean Architecture.....	145
Sequence of altars.....	145
Temple of Alea Athena.....	150
Bothros and Metal workshop.....	156
Northern area.....	157
Stadium.....	158
City walls.....	159
3.3.3 Tegean Artefacts.....	159
Pottery.....	159
Bronze.....	162
Lead.....	167

Bone and Ivory carvings.....	167
Terracottas.....	168
3.3.4 Tegean Inscriptions.....	169
3.3.5 Tegean Cult Statue.....	170
3.3.6 Athena's identification with Alea.....	172
3.4 Conclusion.....	175

### 3.1 Sparta – Artemis Orthia

Dawkins wrote in 1929<sup>174</sup>:

The sanctuary of [Artemis] Orthia at Sparta naturally underwent many changes in the long period from the beginnings of the cult in perhaps the tenth century BC down to its final abandonment at some quite uncertain date.

The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is located on low ground beside the Eurotas, on the right bank of the river within the city wall.<sup>175</sup> Maps of the 1910 and 1907 excavations in appendix 4 show the location of the sanctuary. The main stream of the river was about a hundred metres away from the sanctuary. For many years the flooding of the river played an important part in the history of the site. This section will provide an overview of the many changes of the site that occurred over the years. The analysis will draw from Dawkins' 1929 publication as well as from the Annual publication of the British School at Athens from the years in which the Artemis Orthia sanctuary was excavated (1906-1910). They will be supplemented with articles by Boardman (1963) and Carter (1987). The aspects of the archaeological finds of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary that will be a part of this chapter can be connected directly to the rituals. The architecture section includes a discussion of the sequence of altars, the Artemis Orthia temple, the Roman theatre within the sanctuary and the city walls. Besides the architecture, information on the archaeological finds; pottery, terracottas, bone and ivory carvings, lead figurines and in particular on the great number of terracotta masks that were found in the sanctuary will

---

<sup>174</sup>Dawkins 1929a: 1.

<sup>175</sup>Dawkins 1929a: 2-3; fig. 1. In 1906, when the excavation was started, the broken edge of the Roman foundation was rising like a cliff from the mud and sand of the bed of the river.

be given. The inscriptions that are dedicated to the winners of the boys' contests will be looked at in particular, as they are of interest for interpreting the rituals.

### **3.1.1 Earliest Activity**

The first human activity in the Artemis Orthia sanctuary is represented by a layer of blackened earth of about thirty square metres which was accompanied by Geometric pottery sherds and small pieces of bronzes.<sup>176</sup> The kind of deposit found with the blackened earth was related to religious activity, even before the earliest altar was built.<sup>177</sup> This blackened earth area was found west of the sequence of altars, which must have been the central point of the worship of Artemis Orthia. Within this layer traces of charred bone were found.<sup>178</sup> These are the remains of burned animals, most probably sacrifices to the goddess Artemis Orthia. The area was the lowest point of a natural hollow, easily flooded by the river and therefore called *Limnai*. Apart from a small section of wall, no further traces or structural remains of this early period have been found.

### **3.1.2 Spartan Architecture**

#### **Sequence of altars**

On top of the blackened earth a layer of undressed stones (a pavement) was found, which must be the trace of the earliest surviving altar, altar I. There were several successors: the Archaic altar (II) and above the layer of sand the remains of a later Greek altar (III) and

---

<sup>176</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 6.

<sup>177</sup> Other examples of early Greek sites which confirm the finds of bronzes amongst the masses of votive offerings are Olympia, Delphi and the Heraion of Argos.

<sup>178</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 6.

at last the altar of the Roman period (IV).<sup>179</sup> It was situated on the edge rather than at the centre of the sanctuary. According to Dawkins the altar was throughout time accompanied by a temple, and the structures were facing one another. Therefore Dawkins assumed that there had been a primitive temple accompanying altar I as well.<sup>180</sup> The position of both the sequence of altars and the temple on the opposite sides of the sanctuary was another argument for Dawkins' suggestion. However, no traces of such a structure have been found.

Another layer of blackened earth was found between the pavement stones and the lowest stones of the succeeding altar, altar II.<sup>181</sup> This blackened earth was the argument for recognising this structure as an altar in the first place. The earth was also full of fragments of burned bone, Geometric pottery sherds and broken fragments of bronze. These must be the remains of the sacrifices made to Artemis Orthia on altar I. The debris found below the pavement was found at the western side of the later sequence of altars; the debris found above the pavement however was found all around altar I and altar II.<sup>182</sup> Unfortunately the votive offerings found directly on the pavement and those ascribed to the succeeding period when altar II was built cannot be divided.<sup>183</sup> The only clear division can be drawn in the case of the blackened earth.

The next period, the late seventh century BCE, saw the building of the large altar, altar II, which is well preserved.<sup>184</sup> It was indeed accompanied by a small early temple of which

---

<sup>179</sup> Dawkins 1929a: chapter 1. Hereafter I will use these Roman numerals to distinguish the succeeding altars instead of Dawkins designations.

<sup>180</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 8.

<sup>181</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 8.

<sup>182</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 6.

<sup>183</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 8.

<sup>184</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 8-9. Dawkins mentions that the long narrow proportions; 9m long by 1.5m wide and 1-1.2m high, resembled some other early Greek altars, but he does not go into detail of where these altars were to be found. Another great altar was found in Sparta 23.60m long, 6.60m wide and 1.90m high. It was

there are only slight remains.<sup>185</sup> The early temple and altar II were the essential structures of the old sanctuary.<sup>186</sup> The succeeding altars had more or less the same shape. The facing of altar II is of roughly dressed stones laid in irregular courses. The inside is filled with stones that were simply thrown in. The thickness of the deposit on either side of this altar was different; the eastern deposit had become twice as thick as the western deposit, which suggests the altar was used from the western (e.g. temple) side.<sup>187</sup>

As a consequence of the frequent flooding of the Eurotas river, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was reorganised after 570/560 BCE. The dating of this reorganisation was thoroughly revised by Boardman 1963 (appendix 6).<sup>188</sup> The reorganisation is represented throughout the whole site with a layer of sand covering the structures of the previous period and underlying the new. Unfortunately no altar above the layer of sand is well preserved. Directly resting on the sand is a *poros* stone structure. This structure was exactly parallel to the underlying altar II, but was situated slightly to the east.<sup>189</sup> Within this structure the remains of two successive altars were recognised.<sup>190</sup> The first is the one containing *poros* blocks. It is the lowest course of altar III.

The latest altar, altar IV, was found in the arena of the Roman theatre in the first year of the excavation, 1906.<sup>191</sup> The structure is irregular in its masonry and represents the altar of the Roman period. Altar IV is built on the same foundations and removed the upper courses of altar III. When altar IV was built is not clear due to the destruction of the

---

discovered by Mr. Dickins' topographical investigations and is located 700 yards above the Artemisium. Artemis' altar is still to be seen at the site, see appendices 5.1 and 5.2.

<sup>185</sup> See below for section 3.1.2 Spartan Architecture, The Artemisium.

<sup>186</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 10.

<sup>187</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 15.

<sup>188</sup> Appendix 6 offers a comparison between the earlier dating by Dawkins and Boardman's revision.

<sup>189</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 23.

<sup>190</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 24.

<sup>191</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906a: 277. For more information about the Roman theatre see below, section 3.1.2 Spartan Architecture, Theatre.

structure; the construction rests directly upon the blocks of altar III.<sup>192</sup> Dawkins mentions that it is probable that the theatre and the newly built altar IV were connected to some extent, as it was 'part' of the theatre. The construction of altar IV could be before as well as after the theatre was built. However, because of its location, directly on the remains of altar III, it is likely that it was constructed after the theatre was built. The arena of the theatre would have been built around altar III and when the time came it was destroyed or replaced and altar IV was built directly upon its remains.

The debris on the east side of the altar yielded numerous offerings; lead figurines and black-glaze and black-figure sherds. The presence of the large number (2389 out of the total of 10617 for this type, type V) of lead figurines during the period this debris was formed (500-425 BCE) might show that they were originally placed on the altar itself, as was suggested by Brulotte.<sup>193</sup> The figurines, presumably periodically cleared of the altar to prevent too many dedications on display and to make room for the burning of offerings, were removed. The figures just on the east side of the Greek altar were brushed off the surface, directly onto the ground.

### **The Artemisium<sup>194</sup>**

The temple for Artemis Orthia must belong to the period of the foundation of Dorian Sparta (and also represents the earliest development of the Doric style). The first temple built on the site was a very early temple to be dated in the seventh century BCE. Parts of

---

<sup>192</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 34.

<sup>193</sup> Brulotte 1994: 303.

<sup>194</sup> On Spartan territory there were more places by the name of *Limnai* (Pausanias, 3.16.7, 3.23.10 and 4.4.2), indicating that it was a marsh. In Lakonia there were two; one on the Spartan plain, frequently flooded by the Eurotas River, and the other one was on the Messenian side of the Taygetus. The temple of Artemis Orthia was therefore called Limnaeum: τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐπονομαζόμενον Λιμναῖον Ὀρθίας ἱερὸν ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος. However, to prevent confusion I will use the term Artemisium to refer to the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

the west and south wall are preserved just south of the remains of the sixth century BCE temple.<sup>195</sup> All that is left of the early temple is a foundation course of small undressed stones, taken from the bed of the Eurotas River.<sup>196</sup> This foundation course is at the west end surmounted by a row of slabs set on edge. The whole of the temple would have been a mixed construction of a wooden frame and brick with a row of posts/columns down the middle which divided the temple in two equal long narrow aisles and supported the gable roof.<sup>197</sup> The type with the double aisles was probably the oldest form of temple building.<sup>198</sup> This primitive temple corresponded in date to altar II (seventh century BCE).<sup>199</sup> The early temple and altar II were already facing one another on the opposite edges of the pavement as would all their successors. In addition, the character and the chronological range of the votives from both the early temple and altar II were the same.<sup>200</sup>

Although the remains of the early temple were slight, Dawkins explicitly mentions a piece of painted tile of the seventh century BCE.<sup>201</sup> The associated finds were numerous: a rich deposit of votive offerings was found near the temple, with the richest part of the pre-sand deposit inside and outside the south-east corner of the later sixth century BCE temple. This deposit yielded no special cult objects or vessels. Although the whole of the Archaic stratum yielded great numbers of the same kinds of objects there was a large number of small unpainted vases found. North of the later sixth century BCE temple the

---

<sup>195</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 5.

<sup>196</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 10.

<sup>197</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 11. Followed by for example Drerup 1969, Kalpaxis 1976 and Fagerström 1988: 31.

<sup>198</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 12. Other examples of two naved temples are: Thermos in Aetolia, the so-called Basilica in Paestum, the cella of the old temple at Locris and the temple at Neandria. Dawkins 1907-1908: 21.

<sup>199</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 10.

<sup>200</sup> Dawkins 1908-1909: 10.

<sup>201</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 9, 11.

pre-sand deposit was very rich in yielding Lakonian II pottery and carvings in soft limestone.<sup>202</sup>

The sixth century BCE witnessed the building of a new temple.<sup>203</sup> A fragmentary terracotta object, dating to the seventh or early sixth century BCE<sup>204</sup>, is of importance for interpreting the form of the early Archaic temple of Artemis Orthia.<sup>205</sup> These fragments are interpreted by Catling as being part of a temple model.<sup>206</sup> Decoration is only applied to the exterior and looks careless. It is thought to represent a timber-framed building which could be a model of the first temple of Artemis Orthia.<sup>207</sup>

Since the sixth century BCE the sequence of the temple stood on the same foundations until the latest architectural development of the site.<sup>208</sup> Of this temple only the foundations which also served for the temple of the Roman period remain in situ (appendix 5).<sup>209</sup> The style of the temple was prostyle *in antis*. Two fragments assigned to it were found built into the foundation of the Roman theatre, a Doric capital of the sixth century BCE profile and a fragment of a Doric column with sixteen flutes. The pediment of the sixth century BCE temple was thought by Dawkins to be adorned with a group which contained the figure of a lion in *poros* stone.<sup>210</sup> A fragment of the lion's mane was discovered in the earth right in front of the temple where it had fallen between the time it was built and the Roman level. This fragment was accompanied by pieces of the same stone that were found

---

<sup>202</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 15.

<sup>203</sup> Dawkins 1905-1906: 322.

<sup>204</sup> Definitely before the layer of sand.

<sup>205</sup> Catling 1994: 269.

<sup>206</sup> Similar objects were found at Tegea, see section 3.3.2 Tegean Architecture, Temple of Alea Athena.

<sup>207</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 10-14, Schattner 1990: 133, Catling 1994: 272-273. However, the model does not have to be a close copy of the early temple of Artemis Orthia. It could simply represent an architectural type of the seventh century BCE at Sparta.

<sup>208</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 3.

<sup>209</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 20. Appendix 5 shows the foundations that are still to be seen today.

<sup>210</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 21-22.

below the bases on the north side of the arena of the Roman theatre.<sup>211</sup> Those pieces dated to the sixth century BCE, the time the sculpture was made. Besides the lion's mane there were two triangular limestone plaques found which represented two lions facing each other, probably studies for the pediment.<sup>212</sup> Several pieces of painted tiles and antefixes were found on the site and also belonged to the sixth-century BCE temple.<sup>213</sup> The area south and southeast of the later temple yielded a great number of masks.<sup>214</sup>

In the Hellenistic period the temple was rebuilt.<sup>215</sup> That first became clear when in front of the temple, below the Roman floor level, building chips were found.<sup>216</sup> The original pediment was thrown down and the roof was reconstructed. That the rebuilding was of the Hellenistic period became clear from the temple, which is older than the adjoining Roman ruins. However, both temple and Roman ruins stand at the same level. The substructures of the temple descend to the Archaic B-D strata, two metres below and are of rough Hellenistic masonry without mortar. The main structure is of large ashlar blocks. In the remains of this temple two styles of masonry can be distinguished. The first consists of roughly dressed blocks laid in irregular courses and the later style has courses of slab-shaped blocks. This rebuilding is further to be seen in the fragments of stamped tiles from a later roof and limestone reliefs representing other parts of the buildings like parts of the architrave, metopes and architectural ornaments. The stamped tiles are in three different types of dialects of which two look similar, but they do all as a minimum bear Orthia's name. The two similar styles of script show that the tiles belonged to the second century

---

<sup>211</sup> Dawkins 1906-1907: 60.

<sup>212</sup> Dawkins 1929c: 194, the lions facing one another. In addition to the architectural carvings these limestone reliefs could have been small copies of the buildings' relief or they could have been sketch-models of architectural designs, all related to the building of the sixth century BCE temple.

<sup>213</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 32.

<sup>214</sup> More on the masks can be found in section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Terracotta Masks.

<sup>215</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 21-22.

<sup>216</sup> Dawkins 1906-1907: 59.

BCE.<sup>217</sup> The date of the building with the stamped tiles is, according to Dawkins, probably connected with the reestablishment of the Lycurgan constitution which took place in 178 BCE.<sup>218</sup> The rebuilding of the temple then probably took place in the early 170s BCE.<sup>219</sup>

## Theatre

The theatre embraced the temple of Artemis Orthia.<sup>220</sup> The dating of this building is uncertain. Based on the recorded names on the *stelai* discovered in the foundation, one of which belongs to after 225 CE, the middle of the third century CE is suggested as a foundation date for the theatre. Woodward suggested that the theatre was possibly built after the Herulian raid in 267 CE.<sup>221</sup> Cartledge and Spawforth mention that public inscriptions became a rarity after the mid-third century CE.<sup>222</sup> The last dedication was dated 226-240 CE. The attack of the Herulian Goths had a great impact on Sparta and only the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine I would see a general economic recovery. This was displayed in extensive building activity of which the theatre in the city centre was a good example. Cartledge and Spawforth suggest that the theatre of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was part of the same programme of public works. They add that there was a revival of the Lycurgan training (around 300 CE) within the Roman city of Sparta. With the building of the theatre the sanctuary took on a monumental form.

The ruins of the Roman theatre consist of an arena surrounded by a broad concrete substructure which supported seats (appendix 5.3).<sup>223</sup> It was a theatre in which the

---

<sup>217</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 32.

<sup>218</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 33-34. He based his assumption on the epigraphical evidence which points towards the Hellenistic period.

<sup>219</sup> I follow Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 84,90.

<sup>220</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906b: 304-312.

<sup>221</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 38.

<sup>222</sup> Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 121-122.

<sup>223</sup> Appendix 5.3 offers a modern picture of what is left of the theatre.

proscenium was in fact the front of the temple of Orthia temple. The theatre was the last great change in the architecture of the sanctuary. In form it was more like a Roman amphitheatre.<sup>224</sup> The building of the theatre made it possible for the ritual to be watched by large numbers people.<sup>225</sup> There were special seats for the highest magistrates to witness the contest.<sup>226</sup>

When the excavations started only the outer piers of the theatre were visible.<sup>227</sup> The creation of the foundation of the theatre was begun with spolia from earlier monuments. *Stelai* and statue bases were used for this foundation and their original arrangement cannot be known. On the other hand, they were preserved up to the date when the foundation had to be destroyed to examine the remains below. An example is the inscribed stone seat dedicated to Artemis Orthia.<sup>228</sup> The seat displayed the name of Soixiadas Arikrateos and dates from the first century BCE (appendix 7).<sup>229</sup> It is the only indication of the seating arrangements which made it possible to witness the ritual ceremonies at the sanctuary of Orthia before the Roman theatre was built in the third century CE. The seat's original position must have been somewhere directly facing the temple. That means that even before the theatre was built there was some seating for distinguished persons at important events.

---

<sup>224</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 36, 47. The plan of the theatre is not entirely regular and there are assumptions that not all of the building is of the same period; the southern side could be older. The masonry is not regular and there are variations in the diameter of the circle (which is therefore not perfectly round). It is possible that the two halves were not built at the same time. Another possibility is that the northern part was a replacement of a part that had been destroyed instead of the completion of an unfinished building. The destruction of the rest of the sanctuary by building this structure was quite remarkable.

<sup>225</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906a: 282.

<sup>226</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 46.

<sup>227</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906b: 305-306 describes the view of earlier travellers to the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta.

<sup>228</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 36.

<sup>229</sup> Woodward 1929: 295.

Excavations of the theatre also yielded numerous inscriptions commemorating victories won by (teams of) boys in musical and other contests.<sup>230</sup> One of these contests was called ‘the contest of endurance under the lash’, a feature of the festival of Artemis Orthia during the Roman Empire. This inscription is engraved on two fragments of red marble. A row of re-used bases were found at the northern edge of the arena (appendix 7).<sup>231</sup> The setting up of memorials thus continued throughout time. None of these bases were inscribed and some were even used upside down. There were marks of the feet of a statue and the groove for a *stèle* found. These *stelai* were most likely selected for preservation which explains the small number of inscriptions being preserved. The stones that were left above ground were exposed to the depredations of ages and some inscriptions have even been found being built into houses of the modern town.

### **City walls**

Well before the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was enclosed in the fourth century BCE by the city wall, it was already enclosed by a wall of its own.<sup>232</sup> In the seventh century BCE the sanctuary was paved and enclosing walls were built.<sup>233</sup> Its remains are east of altar I, running almost due north and south. The western limit of the same wall passes the southwest corner of the later temple and makes a curve towards the north. The wall was built of small undressed stones and is almost everywhere destroyed down to the pavement-level due to later building activity at the sanctuary. For the sixth century BCE there is extensive evidence for another enclosing wall.<sup>234</sup> The area enclosed by this wall was

---

<sup>230</sup> See further section 3.1.4 Spartan Inscriptions, Roman period: dedications by the winners of the contests for boys.

<sup>231</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 47.

<sup>232</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 6.

<sup>233</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 7. Dawkins called this the ‘first enclosure wall’.

<sup>234</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 24-25. This one was called the ‘later enclosure wall’.

larger than the area enclosed by the first wall. The sanctuary would grow with each enclosing wall.

Unlike the sanctuary, the Spartan *polis* was open and undefended until the end of the fourth century BCE.<sup>235</sup> That was, as Agesilaus put it, because the Spartan citizens were the city walls (Plutarch, *Moralia* 217e).<sup>236</sup> Bosanquet suggests Sparta was fortified from the fourth century BCE onwards.<sup>237</sup> With the building of this city wall the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia became part of the defended city.<sup>238</sup> These city walls were also a strong barrier against possible floods. Near the sanctuary the wall is only well preserved south east of the theatre. The reason for which the walls were constructed is described by Justinus, Pausanias and Plutarch. These writers contradict each other: Justinus (*Historiam Phillipicarum* 14.5.7) reports the wall was begun in 317 BCE during the war between Cassander and Polyperchon and Pausanias (1.13.6; 7.8.5) says in 293 BCE before the attack of Demetrios. Pausanias is contradictory in his own work: in 1.13.6 he mentions the Spartan citizens fortified their city with deep trenches and strong stakes and at the most vulnerable point they built buildings and in passage 7.8.5 he mentions walls, built at haphazard at the time of the invasion of Demetrius and strengthened to the greatest possible degree of safety later. Plutarch (*Pyrrhus* 27.2-28.1) mentions the defence against Pyrrhus (273-272 BCE) as a date important in the defence of the city. He reports that trenches were run parallel with the enemy camp and where there was no trench there were wagons, deeply planted in the earth and very close together, making attack a difficult

---

<sup>235</sup> Wace 1905-1906a: 287.

<sup>236</sup> The brave Spartans are also mentioned in Plutarch, *Moralia* 228e and *Life of Lycurgus* 19.

<sup>237</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906a: 280-281.

<sup>238</sup> Dawkins 1929a: 30-31.

matter. If Plutarch's report is right, and a date in the first half of the third century BCE is correct, the dating of the fortifications needs to be revised.

### **3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts (appendix 2)**

#### **Pottery**

Throughout the Early Iron Age the Lakonian plain was more or less isolated from the rest of the Peloponnese.<sup>239</sup> That was due to the fact that it was hemmed in by the mountain walls of Taygetus on the west and Parnon on the east. Shortly before 750 BCE this isolation came to an end and decorated pottery developed from a few imported vessels with some local imitations into a distinct Lakonian style.<sup>240</sup> Unfortunately less is known about the range of shapes in regular use, because nearly all the material comes from sanctuaries, mainly the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta.<sup>241</sup> One of the most characteristic features of the pottery found at the Artemis Orthia shrine is the continuity of the fabric used. At least ninety per cent of the ceramic finds is made with the same fabric; it varies in colour from red to pink to a light brown, according to the amount of firing.<sup>242</sup> Also characteristic of the Lakonian pottery is the metallic sheen in the Geometric period and again in the sixth century BCE.<sup>243</sup>

---

<sup>239</sup> Coldstream 1977: 157.

<sup>240</sup> Coldstream 1977: 159.

<sup>241</sup> Coldstream 1977: 157. The Proto-Geometric local pottery style was mainly discovered at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai. Around 750 BCE the distinctive Lakonian style found its way to Sparta. Cook had in 1960 (26-27) the same conclusion: the finds come almost wholly from sanctuaries and are therefore not well stratified and very fragmentary. Additionally Cook mentioned the Menelaion at Sparta as one of the sanctuaries.

<sup>242</sup> Droop 1929a: 52-53.

<sup>243</sup> Droop 1929a: 56.

The pottery was used to provide the dating for most of the other finds at Sparta. Droop divided the pottery in seven groups and with Boardman's revision of the dating in mind it works as follows: Lakonian Geometric – eight century-650 BCE, Sub-Geometric and Lakonian I – 650-620 BCE<sup>244</sup>, Lakonian II – 620-570/560 BCE, Lakonian III – 570/560-545 BCE, Lakonian IV – 545-520 BCE, Lakonian V – ?520-425 BCE and Lakonian VI – ?425 BCE-250 CE.<sup>245</sup> The middle of the sixth century BCE was the beginning of the decay of the Lakonian style, there is practically no pottery deposited between the end of Lakonian IV and the building of the Roman theatre.<sup>246</sup>

### **Terracotta figurines**

A very large number of terracotta figurines were found during the excavation in all the deposits of votive offerings, below as well as above the layer of sand.<sup>247</sup> The figurines form an uninterrupted series from the eight century BCE down to the fourth century BCE.<sup>248</sup>

Dawkins divided the terracottas from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in sixteen classes according to shape, what they depict and their date.<sup>249</sup> According to Kunze these sixteen classes, where 'selbst von diesen die wenigsten formal eine Einheit bilden', were

---

<sup>244</sup> Droop 1929a. Boardman 1963. Lane 1933-34: 115, in his work on Lakonian vase painting agreed with Droop's dating and even put the Lakonian I dating down by five years; 700-630 BCE instead of 700-635 BCE. Lane's Lakonian I included all vases that were made from the introduction of Orientalising motives down to the appearance of the incised black-figure style. Cook 1960: 91, in his work on Greek pottery still more or less agreed with Droop and dated the Lakonian I as Lane did, from 700-630 BCE, because it marked the end of the Geometric period and the acceptance of the black-figure style.

<sup>245</sup> 250 CE is given as the end date, because that is when the sanctuary fell out of use.

For comparison purposes, the tables of the finds from Sparta in conjunction with those for Ephesus and Tegea, will be divided in a more standard way: pre-Geometric, Geometric, Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman.

<sup>246</sup> According to Wade-Gery 1930: 149, the result of the Eurotas River floods.

<sup>247</sup> Dawkins 1929b: 145.

<sup>248</sup> The whole series is described by Dawkins in the final publication of the site: Dawkins 1929b.

<sup>249</sup> Dawkins 1929b: 146. For an extensive description of each shape see Dawkins 1929b: 147-162.

problematic when it comes to dating.<sup>250</sup> Based on the tables (appendix 2 and 20) I would like to offer a new classification of terracottas, in which they are classified according to what they depict and their date. This allows me to compare them to the figures from Ephesus, Tegea and Brauron in section 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. That new classification would leave a total of eight: a woman/goddess (all dates), a woman/goddess with animals (650-520 BCE), enthroned figures (650-620 BCE), and human figures (all dates), animals (700-545 BCE), plaques (all dates), miscellaneous terracottas (all dates) and masks; both small (450 BCE-250CE?) and large.

### **Terracotta Masks**

About one-tenth of the whole number of terracotta masks was found in the B stratum (Lakonian I and II) below the sand in all areas of the site.<sup>251</sup> A much greater amount (seventy-five percent) was found in the first stratum above the sand with Lakonian III pottery, immediately after the completion of the building of the sixth century temple. They dated from the end of the seventh century BCE to the sixth century BCE.<sup>252</sup> As Brulotte already suggested, these masks were objects dedicated to Artemis Orthia.<sup>253</sup>

Dickins suggested two broad categories of the terracotta masks in the period before 550 BCE: modelled and painted. The masks are at their best in terms of technique and modelling during the period of 580-550 BCE. Afterwards a rapid decline sets in: features get flatter, the wrinkles less pronounced and the work hastier, the paint gradually disappeared and the clay deteriorated (appendix 8).<sup>254</sup> The masks also became smaller in

---

<sup>250</sup> Kunze 1933: 9. He does not offer any other way of dividing the terracottas nor does he offer a solution for the dating problem.

<sup>251</sup> The masks number at least 603 with possibly as many as a thousand. Brulotte 1994: 262 note 823.

<sup>252</sup> Dawkins 1907-1908: 15.

<sup>253</sup> Brulotte 1994: 261-262. He listed pierced terracotta protomes, masks, and plaques.

<sup>254</sup> The qualitative characteristics of the masks are best described by the study of the masks as shown in appendix 8. Dickins 1929: 166.

size and the series ended including many less than life-size masks.<sup>255</sup> The history of the Spartan masks fits into the general scheme outlined in other aspects of Spartan art, which developed early on in the eighth century BCE.<sup>256</sup>

Dawkins made a first, more specific, classification of the Spartan masks: large female masks wearing a diadem, a good deal of which were painted, satyr masks with long ears and broad, wrinkled faces, male masks with a full beard and no moustache, masks of elderly people, wrinkled as well but in a caricature way and masks of a grotesque type with marks of tattooing.<sup>257</sup> Dickins used other categories in the final publication about the excavation: old women, youths, warriors, portraits, satyrs, gorgons and caricatures, which were accepted for a long time by later scholars.<sup>258</sup> Dickins' categories appear to me as too specific. In contrast Carter (1987) made the suggestion in her fresh study of the objects uncovered by the excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia to divide the masks in four new, simpler groups: furrowed grotesques, heroes, satyrs and gorgons.<sup>259</sup> She even considered the last two types being subcategories of the grotesques. Dickins' youths and warriors are two variants of the heroes' category for Carter, because they are both idealised and it does not matter whether they are bearded or not.<sup>260</sup> Carter agrees with the satyrs and gorgons classification by Dickins, but disagrees with his portraits and caricatures which she thinks would classify better as occasional examples of furrowed grotesques or heroes.<sup>261</sup>

---

<sup>255</sup> Dickins 1929: 166 described the masks as ending in miniatures, but it remains unclear what he means by that since he does not give any measurements or examples.

<sup>256</sup> Dickins 1929: 176. See also 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Pottery and Lead figurines for example.

<sup>257</sup> Dawkins 1905-1906: 325.

<sup>258</sup> Dickins 1929: 165.

<sup>259</sup> Carter 1987: 358. At this point Falb (2009) agrees again with Carter instead of the earlier division made by Dickins in the final publication of the sanctuary.

<sup>260</sup> Carter 1987: 357.

<sup>261</sup> Carter 1987: 357-358. Additionally, portraits reproducing the features of specific individuals did not develop in Greek art for another two hundred or three hundred years.

I would even suggest narrowing the four categories she identified down to three: grotesques, satyrs and youths. This is based on the small amount of masks shown in the publications by Dawkins and Carter and the masks I have seen during my research visit to Sparta.<sup>262</sup> Appendix 9.1-9.3 shows my photos of examples of the masks studied at the *Archaeological Museum of Sparta* and divided in these three categories. Dawkins' categories are indeed too specific. For example, the wrinkled masks are by Dawkins either identified as grotesque or female. When we take a closer look at the plates XLIX and LXI there is little difference between these masks, although differently identified by Dawkins (appendix 10).<sup>263</sup> The same goes for his division between youths and warriors. The examples shown in the aforementioned publications are much alike and the types identified as youths do not show a chin, so it is not possible to see if the difference was the fact that youths did not have a beard and warriors did have a beard. Dawkins' final category which is hard to identify, is the portraits category; the examples shown in Dawkins' publication (plates XLVII and XLVIII) look more like grotesques to me.<sup>264</sup>

It is visible that the, what I presume to be, the earlier masks were made with more eye for detail than the ones that were made later. For example looking at the wrinkled masks there are the close incised wrinkled masks and the ones which have their wrinkles made with human hands. The outcome of both ways of manufacture is very different. The wrinkled type is very common and quite often it has the same distinctive hairdo too. The measurements vary a great deal, from really small to larger than life-size. Another example is the well sculpted ears and noses, looking very human like; in opposition are the ones where these parts are the least interesting part of the face. The same is applicable

---

<sup>262</sup> 27-29 March 2013 I visited the museum in Sparta to study a group of masks in more detail.

<sup>263</sup> Dawkins 1929. Whilst working at the *Archaeological Museum of Sparta*, the masks of plate XLIX were nowhere to be found.

<sup>264</sup> Dawkins 1929.

to eyes. Eyes vary from round holes in the middle of the faces to well-formed eyes with just a hole where a person's iris would be.

The wrinkled masks are the most grotesque masks found with some examples of almost undistinguishable forms and characters. Another category of which a lot of examples are found are the youths; whether or not they have a beard would not be of particular interest. These masks look far from frightening to me, friendly even. It would make sense if these were representations of the boys that succeeded taking part in the rituals at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, as they would make good votive offerings.

Not all the masks that were found have holes to fasten them, some even have the eyes blocked and because they are made of terracotta they could have been very heavy to carry (appendix 8).<sup>265</sup> One interpretation, offered by Webster, is that these masks might be the moulds from which linen masks were made, because they were large enough to have been worn.<sup>266</sup> However, there are also masks too small to have actually been worn and the eyes, nose and/or mouth are not pierced. The ones which do have open eyes, mouths and pierced nostrils could have been worn by actors. As stated by Carter most of them have cut-out eyes and many even have a cut-out mouth and nostrils (appendix 8).<sup>267</sup> Small holes at the top and sides made it possible to tie the masks around the head. When the masks were insufficiently shaped or too small to wear about the head, Carter suggests that the wearer could have held it in front of his face. Dickins' final conclusion is that the terracotta masks therefore, as Dawkins already put it, must be copies of the actual dancing

---

<sup>265</sup> None of the sources I have used stated the weight of the masks. Carter only mentioned the measurements to be life-sized.

<sup>266</sup> Webster 1956: 130. Only the terracotta masks are recorded to have been found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, nowhere is recorded that instead of these terracotta masks, masks made of linen masks were used. Besides, Webster does not explain how the use of these moulds would have worked. Therefore it is not very likely these masks were used as moulds.

<sup>267</sup> Only a small amount of examples is shown in the publications of Dawkins and Carter.

masks, perhaps votive copies offered to Artemis by the dancers while the originals remained the owners' possession.<sup>268</sup> Carter's study however suggested the masks could have been worn.<sup>269</sup> According to her many of the masks were life-sized, which meant between eighteen and twenty-one centimetres from the top of forehead to bottom of chin.<sup>270</sup> The heroes and 'furrowed grotesque' (Carter's categories) types of masks were found from late in the first half of the seventh century BCE.<sup>271</sup> These types continued to be represented until the series of life-sized masks died out in the fifth century BCE.

Dawkins thinks the masks were probably suspended from walls, as is written in Aristophanes' *Old Age* (fragment 130): 'τίς ἄν φράσειε ποῦ ἔστι τό Διονύσιον ὅπου τά μορμολυκεῖα πρὸς κρεμάννυται'.<sup>272</sup> That would according to Dawkins explain the fact that the masks were found all around the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. In the fifth century BCE it was the habit to dedicate the masks to the gods after a performance (most common in the case of Dionysus and theatre performances) and to hang them from the architrave of the temple which stood in the sanctuary.<sup>273</sup> By leaving the masks in the god's sanctuary, they remained visible. Green also based his assumption on the Aristophanes' fragment, and he illustrates it with an image of a fragment of an Attic red figure volute-krater from

---

<sup>268</sup> Dickins 1929: 173-175.

<sup>269</sup> Carter 1987: 356. Falb 2009 studied the finds of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in total agrees with Carter concerning the question if the masks could have been worn.

<sup>270</sup> Carter asserts that people may have been smaller 3000 years ago, so what might seem like somewhat under life-size to us, was probably fully life-size in the second and first millennia BCE.

<sup>271</sup> Carter 1987: 358-359. In 1995, Green also revised the categories, and offered two: abnormal/uncivilised and normal/civilised. Garland 1995: 4 did the same and came up with: satyrs, gorgons, furrowed, τέρας/αἰσχρὸς and the opposite καλός. The Greek *teras* commonly denotes both human and animals exhibiting gross malformations, but it also describes mythological monsters, such as the head of the Gorgon Medusa (Homer, *Iliad* 5.741: and therein is the head of the dread monster, the Gorgon, the *teras* of aegis-bearing Zeus).

<sup>272</sup> Dawkins follows with this presumption Rouse 1902: 162.

Henderson (2007) translated this with: 'Who can tell me where Dionysus' precinct is, where the Mormo-Goblins are hung on display'. Henderson added in his commentary that the masks were displayed in the Dionysus theatre as dedications and to announce productions. It seems more sensible to translate μορμολυκεῖα with bogey instead of Mormo-Goblins.

<sup>273</sup> Green 1994: 46, 79-81.

Samothrace with celebrations in the sanctuary of Dionysus and masks hanging about his temple (fifth century BCE, Samothrace 65.1041). Another example Green uses is an Attic red-figure bell-krater from Italy, Val Trebbia, Spina where Dionysus is seen examining the masks (fourth century BCE, Ferrara T 161C, inv. 20483).<sup>274</sup>

Masks like the ones found in Sparta were not very common elsewhere in Greece.<sup>275</sup> A few exceptions, the Heraion on Samos, a late sixth-century BCE tomb on Thera and a grave at Taranto, were in Sparta's sphere of influence and all masks found in these places dated later than the earliest masks from Sparta itself. These were either Spartan colonies or trading partners. There were also life-sized terracotta masks found in Tiryns, but these were hollow heads without cut-through eyes.<sup>276</sup> The masks found in Tiryns do not have a connection with Sparta and date earlier or contemporary with those found at Sparta.<sup>277</sup> Therefore it is possible that the masks of Sparta and Tiryns have the same prototype.<sup>278</sup> There are however two roads to follow in discovering this prototype:<sup>279</sup> one for the grotesque masks and one for the hero-masks. The Cretan site of Gortyn yielded small terracotta faces in the seventh century BCE, probably representing the Greek Gorgoneion, the head of the gorgon Medusa.<sup>280</sup>

---

<sup>274</sup> In more recent years remains of chariot wheels have been found in the sanctuary at Kalapodi. The iron remnants of chariots were found next to the position of three wooden columns and it is thought these remains were votives fixed to the wooden columns. Together with the chariot wheels there were fragments of Corinthian helmets found, an indication that these were suspended from the temple. For publications on these excavations see for example: Whitley 2004: 55-56, Whitley, Germanidou (*et al.*) 2005: 68, Whitley, Germanidou (*et al.*) 2006: 41-21, Don, Hall (*et al.*) 2007: 47-48, DAI 2007: 76-78, 2008: 99-102, 2009: 100, 2010: 106.

To confirm this idea there is an early Apulian krater in Naples which represents the interior of Apollo's temple at Delphi where wheels and helmets were fixed on the wall as well. For more information see Gebhard 1998: 101; Fürtwangler, Hauser (*et al.*) 1932: 362-369.

<sup>275</sup> Carter 1987: 359.

<sup>276</sup> Carter 1987: 360.

<sup>277</sup> Carter 1987: 360.

<sup>278</sup> On the prototype see Carter 1987: 360-374.

<sup>279</sup> Carter 1987: 360-370.

<sup>280</sup> Carter 1987: 365.

The Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta also yielded Greek parallels of Phoenician masks (appendix 11). However, there is still a debate about the transmission of the idea of masks and the different types. According to Brown, the masks of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were taken to be an inspiration for the western Phoenician masks until examples were discovered in the Near East and that Phoenician masks have only Near Eastern forebears.<sup>281</sup> This is confirmed as it became clear that the east yielded masks which were considerably earlier than the first masks found in the west in places such as Carthage or other Punic settlements (appendix 11).<sup>282</sup> Culican in his study of Phoenician masks and other terracottas states that nothing in Greek terracotta art resembled the masks from Phoenicia.<sup>283</sup>

### Interpretation<sup>284</sup>

The exact function of masks and protomes is still unknown<sup>285</sup>; apart from the theatre there are not many instances where the use of religious masks in Greece is known. In general antique masks could, according to Dickins and Napier, be divided into five main classes: sepulchral, dramatic, apotropaic (oscilla), votive offerings (for example after illness) and honorific masks.<sup>286</sup> Within the votive offerings category, masks were often used in conjunction with the worship of vegetation and fertility deities such as Artemis, but also Dionysus and Demeter;<sup>287</sup> they were discovered in shrines dedicated to these deities. Although the Spartans used the masks in a rite of passage instead of in drama (for which

---

<sup>281</sup> Brown 1992: 18.

<sup>282</sup> Stern 1976: 110.

<sup>283</sup> Culican 1975-1976: 49, 65.

<sup>284</sup> I was privileged to study the masks in the Spartan Museum, however not all the masks have been published. As it is necessary to have that type of reference to request permission to study the material, I could not request permission to study everything I know exists. My research has to a certain extent been directed by this factor.

<sup>285</sup> Ciasca 2001: 406.

<sup>286</sup> Dickins 1929: 171. Napier 1986: 47.

<sup>287</sup> Napier 1986: 51-63.

masks were the defining convention in Attic tragedy or comedy<sup>288</sup>) they also had an additional abundance of ritual dances.<sup>289</sup> Masks concealed and changed the identity of the wearer and through the unwavering expression it could create uncertainty in the mind of the viewer.<sup>290</sup> The masks are difficult to read and to relate to, which makes them frightening.

As mentioned before, masks could be divided into different categories. The earliest types of masks found impersonated known mythological figures.<sup>291</sup> These types were not restricted to specific cults. The two classes which encompassed the most significant cases of facial iconography were the satyr<sup>292</sup> and the gorgon. These were the earliest representations of Greek *daimons*. By making such masks the Greeks did what primitive people would normally do in making frightening masks.<sup>293</sup> It was a way to give expression to their fears and by the act of expressing they conquered their fears. The mask was a symbol of human aggression, the first step in overcoming fear. The masks were worn in the rituals with a purpose.<sup>294</sup> It is safe to say, that the masks in ritual, dance and drama represented something specific. The wearer represented someone, a deity or another figure, appearing and performing: scaring, frightening and stiffening with fear. Masks of the Gorgon (as found in Sparta and also Tiryns) exhibit the ancient and fundamental idea of an ancient tale surviving in mythology; the story of Perseus which was at least well-known from the seventh century BCE onwards.<sup>295</sup> The Perseus and Medusa story can be

---

<sup>288</sup> Wiles 2000: 147.

<sup>289</sup> For more on the use of masks see section Boys' transitions in Artemis cults 5.1.1 Sparta. See also Larson 2007: 105, Lonsdale 1993: 159 and Jameson 1990: 213-223.

<sup>290</sup> Croon 1955: 15, Green 1994: 78.

<sup>291</sup> Napier 1986: 52-53.

<sup>292</sup> The satyr masks were used during rituals and celebrations marking the change of seasons, in which the fertility of humans and of the land came to be equated.

<sup>293</sup> Howe 1954: 212.

<sup>294</sup> Croon 1955: 13.

<sup>295</sup> Napier 1986: 83-97.

a model for ritual death in which the direct result is birth or revival and is therefore connected with rites of fertility. That is further confirmed by the identification of the Gorgon with the Mistress of the Animals known from Asia Minor.<sup>296</sup> Both figures blur the distinction between creator and destroyer. It is therefore not surprising that in Sparta masks representing heroes and furrowed grotesques were among the earliest masks found. The masks found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia hold a clear centre position between the Archaic gorgon type and the theatre-mask.<sup>297</sup> In the words of Pickard-Cambridge: 'They were doubtless votive copies of the actual masks worn by the performers of some ritual dance in honour of Artemis Orthia'.<sup>298</sup>

Hesychius and Pollux mention different sexes of the Spartan dancers.<sup>299</sup> Hesychius described the use of the masks in his *brudalicha*: 'a female face', and *brullischitai*: 'the males who put on ugly female faces and sing hymns'. Pollux (IV 104) mentioned in a list of Lakonian dances: 'Women used to dance the *barullika*, the invention of Barulichos, in honour of Artemis and Apollo'. Brelich suggests this confusion was probably due to the fact that Artemis had more regularly 'maiden-choruses'.<sup>300</sup> However, it was common that dancers were men instead of women. Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistai* 628c-e) preserved the ideas of dance from the fifth century BCE onwards. According to him, in dancing or in walking, decency and dignity of bearing are beautiful, whereas immodesty and vulgarity are ugly. Dancing should preserve nobility and manliness; those who dance most beautifully are the best in warfare, for the art of dancing was virtually like armed manoeuvres, and a display of both discipline and care taken for the body.

---

<sup>296</sup> See section 2.2 Goddess of wilderness, animals and hunting.

<sup>297</sup> Croon 1955: 15.

<sup>298</sup> 1927: 254.

<sup>299</sup> Dickins 1929: 173-175.

<sup>300</sup> Brelich 1969: 164.

It is clear that masks in ancient Greece were used for different purposes.<sup>301</sup> Examples are primitive cults, dionysiac cults, in theatre, at funerals, in cults of the dead and as decorations. The masks could represent deities and could be used as votive offerings in sanctuaries and tombs. The Spartan masks however, are a whole different category; they were used for ritual purposes and offered as votives to Artemis Orthia. The masks were reproductions for the *kourotrophos* divinity and are a characteristic, particular for Sparta. Seeing there are many different masks, another possibility is that the different masks were used for different purposes. The differences between the masks, both in measurements and in what they represent are quite extensive. The most interesting examples are the one-of-a-kind types. It makes me wonder with what purpose they were made so differently. Why would you have only a few examples standing out in design? Most masks show (traces of) paint, which has never before been used as a major argument for the use of these artefacts. In addition, quite a lot of the masks have holes to fasten them, one way or another.

Seiterle interpreted the different masks from Sparta as representing: models, replicas, little votive masks and semi-finished masks.<sup>302</sup> The holes were, according to him, used to fasten the skin that was the actual masks as tight as possible. Seiterle reconstructed masks and it is remarkable that through his use of the terracotta masks as moulds, the wrinkles would disappear in the actual masks.<sup>303</sup>

I think that the paint rules out that the masks were just used as moulds for the ‘actual’ masks. Why would people go through all the trouble of painting their moulds? The conclusion that the masks are not just moulds is therefore quite certain, it would have

---

<sup>301</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux 1995: 7-8.

<sup>302</sup> Seiterle 1984: 141.

<sup>303</sup> Seiterle 1984: 142 and table 19.

been unnecessary to have so many semi-similar masks of one kind. It is more likely that the masks were either used as votive offerings or worn. Making a votive offering to the gods you would want it to look the best way possible, which would give you all the more reason to decorate it extensively (in some cases) or at least give it a little colour (in other cases). The holes then were made to fasten them to the display structure, something around which it could be fastened. However, the cut-out eyes and mouth suggests that the masks were used by living people, and worn in ceremonies; especially masks that were worn by children or adolescents of varying ages, in which the masks represented different identities in the context of singing and dancing during rites of passage. Smaller masks could have been placed on images or statues.

The holes do not however, imply anything about their use, e.g. that they were to be worn. Another problem is the measurements. Even if it is true that people were smaller in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, as suggested by Carter,<sup>304</sup> a lot of the masks are too small to fit around an adult's face. The suggestion they were worn by children, is less likely. Why create different kinds of masks when they were to be worn by children to make them anonymous before being flogged? Representing both good and evil is a reasonable possibility. Given the choice, with what would you like your future citizens to identify themselves? However, this leaves out the more animalesque variants, unless these are to be interpreted as a representation of good and evil.

---

<sup>304</sup> Carter 1985: 356 especially note 3.

## Bone and ivory carvings

According to Dawkins the number of objects in ivory and bone found at the sanctuary of Sparta was superior to any other in Greece.<sup>305</sup> Carter confirmed this idea.<sup>306</sup> The amount of carvings and the animals of other types of carvings found at Sparta suggest they were made locally. Dawkins arranged the ivory and bone objects under classes by type: plaques carved in relief, figures of Orthia<sup>307</sup> and figures seated on thrones, objects of personal use and adornment and miscellaneous carvings in ivory and bone.<sup>308</sup> Boardman's re-examination of the Artemis Orthia material however changed the categorisation with regards to dating and the deposits to which they belonged (appendix 6).<sup>309</sup> Boardman's categorisation was simpler; he made three classes by date.<sup>310</sup>

The bone and ivory carvings represented different things, varying from plaques to combs to jewellery items to figures and protomai. One category is the thirteen fragments of bone flutes were found with Lakonian I and Lakonian II pottery.<sup>311</sup> That these pieces of bone represented bone flutes, is quite likely. Many of the fragments show the holes that were cut to make different notes. The fragments that do not have holes are clean cut off at one end and have a projection for a joint at the other. In addition, the position of the holes is

---

<sup>305</sup> Dawkins 1929d: 203.

<sup>306</sup> Carter 1985: 72, 118. Two other sites produced more than occasional finds of ivory carving: Perachora and Aetos (Ithaka). Corinth is also mentioned as the place where the carvers were based, which could explain the large numbers at Perachora and the Corinthian colony of Ithaka.

Isolated examples of ivory carvings were found at the Argive Heraion, Delphi, Tegea, Pherai, Siphnos, Lindos, Kameiros, Ephesus (where the majority of finds are either made in ivory or gold) and Tocra.

<sup>307</sup> Dawkins interpreted (mostly) the cylindrical carvings with a face and the protomai as representing Orthia.

<sup>308</sup> Dawkins 1929d: 204. According to him, arrangement by material would separate much that in date, treatment and kind belonged together.

<sup>309</sup> As is explained by Carter 1985: 119.

<sup>310</sup> The first class was dated around or before 650 BCE and was found with Geometric pottery. The second was dated 650-620 BCE and found with Proto-Corinthian, Geometric/Proto-Corinthian/Lakonian I and Lakonian I pottery. The last class was dated 620-570/560 BCE and found with Lakonian I/Lakonian II, Lakonian II, in the latest stratum (B) below the sand.

<sup>311</sup> Dawkins 1929d: 236.

the same in all the pieces, which shows some consistency of manufacture. These flutes may have something to do with the rituals, for which music was an important part.<sup>312</sup>

Other objects for personal use and adornment are the ivory combs.<sup>313</sup> These date from the middle of the eighth to the sixth century BCE. The figures on the shafts of the combs are mythological animals such as griffins, (human-headed) sphinxes, and a winged dog; which I prefer to think represents a young winged lion, because the lion was well-known in Sparta and a winged horse. Besides mythological animals, earthly animals such as lions, eagles, ibex or horses were represented. Other examples show a mythological scene: a gorgon's head with lolling tongue or a scene that has been interpreted as the Judgement of Paris.

Christou does not agree with the assumption that this ivory comb (late seventh century BCE) represents Paris with the three goddesses Aphrodite, Athena and Hera.<sup>314</sup> He thinks it is more likely that the goddesses each represent a different aspect of Orthia and that the enthroned person must be Zeus. That way the mother of the gods, with all her different aspects is connected to the father of the gods. However, if we take a closer look at the comb there are quite a few details that would indeed suggest it is a representation of the 'Judgement of Paris'. The Trojan prince Paris, the enthroned person on the left is holding the apple (see also *Kypria Fragments 1 and 6*). Aphrodite, accompanied by a dove, is standing directly next to him. The woman in the middle is wearing a helmet and would be identified as Athena. The woman to the right is Hera, accompanied by a peacock. It is not surprising that the 'Judgement of Paris' would be depicted in Sparta, because Paris

---

<sup>312</sup> For more on music as part of the rituals see section Boys' transitions in Artemis cults 5.1.1 Sparta, Dance in the context of military training and Girls' transitions in Artemis cults 5.2.1 Sparta, Dance in the context of education.

<sup>313</sup> Dawkins 1929d: 222.

<sup>314</sup> Christou 1968: 40, Lindsay 1974: 177 and Dawkins 1929: 223 and plate CXXVII.

chose to give the apple to Aphrodite who had promised him the most beautiful of women (Apollodorus, *Epitome* E2.16-E3.2; Euripides, *Andromache* 285 and *Helena* 676). This woman was Helen of Sparta, the wife of the Greek king Menelaus. This event would be the start of the Trojan War, in which Menelaus and his allies avenged the insult of Paris stealing his wife.

### Lead figurines

Over a hundred thousand pieces of lead figurines were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (appendix 12).<sup>315</sup> The figurines date to the eighth century BCE up to the end of the fourth century BCE.

Lead	Pottery	Dates
Lead 0	Geometric	8th century - 650 BCE
Lead I	Lakonian I	650 - 620 BCE
Lead II	Lakonian II	620 - 570/560 BCE
Lead III	Lakonian III	570/560 - 545 BCE
Lead IV	Lakonian IV	545 - 520 BCE
Lead V	Lakonian V	?520 - 425 BCE
Lead VI	Lakonian VI	?425 BCE - 250 CE

*Table 3: Spartan lead figures in conjunction with pottery and their dates*

<sup>315</sup> Wace 1929: 249.

In addition to the more than 100.000 lead figurines at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, at least 6.000 were found at the Menelaion at Sparta, Amyklaion, the Chalkioikos, the Eleusinion, the Argive Heraion, Bassai and Phlius. Some of these figures seem to have been cast in the same moulds. See Gill and Vickers 2001: 229 for more references.

That was according to Wace, in the final publication about the site, due to the good supplies close at hand.<sup>316</sup> The overall mass of lead figurines is in Falb's belief a sign that it was a characteristic votive offering within the Spartan cult of Artemis Orthia instead of being connected to a single group of the community.<sup>317</sup> The difference in style and fabric is small, but there is a clear evolution of the types, style and fabric. Wace divided the figurines into seven chronological groups (starting with Lead 0 up to Lead VI), in strata corresponding with the pottery characteristic of the time.<sup>318</sup> The technical simplicity of the largest amount of the manufacture of the figurines emphasised for Wace their popularity and cheapness. All the figurines have a distinct front and back. The back is always flat and smooth, indicating that the figurines were cast in one-sided moulds clamped with flat slabs before pouring in the melted metal. The distinguishing features of lead 0 are that the types found are thickly cast and more carefully modelled than the later figurines. In this period lead was used as an imitation of jewellery. With Lead I the human and animal types started to appear and the jewellery and ornamental types were still popular. Most of the jewellery and ornamental types however occur in Lead II. Lead II figurines become more common and a great number of types, with several varieties of each, were employed. In later periods, the wreaths outnumbered all the other types together. The number of types and varieties decreased in Lead III-IV, especially jewellery and animal types. The total number of figurines however increased to a maximum, and more than half of the total number discovered belongs to this period. Especially the spike wreaths achieve tremendous popularity. It is also the period in which figurines of 'other'

---

<sup>316</sup> Wace 1929: 250. Because Wace could hardly imagine that 'votives in precious metals were dedicated as often as one might be led to believe from the very abundance of lead figurines', he defers the idea that the traditional Spartan contempt for precious metals led them to use the base metal lead for votives.

<sup>317</sup> Falb 2009: 136. Before Falb, Wace 1929 and Nilsson 1950 already mentioned that in the sixth century BCE a change in the lead votives took place.

<sup>318</sup> Wace 1929: 251.

Olympic gods appear. After the 570/560-520 BCE period the number of types and varieties decreased. The following period (after 425 BCE) saw the decline of the lead figures all together.

Lead figurines imitated jewellery, with as most common type the disc earring. These imitations were mainly made in the Geometric, Lakonian I and Lakonian II periods.<sup>319</sup> Additionally, the Spartan lead figures imitated the ivories; for example the fish figurines resemble those on the ivory relief of a ship.<sup>320</sup> Other examples are the lions and winged goddesses, which show similar styles to the ivories. The closest likeness however, as Wace suggested<sup>321</sup>, is with the pottery motifs. The drawing of the human and animal figures is reminiscent of the Lakonian vases. Animal figures such as cockerels, deer, water-birds and sphinxes and warrior figurines are both common in lead and as pottery decoration in the third and fourth Lakonian periods.

### **3.1.4 Spartan Inscriptions**

#### **Archaic to Classical: votive fragments**

Two Archaic inscriptions found in the first year of the excavation yielded inscriptions which named Orthia, the name Artemis is not mentioned.<sup>322</sup> Even in later times, the goddess was more often mentioned as just Orthia. Two fragments of reliefs dating to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE displaying horses carried Orthia's name. They were offered to the goddess, as indicated by the term ἀνέθεκε and she is called φορθεία.<sup>323</sup>

---

<sup>319</sup> Wace 1929: 254.

<sup>320</sup> Dawkins 1929: 214 and plates CIX and CX.

<sup>321</sup> Wace 1929: 284.

<sup>322</sup> Tillyard 1905-1906: 353.

<sup>323</sup> Tillyard 1905-1906: 353.

Other Archaic inscriptions are the thirteen fragments of bone flutes.<sup>324</sup> One fragment was inscribed with τὰ ὄρθα (*to Orthia*) and another with the name Axradatos.<sup>325</sup>

In 1919 Hondius and Woodward published the votive inscriptions of Sparta. These objects dated from ca. 600 BCE down to the third century BCE.<sup>326</sup> Part of this publication was about the inscriptions from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary. They divided the inscriptions according to material: stone (mostly soft, fine-grained limestone), metal, ivory and pottery. Examples of the first groups are (reliefs with) horses, dedicated to Orthia.<sup>327</sup> Sometimes the dedicator is named on the relief as well; for example Diokormidas.<sup>328</sup> Other examples in limestone depict a lion and a wild boar, both with a similar name: Τροῦθος. Two bronze dice have inscriptions as well, one to Orthia, the other one presumably to Eileithyia.<sup>329</sup> This is in accordance with Pausanias' description (3.17.1) 'not far from Orthia [her temple] is a sanctuary of Eileithyia'. Two types of inscriptions were found on tiles belonging to Eileithyia. The first is said to be of the third century BCE and the second is dated in the Imperial period. In addition to the inscribed flutes, there is an inscription on an ivory relief.<sup>330</sup> One of the flutes is inscribed with a personal name, the other is to Orthia. Lastly, the Spartan pottery shows lots of fragmentary inscriptions. Nice examples are two platters.<sup>331</sup> The name Τροῦθος might be

---

<sup>324</sup> Found with Lakonian I and Lakonian II pottery. Dawkins 1929d: 236.

<sup>325</sup> An illustration can be found in Dawkins 1929: plate CLXI.

<sup>326</sup> Hondius and Woodward 1919: 112.

<sup>327</sup> IG V I 252: Πανίδαξ Ταρραῖ[ος][μ' ἀνέ]θ<ε>κε Φορθε[ῖαι].

Also Spartan Museum: inventory number 1492, 1497. Hondius and Woodward 1919: 92-3.

<sup>328</sup> Spartan Museum: inventory number 1493. Hondius and Woodward 1919: 90.

<sup>329</sup> Hondius and Woodward 1919: 102, George and Woodward 1929: 143.

The Spartans say that they built it, and came to worship Eileithyia as a goddess, because of an oracle from Delphi.

<sup>330</sup> IG V I 252b: Φορ<θ>αία.

<sup>331</sup> IG V I 1588: [— — ἀνέθ]ηκε τῶν Ὀρθασίαι.

IG V I 1587: ΦΙΘΙΣΑ ἀ[νέ]θῆκε ἡΠΟΝ.

seen on a small pottery fragment as well.<sup>332</sup> Lots of small fragments (especially pottery) discussed by Hondius and Woodward either mention Orthia<sup>333</sup> or ἀνηθεκη in some form. The forms can be divided into three periods: no later than 600 BCE: φορθα[ία], φο[ρθ]εῖ[α], φο(ρ)θεία, φορθασία, φορ(θ)αία, φορθασία; (early) sixth century BCE: φορθαία, φορθά (or φορθα[ία]?); fifth and early fourth centuries BCE: [φορ]θί[α](?), [φορθ]εῖ[α], [φορ]θεία.

### **Roman period: dedications by the winners of the contests for boys**

These inscriptions record the results of contests held in Sparta for young boys.<sup>334</sup> The dedicators are boys, who, as leaders of their own bands won some of the contests: IG VI 307, 308, 309 (second century CE) and IG V I 652, 653, 653a, 653b, 654 (late second century CE). Some of these inscriptions mention το παιδικον μῶαν (singing) in some form. Other inscriptions have a form of κλέαν (singing) or καθηρατόριν (hunt in the broadest sense of the word) when they refer to which contest the boy had won.<sup>335</sup> It is therefore always clear what kind of contest the boys won. It was even possible to win the same contest in two different years.<sup>336</sup> The first of these belongs to the Flavian era and the rest to the late second or early third century CE.<sup>337</sup> The dating of most of the inscriptions is uncertain, although the date of the victories is given; the year cannot be fixed because there is only a reference to πατρόνομος (their patronymics) instead of their

---

<sup>332</sup> This might be contemporary to the limestone fragments: Hondius and Woodward 1919: 94 numbers 7 and 8. According to them, other names of the same root are not rare.

<sup>333</sup> Hondius and Woodward 1919.

<sup>334</sup> Tillyard 1905-1906: 354.

<sup>335</sup> Tillyard 1905-1906: 380-383. Tod and Wace 1906 mention some examples in their *Spartan Museum Catalogue*; numbers 218, 219, 501.

<sup>336</sup> Tillyard 1905-1906: 361.

<sup>337</sup> Tillyard 1905-1906: 355.

full names. It is remarkable that the inscriptions from the Roman period still have an extremely Archaic character to their language.<sup>338</sup>

The victory is in most cases recorded on a small ornamental slab or stele of local marble, decorated, gable-topped and sometimes with a corner ornament or an akroteria.<sup>339</sup> Many of the dedications show a groove or a socket for holding an object. There are only a few cases known in which the object was still in place, but all other examples show some trace of the iron object and therefore it must have been essential to the dedication. This essential part of the dedication by the winners of the boys' contest was an object which could be part of the ceremonial headgear named στλεγγίς (from its likeness to the body-scraper), a sickle or a strigil.<sup>340</sup> However, Plutarch mentions in his *Customs of the Spartans* (32) that the Spartan scrapers were not made of iron, but of reeds. Polybius (25.4) and Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.2.10) do mention a στλεγγίς, but those are made of gold. Since the dedicated thing was likely to be the prize itself, the most reliable option is that the object dedicated was a sickle. The sickle did not have a special meaning in connection with Artemis Orthia; it could simply be the prize that was given or it could refer to Artemis overseeing the boys during their training.

### **Roman period: honorific inscriptions**

One of the inscriptions named the καρτερίας ἀγων, the contest of endurance under the lash.<sup>341</sup> This seemed to be the principal feature of the festival of Artemis Orthia under the Roman Empire and is closely connected to the contests for boys. It attracted visitors to Sparta as late as the reign of Constantine (Libanius, *Oration* 1.23). According to

---

<sup>338</sup> Tod and Wace 1906: 22.

<sup>339</sup> Tillyard 1905-1906: 354.

<sup>340</sup> Rouse 1902: 153; Tillyard 1905-1906: 354, 384-386; Tod and Wace 1906: 22. Dawkins 1906: also mentions strigils.

<sup>341</sup> Bosanquet 1905-1906a: 282.

Pausanias (3.16.10) this contest was the Lycurgan version of the sacrifice, in which the altar still became stained with human blood.

The Spartans did not follow the custom of passing decrees in honour of those who were prominent in political or religious life within the community.<sup>342</sup> The display of personal prominence arose in the Imperial period and statues were set up by the state or relatives or friends of the honoured person. There are also several inscriptions in honour of deified Roman emperors which are characterised by simplicity, monotony and brevity.<sup>343</sup> These inscriptions refer to Hadrian (117-138 CE) or Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE).

### 3.1.5 Spartan Cult Statue

There are two stories about the wooden image of Orthia. Pausanias (3.16.7-11) informs us about the wooden image of Artemis Orthia which was said to have been found in a thicket of willows; this is why she was also called Lygodesma 'Willow-bound' (Pausanias 3.16.11). The other story goes that it was a wooden image (*xoanon*), the one that Orestes and Iphigeneia stole out of the Tauric land. Pausanias deems this story more probable, because Orestes was king and why would Iphigeneia leave behind the image in Brauron.<sup>344</sup> The *xoanon* might have been dressed in real clothes. A wooden statue could easily be dressed in different animal skins and a helmet; however bow and spear seem quite unlikely.<sup>345</sup> Other evidence given by Pausanias is that when the image was found by Astrabacus and Alopecus, they immediately became insane. Pausanias (3.16.9) tells

---

<sup>342</sup> Cartledge 2002.

<sup>343</sup> Tod and Wace 1906: 23.

<sup>344</sup> The Cappadocians also claimed that the Tauric image was in their lands. Strabo XII 2.3 and Dio Cassius, 36.13.

<sup>345</sup> See below.

the story: ‘the Spartan Limnatiens, the Cynosurians and the people of Mesoa and Pitane, while sacrificing to Artemis, fell to quarrelling which led to bloodshed; many were killed at the altar and the rest died of disease.’ The connection between Artemis and trees is also known from Orchomenos, where a wooden cult image of Artemis nested in a cedar-tree and she herself was called Kedreatis ‘Of the Cedar’ (Pausanias 8.13.2).

*Possible evidence for the appearance of the cult statue*

One of the interpretations of Alkman’s Partheneion (I, 60f) tells us that at the cult statue’s neck, as an ornament, the knotted forepaws of an animal skin could be seen.<sup>346</sup> On this basis, a reconstruction of the cult statue could be offered. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann based her reconstruction on the representations of the deity on the tetradrachmes of Kleomenes III (227-222 BCE)<sup>347</sup>, king of Sparta (Pausanias 3.6.9).<sup>348</sup> The statue is represented as standing, wearing a helmet and holding a spear and bow.<sup>349</sup> Romano accepted that this figure could be representing Artemis Orthia with the modification that it is the original *xoanon* that is depicted on the coins<sup>350</sup> which then suggests that neither the ivory and bone carvings, nor the lead figurines from the seventh century BCE represent the original *xoanon*.<sup>351</sup> That seems unlikely.<sup>352</sup> As noted by Romano, the statue

---

<sup>346</sup> The sign in this case would be φᾶρος, then translated as a large piece of cloth; a wide cloak/mantle without sleeves; the sacred offering to Orthia.

<sup>347</sup> Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978: 12-16, table 32 number 1, 12 and 13.

<sup>348</sup> Alroth 1989: 43, 46. According to Alroth Kleomenes III tried to restore the old Lycurgan customs at Sparta for which it is not surprising to choose Artemis Orthia for his coinage. It might be that Kleomenes III especially emphasised the warrior aspect to underline the restoring of the Lycurgan customs. The Orthia as seen on his coins is not to be found among the terracotta, bronze, ivory or bone figures, but is found amongst the lead figurines.

<sup>349</sup> Grunauer-Von Hoerschelmann 1978, followed by Alroth 1989: 43 figure 18.

The depiction on the coin generally was interpreted as Apollo Amyklaios, but there are obvious differences between these coins and the Roman coins of the same Apollo.

<sup>350</sup> Romano 1980: 119.

<sup>351</sup> Dawkins 1929: plates CXVII-CXXXIII, CLXXXI, CLXXXII, CLXXXVIII-CXC, CXCIV, CXCVI, CXCVIII, CXCIX, CC.

<sup>352</sup> In favour: Dawkins *et al.* 1906 : 106-108 ; Dawkins 1929d: 208, 218; Rose 1929: 403. Marangou 1969: 145f argues it cannot be ruled out that the figures were influenced by the cult image. Romano 1980: 123-124 refutes any connection.

was never (knowingly) replaced up to the time of Pausanias.<sup>353</sup> The statue was small and light (Pausanias 3.16.10-11) which enabled it to be held by the priestess for the whipping test. I think Alroth has a better argument, because the helmet, bow and spear might be later additions. Besides that, the depictions on the coins could be the cult statue at the time of Kleomenes III, but not necessarily in the seventh or sixth centuries BCE. Besides that, the Artemis Orthia figure as seen on his coins is not to be found among the terracotta, bronze, ivory or bone figures, but is found amongst the lead figurines.

### **3.1.6 Artemis' identification with Orthia**

For a long time scholars accepted that it was only from the Flavian period, more specifically the second half of the first century CE, that the goddesses Artemis and Orthia were identified as one and the same.<sup>354</sup> That conclusion was due to the fact that the name of Artemis first appeared in inscriptions explicitly identified with Orthia around that time.<sup>355</sup> A close look at the artefacts found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia does imply however, that the two goddesses were identical at an earlier stage. Already in the final publication of the site, Wace noted that when the evolution in the lead types is carefully considered, changes in the figurines may be related to changes in the cult or in the attributes of the goddess.<sup>356</sup> About eighty years later, Falb suggested that the cult changed as early as the sixth century BCE and Orthia therefore became identified with Artemis as early as that.<sup>357</sup>

---

<sup>353</sup> Romano 1980: 119.

<sup>354</sup> Rose 1929: 401, Davison 1938: 458, Carter 1987: 375.

<sup>355</sup> See section 1.2.1 Artemis Orthia, Evidence. See also Woodward 1929: 308-312.

<sup>356</sup> Wace 1929: 282-283.

<sup>357</sup> Falb 2009: 135.

By tabulating the finds from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, it became clear, the majority of the finds can be dated between the eighth century BCE and 545 BCE. The local products (pottery, lead figurines, terracottas and bone plaques) were made with great detail from the seventh century BCE to the years 570/560 BCE, when the new temple and altar were built. The sixth century BCE saw a series of changes in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta which are presumably interrelated. First there was a decreasing use of the sanctuary. This decrease in use was due to the changes in the social organisation of the Spartan community which occur from the late Archaic period onwards to an exclusive focus on the military ideal.<sup>358</sup> The decline of most forms of art within Sparta could be connected with the growing militarism of the Spartans.<sup>359</sup> Or as Droop put it in the final publication after the excavations: ‘not the least interesting of the finds at the sanctuary of Orthia was the artistic reputation of the early Spartans, which had been buried beneath the militarism of their descendants’.<sup>360</sup> After 545 BCE there is a great decrease in the finds. This was probably due to the changes of the cult, which are clearly shown in the characteristics of the offering found in the particular periods. The change from winged to no longer winged goddess is a first sign of change. In addition, from the sixth century BCE onwards the goddess Orthia was identified by different animals (deer) and attributes (bow and aegis).<sup>361</sup> These attributes and animals, although new in this sanctuary, were already known as belonging to the Olympian goddess Artemis.<sup>362</sup> With the passing of

---

<sup>358</sup> See below, section 4.3.2 Human figures, Warriors and section 5.1.1 Sparta, Education for boys: military training and skills. See also for example Christensen 2006.

<sup>359</sup> Dickins 1929: 166.

<sup>360</sup> Droop 1929a: 52.

<sup>361</sup> As will be discussed in section 3.3.6, the same sort of syncretism of two deities can be seen in Tegea, where Athena is associated with Alea to become Athena Alea.

The cult of Artemis Orthia (Orthosia, Orthasia, and Ortygia) is also known from Attica, Argos, Epidauros, Arkadia, Elis, Megara, Messene, Boeotia and Byzantium. More specific examples are Mount Kotilon (Pausanias, 8.41.10), Mount Lykone (Pausanias, 2.24.5) and Syracuse (Pindar, *Pythian Odes II* 1-9).

<sup>362</sup> See section 2.2. Examples on pottery occur around the same time. Examples are Beazley 350268 and Beazley 350226.

time, all animal types die out except the deer, which remains popular to the end. The presence of the deer and of the goddesses with bow confirms that the change was the identification of Orthia with Artemis or even the eclipse of Orthia by Artemis.<sup>363</sup> Representations of animals on Lakonian pottery show the greatest variety right before and after the layer of sand, the period dating 620-545 BCE. Before and after the sand the change is big enough to conclude that the connection between Orthia and Artemis dates to the sixth century BCE.

Artemis Orthia, as was first suggested by Evans, was a local goddess surviving from or at least profoundly influenced by Minoan-Mycenaean times and could be considered a *potnia theron*.<sup>364</sup> Artemis Orthia was associated with animals, hunting and dancing, children and young animals. The animal figurine types found in the periods of 650-620 BCE and 620-570/560 BCE, under the sand layer could be explained by Artemis Orthia's character as a *potnia theron*. The theme of horses and lions is recurrent in Spartan art. The lions as well as the horses are a well-known attribute of the *potnia theron* and of Artemis. Furthermore, the existence of a Prehistoric *potnia theron* is based on the assumptions that hunting was of major importance and must have had its own deity.<sup>365</sup> Secondly seals, pottery and frescoes show a female with wild animals. The *potnia theron*, the Mistress of Animals was an expression of dominance. Marinatos characterised the

---

<sup>363</sup> Wace 1929: 282-283. Interestingly, the figures found at the Menelaion (built on the hill of Profitis Ilias, southeast of Sparta) follow the same rule as to change of type as those of the Orthia sanctuary, and also include deer. Wace proposed that it was possible that Helen and Orthia belong to the same type of local goddess and each was regarded as *potnia theron*. However, Helen seems to have preserved her individuality and was never absorbed by another goddess. It seems likely to me that the changes of type preserved at the Menelaion were due to the fact that Helen and Artemis Orthia were connected to each other. Both deities were worshipped for the role they played as fertility deities and they both had ties with warfare.

<sup>364</sup> Evans 1912: 285, Wace 1929: 252 and 282-283, Nilsson 1950, Christou 1968, Barclay 2001, Laffineur and Hägg 2001, Nosch 2009.

<sup>365</sup> Nosch 2009: 23, Laffineur and Hägg 2001.

image of the goddess holding the animals by their neck as being aggressive.<sup>366</sup> Artemis' strong connection with the east and the inheritance of the eastern *potnia theron* can moreover be seen in the representations of the winged woman or goddess.

Woodward described the epigraphic evidence for the identification of Artemis and Orthia in the final publication of the sanctuary. There are four inscriptions, all on *stelai*, that mention the name Artemis Orthia. The first stele mentioned was one in the series of the dedications by the winners of the contests for boys.<sup>367</sup> It was dated to be no later than 75-80 CE, which means that the Εὐδάμος is distinct from the G. Julius Eudamos mentioned in IG V 1, 63.<sup>368</sup> The second stele was dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius (86-161 CE). The third has two dating options, one falling in the Flavian period, the other even earlier, because something is known of this victor's career. He twice was a member of the Gerosia starting in ca. 100 CE by which time he had Roman citizenship. Since his victory would have taken place some thirty years earlier, that places this stele well into the Flavian period. The fourth stele was dated to the reign of Trajan (98-177 CE) at first, and later corrected to belong to the reign of Claudius (10-54 CE), not long after the death of Vespasian (79 CE). However, in date it is supposed to be quite close to the third stele. That has to do with the relation between Ἐνομαντιάδας and Ἱεροκλῆς and Χάλεινος.

In addition to Woodward's suggestion, stamped roof tiles bearing Artemis Orthia's name in three types show they belonged to her temple.<sup>369</sup> Two of these types of stamped tiles are dated in the early second century BCE. The third type is ascribed to the Imperial

---

<sup>366</sup> Marinatos 1998: 118. Marinatos characterises Artemis as an *anti-mother*, because she attacks animals instead of taking care of them. That is in opposition to the Egyptian, Minoan and Near Eastern images, where the fertility goddess and motherhood are associated with the suckling calf.

<sup>367</sup> Woodward 1929: 308-309. The inscriptions mentioning Ἀρτέμιτι Ὀρθεία are thoroughly studied by Woodward and related to other inscriptions, which allowed him to date the stelai to the Flavian period. The following is based on his descriptions and conclusions.

<sup>368</sup> IG V I, 63 dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>369</sup> George and Woodward 1929: 143, Dawkins 1929: 32.

period. Very few examples are found of the third type in opposition to the two types dated to the early second century BCE, which suggests that just a few of such tiles were made and probably made for repairs. These fragments were found all over the site above the level of the Roman period, especially in front of the temple. Some examples were even found between the Roman level and the level belonging to when the temple was first built. The stamps belonged to the second century BCE, a reference to the building operations of the Hellenistic period. The presence of the stamps above the Roman level suggests that the Hellenistic temple must have been standing until the latest period of the cult.

This chapter section has summarised the archaeology of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. From the earliest period onwards there was a place, where later the altar would be built, that held votive offerings to the deity worshipped in the sanctuary. The archaeology shows an early identification of Artemis and Orthia, which results in a goddess that overlooks both the animal world, but also plays an important role in the upbringing of children. Important artefacts that illustrate this latter part of her character are the terracotta masks. These masks, as will be shown below, play an important part in the rites of passage. How the archaeology relates to the cult activity that was taking place will be further explained in chapter 4 and 6.

### **3.2 Ephesus – Artemis Ephesia**

As Falkener noted:<sup>370</sup> ‘The treasures of the Temple, [...], consisted of various kinds; as offerings, deposits, honorary statues, votive offerings, spoils, and actual treasure.’ Little of substance has been available to English-speaking scholarship about the Artemis cult in

---

<sup>370</sup> Falkener 1862: 314.

Ephesus with relation to its architecture, archaeological finds and how these aspects reflect the rituals or mysteries for Artemis.<sup>371</sup> The available data are relatively scarce considering that they come from a period covering a millennium.<sup>372</sup> On the one hand, such a long period undoubtedly saw changes in the Ephesian understanding of their Artemis; on the other hand, tradition is a critical factor and plays an important part in preserving the cult with a minimum of change. In the words of Oster, despite the changes, Ephesus and Artemis were inseparable: ‘there existed a distinctive and unique bond between the city of Ephesus, its denizens, and the goddess Artemis.’<sup>373</sup>

The excavation reports and publications about the finds of the Artemision show a wide range of objects and materials mainly dated to the Archaic period. This is partly due to the fact that Wood’s monograph<sup>374</sup> was just a brief account of the early finds of architectural structures and that Hogarth<sup>375</sup> only reported on the Archaic Artemision,<sup>376</sup> with the intention of reporting on the Hellenistic one later, which unfortunately never happened. Objects dated to the earlier centuries, all the way back to the thirteenth century BCE, are very scarce.<sup>377</sup> The same is true for the objects after the sixth century BCE. In addition to the ‘missing’ Hogarth publication, this lack of later material is probably best to be explained by the history of the sanctuary. During the Classical period the sanctuary

---

<sup>371</sup> More on the Ephesian mysteries can be found in section 3.2.6 The Cult of Artemis Ephesia, The establishment of the Ephesian Mysteries. Artemis Ephesia is amongst other places also known in: Sardeis (Knibbe 1961-1963: 175-182), Smyrna (Oster 1987), Aphrodisias, Dirmil in Karia, Chios, Macedonia, Rome, Berezan in the Ukraine, Pantikapaion on the Crimean Bosphorus, Massilia (modern day Marseilles: Strabo, 4.1.4), Hemeroskopeion (Iberia: Strabo, 3.4.6), Emporion and Rhodes (Iberia: Strabo 3.4.8), Corinth (Pausanias 2.2.6), Alea in Arkadia (Pausanias 8.23.1), Megalopolis in Arkadia (Pausanias 8.30.6), Skillus near Elis (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.3.4-13, Pausanias 5.6.5, Strabo 8.7.5).

<sup>372</sup> Wood 1877.

<sup>373</sup> Strelan 1996: 14. The problems or questions arising are: what legitimate use can be made of such data? Is Artemis of the fourth century BCE the same as she of the fourth century CE?

<sup>374</sup> Oster 1990: 1700. A similar link is known between Athena and Athens and thus not unique; however, it is unique in terms of time.

<sup>375</sup> Wood 1877.

<sup>376</sup> Hogarth 1908.

<sup>377</sup> With chapters by C.H. Smith, A. Hamilton Smith, B.V. Head, and A.E. Henderson.

<sup>378</sup> For this reason I gathered all the early finds under a pre-Geometric header.

was destroyed by fire, which must have resulted in the loss of both architectural evidence and artefacts. The publications of the Austrian work are done by different specialists which results in a range of pictures that are inevitably incomplete.

From the architectural structure, the sequence of altars, the sequence of temples (appendix 13): naos 1, naos 2, sekos 1, sekos 2, dipteros 1 and dipteros 2, the theatre, the hekatompedon and the city walls are of interest for my reconstruction of the use of the sanctuary. In addition, information on the archaeological finds that were found in the sanctuary and some inscriptional material are of interest for interpreting the cult of Artemis Ephesia.

### **3.2.1 Earliest Activity**

The area of the Artemis sanctuary was and still is very marshy (appendix 14).<sup>378</sup> The existence of an early shrine is confirmed by the discovery of Early Iron Age pottery.<sup>379</sup> It ranges from the end of the eleventh century BCE to the end of the eighth century BCE.<sup>380</sup> A pottery fragment of this period was for example found under the base in the north section.<sup>381</sup> Another fragment of this period was an older setting of stones found beneath the lower edges of the foundation of the peripteral temple.<sup>382</sup> In addition to pottery, animal figures dating from the late eleventh to the early ninth century BCE were found. This earliest cult place was destroyed by a flood, as is suggested by an alluvium stratum under

---

<sup>378</sup> Das Artemision in vorhellenistische Zeit: <http://www.oeai.at/index.php/vorhellenistisches-ephesos.html> and Prahistorische Forschungen in Ephesos: <http://www.oeai.at/index.php/prahistorische-forschungen.html>.

<sup>379</sup> Kerschner 2011: 20. The area was only partly excavated down to the Geometric layers; the total extension of the deposit is not yet known.

<sup>380</sup> See below 3.2.2 Ephesian Architecture, The Artemision.

<sup>381</sup> Bammer 1990: 142.

<sup>382</sup> See below 3.2.2 Ephesian Architecture, The Artemision.

the seventh century BCE stratum. In the seventh century BCE the area that would become the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus was raised to prevent it from further flooding.<sup>383</sup> Even so this oldest part of the *temenos* would remain a focus point throughout time. The next stratum was dated to the end of the seventh century BCE, in agreement with the dating of the naiskos, the first shrine-structure.<sup>384</sup>

### 3.2.2 Ephesian Architecture

#### Sequence of altars

For many years the excavators of the site of Artemis Ephesia have been looking for the altar that was expected to accompany the temple. Several archaeological finds suggested there had been an altar structure.<sup>385</sup> The debris of the area west of the temple showed animal bones, most of which were from domestic animals like goats, pigs and dogs, but wild animals were also represented. The most surprising finds were the human bones.<sup>386</sup> Animal remains dating to the Proto-Geometric time show two kinds of sacrificial cult activity; burnt offerings and feasting.<sup>387</sup> The first is the burnt thigh bones of goats and sheep; the left-overs of burning sacrifices. The other was the accumulation of piglet bones that were interpreted as deposits from sacrifices; the result of an offering in which the meat was distributed amongst the attendees.<sup>388</sup> The sacrifice of pigs in the area around

---

<sup>383</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 33.

<sup>384</sup> See below 3.2.2 Ephesian Architecture, The Artemision, Seventh century BCE: naos1, naos 2, sekos 1 and sekos 2.

<sup>385</sup> Bammer 1984: 10. Earlier, in 1978 Bammer wrote the first account on the bone finds at the Artemision, accompanied by a map of the places they were found; plan 3.

<sup>386</sup> Fabrizio-Reuer 2001: 45. The first example (one bone of a female adult) was found near the altar and there is no specific date given for this bone. Two other examples were dated to the Middle Ages by the excavators; one belonged to a young female around sixteen years old, the other, also female, was around thirty years old.

<sup>387</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 36.

<sup>388</sup> Forstenpointner 2001: 71.

the Hekatompedon and the northern base for a cult statue in combination with the remains of burned sacrifices and other sacrificial remains and the archaeological context (the presence of lamps and hydriskoi) could suggest an interpretation of nocturnal rituals.<sup>389</sup> Earlier, Forstenpointner argued that due to the lack of any traces of cut-marks, the piglet bones should not necessarily be interpreted as the remains of meals.<sup>390</sup> The pottery, animal figures and animal residues suggest that the sanctuary was already used for cultic purposes between the eleventh and ninth century BCE. Traces of both kraters and of small cups and jugs confirm the use of the sanctuary.<sup>391</sup> As noted by Bammer and Muss, these finds suggest that both libations and other cult activities such as meals, demonstrated by the bones, took place. The cups would even suggest that the spring in the area near the altar was used during the cult activities. The altar was discovered in 1965 during the Austrian excavations.<sup>392</sup> The latest structure in the sequence of altars is pi-shaped and was completely excavated in the years 1968-1970.<sup>393</sup> Within this structure three platforms were found.

### *Three platforms*

The earliest traces of the use of the three platforms in the area west of the temple date from the second half of the sixth century BCE.<sup>394</sup> The Archaic altar area consisted of three bases. This early tripartite structure was found under the platform of the later altar. These platforms should be described neutrally, but were first mentioned by Bammer as ramp,

---

<sup>389</sup> Like the rituals known as the Thesmophoriae for Demeter.

<sup>390</sup> Forstenpointner 2001: 71. These bones were found in the area around the Hekatompedos and the northern cult base.

<sup>391</sup> Bammer and Muss 1996: 67.

<sup>392</sup> Bammer and Muss 1996: 19.

<sup>393</sup> Muss and Bammer 2001: 24.

<sup>394</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 115. Archaic pottery was used to date the other finds.

*eschara* (hearth pit) and a base.<sup>395</sup> From north to south there are a rectangular base, and fragments of two square platforms. Kerschner and Prochaska suggest beyond a neutral description that the two square fragments are bases that were used to display important votive offerings.<sup>396</sup> The second phase of construction in this area dates to the fourth century BCE.<sup>397</sup> Another platform dating to the seventh century BCE was found at the rear of the temple. Hogarth excavated this, but it was not until Bammer in 1993 looked into its use that it was identified as a base for a cult statue.<sup>398</sup> There are not many finds that illustrate the manner of use and the period of use of this base. The pottery found near the base was dated to the middle of the seventh century BCE.<sup>399</sup> The base did not have a long life, as it is certain that it disappeared under the foundations of the Croesus temple.<sup>400</sup>

#### *Archaic altar*

Pausanias (10.38.6) wrote about the altar:

ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας πρὸς τὸ οἶκημα ἐρχομένῳ τὸ ἔχοντὰς γραφὰς λίθου θριγκὸς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Πρωτοθρονίης καλουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος: ἀγάλματα δὲ ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ τοῦ θριγκοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰκὼν πρὸς τῷ πέρατι ἔστηκε, τέχνη τοῦ Ῥοίκου, Νύκτα δὲ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι καλοῦσι.

But in the sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis, as you enter the building containing the pictures, there is a stone wall above the altar of Artemis called Goddess of the First Seat. Among the images that stand upon the wall is a statue of a woman at

---

<sup>395</sup> Amongst others Bammer's 1972 statement was followed: Bammer 1973-1974, Kuhn 1984, Muss 2001, Ohnesorg 2005, and for the last time in Bammer 2008a. In opposition were Kerschner and Prochaska 2011.

<sup>396</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 113.

<sup>397</sup> Both the altar and the temple recalled their former function with the new building phase of this period; probably due to the fire that destroyed the sanctuary in 356 BCE. See below, *fourth century 'hofaltar'*.

<sup>398</sup> The different interpretations are summarised by Kerschner 1997: 87.

<sup>399</sup> Kerschner 1997: 176.

<sup>400</sup> For a detailed description of this temple, see below.

the end, a work of Rhoecus [the son of Philaeus, a Samian who discovered how to found bronze most perfectly, Pausanias 8.14.8], called by the Ephesians Night.

The first architectural enclosure of the altar area was dated by Bammer after the Croesus temple. This major change took place in the first half of the fifth century BCE. The altar area was enclosed by a pi-shape, creating a courtyard around the altar.<sup>401</sup> The opening of the structure faced away from the temple. No longer could everyone, e.g. members of the whole community, witness the rituals and offerings taking place in the enclosed area. Bammer's dating was revised, as this enclosure is not mentioned in the interpretations of the sanctuary by for example Weissl, and Kerschner and Prochaska. The 2002 map by Weissl shows the altar site belonging to the fourth century BCE temple, without even recognising the three platforms as earlier structures.<sup>402</sup> In the 2011 revised version by Kerschner and Prochaska, the three platforms are dated to the second half of the sixth or early fifth century BCE and the pi-shape is part of the fourth century temple.<sup>403</sup>

Even though the altar was located west of the temple, the priest still entered the area walking in an eastern direction, facing the temple.<sup>404</sup> Perhaps it was built this way, because it was orientated towards the sea. The altar of most Greek temples was located at the east side of the temple. The altar then was approached from the west side, facing the temple.<sup>405</sup> Knibbe and Langmann suggested that at Ephesus it represents Artemis as a night goddess.<sup>406</sup> On coins and statues the goddess is seen carrying a torch which could

---

<sup>401</sup> Bammer 1973-1974: 57.

<sup>402</sup> Weissl 2002: figure 14.

<sup>403</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: figure 12. The interpretation of the excavations is still ongoing.

<sup>404</sup> Ohnesorg 2005: 155.

<sup>405</sup> Vitruvius, IV 5 describes this as the way a temple should look, if there is no reason to hinder and the choice is free: the temple and the statue placed in the cella should face the western quarter of the sky. Other examples are the temples for Artemis in Sardeis and Magnesia.

<sup>406</sup> Knibbe and Langmann 1993: 28. In this case her power was only fully visible after the day-star had disappeared. Apart from Ephesus this lay-out can be found at the Artemis sanctuaries at Sardeis and Magnesia as well. Bammer 1968: 420.

be an addition to this story. However, I do not think Artemis was a night goddess, more likely, the torch is a reference to night-time rituals, which were known from her worship in different places.<sup>407</sup>

At the west side of the Artemision structural remains were discovered and interpreted as being contemporary to the Croesus temple.<sup>408</sup> There are different interpretations as to what kind of building it must have been: the most likely is an Archaic altar<sup>409</sup>, a temple representing a separate cult<sup>410</sup> or a banqueting hall<sup>411</sup>, because there were animal bones found north of the structure.<sup>412</sup> The use of this structure, usually referred to as the Hekatompedon<sup>413</sup>, for offerings decreased from the middle of the sixth century onwards.<sup>414</sup> However, it did not disappear, as it was still used in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. That could have been due to the fact that the Croesus temple at that time was still under construction.

#### *Fourth century 'hofaltar'*

As shown above there were several building phases before the fourth century BCE altar was built. This altar consists of the earliest platform structures surrounded by a courtyard

---

<sup>407</sup> For example for Artemis Tauropolos: Alkman, fragment 5; Menander, *Epitrepontes* 451-454; Herodotus, 3.48. See also Jeanmaire 1939: 391-392.

<sup>408</sup> Bammer 1984: 174, Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 91-108. If this was the case, the function of both the temple and this structure has to be revised. According Kerschner and Prochaska, because at the time Sekos 2 was erected, the altar was most likely located within the temple. That would make the interpretation of this structure as an altar unlikely. Therefore, it seems more suitable to date this structure with the beginning of the Croesus temple, the start of a new concept.

<sup>409</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 108.

<sup>410</sup> Bammer 2008b: 83. Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 91-108, rightly ask the question that if the building represents a cult place for a different deity or the cult place of a different clan, which deity that would be.

<sup>411</sup> Mentioned by Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 100 and especially note 169.

<sup>412</sup> Bammer 1993: 150 and Bammer 2008: 252. Bammer was quite certain the remains are part of a separate structure, situated outside the peripteral temple. The interpretation that it was built as an altar for 'Temple C' however is quite unlikely. One of the reasons he gives is the asymmetric lay-out of the Hekatompedon.

<sup>413</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: instead of using the term Hekatompedon, it seems more fitting to call it a monumental Archaic altar.

<sup>414</sup> Bammer 2008b: 82-83.

wall with a row of columns inside and out to create a pi-shaped structure.<sup>415</sup> The fourth century BCE altar was decorated with reliefs, sculptures and columns.<sup>416</sup> The frieze relief was probably Roman and therefore it is questionable whether the whole altar was a Roman reconstruction or if the relief was a Roman adjustment of the altar.<sup>417</sup> This ‘hofaltar’ shows parallels with both the Pergamon altar (second century BCE)<sup>418</sup> and the Ara Pacis (end first century BCE)<sup>419</sup>. Parallels occur in form and manner of decoration, for example the long meander and the facades which have different spaces between the columns on each side.

### **The Artemision**

The temple within the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus has a complicated building history. It was first discovered by Wood.<sup>420</sup> Hogarth, some twenty years later, looking at ancient sources such as Callimachus, Strabo and Pliny, suggested that the site knew the following building activity: at first there was a tree-shrine.<sup>421</sup> Over and round this a stone building was erected connected with the name of Theodoros of Samos. The first temple of definitively Greek architecture was built by Chersiphron of Knossos and is remembered as the original Artemision. However, it is uncertain if the stone building of Theodoros and the temple by Chersiphron were distinct. It was an Ionic temple. This first temple was succeeded by a larger one. If we believe Vitruvius (VII p. 161) it was completed by Demetrios and Paeonios of Ephesus. This could either be the same as the

---

<sup>415</sup> Bammer 1968: plate 34. Bammer 1972: plate 2 for a complete reconstruction. Bammer 2008a: 277.

<sup>416</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 117.

<sup>417</sup> Bammer 2008a: 279.

<sup>418</sup> See for example Winnefeld 1910, Salis 1912, Hoffmann 1952, Schmidt 1965, and Kunze 1991.

<sup>419</sup> See for example Moretti 1948, Simon 1967, Torelli 1982, Zanker 1988, Holliday 1990, and Crow 2006.

<sup>420</sup> Wood 1877: 155, 166.

<sup>421</sup> Hogarth 1908: 4-5. Ephesus is not the only place where Artemis is said to be worshipped at a tree-shrine. Another example is the city of Orchomenus (Pausanias, 8.13.2): ‘Near the city is a wooden image of Artemis. It is set in a large cedar tree, and after the tree they call the goddess the Lady of the Cedar (τῆς κέδρου Κεδρεῖτιν).’

sixth century BCE Croesus temple, or a completely different structure. Since the Croesus temple burnt down in 356 BCE, a new structure was erected. This Hellenistic temple was the work of Deinocrates and it was built in the time of Alexander the Great.

For nearly a century, since Hogarth's excavation, it was thought that within the first period of building activity there were three successive small temples erected (appendix 13).<sup>422</sup> Amongst the reasons Hogarth gave for such intensive building activities were destruction by invaders and the water-logged nature of the site.<sup>423</sup> After Bammer's excavation from the nineteen-sixties until the nineteen-nineties it became clearer that from the eighth until the sixth century BCE there were possibly several shrines on the site at the same time.<sup>424</sup> It would become a single shrine for the goddess Artemis in the sixth century BCE. The Croesus temple built in the sixth century BCE would be the predecessor of the well-known Wonder of the Ancient World, built in the fourth century BCE. Both the Archaic and the Late-Classical temple were among the grandest and most impressive of their time.<sup>425</sup> The grandeur of that temple was recorded by several ancient writers. Livy (1.45) for example, mentions that even at an early date, 'the temple of Diana at Ephesus enjoyed great renown. It was reputed to have been built through the cooperation of the cities of Asia'.

---

<sup>422</sup> Hogarth 1908: 52-74.

Knibbe 1995: 143 argues the excavations showed the existence of two cultic sites, which he interpreted as either being devoted to two different deities or serving two distinct clans for the worship of the same goddess. Unfortunately Knibbe did not describe which part of the excavations he was referring to; therefore it is difficult to decide if he made a valid point.

<sup>423</sup> Hogarth 1908: 52.

<sup>424</sup> Bammer 1998: 27.

<sup>425</sup> Jenkins, I. 2006. Other colossal temples include the Rhoikos and Polykrates temples of Hera on Samos, the Apollo temple at Didyma, the temple of Artemis at Sardeis, the Olympieion in Athens, and the so-called Temple G at Selinous and the temple of Zeus at Akragas on Sicily.

### *Tree-shrine*

‘For thee [Artemis], too, the Amazons, whose mind is set on war, in Ephesus beside the sea established an image beneath an oak trunk, [...]’ (Callimachus, *Hymn for Artemis* 237-238).

Callimachus gives us one of the earliest descriptions of the sanctuary known. He described the place as a tree-shrine, located near a sweet water spring, close to the shore and near a sacred tree.<sup>426</sup> That description does not necessarily correspond to the finds that are recorded. According to Knibbe the tree-shrine represented the origin of the worship of Artemis, a tree goddess and a timeless symbol of fertility.<sup>427</sup> There are no other indications of the use of the sanctuary during this period and unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to understand the activity that took place before the sixth century BCE.<sup>428</sup>

### *Seventh century BCE: naos 1, naos 2, sekos 1 and sekos 2*

In the seventh century BCE four successive structures were built within the sanctuary for Artemis. The original dating of the first peripteral temple was sometime within the boundaries of the Middle and Late Geometric periods.<sup>429</sup> The dating of the temple to the eighth century BCE<sup>430</sup> was revised by Weissl and pushed forward to the second quarter of the seventh century, due to the discovery of Late and Sub-Geometric pottery with the

---

<sup>426</sup> Knibbe 1995: 143.

The dating of this tree-shrine is different in some sources. For example Laale (2011: 27-29) mentions that prior to the Trojan War (which he dates exactly 1250 BCE), which could account for the arrival of the Greek Ionians on the shores of Asia Minor, there was a primitive seat of a nature-goddess located at Ephesus. This seat was situated in a grove called Ortygia, on the coast below Ephesus.

<sup>427</sup> Pliny (*Natural History* 12.2) claimed that trees were the first temples of the gods.

<sup>428</sup> An apsidal structure found beneath the southwest corner of the fourth century BCE temple, was mentioned by Bammer 1982: 61, figure 3a and Plate XIb and Fagerström 1988: 97. This structure is not mentioned in the more modern publications about the site.

<sup>429</sup> Bammer 1990: 142. The structure was dated through the finds of middle Geometric pottery fragments in the stratum before the structure was built. Bammer used these fragments as a *terminus post quem*.

<sup>430</sup> By Bammer 1990: 141f.

first stratum below the temple.<sup>431</sup> It is likely that the two phases mentioned by Hogarth in his description of the excavations in the early twentieth century were actually part of the *peripteros* phase<sup>432</sup>; the stone building by Theodoros of Samos in the seventh century BCE which was later excavated by Bammer.

The first temple, the seventh century BCE peripteral temple, is described as naos 1 and dated to the second quarter of the seventh century BCE (appendix 13.1). Naos 1 had a rectangular cella.<sup>433</sup> The history of naos 1 is complicated by the fact that the cella and peristyle were not constructed at the same time. The reason Bammer has given, is that the outer and inner columns could be dated earlier than the walls of the cella.<sup>434</sup> Besides the older columns, there is a burnt stratum visible under the bottom edge of the foundation of the cella of the peripteral temple.<sup>435</sup> Underneath that burnt stratum an even more heavily burnt stratum was found. The lower one corresponds to the surface on which the bases of the peristyle rest. The top one corresponds to the burnt stratum at the top edge of the column bases. The inner columns of the peripteral temple could have been part of an independent internal structure before it got built into the temple.<sup>436</sup> This idea was offered by Kerschner and Prochaska who called it a baldachin.<sup>437</sup> Another option, mentioned by

---

<sup>431</sup> Weissl 2002: 323. Followed by Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 77.

The stratum below the peripteral temple of the second quarter of the seventh century BCE could be divided in two. The eastern part can be dated to the Proto-Geometric time. The western part could be dated even further back, to the late Bronze Age.

<sup>432</sup> Hogarth called this the first (primitive) period.

<sup>433</sup> Weissl 2002: 321. This structure was covered up again after the excavation for reasons of preservation.

<sup>434</sup> Bammer 1990: 145. It was based on the discovery that the cella should have been built later, because the lowest course of the inside of the southern wall of the cella consists of a row of irregular stones. These stones probably belonged to an edifice that existed before the cella was put up. Another reason is that north of the northern wall of the cella, different stones were found underneath the cella-wall.

<sup>435</sup> Bammer 1990: 145.

<sup>436</sup> The function of this rectangular structure is open for interpretation. Bammer suggested it was used for a cult statue and Weissl offered it was used for animal sacrifices. Different interpretations are summarised by Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 82.

<sup>437</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 80.

A baldachin was an ornamented cloth or canopy supported by columns or suspended from a roof covering an altar or tomb. Early examples of baldachins are to be found in Rome and Ravenna. A few baldachins are known from the Gothic period, but the use was more common in the Renaissance.

Jenkins is that the statue stood in a kiosk (*naiskos*).<sup>438</sup> With regards to the use of this structure there are some options mentioned.<sup>439</sup> One option, suggested by Bammer, is that it was used for a cult statue. Weissl on the other hand, due to the remains of animal offerings, would interpret it as a sacrificial space. In this case, one does not necessarily preclude the other.

Bammer's suggestion that a roof could have been built over the full span of the peristyle has been revised by Kerschner and Prochaska.<sup>440</sup> The roof could only have been built if the row of columns stretched the whole length of the cella, forming a central nave.<sup>441</sup> Bammer suggests that the column bases to the west of the six that are actually preserved must have been removed when the cella was built.<sup>442</sup> I think it is more likely that the six columns and the platform in between had their own cultic meaning and that the place got built into the temple for that purpose. It is mentioned below that the cult place was valued to such an extent, that the Ephesians would rather rebuild and improve the same place over and over again instead of moving it to a 'safer' place, or at least a place that was less frequently flooded.

For the alteration of naos 1, which is called naos 2, the rectangular structure surrounded by six columns was taken down and the floor level was elevated (appendix 13.2).<sup>443</sup> In this level votive offerings were deposited. These offerings were interpreted as foundation deposits and amongst the objects were electrum coins, jewellery and other small votives in gold, silver, ivory and amber. Kerschner, who studied Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis*

---

<sup>438</sup> Jenkins, I. 2006.

<sup>439</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 82.

<sup>440</sup> Bammer 1990: 148, Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 80.

<sup>441</sup> At Samos, a single row of columns existed in the Hekatompedon (II). Bammer 1990: 148.

<sup>442</sup> Even in more recent publications, he fails to give a solution for this question.

<sup>443</sup> See also Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 83.

251-258), Assyrian sources<sup>444</sup> and the archaeological finds, described the second temple structure of the seventh century BCE as well.<sup>445</sup> According to Kerschner, Callimachus in confirmation with the Assyrian sources, tells us there was a conflict with the Cimmerians, around 645/640 BCE. Herodotus (1.6) and Strabo (1.3.21) both mention this conflict as well. These readings suggest a fire that destroyed the temple; it is even questionable if this structure was finished before its destruction took place. This conflict must have had some impact on the erection of this second temple structure. The construction must have taken place after the conflict, which is suggested by Kerschner and Prochaska who mention this renewal/alteration ca. 640/620 BCE.<sup>446</sup>

The third structure in the seventh century BCE is known as sekos 1 and was previously called 'Temple C'<sup>447</sup> or 'temple C1' (appendix 13.3).<sup>448</sup> Sekos 1 incorporated naos 2. Sekos 2 was built on the foundations of sekos 1 and it had the same ground plan. None of the structure was found *in situ* and none of the materials found could be described to sekos 1 or sekos 2 with certainty (appendix 13.3 and 13.4).<sup>449</sup> Sekos 2 was not very well preserved in comparison to naos 1 and 2, which leaves modern interpretations with questions that cannot be answered.<sup>450</sup> For example, it is not clear if the structure was ever finished and what its front at the western side would have looked like. When we look at the destruction at the southern side of the building, caused by the erection of the Croesus temple, it is possible that the building was either never finished or taken down to older

---

<sup>444</sup> Kerschner fails to mention which sources he used.

<sup>445</sup> Kerschner 2008: 127.

<sup>446</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 82.

<sup>447</sup> Hogarth used 'Temple C' for both Sekos 1 and Sekos 2.

<sup>448</sup> See also Weissl 2002.

<sup>449</sup> For full references see Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 90, especially note 124. There are three marble blocks that are part of the upper stratum of the foundations. Bammer (1990: 142) suggested that the marble blocks belong to either one of the structures which would mean either Sekos 1 or Sekos 2 was the first marble structure on site. This seems unlikely, as Kerschner and Prochaska mentioned the blocks are similar to the blocks identified as part of the Croesus temple.

<sup>450</sup> Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 88.

strata. Bearing in mind that the start of the structure was dated to circa 600 BCE it would not be surprising if sekos 2 was never finished. Reasons for this could be that the plans for the sixth century BCE temple were taking form. The sixth century BCE temple after all was bigger and grander.

#### *Croesus temple/ first dipteral temple*

During the sixth century BCE, sekos 2 was replaced by a new temple of much greater dimensions (appendix 13.5a and 13.5b). It was the oldest structure in marble<sup>451</sup> from the site of Artemis in Ephesus and dated to the first half of the sixth century BCE, presumably 580-560 BCE.<sup>452</sup> It is not certain by whom it was constructed, but some sources mention Chersiphron of Knossos and others mention Demetrios and Paeonios of Ephesus. Since it took over a century to build this temple it might have been begun by Chersiphron of Knossos who already had an Ionic temple in antis in mind. This would have the same relative proportions as its successors, but on a smaller scale. It is quite possible to connect Demetrios and Paeonios of Ephesus to the same temple as successors of Chersiphron (Strabo 14.1.22). Fragments of a heavily corroded, thin silver plate, with inscriptions (both front and back) are most likely billings from the construction of the Croesus temple.<sup>453</sup>

At the time of Hogarth's excavations at the beginning of the twentieth century, only the foundations of this sixth century BCE temple were still in situ. It is quite interesting, that

---

<sup>451</sup> Bammer 2008b: 82. The material used for the earlier buildings was a yellowish limestone. The interpretation of the Hekatompedon as the earliest building in marble is followed by Weissl 2002: 333-342, Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 91.

<sup>452</sup> This dating is based on a North-Ionic animal frieze fragment that gives us a *terminus post quem* between 625-600 BCE. In addition to this clear example, there were 38 other ceramic fragments amongst which a fragment dated to the early of middle seventh century BCE and another dated to the end of the seventh/early sixth century BCE; 650-560 BCE. Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 104-106, and especially note 208.

<sup>453</sup> Hogarth 1908: 120, Wankel 1979. Dating this silver plate has proven difficult, with Hogarth's suggestion that 'possibly it slipped down when the Croesus foundations were being laid: possibly at even a later moment', and Wankel's publication of the Ephesian inscriptions mentioning 600 BCE.

a part on the east side of the temple could be identified as either an opisthodomos or an adyton.<sup>454</sup> According to Ohnesorg it is more likely to be an adyton. However, the remains of the area are not sufficient enough to give a definite answer whether or not the temple even had an inner room.<sup>455</sup>

Hogarth dated this replacement in the second half of the sixth century BCE.<sup>456</sup> That is a much more likely date than 560 BCE, which would mean the building was started only one year after King Croesus came to power (ca. 561-547 BCE). Since the temple is named after Croesus, probably because he donated several of its columns, it is more acceptable to date it in the second half of the sixth century BCE. Croesus offered to the temple of Artemis in Ephesus 'oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars' (Herodotus, 1.92.1). After the death of Alyattes, his son Croesus came to the throne; circa 560 BCE (Herodotus, 1.26.1-3). The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. These, besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, which was located seven stades away from the ancient city.<sup>457</sup>

In 356 BCE, about three quarters of a century after its completion, the Croesus temple was destroyed by fire.<sup>458</sup> Plutarch (*Alexander* 3.3-4), Strabo (14.1.22) and Valerius Maximus (*Memorable deeds and sayings* 8.14.5.) both wrote about the tragedy that happened on the same night Alexander the Great was born.<sup>459</sup>

---

<sup>454</sup> For a discussion about the use of the terms opisthodomos and adyton, see Hollinshead 1999.

<sup>455</sup> Ohnesorg 2007: 96.

<sup>456</sup> Hogarth 1908: 247.

<sup>457</sup> This distance was measured by Knibbe and Langmann 1993: 30 especially note 73.

<sup>458</sup> The name most connected to this disaster is Herostratus. It is however doubtful if the man managed to burn down the temple on his own and Knibbe and Langmann (1993: 14 especially note 29) even doubt that he ever existed at all. How was it possible to set the temple on fire without any of the wardens noticing? Other options could be that it was hit by lightning or simple negligence of whoever in charge.

<sup>459</sup> The story goes that Artemis was absent from Ephesus, because she was attending on the delivery of Olympias.

*Hellenistic temple/ younger temple/ second dipteral temple*<sup>460</sup>

The new temple was the first time in the building history of the Artemision in Ephesus that the architect put in really massive foundations on top of the previous constructions to deal with the draining of the site that had been a problem in the previous centuries.<sup>461</sup> The foundations of the Hellenistic temple not only covered the remains of previous structures, but had about four times the dimensions (appendix 13.7). The measurements of the outside were larger than those of the Archaic temple, and by raising the stylobate and the amount of *columnae cellatae* it looked different as well.<sup>462</sup> The stylobate of the Croesus temple was used as fundament, completely covered by its successor.<sup>463</sup> This temple was built by Deinocrates (Alexander's architect) with sculptures of Praxiteles and Skopas and painting by, amongst others, Zeuxis. Like the Croesus temple, the Hellenistic temple was dipteral and had a double ring of columns. Other architects mentioned are: Paionios, Demetrios and Cheirorates.<sup>464</sup> For the sculptures and paintings of the temple, names such as Praxiteles (Strabo, 14.1.23) and Apelles (Pliny, *Natural History* 35.40) were mentioned.

For six centuries this *Wonder of the Ancient World* was admired, from its completion around 300 BCE to its destruction by the Goths in 262/3 CE.<sup>465</sup> For example Pausanias (7.5.4.) describes Ionia as follows: 'the land of the Ionians has the finest possible climate

---

<sup>460</sup> See also Ohnesorg 2007: 2, who discusses the naming of the temple and what it is usually connected to: e.g. Hellenistic according to her is for the third century BCE not always a workable title. That's why she prefers to call the second dipteral temple the younger temple.

<sup>461</sup> Hogarth 1908: 52. A gigantic addition to the massive work of their predecessors was to raise the solid pile of foundation blocks to a total thickness for over three metres. That it was higher than its predecessor already made it look more majestic.

<sup>462</sup> Karwiese 1995: 61.

<sup>463</sup> Knibbe 1998: 89.

<sup>464</sup> Bammer and Muss 1996: 54.

<sup>465</sup> Hogarth 1908: 12, Muss und Müller-Kaspar 1989: 40.

The Greek poet Antipater of Sidon wrote the oldest preserved list of the seven wonders of the ancient world (preserved in the *Greek Anthology* Book IX 58).

and sanctuaries such as are to be found nowhere else. First because of its size and wealth is that of the Ephesian goddess [...]'. Another source is Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 16.79) who in one of his chapters describes the durability of wood. The ebony, the cypress, and the cedar were considered to be the most durable. Proof could be seen in the timber of which the temple for Artemis at Ephesus was built. Pliny (36.21) described the temple of Diana at Ephesus as being the most wonderful monument of Grecian magnificence, one that merits genuine admiration: 'The entire length of the temple is four hundred and twenty-five feet, and the breadth two hundred and twenty-five. The columns are one hundred and twenty-seven in number and sixty feet in height, each of them presented by a different king. Thirty-six of these columns are carved, and one of them by the hand of Skopas.'<sup>466</sup>

After the temple of Artemis of Ephesus was destroyed in 263 CE by the Goths, it never recovered its past glory; it was only partially rebuilt.<sup>467</sup> The cella was restored and paved, probably under Diocletian, but all the material came from the ruins. It remained in use through the fourth century CE.<sup>468</sup> For the rest of Late Antiquity the temple lay in ruins and was used as source for building materials for the rest of the city.<sup>469</sup> Because the temple was built on marshy ground it slowly disappeared from sight until it was completely buried and its site lost.

---

<sup>466</sup> The amount of columns surrounding the temple have been discussed in the whole history of the excavations. If there were a hundred and twenty-seven columns, this indeed was the largest temple of the ancient world. Not all writers seem to follow this amount or agree with the explanations given since the start of the excavations. The earliest example is Fergusson 1883.

<sup>467</sup> Foss 1979: 86.

<sup>468</sup> Kraft, Kayan and Brückner 2001: 124. The site was completely abandoned in the fifth century CE.

<sup>469</sup> Inscriptions from the temple have been found in the Baths of Constantius and the Churches of Saint Mary and Saint John. Foss 1979: 87.

## Columnae cellatae

The *columnae cellatae* are an architectonic element, important in both the Croesus temple and the Hellenistic temple.<sup>470</sup> The *columnae cellatae* were probably first mentioned by Herodotus (1.92) in his description of the many offerings Croesus made in Greece: ‘at Ephesus there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars.’ Further evidence can be found in the inscriptions which hold: βασιλεύς κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν.<sup>471</sup>

According to Muss, the reliefs of the *columnae cellatae* depict a procession leading to a sacrifice.<sup>472</sup> Amongst the figures participating in the procession were a kernos-bearer and a priest. In addition there were fragments of bulls and sheep found, adding to the story that the animals that were to be sacrificed were part of the procession.<sup>473</sup> The fragments that belong to the depictions of horses might have a different meaning, since offering horses is unlikely. They probably represent the charioteers and horsemen. Some of the figures in the procession are dancing.<sup>474</sup> Such religious dances were very important in cults. The most well-known dances are those in the cult of vegetation goddesses such as Artemis and Demeter. Carved columns were certainly not common. However, they appear also at the dipteral, Archaic temple of Apollo at Didyma from the sixth century BCE.<sup>475</sup> Both temples were located in Ionia and had this sculptural decoration since the sixth century BCE. Unfortunately there do not seem to be any more parallels.

---

<sup>470</sup> Muss 1994: 5 follows Bammer 1975.

<sup>471</sup> Muss 1994: 23.

<sup>472</sup> Muss 1994: 110.

<sup>473</sup> Muss 1994: 44.

<sup>474</sup> Muss 1994: 45.

<sup>475</sup> Muss 1994: 110. See Köse 2012: 333-335 for additional references.

## Theatre

In recent years a new option has been selected for the structure within the sanctuary called the ‘tribune’ or (Roman) Odeion.<sup>476</sup> It has been identified as a theatre-like structure, based on its furnishings; the cavea inserted into a rectangular ground plan and an elevated stage, as well as close architectural-typological comparisons.<sup>477</sup> Earlier interpretations were that it was used as a cult theatre. The pottery found with this structure is dated from the Hellenistic period to the second half of the first century CE.<sup>478</sup> The strata connected to the structure are even younger and there is one dating to the fourth until the sixth century CE and one renovation dating to the sixth until the seventh century CE.<sup>479</sup> The function and use of this structure could be very interesting; due to the knowledge we have about the theatre in Sparta. The Odeion in Ephesus was quite likely used for musical practice and even musical competitions, which obviously were an important part of the worship of Artemis.<sup>480</sup> This practice, part of the games in honour of Artemis Ephesia, was already mentioned in inscriptions mentioning the victory of an actor, a rhetor and a poet of encomia.<sup>481</sup> According to Zabrana, the erection of a building in the second half of the first century CE, so close to the temple, must have had some connection and function in the Artemisia. In addition, if musical contests were important enough in the Roman period to build a theatre especially for this purpose and so close to the temple, these kinds of

---

<sup>476</sup> <http://www.oeai.at/index.php/cult-and-rule.html> <retrieved 18/09/2013>. A good example is the Odeion in Athens.

<sup>477</sup> Zabrana 2011: 347.

<sup>478</sup> Zabrana 2011: 357.

<sup>479</sup> The excavation of this structure is very recent (since 2009) and not much has yet been published. It would be well worth looking into it in more detail, once the reports come available. What has become clear by reading Zabrana 2011 is that the excavators are quite certain this building was used as Odeion, known for musical contests.

Work on the ‘Tribune’ will continue until 2015, and the goal of the project is to clarify the function and dating, as well as the reconstruction and history of usage of the building. <http://www.oeai.at/index.php/cult-and-rule.html> <retrieved 18/09/2013>.

<sup>480</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>481</sup> Unfortunately, Zabrana fails to mention which inscription she used to confirm the assumption.

contests were probably important before. It would be interesting to see, if there is any archaeological evidence that suggests a similar hypothesis. This can be anything from inscriptions of victories from earlier date, musical instruments to statuettes and figurines with music players depicted. Both musical instruments and lyre players were amongst the finds of the Artemision and could be used to confirm the assumption.

### **3.2.3 Ephesian Artefacts (appendix 3)**

#### **Pottery**

During the excavations at the site of Artemis in Ephesus, votive offerings were found in all the excavated areas.<sup>482</sup> The oldest artefacts found in the Artemision in Ephesus are dated to the Late Bronze Age.<sup>483</sup> These finds were discovered under the peripteral temple and east of the temple. Under the cella of the peripteral temple sixty pieces of pottery were revealed. These pottery finds however, are not enough evidence to make any conclusions about the use of the sanctuary in the second millennium BCE. The earliest pottery found in the Ephesian Artemision is Mycenaean pottery sherds, excavated in 1987.<sup>484</sup> The range of Mycenaean (starting with LH IIIA2) finds suggest that there was a cult place already in the earliest period of the place that would later become the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia. The actual oldest dated artefact (up until this day)<sup>485</sup> is a wall fragment of a late Mycenaean cup with a whorl shell motif,<sup>486</sup> e.g. late thirteenth/early

---

<sup>482</sup> Bammer and Muss 2008: 80.

<sup>483</sup> Kerschner 2011: 20, Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 33.

<sup>484</sup> Bammer 1999: 399.

<sup>485</sup> Geological survey has shown that underneath the lowest reached strata even lower strata with ceramics are to be found. These are not yet reachable with the dewatering techniques at hand. Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 33.

<sup>486</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 33.

twelfth century BCE. Examples of locally made miniature ceramics are also datable to the Proto-Geometric period.<sup>487</sup> Most important is that the pottery continues to be present all the way through the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE with Sub-Mycenaean and Proto-Geometric pottery.<sup>488</sup>

Whilst excavating the raised area of the sanctuary, which is dated between the late tenth/early ninth century BCE and the seventh century BCE the sherds of a thousand vessels were found. According to Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss, part of the pottery came from Athens and part was manufactured locally.<sup>489</sup> Kerschner also mentions that there was no pottery especially made for use in the sanctuary.<sup>490</sup> Possible explanations for this wide range are worshippers who came from all over the region to bring gifts to the goddess, trade or other journeys made. The earliest deposit, in opposition to the sherds found all around the sanctuary, is dated to 900 BCE. The clay finds from this deposit can be divided into two classes: miniature vessels and animal statuettes in clay.<sup>491</sup> These finds suggest that from this time onwards the site was used as a cult place; these kinds of figurines were often used as votive offerings and for (ritual) feasting. Kerschner divided the pottery finds from the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus in two: one was cult pottery used for cult purposes and other rites, the second one was votive pottery.<sup>492</sup> These two categories do not have to be mutually exclusive and can overlap. Especially since most of the pottery from this early period was used for cooking (or

---

<sup>487</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 43 figure 13. In 1993: 140 Bammer was expecting a continuous use of the sanctuary, but there was no evidence for it, apart from the looks of the statue of Artemis which were not very Greek.

<sup>488</sup> Karwiese 1995: 26-27. The continuity in religion and art was already noted by Snodgrass 1971.

<sup>489</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 34-35, they suggested these pottery finds are the archaeological evidence that prove that there was a well-established connection, whether or not settled by Androkles, between the Greek mainland and Athens more specifically and Asia Minor.

<sup>490</sup> Kerschner 2008: 125.

<sup>491</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 34-35.

<sup>492</sup> Kerschner 2008: 125.

preserving) or consuming food, most likely meaning ritual feasting took place. There were also cups to drink from and large skyphoi.<sup>493</sup>

## **Gold and Silver**

More than 1500 gold and electrum objects are known from the excavation site of the Artemision at Ephesus.<sup>494</sup> Most of the objects in gold date to the second half of the seventh and the first half of the sixth centuries BCE.<sup>495</sup> Within the Archaic period, the Artemision is unique in terms of the large number and variety of items of gold jewellery.<sup>496</sup> The vast majority of the finds are forms of jewellery and dress ornaments: appliques, pendants, brooches, beads, needles, earrings and fibulae. Falcons appear to be found in a number of ways, either as depictions, in three-dimensional figurines or as brooches.

Amongst the gold finds from the sanctuary of Artemis, the appliques cut from a simple sheet and datable to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE are predominant.<sup>497</sup> On their borders appear holes or eyes for fastening. There is a lack of parallels which would point to individual appliques as votive offerings, and therefore they have been identified as objects representing decorations of the cult image or offerings of ritual garments.<sup>498</sup> Neither of the gold statuettes dating to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE show the garments of the goddess with appliques as decoration.<sup>499</sup> The motifs range from Geometric patterns to animals.<sup>500</sup> The Geometric and floral types were mass produced,

---

<sup>493</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner and Muss 2008: 34-35.

<sup>494</sup> Pülz and Bühler 2006: 219. The authors organised the gold finds according to form and motif. The only available numbers are according to theme.

<sup>495</sup> Seipel 2008: 112.

<sup>496</sup> Melcher, Schreiner, (*et al.*) 2009: 170-171. The only collections of artefacts which resemble the numbers, forms, motifs and techniques are from graves, for example Rhodes (650-600 BCE) and the Lydian Tumuli (end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century BCE).

<sup>497</sup> Pülz 2001: 231, Melcher, and Schreiner, (*et al.*) 2009: 170, approximately 530 appliques were found.

<sup>498</sup> Melcher, Schreiner, (*et al.*) 2009: 170 follow Romano 1988.

<sup>499</sup> See Bammer 1994, 9-11 and especially figure 1.

<sup>500</sup> Pülz and Bühler 2006: 221-234.

either with a negative model, a positive model, pressed with a double model or formed by striking the master stamp to imprint the gold.<sup>501</sup> The motif called the ‘schalenspiralenmotiv’<sup>502</sup> is an Ephesian motif and can be found on all the appliques from the sanctuary. It is also to be found on some objects in ivory.<sup>503</sup> The animals depicted on the appliques are birds, insects, beasts of prey, lions and domestic animals. According to Melcher (*et al.*) most of the motifs or figurines referred to Artemis as the goddess of fertility, or her representation as the mistress of animals.<sup>504</sup> A good example is the bird of prey, possibly a falcon (or hawk) that was considered to be sacred to the goddess and is found in the form of brooches, pendants or statuettes. The bee, as symbol of reincarnation and fertility appears in many variations.<sup>505</sup> Even more fertility symbols could be seen in the various pendants, beads and pin heads which resemble fruits or seeds.

The gold and electrum figurines are in most cases metal shells, which have become detached from cores.<sup>506</sup> Hogarth interpreted these figures as female and probably representations of the goddess. The figures could be both seated and standing. The smaller examples could have been pendants, heads of pins or finials. Two other examples are mentioned by Bühler and Pülz.<sup>507</sup> They too interpreted the figures as representing a goddess. Both figures are dated to the second half of the seventh century BCE.

---

<sup>501</sup> Pülz and Bühler 2006: 234.

<sup>502</sup> A flat spiral motif.

<sup>503</sup> Pülz and Bühler 2006: 224, Hogarth 1908: plate XXXVIII 12 and XL 11 and Jacobsthal 1951: 89f.

<sup>504</sup> Melcher (*et al.*) 2009: 170.

<sup>505</sup> Pülz 2001.

<sup>506</sup> Hogarth 1908: 94-95.

<sup>507</sup> Bühler and Pülz 2008: 172 figures 140 and 141.

## Bronze, lead and iron

One of the most characteristic bronze finds are the belts, made completely of metal and found in the early Archaic Artemision.<sup>508</sup> These kind of metal belts have been found in all the great sanctuaries of Ionia.<sup>509</sup> The area of distribution within the Greek cultural realm is confined to this region with the exception of Olympia and Delphi where some fragments were found. Little is known about the function or significance of these belts. The belt was known as a status symbol (Herodotus, 1.51.5; Croesus dedicated his wife's girdles at Delphi). Dedicating their belts on the occasion of marriage or after successfully giving birth was also common practice for women. Of importance is that the cult statue of Artemis Ephesia is also known to be represented with a belt.<sup>510</sup>

There are other interesting bronze finds that deserve to be mentioned separately. The first one is a griffin head, probably part of a tripod cauldron.<sup>511</sup> The excavations at the Artemision yielded ten bronze cauldrons with this kind of griffin head as decoration.<sup>512</sup> These cauldrons were probably not for use; they were most likely precious votive offerings to the goddess.<sup>513</sup> Other finds are the double axes, discovered in the early Artemision.<sup>514</sup> One of the axes was found amongst the Mycenaean finds. For the excavators in 1993, when the axes were found, it was clear that these were the indications of Mycenaean presence in Ephesus. They even went as far as to suggest there was some religious context in which the axes must have served. Klebinder-Gauß does not seem so

---

<sup>508</sup> Klebinder 2001: 121. The Ionian belts followed Phrygian models, but they were adapted or altered according to Ionian ideas.

<sup>509</sup> Besides Ephesus, examples are known from Miletus, Didyma, Smyrna, Erythrae, Chios and Samos.

<sup>510</sup> See for example Fleischer 1973: plate 27, plate 84. This is similar to the Athenian *peplos*, a piece of cloth that was used to dress the statue of Athena. However, the belt for Artemis, in these later statues is always part of the statue.

<sup>511</sup> Klebinder-Gauß 2008: figure 129. This kind of griffin heads was found in massive numbers in Olympia.

<sup>512</sup> Klebinder-Gauß 2008: 151.

<sup>513</sup> One of the most well-known production centres was located on nearby Samos.

<sup>514</sup> Klebinder-Gauß 2003: 133.

sure and I have to agree with him. The double axe was a very well-known object, for example from the palace at Knossos. However, the fact that Bammer sees a whole Mycenaean history in the discovery of two double axes seems to take things a bit too far. On top of that, the dating of at least one of the double axes was not in the Bronze Age anyway.<sup>515</sup> Another was found in a stratum dated to the second quarter of the seventh century BCE, which also held pottery of the late and sub-Geometric period.<sup>516</sup> A third axe was found with pottery of the first half of the seventh century BCE. It is safe to say that these axes date to the same period. Both axes are too small and fragile to have been used.<sup>517</sup> It seems most logical to identify these axes as jewellery items or as votive offerings. Three other examples of double axes found at the Artemision are: the head of an electrum pin, a small ivory double axe and another one in ivory. These artefacts are interpreted as either being held by a statuette of the goddess, appliques, earrings, pin-heads or necklaces.<sup>518</sup>

### **Ivory carvings**

Since the eighth century BCE ivory was used in major Greek sanctuaries such as the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta, the Samian Heraion and the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi.<sup>519</sup> Ephesus, with its close connection to Anatolia, where since the second millennium BCE ivory was used, yielded ivory around that time as well. As Işik stated:

The ivory statuettes of the Ephesian school, most of which originate from the Artemision, represent a mother goddess, who was originally named Kybele. Her divinity is recognisable through her polos, through her placement on an animal,

---

<sup>515</sup> Klebinder-Gauß 2003: 134.

<sup>516</sup> Klebinder-Gauß 2003: 136.

<sup>517</sup> Klebinder-Gauß 2003: 135.

<sup>518</sup> Klebinder-Gauß 2003: 138.

<sup>519</sup> Muss 2008c: 104.

or through her nakedness. Her meaning as a 'priestess', accepted in the scholarship, ought thereby to be refutable, because if that were the case, there would have been no divine image dedicated as an offering in this honoured temple of the 'Anatolian Sister'.<sup>520</sup>

Some of the ivory and bone finds from the sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesus, the human and animal statuettes, are types specific to this particular sanctuary.<sup>521</sup> The human statuettes consist of the so-called Megabyzos and the so-called spinner, from the second half of the seventh century or the first half of the sixth century BCE.<sup>522</sup> Others are more widely known as votive offerings and not specific for Artemis Ephesia, such as lions heads and double axes. An ivory plaque found at Ephesus and dated to the late eighth century BCE, depicts a winged Artemis, according to Thompson a feature of the Persian variety.<sup>523</sup> In addition to the plaque there was a small button, with a winged goddess holding two birds.<sup>524</sup>

### **Terracottas**

The terracotta figures date from the Late Bronze Age (a large terracotta head and figurines of cattle) to the Hellenistic period with most evidence from the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.<sup>525</sup> It is remarkable that the objects in terracotta were rare at the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus in comparison to for example the Artemis Orthia site at Sparta.<sup>526</sup> Examples of figurines that were found are draped female figures, bell shaped nude figurines and

---

<sup>520</sup> Işık 2001: 99.

<sup>521</sup> Muss 2008c: 104.

<sup>522</sup> Muss 2008c: figures 58a, 58b and 59a, 59b.

<sup>523</sup> Thompson 1909: 299. A winged female is also known from Sparta.

<sup>524</sup> A similar type, except the wings, is known from a Minoan seal from Vapheio: *Corpus of the Minoan and Mycenaean Seals (CMS)* I.233b. Other examples are *CMS* VII.134 and *CMS* IX.154.

<sup>525</sup> Dewailly and Muss 2008: 117.

<sup>526</sup> Hogarth 1909: 199.

animal figures such as hawks. Sanctuaries usually have an abundance of this material in their temple deposits. However, this is not the case at Ephesus, and might be due to the wide range of other materials that were more precious, ivory and gold.

## Coins

The Ephesian coins' iconographical change tells a story which helps understand the cult of Artemis Ephesia and its importance (appendix 15). Parvis mentioned that with the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great, the Greek spirit began to strengthen.<sup>527</sup> That was according to Parvis visible in the coinage: the bee, the sacred insect and symbol of Artemis was until 295 BCE the principal type on Ephesian coins. After that, the head of the Greek Artemis would be substituted for the bee on the silver coins. Looking at the table, it is not so much the case that Artemis' head substitutes for the bee, it seems that the stag does, at least for silver coins. Artemis' head does appear on silver coins, but is not as continuously present or present for as long as the stag is. Stags, seals, lions, horses, goats, eagle/griffin heads, cocks, bulls and bee all appear in the first two phases of coinage (seventh-sixth century BCE) and were probably continuously used in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. All of these animals could be connected to both the mistress of animals and Artemis herself. Looking at the coins the character of a nature goddess stands out.

The goddess is depicted for about four hundred years. The depictions start in the periods of 159-133 BCE and 133-67 BCE with Artemis just being an additional small figure.<sup>528</sup> The goddess as the sole figure starts appearing from 87-84 BCE onwards.<sup>529</sup> From Head's catalogue (1892) it seems that the deer and the bee predominate on the earlier coins of

---

<sup>527</sup> Parvis 1945: 64.

<sup>528</sup> Fleischer 1973: 39.

<sup>529</sup> Fleischer 1973: 40.

Ephesus. For example, there are coins from the Hellenistic period with a bee on the obverse and a protome deer and a palm tree on the reverse; all of these represent the goddess.<sup>530</sup> Some of the early Hellenistic coins have the head of a monarch or his consort (Demetrios, Berenike II, and Arsinoe) with no apparent reference to Artemis on the reverse. However, there are also coins which have Arsinoe on the obverse and the quiver, bow and arrow on the reverse. Another coin of the same mint and date portrays a full stag on the reverse, which nicely illustrates their diversity. By the end of the third century BCE, Artemis' head replaced the bee on the obverse with a reverse of a stag protome with a palm.<sup>531</sup>

In the imperial period, Artemis was depicted alongside the Roman emperor.<sup>532</sup> The image of Artemis is either a representation of her cult-statue from Ephesus or of Artemis the huntress, with a bow and/or drawing arrows from quiver at her shoulder or accompanied by a stag.<sup>533</sup> However, she was not the only deity that they used on their coins. Other examples are Zeus, Hermes, Nike and Apollo. Alternatively, if Artemis herself was not depicted, her stag was on the reverse side of the Emperor's head. Another variation is instead of depicting Artemis Ephesia, a representation of Tyche with the mural crown. She was the deity that was most commonly known as the protectress of the city and its prosperity (τύχη) in general.<sup>534</sup> Tyche is also shown, holding the cult statue of the Ephesian Artemis in her hand.

---

<sup>530</sup> Brenk 1998: 158.

<sup>531</sup> Brenk 1998: 159.

<sup>532</sup> For example Fleischer 1973: 42 and especially plate 54b, Strelan 1996: 45.

<sup>533</sup> Head 1892: 71-109.

A more detailed examination of the different backgrounds of the themes and depictions can be found in Karwiese 2008.

<sup>534</sup> See for example Fleischer 1973: plate 11 and plates 35, 36, 37.

The Ephesian coins show images of her temple, the Artemision. The coins served as emblems of the communal religious identity of the Ephesians. The importance of the Ephesian coins is further illustrated by the ancient description of Ephesus as the ‘bank of Asia’ (Aelian, *Varia Historia* 3.26; Dio Chrysostom, 31.54-55).<sup>535</sup> Aristophanes (*Clouds* 599-600) already described the temple of Ephesus as ‘the all-golden house’.

### **3.2.4 Ephesian Inscriptions**

After the excavations, Wood published the inscriptions that were found.<sup>536</sup> He divided them with regards to the places they were found: from the temple site of Artemis, from the temple site, but re-used in the Roman theatre, and inscriptions that mention the cult of Artemis. These inscriptions will be complemented with inscriptions published in more recent years where applicable.

#### **From the temple site of Artemis**

The Artemisia festival is named in an inscription.<sup>537</sup> This inscription is informative in that it accounts for the fact that prizes were given to musicians and athletes. With the information we get from this inscription, it is possible to come to some conclusions about what sort of contests were held at the Artemisia and their importance. A pedestal that had an inscription in honour of T. Flavius Sarpedon, a boy comedian, confirms this

---

<sup>535</sup> One of the inscriptions from fifth century BCE Tegea shows the temple in a role as bank as well. IG V.2 159/IPArk no 1.

<sup>536</sup> Some of them were again published in Newton 1890: *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*.

<sup>537</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 3 number 18.

assumption. The boy was rewarded for his excellence and training and received a statue after his victory in the contest at the great festival of the Artemisia.<sup>538</sup>

### **From the temple of Artemis (found in the theatre)**

The Council and the people of Ephesus issued citizenship and had the temple-wardens inscribe these grants of citizenship in the temple of Artemis. Citizenship was issued with the idea of equal and similar terms for each and every person mentioned in the inscriptions.

More than one of the inscriptions found in the theatre mention an Ephesian festival and a seating plan at the 'Games' which meant the person who was granted the privilege was able to occupy a front seat at the 'Games'. Thucydides (3.104) wrote:

Once upon a time, indeed, there was a great assemblage of the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders at Delos, who used to come to the festival, as the Ionians now do to that of Ephesus, and athletic and poetical contests took place there, and the cities brought choirs of dancers.

In addition, one of the other inscriptions mentions that due to his loyalty, the citizen will in addition to the right to have a front seat at the 'Games', be crowned with a crown of gold by the President of the 'Games' in the Theatre at the festival of Dionysus. This suggests there is some sort of connection between Dionysus and Artemis in Ephesus, because it was an exceptional honour to be crowned at the festival of Dionysus and have your citizenship inscribed in the temple of Artemis.

---

<sup>538</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 3 number 15. This inscription was found during the excavation 1872-1873 at a low level and there is no dating given for it.

## Roman period

A reasonable number of the inscriptions from the Roman period are already collected in Wood's description of the first excavations in Ephesus. The first inscriptions Wood mentions are dated to the time C. Asinius Gallus was pro-consul (6BCE/5BCE). The inscriptions account for the building activity that took place in Ephesus on behalf of the Emperor Caesar Augustus.

In several inscriptions from the Augusteum, the goddess is thanked for looking after people. Some were builders, some performed the office of Essene, and others acted as priestesses to the goddess.<sup>539</sup> In most inscriptions it is mentioned to which tribe the dedicators belonged.

The great theatre yielded an inventory list of the gifts and statues given to Artemis by Gaius Vibius Salutaris, amongst which there were a golden statue of Artemis and two silver deer attending her.<sup>540</sup> There are several silver Artemis statues bearing torches. There were silver statues dedicated by the Senate, the Council of the Ephesians, the Roman people and one by the most worshipful assembly of elders. One of the other inscriptions found in the great theatre specifies that in the great Ephesian Games there was a footrace.<sup>541</sup> It is mentioned in a document about several races, for example the Isthmian, the Olympian Games at Athens, the Nemean games and the games at Miletus. This is very similar to what happens in the *Lysistrata* by Aristophanes (641-647) where girls at the ages of seven, ten and possibly five took part in different rituals, as part of the

---

<sup>539</sup> Engelmann (*et al.*) 1980: numbers 980-1000.

<sup>540</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 6 number 1. The inscription was, amongst others, studied in detail by Rogers 2012, who underlines the strength of the Artemis cult in the early second century CE; the importance of processions and the role of inscriptions as religious, social, and political propaganda in Ephesus. See also section 3.2.4 Inscriptions, Inscriptions mentioning the cult of Artemis.

<sup>541</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 6 number 14.

rite of passage. In the notes written about this inscription it is suggested that this inscription probably was set up by the civic authorities, in honour of an Ephesian athlete. He was a winner in several games, most of them being footraces. The footraces for girls in Brauron as well as for boys and girls in Sparta show similarities to the games at Ephesus; in both cases the races were part of the rite of passage into adulthood.

The shrine dedicated to Pomponia Faustina describes her as priestess of Artemis, a hereditary office.<sup>542</sup> Interestingly, her husband Menandros is mentioned too. Priestesses of Artemis were said to be virgins and dedicated their life to the goddess. This priestess however, does have a husband, and both her office and her husband are mentioned on the shrine. It could be that after she fulfilled her duties as priestess of Artemis, she married, but was still remembered as the priestess of Artemis.

Other officials were the priestesses of Artemis, described by Strabo (14.1.23):

‘[...] it was customary for virgins to serve as priestesses alongside them [*megabyzoi*]. Now although some of the customs are practiced, some are not, but the temple remains a place of asylum now as before.’

### **Inscriptions mentioning the cult of Artemis**

The Salutaris text is of importance in understanding the cult of Artemis at Ephesus.<sup>543</sup> It was put up in places where his generosity towards the city and his reverence toward the

---

<sup>542</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 7 number 15. Wood does not give a date for this shrine.

<sup>543</sup> See below, section 3.2.6 The Cult of Artemis Ephesia, The establishment of the Ephesian Mysteries.

goddess would be apparent<sup>544</sup>; the wall of the theatre and somewhere on the Artemision served this purpose.<sup>545</sup> In Rogers' translation:<sup>546</sup>

Every year according to his bequest on the birthday of the goddess, which is the sixth day of the month of Thargelion<sup>547</sup>, he has agreed to give out the money dedicated, either himself, or his heirs, whenever it was wanted, to the city, and that the officers of each group would receive it.

The main description accounts for a procession, starting from the pronaos of the temple of Artemis, southward along the sacred road to the limits of the *temenos*, crossing the sacred boundary on the way to the Magnesian Gate (built in the third century BCE along with the city walls; the south entrance to the city). Inside the city the procession was received by the *ephebes* who escorted the statues from the Magnesian Gate to the theatre and from there on to the Koressian Gate. The description by Xenophon of Ephesus of the processions taking place (*Ephesiaka* 1.1.2-5 and 5.2.2) shows that the Ephesians saw these sorts of happenings more often. It was not something new.

With the benefaction of Salutaris the Ephesians established and maintained the sacred identity of their city which started with the birth of the goddess Artemis.<sup>548</sup> This was probably a reaction to the Romans taking over their city. Roman citizens, officials and governors were powerful in all areas of everyday life.<sup>549</sup> The decree defined some social,

---

<sup>544</sup> A similar inscription, about the expansion of the Artemis cult, was set up by Proconsul C. Popilius Carus Pedo (162/3 or 163/4 CE). See Wankel 1979: number 24.

<sup>545</sup> Wankel 1979: 209 and Rogers 1991: 21.

<sup>546</sup> Rogers 1991: Appendix 1, lines 62-73.

<sup>547</sup> The date designated as the birthday of the Ephesian goddess, sixth of Thargelion, was identical with the birthday of the Greek Artemis. Oster 1990: 1707.

<sup>548</sup> Wankel 1979: 166-222 and Rogers 1991: 136.

<sup>549</sup> Rogers 1991: 141. One example is the changes to the upper city, architecturally and spatially. Another is the changes made to the calendar of the city, the control taken over the celebration of major festivals. A third one is the celebration of a new cult, a new god, the emperor.

historical and theological boundaries again, if only to illustrate what differentiated Ephesians from Romans.<sup>550</sup>

There is a decree from the Ephesian Gerousia from the time of Commodus which dates between 180-192 CE.<sup>551</sup> The decree is of importance because it refers to Lysimachos and his reforms of the city.<sup>552</sup> It is one of the sources that mentions the cult activities taking place at the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia. We learn from this that Lysimachos, being lord and master of the city, organised all mysteries, offerings and all other things related to the cult. It is clear that Commodus thought the cult of Artemis was of great importance. However, the imperial cult of Commodus was established as well.

### 3.2.5 Ephesian Cult Statue

Artemis Ephesia probably had three different cult statues made over the course of the existence of the sanctuary.<sup>553</sup> Bammer and Muss suggested the earliest is the oldest representation of the goddess and was a wooden *xoanon*.<sup>554</sup> Characteristic are the simple standing pose, with the arms next to the body and a straight looking face. The second one was the statue made by Endoios, known from Pausanias (1.26.4) and displayed in the *naiskos* of the Croesus temple.<sup>555</sup> The last statue was probably part of the Hellenistic

---

<sup>550</sup> Rogers 1991: 142.

<sup>551</sup> Wankel 1979: 160-166, number 26.

<sup>552</sup> Lysimachos moved the town of Ephesus from the sanctuary site to about a kilometre and a half west, building a new city. The renewal of the city had probably to do with the high ground water that is still present today. Lysimachos' new city was by no means a successor of the Greek Ephesus, which was first and foremost illustrated by its new name: Arsinoe. That did not work out well for him, because in 281 BCE it was re-named New-Ephesus. The main reason for founding a new city was political; Lysimachos wanted a new centre for the new Hellenistic period. The temple was known to be a powerful hierarchy and 'his' city should be free of all religious-political bindings.

<sup>553</sup> Bammer and Muss 1996: 72.

<sup>554</sup> Bammer and Muss 1996: 73.

<sup>555</sup> Bammer and Muss 1996: 72.

remodelling and has a lot of Hellenistic and Roman copies. This last statue is the one with the many bulbous objects on the chest.<sup>556</sup> Depictions on coins give some information about the existence and looks of the third statue. These three statues were very different from the ones known from the Greek mainland.

Fleischer studied the Hellenistic cult statue of Artemis Ephesia in great detail and made a comparison with statues from Anatolia and Syria. His book summarises statues (and copies of the statues) from Artemis of Ephesus known from several places and museums (appendix 16).<sup>557</sup> He catalogued one-hundred-and-forty-two reliefs and statues, or fragments of them, in stone, terracotta, bronze and lead. Other items in his catalogue are coins, gemstones and a bronze plate. Sixty-two of the images have any indication of the site they were found and of these thirty-six are from outside Ephesus. The majority was found in Asia Minor, but there are also examples from Italy, Massilia, Greece, Cyrene, Egypt and Palestine. It is important to realise that the images are almost without exception from Roman Imperial times. The cult statue of Artemis Ephesia is best known through these copies made in the Roman Imperial times.<sup>558</sup> Fleischer divided the images of the Ephesian Artemis into: statues in the round, reliefs, bronzes, terracotta figures, oil lamps, carved stone and coins. Every depiction of Artemis Ephesia consisted of more or less the same elements: her head and *polos*,<sup>559</sup> ‘nimbus’,<sup>560</sup> neck and breast jewellery, numerous objects on her chest, and an *ependytes* (tunic/chiton) with animals depicted on it. Of the animals on the dress of the goddess the bee deserves special mention. The insect decorates the city’s earliest coinage and remained a favourite and distinctive coin device

---

<sup>556</sup> Hogarth 1908: 330. According to Hogarth it is even possible that it was never at any time represented like this in the Artemision itself.

<sup>557</sup> Fleischer 1973.

<sup>558</sup> Steskal 2008: 364.

<sup>559</sup> A tall head-dress, especially when it might take the shape of city walls, crowned both Prehistoric and early Greek goddesses. Morris 2001: 138-139.

<sup>560</sup> Hogarth 1908: 335. Hogarth argued that the wings of the *potnia theron* degenerated.

throughout.<sup>561</sup> Bees are one of the features that appear on/with almost all the Artemis Ephesia depictions.<sup>562</sup> The animals that were accompanying the statue of Artemis Ephesia were mostly lions and deer, which seem to be the standard animals accompanying the Mistress of Animals, and often Artemis herself.<sup>563</sup> In addition, there were bulls, griffins and occasionally humans depicted on her dress.<sup>564</sup>

There are numerous interpretations, most of them improbable, of the bulbous objects on her chest.<sup>565</sup> Interesting is that this feature on the cult-statue only appeared from the Christian era onwards. Amongst the various views are: breasts,<sup>566</sup> eggs (either bee or ostrich eggs), bull testicles,<sup>567</sup> grapes, nuts and acorns. Another view is that the objects find their original form in some type of scale armour worn by warriors in Egypt and Mesopotamia from the late Middle Bronze and early Late Bronze periods onwards.<sup>568</sup> Most scholars agree that these objects in one way or another illustrate her well-attested role as a goddess of fertility. According to Lichtenecker, sexual organs acquired some

---

<sup>561</sup> See section 3.2.3 Ephesian Artefacts, Coins. See also Morris 2001: 139.

<sup>562</sup> Fleischer 1973:99.

<sup>563</sup> Fleischer 1978: 325. Animals flanking the statues of the goddess appear quite late; the deer first appeared in the Trajan-Hadrianic period.

Arnold 1989: 25 interpreted the animals as the representation of the harmful spirits of nature over which Artemis wielded authority.

<sup>564</sup> Examples of all of the different animals can be found in Fleischer 1973.

<sup>565</sup> Arnold 1989: 25, Szidat 2004: 83-106 including references summarises the history of copies and interpretations.

Morris (2008) has a whole new interpretation of Artemis of Ephesus altogether. According to her, Artemis was not just the mother of the city and the representation of reproduction, her visual form also represents numerous elements of the Prehistoric past of Anatolia.

<sup>566</sup> The interpretation of these bulbous objects as breasts comes from the literary Christian sources: Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 22.5 and Jerome, *Commentary on Ephesians*.

<sup>567</sup> This view was first offered by G. Seiterle 1979. Portefaix 1999 followed Seiterle (as did Burkert), trying to explain it as a symbol of the mysteries from Artemis Ephesia. She argues that the initiation offered in the mysteries was regarded as rebirth. This is confirmed by the symbols of life and death, above all the bees paired with the bulls' scrota. Bees and bulls had a special bond. Following Antigonos of Carystos (second century BCE) who wrote: 'In Egypt if you bury the ox in certain places, so that only his horns project above the ground and then saw them off, they say that bees fly out; for the ox putrefies and is resolved into bees.'

<sup>568</sup> Hill 1992: 92. Hill mentions, that the coat of mail in the ancient Near East was made of either interlocking rings of bronze or small elongated scales of bronze tied together with leather thongs in overlapped rows. Both human warriors and kings and gods and goddesses of the divine realm are represented in Mesopotamian art wearing types of scale armour.

sort of magical significance in the fertility cults of Asia Minor.<sup>569</sup> She thinks it is quite certain that false ‘breasts’, like the ones from the statue and the related cultic images bore a magical character. She argues, that the ‘breasts’ would have apotropaic significance and imply a nourishing power to the suppliants of Artemis. Fleischer interpreted these images as a syncretism of local, Greek and Anatolian influences.<sup>570</sup> Szidat interpreted the objects on her chest as ‘Buckel’, a mountain chain, as a good illustration of Artemis Ephesia as a mountain goddess.<sup>571</sup>

Objections to the interpretation of the ‘bulbs’ as breasts have a long modern history and are being motivated by documentary as well as archaeological evidence.<sup>572</sup> The most important arguments are: the pendant bags are not shaped like breasts as in other ancient sculpture, nor represented with nipples. They are not placed on the body where breasts belong, and are not made of the same colour as other parts of those statues where face, hands and feet are dark. In addition there are literary and epigraphic testimonia stating that married women were excluded from the temple (Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 4.4; Achilles Tattius 7.13 and 8.6). The priestly offices were reserved for maidens. Furthermore, not only female deities but the male gods of Anatolia too wore these appendages. The most logic interpretation is that the chest decoration was known as a feature for Prehistoric deities in Anatolian and Near Eastern cultures.<sup>573</sup>

According to Bammer, the existence of seed-shaped or teardrop amber ornaments, the predecessors of the later decoration of the chest area of Artemis, proved that this form of breast jewellery for the cult statue was already developed in the Geometric period.<sup>574</sup> In

---

<sup>569</sup> In Arnold 1989: 25.

<sup>570</sup> Fleischer 1973: 85.

<sup>571</sup> Szidat 2004: 106-119.

<sup>572</sup> Morris 2001: 141.

<sup>573</sup> Morris 2001: 142.

<sup>574</sup> Bammer 1990: 154.

addition, small amber pendants from the early levels of the Artemision were found. These objects have been imagined as the breast decoration of the Archaic cult image along with other early jewellery.

The cult statue of Artemis Ephesia was not the only known example with bulbous objects like these on her chests. Another example is a votive relief of Zeus Stratios of Labranda which was found in 1868 in the neighbourhood of the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea.<sup>575</sup> This marble was closely akin to the figure of Zeus on the coins of the Hecatomnids. In all the images, Zeus is standing, holding an axe and a spear. In these examples, the bulbous objects have no connection to the anatomy of the body, but they are clearly on the top of the drapery of the tunic.

### 3.2.6 The Cult of Artemis Ephesia

Pausanias (7.2.6) noticed the long existence of the Ephesian cult. The story of Artemis, her cult and image in Ephesus began in the Bronze Age.<sup>576</sup> The goddess was closely associated with healing as well as magic and her protective powers reached further than those of a ‘mother’ goddess.<sup>577</sup> Her close connections with Anatolia are obvious. Artemis at Ephesus has been equated with the Great Goddess of Anatolia and with Kybele or Anahita, Ishtar or Anat.<sup>578</sup> In the famous sanctuary of Artemis of Ephesus, the elements

---

<sup>575</sup> Smith 1916: 65-67.

<sup>576</sup> Morris 2001: 135.

<sup>577</sup> Morris 2001: 141.

<sup>578</sup> Burkert 1985: 149.

Leick 1991: 6, Anat was a west Semitic goddess, best known from the cuneiform texts in Ugarit. Her epithets were *blt 'nt*, virgin Anat, and *'nt hbly*, the destroyer. Anat was the epitome of womanhood and a bloodthirsty warrior. She had affinities with the Babylonian goddess Ishtar.

Leick 1991: 16, the goddess known as Astarte was ‘the mother of all the gods’. Additionally she was the ‘wet-nurse of the gods’.

Leick 1991: 87, 96-97, Astarte, as Atoret, is in the Old Testament predominant in the Sidonian pantheon and a general Canaanite deity, is stemming from the goddess who symbolises the Earth Mother throughout

of Anatolia are visible in the cult image and the organisation of eunuch priests within the framework of the temple state. The ancient sources are quite helpful in identifying the officials mentioned by Smith<sup>579</sup>, but when it comes to the high priests, the so-called ‘Megabyzoi’ the information is very fragmentary. The existence of this class of priests in Ephesus and that they were eunuchs is ambiguous and often contradictory in the ancient sources. The ‘Megabyzoi’ are mentioned as early as the fourth century BCE (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.3.6-5.3.9), but as is so often the case, most of the authors wrote during the Roman period. Diogenes Laertius (2.6.51) repeats in his chapter about Xenophon what he already mentioned in his *Anabasis*. Strabo’s (14.1.23) description is the most complete and he mentions both that they had eunuchs as priests and that they were called ‘Megabyzoi’. Most of the ancient sources only record the fact that the priests of Artemis at Ephesus were called the ‘Megabyzoi’ such as Pliny (*Natural History* 35.36.39 and 35.40.131-132) and Plautus (*Bacchides* II.307-308).<sup>580</sup>

All cities worshipped Artemis of Ephesus because of the size of her temple, the eminence of the polis of the Ephesians and because of the renown of the goddess who dwelled there (Pausanias, 4.31.8). According to tradition, the Amazons dedicated the image which illustrates the extreme antiquity of this sanctuary. Pindar, as it seemed to Pausanias (7.2.7) confirmed that the sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesus was founded by the Amazons during their campaign against Athens and Theseus. Pausanias mentioned that the women from Thermodon, as they knew the sanctuary from old, sacrificed to the Ephesian goddess both

---

the ancient East. Inanna (Sumerian), syncretised with Ishtar (Semitic/Akkadian), had a complex personality. She was the most influential of deities in the world of gods and humans. Ishtar was the goddess of war as well as of sex and procreation; a fierce warrior as well as the ‘queen of heaven’.

<sup>579</sup> Smith 1996: 323.

<sup>580</sup> Plautus mentions Theotimus, who is a priest of the Ephesian Diana. He is the son of Megalobyzus. Since the priests of Artemis at Ephesus were supposed to be eunuchs it is unlikely that Theotimus’ father was a priest. One possible explanation is to read ‘Megabyzi filius’ (literally: a son of Megabyzus) as meaning the same as the Megabyzus himself.

on this occasion and when they had fled from Heracles. Some were even earlier, when they had fled from Dionysus, when they came to the sanctuary as suppliants. Pausanias (7.2.7) also says that the sanctuary was not founded by the Amazons, but by Koressos, an aboriginal, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been a son of the river Cayster, from which the city received its name.

More than fifty cities in Anatolia alone put images of Artemis Ephesia on their coins, and cults dedicated to worship of the Ephesian goddess have been found in most, if not all, of the circa two thousand towns and cities of the Roman Empire.<sup>581</sup> For the Ephesians Artemis was the most important deity in the polis, even though besides her there were a number of Olympian deities worshipped as well as a large array of other gods and goddesses. Artemis was above all the ‘tutelary goddess’ of the polis, the ‘founder’ of the polis, the ‘ancestral’ goddess, famous for her palpable epiphanies (Strabo, 4.1.4; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.97). The Ephesians claimed to have a special relationship with her. Statues show a goddess wearing a mural crown, symbolising her ability to protect and save the city during times of trouble. This power of the goddess is also illustrated by the fact that when Lysimachos renamed the city after his wife Arsinoe. This new name only lasted as long as his reign. As soon as possible his newly founded city was known as New-Ephesus and the area around the sanctuary was Old-Ephesus (Strabo, 14.1.21).<sup>582</sup> The identity of the city was of great importance to its people and they valued this disregard of Arsinoe’s name as Artemis’ victory over Arsinoe.

Even though the cult of Artemis was tied to the changing fortunes and misfortunes of the city of Ephesus, the cult of the Ephesian Artemis was ‘zu allen Zeiten Mittelpunkt des

---

<sup>581</sup> Rogers 2012: 6.

<sup>582</sup> Knibbe 1995: 94.

religiösen Lebens in Ephesos'.<sup>583</sup> The city was a meeting place for East and West, because of its strategic position with the harbour and the rivers Silenus and Cayster as a centre for shipping as well as traffic over land.<sup>584</sup> Ephesus was ideally located for trade with the Anatolian plateau. The story of the Ephesian goddess is, as Oster put it, 'shown to us in, as it were, a motion picture, and not just in a single snapshot.'<sup>585</sup> The cult of Artemis of Ephesus was influenced by many different rulers, amongst which were the Lydians, the Carians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Christians. As a result of all these influences certain aspects and trends within the religion of the Ephesian Artemis were altered or abandoned. These changes were already noticed by Strabo (14.1.23):

But though at the present some of their usages [cultic as well as non-cultic] are being preserved; yet others are not; but the temple remains a place of refuge, the same as in earlier times, although the limits of the refuge have often been changed.

That the goddess had an established connection to the city is strongly illustrated by her name. In addition the goddess wears a mural crown and a sanctuary headdress in the sculptural iconography.<sup>586</sup> These features illustrated that she was above all, the city goddess and protectress of Ephesus. In confirmation with what the coins already suggested, several boundary stones mention both Artemis and the Roman emperors (Augustus, Domitian and Trajan).<sup>587</sup> There are also other markers to indicate the importance of Artemis Ephesia: fragments of marble, inscribed with dedications to Artemis.<sup>588</sup> Some of these inscriptions are combinations, like the boundary stones with a

---

<sup>583</sup> Oster 1990: 1699 note 296.

<sup>584</sup> Gritz 1991: 11-12.

<sup>585</sup> Oster 1990: 1699.

<sup>586</sup> Fleischer 1973: 55-58, Oster 1990: 1701. Both of these are attested by the coinage and statuary remains from the early Roman Empire onwards.

<sup>587</sup> These boundary stones are collected in Meriç (*et al.*) 1981: numbers 3501-3512. See also Knibbe (*et al.*) 1979.

<sup>588</sup> Engelmann (*et al.*) 1980: numbers 1205-1209, 1266.

dedication to Artemis and an emperor. The importance of Artemis in Ephesus was still widely known in the bible (*Acts of the Apostles* 19.27): ‘that the temple of the great goddess Artemis will be counted as nothing, and her majesty destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worships.’

### **The establishment of the Ephesian Mysteries**

The cult of Artemis Ephesia is known for its mysteries, and there are several versions as to how and when the Ephesian mysteries were established. One option for the creation of the Ephesian mysteries, if not with the founding of the sanctuary in the eleventh century BCE<sup>589</sup>, is that they started during the Lydian domination in the mid-sixth century BCE. After Croesus’ reign over Ephesus, the Persians took over. The mysteries could have been established when Ephesus was incorporated into the Persian Empire. The mixed character of the city’s population and the strong element of Orientalism in art show how the Ephesians accommodated to Persian rule. The widespread cult of Artemis made it strong enough to survive.<sup>590</sup> The cult kept its importance even after the Persians took over. During this period it could even be said that the city belonged to the temple instead of the other way around. Ephesus had the character of the ancient temple-cities of the East and Artemis was dominant over the state. Artemis’ worship resembled that of the ancient goddesses Cybele, Ma, Ishtar and Anaitis.<sup>591</sup>

Another option is that the rites started after Ephesus became a member of the Delian League in the fifth century BCE. It is also possible that the rites could have been embedded in the cult of Artemis Ephesia before the burning of the Artemision in 356

---

<sup>589</sup> As can be read in Strabo’s account. See further down.

<sup>590</sup> Tierney 1929: 458.

<sup>591</sup> See section 2.1 Mother of the gods.

BCE. In the fourth century BCE there is mention of the use of citizenship honours for partisans of various kings and officials to be included in the citizen body of Ephesus. The evidence for the mysteries during the fourth century BCE is 'sparse and fragmentary'.<sup>592</sup> The first epigraphical evidence has to be read in the context of the history of the support and hostility that went hand in hand with the struggles of Alexander the Great's successors and their relations to Ephesus.<sup>593</sup>

The next source for the instalment of the mysteries is Lysimachos (ca. 297-281 BCE, one of Alexander the Great's *diadochi*), described by Strabo. Lysimachos installed himself as king, taking over at least part of the responsibility for celebrating the mysteries of Artemis and leaving behind the time of rivalry between the *diadochi*. Lysimachos physically separated the Ephesians from the Artemision (Strabo, 14.1.21)<sup>594</sup>:

He built a wall round the present city, but the people were not agreeably disposed to change their abodes to it; and therefore he waited for a downpour of rain and himself took advantage of it and blocked the sewers so as to inundate the city; and the inhabitants were then glad to make the change. He named the city after his wife Arsinoe; the old name, however, prevailed.

There is a gap without substantial evidence for the celebrations of Artemis' mysteries from the death of Lysimachos until the creation of the Roman province of Asia in 133 BCE.<sup>595</sup>

---

<sup>592</sup> Rogers 2012: 34.

<sup>593</sup> Rogers 2012: 35.

<sup>594</sup> This change is also mentioned in one of the inscriptions found during the excavations in 1942. See Keil 1943: 101-102.

<sup>595</sup> Rogers 2012: 92-93.

The wealth of the Artemision and the strategic position were of great interest to Roman governors and generals. Ephesus' importance was its position as the greatest harbour and in being one of the main links of connection and communication between the East and Rome. In the late first century BCE Ephesus was one of the focal points of the Roman civil wars. Only after Octavian emerged as victor (ca. 30 BCE) were some of the privileges of the Artemision confirmed and restored. The Kouretes were removed from their institutional base and were relocated to the prytaneion, a distance away from the Artemision where they kept on celebrating the mysteries of Artemis. During the third century of the Roman Principate, Artemis had to share the right of sacrifices and her mystery celebrations with the Roman emperors.

Diodorus Siculus (90-30 BCE; 5.77.6-8) tells us that Artemis, in the same way that Apollo revealed himself for the longest time in Delos and Lycia and Delphi, did so in Ephesus, the Pontus, Persis and Crete. These sanctuary areas, as a result of these acts, became known as Ephesian, Cretan, Tauropolian and Persian Artemis sites. Diodorus adds:

This goddess [Artemis] 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.

Strabo (14.1.20) on top of his Lysimachos account, provides evidence for celebrations of symposia and mystic sacrifices in Ortygia (29 BCE) when 'a general festival is held there annually; and by a certain custom the youths vie for honour, particularly in the splendour of their banquets there. At that time, also, a special college of the Kouretes holds symposiums and performs certain mystic sacrifices'. Tacitus (ca. 56-117 CE; *Annals* 4.15.5) reported Tiberius' wish to build a temple for himself in Ephesus which proved impossible because Artemis had her cult there. When Gaius in 40 CE wished to establish

a *temenos* to be worshipped as emperor in Asia Minor a similar problem is noted, Ephesus was ruled out, because Artemis was already honoured there (Cassius Dio, 160-230 CE; 59.28.1). During the imperial period, the Roman imperial cult at best stood alongside Artemis and never replaced hers, a fact that was well-known to the Roman emperors.<sup>596</sup> Christianity was already spreading, in the first century CE, but the cult of Artemis remained unchallenged.<sup>597</sup> According to tradition, it was with the apostle John and not with Paul (5-67 CE), that Christianity out-competed the cult of Artemis and eventually became the most important religion in Ephesus. The Johannine tradition dominates as early as the mid-second century CE, but definitely by the third century CE. In the *Acts of John* (41) we read: ‘O God ... until this day has been set at nought in the city of the Ephesians’. Even though Paul spent over two years in Ephesus (19: 8, 10), Artemis maintained a strong and ancient tradition in the city and her cult well survived any impact of the Christian message.<sup>598</sup> There is a lack of evidence, or rather a lack of genuine correspondence from Paul to Ephesus. In *Acts* (19:27-28) it is described that Artemis was still the greatest deity for Ephesus: ‘[...] but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worships’. When the Ephesians heard this, ‘they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great [is] Artemis of the Ephesians’. This belief in Artemis is confirmed in *Acts* (19:34-35). Generally speaking, according to Strelan, the cult of Artemis retained

---

<sup>596</sup> Strelan 1996: 80.

<sup>597</sup> Strelan 1996: 163.

<sup>598</sup> Strelan 1996: 1-2.

The fact that Artemis survived the impact of the Christian message does not mean that Paul was not successful in his aims. He was probably most successful amongst the Jews in Ephesus. That is however not of interest for my work, which focusses on Artemis and her cult. Even when people abandoned Artemis for Christ, they must have maintained some syncretism. There is little evidence, according to Strelan 1996: 130, that the expansion of Christianity wrought the demise of the cult of Artemis of Ephesus. If Paul struggled, it was most likely with Roman authorities or Jews in Ephesus. Strelan 1996: 126-129, gives a good summary of the scholars who believed Paul had substantial success in Ephesus.

it strength, for at least two centuries after Paul.<sup>599</sup> His impact and that of other Christians was negligible in terms of the cult and the city overall, Artemis' cult remained prominent in contrast to what the Christian tradition would like to claim. In the second century CE, Xenophon of Ephesus wrote his story about Anthia and Habrocomes (*Ephesiaka*) and the role of Artemis and her cult. Therefore it might be concluded that Paul's (and John's) work in Ephesus did not have as much impact as Christian tradition would claim in these early years.

In 104 CE C. Vibius Salutaris, a wealthy Roman equestrian, had grey marble slabs inscribed with, amongst other things, cash contributions allocated to crowds of beneficiaries within the temple of Artemis.<sup>600</sup> Salutaris set up his inscription during the festival of Artemis, through which it becomes clear that Ephesus was still very much the city of Artemis. By giving honour to the goddess, the city itself was honoured and by doing so Salutaris demonstrated that it belonged not to Rome but to the goddess.<sup>601</sup>

Rogers further suggests, on account of an inscription dating to the reign of Commodus (180-192 CE), that 'Lysimachos, [... having acquired supreme authority over the affairs of the polis,] all the other things concerning the mysteries and the sacrifices and [concerning our *synhedrion* made excellent arrangement with all reverence and love of] goodness....'.<sup>602</sup> In other words, Lysimachos did not invent the mysteries; he made a new arrangement of the ones that were already taking place. Lysimachos tried to disconnect the celebration of the mysteries for Artemis from the sole authority of the priests and

---

<sup>599</sup> Strelan 1996: 295.

<sup>600</sup> Wankel 1979: 166-222 and Rogers 1991: 1.

<sup>601</sup> Rogers 1991: 140-142.

<sup>602</sup> Rogers 2012: 39.

priestesses of the Artemision. He wanted to create a cult of salvation, managed by the polis.<sup>603</sup>

Another source mentioning the mysteries at Ephesus is Apuleius (125-180 CE, *Metamorphosen* XI.24). The initiates had to stand upon a platform of wood in the middle of the temple, in front of the cult statue. The garment the person was wearing was embroidered with flowers, had a flower garland upon the head and the cloak upon the shoulders had depictions of beasts, dragons and griffins. The initiate was carrying a torch. To celebrate the initiation, which lasted for at least three days, a feast with ceremonies and a religious dinner was held at the first and the third day.

This chapter section on the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia has summarised the archaeology related to the cult activity that was taking place. The earliest activity is illustrated by the Early Iron Age pottery. The sanctuary has a long building history resulting in the well-known Wonder of the Ancient World. The finds are less explicit than at Sparta, when it comes to the identification of Artemis Ephesia and the deity that was worshipped in the earlier periods. Comparing Ephesus' archaeological material to that of Sparta, it also has a goddess that overlooks both the animal world, but at the same time plays an important role in the upbringing of children. These characters of the goddess will be further illustrated in chapter 4.

---

<sup>603</sup> Rogers 2012: 61.

### 3.3 Tegea – Alea Athena

The sanctuary of Alea Athena was established at a point where the hilly areas of the southern Arkadian *demes* gave way to the marshland of the plain.<sup>604</sup> Pausanias, in his account on Lakonia (3.5.6), mentions that: ‘this sanctuary [Athena Alea] had been respected from early days by all the Peloponnesians, and afforded peculiar safety to its suppliants’. Arkadia is considered, by modern scholars as well as ancient writers, as an isolated district at the heart of the Peloponnesian peninsula.<sup>605</sup> There was a strong local tradition which contributed to a sense of cultural and ethnical unity that set them apart from other Peloponnesians: the tradition that the Arkadians were autochthonous and had never been replaced or infiltrated (Herodotus, 8.73, 9.26; Thucydides, 1.2; Diodorus Siculus, 4.58). Pausanias (8.45.3) within this tradition tells us old-fashioned and peculiar religious and cultural practices were established. Tegea in the south-east corner of Arkadia, although safely within the borders, was involved with the rest of the Peloponnese more than any of the other *poleis* in Arkadia.<sup>606</sup> The Tegean plain was located on the easiest route of communication between Lakonia to the South and the Argolid and Korinthia to the northeast.<sup>607</sup>

After the Norwegian excavations were completed, Voyatzis distinguished four main phases of the sanctuaries’ development: 1. An Early Iron Age phase (late tenth century –

---

<sup>604</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015.

The sanctuary is not to be confused with the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Alea, a *polis* belonging to the Argive federation (Pausanias, 8.23.1) or with Asea at Megalopolis (Pausanias, 8.27.3).

<sup>605</sup> Østby 2007: 1. Østby based this presumption on the dialect, which differed from the form of Greek spoken in the surrounding districts. It is quite interesting in this perspective to realise that very few other sites in Arkadia have yielded early Iron Age remains. Most Arkadian sanctuaries have evidence for modest cult activity starting from the eighth or seventh century BCE at the earliest. These include: Lousoi, Mavrike, Fortsouli, Asea, Petrovouni, Alipheira, Orchomenos and Bassai. See also Voyatzis 2004: 194.

<sup>606</sup> Østby 2007: 2.

<sup>607</sup> Being on the main trade route, the appearance of lead figurines like the ones from Sparta is not particularly surprising.

mid-eighth century BCE)<sup>608</sup>, 2. A Geometric expansion (late eighth century – mid-seventh century BCE), 3. An Archaic to Classical period (600-395/4 BCE), and 4. A Late Classical phase.<sup>609</sup> The first phase was most likely a pre-architectural stage. During the second phase two consecutive apsidal buildings were built and masses of votives dedicated. The first monumental stone temple was built and in use in the third phase and the second monumental temple was built and designed by Skopas of Paros. This famous marble temple, replacing the Archaic structure, was built ca. 350 and survived until the end of antiquity. This fourth century BCE temple was the culmination of many centuries of development at Tegea, from a modest cult place to a monumental temple.

Because of the position of the sanctuary in a tightly settled, modern village, only the central part of the sanctuary where the temple was located could be excavated. This included the foundations of the large, Classical altar as well as the sacred well north of the temple.<sup>610</sup> Already in 1879, the remains of the Late Classical altar foundations had been found in association with a stratum of rich black earth littered with ceramic and bronze material from the Geometric through later periods.<sup>611</sup>

As with the Artemis sites, the main structures of the sanctuary, the altar, temple, *bothros*, structures of the northern section, stadium and city walls will be explored. In addition, the artefacts and, more importantly, the different materials discovered will be described.

---

<sup>608</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 94, a tenuous thread of activity at the site can be traced back to the late Bronze Age, and the evidence suggests a religious character of the activity. For more information see below.

<sup>609</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 187.

<sup>610</sup> Østby 2002: 139. Other large altars are known from Epidaurus: 16x3.5m and Sparta: 23.6x6.6m.

<sup>611</sup> Milchhöfer 1880: 57, Dörpfeld 1883: 277, Norman 1984: 190.

### 3.3.1 Earliest Activity

There is a small number of early objects discovered at the site which suggest some religious activity at the end of the Mycenaean period, in the eleventh century BCE.<sup>612</sup> The Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean finds: a bronze figurine with her hands on her breasts, a Mycenaean IIC psi-figurine, a terracotta quadruped, two Sub-Mycenaean fibulae<sup>613</sup>, miniature double axes and pomegranate pendants are likely to be from later contexts and were invariably mixed with later material.<sup>614</sup> Therefore they are not necessarily a confirmation of the earlier existence of a sanctuary.<sup>615</sup> The earliest secure evidence for cult activity at Tegea can be dated to the late tenth century BCE.<sup>616</sup> Some evidence suggests the possibility of earlier cult activity.<sup>617</sup> There are several places around the sanctuary where this evidence was found. According to Østby, the topographical evidence for the sanctuary in its earliest period is limited to the votive pit found in the pronaos area of the Classical temple, beneath the metal workshop which was established there in the Late Geometric period.<sup>618</sup> Underneath the surface layers, eight distinct strata have been identified. These strata contain masses of pottery sherds, some miniature pots, small bronzes, discs, rings, and sheets, terracottas, wreaths and figurines, glass beads, a bit of gold, and animal bones, burnt and unburnt, mixed in with the finds.<sup>619</sup> The broken pottery consisted mostly of Proto-Geometric to Late Geometric. This is the location where an

---

<sup>612</sup> Unfortunately, too little is known about this activity which makes it impossible to determine the nature.

<sup>613</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 210, 240 suggests that the beginning of the cult of Athena Alea is marked by these fibulae in combination with the other material. As an alternative she also offers they may be heirlooms or survivals.

<sup>614</sup> For example, a single example of an Early Bronze Age (EH II) pin was found in a Classical context. Other examples are a few hand stone and chipped stone tools (without context) possibly to be dated to the Bronze Age as well. Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 120-121.

<sup>615</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 188.

<sup>616</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 188-190.

<sup>617</sup> See section below on the Northern area.

<sup>618</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015. This is what Dugas described as 'Couche B', in his opinion an extension during the Geometric period. In Dugas' eyes this was also the period of Aleos.

For more information about the metal workshop, see below.

<sup>619</sup> Burnt bones appear from 875-800 BCE onwards. Voyatzis 1997: 349-350.

altar might be expected, but no trace of an altar in front of the Geometric apsidal buildings, has thus far been discovered.<sup>620</sup> It appears that the cult was practiced in the open air. However, that does not necessarily mean there was no altar structure. It is possible that the structure was destroyed by the foundations of the Late Classical temple; the stratum of black earth below the Late Classical monumental altar seems to be related to this earliest phase of the sanctuary.<sup>621</sup> This layer yielded Geometric pottery and bronzes. It could suggest that the area was used as an altar as early as the Geometric period, however well away from the apsidal buildings.

### 3.3.2 Tegean Architecture

#### Sequence of altars

##### *Geometric*

Within the Geometric, apsidal buildings, fine decorated pottery of open shapes, small finds of a votive character including metal rings, pins, sheets and a few miniature vessels, were found.<sup>622</sup> In the earliest apsidal building, the assemblage of small finds mostly consisted of small metal artefacts of personal adornment and jewellery: pins, rings, beads and decorated bronze bands.<sup>623</sup> The later apsidal building (destroyed 675 BCE) yielded a large variety of small finds, personal jewellery of bronze: pins and rings, bronze sheets and terracotta figures.<sup>624</sup> Finds from the interior of the building were found mixed in the

---

<sup>620</sup> See section 3.3.2 Tegean Architecture, Sequence of altars and Temple of Alea Athena.

<sup>621</sup> Milchhöfer 1880: 66, Norman 1984: 190. Østby: forthcoming 2015, argues against this assumption, although not convincingly.

<sup>622</sup> Voyatzis 1994, 2002, 2005, Nordquist 2013: 104.

<sup>623</sup> Nordquist 2013: 103.

<sup>624</sup> Nordquist 2013: 104.

debris. Nordquist suggests that votives of various types, as described by Homer (*Iliad* 7.81-83 and 7.302-302, *Odyssey* 3.273-275), were hanging on posts or resting on shelves along the walls and fell to the floor when the building was destroyed by fire. Indeed, most votive objects come from the late eighth and early seventh century BCE.

The location and existence of this earliest activity for the cult and the presence of a Geometric altar has been discussed ever since the site of Alea Athena was excavated (appendix 17.1 and 17.2). For the purpose of the thesis only the most informative and clear interpretations will be discussed in the following. According to Dugas, the earliest altar area was located north of the temple, just west of the well/spring (κρήνη; Pausanias, 8.47.4).<sup>625</sup> The lowest stratum yielded a small quantity of bronze objects and a greater number of coarse pottery sherds. Milchhöfer found some small objects of bronze and terracotta, which are mentioned in his account, in the same place as well.<sup>626</sup> This area was extended in the 1976-77 excavation, in which the stratigraphic sequence showed a similar pattern.<sup>627</sup> Voyatzis studied the pottery found in the lowest section and recognised it as both Proto-Geometric and Late Geometric.<sup>628</sup>

Due to the lack of any datable characteristics of the objects (either Mycenaean or Geometric<sup>629</sup>) and the great depth of the locations, Dugas identified the area north of the temple as the first place of the cult practice. He thought it significant that Pausanias mentioned that from the beginning there was a *ἱερόν* instead of *ναός*.<sup>630</sup> That would reflect

---

<sup>625</sup> Dugas 1921: 337. He called this area 'Couche A'. In his view this area preceded Aleos and was the start of the development of the cult. This was revised and the area Dugas described as 'Couche B' and later as the area in the *bothros* would turn out to hold evidence for Early Iron Age activity.

<sup>626</sup> Milchhöfer 1880: 66-67.

<sup>627</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 24 has studied the unpublished reports, materials and section drawings from this excavation by Dr. G. Steinhauer of the Greek Archaeological Service. This excavation took place in the area to the north of the temple.

<sup>628</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 24-25.

<sup>629</sup> Dugas 1921: 338-339.

<sup>630</sup> Dugas 1921: 335.

the archaeological evidence of an enclosed space with open-air altar and no temple. The fact that the area also had flat levels of earth, not associated with any buildings or floors in Voyatzis' view undermined Dugas' theory.<sup>631</sup> On top of that it would be rather unlikely for an altar to be moved around the sanctuary and it sounds more likely to have been a votive deposit.<sup>632</sup>

Bronzes are the votive objects that are most abundant during the Geometric expansion. These objects include animal and human figurines, and jewellery: pins, rings, beads, fibulae, pendants, sheets, shields and plaques.<sup>633</sup> In addition there are objects of iron, gold, other metals, terracottas, glass, bone/ivory and other material. During this expansion, the cult reveals more recognisable and tangible elements. The main arguments for defined cult activity are the apsidal buildings, masses of votives and the local bronze workshop. Voyatzis suggests this evidence shows greater wealth in the community and proposes a unity of purpose among its worshippers, with a more coordinated effort to honour the deity in a visible way. She adds that the identity of the local goddess, Alea, is also becoming better defined during this phase. The main nature of this deity, as suggested by the dedications, is that of a goddess of fertility, a mistress of animals and a protectress of the town.

### *Archaic and Classical*

Dugas described another expansion area or a possible new place for an altar, which he regards as contemporary with the first, Archaic monumental structure (appendix 17.2 and

---

<sup>631</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 24-25.

<sup>632</sup> However, Østby: forthcoming 2015, mentions that at the sanctuary of Olympia, a similar relocation of the ash altar has been observed to avoid a conflict with the construction of the Heraion in the seventh century BCE.

<sup>633</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 191.

17.3).<sup>634</sup> This area is located at the far west of the sanctuary, next to the Classical altar. In agreement, Østby noted that the existence of an Archaic altar in the vicinity of the Classical one is clearly indicated by black soil with a votive deposit containing material from the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.<sup>635</sup> Within this votive deposit, a bronze warrior goddess, presumably an armed Athena was found.<sup>636</sup>

In the Archaic period, the sanctuary extended into the region to the north of the temple, where there is considerable evidence for modest architectural hut-like constructions and animal bones.<sup>637</sup> The offerings consist of an abundance of bronze and lead jewellery items and statuettes, bone and ivory pendants, terracotta figurines, miniature vessels, and pottery of both Archaic and Classical date.

The dedication of the late sixth century bronze figurine of a warrior goddess at the site could be interpreted as a representation of synthesis. Concerning the worship of Athena Alea, the cult was now expressed in a more impressive and tangible form.<sup>638</sup> This was illustrated by the erection of a monumental temple and an apparently greater connection between the local goddess and the PanHellenic deity Athena. The sanctuary could have functioned as a major religious, social, political and economic focus for the community as a whole.

### *Late Classical*

Pausanias (8.47.3) says:

---

<sup>634</sup> Dugas 1921: 338, 340. Dugas described this area as ‘Couche C’.

<sup>635</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015, followed the excavation reports of the French archaeologists.

<sup>636</sup> Dugas 1921: 359-363, Jost 1985: 379-380, plate 37.4. More on the Tegean bronzes can be found in section 3.3.3 Tegean Artefacts, Bronze.

<sup>637</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 192. It appears that this area, when the fourth century BCE temple was constructed, was filled with large amounts from the Archaic temple, dumped in the northern area.

<sup>638</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 192.

The altar for the goddess was made by Melampous, the son of Amythaon. Represented on the altar are Rhea and the nymph Oenoe holding the infant Zeus. On either side are four figures: on one, Glauce, Neda, Theisoa and Anthracia; on the other Ide, Hagno, Alcinoe and Phrixa. In addition, there are images of the Muses and of Mnemosyne displayed.

These foundations are located about twenty-six metres from the foundations of the temple façade. The foundations comprise a system of transverse walls with gravel fill between. The altar structure<sup>639</sup> and the well were discovered right in front of the village church and had to be covered up again after the end of the excavations.<sup>640</sup> The position of the Late Classical altar is too far away from the Geometric apsidal buildings to be a likely place for the altar of that period.<sup>641</sup>

The Late Classical altar is scantily preserved; however, following Pausanias, it is reconstructed as a large rectangular monument with sculpted decorations, contemporary with the fourth century BCE temple of Artemis at Ephesus.<sup>642</sup> Old traditions were clearly connected with the large altar in front of the Late Classical temple.<sup>643</sup> The structure could have been preceded by a more modest altar in the same position and connected to the Early Archaic temple. Dugas restored the altar with a prothesis (base) and assigned it fragments of a cornice.<sup>644</sup> The general consensus is that the altar of which the foundations were found and the fourth century BCE temple are contemporary, even though there are

---

<sup>639</sup> As such identified by Dugas 1924: 66.

<sup>640</sup> Dugas 1924: 66-69.

<sup>641</sup> Østby 2002: 147.

<sup>642</sup> Norman 1984: 169. In the Peloponnese long, narrow triglyph altars were more common.

<sup>643</sup> Østby 2002: 146.

<sup>644</sup> Norman 1984: 190. These fragments were decorated with motifs that were also found in the temple; however, they were too small to be assigned to it.

no datable materials associated with the construction of this altar. According to Stewart, there also is a correspondence between the orientation of the altar and temple.<sup>645</sup>

### **Temple of Alea Athena**

The earliest architectural evidence from the whole site dates back to the Geometric expansion.<sup>646</sup> Excavations inside/below the cella of the fourth century BCE temple possibly yielded the remains of three buildings of the second half of the eighth century BCE.<sup>647</sup> The buildings were made of wattle-and-daub.<sup>648</sup> The earliest of the buildings has remains that can possibly be dated to the mid-eighth century BCE. This was followed by Building 2 which is dated 720-700 BCE. The dating is based on ceramics: Late Geometric II, including some Early Proto-Corinthian.<sup>649</sup> It was apsidal, small and narrow and had no stone foundations. The last one, Building 1, can be dated to 700-680/670 BCE.<sup>650</sup> This dating is based on the Late Geometric II through Middle Proto-Corinthian I sherds found in the floor levels.<sup>651</sup> Building 1 is apsidal too, though longer and wider, and it does not have a stone foundation either.<sup>652</sup> Indicators of a third building are the stones which became cultic symbols of importance in the apses of Buildings 2 and 1, and preliminary

---

<sup>645</sup> Bammer 1972: 6-13, Bammer 1964-65: 142-144. Such interrelationships are also known from Asia Minor. Bammer has postulated a similar connection between the fourth century BCE altar of the Ephesian Artemision and the temple pediment.

<sup>646</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 190.

<sup>647</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015.

<sup>648</sup> These apsidal buildings are in great detail described by Nordquist 2002a. Her report does mention two apsidal buildings. The possibility for three is mentioned by Voyatzis 2004, 2005 and followed by Nordquist 2013.

Østby claims that this technique was old-fashioned and probably used to express the visual manifestation of divine forces. It was then chosen for its associations with ancient traditions rather than for its functionality. This idea is confirmed by the two building models in terracotta.

The measurements of the buildings will be described in more detail in Nordquist: forthcoming 2015. For now Building 2 exceeds the 13m of the preliminary report and Building 1 extends for at least 9m.

<sup>649</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 98-103, Voyatzis 2005: 471.

<sup>650</sup> The dating of the destruction of the building is confirmed by a Middle Proto-Corinthian aryballos, which was found in one of the postholes in the pronaos of this later apsidal temple. Voyatzis 2002: 163. Nordquist 2013: 104, followed by Østby: forthcoming 2015. Its apse was found some ten centimetres above that of its predecessor.

<sup>651</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 98-103, Voyatzis 2005: 471.

<sup>652</sup> Apsidal buildings were also known from Thermon, Eretria and Lefkandi.

observations of a surface with postholes below Building 2. There is no convincing evidence for a building older than Building 2 which, as Østby concludes, must mean that Building 2 was an initial, modest attempt of temple building.

There is the possibility of some sort of fourth structure, dated 675-625 BCE.<sup>653</sup> Archaic tile fragments indicate building activity during this period.<sup>654</sup> However, additional evidence is meagre and consists of a stone foundation in the apse area on top of the latest Geometric structure, below the Archaic temple.<sup>655</sup> Another clue could be a possible foundation trench going north-south and is visible in the northern and southern sections of the cella excavation.<sup>656</sup> This trench is at a higher level than Building 1, but safely below the colonnade foundation of the Archaic temple. It seems unlikely that the site was without a structure for half a century. However scarce, there is some evidence for an intermediate phase between the apsidal buildings and the monumental temples and such a phase is not unheard of. The early temple of Artemis Orthia had a similar building phase and was (contemporary) as well.<sup>657</sup>

During the Archaic-Early Classical period the first monumental stone temple was built.<sup>658</sup> The remains of this temple were previously identified as a Byzantine church.<sup>659</sup> Two rows of foundation blocks of the interior colonnade were used to identify this structure, built around 625-600 BCE.<sup>660</sup> The construction of this building represents a major

---

<sup>653</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 190, followed by Østby: forthcoming 2015.

<sup>654</sup> Mentions of this intermediate period by: Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 103, Nordquist 2002a: 149-151.

<sup>655</sup> This platform extends underneath and outside both of the Archaic foundation walls and are divided from it by a layer of soil. Nordquist 2002a: 149-150.

<sup>656</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015.

<sup>657</sup> See section 3.1.2 Spartan Architecture, The Artemisium.

<sup>658</sup> Norman 1984: 171 and Østby 1986, followed by Voyatzis 2004: 192. Norman and Østby reached the same conclusion separately.

<sup>659</sup> Dugas (*et al.*) 1924: 11-13.

<sup>660</sup> The measurements of the Archaic temple are in detail discussed by Østby 1986.

transformation of the site.<sup>661</sup> It was an early Doric peristyle temple, made of timber and mud brick and to strengthen the foundation, some Doliana marble slabs were used.<sup>662</sup>

Pausanias mentions that the Tegeans set up a large temple for the goddess.<sup>663</sup> This temple was ‘worth seeing’. It was built after the sanctuary was utterly destroyed by a fire (395/4 BCE). This most recent temple (8.45.5) was:

...far superior to all other temples in the Peloponnese on many grounds, especially for its size.<sup>664</sup> Its first row of columns is Doric and the one next to it Corinthian. Lastly, outside the temple columns of the Ionic order were placed.<sup>665</sup>

This Late Classical marble temple in honour of Athena Alea was built at Tegea ca. 345-335 BCE.<sup>666</sup> All constructions, from the apsidal buildings to this Late Classical temple had the same east-to-west orientation. As already said, Pausanias (8.45.5) credited Skopas as architect of the building which consisted of a pronaos, cella and opisthodomos. According to him, it was the greatest temple in the Peloponnese in term of size and construction.<sup>667</sup> The entire superstructure of this temple was made of marble from

---

<sup>661</sup> Østby 2005: 495. The cella of this temple was probably surrounded by a peristyle, but it has been totally destroyed by the foundations of the Classical temple, resulting in no remaining evidence. Østby based the reconstruction on the similarities between the early Heraion at Olympia.

<sup>662</sup> Milchhöfer 1880: 57 is the first one to mention the Doliana marble. The quarries are located about five miles to the south of the present village of Alea. Also Treu 1881, Stewart 1977: 39.

<sup>663</sup> Pausanias is talking about the Late Classical temple, still there in his time.

<sup>664</sup> The fact that Pausanias was a bit biased was first mentioned by Treu 1881: 397.

The temples of Zeus at Olympia (27.68x64.12m), Poseidon at Isthmia (23.70x54.20m), Apollo at Corinth (21.49x53.82m), Hera at Olympia (18.75x50.01m) and Nemea (20.09x42.55m) are all larger, in one way or another, than the temple of Tegea (19.19x47.55m).

<sup>665</sup> In Dugas' 1924 reconstruction, the row of columns around the temple and the ones in antis were Doric. Two rows of half columns inside the cella were Corinthian. None of the reconstructions show Ionic columns. It is interesting though, that Dodwell 1819: 419 also mentioned three orders of Grecian architecture.

<sup>666</sup> Dugas 1924: 127-128 suggested a date between 360-330 BCE for historical reasons. Stewart 1977: 67-69, 80 raised it to ca. 370-340 BCE. Norman 1984 suggested the decade 345-335 BCE based on stylistical and epigraphical evidence. Voyatzis 2004: 193 mentioned ca. 350 BCE. Pakkanen 1998 wrote a detailed account on the column drums and shafts from this temple, based on documentation from 1993-1998 and strongly connected to the five year Norwegian excavation project (1990-1994).

<sup>667</sup> Whether or not Skopas was responsible for the sculptures as well remains a topic for discussion. See Stewart 1977.

Doliana.<sup>668</sup> The temple had very large doors, on both the east end and unusually at the north side, leading into the cella.<sup>669</sup> These side doors of the Late Classical temple were probably already there in Archaic structure, because there is evidence for the ramp at north side.<sup>670</sup>

A wealth of architectural material is preserved and has already been studied by Dugas and Clemmensen.<sup>671</sup> This temple had a front ramp, facing east and another unusual side ramp, facing towards the north. Two rows of Corinthian half columns were built inside the cella, but the main order was Doric. The foundations of this temple remain in situ as far as the krepidoma along the south side.<sup>672</sup>

Strabo noted in the first to the second century CE (8.8.2): ‘There are still some remains of Tegea, and the temple of the Alean Minerva remains’. Pausanias called her Athena, but when he mentions the Aleaea festival (8.47.4) named after the goddess, it implied that Alea Athena was meant. At the end of the Roman period the temple was destroyed and plundered, as is illustrated by the widely scattered debris of fragments.<sup>673</sup>

---

<sup>668</sup> Norman 1984: 171. She reports that N. Herz (University of Georgia) and F. Cooper (American School in Athens) visited Doliana where they noticed a partially cut and detached column drum still embedded in the quarry there. They report that the dimensions of this drum are suitable for the temple of Athena.

<sup>669</sup> Norman 1984: 187. Large doors into the cella were a fourth century BCE feature that was also seen in the temples at, amongst other sites, Nemea and Epidauros. The cellas were richly decorated and therefore demanded more light.

<sup>670</sup> Parallels have been found at Bassai, Lykosoura, and Lousoi; function uncertain. Østby suggested these doors were there for a ritual purpose, taking place at the northern area. Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 141.

<sup>671</sup> Milchhöfer 1880: 59-60 and table III, already stated the Doric architectural elements were joined by some unmistakable Ionising elements. Dugas (*et al.*) 1924.

<sup>672</sup> Norman 1984: 170. The foundations were made of ashlar blocks of local conglomerate, with some marble and several blocks of a soft, white stone of unknown origin.

<sup>673</sup> Stewart 1977: 5.

## Temple sculptures

Pausanias ‘discovered (ἐπινοθάνομην)’ that the architect of the late Classical temple was Skopas the Parian.<sup>674</sup> Even the decoration of the temple is described in great detail (Pausanias, 8.45.6-7):

On the front pediment<sup>675</sup> is the hunting of the Caledonian boar. The boar stands right to the centre. On one side are Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeukes, Iolaos, the partner in most of the labours of Herakles, and also the sons of Thestios, the brothers of Althaea, Prothoos and Kometes. On the other side of the boar is Epochos supporting Ankaios who is now wounded and has dropped his axe; by his side is Castor, with Amphiaraios, the son of Oikles, next to whom is Hippothoos, the son of Kerkyron, son of Agamedes, son of Stymphalos. The last figure is Peirithoos. On the pediment at the back is a representation of Telephos fighting Achilles on the plain of the Kaikos.

Stewart (1977) wrote about the pedimental sculptures made by Skopas of Paros<sup>676</sup> for the temple of Athena Alea.<sup>677</sup> The eastern pediment depicted the hunt of the Caledonian boar with Atalanta as winner of the event, one of the great myths.<sup>678</sup> The western pediment depicted the Telephos legend. Telephos was the grandson of king Aleos, the founder of

<sup>674</sup> Skopas made sculpted statues in many places in ancient Greece, Ionia and Caria. For a comprehensive account on Skopas of Paros and his sculptures in Tegea see Stewart 1977.

<sup>675</sup> East.

<sup>676</sup> Stewart 1977: 103. Skopas had a controversial appearance at Ephesus to carve one of the *columnae cellatae* there (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 36.95; maybe some time after 356 BCE?). None of the fragments seem to stylistically match the Tegean pediments.

<sup>677</sup> Where both Dugas and Stewart are mentioned in the following, Stewart usually has a more extensive bibliography for the pieces of the sculpture he describes. The first extensive account on the sculptures by Skopas was written by Treu 1881.

<sup>678</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 9.543; Hesiod, *Catalogues of Women*, fragment 98; Callimachus, *Hymn 3 to Artemis* 218ff; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 4.34.2; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.260-450; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.66, 2.133, 3.106; Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 2; Pseudo-Hyginus, *Fabulae* 172-174; Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines* 15

the sanctuary (appendix 18). About the subject of the metopes nothing is certain.<sup>679</sup> The only possible clue are the architrave inscriptions: ΚΑΦΕΙΔΑΙ, ΑΥΓΑ, ΤΗΛΕΦΟΣ and Α[ΛΕΟΣ?].<sup>680</sup> Stewart interpreted the pediments as showing Athena Alea being the goddess of fighting and war on the east façade and of help and succour in time of need on the west façade, which made the two sides complementary.<sup>681</sup>

The figure of Atalanta is described wearing a short chiton, which resembles one of the ways in which Artemis as a huntress was depicted.<sup>682</sup> Of the rest of this pediment, and more importantly of the boar, only the head remains.<sup>683</sup> Amongst the other major fragments are two dogs and a female torso. The total of figures was either fifteen or eighteen.<sup>684</sup> The other fragments, all fragments of male figures, could have been part of the pediment. The west pediment had a male figure wearing a lion-skin cap.<sup>685</sup> In addition there were two helmeted male heads, a female head, the central part of a recumbent female figure and fragmentary body parts such as arms, heads and torsos.

One of the interesting temple features Stewart examined was the akroteria. One of them, in his opinion, could have been a Nike.<sup>686</sup> The other one is less clear, but could also have been a Nike. He shows similarities with the Nikai of both the Ephesian Artemision and

---

<sup>679</sup> Picard 1933, 1934, and 1935 researched the metopes and one of the options is that they depicted scenes from Tegean history and legend and the life of Telephos. See also the inscriptions of a metope: IG V.2 78 and 79.

<sup>680</sup> Stewart 1977: 57. The first (found to the north-east) suggests the pronaos metopes portrayed the exploits of the children of Kepheus (son of Aleos and brother of Auge), the latter (found to the west) that over the opisthodomos were scenes taken from the life of Telephos. For more interpretations see Picard 1933, 1934 and 1935.

<sup>681</sup> As with the Athenian Parthenon, the eastern pediment depicts a myth with a more universal significance, and the west is more for local patriotism.

<sup>682</sup> Dugas 1924, Stewart 1977. One would expect a statue of Athena at a site that was used for her worship, the only suggestion or connection to Athena are the Nike figures, identified below.

<sup>683</sup> Dugas 1924: 84-85, Stewart 1977: 14-15.

<sup>684</sup> The list of participants varies: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.298-317; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.8.2. See also Treu 1881: 403, Dugas 1924: 106, Stewart 1977: 14. The general consensus is: Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux (Polydeukes), Iolaos, Prothoos, Kometes, Ankaios, Epochos, Castor, Amphiaraios, Hippothoos and Peirithoos. The other three are not mentioned.

<sup>685</sup> Dugas 1924: 87-88, Stewart 1977: 22-23.

<sup>686</sup> Stewart 1977: 60.

the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros and a Nike from Cyrene.<sup>687</sup> Her placement above the west pediment and the connection with the battle of Kaikos is still to be established. The Nike-like figure then has to be fitted into the theme of the east pediment, the hunt of the Caledonian boar. The other figures, Stewart interprets as forest nymphs. In the context of the hunt (Ovid set the scene in a forest), as companions of Artemis, they seem to be appropriate companions. They were the emblems of victory for Atalanta, the huntress that killed the Caledonian boar.

### **Bothros and Metal workshop**

The earliest stratified evidence from Tegea was found in the *bothros* (sacred pit).<sup>688</sup> This *bothros* was located in the pronaos area of the later fourth century BCE temple, and sealed below the floor of a metal workshop of a late eighth century BCE date, in front of the Geometric apsidal buildings. The *bothros* dates back to the Proto-Geometric period. It contained black, sooty and compact soil, animal bones and pottery. The lower level contained large amounts of Lakonian Proto-Geometric pottery, which in the upper levels was replaced mainly by Argive imported pottery.<sup>689</sup> A large number of small finds was also found: small fragmentary gold items, a large number of miniature vases, lead figurines, artefacts of sheet bronze, discs and bronze rings.<sup>690</sup>

The metal workshop was used in conjunction with the late eighth century BCE temples.<sup>691</sup> It was located above the *bothros*. The prominent position chosen at Tegea for the metal

---

<sup>687</sup> Stewart 1977: Select Catalogue note 13 and 21.

<sup>688</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 189.

<sup>689</sup> This suggests a change in 'foreign' relations of the sanctuary. Voyatzis 1990, 2002, 2005.

<sup>690</sup> Interestingly few pins were found in the *bothros*. See also Nordquist 2013: 104.

The finds in the early phases, Building 2 and 1, and the *bothros*, seem to be quite similar. In layers relating to a metalworking area encountered over the *bothros*, the find combinations were more or less the same as in the levels of buildings, although fewer items were found. For exact numbers see Nordquist's figures.

<sup>691</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 190.

workshop was probably significant.<sup>692</sup> The location on top of an earlier deposit of sacred, votive objects is not to be disregarded. The fact that the objects were prepared in her sanctuary is of great importance. It is interesting to see whether Alea had a special connection with such activities. Her name could after all be associated with the concept of shelter, warmth, heat and fire. This connection could have helped to prepare the ground for the amalgamation with Athena, the goddess for whom crafts were one of the principal aspects of her character. Additionally, as mentioned by Voyatzis, the location of the bronze workshop so close to the temples indicate that the manufacture of small bronze objects occurred within the sacred precinct and suggests that this activity must have been an integral part of the cult of the eighth century BCE. Having a metal workshop on-site suggests an increase in economic development, where small bronze votives were manufactured to supply worshippers with gifts for the goddess.<sup>693</sup>

### **Northern area**

The open area north of the temple has been considered to be of particular importance in the life of the sanctuary, because of the presence of the well, the two bases and the ramp (or platform of the temple) going in that direction.<sup>694</sup> This section is described separately from the temple by the excavators.<sup>695</sup> There was building debris that constituted the layer. According to Tarditi the debris could be connected with a building made of light material, mud-brick or wattle-and-daub.<sup>696</sup> The material from this layer can be dated back to the seventh century BCE. The surface was used as an open area between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BCE. The fragments of votive offerings

---

<sup>692</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015.

<sup>693</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 191.

<sup>694</sup> Norman 1984: 189, Østby 1986: 86, Voyatzis 1990: 25, and Tarditi 2005: 198. This ramp might have existed in the Archaic temple as well as the Late Classical one.

<sup>695</sup> Dugas 1921, Voyatzis 1990, Østby 2002, followed by Tarditi 2005: 199.

<sup>696</sup> Tarditi 2005: 199.

found mixed with the rubble could suggest a building intended for sheltering precious objects. Amongst the finds in this area are: chunks of burnt clay with impressions of organic material and plaster coating, much charcoal, and many fragments of small votive objects (appendix 19). The site could have been used to discard the debris of a cult building, used during the seventh century BCE, destroyed by a fire and replaced at the end of the century by a more impressive temple. The Northern area was in continuous use in the sixth century.<sup>697</sup>

## Stadium

According to Pausanias (8.47.4), ‘not far from the temple there was a stadium [χῶμα] formed by a mound of earth’. Pausanias says this was used to celebrate games, one festival called Aleaea after Athena<sup>698</sup>, the other *halotia* (Capture festival), because they captured the greater part of the Lakedaemonians alive in the battle of Leuktra (371 BCE: 8.45.3).<sup>699</sup> Nilsson mentioned that there is no other evidence for the *halotia* than Pausanias’ account.<sup>700</sup> The *aition*, according to him, was etymological and could not be used to explain anything else. Early nineteenth century travellers all followed Pausanias’ description when mentioning the presumed existence of a stadium.<sup>701</sup> Berard, in his early search along the narrow heights of Alea, already thought he had found it.<sup>702</sup> He did not excavate, but the people of the village had told him they carried away the marble that was

---

<sup>697</sup> Tarditi 2005: 199.

<sup>698</sup> Themelis 2004 mentions an inscribed base that supported the statue of a victorious athlete. He won contests at the Eleusinia, Lykaia and Aleaea. This inscription dates to the first century BCE.

<sup>699</sup> For more on the active enmity between Sparta and Tegea see Pretzler 2000: 109-110, 114-118.

<sup>700</sup> Nilsson 1957: 88.

<sup>701</sup> Leake 1830: 92-93, Curtius 1851: 256, Bursian 1868: 219.

<sup>702</sup> Berard 1893: 3.

found. Dugas believed it was immediately north of the sanctuary.<sup>703</sup> However, no trace of any such structure or the location has been found and the question must remain open.<sup>704</sup>

### **City walls**

The construction of the fourth century temple coincided with the flourishing of the Tegean *polis*. Around the same time, city walls were built (ca. 370 BCE, first mentioned by Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.5.8, 7.4.36-37). It is not surprising that this new feature appears at the same time the Arkadian league was founded as a result of the decreasing Spartan influence. Tegea gained its independence, finally ending its loyalty to Sparta and was therefore in need of strong city walls. Tegea became part of the Arkadian league which was formed shortly afterwards (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.1). The city walls were discovered by Berard and Fougères.<sup>705</sup> In addition the *agora*, the theatre and the stadium were built. The sanctuary of Athena Alea was included inside the city walls when they were constructed.

### **3.3.3 Tegean Artefacts**

#### **Pottery<sup>706</sup>**

Voyatzis stated: ‘The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea has produced the most abundant ceramic remains from Arkadia to date.’<sup>707</sup> Earlier excavators reported valuable

---

<sup>703</sup> Dugas 1924 : 71.

<sup>704</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 14-15, Østby (*et al.*) 1994:92.

<sup>705</sup> Berard 1892: 547-549, pl XIII.

<sup>706</sup> Most of the pottery from the site appears to have been locally produced. It is made of pale yellow, porous clay, with a soft, powdery texture and some inclusions. A small number was made of coarser, reddish clay with many inclusions. Voyatzis 1990: 64.

<sup>707</sup> Voyatzis 2005: 468. She based this statement on: Milchhöfer 1880, Mendel 1901: 256-7, Dugas 1921: 403-423, Voyatzis 1990: 62-84 and Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 126-31.

information about the pottery from the Athena Alea site, but Voyatzis revised their accounts thoroughly.<sup>708</sup> Dugas' classifications and analyses were very general, limited and sometimes even incorrectly, partly due to the incorrect identification of the part of the northern section he excavated. The Mycenaean pottery he mentions was not recognised as such by Voyatzis and the earliest pottery from the northern section therefore seems to be Proto-Geometric.<sup>709</sup> Within the later pronaos however, two fragments of Mycenaean stirrup jars were mixed in with the Geometric ware.<sup>710</sup>

Several hundred Early Iron Age sherds, consisting of standard Proto-Geometric types with Argive and/or Attic affinities and Lakonian Proto-Geometric types, are catalogued by Voyatzis.<sup>711</sup> The pottery uncovered in the cella and pronaos of the temple consisted mostly of fine, decorated wares of Geometric date.<sup>712</sup> The late eighth century BCE pottery reveals a stronger Argive character and the Lakonian influence and imports are less than during the previous phase.<sup>713</sup> The themes of horse-taming and dancing seem to be very popular in Tegean pottery.<sup>714</sup> Within the cella the pottery remains ranged from Proto-Geometric through Early Proto-Corinthian material with a concentration of Middle Geometric II – Late Geometric II sherds.<sup>715</sup> The pronaos pottery reflects the same range of sherds. The early excavations and building activity on the site have resulted in mixed layers which makes it difficult to give more precise date for each phase.

---

<sup>708</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 62-84.

<sup>709</sup> Voyatzis 1990, Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 126.

<sup>710</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 64, based on Mendel 1901. One fragment was Mycenaean IIIC Early, the other one Mycenaean IIIC Late.

<sup>711</sup> Voyatzis 2005: 469.

<sup>712</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 126. Early Geometric through to Late Geometric and Proto-Corinthian ceramics.

<sup>713</sup> The influence and imports of Lakonian pottery in the Early Iron Age links Tegea and Sparta quite closely. This might be an explanation for the common features.

<sup>714</sup> Voyatzis 1990: plate 11 P24, plate 15 P32, plate 19 P40, Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 129 figures 107 and 108, Voyatzis 2005: 471.

<sup>715</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: figure 95.

The ceramic evidence from the Geometric expansion mainly consists of sherds of Late Geometric through Middle Proto-Corinthian date (ca. 750-660 BCE).<sup>716</sup> There are many distinctive miniature vessels found in this phase as well. The increase in Argive connections, reflected in the Late Geometric pottery (amongst other things), could be a sign of a conscious movement away from association with Lakonia.<sup>717</sup>

New shapes during this phase reflect the 'normal' ceramic shapes more closely: kotylai, kraters, shallow bowls<sup>718</sup> and phialai. Shallow bowls are most numerous and almost exclusively related to the Geometric buildings. This suggests that this shape can be tied to some activity that took place in association with these buildings.<sup>719</sup> Additionally footless cups, kantharoi, mugs, lakainai, oinochoe and dinoi were found. The most important shape still is the kotyle. All of these vessels are drinking vessels, jugs or mixing bowls. This could be a sign of some sort of feasting (cult meals as part of the rites?) happening in the sanctuary from the time of the earliest building structures. As Østby notes, the abundant remains of animal bones confirm this assumption. These meals could not have taken place inside the buildings, as they were too small.

The third phase had a consistent quantity of miniature vessels, suggesting the continued importance of the sanctuary.<sup>720</sup> Miniature vessels were uncovered during the early

---

<sup>716</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 191.

<sup>717</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 144. It is important to bear in mind that Lakonia during this period was becoming an increasingly powerful and aggressive neighbour.

<sup>718</sup> These bowls have no parallel among the vessels of 'normal' size. This could suggest a votive function. However, the bowls have suspension holes and a slightly convex profile. They might have functioned as hanging votives. Hammond confirms this assumption by a comparison with the use of the kotyle, first appearing in the second phase, but continuing in the third phase where it is the most popular shape. The kotyle could be more a votive token or substitute, because of the normal sized kotylai. An alternative is that the kotylai were used in some cultic activity. Their continued use suggests certain sanctuary continuity as well. Their importance as a votive vessel is confirmed by their appearance in the foundation trench for the Classical Skopadian temple. Hammond 2005: 422-424.

<sup>719</sup> Most likely for (ritual) feasting/dining.

<sup>720</sup> Hammond 2005: 424-425.

excavations at Tegea.<sup>721</sup> Hammond divided the miniature vessels from the Norwegian excavations in three distinct phases of production and use at the site over time.<sup>722</sup> The first phase consists of the vessels discovered in the votive pit located below the pronaos of the Classical temple.<sup>723</sup> These vessels are similar in manufacture, material and fabric, suggesting a significant and consistent role in defining their context. Open vessels (cups and dishes) dominate, but a few closed shapes were noted. As Hammond already suggested, these cups and dishes are not just scaled down versions or cheap imitations, but votives in their own right or held substances left behind for a purpose.<sup>724</sup> The second phase includes materials found in the pronaos surface layers and the metal-working area, the cella and the Archaic period in the 'Northern Sector'.<sup>725</sup> The continued presence and increase in numbers of miniature vessels confirm their importance.

## **Bronze**

By far the greatest number of dedications unearthed at Tegea is of bronze, not surprising in light of the discovery of a metal-workshop. The majority of bronze votive offerings seem to be jewellery items: pendants, fibulae, pins, rings, rectangular sheets and discs. The pendants range from double axes to beads. Pins were found in several shapes amongst which Geometric I, II and III,<sup>726</sup> t-shaped, spatula pins, mushroom headed with two beads below, Archaic pins (including orientalisising I and II), and knot-headed pins.<sup>727</sup> Some of

---

<sup>721</sup> Hammond 2005: 419-420.

<sup>722</sup> Hammond illustrated her account with the different types and changes.

<sup>723</sup> Coldstream 1979: 332 note 21, notes that the miniature pottery painted in a Geometric manner from Tegea might appear to initiate a trend which became widespread at Greek sanctuaries in the seventh century BCE. Voyatzis 1990: 80-81, suggested that once the custom of dedicating miniatures was initiated, the Tegeans developed their own style which differed from other sanctuaries.

<sup>724</sup> Hammond 2005: 420.

<sup>725</sup> Hammond 2005: 421-422.

<sup>726</sup> After Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984.

<sup>727</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 121-122 figures 60-70.

the rectangular sheets were rolled up, often with punched decoration, creating bead shapes.<sup>728</sup>

In addition there were vessels and, from the Norwegian excavation, a single horse figurine.<sup>729</sup> This is of a Lakonian-style horse with a short neck, low rump, long, undifferentiated head, and a pierced base-plate.<sup>730</sup> More Lakonian-style horses had been found during the earlier excavations.<sup>731</sup> A particularly interesting horse-with-rider figure is part of the votive deposit found in the black layer in the region of the temple.<sup>732</sup> This bronze statuette represents an unusual votive type, since the seated rider is female and side-saddled.<sup>733</sup> As is the case with the bronze horses, Tegea and Sparta both yielded miniature double axe pendants<sup>734</sup> and a long tubular bead.<sup>735</sup>

As Voyatzis noted, many of the more unusual bronze votives from Tegea reveal the nature of Athena as a Mistress of Animals and Fertility goddess<sup>736</sup>, others indicate her function as a Protectress of the town.<sup>737</sup> One example of her as fertility goddess is a bronze figure (Mycenaean) with her hands on her breasts. Pomegranate and stamp pendants (which might also be loom weights, appropriate offerings to a goddess of weaving) are another category. The Mistress of Animals is shown on an incised bronze disc with a female figure

---

<sup>728</sup> Parallels from the Artemis Orthia site: Droop 1929b: 199 and plate LXXXV *i, k, l, m, n*.

<sup>729</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 119.

<sup>730</sup> For Artemis Orthia parallels see Droop 1929b: 197, plate LXXVI-LXIX.

<sup>731</sup> Dugas 1921: 353, Voyatzis 1990: 129-132.

<sup>732</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 103 and plate 54B1, Voyatzis 1992. Similar horses with riders were found at Lousoi (Artemis Hemera), Samos (sanctuary of Hera) and Olympia (sanctuary of Zeus and Hera).

<sup>733</sup> Voyatzis 1992: 265. For more information about the background and origin of these side-saddled riders, see Voyatzis' 1992 account.

Fourteen terracotta riders of various sizes (seventh and sixth century BCE) are known from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Dawkins 1929b: 150-1 and plate 33.7, 8, 10; 34.1-8.

<sup>734</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 120 figure 56.

<sup>735</sup> This type of bead in bronze is unknown outside Arkadia, however gold examples from the Artemis Orthia site are proposed. Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 120, Dawkins 1929: plate CCIII numbers 12 and 13.

<sup>736</sup> A good example is a bronze figurine separating two animals. Voyatzis 1990: plate 55.

Another example is a bronze inscribed disc with a female standing on the quadruped. Dugas' 1921 catalogue number 28.

<sup>737</sup> Voyatzis 2002: 159.

standing on a quadruped and holding a poppy and a figure separating two animals. In addition there are a figure of a female sitting side-saddle on a horse, a bear-headed figure and numerous deer figurines. The most numerous bronzes were jewellery items though.

The bronze figure with a human body and an animal head is probably one of the most intriguing finds from the site.<sup>738</sup> If this recalls mask-wearing it might as well recall ritual traditions. In myths, animals and in particular bears,<sup>739</sup> wolves and horses played a significant role.<sup>740</sup> The bear was associated especially with Artemis and could perhaps be the result of Atalanta's connection with Tegea. Additionally, the bear could function as a symbol of motherhood in this context. Another reason, as Voyatzis noted, are the numerous dedications which indicate that the earliest deity, Alea, had characteristics of a Mistress of Animals, vegetation and fertility.<sup>741</sup> Quite a few of the finds from the sanctuary point in the direction of the goddess being a *potnia theron*. The interpretation of horses at Sparta could be adapted here as well for a bronze rider and the bronze horses found at the sanctuary.<sup>742</sup> In addition, the double protome pendants are similar to the lead and terracotta pendants from the Artemis Orthia site, where a head is shown between two. As Jost mentioned, the bronze animal figures (birds, deer, horses, pigs and dogs), were common symbols for a Mistress of Animals.<sup>743</sup> They are widely known at most cult places of the era, no matter which deity was worshipped there. Therefore they cannot serve to define Alea, but they can be used to define her as a *potnia theron*.

---

<sup>738</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 117-121 and plate 58.

<sup>739</sup> Voyatzis proposes that ἄρκας = ἄρκτος. The name Arkadia then could simply mean the land of the bears. However, Aleos, the supposed founder of the Tegean sanctuary, was Arkas' grandson. Arkas' mother, Lykaion, who was Callisto's daughter, gave birth to her son and transformed into a bear (Hesiod, *The Astronomy fragments*; Pausanias 8.35.8, 8.9.3). Voyatzis 1990: 118 and note 100. In Brauron the bear masks were a reference to the rites of passage taking place in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia.

<sup>740</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 118.

<sup>741</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 120, 123-124 and plate 60. A female figure pressing hands to her breasts.

<sup>742</sup> Voyatzis 1990: plate 54.

<sup>743</sup> Jost 1985: 373. She noted a similar conclusion by Heilmeyer 1972.

Kilian-Dirlmeier's consideration of stamp pendants (with nine main types) and pomegranate pendants, amongst other types, is followed by Voyatzis.<sup>744</sup> This is in opposition to the distinctions Dugas had made in 1921<sup>745</sup>, considering them to be miniature loom-weights, as was first suggested by Milchhöfer.<sup>746</sup> If these pendants are indeed not to be seen and interpreted as loom-weights, that could take away one of the arguments as to which deity is worshipped here. Wear around the suspension loops seems to be an indication of the pendants being more than just suspended in the sanctuary and some might have been used as seals. For stamp and pomegranate pendants (seventy-five percent of the total pendants in the Peloponnese) it seems most likely, as was mentioned by Voyatzis, that Tegea was the main centre for the production of these pendant objects.<sup>747</sup>

In Dugas' catalogue the figure between animals was interpreted as a mistress of animals.<sup>748</sup> As it shows a figure between two animals it is open for discussion if it was meant to be a man or a woman. This resulted in Jost interpreting it as a man separating a dog and deer.<sup>749</sup> Unfortunately the imagery is not clear enough to be sure what the animals are, and whether it is a male or a female figure is not particularly important as it still depicts the mastery of animals either way. A bronze disc depicting a female standing on a quadruped<sup>750</sup> is another example, as well as the small gold plaque of a female figure flanked by a beast.<sup>751</sup> This plaque is quite similar to the Orthia lead figures.<sup>752</sup> It is interesting that a more precious metal was used for a similar scene for Athena Alea than

---

<sup>744</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979: 212-213, Voyatzis 1990: 177.

<sup>745</sup> Dugas 1921: 360-373, numbers 80-95.

<sup>746</sup> Milchhöfer 1880: 67, plate IVb, c.

<sup>747</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 186.

<sup>748</sup> Dugas 1921: 354.

<sup>749</sup> Dugas 1921: 354-355, Jost 1985: 152, 373, Voyatzis 1990: plate 55.

<sup>750</sup> Dugas 1924: 154.

<sup>751</sup> Dugas 1921: 428 number 365, Voyatzis 1990: 247.

<sup>752</sup> Dawkins 1929: plate CLXXXVIII.

Artemis Orthia. On top of that, Tegea was the only Arkadian site where gold was found for votive offerings.

Another anomaly is that the proportion of Geometric deer figurines among all bronze quadrupeds is higher at Tegea (five) than at any other Greek sanctuary site.<sup>753</sup> The six examples of bronze, reclining oxen are the greatest number found in the Greek world.<sup>754</sup> Sparta had two examples and Olympia a single one. They are very similar to the couchant animals in bone and ivory found at for example the Artemis Orthia site.<sup>755</sup> Voyatzis states that it is likely that Tegea was the centre of production for reclining oxen, purely based on the fact that the greatest number and variety was found here.<sup>756</sup> Bird figurines (eighteen) were also found in the greatest number and variety of bronzes in Tegea.<sup>757</sup>

Water played an important role in the cult of Athena Alea. This is illustrated by the bronze figure carrying a vase on its head.<sup>758</sup> The spring north of the temple, earlier identified as the place for cult activity, was the ideal, natural place to found a sanctuary.<sup>759</sup> Another example illustrating the importance of water could be the fragment of a bronze disc dating to the seventh century BCE.<sup>760</sup> It represents a large water bird, a quadruped and a female figure. Jost, following Picard, interpreted this figure as a protectress of nature and the marshy grounds of the sanctuary.<sup>761</sup>

---

<sup>753</sup> Bevan 1986: 109 and appendix 8.5, Voyatzis 1990: 140. There were two figures from the Artemis Orthia site at Sparta, two from the Argive Heraion and two from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora.

<sup>754</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 144.

<sup>755</sup> Dawkins 1929d: 230-234. The great variety at Sparta, as is already pointed out by Voyatzis, suggests that they were locally produced.

<sup>756</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 145.

<sup>757</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 157.

<sup>758</sup> Dugas 1921: 354 number 51, Jost 1985: 373 and plate 37, figure 3.

<sup>759</sup> Jost 1985: 145.

<sup>760</sup> Dugas 1921: 384-85 number 154 and figure 45, Jost 1985: 373.

<sup>761</sup> Jost 1985: 373 especially note 11.

## Lead figurines

Lead figurines have almost exclusively been found in the northern section. They are few in number in comparison those from Spartan, where over a hundred-thousand examples were found. However, the Tegean examples represent an interesting range: wreaths (six), rings (seven), nails, plaques, and ornamental discs, male and (winged) female figurines.<sup>762</sup> The wreaths, rings and lead (winged) female figurine show close parallels with those from the Orthia sanctuary.<sup>763</sup> These Tegean lead figurines make references to the *potnia theron*, (the winged female figurines) and the *kourotrophos* (both the kouros figure and the objects for personal use).<sup>764</sup> The great amount of lead at Lakonian sites, in comparison with the small quantity at other sites, suggests that the lead objects from Tegea and other Peloponnesian sanctuaries were brought there by visiting Spartans. These could include the small lead kouros found at Mavriki (north-east Achaia).<sup>765</sup> Bassai (north-east Messenia) yielded lead figurines, amongst which a small lead female figure and two larger male statuettes.<sup>766</sup>

## Bone and Ivory carvings

The majority of the bone and ivory objects came from inside the Geometric buildings.<sup>767</sup> The items include: a double axe, pinheads, bone seals, an arrowhead, many beads and pendants, an ivory plaque with incised eagle, a relief plaque. A number of small reclining ram figures are similar to those from, for example, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and

---

<sup>762</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 124-125, Voyatzis 2002: 161.

<sup>763</sup> For the Spartan examples see: Wace 1929: 254, 264, 270 plate CLXXX 1-4 and plate CLXXXVI 28-34, 38.

<sup>764</sup> For more on these interpretations, please see below 4.2 Artefacts: Jewellery-Valuables, 4.3.1 Mythological figures, Potnia Theron and 4.3.2 Human figures, Warriors.

<sup>765</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 124 and plate 62.

<sup>766</sup> Voyatzis 1990 : 125.

<sup>767</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994 : 123, Voyatzis 2002 : 162.

the Heraion at Perachora.<sup>768</sup> The bone and ivory objects from Tegea in general have strong connections with those from the Orthia sanctuary. Another example are bone seals.<sup>769</sup> It is believed, according to Voyatzis, that immigrant craftsmen from the East introduced the craft of ivory carving at Sparta and therefore it must have been the source of many of the Tegean votives.<sup>770</sup> A bone double axe found at the site is very similar to the bronze examples from both Tegea and Sparta.<sup>771</sup> The same goes for bone beads, pinheads and plaques.<sup>772</sup> Østby *et al.* conclude that the relatively small amount of material in bone and ivory found at Tegea and the specialised skill required producing the objects were probably the result of importing the objects to the site.<sup>773</sup> The parallels with Artemis Orthia indicate that Sparta may well have provided the source of these objects.

### **Terracottas**

A number of terracotta items were discovered, both in the temple and in the northern area trenches.<sup>774</sup> The range of terracotta objects was similar in both the earlier and the Norwegian excavations.<sup>775</sup> The majority are Archaic and Classical in date and were found in the northern region. Most figurines appear to be handmade. A smaller number of earlier terracottas came from inside the temple and include two Mycenaean figurines. The Mycenaean phi-figurine probably dates to LH IIIA2, the psi-figurine was of the later Mycenaean IIIC period.<sup>776</sup>

---

<sup>768</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 247 followed by Nordquist 2002a: 152.

<sup>769</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 125 figure 81, Dawkins 1929d: 229 and plate CXL.

<sup>770</sup> Voyatzis 2002: 163.

<sup>771</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 125 figure 82, Dawkins 1929d: 238 and plate CLXIII 6.

<sup>772</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 125 figure 83-86 Dawkins 1929d: 204-209, 227 and plate XCVI-XCVII, CXXXV 1, CXXXVI 2.

<sup>773</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994 : 124.

<sup>774</sup> Voyatzis 2002: 159.

<sup>775</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 117.

<sup>776</sup> Østby (*et al.*) 1994: 117. Voyatzis 1990: 240.

For more information on the possible importance of Tegea in the Mycenaean period see Østby: forthcoming 2015.

The development of the built temple is symbolised by the votive ‘houses’ of terracotta of which there were two fragments found at Tegea.<sup>777</sup> The fragments were both discovered in layers of pottery that were disturbed during the excavations of the early 1900s and therefore difficult to date.<sup>778</sup> Both buildings had the same orientation. Nordquist makes the unsupported notion that these models are reflections of the role of the *oikos* and especially the women’s role in it.<sup>779</sup> She described the models as ‘an expression of *oikos* identity of the elite families during the transition from the late Geometric period’.<sup>780</sup> A woman’s authority was connected with and focused on the house. Female deities are the supreme, divine, women, and the female representatives in the divine house.<sup>781</sup> Such a votive offering was therefore, according to her, not surprising to find in the sanctuary of Alea Athena. Fagerström noted the dedication of a ‘house’ to Hera, to ensure the fertility of the household, which I think would be a more appropriate interpretation if it has to be interpreted as a house rather than a temple.<sup>782</sup>

### 3.3.4 Tegean Inscriptions

There are very few examples of inscriptions concerning the cult of Alea Athena. One was discovered by the French excavators and in 1889 described by Berard.<sup>783</sup> The inscription consists of rules from the temple. Lines 1-21 deal with the defence rights and grazing in

---

<sup>777</sup> Nordquist 2013: 103. These models present parallels with models from Perachora, the Argive and Samian Heraia. A more extensive list can be found in Nordquist 2002. The majority of these models is found in sanctuaries and more often than not, the find circumstances are unknown. Interestingly there was a limestone model from the Artemis Orthia site at Sparta as well; Catling 1994.

<sup>778</sup> Nordquist 2002: 151.

<sup>779</sup> Nordquist 2002: 151 and 2013: 103.

<sup>780</sup> Nordquist 2002: 151, 155-158. Fagerström 1988: 155-157, mentioned a similar option amongst his interpretations, however he also opted they could have been small representations of the temple building.

<sup>781</sup> Nordquist 2002: 158.

<sup>782</sup> Fagerström 1988: 156.

<sup>783</sup> Berard 1889: 281-284.

the field of the goddess. Lines 21-26 describe punishment for various offenses and the end deals with the sales and provision of sacred products. Another example is a fragment of a *stèle* dating to 525-500 BCE. This was a dedication of an athlete to Alea (ἁλέαι).

### 3.3.5 Tegean Cult Statue

The ivory cult statue was made by Endoios (Pausanias, 8.46.5). The ancient image of Athena Alea, and with it the tusks of the Caledonian boar, were carried away by the Roman emperor Augustus after his defeat of Antony and his allies<sup>784</sup>, among whom were all the Arkadians except the Mantineans (Pausanias, 8.46.1). According to Pausanias (8.46.4), ‘Augustus only followed a custom in vogue among the Greeks and barbarians from of old.’<sup>785</sup> The image of Athena Alea at Rome stands as you enter the Forum made by Augustus’. According to Pausanias (8.47.1), another image was brought to Tegea from the *deme* of Manthurenses and was called Hippiia (horse goddess).<sup>786</sup> Hippiia received the name of Alea among the Greeks. Athena’s cult statue was accompanied on one side by Asclepius and on the other by Hygeia, both the work of Skopas in Pentelic marble (Pausanias, 8.47.1).

There is no certain information about the image made by Endoios or what existed before he made this statue.<sup>787</sup> Two small bronze statues found at Tegea depict Athena and could

---

<sup>784</sup> At the battle of Actium: 31 BCE.

<sup>785</sup> This was known from Troy, where the Greeks divided up the spoils, when the Dorians that migrated to Sicily they removed an image made by Daedalus, and Xerxes whom apart from the spoil he carried away from Athens, took the image of the Brauronian Artemis and the bronze Apollo from Branchidae. The Argives took the image from Tiryns and the people of Cyzicus took the Proconnessian image of Mother Dindyme.

<sup>786</sup> When the battle of the gods and giants took place, the goddess drove the chariot and horses against Enceladus.

<sup>787</sup> Alroth 1989: 47.

be a copy of the cult statue in ivory by Endoios.<sup>788</sup> One (second half of the sixth century BCE) is wearing a peplos and an aegis with large gorgoneion covers her shoulders.<sup>789</sup> She holds a shield and spear and wears a helmet with a large crest. The other is Archaic looking and has an inscription along the border of her skirt, dated to the fifth century BCE.<sup>790</sup> A date of about 500 BCE would be suitable for the interpretation of cult statue. According to Jost it illustrates Athena as a warrior, which would have been a popular type.<sup>791</sup> However, Endoios was known for making seated images (Pausanias, 7.5.9). The seated Athena statue in Rome reported by Strabo (13.1.41) could be identified as the one taken by Augustus from Tegea.<sup>792</sup> It then confirms that Endoios' statue was seated.

Hellenistic Tegean coins show an Athena with archaistic traits and on coins struck under Septimus Severus the goddess is depicted as a Palladion.<sup>793</sup> The warlike image of Athena is prominent on coins, but that does not give us any certain information about the cult statue. This is further complicated by the fact that there were two sanctuaries for Athena in Tegea; Alea Athena and Athena Poliatis. According to Jost, Alea Athena was the more important of the two, which makes it likely the depictions on the coins were hers.<sup>794</sup>

---

<sup>788</sup> Dugas 1921: 359-363, Jost 1985: 379, plate 37 figure 4.

<sup>789</sup> Dugas 1921: 359-363. An early example (690-650 BCE) of Athena with shield and spear is Beazley 525001.

<sup>790</sup> Dugas 1921: 362.

<sup>791</sup> Jost 1975: 349, figure 16-19.

<sup>792</sup> Alroth 1989: 47.

<sup>793</sup> Alroth 1989: 46.

<sup>794</sup> Jost 1975: 367. See also Picard 1934: 396-399.

### 3.3.6 Athena's identification with Alea

The goddess worshipped at the site was 'Alea'<sup>795</sup>. Alea was probably an old local goddess, already worshipped in the ninth century BCE and probably in the Mycenaean period, but associated with Athena starting in the late seventh or early sixth century BCE.<sup>796</sup> Pausanias (8.45.1), as one of the few detailed sources we have, also tells us that Aleos was the founder of the ancient city.<sup>797</sup> This would be a good explanation as to why the goddess Alea is a purely Arkadian deity. Pausanias (8.4.8, 8.45.4) also recorded that the old sanctuary of Athena Alea was made for the Tegeans by this Aleos.<sup>798</sup>

The mixture of votives found in Tegea suggests that the deity worshipped had several different aspects, some connected to Athena, others to the *potnia theron*. Alea missed some functions that were associated with Athena's character, such as 'loving the deeds of war' and being the 'saviour of cities' (*Homeric Hymn 11 to Athena*).<sup>799</sup> The cult of Athena Alea at Tegea was expressed in different way over the course of about a thousand years.<sup>800</sup> It probably began as a cult primarily of a local fertility deity, Alea, at a modest site. Her name is first attested on an inscription from Tegea of the later sixth century BCE.<sup>801</sup> It evolved into the worship of a PanHellenic city goddess, affiliated with Athena, at a monumental sanctuary.<sup>802</sup> The goddess was also known in eastern Arkadia, in Mantinea (IG V.2, 261 and 271), and she is attested as a marginal figure at Sparta, in

---

<sup>795</sup> Mendel 1901: 268 number 2 shows an Archaic inscription where only Alea is mentioned. See also IG V 2 2 (390 BCE) and IG V 2 560 (fifth century BCE) for example.

<sup>796</sup> Voyatzis 1998: 140-141.

<sup>797</sup> The origins of the founding of the sanctuary might go back to the Bronze Age. However, no positive evidence for its function is found earlier than the tenth century BCE. For further discussion see Østby: forthcoming 2015. For further information on Pausanias as a source for Arkadia see Pretzler 2000.

<sup>798</sup> At Tegea, there was another sanctuary for Athena, more specifically for Athena Poliatis (Keeper of the City: Pausanias, 8.47.6).

<sup>799</sup> A similar character is portrayed in *Homeric Hymns 39 to Athena*.

<sup>800</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 196.

<sup>801</sup> IG V 2 75.

<sup>802</sup> Athena herself had an ancient cult and sanctuary elsewhere in Tegea, where she was worshipped as Poliatis and considered protectress of the city (Pausanias 8.47.5).

Therapne (Pausanias, 3.19.7 and Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.5.27). By the fourth century BCE the role of Alea Athena in Tegean cult was dual: she was a war-goddess and a goddess of help and refuge.<sup>803</sup> She appears fully armed on a sixth century BCE Tegean bronze, illustrating the first identification. Tegea as a place of refuge is mentioned by Herodotus (6.72) and Pausanias (3.5.6, 3.7.10).

Jost mentioned that by the second century CE references to the goddess no longer just mention her as Alea, but always Alea Athena.<sup>804</sup> The association of Athena with Alea however, already took place in the sixth or possibly the late seventh century BCE.<sup>805</sup> Voyatzis mentioned a late sixth century BCE bronze figure of an armed Athena to illustrate this identification.<sup>806</sup> She also suggests that the end of the seventh century BCE could be the time of association, reflected in the building of the monumental Archaic temple.<sup>807</sup> Concerning the worship, the cult was in the sixth century BCE expressed in a more impressive and tangible form.<sup>808</sup> It was illustrated by the erection of a monumental temple and the apparent connection between the local goddess and the PanHellenic deity Athena was emergent. The dedication of the late sixth century BCE single bronze figurine of an armed Athena at the site could be interpreted as a representation of this synthesis. The sanctuary could have functioned as a major economic, political, social, and religious focus for community as a whole.

---

<sup>803</sup> Stewart 1977: 59.

<sup>804</sup> Jost 1985: 369. This is based on two inscriptions, IG V 2 81 (first-second century CE) and IG V 2 50 (155/6 CE).

<sup>805</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015.

Other sites where Alea or Alea Athena was worshipped, which are all Arkadian: Stymphale, Alea and Mantinea (IG V 2 262 and IG V 2 271). Her name was not fully changed until the Classical period when she became Athena Alea or Alea Athena.

<sup>806</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 269, following Dugas 1921: number 58, plate XIII, Jost 1975: 348-349, and Jost 1985: 379, 153, plate 37, figure 4.

<sup>807</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 271.

<sup>808</sup> Voyatzis 2004: 192.

The growing Spartan aggression from the south may have accelerated this process and could also serve as an explanation as to why the Tegeans did not identify Alea with Artemis. The sixth century BCE indications are indirect; textual evidence appears in the fifth century BCE with Herodotus (1.66 and 9.70) and Euripides (P. Colon. 264)<sup>809</sup>, who both mention Alea Athena. Xenophon on the other hand mentions just Alea (*Hellenica*, 6.5.27). Dugas explained the association by the translation of the Greek word ἀλέα.<sup>810</sup> This either means avoiding or escape or comes from the word ἀλεάζω which means to be warm; shelter from a thing. Dugas interprets this as an implication of the idea of refuge and protection. Jost used ‘l’abri, le refuge’ and ‘la chaleur (du soleil)’, ‘moyen d’échapper’, ‘protection’<sup>811</sup>, which is in accordance with the interpretation Dugas offered earlier. This difference between heat and protection has been interpreted to be purely semantic.<sup>812</sup> Thus far scholars agreed that the deity worshipped was ‘la déesse [qui] accueille les fugitifs et tient les ennemis à distance’.<sup>813</sup>

When Milchhöfer identified the site as one for a female deity, he suggested the site was of interest for women on the basis of the Archaic finds amongst which there were little votive figures, weaving tools, pins and needles.<sup>814</sup> Another aspect of the goddess was that of protectress, illustrated by the occurrence (fifteen) of miniature shields as votive offerings for the goddess, which suggests she protected warriors. The cult was widely known for its protection, a function mentioned by Pausanias (3.5.6) and probably in place from the Classical period onwards.<sup>815</sup>

---

<sup>809</sup> Koenen 1969: 7-11.

<sup>810</sup> Dugas 1924: 1.

<sup>811</sup> Jost 1985: 370.

<sup>812</sup> Jouanna 1982. However, he does not take the title of the Tegean deity into consideration and proposes a shared Indo-European root.

<sup>813</sup> Fougères 1898, Dugas 1921, followed by Jost 1985: 370.

<sup>814</sup> Milchhöfer 1880: 66.

<sup>815</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015.

With regards to the identification with the warrior goddess Athena, surprisingly little weaponry was found. The most significant weapons were iron arrowheads, a small bronze votive sword<sup>816</sup>, a larger sword and many shields. There seems to be a lack of evidence to illustrate that Athena as a warrior goddess was the main deity of this sanctuary from the late seventh or early sixth centuries BCE onwards. It would have been appropriate for a warrior goddess to be the recipient of war related dedications, and the negative evidence here suggests a confirmation for the early nature of Alea as a true protectress. However, the Tegean sanctuary had the *bothros* (Proto-Geometric) and the metal workshop (eighth century BCE) that further illustrate the relation of metalworkers to the deity. The presence of the metal workshop resulted in the discovery of numerous bronze items found at the sanctuary site of Alea Athena; the metal workshop facilitated these offerings. Athena was the goddess of crafts (see for example Homer, *Iliad* 7.110), which could explain identification of both deities. The lack of evidence for Athena as a warrior goddess and a protectress of the city create the opportunity for a reinterpretation of the character of the deity Alea worshipped at early Tegea.

### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an up-to-date account of the archaeology related to the cult activity that was taking place at the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, Artemis Ephesia at Ephesus and Alea Athena at Tegea. Looking at the material presented, both architecture and artefacts, Alea seems to have far more links to Artemis than Athena. It was especially valuable to have looked at three well documented Artemis sites to make

---

<sup>816</sup> A similar sword, less ornate and somewhat larger, was found at the Artemis Orthia site at Sparta.

the comparison between Artemis and Athena. Aspects such as the character of Alea Athena suggest that she had more in common with Artemis than would be expected. The detailed, up-to-date study of the site of Alea Athena was added to the case studies of sites with the expectation that it would allow me to distinguish sites and more importantly the deities worshipped based on the finds. This proves not to be working in this way. The hypothesis that a site and the deity worshipped could be distinguished based on the finds should be further investigated by studying a range of sanctuaries, following the same methodology. Case studies like the ones for the sites of Artemis Orthia, Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Brauronia and Alea Athena could then be used to reaffirm the conclusion that followed these examples.

By creating these up-to-date accounts it is possible in the next chapter to provide an analysis of the common features at the sites, both for the architectural structures and the artefacts. This analysis will further explore to what extent it is possible to distinguish the deity worshipped based on the finds and the structures at any given site. It is also of importance for chapter 5, which is a description of the rites of passage and rituals taking place at the sites as this will allow for a further interpretation of the finds and the connection they have to the cult of Artemis.

## 4. COMMON FEATURES

---

4.1 Architecture and location.....	180
4.1.1 Sacrificial remains.....	182
4.2 Artefacts: Jewellery-Valuables.....	183
4.3 Artefacts: figures and representations.....	186
4.3.1 Mythological figures.....	187
Potnia Theron.....	187
Griffins and sphinxes.....	190
4.3.2 Human figures.....	191
Female figures.....	191
Male figures.....	198
Female/male on horseback.....	199
Musicians.....	200
Warriors.....	201
4.3.3 Animal figures.....	203
Bees.....	203
Birds.....	204
Cattle.....	206

Deer/stag.....	206
Goats.....	208
Horses.....	209
Lions.....	210
Rams/sheep.....	212
Snakes.....	213
Water animals.....	214
Other animals.....	216
4.4 Conclusion.....	218

The excavation at the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia and Artemis Ephesia in the early years of the twentieth century brought to light not only the architecture, but a wide range of artefacts such as pottery, terracotta figurines, limestone reliefs, bronzes and bone and ivory carvings. Another category of finds are the inscriptions. As a whole the discoveries are in this chapter compared to one another, by using the up-to-date account for the architectural finds.

This tabulation of all the archaeological finds in the following four categories enables further analysis.<sup>817</sup> The most numerous of the categories is that of jewellery-valuables, followed by mythological creatures, then human figures and lastly animal figures. The mythological creatures, human figures and animal figures account for both objects and iconographic depictions. With the comparing materials, discussion about whether there are any specific connections to the character of the goddess Artemis worshipped in the specific sanctuaries could be distinguished. The special characteristics will show if and how the cult is distinctive for Artemis. This expression of identity will be visible in the architecture and more importantly in the archaeological evidence, in case of the last three categories.

The following section aims at making a comparison between the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia, Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Brauronia and Alea Athena in terms of objects and representations found during the excavations.

---

<sup>817</sup> The tables can be found in appendix 2, 3 and 19. A common features table can be found in appendix 20.

#### 4.1 Architecture and location

The similarities in geographical areas of the three sanctuaries are striking. The sanctuaries are located on the border of the *polis* and the ‘wild’. The sanctuaries are located at the transition from one kind of natural environment to another as well as on the edge of town.<sup>818</sup> The location of the sanctuary, far from the later city-centre seems to suggest that the cult was an ancient one and could be associated with Artemis, Demeter or Athena. The deity worshipped was a type of protectress, whether it was fertility of the earth, humans, animals or protecting the town. The sanctuaries were used as ‘transitional places’ in the rites of passage at Sparta, Ephesus, Brauron and potentially Tegea. On top of that, the sites were all frequently hit by flooding, which makes me wonder why the sites were picked out in the first place.<sup>819</sup> The answer for all sites, lies in the history of the PanHellenic deity that was identified with an older, more local deity, which had an already established site. It is interesting to see, that for the Brauronian (and Mounichian) and Ephesian sanctuary, where the goddess bears the name of the *polis*, the sanctuary was associated with the killing of a beast. Another parallel, both geographically and typologically is possible for the temples of Artemis Orthia (early temple) and Alea Athena (Building 1).<sup>820</sup>

With regards to the physical arrangement of the sites, there is not much to say about the common features which are typical of most Greek sanctuaries. Each site has both an altar and a temple, and usually a layer of black earth that predates the altar and temple. Activity at the sites was dated by this layer of black earth; a sign of the common practice of

---

<sup>818</sup> Following De Polignac’s definition 1995: 33-41.

<sup>819</sup> The site of Artemis Brauronia was frequently flooded as well. See Léger 2011 and Nielsen 2009.

<sup>820</sup> Østby: forthcoming 2015. Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 80-82 and figures 278-279, 166 and figures 275-276. Kalpaxis 1976: 77 and fig 61, with parallels in Delos, Olympia, Delphi, Gortyn and Thera.

sacrifices on an ash altar. The temples at the sites had a similar history, where they were built and destroyed and rebuilt again. The first monumental temples appeared at all sites in the sixth century BCE. It is also important to note that the sites used in the case studies all were continuously used. There are no gaps in the record, which suggests that the sites and the deities worshipped were of importance to the community they belonged to.

It is more interesting to look at the architecture and how it was used to facilitate the ritual practices. For example, the Spartan theatre played an important role in making the rituals public in the Roman period, as opposed to private and mysterious, as had been more common in earlier times. For Ephesus, there are still ongoing excavations, but it is quite likely that the theatre was used for similar purposes as the Spartan theatre, musical competitions, races, and rites of passage. The Brauronian site did not have a theatre in its vicinity, but was known to hold rites of passage within the sanctuary. The fifth century BCE stoa was of interest for the Brauronian rites of passage as it is believed to serve as a place of residence for the girls partaking in the rites of passage.<sup>821</sup> In De Polignac's descriptions, looking over the rites of passage is more an Artemis feature found at border places in contrast to Athena, who is more often found in the centre of a *polis* or even on the acropolis.<sup>822</sup> The Tegean sanctuary had different areas of interest for the cult, especially the northern area, of which the use is still not completely determined. The stadium mentioned by Pausanias, which is still not discovered, was probably used for contests, comparable to those at Sparta, Ephesus and Brauron.

---

<sup>821</sup> Leger 2011: 40.

<sup>822</sup> De Polignac 1984: 31, 36 and 44-45. See also the introduction to chapter 2 Artemis.

#### 4.1.1 Sacrificial remains

At the same time the animal figures were dedicated to Artemis, sacrifices were practised in her sanctuaries. This is demonstrated by the layers of black earth at different places and the burnt bones that were found within these layers. The bones found at the Artemis Orthia site are not further specified, but the area covered with the black debris was significant. For Ephesus, the finds of bones of birds were described by Hogarth.<sup>823</sup> Other sacrifices, like those of cattle are confirmed by the actual burned remains from the altar area. To be more precise, there were animal bones of goats, cattle, sheep, pigs, donkeys, dogs and deer.<sup>824</sup> A wide variety of animals, not all in the same amounts, as cattle for example was more regularly used. Tegea did not have bones as such, but other sorts of trophies one would get from either the hunt or a sacrifice. It yielded numerous fragments of tusks<sup>825</sup> and an antler.<sup>826</sup>

For Ephesus in particular, in 1993 Anton Bammer and his team published a table listing all the animal bone fragments found during the excavations of 1984-1991.<sup>827</sup> A grand total of 11768 bones were identified. By far most of the bones were from sheep and goats (6958), followed by pigs (2763) and bovines (1697). In addition there were bones of horses, donkeys, dogs, camels, chickens, geese, mallards, deer, hares, bears, lions,<sup>828</sup> wolves, foxes, ducks, turtles, frogs, ostriches and humans<sup>829</sup>. The large amount of sheep/goat, pig and bovine bone fragments could be used as a confirmation for the offering rituals in the sanctuary and probably even for ritual feasting. However, the bone

---

<sup>823</sup> Hogarth 1908: 35.

<sup>824</sup> Mellink 1976: 280.

<sup>825</sup> Dugas (*et al.*) 1921: 348 and figure 2.21.

<sup>826</sup> Bevan 1986: 393, who is quoting Rhomaios' finds.

<sup>827</sup> Bammer and Forstenpointner 1993: 10-12.

<sup>828</sup> Becker 1986: 167-173. Lion bones have also been found at Kastanas (twelve pieces) and Delphi (one).

<sup>829</sup> See above note 376 for the interpretation of the human bones.

fragments have not been studied in detail apart from their identification. Some of these fragments appear as a single example, some in larger quantities (up to seventy-four examples).

## **4.2 Artefacts: Jewellery-Valuables**

By far the largest category of artefacts is the jewellery (beads, discs, double axes (used as pendants), fibulae, pendants, pins, plaques, rings and seals) and valuable items, such as musical instruments and miniature masks. Seventeen out of 110 types are common at all three sites (appendix 20.1).<sup>830</sup> Most of these are jewellery items, regularly found at Greek sanctuaries as a whole.

The following jewellery items seem, from this study, to be more Artemis specific: bracelets, brooches, necklaces, ornaments and studs. This might have to do with a display of wealth; the items that were used to personalise the clothing. Items like pomegranate flowers, that were known to be symbols for death and fertility, might have an additional meaning in a setting such as the sanctuaries for Artemis. In that context they suggest a certain character of the deity. Whether or not this was shared amongst all Greek deities in these periods, could be studied further but goes beyond the scope of this analysis.

Many of these jewellery items have a long history in religious contexts as is illustrated by the case studies used in this thesis,<sup>831</sup> as well as in funerary contexts.<sup>832</sup> In Brauron clothing was offered to Iphigeneia/Artemis in relation to successful childbirth; as is

---

<sup>830</sup> These seventeen examples are: beads, bowls, combs, discs, double axes, earrings, fibulae, miniature vessels, musical instruments, pendants, pins, pin heads, plaques, rings, rosettes, scarabs, seals.

<sup>831</sup> See sections 3.1.3, 3.2.3 and 3.3.3 for descriptions of the artefacts found.

<sup>832</sup> See for example: Håland 2014: especially 313-339, Morgan 2009: with references, Higgins 1980.

illustrated by the Braurion clothing catalogues, these items could have a special meaning to the deity. A similar practice, even though not documented might have taken place at Sparta or Ephesus. In Sparta this assumption is confirmed by the models of textiles, made in lead.<sup>833</sup> Instead of sacrificing the real, wearable item, a small lead substitute would suffice. The fact that lead substitutes were also found in Tegea further suggests that it was very common to give personal items to the deities. The Braurion clothing catalogues date to the fifth century BCE and it could be suggested that similar practices took place at the other sanctuaries as well. The practice was popular throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, even though the votive offerings no longer had the same significance.<sup>834</sup> According to Philipp, inventory lists from sanctuaries at Olympia, show that jewellery was usually offered by women.<sup>835</sup> These lists can be dated to the fifth century BCE, but most of them are younger. At Ephesus, the only evidence, although speculative, is the interpretation of the bulbous objects on Artemis Ephesia's chest as jewellery items.<sup>836</sup>

To strengthen this point, mirrors found at Sparta and Brauron are typically female attributes. They were found in the Geometric and Archaic period at Sparta and certainly in the Archaic period at Brauron. An inscription from Brauron (IG I3 985) on one of these bronze mirrors, dated 500-480? BCE shows that they were an appropriate gift: *ἡίπυλλα*

*ἡε Ὀνέτορος ἀνέθεκεν τὰρτέμιδι τῆι Βραυρόνι* - Hippylla, [daughter of] Onetor, dedicated [this] to Artemis of Brauron.

---

<sup>833</sup> Dawkins 1929: plates CLXXXI 27, 28 (Lead I), CLXXXV 21, 22 (Lead II) are some examples. Finds of textile making models were not solely found at the Artemis Orthia site, the site of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta also yielded loom-weights.

<sup>834</sup> Philipp 1981: 25.

<sup>835</sup> Philipp 1981: 19. This was based on the research into the bronze finds of Olympia and of special interest to my work are the early bronze finds; votives to Artemis and Hera.

<sup>836</sup> See section 3.2.5 Ephesian Cult Statue.

Double axes are assumed to be a sacrificial tool, but are never shown in such context. As Nilsson put it<sup>837</sup>: ‘Of all the religious symbols and emblems that appear in the Minoan civilisation, the double axe is the most conspicuous, the real sign of Minoan religion.’ According to Dietrich, axes were instruments of death.<sup>838</sup> In the context of creating life by shedding (divine) blood<sup>839</sup>, the axe was used to release this new force of life. Looking at double axes as an appealing gift for Artemis, it is best interpreted as a gift for the goddess that protected children on their way to adulthood. For the Peloponnese, the greatest number of double axes, in both bronze and bone, were found in Sparta, at the Artemis Orthia sanctuary.<sup>840</sup> In second place, in terms of numbers of bronze double axes, came Athena Alea at Tegea.<sup>841</sup> The butterfly shape of the double axes could be a reference to the initiation rituals and the children being reborn.<sup>842</sup> As Dietrich mentions, the life cycle of the butterfly involves rebirth. Bearing that in mind, an interpretation as a double axe that interconnects life and death is not that surprising either.

The miniature masks at Sparta and Ephesus should refer to the rites taking place in the sanctuaries. In Sparta we have the ‘life-sized’ masks to compare the miniatures to and they were definitely used in some ritual. The miniatures at Sparta suggest that they were substitutes for the ‘real’ thing. Apart from that being a cheaper option, there must have been limited space to display all of them, and by having miniatures, that was made easier. Another option is that these miniatures represented children’s toys. Miniature vessels probably served the same purpose as miniature masks did. Dedicating any sort of vessels and in particular the bowls and plates that were found at Sparta and Ephesus, suggest that

---

<sup>837</sup> Nilsson 1950: 194.

<sup>838</sup> Dietrich 1988: 36.

<sup>839</sup> See sections 2.3 Goddess of birth, infants, children (and young animals) and 2.4 Goddess of youths and marriage: rites of passage and in particular 2.4.2 Bloodthirsty goddess.

<sup>840</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979: 253-254 note 33.

<sup>841</sup> Voyatzis 1990: 194.

<sup>842</sup> Dietrich 1974: 119.

some sort of ritual feasting happened in the sanctuary. Miniatures in general substitute for the real thing: helmets, masks, shields, and vessels.

Interestingly, there are only two finds that are common at both Sparta and Tegea, which are loom-weights and wreaths. Whilst one would expect to find loom-weights at a sanctuary for Athena, they are a less straightforward find for Artemis. Sparta did not only yield loom-weights as such, instead the lead figures also show models of textiles. Studies such as that of Kilian-Dirlmeier however, show that items like these were commonly found at sanctuaries all over Greece from the Mycenaean period onwards.<sup>843</sup> Wreaths on the other hand appear to be an item which is often present in processions and games.

The huge amount of jewellery items found at the sites suggests that women were present. The items dominate the finds. There are different interpretations possible for their presence; either because of the character of the deity worshipped, or because of the activities taking place in the sanctuary. Most likely is a combination of both factors. Because Artemis was a fertility goddess and a protectress of children, she was important to women and guided them towards their marital status in rites of passage taking place in the sanctuaries.

### **4.3 Artefacts: figures and representations**

The objects will be looked at following the order of most numerous categories, which results in the following order: mythological figures, human figures and animal figures.

---

<sup>843</sup> Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979.

The numbers used are all based on the published examples and materials looked at in the case studies.

### 4.3.1 Mythological figures

Of all the mythological features, there are two examples out of fifty-nine, which appear at all three sites. These examples are the female/goddess/priestess figure and griffins. The female/goddess/priestess figurines are only found at all three sites in the Archaic period (appendix 20.2). The same can be concluded for griffins.<sup>844</sup>

#### Potnia Theron

The Spartan and Ephesian sanctuaries show examples of figures that could be interpreted in a similar way: a female with deer/stag, a female with lions, the *xoanon*-like figure and a female with snakes. The first three motifs are likely to be Artemis specific finds. The female with deer/stag and lions are just a few that could be interpreted as a *potnia thearon* figure. This motif, originating from the Near Eastern Master of Animals, was used at sites for female deities until the Archaic period, as was seen in chapter 2, especially section 2.2. From the Archaic period onwards, it was identified in this study as a more Artemis specific motif, especially when she is depicted with deer/stags.<sup>845</sup> The female depicted with animals and more importantly a female huntress reflect an Artemis context that was known since Homer and Hesiod.<sup>846</sup> It is therefore suggested that the *potnia thearon* identification has proved most useful and can be related to the goddess Artemis.

---

<sup>844</sup> For more on griffins, see below.

<sup>845</sup> See section 3.1.6 Artemis' identification with Orthia.

<sup>846</sup> See section 2.2 Goddess of the wilderness, animals and hunting.

Additionally, winged goddesses<sup>847</sup> with animals and figures with lions are represented more often before the layer of sand. After the layer of sand, the lions are variously replaced by deer, bow, spear, aegis and dogs; characteristics of the PanHellenic Artemis and a sign of the identification between Orthia and Artemis.

Other figures such as the Nikai figures, sphinxes and sirens are not necessarily characteristic for just Artemis sanctuaries. A temple for Nike was situated on the Athenian Akropolis (Pausanias, 1.22.4) and it is said Athena's statue held a statue of Nike (Pausanias, 1.24.7). Alternatively, some of the akroteria from Tegea were also interpreted as Nikai.<sup>848</sup>

The figure types only found at Sparta and most of them have a strong relation to the goddess Artemis, as they represent her, could be interpreted as her, or are other deities with a relation to her. Examples in this category are a female with a bow, a female with a bow and aegis, a female with birds, a figure with a lyre, gorgon figures, male figures with caduceus and ram, centaurs, dogs, lions and griffins, rams or a trident. Some of the figures were interpreted as other deities, but in my opinion there are even more possible figures that could be identified as deities. The figures with spear and aegis and with spear, shield and aegis are usually goddesses, and one might even go as far as to interpret them as Athena (see for example Homer, *Iliad* 5.736 and *Homeric Hymn 39 to Athena*). In the same light, the figure with a lyre could then be interpreted as Apollo. The Gorgon was a popular motif for Spartan artefacts. Not only were some of the masks interpreted as representing Gorgon, she can also be found on other artefacts. An example is the blazons on the shields of the warriors.<sup>849</sup> One of the other figures, originally interpreted as a

---

<sup>847</sup> After the layer of sand, the wings disappear.

<sup>848</sup> See section 3.3.2 Temple of Alea Athena.

<sup>849</sup> Wace 1929: 276.

Gorgon<sup>850</sup>, could also present a human wearing one of the masks. This would be an exceptional find, where the ritual practice then would be shown in one of the artefacts.

The figures only found at Ephesus show a strong Egyptian influence from the seventh century BCE onwards and the excavations in Ephesus brought to light several of Egyptian origin, amongst which faience statuettes, scarabs, plaques in ivory and bone with Egyptian motifs were found.<sup>851</sup> The figures either represent one of their deities, Bes, Hathor or Isis, or have to do with the deity worshipped at Ephesus. The worship of Isis and Serapis is especially well attested in Ephesus.<sup>852</sup> As will be shown below, birds of prey were not just an Artemis attribute; they were associated with both female and male deities. Evidence for the presence of Egyptian religion in Ephesus has been preserved in literary, numismatic, inscriptional, architectural, and statuary sources.<sup>853</sup> Neither the early sources, nor the inscriptions, reveal what kind of presence the Egyptian deities had in Ephesus in the third century BCE.<sup>854</sup>

There is a lack of representations of Athena or indeed any deity at Tegea. One of the few exceptions is the fifth century BCE bronze figure with spear, shield and helmet. On her chest, a *gorgoneion* is presented. This figure, in my opinion, is one of the few items that actually make clear why this sanctuary is an Athena sanctuary. Better yet, this bronze shows more of an identification of Alea with Athena Polias. Looking at the other finds however, there are a lot of similarities with the Artemis sanctuaries and both the characters of fertility goddess and *potnia theron*, two characters which are not actively

---

<sup>850</sup> Wace 1929: 271, figure 126 k.

<sup>851</sup> Hogarth 1908: 341, Hölbl 1978: 1-15, Oster 1990: 1677, Walters 1995: 283-284. However, it is not until the Hellenistic period that evidence of widespread Egyptian religious activity appears in both Asia Minor and Ephesus. This was due to commercial relations and military power; with Ptolemy I (one of Alexander's diadochi) Egyptian rule was extended to Asia Minor and the Egyptian cults were introduced.

<sup>852</sup> Walters 1995: 281-282. See also Hölbl 1978.

<sup>853</sup> Oster 1990: 1677.

<sup>854</sup> Oster 1990: 1679.

associated with Athena in mythology. Two other examples of the *potnia theron* at Tegea are the depictions of the female with beasts and the figure separating animals. These two Geometric examples are figures which would still be part of the less defined history of the *potnia theron*.

### **Griffins and sphinxes**

Mythological creatures such as griffins, sphinxes and sirens appear to be creatures inherited from the Bronze Age and the East. They are more iconographic *motifs*, not always mentioned in the early literature. Griffins were depicted on the dress of the Ephesian Artemis, but are probably best known as the decorations for the bronze cauldrons from Samos. Griffins seem, apart from representations as part of *motifs* on ivory figures,<sup>855</sup> surprisingly absent from these Artemis sanctuaries. In art sphinxes were very closely related to lions. The tradition which associated the ancient goddess of wild nature and death with the sphinx strengthens this view.

Mythical animals like griffins, sphinxes, chimeras, winged horses and winged lions, were all associated with the *potnia theron*.<sup>856</sup> The depictions of mythical creatures were not very common, most of the time the goddess is shown with birds or lions. These representations show the control of the deity over *daemons* and powers. The mythological creatures are a depiction of the power over death and the power of nature.

---

<sup>855</sup> Dawkins 1929: plate CV.

<sup>856</sup> Christou 1968: 102-103.

### 4.3.2 Human figures

Six out of forty examples of human figures appear at all three sites: female figures, both clothed and naked, male figures, both clothed and naked, female/male on horseback, musicians and warriors. The female and male figures seem to be a sort of standardised set of figures, showing humans in their most basic attire; either nude or clothed, standing or sitting. These human figures, both male and female were common at all sites. It might have been that the worshippers wanted an image of themselves to be part of the sanctuary, for example for protection or as thanks, which resulted in representations of themselves as votive offerings. The female figures could represent both the deity as a human figure.

#### **Female figures**

##### *Clothed female figures*

Female figures at all sites could be interpreted as representations of deities, due to attributes or dress. Clothed female figures occur in the greatest number and are most common in terracotta. Other materials these figures are made in are: ivory and bone, lead (Sparta), bronze, gold and amber (Ephesus).

Various gestures appear among the terracottas: slightly raised arms, outstretched arms, the forearms stretched forward, one hand on the hip and arms hanging down. The figures could be either standing up or sitting down. Standing predominates at all sites.<sup>857</sup> The most common standing figure at Sparta is the standing female with the arms close by the sides and dressed in a girdled garment. An interesting exception is the stylised bone figures without arms, the *xoanon*-like figure (seventh-sixth century BCE). No distinguishing attributes help to identify these figurines, but the terracottas which all wear

---

<sup>857</sup> For more on Spartan standing figures, see Alroth 1989: 44.

a similar dress suggest a representation of the goddess.<sup>858</sup> Their homogeneity, their appearance in various materials and the long time span all add to this story. Figures of a goddess were found throughout the existence of the sanctuary. These small statues were probably votive offerings. In addition there were enthroned figures and *xoanon*-like figures,<sup>859</sup> which count as references to the worship of Artemis Orthia. In Ephesus, like at Sparta, figures of a *xoanon*-like figure were found in ivory, gold and silver. These figurines illustrate the earliest statue to represent the goddess at the sanctuary. Another example is the fully draped figures (also known as *kore* figures) found at the sanctuary for Artemis Brauronia. There are examples known to be made in wood as well as terracotta. Tegea also has fully draped terracotta figurines. Specific examples are a figure carrying a vase on their head and two figures with conical headdress.

There are several varieties of fully clothed female figurines. Due to the absence of certain evidence for any other deities worshipped at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the figurines can be identified as Artemis or her votaries.<sup>860</sup> One example that fits the description above, which is found in several materials, could be interpreted as a female, a priestess or a goddess. Whether or not these figures are meant to represent the goddess or female votaries is, I think, open for discussion. The most likely interpretation is that of a goddess or a priestess due to the attributes and the decoration on the dress. In addition, the

---

<sup>858</sup> Alroth 1989: 45.

<sup>859</sup> Poulsen 1912: 85, these figures resemble figures found at Rhodes. Not a surprising connection when one bears in mind the trading connections between the two *poleis*. The relation is also apparent in the hairstyle of the goddess with the birds, which resembles the hairdo on the Rhodian ivory carvings (Poulsen 1912: 113).

<sup>860</sup> Farrell 1907-1908 and Dawkins 1929b both argue that making dedications to the goddess was common for both men and women and great numbers of male figures are absent. They mention that a greater number of male figures would represent the act of worship or offering, therefore the female figures should all represent Artemis. This problem was further complicated by the lack of numbers for the archaeological finds. The only artefact which gives numbers of varieties: the total was 113 male and 102 female. When the varieties of deity figures are added, the numbers change to 123 male and 196 female varieties. The conclusion then has to be that the female figures could represent both deities and human figures.

abovementioned female figures accompanied by an animals such as birds of prey, stags or lions are also likely to represent a deity. In this category, the figures depicted on the Brauronian *krateriskoi* could be classified. There are examples of fully clothed females, which could represent young girls, but equally they could be priestesses or even goddesses (appendix 21). Of these examples, the figures wearing a short dress are most likely to be girls. The girls have been interpreted to be depicted whilst taking part in the rites of passage at the sanctuary.

In comparison to Sparta, human figures are a rarity at Tegea. The few statuettes that were discovered could be dated from the Geometric to period to the fifth century BCE.<sup>861</sup> A couple of the female figures could be mentioned as representations of Alea. However, there is only the sixth century BCE bronze figurine wearing a helmet, spear and shield for which everyone would agree it actually represents Athena.

The Tegean terracotta tau- phi- and psi-figurines, well-known from the Mycenaean context are an interesting addition. They could have several meanings. From the LHIIIA period onwards, these stereotyped terracotta statuettes were produced on the mainland.<sup>862</sup> The figurines were handmade, probably representing goddess and somewhat resembled the Greek letters ‘tau’, ‘phi’ and ‘psi’. Figurines like these have been found in all sorts of contexts: tombs, houses and sanctuaries. The figurines were inspired by representations of the Minoan goddess and therefore must have some religious aspect.

#### *Naked female figures*

Nude figures, female figures or undifferentiated human figures, without any attributes, also appear at all three sites. Terracotta is a preferred material at Sparta, where it appears

---

<sup>861</sup> Dugas 1921: 353, six Geometric figures and six Archaic figures.

<sup>862</sup> Dietrich 1973: 149-150.

from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period. At Ephesus a range of materials is presented; terracotta (male), ivory (female), gold (male), faience (male). Brauronian examples of naked females are probably best known from the depictions on *krateriskoi* (appendix 22). Tegea shows terracotta (female) and bronze (both) figures.

Whilst male nudity was common in Greek art, the representation of female nudity was not very common in Greek art in the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries BCE.<sup>863</sup> Nevertheless, depictions of nudity and naked goddesses do appear at Sparta, Brauron, Ephesus and Tegea, as in the rest of Greece from the eighth century BCE onwards.<sup>864</sup> According to Marinatos, these naked figures had an apotropaic and protective function.<sup>865</sup> Nudity as a representation of an apotropaic or a protective character would perfectly fit in with the character of Artemis Orthia as a protectress of young children in which case both young males and females could have been the dedicators. Sanctuaries on Crete yielded female figurines dating to the period between the end of the Mycenaean age and the ninth century BCE;<sup>866</sup> examples can be found at Karphi and Kavousi. The figurines display continuity of form from the Bronze Age onwards. It is possible to interpret these figures as exposing their breasts, as was the case the famous snake goddess in which case they are referring to fertility and nature. Nude figures were also known from the eighth century BCE onwards through Phoenician trade.<sup>867</sup> The Phoenicians had terracotta figures

---

<sup>863</sup> The display of male nudity was part of public life; the men performed athletics naked. Besides that Greek art depicts men quite often nude, even in activities they usually wore their clothes like eating or taking part in processions.

<sup>864</sup> Marinatos 2000: 28.

Dugas 1921: 384-385 shows a small Geometric bronze disc from Tegea with a figure that looks like a naked woman.

<sup>865</sup> Other places that yielded naked goddesses: Ephesus, Delphi, Perachora, Olympia, Tegea, Rhodes, Miletus and Samos.

<sup>866</sup> Gesell 2004.

<sup>867</sup> Bisi 2001: 380.

of a nude goddess or a pregnant lady clasping her breast.<sup>868</sup> The Phoenician goddess Astarte was known to be represented as a nude goddess. Artemis and Astarte were both connected with nature and the upbringing of children. The nudity could be a reference to Artemis Orthia's character as fertility goddess where men and women offer a nude figure to ask the goddess to bring them healthy children.<sup>869</sup>

Nudity as depicted in Spartan art could already be found on clay plaques from Iron Age Crete.<sup>870</sup> The earliest moulded plaques found were of facing nude women; Boardman shows an example of the second quarter of the seventh century BCE that looks a lot like the figures found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.<sup>871</sup> The inspiration for the technique came from the east. A little after the middle of the seventh century BCE clothes started to be worn.<sup>872</sup> The high waist is a distinctive feature that becomes common around the same time. The high polos is often worn by Greek goddesses and may derive from the cylindrical caps of Near Eastern figures. However, it seems to have taken some special significance in Greek cult. The polos have decorative strips running the length of their skirts, a pattern that was popular in Crete.<sup>873</sup>

Undraped female figures at Sparta were, according to Farrell, a reference to the Knidian Aphrodite.<sup>874</sup> However, the nude female figures appear in all times, and the examples that Farrell mentions are found in the deposit preceding the building of the sixth-century

---

<sup>868</sup> The terracotta figurines of a naked woman were for example found at Akhziv, dating eight to sixth century BCE. Bisi 2001: 380.

<sup>869</sup> See chapter 2 Artemis.

<sup>870</sup> Boardman 1961: 108-109.

<sup>871</sup> Boardman 1961: figure 495.

<sup>872</sup> Boardman 1961: figure 497.

<sup>873</sup> Boardman 1961: 135.

<sup>874</sup> Farrell 1907-1908: 49. According to Farrell, Artemis and Aphrodite were confused with one another in Boiai. In Amyklai the statues of Aphrodite, Artemis and Kore stood together (Pausanias 4.14.2).

A close relationship between the two goddesses in Sparta has been suggested by Wide 1893: 117, 121-122. Rose 1929: 402 indicated that the Knidean Aphrodite or the pose, with one hand over the groin, displayed 'her functions of giving fertility'. Waugh 2009: 160, noted: the nude figurines are numerically insignificant (only twelve) in comparison with the images of the goddess clothed (121 images).

temple, which is well before Praxiteles made the Knidian Aphrodite in the fourth century BCE<sup>875</sup> No reference to the specific example of the Knidian Aphrodite is likely. A close relationship between Aphrodite and Artemis Orthia becomes clear in *The Greek Anthology* as well.<sup>876</sup> Aphrodite is described with characteristics which in the first instance would be a reference to Artemis. For example she is referred to as a goddess who learned to carry a quiver and bow and who was able to ply the far-shooting archer's craft. Secondly, her statue is said not to be draped in soft folds as it is in other cities and she bears a spear instead of golden branches. *The Greek Anthology* referred to Aphrodite as the armed goddess known in Sparta, but Artemis herself was also known as an armed goddess of nature and wild life.<sup>877</sup> According to Marinatos it does not matter that the goddess is wearing an aegis, usually a characteristic of Athena, firstly because the bow and sanctuary clarify who was worshipped there and secondly warrior and hunting aspects were related in Greek imagery.<sup>878</sup> Therefore it is not surprising to come across different representations with different attributes of Artemis at the same time at Sparta.

However, if we read Pausanias (3.14.6, 3.17.1), it is not the sanctuary of Aphrodite or Athena, but that of Eileithyia that is near that of Artemis Orthia. The two goddesses were connected in some way, because there were tiles with stamps mentioning Eileithyia found in the sanctuary.<sup>879</sup> Secondly there are three groups in ivory from the sanctuary that show a pair of figures seated side by side on a throne.<sup>880</sup> The first group consists of two figures with two animals underneath the throne. The figures wear long embroidered dresses. It

---

<sup>875</sup> Farrell 1907-1908: 65-67 especially figure 7a-b.

<sup>876</sup> *The Greek Anthology, On the Armed Aphrodite in Sparta* 171-177. These are several short descriptions by different ancient sources such as Antipater, of the armed Aphrodite in Sparta and what she was known for.

<sup>877</sup> Dietrich 1974: 84.

<sup>878</sup> Marinatos 1998: 119.

<sup>879</sup> For a further specification see section 3.1.2 Spartan Architecture, The Artemisium. See also Dawkins 1929a: 33.

<sup>880</sup> Dawkins 1929d: 221-222.

seems not very likely to me that this pair of figures represent two men, as was proposed by Dawkins. Poulsen first expressed the opinion that the figures represent a pair of goddesses, Artemis Orthia and Eileithyia.<sup>881</sup> The other two groups show also two seated figures which are too damaged and therefore quite hard to identify in representing men or women. So the groups could either represent Artemis Orthia and Eileithyia or Artemis Orthia and a male companion. Another reference to the male companion of Artemis Orthia is suggested by Rose with the votive offerings that represent a young man with wings and animals symbolise as 'a divine or semi-divine consort of some kind'.<sup>882</sup> Artemis was not known to have a male companion. However, the *potnia theron* was known to have a male counterpart referred to as the Master of Animals.<sup>883</sup> It would be quite extraordinary if both the Master and Mistress were depicted together without any other hints in the context of the sanctuary.

Nude figures both female and male are also found at the Artemis Ephesia sanctuary. The nude females with their hands on their breasts and the bell-shaped figurines could both be a representation of Artemis' fertility character or her character of a nature goddess. The Spartan nude figures were mainly made in terracotta, the Ephesian ones come in all sorts of material: ivory, terracotta, amber and faience. Nudity could be a reference to the initiation rites. A new stage of life and a new physical appearance were reached during the process of growing from a child into an adult. Bearing in mind that Anatolia was the home to the Earth goddesses Kybele, it is not surprising to find these kinds of figures in Ephesus. Both nudity and the nude figurines with hands on their breast could be a

---

<sup>881</sup> Poulsen 1912: 165.

<sup>882</sup> Rose 1929: 402.

<sup>883</sup> Castleden 1990: 108.

representation of fertility and nature. These characteristics are both known for Artemis and Kybele.

Kahil interpreted the nakedness of the girls depicted on the *krateriskoi* at Brauron as a renewal of the gesture of Iphigeneia.<sup>884</sup> She abandoned her robe at the moment of her initiation, in this particular case the passage from life to death when she was offered to Artemis. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (239) tells us how Iphigeneia shed her saffron robe to earth, when she was lifted by servants to bring her to the altar.<sup>885</sup>

One of the Archaic bronzes from Tegea is a figure holding its breasts. Dugas described this figure as a goddess, but it might just as well be a female figurine. Dugas compared this to, amongst others, the Archaic terracotta nudes from Sparta.<sup>886</sup> As noted by Dugas, this figure is a reference to the fertility character of Alea Athena. The same conclusion could be drawn for a female bust, a figure separating animals and horse riders. Most of them are described without a certain connotation, very neutrally, as female figurines. However, the title Alea would be suitable.

### **Male figures**

Male figures are less numerous than female figures. Nude male figures are the only example that appear at all sites. Terracotta is most commonly used for these figures. Other materials used for these examples are ivory/bone, bronze, gold/silver and marble statues.

---

<sup>884</sup> Kahil 1983: 238.

<sup>885</sup> There are two different readings of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (645) which is closely connected to this passage. The first one, following the text of the Ravenna manuscript mentions the wearing of the robe. The second one, an interpretation by C. Sourvinou-Inwood 1971: 339-342, mentions shedding instead of wearing. See also Stinton 1976 and Jeanmaire 1939.

<sup>886</sup> See also 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Terracotta figurines.

The Brauronian sanctuary yielded several marble statues of young, naked children. The statues of boys were naked, in opposition to the fully draped girls,

A pair of Spartan lead figures, as suggested by Wace<sup>887</sup>, could just like the females be interpreted as a deity. Examples are the figures of a male with caduceus, ram and club that could be representing Hermes. The male figure with a trident and fish could be interpreted as Poseidon. These figures are unusual in a sanctuary for a goddess and are only found in the fifth century BCE. The figures appear after the cult of Artemis Orthia changed and the identity of both goddesses got connected.

A particularly interesting male figure found at Ephesus was suggested to be the Megabyzos<sup>888</sup>, the priest of Artemis (Strabo 14.1.23), due to his headgear and dress. It is a sixth century BCE statuette, with a long chain of beads around the neck. In the ears it wears rosette-shaped earrings. The dress is engraved with patterns, spiral-armed cross/cross-hatched lozenges with regular vertical lines. It was the only one interpreted as the Megabyzos, in opposition to the nine other figures published by Smith, which in her words were 'undoubtedly female'.<sup>889</sup> There are no certain indications that this figure represents a man, and as already noted by Bammer, this figure is now identified as a woman as well.<sup>890</sup>

### **Female/male on horseback**

Figures on horseback are clearly more of a Peloponnesian feature, representing both sexes at Sparta and females in Tegea.<sup>891</sup> When we look at the material, the female horse riders

<sup>887</sup> Wace 1929: 274.

<sup>888</sup> Smith 1908: 160.

<sup>889</sup> Smith 1908: 172.

<sup>890</sup> Bammer 1985: 57.

<sup>891</sup> Voyatzis 1992 already noted that riders (bronzes) are only known from a small number of Greek sanctuaries which are primarily located in the Peloponnese.

appear at both sites in terracotta and only at Tegea in bronze. The males on horseback at Sparta are made in lead, which means they were probably made in a larger quantity and therefore a more commonly dedicated item. As with the miniature masks and pottery, the horse and rider could also be interpreted as a children's toy.<sup>892</sup>

The Spartan figures of a woman on horseback, could be identified as Artemis Orthia, but deserve some examination, because they could be used as an argument for the knowledge of women of horsemanship. The figurines are first found with Lakonian I pottery and can be dated between 700 and the fourth century BCE.<sup>893</sup> However, the greatest amount of figurines on horseback belongs to the period between 600 and 500 BCE. The figurines are both naked and draped and are sitting on a kind of saddle. It not necessarily is an argument for the knowledge of women and horsemanship as it could just as well be just another characteristic of a *potnia theton* or a reference to Artemis as the protectress of warriors to whom keeping horses was of great importance.

## **Musicians**

Music and dance played an essential part in the rites of passage at Sparta and Brauron. Music was used in the training and rites of passage for both boys and girls.<sup>894</sup> Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistai* 14.632) explained that the Spartans, of all the Greeks, are those who have best guarded the art of music, because they have practised it a great deal, and because they have had many composers. After being guarded safe through the transitions it was natural to thank the goddess for her protection and guidance. We can assume that music and dance played a role in Ephesus and Tegea as well. Several figurines representing

---

<sup>892</sup> See section 4.2 Artefacts: Jewellery-Valuables.

<sup>893</sup> Dawkins 1929b: 150-151.

<sup>894</sup> See also section 5.1.1 Sparta, Dance in the context of military training for boys and 5.2.1 Sparta, Dance in the context of education for girls.

musicians were found, both males and females. Musician figures illustrate the importance of music in the Spartan as well as the Ephesian sanctuary. The instruments that these figures play at Sparta are cymbals, flutes and lyres. Ephesus has yielded figures of lyre players. The Spartan sanctuary also yielded bone flutes, illustrating musical interest.<sup>895</sup> Musical interest played a role in the upbringing of children as well, because from very early on in their lives they were taught how to dance. Dance played an important role in the rites of passage, where the children became fully grown adults. Choruses of young girls for Artemis were also known at Brauron. Once every five years the Great Brauronia had music, sports and horse-races. The Brauronian *krateriskoi* and the Spartan bone flutes illustrate this point further (appendix 23). Whilst the sanctuaries have yielded a wealth of evidence for music in the form of instruments or musicians, Brauron is the only sanctuary that yielded archaeological evidence that confidently shows dance.

## **Warriors**

There are different motifs that are classed as a warrior figure: bowmen, charioteers and military men on foot. These figures appear in a variety of materials. The most common are lead and bronze. Additionally there were figures made of terracotta, ivory, gold/silver, stone and wood.

Sparta's military character was widely known, but the upbringing of warriors and Artemis' role in this stage of life is clearly important enough at Ephesus as well. This characteristic is represented by figurines of warriors, charioteers, men on horseback and bowmen. Sparta was known for its military character and therefore it is not surprising to

---

<sup>895</sup> More information about the bone flutes can be found in section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Bone and ivory carvings and in section 3.1.4 Spartan Inscriptions, Archaic to Classical: votive fragments. See also Dawkins 1929d: 236.

find the representations of warriors amongst the votive offerings to Artemis Orthia. Young children were trained to be warriors, starting very early on in their lives and the goddess had to take care of them. In order for families to assure the protection of the goddess, the offerings were made. The legendary lawgiver Lycurgus, who probably lived in the first half of the seventh century BCE, installed the new Spartan laws. Since then the figures of warriors seem to appear more often and were made and represented in more materials. Warriors were an appropriate offering for Artemis in her character of *kourotrophos*.

The warriors in Ephesus, the *kouretes*, were an important class in society.<sup>896</sup> They performed rites every year with regards to Artemis and her relation to Ephesus. This class might be represented in these figures. The male figures found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea show a strong connection with her character as a warrior goddess. Amongst the male figures were warriors, a nude male wearing a helmet and a seated male, which might refer to some sort of power. This character is further illustrated by finds such as the arrowheads, lance heads, a dagger, riding equipment and miniature shields (with gorgoneia). Dugas noted one small crest amongst the votive offerings, which reminded him of the one carried by the fifth century BCE statuette of Alea Athena.<sup>897</sup> Moreover, only three fragments of strigils were found, which as a male attribute/object to use would have been expected to appear in larger numbers.

---

<sup>896</sup> See section 5.1 Boys' transitions in Artemis Cults, especially 5.1.2 Ephesus.

<sup>897</sup> Dugas 1921: 389. See also 3.3.3 Tegean Artefacts, Bronze for a description of this statuette.

### 4.3.3 Animal figures

There are many common animal figures at all three sites; thirteen out of thirty-five categories. On top of that, about half as many, six out of thirty-five categories are found at both Sparta and Ephesus. This suggests that, based on this study, there is an overlap in animals found at the Artemis sites, which might perhaps illustrate her character as huntress and a Mistress of Animals. However, some of the common figures appear in different periods. Bevan studied animal figures at different sites, both for male and female deities and it is interesting to see if the data on the scale of my studies and hers come to similar conclusions.<sup>898</sup>

#### Bees

Artemis was associated with that most useful of insects, the bee. The bees appear on the pillar like friezes surrounding Artemis Ephesia's legs as well as on the earliest coins of the city (about 600 BCE).<sup>899</sup> The bee was of such importance, that the priestesses were called Melissai (bees).<sup>900</sup> As Bevan noted, the priests of the Ephesian Artemis were called 'Essenes' – king bees – officials known for the purity in their lives whilst in office (Pausanias, 8.31.1).<sup>901</sup> Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1273) mentions how the bee-keepers were available to open the doors at the Ephesian Artemision. Euripides (*Hippolytus* 70ff) is one of the writers who connected the bee to Artemis. Other Artemis sanctuaries with bees are Sparta, where a bee intaglio was found<sup>902</sup> and Delos. Cook noticed other sites with

---

<sup>898</sup> Bevan 1986.

<sup>899</sup> Elderkin 1939 already made the comparison between the owl for Athena at Athens and the bee for Artemis at Ephesus. See also Cook 1895, Seltman 1952.

<sup>900</sup> Elderkin 1939 and Seltman 1952, without literary evidence. Evidence usually point towards the priestesses of Delphi, of Demeter and Artemis. Nymphs in the form of bees are said to have guided the colonists that went to Ephesus (Philostratus, *Iconography* 2.8).

<sup>901</sup> Bevan 1986: 221.

<sup>902</sup> The ivory seal on which this bee intaglio was depicted was found with Geometric pottery only; dating eighth century – 650 BCE. See also Dawkins 1929d: 229 and plate CLXVIII.

coins depicting bees: Smyrna, Erythrae, Aradus and Parium.<sup>903</sup> According to him, Elaeous in Chersonese (Thrace) also had coins with Artemis on the obverse and a bee on the reverse. The bee was not an Artemis exclusive animal though, it was to some extent associated with other deities; Zeus was born to Rhea in a cave sacred to bees.<sup>904</sup> Other Greek deities that were associated with the bee were: Demeter (Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 110-112) and Apollo (Pindar, *Pythian IV* 104).

### **Birds**<sup>905</sup>

Bird figurines were frequently dedicated at Greek sanctuaries.<sup>906</sup> At Ephesus, the bird of prey and doves were listed separately by the excavators, because they appeared to be a find specific to Ephesus. The birds of prey there were identified as falcons and hawks. However, as Bevan noted, some of the birds from Orthia, especially those that were decorative motifs, could also be interpreted as birds of prey.<sup>907</sup> In addition, at the Samian Heraion birds of prey were prominent as motifs on small objects. This then suggests that birds of many kinds were votives that could be found at any sanctuary, without any significance for fertility or the character of the deity. Birds of prey could be easily interpreted as hunting birds, referring to the goddess of hunt. This reference is not surprising when we are talking about Artemis, but this does not apply in a similar fashion to Hera for example. It is surprising that no owls, the animal associated with the goddess

---

<sup>903</sup> Cook 1895: 13. He does not date any of these examples and fails to put them into perspective.

<sup>904</sup> Bevan 1986: 222.

<sup>905</sup> Sometimes it is possible to distinguish between different kinds of birds, e.g. hawks, cocks, hens. However, insufficient descriptions and photographic material resulted in some of them simply being listed as birds.

<sup>906</sup> Bevan 1986: 28. She notes that birds as a motif were often used on Late Geometric vases; with the long neck, beaks and legs as simple features.

<sup>907</sup> Examples are Dawkins 1929: plate C, 1 where a bird of prey is attacking a male. Dawkins' plate CXXIV, 1 and 2 show ivory fibulae with birds of prey, possibly eagles. Plate CXXXIX, e and m shows seals with birds of prey, and so do plates CXL, CXLIII, CXLIV, CXLV, CXLVI and CXLVIII. Most of these seals are made of bone or ivory. The last examples are plates CLVI and CLVIII where the intaglio are depicting birds of prey.

of wisdom, were found in Athena's sanctuary at Tegea. That would be an expected gift to the goddess and was well-known to decorate the Athenian coins for example.

Additionally, Bevan also noted, that both Sparta and Ephesus seem to have a strong suggestion of a connection between the goddess and the birds, in her character of a *potnia theron*. There are figurines of female figures holding the bird. The ivory statuettes with the long pole on their head, crowned with a hawk, are particular to Ephesus. Both sanctuaries also have figures and depictions of water birds.<sup>908</sup> Bevan argues that the places these birds lived, normally marshy grounds, suggests fertility of the land and therefore could be interpreted as an aspect of the deity as well. Furthermore, there were duck figures, found at Sparta and Ephesus as well. The two birds that flanked a female standing on a bull on a Tegean plaque could also be interpreted as such. However, surely she is mastering the bull and not the birds.

Bevan claimed Artemis was not generally linked with a distinct species of bird.<sup>909</sup> However, birds as 'wild' creatures automatically were subject to her power. The way in which they are depicted in association with human and deity like figures, holding them around their neck, illustrates the mastery over animals; well-known from the Mistress of Animals.<sup>910</sup> Artemis was not the only one associated with birds though; other deities were for example Apollo, Athena,<sup>911</sup> Hera<sup>912</sup> and Zeus.<sup>913</sup>

---

<sup>908</sup> Bevan 1986: 44-46. Water birds were mostly found at sanctuaries for female deities. They also played a part in the cult history on Delos.

<sup>909</sup> Bevan 1986: 31.

<sup>910</sup> See section 2.2.1 Potnia Theron.

<sup>911</sup> Athena was the 'owl-eyed' goddess (for example Homer, *Odyssey* I.80, I.156) and she carried the owl (Aristophanes, *Birds* 516). She had a temple with eagles, dedicated by Lysander as well (Pausanias, 3.17.4).

<sup>912</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.722-3: peacock.

<sup>913</sup> There are the myths about Ganymedes (Homer, *Iliad* 5.265: eagle) Leda (Euripides, *Helen* 16-21: swan).

## Cattle

The sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta and Ephesus as well as the sanctuary of Athena at Tegea all yielded figurines of bulls. From the Geometric period to the Archaic period they appear at all sites. The materials in which these figures appear show some similarities. Both Sparta and Ephesus have ivory figures and both Sparta and Tegea have bronze variants. Additionally there are figures in lead (Sparta) and terracotta and gold (Ephesus). Artemis had the epithet *Tauropolos*.<sup>914</sup> This epithet was used to illustrate the wild and savage character of Artemis. It was also used for Artemis Orthia at Sparta. The epithet was used at Sparta, because one interpretation of the story where Iphigeneia and Orestes take the Taurian statue. In this version, it is placed at Sparta, instead of Brauron, because the statue belonged to Orestes. In Ephesus, besides there being a sanctuary for Artemis, there was also a festival for Poseidon, at which the cupbearers were called *tauroi* 'bulls' (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 425c).<sup>915</sup> The oxen found at Sparta and Tegea would fit the abovementioned suggestion better.

Interestingly, according to Bevan, bulls were sacrificed to Zeus, Apollo and Dionysus and cows were more customarily offered to the female deities.<sup>916</sup> If this is truly the case, the bulls found at Sparta and Ephesus would be an exception to this rule.

## Deer/stag

Representations of deer/stags appear at all sites, however not at the same time. One of the finds one would expect at Artemis sites is the stag. However, this is found at Sparta and

---

<sup>914</sup> See 1.1.1 Source Material. *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*: worshipped at Tauris, drawn by a yoke of bulls or hunting bulls. According to Strabo, there were six sanctuaries to this goddess: Halai Araphenides (Attica), Amphipolis (Thrace), Ikaros (Greece), Aricia (Italy), Ikarus (Persian Gulf), Komana (Cappadocia), Kastabala (Cappadocia).

<sup>915</sup> A similar thing happened at Brauron, where the little girls were called *arktoi* 'bears'.

<sup>916</sup> Bevan 1986: 82.

Tegea and does not appear at Ephesus. I differentiate between deer, which show no horns and stags, where horns are depicted. In the Geometric period they are found at Sparta and Tegea, whereas from the Archaic period onwards they are found at Sparta and Ephesus. The earliest representation of deer on terracotta plaques at Brauron was Archaic, dating to the sixth century BCE. The largest number of deer was found in the lead figurines at Sparta where they included twenty different types. These lead figurines first appear in the sixth century BCE and are used to confirm Artemis' identification with Orthia as well as the connection of Artemis with deer.<sup>917</sup> Representations are of earlier date; the earliest of these are found on two eighth century BCE scarabs in vitreous paste.<sup>918</sup> Bevan proposes that before the Archaic period, the relationship between Artemis and deer was not yet established.<sup>919</sup> The importance of this connection is clear from Bevan's study, where the highest number of deer reported was found at Artemis sites.<sup>920</sup> That the deer was important in Ephesus is illustrated through the coins; for example, electrum coins from the sixth century BCE show a stag, and the third century BCE coins show Artemis' head on the obverse and a stag on the reverse.<sup>921</sup> The deer is more often depicted as a favoured companion of the goddess; for example on the marble reliefs from Brauron and one of the column pedestals of the fourth century BCE temple at Ephesus.

The deer or stag was associated with Artemis in her character as the goddess of hunt.<sup>922</sup> Not least through the replacement of Iphigeneia at the altar at Aulis (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*; Sophocles, *Electra* 566-572; Stasinos, *Kypria* 135-143). I think it is interesting that at both Sparta and Ephesus, fawn were depicted. These young deer illustrate care for

---

<sup>917</sup> See section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Lead figurines.

<sup>918</sup> Dawkins 1929e: 384-385 and figures 143 and 144.

<sup>919</sup> Bevan 1986: 110.

<sup>920</sup> Bevan 1986: 107, however, not all her sanctuaries have yielded examples.

<sup>921</sup> Head 1892: 47, 57-60.

<sup>922</sup> See section 2.2 Goddess of wilderness, animals and hunting.

the young of the animal most dear to the goddess. Deer and stag figures however, were found at sanctuaries for Apollo, Athena, Hera and Zeus.

## Goats

Goat figures appear at the sanctuaries of Artemis, Sparta and Ephesus, they are absent from Tegea. These figures were found in the Archaic period. Even though the report on Brauron is not as detailed as the ones from Sparta, Ephesus and Tegea, it would be surprising if goats were not represented at Brauron in this period. For Sparta and Ephesus, the excavators listed ibexes separately.<sup>923</sup> The only material Sparta and Ephesus have in common is ivory/bone. Sparta also had figures made in lead and bronze. The sanctuary at Ephesus yielded goat bones around the altar, which suggests sacrifices were practiced as well. The goat was a hunted animal which suggests it would make an appropriate dedication for the goddess of hunt.

The literary sources suggest goats were a sacrificial animal. For example Xenophon (*Anabasis* 2.3.12; *Hellenica* 4.2.20) mentions the customs of sacrificing goats before and/or after battle to Artemis Agrotera. This is one of the few finds where the literary evidence and the archaeological evidence add up so nicely, as Bevan suggested.<sup>924</sup> In addition, in the story about Embaros at the Mounichian sanctuary for Artemis he replaced his daughter by an animal (Suidas s.v. *Embaros eimi*). This is similar to the story where Iphigeneia at Aulis was substituted by a deer. It resulted in a goat being sacrificed at Mounichia every year.<sup>925</sup>

---

<sup>923</sup> For examples from Sparta: Wace 1929: 256 figure 118j, Dawkins 1929d: 223 and plate CXXIX, 378 and figure 144f. An example from Ephesus: Hogarth 1908: 163 and plate XXI.5.

See also Bevan 1986.

<sup>924</sup> Bevan 1986: 180-181.

<sup>925</sup> See also Jeanmaire 1939.

## Horses

Horse figures are found in the Geometric and Archaic period and the sanctuary for Artemis Orthia yielded most of them. Horses are found as individual figures, for example made in bronze, terracotta and ivory/bone. There are also examples in lead (Sparta) and gold and stone (Ephesus). In addition to horse figures, there are horse riders, found at all three sanctuaries. Horses were known as the animals for warriors, more specifically for charioteers and cavalry.<sup>926</sup> Therefore it is not surprising that the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta yielded horses in lead, terracotta, ivory, bronze, and (lime)stone. It was part of her character as a *potnia theron*, but at the same time it could be a reference to the militaristic character of the Spartans. By offering figurines of horses the warriors probably asked the goddess to protect them or thanked her for her protection. However, the Spartans were best known for their hoplite warriors they also had a cavalry section which was quite probably a status symbol (Xenophon, *On horsemanship* II). Horses are first recorded in the eighth century BCE, they were however more common starting with the seventh century BCE. The horses therefore could have represented the fertility and the upbringing of children characteristics of the goddess.<sup>927</sup> It is not unlikely that the great quantity of horses represent toys for children, offered after reaching adulthood.

There is a lot of evidence for the figures of horses in Greece. Olympia is probably best known for yielding bronze horse statues and in numbers far greater than Sparta. The Olympian horses were the result of victories in the races held there (Pausanias, 6.2.8, 6.4.10, 6.9.7, 6.10.6-7, 6.11.1, 6.12.1, 6.12.6, 6.13.9, 6.14.4, 6.14.12, 6.16.9, 6.18.1). Another reason was success in war (Pausanias, 10.10.2-3, 10.15.2, 10.18.1). Artemis'

---

<sup>926</sup> Marinatos 1998: 121.

<sup>927</sup> Higgins 1967: 24.

connection to horses would probably be best explained in her role as a *potnia theron*. The pendants of a female head between two horses at Sparta nicely illustrate this assumption. She was not the only deity that received dedication of horses, but probably the only one that did so in the character of *potnia theron*. Other deities were Poseidon, Athena, Hera, Apollo, Ares and Demeter.<sup>928</sup> Horse bones at Ephesus' Archaic altar show a different interpretation to the figures; as a substitute.<sup>929</sup>

Horses, in Homeric times, were a sacrifice suitable for the dead. Achilles threw four of them onto Patrokles' funeral pyre (Homer, *Iliad* 23.171-172). In Greek art they were attributes for the underworld aspect of the goddess;<sup>930</sup> they have been discovered in tombs,<sup>931</sup> which is not surprising with Artemis' darker character of Hekate in mind.

## Lions

Lions are a common feature in the Archaic period at all sanctuaries. The wealth of material at Sparta, lead, terracotta, ivory/bone, bronze, and (poros) stone are not found at any of the other sanctuaries. Ephesus yielded ivory and gold lion figures, Brauron terracotta, marble and stone and Tegea just bronze.

Artemis as Homer's *potnia theron* was a suitable deity to receive dedications of lions. She was also known to be 'gracious to the tender whelps of fierce lions' (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 140-141). The most obvious example of lions for Artemis might be the

---

<sup>928</sup> Bevan 1986: 194-215.

<sup>929</sup> More on sacrificial remains can be found in section 4.1.1.

<sup>930</sup> Christou 1968: 163. Different types and motifs are found in different sanctuaries; horses were dedicated to different deities. In Olympia there was Hera Hippias, in Tegea Athena Alea received horses as votive offerings, in Sparta Artemis Orthia is depicted riding horses, in Lousoi horses were dedicated to Artemis Himerasia and the Heraia of Samos and Perachora also yielded horses. All these goddesses could be interpreted as later depictions of the goddess with animals in which case the horse is just one of her functions.

<sup>931</sup> Bevan 1986: 194.

pediment of the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta; both the ‘studies’ and parts of the pediment itself were found. Lion figurines were found in several materials, with a considerable amount of them being couchant animals. Sparta was not the only Artemis sanctuary that yielded lion figures.<sup>932</sup>

Artemis’ character of ‘a lion amongst women’ and a Mistress of Animals is probably best illustrated by the mastery of animals, with lions in particular. Because lions were such an important part of the *potnia theron* motif, one might suggest that even finding the lion on its own would indicate this mastery. If this is true, the character of the deities concerned with this, would be prominently visible in the finds and the same would apply to the other deities identified with the *potnia theron*, Hera and Athena. In Pausanias’ time (6.5.4), lions were still amongst the wild beasts in Thrace. A much earlier source is Hesiod (*Theogony* 327ff), who tells the story of Herakles and the Nemean lion. Another story, again by Pausanias (1.41.1), tells us there is a shrine for Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraeus, made after Alcathous killed the lion called Cithaeronian. That lions were not an Artemis specific find can also be found in Pausanias (5.25.7): ‘[Dedicated at Olympia] are two nude statues of Herakles as a boy. One represents him shooting an arrow at the lion at Nemea.’ This depiction of the hunting scene was offered to Zeus.

According to Christou, the depictions of different animals suggest a mastery over different aspects of the earth.<sup>933</sup> He suggests a lion would illustrate mastery over earth, a hawk would suggest mastery over air and water-birds would show mastery over water and vegetation. With this in mind, almost every other animal could then be identified with

---

<sup>932</sup> Bevan 1986: 234-235. Kalapodi and Kalydon were amongst the thirteen other Artemis sanctuaries where lion figures were discovered.

<sup>933</sup> Christou 1968: 13, 25, 52, 55 and 100.

and suggested to have a certain power as well, making the point less useful than it could be.

### **Rams/sheep**

Rams and sheep figures are found in both the Geometric and the Archaic periods. Ram figures are most commonly made in ivory/bone, terracotta and bronze. There are also figures in limestone and (poros) stone at Sparta and in gold at Ephesus. The ram/sheep figurines would also be a suitable candidate where little artefacts were dedicated instead of the real animal. The number of couchant ram figures at Sparta would suggest as much. This conclusion has to be reached with some care, as it would not go for any animal found. Even though a large number of depictions/figures were found at the sanctuary of Artemis at Sparta, which according to Bevan is an exception to the rule, ram/sheep figures were otherwise quite evenly distributed across sanctuaries for Artemis, Apollo, Zeus, Hera and Athena.<sup>934</sup> At Sparta the ram was found as part of a motif in lead figures which have been interpreted as Hermes (appendix 2).<sup>935</sup> However, with the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios so close by, it might just as well be him or a human being depicting himself with one of his herd.

Like cattle, rams were known to be sacrificial animals (for example: Homer, *Iliad* 2.552; *Odyssey* 1.25). Additionally there was the festival of the *karneia* for Apollo Karneios at Sparta (Thucydides, 5.54), where rams were sacrificed. Sheep bones were also found at the altar of Artemis Ephesia.

---

<sup>934</sup> Bevan 1986: 251.

<sup>935</sup> See 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Lead Figurines.

## Snakes

Snakes are common at the Spartan, Ephesian and Tegean sanctuaries, but they do not appear at the same time. Snake figures are contemporary at Sparta and Tegea in the Geometric period and at Sparta and Ephesus in the Archaic period. Sparta yielded bronze figures from the Geometric period and lead and ivory figures from the Archaic period. Tegea yielded terracotta figures, and Ephesus had gold figures. It could therefore be suggested that these figures do show a common practice, offering snake figures, however, they do not illustrate anything more specific.

In the early depictions of Sparta, where a *potnia theron* is shown, the snake is represented with the deity.<sup>936</sup> Both the sanctuaries at Sparta and Ephesus also yielded individual images of snakes. Bevan suggests that the *potnia theron* character of Artemis at Sparta and Ephesus was confirmed by the snake dedications.<sup>937</sup> At Ephesus Artemis was associated with Hekate (*Homer's Epigrams 12, Orphic Hymn 1 to Hekate*), at Sparta with Eileithyia<sup>938</sup>, both goddesses of birth and death. If we take into account that the goddess is holding a water-bird (at both sites), she is a goddess of fertility, which then can only be confirmed even further by the *kourotrophos* figures, suggesting the deity is protecting mothers and their children. The death and life aspect of the snake are intertwined and implicitly present, even if just one is obviously present.

In the literature (for example in the *Homeric Hymn 3 to Apollo*) Apollo is the deity usually associated with snakes. It was Apollo who defeated the Python and saved Delphi. Herodotus (9.81.1) described the bronze tripod at Delphi, which rested upon a bronze

---

<sup>936</sup>Dawkins 1929: plate XCIII 2.

<sup>937</sup> Bevan 1986: 270-271.

<sup>938</sup> See section 2.3.1 Eileithyia/Kourotrophe and section 3.1.4 Spartan Inscriptions, Archaic to Classical: votive fragments.

three-headed snake. Artemidorus (*Oneirocritica* 2.13) mentioned Zeus, Dionysus, Apollo, Demeter, Asklepios, Kore and Hekate. Plutarch (*Moralia* 379D) however, noted that the snake was sacred to Athena. Asklepios, as the god of healing, had snakes living in his sanctuary at Epidauros. Snakes were also animals of death; Gorgon with her snake-like hair and the Hydra are examples of myths relating to this theme.

### **Water animals**

Figures of water birds are commonly found in the Geometric period and Sparta, Ephesus and Tegea all had figures made of bronze. In the Archaic period they appear in terracotta, ivory/bone and bronze at both Sparta and Ephesus, where in addition Sparta also had gold/silver figures of water birds.

One of Artemis' characters was that of Limnatis.<sup>939</sup> At Sparta, the temple that was known as the temple for Orthia was also mentioned as Limnaion (Pausanias, 3.16.7). At a marshy place beside a river, it was not surprising to find fish,<sup>940</sup> frogs, tortoises<sup>941</sup> and water-birds represented. All of these animals live in the areas mentioned. These figures are especially common at Sparta from the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. Sparta had an especially interesting find with a woman with a fish tail (in limestone), which seems to be an unspecified mythological creature.

One of the myths (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VI.325-6, 370-381), in which Leto was looking for a place to give birth to Artemis and Apollo in peace, she came to a pool where Lycian

---

<sup>939</sup> The epithet Limnatis literally means that Artemis was a 'lady of the lake'. That however can be broadened to water in general, because several Artemis sanctuaries were founded near water, a lake, a river or the shore. Another example is the sanctuary at Brauron, arranged around a sacred spring and a cave-like cleft in the rocky hillside nearby. In ancient times Brauron was on the shore as well. More on Limnatis and the fertility and protectress aspect of this character see Morizot 1994.

<sup>940</sup> Bevan mentioned dolphins separately, but I chose to list them all as fish.

<sup>941</sup> Christou 1968: 121 interpreted the tortoise as an attribute for the fertility aspect of the *potnia theron*; it was part of the earth and its organisms.

peasants told her she could not have a drink. As a punishment, Leto changed them into frogs. This could be used as another explanation for the connection between Artemis and animals living in the water.

Animals like these are initially thought of as appropriate gifts to Poseidon. The dedication of water animals to Artemis had probably more to do with the location of the sanctuaries; the artefacts were found at sites near the sea or near rivers, where the land was marshy and wet.<sup>942</sup> When the sea was near, seafarers and fishermen dedicated objects like these, for example at Perachora, Samos, and Sounion.<sup>943</sup> However, as with the abovementioned animals, tortoises/turtles more specifically were in addition most frequently for Athena and Artemis, when they are dedicated as individual representations, but no deity had a monopoly on these finds. The geographical area of the sanctuaries could be an explanation why these figures were found. However, it is then surprising for tortoise figures not to appear at Ephesus as well. Even in modern days, the sanctuary's grounds are inhabited by hundreds of tortoises. Tortoises were also found in sanctuaries for Apollo, potentially in sanctuaries where he was worshipped in combination with Artemis. And lastly, these animals were known as dedications for Hera. It appears that they were mostly used as sacrifices for female deities, which probably had to do with fertility and the wetness of the land.

Bevan suggested that, even though it was uncommon, water animals were dedicated to a *potnia theron*<sup>944</sup>, but to me in most cases it seems more like a decorative motif. Examples Bevan gives are a winged goddess holding a deer and a bird, with under her feet three fish and waves (a plaque from Smyrna); an amphora where a winged goddess is flanked by

---

<sup>942</sup> See section 4.1 Architecture and location.

<sup>943</sup> Bevan 1986: 136.

<sup>944</sup> Bevan 1986: 136 and references.

beasts of prey and water-birds, fish are depicted on her skirt (Boeotian) and a pithos with a winged potnia theron on a wheeled platform holding birds, flanked by trees, underneath the handles two fish are depicted (Knossos). These three examples do not form a particularly strong argument for such a suggestion.

### **Other animals**

Chickens and cockerels are another type of bird that is specified separately and they appear at Sparta, Ephesus and Tegea in bronze with the additional lead figurines in Sparta, once this material becomes popular. Cockerels and chickens have been found at the sanctuaries of most deities, being an inexpensive form of sacrifice, ideal to be used as a replacement for the real animal.<sup>945</sup>

Dogs were represented in ivory at Sparta and were the second most common ivory animal found after rams and sheep.<sup>946</sup> Dogs as companions for Artemis are both known in literary and archaeological tradition as well. For example Xenophon's *Ephesiaka* (1.2.6-7) describes how dogs were part of the procession through the city. Bevan describes finds of dogs more along the line of a theme; hunting motif or Artemis and a dog. She uses this theme to claim that the image generally identifies Artemis as the patron deity. It is questionable if the dog without the deity could have the same meaning. Dog figures are not Artemis specific, they are also found at sanctuaries for Hera, Athena, Apollo, Demeter and Zeus. However, they are most common at Artemis sanctuaries.<sup>947</sup>

The wild boar is associated with the activity of hunting; one example is the Caledonian Boar hunt. In Tegea, no figures representing a boar were found, however, one of the

---

<sup>945</sup> Bevan 1986: 48-49.

<sup>946</sup> 28 examples of couchant dogs and 94 examples of couchant rams and sheep were found at Sparta.

Bevan 1986: 394 and 454.

<sup>947</sup> Bevan 1986: 115-126.

pediments illustrated the Caledonian boar hunt and its tusks and pelt were held at Tegea as well. This boar was sent by Artemis, in her wrath towards king Oeneus, who forgot to sacrifice to her (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.8.1-2; Pausanias, 8.45.2). As Bevan argued, Athena Alea originally must have been a *potnia theron*.<sup>948</sup> Of the domesticated variant, the pig, a lot of bones were found at Ephesus. This illustrates how pigs were used as sacrificial animals. It is safe to say that boars appear at sanctuaries for different deities.<sup>949</sup>

The greatest variety of animals was found at Ephesus with some finds specific to this site. Some of them suggest an Egyptian influence, camel, panther<sup>950</sup> and hippopotamus. The panther head could just as well be interpreted as a lions' head. Most of these Ephesian animal figures, as most of the figures all together, were made in ivory.

Figurines interpreted as doves were not just found at Ephesus, they also appear at Brauron<sup>951</sup>; for example, one of the little *arktoi* statues is a girl holding a dove. For an even stronger connection, terracotta figures of doves were discovered at Brauron as well. Bevan interpreted these as possible representations of the pet doves the children who lived in the sanctuary had.<sup>952</sup> The presence of both females with doves and doves on their own have been accounted at sanctuaries of all the Olympian goddesses.<sup>953</sup> Another example of a female holding a dove is on the Spartan comb that was previously interpreted to represent the Judgement of Paris.<sup>954</sup>

---

<sup>948</sup> Bevan 1986: 77.

<sup>949</sup> See also Bevan 1986: 71, 75 who lists other deities than Artemis as recipients for both pig representations; Demeter, Athena, Hera and boar representations: Apollo, Athena, Demeter, Poseidon and Zeus. Artemis was the main deity to receive such dedications though.

<sup>950</sup> Hogarth 1908: 168 and plate XXVII.4.

<sup>951</sup> Bevan 1986: 358-359.

<sup>952</sup> Bevan 1986: 52.

<sup>953</sup> Bevan 1986: 51.

<sup>954</sup> See section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Bone and ivory carvings. See also Dawkins 1929: 223 and plate CXXVII.

Sparta yielded bear figurines made in lead, terracotta, ivory and limestone. These figures dated to the Archaic period. Bear figurines, as would be expected with the bear myth and the ritual of the *arkteia* were also found at Brauron.<sup>955</sup> A similar myth was told about her sanctuary at Mounichia (appendix 1).<sup>956</sup> The close connection of the *krateriskoi* and the scenes depicted on them to the rituals is striking (appendix 24).<sup>957</sup> The substitution for Iphigeneia of a bear and the girls that as *arktoi* serve the goddess show Artemis' close connection to the bear. In the story of Kallisto Artemis caused the mother to be transformed into a bear. The myth about Atalanta tells us about the child that was abandoned and saved by a she-bear. According to Bevan, the bear was 'an emblem and supreme pattern of motherhood'.<sup>958</sup> Artemis' role as a *kourotrophe* and a goddess concerned with childbirth would confirm this idea. Even though a bear-headed figure was found at Tegea, and the Argive Heraion yielded images of bears<sup>959</sup>, it seems to be a principally Artemis related animal.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the evidence outlined in chapter 3 and shows that there are finds that can be found at all sites studied in this thesis, but there are also site specific finds. The architecture, the temple and altar structures show a similar history at all sites. The sites were all built in a way that they could facilitate rituals, rites of passages for young boys and girls. In terms of artefacts, the jewellery items show similarities with

---

<sup>955</sup> See section Grils' transitions in Artemis cults 5.2.3 Brauron.

<sup>956</sup> Léger 2011.

<sup>957</sup> See section Girls' transitions in Artemis cults 5.2.3 Brauron. Appendix 24 shows an example of a 'bear-like' garment.

<sup>958</sup> Bevan 1986: 21.

<sup>959</sup> Bevan 1986: 22.

sanctuaries all over the Greek world. The mythological figures illustrate the *potnia theton* motif discussed as part of the goddess of the wilderness character as well as a similarity in griffins and sphinxes. Human figures, both female and male, illustrate the activities at the sites and the character of Artemis concerned with these activities.

In comparison with Bevan's account of the 1980s, it has been possible to show which figures, especially animal figures such as deer/stags, horses and bears are favoured at Artemis sites. The favour of certain animal types is not surprising when looking at the character of Artemis that was prominent at Sparta, Ephesus and Brauron, the *potnia theton*. Artemis' character as a fertility goddess and protectress of children is illustrated by the finds of jewellery and clothing items, which, as will be shown below, are closely related to the rites of passage taking place.

## 5. CULT ACTIVITY

---

5.1 Boys' transitions in Artemis cults.....	222
5.1.1 Sparta.....	224
Education for boys: military training and skills.....	224
Dance in the context of military training.....	227
Tests of manhood.....	229
Marriage and becoming a father.....	230
5.1.2 Ephesus.....	231
Education for boys: civic identity and ritual performance.....	232
Dance in the context of education.....	234
Tests of manhood.....	236
Marriage and becoming a father.....	239
5.1.3 Brauron.....	240
5.2 Girls' transitions in Artemis cults.....	241
5.2.1 Sparta.....	244
Education for girls: the counterpart of military training.....	244
Dance in the context of education for girls.....	246
Marriage.....	247

Becoming a mother.....	250
5.2.2 Ephesus.....	251
Education for girls.....	251
Dance in the context of education for girls.....	253
Marriage.....	255
Becoming a mother.....	259
5.2.3 Brauron.....	259
5.3 Alea Athena.....	260
5.4 Conclusion.....	262

This chapter consists of a short introduction to boys' and girls' transitions in Artemis cults after which each is illustrated by case studies, for both boys and girls, from Sparta - Artemis Orthia and Ephesus - Artemis Ephesia, complemented with information from Brauron - Artemis Brauronia. Each case study is divided in four subdivisions. For the boys' transitions these are: education for boys, dance in the context of education, tests of manhood, and marriage and becoming a father. For the girls' transitions they are: education for girls, dance in the context of education, marriage, and becoming a mother. The Artemis case studies will be supplemented with a description of the rituals from Tegea – Athena Alea.

### **5.1 Boys' transitions in Artemis cults**

There is much more evidence involving the transformation of boys into men.<sup>960</sup> The transition that takes place during male rites of passage might be the focus of greater concern and ritual elaboration, which is not surprising, since the status of an adult male was a necessary prerequisite for citizenship and his privileges in the developing Greek polis (Plato, *Laws* 653a-654e). Plato, in his *Laws*, described childhood and youth as the uncivilised parts of human life, which one must adapt by directing its strength towards the service of the society as a whole. There is a fair amount of evidence for institutionalised age-classes of young men who were required to undergo a period of marginalisation and specialised training before they were considered adults: the Spartan *agoge*<sup>961</sup> and *krypteia*, and the Athenian *ephebeia*. What might shed light on the religious

---

<sup>960</sup> Jeanmaire 1939, Van Gennep 1960, Brelich 1969, Vidal-Naquet 1986, Dowden 1989. See also the papers in Padilla (ed.) 1999, Dodd and Faraone (eds.) 2003, and Larson 2007.

<sup>961</sup> Ducat 2006: 69-71. The term *agoge* is used to describe the Spartan male and female education, however, the term is never found in the Classical period with this meaning. It is found in the meaning of 'discipline'

aspect of Artemis as a patroness of males are the myths related to her domain of male warriors or heroes. Artemis as a protectress of the hunter Hippolytus keeps him from trouble (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1093-1094, 1118-1121). She is near and fills Hippolytus with relief. She did not save him though when he offended her honour (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1529-1530).

Rites of passage for males marked their entry of the young males into their status as a citizen and warrior.<sup>962</sup> The start of this transition process was the separation of the initiates from their parents, which marked the break with childhood. The young people led a life separate from their community for a period of time before their definitive admission into the military force. Often they had to begin with a probationary period, living in the wild like animals and mastering the skills that normally are expected of hunters.<sup>963</sup> Artemis' role at the critical moment of transition between adolescence and adulthood operates in both directions; by safeguarding the balance between civilized and wild space, Artemis presides over the harmonious preservation of both these worlds.<sup>964</sup> Once the child is integrated into the stable, organised, agrarian, civic world, an adult can only preserve its cultural bases with the help of the goddess who watches over its frontiers. The transition that takes place during male rites of passage might be the focus of greater concern and ritual elaboration within society, which is not surprising, since the status of an adult male was a necessary prerequisite for his citizenship and the associated privileges in the

---

and therefore it is a nice reference to the Spartan educational system which brought discipline to their children.

<sup>962</sup> Lloyd-Jones 1983: 98.

<sup>963</sup> For a good example, see 5.1.1 Sparta below.

<sup>964</sup> De Polignac 1984: 44.

developing Greek polis (Plato, *Laws* 653a-654e). There appears to be a connection between boundary disputes and the deities who presided over rites of passage.<sup>965</sup>

The following are case studies of rites of passage in Artemis cults at Sparta, Ephesus and Brauron which concerned the becoming of age for boys. As mentioned above, the process of becoming of age is described in four stages: education, dance, tests of manhood, and marriage and becoming a father.

### **5.1.1 Sparta**

Ducat wrote<sup>966</sup>:

Of all Greek cities, Sparta is surely the one where education played the greatest role, because the model of the citizen was particularly demanding and exerted a very strong pressure on individuals; in particular, one of its principal missions was to make them as far as possible the same, which implied that the process should be identical for all. Education is, therefore, at the heart of Spartan ideology and practice.

#### **Education for boys: military training and skills**

The constitution of the Spartans, its social institutions and discipline, were designed to protect the state by maintaining the best possible fighting force. Both men and women were involved in achieving this aim. Sparta was well-known for its military force, especially its hoplite warriors. The most important thing within their hoplite forces was

---

<sup>965</sup> De Polignac 1984: 56. This will be further illustrated by looking in more detail at the rites of passage at Sparta 5.1.1, 5.2.1 and Ephesus 5.1.2, 5.2.2.

<sup>966</sup> Ducat 1999: 43.

uniformity of equipment and behaviour that suited the community of equals.<sup>967</sup> Sparta was a very active military community on constant alert. According to Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 24.1), the youths belonged to their *polis* and even when they matured they lived in their city as in a military encampment. The Spartans brought hoplite phalanx warfare to a peak, employing religion, music and other aids to reinforce discipline.

Sources such as Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon suggest that the origins of violence are rooted in the old history of Sparta. Plato shows in his *Laws* (633b-c) what kind of training the Spartans followed. The training of the Spartans was one in hardy endurance of pain, both of manual contests and of robberies. Besides this training, a most violent custom was associated with the Spartan *krypteia*: the Spartan boys, the *kryptoi*, and 'were trained in hardihood, going bare-foot in winter and sleeping without coverlets and having no attendants' (Plato, *Laws* 633c). The boys had to depend on themselves and wander through the countryside by night and day. As is said by Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 16.4-5, 16.9-17.4), they roamed around in the wilderness and had to work for their food or steal it. The children were confronted with unavoidable hardships, fears and pains (Plato, *Laws* 635c). The skills learnt by the young Spartans during this period were not those of the warrior, but those of the hunter which is why Aeschylus called them warrior huntsmen (*Agamemnon* 693-698). In the work of Xenophon (*Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* IV) it becomes clear that in the vigour of early manhood, the need of further physical strength is removed and the highest honour suitable to their age was hunting. It indicates that such practice went back to the time when hunting, even more so than war, was the main occupation of the group of adult males on whose activities the fate of the community depended.

---

<sup>967</sup> Cartledge (ed.) 1998: 172.

According to Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.4.18; 6.5.18), Spartan warriors sacrificed to Artemis both on the occasions of training for war and before an actual battle. These are customs that are definitely attested for Sparta and the latter one was also in use in other cities like Athens (Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 58.1). A well-known occasion at which the Athenians thanked Artemis Agrotera with sacrifices was after the battle at Marathon (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.2.11-12). Artemis Agrotera in Greece was the patroness of the *ephebes*, but her name also implies a Mistress of the Wild.<sup>968</sup> In Sparta, she appears to play a role during the *Karneia*, a festival with a military character (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 4.141f). It is this goddess, invoked as Agrotera, to whom a goat would be sacrificed in front of all the troops before any battle as was the Spartan custom (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.2.20). For an army to go confidently into battle, the signs on the victim sacrificed to Artemis had to be favourable.

Artemis Orthia took charge of the entire process of rite of passage for young boys from start to finish. Xenophon (*Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* II) and Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 18.1-4) mention that the *kryptoi* in Sparta were flogged at her altar when they were caught stealing.<sup>969</sup> The Spartan institution of the *krypteia* supplies a parallel with the story about the Arkadian male initiates that lived their life like wolves for a time.<sup>970</sup> A trial of courage within the *krypteia* was the murder of *Helots* in the night, should they be caught by the young Spartans. Not all Spartan youths were *kryptoi*. According to Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 28.2), just a small group of the most discreet young warriors were sent out into the

---

<sup>968</sup> See section 2.2 Goddess of the wilderness, animals and hunting and especially 2.3.2 Hunting: preparation for war.

<sup>969</sup> The fact that Xenophon as well as Plutarch mentions this part of the training must mean that either Plutarch knew about it from Xenophon or that it still was in use.

A similar ritual for women took place at Alea, in honour of Dionysus (Pausanias 8.23.1).

See Crowther and Frass 1998 for flogging as a punishment in the context of the gymnasium, training of athletes and military service.

<sup>970</sup> This serves as an explanation for the legends about werewolves.

country. Armed with a dagger, the few of them constituted an elite commando force that terrorised the *Helots*. The *krypteia* may have been the culminating phase of the Spartan educational and training system, the *agoge* and a connection with the rite of passage seems appropriate. Catching and killing the *Helots* was a good training for the young warriors for their future tasks in the military force, as were the need to work for food and the endurances of pain.

### **Dance in the context of military training**

*Mousikē* (including music, singing, dance and poetry) was the basis of education in ancient Greece.<sup>971</sup> The Spartans of all the Greeks are those who have best guarded the art of music, because they have practiced it a great deal, and because they have had many composers (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 14.632). The discipline of dance was an integral part of an intensive social education, the *agoge*. According to Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* (629a-631f) it played a significant part in the rites of passage from childhood to adolescence. Additionally, Spartan men also danced during the festival of the *Gymnopaïdai*.<sup>972</sup> During the festival there were 'unarmed dances' (γυμνός παιζειν) and the men were divided in three groups, one of boys, one of men and one of old men. The *Gymnopaïdai* lasted for some days during midsummer and it was competitive (Herodotus, 6.67.3; Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 29.3). The heat of the open sun was seen as appropriate training for the war-like endurance the boys would meet in times of war.

Dance was an effective instrument in transitions and transformations and commonplace in cult practice. Several kinds of terracotta masks, for example the ones with grotesque

---

<sup>971</sup> Ducat 1999: 47.

<sup>972</sup> Wade-Gery 1949: 79, Michell 1952: 186-187.

wrinkles, have been found at the site of Artemis Orthia.<sup>973</sup> The discovery of these masks in the sanctuary presumes a ritual between young males and a masked dancer.<sup>974</sup> Such dances were a regular part of the Dorian and Peloponnesian worship of Artemis, and were probably related to rites of passage. Masks such as the ones found at the Orthia sanctuary were rare in other Greek sanctuaries and are likely to be the result of some set of circumstances peculiar to Sparta.<sup>975</sup>

In the description of Pausanias (3.16.10-11), the rites of Artemis Orthia in Sparta involved a rite of passage ceremony for males. Spartan rites of passage contained races, trials and ritual nudity (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 24.4).<sup>976</sup> The rites for young boys were attested at Sparta from the Classical period onwards, and it has been possible to reconstruct antecedents of this rite in the Archaic sanctuary.<sup>977</sup> Dancing with weapons was required at Sparta of boys from seven years onward as training before engaging in actual military combat (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 16.4). However, there is some discussion about the actual age at which the training began. Athenaeus states in his *Deipnosophistai* (631) that the children were five years old (ἀπό πεντε ἔτων) when they learned the *pyrrhic*. Lonsdale and Weege follow Athenaeus and also mention five years. Plutarch in *Lycurgus* (16.4) stated that the children were seven years old when he ordered them to be taken by the state to be enrolled in companies to share one another's sport and studies. According to Michell however, the *pyrrhic* dance was thought of very highly, so every boy, when he reached the age of fifteen began to learn its complicated steps and figures.<sup>978</sup> It is more likely that the children at

---

<sup>973</sup> For more details see section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Terracotta Masks. See also Dawkins 1929: 163-186.

<sup>974</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 159. For further examination: Jameson 1990: 213-223, Larson 2007: 105. Larson based her assumption on Hesychius' works s.v. *brudaliga* and *brulichistai*.

<sup>975</sup> Carter 1987: 374. Masks like those found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were also found in the Heraion of Samos and in the sanctuary of Hera of Tiryns.

<sup>976</sup> Dance, festivals, exercise and hunt were daily pursuits for Spartan men.

<sup>977</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 169-170.

<sup>978</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 140, Weege 1976: 35, Michell 1964: 186.

the age of five started with their education in dance and that they took part in the *pyrrhic* when they were a little older. The children participated in weapon dance when they fully understood what the purpose of the dance was and had enough training with the use of weapons, so they would not harm themselves or their fellow dancers.

### **Tests of manhood**

According to Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (1438-1468) and Pausanias (3.16.8), the image of Artemis Orthia at Sparta came from Scythia and always requested human sacrifices.<sup>979</sup> The Spartans evaded the necessity of the sacrifice and established the contest of endurance, by which they were able, without loss of life, to sacrifice their blood to the goddess. Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 18) however says that deaths as a result of these contests were not infrequent. That was due to the pertinacity of the competitors. There is obviously social and physical competition here, though the religious purpose was to appease Artemis with human blood. At the point of transition it was natural to placate a potentially hostile divinity. When the group of males set off on a campaign, they tried to kill others (helots) and risked death themselves, as was the case during the hunting expeditions of earlier times. The rites of passage in Sparta, the stage of the young man's life where he lived in the wild like an animal and learned the skills of hunters, was followed by the stage at which he served as a horseman or as hoplite warrior, depending on his status.<sup>980</sup> Sparta was known for breeding and racing horses. Usually cavalry duties were devolved upon those men who were well off and who had a considerable share in the government (Xenophon, *On horsemanship* II).

---

<sup>979</sup> See section 1.2.1 Artemis Orthia, 2.3.2 Hunting: preparation for war and 2.4.2 Bloodthirsty goddess.

<sup>980</sup> More on the training of boys in Sparta can be read in: Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* II, III, IV and Plutarch's *Lycurgus* 28.1-6.

Spartan boys underwent a series of trials designed to toughen them and to produce perfect warriors worthy of inclusion among the ranks of citizens; one of these tests took place at the altar of Artemis Orthia where the boys had to steal cheeses without being caught (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* II and Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 18.1-4). One team attempted to steal the cheeses piled on the altar, while the other wielded whips against them. Pausanias (3.16.10-11) speaks of such a test of endurance in which boys were whipped so that blood fell on the altar, while the priestess of Artemis stood by holding the ancient statue. If the men wielding the whips were too merciful, the statue became heavier in her hands. The boys who withstood the most punishment were called ‘victors at the altar’ (*bomonikai*).<sup>981</sup> What started by stealing cheeses from the altar of Orthia developed towards the Roman period, when young men still had to undergo strenuous flogging (*diamastigosis*) until the altar of Artemis Orthia was smeared with blood (Pausanias, 3.16.9). The story by Pausanias (3.16.9) regarding the discovery of the statue of Orthia suggests this ritual had some roots in the past and was the result of Artemis’ wrath.

### **Marriage and becoming a father**

The primary goal of marriage in Sparta was the reproduction of two strong people (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* I). The children were to share the lineage and power of their parents. It did not matter if the child was the outcome of the marriage of a man and a woman or of extramarital intercourse. The welfare of the Spartan

---

<sup>981</sup> More on the *bomonikai* can be read in section 3.1.4 Spartan Inscriptions, Roman Period: dedications by the winners of the contests for boys.

community was fostered by ‘wife-sharing’ or ‘male-partner duplication’.<sup>982</sup> The Spartans were not at all concerned with the issue of illegitimate birth as the concept did not exist.

Spartan men were obliged to live with their army group until the age of thirty; the women were therefore alone in raising their children and managing the household.<sup>983</sup> In Hesiod’s (*Works and Days* 695), a man ideally got married when he was not far short of thirty years or not much above. If the man already was thirty years old, he would have had more influence in the upbringing of his children, although he would have probably had a very busy life, being a military man with tasks in the daily life of the Spartan constitution.

### 5.1.2 Ephesus

L.R. Farnell described the worship of Artemis at Ephesus as follows<sup>984</sup>:

The worship of Artemis at Ephesus is a conspicuous instance of the fusion of Eastern and Western religious ideas; and of all these hybrid cults this is the most important for the student of Greek religion, since, according to Pausanias, it was known in every Greek city, and spread to the western-most parts of the Mediterranean.

In opposition to the amount of archaeological and literary evidence for the existence of the cult of Artemis in Ephesus, there is no archaeological, literary or epigraphical evidence for celebrations of mysteries for Artemis before the fourth century BCE.<sup>985</sup>

Based on the evidence however, it has been possible to make some suggestions about the

---

<sup>982</sup> Pomeroy 2002: 39-40.

<sup>983</sup> Pomeroy 2002: 44, 52.

<sup>984</sup> Farnell 1896: 480.

<sup>985</sup> See section 3.2.6 The Cult of Artemis Ephesia, The establishment of the Ephesian Mysteries. See also Rogers 2012: 33.

celebrations of mysteries taking place at Ephesus before, probably even going back as far as the eleventh century BCE.

### **Education for boys: civic identity and ritual performance**

The demos of Ephesus was essentially a sacred community in which individuals were bound together and defined in relation to the institutional roles they re-enacted in the drama of the sacred past of Ephesus, each year performed during the nativity celebrations of the mysteries (appendix 25).<sup>986</sup> As Strabo (14.1.20) mentions: ‘on top of Mount Solmissos the Kouretes frightened Hera by clashing their spears against their shields, because she tried to spy upon Leto giving birth to Artemis and Apollo’. Ephesus and especially the grove Ortygia (named after the nurse who helped Leto delivering her children) is alternatively named as the birthplace of Artemis and Apollo. After the re-enactment, wealthy youths of Ephesus provided banquets and members of the Gerousia sacrificed to the goddess.<sup>987</sup> By performing the same rites every year and protecting the goddess, she in return was expected to reward her Kouretes and to protect Ephesus.<sup>988</sup>

The Ephesians acted out this ritual every year in the grove of Ortygia from at least the time of Lysimachos until the reign of Commodus, at the mysteries of Artemis.<sup>989</sup>

Lysimachos Muncicius was the fourth member of his family to guide the white-robed initiates through their initiations and revealed the secret of Artemis’ mysteries to them.<sup>990</sup>

The ‘Kouretes’ held drinking parties and performed their secret sacrifices on the

---

<sup>986</sup> See appendix 25 for more information about the how and when of the instalment of the Ephesian mysteries. See also Rogers 1991: 147.

<sup>987</sup> In the Roman period, they made sacrifice to the emperor for the sake of his preservation. See section 3.2.4 Ephesian Inscriptions, Roman period.

<sup>988</sup> By the middle of the third century CE the Ephesians no longer celebrated the birth of Artemis in the grove named after her nurse.

<sup>989</sup> Rogers 1991: 145.

<sup>990</sup> Rogers 2012: 3-4. Lysimachos is not to be confused with the Macedonian ruler.

mountain. It was the vital contribution not only to Artemis' birth, but to the very existence of the Greek city itself. Artemis' birth at Ephesus functioned as a model for civic unity, and conferred power upon the Kouretes.<sup>991</sup> It established the essential sense of civic identity as late as 104 CE.

Of Ephesian youths, the *neoi* (the gymnasiarchs, aged 18-50) appear in epigraphical records, which mention that they had to develop their 'fitness' and 'diligence' mentally as well as physically.<sup>992</sup> The *neoi* were involved in traditional education, also known as *paideia* which existed from the late Hellenistic period onwards, through early Roman Imperial times. There was a gymnasium in Ephesus where free adult male citizens took part in communal activities at least since the third century BCE. According to Rogers, the *neoi* participated in the banqueting feast that could be part of the initiation rites.<sup>993</sup> The banquets were similar to those of the Gerousia, which would be their next stage in life (εὐωχίας; Strabo 14.1.20).<sup>994</sup>

Xenophon of Ephesus' novel *Ephesiaka* (especially 1.1.1-2) illustrates the education for young men. The story is set in the historical past whilst avoiding precise markers, never mentioning actual persons or events and identifying institutions and places only in vague terms.<sup>995</sup> Xenophon of Ephesus wrote the following about the young man Habrocomes:

... παιδείαν τε γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐμελέτα καὶ μουσικὴν ποικίλην ἤσκει, θήρα δὲ αὐτῶ  
καὶ ἵππασία καὶ ὄπλομαχία συνήθη γυμνάσματα.

---

<sup>991</sup> Rogers 1991: 146. See also Jeanmaire 1939: 466. Jeanmaire compared the mysteries with the Spartan *krypteia* and *Gymnopaïdai*.

<sup>992</sup> Rogers 2012: 105 based on *IE* Ia 6.15ff. The *neoi* were distinguished from the *ephebes* in the city by the late second century BCE. The first substantial evidence for their activities comes from Strabo. See below.

<sup>993</sup> Rogers 2012: 106.

<sup>994</sup> See also *IE* Ia 26.16.

<sup>995</sup> Henderson 2009: 203.

... for he pursued every field of study and practiced a variety of arts, and hunting, riding and training with heavy weapons<sup>996</sup> were exercises familiar to him (*Ephesiaka* 1.1.2).

This Habrocomes was the son of one of the most powerful people in the city; therefore it is likely that the educational system was of importance to the aristocracy and not so much to all layers of the community. Later on in the story it is mentioned that ‘Habrocomes went to his accustomed exercises’ (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka* 1.5.1).

### **Dance in the context of education**

Thucydides (*The Peloponnesian War*, 3.104.3) is one of the first literary sources that tells us about contests at the Ephesian festival:

ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἴόνων τε καὶ περικτιῶν νησιωτῶν: ξύν τε γὰρ γυναῖξι καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς, χοροὺς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις.

Once upon a time, indeed, there was a great assemblage of the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders at Delos, who used to come to the festival, as the Ionians now do to that of Ephesus, and athletic and poetical contests took place there, and the cities brought choirs of dancers.<sup>997</sup>

The first extensive description of a procession in Ephesus was written by C. Vibius Salutaris and dates to 104 CE. The sources for this information were fragmentary lines inscribed on grey marble slabs. The text was of a bequest made to the boule and demos

---

<sup>996</sup> The art of war is here to be interpreted as a form of athletic exercise.

<sup>997</sup> Every four years.

of Ephesus, by the wealthy Roman equestrian Salutaris. It was suggested by Hueber that there was a procession taking place in Ephesus before the one described by Salutaris (on which Rogers' account is based).<sup>998</sup> According to Rogers, initiation rituals in the late first century CE included sacrifices, the burning of incense, music and libations.<sup>999</sup> Young men carried statues of gold and silver through the streets of Ephesus in a long procession.<sup>1000</sup> Amongst the statues are Artemis, Lysimachos and Androkles. They go all the way into the Greek Theatre, along a circular route from and to the sanctuary of Artemis: the procession started at the Artemision going south through the pass which would later be the city's hills, the place where the Magnesian Gate would be built.<sup>1001</sup> From that point onwards it went west before an ancient settlement all the way to the sacred grove called Ortygia. After passing the grove the procession would turn north towards the city on the acropolis hill and then on to the mouth of the rivers Selinus and Marnas. Further onwards they would reach the old road leading back to the Artemision and they would return there. In accordance we can assume that there was a procession for many centuries before Salutaris' inscription was set up.

According to Rogers, there appear to be some similarities between the initiation rituals of Ephesus and of Eleusis, at least during the reign of Tiberius (14-37 CE).<sup>1002</sup> Dancing was a central component in these mystery cults. The rituals were probably similar due to the post of the sacred herald, mentioned in the early lists of Kouretes. These lists are the

---

<sup>998</sup> Hueber 1997: 31.

<sup>999</sup> Rogers 1999: 247.

<sup>1000</sup> Rogers 1991: 1.

Rogers 140: believes that the remaking of the past in 104 CE was part of a long, drawn-out social process, during which the city as a whole gradually asserted a particular civic identity in the face of what had once been primarily a military and political treat (the Romans).

<sup>1001</sup> Pausanias 7.2.9 tells us that when Androkles, the founder of the Ionian settlement was killed in battle, the Ephesians carried his body to their city, where a tomb was built on the road leading from the sanctuary to the Magnesian Gate.

<sup>1002</sup> Brelich 1969: 458, Rogers 2012: 131-148.

primary source for the celebration of mysteries for Artemis, between 37 CE and 98 CE, and they are more useful than the ones before. Rogers thinks that due to the competitive conformity with organisations such as Eleusis, there was a reorganisation of celebration of the rites in Ephesus. The most important titles for cult attendants and the rituals taking place are known from these sources: sacrificial victims (*hieroskopos*), sacred herald (*hierokeryx*), performing dance whilst incense was burned (*epi thumiatrou*), playing the double pipe while libations were poured (*spondaules*) and initiating people into mysteries (*hierophantes*). If these are parallels with Eleusis are correct, the hierophant would probably have been elected priest for life. He had a large speaking role during the secret ceremonies, pronouncing the secrets to the initiates and showing them the sacred objects. These rites probably existed since the fourth century BCE, but are much better attested since 29 BCE.<sup>1003</sup> It is possible to reconstruct parts of the rites, but we can never be certain since more detailed evidence is lacking.

### **Tests of manhood**

According to Strabo (14.1.20): ‘a general festival is held there [Ephesus] annually; and by a certain custom the youths vie for honour, particularly in the splendour of their banquets there. At that time, a special college of the Kouretes also holds symposiums and performs certain mystic [μυστικῶς: secret] sacrifices.’ Potentially, these sacrifices were part of the tests and part of the ritual the young men had to partake in before they became full citizens of Ephesus.

Another test, similar to the ones at Sparta is described by Achilles Tatius (*Leukippe and Kleitophon* 8.3):

---

<sup>1003</sup> Rogers 2012: 261.

As a suppliant of Artemis, Ephesian citizens were beaten by her very altar, under the gaze of the goddess! Those blows were directed against Artemis! [...] The ground has been desecrated by human blood! What man pours libations of this kind to the goddess? Is this not what goes on among barbarians? Among the Taurians, in the case of the Scythians' Artemis? No temple other than theirs is bloodied in this fashion. You have turned Ionia into Scythia! The blood that flows in Tauris flows in Ephesus as well!

In addition, the Artemisia, an annual celebration held in the month of Artemision (March-April) included athletic competitions such as boxing (ἀνδρῶν πυγμῆ).<sup>1004</sup> Assuming that these competitions were not open to girls, they could be interpreted as tests of manhood. Besides the athletic competitions, there were theatrical competitions such as comedy (as indicated by the term: παῖς κωμῳδός).<sup>1005</sup> A good example of a boy comedian can be found in an inscription in Wood's narrative.<sup>1006</sup> The boy is rewarded with a statue and there was an inscription found on the pedestal<sup>1007</sup>:

... for his excellence and studious training, and his care bestowed on his acting, after his victory in the contest at the great festival of the Artemisia.

The boys were tested on different important aspects of civic life, which they were expected to take part in once they became citizens. Another example of an inscription that was found at the temple site of Artemis Ephesia that mentions the competitions taking place at the Artemisia festival<sup>1008</sup>:

---

<sup>1004</sup> Oster 1990: 1708. Oster based this statement on inscriptions in Newton and Hicks (eds.) 1890: no. 605.15.

<sup>1005</sup> Newton and Hicks 1890: no. 606.8-12.

<sup>1006</sup> Wood 1877.

<sup>1007</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 3 number 15.

<sup>1008</sup> Wood 1877: Appendix 3 number 18.

... and given the prizes to the musicians and to the athletes at his own expense, and presided at the great festival of the Artemisia

An Ephesian festival was in detail described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* 4.25):

Ἴωνες μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, [...]: ἔνθα συνιόντες γυναῖξιν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις κατὰ τοὺς ἀποδειχθέντας χρόνους συνέθρονον τε καὶ συνεπανηγύριζον καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπετέλουν ἵππικοὺς καὶ γυμνικοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ μουσικῆν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθήμασι κοινοῖς ἐδωροῦντο.

the Ionians building the temple of Artemis at Ephesus [...] where they assembled with their wives and children at the appointed times, joined together in sacrificing and celebrating the festival, engaged in various contests, equestrian, gymnastic and musical, and made joint offerings to the gods.

The procession described by Salutaris was taking place in Ephesus quite regularly. For example during the first new moon sacrifice of the archieratic year, on the occasions of the twelve sacred gatherings and the regular assemblies every month, during the Sebasteia (for the Sebaste tribe), the Soteria and the penteteric festivals.<sup>1009</sup> During these processions the people left the city through the space most associated with the Ionian foundation legend of the city, the Koressian Gate.<sup>1010</sup> Here the *ephebes* stopped. They remained there and did not accompany the statues back to the temple of Artemis. The *ephebes* thus stopped on the very spot where Androkles, according to one founding

---

<sup>1009</sup> There were probably more festivals mentioned, but there are five lines (56-61) missing from the inscription. See Wankel 1979: 166-222.

<sup>1010</sup> Rogers 1991: 114.

myth<sup>1011</sup>, slew the boar, fulfilled the oracle and established the city.<sup>1012</sup> The *ephebes*' role, repeated so many times over the course of a year during gymnastic and athletic competitions implies that the spectacle was intended to help draw them into the historic foundations they so frequently walked and to make them part of the history of their city and bring them into contact with the monuments attesting to that history. The historical identity of the city had started with Androkles in the eleventh century BCE and was still being valued and honoured by the time Salutaris was in the city.

### **Marriage and becoming a father**

The festival of Artemis at Ephesus was the occasion for the young men to find their marriage-partners (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka* 1.2). The local boys entering military training were required to take part in the ritual as was every young girl:

Ἦγετο δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπιχώριος ἑορτὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν: στάδιοι δέ εἰσιν ἑπτὰ: ἔδει δὲ πομπεύειν πάσας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους παρθένους κεκοσμημένας πολυτελῶς καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους

A local festival for Artemis was underway, and from the city to her shrine, a distance of seven stades, all the local girls had to march sumptuously adorned, as did all the *ephebes*

---

<sup>1011</sup> See section 1.2.2 Artemis Ephesia and 3.2.6 The Cult of Artemis Ephesia, The establishment of the Ephesian Mysteries.

<sup>1012</sup> With the geological analysis of the ancient landscapes and harbours of Ephesus by Kraft, Kayan, Bruckner and Rapp (Jr.) 2000: 182, a new dimension was added to the story of Androkles. The founding myth is not only told by the literary sources, the landscape appeared a very useful source as well. Traditionally, the site of Androkles' settlement was placed north/north-west of Mount Pion. However, pottery sherds only date to the eighth century BCE on that site. The north-east corner of Mount Pion and the west-end of Ayasoluk on the other hand, was a defensible position, associated with the floodplain for agricultural use. It was the location of the later Sacred Harbour of the Artemision. Epigraphical and archaeological material from this area show a 'Meter sanctuary' (See Engelmann and Büyükkolancı 1998: 73-74). This area lies seven stades from the Artemision, the criterion used by Herodotus (1.26.2) in determining the location of the settlement of Androkles.

In Xenophon's story, the youths were led by Habrocomes from the city towards the temple of Artemis. For the spectacle a large crowd gathered (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka* 1.2.3) consisting of both local people and people visiting. The procession described by Xenophon is different from the one described in Salutaris' inscription. The emphasis lies on the finding of partners by the young adults and on the sacred objects that were used to get the favour of the goddess, 'torches, baskets, and incense, followed by horses, dogs, and hunting equipment, some of it martial, most of it peaceful' (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka* 1.2.4). Both processions ended with the crowd going back to the shrine where the people gathered to watch the sacrificial ritual. That is not surprising, as festivals in honour of the gods usually ended in their sanctuary to perform a sacrifice.

### 5.1.3 Brauron

The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, unlike the sanctuaries at Sparta and Ephesus did not feature any rites of passage for boys. However, extensive use of the sanctuary on a private level is illustrated by the fact that the majority of the statues that were found in the sanctuary represented little boys.<sup>1013</sup> Additionally, the nearby sanctuary of Halai Araphenides has been thought to host the male counterpart of the initiation rites for girls that took place at Brauron (appendix 1). At Halai a strange rite of bloodletting took place: a sword is held to a man's throat in order to draw a small amount of blood, 'so that the goddess may have her proper honours' (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1446-1461). This practice could be interpreted as either an offering to appease the goddess or as a test of manhood, for the initiands.<sup>1014</sup>

---

<sup>1013</sup> Léger 2011: 20-21.

<sup>1014</sup> Léger 2011: 29-30.

## 5.2 Girls' transitions in Artemis cults

Rites of passage for girls had a completely different meaning than rites of passage for boys. Transition rites for girls desired transformation that resulted in the girls' readiness to assume the social roles of wife and mother.<sup>1015</sup> The transition for girls began with the separation of the initiate from her mother which symbolised the break with childhood and the world that was regarded as maternal and asexual. The transition required the girls to participate in rites held at sacred places, isolated from the community. The girls were placed under the care of a guardian (*paidonomos*), whose task it was to take care for the physical needs of the initiate and to instruct her in the secrets of fertility and sexuality and teach her the accepted responsibilities of a woman.

Vernant suggests virgins attaining the state of matrimony had to die for Artemis first; the girls had to discard their status of *parthenos* for Artemis.<sup>1016</sup> However, the physical status and the social status of a woman did not always coincide. As Cole mentioned, a girl could be a *parthenos* until her marriage, even if she had already borne a child. Alternatively, the status of bride, *nymphé*, could last until after the wedding, until the birth of the first child.<sup>1017</sup> For a female to gain full adult status, *gyne*, she was required to have been through childbirth and have a living infant. As girls became adults they left Artemis, whose protection went only as far as childhood and then resumed when the women were to become mothers in her character as Eileithyia (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 742-745).<sup>1018</sup> The rites of young women marked important transitions in the female life-cycle, but

---

<sup>1015</sup> Brelich 1969: 198, Serwint 1993:420.

<sup>1016</sup> Vernant 1991: 215.

<sup>1017</sup> Cole 1998: 33. See further Sissa 1990: 342-343 on the *parthenos* status and Chantraine 1946-47: 228-231 on the *nymphé* status.

<sup>1018</sup> In some cases Artemis protects adults as well, for example during childbirth. Or, in a complete different way; the mythical Greek Prokris, who was as a young girl a hunting companion of Artemis, was abandoned by her husband for the love of the goddess Eos. Prokris returned to Artemis who helped her win back her husbands' love.

signified more than the individual safe passage across a personal biological boundary.<sup>1019</sup>

In Sparta, as in other Greek *poleis*, marriage marked the real entry into society for girls.

The rite of passage marked the transition into their new adult status.

The rites that girls underwent during puberty characteristically involved foot-races, processions to altars and other sacred objects, the sacrifice of an animal as a substitute for the human sacrifice demanded by Artemis in a local myth, and especially the formation of dancing groups.<sup>1020</sup> In many parts of Greece, girls of marriageable age came together to dance in choruses (for example: Alkman's *Partheneion*;<sup>1021</sup> Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1139-1151). Those choruses were the line of communication between deities and their followers.<sup>1022</sup> The status of the chorus members in most cases corresponded to the sphere of influence of the divinity and therefore to the characteristics of the divinity itself. Artemis, as the deity in charge of choral dancing, led the girls in their choral dances that were preludes to marriage and childbearing which as a whole is quite contradictory with Artemis being the virgin goddess as well.<sup>1023</sup> The display of female solidarity through dance and other collective actions occurred at festivals in honour of Artemis and the dancing most of the time took place at night (Alkman, *fragment* 5). Menander (*Epitrepontes* 451-454) explains the Tauropolia, an all-night festival in honour of Artemis. On the *krateriskoi* found in Brauron the girls were displayed bearing torches, a sign that the ritual took place at night and in Mounichia the sacred *amphiphontes* was used in sacrifice, which appeared to have been cakes stamped with torches as well.

<sup>1019</sup> Cole 1998: 27.

<sup>1020</sup> For example Suidas s.v. *Embaros eimi* for the myth about Mounichia in Attica. The myths at Brauron and Ephesus played a similar role: one of the animals of the goddess was killed and to appease here, sacrifices were made on a regular basis.

<sup>1021</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 170, Calame 1997. More on the chorus of Alkman's *Partheneion* can be found in section 1.2.1 Artemis Orthia, Evidence and 2.4.1 Festivals and dance in Artemis cults.

<sup>1022</sup> Calame 1997: 207.

<sup>1023</sup> Lonsdale 1993: 170.

Herodotus (3.48) suggested a night-time festival was celebrated in the sanctuary of Artemis on Samos as well. The rites were phases in which females progressed from girls to being women. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* the goddess Aphrodite disguised herself as a maiden and was abducted by Hermes whilst taking part in a festival of song and dance in honour of Artemis (117-125). Another reference to a maiden chorus is made by Persephone (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 416-424) describing her abduction by Hades when she was 'going along a lovely meadow in the company of the Oceanides and the goddesses Athena and Artemis.' In Homer's works there is notice of girls' choruses when Polymele, the daughter of Phylas, danced and sang amid other girls (*Iliad* 16.179-192), when 'young maidens of the price of many cattle' danced on a dancing-floor like the one Daedalus fashioned for Ariadne (*Iliad* 18.590-606) and when Odysseus met Nausicaa, who was the leader in the song (*Odyssey* 6.99-109). Besides the girls' choruses, female choruses of different age-groups, at different stages, existed as well.<sup>1024</sup>

In opposition to boys, girls were protected by Artemis at several stages in life. Each time the girls transited from one stage towards another, Artemis was present. First there was the education for girls that led them to become adults, then when the girls got married and abandoned the virgin goddess and lastly in childbirth, when the protection of Artemis was needed for both mother and child. The following are case studies of rites of passage in Artemis cults at Sparta, Ephesus and Brauron which concerned the becoming of age for girls. To mirror the previous section, the process of becoming of age is described in four stages: education, dance, marriage, and becoming a mother.

---

<sup>1024</sup> For example in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, *Andromache* and *Medea*: these are choruses from tragedies, which served a different purpose.

### 5.2.1 Sparta

#### **Education for girls: the counterpart of military training**

Sparta kept an exceptional position in the educational programmes existing in the Greek world; only at Sparta did the state prescribe an educational programme for both boys and girls beginning in childhood. In Greek history the Athenian state, Sparta's big opponent, was only concerned with education for men, starting as early as childhood (Plato, *Laws* 653a-654e). As Plato mentions, the Athenian women would not become citizens and therefore young girls were not put through the stages of a rite of passage relating to education. The Athenian polis was founded upon the exclusion of women, just as it was founded upon the exclusion of foreigners and slaves. The sole civic function of women in Athens was to give birth to citizens. The conditions to be the daughter of a citizen and for the next generation of a citizen's daughter were imposed upon the Athenians by Perikles' law of 451 BCE.

Pomeroy states that in Archaic and Classical Sparta, girls were raised to become the sort of mothers a military community like Sparta needed, as were the boys who were trained to become the kind of soldiers the state required.<sup>1025</sup> This can be illustrated by the statement of Xenophon (*Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* I), that the highest function of a free woman was bearing children. Because of this function, the lawgiver Lycurgus insisted on the training of the body no less on the Spartan female than the Spartan male. Lycurgus also instituted rival contests in running and feats of strength for both men and women. Both were parents of the future child, and if both parents were strong, their children would be found to be more vigorous. Euripides (*Andromache* 595-602) also

---

<sup>1025</sup> Pomeroy 2002: 4.

mentions the strength of the Spartan women. They leave their houses in the company of young men and they share the running-tracks and wrestling-places. Additionally, Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 14.1-14.2) gives an account of the education that Lycurgus valued the most. As a lawgiver, he began regulating activities such as marriage and the birth of the Spartans from a very early age. Lycurgus made the maidens exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, casting the discus and hurling the javelin in order to create a vigorous root for the fruit of their wombs which might come to better maturity. The women themselves came with vigour to the fullness of their times and could more easily and successfully struggle with the pains of childbirth.

Sparta held an exceptional position in the virtues of the education of both men and women. According to Aristotle (*Politics* 1337b23-27), the customary subjects of education were reading and writing, gymnastics, music and possibly painting. Horseback riding and chariot racing were no tasks for women.<sup>1026</sup> Pomeroy assumes that Sparta's excellence in equestrian affairs must have had repercussions for their women.<sup>1027</sup> She suggests that women as well as men were actively involved with horses: horse-riding, driving horse-drawn vehicles and engaging in competitions. In addition to that thought, there were terracotta figurines found of a woman riding a horse from 700 BCE onwards.<sup>1028</sup> The bronze and clay riders found at several sites in the Peloponnese are said to have been dedicated to Artemis, Hera, Alea Athena, Demeter and Helen.<sup>1029</sup> But in fact, whether the woman was a mortal or a goddess is still unclear.

---

<sup>1026</sup> For the cavalry duties see Boys' transitions in Artemis cults, 5.1.1 Sparta, Tests of manhood.

<sup>1027</sup> Pomeroy 2002: 19.

<sup>1028</sup> See section 4.3.2 Human Figures, Female Figures. See also Dawkins 1929: 146, 150. The great majority of the figures are draped females and Dawkins presumes that there is no reason to suppose that the practice of dedicating to the goddess was more common amongst women than men. Therefore he believes that all the figures are Orthia herself.

<sup>1029</sup> Voyatzis 1992: 274.

In Alkman's *Partheneion* (1.45-50), written for choirs of young Spartan girls, the girls compare themselves to horses: 'for she herself is conspicuous, as if one set among the herds a strong horse with thundering hooves, a champion from dreams in caves'. Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 1305-1311) compares the Spartan maidens dancing by the Eurotas River to young foals, tossing their manes. Presuming that poetry held some sort of truth and had an educational function, it suggests that the girls were no strangers in being involved with horses. Besides the riding of horses, females participated in running races and other athletic contest alongside men as well (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* I; Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 14-15; Euripides, *Andromache* 597-600; *Bacchae* 864-876). Since girls were no strangers to competitive racing and trials of strength that were part of the educational system of Lycurgus, they might have taken part in horsemanship too (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* I).

### **Dance in the context of education for girls**

The singing and dancing performance of the girls in Alkman's *Partheneion* could fit in Van Gennep's three stages of rites and serve as a rite of reincorporation. The females had completed their rites of separation by training with a group of girls who were of the same age and the transition took place in the location on the boundary of the polis.<sup>1030</sup> The maidens returned to the community in their new status as women eligible for marriage, which was the first important step in their adult life. According to Ingalls it becomes clear by reading Alkmans' *Partheneion* that the girls, during their transition, were introduced to female sexuality and male violence.<sup>1031</sup> The running races are likely to have had a ritual significance as did the choral dancing in which the Spartan maidens participated. Dancing

---

<sup>1030</sup> The normal site of Artemis' worship. See the introduction to chapter 2 Artemis and section 4.1 Architecture and location.

<sup>1031</sup> Ingalls 2000: 11.

and running were methods to present the girls that were ready for marriage to the young suitors and perhaps even more to the goddess. They tried to win Artemis' favour for the sake of fertility. Girls escaped the state-controlled educational system as soon as they were to be married. They kept practicing though: Lysistrata in the eponymous play by Aristophanes (78-85) is impressed by the shape of her friend Lampito from Sparta; her body looks so fit and strong. Lampito shares the secret of looking so good, which turns out to be exercises and work-outs.

## **Marriage**

The primary goal of marriage in Sparta was the reproduction of two strong people (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* I). The children were to share the lineage and power of their parents. As mentioned above, the Spartan child was the product of the Spartan community trying to keep their welfare at the highest possible level.

Girls participated (nude) in processions and competitions in view of the young men, who were looking for a partner (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 15.1-7). In the *Life of Theseus* (31.1-3) Plutarch informs us about the abduction of Helen by a fifty-year-old Theseus.<sup>1032</sup> How and for what reasons he accompanied her is told in several stories. Plutarch's version goes that Theseus went to Sparta in company of Peirithoos and seized the girl, Helen, as she was dancing in the temple of Artemis Orthia. Afterwards they fled away with her. Theseus and Peirithoos could easily get away with it, since they were not followed after they passed Tegea. Casting lots, it was clear Theseus would get Helen as his wife, but until she was ready for marriage, he placed her in complete secrecy and under the supervision

---

<sup>1032</sup> Van Gennep 1960: 123-124. In Van Gennep's tripartite rite of passage, the abduction ritual would belong to the first phase, which is the phase of rites of separation. The abduction would have been followed by marriage, which counted as a rite of passage expressing the change of status of the initiate from *parthenos* to *gyne*. The last phase, the rites of incorporation was represented by the individual girl passing into another social group.

of his mother. Other examples of myths of abduction/attempts to rape are: Pleiades and Orion (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 619-620), Polymele (Homer, *Iliad* 16.179-186) and Kallisto (Hesiod, *Poetica Astronomica* fragment 3; Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.1; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.8.2).

In Sparta, the young woman carried off, was put in the hands of a woman called *nymphetria*, who shaved the girl's head to the scalp, and decked her out in the dress and shoes of a man (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 15.3-5).<sup>1033</sup> In shaving the head of the young bride, everything that could be still considered masculine, martial and wild in her femininity was destroyed in her new matrimonial state.<sup>1034</sup> In addition, Cartledge suggests the haircut during the wedding night was a transformation from the status of a *parthenos* or *kore* to that of woman and *gyne*.<sup>1035</sup> This was in itself a rite of passage, complete with disguise and inversion of sexual status. After the change into men's clothes, the girl was laid down alone on a mattress in the dark. The young boy, having become a man when he left the *krypteia*, dined with his age group and afterwards visited the girls' residence. He was only allowed to spend a short time with her, departing discreetly to sleep as he usually did. He continued to visit his bride in secret thereafter, embarrassed and fearful in case someone noticed him. This was an exercise in self-control and moderation as well as a check to see if the partners were physically fertile. The marriage stayed secret until the girl became pregnant. This meant the girl was not allowed to leave the house, otherwise people would

---

<sup>1033</sup> Unlike the girl, the boy kept his hair long as a sign of his full virility. In the hoplite formation, this same virility preserved the memory and, as it were, the trace of 'fury' that in heroic time had to inhabit the soul of the young warrior in order for him to bring terror into the enemy camp.

<sup>1034</sup> Cartledge 1981: 101. The woman, if we believe Cartledge, was not permitted to wear her hair long again. According to him this was only directly attested in the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians*. None of the other sources mention this habit. Therefore it seems unlikely this was the case.

<sup>1035</sup> Cartledge 1981: 101.

have noticed her shaved head or her wearing a veil, another sign of marriage. On entering into the marriage the girl became a woman.

Pomeroy does not believe all these customs Plutarch mentioned existed simultaneously.<sup>1036</sup> According to her, women regularly spent much time in the outdoors, so it could not have gone unnoticed that the bride's hair was cut off. Xenophon does not mention these customs either, which might be a sign that these were not part of the reforms made by Lycurgus, but that these were later creations. Besides, if the girl did not want to be captured, she would have put up a fight. Therefore Pomeroy thinks the abduction of the bride must have been the ritual enactment of a prearranged betrothal.<sup>1037</sup> The shaving of the girls head and the dressing up as a man might be part of a rite of passage into the next phase of her life. Young girls wore their hair long and uncovered, married women wore their hair short and covered by a veil; marriage could not be kept secret as soon as the woman shaved her hair off. A nice example of a married woman is portrayed at the rim of the Vix crater, probably made in Sparta circa 530 BCE.<sup>1038</sup> The rim of the crater shows a mature woman with her head and shoulders covered by a mantle. Pomeroy's idea that the girl was transformed into a youth looking like the boys in the *agoge* sounds most logical.<sup>1039</sup> The change in the girls' looks symbolised her inclusion in the citizen's body.

---

<sup>1036</sup> Pomeroy 2002: 42.

<sup>1037</sup> Pomeroy 2002: 42 and Evans-Grubbs 1989: 62-63.

<sup>1038</sup> Pomeroy 2002: 43. If this crater was really Spartan however, is not certain.

<sup>1039</sup> For more information about the *agoge* see section 5.1.1 Sparta, Education for boys: military training and skills.

## Becoming a mother

Artemis was worshipped throughout Greece as a divinity that brought fertility to human beings and animals.<sup>1040</sup> Besides that, she protected mothers and their children (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 36.61) and had power over birth. Artemis raised children and she directed them. Artemis set the children on a straight path through the cycles of life, presiding over various rites of passage towards puberty and adulthood. In Sparta the sanctuary of Orthia was situated on the banks of the Eurotas, which was near the playground and exercise ground of the children. Here she received dedications of nude terracotta female figurines.<sup>1041</sup> Her cult had close ties to the worship of the fertility and birth-goddess Eileithyia.<sup>1042</sup> Pausanias (3.14.6, 3.17.1) says that the Sanctuary of Eileithyia was ‘not far’ from that of Orthia. The sanctuary may even have been within the sanctuary since Eileithyia's name is inscribed on a bronze votive die and on roof-tiles found inside Orthia's sanctuary.<sup>1043</sup>

Women needed support of the goddess Artemis in bearing their children. The only task a Spartan woman was charged with was to ‘marry a good man, and bear good children’ (Plutarch, *Moralia* III). Spartan women believed to be the best mothers a child could wish for. An example is Gorgo, who said to a woman from Attica: ‘because we are the only women that are mothers of men’, when she was asked ‘why is it that you Spartan women are the only women that rule over your men?’ (Plutarch, *Sayings of Spartan Women*). A mother had to be healthy, properly educated and well versed in Spartan values (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 14.2). The wife-to-be had to be grown up for four years and had to be taken as

---

<sup>1040</sup> See section 2.3 Goddess of birth, infants, children (and young animals). See also Brelich 1969: 137.

<sup>1041</sup> See section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefacts, Terracotta figurines and Carter 1987: 379-380.

<sup>1042</sup> See section 2.3.1 Eileithyia/Kourotrophe.

<sup>1043</sup> Dawkins 1929: 51

a bride in the fifth. On the other hand she had still to be a maiden, so that she could be taught in careful ways. The women played an important role in the Spartan community and held an exceptional position in comparison to other Greek cities such as Athens. Athenian wives were only distinguished as ‘mothers of legitimate children and faithful housekeepers’ (Demosthenes, *Against Neaera* 122).

Women needed to train their body no less than the men, and there were contests in running and feats of strength as well. When Lycurgus instituted his constitution, he believed that if both parents were strong, their progeny would be found to be more vigorous (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* I). Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 17.5) states that women, who take physical training while they are pregnant, bear children who are perhaps slender (ἰσχυρὰ), but well-shaped and fine. This intensive training of both sexes is unparalleled in the rest of the Greek world (Plato, *Laws* 653a-654e). The women, mothers, older sisters and nurses were the biggest influence in the creation of the new Spartan citizens and more importantly, its hoplite warriors (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 16.1-3).<sup>1044</sup>

## 5.2.2 Ephesus

### Education for girls

The procession described by Salutaris as compulsory for both ephebes and young women, had as its purpose the enabling of girls and boys to find their marital partners.<sup>1045</sup> In Xenophon of Ephesus’ description (*Ephesiaka*) the young girl Anthia is dressed as a huntress. Knibbe and Langmann suggest her garment was some sort of uniform.<sup>1046</sup> It

---

<sup>1044</sup> See section 5.1.1 Sparta, Marriage and becoming a father.

<sup>1045</sup> See section 5.1.2 Ephesus, Marriage and becoming a father.

<sup>1046</sup> Knibbe and Langmann 1993: 30.

consisted of a short purple *chiton* and she was carrying a 'nebris' (bow and arrow) and dogs walked beside her.<sup>1047</sup> Since Xenophon of Ephesus wrote as late as the second century CE it could either be a reference to Artemis in her character as the goddess of hunt or it could be an indication of the education girls received. Just like in Sparta the girls as well as the boys participated in contests. Therefore, Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka* can be interpreted in a similar way; the education for girls was closely linked to that of the boys.

Two centuries earlier, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities*, 4.25.4-5; first century BCE), had already described the festivals and contests taking place at Ephesus: 'engaged in various contests, equestrian, gymnastic and musical, and made joint offerings to the gods.' Xenophon of Ephesus (*Ephesiaka* 1.5.1) mentioned that Anthia 'went as usual to serve the cult of the goddess'. This privilege was reserved for aristocratic children and more specifically for girls. It was of great importance that the girls were and stayed virgins for as long as they were cult servants to the goddess. According to Strabo (14.1.23) the priests [at Ephesus] were eunuchs and were called Megabyzoi.<sup>1048</sup> It was their practice to go to various places to find persons worthy of this office, as the practice was held in high honour. They were obliged to appoint virgins as their colleagues in priesthood. In the Imperial period the religious centre was attested in epigraphical texts.<sup>1049</sup> The priestess

---

<sup>1047</sup> Dogs are associated with barbaric-animal wildness known in orgiastic cults, especially Dionysus' cult.

<sup>1048</sup> As early as the mid-fourth century BCE, the *megabyzoi* were no longer eunuchs. It became merely a name for successive generations of officials. This assumption is based on an inscription from Priene (334-333 BCE) which reads: '[Megabyzos,] son of Megabyzos, temple warden of the Artemis in Ephesos'. Cited in Thomas 1995: 92 and note 27.

Smith 1996: 331. Xenophon in his *Anabasis* (5.3.4-8) is amongst the first to mention the Megabyzos, the 'neokoros of Artemis'. Plautus (*Bacchides* II.307-308) mentions Megalobyzus, the father of Theotimus, who was a priest of Artemis at Ephesus. The fact that the priest was a eunuch is based on Pseudo-Heraclitus (*Epistle* 9), where the Ephesians are berated for castrating the Megabyzos, because a real man could not be the priest of their virgin goddess and Strabo (14.1.23). However, the absence of any epigraphical support makes it unlikely that there was a class of priests called 'Megabyzos' by the Ephesians. This is further confirmed by the *Essenes* and other temple officials that are mentioned in the inscriptions.

<sup>1049</sup> Wankel (*et al.*) (eds.) 1979-1984: 987, 988, 989, 3059.

of Artemis is honoured for her conduct during her short period of office; ‘she performed the sacrifices and mysteries in a dignified way’ and she was thanked for ‘having renewed all the mysteries of the goddess and instituted them in the traditional manner’.<sup>1050</sup>

Artemis Ephesia, a city goddess, was under Roman rule translated into a general protectress and nurturer.<sup>1051</sup> Looking at examples of statues of the seventh and sixth century BCE it is doubtful that it took until the Roman period to make her this general protectress and nurturer. However much these elements were already part of the Ephesian understanding of the goddess, they became more generalised and universalised under Roman rule. Therefore it had probably more to do with the Roman idea of the gods and their ‘generalisation’ of the different characters than with the traditional Ephesian worship. The Roman rulers tried to dominate and incorporate the religion of the areas they ruled.<sup>1052</sup>

### **Dance in the context of education for girls**

According to Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis* 238-248) the Amazons set an image beneath an oak tree in Ephesus. Hippo, their queen, led the rites that were part of the worship of the goddess. The Amazons danced a war-dance around the image of the goddess. At first they danced in armour with shields and again in a circle around a chorus. The mythical story about the Amazons establishing the cult of Artemis in Ephesus holds some parts of the truth as to which elements played a role in the worship of the goddess.<sup>1053</sup> It is likely that dances were performed regularly within the sanctuary of Artemis. Especially when

---

<sup>1050</sup> Graf 2003a: 247.

<sup>1051</sup> Sokolowski 1965: 405.

<sup>1052</sup> For examples see section 3.2.4 Ephesian Inscriptions, Roman period.

<sup>1053</sup> See section 3.2.6 The Cult of Artemis Ephesia, The establishment of the Ephesian Mysteries.

looked at other sanctuaries, for example Brauron and Sparta, where dances in honour of the goddess were part of the rituals and of the worship of Artemis.<sup>1054</sup>

According to Nilsson, the priestesses of Artemis performed dances.<sup>1055</sup> He based his assumption on Aelians' *De Natura Animalium* (second to third century CE; 12.9) who in his turn based his statement on Autokrates' *Tympanistai*:

Αὐτοκράτης ἐν Τυμπανισταῖς

οἷα παίζουσιν φίλαι  
παρθένοι Λυδῶν κόραι  
κοῦφα πηδῶσαι κόμαν,  
κάνακρούουσαι χεροῖν,  
Ἐφεσίαν παρ' Ἄρτεμιν  
καλλίσταν, καὶ τοῖν ἰσχύοιν  
τὸ μὲν κάτω τὸ δ' αὔ  
εἰς ἄνω ἐξαίρουσα, οἷα κίγκλος ἄλλεται.

Autokrates in his *Tympanistai*:

As sweet maidens, daughters of Lydia, sport and lightly leap and clap their hands in the temple of Artemis the Fair at Ephesus, now sinking down upon their haunches and again springing up, like the hopping wagtail.

In his *Hymn to Artemis* (270ff), Callimachus accounts that these dances appeared to be a yearly honour to the goddess. If girls refused to dance, they were punished by Artemis:

---

<sup>1054</sup> See section 5.2.1 Sparta, Dance in the context of education for girls and 5.2.3 Brauron.

<sup>1055</sup> Nilsson 1957: 246.

‘Nor let any shun the yearly dance [of Artemis]; for not tearless to Hippo was her refusal to dance around the altar.’

As aforementioned, Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis* 238f) interpreted it as the weapon-dance that was performed by the Amazons in the story about the founding of the sanctuary. This way it can be seen as part of the civic identity that was of great importance to the Ephesians and had to be kept alive by remembering (and re-enacting) it every year.

### **Marriage**

Xenophon of Ephesus (*Ephesiaka* 1.2) tells us the story about Anthia, leading the maidens towards the temple of Artemis as part of the festival. The crowd honoured her as they would honour Artemis. The local girls of marriageable age were required to take part in the ritual. The offerings and sacrificial victims lead the procession.<sup>1056</sup> They were followed by the torches, baskets, and incense which in their turn were followed by horses, dogs, and hunting equipment. The girls in Xenophon’s *Ephesiaka* (1.2.6-7) follow and Anthia is described as follows:

χιτῶν ἄλουργῆς, ζωστὸς εἰς γόνυ, μεχρὶ βραχιόνων καθειμένος, νεβρίς  
περικειμένη, γωρυτὸς ἀνημμένος, τόξα, ἄκοντες φερόμενοι, κύνες ἐπόμενοι.  
Πολλάκις αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ τεμένουσ ἰδόντες Ἐφέσιοι προσεκύνησαν ὡς Ἄρτεμιν.  
Καὶ τότε οὖν ὀφθείσης ἀνεβόησε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἦσαν ποικίλαι παρὰ τῶν  
θεωμένων φωναί, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐκπλήξεως τὴν θεὸν εἶναι λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλην  
τινὰ ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ περιποιημένην

She wore a purple tunic down to the knee, fastened with a girdle and falling loose over her arms, with a fawn skin over it, a quiver attached, and arrows for weapons;

---

<sup>1056</sup> Thomas 1995: 85-86.

she carried javelins and was followed by dogs. Often as they saw her in the sacred enclosure the Ephesians would worship her as Artemis. And so on this occasion to the crowd gave a cheer when they saw her, and there was a whole clamour of exclamations from the spectators; some were amazed and said it was the goddess in person; some that it was someone else made by the goddess in her own image.

It is quite similar to what was going on at Sparta and Brauron. As girls processing towards the sanctuary of Artemis, whether that is Orthia, Brauronia or Ephesia, girls of marriageable age were searching for a husband. During the rituals there is an important role for dancing and music.<sup>1057</sup> Whilst the festival of Artemis was in progress, the local girls had to join in the procession as did the young men. It was the custom 'to find husbands for the young girls and wives for the young men' (Xenophon, *Ephesiaka* 1.2-3). Xenophon (*Ephesiaka* 1.8.1) also wrote about the wedding of Anthia and Habrocomes: it was celebrated with night-long revels and many sacrifices to the goddess. After those were performed, the girl was escorted 'to the bridal chamber with torches, singing the bridal hymn and shouting blessings'. She was taken inside and put on the bed.

In Ephesus, as in other cities, Artemis was favoured with gifts of clothes by young women and girls (*Greek Anthology* 1.6.270-274).<sup>1058</sup> The garments offered were, amongst others, sandals, head-bands, the simple folds of a gown, but also a tambourine and dolls. This custom is explained by Hippocrates (ca. 460-370 BCE, *On the diseases of virgins*): girls suffering from irregularity in their periods could fall into a state of madness and were advised to bring an offering to Artemis, preferably their most precious piece of clothing.

---

<sup>1057</sup> See above.

<sup>1058</sup> See also Sokolowski 1965: 428.

It was not just women who offered their garlands to Artemis. According to Strelan 1996: 49 especially note 62, in the fourth century BCE Agesilaus gathered his forces at Ephesus and they, on completion of their course, dedicated clothing items to the goddess as well (Xenophon, *Scripta Minora* 1.27).

Hippocrates advised these women to get married quickly. Artemis was the guardian of brides and wives and the garments were offered to her hoping for her favour or in thanks for a happy marriage or fortunate childbirth. The offerings of garments by women in childbed are also known from Brauron (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1465-1468, and see below). In the *Greek Anthology* (Book I.VI 201, 202, 271, 272, 273, 280, 358) dedications in which women express their gratitude to Artemis by offering various kinds of garments are well-known.

The offered cloaks to Artemis in the city of Ephesus were sent off to the shrine of Artemis in Sardis. In 1961 an inscription describing this practice was found: an envoy carrying *chitons* for Artemis, was sent from the city of Ephesus to Sardis. The garments were accompanied by costly gifts, with the most important being the aforementioned jewellery in all kinds of materials. This inscription illustrates not just the details about the cult practice, it also accounts for the areas where the Ephesian cult had its influence.<sup>1059</sup> This is a recurring activity, known in both Brauron and Ephesus. Interestingly the offering of articles of women's clothing, more importantly belts, is also known from finds at both sanctuaries (appendix 3 and 20).

The Artemisia were the most important festival for young women. It provided the opportunity for young women to meet their spouses and for young men to meet their brides. Music and dance were of great importance in these rituals. In the words of Lucian (*On the dance* 15): 'I forbear to say that not a single ancient mystery-cult can be found that is without dancing'. The festival served as a strong social function as families arranged the marriages.<sup>1060</sup> People came from surrounding districts and wider afield.

---

<sup>1059</sup> For more details: Knibbe 1961-1963: 175-182.

<sup>1060</sup> Strelan 1996: 58.

Young men and women had to participate in a procession to the sanctuary (Xenophon, *Ephesiaka* 1.2.1) and after arranging a marriage it had to be consecrated with a sacrifice to Artemis.

After marriage, women officially entered womanhood and became adults. That resulted in some changes of possibilities, because it was no longer possible for married women to enter the temple of Artemis, which was only open to men and virgins. In contrast it was still open for slave women. Slave women could seek refuge in the sanctuary if they had a complaint against their master (Achilles Tatius, *Leukippe and Kleitophon* 7.13). A slave woman was permitted to supplicate the goddess, and the city officials arbitrated between her and her master. If it turned out that the master had done nothing wrong, then he regained his slave woman, after having sworn not to hold her escape against her; but if the slave woman seemed to have just cause for complaint, she remained there in the service of the goddess. If any woman would enter it, the penalty was death. In addition to the temple, the grove behind the temple was also forbidden to be entered by women as well. The grove was only to be entered by pure virgins. To test if the person entering the grove was a virgin, there were panpipes (*syrinx*) hanging ‘a small way within the portals of the cave’ (Achilles Tatius, *Leukippe and Kleitophon* 8.6). It was believed that Pan dedicated the panpipes at Ephesus and that he later gave the space over to Artemis, for whom virgins were an important asset of her cult. This happened to Leukippe as well, she entered Pan’s cave and re-emerged whilst ‘a musical melody began to be heard’. After re-emerging, Leukippe was reunited with her father and she and Kleitophon could finally recount their adventures.

## Becoming a mother

Artemis Ephesia was worshipped as a fertility goddess, both for human beings and animals. The strong ties with animal life and the Mistress of Animals were also known in the Spartan worship of Artemis Orthia.<sup>1061</sup> The practice of offering garments to the goddess after fortunate childbirth is another indication of Artemis Ephesia being a fertility goddess.<sup>1062</sup> In death and birth, mysteries of the female, Artemis was present. She was there in dangerous and life-threatening circumstances to help and to save. It might even go as far as that the dead were to return to the mother who bore them; the mother of the gods.<sup>1063</sup>

Unfortunately there are no primary Ephesian sources that mention the worship in more detail or sources that describe the women's tasks in society. However, with the knowledge of other 'Greek' cities such as Sparta and Brauron, it is possible to assume that giving birth was one of the most important things a woman could do. It ensured the city's future citizens and a continuation of the Ephesian civic identity, which was of major value within the changing fortunes and misfortunes of the city of Ephesus.

### 5.2.3 Brauron

The sanctuary for Artemis Brauronia was of great importance in the upbringing of the aristocratic girls from Athens. The sanctuary was the theatre for rites of passage for girls; the *arkteia*. The *arkteia* were represented on ceramic finds (*krateriskoi*) that were characteristic for the sanctuaries for Artemis in Attica: Brauron and Mounichia (appendix

---

<sup>1061</sup> See section 3.1.6 Artemis' identification with Orthia.

<sup>1062</sup> See above.

<sup>1063</sup> Strelan 1996: 84.

21, 22, 23 and 24). The young girls, the *arktoi*, were part of a procession that took off from Athens and came to Brauron. The *arktoi* offered to Artemis as priestesses. Once every five years there were festivals with music, sports and horse-races. The purpose of the *arkteia* was for girls to pass from girlhood to marriageable women. Like at Sparta and Ephesus, the dances that were part of the rites of passage, had a social function; it was the possibility for young women to present their marriageable age.<sup>1064</sup>

### 5.3 Alea Athena

Within the cult of Alea Athena there are no markers for a specific ritual or anything cult related which was distinguished for either boys or girls. However, based on the festivals and finds, it is possible to offer some possibilities. Voyatzis assumed that the cult practices and the ritual practices were based on the Tegean festivals: there were the Aleaea, with athletic contests (IG V.2 3/IPArk no 2<sup>1065</sup>, 22, 123 and Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 10.36-54) and the *halotia* (Capture festival).<sup>1066</sup> An important detail of the cult was mentioned by Pausanias (8.47.3): the priest of Athena at Tegea was a boy. Pausanias does not describe how long his priesthood lasted, but it was of significance that it was before puberty.<sup>1067</sup>

Another indication for the existence of rituals could be seen in the response of the Delphic oracle to the question by the Lakedaemonians; if they were stronger than the Arkadians

---

<sup>1064</sup> For more information on the sanctuary at Brauron see Léger 2011.

<sup>1065</sup> From 390 BCE, this inscription contains some of the rules and regulations for the sanctuary. At least part is concerned with a festival.

<sup>1066</sup> See section 3.3.2 Tegean Architecture, Stadium. See also Voyatzis 2004: 193.

<sup>1067</sup> Bremmer 1999: 189-190, 'Artemis' importance as initiatory goddess unsurprisingly accounts for the majority of adolescent priests. Unlike Artemis (and Apollo), Athena was not an initiatory deity par excellence, but her position as city goddess made it so that in several places her function overlapped with that of Artemis.'

and they put forward this question to the Delphic oracle (Herodotus, 1.66). The response was as follows:

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς: οὐ τοι δώσω.  
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,  
οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω:  
δώσω τοί Τεγέην **ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι**  
καὶ καλὸν πεδίων σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

You ask for Arkadia? You ask a lot, I will not give it to you.

There are many men in Arkadia, toughened by a diet of acorns,  
and they will stop you. But I do not want to be niggardly.

I will give you the **dance-floor** of Tegea; you can caper there  
and measure out her beautiful plain with a rope.

Jost states that there were nocturnal dances and celebrations for young girls in honour of Alea (Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 366-368).<sup>1068</sup> However, according to Østby it appears to have been a 'Romanesque, poetical idea' (*progymnasmata*) used to explain the story about Auge and Herakles.<sup>1069</sup> There is no cultural reality in this assumption. Another argument for rituals would be that the most common bronze votives are jewellery items (appendix 19). It is clear, as Voyatzis suggests, that jewellery offerings tended to be made

---

<sup>1068</sup> Jost 1985: 373.

<sup>1069</sup> References, both ancient and modern to the story of Auge can be found in Østby: forthcoming 2015.

by women at times of transition in their lives, such as marriage and childbirth.<sup>1070</sup> These items follow the example of Brauron, where they reflect women's involvement in the local cult.<sup>1071</sup>

## 5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the rites of passage for both boys and girls that took place at the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia, Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Brauronia and Alea Athena. The evidence is based on the literary sources and discussed the coming of age for boys by looking at three important stages: education, with dance in the context of education, tests of manhood, and marriage and becoming a father. The evidence suggests that Artemis both looks after the young boys, but also plays a role in the – not always particularly friendly – rites of passage. The coming of age for girls is based around the following three stages: education, with dance in the context of education, marriage and becoming a mother. The role dance played for boys and girls is different but equally important; for boys it is part of their military training, for girls it is the way to find their marriage partner. In both cases dance will lead to the coming of age; either through becoming part of the military force and gain citizenship or through finding a partner (and a place in society). The information collected in this chapter in combination with the archaeological evidence will be used to make a further comparison between the sanctuaries in the conclusion.

---

<sup>1070</sup> Also seen in the example of Brauron 5.2.3, Sparta 5.2.1 and Ephesus 5.2.2 and 2.4 Goddess of youths and marriage: rites of passage.

<sup>1071</sup> Voyatzis 2002, examined the distribution patterns of jewellery items, especially bronze pins, found at Peloponnesian sanctuary sites and considered the role of local women in the cult of Athena Alea and in other cults; Hera and Artemis. It appeared to her that by dedicating jewellery to Hera, Artemis and Athena, local women were invoking particular aspects of these deities to aid them at times of transition in their lives.

## 6. ARTEMIS AND HER CULT

---

This thesis has provided an up-to-date account of the archaeological materials of the sanctuary sites of Artemis Orthia, Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Brauronia and Alea Athena. These up-to-date accounts in combination with the description of the rites of passage and rituals taking place in relation to the cult of Artemis Orthia, Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Brauronia and Alea Athena allow me to conclude with a description of the cult of Artemis and her role at these sites as a contribution to the understanding of her role in Greek society and to the broader context of Greek religion. The sites of Artemis at Sparta, Ephesus and Brauron are all distinctive but similar. When these Artemis sites are compared to the site of Alea Athena the distinctions and similarities are even clearer.

While the cult at each of these sanctuaries focusses on a single deity, the evidence suggests that character of the deity is not static over time. The evidence shows the changes in votive offerings, the character of the deity changes which may indicate not just a change in the nature of the worship but also the way in which the deity is perceived. The most striking example of this is the identification of older, local deities, such as Orthia and perhaps Alea, which become identified with the PanHellenic deities Artemis and Athena. The nature or perception of the goddess is thus fluid and tends to undergo transformations over the centuries.<sup>1072</sup>

---

<sup>1072</sup> See for example section 2.2.1 Potnia Theron and 2.3.1 Eileithyia/Kourotrophe. See also Voyatzis 2004: 188.

## 6.1 The character of Artemis

Much has been said about the Classical Greek gods and their cults. Although it has been customary to regard these gods and their cults as separate from the worship of Prehistoric deities, and, with few exceptions, it is possible to detect in such accounts a certain reluctance to accept that Greek religion owed much to both Prehistoric and foreign sources,<sup>1073</sup> many aspects of Classical Greek religion, many rites, cult practices, as well as many festivals and deities owe much to the survival of inherited traditions, the continuation of divine figures and beliefs through centuries.<sup>1074</sup> One of the questions that arises is how far back we can trace Artemis-like characters. The early date of the first evidence at Sparta (Geometric), Ephesus (Early Iron Age), Brauron (Late Proto-Geometric) and Tegea (Mycenaean) suggest stronger links with the Prehistoric period than has been suggested.<sup>1075</sup> At these sites, as with others, there are imports and elements linking Greece with Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Some examples are the faience statuettes, scarabs and plaques in ivory and bone with Egyptian motifs from Ephesus.<sup>1076</sup> The route of transmission, if there was only one, is unsure, but what is sure is the borrowing that occurred over a long span of time and was remoulded and given a Greek flavour.

Probably the most striking example of this transmission is the *potnia theron*; known in literature since Homer and present at the sites of different Greek deities.<sup>1077</sup> The earliest example of the *potnia theron* motif in Minoan glyptic occurred in the Early – Middle

---

<sup>1073</sup> See also Dietrich 1974.

<sup>1074</sup> See for example Snodgrass 1971, Burkert 1985, Bremmer 1994, Nilsson 1941 and 1950, Farnell 1896, Ogden 2007, and Mikalson 2010.

<sup>1075</sup> Other sites such as the major sanctuary at Kalapodi suggest a similar hypothesis and researching more sites would allow for more definite answers.

<sup>1076</sup> See section 3.2.3 Ephesian Artefacts and chapter 4.

<sup>1077</sup> See section 2.2.1 Potnia Theron.

Bronze Age. On the Greek mainland she appeared as early as LH II at Mycenae and Tiryns.<sup>1078</sup> At Sparta, she was present in Artemis Orthia. The character of Artemis Orthia revolves around the animal world, fertility and the upbringing of children. Her character can be seen in the depictions as a *potnia theron*, examples are the winged figures and more importantly the winged figures with animals. The copious animal figures make sure that there is a unity in the symbolism of the goddess, which connects her to nature in all its manifestations. The animal votives found in Sparta reflect the characteristics and the role in which Artemis Orthia was significant. The goddess was syncretised form of an older deity worshipped at the site before becoming associated with Artemis. This older deity had the characteristics of a nature and fertility goddess. Artemis Ephesia, even though she was more of a city goddess, had strong ties with nature as well. Not only was she a *potnia theron*, she also had the fertility aspect that was seen in Artemis Orthia. Artemis Ephesia's predecessor, thought to be Kybele, was a nature goddess, also a *potnia theron*. The finds from the site of Alea Athena, associated with a local fertility deity, provide a glimpse of the *potnia theron* character too. Looking at these three sites, it appears that the mastering of animals and fertility are associated with one another, either through heritage of the local deity or through the association of Artemis with it. Without inscriptions to define the deity worshipped as Alea Athena at Tegea, I would not have hesitated to identify the site as a sanctuary for Artemis, especially when one bears in mind that the geographical areas in which these sites were found were such distinctive marshy wetlands.<sup>1079</sup>

---

<sup>1078</sup> See section 2.2.1 Potnia Theron, Greece.

<sup>1079</sup> See section 4.1 Architecture and location.

## 6.2 Rituals

With regards to rituals, a lot of similarities appear at the sites. These similarities can only be seen from the combination of literary and archaeological evidence as presented in this thesis. There were rites of passage for both boys and girls at Sparta as well as at Ephesus and Brauron/Halai. As part of these rites there was dance and music, footraces and other athletic competitions. The sites of Artemis Orthia and Artemis Brauronia both show some of the closest correlations between literary and archaeological evidence. There are for example some interesting similarities between the *Partheneia* described by Alkman and the masks from Sparta and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and the *krateriskoi* and statuettes of young boys and girls found at Brauron for example. Both are the result of female rituals, one found in seventh century BCE Sparta, the other in fifth century BCE Athens. Both the *Partheneia* and the *arkteia*, of which the *krateriskoi* were an illustration, enabled the girls to find their partners. The difference in date does not have to be of great importance, as there are indications that the rituals existed for longer periods of times at both sites. In comparison to Sparta (masks) and Brauron (*krateriskoi*), there are no distinctive artefacts that relate to or have to do with the rites of passage and therefore the cult of Artemis at Ephesus.

The similarities in the actual practise are the wearing of masks; competitions and contests in running, dancing and singing; processions towards the altar; wearing of a certain garland and choral performance.<sup>1080</sup> As mentioned above, the Spartan masks played an important role in the rites for boys and are probably the votive result of a successful passage.<sup>1081</sup> The objects related to the rites of passage illustrate the character of Artemis

---

<sup>1080</sup> See section 3.1.3 Spartan Artefact, Terracotta Masks.

<sup>1081</sup> See section 5.1.1 Dance in the context of military training.

that was of importance in the sanctuaries at Sparta and Brauron, that of a fertility goddess. One feature all sites have in common is the quantities of jewellery in a variety of materials offered to Artemis (appendix 2, 3, 19 and 20). We may presume that these jewellery items are offerings to Artemis for her importance to women in transitional rituals of marriage and childbirth. The items of clothing offered and documented at Brauron suggest it is only natural to expect jewellery at the same time.<sup>1082</sup> Examples are beads, bracelets, fibulae, necklaces, pendants and rings (appendix 20). It can be suggested be that these artefacts were used during the rituals at the site of the Ephesian Artemis as well and that they were votive offerings to get favour of the goddess. It is well-known from other sanctuaries, for example Sparta, that girls and women offered adornments to Artemis after successfully passing the rituals taking place at the site.

The Ephesian rituals for boys are similar to the rituals for boys taking place in Sparta. By the Roman period, the rites of passage became a tourist attraction. People came to see the ritual taking place in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, even more so the ritual flogging of the boys and a theatre was built to house all these people. In earlier periods, the community would be present to attest the induction of its new citizens. The importance of the rituals in this period at Sparta is illustrated by the stone seat from the first century BCE.<sup>1083</sup> This was the only indication of seating arrangements that enabled witnesses to watch the ritual ceremonies. The education of the boys was designed to make them the best military force possible. There was training with weapons and training in dance. The skills of both dancers and hunters would benefit the community.

---

<sup>1082</sup> See section 5.2.3 Brauron.

<sup>1083</sup> See section 3.1.2 Spartan Architecture, Theatre.

Processions and contests played an important role in searching for (and finding) a marriage partner. Unlike Ephesus and Sparta, Brauron had rites of passage exclusively for girls. However, it has been suggested that at Halai Araphenides, a city situated six kilometres north of Brauron, equivalent rituals for boys took place (appendix 1).<sup>1084</sup> It appears as if one could not exist without the other. These rituals therefore demonstrate the character of Artemis, as a *kourotrophe* goddess, a protectress of children and guardian of the young on their way to adulthood.

One would expect Sparta's religious practices to be distinctive in direct relation to the uniqueness of her other cultural practices and structures – just as the Spartans had their own culture, broadly defined, which was unlike that of any other Greek city, so we would expect them to have their own distinctive cult practices too.<sup>1085</sup> Or to put it differently, if the Spartans had their own distinct (militaristic) culture, one that was significantly different from that of other Greek *poleis*, and if their religious practices and beliefs were embedded in their culture, then their religion should be distinctive to the same degree as their culture. However, these similarities contrast with what one would have expected. Despite the change in their cultural and social lifestyle, (mostly due to the Lycurgan reforms,) the similarities suggest religious practices continued as much as before. Sparta was not really that different.

The rites of passage, or the festivals and contests held at the sanctuaries, show that there were slight local differences which relate to the nature of the community which Artemis fostered and fostered her. These were the result of the community values; the Spartan military character, the Ephesian history, the Brauronian connection to Athens and the

---

<sup>1084</sup> See section 5.1.3 Brauron.

<sup>1085</sup> Flower 2009: 196.

Tegean independence. However, although there are differences, it has been shown that the similarities are the most striking.

Ritual feasting more generally was a tradition that was established in Greek sanctuaries and Greek religion as a whole. This is illustrated by pottery finds such as cups, plates, jugs and more importantly bones of all sorts of animals. The architecture in this context, the altars and temples at the sites went through a similar development which suggests that it was part of a common tradition in Greek architecture, not a development specific for Artemis. However, architecture such as the theatre at Sparta and the theatre at Ephesus appear to play a role in the ritual practise and rites of passage. These buildings are of importance in the traditional musical performance and are facilities built with a ritual purpose. The Spartans allowed the rituals to be viewed by their community and later on a wider audience, ensuring its savage character.

### **Final conclusion**

Who was the goddess Artemis? There is no simple answer to this question. Artemis had two core characters or persona with a variety of other roles in different places. As far as Asia Minor, Artemis had common features in both her character and the finds that were discovered at her sanctuaries. She was the fierce huntress and *potnia theron*, honoured as such with votives of animals (both mythical and natural), hunters' equipment like bows and arrows and depictions of the mastering of animals on various artefacts. She also was the fertility goddess, protecting both mother and child. This is illustrated with rites of passages as well as with votives offered to this deity, which were more along the lines of clothing items, from the actual garments to the jewellery that adorned the clothing. It is for this last character, that girls and boys danced, raced, sang and held contests. These rites of passage were an important part of her supervision of children growing up and

illustrate that this character has often been minimised when describing the goddess Artemis. There appears to be a remarkable difference in the perception of Artemis in ancient and modern sources. Studying the rites of passage at the sites of Artemis Orthia, Artemis Ephesia and Artemis Brauronia has shown how important the role of fertility goddess and supervising children growing up was. This has been further informed by the research visits to Brauron, Sparta and Ephesus, where the value of seeing things at first hand has proven undeniable.

## BIBLIOGRAPY

---

### Ancient Sources

Achilles Tatius, *Leukippe and Kleitophon*.

Aelian, *De Natura Animalium, Varia Historia*.

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon, Eumenides, Fragment 188, Suppliant Women*.

Alkman, *Partheneion* fragment 1, *Fragment 5*.

Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*

Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*.

Aristophanes, *Birds, Clouds, Frogs, Lysistrata, Thesmophoriazusae*.

Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia, Politics, Rhetoric*.

Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*.

Autokrates, *Tympanistai*.

Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis, Hymn 5 The Bath of Pallas*.

Catullus, *Carmina*.

Cicero, *Against Verres, On the responses of the Haruspices II*.

Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*.

Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*.

Euripides, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Hecuba*, *Helen*, *Hippolytus*, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*,  
*Iphigeneia in Tauris*, *Medea*.

Flavius Philostratus, *Vita Apollonius*.

Herodotus, *Histories*.

Hesiod, *Poetica Astronomica*, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*.

Himerius, *Orations*.

Homer, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*.

*Homeric Hymns: to Aphrodite, to Apollo, to Artemis, to Demeter*.

Justinus, *Historiam Phillipicarum*.

Libanius, *Oration*.

Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*.

Lucian, *On the dance*.

Menander, *Epitrepontes*.

Minucius Felix, *Octavian*.

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*.

Ovid, *Heroides*, *Metamorphoses*.

Pausanias, *Description of Greece*.

Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*.

Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines*.

Pindar, *Dithyrambs Heracles the Bold, Nemean Odes, Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes*.

Plato, *Cratylus, Laws, Theaetetus*.

Plautus, *Bacchides*.

Pliny, *Natural History*.

Plutarch, *Agessilaus, Alexander, Customs of the Spartans, De Herodoti malignitate, Life of Theseus, Lycurgus, Moralia, Phocion, Pyrrhus, Sayings of Spartan Women*.

Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*.

Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica, Fabulae*.

Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Fall of Troy*.

Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*.

Suetonius, *Tiberius*.

Sophocles, *Electra, Trachiniae*.

Strabo, *Geography*.

Stasinos, *Kypria*.

Suidas, *Arktos e Brauroniois, Embaros eimi*.

Tacitus, *Annals*.

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*.

Valerius Maximus, *Memorable deeds and sayings*.

Vergil, *Aeneid*.

Xenophon, *Anabasis, Constitution of the Lakedaemonians, Hellenica, On horsemanship*.

Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaka*.

### **Modern Sources**

Acquaro, E. (2001), 'Bronzes', in S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers), 472-90.

Alroth, B. (1989), *Greek Gods and Figurines. Aspects of the Anthropomorphic Dedications*, (eds.) R. Holthoer and T. Linders (Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilisations, 18; Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis).

Amandry, P. (1939), 'Rapport préliminaire sur les statues chryseléphantines de Delphes', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 63, 86-119.

Ammerman, R. Miller (1991), 'The Naked Standing Goddess: A Group of Archaic Terracotta Figurines from Paestum', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 95 (2), 203-30.

Arnold, I. Ringwood (1972), 'Festivals of Ephesus', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 76 (1), 17-22.

Bammer, A. (1968), 'Der Altar des jüngeren Artemisions von Ephesos. Vorläufiger Bericht. Mit 42 Abbildungen', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 83, 400-23.

- (1972), 'Neue Forschungen am Altar des Artemisions von Ephesos. Mit 24  
Abbildungen', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 87, 714-28.
- (1973-1974), 'Die Entwicklung des Opferkultes am Altar der Artemis von Ephesos',  
*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 23-24, 53-62.
- (1975), 'Zur soziologischen Deutung ephesischer Architektur', *Istanbuler  
Mitteilungen*, 25, 319-34.
- (1978), 'Das Tieropfer am Artemisaltar von Ephesos', *Études Préliminaires aux  
Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, 66, 107-57.
- (1982), 'Forschungen im Artemision von Ephesos von 1976 bis 1981', *Anatolian  
Studies*, 32, 61-87.
- (1984), *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos* (Graz: Akademische Druck - u.  
Verlagsanstalt).
- (1985), 'Neue weibliche Statuetten aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', *Jahreshefte  
des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 56, 39-58.
- (1986-87), 'Ephesos in der Bronzezeit', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen  
Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 57, 1-40.
- (1990), 'A *Peripteros* of the Geometric Period in the Artemision of Ephesus',  
*Anatolian Studies*, XL, 137-60.
- (1993), 'Die Geschichte des Sekos im Artemision von Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des  
Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 62, 137-68.

- (1994), 'Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Grabungen 1993, Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 63, 9-11.
- (1998), 'Sanctuaries in the Artemision of Ephesos', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence. Proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag), 27-47.
- (1999), 'Zur Bronzezeit im Artemision', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), 399-404.
- (2008), 'Der sogenannte Hekatompedos und Tempel C', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag), 251-54.
- (2008a), 'Der archaische und der klassische Hofaltar', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna Phoibos Verlag), 277-84.
- (2008b), 'Vom Peripteros zum Dipteros', in W. Seipel (ed.), *Das Artemision von Ephesos. Heiliger Platz einer Göttin* (Istanbul), 75-93.
- Bammer, A. and Forstenpointner, G. (1993), 'Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Grabungen 1992, Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 62, 10-12.

- Bammer, A. and Muss, U. (1996), *Das Artemision von Ephesos. Der Weltwunder Ioniens in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern).
- (2008), 'Geschenke für die Göttin', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag).
- Barclay, A.E. (2001), 'The *Potnia Theron*: Adaptation of a Near Eastern Image', in R. Laffineur and R. Hägg (eds.), *POTNIA - Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Liège: Aegaeum 22), 373-86.
- Barnett, R.D. (1935), 'The Nimrud Ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians', *Iraq*, 2 (2), 179-210.
- Baugh, S.M. (1999), 'Cult Prostitution in New Testament Ephesus: A Reappraisal', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 42 (3), 443-60.
- Becker, C. (1986), *Kastanas. Ausgrabungen in einem Siedlungshügel der Bronze- und Eisenzeit Makedoniens 1975-1979* (Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa 5, Berlin: Wissenschaftsverlag Volker Spiess).
- Bennett, F.M. (1912), *Religious cults associated with the Amazons* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Bérard, V. (1889), 'Inscription archaïque de Tégée', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 13, 281-93.
- (1892), 'Tégée et la Tégéatide (pl. XIII)', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 16, 529-49.

----- (1893), 'Tégée et la Tégéatide', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 17, 1-24.

- Berg, W. (1974), 'Hecate: Greek or "Anatolian"?', *Numen*, 21 (2), 128-40.
- Bevan, E. (1985), 'Representations of Animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and of other Olympian Deities', PhD (University of Edinburgh).
- (1986), *Representations of Animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian Deities* (BAR International Series; Oxford: B.A.R.).
- (1987), 'The Goddess Artemis, and the Dedication of Bears in Sanctuaries', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 82, 17-21.
- (1988), 'Ancient Deities and Tortoise-Representations in Sanctuaries', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 83, 1-6.
- (1989), 'Water-Birds and the Olympian Gods', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 84, 163-69.
- Biguzzi, G. (1998), 'Ephesus, Its Artemision, Its Temple to the Flavian Emperors, and Idolatry in Revelation', *Novum Testamentum*, 40 (3), 276-90.
- Bikai, P. Maynor (1989), 'Cyprus and the Phoenicians', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 52 (4), 203-09.
- Billheimer, A. (1947), 'Age-Classes in Spartan Education', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 78, 99-104.
- Bisi, A.M. (2001), 'Terracotta Figures', in S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers), 380-405.
- Blundell, S. and Williamson, M. (eds.) (1998), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece* (London and New York: Routledge).

- Boardman, J. (1961), *The Cretan collection in Oxford. The dictaeon cave and Iron Age Crete* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- (1963), 'Artemis Orthia and Chronology', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 58, 1-7.
- (1968), *Archaic Greek gems: schools and artists in the sixth and early fifth centuries BC* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Bonfante, L. (1989), 'Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 93 (4), 543-70.
- Bonnechere, P. (1993), 'Orthia et la flagellation des ephebes spartiates. Un souvenir chimérique de sacrifice humain', *Kernos*, 6, 11-22.
- Bookidis, N. (2000), 'Corinthian Terracotta Sculpture and the Temple of Apollo', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 69 (4), 381-452.
- Börker, Chr. (1980), 'König Agesilaos von Sparta und der Artemis-Tempel in Ephesos', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 37, 69-75.
- Bosanquet, R.C. (1905-1906a), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. The Season's Work', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 277-83.
- (1905-1906b), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 303-17.
- (1905-1906c), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. The cult of Orthia as illustrated by the finds', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 331-43.

- Bouvier, S. des (2009), 'Artemis Ortheia - a Goddess of Nature or a Goddess of Culture?', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press), 153-90.
- Brelich, A. (1969), *Paidés e Parthenoi* (Edizioni Dell'Ateneo, s.p.a.).
- Bremmer, J.N. (1994), *Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Classical Association).
- Bremmer, J.N. and Erskine, A. (eds.) (2010), *The Gods of Ancient Greece. Identities and Transformations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Brenk, F.E. (1998), 'Artemis of Ephesos: An Avant Garde Goddess', *Kernos*, 11, 157-71.
- Brown, S. (1992), 'Perspectives on Phoenician Art', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 55 (1), 6-24.
- Brulotte, E.L. (1994), 'The placement of votive offerings and dedications in the Peloponnesian sanctuaries of Artemis. (Volumes 1 and 2)', PhD (University of Minnesota).
- Bryce, T. (2005), *The kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Bühler, B. and Pülz, A.M. (2008), 'Die Goldfunde aus dem Artemision von Ephesos und ihre Herstellung', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag), 167-72.
- Burkert, W. (1972), *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter).

- (1977), *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln and Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer).
- (1983), *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. Peter Bing (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press).
- (1985), *Greek Religion, Archaic and Classical*, trans. J. Raffan (Oxford (UK) and Cambridge (USA): Blackwell).
- (2004), *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis. Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (Cambridge (Massachusetts) London: Harvard University Press).
- Burns, A. (1974), 'The Chorus of Ariadne', *The Classical Journal*, 70 (2), 1-12.
- Bursian, C. (1868), *Geographie von Griechenland II: Peloponnesos und Inseln* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B.G. Teubner).
- Calame, C. (1997), *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece. Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Function*, trans. D. Collins and J. Orion (Lanham, Boulder, New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.).
- (2008), 'Greek Myth and Greek Religion', in D. Roger Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 259-285.
- Carpenter, R. (1958), 'Phoenicians in the West', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 62 (1), 35-53.
- Carpenter, T.H. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) (1993), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press).

- Carter, J.B. (1985), *Greek ivory-carving in the orientализing and Archaic periods* (New York and London: Garland).
- (1987), 'The Masks of Ortheia', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 91 (3), 355-83.
- (1988), 'Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta', in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek cult practice: proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 26-29 June, 1986* (Stockholm: Göteborg), 89-98.
- (1989), 'The Chests of Periander', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 93 (3), 355-78.
- Cartledge, P.A. (1979), *Sparta and Lakonia: a regional history, 1300-362 BC* (States and cities of Ancient Greece; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
- (1980), 'The Peculiar Position of Sparta in the Development of the Greek City-State', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 80C, 91-108.
- (1981), 'Spartan Wives: Liberation or Licence?', *The Classical Quarterly*, 31 (1), 84-105.
- (2002), *Sparta and Lakonia: a regional history, 1300-362 BC* (second edition) (London: Routledge).
- Cartledge, P.A. (ed.) (1998), *The Cambridge illustrated history of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Castleden, R. (1990), *The Knossos Labyrinth. A new view of the 'Palace of Minos' at Knossos* (London and New York: Routledge).

- Catling, H.W. (1976-1977), 'Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta, 1973-1976', *Archaeological Reports*, 23, 24-42.
- Catling, R.W.V. (1994), 'A Fragment of an Archaic Temple Model from Artemis Orthia, Sparta', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 89, 269-75.
- Chantraine, P. (1946-47), 'Les noms du mari et de la femme, du pere et de la mere', *Revue des études Grecques*, 59-60, 228-31.
- Christesen, P. (2006), 'Xenophon's "Cyropaedia" and Military Reform in Sparta', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 126, 47-65.
- Christou, C. (1968), *Potnia Theron. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung, Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt einer Gottheit* (Thessaloniki).
- Ciasca, A. (2001), 'Masks and Protomes', in S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers), 406-17.
- Cleland, L. (2005), *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues. Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation* (Oxford: Oxbow books).
- Coldstream, J.N. (1968), *Greek Geometric Pottery. A survey of ten local styles and their chronology* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd).
- (1977), *Geometric Greece* (New York: St. Martin's Press).
- Cole, S.G. (1998), 'Domesticating Artemis', in S. Blundell and M. Williamson (eds.), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece* (London and New York: Routledge), 27-44.
- (2000), 'Landscapes of Artemis', *The Classical World*, 93 (5), 471-81.

- Coleman, J.R., III (1965), 'A Roman Terracotta Figurine of the Ephesian Artemis in the McDaniel Collection', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 70, 111-15.
- Collitz, H. and Bechtel, F. (1905), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Constantinidou, S. (1998), 'Dionysiac Elements in Spartan Cult Dances', *Phoenix*, 52 (1/2), 15-30.
- Cook, A.B. (1895), 'The Bee in Greek Mythology', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15, 1-24.
- Cook, R.M. (1960), *Greek Painted Pottery* (London: Methuen and Co).
- (1962), 'Spartan History and Archaeology', *The Classical Quarterly*, 12 (1), 156-58.
- Cosmopoulos, M.B. (ed.), (2003), *Greek Mysteries. The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Croon, J.H. (1955), 'The Mask of the Underworld Daemon-Some Remarks on the Perseus-Gorgon Story', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 75, 9-16.
- Crosby, N.E. (1893), 'The Topography of Sparta', *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, 8 (3), 335-73.
- Crow, C. (2006), 'The Ara Pacis', *History Today*, 56 (6).
- Crowley, J.L. (1989), *The Aegean and the East. An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East in the Bronze Age* (Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag).

- Crowther, N.B. and Frass, M. (1998), 'Flogging as a Punishment in the Ancient Games',  
*Nikephoros*, 11, 51-82.
- Culican, W. (1968), 'Iconography of some Phoenician seals and seal impressions',  
*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, 1 (1), 50-103.
- (1969), 'Dea Tyria Gravida', *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, 1 (2), 35-50.
- (1970), 'Problems of Phoenicio-Punic iconography: a contribution', *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, 1 (3), 28-57.
- (1975-1976), 'Some Phoenician Masks and other Terracottas', *Berytus Archaeological Studies*, 24, 47-88.
- (1976), 'Phoenician Demons', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 35 (1), 21-24.
- Curtius, E. (1851), *Peloponnesos. Eine Historisch-Geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* (I; Gotha: Verlag von Justus Perthes).
- Davison, J.A. (1938), 'Alkman's Partheneion', *Hermes*, 73, 440-58.
- Dawkins, R.M. (1905-1906), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. Archaic Finds from the Artemisium', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 318-30.
- (1906), 'Catalogue of Inscriptions I', *Excavations 1906-1910* (Athens: British School Athens).
- (1929a), 'The Sanctuary', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 1-51.

- (1929b), 'The Terracotta Figurines', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 145-62.
- (1929c), 'Carvings in Soft Limestone', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co), 187-95.
- (1929d), 'Objects in Carved Ivory and Bone', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 203-48.
- (1929e), 'Miscellaneous Finds', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 378-98.
- (1930), 'Artemis Orthia: Some Additions and a Correction', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 50, 298-99.
- Dawkins, R.M., et al. (1906), 'Lakonia: I. Excavations at Sparta, 1907', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 13, 1-218.
- (1907), 'Lakonia: I. Excavations at Sparta, 1908', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 14, 1-160.
- Dawkins, R.M. (ed.), (1929), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: The Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies).
- Déonna, W. (1931), 'À propos d'une pendeloque archaïque de Tégée', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 55, 229-39.
- Dewailly, M. and Muss, U. (2008), 'Tonfiguren aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtum* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag), 117-24.

- Dickins, G. (1905-1906), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. The Great Altar near the Eurotas', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 295-302.
- (1908), 'The Art of Sparta', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 14 (68), 66-64.
- (1929), 'Terracotta Masks', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 163-86.
- Dietrich, B.C. (1962), 'Demeter, Erinys, Artemis', *Hermes*, 90 (2), 129-48.
- (1969), 'Peak Cults and Their Place in Minoan Religion', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 18 (3), 257-75.
- (1971), 'Minoan Peak Cult: A Reply', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 20 (5/6), 513-23.
- (1974), *The Origins of Greek Religion* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter).
- (1982), 'Evidence of Minoan Religious Traditions and Their Survival in the Mycenaean and Greek World', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 31 (1), 1-12.
- (1988), 'The instrument of Sacrifice', in R. Hagg, N. Marinatos, and G.C. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice: proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 29-29 June, 1986* (Stockholm: Göteborg), 35-40.
- Diller, A. (1941), 'A New Source on the Spartan Ephebia', *The American Journal of Philology*, 62 (4), 499-501.

- Dillon, M. (2000), 'Did Parthenoi Attend the Olympic Games? Girls and Women Competing, Spectating, and Carrying out Cult Roles at Greek Religious Festivals', *Hermes*, 128 (4), 457-80.
- (2002), *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London and New York: Routledge).
- (2007), 'Were Spartan Women Who Died in Childbirth Honoured with Grave Inscriptions?', *Hermes*, 135 (2), 149-65.
- Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) (2003), *Initiation in ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New critical perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Dodwell, E. (1819), *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece, during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806.*, 2 vols. (II; London: Thomas Davidson).
- Don, E., et al. (2007), 'Archaeology in Greece 2007-2008', *Archaeological Reports*, (54), 1-113.
- Donkow, I. (2004), 'The Ephesus Excavations 1863-1874, in the Light of the Ottoman Legislation on Antiquities', *Anatolian Studies*, 54, 109-17.
- Dörpfeld, W. (1883), 'Der Tempel der Athena Alea in Tegea', *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, 8, 274-85.
- Dowden, K. (1989), *Death and the maiden: girls' initiation rites in Greek mythology* (London: Routledge).
- Droop, J.P. (1910), 'The Dates of the Vases Called 'Cyrenaic'', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30, 1-34.

- (1929), 'Pottery', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 52-116.
- (1929b), 'Bronzes', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 196-202.
- (1932), 'Droop Cups and the Dating of Lakonian Pottery', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 52, 303-04.
- Ducat, J. (1999), 'Perspectives on Spartan education in the Classical period', in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds.), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.), 43-66.
- (2006), *Spartan Education, Youth and Society in the Classical Period*, trans. P.-J. Shaw and A. Powell, E. Stafford (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales).
- Dugas, Charles (1921), 'Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée avant le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 45, 335-435.
- Easton, D.F., et al. (2002), 'Troy in Recent Perspective', *Anatolian Studies*, 52, 75-109.
- Edmunds, L. (2007), 'Helen's Divine Origins', *Electronic Antiquity*, 10 (2), 1-45.
- Elderkin, G.W. (1939), 'The Bee of Artemis', *The American Journal of Philology*, 60 (2), 203-13.
- Elliger, W. (1985), *Geschichte einer antike Weltstadt* (Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer).
- Engelmann, H. and Büyükkolancı, M. (1998), 'Inschriften aus Ephesos', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 120, 65-82.

- Engelmann, H. and Knibbe, D. (1978-80), 'Aus ephesisschen Skizzenbüchern', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 52, 19-63.
- Evans, A.J. (1912), 'The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 32, 277-97.
- Evans-Grubbs, J. (1989), 'Abduction Marriage in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine (CTh IX. 24. I) and Its Social Context', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 79, 59-83.
- Fabrizii-Reuer, S. (2001), 'Die Skelettfunde aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut), 45-48.
- Fagerström, K. (1988), *Greek Iron Age Architecture. Developments through changing times* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, LXXXI; Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag).
- Falb, D.Z.K. (2009), 'Das Artemis Orthia-Heiligtum in Sparta im 7. und 6. Jh.v.Chr.', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press), 127-52.
- Falkener, E. (1862), *Ephesus, and the temple of Diana* (London: Day & Son).
- Farnell, L.R. (1896), *The Cults of the Greek States. Volume II* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press).
- Farrell, J. (1907-1908), 'Lakonia I. Excavations at Sparta, 1908. Archaic Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Orthia', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 14, 48-73.

- Ferrari, G. (2003), 'What kind of rite of passage was the ancient Greek wedding?', in D.B. Dodd and C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Initiation in ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New critical perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge), 27-42.
- Filson, F.V. (1945), 'Ephesus and the New Testament', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 8(3), 73-80.
- Fischer-Hansen, T. and Poulsen, B. (eds.) (2009), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology: Acta Hyperborea, 12. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press).
- Fleischer, R. (1973), *Artemis von Ephesos und Verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
- (1978), 'Artemis von Ephesos und Verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien (Supplement)', *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, 66, 324-58.
- Flower, M.A. (2009), 'Spartan 'Religion' and Greek 'Religion"', in S. Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales), 193-230.
- Forstenpointner, G. (2001), 'Demeter im Artemision? - Archäozoologische Überlegungen zu den Schweineknochenfunden aus dem Artemision', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologischen Instituts), 49-72.
- Forstenpointner, G., Kerschner, M., and Muss, U. (2008), 'Das Artemision in der späten Bronzezeit und der frühen Eisenzeit', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der*

- epheischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Wien: Duckworth), 33-46.
- Forster, E.S. and Woodward, A.M. (1906), 'Lakonia: II. Topography', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 13, 219-67.
- Foss, C. (1977), 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81 (4), 469-86.
- (1979), *Ephesus after antiquity: a late antique, Byzantine, and Turkish city* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Fougères, G. (1898), *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale / par Gustave Fougères* (Paris : Thorin et Fils).
- Frazer, Sir J. (1993), *The Golden Bough* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd.).
- Friesinger, H. and Krinzinger, F. (eds.) (1999), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.).
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F. (1995), *Du masque au visage: aspects de l'identité en Grèce ancienne* (Paris: Flammarion).
- Frothingham, A.L. (1911), 'Medusa, Apollo, and the Great Mother', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 15 (3), 349-77.
- Furtwangler, A., et al. (1932), *Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder. Serie 3* (München: F. Bruckmann).

- Garland, R. (1995), *The Eye of the Beholder. Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (London: Duckworth).
- Garvie, A.F. (1965), 'A Note on the Deity of Alcman's Partheneion', *The Classical Quarterly*, 15 (2), 185-87.
- Gebhard, E.R. (1998), 'Small dedications in Archaic Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek cult practice from the archaeological evidence: proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek cult organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag), 91-115.
- Geertz, C. (1968), 'Religion as a Cultural System', in M. Banton (ed.), *Anthropological approaches to the study of religion* (London: Routledge), 1-46.
- Gennep, A. van (1960), *The Rites of Passage*, trans. S.T. Kimball (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
- George, W.S. (1906-10, 1924-28), 'Tile stamp types', *Excavations from 1906-1910* (Athens: British School at Athens).
- (1906-1908), 'Catalogue of tile stamps, I', *Excavations 1906-1910* (Athens: British School at Athens).
- (1906-1908), 'Catalogue of lead figurines, I', *Excavations from 1906-1910* (Athens: British School at Athens).
- (1924-1928), 'Catalogue of Roman Coins found', *Excavations from 1924-1928* (Athens: British School at Athens).

- George, W.S. and Woodward, A.M. (1929), 'Architectural Terracottas', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 52-116.
- Gernet, L. (1968), *L'Anthropologie de la Grèce Antique* (Paris: Maspero).
- Gesell, Geraldine C. (2004), 'From Knossos to Kavousi: The Popularizing of the Minoan Palace Goddess', *Hesperia Supplements*, 33, 131-50.
- Gill, D.W.J. (1974), 'Trapezomata: A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 67 (2), 117-37.
- (1994), 'Acts and Roman Religion. Religion in a local setting', in D.W.J. Gill and C. Gempf (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company).
- Gill, D. and Vickers, M. (2001), 'Lakonian Lead Figurines: Mineral Extraction and Exchange in the Archaic Mediterranean', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 96, 229-36.
- Goff, B. (1999), 'The Violence of Community: Ritual in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*', in M.W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses), 109-28.
- Goldman, B. (1961), 'The Asiatic Ancestry of the Greek Gorgon', *Berytus Archaeological Studies*, 14 (1), 1-22.
- Goodison, L. and Morris, C. (eds.) (1998), *Ancient Goddesses. The Myths and the Evidence* (London: British Museum Press).

Graf, F. (1979), 'Das Gotterbild aus dem Taurerland', *Antike Welt*, 10 (4), 33-41.

- (ed.), (1998), *Ansichten Griechischer Rituale. Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner).
- (2003), 'Initiation, a concept with a troubled history', in D.B. Dodd and C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Initiation in ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New critical perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge), 3-24.
- (2003a), 'Lesser Mysteries', in M.B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *Greek Mysteries. The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London and New York: Routledge), 241-62.
- (2007), 'Religion and drama', in Marianne McDonald and Michael J. Walton (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Green, J.R. (1994), *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Green, R. (2007), 'Art and theatre in the ancient world', in M. McDonald and M.J. Walton (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 163-183.
- Gritz, S.H. (1991), *Paul, Women Teachers, and the Mother Goddess at Ephesus. A study of Timothy 2:9-15 in light of the religious and cultural milieu of the first century* (Lanham and London: University Press of America, Inc.).
- Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, S. (1978), *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier* (An enlargement of the author's thesis, Universität des Saarlandes, Saarbrücken, 1973.).

- Grundy, G. B. (1908), 'The Population and Policy of Sparta in the Fifth Century', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 28, 77-96.
- (1912), 'The Policy of Sparta', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 32, 261-69.
- Guralnick, E. (2004), 'A Group of Near Eastern Bronzes from Olympia', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 108 (2), 187-222.
- Haase, W. and Temporini, H. (eds.) (1990), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neueren Forschung. Teil II: Principat* (18; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter).
- Hägg, R. (ed.), (1998), *Ancient Greek cult practice from the archaeological evidence: proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek cult organised by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag).
- (ed.), (2002), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag).
- Hägg, R., Marinatos, N., and Nordquist, G.C. (eds.) (1988), *Early Greek Cult Practice: proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 29-29 June, 1986* (Stockholm: Göteborg).
- Håland, E.J. (2014), *Rituals of Death and Dying in Modern and Ancient Greece: writing history from a female perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing).
- Hamilton, R. (1989), 'Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 58 (4), 449-72.

- Hammond, L. (2005), 'Arkadian Miniature Pottery', in E. Østby (ed.), *Ancient Arkadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arkadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002* (The Norwegian Institute at Athens), 415-33.
- Hammond, N.G.L. (1950), 'The Lycurgean Reform at Sparta', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 70, 42-64.
- Hansman, J. (1976), 'Gilgamesh, Humbaba and the Land of the Erin-Trees', *Iraq*, 38 (1), 23-35.
- Harden, D. B. (1927), 'A Series of Terracottas Representing Artemis, Found at Tarentum', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 47, 93-101.
- Hawkins, J.D. (1998), 'Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel', *Anatolian Studies*, 48, 1-31.
- Head, B.V. (1892), *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (London).
- (1911), *Historia Numorum* (Oxford).
- Heilmeyer, W.-D. (1972), *Frühe Olympische Tonfiguren / photos von Gösta Hellner* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter).
- (1979), *Frühe Olympische Bronzefiguren* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut: Olympische Forschungen, XII; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co).
- Hellström, P. and Alroth, B. (eds.) (1996), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993* (24; Uppsala: Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations).

- Henderson, J. (ed.), (2007), *Aristophanes, Volume 5, Fragments* (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press).
- (ed.), (2009), *Longus: Daphnis and Chloe. Xenophon of Ephesus: Anthia and Habrocomes* (Loeb Classical library Cambridge (Mass.) and London Harvard University Press).
- Henrichs, A. (1993), 'He Has a God in Him': Human and Divine in the Modern Perception of Dionysus', in T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), 13-43.
- Higgins, R.A. (1967), *Greek Terracottas* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd.).
- (1980), *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- (1997), *Minoan and Mycenaean Art* (3 edn.; London: Thames and Hudson).
- Hill, A.E. (1992), 'Ancient Art and Artemis: Toward Explaining the Polymastic Nature of the Figurine', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*, 21, 91-94.
- Hjerrild, B. (2009), 'Near Eastern Equivalents to Artemis', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press), 41-50.
- Hodkinson, S. (1998), 'Patterns of bronze dedications at Spartan sanctuaries, c. 650—350 BC: towards a quantified database of material and religious investment', *British School at Athens Studies*, 4, 55-63.
- Hodkinson, S. (ed.), (2009), *Sparta: Comparative Approaches* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales).

- Hodkinson, S. and Powell, A. (eds.) (1999), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd.).
- Hoffmann, H. (1952), 'Antecedents of the Great Altar at Pergamon', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 11 (3), 1-5.
- Hogarth, D.G. (ed.), (1908), *Excavations at Ephesus. The Archaic Artemisia* (London: British Museum).
- Hölbl, G. (1978), *Zeugnisse Ägyptischer Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
- (2008), 'Ägyptisches Kulturgut im archaischen Artemision', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums*. (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag), 209-23.
- Holladay, A.J. (1977), 'Spartan Austerity', *The Classical Quarterly*, 27 (1), 111-26.
- Holliday, P.J. (1990), 'Time, History, and Ritual on the Ara Pacis Augustae', *The Art Bulletin*, 72 (4), 542-57.
- Hollinshead, M.B. (1985), 'Against Iphigeneia's Adyton in Three Mainland Temples', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 89 (3), 419-40.
- (1999), '"Adyton," "Opisthodomos," and the Inner Room of the Greek Temple', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 68 (2), 189-218.
- Holmberg, E.J. (1979), *Delphi and Olympia* (Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag).

- Hondius, J.J.E. and Woodward, A.M. (1919), 'Lakonia. I. Inscriptions', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 24, 88-143.
- Hopkins, C. (1934), 'Assyrian Elements in the Perseus-Gorgon Story', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 38 (3), 341-58.
- Hornblower, S. (1982), 'Thucydides, the Panionian Festival, and the Ephesia (III 104)', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 31 (2), 241-45.
- Howe, T.P. (1954), 'The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-Head', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 58 (3), 209-21.
- Howell, R. (1970), 'A Survey of Eastern Arkadia in Prehistory', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 65, 79-127.
- Hueber, F. (1995), *Ephesos. Stadt und Umland* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern).
- (1997), *Ephesos: gebaute Geschichte* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern).
- Hurwit, J.M. (2002), 'Reading the Chigi Vase', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 71 (1), 1-22.
- (2006), 'Lizards, Lions, and the Uncanny in Early Greek Art', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 75 (1), 121-36.
- (2007), 'The Human Figure in Early Greek Sculpture and Vase Painting', in A.H. Shapiro (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

- Huxley, G.L. (1983), 'Herodotos on Myth and Politics in Early Sparta', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 83C, 1-16.
- Imhoof-Blumer, F. and Gardner, P. (1886), 'Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias (Continued)', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7, 57-113.
- Ingalls, W.B. (1999), 'Traditional Greek choruses and the education of girls', *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 28 (4), 371-93.
- (2000), 'Ritual Performance as Training for Daughters in Archaic Greece', *Phoenix*, 54 (1/2), 1-20.
- Işik, F. (2001), 'Elfenbeinfiguren aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut), 85-100.
- Jacobsthal, P. (1951), 'The Date of the Ephesian Foundation-Deposit', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 71, 85-95.
- James, E.O. (1959), *The Cult of the Mother-Goddess: An Archaeological and Documentary Study* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Jameson, M.H. (1990), 'Perseus, the Hero of Mykenai', in R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (ed.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen).
- Jeanmaire, H. (1939), *Couroi et courètes: essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique* (Lille: Bibliothèque Universitaire).

- Jeffery, L.H. and Cartledge, P.A. (1982), 'Sparta and Samos: A Special Relationship?', *The Classical Quarterly*, 32 (2), 243-65.
- Jenkins, G.K. (1987), 'Hellenistic Gold Coins of Ephesos', in C. Bayburtluoglu (ed.), *Festschrift Akurgal* (Ankara), 183-88.
- Jenkins, I. (2006), *Greek Architecture and its Sculpture* (London: The British Museum Press).
- Jenkins, R.J.H. (1932-1933), 'Lakonian Terracottas of the Dedalic Style', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 33, 66-79.
- Jensen, M.S. (2009), 'Artemis in Homer', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press), 51-60.
- Jevons, F.B. (1891), 'Report on Greek Mythology', *Folklore*, 2 (2), 220-41.
- Jost, M. (1975), 'Statuettes de bronze provenant de Lykosoura', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 99 (1), 339-64.
- (1985), *Sanctuaires et Cultes d'Arcadie* (Etudes Peloponnesiennes IX; Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin).
- Jouanna, J. (1982), 'Sens et Étymologie de Ἀλέα (I et II) et de Ἀλκή', *Revue des Études Grecques*, 15-36.
- Kahil, L. (1965), 'Autour de l'Artemis Attique', *Antike Kunst*, 8 (1), 20-33.
- (1981), 'Le "Cratérisque" d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'Acropole', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 50 (3), 253-63.

- (1983), 'Mythological Repertoire of Brauron', in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison WI and London: The University of Wisconsin Press), 231-44.
- Kalpaxis, A.E. (1976), *Früharchaische Baukunst in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (Athens).
- Kampen, J. (2003), 'The Cult of Artemis and the Essenes in Syro-Palestine', *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 10 (2), 205-20.
- Kantor, H.J. (1956), 'Syro-Palestinian Ivories', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 15 (3), 153-74.
- Kaplan, P. (2006), 'Dedications to Greek Sanctuaries by Foreign Kings in the Eighth through Sixth Centuries BCE', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 55 (2), 129-52.
- Karwiese, S. (1995), *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos. Die Geschichte einer der grossen Städte der Antike* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag).
- (2008), 'Das Artemision von Ephesos und die 'Er-Findung' der Münze', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna Phoibos Verlag), 133-48.
- Keil, J. (1943), 'Drei neue Inschriften aus Ephesos', *Wiener Jahreshefte herausgegeben von der zweigstelle Wien des Archäologischen Institutes des deutschen Reiches*, 35, 101-21.

- Kerschner, M. (1997), 'Ein stratifizierter Opferkomplex des 7. Jh.s v. Chr. aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 66 (Beiblatt), 85-228.
- (2008), 'Keramik aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtum* (Vienna: Phoibus Verlag), 125-32.
- (2011), 'Approaching Aspects of Cult Practice and Ethnicity in Early Iron Age Ephesos using Quantitative Analysis of a Protogeometric Deposit from the Artemision', in S. Verdan, T. Theurillat, and A. Kenzelmann Pfyffer (eds.), *Early Iron Age Pottery: A Quantitative Approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)* (Oxford: Archaeopress).
- Kerschner, M. and Prochaska, W. (2011), 'Die Tempel und Altäre der Artemis in Ephesos und ihre Baumaterialien', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 80, 73-154.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier, I. (1979), *Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlangsbuchhandlung).
- Klebinder, G. (2001), 'Bronzegürtel aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologischen Instituts), 111-22.

- Klebinder-Gauß, G. (2003), 'Zwei Bronzene Doppeläxte aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 72, 133-40.
- (2008), 'Weihegaben aus Bronze', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag), 149-56.
- Knibbe, D. (1961-1963), 'Ein religiöser Frevel und seine Sühne. Ein Todesurteil hellenistischer Zeit aus Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 46, 175-82.
- (1995), 'Via Sacra Ephesiaca: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia', in H. Koester (ed.), *Ephesos. Metropolis of Asia. An interdisciplinary approach to its archaeology, religion, and culture* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International), 141-155.
- (1998), *Ephesus. Geschichte einer bedeutenden antiken Stadt und Portrait einer modernen Grossgrabung: im 102. Jahr der Wiederkehr des Beginnes Österreichischer Forschungen (1895-1997)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).
- Knibbe, D. and Langmann, G. (1993), *Via Sacra Ephesiaca I* (Vienna: Schindler).
- Knibbe, D., Meriç, R., and Merkelbach, R. (1979), 'Der Grundbesitz der ephesischen Artemis im Kaystrostal', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 33, 139-47.
- Koenen, L. (1969), 'Eine Hypothese zur Auge des Euripides und tegeatische Plynterien (P. Colon. Inv. nr. 264)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 4, 7-18.

- Koester, H. (ed.), (1995), *Ephesos. Metropolis of Asia. An interdisciplinary approach to its archaeology, religion, and culture* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International).
- Kopanias, K. (2009), 'Some ivories from the Geometric stratum at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta: interconnections between Sparta, Crete and the Orient during the late eighth century BC', *British School at Athens Studies*, 16, 123-31.
- Köse, V. (2012), 'Asia Minor', in T.J. Smith and D. Plantzos (eds.), *A Companion to Greek Art. Volume 1* (Hoboken (NJ): Wiley-Blackwell).
- Kraft, J.C., et al. (2000), 'A Geologic Analysis of Ancient Landscapes and Harbors of Ephesus and the Artemision in Anatolia', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 69 175-234.
- Kraft, J.C., Kayan, I., and Bruckner, H. (2001), 'The Geological and Palogeographical Environs of the Artemision', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologischen Instituts), 123-34.
- Kraus, M. (1908), 'Artemis Aphaia', *The Classical Review*, 22 (1), 17.
- Kron, U. (1988), 'Sickles in Greek Sanctuaries', in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice: proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 26-29 June, 1986* (Stockholm: Göteborg), 187-216.
- Kuhn, G. (1984), 'Der Altar der Artemis in Ephesos', *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*, 99, 199-216.

- Kunze, E. (1933), 'The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Edited by R.M. Dawkins', *Gnomon*, 9, 1-14.
- Kunze, M. (1991), *The Pergamon Altar: Its Rediscovery, History and Reconstruction* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung).
- Kyrieleis, H. (1993), 'The Heraion at Samos', in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (London and New York: Routledge), 125-53.
- Laffineur, R. and Hägg, R. (eds.) (2001), *POTNIA. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000* (Aegaeum 22; Liège: L'Université de Liège).
- Lane, E.A. (1933-1934), 'Lakonian Vase-Painting', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 34, 99-189.
- Lane, E.N. (ed.), (1996), *Cybele, Attis and related cults* (Leiden, New York, Cologne: E.J. Brill).
- Larson, J. (2007), *Ancient Greek Cults. A guide* (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group).
- Lawler, L.B. (1942), 'The Dance of the Holy Birds', *The Classical Journal*, 37 (6), 351-61.
- Leake, W.M. (1830), *Travels in the Morea. With a Map and Plans I* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street).
- Léger, R.M. (2011), 'Artemis in Attica', MA thesis (Utrecht: Utrecht University).

- (2013), 'A Sanctuary of Artemis the Fertility Goddess', *Rosetta*, 13 (5), 16-21.
- Leick, G. (1991), *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Lethaby, W.R. (1913), 'The Sculptures of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 33, 87-96.
- (1914), 'Further Notes on the Sculpture of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 34, 76-88.
- (1916), 'Another Note on the Sculpture of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 36, 25-35.
- Lethaby, W.R. (1908), *Greek Buildings Represented by Fragments in the British Museum* (London: B.T. Batsford).
- Lichtenecker, E. (1952), *Die Kultbilder der Artemis von Ephesos*, PhD (Tübingen).
- LiDonnici, L.R. (1992), 'The Images of Artemis Ephesia and Greco-Roman Worship: A Reconsideration', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 85 (4), 389-415.
- Linders, T. (1972), *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia found in Athens* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen).
- Lindsay, J. (1974), *Helen of Troy. Woman and Goddess* (London: Constable and Company Ltd).
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1983), 'Artemis and Iphigeneia', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 103, 87-102.

- Lonsdale, S. (1993), *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Lowe Fri, M. (2011), *The Minoan Double Axe. An experimental study of production and use* (Oxford: Archaeopress).
- MacCary, W.T. (1970), 'Menander's Characters: Their Names, Roles and Masks', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 101, 277-90.
- Malkin, I. (1991), 'What Is an "Aphidruma?"', *Classical Antiquity*, 10 (1), 77-96.
- Marakas, G. (2010), *Ritual Practice between the Late Bronze Age and Protogeometric Periods of Greece* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 2145; Oxford: Archaeopress).
- Marangou, E.-L. (1969), *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien* (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth).
- Marinatos, N. (1993), *Minoan Religion. Ritual, Image, and Symbol* (Columbia (South Carolina): University of South Carolina Press).
- (1998), 'Goddess and Monster: An Investigation of Artemis', in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten Griechischer Rituale. Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner), 114-25.
- (2000), *The Goddess and the Warrior. The naked goddess and Mistress of Animals in early Greek religion* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Marinatos, N. and Hägg, R. (eds.) (1993), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (London and New York: Routledge).

- Martin, P.R. (2007), 'Ancient theatre and performance culture', in M. McDonald and M.J. Walton (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mazarakis-Ainian, a. (1997) *Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 B.C.)* (Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag).
- McCart, G. (2007), 'Masks in Greek and Roman theatre', in M. McDonald and M.J. Walton (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 247-267.
- McDonald, M. and Walton, M.J. (eds.) (2007), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Melcher, M., et al. (2009), 'Investigation of ancient gold objects from Artemision at Ephesus using portable  $\mu$ -XRF', *ArchéoSciences*, 33, 169-75.
- Mellink, M.J. (1976), 'Archaeology in Asia Minor', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 80 (3), 261-89.
- Mendel, G. (1901), 'Fouilles de Tégée: rapport sommaire sur la campagne de 1900-1901', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 25, 241-81.
- Meriç, R., Merkelbach, R., Nollé, J. and Sahin, S. (1981), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos. Teil 7.2: Nr. 3501-5115 (Repertorium)* (Habelt, Bonn: Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd. 17.2).
- Merkelbach, R. (1978), 'The Girl in the Rosebush: A Turkish Tale and Its Roots in Ancient Ritual', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 82, 1-15.

- Mertens, J.R. (2002), 'An Early Greek Bronze Sphinx Support', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 37, 23-33.
- Michell, H. (1964), *Sparta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mikalson, J.D. (1991), *Honor thy Gods: Popular Religion in Greek Tragedy* (Chapel Hill, NC).
- (2010), *Ancient Greek religion* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Milchhöfer, A. (1880), 'Untersuchungsausgrabungen in Tegea', *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, 5, 52-69, Plate II-IV.
- Miller, W., et al. (1930), 'Notes', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 50, 327-36.
- Mitchell-Boyask, R. (1999), 'Euripides' *Hippolytus* and the Trials of Manhood (The Ephebeia?)', in M.W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses), 42-66.
- Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (2009), *Vravrón: die Tonstatuetten aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Brauronia: die frühen Statuetten 7. bis 5. Jh.v.Chr* (Athens: Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Athen).
- Moore, R.J. and Ostwald, M.J. (1997), 'Choral Dance: Ruskin and Dædalus', *Assemblage*, (32), 89-107.
- Moretti, G. (1948), *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato).
- Morgan, C. (1996), 'From Palace to Polis? Religious Developments on the Greek Mainland during the Bronze Age/Iron Age Transition', in P. Hellström and B. Alroth (eds.), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the*

- Uppsala Symposium 1993* (24; Uppsala: Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations), 41-58.
- (2009) 'The Early Iron Age', in K.A. Raaflaub and H. Van Wees (eds.), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), 43-63.
- Morizot, Y. (1994), 'Artemis, l'eau et la vie humaine', *Supplements au Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 28, 201-16.
- Morris, S.P. (2001), 'The Prehistoric Background of Artemis Ephesia: A Solution to the Enigma of the 'Breasts'?', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologischen Instituts), 135-52.
- (2008), 'Zur Vorgeschichte der Artemis Ephesia', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Wien: Duckworth), 57-62.
- Moscatti, S. (1973), *The World of the Phoenicians*, trans. A. Hamilton (London: Cardinal).
- (ed.), (2001), *The Phoenicians* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers).
- Murray, A. S. (1889), 'Remains of Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesus', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10, 1-10.
- (1895/1896), 'The Sculptured Columns of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3 (3), 41ff.
- Muss, U. (1994), *Die Bauplastik der Archaischen Artemisions von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 25; Vienna: Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts).

- (ed.), (2001), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut).
- (ed.), (2008), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Wien: Phoibos Verlag).
- (2008a), 'Zur Geschichte des Artemision', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna: Duckworth), 47-56.
- (2008b), 'Kultbild und Statuetten - Gottinnen im Artemision', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna Duckworth), 63-66.
- (2008c), 'Elfenbein und Bein aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', in U. Muss (ed.), *Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag), 103-16.
- Muss, U., Bammer, A., in cooperation with M. Büyükkolancı, (2001), *Der Altar des Artemision von Ephesos* (Forschungen in Ephesos, 12.2; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften).
- Muss, U. and Müller-Kaspar, U. (1989), 'Beobachtungen an einem Fragment aus dem Artemision', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 59, 39-42.
- Napier, A.D. (1986), *Masks, Transformation, and Paradox* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press).

- Neer, T.R. (2007), 'Delphi, Olympia, and the Art of Politics', in A.H. Shapiro (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Negbi, O. (1992), 'Early Phoenician Presence in the Mediterranean Islands: A Reappraisal', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 96 (4), 599-615.
- Newton, C.T. and Hicks, E.L. (eds.) (1890), *The collection of ancient Greek inscriptions in the British Museum - Part 3 : Priene, Iasos and Ephesos* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Nilsson, M.P. (1927), *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion* (Lund: Gleerup).
- (1941), *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* (Munche: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung).
- (1950), *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion* (2nd rev. ed. edn.; Lund: Gleerup).
- (1957), *Griechische Feste von Religiöser Bedeutung; mit ausschluss der Attischen* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner).
- Nordquist, G.C. (2002), 'A House for Athena Alea? On Two Fragments of House Models from the Sanctuary at Tegea', *Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arkadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*.
- (2002a), 'Evidence for Pre-Classical Cult activity beneath the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of*

*the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag), 149-58.

----- (2013), 'Each in its right place. The placing of the votives at the early temples at Tegea', in A.-L. Schallin (ed.), *Perspectives on ancient Greece. Papers in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Swedish Institute at Athens* (Stockholm), 103-12.

----- (forthcoming), 'Results of the field work in the temple sector', in G.C. Nordquist, M.E. Voyatzis, and E. Østby (eds.), *Tegea 1. Investigations in the temple of Athena Alea 1991-94*.

Norman, N.J. (1984), 'The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 88 (2), 169-94.

Nosch, M.L. (2009), 'Approaches to Artemis in Bronze Age Greece', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press), 21-40.

Ogden, D. (ed.), (2007), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Malden (MA)).

Ohnesorg, A. (2005), *Ionische Altäre: formen und varianten einer Architekturgattung aus Insel- und Ostionien* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag).

----- (2007), *Der Kroisos-tempel. Neue Forschungen zum archaischen Dipteros der Artemis von Ephesos* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften).

Østby, E. (1986), 'The Archaic temple of Athena Alea at Tegea', *Opuscula Atheniensa*, XVI (7), 75-102.

- , et al. (1994), 'The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: first preliminary report (1990-1992)', *Opuscula Atheniensa*, XX, 89-142.
- (2002), 'Recent Excavations in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: Results and Problems', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag), 139-47.
- (2005), 'Archaic Temple Architecture in Arkadia', in E. Østby (ed.), *Ancient Arkadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arkadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, 493-506.
- (ed.), (2005a), *Ancient Arkadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arkadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002* (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens).
- (2007), 'Early Tegea, Sparta and the sanctuary of Athena Alea', in B. Cavanagh and S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Being Peloponnesian* (Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies, University of Nottingham).
- (ed.), (forthcoming 2015), *Tegea I, Investigations in the temple of Athena Alea 1991-94* (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens).
- Oster, R.E. (1990), 'Ephesus as a Religious Center under the Principate, I. Paganism before Constantine', in W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neueren Forschung. Teil II: Principat* (18; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter), 1661-728.

- Padilla, M.W. (ed.), (1999), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses).
- Pakkanen, J. (1998), *The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. A Reconstruction of the Peristyle Column* (Helsinki: Department of Art History at the University of Helsinki, no. XVIII in Co-operation with the Finnish Institute at Athens).
- Palaiokrassa, L. (1989), 'Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Munichia', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*, 104, 1-40.
- Palmer, J.L. (2014), 'An analysis of Late Bronze Age Aegean glyptic motifs of a religious nature', PhD (University of Birmingham, Department of Classics, Ancient History and Archaeology, School of Historical Studies).
- Parker, C.R. (2008), 'Arkadia in transition: exploring late Bronze Age and early Iron Age human landscape', PhD (University of Birmingham, Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, School of Historical Studies).
- Parlasca, K. (1978), 'Zur Artemis Ephesia als Dea Natura in der Klassizistischen Kunst', *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, 66, 679-89.
- Parvis, M.M. (1945), 'Archaeology and St. Paul's Journeys in Greek Lands: Ephesus', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 8 (3), 62-73.
- (1945), 'Archaeology and St. Paul's Journeys in Greek Lands: Ephesus', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 8 (3), 62-73.

- Payne, H. (1931), *Necrocorinthia: a study of Corinthian art in the Archaic period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Payne, H. and Dunbabin, T.J. (1940-1962), *Perachora: the sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia. Excavations of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1930-1933. Volume II: Pottery, ivories, scarabs and other objects from the votive deposit of Hera Limenia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Pedley, J. (2005), *Sanctuaries and the sacred in the ancient Greek world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Pelling, C.B.R. (ed.), (1997), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- (2000) *Literary texts and the Greek historian* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Petrovic, I. (2010), 'Transforming Artemis: from the Goddess of the Outdoors to City Goddess', in J.N. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece. Identities and Transformations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 209-27.
- Philipp, H. (1981), *Bronzeschmuck aus Olympia* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut: Olympische Forschungen, XIII; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co).
- Picard, C. (1933), 'Remarques sur les sculptures monumentales du sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée. I. L'Autel fédéral', *Revue des Études Grecques*, 381-422.
- (1934), 'Remarques sur les sculptures monumentales du sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée. II. Le côté oriental du temple', *Revue des Études Grecques*, 385-420.
- (1935), 'Remarques sur les sculptures monumentales du sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée', *Revue des Études Grecques*, 475-504.

- Pickard-Cambridge, A.W. (1927), *Dithyramb, tragedy and comedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Pinney, M. E. (1925), 'Votive Gifts to Artemis Orthia', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 20 (6), 157-59.
- Polignac, F. de (1984), *Cults, Territory, and the origins of the Greek city-state*, trans. J. Lloyd (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press).
- Pomeroy, S.B. (1995), *Goddesses, whores, wives, and slaves: women in Classical antiquity* (New York).
- (2002), *Spartan Women* (Oxford: University Press).
- Portefaix, L. (1999), 'The Image of Artemis Ephesia - A Symbolic Configuration related to her Mysteries?', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichisches Akademie der Wissenschaften), 611-18.
- Poulsen, F. (1912), *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner).
- Price, T.H. (1978), *Kourotrophos: cults and representations of the Greek nursing deities* (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
- Pülz, A.M. (2001), 'Zur Interpretation von Motiven: Die Goldappliken aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologischen Instituts), 221-32.

- Pülz, A.M. and Buhler, B. (2006), 'Die Goldappliken aus dem Artemision von Ephesos. Studien zur Typologie und Technik', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, 75, 219-36.
- Raaflaub, K.A., and Wees, H. Van (eds.) (2009), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Radner, K. (2001), 'Kompositstatuen von Typus der Ephesia aus dem vorgriechischen Heiligtum. Zur Herstellung und Pflege von Götterstatuen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum und im Vorderen Orient im frühen ersten Jahrtausend', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften Band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut), 233-64.
- Redfield, J. (1977), 'The Women of Sparta', *The Classical Journal*, 73 (2), 146-61.
- Rehm, R. (2007), 'Festivals and audiences in Athens and Rome', in M. McDonald and M.J. Walton (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Revell, L. (2009), *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Rhodes, R.F. and Dobbins, J.J. (1979), 'The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Akropolis', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 48 (4), 325-41.
- Rhomaïos, K. (1909), "Ἐργασίαι ἐν Τεγέᾳ", *Praktika*, 303-16.
- Richer, N. (2007), 'The Religious System at Sparta', in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Malden (Massachusetts): Wiley-Blackwell), 236-52.

- Robert, C. (1920), 'Die Hera von Tiryns', *Hermes*, 55 (4), 373-87.
- Robertson, M. (1958), 'The Gorgos Cup', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 62 (1), 55-66.
- Robertson, N. (1996), 'The Ancient Mother of the Gods, a Missing Chapter in the History of Greek Religion', in E.N. Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis and related cults* (Leiden, New York, Berlin: E.J. Brill), 239-304.
- Robinson, E. S. G. (1951), 'The Coins from the Ephesian Artemision Reconsidered', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 71, 156-67.
- Rogers, G.M. (1991), *The sacred identity of Ephesos: foundation myths of a Roman city* (London and New York: Routledge).
- (1992), 'The Constructions of Women at Ephesos', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 90, 215-23.
- (1999), 'The Mysteries of Artemis at Ephesos', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums Wien 1995* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichisches Akademie der Wissenschaften), 241-50.
- (2012), *The mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: cult, polis, and change in the Graeco-Roman world* (New Haven (Connecticut) and London: Yale University Press).
- Roller, L.E. (1999), *In Search of God the Mother. The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press).
- Rolley, C. (1969), *Les Statuettes de Bronze* (Fouilles de Delphes, 5.1; Athens: Ecole française d'Athènes).

----- (1977), *Les trepieds a cuve clouee* (Fouilles de Delphes, 5.3; Athens: Ecole française d'Athènes).

Romano, I.B. (1988), 'Early Greek cult images and cult practices', in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and GC. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium at the Swedisch Institute at Athens, 26-29 June 1986*. (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag), 127-33.

Romano, I.B. (1980), 'Early Greek Cult Images', PhD (University of Pennsylvania).

Rose, H.J. (1929), 'The Cult of Orthia', in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 399-408.

----- (1941), 'Greek Rites of Stealing', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 34 (1), 1-5.

Ross, L. (1841), *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland. I: Reisen im Peloponnes* (Berlin: G. Reimer).

Rouse, W.H.D. (1902), *Votive Offerings: an essay in the history of Greek religion* (Cambridge: The University Press).

Rutherford Harley, T. (1934), 'The Public School of Sparta', *Greece & Rome*, 3 (9), 129-39.

Salis, A. von (1912), *Der Altar von Pergamon: ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barockstils in Kleinasien* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer).

Schadler, U. (2001), 'Griechische Geometrie im Artemision von Ephesos', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologischen Instituts), 279-88.

- Schallin, A.-L. (ed.), (2013), *Perspectives on ancient Greece. Papers in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Swedish Institute at Athens* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen).
- Schattner, T.G. (1990), *Griechische Hausmodelle. Untersuchungen zurfrühgriechischen Architektur* (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung, 15. Beiheft; Berlin: Gerb. Mann Verlag).
- Scheich, C. (2001), 'Ein Stier- und Löwenkopfanhänger aus Gold aus dem Artemision von Ephesos: Eine goldschmiedetechnische Untersuchung', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Sonderschriften band 37; Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologischen Instituts), 289-96.
- Scherrer, P. (ed.), (1995), *Ephesos, der neue Führer: 100 Jahre Österreichische Ausgrabungen 1895-1995* (Vienna: Agens-Werk).
- (ed.), (2000), *Ephesus: the new guide*, trans. L. Bier and G.M. Luxon (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlan).
- Schlesier, R. (1993), 'Mixtures of Masks: Maenads as Tragic Models', in T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), 89-114.
- Schmidt, E. (1965), *The Great Altar of Pergamon* (London: Peter Owen).
- Seaford, R. (1993), 'Dionysus as Destroyer of the Household: Homer, Tragedy, and the Polis', in T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), 115-46.

- Searls, H.E. and Dinsmoor, W.B. (1945), 'The Date of the Olympia Heraeum', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 49 (1), 62-80.
- Seipel, W. (ed.), (2008), *Das Artemision von Ephesos. Heiliger Platz einer Göttin* (Istanbul: Archäologisches Museum Istanbul).
- Seiterle, G. (1979), 'Artemis: die Grosse Göttin von Ephesos', *Antike Welt*, 10, 3-16.
- (1984), 'Zum Ursprung der griechischen Maske, der Tragödie und der Satyrn. Bericht über den Rekonstruktionsversuch der vortheatrale Maske', *Antike Kunst*, 27 (3), 135-45.
- Serwint, N. (1993), 'The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 97 (3), 403-22.
- Shimron, B. (1964), 'The Spartan Polity after the Defeat of Cleomenes III', *The Classical Quarterly*, 14 (2), 232-39.
- Simon, E. (1967), *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Greenwich (Connecticut): New York Graphic Society).
- Sissa, G. (1990), 'Maidenhood without maidenhead', in J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin D. Halperin (ed.), *Before Sexuality: the construction of erotic experience in the ancient Greek world* (Princeton (New Jersey) and Oxford: Princeton University Press).
- Six, J. (1885), 'Some Archaic Gorgons in the British Museum', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 6, 275-86.
- Skutsch, Otto (1987), 'Helen, Her Name and Nature', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 107, 188-93.

- Smith, A. H. (1916), 'Some Recently Acquired Reliefs in the British Museum', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 36, 65-86.
- Smith, C. (1908), 'The Ivory Statuettes', in D.G. Hogarth (ed.), *Excavations at Ephesus: the Archaic Artemisia* (London), 155-85.
- Smith, J.O. (1996), 'The high priests of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus', in E. Lane and M.J. Vermaseren (eds.), *Cybele, Attis and related cults*, 323-36.
- Smith, T.J. (2010), *Komast Dancers in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Snodgrass, A.M. (1971), *The Dark Age of Greece: An Archaeological Survey of the Eleventh to the Eight Centuries BC* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Sokolowski, F. (1965), 'A New Testimony on the Cult of Artemis of Ephesus', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 58 (4), 427-31.
- Sourvinou, C. (1971), 'Paides e parthenoi. 1. by A. Brelich', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 91, 172-77.
- (1971), 'Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 641-647', *The Classical Quarterly*, 21 (2), 339-42.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1987), 'A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 107, 131-53.
- (1990), 'What is *Polis* Religion?', in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 295-322.
- (1997), 'Tragedy and Religion: Constructs and Readings', in C.B.R. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 161-87.

- Stern, E. (1976), 'Phoenician Masks and Pendants', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 108, 109-18.
- Steskal, M. (2008), 'Rituelle Bestättungen im Prytaneion von Ephesos? Zu den Fundumständen der Artemis Ephesia-Statuen', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 77, 363-74.
- Stewart, A.F. (1977), *Skopas of Paros* (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press).
- Stinton, T.C.W. (1976), 'Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron', *The Classical Quarterly*, 26 (1), 11-13.
- Strelan, R. (1996), *Paul, Artemis and the Jews in Ephesus* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter).
- Stubbs, H.W. (1950), 'Spartan Austerity: A Possible Explanation', *The Classical Quarterly*, 44 (1/2), 32-37.
- Szidat, S. (2004), 'Die 'Buckel' der Artemis Ephesia: zur Bedeutung des Motivs und zu seinen ikonographischen Vorläufern', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 119, 83-129.
- Tarditi, C. (2005), 'The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea: Recent Excavations in the Northern Area. Results and Problems', in E. Østby (ed.), *Ancient Arkadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arkadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002* (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens), 197-207.
- Tazelaar, C.M. (1967), 'ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΗΒΟΙ: Some Notes on the Spartan Stages of Youth', *Mnemosyne*, 20 (2), 127-53.

Themelis, P.G. (1971), *Brauron. Führer durch das Heiligtum und das Museum* (Athens: Apollo Verlag).

----- (2004), 'Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης', *Praktika*, 27-53.

Thomas, C.R. (1995), 'At Home in the City of Artemis: Religion in Ephesos in the Literary Imagination of the Roman Period', in H. Koester (ed.), *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia. An interdisciplinary approach to its archaeology, religion, and culture* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International), 81-118.

Thomas, N.R. (2004), 'The Early Mycenaean Lion up to Date', *Hesperia Supplements*, 33, 161-206.

Thompson, M.S. (1909), 'The Asiatic or Winged Artemis', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 29, 286-307.

Thür, G. and Taeuber, H. (1994), *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien (IPArk)*. (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Vienna).

Thür, H. (1995), 'Der ephesische Ktistes Androklos und (s)ein Heroon am Embolos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 64, 63-104.

Tierney, M. (1929), 'Ephesus, Pagan and Christian', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 18 (71), 449-63.

----- (1929), 'Ephesus, Pagan and Christian', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 18(71), 449-63.

Tillyard, H.J.W. (1905-1906), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. Inscriptions from the Artemisium', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 351-93.

- Tod, M.N. and Wace, A.J.B. (1906), *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press).
- Torelli, M. (1982), *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Toynbee, A.J. (1913), 'The Growth of Sparta', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 33, 246-75.
- Trebilco, P. (1994), 'Asia', in D.W.J. Gill and C. Gempf (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company), 291-362.
- Tréheux, J. and Santerre, H.G. de (1947), 'Rapport sur le dépôt Égéen et géométrique de l'Artémision à Délos', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 72, 148-254.
- Treu, G. (1881), 'Fragmente aus den tegeatische Giebelgruppen des Skopas', *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, 6, 393-423.
- Uberti, M.L. (2001), 'Ivory and Bone Carving', in S. Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers), 456-71.
- Ure, P.N. (1932), 'Droop Cups', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 52, 55-71.
- Verdan, S., Theurillat, T., and Kenzelmann Pfyffer, A. (eds.) (2011), *Early Iron Age Pottery: A Quantitative Approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)* (Oxford: Archaeopress).
- Vérilhac, A.-M. and Vial, C. (1998), *Le mariage Grec du VIe siècle av. J.-C. à l'époque d'Auguste* (Athènes: École Française d'Athènes).

- Vernant, J.-P. (1980), *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Sussex and New Jersey: Harvester Press and Humanities Press).
- (1991), *Mortals and Immortals. Collected essays* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press).
- Vernant, J.-P. and Vidal-Naquet, P. (1990), *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: Zone Books).
- Vidal-Naquet, P. (1986), *The Black Hunter. Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Vivante, B. (Zweig) (2001), 'Feminism, Women's Spirituality, Helen, Multi-Ethnicity: The Woven Fabric of My Perspective on Ancient Greek Drama, Literature, and Culture', *Arethusa*, 34 (2), 137-51.
- Voyatzis, M.E. (1990), *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea And Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arkadia* (Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag).
- (1992), 'Votive riders seated side-saddle at early Greek sanctuaries', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 87, 259-79.
- (1995), 'Geometric Arkadia', in Ch. Morris (ed.), *Klados. Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 63; London: Institute of Classical Studies), 271-83.
- (1997), 'Illuminating the 'Dark Age': An Examination of the Early Iron Age Pottery from Tegea', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 101 (2), 349-50.

- (1998), 'From Athena to Zeus: An A-Z Guide to the Origins of Greek Goddesses', in L. Goodison and C. Morris (eds.), *Ancient Goddesses. The Myths and the Evidence* (London: British Museum Press), 133-47.
- (2002), 'An Analysis of Votive Types Recently Found at Tegea', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994* (Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag), 159-168.
- (2004), 'The Cult of Athena Alea at Tegea and its transformation over time', in M. Wedde, *Celebrations. Selected papers and discussions of the Tenth Anniversary Symposium of the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 12-16 May 1999* (Bergen: Paul Åströms Förlag), 187-206.
- (2005), 'Pottery at the crossroads: Ceramic trends in south-east Arkadia', in E. Østby (ed.), *Ancient Arkadia: papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arkadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002 (Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 8)* (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens), 467-82.
- Wace, A.J.B. (1905-1906a), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. The City Wall', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 284-87.
- (1905-1906b), 'Lakonia. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. The Stamped Tiles', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 12, 344-50.
- (1929), 'Lead Figurines', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 249-84.

- (1929a), 'Miscellaneous Finds', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co.), 378-99.
- Wade-Gery, H.T. (1949), 'A Note on the Origin of the Spartan Gymnopaïdai', *The Classical Quarterly*, 43 (1/2), 79-81.
- Walters, J.C. (1995), 'Egyptian Religions in Ephesos', in H. Koester (ed.), *Ephesos. Metropolis of Asia. An interdisciplinary approach to its archaeology, religion, and culture* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International), 281-310.
- Wankel, H. (1979), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos. Teil 1.a: 1-47* (Habelt, Bonn: Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien Bd. 11).
- Waugh, N. (2009), 'Visualising fertility at Artemis Orthia's site', *British School at Athens Studies*, 16, 159-67.
- Webster, T.B.L. (1956), *Greek theatre production* (London: Methuen Publishing).
- Weege, F. (1976), *Der Tanz in der Antike* (Hildesheim: Olms).
- Weissl, M. (2002), 'Grundzüge der Bau- und Schichtenfolge im Artemision von Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 71, 313-46.
- Wesenberg, B. (1981), 'Agesilaos im Artemision', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 41, 175-80.
- (2001), 'B.M. 1206 und die Rekonstruktion der *columnae caelatae* des jüngeren Artemision', in U. Muss (ed.), *Der Kosmos der Artemis von Ephesos* (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut).

- Whitley, J. (2004), 'Archaeology in Greece, 2004-2005', *Archaeological Reports*, (51), 1-118.
- Whitley, J., et al. (2005), 'Archaeology in Greece 2005-2006', *Archaeological Reports*, (52), 1-112.
- Whitley, J., et al. (2006), 'Archaeology in Greece 2006-2007', *Archaeological Reports*, (53), 1-121.
- Wide, S. (1893), *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner).
- Williams, M.F. (1928), 'The Collection of Western Asiatic Seals in the Haskell Oriental Museum', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 44 (4), 232-53.
- Winnefeld, H. (1910), *Die Friese des Groszen Altars* (Berlin: Georg Reimer).
- Winter, I.J. (1976), 'Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution', *Iraq*, 38 (1), 1-22.
- Wood, J.T. (1877), *Discoveries at Ephesus, including the site and remains of the great temple of Diana* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.).
- Woodward, A.M. (1950), 'Ancient Sparta: A Re-examination of the Evidence by K.M.T. Chrimes', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 1 (4), 616-34.
- (1929), 'Inscriptions', in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited), 285-377.

- Yavis, C.G. (1949), *Greek Altars: origins and typology: including the Minoan-Mycenean offertory appartatus: an archaeological study in the history of religion* (Saint Louis, Mississippi: Saint Louis University Press).
- Young, J.C. (1926), 'Old Sparta Slowly Coming to Light. Buried for Centuries on Historic Site, It Yields Up Its Treasures to British Spades', *The New York Times Magazine*.
- Zabrana, L. (2011), 'Vorbericht zur sogenannten Tribune im Artemision von Ephesos - ein neues Odeion im Heiligtum der Artemis ', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, 80, 341-64.
- Zanker, P. (1988), *The power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Zarifi, Y. (2007), 'Chorus and dance in the ancient world', in M. McDonald and M.J. Walton (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 227-246.

## ARTEMIS AND HER CULT - APPENDIX

## APPENDICES: 1-25

---

Appendix 1: a summary of the three main Attic cult sites for Artemis.....	1
Brauron: Cult of Artemis Brauronia .....	1
Mounichia, the Piraeus: Cult of Artemis Mounichia.....	2
Halai Araphenides/Loutsa: Cult of Artemis Tauropolos .....	3
Appendix 2: Votive objects found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.....	6
2.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta. ....	6
2.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta .....	11
2.3 Human Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta .....	14
2.4 Animal Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.....	16
Appendix 3: Votive objects found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus.....	18
3.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus .....	18
3.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus.....	23
3.3 Human Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus.....	26
3.4 Animal Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus .....	28
Appendix 4: Dawkins' 1910 and 1907 excavation plans. Dawkins 1929.....	30
Appendix 5: Modern overview of Artemis Orthia site, Sparta.....	32
5.1 Temple and altar view from east.....	32
5.2 Temple and altar view from south side.....	32
5.3 Roman theatre at Sparta .....	33
Appendix 6: Comparison of dating by Dawkins and Boardman.....	34
6.1 Altar .....	34
6.2 Temple .....	34
6.3 Pottery.....	34
6.4 Ivory.....	34

Appendix 7: Inscripton by Soixiadas Arikrateos.....	35
Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta. ....	36
Appendix 9: Examples of the masks from the <i>Spartan Museum of Archaeology</i> . ....	42
9.1 Examples of grotesques. ....	42
9.2 Examples of Satyrs. ....	42
9.3 Examples of Youths.....	43
Appendix 10: Wrinkled masks: same or different category? .....	44
Appendix 11: The origin of masks. ....	45
Appendix 12: Lead figurines. ....	47
12.1 Lead figurines from Artemis Orthia by typological phase/period. After Gill and Vickers 2001: 232 with exact numbers added. ....	47
12.2 Examples of lead figurines for Lead I – Lead V from Archaeology Museum at the University of Birmingham .....	47
Appendix 13: Plans of the different phases of the architecture at the site of Artemis Ephesia. ....	50
13.1 Naos 1/Early Archaic Peripteros: second quarter of the seventh century BCE...50	
13.2 Naos 2/Temple B: second half of the seventh century BCE.....50	
13.3 Sekos 1/Temple C1/Surrounding: end of the seventh century BCE.....51	
13.4 Sekos 2/Temple C: circa 600 BCE .....	51
13.5a Dipteros 1/Croesus temple: second quarter of the sixth century BCE – detail..52	
13.5b Dipteros 1/Croesus temple: second quarter of the sixth century BCE – complete .....	52
13.6 Three bases A-B-C: second half of the sixth century/start of the fifth century BCE .....	53
13.7 Dipteros 2: after 356 BCE.....	54

Appendix 14: Modern overview of Artemis Ephesia site, Ephesus.....	55
Appendix 15: Ephesian Coins (BCE unless otherwise stated).....	56
15.1 Archaic – Classical Coins .....	56
15.2 Late Classical Coins.....	58
15.3 Roman Coins.....	60
Appendix 16: Artemis Ephesia statues and their features tabled based on plate numbers Fleischer 1973. ....	61
Appendix 17: Plans of the temple of Alea Athena, Tegea .....	65
17.1 Showing the modern village at beginning twentieth century CE.....	65
17.2a Approximate plans of the two Geometric buildings (drawings by Østby: forthcoming 2015) .....	66
17.2b Spatial organisation of the sanctuary of Alea Athena in the Geometric period with outlines of the Archaic and Classical temple (drawing by Østby: forthcoming 2015) .....	67
17.3 Reconstructed plan of the Archaic temple (dark) and the foundations of the Classical temple (light) (drawing by Østby: forthcoming 2015) .....	67
Appendix 18: The legend of Telephos. ....	68
Appendix 19: Votive objects found at Alea Athena, Tegea .....	70
19.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Alea Athena, Tegea .....	70
19.2 Mythological Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea.....	75
19.3 Human Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea.....	78
19.4 Animal Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea .....	80
Appendix 20: Common features at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta, Ephesus, Brauron and Athena at Tegea .....	82

20.1 Jewellery/Valuables at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t) .....	82
20.2 Mythological Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t) .....	87
20.3 Human Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t) .....	90
20.4 Animal Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t) .....	92
Appendix 21: <i>krateriskoi</i> depicting clothed females.....	94
21.1 Athens – National Archaeological Museum Acr. 621d/566d.....	94
21.2 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum kk54 .....	95
21.3 Athens, Agora Museum P128 - 959.....	96
21.4 Athens, Agora Museum P27342.....	96
Appendix 22: <i>krateriskoi</i> depicting naked females .....	97
22.1 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum kk55. ....	97
22.2 Brauron, Archaeological Museum 548.....	97
Appendix 23: <i>krateriskoi</i> depicting musical instruments .....	98
23.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Acr. 621a/566a. ....	98
23.2 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Acr.621c/566c. ....	99
Appendix 24: <i>krateriskos</i> showing a bear-like figure .....	100
24.1 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum kk18. ....	100

## **Appendix 1: a summary of the three main Attic cult sites for Artemis**

My Masters' study of the three main cults of Artemis in Attica aimed to make a comparison between three main Attic cult sites for Artemis: Brauron – Artemis Brauronia, Mounichia – Artemis Mounichia, and Halai Araphenides – Artemis Tauropolos. There was also a sanctuary for Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Akropolis, but the finds excavated at this site have been minimum due to almost complete destruction. This appendix is a summary of my MA thesis<sup>1</sup> and a project that I did as part of my MA course. The purpose of the project was to create a complete account on the finds from the three sites; architectural, archaeological and literary. The key topics were the different functions and forms of Artemis. Questions such as 'In what way is the function of Artemis reflected in the materials found?' and 'In what way are the materials found a representation of the character of the cults and of Artemis?' are the setting in which the analysis was formulated. In my conclusion I presented a synthesis of how to distinguish the cult of Artemis in Attica.

### **Brauron: Cult of Artemis Brauronia**

The architecture at the site of Artemis Brauronia consists of seventh century BCE paving, a terrace of poros blocks, an Archaic stone temple, terraces at the north, south and west sides of the temple, a Classical stone temple and a fifth century BCE stoa.<sup>2</sup> The pottery and especially the sixth-fifth century BCE *krateriskoi* are of great importance as they display figures and figured scenes of the rituals taking place at this sanctuary.

---

<sup>1</sup> Léger 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Cook 1951; Papadimitriou, *Praktika* 1955; Papadimitriou *Ergon* 1955, 33-34; 1956, 25-31; 1957, 20-22; 1958, 30-39; 1959, 13-20; 1960, 21-30; 1961, 20-37; 1962 25-39; *PAAH* 1945-1948, 81-90; 1949, 75-90; 1950, 173-187; 1955, 119-120; 1956, 73-89; 1957, 42-47; 1958, 27; 1959, 19-20; *BHC* 73 (1949) 527; 74 (1950) 298-300; 75 (1951) 110-111; 80 (1956) 247; 81 (1957) 519-521; 82 (1958) 674-678; 83 (1959) 589-596; 84 (1960) 666-671; 85 (1961) 638-641; 86 (1962) 664-683; 87 (1963) 704-715; Vanderpool 1953; 1957; 1959; 1960; 1963; 1965; Papadimitriou 1963; Themelis 1971; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

Additionally there were plates, pyxides, amphorai, kraters and cups which most probably were used for ritual feasting and dining. The important votives were clay figurines, sculptures of young boys and girls, jewellery items and clothes and tools for women. Moreover, there were inventory stelai found, at both Brauron and the Athenian Akropolis that list both these items and more.

The pottery finds and the building of the stoa suggest there was an important part of the sanctuary reserved for eating and perhaps even living. The stoa could accommodate large numbers of visitors who attended the two festivals for Artemis. These two festivals for Artemis at Brauron were the Brauronia and the *arkteia*, with music, dances, sports and horse-races. Iphigeneia, according to mythology, played an important part in the establishment of the *arkteia*, as it is the ritual she went through before becoming Artemis' priestess.<sup>3</sup>

### **Mounichia, the Piraeus: Cult of Artemis Mounichia**

The harbour site for Artemis Mounichia was in use between the late tenth century BCE and the second century CE.<sup>4</sup> Of the architecture three Archaic retaining wall sections, part of the fifth century BCE Themistoklean wall, fourth century restorations and alterations, and a calendar-frieze remain. Mycenaean terracotta figurines, a marble Archaic torso and other pieces of statues of human bodies, a bronze statue, sculptures, and inscriptions are all part of the votive offerings found. The pottery found consisted of *krateriskoi* explaining the rituals taking place like the ones at Brauron. In addition there are skyphoi,

---

<sup>3</sup> The first is that the people of Brauron killed a bear sacred to Artemis for which she demanded a human adjustment. The ancient Attic version that is told about the foundation of the sanctuary in Brauron, tells about the wrath of Artemis, because her bear was killed by the locals. The second is that the community needed to satisfy her godly wrath and the only way was to offer a young girl. This second interpretation is a combination of the story about Iphigeneia and the rituals in Brauron.

<sup>4</sup> Palaiokrassa, 1989; Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Farnell 1896; Dowden 1989.

craters, cups and plates which again is probably related to ritual meals. Lastly there are covers for pyxides, lekanis and lamps.

The cult of Mounichia was connected with Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides and Artemis Brauronia at Brauron. The associated myths are remarkably similar to those of Aulis, where a girl is to be offered to appease the goddess. A bear or a goat is substituted for the girl. As I have argued, the Mounichian goddess was worshipped as a fertility deity, protecting children, *epebes* and young women. Her cult was connected to initiation rites and customs of which the *arkteia* were the most important.<sup>5</sup> During the festival for the goddess, people brought *amphiphontes* with lighted *dadia* to the goddess and *epebes* held a competition finishing in a race at sea around the peninsula.

### **Halai Araphenides/Loutsa: Cult of Artemis Tauropolos**

This shore site of Artemis Tauropolos was in use between the eighth and the second centuries BCE. Of the structures, only the seventh century BCE circular paving, the krepidoma of the sixth century BCE temple, stylobate blocks, Doric columns and an old street surface are preserved.<sup>6</sup> Marble bases from the sixth century BCE, an Archaic relief, sixth and fifth century BCE terracotta figurines are part of the votive offerings found. The most important finds however, are the pottery sherds dating from the fifth to the second century BCE. For the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, here the *krateriskoi* are of particular interest as well. These miniature craters give an insight in the ritual practices taking place.

Artemis Tauropolos had a chthonic background, which is written about in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (1438-1441). In this play, Euripides associates Artemis with human

---

<sup>5</sup> Nielsen 2009.

<sup>6</sup> The site is only partially excavated. J. Papadimitriou, *Praktika* 1956, 87-89; 1957, 45-47. *Ergon* 1956, 31 – 1957 23-25, *BCH* 81 (1957) 521; 82 (1958) 678-679; 101 (1977) 535; P. Themelis, *Deltion* 27 (1972); *Chron.* 151-152.

sacrifices as part of an initiation ritual.<sup>7</sup> It is from this place that Orestes and Iphigeneia took the statue of Artemis Tauropolos, to install it in the temple at Halai Araphenides. Artemis is therefore affiliated with the goddess from the land of the barbarian Tauroi, on the shores of the Black Sea (Herodotus, IV.103). In honour of the goddess a public festival was celebrated. There were choruses of girls dancing at night (Menander, *Epitrepontes*). The ritual that pertained to the festival, involved the (mock) sacrifice of a man.<sup>8</sup>

### **Common features**

Artemis at Brauron and Mounichia had a toponymous epithet that identified her. The epithet from Halai Araphenides had a different background and referred to the place of origin of the deity.

The myths and the tragedy by Euripides for both Brauron and Mounichia tell of an angry goddess that had to be appeased. These are closely related to the story of Iphigeneia. Artemis was offended in some way and required a sacrifice: in the case of Brauron and Mounichia, this was the daughter of the man that had offended her. In accordance with the rites that were established, probably the clearest common feature found at these three sites are the *krateriskoi* and the information they provide us with about the ritual practices at Artemis sites around Attica. Architecturally, the temple *adyton* is of interest.<sup>9</sup> It could be connected to a specific form of temple for Artemis. An alternative is that the *adyta* were connected to the *arkteia* alone and for that reason only to be found in Brauron and Mounichia. The *arkteia* had a social as well as a religious function and were related to

<sup>7</sup> Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1459-1461: a sword was held to a man's throat in order to draw a small amount of blood, 'so that the goddess may have her proper honours'.

<sup>8</sup> Lloyd-Jones 1983: 92.

<sup>9</sup> See Leger 2011: 39-40.

the foundation myths of the sanctuaries. They illustrate the fertility aspect of Artemis as well as her protecting children.

The additional structures differ at each site. Brauron had a stoa and a small sanctuary (for Iphigeneia). A stoa was also found as part of the Artemis sanctuary at the Akropolis in Athens. Halai Araphenides had a small structure near the temple and at Mounichia a hall was found, which both were probably used as dining facilities.

## Appendix 2: Votive objects found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.

### 2.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

1 Sparta	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	adzes				1			
3	amulets							
4	antheia				1			
5	appliques							
6	arrowhead							
7	astragals							
8	balls							
9	bands							
10	beads			3,4,8,9	3,5*,8			
11	belt							
12	bodkins/staples							
13	bracelets				1?			
14	brooches				4			
15	bowl				0			
16	box							
17	bud				1,2,3,5	1?		
18	button							
19	caduceus				1?			
20	caps							
21	chain ornaments							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
22	chariot pole							
23	chariot wheel							
24	cockle-shell							
25	coils of wire (hair?)			4				
26	combs			3*,4,9	1?,3*			
27	crescent pendants			1	5*			
28	cups							
29	cylinders							
30	dice			2	2,3,4	3		
31	disc			3	3,5		1	
32	disc seals			3	1,3,4,5			
33	dish with two handles							
34	double axes			1,2,③*,4,⑤*	1,2,3,5			
35	drops							
36	earrings			1	1			
37	fibula			3*,4,5	1,3,4,5			
38	fruit	apple, lemon, melon						
39	gems			7				
40	globes							
41	grain							
42	grids			1	1			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
43	grilles				1	1		
44	handles							
45	helmet				1,4			
46	horn							
47	inlay							
48	intaglio				1			
49	ionic capital				1			
50	knives	haft, point						
51	lance	head						
52	lamps							
53	(loom)weights/stamps			X				
54	miniature vessels			4				
55	miniature masks						2	
56	miniature shields							
57	mirrors			4	1,5			
58	musical instruments	s:flutes+lyre, e:flute, t:lyre			1			
59	necklaces			4				
60	needles							
61	ornaments				1			
62	paddle-shaped objects	kohl-needles		3*				
63	palmettes			4	1,4			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
64	(palm) branches					1	1	
65	pendants			1,3	1,3,4,5*			
66	phiale							
67	pins			1,3,4	1,3,4,5			
68	pin heads			3	3,5			
69	pins in pairs				1,4,5			
70	plate				1			
71	plaques			2, ③*	1,2, ③*,4	2,3	2	
72	pectra			3	3			
73	pomegranate flowers			2	2,4	2		
74	protomai	R: some Gorgon?		1,2,3	1,2,3,4			
75	rings			4, ⑤*	1,3,5			
76	rosettes			1	1	3		
77	roundels							
78	scarabs			1,5	1			
79	scoop							
80	scrap							
81	screws							
82	seals			③*,4,7,8	1,3			
83	sheets							
84	shells							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤\*:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
85	shield	with gorgoneia						
86	ship				6			
87	spatula							
88	spear-point							
89	spheroids							
90	spool							
91	star							
92	stiles							
93	studs			9				
94	strips of bone				3			
95	sundries							
96	sword blade							
97	textiles			1	1			
98	torque							
99	triangles							
100	tweezers							
101	vase handles				4			
102	votive house							
103	wheels	chariot			1			
104	whorls							
105	wire							
106	wreaths			1	1,3	1,3		

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

1 Sparta	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	bear-headed figurine							
3	Bes							
4	Bes-head							
5	centaurs				1,3*	3		
6	Daealic head							
7	enthroned female			2,3	2,3,5			
8	enthroned figures	pair of seated figures		3*	3*			
9	female/goddess/priestess	s+e: goddess, t:female		2,3	1,2,3*,6	2,3	2	6
10	female in long chiton with spear	R: Athena/Artemis				1	1	
11	female with beasts	R: potnia theron						
12	female with birds of prey	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
13	female with bow	R: Artemis			1	1		
14	female with bow and aegis	R: Artemis			1			
15	female with deer/stag	R: potnia theron/Artemis			1			
16	female with dog	R: potnia theron/Artemis				2	2	
17	female with fishtail				6			
18	female with horses	R: potnia theron/Artemis		3	2			
19	female with lions	R: potnia theron/Artemis		2,③*	1,2,3*,⑤			
20	female with lions and votaries	R: potnia theron/Artemis			1,3			
21	female with snakes	R: potnia theron/Artemis		3*	3*			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-					
			Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
22	female with spear and aegis	R:Athena?			1	1	1	
23	female with spear, shield, aegis	warrior goddess, R:Athena?			1	1		
24	female with sphinx	R: potnia theron/Artemis			1,3			
25	female with (water-)birds	R: potnia theron/Artemis		3*	1,3*			
26	figure separating animals	R: potnia theron						
27	figure with a lyre	R: Apollo			1			
28	gorgon				1,③*,0			
29	gorgoneion				1,3,0	1	2	
30	griffin			3*	③*			
31	Hathor							
32	Isis							
33	male attacked by bird	Prometheus?		3*				
34	male being crowned				3*			
35	male killing 'animal'	animal: Gorgon, lion			3*			
36	male with caduceus and ram	Hermes, R: Apollo Karneios?			1	1		
37	male with centaur	Perseus		3*				
38	male with club	Hermes, R: Herakles?			1			
39	male with dog	R: potnios theron?			3			
40	male with Hydra	Herakles		3*				
41	male with lion and griffins	R: potnios theron?			3*			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c: fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
42	male with ram	Hermes						
43	male with three females	Judgement of Paris		3*				
44	male with trident	Poseidon			1	1	1	
45	male with trident and fish	Poseidon			1	1		
46	male with trident and ram	Poseidon			1?	1		
47	male with two females				2,3*			
48	Nikai				1			
49	Pegasi			3*	1			
50	satyr				1?			
51	siren			3*	1,4,⑤			
52	sphinx			1,2,③*,8	1,2,③*,4,6			6
53	(temple) official	Megabyzos/Eunuch priest/priestess						
54	winged bearded figure holding birds				3*			
55	winged goddess			1	1	1	1,2?	
56	winged goddess with birds			3*	3*			
57	winged goddess with horse				3*			
58	winged goddess with lions				1,2,3*			
59	winged goddess with snake			3*				
60	winged goddess with wreaths				1			
61	winged god				3			
62	xoanon-like figures			3	1,2,3*	3		

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 2.3 Human Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

1 Sparta	HUMAN FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	arm							
3	bust (female)	t: Alea			1,2,0			
4	bust (male)			3				6
5	ears							
6	eyes							
7	female			1				
8	female and male			3*	3*			
9	female mask							
10	female musician	cymbal, flute and lyre players			1			
11	female nude	e: with hands on breasts		2	2,6	2	2	
12	female nude bell-shaped							
13	female on horseback			2	2			
14	female seated	or enthroned		2	2	2		
15	females together	Orthia and Eileithyia		3*	3*			
16	female votaries			1,3*	1,3	1	1	
17	figure carrying vase	hydrophoros						
18	foot							
19	hand			3	0,3			
20	head/face			2,3*	1,2,3*,6,0	2	2	

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 2.3 Human Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	HUMAN FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
21	humans			2	2,3,4,6	2	2	
22	human seated			2,3*	2,3*	2	2	
23	kneeling figure							
24	kouros							
25	leg							
26	male				1,3,6			
27	male musician	flute and lyre players			1	1		
28	male nude	with helmet		2,3	2,3,6	2	2	
29	male on horseback				1			
30	male seated	or enthroned		4	2,3			
31	males together				3*			
32	male with two females				2			
33	masks				2			
34	mourning the dead			3*				
35	musicians	e: lyre player			1			
36	phi-figure							
37	psi-figure							
38	tau-figure							
39	tooth							
40	warriors			1,2,3*	1,2,③*,4,5,6	1,2,3	1	

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.4 Animal Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

1 Sparta	ANIMAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	bear				1,2,3*,6			
3	bee			3*				
4	bird			4	2			
5	bird of prey	eagle		3*	3			
6	boar/pig	t:pediment, tusks			1,6			
7	bull			3	1,2,3,4			
8	camel							
9	chicken/cockerel			4	1	1		
10	deer/fawn/stag	fawn, dated = coins		7	1,4	1	1	
11	dog			4	3,6			7
12	dove							
13	duck				5			
14	falcon							
15	feline							
16	fish			3*	1,3*			
17	frog			3,4		3		
18	goat				1,3,4			
19	hares			1,3	1			
20	hawk							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

## 2.4 Animal Figures found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta

Sparta	ANIMAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
21	hippopotamus							
22	horses			1,2,3*,4	1,2,3*,6,0	2		
23	ibex							
24	insects	e:fly, t:beetle?						
25	lion			3*	1,2,③*,4,6,0			
26	monkey							
27	oxen			1,3,4	1,4	2	2	
28	panther							
29	quadrupeds							
30	ram/sheep				3,6			
31	scorpion			3*	1,3*			
32	snake	t:vase relief		3,4	1,3,4	1		
33	spider			3*				
34	tortoises/turtles	land/water?		1,2,③*,4	1,2	3		
35	water birds			3*,4,7	1,2,③,4,⑤	3	3	

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### Appendix 3: Votive objects found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus.

#### 3.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

1	Ephesus	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2		adzes							
3		amulets			9	2, 5*,9			
4		anthemeia							
5		appliques				⑤ 5*			
6		arrowhead				4			
7		astragals				3*,4,8,9,b			
8		balls			9				
9		bands							
10		beads			4,9	2,3*,4,⑤ 5*,7,8,9,b,c			
11		belt				5*			
12		bodkins/staples				3			
13		bracelets				1,4,⑤*,a			
14		brooches				4,⑤ 5*			
15		bowl				4			
16		box				3*			
17		bud							
18		button				5*,b			
19		caduceus							
20		caps				5*			
21		chain ornaments				5*			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤\*:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
22	chariot pole				3*			
23	chariot wheel				3*			
24	cockle-shell				2			
25	coils of wire (hair?)							
26	combs				3*			
27	crescent pendants				⑤*			
28	cups				⑤			
29	cylinders				5*			
30	dice							
31	disc				3*,4,⑤*			
32	disc seals							
33	dish with two handles				3*,8			
34	double axes		4	4	3*,5			
35	drops			9				
36	earring				1,4,⑤⑤*,b,d			
37	fibula			4	3*,4,⑤⑤*,9			
38	fruit	apple, lemon, melon			5*			
39	gems							
40	globes				b			
41	grain				⑤*			
42	grids							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤\*:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
43	grilles							
44	handles				4,8			
45	helmet							
46	horn				5*			
47	inlay				3*			
48	intaglio							
49	ionic capital							
50	knives	haft, point			3*,4,a,b,d			
51	lance	head			3			
52	lamps							2
53	(loom)weights/stamps							
54	miniature vessels				3*,4,5,9			
55	miniature masks				2?			
56	miniature shields							
57	mirrors							
58	musical instruments	s:flutes+lyre, e:flute, t:lyre			3*,9			
59	necklaces			2,3,7,8,9,c	5*			
60	needles			4	3*,4,5*			
61	ornaments				5*			
62	paddle-shaped objects	kohl-needles						
63	palmettes				5*			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, 3:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, 5:silver, 5:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
64	(palm) branches							
65	pendants			9	2,3*,4,⑤⑤*8,b			
66	phiale							
67	pins				3*,4,⑤*			
68	pin heads				1,3*,⑤⑤*,7,9,b			
69	pins in pairs							
70	plate				3*,⑤*,c			
71	plaques				2,3*			
72	pectra							
73	pomegranate flowers				1,3*,5*			
74	protomai	R: some Gorgon?						
75	rings				1,3*,4,⑤⑤*,9,a,b			
76	rosettes				4,⑤⑤*			6
77	roundels				3			
78	scarabs			c	2,9,b,c			
79	scoop							
80	scrap							
81	screws			9				
82	seals			7	3*,7			
83	sheets							
84	shells				4			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤\*:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
85	shield	with gorgoneia						
86	ship							
87	spatula							
88	spear-point				a			
89	spheroids				5*			
90	spool				b			
91	star				⑤*			
92	stiles				3			
93	studs				3*, ⑤*, 7, b			
94	strips of bone							
95	sundries				⑤*			
96	sword blade				⑤*, a			
97	textiles							
98	torque				4, ⑤			
99	triangles			9				
100	tweezers							
101	vase handles				3*			2
102	votive house							
103	wheels	chariot		4	3*, 4			
104	whorls				2, 5*, 8, 9			
105	wire							
106	wreaths							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

1 Ephesus	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	bear-headed figurine							
3	Bes			c				
4	Bes-head				2			
5	centaurs							
6	Daealic head							
7	enthroned female							
8	enthroned figures	pair of seated figures						
9	female/goddess/priestess	s+e: goddess, t:female			1,2,3*,4,⑤*			
10	female in long chiton with spear	R: Athena/Artemis						
11	female with beasts	R: potnia theron						
12	female with birds of prey	R: potnia theron/Artemis			3*			
13	female with bow	R: Artemis						
14	female with bow and aegis	R: Artemis						
15	female with deer/stag	R: potnia theron/Artemis					2	
16	female with dog	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
17	female with fishtail							
18	female with horses	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
19	female with lions	R: potnia theron/Artemis			3*			
20	female with lions and votaries	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
21	female with snakes	R: potnia theron/Artemis			3*,⑤*			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
22	female with spear and aegis	R:Athena?						
23	female with spear, shield, aegis	R:Athena?						
24	female with sphinx	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
25	female with (water-)birds	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
26	figure separating animals	R: potnia theron						
27	figure with a lyre	R: Apollo						
28	gorgon							
29	gorgoneion							
30	griffin				3*,4,5*			
31	Hathor				3*			
32	Isis			c				
33	male attacked by bird	Prometheus?						
34	male being crowned							
35	male killing 'animal'	animal: Gorgon, lion						
36	male with caduceus and ram	Hermes R: Apollo Karneios?						
37	male with centaur	Perseus						
38	male with club	Hermes, R: Herakles?						
39	male with dog	R: potnios theron?						
40	male with Hydra	Herakles						
41	male with lion and griffins	R: potnios theron?						

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone,

8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.2 Mythological Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
42	male with ram	Hermes						
43	male with three females	Judgement of Paris						
44	male with trident	Poseidon						
45	male with trident and fish	Poseidon						
46	male with trident and ram	Poseidon						
47	male with two females							
48	Nikai							
49	Pegasi							
50	satyr							
51	siren				3*			
52	sphinx				3*			
53	(temple) official	Megabyzos/Eunuch priest			3*			
54	winged bearded figure holding birds							
55	winged goddess							
56	winged goddess with birds							
57	winged goddess with horse							
58	winged goddess with lions							
59	winged goddess with snake							
60	winged goddess with wreaths							
61	winged god							
62	xoanon-like figure				3*, ⑤*			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.3 Human Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

1 Ephesus	HUMAN FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	arm				3*			
3	bust (female)	t: Alea						
4	bust (male)							
5	ears				5*			
6	eyes				5*			
7	female				3*,5*,9,c			
8	female and male							
9	female mask				5			
10	female musician	cymbal, flute and lyre players						
11	female nude	e: with hands on breasts			9			
12	female nude bell-shaped				2			
13	female on horseback							
14	female seated	or enthroned						
15	females together	Orthia and Eileithyia						
16	female votaries							
17	figure carrying vase	hydrophoros						
18	foot				3*,5			
19	hand				5			
20	head/face		2	9	2,3*,5*			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.3 Human Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	HUMAN FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
21	human				5*			
22	human seated				5			
23	kneeling figure				2,C			
24	kouros							
25	leg				5*			
26	male				2			
27	male musician	flute and lyre players						
28	male nude	with helmet			2,5,c			
29	male on horseback							
30	male seated	or enthroned						
31	males together							
32	male with two females							
33	masks				2			
34	mourning the dead							
35	musicians	e: lyre player			3*			
36	phi-figure							
37	psi-figure							
38	tau-figure							
39	tooth				3			
40	warriors				3*,d			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.4 Animal Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

1 Ephesus	ANIMAL FIGURES	commentary	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	bear							
3	bee				5*			
4	bird			9	3*,5*			
5	bird of prey	eagle		X	2,4,5*			
6	boar/pig	t:pediment, tusks			2,3*			5
7	bull		2	X	2,3*,5*			
8	camel				3*			
9	chicken/cockerel							4
10	deer/fawn/stag	fawn, dated = coins			3*	X		4
11	dog				3,5*			
12	dove				5*?			
13	duck				3*			
14	falcon				2,3*,5*,c			
15	feline							
16	fish				4,6*			
17	frog				5*			
18	goat				3*			
19	hares							
20	hawk				2,3*,4,5*,c			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger

### 3.4 Animal Figures found at Artemis Ephesia, Ephesus

Ephesus	ANIMAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
21	hippopotamus				2			
22	horse			c	3*,5*,6			
23	ibex				3*			
24	insects	e:fly, t:beetle?			5*			
25	lion				3*,5*			
26	monkey							
27	oxen							
28	panther				3*			
29	quadrupeds							
30	ram/sheep				3*,4,5*			
31	scorpion							
32	snake	t:vase relief			5*			
33	spider							
34	tortoises/turtle	land/water?						
35	water birds			4	2,3*,4	6		5

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M. Léger





## Appendix 5: Modern overview of Artemis Orthia site, Sparta.

### 5.1 Temple and altar view from east



©Ruth M. Léger

### 5.2 Temple and altar view from south side



©Ruth M. Léger

### 5.3 Roman theatre at Sparta



©Ruth M. Léger

## Appendix 6: Comparison of dating by Dawkins and Boardman.

### 6.1 Altar

	Dawkins	Boardman
Black Earth	10th-9th century BCE	8th century BCE
Altar I	9th century BCE (with pavement)	700 BCE (with pavement)
Altar II	9th century BCE	7th century BCE
Altar III	6th century BCE	570/560 BCE
Altar IV	Roman Period	Roman Period

©Ruth M. Léger

### 6.2 Temple

	Dawkins	Boardman
Early Temple	9th century BCE	7th century BCE
Sixth Century	600 BCE	570/560 BCE
Hellenistic		

©Ruth M. Léger

### 6.3 Pottery

	Dawkins	Boardman
Geometric	9th century - 675 BCE	8th century - 650 BCE
Laconian I	700 - 635 BCE	650 - 620 BCE
Laconian II	635 - 600 BCE	620 - 570/560 BCE
Laconian III	600 BCE -	570/560 BCE -

©Ruth M. Léger

### 6.4 Ivory

	Dawkins	Boardman
I - IIA - IV	Geometric	675 - 650 BCE
IIB - IIC - III - V	Proto-Corinthian, Geometric, Laconian I	650 - 620 BCE
V	Laconian I, Laconian II	620 - 570/560 BCE

©Ruth M. Léger

## Appendix 7: Inscripton by Soixiadas Arikrateos

IG V 1 254 – Laconia – Sparta – mid. 1st century BC

[— — —]ατίδα

[— — —]ις

[— πρέσβ]υς

Σοιξιιάδας Αρικράτεος

γεροντεύσας τρίς

καὶ πρέσβυς γενόμε-

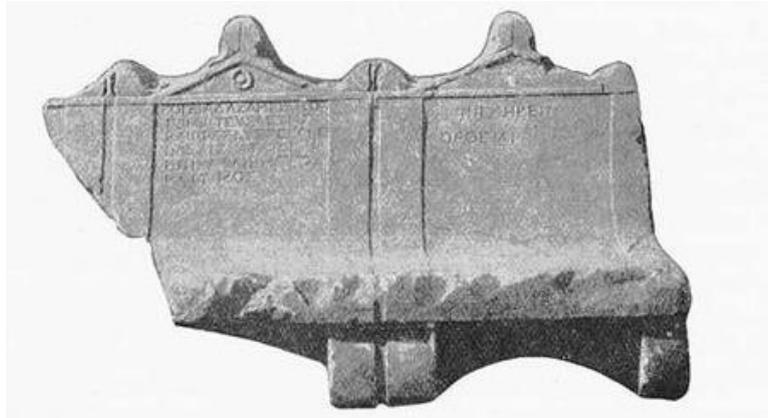
νος δις κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς

ἐπὶ Καλλικράτεος

καὶ Τιμοστρ[ά]του

ἀνέθηκεν

Ὀρθεΐαι.



[— — —]ατίδα

[— — —]ις

[— — — — —]υς

Soixiadas Arikrateos

successively three times a member

and twice and elder of the Gerousia

with Kallikrateos

and Timostratos

dedicated [this]

to Orthia.

**Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.**

Spartan Masks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
mouth																									
open						x									x	x			x			x			x
semi-open	x						x			x								x		x				x	
closed		x	x	x				x	x		x	x	x	x							x		x		
tongue		x?							x				x									x	x		
teeth																									
pointed teeth						x																		x	
square' teeth			x	x			x	x		x			x				x	x		x	x	x		x	
no teeth visible	x	x									x	x		x	x	x			x						x
eyes																									
open	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
closed									x																
nose																									
nostrils pierced	x		x			x	x						x	x	x	x		x				x		x	x
nostrils large (flared)		x											x												
closed					x			x	x	x	x	x						x		x	x	x		x	

©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.**

Spartan Masks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
ears																									
pointed		x							x																
perforated earhole	x			x	x	x	x	x		x					x							x		x	x
hair																									
beard					x	x										x				x		x		x	
moustache		x				x										x				x					
painted hair			x															x		x		x		x	
sculpted' hair							x	x	x	x					x	x						x			x
spiral-curled hair																						x			
wearing wreath					x																				
wrinkles																									
forehead	x			x		x	x	x		x					x		x	x		x				x	x
around eyes	x			x			x			x					x			x						x	
cheeks	x		x	x			x	x		x	x		x		x		x	x		x	x			x	x
chin				x			x			x			x		x			x						x	x

©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.**

Spartan Masks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
holes																									
ears	x			x	x	x	x			x					x							x		x	x
cheek																								x	
side of face		x					x					x												x	
forehead						x										x									
chin	x									x					x										
top of head	x	x				x				x															
none			x					x	x				x				x	x			x				
paint																									
traces of	x		x				x		x			x		x		x	x	x	x		x		x	x	
all over		x		x	x	x		x		x	x		x		x					x		x			x

©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.**

Spartan Masks	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
mouth																									
open				x			x	x												x					
semi-open		x			x																				
closed	x		x											x		x	x		x?		x				
tongue																									
teeth																									
pointed teeth																									
square' teeth		x		x	x															x					
no teeth visible	x		x				x	x						x		x	x		x		x				
eyes																									
open	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
closed													x												
nose																									
nostrils pierced		x		x	x																				
nostrils large (flared)																									
closed	x		x				x	x	x	x				x			x		x		x				x

©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.**

Spartan Masks	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
ears																									
pointed																									
perforated earhole	x			x	x			x		x	x													x	
hair																									
beard					x	x									x		x			x	x				
moustache	x															x?									
painted hair	x					x										x?									
sculpted' hair					x					x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x		x	x	
spiral-curled hair										x	x				x				x				x		
wearing wreath		x?	x?															x	x				x		x
wrinkles																									
forehead				x	x	x			x			x													x
around eyes				x		x																			x
cheeks	x			x					x																x
chin																									

©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 8: Table of masks found at Artemis Orthia, Sparta.**

Spartan Masks	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
holes																									
ears	x			x	x	x		x		x	x													x	
cheek						x	x																		
side of face						x	x	x							x										
forehead										x															
chin				x		x	x	x												x					
top of head	x			x		x	x	x				x						x				x	x	x	
none													x												
paint																									
traces of				x							x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
all over	x		x			x	x																	x	

©Ruth M. Léger

## Appendix 9: Examples of the masks from the *Spartan Museum of Archaeology*.

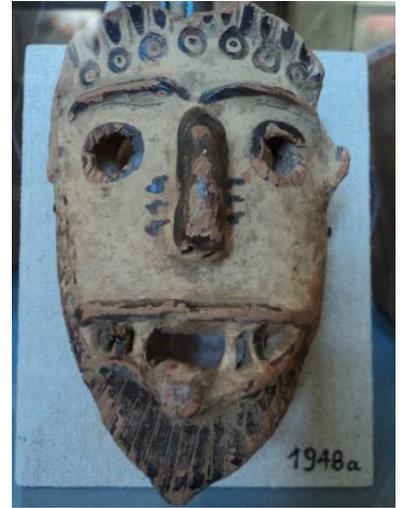
### 9.1 Examples of grotesques.



Number 8 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Number 6 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Number 22 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Number 33 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger

### 9.2 Examples of Satyrs.



Number 2 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Number 37 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Number 9 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger

### 9.3 Examples of Youths.



Number 36 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Number 12 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger

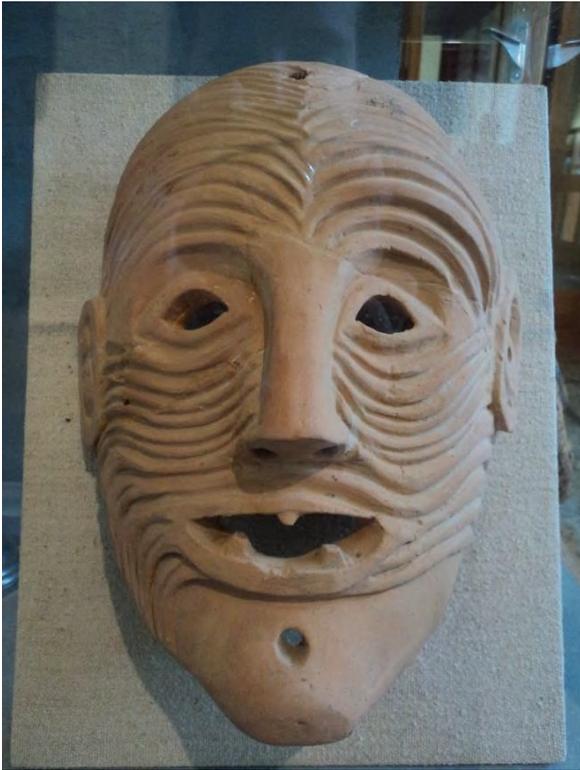


Number 35 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Number 40 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger

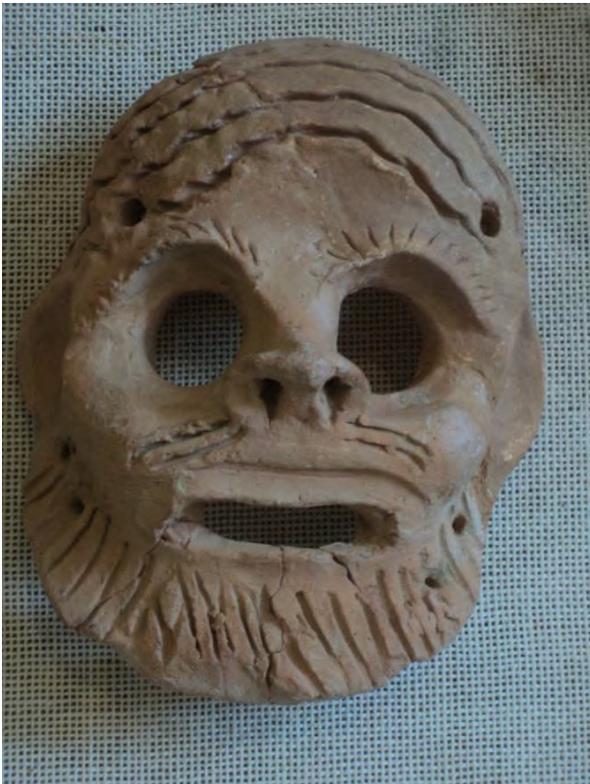
**Appendix 10: Wrinkled masks: same or different category?**



Number 29 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Dawkins 1929: Plate LXI – I.



Number 16 in appendix 8.  
©Ruth M. Léger



Dawkins 1929: Plate LXI – 2.

## Appendix 11: The origin of masks.

Masks and protomes were also well-known products of Phoenician craftsmanship.<sup>10</sup> The masks have mainly come to light in tombs in the western regions and therefore they have a fundamental link with death. In the eastern regions masks are found in necropolis but in sanctuaries as well. The Phoenician masks were almost always made of non-perishable materials such as terracotta. Archaeological finds from Israel show the use of such pottery cult-masks as early as the Late Canaanite Age (1550-1200 BCE).<sup>11</sup> Masks have been discovered along the whole length of the Phoenician coast dating from the ninth century BCE onwards.<sup>12</sup> Examples are the tomb masks from Akhziv (ninth century BCE to seventh century BCE), from Amrith and Sarepta. Evidence shows that masks were also used in Cyprus, the trading centre between Asiatic coast and the Aegean. The masks, found at Hazor (going back to the late Bronze Age), Gezer, Amrith, Akhziv and Cyprus, were iconographically connected to the Mesopotamian tale of Humbaba.

[http://www.bible-history.com/  
past/hazor\\_baal\\_mask.html](http://www.bible-history.com/past/hazor_baal_mask.html)

Image can be found at  
[www.bible-history.com](http://www.bible-history.com)

Terracotta mask from Hazor, 1300 BCE.  
Jerusalem, Israel Museum no 67.1195.<sup>13</sup>

[http://  
www.lessingimages.com/  
viewimage.asp?i=08050267  
+&cr=7&cl=1](http://www.lessingimages.com/viewimage.asp?i=08050267+&cr=7&cl=1)

Image can be found at  
[www.lessingimages.com](http://www.lessingimages.com)

Terracotta mask from Akhziv.  
Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum no 45.1.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ciasca 2001: 406.

<sup>11</sup> Stern 1976: 109.

<sup>12</sup> Ciasca 2001: 407.

<sup>13</sup> As mentioned in Carter 1987: 366-370 and figure 12.

Picture courtesy of [http://www.bible-history.com/past/hazor\\_baal\\_mask.html](http://www.bible-history.com/past/hazor_baal_mask.html) <retrieved 11/03/2015>.

<sup>14</sup> As mentioned in Carter 1987: 367 and figure 16.

The masks in Phoenicia and Israel were uncovered in tombs, sanctuaries and ordinary residential buildings.<sup>15</sup> All these masks could be divided into two groups: the grotesques, presenting demonic figures with an apotropaic function and the group described as to 'represent divine images so that the apotropaic function would be non-existent or secondary while the protective and votive function would be fundamental'.<sup>16</sup> Ciasca concludes that protomes and masks had a ritual function in the Phoenician colonies as well as along the coastal Near East.<sup>17</sup> The conclusion Culican gives is that the placing of masks in tombs in Phoenicia pre-dated the phenomenon amongst the Greeks.<sup>18</sup> This view is supported by a mixture of Greek and Oriental traits in the masks found in Punic tombs; Phoenician close-cropped cap-like hair and bodies as conical columns with moulded heads which were common in Cyprus and Phoenicia. Also Punic tombs yielding grotesque masks were part of the discussion of influences around the Mediterranean.<sup>19</sup> The masks have been interpreted as Punic imitations of Greek prototypes, derived from Greek masks found in Rhodes and central Greece from the early sixth century BCE. Both types of masks, the Punic ones and the ones from Sparta were related to the masks that were intended to be worn, but they are only references to, or are reminiscent of, masks worn in the actual ritual.<sup>20</sup> More parallels can be found in the different types of masks: grimacing and normal males, wrinkled masks, and satyrs.

---

Picture courtesy of

<http://www.lessingimages.com/search.asp?a=1&kc=202020206283&kw=RELIGION%3A+PHOENICIAN&p=1&ipp> <retrieved 11/03/2015>.

<sup>15</sup> Moscati 1973: 205-206. Stern 1976: 116.

<sup>16</sup> Stern 1976: 117.

<sup>17</sup> Ciasca 2001: 415.

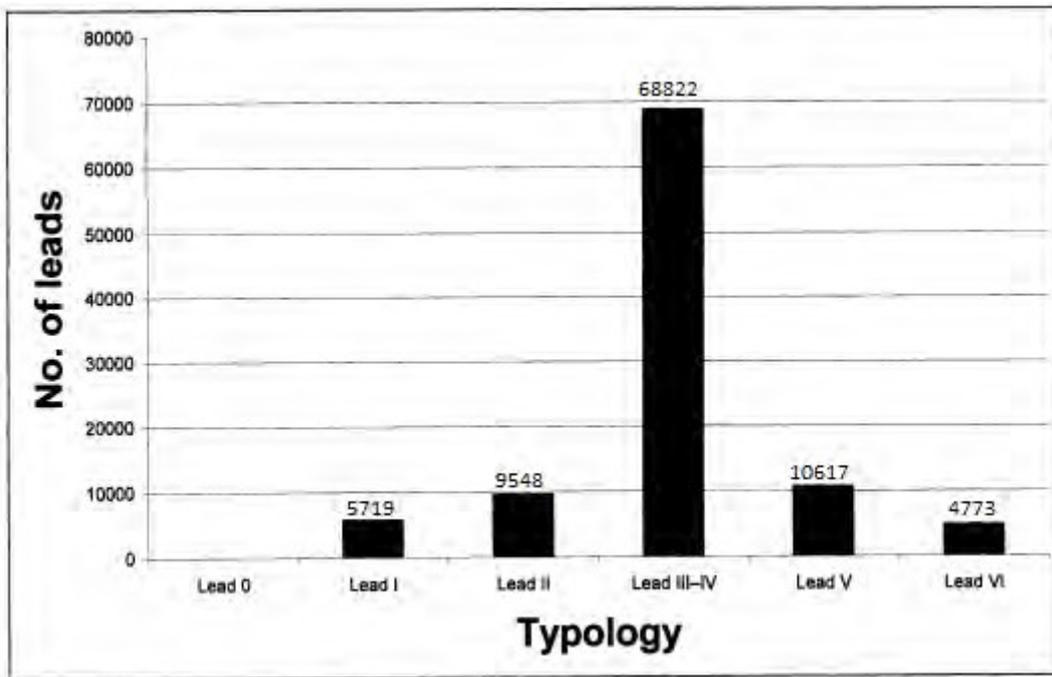
<sup>18</sup> Culican 1975-1976: 64.

<sup>19</sup> Culican 1975-1976: 55.

<sup>20</sup> Culican 1975-1976: 71, 75. Masks were a cultic apparatus connected to initiation rituals by Punic religious guilds.

## Appendix 12: Lead figurines.

12.1 Lead figurines from Artemis Orthia by typological phase/period. After Gill and Vickers 2001: 232 with exact numbers added.



12.2 Examples of lead figurines for Lead I – Lead V from Archaeology Museum at the University of Birmingham



©Ruth M. Léger

**12.2 Examples of lead figurines for Lead I – Lead V from Archaeology Museum at the University of Birmingham**



©Ruth M. Léger



©Ruth M. Léger

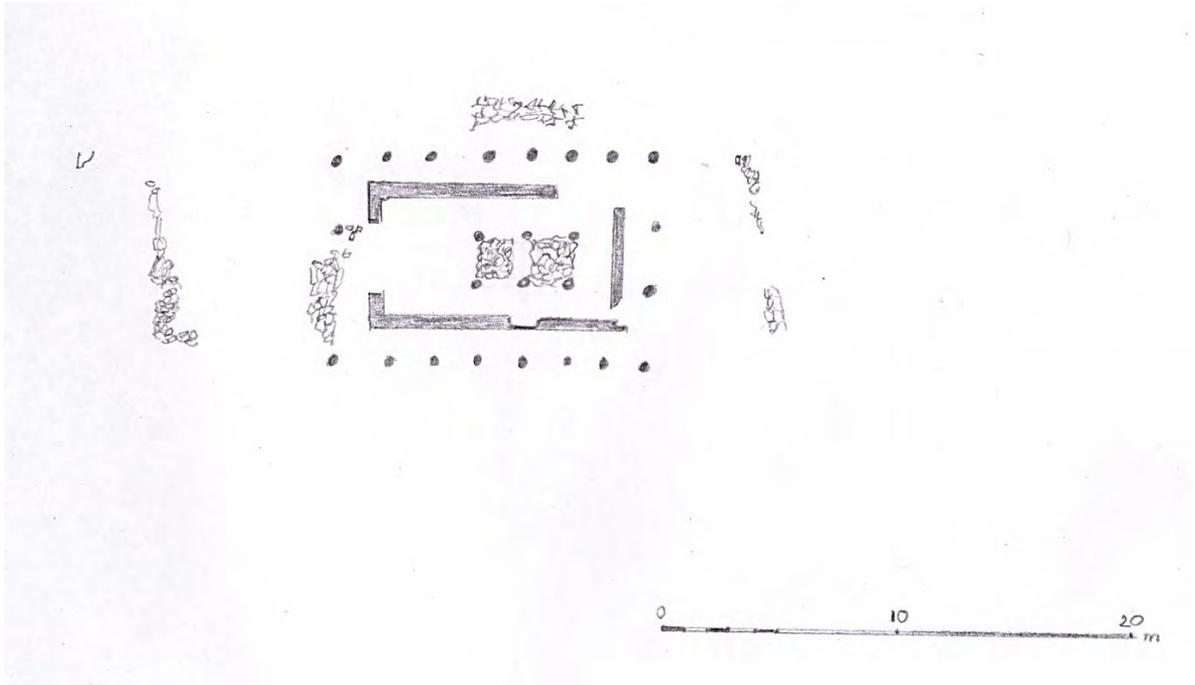
**12.2 Examples of lead figurines for Lead I – Lead V from Archaeology Museum at the University of Birmingham**



©Ruth M. Léger

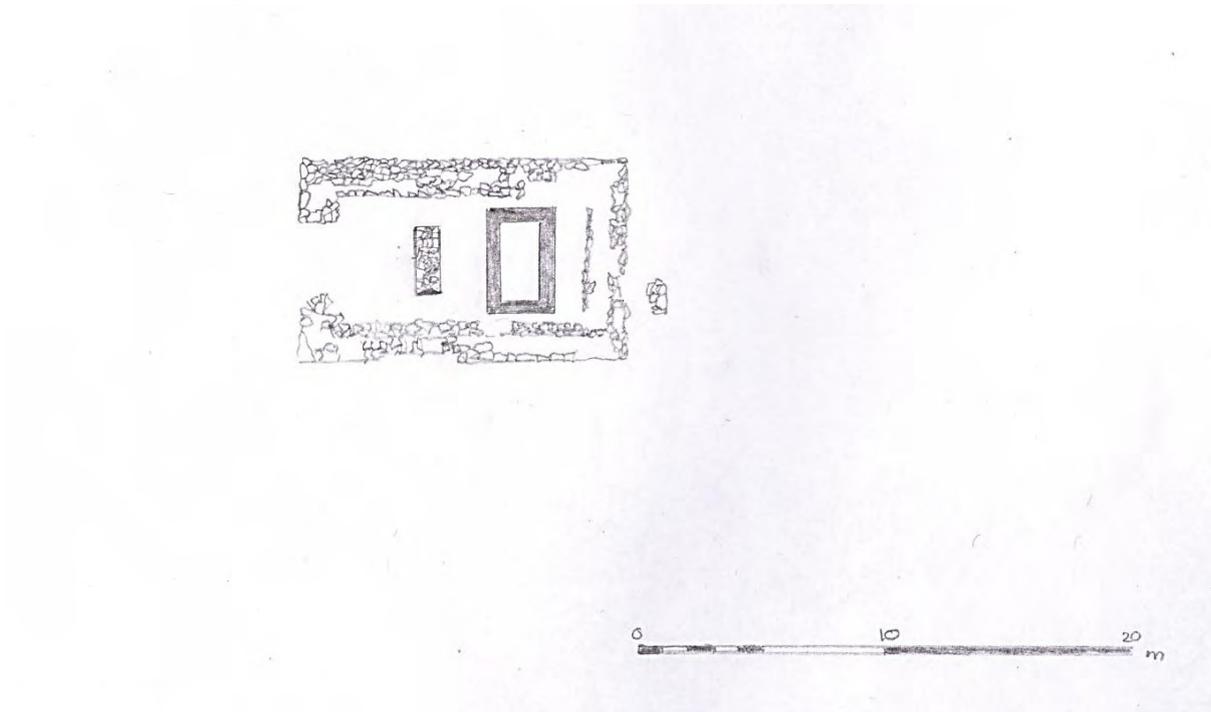
## Appendix 13: Plans of the different phases of the architecture at the site of Artemis Ephesia.

### 13.1 Naos 1/Early Archaic Peripteros: second quarter of the seventh century BCE



©Ruth M. Léger

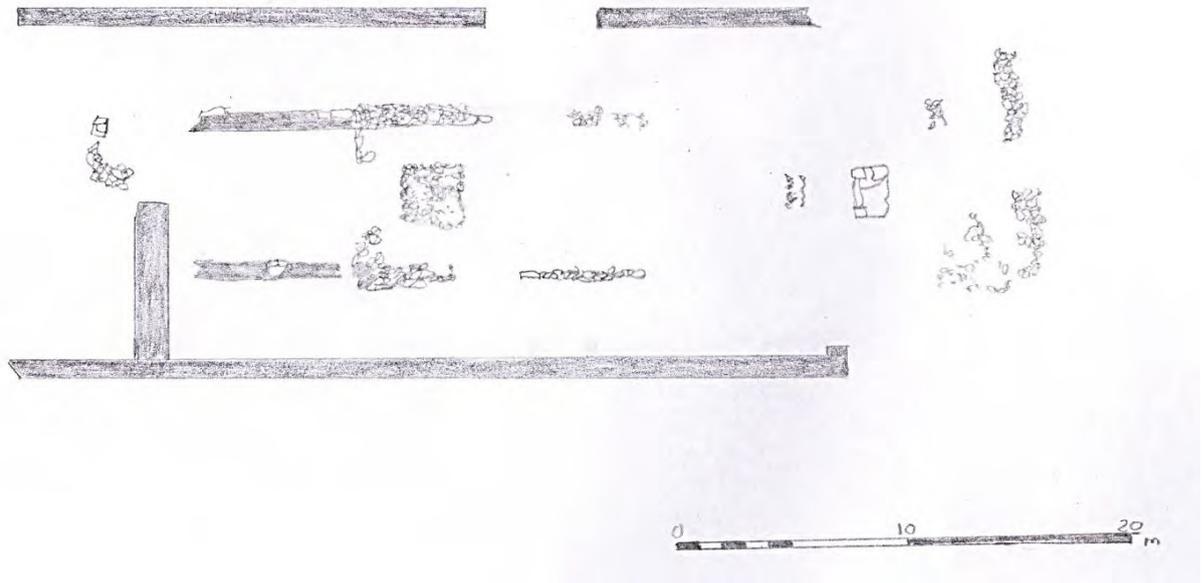
### 13.2 Naos 2/Temple B: second half of the seventh century BCE



©Ruth M. Léger

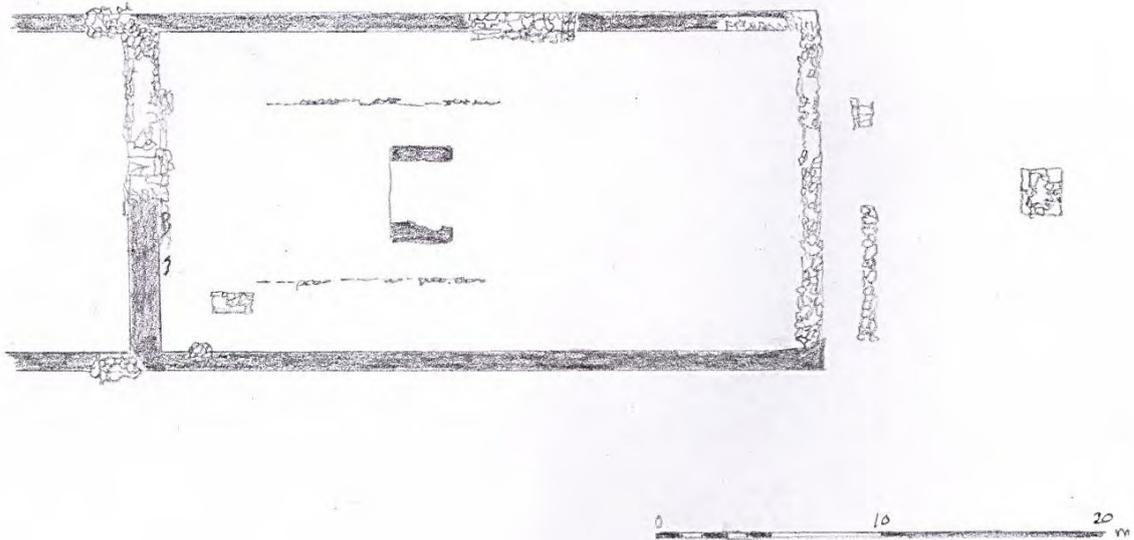
## Appendix 13: Plans of the different phases of the architecture at the site of Artemis Ephesia.

### 13.3 Sekos 1/Temple C1/Surrounding: end of the seventh century BCE



©Ruth M. Léger

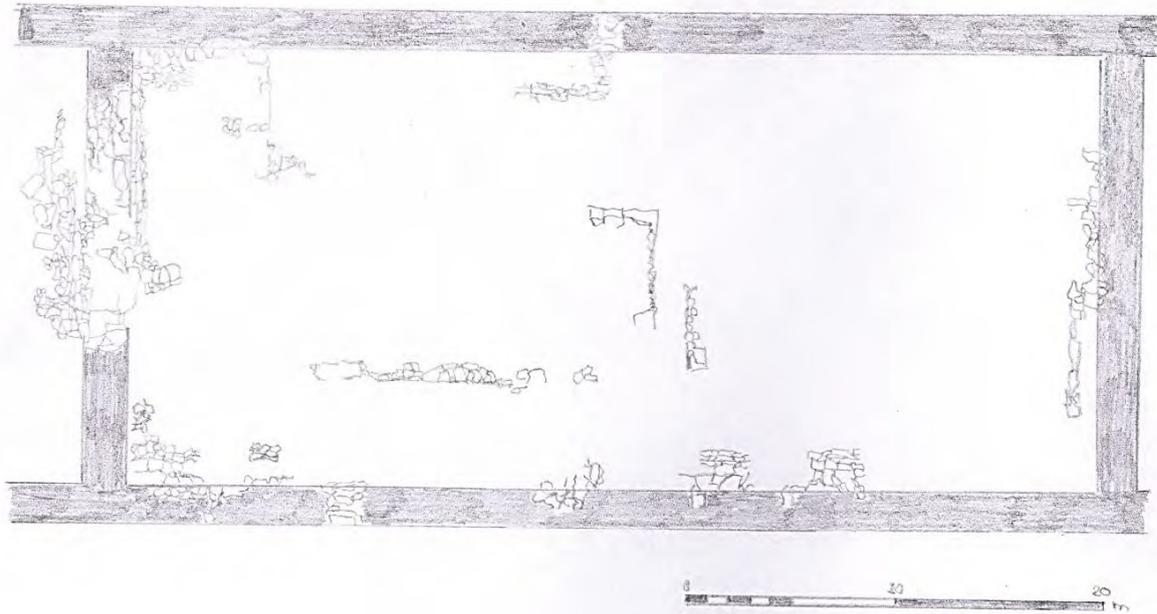
### 13.4 Sekos 2/Temple C: circa 600 BCE



©Ruth M. Léger

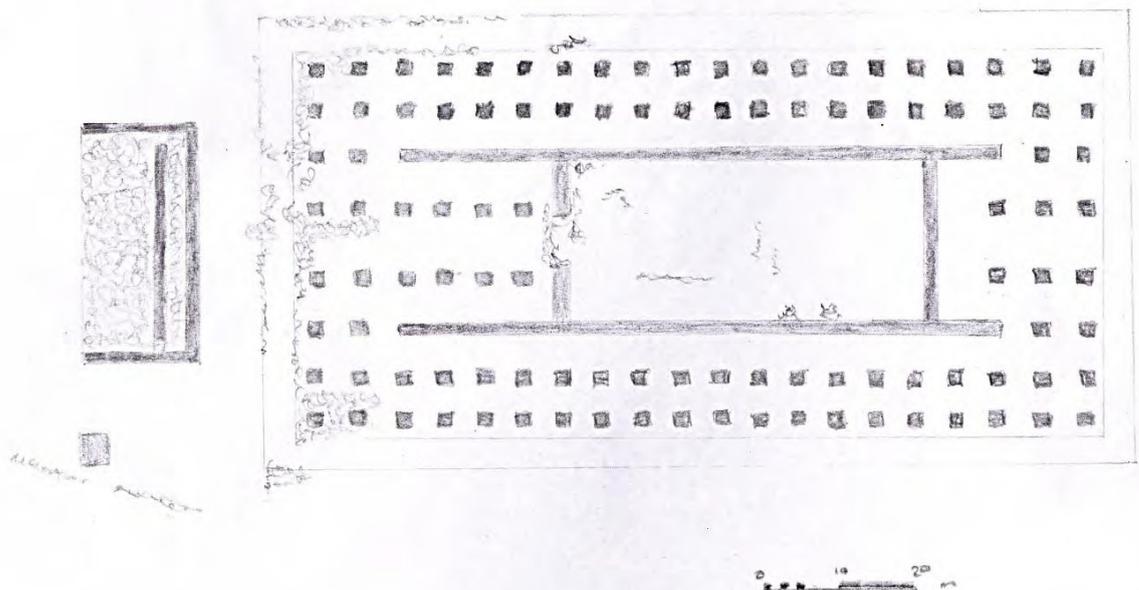
**Appendix 13: Plans of the different phases of the architecture at the site of Artemis Ephesia.**

**13.5a Dipteros 1/Croesus temple: second quarter of the sixth century BCE – detail**



©Ruth M. Léger

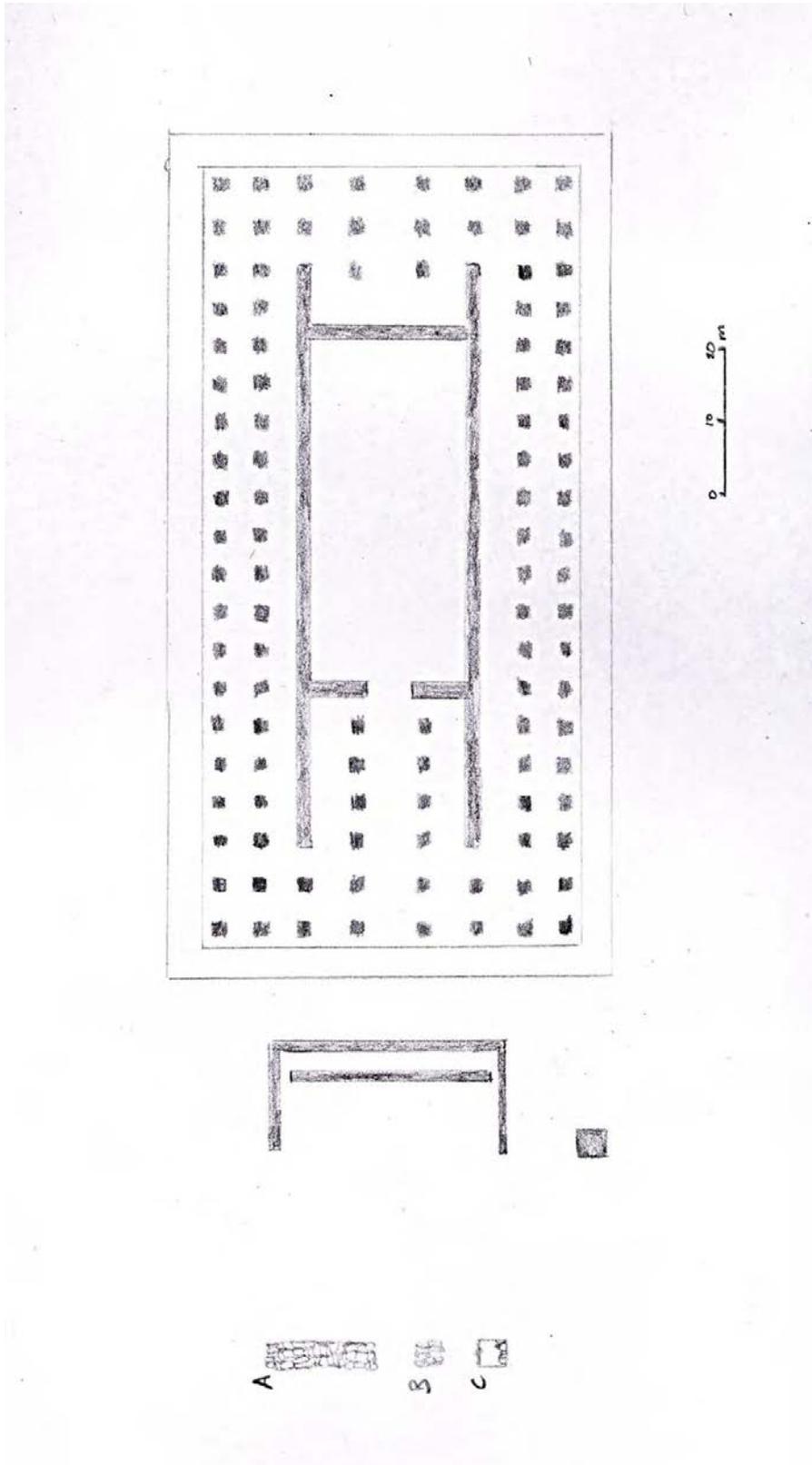
**13.5b Dipteros 1/Croesus temple: second quarter of the sixth century BCE – complete**



©Ruth M. Léger

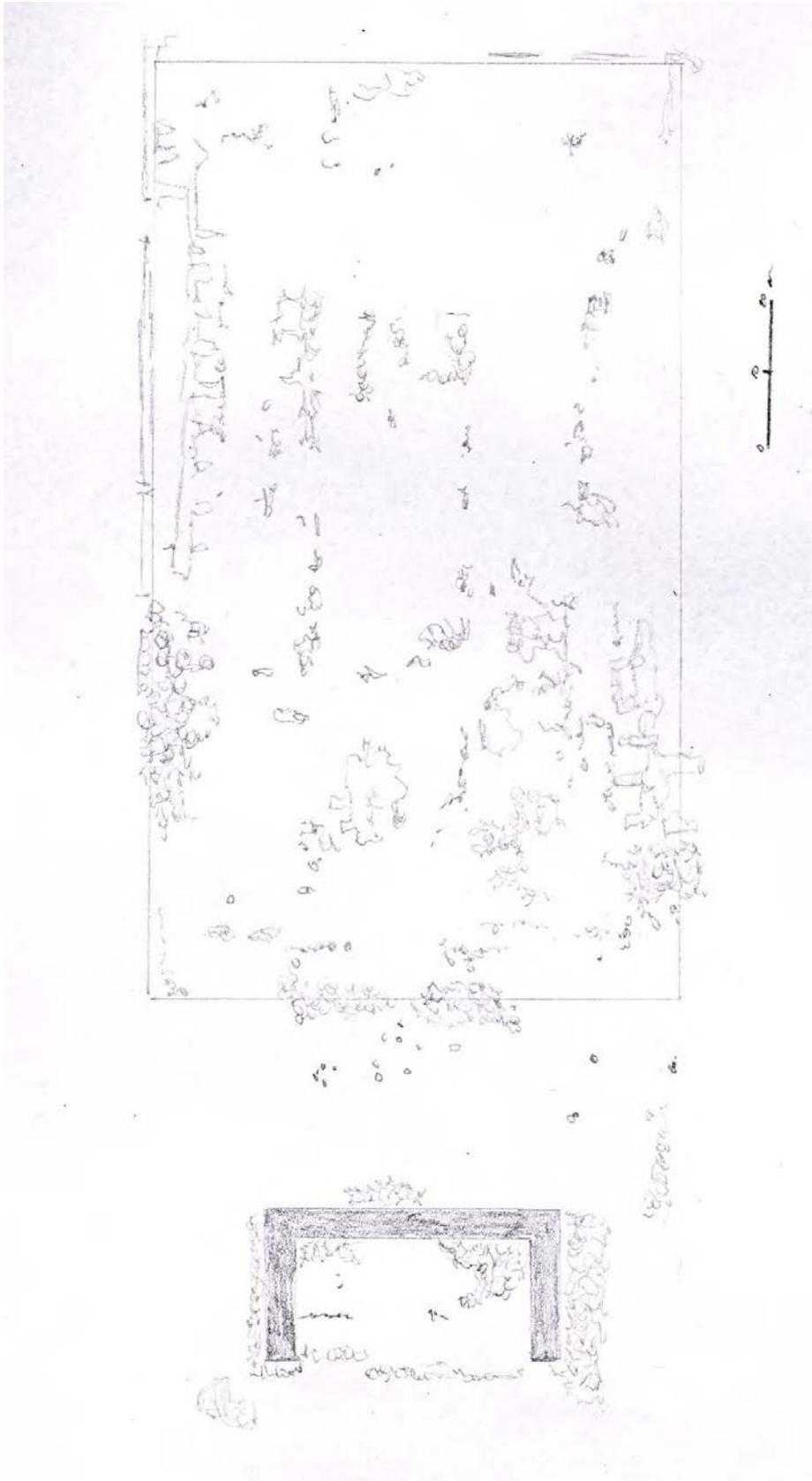
**Appendix 13: Plans of the different phases of the architecture at the site of Artemis Ephesia.**

**13.6 Three bases A-B-C: second half of the sixth century/start of the fifth century BCE**



**Appendix 13: Plans of the different phases of the architecture at the site of Artemis Ephesia.**

**13.7 Dipteros 2: after 356 BCE**



**Appendix 14: Modern overview of Artemis Ephesia site, Ephesus.**



©Ruth M. Léger



©Ruth M. Léger

## Appendix 15: Ephesian Coins (BCE unless otherwise stated).

### 15.1 Archaic – Classical Coins

Ephesian Coins	687-652	652-610	610-561	> 480	480-450	450-415
bee		x	5	⑤	⑤	⑤
boar						
bull			⑤			
cock		⑤				
dolphin						
eagle/griffin head			⑤			
goat		⑤				
horse			⑤			
lion			⑤			
lion's head						
lion's skin						
mussel						
pegasus						
ram						
seal			⑤			
serpents						
stag			5*⑤			
female head						
male head						
human head			⑤⑤			
Apollo						
Artemis huntress						
Athena						
cult statue Ephesia						
headdress Isis						
head of Artemis						
head of Arsinoe						
head of Ephesia						
Herakles						
Hermes						
Nemesis						
Nike						
(winged) Gorgon head			⑤			

4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, X:not specified  
 ©Ruth M. Léger

### 15.1 Archaic – Classical Coins

Ephesian Coins	687- 652	652- 610	610- 561	> 480	480- 450	450- 415
bow and quiver						
cornucopia						
date-palm tree						
grapes on vine-leaf						
palm tree						
rosette						
swastika						

4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, (5):silver, (5):electrum, X:not specified  
 ©Ruth M. Léger

## 15.2 Late Classical Coins

Ephesian Coins	415-394	394-387	387-295	305-288	295-288	288-280	280-258	258-202	202-133
bee	⑤	⑤	⑤	4	⑤	⑤	4,x	4, ⑤	4,5
boar									
bull									
cock									
dolphin									
eagle/griffin head	⑤								
goat									
horse									
lion									
lion's head									
lion's skin									4
mussel									
pegasus									
ram									
seal									
serpents									4
stag		⑤	⑤	4		4	4, ⑤	4, ⑤	4,5
female head				4					
male head									
human head									
Apollo									
Artemis huntress									
Athena									
cult statue Ephesia									4
headdress Isis									
head of Artemis					⑤		⑤	4, ⑤	4
head of Arsinoe						4, ⑤			
head of Ephesia									4
Herakles		⑤							
Hermes									
Nemesis									
Nike									
(winged) Gorgon head							x		

4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, x:not specified  
 ©Ruth M. Léger

## 15.2 Late Classical Coins

Ephesian Coins	415-394	394-387	387-295	305-288	295-288	288-280	280-258	258-202	202-133
bow and quiver								x	
cornucopia									
date-palm tree		⑤	⑤						4,5
grapes on vine-leaf									4
palm tree									4
rosette									
swastika									

4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, x:not specified  
 ©Ruth M. Léger

### 15.3 Roman Coins

Ephesian Coins	133-67	67-48	48-27	1BCE-1CE	not specified
bee	x	x	x	x	x
boar					x
bull					x
cock			4		x
dolphin					x
eagle/griffin head					x
goat					x
horse					x
lion					x
lion's head					x
lion's skin					
mussel					x
pegasus					x
ram					x
seal					
serpents	⑤	⑤			
stag			4		
female head					
male head					x
human head					
Apollo		⑤			
Artemis huntress	⑤	⑤	4		
Athena		⑤			
cult statue Ephesia	⑤	⑤			
headdress Isis	⑤				
head of Artemis					
head of Arsinoe					
head of Ephesia					
Herakles					
Hermes	⑤				
Nemesis		⑤			
Nike	⑤				
(winged) Gorgon head	⑤x	x	x	x	
bow and quiver					
cornucopia	⑤				
date-palm tree					
grapes on vine-leaf					
palm tree	⑤		4		
rosette					x
swastika					x

4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, x:not specified  
 ©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 16: Artemis Ephesia statues and their features tabled based on plate numbers Fleischer 1973.**

Plate	Place	Form	Nimbus	Temple	Mural	Necklace	Belt	Mythical figures	Lions	Bees	Deer
1,2	Aquileia, Italy	statue				x		x			
3,4	?	statue				x		x	x		
5a,b	Üskübü, Turkey	statue						x			
6a,b	Klaros, Turkey	statue		x				x			
7,8,9	Caesarea, Israel	statue				x		x		x	
10	Kyrenaika, Lybia	statue		x				x			
11	Ephesus	statue			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
12,-,17	Prytaneion, Ephesus	statue	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
18,-,23	Prytaneion, Ephesus	statue	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
24,-,28	Prytaneion, Ephesus	statue				x	x	x	x	x	x
29b	Ephesus	statue									
30b	Terraced House, Ephesus	statue	x					x			
30c,d	Ephesus	statue						x			
31a,b	Terraced House, Ephesus	statue				x					
32	Ephesus	statue									
33	?	statue	x						x		x
34	Tripoli, Libya	statue	x			x	?	x	x		x
35,36,37	?	statue			x	x	x	x			
38	?	relief									
39	(bought in) Izmir	relief			x						x
40	(bought in) Izmir	relief			x	?					x
41a,b	Ayasoluk, Ephesus	relief	x			x	?				x

**Appendix 16: Artemis Ephesia statues and their features tabled based on plate numbers Fleischer 1973.**

Plate	Place	Form	Wool ties	Figures	Bulbous objects	Rosette	Extra
1,2	Aquileia, Italy	statue		x	x		no head, no under arms
3,4	?	statue		x	x	x	no head, no under arms
5a,b	Üskübü, Turkey	statue				x	only small part
6a,b	Klaros, Turkey	statue					only small part
7,8,9	Caesarea, Israel	statue		x	x	x	no head, no under arms
10	Kyrenaika, Lybia	statue					only small part
11	Ephesus	statue	?	x	x	x	
12,-,17	Prytaneion, Ephesus	statue			x	x	no under arms
18,-,23	Prytaneion, Ephesus	statue	?	x	x	x	no under arms
24,-,28	Prytaneion, Ephesus	statue	?	x	x	x	no under arms
29b	Ephesus	statue			x		only bulbous objects
30b	Terraced House, Ephesus	statue					only headgear
30c,d	Ephesus	statue					only small part
31a,b	Terraced House, Ephesus	statue		x	x		only small part
32	Ephesus	statue		x			only small part
33	?	statue			x		no under arms
34	Tripoli, Libya	statue	?	x	x	x	no under arms
35,36,37	?	statue	?		x	x	no under arms
38	?	relief	?		x		damaged
39	(bought in) Izmir	relief	?		x		
40	(bought in) Izmir	relief			x		
41a,b	Ayasoluk, Ephesus	relief	x		x		

©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 16: Artemis Ephesia statues and their features tabled based on plate numbers Fleischer 1973.**

Plate	Place	Form	Nimbus	Temple	Mural	Necklace	Belt	Mythical figures	Lions	Bees	Deer
42a	Ephesus	relief									x
42b	Ephesus	relief									
42c	Agora, Ephesus	relief									
43a	?	bronze	x								
43b	Ephesus	bronze	x								
44	?	terracotta	x			x		x			
45	Hacilar, Anatolia	terracotta				x					
46	Izmir (?)	terracotta	x			x					
47a	Ephesus (?)	terracotta	x								
47b	?	terracotta									
47c	?	terracotta	x								x
48	Staatsmarkt, Ephesus	terracotta	x								
49	Izmir	terracotta	x								
50a	Izmir (?)	terracotta	x								
50b	?	terracotta									
50c	Celsus library, Ephesus	lamp	x								
50d	?	stone seal									x
50e	?	stone	x								

©Ruth M. Léger

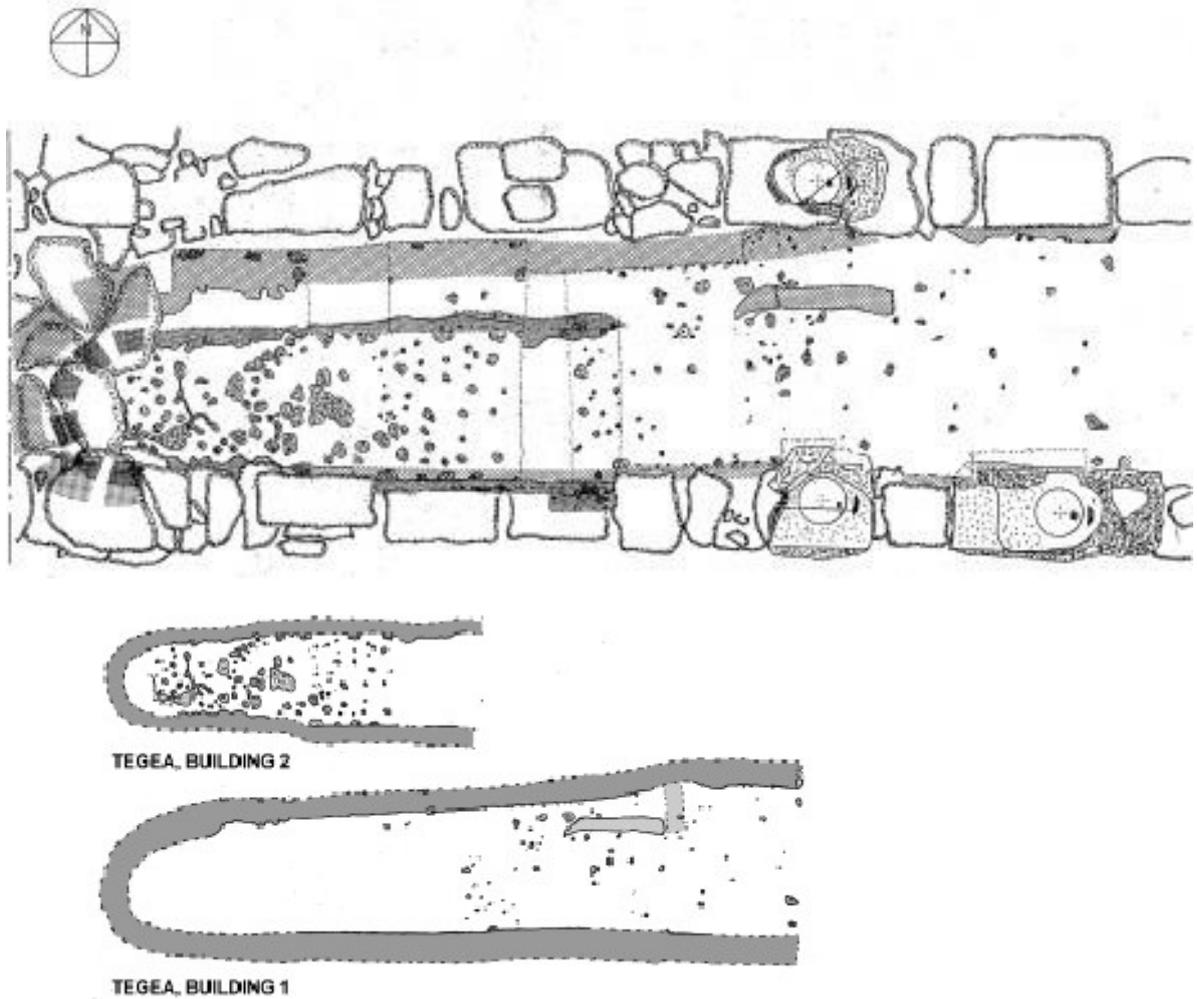
**Appendix 16: Artemis Ephesia statues and their features tabled based on plate numbers Fleischer 1973.**

Plate	Place	Form	Wool ties	Figures	Bulbous objects	Rosette	Extra
42a	Ephesus	relief	x				
42b	Ephesus	relief	x				too damaged
42c	Agora, Ephesus	relief	x				too damaged
43a	?	bronze	x		x		
43b	Ephesus	bronze			x		
44	?	terracotta	?		x		
45	Hacilar, Anatolia	terracotta	?		x		no head
46	Izmir (?)	terracotta	?		x		no under arms
47a	Ephesus (?)	terracotta	?		x		
47b	?	terracotta			x		no head, no under arms
47c	?	terracotta	?		x		
48	Staatsmarkt, Ephesus	terracotta	?				only upper part body
49	Izmir	terracotta	?		x		
50a	Izmir (?)	terracotta					only head
50b	?	terracotta			x		only body
50c	Celsus library, Ephesus	lamp	?		x		
50d	?	stone seal					
50e	?	stone	x				

©Ruth M. Léger

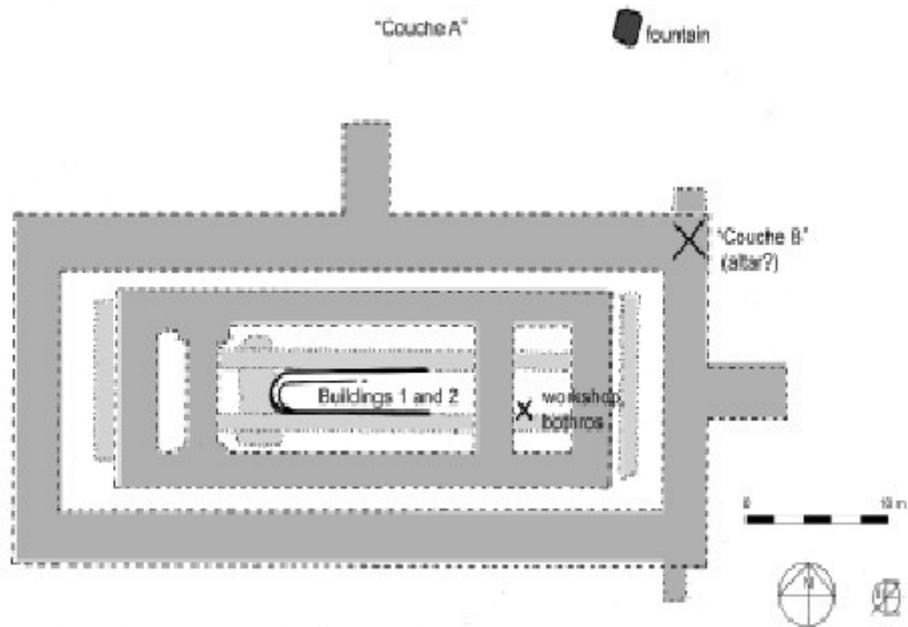


**17.2a Approximate plans of the two Geometric buildings (after figures 8 and 10 by Eric Østby 2014)<sup>21</sup>**

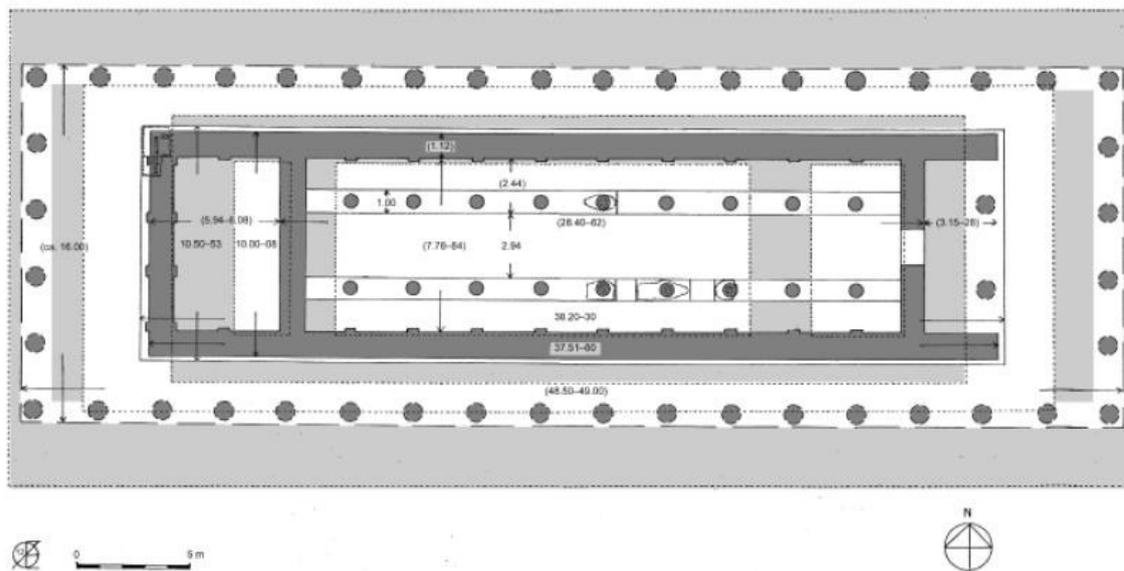


<sup>21</sup>I would like to thank Professor Østby for sharing these illustrations ahead of the publication. Østby, E. 2014. 'The Sanctuary of Alea at Tegea in the pre-Classical period', in E. Østby (ed.). Tegea I. Investigations in the temple of Athena Alea 1991-94. The Norwegian Institute at Athens, Athens.

**17.2b Spatial organisation of the sanctuary of Alea Athena in the Geometric period with outlines of the Archaic and Classical temple (figure 11 by Eric Østby 2014)<sup>22</sup>**



**17.3 Reconstructed plan of the Archaic temple (dark) and the foundations of the Classical temple (light) (figure 16 by Eric Østby 2014)**



<sup>22</sup> I would like to thank Professor Østby for sharing these illustrations ahead of the publication. Østby, E. 2014. 'The Sanctuary of Alea at Tegea in the pre-Classical period', in E. Østby (ed.). Tegea I. Investigations in the temple of Athena Alea 1991-94. The Norwegian Institute at Athens, Athens.

## **Appendix 18: The legend of Telephos.**

Auge, the daughter of king Aleos of Tegea and priestess of Alea Athena, was seduced near the fountain in the sanctuary and made pregnant by Herakles.<sup>22</sup> At this violation of her sacred temenos, the goddess, herself a virgin, sent blight upon the country. In one version of the story Auge hid her new born son (Telephos) in the precinct, but was discovered by Aleos when, consulting an oracle, he was told the cause of the blight. He then promptly nailed his daughter up in a box and cast her out to sea. A slight variation to this version is that Auge, with her son Telephos, was enclosed in a chest and thrown into the sea, by command of her father Aleos after he discovered she had been violated by Herakles. Thanks to Athena, the chest crossed the sea and was cast ashore at the mouth of the Kaikos. Teuthras, the king of Kaikos (which took its name from the river), took up the mother and her son, married the former and treated the latter as his own child.

Another version is saying that Aleos handed over his daughter to Nauplius with the order to take and drown her at sea. As she was being carried along, they say, she fell on her knees and so gave birth to her son, at the place where the sanctuary of Eileithyia is at Tegea.

The child Telephos was left to die on Mount Parthenion. One variation to this story, tells us is that Auge laid the new-born babe in the sanctuary of Athena. Either way, a hind found the child and suckled it, and Herakles appeared and gave him to shepherds to bring up. When Telephos became a man, he wanted to know who his real parents were. He consulted the oracle at Delphi and was told he could find his mother in Mysia. Her box had drifted this

---

<sup>23</sup> Based on Apollodorus, 3.9.1. Strabo, 13.1.68. Pausanias, 8.48.7. See also Stewart 1977: 63. Pretzler 2000.

way and she married the king, Teuthras. Teuthras welcomed Telephos and married him to his daughter Hiera. At Teuthras death, Telephos was appointed his successor.

Shortly afterwards the Greek army landed in Mysia on their way to Troy. The Greeks mistook it for Troy itself and began to plunder the countryside. King Telephos met them in battle by the river Kaikos and put a section of the Greek army to flight. Telephos however had failed to sacrifice to Dionysus in advance, unlike Agamemnon, and caught his foot in the roots of a vine which the god had caused to appear. He tripped and was speared in the thigh by Achilles, after Protesilaos had managed to seize his shield. After wreaking further havoc, including killing Hiera, the Greeks then withdrew. The wound refused to heal, and an oracle revealed that it would only be healed by whoever had inflicted it. Telephos then disguised himself as a beggar and went to Argos, where the Greeks had been driven back by a storm.

Gaining admittance to the palace, he revealed himself to Klytemnestra, who herself was thirsty for revenge for the death of her daughter Iphigeneia at Agamemnon's hand. At her suggestion, Telephos seized Agamemnon's infant, took refuge on an altar, and compelled the king to make Achilles cure his wound. This Achilles did, by applying rust from the lance that had caused it; the two sides were then reconciled and Telephos on his part agreed to guide the Greeks to Troy.

## Appendix 19: Votive objects found at Alea Athena, Tegea.

### 19.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Alea Athena, Tegea

1 Tegea	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	adzes							
3	amulets							
4	anthermia							
5	appliques							
6	arrowhead			3,4,a	3			
7	astragals							
8	balls							
9	bands			4,5*				
10	beads			3,4,5*,8	3,4,8			
11	belt							
12	bodkins/staples							
13	bracelets							
14	brooches							
15	bowl			4	4			
16	box							
17	bud							
18	button							
19	caduceus							
20	caps							
21	chain ornaments							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M Léger

### 19.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
22	chariot pole							
23	chariot wheel							
24	cockle-shell							
25	coils of wire (hair?)							
26	combs			4				
27	crescent pendants							
28	cups							
29	cylinders							
30	dice							
31	disc			1,3,4,5*	4			
32	disc seals							
33	dish with two handles							
34	double axes			3,4	4			
35	drops							
36	earring			5*				4
37	fibula		4	1,4	4			
38	fruit	apple, lemon, melon						
39	gems							
40	globes							
41	grain							
42	grids							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M Léger

### 19.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
43	grilles							
44	handles							
45	helmet							
46	horn							
47	inlay			3*	3*			
48	intaglio							
49	ionic capital							
50	knives	haft, point						
51	lance	head						
52	lamps							2
53	(loom)weights/stamps			2	2,4			
54	miniature vessels			8	4,8			
55	miniature masks							
56	miniature shields			4				
57	mirrors							
58	musical instruments	s:flutes+lyre, e:flute, t:lyre		4				
59	necklaces							
60	needles							
61	ornaments							
62	paddle-shaped objects	kohl-needles						
63	palmettes							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, (3):bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, (5):silver, (5):electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

### 19.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
64	(palm) branches							
65	pendants			4				
66	phiale			4	2,4			
67	pins		4	3,4,5*,a	4,a	4		
68	pin heads			3,4	3,a			
69	pins in pairs							
70	plate							
71	plaques			4,5*	3*,4	4		
72	pectra							
73	pomegranate flowers							
74	protomai	R: some Gorgon?						
75	rings			4	1,4	4		
76	rosettes				2,3*			
77	roundels							
78	scarabs			3*,4,8				
79	scoop			4	4			
80	scrap			4,a				
81	screws							
82	seals			3*	3			
83	sheets			4,5*	4	4		
84	shells							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, (3):bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, (5):silver, (5):electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

### 19.1 Jewellery/Valuables found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
85	shield	with gorgoneia		2,4	2			
86	ship							
87	spatula			4				
88	spear-point							
89	spheroids							
90	spool							
91	star							
92	stiles							
93	strips of bone							
94	studs							
95	sundries							
96	sword blade			4				
97	textiles							
98	torque							
99	triangles							
100	tweezers			4				
101	vase handles							
102	votive house			2				
103	wheels	chariot						
104	whorls							
105	wire			5*	5*			
106	wreaths			1,2	1,2			

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

## 19.2 Mythological Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea

1 Tegea	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	bear-headed figurine				4			
3	Bes							
4	Bes-head							
5	centaurs							
6	Daealic head				2			
7	enthroned female				7			
8	enthroned figures	pair of seated figures						
9	female/goddess/priestess	s+e: goddess, t:female	2	2,4	2	1		
10	female in long chiton with spear	R: Athena/Artemis						
11	female with beasts	R: potnia theron		4				
12	female with birds of prey	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
13	female with bow	R: Artemis						
14	female with bow and aegis	R: Artemis						
15	female with deer/stag	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
16	female with dog	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
17	female with fishtail							
18	female with horses	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
19	female with lions	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
20	female with lions and votaries	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
21	female with snakes	R: potnia theron/Artemis						

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

## 19.2 Mythological Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
22	female with spear and aegis	R:Athena?						
23	female with spear, shield, aegis	warrior goddess, R:Athena?						
24	female with sphinx	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
25	female with (water-)birds	R: potnia theron/Artemis						
26	figure separating animals	R: potnia theron		4				
27	figure with a lyre	R: Apollo						
28	gorgon							
29	gorgoneion							
30	griffin				③*			
31	Hathor							
32	Isis							
33	male attacked by bird	Prometheus?						
34	male being crowned							
35	male killing 'animal'	animal: Gorgon, lion						
36	male with caduceus and ram	Hermes R: Apollo Karneios?						
37	male with centaur	Perseus						
38	male with club	Hermes, R: Herakles?						
39	male with dog	R: potnios theron?						
40	male with Hydra	Herakles						
41	male with lion and griffins	R: potnios theron?						
42	male with ram	Hermes						

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

## 19.2 Mythological Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
43	male with three females	Judgement of Paris						
44	male with trident	Poseidon						
45	male with trident and fish	Poseidon						
46	male with trident and ram	Poseidon						
47	male with two females							
48	Nikai							
49	Pegasi							
50	satyr							
51	siren							
52	sphinx							
53	(temple) official	Megabyzos/Eunuch priest						
54	winged bearded figure holding birds							
55	winged goddess							
56	winged goddess with birds							
57	winged goddess with horse							
58	winged goddess with lions							
59	winged goddess with snake							
60	winged goddess with wreaths							
61	winged god							
62	xoanon-like figure							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass,

9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

### 19.3 Human Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea

1 Tegea	HUMAN FIGURES	commentary	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	arm							
3	bust (female)	t: Alea		6*				
4	bust (male)							
5	ears							
6	eyes							
7	female			2	2,4	2	1	
8	female and male							
9	female mask							
10	female musician	cymbal, flute and lyre players						
11	female nude	e:with hands on breasts	4	2,4				
12	female nude bell-shaped							
13	female on horseback			2,4	2			
14	female seated	or enthroned			7			
15	females together	Orthia and Eileithyia						
16	female votaries							
17	figure carrying vase	hydrophoros		4				
18	foot							
19	hand							
20	head/face							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:not specified.

©Ruth M Léger

### 19.3 Human Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	HUMAN FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
21	human		2	4,6*				
22	human seated			4				
23	kneeling figure							
24	kouros				1			
25	leg			4		3		
26	male							
27	male musician	flute and lyre players						
28	male nude	with helmet		4				
29	male on horseback				4			
30	male seated	or enthroned		4				
31	males together							
32	male with two females							
33	masks							
34	mourning the dead							
35	musicians	e: lyre player						
36	phi-figure			2				
37	psi-figure		2	2				
38	tau-figure			2				
39	tooth							
40	warriors			4				

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

### 19.4 Animal Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea

1 Tegea	ANIMAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
2	bear							
3	bee							
4	bird			2,4	4			
5	bird of prey	eagle			3*			
6	boar/pig	t:pediment, tusks			2,4			
7	bull			4	4			
8	camel							
9	chicken/cockerel			4				
10	deer/fawn/stag	fawn, dated = coins		4				
11	dog			4				
12	dove							
13	duck							
14	falcon							
15	feline			4?				
16	fish				4			
17	frog							
18	goat							
19	hares							
20	hawk							

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, ③:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, ⑤:silver, ⑤:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

#### 19.4 Animal Figures found at Alea Athena, Tegea

Tegea	ANIMAL FIGURES	commentary	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified
21	hippopotamus							
22	horse			2,4	2,4			4
23	ibex							
24	insects	e:fly, t:beetle?			3*			
25	lion			4	4			
26	monkey				2			
27	oxen			4	4			
28	panther							
29	quadrupeds		2	2	2,3			
30	ram/sheep			2,3	3*			
31	scorpion							
32	snake	t:vase relief		2				
33	spider							
34	tortoises/turtle	land/water?		4				
35	water birds			4				

1:lead, 2:terracotta, 3:ivory/bone, 3\*:ivory, 3:bone, 4:bronze, 5:gold/silver/electrum, 5\*:gold, 5:silver, 5:electrum, 6: limestone, 6\*: marble, 7:stone, 8:glass, 9:amber, 0:poros stone, a:iron, b:rock crystal, c:fayence, d:wood, x:notspecified.

©Ruth M Léger

## Appendix 20: Common features at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta, Ephesus, Brauron and Athena at Tegea.

### 20.1 Jewellery/Valuables at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)

1	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	all periods	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
2	adzes	s			s				
3	amulets	e		e	e				
4	anthemeia	s			s				
5	appliques	e			e				
6	arrowhead	e - t		t	e - t				
7	astragals	e			e				
8	balls	e		e					
9	bands	t		t					
10	beads	s - e - t		s - e - t	s - e - t				
11	belt	e			e				
12	bodkins/staples	e			e				
13	bracelets	s - e			s - e				
14	brooches	s - e			s - e				
15	bowl	s - e - t		t	s - e - t				
16	box	e			e				
17	bud	s		s					
18	button	e			e				
19	caduceus	s			s				
20	caps	e			e				
21	chain ornaments	e			e				

©Ruth M Léger

**20.1 Jewellery/Valuables at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)**

	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	all periods	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
22	chariot pole	e			e				
23	chariot wheel	e			e				
24	cockle-shell	e			e				
25	coils of wire (hair?)	s		s					
26	combs	s - e - t		s - t	s - e				
27	crescent pendants	s - e		s	s - e			e	
28	cups	e			e				
29	cylinders	e			e				
30	dice	s		s	s				
31	disc	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t	s	s		
32	disc seals	s		s	s				
33	dish with two handles	e			e				
34	double axes	s - e - t	e	s - e - t	s - e - t				
35	drops	e		e					
36	earring	s - e - t		s - t	s - e				
37	fibula	s - e - t	t	s - e - t	s - e - t				
38	fruit	e			e				
39	gems	s	s						
40	globes	e			e				
41	grain	e			e				
42	grids	s		s	s				

©Ruth M Léger

**20.1 Jewellery/Valuables at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)**

	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	all periods	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
43	grilles	s			s	s			
44	handles	e			e				
45	helmet	s			s				
46	horn	e			e				
47	inlay	e - t		t	e - t				
48	intaglio	s			s				
49	ionic capital	s			s				
50	knives	e			e				
51	lance	e			e				
52	lamps	e - t						e - t	
53	(loom)weights/stamps	s - t		s - t	t				
54	miniature vessels	s - e - t		s - t	e - t				
55	miniature masks	s - e			e	s	s		
56	miniature shields	t		t	t				
57	mirrors	s		s	s				
58	musical instruments	s - e - t		e	s - e - t				b
59	necklaces	s - e		s - e	e				
60	needles	e		e	e				
61	ornaments	s - e			s - e				
62	paddle-shaped objects	s		s					
63	palmettes	s - e		s	s - e				
64	(palm) branches	s			s	s	s		

©Ruth M Léger

**20.1 Jewellery/Valuables at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)**

	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	all periods	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
65	pendants	s - e - t		s - e - t	s - e				
66	phiale	t		t	t				
67	pins	s - e - t	t	s - t	s - e - t	t			
68	pin heads	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t				
69	pins in pairs	s			s				
70	plate	s - e			s - e				
71	plaques	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t	s - t	s		
72	plectra	s		s	s				
73	pomegranate flowers	s - e		s	s - e	s			
74	protomai	s		s	s				
75	rings	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t	t			
76	rosettes	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t	s			
77	roundels	e			e				
78	scarabs	s - e - t		s - e - t	s - e				
79	scoop	t		t	t				
80	scrap	t		t					
81	screws	e		e					
82	seals	s - e - t	s	s - e - t	s - e - t				
83	sheets	t		t	t	t			
84	shells	e			e				
85	shield	t		t	t				
86	ship	s			s				

©Ruth M Léger

**20.1 Jewellery/Valuables at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)**

	JEWELLERY/VALUABLES	all periods	pre- Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
87	spatula	t		t					
88	spear-point	e			e				
89	spheroids	e			e				
90	spool	e			e				
91	star	e			e				
92	stiles	e			e				
93	strips of bone	s			s				
94	studs	s - e		s	e				
95	sundries	e			e				
96	sword blade	e - t		t	e				
97	textiles	s		s	s				
98	torque	e			e				
99	triangles	e		e					
100	tweezers	t		t					
101	vase handles	s - e			s - e				
102	votive house	t		t					
103	wheels	s - e		e	s - e				
104	whorls	e			e				
105	wire	t		t	t				
106	wreaths	s - t		s - t	s - t	s	s		

©Ruth M Léger

## 20.2 Mythological Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)

1	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	all periods	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
2	bear-headed figurine	t			t				
3	Bes	e		e					
4	Bes-head	e			e				
5	centaurs	s			s				
6	Daealic head	t			t				
7	enthroned female	s - t		s	s - t				
8	enthroned figures	s		s	s				
9	female/goddess/priestess	s - e - t	t	s - t	s - e - t	s - t	s		b
10	female in long chiton with spear	s			s	s	s		
11	female with beasts	t		t					
12	female with birds of prey	e			e				
13	female with bow	s			s	s			
14	female with bow and aegis	s			s				
15	female with deer/stag	s - e			s		e		b
16	female with dog	s				s			b
17	female with fishtail	s			s				
18	female with horses	s			s				
19	female with lions	s - e			s - e				
20	female with lions and votaries	s			s				
21	female with snakes	s - e		s	s - e				

©Ruth M Léger

## 20.2 Mythological Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)

	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	all periods	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
22	female with spear and aegis	s			s	s	s		
23	female with spear, shield, aegis	s			s	s			
24	female with sphinx	s			s				
25	female with (water-)birds	s		s	s				
26	figure separating animals	t		t					
27	figure with a lyre	s			s				
28	gorgon	s		s	s		s		
29	gorgoneion	s			s	s	s		
30	griffin	s - e - t		s	s - e - t				
31	Hathor	e			e				
32	Isis	e		e					
33	male attacked by bird	s			s				
34	male being crowned	s			s				
35	male killing 'animal'	s			s				
36	male with caduceus and ram	s			s	s			
37	male with centaur	s		s					
38	male with club	s			s				
39	male with dog	s			s				
40	male with Hydra	s		s					
41	male with lion and griffins	s			s				
42	male with ram	s			s	s			

©Ruth M Léger

## 20.2 Mythological Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)

	MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES	all periods	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
43	male with three females	s		s					
44	male with trident	s			s	s	s		
45	male with trident and fish	s			s	s			
46	male with trident and ram	s			s	s			
47	male with two females	s			s				
48	Nikai	s			s				
49	Pegasi	s		s	s				b
50	satyr	s?			s?				
51	siren	s - e		s	s - e				
52	sphinx	s - e		s	s - e				b
53	(temple) official	e			e				
54	winged bearded figure holding birds	s			s				
55	winged goddess	s		s	s	s	s		
56	winged goddess with birds	s		s	s				
57	winged goddess with horse	s			s				
58	winged goddess with lions	s			s				
59	winged goddess with snake	s		s					
60	winged goddess with wreaths	s			s				
61	winged god	s			s				
62	xoanon-like figure	s - e		s	s - e	s			

©Ruth M Léger

### 20.3 Human Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)

1	HUMAN FIGURES	all periods	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
2	arm	e			e				
3	bust (female)	s - t		t	s				
4	bust (male)	s		s					
5	ears	e			e				
6	eyes	e			e				
7	female	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t	s - t	s - t		b
8	female and male	s		s	s				
9	female mask	e			e				
10	female musician	s			s				
11	female nude	s - e - t	t	s - t	s - e	s	s		b
12	female nude bell-shaped	e			e				
13	female on horseback	s - t		s - t	s - t				
14	female seated	s - t		s	s - t	s			
15	females together	s			s				
16	female votaries	s		s	s	s			
17	figure carrying vase	t		t					
18	foot	e			e				
19	hand	s - e			s - e				
20	head/face	s - e	e	s - e	s - e	s	s		

©Ruth M Léger

### 20.3 Human Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)

	HUMAN FIGURES	all periods	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
21	human	s - e - t	t	s - t	s - e	s			b
22	human seated	s - e - t		s - t	s - e	s	s		
23	kneeling figure	e			e				
24	kouros	t			t				
25	leg	e - t		t	e	t			
26	male	s - e			s - e				
27	male musician	s			s				
28	male nude	s - e - t		s - t	s - e	s	s		b
29	male on horseback	s - t			s - t				b
30	male seated	s - t		s - t	s				
31	males together	s			s				
32	male with two females	s			s				
33	masks	s - e			s - e				
34	mourning the dead	s		s					
35	musicians	s - e			s - e				
36	phi-figure	t		t					
37	psi-figure	t	t	t					
38	tau-figure	t		t					
39	tooth	e			e				
40	warriors	s - e - t		s - t	s - e	s	s		b

©Ruth M Léger

#### 20.4 Animal Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)

1	ANIMAL FIGURES	all periods	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
2	bear	s			s				b
3	bee	s - e		s	e				
4	bird	s - e - t		s - e - t	s - e - t				
5	bird of prey	s - e - t		s - e	s - e - t				
6	boar/pig	s - e - t			s - e - t		e		b
7	bull	s - e - t	s - e	s - e - t	s - e - t	s			b
8	camel	e			e				
9	chicken/cockerel	s - e - t		s - t	s	s		e	
10	deer/fawn/stag	s - e - t	s	s - t	s - e	s - e	s	e	b
11	dog	s - e - t	s	s - t	s - e				b
12	dove	e			e				b
13	duck	s - e			s - e				
14	falcon	e			e				
15	feline	t?		t?					
16	fish	s - e - t		s	s - e - t				b
17	frog	s - e		s	e	s			b
18	goat	s - e	s	s	s - e				b
19	hares	s		s	s				b
20	hawk	e			e				

©Ruth M Léger

**20.4 Animal Figures at sanctuaries of Artemis at Sparta (s), Ephesus (e), Brauron (b), and Athena at Tegea (t)**

	ANIMAL FIGURES	all periods	pre-Geometric	Geometric	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	not specified	Brauron
21	hippopotamus	e			e				
22	horse	s - e - t		s - e - t	s - e - t	s		t	
23	ibex	s - e			s - e				
24	insects	e - t			e - t				
25	lion	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t				b
26	monkey	t?			t?				
27	oxen	s - t		s - t	s - t	s			
28	panther	e			e				
29	quadrupeds	t	t	t	t				
30	ram/sheep	s - e - t		s - t	s - e - t		s		
31	scorpion	s		s	s				
32	snake	s - e - t		s - t	s - e	s			
33	spider	s		s					
34	tortoises/turtle	s - t		s - t	s	s			
35	water birds	s - e - t		s - e - t	s - e	s - e	s		

©Ruth M Léger

**Appendix 21: *krateriskoi* depicting clothed females**

**21.1 Athens – National Archaeological Museum Acr. 621d/566d**



©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 21: *krateriskoi* depicting clothed females**  
**21.2 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum kk54**



©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 21: *krateriskoi* depicting clothed females**

**21.3 Athens, Agora Museum P128 - 959**



©Ruth M. Léger

**21.4 Athens, Agora Museum P27342**



©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 22: *krateriskoi* depicting naked females**

**22.1 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum kk55.**



©Ruth M. Léger

**22.2 Brauron, Archaeological Museum 548.**



©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 23: *krateriskoi* depicting musical instruments**

**23.1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Acr. 621a/566a.**



©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 23: *krateriskoi* depicting musical instruments**  
**23.2 Athens, National Archaeological Museum Acr.621c/566c.**



©Ruth M. Léger

**Appendix 24: *krateriskos* showing a bear-like figure.**

**24.1 Piraeus, Archaeological Museum kk18.**



©Ruth M. Léger