



FROM ARTEMIS TO DIANA

THE GODDESS OF MAN AND BEAST

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From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast

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Collegium Hyperboreum:

Tobias Fischer-Hansen, Helle Horsnæs, Marjatta Nielsen,

Birte Poulsen and Annette Rathje

Cover illustration: A wall tapestry from Egypt depicting Artemis.

Dated to the 5th or beginning of the 6th century AD.

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Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen

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ARTEMIS IN CYPRUS

LONE WRIEDT SØRENSEN

The evidence of the goddess Artemis is sparse in many regions of the ancient world, and Cyprus is no exception. Her cult on the island is attested by a few inscriptions and a limited number of local limestone statuettes representing her as we know her from Greek iconography. Over the years the available evidence has been discussed in a number of cases,¹ and the following contribution is merely a short overview of the evidence available.

A somewhat strange Archaic terracotta from Kourion has tentatively been interpreted as a figure of Artemis,² but it stands alone and the fragmentary object preserved on its back cannot be positively identified as a quiver. Representations of the goddess as we know her from Greece appear together with those of other Greek gods during the 5th century BC, but the extant material concerning Artemis mostly belongs to the Hellenistic period, when local limestone statuettes depict her in particular as Artemis the huntress and protector of animals, shown with a bow and a quiver and an animal identified as a hind, a fawn or a deer and a lamb.

Artemis the huntress and protector of animals

Only three statuettes belong to the 5th century BC. One was unearthed in the Apollo sanctuary at Pyla by Hamilton Lang in 1872 and the other possibly at Malloura by Vogüé in 1862 (**Fig. 1**).³ Both are dressed in a chiton/peplos with short sleeves and *periamma*, their hair is covered with a sakkos, and they wear jewellery. In addition a mantle or shawl covers the shoulders of the statuette from Malloura. They probably both carried an animal along the left side supporting its front legs with the left hand, and the statuette from Pyla holds in her right hand an object interpreted as fruits or an aryballos.⁴ A fragmentary statuette from the acropolis of Amathus carries the animal the same way, but she is wearing a chiton without the *periamma*, and a himation, which covers the lower part of her body and is drawn up over her left shoulder.⁵ Another contemporary female head wearing a sakkos was recently excavated at Malloura, and it has been sug-

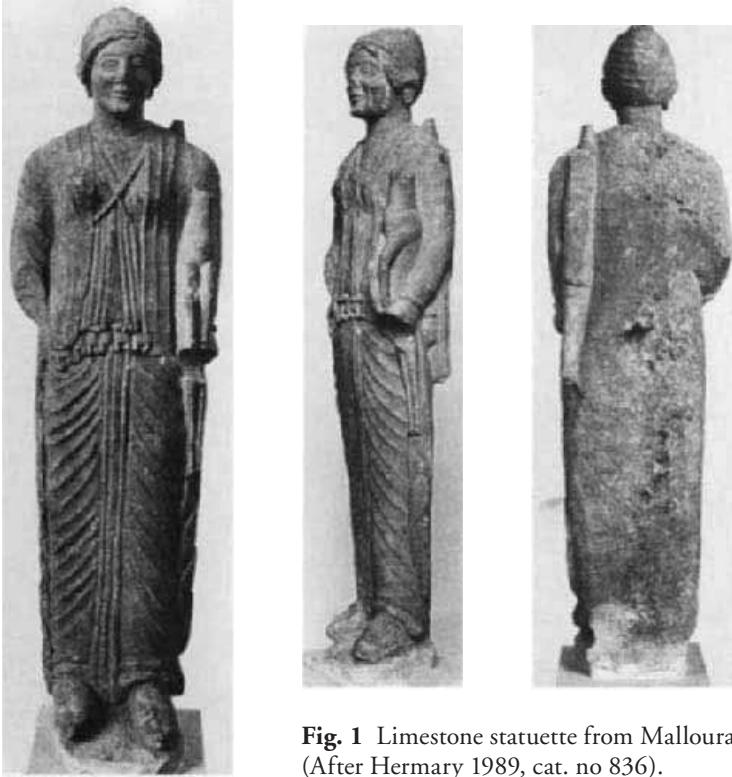


Fig. 1 Limestone statuette from Malloura (After Hermary 1989, cat. no 836).

gested that this too represents Artemis.⁶ If the statuette mentioned above was actually found at Malloura, the possibility cannot be excluded that this head once belonged to a similar statuette, but the sakkos alone, being a common Greek female head-dress widely adopted in Cyprus, hardly justifies this identification. It should also be mentioned that not only Artemis holds an animal in this particular way. A series of Sub-Archaic male statuettes from Kition dated from 540 to 450 BC, which are regarded merely as adorants, carry animals the same way,⁷ and it is tempting to suggest that the early Artemis statuettes borrowed an element originally at home in the male iconography in order, perhaps, to emphasise her special character.

A single headless statuette from Pyla in the Louvre is dated to the 4th century BC by some, while others consider it Hellenistic⁸ and thus contemporary with a series of limestone statuettes again depicting the goddess as the huntress/animal protector dressed in a long chiton with a deep overfold. She stands with the right leg slightly bent, and she holds an ani-

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mal supporting its body with her left hand and forearm, while her right hand clasps a round object tentatively interpreted as a fruit. Another two statuettes carry the animal the same way. A statuette from Pyla only wears a chiton,⁹ while a statuette from Malloura is dressed in a chiton without overfold and a mantle or shawl covers her left arm.¹⁰ All three statuettes are wearing a chiton with an accentuation of the central folds between the legs like the earlier statuette from Malloura. Although this way of supporting an animal may have been introduced by Greek terracottas and matrices during the 4th century BC, it should be noticed that in Cyprus animals, although mostly bulls, are shown carried in much the same way from the early Archaic period onwards. They are in particular noteworthy among the female statuary found at Arsos,¹¹ but they are also known for instance from Golgoi and Idalion.¹² Thus the Hellenistic statuettes may be conceived as a mixture of Cypriot traditions and new influences.



Fig. 2 Limestone statuette from the sanctuary of Apollo at Pyla (After Karageorghis 1998a, cat. no. 132).

Other limestone statuettes show Artemis with an animal standing by her side. A statuette in the Metropolitan Museum leans her left arm on a pillar to the right of her (**Fig. 2**).¹³ She crosses her left flexed leg in front of her right leg and extends her right hand to the head of an animal standing in front of the pillar. A mantle is draped over her left shoulder. Except for the stance some statuettes from Pyla may be compared with this statuette. They are standing on both feet with the left leg slightly flexed, and the animal has moved to the right side of the goddess, who extends her right hand to its head. They are dressed in the same type of garments and a couple of them lean the left elbow on the pillar extending the forearm and hand, which holds a round object.¹⁴ The observation made by Pryce that the mantle and the pillar supporting the left arm are not distinctly carved and have merged together applies to both statuettes.¹⁵ Other statuettes are standing in the same way with the animal on the right side, but the pillar



Fig. 3 Limestone statuette from the sanctuary of Apollo at Pyla (After Karageorghis 1998, cat. no. 130).

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Fig. 4 Artemis Esperos from Larnaca (After Gschwantler 1999, cat. no. 2).

is missing. A statuette from the Apollo sanctuary at Idalion has the mantle wrapped around her left arm, which is bent, resting the hand on the hip like the statuette in the Metropolitan museum.¹⁶ Both Pryce and Karageorghis compare her face with portraits of Berenice II. Another statuette of the same type dated towards the beginning of the Roman period shows the goddess clasping the edge of the overfold with her left hand,¹⁷ while a single statuette of the same date is dressed in a short chiton and boots and holds a twig in the right hand, and, according to the description, her left hand clasps a bow (**Fig. 3**).¹⁸

Two fragmentary early Roman marble statues from the gymnasium at Salamis are the most impressive extant images of the goddess as a huntress. They are both dated to the 2nd century AD and belong, respectively, to the so-called Laphria and Versailles types.¹⁹ Together with the so-called Artemis Esperos now in Vienna they give us a glimpse of the more refined statuary on the island. Artemis Esperos (**Fig. 4**), the once richly-painted marble statuette was found in Larnaca in 1880.²⁰ The goddess is shown standing leaning her left elbow on a pillar, the upper part of which is sculpted like an Archaistic kore, and she is resting her left foot on its base. Like most of the other statuettes she is dressed in a high-belted chiton with deep overfold. A mantle, which descends from the left shoulder and covers her back is taken across her body as a twisted bundle and hangs down from her extended left, now broken, forearm. According to information conveyed by Picard she held a torch in her lifted right hand when found,²¹ and a plug hole over her left shoulder indicates that a quiver, probably of metal was fastened here.²² An identification as Artemis seems fairly certain, and it has been suggested that she is a work of the 2nd century BC going back to Praxiteles or his sons, Kephisodotos and Timarchos.²³

Artemis Dadophore

Apparently other types of Artemis representations were known in Cyprus, but they are less well represented.

Two headless statuettes represent two different versions of Artemis Dadophore. They both wear the high belted long chiton with deep overfold, but while a statuette in the Limassol Museum holds an upright torch in her left hand towards her body and may have been accompanied by an animal standing left of her,²⁴ a statuette from Achna embraces a torch, which functions almost like a supporting column.²⁵

Artemis Bendis

The Artemis Bendis type is also represented by two limestone statuettes. One is said to have been found at Pyla and the other at Kourion. Both wear the Phrygian cap and a short chiton, but the Kourion piece wears long Persian trousers,²⁶ while the other wears an animal's pelt and a mantle over the left shoulder and leans on a pillar like the statuettes mentioned above (**Fig. 5**).²⁷

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Fig. 5 Artemis Bendis from Achna (After Karageorghis 1998, cat. no. 126).



Fig. 6 The so-called Vitsada Altar in Nicosia (Photo Cyprus Museum, Nicosia).

Terracotta figures

Apart from the images in stone several mould-made terracotta figures produced in Greek moulds mainly dated to the 4th century BC are likewise identified as representations of Artemis. Fragmentary terracottas from Amathus clearly show Artemis with the quiver on her back or dressed in a short chiton and boots with a torch held across her body.²⁸ Other terracottas associated only with animals may likewise represent the goddess. For instance the figures from Salamis, which either carry the animal resting on the left forearm like some of the limestone statuettes mentioned above or show the animal held along her side.²⁹ The latter may belong to the same Greek type as well-preserved figures in Nicosia and the Fitzwilliam Museum where the female clasps the front legs of a deer standing on its hind legs looking up at her.³⁰ Some of the terracottas from Achna, which Ohnefalsch-Richter considered an Artemis sanctuary are shown with a deer or a quiver, but here it seems that other types were much more common.³¹ However, an interpretation of female figures carrying for instance a bird,

lyre or a flower as Artemis is less convincing.³² They may just as well represent other goddesses, priestesses or adorants bringing gifts to the gods.

This also applies to Classical terracotta figures, which were reportedly retrieved over the years at a sanctuary at Salines, a locality north of the salt lake at Larnaca.³³ Again a variety of figure types was found, and only a female torso carrying a doe and flower is interpreted as Artemis.³⁴ At least two and perhaps three dedicatory inscriptions from the 2nd century AD mentioning Artemis Paralia were according to L.P. di Cesnola found at the salt lake and may derive from the same sanctuary.³⁵ Other epigraphic sources document that Artemis was venerated earlier in Cyprus.³⁶ The earliest is an inscription associated with King Nicocles of Paphos to Artemis Agrotera from the late 4th. century BC. Another inscription from the 3rd century BC from Chythroi mentions her as Epekoos, and a 2nd century AD inscription from Voni as Agoraia, showing that as in Greece the goddess was venerated in different roles in Cyprus. The epithet Paralia is usually taken to designate a coastal connection, but Yon reads it as a compound word meaning “beside the salt marsh”. Yon refers to the correspondence between the filling and seepage of the salt lake and the agricultural cycle of the year and stresses the economic importance of this commodity for the city of Kition.³⁷ She furthermore draws attention to a 4th century BC Phoenician funerary inscription from a necropolis at Kition, which mentions Eshmoun-Adôn son of Ba'al-‘amas. The rest of the inscription may be read as “the salt man”. Although it must be inferred that this translation is not unanimously accepted, the suggestion is intriguing as it indicates the existence of an official in charge of a lucrative business, which continued until the late 20th century.

Conclusions

Based upon the extant evidence it is agreed that Artemis was introduced to Cyprus during the 5th century BC along with other Greek gods. Like Aphrodite she was probably assimilated with “the Great Goddess” of the island, alias Anat/Astarte/Hathor, and over the years she was venerated under various epithets known from elsewhere, while Artemis Paralia seems to be a local phenomenon. The inscriptions do confirm that she was venerated in Cyprus, but apart from a possible sanctuary for this goddess at Salines south of Larnaca she does not seem to have been the principal god in any other of the known sanctuaries. Most of the statuettes were found

in the sanctuary of Apollo Mageirios at Pyla, and it has been suggested that she was sometimes worshipped in association with her brother Apollo, but statuettes and figures of her were also dedicated in sanctuaries of other gods. The variety expressed by her images, even those depicting her as the huntress/protector of animals shows that in Cyprus as elsewhere the images of her were not restricted to one particular standard type. In a single instance Artemis is shown in the company of other gods. On a strange Hellenistic relief from Vitsada depicting the Rape of Persephone she is standing together with three other female goddesses behind the chariot of Hades (**Fig. 6**).³⁸ Artemis, identified by means of the fawn standing between her and the chariot, is shown in an awkward posture. She stands with both arms stretched towards Persephone, who is tossed over the shoulder of Hades, and crosses her left flexed leg in front of her right leg like one of the statuettes from Pyla mentioned above.³⁹

The local limestone statuary shows that images of Artemis were dedicated in various Cypriot sanctuaries in particular during the Hellenistic period, and during the Roman period she moves together with other gods and goddesses to adorn new public settings like the gymnasium at Salamis.⁴⁰

Judged from her local imagery her importance prior to the Hellenistic period is somewhat obscure, but her role was hardly totally insignificant as Pnytagoras, for religious, political or cultural reasons, chose to use her as an emblem on the reverse of silver didrachmae struck between 351 and 332 BC at Salamis.⁴¹

NOTES

- 1 For instance Caubet 1976; Pouilloux 1986; Karageorghis 1998a, 133.
- 2 Karageorghis 1998, 25 no. 8, pl. XV. 2.
- 3 Hermary 1989 nos. 835-836; Kahil 1984, nos. 560, 639.
- 4 Caubet 1976, 170.
- 5 Hermary 1981, no. 32; Kahil 1984, no. 561.
- 6 Counts & Toumazou 2003, figs. 2-3.
- 7 Gjerstad 1937, pls. XXIX, 1-2, XXX, 1-3, XXXI, 2-3, XXXIII, 5-6, XXXIV, 6 and 8, pl. XXXV, 2. The type is also known from for instance Mersinaki, cf. Westholm 1937a, pl. CXXVIII, 1-2.
- 8 Caubet 1976, no. 3; Hermary 1989, no. 837; Karageorghis 1998a, no 130.
- 9 Karageorghis 1998a, no. 131.
- 10 Hermary 1989, no. 838.
- 11 Westholm 1937, pls. CLXXXV, CLXXXVI, CLXXXVII. 2.
- 12 Hermary 1989, nos. 666, 746.
- 13 Masson 1966, fig. 12; Karageorghis 1998a, no. 132.
- 14 Pryce 1931, C 371; Karageorghis 2000, no. 421.
- 15 Pryce 1931, 125.

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- 16 Pryce 1931, C 370; Karageorghis 1998a, no. 127.
 17 Kahil 1984, no. 640; Hermary 1989, no. 839.
 18 Caubet 1976, no. 4; Hermary 1989, no. 840; Karageorghis 1998a, no. 130.
 19 Kahil 1984, nos. 198 and 253; Karageorghis 1998a, figs. 133-134.
 20 Kahil 1984, no. 406; Gschwantler 1999, 51; Violaris 2001, 249.
 21 Picard 1954, 356.
 22 Gschwantler 1999, 53.
 23 Kahil 1984, no. 406.
 24 Kahil 1984, no. 451.
 25 Pryce 1931, no. C 381.
 26 Karageorghis 2000, no. 422.
 27 Pryce 1931, C 382.
 28 Aupert 1981, figs. 18-20.
 29 Pouilloux 1986, pl. XLVI, 3-6.
 30 Karageorghis 1999, no. 137; Karageorghis 1998a, no. 125; Kahil 1984, no. 642.
 31 Caubet 1992, 261-267; Karageorghis, J. 1999, 48-67, 140-142, 148-149, 210, 218-220, 224-240, 276-280.
 32 Cf. for instance Pouilloux 1986, 413.
 33 Yon 1992, 301.
 34 Yon 1992, pl. LVI, 1.
 35 Yon 1992, 303.
 36 Pouilloux 1986, 412.
 37 Yon 1992, 305.
 38 Westholm 1956, pl. XIII, 2-4; Cassimatis 1976; Beschi 1988, no. 325.
 39 Cf. Sørensen 2005.
 40 Fejfer 2003, 17.
 41 Dembski 1999, no. 112.

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The Saxo Institute
Section of Classical Archaeology
University of Copenhagen
Njalsgade 80
DK-2300 Copenhagen S

lws@hum.ku.dk