



FROM ARTEMIS TO DIANA

THE GODDESS OF MAN AND BEAST

12 ACTA HYPERBOREA 2009

From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast

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Cover illustration: A wall tapestry from Egypt depicting Artemis.

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

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Edited by

Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen

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ARTEMIS IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY

A PICTURE OF DIVERSITY

TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN

Introduction – Syracuse

Demeter and Kore make up the most prominent part of Diodoros Sikulos' survey of significant cults in Sicily (5.3.2-3). Also, the virgin goddesses Artemis and Athena are singled out for their attachment to the island, and in the division of the island into spheres of influence Athena is allotted Himera, Artemis Syracuse (5.3.4 – 4.2). Nevertheless, Artemis has little mention in Diodoros considering the evidence for her cult in Sicily offered by other written sources and epigraphy, and by structural remains and votive material.¹

The division of divine territories in Sicily was seen by B. Pace as a reflection of an original, indigenous conception of nature divinities, and Pace saw also an indigenous origin behind several of the Sicilian pastoral-, spring- and cave- or grotto-cults affiliated with Artemis.² There is no clear testimony of indigenous influence upon the cult of Artemis brought to the island by early Greek settlers; signs of indigenous elements reflected in Greek cult seem valid primarily in regard to the cults of Herakles and Demeter-Kore.³ However, the antiquity of the cult of Artemis in Sicily is apparent from the close ties between Artemis, Athena and Kore described by Diodorus (5.3.4).

Syracuse, the main centre for the cult of Artemis in Sicily, had from early times at least one major polis sanctuary, apart from territorial sanctuaries, nature and spring cults, and cults perhaps affiliated with the chthonic divinities. Testimony also of the cult of the divinity is the month name Artamitios.⁴ The many sources regarding the different aspects of her cult in Syracuse makes this city a useful point of departure for our survey.⁵

The island of Ortygia was Artemis' main centre in Sicily (Pind. *Nem.* 1.3), but her birth place, Delos-Ortygie, (Hom. *Od.* 5.123; 15.404) probably

explains the epithet *Ortygia* given her by some sources (Soph. *Trach.*, 212-213). Her role as a divinity of water and springs, of which more examples are given below, was especially evident at Syracuse where nymphs made the spring Arethusa gush forth in order to please the goddess (Diod. Sic. 5.3.4). A sanctuary and a cult image (?) of Artemis set up near this spring are mentioned in the Scholia to Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.7, 12 a Drachmann), and one of her many epithets was Potamia (Pind. *Pyth.*, 2.7). Indeed the importance of the cult of Artemis in Syracuse has its clearest expression in Pindar. The epithet Alpheioa, closely associated with Arethusa, and traditions regarding the Alpheios river in Olympia and different Peloponnesian cults, should be seen primarily in relation to the early foundation history of Syracuse and its Peloponnesian settlers.⁶

Artemis had a major sanctuary on the island of Ortygia, where the remains of a monumental Ionic temple have been known since the early investigations by Paolo Orsi and G.V. Gentili,⁷ but where the topography of the sanctuary has only recently been explored. The point of departure for the topography of this major sanctuary is Cicero's oration against Verres (4.53.118) with mention of two fine temples, one of Diana, the other of Minerva. The text suggests that the two temples were situated close to each other, as if in a common temenos, and the recent investigations of the topographical layout does not seem to indicate internal divisions into two separate temene of Athena and Artemis.⁸

The large temenos, later comprising two monumental temples, was laid out on Ortygia as part of the early urban planning, and its conception undoubtedly goes back to the foundation of the colony. Best preserved is the Doric Athena temple, erected by the Deinomids in the first half of the 5th century, still in part preserved inside the cathedral. Remains of the flanking, Ionic Artemis temple, with front also facing onto the temenos, corresponding to the present-day cathedral square, are more sporadic and known mainly from finds of architectural fragments. The temple was hexastyle with 14 columns along the sides, a reconstruction based primarily upon analogies found within Sicilian temple architecture. The type of Ionic architectural order reflects the Ionic-Samian dipteros temple, the column bases had torus and speira, and the lower part of the columns had unworked, rectangular projections intended for sculpted reliefs (*columnae caelatae*), both features known from late 6th century Ionic Samian, Eph-

ARTEMIS IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY

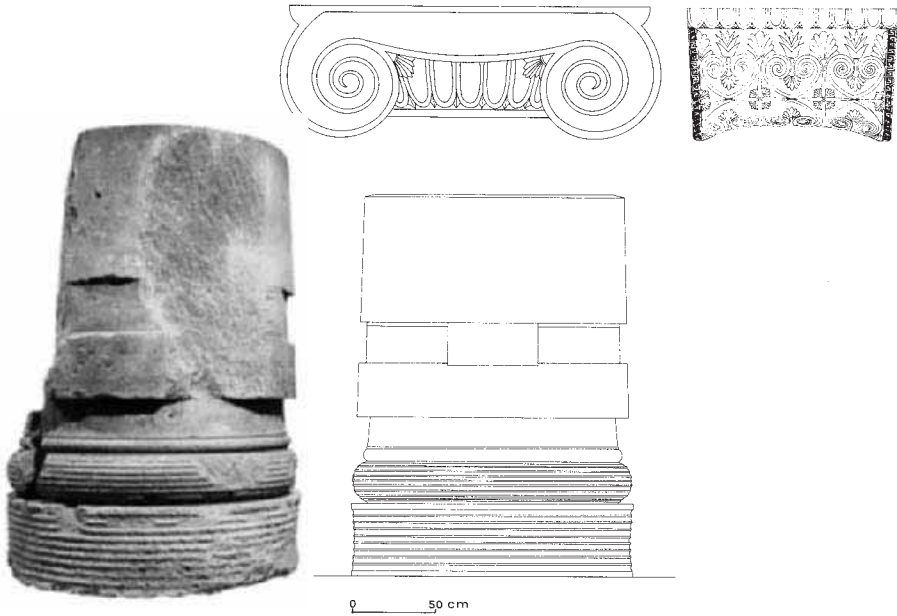


Fig. 1 Lower part of Ionic column from the Temple of Artemis, Ortygia – Syracuse, with drawings of column and capital. 6th century. (After Pugliese Carratelli 1985 and Auberson 1984).

esian and Didymaean architecture; also the typology of the Ionic capitals is similar to that known from Samos (**Fig. 1**).⁹ Earlier suggestions that the temple was never completed seem unfounded, as various architectural terracottas ascribed to the temple show that it was at least constructed to the height of the roof. The Artemis sanctuary underwent an earlier structural phase, revealed by remains of a shrine, votive deposits and traces of an altar from the 7th century, antedating the Ionic temple.¹⁰ Recent investigations have revealed the existence of a large temenos area in front of the two temples with altars and the remains of a propylon, which gave access to the sanctuaries.

Cicero's *Verrine* oration and the Ionic architecture support the dedication of the temple to Artemis, but there is also the evidence of the votive material to support the identification. A fragment of a painted 6th century pinax from the excavation of the Ionic temple depicts a Potnia Theron,¹¹ and a Corinthian ivory plaque from the same area bears a winged Artemis

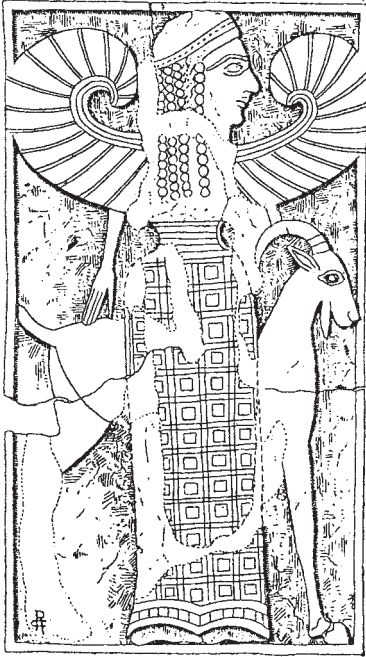


Fig. 2 Corinthian ivory plaque with a winged Artemis in front of a standing capride, Ortygia – Syracuse. 7th century. (After Orsi 1895).

with a standing capride (**Fig. 2**).¹² A Protocorinthian sherd with Artemis in the guise of a Potnia, recently brought to light during the investigation of the sanctuary, supports the view that her cult goes back to the foundation period of the colony.¹³

Figurines of Artemis from a votive deposit near the Temple of Apollo,¹⁴ the other major urban sanctuary on Ortygia with a history going back to the early history of the city,¹⁵ testify to one of the important aspects of the cult of Artemis in Sicily and South Italy – the diffusion of her cult among sanctuaries of other divinities from the 5th and 4th centuries, a prominent feature at several of the sites discussed below.

Two sub-urban or rural sanctuaries of Artemis were examined by Paolo Orsi on the northern outskirts of the city en route to Katane. The larger at Scala Graeca has all the characteristics of a rural sanctuary, with no remains of larger cult structures but instead the evidence of the use of a grotto for cult activities, a fountain house and offering pits (**Fig. 3**).¹⁶ There is no evidence of an original indigenous cult,¹⁷ and the cult activities began

ARTEMIS IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY



Fig. 3 Artemision, Scala Graeca, Syracuse. (After Orsi 1900).

no earlier than the 5th century. The finds indicate clearly that the sanctuary is an Artemision, and location and the votive material point to a rural cult, perhaps that of Artemis Agrotera.¹⁸ However, the variety of votive figures point to several aspects of Artemis (**Fig. 4**): Artemis with a boat on her shoulders – the divinity as protectress of sailors; Artemis resting her hand on the heads of panthers or lions – the divinity as a Potnia Theron. Artemis with a deer points to one of her dual roles: the goddess holding a young, crouching hind in her arms with its head pressed against her breast seems to refer to her role as a nurturer and protectress of the young and innocent.¹⁹ However, the dual character of Artemis comes out in the figu-

rines where the adult deer is grasped by its tail or legs, Artemis as Potnia, or with deer and bow – Artemis the huntress, or protectress of hunting, or as presager of death, Artemis Elaphebolos.²⁰ Artemis with plants or by palm trees points to the divinity as protectress of plants (*Potnia Phyton*). Female figurines with flutes may refer to Artemis Chitonia honoured by girls wearing chitons only, performing the dance named *ionikon* to the accompaniment of flutes at the temple of Artemis (Ath. 14.629E).²¹ Artemis Aggelos – Artemis Messenger, an epithet of Artemis at Syracuse (Hesch. s. v), also honoured with dancing (Ath. loc. cit.), may reflect Artemis in the role as herald of the return of Kore, somehow bound up with Artemis in the guise of Hekate (Theocr. 2.39; Schol. Theocr., 2.11.12).²² Horse figurines, part of the votive material, have been taken as testimony of a cult of Artemis Hippiké at Syracuse. According to Pindar, Artemis helped Hieron tame his foal (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.6; the scholiast giving the divinity the epithet: Schol., Pind. *Nem.* 1.1 Drachmann). The area of activity regarding the epithet Hippiké is not clearly discernible, but perhaps there is a reflection of Hieron's status as king or knight.²³ However, the few finds of this type of votive material in the rural sanctuary of Scala Graeca may not be of significance in this discourse.

The small, isolated rural sanctuary at the Belvedere lies inland from the Scala Graeca, apparently with no structural remains.²⁴ The votive finds are substantial, with a rich variety of Artemis figurines from the late 5th-4th century, showing the goddess in a number of different guises: standing with spear and hare, standing with a *flabellum*, running alongside a deer, riding on the back of a griffin, apart from the more common types of the huntress with a spear, at times pouring a libation by an altar with sacrificial fire.

Part of the votive material, for instance female figures carrying pigs, reveal that Demeter and Kore were also venerated at this rural sanctuary.

A number of urban sanctuaries were laid out inland from Ortygia in the various quarters of the Classical city.²⁵ The investigations of the Demeter and Kore sanctuary in the area of the Madonna delle Lacrime and Piazza Vittoria in the Achradina district²⁶ have revealed that Artemis also had her place in the sanctuary. This is borne out by the votive inscription *IAROS ARTÁMITOS PHERAIAS* on a 4th-century black-glazed, Gnathia-style,

ARTEMIS IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY

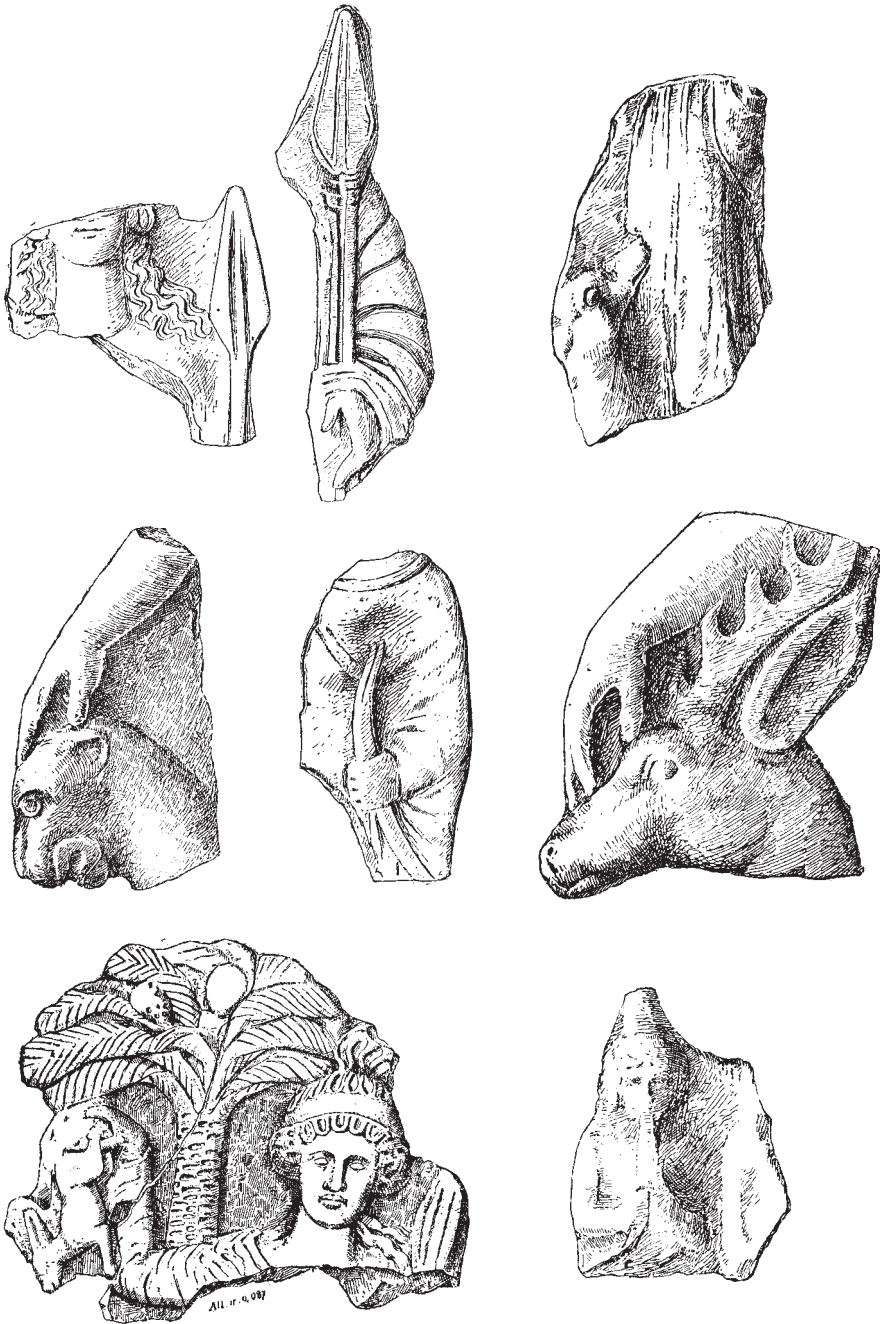


Fig. 4 Terracotta figurines. Artemis as Potnia Theron, Artemis the Huntress, Artemis Chitonia. 5th century. Artemision, Scala Graeca, Syracuse. (After Orsi 1900).

decorated krater²⁷ and by terracottas depicting Artemis.²⁸ The epithet Phe-raia, not otherwise documented for Artemis in Sicily,²⁹ is perhaps appropriate for the goddess in the context of a sanctuary for the chthonic divinities in the vicinity of the bordering necropolises.³⁰

An aspect of the cult of Artemis in the Hellenistic period is the tradition reported by the Theocritian and Vergilian scholiasts. According to the sources treating bucolic, pastoral poetry the genre had its origin in the popular songs of the shepherds and farming communities at Syracuse.³¹ The songs, associated with the world of peasants and shepherds, fruit and flowers, wine and processions and contests in the city and at the theatre, were connected with the cult of Artemis. Forming part of this Hellenistic complex is the reference to Artemis Lyaia, the epithet explained in the commentaries as referring to the healing divinity, bringing to an end a plague, a consequence of internal conflicts in the age of the Deinomids.³² The suggestion that the Artemis sanctuary on Ortygia is that of Artemis Lyaia³³ is perhaps not tenable since the sources, regarding this aspect of the divinity, are so much part of Hellenistic pastoral traditions.

The head of Artemis Soteira on the late 4th-century and early 3rd-century coinage of Agathokles could perhaps carry a political message, such as a reference to deliverance from Carthaginian threats.³⁴ However, the epithet is widely used on coinage in this period.³⁵

All in all, Artemis seems to have had a more powerful presence in Syracuse than in Corinth, and also with traits independent of her cult in the mother-city. However, one point could be singled out here, the apparently growing diffusion of the cult from the period of the reign of the Corinthian Timoleon. From the evidence of terracottas representing Artemis in her various guises, found in great number in several of the South Italian and Sicilian sites and sanctuaries, there seems to be an upsurge of cults of the divinity from the late 5th century and, above all, during the 4th century. Several of the Sicilian cities experienced a revival during the reign of Timoleon, a period that saw the re-establishment of settlements with new urban layouts, not only of the Greek cities in central and eastern Sicily, but also at several of the Hellenised cities in the hinterland of Akragas and Gela. Architectural and numismatic evidence point to cultural interde-

pendences and alliances under the leadership of Syracuse.³⁶ It is probably against this background of urban restoration and the re-colonisation of Sikulan sites that the expansion and dissemination of the cult of Artemis should be understood.

SICILY, OTHER SITES

Initially it should be pointed out that there is surprisingly little evidence of cults of Artemis during the early history of most of the major Sicilian cities, Kamarina, Katane, Gela, Akrai, Akragas, Naxos, Zankle, Kentoripai, Mylai, Leontinoi, and Megara Hyblaia,³⁷ and at most of the Hellenised, indigenous sites – such as Morgantina, Enna, Abakainon, Alaisa, Apollonia, and Hybla.³⁸

Akrai

Akrai is a sub-colony of Syracuse, and a strong presence of Artemis from the early history of the city could have been expected. However, the evidence is meagre. Three sanctuaries, an Aphrodision, Koreion and an Artemision, are epigraphically attested in a 3rd-century inscription treating the topography and various locations in the city.³⁹ Whereas the two first mentioned sanctuaries have been identified with some certainty, the sanctuary of Artemis is not otherwise attested. Nevertheless, a 3rd-century limestone relief with Apollo and Artemis (?) flanking the omphalos and tripod may be taken as further evidence for a cult of Artemis.⁴⁰

Megara Hyblaia

A number of sanctuaries have been excavated in the city and others are known from circumstantial evidence.⁴¹ Gras, Tréziny and Broise have recently meticulously treated the architectural history of a temenos in the north-western part of the Archaic city and the remains of Temple B situated within the precinct.⁴² The evidence of the architectural terracottas and of some of the votive finds suggests that the cult was that of a female divinity. The early 6th-century phase of the temple is reconstructed as a building with a large pronaos with 5 columns in antis, and an unroofed, hypaithral naos, possibly with a small oikos within its walls, a structural layout known also from the early phase of Temple G at Selinous. The finds



Fig. 5 Stamnos from Megara Hyblaia with representation of Artemis Elaphebolos. 7th century BC. (After Pugliese Carratelli 1985).

reveal that the the life of the sanctuary goes back to the late 8th century with a first flowering from the beginning of the 7th century. Although the evidence may point to a cult of Hera, bound to the foundation of Megara Hyblaia, the character of the votive and other material, fragments of female xoana, fragments of architectural and other terracottas with feline subjects, and the mythological iconography on local wares pointing to a female cult centred on natural forces, suggest a divinity close to a nature goddess or to a Potnia.⁴³ If the cult can be linked with Artemis, her cult would date back to the earliest history of the city, as is the case in Syracuse.⁴⁴

Pausanias, in his comment on the cults of Megara Nisaia, the mother city of Megara Hyblaia, mentions a sanctuary and a cult image of Artemis Soteira (1.40.2-3) and outside the akropolis, in the territory of the city, the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Agraios (1.41.3-4).⁴⁵ In Sicily, Artemis Agrotera is connected above all with the sub-urban and rural sanctuaries at Syracuse, but so far little is known about the rural sanctuaries in the chora of Megara Hyblaia. Artemis Soteira is also attested in Sicily at Akragas and in Syracuse, and in Magna Graecia at Herakleia and Taras. The cultic bonds linking Megara Nisaea and Megara Hyblaia, and between the latter and its sub-colony Selinous, therefore remain rather uncertain.⁴⁶

The site of Megara Hyblaia is well known for its rich pictorial ceramic production, and its themes have been seen by F.H. Massa-Pairault as linked to foundation myths and cults.⁴⁷ A Potnia is shown twice on one side and two rearing horses on the other side of a splendid 7th-century stamnos from the city.⁴⁸ Both scenes are regarded by Massa-Pairault as reflecting cults of Artemis; one side, rather than a Potnia Theron, a specific reference to Artemis Elaphebolos, that is Artemis as killer of deer,⁴⁹ is borne out by the horned hinds held by the goddess (**Fig. 5**).⁵⁰ The interpretation of the two opposed, rearing horses on the other side of the vase, seen as a reference to Artemis Hipposoa,⁵¹ is more uncertain. Hipposoa, driver of horses, is linked to Artemis (Pind. *Ol.* 3.26), as is the epithet Hippiké, mentioned above, but no female divinity is shown in the scene, which seems to retain an ornamental function. In any case, the connection between the vessel and structural remains is uncertain.⁵²

A Late Classical votive terracotta of Artemis carrying a deer in her arms is known from Megara Hyblaia.⁵³

Fig. 6 Chariot with the divine siblings Artemis and Apollo. Tetradrachm, obverse. Selinous. c. 450 BC.



*Selinous*⁵⁴

There is no mention of Artemis in the sources for the foundation of Selinous, but the numismatic evidence suggests that her cult, with that of Apollo, played an important role at least from the mid-5th century. The Selinuntian, Syracusan-inspired, tetradrachms bear on the obverse a chariot with Artemis holding the reins and Apollo his bow – interpreted by N. K. Rutter as guardian deities of the city (**Fig. 6**).⁵⁵ Barclay Head suggested that the siblings are represented in their healing capacity, *alexikakos* and *eileithyia*, with reference to the plague that struck the city in the reign of Empedokles.⁵⁶

The famous inscription from the left ante of the entrance to the adyton of Temple G, almost certainly that of Zeus, is probably a victory dedication from the mid 5th century.⁵⁷ The major divinities Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, Athena, Demeter (Malophoros), Pasikrateia (Kore ?), Herakles, and the Dioskuroi are named. Artemis is omitted but may have been understood to be among “the other divinities” (*kai dia tos allos theos*) mentioned in the inscription. There are other surprising omissions, such as that of Hera,⁵⁸ and the inscription, set up to commemorate a military victory, may not mention non-warrior divinities according to Bejor.⁵⁹

The divinities and the mythological subjects rendered on the Selinuntian metopes are varied and ambitious, with themes referring to Perseus and Medusa, Europa, Hera, Zeus, Giants, Herakles, possibly Orestes, besides Artemis and Apollo.⁶⁰ Although omitted from the Temple G-inscription Artemis plays a prominent role in the sculptural decoration known from

ARTEMIS IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY



Fig. 7
Leto, Apollo and
Artemis. Metope,
Temple Y, Selinous.
Early 6th century
BC. (After
Giuliani 1979).

the metopes of some of the major Selinuntian temples. One of the early 6th-century metopes of the still unlocated Temple Y bears a rendering of Leto, Apollo and Artemis seen frontally (**Fig. 7**),⁶¹ and a recently found fragment of an early Archaic relief fragment with Herakles and the Kerynitian Hind may be from a metope that bore a representation of the struggle between Herakles and Apollo for the Hind with the participation of Artemis.⁶²

Artemis as part of the Delphic Triad, once more en face in a chariot, is probably also represented on two metopes from one of the major sanctuaries in Selinous, the mid-6th-century Temple C, both metopes apparently placed centrally in the metopal frieze on the east front.⁶³ That Apollo and Artemis play such a prominent part in the sculptural embellishment of

Temple C could suggest that the temple was dedicated to both siblings,⁶⁴ a suggestion also supported by the circumstance that the sanctuary of the temple has two altars.⁶⁵ But, the very similar layout of Temple A and Temple O on the acropolis enclosed by a peribolos wall and situated within the same temenos may also be taken as evidence for a sanctuary dedicated to two divinities – and therefore to Artemis and Apollo.⁶⁶ Even so, the sculptural embellishment of the 6th-century shrines in Selinous cannot with certainty be taken as evidence for the cult practised in the respective sanctuaries and the attribution of divinities associated with the shrines seems still unresolved.⁶⁷

Artemis appears in the Artemis-Aktaion metope from Temple E, dated 460-450.⁶⁸ The metopes from Temple E on the eastern plateau of Selinous, on epigraphic evidence identified as a Heraion, have no specific relation to Hera or her cult, but seem rather to be part of a unitary theme dealing with the encounter of male and female and gods and mortals, perhaps with reference to Pythagorean principles, and it is within such a programmatic concept that the Artemis and Aktaion metope should be understood.⁶⁹

As outlined above, there is little evidence of links between the cults of Artemis in the three cities Selinous, Megara Hyblaia, and Megara Nisaia – the last named which, as original mother city, supplied the oikist (Pam-milos) for the foundation of Selinous. However, Hekate with the epithet Angelos is known from a votive inscription from the Demeter Malophoros Sanctuary in Selinous, inviting a comparison with Artemis Angelos in Syracuse.⁷⁰ Indeed, Iphigeneia was honoured at Megara Nisaia as Hekate by the will of Artemis (Paus. 1.43.1) and Artemis and Hekate are divinities linked, for instance, at Syracuse and at Lipari. Nevertheless, affiliations of the cult of Demeter Malophoros with Hekate or Artemis are most uncertain.⁷¹

Kamarina

The major sanctuary in the city was dedicated to Athena.⁷² A sanctuary for the Chthonic divinities, located outside the city wall in the vicinity of the necropolis, has been identified with the help of a large votive deposit. A single terracotta among the abundant votive material of Demeter and Kore figurines shows Artemis carrying a deer in her arms,⁷³ offering yet another example of Artemis gaining footing among the chthonic divinities.

Akragas

There is no mention in the sources of a cult of the divinity in the city; the testimonies for Artemis cults are late and suggested at primarily by the finds of votive terracottas.

The best documented material is from the sanctuary situated between Gate V and the Temple of Zeus, where a significant number of Artemis figurines suggest a cult of the goddess. The material includes figurines of Artemis in short chiton, hunting boots, endromides, with a dog at her feet, or with a small deer in her arms. The hairstyle – the hair tied in a knot, *lampadion*, on top of the head – dates the figurines to the early or mid-4th century.⁷⁴

Votive terracottas of the rather generic type of Artemis figurine, known from the Artemision at the Scala Graeca, Syracuse, are documented at various sites in Akragas: a votive deposit in the vicinity of the Archaic temple in the grounds of the Villa Aurea, the divinity venerated here is unknown; others are from the “Temple of Herakles” and from sporadic finds along the temple crest south of the city.⁷⁵

E. De Miro has put forward valuable evidence suggesting that the cult of Demeter and Persephone is gradually superseded by that of Artemis in the Late Classical period. Also the terracottas of the Athena Lindia type, so common in the 6th and 5th centuries, apparently replaced by terracottas of Artemis.⁷⁶ The suggestion is based upon the overall growing number of terracottas representing Artemis, found at several sites in Sicily, apart from at Gela and Akragas, also in towns in the chora of Akragas and Gela, for instance Butera, Manfria, Vassallaggi, Raffi and other sites. Their historical context is that of the refounded Timolean settlements, but some find-contexts suggest a late 5th- or early 4th-century origin, from the period of Dionysios I.⁷⁷

Eileithyia, an epithet used at times for Artemis, is epigraphically attested at Akragas in the inscription on the rim of a black glaze vessel,⁷⁸ and Akragantine 3rd-century coinage, attributed to Phintias, bears a head of Artemis Soteira.⁷⁹

Gela

The major divinity at Gela is Athena, attested from the time of foundation of the colony. The chthonic cults, especially that of Demeter, increase in importance through the early history of the city.

According to P. Orlandini, representations of Artemis are not known earlier than votive material dated to after the Carthaginian destruction in 405.⁸⁰ The cults of Athena, Zeus, Demeter, and Herakles have an ancient history at the site, and these cults are re-established after the refoundation by Timoleon, whereas, to judge from the the finds of terracottas in the habitation area, and in the chora, the cult of Artemis becomes of significance from the late 5th century. The terracottas are of a type known from several Sicilian sites. Of special interest is a 46 cm-high figure of Artemis wearing a chiton with crossed ribbons, a cap decorated with rosettes and endromides standing between a deer and a panther. Other figures represent Artemis flanked by a lion and a palmtree (**Fig. 8**); wearing a nebris and holding a torch in left or right hand with a deer to the right; standing holding torch, panther to the left; stretching out hand and touching a dog sitting on its hind legs; riding on the back of a deer with a goose over her lap, a naked, standing Artemis, holding bow at l. side, r. hand resting on head of dog or sheep.⁸¹ A distinctive type is a figurine showing a naked divinity on a throne, possibly Artemis, as she wears a cap of animal-skin.⁸²

The different types of terracotta figurines of Artemis from Gela and Akragas, and from settlements in the Geloan-Akragantine hinterland, are usually found in an archaeological context connected with the Timolean refoundations and from re-established settlements.⁸³ It is therefore noteworthy that terracotta figurines from the excavation at the “scalo ferroviario” are securely dated to the end of the 5th century, before the 405 Carthaginian destruction of the city, and therefore most likely from the period of Dionysios I. Whereas the material mentioned above primarily derives from the sanctuaries on the upper plateau and the acropolis, the latter evidence originates in the lower habitation quarter, in a workshop deposit examined in the vicinity of a small sanctuary.⁸⁴

Morgantina

This profoundly Hellenised, Sikulan site on the Serra Orlando Ridge, south of Enna, has yielded valuable evidence for the cult of Artemis in an originally indigenous site. The city came under the suzerainty of Kamarina in 424, taken by Dionysios I in 394, and was later one of the Timolean refoundations. Again the evidence for cults of Artemis is primarily the votive material, and one of the more interesting Sicilian terracottas of Artemis is indeed from the site. The type, not otherwise attested in Sicily, though

ARTEMIS IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY



Fig. 8 Figurine of Artemis flanked by a lion and a palm tree. Positive cast of mould. 4th century BC. Gela. (After Griffo 1958).

probably of Syracusan manufacture, shows Artemis Elaphebolos clad in a Western Greek type of cuirass attacking or sacrificing a deer (**Fig. 9**).⁸⁵ Apart from this exceptional piece, the site has yielded a number of the more generic Artemis types.⁸⁶ The material covers both the Dionysian period⁸⁷ and the Timolean phase, also here apparently reflecting a widespread veneration for the goddess in newly established sanctuaries without antecedents from earlier periods.

Elymian and Phoenician sites

The evidence for Greek cults in the Hellenised towns of the Sikel, Sikulan and Elymian regions seems to show a predominance of cults of Demeter and Persephone, whereas the evidence for cults of Artemis is mainly Late Classical and Hellenistic. Earlier cults of Artemis among the non-Greek or indigenous populations of Sicily seem to have left few traces in the ancient sources. An exception is the tradition of a famous, probably Archaic, cult image of the divinity set up in the Elymian city of Segesta. The statue, taken as war booty by the Carthaginians, was restored to the city by Scipio Aemilianus in 146, where it was seen by Cicero in 75 (Cic. *Verr.*



Fig. 9 Figurine of Artemis Elaphebolos attacking or sacrificing a deer. Positive cast of mould. 4th century BC. Morgantina. (After Bell 1981).

4.33.72, 4.34.74). The Segestan sanctuaries show evidence of Hellenisation as far back as the early 6th century, under the influence of neighbouring Selinous,⁸⁸ and the tradition of this cult image of Artemis, not least if correctly identified in later Roman copies,⁸⁹ is evidence of a cult of Artemis with origins possibly back in the 6th century.

Evidence of Greek influence in the city of Lilybaeum, founded in 397 by the Carthaginians on the most western point of Sicily, is more ambiguous. The city assailed in vain by Dionysios (368) and by Timoleon (340) remained beyond the Greek dominion, but has offered some testimony of influence from Greek religious iconography, and perhaps of Greek cult, as shown by a late 5th century terracotta of Artemis holding a fawn to her breast.⁹⁰

ARTEMIS PHAKELITIS

Rhegion

After the rescue of Iphigeneia in Tauris, Orestes took with him the cult image of Artemis Taurica. The tradition, connected above all with the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia and Artemis Brauronia in Greece, was also

known in Sicily and Magna Graecia, where several localities were associated with the passage of Orestes.⁹¹

Although geographically situated in South Italy, Rhegion was culturally and historically closely bound to Zankle-Messana and Sicily's north eastern coast. The traditions associated with Orestes and his search for atonement, with the dissemination of the cult of Artemis on both sides of the Straits of Messina, should be seen against this background.

Cults of Apollo and Artemis are associated with the foundation of Rhegion. The Chalkidian colony was founded in the late 8th century with the participation of a Messenian contingent fleeing the Lakedaimonians during the First Messenian War. A Messenian delegation had received an oracle of Apollo in Delphi bidding them to be grateful to Artemis and to join the Chalkidians, who were on their way to Rhegion (Strabo 6.1.6).⁹²

According to Thucydides (6.44.3) the Athenians set up camp in 415 at a sanctuary to Artemis outside the city. Whether this sanctuary was *sub-urbem*,⁹³ or perhaps rather a frontier sanctuary inspired by that of the Messenian sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis, located on the border of Messenia and Lakonia (Paus. 3.16.7; Strabo 8.4.9), is unresolved.⁹⁴ Apart from the passage in Thucydides, the evidence for cults of Artemis at Rhegion is bronze coinage with the head of Artemis dated ca. 425,⁹⁵ and rather tenuous epigraphic sources.⁹⁶ The tradition regarding a cult of Artemis from the early history of the city seems plausible, but whether this is one of Taurian Artemis, as intimated by the Hellenistic sources, remains uncertain. Several mentions of Orestes' propitiatory journey to the West, carrying with him the cult image of Taurian Artemis, are found in the scholia to Lucilius, Cato, Varro and Vergil and in Sicilian Bucolic poetry. In fact the invention of Hellenistic pastoral poetry was closely associated with the cult of Artemis by the ancient commentaries of the genre.⁹⁷

According to Probus' commentary on Cato and Varro, Orestes came to Rhegion in his search for the river designated for his purification after shedding the blood of his mother.⁹⁸ From here Orestes went to Syracuse, in the vicinity of which he consecrated a temple to the divinity (Diana Facelitis).⁹⁹ The epithet, as explained by Probus, refers to the bundle of reeds or willows (*phakeloi*) used by Orestes to hide the cult image, an epithet implying also the importance of the cult of Artemis in marshes and

wetlands. Other sources, Lucilius and Theokritos, mention a temple and a statue of Artemis (Diana) at Rhegion and the fact that Orestes took with him the cult image to Tyndaris where this was set up.¹⁰⁰

Although there is no direct mention in these sources of a cult of Artemis Tauropolos or of Artemis Phakelitis at Rhegion, it is generally assumed that a cult of this divinity, linked to the tradition of Orestes, was introduced by the Chalkidian and Messenian founders of Rhegion, a tradition also supported by the various localities in the vicinity of the city such as Taurianus and Taurinus, cited by Probus with reference to Cato.¹⁰¹

Lipari

Apart from the testimony of 4th-3rd-century votive terracottas of Artemis the Huntress, there is epigraphic evidence from an altar from a sub-urban sanctuary, on the boundary of the necropolis. The altar bears an inscription dated early 3rd century, or at least from before the destruction of Lipari in 252/1, a triple dedication to Artemis – Hekate – Selene, where Artemis has the role of Divinity of the Earth: *ARTEMJIDI THEAI GÊS*. The altar may point to a cult embracing the triad Artemis, Selene and Hekate,¹⁰² an interpretation also put forward in regard to the triad-relief from Camarro near Messina, now in Syracuse.¹⁰³

Artemis may have had an earlier cult on Lipari. U. Spigo has set forth evidence from a female burial in the form of a mid-5th-century terracotta perhaps representing Artemis Tauropolos, an interpretation based upon comparisons with the pinakes from the Artemision of Brauron with Artemis riding a bull.¹⁰⁴ The tomb-find, seen as proprietary, is linked with the tradition of Orestes and Iphigeneia and the xoanon of Artemis Taurica widespread in the region of the Straits, and Lipari is in fact mentioned by Lucilius (see above) as one of the sites with a temple for Diana Facelina, though Lipari may have been confused with Mylai.

Tyndaris

According to the Theocritian scholiast Orestes brought with him the cult image of Taurian Artemis to Rhegion and from there to Tyndaris, where the image was set up. However, the sources have no direct mention of the epithet Phakelitis. Tyndaris was founded in 395 by Dionysios I of Syracuse with the participation of a Messenian contingent (Diod. Sic. 14.78.4-6), which may have brought with it the cult of Artemis. The tradition of the



Fig. 10 Artemis Eupraxia on a marble votive relief from Tyndaris. 3rd century BC. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

establishment of this cult in Tyndaris belongs to the whole complex of the myth of Orestes and his bringing of the Taurian cult image to the West, and may have been of relevance mainly for legitimising the new foundation.

The importance of initiation rites in the cult of Artemis Orthia (Paus. 3.16.10-11) also points to similar rites in the cult of Artemis Phakelitis. Unequivocal evidence of initiation rites at Tyndaris, albeit late, is offered by a 3rd-century marble votive relief with a representation of a young girl and her parents approaching Artemis. The goddess is shown carrying a basket and lighting a sacrificial fire (**Fig. 10**).¹⁰⁵ The relief is dedicated to Artemis Eupraxia (of good conduct), an Artemisian epithet not otherwise documented. According to the scholiast to Theokritos (2.66-67) young girls in Sicily offered baskets to Artemis, a bridal sacrifice and an act of transition to marriage status.¹⁰⁶

Mylai

At the decisive battle of Naulochos in 36 BC Octavian occupied Mylai and a small town (*polichne*) named Artemision, with no mention, though, of an Artemis sanctuary.¹⁰⁷ In the 4th-5th century AD source Vibius Sequester, *De fluminibus fontibus ...*, a river Phecelinus, Siciliae, is located next to a temple of Diana.¹⁰⁸

The location of a sanctuary for Artemis Phakelitis, perhaps situated somewhere east of Mylai, is still unidentified, although the border of Mylai with Messana may have been partly defined by this sanctuary if the location was not dependent upon an earlier indigenous cult place.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the location suggested in the sources may be wholly generic, and the Artemis sanctuary of Tyndaris and that of Mylai could be one and the same, with an origin in the transfer of the cult to the territory of Messana as early as the refoundation of Zankle as Messana by Anaxillos in 491.¹¹⁰ The establishment of a sanctuary of Artemis Phakelitis here may have aimed at legitimising the new dynasty with its Messenian background, – rather than having had the objective of defining the territory.

MAGNA GRAECIA

Kroton

There is no certain testimony of an urban sanctuary of Artemis at Kroton. Nevertheless such a cult may very likely have existed in this Achaian foundation.¹¹¹ The main sub-urban sanctuary is that of Hera Lakinia, but there is evidence for a sanctuary of Artemis in the chora. The expansion of Kroton's influence inland soon after its foundation is revealed by the establishing of sanctuaries on the borders of its territory – such as that of the sanctuary at S. Anna di Cutro, flourishing from the end of the 6th century.¹¹² Although the divinity of the sanctuary has not been identified with certainty, part of the votive material points to Artemis. Mid-6th-century female terracotta figurines with a characteristic tubular body and tall head gear, large disc-shaped shoulder fibulae and, in some cases, wings, some carrying animals, are similar to figurines interpreted as Artemis in the guise of Potnia attested at Metapontion, in the city and at the San Biagio sanctuary in the chora (**Fig. 17**). The type of votive material seems to bear

witness to a cultic koine among the Achaian colonial foundations, a view also supported by the evidence from Sybaris.¹¹³

The S. Anna di Cutro sanctuary is situated in a region which is rich in springs. This may have determined the location of the sanctuary, pointing to a curative function in analogy with other sanctuaries of Artemis, such as that of San Biagio at Metapontion.¹¹⁴

Lokroi

Terracotta figurines of a kourtophos, a female figure carrying a figure of Artemis on her head, supporting it with both hands (“simulacro in processione”), are known in great numbers from the Centocamera quarter in Lokroi.¹¹⁵ The idol, or xoanon – the figure is small and primitively rendered – is identifiable as Artemis by the fawn held on the right arm and the bow held in the left hand. The idol, modelled only on the front, has a long mantle hanging down its back covering the arms of the girl reaching up (**Fig. 11**). The basic type is fairly homogeneous, dating from the 5th and

Fig. 11 Terracotta figurine showing female figure carrying idol of Artemis on her head, “simulacro in processione”. 5th century BC. Centocamera, Lokroi. (After Molli Boffa 1977).



the 4th centuries, but the sizes of the figurines and the stylistic rendering vary somewhat, suggesting that the figures illustrate a local ceremony, a procession in honour of the goddess. The early Archaic style of the xoanon reveals that the cult was introduced in Lokroin late 7th-early 6th century, at the latest.¹¹⁶

This manifestation indicates a domestic cult as the terracottas are known primarily from Centocamera, a habitation quarter.¹¹⁷ The figurines of young girls carrying a cult image of Artemis on their heads may reflect the role of Artemis as a protectress of matrimony or of the young bride, but the ritual has connotations with that known from the public sphere of the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary in Sparta, where a priestess held a wooden image of Artemis during initiation rites involving the scourging of boys.

Hipponion

Evidence of cults of Artemis at Hipponion, a Lokrian foundation, is limited to the uncertain testimony of a relief plaque in clay with a seated Potnia holding a swan or goose by the neck.¹¹⁸ The fragment could be from a small altar, an arula, the clay and style suggesting a local production. Only the one bird is preserved, but a second bird may have been held by the right hand, to conform with the more normal rendering of the Potnia. However, the motif of a seated Potnia is unusual.

Sybaris & Thourioi

Evidence for cults and sanctuaries at Sybaris is meagre. According to Herodotos (5.45) Dorieus, who allegedly participated in Kroton's destruction of Sybaris in 510, founded a temple in honour of Athena in the dry Krathis river bed at Sybaris. The location of the sanctuary is unknown. From Sybaris itself architectural fragments found during excavations in the so-called Stombi area indicate the presence of a sanctuary, as yet unidentified, but suggested by the finds of votive terracottas in the same area. The relatively large mid-6th-century terracottas are characterised by a tubular body, large disc-shaped fibulae, tall headgear (polos ?), and a goat, supported by its hindlegs, held over either arm (**Fig. 12**).¹¹⁹ Votive terracottas in a similar style and technique are known from the other Achaian colonies Kroton and Metapontion. On the testimony of Herodotos, P. Zancani Montuoro interpreted the statuettes as Athena Krathia, perhaps even a reflection of the cult figure; that Athena had a strong presence in Sybarite



Fig. 12 Terracotta figurine of female divinity holding goats. Mid-6th century BC. Sybaris. (After Zancani Montuoro 1972-1973).

territory is borne out by the cult of Athena in the important sanctuary at Timpone della Motta in the chora of Sybaris.¹²⁰ Even so, the interpretation of the terracottas from the Stombi area as representations of Athena is not widely accepted, most studies treating the material opting for Artemis.¹²¹

The goats as “attribute” is rather unusual, but certainly appropriate for Artemis, as demonstrated by the ivory plaque from Syracuse with a winged Artemis with a standing capride (**Fig. 2**). The similar votive finds from Metapontion, where the interpretation of Artemis rests on more certain ground, seem to indicate a common Achaian heritage and may be taken as evidence of the importance of her cult in Sybaris too.

There is tenuous evidence of a sanctuary of Artemis, perhaps marking the border of Sybarite territory. A site named Artemision, mentioned by Herkataios (Steph. Byz., *s.v.*; *FGrHist* 1 F65 = fr. 73 Nenci), has been tentatively placed in the hinterland of Sybaris, between the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Ionian Sea.¹²² Though the type and status of the site is unknown, the name

is evidence of a sanctuary of Artemis situated in the mesogaia, inland from the coastal site of Sybaris. The sanctuary would have been situated en route to the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea as part of a collection of small Greek settlements or stations securing the commercial routes to the North.¹²³

The city of Thourioi, founded 444/3, was laid out according to a system of plateiai and stenopoi with four plateiai named after divinities according to Diodoros Sikulos (12.10.7); it seems likely that these named streets are evidence for sanctuaries of Zeus, Dionysos, Aphrodite and Herakles. None, however, apply to Artemis. Nevertheless the cults of Sybaris probably continued in the urban phase of Thourioi,¹²⁴ and 3rd-century numismatic evidence refers to the divinity.¹²⁵

Votive finds from the rural sanctuary at Cozzo Michelichio in the Thourian hinterland offer valuable testimony for a cult of Artemis, at least from the 5th century. Sixth century terracottas from the sanctuary, similar to the female terracottas of daedalic style from Timpone della Motta, indicate a female cult, though the name of the divinity remains uncertain. Terracottas from the 5th and 4th century testify to a continuity of cult, but indicate also the gaining of a foothold by Artemis in the sanctuary, revealed by terracottas of a seated Artemis with a fawn in her lap and terracottas of the “Artemis Bendis” type, known above all at Taras.¹²⁶

Poseidonia

The history of the cult of Artemis in Poseidonia, a sub-colony of Sybaris, is of interest for the standing of the divinity in both cities. However, evidence for her cult at Poseidonia is limited, above all during the early history of the colony. The rich Archaic and early Classical votive material from within the sanctuary area of Poseidonia seems to indicate primarily a cult of Athena and Hera, and perhaps of Aphrodite.¹²⁷ The evidence of an urban Artemis cult is mainly limited to sporadic votive finds from the 4th century. However, there is some testimony of cult in the so-called “edificio circolare”, centrally located in the city. The substantial finds of terracottas from the Paestan phase in the structure are mainly applicable to a cult of Hera, but also to Artemis – on the basis of finds of terracottas of the divinity in a short chiton and endromides, holding a bow. Similar types are found in the urban sanctuaries of Hera and at the Athenaion, but the

finds are from secondary stratifications, and therefore of doubtful significance.¹²⁸

The territory of Poseidonia offers more certain evidence, also here pointing to the role of Artemis sanctuaries on the border of territories. Diodoros Sikulos (4.22.3) mentions a sanctuary of Artemis in the chora of Poseidonia; the location is uncertain but is possibly to be found in the eastern, mountainous borderland. E. Greco lists the sanctuary with that of Poseidon south of Poseidonia at Agropoli and that of Hera to the north at the Foce del Sele, the three sanctuaries delimiting the chora of Poseidonia north, south and east.¹²⁹

Hyele (Velia)

Archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence have revealed sanctuaries for Zeus, Hera, Athena and Poseidon in the Phokaian colony Hyele, but apparently no evidence of a cult of Artemis. This is noteworthy, since there are strong traditions regarding the diffusion of the Ephesian Artemis as an offshoot of the Phokaian expansion in the western Mediterranean, above all at Massalia (Strabo 4.1.4), with a possible transfer of the cult to Rome, to the Diana temple on the Aventine during the reign of Servius Tullius.¹³⁰

Taras

The evidence for sanctuaries of Artemis in the polis of Taras is limited, at least in the Archaic and Classical periods. There is some testimony for temples located on the acropolis, some of which may have been for female divinities, but Artemis is not a strong candidate, and there is a lack of decisive evidence from votive deposits or other material.¹³¹ The attestation of an Artemis sanctuary is confined primarily to the 3rd-2nd century inscription [*Ar*]tamiti from the location of the present day military hospital,¹³² taken as near-certain evidence of a cult of Artemis in the lower city, with its large number of votive deposits, above all those found in the area Fondo Giovinazzi, where the deposits are interspersed with remains of tomb structures.¹³³

The few traces of a cult of Artemis during the early colonial history of the city are mainly confined to the evidence of terracotta and bronze figurines. A mid-6th-century thymiaterion, the bowl supported on the back of a large bird seated on the head of Artemis, renders the figure of the divinity



Fig. 13 Thymiaterion, the bowl supported by a dancing Artemis with a fallow deer in her arms. Mid-6th century BC. Taras. (After Lo Porto 1988).

as a dancing Potnia with a fallow deer in her arms (**Fig. 13**).¹³⁴ There are stylistic features in common with the terracotta figures of Artemis from the San Biagio sanctuary and the thymiaterion is a bowl with a religious function, like the louteria from that sanctuary. A mid-5th-century terracotta in the Hague, also from Taras, shows a standing Artemis in peplos with a panther leaping up her right side and with a deer on her left arm.¹³⁵ This seems to constitute the tenuous, Archaic and Classical evidence for cults of the divinity in Taras. However, early manifestations of Artemis from Taras may also include the so-called Graechwill hydria now in Bern.¹³⁶ The han-

ARTEMIS IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY



Fig. 14 Neck and handle of the Graechwill bronze hydria. Tarentine? First half of the 6th century BC. Historische Museum, Bern. (After Borda 1979).

dle of the bronze vessel is shaped like a winged Potnia Theron. The deity, grasping two hares by, respectively, front- and hindlegs, is flanked by lions seated heraldically on either side, and above, on the rim of the vessel, by seated lions and bearded snakes on either side of her head. On her kalathos is a seated bird (**Fig. 14**). The supposition that the cult of Artemis, in the form of Potnia Theron, was transplanted by settlers from the mother-city Sparta during the early history of the new settlement is supported by the iconography of the Graechwill hydria handle.

Late 5th-4th century Artemis cults in Taras are attested primarily by votive terracottas. Finds from different Tarantine sites, above all the votive deposits from Villa Beaumont and Via Regina Elena 44,¹³⁷ include terracottas of Artemis in different guises – wearing lion-skin head-dress or a lion-skin apron, nebris, holding a small fawn or stag in her arms (**Fig. 15**), or with a fawn or dog at her feet, or riding on the back of a deer with a goose in her lap. Some terracottas show Artemis leaning on a pillar or altar, at times with a cult figure on top. Other types show Artemis with bow and quiver

or carrying an oinochoe and a basket with fruit suggesting cult activities.¹³⁸

Another nucleus of votive material of a similar type from the Convento di S. Francesco di Paola, further inland, has revealed an extensive area with cultic activities where Artemis seems to have played a role. These appear to encroach on the adjacent necropolises, and the evidence indicates that both Demeter and Artemis played a role in the funeral cults. The attributes are diverse, where some are obvious references to Artemis, such as a deer, feline animals, a dog, or a bow other terracottas show Artemis with the cross or a torch displaying affiliation with the chthonic divinities.¹³⁹

Terracottas of a standing figure of a woman, wearing a short chiton and endromides, and a lion-skin apron, nebris, or a lion-skin with the lion's paws tied in a knot above the breast, and wearing a lion-skin head dress, at times also a "Phrygian" cap, have been seen by scholars as renderings of

Fig. 15 Terracotta figurine. Artemis wearing lion-skin head-dress holding a small fawn or stag in her arms. 4th century BC. Taras. (After Iacobone 1988).



Artemis Bendis.¹⁴⁰ However, she is best interpreted as Artemis.¹⁴¹ C. Letta has demonstrated that there are no real features, such as dress or attributes, similar to those linked to the Greek representation of Bendis, known above all from Attica.¹⁴² Nor are there similarities to representations of the Thracian Artemis. Cults of Artemis are attested at Taras, that of Bendis not all. The rather similar figures from the Scala Graeca Artemision in Syracuse point rather to old cults going back to the period of the foundation of the colony, with an iconography that seems to reflect that of Potnia.¹⁴³ H. Herdejürgen follows Letta in the rejection of the cult of Artemis Bendis at Taras on the basis of the terracottas alone, but she considers some additional aspects.¹⁴⁴ Three types of terracottas are discussed by her, one type showing Artemis standing by a small-sized cult figure in the form of a herm, probably of Artemis herself. Another type shows Artemis standing by a small-sized cult figure interpreted as Hekate on the basis of dress and coiffure; the conjunction of Artemis and Hekate is well attested in the Classical period.¹⁴⁵ A third type of terracotta with Artemis and Pan points to Artemis' affiliation with the untamed nature.

All in all the preponderance of terracottas with Artemis in her many and varied guises at Taras is a clear indication of the importance and multifaceted nature of her cult here from the end of the 5th and through the 4th century. Finally, evidence is offered by Polybios, according to whom a street in Taras was named Soteira (8.33.6). As Artemis Soteira is attested at Herakleia and possibly at Selinous, and as Artemis Soteira is found also in the numismatic material from Akragas and Syracuse, the passage may indicate a cult of Artemis Soteira rather than that of Poseidon Sotér suggested by Wuilleumier.¹⁴⁶

Taras – chora

Two votive inscriptions found at Torricella in the confines of the Tarantine chora bordering upon Messapian territory, ca. 30 km east of Taras bear witness to a sanctuary of Artemis.¹⁴⁷ A late 6th- or early 5th-century dedication to *Artamitos Hagrateras*, incised on a rough limestone block, identifies the divinity.¹⁴⁸ However, the name of the divinity is lacking on the second, longer inscription dated to the 5th century, but was conjectured as Artemis by G. Lo Porto.¹⁴⁹ The reading of the second inscription suggests rather an inventory list than a dedication,¹⁵⁰ and the material listed in the

inscription reflects the rural character of the Artemis cult. The list includes various iron utensils, such as knives, hammers, and hatchets which suggest a cult bound to a rural and domestic context, but there are also specific objects used in a sacrificial procession, a trumpet (*salpinx*) and kitchen spits, a lebes, plates for meat, and pottery used in banquets or sacrificial meals. The epithet Hagratera, or Agrotera, is that of Artemis the goddess of hunting and the rustic wild.¹⁵¹ The evidence points to an Artemis sanctuary established in the 6th century situated in the chora on the border of the influence of the polis Taras.

A sanctuary excavated in the chora of Taras, at Leporano, 12 km south east of Taras, was dedicated to a female divinity. Votive statuettes in Dae-dalic and Archaic style are taken as evidence of a cult of Persephone. However, votive deposits with numerous 4th century terracottas of Artemis offer another example of her cult introduced in older sanctuaries, possibly replacing the cult of the original divinity.¹⁵²

Siris – Polieion (The pre-Herakleia-phase)

The traditions regarding the origin and foundation of Siris-Polieion are very complex, but according to the, perhaps, more trustworthy tradition transmitted by Strabo (6.1.14) Siris-Polieion was an Ionian foundation. Apart from Athena Iliaca and her cult image, mentioned in the foundation myth (Strabo, *loc. cit.*), no divinities or cults are mentioned in regard to the early colony. Temene investigated on the southern slope of the Plateau of Policoro, the probable site of Siris, were dedicated to Demeter and, with less likelihood, to Apollo.¹⁵³ Archaic terracottas from rich votive deposits mostly depict Demeter, but one of the types is stylistically closely related to the terracottas from San Biagio, Metapontion, recognised as Artemis – Potnia Theron. However, typologically there is no indication that the figures from Siris represent Artemis,¹⁵⁴ and there is, as yet, no clear evidence for her cult before the foundation of Herakleia (see below).

As for the chora, the evidence is even more meagre, as no sanctuary-site has so far been identified in the territory of Siris.¹⁵⁵

Herakleia

The re-foundation of Siris as Herakleia 433/32, a Tarantine-Thourian foundation (cf. Diod. Sic. 12.36.4), brings in its wake much clearer evidence for cults of Artemis. Votive terracottas from the northern slope of the

urban site of Herakleia (Plateau of Policoro) may indicate a sanctuary or a workshop area. However, the majority of the terracottas represent Artemis in Phrygian cap, lion-skin bound across the breast, and with a fawn on her arm, the so-called Artemis Bendis, the type known above all from Taras.¹⁵⁶ Though not excluding wholly an affiliation to Bendis, Neutsch is inclined to define the votive material as pointing to a cult of Artemis. The existence of the latter at Herakleia in this period is shown by the 3rd-century votive inscription for Artemis Soteira discovered as a surface find on the plateau in the vicinity of the investigation yielding the votive material.¹⁵⁷

Herakleia – chora

The indigenous site on the eminence of S. Maria d'Anglona in the Val d'Agri, on the western boundary of the chora of Herakleia, has a long settlement history. From the 4th century the hill was occupied by a sanctuary which, from the numerous and diverse types of terracottas, suggests a cult of Artemis.¹⁵⁸ Primarily two types of Artemis figurines are known from the site, one, the more common, is similar to the types already described – Artemis in a short chiton, endromides, carrying a bow, a deer standing by, etc. The so-called Artemis Bendis, known from the urban site, is also represented. However, another type is eclectic in the sense that the attributes refer to the chthonic divinities also. Besides being flanked by a dog, the goddess of the chase holds a cross-torch. In another type she has a deer on one arm and cross-torch resting by her feet. The cross-torch points to Demeter, as evidenced by the Demeter sanctuaries in Herakleia, and V. Rüdiger suggests that the setting – Magna Graecia and indigenous influence – may explain this assimilation of the two divinities.¹⁵⁹ For this suggestion see also E. Lippolis who sees the same pattern at Taras in the Fondo Giovinazzi votive material.

Metapontion

The agora and urban sanctuary housed a number of shrines as far back as the early history of the colony. Temples A and B were, with some certainty, dedicated to, respectively, Apollo Lykeios and Hera.¹⁶⁰ The divinity of Temple C, the most southern and smallest of the urban shrines with a history going back to the 7th century, is uncertain, though a dedication to Artemis is possible, taking into account 6th-century terracottas of Potnia Theron from a votive deposit.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless terracottas from

other contexts in the area of the urban sanctuaries may indicate cults perhaps attached to Artemis – Archaic terracottas of the Potnia-type are also known from the Apollo Lykeios temple,¹⁶² and later terracottas of Artemis of the standard type, including Artemis holding an animal skin and carrying a bow, or flanked by a deer, or with a deer in her outstretched hand, is known from various deposits; the Tarantine “Artemis Bendis” type is also represented.¹⁶³ Overall, the evidence for cults of Artemis in the urban sanctuaries of Metapontion is rather tenuous, but nevertheless, on the basis of the votive material alone, coherent from the early history of the colony up to the fourth century.¹⁶⁴

Tavole Palatine

The Doric temple from around 530, located three kilometres north of the city, a Heraion according to the epigraphic evidence, defined the northern border of the city’s territory.¹⁶⁵ The sanctuary has yielded votive terracottas from the mid-6th century, pointing to at least some affiliation with a cult of Artemis: a Potnia Theron rendered partly as a bust and partly as near full figure plaque, with Potnia holding large, long-necked birds by their necks rendered in in low relief (**Fig. 16**).¹⁶⁶ As the Tavole Palatine sanctuary on epigraphic evidence can be referred to Hera, the votive material may indicate that Potnia Theron is here assimilated with Hera rather than Artemis.

The Artemision at San Biagio

The sanctuary has a history going back to the second half of the 7th century, that is soon after the foundation of the colony.¹⁶⁷ Located by the River Bradano, the sanctuary delimited the fertile coastal plain, defining the north-western border of Metapontion’s territory.

According to Bakchylides (*Epin.* 11.116-120) Artemis was venerated, with the Tychai, in a grove near the River Kasas (Casuentus, present day River Bradano).¹⁶⁸

Apart from shrines raised on terraces, structures bearing important architectural terracottas – revetment plaques and antefixes – the sanctuary was furnished with stone structures used to channel the water of springs into basins.

The San Biagio sanctuary belongs to the group of Artemis sanctuaries located in lowland, wetland areas or near springs, with belief systems

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Fig. 16 Terracotta figurine. Potnia holding long-necked birds by their necks. Mid-6th century BC. Tavole Palatine, Metapontion. (After Olbrich 1979).

bound to purification cults,¹⁶⁹ evidenced also by the perirrhanteria (louteria), vessels which were popular votive objects at San Biagio.¹⁷⁰

The identification of the sanctuary as that of Artemis seems certain, not only from the votive material, but also judging by the evidence of the 11th *Epinikion* of Bakchylides

The location near a spring points to the role of purification attributed to Artemis, as does the location on the border between civilization and the untamed nature, relevant for several of the other Artemis sanctuaries discussed above.

A horos inscription for Zeus Aglaios from about 500 suggests a division of the temenos with a separate area devoted to Zeus,¹⁷¹ and plaques with a *hieros gamos* scene¹⁷² may also be taken as evidence of other cults. Never-



Fig. 17 Terracotta figurine. Winged Artemis carrying animals in outstretched arms. Mid-6th century BC. San Biagio. (Afer Olbrich 1979).

theless Artemis would seem to have been the most important divinity of this rural sanctuary. Votive material with reference to the cult of Artemis is extensive and consistent, going back to the early history of the sanctuary. Three main groups of terracottas, all dating from the 6th century, show her as a *Potnia Theron*: rendered in the abbreviated form already described above (*Tavole Palatine*), upper body only, or as near full figure plaque, with *Potnia* holding large, long-necked birds by their necks,¹⁷³ or as a winged figure with large disques on the shoulders, a peaked cap or a polos, carrying animals in outstretched arms (**Fig. 17**). The animals vary: a kid, a fawn, a fish, or a small horse.¹⁷⁴ The third group shows an enthroned Artemis holding birds, water fowl? in her lap.¹⁷⁵

CAMPANIA

Capua

There is some iconographic evidence from the Fondo Patturelli (Le Curti) Sanctuary at Capua. The sanctuary, lying on the outskirts of the city in close proximity to the necropolis, has been treated in depth by Jacques Heurgon.¹⁷⁶

The various guises of the female divinity represented on the antefixes from the early, Etruscan, history of the sanctuary could perhaps indicate a cult of Artemis (Artumes). A mid-6th-century antefix shows a Potnia holding large birds by their necks, and later, 5th-century antefixes show Potnia and felines.¹⁷⁷ Another of the mid-6th century antefixes from the sanctuary may represent Artemis on horseback with bow.¹⁷⁸ Although this type of testimony is uncertain, the 4th-century evidence from the sanctuary indicates primarily a fertility cult, whereas the earlier architectural iconographic evidence may point rather to a nature goddess or an Artemis Hippiké / Hipposoa known from Greek sources.

This assimilation of Artemis with local cults is attested in Capua not only in the Fondo Patturelli sanctuary but also in the Diana Tifata Sanctuary in the chora of Capua.¹⁷⁹ Athenaios (11.466E, 489C) mentions a silver cup dedicated to Artemis at Capua, and possibly in the Diana Tifata Sanctuary.¹⁸⁰ The cup, said to have belonged to Nestor, bore Homeric verses inlaid in gold.¹⁸¹

Kyme

The evidence is tenuous regarding a major polis cult for Artemis in the Euboian foundation of Kyme. A late, and perhaps not very reliable, source refers to the Taurian Artemis Phakelites cult in the city,¹⁸² a cult known from the Euboian foundations of Rhegion and Tyndaris and from Orestes' legendary expedition to the West. The antiquity and importance of a Kymaeon Artemis cult is supported by the tradition of Aristodemus' victory at the Latial city Ariccia in 504 and the tradition regarding the reorganisation of the Diana Nemorensis Sanctuary – traditions which reflect the Hellenisation of the cult in Latium and the diffusion of Taurian Artemis through Kyme.¹⁸³

Statuettes of a standing Artemis, flanked by a panther at the right side and with a bow in the left hand, are known from the necropolises of Kyme and neighbouring Teano.¹⁸⁴ The find places are unusual, but reflect the chthonic affiliation of Artemis, documented at Taras and at other sites discussed above.

Neapolis

There is some epigraphic evidence for a cult of Artemis in Neapolis, which may have been taken over from the mother city Kyme, at the time of foundation. Although the evidence is late – based upon the theophoric designation *Artemisioi* of one of the phratriai colleges, an Imperial organisation¹⁸⁵ – there is every reason to believe that a cult of Artemis had its origin in the early history of the city.¹⁸⁶

SUMMARY

Hera was the major divinity of the Greek colonies in the West, the cults of Hera playing a dominant role during the early history of several of the Greek foundations.¹⁸⁷ Also evident is the wealth of sources and material concerning the cults of Demeter and Persephone, above all in Sicily as early as the Archaic period.¹⁸⁸ Cults of Artemis, on the other hand, do not seem to have played a major role in the colonial processes in the West.

Nevertheless, there is testimony of early cults of Artemis, probably going back to the time of foundation, at Syracuse and at Rhegion, in both cities at the level of a polis cult. In other colonial foundations, in fact in the majority of the West Greek foundations, most of which have left traces of important sanctuaries, there is no evidence of early cults of Artemis, or only ambiguous testimony – as is the case, for instance, at Megara Hyblaia, where it is based upon architectural and sculptural remains; at Selinous – based upon the themes used in architectural sculpture; at Taras – based upon the importance of cults of Artemis in the mother city (Sparta), or at Lokroi – based upon a significant type of votive terracotta.

Cults of Artemis may have played a role in the policies behind sub-colonisation and the securing of territories. An example of this is the diffusion of the cult of Artemis Phakelitis in the region of the Straits.

Sanctuaries in the chorai dedicated primarily to Artemis, located at times near the urban centre, as sub-urban cults, or further away, in locations offering specific features, such as springs or wetlands (Artemis Limnatis), or as cults delimiting territories – Artemis as goddess of the untamed world (Artemis Agrotera) – are documented at Syracuse, Kroton, Sybaris, Metapontion and Taras. There is no evidence that these sanctuaries reveal influence from indigenous cults, rather they show the diffusion of Greek religious beliefs in originally indigenous areas.¹⁸⁹ Artemis as Mistress of the Margins, helping the young to cross the threshold to adulthood, is known from the votive relief dedicated to Artemis Eupraxia at Tyndaris. Tyndaris is mentioned also in the traditions concerning Artemis Phakelitis and Taurian Artemis; the barbarian divinity has, in course of time, taken on the role of the cultivated goddess.

Some of the Archaic votive figurines discussed above (at Sybaris, Kroton, Metapontion), although similar in type, may at times refer to Athena, at other times to Artemis or to Hera, the name being dependent upon the divinity whose cult was disseminated in a given area, but all sharing a common background, in this case Achaian. Even so, diversity of votive material does not always make it easy to identify the cult in a specific sanctuary, and the concept of visiting gods should also be taken into consideration.¹⁹⁰

The evidence from votive offerings should not be underestimated. There is a tendency to neglect the importance of votive deposits; but, although votive finds are at times sporadic, and often lack clear structural contexts, they are significant and will always, at some level, reflect religious activities and specific cults.¹⁹¹

The evidence offered by the Artemision at Scala Greca in Syracuse reveal Artemis' dual character as goddess of the untamed wild and the goddess of fertility. She is Potnia, Huntress, Archer of the Woods, but also Chitonea, the virgin surrounded by a chorus and flute-players in joyful dance.

Votive offerings reflect the multi-faceted character of Artemis – demonstrated by types of votive figurines – to be an eclectic divinity, with a diversity of affiliations; at times associated with the chthonic divinities, including here also Hekate, and at times with Pan reflecting untamed nature.

Finally written sources offer evidence of Artemis not as warrior but as Saviour and Guardian (Soteira).

The most significant increase in the diffusion of the cult of Artemis takes place from the end of the 5th and through the 4th century. The picture of a homogeneous diffusion of the cult in this period, demonstrated by the presence of votive offerings at a number of sites, could be explained, at least in part, by the background of Syracusan expansion in Sicily and in South Italy during the reign of Dionysios I, and later during that of Timoleon. This development is evidenced by the increase in numbers of votive terracottas from this period found in sanctuaries and in workshops in habitation districts, partly in the Greek colonies and partly in the Hellenised indigenous cities.

NOTES

- 1 The present study offers no more than an attempted survey of the evidence. For overviews of the history of the urban layout and urban cults in the West Greek cities mentioned in this contribution see *BTCGI* 1-, 1977- and Fischer-Hansen, Heine Nielsen & Ampolo 2004 a, b.
- 2 Pace 1946, 492-493. A view no longer widely held; for indigenous versus Greek cult see recent surveys by Cusumano 1997-1998, 761-763; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 259-266. It has not been possible to consult the recently published acts of the seminar *Ethne e Religioni nella Sicilia antica*. Palermo 2006.
- 3 For the influence of indigenous cults in Sicily in the Archaic period, see Manni 1984-1985, with refs. to previous scholarship.
- 4 *IG XIV*, 2393.62, 86, 109, 138, 262.
- 5 For the sources: Boehringer 1929, 97-102; Polacco & Anti 1981, 27-28; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 69-80; *BTCGI* 19, 2005, 4-9, 35-37 – exhaustive but not easy to consult.
- 6 Detailed analyses in Nilsson 1906, 214-216; Boehringer 1929, 99-100; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 76-77.
- 7 Orsi 1918; Gentili 1967; *BTCGI* 19, 2005, 160-161.
- 8 Voza 1993-1994, 1286, pl. 179-181; Voza in: *Siracusa* 1999. For a recent survey with extensive bibliography see also Doepner 2002, 102-107.
- 9 Barletta 1983, 87-90, figs. 14-16; Auberson 1984.
- 10 Pelagatti in: *Sicilia sud-orientale* 1973, 73-74; Pelagatti 1982, 137; *BTCGI* 19, 2005, 162.
- 11 Not published (?), exhibited in the Museo Paolo Orsi. A small early Archaic votive limestone relief of a naiskos (?) with a standing female divinity may represent Artemis, but also other divinities, Orsi 1918, 498, fig. 89; Doepner 2002, 109, 235 (Syr C1).
- 12 Orsi 1895, 119, fig. 1; Kahil, *LIMC* II, 1984, 628.56.
- 13 Pelagatti 1999; Gras, Tréziny & Broise 2004, 456 n. 109.
- 14 Pelagatti in: *Sicilia sud orientale* 1973, 77, cat. 283, pl. 34.
- 15 *BTCGI* 19, 2005, 154-156.
- 16 Orsi 1900; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 72; *BTCGI* 19, 2005, 183-184.
- 17 *pace* Pace 1946, 493.
- 18 For the epithet in Greece see Vernant 1991, 250-251; Cole 2004 189, 191.
- 19 Klinger 2001, 208-209 n.1, 214-218.
- 20 For the epithet see below (Megara Hyblaea).
- 21 Orsi 1900, 383-384; Nilsson 1906, 187; Cole 2004, 225.
- 22 For Artemis and Hekate in Sicily see Manni 1975, 182; Manganaro 1977, 148-149 and also below (Selinous). For Artemis Aggelos as herald of the return of Kore, see also Pace, who suggests that the cult of Artemis Aggelos

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- belongs in the group of Sicilian cults which have a pre-Hellenic origin: Pace 1946, 468, with ref. to Pind., *Ol.* 6.93.
- 23 For Artemis as “driver of horses”, Hipposoa (Pind. *Ol.* 3.26) and representations on vases from Megara Hyblaia, see Massa-Pairault 1999, 107 n. 17 and below.
- 24 Orsi 1915; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 72.
- 25 The identification of an Artemis sanctuary in the vicinity of the theatre and the Apollo Temenites Sanctuary in the Neapolis district, Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 73, cannot be substantiated. However, for the processions, competitions and theatrical activities in honour of Artemis see Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 75, 246-247 and *infra*.
- 26 Voza 1968-1969; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 241-243; *BTCGI*, 19, 2005, 168-170.
- 27 Voza 1968-1969, 362-364, pl. 73; Voza in: *Sicilia sud-orientale* 1973, 106-107, no. 360, pl. 31; Manganaro 1977, 151; Dubois 1989, 96-97, no. 92.
- 28 Not published but exhibited in the Museo Nazionale Orsi: statuettes of Artemis, one showing her with a spear and a fawn, another with a bow and a lion cub (from “ambiente 55”, nos. 1 and 5).
- 29 The epithet is taken as testimony to the diffusion of the cult of Artemis Enodia from Pherai in Thessaly, see Manganaro 1977, 151. For Artemis Pheraia/Enodia: Kahil, *LIMC* II, 1984, 687-689.
- 30 The chthonic aspect of Artemis is brought out by Voza 1968-1969.
- 31 *Scholía in Theocr.*, prolegomena 2-3, 13-22 (Wendel), see Nilsson 1906, 199-205 and Frontisi-Ducroux 1981, 28-30, 35-37. However, the tenuous tradition of an Artemis Phakelitis sanctuary in Syracuse is probably spurious, see Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 77; Luraghi 1996, 333, 344 n. 24. For the passage of Orestes with the image of Artemis Phakelitis see chapter below.
- 32 Proleg. 2 (Wendel); Verg. *Ecl.* 324 (Hagen); Nilsson 1906, 199-205; Frontisi-Ducroux 1981, 46-48.
- 33 Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 70-71.
- 34 Head 1911, 178, 182; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 74; Rutter 1997, 175-176, fig. 202. For Artemis as deliverer, Artemis Soteira, see Vernant 1991, 203, 245-247.
- 35 Head 1911, 123 (for Artemis in Akragas), but also also for Athena, Demeter, the Dioskuroi, etc.
- 36 Talbert 1974, esp. 146-160, with extensive bibliography, for the archaeological evidence; Consolo Langher 1997, VI, *passim*, though especially 176-178, 189, for the urban and economic evidence of the Timolean *symmachia*.
- 37 Some cities are not treated here for lack of evidence in regard to Artemis. However, for Katane and its Demeter sanctuary see Rizza 1996; for Naxos and the Apollo Archegetes sanctuary (Thuc. 6.3.1), see Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen and Ampolo 2004a, 219-220, and for the rich material evidence for urban and sub-urban sanctuaries at Naxos see Lentini 1998. The study of Naxian terracottas prepared by J.P. Uhlenbrock was not available to the author. For the Demeter sanctuary at Heloros see Reichert-Südbeck 2000, 251-253. Regarding Leontinoi see *BTCGI* 8, 1990, 529 for the sources for cult. No structural remains of sanctuaries have been documented at this site.
- 38 On the basis of coin issues Pace (1946, 617-624) inferred that cults of Artemis were practised in the non-Greek, Hellenised Sicilian sites: Abakainon, Alaisa, Apollonia, Enna, Hybla, and Likodia during the Hellenistic period, but there is no such numismatic evidence.
- 39 Pugliese Carratelli in: Bernabò Brea 1956, 27, 29, 152-154, no. 2; Dubois 1989, 114-115, no. 109.
- 40 Bernabò Brea 1956, pl. 30,1; Coarelli 1980, 169, pl. 102.
- 41 Vallet, Villard & Auberson 1983, *passim*; Polignac 1999.
- 42 Gras, Tréziny & Broise 2004, 320-339. The re-interpretation of the site supersedes that of Polignac 1999, 214, “sanctuaire A”.
- 43 Gras, Tréziny & Broise 2004, 337-339.
- 44 The location of the sanctuary in the vicinity of the River Cantara and the links of Artemis with springs and other sources of water persuaded Michel Gras in an earlier contribution to opt for the cult of this divinity, Gras 1995, 166 n. 58.
- 45 For evidence and references: Massa-Pairault 1999, 105 n. 10, 107 n. 23; see Hanell 1934, 161-204 for evidence of Megaraen influence in her colonial foundations. For Artemis Soteira in Megara, see Solima 1998, 392-394.
- 46 For Artemis Orthosia and Artemis Bendis in Megara Nisaia’s Black Sea foundations, see Hanell 1934, *loc. cit.*
- 47 Massa-Pairault 1999.
- 48 Vallet, Villard & Auberson 1983, 156, figs. 68-69; Gras, Tréziny & Broise 2004, 455-456.
- 49 For the epithet Hom. *Od.*, 6.114; Soph., *Trach.* 213.

- 50 Massa-Pairault 1999. For later renderings of Artemis Elaphobolos at Morgantina see Bell 1981, 35-36.
- 51 Massa-Pairault 1999, 106-107, pl. II, 117.
- 52 Gras, Tréziny & Broise 2004, *loc. cit.*
- 53 Similar to a specimen from Kamarina: Orsi 1899, 232-233, fig. 26, dated second half of the 5th century by Giudice 1979, 305, cat. 69.
- 54 Regarding Himera, in a similar region bordering on to Phoenician territory, on the north coast of Sicily: there is no evidence that Artemis was a member of the pantheon here. For a survey of cults at this site see Bonacasa 1982, 54-55.
- 55 Rutter 1997, 138-139, fig. 144. Megara Nisaia: see above and Hanell 1934, *loc. cit.*
- 56 Head 1911, 168, fig. 89.
- 57 *IG XIV* 268; Calder 1963; Arena 1989, 52-54, no. 53; Dubois 1989, 74-79, no. 78.
- 58 See Calder 1963, 33.
- 59 Bejor 1977: set up some time mid-5th century shortly after the battle of Himera; Solima 1998, in her examination of the warrior aspects or characteristics of Hera, Artemis and Aphrodite, is doubtful as regards a martial Artemis, though considers her as a defender of territory. For lack of epigraphic evidence for several of the major deities, see also Manni 1975, 178-179, 188-189: Hermes, Hephaistos and Hestia are not attested, and only Hera is attested in other epigraphic evidence at Selinous. Ross Holloway (1984) has analysed the link between the sculptural fragments assigned to Temple C and Y with the inscription from Temple G, arguing that the pictorial programs are basically an epiphany of the major gods of the city. However, as Artemis is not mentioned in the inscription she plays little part in the analysis by Holloway.
- 60 Surveys of the rich material are found in Giuliani 1979; Tusa 1983 and Østby 1996. The original location of most of the material is unknown.
- 61 Giuliani 1979, 58-62, pl. 14; Tusa 1983, 111-112.
- 62 Camerata Scovazzo 1993-1994, 1436-1440, pl. 210, figs. 1-2.
- 63 Giuliani 1979, 27-33, pl. 5.1, for the second metope: 27 n. 142; Tusa 1983, 114-115, for the second metope 115, n. 7. The fragments of the second metope are, apparently, lost, but the identification and the interpretation are sustained by both authors.
- 64 Giuliani 1979, 29 – with earlier scholarship.
- 65 Giuliani 1979, 11 n. 40.
- 66 Bejor 1977, 454-455. Manni 1975, 193-195 assigns Temple C to Apollo and, with a question mark, Temple O to Artemis; Tusa 1983, 111 assigns C, A, O to Apollo, to Leto (Latona) and to Artemis respectively; Østby 1987, 140 assigns Temple C to Apollo, again with reference to the analogy of the sculptural embellishment of the Apollonion at Delphi.
- 67 The problem cannot be addressed here. For the evidence see Manni 1975; Bejor 1977; a recent survey of temples and cults in Selinous is found also in De Angelis 2003, 135-139, 166-169.
- 68 Marconi 1994, 66-69, 263-264.
- 69 See Giuliani 1979, 79-80; and, where argued in more depth, Østby 1987.
- 70 Manganaro 1977, 148-149; Arena 1989, 40 no. 38.
- 71 For the cult of Hekate at Selinous see above all Dewailly 1992, 146-148.
- 72 Camarina, *BTCGI* 4, 1985, 288 (sources), 296 (temple).
- 73 Orsi 1899, 232-234, fig. 26; Giudice 1979, 305, cat. 69 (dat. 440/430-405), 339, 343, suggesting a Syracusan origin, similar types are known from the Artemis sanctuary at Scala Graeca.
- 74 De Miro 2000, 110, pls 90-93.
- 75 Griffo 1987, 142, fig. 129, and *passim*.
- 76 De Miro 2000, 110.
- 77 Artemis clad in a short chiton, carrying a bow, and with a dog seated at her side, or holding a torch, or carrying a deer on her right arm, or similar types of the “Sikulan Artemis”: Griffo 1987, 262, 288, fig. 252; Calderone 2002, 21, fig. 6 (Monte Saraceno), suggest a late 5th-early 4th century date. Fiorentini 2002, 167, fig. 19, material from a workshop area near Gate 2, draws attention to the stylistic affinity with Geloan terracottas dated to the period of Dionysios I. For an overview of terracottas of the “Sikulan Artemis”, a term coined by Pace 1946, 507, see Bell 1981, 34, 39, n. 89; Kahil, *LIMC* 2, 1984, 693-695.8.
- 78 Dubois 1989, 205, no. 67 with the other attestations for this epithet; Manganaro 1992, 208, fig. 1, for Eileithyia as an epithet of Artemis see 212 n. 87. There is rich evidence in Greece for Artemis as a goddess of birth and fertility connected with the cult of Eileithyia, see Pingiatoglou 1981, 98-119 and *passim*, but the evidence is limited in the region treated here.
- 79 Head 1911, 123.
- 80 Orlandini 1968, 57-59. See also Fiorentini 1977, 105-112 with a survey of the 6th century shrines investigated on the acropolis. None

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- of these can be referred to specific divinities: the evidence for Artemis cults seems to be limited to the 5th-4th century statuettes, apparently introduced during the reign of Dionysios I and, above all, after the re-foundation by Timoleon.
- 81 Orlandini 1957. 54-55, pls. 14, 16.1-2, 60, pl. 22.1, 67, pl. 32.3 – same author for this material: *NSc* 1957, *NSc* 1962 and *MonAnt* 44, 1958; Griffo 1958, pl. 13 b (Artemis and deer); pl. 13 c (Artemis and lion); Fiorentini 1977, 105-112, pl. 27.5; *Kokalos* 22-23, 1976-77, 445, pl. 39.1.
- 82 Orlandini 1957, 159, pl. 59.3.
- 83 Orlandini 1957, 60, 67.
- 84 Spagnolo 1991, 63, 67. For the chronological significance of this material see also Bignasca 1992, 43-45; Uhlenbrock 2002.
- 85 Bell 1981, 34-36, 154-155, cat. 203; for the epithet see also above (Megara Hyblaia).
- 86 Bell 1981, 34-36, 39 n. 89, 91-92, 154-157, with an exhaustive survey of this type of material from several of the central Sicilian sites.
- 87 Cf. Bignasca 1992 for this phase.
- 88 For evidence of Selinuntian influence in the sanctuary of Contrada Mango at Segesta, see La Genière 1978.
- 89 Roman copies in an archaistic sculptural style possibly referable to Segesta through coin images: Giuliano 1953; Michelini 2000; Lambrugo 2001, 152-153.
- 90 Di Stefano 2002, 86.
- 91 For renderings of Orestes' revenge, and other Orestes motifs, on metopes from Magna Graecia (Foce del Sele) and Sicily (Selinous) see Østby 1996, especially 28-33 for the possible influence of the Stesichorean *Oresteia*. In her penetrating study of the transmission of the cult of Artemis in the region of the Straits, and of the interrelations between Lokroi, Rhegion, Naxos and Syracuse, C. Parra (1991-1992) has suggested that one of the pinakes from Francavilla di Sicilia, dated 470-460, shows Orestes and Iphigeneia on the shore in front of the ship carrying in its prow the Taurian cult image of Artemis. According to Parra the image in the prow of the ship holds a bow, which would suggest a representation of the xoanon of Artemis. However, as shown by U. Spigo, arguing instead for a representation of Helen, Paris and an image of Aphrodite, the bow-like object is rather part of the ship's *aphlaston*, and the object held by the female figure is a staff or a torch (Spigo 1986, 316-317, pl. 31.2; *idem* 2000, 11-15). (My own close study of the pinax during a recent visit to the Paolo Orsi Museum, Syracuse, makes me agree with the interpretation by Spigo of the ship's stern and the attribute held by the figure. K. Friis Johansen has given an analysis of the symbolic importance of personifications seated by *aphlastons* and ships' standards in ships' sterns, Friis Johansen 1959, 23-28. Could the image on the pinax from Francavilla be holding a ship's standard (?)). Nevertheless, a number of terracottas of Artemis with various attributes found in the 1979 excavation of a votive deposit in Francavilla di Sicilia are exhibited in the Museo Paolo Orsi.
- 92 For the cults of Apollo and Artemis at Rhegion see Cordano 1974; Camassa 1986, 141-143, 148-159; Asheri 1988, 8-9; Costabile 1979, 526-527, 534-535, fig. 1; Luraghi 1996; *BTCGI* 16, 2001, 5.
- 93 For the problems of the sanctuary's location in the urban setting of Rhegion see Vallet 1958, 130-132. However, the location of the sanctuary in regard to the topography of Rhegion is far from clarified, see Leone 1998, 26 n. 27 with bibliography regarding the different standpoints. Andronico 2002, 213-216 and Sfameni Gasparro 2002, 340-342 are recent territorial surveys suggesting a location in the chora of the city.
- 94 As far back as 1930 F. Altheim arguing for an early origin of the Orestes myth in the West and of the Artemis cult at Rhegion attaches great importance to the ties between the tradition of Messenian participation in the foundation of Rhegion and that of the Messenian Artemision at Limnai, Altheim 1930, 109-111; for a more recent analysis see above all Camassa 1986, 135-142.
- 95 Rutter 2001, 190.2519. The head of the divinity is used again in third century coinage.
- 96 Cordano 1974, 86 n. 4.
- 97 Frontisi-Ducroux 1981. For extensive treatments of the sources regarding Taurian Artemis (Phakelitis) in Rhegion and in cities of the Straits see Bérard 1957, 380-383 and the articles cited above.
- 98 Probus, *in Verg. Buc.* etc., 325-326 (Hagen).
- 99 Probus, *loc. cit.* For Artemis Phakelitis at Syracuse see above.
- 100 Probus, *op. cit.*, 326, 17-21 (Lucilius); *Scholia in Theocr.*, Proleg. 2-3 (Wendel); Frontisi-Ducroux 1981, 30-31.
- 101 Cf. also Strabo 6.1.3: beyond Thourioi lies a country called Tauriana.
- 102 Bernabó Brea & Cavalier 2000, 41. (Bernabó Brea in *Atti Taranto* 1986, 178-179, makes mention of a small pinax in terracotta, with

- the same provenance, showing three seated divinities). The authors suggest that this triple aspect of the Artemis cult was also valid for the Artemision of Mylai, but this seems uncertain.
- 103 Orsi 1912; Coarelli 1980, 169, 180 pl. 103 (Hekate); Spigo 2002, 74-77, with further refs. regarding, *int. al.*, the triple cult image of Diana Nemorensis. However, the figures of the Camarro relief have no attributes and may as well picture nymphs, *vel sim.*
- 104 Spigo 2002, 75, with reference to Lissi Caronna 1996, 170-172, figs. 12-14.
- 105 In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen: I.N. 516; Poulsen 1951, cat. 232; Fischer-Hansen 1992, cat. 12; Kahil, *LIMC* II, 1984, 699.1023.
- 106 For marriage and transition see Cole 2004, 210-211.
- 107 App., *B. Civ.* 5.116, 484; Cass. Dio 49.8.1.
- 108 Bérard 1957, *loc. cit.*; Bernabò Brea, in *BTC-GI* 10, 1992, 116.
- 109 See Cavalier, in *BTCGI* 10, 1992, 134; Cusumano 1997-1998, 798-800 has a recent deliberation of the problem with bibliography. In the topographical analysis of the chora of Messana by G.M. Bacci, Mylai is seen as a frontier city, a phrourion, of Messana and the sanctuary of Artemis Phakelitis as a frontier sanctuary, Bacci 2000, 242-243.
- 110 Asheri 1988, 8-9; Camassa 1986, 141-148; and, above all, for this historical perspective, Luraghi 1996, 337-341.
- 111 Maddoli 1983.
- 112 Spadea 1983, 137, fig. 1.4; Giangiulio 1989, 52-53 n. 3; Osanna 1992, 177-179, 194, cat. 13. The issue of border sanctuaries, sanctuaries as means of taking political possession of territories, or sanctuaries presiding over the crossing of thresholds between the Wild and the civilised world, especially applicable to colonial settlements, is treated in depth by Asheri 1988; Polignac 1995, *passim*, especially 92-93, 108-114; Vernant 1991, 195-206; and by others, and will not be dealt with in this contribution.
- 113 Sabbione 1983, 275-278, pl. 42; Giangiulio 1989, 95 nn, 46, 47. For an overall evaluation of the material and cultic evidence linking the Achaian colonies and Achaia, though largely ignoring the significance of Artemis, see Morgan & Hall 1996, 212-214.
- 114 Giangiulio 1989, 216-217, 290.
- 115 Molli Boffa 1977; Graf 1981, 175-176; Kahil, *LIMC* II, 1984, 679.743-744; *Santuari della Magna Grecia* 1996, 85, ill. p. 82.
- 116 Torelli 1976, 181-182; Torelli suggests that the xoanon has traits characteristic for Asia Minor.
- 117 Apart from single specimens from Kaulonia and Medma, the type is known only from Lokroi, Molli Boffa 1977, 229 n. 18.
- 118 Cristofani 1967; Guzzo 1988; Meijden 1993, 351, cat. AA 14; Kahil, *LIMC* II, 1984, 628.4.
- 119 Zancani Montuoro 1972-1973, 67, pl. 43; *NSc* 1972, Suppl (Sibari III), 126, cat. 241, fig. 140.
- 120 Stoop 1974-1976, 117-119, pl. 58, 59.4; Osanna 1992, 122-126, 159-162, cat. 19; Russo 1996, esp. 532-539 for an analysis of the iconography of the Timpone della Motta Athena; Genovese 1999, 180-182, nn. 818-819.
- 121 Croissant 1992, 553-554; *idem* in: *Santuari della Magna Grecia* 1996, 190, 194, cat. 3.21; Camassa 1992, 585 – if not Artemis suggesting Hera rather than Athena. As pointed out above, the type is represented at various sites, and its interpretation, whether Hera, Athena or Artemis, should depend upon the nature of the cult diffused in the area in question, cf. Genovese 1999.
- 122 Zancani Montuoro 1968-1969, 7-8, 19; *BTC-GI* 3, 1984, 320-321.
- 123 Guzzo 1981, 36-37.
- 124 Giannelli 1963, 101-116.
- 125 Rutter 2001, 155, nos. 1924, 1930-1931.
- 126 Genovese 1999, 62-64, 182, pls. 28.2, 29.2.
- 127 Sestieri Bertarelli 1989.
- 128 Cipriani in: Greco & Theodorescu 1983, 127; Ardovino 1986, 65.
- 129 Greco 1993, 69.
- 130 For Phokaian expansion in the West and the cult of Artemis Ephesia see Gras 1985, 451-452, 473-474; *idem* 1997, 67-69 with refs.
- 131 Lippolis 1982, 90-92.
- 132 Lo Porto 1961b, 282 n. 84; Lippolis *et al.* 1995, 175-176, I.4.2. For a 2nd century bilingual inscription of Artemis / Diana of uncertain provenance see Lippolis 1982, 176, I.4.3.
- 133 Lippolis 1982, fig. 2.10; Iacobone 1988, 169-171.
- 134 Lo Porto 1961b, 274-275, figs. 10-11; *idem*, 1988, 8, fig. 3. The terracotta is a burial find, suggesting that Artemis may have played a role in grave cult already in the Archaic period.
- 135 Schneider-Hermann 1959.
- 136 Borda 1979, 108-118; Kahil, *LIMC* II, 1984, 627.47; Herfort-Koch 1986, 20-21.

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- 137 De Juliis 1981, 295-296, pl. 47, 1-2; Iacobone 1988, 164, 172.
- 138 Harden 1927 and Wuilleumier 1939, 407-408 have early surveys of the material.
- 139 Lippolis 1982, 105-107, 114, cat. 2, pl. 30.3, 127-130. A similar, syncretistic, phenomenon, with votive terracottas of Artemis carrying a cross-torch, is known from Herakleia and from the rural sancturay at Santa Maria d'Anglona in the hinterland of Herakleia, see below.
- 140 Lunsingh Scheurleer 1932; followed by, for instance Rüdiger 1967, 349-352; De Juliis 1981, 295-296. The 4th century Tarentine antefixes with a female head wearing a lion-skin and with two small wings attached at the side, known also from other sites (Letta 1968, 307; Herdejürgen 1982, 132-135, with bibl.) are not considered here, their interpretation being very uncertain.
- 141 As already suggested by Wuilleumier 1939, 48, with a further review by Kahil, *LIMC* II, 1984, 693. For a survey of the problem see Curti 1989, 23.
- 142 Letta 1968. Though lacking in the votive material, Bendis is represented in South Italian vase-painting, see Schauenburg 1974. Curti 1989 has a survey of the "Artemis-Bendis" type votive terracotta from Magna Graecia. Examining the iconography and sources for the interrelationship of Bendis, Artemis and Hekate in Greece, E. Curti argues for the introduction of a cult of Artemis-Bendis in Magna Graecia, bound up with the foundation of Thourioi 444/43. Nevertheless, still outstanding is the question whether the figurines of "Artemis-Bendis" has anything to do with Bendis.
- 143 Letta 1968, 305, n. 1, 310 n. 16. Also Iacobone sees her as an evolution from Potnia Theron (1988, 23).
- 144 Herdejürgen 1983, 45-48.
- 145 Herdejürgen 1983, 47, n. 11. For the affiliation of Artemis with Hekate see Selinous and Lipari above.
- 146 Wuilleumier 1939, 246; Lo Porto 1970, 370-371.
- 147 For the position of the sanctuary, not located with certainty, see Osanna 1992, 13-14, 31-32 (scheda 37); Lippolis *et al.* 1995, 87-88; Leone 1998, 133, no. 62.
- 148 Lippolis *et al.* 1995, 174-175, I.4.1; *SEG* XXXVIII 1015; Lo Porto 1987.
- 149 Lippolis *et al.* 1995, 246-248, K.14; *SEG* XXXVIII 1014; Lo Porto 1987.
- 150 For interpretation of inscription, votive or inventory, see especially Nafissi 1992.
- 151 For the nature of her cult see above (Syracuse); Cole 2004, 81-82, 181, 191.
- 152 Osanna 1992, 32 (scheda 30).
- 153 Neutsch 1980, 153-158.
- 154 Neutsch 1980, 171, pl. 32.
- 155 Osanna 1992, 96.
- 156 Neutsch 1967, 133-134, 167, pl. 28.1-3.
- 157 Lo Porto 1961a, 140, fig. 14-15; Neutsch 1967, 136-136, 142 cat. 8, fig. 25, pl. 14.1-2.
- 158 Rüdiger & Schläger 1969, 171-180; Rüdiger 1967, 349-352; Osanna 1992, 98, 109-110.
- 159 Rüdiger 1967, 351. Fragments of statuettes of Artemis, from the same workshop, are known from the Mephitic Sanctuary in the Valle d'Ansato. Mephitic – an Italic divinity venerated near springs, is seen as a divinity with chthonic and pastoral connotations. However, in *LIMCVI*, 1, 1992, *voce* Mephitic, 400-402, terracotta fragments used to illustrate the iconography of the goddess include the types normally defined as Artemis, Hera, and Demeter. H. Horsnæs has pointed out that the mechanical identification of Lukanian divinities, for instance Mephitic, with Greek divinities on the basis alone of terracottas representing Hera or Aphrodite or Artemis, found in the same Lukanian sanctuaries, is very problematic (Horsnæs 2002).
- 160 Lo Porto 1988, 5; *BTCGI* 10, 1992, 69, 72, 79. For a survey of votive material from the urban shrines in Metapontion see Doepner 2002, 58-62.
- 161 Lo Porto 1988, 5, 8; Adamesteanu, Mertens & D'Andria 1975, 194, fig. 204. The suggestion by Lo Porto that this is the sanctuary mentioned by Bakchylides (see chapter on San Biagio, below) seems unfounded – cf. Osanna 1992, 73 n. 44. A female marble head, possibly part of the architectural sculpture of Temple C is interpreted as a head of Artemis by Lo Porto 1988, 5, 24 n. 3. The fine, early Classical marble head, already interpreted as Artemis by Paribeni 1973, 148-149, pl. 31.1, may just as well represent Hera or Aphrodite, if it indeed is a divinity.
- 162 Letta 1971, 34, type IV, pl. 4.3, enthroned Artemis holding birds – a type found also at San Biagio and at the Tavole Palatine. In Magna Graecia Potnia Theron seems confined to the Metapontine area – apart from the representation on an antefix from Capua, cf. Letta 1971, 34 and *infra*: Capua.
- 163 Adamesteanu, Mertens & D'Andria 1975, 93, fig. 82, 144, fig. 146; Lo Porto 1988, 8-9, figs. 4.1-3, 5.1-2.

- 164 A small 5th-century sanctuary area (?), investigated outside the north-eastern corner of the city wall, is tentatively referred to Artemis by Adamesteanu, Mertens & D'Andria 1975, 260-264, 276.
- 165 *BTCGI* 10, 1992, 72; Osanna 1992, 78; Arena 1996, 97 no. 75.
- 166 Letta 1971, 31-33, types III and IV, pl. 4.2-3; Olbrich 1979, 163, type B3.
- 167 Olbrich 1979; Edlund 1987, 98-99; Osanna 1992, 47-52, 79-80; Carter 1994, 168-69, 179; Leone 1998, 123-125, no. 56.
- 168 *BTCGI* 10, 1992, 67, 69, 72; for an analysis of the sources: Olbrich 1979, 84-86.
- 169 Olbrich 1979, 70; Osanna, 1992, 50. Cf. also Bakchylides (*Epin.* 11.78-79) with mention of Artemis at Lousoi in Arkadia – Giangiulio 1989, 175 n. 47; for this type of Artemis sanctuary in general, see Morizot 1994.
- 170 Ugolini 1983; Carter 1994, 186-187.
- 171 Olbrich 1979, 88; Arena 1996, 92 n. 64.
- 172 Olbrich 1979, 88, 102, type A 5, pl. 1; Carter 1994, 169.
- 173 Olbrich 1979, 119-120, type A 38, pl. 9 (specimen from Tavole Palatine).
- 174 Olbrich 1979, 150-156, type A 106-124, pls. 24-30. Similar types are known from Sybaris, Timpone della Motta, Siris, and Kroton (S. Anna di Cutro), as mentioned above. Evidence of a cultural and artistic Achaian koine. The type showing a divinity carrying a small horse is known also at Poseidonia, where it has been interpreted as Hera Hippias, see above.
- 175 Olbrich 1979, 161, 163, type B 3, pl. 33.
- 176 Heurgon 1942; also: *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 121-123 (Bonghi Jovino).
- 177 Heurgon 1942, 320; Letta 1971, 33; Krauskopf, *LIMC* II, 1984, 777, Artumes, 8, 10.
- 178 *Santuari d'Etruria* 1985, 123, cat. 6.2A4.
- 179 For the latter Heurgon 1942, 313-321.
- 180 Heurgon 1942, 302.
- 181 The date of the dedication is uncertain, but for its Homeric background in Campania and for its significance see Malkin 1998, 158-159.
- 182 Diana Fascilina: Schol. ad Aug., *De Civ. D.* II.23, full ref. in Frederiksen 1984, 76, 83 n. 150.
- 183 Frederiksen 1984, 160-161. For Chalkidian expansion in the West and the diffusion of Taurian Artemis see Mele 1987, 171-174.
- 184 *MonAnt* 22, 1913, 706, pl. 111.3; *MonAnt* 10, 1910, 34, fig. 17; Letta 1968, 310 n. 16. For the sanctuary Morel 1995, for Artemis, 159-160, pl. 44.5.
- 185 Mele 1987, 172 n. 278; Dubois 1995, 66-70, no. 24. Artemis appears on Neapolis' coinage only in the third century: Rutter 2001, 21 no. 594.
- 186 For the other major divinities of Neapolis see Frederiksen 1984, 91.
- 187 *Héra: Images, espaces, cultes* 1997.
- 188 Hinz 1998.
- 189 For Greek sanctuaries in an originally indigenous environment and for the absence of indigenous influence see Graf 1981, 162-164.
- 190 Weill 1985, 144-145.
- 191 Votive material can even at times be seen as the primary source for the reconstruction of cult practice – see the perspicacious introduction by J.D. Baumbach (2004, 1-10). The votive offerings discussed by Baumbach are complex, the Artemis material discussed above is more coherent, with a close relationship between artefact and deity. For a re-evaluation of the evidence yielded by votive offerings, see also Osborne 2004.

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