ISBN: 978-618-85360-0-5
ISSN: 2459-3230

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS FROM THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS
VOLUME 10

Constituting Artemis

The social and cultural significance of votive offerings in the cults of Artemis at Brauron, Ephesos and Sparta

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ATHENS 2021

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is a revised version of my PhD thesis from the University of Oslo, which I defended in May 2015. Working on revisions for this book, I have received a great deal appreciated feedback and guidance from Jorunn Økland and Žarko Tankosić at The Norwegian Institute at Athens. I have also been given helpful and interesting feedback from an anonymous reviewer, and very thorough language editing assistance from Chantal Jackson. I am deeply grateful for the insightful comments and support.

During my research, and the work on my dissertation, I have received, and benefitted immensely from, considerable help and support from a number of people. I would like to start by expressing my deep gratitude to my PhD supervisors: to J. Rasmus Brandt, for his guidance and thorough and constructive comments, and for the generosity he has shown in sharing his knowledge with me, and to Jorunn Økland, whose advice and analytical perspectives have broadened my perspective, and to Julie Lund, for her encouragement and constructive feedback.

During my time as a doctoral research fellow, I am deeply grateful for having been part of the environment at the department of archaeology at the University of Oslo: the friendship, support, and practical help offered by my colleges has been invaluable. I also wish to thank all of you who have read and commented on drafts at different stages: Marianne Hem Eriksen, Hege Gjerde, Lars Erik Gjerpe, Lotte Hedeager, Mads Holdst, Elise Naumann, Astrid Nyland, Josephine Munch Rasmussen, Sigrid Staurseth, Vivian Vangen, Vibeke Viestad, Hanne Louise Aanestad, and Lars Aas. I have learnt a great deal both from discussing my own research at these seminars and also from discussing other participants' research; I extend my thanks to participants who shared their preliminary thoughts with me and who contributed to create an open and generous scholarly environment.

I am also very grateful to my PhD committee, Rubina Raja, Jenny Wallensten, and Knut Ødegård, for carefully reading my thesis and giving me valuable feedback on all aspects of my research. In the discussions we had, they generously shared from their own research and provided me with new perspectives.

A number of other individuals have been very helpful during the research that led up to this book. I have greatly benefited from discussing my project and related topics at different stages with Jonas Bjørnebye, Synnøve des Bouvrie, Øystein Gullvåg Holter, Ingvild Sælid Gilhus, Lynn Meskell, Ulrike

Muss, Susan Langdon, Marina Prusac, Siri Sande, and Turid Karlsen Seimb. I also wish to thank Ole Christian Aslaksen for reading and commenting on my book, and for being such a supportive and encouraging friend. The practical help with the database and maps provided by Espen Uleberg and Ole Christian Aslaksen has also been very much appreciated. I would also like to thank Priscilla Field for not only efficiently proofreading my English, but also for commenting on the content. The responsibility for any potential remaining errors and inadequacies is, of course, entirely my own.

I also acknowledge the financial support from the University of Oslo and the Norwegian Institute at Rome, which made it possible for me to travel to Greece and Turkey in order to visit sites and museums and to spend time in the rich libraries of Athens and Rome. I am also grateful for the practical support and inclusive research environment at the Norwegian Institutes in Athens and Rome and the Nordic library in Athens.

This book would not have been possible without the personal support and patience of my beloved family. Above all, I would like to thank my husband and *dostum* Gazi, who supported, encouraged and put up with me during the stimulating but often stressful PhD years. I also wish to thank him for having taken an interest in my work, beyond the personal level, in discussing my work and enthusiastically accompanying me to a great number of different ancient sites and museums in Greece and Turkey. My most heartfelt gratitude goes to my mother, Aud. Her motherly support and all the practical help she provided have been crucial.

After I defended my dissertation in May 2015, Stephanie Lynn Budin (2016) has published a book on Artemis and Ruth M. Léger (2017) has published a book on the cults of Artemis in Ephesos and Sparta. These books are important contributions to research on Artemis. However, as the date of publication was after defense of my thesis, I have regrettably not been able to include Budin's and Léger's research fully into the discussions in my book.

This book is dedicated to my children and the stars of my life, Elvan and Helin, and to the memory of my late father, Per.

Oslo 10.12.2020

Lene Os Johannessen

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The goddess Artemis appears to have been a manifold and complex goddess with a character that is sometimes inconsistent and difficult to comprehend. She is defined as a mistress of nature and all things wild (Burkert 2001:149, Simon 1969:150-151); a hunting goddess (Burkert 2001:149, Hjerrild 2009:42-43, Simon 1969:149, 156-157); a goddess of fertility (Cartledge 2001, 86, Eitrem 1909, 27, Kahil 1984, 1, 740, Nilsson 1906, 180, Papadimitriou 1963:113, Price 1978:121); a virgin goddess, a patroness of the transition from child to adult (Burkert 2001, 150-151), and a birth goddess (Page 1951, 73, Rose 1929, 402). Many of these scholarly interpretations constitute Artemis as a nature goddess and are interpretations that belong to a long and unquestioned tradition. Such interpretations are not necessarily incorrect, but, being so general, they may obscure our understanding of how Artemis was perceived and how she was believed to have met the needs of individuals and cities at specific times and places. To nuance the tradition of characterizing Artemis as a goddess of nature, I seek to study Artemis from a social and cultural perspective, and to study the dynamic between aspects of nature and of culture related to Artemis. Many scholars have been, and are, concerned with Artemis, and many have also produced intriguing analyses on the written or archaeological sources associated with her character. Yet, there is still a great deal yet to be done when treating Artemis as a social and cultural phenomenon. My aim with this book is to contribute to the further development of a more nuanced perspective on the character of Artemis.

Many of the characterizations of Artemis mentioned above are based on written sources from the Late Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods, often supplemented by iconography. For the most part, these sources portray the institutionalized Olympian Artemis. Although the written material can provide a wealth of information on some aspects, there are others areas in which it can-

not provide sufficient knowledge, examples being the non-institutionalized elements of cultic activity, the beliefs of the common man, local cultic varieties, and early cultic practice. If we allow the written accounts about Artemis' character to fade into the background and, instead, allow the material culture to take center stage, we might end up with a different understanding of how Artemis was perceived.

To understand how Artemis was perceived and constituted based in material culture, I believe that there is great potential in studying votive offerings from sanctuaries of Artemis. With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Alroth 1989, Baumbach 2004, Rouse 1902, van Straten 1981, 1992, Simon 1986, Bookidis 2010, Kyrieleis 1988), there are surprisingly few studies on the cultic, cultural, and social meaning of votive offerings. Votive offerings can be understood as manifestations or realizations of bodily actions in a ritual context and can potentially give unique insight into the ideas and needs of the people dedicating them. Moreover, as one could claim that Artemis is an idea created by the people who worshipped her, any understanding of how she was perceived ultimately reflects back on the worshippers. By aiming at a nuanced understanding of the character of Artemis through votive offerings, I am also aiming at a nuanced understanding of peoples' ideas and beliefs, as expressed in the process of constituting Artemis. Thus, this project also attempts to gain insight into the minds and thought processes of the worshippers.

I have focused the present study on three primary research questions:

How was Artemis constituted through votive ritualization?

What insights about people's ideas on nature, culture, gender, the body, and sexuality can the constitution(s) of Artemis provide us with?

What are the similarities and differences between the cults of Artemis?

1.2 DATA, DECISIONS, LIMITATIONS

The departure point is the votive material[1] from three sanctuaries of Artemis: the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron in Attika, the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos in Asia Minor, and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta in south-eastern Peloponnese (Fig. 1). These three sanctuaries have several differences. They are located in three different geographic areas and belonged to

1. The smaller personal votive gifts and not the votive gifts given e.g. on behalf of a city.

three different *poleis*. They are of different sizes and are probably associated with different demographics: The Brauron sanctuary is relatively small and rural, and probably concentrated on women; the Spartan Artemision is a large sanctuary located near the center of Sparta and was closely connected to polis cult, while the Ephesian sanctuary was a major sanctuary which most likely included non-Greeks in its cult.

Analyzing the cults in only these three sanctuaries has certain limitations

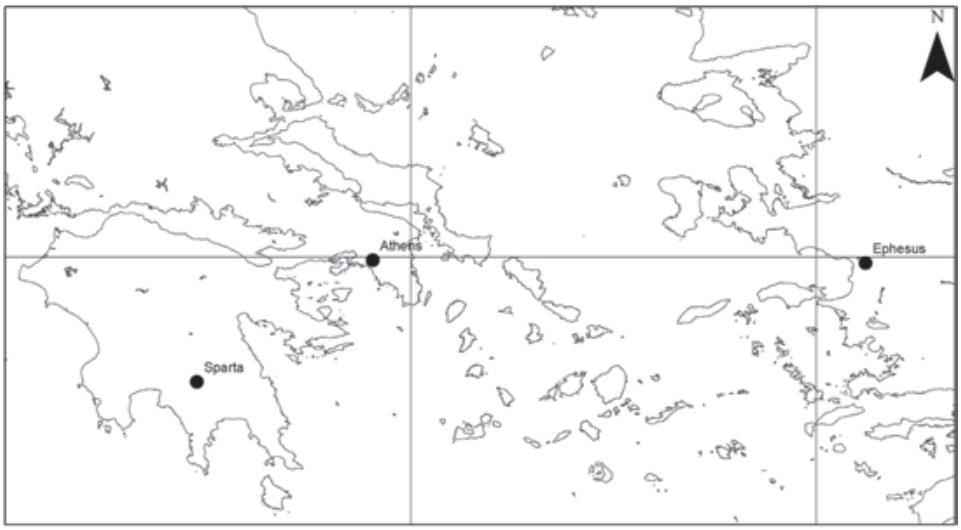


Figure 1: Overview of the geographical locations of the three sanctuaries (Map produced by Ole Christian Aslaksen).

in terms of extrapolating the findings of this research to a wider set of sanctuaries of Artemis. One could argue that the cult practices of the sanctuaries in this research are unique to them, and are non-transferrable. Moreover, it is a limitation to focus the research on the votive offerings, and not consider the architecture or the pottery. However, to take all the archaeological sources in all the known sanctuaries of Artemis into account would not only far exceed the scope of this project but would also pose serious difficulties since many of the sanctuaries are not sufficiently excavated or published. As this book is focused on the votive material as a point of departure for the analyses, the choice of sanctuaries has necessarily been dependent on the publication of the votive offerings. The advantage of focusing on three sanctuaries with different backgrounds and contexts is that it offers the possibility to examine whether there are cultic similarities in spite of other basic differences.

One could argue that the same types of votive offerings are also found in sanctuaries of other deities and that a sanctuary's votive material cannot say anything specific about cult characteristics in that sanctuary. In this case, it would be of great value, for the sake of comparison, to analyze the votives from sanctuaries of other deities. The vast number of votive offerings and sanctuaries render this approach prove infeasible, for the scope of the present study. I shall argue that the votive offerings and votive material as a whole can reveal specific characteristics of the three cults of Artemis. Furthermore, the advantage of focusing the research on one deity is that a more detailed analysis of the votive material is possible and a superficial study of a vast number of votives and sanctuaries is avoided.

How, then, should this research be seen in terms of both sampling variety and external validity? Given the tension between the specific challenges associated with the gathering of the data and an ideal research design, can this book say anything useful about the phenomenon that is being studied? I believe the answer lies in seeing this research not as an attempt to provide categorical 'truths' about all Artemis cults in general, but as an attempt to raise questions about the characterization and constitution of Artemis and the practice of dedicating votive gifts by looking at individual cases in detail. This study should, therefore, be seen as exploratory rather than definitive, and as an examination of the constitution of a deity in a specific setting in such a way that it opens up further analytical possibilities.

1.3 TIME FRAME, SYNCHRONIC, AND DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT

The time frame set for this study is the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods. The Geometric period starts around 900 BC and ends around 750 BC, with the ushering in of the Archaic period. The Archaic period is defined here on the basis of several cultural and societal changes that appear in the 8th century BC (see Chapter 2), and not on the basis of the more specific developments in art, literature, and political organization, which can be seen from the beginning of the 6th century BC. The Archaic period is often divided into the Early Archaic period (c. 750 – c. 625 BC), and the Late Archaic period (c. 625 – c. 500 BC). The end of the Archaic period and, thus, the beginning of the Classical period is set at c. 500 BC. The Classical period ends with the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC and the fragmentation of his empire.

The present book is primarily synchronically focused. There are several challenges regarding the dating of a number of votive groups that make dia-

chronic analyses complicated. One such challenge is that many votives can be dated to several decades, to several centuries even. Another is that in many cases it is not possible to ascertain when the votive was given, only when it was deposited. Indeed, in some cases, even the dating of the deposition is disputed and estimates can range over a century. Such factors make accurate chronological analyses difficult to conduct. Moreover, over the course of the research for this book, I found the votive material to show more diachronic similarities than diachronic changes in the dedication practice and that there are strong indications for continuation of cult practice in the three sanctuaries. Based on these factors, it is first and foremost a synchronic examination that can give insight into the questions I am posing here. Hence, the votive offerings and the cultic practice during the set time period are examined thematically, with comments on chronological development within a thematic unit where appropriate.

The indications observable in the votive material for continuation of cult practice throughout the three periods, especially through the Archaic period and from the Archaic to the Classical period, appear to justify the use of written sources from the Classical period in discussing material from the Archaic period.

1.4 CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Before proceeding, I shall provide a brief overview of the contents and structure of this book. Chapter 2 explains the research methods and theories chosen for the present project and discusses the representativity of the votive material from the three sanctuaries. Chapter 3 provides the context of the three Artemis sanctuaries, in which the social organization, religious organization, and the character of Artemis will be presented, and the sources and history of research related to these topics will be briefly discussed. Chapter 4 sets the stage for each of the three sanctuaries by presenting an overview of both their history and their modern discovery and excavation. Together, these three chapters provide a comprehensive overview of the background and history of research relevant in this study in this endeavor and illuminate the methodology and premises that serve as its foundation. Chapter 5 presents the votive categories, the distribution of votive offerings in the three sanctuaries, the results of the statistical analyses, and discusses the choices made regarding further analyses.

Chapters 6-8 provide qualitative analyses of the votive categories I consider to be the most significant and those that can best serve as starting points for an interpretation of the constitution of Artemis. Chapter 6 discusses the understanding of the three cults of Artemis as fertility and *kourotrophos* cults

and explores alternative interpretations of the material. Chapter 7 analyzes the association of the Artemis cults with hunting and wild animals and nature and discusses other possible meanings. In Chapter 8, the analyses in Chapters 6 and 7 are revisited and further explored in light of theories about the body and borders. Chapter 9 concludes the book with a discussion of the results and overall contribution of the research. Additionally, chapter 9 examines the limitations of the approach and suggests possible directions for future research.

Appendix 1 presents Tables 1-5. Table 1 shows the distribution of the categories among the three Artemis sanctuaries at Brauron, Ephesos, and Sparta (also available at 5.1. Tables 2-5 provide overviews of the distribution of the votive categories in each sanctuary. Appendix 2 encompasses Catalogue I (Brauron), Catalogue II (Ephesos) and Catalogue III (Sparta), where the votive offerings are described and references to the published works are cited.

CHAPTER 2
APPROACHING VOTIVE OFFERINGS

The focus of this book, and of my PhD thesis, is on the constitution of Artemis and the worshippers' ideas, as observed through votives dedicated in her sanctuaries. This chapter presents the research methodology and premises and concerns regarding the representativeness of the votive material.

The votive material is examined in both quantitative and qualitative analyses. Either quantitative or qualitative methods could feasibly provide sufficient methodological departure points for analysis of archaeological material. However, methods are tools to be used when and as needed, and for the present study of the votive material, a combination of the two research methods best provides us with new insights about the constitution of Artemis. Rather than one methodology being intrinsically superior to the other, quantitative and qualitative approaches are complementary and employed for different purposes in the systematic, empirical search for knowledge.

There are, indeed, concerns and limitations associated with conducting research on the social and cultural significance of a cult or a deity based on the votive material. Some of these concerns and limitations (which are subsequently outlined when applicable) have implications for the quantitative analyses and others for the qualitative analyses.

2.1 COLLECTING, ORGANIZING, AND QUANTIFYING VOTIVE MATERIAL

Data resulting from the collection process regarding all the published votives from the three sanctuaries amounted to 10,000 objects distributed over 1,420 records. To transform the votive gifts into data suitable for statistical analysis, each record is logged with information according to the following headings: Sanctuary (Brauron, Ephesos or Sparta), Category (see 5.1 for the votive categories), Object (figurine, relief, bead etc.), Imagery (see Category 1-9 in 5.1), Material, Dating, Period (the period the votive was ascribed to), Description

(a more thorough description of the votive), Count, Context (when accounted for in the publication: a description of where in the sanctuary the votive was found), and Reference (to the publication of the votive). The three catalogues (Catalogue I, II, III in Appendix 2) and tables (Table 2, 3, 4 in Appendix 1), one for each sanctuary, represent the most important fields that emerged during statistical analysis and provide concise overviews of the distribution. Charts are also presented throughout the book to make it easier to visualize the distribution patterns.

When examining votive material in quantitative analyses, several challenges and limitations arise. The archaeological record is, by its very nature, incomplete, so it is not possible to restore the entire past reality; the material is rarely found the way it was left in the past and excavations can only provide us with limited insight into the context which the recovered material forms a part of.

Certain issues regarding publication of material from an excavation often constitute a further obstacle when carrying out statistical analyses on the cultic significance of votive offerings. There is no common standard for how to publish an excavation; it is entirely up to the excavator(s) to decide upon the structure and method of the publication. There is a strong tradition for regarding votive offerings as artefacts that can provide useful chronological information. Beautiful, valuable, and chronologically important votives are often prioritized for publication over votives found in large numbers and of less precious material, such as repetitive terracotta figurines. However, when researching the social and cultural significance of the ritual processes, no votive type is more important than another. In terms of a broader understanding of the cultic activity in a sanctuary, it is unfortunate that art historic and chronological aspects of the votives are emphasized (Brandt 2012:143-144).

Another challenge when conducting statistical analyses of votive offerings derives from the occasional lack of exact numbers, occasionally the amount is referred to as ‘several’, ‘considerable’, ‘many’ etc. in the publications. In his study of cult aspects in sanctuaries of Hera, Baumbach (2004:10) tried to overcome this problem by translating the inaccurate terms to exact numbers:

‘various’ / ‘several’ / ‘small number’ = 5
‘considerable number’ = 10
‘substantial number’ = 20
‘many’ / ‘popular’ / ’large number’ / ‘numerous’ = 50
‘hundreds’ = 200

Although the result of this translation is certainly not accurate, it is necessary

in order to facilitate comparison of the different votive types within each individual sanctuary and also between the sanctuaries.

Occasionally, votive types range over two or more periods and the number of votives from each period then becomes unclear. In these cases, I divided the number of votives between the periods concerned. In the sanctuary at Brauron, a considerable number of votives were dated to the Late Archaic / Early Classical period (L.A./E.C.). This number was so extensive that it became prudent to establish the L.A./E.C. period as its own period in Brauron, rather than to divide the votives between the Archaic and Classical periods.

Since published material forms the basis for the research, I have had to rely on the publications of votives and the selection, made by the different authors. Moreover, since it has been outside the time scope, I also have had to trust the descriptions of the objects done by the authors.

The study of votive offerings is, like archaeology in general, fragmented. The condition of the site, of the material, the economy and time perspective of the excavation, the choices made by the excavators concerning excavation methods and the publication of the material are all variables that affect the results of the excavation and the publication, and, thus, have consequences for further research. Given all these factors, statistics and numbers cannot provide us with exact distribution patterns of the votives or a clear picture of the cultic activity. Quantitative analyses, however, are sufficient to observe tendencies in the votive practice in the three sanctuaries, and, thus, provide us with an understanding of the ritual processes that took place there.

2.2 CATEGORIZING

In order to be able to organize and analyze an extensive set of data material, categorization is necessary. The votive material from the three sanctuaries of Artemis could be categorized in several different ways; it could, for example, be classified according to material (gold, bronze, terracotta etc.) or according to object type (figurine, relief, tool etc.). However, categorization according to material or object type would is unlikely to lead to any new insights into the constitution of Artemis in the three cults and the ideas and beliefs of the worshippers.

Rather, in this work, the votive material is organized into 18 categories (see chapter 5 for a thorough account of the 18 categories). This categorization arose as a result of the dialectic between understanding the votive material as a whole and interpreting the different parts (categories) of that whole. In this sense, the categorization of the votives is a hermeneutic process, whereby

understanding is seen as a movement constantly shifting from the whole to the part and back to the whole again (cf. Gadamer 1976, 1960). The votive categories have not been static based on a choice I made when initiating the study, but are the result of a process. As I increasingly gained a better overview of the votive offerings, my understanding of them changed accordingly, and the organization and categorization changed accordingly. The result was that the organization of the votives evolved and developed in a continuous hermeneutic process, and the 18 votive categories gradually emerged as the most significant categories as the research progressed.

Nevertheless, since it is I who has organized the votive material, rather than the worshippers of Artemis, the results of the organization are also colored by me as a researcher. Archaeological material does not passively reflect a past reality; there is no objective truth about the past that can be found by someone with the right code. In the process of interpreting another reality, such as the constitution of Artemis, our own understanding and prejudices are the only possible starting points (cf. Gadamer 1960, Haraway 1988, Shanks 2007).

2.3 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Large numbers of votive offerings have been excavated and published. However, with some notable exceptions (e.g. Alroth 1989, Baumbach 2004, Rouse 1902, van Straten 1981, 1992, Simon 1986, Kyrieleis 1988, Bookidis 2010), votive offerings are rarely studied for their social and cultural significance as a source that gives insight into the ideas and needs of the dedicators. There is a tendency to look at dedications as art historic artefacts and, thus, to study them for their stylistic and typological qualities. Moreover, many scholars are skeptical about the validity of votive material as a source that provides insight into characteristics of a cult, or characteristics of a deity for that matter.

One of the strongest opponents of the view that votive offerings can provide insight into specific cult features is Christopher George Simon (1986). He has studied the votive material from around 15 Ionian sanctuaries of the Archaic period. He also compares the Ionian votive offerings with votive offerings from sanctuaries from several other places in the Greek world. His research includes sanctuaries of many of the most important deities, such as Artemis, Apollo, Hera, Zeus, Ares, Athena, Aphrodite, and Demeter. Simon arranges the votive material according to different types, which he then subsequently organizes into broader categories. The categories are: ‘Dedications of personal possessions’, which include jewelry and dress, combs and mirrors, and tools of trade (fishing equipment, shells and boats, weaving equipment, arms and

armor, and horse trappings), 'Agricultural offerings', 'Statues', 'Model parts of the body', 'Musical instruments', 'Dedications reflecting the sanctuary rituals, including objects that may have been used in these rituals' (sanctuary vessels, lamps, phialai, spits and coins, keys, and masks) and 'Dedications of less certain meaning, some possibly having magical significance' (astragals and dice, wheels, and miniature double axes) (Simon 1986:181-221).

Simon concludes that votive offerings cannot provide any major insights into ancient thoughts or beliefs and that making offerings was something that most Greeks did regularly and without much thought: 'In part the offering of small gifts took place because it was important for the stability of the society that sanctuaries should flourish and that the whole community should take part' (Simon 1986:410). Simon argues that the presence of the same votive types in sanctuaries of different deities shows that there is no precise correlation between artefact and deity. A votive gift, he asserts, first and foremost gives insight into the dedicator's ideas and action, rather than shedding light on the characteristics of the deity and cult. Simon finds this to be true especially for the 'Dedications of personal possessions', but believes that this changes in the Classical period when the significance of the votive lay more in the receiving deity than in the personal concerns of the dedicator (Simon 1986:410).

Simon's study is thorough and impressive in many ways. There are, however, several difficulties with both his methods and his results, which renders his conclusions problematic. Although one of Simon's main conclusions is that the same type of votives were given to a range of deities, he actually finds and presents many differences in the distribution of votives between sanctuaries of different deities. For example, Simon finds that while some male deities could receive jewelry, female deities — especially Artemis, Hera, and Athena — were the most favored recipients of this item. When jewelry is present in sanctuaries of male gods, the amount is far less than it is in sanctuaries of female deities. Dress ornaments were also primarily given to Artemis, Hera, and Athena. Dresses and dress ornaments rarely occur in sanctuaries of male deities. According to written sources (Eur. *IT* 1466-1467) from the Classical period, Artemis and Eileithyia were recipients of clothes. Belts could be given to Artemis, Hera, and Athena, although they are more common in sanctuaries of Artemis (Simon 1986:198-212).

Combs and mirrors were rare votive offerings. Although they are found in sanctuaries of Zeus (Dodona), Apollo (Epidauros), and Demeter (Taucheira), Simon finds that they occur primarily in sanctuaries of Artemis and Hera. In later periods, from the Classical period onwards, the favored recipients were Athena and Aphrodite (Simon 1986:213-226). Musical instruments were not

common votive offerings. When they do occur in a sanctuary, it is mainly in the sanctuaries of Hera, Artemis, or Athena. Musical instruments may have been dedicated as personal offerings, perhaps by musicians. However, they may well have been part of the sanctuary equipment used in festivals and rituals (Simon 1986:305-313). Model parts of the body were predominantly given to Asklepios from the Classical period onwards. Although not on the same scale, other deities, such as Artemis in Ephesos, Demeter in Thrace, and Aphrodite in Samos, could also receive medical votives (Simon 1986:364-367). Arms and armor were common votive offerings and were given to a whole spectrum of different deities, including many goddesses. However, weapons are particularly common in the shrines of the war god Enyalios (Mycenae), Athena, Apollo (especially in Delphi), and Zeus (especially in Olympia) (Simon 1986:253-266).

Contrary to his conclusion, Simon's own research shows that there are in fact many distinct differences between sanctuaries of different deities, especially when it comes to the 'Dedications of personal possessions'. Simon reaches his conclusion primarily because he is only concerned with identifying the *presence* of a votive type in a sanctuary. He does not devote any attention to the fact that the *amount* of votive types varies between sanctuaries of different deities, or that some votive types are more common for one deity or for a group of deities (such as Artemis, Athena, and Hera).

Furthermore, Simon fails to take imagery into account. He states that 'realizing the enormity of the questions and problems concerning the dedication of figurines, this aspect of votive action is treated very briefly in the section on "Statues"' (Simon 1986:181), and he concludes that figurines were given to most deities (Simon 1986:368). Although he goes through the most common figurine types, Simon does not take the entire and varied range of figurine imagery into serious consideration: women, men, animals, hybrids, and the many categories within these groups. When he is not grouping the figurines according to what they depict, but instead studies them as one type of offering, Simon is not treating the figurines as what they are: images. Moreover, images displayed on plaques and reliefs, which were popular offerings in most sanctuaries, are not treated at all by Simon. Consequently, by failing to consider votive images, significant information about the cult aspects and the worshippers' constitution of the deities is neglected.

One of the strongest supporters of the view that votive offerings can provide major insights into cultic features and the characteristics of the deities is Jens David Baumbach (2004). In his extensive study of votive offerings from six sanctuaries of Hera, he organizes the votive material into five *thematic* categories:

1. ‘Pregnancy, childbirth and growing up’
2. ‘Marriage’
3. ‘Home and family’
4. ‘Agriculture and vegetation’
5. ‘Military concerns’

Anything that falls outside these categories is treated under ‘Further cult aspects’ (Baumbach 2004:7-8). A table of the distribution of the votive material in each of the five categories, giving the percentage each category comprises of the total, is also presented (Baumbach 2004:49, 72, 104, 124, 145, 174). The idea of arranging votives thematically and focusing on the cultic significance is intriguing and Baumbach’s research provides us with a methodology that can give new perspectives into cult characteristics and the ideas and beliefs of the worshippers.

However, Baumbach’s methodology is, to an extent, deductive. The consequence of arranging the material into so few thematic categories is that the votives are ultimately ‘shaped’ to fit into a predetermined content of meaning, i.e. into one or more of the five categories. Moreover, many quantitatively important votive types, such as standing and sitting female figurines with no special attributes or gestures, are treated under ‘Further cult aspects’. Hence, they are not included in the statistical analysis of the significance of the votive offerings. This type of female figurines was found in large numbers in sanctuaries of female deities, and do not appear to have been associated with any specific goddess or to reveal specific cult aspects. Thus, quantitatively important votive groups considered to be of no specific cultic significance are excluded from the statistical analyses and distribution patterns of cultic significant aspects. Accordingly, one of the consequences of Baumbach’s methods is that we are left with the impression that every votive has specific cultic significance.

Contrary to Simon, who categorically dismisses any cultic significance, and contrary to Baumbach, whose methods lead to a predetermined result of cultic significance, I argue that the premise when researching votive offerings should lie somewhere in the middle. Many votives reflect both specific cult characteristics and the ideas and beliefs of the worshippers. However, some votives are more general and cannot reveal anything specific about the cults or about the worshippers’ constitution of a specific deity. This is an insight I acquired gradually during examination of the votives, and it is a basic premise for the way I subsequently organized and approached the votive offerings from the three Artemis sanctuaries.

2.4 QUALITATIVE APPROACH

To give the reader further context for the study, I shall go through the process of choosing the qualitative methodology and the evolution of the approach. Initially, I followed Baumbach's method and attempted to categorize the votive offerings thematically. However, upon seeing the limitations of this approach, I opted to change the method and began to organize the votives according to their function and image type. In order to attempt to understand the constitution of Artemis and the votive actions in her sanctuaries, the results of the categorization and statistical analyses needed to be examined qualitatively.

Once the votives were organized, and the different objects and images were sorted into various categories, with new categories created and others abandoned, I realized that it would be the iconography that could best answer my initial questions about the constitution of Artemis. Based on the images of humans and animals, two discussions began to emerge: one on gender and sexuality (chapter 6) and the other on nature and culture (chapter 7). These aspects and the votive images in concern in combination with the distribution patterns between the rest of the categories led to a discussion about the body and borders (chapter 8).

Structure, agent, and ritualization

Theories concerning nature and culture, gender and sexuality, and the body and borders are all discussed in their respective chapters. In the following, I shall place the votive offerings in a wider theoretical framework.

Physical remains, like votive offerings, are meaningful phenomena. It is universal for all societies to ascribe meaning to their surroundings by arranging, classifying, and regulating it. I understand votive offerings as products of *both* overarching structures *and* as results of actions of individual agents. Practice theory implements both the agents' impact on the structures and the structures' impact on the agents, and emphasizes the dynamic relationship between structures and agents. Individuals operating in the world are both influenced and controlled by overarching structures at the same time as they are agents with diverse intentions and motives, who make and change the structures of the world they live in (Bourdieu 1977, 1992, Giddens 1984).

In understanding the sanctuaries and the votives as primarily expressions of ritual actions, ritual theory is important in this project, in particular for the analysis in chapter eight. Obviously, the direct observation of human action is not possible in archaeology, therefore most researchers of ritual action in past

societies rely on anthropological studies when constructing an interpretative framework. Such an approach to religion and society involves deciphering how symbols, myths, and rituals operate within, and are produced by, society and its agents.

Arguing that ritual 'is overdue for an extended critical rethinking' (Bell 1992:3), Catherine Bell introduced the term 'ritualization' and sought to examine rituals as social actions. She claims that ritualized actions – like other types of actions – both create and are created by structures, and in so doing demonstrates that she, too, works within the field of practice theory (Bell 1992:80-92). Bell has emphasized that ritualization cannot be understood without understanding its social context, and that ritualization is related to other practices in society (Bell 1992:100-106).

In theories where individuals and their actions are emphasized, the body emerges as an important part of the ritualization process and cannot be reduced to a passive object. The body is the entity for the coordination of all levels of bodily, social, and cosmological experience; it operates in the social world at the same time as the social world operates within the body. The social body – habitus – is situated between structure and action and can be defined as a structuring structure (Bourdieu 1977:72-95). The body, thus, 'denotes a more complex and irreducible phenomenon, namely, the social person' (Bell 1992:96).

When votive gifts are treated as material remains of ritualized actions, ritualization and the social body – or habitus – become key terms in understanding the dynamic between votives, dedicators, society, and deities. With this theoretical starting point, it is possible to see the votives in the three sanctuaries of Artemis as parts of a ritualized practice in which the people dedicating the votives are both created by the structures and are themselves creating the structures. Thus, the votives are both results of overarching structures and a social and cultural context, at the same time as they are results of the motivations and intentions of social beings.

Communicating and constituting

To dedicate a votive gift is to communicate. Primarily, it is the worshipper who communicates in his/her attempt to create bonds with the deities, either by thanking them or in anticipation of receiving something in return for the gift (*do ut des*), that can be observed in a dedication ritual (van Straten 1981:65-66). We may, then, examine the constitution of the deity based on our interpretation of the votives. By trying to understand what the worshippers

are giving thanks or asking for, their constitution of the deity, and, thus, their needs and ideas, are brought into focus. The worshippers (agents), through ritualization processes like votive dedication, characterize and constitute the deities (structures). The characters of the different gods and goddesses, thus, reflect back on the worshippers.

However, not all votive gifts shed light on the relationship between man and deity. A votive gift can also provide information about communication between people. This is perhaps especially apparent in valuable votives, like statues, tripods, or artefacts of precious materials. Such votives were either given on behalf of the polis or by members of the aristocracy to gain prestige (Bremmer 1994:33, Burkert 2001:93, Tomlinson 1976:20, Whitley 2004:140). When the primary motive was to seek prestige, the votives first and foremost illuminate the social and economic status of the dedicator and cannot provide much information about the worshippers' ideas or the cultic activity in the sanctuary. However, the presence of precious votive offerings does indicate the significance of the sanctuary in which they occur (Baumbach 2004:4).

The Olympian deities operated on different levels in the community and this affected the rituals and votives offered to them. Firstly, we may distinguish between two levels of worship: a Pan-Hellenic level and a polis level (Vernant 1974:110, Graf 1985:3-4, Zaidman and Pantel 1994:185-187, Bremmer 1994:1, Price 1999:24). In this case, the Pan-Hellenic level refers to cult aspects common to all the sanctuaries of one specific deity. The polis level, on the other hand, concerns the ways in which the deity operated in the local society. On this level, we must consider the economic and political situation of the polis, as well as the sanctuary's geographical localization and surroundings (Baumbach 2004:4). Thus, the deity was both a central and a local manifestation, its character was developed in the dynamic process between the needs and functions of the Pan-Hellenic deity, as constituted by the worshippers, and the interests of the community.

The individual, private level of communicating with a deity also needs to be considered. Based on offering scenes on a number of reliefs from different sanctuaries, presenting a votive offering was a group activity; the family, or the *oikos*, normally carried out the dedication ritual together, on behalf of an individual. Thus, in an antique Greek sense of the term, the individual, private level is best understood as the oikos-level (Dillon 2003:31-33). As it was chosen and dedicated to a deity by an oikos, the votive first and foremost provides information about the beliefs and needs of individuals on a private level. Secondary to this, it may also illuminate social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of the wider community (Baumbach 2004:4). Thus, the votives are not

just characterized by the wider community, but also by its individual agents. The agents operating in a sanctuary, especially the larger sanctuaries, were individuals of various economic, social, and hierarchical backgrounds (poor-rich, woman-man, child-adult), they had differing concerns and thus probably had different relationships to the same specific cult. Moreover, different ritual types (festival, rites of passage, or rites of crisis) in one and the same sanctuary may have required different sorts of votives. Many mechanisms were at play in the sanctuaries. The various layers of communication and the several levels the deities operated on created different layers of meaning. Some of the layers and levels were general (for example annual polis festivals), while others were more specific (for example, personal rites of passage or an 'individual' request). The different layers and levels demanded different sets of rituals and, therefore, probably different sorts of votives.

2.5 CLOSING REMARKS ON METHODOLOGY

Although there are several concerns regarding the study of votive offerings using statistical analyses, such an approach makes it possible to analyze larger datasets and to observe tendencies in the votive material as a whole. Such tendencies could not be observed in a purely qualitative approach. When categorizing archaeological material, there is a danger of predetermining the results. However, archaeology is, by its very nature, fragmented and partial. It is a discipline which requires scholarly interpretation and the researcher's own notions and pre-understanding are the only possible starting points. Awareness of my own prejudices and understanding the categorization as a process in which there is a continuous dialectic movement between the whole and the parts have, thus, been important aspects in this this study.

Through the statistical analyses, tendencies in the votive material could be observed. The results of the statistical data form the basis for the qualitative analyses in chapters six, seven, and eight. The key topics that emerged once the quantitative analyses were concluded were nature and culture, the body, gender, and sexuality and these are therefore the point of departure for the qualitative analyses. The theoretical discussions concerning these topics are also dealt with in chapters 6-8. In a wider theoretical sense, I understand votive offerings as material remains of ritualized actions in the dynamic between votives, dedicators, society, and deities.

CHAPTER 3
APPROACHING THE GREEKS

The purpose of the present chapter is to provide an overview of the social, political and religious contexts of the three cults of Artemis, and to discuss the sources and history of research related to studies on ancient Greek society and the character of Artemis.

3.1 THINGS AND TEXTS

Being historical archaeology, classical archaeology constitutes a period from which we have the remains of both material and written sources. The approach to material remains from ancient Greece has, traditionally, been to treat them as passive objects that can be fitted in to the interpretations already made based on the written material. Even though most classical archaeologists today dissociate from / reject this attitude towards written and archaeological sources, it has affected the history of research within the field to a major extent (Small 1999, 122).

On the one hand, written sources provide the possibility of acquiring insight into aspects of society and culture that would not otherwise have come to light. On the other hand, investigating archaeological material on the premises of other disciplines, rather than on its own premises, has made classical archaeology less theoretically sophisticated than pre-historic archaeology and the discipline of ancient history (Gallant 1991, 1989, Garnsey 1988, Morris 1987, 1989, 1991, 1986, 1992a, Osborne 1985, 1987). Further, it has also resulted in important underlying structures of ancient societies and social strategies being overlooked (Small 1999, 122).

Anders Andrén (1997, 32) argues that the marginalization of archaeology in the history of research on ancient Greece has been treated in three different manners:

1. By maintaining the tradition,
2. By renewing the tradition,
3. By changing the tradition.

It is the two latter solutions — renewing and changing — that have enabled a principled debate on the relationship between things and texts within the field. At the same time, these very solutions have made classical archaeology less "classical" and made it into more of an archaeological discipline focusing on one of many cultures in the history of mankind (Andrén 1997, 32). Thus, at the core of the history of research of classical archaeology lies the issue of the independence of the sources and how they can be studied alongside each other in an equal and mutual manner.

3.2 APPROACHING THE GREEK CITY

Many topics regarding ancient Greek society are strongly influenced by the relationship between things and texts in the history of classical archaeology research. One example being the discussions about the Greek city state, the *polis*, a core feature in the development of Greek society in the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods. How one should define and then interpret the rise of the polis are highly controversial topics that are closely related to selection of sources and empirical starting points, and also to the perspectives of the researchers. When describing the different trends in polis research, Oswyn Murray (1980:3), somewhat sarcastically, makes the following observation:

> To the Germans the polis can only be described in a handbook of constitutional law; the French polis is a form of Holy Communion; the English polis is a historical accident; while the American polis combines the practices of a Mafia convention with the principles of justice and individual freedom.

In research focusing on a political community (Ehrenberg 1969, Glotz 1965, Hansen 1993), the rise of the polis is primarily linked to the development of political institutions. These analyses are mostly based on written sources from the classical period, especially those of Aristotle and Plato, and, therefore, on Athens.

The Copenhagen Polis Centre has thoroughly investigated the way all known poleis are described in historical sources in the period c. 650 to 323 BC. The center concludes that the Greek sources indicate that polis had four different meanings (Hansen 1998:17-34, Hansen and Nielsen 2004:34-35, 39-46):

1. fortification
2. city center
3. territory
4. political society

The earliest remains of public buildings with administrative functions, which thus reveal a society organized as a state, are from as recently as around 600 BC (Snodgrass 1980:32). Consequently, a definition of polis which focuses on historical sources and political aspects as defined by the Copenhagen Polis Centre, results in studies whereby processes prior to 650 BC are not taken into consideration and the majority of poleis other than Athens are excluded. Thus, such a definition cannot be fully regarded as being fundamental to an understanding of the Greek city-state and how it developed (de Polignac 1995:1-3, Morris 2000:94-101, Snodgrass 1980:11-14, Morgan and Coulton 1997:104-105).

Rather than focusing on the emergence of political units, attention should be directed towards signs of urbanization that do not necessarily reflect a political aspect. Archaeological investigations have demonstrated that the urban center of a polis was often formed when scattered settlements coalesced (*synoikism*). Such urbanization processes began in Greece as early as 800 BC. In terms of urbanization, the Greek polis can be understood as a culmination of long-term urbanization processes that started as early as the 8th century BC (Whitley 2004:101, 167).

The role of religion in the formation of the Greek city

In addition to urbanization processes and social and political changes, a dramatic religious shift also occurred at the end of the Iron Age. The religious focus of the Iron Age had been directed towards graves. From the 9th and 8th centuries BC, however, the main religious practice started to focus on common sanctuaries. In the beginning, these sanctuaries were permanent open sites where offerings were dedicated to the deities. At a later stage, in the 8th/7th century BC, monumental architecture started to appear in some sanctuaries (Morris 1996:149-150, Snodgrass 1980:33, 52-54). Several scholars (e.g. Snodgrass 1980:56-65, Morgan 1992:5) point out that the establishment of monumental sanctuaries is an indication of the institutionalization of cultic activity and the formal incorporation of ritual practice into a state system.

One of the major scholars involved in the debate over the role of religion, particularly sanctuaries, in the formation of the polis is François de Polignac.

De Polignac (1995) examined the emergence of the polis based on an idea of bipolarity with particular focus on cult sites outside the center of the poleis. He argued that the many offering depositions from the 9th and 8th centuries BC were localized in the border areas of the early poleis, and that these cult sites were important territorial markings in the formation process of the city-states. Population growth had resulted in a greater strain on resources, which culminated in a need to establish territorial control. De Polignac claimed that the establishment of rural sanctuaries in the 8th century BC is an indication of this need (de Polignac 1995:11-13, 33-39). De Polignac has not only been criticized for being unclear on the meaning of terms like polis and city, in his original theory in *La naissance de la Cité Greque* (1984), but also for being too general, and for projecting a theory of cult organization in the Archaic period onto the Classical period (Malkin 1987:227-228, Morgan 1994:107). Ten years later, de Polignac (1994, 1995) modified his original hypothesis. Although, he remained resolute that the 8th century BC is a crucial period in the formation of Archaic and Classical Greek society, and that the rural sanctuaries played important roles as territorial markers and, accordingly, for the establishment of the polis.

Whilst the question of what came first – cult place or polis – is a highly controversial one, to discuss this further here would be a digression. What I would like to emphasize, however, is that I see the Greek polis not just as a political unit arising around 600 BC, but also as a religious one (in line with Snodgrass [1980], Morgan [1992], de Polignac [1984], among others). By the inclusion of urbanization process perspectives and the role of religion and sanctuaries, processes that were already underway in the 9th and 8th centuries BC are emphasized as important for the formation of the polis. Moreover, when the polis is defined as a religious unit its residents are not reduced to purely political agents, but rather takes their roles in the religious activities into account. In this way, women, men, children, adolescents, and, to some extent, foreigners are also included as agents operating in the city. Consequently, understanding the Greek city as an urban and a religious unit embraces a longer time span, more cities, and a broader spectrum of the population, and gives greater significance to social and cultural processes.

The relationship between city and sanctuary gradually grew closer during the Archaic period. By the beginning of the Classical period, sanctuaries were entirely dependent upon cities. Most major sanctuaries had by now been institutionalized and cult activity was governed by the state. One can argue that the shift from Archaic to Classical Greece is not a fundamental one; rather, it describes a transition to a period where artistic, architectural, philosophical,

and political achievements — the roots of which were in the Archaic period — developed and flourished. This is also, to an extent, true for the sanctuaries, which had been around for hundreds of years at the time of the shift to the Classical period (Whitley 2004:294-295). There are, however, important changes, besides just expansion or improvements, occurring in Classical cultic activity that reveal not only a change in emphasis, but also in function. Among these changes one finds: a rise in hero cults; a greater interest in healing cults; an increased separation of activities in some Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries; a growing emphasis on defining sanctuaries by a *temenos* wall; and, a drastic decline in the small votive offerings deposited in the majority of Classical sanctuaries (Whitley 2004:301-313). Such changes are also evident in the three sanctuaries of the present project.

3.3 APPROACHING GREEK RELIGION

Religion in ancient Greece was not just confined to the sanctuaries and shrines, it also pervaded everyday private and public civic life. No clear distinction existed between sacred and profane, religious and secular (Zaidman and Pantel 2008:3-15, 92-101). Affiliation to certain groups in society, such as citizenship, membership in political units and in clan units, age, gender, and class, meant affiliation to certain cults and ritual practices. In some cults, however, participation in ritual activities did not require affiliation to any such social or political groups. An example of such a cult is the Eleusinian Mysteries, where ritual participation was more of an individual choice and could only be achieved through initiation (Thomas 2000:77-80, Zaidman and Pantel 2008:81).

The formalization of Greek society seen from the Archaic period onwards also applies to religion and cultic practices. The main deities were institutionalized as the 12 Olympian gods and goddesses. The deities most commonly referred to in literature and art as the 12 Olympians were Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hermes, Hephaistos, Ares, and Dionysos (or Hestia). However, many other deities, such as local deities, chthonic deities and heroes, were also important in religious activity. New deities could be introduced and older ones could lose importance and either disappear or be merged with the Olympian deities. In each city, there was a monumental sanctuary to a patron deity and a number of sanctuaries and shrines of different sizes to many other deities. In addition, Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, like the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi or the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia, functioned as common sanctuaries for all Greeks (Burkert 2001:119-189, Zaidman and Pantel 2008:92).

Greek religion was ritualistic. To perform rituals to and for the deities, letting the gods know that they were acknowledged and respected, was the essence of religious life. With the exception of a few mystery cults, 'life after death' was not a topic in Greek religion, meaning that religious activity was believed to have consequences here and now, in life on earth. The rituals are generally divided into three different *types*: maintenance rituals (such as festivals), rites of passage (such as initiation and funerary rites) and rites of crises (spontaneous rituals in times of crisis). Of the many ritual *forms*, the offering ritual was the most important (Zaidman and Pantel 2008:27-45, Burkert 2001).

An offering ritual normally consisted of a prayer, an animal sacrifice, and a votive offering. While the sacrificed animal was eaten immediately, the votive offering had a more permanent character. Votive material from Greek sanctuaries is very varied; it seems as though nearly anything could be dedicated. A votive gift could be both an artefact made for dedication, like a figurine, and/or an artefact that had been used in the person's daily life, such as a necklace or a comb. Once dedicated to the deity, the votive was displayed in the sanctuary, either outside or inside the temple or in a smaller building (Rouse 1902:342-347, van Straten 1981:80).

Two approaches have been dominant in research on Greek religion: the evolutionary model and the functionalist model. Research within the evolutionary field (Farnell 1896-1909, Mommsen 1898, Deubner 1932, Nilsson 1906, Pickard-Cambridge 1953, Parke 1977, Simon 1983, 1969, Nilsson 1925, 1940) is characterized by being descriptive and focused on what the sources reveal about *what*, *when* and *how*, and by concern with the *origins* of the beliefs and cults. A functionalist paradigm, set in motion by the works of Burkert (1972, 1977), Vernant (1974), Vidal-Naquet (1981), and Versnel (1990-1993), began to seriously influence studies of Greek religion at the beginning of the 1990s. A functionalist perspective rejects the idea that the origins of cult or ritual constitute an adequate explanation and is instead preoccupied with studying the function and significance of cult or ritual in Greek society. The last few decades have seen an increasing number of studies focusing on the social and cultural significance of Greek myths and rituals (e.g. Burkert 1972, 1977, Vidal-Naquet 1981, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, Versnel 1990-1993, Zaidman and Pantel 1994, Brandt and Iddeng 2012a, Dillon 2003, Cole 2004, Marinatos 2000, Hägg 1998, 1996, Haysom and Wallensten 2011), studies focusing on explaining *why*. The focus has shifted from being centered on the world of nature beyond mankind to seeing the myths as projections of the life-world of the individuals themselves and the rituals as embodied activity that reveal social control, mass mobilization, and interaction (Brandt and Iddeng 2012b:1-2).

Due to the importance of rituals, research on Greek religion often focuses on studying the performance of the rituals and the organization of the cults. In emphasizing the social and cultural significance of rituals in Greek religion, I am following the work of, among others, Walter Burkert, who claims that '[r]ituals are more important and more instructive for the understanding of ancient religions than are changeable myths' (2001:54). For a further discussion of ritual theory, see 2.4.

Research on Greek religion and rituals can be conducted from several different perspectives, depending on the sources adopted as starting points. The various sources can be separated into literary, historical, epigraphical, and archaeological sources.

Literary sources regarding Greek religion are works like Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey*. These texts describe the deities on a Pan-Hellenic level and present the possible mythical backgrounds of rituals. Other literary works, such as plays from Classical Athens, can provide insight into more local myths and rituals. Historical sources describing religion and rituals are usually associated to rituals of one specific sacred place at one specific period in time. One such historical source is Pausanias, who, among other things, describes the sanctuaries, votives, and rituals, and their mythological and historical backgrounds, of several different areas of ancient Greece. Historical and literary sources provide valuable insight into local cultic practices, but are limited to the specific place and time they concern. Furthermore, literary and historical sources are also invariably subjective as they are accounts of an individual's perception of the outside world.

There is also an extensive amount of epigraphic material that can provide information on religious activity. One epigraphic source type is made up of lists of votive offerings inscribed on stone tablets. Such lists usually contained information about the dedicated object and the giver. (I will elaborate on this type of source in 4.1.) Another type of epigraphic source material in a religious context are inscriptions made directly onto a votive offering. Such inscriptions are typically short and contain the name of the dedicator and the receiving deity. As it is inscribed onto a stone tablet or votive offering, epigraphy can be interpreted as a source material that lies in between things and texts. Epigraphic sources can potentially express a great deal about local cultic variations, demography, identity, and gender, as I will discuss later in 4.1.

The material sources to Greek religion and rituals are vast and include the remains of sanctuary architecture, pottery from sanctuaries and cult places, votive offerings, and vase paintings.

Literary, historical, epigraphical, and material sources represent different

layers in how to interpret Greek religion and rituals. They are linked to different research traditions and as such require different methods of interpretation and analysis. The study of the past, whether it is conducted based on written or archaeological records, is fragmentary. Even though each source type often tells different stories about religion, myths and rituals, they are not mutually exclusive. There was a myriad of different motives and levels in terms of how the ancient Greeks performed rituals. Hence, there is no one neat and unified framework into which all votives, inscriptions, and literature can be fitted.

However, research on Greek religion is, in the history of research, to a large extent based upon literary and historical sources, and archaeological sources have traditionally been treated as passive objects that can be fitted in to interpretations that have already been made based on the written material. To better understand Greek religion, archaeological evidence, such as sanctuary architecture, votive offerings, and pottery, should be studied as primary sources of ritual activity to a greater extent. Only in this way can the different source types be studied together in an equal and mutual manner.

3.4 APPROACHING ARTEMIS

Institutionalized as one of the 12 Olympian deities and worshipped all over the Greek world, Artemis is one of the most significant Greek deities. According to the written mythical tradition, beginning in the 7th century BC, Artemis was the twin sister of Apollo and the result of Zeus' affair with Leto. Hera, angry with Zeus and Leto over their relationship, forbade Leto to give birth on either the mainland or any island. The island of Delos, however, disobeyed Hera and allowed Leto give birth to the twins there. Most accounts have it that Artemis was born first and then assisted her mother in the birth of Apollo (Hes. *Th.* 918-920; *HH* 3. 14-16; Cal. *H.* 3. 22-25).

Homer (*Il.* 21.470) calls Artemis a *potnia theron*, a mistress of wild animals, a name that is commonly understood to be the key to one of the most important aspects of the goddess. Images showing a woman – often with wings – standing between or holding wild animals (especially lions) were popular in the Geometric and Archaic period and are generally believed (based on the written accounts mentioned above) to depict Artemis as a potnia theron (Fig. 2) (Burkert 2001:149).

Figure 2: Winged Artemis, roaring lions, surrounded by two men armed with spears. Image on a black-figure lekythos, made by the painter of Amasis, circa 560-550 BC, Athens, 14.4 cm x 8.4 cm, Louvre Museum (Bujomar, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons).

It is the potnia theron aspect of Artemis in particular that has prompted scholars to study the pre-Greek origins of Artemis. Although Artemis (known as one of the 12 Olympians) is a Greek deity, it is generally accepted that Artemis, in terms of her role as potnia theron, originated in the Bronze Age. The majority of the scholars tracing the origin of the Olympian Artemis have emphasized the impact of the Minoan and Mycenaean goddesses (Kahil 1984:739, Nilsson 1950:503, Simon 1969, Hoenn 1946:24-29). While some scholars have been pre-occupied with understanding Artemis in the light of the goddess images of the Orient (Burkert 2001:149, Hjerrild 2009:42, Morris 1992b:164-165, Marinatos 2000:110-129). It is the assumption of the potnia theron aspect that has motivated several scholars to place Artemis in the 'mother goddess' category, a term used to describe a pre-Greek nature goddess covering all aspects of life. While some connect her to the more general mother goddess believed to be common to the entire eastern Mediterranean (for example, Christou 1968:183, 205, 209-210), others associate her with the Minoan/Mycenaean great goddesses (Nilsson 1950:503, Simon 1969, Kahil 1984:739). The Ephesian Artemis and her cult apparently had many similarities with goddesses of Asia Minor (Morris 2008:57-62; Muss 2008: 63-66), particularly so with Cybele, Anahita, or Ishtar, who are frequently referred to as mother goddesses (Burkert 2001:149).

Due to a number of written sources and works of art that portray Artemis as a huntress, her role as a goddess of hunting and of hunters is commonly held to be one of Artemis' most important characteristics (Simon 1969:149, Burkert 2001:149). In the written sources, from the 7th century onwards, Artemis is described as using her bow and arrow to hunt down and slay animals in the wilderness (Hom. *Il*. 5. 52-54, 21. 470, 483; *Od*. 6. 102-105; *HH* 9, 27; Aristoph., *Frogs* 1358-1359; Aristoph., *Thes.* 114-115). Images of Artemis that adorn vases or in sculpture from the Late Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods often depict Artemis with a bow and quiver of arrows. Sometimes she is accompanied by a deer or a dog, sometimes she is depicted hunting her prey (Simon 1969:149, 156).

Although Homer refers to Artemis as a potnia theron, this aspect of her divinity is not stressed in the Homeric poems. She is mainly portrayed as a young girl hunting, dancing, and playing with her nymphs upon mountains and in meadows (Hom. *Il*. 16. 181-183; Hom. *Od*. 6.102-109; *HH* 5.18-20). According to several written sources (*HH* 5. 7-13; Sapph., *Frg.* 34; Call. *H.* 3. 4-6), she is a virgin and wants to remain so forever. In art from the Classical period this youthful, lithe depiction of her is reflected in her short chiton and girl's hairstyle. In the *Iliad*, she is even depicted as an awkward adolescent girl who is sternly rebuked by her stepmother, Hera, after having delivered an impudent speech to Apollo during the battle of the gods. While her mother Leto is picking up Artemis' arrows, which had fallen to the ground when she was punished by Hera, Artemis rushes off in tears to be comforted by Zeus (*Il*. 21.470-514).

3.5 CLOSING REMARKS ON SOURCE MATERIAL

The written word traditionally holds a strong position in research on Greek religion. Based on interpretations of written accounts, supported by iconography, it is commonly claimed that Artemis is a potnia theron, a hunting goddess and a virgin goddess. With this book, I aim to nuance both the tradition of valuing the written word as the primary source in understanding Artemis and the interpretations that follow on from this tradition. That being said, I do not intend to ignore the written sources, but rather to approach the votive material as the primary source and to analyze the ideas observable in votive actions to see whether they differ from the traditional understanding of Artemis.

In order to be able to gain a more nuanced understanding of the constitution of Artemis through the votive offerings dedicated in her sanctuaries, it is also important to understand the development of these sanctuaries and the wider

context that the votives and Artemis were a part of. The relationship between the rise of the polis and that of monumental sanctuaries is intertwined, neither can be seen as detached from the other. All the three sanctuaries that are in focus were established in the Early Archaic period and subsequently developed into monumental sanctuaries governed by a city-state. In the following chapter, I shall turn to the histories of the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron, Ephesos, and Sparta.

Chapter 4
THE THREE SANCTUARIES – CONTEXTS, HISTORIES AND EXCAVATIONS

In the present chapter, I shall set the stage for the three sanctuaries in terms of their relationship to a city-state; their location in the landscape; the histories of the sanctuaries from establishment until abandonment, and modern excavations of the sanctuaries.

4.1 THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT BRAURON

The sanctuary at Brauron is located on the eastern fringes of the Attic landscape, c. 38 kilometers from the center of the polis of Athens. It is situated in low terrain, close to a small hill (*akropolis*), rendering it barely perceptible in the landscape. Sea levels have changed over time; the Artemision was originally located only a few meters from the sea. The river Erasinos flowed nearby and flooded the sanctuary and the surrounding area several times (Papadimitriou 1963:111, 113-115). See Fig. 3 for a map showing the location of the sanctuary.

The discovery of a large number of vases and figurines at the akropolis, which date from Neolithic times until the late Mycenaean period, and Mycenaean chamber tombs east of the akropolis, indicate that there was a Bronze Age settlement here that flourished between c. 2000 and 1600 BC. Human occupation of this region came to an end around 1300 BC, after which there are no remains of any larger settlements at Brauron (Papadimitriou 1963:111-112). The sanctuary at Brauron emerged in the 8th century BC, if not earlier. From the Archaic period onwards, the sanctuary at Brauron and the *deme* Philaidai, to which it belonged, were controlled by Athens. Despite being a rural sanctuary far from the city center, Brauron was not just of interest for the local community but was also of importance for the entire Athenian state. An indication of Brauron's wider importance is attested to by inscriptions from the sanctuary listing the votives dedicated to the goddess, accompanied, on several occasions, by the name and deme of the dedicating woman: most

of whom came from Attic demes situated far away from Brauron and not just from the local or neighboring communities. The cult of Artemis Brauronia was also established on the Akropolis in Athens, perhaps as early as the 6th century BC by Peisistratos. Establishing a branch of a cult originating outside Athens inside Athens was extremely rare and underlines the significance of this rural sanctuary to Athens (Leon 2009-30, Papadimitriou 1963:112, Ekroth 2003:112).

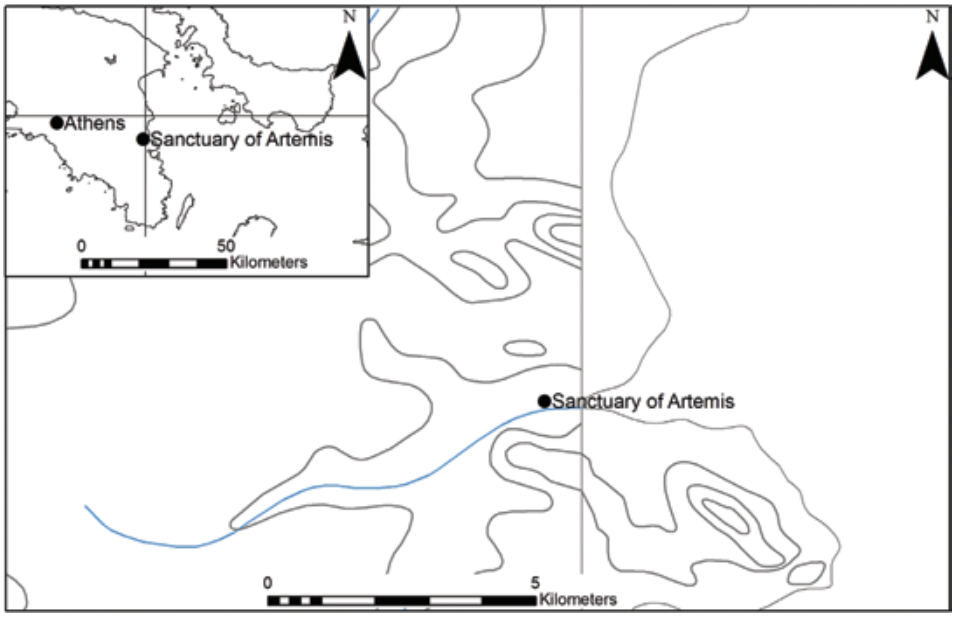


Figure 3: The location of the sanctuary at Brauron (Map produced by Ole Christian Aslaksen).

It is commonly assumed that Iphigeneia had her own cult in the sanctuary at Brauron. The main reason for associating Iphigeneia to Brauron is Euripides' play, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, in which Athena says that Iphigeneia shall be the priestess of Artemis at Brauron and, upon her death, be buried there and receive dedications of clothes from women who have died in childbed (Eur. *Iph*. 1462-1467). On the basis of Euripides' accounts, a series of structures in a cave, or cleft, inside the sanctuary were interpreted as the grave, or heroon, of Iphigeneia (Ekroth, note 41). The cave has been considered to be especially suited to the worship of Iphigeneia since caves were assumed to be associated with heroes and chthonic worship, and since the cave was situated near four graves which are thought to be the graves of priestesses of Artemis

(Ekroth, note 42) (Papadimitriou 1963:113). This assumption has, however, been contested, most recently by Ekroth (2003), who points out that the cult of Iphigeneia has been identified only because archaeological records have been interpreted in the light of written sources and based on the assumption that worship of chthonian divinities had a different character than that of Olympian deities (Ekroth 2003:67-69). Other than Euripides' texts, there is nothing that connects Iphigeneia to the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, indeed none of the inscriptions within do so either (Ekroth 2003:70-72, 94-95). However, it is possible that the reason for the absence of Iphigeneia is because she was so closely associated to Artemis Brauronia that they were seen as one divine character, or that Iphigeneia was understood as an aspect of the character of Artemis, who developed into a separate goddess at a later time (Kyriakou 2006:29-30).

Discovery and excavations

The existence of a sanctuary in Brauron is well-known from ancient literary sources (Hdt. 4. 145.2; 6. 138.1; Paus. 1. 33.1). The site itself was discovered in the late 19th century. Archaeological excavations commenced in 1948, by Ioannis Papadimitriou, and continued until his sudden death in 1963. Throughout this period, annual reports of the progress of the excavation and the most important small finds were presented in *Ergon* (1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962), *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1949, 1950, 1951, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963) and *Praktika* (Papadimitriou 1949, 1950, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959) in addition to a synthesizing article in *Scientific American* (Papadimitriou 1963). The excavated material was then packed away and no further work on the finds was carried out until 1984. Since Papadimitriou's death, accounts of the late 5th century stoa (Bouras 1967), parts of the pottery material (Kahil 1963, 1977), a relief (Kahil 1990), and the terracotta figurines and reliefs of the 7th to the 5th centuries (Leon 2009) have been published and discussed. The published votive offerings are presented in detail in Catalogue I in Appendix 2.

The excavations are still largely known from the preliminary reports mentioned above and a substantial part of the finds remains unpublished. The following presentation of the history of the sanctuary and the discussion of the votive offerings may, in other words, have to be revised upon further publication of finds from the site.

The history of the sanctuary

According to Ekroth (2003:102), five phases can be identified at the site of the Artemision at Brauron:

1. The 8th and 7th centuries BC
2. The 6th century to the first half of the 5th century BC
3. The second half of the 5th century to the late 4th century BC
4. The 3rd century BC
5. The Roman and Byzantine periods

The focus of the present project is on the first three phases. (See Fig. 4 for a ground plan of the sanctuary in the period from the 7th century to c. 420 BC.)

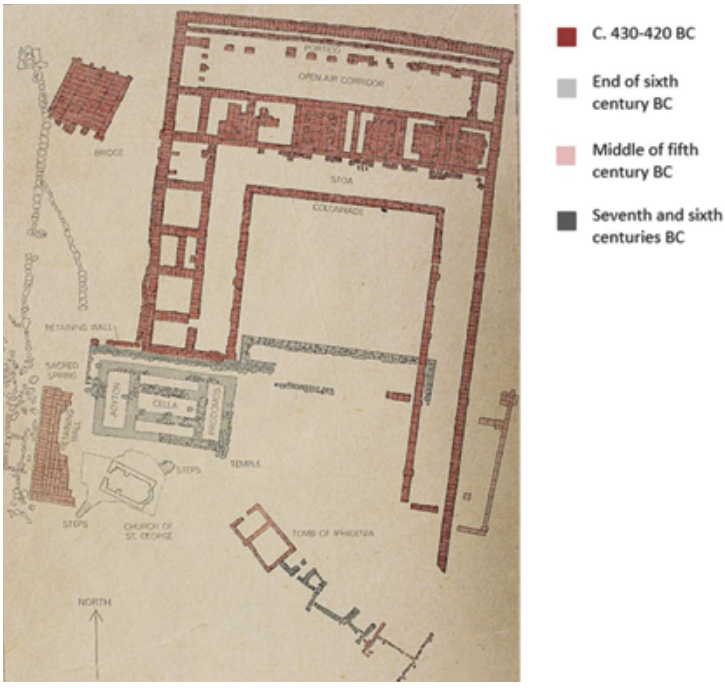


Figure 4: Ground plan of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (Papadimitriou 1963:114). Copyright © (1963) SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, a Division of Springer Nature America, Inc. All rights reserved.

First phase:

The first trace of human activity on the site after the abandonment of the settlement around 1300 BC is pottery from the 9th century. Whilst it is possi-

ble to associate the pottery to cultic activity, little more can be inferred due to its scarcity and it is not until the 8th century that the rise of a cult at the site can be established with certainty. The main indication for cultic activity in the sanctuary's first phase is the deposition of pottery and other offerings (Ergon 1959:16, 1961:30-34, 1962:27-28, Papadimitriou 1959:19), a practice that dates back to before 700 BC, which intensified in the 7th century BC. Such depositions occur at several places in the sanctuary, but appear to have been concentrated around a spring: the 'Sacred Spring' (Ergon 1961:31-32). No architectural structures have been discovered from this first phase of the sanctuary. Although it is likely that some kind of shrine accommodating a cult statue existed at this time (Ekroth 2003:103).

Second phase:
The sanctuary's next phase, the 6th century and the first half of the 5th century BC, saw the construction of several buildings and a general intensification in the use of the sanctuary. The sanctuary's first stone temple was erected at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BC (Ergon 1955:33, Papadimitriou 1949:75-76). The temple was erected on bedrock directly above the spring. At the time of excavation, only a few architectural remains and traces of cuts in the bedrock remained. It is considered to have been a Doric temple with a similar construction to the later Classical temple (Papadimitriou 1949:75-76, Ergon 1955:33). A large terrace to the west was also most likely constructed in this period (Papadimitriou 1949:77-79, fig. 6, 1956:75, 1959:19), which was perhaps used to either display votive offerings or as a platform upon which dedicators stood when depositing offerings in the spring. The votive material recovered from the spring from this period is remarkably abundant (Ekroth 2003:80, 105, Ergon 1959:16, 1961:30-34, 1962:27-28, Papadimitriou 1959:19).

Traces of a foundation cut out of the bedrock to the south of the temple and some early structures found inside the Byzantine church have been suggested to be the remains of the Archaic altar (Papadimitriou 1963:113). It is, however, more likely that the altar was located to the east of the temple, an area where the remains of a polygonal wall running east west (Papadimitriou 1959:20, Ergon 1959:19-20, fig. 20) and a building running north south (Ergon 1962:28-32, 1961:21) were found. There is no indication that the wall supported a building; rather, it supported a terrace that may have been used by worshippers during the sacrifices. The wall and the building, facing the assumed altar area, extend the sanctuary to the east. It was perhaps used for the display of votives or possibly to accommodate the worshippers participating

in the rituals. It is here that numerous votive offerings and pottery dating to the 6th and 5th centuries BC, similar to the material found in the spring, were recovered (Ekroth 2003:107-108).

Numerous 6th and 5th centuries BC votives, along with other small finds, were also excavated in the cave area. Since the votive material from the cave area is similar to that from the spring and the area east of the temple, it can be argued that no divinity, other than Artemis, was worshipped in the cave area, and that Artemis should be understood as the main recipient of offerings and the focal point of worship in all areas of the sanctuary (Ekroth 2003:79-82, 108). No remains indicating a tomb of Iphigeneia have been found in the cave area, which was instead used for storage of votive offerings and perhaps also as a dining room. This period also saw the construction of a building south-east of the cave, the 'Sacred House', which might have been used for ritual meals and also as accommodation for the worshippers (Ekroth 2003:78-79, 108).

There was a marked intensification in use of the sanctuary in the 6th century and the first half of the 5th century BC, both in terms of building activity and in votive dedication. Many of the improvements of this second phase were, however, destroyed during the second half of the 5th century BC, first when the sanctuary was sacked by the Persians in 480 BC, and then when the roof of the cave collapsed around 450 BC (Ekroth 2003:108).

Third phase:
Sometime after 480 BC, the Archaic temple, which was destroyed by the Persians, was replaced with a new temple (Ergon 1959:19-20). This temple, which probably had the same plan as the Archaic temple, was of the Doric order and was equipped with a *cella* with two rows of columns and an inner room at the back (Ekroth 2003:105). Although not on the same scale as in the previous period, many votive offerings and other small finds from the 5th century BC were recovered in the spring area (Papadimitriou 1959:19, Ergon 1959:15-16). Moreover, a rich deposit of votives and pottery from the 5th century BC was discovered south of the western terrace (Ergon 1959:15, figs. 12-14, Papadimitriou 1959:19).

Around 420 BC, a large pi-shaped stoa was erected to the north of the temple, a building that extended and framed the area north-east of the temple (Fig. 5). The northern and western sides of the stoa consisted of several rooms furnished with couches and tables, which reveals that the building was mainly used for dining. The stoa was also used for the display of votive offerings, as indicated by the prestigious votives found here (Papadimitriou 1949:83-

84, 1950:177-187, 1959:18-19; Ergon 1958:31-39, 1959:13-15, 1960:21-26, 1961:21-29, 1962:37-39; Bouras 1967: no. 5). By this time, the building to the east of the temple, which had probably served this function in the sanctuary's second phase, had been abandoned and levelled (Ekroth 2003:109). The cave area was also deserted in the 5th century BC, probably as a result of the roof collapsing around 450 BC. The use of the cave as a storage room for votives was probably then taken over by the new temple, while its function as the location for consuming ritual meals could perhaps have been transferred to a new building: the 'Small Temple', which was erected to the north-west of the cave's entrance in this third phase of the sanctuary (Ekroth 2003:110).

Figure 5: View of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. In the foreground is the foundation of the temple, and in the center is the partly reconstructed stoa (Photograph: the author).

Fourth phase:

The sanctuary's fourth phase, the 3rd century BC, was a period of decay. The reasons for the decay are believed to probably be related to the political disturbances in Attica at the time, and also to the river Erasinos and the flooding of parts of the sanctuary (Ekroth 2003:113, Papadimitriou 1963:120). The major find that provides information about the 3rd century BC is an Athenian decree found in the stoa. The inscription instructs that the buildings in the sanctuary at Brauron are to be examined and repaired. Several buildings are mentioned

in the text; some of which are considered to have been identified in the excavation, such as the temple and the stoa. However, certain buildings mentioned in the text — a *gymnasium,* a *palaestra*, and stables — have not yet been recovered (Papadimitriou 1963:120, Ekroth 2003:113-116, Ergon 1961:24-25).

Fifth phase:
By the beginning of the Roman period, the Artemision was probably no longer in use. After the abandonment of the sanctuary, four graves dating to the 2nd century AD were found in the cave area. A paved road running from the north-west to the south-east was built over the western parts of the stoa (Ergon 1960:23-24, figs. 31, 36, 1961:27-28). Parts of the temple also appear to have been destroyed in the making of the road. The road is difficult to date, but it was certainly constructed after the abandonment of the sanctuary. The removal of stones from buildings in the sanctuary during construction of the road and the incorporation of several stone blocks from the Artemision in the Christian basilica, c. 1.5 km west of Brauron in the 6th century AD, indicate that the road might be from the early Byzantine period (Ekroth 2003:118, Bouras 1967:169). The road may also be connected to possible settlement activity in the Christian period. In the 15th century AD, the church of Agios Georgios was erected just south of the temple (Ekroth 2003:118).

4.2 THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS

The sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos is located in lowlands in swampy terrain outside of the Ottoman and modern town of Selçuk, about 50 kilometers south of Izmir in present-day Turkey. This location is about 2.5 kilometers outside of the Hellenistic and Roman city of Ephesos, directly below Ayasuluk hill (Fig. 6). The sea level was very different in the Archaic period than it is today, and the sanctuary of Artemis was originally located only a few meters from the sea (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 2014).

The location of the Archaic city of Ephesos has not been determined with certainty, but it is considered to have most likely been located on and around the Ayasuluk hill. In the 6th century AD, a fortification wall and the church of St. John were erected on the Ayasuluk hill.

These Byzantine remains have complicated investigation of the earlier layers. Although the location of the Archaic city of Ephesos is not certain, it was most definitely not situated in the lowland of the marshy areas around the sanctuary.

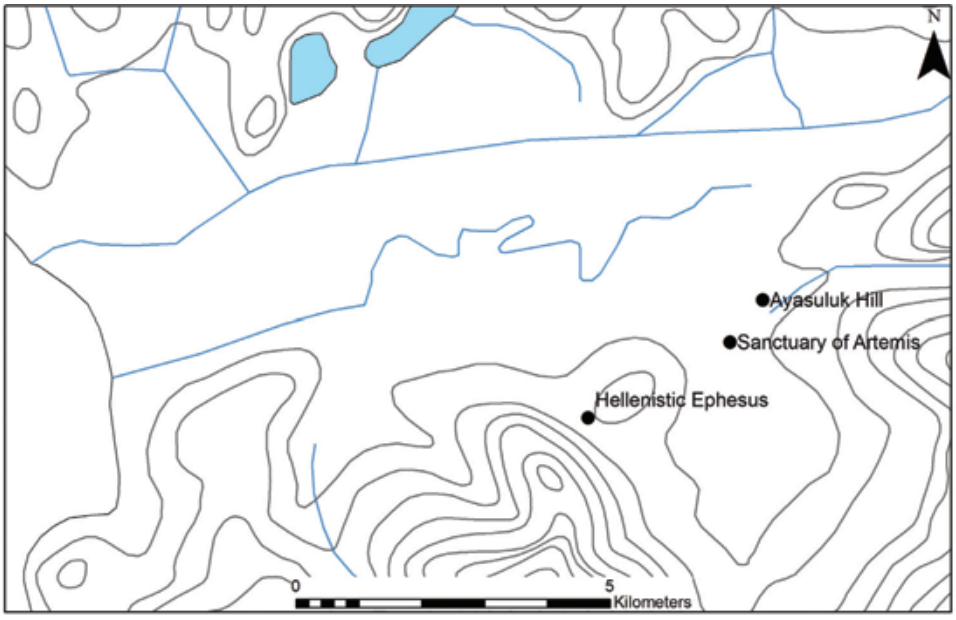


Figure 6: The location of the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos (Map produced by Ole Christian Aslaksen).

Pausanias (7. 2, 4) mentions that it was generally believed that the Amazons were the founders of the Ephesian sanctuary, he further claims that the area surrounding the sanctuary was inhabited by Leleges, Lydians, and Carians at the time of the first arrival of the Ionians, around 1000 BC (Hogarth 1908:1).

From the 5th century BC, the first literary texts provide information on Artemis and her sanctuary. It has been suggested that Artemis probably replaced an older original deity at some point in time. Little is known about the possible earlier deity, but it has been conjectured that the Anatolian 'mother goddess' Cybele was previously worshipped there (Klebinder-Gauss 2007:17). However, as will become clear in chapter six, the votive material does not suggest any abrupt changes that could indicate a change of deity in the sanctuary.

Discovery and excavations

The Hellenistic temple of Artemis at Ephesos was widely known through literary sources and was cherished as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World by a number of travelers and authors in the 1st and 2nd centuries BC.

The location of the site was, however, not identified until J. T. Wood and

The British Museum started archaeological excavations there in 1863. Based on the architectural fragments from the Artemision in Byzantine and Ottoman constructions on the nearby hill of Ayasuluk, the area directly beneath the hill was considered to be a possible location for the sanctuary. After six years of searching, Wood's team finally discovered the location of the sanctuary and the Hellenistic temple in 1869. The Hellenistic temple, even its foundations, had been extensively quarried. Even though the looting was bad news for the investigation of the Hellenistic temple, it had exposed the stratum underneath and this led to the discovery of the Archaic marble temple, the *Kroisos* temple. Wood also discovered a rectangular base, which he called the 'Great Altar', and many fragments of early sculptures. Wood's only publication, *Discoveries at Ephesos* (1877), is imprecise and unfortunately lacks descriptions of the strata and clarification regarding which structures were found *in situ* and which were restored (Hogarth 1908:9-13).

Further work in the Artemision was carried out by D. G. Hogarth and the British Museum in 1904-1905. Hogarth re-excavated the Kroisos temple (Hogarth 1908:21-30) and Wood's 'Great Altar', which was renamed 'Basis' by Hogarth (1908:33). In the eastern part of the 'Basis', Hogarth concluded that there had been a chronological series of three cult buildings: 'Temple A', 'Temple B', and 'Temple C'. 'Temple A', considered the earliest, contained numerous small finds, including around 800 objects of precious metal and ivory (Hogarth 1908:34, 52-58).

The Austrians, led by O. Benndorf and C. Humann, conducted archaeological investigations of the Artemision as early as 1895. They searched for the 4th century BC altar, which, according to Strabo (14. 640), was decorated with a statue of Praxiteles, but were unsuccessful in their quest. It wasn't until 1965 that the Austrian archaeological excavations at the Artemision began in earnest. The aim of the excavations was to uncover the altar, architecture, and sculptures from the 4th century BC. In the first period, from 1965-1971, the excavators finally discovered and excavated the altar, along with the foundations and other architectural structures. However, further excavations in the sanctuary unearthed Archaic and Protogeometric layers rather than Classical and Hellenistic ones (Bammer 2008:57).

From 1971 until 1984, the Austrian team investigated the eastern area of the sanctuary and the areas southwest and west of the Kroisos temple. These excavations resulted in numerous small finds, fragments of Archaic architecture and sculpture, and the discovery of the *hekatompedos*, a marble temple structure of c. 100 Ionian feet (34.4 meters) in length (Bammer 2008:57-64). In the period 1984-1991 the northern area with the cult basis was investigat-

ed. West of the north-western corner of the Kroisos temple, a place used for sacrifice, with burnt animal bones and an Orientalizing vessel, was discovered. In an area west of the Kroisos temple, three fragments of the Sima belonging to the Kroisos temple were also found. Hogarth's 'Basis' was reopened and the excavation led to the very important discovery of the *peripteros* in 1987 (Bammer 2008:57, 61-73). From 1993-1994, the eastern parts of the Kroisos temple were excavated. These last excavations also clarified the layers, dimensions, and stratigraphy of the Kroisos temple and the Hellenistic temple (Bammer 2008:57).

During the excavations in the Artemision many small finds also came to light. The votives were found in sacrificial pits or cult bases together with burnt animal bones. Pigs were especially common as a sacrifice, but donkeys, dogs, bears, and lions were also found (Bammer 2008:61-68, Hogarth 1908:63-73). The votive offerings from Hogarth's excavations were published, together with other finds, in the voluminous publication of the excavations (Hogarth 1908). The votive offerings from the Austrian excavations have been published continuously in journals and edited books. They are presented in detail in Catalogue II in Appendix 2.

Figure 7: The sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos on marshy ground. Ayasuluk Hill is in the background (Photograph: the author).

Due to the swampy terrain (Fig. 7), the sanctuary often (especially in winter) turned into a lake. This was problematic for the archaeologists and water pumps were frequently deployed in order to clear the sanctuary of water (Bammer 2008, 60:60).

The history of the sanctuary

The Ephesian sanctuary of Artemis, as excavated by the British and Austrian teams, had three main phases:

1. The peripteros' several phases between the 8th and the 6th centuries
2. The hekatompedos and the Kroisos temple
3. The Hellenistic temple in the Hellenistic and Roman periods

It is mainly the first two phases that concern us here. See Fig. 8 for a ground plan of the sanctuary.

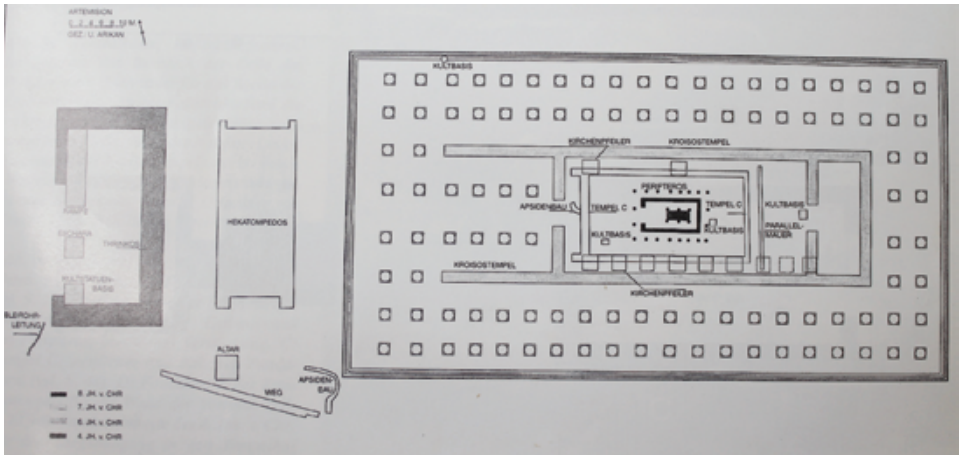


Figure 8: Ground plan of the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos (Bammer and Muss 1996: fig. 30).

First phase:
The Austrian team's investigations of the eastern parts of Hogarth's 'Basis' demonstrated that Hogarth's assumption that 'Temple A' was the earliest cultic building on site was incorrect. Opening up a larger area around the site of 'Temple A', 'Temple B', and 'Temple C' proved that 'Temple A' was in fact the latest of the three buildings (Bammer 1990b:137-138, 2008:69-72).

Hogarth's 'Temple B' turned out to be the cella of a peripteral building (the *peripteros*) with 4 x 8 columns delineating an area of 13.5 x 8.4 meters (Bammer 1990b:138, 2008:72). Coins, pottery fragments, fragments of bird bowls, and a hoard of jewelry, mostly of amber, were found in a flood stratum inside the cella of the peripteros. The hoard of jewelry is considered to have adorned the wooden cult statue, the *xoanon*, which must have stood inside the cella. The bird bowl fragments served to set a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the peripteros to the 7th century BC; in order to establish a *terminus post quem*, the area beneath it had to be investigated. During excavations beneath the clay floor of the cella, numerous fragments of an undecorated *pithos* and a sequence of pottery fragments, starting in the Middle Geometric period and going all the way back to the Bronze Age, were discovered. Based on these findings, the excavators concluded that the peripteros was constructed in the second half of the 8th century BC (Bammer 1990b:137, 141-142).

This makes the peripteros the earliest cult building in the sanctuary. In fact, it is the earliest temple surrounded by columns in Asia Minor, and perhaps the earliest example of a Greek peripteral temple anywhere. The stratigraphy demonstrates that the columns of the *peristasis* originate from an earlier building phase than the cella wall. This strongly suggests that an even earlier peripteros once existed. When another area underneath the peripteros was excavated, more Protogeometric and Mycenaean pottery was discovered. Moreover, fragmented animal figurines and bear teeth, drilled for suspension, were found. Thus, it is clear that cult activity in the Ephesian sanctuary preceded the 8th century BC peripteros and may have started as early as the Bronze Age (Bammer 1990b:137, 141-142, 144, 148).

Further investigations of the peripteros revealed that its construction was altered during several different periods in time. A layer of flood debris inside the cella, in which the hoard of amber jewelry and the bird bowl fragments mentioned above were found, show that the temple was destroyed in a flood in the 7th century BC. The peripteros was raised two meters with a low flanking wall between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC, which must have been a precaution adopted due to the constant danger of being flooded. Later on, the peristasis was abandoned in favor of a girdle wall to reinforce the cella wall. This girdle wall was taken to be part of 'Temple C' by Hogarth. During the last period that the peripteros was in use, parts of the cella were enclosed by a green schist wall. This wall served as a base for the *naiskos* in the courtyard of the Kroisos temple (Bammer 1990b:141-142, 144).

Second phase:
The next phase of the sanctuary saw the construction of the hekatompedos and the Kroisos temple. The hekatompedos lies merely some 9-10 meters to the west of the Kroisos temple, and only 50 meters from the peripteros. The stratigraphy shows that the hekatompedos predates the Kroisos temple and that it is situated above a layer of yellow soil, which is dated to 600/590 BC. The hekatompedos was therefore erected between 600 and 560 BC. There is some disagreement regarding the function of the hekatompedos; it has been suggested that, rather than having functioned as a temple, it was an altar belonging to the Kroisos temple (Weissl 2002:333-342). Construction work on the great marble temple, also called the Kroisos temple, commenced around 560 BC, and was partially sponsored by the Lydian king, Kroisos, who gained political power in Ephesos in 560 BC. The Kroisos temple, which was erected right above the peripteros, was almost 60 meters wide, its length is not yet known. It was destroyed in 356 BC, probably shortly after its completion (Bammer 1990b:150).

Third phase:
The great marble temple was rebuilt on an even larger scale and on a higher level in the early 4th century BC. According to Pliny, the new temple was decorated with 127 columns, 36 of which were sculptured. This third temple survived for c. 600 years until it was destroyed and looted by Gothic raiders in 263 AD. The temple was restored but was not left untouched for very long. When Christianity was made the state religion in 391 AD, pagan buildings such as the sanctuary of Artemis were destroyed or Christianized. At the beginning of the 5th century AD, the cult of Artemis at Ephesos was finally banned by the patriarch of Constantinople (Bernhard-Walcher 2008:17). The Artemis sanctuary in Ephesos was not a Pan-Hellenic sanctuary per se. Rather, it should be understood as a multicultural sanctuary where not only Ionians and people from western Asia Minor, but also people of the Orient and the Cimmerians worshipped (Bammer 1991/1992, 17:17).

Ground water has not only been problematic for modern archaeological excavations. Flood strata of sand is typical in all excavated parts of the sanctuary, demonstrating how common flooding of the sanctuary was in antiquity too. However, instead of relocating the cult area to a different site at a higher location, the site itself was changed by raising its central constructions: it was elevated 2 meters between the 8th and the 6th centuries, and another 2.4 meters between the 6th and 4th centuries. This indicates that the location itself, not only

the rituals, was of importance to the sanctuary's cult (Bammer 1990b:137, 144).

4.3 THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA

The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta in south-eastern Peloponnese is located about one kilometer east of the ancient city center of Sparta (Fig. 9), which is situated on a plain surrounded by mountains on three sides (Fig. 10). It was a common sanctuary for the four villages that originally constituted Sparta in the Early Archaic period: Limnai, Pitana, Kynosoura, and Mesoa. The sanctuary was situated low in the landscape in a natural hollow on the right bank of the river Eurotas in the village of Limnai. As the name suggests, this landscape was marshy, and, along with the sanctuary, was subject to periodic floods of the Eurotas (Dawkins 1929a:6).

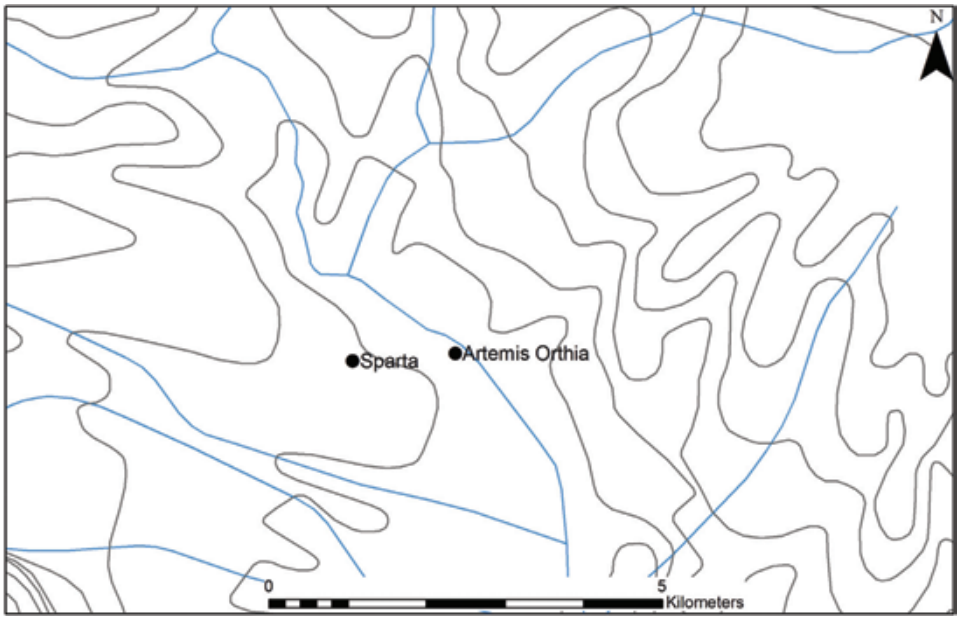


Figure 9: The location of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (map produced by Ole Christian Aslaksen).

The sanctuary was probably originally erected to the goddess Orthia. The time of dedication of the sanctuary to Artemis Orthia, not simply to Orthia, has not been determined with certainty. The first dedication inscribed with both names in the sanctuary is dated to the late 1st century AD. However, several factors

suggest that Artemis was identified with Orthia at a much earlier stage. The names Artemis Orthia occur together on an inscription from Mount Hymettos c. 420 BC (Möbius 1924:15-16), which shows that a composition of the two goddesses existed as early as the Classical period. As shown by Falb (2009), the Artemis Orthia cult shared many similarities with other cults of Artemis already in the Archaic period. Firstly, the rite of passage for boys, which was organized in the sanctuary (the *diamastigosis*), justifies the association to Artemis as Artemis was seen as an overseer of the transition from child to adult in several other cults. It is also attested to by the ritual's bloody and brutal nature, which accords well with Artemis, who often demanded the shedding of human blood and even human sacrifice, for example in the myth of Iphigeneia and the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai (Eur. *IT* 1450-1457); the myth of Aktaion (Eur. *Bacch*. 337-340; Ov. *Met*. 3.165-252), and the myth of Niobe (Hom. *Il*. 24.602-606). The cult image in the Artemis Orthia sanctuary shares the same origin myth as several other cult images of Artemis in that it is said to come from the land of the Taurians on the Black Sea. Moreover, typical attributes of the Greek Artemis, the bow and the deer — rarely shown for other deities — were introduced into the votive iconography as early as the Archaic period (Falb 2009:142-145).

Figure 10: View over the Spartan plain from the mountains in the west (Photograph: the author).

Identifying the presiding deity in a sanctuary using inscriptions is often problematic because in many cases no inscriptions are found, especially not from the earliest period. Furthermore, the dedicators may have preferred to use other names (perhaps due to a different oral tradition) than the more formal names of the deities used by the priests and other officials (Simon 1986:176). With all these factors taken together, the similarities of the cult of Artemis Orthia with other cults of Artemis and the possibility that Orthia was the preferred name due to local oral tradition, make it likely that the character of Artemis was identified with that of Orthia at an early stage and was an important factor in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia from the Archaic period. I return to this topic in 5.5.

Discovery and excavations

The cult of Artemis Orthia at Sparta is known from ancient literary sources. Roman ruins, which later turned out to be a theatre from the 3rd century AD, had been used as a quarry when the modern town of Sparta was built in the early 19th century. Besides these Roman ruins, very little of the site was visible above ground when an archaeological team from The British School at Athens arrived in 1906. The site was thoroughly excavated by Dawkins and his team in the period spanning 1906-1910 and revealed a rich cult that originated as early as the 10th century BC and continued through to the Roman period (Dawkins 1929a:2-3).

The first days of the 1906 campaign were devoted to investigating the soil of the riverbank below the Roman ruins and the team were rewarded by extremely rich finds of lead figurines and various other small objects. After which, they dug two long test trenches. Trench A extended over the remains of the Roman altar and, below this, the south end of the Archaic altar. In this trench, below the Roman level, there was a thick layer of sand, under which was a layer of dark soil abundant with pottery and votive offerings. The lower part of the dark soil contained many shards of Geometric vases, the upper part contained pottery that was later determined to be Laconian I and II, and, between the upper and lower parts, Proto-Corinthian pottery, lead figurines, terracottas, ivories, and various other objects were found. The dark soil layer rested on virgin soil. Trench B, on the other hand, contained very little (Dawkins 1929a:4).

Since the river Eurotas flowed across the temple, the northern part of the arena and also across the eastern part of the Roman theatre, full examination was impossible. The course of the river was therefore diverted to a fresh channel to the south, an area where the team believed nothing of importance would be found, so the site could be completely excavated. Despite the water's deep

incision into the Roman foundation and upper part of the walls of the temple, the valuable archaeological remains lay well below the stream of water and were neither ruined nor disturbed (Dawkins 1929a:5).

In 1907, the upper surface of the Roman theatre was cleared, and the arena and interior of the temple were completely excavated. In the arena three altars, lying on top of each other, were found: one Archaic, one later, and one of the Roman period (Dawkins 1929a:5).

In 1908, deposits from the sanctuary's earliest period up to around the year 600 BC were examined. In order to be able to fully excavate the deposits, a substantial part of the foundations of the Roman theatre had to be removed. To the south of the 6th century temple, an earlier temple was discovered, and to the east of the Archaic altar, early houses were found. Finally, Dawkins and his team determined the limits of the sand layer, which were used as a fill throughout the entire sanctuary at the end of the 7th century BC (Dawkins 1929a:5).

In 1909, the remains of the sanctuary walls, spanning successive periods, were examined and the great drain which runs across the southern part of the site was cleared. In 1910, work on the sanctuary ceased (Dawkins 1929a:5).

The history of the sanctuary

The excavations revealed five main phases in the sanctuary:

1. A votive deposit from the 10th century BC
2. An enlarged area within a wall enclosure, with stone pavement and an altar from the 9th century BC
3. A second altar with a temple in use from the 9th–7th century BC
4. A third altar (not found) with a second temple, in use from the 6th century BC to the Hellenistic period
5. The Roman period

Predominantly, phases two, three and four are of particular concern in this project. See Fig. 11 for a plan over the sanctuary's different phases.

First phase:
A deposit found immediately above the virgin soil west of the archaic altar indicates that a cult was established in the sanctuary in the 10th century BC. The deposit consists of a layer of blackened earth, Geometric pottery, small, corroded pieces of bronze, and small fragments of charred bone debris from burned animal sacrifices. At the same level, a small section of wall was found. These earliest remains were found over a relatively small area, which suggests that the

sanctuary was, at that time, fairly small. With the exception of three gems, which were probably used as amulets long after they had been made, nothing Mycenaean was found in the sanctuary (Dawkins 1929a:2, 6-7, 18-19, Rose 1929:399).

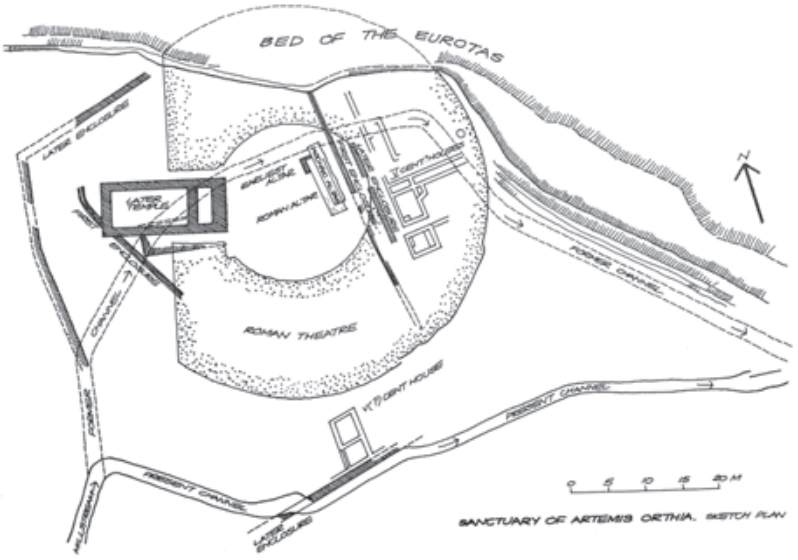


Figure 11: Sketch plan of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Scully 1979: Fig. 133).

Second phase:
Following the earliest period, the sanctuary was substantially enlarged. Walls were erected around the sanctuary and the enclosed area was covered with stone. The sanctuary was by now c. 30 meters across (E-W), and measured considerably more in length (N-S). Contemporary with the enlargement of the sanctuary, an altar was found. The pavement and the early altar were assigned to the 9th century BC. There are no traces of a contemporary temple. The votive offerings found immediately above the level of the pavement have been assigned to this early period, as has the ten-centimeter layer of blackened soil containing Geometric pottery and broken fragments of bronze, which was found between the surface of the early pavement and the lowest stones of the early altar (Dawkins 1929a:8, 19).

Third phase:
Surrounded by a deposit of predominantly Geometric pottery and hence considered to have most probably been erected in the 9th century BC, was another

altar. This altar, measuring 9 x 1.5 meters, is much larger than the first altar. From a corresponding date to this altar is a temple, which is far smaller than the altar. The remains of the temple reveal that it had a stone foundation, walls of brick and wood and that it was probably long and narrow, which was characteristic of many early temples. The altar and the temple faced each other at the two opposite edges of the stone pavement. No cult objects or vessels were discovered, although small finds, such as pottery and votive gifts, were plentiful. The deposit outside the south-east corner of the later temple may be attributed to this early temple. It contained a large number of bone and ivory objects (Dawkins 1929a:8-14, 19).

The large early altar and the temple were probably in use from the 9th to the end of the 7th century BC, which is also the period that the most important finds belong to. Most of the votive gifts and all the pottery styles, up to and including Laconian II, belong to this period. From time to time, the votives were clearly thrown away because the majority of them were found spread all over the pavement and slightly beyond it. Only the votive offerings found inside the temple were found in situ. The area surrounding the early temple was especially rich with votives, as was the east side of the altar. The deposit on the western side of the altar contained few votive offerings. This implies that it was the western side of the altar that was the focus for the cultic practice in the sanctuary. All the deposits near the altar consisted of a layer of blackened soil mixed with small fragments of burned animal bones. Another area rich in finds was the area north of the temple where Laconian II pottery and many of the carvings in soft limestone were discovered (Dawkins 1929a:14-15).

Fourth phase:
Towards the end of the 7th century BC, the area was elevated by covering the entire sanctuary with a layer of sand and gravel. It is most likely that the Eurotas flooded, which destroyed the early temple and altar, and the area's level was raised to prevent future destruction. Chronologically speaking, the layer of sand literally represents a 'line in the sand' that enabled Dawkins and his team to distinguish clearly between the objects belonging to the early period and those of later origin and it is therefore of the utmost importance. At the time of the destruction and ensuing alterations, certain changes came about, such as the development in pottery from Laconian II to Laconian III; the small carvings in limestone, and the change from ivory to bone. Consequently, a number of soft limestone fragments, some with Archaic inscriptions, as well as two Laconian II plates, enabled the team to set the end of the 7th century

BC as a *terminus post quem* for the deposition of the sand and reorganization of the sanctuary (Dawkins 1929a:15-16).

Above the layer of sand and gravel, and thus above the remains of the early altar and temple, a new altar and temple were constructed. This temple is assigned to the 6th century BC and was probably *prostyle in antis*. In the soil in front of the 6th century temple, fragments of a lion's mane and two small reliefs in soft limestone, showing couchant lions facing each other heraldically, were found. They all belong to the period of the construction or the earliest phase of the temple. These finds are probably the refuse from the building or rebuilding of the temple and indicate that the temple pediment was decorated with one or several lion(s). No traces of a corresponding altar were found but when the early altar was buried, it is reasonable to assume that a new altar would have been constructed. There are, however, remains of an altar from the 5th century BC. From time to time, when votive offerings were either broken or no longer in use they were discarded from the temple. This resulted in large accumulations of numerous votives on the north and the south sides of the temple. The pottery, carvings in bone, and lead figurines from the 6th century BC temple's earliest period show that the making and offering of votives did not cease at the time of the reorganization, but continued prolifically for at least another century (Dawkins 1929a:16, 20-21, 27).

This 5th century BC altar continued to be used as late as the 3rd century BC. The foundation of the 6th century BC temple was re-used as a foundation for the Roman temple, and it shows many signs of rebuilding. The last reconstruction of the temple was in the Hellenistic period. This temple was also a prostyle in antis (Dawkins 1929, 21-22:21-22). From around the end of the 5th century BC, the number of small finds from this period decreased. Laconian V and Laconian VI pottery were found in several deposits. From the 5th century BC, Laconian VI was replaced by black-glazed Hellenistic ware. The presence of fragments of a Megarian bowl (3rd-1st century BC) enabled a terminal date for the Laconian pottery to be determined (Dawkins 1929a:27).

The pottery described above was mainly found in small houses east of the altar outside the wall of the sanctuary. In this area, water-channels, a large basin, and a well were also discovered: constructions that indicate an industrial or domestic function. Numerous fragments of vases from these houses are inscribed with the name Orthia, and there is also one with a painting of the goddess holding snakes. This indicates that the houses were associated with the sanctuary and may well have been the homes of the shrine's priests, servants and artificers (Dawkins 1929a:27-28).

In the latter part of the 3rd century BC, the Spartans built a city wall. Although the sanctuary was located slightly outside the city, it was still within the wall (Dawkins 1929a:31).

Fifth phase:
With the exception of the construction of a Roman altar, no great changes were made in the sanctuary during the period spanning the 3rd century BC until the 3rd century AD. Finds from this period are dedicatory *stelai*, which were built into the Roman 3rd century theatre, as well as statues, including a series of statues of *Bomonikai*, which are images of boys who had endured whipping at the altar (Dawkins 1929a:35). In the 3rd century AD, the sanctuary underwent great changes when the Romans built an amphitheater at the location. The amphitheater was built to accommodate the many spectators who came from all over the Greek world to witness a ritual where young men were whipped at the altar of Artemis (Dawkins 1929a:36).

4.4 CLOSING REMARKS ON THE THREE SANCTUARIES

The sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron, Ephesos and Sparta differ from each other in several ways: they were located in three different geographical areas; they were of different scales and sizes; they were established and governed by city states that differed from each other with regard to cultural, political, and economic aspects, and they were related to different sets of population groups. There are, however, also a number of similarities: all are considered to be sanctuaries of Artemis; all are early sanctuaries established by city-states in the ascendency; all were significant on a polis level and not just of local interest, and all were rich and boasted monumental architecture, which demonstrates that they were held in high regard by their respective poleis. Moreover, the respective landscapes in which the sanctuaries are located display several similarities: all were located in lowland, and all were in close association with water, being situated on either marshy ground, beside the sea or close to a river.

I will explore the similarities and differences between the sanctuaries further in the analyses of the votive offerings. In the following chapter, the votive categorization will be elaborated on and the votive data from the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron, Ephesos, and Sparta will be presented in their respective votive categories.

CHAPTER 5
QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES OF THE VOTIVE OFFERINGS

The votive material from the three sanctuaries of Artemis is extensive. In order to best analyze such extensive data, I have organized the material into a limited number of categories, which are then analyzed statistically. In the present chapter, I provide a presentation of the votive categories and statistical analyses of the distribution between the votive categories in the three sanctuaries. Tables 2, 3 and 4 in Appendix 1 show the distribution of the votive categories in the three sanctuaries. All the published votive gifts are described, along with relevant details, dating and references in Catalogues I, II and III in Appendix 2.

5.1 THE VOTIVE CATEGORIES

I have organized the votive gifts into 18 categories (as previously mentioned in 2.2). The categories have emerged slowly through a continuous dynamic process of relating the votive material as a whole and to its constituent parts. This result of this process is the 18 votive categories presented in Table 1. Not all 18 categories are present in all three sanctuaries and the presence, or absence, of each category in each sanctuary is indicated in table 1.

Category 1: Standardized female images.
'Standardized female images' comprises a very broad category of dressed women displayed either seated or standing, or as protomai. Such female images were mass-produced (albeit in several categories) and found in sanctuaries of most female deities. Although there are many different types included in Category 1 (either seated or standing; made of various different materials; hand-molded and molded, of different artistic qualities etc.), they are generic in that they do not display any gestures or attributes. As these images could have been dedicated to most of the female deities and as they are generic in style, it is not possible to ascertain much about the significance of either the deity to whom they were given or of the persons dedicating them. Seated or

enthroned figurines found in sanctuaries are generally believed to be images of deities, while standing women are commonly regarded as images of worshippers (Rouse 1902:302-309, Leon 2009:19, Alroth 1989:53-54, Payne 1940:195-196, Baumbach 2004:47, Jung 1982:28-29). Category 1 is revisited and analyzed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Category	Brauron	Ephesos	Sparta
1. Standardized female images	√	√	√
2. Images of women holding flowers, fruit or a dove	√		√
3. Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/ lower abdomen or breasts	√	√	√
4. Images of kourotrophoi and children	√	√	
5. Images of naked and ithyphallic men		√	√
6. Male images		√	√
7. Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals	√	√	√
8. Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals	√	√	√
9. Miscellaneous images	√	√	√
10. Personal votive gifts	√	√	√
11. Apotropaic votive gifts	√	√	√
12. Model body parts		√	
13. Weapons		√	√
14. Spinning tools		√	
15. Plaques with figurative patterns		√	
16. Astragals		√	
17. Masks			√
18. Miscellanea	√	√	√

Table 1: Distribution of the 18 selected categories among the three Artemis sanctuaries at Brauron, Ephesos, and Sparta.

Category 2: *Images of women holding flowers, fruit, or doves*.
Images of standing or seated women holding a flower, fruit, or a small bird up between their breasts is stylistically predominantly an Attic Category. This

image type enters the votive scheme in the Late Archaic period and was very common by the L.A./E.C. period. Category 2 includes votive images with more detailed characteristics than in Category 1, which may help to define and identify the addressed deity to a greater extent than is possible for Category 1. However, Category 2 images were given to a wide range of female deities in the Greek world (Leon 2009, 132-133), and initially appear to be more generic. The meaning of Category 2 images is discussed further in chapter 6.

Category 3: Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/womb or breasts.
These are images of women depicted naked, touching the pubic area (with incised lines demarcating the pubic area), touching the womb/stomach, touching the breasts, or with large breasts. They are grouped together because all are commonly understood as images denoting female fertility, reproduction, and nursing abilities (e.g. by Baumbach 2004:17, 20, 153, Böhm 1990:136-139)). Category 3 is analyzed in Chapter 6.

Category 4: Images of kourotrophoi and children.
Images of women with children were very common in antiquity, most notably *kourotrophos* images, particularly figurines depicting a single woman with a small child or infant on her lap or in her arms (Wise 2007:157). The kourotrophos has a long tradition in the Greco-Roman world; it probably entered Greek iconography in prehistory and continued well into Roman times. Kourotrophos images were at their most popular in the Archaic and Classical periods (Price 1978:221-223). They are found in the sanctuaries of deities considered to be concerned with childbirth and child rearing (Price 1978:17-77, 81-186). Images of children were generally not common as votive gifts in Greek antiquity. However, figurines showing a squatting/crouching child (mostly boys) were quite popular in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Price 1978:98-104, Wise 2007:162-163). Category 4 is discussed in Chapter 6.

Category 5: Images of naked and ithyphallic men.
Male images are divided into two categories. Since naked and ithyphallic male images constitute a significant group in one sanctuary, it was important to distinguish this group from the other male images. Depictions of naked men are often present in sanctuaries of male deities. Images of ithyphallic men are, however, not particularly common in sanctuaries. Naked men in the form of, for example, *kouroi* and athletes are commonly interpreted as images of *arête* and male strength. Ithyphallic male imagery is often considered to be bestial

and as possessing an apotropaic function (Bonfante 1989:549-550). A more thorough discussion of Category 5 follows in Chapter 6.

Category 6: Male images.
Male images are, in general, very common in sanctuaries of male deities. Given the low number of other male images (i.e. those not featuring naked and ithyphallic men) in the two sanctuaries with such images, and as they do not belong to any of the other categories, they are collectively grouped together under 'Male image'. Even though inclusion of several different male images causes Category 6 to be a fairly broad category, it also makes it possible to compare the distribution of female images with that of male images.

Category 7: Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals and
Category 8: Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals.
The animal images were initially categorized as one group, with the images showing humans with animals as another group. Upon seeing that the distribution between wild and domesticated animals might reveal interesting patterns, I decided to divide them into two separate groups. Moreover, images composed of both humans and animals were difficult to categorize as either human images or animal images since they are, indeed, both. When grouped together with domesticated or wild animals, interesting patterns in the relationship between animals and humans emerged. Some of the animals were difficult to categorically define as either one or the other. See Chapter 7 for an analysis of Category 7 and Category 8.

Category 9: Miscellaneous images.
Several of the images could not be classified into any of the above categories (1-8), and are therefore grouped as miscellaneous images.

Category 10: Personal votive gifts.
I have chosen to group jewelry, dress ornaments, and toiletries together as 'Personal votive gifts'. The common factor in all these votives is that they are intimately associated with the body; they were either worn on the body (jewelry, dress) or used as treatments for the body (toiletries), and were thus intimately associated with the person that dedicated them. Personal votive offerings are mainly found in sanctuaries of female deities (Simon 1986:198-212, 213-226). Category 10 is analyzed in Chapter 8.

Category 11: Apotropaic votive gifts.
Many scarabs, seals, and other engraved stones are defined as votives with an apotropaic function. For a discussion of these votives and their function, see Chapter 8.

Category 12: Model body parts.
Model body parts are very rare and most commonly seen in sanctuaries of the healing god Asklepios, from the Classical period onwards (Simon 1986-367).

Category 13: Weapons.
Although weapons could be presented to many different deities, they are most commonly dedicated to male deities and Athena (Simon 1986:253-266).

Category 14: Spinning tools.
Spinning tools are predominantly found in sanctuaries of goddesses and are considered to be votives commemorating women's domestic tasks (Simon 1986:267-273).

Category 15: Plaques with figurative patterns.
Plaques, made of gold, bronze, ivory, decorated with figurative patterns, such as flowers, stars, crosses, and geometric patterns are commonly found in sanctuaries of several different deities. The plaques often have attachment holes, suggesting they were attached to something or hung up.

Category 16: Astragals.
Astragals were often found in large numbers in Greek sanctuaries, and are not confined to a few deities. Their main function in antiquity was as dice. They were often dedicated alongside other children's toys, and are subsequently also connected to children and youth several times in later literature (Simon 1986:385-388).

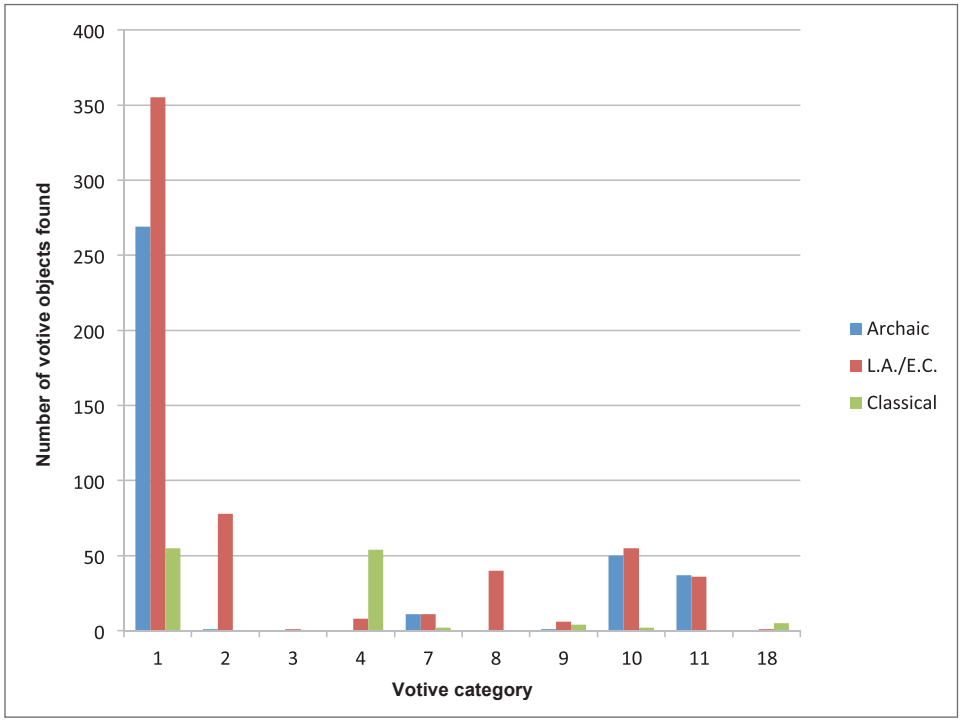
Category 17: Masks.
Even though masks are very rarely found in Greek sanctuaries, they were found in one of the sanctuaries (Simon 1986:376-384).

Category 18: Miscellanea.
Several of the votives could not be categorized in any of the above categories, either because they fall outside the categories or because their function is unknown.

5.2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF VOTIVE OFFERINGS

The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron

I registered the presence of ten votive categories at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Table 2 in Appendix 1 shows the distribution of the votives between these categories. The votives are listed with references to publications in Catalogue I in Appendix 2. Publication of the finds from Brauron is fragmentary. Leon (2009) has published the terracotta figurines, plaques and reliefs from the 7th, 6th, and 5th centuries. Other than this publication, only some of the most important finds have been published in preliminary excavation reports (see 3.1). Regrettably, the incomplete nature of publication of the votive offerings affects the representativeness of the results that will be presented, which may



Graph 1: Distribution of the votive categories in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron in all three periods (Archaic, L.A./E.C., and Classical). Votive categories: 1. Standardized female images; 2. Images of women holding flowers, fruit, or a dove; 3. Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abdomen or breasts; 4. Images of kourotrophoi and children; 7. Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals; 8. Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals; 9. Miscellaneous images; 10. Personal votive gifts; 11. Apotropaic votive gifts; 18. Miscellanea

require revision upon subsequent publication of the rest of the votives. However, I consider the images from Brauron to be of particular significance for the interpretation of the constitution of Artemis and the votive material from Brauron to be sufficient to facilitate comparisons between Categories 1-9 for the Archaic and L.A./E.C. periods.

The statistical analysis of the votive material in the sanctuary at Brauron, as shown in Graph 1, demonstrates the significance of standardized female images (Category 1), personal votive gifts (Category 10), and apotropaic votive gifts (Category 11) in the Geometric period. In the L.A./E.C. period standardized female images, images of women holding flowers or fruit (Category 2), images of wild animals/humans with wild animals (Category 8), personal votive gifts and apotropaic votive gifts were prominent. Standardized female images and images of kourotrophoi and children (Category 4) were particularly popular in the Classical period.

The Sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos

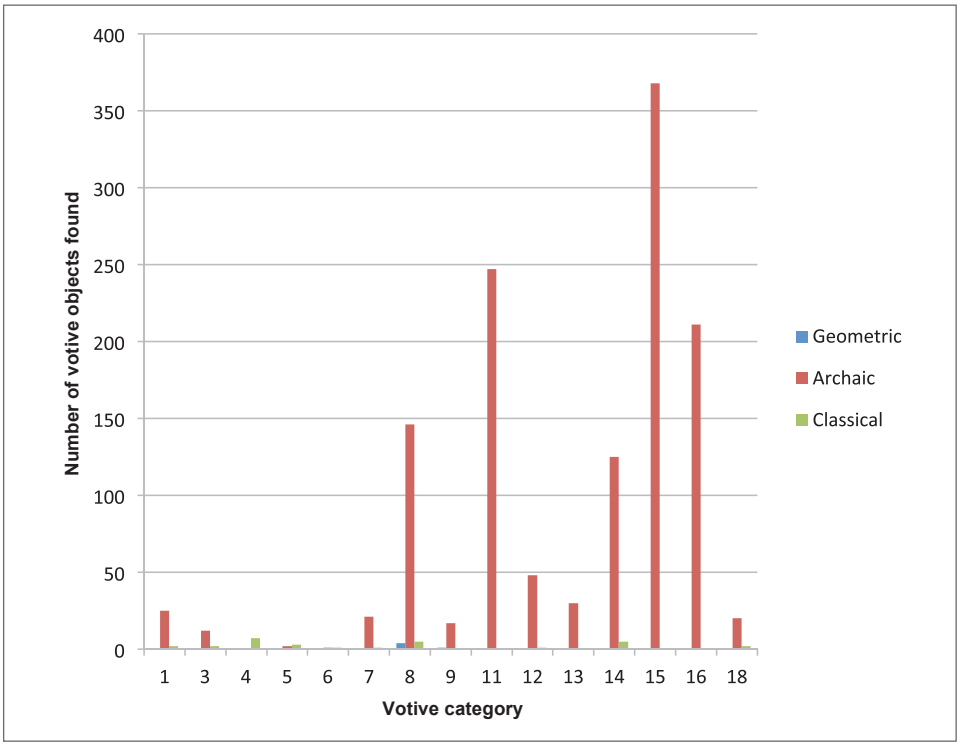
The sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos has been extensively excavated at different times (see 3.2). There are comprehensive publications detailing the small finds, including the votive offerings. With the exception of objects of unknown function and objects that are in such a fragmentary state that their function cannot be determined, all of the published votive offerings are included in this research; these are listed, with references to publications in Catalogue II, in Appendix 2. The votive material from Ephesos falls into 16 categories; the distribution of which is presented below and in Table 3 in Appendix 1.

In the graph showing the results of the statistical analysis from Ephesos (see Graph 2), personal votive gifts (Category 10) are excluded due to their extreme abundance in the Archaic period (1,946), inclusion of such a large category would make it very difficult to see and appreciate the relative distribution of the other categories. Although excluded from the graph, Category 10 is of course included in the statistical analysis.

The vast majority of the votive offerings from the sanctuary at Ephesos are from the Archaic period. The Ephesian Artemis received a wide range of votive offerings; the most prominent being the personal votive gifts (Category 10), plaques with figurative images (Category 15), apotropaic votive gifts (Category 11), astragals (Category 16), and images of wild animals / humans with wild animals (Category 8).

Like most of the votive categories, the statuettes were of particular significance in the 7th and 6th centuries, they "disappear" in the middle of the 6th

century. Disappearance of the smaller statuettes coincides with the appearance of the famous Ephesian cult image (Muss 2008:63-64).[2]



Graph 2: Distribution of the votive categories (excluding Category 10) in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos in all three periods. Votive categories: 1. Standardized female images; 3. Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abdomen or breasts; 4. Images of kourotrophoi and children; 5. Images of naked and ithyphallic men; 6. Male images; 7. Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals; 8. Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals; 9. Miscellaneous images; 11. Apotropaic votive gifts; 12. Model body parts; 13. Weapons; 14. Spinning tools; 15. Plaques with figurative patterns; 16. Astragals; 18. Miscellanea

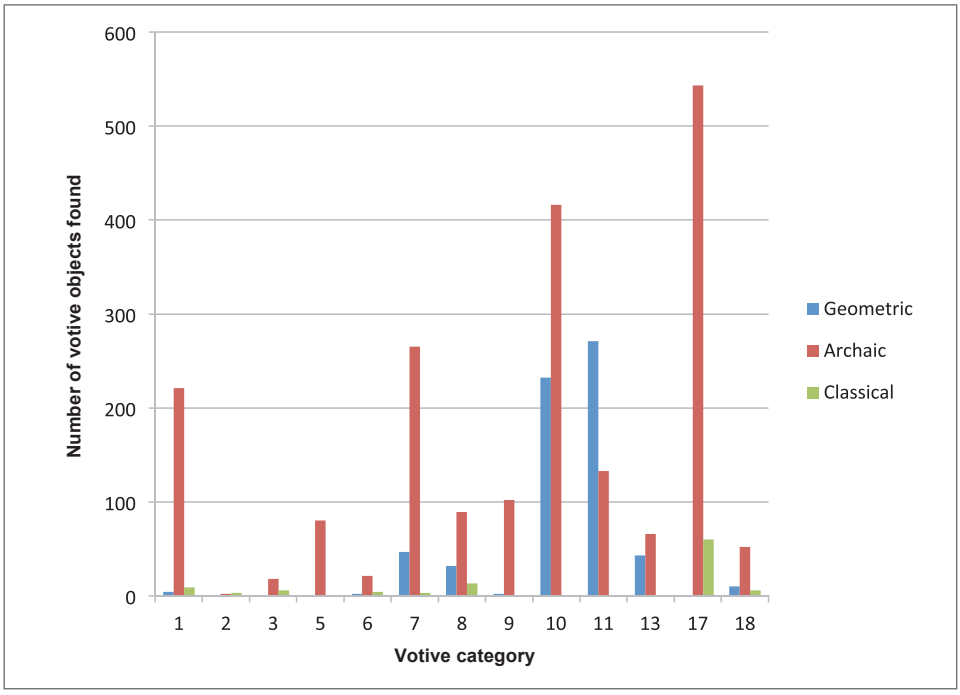
The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta

The Artemision at Sparta is thoroughly excavated, and the findings comprehensively published (see 3.3), including all the small finds and votive offerings. All of the published votive offerings are listed with references to the pub-

2. As this book focuses on personal votive gifts, I have elected to exclude cult images.

lication in Catalogue III in appendix 2. They are divided into 13 categories; the distribution of the votives between the categories is presented below and in Table 4 in Appendix 1.

One large votive group, the lead objects and figurines, is not statistically analyzed. Around 100,000 lead votives have been found. These are sub-divided into seven different chronological periods: Lead 0-VI, based on studies of stratification in the sanctuary (Wace 1929:249-252)., The lead objects could not be included in statistical analyses of the votive material as they are not classified and counted according to image type. Nevertheless, given that several of the image and object types are characterized as 'popular', 'rare' and so forth, this provides an indication regarding which images were significant and in which period. I therefore include such tendencies in the lead material in the analyses in Chapter 6 and 7. The lead objects are presented in Catalogue



Graph 3: Distribution of the votive categories in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta in all three periods. Votive categories: 1. Standardized female images; 2. Images of women holding flowers, fruit or a dove; 3. Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abodmen or breasts; 5. Images of naked and ithyphallic men; 6. Male images; 7. Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals; 8. Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals; 9. Miscellaneous images; 10. Personal votive gifts; 11. Apotropaic votive gifts; 13. Weapons; 17. Masks; 18. Miscellanea.

III in Appendix 2, the distribution of them between the categories is shown in Table 5 in Appendix 1.

Graph 3 is a visual representation of a statistical analysis of all votive categories from all three periods at the Spartan sanctuary. As can be observed in Graph 3, the most popular votive categories of the Geometric period are apotropaic votive gifts (Category 11) and personal votive gifts (Category 10). The most prominent Archaic votives are masks (Category 17), personal votive gifts (Category 10), images of domesticated animals/humans with domesticated animals (Category 7), standardized female images (Category 1), and apotropaic votive gifts (Category 11). In the Classical period, masks are the most quantitatively significant votives in the sanctuary.

There are no indications of an abrupt change of deity at any point in time in the sanctuaries at Ephesos and Sparta. This suggests that if another goddess was presiding in the sanctuaries at Ephesos and Sparta, their cult characteristics cannot have been distinctly different from the cult characteristics of Artemis. The drastic decrease of votives, both in terms of number and variation, in all the three sanctuaries must be understood in relation to the general diachronic change in votive practice in most Greek sanctuaries at this point in time (see 2.2).

5.3 THE VOTIVE CATEGORIES CHOSEN AS FOCI FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS

Based on the statistical analyses of the votive material in the three sanctuaries, it became apparent that there was more analytical potential in synchronic analyses than in diachronic. Therefore, the topics discussed in the following chapters (6-8) are organized synchronically. However, when significant, diachronic changes will also be discussed.

Altogether, the spectrum of votive categories, especially at Ephesos and Sparta, demonstrates that Artemis served as a goddess of many different aspects. The following analyses concentrates on the votive categories I consider to be most significant and those that best serve as points of departure for an understanding of the constitution of Artemis. The votive categories I focus upon in the next three chapters are the votive images (Categories 1-9), the personal votive gifts (Category 10) and the apotropaic votive gifts (Category 11). Focusing the qualitative analyses on Categories 1-11 resulted in exclusion of the quantitatively significant (Category 15) at Ephesos and the masks (Category 17) at Sparta. The large numbers of plaques with figurative images (Category 15) at Ephesos do make it significant, but are unlikely provide particular insights about the cult. Such votives may, thus, be related to the worship

of Artemis on a more general level (see 'Communicating and constituting' in 2.4). The masks at Sparta are also significant; however, since they were most probably dedicated as commemorations of ritual dances, it can be argued that their significance is related to the form of the rituals performed in the sanctuary[3], rather than to the worshippers' more specific ideas and needs. Hence, I have excluded the masks from this study.

Images are very effective ways to communicate. Therefore, the votive images provide a special opportunity to study the worshippers' constitution of the goddess. Moreover, in depicting both humans and animals, the votive images provide possibilities for observing how the dedicators related to the body, to gender, and to the world of animals and nature. Personal votive gifts are significant both because they are found in abundance in all three sanctuaries and because they, being intimately associated with the body, can function as starting points for an analysis of the constitution of Artemis from a more personal and bodily perspective. Apotropaic votive gifts may also be understood as being closely related to the body and are, thus, also personal. The votive images are analyzed in Chapters 6 and 7; while the personal and apotropaic votive gifts are analyzed, together with the votive images in Chapter 9. The qualitative analyses of the votive categories commence in Chapter 6, which discusses the interpretation of the cults of Artemis as fertility and kourotrophos cults, and explores an alternative understanding based on the votive material.

3. To analyse the ritual forms in the sanctuary of Artemis would, indeed, be valuable. However, such an analysis would necessitate the inclusion of a thorough study of several other material groups, such as pottery, cultic equipment, and architectural features, which would go far beyond the scope of this project.

Chapter 6
FERTILITY AND KOUROTROPHOS CULTS?

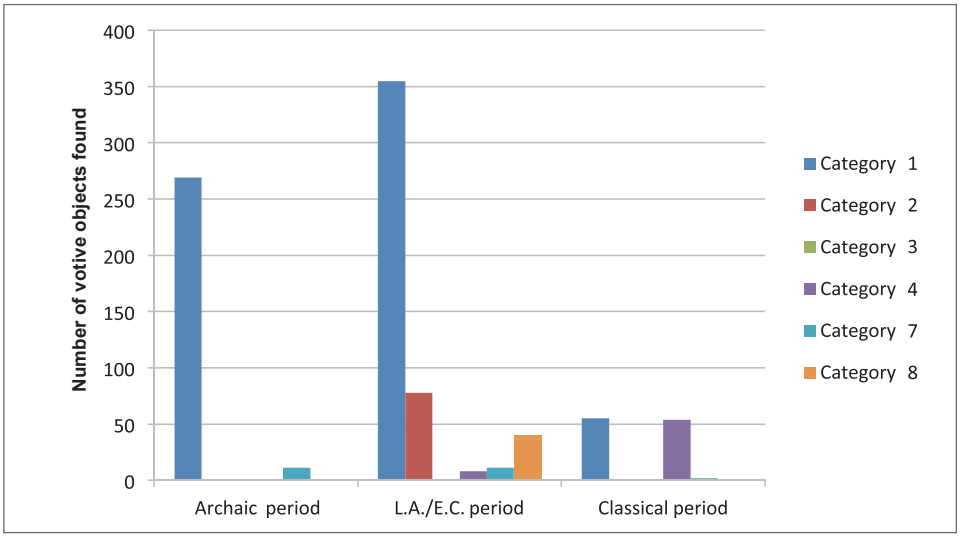
Many cults of female deities are commonly understood as fertility cults or as cults concerned with female fertility and child rearing (kourotrophos). This understanding is often based on the presence of naked female figurines, female figurines touching their breasts and/or the pubic area, ithyphallic male figurines, and female figurines holding young children. The cult of Artemis at Brauron, Artemis at Ephesos, and the cult of Artemis Orthia at Sparta are no exceptions and are often understood to be fertility and/or kourotrophos cults (Papadimitriou 1963:113, Rose 1929:402-403, Price 1978:121, Kahil 1984:740, Hogarth 1908:323-325, Cartledge 2001:86, Eitrem 1909:27). In the present chapter, the cults' association to female fertility and child rearing will be discussed, in particular I shall address the following question:

To what extent are interpretations emphasizing an interest in female fertility and child rearing valid for the cults of Artemis at Brauron, Ephesos, and Sparta?

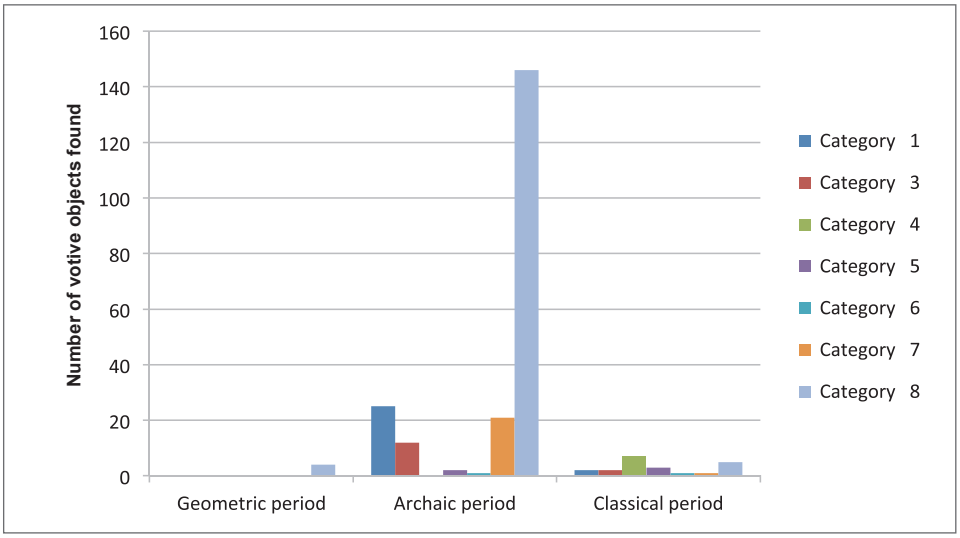
This question will be approached from two different angles. Firstly, we need to ascertain the relative frequency of 'fertility images' compared to other votive images. In order to do this, all votive images must be taken into consideration, and dealt with as a whole. Secondly, the evidence for fertility cults — images of naked women and men — must be revisited in order to assess the validity of the fertility interpretation. It is by no means my intention to simply claim that the 'fertility' label is wrong for these images; however, the fertility interpretation does need to be scrutinized in order to acquire more nuanced and specific knowledge of them and the cults they played a part in.

6.1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF STANDARDIZED FEMALE IMAGES AND IMAGES OF WOMEN HOLDING FLOWERS, FRUIT, OR A DOVE

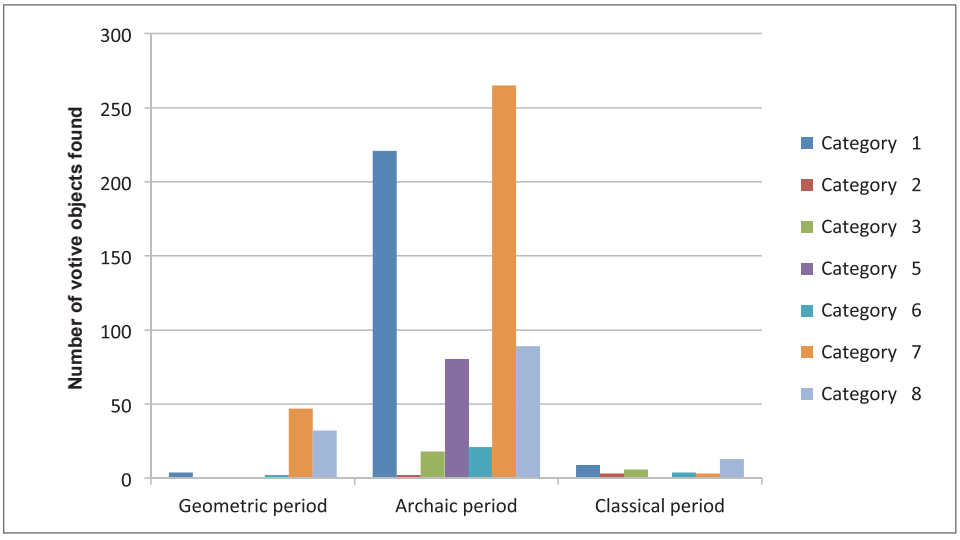
Graphs 4, 5 and 6 show the distribution of categories 1-8 (all the categories that deal specifically with images) in the three sanctuaries. They demonstrate that images traditionally interpreted as denoting fertility and child rearing (Categories 3-5) are quantitatively less frequent than other image categories, such as 'Standardized female image' (Category 1), 'Women holding flowers, fruit, or a dove' (Category 2) or animal images (Categories 7 and 8). In the following, I discuss the human images (Categories 1-6).



Graph 4: Distribution of Categories 1-4 and 7-8 at Brauron.



Graph 5: Distribution of votive images at Ephesos.



Graph 6: Distribution of votive images at Sparta.

Standardized female image (Category 1)

Upon studying the distribution of votive images in the three sanctuaries, it becomes clear that the standardized female images constitute a significant group in all three sanctuaries. When the periods are seen together, Category 1 (standardized female) images constitute 80 % of the total votive images at Brauron; 12 % at Ephesos, and 29 % at Sparta. The significance of Category 1 is most apparent at Brauron. Although, it was still the second most popular image given to the Ephesian and the Spartan Artemis, after 'Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals' (Category 8) at Ephesos, and after 'Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals' (Category 7) at Sparta. If it had been feasible to include the lead figurines from Sparta in the charts, the result would probably have been different. In this case, it is important to point out that although the standardized female images appear to have been popular in Sparta, this is less pronounced when compared to the lead images. However, given that it is not possible to calculate the exact popularity of this particular group at Sparta, I consider the presence of standardized female images significant.

The standardized female image group is a group that, although differing in body position (seated or standing), shape, and material, is made up of dressed women who are neither holding an attribute nor making a gesture. Several of the image types are mass-produced and are found in sanctuaries of many different deities, especially female deities. Given that these images do not display any attribute or gesture and are encountered in most sanctuaries of female deities, it is very unlikely that they could provide much specific information about Artemis or about one specific cult. Consequently, the standardized female images cannot be taken as evidence for fertility cults.

Images of women holding flowers, fruit, or doves (Category 2)

Images of women holding a flowers, fruit or doves (Category 2) are commonly understood as symbolizing female fertility or fertility in general (Baumbach 2004:18-19). These images are most prominent at Brauron where they account for a total of 79 figurines (9 %) and are the second most popular image (see Graph 4).

Some[4] of the figurines from Brauron are carrying a small bird (most often a dove) together with the flower or fruit (Figs. 12 and 13). The dove is gen-

4. In the publication, it is not specified how many carry a bird.

erally considered to be a fertility symbol because it was an attribute of the oriental 'mother goddess' Astarte and, later, of Aphrodite (Baumbach 2004:17, Burkert 2001:152-153, Böhm 1990:129). Brita Alroth (1989:85-105) claims that images of women holding doves represent Aphrodite, and that images of naked women, images of women touching their pudenda or stomach, and images of women touching their breasts (Category 3) are also representations of Aphrodite. After studying the figurine material from several Greek sanctuaries for several deities Alroth argues that, when appearing in an Artemis or a Hera sanctuary, for example, Category 2 and 3 images represent Aphrodite as a visiting goddess. However, Baumbach (2004:17-18, 20) has rightly demonstrated that Alroth's exclusive confinement of these images to Aphrodite is schematic and that Category 2 and Category 3 images might also express

Figure 12: Female figurine holding a dove (Leon 2009: Cat. 373).

Figure 13: Female figurine holding a fruit or flower (Leon 2009: Cat. 331).

aspects of Hera, and argues that the significance of the figurines should be sought in both the representations themselves as well as in the contexts they were found. In analyzing cultural and social functions of the cults of Artemis, it is more meaningful to focus on what sort of ideas the images may reflect, rather than on which deities they might represent.

Scholars have traditionally regarded flowers and fruit as symbols of fertility. It could, thus, be argued that the gesture of holding the flower and fruit up between the breasts emphasizes the female fertility aspect. The female figurines carrying fruit or flowers might also be images of women dedicating first fruits as 'thank offerings' for a good harvest (Baumbach 2004:18).

The production of Category 2 images began in the Late Archaic period and became popular in the Classical period (Leon 2009:132-133). Like Category 1 (standardized female images), Category 2 is also mass-produced and found at many sanctuaries of many different goddesses in the Late Archaic and Classical periods. The popularity of these images is by far the most substantial at Brauron. Although Category 2 images might be associated with fertility, it is on a very general level and as such cannot provide much specific information about either Artemis or about the worshippers' concerns and ideas.

There are no Category 2 images at Ephesos. The Category 2 images from Sparta differ stylistically from those of Category 2 from Brauron, but they also differ because the women at Sparta are all holding one specific fruit: the pomegranate. (They also carry an additional object, which is difficult to identify conclusively.) The 24 representations of pomegranates at Sparta emphasize the importance of the pomegranate there. In a Greek context, the pomegranate is understood to have been a symbol of both female fertility, and of death and rebirth. When present in the context of Astarte, Aphrodite, or Hera, the pomegranate is considered to have been a metaphor for fertility due to the understanding of its many seeds serving as an excellent fertility metaphor. When occurring in a Demeter and Persephone context, however, the pomegranate is commonly seen as a symbol of death and rebirth, as a reference to the myth of Hades' abduction of Persephone and her return. The metaphorical association between death and the pomegranate is assumed to derive from the pomegranate's blood red juice (Baumbach 2004:19, Immerwahr 1989:408, Muthmann 1982:39-52, 67-77).

I will argue for another possible interpretation of the presence of pomegranates in the Spartan Artemision, an interpretation also based on the myth of Hades' abduction of Persephone. Hades abducts Persephone and, by eating pomegranate seeds, Persephone is tricked into staying in the Underworld as Hades' wife. Thus, it is by eating from a pomegranate that Persephone goes

from being a maiden and a virgin to being a married sexual woman. However, since Persephone spends half the year with Hades as his wife and half the year with Demeter as her daughter, she goes through the passage from girl to woman every year. Consequently, the abduction myth of Persephone can also be read as a myth of the transition from a young girl to a woman and the pomegranate as a metaphor for the loss of virginity and female sexuality.

A significant part of the votive images in the three sanctuaries is made up of mass-produced female images, which are found in the sanctuaries of many female deities. This is particularly true of Brauron. Category 1 can be held to demonstrate a concern for women, but not for female fertility. The Category 2 images at Brauron also show a focus on women and can, at this early stage, due to the presence of the flowers and fruits, be placed under the broad collective umbrella of fertility. These two groups are clearly important due to their popularity, they have a quantitative significance; they cannot, however, reveal anything specific about the constitution of Artemis at these three places. The Category 2 images from Sparta differ from the Category 2 images from Brauron. Due to the specific focus on the pomegranate in the figurines, and as several pomegranate imitations were also found at Sparta, there is indeed a special emphasis on the pomegranate in Sparta and not simply on fruit in general. Consequently, the Spartan Category 2 appears to be more specific than the Brauron Category 2.

6.2 THE ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR FERTILITY CULTS – REVISITED

In contrast to the quantitatively significant images found in sanctuaries of most goddesses, image types that arise less frequently are significant for various other reasons. It is exactly by virtue of their lower frequency, both inside of each sanctuary and in the distribution among different deities, that they might reveal more about the meaning of the cults than Category 1. The low frequency of these images indicates that the process of both making them and choosing them was more thought through. This possibly means that the dedicator had a more clearly expressed idea for coming to the sanctuary and performing a votive ritual. Further on in this sub-chapter, some topics of more specific significance for the understanding of the cults and constitution of Artemis in the sanctuaries at Brauron, Ephesos and Sparta will be discussed.

Images of naked women and women touching their pubic area/ lower abdomen or breasts (Category 3)

A votive image type of more specific significance is the group of female images depicting women naked, touching the pubic area, with incised lines demarcating the pubic area, touching the lower abdomen, touching the breasts, or with large breasts (Category 3). Category 3 images are traditionally regarded as images denoting female fertility because they are understood to focus on the reproductive abilities of a woman's body. In order to understand more about the social and cultural ideas and implications lying behind worship in a sanctuary, we need to both be more specific in our interpretations beyond the term fertility and to also question whether the female reproduction path is the best path to pursue in this venture. By questioning the female fertility and reproduction definition, I wish to nuance the interpretation framework and add another dimension to the images, and, thus, to the cults and the constitution of Artemis.

There is only one example of Category 3 images at Brauron. This image, of which only the lower parts of the body are left, is atypical for the Category 3 image group since it displays a naked woman lying down. Leon (2009:247) claims that the figure is a depiction of a hetaira (a courtesan), thus implying that it is referring to sexuality in an erotic sense. The female images touching the pubic area or the womb/stomach are the most popular of the Category 3 images at both Ephesos and Sparta (Figs. 14-16). Images of naked women and images focusing on the breasts are equally popular at Ephesos. Naked female images are more popular than images emphasizing breasts at Sparta.

Category 3 images are found in several other goddesses' sanctuaries, particularly the sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Hera. Naked female images with their arms at their sides are also found in the sanctuaries of, for example, Hera at Samos (Webb 1978:98-99) and of Aphrodite at Arsos in Cyprus (Schmidt 1968:102, 129). The presence of naked female images in these sanctuaries has led scholars to interpret the cults as being associated with female fertility (e.g. Baumbach 2004:153). Images of women holding one or both hands in front of their pubic area, found in Ephesos and Sparta, are commonly interpreted as emphasizing the female genitals and thus referring to female reproduction (Baumbach 2004:17, 153, Böhm 1990:136-139). Images of women holding one or two hands to their womb/stomach, like the ones found at Ephesos and Sparta, are often taken to be linked to pregnancy and, thus, to female fertility. Since the wombs on these figures are flat, they are not depictions of pregnant women, Baumbach (2004:153) argues that they are probably of women

awaiting, or praying for, pregnancy. Images of women touching their pudenda or their wombs have also been found at the sanctuaries of Hera at Perachora (Dunbabin 1962:405) and at Samos (Jarosch 1994: Nos. 125, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 154), which show that both Hera and Artemis were recipients of these types of images.

Images of women, both naked and dressed, holding their hands to their breasts and images of naked women with prominent breasts were found at both Ephesos and Sparta. Images of women displayed with their hands on their breasts appear in sanctuaries to goddesses believed to be responsible for women and their offspring, such as in the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina

Figure 14: Female figurine touching pubic area, Sparta (Dawkins 1929b: Pl. xxxvi 7).

Figure 15: Naked woman holding her breasts, Ephesos (Seipel 2008: Cat. 112).

Figure 16: Dressed woman holding her hands to pubic area, Ephesos (Seipel 2008: Cat. 271).

(Sinn 1988:152) and the sanctuaries of Hera at Argos (Waldstein 1905:29-30, 34-35), Perachora (Payne 1940:231-232, 226-227) and on Samos (Jarosch 1994:136, 140, 157, Schmidt 1968:16, 19, 29). The breast-holding gesture is a characteristic of Astarte, a Semitic goddess commonly held to be a 'mother goddess' and a protector of female fertility. She is generally believed to have been assimilated with Aphrodite by the Greeks[5] (Burkert 2001:152-153, Böhm 1990:129). Based on the association to Astarte and on the appearance of these images in sanctuaries to goddesses assumed to be associated with child-rearing, it is held that the breast-holding gesture symbolizes female fertility because it indicates breastfeeding and thus a preoccupation with nurturing babies (Böhm 1990:137, Baumbach 2004:20).

The understanding of Category 3 images at Ephesos and Sparta as expressions of female fertility follows the same interpretative path as the understanding of naked female bodies in other Greek sanctuaries. Defining these images as fertility images is not necessarily incorrect. The well-established interpretation of fertility is, however, too schematic, too broad and based on deductive reasoning. The term 'fertility' could include nearly everything, thus labelling an image or a cult with fertility will not provide new insight into the meaning of a specific cult. The interpretation of Category 3 images as an expression of concern for female reproduction should also be questioned.

If we treat the Category 3 images as isolated from the rest of the images or from the rest of the votives in the three sanctuaries, they could, of course, be referring to female fertility and reproduction. However, I will demonstrate that it is more likely that these images reflect female sexuality.[6] A naked female body and images drawing our attention to breasts and pubic area could easily be referring primarily to sex and not to fertility, a point also made by Keel and Uehlinger (1995:122) and Marinatos (2000:15).

In order to further discuss the fertility interpretation, we need to examine not only the other types of votives present in the sanctuaries, but also which votives are absent. If we are dealing with cults that have female fertility and reproduction as a primary concern, certain images seem to be missing in the

5. While the older breast-holding images connected to Astarte are naked, the images associated with Aphrodite are usually clothed (Boardman 1980:76).

6. Some scholars claim that sexuality is a modern term that cannot be used to understand antiquity. However, if we refuse to use 'sexuality' as an analytical category because it is a modern term, there are many more terms we should not use in our analyses of antiquity. If we are precise about the term's usage and limitations, 'sexuality' can be a useful category in an analysis on antiquity.

material. One would expect images of pregnant women, images of women in childbirth, and depictions of women breastfeeding to be present. Yet these images are absent in all three sanctuaries.

Images showing childbirth are very rare in Greece. In Greek sanctuaries, no certain image of women in childbirth has been found.[7] Consequently, the absence of images of childbirth and women in labor in the three sanctuaries of Artemis does not reveal any particular insight into these specific cults. Indeed, not depicting childbirth or labor appears to have been a general cultural phenomenon. The danger of the liminal state of childbirth might be a reason for this. That it was considered to be too personal for depiction might be another.

Although depicting a pregnant woman was not very common in ancient Greece, and the number of votives displaying pregnant women in Greek sanctuaries is quite small (Wise 2007:118-142), they do occur in several sanctuaries and other contexts. Depictions of pregnant women were discovered at Tsoutsouros at Inatos in Crete, where the birth goddess Eileithyia was worshipped (Price 1978:86-87); at the sanctuary of Hera at Argos (Waldstein 1905:30); at the sanctuary of Artemis at Thasos (Pingiatoglou 1981:118-119); in a shrine at Tsakona in Lakonia (Wise 2007:131); at Kavousi (Wise 2007:135); at Lato (Ducrey and Picard 1969:819); at Corinth (Wise 2007:136), and at the cave of the Nymphs at Pitsa (Wise 2007:137). Depictions of women breast-feeding children were quite popular and are found in many sanctuaries, for example in the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (Dunbabin 1962:464-466, 512) and the sanctuary of Hera at Samos (Webb 1978:100-101).

Since images of pregnant women and images of women breastfeeding are present in several other cults, but not in the three cults of Artemis, there are no concrete images displaying the reproductive and child-rearing capacity of the female body. Thus, the depictions of naked women, women touching or pointing to their pubic area/wombs, and women touching their breasts more likely signify the sexual aspects of the female body rather than reproduction.

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7. Kneeling female figures have, however, been suggested (Baumbach 2004:154-155; see Stoop [1960:24-41] for debate) to be images of women giving birth. Since the written evidence for a kneeling birthing position is slim and since most childbirth representations on funerary monuments and in vase paintings show the woman in labor either seated on a birthing chair or lying in a bed (Wise 2007:144), there are inadequate reasons for claiming that the kneeling statuettes depict childbirth scenes.

The significance of female nudity and sexuality

In Greek art, female and male nakedness was represented differently and also perceived differently. In order to further examine the perception of female nudity and sexuality, it is important to take a quick look at the active/passive opposition, which is a fundamental dichotomy in ancient Greek attitudes towards sexual and gender relations (cf. Brooten 1996). The only socially accepted sexual relation was between an active, dominating man and a passive, subordinate person (either a woman or a subordinate man) that was being penetrated by the dominating man. While men (with the exception of youths, slaves, and other subordinate men) were expected to be active, to take the initiative and to be dominating, women were supposed to be exclusively passive, subordinate, and penetrated. The active/passive opposition that was seen as fundamental for sexual relations is also important for the understanding of female and male gender roles; men's role in society was supposed to be active, while women were supposed to be passive. The passive woman/active man dichotomy was seen as a natural, social and cosmic order. 'Wrong connections', such as an active woman, did occur of course, and were believed to result in illness for the individual and disorder in society (Økland 2002:133, 136, 138, Brooten 1996:146).

Female nudity had different connotations, depending on the context in which it occurred and the kind of female body that was represented. In much the same way that clothes could signal a specter of different aspects, so could nakedness serve different purposes and be used as a 'costume' (Bonfante 1989). In Greek art, naked or half-naked women are present as pornographic actors, prostitutes, and women about to be raped, but also as goddesses and as votive figurines. Thus, female nudity could signal pornography, eroticism, vulnerability, and helplessness, but also power and ritual (Bonfante 1989:544-546).

The interpretations of Praxiteles' Aphrodite from Knidos can provide some new perspectives to the Category 3 images. The statue, from the 4th century BC, is the first known Greek monumental depiction, in the round, of a naked woman. Like several of the Category 3 images from the Artemis sanctuaries, Aphrodite is completely naked with her right hand covering her vulva. In her left hand, she holds a piece of drapery wrapped around a vase. Few, if any, scholars have interpreted Aphrodite from Knidos with respect to female fertility or as symbolizing women's concern for becoming pregnant. Rather, the common interpretation is that the sculpture denotes both sexuality and modesty. It is held that at the same time as Aphrodite's nudity was meant to awaken sexual desire in the (male) spectator, the gesture of her right arm and

hand shows that she is modestly shielding herself from these looks of sexual desire (Havelock 1995:10, 19-32).

The interpretation of Aphrodite from Knidos might also be valid for naked female images holding their hands to their pudenda and/or breasts. Following the traditional interpretation of Aphrodite from Knidos, the nudity signals openness and sexuality, but the hand gesture, whether it hides the vulva or the breasts, signals modesty, control, and a closed and passive body language. Thus, the images show the female body as both active and open and as passive and closed.

However, the hand gesture could be otherwise interpreted: at the same time as concealing and protecting, it is also drawing our attention to the covered erotic areas, and in this way further emphasizes the sexual aspects of the female body. The hand covering erotic areas, thus, works in the same way as transparent clothes do, as demonstrated by Stewart (1997:40-41): emphasizing sexuality even more so than complete nakedness.

Supporting evidence for the interpretation of the hand gesture as *emphasizing* erotic areas rather than *concealing* them, is found in images of women with a hand placed on their belly. I suggest that the intention of the hand to the belly gesture is to point to and, thus, emphasize the area directly below: the pubic area. Many of the images of women touching their breasts and pubic area from Ephesos are dressed. At the same time, as the female bodies were concealed with clothes, sexual aspects of the female body are emphasized by pointing to them.

I am not suggesting that the sexuality associated with the Category 3 images is pornographic or is signaling an invitation to sexual relations. Nudity or emphasis of erotic areas displayed in a ritualized context is far more complex than that, as it is far more complex than simply denoting fertility. In a clothed society, such as the Greek one, the sight of a naked human body could evoke emotions of shame, shock, lust, admiration, a sense of violation, pity and disgust, although the most frequent associations are with taboo, magic, and ritual (Bonfante 1989:544). I suggest that we are dealing with female nudity and sexuality in a broader context of transformation, ritualization, and confrontation.

Understanding Category 3 images as images of female sexuality, transformation, and confrontation, there are several possible contexts where they could have been dedicated to Artemis. They might have been dedicated by girls standing on the threshold to womanhood[8]. Events that were important to

8. Winter (1983:173-174) suggests a similar interpretation for naked female figurines from Syro-Palestine.

mark in the life of young girls in ancient Greece were puberty, engagement, and marriage. The transition from being a girl to becoming a woman was a gradual one, from one social status to another. The veneration of these events can, however, also be understood as the culturally mediated perception of the biological processes of the female body (Sourvinou-Inwood 1988:25). The first menstruation marked a girl's first step into womanhood, the first sexual intercourse marked the next step, and the final step in becoming a woman was the birth of the first child (King 1983:120-122). During these stages, but perhaps especially during puberty, which was the stage that, in most cases, lasted the longest, being aware of and understanding the bodily changes taking place must have been a central part of preparing for life as a married woman. I suggest that awareness of, and learning about, sexuality and how to control it played an important role in these preparations. The naked and sexualized female images may have been given to Artemis by adolescent girls praying for, or giving thanks for, protection and guidance through puberty.

Images of naked or ithyphallic men (Category 5)

Examining the votive images in the three sanctuaries reveals one noticeable aspect that has not received its deserved share of attention: the distinct difference in the absence or presence of male images. At Brauron, there are only five male rider images. At Ephesos, there are nine depictions of men, one of which is a naked ithyphallic man and one a naked man playing the double pipe. In Sparta, there are 116 male images: of which 15 are naked and c. 60 are ithyphallic. The naked or ithyphallic men are all from the Archaic period. The naked male was also a popular motif among the Late Archaic lead figurines at Sparta. The percentage of Category 5 images of the total number of male images is much larger at the Spartan Artemision than in sanctuaries of male deities. Images dedicated to male deities, for example to Zeus at Olympia (Alroth 1989:37-41) and to Apollo at Amyklai and Delphi (Alroth 1989:59-60), are either exclusively or predominantly of men; the most popular depictions being male riders, male warriors, and naked men.

In the current discussion on the evidence of fertility cults, the images of naked or ithyphallic men are important because their presence in the cult of Artemis Orthia is interpreted as symbolizing male fertility or fertility in general (Rose 1929:402, Waugh 2009:159, 162-164). Again, the fertility definition is too broad and schematic to give any specific information about what the intentions of people in ancient Greece were when dedicating votives of naked men and of ithyphallic men. Male nudity, like female nudity, probably had a

more complex meaning, and images of an erect penis should not be taken at face value.

In order to understand the presence of images of naked and of ithyphallic men in the sanctuaries of Artemis at Ephesos and Sparta, we need to understand what male nudity and images of erect male sexual organs in public signaled. Whilst female nudity in the Archaic and Early Classical period could denote a variety of meanings — vulnerability, helplessness, eroticism, sexuality, power, and taboo — male nudity had generally only two different aspects of depiction and meaning. On the one hand, there are the kouroi, athletes and male figures in vase painting signaling arête and male strength. On the other hand, there are the male figures (sometimes even bestial) with an erect phallus, most commonly interpreted as having a magical and apotropaic function (Bonfante 1989:550). The two most prominent groups of phallic figures in Greek art are the Satyrs and the Herms, which both came into use in the 6th century BC. The Satyrs, typically encountered in vase paintings, were human-like figures depicted naked, with horses' tails and hooves, full of vitality and with huge erect penises. A Herm is a pillar with a sculptured male head and an erect phallus. Herms were often put up at crossroads and beside entrances and were popular sculptures in the streets of Athens (Bonfante 1989:549).

Following the interpretations of ithyphallic male figures in Greek contexts, the Category 5 images at Sparta and Ephesos might be interpreted as votive offerings with a magical and apotropaic function. In a clothed society, nakedness was taboo, and sexual organs, especially exaggerated male sexual organs, might, thus, have served as protection.

However, instead of seeing the ithyphallic figures as apotropaic, the Category 5 images could also refer more directly to male sexuality. Male images were particularly prominent in Sparta. Besides the naked or ithyphallic male, the male warrior is prominent, especially among the lead figurines where it is a very popular male image in all periods. The presence of male warriors could be accounted for arguing that the Spartan Artemision was concerned with the military defense of the city state. Besides the male warrior images, there is, however, very little in the votive material to suggest such an interpretation of the role of the cult. When the naked and ithyphallic men and the male warriors are seen together, it rather points to an association with the transition from boy to man. Both of these motifs emphasize two important aspects for a boy becoming a man in ancient Greek society: sexuality and the military.

Figure 17: Black-figured kylix from Sparta (550-530 BC) (© The Trustees of the British Museum. Museum number 1842,0407.7).

Of particular interest in this regard is an illustration on a black-figured kylix (550-530 BC) from Sparta, now at the British Museum (Fig. 17)[9]. In the center of the illustration is a naked man on horseback, holding a goad in his hand. Behind the man is a winged female figure carrying wreaths, she appears to be dancing. Three waterbirds stand in between the horse's legs, and one water-bird is perched on the horse's neck. In front of the horse is an eagle. Although the kylix cannot be attributed to the Artemis Orthia sanctuary, it brings together the image of a male warrior and the nude male in one and the same image from a Spartan context. This scene provides us with an insight that strengthens the interpretation that there is a link between the naked and ithyphallic male figures and the images of male warriors in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

In the same way that I have argued that the Category 3 images should be understood as denoting female sexuality and be connected with the transition

9. I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewer who made me aware of this illustration.

from girl to woman, I argue that the Category 5 images in Sparta had a specific significance as an aspect of the boys' transition to men, by expressing a concern for the male sexual body. The warrior images might also point to the transition from boy to man, since to militarily defend society was considered to be a male duty and in order to become a full member of male society the boys had to become warriors and members of the military (Brandt 2006:46, Marinatos 2000:67-83, Brandt 2012:164, 174-175). The warrior images might, thus, have been given by youths upon completion of their military training and initiation into adult male society.

Written sources of the Classical Greek and Roman period (Paus. 3.16.10; Plut. *Lyc*. 18.1; Xen. *Const*. *Lac*. 2) describe an annual ritual (*diamastigosis*) at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta that is commonly understood as a rite of passage for boys becoming men. As part of the ritual, cheese was laid out on the altar and guarded by adult men with whips. Adolescent boys had to get hold of the cheese while the adult men were flogging them. In the Roman period the ritual became more brutal, sometimes even resulting in death (des Bouvrie 2009:160-161, Burkert 2001:152). The flogging ritual, starting at least as early as the Classical period, shows that the connection to adolescent boys and their transition to the sphere of adult men, which I find to be particularly prominent in the Archaic material, continued as a cult aspect in the Classical and later periods.

Images of women with children and children alone (Category 4)

Susan Wise (2007) has examined the rituals and votives associated with childbirth in ancient Greece. One of her important discoveries is that votives explicitly depicting pregnancy are not popular and that votives depicting childbirth are non-existent. Although there might be several reasons for this (as discussed previously), she argues that the main reason is that the preferred votive image to give before or after a successful childbirth was that of a child. The dedicator would not focus on the process by giving an image of pregnancy or childbirth, but rather he or she would focus on the desired result itself: a healthy child (Wise 2007:179).

Votives of adults with children (kourotrophos figures), women breastfeeding children, and children alone were popular dedications in sanctuaries to goddesses considered to be associated with pregnancy, childbirth and childcare. Wise considers these to be childbirth votives (Wise 2007:157-173).

Figure 18: Figurines of naked boys holding their clothes over one arm, Brauron (BCH 1961: Fig. 9).

Figure 19: Marble statuette of a girl carrying a hare, Brauron (Photo: the author).

Following Wise's argument, if the three cults of Artemis are associated with female fertility, pregnancy and childbirth, one could expect to find kourotrophos images and images of infants and toddlers in the three sanctuaries. However, such images are only significant in L.A./E.C. and Classical Brauron and in Classical Ephesos. In Sparta, there are no images of children or kourotrophoi whatsoever. Depictions of kourotrophoi and children are most frequent at Brauron; there is one seated female figurine holding an child, one statuette of a squatting naked boy, three statuettes displaying a naked boy (Fig. 18), one large-scale statuette of a girl carrying a hare (Fig. 19) and many (c. 50) heads of girls broken off from statuettes similar to the aforementioned examples. There are also six seated women with adolescent girls (Fig. 20) on their laps and one adolescent male included as Category 4 in Brauron. In Ephesos, there are six images of a seated woman with a child in her lap (kourotrophos) (Fig. 21) and one image of a child.

Figure 20: Seated woman holding adolescent girl in her lap, Brauron (Leon 2009: Cat. 487).

Figure 21: Woman holding child, Ephesos (Hogarth 1908: Fig. 92).

Although an image of a kourotrophos or a child might be a suitable votive associated with pregnancy and childbirth, these votives might also have been dedicated to ensure a safe and healthy childhood. The seven images from

Brauron displaying adolescents, in particular, express aspects related to this age group, and are unlikely to have been given as childbirth votives.

6.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE CULTS OF ARTEMIS AS FERTILITY AND KOUROTROPHOS CULTS

The Category 1 images and the Category 2 images at Brauron are significant due to their quantitative popularity. Since they are found in the sanctuaries of most female deities and since their design is standardized, they cannot reveal anything specific about the three cults of Artemis. Contrary to the understanding of Category 3 as referring to female fertility and reproduction and Category 5 as fertility images serving apotropaic functions, I have suggested that they referred rather to sexuality and the transition from child to adult.

Throughout this chapter, a picture showing differences rather than similarities between the three sanctuaries starts to emerge. Category 1 and Category 2 are extremely popular at Brauron. Furthermore, when the votive material is studied as a whole, it can be observed that there are no votives associated with female child rearing in the sanctuaries where Category 3 images are prominent, i.e. in Ephesos and Sparta, and that male warrior images dominate in the sanctuary in which Category 5 images are popular, i.e. in Sparta.

The link to female sexuality in Ephesos and to female and male sexuality in Sparta is apparent. In Brauron, however, there is only one naked female body, and, except for the images of young and adolescent boys, there are no male images at all. Although images emphasizing sexual aspects of the human body are not significant at Brauron, we cannot reach the conclusion that sexuality was not a concern for the worshippers in the sanctuary. The worshippers in Brauron could simply have had other ways of expressing this aspect. The concern for children and adolescents is present in images of children (mostly girls), and of adolescents (mostly girls) sitting on the laps of adult women. I suggest that these images point to the transition from child to adult rather than to the female rearing aspect. The woman depicted with the adolescents on her lap is, thus, probably Artemis in her role as an overseer of this transition. I will discuss the presence of young girls at Brauron, together with the ritual of *arkteia,* further in Chapter 8.

The significance of puberty, sexuality and gender are also further analyzed in a broader theoretical context of the body and borders in Chapter 8. Before proceeding to this analysis, the animal images in the three sanctuaries and Artemis' link to hunting and to wild animals and nature will be discussed.

Chapter 7

ARTEMIS – GODDESS OF HUNTING AND MISTRESS OF WILD ANIMALS?

The role as a goddess of hunting and as a mistress of wild animals is commonly held to be an essential key to understand Artemis and her cults. This understanding is based on interpretations of written accounts with iconographical material used as supporting evidence. Important written accounts are Hom. *Il*. 5. 52-54, 21. 470, 483; *Od*. 6. 102-105; *HH* 9, 27; Aristoph., *Frogs* 1358-1359; Aristoph., *Thes.* 114-115, where Artemis is described as a mistress of wild animals and wild lands and as a hunter. Iconographical material from the Classical period onward displaying a woman with bow and arrow, accompanied by a deer or a dog are considered as evidence for Artemis the huntress. Images of a woman with wild animals are interpreted as Artemis controlling and protecting wild animals in her role as potnia theron – mistress of wild animals (see also Chapter 3.3).

Do we find hunting motifs, images of wild animals, and images of women with wild animals in the sanctuaries of Artemis? And, if so, should they be understood as metaphors for hunting, protection and control of wild animals?

Animals are at same time food, commodities, pets, and the embodiment of 'nature' and are frequently used as symbols and metaphors.[10] How animals were regarded and how the relationship between humans and animals was viewed in ancient Greece is strongly associated with how human beings saw themselves. By examining the animal and human-animal votive images from the sanctuaries of Artemis, it is possible to explore how the ancient Greeks used animals to communicate their needs and wishes to the deities. In other words, I see the presence of animal images in ritualized contexts and the conceptualization of human-animal relations as indicators of cultural ideas and values.

The study of human relationships with animals has a longstanding tra-

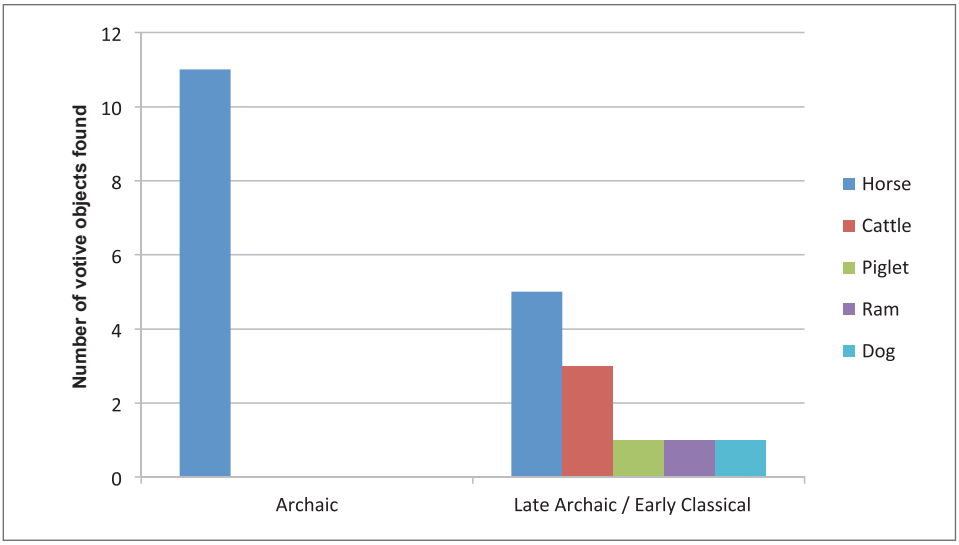
10. The term animal is used in a broad sense, and also includes birds, fish, and insects.

dition in anthropology, from studies of domestication and cultural ecology to symbolic and structuralist approaches (Douglas 1957, 1970, Leach 1964, Lévi-Strauss 1962). In studies of the conceptualization of animals in religion, the focus has mainly been on totemism and on exploring what animals and human-animal relationships signify in the social system (Lévi-Strauss 1962, Willis 1994, 1974, Detienne and Vernant 1979). Lévi-Strauss claimed that animals are chosen as totems not because they are 'good to eat', but because they are 'good to think' (Lévi-Strauss 1963:89). Gilhus points out that animals are also 'good to feel': that the emotional value animals transfer to anything they are linked with is one of the main reasons for their symbolic and metaphorical importance (Gilhus 2006:4).

The last decade has seen an explosion in scholarly interest for animal studies in social and cultural research. The focus for studies on the relationship between humans and animals has been on the changing perception of animals from being trusted as equal 'partners' in hunter-gatherer groups to being subject to domination in societies dependent upon pastoralism (Ingold 2000); on the social contract between humans and animals (Larrère and Larrère 2000, Lund, Anthony, and Röcklingsberg 2004); on *interspecies* relationships (Livingston and Puar 2011a:3), and on the *merging* of identities between humans and animals (Lindstrøm 2012). For the present analysis of the animal and human-animal images in the three Artemis sanctuaries, I will attempt to understand them through theories on interspecies and merging. In spite of rapidly growing interest in the field of interspecies in general, research on interspecies within the disciplines of Greek archaeology and historical studies is slim. I have therefore been inspired by interspecies studies of modern societies (Livingston and Puar 2011b, Howard 2009), and also by Lindstrøm's (2012) research on the merging between animal and human identities as attested in archaeological materials from various places and periods. By focusing on what Category 7 and Category 8 images express about the relationship between humans and animals in terms of merging of human and animal identities, or interspecies, the aim in the following chapter is to question the validity of some stereotypical considerations of Artemis. Moreover, I aim to demonstrate how these issues may be approached, and I hope to contribute to further research on interspecies and merging of animals and human identities in the study of ancient Greek images.

7.1 MAGES OF DOMESTICATED ANIMALS / HUMANS AND DOMESTICATED ANIMALS (CATEGORY 7)

The distribution of animals between domesticated and wild differs in all the three sanctuaries. At Brauron, the distribution between domesticated and wild animals is 37 / 63 %; at Ephesos it is 12 % / 88 %; while at Sparta the distribution is 69 % / 31 %.



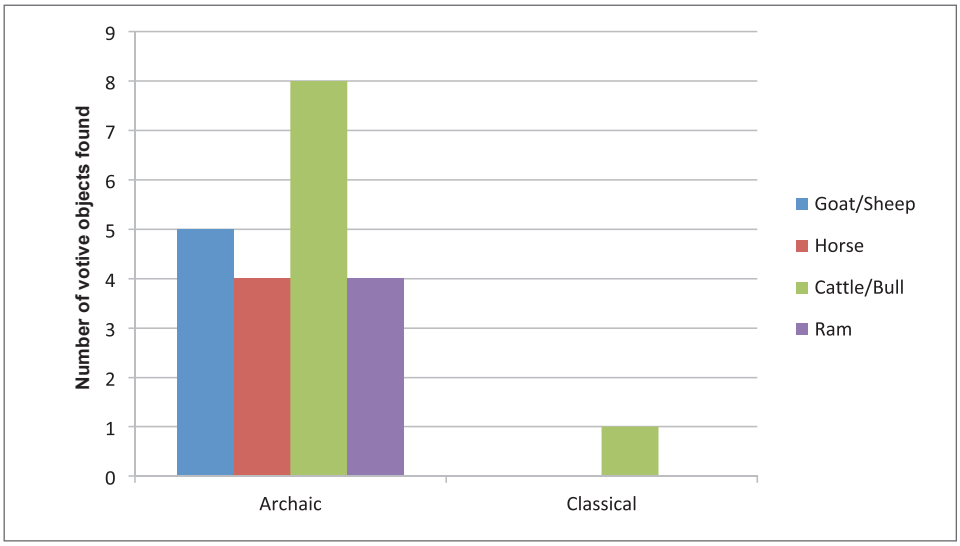
Graph 7: Distribution of Category 7 in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.

At Brauron (Graph 7), the most significant domesticated animal image in all periods is the horse. The horse is represented by six horse and five male rider figurines in the Archaic period, and by one horse figurine and four riders in the L.A./E.C. period. The rest of the domesticated animals are a cow, a piglet, a ram, a woman walking with a staff and a dog, and a woman seated on a bull, all of which are from the L.A./E.C period.

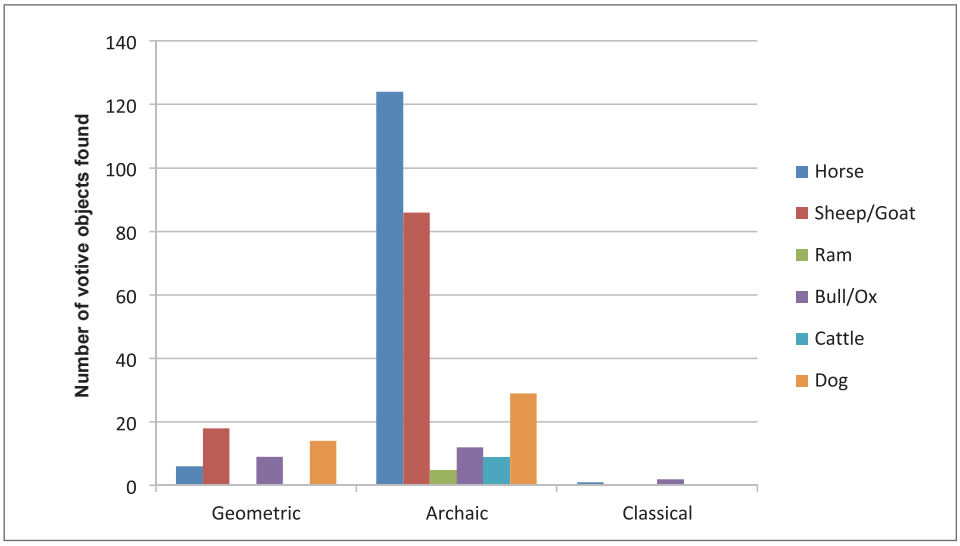
Domesticated animals are not prominent at Ephesos (see Graph 8), and no animal stands out as particularly popular. In the Archaic period, it is relatively evenly distributed between goat/sheep, horse and ram, while bull/cattle are most popular. In the Classical period, only one bull image was found.

At Sparta, domesticated animals are particularly prominent (see Graph 9). There is also great variety in which the animal is depicted. Some animals were, however, especially popular. The horse, which is present in images of both independent horses and as female rider images, and the sheep were the

most popular animals in the Archaic period and must have had a special significance. The dog is also prominent, and bull, cattle, ram and rooster images are also present. Among the lead figurines there are horses, bulls/oxen, goats and roosters.



Graph 8: Distribution of Category 7 in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos.



Graph 9: Distribution of Category 7 in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

The significance of domesticated animals

Horse images appear to have been common votive gifts to dedicate to several different male and female deities and were especially popular in the Geometric and Early Archaic period. Horse statuettes together with figurines of mounted male warriors were numerous in sanctuaries of Apollo and Zeus in particular, but are also found in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore (Weinberg 1952:10-11, nos. 20-33) and Hera (Waldstein 1902:40, Szabó 1994:97, Payne 1940:228-229, Jarosch 1994:63-64, Schmidt 1968:44-47). Horses and mounted male warriors seem to have been particularly prominent in sanctuaries associated with warriors and the military.

Do the horse images in the Artemis sanctuaries also have a military aspect? There are no rider images present at Ephesos. The rider figurines from L.A./E.C. Brauron do not have any gender characteristics and could, thus, be male or female, and not necessarily warriors. In Sparta, there are male warriors among the votive gifts, especially among the lead figurines. Although the warriors at Sparta are not riding horses, the presence of both horses and warriors could indicate that the horse images refer to the cavalry. The connection between horse and woman is, however, stronger in the sanctuaries of Artemis, especially in Brauron and Sparta with the female rider figurines (Fig. 22) and the images displaying a female head between two horses' heads. Since the horse was also a symbol of high social status, wealth, and the aristocracy (Isager and Skydsgaard 1992:85-86, Zimmermann 1989:322, 334), the woman and horse images most likely emphasize the aristocratic symbolic meaning of the horse rather than the military aspect. The horses and the female rider images may have been given by aristocratic families giving thanks, or asking, for the continuity of their position in the society and for the stability of the city-states where they reigned as the political elite. They may also indicate the wealth or the status of the dedicator.

Rasmus Brandt (2012:169-170) notes that horses and riders were dedicated to many different deities associated with various aspects, and that the horse votive was probably connected with the protection of society. Due to the distribution patterns of horse and rider and because the horse was a symbol of the aristocracy, the horse images in the three sanctuaries cannot reveal any particular cult features besides a concern for one's social status or for the stability of the aristocracy and the city-state.

It has been suggested that votive images of animals like sheep, goat, cattle, and pig relate to the animal sacrifices in the sanctuaries, and that such images were dedicated as reminders of these sacrifices. It has also been suggested

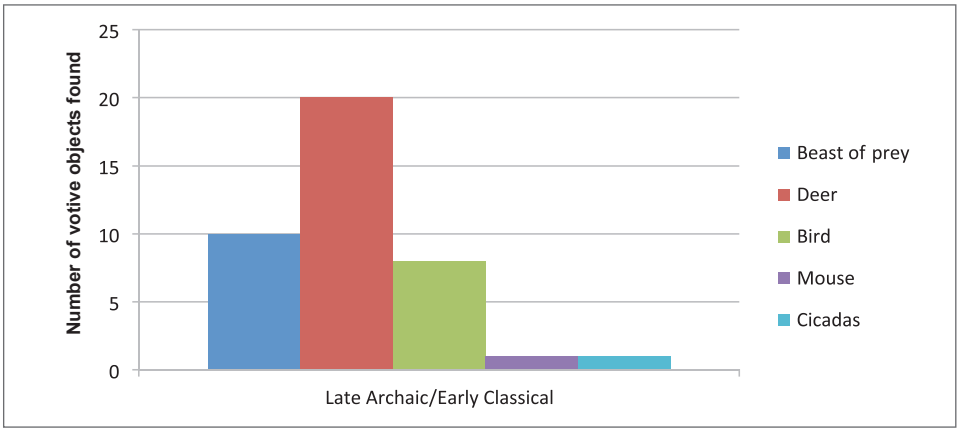
Figure 22: Female rider figurines, Sparta (Dawkins 1929b:Pl. xxxiii 7-8).

that they were dedicated as substitutes for sheep sacrifices by less well-off worshippers. However, in an agrarian society, it is more likely that the people would ask the gods to guarantee the health and well-being of their livestock rather than commemorate their death (Brandt 2012:168). Cattle and sheep are also associated with the cults of Demeter, and the association is commonly attributed to Demeter's role as protector of farm animals (Gilhus 2006:106). Analysis of distribution patterns of cattle figurines show that they often occur in sanctuaries of deities who functioned as protectors of agriculture and vegetation (Guggisberg 1996:339). In Ephesos and Sparta, cattle are depicted as draft animals, which further indicates an association with farm animals. The presence of sheep and cattle votive images indicates that these animals were placed under Artemis' protection. Thus, Artemis, especially the Spartan Artemis, appears to have been concerned with agriculture. Despite the popularity of sheep images in Sparta, there are no human-sheep images, nor are there any human-cattle images.

The presence of votive images of sheep, goats, horses and cattle reflects that the worshippers associated Artemis with domesticated animals. Since the horse signifies social status, aristocracy, and elite leadership, and sheep and cattle signify farming and cultivated land, their presence might indicate that the cults of Artemis were concerned with the well-being of the political leadership and the stability of agriculture, which were crucial for the survival of the city-state. However, contrary to Ephesos, where there is no particular focus on any of the domesticated animals, and contrary to Sparta, where the number and the variation of domesticated animals is considerable Category 7 images at Brauron focus near exclusively on the horse. This indicates that the horse had a different meaning in the cult at Brauron than it did in the other two cults. While Artemis at Ephesos and Sparta was constituted as a goddess protecting the stability and well-being of society, the Brauronian Artemis appears to have been constituted differently. Perhaps the presence of horses at Brauron was more specifically connected to the social status of the young girls in the cult.

Contrary to the observations focusing on Artemis as a mistress of wild animals and a huntress, the material shows that Artemis was also considered to be a goddess of domesticated animals and, thus, a goddess of culture.

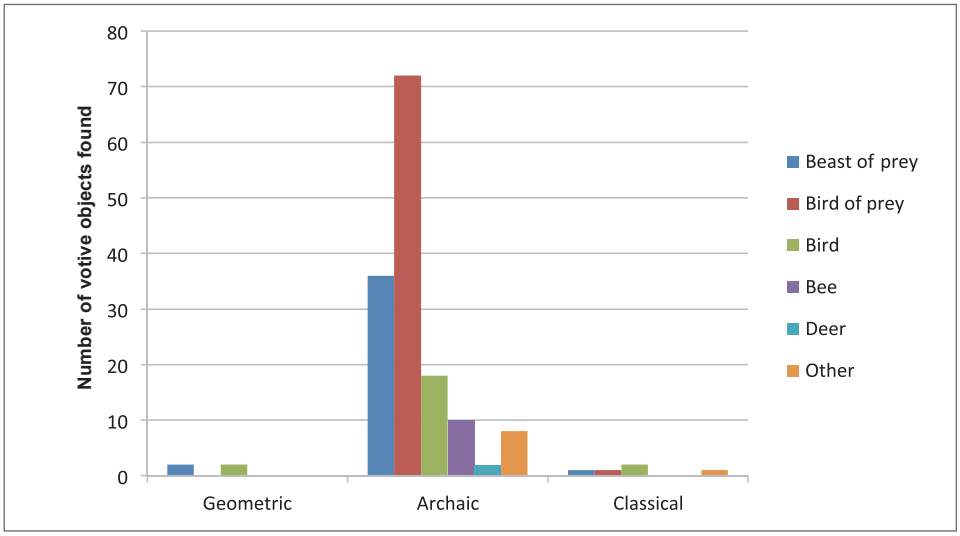
7.2 IMAGES OF WILD ANIMALS / HUMANS AND WILD ANIMALS (CATEGORY 8)



Graph 10: Distribution of Category 8 in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.

There are no Category 8 images present at Brauron in either the Archaic period or the Classical period. Not until the L.A./E.C. do we see any images of

wild animals (Graph 10). The most prominent Category 8 animal from this period is the deer. In all the images where the deer is present, it is either as a standing stag in front of a seated or standing woman or as a fawn lying in the lap of a seated woman. The beast of prey is also significant, both as lion and sphinx figurines, and as lion cubs lying in the laps of seated women. Birds are also present, either as doves or as other kinds of small birds. In addition, some of the figurines categorized under Category 2 hold a small bird, probably a dove.[11]



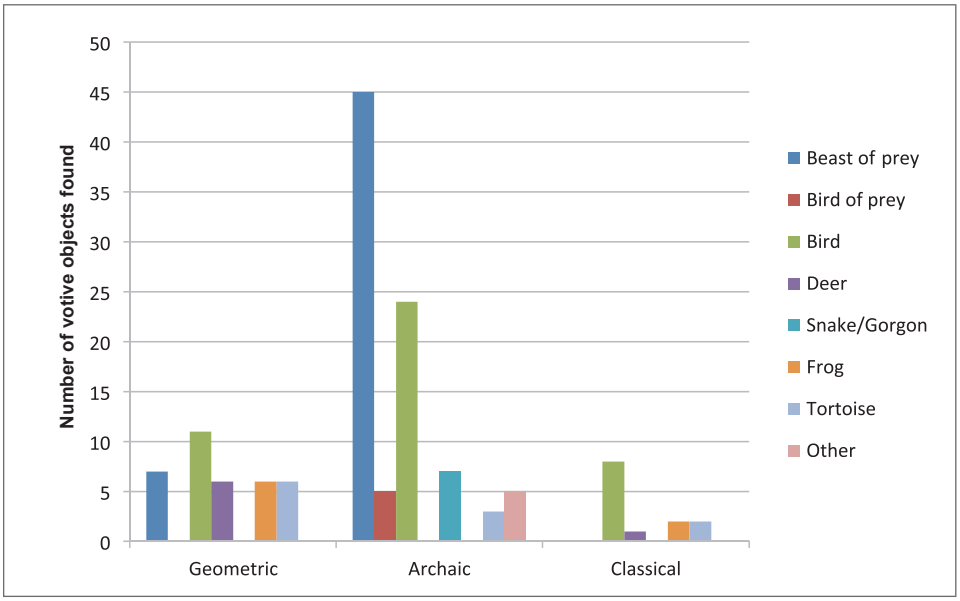
Graph 11: Distribution of Category 8 in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos.

There is a wide variety of wild animal images in Archaic Ephesos (Graph 11). Although, there is a distinct predominance of birds and beasts of prey. The bird of prey is most significantly present as hawk or falcon figurines, and is also seen carried by women, on top of a woman's head, and as a siren. The group of beasts of prey is comprised of images of lions, winged lions, griffins and sphinxes. There is also an image of a winged woman grasping two lions by their tails, one naked human figure standing between two rampant lions, and a woman standing on top of a panther's head. Although very different motifs, in both the potnia theron image and the sphinx, the same elements are represented: a woman, a wild beast, and wings. I understand them to be variations

11. Of the 51 standing women who are depicted with one hand placed between the breasts carrying flowers, fruit or a bird, the number of women with birds is not specified.

of the same image theme, an observation I shall return to later. The group of birds, mostly waterbirds, is also significant.

Among the Geometric Category 8 images, there are two images of a woman carrying a sistrum and a lion protome; among the Classical Category 8 images only two birds, one bird of prey, one lion, and one wild boar are present.



Graph 12: Distribution of Category 8 in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

There is also a great variation in the Category 8 images in Sparta (Graph 12). In the Geometric period, the beast of prey, bird, deer, frog and tortoise are all present without any one of these standing out as especially popular.

When we reach the Archaic period, the beast of prey and the bird stand out as the most popular wild animal images. Included in the group of beasts of prey are independent lion figurines, lions attacking calves, griffins, sphinxes, images of a woman holding a lion by its ear, and an image of a man holding a winged lion and a winged griffin by their necks. The group of birds consists of independent bird figurines, most of which are waterbirds, depicted on the back of female protomes, beside a seated woman or held by a woman. In contrast to the other two sanctuaries, there are also depictions of men with wild animals in Sparta. There are four men shown either fighting or being attacked by beasts. Among the lead figurines from the Archaic period, the winged woman, the lion, and the sphinx are some of the most popular images. At the end of

the Archaic period and into the Classical period, lion lead images decrease in popularity while deer lead images increase (see Table 5). In addition, there are images of women grasping birds and lions on bronze fibulas.

The beast of prey went from being the most significant wild animal in the Archaic period to being non-existent in the Classical period. The waterbird became the most popular animal image, even when Category 7 is included. The deer is also present once again in the Classical period. The lead figurines reveal a similar pattern; there is a great deal of variation in the manner in which animals could be dedicated in the Archaic period, the lion and the sphinx were the most prominent. Among the lead figurines of the Classical period, however, only two animals are represented: the rooster and the deer. The deer, which was introduced as lead figurines in the Late Archaic period, was the more popular of these two animals in the Classical period.

The significance of the deer, the dog, and the hunt

In written sources from the 7th century onwards, Artemis is portrayed, with her bow and arrow, hunting and slaying animals in the wilderness (Hom. *Il*. 5.52-54, 21.470, 483; *Od*. 6.102-105; Hom. *Hym*. 9, 27; Aristoph., *Frogs* 1358-1359; Aristoph., *Thes.* 114-115). In art (sculpture and vase paintings) from the Late Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, Artemis is often depicted with a bow and quiver of arrows, sometimes with a deer, sometimes a dog, and sometimes hunting prey (Burkert 2001:149, Hjerrild 2009:42.43, Simon 1969:167). Artemis' role as goddess of the hunt is commonly held to originate in the Archaic period and to be an aspect of her role as a protector of the world of untamed nature (Marinatos 2000:93-97, Burkert 2001:149, 152).

The Artemis with the bow and arrow that we are familiar with from written sources and Classical art is very rare in the sanctuaries. There is one image of a woman with arrow and quiver from L.A./E.C. Brauron and one Archaic image of a human figure with a bow at Sparta. Additionally, images of women with bows are present among the lead figurines at Sparta.

Other than the bow and arrow, the deer is traditionally seen as the prime symbol of Artemis and her connection to hunting and wilderness. The three sanctuaries have different distribution patterns of deer images. At Ephesos, there is only one stag and one fawn present in the Archaic period. At Sparta, deer images are not dedicated before the Late Archaic and Classical periods, and then often in lead (Fig. 23). The Brauronian cult differs from the other two cults given the distinct prominence of the deer. This could have been caused by synchronic differences. However, since all the deer images from Brauron

are from the L.A./E.C. period, the pattern can be aligned with the popularity of the deer among the lead figurines at Sparta. The presence of the deer might, thus, be related to the institutionalization of Artemis and her deer, in the period that saw an institutionalization of society as well as religion and deities. This reveals that the deer is only significant from the Late Archaic period, and is most prominent at Brauron. If Artemis, and especially the Archaic Artemis, is not represented by the deer then how is she symbolized?

Figure 23: Deer figurines, Sparta (Wace 1929:Pl. cc 14-15, 18-19).

The other animal that is generally understood as showing Artemis' association to the hunt is the dog (Fig. 24). However, dog images are only significant in Geometric and Archaic Sparta. Moreover, dogs are also associated with other goddesses, in whose cults they appear to have borne meanings other than as metaphors for hunting, such as in the cult of Hecate (Keller 1909:137-138).

Dog figurines were also given to Hera at Argos (Waldstein 1905:41), to Hera at Perachora (Payne 1940:40), and to Aphrodite Genetyllis in Attica (Baumbach 2004:28). Since these goddesses traditionally are connected with women, children and childbirth, scholars (Keller 1909:137-138, Baumbach 2004:27-28) have linked the presence of dog offerings to childbirth offerings that were dedicated as part of the purification process after childbirth. Precisely because the dogs were considered to be unclean, they may have been perceived as capable of removing impurity (Baumbach 2004:28). However, the dog should perhaps rather be understood as the contradictory animal it appears to have been in ancient Greece. With the ability to be *both* wild and deceitful, *and* devoted and loyal, the dog is symbolically situated in-between its wild origin and its place as a domesticated animal to be of service to humans. The dog, thus, moves in the border area between wild and domesticated, nature and culture (Brandt 2014:54-55). I suggest that the key to understand the dog's presence in the cult of Artemis lies more in its status as an animal in-between wild and domesticated rather than as a symbol of Artemis the huntress.

Figure 24: Relief of a woman walking with a dog, Brauron (Leon 2003: Cat. 657).

The bow and arrow is virtually absent, the deer does not appear in any significant numbers until the Late Archaic period, and the dog's popularity is limited to Sparta, where it was probably a metaphor for purification and border areas rather than for hunting. Thus, a constitution of Artemis through attributes that commonly link her to hunting and hunters becomes very vague. I suggest that Artemis with the bow and arrow, accompanied by the deer or the dog as signifiers of the hunt are stereotypical iconographical depictions from the Late Archaic and Early Classical and later periods. The Classical huntress iconography is probably not a continuity of an earlier association to hunting and should not necessarily be interpreted directly as a description of Artemis' role as a hunting goddess.

Thus, if Artemis is not the huntress then who is she? The variety of different wild animal images represented in the sanctuaries could indicate that Artemis had a special role in protecting all sorts of wild animals. However, although many different wild animals are represented, the distribution of Category 8 images show that special attention is given to two groups: the beast of prey and the bird, both when animals are depicted alone and when they are displayed together with human figures.

The significance of the beast, the bird, and the woman with wild animals

Included in the group of beast images are lion (Fig. 25), sphinx, griffin, panther, and bear, of which the panther and the bear are rare. Included in the group of bird images are birds of prey, such as the hawk (Fig. 26), falcon (Fig. 27), eagle, siren, and waterbirds (Fig. 28) and smaller birds, such as doves. The beast of prey is significant in all three sanctuaries but was particularly popular at Sparta. The bird of prey is extremely popular at Ephesos, and the waterbird is significant at Sparta and Ephesos. The smaller birds, predominantly occurring at Brauron, were not very common.

When a human figure is shown with wild animals in the three sanctuaries, it entails the following animals: beasts of prey in all the three sanctuaries, birds of prey in Ephesos, and waterbirds in Sparta. The human figure accompanying the wild animals is most frequently a woman, and many of these are in the typical potnia theron style: a woman – often with wings – standing or sitting between beasts of prey or waterbirds. The woman-wild animal motif originates in the Bronze Age; women with wild beasts were popular images in both Minoan and Mycenaean culture, but especially so in Near Eastern iconography. The motif was taken up in Greek culture and it was a popular motif in Geometric and Archaic art. In a Greek context, the potnia theron image is

understood as a depiction of Artemis (Burkert 2001:149). An important reason for this is that Homer (*Il*. 21.470) refers to Artemis as 'Artemis of the wild land, mistress of wild animals'. This epithet is commonly understood as the key to one of the most important aspects of the goddess. In a Greek context, as in a Near Eastern context, the mistress of wild animals is usually considered

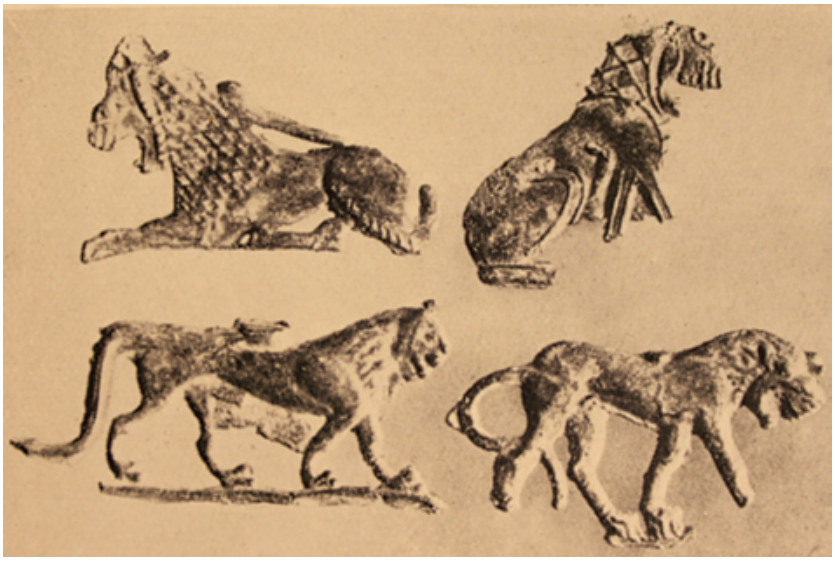


Figure 25: Lion figurines in lead, Sparta (Wace 1929:Pl. clxxxvii 1, 2, 5, 6).

Figure 26: Hawk figurine, Ephesos (Seipel 2008: Cat. 9).

to have been a goddess believed to control wild animals, nature and fertility. Consequently, Artemis is considered to be a nature goddess (Burkert 2001, 149:149, Cartledge 2001, 86:86, Kahil 1984:1, 740).

Figure 27: Falcon figurines, Ephesos (Pülz 2009: Cat. 29-30, Colour pl. 5, Photo credit: N. Gail © ÖAW).

Figure 28: Plaque depicting a waterbird, Sparta (Dawkins 1929d:Pl. cxiii a).

Human savagery

Rather than reading the images of wild animals and women with wild animals as directly expressing a concern for wild animals, nature, vegetation and fertility, the images could be read as symbols and metaphors for something else. Nanno Marinatos sees the animals held by the mistress as symbolizing and materializing her connection to the untamed and violent aspect of human nature, which might further be linked to the savagery of the warrior (Marinatos 2000:96-97).

Similarly, Synnøve des Bouvrie (2009) argues that the mistress of wild animal images in Sparta should neither be understood as direct symbols of nature, nor interpreted as though they were part of a community's instrumental activities in serving production and reproduction. She suggests that the motif, even though 'natural', rather signifies culture by referring to the warrior mentality and power hierarchy (des Bouvrie 2009, 171-172). Des Bouvrie claims that the most important feature of the flogging ritual was not to prepare the boys to become men, but to define boundaries between members of the Spartan society and outsiders, and then especially between the Spartans (elite) and the Helots (non-elite). By including such an initiation rite in the cult of Artemis, the Spartans' control over the Helots was institutionalized and young Spartan men were trained to believe that this kind of control and aggression comprised part of their duties as men. In this context, the potnia theron images in the sanctuary would not necessarily imply that Artemis was a 'mistress of wild animals'. Rather, they could have been understood as symbols of power and control, the superior vs. the inferior, and, to the Spartans, symbols of the Spartans' power over the Helots (des Bouvrie 2009:166-172).

Marinatos' and des Bouvrie's attempts at breaking down the stereotypical interpretation of the potnia theron as a nature goddess provide us with new insight into the discussion on nature and culture in antiquity. Nevertheless, I think it is possible to explore the idea of potnia theron as an image of human savagery even further with Walter Burkert's theories in *Homo Necans*.

In his theory on savage man, Burkert argues that the animal sacrifice is derived from the act of hunting in prehistoric hunter-gatherer societies. The hunt, the slaughtering of animals, was not just a necessity of life, but also ceremonial. The many rituals carried out before and after the hunt show that the hunters bore clear feelings of guilt over slaughtering animals, and the rituals provided forgiveness and reparation (Burkert 1983:12-22) When the slaughtering of animals was in a purely religious context it was a killing that was no longer a necessity of life, and the action needed ritualization in order

to be redirected and maintained (Burkert 1983:22-23). Burkert claims that through the ritualization of animal sacrifice, human savagery, violence and killing defined humans as cultural beings: 'Nourishment, order, and civilized life are born of their antibook: the encounter with death. Only *homo necans* can become *homo sapiens*' (Burkert 1983:212).

Images of potnia theron, especially those where the animals are held forcefully, could be understood as metaphors for human savagery. Although this consideration of the potnia theron does not appear to explain the material from Brauron and Ephesos, it is of particular significance in Sparta. The votive material demonstrates that special attention is paid to men and warriors in Sparta. Moreover, the Spartan sanctuary is the only of the three sanctuaries where images of men with wild animals are present. Three of these are: a man fighting and killing a beast (centaur, gorgon and several-headed snake); a man holding his arms around a winged lion and a griffin, and, lastly, a man being attacked by an eagle. The savagery and brutality of humans are directly displayed in the images of men fighting beasts and in the images of women holding the beasts or birds forcefully. In a more metaphorical sense, the savagery and brutality of human nature are juxtaposed with the savagery and brutality of animal nature in images showing humans and wild, brutal animals. The images showing lions alone — an animal known for its strength, hunting abilities and brutal killing — could, thus, also be taken as metaphors for the savagery of the warrior.

Des Bouvrie's analysis provides us with a great deal of new and valid insight on the Spartan flogging ritual and the potnia theron image. However, a demonstration of the power hierarchy is only one aspect of the rituals taking place at Sparta; the preparation for boys to become men is another aspect of the rituals and of great importance. The images of naked or ithyphallic men and the warrior images are indicative of this, from two different angles: becoming a sexual man and becoming a warrior man. The flogging ritual from Classical Sparta, a rite of passage for the adolescent boys, demonstrated (in an extremely brutal manner) the kind of brutality becoming a man and a warrior in the Spartan community entailed.

The images of beasts and of humans with beasts might work as metaphors for nature's brutality by juxtaposing a human figure with a predatory animal and by showing humans killing animals. However, according to Burkert, savagery and killing is also what defines humans as *cultural* beings. Consequently, the potnia theron is not a nature goddess and mother goddess protecting wild animals and nature's fertility; rather, she might have been a metaphor for savagery and killing, both of which are a natural and a cultural phenomenon.

In this way, the potnia theron motif also conveys that the distinction between nature and culture was not clear-cut, but instead flexible and overlapping.

I have discussed the Category 8 images in the light of theories of human savagery as I see it as a possible means to understand some of them, particularly the images of men fighting beasts at Sparta. There are, however, several important factors in the Category 8 images that divert the discussion from this path and take it in another direction. The basic premise for the following discussion is that the presence of votive images of beasts and birds of prey and waterbirds in the sanctuaries is to be understood by their association with the remote wilderness these animals occupy and the qualities with which they are endowed, which are at once extraordinary and remote from human qualities. Taking this as a point of departure, I aim to nuance the stereotypical interpretations of the meaning of the beasts, birds and, in particular, the connection between women and beasts and birds in these contexts.

Wild animals and the female body

The material from the three sanctuaries demonstrates that women vastly outnumber men in the human-wild animal images. As noted by Gilhus, Greek and Roman goddesses were, in general, more frequently and more accentually associated with accompanying animals, so the female body appears to have been more strongly associated with animals and nature (Gilhus 2006:106-107). Another factor is that, with the exception of the deer from the L.A./E.C. period at Brauron, there is an emphasis on the beast of prey and the bird, particularly birds of prey and waterbirds, in the woman-wild animal images. The female body is never displayed with other wild game, like wild boar or bear, nor with animals common to sacrifice, like sheep or goat. The beasts and birds are in some cases shown as spoils (Fig. 29). However, they are most often shown sitting beside the woman, on top of her head and so on (Figs. 30-32).

The lack of brutality in many of the images and the focus on just two animal groups indicate that human savagery and killing is not the most significant reference to the woman-wild animal motif in the three sanctuaries. Furthermore, the human-animal motifs in the three sanctuaries are so closely connected to women that we might overlook an important gender-related aspect if we did not examine this connection further.

Beasts and birds of prey and waterbirds might have been metaphors for several aspects, depending on context. They all seem to have had a special association with Artemis, but were also connected to other goddesses. Images of beasts of prey (especially lions) and birds of prey (hawks and falcons)

Figure 29: Plaque depicting a woman who grasps two birds and has two birds standing on her shoulders (Dawkins 1929d:Pl. xcviii 2).

Figure 30: Figurines of woman and lion, Sparta (Dawkins 1929b:Pl. xxxii 1-3).

were also given to Hera on Samos (Schmidt 1968:54, Webb 1978:92-96, Kyrieleis 1993:145-146) and Hera in Perachora (Dunbabin 1962:407-410, Payne 1940:227). In the Egyptian pantheon, several female deities, who protected women and children, were associated with strong animals. For example, the Egyptian goddess Sekhmet, who was one of the main protectors of mothers and children in Egypt, is represented as a lion. It has been suggested (Baumbach 2004:156) that the votive images of lions, hawks, and falcons, who were known to be strong, fierce, even fearsome and powerful animals (Andrews 1994:27-29, 64-66), served as apotropaic protection for women and children.

Figure 31: Female figurine holding two hawks, Ephesos (Seipel 2008:Cat. 110).

Figure 32: Enthroned woman holding a lion, Brauron (Leon 2009: Cat. 493).

The favored recipients of waterbirds were also goddesses, particularly Artemis (Ephesos, Sparta), Athena (Lindos, Tegea), and Hera (Perachora) (Bevan 1989:163). The waterbird can be seen as an embodiment of moisture. The strong connection with goddesses has led scholars to argue that, through the association with moisture, the waterbird is a metaphor for fertility (Christou 1968:69, Bevan 1989:166). The waterbird may very well have been an embodiment of moisture, but, rather than being associated to fertility, I suggest that the moisture is linked to liminality and marginality.[12]

Beasts of prey and birds of prey may well have been metaphors for power and apotropaic protection, and waterbirds could have been embodiments of moisture and metaphors for fertility. However, such interpretations are too broad and schematic and will not provide us with new insights. In the following, I shall argue that if the analyses of these wild animal images are more specific and better related to the other votive gifts and the context in which they occur, our understanding of such images and the cults they were a part of may be more nuanced.

As the beast of prey, the bird of prey and the waterbird are linked together through Artemis, the key to understanding the presence of these animals in the cults of Artemis can be sought in understanding the environment linking such animals together. Since lions and birds of prey live in the forests and in the mountains and waterbirds dwell in the wetlands and marshes, they inhabit the remote wilderness, the areas outside the territories settled by humans and beyond the boundaries of the civilized polis. Thus, what unifies the beast of prey, the bird of prey and the waterbird is the wilderness which they inhabit. Because of their affinity to the wilderness, beasts of prey, birds of prey and waterbirds are intimately associated with nature, and it can be argued that they are the embodiment of nature.

Beasts of prey and birds of prey, moreover, by virtue of their strength, night vision and exceptional hunting capacities, reign supreme in their hierarchies. They are the paramount predators. Living in remote wilderness, beasts and birds of prey were seldom encountered by humans, and they must have been perceived as extraordinary, yet dangerous, animals (Lindstrøm 2012:156). In addition, birds of prey and waterbirds may have been perceived as impressive and powerful animals due to their mobility. Due to their ability to move around freely and their location between heaven and earth, birds may also have been viewed as embodying divine characteristics.

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12. The sanctuaries' connection to water and liminality/marginality will be discussed in Chapter 8: The Body and Borders.

In Greco-Roman religious iconography, when a human figure and an animal appear together, as in the potnia theron images, the human figure is commonly considered to represent a deity (in the case of the potnia theron images: Artemis) while the animal is considered to be the deity's attributes, and thus illustrate the characteristics of the god or indicate the deity's sphere (in the potnia theron images: protecting and controlling wild animals and nature). Such images are commonly held to solely reflect the nature of the deities, which is not transferable to human nature (Gilhus 2006:106-107). However, since the deities were conceptualized in human bodies, it is still germane to discuss the human presence. Contrary to approaches that treat the animals as the deity's attributes, I suggest that several of the Category 8 images in the sanctuaries rather should be treated as interspecies or as merging of human bodies and animal bodies. Since the human bodies in human-animal images, both in the three Artemis sanctuaries and in general, most often are female bodies, the merging of the female body and the animal body is especially important here.

The merging of a female body and an animal body is perhaps most significant in the sphinx images (Fig. 33), where there is a merging of all three — a lion, a bird and a woman — and in the images of a winged woman, which were especially popular among the lead figurines at Sparta (Fig. 34), where there is a merging of a woman and a bird. These images show the female and animal bodies intertwined with parts of each other's bodies and might be described as concrete mergings of humans and animals.

Although a concrete merging of the female body with the beast of prey or bird is less prominent among the votive images at Brauron than it is at Ephesos and Sparta, such a concrete merging is, with the ritual of arkteia, also of particular significance at Brauron. The role of the bear and the action of 'playing the bear' or 'serving as a bear' (*arktos*) is attested to in written sources (Aristoph. *Lys*. 644-645) from the late 5th century. The significance of the bear for the Artemis cult is also attested on the krateriskoi fragments mentioned in 6.2. 'Serving as a bear' implies that the bear is more than an attribute of Artemis; the relationship should be seen, rather, as a metaphor for the merging of a female body and a wild animal. The arkteia ritual in Brauron is an additional indication of the significance of the merging of the female body and wild animals in sanctuaries of Artemis. Moreover, since the arkteia was a rite of passage into adulthood for girls playing the role as bears, merging with a wild animal might also refer to young girls as being 'wild', and the ritual as a first step in taming girls before marriage.

A concrete merging of human and animal body parts, such as the sphinxes, the winged women, or the arktos at Brauron, may variously be called

'monstrous creatures', 'monsters', 'creatures', 'hybrids', 'hybrid creatures', 'liminal beings', 'theriomorphes', 'therianthropics', and 'zooantropomorphs'. The merging process is commonly described with the terms 'metamorphosis' and 'transformation' (Lindstrøm 2012:152). Such transformations are popular themes in Greek and Roman literature. Merging is a more complex phenomenon than the attributive mode because the merging not only expresses something about animal nature, but also about human nature. The merging suggests an idea of the human body – human nature – as transformative, flexible, fluid, and versatile (Lindstrøm 2012:164).

Many images in the three sanctuaries do not display the female body and the animal body as directly intertwined and are therefore not concrete mergings. However, although they are different images, the sphinx, the winged woman, and the woman-wild animal motifs all have the same elements represented: a

Figure 33: Sphinx figurine, Ephesos (Hogarth 1908:pl. xxi 4).

female body and a beast of prey and/or a bird body. I regard the relationship between the woman and animal in images where their bodies are separate, such as images of a lion sat next to a woman or lying in her lap, or of a hawk sat on top of a woman's head, from the perspective of merging. The popularity of the woman-wild animal images demonstrates the strong interconnectedness between the female body and the body of wilderness.

Figure 34: Winged female figurines, Sparta (Wace 1929:Pl. cxcv 1-12).

Images of sphinxes and winged women, as well as images displaying women together with beasts of prey, birds of prey and waterbirds, are approached as mergings of the female and animal bodies in this regard. From such a perspective, the presence of the animal expresses something about the idea of the female body. The beasts and birds of prey and the waterbirds, are, as we have seen, closely connected to a distant and inaccessible wilderness, as well as with exceptional capabilities beyond the reach of humans. When the female body is joined with these animals, it is also combined with the distant wilderness and the remote and extraordinary capabilities the animals possess, and is, thus, combined with wild nature. In this way, the beasts of prey, birds of prey and waterbirds in the three sanctuaries of Artemis express an idea about the female body as intimately connected to untamed human nature, and, thus, as transformative, flexible and fluid.

Sexuality and woman-wild animal images

The origin of the Greek potnia theron images, the Near Eastern potnia theron, is predominantly naked. The image is therefore commonly understood as being linked to fertility: a combination of the fertility of nature as a whole and the fertility of humans. Marinatos (2000:10) claims that the female nakedness in these images combines sexuality with power, i.e. the mistress has the potency of the female naked body and the power to subdue wild animals. In Syrian material, the naked woman is often shown in combination with danger or aggression, as part of a boxing scene or a fight scene between a man and a griffin, for example (Marinatos 2000:7-10). Several Near Eastern goddesses, such as Anat, Cybele and Ishtar, could be both sexual, erotic females, *and* associated with violence, war and brutal killing. In many cases the narratives describe them as destroying their lovers (Kapelrud 1969:70-82, Burkert 1979:99-122). Therefore, the nakedness and sexuality of Near Eastern goddesses does not just denote fertility and sexuality, but also has an aggressive, dangerous, and, thus, ambiguous character (Marinatos 2000:10).

While the Near Eastern mistresses of wild animals were naked, the Greek mistress of animals, i.e. Artemis, is never naked. The nudity in the potnia theron images disappeared in the 8th century BC. Moreover, several myths describe the anger of Artemis when she caught males seeing her naked or trying to initiate sexual contact with her, a wrath that sometimes ended in death for the misfortunate wooer (Lloyd-Jones 1983:99). Based on these literary descriptions, Artemis has been understood as anti-sexual, an identity diverging from the Near Eastern mistresses. While the Near Eastern mistress of wild animals denoted both danger and sexuality, the 'asexual' Artemis is held to mirror a Greek rejection of a sexual mistress of wild animals (Marinatos 2000:93).

Contrary to Marinatos' analysis of iconographical material and written sources, I take my departure point in the votive material in three distinct Artemis sanctuaries. Based on my analyses of the Category 3 and Category 5 images, I argue that although the woman in the woman-wild animal images are not displayed naked, images denoting sexuality were devoted to Artemis, especially at Ephesos and Sparta. In the same two sanctuaries, where female sexuality featured prominently, so too did the beast and bird of prey and the waterbird. The presence of images denoting both sexuality and woman-wild animal images further strengthens the metaphorical association between wild nature and the physical female body.

7.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS ON ARTEMIS AS GODDESS OF HUNTING AND MISTRESS OF WILD ANIMALS

The purpose of the present chapter has not been to demonstrate that considerations of Artemis as a huntress and potnia theron are wrong, but to nuance the stereotypical interpretations of Artemis as a goddess of wild animals, hunting and nature. Taking the votive material as a point of departure we are left with a picture that is quite different than the institutionalized one. When the votive offerings that show animals are studied as a whole, it becomes apparent that the interpretation of Artemis as a goddess of hunting, wild nature and wild animals is too general and rather unsatisfactory as an explanation of several of the animal images.

Although there are several similarities, differences between the three sanctuaries have also emerged throughout the present chapter. The dedication of domesticated animals is present in all three sanctuaries, most significantly at Sparta where horses and sheep are particularly popular. Domesticated animals are seldom at Ephesos, and no one animal stands out. The presence of a variation of different animals in the Category 7 group demonstrates that the Spartan Artemis in particular (and also, to an extent, the Ephesian Artemis) was constituted as a protector of animals important for the stability of agriculture and, thus, for the stability of the city-state. The meaning of a horse or rider image might have been more symbolic as it signified aristocracy and social status. Among the Category 7 images at Brauron, there is a special emphasis on the horse. Given that there is no particular emphasis on other domesticated animals at Brauron, the presence of the horses probably relates to dedicators wanting to display their social status.

Of all the different wild animals present in the sanctuaries special emphasis is placed on the beast of prey, the bird of prey and the waterbird. An exception to this is the popularity of the deer in the Late Archaic and Classical Brauron and Sparta. I have approached these images from different angles in this chapter, pursuing an interpretation for their presence by understanding them as apotropaic protection for women and children, as metaphors for either power hierarchies or for the savagery and violence within humans. However, given the distinct association of the beast and bird of prey and the waterbird with the female body, I have argued that the most significant context for such votive images is as metaphors for an idea of the female body as being intimately connected to nature. This interpretation is based on using the perspective of merging of humans and animals as a method of analysis. Since beasts of prey, birds of prey, and waterbirds dwell in remote wilderness and have characteristics

that are largely incomprehensible and unattainable by humans, they represent extreme nature. When such animals are depicted together with a woman, most notably in images of concrete mergings, such as the sphinx and the winged woman, extreme nature can be understood as expressing something about the female body. In this way, the woman-wild animal motif serves particularly as a metaphor for the female body's closeness to nature and its transformability and fluidity. When the woman-wild animal motifs are seen in relation to the Category 3 and Category 5 images and the ritual of arkteia, they could also have served as metaphors for the wilderness of puberty. The idea about the female body, as observed in the ritualization in the three sanctuaries, as being closer to nature, as transformative and flexible will be further explored in the following chapter.

The image on the black-figured kylix from Sparta (discussed in 6.2) resurfaces as a link uniting the various elements emphasized as important aspects of the constitution of the goddess in the former and the present chapters; namely, the bird of prey, the waterbird, a winged female, the naked male, and the male warrior (Fig. 17). Although the kylix is not, as far as we know, from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, it brings together all these elements in a Spartan context. Thus, the kylix further strengthens the interpretation that there is a link between the winged woman, the waterbird, and the naked male warrior in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

Chapter 8
THE BODY AND BORDERS

In Chapter 6, I argued that there are no strong indications of a concern for female fertility and reproduction in the three sanctuaries. The cult at Brauron was, as is generally agreed upon, particularly concerned with girls who were on the threshold of becoming women. The votive images of children and adolescents in Brauron confirm this cult characteristic at Brauron. The votive material shows that this might also be the case at Ephesos and Sparta. Instead of understanding images emphasizing the sexual aspects of the female body as referring to female fertility and reproduction, and images of the naked and ithyphallic male body as fertility images serving apotropaic functions, I have argued that they rather refer to sexuality in the context of puberty. Based on these observations, there appears to have been a link to female sexuality and the transition from girl to woman in Ephesos and Sparta, and a further link to male sexuality and the transition from boy to man in Sparta.

The analysis of the animal images in Chapter 7 showed that a large number of the animal images in the sanctuaries could have been metaphors for nature within the human body, and that they especially served as analogies for the female body's closeness to nature. At Sparta, however, they may have served as symbols for the savagery and violence within human beings, particularly important in rituals for boys becoming men and warriors.

Consequently, a large number of the votive images are associated with the human body and the distinction between nature and culture within the human body. The association with the female body is particularly strong. Moreover, many of the votives were given at times of transitions in a human life, especially during the transition between child and adult, which indicates a particular concern for adolescents and their entry into adulthood. In the present chapter, I will elaborate further on this particular concern. However, first, the personal and the apotropaic votive gifts will be discussed.

8.1 PERSONAL VOTIVE GIFTS

Jewelry (Figs. 35-36) and dress ornaments (Figs. 37-38), as shown in Chapter 5, were very popular votive gifts at the sanctuaries of Artemis at Ephesos (see 5.2 and Table 3) and Sparta (see 5.2, Table 4 and Graph 3). Although the personal votive gifts from Brauron are not adequately published, it is reported that jewelry and dress ornaments were found in abundance (see 5.2). Dress ornaments, such as pins, fibulae and brooches, from the sanctuaries were either attached to dresses that were dedicated or were dedicated as votives on their own. The 52 belts from the sanctuary at Ephesos could have been part of a dress dedication; although, given the considerable amount, it is more likely that they were independent votive gifts. Among the dedications of toiletries, mirrors are present in all three sanctuaries. At Ephesos and Sparta, combs, perfume or oil bottles (*aryballoi*), vases for cosmetics (*pyxis*), ear-spoons, and make-up tools are also present.

Jewelry was most commonly worn by women in ancient Greece, and in Attica and the Peloponnese pins were mainly use to fasten women's peploi (Baumbach 2004:35). The jewelers and pins found in sanctuaries were, thus, most likely given by women. Several sanctuary inventory lists inscribed in later periods (Simon 1986:199) primarily mention women as the dedicators of jewelry and only rarely record jewelry given by men. Although jewelry is found in sanctuaries of several deities in the Greek world, including in sanctuaries of male deities (for example Apollo Phanaios at Chios, Zeus at Olympia, Apollo at Delphi, Asklepios at Athens), the amount of jewelry the goddesses Artemis, Hera and Athena were given far outnumbers the amount given to other deities (Simon 1986:199). Similarly, dress ornaments were mainly offered to Hera, Artemis and Athena. Belts are also found in sanctuaries of the same three goddesses, but seem to be particularly associated with Artemis (Simon 1986:198-212).

As votive gifts, jewelry and clothes are commonly held to have been given by women at times of transition, such as pregnancy, childbirth, and marriage (Simon 1986:199, Baumbach 2004:38, Oakley and Sinos 1993:14-15, Ekroth 2003:96). This assumption is partly based on literary evidence that states that jewelry and clothing were given by women at these times,[13] and partly on the

13. Epigrams from the Palatine Anthology state that women dedicated clothes to Eileithyia (Anth. Pal. VI no. 200. 274) and Artemis (Anth. Pal. VI no. 201. 202. 271. 272), either in order to ask for their assistance during labour or to give thanks for a successful delivery. Euripides mentions the offering of clothes to Iphigeneia at Brauron after death in childbirth (Eur. *IT* 1466-1467).

popularity of these votive gifts in sanctuaries of female deities who were especially concerned with women and their physical and social transitions, such as Artemis, Hera, Eileithyia, and Iphigeneia (Baumbach 2004:35-39, Simon 1986:200). Even though many of the written sources stating that personal votive gifts were dedicated to Artemis as part of transition rituals are composed later, there are few diachronic changes in the votive practice in the sanctuaries and this lends greater credibility to the use of literary sources from later periods in the interpretation of votives from earlier periods.

Figure 35: Earrings, Ephesos (Pülz 2009: Cat. 211, 212, 215, Colour pl. 12.
Photo credit: N. Gail © ÖAW).

Figure 36: Necklace of beads, Ephesos (Seipel 2008: Cat. 205).

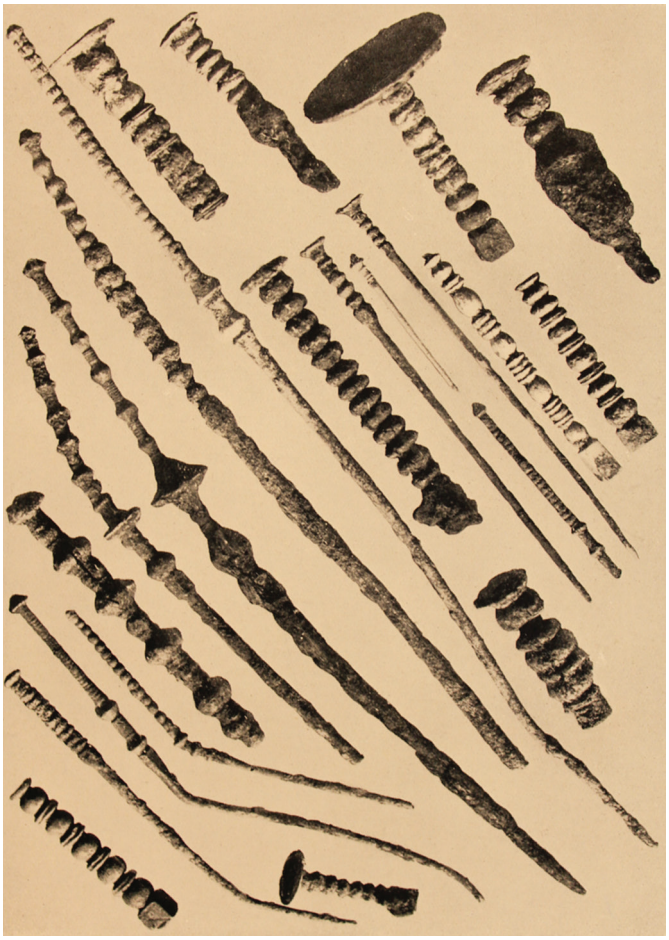

Figure 37: Fibulae, Sparta (Droop 1929b:Pl. lxxxiv).

Belts were appropriate votive gifts related to childbirth (Pekridou-Gorecki 1989:101-102). Loosening belts, strings, and hair were believed to help liberate and ease expulsion of the fetus. Women who died during pregnancy or childbirth were often shown with an open belt and loose hair on gravestones (Baumbach 2004:37, Kötzsche-Breitenbruch 1976:180-181). However, belts were also a symbol of virginity (Oakley and Sinos 1993:14-15). For instance, loosening of the belt is used as a metaphor for love and for loss of virginity by Homer (*Od*. 9, 245). Belts may therefore signal loss of virginity and marriage (Baumbach 2004:37), and thus might have been given to Artemis pertaining to the transition from girl to woman. Pausanias states that girls offered girdles to Artemis and Athena before marriage (Simon 1986:203).

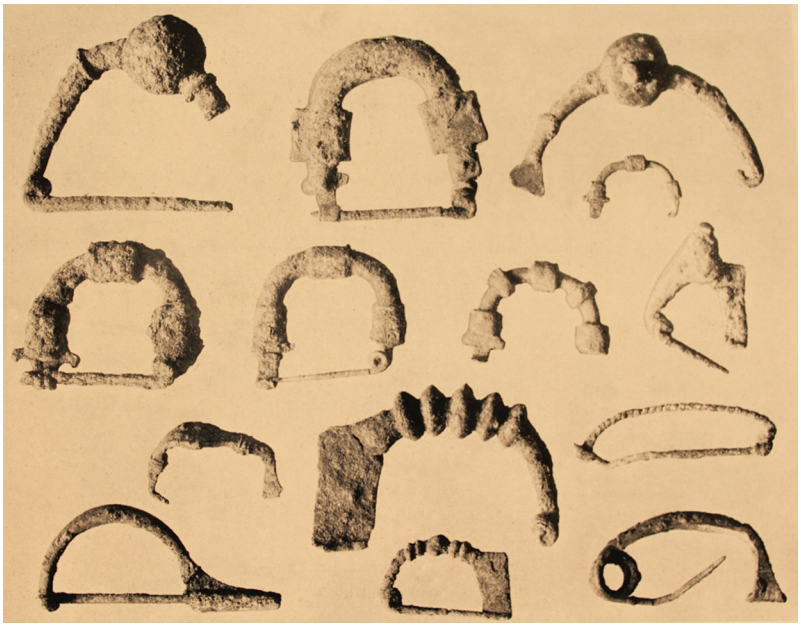

Figure 38: Pins, Sparta (Droop 1929b:Pl. lxxv).

Dedications of toiletries are generally quite rare. Combs were primarily given to Artemis and Hera in the Archaic period. Several later literary sources describe girls offering their hair, especially to Hera and Artemis, upon marriage. Since combs are associated with hair, and the recipients of hair and combs were the same, the combs may well have been offered by girls about to get married (Simon 1986:213) Although found in some sanctuaries of male deities (Zeus at Dodona, Asklepios at Athens, and Apollo at Epidauros), mirrors were mainly given to female deities, especially to Hera, Athena, and Artemis (Simon 1986:221). Aryballoi were containers for perfume or oil used during bathing by both men and women, and could have been given by either gender (Baumbach 2004:39). The fact that a few goddesses were favored recipients of jewelry, clothes, and toiletries indicates that these votives were not given without thought or to simply make the sanctuary flourish, as has been claimed by, for example, Simon (1986).

The body is a unifying structure between personal votive gifts and transition rituals. Times of transitions in a human life are bodily and highly personal experiences. Jewelry, dress, and toiletries are also intimately associated with the body, and could be understood as extensions of the dedicator's body. It can be argued that the intimate relationship between personal votive offerings and

the body made such dedications suitable at the times in a person's life that are intimately related to the body, such as puberty, marriage (sexual intercourse), pregnancy, and childbirth.

Inventory lists from the Classical and Hellenistic periods show that personal items, such as jewelry (Simon 1986:199), and mirrors (Simon 1986:221), were dedicated to the healing deities, Asklepios and also the Hero Iatros. As with a personal transition, illness is also a bodily and personal experience, and a personal possession was, thus, probably regarded as an appropriate votive gift when experiencing health issues. In the Archaic period, before healing became the preserve of Asklepios, it is possible that jewelry was dedicated to other deities for 'medical' reasons. There is, thus, a possibility that some of the personal votives in the sanctuary might be associated with healing. The 50 model body parts found at the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos imply the healing aspect may have been particularly applicable there.

8.2 APOTROPAIC PROTECTION

As demonstrated in Chapters 5, seals and scarabs form a significant part of the votive material in the sanctuaries of Artemis at Ephesos (see 5.2 and Table 3) and Sparta (see 5.2, Table 4, and Graph 3). According to the excavation reports from Brauron and the exhibition at Brauron museum, decorated gems and scarabs were also found in great numbers in the Artemision at Brauron.

The seals and engraved stones from all the three sanctuaries are usually engraved with animals or mythical scenes. As the intaglio designs are of a general religious and mythical character and indeed some are so similar that they could scarcely have served as personal identification, they probably had another function. The scarabs and scaraboid gems from both Ephesos and Sparta are imitations of Egyptian scarabs and were decorated with mythical creatures, animals, and seemingly meaningless Egyptian hieroglyphs. Egyptian scarabs functioned as amulets and had an apotropaic meaning in Egypt (Andrews 1994:54-56). I suggest that the presence of seals, scarabs, and engraved stones from the three sanctuaries of Artemis indicates that they had an apotropaic value, as Baumbach (2004:25-26, 84-85, 157-158) proposes for the seals and scarabs in the sanctuaries of Hera at Argos, Perachora, and Samos. The fact that many of them are pierced indicates that they were suspended, which further strengthens assumptions regarding an amuletic use.

Baumbach (2004:26) argues that the distribution pattern of amulets reveals that they were primarily used as protection by women and children. As votive offerings, amulets are mostly found in shrines to female deities associated

with physical transitions, such as marriage, childbirth, and infancy. They are especially common in the sanctuaries of Athena at Lindos, of Aphrodite at Miletus, of Hera at Perachora and Argos, of Aphaia at Aegina, and of Artemis at Ephesos and Sparta. As burial gifts, amulets occur most frequently in the graves of women and children. Further strengthening the argument for their amuletic use is the fact that they are usually found with necklaces. The distribution pattern of amulets suggests that women and children were believed to be especially vulnerable to the threat of evil spirits (Baumbach 2004:26-27). Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 65) wrote that Isis put an amulet on when she found out that she was pregnant. Stories of demons threatening women and children, for example the 6th-century texts about Gello threatening mothers and stealing their children (Sapph. frg. 104 D), strengthen this argument. In ancient times, infant mortality was high and many women died during pregnancy or childbirth. Children and women being taken by evil spirits were common explanations when meaningless deaths related to pregnancy, childbirth, and infancy occurred (Demand 1994:71-86, Johnston 1997:57-58). Therefore, I interpret the presence of amulets in the three sanctuaries of Artemis as indications of Artemis being consulted by women or children during periods when they were believed to be especially exposed to danger.

Furthermore, when the different groups of votive offerings are seen in relation to each other, it is possible to be rather more specific in our interpretations of the personal and the apotropaic votives. The analyses in Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrated that there are no votive images expressing any direct association with female fertility and reproduction. Instead, many factors express a connection to the transition from child to adult, sexuality, the female body, and its transformability and fluidity. Thus, the personal and the apotropaic votive offerings in the three sanctuaries of Artemis, which were closely associated to the body and transition rituals for children and women, were also probably more specifically related to the female body and to the specific transition between child and adult. In the following sections, these topics will be further elaborated on.

8.3 RITUALIZATION AND THE BODY

Through the analyses in Chapters 6 and 7 and in the discussion of the personal votive gifts, the body and times of transitions have emerged as essential aspects in all three cults. The female body has been in focus in all three sanctuaries, but so too has the male body at Sparta. The transition between child and adult is of particular concern at all three sanctuaries. In the further discussion,

the three cults will be analyzed in light of theories about the body, transitions, borders and boundaries (Gennep 1999 [1909], Turner 1967, Solheim 1998, Douglas 1966, Leach 1976). A great deal research has been conducted on ancient Greece and pollution, most notably by R. Parker (1983). However, this research is predominantly based on written sources from the Classical and later periods. Since my objective here is to achieve a greater understanding of the constitution of Artemis in earlier periods based on votive gifts, I have turned to other theories.

Several of the theories that will be employed in the following, particularly Victor W. Turner's theory on liminality (Turner 1967) and Mary Douglas' theory on purity and pollution (Douglas 1966), are based on anthropological structuralism, as developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1949, 1958). A structuralist understanding has been criticized for being categorical and for favoring deterministic structures over each individual's ability to act on his/her own (e.g. Ricoeur 2004:49, 78, Giddens 1993:121). As outlined in 4.4, both the agents and the structures should be understood as influencing and creating the ritualization in the sanctuaries. Hence, at first glance, the theories of Bell (1992) or Rappaport (1999) can appear to be better suited as methodological tools to the analytical process here. However, understanding the votive material from these theories proves to be difficult. Bell works to a large extent with performance and the body's performativity. As the information about the dedicators, and thus about performance, is limited, Bell's perspective on ritualization and the body is too loose to be methodologically useful in the analyses of the votive material. The more stringent theoretical approaches of Douglas, Turner, and Solheim have proven to work better with the material in the present book.

Turner's concept of liminality has been challenged on several occasions for reducing each individual's personal actions to structural principles (e.g. Rosaldo 1993:40-41, 93-98, 139-141). Stating that 'Turner's conclusions emphasize principles of social structures more than the human processes he so thickly dramatizes' (Rosaldo 1993:96), Rosaldo succinctly captures the most important criticism of Turner. Indeed, since the term liminality has become a near universal phenomenon and is used in a number of contexts, including non-religious ones, its original meaning as the transition phase in a transition ritual has been lost. Douglas' theory in *Purity and Danger* has not been subject to the same degree of criticism as Turner's theory. Perhaps the reason for this is that Douglas writes less categorically than Turner does. I am also under the impression that Douglas' theories on purity and pollution have not been universalized to the same extent as those of Turner, but have been used in more

specific contexts, and have, therefore, become more nuanced.

When dealing with such a large dataset, as is the case in this project, and when the information about the agents is limited, categorization was necessary and thinking in terms of dichotomies proved to be a useful door-opener in order to see the material from other perspectives. I will, however, use the term liminality with caution. I do not think of it as a universal phenomenon, but as a particular state in transition rituals. When used judiciously, and with Bell's theory of ritualization and the body as a basis for how I see the relationship between agents and structures, the perspectives of van Gennep, Leach, Douglas, and Turner are useful and applicable analytical tools for observing ways of coping with transition rituals, the body and borders in the three sanctuaries.

Transition rituals and liminality

Douglas (2002:119) observes that transitional states of transition rituals are often associated with danger because the 'transition is neither one state nor the next, it is undefinable'. Turner (1967) made the same observation when he 'discovered' the importance of the liminal phase (the transition in itself) in van Gennep's three-fold division of the transition ritual – the rite of passage. Turner (1996:510-514) notes that since the person going through the transition – the liminal person – is in a realm with few or no similarities with what has been and what is to come, he or she is 'betwixt and between'. The liminal person is structurally 'invisible'; a condition recognized by *no longer* and *not yet* being classified. The liminal phase is a limbo, an ambiguous state, being '*neither* this *nor* that, and yet is *both*' (Turner 1996:514).

People in the liminal stage of a transition phase, defined by being ambiguous and indefinite, are regarded as polluted. The ambiguity is both individually and collectively polluting – the liminal individuals are perceived as threats, not only for themselves, but for society as a whole, and especially to those who have not been initiated into the same state. It is often society's responsibility to take the necessary precautions to protect themselves from the dangers of the liminal persons (Douglas 2002:117-122, Turner 1996:512-513).

At the same time as symbolizing chaos and danger, disorder and pollution also symbolize potentiality and power. The person who must pass through a transitional state is exposed to pollution that can be destructive, but is also exposed to powers that can, if treated in the right way, be strong enough to change the person's bodily and social status (Douglas 2002:117-120).

The votive material, consisting of objects used as amulets, reinforces the impression that the supplicants felt in need of protection. This not only in-

dicates that the supplicants' liminal and ambiguous state was understood as dangerous, but also that the danger could be transformed into power by using amulets and by performing rituals, like visiting the sanctuaries and dedicating a gift to Artemis.

A large part of the votive material in all three sanctuaries can be associated with rites of passage and, thus, the liminal phase, particularly in puberty and the transition between child and adult (see Chapter 6). The transition from child to adult should not be understood, as mentioned in Chapter 6, as a swift step from one phase to another. Instead, it was a gradual process of transitions, which were marked by both bodily and social events. This is particularly true for girls' transition into womanhood, which consisted of several steps, most prominently the first menstruation, the first intercourse (marriage), and becoming mothers, as marked by the birth of the first child (King 1983:120-122, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988:25).

The lack of images denoting sexuality and the presence of many images displaying children, particularly girls, indicate that the Brauronian cult's association with transition rituals was different than the Ephesian and Spartan one. This difference might be related to the Brauronian cult's concern with a different age group and thus a different phase in the transition ritual than the other two cults. A further indication of the Brauronian cult's concern for a young age group is the significance of the ritual of arkteia. The arkteia is considered to be a rite of passage in which girls were taken out of the normal state (separation phase); spent a period isolated from the rest of society in a marginal area (liminal phase – also referred to as the transitional phase), and, after a period, they were socialized or re-integrated into society with a new status (reincorporation). The liminal phase consisted of the period spent in the sanctuary where the girls served as 'bears' for Artemis. The girls undertaking these rituals were seven to ten years old; some may even have been younger (Sourvinou-Inwood 1988:33-66). They had, thus, not yet reached puberty and were not yet looked upon as ready to get married. The transition ritual at Brauron shows that the physical changes of puberty did not always coincide with the first stages in the rituals marking the transition from girl to woman. Thus, the changes related to becoming a woman were not only considered to be biological, but also social or cultural (Cole 1998:33, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988:28). The rituals at Brauron should probably be understood in terms of being preparations for becoming an adolescent girl and all the bodily and social transitions that followed. In this context, images more directly expressing sexuality (naked men and women) were perhaps seen as too direct or offensive at Brauron.

The images denoting sexuality from the sanctuaries at Ephesos and Sparta

are probably associated with a later phase in the transition process from girl to woman. As argued in Chapter 6, I regard these images as associated with puberty and more directly linked to becoming a sexual woman. Perhaps they should be interpreted as votive gifts given by girls who were about to get married. The belts and combs from the sanctuary can also be more directly linked to this phase of the transition from girl to woman. Marriage was the most important ritual that demonstrated a girl's transition into adult life in Archaic Greece. For each girl, on a personal level, marriage entailed their first sexual experience and was a bodily transition of great significance. Since a woman's status as wife and potential mother was congruent and since production and rearing of children were considered to be a woman's duties in Archaic Greece, marriage was also a social transition of crucial importance on both a personal level and for the entire community (Clark 1998:13, Zaidman and Pantel 2008:68-72). The engagement period is a liminal phase, where the engaged couple are *no longer* available on the marriage market but they do *not yet* have marital status, nor have they started producing children. Wedding rituals serve to reintegrate the newlyweds into society with a new status (Gennep 1999 [1909]:85).

In the sanctuary at Brauron, the image displaying a woman with an infant and the image of a naked squatting boy reveal a certain concern for very small children, and might, thus, be connected to the rite of passage for babies. Several rituals, such as the *Amphidromia* ritual, were carried out in the days after a baby was born. These were rituals associated with a baby's transition to becoming an integrated member of society (Pomeroy 1997:68-69, Gilhus, Seim, and Vidén 2009:35). In the first days following the birth, if the father decided that the infant was not legitimate then new-born babies were regularly exposed to the wilderness (Gilhus, Seim, and Vidén 2009:16-17, 33). This practice, along with the high infant mortality due to illnesses and other complications, indicates how important the rituals of transition in relation to infants were; it was in fact a matter of life and death for the new-born.

The transition and liminal phase of the baby was also a liminal phase for the mother and once the baby was accepted in society, the mother was also reintegrated (Cole 2004:113). As becoming a mother was regarded as the last stage in the transition from being girl to becoming woman, perhaps the association to childbirth and infants at Brauron should rather be understood as part of the girl's transition. Given that there were only two images of babies, the association with this last stage in the transition from girl to woman cannot, however, have been a major area of concern for the Brauronian cult of Artemis.

I have suggested that the images of naked and ithyphallic men from Sparta

that denote male sexuality and sexual power were given by adolescent boys as part of transition rituals preparing them for adult life (see 6.2). The male warrior images, the images of men fighting beasts and the brutal flogging ritual for young men indicate that human violence and brutality were important aspects of ritualization in the sanctuary (see 7.2). These aspects of warrior ideology were of crucial importance on the path to becoming a man in ancient Greece in general, and in ancient Sparta in particular. Thus, ritualization marking the transition from boy to man, both sexually and socially as warriors, was performed in the sanctuary at Sparta.

Bodily transformation and bodily boundaries

The transition rituals discussed above often involve both social and bodily transformations. The bodily part of the transformations involves excretion of body fluids. In ancient Greece, human physical processes, such as urination, defecation and sexual intercourse, were in certain contexts understood as impurities, to be segregated from the divine (the pure). These restrictions applied to both men and women (Cole 2004:30-36). However, women were considered to be closer to nature than men because the female body was more strongly connected to bodily transformations which involved excretion of body fluids, such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding (Cole 2004:104).

Women were therefore considered to pose a greater threat of pollution than men and were subject to more restrictions (Cole 2004:104-113). A large number of the votive offerings from the three sanctuaries of Artemis denote sexuality and an association with puberty and transitions (Category 3, personal votive gifts, and apotropaic votive gifts) or served as metaphors for the nature, transformability, and fluidity of the female body (the beasts of prey, birds of prey and waterbirds). More concretely, they are related to physical transformation and secretion of body fluids, such as menstruation and the first sexual intercourse upon marriage (both are bodily events where blood exits the body). In the following, based on Douglas and Solheim, I will further explore why the female body and its physical processes were of such concern.

The orifices of the body are the margins of the body. Being at the margins, they are often regarded as vulnerable and exposed to danger. Body fluids, coming out of the body, traverse the boundaries of the body and thus delineate the absolute marginal aspects of the body (Douglas 2002:150). Jorunn Solheim claims that all symbolism revolves around bodily boundary issues. Based on Douglas' ideas on bodily boundaries, the body can also be the starting point

for indefinite and 'open' systems. Because of its orifices, where body fluids exit and external elements enter, the body could stand as a symbol of the boundless. The female body has more openings than the male body, which causes the female body to be associated with a greater openness and boundlessness than the male body. The female body seems to be a particularly useful metaphor for representing marginality and boundlessness due to its openness, transgression of boundaries, and its ability to transform. Ideas of pollution and impurity, therefore, generally refer to the orifices and body fluid transgressions of the female body, especially in connection with female sexuality and reproduction. Bodily aspects that are regarded as boundless and transgressions of boundaries, such as menstruation, the first sexual intercourse, pregnancy and childbirth, are, thus, often associated with dangerous forces that threaten the social and cultural order (Solheim 1998:19-21, 69-71).

The idea of purity, pollution, differentiation between categories, and exclusion of ambiguous elements can be seen as a way to protect society against chaos and danger and as the basis of cultural and social order. Douglas (2002:2) claims that 'Dirt offends against order', and that order can be established or restored only when the dirty – impure – elements are removed. There is a general tendency in many past and present societies that what is rejected from the usual classification systems, ends up in the category of impurities, as 'matters out of place'. Elements belonging to a clear category are perceived as pure. Elements that are ambiguous and do not fit in to the current pattern are regarded as pollution and are rejected. In this way, pollution can be understood as disorder in already existing categories. When something is rejected and falls outside of the categories, it is a consequence of a society's classification and delimitation mechanism. This means that wherever there are impure elements, there is also a system, because a definition of disorder presupposes a pattern of order. Our ideas about what is dirty are manifested in how we organize our surroundings. Because dirt is defined as disorder, as something that is not in its proper place according to our ideas of order, a society's system can be studied through the impure elements of that society (Douglas 2002:2, 44-50).

Douglas (2002:142) claims that 'the body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious'. Public rituals dealing with the human body and its fluids, such as feces, blood, and breast milk, cannot be fully understood if the body is not seen as a symbol of the society. These rituals can be studied as expressions of concerns of the whole community (Douglas 2002:142-143). Such rituals are not only performed on a personal level; they also transform the political body using the symbolic mechanisms of the physical body (Douglas

2002:158-159). Furthermore, the body fluids' traversing of the boundaries of the body may thus symbolize a traversing of the social and cultural order. The social pollution, which is connected to marginal elements in society or the traversing of the system's boundaries, is often a result of a metaphorical process taking the body as its starting point (Douglas 2002:141-159).

A substantial part of the votive offerings in the sanctuaries demonstrate a concern for performing rituals related to physical processes of the female body: The images of naked women and women touching pubic area/womb or breasts denote a concern for female sexuality and the transition from girl to woman; the woman-wild animal images and the beasts of prey, birds of prey, and waterbirds serve as metaphors for the association of the female body with wild nature, transformability and flexibility; the personal votive gifts are intimately associated with the body and were common votive gifts during transition rituals, and the apotropaic votive gifts further demonstrate that the worshippers' felt a need to protect themselves from pollution. Such a handling of the female body indicates that it was considered to be a pollution threat, presumably because of the openness and boundlessness, as demonstrated in the theories of Douglas and Solheim.

On the other hand, the ritual flogging at Sparta is a transition ritual for boys becoming men. In this regard, a body margin, the blood, is an important element of the ritual. However, the blood in the flogging ritual is treated in a different way than the blood that forms a part of the natural processes of the female body. In the flogging ritual, blood is not secreted from the body in relation to the body's natural processes, but is provoked to flow from the wounds made by the whips. Blood was an important part of the rituals of ancient Greeks, most significantly as in the form of animal sacrifice and the shedding of the sacrificed animal's blood over the altar. However, blood was also quite frequently shed for purification, such as in the purification of murderers (washing off blood with blood), before going to war, the lustration of official buildings, or the purification of land territory (Burkert 2001:59-60, 80-82). Since blood often served as a metaphor for purification, the blood shed by the young men at Sparta possibly served to wash away the defilement caused by the liminal state of the transition ritual from boy to man.

The flogging ritual provides an indication of the difference in how male and female body fluids were handled. While women's blood caused by menstruation and childbirth was considered to be impure, the blood of the young Spartan men was deliberately shed in order to purify. This difference is probably related to an idea of a varying degree of control of the body fluids between men and women. Men were generally considered to be able to control

their body fluids (urination, defecation, ejaculation), while women were considered to be less able to control theirs (menstruation, blood caused by first intercourse, childbirth) (Cole 2004:204). Hence, women's blood needed to be controlled through ritualization in order to protect the society from the danger caused by its pollution. On the other side, male blood needed to be drawn in order to flow; it could be controlled and, thus, was not dealt with as a transgression or pollution. Rather, it could be regarded as purification, like in the flogging ritual.

Although there are differences between the sanctuaries regarding which phases in the transition process were emphasized and which gender was included in the ritualization, the transition from child to adult is of particular significance in all three sanctuaries. This was also the case for the concern for the danger of pollution considered to be posed by the female body. By being closely associated with rites of passage and with the physical transformations of the female body, the ritualization in the cults is characterized by liminality, pollution, and boundlessness. The link to liminality and bodily pollution locates the three cults of Artemis, temporally, in an ambiguous boundary zone.

The process of defining many aspects of the female body as impurities can, moreover, be understood as a part of the society's categorization and protection against what was considered to be a transgression of its boundaries and, thus, a threat. The significance of ritualization surrounding physical processes of the female body in the three sanctuaries of Artemis demonstrates that such rituals were of concern, not just on a personal level, but to the community as a whole. I will discuss this aspect further by exploring the sanctuaries' locations in the landscape.

8.4 BORDER LAND

The presentation of the three sanctuaries in Chapter 3 demonstrated that there are several similarities when it comes to the location of the sanctuaries in the landscape. Their placement in lowland, in a non-central location, and the close proximity to water appear to be of particular importance to all three sanctuaries. In the following analysis, I will examine whether the sanctuaries themselves were located in *spatial* boundary zones.

In his study on symbolical borders, Leach (1976) has argued that meaning depends upon contrast and that nearly all signs, symbols, and signals work together as pairs, such as life/death, cold/warm, man/woman. To categorize the world around us based on oppositions is a universal phenomenon shared by most cultures, past or present, civilized or primitive.

The establishment of two opposing categories creates artificial interruptions, or boundaries, in a field which is 'naturally' continuous, and will eventually lead to the establishment of categories which fall in between (Leach 1976:33). While the two oppositional categories are normal, time-bound, clarified, central and secular, the border marker is abnormal, timeless, ambiguous, on the edge, and sacred. The ambiguous character of the border zones is a source of conflict and concern, and often results in taboo areas (Fig. 39) (Leach 1976:33-35).

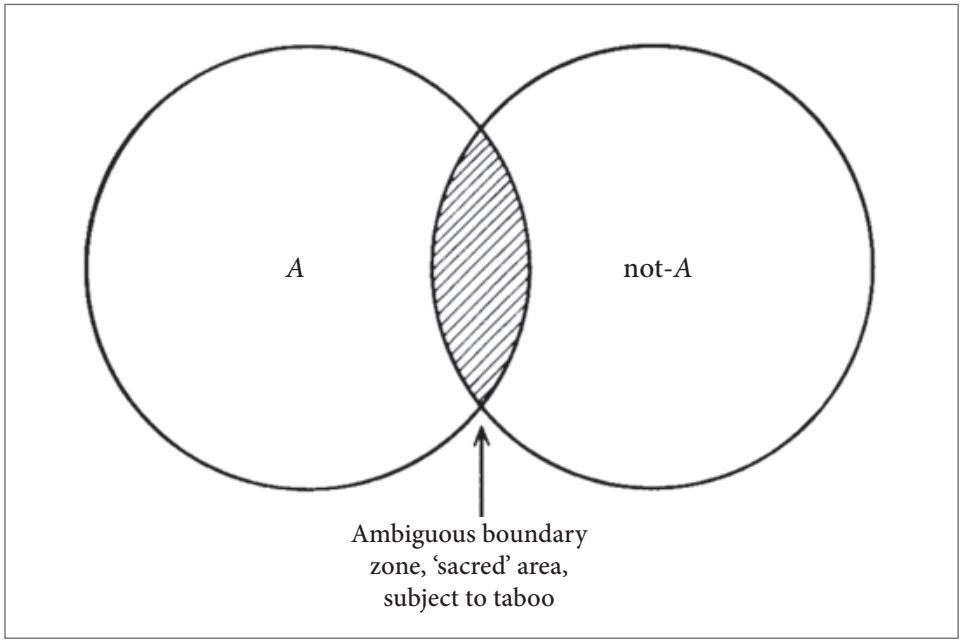

Figure 39: Leach's boundary zone model (Leach 1976:35).

The ambiguous character of boundaries can be applied to both time and space. Temporal boundary zones, as discussed above, are particularly associated with the different transitions in a human life, such as birth, transition from child to adult, and death (Leach 1976:34-35). Spatial boundaries mark borders in the social room, such as between 'tamed' (cultivated) and 'wild' (uncultivated) areas, city and countryside, and sacral and profane ground.

Artemis at the margins

The landscape of the polis, both the city center and its land, was not only settled by its people, but also by its gods. The deities were believed to dwell in the landscape, and features of the landscape were understood in relation to the divine world. For instance, mountain tops could be thought of as Zeus' dwelling places, springs as associated with nymphs, caves with Pan or chthonic deities; wilderness could be seen as the territory of Artemis, and the sea as Poseidon's precinct (Cole 2004:30). A polis' common cultural and religious awareness, social organization, and economical traditions all played significant roles in the physical and psychical formation of the polis. The spatial distribution of the sanctuaries is, therefore, of considerable importance (Cole 1994:200). The physical location of Greek sanctuaries has been approached by several scholars, with regard to features of the landscape (Scully 1979); the need to establish territorial control (de Polignac 1984); local history in combination with the function of the deity (Jost 1994); the deity's function and ritual demands coupled with the community's social organization (Cole 1994), or the combination of the deity's function, ritual demands, landscape features and gender structures (Cole 2004, 1998).

The division of the landscape between different divinities should not be understood as an absolute consistent system, but clear tendencies, like the ones noted above, can be observed. For Artemis, there was a tendency to locate her sanctuaries in the most remote areas, beyond the land settled by humans. Many of her sanctuaries are in wooded areas, near lakes or rivers, and in mountain areas, such as on the slopes of Mount Ithome in Messenia, where the mountains meet the coast at Calydon, and in the hillside at Sikyon. Although Artemis was at home in the mountains, she was not worshipped from mountain tops, but from their slopes or in lowland close to mountain passes (Scully 1979:80-93). Such landscapes were remote; they were, however, also often the border areas between two political territories (Cole 2004:181). Artemis preferred rural areas, although on a few occasions she can be found inside the center itself. The Brauronian cult on the Akropolis in Athens is such a case. However, Artemis is very rarely taken into the city center, particularly in the earliest periods (Cole 2004:182). She could, however, as can be observed at Ephesos and Sparta, be situated on the outskirts of the city centers and, thus, on the border between the city center and its rural landscape.

The unwillingness to take Artemis into the city center stands in contrast to the placement patterns of the sanctuaries of other deities. Most of the other Olympians could be taken into the city center. The most obvious contrast to the

non-central location of Artemis is the location of Athena. Athena is primarily a city goddess and often dwelled in the heart of the city center, such as at Athens, Assos, Pergamon, Priene, and Paestum (Scully 1979:169-185). Zeus, although he could dwell inside the city center, is a god that appears to have been just as much at home in a non-central mountain landscape as Artemis. However, while Artemis preferred the lower position in mountain landscapes, Zeus was often worshipped on mountain tops, which can be observed at the altar of Zeus on the top of Mount Lykaion, on the summit of Mount Oros on Aigina, and the sanctuary of Zeus on top of Mount Hymettos in Attica (Scully 1979:132-154). The location of Zeus and Artemis seem to have had different meanings; while Zeus' connection to the mountains is probably based on the association of him with the sky, the connection of Artemis with the mountains is more related to her association with remoteness and wilderness, and border areas.

The location of Artemis has been of particular interest for several researchers. Jost (1994:219-220) connects Artemis to remote and moist terrain as a goddess of hunting and marshy areas. Frontisi-Ducroux (1981) interprets the rural location of sanctuaries of Artemis as defining the boundary between the wilderness of nature and the civilized city settled by humans. In his study on the role of early sanctuaries in the formation of the polis (see 2.1), de Polignac (1995:57-60) understands the location of sanctuaries of Artemis at the end of agricultural land and in political border areas as symbolic boundaries marking both spatial and political order. Schachter (1992:49-51) stresses that the location of Artemis in boundary areas is associated with her role as a goddess of transitions between wild and civilized and between childhood and adulthood. Cole (2004:184) argues that it is the idea of dangerous and threatened passages that unites the sites of Artemis. From this perspective, it is not the mountains themselves that are significant to the cult of Artemis, but the narrow passages between them that permit access from one area to the next. Cole also observes that water is prominent in the sites of Artemis, particularly at Brauron, and suggests that it was required in rituals performed before marriage, after childbirth, and in raising children (Cole 2004:193).

Of the three sanctuaries of Artemis in this project, only the location of the Brauronian Artemision can be interpreted as remote. However, although the sanctuaries at Ephesos and Sparta were not situated in the wilderness, nor were they located inside the city centers. Rather, their placement is where the city center ends and the land begins. It can be argued that they have an in-between location between the polis center and its land, and are, thus, in the border zone between central and non-central territories. The sanctuary at Brauron is a rural sanctuary on the fringes of the Attic landscape and is far away from the city

center of Athens. The location is not a border location between central and non-central, but could have been perceived as a border zone between the inhabited cultivated landscape of the polis and the uncultivated, wild landscape of no-man's land between several poleis. Due to the in-between location of all three sanctuaries, I suggest that an essential common physical feature is border land.

Another landscape feature the three sanctuaries share is water. The Brauronian sanctuary is associated with water by being located near the sea and a river, and also by indications that the sanctuary had been flooded (see 4.1). In addition, the water's importance to the sanctuary is also seen in the spring inside the sanctuary where most of the votive offerings were found. Also, at Ephesos water constitutes a distinct feature of the sanctuary. It was, at least in the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods, a sanctuary situated by the sea. The ground itself is swampy, which continuously caused, and still causes, floods of the sanctuary area (see 4.2). The Spartan sanctuary was also located on marshy ground and the river Eurotas, which passed nearby, flooded the sanctuary on many occasions (see 4.3). Although the three Artemisia were subject to destruction and complications caused by water, none of them were re-located to higher ground. This suggests that the sanctuaries' locations, and perhaps also the water itself, played important roles in the character of the cult and the constitution of Artemis. Perhaps the sanctuaries were located here, not in spite of water, but because of it.

The votive material demonstrates that the worshippers turned to Artemis, among other things, to ask for, or thank her for, protection when going through the transition between childhood and adulthood. Thus, they also turned to her to be purified from the pollution that was inflicted upon them by the transition. The strong association of the three sanctuaries with water strengthens the notion of purification. Since the votive material shows that a substantial aspect of the ritualization was linked to pollution, the location of the sanctuaries near water might have been based upon ideas of water as purifying.

Applying Leach's model to Brauron, Ephesos, and Sparta, the physical location of the sanctuaries of Artemis (Fig. 40) can be interpreted as a border zone between two distinct categories: "A" and "not-A". The two categories should, in this context, be understood spatially, where "A" refers to areas within the territory of the polis or 'tamed' areas and "non-A" are the areas that lie outside the territory of the polis, or in 'wild' areas. The border between the two opposite categories is in this case a spatial border. The border zone is characterized by being outside the city center, in between wild and central and can be described as marginal. Due to the extreme remote location, the

marginality is perhaps most apparent at Brauron. However, the location of the Spartan Artemisia and the Ephesian Artemisia between central and non-central zones places the two sanctuaries at border locations, which makes them marginal. The locations in low and wet landscapes further indicates the marginal character of the three sanctuaries.

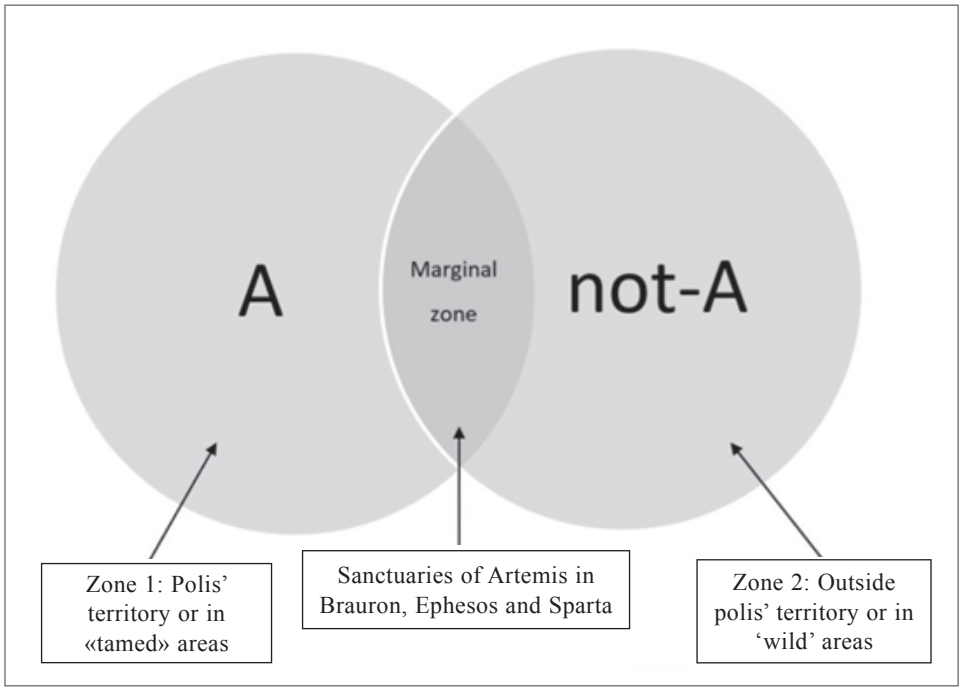

Figure 40: Figure based on Leach's boundary zone model showing the marginal location of the three sanctuaries of Artemis.

I suggest that the spatial location of the three sanctuaries in marginal zones is closely related to ideas about pollution and impurity, particularly associated with the female body. The spatial location of the three sanctuaries of Artemis should be understood as a part of the cults' ritualization focused on transition rituals and the female body's physical processes. Placing the sanctuaries in marginal locations demonstrates a handling of the liminal and ritually dangerous content of the cults. In this way, the marginal locations of the sanctuaries can also be interpreted as manifestations of a social and cultural system – a system that was meant to sustain and protect the community against ritual danger and chaos.

8.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BODY AND BORDERS

Building on the analyses in Chapters 6 and 7, which demonstrated the significance of puberty, sexuality, transition rituals, and nature within the female body in the cults, the main aim in the present chapter has been to further broaden our understanding of the role of the body and transition rituals in the three sanctuaries of Artemis. When the personal votive gifts and the apotropaic votive gifts are analyzed in relation to the material discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, the indication of a constitution of Artemis as a goddess associated to transition rituals, liminality and ritual danger is further strengthened. Using the theories of Turner, Douglas and Solheim, it has been possible to explore the ideas behind such a constitution of Artemis. Since the three cults are associated with puberty, the transition from child to adult and with the fluidity and transformability of the female body, they are also associated with the ritual pollution and dangers of liminality and bodily boundary transgression, which are particularly associated with women due to the openness and boundlessness of the female physical body.

The idea of the female body as open, fluid and transformative, makes it a particularly useful metaphor for marginality. Marginality had consequences for the individuals, but the ideas about bodily pollution and impurities could also be transferred to a social and cultural system. The marginal location of the three sanctuaries, due to their situation in borderlands, lowlands, and wetlands, are physical manifestations of metaphorical processes taking their point of departure in ideas on liminality and pollution, which in turn take their starting point in the human body. Thus, the sanctuaries' ritualization was focused upon the body, borders, and boundary markers in both terms of time and space. The ritualization in the sanctuaries and the marginal spatial locations of the sanctuaries indicate attempts to control the female and the liminal bodies' physical boundaries, which further demonstrates the attendant anxiety and attempts to establish social control of the communities' boundaries and purity.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

A substantial amount of research has been conducted on the character of Artemis. She is, first and foremost, understood as a goddess of nature, and is widely characterized as a hunting goddess, a mistress of wild nature and wild animals, a fertility goddess and a virgin goddess. The purpose of this study has not been to demonstrate that such characterizations are altogether wrong. However, the well-established characterization of Artemis as a goddess of wild nature and fertility is too schematic and too broad to provide any new insight into the significance of her cults in the communities that worshipped her. The aim with this research project has, therefore, been to contribute to the further development of a more nuanced perspective on the character of Artemis from a social and cultural perspective.

Research on Artemis and on Greek religion in general, has traditionally focused on literary sources. When the written word has provided the framework, archaeological remains are treated as mute and are fitted into this framework whenever it appears to suit the purpose. In this book, I have aimed at approaching archaeological material outside the framework of our pre-understanding of Artemis. Through taking the votive material in sanctuaries of Artemis as a point of departure, it is possible to reach different interpretations and even to challenge written sources.

In the following, I discuss the methodological contributions and challenges of this research, sketch some future perspectives for research on votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries and on the character of Artemis, and consider whether the three primary research questions have been answered.

9.1 PUBLICATIONS OF VOTIVE MATERIAL

Since published material forms the basis for this study, I have had to rely on the publication of votives and the selection made by the various authors. This is not without its challenges (as outlined in 2.1), particularly when conduct-

ing statistical analyses given that the fairly frequent lack of exact numbers. This has been particularly pertinent to the present endeavor in relation to the couchant animal figurines in ivory, the animal figurines in bronze and the lead figurines at Sparta, and the personal votive gifts at Brauron. The lead figurines had to be left out of the statistical analysis. I personally quantified the animal figurines at Sparta and personal votives at Brauron (see Chapter 5 regarding how this was resolved). This is not an exact method, but it is a necessary one in order to be able to study the objects in statistical analyses.

Several of the photographs of the votives, particularly those in the older publications from the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos (Hogarth 1908) and Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Dawkins 1929) are of poor quality, and on several occasions I have been uncertain of the accuracy of the description of a figurine and its assigned gender. Of the many ithyphallic figures from Sparta, for example, only two are illustrated and on both of these the penis is barely visible. This makes a very significant figurine group questionable. However, it has been outside the time and scope of this current endeavor to personally study the relevant material in detail, and I have thus had to rely on the descriptions of the excavators.

Furthermore, when publication of the material is not simultaneous, as is the case with the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron and Ephesos, collecting and collating all the published material is remarkably labor intensive. Archaeologists have a great responsibility to publish the material they excavate. It is also essential that the material is published quickly in order to make it available to other scholars, both in the form of detailed publications and also so the material is made accessible to others. Quantities of excavated material can often be so great that the high costs that would be incurred render publication impossible. In such cases, online publishing is a feasible option. Another possibility would be to organize the material into larger groups and to be stringent when publishing the contexts in which the material was found, and in recording the numbers and the dating of the contexts, to ensure this material is available for statistical analysis.

9.2 BROADER COMPARISON WITH OTHER SANCTUARIES

The research presented in this book cannot be generalized to apply to all sanctuaries of Artemis. Indeed, it would be extremely valuable to compare the results from the analyses of these three sanctuaries with other sanctuaries of Artemis. Furthermore, a comparison of the constitution of Artemis and the constitution of other deities is needed. Simon (1986) has studied and compared

the Archaic votive offerings of many different deities. However, his study is rather insufficient (see 2.3 for discussion of these) — particularly as he does not discuss images at all — and thorough studies of the social and cultural significance of votive offerings and locations of sanctuaries of other deities are needed. It would also be interesting to analyze the votive offerings from sanctuaries of deities who appear to have been constituted differently, such as Zeus or Apollo for example, to explore differences and similarities which might provide valuable insights into ideas on, for example, gender.

Owing to the many similarities the sanctuaries of Artemis have been demonstrated to share with sanctuaries of Hera, it would be valuable to compare the two deities. In addition to similarities in received votive gifts, as presented in this book, the two goddesses appear to share a similar preference for marginal locations. The non-central location of Artemis, and especially the rural location of Brauron, is similar to the location of Hera, who was also seldom brought into the city centers. Some examples of the locations of sanctuaries of Hera are the Corinthian Heraion's remote location at the tip of a promontory (Perachora) 33 kilometers from the center of Corinth; the Argive Heraion's location between, and several kilometers away from, the centers of Argos and Mycenae, and the Samian Heraion's location six kilometers outside the city center of Samos. The fact that Hera and Artemis both received many similar votive offerings and also shared a non-central location in the landscape indicates that the two goddesses shared many functions.

9.3 THE CONSTITUTION OF ARTEMIS THROUGH VOTIVE RITUALIZATION

Although there are differences between the three sanctuaries, the analyses of the votive offerings from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, Ephesos, and Sparta demonstrate that there are also several significant similarities. One of the most significant characteristics of Artemis and her cults is the dynamic relationship between nature and culture, which is closely connected to aspects of gender, body, and sexuality. Challenging our preconceived notions about fertility figurines and potnia theron by asking questions about nature, culture, gender, the body, and sexuality, has proved to be a fruitful line of inquiry and has provided us with more specific insights about the ritualization in the sanctuaries of Artemis.

Nature and culture, gender, the body, and sexuality

Artemis is held to be a goddess of nature primarily because she is understood as a mistress and protector of wild animals and nature, a hunting goddess, and a goddess of fertility for both men and animals. These interpretations are predominantly based on written sources using iconographical material as supporting evidence (see 3.3).

One surprising discovery was the popularity of votive images of domesticated animals, particularly those of sheep, goat, and cattle, in the sanctuary of Artemis at Sparta (see 7.1). Contrary to the interpretation of Artemis as the goddess of wild animals, the unexpected prominence of farm animals shows that Artemis was constituted as a goddess of agriculture. Thus, there is a significant facet of Artemis, at least at Sparta, that was considered to be a goddess of cultivated land and of culture.

Another surprising discovery was the general insignificance of the typical attributes of Artemis as displayed in Classical iconography: the bow and arrow and the deer, which are so commonly held to characterize the hunting aspect of the goddess (see 7.2). Such images do not appear until the Late Archaic and the Early Classical periods at Brauron and Sparta. The presence of the deer and the bow and arrow in Classical iconography is perhaps part of the institutionalization process of Artemis. There are no indications in the votive material in the three sanctuaries to connect the later depictions of Artemis (with the deer and the bow and arrow) with an earlier constitution of Artemis as a goddess of the hunt.

Rather, the material demonstrates the significance of the beast of prey, the bird of prey, and the waterbird, and attests to a special connection between these animals and the female body (see 7.2). Sometimes, as with the images of sphinxes and winged women, the animal and the woman are directly incorporated in each other's bodies. Since beasts of prey, birds of prey, and waterbirds dwell in the remote wilderness and have characteristics that are largely incomprehensible and unattainable by humans, they represent extreme nature. Based on the special attention devoted to these animals in the cults, and the particular connection between such animals of the wilderness and the female body, I have approached them as metaphors for the idea of the female body as being intimately connected to nature.

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, the cults of Artemis were concerned with female sexuality and the transition from girl to woman. There are further indications of ritualization revolving around the female body, and the social and physical transition from girl to woman, as evidenced by the personal and

apotropaic votive gifts that were found in abundance in all three sanctuaries, this is discussed in Chapter 8. Using the theories of Turner, Douglas, and Solheim it has been possible to explore the ideas behind such a constitution of Artemis. Since the three cults are associated with sexuality and the series of bodily and social transitions in order for a girl to become a woman, they are also associated with ritual pollution and the dangers of liminality and bodily boundary transgression. Such ritual pollution and dangers were closely associated with each other, which in turn appears to be related to the openness and boundlessness of the female physical body.

My analyses of the votive material from the three sanctuaries of Artemis indicate that women, to a large extent, were understood on the basis of their biological bodies being associated with nature. This is indicated by the finding that a considerable proportion of the material is associated with ritual pollution and danger, which takes its point of departure in the idea of the female body as open and boundless. More directly, this is indicated in the analyses of the presence of the beast of prey, the bird of prey, and the waterbird, where depictions of wild nature can be interpreted as describing women as being closely related to nature.

Therefore, given the analyses presented in this book, a question arises: Is Artemis a goddess of nature or a goddess of culture? The answer to this is neither straightforward nor clear-cut. To a certain extent, by virtue of being associated with wilderness and wild nature, Artemis may be held to be a goddess of nature. However, her association with wilderness and wild nature is not due to an interest in nature in itself, but rather nature serves as an image of ideas embedded in culture, in people, and in women in particular. The images of wild animals in the cults of Artemis do not first and foremost point to wild nature in itself. Rather, they serve to culturally define and constitute ideas about bodies and gender structures. The presence of animal images shows how conceptions of nature occur in contexts of culture and serve cultural purposes.

Such a relationship between nature and culture in the votive ritualization in the sanctuaries of Artemis put her in charge of defining, challenging, and examining the boundary between nature and culture. In this context, the dog resurfaces as significant, since it, too, may have served as a metaphor for the boundary between nature and culture (see 7.2). The dog was prominent only in the cult of Artemis at Sparta, but is commonly depicted as her companion in Classical iconography and in written sources. The dog may have been associated with Artemis as her companion, not in hunting, but in patrolling the boundary between nature and culture: between wild and domesticated an-

imals, between wilderness and cultivated land, between child and adult, but, most prominently, between nature and culture within women themselves.

A difference in how male and female bodies were treated can be observed when the approaches to the body fluids of the female body are compared to the shedding of blood in the flogging ritual at Sparta. While women's blood resulting from menstruation and childbirth was considered to be impure, the blood of the young Spartan men was deliberately drawn, perhaps as a purification ritual related to the transition from boy to man. While women were considered to be unable to control their body fluids, due to the association of the female body with biological processes, such as menstruation and childbirth, men were generally considered to be able to control their body fluids, and processes such as urination, defecation, and ejaculation. While women's blood needed to be controlled through ritualization in order to protect society from the threat of danger caused by its pollution, male blood needed to be drawn in order to flow; it could be controlled and, thus, was not dealt with as a transgression or pollution, but as purifying.

The female body is, thus, a metaphor for pollution, marginality, and boundlessness. At the same time, I argue that the female body in these contexts is also a metaphor for the social and cultural norms in these specific societies. At the same time as being 'nature', the body and gender are — through ideas on what is right and wrong, or pure and impure — specific to time and place.

Spatial marginality

Votive material can also be the point of departure to analyze other sources of the worship of Artemis, as demonstrated in the discussion of the location and landscape features of the sites of the Artemis sanctuaries (see 8.4).

I understand the space of the three sanctuaries to be marginal due to their location in border zones, their situation low in the landscape, and due to the significance of water. The marginality of the physical site can be related to the cults' ritualization with regard to liminality and pollution, which is based on the idea of the female body as fluid, transformative, and boundless. The establishment of sanctuaries focused upon the female body, liminal bodies, and boundaries, both in terms of time and space, is testimony to a community's anxiety and attempts to establish social control over women and the transgressions between the different physical and social states in human life. Therefore, this effort to control the body's physical boundaries indicates a concern with establishing control over the purity and identity of the community.

Boundary selection, exclusion, and purification, which refer to people's

attempts to create worlds of meaning, can, arguably, form the basis for social and cultural order. Along these lines, the three sanctuaries of Artemis may also constitute the establishment of a social and cultural system; a system concerned with controlling ambiguous and impure elements, and, thus, a system that protected the society against chaos and danger and established culture by defining what is considered pure and what is considered polluted.

Differences between the three sanctuaries

Although there are many similarities between the three sanctuaries of Artemis, there are also several significant differences. The sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron appears to differ the most, when compared to the other two. Overall, there is a greater variety of votive offerings at Ephesos and Sparta than there is at Brauron, which indicates that the Ephesian and Spartan Artemis were constituted in many different ways and on several levels, while the Brauronian Artemis was more specifically confined to fewer cult aspects. However, particular attention is paid to the female body and the transition from girl to woman in all three sanctuaries, and the difference in the three cults' handling of this aspect is significant.

This difference can most prominently be observed in the absence of images denoting sexuality, and in the popularity of images displaying children, particularly girls, at Brauron. This stands in stark contrast to the prominence of images denoting female sexuality at Ephesos and Sparta. Such a difference is probably related to the cult's concern with different age groups and to different stages in the transition process from girl to woman. I have argued that while the rituals at Brauron were probably preparations for female transition into adolescence, and thus, preparatory for the series of bodily and social transitions that followed, the rituals at Ephesos and Sparta are associated with a later phase in the transition process from girl to woman and are more directly linked to becoming a sexual woman.

There is also a difference between the three sanctuaries regarding the presence of the beast of prey, bird of prey, waterbird, and the woman-wild animal images. At the same time as images of female sexuality were prominent at Ephesos and Sparta, so too were the beast and bird of prey and the waterbird. At Brauron, images directly denoting sexuality were absent and the beast of prey and waterbird were less prominent, while the deer was the most popular wild animal. Moreover, the motif of a woman with a lion at Brauron does not depict the standing woman with a mature, often snarling, lion that we see at Ephesos and Sparta, but rather it is of a seated woman with a lion cub lying

in her lap. The differences in the woman-wild animal images might, thus, also be connected to the focus on different age groups.

A further difference can be observed in the presence of male images; again, it is the Brauronian sanctuary that stands out. With the exception of five male riders from the Archaic period, there are no male images at Brauron at all. This is in stark contrast to the popularity of male warriors and male images denoting sexuality at Sparta.

While the Ephesian and Spartan cults appear to have been focused on becoming sexual adults, it seems as though the Brauronian Artemis was more specifically confined to preparing girls for puberty. In this context, images more directly expressing sexuality (naked men and women) and the more aggressive woman-wild animal images were perhaps seen as too dangerous or too aggressive at Brauron.

9.4 WRITTEN SOURCES AND VOTIVE MATERIAL

The written word traditionally holds a strong position in research on Greek religion (see 3.2). Literary sources and their interpretations are commonly seen as the most valid descriptions of how Artemis was perceived. In accordance with such a tradition, material remains are treated as passive objects that can be used to prove the interpretation of the written word. In the present book, my aim has been to approach the votive material from outside of the framework of the preconceived notions of Artemis in order to attempt to reach a novel understanding.

Votive offerings and the ritual processes in the sanctuaries of Artemis could also form the point of departure for research on other sources for the worship of Artemis, as can be observed in the analysis of the landscape and location of sanctuaries of Artemis. Such a methodology could also merit further exploration as an interpretative framework for the mythical sources and the later iconography. Is it possible to understand the Artemis we encounter in the myths and the Classical iconography differently if we base our interpretations on the votive material found in her sanctuaries?

As discussed in Chapter 7 and also above, the dog's presence in the sanctuary of Artemis at Sparta should presumably not be associated with hunting, but rather as an analogy for Artemis in her role as a goddess in between nature and culture. Moreover, since there are no indications of an association with hunting in the sanctuaries where deer images are present in the Late Archaic and Classical periods (Brauron and Sparta), the deer should perhaps rather be understood as replacing the function of the beast of prey and bird of prey

and, thus, also serving as an analogy of human nature, particularly women. The interpretation of the constitution of Artemis as the boundary between nature and culture, particularly between nature and culture within women, may further be explored in studies of the constitution of the Artemis that we meet in the myths, for example in Homer's statement *Artemis agrotera, potnia theron*, in Classical iconography where she is often portrayed as an adolescent girl accompanied by a dog or a deer, or in the cult statue at Ephesos, which is covered with a wide variety of wild animals.

9.5 WHO CONSTITUTES?

At the same time as studying how Artemis was constituted through votive offerings, I have been exploring various ways of approaching votive offerings and of approaching images.

In studies of images from Greek sanctuaries, the focus has traditionally been on whatever the image is actually depicting. Frequently asked questions are, for example: Is the female figurine a representation of a goddess or that of a female worshipper? Is an image of a human figure holding wild animals representing a hunter or a deity ruling the world of wild nature? To discuss and determine what an image depicts, whether it be a deity, a worshipper, a mythological episode, or a historical event, is, indeed, relevant and important. However, we need not stop there; further questions may be raised, questions that might lead to different kinds of knowledge. For example, it may yield knowledge about how human figures and animal figures were conceptualized and what this communicates about how the people in that society related to what it meant to be a human or an animal, a woman or a man etc. Images are both concrete and abstract, which means that concrete elements can be observed, but also that they can be understood as non-material manifestations of a culture and a mentality of which they were a part. I do not see the votive images as tokens that represent reality. Rather, I have focused on studying them as symbols that might provide insight into the culture in which they were produced.

Simon (1986:414) claims that the significance of the votive gift lay more in its connection with the dedicator than with the deity. I should rather suggest that the choice of votive gift is a product of the constant and dynamic process between the motivations and intentions of the dedicators and the overarching structures. The relationship between dedicator and structures is founded in practice theory (see 2.4), whereby individuals are approached as *both* influenced and controlled by overarching structures *and* agents with diverse in-

tentions and motives who influence and are influenced by their surroundings. When a votive is dedicated to Artemis, it is a ritualized action carried out by agents who are both influenced by their social and cultural context, but who themselves also make and change the structures of the world in which they live. From this perspective, the body should not be treated as a passive entity, but rather as an active social body – habitus: at the same time as the social body acts in the social world, the social world acts in the social body. The worshippers who dedicated votive gifts to Artemis were such social bodies. Hence, Artemis was constituted by both structures and individual actions.

By virtue of being dedicated, the votive offerings are also a part of the ritualization. They are the material remains of ritualization which is influenced by *both* overarching structures *and* the actions of individual agents. Based on the theories of, for example, Appadurai (1986), Kopytoff (1986), Gell (1998), and Giddens (1984), it can be argued that votive offerings are not just passive reflections of this ritualization, but that they are also agents influencing the ritual processes in the sanctuary. The agency of the votive offerings should not be understood as an intentional agency, but as the sum of the different social contexts of which they were a part. The votives were, thus, influenced by the worshippers and the structures they were a part of, at the same time as they, too, had an impact on the worshippers and the social and cultural context. In other words, the votive gift is constitutive.

In line with an understanding of votive offerings as constitutive, so, too, can the landscape features and location of the sanctuaries be understood as constitutive. The cultic space was not merely a passive reflection of the cult of Artemis, it was also an agent actively participating in establishing and creating the marginal character of the cults.

Several factors created and changed the character of Artemis at the three different sites: the agents, with their personal motivations and needs, and the overarching structures, but the votives and locations themselves were also embodiments of the sum of the relationship between agents and structures. Artemis and her cults were, thus, partially constituted through votives, space, and worshippers and how they incorporated their social and cultural worlds in their ritualized actions.

APPENDIX 1: TABLES

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE 18 SELECTED CATEGORIES AMONG THE THREE ARTEMIS SANCTUARIES AT BRAURON, EPHESOS, AND SPARTA

Category	Brauron	Ephesos	Sparta
1. Standardized female images	√	√	√
2. Images of women holding flowers, fruit, or doves	√		√
3. Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abdomen, or breasts	√	√	√
4. Images of kourotrophoi and children	√	√	
5. Images of naked and ithyphallic men		√	√
6. Male images		√	√
7. Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals	√	√	√
8. Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals	√	√	√
9. Miscellaneous images	√	√	√
10. Personal votive gifts	√	√	√
11. Apotropaic votive gifts	√	√	√
12. Model body parts		√	
13. Weapons		√	√
14. Spinning tools		√	
15. Plaques with figurative patterns		√	
16. Astragals		√	
17. Masks			√
18. Miscellanea	√	√	√

(Table also available at 5.1.)

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE VOTIVE CATEGORIES AT THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT BRAURON.

Category	Description	Archaic period 311	L.A/E.C. period 570	Classical period 93
1	Standardized female images	269	355	55
	Seated	55	344	1
	Standing	160	11	2
	Protomai and heads	54		52
2	Images of women holding flowers or fruit	1	78	
	Sitting, holding a flower up between the breasts	–	12	–
	Standing, one hand placed between the breasts, which is either empty or holds a flower, fruit, or a bird	–	50	–
	Sitting, holding hand between the breasts	–	8	–
	Standing, holding a dove	1	–	–
	Standing, holding a flower up between the breasts with one hand; the other hand holds a dove.	–	7	–
	Standing, empty hand between breasts	–	1	–
3	Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abdomen or breasts		1	
	Naked legs and abdomen of a prone woman		1	
4	Images of woman and child or solitary child	–	8	54

Category	Description	Archaic period 311	L.A/E.C. period 570	Classical period 93
	Woman sitting, adolescent girl in lap	–	6	–
	Woman sitting, dressed, holding infant child	–	1	–
	Squatting naked boy	–	1	
	Standing naked boy	–	–	3
	Standing girl, carrying a hare	–	–	1
	Girls, only broken off heads remain	–	–	50
7	Images of domesticated animal / human with domesticated animal	11	11	2
	Horse	6	1	–
	Rider	5	4	–
	Piglet	–	1	–
	Ram	–	1	–
	Woman and dog	–	1	–
	Cow	–	1	–
	Woman riding a bull	–	2	–
8	Images of wild animal / human with wild animal	–	40	–
	Bird	–	8	–
	Beast of prey		10	
	Lion	–	3	–
	Sphinx		2	–
	Seated woman holding a lion cub	–	5	–
	Seated woman holding a fawn	–	15	–
	Woman and deer	–	5	–
	Cicadas	–	1	–
	Mouse	–	1	–

Category	Description	Archaic period 311	L.A/E.C. period 570	Classical period 93
9	Miscellaneous images	1	6	4
	Human figure	1	–	–
	Woman and animal	–	1	–
	Woman with quiver and arrow		1	–
	Standing woman holding a kithara	–	2	–
	Woman's head, with helmet	–	1	–
	Two women, sitting.	–	1	–
	Apollo?	–	–	1
	Artemis approached by five men	–	–	1
	Dedication scenes; family approaches Artemis	–	–	2
10	Personal votive gifts			
	Jewelry and dress	50	50	–
	Mirror	–	5	2
11	Apotropaic votive gifts	37	36	–
18	Miscellanea	–	1	
	Musical instruments	–	1	–
	Female figurines with movable limbs		–	5

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF THE VOTIVE CATEGORIES IN THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS.

Category	Description	Geometric period	Archaic period	Classical period
(Number of votive objects found)		(504)	(5900)	(82)
1	Standardized female image	–	25	2
	Standing, dressed		22	1
	Sitting, dressed		1	1
	Dressed, sitting or standing		3	–
3	Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abdomen, or breasts		12	2
	Naked		3	–
	Naked, standing, both hands held up to breasts		1	–
	Standing, dressed, one hand on belly or breast		1	–
	Standing, veiled, probably dressed, both hands held over belly/pubic area		7	–
	Sitting, dressed, one hand on breast		–	2
4	Images of kourotrophoi and children	–	–	7
	Child image			1
	Seated dressed female figurine, holding child		–	6
5	Images of naked and ithyphallic men		2	3
	Naked, ithyphallic		1	–

Category	Description	Geometric period	Archaic period	Classical period
(Number of votive objects found)		**(504)**	**(5900)**	**(82)**
	Naked, playing the double pipe		1	–
	Holding both hands on paunch			2
	Naked torso in violent action			1
6	Male images	–	1	1
	Standing, dressed, wearing headdress and a large, thick necklace	–	1	–
	Mask	–	–	1
7	Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals		21	1
	Sheep	–	3	–
	Goat	–	2	–
	Ram	–	4	–
	Horse	–	4	–
	Bull	–	5	1
	Draft animal	–	3	–
8	Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals	4	146	5
	Bird of prey		72	1
	Hawk or falcon	–	69	1
	Siren		1	
	Woman holding two hawks	–	1	–
	Woman holding an oinochoe and a bowl, hawk on top of head	–	1	–
	Beast of prey	2	36	1

Category	Description	Geometric period	Archaic period	Classical period
(Number of votive objects found)		(504)	(5900)	(82)
	Lion	–	7	1
	Winged lion		3	
	Sphinx		6	
	Griffin		16	
	Winged woman grasping two lions	–	1	–
	Woman holding a sistrum and a lion protome	2	–	–
	Woman standing on a panther's head	–	1	–
	Naked human figure standing between two rampant lions	–	2	–
	Bee	–	10	–
	Bird	2	18	2
	Stag	–	1	–
	Fawn	–	1	–
	Wild boar	–	1	1
	Capricorn	–	2	–
	Ibex	–	2	–
	Fly	–	1	–
	Frog	–	1	–
	Hippopotamus	–	1	–
9	Miscellaneous images	1	17	–
	Human figure wearing a helmet	1		–
	Naked human figure, bell-shaped	–	1	–
	Naked human figure kneeling, large basket/jar between knees	–	1	–
	Human figure playing the lyre	–	1	–

Category	Description	Geometric period	Archaic period	Classical period
(Number of votive objects found)		**(504)**	**(5900)**	**(82)**
	Human figure holding a tortoise shell lyre		1	–
	Female holding a distaff and ball and a spindle	–	1	–
	Human face in relief	–	3	–
	Bes figure	–	1	–
	'Janus-head'	–	1	–
	Pendant of a tiny head	–	1	–
	Uncertain animal figures	–	7	–
10	Personal votive gifts	26	1946	–
	Jewelry	–	781	–
	Bead/pendant jewelry	25	64	–
	Clamp	1	–	–
	Bracelet	–	195	–
	Ear drops/ earrings	–	511	–
	Finger ring	–	11	–
	Dress	–	1145	–
	Brooch	–	35	–
	Fibula	–	493	–
	Pin	–	565	–
	Belt	–	52	–
	Toiletries	–	20	–
	Aryballos	–	15	–
	Pyxis	–	1	–
	Comb	–	1	–
	Ear-spoon (for cleaning the ears)	–	1	–

Category	Description	Geometric period	Archaic period	Classical period
(Number of votive objects found)		(504)	(5900)	(82)
	Mirror	–	2	–
11	Apotropaic votive gifts	–	247	–
	Scarab	–	26	–
	Scaraboid seal, not engraved	–	2	–
	Scaraboid seal, engraved	–	1	–
	Seal, not engraved	–	2	–
	Seal, engraved	–	5	–
	Astragals	–	211	–
12	Model body parts		48	1
	Face sheet	–	2	–
	Eye sheet/mask	–	35	–
	Ear sheet	–	3	–
	Ear figurine, life size	–	–	1
	Leg/foot figurine	–	4	–
	Hand figurine	–	3	–
	Heart figurine	–	1	–
13	Weapons	–	30	–
	Arrow head		10	–
	Miniature double axe		2	–
	Knife (fragmented)		15	–
	Lance head		1	–
	Spear point		1	–
	Sword		2	–
14	Spinning tools	–	125	5
	Bobbin	–	1	–

Category	Description	Geometric period	Archaic period	Classical period
(Number of votive objects found)		**(504)**	**(5900)**	**(82)**
	Distaff	–	1	–
	Weight	–	50	–
	Whorl	–	73	5
15	Plaques with figurative patterns	–	368	–
16	Astragals	–	211	–
18	Miscellanea	–	20	2
	Pilgrim bottle		1	
	Leaves	–	3	–
	Pomegranate/poppy cone imitation		1	
	Horse bridle	–	2	–
	Human tooth	–	1	–
	Musical instruments		4	
	Shell	–	3	–
	Wheel	–	5	–
	Pawn/Draughtsman		–	1
	Helmet crest		–	1

TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF THE VOTIVE CATEGORIES IN THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA

Category	Description	Geometric period 505	Archaic period 2885	Classical period 111
1	Standardized female image	4	221	9
	Standing	3	155	9
	Seated	–	49	
	Protome	1	17	–
2	Images of women holding flowers, fruit or doves		2	3
	Carrying pomegranate + another object	–	2	3
3	Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abdomen, or breasts		18	6
	Naked, standing, arms to the sides	–	6	–
	Naked, right hand to pubic area	–	2	–
	Sitting on a throne, legs apart, pubic area often marked		6	5
	Naked, one hand to pubic area, one to breast	–	1	–
	Naked, emphasized breasts	–	2	–
	One man between two women. The women touch their pudenda and breasts	–	1	–
	One hand on womb	–	–	1
5	Images of naked and ithyphallic men		80	
	Ithyphallic	–	65	–

Category	Description	Geometric period 505	Archaic period 2885	Classical period 111
	Nude	–	15	–
6	Male images	2	21	4
	Bearded face	1		–
	”Thinker”	1		–
	Standing	–	4	–
	Sitting	–	4	–
	Squatting		5	–
	Warrior	–	7	4
	Two men facing each other	–	1	–
7	Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals	47	265	3
	Horse	6	124	1
	Horse	6	89	–
	Male rider	–	4	–
	Female rider	–	18	–
	Woman and horse	–	10	–
	Human and horse	–	1	–
	Centaur	–	2	1
	Cattle	–	9	–
	Bull/Ox	9	12	2
	Goat	–	5	–
	Sheep	18	81	–
	Ram	–	5	–
	Dog	14	28	–
	Man with spear and dog	–	1	–

Category	Description	Geometric period 505	Archaic period 2885	Classical period 111
8	Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals	32	89	13
	Beast of prey	7	45	–
	Beast with prey	5	12	–
	Lion	1	10	–
	Sphinx	–	7	–
	Griffin	1	1	–
	Woman grasping a lion	–	8	–
	Woman and sphinx	–	3	–
	Bear	–	2	–
	Woman and bear	–	1	–
	Man with winged lion and griffin	–	1	–
	Bird of prey	**–**	**5**	**–**
	Hawk/Falcon	–	2	–
	Woman and eagle	–	1	–
	Man and eagle	–	1	–
	Winged man	–	1	–
	Bird	11	24	8
	Bird	6	8	
	Waterbird	–	13	8
	Rooster	5	–	–
	Woman and bird	1	3	–
	Snake/Gorgon	–	7	–
	Snake	–	3	–
	Gorgon	–	2	–
	Man and gorgon	–	1	–

Category	Description	Geometric period 505	Archaic period 2885	Classical period 111
	Man and several-headed snake	–	1	–
	Deer	6	–	1
	Frog	6	–	2
	Tortoise	6	3	2
	Hedgehog	–	1	–
	Boar	–	3	–
	Female figure with a fish tail	–	1	–
9	Miscellaneous images	2	102	–
	A pair sitting side by side, either holding hands or with arms around each other	1	3	–
	Female and male couple	–	2	–
	One figure with four faces, and two female and two male sexual organs	–	1	–
	Human-like figure, squatting	–	2	–
	Figure holding an object	–	2	–
	Figure seated in front of a table	–	22	–
	Figure standing, arms outstretched	–	67	–
	Person with a bow	–	1	–
	Possible rider	1	1	–
	Uncertain animal / Human with uncertain animal	2	20	–
10	Personal votive gifts	232	416	–
	Jewelry	100	57	–
	Necklace	50		–
	Beads	–	9	–

Category	Description	Geometric period 505	Archaic period 2885	Classical period 111
	Double axe pendant	–	4	–
	Finger ring	50	44	–
	Dress	124	327	–
	Fibula	74	51	–
	Pins and needles	50	275	–
	Brooch		1	–
	Toiletries	8	32	–
	Comb	1	27	
	Mirror	2	2	
	Make-up tool	5	–	
	Aryballos	–	3	
11	Apotropaic votive gifts	271	133	
13	Weapons	43	66	–
	Double-axes	43	64	–
	Arrowheads	–	2	–
17	Masks	–	543	60
18	Miscellanea	10	52	6
	Pomegranates	5	14	5
	Miniature jugs	5	–	–
	Funeral scene	–	1	–
	Dice	–	9	1
	Architectural models	–	9	–
	Bobbins	–	1	–

Cate-gory	Description	Geometric period 505	Archaic period 2885	Classical period 111
	Wheel rims	–	1	–
	Ship images	–	3	–
	Flutes	–	14	–

TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF THE LEAD FIGURINES IN THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA AT SPARTA

Category	**Object** Total	**Lead 0** 23	**Lead I-II** 15267	**Lead III-IV** 68822	**Lead V-VI** 15390
1	Xoanon-like females		Prominent	Prominent	
	Protomai	√	√		
2	Women holding wreaths/ alabastrai/ pomegranates		Very popular	Very popular	Very popular
5	Naked men			Popular	
6	Men with tridents/ clubs			√	√
	Warriors	√	Very popular	Very popular	Very popular
	Men with bows		√	√	√
	Standing men		√	√	
	Moschophoroi		√		√
	Bearded face on discs		√		
7	Horse	√	√	√	
	Ox	√	√	√	
	Bull		√	√	
	Goat		√	√	
	Male rider		√	√	
	Centaur		√	√	
	Pegasus		√		
	Man with ram			√	√
8	Lion		Very popular	√	
	Boar		√		
	Deer			Popular	Popular
	Rooster		√	√	√

Cate-gory	Object Total	Lead 0 23	Lead I-II 15267	Lead III-IV 68822	Lead V-VI 15390
	Fish		√		
	Snake		√		
	Winged women	√	Very popular	Popular	Popular
	Winged women with wreaths and lions		√		
	Women with birds		√		
	Men with fish			√	√
	Men on horseback		√	√	
	Men with rams			√	√
	Sphinx		Very popular	√	
	Gorgon		√	√	
	Siren		√	√	
	Possible satyr		√		
9	Musicians/ miniature lyres		√	√	
	Women with a bow				√
	Female warrior		√		
	Women with spear			Popular	Popular
10	Miniature jewelry	Most common	Fairly common	Less common	–
	Decorative elements		√	√	√
	Miniature mirrors		√		
	Miniature combs		√		
11	Scarab rings	√	√		
13	Double axes		√		
	Adzes			√	
18	Wheels		√		
	Caduceus			√	

Cate-gory	**Object** Total	**Lead 0** 23	**Lead I-II** 15267	**Lead III-IV** 68822	**Lead V-VI** 15390
	Wreaths and palm branches	√	√	√	√
	Miniature lyres		√		

APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUES

CATALOGUE I: THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT BRAURON

Category 1: Standardized female image

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
1	22 seated female terracotta figurines. Hand-moulded with flat bodies and slim heads. The figurines are decorated with diagonal lines in a matt red paint on white ground.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:39-42, Cat. 12-32a
2	33 seated female terracotta figurines. Made in moulds. Across the chest, they have large, curved chains, which are held together by *fibulae*. The clothes were decorated with painted rosettes, scales and rectangular patterns. Nine of the figurines wear a crown or a *polos* or a stephane	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:72-84, Cat. 165-197
3	100 standing female terracotta figurines. The arms are outstretched either to the sides or in front of the body. Hand-moulded with cylindrical body and compressed 'bird-like' head.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:43-47, 51-60, 62-64, Cat. 33-106, 118-119, 121-140
4	21 standing female terracotta figurines. The arms are outstretched either to the sides or in front of the body. Moulded. Flat bodies.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:65-71, Cat. 143-164
5	Five standing female figurines with distinctive facial features. Hand-moulded bodies. The heads are from moulds.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:50-51, 61-62, Cat. 113-117

6	31 standing female terracotta figurines. Hand-moulded tubular or wheel-made bodies. The upper arms are held close to the body, while the forearms are outstretched in front. Colourful clothes and rich neck- and chest jewellery painted on them.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:118-130, Cat. 296-326
7	Two standing female figurines. Wearing crown or polos. Imports from Corinth.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 141, Cat. 374-375a
8	One standing female terracotta figurine. Drilled with a small hole in the upper body before the firing and is thus probably an amulet.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009: 51-52, 54, 64, Cat. 141
9	54 female terracotta protomai. Most of them are wearing a polos or a stephane.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:85-100, 104-105, 111-112, Cat. 198-244, 273-278
10	300 seated female terracotta figurines. Wearing stephane and veil. The 'Attic' type.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:150-151, 155-172 Cat. 379-466
11	41 seated female terracotta figurines. Wearing crown and veil. The 'Rhodian' type.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:173-177, Cat. 467-485a
12	Three seated female terracotta figurines. Holding an unidentified object in.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:189, 194-195, 197, Cat. 498, 499, 526
13	10 standing female terracotta figurines.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 135-138, Cat. 354-363
14	One standing female terracotta figurine. Wearing chiton and cloak. Forearms stretched in front of her body. The upper dress is folded up, thus emphasizing the legs and feet.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 141, Cat. 377

15	50 terracotta heads/protomai of women wearing scarves or hoods. Some of the heads are broken off from statuettes, but some have also been worked under the edge of the neck and were probably dedicated without a body.	Classical	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:107, 114, 223-232, Cat. 291, 608-642
16	One seated female terracotta figurine. Dressed in a peplos.	Classical	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:178 Cat. 486
17	One standing female terracotta figurines. Dressed in a peplos.	Classical	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 142-143, 239-243, 248, 252, Cat. 378a, 661
18	One female protome.	Classical	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:107, 114, Cat. 291
19	One terracotta bust of a woman wearing a peplos.	Classical	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:206 Cat. 536

Category 2: Images of women holding flowers, fruit, or small birds

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
20	One standing female terracotta figurine. The right hand, held between the breasts, holds a dove. The left hand holds the garment.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 140-141, Cat. 373
21	50 standing female terracotta figurines. The right hand is either open or holds an object, most often a flower, fruit, or bird. Gathers the dress with the left hand.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-135, Cat. 327-353

22	Seven standing female terracotta figurines. The right hand is placed between the breasts holding a flower or a fruit. The left hand, which is held in front of the lower part of the body, holds a bird (most often a dove).	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 138-139, Cat. 364-370
23	One standing female terracotta figurine. One hand is placed between the breasts; the other gathers the garment.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131, 139-140, Cat. 371
24	12 seated female terracotta figurines. Holding a flower between the breasts.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:194, 196-197, Cat. 514-525
25	Eight seated female terracotta figurines. With hand placed between the breasts.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:194-196, 198-199, Cat. 527-533a

Category 3: Images of naked women touching pubic area/lower abdomen, or breasts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
26	One broken terracotta relief showing the naked legs and abdomen of a reclining figure, probably a woman.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:239-243, 247, 252, Cat. 660

Category 4: Images of kourotrophoi and children

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
27	Six terracotta figurines showing seated adult women with adolescent girls in their laps. The girl holds a flower up to the woman's breast. Her left hand is held to her own breast. The girl is probably around 10 years old.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:179-185, Cat. 487-491a
28	One terracotta figurine showing a seated woman holding an infant child.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:179-185, Cat. 492
29	One terracotta figurine showing a squatting boy. Except for a hood, the boy is naked. Holds a round object (an egg?).	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:204-205, Cat. 535
30	Two marble statuettes of naked boys. They hold their clothes either over the arm or over the back and shoulder.	Classical	Daux 1961: 639, Fig. 9
31	One marble statuette of a naked boy. Possibly carrying a ball in his right hand and an oblong object in his left hand, with a cloth draped over his left arm.	Classical	Papadimitriou 1963:116
32	One marble statuette of a girl carrying a hare.	Classical	Ergon 1959:36; Papadimitriou 1963:116
33	Fragments of about 50 statuettes of young girls. About ten are broken off heads of marble statuettes showing girls.	Classical	Ergon 1958:37, Fig. 39; 1959:16-17, Figs. 15, 16, 17; 1960:22-23, Figs. 30, 32, 33

Category 7: Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
34	Six terracotta figurines showing horses. Two figurines are teams of horses.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:11, 36-37, Cat. 1-2, 6-8, 11
35	Five terracotta figurines showing horses with male riders.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:11, 36-37, Cat. 3-5, 9-10
36	One terracotta horse figurine.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:255, 258, Cat. 670
37	Four terracotta figurines showing horses with riders (no gender characteristics).	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:23, 49-50, 60-61, Cat. 109-112
38	One terracotta cow figurine.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:254, 259, Cat. 667
39	One terracotta piglet figurine.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:255, 257-258, Cat. 668
40	One terracotta ram figurine.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:255, 258, Cat. 669
41	One complete and one fragmented terracotta relief showing a woman riding a bull. The woman rides the bull in the 'Amazon position'. She holds a staff with one hand and a flower is held up to her breasts with the other hand.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:239-243, 247, 251-252, Cat. 658-659
42	One terracotta relief showing a woman walking with a rod-like object in her hand. Beside her runs a dog.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:239-243, 246, 251, Cat. 657

Category 8: Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
43	Three terracotta bird figurines.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:256, 258-259, Cat. 673, 675
44	Four terracotta dove figurines.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:256, 259, Cat. 674, 677, 678, 680
45	One terracotta duck figurine.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:256, 258-259, Cat. 676
46	Three terracotta lion figurines.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:253, 257, Cat. 662-664
47	One terracotta cicada figurine.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:255, 258, Cat. 671
48	One terracotta mouse figurine.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:255, 258, Cat. 672
49	Two terracotta figurines probably showing sphinxes.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:253-254, 257, Cat. 665-666
50	15 terracotta figurines showing a seated woman with a fawn resting in her arms.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:190-193, Cat. 500-513
51	Five terracotta figurines showing a seated woman with a lion lying in her lap.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:186-188, Cat. 493-497

52	One terracotta relief showing a human figure holding a kithara. A deer stands behind the human figure.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:239-243, 244-245, 249, Cat. 649
53	Four terracotta reliefs show an enthroned woman holding unidentified object (flower? sceptre?) in one hand and a donation bowl in the other. By the throne stands a deer.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:239-243, 245-246, 250, Cat. 652-654

Category 9: Miscellaneous images

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
54	One terracotta figurine showing a standing human figure. No gender characteristics.	Archaic	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:51-54, Cat. 142
Cat. No.	**Description**	**Dating**	**Reference**
55	One terracotta figurine showing a standing woman carrying an unidentified young animal.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 141, Cat. 376
56	One terracotta relief showing a woman drawing an arrow from the quiver on her back.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009: 239-243, 244, 248, Cat. 648
57	Two terracotta reliefs showing a standing woman holding a kithara.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:239-243, 244-245, 249, Cat. 650-651
58	One female terracotta figurine head with a helmet. Probably Athena.	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:210-212, 217, Cat. 550

59	One terracotta figurine showing two seated women. One woman rests one hand in her lap and one on her knee. The other woman holds a flower between her breasts with one hand, the other one is placed on her knee. Artemis and Iphigeneia?	L.A./E.C.	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:200-203, Cat. 534
60	One terracotta figurine showing a human figure that might be Apollo. One arm holds the garment, the other holds an object at waist height.	Classical	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:131-132, 141-142, Cat. 378
61	One stone relief of five men advancing towards a woman (Artemis?), who is standing leaning against a pilaster and holding a phiale. Possibly the men who weighed and counted the sacred property before its transfer to the Acropolis.	Classical	Ergon 1961:29-30, Fig. 25
62	One marble relief showing a dedication scene: Artemis is shown seated with a deer by her side. A family (men, women, children) approach her bringing a goat and a large box.	Classical	Ergon 1958:34, Fig. 36
63	One marble relief showing a dedication scene: Artemis is standing, a deer by her side, holding a phiale and a bow. A family (husband, wife, children, grandchildren, servants) approaches Artemis bringing a bull for sacrifice and a box. Inscription: 'Aristonike, the wife of…, dedicated to Artemis'.	Classical	Ergon 1958:35, Fig. 37

Category 10: Personal votive gifts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
64	Many (c. 50) pieces of jewellery and dress ornaments made of glass, gold and various other materials.	Archaic	Ergon 1961:30-32; 1962:31, Fig. 37; Papadimitriou 1959:19

65	Many (c. 50) pieces of jewellery and dress ornaments.	L.A./E.C.	Papadimitriou 1957:45
66	Several (c. 5) bronze mirrors. One of the mirror's handles is decorated with a female figure with a flower and a gorgon.	L.A./E.C.	Ergon 1957:21; Papadimitriou 1956:75-76; 1957:45
67	One bronze mirror. The handle is decorated with pairs of sirens and cocks. The mirror has a votive inscription, saying it was dedicated by Hippyla, the daughter of Onetor, to Artemis.	Classical	Ergon 1961:32-33, Fig. 28
68	One bronze mirror with a wooden handle.	Classical	Papadimitriou 1963:115

Category 11: Apotropaic votive gifts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
69	Numerous decorated seal stones. 73 are displayed at the museum.	Archaic and L.A./E.C.	Ergon 1961:33, Figs. 30-32; Brauron museum nos. 1-73

Category 18: Miscellanea

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
70	One bone flute. Based on the number of holes, this is considered to be a double flute.	L.A./E.C.	Ergon 1961:32-33, Fig. 35

71	Five female terracotta figurines with movable limbs. Unclear function: Dolls? Chthonic or apotropaic function?	Classical	Mitsopoulos Leon 2009:233-238, Cat. 643-647

CATALOGUE II: THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESOS

Category 1: Standardized female images

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
1	Eight standing female ivory figurines. Dressed. Arms are held by the side of the body.	Archaic	Bammer 1985:40-41, Fig. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8; Bammer 1992:187, No. 2, Pl. 2d, No. 3, Pl. 2b; Hogarth 1908: 158-160, Pl. xxiv 3, 4, 5, 9, 10; Seipel 2008:Cat. 109, 111, 114
2	Three standing female bronze figurines. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:145-146, Pl. xiv, xvi 1, 2
3	Three standing female electrum figurines. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:95, Pl. Iv 3, 4, 14
4	Two standing female silver figurines. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body.	Archaic	Bammer 1986/87:17, Fig. 7; Hogarth 1908:116, Pl. xi 11; Pülz 2009:33-47, Cat. 3, Pl. 3, Colour Pl. 3

5	Two standing female gold figurines. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body.	Archaic	Bammer 1986/87:16-17, Fig. 6; Pülz 2009: 33-47, Cat. 2, Pl. 3, Colour Pl. 3, Cat. 6, Pl. 3, Colour Pl. 3
Cat. No.	**Description**	**Dating**	**Reference**
6	One standing female gold figurine. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body. Pendant.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:33-47, Cat. 9, Pl. 4, Colour Pl. 4; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 8
7	One standing female figurine in gold over a wooden core. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body.	Archaic	Bammer 1985:40-41, Fig. 1, 2, 6, 7; Pülz 2009:Cat. 1, Pl. 1. 2, Colour Pl. 1.2
8	One standing female lead figurine. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:153, Pl. xx 5
9	Four female figurines in ivory and gold and electrum. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body. Only upper body left.	Archaic	Bammer 1985:40, 45, Figs. 1, 2, 8; Bammer 1988a: 7, Fig. 7; Bammer 1992: 188, No. 5, Pl. 2c; Hogarth 1908:95, Pl. iv 2
10	One seated female electrum and silver figurine. Dressed. Hands on knees.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:95, Pl. iv 15
11	One standing female limestone figurine. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:320, 321, Fig. 101
12	One seated female terracotta figurine. Dressed.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:315-316, No. 4

Category 3: Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abdomen or breasts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
13	Two naked standing female figurines in gold. Arms pressed to the sides.	Archaic	Bammer 1988b:30, Fig. 33; Bammer 1991/92:20-21, 52, Fig. 5); Bammer 1992:197, Pl. 2a; Pülz 2009:Cat. 5, Pl. 3, Colour Pl. 3
14	One naked female amber figurine. Wearing a large wig.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:214, Pl. xlviii 20-21
15	One naked female ivory figurine. The woman holds both hands to her breasts. A drill-hole between feet. The hairstyle and the modelling of the face, with broad curved nose and thick lips, indicate Egyptian influence.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:159, Pl. xxiv; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 112
16	One female gold figurine. The woman holds one arm to the side, and the other to the belly or breast.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:33-47, Cat. 4, Pl. 3, Colour Pl. 3
17	Seven female terracotta figurines. Dressed and veiled. The women hold their hands to the lower abdomen/pubic area area.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908: 199-200, Fig. 34, 35, 36; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 271
18	Two female terracotta figurines. Dressed. One figurine is almost complete; for the other one, only the head remains. Wears a peaked hood. Left hand on breast, right hand on knee.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:313, Fig. 89, 90

Category 4: Images of kourotrophoi and children

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
19	Five terracotta figurines of women sitting with a child in the crook of their left arm. Broken.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:314-315, Fig. 92
20	One terracotta figurine of a woman sitting with a naked child in the crook of her left arm. Broken.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:313-314, Fig. 91
21	One terracotta figurine of a child. Only the head was found.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:317, Fig. 98

Category 5: Images of naked and ithyphallic men

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
22	One paste figurine of a naked ithyphallic man.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:116, Pl. xi 23
23	One paste figurine of a naked man playing the double pipe. Hole for suspension in the back support.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:203, Pl. xliv 2; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 210).
24	One terracotta figurine of a naked man with genitals indicated and with both hands on paunch. One other similar figurine was found, this was broken, but the genitals were probably indicated also there too.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:317, Fig. 96, 317, 321-322

25	One terracotta figurine of naked man in violent action. Only the upper body is left. Herakles?	Classical	Hogarth 1908:317, Fig. 97

Category 6: Male images

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
26	One ivory figurine of a man wearing a head-dress and thick necklace. From the hat itself rises a flat tongue, which is pierced. A priest?	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:160-161, Pl. xxi 2, xxiv 7, 11
27	One terracotta mask of a grotesque male.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:318

Category 7: Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
28	One gold figurine of a couchant sheep.	Archaic	Bammer and Muss 1996:79 Fig. 96; Pülz 2009:49, 54-55, Cat. 34, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 6; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 16
29	Two ivory figurines of couchant sheep.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:15, Fig. 19, 20

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
30	Two ivory figurines of goats. Broken.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:13, Fig. 18; Bammer 1992: 190, No. 15, Pl. 8c
31	One ivory figurine of a couchant ram. Beneath the centre of the body a bronze pin runs through from front to back.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:164, Pl. xxvi 5
32	One ivory figurine of ram's head. Pierced with a hole.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:165, Pl. xxvi 8
33	One bronze figurine of a couchant ram.	Archaic	Bammer 1990a:25-26, Fig. 4, 5; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:162, Cat. 877, Pl. 83, 118
34	One ivory figurine of a ram. The right front leg is bound up (for sacrifice?). The left front leg is partially broken off. The back has a cross-shaped attachment. Could belong to an ostentatious bridle for a horse.	Archaic	Bammer 1992:186, 189, No. 14, pls. 9a-b
35	Four horse figurines in ivory and bronze. Two of them may once have been attached to something.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:164-165, Pl. xxvi 9, 10; Bammer 1988c:247, Fig. 7; Bammer 1990a:31-33, Fig. 21; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:162-163, 167, Cat. 878, 884, Pl. 83, 85, 118, 119
36	One ivory figurine of a couchant bull.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:163-164, Pl. xxvi 1
37	One bronze figurine of a bull.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:165-166, Cat. 881, Pl. 84, 118

38	One gold figurine of bull's horn. Suspension ring.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49, 56, Cat. 36, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 6; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 20
39	One gold plaque with an image of a standing bull. Two holes drilled in the plaque.	Archaic	Bammer 1986/87:17 Fig. 9; Pülz 2009:49, 56, Cat. 37, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 6
40	One gold figurine of a decorated bull's head. There is a lion's snout between the bull's horns. The lion's mouth is open with the tongue hanging out. Pendant.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:15-18, Fig. 24, 25, 26, 27; Pülz 2009:49, 57-58, Cat. 42, Pl. 11, Colour Pl. 7
41	Three bronze figurines of draft animals.	Archaic	Bammer 1988b:23, Fig. 30; 1990a: 32-33, Fig. 18-19; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:124, Cat. 797-799, Pl. 59, 110
42	One terracotta figurine of a bull. Fragment.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:317

Category 8: Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
43	One bronze figurine of a rooster. Suspension ring.	Geometric	Bammer 1991/92:35, 52, Fig. 23; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:127-128, Cat. 803, Pl. 60
44	One bronze figurine of a peacock. Suspension ring.	Geometric	Bammer 1991/92:35, 53, Fig. 25; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:130-131, Cat. 811, Pl. 61, 111

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
45	One plaque of ivory or bone with an image of a woman holding a sistrum in her right hand and a lioness protome in her left hand. A fungiform lotus-flower is on her head. Phoenician or South Syrian work.	Geometric	Bammer 1992:186, 190, No. 18, Pl. 9c
46	One ivory plaque with an image of a woman holding a sistrum in her right hand and a lioness protome in her left hand. Phoenician or South Syrian work.	Geometric	Bammer 1992:186, 190, No. 19, Pl. 9d
47	11 bronze figurines of birds, mostly waterbirds. Suspension ring.	Archaic	Bammer 1990a:30-31, 33-34, Fig. 15-16, 20, 22; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:124-133, Cat. 800-802, 804-810, 813, Pl. 59-62, 111
48	64 hawk figurines in wood, terracotta, ivory, bronze, gold, electrum, silver, and paste. Some have suspension rings; some are drilled to be fitted onto a pole.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:95-96, 106, 116-117, 119, 146-147, 161-162, 167, 201, 202, 208, 217, Fig. 39, 40, Pl. iv 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 18-20, 22, 36, vi 62, vii 20, 27-29, xi 1-6, 8, 9, xii 36, xv 14-16, xxv 1, 2-6, 8, 9, xxvii 1, xliii 1-4, 6-10, 12, xliv 10-11; Bammer 1988b:12; Seipel 2008:Cat. 9
49	Two gold figurines of falcons. Pierced. Pendants.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:15, Fig. 22; Pülz 2009: Cat.29-30, Pl. 5, Colour Pl. 5
50	One ivory figurine of a falcon.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:15, Fig. 21
51	Two gold plaques with an image of a bird of prey.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49-53, Cat. 25, 31, Pl. 4, 5, Colour Pl. 5

52	Three ivory figurines of ducks. Either pierced with a hole for suspension or drilled to be fitted on a pin.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:165-166, Pl. xxv 7, 10, 11
53	Two bronze figurines of geese.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:163, Cat. 1005, Pl. 120; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:Cat. Pl. 120
54	One gold figurine of a bird.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49, 54, Cat. 32, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 6
55	One gold plaque with an image of a bird.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49, 54, Cat. 33, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 6; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 93
56	One ivory figurine of a lion. Pierced. Pendant.	Archaic	Bammer 1992:189, No. 13, Pl. 4b
57	One gold figurine of a lion. Suspension ring.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49, 55, Cat. 35, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 6; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 19
58	One bronze plaque with an image of a lion. Pierced.	Archaic	Bammer 1988c:247, Fig. 9; Bammer 1990a:25, Fig. 3; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:167-168, Cat. 885, Pl. 85, 119
59	One gold or electrum figurine of a lion head. With protruding tongue and teeth clearly shown. Suspension ring above head.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:106-107, Pl. iii 7, vii 18
60	One ivory figurine of a lion leaping downwards with jaw open.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:162-163, Pl. xxi 3, xxv 12; Seipel 2008:Cat. 119
61	One ivory figurine of a lion striding forward with jaw wide open.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:162, Pl. xxi 1, xxiii 3
62	One electrum plaque with an image of a roaring lion. Pierced.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:109, Pl. viii 1

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
63	Ten gold or electrum plaques showing a bee.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:111, Pl. viii 6, 13-15; Pülz 2009:49, 60, Cat. 46, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 7; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 94
64	One ivory relief showing a couchant capricorn. Attachment on the back.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:12-13, Fig. 16
65	One bronze figurine of a capricorn. The only known capris from Asia Minor.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:164-165, Cat. 880, Pl. 83, 118
66	One ivory figurine of a fawn. Only the head remains.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:166, Pl. xxvi
67	One gold figurine of a fly. Pendant.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:107, Pl. iii 1, vii 45
68	One gold figurine of a frog.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:96, Pl. iv 17
69	One paste figurine of a hippopotamus. Broken.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:203, Pl. xliv 12
70	Two ivory reliefs showing an image of an ibex.	Archaic	Bammer 1992:190, No. 16, pls. 8a-b; Hogarth 1908:163, Pl. xxi 5
71	One bronze figurine of a stag.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:163, Cat. 879, Pl. 83, 118
72	One ivory relief showing a couchant wild boar.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:164, Pl. xxvi

73	Nine bronze protomes of a griffin.	Archaic	Bammer 1973/74:Pl. 4, 4; 1984:201, Fig. 63-65, 97; 1990:26, Fig. 8; Bammer 1991/92:22-26, 52, Fig. 9, 10; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:150-160, Cat. 869-876, Pl. 77-82, 113-117; Pülz 2009:49, 58-59, Cat. 43, Pl. 11, Colour Pl. 7
74	One gold plaque showing a griffin. Seven drilled holes.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49, 59-60, Cat. 44, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 7; Seipel (ed.) 2008:91
75	One ivory figurine of a couchant griffin.	Archaic	Bammer 1992:190, No. 17, pls. 6c-d, 7a-d
76	One ivory protome of a griffin.	Archaic	Bammer 1992: 189, No. 12, Pl. 7e
77	One bronze figurine of a griffin's head.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:151, Pl. xvi 4
78	One electrum plaque with an image of a griffin. In the field above is an object, possibly a bird. Broken.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:110, Pl. viii 7
79	One ivory figurine of a couchant griffin with snake-head.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:11, Fig. 15
80	One ivory plaque with an image of a griffin and the tree of life. Broken. The griffin is sucking from a flower of the tree. Phoenician or Syrian work. The 'paradise flower' can be recognized on several works of art in the Near East.	Archaic	Bammer 1992:191, No. 20, Pl. 9e
81	One gold plaque with an image of a sphinx. Broken.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49, 60, Cat. 45, Pl. 6, Colour Pl. 7

82	Three gold plaques with an image of a human-headed lion-sphinx. No attachment holes, but strips of foil turned over at the angles to form sockets for pins.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:109, Pl. viii 2
83	One electrum plaque with an image of a human-headed lion-sphinx.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:110, Pl. iii 6, viii 9
84	One ivory figurine of a sphinx.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:163, Pl. xxi 4, xxiii 1
85	Three electrum plaques with an image of a winged lion snapping at a butterfly. The field is filled with chequers and dots, irregularly dispersed, to represent rocky ground and vegetation.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:110, Pl. viii 3
86	One ivory relief showing a siren. Broken. Two drilled holes for attachment.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:166, Pl. xxvi 4; Seipel 2008:Cat. 127
87	One broken ivory relief showing a winged woman grasping two lions by their tails. The lions' heads are turned upwards with jaws snarling.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:166-167, Pl. xxvi 6
88	One ivory figurine of a woman holding a hawk in each hand.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:157, Pl. xxiv 8; Seipel 2008:Cat. 110
89	One ivory figurine of a woman wearing a tall ‘crown’ with a hawk on top of it. She holds a trefoil oinochoe in her right hand and a bowl in her left hand. Underneath: a small hole, which probably held a pin for attachment.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:156-157, Pl. xxi 6, xxii

90	One broken ivory figurine of a woman standing on top of a panther's head. Only the lower body from the waist down is preserved. Arms pressed to the sides. Used as a handle? (For more on figures standing on animals, see Muss 1992.)	Archaic	Bammer 1992:188, No. 4; Muss 1992:205-210
91	Two electrum plaques with an image of a naked human figure standing between two rampant lions. The lions each rest a forepaw on the shoulders of the figure, who seems to embrace either the lions' paws or necks.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:110, Pl. iii 10, viii 4
92	Two terracotta figurines of birds, probably doves. One complete figurine and one fragment of another.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:317
93	One terracotta figurine of a bird, probably a hawk. Fragmented.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:318
94	One faience figurine of a lion on a rosette.	Classical	Bammer 1991/92:33-34, 52, Fig. 19, 20
95	One terracotta figurine of a wild boar. Fragment.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:317

Category 9: Miscellaneous images

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
96	One terracotta figurine of an anthropomorphic figurine wearing a helmet.	Geometric	Bammer 1991/92:18-19, 51, Fig. 1, 2

97	One paste figurine of a naked human kneeling. Large jar or basket between knees. Reminiscent of Egyptian kneeling slaves, although the style is not Egyptian.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:207-208
98	One terracotta figurine of a naked human. Bell-shaped with mere flippers for arms.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:200, Fig. 37
99	One ivory relief with an image of a human figure playing the lyre. Fragmented.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:10, Fig. 13
100	One gold figurine of a woman holding a tortoise shell lyre. Suspension ring.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:106, Pl. iii 11, iv 25
101	One standing female ivory figurine. Dressed. Arms are held along the sides of the body. In the left hand, she holds a distaff with a ball of wool. In the right hand, she holds a thread with spindle. Similar type at Nimrud.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:157-158, Pl. xxiv 1
102	Three ivory reliefs show an image of a human face.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:7, Fig. 8; Bammer 1992: 189, No. 10-11, Pl. 6a, b
103	One head of a Bes figurine in paste. Pendant.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:203, Pl. xliv 1
104	One anthropomorphic gold double-head, like a ‘Janus head’.	Archaic	Bammer 1991/92:21-22, 52, Fig. 6, 7; Pülz 2009:Cat. 10, Pl. 4, Colour Pl. 4
105	One tiny human head of electrum. With wig and suspension ring above.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:106, Pl. iii 9

106	Eight uncertain animal or animal/human images	Archaic	Bammer 1988b:23; Bammer 1990a:26, 31, Fig. 7, 17; Hogarth 1908:107, 110, Pl. iii 4, iv 4, viii 8; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:166-167, Cat. 882-883, Pl. 84, 118

Category 10: Personal votive gifts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
107	500 amber beads = c. 25 pieces of jewellery. Some large unworked pieces, but also formed as triangles, balls, screws, 'teardrops', and animal and bird heads.	Geometric	Bammer 1990b:150, 153, Fig. 24-27, Pl. XXI (a), (b), (c)
108	One bronze clamp in the shape of a double duck.	Geometric	Bammer 1991/92:35, 53, Fig. 24; Bammer and Muss 1996:32, Fig. 29; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:131-132, Cat. 812, Pl. 62, 111
109	872 beads = c. 44 pieces of jewellery. Different types. Made of amber, bronze, carnelian stone, crystal, electrum, faience, glass, gold, ivory/bone, lapis, lazuli, limestone, paste, quartzite, and silver.	Archaic	Bammer 1988b:22-23, Fig. 25, 26; Hogarth 1908:113-114, 119, 196, 203-204, 209, 212-213, 216, Pl. vii 37, ix 7, 10, 19, 21-22, 24, 27, x 45, 49, 54, 58-59, 61-68, 70, 73, 78, 80-82, 84-85, 87, xii 1-2, 29-33, xviii 42, 44-45, xxxix 11, xli 5, 10, 12-13, 15, xlii 4, 8-9, 13-14, xlv 1-5, 7-19, 21-25, 29, xlvi 4, 23, 21, 35, xlviii 3-7, 10-11, 13-14, 26

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
110	403 small pendants and bead pendants = c. 20 pieces of jewellery. Different types. Made of bronze, electrum, gold, ivory (?), silver, and terracotta.	Archaic	Bammer and Muss 1996: 27-28, 79, Fig. 24, 96; Hogarth 1908:105-107, 113, 118, 189-190, 202, Pl. vi 61, vii 1-3, 5-7, 9, 11-14, 17, 25, 46, ix 53-54, x 7, 42-44, 48, 50-53, 55-57, 60, 69, 71, 74-77, 83, 86, 88, xii 3-9, 34, xxxv 6-14, xxxvii 2-4, 5, 13-14, xliii 5; Klebinder-Gauss 2003:133-140; 2007: 112-120, Cat. 780-793, Pl. 55-57, 109-110; Klebinder-Gauss 2007: 221-223, Cat. D53-D68, Pl. 105; Pülz 2009:71-75, Cat. 55-207, Pl. 14-21, Colour Pl. 9-12; Seipel (ed.) 2008: Cat. 21, 25-36
111	195 bracelets and rings in bronze, gold, iron, lead, and silver.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:117, 150, 153-154, Pl. xi 13, xv 1-10, 12, xx 1, 2, 7, 12; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:78-82, Cat. 305-446, 1008, Pl. 22-36, 120; Pülz 2009:95, Cat. 254-267, Pl. 25-26, Colour Pl. 14
112	47 ear drops in bronze, electrum, gold, lead, and silver. Different types.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:99, 117, 148-149, 153, Pl. v 7, vii 43, 49, 50, xi 17, 18, 24, 30, xviii 34-36, 38-41, 43, xv 11, xx 3

113	464 ear rings in bronze, electrum, gold, silver, and white metal alloy. Different types.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:103-105, 118-119, 149-150, Pl. vi 40, 43-45, 47, 50-53, 55-60, 64-69, 71-75, x 36-39, 46, xii 12-23, xviii 1-19, 26-29, 33; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:83-87, 217-218, Cat. 447-638, D14-27, Pl. 37-41, 103-104; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat.44-48, 50; Pülz 2009:83-85, 87, Cat. 208-233a, 234, Pl. 21-22, Colour Pl. 12-13
114	11 bronze finger rings.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:149
115	18 silver, gold, or electrum brooches.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:98, 117, Pl. Iv 26, 30, 31, x 34, xi 7, 12, 14, 16, 22, 29, 32, xii 27-28
116	One silver brooch shaped like a bird of prey. Fragmented.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:49-53, Cat. 27, Pl. 5, Colour Pl. 5
117	Two gold brooches shaped like cicadas.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:98, Pl. iii 2, iv 33
118	One silver brooch shaped like a hawk.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:117, Pl. xi 10
119	One gold brooch shaped like a hawk.	Archaic	Bammer 1988b:11, 12, Fig. 13; Bammer 1991/92:35, 52, Fig. 22; Pülz 2009:Cat. 26, Pl. 4, Colour Pl. 5
120	Eleven electrum brooches shaped like hawks. These hawks have obvious Egyptian prototypes.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:97, Pl. iv 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, x 35, 40, 41

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
121	One gold brooch shaped like a horseshoe terminating in two lion-heads. In the centre is a blossom of six petals. Round the arc are erect barley-corns alternating with flower-cups of four petals.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:97, Pl. iii 2, iv 35
122	474 bronze fibulae. Many are in a fragmented condition.	Archaic	Bammer 1991/92:43-44, 54, Fig. 37, 38; Hogarth 1908:147-148, Pl. xvii 1-26; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:21-70, 215-216, Cat. 1-218, 1007, D3, Pl. 1-17, 103, 106-107, 120
123	17 gold or electrum fibulae. Some are fragmented.	Archaic	Bammer 1982:70, Pl. 16d; 1984: 190-191 Fig. 85, 101, 106; 1988b:12; 1991/92:46, Fig. 37f; Hogarth 1908: 98, Pl. v 1-6, vi 70; Pülz 2009:Cat. 47-54, Pl. 12-14, Colour Pl. 7-9; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 61, 62, 64, 65
124	Two silver fibulae.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:215, Cat. D1-D2, Pl. 103
125	140 bronze pins.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:150-151, Pl. xviii 20-25, 30-32; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:71-77, 216-217, Cat. 219-304, D5, D9-10, D12, Pl. 17-21, 103
126	16 crystal pin-heads.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:212, xlvi 12, 17, 19, 20, 26, 29, 33, 34

127	183 pins or pin-heads in gold and electrum.	Archaic	Bammer and Muss 1996:79, Fig. 96; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 56, 58, 102; Hogarth 1908: 99-103, 115, Pl. iii 5, 8, iv 32, v 8-41, vi 1-39, 41-42, 48-49, 54, 63, ix 6, 11-14; Pülz 2009:90-93, Cat. 235-241, 243-253, Pl. 23-24, Colour Pl. 13-14
128	160 fairly complete pins or loose heads in ivory.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:187-189, Pl. xxxiii-xxxiv
129	Two lead or iron pins. One in the shape of a pomegranate.	Archaic	Bammer and Muss 1996:79, Fig. 96; Hogarth 1908:153, Pl. xx 4; Pülz 2009: 90-93, Cat. 235-241, 243-253, Pl. 23-24, Colour Pl. 13-14; Seipel (ed.) 2008: Cat. 56, 58, 102
130	62 silver pins and pin-heads.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:118, Pl. xi 20, 25-26, 28, 31, 34-40; Klebinder-Gauss 2007: 216-217, Cat. D4, D6-D7, Pl. 103; Pülz 2009:Cat. 242, Pl. 23, Colour Pl. 13; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 57
131	Two white metal alloy pins.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:216-317, Cat. D11, D13, Pl. 103
132	51 bronze belts. Many are fragmented.	Archaic	Bammer 1991/92:36-43, 53, Fig. 27-33; Bammer and Muss 1996:78, Fig. 93-94; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:93-108, Cat. 710-760, Pl. 43-53, 108-109; Muss 1999:603, Pl. 150, 3

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
133	One gold and bronze belt buckle. Fragmented.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:136-137, Cat. 433, Pl. 36, Colour Pl. 24
134	15 aryballoi in ceramics, ivory, paste, and alabastra. Many are in fragments. Two are shaped like heads.	Archaic	Bammer 1986/87:17, Fig. 10; 1988b:12, Fig. 14; 1992: 185, 188, No. 9, pls. 1e-f; Hogarth 1908:208, 213, Pl. xliv 7; Kerschner 1997: Cat.Nr. 16, 19, 39, 59-62, 93
135	One pyxis. Fragment.	Archaic	Kerschner 1997:Cat.Nr. 94
136	One ivory comb. Double with broad teeth at one end and fine teeth at the other.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:169, Pl. xxvii 10
137	One bronze ear spoon for cleaning ears.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:169-170, Cat. 888, Pl. 86
138	Two bronze mirrors.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:169, Cat. 886-887, Pl. 85, 86

Category 11: Apotropaic votive gifts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
139	26 scarabs. 25 in paste, one in 'Bernstein'. Inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs (Egyptian kings etc.), 'garbled and illegible hieroglyphs', animals, hunting- scenes, symbols of life etc. One has the emblem for 'good luck'. Probably not made by Egyptians.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:19, Fig. 31; 1988b:30, Fig. 28; Hogarth 1908:205-207, Fig. 43:1-3, 6-24; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 220-230
140	One scaraboid carnelian seal engraved with a horseman of archaic style.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:213, Pl. xlvi 37
141	Two scaraboid seals in carnelian, jasper, and onyx. None are engraved.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:213, xlvi 2, 27, 30-31
142	One terracotta seal decorated on one side with an illegible impression of a seal; on the other side is a human head in relief.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:201, Fig. 43:5
143	One gold seal decorated with a flower composition.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:21, Fig. 38b
144	One ivory seal decorated with three couchant griffins looking back over their shoulders with gaping jaws. Only for suspension, not for the finger.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908: 167-168, xxvii 3
145	One ivory seal shaped like a head of a panther in relief. A horseman on an engraved band across the panther's forehead. Pierced for suspension.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:168, Pl. xxvii 4

146	One ivory seal decorated with a winged human figure. To the figure's right is a twisting snake with its head pointed downward; on the left is a bird. Pierced for suspension.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:168, Pl. xxvii 6
147	Two seals in carnelian, jasper, and onyx. Not engraved.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:213, xlvi 2, 27, 30-31

Category 12: Model body parts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
148	Two gold face sheets. A drilled hole on the side of the face.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:33-47, Cat. 12, 13
149	34 eye sheets in gold or gold and electrum. Most of them have drilled holes between or beside the eyes.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:108, Pl. vii 35, 36, 39-42, 44, 47; Pülz 2009:47, Cat. 15-24; Seipel 2008:Cat. 96-99
150	One eye mask in bronze.	Archaic	Bammer 1984:201, Fig. 97; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:170-171, Cat. 889, Pl. 87
151	Three gold and electrum ear sheets.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:108, Pl. vii 48
152	One ivory figurine of a foot decorated with a double cross. Pierced for suspension.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:196, Pl. xlii 10-11; Seipel 2008:Cat. 144

153	Three leg and foot figurines, in silver and electrum. At least one is a pendant and intended for suspension. Leg-pendants were common in Egypt.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:107, 118, Pl. vii 21, 23, xii, 11
154	Three hand figurines in electrum.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:107, Pl. vii 22, 24
155	One silver heart figurine.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:118, xii 10
156	One terracotta ear, life-sized.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:318, Fig. 99

Category 13: Weapons

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
157	15 knife hafts in bone and horn and fragments of two bronze knifes. The slit socket or traces of the iron nails to secure the blade are visible.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:194, 216, Pl. xxxix 1-5, xlii 21, 23
158	Ten bronze arrow heads.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:153; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:171-175, Cat. 890-897, Pl. 86, 119
159	One iron sword blade. Very corroded.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:154
160	Two miniature ivory double axes.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908: 170, Fig. 31, 32
161	One bronze lance head.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:153

162	Fragment of one iron spear point.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:154

Category 14: Spinning tools

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
163	One silver bobbin.	Archaic	Pülz 2009:136, Cat. 414, Colour Pl. 24
164	One bronze distaff.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:189, Cat. 963, Pl. 96
165	C. 50 terracotta weights. Most have two holes for suspension. Rare specs show stamped circlets, six or less, on one side.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:201, fig 42:1
166	73 whorls in glass, paste, and terracotta.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:201, 203, 208, Fig. 42:2-7, Pl. xliv 4-5, 8-9, xlv 26, 28, 30, 33, 36
167	Five clay whorls.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:320

Category 15: Plaques with figurative patterns

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
168	368 electrum, gold and ivory plaques decorated with flowers, stars, crosses, bees, palmettes, and geometric patterns. Many have attachment holes.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:21, Fig. 36, 37, 38a; Hogarth 1908:110-113, 167, Pl. viii 10 11, 16-18, 20-29, ix 37, 38, 41-42, 47, 49, x 1, 5-6, 9-11, 14, 16-17, 23-31, 33, 39-40, 43-46

Category 16: Astragals

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
169	211 astragals. 50 are natural astragals, the rest are imitations made of bronze, ivory, glass, and amber. 146 of the ivory imitations are drilled through the center and were intended to be strung or suspended. Their main function in antiquity was as dice.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:153, 190-192, 209, 216, Pl. xviii 37, xxxvi, xlv 31-32, xlviii 1-2; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:184-186, Cat. 938-944, Pl. 93

Category 18: Miscellanea

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
170	One paste pilgrim bottle. Egyptian ware with yellow lotus flowers in relief.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:208, Pl. xliv 6
171	Three bronze leaves.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:187, Cat. 947-949, Pl. 93
172	One ivory pomegranate or a poppy cone.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:15, Fig. 23
173	Fragments of two bronze horse bridles.	Archaic	Klebinder-Gauss 2007:175, Cat. 898-899, Pl. 87
174	One human tooth. With double fangs, sawn off horizontally, and bound with two strands of gold wire.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:198, Pl. xxxix
175	Two ivory and bone flutes.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:194, Pl. xxxvii 12; Seipel 2008:Cat. 161
176	Parts of two musical instruments in ivory and bone. One is pierced with three holes, the other with five.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:194, Pl. xx, xvii 7-8
177	One tridacna clam, one natural clam plated with gold, and one terracotta imitation of a cockle shell.	Archaic	Bammer 1988a:23, Fig. 40; Bammer 1991/92:44-48, 54, Fig. 39-41 Hogarth 1908:201, Fig. 41

178	One complete ivory wheel and fragments of three wheels in ivory and wood.	Archaic	Hogarth 1908:168-169, xxvii 2, 9, 11, 12; Seipel (ed.) 2008:Cat. 162
179	One miniature wheel in bronze.	Archaic	Bammer 1990a:29, Fig. 14; Klebinder-Gauss 2007:175-176, Cat. 900, Pl. 88
180	One pawn or draughtsman in earthenware. For a board game.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:319
181	One bronze helmet crest.	Classical	Hogarth 1908:322

CATALOGUE III: THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS AT SPARTA

Category 1: Standardized female images

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
1	Two standing female bone figurines. Xoanon-like. Wear polos.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:219, Pl. cxix 1-5
2	One standing female terracotta figurine of relatively large size. Dressed, arms are free from the body.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:152, Pl. xxxv, 3
3	One female protome.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:219-220, Pl. cxxi 2

4	44 standing female terracotta figurines. Dressed, wear polos, arms along the sides of the body	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:148, 151, Pls. xxx- xxxi, xxxv, 2, 5
5	30 standing female bone figurines, out of which 14 are complete. Xoanon-like. Wear polos.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:218-219, Pls. cxvii, cxviii 1-5, cxix 1-7, cxx 1-6
6	22 standing female terracotta figurines. Dressed, poloi are rare, arms are generally held to the sides; in one case a wreath is carried.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:147, Pl. xxviii
7	45 standing female terracotta figurines + six heads of the same type. Dressed, no polos. The arms are held to the sides, waist is slightly indicated, and feet are not shown.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:147, 148, Pl. xxix
8	Six standing female terracotta figurines. Distinguished by their relatively large size. Dressed, arms are more or less free.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:152, Pl. xxxv, 1
9	One standing female bone figurine. Cut in the round. The head is broken off.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:219, Pl. cxx, 7
10	One standing female bone figurine. Dressed. Arms are held to the sides.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:243, Pl. clxxiv, 14
11	16 enthroned female terracotta figurines. Roughly hand-made, no paint or slip. The dress is the only sign of gender. Some possibly wear stephane or polos.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:149, Pl. xxxii 7-11
12	Two seated female terracotta figurines.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:150, Pl. xxxiii, 1, 3

13	Ten female terracotta heads. They are considered to probably belong to the enthroned female figurine types.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:149-150
14	21 seated female bone figurines. Dressed. Hands are mostly held to the knees. In cxxii 6 and 7 hands are held to the chin.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:220-221, pls. cxxii (lower part), cxxiii
15	Four female bronze protomes.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:201, Pl. lxxxix f, g, k, l
16	Five female bone protomes.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:220, pls. cxxi 3-7, cxxii 1-4
17	About eight female terracotta protomes.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:147, Pl. xxviii
18	Five standing female terracotta figurines. Distinguished by their relatively large size. Dressed, arms are more or less free.	Classical	Dawkins 1929b:152
19	Four standing female bone figurines. Xoanon-like. Wear polos.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d:218-219, pls. cxvii, cxviii 1-5, cxix 1-5

Category 2: Images of women holding flowers, fruit, or doves

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
20	Two images (plaques) of a woman carrying a pomegranate and an object covered with crossed lines, which might be a crown.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:216, pls. cxii 2-4

21	Three images on bone plaques of a woman carrying a pomegranate and an object covered with crossed lines, which might be a crown.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d:216, pls. cxii 2-4

Category 3: Images of naked women or women touching pubic area/lower abomen or breasts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
22	Five terracotta figurines of naked, standing females. The arms are held alongside the body.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:152, xxxvi 3-4
23	One figurine in vitreous paste of a naked, standing female. The arms are held alongside the body. Naucratite or Rhodian imitation of Egyptian work.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:385, Fig. 145
24	Two terracotta figurines of naked women holding their right hands over their pubic area. Wear polos.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:152, Pl. xxxvi 7
25	Six terracotta figurines of women in a sitting posture with legs apart and the pubic area often conspicuously marked.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:156, Pl. xl 11
26	One terracotta figurine of a naked woman holding her right hand to her pubic area and her left hand to her left breast.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:152, Pl. xxxvi 2
27	One terracotta torso of a naked female with emphasized breasts and arms stretched out.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:152, Pl. xxxvi 5

28	One terracotta figurine of a naked woman with emphasized breasts and possibly incised lines indicating the vulva.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:152, Pl. xxxvi 1
29	One terracotta plaque showing a man standing between two women. The women hold their right hand to their pubic area and their left hand to the left breast. The man holds his arms along the sides of his body.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:159-160, Fig. 114
30	Five terracotta figurines of women in a sitting posture with legs apart and the pubic area often conspicuously marked.	Classical	Dawkins 1929b:156, Pl. xl 11
31	One terracotta figurine of a woman holding her left hand to her lower abdomen. Only the part from the waist and neck is left.	Classical	Dawkins 1929b:152, Pl. xxxv 6

Category 5: Images of naked and ithyphallic men

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
32	51 handmade terracotta figurines of ithyphallic men in a squatting posture.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:156, Pl. xl 9
33	Six handmade terracotta figurines of squatting ‘bestial’ men. Mostly ithyphallic.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:156
34	Seven handmade terracotta figurines of men touching head and genitals. Often ithyphallic.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:156, Pl. xl 10

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
35	One limestone relief of an ithyphallic man. Crudely carved.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:188, Pl. lxiii 7
36	Nine terracotta figurines of naked men. Standing with bent knees and a protuberant, creased abdomen.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:153, Pl. xxxvii 3, 4, 6
37	One terracotta figurine of a naked man. The hands are placed on the shoulders.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:153, Pl. xxxvii 1
38	One terracotta figurine of a naked man. Preserved only from chin to knees. A large bored hole in the middle of the breast.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:153, Pl. xxxvii 2
39	One ivory or bone figurine of a naked man.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxx 5
40	One bone figurine of a naked man. The back of the body and legs is covered with crisscross incised lines. The head is pierced from side to side.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxx 1
41	One limestone plaque of a naked helmeted man facing right.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:193
42	One limestone relief of a naked man facing left and brandishing a spear or something similar.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:189, Pl. lxv 16

Category 6: Male images

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
43	One head from male ivory figurine. Bearded.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:239, Pl. clxvii 1
44	One seated male bronze figurine. A ‘thinker’.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxvii a
45	One standing male terracotta figurine. Bearded. Wears a pointed hood.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:158, Pl. xlii 1
46	Three standing male limestone figurines. One is broken at the waist.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:188, Pl. lxiii 3-4
47	Four seated male terracotta figurines.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:150, Pl. xxxi 2, 4
48	Five male figurines in a squatting position. Made of ivory and limestone.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:188, Pl. lxiii 1, 6 Dawkins 1929d:240, 236, Pl. clx 3, clxix 3, clxx 4
49	Three broken plaques (one limestone, two ivory) displaying warriors.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:189, Pl. lxiv 14 Dawkins 1929d:209, 214, Pl. xcix 3, cvii 2, cviii
50	One image of a warrior on a broken limestone relief.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:189, Pl. lxiv 14
51	One image of two warriors on a broken limestone relief. They stand facing each other.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:189, Pl. lxiv 13

52	One image of a man holding a spear or a staff opposing another figure. On an unfinished ivory plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:213-214, Pl. cvi 3
53	One image of a man either in or mounting a chariot with one arm stretched forward. Broken terracotta plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:154, Pl. xxxix 2
54	One image of two men facing each other. One wears a loin-cloth, the other is more dressed. They are grasping a T-shaped staff between them. Inscription in one corner, a drilled hole in another. Limestone relief.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:189, Pl. lxiv 12
55	Three images of a warrior and a bird. On broken bone plaques.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d:217, Pl. cxiv 1
56	One image of a warrior on a broken terracotta plaque.	Classical	Dawkins 1929b:155, Pl. xxxix 6

Category 7: Images of domesticated animals / humans with domesticated animals

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
57	Three ivory figurines of couchant bulls. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cliii 3
58	Six bronze figurines of couchant oxen/bulls.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxx

59	Eight ivory figurines of couchant dogs. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cliv 5, cxlix 2
60	Six bronze figurines of dogs.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxvi
61	Six bronze figurines of horses.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxvi-lxxix
62	18 ivory figurines of couchant sheep. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d: 231-236, Pl. cxlviii
63	One terracotta figurine of a standing human figure with separated legs. Rider?	Geometric	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xl 12
64	One amber figurine of a couchant sheep.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:386
65	75 ivory figurines of couchant sheep. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cxlviii
66	Five terracotta figurines of couchant animals, probably sheep.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xli 15
67	Four terracotta figurines of goats.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157
68	One ivory figurine of a couchant goat.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:231-236

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
69	Three terracotta figurines of a rams.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xli 7
70	One vitreous paste figurine of a ram. Naucratite imitation of Egyptian work.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:385, Pl. ccvi 13
71	One limestone relief of a ram's head with horns.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:192, Pl. lxx 52
72	58 terracotta figurines of horses.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xli 1-6
73	Six limestone figurines of horses. Fragmented. One is unfinished. One has got an inscription.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:189-190, Pl. lxv 17, 19
74	One ivory figurine of a horse's head.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxix 1-2
75	One ivory figurine of a horse's head. Broken.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:242, Pl. clxxx 3
76	One terracotta figurine of a horse's head. Fragmented.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:158, Pl. xlii 6
77	18 limestone reliefs showing horses. Four with inscriptions marking them as votives for Orthia. Some are fragmented.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:190, Pl. lxvi-lxviii 23-40
78	One bone plaque showing two horses standing on their hind legs. Tall waterbird in front of one of the horses.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:215-216, Pl. cxii 1
79	One fragmented terracotta plaque showing the legs of a pair of horses, probably yoked to a chariot.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:154, Pl. xxxix

80	Two terracotta figurines of a horse head. Pierced. Used as pendants.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:149
81	20 ivory figurines of couchant dogs. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cliv 5, cxlix 2
82	Seven terracotta figurines of dogs.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xli 10-13
83	One limestone relief showing a dog running. On the back of the plaque is a roughly incised drawing of a dog's head.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:192, Pl. lxx 50
84	Eight ivory figurines of couchant bulls. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cliii 3
85	One bronze figurine of an ox/bull.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:200, Pl. lxxxviii l
86	One ivory figurine of a bull's face. Pierced above forehead.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxx 3
87	One vitreous paste figurine of a bull's head.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:385
88	One bronze figurine of an ox/bull. Pendant.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:200, Pl. lxxxix d
89	Nine terracotta figurines of cattle.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157
90	One image of a man and a dog. The man holds a spear or a long staff. Very broken ivory plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:212, Pl. ciii 2

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
91	Four terracotta figurines of women seated on horses. One is naked. Two are draped.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:150, Pl. xxxiii 7-8, 10
92	14 terracotta figurines of seated women. There are no chairs and the women were probably affixed to horses. Dressed, most have polos.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:150, Pl. xxxiv
93	Nine terracotta figurines of a female head between two heads of horses. Pierced.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:149, Pl. xxxii 4, 5
94	One ivory/bone figurine of a human head between two horses' heads.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:241, Pl. clxxii 1
95	One ivory plaque (damaged) with an image of a winged female standing in front of a horse. Her right hand grasps a round object. Her left hand was probably laid upon the horse's head.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:214, Pl. cvii 1
96	One terracotta figurine of a standing human figure with separated legs. Rider?	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xl 12
97	One fragmented bronze plaque of a male rider. A man's leg can be seen above the pattern of tongues, and part of a horse below.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:201, Pl. lxxxix e
98	One ivory plaque with a depiction of a man riding a horse.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:212, Pl. civ 2
99	One ivory plaque with a depiction of a grotesque man riding a horse.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:241, Pl. clxxi 2

100	One ivory plaque with a depiction of two armed men on one horse.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:212, Pl. civ 1
101	One ivory plaque decorated with an image of a chariot drawn by two horses. Two persons stand in the chariot. Pierced with several holes.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:217-218, Pl. cxvi 2
102	One ivory plaque decorated with an image of four winged horses drawing a chariot. There is a waterbird and a crouching dog in front of the horses.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:217, Pl. cxvi 1
103	One fragmented bone plaque decorated with an image of a chariot and also four winged horses.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:218, Pl. cxvi 3
104	Bronze plaque decorated with an image of a procession of chariots and their drivers drawn by horses.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:201, Fig. 115
105	One bone plaque showing a centaur kneeling.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:216, Pl. cxii 5
106	One image of a man is thrusting a sword into a centaur while pulling back the centaur's head. Ivory plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:210, Pl. ci
107	One bronze figurine of a bull.	Classical	Droop 1929b:202, Pl. xc e
108	One terracotta figurine of an ox/bull.	Classical	Dawkins 1929b:158
109	One bone plaque showing a centaur kneeling.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d:216, Pl. cxii 5

Category 8: Images of wild animals / humans with wild animals

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
110	Six bronze figurines of birds. The bases often show a snake, and the swastika is seen here once or twice; noticeable, as it is quite absent from the Spartan pottery of this date.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxvi
111	Five bronze figurines of roosters.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxix-lxxx
112	Six bronze figurines of fawns.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197
113	Six bronze figurines of frogs.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxx
114	Six bronze figurines of tortoise.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxx
115	Five ivory figurines of beasts attacking prey. The beast is most commonly a lion, while the prey is often a calf or a goat/ibex. The beast is most often lying down biting the neck or the hindquarters of the prey. In one case, a human figure can be seen kneeling beside the lioness stabbing her in the neck while she is biting the neck of a calf. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. clix 5-6, 8, cl-cliii
116	One ivory plaque showing a couchant lion.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxviii 5

117	One terracotta plaque showing a griffin-headed sphinx. Broken.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929b:154, Pl. xxxix 3
118	12 ivory figurines of beasts attacking prey. The beast is most commonly a lion, while the prey is often a calf or a goat/ibex. The beast is most often lying down biting the neck or the hindquarters of the prey. In one case a human figure can be seen kneeling beside the lioness stabbing her in her neck while she is biting the neck of a calf. Most are pierced with a hole. Many have designs under the base: birds, couchant animals, sphinxes and winged beasts, scorpions, uncertain quadrupeds, fish, centaurs, humans, floral and geometric designs.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cxlix 5-6, 8, cl-cliii
119	Four limestone reliefs showing a lion sitting up on its hind-quarters. Three are facing left, one right. One has a hole and an inscription, one has hole.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:192, Pl. lxix 43-47
120	Two limestone reliefs showing two couchant lions facing each other. One of the reliefs' surfaces is considerably worn.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:192, Pl. lxix 41
121	One ivory plaque showing a lion standing up on its hind legs. As good as certain that there were two opposed lions.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:215, Pl. cxi
122	One limestone relief probably showing a lion.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:193, Pl. lxx 54
123	One terracotta lion mask. A hole behind each ear.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:158, Pl. xlii 3
124	One bronze figurine of a lion lying on a ball. On the underside of the ball is a small lion's head. Pendant.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:200, Pl. lxxxix h

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
125	One limestone plaque showing a bird with a ring in its beak. Has an inscription. Broken.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:193, Pl. lxxi 59
126	One ivory or bone plaque showing two birds facing each other.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:241, Pl. clxxi 3
127	One vitreous paste figurine of a bird's head.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:385, ccvi 4
128	Five terracotta figurines of birds. Two are probably doves.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xli 8-9
129	One terracotta figurine of a hawk's head.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xli 8-9
130	One vitreous paste figurine of a falcon. Horus (?).	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:385
131	13 bone plaques showing waterbirds. Every example has a drilled hole.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:216-217, Pl. cxiii
132	One ivory figurine of a couchant bear. Pierced with a hole.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cliii 1
133	One terracotta figurine of probably a bear.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:158, Fig. 113
134	Two limestone reliefs showing boars. One has a hole at the edge of the plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:192, Pl. lxx 48-49
135	One vitreous paste figurine of a boar.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:385
136	One ivory figurine of head and front part of a snake. A hole is pierced at the hind end.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxx 2

137	One bone figurine of a snake's head. Broken off at the neck. With a beard.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:243, Pl. clxxiv 13
138	One bone figurine of a snake's head. Pierced. The end is shaped into a tenon, as if to join it onto something.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:242, clxxiii 2
139	One terracotta figurine of a tortoise.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xli 14
140	One vitreous paste figurine of a hedgehog. Pendant.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:385
141	One terracotta plaque showing a sphinx. Fragmented.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:155, Pl. xxxix 5
142	One limestone relief showing a sphinx. Fragmented.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:192, Pl. lxx 53
143	One limestone figurine of a sphinx.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:194-195, Pl. lxxiii 68
144	One bronze figurine of a sphinx.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:202, Fig. 116
145	One ivory figurine of a couchant sphinx. Pierced with two holes.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:231-236, Pl. cliv 2
146	One ivory figurine of a sphinx.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxix 4
147	One ivory plaque showing two sphinxes facing each other.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:213, Pl. cvi 2
148	One ivory figurine of a griffin's head standing on a base. The base is pierced.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:242, Pl. clxxii 6
149	One ivory plaque of a gorgon's head with a lolling tongue.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:242, Pl. clxxiii 6
150	One ivory plaque showing a gorgon with beard and wings.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:210, Pl. cii

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
151	Eight terracotta figurines of women with lions. Dressed. Wear polos. The lion stands upon his hind paws against the skirt of the female, who holds the lion's ear in her left hand and rests her right hand upon its head.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:149, xxxii 1-3
152	One standing limestone plaque, probably a female. One arm is draped across the body. Sweeping lines behind the back probably indicate wings. In the bottom left corner is the beginning of a relief of some animal, possibly a bear.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:193
153	Left half of a terracotta bust of a woman. Wears a polos. Left arm is flexed and a bird is perched on the hand.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:151
154	One silver figurine of a veiled and crowned female sitting on a throne. Her hand is raised. On each side of her stands a bird.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:384, Pl. cciii 3
155	One female protome of ivory. The back is decorated with an image of a sphinx.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:220, Pl. cxxi 3
156	One female protome of bone. The back is decorated with an image of a couchant sphinx.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:220, Pl. cxxi 5
157	One female protome of bone. The back is decorated with an image of a sphinx.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:220, Pl. cxxii 1
158	One female protome of bone. The back is decorated with an image of a spread eagle.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:220, Pl. cxxi 6

159	One female protome of bone. The back is decorated with an image of a bird.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:220, Pl. cxxi 7
160	One female protome of bone. The back is decorated with an image of a seated animal.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:220, Pl. cxxii 4
161	One image of a man holding a winged lion and a winged griffin by their necks. Ivory plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:213, Pl. cv
162	One image of man killing a gorgon. Broken ivory plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:213, Pl. cvi 1
163	One image of a man combating a several-headed snake. Broken ivory plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:211-212, Pl. ciii 1
164	One image of a kneeling man being attacked by an eagle. Ivory plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:209-210, Pl. c 1
165	One image of a winged male on a broken bone plaque.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:243, Pl. clxxiv 16
166	Eight bone plaques showing waterbirds. Every example has a drilled hole.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d: 216-217, Pl. cxiii
167	Two bone figurines of frogs.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d:217, Pl. cxv
168	Two bone figurines of tortoises.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d:217, Pl. cxv
169	One bronze figurine of a stag.	Classical	Droop 1929b:202, Pl. xc c

Category 9: Miscellaneous images

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
170	One ivory plaque showing two human figures (women?) embracing.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxviii 4
171	Two ivory animal figurines. Unspecified species.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:231-236
172	One ivory plaque showing a prothesis-scene. The deceased is a bearded man. A man with a crutch and two women with their hands raised in lamentation are standing behind the bier.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:210, Pl. cii 2, 3
173	One ivory plaque showing a warship about to set sail with men carrying out different tasks on the ship. At the stern, a man is saying farewell to a woman. Behind the woman is a large bird.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:214-215, Pl. cix, cx
174	Two limestone reliefs showing a ship. Fragmented.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:195, Pl. lxxiv 69, 69a
175	One terracotta plaque showing a man and a woman holding each other and a wreath. The man wears a loin cloth, the woman a chiton, both wear poloi.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:154, Fig. 109
176	One ivory plaque showing a standing woman holding a wreath or crown over a man's head. The man is in a much smaller dimension than the woman.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:212-213, Pl. civ
177	One limestone figurine with four faces, and two female and two male sexual organs.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:189, Pl. lxiv 8-11

178	One terracotta figurine of a human figure with a bow. Fragmented.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:158, Pl. xlii 2
179	Two bronze figurines of a human holding an object. One holds a wheel-like object between his/her hands. The other holds something between his/her hands and holds it up to the mouth.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:202, Pl. xc a, b
180	Two terracotta figurines of a bestial figure squatting upon a rectangular stand. Huge mouth. Pointed beard. Staring eyes. Broad flat nose.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:159, Pl. xlii 5
181	One ivory figurine of a couple (gender not specified) sitting beside each other on a throne. The inner arms are held around each other and the outer arms rest on their laps. Based on the appearance of their dress, the figure to the left might be a woman, while the figure to the right might be a man. Under the throne is an animal.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:221-222, Pl. cxxv 1
182	One ivory figurine of a couple (gender not specified) sitting beside each other on a throne. They hold both of their hands in their laps. Two men? Under the throne is an animal.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:221, Pl. cxxv 2
183	One ivory figurine of a couple (gender not specified) sitting beside each other on a throne. The inner hands are on their knees and their outer are hands clasped together. Under the throne are two animals. Two men? Two women? Artemis and Eileithyia?	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:221, Pl. cxxiv
184	57 terracotta figurines of standing human figures with arms stretched out to the sides and a bird-like face. Gender cannot be determined.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:155-156, Pl. xl 1-7

185	Ten handmade terracotta figures shaped like a cross. Roughly-made. A degeneration of the columnar type. Gender cannot be determined.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:156, Pl. xl 8
186	22 terracotta figurines of humans sitting in front of tables. On the table are what generally appear to be loaves. 16 complete examples, 6 broken examples.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157, Pl. xl 13-15
187	18 image of animals of uncertain species.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:157; Dawkins 1929c:192, Pl. lxx 51; Droop 1929b:200, Pl. lxxxvii b; Dawkins 1929d:231-236, 241, Pl. clxxi 4, 6, 7

Category 10: Personal votive gifts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
188	C. 50 bronze necklaces.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:199, Pl. lxxxv i, k-n, s, t
189	C. 50 bronze rings. Mostly of size to fit the finger.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:199, Pl. lxxxv b-d, f- h, o-r, u-z
190	64 bronze fibulae.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:198-199, Pl. lxxxi-lxxxiv
191	One silver fibula.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:382, cciv a1

192	Three ivory fibulae.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:224-225, Pl. cxxxii-cxxxiv
193	Three ivory fibulae decorated with an eagle.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:225-226, cxxxiv
194	One ivory fibula plaque decorated with a sphinx.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:207, Pl. xciii 3
195	One ivory fibula plaque decorated with a winged woman.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:207, Pl. xciii 1
196	One ivory fibula plaque decorated with a winged woman who holds a bird. A snake hangs from the woman's wrist.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:207, Pl. xciii 2
197	22 bronze pins.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxv
198	28 bone pins	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:226, Pl. cxxxvi- cxxxvii a-e
199	128 beads = c. 6 pieces of jewellery. Different types. Made of bone, gold, and glass.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:227-228, Pl. cxxxvii 1-14; Dawkins et al. 1929:384, 386, Pl., ccii 3, cciii 8, 12, 13, ccvi 9
200	50 bead pendants = c. three pieces of jewellery. Different types. Made of bone, amethyst, gold, silver and vitreous paste.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:226, Pl. cxxxv 1 a-d; Dawkins et al. 1929:383-384, Pl. ccii 5, cciii1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, cciv a2
201	Four pendants shaped as double-axes. Three are in gold, one is in silver.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:383, 384, Pl. ccii 2, 4
202	44 bone rings. Outside diameter is 2 cm. Could have been worn as a finger ring.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:226, Pl. cxxxv 2

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
203	35 ivory fibulae.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:224-225, cxxxii- cxxxiv
204	One bronze bow fibula.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:201, Pl. lxxxvii g
205	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a standing woman. Destroyed.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:206
206	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a standing woman wearing a high polos.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:208, Pl. xcv 2
207	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of two women facing each other. Each of the women holds one arm to the belly.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:208, Pl. xcvi 1
208	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a woman grasping two birds. Two birds stand beside or on her shoulders. One plaque is much worn and broken.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:208, Pl. xcviii 1, 2
209	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a woman grasping a bird in each hand.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:205, Pl. xci 1, 1a, 2
210	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a winged woman holding a bird.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:208-209, Pl. xcviii 3
211	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a winged woman grasping a bird and possibly also a lion.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:206, Pl. xcii 2

212	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a winged bearded man holding a pair of birds.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:209, Pl. xcix 1, 2
213	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a warrior on horseback armed with spear and shield.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:206, Pl. xcii 3
214	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a man and a woman facing each other and grasping a double support. The man is bearded. The woman wears polos.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:206, Pl. xcii 1
215	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a woman and a man. The woman grasps a wreath or crown, the man grasps her wrist.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:207, Pl. xciv
216	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a woman and a man facing each other, and holding two wreaths together.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:208, Pl. xcvii 2
217	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a man standing between two women.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:207-208, Pl. xcv
218	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a lion.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:208, Pl. xcvi 3, 4
219	One ivory fibula plaque with an image of a sphinx.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:208, Pl. xcvii 1
220	Four bone needles.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:242, Pl. clxxii 5
221	271 pins made of bone, bronze and silver.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:200, 201, 226, Pl. lxxxvi-lxxxvii c, d, l, m, cxxxvi- cxxxvii a-e; Dawkins et al. 1929:383, 384 ccii 1, 6, cciv a3

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
222	One bronze brooch with an image of a siren holding a wreath.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:202, Pl. lxxxvii e
223	One bronze comb.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:199, Pl. lxxxv α
224	Two possible bronze mirrors. Thin discs with bird handles.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:197, Pl. lxxx h, n
225	Five eye make-up tools made of ivory. For applying kohl to the eyes.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:239, Pl. clxvii b
226	27 combs made of ivory and bone. 22 of the combs are decorated with images: man fighting animal, winged griffin, sphinxes, lions, winged horse, 'The Judgement of Paris', man being trampled by horses, ibex, warrior falling on his sword, a man kneeling before a seated man, eagle, winged dog, and gorgon.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:222-224, Pl. cxxvi 1-3, cxxxi 1-14, cxxvii, cxxviii 1-2, cxxix, cxxx 1-4
227	Two silver mirrors.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:384
228	Two terracotta aryballoi in the shape of a female head.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:160, Pl. xliii 2-3
229	One terracotta aryballos in the form of a squatting monkey. A snake in relief coils across the monkey's breast, and a small quadruped (probably a small monkey) sprawls over the monkey's left shoulder.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:160, Pl. xliii 4

Category 11: Apotropaic votive gifts

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
230	C. 17 scarabs of vitreous paste. Originally covered with blue glaze. Imitations of earlier Egyptian designs. Decorated with mythical scenes, animals, and Egyptian hieroglyphs.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:384-385, ccv, Fig. 143, Fig. 144 d
231	One scarab made of ivory. Pierced.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:240
232	One scaraboid gem with deer and birds. Opaque stone.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:379, Fig. 144 a
233	One scaraboid gem. Opaque stone. Decorated with an image of a bird with outstretched wings.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:379, Fig. 144 b
234	One scaraboid gem. Green stone. Decorated with an image of a deer.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:379, Fig. 144 c
235	Three plain scaraboid gems.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:379
236	One glass seal decorated with animals. Syrian object.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:381, Pl. ccvi
237	One ivory or bone seal shaped into an animal's head. Pierced from side to side. Below in intaglio is an image of three birds.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxviii 6
238	One ivory seal with three faces. Decorated with a bird and a fish, a bee, and a woman grasping a plant of some sort.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:240, Pl. clxviii 3

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
239	One glass seal decorated with a sphinx and two humans. Phoenician imitation of Egyptian work.	Geometric	Dawkins et al. 1929:381, Pl. ccvi 16
240	One carnelian stone engraved with tree and deer. Drilled.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:378, Pl. cciv b2
241	One carnelian stone engraved with an ibex. Drilled.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:380, Fig. 144 f
242	One steatite seal stone engraved with labyrinth pattern.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:378, Pl. cciv c1
243	Three plain amber seals. Drilled.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:386
244	One glass lentoid seal decorated with bull image.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:379, Pl. cciv
245	One steatite seal decorated with dog image.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:379, Pl. cciv b1
246	One black stone decorated with an animal figure. It has been worn smooth. Seems to be a Hittite importation.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:380-381, cciv d
247	107 bone, occasionally ivory, seals. 26 are four-faced; 30 are circular; 39 are bone disc- seals; 12 are miscellaneous. Designs: birds, sphinxes, human heads, animals, warriors, winged males and females, lion attacking a bull, star, scorpion, and cross-patterns.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:228-230, Pl. cxxxix-cxlvii
248	C. 17 scarabs of vitreous paste. Originally covered with blue glaze. Imitations of earlier Egyptian designs. Decorated with mythical scenes, animals and Egyptian hieroglyphs.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:384-385, Fig. 143, Fig. 144 d

Category 13: Weapons

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
249	11 bronze miniature double-axes. Often have a suspension hole at the end of the handle.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:199, Pl. lxxxv β- μ
250	31 small bone double-axes. Either plain or decorated.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929d:238, Pl. clxiii 6
251	One small terracotta double-axe.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929b:159
252	62 small bone double axes. Either plain or decorated.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:238, Pl. clxiii 6
253	One carnelian stone engraved with an image of a double axe. Drilled.	Archaic	Dawkins et al. 1929:378, Fig. 146
254	Two bronze arrow-heads.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:201, Pl. lxxxvii h, lxxxviii g

Category 17: Masks

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
255	543 terracotta masks. The masks are divided into seven types: 'Old women', 'Youths', 'Warriors', 'Portraits', 'Satyrs', 'Gorgons', and 'Caricatures'.	Archaic	Dickins 1929:163-186, Pl. xlvii-lxii

256	60 terracotta masks. Of the seven types from the Archaic period, only four lasted into the Classical period: 'Old women', 'Youths', 'Warriors' and 'Caricatures'.	Classical	Dickins 1929:167, 180, Pl. l, li, xxxviii

Category 18: Miscellanea

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
257	Five terracotta pomegranate imitations.	Geometric	Dawkins 1929b:158-159, Pl. xlii 7
258	Five bronze miniature jugs.	Geometric	Droop 1929b:199, lxxx c-f, l, q
259	12 terracotta pomegranate imitations.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:158-159, Pl. xlii 7
260	Two bronze pomegranate flower imitations.	Archaic	Droop 1929b:202, Pl. lxxxix i, n
261	Nine dice in bone, bronze, and terracotta. Six-sided and marked with sunken dots 1 to 6.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929b:159; Dawkins 1929d:237, Pl. clxvi 1; Droop 1929b:201-202, Pl. lxxxix b
262	Nine architectural models in limestone. They are either small copies of buildings or possibly sketch-models of architectural designs (temple architecture). Nearly all are broken.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:194, Pl. lxxii 60-67
263	One rim of a wheel in limestone.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929c:195, Pl. lxxiv 70

264	One bone bobbin. Drilled at one end.	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:243, Pl. clxxiv
265	14 bone flutes	Archaic	Dawkins 1929d:236-237, Pl. clxi- clxii 1-8
266	Five terracotta pomegranate imitations.	Classical	Dawkins 1929b:158-159, Pl. xlii 7
267	One bone die. Six-sided and marked with sunken dots 1 to 6.	Classical	Dawkins 1929d:237, Pl. clxv 1

Lead figurines

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
268	*Lead 0 (c. 760-700 BC):* 23 objects of depicting: – Mostly jewelry imitations – Imitations of wreaths, pendants with patterns, pins, scarab rings, winged women, women, warriors, ox heads and horses.	Archaic	Wace 1929:251, 253-254

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
269	*Lead I (700-635 BC)* and *Lead II (635-600):* Lead I and Lead II, cannot be separated either typologically or in terms of which types were more popular, and must be treated as one group. 15,267 objects depicting: – Female figurines are most popular. They are depicted with wreaths, palm branches, alabastrai, or pomegranates, with wings and sometimes with lions, as xoanon-like females, as warriors, with a bird or protomes. – Warriors, sphinxes and lions (very popular). – Musicians, bowmen, men on horseback, moschophoroi, horses, goats, roosters, fish, boars, bulls, oxen, snakes, centaurs, Pegasi, gorgons, Nikai, siren, and a possible satyr. – Imitations of jewelry (pendants, rings, scarab rings, ionic capitals, pins, fibulae, and possible bracelets), imitations of mirrors, possible combs and lyres, and imitations of wreaths and palm branches, double axes, wheels, decorative elements and discs with a bearded head.	Archaic	Wace 1929:263-264, 255-258, 262-270

270	*Lead III-IV (600-500 BC):* Lead III and IV figurines cannot be separated. 68,822 objects depicting: – Xoanon-figurines, women dancing and sometimes carrying wreaths and so forth, female figurines with spear and aegis and winged female images (most popular) – Male warrior (very popular) – Nude men running and walking were also popular. – Women with a bow, with a bow and aegis, with a spear, shield and aegis, and with a deer or possibly a lion. – Men in chitons, bowmen, men on horseback, figurines showing a man with a trident, with a trident and fish, with a trident and a possible ram, with a caduceus and a ram and with a club. – Jewelry imitations of ionic capitals, palmettes, pomegranate buds, rings and pins. Wreaths, palm branches, grilles, caduceus, plaques showing an amphora and two adzes are also represented. – Female and male musicians, oxen, horses, lions, goats, roosters, bulls, sphinxes, centaurs, Nikai, siren, and possible gorgons. – The image of a deer is seen for the first time in this period and at once becomes a popular votive offering.	Archaic	Wace 1929:251, 270-277

Cat. No.	Description	Dating	Reference
271	*Lead V (500-425):* 10,617 objects depicting: – Women dancing and carrying objects (possible votaries), winged women and women with spear and aegis, and images of male warriors (most popular) – Wreaths, palm and other branches, grilles and possible pomegranate buds are still present. – Women with a bow, with a spear and with spear, shield and aegis – Chiton dressed men, moschophoroi, and male figurines with bow, trident, trident and fish, trident and a ram, or with caduceus and ram. – Roosters and deer. The deer is far more popular than the rooster	Classical	Wace 1929:252, 277, 278-279
272	*Lead VI (425-possibly as late as 250 BC):* 4,773 objects depicting: – Wreaths and deer (most popular). – Discs – Women with spear and aegis and winged women and women dancing and carrying objects – Male warriors, men with tridents and palm branches.	Classical/ Hellenistic	Wace 1929:252, 279

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