


Artemis in Attica



*'Sing, Muse, of Artemis, sister of the Far-shooter, the virgin
profuse of arrows, fellow nursling of Apollo; who after
watering her horses at the reedy Meles drives her chariot
all of gold swiftly through Smyrna to vine-terraced Claros,
where silverbow Apollo sits awaiting the far-shooting one,
the profuse of arrows.
So I salute you, and all goddesses, in my song; of you
and from you first I sing.*

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1. Introduction

Religion is one of the most characteristic features in the history of mankind. By studying the cults of Artemis in Brauron, Halai Araphenides and Mounichia I would like to take a closer look at some specific examples. For these cults of Attica I would like to study, the excavation reports and the work of F. van den Eijnde, '*Cult and Society in Early Athens 1000-600 BCE*', are the basis of my research. The work of F. van den Eijnde gives an overview of all cults in Attica from 1000-600 BCE and I therefore will use it as guide for this early period.¹ From there on I would like to get more background information by looking at sources as literature and art to get an overview of the background of the cults and the type of the goddess Artemis that is honoured there. Artemis has different faces, and I think that is very interesting. Her epithets are well known and these are linked with the art and worship of the different cults.

Ancient writers tell us about the basis of the Western-European culture, but that is not enough to know for sure what it was like. By studying the ancient goddess Artemis and her cults, and the architecture and art that belongs to these cults it is possible to take a closer look at the ancient history. In the setting of ancient Brauron, Halai and Mounichia, I learn to look differently at archaeology and at the role these finds could play in trying to reconstruct history. It is important to combine the ancient texts and archaeology to get a full picture. By taking a closer look at the archaeological finds, it is possible to reconstruct life from hundreds of years ago. The written texts give a context about life in those times and are important too. They provide us with a little inside information about everyday life and events of a very long time ago.

The story of *Iphigeneia in Tauris* written by Euripides is of special interest for the study of the cults of Artemis in Attica. In the fifth century the worship of Artemis increased and it is interesting to take a closer look at the popularity of the cults and the work of Euripides and what connection can be made between the two. The different interpretations of the story of Iphigeneia placed her worship not only in Aulis, but in Brauron as well. The story that is told about the sacrifice of a girl in Mounichia is similar to the story about Iphigeneia. Halai is also of interest, because it is said to be the new home of the statue of Artemis Tauropolos. It is even possible that the offering of Iphigeneia took place in Halai. The *Iphigeneia in Tauris* tells the story of Orestes, the son of the Greek commander Agamemnon, who went to the Scythian Tauris to steal the wooden statue of Artemis. Unfortunately, Orestes was captured by the Taurians. He was brought to the temple of Artemis to be offered, as was

¹ All dates within this thesis are BCE, unless otherwise stated.

their custom. In the temple Orestes met Iphigeneia, his sister. Iphigeneia was a priestess of Artemis and had to make the offer. The moment Orestes and Iphigeneia saw and recognized each other, they decided to steal the wooden statue together and take off to Greece. Again they were captured by the Scythians and again they were saved, this time by the goddess Athena. Athena revealed the future of Orestes and Iphigeneia. Furthermore, Athena determined the Greek worship of Artemis in two personifications that would be known as Artemis Brauronia and Artemis Tauropolos.

This myth refers to the legends of Orestes and Iphigeneia and to the sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia and Artemis Tauropolos. Euripides work is the most authentic source for these cults and even refers to the location of the sanctuaries. These two cults were not the only Artemis cults in Attica. She had another important cult in Mounichia in the Piraeus. In modern sources even in Mounichia there is a connection made between the story of Artemis and Iphigeneia. It is therefore interesting to take a closer look at these three cults to see whether or not there are any similarities or differences between these cultic places.

The aim of this thesis is to make a comparison between the three main cults of Artemis in Attica. Important are the different functions and forms of Artemis. Questions as ‘In what way is the function of Artemis seen in the found materials?’ and ‘In what way are the found materials a representation of the character of the cults and of Artemis?’ will be the setting within which the analysis is formulated. The conclusion will be a synthesis of Artemis in Attica and how she may be distinguished.²

² The Homeric Hymn on the front page is edited and translated by M.L. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge MA/London 2003) p. 191.

2. Artemis

The origins of the cults of Artemis are quite obscure.³ Most of her cult is genuinely Greek; although in some places there can be discovered Oriental influences and ideas.⁴ There are also influences of the Cyclades and North-Africa. Those can be traced back to the prehistoric period and are found in all the main places of prehistoric Greek settlement. For example: Thessaly, Euboea, Aetolia, Achaea, Argolis, and in its most primitive form, in Attica, Laconia and Arcadia.⁵

The female divinities of Greek religion have so much of common character which suggests that they are all different forms under different names of the same divine personage.⁶ The same goes for Artemis with all the different *epitheta* to her name.⁷ Those suggest that she is always the same divine personality. The Great Goddess of Ephese and the goddess for whom young girls dance at Brauron are clearly distinctive, but both are called Artemis.⁸ This statement can only be criticized after close examination of the various cults and the various ideas attaching to those cults.⁹ Of all the female divinities, Artemis was the most prominent among the scattered tribes and communities of the Greek world.

The various streams of Greek colonization in the Mediterranean diffused the worship of Artemis, and it is found more widely spread than the worship of any other Greek goddess.¹⁰ The new settlers, in many of these places, came into contact with the earlier population. The settlers did not introduce their worship as a new cult, but they found an indigenous goddess who bore certain resemblance to their Artemis and with whom they therefore identified her. Artemis was easily confused with foreign and Oriental goddesses.

The archaic and classical Artemis too, is a composite figure with close ties to the Near East.¹¹ Among her antecedents are the powerful mother goddess of Asia Minor (Artemis was in Ephese identified as earth goddess, similar to Astarte). Since the Bronze Age her antecedents in Greece were a number of local goddesses who presided over rites of passage, and the ancient figure known as the Mistress of the Animals.

³ M.P.O. Morford and R.J. Lenardon, *Classical Mythology* (New York/London 1985) p. 151.

⁴ L.R. Farnell, *The cults of the Greek states II* (Oxford 1896) p. 425.

⁵ Farnell 1896, p. 425.

⁶ Farnell 1896, p. 425.

⁷ Artemis: Agrotera, Artistoboule, Brauronia, Efesia, Eileithya, Laphria, Lochia, Mounichia, Ortheia, Potnia Theron, Pythia, Soteira, Tauropolos.

⁸ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford 1985) p. 120.

⁹ Farnell 1896, p. 425.

¹⁰ Farnell 1896, p. 426.

¹¹ J. Larson, *Ancient Greek cults; a guide* (New York/Londen 2007) p. 101.

*'Herself [Artemis] a 'Mistress of the Wild' and a survival of a more primitive, pre-agrarian society of hunters, Artemis' role as protectress of wildlife is conceptually related to her domesticated function as protectress of young human life.'*¹²

Similar 'Ladies of the Animals' elsewhere often functioned as initiation gods, and this may explain why Artemis supervised the transition of girls into womanhood and in some cities even boys' initiation.¹³ In the classical period there was a change in worshiping the gods.¹⁴ Artemis still was the protectress of the animals and nature, fertility and life and death, but she became also a virgin huntress and the goddess of the moon.¹⁵ The goddess of the moon was eventually associated with the monthly cycle and women's menstrual period.

Artemis is a very paradoxical goddess.¹⁶ She is at the same time a virgin who aids women in childbirth, a fierce huntress who fosters wild beasts, and a bloodthirsty deity who both nurtures the young and demands their sacrifice. Because she is standing at borders, conceptual and physical, between savage and civilized life, Artemis oversees the transition of girls into adult status. Artemis is also the patroness of warriors.

A different aspect of her is presented in the Arcadian and Athenian rites and legends. This ancient Artemis was not a goddess of chastity, nor a goddess of the moon, nor the twin-sister of Apollo, but an independent divinity connected with the waters and with wild vegetation and beasts. Artemis reflected in her character the life of her worshippers who were still in the savage stage, supporting themselves by hunting and fishing rather than by agriculture. Even in the later and civilized period Artemis' personality retained more traces of savagery than any other Greek divinity.

2.1 The Mistress of Animals

Artemis is 'gracious to the playful cubs of fierce lions and delights in the suckling young of every wild creature that roves in the field.'¹⁷

Artemis is first and foremost the patroness of the wild beasts of the field, the animals of the chase with which her life is connected by the early religions.¹⁸ The hare, the wolf, the hind, the wild boar, and the bear are consecrated to her by sacrifice or legend. The identity of

¹² Nosch, M.L., 'Approaches to Artemis in Bronze Age Greece', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (ed.), *Acta Hyperborea 12: From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen 2009) p. 23.

¹³ J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1994) p. 17.

¹⁴ P.G. Themelis, *Brauron: Führer durch das Heiligtum und das Museum* (Athene 1971) p. 17.

¹⁵ Morford and Lenardon 1985, p. 152.

¹⁶ Larson 2007, p. 101.

¹⁷ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 141-143.

¹⁸ Farnell 1896, p. 431.

Artemis as mistress of wild nature is expressed through the placement of sanctuaries, often in rural areas, especially near rivers of wetlands, and through epithets and unusual sacrificial practices.¹⁹

In early Greek religion Artemis was an earth-goddess, associated essentially and chiefly with the wild life and growth of the field, and with human birth.²⁰ It was some sort of natural process the goddess of vegetative nature and fructifying water became the goddess of herds and cattle and agriculture. This advance was not carried far in the religious conception of Artemis and it rarely appears in literature.

The cultic Artemis bears only partial resemblance to the Homeric goddess, an adolescent girl, most beautiful among her nymphs, who delights in the hunt and is celebrated as the divine prototype of the virginal maiden, ripe for marriage.²¹ However, hints of Artemis' cruelty and power appear in the Homeric portrait, because she is also the goddess who sends a gentle death to women. She is called 'a lion to women'²² by Hera, which means that she brings death to any woman she wishes, although her powers are still dependent on the will of Zeus. Homer also describes Artemis with the titles *Agrotera* (of the Wilds) and *Potnia Theron* (Mistress of Animals).²³ Because Artemis is a goddess of game animals and takes special delight in 'the suckling young of every wild creature'²⁴, she has been compared to certain deities of hunter-gatherer cultures around the world, whose function is to protect and regulate the supply of game.²⁵ Wild animals, particularly the deer, were considered sacred to Artemis, and her sanctuaries sometimes possessed sacred and inviolate herds.²⁶ While Greek poetry and art more usually describe Artemis as the huntress and destroyer, the older religion was more familiar with the concept of her as the protector and patroness of wild animals, especially of those that were with young.²⁷

A Mistress of Animals is a familiar goddess in the shared iconography of Bronze Age cultures in the Aegean.²⁸ This goddess stands flanked by paired animals or birds, which she grasps firmly by their necks or tails. This motif occasionally appears in representations of

¹⁹ Larson 2007, p. 102.

²⁰ Farnell 1896, p. 456.

²¹ Larson 2007, p. 101.

Farnell 1896, p. 426-427.

²² Homeros, *Ilias* 21.483.

²³ Homeros, *Ilias* 21.470-471.

²⁴ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 140-143.

²⁵ Larson 2007, p. 101.

²⁶ For example her sanctuaries at Lousoi and Arcadia.

²⁷ Farnell 1896, p. 434.

²⁸ Larson 2007, p. 102.

other Greek goddesses, but is found most often among archaic votive offerings to Artemis. In societies where hunting is reduced in the main to an aristocratic pastime, the powerful deities of the hunt are not forgotten but modified. Artemis' interest in the death-dealing potential of the hunter is transferred to the warrior.

The widespread cult of Artemis Agrotera found all over mainland Greece and beyond, focused often on victory in battle. According to Xenophon, the Spartans slaughtered a goat for Artemis Agrotera 'as was their custom' and charged, at the crucial point when the enemy was within sight.²⁹ Another example is the commemoration of the battles of Artemision and Salamis by a festival for Artemis, because her saving power was felt in times of dire peril.

Artemis goes armed with bow and arrow, like her brother Apollo.³⁰ Both had the power to send plagues or sudden death among mortals, but also to heal them. Artemis loved the chase, especially that of stags. Artemis was accompanied by her devoted and virgin nymphs in nature. Because of the bow and arrow, Artemis was also associated with the Amazons; however, she did not just use her bow and arrow in vengeance. She also brought a quick and good death.

2.2 *The bloodthirsty goddess*

Artemis as bloodthirsty goddess embodies much that stands in opposition to how Greek cultural ideals are nowadays perceived.³¹ She is an untamed, powerful female, a deity of the wilds more than of the civilised. Her personality includes a savage element which must be suppressed in the making of a civilized society. Artemis is so challenging to cultural norms that she is sometimes presented as 'foreigner', a goddess that arrived from strange and savage lands. This was the case in a number of cities, including Athens and Sparta, which attributed the founding of their Artemis cults to Orestes and his sister Iphigeneia.

Attic myths tell about Artemis as an angry goddess who must be appeased.³² In the story about Agamemnon and his daughter Iphigeneia, Artemis demands the sacrifice of the young girl. In some versions the girl perished at the altar, in others she was saved by Artemis and made immortal, and in the third she was spirited away to a distant land. This demonstrates the mysterious and savage aspect of the goddess and the belief that she desired human sacrifices. Although it is unclear whether the Greeks ever actually practiced human sacrifice, the concept was deeply rooted in their culture. Instead of recognizing their own fascination

²⁹ Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.2.20.

³⁰ R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* (Edinburgh 1957) p. 83.

³¹ Larson 2007, p. 104.

³² Larson 2007, p. 104-105.

with this topic, the Greeks disavowed it by giving the practice and even the goddess herself a barbarian origin.

2.3 Artemis and the vulnerable maiden

In many Greek cities, adolescent girls danced for Artemis.³³ These dances had social as well as religious functions. The dances signalled the girls' readiness for marriage and made them visible for potential suitors. The festivals where girls danced in groups in honour of the goddess were one of the most important opportunities for young men to become acquainted with girls.³⁴ Artemis also governed the transitions in the female life cycle that were linked to the prosperity and safety of the community as a whole.³⁵ Many of Artemis' sanctuaries were located on the borders of poleis, in lands that formed territorial boundaries. Rituals conducted by girls at these vulnerable sites demonstrated the strength of the poleis, as did the placement of a border sanctuary which asserted territorial claims.

Artemis' concern for the nurture of young people overlaps with her control over the fertility of the natural world. Particularly in the Peloponnese, Artemis has the characteristics of a nature goddess who promotes the growth of vegetation and is to be found in green moist places.³⁶

As a virgin goddess, Artemis was not asexual but she fostered a constant awareness of the maturing sexuality of the communities' adolescent girls.³⁷ From the patriarchal perspective, the asset of female fertility is always complicated by fears of poaching by rival males. Artemis herself was never married and always remained a virgin.³⁸ The priests and priestesses who were devoted to her service were bound to live pure and chaste as well. A good example is the legend of Iphigeneia of which is said that she was the first priestess of Artemis in Brauron. She was to remain a virgin all her life and was honoured because she was.

³³ Larson 2007, p. 106.

³⁴ Burkert 1985, p. 151.

³⁵ Larson 2007, p. 106.

³⁶ Larson 2007, p. 106.

³⁷ Larson 2007, p. 106-107.

³⁸ R.E. Bell, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology; symbols, attributes and associations* (Santa Barbara CA/Oxford 1982) p. 267.

2.4 Visual representations of Artemis

Worship did not merely imply making a statue of the goddess, but also demanded votive offerings.³⁹ These offerings were of very diverse kinds and so were their subjects. This explains the many statues found in the sanctuaries. Nowadays the inscribed bases are found on the original places, without their statues. As the primitive elements in the worship of Artemis are traced back, so are the earliest representations.⁴⁰ In the earliest presentations the very ancient type of the religious emblem, the rude rock or the shaped stone without any human resemblance are found. The earliest monuments of the period, when art gained more power of expression, speak clearly of Artemis' close association with wild places and with the beasts of the wild.⁴¹ As the early cults often recognized her as the goddess of the lakes and the streams, we might look for some allusion to this aspect in her earliest monuments as well.⁴²

Representations of Artemis as the huntress in public cults are not very frequent.⁴³ However, cities did take the type of Artemis the huntress as their coin-device.⁴⁴ Hunters offered to Artemis as well, in local shrines or under trees.⁴⁵ They often shared their catch and dedicated the head, horns or skin of the animal. Ancient Greek art shows Artemis primarily as protectress of animals.⁴⁶ She is often seen with lions, deer and dogs. Since the seventh century she is also shown while moving, bearing torches, not just with the bow and arrow. Artemis is most often a young woman, dressed in a -short- chiton. Artemis' close connection with the Near East is most clearly seen in archaic art, which shows a goddess, often with wings, standing between symmetrically arranged wild animals.⁴⁷ This mistress of nature -of the fish of the water, the birds of the sky, lions and stags, goats and hares- herself was wild and mysterious and is regularly shown with a Gorgon head. Since the fifth century Artemis is accompanied by other gods, like her brother Apollo and their mother Leto.

The attributes of a deity were in some sort a representation of that deity. For Artemis there were several attributes. The bear and deer were of special interest for the goddess. Besides the animals, maidens in a back-mantle and peplos or short chiton appear in

³⁹ G. DUBY and J.-L. DAVAL (eds.), *Sculpture. From Antiquity to the Middle Ages. From the Eight Century BC to the Fifteenth Century* (Köln 2006) p. 27.

⁴⁰ Farnell 1896, p. 520.

⁴¹ One of the types is the winged Artemis with a lion in each hand. Another type is Artemis which holds a goat by the horns or holding water-birds by the neck.

Farnell 1896, p. 521.

⁴² Farnell 1896, p. 522.

⁴³ Farnell 1896, p. 525.

⁴⁴ Farnell 1896, p. 526.

⁴⁵ W.H.D. ROUSE, *Greek votive offerings: an essay in the history of Greek religion* (Cambridge 1902) p. 50.

⁴⁶ E.M. MOORMANN and W. UITTERHOEVE, *Van Achilles tot Zeus* (Nijmegen/Amsterdam 2003) p. 62-63.

⁴⁷ Burkert 1985, p. 149.

association with Artemis as the maiden goddess.⁴⁸ She herself is also represented in this clothing. There are various votives found of Artemis in Greece. The back-mantle first appeared in the late fifth century on Attic monuments. Particularly on votive reliefs from Brauron, Artemis is seen wearing the back-mantle.⁴⁹ This was also an appropriate costume for the young girls making their appearance in the Brauronian Arkteia. The peplos first appeared in the Early Classical period.⁵⁰ Older girls dedicated their belts or cross bands before marriage. At childbirth, prayer and vow were made to Artemis.⁵¹ Her corresponding epithet was Eileithya or Locheia. The prayers for a safe delivery were often accompanied by the dedication of a veil. Women dedicated their dress after the birth went well.

A more overall representation of Artemis shows her throughout the history as a young woman, first with wings and two animals.⁵² That could be lions, deer or birds. On these early representations Artemis is wearing a long chiton. Artemis is thus a protectress of animals, more than anything else. Later pottery shows her accompanied by deer. In sculpture Artemis is still the young woman wearing a long chiton, but there is the addition of a bow and arrow.⁵³ The next change makes her a huntress, wearing a short chiton and she is shown while moving.⁵⁴ More and more she is accompanied by the deer in sculpture as well.



1. Marble votive relief with four deities, probably Zeus, Leto, Apollo and Artemis.

⁴⁸ L. Jones Roccas, 'Back-Mantle and Peplos: The Special Costume of Greek Maidens in 4th Century Funerary and Votive Reliefs', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 69 2 (April-June 2000) p. 236-237.

⁴⁹ Jones Roccas 2000, p. 239-240.

⁵⁰ Jones Roccas 2000, p. 244.

⁵¹ Rouse 1902, p. 251-252.

⁵² N. Yalouris, L.G. Kahil (and others), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae II.2* (Zurich/Munchen 1984) p. 443-446.

⁵³ Yalouris, Kahil 1984, p. 454-457.

⁵⁴ Yalouris, Kahil 1984, p. 458-459.

3. Artemis in Attica

3.1 Brauron

All over the Greek world, women went to Artemis for help with gynaecological problems, childbirth, and the nurture of young children.⁵⁵ Artemis' cult at Brauron, one of the oldest and most important cults in Attica, was concerned with these functions.⁵⁶ The sanctuary was arranged around a sacred spring and a cave-like cleft in the rocky hillside nearby. This 'cave' area was appropriate for a goddess of childbirth.

*'Once one has seen her, one can never forget the glory and
the serenity of the admirable face of the goddess
on the Brauron reliefs who so wonderfully suits her landscape'.⁵⁷*

The sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron was situated near a small bay in eastern Attica, about 35 kilometres from Athens.⁵⁸ The sanctuary lay in the territory of the deme of Philaidai, which was situated about a kilometre and a half to the west.⁵⁹ Brauron lies in the Erasinos valley close to the mouth of the river, behind the Mounts Pentelikon and Hymettos. In ancient times the sanctuary was on the shore, today the akropolis is located about half a kilometre from the bay of Vraona. Because of its placement at sea, Brauron was of major importance.⁶⁰

3.1.1 Architecture

In antiquity, the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron was frequently flooded.⁶¹ That is the reason the oldest sacred area was situated on a rock shelf near the cave. At the beginning, there were only some structures of uncertain function inside and at the mouth of the cave, the earliest dating from circa 700. The cultic place was situated southwest of the temple. Later, a small structure (*naiskos*) of nine by six metres was built. This structure could be reached from the

⁵⁵ Larson 2007, p. 107.

⁵⁶ For an overview of the cult of Artemis at Brauron from 1000-600 see also F. van den Eijnde, *Cult and Society in Early Athens. Archaeological and Anthropological Approaches to State Formation and Group Participation in Attica* (Amsterdam 2010) p. 130-137.

⁵⁷ L. Kahil, 'Mythological Repertoire of Brauron', in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison WI 1983) p. 243.

⁵⁸ Kahil 1983, p. 232.

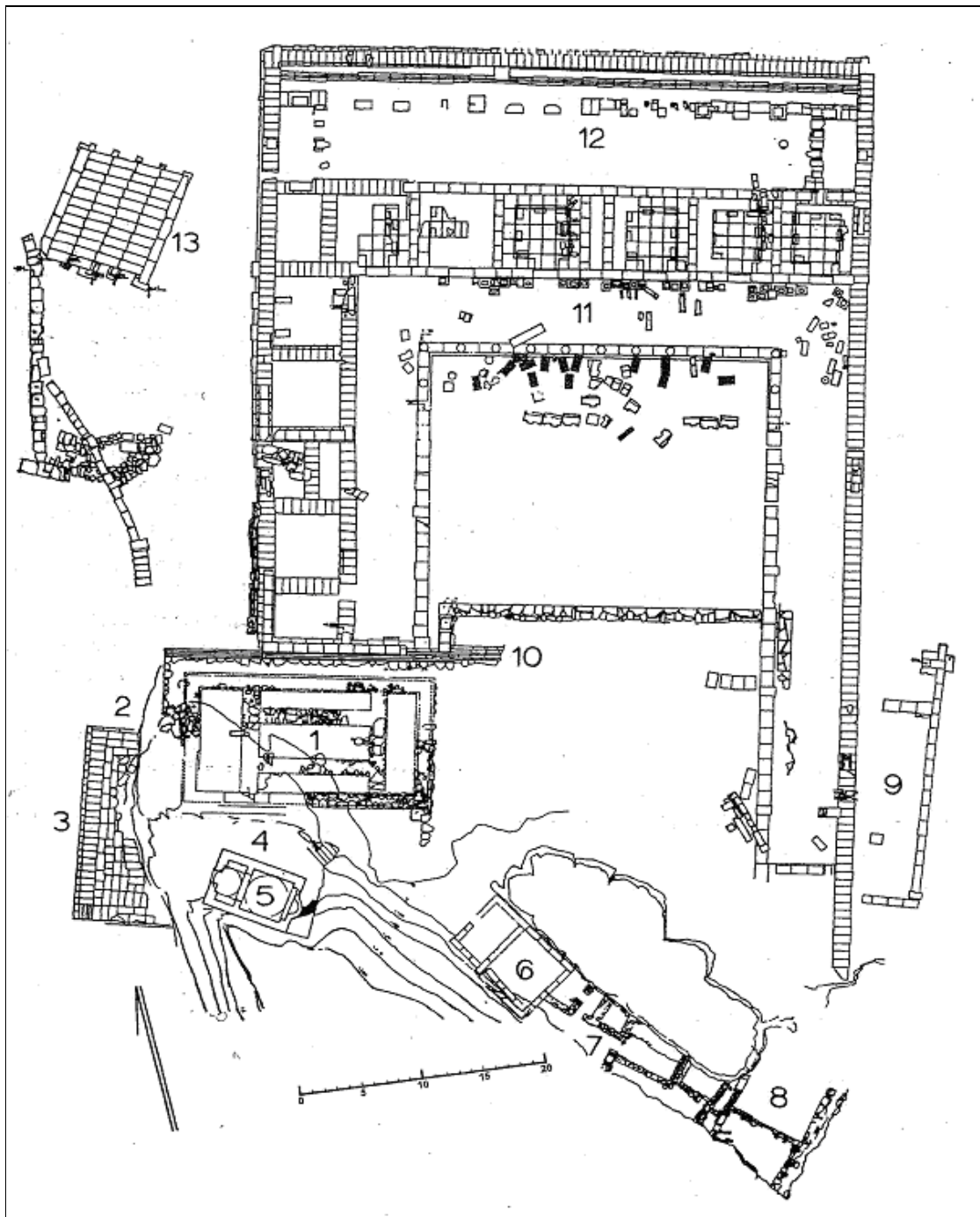
See appendix 1 for a map of Central Greece.

⁵⁹ J.M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven 2001) p. 277.

⁶⁰ K. Dowden, 'Myth: Brauron & beyond', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 16 2 (1990) p. 35.

⁶¹ I. Nielsen, 'The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. Can Architecture and Iconography help to Locate the Settings of the Rituals', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (ed.), *Acta Hyperborea 12: From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen 2009) p. 102-103.

west, at the entrance of the cave. The building has been interpreted as a heroon or tomb for Iphigeneia, but also as a place of storage.⁶²



2. Ground plan of the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron, with the temple of Artemis (1), the area of the spring (2), the western terrace (3), the rock-cut terrace (4), the chapel of Aghios Georgios (5), the so-called heroon of Iphigeneia (6), the cave (7), the 'Sacred House' (8), eastern building (9), the stepped retaining wall (10), the stoa (11), the northern section of the stoa (12) and the bridge (13).

⁶² Heroon and tomb: J. Papadimitriou, *Praktika* (1955). Place of storage: M.B. Hollinshead, 'Against Iphigeneia's Adyton in Three Mainland Temples', *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 3 (July 1985) p. 434.

In the archaic period, the sanctuary saw the construction of the first stone temple, dated to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century.⁶³ Only a few traces of this temple have been preserved. It is likely that it was a Doric temple and that it had an inner arrangement similar to that of the later, classical temple; an inner room at the back of the cella with two rows of columns between which the statues were presumably placed.

The new, classical temple was erected over the ruins of pre-Persian predecessor in Brauron as part of the Periklean building program.⁶⁴ Today, only the south and east walls of the classical temple have survived.⁶⁵ The classical temple was built on a partially cut and levelled rock. The foundations are placed on a gamma-shaped wall with steps of poros stone at the north side.⁶⁶ Only the lowest step is preserved. In ancient times the temple with its terrace would have been overlooking all the other buildings of the sanctuary. On the north and west sides, downhill from the temple site, there are well-preserved remains of a retaining wall.⁶⁷ A series of steps lead up over the retaining wall to the level of the temple. Euripides referred to these steps in his *Iphigeneia in Tauris* with the words ‘the holy stairs of Brauron’.⁶⁸ The steps even continue beyond the temple to the site of the post-Byzantine chapel of Aghios Georgios. Already in the eighth century, there was a wooden temple at the place of the chapel.⁶⁹ Later this wooden temple was changed into a structure made of stone.⁷⁰

The temple was dated in the fifth century, but the precise dating of this classical temple is disputed.⁷¹ For example Papadimitriou dates the temple in the first half of the fifth century, Camp says it dates to the late sixth century, Travlos dates it in the early fifth century and Hollinshead in the second quarter of the fifth century.⁷² The surviving foundations are suitable for an amphiprostyle plan similar to that favoured by the Athenians for other temples built at this time.⁷³

⁶³ G. Ekroth, ‘Inventing Iphigeneia. On Euripides and the cultic construction of Brauron’, *Kernos* 16 (2003) p. 104-105.

⁶⁴ Pausanias mentioned that the Persians plundered and destroyed the sanctuary in 480 (3.16.7-8). Perikles rebuilt the sanctuaries of Attica after the Persians left. Other examples are Eleusis, Sounion and Rhamnous. Camp 2001, p. 106.

⁶⁵ J. Papadimitriou, ‘The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron’, *Scientific American* (1963) p. 113.

⁶⁶ Themelis 1971, p. 15.

⁶⁷ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 113.

⁶⁸ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1462-1463.

See appendix 2 for Euripides’ *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1438-1468.

⁶⁹ A.I. Mazarakis Ainian, *From rulers’ dwellings to temples. Architecture, religion and society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 B.C.)* (Jonserved 1997) p. 317.

⁷⁰ Nielsen 2009, p. 104.

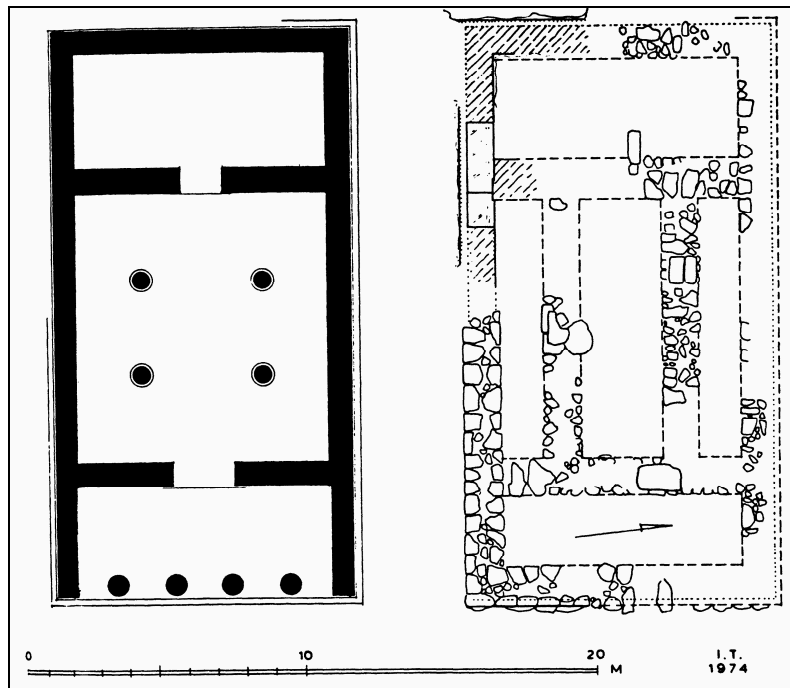
⁷¹ Ekroth 2003, p. 109.

⁷² J. Papadimitriou, *Ergon* (1959) p. 19; Camp 2001, p. 278; I.N. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika* (Tübingen 1988) p. 55; Hollinshead 1985, p. 432.

⁷³ Camp 2001, p. 126.

Other examples are the temple of Nike on the Akropolis and the temple of Apollo in Delos.

The classical temple measured 19.90 by 10.35 metres.⁷⁴ The temple had the same plan as its predecessor. Its structure consisted of a *prodomos*, a narrow porch, a *cella* of three naves divided by two rows of columns and an *adyton*, which was probably used during the cult festival.⁷⁵ The inner room, which occupies a significant proportion of the limited space in this modest temple, makes that the *cella* is confined to nearly square proportions instead of the customary long rectangular form that is found in most temples.⁷⁶ The *adyton* as a rear room of a temple is probably particular to temples of Artemis. The young initiates were ritually transformed into adolescents by hiding in the *adyton*.



3. Classical temple of Artemis Brauronia. Restored plan and actual state.

The temple is nowadays represented by foundations and several limestone fragments of the Doric order: column shafts, frieze blocks, triglyphs and an anta capital.⁷⁷ There are also two broken Doric column drums found on the east side of the temple.⁷⁸ This suggests that the east façade should be restored as either distyle or tetrastyle in antis. The inner floor consist traces of material from the eight to the fourth century, which confirms that the temple most certainly had another structure as predecessor.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Hollinshead 1985, p. 432.

⁷⁵ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 113.

⁷⁶ Hollinshead 1985, p. 432.

⁷⁷ Camp 2001, p. 278.

⁷⁸ Hollinshead 1985, p. 432.

⁷⁹ Ekroth 2003, p. 109.

At the same time the temple was built, the Doric, pi-shaped stoa was built in Brauron.⁸⁰ The stoa was built in limestone and marble. The stoa had a central colonnade and two colonnades on the flanks, which were never finished. The stoa was identical in plan with the Brauronion on the Athenian Akropolis.⁸¹ There must have been a connection between the architectural forms of the two buildings. Based on stylistic features, the stoa is dated 425-420.⁸² This presupposition is confirmed by an inscription from the year of the archont Arimnestos in 416-415.⁸³ The stoa was an innovative building, because of the wings that are built at the end of the central colonnade. Within the wings, except the eastern one, were nine rooms with eleven wooden beds each and marble tables.⁸⁴ The whole has been interpreted as dining facility, a place to show prestigious votives and other offerings and as a place to live for the arktoi.⁸⁵



4. The stoa of Brauron as restored.

A terrace wall to the east of the temple, dating to the sixth or early fifth century, supported the area with the altar, which was never found, and had room for many worshippers.⁸⁶ The altar was probably situated here, since layers of ash, dating to the sixth or early fifth century, have been found here together with votive gifts. The altar is depicted on several vases, in the form of a volute altar of stone standing on a podium. The altar was not an ash-altar, although this kind of altar was often found in the sanctuaries of Artemis.

⁸⁰ Themelis 1971, p. 17-19.

⁸¹ J.M. Cook, 'Archaeology in Greece, 1949-1950', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 71 (1951) p. 238.

⁸² Camp 2001, p. 126.

⁸³ Ekroth 2003, p. 109.

⁸⁴ Themelis 1971, p. 20-24.

⁸⁵ Ekroth 2003, p. 109.

⁸⁶ Nielsen 2009, p. 105.

Up the hill, southeast of the temple, the foundations of a little structure were found.⁸⁷ Near this structure, in the cave, little chambers were built. Because the tombs of Greek heroes are sometimes placed in caves, the first association for this little sanctuary would be a tomb or a heroon. According to Papadimitriou this was the first tomb of Iphigeneia.

*'It would seem that the structures in the cave were regarded as being the tomb of Iphigeneia, and that when the vault of the cave collapsed the little shrine was built next to it as a monument to the priestess.'*⁸⁸

Euripides already had a reference to the tomb of Iphigeneia in his *Iphigeneia in Tauris*.⁸⁹

3.1.2 Archaeological finds

The Brauron akropolis contained pottery of the ninth century or the end of the late Protogeometric time, found north of the stoa.⁹⁰ These finds were seen as a representation of the first traces of cult activity in the sanctuary of Artemis and Iphigeneia in Brauron. Within the sanctuary itself there are no finds older than the second half of the eighth century.⁹¹ Fragments of Geometric pottery found in a bothros near the cave, belonged to this period. Finds of the eighth until the fifth century, which included various votives and reliefs, were objects from the private lives of women: a bronze mirror, rings, gems, terracotta statuettes of young girls and boys, plaques, plates, working tools, clothing and wooden objects. Pottery shards recovered, have scenes of various women's activities as well as mythological scenes of birth, divine or heroic (Athena and Achilles presented to Chiron), and legends of love or amorous pursuit (Aphrodite and Adonis).⁹² Artemis was well illustrated on the finds of Brauron. In many appearances she is carrying a torch, almost as often as a bow.⁹³ In archaic and classical times the torch-bearing Artemis is a well known figure. It was a particular characteristic of the light-carrying goddess, which was also the goddess of nature or the protectress of humans or the huntress.

⁸⁷ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 115.

⁸⁸ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 115.

⁸⁹ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1460-1468. See appendix 2.

⁹⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p. 317.

⁹¹ Nielsen 2009, p. 102.

⁹² Kahil 1983, p. 240.

⁹³ Kahil 1983, p. 233.

Most of the archaeological finds of the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries were done by the spring.⁹⁴ Some of the fifth century material had been transported further north by the flow of water from the spring and was found embedded in the mud. Women who were successful in childbirth would offer a set of clothing to Artemis, and many inscriptions listing these offerings have been discovered at the sanctuary, along with numerous statues of young children, dedicated by thankful parents.⁹⁵ The clothing of those who died would be offered to Iphigeneia. The most frequently dedicated items were articles of women's clothing: belts, tunics, long robes, shawls and headgear. After using the garments for a while, women gave them to the goddess, often embroidered with their own names or the words 'sacred to Artemis'.⁹⁶ The offerings were displayed in the temple in boxes or on racks, and the officials in charge kept careful records of them. The inventory lists of all the offerings were made in the fourth century.⁹⁷

'Pheidylla, a white woman's himation in a display box. Mneso, a frog-green garment. Nausis, a lady's himation with a broad purple border in wave pattern around the edge. Kleo, a delicate shawl. Phile, a bordered textile. Teisikrateia, a multi-coloured Persian style shirt with sleeves'.⁹⁸

No trace of them exists today in Brauron, but the temple inventories were carved in stone and set up both at Brauron and at a sister sanctuary on the Athenian Akropolis, where they have been found.

Large numbers of *krateriskoi* were found in the sanctuary in Brauron.⁹⁹ It is quite unusual to find illustrations of the rituals taking place in Greek sanctuaries, but Brauron is one of the few exceptions. Through the *krateriskoi* the locations and the rituals



5. Krateriskos from Brauron 490 BCE.

⁹⁴ Ekroth 2003, p. 79-82, 105-106.

Illustration 2, number 2.

⁹⁵ Camp 2001, p. 278.

⁹⁶ Larson 2007, p. 107.

⁹⁷ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 113-115.

⁹⁸ Larson 2007, p. 107-108. For the complete translation of this inventory list see L. Cleland, *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues. Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation* (Oxford 2005) appendix 2.

⁹⁹ Nielsen 2009, p. 83.

The same *krateriskoi* have been found at Eleusis in the Cave of the Nymphs and in Athens in the Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule and some pieces from the Agora and Akropolis. Kahil 1983, p. 237.

can be reconstructed. The krateriskoi are found nearby the Artemis-temple and nearby the cave to which the heroon for Iphigeneia is also counted.¹⁰⁰ The little vases can be mainly dated from the end of the sixth century until the first half of the fifth century. On several krateriskoi is a burning altar represented.¹⁰¹ In all cases the altar is of the volute type and it is placed on a podium or step. Besides the altar there are trees looking like palms on many krateriskoi. The palms are a symbol for birth and reproduction, the main functions of the Brauron sanctuary. The altar is seen in both dancing and racing scenes. The krateriskoi thus show the *Arkteia*.¹⁰² They show little girls, wearing a short chiton or being naked, bearing torches and running and dancing besides an altar.¹⁰³ It is not surprising the girls at the *Arkteia* bore torches, because it was a common attribute of Artemis as well. That way the torch-bearing girls paid tribute to the goddess. On the other hand it is surprising the girls were naked, because Artemis was a virgin goddess and it was an unusual feature in the archaic and classical period. The combination of the palm and the bear is peculiar, because they are of different geographical areas.¹⁰⁴ They probably stand for the wide spread of Artemis cults in different times and places.

3.1.3 Use of the sanctuary

The sanctuary at Brauron catered various religious needs, to house the religious office-holders and the selected *arktoi* for long periods of time, to accommodate large numbers of visitors more temporarily in connection with the Brauronia and other festivals, and to receive private visitors making dedications, as well as the storing of a great number of offerings of various kinds, such as clothes, jewellery, pottery, sculptures and reliefs.¹⁰⁵ The dedication of votives, such as clothes and sculptures of children, may have taken place at any time during the year and not necessarily in connection with a particular festival. The extensive use of the sanctuary on a private level is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the majority of the statues of

¹⁰⁰ Nielsen 2009, p. 88.

Illustration 2, numbers 1, 6 and 7.

¹⁰¹ Nielsen 2009, p. 96-97.

¹⁰² The same sort of krateriskoi is found in the cave of Pan in Eleusis. Much more importantly the same sort of krateriskoi is found in the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia in Piraeus, the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule west of the Athenian Agora and in the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos in Halai Araphenides.

L.G. Kahil, 'Autour de l'Artemis attique', *AntK* 8 (1965) p. 23-24.

L.G. Kahil, 'L'Artemis de Brauron. Rites et mystère', *AntK* 20 (1977) p. 87-88.

The girls in the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia are also said to 'play the bear', like the girls did in Brauron. The 'playing the bear' in Piraeus was first mentioned in a source of the second century CE, and could therefore be of a later creation.

¹⁰³ Ekroth 2003, p. 110-111.

¹⁰⁴ E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary* (Wisconsin 1983) p. 83-88.

¹⁰⁵ Ekroth 2003, p. 112.

children are boys. The dedication of statues of girls can be seen as having been engendered by the Arkteia but, as no corresponding festival for boys is known, these dedications must have been made on a private basis to Artemis as a protectress of families, mothers and their offspring.¹⁰⁶

The cult for Artemis Brauronia was celebrated each year with a local festival, known as the Brauronia.¹⁰⁷ Aristophanes wrote about the Brauronia in the *Lysistrata*.

*'When I was seven, I immediately served as an arrephoros
then, at ten, I was an alertis for Athena Archegetis.
Then, wearing the saffron dress, I was a bear at the Brauronia.
And once I, a beautiful child, was a basket-carrier, wearing a necklace
of dried figs.'*¹⁰⁸

The Brauronia and the Arkteia were associated with one another. Each five years, the young daughters of the aristocratic families from Athens wearing saffron coloured clothes were brought to the sanctuary of Brauron. The saffron colour of their chiton was a representation of the bear and a representation of the marriageable women.¹⁰⁹ Those girls were the arktoi and while they were part of the procession of the Brauronia, they were imitating bears. Besides that, they offered to Artemis as priestesses. Once per five years there the Great Brauronia was organized, with music, sports and horse-races.¹¹⁰ The Great Brauronia were started in Athens at the Akropolis, where the procession to the sanctuary in Brauron began. During the Arkteia the young girls passed from girlhood into marriageable women. This kind of experience and the girls' rites of passage were associated with Artemis.¹¹¹

There are two explanations for the bear-ritual in Brauron.¹¹² The first is that the people of Brauron killed a bear sacred to Artemis for which she demanded a human adjustment. The ancient Attic version that is told about the foundation of the sanctuary in Brauron, tells about the wrath of Artemis, because her bear was killed by the locals.

¹⁰⁶ Brulé suggests that male initiation ceremonies similar to those for the girls at Brauron may have been performed at nearby Halai. P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société* (Paris 1987) p. 180-203.

Dowden is not sure the rituals of Halai were for young boys, because women and girls danced all night at the Tauropolia in Halai. Dowden 1990, p. 38-39.

¹⁰⁷ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 115-116.

¹⁰⁸ Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 641-647.

¹⁰⁹ P. Perlman, 'Acting the She-bear for Artemis', *Arethusa* 22 (1989) p. 121.

¹¹⁰ Themelis 1971, p. 17.

¹¹¹ Tzanetou 1999-2000, p. 201-202.

¹¹² Hollinshead 1985, p. 426.

*'A she-bear once was given to the sanctuary of Artemis and was tame. Once a maiden was playing with the bear, and the bear scratched out her eyes. The girl's brother(s), in grief for her, killed the bear. And then a famine befell the Athenians. The Athenians inquired at the Oracle of Delphi as to its cause, and Apollo revealed that Artemis was angry at them for the killing of the bear, and as punishment and to appease her every Athenian girl, before marriage, must "play the bear" for Artemis. And so the Athenians voted that an Athenian girl was not to live with a man until she "played the bear" for Artemis in Brauron.'*¹¹³

The second is that the community needed to satisfy her godly wrath and the only way was to offer a young girl. This second interpretation is a combination of the story about Iphigeneia and the rituals in Brauron.

3.1.4 Iphigeneia

Euripides wrote his *Iphigeneia in Tauris* circa 413.¹¹⁴ This play was an indication for the rise of Brauron as a cultic place. Even the replacement of Aulis by Brauron is mentioned by a scholiast of Aristophanes. He gives a comment by line 645 of the *Lysistrata*.

*'Some say the affairs concerning Iphigeneia were at Brauron, not at Aulis. Euphorion, "At Brauron by the sea is the cenotaph of Iphigeneia." Agamemnon seems to have sacrificed Iphigeneia at Brauron, not at Aulis, and to have killed a bear instead of her, not a deer. Wherefore they celebrate a mystery in her honour.'*¹¹⁵



6. Statue of a young girl or 'bear' from Brauron, fourth century BCE.

¹¹³ J.D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion* (Malden VS, Oxford VK, Carlton Australia 2005) p. 62.

¹¹⁴ Ekroth 2003, p. 113.

¹¹⁵ This passage is only written in the Leiden manuscript of Aristophanes *Lysistrata*.

See also W. Sale, 'The temple-legends of the Arkteia', *RheinMus* 118 (1975) for a study of the different Brauronian legends.

According to Peter Themelis there was an ancient local tradition that placed the Greek fleet to Troy in Brauron instead of in Aulis.¹¹⁶ That way the sacrifice of Iphigeneia also took place there. Iphigeneia's death and burial within the sanctuary would secure her chthonian character. However, Euripides sees Iphigeneia as a priestess of Artemis and a chthonian heroine.¹¹⁷ Iphigeneia was honoured at her legendary heroon or tomb. Some recognize this place as legitimate, for example Papadimitriou, others do not, like Ekroth and Hollinshead.¹¹⁸ It is mentioned that in the seventh century the cave was the tomb of Iphigeneia. Later on, in the classical period, a little temple with a poros-stone foundation was built, because the cave had collapsed. Even the building that was called 'Sacred House', which was built after the collapse of the cave and which replaced the archaic tombs, is mentioned with the worship of Iphigeneia.¹¹⁹ According to Ekroth, if the structures were indeed connected with Iphigeneia, she must have been considered a major recipient of worship and therefore it would be expected that she was highly visible in the rest of the material records from Brauron as well, but that is not the case.¹²⁰ Besides that, there were mainly two types of iconography of Iphigeneia, neither cultic nor related to Brauron. The first is the departure of the Greeks from Aulis and the second is Iphigeneia as a priestess in Tauris.¹²¹

Besides the literary tradition of Euripides there is another reason to place Iphigeneia in Brauron.¹²² It was the presence of Hekate, whom entered Greece in the archaic period and was a protectress of women and children and a leader of the restless death. Hekate was also dealing with the negative sides of delivery. She was connected with dying virgins and often also connected with Artemis. Perhaps the presence of Hekate made it possible for Euripides to place Iphigeneia in Brauron too.

¹¹⁶ Themelis 1971, p. 11; Ekroth 2003, p. 63.

The same tradition is mentioned by C.C.J. Griffioen in 'Berejacht in Brauron. Rite en mythe in het heiligdom van Artemis', *Hermeneus* 66 5 (1994) p. 311. And also by W. Sale 1975, p. 271-272.

¹¹⁷ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1463-1467. See appendix 2.

Themelis 1971, p.24-26.

¹¹⁸ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 115; Ekroth 2003, p. 74-82; Hollinshead 1980, p. 33-34, 103-104; 1985 p. 425.

¹¹⁹ Ekroth 2003, p. 74-75.

Illustration 2, number 8.

¹²⁰ Ekroth 2003, p. 70.

¹²¹ Ekroth 2003, p. 72 n. 60.

¹²² Ekroth 2003, p. 99-100.

3.2 Halai Araphenides/Loutsas

The worshippers at the Artemis sanctuary in the ancient *deme* of Halai Araphenides, modern Loutsas, honoured a very different Artemis than the worshippers at the sanctuary in Brauron.¹²³ Halai Araphenides is situated about six kilometres north of Brauron on the northern edge of the seaside town of Loutsas.¹²⁴ Different sources also place Iphigeneia in Halai, but there are no archaeological finds, nor a clear literary tradition that confirms that Iphigeneia was worshipped here. However, it should be noted that the sanctuary was only partially excavated.¹²⁵ Travlos places Iphigeneia with certainty in Halai.¹²⁶ He based his conclusion on Iphigeneia's close relationship with Artemis in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*¹²⁷ and on the connection that is made between Artemis and Iphigeneia in Brauron. Besides that, another reason to place Iphigeneia in Halai Araphenides is the chthonic background of Artemis Tauropolos.¹²⁸ Unfortunately these aspects are only confirmed by Euripides' association of Artemis with humanly sacrifices and the imitation ritual that goes with it. Kahil even goes further and accounts a little structure of the sanctuary in Halai as a *heroon* of Iphigeneia.¹²⁹

3.2.1 Architecture

The temple in Halai is the only recognizable structure for which there is definite published information.¹³⁰ Travlos dates the temple to the fifth century but does not discuss his reasons.¹³¹ According to Hollinshead nothing could be seen of the temple below the second step of the krepidoma.¹³² The second step was preserved around the western half of the temple, except for the southwest corner. Four stylobate blocks were visible in the middle of the south flank, as well as fragments of two stylobate blocks on the west, and two blocks and fragments of a third, in the middle of the north side, all belonging to the stylobate. A close look at the stylobate blocks on the south side revealed a clear outline of one column and the

¹²³ Hollinshead 1985, p. 428.

¹²⁴ See appendix 1 for a map of Central Greece.

¹²⁵ For an overview of the cult of Artemis at Halai Araphenides from 800-600 see also Van den Eijnde 2010, p. 217.

¹²⁶ I.N. Travlos, 'Treis naoi tes Artémidos Aulidías, Tauropolóu kai Brauronias', in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern. Internationales Symposium in Olympia vom 10. bis 12. Oktober 1974, anlässlich der hundertjahrfeier der Abteilung Athen und der deutschen Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Tübingen 1976) p. 198, 205.

¹²⁷ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1464. See appendix 2.

W. Rouse mentions that women who died in childbirth dedicated their clothes and left them at the grave of Iphigeneia in Halai.

¹²⁸ Hollinshead 1985, p. 428.

¹²⁹ Kahil 1977, p. 88, 96; 1983, p. 232-233.

¹³⁰ M.B. Hollinshead, *Legend, cult, and architecture at three sanctuaries of Artemis* (London 1980) p. 70-71.

¹³¹ Travlos 1988, p. 211.

¹³² Hollinshead 1980, p. 70.

outline of part of an adjacent column. There were traces of what may have been pebble paving in the middle of both north and south flanks, in both cases lying immediately inside the preserved stylobate blocks. The temple seems to have been made entirely of grey poros. All the visible blocks, including the stylobate, are of this material, and occasional small fragments of the same stone lay scattered about the area. No blocks with a worked surface were found. Two fragments of Doric columns, distinguished by their flutes, were removed from the site to the offices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1968, for the purposes of preservation.

The outline of the cella and its cross wall could be seen, but it is less regular than the lines of the steps.¹³³ Neither the foundations of the cross wall in the western half nor those of the wall at either end were bonded to those of the longer east-west walls of the chamber. In fact, the cross wall and the east wall both appeared to have had only a loose association with the main cella walls, and in the excavators' plan they look to be composed of re-used blocks. They could conceivably be later additions. A single square block lay in the southwest corner of the eastern sector of the cella. Its surface was about 0.10 meter higher than the level of the foundation blocks of the cella walls. The blocks of the cross wall beside it looked as if they might have been trimmed to make room for this enigmatic piece.

According to the excavators, the temple measures 14 by 21 meter at the bottom step, and 12.20 meter by 19.30 meter at the stylobate.¹³⁴ The cella is given as seven by thirteen meter. They would reconstruct the building as a peripteral temple with six by thirteen columns. If the temple faced east, its cella was unusual in plan.¹³⁵ It appears to have had two rooms, a long eastern chamber, and a relatively short room west of it. One cannot tell from the foundations whether there were any columns associated with the cella. The cross wall and east wall look in plan like additions, perhaps the cella was originally one long rectangular room with no porches and no partition walls. The cella was thus divided and closed at a later stage.¹³⁶ The line of irregular blocks across the east end indicates that something required support, whether it were columns in antis, a grille or returns of the cella wall with a doorway in the centre is unknown. Neither this wall, nor the partition wall which defines a small back room is bonded to the cella wall, suggesting that they were not a part of the initial construction. This impression is reinforced by the re-used appearance of the blocks. On the

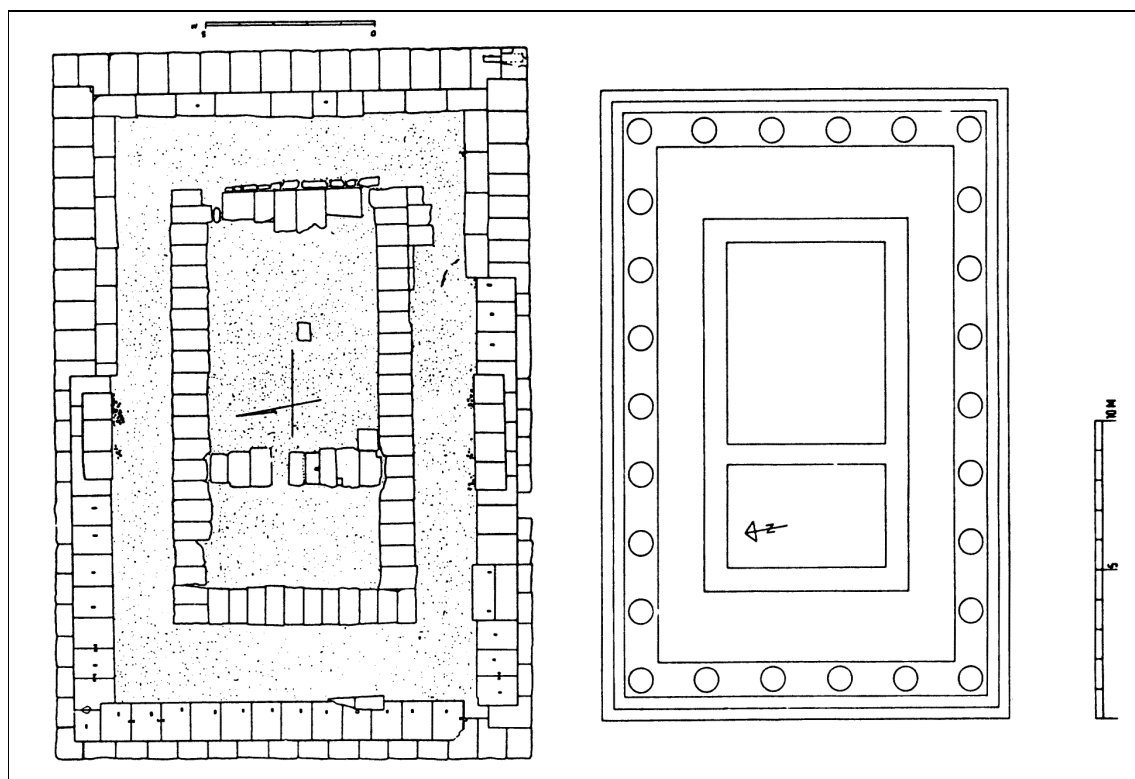
¹³³ Hollinshead 1980, p. 71-72.

¹³⁴ Hollinshead 1980, p. 72.

¹³⁵ Hollinshead 1980, p. 72-73.

¹³⁶ Hollinshead 1985, p. 436-437.

other hand, the back wall of the cella is not bonded with the flank walls either, so that tightly interlocking masonry was clearly not of great concern to those who constructed the cella unit.



7. Temple of Artemis in Halai Araphenides, actual state and restored plan.

The created adyton within the cella would have been very small, circa three by five meters.¹³⁷ According to Travlos, that was the chamber for the revered Tauric image, the statue of Artemis which Athena sent to Halai with Orestes.¹³⁸ While it is possible that the image was kept in this inner room, however, archaeological evidence throughout Greece indicates that cult statues in Greek temples were located in the cella.¹³⁹ Statue bases are more commonly found in cellas than within the inner rooms. More important is the physical evidence that the cross wall which defined the inner chamber was apparently not an integral part of the original plan for the temple. If a special ritual took place here, it was not a major consideration when the temple was first designed with the cella a single rectangular room without porches or subdivisions. Once built, the cella was partitioned to meet some utilitarian purpose rather than to serve a different cultic function. By analogy with Brauron, the inner room at Halai might have been enclosed for the purpose of storage.

¹³⁷ Hollinshead 1985, p. 437-438.

¹³⁸ Travlos 1976, p. 204.

¹³⁹ Hollinshead 1985, p. 437.

3.2.2 Archaeological finds

From his initial cleaning of the temple foundations, Papadimitriou reported fifth and fourth century pottery and terracotta figurines datable to the sixth and fifth centuries.¹⁴⁰ More specifically, after the second season of excavation he noted that none of the pottery found beside the lowest step on the east side of the temple could be dated later than the fourth century. Older shards were found by the wall next to the south side.

Papadimitriou's excavations were very restricted and few movable finds were discovered.¹⁴¹ Beside some ancient blocks on the beach east of the temple, shards are identified ranging in date from early fifth to the second century. Kahil adds '*... de nouvelles fouilles effectuées par l'épimélète P. Themelis a Halai Araphenides (l'actuelle Loutsas), dans un petit sanctuaire... ont donné de nombreux fragments de cratériques avec des figurations très semblables à celles des exemplaires de Brauron.*'¹⁴² Very few sculptural remains have come to light at Halai too.¹⁴³ According to Hollinshead described Papadimitriou a marble base holding the lower part of a marble three-sided dedication on the north side of the temple. From circa two kilometres south of the temple came a fragment of an archaic relief representing part of an arm and perhaps a thigh of a draped female figure. Of the goddess Artemis Tauropolos, the 'bull-goddess', there are a few certain representations, chiefly on coins.¹⁴⁴ However the bull-goddess is well known in literature.

*'Tauropolia. Artemis, the one honoured among the Taurians of Scythia. In part, the one who is protectress of small flocks. Or because she is the same (goddess) as the moon, and rides bulls, whom they also call bull-face. Surely, then, the bull-tender launched you against the herd-cattle: for they hypothesize that many of those who are mad are sick from the moon because of the moon's being in charge of nocturnal appearances.'*¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Hollinshead 1980, p. 73.

¹⁴¹ Hollinshead 1980, p. 74.

¹⁴² Kahil 1983, p. 88 and 96 n. 23.

¹⁴³ Hollinshead 1980, p. 74-75.

¹⁴⁴ Farnell 1896, p. 529.

¹⁴⁵ Suda (Byzantine Greek Lexicon tenth century CE); Hollinshead 1980, p. 227.

Artemis was not identified by a toponymous epithet at Halai Araphenides as she was at Brauron.¹⁴⁶ It is therefore necessary to establish the goddess' connection with the site as well as to verify that the remains in question represent Halai Araphenides. Literary references to the festival of the Tauropolia aid in this proof and also provide clues about what went on in this sanctuary. Euripides' aition for the worship of Artemis Tauropolos in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1446-1461 influenced later literature to such an extent that the pre-Euripidean references are important to see this goddess separately from those which postdate the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. Euripides indicates that there was a temple of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai Araphenides in Attica. Callimachus, although he does not specify the goddess by epithet, also places Artemis at Halai Araphenides, and his allusion to her association with the Tauri of Scythia implies that Artemis Tauropolos is to be understood.¹⁴⁷ More circumstantial evidence is provided by Stephanus of Byzantium (fifth century CE), who mentions no goddess, but links Halai Araphenides with a play by Menander.¹⁴⁸ Less imagination is required to see that all of the ancient references to Halai Araphenides locate it, explicitly or implicitly, in Attica. Within the references, the nature of Artemis Tauropolos is something of a mystery, because it is not known exactly what the epithet Tauropolos was supposed to mean. Linguistically, it would seem to describe one associated with bulls, as rider, tender, or hunter.

The votives that were found at the south of the temple show the place of worship in the sixth and fifth century.¹⁴⁹ The shards from the landfill of the temple are mainly from the fifth and fourth century. Across the cult place, Alexandri found buildings and an old street. The ancient settlement was just across the street from the temple.

Krateriskoi have been found in Halai Araphenides as well as in Brauron.¹⁵⁰ Fragments of krateriskoi were found in a small structure near the temple of Artemis, excavated by Themelis. Kahil identified this structure as a heroon for Iphigeneia, to accompany the temple of Artemis Tauropolos.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Hollinshead 1980, p. 84.

¹⁴⁷ Hollinshead 1980, p. 84-85.

Callimachus, *Hymn III* 170-176 (third century). Translation A.W. Mair, *Callimachus and Lycophron Aratus* (New York 1921). See appendix 3.

¹⁴⁸ Menander, *The Arbitrants* 451-454 (fourth century). Translation F.G. Allison, *Menander* (New York 1921). See appendix 4 and 5.

¹⁴⁹ A. Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas von 950 bis 400 v. Chr.* (Frankfurt am Main 1996) p. 68.

¹⁵⁰ Nielsen 2009, p. 88.

¹⁵¹ Nielsen 2009, p. 111; Hollinshead 1980, p. 105; Kahil 1983, p. 232-233.

3.2.3 Use of the sanctuary

Myths about Artemis tell of an angry goddess who must be appeased.¹⁵² At Aulis, Agamemnon is said to have outraged Artemis by killing her sacred stag, causing her to demand the sacrifice of his daughter, Iphigeneia. In some versions of this story, Iphigeneia perished at the altar, in others she was saved by Artemis and made immortal or spirited away to a distant land. Herodotus wrote of the barbarian Tauroi on the shores of the Black Sea, who sacrificed strangers to a goddess they called Iphigeneia or Parthenos (the maiden or virgin).¹⁵³ His account may have inspired Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* in which Orestes discovers his sister serving as a priestess of Artemis in the land of the Tauroi. Obeying the oracle, Orestes and Iphigeneia escaped the barbarians and brought the barbarian statue of Artemis Tauropolos to Attica, where it was installed in a temple at Halai Araphenides.¹⁵⁴ There a strange rite of bloodletting took place: a sword is held to a man's throat in order to draw a small amount of blood, 'so that the goddess may have her proper honours'.¹⁵⁵ This practice may have been a form of human sacrifice, though there is no additional evidence for this.¹⁵⁶ What it does demonstrate is the mysterious and savage aspect of the goddess and the belief that she desired such sacrifices. While it is unclear whether or not the Greeks actually practiced human sacrifice, the concept was deeply embedded in their culture.

The inhabitants of Halai celebrated a public festival in honour of the goddess.¹⁵⁷ The Tauropolia were a major civic festival and Artemis Tauropolos was the primary civic deity. It was in her sanctuary that two extant honorary decrees were to be set up. The awards to the benefactors of Halai involved public honours at the competitions of the Tauropolia. No specific favours to Artemis Tauropolos are enumerated, but the festival of the Tauropolia, like other festivals of Artemis involved dancing at night by choruses of young girls.¹⁵⁸ The ritual which pertained to the festival, involved the sacrifice of a man.

*'When the people celebrate the feast, in memory of your nearly being sacrificed, let someone hold a sword to a man's neck and draw blood, for an appeasement and so that the goddess may be honoured.'*¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² Larson 2007, p. 104-105.

¹⁵³ Herodotus, *IV* 103 (fifth century BCE). Translation A.D. Godley, *Herodotus 2* (New York 1928).

See appendix 6.

¹⁵⁴ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1446-1461. See appendix 2.

¹⁵⁵ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1459-1461. See appendix 2.

¹⁵⁶ Larson 2007, p. 104-105.

¹⁵⁷ Hollinshead 1980, p. 92.

¹⁵⁸ H. Lloyd-Jones, 'Artemis and Iphigeneia', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103 (1983) p. 92.

¹⁵⁹ Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1458. See appendix 2.

Among the events of the Tauropolia was a nocturnal dance, probably all female, and perhaps limited to virgins. The original occasion for the Tauropolia is unknown. Perhaps it was tied in with worship of a bull-related Artemis. Or it might have been an old tradition of actual human sacrifice.¹⁶⁰

Apart from the Tauropolia, there is a discussion about the existence of Arkteia in Halai Araphenides. Tzanetou combines the stories of Iphigeneia and Orestes and concludes that the similarities might as well have occurred in their worship.¹⁶¹ Both were to be offered, the one in Aulis, the other in Tauris. The association of the Arkteia with Iphigeneia at Brauron combined with their near-sacrifice united Iphigeneia's and Orestes' ritual experience. This 'brother and sister' rite could as well have been interpreted as a variation of a girl's rite of passage. Therefore it might not be surprising when there were in fact Arkteia in Halai too.

3.2.4 Iphigeneia

*'When the fleet had gathered a second time at Aulis, Agamemnon while hunting shot a stag and boasted that he was better than Artemis. So the goddess was angry and sent storms to hold them back from sailing. Kalchas explained the anger of the goddess and ordered the sacrifice of Iphigeneia to Artemis. This they undertake to do, and send for her as though she were to be a bride for Achilles. But Artemis snatches her away and conveys her to the Tauroi and makes her immortal, and sets a stag in place of the maiden beside the altar.'*¹⁶²

If and when Iphigeneia was transported to Tauris and later fled with her brother Orestes remains uncertain. No Iphigeneia, neither daughter nor deity, is documented at Halai.¹⁶³ It is even doubtful that this part of the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* was included in the original text.¹⁶⁴ Besides that, it is possible that the statue, which was brought to Halai, was in fact a real religious statue, but at the same time it could be a literary invention as well.¹⁶⁵ Within the archaeological finds of Halai was indeed a statue, that was old enough to complete the legend and it was of a movable size. Furthermore there is a lack of archaeological or epigraphical proof for Iphigeneia in Halai. Travlos assigned Iphigeneia to this site on the grounds of her

¹⁶⁰ Hollinshead 1980, p. 93.

¹⁶¹ A. Tzanetou, 'Almost Dying, Dying Twice: Ritual and Audience in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, *Illinois Classical Studies* 24-25 (1999-2000) p. 200.

¹⁶² Stasinus, *Kypria* 135-143. Vertaling door: G.L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (Cambridge Massachutes 1969) p. 127-128.

¹⁶³ Hollinshead 1985, p. 439.

¹⁶⁴ The discussion about its origin is mentioned in Hollinshead 1985, p. 422.

¹⁶⁵ Hollinshead 1985, p. 429.

closeness to Artemis at Brauron and on the account of the chthonian character of Artemis Tauropolos.¹⁶⁶ That character is based on Euripides' associations with human sacrifice and the corresponding ritual imitation. As has been mentioned before, Kahil even proposed the small structure at Halai to be a heroon of Iphigeneia.¹⁶⁷

3.3 Mounichia

Piraeus, as part of Athens, held another important sanctuary of Artemis.¹⁶⁸ The sanctuary was located on the Mounichia hill, overlooking the harbour of the same name.¹⁶⁹ The ruins have been more or less spoiled in modern times, but some results of renewed excavations have been of significance.¹⁷⁰ In particular the fact that fragments of the same krateriskoi have been found here as at the other Artemis sanctuaries in Attica. The cult which took place here is unknown, but there are some stories that were told about the origins of it.

*'Peiraieos was previously an island. This, in fact, is how it got its name: from the crossing (diaperan). Mounykhos, who possessed its headlands, established a shrine of Artemis Mounykhia. After a female bear appeared in it and was done away with by the Athenians a famine ensued, and the god prophesied the means of relieving the famine: someone had to sacrifice his daughter to the goddess. Embaros was the only one who undertook to do so, on the grounds that his family held the priesthood for life. He had his daughter adorned but then hid her in the same [shrine or adyton], and dressed a goat up in her clothing and sacrificed it as though it were his daughter.'*¹⁷¹

The worship of Artemis at Mounichia, in its primitive form, seems to have had no reference to the sea.¹⁷² The cult of Mounichia was connected with Artemis Tauropolos of Halai Araphenides and the Brauronian worship of Artemis.¹⁷³ On one of the coins of Pygeia, the head of Artemis Mounichia is shown on the obverse; on the reverse the figure of a bull charging is shown. In connection with the cult, the obscure and almost legendary account of

¹⁶⁶ Hollinshead 1985, p. 428.

¹⁶⁷ See also pages 24 and 28.

¹⁶⁸ J. Mejer, 'Artemis in Athens', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (ed.), *Acta Hyperborea 12: From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen 2009) p. 66.

¹⁶⁹ See appendix 1 for a map of Central Greece.

¹⁷⁰ For an overview of the cult of Artemis at Mounichia from 1000-600 see also Van den Eijnde 2010, p. 227-230.

¹⁷¹ Suda s.v., *Embaros eimi* (Byzantine Greek Lexicon tenth century CE).

¹⁷² L.R. Farnell 1896, p. 431.

¹⁷³ L.R. Farnell 1896, p. 452.

the Tauric Artemis can be noticed. Whether the ritual of Artemis Mounichia, who was closely associated with the Braurion goddess, contained an allusion to the agricultural Tauropolos is uncertain. The sacred ‘amphiphontes’ was only used in the Mounichian sacrifice, which appeared to have been cakes stamped with torches.

3.3.1 Architecture

‘The Athenians have also another harbour, at Munychia, with a temple of Artemis of Munychia, and yet another at Phalerum, as I have already stated, and near it is a sanctuary of Demeter.’¹⁷⁴

The first building activity is dated to the archaic times, to which three retaining wall sections are counted.¹⁷⁵ All the other architectural findings are said to be a restoration of the fourth century. On the south side section of the wall there is another building found, most probably a hall. In the fourth century there have been several alterations to the sanctuary. The temple for Artemis Mounichia most probably stood on a terrace, the highest point of the peninsula.

The old temple has not been found and the sanctuary is very poorly preserved.¹⁷⁶ It is therefore uncertain whether or not the Mounichian temple had an adyton. It is highly probable that these installations were typical of Artemis sanctuaries from ancient times, since the other Artemis temples of this type were furnished with adyta. Both the temple of Artemis Tauropolos in Halai Araphenides and the temple of Artemis in Brauron were furnished with an adyton. One may imagine that part of the initiation, which often included a ritual death and may have been connected somehow with the tomb of Iphigeneia, took place in the adyton. Travlos has studied the three temples and related them to Iphigeneia.¹⁷⁷ Hollinshead disagrees and sees neither a common function of these inner rooms in the temples, nor a connection between the sanctuaries and Iphigeneia.¹⁷⁸ However, the presence of adyta in at least the two temples of Brauron and Halai Araphenides was apparently crucial to the cult and played an important role in the rituals.

¹⁷⁴ Pausanias, I.1.4.

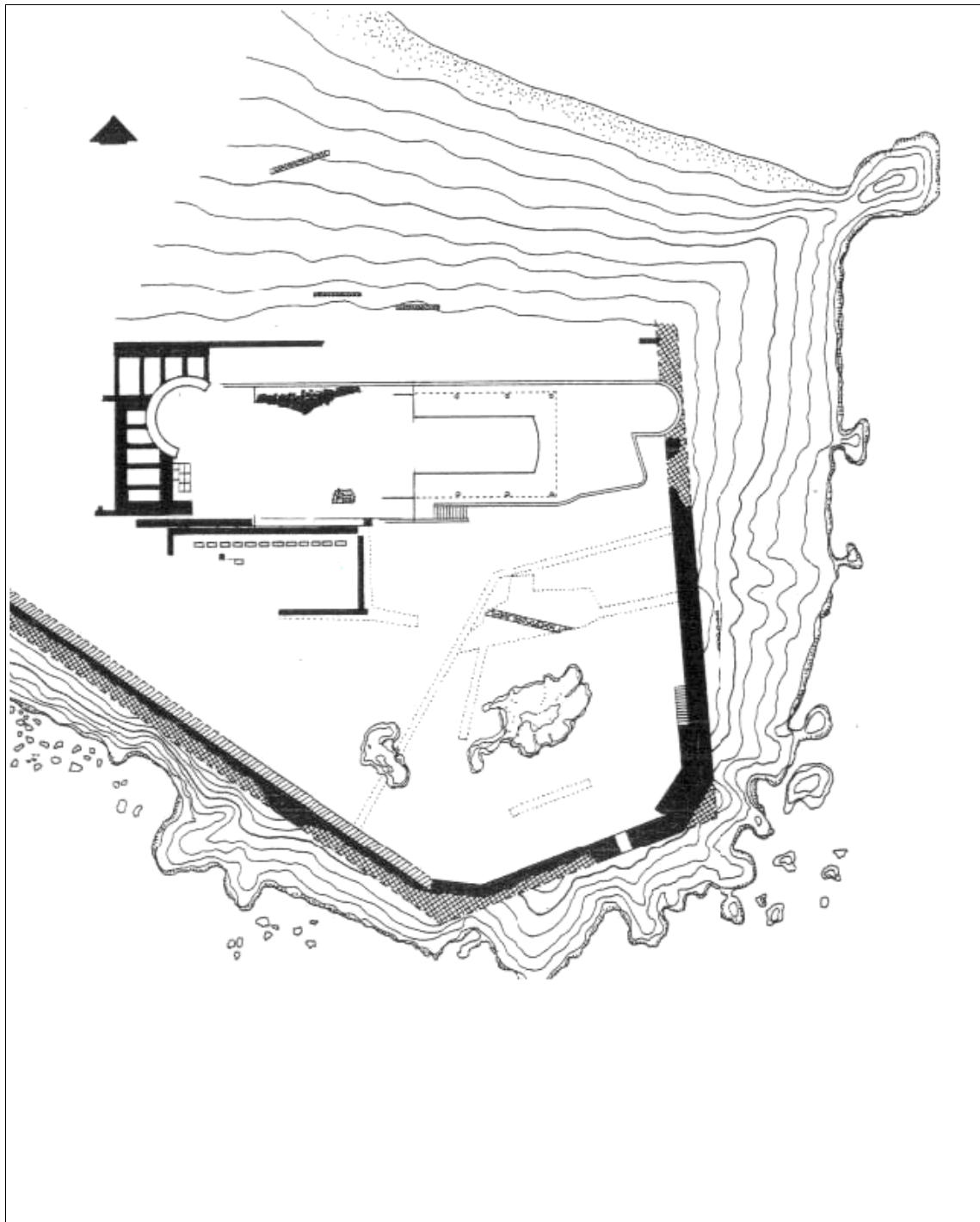
¹⁷⁵ L. Palaiokrassa, ‘Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Munichia’, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athenische Abteilung 104* (Berlin 1989) p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Nielsen 2009, p. 109-111.

¹⁷⁷ Travlos 1988, p. 55-80, 211-215 and 340-353.

¹⁷⁸ Hollinshead 1985.

What has been found in the sacred area so far is a part of the Themistoklean wall, which was built to protect the port of Piraeus. The wall was built between 493/2 and 470 and was excavated in 1967.¹⁷⁹



8. Sanctuary of Artemis in Mounichia with the Themistoklean wall.

¹⁷⁹ Travlos 1988, p. 341.

3.3.2 Archaeological finds

The sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia, in the hill of Koumoundourou in the Piraeus, was founded in the tenth century, according to the shards.¹⁸⁰ It was intensified in the eighth and seventh century. There are a lot of finds of pottery and clay figures dated in this period. It is possible that the site of Mounichia was in continuous use since the Neolithic times until the early Iron times. There is a gap between the end of the Middle Helladic time until the Protogeometric time, although there are a couple of Mycenaean finds such as terracotta figurines. After these periods, there is pottery found of the archaic, classical and Hellenistic times.¹⁸¹

There have been found numerous krateriskoi of the sixth and fifth century in the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia.¹⁸² Several myths aim to explain these strange rites of passage.¹⁸³ These myths involved bears, young girls and sacrifices of substitutes. What provoked it all was the killing of a sacred bear that belonged to Artemis. In Mounichia a sacrifice of a substitute, a goat that took the place of a girl, is chosen. Important is the mention of an adyton in the temple of Artemis Mounichia, where the girl's father, Embaros, hid the girl, while a goat took her place.



9. Fragments of Krateriskoi from the sanctuary of Artemis at Mounichia, Piraeus Museum.

The statues found in Mounichia are an archaic torso, fragments of little statues, pieces of hands and feet of human bodies, fragments of statues of young people, and the head and

¹⁸⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p. 315.

¹⁸¹ Palaiokrassa 1989, p. 15.

¹⁸² Nielsen 2009, p. 83.

¹⁸³ Nielsen 2009, p. 86.

fragments of an Artemis statue.¹⁸⁴ The fragments of statues of young people are similar to the ones found in Brauron. The most important finds are the three fragments of reliefs in pentetelic marble. Two of these fragments show parts of the legs of deer, therefore, Artemis is said to be the protectress of animals in Mounichia as well.

3.3.3 Use of the sanctuary

Artemis was honoured in Mounichia as the goddess of fertility, the protectress of children, ephebes and young women.¹⁸⁵ Her cult was linked with initiation rites and customs of which the Arkteia were the most important. The bear was in the cult directly connected to Artemis as goddess of fertility. Therefore, Artemis Mounichia was the protectress of newly weds and their (unborn) children.

According to Suda there was a bear killed in this sanctuary as well as in Brauron.¹⁸⁶ This is all the factual information there is about Mounichia. The bear and goat are in both cults mentioned in connection with Artemis, but they by themselves do not say anything about the rites that were performed in the sanctuaries.

The Athenians celebrate the Mounichia on the sixteenth of the month Mounichion (April) and at the same time they celebrated the victory of Salamis, which took place at the same date. The Artemis celebration is found in connection with an important event in Athenian history. Normally Artemis' holy day was the sixth, but the sixteenth was the time of the full moon, and Artemis Mounichia was originally a moon goddess.¹⁸⁷ That is shown by the offerings which were brought to her in the festival procession. People brought cakes (*amphiphontes*) with lighted candles (little torches, *dadia*) to the goddess, and in the Hellenistic period the *ephebes* held a regatta culminating in a race at sea around the peninsula. The fact that the cakes were decorated with candles may indicate that this part of the celebration took place at night, just as some of the events portrayed on the Brauron krateriskoi present torches.

¹⁸⁴ Palaiokrassa 1989, p. 9.

¹⁸⁵ Palaiokrassa 1989, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ Suda s.v., *Embaros eimi*, see page 31.

Mejer 2009, p. 66.

¹⁸⁷ Simon 1983, p. 81-82.

3.3.4 Iphigeneia

Iphigeneia has no known direct connection with either cult or myth at Mounichia.¹⁸⁸ However, its myth is remarkably similar to that of Aulis. Several versions of the Mounichia myth go back to an explanation of a proverb which was written by or before Pausanias. The source is valuable in a way that it embodies traditional material, but also limited because, despite all the authors who follow it, it still is only one source, uninterested in expounding the whole cult-myth. It intended only enough to explain the proverb. Brauron also has a myth.

*'I was a Bear at the Brauronia: women doing the Bear ritual used to perform the festival for Artemis, dressed in the krokōtos, aged between 5 and 10, placating the goddess. For there was a wild bear about in the deme Philaidai [where Brauron was] and it was tamed and lived with men (another source tells us: 'it was given to the shrine of Artemis'). But a girl poked fun at it, with her lack of restraint upset it, and it scratched her. This angered her brothers and they shot the bear, as a result of which a plague befell the Athenians. The Athenians consulted an oracle and it said their ills would end if, as a penalty for killing the bear, they made their maidens do the Bear-ritual. And the Athenians voted that no girl should be married to a man without performing the Bear-ritual to the goddess.'*¹⁸⁹

There is a difference between the Attic myths of Mounichia and the one of Brauron mentioned above.¹⁹⁰ Although the earlier parts of the two myths coincide: there is a bear at Mounichia and Brauron, it injures a girl or it is just a public nuisance, and it is therefore killed. Then follows a famine or plague and an oracle is consulted. Brauron had the tomb of Iphigeneia, she was a priestess, perhaps even the first priestess of Artemis there. There is even a myth of a man sacrificing his daughter. The story of Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigeneia is re-sited in Brauron. At Mounichia there was a myth about the institution of Arkteia. The bear in this myth is the best evidence for that. However, there was no need for an oracle overtly demanding the Arkteia within the myth itself. The myth after all includes the bear, the substitute sacrifice, the dressing up and the hiding away of a girl. Both myths also relate that the inhabitants, or the relatives of the killer of the bear, appeased the goddess with the

¹⁸⁸ K. Dowden, *Death and the maiden; Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London/New York 1989) p. 20-21.

¹⁸⁹ Suda s.v., *Arktos e Brauroniois* (Byzantine Greek Lexicon tenth century CE).

¹⁹⁰ Dowden 1989, p. 22.

following rite.¹⁹¹ Their unmarried daughters served in the sanctuary for a time, during which they were called arktoi, and the rite which they performed was called Arkteia. This rite is shown on the krateriskoi that have been found in all Attic and Athenian sanctuaries of Artemis (Halai, Mounichia, and Brauron, but also for example Aristoboule in Athens). In the fifth century the whole populace took part in the Arkteia and sent their young daughters to be arktoi. The cause of the spread of this rite from Brauron all over Attica is according to Simon to be found in the Persian wars, when Artemis was the main supporter of Athena's town and thereafter became one of the most important deities of the state.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Simon 1983, p. 86.

¹⁹² Simon 1983, p. 86.

4. Analysis

4.1 Comparison of the three cults

To the eighth and the seventh centuries belongs the earliest archaeological evidence of worship in many of the sanctuaries in Attica.¹⁹³ Many of these sanctuaries were in later times adorned with temples and sculptures. In this early period, cult activity was expressed in modest votives, usually clay plaques, bronze or terracotta figurines, miniature vases, and small items of jewellery in ivory, bone, or semi-precious stones. The same goes more or less for the three main cults of Artemis in Attica. The worship in these three cults began for Mounichia in the tenth and for Brauron and Halai Araphenides in the eighth century. Since the seventh century the cults flourished and increased. The use of the sanctuaries intensified. There are several similarities and differences between these three cults and the times in which they were of great importance, which I will discuss in this chapter.

4.1.1 Artemis

Artemis was honoured differently in the three sanctuaries. She represented the traditional protectress of animals and of childbirth in Brauron, a bull-goddess in Halai Araphenides and a moon-goddess in Mounichia. Her background in Halai was chthonic although she did not have any connection to the nearby sea like the Brauronian Artemis. Of the Brauronian Artemis it is said that the main connection of the topographical place to the goddess was the nature and the cave-like area, one of the most traditional associations of Artemis as the goddess of transition and boundaries.¹⁹⁴ The chthonic background however, corresponds with her role as protectress of childbirth in Brauron, because caves were associated with the worship of the goddess of childbirth Eileithya.¹⁹⁵ The same goes for the chthonic origins of Artemis in Halai, because it is questionable if she was a foreign goddess that travelled all the way to Halai or if she was, like Artemis in Brauron, a construction of an ancient goddess with new aspects.¹⁹⁶ The sources about the Tauri, if Artemis was indeed a foreign goddess and travelled from Tauris to Halai, confirmed a wrath for which she demanded a human sacrifice. That way, both Artemis Brauronia and Artemis Tauropolos were honoured with a sacrifice to be satisfied. Artemis Mounichia and Brauron are associated with each other through the bear-myth that appears in both sanctuaries, but whether the bear-ritual was used in Brauron, as well as Mounichia and Halai is still open for debate. The little variation of the story about the

¹⁹³ Camp 2001, p. 26.

¹⁹⁴ See pages 13-14.

¹⁹⁵ Eileithya was also one of the epithets of Artemis.

¹⁹⁶ See page 24.

wrath of Artemis in Brauron and Mounichia and whether or not it was a bear or a goat is of minor importance. Both animals were associated with the goddess and therefore do not provide us with any additional information about the sanctuary and its rites.¹⁹⁷

The epithet of the goddess Artemis Tauropolos explains an aspect of her worship. In Brauron and Mounichia her epithet is of a topographical kind.¹⁹⁸ Artemis Tauropolos is identified with the bull as well as with the moon. Besides that she brings sickness and death. These three functions of Artemis are all displayed in the three cults in Attica, although not every function is presented at each cult. The *Iphigeneia in Tauris* makes it possible to see similar aspects of Artemis worshipped in three very different cults in Attica. According to Herodotus the original worshippers of Artemis Tauropolos, the Tauri, already sacrificed to a deity they called Iphigeneia.¹⁹⁹ It has been thought that that worship was taken with its statue to Halai. Travlos for example placed Iphigeneia in Halai as well as in Brauron.²⁰⁰ In short, there are a lot of similarities, but also a lot of differences in background and worship between the three variations of Artemis.²⁰¹

4.1.2 Architecture

There is a lot of discussion about the architecture of the temples. First it is uncertain if all three temples of Artemis in Attica had an adyton.²⁰² Those adyta could be connected to a predetermined temple form for Artemis, which was a later invention within which the adyton in Halai was added. Another option is that the adyta were connected to the Arkteia, because the girls had to hide or perform part of the ritual there. The Arkteia were certainly celebrated in Brauron and in Mounichia, but there is no source for the Arkteia in Halai.²⁰³ Remarkable is that in this context the adyton of the temple in Halai was a later addition to the temple and was not a part of the original plan. Besides that, the temple of Artemis Mounichia was not found yet so it is uncertain whether or not this temple even had an adyton. The same discussion goes for the purpose of the adyta. In Brauron it was used for storage, because it was inaccessible for safe storage of precious objects of which there must have been a lot in this popular sanctuary. The same is said of the adyton in Halai, but if, as we have seen, we believe Travlos' interpretation of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* it is also possible that the

¹⁹⁷ See pages 9 and 11.

¹⁹⁸ See appendix 1.

¹⁹⁹ See appendix 4.

²⁰⁰ Travlos 1976, p. 198, 205. See also pages 30-31.

²⁰¹ See page 30-31.

²⁰² See illustrations 3, 7, 8.

²⁰³ See pages 20-21, 30 and 35-36.

cult statue of Artemis Tauropolos was placed within the adyton.²⁰⁴ It was a more common use to place the cult statues in the middle of the back wall of the cella. The adyta made it more complex to place the statues at the back wall of the cella, because that would make it impossible to access the adyta. Unless, the access of the adyta was at either the left or the right end of the wall instead of in the middle, the cult statue could be placed at the back wall.

The three temples of Artemis were all built in poros stone. The temple of Brauron had a wooden predecessor and there stood a stone archaic temple before the classical temple was built.²⁰⁵ The archaic and classical temples were both built in the Doric style. The building activity in Brauron was due to the fact that the Erasinos River flooded all the time. The temple of Halai is also built in the Doric order and made out of poros stone. Unfortunately the temple of Mounichia is not found, only the terrace and parts of a retaining wall are found, which was also built in poros stone.²⁰⁶ The three temples show therefore a lot of similarities and probably looked more or less the same.

Brauron, Halai and Mounichia had other buildings within the sanctuaries besides the temples.²⁰⁷ The best known additional structures in Brauron are the stoa and the small sanctuary. According to Papadimitriou that had to be the tomb or heroon of Iphigeneia, because her former tomb, 'the cave', had collapsed.²⁰⁸ Throughout the years, the assumption of Papadimitriou has been called into question, because there are no findings to confirm this assumption. The stoa was a new addition to the sanctuary and probably used as a dining hall. Besides a stoa in Brauron, the Brauronians had a stoa on the Akropolis in Athens too. That is the representation of the special connection between Athens and Brauron, made in the fifth century. Halai had a small structure near the temple for Artemis Tauropolos, which was identified as a heroon for Iphigeneia by Kahil.²⁰⁹ In Mounichia there is found a hall. This hall was probably used as some sort of dining facility as well. The Arkteia could be an explanation as for why such facilities were necessary.

Of specific interest are the measurements of the temple in Halai.²¹⁰ It is said this temple had the same measurements as the one in Brauron, so it should be peripteral. I think it would be logical that when there was indeed a close connection between the sites, the temples would have looked similar. The same goes for the inside adyta. In Brauron the placement of

²⁰⁴ See page 26.

²⁰⁵ See page 15.

²⁰⁶ See page 32.

²⁰⁷ See illustration 3, 8 and page 26.

²⁰⁸ Papadimitriou 1963, p. 115.

²⁰⁹ Kahil 1983, p. 232-233.

²¹⁰ See page 25.

the adyton is quite certain. It was part of the classical temple all along. In Halai the eventual adyton was placed within the cella at later time. This addition to the temple could have been the outcome of the popularity of the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* or of the increasing popularity of the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron since the seventh century. Both temples would be more alike and that would make the story credible. Unfortunately, the lack of findings of the temple in Mounichia makes it hard to have a well argued vision about the architectural connections of the sanctuaries. It is possible to conclude that there was a more or like standard temple suitable for Artemis in all her different Attic guises.

4.1.3 Archaeological finds

All three Artemis sanctuaries have yielded krateriskoi during the excavations.²¹¹ The krateriskoi apparently went into disuse in the fifth century, as they are almost all of earlier times. In Brauron the krateriskoi are mainly found around the temple and the so-called heroon for Iphigeneia. The krateriskoi show images of the rituals of the sanctuary and of the Arkteia. In Halai the krateriskoi were mainly found near the small structure besides the temple.²¹² The link between the krateriskoi and the Arkteia in Brauron is very clear, because the krateriskoi represented the rituals of the sanctuary.²¹³ The krateriskoi in Halai however, are less clarifying because there is no knowledge about possible Arkteia there. The Mounichian sanctuary on the other hand had krateriskoi and Arkteia too. In addition to the krateriskoi there were little statues of boys and girls found in Brauron and Mounichia. The statuettes of little girls were of a kind unusual in Greek art, so they had to represent the person dedicating the statue if they were offered by their siblings. It is striking that some sources mentioned rituals for boys in Halai, but there are no statuettes found to confirm the assumption.²¹⁴

The other archaeological finds show a connection to the popularity of the sanctuaries such as the pottery found in Brauron of the seventh until the fifth century during the intensification of the use of the sanctuary. The pottery shows scenes of mythological stories and of the every day life, especially of women. The finds of objects of the daily life of women found in Brauron are easily explained by the function of the sanctuary and Artemis as protectress of fertility. Besides that, the sanctuary in Brauron was more widely expanded than the ones in Halai and Mounichia, because Brauron was a cult of the Athenian polis, which was also represented by the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Akropolis. The

²¹¹ See pages 19, 28 and 34.

²¹² See page 28.

²¹³ See pages 19-20.

²¹⁴ See page 21 n. 106.

Brauronian sanctuary had more functions to full fill and was therefore visited by more people who had the possibility to offer and dedicate to Artemis. It is not surprising that the sanctuary of Mounichia shows signs of the finds of objects of the daily life of women as well, because Artemis was a fertility goddess there too. The fragments of statues found in Mounichia are of young people, similar to the ones found in Brauron. They are the representation of the Arkteia.

The references to Artemis Tauropolos in Halai Araphenides were merely literary, what might be an explanation for the minimal archaeological finds. The few finds show an intensively used sanctuary between the sixth and the fourth century. At least the votives and the shards do. Perhaps the krateriskoi in Halai are a reference to the Arkteia or initiation rites for young boys, but that is not certain. I like the explanation of Tzanetou that the near-sacrifice of Iphigeneia and Orestes connected them in ritual experience and was in fact a variation of a 'brother and sister' rite of passage.²¹⁵ That could be an indication that there would indeed have been Arkteia in Halai as well.

4.1.4 Use of the Sanctuaries

All three sanctuaries had a festival that was part of the cult. In Brauron there were the Great Brauronia, once every five years, and the yearly Brauronia. Besides these festivals there were the Arkteia and the bear-ritual. Halai with certainty had a public festival of which the occasion is unknown. Perhaps it had something to do with the myth about the human sacrifice, whether or not of Orestes or Iphigeneia. The Mounichian festival was linked to the victory of Salamis and was part of the bear-ritual and corresponding Arkteia and initiation rites. So on the one hand the occasion for the festival of Halai is unknown and on the other the one in Mounichia is open for suggestion. Perhaps this had something to do with the specific aspect of Artemis that was honoured in the sanctuaries. The festivals in Brauron and Mounichia were very clear and the epithets of Artemis in these places are toponymous. In that way the festivals had a connection to the sites and were confirmed within the topography. In Halai, the only connection made to the site is literary, by Euripides and Callimachus. The sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos was the basis of a cult for the inhabitants of the *deme* of Halai Araphenides. Brauron on the other hand was an Athenian polis cult. The cult at Halai served different purposes for a different population, because it was the cult of the *deme* of Halai Araphenides. The cult that took place at Mounichia is unknown.

²¹⁵ See page 30 and Tzanetou 1999-2000.

It is important to notice that dances as the Arkteia had a social function and an added sacrificial one. The Arkteia were the possibility for young men to meet young women and for young women to present their marriageable age. It is not surprising they were performed in Artemis sanctuaries, because she was the goddess of fertility and a protectress of young women. Because all three sanctuaries, Brauron, Halai and Mounichia were sanctuaries for Artemis, it is not strange that the dances were performed in at least two sanctuaries with certainty and perhaps in the third. With the worship of Artemis in Halai and the krateriskoi found there, it is possible to suggest there might have been Arkteia for young boys or young girls as well. That way the krateriskoi in Halai would have been an actual representation of the rituals performed within the sanctuary too. When the exceptionality is added that finding illustrations of rituals performed in the sanctuaries was very rare in Greek art that is another way to illustrate the possible existence of Arkteia in Halai.

4.1.5 Iphigeneia

Of the three main cults of Artemis in Attica it is suggested that there is a connection with Iphigeneia. The myth about the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is replaced in Brauron or could on the other hand just be a variation on the version of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. The rituals in Brauron and Mounichia were alike in terms of the Arkteia. Through these myths there are several interpretations of the mythical and ritual complexes found at the sites and the association with Iphigeneia in Aulis. The connection with Halai however, is uncertain for Iphigeneia, although there is a connection with her brother Orestes. The text of Euripides *Iphigeneia in Tauris* is the only source, and it is even uncertain whether or not the part which includes Halai is original.²¹⁶ It depends on how the recovered statue is interpreted, as the actual statue Orestes brought with him from Tauris or as an interpretation of the literary tradition.²¹⁷ In Mounichia there is no known connection to Iphigeneia, although there is the myth about the institution of the Arkteia, the rite that is also represented on the krateriskoi. In Brauron that rite has a connection to Iphigeneia and therefore there could have been a connection in Mounichia as well, although there is no story about Iphigeneia in Mounichia, just the story of a girl that had to be sacrificed.²¹⁸ Another option is that the krateriskoi were

²¹⁶ See appendix 2.

²¹⁷ See page 30.

²¹⁸ See page 31.

spread from Brauron during the Persian Wars and that the myth about the institution of the Arkteia in Mounichia is based on a misreading of the evidence.²¹⁹

It depends strongly on the interpretation of the work of Euripides whether or not to place Iphigeneia in Brauron and/or Halai and perhaps even in Mounichia. Taking into account that Euripides wrote his play for a festival it becomes apparent that it will have elements of the everyday life of the Greeks, but it will also contain elements which made his story more interesting and exciting. That way the similarities between the sanctuaries concerning Iphigeneia were merely coincidental and had nothing to do with the popularity of the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. The bear-ritual was a special initiation rite combined with the worship of Artemis and even Iphigeneia. This rite was not depending on the topographical location of the cult. Because Halai had a completely different worship of Artemis on the one hand and a similar on the other, the krateriskoi should rather be explained by its closeness to the site of Brauron. Of importance is the human sacrifice which is connected to Iphigeneia and that way connected with Brauron and Mounichia. The myths about Mounichia concern a human sacrifice and are therefore a variation on the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. Another story is the similarity of the krateriskoi in all three cults of Artemis in Attica. When those krateriskoi were indeed spread from Brauron during the Persian Wars, the Athenian worship of Artemis was transferred to Mounichia and Halai. That can not be true, because there is archaeological evidence for the worship of Artemis in earlier times in both Mounichia and Halai. The connection between Brauron and Mounichia is very clear and is found in the Arkteia, which were celebrated in both sanctuaries, and in the story about the sacrifice of a young girl.

The same goes for Orestes, who plays an important part in the legend of Halai. It seems logical that both Iphigeneia and Orestes found their own cult places, because of the task of Athena as is written by Euripides. Had Orestes not killed his mother for her killing his father, brother and sister would never have met again. When indeed there were some initiation rites for boys in Halai that would be an indication for the former 'presence' of Orestes there, rather than a comparison to Iphigeneia in Brauron. However, the little structures in both sanctuaries are said to be a heroon for Iphigeneia. Orestes is not mentioned in any source. Besides that the little structures beheld shards of krateriskoi, the pottery strongly associated with the initiation rites of girls and therefore with Iphigeneia.

²¹⁹ See page 37.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Artemis in Attica

The different forms of Artemis in Attica are an example of the possible varieties of essentially the same divine personality. The initiation rite to which is referred by at least two and which is implied by the third Attic cult for Artemis is part of her worship. In combination with the initiation rite, the sanctuaries have a strong connection to the bloodthirsty goddess, because of the sacrifice and legend of Iphigeneia. The replacement of an offer with an animal refers to Artemis as bloodthirsty goddess and to the protectress of animals and of young people, mainly girls. Although Artemis was a virgin goddess, she was worshipped in Attica as a goddess of fertility a logical combination with the moon goddess whom was associated with the monthly cycle of women. The art of Artemis, where she is seen wearing bow and arrow, is on the other hand a sign of the (sudden) death she brings to animals and humans. The bow and arrow also refer to the goddess of the hunt, one of the earliest associations with Artemis. Artemis as an earth-goddess is referred to by the human birth and the birth of animals. Mothers and their children in all their appearances are a sign of Artemis as a protectress of fertility and childhood. In Brauron she is worshipped as goddess of fertility, but also as goddess of the hunt and additional sacrifices. Both are associated with the aristocratic elite, because hunting was an aristocratic pastime and secondly because it was the aristocratic girls who participated in the Arkteia and then became of marriageable age. The offered or dedicated garments of the women who died in childbirth should also be added as an argument in favour of Artemis as goddess of fertility and young children. In Halai Artemis was bloodthirsty, according to her epithet what shows her origin as goddess of barbarians, but also a goddess of hunt. The Mounichian Artemis is most similar to the one of Brauron. That can be explained through the narrow connection between the two cults, above all through the Arkteia.

The placement of the sanctuaries is also of great importance, because it might be an indication of what kind of divinity is worshipped there. For example the placement of the sanctuary of Brauron nearby a spring shows the worship of Artemis as an earth-goddess and a protectress of children. Simultaneously there is the foreign Artemis in Halai Araphenides which demands human sacrifice and seems to be the bloodthirsty goddess. The human sacrifice was a custom, not of the Greeks, but of the barbarians, in this case the Scythians, of which the Tauri were a part. The sanctuary of Mounichia was placed close to the sea, which represented a territorial border, a characteristic of Artemis the goddess of wild nature.

Taking a closer look at the temples of Artemis in Attica it might be concluded that there was a more or less standard ground plan for the temples.²²⁰ That standard was developed in the fifth century, when the connections between the sanctuaries were getting closer. The closer connections were the result of the popularity of the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. Whether or not they were all sanctuaries of Artemis is not certain. The Artemis, of which all three Attic cults in the fifth century were a variation, would not have existed like that since the founding of the sanctuaries. Later tradition connected the sanctuaries and made them more similar. The adyta were also a local tradition added to the temples of Artemis in Halai and perhaps Mounichia at a later time, although the one in Brauron was part of the original ground plan. Because the sanctuary in Brauron was the most important one in Attica and had close connections with Athens, it is likely that this temple was the model after which the other temples were modified. That also explains why the temple in Halai Araphenides did not have an adyton from the beginning. Local architectural custom beheld the adyta as rooms for storage, especially for the valuable offerings. It is not plausible the cult statues were placed within the adyta, because they were not accessible for all people. In this case the literary tradition could not be entirely true; it seems more plausible the adyta were used for the girls taking part in the Arkteia.²²¹ In Brauron and Mounichia there were Arkteia for young girls. Both of the sanctuaries also had a dining facility, because the girls would have stayed in the sanctuary some time before 'playing the bear'. The found statues of young children are a conformation for the Arkteia too. Halai yielded neither a dining facility nor statues of little boys and girls, which places doubt on the possible Arkteia and the foreign origin of Artemis Tauropolos.

A main point of interest by a close examination of these cults has been the myths and especially the myth or legend of Euripides, the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. Still it is of great importance to remember that these myths were merely a later addition to the cult places, and that they presupposed the existence of the sanctuaries. While studying such great cultic places one should consider which sources are the most credible and reliable for reconstructing the history of the worship of the gods. Within these cult places for Artemis, the archaeological proof for the presence of Iphigeneia is missing and probably does not even exist. She is just part of a later, fifth century, literary tradition. It seems plausible that Euripides based the appearance of Iphigeneia in Brauron on a predecessor (like Hekate) or on an epithet for Artemis connected with childbirth (like Eileithya). The close connection between Brauron and

²²⁰ See illustrations 3 and 7.

²²¹ See pages 16 and 31.

Halai Araphenides and Brauron and Mounichia explains the spread of the myth and the different interpretations and connections of Iphigeneia with Artemis in literary sources. For example the animals that were the substitutes for the little girls in the myths about Brauron and Mounichia were already associated with Artemis, because of her hunting and protecting character. Therefore the knowledge about which animals replaced the girls does not give any additional information about the rites that would later take place in the sanctuaries of Artemis in Attica. It only confirms the association with the goddess and explains why the animals are part of the pottery shards and votives.

It is remarkable that all three sanctuaries of Artemis yielded krateriskoi. Because of these krateriskoi a close connection is said to exist between the sanctuaries and their festivals (the Arkteia) and their legends, especially the ones concerning Iphigeneia and Orestes. The rituals of the festivals were a re-enactment of the death of the sacred animal the one killed before her wrath and the one replacing Iphigeneia in Brauron and Mounichia. The krateriskoi have only been found in the sanctuaries of Artemis and should therefore be a representation of her cult. The krateriskoi were more important as a representation of the cult of Artemis than as a representation of the Arkteia, because Halai did not have Arkteia. Besides the krateriskoi there were found pottery shards and objects representing the life of women as well. This might explain Artemis' great importance for women of all ages, guiding them during their younger years, but also during the years as a married woman.

The festivals of Brauron and Mounichia also had a close connection to Athens. During the Great Brauronia the people of Athens walked in procession from the Akropolis to the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron. There even was the sanctuary for Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Akropolis. In Mounichia the festival for Artemis Mounichia was celebrated at the same time as the victory of Salamis. Although Artemis was of great importance to the city of Athens and had toponymous epitheta in Brauron and Mounichia she stayed the goddess of the nature and outdoors. Her domain was the countryside of Attica.

5.2 How to distinguish the cults of Artemis.

Artemis in Attica is best known as goddess of nature and is therefore connected to especially the deer, bear and goat. This characteristic can also be found in the literary tradition of Attica and the cult of Artemis in Brauron, Halai Araphenides and Mounichia. The archaeological finds also show a different characteristic of the goddess, namely the protectress of young

animals and children. The sanctuaries yielded pottery shards with the life of women and krateriskoi with the Arkteia for young girls. The Arkteia were a commonly known festival in honour of the goddess and showed her care for young girls becoming women. Therefore the statues of young girls and boys are a characteristic for the goddess in Attica too. Perhaps the statues were a characteristic all the more, because they were unusual in Greek art. Artemis was herself also dressed as a young girl, wearing a short chiton and sometimes accompanied by her beloved animals. So Artemis was not just represented as protectress of the young in the archaeological finds, she was one herself although her worship existed since the tenth century in Attica.

The comparison of the three main cults of Artemis in Attica has shown that the different function of the goddess and the corresponding forms are represented in the found materials. The character of Artemis is in all three situations clearly visible in the materials, archaeological as well as literary and shows that however it are three different forms of Artemis, there are a lot of similarities and that she is in essence one.

6. List of Illustrations

Front page. Themelis 1971, p. 21.

1. From Brauron, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece.

2. Ekroth 2003, p. 68.

3. Hollinshead 1985, p. 432.

4. Vanderpool 1963, plate 61 figure 1.

5. Themelis 1971, p. 51.

<http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum1203/29poulkou.htm>

6. Camp 2001, p. 277.

7. Hollinshead 1985, p. 436.

8. Palaiokrassa 1989, p. 4.

9. R. Hamilton, 'Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 58 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1989) plate 83 figure 12 and plate 85 figure 23.

Appendix 1. Based on Hollinshead 1985, p. 420.

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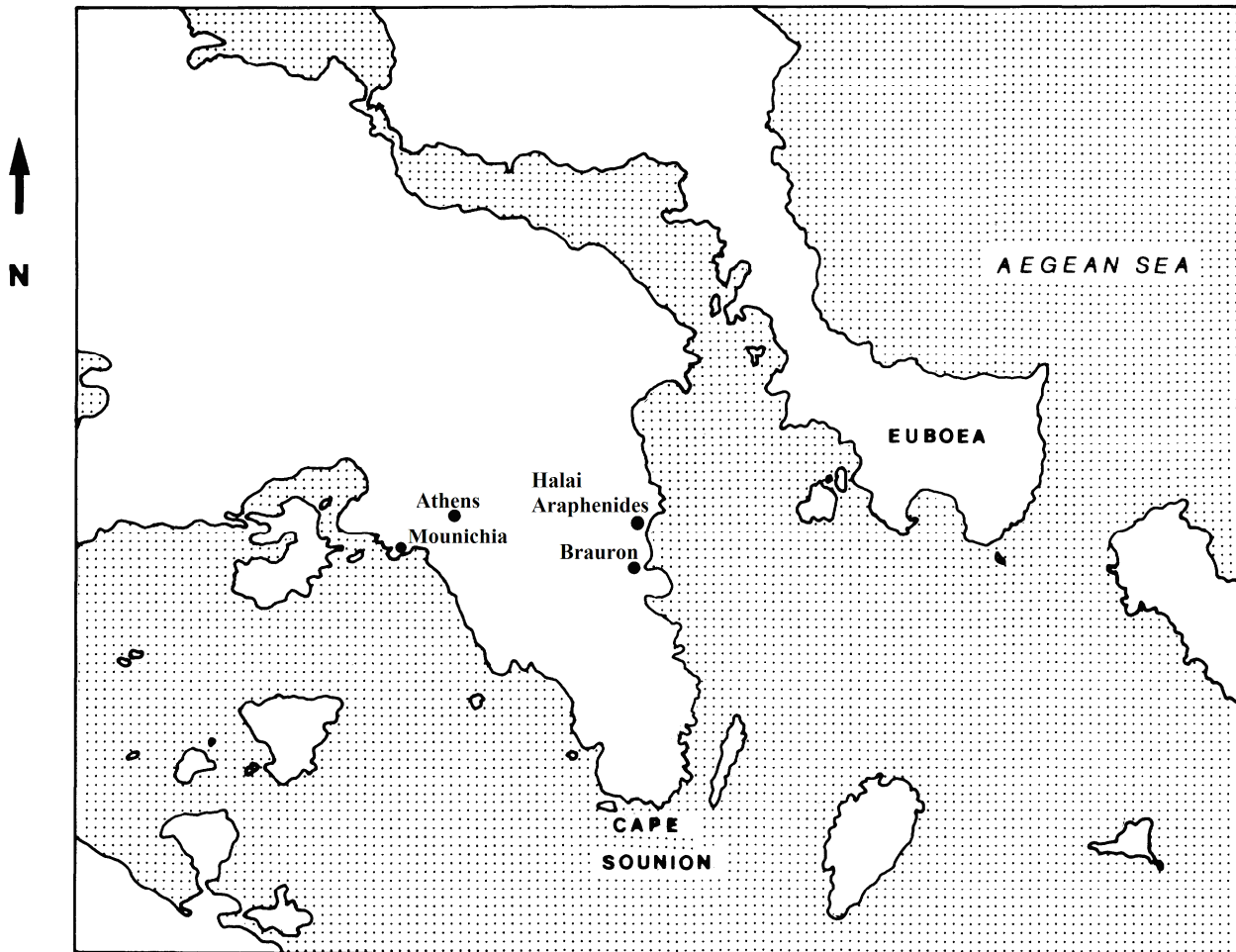
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8. Appendix

8.1

Map of central Greece with the sites of Brauron, Halai Araphenides and Mounichia. Based on a drawing by M.G. Winkes.



8.2

Euripides, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* 1438-1468 (fifth century BCE). Translation R. Lattimore, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (New York 1973).

Athena:

*'By destiny and the decrees of Loxias
Orestes came here, fleeing from the Furies' rage,
to find his sister and to take her home to Argos,
and carry the sacred image to my own country,
for thus they shall be quitted of the present pains.
This is my speech, [...], to you. You mean to kill
Orestes when you catch him on the stormy shore;
but even now Poseidon, to please me, has made
the heaving waters calm, so that his ship can sail.*

*And now, Orestes, study my commands to you,
for you, though far away, can hear the goddess speak.
Proceed, taking the statue with you, and your sister.
But when you come to Athens the divinely built,
you will find there is a place in Attica, the last
before the border, across from the Karystian mount;
a sacred place, which is called Halai by my people.
There found a temple (and install the image there),
named from the Tauric country and your wanderings,
when you laboured hard, ranging through the land of Greece,
stung by the Furies. People for the rest of time
shall sing her praise as Artemis Tauropolos.
Establish there this custom: at the festival,
to atone for your uncompleted sacrifice,
let a sword be held to a man's throat, and blood be drawn,
for religion's sake, so that the goddess may have her rights.*

*And you, Iphigenia, beside the holy stairs
of Brauron, you must hold the keys for the goddess herself.
There you will die and be buried, and – as a delight for you –*

they will dedicate the finely woven material of woven cloth which by chance women having lost their lives in childbirth abandon in their homes. I command you [...] to send forth these Greek women from your country and send them home, due to their correct intentions.'

8.3

Callimachus, *Hymn III* 170-176 (third century BCE). Translation A.W. Mair, *Callimachus and Lycophron Aratus* (New York 1921).

'But when the nymphs encircle thee in the dance, near the springs of Egyptian Inopus or Pitane – for Pitane too is thine – or in Limnae or where, goddess, thou camest from Scythia to dwell, in Alae Araphenides, renouncing the rites of the Tauri, then at the hand of an alien ploughman.'

8.4

Stephanus of Byzantium (fifth century CE). Translation M.B. Hollinshead, *Legend, cult, and architecture at three sanctuaries of Artemis* (London 1980) p. 224.

'Halai Araphenides and Halai Aixonides, demes, one of Aigeis, the other of Aixones of the tribe Kekropis. The demesman of either is without the ï – Halaeus, and Halethen and Helase and Halende. "Xenophantos from Halai said". Trypho, in By-names (says) "(there is) trisyllabic Halaios and tetrasyllabic Halaiaios... just as Lenaios, Lenaieus, Kretaios, Kretaieus". But in the next (passage) he says that according to Attic custom the ï is absent. The deme of Araphen is between Phegeus near Marathon and Brauron; that of Aixones is near the city. There is also a lake away from the sea. "Halai is aspirated, as in the play of Menander, from the disposition of matters at Halai Araphenides, which is a place in Attica".'

8.5

Menander, *The Arbitrants* 451-454 (fourth century BCE). Translation F.G. Allison, *Menander* (New York 1921).

*'Twas at the Tauropolia,
The all-night women's festival, he lost it once.
'Twould seem that it's a question of a maiden wronged
That she gave birth to and of course exposed this child.'*

8.6

Herodotus, *IV* 103 (fifth century BCE). Translation A.D. Godley, *Herodotus* 2 (New York 1928).

*'Among these, the Tauri have the following customs:
all ship-wrecked men, and any Greeks whom they take in
their sea-raiding, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess
as I will show: after the first rites of sacrifice, they
smite the victim on the head with a club; according
to some, they then throw down the body from the cliff
whereon their temple stands, and place the head on a
pole; others agree with this as to the head, but say
that the body is buried, not thrown down from the cliff.
This deity to whom they sacrifice is said by the Tauri
Themselves to be Agamemnon's daughter Iphigeneia.*