

Artemis in Athienou-Malloura, Cyprus:
Revealing Gendered Relationships among Cypriot Deities

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Abstract

The cult of Artemis was introduced to Cyprus from Greece in the mid-fifth century BCE, and by the Hellenistic period it had found a definite niche among the island's other cults. While no sanctuary primarily devoted to the Cypriot incarnation of Artemis has, as yet, been discovered, imagery depicting the goddess is often found in combination with votives representing males, such as the Cypriot Apollo, Herakles, Zeus Ammon, Bes, and Pan. Through a careful examination of votive offerings depicting the major deities at the site of Athienou-*Malloura*, this paper explores the parallels between Artemis and the gods with whom she shares worship space, in order to elucidate their relationship and the proximity of their dedications.

I. Introduction

Cyprus is situated at the confluence of Aegean, Anatolian, Egyptian and Levantine civilizations, and as a result its history must be understood through the interactions between the native Cypriot culture and successive waves of foreign influence. Cyprus's complex and ancient religion is no exception. A number of Cypriot gods and heroes are associated with foreign deities, and while they may be referenced by their Greek or Phoenician theonyms, they should not be considered examples of a homogenous ancient Mediterranean culture.¹ The Cypriot deities and their cults are products of foreign influence melded with local histories and adapted to meet Cypriot needs. Therefore, although gods and heroes such as Pan and Herakles are referenced in Cyprus by their Greek monikers, a nuanced distinction must be understood.

When the cult of the goddess Artemis spread to Cyprus from Greece in the mid-fifth century B.C.E., this syncretism necessarily occurred. By the Hellenistic period, the Cypriot cult of Artemis had grown in popularity and spread across the island.² While no sanctuary solely or even primarily devoted to the goddess has yet been discovered, she is often found in combination with various male deities. In the rural, open-air sanctuary of *Athienou-Malloura* in central Cyprus, votive offerings believed to represent the goddess of the hunt have been found in conjunction with a much higher volume of artifacts depicting the Cypriot Apollo, Herakles, and Pan. This geographical association with male deities seems to contradict Artemis's most basic connotation as a goddess of young women, whom she guards in their premarital, virginal state and later as they undergo childbirth. However, through careful examination of the iconography of *Malloura's* primary deities, this study argues that Artemis fulfilled a particular role in the *Malloura* sanctuary and that her cult served the needs of the rural agrarian community.

¹ Bennett 1980, n.p.

² Sørensen 2009, 195.

Specifically, I suggest that Artemis's affinity for animals and her faunal attributes compare favorably with the iconography of the three major gods also known to have been worshipped at Malloura. As the only identified female deity worshipped at this sanctuary, the goddess's gender alters how this affinity was perceived. The combination of feminine identity and patronage of young animals emphasizes her role as a fertility figure and corresponds to the male *potnios theron*, or "master of animals," type. Artemis's perpetually virginal state enables her to fulfill disparate roles as goddess of the hunt, a specifically male activity, and of fertility, a classically female trait, by separating sexuality from gender and establishing her as a figure of individual power unbridled by males such as those alongside whom she was venerated.

II. The Cult of Artemis, from Greece to Cyprus

The Artemis of the ancient Greek religion is an embodiment of multiple dualities: she is the protector of animals, frequently accompanied in art by a young fawn or dog, yet she is also a huntress armed with bow and arrows. Her virginity is a vital, defining aspect of her being, but she is simultaneously the guardian of young maidens and women in childbirth. Her very existence reconciles opposing themes.³

The *potnia theron*, "mistress of animals," as Artemis is called in the *Iliad*,⁴ is the mistress of nature and all its wild creatures; she nurtures and protects the young in particular. This is a product of her role as a fertility goddess and, less obviously, of her patronage of hunters. It was a natural condition of these men's success that animals propagate and flourish in order that they might be killed to provide humans with food. Consequently, Artemis's dual association with

³ Karageorghis 1998, 176-185.

⁴ *Iliad* XXI.470.

young animals and with those who hunt them is not a contradiction, however it may appear upon first consideration.⁵

The virginity of Artemis is similarly attributable to her function as the patron of hunters and their vocation. In ancient times, a hunter was obligated to respect certain ritual taboos before commencing his expedition, a standard feature of which was sexual abstinence.⁶ For a man to engage in intercourse before a hunt could potentially stain him with a female element believed to frighten away his quarry. When agriculture replaced hunting as the most reliable and central means of securing food, the importance of Artemis and other deities associated with the hunt did not diminish; hunters continued to provide a supplementary means of sustenance, and what had been their vocation evolved into a pastime associated with warriors and the upper classes. Hunting never disappeared, although among the aristocracy it served a less practical, more symbolic function as a representation of power and wealth.

In stark contrast to the male hunters with whom Artemis was associated are the maidens and expectant mothers who worshipped her cult. As a virginal, female deity, Artemis was a natural guardian of unmarried and necessarily chaste young women; she was also a protector of women in childbirth. Some scholars have posited that this role was assumed as a result of syncretism with an ancient Near Eastern fertility goddess.⁷ A more recent approach to the issue attributes the association to myths of Artemis assisting her mother in the birth of her twin brother as well as to a more nuanced relationship between feminine divinity and fecundity of humans, animals, and the land.⁸

⁵ Hjerrild 2009, 42.

⁶ Ibid. 43.

⁷ Karageorghis, J. 1977, 194-95.

⁸ Vandervondelen 2002, 153.

The Cypriot cult of Artemis is attested by both epigraphic and iconographic evidence.⁹ Scholars generally agree that the cult arrived on the island sometime in the 5th century BCE, when other deities from the Greek pantheon such as Apollo, Athena, and Pan also began to appear.¹⁰ Two of the earliest examples of Cypriot votive offerings thought to depict Artemis are housed in the Louvre's collection: one from the sanctuary of Apollo Mageirios in Pyla in 1872,¹¹ and the other likely from Malloura in 1862 (Fig. 1).¹² Both of these well-preserved Artemis statuettes carry an animal on their left sides, grasping the animals' front legs with their left hands. The piece thought to be from Malloura wears a long chiton with a double overfold, which falls in vertical folds down the middle and in shallow, stylized oblique folds along the side of each leg. Two straps cross her chest, one across each shoulder running diagonally to below the opposite breast. One of these supports the quiver strapped across her back. Her left arm pins a small, spindly-legged quadruped to her side; as its head is now missing, its species is difficult to identify. Because Artemis's traditional attribute is a fawn or dog, these are the most likely candidates. Her eyes are deeply outlined and almond-shaped and the corners of her closed lips turn slightly upward in a characteristically Archaic smile. Her intricately styled hair is largely covered with a head wrap, below which dangle earrings consisting of abbreviated rosettes. The statuette's modelling, and in particular the execution of her facial features, suggests a date in the third quarter of the 5th century BCE.¹³ A limestone head, truncated across the neck and depicting

⁹ Karageorghis 1998, 176.

¹⁰ Pouilloux 1986, 411-22.

¹¹ Musee de Louvre, Paris, inv. MNB 355.

¹² Karageorghis 1998, 133; the statuette thought to be from Malloura (Musee de Louvre, Paris, inv. AM 2759) lacks secure provenance. The supposed location is provided in Hermery 1989.

¹³ Karageorghis 1998, 135.

a female with similar earrings and facial styling wearing a 5th century BCE-style *sakkos*, was excavated at Malloura in 2002 and has also been suggested to depict Artemis (Fig. 2).¹⁴

Epigraphic evidence of the goddess does not appear until the end of the 4th or early 3rd century BCE, at which point Artemis is identified in inscriptions by her Homeric epithet, *Artemis Agrotera*,¹⁵ the huntress and goddess of nature and the wilderness. Her other epithets include *Paralia* (of the seashore),¹⁶ *Agoria* (of gatherings of people, or perhaps gatherings for religious celebrations), and *Epekoos* (hearing of prayers and travails).¹⁷ As yet, no epigraphic evidence referencing Artemis has been unearthed in the excavations at Athienou-*Malloura*. However, as no epigraphy identifying Malloura's sanctuary with any particular deity has come to light in modern excavations, this is not unusual.¹⁸

III. Artemis in Malloura

Although Athienou-*Malloura* has yielded no known epigraphic evidence associating it with a deity, locale, or civic power, the site and sanctuary in particular has produced thousands of artifacts over its long history of excavation. The sanctuary was initially discovered in 1862 by the French mission led by M. de Vogüé, although the results of the excavation were never published; around 70 sculptures in the Louvre's collection of Cypriot antiquities are likely finds from this project.¹⁹ The 20th century saw the introduction of scientific excavation in the valley as the Swedish Cyprus Expedition under E. Gjerstad led the field of modern Cypriot archaeology

¹⁴ For a more complete justification of this identification, see Toumazou and Counts 2003. Sørensen 2009 (p. 196) believes that the iconographical evidence is too little, given that the *sakkos* was a common Greek female headdress adopted broadly across the island.

¹⁵ *The Iliad*, XXI.471

¹⁶ Sørensen 2009, 203; the epithet *Paralia* has also been read as a compound word meaning "beside the salt marsh"; as the cult of Artemis *Paralia* was located in Kition in Larnaca on the slice of land separating the salt flats from the Mediterranean, this suggestion may be seriously considered.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Averett 2011, 135.

¹⁹ Toumazou and Counts 2011, 75.

by conducting many brief but well-recorded excavations across the island.²⁰ The product of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition was an island-wide historical narrative which laid the foundations for projects seeking to study long-term cultural processes within its particular regions, including Athienou-*Malloura's* Athienou Archaeological Project (AAP) which has been at work in the valley since 1990.²¹

For the past quarter of a century, AAP has devoted itself to excavating and conducting research in the inland rural site of Athienou-*Malloura* and the surrounding valley in the Mesaoria Plain of central Cyprus (Figs. 3, 4). The entire site encompasses domestic and funerary as well as religious sites, and reflects nearly 2500 years of use. Potsherds found in the sanctuary indicate that human activity began as early as the late Cypro-Geometric III period (about 8th century BCE), while artifacts and other features suggest that there were at least two subsequent distinct phases of use. Ritual activity seems to have peaked in the Cypro-Archaic II period with a third major phase in the Hellenistic. Use diminished but continued for some time after, with new construction even into the Roman period.²²

Like contemporary Cypriot sanctuaries such as nearby Golgoi, Idalion, and Kition, *Malloura* was an open-air precinct, or *temenos*, defined by a *peribolos* (enclosure wall) and encompassing a mudbrick altar and several small roofed structures. Artifacts recovered from this site have consisted primarily of ceramic vessels, coins, animal bones, and cult objects like

²⁰ Ibid, 68-69.

²¹ The Athienou Archaeological Project is a multidisciplinary project is sponsored by Davidson College and directed by Michael K. Toumazou, assisted by P. Nick Kardulias (College of Wooster) and Derek B. Counts (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee). In the past 25 years of operation, AAP has excavated over five thousand objects, undertaken an intensive field survey of the Malloura Valley, and published a number of articles and an ASOR volume, *Crossroads and Boundaries: The Archaeology of Past and Present in the Malloura Valley, Cyprus* (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2011), describing the results of its efforts.

²² Toumazou et al. 2015, 204-206.

thymiateria (incense burners), “ash shovels,” and votive sculpture handcrafted from terracotta or carved from the soft local limestone.²³

Most of the Malloura votive offerings thought to depict deities and all those generally agreed to represent Artemis are of limestone and measure no more than about a third of a meter in height. The artifacts relevant to this project date primarily to the Hellenistic period (around 310-30 BCE), at which time the cult of Artemis had found a definite niche among the Cypriot pantheon.²⁴ From AAP’s vast corpus of over five thousand objects, at least eight and as many as two dozen or more statuette fragments depict the goddess. Another handful depict unidentified or generic female forms. This relatively small number of female types contrasts sharply with the large quantity of votive sculpture from Malloura which portrays male subjects: the vast majority (approximately 90%) of identifiably gendered statues and statue fragments are masculine in form. The imagery of numerous male deities has been found and with a far greater frequency and overall quantity. Herakles, Apollo, Zeus Ammon, and Pan all seem to have played a role in the ritual activity of Malloura, while Artemis is the only female deity clearly represented at the site.²⁵ This imbalance in gender representation strongly suggests that the sanctuary was consecrated to one or more male divinities.²⁶ The relative scarcity of identifiably female artifacts makes them all the more significant in explaining the nuances of that worship and the needs of the sanctuary’s visitors.

²³ Toumazou and Counts 2011, 77; Toumazou et al. 2015, 213-16.

²⁴ Sørensen 2009, 195.

²⁵ One Roman period ceramic mold-made lamp depicting Aphrodite has also been found, as well as two fragmentary Astarte/Aphrodite figurines. These numbers are too few to suggest any significant presence of an Aphrodite cult; furthermore, Astarte, as a fertility goddess, is affiliated with and possibly a forerunner of Artemis.

²⁶ Gordon et al. 2011, 30; Toumazou and Counts 2011, 77.

III. Artemis Imagery from Malloura and Beyond

Only four limestone heads excavated from Malloura in the past fifteen years exhibit characteristics undeniably consistent with other iconography of Artemis's Cypriot cult: AAP-AM-2476 (Fig. 5), AAP-AM-2719 (Fig. 6), AAP-AM-3455 (Fig. 7), and AAP-AM-3601 (Fig. 8). Each is around the size of a clenched fist, dimensions not uncommon for votive offerings from this sanctuary. All likely date to the Hellenistic period: they feature the characteristically Hellenistic hairstyle consisting of rippling tresses pulled back and away from the face to converge in a knobby bun at the nape of the neck.²⁷ One fragment, AAP-AM-3601, was found in a secure context dating to the Hellenistic period.²⁸

Coiffure alone is not enough to secure identification, however. In both Greek and Cypriot iconography, one of the most recognizable attributes of the huntress is her quiver, a tubular carrying case for the arrows with which she hunted her quarry. Each of the four heads, although damaged, bears evidence of a cylindrical protrusion behind and to the side of the head or a break pattern suggesting that such an attribute was originally present. Examples of contemporary statuettes with a similar feature have been found in sanctuaries across the island. In the well-preserved examples from Idalion²⁹ and Pyla,³⁰ the goddess stands tall with her quiver slung across her back and slanting upwards to protrude slightly over her right shoulder, as is apparent in Malloura example AAP-AM-2476 and as is indicated by the break patterns of AAP-AM-3455 and AAP-AM-3601. On the reverse side of AAP-AM-2719, remnants of a narrow, roughly

²⁷ Richardson 1976, n.p.

²⁸ Malloura has suffered extensive looting, and therefore many of the finds excavated by AAP must be dated by the use of comparanda rather than stratigraphic information. For further information on the state of Malloura, see Counts, "A History of Archaeological Activity in the Athienou Region" and Toumazou et al., "Shedding light on the Cypriot rural landscape: Investigations of the Athienou Archaeological Project in the Malloura Valley, Cyprus, 2011–2013."

²⁹ Limestone statuette of Artemis from the British Museum, inv. C 370; Hellenistic, Idalion (Idalion is approximately 14 km from Malloura).

³⁰ Limestone statuette of Artemis with a fawn Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 74.51.2739; Hellenistic, Pyla (Pyla is approximately 30 km from Malloura).

rectangular protrusion ending in a rounded cap indicate that this statuette's quiver slanted from her right hip to her left shoulder. Because the protrusion is separated from the back of the statuette's head by a carved groove and is smooth rather than texturized with narrowly spaced incisions, it cannot be a continuation of her hairstyle but it likely to be a quiver, although its positioning is slightly inconsistent when compared with the other examples.

The Artemis statuettes from Pyla and Idalion share additional characteristics with the four heads from Malloura, namely their widely spaced eyes, relatively broad noses, and hair drawn up back from the face and into a bun. The ears of AAP-AM-2476, AAP-AM-2719, and AAP-AM-3455 are too weathered to communicate much detail, but AAP-AM-3601's preserved left ear is adorned with a bulbous earring similar to those on the Pyla and Idalion statuettes. Jewelry such as this emphasizes Artemis's femininity and is reminiscent of depictions of Astarte and other fertility goddesses. AAP-AM-2470, the female head wearing a *sakkos*, was also outfitted with ostentatious personal adornment, consisting of large, rosette-shaped earrings carved in high relief as well as a choker-like necklace. A comparably ornamented statuette, the previously mentioned unprovenanced statuette in the Louvre thought to have been excavated from the Malloura sanctuary, has her body intact and carries a spindly-legged fawn on her left side, grasping the animal's front legs with her left hand. This posture is also present in a contemporary and similarly-sized statuette from the Apollo sanctuary at Pyla. The pose may have been borrowed from the pose of Sub-Archaic male statuettes, many of which have come from nearby Kition (just over 20 kilometers away; Fig. 3).³¹ Perhaps early artists borrowed and adapted this pose from male iconography to emphasize Artemis's particular and peculiar role bridging the masculine (hunting) and the feminine (childbirth). A limestone statuette fragment found during AAP's 2012 excavation season, AAP-AM-4325 (Fig. 9), comprises the lower torso

³¹ Sørensen 2009, 196.

and legs of a previously unidentified draped figure and may have belonged to this type of Artemis statuette. The figure stands with legs straight and feet together and there are no remnants of the arms and hands despite the fact that the lower body is preserved up to the hips: this indicates that the statuette must have had her arms raised or held up against its torso. Two unusual vertical ridges inconsistent with the drapery pattern are visible on the worn surface of the left side, perhaps the remains of a quadruped held with the now-missing left hand of Artemis.

Several more limestone statuette fragments depicting the lower body of a figure presumed to be Artemis have been uncovered in Athienou, most within the past season of excavation (summer 2015). These are identified by the small quadruped accompanying the apparently female figure; in contrast to AAP-AM-4325, in these examples Artemis's faunal attribute stands upon its own legs and stretches its neck and head up toward her hand. The quadruped is small in comparison to the human form, never standing much higher than her waist, and it is usually identified as a fawn.³² Where the animal's head and face are preserved, it is roughly carved and an incontestable identification is difficult. Even AAP-AM-4949 (Fig. 10), the isolated head and neck of an animal once attached to an Artemis statuette, has an ambiguous form. The elongated head resembles both a fawn and a hound, with an almond-shaped eye and a thin mouth. The eye and mouth are delineated by shallow incisions into the material, and behind the eye a long and thin ear is indicated by shallow modeling. The piece is clearly broken from a larger figure, with a large and rough broken surface running diagonally from the left side of the animal's face down toward its neck. The break pattern strongly suggests that the faunal attribute was attached to the side of an Artemis statuette in the manner of AAP-AM-4651 (Fig. 11), which

³² Hermary 2014, 265.

is itself comparable to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Artemis statuette from Pyla (Fig. 12)³³ and the British Museum's example from Idalion.(Fig. 13)³⁴

AAP-AM-4651, which was excavated in 2013, preserves the lower portion of a depiction of the goddess. She wears a floor-length, belted, columnar chiton carved in low relief; the bottom edge of a himation, or mantle, covers the right two-thirds of her body with its edge falling parallel to the base. Her feet are bullet-shaped and are either shod or simplified so that the toes are not defined. Immediately to her right stands a lanky quadruped which has been identified as a fawn. The animal is broken cross-wise through the neck and its head is missing, making the identification uncertain; however, its long, cylindrical legs and equally long neck are reminiscent of a leggy young deer. If the fawn's head were preserved, it would likely be stretching upward to meet the goddess's right hand. Several examples provide evidence for this, such as the aforementioned Pyla example in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 12). As observable in these better-preserved statuettes, the animal arches its neck to eat from Artemis's lowered hand, referencing her role as a *potnia theron* and protector of animals as well as emphasizing her importance as a fertility goddess who cares for the young. AAP-AM-4949, the animal head and neck fragment, preserves a small knob-like piece on its nose which may be either food or Artemis's hand, if it is indeed consistent with comparanda such as these.

The recently excavated AAP-AM-4950 (Fig. 14) is another example of a statuette of this type, and again preserves only the lower portion of the deity's form. As in the previous examples, the fawn stands to the right and is highly stylized in composition, with simple, cylindrical legs, trunk, and neck. In this piece, however, there seems to be an additional object to Artemis's left. This tall, narrow, and columnar form is flat on the front and side with a rounded

³³ Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 74.51.2739.

³⁴ British Museum inv. C 370

corner. It is clearly not part of the drapery due to its texture, and its curved shape indicates that it is not simply part of the background. To the immediate left of this unidentified object is a flat surface with widely spaced, shallowly-carved curves. The unknown, rounded, vertical form may compare to a so-called “pedestal” present in AAP-AM-4929, one of the most complete Artemis statuette bodies excavated from Malloura by AAP to-date.

AAP-AM-4929 (Fig. 15) consists of the limestone standing Artemis with her faunal attribute, and is fully preserved except for the goddess’s head, left hand, and the tip of her left foot. As with AAP-AM-4950, the figure’s weight is on her right leg and a quadruped stands to her right. She wears a full-length chiton carved in regular, vertical folds and a belted himation or overfold hangs to slightly below her hip. Her right arm hangs at her side and holds an unidentifiable morsel to the mouth of the animal, which turns its head upwards and left to receive it. Her left arm, where it is preserved, is bent at the elbow and rests on a tall and narrow pedestal-like object, comparable to the tall columnar form on the left edge of statuette fragment AAP-AM-4950. Extending up over her right shoulder is the second of Artemis’s usual attributes: her quiver, which is roughly indicated on her back in the form of a simple, undetailed, semi-cylinder that tapers before fading into the smooth back of the statuette.

IV. Artemis and the Male Deities of Malloura

The standard iconography of Artemis is, in many subtle ways, comparable to the imagery of the male deities most common at the Malloura sanctuary. The three gods most frequently represented in Malloura’s corpus of votive sculpture are the Cypriot versions of Herakles, Apollo, and, most prevalently, a rustic god identified with the Greek Pan. All three had active

cults contemporary to Artemis worship in Malloura, and all have some relationship or common attribute with the goddess of the hunt.³⁵

By the 5th century BCE, the cult of Artemis had taken root on Cyprus and Cypriot Apollo had emerged as one of the dominant deities worshiped in the sanctuary of Athienou-Malloura. Apollo and Artemis, as twin offspring of the goddess Leto and Zeus, were often worshipped together in Cyprus as well as in Greece. Imagery of the two has been found together in at least five Cypriot sanctuaries in addition to Malloura: Akna, Idalion, Pyla, Salamis, and Vouni.³⁶ They also share an affiliation with youth or young people as well as with archery and the natural world,³⁷ and therefore their geographical association in the Malloura sanctuary is not wholly surprising. Cypriot Herakles, a second deity well represented in Malloura's votive sculpture, also had attributes linking him with the natural world; the god was particularly associated with wild beasts, in a role somewhat reminiscent of Artemis as a *potnia theron*. Herakles is regularly depicted wearing a lion-skin headdress (Fig. 16) and subduing a lion cub, referencing his triumph over the Nemean Lion (Fig. 17). Like Artemis, he was a patron of hunters, and in this respect their cults may have shared a similar demographic of worshippers. Imagery of both deities is also found in conjunction at ancient Amathus in Agios Tychonas.³⁸

The cult of the Cypriot Pan was also popular in Malloura at the time of Artemis worship in the sanctuary. The cult of Pan arose and gained popularity at Cyprus almost exactly parallel to the cult of the huntress, after having also been imported from nearby Greece. Pan is the most commonly depicted deity in Malloura's collection of limestone votive offerings, and in the Hellenistic period his imagery was dedicated in greater volume at Malloura than anywhere else

³⁵ Toumazou et al. 2015, 215; Gordon et al. 2011, 30.

³⁶ Ulbrich 2008, 546-553.

³⁷ Karageorghis 1998, 187-91.

³⁸ Ulbrich 2008, 546.

on the island.³⁹ In sculpture, Pan carries a staff for hunting rabbits called a *lagobolon*, wears a goatskin cape tied around his neck, and features the horns and ears of a goat atop his human head (Fig. 18).⁴⁰ Like Artemis, the *potnia theron*, and like the club-wielding Cypriot Herakles, Pan is closely linked with both fauna and with hunting. The two deities' faunal attributes—Pan's caprine adornments and Artemis's fawn or dog—and their hunting armaments reveal a similarity between the rural god and goddess, who seem to have served the specifically local needs of Malloura. As residents of a rural area with an economy based almost solely on agriculture, the shepherds and farmers of Malloura were disposed to the worship of deities who promised the protection of their crops and herds and, in the case of Artemis, encourage fertility of the land and animals.

V. Conclusions

Although few in number, the Artemis imagery of Malloura represents a significant and largely unexplored aspect of worship at the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period. Artemis's female sex is one of her defining characteristics, one which set her apart from the male deities worshipped in Malloura and placed her iconography within the minority of gendered artifacts excavated so far. Artemis's presence within a male-dominated sanctuary such as this one is not unique. In fact, apart from a possible sanctuary south of modern-day Larnaka, no evidence has yet been discovered that she was the principle deity of any sanctuary.⁴¹ Limestone votives depicting her figure are found alongside the iconography of male divinities in Akna, Idalion, Pyla, Salamis, Pera, and Vouni as well as in Malloura,⁴² and her imagery is found with a frequency that indicates some significance was placed upon the worship of her cult.

³⁹ Cofer 2011, 163.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 167.

⁴¹ Sørensen 2009, 203 notes that the cult of Artemis Paralia may be the primary cult of the sanctuary in Kition.

⁴² Ulbrich 2008, 546-53.

Artemis's iconography and its implications share a number of features with Cypriot Apollo, Herakles, and Pan, the three major male deities worshipped at Athienou-*Malloura*. In myth, she was hailed as the twin sister of the first, and she shares faunal connections with the latter two. She corresponds especially with the Cypriot Pan, the rustic god who was seemingly the most popular deity worshipped in Malloura. Obviously, Artemis is mostly clearly differentiated from these gods by virtue of her sex; her female sexuality and feminine gender were inherent aspects of her role as protector of children, young animals, and mothers giving birth, but so too were her power and individual strength important in respect to her role as patron of the specifically male activity of hunting.

To explain this apparent dichotomy, at least one more fundamental aspect of the huntress must be explored and evaluated in order to understand her presence alongside male deities: her virginity. This particular facet of Artemis's being may seem to contradict her role as a protector of children, young animals, and women giving birth. However, her virginity demonstrates that she is unmarried and has not been subjugated by a man. The word for this subjugation, *damenai*, describes the female sexual role as a necessarily passive one, and therefore Artemis's virginal state ensures that she is not passive but retains her own individual power.⁴³ She is not rendered male or asexual because such a negation of her sexuality and gender would not correspond to her protective nature. Her perpetual virginal state allowed her to fill these disparate roles because she could retain both her femaleness and the culturally masculine trait of individual power. Therefore, although female, she has power unbridled by—and perhaps not unlike that possessed by—the males she was apparently venerated alongside in sanctuaries such as Malloura.

Artemis's virginity justifies her dominion over wild animals and the hunt, and provides further insight into the reasons behind the presence of her votives in Athienou-*Malloura*, a

⁴³ Hjerrild 2009, 43-44.

sanctuary whose primary male deities also have strong faunal aspects. These connections to wildlife, as well as her ties to fertility of humans and, by extension, to the earth, make her a fitting deity for a rural sanctuary presumably frequented by the local farmers and herders who populated the area. Though represented by a comparatively small number of votive offerings, the cult of Artemis nevertheless filled a role in the Malloura sanctuary and a perceived need in the lives of the worshippers of her cult.

Images:

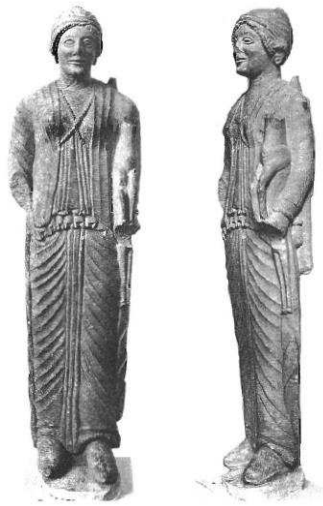


Figure 1: Limestone statue of Artemis from *Athienou-Malloura* (?). H 105 cm. ca. 450 BCE.

Musee de Louvre, Paris, inv. AM 2759.



Figure 2: Limestone head of female wearing a sakkos from *Athienou-Malloura*. H 11.4 cm. ca.

450-425 BCE. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-2470.

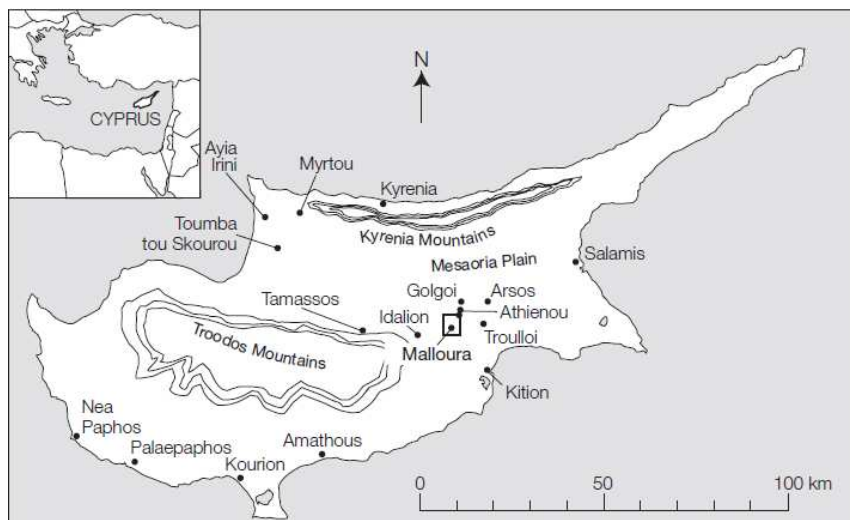


Figure 3: Map of ancient Cyprus with major sites marked; Athienou-*Malloura* is indicated by a rectangle. (Drawing by D. Massey)

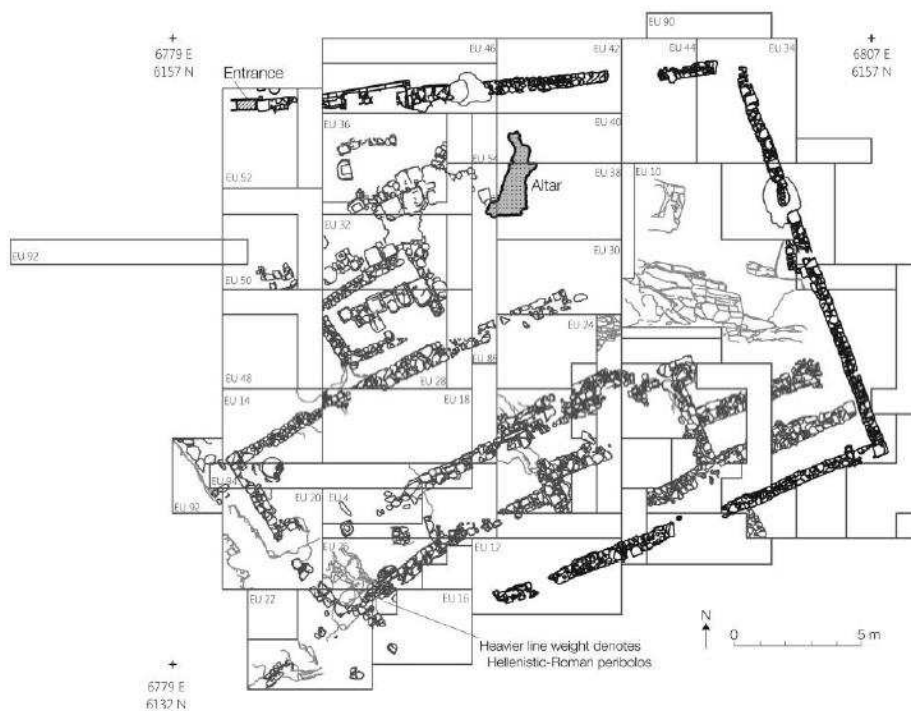


Figure 4: Plan of the sanctuary at Athienou-*Malloura*, post-2013 dig season. (Drawing by R. Breuker; updated by K. Garstki.)



Figure 5: Fragmentary Statuette Head from *Athienou-Malloura*. H 8.09 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-2476.

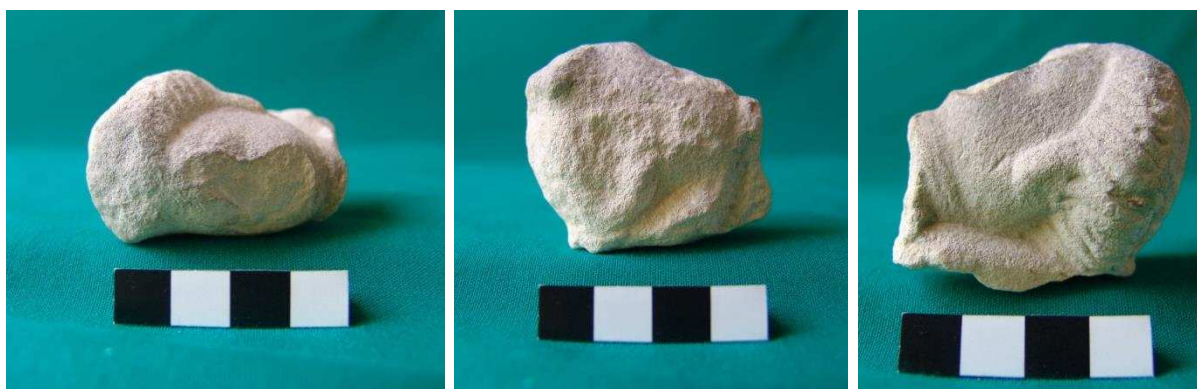


Figure 6: Limestone Statuette Head from *Athienou-Malloura*. H 6.2 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-2719.



Figure 7: Limestone Artemis Head from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 8.7 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-3455.



Figure 8: Limestone Artemis Head from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 8.6 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-3601.



Figure 9: Lower Draped Statuette Torso from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 41.2 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-4325.

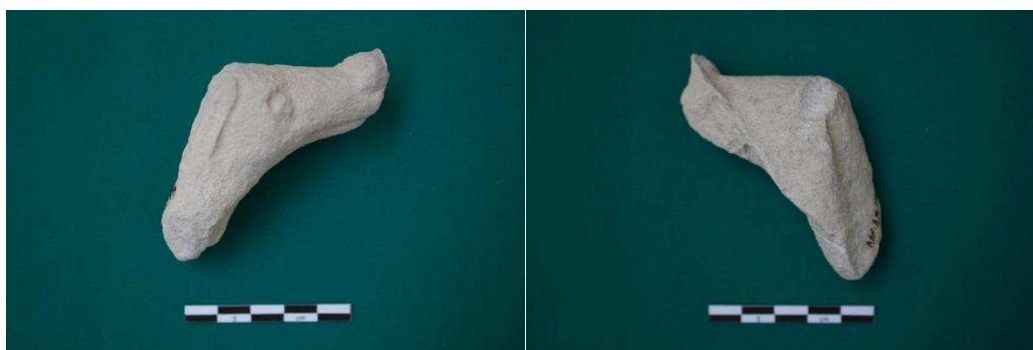


Figure 10: Artemis Fawn Head from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 8.1 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-4949.



Figure 11: Fragmentary Artemis Statuette from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 13.06 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-4651.



Figure 12: Limestone Statuette of Artemis with a Fawn from Pyla. Hellenistic Period. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 74.51.2739



Figure 13: Limestone Statuette of Artemis from Idalion. Hellenistic Period. The British Museum, inv. C 370.



Figure 14: Fragmentary Artemis Statuette from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 14.51 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-4950.



Figure 15: Limestone Artemis Statuette from *Athienou-Malloura*. H 33.6 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-4929.



Figure 16: Statuette Head from *Athienou-Malloura*. H 13.3 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-0851.

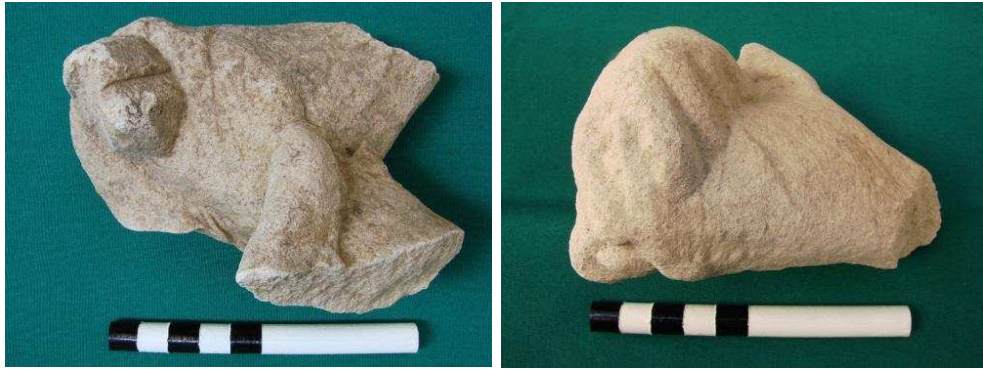


Figure 17: Herakles Hand with Lion from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 11.6 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-3350.



Figure 18: Statuary Fragment Depicting Cypriot Pan from Athienou-*Malloura*. H 11.6 cm. Larnaka District Archaeological Museum, inv. AAP-AM-0619.

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