

**Sanctuaries and Cults of Artemis in Post-Liberation Messene:
Spartan Mimeses?**

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Abstract

This dissertation is a comparative study of the relationship between the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia, after the liberation of Messenia from Lakonia (370 BCE). Four hypotheses are explored in order to answer the central question of whether the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Messenia after the liberation were mimeses of those in Lakonia: essential religious similarity from the fourth century onwards, post-liberation Messenian revival of pre-conquest religious practices, conscious Messenian determination of religious difference from Lakonia and independent evolution of Messenian sanctuaries and cults of Artemis.

From literary, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence as well as observations made during personal visits to sites and museums in Greece, relevant data on the physical and historical landscape, *epicleseis*, sanctuary components, relevant myths and cult practices of all Artemisia in the southern Peloponnese are assembled into two comprehensive catalogues, one for each polity. A synthesis and analysis of that data is then conducted to establish patterns for purposes of comparison. The emergent patterns demonstrate that sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in post-liberation Messene are not essentially Lakonian mimeses.

This study advances our collective understanding of sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia. It points to unknowns which could provide fertile avenues for future research into the complexity and diversity of ancient Greek religion in the Peloponnese.

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Abbreviations

The works of ancient Greek authors in this dissertation are abbreviated according to H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1996⁹ with rev. suppl.) = *LSJ*; Latin authors according to P.G.W. Glare, *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982) = *OLD*, patristic Greek authors according to G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968) = Lampe, *PGL* and Latin Christian authors according to A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1967²). Epigraphical abbreviations follow *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden and Amsterdam, 1923-2010) = *SEG*.

Titles of scholarly works are quoted in full the first time and thereafter in abbreviated form. The Select Bibliography at the end of this dissertation includes those titles which are referenced more than once. Journal titles are abbreviated according to J. Marouzeau (ed.), *L'année philologique. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine* (Paris, 1924-2012) = *APh*; those not found in *APh* are cited in full. Reference works are abbreviated according to S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1996³) = *OCD*³. In addition, I use the following abbreviation, *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, 8 vols (Los Angeles, 2005-2012) = *ThesCRA*.

General Introduction

The Hunting Goddess in Lakonia and Messenia: A Historical Overview

τό τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα, ὃν χαλκοῦν καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, παρῆκε τὴν ἀσπίδα
For the statue of Artemis, which was bronze and its weapons bronze, dropped its shield
(Paus. 4.13.1).¹

In this way, Pausanias describes one of the portents that foreshadowed the Lakonian subjugation of Messenia in the eighth century BCE and the consequent migration of many Messenians to other lands in the following centuries. Provoked by Messenian religious violence and the murder of their Agiad king at a shared sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos in the *ager Dentheliatis*, the Lakedaimonians waged two campaigns (the First and Second Messenian Wars) against their Messenian neighbours during the eighth and seventh centuries (Str. 6.1.6 and 8.4.9; Paus. 3.2.6 and 4.4.2).² The entire populace west of the Taygetos mountains, that is, all of its members who did not manage to escape the Lakonian yoke, was deprived of its freedom.³ The escapees began a Messenian diaspora which was sporadically revived until Messenia was finally liberated by the Theban general

¹ Tr. P. Levi, *Pausanias. Guide to Greece*, 2 vols (London, 1971) 2.133.

² Lakonia is the term favoured by scholars and mapmakers for the area in the southeastern Peloponnese. However, in classical antiquity, the same area was termed Lakedaimon or, more often, Lakonike (ἡ Λακωνική). During the period between the conquest and liberation of the area west of the Taygetos, Lakonike referred to the entire southern Peloponnese dominated by Sparta. For further discussion of the use of the terms, see G. Shipley, 'The Other Lakedaimonians. The Dependent Periöikic *Poleis* of Laconia and Messenia', in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (Copenhagen, 1997) 189-281 at 272 (n. 3). I will employ the terms Lakonia and Lakedaimonia to mean the area east of the Taygetos. Exactly when and how the western expansion of Lakonia occurred is disputed. N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* (Cambridge, 2008) 68-106 scrutinizes the literary evidence for the First and Second Messenian Wars. The dates of the First Messenian War are generally agreed to be 743-724 BCE. The conclusion of hostilities is less clear. T.J. Figuiera, 'The Demography of the Spartan Helots', in S. Alcock and N. Luraghi (eds), *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia* (Washington, 2003) 193-230 at 222 supposes that pacification of the region was complete by the second half of the seventh century, while N. Luraghi, 'Becoming Messenian', *JHS* 122 (2002) 45-69 at 46 (n. 3) places it a century earlier. A low date of 600 BCE is offered by H. van Wees, 'Conquerors and Serfs: Wars of Conquest and Forced Labour in Archaic Greece', in Alcock and Luraghi, *Helots*, 33-80 at 35. See also V. Parker, 'The Dates of the Messenian Wars', *Chiron* 21 (1991) 25-47.

³ After the First Messenian War, some Messenians left for Sikyon, Argos or Arkadia, where they had guest-friends (Paus. 4.14.1), while after the Second, many left the Peloponnese altogether (Paus. 4.23.5-10). Those remaining were reduced to the status of helots: συντελοῦντας κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐς τοὺς εἰλώτας (Paus. 4.24.5).

Epameinondas in 370 BCE and the exiles, or rather their descendants, were called home (D.S. 15.66.6; Plu. *Pel.* 24.5 and *Ag.* 34.1; Paus. 9.15.4).⁴

The Messenian diaspora consisted of at least three waves, all of which can be connected with cults of Artemis. Refugees from the first Lakonian onslaught may have participated in the founding of the Chalkidian colony of Rhegion on the toe of the Italian boot (Str. 6.1.6; Paus. 4.23.6) where they appear to have established an extra-urban cult of Taurian Artemis with the *epiclesis* Phakelitis.⁵ The second significant departure of Messenians followed a devastating mid-fifth century earthquake in the Peloponnese. Seizing the opportunity, a group of *perioikoi* and helots formed a nucleus of resistance against their Lakonian masters on Messenian Mt. Ithome but were ultimately forced to surrender. However, they gained the right to leave the Peloponnese and were settled by the Athenians at Naupaktos, on the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth (Th. 1.101-3), where they may have become acquainted with the cult of Artemis Laphria in nearby Kalydon (Paus. 4.31.7).⁶ Half a century later, following the final defeat of Athens in 401 BCE, the triumphant Lakonians evicted the Naupaktian Messenians, who had sided with Athens. This third wave of migrants sought refuge in Sicily and Libya (D.S. 14.34.2-6; Paus. 4.26.2).⁷ On the north shore of Sicily, at Messenian-founded Tyndaris (D.S. 14.78.5-6), another cult of Artemis Phakelitis flourished.⁸ Thus, for all the absented Messenians, the

⁴ On the Messenian diaspora, see Luraghi, *Messenians*, 147-72, esp. 167-72.

⁵ Rhegion is thought to have been founded c. 730 BCE (I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden, 1987) 31 (n. 81). Malkin, *Religion*, 31-8 has little doubt about Messenian participation while Luraghi, *Messenians*, 147-9 finds it difficult to decide on the matter. The *epiclesis* appears only in Latin sources in the form Fa(s)celinea or Fa(s)celitis (from φάκελος, the bundle of sticks in which Orestes concealed the ξόανον of Artemis). For the controversy on the location of the sanctuary and the assumption that the cult was established by the colonists from Messenia, see T. Fischer-Hansen, 'Artemis in Sicily and Southern Italy. A Picture of Diversity', in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast* (Copenhagen, 2009) 207-60 at 225-6. For the cult, see E. Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risks among the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford, 2007) 299 (n. 32).

⁶ The rebels, their wives and children were allowed to leave Mt. Ithome on the condition that they would never return to Messenia (Th. 1.103.1). On the revolt in general, see Luraghi, *Messenians*, 173-208 esp. 182-8. For Messenians abroad in the fifth century, see N. Luraghi, 'Messenian Ethnicity and the Free Messenians', in P. Funke and N. Luraghi (eds), *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League* (Cambridge, 2009) 110-34 at 110-5.

⁷ Diodorus (14.34.5) says that nearly all (σχεδὸν ἅπαντες) the 3000 Messenians who went to Kyrene were killed during a civil war. Pausanias (4.26.2), however, places them in Euhesperides (near modern Benghazi) and says nothing of their fate.

⁸ Tyndaris was founded c. 396 BCE. The ξόανον of Artemis, brought to Sicily by Orestes concealed in a bundle of sticks, was bound and bathed in an annual ritual at Tyndaris, on which see D.T. Steiner, *Images in Mind. Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought* (Princeton, 2002) 111 (n. 126). T. Fischer-Hansen, T.H. Nielsen, C. Ampolo, 'Sikelia', in M.H. Hansen, T.H. Nielsen (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford, 2004) 172-248 at 217 note that the sanctuary of Artemis Phakelitis may have defined the border between Tyndaris and Mylai.

goddess who had dropped her shield continued to be part of their religious landscape as, indeed, she had been before the initial conquest of their Peloponnesian homeland.

Artemis is first documented as a Peloponnesian deity in the Linear B tablets found at Pylos, the ‘capital’ of a late Bronze Age (1600-1100 BCE) kingdom which was part of the area now known as Messenia. *Artemitos* has a slave (PY Es 650.5), is the recipient of a product associated with a banquet or religious event (PY Un 219.5) and perhaps has a priest (PY Fn 837.5).⁹ More frequently recorded on the tablets at Pylos, but also at Mycenae, is a female divinity, *Po-ti-ni-ja* (πότνια), with whom Artemis is often, but not exclusively, associated. *Po-ti-ni-ja* owns female textile workers and sheep, receives a variety of products and, at Mycenae, has a sanctuary.¹⁰ Although there is no Linear B evidence from the Bronze Age kingdom in the Eurotas valley, *Po-ti-ni-ja* is very likely to have been present there too. The tablets give no indication of traditional elements in the cult of Artemis, but nature, wild animals and dance can be demonstrated in the late Bronze Age iconography of the mistress of the animals, πότνια θηρῶν.¹¹

Relatively little is known of religion (or society) in the ensuing Dark Age (1100-750 BCE) either in the Peloponnese or elsewhere in Hellas. However, terracotta, lead and ivory πότνια θηρῶν figurines, some dating as early as the eighth century BCE, emerge from the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta.¹² These long-gowned figures, many winged, together with numerous and various votive animal figurines have suggested a continuity or close relationship with the Bronze Age cult of πότνια θηρῶν. Disappearance of the various animal votives and the appearance of deer figurines together

⁹ The name appears in the genitive, *a-te-mi-to* (PY Es 650.5; PY Fn 837.5) and the dative, *a-ti-mi-te* (PY Un 219.5). See M.L. Nosch, ‘Approaches to Artemis in Bronze Age Greece’, in Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen, *Artemis*, 21-39 at 24-6.

¹⁰ Scholars are divided on the origins of Artemis and whether the *po-ti-ni-ja* of the tablets (MY Oi 701-2, 704; PY An 1281; Cc 665; Fn 187; Fr 1206, 1225, 1236; Tn 316; Un 219; Vn 48) represents a single divinity. See Nosch, ‘Approaches’, 22-4 and 31.

¹¹ Nosch, ‘Approaches’, 34.

¹² Πότνια θηρῶν, applied to Artemis as mistress of wild beasts, is ‘a well established formula’ by Homer’s time in the archaic period (W. Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical* (tr. J. Raffan; Oxford, 1985) 149). Terracotta figurines show a long-haired goddess, wearing a long χιτῶν and πόλος, grasping a lion in either hand (R.M. Dawkins, ‘Terracotta Figurines’, in R.M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta* (London, 1929) 145-62 at 149 (Fig. 108, Pls 32.1-3). Lead figurines show a winged goddess, similarly dressed, holding lions or what appears to be fish (A.J.B. Wace, ‘Lead Figurines’, in Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 249-84 at 259-61 (lions: Figs 119-21, fish: Pl. 182.2 and 7). Similar in dress to the winged lead figurines, the ivory plaques depict the goddess holding lions, but also birds or snakes (R.M. Dawkins, ‘Ivory and Bone’, in Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 203-48 at 205-8 (birds: Pls 91.1 and 98.2, lion and bird: Pl. 92.2 and snakes: Pl. 93.2). On the winged type in general, see M.E. Thompson, ‘The Asiatic or Winged Artemis’, *JHS* 29 (1909) 286-307.

with those of a goddess armed with a bow (600-500 BCE) suggest a syncretism of πότνια θηρῶν and Artemis Ortheia at Sparta.¹³ This dual role of the goddess as protectress and huntress of the wild, echoed by Homer (*Il.* 21.470-89), was widely acknowledged, especially in the Peloponnese.

While evidence for worship of Artemis in Lakonia during the archaic and classical periods is relatively abundant, in Messenia evidence is limited to three instances. From the so-called Ω-Ω sanctuary at Ithome (pre-liberation Messene) comes a sixth-century BCE terracotta group of three seated female figures, the naked central one raising her arms in a gesture of lamentation or epiphany. It has parallels in Lakonia and elsewhere in Messenia, and suggests worship of a kourotrophic deity, either Eileithyia or perhaps Artemis, whose later ναός was nearby.¹⁴ However, the same terracotta group, together with other evidence, has led their excavator, P.G. Themelis, to conclude that this was the sanctuary of a female chthonic deity, most probably Demeter.¹⁵ Artemis may also have been found at a recently-discovered temple on the Messenian/Arkadian border, but this identification is not entirely certain.¹⁶ Finally, the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos in the *ager Dentheliatis*, although shared before the Messenian wars, was exclusively Lakonian until the liberation of Messenia. It is almost as if Artemis had disappeared from the map west of the Taygetos after the conquest.

During the period of Lakonian suzerainty, the inhabitants of Messenia were scarcely distinguishable, at least linguistically, from their Lakonian masters (Th. 4.3.3 and 41.2). Archaeological evidence seems to show that the inhabitants of archaic and classical ‘Greater Lakonia’ experienced a relatively homogenous material and religious culture.¹⁷

¹³ Wace, ‘Figurines’, 282-3. D. Zink Kaasgaard Falb, ‘Das Artemis Orthia-Heiligtum in Sparta im 7. und 6. Jh.v. Chr.’, in Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen, *Artemis*, 127-52 reaches the same conclusion in her analysis of the figurines and terracotta masks from the sanctuary.

¹⁴ For the image, see P.G. Themelis, *Ancient Messene* (Athens, 2003) 87-90 (Fig.78). For the parallels, see Luraghi, *Messenians*, 125 (n. 84) and 126.

¹⁵ P.G. Themelis, ‘The Sanctuary of Demeter and the Dioscouri at Messene’, in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* (Stockholm, 1998) 157-86 at 182-6 (Fig. 66) and Themelis, *Messene*, 87-90 (Fig.78).

¹⁶ X. Arapogianni, ‘Ανασκαφή στην Άνω Μέλπεια Μεσσηνίας’, *AEph* 149 (2010) 249-58 and S. Koursoumis, ‘Εν Δέραις καλουμέναις τῆς σφετέρας. Αναζητώντας μία αρχαία θέση και ένα ιερό στην βόρεια Μεσσηνία’ forthcoming in *Tekmeria* 12 (2012). I am most grateful to the latter author for drawing my attention to the recent discoveries and his forthcoming article. See also A. Philippa-Touchais, S. Huber, G. Touchais, ‘Chroniques des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1999’, *BCH* 124 (2000) 753-1066 at 828 (Fig. 78).

¹⁷ A good overview of the best-documented cult places in this period, which includes the Volimos sanctuary that was Lakonian at the time, is provided by Luraghi, ‘Becoming Messenian’, 50-9.

The population east and west of the formidable Taygetos employed the same dialect and alphabet; produced bronzes and pottery indistinguishable from one another; worshipped the same gods, Artemis among them, and dedicated the same kinds of offerings to them.¹⁸ While this homogeneity might be attributed to the departure of the Messenians following the Messenian Wars (Paus. 4.14.1 and 4.23.5-10) and a consequent influx of Lakonians, it is clear that a significant perioikic contingent of 'indigenous' Messenians remained.¹⁹ One distinct difference in cultic behaviour did separate the Messenians from their Lakonian masters. From the geometric through to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the Messenians practiced hero worship at the sites of Bronze Age and early Iron Age *tholos* tombs, evincing a continuing connection with their pre-Lakonian past.²⁰

Five hundred years after the liberation of Messenia, Pausanias (4.27.11) found Messenian retention of its pure Doric dialect and pre-conquest ancestral customs (undoubtedly including religious cults and practices), despite its many centuries as part of Lakonia, worthy of remark. He presumes that there had been a mass exodus of Messenians, the return of whose descendants had filled the vacuum left by the departure of the Lakonians after the liberation.²¹ In any case, by the second century CE, there was a clear distinction between Messenians and Lakonians, a distinction partially marked by a supposed stubborn retention of the Messenian past in the hearts of the returned exiles. While Pausanias' rationale for the distinctions is dubious, the fact that there were noticeable dissimilarities at this time remains. If we extend Pausanias' observations of difference between Lakonia and Messenia in the second century CE to sanctuaries and cults of Artemis, these then are likely to have been disparate too.

Targeting the Quarry: Spartan Mimeses in Post-liberation Messenia?

Religion and language were unifying and yet, at the same time, distinguishing cultural factors in the ancient Greek world. The same Greek deities were accorded different

¹⁸ R. Parker, 'Spartan Religion', in A. Powell (ed.), *Classical Sparta. Techniques behind Her Success* (London, 1989) 142-72 at 145 lists the prominent shared gods of Spartiates and the perioikic Messenians, which include Artemis.

¹⁹ See discussion in Luraghi, *Messenians*, 238-9.

²⁰ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 144-5 and 239-44.

²¹ Luraghi, 'Ethnicity', 123 acknowledges that some part of the post-liberation population consisted of 'settlers from abroad'.

emphases in different places at different times and myths, rituals, religious calendars and cults differed. However, there was sufficient overlap to speak in terms of Greek religion.²² Nevertheless, some scholars have questioned whether Lakonian practices, religious cults and practices, like their lifestyle, were unique.²³

Pausanias (4.4.2) might suggest that the Lakonians did differ from the Messenians, at least in religious practice, even before the conquest. He states that Lakonian παρθένοι celebrated a festival of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos, but makes no mention of Messenian παρθένοι celebrating there. He stresses that Messenian notables, came to offer sacrifice there without mentioning Lakonian counterparts. On the other hand, Strabo (8.4.9) applauds the pre-conquest κοινή πανήγυρις in honour of Artemis at the same sanctuary, thus implying little religious difference between the two polities. Thucydides' remarks (4.3.3 and 41.2) together with the material evidence suggest that the religious commonality, implied by Strabo, persisted throughout the occupation, at least until the end of the fifth century. Given the archaeological evidence adduced above, Strabo and Pausanias seem to be right and there is thus little reason to suppose that there were major differences before the Messenians gained their freedom.

To what, then, can we attribute Pausanias' observation (4.27.11) of the existence of a unique culture in Messenia half a millennium after the liberation? One answer could be continuity in Messenian religious cults (and historical memory) throughout the Spartan occupation that possibly experienced a kind of revival following the liberation from the Lakonians and repatriation of the diaspora. Another possibility is that a newly-independent Messenian polity was compelled to create a new ethnic identity by manufacturing a mythic

²² J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1999²) 1.

²³ Parker, 'Religion', 142 detects a distinctive set of Spartiate religious emphases. Cf. N. Richer, 'The Religious System at Sparta', in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2007) 236-52 at 237 who denies fundamental differences between Lakonian religion and other Greek 'religions' and M.A. Flower, 'Spartan "Religion" and Greek "Religion"', in S. Hodkinson (ed.), *Sparta. Comparative Approaches* (Swansea, 2009) 193-229 at 194-5 who notes that Richer actually does demonstrate differences and that there is sufficient diversity in the Spartan religion in the classical period to set it apart from the rest of Greece.

and historical past, which included religion, for the preceding period.²⁴ In the fourth century BCE, such inventions of tradition were not uncommon.²⁵

In his deconstruction of the perceptions of Messenian identity as it was articulated and developed over time, N. Luraghi demonstrates that the Messenians engaged in a creative reconstruction of their past before and after gaining their freedom. Since myth, ritual and religious symbolism serve to define ethnicity, he devotes some attention to these aspects by drawing upon sociological and anthropological models. Sanctuaries, cults and myths of Artemis accordingly take in a small, but significant, portion of his investigation. Even so, Luraghi contends that most Messenian cults attested from the fourth century BCE onwards were essentially the same as ‘Spartan’ cults.²⁶ He attributes the retention of the ‘Spartan’ pantheon in Messenia to a strong Lakedaimonian component of the post-liberation population, which consisted of those previously under Spartan domination, either in Lakonia or Messenia.²⁷

One of two Messenian cults of Artemis that Luraghi designates as typically Spartan is that of Artemis Ortheia, the most important or, at least, famous, cult of the Spartiates, although there were other Ortheia cults elsewhere.²⁸ His assumption of a pre-existing cult of Artemis Ortheia at Messene rests partly on the disputed identification and find spot of the aforementioned terracotta group. He expects that the Messenians would have employed new epithets to disassociate their cults from those of their former masters. Because the epithets are the same, the two Ortheias are the same as well.²⁹ However, from

²⁴ Limited ancient sources for the fourth century, the lack of reliability of Pausanias and insufficient archaeological exploration with consequent lack of material evidence have allowed arguments both for continuity of pre-occupation Messenian religion and culture, and a post-liberation invention of tradition. For a review of the opposing arguments, see S.E. Alcock, ‘The Pseudo-History of Messenia Unplugged’, *TAPhA* 129 (1999) 331-41. For the process of re-shaping the past in general, see E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983). For re-shaping the Messenian past, see Luraghi, *Messenians*. Pausanias offers the most extensive extant history of Messenia in the archaic period.

²⁵ Newly-founded fourth-century BCE Boiai on the Malea peninsula claimed a Heraklid founder and the participation of Artemis in its foundation when, in fact, Boiai was really a synoikism of three settlements (Str. 8.5.2 and Paus. 3.22.1). Boiai (L4) is discussed below.

²⁶ Luraghi, ‘Becoming Messenian’, 45 and 68-9 and ‘Ethnicity’, 127-8. By ‘Spartan’ Luraghi appears to mean Lakonian rather than Spartiate, that is, limited to the citizens of the town of Sparta.

²⁷ Luraghi, ‘Ethnicity’, 120-3.

²⁸ Pausanias (2.24.5) records a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia on Mt. Lykone, west of Argos, whose foundation J.M. Fossey, ‘Cults of Artemis in Argolis’, *RFIC* 15 (1987) 71-88 at 77-83 attributes to Spartan military incursions. Certainly there was good reason for the Argives to disassociate themselves from their Lakonian enemies by re-naming the cult but the name persisted until the time of Pausanias. As for other cults of Artemis Ortheia, H.J. Rose, ‘The Cult of Artemis Ortheia’, in Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 399-407 at 400 points out that cults of ‘Orthia, Orthosia or Orthasia existed in Athens, Megara, Epidaurus, one or two places in Arcadia, Elis, Byzantium, and perhaps Thera’.

²⁹ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 134.

what can be deduced, the iconography and cult activity of Artemis Ortheia at Messene, as we will see, does not imitate specifically Spartan practices.

The ‘alter-ego’ of Spartan Ortheia, according to Luraghi, is the cult of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos, near the border of Lakonia and Messenia, which became exclusively Lakonian after the conquest until the advent of Epameinondas.³⁰ Dedications from mid-seventh to early-fifth century, such as dress ornaments and mirrors, indicate Lakonian female cult activity.³¹ From the fifth century until the Roman period, such evidence is lacking. A series of dedications to Artemis Limnatis in the imperial period, however, witnesses contests overseen by both male and female cult agents (ἀγωνοθέται). One of these inscriptions (*IG* 5¹.1376), a dedication by a female ἀγωνοθέτης of Limnatis to Borthia (that is, Ortheia) is support for Luraghi’s contention not only that Artemis Limnatis was viewed as the equivalent of Artemis Ortheia but that post-liberation Messenian cults were essentially Lakonian.³²

With respect to Artemis, however, there are over twenty other cults of Artemis in Lakonia alone. There is, then, a distinct gap in scholarship regarding the differences and similarities of sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Messenia and Lakonia. Revisiting and refining Luraghi’s broad statement of essential religious similarity from the fourth century onwards offers an opportunity to contribute to that body of knowledge and close the gap by means of a comparative and extensive study of all Artemis cults in the southern Peloponnese. In sum, the ‘targeted quarry’ of this investigation is: are the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in post-liberation Messenia mimeses of those in Lakonia?

Four potential outcomes can be foreseen. First, the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Messenia from the fourth century onwards are simply a perpetuation of Lakonian practices, which is the implication of Thucydides. Second, they are a post-liberation revival of pre-Spartan religious customs, as Pausanias suggests. Third, the cults themselves are the result of an invention of tradition in a conscious effort to differentiate themselves from the Lakonians. If none of the above, a fourth option is an independent

³⁰ This is also the view of Richer, ‘System’, 243 who lists Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos as a cultic doublet of Spartan Ortheia on the basis of their liminal locations.

³¹ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 123.

³² M.L. Zunino, *Hiera Messeniaka. La storia religiosa della Messenia dall’età micenea all’età ellenistica* (Udine, 1997) 44-54 partially attributes the similarity to a Mycenaean origin of the Ortheia cult and perceives Spartan similarities in some other cults of Artemis in Messenia.

evolution of Messenian sanctuaries and cults. Comparison between the cults in both polities will reveal which of these outcomes is most likely.

Setting the Nets: Sources and Methodology

Closing the gap is no simple matter. The directions of the research, the broad nature of the question and potential outcomes require an exhaustive, yet systematic, approach. In order to document the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in the southern Peloponnese, I draw on different kinds of sources: ancient authors, archaeology (including sculpture and architecture), inscriptions and coins. Synthesizing and analyzing the findings from all these sources allows as complete a view as possible of Lakonian and Messenian Artemisia and their cults. This ‘setting of the nets’ prepares for the ‘catch’.

Each type of source demands its own methodology. The most important written source for my purposes are the wide-ranging personal observations by Pausanias in Books 3 and 4 of his *Periegesis*. His descriptions provide a view of the landscape, religion and history of the mid-late-second century CE of Greece. Yet Pausanias’ sources of historical information, Myron of Priene (*FGrH* 106) and the epic poet Rhianos of Crete (*FGrH* 265), have been demonstrated to be no earlier than the fourth century BCE and so must be considered with caution.³³ The *Geography* of Strabo, over a century earlier, often corroborates or amplifies Pausanias, but sometimes disagrees with the *periegete*.

Ancient poets also contribute much to the understanding of Artemis myths and cult practices. Notable among them is Callimachus, whose third-century BCE hymn to Artemis is rich in epithets, places and modes of worship. Interpretations of the vivid description of a nocturnal procession in the first *Partheneion* of the archaic Spartan poet Alkman are varied. There is little agreement on who the actors are, what they offer, to whom they make the offering or when the procession takes place. All opinions must be carefully considered. A dedication to Artemis Limnatis in the form of an epigram included in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* 6.280) provides details of cult practices which would not otherwise be evident in the archaeological record.

³³ For a discussion of Pausanias’ sources for the history of Messenia, see Luraghi, ‘Becoming Messenian’, 47 and *Messenians*, 83-8.

When written evidence is controversial, obscure, incomplete, biased or absent, material evidence from archaeological excavations can often serve to clarify, amplify but, sometimes, mystify what we know, or think we know. Interpretation of finds can lead to different conclusions, as we have already seen in the case of the terracotta group from the Ω-Ω sanctuary at Messene. For the most part, however, reports of archaeological excavations make positive contributions to the study of Artemis sanctuaries and cults. At Messene, for example, a marble arm fragment supporting a portable cult statue has been found. Such statues were usually made of wood and have therefore long since vanished. Excavation of more sites would, of course, be welcome, but the Minnesota Messenia Expedition and the Laconia Survey, which provide snapshot overviews of all known sites, prove helpful in mapping, cataloguing the character of surface finds, establishing dates of habitation or use. Furthermore, they provide supporting references to the sites described by ancient authors.³⁴

Inscriptions, a type of written source that can often be placed in an archaeological context, is another significant source for the study of Artemis sanctuaries and cults. Through inscriptions on stone, we can deduce the political, religious or social roles of dedicators, the character and occasion of their dedications, the nature of specific cult activities, the political role of sanctuaries and the relationships between cult agents. Stamped terracotta tiles identify temple sites while inscribed brass cymbals suggest cult activity. Inscriptions are sometimes enhanced with bas reliefs which, among other aspects, may suggest the iconography of the cult statue, cult instruments and activities. At Sparta, for instance, an inscribed dedication includes a depiction of the temple of Artemis Ortheia of which excavations have shown to be a fairly accurate representation.

Another source of evidence that will be used throughout this dissertation is coins, which are especially useful for reconstructing the appearance of cult statues, now lost. F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner offer a set of criteria which helps to determine whether a divine image on a coin represents the statue in a temple.³⁵ A good example is a Julio-Claudian coin from Messene which shows Artemis with her hand resting on a pillar, one of

³⁴ W.A. McDonald and G.R. Rapp Jr. (eds), *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition* (Minneapolis, 1972); W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R.W.V. Catling and G. Shipley (eds), *The Laconia Survey*, 2 vols (Athens, 1996).

³⁵ F.W. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art. A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (Chicago, 1964²) 2-3.

the criteria that identifies a representation of a cult statue. An actual statue, similar in stance and iconography, confirms the interpretation.³⁶ Numismatic evidence can also serve to indicate the presence or persistence of a cult, where other indications are lacking.

While these sources are necessary to reconstruct the sacred sites and relevant cults and practices, visits to various sanctuary sites and relevant museum collections in Greece are invaluable for a final analysis of the evidence. No photograph can take the place of personal inspection of the landscape, the site of a sanctuary, a specific artifact or inscription. Ancient travel guides and poetry, archaeological reports, collections of inscriptions and coins, modern books and articles all come to life when the researcher sees with her own eyes what has been previously seen only through the eyes of others. Therefore, the opportunity to visit some of the sanctuaries that are part of this study and associated collections in various museums has greatly enriched my understanding of Artemis, her sanctuaries and cults in the southern Peloponnese.³⁷ These visits set all the research in context, allowing for a measured response to the question of this dissertation and a ‘closing of the gap’.

Plan of the Dissertation

The dissertation is based on a firm foundation of previous scholarship which encompasses the multiple disciplines required for such a wide-ranging study. Foremost among them is M. Jost’s concentrated study of sanctuaries and cults in Arkadia.³⁸ She draws upon literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources to enhance the archaeological realities, historical and religious landscapes of each sanctuary. Then, to define the character of each divinity, Jost interprets the relevance of myth, *epiclesis*, iconography and dedications for each cult. The result is a model study. E.L. Brulotte’s 1994 dissertation provides an annotated catalogue of Peloponnesian Artemisia.³⁹ While Brulotte presents many of the same kinds of evidence as Jost, he does not discuss landscape, *epicleseis*, myth or cult because his focus lies in the

³⁶ See Artemis Laphria (catalogue no. **M6**) below and Fig. 9.

³⁷ A University of Ottawa Research Travel Grant contributed to making these visits possible between April 24 and May 7, 2011.

³⁸ M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d’Arcadie* (Paris, 1985).

³⁹ E.L. Brulotte, *The Placement of Votive Offerings and Dedications in the Peloponnesian Sanctuaries of Artemis*, 2 vols (Diss. Minneapolis, 1994).

dedications, their placement and interpretation. His catalogue format together with Jost's more comprehensive approach form the basis of Parts I and II of my study.

In order to establish the context of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia, Parts I and II consist of comprehensive catalogues of sanctuaries and cults of Artemis. Following Brulotte, the catalogues are organized alphabetically by location, identified by the modern name. Brulotte's initial cataloguing of Artemisia is carefully assessed and emended where necessary. Several sites have been added, for example, Marios (**L9**) and the more recent discoveries of sanctuaries at Aigiai (**L2**) and Derai (**M2**). For various reasons, which are discussed in each case, some individual entries have been combined, such as Ageranos with Las (**L1**). Others, such as Haghios Petros, now associated with Hermes rather than Artemis, are omitted.⁴⁰ A completely updated and more exhaustive register of Artemisia in Lakonia and Messenia is the result.

The title of each entry for Lakonia follows the same format: reference letter and number, site and *epiclesis*, for instance, **L4. Boiai: Artemis Soteira**. To avoid repetition, references to the same site elsewhere, are given by letter and number, in this case, **L4**. The framework for each entry is landscape, *epiclesis*, sanctuary, cult and myth. Part II, likewise, catalogues the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Messenia, this time using the reference letter **M**. In this manner, the reader will have easy recourse to relevant entries.

The introductory section of each entry on the landscape presents the physical, political and historical context of the sanctuary. Topographical features, important to a goddess who hunted on the mountains, danced in shady groves and was associated with water, often relate to nomenclature and the nature of cult practices. The relationship of the sanctuary to the urban centre and territorial boundaries, reflects Artemis as protectress of territories, complying with the well-regarded precepts of F. de Polignac.⁴¹ Establishing the history of the landscape allows for determining whether the sanctuary was likely to have been active during the period under investigation.

Moving to the second section, the explanations or origins of the epithets given by Pausanias or other ancient authors are especially valued for their attested meaning at a

⁴⁰ See J. Bakke, *Forty Rivers. Landscape and Memory in the District of Ancient Tegea* (Diss. Bergen, 2007) 306-15.

⁴¹ F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City State* (tr. J. Lloyd; Chicago, 1995).

certain time and place. Often these descriptions reflect the physical or political landscape or are derived from an aspect of the cult myth or a particular cult activity. Careful scrutiny of the epithet assists in establishing the character and function of the goddess in relation to the cult.⁴²

A visit to the sanctuary follows. Here particular attention is paid to Pausanias' use of the designations *ναός* and *ιερόν*, for the latter may not always imply the presence of an actual temple.⁴³ In Lakonia and Messenia, few Artemisia have been positively identified and fewer still have been excavated. Where possible, such features as the altar, the temple itself, its cult statue and sacred furnishings are exploited for their political, cultural or religious symbolism. The physical relationship of certain sanctuary elements (such as altar and temple) to one another, for example, can suggest specific functions or cult activities. Fragmentary evidence from field surveys and casual finds also play a role in the interpretation of the sanctuary.

The final section of each entry, myth and cult, begins with the cult myth(s), where known. Such stories can provide explanations of cultic performance, paradigms for acceptable religious behaviour, reinforcement of cultural identity and advancement of territorial claims.⁴⁴ The latter two categories are especially relevant to post-liberation Messenia. The myths themselves, inscriptions, literature and material finds aid in identification of cult actors and agents. Their role in sacrifices, festivals, dancing, processions and contests recreates a picture of cultic activity. Of particular importance to the understanding of female choruses of Artemis, a common cult practice, is the anthropological approach of C. Calame, based on A. van Gennep's tripartite model of initiation consisting of separation, transitional rites and reintegration.⁴⁵ Types of dedications to Artemis and their placement are also important to the interpretation of cult

⁴² For each epithet, the standard etymological dictionaries, P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, histoire des mots* (Paris, 2009²) and R.S.P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols (Leiden 2009) which updates H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols (Heidelberg, 1979) have been checked. However, since this study is not primarily concerned with the linguistic etymology of the epithets in question, which may well be different from the explanations given by ancient authors, entries are only cited when relevant for the discussion of the connection between epithet and cult.

⁴³ See *LSJ* s.v. *ναός* I. Pausanias seems to make a distinction between the more specific *ναός* and *ιερόν* which can simply mean a 'holy place' (*LSJ* s.v. *ιερός* III.2).

⁴⁴ Bremmer, *Religion*, 58.

⁴⁵ A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (tr. M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee; Chicago, 1960); C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece. Their Morphology, Religious Role and Function* (tr. D. Collins and J. Orion; Lanham, MD, 1997).

activity. Re-creating a picture of cultic activity is difficult, and often impossible, when there are so many holes in the net. Nonetheless, the effort is made where possible and plausible.

In Part III, the evidence presented in each of the main sections of Parts I and II, landscape, *epiclesis*, sanctuary and cult and myth will be synthesized and analyzed in the same order. Evaluation of cultic relationships with the landscape, the meaning of the cult names, the components of the sanctuaries themselves and their relationships to cult activities, the myths, cult practices, agents and actors, reveals both similarities and differences between the polities and allows for a detailed comparative study. The weight of the evidence determines the outcome.

In the General Conclusion, a summary of the synthesis and analysis with the conclusions derived from it will answer the question of this dissertation and thus determine which of the four possible outcomes mentioned above prevails.

Part I: Sanctuaries and Cults of Artemis in Lakonia

Introduction

Lakonia or Lakedaimonia, at the height of its power in the late classical period, encompassed the entire area of the southern Peloponnese bounded on the north by Elis, Arkadia and Argolis. Beginning with the Theban invasion in 370 BCE, Lakonia began to be diminished in area because of a series of military setbacks. By the early second century BCE, it was reduced to an area on the plain of the Eurotas around Sparta town bounded on the west by Mt. Taygetos and the east by Mt. Parnon (Fig. 1).⁴⁶ After the Roman conquest (195 BCE), many of its former constituents became members of the Lakedaimonian League (Paus. 3.21.7), which was refounded by Augustus as the Eleutherolakonian League.⁴⁷ Because they remained essentially Lakonian in character, as the names suggest, they are included in the following catalogue of sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Lakonia. The locations of the Artemisia discussed in Part I can be found at Fig. 2.

Catalogue

L1. Ageranos/Las: Artemis Diktyнна⁴⁸

Landscape

A ναός of Artemis Diktyнна stood on a cape by the sea near Araĩnos, the site of the tumulus of the founder, Las, who was a victim of Patroklos, with his statue above it. South of the cape was the river Smenos whose water was exceptionally fresh (Paus. 3.24.9-10).⁴⁹ The promontory to which Pausanias refers is near modern Ageranos and overlooks the

⁴⁶ See G. Shipley, 'The Extent of Spartan Territory in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods', *ABSA* 95 (2000) 367-90. For a history of Sparta's rise to power, see P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia. A Regional History, 1300-362 BC* (London and New York, 2002). For its decline, see P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Sparta. A Tale of Two Cities* (London and New York, 2002).

⁴⁷ The Eleutherolakonian League came into existence when Lakonian maritime *poleis* were placed under the protection of the Achaean League in 195 BCE (K.M.T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta. A Re-Examination of the Evidence* (Manchester, 1949) 435-7).

⁴⁸ For Ageranos, see Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 164 (no. 129); for Las, see Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 177 (no. 145). Ageranos and Las have been combined here because Ageranos (Araĩnos) appears to have been part of the territory of Las.

⁴⁹ The name of the river means 'bee-hive' or 'swarm of bees' (*LSJ* s.v. *σμῆνος*). A second-first century BCE coin from Iulis (Crete) has the head of Artemis (or Diktyнна) on one side and a bee on the reverse (W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Crete and the Aegean Islands* (Bologna, 1963) 96 (Pl. XXII.18). While it recalls the bee as a symbol of Artemis at Ephesos, the bee plays an important role during the infancy of Zeus on Crete where he was fed goat's milk and honey by the nymphs (Wroth, *Catalogue*, xxvi). A Cretan coin of Trajan, labelled ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ, indicates that Diktyнна was thought to be one of those nymphs (although there is no literary evidence). The coin shows the goddess, who is in hunting garb, holding the baby Zeus on her lap with one of the Kouretes before and another behind them (Wroth, *Catalogue*, 3 (Pl. 1.9). It was thus seem that the name of the river was no coincidence.

small Gulf of Vathy to the north.⁵⁰ Ten *stadia* (1.85 km) inland from Araĩnos stood the *polis* of Las with its classical temples of Athena, Dionysos, Asklepios and Apollo, but not Artemis, on three hills (Paus. 3.24.6-8). Eleutherolakonian Las, with its milky spring and gymnasium below these hills (Paus. 3.21.7 and 3.24.8), is generally identified with modern Passava.⁵¹ Despite the fact that Las was never on the sea, Thucydides (8.91.2-3) names it as an anchorage for the Lakedaimonian fleet in the Peloponnesian War, and Strabo (8.5.3-4) identifies Las as a Heraklid naval station. Both authors must be referring to Ageranos as the port of Las, the site of the tomb of the eponymous founding hero and the sanctuary of Artemis Diktyнна.

What better location for a ναός of a liminal goddess? Her extra-urban sanctuary, marking a physical boundary between land and sea and a political boundary of Las, was ideal for her duty of λιμένεσσιν επίσκοπος (Call. *Dian.* 40).⁵² While the cape rises only 120 m above sea level, it does dominate the local landscape and could thus be classified as a mountain, a delight to the goddess (Hom. *Od.* 6.102-9).⁵³ In view of the nearby Smenos river and its possible cultic importance, Pindar's (*P.* 2.7) epithet, Ποταμία, could equally apply to Artemis at Ageranos. In sum, the landscape was well-suited to the goddess.⁵⁴

Epiclesis

The *epiclesis* Δικτύωνη is associated with the type of net used for hunting or fishing (δίκτυον).⁵⁵ Artemis is generally known as the goddess of the hunt, where nets were used,

⁵⁰ See G. Shipley, 'Archaeological Sites in Laconia and Thyreatis', in Cavanagh, Crowel, Catling and Shipley, *Laconia Survey*, 2.263-313 at 301 (no. LL158); 'Lakedaimonians', 192 and 268 (site no. 128). Shipley, 'Extent', 387-8 doubts that Araĩnos was a *polis* in the Hellenistic period, at least before 195 BCE.

⁵¹ For Las, see Shipley, 'Sites', 300; 'Lakedaimonians', 190 (site no. 2) and 226-7. Las is assumed to be perioikic, politically dependent on Sparta until 195 BCE, while Ageranos was probably never an independent *polis* (Shipley, 'Extent', 387).

⁵² On Artemis and the protection of harbours, see P. Brulé, *La Fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société* (Paris, 1987) 186-90. For other Artemisia in marginal locations, see **L2-3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23** and **M1-2, 4** and **12**.

⁵³ M.K. Langdon, 'Mountains in Greek Religion', *CW* 93 (2000) 461-70 at 462. For other sanctuaries of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia in an elevated position, see **L6, 19, M1-2, 4** and **12**.

⁵⁴ See S.G. Cole, 'Landscapes of Artemis', *CW* 93 (2000) 471-81 for the significance of the landscape to placement of sanctuaries of Artemis in general.

⁵⁵ *LSJ* s.v. δίκτυον. Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 335-6 (s.v. δίκτυον) stresses the fishing net and does not associate the word with hunting.

but she may originally have been a fish goddess.⁵⁶ The fishing net plays a role in the myth of Diktyнна, the Cretan goddess of hunting and fishing, whose sanctuary on a peninsular slope at Kydonia, was established between 524 and 519 BCE by the Samians (Hdt. 3.59).⁵⁷ Δικτύωννη became an epithet of Artemis in Hellas as early as the late fifth century (Ar. *Ra.* 1355-62 and E. *IT* 127). Diodorus Siculus (5.76.3) explains that, because Diktyнна invented hunting nets and spent time with Artemis, people tend to think that they are the same and, indeed, their iconography is identical.⁵⁸ The goddess was worshiped at Ageranos as Artemis Diktyнна, but at Sparta as Diktyнна (Paus. 3.12.8).⁵⁹

Sanctuary

Like the Kydonian sanctuary of Artemis Diktyнна in Crete, the one at Ageranos was also on a peninsular slope. In the early twentieth century, E.S. Forster found an Ionic column lying on the ground in front of the principal church of Ageranos, which ‘must once have belonged to this temple’.⁶⁰ This architectural remnant is the only material evidence for a sacred structure.

Copper coins issued at Las during the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 CE) depict Artemis, attired in a short χιτών, reaching for an arrow from her quiver with her right hand to place in the bow that she holds in her left. A dog and what is identified as a ‘stag’ stand on either side.⁶¹ The dog represents the goddess’ pack of hunting hounds given to her by Pan, amongst which were the speedy Kynosourian bitches best used to pursue

⁵⁶ R. Lesser, ‘The Nature of Artemis Ephesia’, *Hirundo. The McGill Journal of Classical Studies* 4 (2005-2006) 43-54 at 48 (n. 48) notes that worship of Artemis may have originally been connected with a fish cult. In Phigalia, just north of the Neda river boundary between Messenia and Triphylia, Artemis was represented as a fettered half woman and half fish (Paus. 8.41.4). At Syracuse, fish were sacred to Artemis (D.S. 5.2.3) and at Ephesos a fish (and a boar) were instrumental in establishing the site for the city (Ath. 8.62). A ninth-century Boiotian container depicts a fish standing on its tail as a decorative element from the waist to the hem of her dress (L. Kahil, ‘Artemis’, in *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 618-753 at 443).

⁵⁷ R.F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London, 1962) 184 and 192 sees no reason to dispute the date of the foundation. In Roman times, the temple became the public treasury for the entire province of Crete and was guarded by dogs (Philostr. *VA* 8.30).

⁵⁸ C. Boulotis, ‘Diktyнна’, in *LIMC* 3.1 (1986) 391-4.

⁵⁹ In Sparta, there was a ἱερὸν of Diktyнна in the vicinity of a ναός of Artemis (without *epiclesis*) near τὰ Φρούρια, ‘the Forts’ (L14). For other cults of Artemis with a Cretan connection, see L12, 16, 19, 20 and 24.

⁶⁰ E.S. Forster, ‘Gythium and the North-West Coast of the Laconian Gulf’, in E.S. Forster and A.M. Woodward, ‘Laconia II. Topography’, *ABSA* 13 (1906-1907) 219-267 at 234.

⁶¹ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 65 (Pl. O XXI). The image is identified as Artemis Diktyнна by the authors. Kydonian tetradrachms (c. 200-67 BCE) depict Artemis Diktyнна similarly attired, accompanied by a dog alone but holding a long torch (Head, *Hist. Num.*², 392). For other Severan-era coins of Artemis, see L2, 4 and 12.

fawns, the source of her νεβρίς (Call. *Dian.* 86-97).⁶² The stag recalls either Elaphiaia, the Elean epithet for Artemis, (Paus. 6.22.10-1), the immortal, golden-horned Keryneian hind, which was sacred to Artemis (P. *O.* 3.29; Apollod. 2.5.3; Call. *Dian.* 98-108) or the deer which were among her prey as the deer-slayer, Elaphebolos (*h.Hom.* 27.2). The coins could be evidence of the appearance of the cult statue but they answer none of the criteria given by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner.⁶³ In any case, the coins suggest that a cult of Artemis persisted at Ageranos/Las into at least the third century CE.

Myth and Cult

According to Callimachus (*Dian.* 189-203), Δικτύννη was Βριτόμαρτις, previously a nymph of Gortyn, who was very dear to Artemis and loved to run and hunt. After a nine-month pursuit by Minos, Britomartis jumped into the sea and was saved by fishing nets.⁶⁴ The source of her salvation became her name and the Kydonian hill from which she leapt, her sanctuary. Pausanias (2.30.3 and 8.2.4), on the other hand, identifies Britomartis as a daughter of Zeus and credits Artemis for the transformation of her semi-divine friend into a goddess.⁶⁵ Van Gennep's initiation patterns of separation (the pursuit), transition and reintegration are clearly evident in this myth.⁶⁶ Such transformation of status is also an element common to myths associated with the initiation of παρθένοι.⁶⁷

The annual festival (έορτή) of Artemis Diktyinna near Ageranos reflects the wide spread of the cult of the Cretan hunting goddess and her syncretism with Artemis.⁶⁸ Antoninus Liberalis (40.1-4) places the origin of the cult with Britomartis in Phoenicia. According to him, the cult of the goddess first spread to Argos and then to Kephallenia, where she became Laphria. From the island in the Ionian Sea, the cult reached Crete, where

⁶² On hunting with hounds in antiquity, see A.A. Phillips and M.M. Willcock, *Xenophon and Arrian. On Hunting* (London, 1999) who provides the texts, translation and commentary of the treatises of the two authors.

⁶³ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 3-4.

⁶⁴ Other companions of Artemis, the Pleiades, jumped into the sea to escape Orion (Hes. *Op.* 619-20). For the Pleiades, see **L21** and for Orion, see **M9**.

⁶⁵ J.B. Harrod, *The Tempering Goddess. A Phenomenological and Structural Analysis of the Britomartis-Diktyinna-Aphaia Mythologem* (Diss. Syracuse, 1975) 11-93 provides a thorough analysis of the primary sources of the myth.

⁶⁶ Van Gennep, *Rites*, 65-114.

⁶⁷ For other cult myths where transformation is an element, see **L7-8**, **16**, **19-20** and **24**.

⁶⁸ *LSJ* s.v. έορτή I. Bremmer, *Religion*, 38 (n. 7) notes that the term, associated with good food, good company and good entertainment hardly covers the variety of ancient festivals.

she was worshiped as Diktyнна, and thence to Aigina, where the goddess disappeared only to become Aphaia (when her statue appeared in a temple of Artemis). The Cretan hunting goddess was worshiped as Diktyнна in western Crete and Britomartis in the eastern part.⁶⁹ In Sparta, there was a ἱερόν of Diktyнна close to the ramparts near the Eurypontid cemetery (Paus. 3.12.8). Only Pausanias, however, mentions the ναός and cult of Artemis Diktyнна on the cape overlooking the Gulf of Lakonia. We may conclude that, in Ageranos at the time of Pausanias, the Cretan goddess was syncretized with Artemis.

Callimachus (*Dian.* 183) notes that, at the Diktyннаion in Crete, altars were set up for the sacrifice which Euripides (*Hipp.* 145-7) identifies as the πέλανος, a mixture of barley meal, honey and olive oil.⁷⁰ At the Cretan Diktyннаia, garlands of either pine or mastich (ἢ πίτυς ἢ σχῖνος), but not of myrtle, were worn.⁷¹ Callimachus (*Dian.* 200-3) reasons that, because a myrtle branch had torn Britomartis' clothing, she disliked the plant.⁷² Like Artemis, both the resinous pine and mastich are found in the wild while myrtle is a cultivated plant.⁷³ This might suggest that the festival participants were yet to be 'domesticated' and hence were παρθένοι.⁷⁴ Since παρθένοι danced at the Britomartia festival at Delos, there is a possibility that they danced at other Diktyнна festivals.⁷⁵ While a πέλανος sacrifice, garlands of wild plants and dancing can be reasonably conjectured, they cannot, however, be substantiated for the festival of Artemis Diktyнна at Ageranos.

⁶⁹ Cretan Diktyнна sanctuaries, for which there is epigraphical and numismatic evidence, were concentrated in western Crete at Kydonia, Apta, Polyrrhenia, Lissos and, possibly, Phalasarna (Willetts, *Cults*, 183-93).

⁷⁰ *LSJ* s.v. πέλανος II.

⁷¹ Σχῖνος refers to *Pistacia Lentiscus* from which mastich, either as a resin or oil, is extracted (*LSJ* s.v. σχῖνος I). The lentisk itself is also referred to as mastich. For other cults where trees were significant, see **L4, 7-8, 21-22** and **25**.

⁷² The myrtle tree was worshiped in the cult of Artemis Soteira at Boiai (**L4**).

⁷³ Harrod, *Tempering Goddess*, 96-112 discusses the differences between pine, mastich and myrtle and their uses with numerous references to Theophrastus and the elder Pliny with tabular summary at p. 111. For example, Theophrastus (*HP* 9.1.1-4 and 2.7.2-3) addresses the cultivation of myrtle while at *HP* 1.3.6 and 3.9.4, he stresses the undomesticated nature of pine. Pliny (*Nat.* 15.31) disparages those who would try to cultivate the wild mastich.

⁷⁴ P. Brulé, *La Grèce d'à côté. Réel et imaginaire en miroir en Grèce antique* (Rennes, 2007) 70 stresses that παρθένος does not denote physical or sexual development or age but the liminal stage between girlhood and readiness for marriage. See also K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden. Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London and New York), 2 and, for further discussion, see G. Sissa, 'Maidenhood without Maidenhead. The Female Body in Ancient Greece', in D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, F.I. Zeitlin (eds), *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton, 1990) 339-64.

⁷⁵ Harrod, *Tempering Goddess*, 141.

L2. Aigiai/Gytheion: Artemis⁷⁶

Landscape

Pausanias (3.21.5) and Strabo (8.5.3) affirm that Aigiai lay 30 *stadia* (5.5 km) north-west of Spartan port city of Gytheion (X. *HG* 1.4.11; Plb. 5.19.6; Str. 8.3.12, 8.5.2).⁷⁷ Aigiai, now identified with modern Palaeochora, corresponds to Homer's (*Il.* 2.583) Augeiae, part of the contingent of Menelaos in the Trojan war. Aigiai was probably in the territory of Gytheion, perhaps 'primarily a cult place' in the archaic and classical periods, but a flourishing *polisma* by the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁷⁸ Like Gytheion, Aigiai fell outside Spartan control after 195 BCE.⁷⁹ A marshy pool to the south, which gives the name of Limni to the district, was probably the site of the Lake of Poseidon with its fearsome fish.⁸⁰ Marshy landscapes, associated with the liminal goddess, underline the opinion that there was a sanctuary of Artemis at Aigiai, at least during the archaic and early classical period.⁸¹

Epiclesis

The epithet of the goddess at Aigiai is not known.

Sanctuary

Archaeological excavations, under the direction of Z. Bonias, have uncovered a 600-575 BCE temple-like structure, possibly Doric. Within were found fragments of an early-classical, seated female figure of such size and quality that the excavators concluded that it was Artemis (Fig. 3). The marble cult statue sits on a lion-footed throne with her feet resting on a matching lion-footed stool, which has been recovered almost intact. Her hair

⁷⁶ Aigiai is not found in Brulotte's catalogue. For Gytheion, see Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 171-2 (no. 137). The listings have been combined here because Aigiai appears to have been a cult site probably, at first, in the territory of Gytheion.

⁷⁷ Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 190 (site no. 23) and 237-8.

⁷⁸ Diodorus (11.84.6) describes Gytheion as a *polis* with a *chora*.

⁷⁹ Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 191 (site no. 63) and 251-2; 'Extent', 384. For Pausanias, the distinction between a *polisma* and a *polis* is mainly one of size (W. Hutton, *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge, 2005) 128-9).

⁸⁰ Successful fishermen were said to turn into frogfish (Paus. 3.21.5). Two Ionic columns with capitals and architrave, and ancient blocks built into a nearby Byzantine church may be from the temple of Poseidon which stood on the lakeshore (Forster, 'Gythium', 231).

⁸¹ For other Artemisia in marginal locations, see **L1, 4-5, 7-8, 10, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23** and **M1-2, 4** and **12**.

falls loosely over the shoulder of her long χιτῶν with its buttoned, elbow-length sleeves, and she may have worn a πόλος. In her right hand, she holds a φιάλη, often an indication of female cult activity.⁸²

Seated figures of Artemis, however, especially in Lakonia and Messenia where she is frequently an action or standing figure, are somewhat unusual. Similar iconography is found in hand-made terracotta, bone or ivory figurines of an enthroned Ortheia in a long χιτῶν from the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta (L21) and on a bas relief from Teuthrone (L24).⁸³ A long χιτῶν rather than a short one and the absence of hunting gear tell against a certain identification of the cult statue as Artemis. On the other hand, three bronze coin types from Gytheion of Plautilla, the ill-fated wife of the Emperor Caracalla (209-217 CE), depict Artemis dressed in a long χιτῶν, holding a bow but standing.⁸⁴ However, other material evidence (see below) adds considerable weight to Bonias' opinion that the seated statue indeed represents Artemis in a kourotrophic role.⁸⁵

Myth and Cult

The interpretation that this was a female-oriented cult for Artemis, perhaps as παιδοτρόφος, is supported by the mid-seventh to fifth-century BCE dedications: quantities of miniature lead votives, an early πότνια θηρῶν figure and statuette groups of a female flanked by smaller figures (echoes of the so-called Eileithyia statuette from the archaic

⁸² Z. Bonias, *Ἐνα ἀγροτικό ἱερό στις Αἰγιές Λακωνίας* (Athens, 1998): for the temple (Κτίσμα Α), see 27-30; for the statue, see pp. 43-8 (Figs 5-6, Pl.18); for the footstool, see Pl.19. The image of the goddess is reflected in small terracotta votives most of which wear a πόλος (Bonias, *Ἀγροτικό ἱερό*, 161-172 (Pls 35-40). See also N. Kennell and N. Luraghi, 'Laconia and Messenia', in K.A. Raaflaub and H. van Wees (eds), *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Chichester, 2009) 239-54 at 244-5. M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London, 2002) 35 and 50 notes that φιάλαι are generally associated with παρθέναι especially at Athens and Italian Lokri where they are dedicated and carried in processions.

⁸³ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 24 note that statues of Artemis seated are 'quite or almost unknown'. For the terracotta seated figures of Ortheia at Sparta, who wear a crown or πόλος, see Dawkins, 'Terracotta Figurines', 149-50 (Pl. XXXII, 7-11). For the seated ivory and bone figures who have long hair, see Dawkins, 'Ivory and Bone', 220-1 (Pls CXXII-CXXIII). For a listing of examples of seated Artemis, see Kahil, 'Artemis', 670-3.

⁸⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 63 (Pl. O VIII, IX). In the first type, Artemis holds a bow in her right hand and long sceptre (or spear) in the left; in the others, she holds a bow and leans either her right or left elbow on a pillar. On coins, when a figure leans on a pillar, it is probably inspired by a statue (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 2). The coins suggest that Artemis was worshiped at or near Gytheion in Roman times and probably before, perhaps continuing from the fifth century BCE at nearby Aigiai and that there was a syncretism of a hunting type with the long-gowned πότνια θηρῶν type.

⁸⁵ For kourotrophic deities including Artemis, see T. Hadzistellou-Price, *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (Leiden, 1978).

Ortheia sanctuary at Sparta and the terracotta group from the Ω-Ω sanctuary at Messene).⁸⁶ A bronze and some terracotta bells are possibly votive dedications, their loops indicating that they were meant to be suspended.⁸⁷ Cymbals, an instrument played predominantly by females, *περόνια*, mirrors, miniature unguent bottles and some jewelry lend further support to female cult activity.⁸⁸ Torsos of articulated terracotta dolls (*κόρραι*) and figures of seated children of the temple-boy type support the interpretation of a nurturing deity.⁸⁹

The character of three of these types of dedications indicates the nature of the cult activity. The bells, like the cymbals, may demonstrate that dancing formed part of female cultic performance but they could also simply be part of the feminine noise associated with sacrifice.⁹⁰ Cymbals, traditional attributes of maenads (E. *Ba.* 59-61, 120-34, 152-67), provide a possible cultic link with Dionysos.⁹¹ The dolls, called *κόρραι* in antiquity, are likely the pre-nuptial dedications of *παρθένοι* putting aside childish things before entering the adult milieu.⁹² Literary evidence from Roman sources supports the practice.⁹³ A fragment of Sappho has been interpreted to mean that the clothing of the dolls was also

⁸⁶ For the *πότνια* *θηρῶν* figure, see Bonias, *Αγροτικό Ίερό*, 75, 93, 104-5, 110; for the Eileithyia-type figures, see pp. 83 and 110-1 (Pl. 40). For the Eileithyia statuette at Sparta, see Dawkins, 'The History of the Sanctuary', in Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 1-51 at 51 (Pl. CXXIV). Hadzistellou-Price, *Kourotrophos*, 147 notes that the epithet *Κουροτρόφος* was not used in the Peloponnese.

⁸⁷ For the bronze bell, see Bonias, *Αγροτικό Ίερό*, 212 (Pl. 62) and for the terracotta bells, pp. 154-5 (nos. 205-6 Pl. 30) and A. Villing, 'For Whom Did the Bell Toll in Ancient Greece? Archaic and Classical Greek Bells at Sparta and beyond', *ABSA* 97 (2002) 223-95 at 248 and 275. Bells were not found in the sanctuary of Ortheia (Villing, 'Bell', 249).

⁸⁸ For the cymbals, see Bonias, *Αγροτικό Ίερό*, 211 (Pl. 63) and 217 (Pl. 62); for the dress pins, mirror handle and rings, see Bonias, 'Ίερό', 211-3 (Pl. 62-3). On cymbals as a female instrument, see M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992) 124 and W. Anderson, *Musicians in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, 1994) 185. On dedications of mirrors in general, see Dillon, *Girls*, 13. Some epigrams, especially *AP* 6.1, suggest that mirrors were dedicated because of encroaching old age. See M. Ypsilanti, 'Lais and her Mirror', *BICS* 49 (2006), 193-213. On a similar assemblage of dedications, see **M12**.

⁸⁹ For the dolls, see Bonias, *Αγροτικό Ίερό*, 87-8, 203-4 (Pl. 58). For dolls in general, see M. Manson, 'Les poupées antiques', in *Jouer dans l'Antiquité. Catalogue d'exposition, novembre 1991 - février 1992* (Marseille, 1991) 54-8. Similar dolls have been found in a kourotrophic context at Corinth (G.S. Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*. (Princeton, 2000) 48-60, 151-2 (Pls 13-4) and at the sanctuary of Demeter at Knidos (H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1903) 229 (no. C 431). For the seated children, see Bonias, *Αγροτικό Ίερό*, 200-1 (Pl. 55). On the temple-boy type, see T. Hadzisteliou-Price, 'The Type of the Crouching Child and the "Temple Boys"', *ABSA* 64 (1969), 95-111 who notes that such figures are commonly found in sanctuaries of deities concerned with child-care.

⁹⁰ Strabo 7.3.4 (quoting Menander) associates cymbals with women and sacrifice. Villing, 'Bell', 288 links bells with cymbals as signifiers of female ritual dance.

⁹¹ Calame, *Choruses*, 148. For other cults with a possible Dionysiac element, see **L6**, **8**, **21-2** and **M12**.

⁹² See the discussion in Manson, 'Poupées'.

⁹³ *Schol. ad Hor. Sat.* 1.5.65-6: *solebant pueri postquam pueritiam excedebant dis penatibus bullas suas consecrare similiter et puellae pupas*; *Lact. Inst.* 2.4.12 = *Persius Sat.* 2.69-70: *in sancto quid facit aurum? Nempe hoc quod Veneri donatae a virgo pupae*.

dedicated at the same time.⁹⁴ Hundreds of similar terracotta dedications to the nymphs at a cave spring at Epizephyrian Lokri are understood as such.⁹⁵ Νύμφαι, the very name of the frequent companions of Artemis, indicates a social status as potential brides. Therefore, we might reasonably conjecture that the temple at Aigiiai was the site of female rites, perhaps of transition from κόραι to νύμφαι, which included dance and dedications of dolls.⁹⁶

L3. Amyklai: Artemis Patriotis⁹⁷

Landscape

Amyklai lies about 5 km southwest of the four contiguous villages (*obai*) on the west bank of the Eurotas which were enclosed in Sparta's first defensive wall sometime around 317 BCE.⁹⁸ Amyklai is traditionally included as one of the *obai* which constituted Sparta-town itself. In fact, it was probably a separate political entity until sometime between 7 and 2 BCE.⁹⁹ It was at Amyklai that the well-known Gymnopaideia and Hyakinthia festivals of Apollo were held.

Epiclesis

The *epiclesis* πατριώτης, 'from the same lineage, native, a fellow countryman', attests to the affinity of the Spartans with the goddess and implies that they were sprung from the same stock.¹⁰⁰ A cultic doublet, a distinctive phenomenon of the religious system of Sparta, according to Richer, is found at Pleiai (L11).¹⁰¹ Evidence for the epithet is found on

⁹⁴ M. Manson, 'Histoire d'un mythe: les poupées de Maria, femme d'Honorius', *MEFRA* 90 (1978) 863-9 at 864 (n. 5) reads (χερρόμακτρα δὲ) †καγγόνων† (Athen. 9.410d-e = Sapph. fr. 101 Lobel-Page) as πλαγγόνων and cites *Thes. gloss.*, t. II, ed. Goetz-Gunderman (Leipzig, 1892) 165 *pupae*: πλαγγονεαῖ. τῶν παιδιῶν. νύμφαι as evidence for the meaning as 'the clothing of dolls'.

⁹⁵ B. MacLachlan, 'Women and Nymphs at the Grotta Caruso', in G. Casadio and P.A. Johnston (eds), *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin, 2009) 204-16 (Figs 11.4-5). A survey of such figures leads to the conclusion that the most likely interpretation is that they are pre-nuptial dedications (J.L. Larson, *Greek Nymphs. Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford, 2001) 115-20).

⁹⁶ For other sites of possible female transition rituals in Lakonia, see L1, 7, 8, 16, 19, 20 and 24.

⁹⁷ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 167-8 (no. 132): 'Patriotidos' (*sic*).

⁹⁸ Kennell and Luraghi, 'Laconia', 243 estimate a two hour walk to Amyklai from Sparta. An early ditch and palisade wall at Sparta was made more permanent by 188 BCE (Cartledge and Spawforth, *Sparta*, 26-7, 71-2).

⁹⁹ See Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*, 92-3 for an overview regarding the inclusion of Amyklai in the *obai* and the question of its site. N. Kennell, *The Gymnasium of Virtue. Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta* (Chapel Hill, 1995) 162-9 shows that there is no evidence that Amyklai was a part of Sparta before c. 7-2 BCE.

¹⁰⁰ *LSJ* s.v. πατριώτης.

¹⁰¹ Richer, 'System', 243 who does not cite this example.

a third-century CE inscription on a herm from Amyklai (*IG* 5¹.559.19). It describes the mythical ancestry (Herakles and the Dioskouroi), honours and sacred offices of Sextus Pompeius Eudamos, which include a hereditary priesthood of Artemis Patriotis.¹⁰²

Sanctuary

While in the course of his description of Lakonia, Pausanias records temples or sanctuaries of most of the deities mentioned in the Eudamos inscription, he does not do so for Artemis Patriotis. Nonetheless, there must have been a cult, and likely a sanctuary, for which Eudamos was priest. Two further short and fragmentary inscriptions from Amyklai, which mention Artemis without *epiclesis* (*IG* 5¹.223-4), imply worship of the goddess in the area, perhaps as early as the end of the seventh century BCE.¹⁰³ These inscriptions, together with an ἄγαλμα of the goddess by the sixth-century BCE Lakonian sculptor and poet, Gitiadas (Paus. 3.18.8), would seem to point to worship of Artemis at Amyklai from the archaic period onward.¹⁰⁴

Myth and Cult

We know nothing about the myth or cult of Artemis Patriotis at Amyklai other than the fact of the hereditary priesthood.

L4. Boiai: Artemis Soteira¹⁰⁵

Landscape

The devastation of Lakonia wrought by Philip IV of Macedon against Lykourgos (218 BCE) reached as far as Boiai, which is located beneath the modern town of Neapoli on the

¹⁰² Chrimes, *Sparta*, 474 (n. 7) estimates that Eudamos held his hereditary priesthood *c.* 240 CE or a little later. The epithet is poorly preserved on the stone and the reading is that adopted by *IG*. See further Hutton, *Greece*, 20 (n. 50). Eudamos' claim to mythical ancestry, Herakles and the Dioskouroi, was typical of second-third century CE Lakonian personal invention of tradition (Y. LaFond, *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine, II^e siècle avant J.-C.-III^e siècle après J.-C.* (Rennes, 2006) 208-17.

¹⁰³ A.M. Woodward, 'Laconia I. Excavations at Sparta. Inscriptions', *ABSA* 15 (1908-1909) 40-106 at 87-8 gives the date for the latter.

¹⁰⁴ Another statue 'worthy of note' was the one by Bathykles of Magnesia-on-Meander, the sixth-century BCE creator of the throne of Amyklai, who dedicated a statue (ἄγαλμα) of the tutelary goddess of his native city, Artemis Leukophryene (Paus. 3.18.9). Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 166-7 (no. 131) catalogues Artemis Leukophryene among the sanctuaries but we know nothing about whether or not the statue implied worship of the goddess as Leukophryene at Amyklai.

¹⁰⁵ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 169-70 (no. 134).

southern Malea peninsula opposite the island of Kythera (Polyb. 5.19). Boiai derives its name from its mythical founder, the Heraklid Boios (Str. 8.5.2 and Paus. 3.22.11).¹⁰⁶ Despite the early date of its mythical founder, the *polis* of Boiai seems to have been the result of regional re-organization in the late fourth century BCE. Boiai remained in Lakonian territory until c. 195 BCE and was amongst those Eleutherolakonian *poleis* listed by Pausanias (3.21.7).¹⁰⁷

Epiclesis

At Boiai, Σώτειρα, the feminine version of σωτήρ, must mean ‘saviour, deliverer, preserver’, because the goddess safely delivered Boios and his followers to their new home.¹⁰⁸ Strabo (14.1.6) claims that the name of Artemis herself has a similar implication because she makes people ἀρτεμέας (‘safe and sound’).¹⁰⁹ The name has related connotations at Troizen, Megara and Pagai.¹¹⁰ With respect to Boiai, Pausanias (3.22.12) explains that a prophecy indicated to Boios and his followers that Artemis would show them where to settle. When they landed on the shore of the bay, a hare, which was taken as an embodiment of the goddess, appeared. When the hare disappeared under a myrtle tree, they decided to build their city on the spot. This foundation myth represents the synoikism of three *poleis* on the Malea peninsula, in the mid or late fourth century BCE, which became the thriving *polis* of Boiai in the Hellenistic period.¹¹¹

Sanctuary

The focus of the cult of Artemis Soteira at Boiai was the myrtle tree under which the hare had disappeared.¹¹² Pausanias (3.22.12) implies that it was near the shore, itself a marginal

¹⁰⁶ The ethnic Βοιαῖαί (Paus. 3.23.4 and 6) used in the Heraklid foundation myth may imply later belief in its early origin (Shipley, ‘Lakedaimonians’, 227).

¹⁰⁷ Shipley, ‘Lakedaimonians’, 190 (site no. 2) and 226-7; ‘Extent’, 381-2.

¹⁰⁸ *LSJ* s.v. σωτήρ I.

¹⁰⁹ *LSJ* s.v. ἀρτεμής. Whether there is a relationship between ἀρτεμής and Ἄρτεμις or which one is drawn from the other is unknown (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 111-2 (s.v. ἀρτεμής) and 112 (s.v. Ἄρτεμις)).

¹¹⁰ In the agora at Troizen, the sanctuary and statues of Artemis Soteira were supposedly erected by Theseus in thanksgiving to Artemis for saving his life in Crete (Paus. 2. 31.1). The military aspect is found at Megara where a sanctuary and statue of Artemis Soteira commemorated the salvation of the Megarians by Artemis in the Persian Wars (Paus. 1.40.2) with another statue at nearby Pagai (Paus. 1.44.7).

¹¹¹ The synoikism of Aphrodita, Side and Etis resulted in the foundation of Boiai (Shipley, ‘Extent’, 381-2).

¹¹² For other cults of Artemis where trees had significance, see **L1**, **7-8**, **L21-22** and **25**.

site in keeping with the character of the goddess.¹¹³ The precinct of the sacred myrtle must have had some sort of boundary markers to enclose it with its altar.¹¹⁴ In Pausanias' day, the myrtle tree was still being worshiped, a historical memorial of the founding of Boiai and direct evidence of a tree cult of Artemis.¹¹⁵ In fact, Pliny (*Nat.* 12.2) claims that trees were once the temples of the gods and that, even in his time, a tree of exceptional height in the countryside might be revered. Coins with a bust of Artemis struck at Boiai from the time of the Emperor Geta (209-211 CE) probably underline the continuation of the cult a generation after Pausanias witnessed the worship of the sacred myrtle.¹¹⁶

Myth and Cult

The association of Greek deities, especially female, with trees goes back at least to the middle Bronze Age on Crete where worshipers are depicted on seal stones approaching a tree beneath which stands a goddess.¹¹⁷ The cultivated myrtle was more commonly associated with Aphrodite (Plin. *Nat.* 12.3) and Demeter and was emphatically not part of the cult of Diktyнна on Crete (Call. *Dian.* 200-3).¹¹⁸ However, a second-third century CE inscription from Boiai (*IG* 5¹.960.10-1) identifies 'bow-bearing' Artemis as Locheia, goddess of childbirth. In this connection, dried myrtle leaves used as a fomentation were said to prevent uterine prolapse (Plin. *Nat.* 23.81), while myrtle wine (*myrtidanum*), applied in a pessary or as a fomentation or liniment, was good for uterine complaints. Extract of myrtle leaves was also effective for ulcers of the uterus (Plin. *Nat.* 23.82). Thus, it would seem that Artemis Soteira at Boiai was later worshiped by mothers-to-be and especially by women who had safely delivered.

¹¹³ A. Schachter, 'Policy, Cult, and the Placing of Greek Sanctuaries', in A. Schachter (ed.), *Le sanctuaire grec* (Geneva, 1992) 1-57 at 49-51. For other Artemisia in marginal locations, see **L1-2, 5, 7-8, 10, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23** and **M1-2, 4** and **12**. See also Richer, 'System', 243 who erroneously includes Boiai in his list of cultic doublets of Ortheia using *IG* 5¹.952 as support (see below at **L5**). Boiai could be seen to be on the borders of Lakonian territory, the criteria Richer uses for cultic doublets of Ortheia, but it is not generally regarded as such.

¹¹⁴ See discussion in D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion* (Malden, MA, 2005) 7.

¹¹⁵ D. Birge, 'Trees in Pausanias' Landscape', in S. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1994) 231-45 at 235, who misses the case of Boiai.

¹¹⁶ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 63 (no.1). For other Severan coins of Artemis, see **L1-2** and **12**.

¹¹⁷ M.P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* (tr. F.J. Fielden; Oxford, 1956²) 262-88.

¹¹⁸ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 124 notes that Artemis is more commonly associated with uncultivated species of trees.

We might press the symbolism of the myth further and consider the hare at Boiai as both an attribute and messenger of Artemis. Hares, because of their frequent and numerous offspring, were a symbol of fertility (Hdt. 3.108; X. *Cyn.* 5.13; Plin. *Nat.* 8.81.219).¹¹⁹ While both hares and myrtle are more commonly associated with Aphrodite, Philostratos (*Im.* 1.28) imagines a precinct of Artemis where tame hares grazed, under the protection of the goddess.¹²⁰ There is no evidence, however, that hares occupied a special place, either as a species protected in the sanctuary, as sacrificial animals or representational ex-votos at Boiai.¹²¹

L5. Boiai-Epidauros Limera Road: Artemis Limnatis¹²²

Landscape

A 200 *stadia* (37 km) road leads north from Boiai to Epidauros Limera on the east coast of Lakonia (Paus. 3.23.10). The boundary between these two *poleis* was at Epidelion (Paus. 3.23.6). Since Pausanias locates a *ιερόν* of Artemis Limnatis on this road in the territory of the Epidaurians, it must lie north of Epidelion but south of Epidauros Limera. Like Boiai, Epidauros Limera remained Lakonian until 195 BCE after which it became one of the Eleutherolakonian *poleis* (Paus. 3.21.7).

Epiclesis

Λιμνήτις, derived from λίμνη ‘a pool of standing water left by the sea or a river’ or ‘a marshy lake’, means ‘living in the marshes’.¹²³ The *epiclesis* places Artemis on the

¹¹⁹ For a synopsis of the long-held view of Artemis as a goddess of vegetation and fertility, see N. Waugh, ‘Visualizing Fertility at Artemis Orthia’s Site’, in Cavanagh, Gallou and Georgiadis, *Sparta and Laconia*, 159-67 and S. des Bouvrie, ‘Artemis Ortheia. A Goddess of Nature or a Goddess of Culture?’, in Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen, *Artemis*, 153-206 esp. 153-7.

¹²⁰ J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias’s Description of Greece*, 6 vols (New York, 1965²) 3.385. Xenophon (*Cyn.* 5.14) urges hunters to spare very young hares for the sake of Artemis which reflects Artemis as Agrotera, the huntress, but also, the conservationist who protects young animals in order to protect future hunting. On the aspect of conservation, see D.J. Hughes, ‘Artemis. Goddess of Conservation’, *Forest and Conservation History* 34 (1990) 191-7.

¹²¹ W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge, 1902) 305 notes that Artemis votives at Kerkyra frequently depict the goddess caressing a hare.

¹²² Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 170 (no. 135).

¹²³ *LSJ* s.v. λίμνη I and Λιμνήτις. Levi, *Pausanias*, consistently refers to Artemis Limnatis as the ‘Lady of the Lake’, or similar, following Frazer, *Pausanias*. I think this misses the point of the marginality of a marshy lake.

boundary between wet and dry land astride her domains of fishing and hunting.¹²⁴ Λιμνήτις, then, connotes both humidity and marginality. Artemis, a goddess of the growth of humans and animals, values a humid environment which allows ‘the natural and free development of forces of growth and blossoming signifying adolescence itself’.¹²⁵ The *epiclesis* is found at other locations in the Peloponnese.¹²⁶

Sanctuary

A roadside location between two *poleis* underlines the liminal aspect of the goddess and her cult and accords well with the duty of ἐπίσκοπος ἀγυιᾶς, assigned to the goddess by her father (Call. *Dian.* 39). Two possible sites for the ἱερόν have been identified, both of which are arguably consistent with the marshy *epiclesis*. In the early twentieth century, A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck identified the site of the Artemision as not far from Monemvasia near the church of Haghia Thekla, north of which was a well-watered and wooded district ‘still called Λίμνες’.¹²⁷ Subsequently, the presence of some ancient blocks and marble columns around the church and more marble columns a few hundred metres to the east seemed to confirm a temple in the area.¹²⁸ Much later, however, J. Christien identified the remains of a temple under water about 100 m from the beach north of Psiphia as the ἱερόν of Limnatis, an environment that must have once been a watery lowland by the sea.¹²⁹ Wherever the ἱερόν actually was, it can be safely said that it was in a marginal location.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Artemidorus (35) identifies Artemis as a goddess of fishermen but she is more often associated with hunting.

¹²⁵ Calame *Choruses*, 148.

¹²⁶ Other Limnatis sites are found in Lakonia (as Limnaia) at Sparta (**L19**); in Messenia at Alagonia (**M1**), Messene (**M7**) and Volimos (**M12**); in Arkadia at Tegea (Paus. 8.53.11); in Argolid at Troizen (*Schol.* ad E. *Hipp.* 1133 as mentioned in Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 132); in Achaia at Patras (Paus. 7.20.7-9); (as Limnaia) at Sikyon (Paus. 2.7.6) and at Kombothekra in Elis (U. Sinn, ‘Das Heiligtum der Artemis bei Komothekra’, *AM* 93 (1981) 25-71). See Y. Morizot, ‘Artemis Limnatis, Sanctuaires et fonctions’, in R.F. Docter and E.M. Moormann (eds), *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12-17, 1998* (Amsterdam, 1999) 270-2 (Fig. 25).

¹²⁷ A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck, ‘Laconia II. Topography’, *ABSA* 14 (1907-1908), 161-82 at 176 seem to associate the name and natural characteristics of the district with the *epiclesis*. Water is often a feature of Artemisia, for example, Marios (**L9**) and trees, as we have already seen (**L1** and **4**), are important factors in cults of the goddess.

¹²⁸ J.J.E. Hondius and M.A. Hondius-van Haefen, ‘Laconia II. Notes of Topography’, *ABSA* 24 (1919) 144-50 at 147.

¹²⁹ J. Christien, ‘Promenades en Laconie’, *DHA* 15 (1989) 75-105 at 92.

¹³⁰ For other Artemisia in marginal locations, see **L1-2**, **4-5**, **7-8**, **10**, **13**, **15**, **19**, **21**, **23** and **M1-2**, **4** and **12**.

An undated inscription (*IG* 5¹.952) from Boiai shows that there were athletic facilities associated with the sanctuary which included special seating for spectators (προεδρία).

Myth and Cult

There must have been an important festival associated with the sanctuary because there were processions and unspecified γυμνικὸὶ ἀγῶνες, for which seating was provided (*IG* 5¹.952.22, 24) and two categories of boys (οἳ τε νέοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες) competing in song (*IG* 5¹.952.17, 20). Musical contests for young males were a feature of the cult of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta (**L21**).¹³¹ Similar contests for young females also may have been held because Plutarch (*Mor.* 239c) notes that adolescents of both sexes in Lakonia shared sanctuaries. In addition to the sexes sharing sanctuaries, De Polignac observes that frontier sanctuaries of Artemis were frequently shared by neighbouring polities and it might be that Boiai, or even Epidelion, shared the Λιμνήτις sanctuary with Epidauros Limeria.¹³²

L6. Dereia: Artemis Dereatis¹³³

Landscape

The existence of an Artemision at a place called Δέρειον, not far away (οὐ πόρρω) from Lapitheion on Mt. Taygetos (Paus. 3.20.7), is consistent with the grant by Zeus to Artemis of the mountains as her special hunting ground (Hom. *Il.* 21.470; Ar. *Thes.* 114; Call. *Dian.* 39). Artemis ranged the mountains (Hom. *Od.* 6.102) and her sanctuaries were often on their tops.¹³⁴ An 850 m peak near modern Anogeia, about 9 km south of Sparta on the eastern slope of the Taygetos in the Bardounia district, has been identified with the

¹³¹ Calame, *Choruses*, 148 associates the presence of ἀγωνοθέται at Limnai/Volimoi (M12) with male choruses. By virtue of its marginal location, Richer, 'System', 243 counts Λιμνήτις at Boiai as a cultic doublet of Ortheia (**L21**). However, he erroneously regards *IG* 5¹.952 as an inscription of Boiai where there was a cult of Artemis Soteira (**L4**).

¹³² De Polignac, *Cults*, 36-7.

¹³³ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 170-1 (no. 136).

¹³⁴ Near Epidauros, Artemis had the epithet Koryphaia, the goddess 'who inhabits the summit of the mountain' (Paus. 2.28.2). For other elevated sanctuaries, see **L1**, **19**, **M1-2**, **4** and **12**.

Lapitheion.¹³⁵ The exact location of Lakonian Dereion has not yet been discovered. Whether it was atop the peak is therefore open to question but, given the local topography, it was certainly on elevated ground.

Epiclesis

The *epiclesis* Δερεάτις is a toponym derived from the place name, Δέρειον which itself is likely derived from δειράς, ‘ridge or chain of hills’ since the site is on Taygetos.¹³⁶ It accords well with a goddess who enjoyed such terrain.

Sanctuary

Pausanias (3.20.7) describes an ἄγαλμα of the goddess standing in the open air beside a spring (πηγή), called the Anonos which gives the impression that no building was associated with the sanctuary.¹³⁷ However, Hesychius mentions a ἱερὸν which could indicate the presence a temple.¹³⁸ Isolated finds of votives of archaic and classical date are indicative of a cult place.¹³⁹

Myth and Cult

Hymns were sung (ἄδόμενοι ὕμνοι) in the ἱερὸν of Artemis Dereatis.¹⁴⁰ Hymn singing was a common religious activity but it is not clear who sang or what the occasion was. Nor is it clear who performed a type of dance with suggestive hip movements, καλαβίς and καλλαβάντες, related to the Καλαβῶται of Hesychius and possibly linked to the cult of Dionysos.¹⁴¹ Springs were often a feature of cult locations of Artemis and *hydriai*, vessels

¹³⁵ H.A. Omerod, ‘Laconia II. Topography. Bardonia and North-Eastern Maina’, *ABSA* 16 (1909-1910) 62-71 at 65-6 followed by H. Waterhouse and R.H. Simpson, ‘Prehistoric Laconia. Part I’, *ABSA* 55 (1960) 67-107 at 82 (Fig. 1 no. 4) and R.W.V. Catling, ‘The Survey Area from the Early Iron Age to the Classical Period (c. 1050-c. 300 BC)’, in Cavanagh, Crowel, Catling and Shipley (eds), *Laconia Survey* 1, 151-256 at 231 and 2, 291.

¹³⁶ Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 247-8 (s.v. δειράς). The exact meaning is uncertain.

¹³⁷ For other sites where springs are noted, see **L9**, **22**, **24** and **M7**.

¹³⁸ Hsch. s.v. Καλαβῶται (K 378 Latte): ἐν τῷ τῆς Δερεατίδος ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀδόμενοι ὕμνοι.

¹³⁹ Catling, ‘Survey Area’, 1, 231 and 2, 291. For the possible head of a πόλος-wearing cult statue found at nearby Xerokambi, see M.N. Tod and A.J.B. Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford, 1906) 190 (no. 571).

¹⁴⁰ Hsch. s.v. Καλαβῶται.

¹⁴¹ Hsch. s.v. καλαβίς (K 383 Latte): τὸ περισπᾶν ἰσχία (Eupol. fr. 176 KA = Ath. 14.630a); Hsch. s.v. καλλαβάντες (K 471 Latte): ὅμοια σμιλῖος καὶ φαλίσον, ἐν αἷς τὰς ὄφρυς χροσμοῦσιν αἱ γῦναῖκες [ἄνθη] [ἢ γένος ὄρχησεως ἀσχημόνως τῶν ἰσχύων κυρτουμένων]. See Calame, *Choruses*, 172 (n. 257) who detects a Dionysiac element. See also Parker, ‘Religion’, 151 (n. 45). For other cults with a possible connection with Dionysos, see **L2**, **8**, **21-2** and **M12**.

specifically associated with females and water, were often dedicated to the goddess. Accordingly, S.G. Cole speculates that rituals of *hydrophoroi* would be held to protect the sacred πηγή.¹⁴² Although such a ritual remains a possibility, there is no supporting literary or material evidence.

L7. Hypsoi: Artemis Daphnaia¹⁴³

Landscape

Pausanias (3.24.8) locates a ἱερόν of Artemis Daphnaia, which was shared with Asklepios, in the territory of Hypsoi.¹⁴⁴ While the exact location of Hypsoi is disputed, it was in the vicinity of Las (**L1**) on the borders of the Spartiatai (ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Σπαρτιατῶν), at least as they existed in the time of Pausanias.¹⁴⁵ Hypsoi (‘Heights’) was definitely a Roman, and possibly a Hellenistic, settlement, although without the status of a *polis*. Like nearby Las, it presumably fell beyond the Spartan sphere of influence in 195 BCE.¹⁴⁶

Epiclesis

Δαφναία, the feminine version of Δαφναῖος, an epithet of Artemis’ brother Apollo, is derived from the aromatic evergreen tree, δάφνη.¹⁴⁷ In antiquity, the bay or laurel grew both cultivated and wild. For a goddess who loved shady groves (*h.Hom. Ven.* 5.20), a tree *epiclesis* (dendronym) is appropriate. According to Pliny (*Nat.* 23.43), laurel oil had a variety of medicinal uses and so the epithet was well-suited to a healing deity.

Sanctuary

The yet-to-be-found ἱερόν near Hypsoi was shared by two healing deities related to Apollo, the one his sister and the other his son. At Messene, Artemis enjoyed a ναός with an altar

¹⁴² S.G. Cole, ‘The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries’, in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, G. Nordquist (eds), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Athens, 1988) 161-5. Cole, ‘Uses’, 161-5 at 164.

¹⁴³ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 172-3 (no. 138) ‘Hypsa’ (*sic*).

¹⁴⁴ Artemis also shares a τέμενος with her nephew at Messene (**M8**).

¹⁴⁵ For other Artemisia in a frontier situation, see **L8**, **13**, **15**, and **M1-2**, **4** and **12**.

¹⁴⁶ Shipley, ‘Extent’, 384 notes that Hypsoi was ‘possibly a Hellenistic settlement’; in ‘Lakedaimonians’, 191 (no. 43) and 246 he notes that Hypsoi is attested only after the classical period.

¹⁴⁷ For other tree *epicleseis*, see **L8**, **21**, **22** and **25**.

within a much larger complex of Asklepios (**M8**). At Mantinea, there was a double temple with Asklepios on one side and Leto and her children on the other (Paus. 8.9.1).

Myth and Cult

In the Peloponnese, the nymph Daphne, as Buxton points out, was the mortal equivalent of Artemis, hunting in the wilds with a band of νύμφαι.¹⁴⁸ While we do not know what of the many versions of the Daphne and Apollo myth prevailed at Hypsoi, it likely had themes of pursuit (Van Gennep's separation) and metamorphosis.¹⁴⁹ The status of Daphne as a νύμφη and her transformation suggests a cult of Artemis Daphnaia centred on female rites of transition from παρθένοι to νύμφαι, signifying their eligibility for marriage.

Laurel itself may have played a role in the cult possibly worn as wreaths by dancers, used as an accessory held by or linking the dancers, or a offered as a wreath for the cult image.¹⁵⁰ If there were contests associated with the cult, a laurel branch may have been awarded to the victor, the practice at the Pythian games at Delphi (Plin. *Nat.* 15.127). The laurel tree echoes the importance of trees to other cults of Artemis with female actors while the situation of the ἱερὸν on a political boundary supports the notion of rites associated with liminality and, hence, Artemis.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ R. Buxton, *The Complete World of Greek Mythology* (London, 2004), 189-90.

¹⁴⁹ The earliest version, derived from Phylarchos (third century BCE), is told by Parthenius (15) in his first-century BCE *Erotica Pathemata* from which Pausanias (8.20.2-4) drew his story of Arkadian Daphne whose pursuit by the cross-dressing Leukippos is savagely terminated on the inspiration of the jealous Apollo. Ovid (*Met.* 1.452-524) omits the Leukippos element and concentrates on Apollo's pursuit and the transformation of Daphne. See also Buxton, *Mythology*, 190.

¹⁵⁰ Wreath-wearing female dancers appear on the Shield of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 18.597). An early archaic age cup from Athens shows dancing females holding upright sprays between them (Z. Papadopoulou, 'Greek Music', *ThesCRA* 2 (2004) 2.345-65 at 363 (Pl. 82. Gr. 159). See also H.A. Shapiro, 'Dance', in *ThesCRA* 2 (2004) 299-312 at 302-3 (Pls 65.4 and 66.7) for dangling garlands between male and female dancers. A. Spawforth, *The Complete Greek Temples* (London, 2006) 80 notes that crowning of statues with wreaths was a widespread practice. C. Lochin and N. Blanc, 'Couronnes végétales, guirlandes, rameaux et bandelettes pour l'image cultuelle', in *ThesCRA* 2 (2004) 451-5 at 455 (Pl.107.337) draw attention to a gold ring depicting a female holding a leafy crown up to a statue of Artemis.

¹⁵¹ For other Artemis cults with a focus on trees, see **L1**, **4**, **8**, **21-22** and **25**.

L8. Karyai: Artemis Karyatis¹⁵²

Landscape

The Sarandapotamos valley leading south from Tegea was marked with a string of three Artemisia, Karyai being southernmost and almost continuously in Lakonian hands until its capture and probable destruction by the Akhaians in the mid-second century BCE (Liv. 34.36.9, 35.27.13; Paus. 8.45.1).¹⁵³ Modern Analipsis, north-east of Arachova in the Sarandapotamos valley, where finds are plentiful, is probably the Karyai of Xenophon (*HG* 6.5.25), who describes Boiotian troop movements in the invasion of 370 BCE.¹⁵⁴ A re-located Karyai with a *ἱερόν* of Artemis Karyatis is mentioned by Pausanias (3.10.6-7) at the third turn-off heading south to Sel(l)asia on the way down from the Hermai at Stous Phonemenous, where the Roman boundaries of Arkadia, Lakonia and Argolis met.¹⁵⁵ Pausanias' description seems to place the sanctuary at modern Karyes, formerly Arachova, a Slavic word meaning 'walnut place'.¹⁵⁶ Both modern names suggest continuity with the ancient toponym.¹⁵⁷ In any case, Karyai was in a frontier area conducive to the growth of walnut trees, south of Skotitas, an area noted for its oaks (Paus. 3.10.6).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 173-4 (no. 139).

¹⁵³ Archaeological evidence indicates that the original site ceased to exist (Shipley, 'Extent', 375). South from Tegea were, in the Tegeatike, the sanctuaries of Artemis Limnatis (Paus. 8.47.6), Artemis Knakeatis (Paus. 8.53.11) and in Lakonia, Artemis Karyatis (**L8**), Artemis Sel(l)asia (**L13**) and Artemis Mysia (**L23**). On Tegean Artemis Limnatis, see Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 397 and Bakke, *Rivers*, 363-4. On Artemis Knakeatis, see Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 402-3. On Psili Korphi with its small marble temple and Artemis Knakeatis, see the discussion in Bakke, *Rivers*, 346-54.

¹⁵⁴ Investigation of the Tegean road network in conjunction with Xenophon's account leads to this conclusion (Bakke, *Rivers*, 107-8). See also Shipley, 'Sites', 284; 'Lakedaimonians', 190 (no. 24) and 238-9; 'Extent', 374-5. Analipsis, on the frontier between Tegea and Sparta, if it is not identical with it, cannot be far from Pausanias' Phylake (8.54.1) according to Bakke, *Rivers*, 208. On the problematic site, see also Christien, 'Promenades', 81-2 with a colour photograph of the Saranda-Potamos valley taken from the Analipsis acropolis at p. 101 (Fig. 2).

¹⁵⁵ There is another place called Karyai (without religious connotations) whose location in north-east Arkadia on the frontiers of Orchomenos, Pheneos and Kaphya, is unknown (Paus. 8.13.6; 8.14.1 with Levi, *Pausanias* 2, 405).

¹⁵⁶ Bakke, *Rivers*, 172-3 notes that the connection between Arachova and Karyai can hardly be a coincidence.

¹⁵⁷ The renaming of Arachova was part of a classicizing movement in the 1920s to replace Slavic, Turkish and Byzantine place names (Bakke, *Rivers*, 200-1). K. Romaios, who excavated extensively in the area on the Tegean border, favours Arachova/Karyes as the site of the sanctuary. The local inhabitants have posted a road-sign to that effect, Bakke, *Rivers*, 201 (Fig. 4.32).

¹⁵⁸ The evidence for continuous cult activity in the same location is unsatisfactory. Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 173-4 summarizes options for the site(s). See Shipley, 'Extent', 374-5 for discussion of Karyai's political fortunes. P. Cartledge, *The Spartans. The World of the Warrior Heroes of Ancient Greece* (Woodstock, 2003) 6 and 205 stresses its frontier location. Cf. **L7**, **13**, **15**, and **M1-2**, **4** and **12**. Because of its location on a border of Lakonian territory, Richer, 'Systems', 243 counts the cult at Karyai as a cultic doublet of Ortheia (**L21**).

Epiclesis

Κάρυα are walnuts and so, Καρύαι refers to a place where walnut trees grow.¹⁵⁹ The *epiclesis*, Καρυάτις, is thus a toponym referring to the nut trees in the area. In a story similar to Ovid's tale of Daphne and Apollo, we hear of a mythical Lakonian princess (and, hence a παρθένος) named Karya who was transformed into a walnut tree by Dionysos after rejecting his advances (Serv. *ad Verg. Ecl.* 8.29). Not only does the myth serve as an folk-etymological explanation for the name of a tree (and thus the name of the place), it also connects Artemis with the wine god.¹⁶⁰ Since the walnut tree played a role in the myth and cult at Karyai, Karyatis can also be said to be a cult name.¹⁶¹

Sanctuary

The general region was one of four sacred to both Artemis and the nymphs (Paus. 3.10.7).¹⁶² Off the main road to Sparta was a ἱερόν with an ἄγαλμα of the goddess standing in the open air (Paus. 3.10.7; Lactantius *ad Stat. Theb.* 4.225; Hsch. s.v. Καρυάτις).¹⁶³ The use of the word ἄγαλμα by Pausanias signifies a full-sized stone image rather than a portable statue of wood (ξόανον).¹⁶⁴ At least one walnut tree, the focus of cult activity, stood in the τέμενος (Lactantius *ad Stat. Theb.* 4.225; Serv. *ad Verg. Ecl.* 8.2). Karyai was thus an appropriate site for a goddess who loved the lyre and dancing, strong-voiced song and shady woods (*h.Hom.* 5.118-21).

Myth and Cult

Two glosses of Hesychius tell us that the Lakonians called sacrifices Καρυάτεια and that there was a ἑορτή and ἱερόν called Καρυάτις.¹⁶⁵ Every year Lakedaimonian παρθένοι

¹⁵⁹ *LSJ* s.v. κάρυον. Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 651 (s.v. κάρυον) notes that the derivative καρύα means 'walnut tree' specifically 'hazel, *Corylus avellana*'.

¹⁶⁰ For other cults with a possible Dionysiac element, see **L2**, **6**, **22** and **M12**.

¹⁶¹ Similarly reflections of trees in *epicleses* are found in Artemis Daphnaia at Hypsoi (**L7**), Artemis Lygodesma at Sparta (**L21**) and Artemis Agrotera Kyparissia at Vothona (**L25**).

¹⁶² The others were at Letrinoi in Elis (Paus. 6.22.9), Pitane and Limnai (Call. *Dian.* 173). Limnai can be understood as an *obe* of Sparta where Artemis Ortheia (**L21**) was worshipped or as Limnai/Volimos, a cult site of Artemis Limnatis (**M13**).

¹⁶³ Cf. Dereia (**L6**) which also boasted an open-air statue.

¹⁶⁴ A.A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta, 1988) 140-7 concludes that, for Pausanias, a ξόανον is always a wooden image. See also F.M. Bennett, 'A Study of the Word ξόανον', *AJA* 21 (1917) 8-21.

¹⁶⁵ Hsch. s.v. Καρυάτεια: θυσία Λάκωνες; Καρυάτις: ἑορτή Ἄρτεμιδος καὶ ἱερόν.

performed two types of dance at the sanctuary (Paus. 3.10.7). One was a traditional dance that had its roots in myth, having been taught by the Dioskouroi (Luc. *Salt.* 10). The other took the form of choruses, perhaps providing an agonistic element common to female cult activity. The choral dancing took place early in the morning daylight (μεθ' ἡμέραν) and the participants were not limited to girls from wealthy or elite families (Paus. 4.16.9-10). In addition to the dance and choral performances, the *chorus virginum* simply sang a traditional hymn to Artemis (Diom. 3).¹⁶⁶

In Pausanias' version of the cult myth, the abduction, attempted rape and subsequent ransom of the dancers is orchestrated by the legendary Messenian hero, Aristomenes (Paus. 4.16.9-10).¹⁶⁷ In a second version, the girls become frightened while dancing in the chorus, flee to a walnut tree and hang themselves from its branches (Lactantius *ad Stat. Theb.* 4.225). In a third account (Serv. *ad Verg. Ecl.* 8.29), both Apollo and Dionysos enter the picture. Apollo gives the gift of prophecy to princess Karya (Caroea) and her sisters on condition that they neither betray the gods nor seek to know what was contrary to divine law. When Karya's sisters try to prevent her from consorting with Dionysos (thus breaking their caveat with Apollo), the wine god goes into a fury and carries them off to Mt. Taygetos and turns them into rocks. He transforms Karya into a walnut tree. Because the Lakonians heard this tale from the goddess, they dedicated a temple to Artemis Karyatis (Serv. *ad Verg. Ecl.* 8.29).¹⁶⁸

Evidently the walnut tree was a focal point of cult activity which, while it surely did not involve suicide, does seem to have involved suspension of objects from its

¹⁶⁶ Calame, *Choruses*, 150 (n. 182) explains that the origin of bucolic poetry is attributed to the time of the Persian War when shepherds substituted the traditional song of the girls who had fled with a pastoral song. See F. Frontisi-Ducroux, 'Artémis bucolique', *RHR* 198 (1981) 29-56.

¹⁶⁷ Cole, 'Landscapes', 472 stresses the insecurity of the border and the risk for females celebrating festivals, often for Artemis, in such areas. She links violation of women's bodies with violation of the territorial integrity of the *polis*. On Aristomenes, see D. Ogden, *Aristomenes of Messene. Legends of Sparta's Nemesis* (Swansea, 2004) and **M2**.

¹⁶⁸ For other Artemis cults where the cult myth motifs of pursuit/abduction and transformation prevail, see **L1, 7, 16, 19-20**. See further S.I. Johnston, 'The Creativity of Disaster', in J.H.F. Dijkstra, J.E.A. Kroesen and Y.B. Kuiper (eds), *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity. Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer* (Leiden, 2010) 43-58 at 49.

branches.¹⁶⁹ Hanging was common in myths associated with Artemis.¹⁷⁰ Suspending offerings from trees, posts or walls where they could be seen by the divinity and her worshipers was a common practice.¹⁷¹ Some items were manufactured specifically to serve as dedications and provided with suspension holes so that they could be hung, but any item could be suspended from a cord or thong slipped through an opening in the object or coiled around a section of it.¹⁷² Terracotta figurines of κόραι, equipped with cords, ought to be understood as ‘special votives and bridal effigies (...) to be hung on shrine walls or trees in the woods’.¹⁷³ Hanging female figures from the tree(s) at Karyai would accord well with the myth of the hanging παρθένου. What is real in myth is symbolic in ritual.¹⁷⁴

L9: Marios: Artemis¹⁷⁵

Landscape

About 2 km from modern Mari are the ancient ruins of Marios, on a hill (Kastelli Mariou) in the valley below the village. The site is among those newly attested in the Hellenistic and Roman period but has produced archaic and classical architectural fragments.¹⁷⁶ This Eleutherolakonian *polisma*, perhaps taken from Sparta after the battle of Sel(1)asia in 188 BCE, lies near the crest of Mt. Parnon, 100 *stadia* (18.5 km) east-north-east of ancient Geronthrai.¹⁷⁷ Marios boasted an ancient ἱερὸν of all the gods which stood in the midst of a sacred wood with its springs (Paus. 3.21.7 and 3.22.8).¹⁷⁸ In Pausanias’ day, Marios was

¹⁶⁹ That an uncultivated tree was a focal point has led to the conclusion that the cult at Karyai was originally a tree cult (Calame, *Choruses*, 163). On the motif of hanging in tree cults, see K.E. Smardz, *The Sacred Tree in Ancient Greek Religion*, (Diss. Hamilton, 1979) 31-46.

¹⁷⁰ J. Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Madison, 1995) 118. J. Larson, ‘Handmaidens of Artemis?’, *CJ* 92 (1997) 249-257 at 253-4 places the beginning of this motif with Homer’s (*Il.* 16.179-86) account of the mythical παρθένος Polymele who, while dancing in a chorus for Artemis, attracted a lustful Hermes. E. Cantarella, ‘Dangling Virgins. Myth, Ritual and the Place of Women in Ancient Greece’, *Poetics Today* 6 (1985) 92-3 provides other examples.

¹⁷¹ Smardz, *Tree*, 36; Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 316.

¹⁷² Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 261-2.

¹⁷³ V. Sabetai, ‘Women’s Ritual Roles in the Cycle of Life’, in N. Kaltsas and A. Shapiro (eds), *Worshipping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (Athens, 2008) 288-297 at 291. In the same volume, see cat. no. 134 for a depiction and description of such a κόρη. Cf. L2.

¹⁷⁴ On the relation of myth and ritual, see Bremmer, *Religion*, 55-68.

¹⁷⁵ Brulotte inexplicably omits Marios from his catalogue although the narrative in Pausanias is clear.

¹⁷⁶ Shipley, ‘Lakedaimonians’, 191 (site no. 49), 193, 212 (n. 81) and 247.

¹⁷⁷ Shipley, ‘Extent’, 377 and 379. As appears from A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck, ‘Laconia II. Topography’, *ABSA* 14 (1907-1908), 161-82 at 166 the real distance is somewhat less.

¹⁷⁸ The Greek wall at the bottom of the village may be the site of the *pantheon* (Wace and Hasluck, ‘Laconia II’, 166).

exceptionally well-supplied with water, and its abundance continued to be noticed in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁷⁹

Epiclesis

No *epiclesis* is attested for Artemis at Marios.

Sanctuary

In addition to the ancient Pantheion, there was a ἱερόν of Artemis. It, too, had πηγαί (Paus. 3.22.8).¹⁸⁰ However, its position remains unknown.

Myth and Cult

The presence of springs in connection with Artemis may indicate a cult with female actors.¹⁸¹

L10. Pakota: (Artemis) Arista¹⁸²

Landscape

Modern Pakota is about 2 km southwest of Sparta in the vicinity of ancient Bryseai, where there was a temple of Dionysos exclusively for women (Paus. 3.20.3) or Alesiai ('grinding ground'), where the millstone was invented (Paus. 3.20.2).¹⁸³ Both non-*polis* settlements were close to Sparta on the plain of the Eurotas and remained Spartan throughout.¹⁸⁴ A late third-second century BCE stela found at Pakota suggests the existence of a sanctuary of Artemis in the area.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ W.M. Leake, *Peloponnesiaca. A Supplement to Travels on the Morea* (London, 1846) 362.

¹⁸⁰ Artemis is similarly associated with a *pantheion* at Orneai in western Argolis (Paus. 2.25.6).

¹⁸¹ See Dereia (L6) for possible cult activity associated with water.

¹⁸² Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 177-8 (no. 147).

¹⁸³ For Bryseai, see Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 192 (site no. 64), 252 and for Alesiai, see Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 192 (site no. 126), 268.

¹⁸⁴ Shipley, *Extent*, 380.

¹⁸⁵ The stela (Sparta Museum inv. no. 5343.4) is discussed by C. le Roy, 'Inscriptions de Laconie inédites ou revues', in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* (Paris, 1974) 219-38 at 229-38.

Epiclesis

Ἄριστα, meaning ‘best, noblest’ or ‘bravest’, is attested as an *epiclesis* of Artemis in Athens where it is attributed to the poet Pamphos, composer of a hymn to Artemis.¹⁸⁶ Artemis Arista was manifested in a ξόανον in a precinct of the goddess on the way to the Academy (Paus. 1.29.2). The only other instance of the epithet for Artemis is found on the Pakota stela. However, the inscription does not refer directly to Artemis but rather to Ἄριστα. Even so, it is obvious from the figure on the left side of the upper panel of the stela that Arista refers to Artemis. A female figure holding a long torch (δᾶς or δαίς) stands facing the viewer.¹⁸⁷ She wears a short χιτῶν, belted under the breast and at the waist, and laced hunting boots. A round or crescent-shaped pendent hangs around her neck.

Sanctuary

Whether or not the stela represents a site for the worship of Artemis is uncertain because there is no signifier in the relief, such as an altar. The stela may, in fact, have formed part of one of the walls of the fountain.¹⁸⁸ Three male figures in ἰμάτια stand to the right of the goddess, each holding an object: something round, perhaps a φιάλη, in the hand of the male on the far right and a short torch or a branch held in the right hands of the other two. The men, who are named in the inscription, dedicate a κράνα, ‘well, spring or fountain’.¹⁸⁹ Since the inscription mentions a ὑδραγός, the κράνα could well be associated with irrigation.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps, then, the objects held aloft by two of the men symbolize the vegetation that will reap the benefit of the dedication. The dedication of a waterworks is consistent with a goddess closely associated with fresh water, especially springs.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ *LSJ* s.v. ἄριστος.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. **L17**. For other sites where torches are significant, see **L13**, **17**, **24**, **26** and **M8-9**.

¹⁸⁸ Le Roy, ‘Inscriptions’, 231.

¹⁸⁹ *LSJ* s.v. κράνα, Doric for κρήνη, in this case a well or fountain. M. Del Barrio Vega, ‘Remarques sur une inscription de Sparte (MΣ 6747)’, *ZPE* 141 (2002) 134-6 at 134 points out that three Lakonian inscriptions from the same period and area (this one and the Eulakia inscription (**L17**) together with MΣ 6747) honour a ὑδραγός. E. Kourinou, *Σράρτη. Συμβολή στη μνημειακή τοπογραφία* (Athens, 2002) 226 associates these three dedications with the fortification of Sparta under Kleomenes III in the third century BCE.

¹⁹⁰ For the agrarian aspect of Artemis, see **L17** and **21**.

¹⁹¹ For other cult sites of Artemis with springs, see **L6**, **9**, **22**, **24**, **M7** and **11**.

L11. Pleiai: Artemis Patriotis¹⁹²

Landscape

Pleiai is identified with the village of Palaia (παλαιὰ κώμη), which lay inland north from Akraiai (Paus. 3.22.5) and east of the Eurotas river on a hill west of modern Apidia.¹⁹³ Strategically sited, Pleiai was the site of an ill-fated camp of the Spartan King Nabis (207-192 BCE) which was burned and destroyed with great loss of life by the great general of the Achaean League, Philopoimen of Megalopolis (Liv. 35.27.2-7).

Epiclesis

A simple three-word inscription, Πειλιπῖς | ἀνέθεκε Ἄρτ|άμιδι[ι], from the fifth-century BCE (IG 5¹.1107a) frames three sides of a small marble plaque bearing a bas-relief. However, the recipient of the dedication lacks an *epiclesis* and the find spot is uncertain.¹⁹⁴ A much later inscription on an early third-century CE statue base (IG 5¹.602.11-2) confirms a cult of Artemis Patriotis at Pleiai as a cultic doublet of Artemis Patriotis at Amyklai (L3).

Sanctuary

The bas-relief on the plaque depicts a female with shoulder-length hair who wears a short χιτῶν and hunting boots. The figure faces right brandishing one spear above her head with her left hand and holding another, which rests on the ground, in her raised right hand. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 239a), the Spartans make statues of all their gods holding spears because it represents Spartan and divine excellence in war (πολεμικὴ ἀρετή). Although Plutarch exaggerates, a spear was, according to Flower, a key symbol of Lakonians that summarized their system of values and way of life.¹⁹⁵ One might argue that, as a hunting goddess, Artemis often carried a spear, but her signature attributes, the bow and quiver, are absent here.¹⁹⁶ On the other hand, there does appear to be a hound sitting

¹⁹² Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 179-80 (no. 148) 'Pleia' (*sic*).

¹⁹³ Shipley, 'Sites', 307-8; 'Lakedaimonians', 192 (no. 99) and 262.

¹⁹⁴ See G. Treu, 'Artemisrelief mit Weihinschrift', *Archäologische Zeitung* 40 (1882) 145-8. Wace and Hasluck, 'Laconia II', 162 (n. 3) remark that the relief could have come from any of the sites on the east coast of the Lakonian Gulf. E. Kourinou-Pikoula, 'IG V1.1107a', *τό Μουσείον* 1 (2000) 57-60 republishes the plaque (National Museum of Athens, inv. no. 5998) with a full description, bibliography and photographs.

¹⁹⁵ Flower, 'Religion', 202-5. For other images of Artemis with a spear, see L12 and 21.

¹⁹⁶ Buxton, *Mythology*, 69.

behind her left leg. Treu remarks that the fifth-century relief is the earliest known portrayal of Artemis in a short hunting dress yet found in Lakonia.¹⁹⁷ If Plutarch is right, the double spears relay her prowess in war and so the image could represent the dual roles of Artemis.

Myth and Cult

At Pleiai, the cult of Artemis Patriotis had a hereditary priestess, at least in the third century CE when Pomponia Kallistonike held office for life (*IG* 5¹.602.11-2).¹⁹⁸ She was the great-grandmother of Sextus Pompeius Eudamos, attested as a priest in the same cult at Amyklai (**L3**).¹⁹⁹ This probably indicates the continued maintenance by priestly families of sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in the Roman period.²⁰⁰ However, we know nothing about the cult of Artemis Patriotis in either location.

L12. Pyrrichos: Artemis Astrateia²⁰¹

Landscape

Pyrrichos is strategically positioned in a high, transversal valley which links modern Areopolis on the east coast of the Gulf of Messenia and Kotronas, ancient Teuthrone (**L25**), on the west coast of the Gulf of Lakonia. Like Teuthrone, Pyrrichos was an Eleutherolakonian *polis* (Paus. 3.21.7). The area is mostly infertile, mountainous territory where water is scarce. Indeed, Pausanias (3.25.3) remarks that, should the well of Silenos in their agora ever run dry, the inhabitants of Pyrrichos would be short of water. The fortified acropolis of ancient Pyrrichos stood on the lower northern slope of the pass.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Treu, 'Artemisrelief', 148.

¹⁹⁸ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 179 erroneously states that the date is the third century BCE.

¹⁹⁹ Pomponia Kallistonike was also a priestess of Artemis Ortheia (**L21**). See K. Mantas, 'Women and Athletics in the Roman East', *Nikephoros* 8 (1995) 125-44 at 137 for discussion of the inscription.

²⁰⁰ Cartledge and Spawforth, *Sparta*, 137.

²⁰¹ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 180-1 (no. 149).

²⁰² Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 191 (site no. 51), 247. Cole, 'Landscapes', 473 notes that Artemis was often found close to mountain passes dividing one territory from another where she served as the protective goddess of thoroughfares (Call. *Dian.* 17-8, 38-9). For photographs, maps and an analytical catalogue of archaeological remains from the area, dating from the Hellenistic to Byzantine eras, with bibliography, see 'Pyrrichos', *AD* 55 (2000) 230-8 (no author given).

Epiclesis

Pausanias (3.25.3) states that Artemis is called Ἀστρατεία because at Pyrrichos the Amazons stopped from campaigning further (ὅτι τῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσω στρατείας ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύσαντο Ἀμαζόνες). Although the *alpha* privative negates στρατεία, ‘campaign’, and the *epiclesis* can be defined as ‘without a campaign’, Rouse prefers ‘Artemis of the War Host’.²⁰³ Brulotte (following Levi), on the other hand, translates ἀστρατεία as ‘unwarlike’.²⁰⁴ Cole, who understands that it was Artemis who turned back the Amazons at Pyrrichos, further refines the definition to ‘aborter of military expeditions’ because Artemisia on Salamis and on the northern tip of Euboia marked sights of significant routings of the enemy in Persian War naval battles.²⁰⁵ L.R. Farnell suggests that ἀστρατεία is a corrupt form of the Semitic goddess, Astarte.²⁰⁶ The actual explanation for the *epiclesis*, otherwise unknown, escapes us.

Sanctuary

In the territory (ἐν τῇ γῆ) of Pyrrichos were ἱερά of Artemis Astrateia and Apollo Amazonios (Paus. 3.25.3) where the Amazons (‘the women of Thermodon’) had dedicated portable images (ξόανα) of each deity (Paus. 3.25.3).²⁰⁷ On the hillside north of the little village of Pyrrichos, Forster noted a ‘number of columns of two sizes which probably mark a temple site’ (or, perhaps, sites).²⁰⁸ However, Pausanias does not say that the ἱερά were in the town, and so the architectural remnants found by Forster in the early twentieth century do not necessarily indicate sacred sites.

Alternatively, a natural spring, encircled with courses of stone, found on the lower slopes of a steep hill southeast of the ancient village, at the eastern entrance to the pass, may constitute an element of a sanctuary.²⁰⁹ On top of the hill are the ruins of a fortress

²⁰³ Ἀστρατεία usually means ‘exemption from service’ or a ‘shunning of (military) service’ (*LSJ* s.v.). Rouse, *Offerings*, 119.

²⁰⁴ Levi, *Pausanias* 2, 93; Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 185.

²⁰⁵ Cole, ‘Landscapes’, 477-8.

²⁰⁶ L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1896-1909) 2.485-6.

²⁰⁷ These same Amazons were famous for establishing the cult statue (ἄγαλμα), but not the sanctuary, of Artemis Ephesia (Paus. 4.31.8). For other cults with portable images, see **L21** and **M8**.

²⁰⁸ Forster, ‘South-Western Laconia’, 160. Over half a century later, C. le Roy, ‘Lakonika II’, *BCH* 89 (1965) 378-82 at 380-1 was able to find only a fluted, Doric, diminutive column drum (‘colonnnette’) in the village itself (Fig. 23) and another unfluted marble column on a terrace to the north (Fig. 25).

²⁰⁹ ‘Pyrrichos’, 237 (Fig. 2 at 29γ).

known as Kastraki.²¹⁰ Forster thought the site was medieval, but C. le Roy noticed Roman remains, commenting that the fortifications resembled those of Sel(1)asia (**L13**). In any case, the strategic position itself ‘suffit à expliquer la présence de ce point d’appui fortifié dès l’antiquité’.²¹¹ Consequently, the Kastraki fortifications seem consistent with the military theme inherent in the *epiclesis*, Astrateia.²¹² Certainly, the presence of water and an extra-urban location are consistent with other Artemisia.

While we have no evidence for the appearance of the ξόανον, the reverse of a coin of Caracalla from Lakedaimon, tentatively identified by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner as Artemis Astrateia, depicts the goddess standing at ease facing right. She wears a short χιτῶν and hunting boots. In her left hand, she holds either a bow or a whip and, in her right, a shield and spear.²¹³ Literally, on the one hand, Artemis is a hunting goddess and, on the other hand, if not a warrior, one who excels in war. Although a shield is an unusual attribute of Artemis, as we have seen in the General Introduction, it is also reported at Messene (Paus. 4.13.1; see **M4**). The numismatic representation of the goddess, however, answers none of Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner’s criteria for cult statues on coins.²¹⁴ Nonetheless, the presence of a shield and spear on the coin may point to a cult practice.

Myth and Cult

In both Pyrrichos and Ephesos, the Amazons play a role in the foundation of a cult of Artemis.²¹⁵ At Pyrrichos, the Amazons halt their advance on the warpath, and dedicate portable statues (ξόανα) of the twin deities in their respective sanctuaries (Paus. 3.25.1-3). At Ephesos, the Amazons set up a portable image (βρέτας) of Artemis under a tree and

²¹⁰ An elderly inhabitant of the now almost-abandoned village proudly pointed out Kastraki as the site of the ‘castle of King Pyrrhos’ to me (May 2, 2011). *Kastraki* means ‘fortress’ in modern Greek.

²¹¹ Le Roy, ‘Lakonika’, 382.

²¹² Subsequent investigations have determined that sections of the wall can be dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE when there was a Spartan army camp present (‘Pyrrichos’, 237).

²¹³ According to Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 54-5 (Pl. N III) the attribution is ‘anything but certain’ but, in view of the posited cult, it seems likely. A similar coin of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, from Lakedaimon has Artemis wearing a short χιτῶν with an over-fold. She holds a bow and spear in her right hand, a shield in the other. A stag is at her side (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 163 (Pl. GG XXI). For other Severan coins of Artemis, see **L1-2** and **4**. On spears as a key symbol of Spartan religion, see Flower, ‘Religion’, 202-5.

²¹⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 2-3.

²¹⁵ Brulé, *Fille*, 313. For a summary of the evidence, see C. Bron, ‘The Sword Dance for Artemis’, *GMusJ* 24 (1996) 69-83 at 77-8.

dance two types of dances: one a war-dance in armour with shields (πρύλις ἐν σακέσσι ἐνόπλιον), the other a choral dance to the shrill pipes (Call. *Dian.* 237-48).

According to Pausanias (3.25.1-2), Pyrrichos was a place named either for Pyrrhos (also known as Neoptolemos), the son of Achilles, or one of the Kouretes named Pyrrichos.²¹⁶ Both are associated with so-called Pyrrhic dancing or dancing in armour.²¹⁷ Pyrrhos, the son of Achilles, performed a triumphant dance in armour over the body of the Mysian hero, Eurypylos (Philostr. *Jun. Im.* 10), while Pyrrichos, the Kourete, joined his fellow Cretans dancing and clashing spears on their shields to drown out the cries of the infant, Zeus (Call. *Jov.* 52). In view of the connection between the Kouretes and (Artemis) Diktynna in raising Zeus, as evidenced on a coin of Trajan (L1), it seems more likely that Pyrrichos, with its temple of Artemis, was named after the Kourete.²¹⁸

How can these myths be related to the cult of Artemis Astrateia? Although males were more commonly associated with armed dances, females, both real and mythical, also performed them as a red-figured *pyxis* with a helmeted girl holding a shield and spear dancing before the altar of Artemis attests.²¹⁹ In Attic and Euboean coastal sanctuaries of Artemis, Pyrrhic dancing was performed for Artemis.²²⁰ At Pyrrichos, the Amazons had provided the temple of Artemis with a ξόανον, possibly for the same sort of dancing by the same sort of actors. Thus, there is a real prospect of παρθένοι dancing the πρύλις like Amazons, perhaps even calling themselves Amazons, around the ξόανον of Artemis carried outside her temple.²²¹ Furthermore, the likelihood of dancing with shields lends more probability to the interpretation that the goddess with a shield on the third-century CE Caracalla coin is Artemis Astrateia.

²¹⁶ The local association of Kastraki as the site of the ‘castle of King Pyrrhos’ reflects a later historical, rather than mythical, explanation for the name.

²¹⁷ By the late second or early-third century CE, the character of the dance had changed and only Lakedaimonians danced the original Pyrrhic dance, which they began to learn at the age of five (Athen. 14.29 = 630e).

²¹⁸ See J.N. Bremmer, ‘Priestly Personnel of the Ephesian Artemision’, in B. Dignas and K. Trampedach (eds), *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus* (Cambridge, 2008) 37-53 at 45 for an analysis of the dance at Ephesos and on Crete. For other cults of Artemis with a Cretan connection, see L1, 16, 19-20 and 24.

²¹⁹ Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. H 3010. Bron, ‘Dance’, 77 (Figs 9 a-b) cites the *pyxis* as ‘an important and rare testimony of the relationship between Pyrrhic and Artemis’.

²²⁰ Brulé, *Fille*, 186-200 and 313. For a summary of the evidence, see Bron, ‘Dance’, 77-8.

²²¹ Choral groups of παρθένοι were often designated by a collective noun, e.g. νύμφαι, and the name of the group could be reflected in the costume of the dancers (Calame, *Choruses*, 70-2). Buxton, *Mythology*, 120 notes that the lifestyle of the Amazons made them ‘a kind of collective equivalent of Artemis’. It is also possible that similar performances by males were held for Apollo Amazonios. Bron, ‘Dance’, 79 examines the possibility that Pyrrhic dancers wore red.

L13. Sel(l)asia: Artemis Sel(l)asia²²²

Landscape

The perioikic town of Sel(l)asia lay south of Karyai (Paus. 3.10.7; see **L8**) astride a major invasion route from the north (D.S. 15.64.1).²²³ In the classical period, Sel(l)asia served as the northern limit of Spartan territory (X. *HG* 2.2.13 and 19; Plu. *Ages.* 8.1).²²⁴ By the time of Pausanias (3.10.7), it was in ruins, depopulated following the defeat of Kleomenes III (235-222 BCE) by the joint forces of Macedonia and the Achaean League under Antigonos Doson in 222 BCE (Paus. 2.9.2). Although the exact site of ancient Sel(l)asia remains to be identified, archaeological evidence places it at Palaiogoulas on a low hill overlooking the Kelephina river, a tributary of the Eurotas.²²⁵

Epiclesis

Hesychius informs us that Σελασία (without the double-*lambda* spelling employed by Pausanias and others) was both a cult name of Artemis and a place name in Lakonia, presumably one and the same.²²⁶ Because σέλας can mean torch, Hesychius' *epiclesis* suggests a common attribute of the goddess.²²⁷

Sanctuary

Nothing was found in the main site to suggest the existence of a sanctuary but some terracotta figurines recovered from the north-east slope may be an indication of one.²²⁸ Certainly the frontier situation in the classical period invites the possibility of an Artemision until the destruction of Sel(l)asia. The *epiclesis* suggests that the cult statue, if there was one, held a torch.²²⁹

²²² Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 181-2 (no. 150).

²²³ Σελλασία is the more common version of the name but Hesychius (s.v. Σελασία), Plutarch (*Ages* 8.1) and Stephanos of Byzantion (559) prefer Σελασία.

²²⁴ Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 190 (site no. 28), 239-40; 'Extent', 380. For other frontier Artemisia, see **L7-8**, **15** and **M1-2**, **4** and **12**.

²²⁵ W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, 5 vols (Berkeley, 1965-1992) 4.24 (n. 61); Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 240.

²²⁶ Hsch. s.v. Σελασία. Ἄρτεμις. τόπος τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὅθεν εἰκὸς κληθῆναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν.

²²⁷ *LSJ* s.v. σέλας. At Phyle, in Attika, Artemis Σελασφόρος ('torch-bearing') had an altar (Paus. 1.31.4). For other instances of torch-bearing Artemis, see **L10**, **17**, **24**, **26** and **M8-9**.

²²⁸ Catling, 'Survey Area', 221 notes that their source may be a cemetery slightly uphill.

²²⁹ For cult statues and divine images of Artemis involving light, see Kahil, 'Artemis', 655-60.

Myth and Cult

The *epiclesis*, if derived from σέλας, suggests ritual use of torches at Sel(l)asia.²³⁰

Sparta

Introduction

Σπάρτη was the original name of the *polis* which later became known as Λακεδαίμων, the old territorial name (Paus. 3.11.1).²³¹ Sparta-town consisted of four *obai* (villages) which still retained ‘something of an independent identity’ and were thus not ‘completely synoecised’ (Fig. 4).²³² These four villages, Pitane, Kynosoura, Limnai and Mesoa, lay at the foot of the Taygetos mountains on the west bank of the Eurotas river. Although the exact boundaries of the *obai* are anything but certain, Pitane, the ancestral home of the Agiadae royal family, lay to the west while Kynosoura, the home of Eurypontids, was to the south. Limnai, site of the famous cult of Artemis Ortheia, was located along the river to the east while Mesoa was somewhere in the midst of the other three. Sparta-town itself was naturally bounded on three sides by water: the Mousga stream on the north, the Eurotas on the east and the Magoula river on the south. The immediate plain was enclosed on the west, north and east by formidable mountains, Taygetos and Parnon, which formed a natural barrier.²³³

L14. Sparta: Artemis²³⁴

Landscape

On his first tour of Sparta, Pausanias headed south of the agora (Fig. 4, no. 1) on the Aphetaid road, the main and oldest street in Sparta, towards a bridge over the modern Magoula. En route, he recorded a ναός of Artemis (without *epiclesis*) near the place called τὰ Φρούρια, ‘the Forts’ and a ἱερόν of Diktyinna near the Eurypontid tombs (no. 5; Paus.

²³⁰ For the role of torches in cults of Artemis, see E. Parisinou, *The Light of the Gods. The Role of Light in Archaic and Classical Greek Cult* (London, 2000) 81-3 and “‘Lighting’ the World of Women. Lamps and Torches in the Hands of Women in the Late Archaic and Classical Periods”, *G&R* 47 (2000) 19-43.

²³¹ For an overview of the confusing terminology, see Shipley, ‘Extent’, 368 and N. Kennell, *Spartans. A New History* (Chichester, 2010) 4-5.

²³² P. Cartledge, *Spartan Reflections* (Berkeley, 2003) 25. Shipley, ‘Lakedaimonians’, 207 clarifies that ‘Lakedaimon’ was a term used for both a *polis*-state and a *polis*-town. On Amyklai, see L3.

²³³ Cartledge, *Sparta*, 90-1 (Fig. 12) and Kennell, *Spartans*, 9 (Fig. 1).

²³⁴ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 182 (no. 151).

3.12.8). The proximity of the ἱερόν to the tombs of one of the two royal houses of Sparta places both the Diktyннаion and the ἱερόν in the *obe* of Kynosoura.²³⁵ Pausanias regards the two cults as separate which should not surprise because, on Crete, cults of Artemis, Diktyнна (and Britomartis) flourished independently.²³⁶

Epiclesis

No *epiclesis* is given with regard to the ναός of Artemis.

Sanctuary

The location of the temple near τὰ Φρούρια suggests a site near the city walls but away from the Diktyннаion, which was in the open.

Myth and Cult

Nothing is known of either the myth or the cult at this site.

L15. Sparta: Artemis Agrotera²³⁷

Landscape

No literary, archaeological or epigraphic evidence attests to a sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera at Sparta.

Epiclesis

Ἀγροτέρα is related to ἄγρα (‘a catching, hunting’) and ἄγρια (‘wild’) and thus Artemis Agrotera is the ‘huntress’.²³⁸ Iconography supports the epithet: Artemis is most often

²³⁵ G.D.R. Sanders, ‘Platanistas, the Course and Carneus. Their Places in the Topography of Sparta’, in W. C. Cavanagh, C. Gallou and M. Georgiadis (eds), *Sparta and Laconia. From Pre-History to Pre-Modern* (Athens, 2009) 195-203 at 195-6. A full discussion of the problematic identification of τὰ Φρούρια can be found in D. Musti and M. Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia, III: La Laconia. Testo e traduzione a cura di D. Musti. Commento a cura di D. Musti e M. Torelli* (Milan, 1994) 204. In 195 BCE, the Diktyннаion was in an open place without walls and therefore vulnerable to the attack of T. Quinctius Flaminius (Livy 34.38.5). See A.J.B. Wace, ‘Laconia II. Excavations at Sparta, 1906. The City Wall’, *ABSA* 12 (1905/1906) 284-8 for a survey of the second-century BCE city walls.

²³⁶ Willetts, *Cults*, 272-7 provides the literary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence. At Ageranos there was a temple and annual festival of Artemis Diktyнна, at least in the time of Pausanias, when Cretan Diktyнна and Hellenic Artemis appear to have been syncretized in Eleutherolakonian territory (L1).

²³⁷ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 183-4 (no. 154).

²³⁸ *LSJ* s.v. ἄγρα I, ἄγρια I and Ἀγροτέρα II. The epithet is also found at Vothona (L25).

readily identified as a huntress by her quiver and bow. But in Sparta, where hunting was regarded as an activity that was good preparation for battle, Artemis Agrotera was also a kind of war goddess.²³⁹ Third-century BCE silver tetradrachms, perhaps of Kleomenes III, show a helmeted goddess, in her left hand, a raised spear, the identifying feature of statues of Spartan gods, as we have seen above (L11), and, in her right, a bow (Fig. 5).²⁴⁰ Although often identified as Ortheia, she could just as easily be Spartan Agrotera. The coins attest to the duality of huntress and, if not a warrior herself, a goddess whose cultic role in war at Sparta both precedes and follows battle.

Sanctuary

In the Spartan colony of Taras (Tarentum) in Italy, epigraphical evidence (*SEG* 38.1014-5) points to a sixth-century BCE sanctuary of *Artamitos Hagrateras* located in the countryside on the border of the *polis*, a situation appropriate to a goddess ‘of the wild’.²⁴¹ Pausanias saw a ναός of Artemis Agrotera on an eastern hill in Megalopolis (Paus 8.32.4); a ἱερόν of the same goddess outside Aigeira (Paus. 7.26.3) and at Athens, a ναός outside the city walls across the Ilissos (1.19.7).²⁴² If a sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera were to be found in Lakonia, it is likely to be in a similar extra-urban locale.

²³⁹ J.-P. Vernant, ‘Artemis and Preliminary Sacrifice in Combat’, in *Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays* (tr. F. Zeitlin; Princeton, 1991) 244-57 at 244-50 makes the distinction that her role in war is guidance and salvation, not combat.

²⁴⁰ See C. Kondoleon and R.A. Grossman, ‘Cat. 71’, in N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Athens-Sparta. Catalog of the Exhibition, New York, Onassis Cultural Center* (New York, 2006) 168 for the image and relevant bibliography and D. Tsangari, P. Tselekas, S. Makrypodí, D. Evgenidou (eds), *Myth and Coinage. Representations, Symbolisms and Interpretations from the Greek Mythology* (Athens, 2011) 123 (Fig.154) who identify the figure as Artemis. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 59 (Pl. N XVI) recognize the same coin as depicting ‘Apollo Amyclaeus clad in long χιτῶν and aegis, helmeted, holding lance and bow, body in form of a pillar’ and attribute it to ‘a king of the third century’. (Pausanias (3.19.2) mentions the colossal size of a columnar statue of a helmeted Apollo bearing a lance and a bow. Flower, ‘Religion’, 203-4 (n. 35), who identifies the image as Ortheia, notes that the coins may belong to Areus I (309-265 BCE).

²⁴¹ Fischer-Hansen, ‘Artemis’, 237-8. On the question of Sparta and colonization in general, see I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge, 1994).

²⁴² The Aigeira ἱερόν (served by a virgin priestess) was built to commemorate an Artemis-inspired victory over the Sikyonians (Paus. 7.26.2-3). The Attic ναός was the scene of an annual festival marked by the sacrifice of 500 goats, in compliance with a vow before the victory at Marathon, and a parade of armed epebes (X. *An.* 3.2.12; Paus. 1.19.6). See H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, 1977) 54-5 and J. Mejer, ‘Artemis in Athens’, in Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen, *Artemis*, 61-77 at 64-6 (Fig. 3) for a restored plan and elevation of the ναός which marked the site where Artemis first hunted after arriving from Delos (Paus. 1.19.6).

Myth and Cult

Before entering battle, when the enemy was in sight or less than a *stadion* away, the Spartans sacrificed a female goat to Artemis Agrotera (X. *HG* 4.2.20 and 6.5.8, *Lac.* 13.8, *Plu. Lyc.* 22.2).²⁴³ At this time, the flautists played a hymn to Kastor and the warriors wore wreaths (X. *Lac.* 13.8, *Plu. Lyc.* 22.2). A desire to curry favour with the power relevant to the field of imminent battle explains the practice, since Artemis was the superintendent of the untamed world where war was often waged.²⁴⁴ At the Tarantine sanctuary, where the cult of Artemis Agrotera was probably transplanted from the mother city by the early Spartan colonists, a procession, accompanied by the music of the trumpet-like *salpinx*, sacrifice and banqueting honoured the goddess in the fifth century BCE and likely later (*SEG* 38.1014).²⁴⁵ The same may hold true for Sparta, but there is no hard evidence to support this supposition of a similar cult practice at Sparta.

L16. Sparta: Artemis Aiginaia²⁴⁶

Landscape

On Pausanias' problematic third itinerary in Sparta heading west past the theatre on the south slope of the acropolis, he identified one of two principal crossroads, Theomelida (Fig. 4, no. 3), which was the site of the tombs of one of Sparta's two royal houses, the Agiadae (Fig. 4, no. 4). Before turning back on the way past the tombs, he encountered a *ἱερόν* of Artemis Aiginaia (Paus. 3.14.2).²⁴⁷ This places the sanctuary in the *obe* of Pitane, possibly in the vicinity of Mt. Issoria, and thus on the city limits.²⁴⁸

²⁴³ See Fossey, 'Cults', 85-8 who stresses the importance of Artemis in Spartan military expeditions. A supply of sacrificial animals, a flock of sheep led by female goats, accompanied the army on the march (Paus. 9.13.4).

²⁴⁴ Richer, 'System', 242. See also M.H. Jameson, 'Sacrifice Before Battle', in V.D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites. The Classical Greek Battle Experience* (London, 1991) 197-228.

²⁴⁵ *SEG* 38.1014 lists equipment for use in banquets and sacrificial meals, including knives, hammers and hatchets, which suggests 'a cult bound to a rural and domestic context'. No name is given for the divinity and the inscription may not be a dedication but the items are consistent with cult activity (Fischer-Hansen, 'Artemis', 236-7). For the *salpinx*, see P. Krentz, 'The Salpinx in Greek Warfare', in Hanson, *Hoplites*, 110-20.

²⁴⁶ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 184 (no. 155).

²⁴⁷ For an analysis of the third itinerary, see Sanders, 'Platanistas', 196-200 who disagrees with the routes proposed by C.M. Stibbe, 'Beobachtung zur Topographie des antiken Sparta', *BABesch* 64 (1989) 61-99; Musti and Torelli, *Guida*, 217-8 and E. Kourinou, 'Sparta', in M. Georgopoulou, G. Guilmet, Y. Pikoulas (eds), *Following Pausanias. The Quest for Greek Antiquity* (New Castle, DE, 2007) 206-7.

²⁴⁸ Musti and Torelli, *Guida*, 213.

Epiclesis

Although interpretations of the *epiclesis* Αἰγιναία are varied, the standard definition is ‘of Aigina’. Pausanias (2.30.2) and Antoninus Liberalis (40.1-4) claim that when Britomartis escaped from Minos, she was hidden in fishing nets (and so became Diktyнна) and went from Crete to Aigina. Pursued again by the fisherman who rescued her, she vanished into a grove on Aigina and metamorphosed into Ἀφαία (‘the one who disappeared’). If we assume that Ἀφαία and Αἰγιναία are the same deity, the names reflect the spread of the cult of Cretan goddess Britomartis (**L19**) and Diktyнна (**L1**) to Aigina and thence to Sparta. The transfer of the name of the cult place but not the *epiclesis* finds a parallel in Artemis Pheriai/Enodia (**M5**). Other explanations for the epithet are ‘huntress of chamois’ or ‘wielder of the javelin’ (αἰγανέα) which reflect the name Ἄγροτέρα or ‘goat goddess’, a reference to her sacrificial animal (αἶξ).²⁴⁹

Sanctuary

The site of the ἱερόν of Artemis Aiginaia in Pitane has not been found.

Myth and Cult

If the *epiclesis* does, in fact, refer to Aigina with its myth of the metamorphosis of Cretan Britomartis into Aphaia, we might conjecture a related cult of Artemis Aiginaia at Sparta. While we know nothing about the cult of Aphaia, its cult myth offers some possibilities. Pausanias (2.30.3) emphasizes the fact that Cretan Britomartis was a runner; she loved to run (and hunt) with Artemis and she ran from Minos. Could this suggest racing, or at least, running, as a cult activity for παρθένοι? Like Daphne, Britomartis escaped her pursuer, but, instead of transformation into a tree, she became Aphaia on Aigina and Diktyнна on Crete. Again, παρθένοι are invoked by the motifs of (failed) abduction and transition, indicators of choral performance.²⁵⁰ While it is tempting to consider these possibilities, nothing can be said for certain.

²⁴⁹ *LSJ* s.v. Αἰγιναία. W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (Boston, 1890) s.v. ‘Aeginaea’ offers ‘huntress of chamois’ or ‘wielder of the javelin (αἰγανέα)’, while S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig, 1893), 109-11, referred to by Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 184 (n. 600), suggests ‘goat goddess’. For cults with a Cretan connection, see **L1**, **19**, **20** and **24**.

²⁵⁰ Calame, *Choruses*, 144-5 who applies Van Gennepe’s tripartite model of initiation.

L17. Sparta: Artemis Eulakia²⁵¹

Landscape

In the garden of the Sparta museum, a third-century BCE marble stela, standing just over one metre in height, displays a relief panel on the top with two inscriptions below (*SEG* 40.348 a, b). The dedication of drainage works by some citizens of the *obe* of Kynosoura, which lay on the west side of the Eurotas, it was found north of the Menelaion on the east side of the river beyond the Hellenistic walls of Sparta.²⁵² Since the find spot of the stela is at odds with the home of the benefactors, questions remain: why were the inhabitants of Kynosoura engaged in channeling water on the other side of the Eurotas, and was the stela found in its original position?

Epiclesis

The drainage works are dedicated to Εὐλακία who is, according to Hesychius, in fact, Artemis.²⁵³ Εὐλακία, a Lakonian form, is related to αὐλαξ, a furrow made by ploughing. A scholion on Thucydides 5.16.2 (ἀργυρέα εὐλάκκα εὐλάζειν) states that the Lakedaimonians say that εὐλάκκα is a ploughshare and that the future infinitive εὐλάζειν is the equivalent of ἀρόσειν, ‘to plough’.²⁵⁴ Eulakia, then, can be interpreted as a goddess of the furrow, of the preparation of the land for the seed just as she prepares παρθένοι for marriage. The symbolism of a female as a field to be ploughed and planted links Artemis, who is not usually associated with agriculture, to vegetation and fertility.²⁵⁵ At Athenian betrothals, the bride-to-be was pledged ‘for the ploughing of legitimate children’, not a

²⁵¹ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 174-5 (no. 140).

²⁵² W. Peek, ‘Artemis Eulakia’, in *Mélanges Daux*, 295-302. J.A. Krasilnikoff, ‘Water and Farming in Classical Greece. Evidence, Method and Perspectives’, in J.E. Skydsgaard and K. Ascani (eds), *Ancient History Matters: Studies Presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on His Seventieth Birthday* (Rome, 2002) 47-62 at 55 (n. 41) notes that drainage works for the purpose of leading water off wetlands and marshes in order to reclaim more arable land were more likely the case here. Cf. **L10**.

²⁵³ Hsch. s.v. Εὐλακία. Ἄρτεμις.

²⁵⁴ Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 133 (s.v. αὐλαξ) and Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 73-4 (s.v. ἄλοξ). In Peek, ‘Eulakia’, 298. E. Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, 1997) 71-90 supports the interpretation that the φᾶρος of Alcman’s first *Partheneion* is a plough (ἄροτρον) signifying the harvest, followed by W.B. Ingalls, ‘Ritual Performance as Training for Daughters in Archaic Greece’, *Phoenix* 54 (2000) 1-20 at 9 who notes Plutarch’s reference to γαμήλιος φάρος (*Mor.* 144b) and votive ploughs found at the temple of Hera at Gravisca. G. Ferrari, *Alcman and the Cosmos of Sparta* (Chicago and London, 2008) 84 and 87 views the plough as a signifier of the beginning of the plowing season.

²⁵⁵ S. *OT* 1210-1, 1257, 1497; *Ant.* 569 and elsewhere in other authors. Peek, ‘Artemis’, 299-300 concludes that Artemis is a goddess of vegetation, fertility and agriculture. See also Waugh, ‘Fertility’, 159-67 and des Bouvrie, ‘Artemis Ortheia’, 153-7.

surprising metaphor in an agricultural society.²⁵⁶ Thus, the dedication neatly ties the preparation of the land, not only by ploughing but by draining, to a goddess involved in the preparation of παρθένοι for marriage when the seed is sown for motherhood.

On the other hand, since drainage works to make the land arable are being dedicated, the epithet could also reference a water ‘channel’, a suitable connection for a goddess frequently associated with water.²⁵⁷ Thus, the dedication could have a double meaning linking preparation of the land, not only by ploughing but by draining, with a goddess involved in the preparation of παρθένοι for marriage when the seed is sown for motherhood. Both interpretations of the epithet place Artemis in an agrarian context.²⁵⁸

Sanctuary

That Hesychius was correct in his designation of the Eulakia epithet as one of Artemis is evidenced by the bas-relief on the stela. Reminiscent of the Arista stela (**L10**), the pictorial panel depicts Artemis on the right dressed in a short χιτῶν and hunting boots. She supports a long torch (over head-height) in her bent left arm which rests on a pillar.²⁵⁹ Her right arm rests on her hip above a knee-high altar. Whether or not there was a sanctuary or cult of Artemis Eulakia on the eastern bank of the Eurotas is unknown. According to Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, figures on coins leaning on pillars are usually inspired by cult statues.²⁶⁰ On the Eulakia relief, the leaning figure together and the presence of an altar strongly invite the conclusion that a cult statue is being portrayed.

Myth and Cult

Facing Eulakia on the left are two men in ἱμάτια representing the Kynosouran dedicators whose names are listed on the inscription below the dedication. The man on the left is

²⁵⁶ Men. *Pk.* 1013-4 and *Dys.* 842. J. H. Oakley and R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison, 1993) 132 (n. 6) provide further references.

²⁵⁷ Cf. an undated dedication of an aqueduct to the Nymphs (αὔλακος ὕδρο[φόρου]) at Katane, Sicily (*IG*¹⁴ 453.4).

²⁵⁸ For other cults of Artemis with an agrarian factor, see **L10** and **21**.

²⁵⁹ For other sites where torches are significant, see **L10**, **13**, **24**, **26** and **M8-9**.

²⁶⁰ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 2.

shorter than his companion.²⁶¹ He holds an object in his right hand said to be a small box or casket.²⁶² The box and the torch hint at unknown cult practices.

L18. Sparta: Artemis Hegemone²⁶³

Landscape

On a road from Theomelida, which lay to the west of the theatre, Pausanias (3.14.6-7) observed, among a number of sanctuaries, including ἱερά of Eileithyia and Apollo Karneios, one of Artemis Hegemone.²⁶⁴ Sanders re-evaluates the topography of Pausanias' third itinerary in Sparta and places these sanctuaries in the valley northwest of the theatre near the Mousga river, rather than south on the way to or from Arapissa.²⁶⁵ This interpretation places Artemis Hegemone firmly in the northern sector of the *obe* of Pitane, where the royal Agiadai family resided and on the margins of Sparta itself.

Epiclesis

Ἥγεμόνη, signifying the 'one who leads', recalls the role of the goddess as leader of the nymphs (Call. *Dian.* 12 and 40), Muses and Charites (*h.Hom.* 27.14).²⁶⁶ It was Artemis Hegemone who guided Neleus to found Miletos (Call. *Dian.* 227-8). At Lykosoura in Arkadia, Artemis Hegemone was manifested in an over-life-size bronze statue with two long torches (δᾶδες), seeming to 'lead the way' to her Arkadian sister, Despoina, outside of

²⁶¹ Often a smaller figure represents a slave, here, either a chattel slave or helot. If the latter, it would be a rare, if not unique, example of a representation of a helot. On slavery in Sparta, see P. Oliva, *Sparta and her Social Problems* (Prague, 1971)172-3; J. Ducat, *Les Hilotes* (Athens, 1990) 55 and E. Lévy (2003) 112-3.

²⁶² Peek, 'Artemis', 297 (Pl. 1).

²⁶³ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 185 (no. 157).

²⁶⁴ Musti and Torelli, *Guida*, 216 understand τὸ δὲ Εἰλειθυίας (ιερόν) Ἀπόλλωνός τε Καρνείου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἥγεμόνης (Paus. 3.14.6) to mean that Artemis shared a ἱερόν with her brother but Levi, *Pausanias* 2, 49 (following Frazer, *Pausanias*, 3, 334) adds Eileithyia to the pair. Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 185 has Artemis Hegemone alone and Sanders, 'Platanistas', 198 locates three separate sanctuaries. In view of the importance of the Karneia and Apollo Karneios at Sparta, it seems unlikely that the temple of Apollo would be shared.

²⁶⁵ Sanders, 'Platanistas', 198-200 (Fig. 20.2) reasonably argues that the topography supports his contention. Other scholars, such as Musti and Torelli, *Guida*, 217-8 and Kourinou, 'Sparta', 206 favour a site near south of the acropolis near Arapissa and the gymnasium.

²⁶⁶ *LSJ* s.v. ἡγεμόνη I. The epithet was also applied to Aphrodite (Hsch. s.v.).

whose enclosure she stood (Paus. 8.37.1).²⁶⁷ A temple or altar of Artemis is often found at the entrance to sanctuaries where the cult demands rites of purification, perhaps symbolized at Lykosoura by the torches.²⁶⁸ The name also has the connotation of prompting to action. Artemis prompted Chronios to kill the tyrant of Arkadian Orchomenos. Chronios then fled to Tegea where he built a ἱερὸν to Artemis Hegemone (Paus. 8.47.6). On the other hand, ἡγεμών has a possible military significance.

What the epithet implied at Sparta is open to question. Is Artemis a Spartan warrior goddess?²⁶⁹ As Ortheia, she is certainly involved in the preparation of Spartan youth for battle (L21). Vernant contends that, as Hegemone, Artemis leads the enemy astray, physically or mentally, with the use of confusion and panic. At the same time, she guides those under her protection, lighting the way or inspiring their minds. She acts astride the boundary of savagery and civilization and does not engage in actual combat.²⁷⁰ So, while ἡγεμόνη could have a military association, the epithet could equally well have other associations.

Sanctuary

While the ἱερὸν of Artemis Hegemone remains to be discovered, we might conjecture that the cult statue was holding a torch. But where and whom Artemis Hegemone was leading is unclear.

²⁶⁷ The six-foot statue was the work of Damophon (P.G. Themelis, 'Damophon of Messene. New Evidence', in K. Sheedy (ed.), *Archaeology in the Peloponnese. New Excavations and Research* (Oxford, 1994) 1-37 at 31). At Lykosoura, Artemis was not the daughter of Leto but of Demeter, the mother of Despoina (Paus. 8.37.6). On Despoina, an original Arkadian deity venerated more than any other (Paus. 8.37.9), see Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 331-7 and 'The Religious System in Arcadia', in Ogden, *Companion*, 264-79 at 267-8.

²⁶⁸ Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 418 cites Eleusis (Paus.1.38.6), the entrance to the Asklepieia at Sikyon (Paus. 2.10.2) and material evidence from Epidauros. In none of these instances, however, is she called Hegemone.

²⁶⁹ The identification was first made by O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1926-1938) 1.106; as mentioned by Vernant, 'Artemis', 245 (n. 6).

²⁷⁰ J.-P. Vernant, 'The Figure and Functions of Artemis in Myth and Cult', in *Mortals*, 195-206 at 203 and 'Artemis', 245-50.

L19. Sparta: Artemis Issoria/Limnaia/Britomartis²⁷¹

Landscape

Polyaenus (2.1.14) locates Mt. Issoria in the *obe* of Pitane, generally agreed to be the most western of the Spartan *obai*. The Klaraki hill, a ridge south of the Mousga stream, a tributary of the Eurotas north of the acropolis, is most likely location of Mt. Issoria, but there is no archaeological evidence for a sanctuary of Artemis there.²⁷²

Epiclaseis

Ἴσσωρία is a toponym like Dereatis (L6).²⁷³ Pausanias (3.14.2) states that Artemis Issoria is also called Λιμναῖα, ‘of or from the marsh’, a variant of the better-attested epithet Λιμνήτις (L5) and M1, 7, 12).²⁷⁴ Since a hilltop site, such as Mt. Issoria, is not likely to be marshy, Limnaia here is not toponymic. In fact, most other sites devoted to Artemis Limnatis are not located in marshy areas, as far as is known.²⁷⁵ This Artemis Issoria at Sparta, also known as Limnaia, was not actually Artemis, asserts Pausanias (3.14.2), but Βριτόμαρτις from Crete, the nymph from Gortyn, who, with the help of Artemis, became Diktyнна, as we have seen (L1). Βριτόμαρτις (originally inscriptional Βριτόμαρπις) is a Cretan indigenous name but the early third-century grammarian Solinus (11.8) explains that the name means *virgo dulcis*, a notion also found in a gloss of Hesychius.²⁷⁶ Thus, the goddess on Mt. Issoria enjoyed epithets which associated her not only with Crete but with other cults of Limnatis elsewhere in the Peloponnese.²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 185-7 (no. 158).

²⁷² Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 187.

²⁷³ St. Byz. s.v. Ἴσσωριον and Hsch. s.v. Ἴσσωρία.

²⁷⁴ *LSJ* s.v. λιμναῖα. Artemis Limnaia is also found in Sikyon (Paus. 2.7.6).

²⁷⁵ See Morizot, ‘Artemis’, 270-2 (Fig. 25). It has been suggested that the cult was transferred to the heights from the agora, part of which was called Helos, the site of a dried-up marsh (P. Marchetti and K. Kolokotsas, *Le Nymphée de l’Agora d’Argos* (Paris and Athens, 1995) 211-5).

²⁷⁶ Cretes Dianam religiosissime venerantur, Britomartem gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem. See Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 188 (s.v. Βριτόμαρτις) and Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 241 (s.v. Βριτόμαρπις) who notes a possible connection with Aitolian Marpessa.

²⁷⁷ Other Cretan connections can be found in the cults of Artemis Diktyнна at Ageranos (L1), Artemis Astrateia at Pyrrichos (L12) and Artemis Aiginaia (L16) and Artemis Knagia (L20) at Sparta. See L5 for other sites where Artemis Limnatis was worshiped.

Sanctuary

The ἱερόν of Artemis Issoria, described as a well-walled and inaccessible spot, was briefly seized by 200 mutinous Lakonians during the Theban invasion of Lakonia in 370 BCE (Plu. *Ages.* 32.3). Sanctuaries were often established on mountains to make claims for territory and borders, and so the ἱερόν of Artemis Issoria/Limnaia/Britomaratis likely marked a boundary of Pitane before the amalgamation of the *obai*. The Issorion was one of two sanctuaries of the goddess perceived to mark the limits of the civic territory.²⁷⁸ Pausanias (7.20.7-8) says that a statue of Artemis Limnatis at Patras was from Lakedaimon (ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος), that is, the four original villages of the *polis* of the Spartiates. If Λιμναῖα is synonymous with Λιμνήτις, there is only one sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in Lakedaimon from which the statue could have originated, Mt. Issoria.²⁷⁹

Strabo (8.4.9) claims that the Limnaion in Sparta derived its name from the temple of Artemis at a place called Limnai on the border between Lakonia and Messenia (**M12**).²⁸⁰ Does he refer to the ἱερόν of Artemis Limnaia on Mt. Issoria in the *obe* of Pitane on the western ‘civic’ boundary or the temple of Artemis Ortheia in the *obe* of Limnai (**L21**), which delimited the eastern ‘civic’ boundary of Sparta? The varied topography of the Spartan *obe* of Limnai and the existence of other sanctuaries of Artemis Limnatis in non-marshy locations such as Mt. Issoria, can be seen to ‘reinforce Strabo’s emphatic and unambivalent statement’ that the Λιμνήτις/Λιμναῖα epithet at Sparta is not derived from a Spartan *obe* but from the sanctuary of Artemis at Limnai/Volimios on the boundary of Lakonia and Messenia (**M12**).²⁸¹

Myth and Cult

In the mythical past, when the Akhaians of Sparta were forced out by the Dorians, their leader, Preuges, took the ἄγαλμα of Limnatis to Akhaia where it was kept at a rural

²⁷⁸ Richer, ‘System’, 243. The other was the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia in the *obe* of Limnai (**L21**).

²⁷⁹ J. Herbillon, *Les cultes de Patras* (Baltimore, 1929) 112 as referred to by Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 186 (n. 606).

²⁸⁰ Str. 8.4.9: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Λιμνῶν τουτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Λιμναῖον εἴρηται τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν. Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 397 supports Strabo’s contention *contra* Luraghi, *Messenians*, 24 (n. 34) who contends that Strabo attempts to reverse the connection between the two sanctuaries. Both authors fail to consider Mt. Issoria. See further discussion at **M12**.

²⁸¹ Sanders, ‘Platanistas’, 201.

sanctuary outside Patras.²⁸² Every year the ξόανον was brought into Patras to the τέμενος and ναός of Artemis Limnatis for a festival which appears to have been a cult for παῖδες. In addition to the exposition of the ξόανον, sacrifices were made to Patreus, the son of Preugenes and eponymous hero of Patras (Paus. 7.20.7-8).²⁸³

At Sparta, there was a ἑορτή of Artemis Issoria as both Hesychius (s.v. Ἴσσωρία) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἴσώριον) attest. Callimachus (*Dian.* 170) mentions that the nymphs encircle the goddess at Pitane, a possible indication that παρθένοι performed a choral dance on Mt. Issoria or at another Artemision in the same *obe*.²⁸⁴ A sixth-century BCE bronze ‘cymbal’ purchased in the mid-nineteenth century in nearby Mistra could point to such cult activity. Of uncertain provenance, it is inscribed Λιμνᾶτις (*IG* 5¹.225 = *SEG* 34.306).²⁸⁵ Because of its proximity to Mistra, it seems reasonable to conclude that Mt. Issoria, rather than any other site where Artemis Limnatis was worshiped, was the origin of the cymbal.²⁸⁶ In any case, the evidence points to a festival of παρθένοι who danced on Mt. Issoria. Whether the dancing was Dionysiac in character depends on the use of the cymbal.²⁸⁷

L20. Sparta: Artemis Knagia²⁸⁸

Landscape

After taking four different excursions outward from the agora of Sparta, Pausanias (3.18.1-4) surveyed the monuments on the acropolis and those to the northwest in the Alpeion of the *obe* of Pitane before heading south to Amyklai.²⁸⁹

²⁸² Pausanias must mean the portable image (ξόανον) rather than the cult statue (ἄγαλμα).

²⁸³ See J. Redfield, ‘From Sex to Politics: The Rites of Artemis Triklaria and Dionysos Aisymnetes at Patras’, in D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin (eds), *Before Sexuality. The Construction of the Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton, 1990) 115-34 at 125-7.

²⁸⁴ Other Artemisia in Pitane are those of Artemis Aiginaia (**L16**), Hegemone (**L18**) and Knagia (**L20**).

²⁸⁵ O. Gengler, ‘Une épingle pour Artémis Limnatis’, *RA* 47 (2009) 53-68 shows that a similar, but slightly smaller, object, purchased at the same time, which carries the inscription Πριανθίς ἀνέθεκε τᾶι Λιμνάτι (*IG* 5¹.226), is a type of archaic straight pin. Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 200 (Pl. 76) reports quantities of similar περόναι dating to the seventh century BCE from the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia (**L21**). Similar pins were found at Aigiai (**L2**), Derai (**M2**) and Volimos (**M12**).

²⁸⁶ Cf. Luraghi, *Messenians*, 123 (n.74) who assumes that the cymbal came from Limnai/Volimos (**M12**).

²⁸⁷ Calame, *Choruses*, 148 considers cymbals as evidence of ‘bacchanalian elements’ in the cult of Artemis but, as we have seen, cymbals were also used as noisemakers during sacrifice (**L2** (n. 91)).

²⁸⁸ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 187-8 (no. 159).

²⁸⁹ Sanders, ‘Platanistas’, 198-200. Levi, *Pausanias* 2, 62 (n. 152) places the Alpeion northwest of the acropolis but south of the Mousga.

Epiclesis

Κναγία is the feminine form of Κναγεύς, a companion of the Dioskouroi, who established a cult of Artemis at Sparta.²⁹⁰

Sanctuary

Pausanias (3.18.4-5) does not explicitly mention a temple or precinct of Artemis Knagia, but since he does mention an ἄγαλμα and παρθένος ἱερωμένη, one might be expected northwest of the acropolis. Tiles dating from the first or second century BCE stamped Κναγείας ἱεροί, or the same words reversed, add considerable weight to this conclusion. The find spots of the tiles do not allow for identification of the site of such a ἱερόν.²⁹¹ However, it seems to have been located on the northwest margins of Sparta in the same general area as that identified by Sanders as the Platanistas and a shrine devoted to Helen.²⁹²

Myth and Cult

Knageus accompanied Helen's brothers, the Dioskouroi, to rescue their sister Helen, whom the Athenian hero, Theseus, had abducted after he spied τὴν κόρην ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀρτέμιδος Ὀρθίας χορεύουσιν (Plu. *Thes.* 31). Instead of becoming his bride, Helen was entrusted to Theseus' mother at Aphidnai because she was too young to be married (οὐ καθ' ὥραν).²⁹³ Taken prisoner during the battle for Helen, Knageus was sold as a slave to a place in Crete where there was a sanctuary of Artemis. Knageus subsequently escaped from Crete taking the παρθένος ἱερωμένη and the ἄγαλμα of Artemis with him to Sparta (Paus. 3.18.4-5).²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Frazer, *Pausanias* 3, 348 and Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 188 (n. 608) provide the references for the interpretation of the name as 'goat'. Cf. Αἰγιναία (L16).

²⁹¹ A.M. Woodward, 'Excavations at Sparta, 1924-1928. I. The Theatre. Architectural Remains', *ABSA* 30 (1928/1929-1929/1930) 151-240 at 234 (Fig. 25.2) finds it hard to believe that the find spots of the tiles, either the acropolis or the Klaraki hill (Mt. Issoria), indicate the site of the sanctuary.

²⁹² Sanders, 'Platanistas', 198-200. Musti and Torelli, *Guida*, 233 draw attention to the fact that, in addition to the sanctuary of Artemis Knagia, the sanctuary of Artemis near the Forts, the Diktyinnaion, the Issorion and the Limnaion are all located near the city boundaries, as befits a liminal deity. All of these, except the sanctuary near the Forts and the Limnaion, are connected to Crete.

²⁹³ On the abduction of Helen by Theseus, see Calame, *Choruses*, 159-61.

²⁹⁴ Pausanias does not credit the story of Knageus' participation in the rescue of Helen, preferring to think that Knageus otherwise reached Crete. Cf. L21 for a similar myth.

Knageus' abduction of the priestess further associates Lakonian Artemis cults with Crete.²⁹⁵ The motif of abducted virgins, such as Helen, rescued by her brothers, recalls Iphigeneia's rescue by her brother Orestes who, like Knageus, had also become a prisoner. Iphigeneia, like the virgin Cretan priestess who was abducted/rescued by Knageus, took the statue of Artemis with her. Since such myths are 'bristling with initiatory themes', the cult of Artemis Knagia could well have been connected with female initiation.²⁹⁶ Like many such cults, that of Artemis Knagia was probably attended by a virgin priestess whose tenure was likely brief.²⁹⁷

L21. Sparta: Artemis Ortheia/Lygodesma²⁹⁸

Landscape

The *obe* of Limnai on the west bank of the Eurotas marks the eastern boundary of the civic territory of Sparta (Fig. 4).²⁹⁹ Although the name implies a marshy landscape, Sanders points out that the hills of Limnai overlooking the river had no springs or hollows to collect winter rainfall to stagnate in the summer.³⁰⁰ However, the area between Toumpano, the easternmost hill of the acropolis, and the river was flooded in the early sixth century BCE. The flood destroyed the early temple of Artemis Ortheia. According to Strabo (8.4.9), its replacement, known to Pausanias (3.16.11) as the Limnaion, derived its name from Limnai, the site of a temple of Artemis Limnatis at Volimos (**M12**).³⁰¹ Even so, Strabo's claim does not necessarily equate the cult of Ortheia with Artemis Limnatis, as Luraghi and Richer would have it.³⁰² It is equally possible that Strabo refers to the temple of Artemis Issoria/Limnaia/Britomartis in Pitane where Callimachus (*Dian.* 170) says that Artemis danced with the nymphs (**L19**).³⁰³

²⁹⁵ See Ageranos/Las (**L1**), Pyrrichos (**L12**), Sparta: Artemis Aigniaia (**L16**) and Artemis Issoria (**L19**).

²⁹⁶ J.N. Bremmer, 'Transvestite Dionysos', in M.W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion and Society* (Cranbury, London and Mississauga, 1999) 183-200 at 190 (n. 47-8).

²⁹⁷ J.B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess. Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, 2007) 40-1.

²⁹⁸ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 189-229 (no. 161).

²⁹⁹ Richer, 'System', 243.

³⁰⁰ Sanders, 'Platanistas', 201.

³⁰¹ See discussion at **L19**.

³⁰² Luraghi, *Messenians*, 123 and Richer, 'System', 243 who, because of their locations on territorial borders, also counts the cults of Artemis Karyatis (**L8**) and Limnatis (**L5** and **M12**) and Issoria (**L19** and **24**) as cultic doublets of Ortheia. Calame, *Choruses*, 157 does not 'see in Artemis Ortheia the figure of an Artemis Limnatis as some would like'.

³⁰³ Sanders, 'Platanistas', 201.

Epiclesis

The feminine adjective ὀρθία, meaning ‘upright, standing’, has many interpretations.³⁰⁴ It may refer to the iconography of the cult image as standing upright rather than seated (Paus. 3.16.11).³⁰⁵ Alternatively, ὀρθία could be synonymous with Κουροτρόφος, who nourishes straight and healthy young males, or Σώτειρα, who ‘preserves’ from the dangers of childbirth, that is, a birth goddess, Εἰλείθυια.³⁰⁶ The *epiclesis* has also been perceived as an allusion to the erect penis, thus giving credence to the idea of a fertility or nature deity.³⁰⁷ Lastly, the *epiclesis* might represent the restoration of order.³⁰⁸

The most common and popular inscriptional form, Ὀρθεία, begins on stone in the mid-first century BCE (*IG* 5¹.260).³⁰⁹ While the earliest inscriptions connecting Ortheia with Artemis at Sparta do not occur until the second half of the first century CE (*IG* 5¹.227, 274, 278 and 280), Artemis Ortheia appears on a dedicatory inscription of the second half of the third century BCE from Messene (*SEG* 41.365).³¹⁰ The variant, Ὀρθία, appears only in later manuscripts.³¹¹

³⁰⁴ *LSJ* s.v. ὀρθία I.

³⁰⁵ An inscription from Brauron (*CIA* 2.758) refers to τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ὀρθόν (R.C. Bosanquet, ‘The Cult of Orthia as Illustrated by the Finds’, *ABSA* 12 (1905-1906) 331-4 at 334). Thompson, ‘Winged Artemis’, 307 urges that the epithet be interpreted in its literal sense without any further ethical meaning. Erect, rigid ivory and bone representations (of Ortheia?) found at the sanctuary by Dawkins and his team (Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 218-20 (Pls 117-20)) all lend support to this interpretation especially since seated depictions of Artemis are rare (L2 and 24).

³⁰⁶ Calame, *Choruses*, 167 supports the etymology of Artemis as a protector of growth. Inscriptions bearing the name of the birth goddess were found in the sanctuary of Ortheia (Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 33 and 51). Pausanias (3.17.1) locates a sanctuary of Eileithyia nearby, built at the command of the Delphic oracle. Calame, *Choruses*, 167 explains that the essential difference between Orthia and Eileithyia is that the former cares for the newborn while the latter cares for the new mother.

³⁰⁷ The derivative ορθίασις is a medical term for ‘erection’ (Beekes, *Dictionary*², (s.v. ὀρθός). Des Bouvrie, ‘Artemis’, 154-7, traces the impact of the allusion, first made in 1909, on the perception of Artemis as a fertility and nature goddess. See also Waugh, ‘Fertility’, 159-67.

³⁰⁸ *Sch. Pl. Lg.* 633b: Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς πολιτεῖαν ἀνορθούσης in Calame, *Choruses*, 165 (n. 229).

³⁰⁹ The earliest forms of the word Ortheia appear in four inscriptions found below the sand deposited by a flood dated to 570-560 BCE. A bronze die (*IG* 5¹.252a) reads φορθαία, a bone relief (*IG* 5¹.252b): φορφαία, a platter fragment: φορθασία and a bone flute: φορθ[. The earliest inscription on stone from the fourth century BCE (*IG* 5¹.255) shows a fifth variant: φορθειη. The *digamma* begins to be replaced by B in the following century with Βορθεία appearing on a bowl and some second-century tiles (*IG* 5¹.865) and Βορθεία on others (*IG* 5¹.864). The fragment and the flute have no assigned *IG* numbers (Woodward, ‘Inscriptions’, 367 (nos 169, 28 and no. 169, 27 respectively). For a linguistic analysis of the variants, see J.A. Davison, ‘Alcman’s *Partheneion*’, *Hermes* 73 (1938) 440-58 at 457-8.

³¹⁰ Falb, ‘Artemis’, 127-52 argues that lead figurines and terracotta masks found at the sanctuary show that the Spartans had connected Ortheia and Artemis as early as the sixth century BCE. Certainly some figurines depict a πότνια θηρῶν type and there is a profusion of deer, attributes of Artemis, but not exclusive to her. De Polignac, *Cults*, 25-7 places the syncretism of existing deities with Olympians from the eighth to sixth century which was manifested in dual names.

³¹¹ Davison, ‘*Partheneion*’, 458.

Elsewhere, other variations of the *epiclesis* are found. The name Orthria (Ὄρθρία) in Alkman's first *Partheneion* (61) was revised by the scholiast Sosiphanes to Ὄρθία.³¹² Calame rejects the revision due to a 'metrical impediment' and so, for him, Alkman's chorus does not sing for Artemis.³¹³ Herodotus (4.87) identifies an altar of Artemis Orthosia at Byzantion. Pindar (*O.* 3.54a) relates a dedication to Artemis Orthosia, while his scholiast identifies sanctuaries of the same goddess in Athens near the Kerameikos and in Elis.³¹⁴ Most scholars would agree that all variations of the name Ortheia refer to Artemis.

Artemis Ortheia was also known at Sparta as Λυγόδεσμα, 'bound with willow twigs', because her ἄγαλμα was found in a tangle of willows (λύγιοι) which, winding round the statue, ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν (Paus. 3.16.11).³¹⁵ Horizontal incisions on archaic ivories of the goddess recovered from the sanctuary appear to show these willow fetters or bindings.³¹⁶ The λύγος (*vitex agnus castus*) is an uncultivated tree, with blue or white flowers, which thrives on marshy ground. Its fruit drops before ripening (Hom. *Od.* 15.510) and it was said to be an aphrodisiac (Plin. *Nat.* 16.26.110). Λυγόδεσμα might reflect the use of the pliable λύγος in the wattle and daub walls of the early timber-frame temple of Ortheia.³¹⁷ While there is no literary evidence for the assumption that branches of λύγος were used in the whipping ritual at the sanctuary (διαμαστιγώσις), the branches

³¹² Des Bouvrie, 'Artemis', 159 (n. 56-7) reviews the recent literature which is divided on the meaning and interpretation of Alkman's problematic term.

³¹³ Calame, *Choruses*, 169 explains that 'in the emendation from ορθριαί to ορθίαί, the long ι of Ὄρθία does not fit the trochaic meter at the beginning of line 61'. J.B. Carter, 'Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta', in Hägg, Marinatos and Nordquist, *Cult*, 89-98 at 93 accepts that Ὄρθρία is the name of a divinity, but not (Artemis) Ortheia. C.M. Bowra, 'The Occasion of Alkman's *Partheneion*', *CQ* 28 (1934) 35-44 at 41, followed by Ferrari, *Alkman*, 84, argues that ὀρθρίαί is a nominative plural meaning 'at daybreak'. Ὄρθρία is unknown outside of Alkman. S.B. Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (Oxford, 2002) 106 concedes that Artemis Ortheia was 'probably the focus' of *Partheneion* 1. R. Hamilton, 'Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 449-72 at 469 gives a good review of the identity crisis of the goddess (or goddesses).

³¹⁴ See J. Mejer, 'Artemis in Athens', 64 who provides a translation of the scholium and Rose, 'Ortheia', 400 for a complete list of locations.

³¹⁵ *LSJ* s.v. λυγόδεσμος. The related epithet, Phakelitis, found at Rhegion and Tyndaris, reflects a bound cult statue and a similar cult myth associated with Taurian Artemis (Hyg. *Fab.* 261). The original meaning of λύγος, was 'turning, bending' (Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 874-5 s.v. λύγος).

³¹⁶ See Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, Pls 117-9. See also R. Merkelbach, 'The Girl in the Rosebush. A Turkish Tale and Its Roots in Ancient Ritual', *HSPH* 82 (1978) 1-15 at 1, 5 (Pls 1-4). J.N. Bremmer, 'Scapegoat Rituals in Ancient Greece', *HSPH* 87 (1983) 299-320 at 311 points out that myths and rituals of reversal are common to 'fettered gods' such as Artemis (along with Hera, Dionysos and Hermes).

³¹⁷ R.V.W. Catling, 'A Fragment of an Archaic Temple Model from Artemis Ortheia, Sparta', *ABSA* (1994) 269-75 at 273.

did have ritual and medicinal uses.³¹⁸ In short, the λύγος could not find a better divine association than Artemis and perhaps reflects an early tree cult.³¹⁹

Sanctuary

Religious activity is evident on the site of the ἱερόν from the eighth century BCE onwards (Fig. 6).³²⁰ The precinct was subsequently defined by a cobbled pavement and stone walls, followed by an altar. Successive, long (9 m), narrow, stone altars were all built in the same location with the same orientation.³²¹ The altars on the long side were wider than, and inexactly aligned, with the temple facade (7.6 m). Recently, it has been suggested that they were cosmologically positioned so that the rising of the Pleiades, signaling either the beginning of the planting season in the fall or the harvest in the spring (Hes. *Op.* 383-4), could be seen straight in front of the altar during a significant ritual.³²²

The seventh-century temple, narrower on the front than the sides, with its painted tile roof, was of timber-frame construction set on a low foundation of rubble masonry.³²³ This first temple was destroyed by flooding in the early sixth century BCE and replaced by a stone structure of the same basic dimensions (17 x 7.6 m) which was rebuilt (or, at least,

³¹⁸ Bremmer, 'Scapegoat Rituals', 312 notes that λύγος wreaths were worn by marginal people and λύγος baskets were carried by marginal girls. λύγος fruit had medicinal uses (Dsc. 1.134, Gal. 9.807, Plin. *Nat.* 24.59-63) which may explain the ξόανον of Asklepios Agnites at Sparta made of λύγος (Paus. 3.14.7).

³¹⁹ The tree denotes the phallic symbolization also perceived in the name Ortheia (Calame, *Choruses*, 167 (n. 230). On Artemis Ortheia and trees, see Smardz, *Tree*, 52-80. For other cults of Artemis with a focus on trees, see **L1**, **4**, **7**, **8**, **22** and **25**.

³²⁰ For the final excavation report, see Dawkins, *Sanctuary*. Based on pottery context, J. Boardman, 'Artemis Ortheia and Chronology', *ABSA* 56 (1963) 1-7 lowers the original ninth-century BCE date proposed by the excavators.

³²¹ See Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 8-9 (Fig. 4) for the archaic altar (approx. 9 x 1.5 x 1.2 m) and p. 37 for the Roman altar which was wider (2.6 m) and at least as long.

³²² On the astronomical implications of the lack of parallelism between temple and altar, see E. Boutsikas, *Astronomy and Ancient Greek Cult. An Application of Archaeoastronomy to Greek Religious Architecture, Cosmologies and Landscapes* (Diss. Leicester, 2007) 110-3. Boutsikas, *Astronomy*, 110 identifies the ritual as the end of the procession of Alkman's παρθένοι around 22 May. Ferrari, *Alcman*, 134-5, however, places the cult activity between September 15 and 18 near the autumnal equinox, when the Pleiades rise again, consonant with the offering of a plough by Alkman's παρθένοι. On archaeoastronomy and its potential, see E. Boutsikas and C. Ruggles, 'Temples, Stars and Ritual Landscapes. The Potential for Archaeoastronomy in Ancient Greece', *AJA* 115 (2011) 55-68. For a discussion of the agricultural calendar and its religious implications, see S. Isager and J.E. Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture* (London, 1992) 160-80 (Fig. 11.1). See also V.D. Hanson, *The Other Greeks. The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization* (New York, 1995) 91-180.

³²³ Catling, 'Fragment', 269-75 suggests that the deposit of red clay found by the excavators may have been the daub of wattle and daub infill rather than mud brick melt.

re-roofed) in the Hellenistic period.³²⁴ A second-century BCE stela, a dedication of Xenokles (*IG* 5¹.256), carries a relief which shows the facade of a Doric temple with two columns between the projecting walls of the porch. That the stela depicted the ναός of Artemis Ortheia was confirmed by the British excavations (1906-1910) which revealed a long, narrow structure of the same design.³²⁵ The re-built, or refurbished, Hellenistic temple, like its predecessors, faced east towards a longer, rectangular altar inexactly aligned with the temple.

In the inner building of the temple, Dawkins found no evidence for a large cult statue, identifying a 'kind of dais' as a base for the Spartan ξόανον, and Pausanias (3.16.7-11) mentions only a portable cult image.³²⁶ Various types of wood are recorded for moveable images of Artemis and, in view of the epithet, Λυγόδεσμα, it is tempting to imagine a small statue carved from λύγος.³²⁷ Its actual appearance is unknown but it has been suggested that a sixth-century BCE solid bronze statuette of Artemis represents the ξόανον.³²⁸ The long-haired, πέπλος-clad goddess, who is carrying a bow in her left hand, stands on a three-stepped base.³²⁹ The retrograde Lakonian lettering on her skirt reads (orthograde) ΧΙΜΑΡΙΔΑΣΤΑΙΔΑΙΔΑΛΕΙΑΙ. Morris argues that the otherwise unattested Daidaleia title on the votive bronze matches the 'Lakonian appellation 'Ortheia' and might

³²⁴ Quantities of stamped second-century BCE roof tiles (*IG* 5¹.864 and *IG* 5¹.865) provide evidence of renovation. For an illustration of the tiles, see R.M. Dawkins and A.M. Woodward, 'Laconia I. Excavations at Sparta, 1910', *ABSA* 16 (1909-1910) 1-61 at 41 (Fig. 10). Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 11 sees the restoration of the *agoge* by Kleomenes III as the catalyst for restoration of the temple, followed by Cartledge and Spawforth, *Sparta*, 50. Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 34 suggests a later date (178 BCE), the supposed date of the restoration of the Spartan constitution which rests on a 'stock phrase' in Livy (Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 9-10). The renovation coincides with the construction of a great drain in the latter half of the third century which runs across the southern sector of the τέμενος and a smaller one of similar date running across in front of the temple. The drains might indicate that excess water continued to be a feature of the site despite the layer of sand and gravel deposited by the flood which had raised the ground level.

³²⁵ Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 34 (Fig. 19) explains that the 'curious' combination of dedication and temple depiction may have transpired because the temple was new (or newly renovated) at the time and so an object of interest. For an account of the history of the sanctuary, see Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 1-51.

³²⁶ Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 10. Flower, 'Religion', 203 accounts for both a cult statue and a ξόανον. The presence of dual cult images is evidenced at Messene in the cult of Artemis Ortheia (M9) and perhaps at Pyrrichos (L12). The terminology 'inner building' is suggested by Spawforth, *Temples*, 77 and is used here for the space often called the *cella*.

³²⁷ Ebony, vine wood (Plin. *Nat.* 16.79.213-6) or cedar (Vit. 2.9.13) at Ephesos, ebony near Tegea (Paus. 8.53.11), cypress at Skillous (X. *An.* 5.3.12).

³²⁸ The 19.5 cm statue, discovered at Mazi in Elis, is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 98.658). For bibliography, see S.P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton, 1995) 53 (n. 25). For the image, see G.M.A. Richter, *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens. A Study in the Development of the Kore Type in Greek Sculpture* (London, 1978) 87 (Figs 456-9).

³²⁹ A stepped base is one of the seven indicators of a cult statue on coins (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 2-3).

reflect ‘a particular cult image in Lakonia that bore that title’.³³⁰ It is more likely, however, that the ξόανον is better represented by the rigid, bone figures found by Dawkins and his team.³³¹

If there was a cult statue, it could be depicted on the reverse of silver tetradrachms attributed to Kleomenes III, mentioned above (L15). The attribute of the bow on the coins suggests that Ortheia was identified with Artemis (Agrotera) in the third century BCE when the coins were issued. The spear and helmet connote her military role. Archaic votive ivories found in the excavations by Dawkins depict similarly erect female figures but with arms at their sides. They carry neither spear nor bow but wear long χιτῶνες. Often they are crowned with a πόλος rather than a helmet. Like the image on the coin, long hair falls over their shoulders. It is uncertain whether the ivories represent the temple statue, the ξόανον associated with it or secular females.³³²

Although evidence for the sacred occupant of the temple is unclear, nearly opposite the temple is a three-seat marble bench which leaves little doubt. Soixiadas, son of Arikrates, who was three times a member of the Gerousia, twice its president, announces (aloud) his handsome dedication and important political position in the first-century BCE inscription on its back rest (*IG* 5¹.254).³³³ The bench was a pre-cursor of the magisterial tribune in the forefront of the Roman theatre which was built sometime after 225 CE and used until the site was abandoned sometime in the second half of the fourth century CE. The bench and its position suggest distinguished seating arrangements for the purpose of observing cult activities at least from the time of the inscription, if not before.³³⁴

³³⁰ Morris, *Daidalos*, 53-9 demonstrates the application of ‘Daidalian adjectives’ to altars, temples, votives and statues. Pausanias (9.3.2-4) explains that, at the Δαίδαλα, the great Boiotian festival in honour of the wedding of Zeus and Hera, an oak δαίδαλον in bridal attire is carried on a wagon accompanied by a bridesmaid in a procession to the top of Mt. Kithairon. There it is incinerated on a special wooden altar.

³³¹ Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 218-20 (Pls 117-20). The rigidity of the figures suggests to Dawkins (218) some resemblance to the ξόανον of the goddess.

³³² Cf. Rose, ‘Ortheia’, 403 who is ‘inclined to agree with the discoverers that these represent the temple-statue itself which was doubtless very old’.

³³³ J. Mylonopoulos, ‘Greek Sanctuaries as Places of Communication through Ritual’, in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World* (Liège, 2006) 69-110 at 87 stresses that inscriptions were read aloud rather than silently.

³³⁴ Woodward, ‘Inscriptions’, 355 (Fig. 141) provides the text, commentary, full description and photograph of the bench.

Myth and Cult

Pausanias (3.16.9-11) tells a story purporting to explain the origin of the διαμαστίγωσις spectacle that he witnessed at the Limnaion in the late second century CE.³³⁵ Two brothers, Astrabakos and Alopekos, members of the royal Agiad family, found a statue, the same one stolen from Tauris by Orestes and Iphigeneia, held upright in the λύγος thicket.³³⁶ Immediately the royal pair went mad. Curses emanated from the statue, which caused civil strife in the Spartan *obai* and many deaths. An oracle ordered the appeasement of the goddess with the institution of human sacrifice with the victim chosen by lot.³³⁷ Later, Lykourgos reduced the practice to an endurance contest, the bloody whipping of stoic ἐφήβοι at the altar to substitute for the sacrificial human blood.³³⁸

The small and light image found by the royal brothers was said to be the same one that was carried by the priestess, at least in Pausanias' time, to 'observe' the διαμαστίγωσις at the altar in front of the temple. This must have been the occasion when 'willow-bound' Artemis was 'released' from her λύγος bindings and taken from the temple to witness the ritual, characteristically one of inversion which was common to such 'fettered' deities.³³⁹ The ξόανον was said to grow heavy when the scourgers pulled their strokes for good-looking or elite participants (Paus. 3.16.9-11).³⁴⁰ In this way, the priestess ensured that all contestants were treated equally, an important Lykourgan concept.³⁴¹

³³⁵ Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 78-9 sees Pausanias' tale as 'wholly an invention (...) well conceived and perfected over the years'.

³³⁶ Alopekos ('Mr. Fox') reflects the fox imagery that was prevalent in symbolic representations of Spartan youth (Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 123). Astrabakos was honoured with a *heroon* (for unstated reasons) near the tomb of Lykourgos (Paus. 3.16.6).

³³⁷ P.G. Bilde, 'Wandering Images. From Taurian and Chersonesean Parthenos to Artemis Tauropolos and Artemis Persike', in P.G. Bilde, J.M. Højte and W.F. Stolba (eds), *The Cauldron of Ariantas. Studies Presented to A.N. Ščeglov on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Aarhus, 2003) 165-83 at 167 explains that the presence of the Taurian statue was used in many cases to explain rites involving (symbolic) human sacrifice. On this aspect of human sacrifice, see D.D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London, 1991) 79-81; Dowden, *Death*, 33 and 103 and P. Bonnechere, *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne* (Athens and Liège, 1994) 52-5 who points out the similarities between the cults of Artemis Ortheia and Artemis Tauropolos at Halae. The cult myth of Achaean Artemis Triklaria (Paus. 7.19.1-3) also has parallel elements of madness resulting from looking at a statue, disease, human sacrifice and appeasement with a subsequent change in ritual (Bonnechere, *Sacrifice*, 55-62). Similarly, when the priestess of Artemis at Pellene held up the βρέτας of Artemis before the eyes of the Aetolian invaders, the sight of the image caused them to lose their reason and judgement (Plut. *Arat.* 32.2-3).

³³⁸ Rites of an uncanny type prevail during which social order is dissolved and sinister forces invade society in Artemis cults connected with the Tauropolos statue (Des Bouvrie, 'Artemis', 164). At Rhegion, in the cult myth of Artemis Phakelitis (Hyg. *Fab.* 261), the presence of the Taurian statue, the *epiclesis*, madness and appeasement are striking parallels but human sacrifice is absent (Fischer-Hansen, 'Artemis', 225-6).

³³⁹ Bremmer, 'Scapegoat Rituals', 311.

³⁴⁰ Frazer, *Pausanias*, 3, 342-3 sees the increase in weight as a mode of divination conjecturing that the feeling of increased weight was a bad omen.

³⁴¹ B.E. Goff, *Citizen Bacchae. Women's Ritual Practice in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, 2004) 189-90.

The fact that a priestess presided over male cult activity is most unusual and suggests that the priestess had originally officiated over an initiation rite for girls.³⁴² In the early third century CE, Pomponia Kallistonike, who was also a priestess of Artemis Patriotis at Pleiai (**L11**), is named as a priestess of Artemis Ortheia διὰ βίου καὶ διὰ γένους (*IG* 5¹.602.5-6). It would seem that the priesthood of Ortheia by that time was a hereditary position held for life. Whether the priestess was a παρθένος before this time is not known but the virginal Iphigeneia of the cult myth hints at the possibility, although Pausanias (3.16.7) reports that the ξόανον was brought to Sparta when Orestes was king (cf. **L20**).³⁴³

Xenophon and other classical authors paint a somewhat different picture of the ritual over which the priestess presided. Two groups of youths engage in a mock battle, one trying to steal cheeses from the altar, the other defending it with whips.³⁴⁴ The ritualized theft marks their passage to the next stage in their lives as Spartiate soldier-citizens. The battle inverts normative practice: the offering of cheese is diverted from its sacred recipient and the violence itself becomes sacred. The later ritual of passive endurance seems to have originated in the reforms of Kleomenes III who ‘took up ancestral ways and stepped back in the track of the famous *agoge*’ (Plu. *Cleom.* 18.4).³⁴⁵ In this case, the whipping, normally a punishment for slaves, does not represent the inversion of societal norms common to rites of passage because Spartan youth were regularly whipped (X. *Lac.* 2.2). The rites did, however, mark the attainment of military age and the resulting scars would have been a souvenir of this attainment.

Probably from the sixth century, the Ortheia sanctuary was the focus of male rites of transition. The agonistic aspects changed in character between the time of Xenophon and Pausanias. Nonetheless, it is likely that the basic elements, deduced from the Roman cult practice, existed both before Kleomenes III and after.³⁴⁶ Before assembling in the

³⁴² Calame, *Choruses*, 168 (n. 240). See also S. Hodkinson, *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta* (London, 2000) 290.

³⁴³ For a discussion on virgin priestesses, see Goff, *Citizen*, 146-51. Cf. Connelly, *Portrait*, 40-1.

³⁴⁴ X. *Lac.* 2.9, Pl. *Lg.* 1.633b and Plut. *Arist.* 17.10 refer to the same activity.

³⁴⁵ Tr. Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 12 who at p. 113 concludes that the endurance contest was ‘very much a product of a particular time and place’. He notes that the term *agoge* does not appear until the Hellenistic age. Kleomenes III claimed to restore the constitution of Lykourgos, which detailed the distinct Spartan way of life and served as a model in the Roman period for another ‘revival’ of past tradition. The story relayed by Pausanias was a myth, but a recent one that had no relevance to Sparta’s early history (Lykourgos). It had everything to do with Spartan invention of a cultural identity, at the heart of which was its education system so that, by Pausanias’ day, the *agoge* had become known as ‘the Lykourgan customs’ (Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 79-84).

³⁴⁶ Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 70-6.

sanctuary, the boys lived for a time apart from society like foxes, coming out at night to steal their food and sharing hardships.³⁴⁷ At the end of this liminal stage came the whipping or symbolic death.³⁴⁸ Following their test of endurance, the newly initiated ἐφήβοι paraded around the altar in ‘Lydian’ attire before a concluding banquet (Plu. *Arist.* 17.10). The curious crowd of spectators in the third-century CE theatre believed that they were watching a ritual unchanged since the time of Lykourgos.³⁴⁹ In fact, the spectacle had evolved over the centuries to emerge as a highly elaborate expression of a distinct society, one marked by discipline, obedience and virtue.

The Limnaion was central to other male agonistic activity as well. From the fourth century BCE, some stelae with dedications to Ortheia featured sockets for sickles, sometimes in multiples.³⁵⁰ The sickles were prizes of victory, at least from the second to the end of the first century BCE, in four types of contests (ἀγῶνες παιδικῶν): μῶα, κελοῖα, κυναγέτας, εὐβάλλκης.³⁵¹ The winners received a crown, a statue erected at public expense and an iron sickle. Since sickles were traditionally helot weapons or agricultural implements, the agonistic occasion(s) for such dedications has been interpreted as a rite of

³⁴⁷ Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 71, 74 and 122 refers to this time as φούαξιρ (Hsch. s.v.) or ‘fox time’. In Pausanias’ account of the associated myth, this may account for the name of Alopekos.

³⁴⁸ Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 75 notes that reports of actual deaths during the rite ‘serve to strengthen the symbolism by blurring the distinction between ritual and reality’. Of the five extant eye-witness accounts (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.34, Plu. *Lyc.* 18.1, Lucian, *Anach.* 38, Paus. 3.16.10-1 and Philostr. *VA* 20) only one, Plutarch (*Lyc.* 18.2), claims that participants died. However, the word Plutarch uses (ἐναποθνήσκοντας) can sometimes mean ‘being on the point of perishing’ (Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 73).

³⁴⁹ Cic. *Flac.* 63: *Lacedaemonii, cuius civitatis spectata ac nobilitata virtus non solum natura corroborata verum etiam disciplina putatur: qui soli toto orbe terrarum septingentos iam annos amplius unis moribus et numquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* (‘The tested and very celebrated courage of the Lacedaemonians is thought to have been strengthened not only by their nature but by discipline. They are the only men in the entire world who have lived under a single system and laws that have never been altered for over 700 years’; tr. my own). Although Cicero was commenting on the climate in the first century BCE, his observations held true centuries later.

³⁵⁰ Of the 14 such dedications, 4 have single sockets while the oldest has sockets for 5 sickles. The frequency of ‘sickle’ dedications increases dramatically in the Roman period.

³⁵¹ Such games are widely documented, especially in the Doric world, beginning as early as the seventh century BCE. Categories of the παῖδες (ἀγένειοι, ἐφήβοι and νέοι) may refer to age groups but this is not certain. (A. Lo Monaco, ‘Feasts and Games of *Paides* in the Peloponnese of the Imperial Period’, in A.D. Rizakis and C.E. Lepenioti (eds), *Roman Peloponnese III, Society, Economy and Culture under the Roman Empire* (Athens, 2010) 309-27 at 314-5). The μῶα was a sort of musical contest (Hsch. s.v. μῶα: ὠδή ποία). Since individuals made the dedications, it does not seem to have been choral singing. The κελοῖα may have been a hymn singing competition which took the form of hunting cries. Kennell (*Gymnasium*, 52-3) concludes that κελοῖα is associated with Artemis who is herself κελαιδινή (‘rushing with cries’ according to Kennell) during the hunt. On the other hand, Rose (‘Ortheia’, 403) links it to oratory. The κυναγέτας, which may have been a danced or mimed hunt, was superseded in the first century CE by the καθηρατόριον, ‘a deliciously archaistic coinage with suitably epic allusion’ (Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 53). Little is known about the εὐβάλλκης beyond its name although it could have involved mimetic dancing or recitations (Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 53). Lo Monaco, ‘Feasts’, 317 (n. 118), on the other hand, links εὐβάλλκης to the ‘whipping competitions by the altar’.

inversion.³⁵² Whether any of these contests existed before the second century BCE or took place at the same time or even at the same festival is not clear.³⁵³ It is also uncertain whether they are linked to initiation. What is certain is that the actors were male.

There is some inconclusive evidence for female cult activity at the sanctuary of Ortheia. First is the seventh-century choral lyric poem of Alkman known as the first *Partheneion*.³⁵⁴ Although much remains to be understood about the poem and the rite, the generally-accepted interpretation is a ritual performance of rich, purple-clad and gold-adorned singing παρθένοι who proceed to the altar of Ortheia with their offering.³⁵⁵ Alkman's text would not have survived without continued performances, and there is some evidence that the ritual continued to be performed at a festival into the Hellenistic period.³⁵⁶

The nature of the performance, the offering and even the actors have been variously interpreted. It has been viewed as an initiation rite in which a nocturnal procession of παρθένοι carry a φᾶρος (robe) to dedicate at dawn when the Pleiades rise in the sky, that is, around 22 May.³⁵⁷ Another view is that the occasion is a fall planting festival during which the παρθένοι carry a plough as a dedication for the goddess of the Dawn when the Pleiades rise again.³⁵⁸ Because the παρθένοι are compared to race horses tossing their manes, it has been suggested that foot-racing was part of the ritual.³⁵⁹ A more radical interpretation is that the hymn is not about παρθένοι at all but about the κόσμος, both politically and universally, and that Alkman may be referring to masked males taking

³⁵² Des Bouvrie, 'Artemis', 163 (n. 100) points out that, since Spartiates were exempt from agricultural tasks, sickles ought not to be viewed as agricultural or fertility symbols. On the other hand, Lo Monaco, 'Feasts', 317 asserts that the sickles indicate the agrarian nature of Artemis. If Alkman's φᾶρος is, in fact, a plough and Eulakia (L17) is Artemis, there are good reasons to view the sickles as agricultural symbols. In Greece (including Sparta), 'religious ritual is co-ordinated with the important moments of agricultural life, and it is crucial that it should be performed exactly within its annual seasonal framework' (Richer, 'System', 246).

³⁵³ Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 53-4.

³⁵⁴ Ferrari, *Alcman*, 1 (n. 2) and 17 points out that there is no evidence that what is known as the first *Partheneion* was included in the songs of Alkman classified as *partheneia*.

³⁵⁵ Calame, *Choruses*, 169 disputes the interpretation that Artemis Ortheia is the recipient.

³⁵⁶ Ferrari, *Alcman*, 82-3.

³⁵⁷ Boutsikas, *Astronomy*, 110. The Pleiades signal the beginning of the planting season in the fall and the harvest in the spring (Hes. *Op.* 383-4). J.M. Priestley, 'The φᾶρος of Alcman's *Partheneion* I', *Mnemosyne* 60 (2007) 175-95 discusses the problematic offering.

³⁵⁸ Ferrari, *Alcman*, 84. Stehle, *Performance*, 71-90 opts for the same offering at the vernal equinox.

³⁵⁹ Lo Monaco, 'Feasts', 318. Such racing occurred at Olympia in games for Hera (Paus. 5.16.2-3).

on female roles at the Karneia ‘playing girls playing stars’ who have nothing to do with Artemis Ortheia.³⁶⁰

Helen, however, does have something to do with Ortheia, as Plutarch (*Thes.* 31) tells us.³⁶¹ As we have seen, she was kidnapped as she danced in a chorus in the sanctuary with other young girls (L20). A mid-sixth century BCE bronze statuette of a cymbal-playing female figure, which was found in the sanctuary, lends some support to dance activity.³⁶² While the occasion for Helen’s choral performance is unknown, the participants are obviously younger than Alkman’s παρθέναι or females elsewhere performing in rituals whose cult myths have a theme of abduction.³⁶³ Plutarch’s tale suggests that at one time there was a pre-puberty ritual for young girls at the Spartan Limnaion similar to that depicted on the *krateriskoi* associated with the cult of Artemis at Brauron.³⁶⁴ Although Alkman and Plutarch may explain past practices, a significant decline in female votives in the sixth century seems to indicate the absence of a female cult of Ortheia in the ensuing period.

L22. Sparta/Amyklai: Artemis Korythalia³⁶⁵

Landscape

In the countryside between Sparta and Amyklai was the Tiassos, either a western tributary of the Eurotas, named for a daughter of that river (Paus. 3.18.6), or a spring of the same

³⁶⁰ Ferrari, *Alkman*, 135 and 150.

³⁶¹ On similarities between the cults of Helen and Artemis Ortheia, see L.L. Clader, *Helen. The Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition* (Leiden, 1976) 74-7 and Pomeroy, *Women*, 115 who points out a tree cult element in Helen’s cult (Theoc. 18.1.43-6).

³⁶² For the figurine which is dressed in a long χιτῶν and has long hair well below the waist, see A.M. Woodward, J.P. Droop and W. Lamb, ‘Excavations at Sparta, 1927’, *ABSA* 28 (1926-7) 1-106 at 101 (Pl. XII). Boutsikas, *Astronomy*, 111-2 associates Helen and Artemis Ortheia with the dancing Pleiades (E. *El.* 467).

³⁶³ See, for example, L1, 7, 8, 19-20 and M12.

³⁶⁴ The consensus is that the Brauron girls are about ten years of age (J. Neils, ‘Children and Greek Religion’, in J. Neils and J.H. Oakley, *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece* (New Haven and London, 2003) 139-161 at 152). The literature on the Brauronia is extensive. On the festival, see, for example, C. Faraone, ‘Playing the Bear and Fawn for Artemis: Female Initiation or Substitute Sacrifice?’, in D. Dodd and C. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives* (London, 2003) 43-68. On the *krateriskoi*, see L. Kahil, ‘Autour de L’Artémis attique’, *AntK* 8 (1965) 20-33; ‘L’Artemis de Brauron: Rites et mystère’, *AntK* 20 (1977) 86-98; ‘Mythological Repertoire of Brauron’, in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Iconography* (Madison, 1983) 231-44.

³⁶⁵ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 188-9 (no. 160).

name.³⁶⁶ Near the Tiassos was a sanctuary of Phaenna and Kleta, the Lakonian Graces (Paus. 3.18.6 and Ath. 4.139b).

Epiclesis

According to Clader, κορυθάλη is a compound word derived from χόρος/χοῦρος, which originally meant ‘shoot’ or ‘branch’ and, later, by extension, a ‘youth’, and θάλλω ‘sprout, thrive, grow’.³⁶⁷ According to a gloss of Hesychius, κορυθάλη (s.v.) is laurel that has been swathed (δάφνη ἐστεμμένη) which is associated with the eiresione, an olive bough wreathed in wool and decorated with fruit and miniature containers of honey, oil and wine (Plu. *Thes.* 22.5).³⁶⁸ The epithet can thus be defined as ‘sprouter of laurels, olives or adolescents’. As Korythalia, then, Artemis symbolizes the growth process in humans as well as non-domesticated animals and plants.³⁶⁹

Chantraine and Beekes, on the other hand, affirm that the epithet is derived from κόρυς (‘helmet’) and is associated with κορυθαλλίστριαι: αἱ χορεύουσαι τῇ Κορυθαλίᾳ θεῶ (Hesch.).³⁷⁰ Neither etymologist explains the connection between the goddess, the helmet and the dancers. We recall, however, the helmeted figure of Artemis on the coin of Kleomenes III (L15 and Fig. 5) and dance activity in other cults of the goddess, especially pyrrhic dancing (L12).

Sanctuary

Pausanias neglects to mention the ἱερόν of Artemis Korythalia, but Athenaeus (4.139b) tells us that it was beside the Tiassos river (or spring) near the sanctuary of Kleta, one of the Lakonian Graces.³⁷¹ The extra-urban setting near fresh water is consistent with the

³⁶⁶ Hsch. s.v. Τιάσσα: κρήνη ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. τινὲς δὲ ποταμόν. Other sanctuaries associated with springs were located at Dereia (L6), Marios (L9), Pakota (L10), Teuthrone (L25), Messene (M7) and Mothone (M11).

³⁶⁷ Clader, *Helen*, 74-7.

³⁶⁸ The εἰρεισιώνη was carried by singing youths at the Pyanepsia and Thargelia, Athenian festivals, and later hung over doorways. See Parke, *Festivals*, 75-7 and W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, 1982) 134-5. For further discussion of the definition, see Clader, *Helen*, 75-7 and Calame, *Choruses*, 170. Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 757 (s.v. κόρυς Der. 5) understands κορυθάλη/eiresione as a ‘maypole’.

³⁶⁹ Calame, *Choruses*, 170-1. For other examples of Artemis fulfilling the same role, see L2 and M3.

³⁷⁰ Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 547 (s.v. κόρυς) and Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 757 (s.v. κόρυς).

³⁷¹ Pausanias (3.18.6) states that Kleta shared the sanctuary with another of the Graces, Phaenna.

character of Artemis and the setting of her sanctuaries. The τέμενος of the temple must have been large enough to accommodate the festival participants.

Myth and Cult

Korythaleia (*sic*) was one of the two nurses of Apollo and, perhaps, his sister (Plu. *Mor.* 657e), and so Korythaleia played the role of παιδοτρόφος like the goddess herself at Korone (Paus. 4.34.6 and **M3**).³⁷² Near the Tiassos, the focus was on the growth of Spartan male babies who were carried to the sanctuary by their wet-nurses (τίτθαι) for the Tithenidia festival.³⁷³ There, the nurses celebrated in the same way as at the Κοπίς (Cleaver), a ritual banquet for Apollo at the Hyakinthia festival in nearby Amyklai (Ath. 4.139 a-c).³⁷⁴ Thus, we can imagine the nurses reclining on rugs, spread over brushwood mats in tents erected in the precinct, enjoying the festive meal while watching over their charges. On offer were the meat of the sacrificial piglets, instead of the goats for Apollo, and oven-baked wheat bread (ἰπνίται).³⁷⁵ This festival of reversal thus recognized the importance of the τίτθαι as nourishers of Sparta's future soldier-citizens.³⁷⁶

Sacrifice and feasting were not the only cult activities. Hesychius refers to female choral dancers called Κορυθαλλίστριαι. These dancers might be associated with the nurses of the Tithenidia.³⁷⁷ The dancers wore wooden masks which possibly were comic and thus provoked the children to laugh.³⁷⁸ The character of the dancing, said to be satyr-like,

³⁷² Hsch. s.v. κορυθαλία. Calame, *Choruses*, 171-2.

³⁷³ Parker, 'Religion', 145 (n. 13) comments that little is known about shrines or festivals of the helots and concludes that the τίτθαι must have been slaves. Plutarch (*Lyc.* 16.3) remarks on the care and skill of the τίτθαι noting that Alkibiades had a Spartan nurse. For a survey of kourotrophic figurines, see Neils and Oakley, *Age*, 224-9 especially 227-9 (Figs 25-8).

³⁷⁴ Athenaeus cites a fifth-century comedy of Cratinus as the source of his information about the Κοπίς.

³⁷⁵ M.S. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries* (Diss. University of Southern California, Berkeley, 1978) 29 points out that it is not clear whether all sanctuary meals were κοπίδες and, if not, what distinguished the Κοπίς from other ritual meals. It is unclear whether the nurses ate the two kinds of special cakes, cheese, sausage and a dessert of dried figs and beans and lupini beans enjoyed by the male banqueters (Ath. 138f-139b).

³⁷⁶ The Tithenidia was much like the second day of the Hyakinthia when slaves (τούς δούλους τούς ιδίους) were entertained at dinner (Ath. 4.139d-140b). Goldstein, *Setting*, 31 rejects the notion that the tents are indicative of a fertility-harvest celebration.

³⁷⁷ Hsch. s.v. Κορυθαλλίστριαι. Calame, *Choruses*, 171.

³⁷⁸ Mold-made terracotta masks are associated with the cult of Ortheia in the archaic period, for which see J.B. Carter, 'The Masks of Ortheia', *AJA* 91 (1987) 355-83, and 'Masks', 89-98.

perhaps connects Artemis with Dionysos.³⁷⁹ However, orgiastic dancing would play a different role for Artemis than for the wine god.³⁸⁰ The Κορυθαλλίστριαι could be seen to stimulate the powers of growth possessed by the goddess and transmit them to the babies, and therefore confirm the essential function of Artemis Korythalia as Κουροτρόφος which covered the whole process of growth from early childhood to adulthood.³⁸¹

L23. Sparta-Arkadia Road: Artemis Mysia³⁸²

Landscape

The road from Sparta to Arkadia runs north-northwest along the valley of the Eurotas. Less than 30 *stadia* (5.5 km) from Sparta along this road was a ἱερόν of Artemis Mysia and a τέμενος of Kraneios Stemmatias (Paus. 3.20.9), who is the equivalent of Apollo Karneios.³⁸³

Epiclesis

The same epithet, Μυσία, is used for Demeter in the Argolid (Paus. 2.18.3) and near Pellene in Akhaia, where there was a sanctuary and festival of Demeter Mysia (Paus. 7.27.3-4). In both cases, the *epiclesis* is derived from Mysios, the founder of the cult, who entertained the goddess in his home. It is unlikely that this is the origin of the epithet here, where it is the singular instance of its use as an *epiclesis* for Artemis. It is more likely that Μυσία is connected with μῦς (mouse). A sherd from a *pyxis* found in the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta showing a winged figure with a mouse has been connected with

³⁷⁹ Hsch. s.v. κυριττοί: οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ ξύλινα πρόσωπα κατὰ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐορτάζοντες τῇ κορυθαλία γελοιασταί. On the satyr-like character, see Calame, *Choruses*, 171 (n. 252) who cites M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische feste con religiöser Bedeutung* (Milan, 1975) 184. Whether the dances were orgiastic or reflective of a fertility festival is doubtful (Calame, *Choruses*, 171). Helots were forced to perform choruses of an ignoble and absurd nature on unspecified occasions (Plu. *Lyc.* 28.4). For other cults with possible links to Dionysos, see L2, 6, 8, and M12.

³⁸⁰ Parker 'Religion', 145 and 151 questions the obscene nature of the dancing while Calame, *Choruses*, 171-4 proceeds with caution.

³⁸¹ Calame, *Choruses*, 171-2.

³⁸² Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 176 (no. 143).

³⁸³ *LSJ* s.v. στεμματίας, 'one who wears a wreath, of Apollo'. Kraneios is the equivalent of (Apollo) Karneios (Musti and Torelli, *Pausania*, 259). On the road, see Pritchett, *Topography* 4, 1-28.

Artemis Mysia.³⁸⁴ At Lousoi in Arkadia, there was a spring associated with Artemis Hemera and domesticated mice, which gives the goddess a chthonian character.³⁸⁵

It is possible that the *epiclesis* is a toponym connected with Mysia in Asia Minor where Apollo Smintheus (‘mouse’) was a plague god (H. *Il.* 1.39).³⁸⁶ Was Artemis Mysia regarded as a plague goddess in Lakonia?³⁸⁷ In the Peloponnese, Artemis was said to have sent plagues to Sikyon (Paus. 2.7.7) and Patrai (Paus. 7.19.2) and it was certainly known in antiquity that mice spread the plague (Str. 3.4.18). On the other hand, the ashes, blood or dung of mice were widely used for their curative powers (Plin. *Nat.* 29.39, 30.21 and 23). Epithets could be applied to deities who ended plagues of small animals (Str. 13.1.64).³⁸⁸ Like her brother, Apollo, and her nephew, Asklepios, Artemis was also a healing deity who, with her mother, healed Aineias of his wounds (Hom. *Il.* 5.447-8).³⁸⁹ Accordingly, Artemis Mysia is concerned with diseases both cured and caused by mice. Our knowledge of her dual functions as a healer and scourger is enhanced by two further epithets in Lakonia.

Clemens of Alexandria (*prot.* 2.38.5), quoting Sosibius, reports a *ιερόν* of Artemis Podagra at an unknown site in Lakonia.³⁹⁰ While *Ποδάγρα*, ‘leg-hold trap’, is a suitable epithet for a hunting goddess (X. *Cyr.* 1.6.28 and Opp. *C.* 1.156), the word might also be translated as ‘gout’.³⁹¹ J.R. Harris speculates that the goddess was given names after the diseases cured by herbs associated with her.³⁹² In accordance with her dual nature, Artemis could thus be credited with both causing and curing ‘gout’. Similarly, Clemens (*prot.* 2.38.5) reports that in Lakonia τὸ βήσσειν is the equivalent of *χελύττειν* (‘to cough’). Thus, Artemis *Χελύτις*, or ‘the cougher’, could refer both to the cause of the cough or a herbal cough mixture.³⁹³

³⁸⁴ J.P. Droop, ‘The Laconian Pottery’, in Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, 52-116 at 78 (Fig. 47e).

³⁸⁵ A.H. Krappe, ‘Artemis Mysia’, *CPh* 39 (1944) 178-83 at 178 and Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 420.

³⁸⁶ Krappe, ‘Artemis’, 178.

³⁸⁷ Krappe, ‘Artemis’, 183 makes this conclusion.

³⁸⁸ See O. Hekster, ‘Of Mice and Emperors. A Note on Aelian *De natura animalium* 6.40’, *CPh* 97 (2002) 365-70 at 367-8, esp. n. 11 for the association of Apollo with mice as both their exterminator and protector.

³⁸⁹ Artemis shared a sanctuary with Asklepios at Hypsoi (L7) and at Messene (M8).

³⁹⁰ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 176 (no. 144) translates *ποδάγρα* as ‘swift-footed’ (*πόδαργα*?).

³⁹¹ *LSJ* s.v. *ποδάγρα*. See also Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 13-4 (s.v. *ἄγρα*) and Beekes, *Dictionary*¹, 15 (s.v. *ἄγρα*).

³⁹² J.R. Harris, ‘The Origin of the Cult of Artemis’, *BRL* 3 (1916-1917) 147-84 at 177-8 notes that *Artemisia vulgaris* (mugwort) is still used in Chinese medicine to treat gout.

³⁹³ Harris, ‘Origins’, 177-8. The *epiclesis* is derived from *χέλυς*, ‘tortoise’ or ‘lyre’. Since tortoises have an arched shell, *χέλυς* came to mean ‘chest’.

Sanctuary

Neither the ἱερόν of Artemis Mysia (nor the nearby τέμενος of Apollo) have been discovered. However, the peripheral site of a temple of the goddess along the road corresponds to sites of other Artemisia.³⁹⁴

Myth and Cult

Nothing is known about the myths or cults of Artemis as Mysia, Podagra or Chelytis.

L24. Teuthrone: Artemis Issoria³⁹⁵

Landscape

Teuthrone, now modern Kotronas, is a port town on Kolokythia Bay located on the eastern side of the overland route connecting the Gulfs of Messenia and Lakonia which passes through Pyrrichos (**L12**).³⁹⁶ It owes its only mention in ancient literature to Pausanias (3.21.7) who lists it as one of the Eleutherolakonian *poleis* and further identifies it as a place where Artemis was the favorite deity and where there was a spring called Naia (Paus. 3.25.4). On Skopas, a small promontory which juts into the bay, there is evidence of habitation from neolithic to medieval times. A medieval water-basin at the southernmost point of the cape is perhaps the successor to the spring (πηγή) called Naia mentioned by Pausanias.³⁹⁷ Le Roy, however, identifies Naia as the spring near the chapel of Saint Nicholas where the remains of an aqueduct descend the hill.³⁹⁸

Epiclesis

Artemis Issoria was also worshiped at Sparta (**L19**).

³⁹⁴ See, for example, Artemis Limnatis (**L5**) and Artemis Dereatis (**L6**).

³⁹⁵ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 229-30 (no. 163).

³⁹⁶ A.M. Woodward, 'Laconia II. Topography. Taenarum and Southern Maina', *ABSA* 13 (1906-1907) 238-59 at 257; C. le Roy, 'Antiquités de Kotronas', *BCH* 85 (1961) 215-3. for a survey of the scant remains of the ancient settlement.

³⁹⁷ Woodward, 'Laconia II', 256 followed by Shipley, 'Sites', 304-5 and 'Lakedaimonians', 191 (no. 53) and 248.

³⁹⁸ Le Roy, 'Antiquités', 217 and 219 (Fig. 10). For other cult sites of Artemis with springs, see **L6**, **9**, **10**, **22**, **M7** and **II**. M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* (London, 1910) 30-1 cites two examples, one in Aitolia and the other at Aulis, where churches of St. Nicholas stand over Artemisia.

Sanctuary

Possible remains of a Doric temple, consisting of a metope and triglyph, were built into the wall of a house at the east end of the village. The dimensions of the entablature fragment indicate that it would have formed part of a building of ‘unusually small scale’.³⁹⁹ Such a mini-temple does not seem consistent with the fact that, of the deities worshiped at Teuthrone, Issorian Artemis was the one most favoured (Paus. 3.25.4). While Pausanias does not identify the other deities, it is more likely that these architectural remains belong to one of them rather than Artemis. Pausanias does not make it clear whether the πηγῆ is associated with the worship of Artemis, although it is possible.

Two other types of material evidence from Teuthrone further support the existence of a sanctuary of Artemis at Teuthrone. First are two marble bas-reliefs of Artemis. In the third-second century BCE relief, the goddess stands wearing a long clinging garment with a short πέπλος and holds an unidentifiable object against her left breast. Behind her, a hound raises his right forepaw and lifts his head towards her left hand.⁴⁰⁰ The other is a small, undated funerary relief depicting a seated female figure, also in a long dress, facing what is perhaps a rearing snake. Behind it is the head of an animal with a long muzzle, which could be a fawn. Le Roy tentatively identifies the figure as Artemis accompanied by her favorite animals.⁴⁰¹ Both reliefs reflect Artemis in her role of πότνια θηρῶν.

The second is a cube-shaped *bomiskos*, or mini-altar (c. 10 x 10 x 23 cm), found in the region, which could have served as a support for small offerings or a memorial to a sacrifice performed.⁴⁰² Since *bomiskoi* usually imitate larger architectural prototypes, it is likely a faithful copy of the Teuthrone altar of Artemis.⁴⁰³ It carries a simple (second-first century BCE) inscription (*IG* 5¹.1219) on one side; the names of the dedicators, Βλάστη and Ἀγαθάρην, and the standard dedicatory verb, ἀνέθηκαν.

³⁹⁹ Woodward, ‘Laconia II’, 257 (n. 1) who at 254 compares it to a small shrine seen at Kourno which measured 3.17 by 3.04 m. For a photograph of the fragment, see le Roy, ‘Antiquités’, 219 (Fig. 11).

⁴⁰⁰ Woodward, ‘Laconia II’, 257 describes the sculpture while A. Delivorrias, ‘Lakonia’, *AD Chr.* 23 (1968) 155 (Pl. 107β) publishes the pictures.

⁴⁰¹ Le Roy, ‘Antiquités’, 218-9 and 220 (Fig. 12). No date is given. For another seated cult statue identified as Artemis, see (L2).

⁴⁰² H. Nagy, ‘Miniature Votive Altars in the Collection of the American Academy in Rome’, in S.K. Dickson and J.P. Hallett (eds), *Rome and Her Monuments. Essays on the City and Literature of Rome in Honor of Katherine A. Geffcken* (Wauconda, IL, 2000) 3-22 at 8-9.

⁴⁰³ Nagy, ‘Altars’, 11-2.

While the inscription does not clarify to whom the couple is dedicating the altar, the images on the other three sides provide an answer: two upright long torches, a prick-eared (Lakonian?) hound sitting with his head raised, perhaps howling or barking, and what is probably a deer with antlers, possibly the Keryneian hind with her golden horns.⁴⁰⁴ The three word inscription, three sculpted sides, twin torches and howling dog might signify Hekate, but the deer, Pausanias' testimony and the presence of another sanctuary of Artemis Issoria at Sparta, tip the balance in favour of the hunting goddess.⁴⁰⁵

Myth and Cult

As the *epiclesis* is a doublet of Artemis in the *obe* of Pitane at Sparta, it can be assumed that the associated myth and cult activities at Teuthrone mirrored those on Mt. Issoria (L19).⁴⁰⁶

L25. Vothona: Artemis Agrotera Kyparissia⁴⁰⁷

Landscape

Pausanias (3.22.10) mentions a sanctuary of Asklepios Hyperteleates located 50 *stadia* (9.25 km) from Asopos on the Malea peninsula. North-east of Asopos, near modern Vothona, in a ravine south of Phoiniki, abundant epigraphic evidence attests to the cult of Apollo Hyperteleates but not Asklepios.⁴⁰⁸ The Hyperteleaton of Apollo was one of two cult centres of the pre-Augustan κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων (Lakedaimonian League).⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁴ K. Peppas-Delmouzou, 'Autel portatif trouvé à Teuthrone', in *Mélanges Daux*, 303-7 at 307 (Figs. 2-3) draws attention to a relief, now in Berlin, of Artemis standing between a stag and a dog. Coins from Las issued during the reign of Septimius Severus depict Artemis with a dog and a stag standing on either side (L1). Other interpretations of this image on the *bomiskos* are a goat or a horse. For other sites where torches are significant, see L10, 13, 17, 26 and M8-9.

⁴⁰⁵ Peppas-Delmouzou, 'Autel', 307; 'probably Artemis' (Shipley, 'Sites', 305). On the iconography of Hekate, see H. Sarien, 'Hekate', in *LIMC* 6.1 (1992) 985-1018.

⁴⁰⁶ Richer, 'System', 243 identifies Issoria at Teuthrone as a cultic doublet of Artemis Ortheia (L21).

⁴⁰⁷ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 230-1 (no. 164).

⁴⁰⁸ Levi, *Pausanias* 2, 83 (n. 228) claims that a cult of Asklepios is by no means impossible but there is no evidence.

⁴⁰⁹ The other was the temple of Poseidon at Taenarum (Chrimes, *Sparta*, 436).

Epiclesis

A third-century BCE inscription (*IG* 5¹.977.13-4) found near Vothona names Agrotera Kyparissia (Ἄγροτέρα Κυφαρισσία) as a goddess associated with the cult of Apollo Hyperteleates. Ἄγροτέρα, as we have seen, was a common epithet for the hunting goddess (L15). The *epiclesis* Κυφαρισσία, like Δαφναία (L7), Καρυάτις (L8) and Λυγόδεσμα (L21), associates Artemis with an uncultivated tree, in this case, the evergreen cypress (κυπάρισσος). The cypress was associated with the birth of Artemis and Apollo at Ephesos, (Str. 14.1.20) and the sanctuaries of Artemis on Mt. Lykone (Paus. 2.24.5), near Okantheia in Phokis (Paus. 10.38.9) and Phigalia in Arkadia (Paus. 8.41.4) were located in cypress groves.

Sanctuary

Foundations of a rectangular building (30 x 18 m) on a terrace ‘may be the foundations of the temple’.⁴¹⁰ Late-nineteenth century excavations uncovered inscriptions, bronzes and terracotta statuettes indicating that a temple must have existed in the vicinity.⁴¹¹

Myth and Cult

A plaque, coins and an inscription provide evidence for worship of Artemis, the sister of Apollo, at the same sanctuary. A terracotta plaque from the site depicts a female figure with πόλος, bow and quiver, who can only be Artemis.⁴¹² Coins associated with the Hyperteleaton also depict Artemis as Ἄγροτέρα, clad in a short χιτῶν holding her quiver in one hand and a branch (of cypress?) in her right hand. The coins were struck for the league festival, τὰ κυπαρίσσια, which took its name from the goddess rather than from her brother.⁴¹³ From the second-half of the first century BCE, they carry the inscription: KOI

⁴¹⁰ Hondius and Hondius-van Haefen, ‘Laconia II’, 148.

⁴¹¹ Wace and Hasluck, ‘Laconia II’, 165. A long, narrow archaic temple is confirmed by Cartledge, *Sparta*, 191.

⁴¹² See Kahil, ‘Artemis’, 683 for the plaque which is now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (inv. NM 1148).

⁴¹³ The divine siblings appear on the two sides of several coins of Sparta (Chrimes, *Sparta*, 438).

ΛΑΚΕ ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΣΙΑ (= κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Κυπαρισσία) and the letters ΤΙ ΚΑ.⁴¹⁴

Undated inscriptions show that both female (*IG* 5¹.1068) and male priests were drawn from Sparta (*IG* 5¹.1016), Epidauros Limera (*IG* 5¹.1005, 1008) and nearby Asopos (*IG* 5¹.996, 1001-3). Those filling the position of πυροφόρος were men from the same places.⁴¹⁵ This latter agency was also found on campaign and had the duty of carrying fire from the sacrificial altar before the army (*X. Lac.* 13.2-3). A πυροφόρος does not, however, necessarily indicate a nocturnal πομπή. A third-century BCE inscription (*IG* 5¹.977) on a marble base for a bronze statue celebrates an agonistic victory at the Kyparissia festival. One wonders if the winners were crowned with cypress.⁴¹⁶ The inscription is too early to be associated with the Lakedaimonian League, which was probably instituted in 188 BCE.⁴¹⁷ Thus, the cult of Apollo Hyperteleates, its association with Artemis and its agonistic activity must have existed before the league was founded.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 55 (Pl. N IV); *SNG Cop.* 17 (no. 601; Pl 12); *BMC* (Peloponnese) 10.128 (no.68; Pl XXV, 9); Head, *Hist. Num.*², 435. For interpretation of the letters ΤΙ ΚΑ, see Chrimes, *Sparta*, 438-9 who associates the letter with a series of monogram coins in the pre-imperial period, rejecting the suggestions that ΤΙ represents Timokrates, the *strategos* of the Lakonian League in 72-71 BCE.

⁴¹⁵ Asopos (*IG* 5¹.991-2, 997, 999, 1018); Epidauros Limera (*IG* 5¹. 1007, 1011-12) and Sparta (*IG* 5¹. 1015). The same agency was present for the Spartan army on campaign. He carried the fire from the altar of Zeus Agetor to the border. After the *diabateria* sacrifice(s), he carried the fire before the army and made sure that it never went out (*X. Lac.* 13.2-3). For other sites with reference to torches, see **L10, 13, 17, 24** and **M8-9**.

⁴¹⁶ *IG* 5¹.1017 refers to a στέφανος.

⁴¹⁷ Chrimes, *Sparta*, 439.

⁴¹⁸ Kourinou, *Σπάρτη*, 182-4 suggests that the cult of Artemis (Agrotera) Kyparissia was moved to Sparta in the first century BCE to an existing sanctuary of Artemis, although this is by no means certain. She cites anatomical votive reliefs dedicated to Kyparissia and terracotta figurines of Artemis, recently found in Sparta at a site identified with Asklepios, as support for the notion. G. Salapata, in her review of Kourinou (*BMCRev* 2001.08.11), notes that Kyparissia was also an epithet of Athena who is equally credited with therapeutic power. She questions Kourinou's conclusions that the name Kyparissia, together with the figurines, prove that Artemis was worshipped at the Sparta site as Agrotera, Phosphoros and Kyparissia or that the cult was transferred to Sparta for political reasons.

Part II: Sanctuaries and Cults of Artemis in Messenia

Introduction

Messenia refers generally to the geographical area of the southwestern Peloponnese bounded on the west and south by the sea, on the north by the river Neda and on the east by the Taygetos range. The mountainous eastern border region, the *ager Dentheliatis*, which included the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos, remained Messenian for most of the period from the liberation in 370 BCE through the Roman period, reverting briefly to Spartan hands on several occasions.⁴¹⁹ After the liberation of the southwestern Peloponnese, Messene, then known as Ithome, became the most important city in the region. The location of the sites of all Artemisia discussed in Part II can be found at Fig. 7.

M1: Alagonia: Artemis Limnatis⁴²⁰

Landscape

At the end of his discourse on his travels in Lakonia, Pausanias (3.26.11) notes that there were sanctuaries of Dionysos and Artemis worth seeing (ἄξια ἱερά) at Alagonia, which lay 30 *stadia* (5.5 km) from Gerenia, a *polis* inland from the eastern shore of the Gulf of Messenia.⁴²¹ After the liberation of Messenia, the general area still belonged to Lakonia until after the battle of Chaironeia (338/337 BCE) when Philip II of Macedonia made it part of Messenia. Both Alagonia and Gerenia later became Eleutherolakonian (Paus. 3.26.8 and 11).

Since Gerenia was inland, we expect to find Alagonia on the western slopes of the Taygetos range. An inscription found at Messene (IG 5¹.1431.35-9), recording the settlement of a 78 CE boundary dispute between Lakonia and Messenia, places a ἱερόν of Artemis Limnatis above the the torrent (ὑπὲρ τὸν χειμάρρου) called Choireios, which

⁴¹⁹ Shipley, 'Territory', 386 provides a concise overview of the history of the border region while Themelis, *Messene*, 15-35 provides a chronological overview with a focus on Messene. On the history of Messenia between the liberation and the Roman occupation, see C.A. Roebuck, *A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 BCE* (Chicago, 1941).

⁴²⁰ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 165-6 (no. 130) places Alagonia in Lakonia.

⁴²¹ Alagonia and Gerenia are attested only after the classical period (Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 191). Gerenia is identified with the Zarnata hill, near modern Kambos which lies south of the Sandava/Choireios in the modern municipality of Avia, where the remains of a Venetian fortress resting on classical foundations, overlook an inland plain (M.N. Valmin, *Études topographique de la Messénie ancienne* (Lund, 1930) 182-6, followed by R. Hope Simpson, 'Identifying a Mycenaean State', *ABSA* 52 (1957) 231-59 at 238-9 (Fig.4) and S. Koursoumis, D. Kosmopoulos, V. Georgiades, F. Stavrianopoulos, 'Η οροθετική γραμμή Μεσσηνίας-Λακωνίας στην κορυφογραμμή του Ταυγέτου', forthcoming in *Praktika tou B' Topikou Synedriou tes Etaireias Peloponnessiakon Spoudon, Kalamata, 10-11 of October 2010*.

then defined the boundary between Messenia, Lakedaïmon and the Eleutherolakonians.⁴²² Now acknowledged to be the present-day Sandava, the river rises in the Taygetos and flows west into the Gulf of Messenia near modern Kitries. The *ιερόν* of the inscription is equated with the sanctuary of Artemis at Alagonia that Pausanias (3.26.11) deemed worth seeing. Three villages on the upper Sandava have been nominated as the site: Pigadhia, Anatoliko and Brinda/Printa/Vorio Gaitson.⁴²³ A recent field survey (2010) of the boundary stones mentioned in the inscription confirms Vorio Gaitson, on the rim of the impressive Koskaraka/Rindomo Gorge, as the site of Alagonia with its *ιερόν* of Artemis Limnatis (Fig. 7).⁴²⁴ The site, 100 m above the torrent, boasts ‘imposing polygonal fortifications’ and a ‘superb command of the gorge marking the traditional Messenia-Lakonia border’.⁴²⁵

Epiclesis

As we have seen (**L5**), Λιμνήτις denotes ‘one who lives in the marshes’, but the *epiclesis* here does not reflect the topography as it did near Epidauros Limeria.⁴²⁶ Could it be that the Artemision on the Choireios, like the Limnaion at Sparta (**L21**), is named for the Limnai/Volimos sanctuary, as Strabo (8.4.9) contends?⁴²⁷ If so, Λιμνήτις would then have double significance: a correspondence both to its geographic origin and to the function of a goddess who presides over the crossing of boundaries, both political and personal. As in Lakonia, the epithet is repeated at other sites in Messenia (**M7** and **13**).

Sanctuary

While there is ceramic evidence for habitation of Vorio Gaitson from the classical to the medieval period, there is no evidence of a temple or temples. They may, however, lie

⁴²² T. Elliott, *Epigraphic Evidence for Boundary Disputes in the Roman Empire* (Diss. Chapel Hill, 2004) 74-9 at 76 (n. 247) states that it ‘surely represents a new stratagem on the part of one of the parties’ for gaining control of the area.

⁴²³ Pigadhia: Calame, *Choruses*, 143; Anatoliko: R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000) 58 C4, followed by Shipley, ‘Lakedaimonians’, 191 (site no. 38), 244; Brinda/Printa/Vorio Gaitson: Valmin, *Études*, 51-4, 191-5 who shows a plan of the site (Fig. 37), a photograph of the wall remains (Fig. 38) and a view of the acropolis (Fig. 39), followed by McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 316-7 (site no. 548). I am grateful to John Chapman, University of Herefordshire, for his assistance in clarifying the collection of tiny villages colloquially known as Gaitses of which only Vorio is on the rim of the gorge.

⁴²⁴ Koursoumis, Kosmopoulos, Georgiades, Stavrianopoulos, ‘Η οροθετική γραμμή’.

⁴²⁵ McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 98 (n. 105).

⁴²⁶ For other cults of Limnatis, see **L5**, **19** (Limnaia), **M7** and **13**.

⁴²⁷ For Strabo’s contention, see discussion at **L19** and **21**.

beneath the church and monastery of Profitis Ilias which clings to the side of the gorge, a 15 minute walk from the village. Calame, ignoring the fact that the inscription places the ἱερὸν ‘ὑπὲρ τὸν χειμάρρου’, supposes that the sanctuary ought to lie at the bottom of the gorge. Such a location would thus take advantage of the aquatic aspect consistent with the *epiclesis* and the notion of water and humidity in connection with fertility.⁴²⁸ The Choireios, however, is a torrent, dry for a good part of the year. Nonetheless, Calame is correct in placing Alagonia with its sanctuary of Artemis in a wild setting.

Myth and Cult

The relatively nearby cult of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos (**M13**) was witness to festivities marking the passage from female adolescence to adulthood, just as the ἑορτή on Mt. Issoria probably celebrated similar rites for Limnaia (**L19**). Alagonia, like Limnai/Volimos and Mt. Issoria, is in a boundary location where the goddess is given a name that itself had liminal implications. Thus, it would not be unreasonable to expect that the ἱερὸν of Artemis Limnatis at Alagonia was the site of comparable sacred activities or choral performance.⁴²⁹ However, there is no literary or material evidence to support the notion.

M2: Derai: Artemis Heleia (Dereatis?)⁴³⁰

Landscape

Pausanias (4.15.4) identifies a place called Derai as the site of the first clash in the seventh-century BCE Second Messenian War between the Messenians, under their hero Aristomenes, and the Lakonians.⁴³¹ A place called Δέρα appears in two fragmentary inscriptions concerning the frontiers between Megalopolis and Messene. In the first inscription (*IG* 5¹. 1429), found at Messene, Δέρα appears in conjunction with a ἱερὸν and a spring (κατ’ἄ τὸ κοῖλον εἰς τὴν κ[ράναν) in a treaty of ἰσσοπολιτεία and ἐπιγαμία between Messene and Phigaleia (c. 240 BCE).⁴³² The second inscription (*IvO*⁵.46B = *SEG*

⁴²⁸ Calame, *Choruses*, 143 places the sanctuary further upstream at Pighadia.

⁴²⁹ See Calame, *Choruses*, 142-9 for discussion.

⁴³⁰ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 232 (no. 165), catalogued as ‘Helos (?)’.

⁴³¹ The site should not be confused with Lakonian Δέρειον (**L6**). This is the same Aristomenes who abducted the dancers at Karyai (**L8**).

⁴³² Messene appears to have lost some territory to Phigaleia and Megalopolis (Valmin, *Études*, 125 (n. 98).

11.1189.30, 74, 78-81), dated 189-167 BCE, refers to a place called Κοίλα Δέρα where Poteidaia was to be found near the top of a mountain (ἐ]ν ἄκρω τῷ ὄρει) not far from a ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀρτέμιτος and an ἀρχαία ὁδός.⁴³³ It is not certain whether the two inscriptions refer to the same place.

Identification of Dera(i) is problematic but, in general, it appears to lie south of Arkadian Mt. Lykaion in which vicinity the elusive Poteidaia of the inscription is tentatively placed.⁴³⁴ Strabo (8.3.25) locates a sanctuary of Artemis Ἐλεία at a marsh named Ἐλος in the neighbourhood of otherwise-unattested Alorion which, by context, is south of Mt. Lykaion. Also south of Lykaion is another mountain called Ἐλάιον, 30 *stadia* (5.5 km) from Phigaleia on the Messenian side of the river Neda (Paus. 8.41.7 and 8.42.1). Mt. Helaion is now identified as Mt. Tetrasi.⁴³⁵ On Mt. Tetrasi, there is a spring which is the source of the river Neda, possibly the spring in the second inscription and Strabo's marsh.⁴³⁶

Epiclesis

Ἐλεία is related to ἔλος, 'low ground near rivers, a marsh-meadow' and so Ἐλεία, like Λιμνήτις, means 'living in the marshes'.⁴³⁷ The *epiclesis* places Artemis in a marginal environment, but it is not certain whether Ἐλεία is descriptive or toponymic.⁴³⁸ The two epithets, synonymous in meaning, could refer to the same sanctuary and cult of Artemis, but in light of Arapogianni's recent excavations on Mt. Tetrasi, it may be preferable to consider them separately.⁴³⁹ The toponym Δερεάτις is conjectured but not, to my knowledge, confirmed epigraphically.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³³ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 234 notes that the inscription is too fragmentary to determine whether the sanctuary is in Messenian or Arkadian territory.

⁴³⁴ Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 188.

⁴³⁵ On Mt. Tetrasi, see W.M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 2 vols (London, 1830) 2.10-4.

⁴³⁶ Leake, *Travels*, 2, 10-2. On watersheds at the top of mountains as boundary markers, see M. Jameson, 'Mountains and the Greek City States', in J.F. Bergier (ed.), *Montagnes, fleuves, forêts dans l'histoire* (Stuttgart, 1989) 7-16.

⁴³⁷ *LSJ* s.v. Ἐλεία and ἔλος. See further Morizot, 'Artemis', 271.

⁴³⁸ Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 397.

⁴³⁹ See n. 16 above. Cf. Morizot ('Artemis', 271) who that Ἐλεία is a doublet for Limnatis at Messene (**L8**). See also R. Baladié, *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon* (Paris, 1980) 96 and 247 and J. Roy, 'The Frontier Between Arkadia and Elis in Classical Antiquity', in P. Flensted-Jensen, M. Hansen, T. Nielsen and L. Rubinstein (eds), *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History* (Copenhagen, 2002) 135-56 at 146 (n. 69).

⁴⁴⁰ Koursoumis 'Δερεάτις', forthcoming, suggests the toponym Dereatis.

Sanctuary

At Ano Melpeia on the southern foothills of Mt. Tetrazi, an archaic-classical, Doric temple, which may be associated with inscriptional Δέρρα and with Strabo's sanctuary of Artemis Ἐλεία has been uncovered.⁴⁴¹ The evidence echoes Hesychius' claim of a cult of Artemis Ἐλεία in Messenia.⁴⁴² The mountainous, remote, boundary location is consistent with the extra-urban character of Artemis.⁴⁴³

Myth and Cult

The *epiclesis* suggests that cult activities might be related to the liminal status of the actors as in other cults with a similar or the same epithet (**L19**, **M1**, 7 and 12).

M3: Korone: Artemis Paidotrophos⁴⁴⁴

Landscape

Korone lies on the western shore of the Gulf of Messenia at the foot of Mt. Mathia (now Lykodimo) at modern Petalidhi.⁴⁴⁵ The ancient name of Κορώνη was either Aipeia (Paus. 4.34.5) or Pedasos (Str. 8.4.5), both amongst the seven cities offered to Achilles by Agamemnon (Hom. *Il.* 9.152 and 294).⁴⁴⁶ Whatever its Homeric name, material evidence makes a Mycenaean settlement likely on a saddle of Mt. Lykodimo.⁴⁴⁷ Later, it may have been a perioikic town, of a different or the same name, which fell away from Lakonia in 369/8 or 338 BCE.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴¹ Arapogianni, 'Ανασκαφή' and Koursoumis, 'Δέρραις', forthcoming. On (Ano) Melpeia, see Paus. 8.38.11.

⁴⁴² Hsch. s.v. Ἐλεία: Ἄρτεμις ἐν Μεσσηνίῃ.

⁴⁴³ Other mountainous sanctuaries include those at Dereia (**L6**), Hypsoi (**L7**), Mt. Issoria (**L20**) and Messene (**M7**). Cf. the locations of sanctuaries of Artemis Limnatis (**L5**, **19**, **M1**, 7 and 12).

⁴⁴⁴ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 232-3 (no. 166).

⁴⁴⁵ McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 312 (site no. 502) and Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 193 (site no. 59), 250. Ancient Korone should not be confused with modern Koroni which is the site of ancient (Messenian) Asine.

⁴⁴⁶ On Aipeia, see Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 191 (site no. 68), 254. Strabo (8.4.3) and Pausanias (4.35.1) agree that ancient Pedasos was Mothone (**M10**).

⁴⁴⁷ R. Hope Simpson, 'The Seven Cities Offered by Agamemnon to Achilles', *ABSA* 61 (1966) 113-31 at 124 supplements and corrects Hope Simpson, 'State', 249-50 where Petalidhi-Korone is identified with ancient Asine.

⁴⁴⁸ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 140. An Arkadian attack on nearby Asine c. 369/8 BCE suggests that the western coast of the Messenian Gulf north of Asine was no longer in Spartan hands (Luraghi, *Messenians*, 228-9). Shipley, 'Extent', 385 credits Philip II with awarding territory around the Messenian Gulf to Messene (Plb. 9.28.7; 18.14.7).

Pausanias (4.34.5) reports that after the liberation of Messenia, a certain Boiotian, Epimelides, (re)founded and (re)named the town after his home, Koroneia, which was south of Orchomenos. The new name was mispronounced by the Messenians and became Κορώνη.⁴⁴⁹ The alternative story is that a bronze crow (κορώνη) was found while digging the foundations for the new city walls. Indeed, a bronze statue of Athena, the tutelary deity of Korone, holding a crow could be seen on the acropolis (Paus. 4.34.6). Korone remained under the influence of Messene until c. 191 BCE when it became a member of the Achaean League.⁴⁵⁰

Epiclesis

Παιδοτρόφος ('nourishing young life' or 'rearing boys') owes its singular attestation as an epithet for Artemis to ancient Korone (Paus. 4.34.6).⁴⁵¹ Aeschylus (*Ag.* 142) tells us that Artemis takes delight in the nursing young of all wild creatures, and this is equally true of human young. The *epiclesis* is synonymous with Κουροτρόφος ('rearing boys'), an epithet that is absent in the Peloponnese.⁴⁵² It is also related to Κορυθάλη (L22) and Ώραία which are found in Argolis and Athens.⁴⁵³

Sanctuary

Five early classical Doric capitals and column drums on the acropolis hint at a ναός of Artemis Paidotrophos, Dionysos or Asklepios, all of whom were worshiped at Korone, the latter two having marble statues seen by Pausanias (4.34.6).⁴⁵⁴ The acropolis also boasts a fine spring, a feature often associated with Artemis sanctuaries (L6, 9, 22, 24 and M7).

⁴⁴⁹ Pausanias (4.34.6) saw a memorial to Epimelides, which undoubtedly honoured him as founder. Valmin, *Études*, 177-9 prefers a pre-liberation date for the foundation of Korone. J.F. Lazenby and R. Hope Simpson, 'Greco-Roman Times: Literary Tradition and Topographical Commentary', in McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 81-99 at 89 follow Pausanias with a date in the 360s BCE while Luraghi, *Messenians*, 229 suggests that the foundation myths could be an attempt to disguise the continuity between the old *perioikoi* and the new Messenians. Cf. Boiai (L4).

⁴⁵⁰ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 262 (n. 50).

⁴⁵¹ *LSJ* s.v. παιδοτρόφος.

⁴⁵² *LSJ* s.v. κουροτρόφος. See also Lo Monaco, 'Feasts', 311. Diodorus Siculus (5.73.5) explains that Artemis is called Κουροτρόφος because she made discoveries about childcare and foods suitable for babies.

⁴⁵³ Fossey ('Cults', 78, 80) draws attention to Ώραία found at a border Artemision on Mt. Megalovouni in Argolis. Artemis Ώραία is also found in the Peiraieus where she is the goddess who 'caused things to ripen' (M. Mitsos, 'Inscriptions of the Eastern Peloponnese', *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 73-7 at 75 (Pl. 2.4).

⁴⁵⁴ Hope Simpson, 'State', 251 (Fig. 10).

Myth and Cult

While the term παιδοτρόφος evokes the Tithenidia festival for Artemis Korythalia in Sparta (**L22**), there is no evidence for such a cult at Korone. Nonetheless, it seems safe to conclude that, in view of the meaning of the epithet, the cult of Artemis Paidotrophos at Korone had a male focus, although it may equally well have celebrated those who nourished young males, the future of the *polis*, whether nurses or mothers.

Messene

Introduction

Messene, known as Ithome until the end of the fourth century BCE or later, is tucked into a natural bowl formed by Mounts Ithome, Eva on the east and Psoriari on the west (Fig. 8).⁴⁵⁵ Following the liberation of Messenia, the strategic and well-watered site, which commands the Stenyklaros Valley to the north and the Makaria valley to the south, was encircled on the west side of Mt. Ithome and its acropolis with an impressive 9.5 km of stout city walls, a good portion of which still stands (Paus. 4.31.4-6).⁴⁵⁶ Although the Theban liberator Epameinondas was venerated in the city as οἰκιστής and his statue, together with that of the city of Thebes, graced the monumental Asklepieion complex (with another in the agora), he had not, like Epimelides at Korone (**M3**), actually founded a new city (Paus. 4.26.5-27.7; 4.31.10; 4.32.1). On and below the summit of Ithome, archaeological excavations have revealed evidence of worship and habitation from the ninth century BCE and before.⁴⁵⁷

M4: Messene: Artemis⁴⁵⁸

Landscape

Between two mythical events in the precinct of Zeus on Mt. Ithome that foreshadowed the downfall of Messenia, Pausanias (4.12.7-13.1) places the portent of the dropped shield,

⁴⁵⁵ McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 314 (site no. 129), Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 190 (site no. 11), 231-2.

⁴⁵⁶ See Themelis, *Messene, passim* for the history and excavation of the site.

⁴⁵⁷ Themelis, *Messene*, 11-2, 19; Luraghi, *Messenians*, 227-8.

⁴⁵⁸ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 253 (no. 173).

mentioned at the outset of this dissertation.⁴⁵⁹ Pausanias (4.3.9) refers to the early establishment of a cult of Zeus Ithomatas in the mytho-history of Messenia, while the seventh-century BCE Corinthian poet, Eumelos, attests to musical contests at the annual Ithomaia (Paus. 4.33.2).⁴⁶⁰

Epiclesis

Pausanias (4.13.1) gives no *epiclesis* for the prescient statue.

Sanctuary

A relief depicting Artemis was found incorporated into the enclosure wall of the abandoned monastery of Voukano, built on the site of the Ithomatas sanctuary.⁴⁶¹ A crown of Artemis was awarded to a worthy citizen at the Ithomaia, the annual games for Zeus at Messene (*SEG* 23.208). First-century BCE *triobols* of Messene feature the crowned head of Artemis on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse. While Artemis is also featured with tripods on coins at Zakynthos, Apollonia and Samos, the tripod on the coin at Messene probably associates her with Zeus Ithomatas.⁴⁶² Dedications of tripods were integral to the worship of Zeus at Messene in myth and reality, as the fragment of the tripod and a stone base for another, found built into the walls of the abandoned monastery, indicate.⁴⁶³ Further, Messenian coins depict a tripod and Zeus with a thunderbolt and eagle in either hand on the same side.⁴⁶⁴ At best, the evidence suggests that Artemis could have shared the sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas.⁴⁶⁵

If the sanctuary was shared, does the divinatory bronze image represent a cult statue? Depictions of Artemis in arms are rare, as we have seen. We do not know what τὰ

⁴⁵⁹ By secretly placing tripods in the sanctuary on Mt. Ithome, the Spartans fulfilled a prophecy that foretold victory in the First Messenian War (Paus. 4.12.7-10). At the same sanctuary, rams sacrificed themselves on the altar (Paus. 4.13.1). See discussion at p. 1.

⁴⁶⁰ On the cult of Zeus Ithomatas, see P.G. Themelis, 'Cults on Mount Ithome', *Kernos* 17 (2004) 143-54 at 143-52.

⁴⁶¹ Themelis, *Messene*, 43.

⁴⁶² Zunino, *Hiera*, 94-5; C. Grandjean, *Les Messéniens de 370/369 au 1er siècle de notre ère. Monnayages et histoire* (Athens, 2003), 21-7, 37-8, 109-22, 156-81, 183-93, 198-204. For a drawing of such a coin, see Themelis, *Messene*, 118 (Fig. 118).

⁴⁶³ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 115 (n. 33).

⁴⁶⁴ For a drawing of a Messenian coin showing Zeus Ithomatas and a tripod, see Themelis, *Messene*, 118 (Fig. 118).

⁴⁶⁵ It would not be unusual for Artemis to share a sanctuary (cf. **L7**, **25** and **M8**).

ἄπλα entails in Pausanias' (4.13.1) description, but in Lakonia she wears a helmet and carries a spear, but no shield, on coins of Kleomenes III (L21). Artemis carries a shield and spear, but no helmet, on coins of Caracalla associated with Artemis Astrateia (L12). Artemis armed with an oval shield and axe, supposedly a depiction of the statue of Artemis Brauronia taken by the Persians (Paus. 1.33.1 and 3.16.7), is found on coins from Laodikeia in Syria.⁴⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the presence of a statue of Artemis with a shield at Messene indicates that she could have been regarded as a type of warrior goddess in the period before the conquest. If so, there is a chance that she was depicted as such in a cult statue.

Myth and Cult

Two shields were significant in the mytho-history of Messenia; one of Artemis and the other of Aristomenes. The former foretold the fall of Messenia, while the latter, with its device of an eagle in flight (4.16.7), was used by Epameinondas at Leuktra (371 BCE) to defeat the Lakonians and ultimately to free Messenia (4.32.5-6).⁴⁶⁷ As we have seen, shields at Pyrrichos (L12) probably played a role in the cult of Artemis Astrateia with παρθένοι dancing with shields like Amazons. Was there a similar cult at Messene? A fourth-century statue fragment from the area of the first temple of Ortheia at Messene features Artemis with one breast bared in the fashion of an Amazon (M8). The association of Artemis with shields and Amazons is so uncommon that the possibility exists.

M5: Messene: Artemis Enodia⁴⁶⁸

Landscape

Evidence for worship of Artemis Enodia at Messene surfaced during the excavations of the stadium in 1998. The stadium, with its monumental gateway, Doric stoas and gymnasium is in the southern part of the city abutting the city wall and was the site of the annual

⁴⁶⁶ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 57 (Pls N XI and XII) who comment that the statue that the Athenians made to replace it was decidedly different.

⁴⁶⁷ To terrorize the Spartans, Epameinondas 'borrowed' the shield from the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia (where it had been dedicated by Aristomenes) and placed it where the Lakonians could see it before the battle. After the battle at Derai (M2), Aristomenes had tried a similar tactic by secretly dedicating his shield in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta (Paus. 4.15.5). On the magical shield of Aristomenes which he constantly lost, see Ogden, *Aristomenes*, 59-74. On the oracle of Trophonios, see P. Bonnechere, *Trophonios de Lébadée. Cultes et mythes d'une cité béotienne au miroir de la mentalité antique* (Leiden, 2003).

⁴⁶⁸ Not catalogued by Brulotte.

Ithomaia.⁴⁶⁹ A prism-shaped cubical base records a third-century BCE dedication, probably of a statue, to Artemis Enodia by one Zotichos (*SEG* 48.505). Themelis remarks that it is the first evidence for worship of Artemis Enodia at Messene.⁴⁷⁰

Epiclesis

Ἐνοδία, meaning ‘in’ or ‘on the way, by the way-side’, an epithet of deities who had their statues by the roadside, is appropriate for Artemis in her role as ἐπίσκοπος ἀγυιαῖς (Call. *Dian.* 39).⁴⁷¹ Ἐνοδία appears to have been a Thessalian goddess, originally from Pherai, where she enjoyed an impressive sixth-century Doric temple. By the classical period, Ἐνοδία had moved from associations with the dead and witchcraft to diverse spheres of influence such as politics and kourotrophy. At the same time, her cult had diffused beyond Thessaly. She was worshiped as Artemis Pheriai, an extra-Thessalian *epiclesis* of Ἐνοδία, at Athens, Sikyon, Argos, Syracuse and Dalmatian Issa.⁴⁷² But at Messene, for some reason, she retained her original Thessalian epithet.

Sanctuary

If there was a sanctuary of Artemis Ἐνοδία at Messene, it has yet to be discovered. However, the common iconography of Enodia holding a torch is shared with Artemis Phosphoros at Messene (**M9**), while Ἐνοδία in the presence of a dog is shared with Artemis Laphria (**M6**) and Ortheia at Messene (**M8**), Artemis Diktyнна at Ageranos (**L1**) and Patriotis at Pleiai (**L11**) and Issoria at Teuthrone (**L25**).⁴⁷³

Myth and Cult

Nothing is known about the establishment of the cult at Messene or its practices, but the cult transfer myth might mimic those found elsewhere. Pausanias (2.10.6) reports that the

⁴⁶⁹ See **M4** and **9** for the presence of Artemis at the games.

⁴⁷⁰ P.G. Themelis, ‘Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης’, *PAAH* (1998), 120-1 (no. 1). Also found in the area of the stadium was a fragmentary base for a statue dedicated by Xenophilos, son of Damophon (*IG* 5¹.1443) which may testify to a cult of Artemis Hegemone in Messene but, because the restoration is anything but certain (Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 251 (no.170c), this entry is omitted from the present catalogue.

⁴⁷¹ *LSJ* s.v. ἐνόδιος. On Ἐννοδία, the variant spelling of the *epiclesis*, see C.D. Grainger, ‘Apollo, Ennodia, and Fourth-Century Thessaly’, *Kernos* 22 (2009) 109-24 at 114 (n. 20).

⁴⁷² Grainger, ‘Apollo’, 114-7, esp. n. 26 and 30.

⁴⁷³ Grainger, ‘Apollo’, 114-8. Fourth-century BCE portrait coins from Pherai typically have a torch in the surrounding field (Grainger, ‘Apollo’, 118).

wooden image (ξύλον) at Sikyon had been transported (by an unknown person or persons) to the sanctuary from Pherai. At Argos (Paus. 2.23.5), it was claimed that the cult statue (ἄγαλμα) had made the journey to its new location by itself. Pausanias (2.23.5) further remarks that the character of the two northern Peloponnese cults mirrored that at Athens, but we do not know what that character was.

From the evidence given by Pausanias, it could be posited that a myth concerning the transfer of a cult image to Messene from Pherai was narrated at Messene. We might wonder at whose agency and under what circumstances this happened. Was the cult image transferred by a virgin priestess like that of Artemis Knagia (**L20**)? If so, a cult of Artemis Ἐνοδία at Messene might be connected with female initiation. On the other hand, the sole evidence for such a cult rests in a dedication by a man in a location associated with masculine pursuits. It is thus unlikely that the cult of Enodia at Messene had a female orientation.

M6: Messene: Artemis Laphria⁴⁷⁴

Landscape

The cult of Artemis Laphria spread from Kalydon in Aitolia, only as far as Patrai in Akhaia and Messene (Paus. 4.31.7).⁴⁷⁵ Hostile relations in the fifth century BCE between Naupaktos and Kalydon make the adoption of Laphria by the fifth-century Messenians exiled to Naupaktos ‘extremely unlikely’. Thus, their descendants, who returned at the invitation of Epamoneindas, were not the vectors for introducing Laphria to Messene (Paus. 4.26.5). Instead, the cult was likely established in Messene around the time when the Aitolian League, one of whose centres was the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon, brokered a territorial dispute between Messene and Phigaleia (**M2**), that is, c. 240 BCE.⁴⁷⁶ Like the cult of Artemis Enodia (**M5**), that of Laphria at Messene originated in the north, outside the Peloponnese, and retained its original Kalydonian name.

⁴⁷⁴ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 246-7 (no. 170b).

⁴⁷⁵ The cult at Patrai, noted for its gruesome live animal holocaust and its statue, was introduced there by Augustus (Paus. 7.18.8-18).

⁴⁷⁶ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 257 (n. 30) and discussion at pp 2, 5 and 6 above.

Epiclesis

Explanations for the *epiclesis* Λαφρία range from toponym to pre-hellenic epithet.⁴⁷⁷ In Phokis, the *epiclesis* has two origins recorded by Pausanias. A Phokaian man, Λάφριος, son of Kastalios, instituted the worship of Artemis at Kalydon by setting up τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον.⁴⁷⁸ The alternative version attests to the antiquity of the cult, dating back to the hunt of the Kalydonian boar. In time, the wrath of Artemis against the Kalydonian king Oineus (for neglecting her) weighed more lightly (ἐλαφότερον) on the Kalydonians, and this is why the goddess is named Λαφρία (Paus. 7.18.9-10).

Whatever the actual etymology, the latter explanation would have resonated well with the Messenians because Idas and Lynkeus, two sons of Aphareios, a pre-Dorian king of Messenia (Paus. 4.2.4-5) were participants in the hunt of the Kalydonian boar (Apollod. 1.8.2; Ov. *Met.* 8.305) along with Atalanta, a kind of human equivalent of Artemis.⁴⁷⁹ At the back of the temple of the goddess Messene, which was in the agora of Messene, the father and his boar-hunting sons, were honoured in a painting by Omphalion, along with other early Messenian kings and heroes (Paus. 4.31.11). It would appear that the Messenian association with Λαφρία was construed to have deep roots even beyond the exile to (and belated return from) the neighbourhood of Kalydonia.⁴⁸⁰ The introduction of Laphria to Messene offered an opportunity for Messenians to link themselves with a glorious mytho-historic past.

Sanctuary

In 1843, P. le Bas identified what appeared to him to be a shared sanctuary of Artemis Laphria and Limnatis on a plateau half way up the southeastern slope of Mt. Ithome near

⁴⁷⁷ See Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 598-9 (s.v. Λαφρία) who finds all attempts to explain the name unacceptable.

⁴⁷⁸ Two Naupaktian sculptors crafted the chryselephantine statue (Paus. 7.18.10).

⁴⁷⁹ On Atalanta and the implications of the myth, see Buxton, *Mythology*, 106-7 and 154. Idas, the strongest man of his time, had successfully challenged Apollo himself for the hand of Marpessa (Hom. *Il.* 9.557-60). His triumph appeared on the chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5.18.1). Both brothers were counted among the Argonauts (Apollod. 1.9.16) and both died in a fight with the Dioskouroi in which only Polydeukes survived (Apollod. 3.11.2). At Sparta, Pausanias doubted the authenticity of the grave of the Apharetides thinking that it more logically belonged in Messenia (3.13.1).

⁴⁸⁰ Omphalion, an artist mentioned only by Pausanias, was an apprentice of the painter Nikias (Paus. 3.31.12), a late fourth or early third-century BCE artist (Luraghi, *Messenians*, 269). For a discussion of Omphalion's work, see Luraghi, *Messenians*, 269-73 who points out that Aphareios and his sons, like the other figures in the painting, were all known to the Thebans before the liberation of Messene.

an ancient spring.⁴⁸¹ His rationale for the duality was the discovery of colossal statue fragments, which he thought were part of Damophon's statue of Laphria mentioned by Pausanias (4.31.7), a statue base capable of supporting such a figure and two inscriptions with the name of Artemis Limnatis, one of which was found in the ruins of the temple itself (*IG* 5¹.1442 and 1458).⁴⁸² However, he subsequently decided in favour of two separate sanctuaries.⁴⁸³ Themelis, the current head of excavations at Messene, proposes a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at a yet-to-be-discovered place 'inside the walls but outside the inhabited area of the city and in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Eileithyia and the Kouretes'.⁴⁸⁴

The second-century BCE Messenian cult statue of Artemis Laphria by Damophon is thought to have resembled an almost-complete late-classical or early-Hellenistic marble statue found in 1989 east of the Asklepieion (Fig. 9).⁴⁸⁵ The goddess, attired in a short χιτῶν and hunting boots, stands with her left hand, which perhaps holds a bow, resting on a tree trunk or pillar while she pulls an arrow from her quiver with her right.⁴⁸⁶ A version of this sculpture appears on the obverse of a series of bronze coins issued at Messene in the Julio-Claudian period which show the goddess facing right, clad in a short χιτῶν, resting her left hand on a pillar and holding a spear in her right with a hound at her side.⁴⁸⁷ These renditions are a variation the Kalydonian chryselephantine statue, the work of

⁴⁸¹ P. le Bas, 'Temple de Diane Laphria à Messène', in S. Reinach (ed.), *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. Philippe Le Bas membre de l'Institut 1842-1844* (Paris, 1888) 134-8. For a drawing by Le Bas of the reconstructed temple, see Themelis, *Messene*, 115 (Fig. 116) and S. Müth, *Eigene Wege. Topographie und Stadtplan von Messene in spätklassisch-hellenistischer Zeit* (Leidorf, 2007) 213 (Fig. 111).

⁴⁸² For the statue fragments, now lost, see Le Bas, 'Temple', 138 (Pl. 7) and Müth, *Wege*, 214 (Fig. 112). For the inscriptions, see **M7**.

⁴⁸³ Le Bas, 'Temple', 138.

⁴⁸⁴ Themelis, 'Cults', 154.

⁴⁸⁵ Themelis, *Messene*, 139.

⁴⁸⁶ The Laphria statue is on display in the Messene museum. For photographs, see Themelis, *Messene*, 95 (Fig. 84) and Müth, *Wege*, 69-72 (Fig. 25). The type of boot worn by the extant statue differs from the lacings on a leg fragment found by LeBas, 'Temple', 138 (Pl. 7).

⁴⁸⁷ The essential difference between the numismatic Messenian Artemis and the sculptured Artemis is that the former grasps a spear in her right hand rather than reaching for an arrow from her quiver. The presence of the tree trunk indicates a copy of a statue, likely that of Damophon (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 67 (Pl. III).

Menarchomos and Soidas from Naupaktos, who depicted Artemis as θηρεύουσα (Paus. 7.18.9-10).⁴⁸⁸

Myth and Cult

At Patrai in Akhaia, Artemis Laphria was honoured with a fire festival witnessed by Pausanias. Bringing up the rear of the πομπή to the altar was the ἱερωμένη παρθένος riding in a chariot drawn by a pair of yoked deer. On the following day, wild animals, including bear, deer and boar, were burned alive on a pyre constructed on the altar which had been encircled by a stockade of green logs (Paus. 7.18.11-13).⁴⁸⁹ At Messene, a similar holocaust took place but at the μέγαρον of the Kouretai where all kinds of animals, beginning with domestic cattle and goats and ending with birds, were thrown on the fire (Paus. 4.31.9). Currently, lack of evidence, either material or literary, prevents any conclusion that such rituals for Artemis Laphria occurred at Messene or even the presence of a ἱερωμένη παρθένος. Apart from Damophon's statue and some coins, the Messenian cult of Laphria, or even its site, eludes us.

M7: Messene: Artemis Limnatis⁴⁹⁰

Landscape

The sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis is found at Spelouza, a small plateau on the southeastern slope of Mt. Ithome which lies northeast of the modern village of Mavromati and above the level of habitation of ancient Messene. This is the site originally designated by LeBas as a joint sanctuary of Laphria and Limnatis (see above **M6**). Although Pausanias does not mention Limnatis at Messene, a series of inscriptions found on the site (*IG*

⁴⁸⁸ Damophon varied the Naupaktian version of the statue by making the Messenian goddess grasp a spear rather than having her hand at her side (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 67). Augustus gave the Naupaktian statue to Patrai where it was depicted on its coins (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 76-7 (type 3; Pl. Q VI-X). For a clear picture of the Patrai coins, see S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge, 2000) 140 (Fig. 52). For a coin with the bust of Artemis Laphria, see P. Agallopoulou, 'Two Unpublished Coins from Patras and the Name of the Roman Colony', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 445-7 (Pl. 82). On the Messenian coins, which show the mural-crowned head of Messene on the reverse, see Grandjean, *Monnayages*, 192, 218-9 (Pl. 25.689).

⁴⁸⁹ No evidence for such a holocaust has been discovered at Kalydon from which the cult was imported together with its statue (J. Mejer, 'A Note on a Dedication to Artemis in Kalydon', in Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen, *Artemis*, 79-81 at 79). See also M.P. Nilsson, 'Fire Festivals in Ancient Greece', *JHS* 43 (1923) 144-8.

⁴⁹⁰ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 253-7 (no.174).

5¹.1442, 1458, 1470-2, *SEG* 39.384 and 388), dating from the fourth century BCE to the second century CE, confirms the presence of the cult.⁴⁹¹

Epiclesis

Like other sites with the same, or related, *epiclesis* (**L5**, **19**, **M1-2** and **12**), Λιμνήτις does not seem to reflect the natural conditions on the slopes of Mt. Ithome. The name could be a doublet of Λιμνήτις at Limnai/Volimos (**M12**).

Sanctuary

The sacred precinct includes a temple, an altar and two other buildings, perhaps stoas, which frame the east and south sides. The proximity of a spring is a familiar element in Artemis sanctuaries (**L6**, **9**, **22** and **24**). Although still within the city walls, the sanctuary is in a position functionally appropriate to an extra-urban deity.⁴⁹²

The porch of the stone temple features two stuccoed Ionic or Corinthian columns fronting a rectangular inner building (8 x 9 m) which is paved in black and white pebble-mosaic decorated with spirals and meanders. Within are a square stone receptacle, identified as a θησαυρός (treasury box), and a slotted cult statue base (1.3 x 1.13 m), found *in situ*, that is capable of supporting a life-size cult statue.⁴⁹³ The sculpted marble fragments uncovered by LeBas, who thought they belonged to Damophon's statue of Artemis Laphria, include a sandaled foot fragment attached to a plinth that fits the base, part of a leg laced with thongs and a wrist fragment which perhaps held a spear.⁴⁹⁴ If the identification of the sanctuary is correct, these must be fragments of the statue of Artemis Limnatis by an unknown sculptor.

The date of the temple is disputed both on architectural and political grounds. Terracotta architectural elements, which include lion-head water spouts, suggest a date near

⁴⁹¹ Themelis, 'Cults', 153 remarks that omission of an *epiclesis* is 'not quite unusual' for Pausanias who also neglects the name Ortheia at Messene in favour of the otherwise unattested Phosphoros (**M9**).

⁴⁹² Zunino, *Hiera*, 61.

⁴⁹³ LeBas, 'Temple', 136 identified the box as a basin for lustral water or blood from a sacrificial victim. Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 313 (n.1035) suggests that it is a treasury box which accords well with the manumissions discussed below. On offering boxes in general, see Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 307-14.

⁴⁹⁴ The fragments have never been recovered (Themelis, 'Cults', 153). Müth, *Wege*, 214 (Fig. 112) republishes drawings of the six fragments found by LeBas, 'Temple', Pl. 7. See also Zunino, *Hiera*, 61-3.

the end of the third century BCE.⁴⁹⁵ On the other hand, the antefixes and parts of the *sima* have earlier parallels in the second half of the fourth century BCE.⁴⁹⁶ Luraghi proposes that it was built as a replacement for the older, much better known sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos (**M12**) at a time when the Taygetos sanctuary was still or again in Spartan hands, perhaps in the early 270s BCE.⁴⁹⁷ Epigraphical evidence from the fourth century (*IG* 5¹.1471), however, supports an earlier date for the establishment of the sanctuary.

Myth and Cult

No evidence of cult practice, such as dedicatory inscriptions or votive offerings, have yet come to light. Together the *epiclesis* and the location on margins of human habitation may be indications that the sanctuary was host to *παρθένοι* and associated rituals of transition such as at Volimos (**M12**), especially during a time when that sanctuary had reverted to Sparta in the 270s BCE. The stoas invite the possibility of use as ritual dining facilities, such as those found at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.⁴⁹⁸ Such banqueting could have been funded by the contents of the *θησαυρός*.

Five inscriptions attest to both male and female cult agents. Priests served Artemis Limnatis from the fourth-second century BCE (*IG* 5¹.1442, 1470 = *SGDI* 4642, 1471-2) and sometime during the third century BCE, two priests, Soteles and Archo, served together (*IG* 5¹.1442).⁴⁹⁹ A priestess, on the other hand, is not attested until the second century CE when Messene honoured Flavia, for her *ἀρετή* and *εὐγένεια* (*IG* 5¹.1458).⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁵ Themelis, 'Cults', 153 followed by Müth, *Wege*, 211-6. For drawings, see LeBas, 'Temple', Pls 5 and 10. For a photograph of the site as excavated in 2008, see C. Morgan, 'Archaeology in Greece 2008-2009', *AR* 55 (2008-9) 1-101 at 34 (Fig. 52).

⁴⁹⁶ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 275 (n. 99).

⁴⁹⁷ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 276.

⁴⁹⁸ On female ritual dining, see J. Burton, 'Women's Commensality in the Ancient Greek World', *G&R* 45 (1998) 143-65 at 150-2. Goldstein, *Setting*, 114-25 at 122 concludes that the dining couches at Brauron were intended for adult female worshippers.

⁴⁹⁹ Drawings of *IG* 5¹. 1442, 1471 and 1472 and are found in LeBas, 'Temple', Figs 7-9. On *IG* 5¹.1470 = *SGDI* 4642, see R. Zelnick-Abamovitz, *Not Wholly Free. The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World* (Leiden and Boston, 2005) 254.

⁵⁰⁰ *SEG* 39.384 (undated) also confirms the existence of a priestess.

The priests were responsible for overseeing the manumissions of females, in one case in conjunction with an ἔφορος (*IG* 5¹.1472).⁵⁰¹ According to city laws, a fine of 10 *mna* of silver was levied if anyone attempted to re-enslave of the freed individual (*IG* 5¹.1470). Since manumission was a financial transaction and fines were collected for transgression of the agreement, the θησαυρός in the temple is convenient. Themelis stresses the use of the temple to publish acts of *manumittio*.⁵⁰² It is notable that it is females; Petraia (*IG* 5¹.1470), Philonidas (*IG* 5¹.1471) and Mestria (*IG* 5¹.1472), who are being liberated and that the act is recorded in a temple of a female liminal deity. Their manumission thus reflects their new marginal status as neither slave nor ‘citizen’.

M8: Messene: Artemis Ortheia⁵⁰³

Landscape

Unlike the river-side Ortheia sanctuary at Sparta, which demarcated the eastern limits of the city (**L21**), the first of two temples of Artemis Ortheia at Messene was in the city centre immediately southwest of the agora.

Epiclesis

The meaning of the *epiclesis*, Ὀρθεία, has the same possible implications as previously seen at Sparta; an upright statue, a nature goddess, a kourotrophic figure or a restorer of order (**L21**). An inscription from the second half of the third century BCE (SEG 39.365), found in front of the temple, is testament to Artemis Ortheia, a syncretism not evident at Sparta until the second half of the first century CE (**L21**).

Sanctuary

The precinct of the first sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia in Messene was framed by an Ionic stoa on the west behind the temple which separated its τέμενος from the Ω-Ω complex of

⁵⁰¹ Although *manumittio* inscriptions are found at Messene from the fourth century BCE, Zelnick-Abamovitz, *Not Wholly Free*, 64 notes that publication of manumissions on stone was a ‘relatively late development’ which seems to have begun only in the second century BCE.

⁵⁰² Themelis, ‘Cults’, 154.

⁵⁰³ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 240-1 (no. 169).

Demeter and the Dioskouroi, as mentioned in the General Introduction (Fig. 10).⁵⁰⁴ The statue base bearing the inscription identifying the sanctuary was found on the left side of the entrance ramp to the small, fourth-century BCE temple (8.42 x 5.62 m).⁵⁰⁵ Its almost-square inner building, paved with stone slabs, was fronted by a narrow, but slightly wider, porch with four columns. The orientation of the Ortheia temple in Messene and that in Sparta differs a significant 16 degrees but whether the difference is unintentional or deliberate is debatable.⁵⁰⁶ Whether the altar, which must have been demolished in the construction of the Asklepeion complex, was out of alignment with its temple, like that in the Spartan sanctuary, is unknown. The cult of Artemis Ortheia functioned in this location until the mid-second century BCE.⁵⁰⁷

The iconography of the post-liberation cult statue can be deduced from the bronze, terracotta and marble fragments of representations of Artemis which were found in deposits in the area north of the temple.⁵⁰⁸ Two fragments of a third-century BCE bronze Artemis show that the goddess, clad in a short χιτών and high leather boots (ἐμβάδες or ἐνδρομίδες), held an attribute in her right hand.⁵⁰⁹ Votive deposits of terracotta figurines imitate the erect stance of the fragmentary bronze goddess and add details of her attire. Her head is crowned with a πόλος, and her χιτών, which bared her left breast, was topped with a νεβρίς, the skin of a fawn. The terracottas also show that she held a tall torch (δᾶς or δαίς) in her left hand and was accompanied by a dog who sat to the right gazing upwards.⁵¹⁰ Two fragments of a life-sized marble statue, found nearby and thought to be the cult statue of the first temple of Artemis Ortheia, further clarify the picture of her attire: a νεβρίς atop her over-folded short χιτών which leaves the left breast bared.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁴ For photographs of the first Ortheia sanctuary, see P.G. Themelis, 'Artemis Ortheia at Messene. The Epigraphical and Archaeological Evidence', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence* (Stockholm, 1994) 101-22 at 103 (Figs 2 and 3).

⁵⁰⁵ Themelis, 'Artemis', 105 (Fig. 5) publishes a picture of the statue base.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Boutsikas, *Astronomy*, 119 who speculates that the reason may be the manifestation of a new Messenian identity.

⁵⁰⁷ Themelis, 'Artemis', 101-6; *Messene*, 85-7 (Figs 72-5).

⁵⁰⁸ Themelis, 'Artemis', 101-7 (Figs 6-8). Also found in the same area were two hoards of bronze and silver coins dating from the middle of the second century BCE (Themelis, 'Artemis', 105; *Messene*, 85).

⁵⁰⁹ The bronze fragments are associated with SEG 39.365 (Themelis, 'Artemis', 101-2). For an illustration of the fragments, see Müth, *Wege*, 165-6 (Fig. 93).

⁵¹⁰ Themelis, 'Artemis', 105-7 (Figs 6-7). The dog could be a swift Kynosourian bitch who were especially used to chase down fawns (Call. *Dian.* 94-5).

⁵¹¹ The fragments, dated to the late fourth or early third century BCE, were discovered in the late Roman stoa on the north side of the temple (Themelis, 'Artemis', 105-6 (Fig. 8); Müth, *Wege*, 166-7 (Fig. 95). For a colour photograph of the fragments, see Themelis, *Messene*, 86 (Fig. 74).

Themelis claims that the attire of the cult statue reflects that of the Thracian hunting goddess, Bendis. While both wear short χιτῶνες and hunting boots, the Messenian Artemis sports a πόλος rather than the signature ἄλωπεκίς (fox-skin cap) of Thracian Bendis.⁵¹² To support the Thracian association Themelis cites Tzetzes (*Lyc.* 936), who states that the Thracians called Artemis ‘Oupis’, a variant of which, ‘Oupesia’, is found at Messene (M9). On the other hand, although Herodotus (5.7) says the Thracians worship Artemis, she apparently has no Thracian association.⁵¹³ However, the Messenian terracottas and the marble cult statue bare the left breasts of their short χιτῶνες, a trait of Amazon fashion. The Amazons, as we have seen, carried shields, like the bronze statue of Artemis (M4), and dedicated a ξόανον to Artemis Astrateia at Pyrrichos (L12). It therefore seems likely that the cult statue of Artemis Ortheia more resembled an Amazon more than Bendis.

Myth and Cult

Dioskouridas, son of Antikrates, the third-century BCE dedicator of the bronze statue of Artemis, identifies himself as ἀγωνοθέτης, ‘judge of the contests, director of games’, for Artemis Ortheia (*SEG* 41.365).⁵¹⁴ A male judge could imply male contestants at a festival and hence, a male-oriented cult.⁵¹⁵ Some clay tablets depicting hoplites and hero banquets, found among the terracotta figurines in two votive deposits near the temple, add to this impression.⁵¹⁶ Epigraphic evidence from mid-first century CE Delphi (*SIG*³.802), however, indicates that, at various religious festivals in the mid-first century CE, male ἀγωνοθέται decided the winners or directed female athletic (στάδιον) and musical (κιθάρα)

⁵¹² Themelis, ‘Artemis’, 105. Another difference between the attire of Artemis at Messene and Bendis is the absence of what appears to be a body-suit under her χιτῶν which is apparent on a depiction of Bendis on a red-figure bell *krater* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (inv. no. 1983.553) and a red-figure *skyphos* in the collection of Eberhard-Karls Universität, Tübingen, Germany (inv. no. S101347). See H.A Shapiro, ‘Amazons, Thracians and Scythians’, *GRBS* 24 (1983) 105-14 at 107-10 who notes that Amazons were also identified as Thracian. On Thracian dress, see J.G.P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts and Their Influence on Greek Warfare* (Groningen, 1969) 3-16.

⁵¹³ C.O. Pache, ‘Barbarian Bond. Thracian Bendis among the Athenians’, in S.R. Asirvatham, C.O. Pache and J. Watrous (eds), *Between Magic and Religion. Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and Society* (Oxford, 2001) 3-12 at 5 notes that Artemis shares only her mode of attire with Bendis. I can find no connection between Thrace and Messenia.

⁵¹⁴ *LSJ* s.v. ἀγωνοθέτης. In general, see W. Decker, ‘Agonothetes’, in C.F. Salazar and D.E. Orton (eds), *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*, 15 vols (Leiden and Boston, 2002-2010) 1.347-8.

⁵¹⁵ Female ἀγωνοθέται officiated at the female races and festivities held for Hera at Olympia (Paus. 5.16.1-6). T.F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* (Oxford, 2002) 98-120 emphasizes that the original concern of these games was initiation rites and prenuptial transitions.

⁵¹⁶ Themelis, ‘Artemis’, 105-6.

competitions.⁵¹⁷ Whether this was the case in fourth-century BCE Messene is difficult to assess. Given that the later cult of Artemis Ortheia at Messene (**M9**) seems to have been female-oriented and that it had a male priest (although in conjunction with a priestess/spouse), it is possible that Dioskouridas could have presided over competitions for females at a religious festival for Artemis Ortheia but the inscription allows only for the conclusion that contests were a component of cult activity in the third century BCE.

M9: Messene: Artemis Phosphoros/Ortheia/Oupesia⁵¹⁸

Landscape

The cult of Artemis Ortheia (**M8**) remained active in its small temple until *c.* 150 BCE when it was transferred to a new ναός which formed part of one of the most striking Hellenistic architectural complexes anywhere in the Greek world, the Messene Asklepieion (Fig.11, no. K).⁵¹⁹ The peripteral (6 x 13) Doric temple of Asklepios, with its monumental altar to the east, dominates a central courtyard surrounded on all sides by a double-aisled Corinthian stoa. The absence of dedications appropriate to Asklepios as a healing deity on the surrounding statue-bases have led to the conclusion that he was principally regarded in the new Asklepieion as a native son and civic god, πολίτης Μεσσηνίος (Paus. 2.26.6).⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁷ D.G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* (Malden, MA, 2007) 219. *SIG*³.802 indicates that most festivals had a single, male ἀγωνοθέτης. Female contests, administered or adjudicated by males, may have been a feature of the first century CE (M. Dillon, 'Did Parthenoi Attend the Olympic Games? Girls and Women Competing, Spectating and Carrying out Cult Roles at Greek Religious Festivals', *Hermes* 128 (2000) 457-80 at 462-3).

⁵¹⁸ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 241-51 (no. 170).

⁵¹⁹ Pausanias (4.31.10) represents the ἱερὸν of Asklepios as a gallery of statues well-worth seeing rather than a healing centre. Themelis, 'Artemis' 106-7 places the foundation of the Asklepieion between 223 and 191 BCE while he later (*Messene*, 27) pinpoints the beginning of construction to 214 BCE. Luraghi, *Messenians*, 283-5 argues for a later date of 175-150 BCE which does not accord well with the sculptures by Damophon (*fl.* 210-180 BCE). For discussion of the complex, see Themelis, 'Artemis', 107-11; *Messene*, 58-84; Müth, *Wege*, 89-211; M. Melfi, *I santuario di Asclepio in Grecia* (Rome, 2007) 247-89 and Luraghi, *Messenians*, 277-85. Artemis also shared a sanctuary with Asklepios at Hypsoi (**L7**) and was recognized as a healing goddess in Lakonia (**L23**).

⁵²⁰ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 280 (n. 117). Anatomical ex-votos together with an archaic temple and altar from an earlier stratum beneath the new Doric temple, however, indicate that Asklepios was worshiped earlier on the site as a healing deity (Themelis, *Messene*, 83-4).

Re-interpretation of some of the features of the Asklepieion, together with the newer excavations in the agora, indicate that it is typical of healing sanctuaries in general.⁵²¹

Statues in rooms on the west side of the complex, including those of Epameinondas, the city of Thebes and Tyche, point to a concern with the political well-being of Messene (Paus. 4.31.10).⁵²² The incorporation of a Sebasteion on the north side in the first century BCE linked imperial power with the religio-civic nature of the complex.⁵²³ To this we can add Artemis, healer and protectress of παρθένοι, the future mothers of the citizens and, therefore, the future of the *polis*. Her ναός, behind her nephew's temple, together with its small rectangular altar, the only other altar in the complex, underlines her importance in the overall programme projected by the Asklepieion, a centre for the physical and political well-being of the *polis*. The presence of a more than one sanctuary of Artemis within the *polis* limits attests to the importance of the goddess to Messene in general.

Epiclesis

Artemis enjoyed three epithets in her ναός in the Asklepieion: Φωσφόρος, Ὀρθεία (**L21** and **M8**) and Οὐπησία. Zeus, at the request of the goddess, had granted her the privilege to be the bringer of light, Φαεσφορία (Call. *Dian.* 10).⁵²⁴ Among the statues in the Asklepieion listed by Pausanias was one by Damophon of Artemis, which Pausanias called Φωσφόρος (4.31.10).⁵²⁵ Evidence for his descriptive epithet is found in a fragment of the cult statue, a larger-than-life-size right hand, 'probably holding a torch', and confirmation from literary sources that φῶς refers to torches.⁵²⁶ Artemis, ἀργεννῶν φωσφόρος ἢ

⁵²¹ On Asklepieia in general, see P.J. Riethmüller, *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte*, 2 vols (Heidelberg, 2005) and Melfi, *Santuario*. Riethmüller, *Asklepios* 2, 164-5 proposes that the *odeion* at Messene, previously identified as a *bouleterion* or *ekklesiasterion*, was used in connection with cultic performances and musical competitions for Asklepios and that the 'meeting room' was, in fact, an *abaton*. I see no reason why either needs to have been used for a single purpose. P. Sineux, 'À propos de l'Asclépieion de Messène. Asclepios poliade et guérisseur', *REG* 110 (1997) 1-24 at 7-8, 18-9 points out the function of a small fountain room for rituals of purification.

⁵²² See J. Aubergier, 'D'un héros à l'autre: Pausanias au pied de l'Ithôme', in D. Knoepfler and M. Piérart (eds), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000. Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel et Fribourg (18-22 septembre 1998)* (Geneva, 2001) 261-73; Themelis, *Messene*, 63, 79-80. Luraghi, *Messenians*, 279-85 underlines the importance of the complex to the religious and cultural heritage of Messene discussing the implications of the statues in the rooms off the western stoa where the ναός of Artemis was located.

⁵²³ F. Camia and M. Kantirea, 'The Imperial Cult in the Peloponnese', in Rizakis and Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese III*, 375-406 at 379-80.

⁵²⁴ The prolific writer Antiphanes, in his comedy Βοιωτία, also refers to Artemis as Phosphoros (Ath. 3.84b).

⁵²⁵ *LSJ* s.v. φωσφόρος. For Artemis with torches, see also **L10**, **13**, **17**, **24**, **26** and **M9**.

⁵²⁶ D. Clay, 'Alcman's "Partheneion"', *QUCC* 39 (1991) 47-67 at 56 (n. 23) discusses the literary evidence for φῶς. For the statue fragment, see Themelis, 'Artemis', 111 (Fig. 13).

σελάων, was praised in an epigram by Antipater of Thessalonike (*AP* 9.46) for giving sight to a blind, childless woman.⁵²⁷ Whether Artemis fulfilled the roles of healing the sightless (or curing infertility) at Messene is not known, but both are associated with Asklepios of whose sanctuary she was a part.⁵²⁸ Epigraphical evidence, however, shows that the cult was devoted not to Artemis Φωσφόρος, but Ὀρθεία (*SEG* 23.217 and 220) and Οὐπησία (*SEG* 23.208 and 215-6).⁵²⁹

Οὐπησία, a variation of Οὔπις, is the fair-faced bringer of light (*Call. Dian.* 204) and Damophon's statue, which Pausanias dubbed Φωσφόρος.⁵³⁰ Οὔπις is also a name given to Artemis by the Thracians (*Tz. Lyc.* 936) and a Hyperborean κόρη honoured with hymns, gifts and sacrifices at Delos (*Hdt.* 4.35.1; *Paus.* 5.7.8). The Cretans knew Οὔπις as Diktyнна (*Call. Dian.* 205; *Tz. Lyc.* 936) and Britomartis (*Call. Dian.* 205). By extension, then, Οὔπις can be associated with Lakonian cults of Δικτύνη at Ageranos (**L1**) and Ἴσώρια at Sparta (**L19**). Since Βριτόμαρτις was also called Λιμναῖα, Οὔπις can be extended to Λιμνήτις (**L5**, **M1**, **7** and **12**) and Ἐλεία (**M2**). Thus, Οὐπησία encompasses many epithets whose cults and myths often concern παρθένοι.

Alternatively, Farnell links the epithet with ὀπίζεσθαι because the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v.) states that Οὔπις 'watches over' childbirth and child-rearing.⁵³¹ However, Pausanias (4.31.9) notes a sanctuary with a statue of Eileithyia, the childbirth goddess, near the *megaron* of the Kouretes, who protected new-born Zeus, on Mount Ithome (*Paus.* 4.33.1-2). Themelis has identified their precinct near the summit of Mt. Ithome, partly on the basis of a late second-century BCE inscription (*IG* 5¹.1445), noting that its topographical relationship to the mountain-top sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas supports the identification.⁵³² Thus, it is unlikely that at Messene the *epiclesis* Οὐπησία is connected with childbirth, since a cult of Eileithyia already existed, but it could be kourotropic.

⁵²⁷ As Locheia, she cured the same woman of infertility. Cf. **L4**.

⁵²⁸ For Artemis as a healer, see **L23**. Cures for infertility and blindness appear to have been specialties of Asklepios (B.L. Wickkiser, *Asklepios. Medicine and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece* (Baltimore, 2008) 58). Bosanquet, 'Cult', 332 points out that at Epidauros, Asklepios was sometimes called Orthios and Artemis, Orthia.

⁵²⁹ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 282 entertains the idea that Pausanias intentionally avoided the epithet Ortheia because he disliked Sparta and the bloody rituals of the cult of Artemis Ortheia.

⁵³⁰ *Call. Dian.* 204: Οὔπι ἄνασσ' εὐῶπι φαισφόρε.

⁵³¹ Farnell, *Cults* 2, 488.

⁵³² Themelis, *Messene*, 116-7 (Fig. 117). Cf. **M6**.

Dedications to Ortheia at Messene begin shortly after the liberation, but the cult name Oupesia is not found before 42 CE (*SEG* 23.208). However, at Thouria (**M11**), Οὐπισία is attested from the second century BCE (*SEG* 11.972), which may indicate an earlier existence of the cult at Messene. While both *epicleseis* remain in use into the second or third century CE, the erection of statues of priestesses in the ναός erected by οἱ γέροντες τᾶς Οὐπησίας in the second-third century CE possibly indicates that cult of Oupesia had later gained in importance.⁵³³ Nonetheless, the co-existence of Ὀρθεία and Οὐπησία reflects the feminine concerns of impending marriage and motherhood.

Sanctuary

In the northwestern sector of the Asklepieion, within the double Corinthian stoa, is a rectangular sanctuary (13.1 x 5.8 m), accessed on the long side from the inner stoa (Fig. 12). An inscribed first-century CE stela (*SEG* 23.208), standing to one side of the east-facing entrance, identifies the space as a ναός of Artemis Οὐπησία, while dedications confirm the presence of the cult of Ortheia (*SEG* 23.217 and 220).

In front of the temple in the open courtyard of the Asklepieion is a rectangular altar, positioned very slightly off the axis of the entrance to the ναός but aligned with it (Fig. 11, K1). On the south side of the altar is a high pillar base, which may have been used during certain ritual activities.⁵³⁴ The position of the altar is such that the rising of the entire constellation of Orion would have been visible above the horizon near the end of July (Hes. *Op.* 619-20). The end of the threshing season marks the beginning of a period of less intensive agricultural activity, time indeed for a celebration.⁵³⁵

The connection between Orion and Messene is more than astronomical and has, to my knowledge, gone unremarked. The giant hunter Orion was born in Boiotia, the homeland of Messenia's liberators, where he may have been worshiped as a national hero,

⁵³³ Nowhere is an actual priestess of Oupesia recorded.

⁵³⁴ For an excellent colour photograph of the remains of the altar and plinth, see Spawforth, *Temples*, 80-1.

⁵³⁵ Boutsikas, *Astronomy*, 117-9. Cf. the orientation of the Spartan altar (**L21**). Boutsikas, *Astronomy*, 118, suggests that the difference was a conscious effort on the part of the Messenians to distance themselves from the Spartans.

somewhat akin to Herakles in the Peloponnese.⁵³⁶ Orion has affinities with Asklepios, who may have cured him of blindness or raised him from the dead and so his subtle presence in the complex is unsurprising.⁵³⁷ The Boiotian hunter is also connected with the Messenian diaspora in Sicily, which may suggest that he had early significance in Messene.⁵³⁸ Finally, Artemis is said to have killed her hunting companion, Orion, for violating Opis (Apollod. 1.4.5).⁵³⁹ These facts suggest that the altar was deliberately aligned to incorporate the Theban hero and, at the same time, further acknowledge the positive impact of Thebes on Messene.

Opposite the altar is the tripartite entrance to the ναός of Artemis Ortheia, with a low balustrade in the two side openings defined by Ionic half-columns. Pairs of Ionic columns, on either side of a central chamber, divide the interior into three rooms. Low stone benches, embellished with lion paws, which line the walls of the two side chambers evoke a variety of potential uses. They could have been used for the placement of offerings, as seats for participants at a mystic ceremony inside the ναός, for the ‘sacred elders of Oupesia’ who presided over the functioning of the sanctuary or for ritual dining.⁵⁴⁰

Upon entering the ναός, almost directly in front, are the remains of permanent, stone offering table (Fig. 12, no. 2), a 1.29 x 0.81 m base with slots for the four legs.⁵⁴¹ Its size, about half that of the cult statue base (no. 1), and position are indicators of its cultic importance. Such tables served as a repository for bloodless, unburnt offerings such as cakes, fruit, bread and other edibles and poured libations, made by private individuals or groups. They could also be dressed up for special occasions, such as a feast associated with

⁵³⁶ C.M. Bowra, ‘The Epigram on the Fallen of Coronea’, *CQ* 32 (1938) 80-8 at 83-4 points out that Orion was an important cult figure at Thebes, which was perhaps his birthplace. He had a tomb at Tanagra (Paus. 9.20.3). In the west wing of the Asklepieion at Messene, in a space much like the ναός, were an iron statue of the Theban general, Epamoneidas, a personification of Thebes and a statue of Herakles by Damophon.

⁵³⁷ Cf. J.E. Fontenrose, *Orion. The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress* (Berkeley, 1981) 26-7 who notes that Orion is but one of many candidates for Askelepios’ resurrection.

⁵³⁸ Orion is said to have severed Sicily from Italy at Rhegion, a colony possibly co-founded by refugees from the First Messenian War and to have created the harbour at Zankle (later Messina) where the Naupaktian Messenians were first settled until moving to Tyndaris (D.S. 4.85.1-5).

⁵³⁹ On the various versions of his death, see Fontenrose, *Orion*, 14-5. Orion is variously said to have sexually assaulted Merope, Artemis-Opis, the Pleiades or their mother (Fontenrose, *Orion*, 28 (n.16)). On myths of Artemis and Orion, see Buxton, *Mythology*, 76 who points out the theme of compromised sexuality.

⁵⁴⁰ Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 361; Themelis, ‘Artemis’, 122 and *Messene*, 74. Wall benches in the sanctuary of Artemis Lykochia near Megalopolis were possibly used for the gathering of the initiants (Lo Monaco, ‘Feasts’, 314).

⁵⁴¹ For a photograph of the offering table, see Themelis, ‘Artemis’, 113 (Fig. 15).

blood sacrifice, to carve or receive portions of the sacrifice designated for the deity.⁵⁴² The tops of cult tables were not necessarily flat and may have had depressions for trays or roughened surfaces for hot dishes for use in feasting. The absence of the top inhibits our understanding of its exact function, but, in conjunction with the benches and an agency for organization of cult activities, banqueting is strongly indicated.

To the right (north) of the offering table, is the bottom half of a stone θησαυρός (no. 3).⁵⁴³ The square box (0.80 x 0.80 x 0.5 m) would have had a smaller, locked metal box inside.⁵⁴⁴ Custody of such keys was usually given to the priestess (or priest) and carried as a badge of office.⁵⁴⁵ Although the θησαυρός could have been a dedication itself, the top part, which might have displayed an inscription, is missing. Such offering boxes were used to store gifts for the gods, which included jewelry, and money derived from payments for sacrifices and used for various purposes, such as choruses.⁵⁴⁶

At the back of the central chamber, behind the offering box and table, is the base for Damophon's cult statue of Artemis Phosphoros, which undoubtedly reflected both the terracotta figurine fragments holding tall torches from the first temple of Artemis Ortheia (M7) and Pausanias' identification of Artemis as Phosphoros (Fig. 12, no. 1).⁵⁴⁷ The surviving statue fragments, identified by style, technique and size, consist of parts of the head, parts of both arms and part of the right leg. The head features thick, wavy tresses which are drawn back and piercings for earrings. Rough finishing of the upper end of the leg indicates that the goddess wore a short χιτῶν.⁵⁴⁸ Thus, we can imagine Artemis standing on her statue base, attired in hunting gear and supporting a long torch (δᾶς or

⁵⁴² See S. Dow and D.H. Gill, 'The Greek Cult Table', *AJA* 69 (1965) 103-14; D. Gill, 'Trapezomata. A Neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice', *HThR* 67 (1974) 117-37 and *Greek Cult Tables* (New York and London, 1991).

⁵⁴³ Cf. M7. For a photograph of the offering box, see Themelis, 'Artemis', 113 (Fig. 16).

⁵⁴⁴ Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 311-3, who notes that such boxes could also be cylindrical in shape.

⁵⁴⁵ Connelly, *Portrait*, 93. None of the priestess statues at Messene display such a key.

⁵⁴⁶ Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 310-1.

⁵⁴⁷ Themelis, 'Artemis', 111. For a catalogue and detailed description of the fragments, see P.G. Themelis, 'Damophon of Messene. New Evidence', in K. Sheedy (ed.), *Archaeology in the Peloponnese. New Excavations and Research* (Oxford, 1994) 1-37 at 21-2. Clay, 'Partheneion', 56-7 (n. 23) notes that Artemis Phosphoros (or Dadouchos) first appears iconographically in the early-fifth century BCE. For cult statues and divine images of Artemis involving light, see Kahil, 'Artemis', 655-60 and Parisinou, *Light*, 81-3.

⁵⁴⁸ Themelis, 'Damophon', 21-2. For photographs of the head fragments, see Themelis, 'Artemis', 112 (Fig. 14) and Müth, *Wege*, 188 (Fig. 104). See also Themelis, *Messene*, 133.

δαίς) with her upraised right hand, gazing out of the entrance of the ναός towards her altar and the activities related to it, in the open courtyard of the Asklepieion.⁵⁴⁹

The statue of Artemis Phosphoros was not the only one in the ναός. There were 11 additional statue bases grouped in the main chamber with two more inscribed bases in the north anteroom.⁵⁵⁰ Five life-size, but headless, first-century BCE statues of παρθένοι have been matched with their bases (nos 5, 8-9, 16-7).⁵⁵¹ The number and size of the statues of young females indicate not only the significance of the cult of Artemis Ortheia at Messene but also the eminence of Messene itself in the first century BCE.⁵⁵² The inscriptions accompanying three of these statues (*SEG* 23.208, 219 and 221) communicate, visually orally and aurally, the pride, piety and economic status of their parents, as dedicators of votive statues of their daughters, to their fellow citizens and the goddess.

All the girls are adolescents dressed in similar fashion. Theophaneia, daughter of Philonidas, wears the most elaborate πέπλος which is adorned with a pendant (Fig. 12, no. 16 and Fig. 13).⁵⁵³ Mego, the daughter of Damonikos and Timarchis, is dressed, like Theophaneia, in a long πέπλος cinched under her breasts with a belt tied in a Herakles knot (Fig. 12, no. 5 and Fig. 14).⁵⁵⁴ The πέπλος of Timareta, daughter of Thiotas and Sopharchis, may have been embellished with a bronze bow for which the attachment holes remain (Fig. 12, no. 17 and Fig. 15).⁵⁵⁵ The dress of a fourth girl, whose name is unknown,

⁵⁴⁹ On the image as a spectator, see Spawforth, *Temples*, 84-5.

⁵⁵⁰ For a photograph of the crowd of statue bases in the Artemision, see Themelis, *Messene*, 74 (Fig. 56).

⁵⁵¹ On the portable cult statue, see discussion below. A first-second century CE date was originally assigned to the inscriptions accompanying the παρθένοι-statues and this date is retained by Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 245; Zunino, *Hiera*, 41; *LGPN* 3A s.v. Τιμαρέτα 428 (no. 8) and Melfi, *Santuario*, 286. The statues, which have been matched according to the impressions on the inscribed bases and the bases of the statues themselves, are 'typically late Hellenistic in style' but 'may easily fall toward the end of the previous century or go down to Augustan or even later times' (B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 3 vols (Madison, 2002) 3.118, 132 and 135 (n. 10). Themelis, 'Artemis', 115 prefers a first-century BCE date, which more reasonably aligns the sculpture with the inscriptions, followed by Connelly, *Portrait*, 151. I follow Themelis for this reason.

⁵⁵² Like the κόραι on the Athenian acropolis, recently interpreted as brides-to-be (M. Stieber, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai* (Austin, 2004) 135-40), the five παρθένοι statues in the ναός at Messene rivaled each other and referred to each other (Mylonopoulos, 'Sanctuaries', 92).

⁵⁵³ *SEG* 23.219, with Messene Museum statue no. 244 (Themelis, 'Artemis', 115 (Fig. 17); *Messene*, 136 (Fig. 142) and Connelly, *Portrait*, Pl. 19). She is the only one of the παρθένοι wearing a necklace. Connelly *Portrait*, 152 associates this item of jewelry with the sacred vestments of the cult which 'may have been painted to resemble gold'. The centre of the pendant has a rolled, open circular shape which gives the appearance of a gem setting minus the stone.

⁵⁵⁴ *SEG* 23.220, with Messene Museum statue no. 245 (Themelis, 'Artemis', 115 (Fig. 18); *Messene*, 76 (Fig. 59) and Connelly, *Portrait*, Fig. 5.18).

⁵⁵⁵ *SEG* 23.221, with Messene Museum statue no. 241 (Themelis, 'Artemis', 117 (Fig. 21); *Messene*, 136 (Fig. 141) and Connelly, *Portrait*, 151 (Fig. 5.19). On Timareta, see below (**M12**).

is distinguished by the overfold which is drawn up to form a *kolpos* (Fig. 12 and no. 9).⁵⁵⁶ A fifth, less well-preserved statue made of sandstone is associated with base no. 8.⁵⁵⁷ While we can put a name to three of these headless *παρθένοι*, we cannot put a face.

In addition to the statues of the adolescent girls, three other smaller statues of priestesses found in the main chamber (nos 6-7 and 13) depict second-third century CE older females attired in *ἱμάτια* which partially cover their arms and are draped over their long, button-sleeved *χιτῶνες*. Of the three, Eirana, daughter of Nymphodotos, wears the most simple costume.⁵⁵⁸ Klaudia Siteris (Fig. 12, no. 6 and Fig. 16), who, alone of the three, is designated as a priestess of Ortheia, embellishes her dress on the right shoulder with a circular fibula while Kallis, daughter of Aristokles (Fig. 12, no. 7 and Fig. 17), displays elaborate swallowtail folds on her cloak.⁵⁵⁹ Fragments of Kallis' 'Antonine, melon-style' hair, but not her face, have survived.⁵⁶⁰ The other two priestesses, like the statues of the *παρθένοι*, are headless.

The inscriptions on the bases (*SEG* 23.215-7) associated with these priestesses communicate a message which differs from those of the *παρθένοι*. They attest to the exemplary character with which the priestesses exercised their sacred duties (*εὐσεβέως, φιλοτείμως*). Further, they announce the gratitude of the administrative council of elders (*οἱ γέροντες τᾶς Οὐπησίας οἱ ἀπὸ Κρεσφόντου*), who honoured the women by erecting their images at the end of their term. By virtue of mention of their mythical ancestor, Kresphontes, the council proclaimed the supposed antiquity of the cult of Artemis Οὐπησία at Messene.

Myth and Cult

According to myth, Kresphontes, a third-generation Heraklid, together with his brother and nephews, divided the Peloponnese into three, Messenia, Lakonia and Argos, of which he received the best share, Messenia, allegedly by fraud (Paus. 4.3.3-8 and Apollod. 2.8.4-5).

⁵⁵⁶ *SEG* 23.223, with Messene Museum statue no. 246 (Connelly, *Portrait*, 153 (Fig. 5.21). Connelly, *Portrait*, 152 notices a difference in style and technique which may suggest a later date.

⁵⁵⁷ Messene Museum no. 259.

⁵⁵⁸ *SEG* 23.215, with Messene Museum statue no. 242 (Themelis, 'Artemis', 118 (Fig. 23a); *Messene*, 136 (Fig. 140) and Connelly, 154-5 (Fig. 5.22).

⁵⁵⁹ *SEG* 23.216, with Messene Museum statue nos 240 and 254 (Themelis, 'Artemis', 119 (Figs 24-5) *Messene*, 75 (Fig. 58); Connelly, *Portrait*, 156-7 (Fig. 5.24).

⁵⁶⁰ Themelis, *Messene*, 135 (Fig. 139); Connelly, *Portrait*, 157 (Fig. 5.24, Pl. 18).

Kresphontes was included in the fourth-third century BCE paintings by Omphalion in the temple of the eponymous Messene in the agora (Paus. 4.31.11) discussed above (**M6**). In the imperial period, the οἱ ἱεροὶ γέροντες τᾶς Οὐπησίας οἱ ἀπὸ Κρεσφόντα imply that the cult, at least of Οὐπησία, went back to the Dorian migration and was at least as old as its Spartan counterpart, even ancestrally Messenian, rather than being a more recent invention, which, in fact, it probably was.⁵⁶¹

Epigraphical and material evidence provides further information about the functioning of the cults of Artemis Ortheia and Oupesia, their agents and actors. From inscriptions, we learn something about the administration of the cult of Oupesia. The council of elders had 75 members who had the power to set up statues, as we have seen (*SEG* 23.215-7), pass decrees and set up inscriptions honouring worthy citizens. Amongst the members of the college were Nikeratos and Straton, who were charged in 42 CE with crowning the council γραμματεὺς and city benefactor, Mnasistratos, with the crown of Artemis (τῷ τᾶς Ἀρτέμιτος στεφάνῳ) at the annual games of Zeus Ithomatas (*SEG* 23.208).⁵⁶² The beginning of the inscription makes it clear that the names of ἐπιμεληταί, like Nikeratos and Straton, were used as the Messenian method of dating much like the eponymous archon at Athens.⁵⁶³

An epigram inscribed on the base which supported the statue of the παρθένος Mego, enlightens us about the practices for Ortheia.⁵⁶⁴ The base is angled slightly behind the cult statue to the viewer's left (Fig. 12, no. 5) and its inscription (*SEG* 23.220) is deliberately aligned to the left so that the viewer will be able to read it (aloud) with ease.

⁵⁶¹ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 282. J.N. Bremmer, 'Myth as Propoganda. Athens and Sparta', *ZPE* 117 (1997) 9-17 at 13-6 places the adoption of Euripides' anti-Spartan version of the myth to the liberation of Messenia when the Messenians were 'searching for material to reconstruct — 'invent' would be a better word — their own past'. The accusation of Kresphontes' fraud was a Spartan attempt to subvert the Messenian hero after whom a Messenian tribe was named (*JG* 5¹.1433.40). On Kresphontes and his share, see Luraghi, *Messenians*, 46-67. On the Messenian 'sacred elders', see A.J.S. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (London, 2012) 175-6.

⁵⁶² On Nikeratos and Straton at Volimos, see **M12** below. Luraghi, *Messenians*, 307 (n. 58) points out that Nikeratos was responsible for the donation of an unlimited amount of money for the restoration of the *bouleion* and its adjoining stoa (*SEG* 23.207.19). Triobols from first-century BCE Messene feature the crowned head of Artemis on one side and the tripod of Zeus on the other, a possible reference to the participation of Artemis in the Ithomaia games at Messene's impressive stadium. See discussion above at **M4**.

⁵⁶³ On eponymous officials in Messenia, see R.K. Sherk, 'The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities: Mainland Greece and the Adjacent Islands', *ZPE* 84 (1990) 231-95 at 253-4.

⁵⁶⁴ The epigram confirms that the ναός was the cult site of Artemis Ortheia at Messene in the first century BCE. For photographs of the inscribed base, see G. Daux, 'Épigramme de Messène', *BCH* 91 (1970) 620-3 at 622 (Fig. 2) and Themelis, 'Artemis', 114 (Fig. 18).

The dedication, on the upper molding, and the epigram in iambic trimeters beneath, reads as follows.

[Δαμόνικος ----]ς, Τιμαρχίς Δαμαρχίδα ιερατεύσαντες
[Μεγῶ] τὰν θυγατέρα

τῆ Παρθένῳ τὰν παιδὰ σοί με, πότνια
᾽Ορθεία, Δαμόνικος ἠδ' ὄμευνέτις
Τιμαρχίς, ἐσθλοῦ πατρός, ἄνθεσαν Μεγῶ
τεὸν χερὶ κρατεύσασαν, Ἄρτεμι, βρέτας
ἄν τε πρὸ βωμῶν σῶν ἔτεινα λαμπάδα
εἶη δὲ καμὲ τὰν ἐπιπρεπέα χάριν
τεῖσαι γονεῦσιν ἔνδικον γὰρ ἔπλετο
καὶ παισὶ τιμᾶν ἐμ μέρει φυτοσπόρους.

[Damonikos, son of ...], and Timarchis, daughter of Damarchidas,
who served as priests, (dedicate this statue of) their daughter
[Mego].

To you, the Parthenos, Potnia Ortheia, Damonikos
and his wife Timarchis, of noble parentage, dedicated
me, their child Mego, who has carried your image, O
Artemis, in my hand and (they dedicated) the λαμπὰς
which I have held out in front of your altars. May I
also be permitted to give the thanks due to my parents
because it is right that children should honour their
begetters in their turn.⁵⁶⁵

The priestly dedicators, Timarchis and Damonikos, of good birth and financial resources, undoubtedly supervised the sacred activities for Ortheia in the ναός. At the time of the dedication, married women, like Timarchis, began to hold priesthoods with their husbands.⁵⁶⁶ Their daughter Mego suitably addresses Artemis as Παρθένος and πότνια ᾽Ορθεία but not as Φωσφόρος or Οὐπησία.⁵⁶⁷ Although she identifies herself as a παῖς (child), Mego was a παρθένος as her statue (Fig. 14), like the statues of the other girls,

⁵⁶⁵ Tr. Connelly, *Portrait*, 148 (adapted).

⁵⁶⁶ Connelly, *Portrait*, 42. One wonders whether it was a prerequisite that the couple have a daughter of suitable age or, conversely, if the selection of the παρθένος to take on the same responsibilities as Mego automatically ensured the joint priesthood for the parents.

⁵⁶⁷ Παρθένος is virtually synonymous with Artemis (Rose, 'Cult', 402). At Sparta, it is found alone (*IG* 5¹.264.9) in a sickle dedication and in an archaic *boustrophedon* dedication to Πα(ρ)[θ]ένοι φορθα[ι] on a limestone relief of a horse (Bosanquet, 'Cult', 333-4 (Fig. 1).

attests. Two significant acts for these παρθένοι, be they initiates or cult agents, are indicated in the inscription: carrying the βρέτας and holding up the λαμπάς. To begin with, we discuss carrying the portable cult image of Artemis.⁵⁶⁸

A sculpture fragment associated with the Mego statue depicts the βρέτας of the inscription. The ringed hand of an entire left arm, which has snake bracelets on the biceps and wrist, holds a headless, herm-shaped object which is attached to a square base. The βρέτας is covered with a cloth (φᾶρος) whose considerable excess is gathered behind the βρέτας, partially covering Mego's inner arm and the base on which the βρέτας stands (Fig. 18). Personal inspection shows that the actual fabric must have been secured at the shoulders of the βρέτας and probably did not cover the head.⁵⁶⁹ The fragment gives a good indication of the size of the statue relative to its bearer but not its composition. Since the Messene statue had to be light enough to be carried single-handedly (as the arm fragment indicates), wood, ivory or even a composite of heavy and light material (acrolith or acroelephantine) are the most probable materials.⁵⁷⁰

Portable figures were usually not iconographically identical with the firmly fixed cult statues.⁵⁷¹ Long strands of hair resting on the right shoulder of the βρέτας indicate that, unlike the tidy tresses of the cult statue, its hair was not bound, covered or controlled, a reflection of the 'wild' character of the goddess. It is clear from close examination that the missing arms of the βρέτας were neither at the sides nor were they raised to hold a torch.⁵⁷² Because the figure is draped from the shoulders, we cannot determine what

⁵⁶⁸ The word βρέτας is usually defined as, 'a wooden image of a god' (*LSJ* s.v.). The cult agent who carries such an image is identified in an inscription (*IG* 5¹.212.57) as a σιόφορος, σιός being the Lakonian or Boiotian equivalent of θεός (*LSJ* s.v. σιός).

⁵⁶⁹ I am very grateful to Petros Themelis for arranging a personal inspection of the fragment May 3, 2011 at the site museum. The arm (Messene Museum no. 247) has been connected to the statue acknowledged to be Mego on the basis of style, size and marble oxidization (Themelis, 'Artemis', 116 (Fig. 19); *Messene*, 76 (Fig. 60) followed Connelly, *Portrait*, 150 (Fig. 5.17). Cf. terracotta figurines from Lokroi which carry cult images of Artemis of the same relative size as the Messene βρέτας not in their left hands but on their heads (Fischer-Hansen, 'Artemis', 229-30 (Fig. 11). These portable statues of Artemis, which grasp a bow and fawn, also wear a long veil that covers both arms of their carriers but not the head of the statue which wears a πῶλος. Because the Lokroi images strongly imply a procession in honour of Artemis in her role as protectress of παρθένοι before marriage, the same may hold true for the Messene βρέτας.

⁵⁷⁰ In late etymologies, the material for a βρέτας is specified as bronze or similar (Donohue, *Xoana*, 165-74). An estimate of the weight of a comparable hollow-cast bronze image (provided by Almonte sculptor Dale Dunning) ranges from 60 to 80 pounds. Themelis, 'Artemis', 116 and Zunino, *Hiera*, 57 (n. 73) identify the object in Mego's hand as a ξόανον, presumably meaning an image of wood.

⁵⁷¹ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 90.

⁵⁷² In conversation, Themelis has indicated to me that the arms of the βρέτας were probably integral 'pseudo-arms' similar to a herm of Herakles found near the gymnasium. For a photograph of the herm, see Themelis, *Messene*, 138 (Fig. 146).

costume the figure wore and, because the head is missing, we cannot tell whether she wore earrings, like the cult statue, or a headdress, such as a πῶλος. Except for its upright posture, the headless and armless image held in the arm fragment does not share the same iconography as Damophon's statue of Artemis Phosphoros.

The circular disk with a raised centre boss, on the chest of the veiled image, has been identified as a pendant but personal inspection reveals no indication of a suspension cord or chain.⁵⁷³ The object sits alone on top of the covering rather than beneath it. In shape and size (c. 9 cm), it is reminiscent of a bronze cymbal, a dedication found at other sanctuaries of Artemis.⁵⁷⁴ However, there is no indication of an opening in the centre of the boss to accommodate the grip necessary to play such an instrument. In any case, it is an illogical location for a single cymbal. The object most resembles the circular *fibulae* used on the shoulders of the πέπλος such as the one on the shoulder of the priestess, Klaudia Siteris (Fig. 16), in the middle of the ribbons criss-crossed over the breasts or as cloak fasteners.⁵⁷⁵ Popular dedications, such brooches were 'probably attached to the garment of the cult statues' (and the βρέτας?) and likely used 'to attach additional offerings to the sacred garments'.⁵⁷⁶ The circular object is almost certainly such a brooch, probably of precious metal. Whether it had sacred significance, was a dedication or a decorative, yet practical, piece of cult equipment used to hold the φᾶρος in place, is difficult to determine.⁵⁷⁷

Statue fragments of other life-sized left hands holding fragments of βρέτας-like objects, found in the excavations of the ναός, indicate that Timareta, Theophania and other παρθέναι performed the same task as Mego of carrying the statue, albeit on other, different occasions.⁵⁷⁸ Normally, the little statue would have resided within the ναός, possibly on the

⁵⁷³ Ridgway, *Sculpture*, 118.

⁵⁷⁴ A cymbal (*IG* 5¹.1497), inscribed in Lakonian script to Limnatis, now in Berlin, and another purchased in Mystra (**L19**) inscribed to Limnatis (*IG* 5¹.225) and others of similar size, without inscriptions, have been found at other Artemis sanctuaries (**L2** and **M13**).

⁵⁷⁵ The disk would have been mounted on a safety pin device rather than atop the straight hat-pin type found at Aigia (**L2**), in abundance at the sanctuary of Ortheia at Sparta (**L21**), possibly at Mt. Issoria (**L19**) and at Limnai/Volimos (**M13**). A late second-early first century BCE marble statue of a woman who wears a πέπλος fastened with circular *fibulae* at the shoulders can also be seen at Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1642).

⁵⁷⁶ Brulotte, *Placement*, 2, 286-7. Commenting on an inventory of dedications from the sanctuary of Askelpios at Zea (*IG* 2².47), which includes a περὸνητήρ, Brulotte, *Placement* 2, 300 remarks that it may be among the cult equipment.

⁵⁷⁷ C. Lochin, 'Déplacement provisoires d'images culturelles', in *ThesCRA* 2 (2004) 477-88 at 477.

⁵⁷⁸ Themelis, 'Artemis', 116 and 122.

small base to the viewer's right while facing the statue of Artemis Phosphoros (Fig. 12, no. 4). Outside in the courtyard of the Asklepieion, beside the altar of Artemis, there is a square pillar, with a similar square cutting on the top, that might have held the square base of the βρέτας (Fig. 11, K1).⁵⁷⁹ It fits the notion that the plinth was the destination of the small cult statue but does not negate the possible transportation of the statue elsewhere.⁵⁸⁰ In a sense, the portable image served as a substitute for Damophon's immovable colossus.

We can say with some assurance that the βρέτας was carried by a παρθένος from the ναός out to the perch beside the altar and back in a ritual procession.⁵⁸¹ A sacred πομπή was a common ritual element.⁵⁸² Sacred processions, with participants using a particular ritual gait and accompanied by music, were ritual performances with spectators.⁵⁸³ From the home base of the βρέτας in the ναός to the courtyard altar is a direct distance of about 20 m providing for a somewhat abbreviated linear procession.⁵⁸⁴ Certainly, the fancy clothing of the παρθένος statues and the jewelry, Mego's snake bracelets in particular, echo the appearance of Alkman's brilliantly attired chorus. Any procession at the Messene sanctuary would have demanded similar fine attire.

What the material evidence does not tell us (and we would like to know) is when such a πομπή happened, why it happened and how often it happened. One reason for a πομπή was the disrobing and removal of portable statues from their temples to be washed or purified in lakes, rivers, springs or the sea during πλυντήρια-festivals.⁵⁸⁵ Assuming the existence of such a festival at Messene, the destination may have been one of the many

⁵⁷⁹ See Spawforth, *Temples*, 80-1 for an excellent colour photograph of the remains of the altar and plinth.

⁵⁸⁰ For drawings of the cuttings, see Themelis, 'Artemis', 120-1 (Figs 26a and b).

⁵⁸¹ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 92 notes that processions with images of gods are exceptional. Nonetheless, the material and epigraphic evidence strongly points to such a procession at Messene.

⁵⁸² Hamilton, 'Alkman', 470 notes the 'tendency of women and girls to process to altars, race and then perform chorally'.

⁵⁸³ Polyaeus. 5.5 (νόμῳ πομπῆς βαδίζοντες). The usual culmination of the procession was the sacrifice and sacrificial feast (Mylonopoulos, 'Sanctuaries', 104).

⁵⁸⁴ The double-aisled Corinthian stoas of the Asklepieion complex invite the idea of a more extended processional route. A second-third-century BCE inscription from Methymna in Phokis (*IG* 12².503) regarding a festival of Dionysos suggests that a statue could be carried around (τοῦ ἀγάλματος περιφορά), which allows for a variety of possible procession routes. On processions and their pathways across the landscape, see F. Graf, 'Pompai in Greece. Some Considerations about Space and Ritual in the Greek Polis', in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis* (Stockholm, 1996) 56-65 who stresses a direction either to or from the city centre.

⁵⁸⁵ At Argos, the κόραι greeted Athena but it was the married women who washed the statue of the goddess in the river (Call. *Min.* 139). Near Nauplion, it was the κόραι who probably washed ('re-virginized') the statue of Hera in a secret mystery rite at a spring (Paus. 2.38.2). Iphigeneia purified the βρέτας (or ἀγαλμα) of Artemis in the sea (E. *IT* 1157-1223). For discussion of females and statue washing in general, see L. Kahil, 'Bains de statues et de divinités', in R. Ginouvès, A-M. Guimier-Sorbets, J. Jouanna, L. Villard (eds), *L'eau, la santé et la maladie dans le monde grec* (Paris, 1984) 217-23 and Dillon, *Girls*, 133-6.

springs with which the slopes of Mt. Ithome abound. By the laws of Zeus (Call. *Min.* 100-2), neither naked goddesses themselves nor their unclad statues ought to be viewed by males and so their images were shrouded, like the βρέτας, for the journey to the bathing site. Some παρθένοι would have served as πλυντρίδες, responsible for washing the sacred clothing, and others as λουτρίδες, who bathed the statue itself.⁵⁸⁶ The time of year for the purification rituals seems to have varied.⁵⁸⁷ Some credence for a πλυντήρια-festival at Messene is given by a similar ritual at Messenian-founded Tyndaris where the statue of Artemis Phakelitis, which Orestes had carried there concealed in a bundle of sticks (φάκελος), was similarly hidden for her outing to be bathed in the sea.⁵⁸⁸

Portable statues were also taken from their temples to ‘watch’ various rituals, such as sacrifice.⁵⁸⁹ In order to ‘witness’ the bloody διαμαστίγωσις ritual at the Spartan Ortheia altar (of which only the southwestern corner was visible from inside the temple), the ξόανον had to be taken out by the priestess (Paus. 3.16.10-1, **L21**).⁵⁹⁰ At Messene, on the other hand, the cult statue could ‘observe’ ritual activity at, or around, the altar from within the ναός. The ‘deliberate’ semi-circular positioning of the statues in the ναός focused on the cult statue and the βρέτας has suggested to some scholars that girls danced around the altar and the βρέτας set atop its adjacent plinth.⁵⁹¹ The notion, however, fails to account for the fact that three of the deliberately-positioned statues are of mature women and that two of παρθένοι statues (Fig. 12, nos 16-7) are in the north ante-room.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁶ Connelly, *Portrait*, 40.

⁵⁸⁷ In Athens, the washing of the statue of Athena took place at the end of Thargelion, which corresponds to the end of June. On Paros and Thasos, the Plynteria festival was a month later, corresponding to the Attic Skirophorion (S.C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods. Historical Perspectives on the Interpretation of Athenian Religion* (Oxford, 2004) 162 (n. 80). Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 378 notes a month named Plynterion on Chios.

⁵⁸⁸ Steiner, *Images*, 111 (n. 126).

⁵⁸⁹ At Ephesos there was a square platform in one corner of the massive altar, ideal for a movable image of the Artemis to ‘watch’ the sacrifice which was blocked from view within by its high back wall (A. Purvis, *Singular Dedications. Founders and Innovators of Private Cults in Classical Greece* (New York and London, 2003) 107 (n. 340).

⁵⁹⁰ See Dawkins, *Sanctuary*, Pl. 1.

⁵⁹¹ Themelis, ‘Artemis’, 101 and 122. Connelly, *Portrait*, 153-4 posits a ring dance with hands held such as evoked on the sculptured column drums of the temple of Apollo at Didyma and on a white ground φιάλη by the Painter of London D12 now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (inv. no. 65.908). In my opinion, the flaming altar on the Boston φιάλη serves as a signifier of the sacred context of the dance and the dancers may not actually be dancing around it.

⁵⁹² Connelly, *Portrait*, 153. Mylonopoulos, ‘Sanctuaries’, 88 notes that the positioning of larger votive offerings (such as statues) was never accidental. Certainly, the left justification of the inscription on the Mego statue base is deliberate.

In any case, literary and archaeological evidence seem to demonstrate that the small Artemis statue at Messene was not taken out to observe dancing around the altar. Callimachos (*Dian.* 170) notes that the nymphs encircle Artemis, not an altar. At Karyai (L8), as we have seen, the ἄγαλμα of Artemis, set up in a walnut grove, was central to the choruses (Paus. 3.10.7). During the Daitis festival at Ephesos, dancing took place around the ἄγαλμα of Artemis carried to and set up in a water meadow (*EM* 252.11).⁵⁹³ Thus, the goddess ‘watched’ as the dancers swirled around her. Since scholars disagree on whether or not the females on Attic *krateriskoi* fragments, associated with sanctuaries of Artemis Brauronia, dance in the presence of an altar, the disputed interpretation should not count as positive testimony for dancing around altars.⁵⁹⁴ It therefore seems unlikely that Messenian παρθένοι danced around the altar in the Asklepieion courtyard, although dancing could have occurred elsewhere.

Another possibility is that the βρέτας was taken on an outing to be observed rather than to observe. Looking at the image of a deity could be potentially dangerous, as the Aigiad brothers discovered when they found the ξόανον of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta (L21). There must have been a similar story told at Rhegion where, as early as the second century BCE, new paeans of thanksgiving were sung by male choruses for 60 days every year to Artemis Phakelitis for curing the women of madness (Aristoxenes of Taras *ap. Apollon. Mir.* 40 = *FHG* 2.282 (no. 36). Since it is generally thought that Messenians introduced the Rhegion cult, it is likely that there was a similar myth at Messene.⁵⁹⁵ Such ‘dangerous’ statues, usually kept concealed, were taken out annually during a παννυχίς which was linked to initiation rites and accompanied by torches and hymns.⁵⁹⁶ Hence, it is possible that the Messenian βρέτας enjoyed a similar annual exposition on her perch beside the altar.⁵⁹⁷ Although there are many possibilities, where Mego carried the small image, when and for what purpose must remain a matter of conjecture.

⁵⁹³ At Ephesos, the Amazons danced around a βρέτας of Artemis set under a tree (Call. *Dian.* 238 and 248).

⁵⁹⁴ Hamilton, ‘Alkman’, 458 concludes that they ‘seem not to dance in the presence of an altar’. On the other hand, I. Nielsen, ‘The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia’, in Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen, *Artemis*, 83-116 at 93 states that ‘dancing around the altar is often seen’.

⁵⁹⁵ Eidinow, *Oracles*, 299 (n. 32) and Fischer-Hansen, ‘Artemis’, 225-6.

⁵⁹⁶ For literary evidence of παννυχίδες in Artemis cults, see D.L. Page, *Alcman. The Partheneion* (Oxford, 1951) 80 (n. 3) and Dowden, *Death*, 33, 103. Examples include nocturnal festivals of Artemis linked with Dionysos at Patrai (Paus. 7.19.1-20.1) and Sikyon (Paus. 2.7.6-7).

⁵⁹⁷ Themelis, ‘Artemis’, 122 suggests an exposition on the plinth beside the altar.

Mego's second ritual act was to hold out a λαμπάς πρὸ βωμῶν. Fire, not surprisingly, played an important role in the cult of a goddess traditionally linked with light and manifested at Messene in a cult statue which held a tall torch (δάς or δαΐς).⁵⁹⁸ Mego, however, offered the shorter λαμπάς which could be composed of bundled flammable stems often used to light the sacrificial fire on open air altars, such as the one in front of the ναός in the Asklepieion, during the celebration of festivals. The frequency with which a female is shown extending a short bundle of stems over an altar (in vase paintings and reliefs) indicates that female agency in lighting altar fires was common.⁵⁹⁹ Was this the sort of λαμπάς that Mego held out before the altar and was dedicated by her proud parents? A bundle of charred stems seems a rather humble dedication to be made by noble priests, such as Damonikos and Timarchis, eager to display their piety and prominence.

The second type of short torch was a single solid stem set in a clay holder, with a concave hand shield to protect the bearer from the combustible material (λαμπάδιον), used in torch racing (λαμπαδηδρομία), most often by males.⁶⁰⁰ However, literature and vase painting attest that females ran races, too.⁶⁰¹ *Krateriskoi* fragments from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia in Attika, apparently showing young females running with a short torch, have prompted some scholars to posit a similar torch race for Artemis Phosphoros at

⁵⁹⁸ A 'fire brand or pine torch' (*LSJ* s.v.) was made of bundled stems and did not have a holder (Parisinou, *Light*, 128-9). According to Callimachus (*Dian.* 116-8), Artemis kindled her first pine torch with cinders from a tree on Mysian Olympos that had been struck by lightning. For Artemis as Δαδοφόρος, Φωσφόρος, Ἀμφίπυρος (carrying a torch in each hand) or Πυρφόρος (fire-bearing), see Kahil, 'Artemis', 654-60.

⁵⁹⁹ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 61-2 and E. Zosi, 'Catalog no. 111', in N. Kaltsas and A. Shapiro (eds), *Worshipping Women* (Athens, 2008) 240 at 240.

⁶⁰⁰ For racing in ritual, see Hamilton, 'Alkman', 467-8; Larson, *Cults*, 64-9 and Nielsen, 'Sanctuary', 85-91. Races were often associated with initiation and transition rights although more commonly for males (I. Clark, 'The Gamos of Hera. Myth and Ritual', in S. Blundell and M. Williamson (eds), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece* (London and New York, 1998) 13-26 at 21). See Paus. 1.30.2 for a description of the Panathenaic torch race. For a clear representation of a Panathenaic λαμπάδιον on a red-figure bell *krater* (*ARV²* 1041), see J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis* (Hanover, 1992) 178-9 and H.A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London, 1972) Figs 26-8). Other male torch races in Attika were run at the Hephaisteia, Prometheia and, after the battle of Marathon in 490, at a festival in honour of Pan (Hdt. 6.105).

⁶⁰¹ At Sparta, running competitions were a feature of a cult for Helen (Theoc. 18; Dillon, *Girls*, 212; S.G. Cole, *Landscapes, Gender and Ritual Space. The Ancient Greek Experience* (Berkeley, 2004) 202 and 228) and Dionysos Kolonates (Paus. 3.13.7). At Olympia, παρθένοι ran a shortened στάδιον for Hera (Paus. 5.16.3).

Messene.⁶⁰² The long χιτῶνες worn by the Messene παρθένοι might seem to argue against such vigorous activity, but a sixth-century hydria in the Vatican Museum clearly shows long-haired females racing (albeit without torches) in long χιτῶνες.⁶⁰³ The notion that the winner of a hypothetical Messene torch race had the honour of lighting the altar (with the winning torch) may have a parallel in the Heraia at Olympia (Paus. 5.16.2-3).⁶⁰⁴ Thus, if there was torch racing at Messene, Mego may have extended her λαμπάς πρὸ βωμῶν, not only to light the altar, but also in victory.⁶⁰⁵

Λαμπάδια with painted decoration and inscriptions have been found as dedications, although not to Artemis.⁶⁰⁶ In 155 BCE, on the offering table of the Artemision in Delos, there was an iron torch holder with a bronze hand shield, the dedication of Teisander (*IDelos* 1417B1.87). Mego's dedicated λαμπάς could have been displayed in the Artemision, possibly on the offering table in front of the cult statue or on the benches in the side chambers. Such a torch (holder) seems a more likely dedication, befitting the status of the dedicators, than the simple bundled type of stems used to light an altar.⁶⁰⁷ The fact remains, however, that Mego dedicated a λαμπάς, an object not associated with racing.

The leader of a festal πομπή for a light-bearing goddess could have carried light even in daytime because torches do not necessarily mark a nighttime scene.⁶⁰⁸ The chorus at Karyai, who danced in the early morning daylight, probably arrived at the site by light

⁶⁰² Daux, 'Epigramme', 632; Themelis, 'Artemis', 101, followed by Connelly, *Portrait*, 152 (n. 154). Connelly *Portrait*, 27 sees Artemis Brauronia as a goddess who 'especially looked after girls in their transition to maidenhood'. Hamilton, 'Alkman', 454 identifies both running and dancing on the fragments. Short, single-stem torches held by a runner or dancer are found on the following *krateriskoi* fragments: Brauron Museum 546 = Hamilton, 'Alkman', 451 (no. 3: naked runner) and Brauron Museum 915 = Hamilton, 'Alkman', 451 (no. 8: dancer in abbreviated χιτῶν). Two other fragments show disembodied hands holding a short torch: Piraeus Museum Kk16 = Hamilton, 'Alkman', 452 (no. 15) and Piraeus Museum Kk56 = Hamilton, 'Alkman', 452 (no. 24). Other fragments show runners or dancers without torches. Parisinou, 'Lighting', 29 draws attention to a *pyxis* lid from Brauron showing young women dancing with torches.

⁶⁰³ Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (inv. no. 14959 in Harris, *Sport*, Fig. 41. The παρθένοι, who ran a shortened στάδιον for Hera, competed with their hair let down and wore above-the-knee χιτῶνες which bared the right breast and shoulder (Paus. 5.16.3).

⁶⁰⁴ While there is no suggestion of use of torches, the winner, like the victor of the στάδιον at the Olympic games, could have had the honour of lighting the altar (Clark, 'Gamos', 20-2).

⁶⁰⁵ Daux, 'Epigramme', 632.

⁶⁰⁶ For obvious reasons, the torches do not survive but their holders do. These holders appear to be of two basic types: those meant to stand alone, which had a handle and broad base, and those meant to be held with a long, narrow stem. Examples of the former have been found with painted decoration and the name of the maker in a sanctuary of Aetos on Ithaka (Parisinou, *Light*, 17 (Fig. 3; Pl. 1). The small finds from the Messenian Artemision remain to be published.

⁶⁰⁷ Daux, 'Epigramme', 632 suggests that Mego held a torch in her (missing) right hand. It seems unlikely that the βρέτας and λαμπάς were part of the same ritual activity and that the two objects were actually carried at the same time.

⁶⁰⁸ Hamilton, 'Alkman', 466 and Parisinou, *Light*, 2.

(L8). Alkman's beautifully attired chorus moving 'through the ambrosial night' must have required light (L21). We hear of the 'Pallas' at Athens being transported to and from Phaleron for her annual purification accompanied by λαμπάδες.⁶⁰⁹ If there was a similar festival for the Messenian βρέτας, leading such a procession carrying a λαμπάς and holding it before the altar upon return would indeed be an honour worthy of commemoration.⁶¹⁰

Some literary evidence suggests that light was involved in daytime occurrences such as divine epiphanies.⁶¹¹ Themelis proposes a mystic ceremony, associated with the apocalypse of the βρέτας and the epiphany of the goddess, in front of the offering table and Damophon's statue of Artemis.⁶¹² Whether these rites were nocturnal or not, light would have been required. Stone benches lining the two, undoubtedly dim, side rooms would have provided seating, although not a clear line of sight. Holding a λαμπάς before the altar may have signified the completion of such a mystic ceremony.

By the time of our dedication (first century BCE), the word λαμπάς had come to mean 'lamp'.⁶¹³ Lamps were a common offering to Artemis. Oil burning lamps were most often made of terracotta, but marble or metal models were available to those who could afford them.⁶¹⁴ Archaeological evidence shows that some lamps had a fitting on the bottom so that they could be mounted on poles for carrying in processions while others could be suspended by chains.⁶¹⁵ It seems most likely that the dedicated λαμπάς would have been a metal one, consistent with the economic status of the dedicators. If flat-bottomed, it might have been placed, along with other votives, on one of the benches in the ante-rooms or it could have been a suspended type hung up to be admired.

⁶⁰⁹ Dillon, *Girls*, 134 (*IG* 2².1006.11-12, 1011.9-11). The Athenian Plynteria was a day long festival beginning before dawn and ending after dusk.

⁶¹⁰ It is unlikely that Mego would have also carried the βρέτας at the same time.

⁶¹¹ Parisinou, *Light*, 2.

⁶¹² Themelis, 'Artemis', 101 and 122 posits that the mystic ceremony was the first in the sequence of rituals in an annual celebration followed by a πομπή with the βρέτας, dancing around the altar, torch racing, setting light to the altar, sacrifice and a banquet. On staging divine appearances, see Spawforth, *Temples*, 82-3.

⁶¹³ *LSJ* s.v. λαμπάς.

⁶¹⁴ Small gold and silver replicas of long torches (δαδία) were popular dedications to Artemis recorded at the Thesmophorion on Delos (*IDelos* 1417 AI.77-99) in 155 BCE. Terracotta lamps with flat bases were the most common type dedicated to Artemis Ortheia at Sparta (Droop, 'Pottery', 88). A marble hanging lamp is among the finds from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. Bronze lamps were found at the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi (Parisinou, *Light*, 151-3). A gold lamp, the work of Kallimachos, burned night and day in the Erechtheion at Athens (Paus. 1.26.7).

⁶¹⁵ Parisinou, *Light*, 151 (Pl. 42).

Evidence for a later use of frankincense (λίβανος) in the cult is found in the presence of two lidded, cylindrical incense boxes (λιβανωτρίδες) held in the left hands of the priestesses.⁶¹⁶ Such boxes signified the special agency of the priestesses within the cult, at least in the second-third century CE, but the practice had been introduced to Hellas long before.⁶¹⁷ Burning of incense in a burner (θυμιατήριον) produced an aroma pleasing to gods and man. The smoke served to fumigate or purify sacred space and throwing a granule on the flame of an incense-burning altar was a widespread practice.⁶¹⁸ Pausanias (5.15.10) explains that at Olympia there was a monthly sacrifice on all altars, including that of Artemis, which included burning frankincense mixed with wheat and honey. These acts were particularly appropriate to a fire-bearing goddess, although more commonly directed to Aphrodite.⁶¹⁹ However, it may be significant that these priestesses carry a substance burned daily for Eileithyia in Argolis at Mases (Paus. 2.35.11), a substance also used medically for gynaecological complaints.⁶²⁰

Together, the epigraphical, archaeological and literary evidence offers many clues concerning cult practices of Artemis Ortheia at Messene, but at the same time evoke many questions. The only ritual certainties are that, in the first century BCE, a παρθένος carried the βρέτας, at least from the ναός to the base beside the altar in the courtyard of the Asklepieion and back, and that in the second-third centuries CE, frankincense was burned, probably by a priestess. Although holding the λαμπάς πρὸ βωμῶν opened the possibility of sacrifice, torch racing, nocturnal processions or a mystic rite, none of these posited activities could be sufficiently substantiated. Clearly, however, significant religious and social importance was attached to the performance of two particular ritual tasks and to a παρθένος as the performer. The incense in the λιβανωτρίδες held later by the priestesses undoubtedly fulfilled a religious function, but medicinal benefits cannot be ruled out, especially in the context of the Asklepieion.

⁶¹⁶ Themelis, 'Artemis', 117 (Fig. 22) and Connelly, *Portrait*, 157.

⁶¹⁷ W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (tr. M.E. Pindar and W. Burkert; Cambridge, 1992) 20 dates the introduction of incense to the eighth century BCE.

⁶¹⁸ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 62.

⁶¹⁹ Themelis, 'Artemis', 117-8 (Fig. 22). Connelly, *Portrait*, 157 comments that it is likely that the priestess Eirana held one of them.

⁶²⁰ A. Touwaide, 'Medicinal plants', in Salazar and Orton (eds), *Brill's New Pauly*, 8.558-67 at 559 notes that, of the 45 uses for frankincense in the Hippocratic Corpus, 36 have gynaecological applications.

M10: Mothone: Artemis⁶²¹

Landscape

Mothone (Methoni), called Pedasos before the Trojan War (Paus. 4.35.1 and Str. 8.4.3), was one of the seven cities offered to Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 9.152 and 204).⁶²² It was named either for the rock Mothon, which formed a natural mole for its excellent harbour, or a daughter of Oineas, son of Porthaon (Paus. 4.35.1). Located in south-western Messenia on the windy coast of the Ionian Sea, Mothone had a mixed population of Messenians and Argives.⁶²³ Mothone remained in Spartan hands until it passed into Messenian control shortly after the victory of Philip II at Chaironeia in 338 BCE. Ancient Mothone appears to lie beneath the medieval fortress within which architectural remains were found, perhaps ancient Greek. The walls, noted by Thucydides (2.25.1), were probably rebuilt or reinforced after this and, in the Roman period, Mothone thrived.⁶²⁴

Sanctuary

At Mothone, Pausanias (4.35.8) observed a *ιερόν* of Artemis and a well (*φρέαρ*) whose water was mixed with pitch (*πίσσα*), a substance used as a preservative (Paus. 1.15.4).⁶²⁵ It is not clear whether the well was connected with the sanctuary but, if so, it may have been of some economic value to it.⁶²⁶ On the outskirts of Mothone, on the other side of a bridge, of which the lower courses were made of ancient blocks, Valmin found an old well with a

⁶²¹ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 251-2 (no. 172).

⁶²² McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 310 (site no. 412). Strabo (8.4.5) states that some say that Mothone was Homeric Aipeia, also one of the seven cities. Pedasos was apparently notable for its vineyards and Aipeia for its beauty (Hom. *Il.* 9.152). See Hope Simpson, 'State', 252 and Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 190 (site no. 36) and 243-4.

⁶²³ Sparta granted Mothone to the Nauplians *c.* 625 BCE after they had been driven out by the Argives (Paus. 4.24.4). After Leuktra, the Nauplians remained (Paus. 4.27.8).

⁶²⁴ Eight small columns of white marble, one of shell conglomerate, a fluted black limestone Ionic and a white marble Ionic capital were found in a ruined chapel inside the fortress. The eastern wall of the Venetian fortress is built partially on the ancient foundations (M.N. Tod, 'Notes and Inscriptions from South-Western Messenia', *JHS* 25 (1905) 32-55 at 34). Antiquities dating from a Mycenaean button to Roman ceramic ware were easily found on the site (Valmin, *Études*, 153-4).

⁶²⁵ J.R. Smith, *Springs and Wells in Greek and Roman Literature. Their Legends and Locations* (New York and London, 1922) 103 states that it was probably a valuable asset but to whom is not clear. Pausanias compares the smell of the water to perfume made at Cyzicus which apparently smells like violets. (Ath. 15.38 = 688e). Herodotus (4.195) mentions pitch pools on the island of Zakynthos. Pitch was used to keep armour from rusting (Paus. 1.15.4). On further uses of *πίσσα*, see R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 4 vols (Leiden, 1993³) 1.1-118.

⁶²⁶ The temple of Artemis at Ephesos, for example, derived a great source of income from a nearby lake, Selinousia (Str. 14.1.26).

badly worn inscription which he restored as being dedicated to Artemis. There was, however, no trace of pitch in its water.⁶²⁷ An extra-urban site with water would certainly be consistent with a sanctuary of Artemis, but no remains of one have yet been found.

Early-third century CE numismatic evidence supports worship of Artemis at Mothone. Copper coins minted during the brief reign of Geta depict Artemis in a short χιτῶν, standing between a hound and a stag with her right hand on a spear. Other coins issued at Mothone under Geta and his mother, Julia Domna, show Artemis (Agrotera?) hunting with a bow and arrow. None of the coins fulfills any of the criteria set by Imhoof-Bloomer and Gardner for representation of a cult statue.⁶²⁸ All in all, material evidence for worship of Artemis at Mothone is practically non-existent.

M11. Thouria: Artemis Oupisia (?)⁶²⁹

Landscape

According to Pausanias (4.31.2), Thouria was identified by Homer (*Il.* 9.151) as Aitheia, one of the seven cities offered to Achilles, but Strabo (8.4.5) says it was Aipeia.⁶³⁰ The classical inland city with its stout walls, perhaps Theban engineered, was located on a steep hill above the Aris river, a tributary of the Pamisos. It was probably part of free Messenia from the time of Epameinondas. In the time of Augustus, it was moved down to the plain and relegated to Sparta (Paus. 4.31.1-2).⁶³¹ Its territory must have extended to the sea, however, because Strabo (8.4.5) notes that the Gulf of Messenia was called Thouriates and the Thourians celebrated a festival of Poseidon (*SEG* 53.408).⁶³²

⁶²⁷ Valmin, *Études*, 154.

⁶²⁸ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 2 and 69 (type 3; Pl. P XIII).

⁶²⁹ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 257 (no. 175).

⁶³⁰ Hope Simpson, 'Cities', 121 (Fig. 6).

⁶³¹ McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 288 (site no. 137), and Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 190 (site no. 21), 236. For a brief overview of the history of Thouria, see Luraghi, *Messenians*, 27-39. Because the Thourians had sided with Marc Antony, after Augustus prevailed the Thourians were obliged to move down to the plain (Paus. 4.31.2). For the ashlar walls, see Valmin, *Études*, 59 (Fig. 4); McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, Pl. 9.4; Luraghi, *Messenians*, 34 (Pl. 3). Based on mason's marks, Valmin, *Études*, 58 dates the walls from the beginning of the fourth or even the end of the fifth century BCE. Hope Simpson, 'Cities', 124 prefers 320-270 BCE because all the datable examples of this style of walling belong to that period. Luraghi, *Messenians*, 33 (Pls 3 and 4) points out that the Thourian walls exemplify the same technique developed by Theban engineers used at Messene and Megalopolis during Epameinondas' activity in the Peloponnese, thus placing the date between those of Valmin and Hope Simpson.

⁶³² Luraghi, *Messenians*, 28-9.

Epiclesis

Οὐπισία, a variant spelling, refers, as we have seen, to Artemis as a bringer of light and protectress of παρθένοι (L9). In the second century BCE at Thouria, there were οἱ σύνηδροι of Οὐπισία (SEG 11.972.9), which recalls the οἱ γέροντες τᾶς Οὐπησίας at Messene (M9). Since the council at Messene was responsible for the ναός of Artemis in the Asklepion and the cult of Ortheia, it is possible that the σύνηδροι at Thouria had similar responsibilities for a cult of Artemis. Other civic characteristics shared with Messene make the likelihood more certain.⁶³³

Numismatic evidence for worship of Artemis at Thouria lies in the early third century CE coinage of Julia Domna, the second wife of Septimius Severus. On the coins, Artemis wears a long χιτῶν and holds a long torch in each hand, reminiscent of the twin torches on the *bomiskos* at Teuthrone (L24).⁶³⁴ The torches maintain the light-bringing role of Artemis (Phosphoros) Οὐπησία and suggest two descriptive *epicleseis* (Ἀμφίπυρος or Δαδοφόρος). The long χιτῶν, however, represents a departure from Messenian iconography where Artemis was always portrayed as a huntress in a short χιτῶν. Since Thouria was, by the time of the coins, part of Lakonia, the iconography could deliberately reflect Artemis Ortheia at Sparta who, as we have seen, also wore a long dress.

M12. Volimos: Artemis Limnatis/Ortheia⁶³⁵

Landscape

Pausanias (4.31.3) says that inland (ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ) from Thouria (M11), there was a ἱερόν of Artemis Limnatis at a place called Limnai, which Strabo (8.4.9) claims gave its name to the Limnaion at Sparta (L19 and 21). Like Alagonia (M1) and Derai (M2), Limnai was the site of a Messenian frontier Artemision. It lay on the borders of Messenia and Lakonia (Str. 8.4.9, Paus. 3.2.6 and 4.4.2) and, at one time, had been jointly shared by both

⁶³³ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 33-8 notes the ways in which Thouria adopted a Messenian identity with similar cultic activities at Bronze Age tombs beginning in the fourth century, Messenian tribal names and an epehebic category known only in Messene.

⁶³⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 65 (Pl. O XXIII). Similarly, an inscription mentioning a priest from the late second century BCE is the only evidence for worship of Athena at Thouria (*IG* 5¹.1384) until Severan era coins which depict Athena with shield and spear (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Coins*, 65).

⁶³⁵ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 234-9 (no. 168). I follow the conventional spelling employed by Brulotte and Luraghi although Volimnos appears on some maps.

polities (Paus. 4.4.2).⁶³⁶ However, after the Messenians killed the Spartan king Teleklos there, the catalyst for the First Messenian War, the sanctuary became exclusively Lakonian (Str. 6.1.6 and 8.4.9, Paus. 3.2.6 and 4.4.2). After the liberation of Messenia, control of the general area, known as the *ager Dentheliatis*, as well as the sanctuary itself, was subject to frequent dispute (Tac. *Ann.* 4.43 and *IG* 5¹.1431).⁶³⁷ In 177-178 CE, under Marcus Aurelius, the area reverted again to Spartan control (*IG* 5¹.1.1361).⁶³⁸

The site of the sanctuary is now generally agreed to be at Volimos in the valley of a northern tributary of the Nedon river, east of Thouria. It lies near a recently identified archaic or classical road between Sparta and Kalamata, which does not follow the more traditional and modern route through the Langhada pass.⁶³⁹ A small nineteenth century CE church, dedicated to Panayia Volimiotissa, sits on a terrace about three hundred feet above the river on the slopes of Mt. Gomo (Vouno). Its walls, partially constructed from ancient remains, include blocks with inscriptions confirming Tactius, Strabo and Pausanias that it is the site of the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (*IG* 5¹.1374-6 A, *IG* 5¹.1377, *SEG* 39.388^{bis} and *SEG* 39.395).

Epiclesis

In meaning, the *epiclesis* Λιμνήτις denotes a marginal environment and, as we have seen, it was probably a suitable toponym for the ἱερὸν on the Boiai-Epidauros Limera Road (**L5**). At Volimos, however, rather than being derived from swampy ground conditions (λίμνη), the *epiclesis* Λιμνήτις appears to come from the name of the site, Limnai (Str. 8.4.9; Paus. 4.31.3). A dedication (*IG* 5¹.1376 B) made by a female ἀγωνοθέτης of Limnatis, which was reused in the chapel walls, has suggested that Artemis later enjoyed two epithets at

⁶³⁶ McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 288 (site no. 138), Shipley, 'Lakedaimonians', 192 (site no. 136), 269.

⁶³⁷ For a summary of the dispute and its origins from the Messenian viewpoint, see Luraghi, *Messenians*, 16-27. For the dispute from a Spartan viewpoint, see Shipley, 'Extent', 385-90. See Luraghi, *Messenians*, 16-27 for a discussion of the Lakedaimonian appeal to Tiberius to return the sanctuary to them as recounted by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.43). Elliott, *Evidence*, 76 (n. 247) points out that the episode in Tacitus concerns control of the Volimos sanctuary while *IG* 5¹.1431.35-9 is concerned with control of the area as a whole.

⁶³⁸ The reclamation may have prompted the establishment of athletic and musical competitions at Sparta, the Olympia Kommodeia (Camia and Kantirea, 'Cult', 383).

⁶³⁹ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 123 and Kennell and Luraghi, 'Laconia and Messenia', 249. For routes over the Taygetos, see F.E. Lukerman, 'Settlement and Circulation: Pattern and Systems', in McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 148-70 at 165-6 (Fig. 9.4).

Limnai/Volimos, Λιμνήτις and Βορθίη (Ortheia).⁶⁴⁰ In Messenia, both epithets are doublets of cults at Messene (**M7-9**) while Limnatis is also found at Alagonia (**M1**). In Lakonia, Ὀρθεία is well-attested on the Eurotas river (**L21**) while Λιμνήτις (**L5**) and the related *epiclesis*, Λιμναῖα (**L19**) are also found.

Sanctuary

Because the Limnai/Volimos site has never been excavated, almost all our information derives from literary and epigraphical evidence, together with stray finds. It is clear from Tacitus (4.43), who does not use the name Limnai, that there was a temple. Votive offerings, such as a series of bronze dress pins (περόνια), ranging from the late geometric to the archaic age, and an anepigraphic bronze cymbal, signify female religious activity from the late geometric period onwards.⁶⁴¹ Two inscribed fifth-century BCE bronze mirrors from Volimos, dedicated in Lakonian script to Limnatis, confirm female worship of the goddess, under that *epiclesis*, before the separation of Messenia from Sparta.⁶⁴² A series of inscriptions recording ἀγωνοθέται (*IG* 5¹.1375, *IG* 5¹.1377, *SEG* 39.388^{bis}, *IG* 5¹.1376 A and B) indicate that provision must have been made for contests of some sort, at least in the Roman period.⁶⁴³

Myth and Cult

Before the demise of Teleklos, the Messenians and Lakonians celebrated a joint festival (κοινή πανήγυρις) and sacrifice at Volimos and Lakonian παρθένοι went to the sanctuary

⁶⁴⁰ Zunino, *Hiera*, 47-55 emphasizes their equivalence, followed by Luraghi, *Messenians*, 123, but Calame, *Choruses*, 157 denies their assumption. See also Luraghi, *Messenians*, 24 (n. 34).

⁶⁴¹ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 114 (n. 31) and 123. See **L19** for an archaic περόνη (*IG* 5¹.226) and a cymbal (*IG* 5¹.225), both inscribed to Limnatis, which Luraghi is ‘extremely’ tempted to assign to Limnai/Volimos. I associate them with the Pitane sanctuary of Artemis Issoria/Limnaia (**L19**).

⁶⁴² *SEG* 29.395 (c. 475-450 BCE) does not name the dedicator but a second, somewhat earlier, mirror dedicated by one Philippa is published by S. Koursoumis, ‘Κάτοπτρο από το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Λιμνατίδος στον Ταῦγετο’, *Horos* 17-21 (2004-2009) 317-20 (Figs 1-2). This mirror and the handle of another, etched with a long-haired female (παρθένος?) wearing a long dress, are now (2011) on display in the Archaeological Museum of Messenia in Kalamata. On other dedications of mirrors and a similar assemblage of offerings, see **L2**. Koursoumis (personal communication) has indicated to me that a bell, now lost, was also found at Volimos.

⁶⁴³ Only two of the similarly-worded inscriptions have names. In the early imperial period, we find Aurelia Helixo (*IG* 5¹.1376) and in 218 CE, after the sanctuary had become Spartan again, we find Aurelius Preimos as ἀγωνοθέτης (*IG* 5¹.1375). Because of the nature of the word ἀγωνοθέτης, it is impossible to determine the sex of the dedicator, and perhaps of the contestants, on the three others. Calame, *Choruses*, 147-8 associates the presence of ἀγωνοθέτης at Limnai/Volimos with choruses of boys at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in the territory of Epidauros Limera (**L5**).

to sacrifice (Str. 8.4.9). Pausanias (4.4.2) makes it clear that, before the First Messenian War, prominent Messenian males also worshiped there independently. However, finds predominantly of a feminine character dating from the end of the wars to the fifth century BCE are so prevalent that we must conclude that Volimos was principally a female Lakonian cult site.⁶⁴⁴ There is a gap in our evidence until the early imperial period when an inscription naming a female ἀγκυνοθέτης (*IG* 5¹.1376 B) confirms female cult activity.⁶⁴⁵

The Lakonians claimed that King Teleklos was murdered when he unsuccessfully attempted to stop some Messenians from raping the Lakonian παρθένοι who were at Limnai/Volimos for a festival. The shamed παρθένοι subsequently committed suicide (Paus. 4.4.2).⁶⁴⁶ According to Burkert, choruses for Artemis were a ‘predestined occasion for rape’ and so it can probably be inferred that there was ritual dancing and singing at the Artemision at Limnai/Volimos.⁶⁴⁷ The theme of festive females, rape and suicide has already been explored at another boundary sanctuary, Karyai (**L8**). Marginal settings, such as Karyai and Limnai/Volimos, are characteristic of Artemis herself, not only as an ex-centric goddess but as goddess of transitions, from wild to civilized and from child to adult. The parallels suggest that at Volimos, Lakonian pre-nuptial choruses also performed. Like the Karyai chorus, they might then have suspended objects, perhaps images of themselves, from trees or the temple walls thus signifying their initiatory deaths and marking their readiness for matrimony.⁶⁴⁸

Did Messenian females engage in such rites at Volimos after the liberation? Two types of evidence suggest that they did. An early imperial inscription (*IG* 5¹.1376 B)

⁶⁴⁴ To the περόνια and mirrors can be added part of a *hydria* (always associated with females) in the form of a bronze harpy (c. 530 BCE) and numerous unguent bottles (Luraghi, *Messenians*, 123). For the harpy, see G. Daux, ‘Chroniques des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1958’, *BCH* 83 (1959) 567-793 at 641 (Figs 21-2).

⁶⁴⁵ An inscription from 42 CE (*IG* 5¹.1374), which records the names of two priests together (Chartos and Theoxenidas), does not necessarily indicate that Limnai had become a site with a male religious focus (cf. **M8-9**). Nikeratos and Straton, named in conjunction with the two priests, are probably the same two ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς Οὐπησίας who appear on *SEG* 23.208 (42 CE) located in front of the Artemision in the Asklepieion at Messene (**M9**).

⁶⁴⁶ The Messenian version of events was that, in a plot by the Lakonians to gain control of the sanctuary, important Messenian worshipers were attacked while they slept by Spartan youths disguised as maidens. In the ensuing melee, Teleklos was killed (Paus. 4.4.3).

⁶⁴⁷ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 150.

⁶⁴⁸ See **L1**, **7**, **16**, **19**, **20**, **24**, **M1** and **9** for other sanctuaries probably witness to similar female rites of transition.

records that Aurelia Helixo was an ἀγωνοθέτης for Limnatis.⁶⁴⁹ It demonstrates that contests were held for females by females at Volimos at a time when the sanctuary was in Messenian hands. It could also hint at the presence of rival, pre-nuptial choruses. Support for this hypothesis can be found in an epigram by an anonymous author (*AP* 6.280) that provides literary evidence for pre-nuptial dedications to Artemis Limnatis, which are not evidenced in the material remains and could also point to choral activity in a rite of transition.

We have already noted several sanctuaries of Limnatis/Limnaia in Lakonia and Messenia (**L5**, **19**, **M1** and **7**) and there are others in the Peloponnese.⁶⁵⁰ However, the most likely candidate for the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis mentioned in *AP* 6.280 is the old and venerable sanctuary at Volimos in the *ager Dentheliatis*, a frequent subject of dispute and, according to Strabo, the namesake of the sanctuary of Ortheia at Sparta (**L21**). We will therefore assume that the epigram refers to Artemis Limnatis at Volimos and is not merely a literary exercise.⁶⁵¹ The epigram reads as follows:

Τιμαρέτα πρὸ γάμοιο τὰ τύμπανα τὰν τ' ἐρατεινὴ
σφαῖραν τόν τε κόμα ρύτορα κεκρύφαλον

⁶⁴⁹ Mantas, 'Women and Athletics', 136-9 suggests that the position of ἀγωνοθέτης at Limnai was a kind of priesthood and cites many examples from Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. He comments that the same title, whether honorary or liturgical, had different meanings in different regions. We do not know what the situation was at Limnai.

⁶⁵⁰ Other sanctuaries outside the southern Peloponnese are found near Tegea (Paus. 8.53.11) where the statue was ebony, at Sikyon (Paus. 2.7.6, *epiclesis* Limnaia) and at Patrai (Paus. 7.20.7-8).

⁶⁵¹ On epigrams as a literary exercise, see N. Livingstone and G. Nisbet, *Epigram* (Cambridge, 2010) 6-10.

τάς τε κόμας,⁶⁵² Λιμνᾶτι, κόρα κόρα, ὡς ἐπεικές,
ἄνθετο καὶ τὰ κορᾶν ἐνδύματ' Ἀρτέμιδι
Λατώα τὺ δὲ παιδὸς ὑπὲρ χέρα Τιμαρετεία
θηκαμένα σῶζοις τὰν ὀσίαν ὀσίως

Timareta, before marriage, dedicated her *tympana*,
Her lovely ball, the snood that held her hair,
Her hair, she a maiden, to the maiden goddess Limnatis, as is suitable,
And her maiden clothes too, to Artemis.
Daughter of Leto, holding a hand over the child Timareta,
Keep her pure.⁶⁵³

The objects Timareta dedicated to the goddess (τύμπανα, ball, hairnet, hair and clothing) have been classified as symbols of virginity or symbols of childhood that recognized the protection of Artemis during that time and enlisted the support of the goddess for the next stage of life.⁶⁵⁴ Neither of these classifications is entirely satisfactory. While a ball may symbolize childhood, it is not easily imagined as a symbol of virginity. Conversely, a hairnet is not normally associated with childhood. It is better to consider these objects as connected in some way with a πρὸ γάμοιο ritual, specifically, choral performance of song and dance.

⁶⁵² Claude Saumaise, the noted French classical philologist, emended the original reading in the Palatine manuscript of κόμας to κόρας. The Saumaise emendation was perhaps made to resolve the difficulty raised in line 4 where the genitive plural κορᾶν is used instead of an accusative plural (J. Reilly, 'Naked and Limbless', in A.O. Koloski-Ostrow and C.L. Lyons (eds), *Naked Truths* (London and New York, 1997) 154-73 at 159 (n. 22). The emendation is accepted by Gow-Page, *HE* 1, 208; followed by P. Waltz, *Anthologie grecque. Première Partie. Anthologie palatine*, 11 vols (Paris, 1931) 3.140; W.R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1960) 1.449; Calame, *Choruses*, 145. See also the discussion in Reilly, 'Naked', 154-9. However, G. Daux, 'Anth. Pal. VI 280 (Poupées et Chevelure, Artemis Limnatis)', *ZPE* 44 (1973) 225-34, followed by Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 14 and Brulé, *Grèce*, 71 reject the Saumaise emendation. Daux claims that dolls are 'sans rapport avec la notion de virginité' and that the 'jeu de mots' in line 3 'est du plus mauvais goût'. He also finds the idea of an adolescent 'sur le point de se marier' playing with dolls unlikely, if not, ridiculous. Accordingly, τὰ κορᾶν ἐνδύματα refers to clothing typically worn by unmarried girls (κορᾶν being generic). While dedications of hair (either κόμα or κόμαι) abound (*AP* 6.155, 156, 210-11, 275-9), dedications of dolls find no literary or epigraphical support (Daux, 'Pal. Anth. VI 280', 225-9). Manson, 'Histoire', 864 (n. 5) disagrees with Daux, pointing out that dolls have been found in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis and that Sappho (Ath. 9.410) mentions doll clothes. MacLachlan, 'Women and Nymphs', 204-16 (Figs 11.4-5) draws attention to numerous terracotta κόραι dedications at a cave spring of the Nymphs at Epizephyrian Lokri noting that similar 'dolls' have been found in Corinth, Attika and Kyrene. Articulated terracotta dolls have been found at Aigiai (L2). Thus, although Daux's arguments are not pertinent and dolls would not be unimaginable in this context, the case remains undecided. In such circumstances, the best recourse is to retain the original reading, i.e., κόμας, the more so since Daux places the reading in the context of other epigrams in the *Anthology*.

⁶⁵³ Text from Gow-Page, *HE* 2, 208 with the original reading of the manuscript, κόμας. Tr. adapted from Connelly, *Portrait*, 148.

⁶⁵⁴ Calame, *Choruses*, 106, 145; S.G. Cole, 'Domesticating Artemis', in Blundell and Williamson, *Sacred*, 27-43 at 34; Dillon, *Girls*, 215 and Brulé, *Grèce*, 71.

The most obvious of Timareta's dedications to be associated with dance and song are the τύπανα, tambourines without the jangles.⁶⁵⁵ The τύπανον was a hand-held, shallow, circular drum, up to 40 cm in diameter, which was beaten by hand and played predominately by women. Such drums were not toys but percussion instruments which possibly signified Timareta's special participation in the chorus.⁶⁵⁶ Because of their composition, τύπανα have not survived but cymbals, another percussion instrument, also played mostly by women, often mentioned in association with drums, have.⁶⁵⁷ A bronze cymbal found at Volimos is now on display in the new Archaeological Museum of Messenia at Kalamata.⁶⁵⁸ We can well imagine both τύπανα and cymbals accompanying the dancing chorus of παρθένοι.

The throb of τύπανα, the tinkling of cymbals,⁶⁵⁹ the beating of feet on the ground and clapping of hands provided rhythmic reinforcement for ritual songs, dancing and cries. Autokrates, in his aptly named, but now lost, play, the *Tympanistai* (Kassel-Austin, *PCG* 4, F1), describes dancers for Artemis at Ephesos sinking down upon their haunches and springing up again like birds hopping on the ground.⁶⁶⁰ The bird to which the dancers are compared is the wagtail, which flicks its long tail as it bobs along. Thus, we can picture the dancers flipping their hips to the beat in a suggestive manner. Such sustained rhythmic movement, then as now, induces a strong feeling of exaltation and emotional commitment to the group.

Dancing for Artemis must have looked and sounded much like the orgiastic and ecstatic dancing of the τύπανα and cymbal-playing maenads associated with Dionysos.⁶⁶¹ Although their dancing may have seemed Dionysiac in appearance, its actors were

⁶⁵⁵ For illustrations, see Dillon, *Girls*, 157 (Fig. 5.5) and 158 (Fig. 5.6).

⁶⁵⁶ Brulé, *Grèce*, 71 stresses the connection of τύπανα with dance.

⁶⁵⁷ West, *Music*, 124-5 (n. 213) provides the literary references and notes that male players were likely to be considered effeminate. After the second half of the fifth century BCE, τύπανα appear in vase paintings, usually in the hands of bacchantes, but we also hear of their use in festivals of Pan and Aphrodite (A. *Lys.* 2). Since only one τύπανον can be played at a time, the multiples offered by Timareta perhaps imply τύπανα of various sizes to produce different sounds.

⁶⁵⁸ Benaki Museum, Kalamata (inv. no. 39) seen May 4, 2011. For other cymbals, see **L2** and **19**.

⁶⁵⁹ J.G. Landels, *Music of Greece and Rome* (London and New York, 1999) 83 notes that ancient cymbals were thicker and smaller in diameter than modern equivalents and sounded more like a small bell. Both bells and cymbals were found at Aigiai (**L2**).

⁶⁶⁰ Dillon, *Girls*, 215.

⁶⁶¹ Calame, *Choruses*, 172 finds the presence of the τύπανα a Dionysiac element. For other cults with a possible Dionysiac element, see **L6**, **8** and **22**. See also, S. Constantinidou, 'Dionysiac Elements in Spartan Cult Dances', *Phoenix* 52 (1998) 15-30 at 25 and Pomeroy, *Women*, 108.

Artemisian in character. Indeed, παρθένοι dancing along the river bank in Sparta are compared to maenads ‘dancing like fillies with their feet often bounding and their tresses waving’ (Ar. *Lys.* 1296-1320).⁶⁶² Fillies are wild and need to be tamed just as the παρθένοι must be domesticated before marriage.⁶⁶³ Like horses, Alkman’s παρθένοι toss their loose, perfumed manes of hair in choral dance (1.47-59 and 2.5-10). A geometric-style bronze horse found at Volimos underlines the comparison.⁶⁶⁴ ‘Letting one’s hair down’ was literally synonymous with worship of Dionysos.⁶⁶⁵ Loose hair signifies a renunciation of the ordered domestic and social routine and can be connected with a rite of liminality, such as παρθένοι dancing for Artemis.⁶⁶⁶

Thus, in preparation for such wild-haired ritual dancing πρὸ γάμοιο, Timareta dedicated her κεκρύφαλος, the hairnet that served to keep hair in place and under control.⁶⁶⁷ Timareta was like the river nymphs of Troy who often left the κεκρύφαλοι that bound their tresses and their sacred toys on the sand to perform a choral dance for Artemis on nearby Mt. Ida (Coluth. 1). The nymph Arethousa wears an elaborate κεκρύφαλος on the reverse of silver decadrachms (404-400 BCE) of Kimon at Syracuse, where a seaside spring was named for her.⁶⁶⁸ Hairnets, as the Arethousa coin illustrates, could be quite fancy in material and decoration and it is likely that Timareta’s κεκρύφαλος was not plain. Maybe it was purple like the one dedicated to Aphrodite by Philainis who, like Timareta, was ready for marriage (*AP* 6.206). Perhaps it came from Patrai where the very best ones were crafted in linen (Paus. 7.21.14).

⁶⁶² Tr. M. Dillon and L. Garland, *Ancient Greece. Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Alexander the Great* (Oxford, 2010³) 224.

⁶⁶³ Calame, *Choruses*, 238-44.

⁶⁶⁴ One of the earliest votives from Volimos, a geometric bronze horse, confirms that the sanctuary was functioning at least in the archaic period (Luraghi, *Messenians*, 114 (n. 31) and 123). The horse is now (2011) on display at the new Archaeological Museum of Messenia at Kalamata.

⁶⁶⁵ Constantinidou, ‘Elements’, 18-9.

⁶⁶⁶ J.N. Bremmer, ‘Greek Maenadism Reconsidered’, *ZPE* 55 (1994) 267-86 at 277.

⁶⁶⁷ Calame, *Choruses*, 145 aligns the dedication of the κεκρύφαλος with the dedication of hair by girls at Delos to Hyperborean Οὔπις (Call. *Dian.* 278; Paus. 1.43.4). For discussion of the κεκρύφαλος, see L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise. The Veiled Women of Ancient Greece* (Swansea, 2003) 30-1. For their manufacture, see I. Jenkins and D. Williams, ‘Sprang Hair Nets. Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece’, *AJA* 89 (1985) 411-8. Other types of hair coverings were also dedicated such as a καλύπτρα (*AP* 6.133). All such coverings were discarded (or dedicated?) and replaced by the wedding veil (Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 14). Could the netted hair-confinement be an allusion to the hunting nets of the goddess or the *epiclesis* Diktynna (L1)?

⁶⁶⁸ On the Arethousa coin, see K. Jenkins, *Coins of Greek Sicily* (London, 1966) 26-7 (Pl. 14); H. Cahn, ‘Arethousa’, in *LIMC* 2.1 (1984) 582-4; J. Boardman, *Greek Art* (London, 1996⁴) 159 (Fig. 163).

The craftsman of a well-made ball was also worthy of note (*Od.* 8.372-3).⁶⁶⁹ Timareta's ball is duly described as ἐρατεινή, an adjective usually translated as 'lovely' but it is also quasi-technical term referring to the ball's 'conventional use as a mechanism of seduction and flirtation'.⁶⁷⁰ A white ground *lekythos* by the Ikaros Painter shows a popular scene often repeated on containers associated with women; a seated female juggles three round objects above a κάλαθος (wool basket), a pre-nuptial symbol, while her κεκρύφαλος hangs on the wall above.⁶⁷¹ The balls, hair net and wool basket must, if nothing else, symbolize the status of the juggler as a κόρη πρὸ γάμοιο, such as Timareta.⁶⁷² As a symbol of childhood left behind, Timareta's ball is in accord with the practice by both sexes of dedicating toys to divinities.⁶⁷³ Once married, of course, Timareta would have no need of such a provocative plaything.

But what is the connection between balls, παρθένοι and dance? Like Timareta, Nausikaa, a παρθένος on the threshold of marriage, plays ball and leads her maids in a dance (ἔπαιζον) on the river bank.⁶⁷⁴ Significantly, Nausikaa and the κόραι put aside their hair coverings (κρήδεμνα), which would have included their κεκρύφαλοι.⁶⁷⁵ To Odysseus, the sounds of the dancing κόραι are like νύμφαι (*Od.* 6.122-3). In fact, Homer compares Nausikaa to Artemis dancing (παίζουσι) and leading her νύμφαι along the Taygetos and Erymanthos mountains (*Od.* 6.101-6). An errant ball provides the point of contact between

⁶⁶⁹ Casings for hand balls were made of panels of fabric or leather, sometimes dyed different colours, stitched together and then stuffed with hair, feathers (Mart. 14.45) or other suitably lightweight material. See Gow-Page, *HE* 2, 355.

⁶⁷⁰ A. Carson, 'Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt and Desire', in Halperin, Winkler, Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality*, 135-70 at 151 (n. 34). See also S. Pfisterer-Haas, 'Mädchen und Frauen in Obstgarten und beim Ballspiel', *AM* 118 (2003) 139-95 for a similar interpretation. In many scenes on black and red figure containers, especially those associated with women, females frequently are depicted juggling balls over or near a κάλαθος (C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri. A Model for Personality Definitions in Greek Religion', *JHS* 98 (1978) 101-21 at 109-10; Dillon, *Girls*, 225; Pfisterer-Haas, 'Mädchen' 168-72 (Pls 41-4).

⁶⁷¹ For example, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität inv. no. T 429, discussed by Pfisterer-Haas, 'Mädchen', 169 (Pl. 41.2).

⁶⁷² Balls, like apples, had erotic connotations and were often used in love games (J. Neils and J. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece* (New Haven and London, 2003) 264 and 273). See also A.R. Littlewood, 'The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature', *HSPH* 72 (1968) 147-81 and J. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Mainz, 1990) 98.

⁶⁷³ Brulé, *Grèce*, 71 suggests that balls dedicated by παρθένοι 's'oppose[nt] clairement aux instruments ménagers'. For dedications of balls by youths, see *AP* 6.282 and 6.309. For other offerings of balls in a pre-nuptial context, see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Persephone', 101-21 at 108 and Dillon, *Girls*, 222-8.

⁶⁷⁴ The verb παίζω, especially in connection with Artemis, can mean 'to dance'. For discussion, see Calame, *Choruses*, 42, 87-8 and 145 and S.H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (Baltimore and London, 1994) 206-10. Nausikaa, the only Homeric heroine presented as a ball player, was credited with the invention of ball games by Agillia of Kerkyra (Ath. 1.14).

⁶⁷⁵ Llewellyn-Jones, *Tortoise*, 31 defines the κρήδεμνον as the 'veil that covers all the components of the head-dress' including the hair-net.

the princess and Homer's hero (*Od.* 6.100-9). Later, Nausikaa's brothers perform a rhythmic dance with a ball, throwing it high in the air and leaping to catch it, while the onlookers stamp their feet in time on the ground (*Od.* 8.370-80). Rhythm, grace and control were valued ball skills especially in dance (*Ath.* 1.15). Evidently, then, there was a connection between balls and dancing by both sexes in ancient Greece. Thus, Timareta's dedication of a ball has triple significance: a toy signifying the end of childhood, an object useful in love-play and a dance accessory.

While a ball may have been a symbol of seduction, long, flowing hair, such as Timareta's (and Nausikaa's) was, and still is, a mark of fertility and sexuality.⁶⁷⁶ It is precisely in the brief and transitory period immediately prior to marriage that Greek female sexuality and 'untamed hair' were tolerated.⁶⁷⁷ Before the wedding night, a lock of hair would be cut and dedicated to Artemis or another goddess of transition, such as Persephone, or even heroized virgins who had died before marriage.⁶⁷⁸ Once transformed from παρθένος to wife, a Greek female's hair, 'tamed' by bindings, braiding, or veiling literally denoted domesticity.⁶⁷⁹ By dancing with their hair freed from their κεκρύφαλοι, Timareta and the other dancers symbolized a break with the cultural order and their transition from one state to another, from relatively free and untamed adolescent girls to potential and domesticated wives.⁶⁸⁰ The clipping and dedication of a lock of her hair severed Timareta's connection with the world of childhood.

Unlike the dedication of hair, dedications of clothing marked all stages of the female ritual cycle.⁶⁸¹ Timareta's κεκρύφαλος was but one among other types of head-coverings dedicated before marriage.⁶⁸² The loosening and dedication of the lower girdle

⁶⁷⁶ M.M. Levine, 'The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair', in H. Eilberg-Schwartz, W. Doniger (eds), *Off with Her Head! The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion and Culture* (Berkeley, 1995) 76-130 at 91.

⁶⁷⁷ Levine, 'Grammar', 96. For references, see Levine, 'Grammar', 92 (n. 25).

⁶⁷⁸ Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 14 (with reference to *AP* 6.276); Dillon, *Girls*, 215, 235 and Brulé, *Grèce*, 70-1. For other examples, see *AP* 6.155, 156, 210, 211, 275-9. See also Hdt. 4.34 who explains that the hair was then wound around a spindle. Plutarch (*Lyc.* 15.8) notes that Spartan brides had their heads shaved on their wedding night but there is no indication that the hair was then dedicated. For a survey of views on the symbolism of hair-cutting, see D.D. Leitao, 'Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals in Ancient Greece', in D.G. Dodd and C.A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives* (London and New York, 2003) 109-29 at 114.

⁶⁷⁹ Levine, 'Grammar', 102.

⁶⁸⁰ Calame, *Choruses*, 174.

⁶⁸¹ Cole, 'Artemis', 31. Brulé, *Grèce*, 71 suggests that τὰ κορᾶν ἐνδύματα refers specifically to female undergarments.

⁶⁸² Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 14.

(ζώνη) was a common signifier of impending matrimony and an allusion to the ‘loosing of the bride’s belt’ on her wedding night.⁶⁸³ A red-figure *lekythos* shows a female loosening such a belt before Artemis, who stands with torch in hand.⁶⁸⁴ A collective dedication of a sea-purple κεκρύφαλος, a καλύπτρα or head veil, sandals, a fan, and ankle bracelets, by five girls to Aphrodite (*AP* 6.206) is assumed to be an offering πρὸ γάμοιο.⁶⁸⁵ It might easily have been accorded to Artemis. The Timareta epigram specifies that the dedicated clothing is τὰ κορᾶν ἐνδύματ’ and thus no longer needed for the next stage in female life. Therefore, the change from girlish clothing to what Timareta wore as a dancing παρθένος signified transition from girl to potential wife and mother.

All the dedicated articles in the epigram are, thus, in some way, connected with the choral performance of κόραι as they leave childhood behind and look ahead to marriage. Because each of the dedications is perishable, none is found in the archaeological record but the epigram preserves the practice and the gifts. Furthermore, the final line of *AP* 6.280 confirms the importance of ritual purification for the potential bride, preferably from a source associated with the aptly-named nymphs.⁶⁸⁶ If the epigram does refer to Volimos, as seems most likely, it supports the assumption of pre-nuptial cultic activities at Volimos and provides further evidence for associated cult practices not only at Volimos but at other sanctuaries of Limnatis.

An additional argument can be adduced as to why the epigram probably refers to the cult site of Limnatis at Volimos for, as we have seen, another παρθένος named Timareta participated in ritual activity for Artemis Ortheia at Messene, perhaps by carrying the βρέτας (**M9**). Are these two Timaretas one and the same person? As we will see, the name, date, age group, social and economic status of the Timaretas inter-relate in a remarkable way and indeed point in that direction.

⁶⁸³ Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 14; Reilly, ‘Naked’, 159 and Dillon, *Girls*, 22-3. On the other hand, *AP* 6.200 records the dedication of a ζώνη and other garments after childbirth. Cole, ‘Artemis’, 38-9 notes the large number dedicated to Artemis at Miletos upon marriage.

⁶⁸⁴ Syracuse inv. no. 21186, found in Oakley and Sinos, *Wedding*, 14 (Fig. 9).

⁶⁸⁵ Gow-Page, *HE* 2, 38.

⁶⁸⁶ Brulé, *Grèce*, 72-3.

To begin with, the name Timareta is uncommon among Greek female personal names.⁶⁸⁷ In addition to the epigram, the name is found four times in the Peloponnese, two of them in Arkadia, once each in Elis and Messene.⁶⁸⁸ At the Olympic Games in 84 BCE, two horses belonging to Timareta, the daughter of Philistos of Elis, won the two-horse chariot race, the συνωρίς τελεία (*IvO* 201).⁶⁸⁹ As discussed at **M9**, the simple inscription in the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia (*SEG* 23.221) records the dedication of a statue of the θυγάτηρ, Timareta, by her parents. Only Messenia has separate, well-identified sanctuaries of both Artemis Ortheia and Limnatis with which the name Timareta is associated. Can it be coincidence that the same name appears in the same associated religious contexts?

The epigram is among those included in an anthology compiled from the previous two centuries ‘not long after 100 BCE’.⁶⁹⁰ The statue of Timareta in the Messene Artemision dressed in a long πέπλος perhaps adorned with a bronze bow, as we have seen at **M9**, can be dated on style to the first century BCE, a date also assigned to the accompanying inscription. Despite the imprecision of the dates, there is the possibility of a slight chronological overlap which allows a temporal alignment of the epigram with the inscription and statue. In other words, the Timaretas could well have lived at the same time.

The Timareta of the epigram is at the same pivotal socio-religious juncture as the Timareta of the Messene statue and inscription. The epigram emphasizes that Timareta is a κόρη (l. 3-4) but she is also called παῖς (l. 5). Although κόρη denotes a girl of any age, Timareta’s social position is made clear from the words πρὸ γάμοιο and some of the dedicated objects signifying ‘female virginity’.⁶⁹¹ The inscription on the statue base in the ναός of Ortheia at Messene identifies Timareta as θυγάτηρ, an unmarried female still

⁶⁸⁷ Outside the Peloponnese, the name is attested in Thespiiai: fourth-third century BCE tombstone (*SEG* 19.361); Opuntian Lokris: undated marble tablet (*JG* 7.4169); Kerkyra: Hellenistic lead diptych curse tablet (*Syll.*³ 1174.8) and the other unpublished; Kyrene: *SEG* 9.181.17 (Τιμαρέτα Ἐλπινίκω); *SEG* 9.182.7 (Τιμαρέτα Ἐφόρω) and *SEG* 9.182.26 (Τιμαρέτα Ἀλεξιμ[α]χιδευ[ς]); Dodona (Hdt. 255). The name is not found in Attika.

⁶⁸⁸ Arkadia: at a place not stated (*AMGR* 1935-1939, 121 (no. 7) and third-century BCE Alipheira (A.K. Orlandos, *Alipheira* (Athens, 1967-1968) 218 (no. 1).

⁶⁸⁹ Timareta’s family enjoyed success in horse and chariot racing in the first century BCE (*IvO* 201, 204).

⁶⁹⁰ A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology* (Oxford, 1993) 5.

⁶⁹¹ Calame, *Choruses*, 106 and 145.

under the protection of her father and thus a παρθένος, κόρη, or even a νύμφη.⁶⁹² Although the life-size marble statue of Timareta is headless and armless, her approximate age can be ascertained from her slender body, small breasts and attire. The sleeveless, over-folded πέπλος tied with a narrow belt is typically that of a παρθένος.⁶⁹³ Thus, the two Timaretas are at the same transitional period between childhood and their first legal sexual contact, marriage.

The Timaretas also share the same socio-economic status. It was not unusual for wealthy individuals in ancient Greece to commission poems or set up statues, not only in honour of the gods but of themselves, as the sculptural and inscriptional remains in the ναός of Artemis in the Asklepieion attest. That this was not an inexpensive undertaking underlines the family's high social and economic status. Could not the same Θιώτις and Σοφαρχίς have also commissioned an epigram to celebrate their daughter's impending transition to marital status? Although the epigram may have been a literary exercise, the particulars indicate otherwise and the coincidence unlikely.

The evidence invites the conclusion that there was one person named Timareta who lived in Messene and participated in different ritual activities at Messene and Volimos. Together with the first century BCE alignment of the epigram, statue and inscription, the evidence strongly suggests that the two Timaretas were the same παρθένος. If this is so, the focus of the ritual for Artemis Limnatis at Limnai/Volimos was undoubtedly pre-nuptial while focus of the cultic activity for Artemis Ortheia at Messene was of a different character, possibly in keeping with the overall physical and political well-being of Messene projected by the Asklepieion complex.

⁶⁹² Brulé, *Grèce*, 76 estimates 11-14 years as the age of a bride, commenting that this fact goes some way to explaining an attachment to toys such as balls and knucklebones (*AP* 6.276). Mego, discussed at **M9**, is also identified as θυγάτηρ and παῖς (*SEG* 23.220.2, 3 and 10).

⁶⁹³ Ridgway, *Sculpture*, esp. 118, 135 (n.10).

Part III. Synthesis and Analysis

Introduction

In Parts I and II, we have catalogued and discussed the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Lakonia (Part I) and in Messenia (Part II). In this third and final part, we will synthesize and analyze the data presented in the catalogues to identify patterns, in particular those which are significant to the main research question of this study, namely, if the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis at Messenia are Spartan mimeses. In order to avoid repetition in the following discussion, the letter and number of the sanctuary and cult will be given where further information, including references, can be found relevant to the discussion.

In order to analyze the data as systematically as possible, we will follow the same order as found in the catalogues and first appraise the sacred landscapes of Artemis in both territories. Then, since Artemis asked (and received) from her father πολυωνυμία (Call. *Dian.* 7), her many *epicleseis* will be evaluated. Analysis of the sanctuaries follows wherein the various components of the *ιερά* will be assessed. Finally, aspects of performers and performance of Artemis cults will be examined including the role(s) of myth where known. The concluding section will compare and summarize the findings of the previous sections.

Landscape

Throughout the catalogues, discussion of ‘Landscape’ included the topography and the historical context of the sanctuaries and their relationship to the urban centre (ἄστυ), the countryside of the *polis* (χώρα) and the territorial boundaries. In this section, we will synthesize the evidence for the landscape derived from the catalogues in the following way. First, we will address the urban landscape for the location of sacred sites of Artemis which can include intramural sites that are either central or peripheral. Beyond the ἄστυ, locations can be defined as peri-urban, that is, located immediately beyond the ἄστυ, or extra-urban including locations in the χώρα and on territorial boundaries. All these aspects will first be explored for patterns which characterize the landscape in greater Lakonia and then Messenia. We begin with Sparta-town.

The central, intramural sites of a *polis* are the acropolis and the agora. In Sparta, the acropolis belonged to Athena Chalkioikos, not Artemis. Although the adjacent χορός (agora) boasted, among its many statues, one of Artemis, together with her mother and

brother (Paus. 3.11.9), there is no reason to suppose that the image marked a central sanctuary or cult.⁶⁹⁴ We do not find Artemisia in the nexus of Sparta.

The four *obai* of the Spartiates remained unwalled until the second century BCE, relying on ‘human walls’ (Pl. *Lyc.* 19.4) and a location naturally fortified by the Taygetos and Parnon mountains for defence.⁶⁹⁵ Until that time, the boundaries appear to be defined by Artemisia. The sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia/Lygodesma (**L21**) on the west bank of the Eurotas marks the eastern extent of the *obe* of Limnai. The *obe* of Pitane was delimited on the west by Mt. Issoria with the as-yet-undiscovered sanctuary of Artemis Issoria/Limnaia/Britomartis (**L19**) and the ἱερόν of Artemis Aiginaia (**L16**). On the northern edges of Pitane, near the Mousga river, was the ἱερόν of Artemis Hegemone (**L18**), if recent identification of the general area of the Platanistas is correct. In the same area, tiles stamped Κναγείας ἱεροί were found (**L20**). On the southern limit of Kynosoura was a ναός of Artemis near ‘the Forts’ (**L14**). In Sparta-town, sanctuaries of Artemis delineate the outer, intramural boundaries of the individual *obai* and later, of the amalgamated, walled *polis* itself.⁶⁹⁶

Beyond the amalgamated *obai* were a number of peri-urban precincts. South of the Hellenistic city walls of Sparta and the natural boundary of the Magoula river, lay the sanctuary of Artemis Korythalia (**L22**). Pausanias makes it clear that the Tiassos with its Artemision was between Sparta and Amyklai and thus on the periphery of both. Artemis Dereatis (**L6**) and Artemis Arista at Pakota (**L10**) were worshiped at peripherally located settlements on the eastern foothills of Taygetos south-west of Sparta. Also outlying were Artemis Eulakia (**L17**), on the eastern side of the Eurotas, and Artemis Mysia (**L23**), less than 30 *stadia* (5.5 km) north of the *polis*. We can see that Sparta was ringed with Artemisia both within and without its walls, the former forming a kind of sacred *polis* boundary and the latter peri-urban sites defining Spartiate citizen territory against that of

⁶⁹⁴ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 183 (no. 152) nonetheless includes it in his annotated catalogue despite his statement that there is no reason to believe that there was an actual sanctuary. Musti and Torelli, *Pausania*, 197 suggest that the statue is political in character.

⁶⁹⁵ Cartledge, *Spartans*, 57.

⁶⁹⁶ Cartledge, *Reflections*, 16 counts the sanctuaries of Issoria and Ortheia as forming part of the ‘sacred boundary around Sparta itself’.

the *perioikoi* and, after 195 BCE, the Eleutherolakonians, Messenians, Argives and Arkadians (see Fig. 1).⁶⁹⁷

Elsewhere in Lakonia exact locations of sanctuaries of Artemis in the urban landscape are less certain. At Ageranos, Artemis Diktyinna marked the eastern marine boundary of the *polis* of Las whose centre was inland (**L1**). The sanctuary of a kourotrophic Artemis at Aigiai may have, at first, defined the inland northern boundary of Gytheion and later of the *polisma* of Aigiai itself (**L2**). A sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis probably marked the extent of the *polis* of Epidauros Limera (**L5**). Pausanias makes it clear that, in his day, the shared *ιερόν* of Artemis Daphnaia at Hypsoi (**L7**) was outside the *polis* centre (ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Σπαρτιατῶν) and, as such, demarcated the extent of the *polis* of Hypsoi itself which had fallen just beyond the aegis of Sparta after 195 BCE. Artemis Astrateia was worshiped ἐν τῇ γῆ of Pyrrichos (**L12**), rather than in a central urban location. We can confidently identify these as extra-urban sanctuaries.

Outside the Lakonian city in the extra-urban landscape, Artemis was ἐπίσκοπος ἀγυιᾶς (Callim. *Dian.* 39), ‘the overseer of highways’. Some extra-urban sanctuaries are located on thoroughfares between *poleis*. In fact, 18 of the 29 Peloponnesian sanctuaries of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias were situated on a road between two cities or at the borders between two territories.⁶⁹⁸ We look first at the roadside sanctuaries between two cities. A sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis was located on the road from Boiai north to Epidauros Limera (**L5**). Artemis Astrateia (**L12**) was perhaps worshiped at a spring in the mountain pass, and therefore, road, which links Teuthrone on the Gulf of Lakonia with the Gulf of Messenia.

Marking the northern political thresholds to Lakonian territory were other extra-urban roadside Artemisia. The border was thus successively defined, depending on the ebb and flow of Lakonian fortunes, by sanctuaries of the goddess.⁶⁹⁹ Artemis Sel(l)asia (**L13**) presided in the valley of the Kelephina on the territorial boundary in the late classical period. Further north and more widely attested, the temple of Artemis Karyatis (**L8**) in the Sarandapotamos valley, stood at or near the northern frontier until its mid second-century

⁶⁹⁷ Cartledge, *Reflections*, 16 makes the distinction of two kinds of liminary sanctuaries.

⁶⁹⁸ Cole, ‘Landscapes’, 472 (using Brulotte’s data). Not included by Cole is Artemis Limnatis at Volimos near, or on, one of few roadways linking Lakonia and Messenia (**M12**).

⁶⁹⁹ On the changing boundaries of Lakonia, see Shipley, ‘Extent’, *passim*.

CE capture and destruction by the Akhaians. A sanctuary on Mt. Parnon marking the later Roman boundaries of Lakonia, Arkadia and the Argolid, which was previously thought to be that of Artemis, has subsequently been identified as a roadside sanctuary of Hermes.⁷⁰⁰

The Lakonian sanctuaries discussed above occupy a marginal landscape, whether intramural, peri-urban or extra-urban. There may be one exception. Pausanias gives the impression that Artemis Soteira (**L4**) was worshiped in a central location rather than outside Boiai or near its territorial limits. However, the tree worshiped in the cult marked the spot where Boiai was founded near the shore, itself a liminal site. The site started out 'wild' but became 'domesticated' as Boiai grew around it.

We turn now to Messenia, where the locations of Artemisia, attested either textually or archaeologically, are considerably fewer than in Lakonia. First, we examine the Artemisian landscape in an urban context. At Korone, the temple of Artemis Paidotrophos (**M3**) was probably on the acropolis and thus centrally located. Although uncertain, it could be that shield-bearing Artemis (**M4**) shared the sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas on the acropolis. At Messene, the successive sanctuaries of Artemis Ortheia lie across the street from the agora (**M8-9**). Well within the stout walls built immediately after the liberation are the sanctuary of Limnatis on the slope of Mt. Ithome, above the level of habitation (**M7**) and that of Laphria, likely in the same vicinity (**M6**). Despite the existence of Artemis Enodia (**M5**), the context appears to be urban. Locations of city Artemisia are in the nexus of the post-liberation Messenian *polis*.

Extra-urban Messenian Artemisia marked territorial boundaries between Messenia and Lakonia, Eleutherolakonia and Arkadia. The sanctuary of Artemis Heleia/Dereatis (**M2**) on the northern border of Messenia on Mt. Tetrazi appears to mark a political boundary between Messene and Megalopolis. Better attested as frontier sanctuaries are those of Artemis Limnatis at Alagonia (**M1**) and Volimos (**M12**), 'bones of contention' between Messenia and Lakonia on the western side of the Taygetos. Both are also in mountainous territory. Cole thinks that such Artemisia were not peak sanctuaries in the sense that the mountains themselves were sacred to her; what was sacred, was the territory

⁷⁰⁰ Bakke, *Rivers*, 304. Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 177 (no. 146) includes the site at Stous Phenomenous among his catalogue of cults and sanctuaries. For the site in general, see Bakke, *Rivers*, 302-10.

that mountains guarded.⁷⁰¹ While the latter does not necessarily preclude the former, the highly-placed Messenian sanctuaries are attested epigraphically as political boundary markers.

The landscape of these three territorial Messenian Artemisia is further marked by water. A spring on Mt. Tetrazi is the source of the Neda river which separates Triphylia from Messenia. The other two sanctuaries lie high above rivers, themselves natural boundaries. The Choreios river at Alagonia defined the limits of Messenia, Lakonia and Eleutherolakonia, at least in 78 CE (*IG* 5¹.1431.35-9) and very possibly earlier. Volimos, on a tributary of the Nedon which delimited the *ager Dentheliatis*, remained in Messenian territory, with minor exceptions, until the late second century CE.

In sum, from the synthesis and analysis of landscape in Lakonia and Messenia, certain patterns emerge. In Lakonia, sanctuaries occupy a marginal landscape, whether the location was intramural, peri-urban or extra-urban. Characteristically, urban Spartiate Artemisia are found within and without the city walls but not in the agora or on the acropolis. They appear to define the limits of the *obai* and, later, the ἄστυ of the *polis*. Beyond Sparta, extra-urban Lakonian locations also defined the boundaries of *poleis* and the territory of Lakonia in general, often at a roadside location, sometimes in river valleys which served as major communication and military routes. In Messenia, on the other hand, the dominant urban pattern is intramural with Artemisia in central locations on the acropolis, near the agora or inside but away from the city walls. In no way do the Messenian sanctuaries define the limits of the *poleis*. The extra-urban Messenian sacred landscape of Artemis is characterized by mountainous sites above rivers which mark territorial boundaries.

Epiclesis: *What's in a name?*

Epithets assist in establishing the identity of a deity and different names normally mark the specific way a cult is associated within a particular community.⁷⁰² In this section, we synthesize and further analyze the names of Artemis and, in so doing, identify patterns characteristic of Lakonia and Messenia. In each of our catalogue entries, we first defined

⁷⁰¹ Cole, 'Landscapes', 475.

⁷⁰² Luraghi, *Messenians*, 134.

the *epiclesis* and then, where possible, determined its function and origin. Often, we found repetitions of the same name or differing names with the same meaning whose function and origin is unclear. We will begin by clarifying these more widely attested epithets and then address other names that refer to various functions and origins. We will begin with Limnatis and her two sister *epicleseis*.

Closely related in meaning are the ‘marsh-y’ epithets Λιμνήτις (**L5** and **M1**, **7** and **12**), Λιμναῖα (**L19**) and Ἐλεία (**M2**) which, at first glance, may seem toponymic in nature.⁷⁰³ The Limnatis *epiclesis* has been seen to express a Peloponnesian identity, consistent with the geological reality of the region which is given to the formation of lakes and marshes.⁷⁰⁴ But do these watery epithets consistently refer to the marshy location of the associated sanctuaries, a location where the lines between land and water are not precisely defined? Or is the name Limnatis, as Strabo suggests, derived from Limnai (Volimos) where there was a prominent sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (**M12**)? Are they, as Richer suggests, cultic doublets?⁷⁰⁵ Or, could Limnatis, Limnaia and Heleia be symbolic epithets consistent with the liminal character of the goddess?

Let us address the first possibility, descriptive toponyms. Beyond Lakonia and Messenia, at Sikyon, Tegea, Apollonia, and possibly Kombothekra and Patras, Limnatis appears to have been an environmental place name, that is, one that denotes a wetland.⁷⁰⁶ In Lakonia, the ἱερόν of Artemis Limnatis in Epidaurian territory on the Boiai-Epidauros Limera road seems to have been located at a marshy site (**L5**). While it is difficult to reconcile the statements of Hesychius (s.v. Ἐλεία) and Strabo (8.4.9), there is yet another

⁷⁰³ See Morizot, ‘Artemis’, 271 whose topographical analysis identifies four types of Limnatis sanctuaries.

⁷⁰⁴ Baladié, *Péloponnèse*, 85.

⁷⁰⁵ Richer, ‘System’, 243.

⁷⁰⁶ Pausanias (2.7.6) locates the Sikyon sanctuary in the vicinity of the agora, not likely a marshy place. It is, however, possible that there was originally such a marshy sanctuary in the old city on the Asopos river plain. After its destruction in 303 BCE by Demetrios Poliorketes, the city, with its sanctuary of Limnatis, was moved to a nearby plateau. Sinn, ‘Heiligtum’, 32-3 concludes that the Sikyon Limnatis is the only true marshy Artemis. However, outside Tegea, the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis on the road to Sparta, 9 *stadia* (1.7 km) south of the city walls, may have coincided with a marsh that proved impossible to drain in antiquity (Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 397 and Bakke, *Rivers*, 363-4). From an inscription (P. Cabanes and N. Ceka, *Corpus des inscriptions d’Illyrie méridionale et d’Épire, Inscriptions d’Apollonia d’Illyrie* (Athens, 1997) 19 (no. 16), it can be deduced that Artemis Limnatis was also worshiped in Illyria at Apollonia, a region characterized by low, swampy ground (discussed by Morizot, ‘Artemis’, 271). The exact location of the precinct has not yet been established. Morizot, ‘Artemis’, 271 makes an unconvincing case to include the Triphylian sanctuary at Kombothekra in the toponymic category alleging that the presence of mountain-top springs in relation to the fertile plain below justifies the *epiclesis* as a toponym. The Limnatis cult at Patras (Paus. 7.20.7-8) was linked to the origins of Patras and its central site was well-suited to a healing or political cult although Morizot, ‘Artemis’, 271-2 claims that it could have been determined by the existence of a marsh.

Artemis-in-the-marsh on Messenian Mt. Tetrazi at the source of the Neda river. Apart from the sanctuaries mentioned above, elsewhere, sanctuaries of Artemis Limnatis are not in swampy areas. In fact, they are more commonly on mountains or elevated positions where marshland is unlikely. Another explanation for Λιμνήτις and its associated epithets must be sought.

Strabo (8.4.9) suggests a sort of Limnatis *Urmutter*. He claims that the temple of Artemis in Sparta, known as the Limnaion, was named after Limnai, the place in the *ager Dentheliatis* which marked the boundary between Lakonia and Messenia, that is, Volimos (M12). But, what was the *epiclesis* of the goddess at the Limnaion and where did Limnai/Volimos get its name?⁷⁰⁷ It is often assumed that Strabo's Limnaion refers to the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia in the *obe* of Limnai (L21). Accordingly, Luraghi theorizes that Strabo attempted to reverse the connection between the Limnaion at Sparta and the sanctuary at Volimos.⁷⁰⁸ He and Kennell assert that Limnatis probably means 'goddess of (the *obe* of) Limnai' who is, as we have seen, Ortheia. The support for this assertion is a single dedication to Ortheia by an ἄγωναθέτης of Limnatis found at Volimos (IG 5¹.1376 B).⁷⁰⁹ It was not uncommon, however, for one god to be honoured in the sanctuary of another and we might presume that this practice extended to different aspects of the same deity.⁷¹⁰

The *obe* of Limnai, in any case, had a varied topography and, being along the Eurotas, may have been swampy at some times and in some areas.⁷¹¹ Nonetheless, Artemis is never called Limnatis in this location. There is, however, a sanctuary of Artemis Limnaia on the western edge of the *obe* of Pitane on Mt. Issoria (L19), which is not likely to have been marshy and whose name could derive from Limnai/Volimos.⁷¹² In sum, Strabo's *Urmutter*, or its converse, is less than a satisfactory explanation for the Limnatis name. We must seek another reason for the *epicleseis* with the same meaning.

A distinctive characteristic of Spartan religion was, according to Richer, cultic doublets. In this category, he includes Artemis Limnatis in the territory of Epidauros

⁷⁰⁷ Pausanias (4.31.3) notes the connection between the place name and cult epithet at Volimos.

⁷⁰⁸ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 24 (n. 34).

⁷⁰⁹ Kennell and Luraghi, 'Laconia', 251.

⁷¹⁰ Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 9 with references.

⁷¹¹ Sanders, 'Platanistas', 201 doubts that the *obe* was ever marshy and concurs with Strabo that the name is derived from Limnai/Volimos (M12).

⁷¹² Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 397 and Bakke, *Rivers*, 363-4, who accept Strabo's claim, apparently assume that the name Limnai is derived from the *epiclesis* of the goddess whose rites were practiced there.

Limera (**L5**), at Limnai/Volimos (**M12**) and Limnaia on Mt. Issoria (**L19**).⁷¹³ As we have seen, however, the cultic activities at the sanctuary on the roadside between Boiai and Epidauros Limera featured male athletic and musical contests while those on Mt. Issoria and at Volimos, as far as can be determined, for the time between the liberation and the return of Volimos to Sparta, featured choruses of παρθένοι. Although the epithets of these cults have the same meaning, they do not have the same actors and cannot be cultic doublets. By extension, this must hold true for the other watery *epicleseis* as well, about whose cults we know very little, if anything.

We do know that all the sanctuaries of Artemis Limnatis and her affiliates in Lakonia and Messenia define points of transition, either geo-political, socio-religious or both. The ἱερὸν in the *polis* of the Epidaurians on the Boiai-Epidauros Limera road (**L5**) probably marks the *polis* limits and could even have been a sanctuary shared by both *poleis*. Artemis Issoria/Limnaia denotes the western border of Pitane (**L19**). Similarly, Limnatis sanctuaries demarcated the political boundaries: between Lakonia, Messenia and the Eleutherolakonians on the Choreios at Alagonia (**M1**); between Lakonia and Messenia at Volimos (**M12**), and, as Heleia, between Megalopolis and Messenia at Derai (**M2**). Volimos, where there is textual and archaeological evidence for female rites of transition, also marks the crossing of social boundaries in a religious context. What is clear is that all are geo-politically marginal sites where the epithet of the deity signifies that condition and, at least at Volimos, signifies a socio-religious rite connected with liminality.

How does Artemis Limnatis at Messene (**M7**) fit into this scenario? The temple, located within the city walls, marks no political boundary. Its location, at a half-way point between the crest of Mt. Ithome and the populated area below, marks the site as betwixt and between, τὰ μεθόρια, like other Limnatis sanctuaries mentioned above.⁷¹⁴ Its fourth or third-century BCE foundation is later than the others, as far as can be determined.⁷¹⁵ Here we can assume that Volimos is the dam of Limnatis at Messene, at least in name, if not

⁷¹³ Richer, 'System', 243 also lists Artemis Karyatis (**L8**) and Ortheia (**L21**) in this category.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. Strabo 8.4.9 who describes Volimos as being ἐν μεθορίοις. For discussion of the term, see Cole, 'Landscapes', 471.

⁷¹⁵ Inscriptions testifying to Limnatis begin in the fourth century BCE but the temple itself is not dated until the third century BCE.

cult.⁷¹⁶ Like the topographical site of the temple, the status of the females whose manumissions were published there was also betwixt and between, neither that of slave nor citizen. Similarly, on Mt. Issoria and at Volimos, παρθένοι almost certainly entered an in-between state of neither κόρη nor νύμφη.

What all these sanctuaries have in common is that wherever Limnatis appears, transitions of some sort are manifest. A marsh itself is a place of transition, receding in the dry season, advancing in the wet, one that befits a goddess of hunting and fishing. With these considerations in mind, it seems most likely that Limnatis can be considered a symbolic epithet applied to sites where changes happen.

If Limnatis can be qualified as an epithet symbolic of the liminal character of Artemis, can she be quantified? East of the Taygetos, we find Λιμνήτις on the Boiai-Epidauros Limera road (**L5**) and Λιμναῖα on Mt. Issoria (**L19**). The name is not consistently applied to territorial boundary sites in Lakonia, for example, Karyai. West of the Taygetos in Messenia, Limnatis is testified at Alagonia (**M1**), Messene (**M7**), Volimos (**M12**) and Heleia at the elusive Alorion, associated with Deraï on the Megalopolis border (**M2**). The absence of Limnatis in western Messenia underlines the relatively abundant presence of the goddess in the eastern sector, especially in frontier locations. Why this should be so is difficult to say but the fact that Messenia itself had a history of transition from freedom to a status μεταξύ δὲ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων (Poll. 3.83) and back again to freedom may partly account for it.

Also thematically related are epithets that have their roots, so to speak, in the names of uncultivated species of trees: Δαφναία (**L7**), Καρυάτις (**L8**), Λυγόδεσμα (**L21**), Κορυθαλία (**L22**) and Κυφαρισσία (**L25**). All are consistent with the wild nature of Artemis and possible cult practices. The branches of laurel, walnut, willow or cypress trees could have received offerings suspended from their branches (**L8**), been used to bind the cult statue (**L21**) or even served as scourges (**L21**). Wreaths made from their leaves possibly crowned the cult statues, dancing παρθένοι (**L7-8**) or successful competitors in eponymous games (**L25**). The wood could have been used for the cult ξόανον (**L21**) and, similarly, the masks worn by dancers entertaining the youngsters near Amyklai (**L22**).

⁷¹⁶ Luraghi, *Messenians*, 276 supposes that it was a reduplication of the cult at Volimos built at a time when the Taygetos sanctuary was in Spartan hands.

Twigs symbolic of the cult name, such as given to the τίτθαι (**L22**), were possibly presented to participants at other dendronymic festivals. These tree names appear only in Lakonia.

But do these Lakonian ‘dendronyms’ represent the remnants of ancient tree cults? Most Olympian deities claimed sacred trees or groves and Artemis was the one associated most often with trees. It has been argued that Lygodesma was originally a local tree goddess later syncretized with Artemis.⁷¹⁷ Single trees, commemorating events of local significance, could represent tangible links to the past. A single myrtle not only marked the foundation site of Boiai but, more significantly, was also an object of worship even in Pausanias’ day (**L4**). Typically, this lone tree was associated with an event that helped to establish a classical *polis*, in this case, the synoikism or reorganization of several smaller settlements.⁷¹⁸ However, tree worship is not reflected in the cult name, Σώτεια, nor was the cult as ancient as its foundation myth claimed it to be. Whether or not the tree epithets reflect earlier Mycenaean-Lakonian tree cults is open to question.⁷¹⁹ In any case, the answer does not seem to apply in Messenia.

Unlike the exclusively Lakonian dendronyms, epithets with a meaning attached to light are found in both Lakonia and Messenia. Despite the iconography of Artemis as a torch bearer (**L10, 13, 17, 24, 26** and **M8-9**), epithets reflecting this function are surprisingly few. Σελασία could well be a reference to σέλας (**L13**), as Hesychius (s.v.) hints. Pausanias’ (4.31.10) refers to Damophon’s torch-bearing statue in the ναός of Artemis in the Asklepieion at Messene as Φωσφόρος (**M9**). Although we know that light was employed in a sacred context in the Messenian cult of Ortheia (**M9**), Pausanias is probably simply describing the statue because the epithet Φωσφόρος is not found in a cultic context.

If not related to σέλας, Artemis Sel(l)asia may simply have obtained her *epiclesis* from the place name of her sanctuary just as the name Artemis Karyatis (**L8**) may come from a place where nut trees grow, although Servius (*ad Verg. Ecl.* 8.29) would have us

⁷¹⁷ Smardz, *Tree*, 56 claims that certain of her rites are only explicable in light of such an identity. She argues that the syncretism of a local tree deity with Artemis occurred in the mid-sixth century around the time of the reconstruction of the sanctuary after the flood.

⁷¹⁸ Birge, ‘Trees’, 235.

⁷¹⁹ M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1968²) 262-88.

believe that a metamorphosis, in which Dionysos had a role, was the origin. Other toponymic cult titles are Δερεάτις (L6) and Ἴσσωρία (L20), the high ground delimiting the *obe* of Pitane and its doublet at Teuthrone (L24). To these we add Αἰγιναία (L16), which likely refers to the island in the Saronic Gulf whence fled Diktyнна from Crete. If so, we have a unique instance where the place name of the cult is transferred but not the epithet, Aphaia, belonging to the cult itself. These Lakonian toponyms are all found in delimiting situations; Karyatis and Sel(l)asia on the northern border of Lakonia, Dereatis on the periphery of Spartiate territory, Issoria and Aiginaia on the margins of Pitane and Issoria again at Teuthrone, possibly marking a marine boundary.

Some names of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia originate beyond the southern Peloponnese. Pausanias (3.14.2) asserts that Artemis on Mt. Issoria at Sparta is really Britomartis of Crete. Βριτόμαρτις (L19), a Phoenician virgin-on-the-run came to Crete after stops in Argos and Kephallenia (Ant. Lib. 40.1-2). In Crete, Βριτόμαρτις became Δικτύνη, with or without the help of Artemis (Call. *Dian.* 189-203; D.S. 5.76.3; Paus. 2.30.3 and 3.13.2). The worshipers of Artemis Diktyнна at Ageranos (L1) seem to negate the claim of Diodorus (5.76.3) that Artemis and Diktyнна were not the same deity. However, in the *obe* of Kynosoura, there was a ναός of Artemis (L14) and a separate ἱερόν of Δικτύνη (Paus. 3.12.8).

Further indirect, epithetical associations with Crete are found in the names Αἰγιναία (L16) and Κναγία (L20). Αἰγιναία is assumed to refer to the metamorphosis of Cretan Britomartis/Diktyнна on Aigina while Κναγία is derived from the cult founder who escaped from slavery on Crete taking a priestess and statue of Artemis with him. These name affinities with Dorian Crete should not surprise because Crete was considered a political and social model for Lakonian laws and *mores* as well as a source, in the first century BCE, of mythical ancestors, such as Rhadamanthys.⁷²⁰

The import to Lakonia of epithets from a mythical past, when Minos pursued Diktyнна-Britomartis, is also a feature in Messenian cults but here the origin is not Crete.

⁷²⁰ Lykourgos borrowed Cretan institutions in the creation of the Great Rhetra, on which see Hdt. 1.65.4 and Arist. *Pol.* 2.1271b-1272b. See also P. Cartledge, 'The Politics of Spartan Pederasty', *PCPhS* 207 (1981) 17-36. Rhadamanthys is named as a son of Eurykles in the first century BCE (*IG* 5¹.141.17). The same family later claimed descent from the Cretan son of Zeus and Europa (*IG* 5¹.471). See Y. Lafond, 'Le Mythe, référence identitaire pour les cités grecques d'époque impériale. L'exemple du Péloponnèse', *Kernos* 18 (2005) 329-46 at 209 (n. 10) and Cartledge and Spawforth, *Sparta*, 98.

The name Λαφρία (**M6**) was philologically rooted in the Kalydonian boar hunt in which two pre-Dorian Messenian heroes participated (Paus. 7.18.9-10). Although Callimachus (*Dian.* 205) hints that Ούπησις (**M9** and **11**) arrived in the Peloponnese via Crete, she could equally well be a Thracian, or even Delian, import. The name (and cult) of Thessalian Ἐνοδία (**M5**) seems to have diffused beyond Pherai in the classical period when the epithet changed to ‘Pheriai’ in places such as Athens but, at Messene, for reasons we do not understand, the Thessalian *epiclesis* was retained. These names, Laphria, Oupesia and Enodia, demonstrate a northern influence on Artemis epithets in Messenia after the liberation.

We turn now from names denoting origins to those that denote function. Δικτύωνη (**L1**) is Artemis, the goddess of hunting and fishing with nets, as the name implies. But in Lakonia, Artemis is first and foremost Ἄγροτέρα (**L15** and **25**), goddess of the hunt, where hunting as preparation for war is well-attested. Pre-battle sacrifices to Agrotera attest to the importance of Artemis and her cult in Spartan military campaigns. Πατριώτης (**L3** and **11**), a doublet with military implications, is manifest in the continued maintenance of the cult into the third century CE. One of the roles of the goddess in war was guidance, possibly reflected in the name, Ἥγεμόνη at Sparta (**L18**). Also martial in character is Ἀστρατεία (**L12**), her unique name at Pyrrichos. Although a shield and armour-bearing Artemis at Messene (**M4**) is present before the conquest, she is without *epiclesis* and there is no material or textual evidence that Messenian Artemis was imagined thus armed thereafter. Clearly, post-liberation Messenia did not share the Spartan military obsession nor the epithets of Artemis associated with it.

Although one of the military roles of the goddess was salvation, the name Σώτειρα at Boiai (**L4**) lacks hostile implications. It suggests a concern with human well-being supported by the potential medicinal properties of the sacred myrtle. That Artemis was known by the name Δαφναία at a ἱερόν shared with Asklepios near Hypsoi (**L7**) could relate to the medical uses of laurel oil. Further Lakonian names connected with health can be identified in the *epiclesis*. The curative function of mice is likely reflected in the name Μυσία (**L23**). The healing aspect of Artemis in Lakonia is strengthened further by epithets, Χελύτις and Ποδάγρα (**L23**), where the names are derived from the ailments which she cures, coughing and gout, respectively.

While healing epithets are absent in Messenia, names reflecting the role of Artemis as a protector of human growth are found in both polities. The τίτθαι, bringing their young male charges to the ἱερὸν of Artemis Κορυθαλία near Amyklai (**L22**) for the Tithenidia festival, with its banquet and dance, recognized and named Artemis as a nurturer. Ὀρθεία makes the young grow at Sparta (**L21**) and Messene (**M8-9**) while Οὐπησία/Οὐπισία possibly has a similar role of child-rearing at Messene (**M9**) and Thouria (**M11**). We find the same recognition of Artemis' concern for rearing of boys at Korone in Messenia, where she was uniquely known as Παιδοτρόφος (**M3**).⁷²¹

To these nurturing epithets, we add two names found in conjunction with third-century BCE Spartan water management systems, Ἄριστα (**L10**) and Εὐλακία (**L17**). The dedications of waterworks themselves, the presence of vegetation in the hands of the pictured dedicators and the 'plough-name', Εὐλακία, functionally associate both epithets with agriculture. Further, the Eulakia epithet recalls the interpretation that the item carried by Alkman's παρθένοι is a plough. Taken together with the astronomical observation that these παρθένοι can be seen to process at the autumnal equinox when crops are planted, we can say, with some confidence, that both Arista and Eulakia are connected with the initiation of the growth process of vegetation. Just as (Artemis) Arista and Eulakia prepare the land for the seed, Artemis prepares the παρθένος for marriage and nurtures the young human, animal and plant. These two epithets are agricultural metaphors (not found in Messenia) with nurturing connotations similar to Korythalia, Paidotrophos, Ortheia and, possibly, Oupesia, whose concern is human.

As can be seen from the above synthesis and analysis of *epiclesis*, nominal patterns emerge in Lakonia which differ from those in Messenia. To start with, we find the marshy Artemis epithets, Limnatis (**L5**) and Limnaia (**L19**), and the nurturing names, Korythalia (**L22**) and Lakonian Ortheia (**L21**) which denote a concern with 'upright' growth of the male while Arista (**L10**) and Eulakia (**L17**) are concerned with the growth of vegetation. Peculiar to Lakonia are dendronyms, referring to uncultivated species of trees, which possibly had a role in cult practices and could represent remnants of ancient tree cults: Daphnaia (**L7**), Karyatis (**L8**), Lygodesma (**L21**), Korythalia (**L22**) and Kyparissia

⁷²¹ Artemis at Aigiai (**L2**) has been identified as a kourotrophic deity but her *epiclesis* is unknown.

(L25). We also find a Lakonian predilection for toponyms, all found in delimiting locations: Dereatis (L6), Karyatis (L8), Aiginaia (L16) and Issoria (L19 and 24). Then, there are names associated with Crete: Diktyнна (L1), Aiginaia (L16), Britomartis (L19) and Knagia (L20), followed by those names connecting Artemis with hunting and combat: Diktyнна (L1), Patriotis (L3 and 11), Astrateia (L12), Agrotera (L15 and 25) and Hegemone (L18). Last are the healing epithets: possibly Soteira (L4) and Daphnaia (L7), and almost certainly Mysia, Chelytis and Podagra (L23).

Messenia, by contrast, is also home to watery names, Limnatis (M1, 7 and 12) and Heleia (M2). While the nurturing epithet, Paidotrophos at Korone (M3), probably had a human male focus, the names Ortheia (M8-9) and Oupesia (M9) were likely exclusively concerned with females at Messene. None of these epithets are associated with vegetation. Particular to Messenia are names that originate north of the Peloponnese: Enodia (M5), Laphria (M6) and Oupesia (M9). We do not find any dendronyms, toponyms or names with military or curative functions in Messenia.

Sanctuary

What constituted an ancient Greek sanctuary? Since the primary focus of Greek religion is sacrifice, the main requirement is a τέμενος with a βωμός, the most common form of a religious precinct marked with boundary stones (ὄροι) or, later, walls (περιβολαί) and even stoas. Other signifiers of religious spaces are water (for ritual use), often defined by a tree or grove (ἄλσος), and a temple. A temple was not, however, a necessity.⁷²² Where present, temples house not only the cult image(s) but also dedications, together with furniture, such as tables, benches and boxes, to receive them. In our synthesis and analysis of ἱερά, we begin with the basic markers of the sacred space, τέμενος, βωμός and ἄλσος, and then move to the other physical components of Artemisia, beginning with the temple.

While Pausanias mentions many a ἱερόν, he rarely, if ever, makes specific references to boundary stones, walls or altars.⁷²³ In light of these basic requirements of the

⁷²² In general, see Bremmer, *Religion*, 27-37. On water, see Cole, 'Uses', 161-5. On sacred groves, see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Early Sanctuaries, the Eighth Century and Ritual Space', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds) *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (Florence, KY, 2004) 1-13 at 3 who stresses the early association of τέμενος-βωμός-ἄλσος. On temples in general, see Spawforth, *Temples*.

⁷²³ While Pausanias and Strabo report ἱερά at Alagonia (M1), Korone (M3), Mothone (M11) and Volimos (M12), no evidence for religious installations have been found.

ἱερὸν, we must assume their presence, although hard evidence is difficult to find. Excavations at the Ortheia sanctuary at Sparta (**L21**) reveal that the τέμενος was well defined from an early period on by stone walls and later enhanced by the third-century CE semi-circle of theatrical seating. On the other hand, the boundaries of three Artemisia in Messene are more elaborately defined. That of Limnatis is bounded on the south side by three structures which form a sort of courtyard (**M7**). A stoa serves as a backdrop for the west side of the first sanctuary of Ortheia (**M8**), while the impressive double-aisled Corinthian stoas of the Asklepieion define the precinct of the later Ortheia sanctuary (**M9**).

Moving to altars in Lakonian sanctuaries, we find variation in shape and size. While the altar of Ortheia at Sparta (**L21**) was rectangular, the cubic *bomiskos* at Teuthrone (**L24**), which was adorned with attributes of the deity, probably represents the actual, larger cubic altar of Artemis Issoria. The height of the Ortheia altar (at least 1.2 m) far exceeds the knee-height of the altar depicted on the bas-relief accompanying the inscribed dedication to Eulakia (**L17**). Its 9 m length relative to the 7.6 m temple facade emphasizes its cultic importance in rites celebrated for Ortheia. At Messene, altars in the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis (**M7**) and the later ναός of Artemis Ortheia in the Asklepieion (**M9**) are also rectangular but neither approach the length relative to the temple or actual size of the Ortheia altar at Sparta. Despite the presence of other deities and heroes in the Asklepieion, the Ortheia altar is the only other one, besides that of Asklepios, a testimony to the importance of her cult or the nature of the rituals performed there.

The alignment and orientation of the altars of Ortheia at Sparta and Messene differ, perhaps deliberately. The long side of the Spartan altar is neither parallel to the temple facade nor equally-positioned on the east-west temple axis (**L21**). More significantly, the orientation of the Spartan altar may be associated with, or even intentionally built to accommodate, a rite connected to the rising of the Pleiades around the vernal or autumnal equinox. The long side of the Messene altar is well-aligned with the entrance of the ναός and almost equally positioned on its axis (**M9**). Its orientation, on the other hand, is connected with the rising of Orion on July 25. The attractive new thesis of astral significance in the relative positions of altar and temple, if nothing else, possibly

indicates temporal differences in sacred practices of the cults of Ortheia at Sparta and Messene.⁷²⁴

Although altars are essential components of the sanctuary, water is equally important to rituals, such as the bathing of cult images and purification. Springs, in particular, promote growth in nature year-round, an important aspect for a nurturing deity. In Lakonia, Pausanias notices water, in conjunction with sanctuaries, in the form of springs (often named), rivers or the seaside. A πηγή beside the statue of Artemis Dereia (**L6**) is called Anonos. At Teuthrone, the name of the spring is Naia (**L24**) and at the sanctuary of Korythalia, there is a stream or κρήνη called Tiassos (**L23**). The sanctuary of Artemis at Marios (**L9**) has more than one πηγή. The sea-side sanctuary in Ageranos (**L1**) near the river Smenos ('bee-hive'), recalls honey fed to baby Zeus on Crete by a nymph named Diktyнна. The very fact of the naming, or even observation of the presence of water, must indicate some cultic significance, now lost.

Water was of economic, as well as religious, importance. Dedications of the κράνα to Arista (**L10**) and man-made waterworks to Eulakia (**L17**) associate the goddess with preparation of the land for agriculture, a function not usually connected with Artemis. At Mothone (**M10**), it is easy to see why the φρέαρ in the ἱερὸν of Artemis attracted Pausanias' attention, not only for its violet-like aroma but probably also for the value of its pitch-tar. However, it is not at all clear whether the well had any link with the Artemision. Like the Lakonian waterworks, it may have had economic value, though the beneficiary is unknown. Scarcity of evidence makes meaningful conclusions regarding the presence, or even significance, of a water source in Messenian sanctuaries problematic.

Trees, however, often serve as an indicator of water.⁷²⁵ Unlike boundary stones, walls or stoas, an ἄλλος is a natural element of the landscape which may define sanctuary boundaries. Yet, in no case does Pausanias mention trees and water together in the same Artemision. We can probably infer the presence of trees in those locations where a natural, or even man-made, source of water occurs. In Lakonia, the existence and significance of water is often made obvious by the relevant dendronymic *epicleseis*. As we have seen in the previous section, trees could play an important role in cult activities by providing

⁷²⁴ Boutsikas, *Astronomy*, 105-19; Boutsikas and Ruggles, 'Temples', 55-68.

⁷²⁵ For Pausanias, mention of a κρήνη or πηγή indicates the presence of trees (Birge, 'Trees', 240).

accessories, such as wreaths or crowns, serving as repositories for offerings, material for the ξόανον, an object of direct worship or a memorial of events of local importance. In Messenia, however, trees (and water) go unnoticed although they could be, and probably were, sanctuary elements with cultic uses.

The most visible, yet unnecessary, component of a sanctuary is the temple. Yet in only three instances does Pausanias actually specify a ναός, at Ageranos (**L1**), near τὰ Φρούρια, ‘the Forts’ in Sparta (**L14**) and at Korone (**M3**). However, there is no material evidence for such structures at these locations. Literary sources corroborate the existence of temples at Karyai (**L8**) and Volimos (**M12**) but, again, there is no hard evidence for such. On the other hand, temples not mentioned by the *periegete* are found at Aigiai (**L2**), Derai (**M2**) and Messene (**M7-9**). The only Pausanian ἱερόν of Artemis in Lakonia for which an actual ναός has been found is that of Artemis Ortheia/Lygodesma at Sparta (**L21**). Thus, we cannot be confident that Pausanias’ use of the term ἱερόν necessarily indicates a ναός.

There are twice the number of known cults and sanctuaries of Artemis in Lakonia, but twice the number of actual temples found in Messenia. The architectural order of earlier temples at Aigiai (**L2**) and of Ortheia at Sparta (**L21**) and Messenian Derai (**M2**) is Doric but the later temples at Messene (**M7-9**), Ionic. With the exception of the second Messenian ναός of Ortheia, all temples share the same basic plan of an east-facing, columned, entry porch fronting the inner building for the cult statue. None are peripteral. On the basis of such paltry evidence, little more can be concluded with respect to the architecture of temples.

Temples everywhere in the Greek world served the main purpose of housing the cult statue.⁷²⁶ Accordingly, in Lakonia, a long-haired, marble Artemis, dressed in a long χιτών, sits on her throne holding a φιάλη within her temple at Aigiai (**L2**). Although seated figures of Artemis are comparatively rare, other examples in terracotta and bone or ivory come from the archaic Ortheia sanctuary at Sparta (**L21**) and an undated bas-relief from Teuthrone (**L24**). They too are long-haired and wear long χιτῶνες. Standing figures of Artemis dressed in a long χιτών are first seen on a third-second century BCE relief also from Teuthrone, the columnar, helmeted image on third-century BCE silver tetradrachms

⁷²⁶ Spawforth, *Temples*, 74.

of Kleomenes III (Fig. 5) which may reflect the cult statue of Ortheia (L21), and third-century CE coins issued at Gytheion (L2). These long-gowned images recall the numerous, early archaic *πότνια θηρῶν* votive offerings at the sanctuary of Ortheia and possibly indicate a continuation of a Lakonian perception of Artemis as mistress of the animals.⁷²⁷

Not until the classical period in Lakonia does Artemis appear in short, hunting attire as depicted, complete with boots and two spears, on a plaque dedicated at Pleiai (L11). Similar garb is also found on two third-century BCE dedications to Ἄριστα (L10) and Εὐλακία (L17). Much later, the same outfit is repeated on Severan coinage from Ageranos, where she is equated with the Cretan huntress, Diktynna (L1), and from Vothona (L25), where she is Agrotera Kyparissia. Similarly, a coin of Caracalla, associated with Astrateia at Pyrrichos (L12), shows Artemis as a huntress/warrior with a shield. Often, after the loss of Messenia, the huntress, Ἄγροτέρα, the (undoubtedly frequent) recipient of pre-battle sacrifice, is reflected in the Lakonian imagery of Artemis, but not always.

In Messene, the picture of Artemis is somewhat different. The iconography of Artemis as a huntress in a short *χιτῶν* is established in the earlier, fourth-century BCE temple of Ortheia and maintained in the later Damophon statue of Artemis Phosphoros (M8-9) and those of Laphria (M6) and Limnatis (M7). Torches, not found as attributes in Lakonian statues of Artemis, are borne by the successive cult statue images of Ortheia at Messene (M8-9). A shield and arms, on the other hand, are carried by the archaic bronze statue, possibly associated with Zeus Ithomatas (M4). This shield and the bared-breast attire of the early cult statue of Ortheia carry Amazonian connotations which do not seem to endure into the second century BCE. The sole representation of Artemis in a long *χιτῶν* in Messenia belongs to an early-third century CE coin issued at Thouria (M11), which was by then relegated to Lakonia. The coin could represent a syncretization with Spartan Ortheia who, as we have seen, also wore a long dress. With this one exception, the cult image of Artemis in Messene, whatever her *epiclesis*, is always Ἄγροτέρα. The way Artemis is represented in Messenia could be viewed as a conscious effort to distinguish the goddess visually from her Lakonian counterparts.

⁷²⁷ Wace, 'Figurines', 282-3 observes that a sixth-century change in the iconography of the lead figurines and ivory plaques represents an evolution in cult to the assimilation of Ortheia, previously a *πότνια θηρῶν* type, with Artemis.

Sacred images in Greek temples were not limited to a single, large and immovable statue sitting or standing in a temple. Two portable wooden statues, ξόανα, were stolen and carried to Sparta; one by the Cretan priestess who was abducted by Knageus (**L20**) and the other by Orestes and Iphigeneia, which was discovered at Sparta, upright with bindings of λύγος (**L21**). A third, the ξόανον at Pyrrichos, was a dedication by the Amazons to Artemis Astrateia (**L12**). The portable Ortheia/Lygradesma image, which may have been made of λύγος, had two peculiar properties: it caused insanity and, when held by the priestess, it could gain or lose weight while observing the bloody διαμαστίγωσις ritual. These three Lakonian ξόανα originate in the heroic past, one populated by statue thieves and warrior women and documented in cult myth.

Conversely, at Messene, the βρέτας in the Asklepieion ναός (**M9**) has no known mythical past, although there must have been accounts of her history. If Artemis Phakeletis at Rhegion and Tyndaris is a reflection of a Messenian myth, now lost, then the βρέτας belonged with the ‘wandering images’ of Taurian Artemis, like the Ortheia/Lygradesma image at Sparta. We do, however, know a great deal more about the appearance of the small Messenian statue than the portable Lakonian images because we have an actual representation which evidently does not reflect the torch-bearing cult statue. The βρέτας apparently stood on her own small platform below Damophon’s cult image in the ναός (Fig. 12, no. 4) or rested on a plinth beside the altar (Fig. 11, no. K1) when taken outside by a παρθένος possibly to witness ritual(s).

Like the βρέτας at Messene, witnesses to sacred activity at the sanctuary of Ortheia in Sparta, at least from the first century BCE, enjoyed permanent provision for spectating as manifested in a marble, three-seat bench, the dedication of Soixiadas (**L21**). Although Soixiades’ dedication was likely intended for officials, the seating was later expanded to become a theatre for curious thrill-seekers when at least one of the rituals had become a spectator sport. This bench is the only evident Lakonian cult furniture belonging to Artemis.

While the Messenian Artemisia lacked stands for viewing rituals, they were richer in interior furnishings. Stone treasury boxes are found in the temples of Limnatis (**M7**) and Ortheia at Messene (**M9**). Within the Ortheia ναός at Messene, we also find a stone offering table and benches along the walls of the ante-rooms, all of which may indicate a

greater focus on interior ritual than is evident elsewhere, either in Lakonia or Messene. We may here detect a shift in focus and activity with the incorporation of the new ναός into the Asklepieion since there is no evidence for such a table or benches in the earlier temple of Ortheia at Messene.

A final observation is that we find Artemis housed in sanctuaries with other gods. In Lakonia, Artemis Daphnaia shares a ἱερόν with her nephew and fellow healing deity, Asklepios at Hypsoi (L7). At Vothona, Agrotera Kyparissia (L25) shared the sanctuary and cult of her brother, Apollo Hyperteleates. Again at Messene, she shares a sanctuary with Asklepios (M9) where only she and Asklepios, among other deities, such as Tyche and Apollo, have altars. The goddess may share the sanctuary of her father on Mt. Ithome (M4). While we find Artemis paired in sanctuaries with her male relatives in both polities, we do not find her directly connected with Zeus in Lakonia or Apollo in Messenia.⁷²⁸

In our synthesis and analysis of sanctuaries, the emergent pattern in Lakonia, based on our imperfect evidence, reveals that the τέμενος is simply defined. The size of the βωμός relative to the ναός possibly indicates the relative importance of the altar in cult activities, at least for Ortheia. The cultic significance of water is emphasized in the naming of aquatic features and dendronymic *epicleseis* which suggest the presence of an ἄλλος. The simple, Doric temples consist of a single room, fronted by a columned porch. In iconography, Artemis, either seated or standing, reflects two ‘*personae*’, πότνια θηρῶν and Ἀγροτέρα, the huntress/warrior. Some Lakonian sanctuaries are residences for portable statues and are sometimes shared with Asklepios or Apollo. While internal furniture is seemingly absent, provision is made for spectators externally.

On the contrary, the pattern in Messenia shows a preference for defining the τέμενος with stoas. Altars are small with respect to the temple. An ἄλλος indicating the presence of water is seemingly absent in Artemisia west of the Taygetos. The non-peripteral Messenian Artemisia, with the exception of the ναός in the Asklepieion, are single-roomed with a columned entry porch. Except for the Doric temple on Mt. Tetrazi, the other (later) Messenian temples feature the Ionic order. Iconographically, after the liberation until the early-third century CE, Artemis in Messenia is always portrayed standing as a huntress who

⁷²⁸ There was a statue of Apollo with the Muses in a room on the far side of the same west wing of the Asklepieion (Fig. 11, Σ) but no associated altar.

sometimes carries a torch. Provision is made for the presence of a ξόανον within and without the temple. The sacred abode can be shared with Asklepios and, possibly, Zeus. There is a variety of interior cult furniture: treasury boxes, an offering table and benches.

Myth and Cult

Ancient Greek myth served at least four functions: delineation of the roles of the gods and heroes, elucidation of ritual practices, demonstration of desirable or undesirable conduct and reflection on the relationship between man and the universe.⁷²⁹ Cult, in our context, refers to ritual which is defined as ‘repetitive, representational behaviour that often has to be decoded’.⁷³⁰ Our synthesis and analysis of myths and cults of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia will be approached through cult proceedings, incorporating, where possible, respective myths. We will first examine the personnel responsible for the cult and then the activities themselves: processions, sacrifice and the use of fire, banqueting, the roles of music, dance and competition, myth and initiation and, finally, dedications.

We begin with cult agents. As mediators between god and man, priests and priestesses performed various religious functions, such as sacrifice, although they were not essential to it.⁷³¹ Agonistic events were organized and presided over by a special official, a male or female ἀγωνοθέτης, who might serve as a judge of the contests at the same time. We also find the post of ἐπιμελητής, broadly defined as a person in charge. In the following, we will discuss these cult agents, followed by the agencies of councils of elders and παρθένοι.

Goddesses were generally served by priestesses. A virgin priestess, who would have held office for a short time, often was responsible for the care and maintenance of the cult statue.⁷³² In Lakonia, this is a likely possibility in the cult of Artemis Knagia (**L20**). The priestess of Artemis Ortheia/Lygodasma (**L21**), whether a παρθένος or not, was responsible for removing the ξόανον from the temple, adjusting the height of the image according to the severity of the lashing and the recipient of the strokes during the διαμαστίγωσις ritual, and returning it to the temple afterwards, weighty responsibilities

⁷²⁹ Bremmer, *Religion*, 55.

⁷³⁰ Bremmer, *Religion*, 38.

⁷³¹ Bremmer, *Religion*, 27-8.

⁷³² Connelly, *Portrait*, 39.

indeed. By the third century CE, the priesthood of Ortheia was held διὰ βίου καὶ διὰ γένους concurrently with that of Artemis Patriotis at Pleiai (**L11**). Apparently priests could wander between different cults at different places but whether this phenomenon occurred in other cults of Artemis in Lakonia or Messenia is not known.

Since hereditary priesthoods might accrue to either sex, it is no surprise to find a male priest of Artemis Patriotis at Amyklai (**L3**), attested in the third century CE. This might be viewed as testimony of the continuation of family priesthoods into the later Roman period although it is uncertain when such practices were instituted. While priests who are recorded in undated inscriptions from the Hyperteleton at Vothona (**L25**), where Artemis Kyparissia presided with her brother, they were more likely in the service of Apollo because a priestess is recorded.

We find priestesses in the service of Artemis in Messenia but we also find a married couple holding a joint priesthood of Ortheia at Messene (**M9**). The practice of married couples as cult agents appears not to have continued into the second century CE. The inscriptions accompanying the statues of Kallis, Klaudia Siteris and Eirana, identify them as daughters, not wives. One of the roles of these mature priestesses appears to have been burning incense although the exact purpose is unclear. The presence of a θησαυρός in the temple may indicate that a priestess held its key and supervised the fiscal matters of the cult. In the second century CE, Flavia, the priestess of Limnatis at Messene, likely also held the key to the treasury box there (**M7**). The good character and good family, for which she was honoured, must have been prerequisites for the position (*IG 5¹.1458*).

Male priests for Artemis Limnatis are attested between the liberation and the first century CE with two men in the third-second century BCE (*IG 5¹.1442*) holding the position jointly (**M7**). One of their duties was the manumission of female slaves and levying, and probably collecting, fines and their administration if anyone attempted to re-enslave an individual (*IG 5¹.1470*). In the same cult at Volimos (**M12**), another joint male priesthood of Limnatis occurs in the mid-first century CE (*IG 5¹.1374*), but we have no knowledge of priests (or their duties) there before, or indeed, after that time, nor do we find priestesses.

While two male priests, or a man and wife, may have been joint cult agents, the same cannot be said for ἀγῶνοθέται who seem to have acted alone, possibly as a form of

euergitism. A variety of physical and musical competitions, in the Spartan cult of Ortheia (**L21**) and for Limnatis near Epidauros Limera (**L5**), must have been organized, supervised, judged, prizes awarded, inscriptions and statues of winners approved by ἀγωνοθέται or their equivalents.⁷³³ Little is known about the contests, or their supervisors, held near Asopos in honour of Apollo Hyperteletes and Artemis Agrotera Kyparissia at festivals of the Lakonian League (**L25**). Similar possibilities exist where rival female choruses performed, for example, at Karyai (**L8**), but nothing is known.

In Messenia, on the other hand, there is more positive evidence for such cult agents. At Messene, Dioskouridas proudly announced his position as ἀγωνοθέτης for Artemis Ortheia in the third century BCE by erecting a bronze statue of the goddess (**M8**). What the contests were, where and when they were held or who the contestants were is not known. At Volimos (**M12**), from the imperial period onward, we find a female fulfilling the same role (*IG* 5¹.1376 B), which indicates female contests of an unknown nature and female contestants, perhaps even before that time. The presence of a male in the same position in 218 CE (*IG* 5¹.1375), after Volimos had reverted to Sparta, does not necessarily indicate a change in the sex of the competitors.

Other sacred agencies for Artemis at Messene include the council of sacred elders (οἱ ἱεροὶ γέροντες τᾶς Οὐπησίας οἱ ἀπὸ Κρεσφόντα) of which two men were designated as ἐπιμεληταί. The ἐπιμεληταί, who gave their names to the year at Messene, had the task of awarding ‘a crown of Artemis’ at the games of Zeus Ithomatas (*SEG* 23.208). Other duties for Nikeratos and Straton (and their like) at Messene could have been making sacrifices, taking care of the offering table and making provisions for banqueting.⁷³⁴ The council organized sacrifices amongst other things, honoured worthy citizens of Messene and erected statues of priestesses in the sanctuary of Artemis in the Asklepieion (*SEG* 23.215-7). At Thouria (**M11**), there were σύνεδροι of Οὐπισία two centuries earlier who may have performed similar tasks, although we know nothing beyond the fact of their existence.

Somewhat more is known about παρθένοι as cult agents of Artemis Ortheia at Messene (**M9**). In the first century BCE, they had a significant role of transporting the

⁷³³ Decker, ‘Agonothetes’, 347.

⁷³⁴ Cf. *IG* 2² 676.10-5 from third-century BCE Athens in the cults of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira.

βρέτας at least as far as the plinth beside the altar and may have been further entrusted with its care under supervision. Whether the superintending married couple were always the parents of the παρθένος performing this duty is an open question. Also uncertain is the meaning of holding a λαμπάς before the altar although it, like carrying the βρέτας, was clearly a ritual performed by a παρθένος rather than a priestess.

We turn now to the cult activities over which the priests and other agents presided, beginning with processions. Great or small, a πομπή is an important component of a religious rite which, at the most basic level, parades the sacrificial victim(s) to the altar. In this way, the value of the sacrifice and the piety of the sacrificers were displayed to all.⁷³⁵ Hymns and prayers were integral to such activity, but so imbedded were processions in religious practice that they were seldom remarked upon except on grand occasions.⁷³⁶ Literary evidence provides a better glimpse of processions in Lakonia than in Messenia.

Although we hear of processions for Artemis Limnatis near Epidauros Limera (L5), we are better informed about ritual parading in Sparta because of Alkman's *Partheneion* (L21). Alkman describes a chorus of well-dressed, be-jeweled and loose-haired females carrying a dedication for a goddess in a nocturnal procession at a particular time of the year. Who the actors actually are, what offering they carry, the deity to whom it is being offered and even the time of the year have long presented rich material for scholarly dispute. Leaving aside these controversial aspects for the moment, certain conclusions can be drawn about this particular procession and others in general.

First is the confirmation of singing by the processional participants. Although no musical instrument beyond the human voice is mentioned, the possibility presents itself. Second, fine, purple clothing and rich adornment signify the importance of the religious occasion and, undoubtedly, the social status of the actors. Third, the timing of this procession, which moves from darkness to dawn, required light. Fourth, reference to the Pleiades places this ritual at their rising at the time of reaping or at the time of sowing (Hes. *Op.* 383-4). Finally, the purpose of this procession (and others) is to present the goddess

⁷³⁵ Bremmer, *Religion*, 39.

⁷³⁶ On hymns and prayers, see W.D. Furley, 'Prayers and Hymns', in Ogden, *Companion*, 117-31; W.D. Furley and J.M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns. Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, 2 vols (Tübingen, 2001).

with a gift. Whether the πομπή culminated in sacrifice and feasting, is not mentioned but probable.

Assuming that the recipient of the gift in Alkman's choral lyric is, in fact, Artemis Ortheia, archaeology suggests a striking parallel at Messene in the form of the statues of five παρθένοι in the ναός of Artemis Ortheia in the Asklepieion complex (**M9**). They too wear fancy, long dresses which may have been dyed purple, a 'rich' colour in antiquity. Snake bracelets on Mego's upper arm and wrist could be gold like the ones in the Spartan poem. In any case, the very presence of their images in the ναός indicates the high social status of the girls and their importance to the cult.

Are these first-century BCE females consciously imitating Alkman's seventh-century maidens or is their fashion mere coincidence? The latter is more likely because the importance of such occasions and the status of the actors always demanded fine clothing and adornment. We do not know if they sang, but the fact that Mego has the honour of holding up a lamp before the altar (πρὸ βωμῶν σῶν ἔτεινα λαμπάδα, *SEG* 23.220.7) suggests a nocturnal activity, perhaps related to a πομπή, which required music. For the rest, the timing and destination of the Messene πομπή are open to speculation.

The culmination of many a πομπή, sacrifice, is the most central Greek religious act. Sacrifice is more than the ritual slaughter and cooking of animals and pleasing the gods with the smoke of their burning fat, skin and bones. It is the occasion, above all, for approaching the gods. It could also be the occasion for communal dining and an opportunity for demonstrating strength, status and group boundaries.⁷³⁷ Thus, we would expect that all cults of Artemis featured sacrifice. But what do we actually know of sacrificing to Artemis and related activities in Lakonia and Messenia? As it turns out, very little.

It was customary for the Spartan army, accompanied by flute playing and wreath-wearing, to sacrifice a female goat to Artemis Agrotera (**L15**) when engagement in battle was imminent. Epigraphical evidence from the Spartan colony of Taras (*SEG* 38.1014) indicates that the descendants of the colonists made sacrifice of an unknown animal to Artamitos Hagrateras to the music of a *salpinx*. The Tarentine practice suggests that there

⁷³⁷ J.N. Bremmer, 'Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice', in Ogden, *Companion*, 132-44.

were non-military occasions for such sacrifices to Agrotera in the Lakonian homeland, undoubtedly at the Hyperteleton of Apollo and Artemis Agrotera Kyparissia (L25), as the presence of a πυροφόρος suggests. Elsewhere in Lakonia, Artemis Korythalia received a sacrifice of piglets, rather than female goats, at the Tithenidia festival (L22). The cymbals and bells found at Aigiai (L2) and cymbals, possibly from Mt. Issoria (L19), might suggest ritual female noise that accompanied sacrifice. Similarly, in Messenia, a bell and cymbals found at Volimos (M12) could have been used in the same way. Otherwise, beyond the presence of altars, we know nothing about Messenian sacrifices to Artemis, although they most certainly would have taken place.

In Lakonia, depictions of Artemis bearing one or two torches (L10, 17, 24), while associating the goddess as a bringer of light, suggest that fire had a special cultic significance. Blood sacrifices and nocturnal processions in any cult require the use of fire. At the Hyperteleton of Apollo and Artemis Agrotera Kyparissia (L25), the πυροφόροι attested in inscriptions could have been associated with sacrifice and a nocturnal πομπή. The bas reliefs accompanying the dedications to Arista (L10) and Eulakia (L17) feature men bearing torches. At Messene, in the cult of Ortheia (M8-9) iconography, a light-bearing epithet and Mego's λαμπάς evoke several possible rites involving fire: lighting the altar for sacrifice, torch racing, torch-light processions and mystic ceremonies. The λιβανωτρίδες held by the priestesses indicate further use of fire in the burning of incense in the cult of Ortheia (M9).

Although festival sacrifice was often followed by banqueting, we read of such feasting in only two Lakonian cults, Artemis Ortheia (L21) and the Tithenidia festival of Artemis Korythalia (L22). Of the former, we know little of the actual meal following the διαμαστίγωσις beyond its existence, but of the latter we know a good deal more. The τίτθαι banqueted in the same manner as the slaves who were guests of their masters at the Hyakinthia. There was no permanent dining facility for the banqueting τίτθαι, such as at Brauron, but there was enough space in the τέμενος to accommodate their dining tents.⁷³⁸ Appropriately, suckling piglets, rather than the sacrificial goats at the Hyakinthia, were sacrificed at the Tithenidia to be enjoyed with ἰπνίται. In Messene, there is no textual

⁷³⁸ On Brauron, see Goldstein, *Setting*, 29-30.

evidence for feasting. However, stoas framing the precinct of Artemis Limnatis (M7) and the presence of the large stone table in front of the statue of Artemis Phosphoros together with the fancy-footed benches in the antechambers could point to permanent, indoor feasting facilities in the cult of Artemis Ortheia (M9) and their importance to religious life in the polis. The presence of ἐπιμεληταί, who could have had tasks associated with banqueting, further strengthens the case.

Moving to individual and group singing in Lakonia, hymns, which could have been processional, were sung in the ἱερὸν of Artemis Dereatis (L6). Two groups of boys competed in song near Boiai (L5) and competitive singing was part of the παιδικὸς ἀγὼν in the Limnaion at Sparta (L21). The individual male winners in the κελοῖα, perhaps a hymn which took the form of hunting cries, in mimicry of Homer's goddess 'rushing with cries' (κελαδεινή), announced their success with dedications of sickles to Artemis Ortheia.⁷³⁹ At Karyai, a chorus *virginum* customarily sang a traditional hymn (L8). Such singing, predominantly male and often competitive, is attested only in Lakonia. There is no evidence for these kinds of songs in Messenia.

However, song, together with dance, was a common feature in cultic performance. Ritual dance may be defined as 'rhythmically repeated movement directed to no end and performed together as a group'.⁷⁴⁰ Artemis herself is a dancing goddess who arranged and led a choral dance of the Muses and Graces at the house of her musical brother (*h.Hom.* 27.11-5). Such circular dances with added song could be accompanied by a musical instrument. The mythical exemplars of choral dancing for Artemis, the Amazons, arrayed themselves around the βρέτας of the goddess set up under a tree at Ephesos: αὐθι δὲ κύκλω στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν (*Call. Dian.* 241-2). A female of high social position, such as Hippo, queen of the Amazons (*Call. Dian.* 237-58), the Ephesian princess Klymene (*EM* 252.11) or even the goddess herself (*h.Hom.* 27.11-15) generally led the dancers.

⁷³⁹ Kennell, *Gymnasium*, 52-3.

⁷⁴⁰ Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 102.

Actual ritual choruses reflected the mythical organization and the actors could vary in number in what was a complex dramatic performance.⁷⁴¹

At Karyai in Lakonia (**L8**), which was sacred to Artemis and the νύμφαι (Paus. 3.10.7), early morning choruses formed part of an annual cultic performance by παρθέναι. Symbolically and significantly, the choruses danced and sang at a liminal time and site. Myths associated with Karyai indicate that the dance and song formed part of transition rites of mortal νύμφαι who probably danced around the hypaethral statue of the goddess, just as the nymphs encircled Artemis herself at Pitane and Limnai (Call. *Dian.* 173).

The *obe* of Pitane was home to three cults of Artemis which had the same mythic motifs as at Karyai, Aiginaia (**L16**), Issoria (**L19**) and Knagia (**L20**), myths which signify initiation (see discussion below). Like Karyai, Pitane was sacred to Artemis and her dancing nymphs. Together, the mythical themes and the presence of nymphs testify to choral dance as part of initiation at these three intramural sanctuaries of Artemis which, as we have seen in our analysis and synthesis of sanctuaries, delineate the eastern boundaries of the *polis* of the Spartiates at Pitane.

A cluster of such myths associated with choruses in a single *obe* requires explanation. Dorian cities, such as Sparta, were organized into three tribes, or φυλαί, Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyloi.⁷⁴² If Pitane consisted of members from each of these three φυλαί and choral performance marking female rites of passage were of a tribal nature, this could explain three myths with the same themes within a single *obe*.⁷⁴³ Each of the myths represents the explanation for separate tribal choral performance. Fragments of Alkman linking a chorus called *Dymainai* (females of the Dymanes tribe) to a chorus of *Pitanatides* lends weight to this conclusion.⁷⁴⁴ Evidence which might lead to a similar

⁷⁴¹ A recent examination of *Partheneions* has concluded that there were two main fixed roles, selected on the basis of beauty and breeding, in such performances. A χορηγός, positioned at the head of the line or in the centre of the group, began and conducted the dance, in Alkman's first *Partheneion*, appropriately named Hagesikhora (54, 57, 79, 90). Another girl fulfilled the role of the beautiful second-in-command. A third position, possibly selected from an older year group, assumed the role of the trainer and divided the parts between the girls (G. Hinge, 'Cultic Persona and the Transmission of the *Partheneions*', in J. Jensen, G. Hinge, P. Schultz & B. Wickkiser (eds), *Aspects of Greek Cult. Context, Ritual and Iconography* (Aarhus, 2009) 215-36 at 223-4); Calame, *Choruses*, 43-74 and Lonsdale, *Dance*, 31, 67 and 72.

⁷⁴² N. Luraghi, 'Ethnicity', 124. The Messenians had five tribes of which they held only the Hylleis (a son of Herakles) in common with the Lakonians. Luraghi remarks that the (new) Messenian tribal names reflected their Heraklid heritage while diverting attention from the Dorian identity shared with the Spartans.

⁷⁴³ I discount Hegemone (**L18**) because, beyond the implication of the *epiclesis*, there is no other connection to dance or rites of transition.

⁷⁴⁴ See discussion in Calame, *Choruses*, 155-6 (n. 198) who refers to the *Pitanatides* but does not connect them with the three cults mentioned above; Hinge, 'Persona', 222.

conclusion with respect to the other *obai* is lacking. It could be that Pitane was the only *obe* in Sparta for tribal choral performances connected with transition rites of παρθένοι.

Dancing nymphs also encircled Artemis at Limnai which, for the moment, we will assume refers to the *obe* of Limnai with its sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia/Lygodisma (**L21**). In Alcman's *Partheneion*, the girls in the procession to the altar are compared to the Pleiades, said to be the inventors of choral dance.⁷⁴⁵ The presence of a leader, hair-tossing, singing and rapid movements add to the picture of a choral performance while the fancy dresses and jewelry of the παρθένοι signify an important occasion. On the other hand, there is Plutarch's account (*Theoc.* 31) of the abduction of a young Helen while dancing in a chorus in the same sanctuary (τὴν κόρην χορεύουσιν). There appear to be two age groups performing choruses in the sanctuary of Ortheia. However, greatly diminished female offerings at the sanctuary from the classical period onwards possibly reflect the absence of female activity, initiatory or otherwise. It could be that Pitane came to be the only site in Sparta for tribal choral performances connected with transition rites of παρθένοι.

Beyond Sparta, the same mythic indicators, despite the absence of nymphs, suggest choruses of παρθένοι at other Lakonian sites. Ageranos claimed a cult of Artemis Diktyнна (**L1**) on the seaside limits of Las. The Cretan *epiclesis*, Diktyнна itself, virtually synonymous with Aiginaia and (Issoria) Britomartis, evokes choral performance at Ageranos. As a cultic and epithetical doublet, Artemis Issoria at Teuthrone (**L24**) was also likely a witness to initiatory choruses. Less certain is Artemis Daphnaia on the boundaries of Hypsoi (**L8**) whose sole claim is the metamorphosis implied in the *epiclesis*. Choral dancing by παρθένοι was a significant feature of Lakonian cults of Artemis.

Can the same be said of Messenia? Callimachus' Limnai, with its chorus of Artemis and the nymphs, may not refer to the *obe* of Limnai with its sanctuary of Ortheia but to Limnai at Volimos with its sanctuary of Limnatis (**M12**).⁷⁴⁶ No ancient author attests to actual choruses at the frontier site. However, the motifs of rape and suicide of Lakonian παρθένοι at a festival for Artemis Limnatis echo the choral performance signifiers. The

⁷⁴⁵ Schol, *ad Theoc. Id.* 13.25 as discussed by Ferrari, *Alcman*, 3 (n. 10).

⁷⁴⁶ Calame, *Choruses*, 142-3 incorrectly identifies Limnai with a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis on the Choreios (**M1**) mentioned in a boundary decree (*IG* 5¹.1431.37-9). He assumes that dedications to Limnatis (*IG* 5¹.1373-8) are from the same site when they are, in fact, from the sanctuary of Limnatis at Volimos, now generally agreed to be Limnai (**M12**).

πρὸ γάμοιο dedications of Timareta to Limnatis are adjuncts to a similar performance by Messenians. The τύμπανα stress the rhythmic aspect; the ball, grace and control. The dedications of the κεκρύφαλος and the clothing and the loose hair of the dancers, emphasize the purpose of the dance, transition. The ἱερά of Artemis Limnatis at Alagonia (**M1**), and at Messene (**M7**), both sanctuaries on the margins, could also, by virtue of their locations and *epicleseis*, have witnessed similar choruses as part of female initiation.

Choruses are not the only ritual dance activity for Artemis. In Lakonia, the Dioskouroi were said to have choreographed the traditional dance that was performed at Karyai (**L8**) in addition to the choruses. The notion of female Pyrrhic dancing with shields around the ξόανον dedicated by the Amazons in the cult of Artemis Astrateia, has mythical, artistic and numismatic support (**L12**). Then, there is dance of a sexual nature, involving suggestive hip movement, at the sanctuary of Artemis Dereatis (**L6**). The dancers at the Korythalia feast, who wore comic, wooden satyr masks, likely intended to amuse their young male charges (**L22**). There was also male competitive dancing. During the παιδικὸς ἀγών at the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia (**L21**) the κυναγέτας, for which the winners dedicated sickles, may have taken the form of a danced hunt. Pyrrhic dancing at Messene (**M4**) is suggested by the bronze statue of Artemis with a shield. Other types of dance, whether performed by males or females, in competition or not, are without support in Messenia.

Ritual dance and song would not have been complete without rhythmic accompaniment which could be as simple as clapping hands or stamping feet but percussion instruments also enhanced the beat. Cymbals, predominantly female instruments, are often associated with orgiastic cults, especially that of Dionysos, who shares a wild landscape with Artemis. In Lakonia, the bells and anepigraphic cymbals from Aigiai (**L2**) could link Artemis with the wine god as well as two others, both inscribed to Artemis Limnatis, as we have argued, from Mt. Issoria (**L19**). Lewd dancing at Derai (**L6**), Dionysos' transformation of Karya and her sisters (**L8**), masks in the archaic cult of Ortheia (**L21**) and masked dancing at the sanctuary of Korythalia (**L22**) all provide possible further Dionysiac associations with Lakonian cults of Artemis. In Messenia, on the other hand, Timareta's τύμπανα, a favorite of the dancing maenads, and cymbals from Volimos (**M12**)

suggest that Dionysos could also have been reflected in Artemis cults west of the Taygetos too. However, the evidence for this is weak.

Music, an intrinsic part of cult activity for Artemis, is especially evident in female rites of transition, and so we now move to initiation. We define initiation as a single public rite performed by members of the same age and gender whose performance is a requirement for admission to the rights and obligations of the community. The tribal initiation model, originally theorized by Van Gennep in 1909, assumes an event, or series of events, that transforms a 'before' into an 'after'. Although considered outdated by some scholars, this model applies well to initiation practices in Greece, that is, rites of transition or transformation.⁷⁴⁷

Let us first consider the instances of male initiation in Lakonia for which there are no apparent counterparts in Messenia. Progress in the tough Spartan *agoge*, especially between the ages of twelve and eighteen, was marked by a series of tests often linked to religious ritual, although not always associated with Artemis. The best known of these contests is the bloody διαμαστίγωσις ceremony at the altar of Ortheia in Sparta. It fits the Van Gennep three-phase initiation model well.⁷⁴⁸ The withdrawal stage was one of shared privation and secrecy. The bloody whipping during the ritualized theft of the cheeses represents transition or initiatory death. The procession around the altar followed by a banquet reintegrated the participants into the community on their way to becoming citizens and full members of the Spartan military machine. Artemis presided over this important transition not only because it marked the end of adolescence but also the entry into the liminal stage of *ephebes*.

This unique ritual, which attracted sado-tourists and required construction of a viewing stand, required explanation. It was, according to myth (Paus. 3.16-9-11), a ritual of appeasement to end bloody civil strife in Sparta originating in the discovery of the statue of Taurian Artemis in a λύγος thicket. To gaze upon this image was to invite madness. Rites of an unsettling nature are prevalent in Artemis cults connected with the Tauropolos statue

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. Leitao, 'Hair-Growing', 109-11 who rejects the Van Gennep model favoured by Calame.

⁷⁴⁸ Van Gennep, *Rites*, 65-114.

during which social order is dissolved and sinister forces invade society.⁷⁴⁹ The effect of the image is used to explain rites involving human sacrifice, a rite in Sparta supposedly substituted, under the reforms of Lykourgos, with bloody whipping to satisfy divine demand for human blood. At Sparta, not only was the rite itself transformed but also the status of the male participants.

Rather more information emerges regarding female rites of passage in Lakonia. It is clear that such rituals are performed at marginal sites and that there are certain common motifs in the related cult myths. Such myths in Lakonia feature some, but rarely all, themes of pursuit or abduction, death and transformation, echoing Van Gennep's tripartite criteria for initiation. These motifs are present in three cult myths of Artemis Karyatis. Admittedly, it is not always prudent to combine information from widely divergent sources. However, all three accounts clearly refer to rites of *παρθένοι* (itself a term denoting liminality) conducted at a site near, or on, the boundary between Sparta and Arkadian Tegea. We will begin with a brief analysis of the Karyai myths which illuminates the themes in less complete accounts elsewhere.

At Karyai (**L8**), we find abduction of dancers in one myth (Paus. 4.16.9-10), imagined pursuit and hanging suicides of the dancers from the eponymous walnut tree in a second (Lactantius *ad Stat. Theb.* 4.225), and abduction and metamorphosis in a third (Serv. *ad Verg. Ecl.* 8.29). The quasi-historical abduction by the Messenian hero Aristomenes in the first account is overlaid on the mythical abduction of Karya's sisters by Dionysos in the third. The symbolic deaths in the second signify the passage of the *παρθένοι* to a state of marital readiness while, at the same time, emphasizing the tree as a repository of images. The metamorphosis of princess Karya into a walnut tree in the third provides the rationale for the *epiclesis*, the site and its cult.

Accordingly, on the basis of myths containing one or more of the above motifs, we can posit initiation rites for *παρθένοι* at several sites on the margins of Lakonia. Thus, the themes of pursuit and transformation inherent in the *epiclesis*, Daphnaia (**L7**) suggest transitional rites near the Lakonian boundary at Hypsoi. The Cretan myth of the pursuit,

⁷⁴⁹ F. Graf, *Greek Mythology. An Introduction* (tr. T. Marier; Baltimore, 1993) 116-7 notes that the myth of the conveyance of Taurian Artemis migrated to Sparta and Tyndaris, and was adapted to circumstances. In Tyndaris, it was added that Orestes wrapped the statue of Artemis Phakelitis in willow branches to explain the fact that such a statue was carried in the local ritual.

abduction and transformation of Britomartis into Diktyнна intimates that the annual έορτή of Artemis Diktyнна near Ageranos (**L1**) was witness to female rites of passage. By inference, we can include the other Cretan-related cults in the *obe* of Pitane: Knagia (**L20**) whose foundation myth includes the abduction of a Cretan παρθένος (ιερωμένη); Aiginaia (**L16**), if the name refers to the transformation of Britomartis at Aigina; and Issoria (**L19**) who, Pausanias assures us, is really Britomartis. To these, we must add the cultic doublet of Issoria at Teuthrone (**L24**).

Myths with similar signifiers of initiation are virtually absent in Messenia. Although we know the Lakonian cult myth from Limnai/Volimos (**M12**), which features motifs of abduction/rape of παρθένοι and death by suicide, we do not know the post-liberation Messenian version. We can, however, deduce from other evidence that transitional rites for Messenian παρθένοι probably took place for Artemis Limnatis at Volimos. First, Volimos was a frontier sanctuary where such rites frequently seem to have occurred. Second, the very *epiclesis* of the goddess at Limnai evinces marginality and consequent rituals. Third, and most important, is the Timareta epigram (*AP* 6.280) which lists offerings made πρὸ γάμοιο to Limnatis, probably at Volimos, as we have argued, at a time when the sanctuary was in Messenian hands. Timareta's dedications can all be associated with choral performance, especially dance, precisely the activity from which the Karyatides were abducted, in all probability, a rite of transition.

On the basis of the *epicleseis* and sites in border areas, we can posit female initiatory rites at Alagonia (**M1**) and Derai (**M2**). Evidence to the contrary probably eliminates initiation at the sanctuary of Limnatis at Messene (**M7**), although it was witness to a different female rite of transition, manumission. We cannot be confident of the origin of Oupesia in Messenia or what the cult myth entailed. Was Oupesia at Messene (**M9**) and Thouria (**M11**), Oupis and, if so, which Oupis? Oupis is equated with Cretan Diktyнна and Britomartis, whose stories include the themes of pursuit, abduction and transformation (*Call. Dian.* 204-5). She is a Hyperborean παρθένος whose attempted rape by Orion is avenged by Artemis (*Apollod.* 1.27) or simply Thracian Artemis (*Tz. Lyc.* 936). It could

well be, as Farnell has suggested, that the name implies a kourotrophic function and is not linked with initiation at all.⁷⁵⁰

Rites of transition were often complemented with dedications. Offerings of cymbals and bells could recall the choral performance implicit in female initiations. Timareta's τύμπανα, ball, κεκρύφαλος, hair and clothes, offerings consistent with πρό γάμοιο activity, as we have seen, do not figure in the archaeological record but remain in a dedicatory epigram (*AP* 6.280) to Artemis Limnatis, probably at Volimos (**M12**). Reflections of the epigram are found in the statues of παρθένοι (including that of possibly the same Timareta) of which at least one, if not all, is devoted to 'upright' Artemis (**M9**).⁷⁵¹ Mego's lamp, an offering within an offering, lights the way to the next stage in life. In all these, Artemis is invoked, and even celebrated, in the successful completion of a stage in the female maturation.

Dedicators may have wished to thank a deity or obtain a favour.⁷⁵² In the case of large, or even small, inscribed objects, especially those which mention the name of the consignor, it is clear that a message is being sent not only to the god but to the community. This is particularly apparent when we remember that the inscriptions were read aloud rather than silently. In this way, dedications are sometimes both visible validations of communication between goddess and individual or community, and aural testimonies. Looking at types of offerings indicates the topic of communication. Our relatively abundant evidence comes in the form of the dedications themselves, as found in inscriptions or literary works.

We will first consider offerings in Lakonia that seem to have a conversation, so to speak, of an agrarian nature, namely, the dedications of waterworks for agricultural purposes to (Artemis) Arista (**L10**) and Eulakia (**L17**). The name Eulakia, related to εὐλάκα (plough share), recalls the interpretation that Alkman's παρθένοι bring a plough share to a goddess at Sparta, who must be Artemis (**L21**). Bringing their offering to an altar aligned with the rising of the Pleiades near the autumnal equinox, which signifies the beginning of the planting season, as suggested in **L21** above, can be no accident. The

⁷⁵⁰ Farnell, *Cults* 2, 488.

⁷⁵¹ Only *SEG* 23.220 specifies Ortheia, the remainder are without *epiclesis* but likely also refer to Ortheia.

⁷⁵² On the various purposes of votive offerings, see Brulotte, *Placement* 1, 11-3.

dedication of sickles to Ortheia at the same sanctuary, an implement used near the vernal equinox for reaping the harvest, when the Pleiades rise again, completes the agricultural cycle. The sickles also announce individual success in the so-called παιδικὸς ἄγών, markers of stages in the growth of Spartan youth. With the possible exception of the plough, these agrarian dedications are made by Spartan males proclaiming stages in the growth process, either human or vegetal, over which Artemis presides from inception to maturation.

What message is conveyed in the Spartan dedication of the handsome marble bench by Soixiadas (**L21**), or a marble plaque with a bas-relief of Artemis dedicated by Πείππις at Pleiai (**L11**), or the *bomiskos* offered by the couple in Teuthrone (**L24**)? The inscription on the bench proclaims the success of Soixiadas and, undoubtedly, acknowledges Artemis as overseer of that success. The message of the other two dedications is less clear. Both the bas-relief and the little representation of an altar are dedications without *epiclesis*, certain provenance or occasion. The dedicators of both, however, clearly envisage Artemis as Ἄγροτέρα. The plaque depicts the goddess in hunting garb while the reliefs on the little altar also reference her as a huntress. Artemis, the huntress, is also protectress of wild animals and humans who are not yet tamed or accepted as mature. The media and dedicators may differ but the message extended appears to be the same: gratitude to (or propitiation of) Artemis, the protectress.

Similarly in Messenia, dedications depict Artemis as Agrotera, although she is addressed as Ortheia in the third-century BCE bronze statue dedicated by Dioskouridas at the early temple at Messene (**M8**). He too takes the opportunity of a dedication to announce his importance as ἄγωνοθέτης. Votive deposits at that same temple that revealed terracotta figurines, imitations of the cult statue within, again feature a divine huntress and protectress. While we do not know what topped the inscribed base attributed to Zotichos, there is a good chance that it was a statue of Artemis Enodia (**M5**), which differed little iconographically from those at the first Ortheia temple. Again, Artemis is a protectress who must be thanked or propitiated.

To conclude our synthesis and analysis of myth and cult in Lakonia, we can identify certain patterns characteristic of Lakonia. In general, a relative abundance of myth assists greatly in determining cult practices which are further enhanced, in the case of

Ortheia, by eye-witness accounts. We find both priests and priestesses acting singly in the service of Artemis. Male agency is rare and, in one case, ambiguous. Virginity was possibly a criterion for priestesses in at least one cult. There is late evidence for hereditary priesthods, held for life by either sex, who serve more than one cult.

Cults of Artemis in Lakonia are further characterized by a variety of sacred practices beginning with processions. Also characteristically Lakonian was pre-battle sacrifice and sacred use of fire by males. Definitive too was outdoor banqueting in honour of female slaves who were in charge of young boys. We find singing, either as a group or as individuals, in competition or not, by young males and females as a feature of Lakonian cults of Artemis along with choruses of young women and other dancing. Associations with Dionysos provide strong cultic links between Artemis with the wine god in Lakonia. While Artemis superintends both male and female rites of passage, she also presides over the growth process of vegetation.

In contrast to the abundance of evidence in regard to Lakonian myth and cult, there is a paucity of attestations for Messenia. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify some defining characteristics, especially in cult agency and actors. In the service of Artemis, both male and mature female priests sometimes act in pairs and even as a married couple. A παρθένος and council of elders, including ἐπιμεληταί, play a significant role in the cult of Ortheia/Oupesia at Messene. Dedications by male and female ἀγωνοθέται indicate the prestige of the office and importance of the competition, although we do not know who the contestants or what the contests were.

No processions are attested in Messenia, which could signify a relative lack of importance. We hear nothing of pre-battle sacrifice or sacrifice at all. Females are associated with rites involving fire. The presence of stoas and interior benches probably indicates indoor banqueting at Messene in the cults of Ortheia and Limnatis. We find no evidence of music beyond a few cymbals nor do we find male cult actors. Artemis plays a role in manumission of females. Cults of Artemis in Messenia appear to have been restricted to adolescent female actors whose activity, while uncertain, is probably linked with initiation, especially at Volimos. Not surprisingly, dedications emphasize their πρὸ γάμοιο status and Artemis as a guide of their transition.

Conclusion

Our synthesis and analysis has uncovered several patterns with respect to landscape, *epiclesis*, sanctuary and myth and cult which characterize sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia. We now will summarize these characteristics and determine the similarities and differences between Lakonia and Messenia which will lead to a balanced answer to our research question, whether sanctuaries and cults of Artemis are Spartan mimeses, to be addressed in the General Conclusion.

To begin with landscape, in general, where the more-or-less precise locations are known, the sacred landscape of Lakonia consistently reflects the ex-centric status of the goddess with respect to the *polis*; sanctuaries are located on the periphery of urban or political boundaries with one possible exception, Boiai (**L4**). Of the relatively few sites in Messenia, two boast sanctuaries of Artemis in central locations, on the acropolis at Korone (**M3**) and near the agora in Messene (**M8-9**). Since both places were re-founded after 369 BCE, the construction of multiple sanctuaries of Artemis in central, intramural locales demonstrates a difference which could be a deliberate attempt to distance the liberated from their former masters.

Another major difference that can be observed is in the topography of the border sanctuaries. The two northern Lakonian sanctuaries, Karyai (**L8**), whether at Arachova or Analipsis, and Sel(l)asia (**L13**) are situated on main communication routes along river valleys. These are ‘roadside’ sanctuaries, overseeing the passage of trade and troops.⁷⁵³ Unlike the ‘lowland’ Lakonian boundary sanctuaries, all the Messenian boundary sanctuaries are on heights. Is this an accident of geography? Cole thinks that such Artemisia were not peak sanctuaries in the sense that the mountains themselves were sacred to her; what was sacred was the territory that mountains guarded.⁷⁵⁴ The latter does not necessarily preclude the former.

In sum, with respect to the urban and political landscape, it would seem that Messenian sanctuaries of Artemis do not consistently reflect either the ex-centric nature of Artemis or the Lakonian landscape.

⁷⁵³ Cole, ‘Landscapes’, 474.

⁷⁵⁴ Cole, ‘Landscapes’, 475.

As for *epicleseis*, the liminal, marshy names, Limnatis (**L5**, **M1**, **7** and **12**), Limnaia (**L19**) and Heleia (**M2**), were common to Lakonia and Messenia but more prevalent west of the Taygetos. Also common were nurturing epithets, but while Spartan Ortheia (**L21**), Korythalia (**L22**) and Paidotrophos at Korone (**M3**) were aimed at males, in Messene, for Ortheia (**M8-9**) and Oupesia (**M9**), the target was female. Distinctly Lakonian were Cretan-related *epicleseis*, dendronyms, toponyms or names with agrarian, hunting, combat or healing associations. Names originating north of the Peloponnese seem to have been introduced to Messenia (but not Lakonia) after the departure of the Spartans. While it is clear that post-liberation Messenia retained (or adopted) some epithets also prevalent in Lakonia, these names are also found elsewhere. On the other hand, Paidotrophos is not found anywhere but Korone. All in all, there is little evidence to show that Messenian epithets are imitations of Lakonian cult names.

With respect to sanctuaries, few similarities and many differences emerge. Similar are the basic plans of a single room fronted by a columned porch, with the exception of the Asklepeion ναός at Messene. Portable statues were housed in temples in both Lakonia and Messenia and Asklepios shared precincts of Artemisia both east and west of the Taygetos.

Disparity begins with the basic components, τέμενος, βωμός and ἄλσος. Perimeters of sanctuaries are differently defined: the stone walls of the ναός of Spartan Ortheia (**L21**) stand in stark contrast with the impressive double Corinthian stoa that embraces the later sanctuary of Messenian Ortheia (**M9**). Stoas also partially enclose the early sanctuary of Ortheia (**M8**) and the Limnatis (**M7**) complex on the slopes of Mt. Ithome. The size of the βωμός relative to the temple of Ortheia at Sparta probably reflects the greater importance of the altar as the focus of ritual than elsewhere. Comparisons of the astronomical alignment, and therefore possible temporal ritual significance, of the two Ortheia altars reveal further dissimilarities. The emphasis in Lakonia on the third component, an ἄλσος, which implies the presence of water, is virtually absent in Messenia.

Differences continue to be observed in temples, their sacred inhabitants and furnishings. Architecturally, the Doric order was primarily a Lakonian feature while Ionic was favoured in Messenia. Cult statues in Lakonia portrayed Artemis either as a πότνια θηρῶν type or huntress/warrior, but with one late exception, in Messenia, she was always depicted as a huntress. While the goddess sometimes sat on a throne in Lakonia, she never

did so in Messenia. While the Soixades bench and later theatre seating at Sparta indicates an exterior emphasis on cult practices, the interior cult furniture, treasury boxes, and an offering table and benches suggest an interior focus on activities in two sanctuaries in Messene.

Following the liberation, Messenian sanctuaries of Artemis, especially that of Ortheia, had every opportunity to mimic those of their former masters, but as far as can be determined from the evidence, they fail to do so in almost every way.

Moving to cults of Artemis, it is no surprise to find female agents serving Artemis in the southern Peloponnese. There is reason to suppose a *παρθένος* priestess in one Spartan cult (L20), while elsewhere the status of agency is uncertain, although there is late evidence for a hereditary, lifetime priestess of Ortheia (L21). However, the female attendants of the *ξόανα* of Ortheia differed in status, a priestess at Sparta (L21) and a supervised *παρθένος* at Messene (M9). In Messenia, we find mature priestesses acting alone (M7 and 9) or with a spouse (M9). There is also evidence for both female and male *ἀγωνοθέται* in Messenia (M8 and 12). What is surprising and defining is the number of male priests attested in Messenia, who act singly (M7), in pairs (M7 and 12) or in conjunction with a spouse (M9). In Lakonia, however, the only evidence for male priests is late (L3) and ambiguous (L25).

Although the cult actors may have been female in the *obe* of Limnai (L21) in the archaic period, they were clearly male in the classical and ensuing periods there and near Epidaurus Limera (L5). Unlike Sparta, there is solid evidence for adolescent female actors for Ortheia at Messene (M9) in the post-liberation period. In Lakonia, young males participated in musical and unspecified athletic contests (*γυμνικοί ἀγῶνες*) held for Artemis Limnatis, while Ortheia witnessed a bloody rite of transition and *ἀγῶνες παιδικῶν*, which may have included a competitive hunting dance. There appears to be no male cult activity associated with Artemis in Messenia. On the other hand, pre-nuptial female cult actors are prevalent throughout the southern Peloponnese, where choral performance as a rite of passage is highly likely in many Lakonian sanctuaries, particularly those where cult myths feature motifs of pursuit, abduction, death and transformation (L1, 7-8, 16, 19-21 and 24) and possibly in first-century BCE Volimos (M12).

The importance of music and dance to Spartan religious (and military) life stands in sharp contrast to what little we know of such activity in Messenia. Although the associations with the wine god may be coincidental, there are stronger links to Dionysos found in Lakonian cult than in Messenia. Other differences can be observed in the relative importance of processions, occasions for sacrifice, agency in the use of fire and the occasion and site for ritual feasting. Finally, while dedications indicate the role of Artemis as a protector of human growth, in Lakonia the protection extends to agriculture.

In sum, our synthesis and analysis reveals that, while there are some similarities in the landscape, *epicleseis*, sanctuaries, myths and cults of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia, they are vastly overshadowed by the differences which clearly differentiate the worship of Artemis east and west of the Taygetos. We will now discuss how these results impact the main research questions of our study in the General Conclusion.

General Conclusion

We began this dissertation with the central question: are the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in post-liberation Messenia mimeses of those in Lakonia? To formulate an answer to this question, in Part I, we catalogued the cult places of Artemis in Lakonia. We placed each cult in its physical and historical landscape and defined the *epiclesis* for each, determining its origin and function. We explored each sanctuary, identifying its components and we gathered the myths, associating them with cult practices. Similarly, in Part II, we catalogued the landscape, epithets, sanctuaries, myths and cults of Artemis in Messenia. Then, in Part III, we synthesized and analyzed the material from the two catalogues in order to expose the patterns in the gathered data and to be able to compare the patterns for Lakonia with those of Messenia. Now we come to the conclusion of our research.

In the General Introduction, four possible outcomes to the research question were foreseen. The first was that the Messenian sanctuaries and cults of Artemis continued to follow Lakonian practices. The second potential outcome was that the Messenians revived their pre-occupation religious customs with respect to Artemis. Third was that the Messenians invented new customs and traditions to consciously differentiate themselves from their former masters. The final foreseen outcome was that the cults and sanctuaries of Artemis in post-liberation Messenia do not reflect a perpetuation of Lakonian cults, revival of old Messenian ones or a conscious effort of differentiation from Lakonian practices, but are part of an expression of the emerging post-liberation cultural identity in response to the needs of a newly independent culture.

To begin with the first potential outcome, that post-liberation Messenian worship of Artemis was a perpetuation of Lakonian practices, before the liberation Thucydides (4.3.3 and 41.2) remarks on the linguistic homogeneity of Lakonia and Messenia, while material evidence supports their material and religious homogeneity in that period. After the liberation, if most Messenian cults from the fourth century onwards were essentially the same as Spartan cults, as Luraghi contends, we would expect that sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Messenia would exhibit significant similarities. While it is true that, with respect to Artemis, some similarities do exist, they are outweighed by differences best

exemplified in the cults of Ortheia in Sparta (L21) and Messene (M8-9) where direct comparisons can be made.

Both cults shared the same *epiclesis*, which had the same meaning and function, and their temples housed ξόανα with ritual roles that involved female cult agents. However, while the Messenians had every opportunity after their liberation to mimic the Spartan worship of Artemis Ortheia, they did not. The landscape, sanctuaries and cults of Ortheia at Sparta and Messene differ in significant ways.

With respect to the landscape, the sanctuary of Spartan Ortheia defines the boundary of the *obe* of Limnai. On the other hand, the two successive sanctuaries of Ortheia at Messene are not in a marginal landscape but in the centre of Messene, opposite the agora. Like the Limnaion at Sparta, the first sanctuary of Ortheia at Messene was self-contained, but the second was incorporated into a larger precinct shared with another deity, Asklepios.

From what little evidence we have, we can see that the sanctuaries themselves differ in their various components. The Spartan τέμενος is marked with stone walls, while the successive Messenian sanctuaries are defined by stoas. Their altars differ in size and orientation. The size of the βωμός relative to the temple of Ortheia at the Sparta probably reflects the greater importance of the altar as the focus of ritual at Sparta than at Messene. The astral significance of their differing orientations suggests important rituals related to the agricultural cycle at different times. The iconography of the cult statues at Sparta and Messene also differs. While both housed a ξόανον, the cult statues themselves differed significantly in iconography; helmeted, long-gowned Spartan Ortheia with her spear and goat stands in sharp contrast to bare-headed, Messenian Ortheia with with her short-χιτώον, torch and dog. Further dissimilarities are found in the orders of architecture and furnishings to the extent that one sanctuary could not be mistaken for the other.

With respect to the cults, a priestess served Spartan Ortheia alone, while at Messene mature cult agents, either a married couple, or later, older priestesses, attended Ortheia. While the agency at Sparta remains static, at Messene, it changes over time. Both cults featured ξόανα, but in Sparta its cultic responsibility fell solely to the priestess, while at Messene it was the responsibility of a παρθένος attendant under the supervision of her elders. The Spartan ξόανον was held by the priestess to witness a male rite of passage. The

Messene βρέτας was likely carried to the plinth by the altar from which she possibly viewed female rites, whose character can only be surmised. Although the cult actors may have been female at Sparta in the archaic period, they were clearly male in the classical and ensuing periods, but in post-liberation Messene they were always female. In general, the focus of cultic activity in Sparta was exterior, as indicated by Soixades' bench and later theatre seating, but at Messene, interior, as intimated by the treasury box, offering table and benches. These essential differences in practices further differentiate the Messenian and Spartan cults of Ortheia, at least from the fourth century BCE onwards.

Other, more general differences between Messenian cults of Artemis are found in the locations of sanctuaries and the sanctuaries themselves. With the possible exception of Boiai (**L4**), nowhere in Lakonia were Artemisia in central, urban locations nor, generally, in highly-elevated positions. Remnants of tree worship, if that is what the Lakonian dendronyms suggest, are absent in Messenia, as are *epicleseis* associated with hunting and combat. Also different is the Cretan origin of some cults, as in the case of Lakonia and northern Hellas in Messenia. While Artemis was first portrayed as a huntress in Lakonia in the fifth century BCE, the πόντια θηρῶν iconography persisted, which is not the case in Messenia. In sum, the first predicted outcome, that post-liberation sanctuaries and cults of Artemis remained essentially Spartan in character, does not materialize.

The second posited outcome, a post-liberation revival of pre-Spartan worship of Artemis, relies on our imperfect knowledge of Messenian religious customs before the conquest. What little we can deduce depends first on Pausanias' report on the appearance of a pre-conquest statue of Artemis. Second are the cults of Artemis Phakelitis in Rhegion and Tyndaris, where Messenians settled during the occupation of their homeland, and from which their descendants, returning to Messenia, could have revived the ancient customs. We begin with the statue.

As we saw above (General Introduction and **M4**), before the First Messenian War at Messene there was a bronze statue of Artemis with a shield and perhaps a spear or two amongst τὰ ὄπλα. While pre-conquest Messenian Artemis was a warrior goddess, we do not know how Artemis was envisaged or even worshiped during the occupation. As far as our evidence shows, the image of Artemis as a warrior goddess was not revived in post-liberation Messenia.

Could the return of the Messenian diaspora have rejuvenated pre-Lakonian worship of Artemis? The uncanny appearance of Taurian Artemis in two separate places and times associated with the Messenian diaspora could indicate that she was present in a similar myth and associated cult at Messene, possibly before, and throughout, the occupation. At Rhegion, colonized in part by refugees from the First Messenian War, the cult myth of Artemis Phakelitis featured female madness probably as a result of looking at the (Taurian) βρέτας. Annual ritual singing by male choruses of new paeans for 60 days was a feature of cult activity, probably at an extra-urban sanctuary. The myth and ritual at Rhegion could have been derived from the eighth-century refugees from Messene and reintroduced by the descendants of the Rhegion exiles called home. However, beyond the similarity of βρέτας of Artemis (Ortheia), the significant differences of a male rite at an extra-urban location negate this possibility.

While a revival and/or return of the Rhegion cult and related myth seems highly unlikely, there is a better prospect for the Tyndarian cult of Artemis Phakelitis. The Tyndarian βρέτας, concealed in a bundle of sticks, was taken from its sanctuary, which defined the boundary between Tyndaris and Mylai, to be given an annual bath. If the Sicilian Messenians carried the custom and its myth from Messene to Sicily and back, the Messenian βρέτας could be central to a πλυντήρια rite, by its nature, a female one. If this were so, the return of the Messenian diaspora from Tyndaris could have affected, revived or perpetuated worship of an Artemis that existed during the occupation or even before. However, a βρέτας and a female rite which aligns Tyndarian Artemis with Messenian Ortheia are insufficient evidence to conclude a wholesale revival of ancient, pre-occupation cults.

The third possible outcome, the contention of Luraghi, is that the cults of Artemis from the fourth century onwards are the result of a conscious Messenian effort to disassociate themselves from the Spartans in the process of inventing new traditions. Certainly there were significant differences, especially in the cult of Ortheia, but were they created consciously? Standing as an argument for ‘the invention of tradition’ of post-liberation cults of Artemis at Messene, are οἱ ἱεροὶ γέροντες τᾶς Οὐπησίας οἱ ἀπὸ Κρεσφόντα at Messene and probably οἱ σύνεδροι of Οὐπισία at Thouria. The Messenians claim that the cult of Oupesia harkened back to the return of the Heraklidai and was not

derived from Lakonian tradition. To this invention, the connection of Artemis Laphria with the Messenian hero-hunters of the Kalydonian boar enhanced the mystique and prestige of ancient Messene and its religious traditions. Both these efforts, which emphasize the great antiquity of Messenian pre-Spartan religious tradition, were not necessarily directed at disassociation with Sparta but rather part of a greater practice, especially from the fourth century, of inventing a heroic past, either on a personal or civic level.

On the other hand, we must question whether the significant difference in the orientation of the first temple of Ortheia at Messene represents a deliberate attempt at differentiation. Similarly, we should ask ourselves whether the difference in the astral orientation of the altars in both cults deliberately differed and thus impacted the timing of rituals significant to each cult and community. In almost every way, the differences in worship of Artemis, especially with respect to Ortheia, could then be construed as a conscious effort of differentiation. While some of these differences play a small, but not insignificant, role in the creation of the Messenian ethnic identity after the liberation, and even before, the cults of Artemis themselves are not the result of this invention but rather part of its creation.

This leaves us with the fourth outcome, that is, the evolution of an independent and unique set of Messenian sanctuaries and cults of Artemis. While they inevitably share some similarities with Lakonia, they differ significantly with respect to landscape, *epicleseis*, sanctuary elements and iconography, cult agency and practices. The Messenian landscape expands to include a ‘domesticated’ Artemis who is resident in central, intramural as well as extra-urban Artemisia. Some of her names are northern in origin, rather than Cretan. Her sanctuaries, almost exclusively Ionic, are often defined by stoas, relatively small altars and interior refinements. Her stance is always erect and her attire always geared to hunting. Παρθένοι, mature women and married couples are in her service as well as men acting not only as priests but also as ἀγωνοθέται, sacred councillors and ἐπιμεληταί. Cult practices, where they can be deduced, focus exclusively on females in states of transition. All these factors allow for the identification of an independent, uniquely Messenian Artemis.

How then do we view the cult of Artemis Limnatis at Volimos? It was the site of a κοινή πανήγυρις of unknown character before the conquest of Messenia and a

predominantly female Lakonian cult place, at least until the fifth century BCE, as archaeological evidence attests. The focus of the cult was very probably a rite of passage for Lakonian παρθένοι. After a hiatus of several centuries after the liberation of Messenia, evidence for a female cult at Volimos re-emerges but the females are now pre-nuptial Messenians. This phenomenon might be considered an imitation or re-creation of old Lakonian rites. On the other hand, it may simply be opportunism on the part of the Messenians to utilize a suitably marginal site for such a liminal ritual, another expression of their religious evolution.

We can see that the central question of this thesis, whether the sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in post-liberation Messenia were mimeses of those in Sparta, cannot be answered simply by any one of our four posited outcomes. Some Lakonian aspects of individual sanctuaries and cults were perpetuated, such as cult names. Some rejuvenation of pre-liberation Messenian cults may have occurred, especially with respect to rites involving a portable cult statue. Almost certainly, deliberate efforts were made to demonstrate religious independence from Sparta while a set of uniquely Messenian cults of Artemis evolved. At the same time, the Messenians did not completely reject Lakonian practices, to the extent of very probably reintroducing pre-nuptial rites at Volimos. On the balance however, as far as the evidence allows, it can be concluded that, for the most part, sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in post-liberation Messenia were not essentially the same as Spartan cults.

My investigations have gone some way to closing the gap in the knowledge of sanctuaries and cults of Artemis in Lakonia and Messenia. The two catalogues provide a comprehensive listing of the known evidence and, equally important, point to the unknowns which could provide fertile avenues for future research. The road stretches in two main directions. First, an expansion of similar cataloguing of sanctuaries and cults of Artemis to include the entire Peloponnese would further clarify the roles of Artemis and provide a complete and ready reference for future studies. Second, research into the character of post-liberation sanctuaries and cults of other deities in Messenia, using the same methodology as here, would determine the relationship of other Messenian cults to those in Lakonia.

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Figures

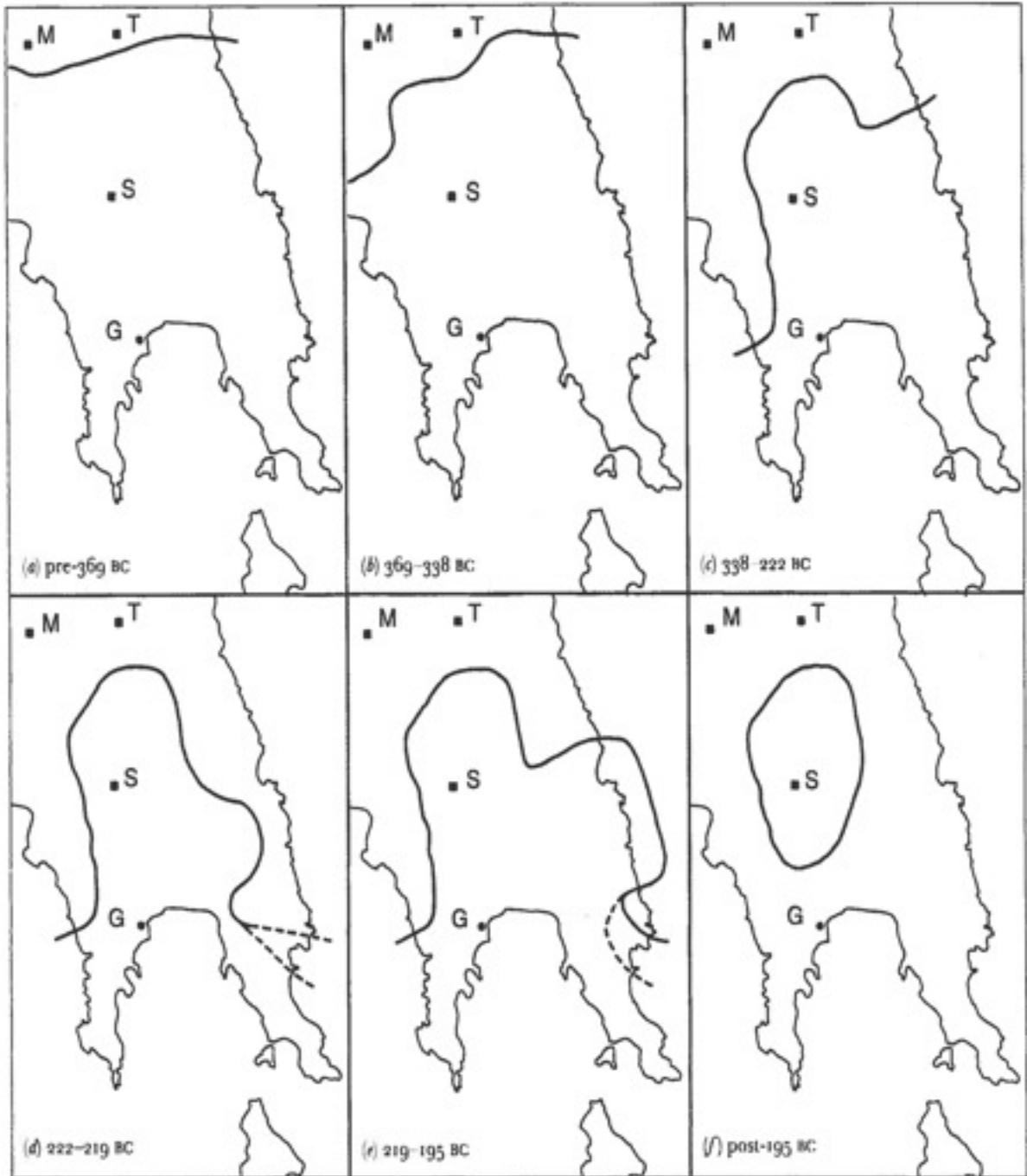


Fig. 1. Schematic representation of the extent of Spartan territory at different dates.
 G = Gytheion, M = Megalopolis, S = Sparta, T = Tegea (Shipley, 'Extent', 389 (Fig. 2).

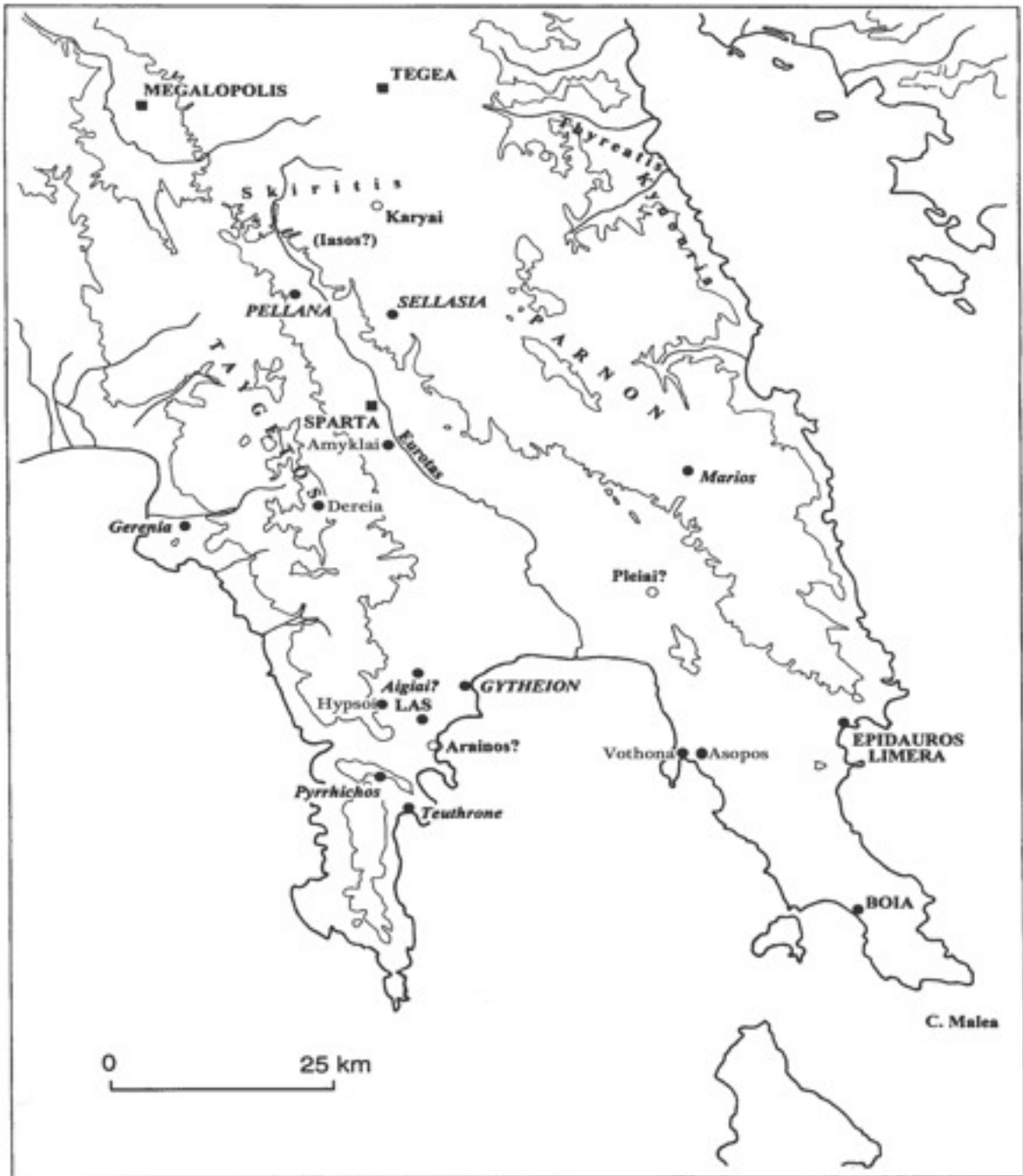


Fig. 2. Map of Lakonia with sites of Artemisia (after Shipley, 'Extent', 370 (Fig. 1).



Fig. 3. Enthroned Artemis from Aigiai (Bonias, 'Αγροτικό 'Ιερό, 46-7 (Figs. 5 and 6).

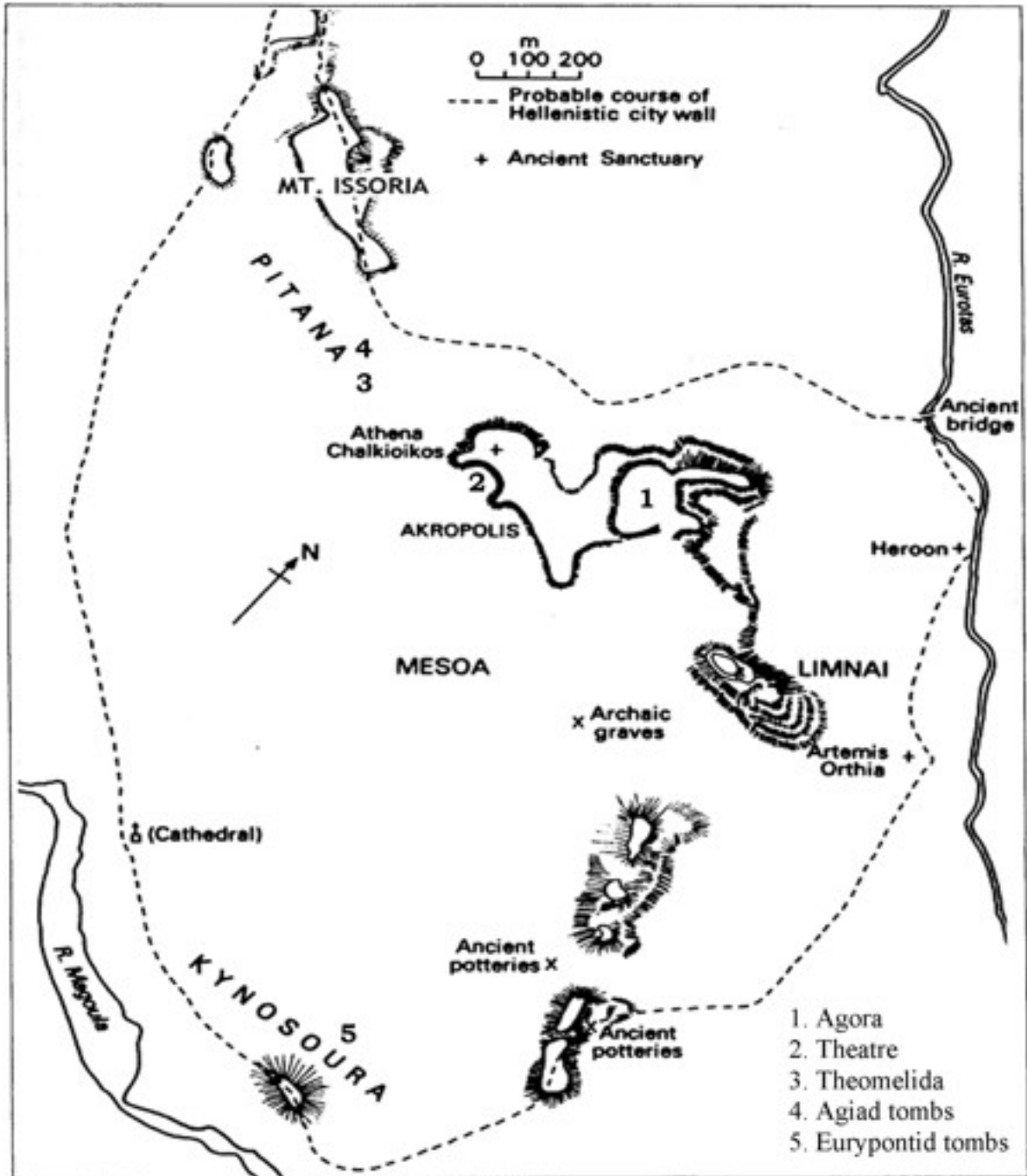


Fig. 4. Sparta (after Cartledge, Sparta, 105 (Fig. 12).



Fig. 5. Silver tetradrachm (227-222 BCE) of Kleomenes III and Artemis Orthoia (courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, <http://www.cngcoins.com>).

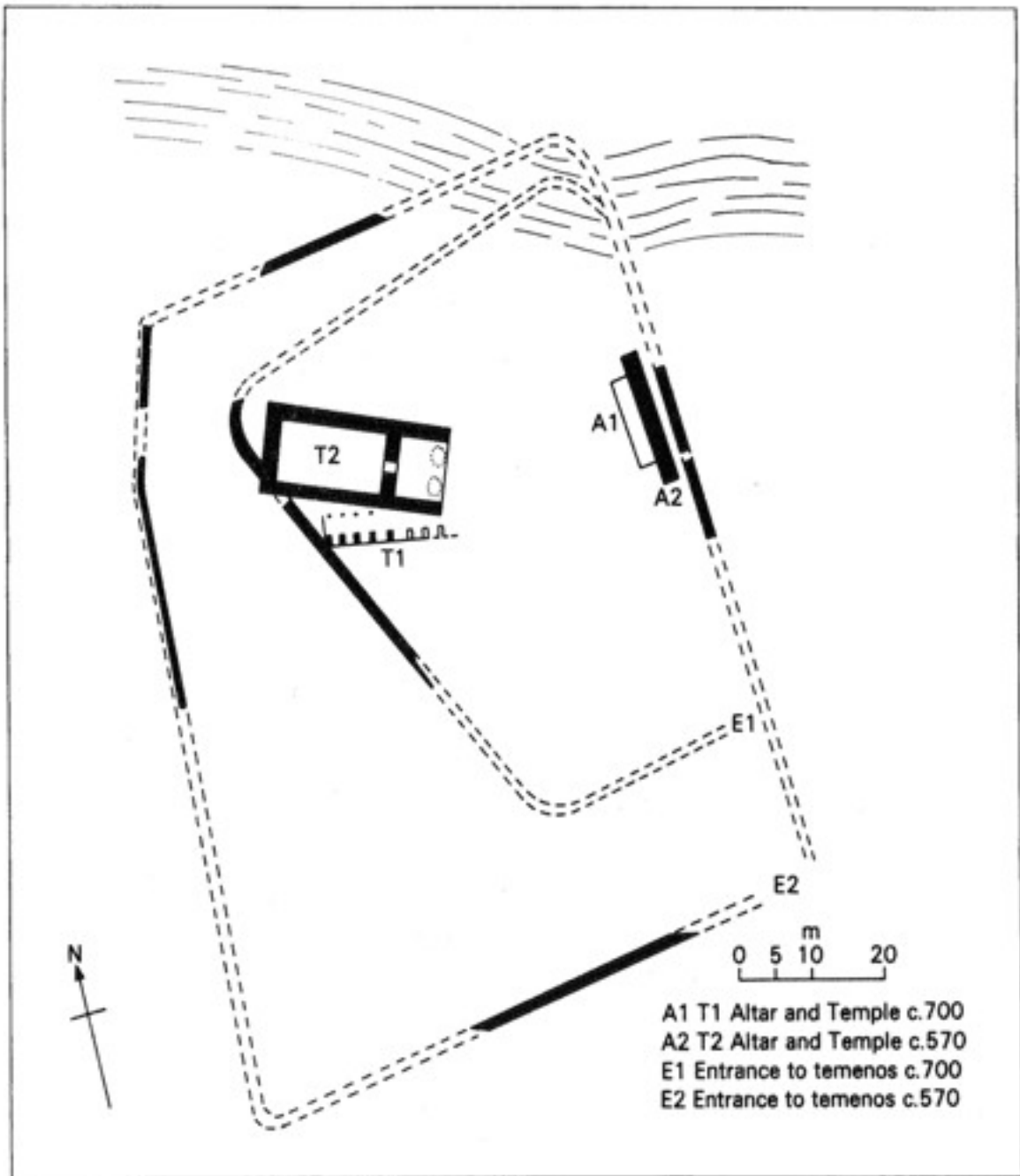


Fig. 6. Sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta (Cartledge, Sparta, 309 (Fig. 19).

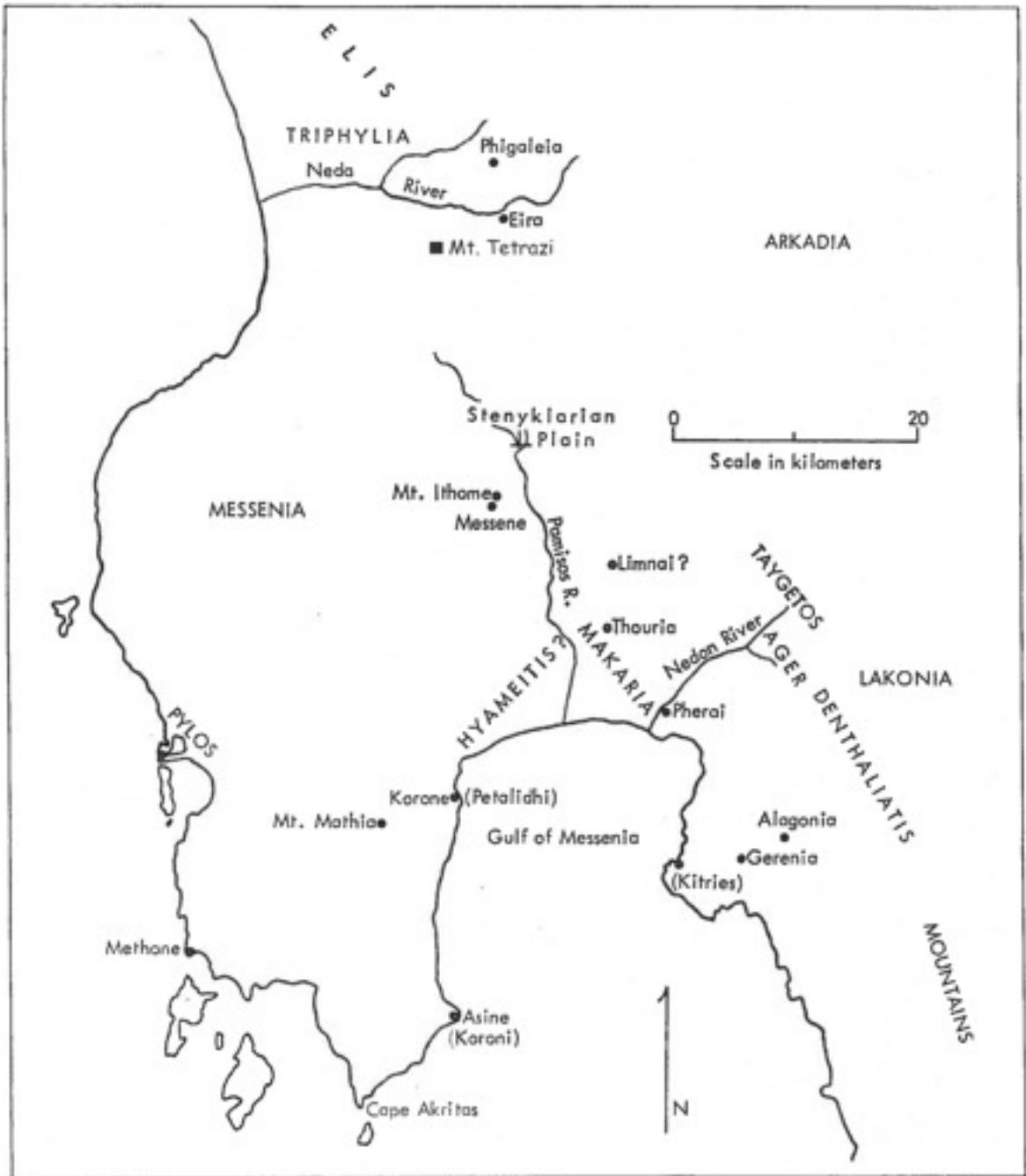


Fig. 7. Messenia (McDonald and Rapp, *Messenia Expedition*, 95 (Fig. 6.2).

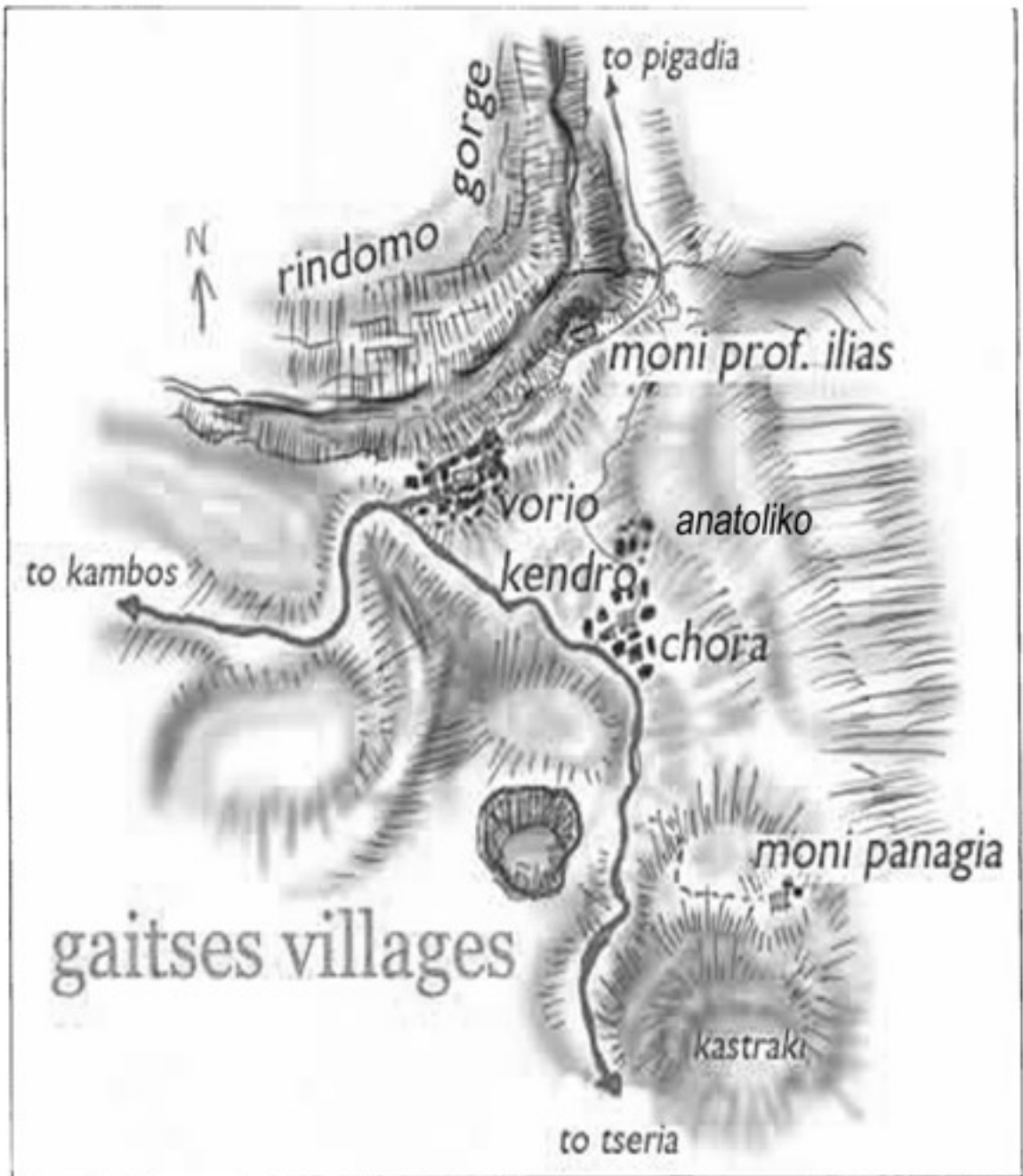


Fig. 8. Alagonia. Vorio Gaitson (reproduced by kind permission of J. Chapman, University of Herefordshire).

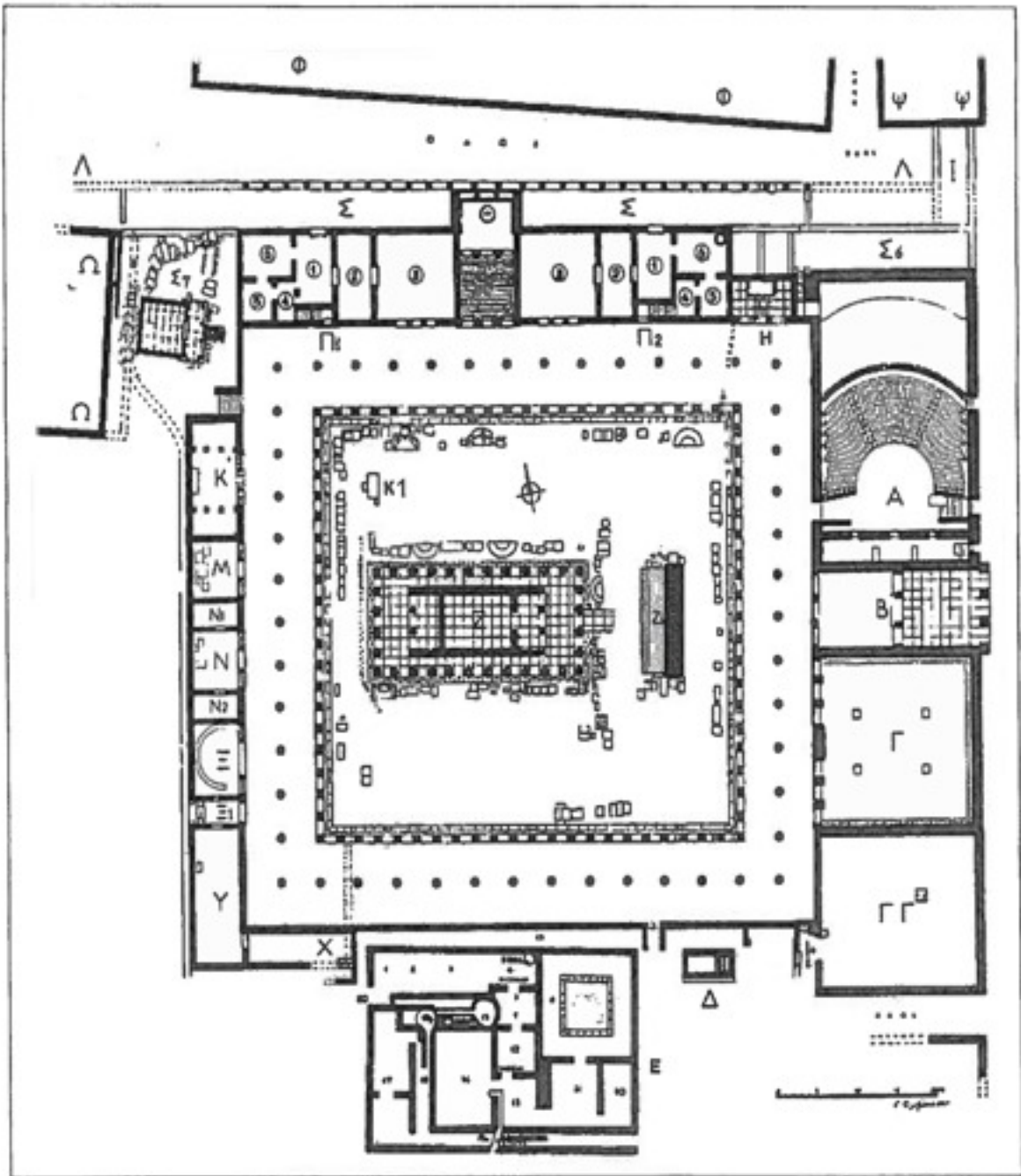


Fig. 11. The Asklepieion at Messene (Themelis, *Messene*, 60 (Fig. 40).

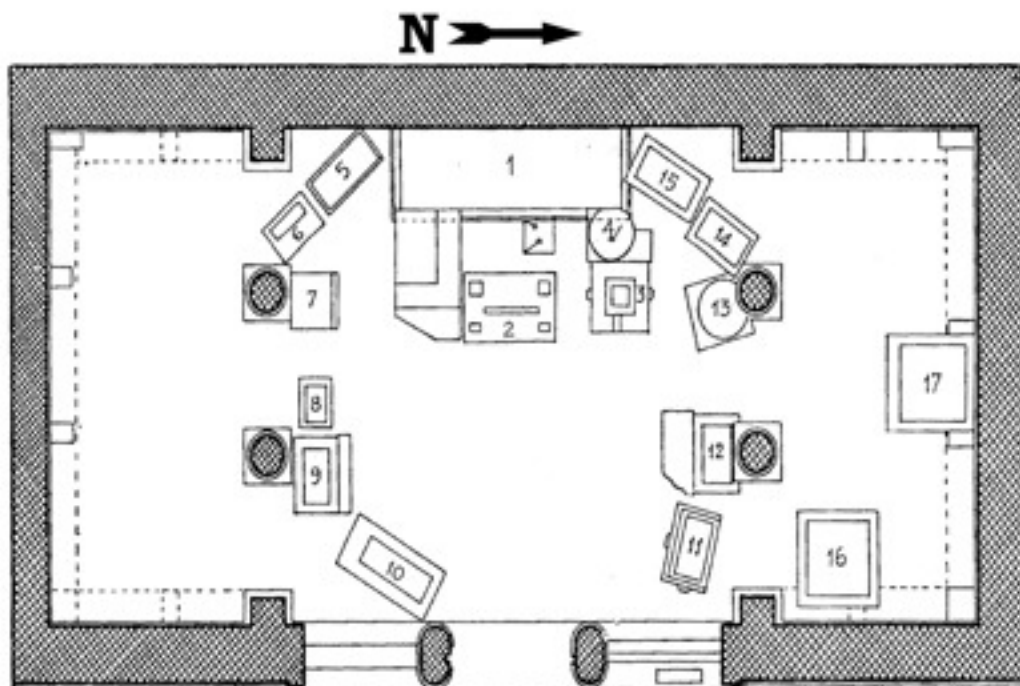


Fig. 12. Asklepieion. Sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia (after Themelis, 'Artemis', 110 (Fig. 12)).



Fig. 13. Statue of Theophaneia. Probably first century BCE. Messene Archaeological Museum statue no. 244 (photograph L. Stephens).



Fig. 14. Statue of Mego. Probably first century BCE. Messene Archaeological Museum statue no. 245 (photograph L. Stephens).



Fig. 15. Timareta. Probably first century BCE. Messene Archaeological Museum statue no. 241 (photograph L. Stephens).



Fig. 16. Statue of the priestess Klaudia Siteris. Probably second-third century CE. Messene Archaeological Museum statue no. 243 (Themelis, *Messene*, 75 (Fig. 58).



Fig. 17. Statue of the priestess Kallis. Probably second-third century CE.
Messene Archaeological Museum statue nos 240 and 254
(Themelis, *Messene*, 135 (Fig. 139).

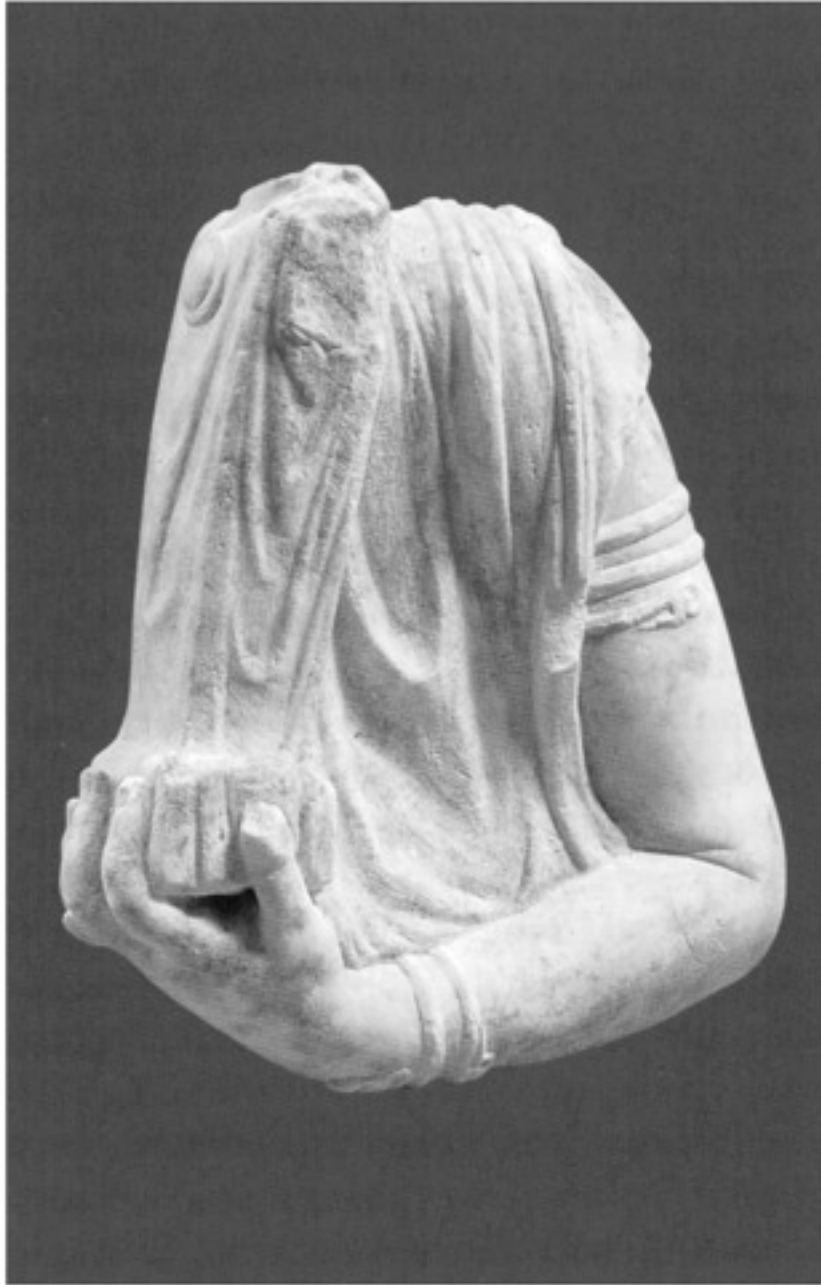


Fig. 18. Arm fragment. Probably first century BCE. Messene Archaeological Museum statue no. 247 (Themelis, *Messene*, 76 (Fig. 60).