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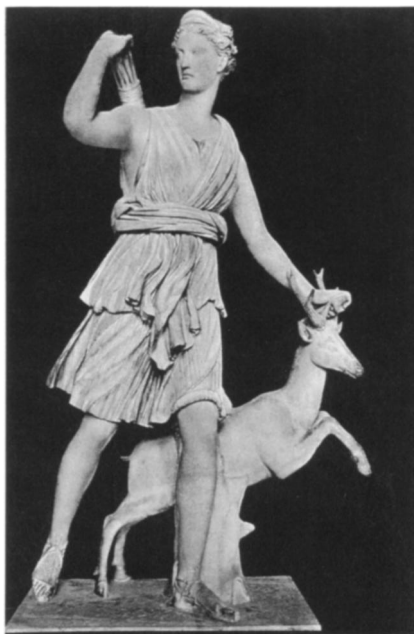
Artemis

Goddess of Conservation

J. Donald Hughes

The ancient Greeks represented the spirit of conservation in the shape of a formidable protectress of animals and plants, the goddess Artemis. In the Louvre one can view a striking statue of Artemis (or as the Romans called her, Diana) in a running pose, known as the *Diana of Versailles*, a Roman copy of a Greek original! This work of art displays two facets of the goddess, as huntress and protectress: though she is armed with bow and arrows, her hand rests cherishingly on the antler of the stag that runs beside her.

The *Diana of Versailles* is only one of an innumerable series of images in art, literature, and popular culture that reveal facets of this complex deity. Artemis would be an important figure in intellectual history even if these images were only matters of artistic symbolism. But Artemis was more than an artistic symbol. The worship of this goddess involved customs affecting the treatment of living organisms, both as species and in communities, and the use of certain categories of land. For example, sanctuaries of Artemis and other gods often consisted of tracts of forest where hunting of deer and other animals was forbidden.² Thus the study of her cult is essential for understanding ancient Greek attitudes and practices relating to wildlife, forests, and the wilderness.



The Diana of Versailles, a Roman copy of a Greek original sculpture of the goddess Artemis accompanied by a stag. Now in the Louvre, Paris, France. Copy of an illustration in Maximilien Gauthier, The Louvre: Sculpture, Ceramics, Objets d'Art (New York: Appleton-Century, 1964), p. 86.

Artemis as Protectress of Wild Beasts

Artemis is an example of one of the oldest figures in the iconography of Europe, the Middle East, and beyond: the mistress (or master) of game, which has been noted among hunting societies all over the world. In ancient Greece, Artemis was sometimes referred to as *Potnia Theron* (the lady of wild things, or mistress of beasts).³ The Artemis of

ancient Greece resulted from the transformation of a general type that had existed for millennia. The mistress of game was believed to protect wild animals in general, or certain species, and to exact retribution from hunters in cases of disrespect or improper injury or killing. She has been detected as early as the Paleolithic period. In the Dnieper Valley, for example, archaeologists excavated a circle of mammoth skulls arranged around a female statuette. Joseph Campbell, calling the statuette "Our Lady of the Mammoths," remarks, "Who, . . . reading of the figure amid the mammoth skulls, does not think of Artemis as . . . the lady of the wild things?"⁴

In early art the lady of beasts is often represented as standing between and holding two animals, possibly with other animals present, often in pairs, including birds, reptiles, and fish. This motif occurs as early as Neolithic times: sculptures of a regal goddess figure enthroned between two felines have been found at Catal Huyuk, an Anatolian farming village of about 6000 B.C.⁵ Another instance of the archetype can be found in a ceramic statue of the goddess of Minoan Crete holding a snake in each hand, with a cat on her head.⁶

The notes to this article begin on page 196.



Drawing of a Greek vase from Boeotia, ninth century B.C., showing the Mistress of Wild Animals with animals, birds, and fish. Copy of an illustration in Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1896), vol. 2, plate XXIa.

A Greek vase dated from between 900 and 800 B.C. displays a geometric depiction of Artemis with her extended arms holding two birds over two lions (or perhaps wolves). To one side is a bull's head, and there is a large fish on the lower part of her robe.⁷ Archaic and classical Greek art shows Artemis most often in company with bears, stags, hinds, and fawns, though she is also seen with wild horses and bulls, lynxes and other wild cats, wolves, foxes, hares, water birds, and quails.

The archetype was a mother goddess, displaying attributes of fecundity and reproductive sexuality. Similar features are displayed in some forms of Artemis that persisted into the classical Greek period, such as the many-breasted *Artemis of the Ephesians*.⁸ This image is covered with animals in high relief, including lions, deer, oxen, and bees, to emphasize Artemis's fecundity as mother of living creatures. Though Artemis was certainly not the only descendant of the primal mother goddess in Greek mythology,⁹ she did most fully embody one aspect often attributed to the mother goddess: defender of wildlife. Even though she is usually depicted in classical Greek mythology as the quintessential virgin, she nevertheless remained patroness of childbirth and guardian of the young.

According to ancient Greek writers, Artemis loved all wild creatures and delighted in running playfully in com-

pany with her followers, the wood nymphs, among the beasts of the forests and mountains. As the *Odyssey* describes it,

Artemis goes along mountains,
Along the lofty Taygetos or Erimanthos,
Delighting in the boars and in the swift deer;
And field-haunting nymphs, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus,
Play with her.¹⁰

Most favored by Artemis were animals that had not been subjugated by humans. Indeed, she was closely identified with them: a coin from Delos portrays her with stag's antlers on her head.¹¹ A more sinister side of this identification was her vindictive pursuit and punishment of those who killed her sacred charges. There are numerous illustrations of this in Greek myth. One such tale is the story of Teuthras, who chased a wild boar, which sought shelter in a sanctuary of Artemis and appealed to the hunter to spare its life in the name of the goddess. When Teuthras heedlessly slaughtered the animal anyway, Artemis afflicted the hunter with leprous scabs and drove him insane. Only plentiful and costly sacrifices offered by Teuthras's mother soothed the angry goddess.¹²

Another such tale is the story of the mighty hunter Orion, who was Artemis's companion until he boasted that he would slay all the wild beasts on earth. Rather than allow so many species to be endangered, Artemis dis-

patched a huge scorpion to sting him to death.¹³ After his death, when he was made a constellation, Artemis put Taurus the bull facing him so he could not kill the Pleiades, who had been turned into wild doves.¹⁴

But the most famous mortal to incur the ire of Artemis was Agamemnon. As Sophocles tells it, "When taking his pleasure in her sacred grove, he [Agamemnon] startled an antlered stag with dappled hide, shot it, and shooting made some careless boast."¹⁵ In retaliation, Artemis sent winds to prevent the sailing of the Greek armada against Troy until Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter, Iphigenia, "in quittance for the wild creature's life."¹⁶

A favorite subject of Greek sculptors and painters was the death of another hunter, Actaeon. Artemis got rid of him by turning him into a stag and having his own hounds tear him to pieces, supposedly because he saw her naked.¹⁷ But the story of his spying on the goddess is not found before the Hellenistic period, late in Greek history.¹⁸ A plausible earlier version of this myth might have involved Actaeon's hunting a deer sacred to the goddess. In such a telling, the manner of his death was a punishment that truly fit the crime. Like Agamemnon, he had boasted to Artemis of his hunting prowess.¹⁹



Roman copy of the statue of Artemis of Ephesus, a maternal figure decorated with multiple breasts and images of bees and other animals, in the Villa of Hadrian, Tivoli, Italy. Photograph by Paul Shepard, used by permission.

The only hero who managed a successful exploit with one of Artemis's sacred animals without being punished was Heracles, whose third labor was the capture of the Cerynithian hind. This creature was larger than a bull, had brazen hooves and, although female, golden antlers. Heracles pursued the deer for a year, until it collapsed in weariness and he was able to capture it. Artemis forgave him because he had not killed it or spilled a drop of its blood.²⁰

The myths presented in Greek literature and art contain the tenets of the prehistoric nature religion of the ancestral Greeks. In its early form, this was not a religion with a hierarchy and books, but a body of traditions, myths, and rituals transmitted orally. In classical times, it survived in folk culture, influenced art and literature, and was an active force that inhibited exploitation of wildlife.

Though Artemis inspired respect for animal life, she permitted the hunt, provided that the hunter obeyed the rules and rituals that justified a human's obtaining nourishment by the sacrifice of animal life. Before killing an animal, a prudent Greek considered whether the act would offend Artemis. According to Xenophon, a good hunter would spare very young hares for Artemis's sake.²¹ Such preservation of young animals and pregnant females had the effect of encouraging the reproduction of game species. But a prudent hunter took care even in the case of a dangerous large animal prone to attack, because Artemis was known to send such creatures to avenge affronts to herself or her protégés.²²

Artemis as Protectress of the Wilderness

Artemis was protectress not only of wildlife but also of the wilderness itself. Many of her sanctuaries excluded the woodcutter's tools as well as the hunter's weapons. Artemis's role in protecting wilderness involves one of her conspicuous characteristics: her virginity. Though she was referred to as *agrotera*, "the wild one," she was also referred to as *agne*, "the pure," and *parthenia*, "the virgin."

The environmental relevance of Artemis's virginity was that things sacred to her, whether animals, forests, or mountains, must remain intact. "Whoever violates her purity is condemned to death. This virginity is that of wild nature, untamed like the goddess herself."²³ It is perhaps not stretching the matter to suggest that "the virgin's forest" and "the virgin forest" may be connected, and that the latter might well have derived from the former.²⁴

"[Artemis] is the goddess of untouched nature," says Andre Bonnard.²⁵ The image of the *Artemis of Icaria* is an unhewn, uncarved block of wood; and the word *hyle* in Greek can be used both for wood and the basic substance of nature.²⁶ As Christine Downing says, "Artemis is herself the wilderness, the wild and untamed, and not simply its mistress."²⁷ In terms of ancient religious feeling, Artemis endowed the wilderness with sacredness; in psychological terms, she was the projection of whatever it is in the human psyche that finds the sacred and the inviolable in nature.²⁸

Arrian, the ancient author of a handbook on hunting, warned against incurring the wrath of nature's gods: "So men who are interested in hunting should not neglect Artemis of the wild . . . or any other god of the mountains. If they do neglect them, needs must that their endeavors fall short of completion. Their hounds will be injured, their horses lamed; their men come to grief."²⁹ As protectress of spaces that were sacred and wild, Artemis punished violators with her arrows, with the fierce animals that obeyed her commands, with the winds, the plague, and with the dangers of childbirth, over which she presided. A hunter whose wife had miscarried in his absence would examine his own behavior on the hunt for transgressions against Artemis.

Artemisian wildlife refuges could not have been better located if a modern land manager had chosen them to represent each Mediterranean ecosystem. Most sacred to Artemis were the unspoiled landscapes of mountains and forests. Myth says that when Artemis's father, Zeus, allowed her to choose her own presents as a girl, among her requests were all the mountains in the world.³⁰ Aeschylus calls her "the lady of the wild mountains."³¹ Certain hills

and valleys were hers, forests and meadows. One of her sanctuaries was a stretch of sand dunes; others were marshes.³² But Artemis also held sacred springs of water, streams, and rivers; twenty river nymphs were her attendants.³³ Clearing obstructions or pollution from a stream was an act of obeisance to Artemis.³⁴ At Sparta, Epidauros Limera, and Sicyon she was "lady of the lake."³⁵ She loved the sea, had maritime titles, shared temples with the sea god Poseidon, and was worshipped in mermaid shape.³⁶

As would be expected, the particular species of trees chosen for Artemis were wild ones. The willow, from which the image of *Artemis Orthia* at Sparta was carved, is best known, but many other species were associated with her: cedar, myrtle, laurel (the special tree of her brother, Apollo), wild fig, nut-bearing trees, and pine. On Delos, at her birthplace, the Greeks revered a palm tree.

The very name "Artemis" may have derived from the Greek term for a sanctuary, *temenos*, plural *temene*. Shepard and Sanders maintain that the first part of "Artemis," *ark-*, derives from *arktos*, which means "bear," and also occurs in the names or titles *Arklos* and *Arkas*.³⁷ I suggest that the second element in the goddess's name, *-tem-*, comes from *temno*, a verb meaning "to cut" or "to divide, demarcate, set aside," which is the root of *temenos*, "sacred enclosure." Thus the etymology of the name Artemis would be *ark-temnis*, "bear-sanctuary," or more fully paraphrased, "she who establishes (or protects) the bear sanctuary." Such sanctuaries were commonly and most characteristically groves of trees.

Comprehensive regulations protected the groves of the gods, including those of Artemis. These rules, intended to preserve the sanctuaries from destruction, were enforced both through civil and religious penalties.³⁸ The wildlife that inhabited such sacred lands were also protected. Hunting and fishing were forbidden or strictly regulated. Since the groves were numerous and often large, they protected many species over a long period of time. The presence of the formidable figure of Artemis in the Greek pantheon inhibited human invasion of sacred forests

and helped to preserve a large number of wilderness areas, some extensive, as religious reserves.

Artemis as the Huntress

As a huntress,³⁹ Artemis is often shown in sculpture and vase painting armed with bow, arrows, and quiver, sometimes accompanied by the hunting hounds given her by another nature god, Pan. Her title *elaphebole* literally means “stag-shooter,” and she was also called *tauropole* (bull hunter) and *kaprophage* (wild-boar eater).⁴⁰ She was said to have killed so many animals that Apollo was able to build an altar out of their horns. At one of her festivals, adult men wore stags’ antlers on their heads, which implied their identification with the sacred animal. At festivals wild animals were sacrificed to the goddess, who was known to enjoy the chase and its fruits. Sometimes hunting in her precincts was permitted with the sole purpose of catching animals for sacrifice to Artemis.

Since Artemis was goddess of the wild, domestic animals such as sheep and calves were often taboo in her worship, and the ox, horse, and pig were rarely offered. The favorite animal for her rituals was the goat, which easily becomes feral. On the other hand goats may have been singled out for sacrifice because they destroy trees and brush and were therefore enemies of the wild woods that Artemis protected.

At Patrae, annual holocausts of living wild animals were offered to Artemis Laphria (Artemis the devourer).⁴¹ Descriptions of the scene sound appalling, with animals escaping from the flames only to be caught and thrown back in. Such scenes represent the sinister side of the goddess, counterbalancing the protective stance examined above. But such rituals were not common. In some festivals cakes in the shape of deer were substituted for real animals. The real animals most commonly sacrificed were she-goats, whose reduction would surely have been positive for the Mediterranean environment. Five hundred of them were slain in thanksgiving to Artemis for the Athenian victory at Marathon alone.

Artemis was patroness of those who followed the chase. Hunters prayed to



Relief of Artemis, stag, worshipper, and children from the Temple of Artemis, Brauron. Photograph taken by J. Donald Hughes in the Archaeological Museum of Brauron, by permission.

Artemis for success and safety. Arrian’s hunting handbook says, “Hunters must pay homage to Artemis Agrotera (She of the Wild), must pour libation, crown her, sing hymns and offer first-fruits of the game taken.”⁴² The month called *Artemision* in many cities was in Athens named *Elaphebolion* (the hunters’ moon). Hunters in Greek mythology were both male and female. Many of Artemis’s companions were feminine hunting spirits, and Atalanta the Huntress was a humanized manifestation of Artemis herself.⁴³

A protectress of wildlife who is herself a huntress, who grants success in the hunt, and who accepts or even demands a portion of the hunter’s bag as an offering requires explanation. What seems a paradox to the modern mind, however, is not one in primal hunting societies that see animals not as game, nor as enemies to be slain, but as powerful beings whose spiritual protectors must be propitiated. Of course the cultural attitudes of classical Greek hunters cannot be equated with those of the ancestral folk. But Artemis derived from the primal hunters’ religion, and her cult preserved beliefs and practices of the Greeks’ early forebears.

To quote Lewis Farnell, “The aboriginal Artemis . . . [reflected] in her character the life of her worshippers who [supported] themselves by hunting and fishing rather than by agriculture, . . . and [gave] a peculiar status to women, and [her] religion was full of ideas relating to totemism and the sacred character of the clan-animal.”⁴⁴

One may deduce an unwritten ancestral Artemisian “hunters’ code” that demanded respect for animals and plants and permitted the slaying of game only because it was necessary for human beings to nourish themselves. What might be termed the commandments of Artemis, that is, the rules and rituals enjoined upon hunters by tradition and custom, were intended to demonstrate reverence for life and to heal the breach provoked by its taking. Needless killing and hurting were forbidden not only out of sentiment, kindness to animals, but also as a sacred obligation imposed by all the force and terrible sanctions of a religion of immemorial antiquity. This obligation could therefore count on the support of both the hunter’s unconscious mind and Greek traditional culture.

The ancient religious rituals associated with hunting, fishing, and gather-

ing contained an implicit ethic of respect for other forms of life. The extent to which this ancestral tradition exercised a hold on the Greek psyche is illustrated by an incident recorded by the historian, Diodorus of Sicily.⁴⁵ Phintias, tyrant of Acragas, dreamed that while he was on a boar hunt he was attacked and killed by a wild sow. Deeply troubled, he asked Artemis's aid, promising to issue coins with the head of the goddess on one side and a wild boar's head on the other. No one had to tell Phintias which goddess sent the dream, or that she needed to be propitiated. Also significant are Xenophon's careful prescriptions for the hunter, including building a temple to Artemis in the game park on his estate, offering a portion of the hunter's bag or fisherman's creel to the goddess, and refraining from taking young animals.⁴⁶ A similar survival of ancestral attitudes was found among the rhizotomists, collectors of roots and herbs for medicinal and other purposes, who followed the custom of leaving offerings of fruit or mealcakes to "pay" for certain plants that they had uprooted or cut.⁴⁷

Artemis as Instructor of Children

Artemis was also known for her concern for young children and particularly for inculcating in them respect for animals. Artemis's concern with children is to be expected: she was a goddess of childbirth, and particularly treasured female animals, pregnant women, and the young of all species, including human beings. As Aeschylus addressed her, "Lovely you are and kind to the tender young of ravening lions; for sucklings of all the savage beasts that lurk in the lonely places you have sympathy." She "is angered at [the hunter's] . . . hounds eating the unborn young in the hare."⁴⁸ The omen that told Agamemnon and Menelaus of Artemis's disfavor was two eagles ripping up a pregnant hare, a sight that would have been odious to Artemis. In regard to human children, one of her titles was *paidotrophos* (rearer of children). Sometimes she sent animals as foster mothers to suckle infants that had been exposed, as in the cases of the she-bear that saved Ata-

lanta the huntress, and the hind that fed Telephos, the son of Auge, Artemis's priestess and alter ego.⁴⁹ Initiation ceremonies for maidens and youths were held in her honor in many cities, of which one example was the festival of Arkteia at the cult center of Brauron, in rural Attica outside Athens.

Arkteia was celebrated every four years, at least during the fifth century, although earlier it may have been an annual event.⁵⁰ During Arkteia, little girls, and sometimes little boys as well, were symbolically adopted by Artemis as *arktoi* (bear cubs) and covered with symbolic bearskin robes. The initiation ceremony at Brauron fostered a respect for animals among the young initiates.

There is archaeological evidence of the bear cult at Brauron from the eighth century B.C., although it could be older. The site was a flourishing center far back in the Neolithic and Mycenaean periods.⁵¹ Myth says the ceremony originated when two Athenian men killed a bear sacred to the goddess, who responded by sending a plague that would cease only if the Athenians would consecrate their daughters to her, "the bear Artemis," every five years.⁵² As Vidal-Naquet observes, "The myth is not difficult to explain: in exchange for the very advance of culture implied by the killing of wild animals, an advance for which men are responsible, the girls are obliged before marriage—indeed

before puberty—to undergo a period of ritual 'wildness.'"⁵³ The paradigmatic age of initiation was nine years, but in practice the girls ranged in age from five to ten.⁵⁴

In the initiation, the goddess, the children, and the bear were "considered to be as of one nature and called by the same name."⁵⁵ Artemis was worshipped as the Great-She-Bear and the girls became her images, *arktoi*, sometimes wearing bear masks.⁵⁶ In the earliest days of the Brauronian festival, the girls were no doubt clothed in bearskin robes, but by the fifth century bears were rare in Attica,⁵⁷ and the *krokoton* (a short, saffron-yellow chiton), replaced the furs, but continued to symbolize the bearskin. There was a sacred race of the little girls. They carried baskets, danced in honor of the Great Bear to the music of the *diaulos* (double flute), and held torches and wreaths around a fire altar that stood near the sacred palm tree associated with Artemis's birth. The dance, also called "arkteia," is represented in classical vase paintings, and its slow, solemn steps, with movements imitating those of bears, can be imagined. By dressing and moving like bears, the *arktoi* heightened their sense of identification with the animal.

It is clear from the predominant place given to little girls as *arktoi* in literature and art that the ceremony was intended



Temple of Artemis at Brauron, Attica, Greece. The site of the Arkteia ceremonies in which Athenian children honored Artemis by becoming "bears." Photograph by J. Donald Hughes.



Statue of a “bear,” a young girl with a rabbit, honoring Artemis, found at the Temple of Artemis, Brauron. Photograph taken by J. Donald Hughes in the Archaeological Museum of Brauron, by permission.

primarily for girls. But a few of the statues and figures on pottery found at Brauron are of little boys holding animals and wearing masks like their sisters, so it must also have been possible for boys to be initiated if their parents wished.⁵⁸ Although the major ceremony took place at Brauron, a very similar one was held in a sanctuary at the harbor of Mounichia, and another at the temple of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis, where two small girls dressed as she-bears took part in an annual festival.⁵⁹ In the excavation of the Acropolis, a small marble votive offering was found, a figure of a bear “seated on its hind legs, one furry paw sticking out.”⁶⁰

The Brauron initiation acted to inculcate respect and even love for wild creatures in young children. The children were given a sense of identification with the bear in the enactments that were part of the initiation, but there was more. Reliefs depict other animals, especially deer and goats, present with the goddess and her worshippers, being petted or fed. Statues found at Brauron show children holding small animals such as hares and doves in unmistakable poses of affection, and even kissing them. These were not animals to be sacrificed—indeed, the only sacrifice at

Brauron was a symbolic one of blood from a small cut. The experience of Brauron was so important that it was impressed on the young Athenian psyche by repetition in the heart of the city at important stages of adolescent development. For older girls closer to the age of marriage, there was a renewal of the Brauron initiation. The ceremony in all its forms taught children the love of the wild, and as the goddess honored by the festival, Artemis can be seen as an early patroness of environmental education.

Artemis as Goddess of Conservation

Artemis was a powerful figure in classical mythology, and her influence on ancient attitudes and practices was complex. But several aspects of her character moved those who worshipped her toward the same goal: conservation.

First, Artemis was a formidable defender of wild animals and was believed to punish those who killed them boastfully or imprudently. Thus her effect on those who revered her was to inhibit the thoughtless destruction of wildlife. Second, Artemis personified the wilderness. She loved forests and mountains and gave protection to defined areas of sacred space that functioned as wild areas and wildlife sanctuaries. Third, Artemis stood for ethical principles in hunting and land management. Derived from the ideas of primal hunters and gatherers who saw animals and other natural things as living, sentient, ensouled beings, these principles were sometimes echoed by the writers of classical treatises on hunting and agriculture. According to these treatises, a hunter setting forth had to be abstinent and pure, mindful of the precepts of Artemis.⁶¹ By staying the hunter’s hand and saving some sections of the landscape from habitat destruction, the worship of Artemis saved a significant portion of the Greek landscape from despoliation for several centuries. Finally, Artemis was a goddess of childbirth, child raising, and the induction of children into adolescence and adulthood. The initiation ceremonies of Artemis Brauronia held by the Athenians encouraged young people to love and respect wild animals, and thus consti-

tuted an important and heretofore insufficiently noticed example of environmental education in the classical Greek period.

Other elements of ancient Greek religion, such as the worship of Pan and Mother Earth, had some of the same effects on conservation as worship of Artemis, but the study of the cult of Artemis is an essential component of an analysis of the ancient Greeks’ stance toward wildlife, forests, and the wilderness. ▲

Notes

1. The figure, also called “The Huntress Artemis,” was found at Gabies. See Maximilien Gauthier, *The Louvre: Sculpture, Ceramics, Objets d’Art* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1964), p. 86.
2. Xenophon *Anabasis* 5.3.9–10; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 7.271; Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* 7.20. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2d edition, edited by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1970), gives standard editions and translations for each ancient author at the end of the entry for the author’s name, and spells out abbreviations on pp. ix–xxii.
3. E.g., Homer *Iliad* 21.470.
4. Franz Hancar, “Zum Problem der Venusstatuen im eurasiatischen Jungpaläolithikum,” *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 30/31, 1/2 (1939–40): 106; noted in Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology* (Harmondsworth, United Kingdom: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 327–28.
5. James Mellaart, *Catal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1967), plate 9.
6. Reynold Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean Art*, 2d edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 32, and plates 3, 22, and 23.
7. This Boeotian vase was found in the late nineteenth century, and dates from sometime around the ninth century B.C. See Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1896), 2:522–23 and plate 29a. Farnell identifies the carnivores as lions, but their pointed ears and tuftless tails make them look more like wolves to this author, who has pondered the original in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. In vase painting of this period, lions are generally shown with prominently tufted tails.
8. Anton Bammer, *Das Heiligtum der Artemis von Ephesos* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1984), plate 138.
9. Other Greek examples include but are not limited to Gaia, Rhea, Hera, Demeter, and even some aspects of Athena. See Christine Downing, *The Goddess: Mythological Images of the Feminine* (New York: Crossroad, 1981).
10. Homer *Odyssey* 6.101–9. The translation here is that of Albert Cook, *Homer: The*

Odyssey: A New Verse Translation (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), p. 81. For an interesting if controversial recent interpretation, see "Artemis and Ecology" in *Pagan Meditations*, by Ginette Paris (Dallas, Texas: Spring Publications, 1986), pp. 109–10.

11. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:435.
12. Plutarch *On Rivers* 21.
13. Scholiast on Nicander *Theriaca* 15. Hesiod (*Astronomy* 4) says that Orion made the boast in the presence of Artemis, but that Earth (Ge) sent the scorpion. See also Joseph Fontenrose, *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress*, University of California Classical Studies 23 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 13–15.
14. Hyginus *Poetic Astronomy* 2.34.; Theon *On Aratus* 638.
15. Sophocles *Electra* 563–72.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.30. See Apollodorus, *The Library of Greek Mythology*, translated by Keith Aldrich (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1975), p. 61.
18. This is observed by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103 (1983): 99.
19. Euripides *Bacchae* 337–40.
20. Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.81–82.
21. Xenophon *Cynegeticus* 5.14. Xenophon, a typical aristocratic Greek of the late classical period, had a most conventional attitude on religious matters.
22. As in the case of the Calydonian boar, sent against Oeneus because he neglected to sacrifice to Artemis. This is a Homeric story, well known to all classical Greeks, many of whom would have taken it literally. Homer *Iliad* 9.532.
23. Lilly Kahil, "The Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," chap. 15 of *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, edited by Warren G. Moon (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p. 239. See also Walter F. Otto, *The Homeric Gods: The Spiritual Significance of Greek Religion* (London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1954), p. 82: "Artemis' realm is the ever-distant wilderness. With her remoteness is connected her virginity."
24. Paris, *Pagan Meditations*, pp. 113–15.
25. Andre Bonnard, quoted by Paris, *Pagan Meditations*, p. 109.
26. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:520–21. In the works of the philosophers, possibly the Pythagoreans and certainly Aristotle and later writers, *hyle* is the basic substance that underlies all nature. See Timaeus of Locri *Peri Psychas Kosmo kai Physios* 93b, which is a pseudonymous work of the first century A.D., but may preserve a genuine earlier Pythagorean use of this word.
27. Downing, *The Goddess*, p. 87.
28. In Jung's psychology the archetype of the "Self" represents the sacred character of the unconscious, which is also the part of the psyche that can be symbolized by the forest or wilderness. See Carl G. Jung, *Collected Works*, 20 volumes (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957–1979), 5:391–93, 13:194–95.
29. Arrian, *Cynegeticus* 35. See John Kinloch Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 120–21; and Philip A. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 56.
30. Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis*.
31. Aeschylus, fragment 342; cf. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae* 114–15.
32. Meadows are mentioned in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 75ff. Kahil's "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron" discusses the sand dunes at Halae (p. 238) and marshes at Brauron and Sparta (also p. 238). Marshes at Elis are also mentioned in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:427.
33. The spring at Aulis is in Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," p. 238. For the River Alpheus as sacred to Artemis, see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 6.22.8–10.
34. Paris, *Pagan Meditations*, p. 112.
35. Pausanias *Description of Greece* 2.7.6., 3.14.2., 3.23.10.
36. For maritime titles and shared temples, see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:429–30. On Artemis as a mermaid see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.41.4.
37. Paul Shepard and Barry Sanders, *The Sacred Paw: The Bear in Nature, Myth, and Literature* (New York: Viking, 1985), pp. 112–18. Also see Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), pp. 145–46: "The very name of the animal that the girls [the "Bears" at Brauron] represent is that of the divinity, Artemis, goddess of wild nature." This is only one of several etymologies, none of which has gained universal acceptance.
38. See Darice Elizabeth Birge, "Sacred Groves in the Ancient Greek World" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982); and J. Donald Hughes, "Sacred Groves: The Gods, Forest Protection, and Sustained Yield in the Ancient World," in *History of Sustained-Yield Forestry: A Symposium*, edited by Harold K. Steen (Santa Cruz, California: Forest History Society, 1984), pp. 331–43.
39. One Greek word for "huntress" is *elaphebole*, which literally means "deer-shooter." Many classicists, too numerous to mention, also give "huntress" as an alternate meaning of *agrottera*, which literally means "she of the wild."
40. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:432.
41. Pausanias *Description of Greece* 7.18.12. A similar rite was held at Messene in honor of Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth, who is so closely identified with Artemis as to be a form of her (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 4.31.9.).
42. Arrian *Cynegetica* 33.
43. Carl Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks* (London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1951), p. 43.
44. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:427.
45. Theophrastus *Historia Plantarum* 9.8.7.
46. Diodorus Siculus *World History* 22.5.
47. Xenophon *Cynegeticus* 6.13.
48. Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 132–43.
49. Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.104–5.
50. So Lloyd-Jones maintains in "Artemis and Iphigeneia," p. 92.
51. John J. Coulton, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, edited by Richard Stilwell (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), s.v. "Brauron." See also Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," p. 232. No archaeological trace of a cult earlier than the eighth century B.C. has as yet been discovered, but the site has not been completely excavated. See also Euripides *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1446–67.
52. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2:435–37. We would say "every four years," since the Greeks included the first and last years of a period when counting. According to Athenian mythography, the first priestess at Brauron was Iphigenia, whose life was spared by Artemis when her father, Agamemnon, offered her in sacrifice at Aulis. According to Euripides, Iphigenia brought the goddess's wooden image from Tauris to Brauron. The Spartans, however, claimed it had become their image of Artemis Orthia, found by Alopecus, "the Fox," in a sacred willow tree (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 3.16.9.). See also Russell Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 304.
53. Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter*, p. 146.
54. Paula Perlman, in "Plato *Laus* 833C–834D and the Bears of Brauron," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 24 (March 1983): 115–30, rejects the usual interpretation given here and maintains that the *arktoi* were "between the ages of ten and fourteen or fifteen" (p. 116). But the statues at Brauron clearly show younger children. See also Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography* (Athens, Greece: Kardamitsa, 1988).
55. Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 641–48; see also Downing, *The Goddess*, pp. 164–65. Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," pp. 235–37, calls it a *mysterion*, or mystery cult. This was no doubt true in the sense that it was an initiation into a state of oneness with the goddess, but possibly not in the further sense that the child would have to keep the events of the ceremony absolutely secret.
56. Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," p. 237. The masks are shown in vase paintings.
57. They were not extinct in Greece, as Lloyd-Jones assumes ("Artemis and Iphigeneia," p. 98); they still exist there in mountainous areas today.
58. Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," p. 237.
59. Artemis Brauronia was honored on the Athenian Acropolis in a stoa, or colonnaded porch, which had two pedimental ends turned forward and decorated as if they were temple entrances, as is the case with the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora. Pausanias *Description of Greece* (1.23.7.) calls the one dedicated to Artemis a *hieron*, or "temple."
60. Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing, 1962), pp. 84–85. Harrison herself found the votive bear.
61. Walter Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), p. 118.