

Artemis and Diana in Ancient Greece and Italy

Artemis and Diana in Ancient Greece and Italy:

*At the Crossroads between
the Civic and the Wild*

Edited by

Giovanni Casadio
and Patricia A. Johnston

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Artemis and Diana in Ancient Greece and Italy:
At the Crossroads between the Civic and the Wild

Edited by Giovanni Casadio and Patricia A. Johnston

This book first published 2021

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2021 by Giovanni Casadio, Patricia A. Johnston
and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without
the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-6614-5

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-6614-9

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	vii
<i>Patricia A. Johnston and Giovanni Casadio</i>	

Artemis in Mycenae and Greece

Mycenaean “Artemis”: A Methodological Question	2
<i>Marcello Tozza (University of Malaga)</i>	

Artemis and Dionysus. Encounters in Natural Settings: Lakes and Marshes	24
<i>Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal (University Complutense of Madrid)</i>	

The Cults of Artemis/Diana as Icons of Paganism	47
<i>Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui (University Complutense of Madrid)</i>	

The Taurian Statue in Attica: Mythical Siblings and ‘Twin’ Sanctuaries	68
<i>Diana Guarisco (University of Bologna)</i>	

Artemis in Sicily

Artemis, The Bear and the Mothers of Engyon: Reception of the Ionic Kourtophos Model in Ancient Sicily between Mythic Survivals and Cultic Revivals	90
<i>Giuseppina Paola Viscardi (University of Bologna)</i>	

Between Iconography and Rituals: The Artemis Cult in Late-classical Sicily	119
<i>Mario Cottonaro (University of Catania)</i>	

Artemis/Diana in Italy: Etruria; Nemi

Artemis <i>vel</i> Diana, a Totem Goddess?	132
<i>Claudia Santi (University of Campania Luigi Vanvitelli)</i>	

Etruscan Artemis	141
<i>Szilvia Lakatos (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)</i>	
Aricia, Cumae and The Cult of Diana, from Archaeological, Artistic and Practical Accounts.....	161
<i>Maria Cristina Vincenti (University of Rome 2 Tor Vergata)</i>	
Virbius the Great. Considerations about a Minor God Associated with Diana	187
<i>Alberto Silvestri (President of Archeoclub Aricino)</i>	
The Triform Goddess Diana and her Patronage of Political Meetings in her Groves	209
<i>Attilio Mastrocinque (University of Verona)</i>	
Artemis and Diana in Literature	
Artemis and Aphrodite from Greece to Rome in the Comic Theatre	240
<i>Marianna Calabretta (University of Naples)</i>	
Callimachus' <i>Hymn to Artemis</i> : Her Own Rite of Passage	260
<i>Sergio López Molina (University Complutense of Madrid)</i>	
Catullus, Horace and Diana Tifatina's Sacred Choir.....	276
<i>Patricia A. Johnston (Brandeis University)</i>	
Fulgentius and the Interpretation of the Myth of Actaeon and Diana.....	287
<i>Étienne Wolff (University of Paris Ouest)</i>	

INTRODUCTION

ARTEMIS AND DIANA IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ITALY: AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN THE CIVIC AND THE WILD¹

The Greek goddess **Artemis**, the daughter of Leto and twin sister of Apollo, is often represented as a young, untamed girl, with no real interests beyond hunting, like her brother, with a bow. In Crete she was known as the Lady of the Wild Beasts. While her most famous shrine is at Ephesus, she was honored in all the wild and mountainous areas of Greece, Arcadia, and Laconia. Her temple, the Artemision, in Ephesus, where she was worshipped as Artemis of Ephesus, was one of the world's seven wonders.

Two short Homeric *Hymns to Artemis* (numbered 9 and 27) embody these qualities and characteristics:

... ἦ δ' ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχουσα
πάντη ἐπιστρέφεται θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην.
αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν τερφθῆ θηροσκόπος ἰοχέαιρα,
εὐφρήνη δὲ νόον, χαλάσασ' εὐκαμπέα τόξα
ἔρχεται ἐς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτιο φίλοιο,
Φοίβου Απόλλωνος, Δελφῶν ἐς πίονα δῆμον,
Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα.

“the goddess with a bold heart turns every way, destroying the race of wild beasts: and when she is satisfied and has cheered her heart, this huntress who delights in arrows slackens her supple bows and goes to the great house of her dear brother Phoebus Apollo, to the rich land of Delphi, there to order the lovely dance of the Muses and Graces” (*Hymn to Artemis* 27.9-15; trans. H.G. Evelyn-White, Loeb)

Artemis, goddess of the Hunt, Forests and Hills, and the Moon, was one of the most widely venerated of the Ancient Greek deities. Her Roman

¹ The papers in this collection were originally presented at the Vergilian Society's Symposium Cumanum, June 1-5, 2012.

equivalent is Diana. Some scholars believe that the name, and indeed the goddess herself, was originally pre-Greek. Homer refers to her as *Artemis Agrotera, Potnia Theron*, “Artemis of the wild, Mistress of Animals.” The Arcadians of Lykosura, said to be oldest city in the world, believed she was the daughter of Demeter.

In the classical period of Greek mythology, Artemis (Ἄρτεμις) was often described as the daughter of Zeus and Leto, and the twin sister of Apollo. She was the Hellenic goddess of the hunt, of wild animals, of wilderness, of childbirth, and of virginity, protector of young girls, and one who brings and relieves disease in women. She was often depicted as a huntress carrying a bow and arrows. The deer and the cypress were sacred to her. In later Hellenistic times, she even assumed the ancient role of Eileithyia, who brings aid in childbirth.

In the Greek cult, Artemis is mainly concerned with age transitions: birth, initiations, the growing up of both genders, death (of women), and with the spaces outside the cities and the human activities within them — especially hunting with the bow, which is her emblem, and warfare. In the Greek East she is also a polis-goddess. Her counterparts in Anatolia, Mesopotamia-Syria and Persia were the Phrygian Cybele and the Iranian Anahita. The Romans identified Artemis with Diana, whereas the Etruscans adopted her under her Greek name as *Artume(s)*. In the East she had many sanctuaries all over Anatolia, being known as *Artimus* in Lydia, and as *Ertemi* in Lycia.

The etymology of her name is uncertain. She is most likely referred to in the inscriptions found in the Bronze Age *Pylus* (Linear B), although her functions in that context are unclear.² But it is only possible to fix a mythical corpus and an established cult in the Greek archaic age. Homer and Hesiod (late sixth to early eighth centuries BCE) know her as the daughter of Zeus and Leto, and in the *Iliad*, together with her mother and her brother Apollo, she takes the side of the Trojans against the Greeks. Homeric poetry narrates some of her deeds: how she took revenge on the Calydonian king, Oineus, for neglecting her sacrifice (*Iliad* IX, 533–540) and on the Theban queen, Niobe, for insulting her mother (*Iliad* XXIV, 603–609), as well as how she shot accidentally Orion and Ariadne at the behest of Dionysos (*Odyssey* XI, 324).

The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (16-19) provides a list of Artemis’s specific roles, which include archery and hunting in the woods, playing the lyre, leading girls’ choirs and ritual shouting in her sacred groves, as well

² A sceptic, with some reason, is M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, Rome 1968, pp. 46-47 and 259.

as accomplishing political and civic functions in “the city of just men”. Hunting game animals by archery, the main human activity in the wilderness beyond the city space, is a particularly important task pertaining to Artemis’ divine sphere. Artemis is the “Queen/Mistress of Animals” (*Potnia theron* in *Iliad* XXI, 470), and as such she protects good hunters and punishes the bad ones, such as Orion and Actaeon, two heroes guilty of the crime of *hybris*. In the company of her nymphs, Artemis hunts boars and deer, but she also relaxes with dance, and plays (*Odyssey* VI, 102-109). The nymphs, the mythical projection of the girls who are sexually active and suitable for marriage but still virgins, share her space during their transition rites. Like these nymphs, Artemis, too, is a virgin; but unlike her, these maidens (*korai*) will soon lose their virginity. Hunting means killing, and the huntress Artemis also kills humans, both male (but these only in revenge) and female. Her unfailing arrows were believed to cause death from disease for women of every age and rank, and an invisible arrow of Artemis is in fact accepted as one explanation for unexpected female death (*Odyssey* XI, 172).

The *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* (III.16) alludes to her birth in Ortygia, a small island which is the historical centre of the city of Syracuse, before Leto went to Delos to give birth to Apollo. She must be older than her twin brother, with whose birth she assisted on the seventh day of *Thargelion*. The temple of Artemis on Delos dates to about 700 BCE and is almost two centuries older than the first temple of Apollo, who was Delos’s main divinity. The Greeks, in fact, knew of another place called Ortygia, in a river valley outside the city of Ephesus, the seat of Artemis’s main sanctuary in the ancient world. The local myth told how Leto fled to this sacred grove to give birth to her daughter. In order to protect mother and baby from being persecuted by Hera, the Kouretes (minor gods in charge of the initiation of the male adolescents, the *kouroi*) performed a noisy war dance around the newly born goddess. This myth was the basis for the religious and political role of a body of male citizens connected with the political center of Ephesus, the “sacred Kouretes.”

In later Greek religion, the roles of Artemis become further varied. In public cults, Artemis as huntress is rarely attested, although individual hunters used to dedicate the heads, antlers, or hides of their prey to Artemis. Since fishing is another form of hunting, fishermen, as well, dedicated portions of their catch to Artemis. In the iconography of both Attic vase painting and Classical and post-Classical sculpture, Artemis is constantly represented as a huntress with a short dress (*chitoniskos*, clothing usually worn by men), high boots, a bow and a quiver, or a couple of hunting spears; frequently a doe lies or rides at her side. Warfare and hunting being closely

connected in ancient life, in several Greek lands Artemis was also connected with warfare. We are told that before a battle, the Spartans offered a sacrifice to Artemis *Agrotera* (“the Wild One”), and the Athenians celebrated the victory of Marathon with an annual sacrifice to Artemis. Later, Artemis Tauropolos, a goddess connected with groups of young warriors, is attested as the protectress of the Macedonian army and of the armies of the successors of Alexander the Great. As such, Artemis characteristically appears as a female deity at the center of a group of male warriors and citizens, just like Anatolian Cybele to whom she is, phenomenologically and historically, closely connected.

Artemis plays a preeminent role in the sphere of the initiation and protection of young men, although her patronage here is often expressed in cruel rites. In the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos in Halai Araphenides, a deme of ancient Attica where young men performed armed Pyrrhic dances, a youth’s throat would be ritually cut until bleeding. Myth explained this as a substitution for Orestes’ sacrifice to the cruel Artemis of the Taurians. The rites in the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were even more spectacular, rousing a morbid interest in both Greek and Roman visitors and modern scholars. The Spartans whipped boys at the altar of Artemis until they bled. While this took place, the priestess attended the operation, carrying a small image of the goddess. If the beating was not hard enough, the image the priestess carried grew heavier. This ritual was thought to replace a human sacrifice, although it developed from a contest among young males in which one group tried to steal cheese from Artemis’s altar while a second group tried to prevent the theft. The Spartan image of the goddess was said to be identical with the image in Artemis’s sanctuary among the Taurians, located at the northern shore of the Black Sea. At some point in the ritual, the image was bound into the boughs of a *lygos* bush (a type of willow), whence the name Artemis Lygodesme (“bound in willow”). In another local ritual from Tyndaris in Sicily, the same Taurian image was wrapped in a bundle of wood (*phakelos*, meaning faggot of wood, whence Artemis gets the epithet *Phakelitis*) and carried in a procession. According to a Spartan myth, the Taurian image drove the Spartans who found it mad. In the city of Pellene another small image of Artemis was carried around the walls of the besieged city with the aim of instilling madness in the attackers, whereas in the Arcadian city Lousoi another Artemis (*Hemerasia*, the Soother) could heal madness. Violence, wild frenzy, divine merciless dominance, and cruel masculinity seem to blend into one complex that expressed itself in a small image of Artemis that looked primitive and foreign. Similar rituals connected with warfare, hunting, and with animal

or even human cruel sacrifices took place in other Greek cities: Patras (Artemis Laphria), Calydon, Hyampolis and Phocaea.

Artemis was at least as important for girls and young women as she was for boys and young men. Choruses of girls dancing for Artemis were ubiquitous in Greece, especially in the Peloponnese; the girls often performed in sanctuaries situated far outside the cities, often in the mountains or in swampy regions. There, Artemis was *Limnatis* or *Limnaia* ("Lady of the Marsh," rather than "of the lake"), or *Kedreatis* ("Lady of the Cedar Tree") and *Karyatis* ("She of the Hazelnut Tree"). Young Athenian girls spent some time in the secluded sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the East coast of Attica, far away from the crowded center of the city. The archaeological finds from the sanctuary attest to the dancing of choruses, the running contests of naked girls, and the use of bear masks. According to indigenous lore, the cult was instituted to appease Artemis who was angry because the Athenians had killed her sacred bear. The same animal appears in the story of Callisto, a nymph whom Artemis turned into a bear to punish her for her loss of virginity. Callisto would give birth to Arcas, the founder of Arcadia, who, as a hunter, unwittingly shot his bear mother. This story combines the feminine topic of girls at the service of Artemis with the masculine topics of the bear hunt and the foundation of a state. Callisto's name, etymologically the "Most Beautiful Girl," also refers to beauty contests that were frequently connected with choruses of girls. As a patroness of nubile girls, Artemis does not only protect their virginity as long as necessary; she also presides over the birth of their children once these girls become married women. Before their marriage, brides dedicated their toys to her, sometimes sacrificing to her during the wedding ritual. In relation with the successive stage of female life, Artemis was called *Lochia* (Lady of Birth) or was identified with the birth-goddess *Eileithyia*.

Besides her functions related to the two human genders, and perhaps primarily, Artemis was the patroness of young animals, especially cubs of wild beasts. The seer Calchas, in a prophecy evoked by the Chorus exclaims: "Brilliant goddess who loves so tenderly all the suckling cubs of fearsome lions! Artemis, who is so mightily pleased to see the young of all the wild beasts roaming the valleys free!" (Aesch, *Agamemnon* 140-143).

At the political level, which in mainland Greece was monopolized by Zeus, Hera and Athena, it was only in the Greek East that Artemis became also the tutelary sovereign and protective goddess of cities, chiefly in Ephesus. The Ephesian sanctuary became her main sanctuary already at the beginning of the Archaic Age (8th century BCE), being older even than the oracular shrine of Apollo at Didyma. It is to be presumed that this was the result of the Greek *interpretatio* of a pre-existing indigenous mother-

goddess who was venerated in an archaic, pre-Hellenic cult image. Shortly after 600 BCE, Croesus, king of neighboring Lydia, contributed to the construction of a magnificent huge temple. The New Testament account of Paul's controversial visit in Ephesus (*Acts IX*, 23–48) demonstrates the importance of her cult and the intensity of the religious fervor exhibited by the Ephesians. During the Hellenistic and Roman imperial epochs, many Greek and Anatolian cities adopted the cult of Ephesian Artemis, sometimes reshaping it into mystery cults. The official cult image of Ephesus represented the goddess with two burning torches. Yet the Ephesians had another image, the one of a many-breasted Artemis that is preserved in several ancient copies (reliefs, coins and medals) and whose explanation is still uncertain — its iconography in fact seems to evoke an archaic indigenous imagery that originally had nothing do to with female breasts (bull's testicles being the most attractive suggestion). Artemis played a similar role in the Anatolian cities of Perge, the capital of Pamphylia, where her image presented a comparable iconography (Artemis Pergaia) and Magnesia, on the Maeander, where Artemis Leukophryene became prominent because of a miraculous epiphany in the third century BCE. According to Strabo, her temple, though in size and the number of its treasures was surpassed by the temple of Ephesus, in beauty and the harmony of its parts was superior to all the temples in Asia Minor.

The poet Aeschylus was the first to identify Artemis with Selene, the moon, in the same way as he identified Apollo with the sun. Later, these identifications became commonplace, especially in Latin literature, where Diana, following the *interpretatio* with Artemis, became the standard moon-goddess. During the 5th century the Athenians identified Artemis with Bendis, a Thracian orgiastic goddess associated with hunting, whose worship was officially introduced into Athens about 430 BCE. Particularly intriguing is the connection (attested first by Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 27, stating that king Artaxerxes Mnemon made his concubine Aspasia become a priestess of “Artemis whom they call Anaïtis”) between Artemis and the Iranian goddess Anaïtis (ancient Avestan Anahita). In the religious melting pot of the Roman empire, Artemis (especially in her function of moon goddess) was identified and syncretized with a number of other goddesses, especially with the mysterious and polyvalent Hekate and the omnipotent Egyptian Isis, both deities having remarkable associations with witchcraft, magic, and sorcery – which conferred even on her some importance in magic.³

³ For a basic bibliography, see Robert Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden 1973; Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Figures, Tables, Masques*, Paris 1990, pp. 137–207; Bruno Gentili and Franca Perusino, eds.,

In Roman mythology, Diana was equated with the Greek Artemis although she had an independent origin in Italy. Diana was the goddess of the hunt, the moon and birthing. She was associated with wild animals and the woodland and had the power to talk to and control animals. Oak groves were especially sacred to her. Initially she was only a hunting goddess, but later became a moon goddess, supplanting the goddess Luna, the Roman equivalent of the Greek Selene (Σελήνη, “moon”). Selene is the daughter of two Titans, Hyperion and Theia, and sister of the sun-god, Helios, and of Eos, goddess of the dawn. In classical times, Selene was often identified with Artemis, and her brother, Helios, was identified with Apollo. Luna/Selene is also sometimes represented as an aspect of the Roman three-fold goddess (*diva triformis*), along with Proserpina and Hecate. Catullus refers to her with multiple aliases, as Latona, Lucina, Juno, Trivia, and Luna.

Varro and Cicero offer the oldest and most commonly accepted etymology of the name of Diana. She was conceived as the female counterpart of Iuppiter Dianus, following this etymological chain: *Deus, dius, *diuius, Diovis, dies, Diuiana*, Diana. Diana is therefore “the goddess of light” and she is often defined as such in inscriptions of the imperial era, which honor her as *Dea Diana, Deana*, or simply, *Diana*. Varro (*De lingua Latina* V, 68), following the ancient texts of Epicharmus and Ennius, states that “the Moon (*luna*) takes her name from *lucere* (to illuminate) because it shines alone at night.” For this reason, it is called *Noctiluca* over the Palatinus, where her temple shines at night. Varro adds that *lucere* derives from *luere* (to undo, to dissolve), because light (*lux*) dissolves darkness; from *lux* derives *Noctiluca* (*De lingua Latina* VI, 79). In her temple a lamp remained lit, illuminating the night. That rite is not Greek, but Italian. For his part, Cicero states that “just as the Sun receives the name of Apollo, so the Moon receives that of Diana” (*De natura deorum* III, 20.51); the same duality of day versus night appears in Horace’s *Carm.* VI”, when the poet, in this hymn honoring Augustus, praises Apollo Phoibos (= Sun) and, later, the rites celebrated in honor of Diana-Phoibe, whose flame grows, ripening the wheat fields: *canentes ... rite crescentem face Noctilucam, prosperam frugum celeremque pronos volvere mensis* (“ritually singing the Night-

Le orse di Brauron. Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide, Pisa 2002; Susan Guettel Cole, *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: the Ancient Greek Experience*, Berkeley 2004 (esp. chapters 6 and 7): reviewed in *BMCR* 2004.09.18. The present book is in a certain way the follower and rejoinder to Tobias Fischer-Hansen and Birte Poulsen, eds., *From Artemis to Diana: The Goddess of Man and Beast (Acta Hyperborea 12)*, Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2009: reviewed in bmc.brynmawr.edu/2010.08.02/.

lighter in its waxing Crescent phase, who gives increase to the crops and swiftly rolls the hurrying months). Catullus dedicates his Carmen XXXIV to Diana. Here, the rhythmic repetitions transform the poem into a true hymn or a prayer where she is invoked as Lady (*domina*) of wild life in verses 9 through 12: *montium domina ut fores/ silvarumque virentium / saltuumque reconditorum amniumque sonantum* (“Thus you are mistress of the hills, and the flourishing woods and the secluded pasture land and the resounding rivers”). The verses show the duality of Diana as a midwife and protector of children, and as regent of the gloomy night. Thus, Diana is the light that rules the night. This is why she is also invoked as Lucina, stealing this nursing role from Juno herself, who aids women in labor (Cicero, *De natura deorum* II, 68).

The Italic cult to Diana is very ancient. Legend attributes to King Tadius the establishment of her cult in Latium, brought from the land of the Sabines. According to Livy (XXVII, 4, 12), a temple and a forest (*templum et lucus*) were consecrated to her in Anagnia, the land of the Hernici, as they were on a hill near Tusculum. These natural landscapes defined from early times the sacred surroundings of Diana: dark forests, luxuriant woods, and caves. The paradigm of such a cult can be found in the oldest and most renowned of Diana’s sanctuaries in Latin worship, that of Diana Aricina, located in the forest of Nemus (*nemus aricinum*), on a lakeshore at the foot of the Alban hills (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XVI, 91). From the name of the lake and the forest, the goddess takes the epithet Nemorensis. In Aricia, the worshipers of Diana were mostly female, and her night-rituals were impressive. Once the women had performed the rites, they returned to Rome in a procession, carrying torches and illuminating the night with the fire of their torches. The procession was repeated on the Ides of August, when the women would stand around Lake Nemi until they could feel the presence of the goddess: “Diana herself, who crowns with flowers her chosen hounds, sets her darts and lets the wild beasts lose, while in their chaste homes, the people, throughout the land of Italy, celebrate the day of Hecate” (Statius, *Silvae* III, 1, 55–60). This archaic temple held extraordinary importance in the organization of the later cult of the goddess, for, when it was moved to Rome, the priest of the temple of Diana in the Aventine was addressed by the traditional title *rex nemorensis* (Ovid, *Fasti* III, 265; VI, 735). The title conferred sacred respect and was evidence of the ancestral barbarian ritual. The priest of Diana “always had to defend himself sword in hand against his foes” (Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* I, 260). This atmosphere of savagery and challenge explains Diana’s popularity among slaves and gladiators. In the time of Augustus, the bronze tables with the founding decree of the confederate temple, the *lex arae Dianae in Aventino*,

were still preserved. As in Aricia, in Rome the anniversary of her cult was August 13. On that date, slaves received symbolic freedom and women cleansed themselves by washing their hair and combing it delicately (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 100).

The early conflation with Artemis can explain those aspects of Diana that contrast with her virginal nature. At Aricia, votive objects have been discovered that take the form of vulvas and phalluses. Syncretism progressively altered the Latin goddess to the point of conferring various features of the Greek goddess upon her beyond her lunar function; thus, she became a midwife as Artemis Locheia, a huntress-goddess, and, as Diana Trivia (“of three ways”), a goddess of crossroads, after the example of Hekate Trioditis (= Trivia). By the time of Augustus, the absorption of Diana by Artemis was virtually complete, as can be seen in Horace’s *Carmen saeculare* and in Catullus’ *Hymn to Diana* (*Carm.* 34). On the other hand, Strabo (IV, 1.5) relates that the cultic statue on the Aventine displayed the same traits as the Artemis of Marseilles, which in turn was an imitation of the Artemis of Ephesus.

In Campania, north of Capua, there was another great archaic sanctuary to Diana, called the Diana Tifatina because of the abundance of evergreen oaks on its surrounding hills. It was created around the third century BCE. The numerous inscriptions found there attest to the popularity of this cult, especially between the first century BCE and the first century CE, which depict Diana Tifatina as “huntress.” The temple received generous tributes from Sulla in gratitude for his victory over C. Norbanus not far from the temple of Tifatina (Velleius Paterculus II, 25.4; Plutarch, *Sulla* 6). Economic activity, based on the ownership and farming of the land, extends to the imperial era. The policies of protection of the temple by the emperors is exemplified by the actions of Vespasian in 77 or 78 against private individuals who improperly occupied lands surrounding the temple of Diana Tifatina — by illegally expanding the size of adjacent lots during the first century CE. The emperor demanded that the land be returned to the temple. Sulla had granted the land to the temple of Diana in 82 BCE, and its boundaries were legally recorded in the land registry under Augustus. The imperial judgment is preserved in an inscription in Capua, stating that Emperor Vespasian “restored the limits of the lands under litigation to the temple of Diana Tifatina, donated by Cornelius Sulla” (*CIL* X 3828).

After the burning of Rome in 65 CE, Nero ordered the construction of a temple to Diana on the Aventine, which is also mentioned by Vitruvius (V, 5, 8) and Ovid (*Fasti* III, 883-884). The temple took the place of another one, in a different location, that “Servius Tullius had consecrated to the moon,” according to Tacitus (*Annales* XV, 41.1). Livy also refers to the

temple (XL, 2.2) when he tells the prodigious story of how, in the year 182 BCE, the door to the sanctuary was blown down by a hurricane.

During the first and second centuries CE Diana was highly honored by the military, especially equestrian officers throughout the Roman Empire. Dedications allude to Diana's ancient names, as well as to her earlier functions as goddess of the forests and ruler of wild animals. Thus, in Altava (Mauretania Caesariensis) she is invoked as "*Diana Dea nemorum comes, victrix ferarum*" (CIL VIII, 9831); Diana Nemorensis is worshipped in Naronia (Dalmatia) (CIL III, 1773); while in Intercisa (Lower Pannonia), honors go to *Numen Dianae Tifatinae*. In late antiquity, the name of Diana and her nocturnal names (such as Hekate, Trivia, Selene, Luna) had great diffusion in the cult of the peasants and in magic.

In Italy, Diana was an ancient goddess common to all Latin tribes; many sanctuaries were dedicated to her in the lands inhabited by the Latin peoples. The first sanctuary is supposed to have been near Alba Longa before the town was destroyed by the Romans. The Arician woodland sanctuary near Lake Nemi was sacred to the confederation of Latin peoples: "*Tusculanus, Aricinus, Laurens, Coranus, Tiburtis, Pometius, Ardeatis, Rutulus,*" according to the dedicatory epigraph quoted by Cato.⁴

She also had a shrine on the Aventine hill in Rome, which, according to tradition, was dedicated by king Servius Tullius. Its location is remarkable, as the Aventine is situated outside the pomerium, i.e., the original territory of the city, in order to comply with the tradition that Diana was a goddess common to all the Latins, and not exclusively to the Romans. Other known sanctuaries of Diana are *Colle di Corne* near Tusculum, where she is referred to with the archaic Latin name of *deva Cornisca*, and where a collegium of worshippers existed.⁵ Other sanctuaries included Lavinium; at Tibur (Tivoli), where she is referred to as *Diana Opifera Nemorensis*; a sacred wood near Anagni on Mount Tifata, near Capua in Campania (cf. here, **P. A. Johnston**, "Catullus, Horace and Diana Tifatina's Sacred Choir").⁶

In Rome the cult of Diana may have been almost as old as the city itself, as Varro mentions her in the list of deities to whom king Titus Tatius (d. 748 BCE) vowed a shrine. In Varro's list, Luna and Diana Lucina are

⁴ Cato, *Origins* fr. 62: *Lucum Dianum in nemore Aricino Egerius Baebius* (some scholars prefer to read *Laevius*) *Tusculanus dedicavit dictator Latinus. Hi populi communiter: Tusculanus, Aricinus, Laurens, Coranus, Tiburtis, Pometius, Ardeatis, Rutulus.*

⁵ Other sanctuaries were Mount Algidus, also near Tusculum (Horace, *Carmina* I 21, 5-6; *Carmen Saeculare*).

⁶ *ad compitum Anagninum*. Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XXVII 4.

included as separate entities. Another testimony to the high antiquity of her cult can be found in the *lex regia* of king Tullus Hostilius (king from 673 BCE – 642 BCE), which condemns those guilty of incest to a *sacratio* to the goddess. Diana was worshipped at a festival on August 13,⁷ when King Servius Tullius, who was himself born a slave, dedicated her temple on the Aventine Hill in the mid-6th century BCE.

Being placed on the Aventine, and thus outside the pomerium of Rome, meant that Diana's cult essentially remained a *foreign* one, like that of Bacchus. She was never officially *transferred* to Rome, as Juno was after the sack of Veii. It seems that her cult originated in Aricia, where her priest, the *Rex Nemorensis*, remained. There the simple open-air temple was held in common by the Latin tribes, which Rome aspired to join into a league and to direct. Diana of the Wood was soon thoroughly Hellenized,⁸ “a process which culminated with the appearance of Diana beside Apollo in the first *lectisternium*,”⁹ a Roman propitiatory ceremony. Diana was regarded with great reverence and was a patroness of lower-class citizens (plebeians) and slaves, who could receive asylum in her temples. Georg Wissowa proposed that the explanation might be because the first slaves of the Romans would have been Latins of the neighboring tribes.¹⁰ In Ephesus, too, however, there existed this same custom of asylum, as discussed by **Maria Cristina Vincenti**, “Aricia, Cumae and The Cult of Diana, from Archaeological, Artistic and Practical Accounts,” and **Alberto Silvestri**, “Virbius the Great. Considerations about a Minor God Associated with Diana.”

The ritual of Diana Nemorensis took place in the grove by the lake of Nemi, near Aricia.¹¹ Tradition speaks of Virbius, an ancient king of Aricia (in legend identified with Hippolytos), as founder of this priesthood.¹² In the ritual of the *rex Nemorensis*, a conflict took place between the *rex* and

⁷ The date coincides with the founding dates celebrated at Aricina. Cf. Arthur E. Gordon, “On the Origin of Diana”, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 63 (1932), pp. 177-192, p. 178.

⁸ The *Potnia Theron* aspect of Hellenic Artemis is represented in Capua and Segni (Latin, *Signia*), Greek cities of Magna Graecia, in the 5th century BCE.

⁹ A. E. Gordon, “On the Origin of Diana”, *cit.*, p. 179.

¹⁰ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich 1912², p. 250. Cf. G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1974, part III, chap. 2 (with some reservation).

¹¹ The origin of the ritual of the *rex Nemorensis* has been traced to the legend of Orestes and Iphigeneia more than to that of Hippolytos.

¹² Vergil, *Aen.* VII 761; Serv. *ad loc.*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* XV 497; *Fast.* VI 756 and Pausanias, II 27, 4.

the one who wished to replace him. The aspirant had to be a fugitive (a runaway slave, according to Pausanias), who had to pluck the golden bough from a tree in this grove (Serv. *ad Aen.* VI, 136), and fight with the priest, whom Strabo describes as going about ever on guard with a drawn sword. If he wins in this duel, he takes the office and title of the slain: if he falls, the priesthood is unchanged until a stronger assailant comes.¹³

Literary references¹⁴ reveal a confused religious background, with different versions of Artemis conflated under this epithet. The association of Orestes with Nemi appears to be related to the cult of Artemis Tauropolos, who was worshipped at Ephesus. In Italy, it looks as if a confrontation happened between two groups of Etruscans who fought for supremacy, those from Tarquinia, Vulci and Caere (allied with the Greeks of Capua) and those of Clusium (modern Chiusi, in Tuscany). In this tradition, Orestes came to Nemi, and his bones were buried in the Roman Forum near the temple of Saturn.¹⁵ While still at Nemi, Orestes, along with his sister, Iphigenia, was said to have introduced the cult of Artemis Tauropolos there.¹⁶ After her death, Iphigenia was divinized under the name of Hecate, a fact which would support the assumption that Artemis Tauropolos had an ancient alliance with the heroine, who was her priestess in Tauris and her human paragon.

This religious complex was in turn thought to be supported by a triple statue of Artemis-Hecate, as seen on a coin minted by P. Accoleius Lariscolus in 43 BCE, which Alföldi argued is representative of the archaic statue of Diana Nemorensis.¹⁷ It represents Artemis with the bow at one extremity, Luna-Selene with flowers at the other and a central deity not immediately identifiable, all united by a horizontal bar.¹⁸ As **Attilio Mastrocinque** demonstrates in this collection, however, the triple statues are quite inappropriate for this goddess.

¹³ Cf. Suetonius, *Caligula* 35.

¹⁴ Ovid, *Met.* XIV 331-2: *Scythicae regnum nemorale Dianae*; Lucanus, *Pharsalia* III 86: *qua sublime nemus Scythicae qua regna Dianae*. Silius Italicus, *Punica* IV 367; VIII 362; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonauticae* II 305.

¹⁵ Servius, *ad Aeneidem* II 116; VI 136; Higinus, *Fabulae* 261.

¹⁶ Servius, *ad Aeneidem* VI 136.

¹⁷ Andreas Alföldi, "Diana Nemorensis", *American Journal of Archaeology* 64 (1960), pp. 137-144.

¹⁸ Hesiod, *Catalogue*, edited by Augusto Traversa, Naples 1951, p. 76, text 82; R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford 1967, fragment 23. *Oresteia* cited by Philodemos, *Περί εἰσέβειας* 24 Gomperz II 52, fragment 38 B; Pausanias, I 43, 1; II 22, 7.

The iconographical analysis allows the dating of this image to the 6th century BCE, at which time there were Etruscan models. F.-H. Massa-Pairault had suggested that, based on historical and archaeological evidence, both Diana of the Aventine and Diana Nemorensis were the product of the direct or indirect influence of the cult of Artemis spread by the Phoceans among the Greek towns of Campania, Cuma and Capua, which in turn passed it over to the Etruscans and the Latins by the 6th and 5th centuries BCE,¹⁹ as **Szylvia Lakatos** demonstrates, with further arguments, in this collection with her essay on “Etruscan Artemis.”

Two heads found in the sanctuary and the Roman theatre at Nemi, which have a hollow on their back, lend support to this interpretation of an archaic Diana Trivia, in whom three different elements are associated. The presence of a Hellenized Diana at Nemi should be related to the presence of the cult in Campania, as Diana *Tifatina* was called *Trivia* in an imperial age inscription which mentions a *flamen Virbialis* dedicated by *eques* C. Octavius Verus. Cuma, too, had a cult of a chthonic Hecate, and certainly had strict contacts with Latium. The theological complex present in Diana looks very elaborated and certainly Hellenic, while an analogous Latin concept of Diana Trivia seems uncertain, as Latin sources reflect a Hellenized character of the goddess.

Though some Roman patrons ordered marble replicas of the specifically Anatolian “Diana” of Ephesus, where the Artemision stood, Diana was usually depicted for educated Romans in her Greek guise. If she is accompanied by a deer, as in Tifata (cf. **P. A. Johnston**’s article), this is because Diana was the patroness of hunting. The deer may also offer a covert reference to the myth of Actaeon, who saw her bathing naked. Diana transformed Actaeon into a stag (cf. **Etienne Wolff**, “Fulgentius and the Interpretation of the Myth of Actaeon and Diana.” Ovid (*Metam.* 3.158-232) tells how Actaeon inadvertently set his own hunting dogs to kill him, after Diana had turned him into a stag because he had seen Diana naked. Her cult at Aricia was first attested in Latin literature by Cato the Elder, in a surviving quote by Varro.²⁰ But, as Arthur E. Gordon has argued, supposed Greek origins for the Aricia cult are strictly a literary *topos*.²¹

¹⁹ Françoise-Hélène Massa-Pairault, “Diana Nemorensis, déesse latine, déesse hellénisée”, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 81 (1969), pp. 425-471.

²⁰ *Commune Latinorum Dianae templum* in Varro, *Lingua Latina*, V 43; the cult there was characterized by *antiqua religio*-in *Pliny's Natural History*, XLIV 91, 242 and Ovid's *Fasti*, III 327-331.

²¹ Gordon, “On the Origin of Diana”, cit., p. 178 note, and p. 181. Cf. C.M.C. Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*, Cambridge 2007, esp. pp.71-75,

In this collection, **Marcello Tozza** re-examines the theories of Nilsson, and the works of scholars from 1967 and later who focused as well on the evidence emerging from the decipherment of Linear B, which helped to identify the names of some of the Mycenaean gods in early Greek religion. Tozza raises the question whether, in second-millennium BCE Mycenae, the goddess worshipped there was actually Artemis.

Then **Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal** analyzes different cults of Artemis and Dionysus which are directly or indirectly related to lakes and marshes in order to try to ascertain whether these scenes suggest a special significance, and to what extent this implies the existence of similar characteristics and features in their cults. Artemis and Dionysus share many common traits in the mythical and cultic spheres. They are both surrounded by choruses of nymphs and maenads, and they are often related to rites involving role reversal, where the goddess supervises the restitution of order after Dionysiac disorder and establishes a dividing line between normality and abnormality as, for example, when she healed the daughters of Proetus. Artemis and Dionysus interact in some myths, moreover, as in the story of Actaeon, cousin of Dionysus, and in certain festivals celebrated in Argos, Sparta, Patras and Brauron.

Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui then examines the cults of this goddess as an icon-of paganism. Artemis is one of the most multidimensional deities in the Greek pantheon. He shows the enormous variety of types of goddess subsumed under the same name – from a great mother like Artemis Ephesia, the hunter-goddess of Homer and Vergil, and the Arician cult of Diana, to name only three, which seem to have very little in common. He maintains that it is precisely such flexibility that makes it easy for external observers to manipulate the goddess on behalf of more or less explicit apologetics or (un)conscious deformations of ancient religion. His main external perspective on Greek and Roman religion is, of course, Christianity—which inherited some attitudes from Hellenistic Judaism, but which for Christians became an -ism, “paganism,” which of course implies a heavy deformation. He concludes that Artemis’ presence in Christian sources was very limited, although during the Christian era the cult of Artemis of Ephesus, as a symbol of magic and witchcraft, became the focus of Christian opposition.

Two sanctuaries in Attica (Halai Araphenides and Brauron) are then examined by **Diana Guarisco**. Many ancient sanctuaries of Artemis (or Diana), in fact, claimed possession of the statue of Artemis originally stolen from Tauris by Orestes and Iphigenia. The case of Attica is special because

on the linguistic evidence. At Cumae, the Sibyl is the priestess of both Apollo and Trivia: the date coincides with the founding dates celebrated at Aricia.

both the claiming sanctuaries are neighboring and are linked to Athens. In fact, thanks to new readings of two findings from Brauron, it is now possible to consider the Brauronian tradition to be as old as that of Halai Araphenides. The relationship between the two sanctuaries should therefore be rethought in this perspective: their cultic activities were probably not as polar as they are represented in the Euripidean aitiology and it is possible that, at least in the last decades of the fifth century BC, Brauron and Halai were in some way rivalling cultic centers.

The worship of Artemis in Sicily is then examined by **Giuseppina Paola Viscardi, Mario Cottonaro, and Claudia Santi**. Viscardi examines “Artemis, The Bear and the Mothers of Engyon: Reception of the Ionic Kourotrophos Model in Ancient Sicily between Mythic Survivals and Cultic Revivals.” The Sicilian polis of Engyon was famous for the *epiphaneia* of the Goddesses called *Meteres* (“Mothers”), whose temple was considered a Cretan foundation. In the literary sources the Mothers of Engyon are defined as the *korai* or *nymphai* identifiable with the bears who were nurses of Zeus on the Idaean Mount in Crete, afterwards associated with a single goddess, the *Mater Idaea* (Rhea/Cybele). Viscardi analyzes the possible incidence of the Ionic *kourotrophos*’ model in the Mother(s) cult of Engyon, as it could be inferred by considering the peculiar relationship between Artemis and the Bear, subject to subsequent forms of cultural contamination.

Mario Cottonaro then examines “The Artemis Cult in Late-Classical Sicily.” The documents of the Artemis cult play an important role in the Sicilian Greek pantheon, particularly as they developed between the end of the fifth century BCE and the first half of the fourth. This period, in fact, coincides with the emergence and development of the political power of Dionysius the First, tyrant of Syracuse, an important correspondence which is not random. Identical phenomena are documented at the same time in Athens, Greece and in the West in some cities of Magna Graecia.

Claudia Santi next, in “Artemis *vel* Diana, a Totem Goddess?”, examines theories of Andrew Lang, a nineteenth century Scottish folklorist and anthropologist, who suggested an explanation of Artemis as a goddess who had evolved out of a totem deity, and the debates that have followed over the idea of totemism among the gods.

Artemis in Etruria is then examined by **Szilvia Lakatos**, in “Etruscan Artemis.” Although Livy and Cicero referred to the Etruscans as the most religious people (Livy V 1, 6 and Cic. *Div.* I 42, 93), very few written sources — especially sources written by the Etruscans themselves — on their religious beliefs survive. The best-known topic in this context is the *Etrusca disciplina*, which focuses on the various methods used by the

Etruscans for divination purposes. One of the most significant and immediately apparent aspects of the Etruscan religion is the fact that the Greek deities appeared in Etruscan culture rather early in its history. In some cases, even the names of these Greek gods and goddesses were adopted, while in other cases their figures were rather equated with Etruscan deities, leading to a number of confusions, and as a result of the relative scarcity of relevant information, Etruscan deities are often presented and categorized in terms of their ostensible relationship with Greek gods and goddesses. Differences between Etruscan and Greek deities, then, are usually discussed only within this comparative context.

This contradiction signals the otherwise well-documented fact that — in just the same way as in their material culture—the Etruscans did not merely adopt the Greek culture in a passive way, but rather adopted those aspects of the foreign culture which were relevant to their own, and created new cultural forms in the process. In certain cases, it can be claimed that a Greek deity was associated with an Etruscan god or goddess: for example, Greek Zeus and Etruscan Tinia are associated based on their relationship with lightning. On the other hand, the appearance of Artemis in Etruria seems to be an entirely different matter.

Artemis/Diana in Italy is the focus of the next three papers. **Attilio Mastrocinque** examines her presence in Nemi, in “The Iconography of Diana Nemorensis; and Diana’s Sacred Groves as Political Meeting Places.” He begins by warning that the accepted dogma that a denarius of P. Accoleius Lariscolus (43 BCE), which depicts the cultic statue of Diana Nemorensis, also known as Diana Aricina, is incorrect, and argues that Alföldi’s 1960 interpretation — that the obverse side of the coin represents the head of Diana Aricina’s (or Nemorensis’s) cultic statue, while the reverse shows the entire statue, which was allegedly composed of three images, joined over the shoulders by a bar — is correct. He observes that one could argue that thinking of Diana as a political goddess for the Latin peoples is a paradox. A goddess of animals, forest, and hunting should be in charge of everything except politics, observes Mastrocinque, yet, surprisingly, she was—and he provides an explanation for this fact: the foundation of a common meeting place for Latin peoples, the temple of Ephesian Diana, is described by Livy as having been built in co-operation with the states of Asia. Servius Tullius at length induced the Latin tribes to join with the people of Rome in building a temple to Diana in Rome, on the Aventine hill, in the middle of the sixth century BCE. Another sanctuary of Diana was created in about 504-503 BCE, as Cato describes, in Aricia, in Tusculum, at the foot of Mount Albanus, another sacred grove of Diana. It was apparently a rule that meetings took place in Diana’s sacred groves,

around a temple of this goddess, thereby providing stability even between opposing parties.

Maria Cristina Vincenti, in “Aricia, Cumae, and The Cult of Diana, from Archaeological, Artistic and Practical Accounts,” examines two different traditions regarding the origin of this great goddess of Aricia. The first is tied to the Greek hero Hippolytos whom, according to Arician mythology, after having been brought back to life by Asklepios, comes to Aricia, where he becomes king and dedicates a “sacred grove” to Artemis. This heroic figure, comparable to that of Orestes, symbolizes the Initiate, who, in order to become an adult must kill his ‘childhood’ and transform himself into Virbius, that is to say, into a man.

In the other tradition, Orestes, Pylades and Iphigeneia, while escaping from Tauris, erect the simulacrum of the goddess Artemis in Sparta and in a surprising number of other places that then become temples of that same deity: Brauron, Halai, two cities named Komana (Cappadocia) and Komana (Pontos), in Lydia, Reghion, Mylai, as well as Tyndaris (Sicily), in Aricia, and in Spain.

In Servius’ commentary on the *Aeneid*, we find that Orestes hid the simulacrum in a bundle of wooden sticks and brought it to Aricia: because of this, Diana is called *Facelitis*, not only for the torch by which she is represented, but because she is also referred to as *Lucifera*. In another passage, Servius specifies that Orestes brought the image of Diana not far from Aricia. In fact, since the Romans did not like the cruelty of the cult, even though it was only slaves that were immolated, at a certain point Diana was transferred to Laconia, where flagellation among adolescents was still practiced near the altar of the goddess.

Alberto Silvestri, in “Virbius the Great. Considerations about a Minor God Associated with Diana,” then examines a wall painting in the Locanda Martorelli in Aricia portraying the image of an armed horseman and his spear in front of a walled city while a marching army behind illustrates a notorious verse of the *Aeneid* in which Vergil mentions the involvement of the ancient city of Aricia in the war against Aeneas. Virbius, also known as Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, is represented here by Vergil as having been sent by *mater Aricia*, his homeland.²² Here Hippolytus seemed to have had a different destiny from that which, in Greece, Euripides had assigned to him.²³ Euripides’ Theseus had sent a young Hippolytos to Troezen so that he could be raised by Pittheus, the same man who had educated the then-future king of Athens in the arts of gymnastics and music. It was in Troezen

²² Vergil, *Aen.* VII 761-782.

²³ Euripides, *Hipp.*, 1197-1242.

that Hippolytus would then become king. Hippolytus, however, a loyal follower of Artemis, having rejected Phaedra's love, was forced into a new exile. During this exile, he was dragged and shredded to pieces by his own horses which, frightened by the sudden appearance of a sea monster, had overturned the chariot, catapulting the young Hippolytus onto the shore.

The final four papers consider the treatment of Artemis/Diana in Greek and Latin literature. **Sergio Lopez Molina** first examines Callimachus' depiction of Artemis in Callimachus' third *Hymn to Artemis*. This is the only extant source that offers evidence on the youth of this goddess, whether because the facts are taken from the former tradition or because Callimachus' knowledge on the subject allows him to develop a coherent tale, consistent with the mythical tradition of Artemis and the rest of the Olympian gods.

Marianna Calabretta then examines the depiction of Artemis and Aphrodite in the comedies of Diphilus and in Plautus' *Rudens*, which is distinguishable from Plautus' other comedies by its unusual setting. The scene, unlike the usual urban Greek setting, takes place on the beach near the port of an African city, Cyrene – even though this city is some fifteen km from the coast and 621 m. above sea level. As Plautus says in the prologue to the audience, the comedy is derived from an unknown model of Diphilus, who had set the original story in Apollonia. The opening passages speak only of Artemis Ephesia and about the functions related to her sanctuary, which served, like any sanctuary by the sea, as a place of protection for castaways or care for the property of private citizens. The most important building in the scene, however, both for its oddness, and for the role it plays in the action (with what is happening inside and outside), is a sacred building, the small (and poor) temple of Venus near the coast, which is headed by a single priestess. As a close examination of the apparent contradictions will show, the dedication of the temple to the goddess of love is not only for the sake of atmosphere, but also functional to the plot.

Diana Tifatina in Catullus and Horace is the next topic, developed by **Patricia A. Johnston**. Pierre Grimal once observed that this temple of Diana, located “on the lower slopes of Monte Tifata, was one of the two oldest shrines to the goddess²⁴ (the other being at Aricia), as well as one of the most important sanctuaries of Campania in Roman times, and it enjoyed

²⁴ Pierre Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Blackwell, Oxford 1996, p.135.

fame throughout the Roman world.”²⁵ Because of the strategically sensitive location of the temple of Diana Tifatina near Capua and the Via Appia, and also near the point where the Volturnus valley emerges into the northern Campanian plain, it was witness to some momentous events in Roman history, most notably the defection of Capua to Hannibal in 216 BCE and the Romans' subsequent siege and recapture of this city. In 83 BCE, Sulla defeated the consul Gaius Norbanus Balbo²⁶ there, in the first battle after the future dictator returned from the East. In gratitude for his victory, Sulla rewarded Diana's sanctuary with a grant of territory and the spring waters in the vicinity. Eventually the cult of Diana Tifatina was spread by the army to the provinces, as far away as Gaul and Pannonia. In 35 BCE, the consul Servius Fulvius Flaccus arranged for the construction of a terrace wall around the sanctuary with money from the sale of war-booty.

At Capua, Diana was associated with the legend of a long-lived deer, whose fate was tied to the city's survival. At the Museo Campano in Capua are a number of items relevant to this shrine, in particular the works of art in Room Ten, which were originally part of the temple of Diana Tifatina, over which site now stands the basilica of Sant' Angelo in Formis, originally built in the sixth or seventh century CE. There are still, of course, some very interesting remains of the original temple to be seen *in situ*. One of the items in Room Ten at the Museo Campano there is a painting of a deer (Fresco 10) depicting a doe *numenlaci*, which appears to mean something like “spirit of the grove” or “lake.”²⁷ R. M. Peterson, in his 1919 work on the cults of Campania, interprets the doe as the *famula* or “slave” of Diana, and points out that this sacred doe was associated with Capys, the founder of Capua.²⁸ It was believed to have been present for thousands of years in the vicinity of the temple until the time of the Roman occupation in 338 BCE. At that time the Romans reportedly took it to their encampment and

²⁵ Mark Pobjoy, “A New Reading of the Mosaic Inscription in the Temple of Diana Tifatina”, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 65 (1997), pp. 59-88; also available online at the URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40310945>.

²⁶ Gaius Norbanus Balbo (cos. 83 BCE; died 82 BCE). During the civil war between Gaius Marius and Lucius Cornelius Sulla, he sided with Marius but was defeated by Sulla at Monte Tifata; in 82 BCE he committed suicide at Rhodes, while the leading citizens of Rhodes were debating whether to hand him over to Sulla.

²⁷ Cf. Hor. *Epode* 17, 3, *Dianae non movenda numina*.

²⁸ R. M. Peterson, *The Cults of Campania* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, V. 1), Rome 1919, p. 322; the ancient Etruscan name of Capua was Volturnum (Livy, IV 37, 1; cf. VII 29, 6). Peterson said: “According to tradition, Diana and her *famula*, a sacred doe, were worshipped in the locality by Capys, founder of the city.”

sacrificed it to Latona, an act purportedly in keeping with the Roman custom of incorporating the divinities of the submissive populations into their pantheon.

Étienne Wolff concludes the collection, with “Fulgentius and the Interpretation of the Myth of Actaeon and Diana.” Fulgentius, in his *Mitologiae*, interprets fifty fables of mythology. This work was written in Africa under Vandal domination (439-533 CE). After presenting this peculiar work, Wolff illustrates Fulgentius’s method, through the story of Actaeon, of juxtaposing two interpretations, the traditional one and another, euhemeristic, one. This second interpretation was often mentioned in the Middle Ages, where Fulgentius was considered an authority on mythology.

ARTEMIS IN MYCENAE AND GREECE

MYCENAEAN “ARTEMIS”: A METHODOLOGICAL QUESTION

MARCELLO TOZZA
(UNIVERSIDAD DE MÁLAGA)

Abstract: The study of Mycenaean religion imposes primarily a careful analysis of the data on which a theory is based: the case of Artemis is emblematic, because it focuses attention on the need to distinguish between identifying divine functions and recognizing a divine entity linked to a name. The Greek world of the second millennium BCE left significant data showing a relationship, in the context of worship, between a female figure and a symbolic role of particular animals, and revealed aspects of cult that may attribute to the Bronze Age the origin of practices belonging to rituals performed in honor of historical Artemis. This goddess, however, can be considered the result of a syncretism of different personalities belonging to pre-Hellenic religious thought.

In 1927, when M. P. Nilsson published the first edition of his monumental work, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, he defined his subject as “a picture book without text.”¹ In 1967, during the “*I Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*”, A. Brelich affirmed that, after the decipherment of Linear B, “*abbiamo un libro di figure che continua a rimanere senza testo e abbiamo testi senza illustrazioni*” (“we have a book of figures which continue to remain without a text, and we have texts without illustrations”).² His words summarize the methodological problem regarding the approach to this subject.

In fact, before the decipherment of Mycenaean writing, archaeological and iconographic documents were the only available sources; after 1952, thanks to the work of M. Ventris and A. E. Kober, Linear B tablets revealed the names of some gods, confirming the Mycenaean origin of Greek religion.

¹ Nilsson 1950: 7.

² Brelich 1968: 919

Great enthusiasm was aroused by the discovery, in the deciphered tablets, of names of recipients of offerings, such as *po-se-da-o-ne*, *a-ta-na*,³ *a-re*, *e-ra*, which correspond to the names of the Greek deities Poseidon, Athena, Ares and Hera,⁴ and even, in the case of the expression *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*,⁵ a theonym already associated with its historical epithet (“Dictaeon Zeus”) was recognized.

None of the Greek gods, however, although recognizable in Linear B names, is clearly identified in Aegean Bronze Age iconography, making arbitrary any automatic link between images and texts. The name of Artemis in particular was recognized, not without difficulty, in two documents from Pylos:⁶ In the tablet PY Es 650 we read, in the fifth line, the expression *a3-ki-wa-ro a-te-mi-to do-e-ro e-ke to-so-de pe-mo*, followed by a quantity of wheat.

Considering the first term, *a3-ki-wa-ro*, as a nominative to be linked with *do-e-ro* (Greek δοῦλος, “servant”), and *a-te-mi-to* as the genitive of the name Ἄρτεμις, “of Artemis”, it is possible to identify *akiwaro* as the name of a person related to this deity, i.e., “*Akiwaro*, the servant of Artemis” who ἔχει τὸσόνδε σπέρμα (“gets so much grain”). Discovering “servants” related to various deities appearing in Mycenaean texts, and the fact that they are called by name and are registered as recipients of food, makes it possible to consider them free men rather than slaves. But the administrative nature of the analyzed texts does not allow further observations, so it is difficult to understand the nature of the relationship between these persons and the deity.⁷

The second tablet in which appears the name of Artemis is PY Un 219. The dative *a-ti-mi-te* is not connected to any term; however, in the same tablet, there are two other theonyms: *e-ma-a2* (Ἐρμῆς) and *po-ti-ni-ja* (πότνια, without further specification, as it is immediately followed by the broken edge of the tablet).

Thus, Mycenaean texts cannot provide any element referring to Artemis, the divine figure who, in Homer, in order to highlight the strong link with wild nature, is defined ἰοχέαιρα (“archer”),⁸ πότνια θηρῶν (“mistress of

³ This theonym appears in Knossos tablet V 52, in the form *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, corresponding to the greek Ἀθηνᾶ πότνια; but *a-ta-na* was also interpreted as a toponym related to this πότνια (Palmer 1961: 120; Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 44).

⁴ Stella 1958; Adrados 1972.

⁵ Knossos tablet Fp 1.

⁶ Nosch 2009.

⁷ Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 76.

⁸ *Iliad* V 53, V 447, VI 428, IX 538, XX 39, XX 71, XXI 480, XXIV 606; *Odyssey* VI 102, XI 172, XI 198, XV 478.

animals”),⁹ ἀγροτέρη (“wild”).¹⁰ Aegean art, however, shows in various iconographic details the intention of representing a female figure in a close relationship with animals and able to express a domain over natural elements.¹¹

In a relatively recent work, A. E. Barclay has shown the repeated presence, in different Aegean protohistoric areas, of the πότνια θηρῶν motif, insisting on its Near-Eastern origin.¹² This iconographic motif, associated with the Homeric expression by F. Studniczka at the end of the nineteenth century,¹³ is a composition that shows in the center a human figure (almost always female, although sometimes it is male or looks like a fantastic fusion between animal and human elements) accompanied by animals situated on its sides or directly in its hands. Its earliest appearance, in the male variant, is on southern Mesopotamia seals, belonging to the proto-Sumerian culture (beginning of the fourth millennium BCE); the first record of the female variant is a Babylonian terracotta relief, dated to the first quarter of the second millennium BCE, in which the female figure appears with wings and with lower extremities of a bird of prey:

⁹ *Iliad* XXI 470.

¹⁰ *Iliad* XXI 471.

¹¹ Marinatos 2000: 115-135.

¹² Barclay 2001.

¹³ Studniczka 1890: 153-165.