
1.3 Greece: Local and Regional Approaches

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Artemis and Her Territory: Toponymic and Topographical Cult-Epithets of Artemis in Attica

This paper analyses some topographical and toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis attested in Attica.¹

In the multiform panorama of Greek religion, epithets had the function of defining the sphere of influence of deities in order to accommodate the needs of the community of worshippers involved in specific cults.² Artemis is one of the deities whose sphere of influence is most strongly connected to specific geographical areas. She is frequently honoured in sanctuaries located in borderline and extreme positions from which she presides over initiation rituals and operates as the guardian of the frontiers.³

The connection between Artemis and specific geographical areas is testified by Callimachus who details her dominion over the mountains,⁴ patronage of thirty cities, and supervision of streets and harbours.⁵ Across the Greek world, this connection is demonstrated by a series of topographical and toponymic cult-epithets that variously define her domains and her functions within these domains, as well as the origin of specific cults and their location.

As noted by Lilly Kahil, Attica is one of the Greek regions where the cult of Artemis is most widespread.⁶ Here, the relationship between Artemis and different geographical areas is seen through her toponymic epithets which characterised her cult from Late Archaic/Early Classical to Roman Imperial times.

1 This paper is the partial result of a long research process begun during my PhD on the cult of Artemis in Attica defended at *La Sapienza* University of Rome in 2017. The data collected were further investigated in the context of *The Sacred Landscape of Attica under Roman Rule (1st cent. BC – 4th cent. AD)* project, which received funding from the British Academy under the Postdoctoral Fellowship programme and is hosted by the University of Warwick, Department of Classics and Ancient History. My warmest thanks go to Prof. Zahra Newby for invaluable comments on a draft of this paper, to Prof. Marco Galli who supervised my research in its early phase, to Dr. Sylvain Lebreton for sharing with me his forthcoming paper and to Dr. James Currie for proofreading the draft of this paper. My thanks also to the editors for their helpful comments on my paper, and for the suggestions made by two anonymous referees, which I have gratefully incorporated. All remaining errors are mine.

2 On the function of cult-epithets and their classification see: Brulé 1998; Parker 2003, 175–177; Lebreton 2016.

3 Cf. de Polignac 1995.

4 Call. *Dian.* 18–19.

5 Call. *Dian.* 33–39.

6 Kahil 1979, 74.

Artemis has many cult-epithets in Attica, some of which are related to the names of specific geographical areas (fig.1). These cult-epithets can be divided into two categories: those referring to the Attic territory and those referring to regions outside Attica. Beyond this division, these onomastic features can be further characterised by any additional significance such as the powers of the goddess, the provenience of a cult, and any link between local worshippers, a cult, and the territory from which it originated.

The objective of this paper is to present a picture of the topographical and toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis in Attica, and explore their various meanings to better understand the complex relationship between the goddess and the territory on which she operates as a guardian of boundaries and superintendent to the growth of the youth during the moment of transition between adolescence and adulthood.



Fig. 1: Toponymic Cult-Epithets of Artemis in Attica (Micaela Canopoli from umap.openstreetmap.fr).

Epithets Referring to Attic Territory

Agraia and Agrotera

Despite the function of Artemis as a protector of the wilderness, and her connection to the open countryside beyond towns and villages,⁷ her epithets in Attica do not directly relate to the natural landscape. The only attested example is the epithet *Agrotera* which refers to Artemis in the Ilissos valley.⁸ This epithet originated from the word *agros*, uncovered land,⁹ but it is also conventionally thought to reference hunting activities because of the semantic relationship between the two words *agros* and *agra*.¹⁰ In this case, the epithet appears to extend beyond its topographical meaning, no longer defining just the landscape over which the goddess holds dominion, but also the activities performed there.¹¹

In the Ilissos valley, Artemis also takes the epithet *Agraia*, which refers to the district of Agrai or Agra near Athens where the temple of Artemis *Agrotera* was located. This was the place where Artemis hunted for the first time.¹² According to ancient authors, the district of Agrai was given this name because of the sanctuary of Artemis, and because it was a region rich in wild animals.¹³ This richness makes the area particularly suitable for Artemis in her capacities as the goddess of the hunt and *Potnia Theron*.

Recently, Robert Simms assumed that the name Agrai originated from the name of an ancient deity called Agra, who was assimilated into Artemis as Artemis *Agraia*.¹⁴ Although this hypothesis is reasonable, it cannot be confirmed due to the lack of archaeological evidence to Artemis *Agraia*. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence instead clearly testify to the existence of a temple of Artemis *Agrotera*, who was worshipped in Athens until at least the 1st century BC as testified by a series of decrees honouring epebes for – among other things – having performed sacrifices to the goddess.¹⁵

Testimonies of the epithet *Agraia* are mainly from literary sources. Although the existence of an area identified as ἐν Ἄγρας is attested by Plato¹⁶ and a bench

7 Burkert 1985, 150.

8 On the temple in the Ilissos valley, see Marchiandi/Savelli 2011.

9 Chantraine 1969, sv. ἀγρός; cf. Brulé 1998, 23.

10 Kahil 1984, 55 and, more recently, Pautasso 2002, 781, footnote 39.

11 On Artemis *Agrotera* beyond Attica, see: Massimo Giuseppetti's contribution to this book.

12 Paus. I. 19, 6.

13 AB I, sv. Ἄγραι, p. 334.

14 Simms 2003; cf. Daux 1963, 624–625.

15 See the honorific decrees *IG* II² 1029 (96/5 BC) and *IG* II² 1030 of uncertain date ca 105 BC and 98/7 BC, see respectively Tracy 1990, 198, and Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 247. See also *IG* II² 1040 + 1025 (*SEG* 22.111) dated between 23/2 BC and 19/8 BC: Lambert, Schneider 2019, 2 with previous references.

16 Pl. *Phdr.* 229 c.

seat of the theatre of Dionysos was reserved to the priest of Artemis *en Agras*,¹⁷ only later sources reference a temple of Artemis *Agraia*,¹⁸ while Eusthatus identifies Artemis *Agraia* with Artemis *Agrotera*.¹⁹

The Artemis of the Ilissos valley was, therefore, a polynomic deity: *Agrotera* referred to her protective function exercised over animals and the hunting activity carried out in this area, while *Agraia* can be identified as a toponymic epithet used by ancient authors to identify Artemis *Agrotera* in reference to the location of her temple in the district of Agrai. Artemis *Agrotera* was a particularly important cult in this district, which was located outside Athens.²⁰ Ancient sources recognise this when they trace the name of the district of Agrai back to the presence of the temple of the goddess. Here, the functions of Artemis *Agrotera* extend beyond the hunt and the protection of animals. Indeed, the worship of the goddess in the Ilissos valley was also one of the cults of Artemis connected to the memory of the Persian wars.²¹ Ancient sources record that an annual sacrifice of 500 goats was offered to Artemis *Agrotera* in the Ilissos valley in gratitude for the victory at the battle of Marathon.²²

As has been shown, Artemis in the Ilissos valley appears to be equally connected to both the hunt and warfare.²³ Both the hunt and battle marked an intersection between civilisation and savagery. They were also considered complementary activities by Aristoteles²⁴ and Xenophon recognises hunting as good training for soldiers.²⁵ The identification of hunting as an important activity in the various stages of the young Greek male's life,²⁶ as well as its link with the training of soldiers, define the kourotrophic function of Artemis *Agrotera*. Participation at the festival held in her honour in the Ilissos Valley, the 6th of Boedromion, was one of the first religious activities carried out by ephebes at the beginning of their training²⁷ and was related to the memorial connotation of the cult of Artemis,²⁸ and her functions as a protector of the young, and defender of the border.

17 *IG II/III*³ 4, 1957.

18 *AB I*, sv. Ἄγραι, p. 326.

19 *Eust.* 361, 36.

20 *AB I*, sv. Ἄγραι, p. 334.

21 See Parker 2005, 400 and Monaco 2016.

22 *X. An.* III. 2, 12; *Plut. Mor.* 862 b-c.

23 The connection between Artemis and warfare is testified by *Lib. V. 16*. On the relationship between Artemis and warfare, see Vernant 1991, 203–204, and Parker 2005, 400–401. On the custom to make a sacrifice to Artemis before battle, see also Vernant 1988.

24 See *Ar. Pol.* 1256b, 23–25.

25 *X. Cyn.* XII 7–8.

26 Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986, 117–122.

27 All the ceremonies attended by ephebes are discussed in Pélékidis 1963, 211–256.

28 For the memorial connotation of the epithet *Agrotera*, see: Lebreton (forth.). For the involvement of ephebes in other commemoration of Persians wars in Hellenistic and Roman periods, see: Newby 2017.

Oinaia

Another toponymic cult-epithet of Artemis attested in Attica is *Oinaia*. This is attested to by a 2nd or 3rd-century AD inscription carved on a bench seat at the theatre of Dionysos, which indicates the seat reserved to the priestess of Artemis *Oinaia*.²⁹

Although the sanctuary of Artemis *Oinaia* has not been identified yet, the toponymic meaning of the epithet is confirmed by the late 5th / early 4th-century BC civic sacrificial calendar of Athens which references Οινόησι Ἄρτ[έμιδι — —].³⁰ Because of this, the epithet *Oinaia* is thought to have originated from one of the two Attic demes called Oinoe, located near Eleutherai and Marathon respectively.³¹

On the basis of the relationship between the myth of the king Oineus, the sanctuary of Artemis *Oinoatis*, and the introduction of the culture of the grapevine by Dionysus in Argolis, Diana Guarisco locates the cult of Artemis *Oinaia* within the deme Oinoe near Eleutherai, which was the place of origin of the cult of Dionysos *Eleuthereus*.³²

Stephen Lambert has proposed another theory concerning the location of the cult of Artemis *Oinaia*. He emphasises the absence of evidence for a cult of Artemis *Oinaia* in Eleutherai. Instead, he points out the proximity between the seats of the priest of Artemis *Oinaia* and the priest of Demeter *Achaia* in the theatre of Dionysos. He identifies Demeter *Achaia* as a goddess honoured in north-eastern Attica and mentioned by the sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. On the basis of this information, the scholar suggests that the proximity of the two priests within the theatre of Dionysos reflects the geographical proximity of the two cults. Therefore, he places the cult of Artemis *Oinaia* in the deme of Oinoe near Marathon, which was part of the Marathonian Tetrapolis.³³

There is insufficient evidence to confirm Lambert's theory. Although Diana Guarisco's suggestion is equally tenuous, it seems more likely that the deme of Oinoe near Eleutherai is the site where the cult of Artemis *Oinaia* was located. The deme of Oinoe near Eleutherai was located on the north-western border of Attica, between the frontiers of Attica and Boeotia. This position between two frontiers is testified by Thucydides, who defines the district of Oinoe as "*methorios*".³⁴ Oinoe is also the territory over which Melanthos and Xanthos, kings of Attica and Boeotia respectively, clashed in ancient times. According to scholars, the myth of the fight between Melanthos and Xanthos is related to the ephebia providing the aetiology

²⁹ IG II/III³ 4, 1985.

³⁰ Lambert 2002 (CGRN 45) A, fr. 12, l. 4. For the analysis of the fragment, see: LSCG, 32–33, n. 16.

³¹ Harp. sv. Οινόη καὶ Οινόαιος.

³² Guarisco 2001, 144–148.

³³ Lambert 2002, 384.

³⁴ Thuc. II, 18, 1–2. For the meaning of *Methorion*, see: Suid. sv. Μεθόριον, cf. Daverio Rocchi 1988, 33.

for the Apatouria, the Athenian festival which marked the integration of ephebes into the phratry, after consecrating their hair to Artemis.³⁵ Melanthos has been identified as a model for the ephebes who defend the frontier area.³⁶ The connection with ephebia, warfare, and the defence of boundaries are elements that characterised the cult of Artemis also in the Ilissos Valley and at Piraeus.³⁷ Taking into consideration these pieces of information, the deme of Oinoe near Eleutherai so defined, can be identified as the best candidate to host a sanctuary of the goddess.

Brauronia and Mounichia

The last two of Artemis' toponymic cult-epithets that refer to territory within Attica are *Brauronia* and *Mounichia*. These cult-epithets are strictly related to the name of geographical areas, but they have also been connected by ancient authors to the name of two eponymous heroes from which the names of these areas originated.³⁸

Pausanias records that Artemis *Brauronia* derives her name from “the deme of Brauron”.³⁹ Brauron is an area located near the east coast of Attica which, in antiquity, was likely a region within the deme of Philaidai rather than a separate deme as reported by Pausanias.⁴⁰ The name of the area is testified by a number of other ancient authors who refer to Brauron as a region of Attica where an important sanctuary of Artemis was located.⁴¹ Strabo places Brauron among the 12 *poleis* in which Cecrops first organised the tribes of Attica.⁴² According to Stephanus of Byzantium and Photius, this region took its name from an ancient hero called Brauron.⁴³ The testimony of Strabo together with the relationship established between the name of the region and the eponymous hero testify to the importance of this region which can trace its origin back to the mythical past of Attica.

³⁵ See Brelich 1961, 55–59.

³⁶ Cf. Vidal-Naquet 1986, 106–122.

³⁷ See below.

³⁸ On all the possible relationships between a place-name and a hero, see: Kearns 1989, 92–93.

³⁹ Paus. I. 23, 7.

⁴⁰ Brauron is called deme by St. Byz. sv. Βραυρών, while a number of later sources refer to Brauron simply as a τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς; see: Phot. sv. Βραυρών; Hsch. sv. Βραυρών; Suid. sv. Βραυρών. The reference to the deme of *Philaidai* is reported by Suid. sv. Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίσις.

⁴¹ References to the area of Brauron and the sanctuary of Artemis are made by: Hdt. IV. 145, 2; Hdt. VI. 138, 1; E. IT. 1462–1469; Str. IX. 1. 22, 4; Paus. I. 33, 1; Hsch. sv. Βραυρών; Suid. Βραυρών. On the archaeological remains of the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, see: Papadimitriou 1963, Bouras 1967. Among the most recent publications on the cult of Artemis at Brauron, see: Lippolis 2018.

⁴² Str. IX. 1. 20.

⁴³ St. Byz. sv. Βραυρών; Phot. sv. Βραυρών.

Like *Brauronia*, the cult-epithet *Mounichia* is connected to both the area in which the sanctuary of Artemis was located and to its eponymous hero.

The cult-epithet *Mounichia* is linked to the Mounichia hill on the west coast of Attica at Piraeus.⁴⁴ Ancient authors attribute the origin of the name of the hill to the existence of the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia* founded by Mounichos,⁴⁵ who was an Attic king, son of Pantakles.⁴⁶ Other traditions record that the area of Mounichia took its name after Mounichos⁴⁷ or after the Minyans from Orchomenus who, after being forced to abandon their lands by the Thracians, received permission to settle in this area by Mounichos and subsequently named the hill Mounichia in gratitude to the Athenian king.⁴⁸

These two explanations are not incompatible. Both are linked to the hero whose name is closely connected to the geographical area where the sanctuary was located and the foundation of the sanctuary itself.

Epigraphic evidence shows that the epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia*, as with the epithet *Oinaia*, were used to identify Artemis in dedications, and in administrative documents such as sacred calendars and treasure records from different areas. Among these documents is an inscribed fragment from a dedicatory base dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC which refers to a statue offered to Artemis *Mounichia* in the Agora of Athens⁴⁹ and the sacrificial calendar of Thorikos⁵⁰ which records a sacrifice made to the same Artemis and testifies to the participation of the deme of Thorikos in the rituals that took place in her sanctuary at Piraeus.⁵¹ The name of Artemis *Brauronia* is also attested in a number of epigraphic documents found in Athens⁵² and her sanctuary at Brauron.⁵³

In each example, the epithet serves to identify either the specific Artemis honoured in a sanctuary or an object dedicated to that Artemis. This practical function seems to be clear when a specific toponymic epithet refers to a specific cult of Artemis outside the corresponding sanctuary. Nevertheless, the significance of the epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia* likely also extended beyond their toponymic meaning.

44 On the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia*, see: Palaiokrassa 1991.

45 See Suid. sv. Ἐμβραρός εἶμι; Suid. sv. Μούνυχος. Cf. Viscardi 2015, 60–61.

46 Kearns 1989, 186.

47 Suid. sv. Μουνυχία; EM sv. Μουνυχία (589, 48).

48 See Viscardi 2015, 33–36.

49 IG II/III³ 4, 1063; see also Meritt 1960, 57, n. 84.

50 NGSL² 1 (CGRN 32).

51 Viscardi 2015, 72.

52 References to Artemis *Brauronia* appear in the inventory lists of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion. See the inscriptions IG II² 1372+1402 (SEG 23, 82); IG II² 1377; IG II² 1381+1386; IG II² 1388+1403+1408; IG II² 1393+1394+1395+Ag I 1182; IG II² 1400; IG II² 1401; IG II² 1412; IG II² 1413; IG II² 1416 (?); IG II² 1418 (?); IG II² 1421+1424a; IG II² 1425; IG II² 1428 (?); IG II² 1429; IG II² 1437; IG II² 1444; IG II² 1445; IG II² 1447; IG II² 1451. For a complete study of these documents see: Harris 1995.

53 See IG I³ 985 and IG I³ 985adn.

According to literary sources, both sanctuaries were linked to the *arkteia*, an initiation rite involving young girls and one of the most important rituals which took place in Attica in the Classical period.⁵⁴ At Brauron and in the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia* at Piraeus, Artemis was honoured as a goddess of childbirth and protector of women. Artemis *Mounichia* was also believed to have played an important role in the protection of the Greek army at the battle of Salamis,⁵⁵ and for this reason, she was worshipped by the ephebes who took part in the festival held in her honour on the 16th of Mounichion.⁵⁶ The characteristics of the cult and the importance of the rituals at *Brauron* and *Mounichia* are the basis for assigning a functional value to these cult-epithets. Robert Parker underlines that young Athenian girls at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron probably called the goddess simply Artemis,⁵⁷ and dedications from both sanctuaries show the name of Artemis alone without any epithets.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, a dedication to Artemis *Brauronia* inscribed on a mirror from Brauron⁵⁹ suggests that the meaning of this toponymic epithet likely also extended to the domain and powers that Artemis had in this sanctuary.⁶⁰ In fact, there would be little reason to specify the toponymic epithet referring to Artemis in the same sanctuary from which the epithet originated unless it also had a function of strengthening the link between the deity and the worshipper regarding a specific request that fell under Artemis' domain in that sanctuary.

As also pointed out by Robert Parker, the division between topographical and functional epithets should not be considered as absolute, and “Even local epithets that were purely practical in origin often came to be felt to say something about the god”. According to Parker, this was the reason why a god with a toponymic epithet could be worshipped outside the place to which the epithet referred.⁶¹

The cult-epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia* are examples of those kinds of epithets that Pierre Brulé identifies as *épicleses topographiques déplacées*.⁶² In fact, Artemis was honoured as *Brauronia* on the Acropolis of Athens and, outside Attica, at Stymphalos⁶³ and Amphipolis.⁶⁴

54 On female initiation rituals in Athens, see: Brelich 1969, 229–311. On the literary sources related to the *arkteia*, see: Sale 1975 and Montepaone 1999, 13–46.

55 Plu. *Moralia* 349f.

56 See Pélékidis 1962, 247 with earlier bibliography. Cf. Newby 2017.

57 Parker 2003, 177.

58 See e.g. *IG II/III*³ 4, 1072 (*Mounichia*) and 1086 (*Brauron*).

59 *IG I*³ 985adn.

60 R. Parker does not deny that the offerings made at Brauron could be addressed to “Artemis at Brauron” but he has not advanced any hypothesis about the significance of these dedications, see: Parker 2003, 177, footnote 33.

61 Parker 2003, 177–178.

62 See Brulé 2009.

63 See Moretti, *ISE 55 (IPArk 18)* (ca. 189 BC).

64 Antip. Thess. *AP VII*, 705.

The presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* on the Acropolis testifies to the importance of this cult within the Attic religious system.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, little can be said about the presence of this cult outside Attica. The existence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Stymphalos is confirmed by a 2nd-century BC decree found in the village of Kionia, north-west of Lake Stymphalia. As reported by Luigi Moretti, this inscription is the only testimony to the existence of this sanctuary which, according to the scholar, seems to be different from the sanctuary of Artemis *Stymphalia* mentioned by Pausanias.⁶⁶ However, the two cults of Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Stymphalia* share some common elements. Like Artemis *Brauronia*, Artemis *Stymphalia* was likely connected to female initiation rituals, and her sanctuary was located in swampy land.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the limited evidence does not permit a deeper analysis of the relationship between these two cults, nor does it clarify the reasons behind the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Stymphalos, that, according to Pierre Brulé, was the result of Athenian influence in this area.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the display in the sanctuary of an official decree testifies its importance.

At Amphipolis, the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* is only testified by Antipater of Thessalonika, who refers to the goddess as *Aithopie* and *Brauronis*. In the absence of further evidence related to the presence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Amphipolis, we can consider this testimony as referring to the sanctuary of Artemis *Tauropolos*, the importance of which at Amphipolis is confirmed by numismatic evidence.⁶⁹ This evidence and the relationship between these two sanctuaries will be discussed in further detail below.

Like Artemis *Brauronia*, who was worshipped at other sanctuaries outside of Brauron, Artemis *Mounichia* was likely worshipped at Brauron⁷⁰ and, outside Attica, at Epidauros,⁷¹ and in Asia Minor at Sicyon,⁷² at Pygela in Ionia,⁷³ and also at Cyzicus.⁷⁴ At Sicyon, the cult of Artemis *Mounichia* is likely to have been established by people from Piraeus, who arrived in the area before the later occupation of the site by Dorians.⁷⁵ This cult appears later in Asia Minor and, as pointed out by scholars, may

65 On the temple of Artemis *Brauronia* on the Acropolis, see: Camia 2010. On the relationship between the sanctuary of Brauron and other sanctuaries of Artemis in Attica, see: Guarisco 2015.

66 Paus. VII. 22, 7.

67 See Moggi/Osanna 2003, 387–388.

68 Brulé 1987, 187.

69 Mari 2012, 135–136, cf. Brulé 1987, 187.

70 The attribution of the 4th-century dedication found in Oropos is not confirmed, and attributed to either the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia* at Piraeus or that of Artemis *Brauronia* at Brauron: see SEG 61, 350 with bibliography.

71 IG IV² 1, 404 (215 AD).

72 Clem. Al. *Protr.* IV. 47. 8.

73 Str. XIV. 1, 20. IG XII 3, 171 (late 2nd – early 1st century BC).

74 See Viscardi 2015, 232–250.

75 Viscardi 2015, 233–234.

have been introduced by people from Piraeus or Sicyon. Molossians or the same Minians responsible for the introduction of this cult at Piraeus may have also brought the cult with them. Indeed, the local character of the cult of Artemis *Mounichia* at Piraeus and Sicyon makes the propagation of this cult on the other side of the Aegean unlikely, except through migratory movements.⁷⁶ The cult of Artemis *Mounichia* at Cyzicus is attested by two decrees which reference the priestess of the goddess. These do not allow us to say much about the characteristics of the cult nor its relationship with the Attic cult.⁷⁷ Strabo details the existence of another temple of Artemis *Mounichia*, this one located in Pygela, a town of ancient Ionia located south of Ephesus, and connects its foundation to Agamemnon.⁷⁸ Pygela dates back to the protogeometric period, and in Classical times became a coastal stronghold, and was listed among the member *poleis* of the Delian league. Artemis *Mounichia* at Pygela is depicted as Tauropolos on the city's coinage.⁷⁹ She was honoured as a protector of the city and the nearby coastal fortress which was built in 409 BC to protect access to the Lydian inland.⁸⁰

The spread of the cult-epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia* outside Attica testifies to cultural and political contacts between regions. The relationship established between the legendary kings Brauron and Mounichos, the geographical areas which bore their names, and the cult-epithets assigned to Artemis, as illustrated above, underline the strong link between these cults, and the historical past of their territory. Thanks to the connection with an eponymous hero, these areas and the sanctuaries of Artemis became part of the mythical history and the evolution of the *polis*, and, over time, the epithets acquired a strong identity value.

Kolainis

Another of the epithets of Artemis in Attica linked to a specific territory is *Kolainis*, although the origin of the name does not seem to be related to any known place-name. The spatial connotation of this adjective is clearly expressed in a *scholium* to the *Birds* of Aristophanes.⁸¹ This *scholium* references *Kolainis* as the epithet given to Artemis by the inhabitants of Myrrinous and connects this adjective with other toponymic cult epithets of hers in Attica, such as *Mounichia* and *Brauronia*.⁸²

⁷⁶ Sakellariou 1958, 56–63. Cfr. Viscardi 2015, 234–235.

⁷⁷ See Viscardi 2015, 243–246 with earlier bibliography.

⁷⁸ Str. XIV. 1, 20.

⁷⁹ SNG Cop. Ionia, n. 172–175; *BMC Ionia*, 228, tab. XXIV, 1–2.

⁸⁰ Viscardi 2015, 239–241.

⁸¹ See Brulé 1993, 58–59. Cf. Brulé 2009.

⁸² Schol. Ar. *Aves* 873.

According to ancient authors, the cult-epithet *Kolainis* originated either from a bird⁸³ or from Kolainos, a legendary Athenian king who founded the sanctuary of the goddess at Myrrinous.⁸⁴ Semantically, this cult-epithet originated from the word κόλος, which was used to indicate oxen or goats without horns, plus αἶνος which is the nominal form of the verb αἶνομαι, meaning “to accept”.⁸⁵ Therefore, Artemis *Kolainis* is the goddess who accepts animals without horns as a sacrifice. The *scholium* on Aristophanes’ *Birds* also reports that Agamemnon sacrificed a *kolon* to Artemis at Amarinthos and, for this reason, she was also called *Kolainis* in Euboea.⁸⁶ Artemis *Kolainis* and Artemis *Amarysia* were worshipped in different sanctuaries in Attica. These were located at Myrrinous⁸⁷ and Athmonon⁸⁸ respectively, but some inscriptions from Athens suggest the existence of other shrines dedicated to Artemis as *Kolainis* and *Amarysia* in Athens.⁸⁹ The tradition of the sacrifice made by Agamemnon establishes a mythical relationship between these two cults, but the limited evidence does not permit further exploration of this link. Nevertheless, the connection with Agamemnon places these two sanctuaries among the other cult places of Artemis linked to the figure of the king and the myth of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, suggesting a connection between all of these sanctuaries and the propagation of a pre-Greek substrate somehow connected to the cult of Artemis.⁹⁰ It is clear that *Kolainis* was the name used in Attica to specifically identify the Artemis worshipped at Myrrinous. Here, as confirmed by recent excavation, she has a strong link with nature, vegetation, agriculture, and female fertility. The origin of the epithet *Kolainis* from Kolainos, as also true for the epithets *Brauronia* and *Mounichia*, likely shows a desire to establish a connection between this cult, the mythical past of Attica, and the development of the territory under Athenian control.

83 This origin is attested by Schol. Ar. *Aves* 873, and Suid. sv. Κολαινίς.

84 Hsch. sv. Κολαινίς; Suid. sv. Κολαινίς. Paus. I. 31, 4–5. Paus. IV. 34, 8 also reports to Kolainos as the founder of the city of Kolonides in Messenia.

85 Chantraine 1969, sv. Κόλος.

86 Schol. Ar. *Aves* 873.

87 On the sanctuary of Artemis *Kolainis* at Myrrinous, see Vivliodetis 2007.

88 On the cult of Artemis *Amarysia* at Athmonon, see below.

89 The cult of Artemis *Kolainis* at Athens is attested by the 1st-century AD dedicatory inscription IG II/III³ 4, 1069, from the Olympieion, and the 2nd-century AD dedication IG II² 4791 from the Acropolis. The existence of two sanctuaries of Artemis *Kolainis* in Attica is also suggested by the two inscriptions in the theatre of Dionysos, IG II/III³ 4, 1976 and IG II/III³ 4, 1907, which reference two different seats reserved to the priestess of Artemis *Kolainis*. For the testimonies related to the cult of Artemis *Amarysia*, see below.

90 Cf. Viscardi 2015, 239 and Brulé 1987, 190.

Epithets Referring to Regions Outside Attica

Amarysia

In Attica, there are also epithets that refer to the origin of some specific cults of Artemis from other geographical areas. This is the case with the epithet of Artemis *Amarysia* which is attested in Attica by two boundary stones from a sanctuary located in the ancient deme of Athmonon⁹¹ and by one of the ten “Attic Stelai” on which the *poletai* recorded the confiscated and sold properties belonging to Hermocopids and profaners of the Mysteries. The inscription specifically references a property near a temple of Artemis *Amarysia* in the deme of Kydathenaion, north of the Athenian Acropolis.⁹²

According to Pausanias, the cult-epithet *Amarysia* is derived from the city of Amarynthos in Euboea.⁹³ Here, Artemis had an important sanctuary.⁹⁴ Stephanus of Byzantium, on the other hand, identifies Amarynthos as an island in Euboea which was named after a hunter with the same name.⁹⁵ As in the cases of Brauron and Mounichos, the connection between hero, toponym, and cult-epithet, testifies to the historical and cultural importance of this cult within the region.

The spread of this toponymic cult-epithet throughout Attica and Euboea also testifies the relationship between these two regions, but the causes behind this spread are not known. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume a connection between the cult’s spread and the presence of foreigners in Attica. According to Strabo, there was a district called Eretria in Athens that, in his time, was occupied by an agora.⁹⁶ Emanuele Greco has suggested that the name of this district may indicate the presence of a community of resident foreigners from Eretria, possibly merchants; he suggests that the Athenian Eretria may have lain between the Agora and the Roman Agora.⁹⁷ This area between the two *agorai* was included within the ancient deme of Kydathenaion,⁹⁸ where the existence of a temple of Artemis *Amarysia* seems to confirm the scholar’s hypothesis.

The presence of foreigners who were allowed to live and erect temples within Attica is not surprising. Another example of this phenomenon is that of the goddess

⁹¹ *IG* II/III³ 4, 1876–1877 (2nd century c. AD).

⁹² *IG* I³ 426.

⁹³ Paus. I. 31, 4–5.

⁹⁴ Amarynthos was also the name of the personification of a river, who was linked to Artemis as *parthenos* and *kourotrophos*, see Breglia Pulci Doria 1975, 39–40. On the cult of Artemis *Amarysia* in Euboea, see Knoepfler 1972, Knoepfler 1988, Brulé 1993, Knoepfler *et al.* 2018; Reber *et al.* 2019.

⁹⁵ St. Byz. sv. Ἀμάρυνθος; see Brulé 2009.

⁹⁶ Str. X. 1, 10.

⁹⁷ Greco 2001, 34.

⁹⁸ See Lohmann 2006.

Bendis who was honoured by Thracian communities located in the region.⁹⁹ In the same way, one might assume that the existence of the two cult places of Artemis *Amarysia* was originally due to the presence of two communities of Eretrians at Athmonon and Kydathenaion. However, this is not certain. The 5th-century BC inscription IG I³ 426 identifies the origin of the cult of Artemis *Amarysia* at Kydathenaion as being from Athmonon. This shows a link between the two cult places of Artemis *Amarysia*. The sanctuary at Athmonon may have been the oldest and principal cult site of Artemis *Amarysia* in Attica while the temple at Kydathenaion was later founded in order to satisfy specific religious needs. Indeed, ancient authors identify the *Amarysia* as an Athenian festival.¹⁰⁰ These testimonies attest to the state's interest in this cult. The presence of a community of Eretrians may have influenced the choice of Kydathenaion as the location of the urban temple. However, the reason behind the presence of a temple of Artemis *Amarysia* in Athens can also be related to the desire to connect the *polis* with its countryside.¹⁰¹

Pheraia

According to Pausanias, the Athenians also honoured Artemis *Pheraia*. The cult-epithet derived from the city of Pherae in Thessaly, and the goddess was also honoured at Argos and Sicyon.¹⁰² Giuseppina Paola Viscardi identifies Artemis *Pheraia* with Artemis *Mounichia*,¹⁰³ but not much can be said about the cult of Artemis *Pheraia* in Athens.¹⁰⁴

Tauropolos and Taurike

Before concluding this presentation of the toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis referring to regions outside Attica, it is necessary to mention the overlap of meaning between the epithets *Tauropolos* and *Taurike*. Ancient authors connect the epithet *Tauropolos* to either Artemis' relationship with bulls or to her provenience from Tauris.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ On the introduction of the cult of Bendis in Attica, see Simms 1985, 7–58; Beschi 1990 and Beschi 2002.

¹⁰⁰ See Paus. I. 31, 4–5; Hsch. 3471 sv. Ἀμαρύσια; Pht. 1134 sv. Ἀμαρύσια.

¹⁰¹ Cf. de Polignac 1995, 81–88.

¹⁰² Paus. II. 23, 5.

¹⁰³ Viscardi 2015, 142.

¹⁰⁴ For the goddesses En(n)odia and Pheraia and their assimilation with Artemis outside Attica, see Chrysostomou 1998.

¹⁰⁵ See S. Aj. 172; EM sv. Ταυροπόλον (747, 49); Suid. sv. Ταυροπόλα.

Semantically, the epithet *Tauropolos* originated from the word ταῦρος, which means “bull”,¹⁰⁶ plus -πολος. This is a nominal form of the verb πέλομαι, which is associated with pastoral, agricultural or religious activities.¹⁰⁷ Together, these define the epithet *Tauropolos* as a functional cult-epithet linked to human activity and fertility.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, the epithet *Tauropolos* in Attica also took a different meaning connected to the provenience of the goddess from the land of the Taurians. This meaning arises from the overlap between the epithets *Tauropolos* and *Taurike*. Artemis is called *Taurike* by Pausanias, who remembers the presence of her cult image at Brauron, Sparta, and Susa.¹⁰⁹ The toponymic epithet *Taurike* comes from the area of modern southern Crimea which overlooks the Black Sea. Annalisa Lo Monaco recently argued that the overlap between the meaning of these two epithets originates from Euripides’ general practice of etymologizing the names of places, tribes, or nations by connecting them to characters from tragedy. Euripides gave the epithet *Tauropolos* to the goddess arrived in Attica at the end of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Here, the first part of the epithet *Tauropolos* refers to the land of Tauris, from where the image came, while the last part -*polos*, originates from the verb περιπολεῖν, which refers to the wanderings of Orestes across Greece.¹¹⁰ The scholar has also pointed out that the adjective *Taurike* was not exclusive to Artemis *Tauropolos*, but was also used to indicate the origin of the cult in different areas. Here, Artemis was defined by different epithets which developed from local traditions.¹¹¹ In Attica, Artemis *Taurike* became Artemis *Tauropolos* after Euripides linked the eponymous image of the land of Taurians to the cult of Artemis in the sanctuary at Halae Araphenides. The consequent overlap of meaning between the epithets *Taurike* and *Tauropolos* determines the complexity characterising the meaning of the epithet *Tauropolos*, which in Attica describes the goddess by defining her provenience as well as her power and function.

It is noteworthy that the cult epithet *Tauropolos* that in Attica recalls the origin of the goddess from Tauris, appears to be closely linked to Attica when it is transplanted to Amphipolis. This characteristic is clearly expressed in the testimony of Antipater of Thessalonika who highlights the link between the two cults of Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Tauropolos*. In this paper, it is not possible to dwell on the

¹⁰⁶ Hom. Il. II. 481. Cf. Chantraine 1969, sv. Ταῦρος.

¹⁰⁷ Chantraine 1969 sv πέλομαι.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Lo Monaco 2019, 533.

¹⁰⁹ Paus. I. 23, 7; Paus. I. 33, 1; Paus. III. 7, 8.

¹¹⁰ Lo Monaco 2019, 334. Wilson 1968, 70.

¹¹¹ For a complete analysis of the evidence related to Artemis *Tauropolos*, see: Lo Monaco 2019; and especially Lo Monaco 2019, 533–538 on the meaning of the cult-epithet *Tauropolos*. On the sanctuary of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Halae Araphenides, see: Kalogeropoulos 2013.

problems that led to the association of these two cults.¹¹² However, their link, as expressed by Antipater of Thessalonika, rather than saying something about the cult-epithet *Brauronia*, seems to emphasise the different values assumed at Amphipolis by the epithet *Tauropolos*. The presence of the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis is connected to the origins of the city, which was founded as an Athenian colony in 437 BC. The sanctuary of Artemis *Tauropolos* was founded by the oikist Hagnon, who was originally from Steira, on the east coast of Attica, not far from the sanctuaries of Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Tauropolos*. The two sanctuaries of Artemis which were mythically connected at the end of the Iphigenia in Tauris. According to G.E. Peasley, Hagnon's establishment of the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis can be seen as an illustration of the Athenian attachment to their local cults in the countryside,¹¹³ and Manuela Mari believes that the choice to introduce the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* was likely connected to the desire to install a cult from the motherland which could offer mediation with the local gods.¹¹⁴ The testimony of Antipater of Thessalonika shows that memory of the Attic origin of the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis was still alive in the 1st century BC. Moreover, it is worth noting the centrality assumed by the cult of Artemis *Tauropolos* outside Attica. If in Attica Artemis *Tauropolos* was honoured in a sanctuary located on the edge of the region, the same goddess at Amphipolis had her sanctuary in a central position, on the acropolis.¹¹⁵ In both cases, the presence of the sanctuary refers to the polis. In Attica, the sanctuary placed at the borders marks the limits of the territory controlled by Athens, and outside of Attica shows the power of the polis and its expansion.

Conclusion

According to François de Polignac: “the creation of a sanctuary stabilised the cult, rooting the ritual in the earth, in this parcel of land consecrated to the deity and situated at once within the surrounding territory and apart from it: the site was, par excellence, a place of mediation between the men and the gods who, together, were attached to this particular territory”.¹¹⁶ The toponymic cult epithets of Artemis in Attica strengthened this relationship between Artemis and her territories. This connection between Artemis and specific geographical areas becomes even clearer if

112 On the relationship between the sanctuary of Artemis *Brauronia* at Brauron and the sanctuary of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Halai Araphenides, see Guarisco 2015, 99–123.

113 Peasley 1989, 197.

114 Mari 2012, 146.

115 See Mari 2012, 125 with previous literature. On the centrality of Artemis *Tauropolos* at Amphipolis, see also Lo Monaco 2019, 545–546.

116 de Polignac 1995, 20.

we look at her functions as a deity of the margins, protector of the borders, and mediator between the civilised space and wilderness. As part of these functions, she presided over initiation rituals carried out by young girls and boys in her sanctuaries located both in suburban and extra-urban areas. In these sanctuaries, her kourtophobic function overlapped with her protective function over the territory and its frontiers.

Significantly, some of the sanctuaries in which the Artemis worshipped was defined by a toponymic epithet were located at border areas. The sanctuary of Artemis *Agrotera/Agraia* was located at one such border area at the limit of Athens. Artemis *Brauronia* and Artemis *Mounichia* marked the frontiers of Attica at eastern and western borders respectively, and Artemis *Oinaia* was likely situated near the north-western border.

This link between a deity and territory becomes even stronger when the foundation of a sanctuary is connected to a mythical founder. The link established between the eponymous hero and the foundation of a sanctuary roots the cult to the territory both in terms of space and time. Within this framework, the foundation of a sanctuary also coincides with the organisation of the territory understood as an area of land that is considered as belonging to a particular community/state and the definition of its boundaries. This connection between the political and religious organisation of a territory is made even more explicit by frequent ambiguities left by ancient sources in regards to whether an area received its name from an epithet of Artemis, or Artemis received her epithet from an existing placename. The same connection with the territory is expressed when a cult is moved from an area to another area. This occurs as a result of a series of mechanisms of diffusion that reflect a community's need to harness or avert the power of a particular deity.¹¹⁷ Displaced toponymic cult-epithets of Artemis testifies to the spread of specific cults following the establishment of political and commercial contacts between different regions. These epithets had the function of establishing and maintaining a link between the motherland and the new territory.

In conclusion, the analysis of the toponymic and topographical cult-epithets presented here, although limited to the cult of Artemis in Attica, helps to reveal the complexities that characterise the panorama of her epithets.

117 Davis 2007, 62.

List of Abbreviations

<i>BMC Ionia</i>	Head, Barclay V. / Poole, Reginald S., <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia</i> , London, 1892.
<i>CGRN</i>	Carbon, Jan-Mathieu / Peels, Saskia / Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, <i>A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (CGRN)</i> , Liège, 2016– (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be , consulted in [2021]).
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin, 1873–.
<i>IPark</i>	Thür, Gerhard / Taeuber, Hans, <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien (IPark)</i> , Wien, 1994.
<i>LSCG</i>	Sokolowski, Franciszek, <i>Lois sacrés des cités grecques</i> , Paris, 1969.
<i>NGSL²</i>	Lupu, Eran, <i>Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents (NGSL²)</i> (2 nd Edition with a Postscript), Leiden, 2009.
Moretti, <i>ISE</i>	Moretti, Luigi, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche, I</i> , Firenze, 1967.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden, 1923–.
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , 1931–.

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