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

The Diana of Versailles is only one of an innumerable series of images in art, literature, and popular culture that reveal facets of this complex deity. Artemis would be an important figure in intellectual history even if these images were only matters of artistic symbolism. But Artemis was more than an artistic symbol. The worship of this goddess involved customs affecting the treatment of living organisms, both as species and in communities, and the use of certain categories of land. For example, sanctuaries of Artemis and other gods often consisted of tracts of forest where hunting of deer and other animals was forbidden. Thus the study of her cult is essential for understanding ancient Greek attitudes and practices relating to wildlife, forests, and the wilderness.
A Greek vase dated from between 900 and 800 B.C. displays a geometric depiction of Artemis with her extended arms holding two birds over two lions (or perhaps wolves). To one side is a bull's head, and there is a large fish on the lower part of her robe.7 Archaic and classical Greek art shows Artemis most often in company with bears, stags, hinds, and fawns, though she is also seen with wild horses and bulls, lynxes and other wild cats, wolves, foxes, hares, water birds, and quails.

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

According to ancient Greek writers, Artemis loved all wild creatures and delighted in running playfully in company with her followers, the wood nymphs, among the beasts of the forests and mountains. As the Odyssey describes it,

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

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

Another such tale is the story of the mighty hunter Orion, who was Artemis's companion until he boasted that he would slay all the wild beasts on earth. Rather than allow so many species to be endangered, Artemis dispatched a huge scorpion to sting him to death.13 After his death, when he was made a constellation, Artemis put Taurus the bull facing him so he could not kill the Pleiades, who had been turned into wild doves.14

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

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

Roman copy of the statue of Artemis of Ephesus, a maternal figure decorated with multiple breasts and images of bees and other animals, in the Villa of Hadrian, Tivoli, Italy. Photograph by Paul Shepard, used by permission.
The only hero who managed a successful exploit with one of Artemis’s sacred animals without being punished was Heracles, whose third labor was the capture of the Cerynian hind. This creature was larger than a bull, had brazen hooves and, although female, golden antlers. Heracles pursued the deer for a year, until it collapsed in weariness and he was able to capture it. Artemis forgave him because he had not killed it or spilled a drop of its blood.

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

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

Artemis as Protectress of the Wilderness

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

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

“[Artemis] is the goddess of untouched nature,” says Andre Bonnard.

The image of the Artemis of Icaria is an unhewn, uncarved block of wood, and the word byle in Greek can be used both for wood and the basic substance of nature. As Christine Downing says, “Artemis is herself the wilderness, the wild and untamed, and not simply its mistress.” In terms of ancient religious feeling, Artemis endowed the wilderness with sacredness; in psychological terms, she was the projection of whatever it is in the human psyche that finds the sacred and the inviolable in nature.

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

Artemisian wildlife refuges could not have been better located if a modern land manager had chosen them to represent each Mediterranean ecosystem. Most sacred to Artemis were wild ones. The willow, from which she was also referred to as agne, “the pure,” and parthenia, “the virgin,” had maritime titles, shared temples with the sea god Poseidon, and was worshipped in mermaid shape.

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

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

Comprehensive regulations protected the groves of the gods, including those of Artemis. These rules, intended to preserve the sanctuaries from destruction, were enforced both through civil and religious penalties. The wildlife that inhabited such sacred lands were also protected. Hunting and fishing were forbidden or strictly regulated. Since the groves were numerous and often large, they protected many species over a long period of time. The presence of the formidable figure of Artemis in the Greek pantheon inhibited human invasion of sacred forests and valleys were hers, forests and meadows. One of her sanctuaries was a stretch of sand dunes; others were marshes. But Artemis also held sacred springs of water, streams, and rivers; twenty river nymphs were her attendants. Clearing obstructions or pollution from a stream was an act of obeisance to Artemis. At Sparta, Epidauros Limera, and Sicyon she was “lady of the lake.” She loved the sea, had maritime titles, shared temples with the sea god Poseidon, and was worshipped in mermaid shape.
and helped to preserve a large number of wilderness areas, some extensive, as religious reserves.

Artemis as the Huntress

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Artemis as Instructor of Children**

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

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

Artemis as Goddess of Conservation

Artemis was a powerful figure in classical mythology, and her influence on ancient attitudes and practices was complex. But several aspects of her character moved those who worshipped her toward the same goal: conservation. First, Artemis was a formidable defender of wild animals and was believed to punish those who killed them boastfully or imprudently. Thus her effect on those who revered her was to inhibit the thoughtless destruction of wildlife. Second, Artemis personified the wilderness. She loved forests and mountains and gave protection to defined areas of sacred space that functioned as wild areas and wildlife sanctuaries. Third, Artemis stood for ethical principles in hunting and land management. Derived from the ideas of primal hunters and gatherers who saw animals and other natural things as living, sentient, ensouled beings, these principles were sometimes echoed by the writers of classical treatises on hunting and agriculture. According to these treatises, a hunter setting forth had to be abstinent and pure, mindful of the precepts of Artemis. By staying the hunter’s hand and saving some sections of the landscape from habitat destruction, the worship of Artemis saved a significant portion of the Greek landscape from depredation for several centuries. Finally, Artemis was a goddess of childbirth, child raising, and the induction of children into adolescence and adulthood. The initiation ceremonies of Artemis Brauonria held by the Athenians encouraged young people to love and respect wild animals, and thus constituted an important and heretofore insufficiently noticed example of environmental education in the classical Greek period.

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

Notes

3. E.g., Homer Iliad 21.470.
7. This Boeotian vase was found in the late nineteenth century, and dates from sometime around the ninth century B.C. See Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1896), 2:522–23 and plate 29a. Farnell identifies the carnivores as lions, but their pointed ears and tuftless tails make them look more like wolves to this author, who has pondered the original in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. In vase painting of this period, lions are generally shown with prominently tufted tails.
9. Other Greek examples include but are not limited to Gaia, Rhea, Hera, Demeter, and even some aspects of Athena. See Christine Downing, The Goddess: Mythological Images of the Feminine (New York: Crossroad, 1981).
10. Homer Odyssey 6.101–9. The translation here is that of Albert Cook, Homer: The


Meadows are mentioned in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 75f. Kahil's *Iconography* discusses the sand dunes at Hala (p. 238) and marshes at Brauron and Sparta (also p. 238). Marshes at Elis are also mentioned in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, pp. 427.

The spring at Aulis is in Kahil, *Mythological Repertoire of Brauron*, pp. 238. For the River Alpheus as sacred to Artemis, see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 6.22.8-10.

Pausanias *Description of Greece* 2.7.6., 3.14.2., 3.23.10.

For maritime titles and shared temples, see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, pp. 429-30. On Artemis as a mermaid see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.41.4.


One Greek word for "huntsman" is *elaphobetei*, which literally means "deer-shooter." Many classicists, too numerous to mention, also give "huntsman" as an alternate meaning of *agroteron*, which literally means "she of the wild."

Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, pp. 423-32.

Pausanias *Description of Greece* 7.18.12. A similar rite was held at Messene in honor of Eleutheria, goddess of childbirth, who is so closely identified with Artemis as to be a form of her (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 4.31.9.).

Arrian *Cynegeticus* 33.


*Theophrastus Historia Plantarum* 9.8.7.

Diodorus Siculus *World History* 22.5.

Xenophon *Cynegetica* 6.13.

Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 833-834.

Kahil, *Mythological Repertoire of Brauron*, p. 237. The masks are shown in vase paintings.

They were not extinct in Greece, as Lloyd-Jones assumes ("Artemis and Iphigenia," p. 98); they still exist there in mountainous areas today.


Artemis Brauronia was honored on the Athenian Acropolis in a stoa, or colonnaded porch, which had two pedimental ends turned forward and decorated as if they were temple entrances, as is the case with the Sota of Zeus in the Agora. Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.23.7. calls the one dedicated to Artemis a hieron, or "temple."
