

## **The early Artemis and the Sun Goddess of Arinna**

[Lecture at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, April 1991]

The subject of this paper is the origin of Artemis. I compare the early Artemis gestalt and a major Asia Minor deity known as Wurusemu or the Sun Goddess of Arinna, concluding that the Artemis gestalt must have been strongly influenced by the latter, primarily through Efesos/Apasa and through other Mycenaean/Anatolian contacts. Artemis may have been adopted from western Anatolia and Anatolian forms of Wurusemu may be the root of her name, but I also discuss the possibility of a Greek development of the potnia theron theme which was later influenced by ideas of the Sun Goddess.

The proposed connection is important for the interpretation of the early Artemis cult and also for Mycenaean Greece generally including central episodes in saga history and the Troy war. Even if the connection was in fact less important than outlined here, a comparison of the most popular goddess of Greece with the main deity of her nearest great neighbour is by itself of interest and has not been done before. The later changes in the image of Artemis and what may be termed naturalization and externalization of the goddess is only briefly touched upon here<sup>1</sup>. Excluded

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<sup>1</sup> By 'naturalization' I refer both to the classical tendencies and to 19th. century research. For Wenicke, writing in Pauly's great Encyclopedia in the 1890ies, Artemis was "eine grosse weibliche Naturgottheit", "eine umfassende Naturmacht", although he goes on to describe her as a goddess of socialization, of women's destiny, of dancing and other quite 'cultural' activities.

also is the huge subject of the classical Artemis and her cults and rituals by that time.

## **Views of Artemis**

Artemis has always been a problematic figure in the interpretation of greek religion, and I shall start by outlining some of the problems.

In a recent summing up of the material relating to Artemis, Lilly Kahil says that she was the most popular Greek goddess, "mais aussi celle dont la personnalité est la plus difficile a cerner". She sees Artemis primarily as a protector of the offspring and the young, including human offspring <sup>2</sup>.

It is has for long been the accepted opinion that the classical Artemis is a figure who has undergone considerable transformation. In the sixties, Wolfgang Fauth wrote in der Kleine Pauly that:

"Die unnahbare Jungfrau, die bogenbewehrte Jagerin und die Todesgottin sind nur Teilaspekte einer aus dem Kultbestand erschliessbaren weitaus umfattendes Wesenheit...einer grossen prahellenischen Potnia".<sup>3</sup> In a similar vein, W. K. Guthrie thinks she was "one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the deities worshipped by the inhabitants of pre-Hellenic Greece" <sup>4</sup>.

Artemis can be regarded as one deity but also as the primary member of a group of deities, which

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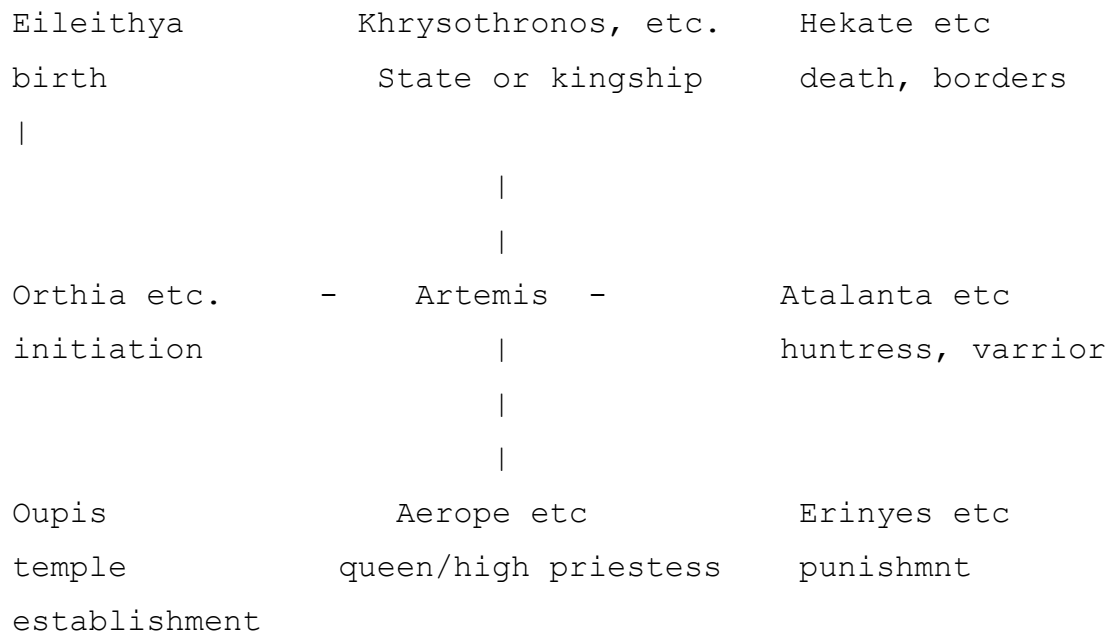
<sup>2</sup> Lilly Kahil: Artemis. I: LIMC - Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Artemis Verlag, Zurich 1984. Most popular: op.cit. 738, based on Nilsson, Gr. Rel. 401.

<sup>3</sup> Artemis, by Wolfgang Fauth, Göttingen, in Der Kleine Pauly. Lexicon der Antike. Stuttgart 1964.

<sup>4</sup> Guthrie, W. K. C: The Greeks and their gods. 3rd. ed. London 1977:99.

usually represent more specific functions related to the goddess. Figure 1 gives a rough idea of these functions.

Fig. 1: The functions and figures connected to Artemis



Artemis' power and broad range of functions can be seen here, and other functions like healing could be added. Hesiod gives her the power to create another deity, Hekate. But the center of this power is not easy to define from Greek traditions. On the one hand, she is depicted as a figure outside the centers, outside culture; she is not a "centrality figure" or a city goddess. On the other hand, her influence in the center, if and when it emerges, is very powerful indeed, usually with a fatal aspect. Within Greece she is metropolitan without a city - an aristocratic, highly evolved creation of a centralized class society, and not a primarily a local or rural goddess<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hesiod's stance towards Hekate, like a peasant towards a noble. Atalanta will not accept men eating bread. Important for my argument is the notion, at least on the symbolical level, of the king as the greatest hunter.

In the epics, Artemis is often portrayed as a punishing deity, and her punishment usually refers to some kind of transgression of a limit or border. But even if we regard Artemis as a frame deity (Dumezil), the personality and motives behind the acts are very diffuse. Many have pointed out that the virgin motive seems to be a late addition. But we should also note the remoteness of Artemis from the rest of the Olympic deities. Her acts are seldom responses to acts of the other gods, or even related to these. She is personalized in Homer (and, probably, long before); but with one exception, the famous "crying episode" in the Iliad which is best discussed in the context of later changes in the image of the goddess, she lacks what might be called the epical personality. She remains aloof, as if her inclusion in the Olympic household of Zeus was a formality only.

The picture of a distant, powerful stranger given in the epics contrasts sharply with the familiarity expressed by the cult material. In his *Griechische Feste*, Martin P. Nilsson describes Artemis as a familiar and joyful figure, a deity of dancing, mountains, springs, agriculture, children, the young, fertility, initiation - just about everything<sup>6</sup>. He stresses her popularity among women, yet she is certainly not the most popular goddess for Homer. I think the German term "Offentlichkeit (stronger than the English 'public') is relevant here. Artemis was a stranger in the epical Offentlichkeit, but a familiar and even intimate figure in what emerges as a women's Offentlichkeit in archaic times and later.

Another difficulty relates to the singular versus the triadic framework surrounding Artemis - who appears on her own, or together with her mother Leto and her brother Apollo. Usually the triadic framework has been regarded as a younger tradition<sup>7</sup>. In the singular role, Artemis kills people of both sexes, but within the triad, Apollo usually kills the males and Artemis the females.

Modern views of Artemis emphasize her role as a framing deity, primarily concerned with reproduction - birth, death, initiation. I think this is correct, but it poses new problems. It does not explain her connection with hunting and her role as protector or mistress of kingship. And it

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<sup>6</sup> Nilsson FG 179ff.

<sup>7</sup> Wennicke, Artemis, Paulys Encyclopedia.

does not explain why many important framing functions should be assigned to a deity only halfway incorporated in the Olympic order; her borders are not Zevs'. There is also the question of Artemis' twofold character, as nurturer and death goddess, and other unresolved problems.

### **A comparison of Artemis and the Sun Goddess of Arinna**

Efesos was the most important center of Artemis in historical times, and Artemis' connections with the east has been emphasized by many researchers. She was often far away; Homer has her off in Syria and the Argives regularly celebrated her coming and going<sup>8</sup> Today, much more is known about conditions in Asia Minor than it was when the classicists' view of Artemis was formed, and a more detailed investigation may prove fruitful.

The analysis of connections and interactions between different religious traditions is a complex and difficult theme. Two figures sharing some of the same traits is of course no proof of a connection. Rather, I shall examine the main social functions expressed by the two figures, and discuss their traits within this framework. I follow George Dumézil in this respect and in his conceptualization of the "frame deity".

Even if strong similarities are established, the two may be parallel but unconnected developments. I shall also discuss the possible intermediate links more concretely.

The Sun Goddess of Arinna was the central Asia Minor deity in the Hittite period from the 17th. to the 11th. century. Her position and her international influence which is well testified in the case of Ugarit and the Hurrians can be seen from the Hittite kings' and queens' statements, like the following prayer of Mursilis 2:

"You, Sun of Arinna, is the prominent deity, your name is the most prominent among names,

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<sup>8</sup> Otto 1970:83; Otto rightly notes that "auch ihr ist es eigentümlich, in die Ferne zu verschwinden."

your holiness is the most holy among the deities (...) You are the mistress of destinies and the highest in the kingdom of heaven and earth, you determine the borders between the lands, you hear the complaints of all. You, Sun of Arinna, is the deity of the Gerechtigkeit, you make the final judgement (Urteilsspruch) and all people belong to you (the berufende Mensch ist dir)".

Mursilis goes on to say she is the most prominent god in all lands, that she is the mother and father of all lands and that she determines the share of the other gods<sup>9</sup>, in a statement which clearly shows the need, felt by the king, for elevating the goddess. It should be noted that the gender of the sun deity is often vague in the Hittite texts. The sun deity has a male and a female aspect; the deity can take the shape of a young man, as in the myth of Appu<sup>10</sup>, but primarily it is a goddess<sup>11</sup>.

Despite or perhaps also because of her centrality, the emerging picture of the Sun Goddess is often vague. The city or sacral center of Arinna - one or two days journey from Hattusha - has not been found and excavated, and the existing evidence relating to her has not been collected and analyzed. The German excavators discovering a female sun deity as head of the pantheon were very surprised ("this sun god, moreover, is feminine" exclaimed Winckler in an early 1907 report<sup>12</sup>), and it seems it has taken some time to digest this fact<sup>13</sup>. The evidence relating to the Hittite queens has been collected in an important book by Shoshanna Bin-Nun, which along with other material offers many glimpses of the relationship between the royal house and the Sun

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<sup>9</sup> E. Forrer quoting from Bo. 2034 in *Assyr. Reallex.*, my transl. from German. A similar statement is made by king Suppiluliumas ("the Sun Goddess of Arinna rules over kingship and queenship") in his treaty with Mattiwaza of Mitanni, and by Hattusilis 3 (Bo 2057, transl. Forrer, op.cit.). It seems that the Sun Goddess' position became secondary to that of the Weather-God in the transition period to the new kingdom, and was again enlarged by Suppiluliumas and later kings.

<sup>10</sup> A sun deity of vague gender appears for example in the Hittite founding myth; cf. Otten 1973:9.

<sup>11</sup> Szabo ..... p. 85-91 lists 11 presumed cases of a male Sun deity; most seem to stem from the new empire. But according to Otten and Soucek (*Das Gelubde des Konigin Puduhepa an die Gottin Lelwani*, *Studien des Boghazkoi-texten* 1, Wiesbaden 1969), the male sun god was mentioned several times (together with the weather god) already in a ritual for Mursilis 1.

<sup>12</sup> Winckler 1907, quoted in J. Garstang, *Annals of Archeology and Anthropology* 6, 1914:109-15. Garstang himself concludes that "however strange it may seem to us (..) the leading Hittite goddess, as worshipped in her shrine at Arinna, was a solar divinity."

<sup>13</sup> One need look no further than Japan for a parallell case, however.

Goddess<sup>14</sup>.

### **Protector of queenship/state power**

Hittite queens were called tawannanas, who shared considerable power with their brother or husband the king, called the tabarna. Bin-Nun has shown that the tawannana office was transferred from the king's sister to his wife, probably during the time of Suppiluliumas in the early 14th century. This is very important, seen from the anthropological viewpoint; it is a change from matrilinear to patrilinear transfer. Linearity should not be confused with issues of matri- or patriarchy (the question of power), but new cross-cultural anthropological studies do confirm a connection between matrilinearity and a more egalitarian social order (ref. here).

In Hatti (the Hittite kingdom), the king and queen emerge as leaders of two different spheres; the king is primarily the war leader, the champion of great war campaigns, called lahhazmas, while the queen stays at home and maintains a close relationship with the supreme state deity, the Sun Goddess. Hittite kings regularly turn the booty from their war campaigns over to the temple treasuries of the Sun Goddess. The dualistic power system may have included two different forms of land ownership and tenure<sup>15</sup>. It is perhaps the result of a compromise between the Hittites, coming from the north, and the local Anatolian population. A Hittite founding saga tells of Kanesh being ruled by a queen when the Hittites come there; this is not improbable, since a queen appears as the leader of Kanesh as well as of several other local Anatolian palace states in the texts of the Assyrian merchants before the time of the Hittites.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Shoshanna Bin-Nun: The Tawannana of the Hittite Kingdom. Heidelberg? .....

<sup>15</sup> In the ritual text KUB 36.89 reference is made to the labarna's "tarawa lands" (revenue-giving land?) while "the lands of Hatti" belong to the Sun Goddess. The Goddess' possessions seem to have been restricted in the new kingdom.

<sup>16</sup> On the Hittite founding saga (Zalpa) cf. H. Otten: Eine Althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa. Studien...17, Wiesbaden 1973; further O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, Oxford 1977; queens in Assyrian texts cf. Veenhof....., Mogens Trolle Larsen.....; Otten 1973:14fn.

The close relationship between the Sun Goddess and the women of the royal house and nobility<sup>17</sup> resembles the picture given by Homer of the intimate relation between aristocratic women like Penelope, (\*\*Klytaimnestra?) and Artemis. When Penelope cries, she prays "first of all" to Artemis.<sup>18</sup> The Hittite queens seem to have had their own versions or portions of the Sun Goddess, since texts mention "the Sun Goddess of queen so-and-so"<sup>19</sup>. I think this basically means that their power were given them by the Sun Goddess and was a part of her.

The potential for conflict within this social system is also vaguely reminiscent of the Greek epical traditions, but it emerges more clearly and perhaps in an earlier stage. The texts of the first powerful Hittite king, Hattusili 1 (perhaps 1650) tell of a huge revolt led by his daughter or sister and several other women of the royal family; the king had tried to proclaim his own successor counter to the old succession rule, which most probably gave the king's sisters' son the right to the throne.<sup>20</sup> Two other interesting traits emerge. The Hittite kings never succeeded in establishing an orderly patrilinear succession system. Instead there were always conflicts, including murders, uprisings and civil wars, sometimes with disastrous results for the kingdom. Also, it appears that matrilinear connections, primarily through sisters or daughters of the stronger Hittite kings, played an important role in the succession conflicts<sup>21</sup>. To sum up: the Sun Goddess and Artemis were both deities of state power, primarily through the queen.

The sun symbol should be regarded in the context of growing state or kingship power. Although Wurunsemu is described as the Sun Goddess, the physical sun is not her primary form. She is

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<sup>17</sup> That the relation included women in the nobility is an assumption based on the texts relating to the uprising of the Hattusha people and nobility against king Hattusili 1, and on other indirect evidence.

<sup>18</sup> Homer Od. 20.60.

<sup>19</sup> Bin-Nun

<sup>20</sup> This is controversial, since Hattusili's text is not quite clear. It does fit with the sister's tawannana office, however, and it seems the most straightforward interpretation of the text. For the debate cf. Bin-Nun. The sister's son succession principle could have been Hittite, rather than native Anatolian, since according to ancient sources it was common among the Germanic peoples and peoples on the British Isles (Tacitus, Cæsar).

<sup>21</sup> On a genealogical map, the great houses of strong kings tend to 'restructure' the genealogies - according to the saga traditions in Greece as well as the Hittite tablets. My map of Hittite royal succession shows 9 matrilinear and 5 patrilinear cases; Gurney has 4 and 3 respectively (private correspondence). What is clear here is the controversy over the king's right to name his successor.



rather a personalized power 'of the sky' (nepisas) and 'of the (under)ground' (taknas). A broad translation 'deity of living and dead' may be correct. The religious idea of the sun was heavily influenced by the development of state and kingship institutions in Hatti as in Egypt and elsewhere, with the king approaching the status of the sun's representative on earth.<sup>22</sup> It is not so surprising that the sun metaphor would be less influential in a less stratified state like Mycena. The Greek tradition has a notoriously weak sun deity, Helios, and several other deities seem to have some solar aspect or other, especially Apollon. I shall not dwell on this, but I do want to point out that there was a considerable tradition in which Artemis was seen as shining, fosforos 'light-bringing' (as in Athens<sup>23</sup>), golden, or fire-radiating<sup>24</sup>. She may be described as golden-shafted<sup>25</sup>, and her shaft- or arrow-pouring quality has sometimes been taken to mean rays<sup>26</sup>. In the last century, this tradition was used as a basis for establishing Artemis as a moon goddess, but the evidence relating her to the moon - as Farnell and others pointed out already at the turn of the century - is of a late date and is not convincing. The context and meaning of supposed sun disks in Greece is disputed.<sup>27</sup>

Whatever the sun association, Artemis was frequently associated with fire and with the torch<sup>28</sup>. On the festivals of the Lafrian Artemis in Lafria and in Messene, wild animals of all kinds were thrown alive on a pyre; it seems to have had a parallel in a Hierapolis festival called "the torch"

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<sup>22</sup> Sun discs (sittar) seem to have been mass-produced in the old kingdom already. Cf. Bin-Nun 200, Haas 65n, Silvin Kosak: Hittite Inventory Texts, Heidelberg 1982 p....

<sup>23</sup> Fosforos also in Erythrai, Messene, Peireus and other places, cf. Paulys' Real-Encyclopedie, "Artemis" (p. 1401), Stuttgart 1895.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Farnell 2.482. There are also many names like Auge, Augeias etc. 'sunshine' in the Artemis-related myths.

<sup>25</sup> Homeric hymn to Afrodite 16.

<sup>26</sup> The Korinthians believed Artemis was the daughter of Helios and mother of Medeia, travelling through the air in a wagon drawn by serpents (cf. Cook, Zevs v. 1 p.....).

<sup>27</sup> See now Goodison, Lucy: Death, Women and the Sun - Symbolism of Regeneration in early Aegean Religion. Bulletin Supplement 53, 1989, Univ. of London, Inst of Class Stud.

<sup>28</sup> Fire occurs in myth or saga history also. For example Deianeira, daughter of Artemis' queen/priestess Althaia, was said to have killed Herakles with a shirt which caught fire (cf. Frazer's comments to Apollodorus 2.7.7 based on Nonnus and Tzetze).

or "the pyre" dedicated to some vague "Syrian goddess"<sup>29</sup>. One of the few known titles of the Sun Goddess of Arinna was the torch; in a text of king Hattusili 3 she is called "Queen of the sky and the earth, Mistress of the king and Queen of the Hatti lands, the torch of the Hatti lands".<sup>30</sup> Wurusemu war also known for her misruanza 'radiant cover' and as kasbaruyah 'kindler', the one who starts fires<sup>31</sup>. In sum: both deities can be regarded as sun or fire goddesses. I think this was related to the hearth, but the evidence cannot be examined here<sup>32</sup>.

One tradition which is well testified in Hittite sources is the customary offering of one lamb to the Arinna sanctuary of the Sun Goddess. The lamb was a symbol of the royal succession<sup>33</sup>. It appears in the myth of rich but childless Appu, who offers a white lamb to the Sun deity in order to get a child. It also appears in Hittite law and ritual texts<sup>34</sup>.

In Apollodoros' *Bibliothèque*, the summing-up of Greek myth, there is a story of a similar offering of a lamb to Artemis at Mycene. According to the story, Atreus had once made a vow to Artemis to give his finest lamb to the goddess. Instead he killed it and kept it hidden. His wife Airopé

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<sup>29</sup> The Syrian festival was described by Lucian; cf. Frazer's commentary to Pausanias 4.146; 4.21.7. This may have been Kybele and originally Hebat. The translation of Sun Goddess to Hebat and the connections of the latter is not discussed in the present paper.

<sup>30</sup> Hattusili 3, translated by E. Forrer in Ass. Reallex. "Arinna", from tablet Bo 2057.

<sup>31</sup> Bin-Nun 119.

<sup>32</sup> Artemis was connected to the hearth in variants of the story of Meleagros, in the Athen ritual of the Prytaneis offering to A. Boulaia or Fosforos, and elsewhere; Aiskylos (Ag.) has Arteus promising Thyestes peace by the hearth. The hassauwa priestesses were connected to the hearth (hassa). It may even be that Arinna is connected to an old widespread term (arne, arni etc.) for hearth; it appears even in Finnish (it could also mean, simply, 'source' - of fire or water). Pausanias tells of a local story from the area of the spring Arne in Boiotia where Rhea, having given birth to Poseidon, tells Kronos her baby was a horse and gives him a foal to swallow. This seems like a Kummurbi variant and it links Rhea and Arne, as we would expect.

<sup>33</sup> It was probably a naktussi 'carrier' sacrificial lamb rather than a 'tarpulli' lamb. In a rite performed by an Old Woman to reconcile household members, the naktussi is taken away by the priestess while the tarpulli is killed. Cf. Noel Robertson: Hittite Ritual at Sardis, *Classical Antiquity* 1, 1982, 122-40.

<sup>34</sup> The customary royal 'tax' of a lamb to Arinna seems to have been abolished by Hattusili 3. Lambs were also sacrificed by the queen (and possibly the king) to the dead queens or their Sun Goddesses at the Nuntariyasha festival (Bin-Nun 197ff.). The lamb seems to have taken the role of the son, being washed and adorned and placed upon the knee of the leading priestess (the Katra) in a Hittite birth ritual described by Beckman ..... p. 14. Placing the child on the knee was a common Middle East metaphor for social recognition.

stole it and gave it to her lover Thyestes, Atreus' brother. Now follows some kind of public discussion on who should be king, where the crowd or assembly agrees with Thyestes that the kingdom belongs to the one with the lamb. Thyestes produces the lamb and is declared king. Strange events and cruelties follow. The story of the board hunt at Kalydon also starts with the king omitting his duty to offer his first-fruits to Artemis, and here also the queen, Althaia, appears as representative of the goddess<sup>35</sup>. Several other cases occur in Greek myths of Artemis<sup>36</sup>.

The sources for such stories are of course very unclear<sup>37</sup>, but the possibility that they contain historical memories cannot be ruled out (the Hittites and most probably also the Mycenaeans had assemblies, so this is no invention of Athenian democracy). The stories give the queen considerable power over the kingship or anaks title<sup>38</sup>, and seen from the Hittite perspective, this is not at all unlikely. We have mentioned the sister's son principle, and the importance of the mother's brothers comes forth in several stories related to Artemis, such as the Kalydonian boar hunt. Eurystheus the king of Mycene was said to have entrusted the kingdom to his mother's brother Atreus while he was off fighting the sons of Herakles; this is a variant of the same theme<sup>39</sup>. In the perspective of the Hittite transferal of power from the sister to the wife it becomes important<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> The story also includes the female property which may make the man invulnerable - or kill him; "it has the power to reach out to Meleager" (Charles Segal: *Sacrifice and violence in the myth of Meleager and Heracles*, *Helios* 17, 1, 1990:14). It may be an equivalent of the Hittite 'carrier' sacrifice.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Admetos, son of Augeias 'sunshine' (Paus. 1.25.5), of Feraï, an important centre of Artemis, who also forgot his sacrifice to the goddess, again with fatal results.

<sup>37</sup> According to Frazer, it was repeated in much the same way by scholiasts on Homer and on Euripides. Cf. Frazer's comments to Apollodorus, *The Library*, Loeb ed., Epitome 2.10-14.

<sup>38</sup> The Hittite division between the tabarna (king) and the crown prince (labarna, though some would interpret this word as a name) may be compared to the Mycenaean division between anaks and lawagetas. According to Kilian, the latter division may be connected to the distinction between the 'Zentralpalast' and the 'Nebenpalast' at Pylos, Mycenae and other sites (Kilian in Hagg and Marinatos: *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*, Stockholm 1987).

<sup>39</sup> Thukydides...., discussed in Butterworth 10ff.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Marilyn Arthur in (The Arethusa papers?)..... on the development from "warrior" to "family" culture in Greece. She points to an important change, but some of her terms like "the nuclear family" are anachronistic.

If the lamb or first-fruit is a symbol of the young prince<sup>41</sup>, the hunt is the sign of his manhood and adult legitimacy. The more personal and local forms of state leadership would emphasize this aspect, so it is perhaps no surprise that it is more visible in Greece, while the *lahhazzma*, the war campaign, is the main element in Hatti. - What we have seen, so far, is the well testified tradition of the Sun Goddess receiving a lamb representing the king's claim to future power, his child; this is mirrored by several Greek traditions portraying Artemis in the same role.

### **The Potnia Theron - mistress of animals**

The potnia theron figure usually shows the figure of a woman, standing upright flanked by an animal on each side. She may be holding the animals by the neck, or feeding them, and her stance clearly expresses mastery and control. The figure has been found not only in Mycenaean Greece, but also in Asia Minor - notably on casting moulds in Karum Hattush, the lower city of the Hittite capital, and also in the old center of Kanesh<sup>42</sup>. It is not known, however, whether the image relates to the Wurunsemu/Sun Goddess figure.

How should the potnia theron be interpreted? I believe that this is one point where the naturalistic interpretation of Artemis has been seriously misleading.

The animals are often lions<sup>43</sup>, for example on Mycenaean seals<sup>44</sup>. In my opinion they are symbols of power, and not creatures of the wild. I would interpret them in the manner of the lions outside the Norwegian *Storting*, or, more relevant, the main gate of Mycene: they are metaphors of state power. The potnia holding them is the mistress of kingship, or the bigman-ship or

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<sup>41</sup> Along with other symbolic objects guarding his life, making him ..... invulnerable; cf. the story of Althaia and Meleagros; and ..... Deianeira, strongly connected to Artemis, and the story of how she or the sun killed Herakles setting his shirt on fire should probably also be considered in this perspective; cf. the Artemis Khiton found in Miletos and elsewhere (Farnell 2.444).

<sup>42</sup> Kurt Bittel: Hattusha - the Capital of the Hittites. New York 1970:45.

<sup>43</sup> The importance of lions is emphasised also by W. F. Otto (Die Gotter Griechenlands, 7. ed. Frankfurt 1970:85).

<sup>44</sup> See for example Artemis - fig. 4 in LIMC; also J. Betts and J. Younger: Aegean Seals of the late Bronze Age, Kadmos 21, 2, 1982:104-121.

chieftainship proven by the hunt. Later they may have been interpreted as concrete animals, and the Mistress of Kingship became the Mistress of Animals<sup>45</sup>. In a recent book on Minoan sacrificial ritual, Nanno Marinatos sees hunting and sacrifice as analogous activities<sup>46</sup>, and I would emphasise both - the greatest huntsmanship, the greatest sacrifice - as the domain of the king.

There are also other traits which connect Artemis to royal power and succession. Cult titles like Artemis of the golden throne, Artemis the golden, and Artemis the leader (egemon; in Sparta<sup>47</sup>) are relevant here. The throne and golden titles are connected to the image of the potnia theron with lions, found in Thebes, Elis and other places.

My conclusion is: we have many Greek indications that Artemis, like Wurusemu, guarded the creation of the new ruler. These indications occur in contexts of conflict and controversy; a point to which we shall return.

Other aristocratic animals were also associated with the goddess - the panther, the stag, and the deer. Stags and the Sun Goddess are mentioned in relation to the same festival (AN.TAH.SUM) in Hittite texts and also in Arinna rituals<sup>48</sup>, but the relation is not as clear as in the case of Artemis. Panthers are frequent, though, especially in the Sun Goddess' later (Hurrianized) form as Hebat. Most of the animals or objects related to Artemis - birds<sup>49</sup>, bees<sup>50</sup>, snakes<sup>51</sup>, wings<sup>52</sup> -

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<sup>45</sup> Potnia theron may always have been the name of the figure; it is the immediate, concrete interpretation, and it occurs in the Iliad (21.470) (also in lin. B?). My argument concerns the central function of the image.

<sup>46</sup> Nanno Marinatos: Minoan Sacrificial Ritual. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, 8, 9, Göteborg 1986.

<sup>47</sup> Paus. 3.14.6

<sup>48</sup> Haas 63-65.

<sup>49</sup> Artemis often appears holding long-necked birds (potnia theron) or with smaller birds on her shoulder in early iconography. The eagle also appears, although it was mainly connected with Zevs. The eagle is the helper of the Sun deity finding the lost god Telepinus in one version (possibly the standard Hittite version) of this wide-spread myth; the eagle is the helper of Anat in Ugarith. The Sun-Goddess was connected to the unknown surassura bird (KUB 36.89; Haas 145,151,173; he thinks it called on rain). Could it be Wachtel = Ortygie, supposedly Artemis' birth place (Hymn Apoll. Del. 16)? It may be of relevance that the Elkunirsha myth has the owl as Ishtar's disguise (Irvin 78); the owl in Greece was primarily connected to Athene.

can also be found in Hittite contexts with the Sun Goddess.

A Hittite inventory text mentions the Sun Goddess of the Underworld (KI d.UTU) as the controller of bows and arrows<sup>53</sup>; but again, the connection is far less clear than in the Aegean. The Ugarith goddess Anat, associated with the Sun Goddess and perhaps the forerunner of the Greek Atalanta, is strongly connected to the bow in the myth of Aqht, which is itself very similar to the myth of Aktaion and Artemis.

I conclude: most traits of Artemis were important in the sphere of the Sun Goddess and vice versa.

Artemis was primarily a deity of reproduction, in the modern sense - socialization; work creating social members of the community; including initiations and transfers in this process. This is true both of her early functions, and it also explains the changing perceptions of Artemis later, in a society moving from household to market economy in which reproduction became subordinated to market production and the 'Weltanschauung' of commodity exchange. Here, I'll consider Artemis' functions only.

## **Mistress of birth**

The view that the Eileithya or birth goddesses were part of the Artemisian group is held by most

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<sup>50</sup> The bee was an insect of Artemis of Efesos and elsewhere; it was also the name of one group of her priestesses in Efesos and in a Pylos and Thebes legend (Pollard 169). Some versions of the Telepinus myth has the bee as the servant of the 'finding' deity, which is usually the sun deity, but in this case Nintu (=Hannahanna? A goddess whose position was taken by Wurusemu in other contexts (births) - cf. Irvin 70-2).

<sup>51</sup> Snakes occur in different Greek contexts. With Artemis they are most frequent in the Hekate version, but also in other frameworks as in the Aulis episode before the war. Hattusili 1 referred to his sister and/or daughter as snakes, and Bin-Nun (115) thinks it has a religious meaning (she makes a general connection between the SAL SU.GI 'old women' priestesses, the queens, and snake magic).

<sup>52</sup> The winged Artemis was a frequent early image. In Hatti, the official representation of Wurusemu was the sun disk with wings.

<sup>53</sup> KUB 40.96; cf. Kosak.

modern researchers<sup>54</sup>. In Hatti the Sun Goddess was the primary deity of childbirth at least in the New Empire period<sup>55</sup>. Both deities were rulers over childbirth, not themselves midwives or mothers. The birth functions of the two goddesses were parallel or even identical.

### **Initiaton goddess**

It seems that the children of the Hittite royal family in the Old Kingdom were brought up in a "house of children" after reaching a certain age. A ritual text mentions that the king and queen should go to Arinna and perform some ritual there while the "great child of the house" (the DUMU.E.GAL, probably the crown prince) went to the house of children<sup>56</sup>. The initiation role of Artemis is well known. It should be emphasized that the early Artemis guarded initiation rites mention boys as well as girls; her restriction to girls only is part of the later externalization process which I mentioned<sup>57</sup>. Again we have parallel roles.

### **Healer**

The sun deity, perhaps with male gender, appears as the army drinks against illness in a Hittite ritual<sup>58</sup>. In an oracle text, king Mursilis 2 turns to the Sun Goddess when he believes he will be taken ill by visiting the marshy place of her son, the god of Nerik, and he asks the goddess to protect him from illness<sup>59</sup>. Artemis Soteira etc. was also a healer, along with her brother. Here too we find similar roles.

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<sup>54</sup> Pingiatoglou .....; Farnell believed the Eileithya were more closely connected with Hera.

<sup>55</sup> She had perhaps taken over this function from an older Mother Goddess - cf. the ritual in Kbo 5.1, discussed by Beckman ..... Here she is said to take the first seat, before the Throne goddess and Telepinus, while no seat is left for Hannahanna(!). Pausanias (10.38.3) records "first-seated" as a title of Artemis of Efesos.

<sup>56</sup> This practice was stopped by Mursilis 1, who instead went to a cult centre in Katapa which did not belong to the goddess. Cf. Otten and Soucek .....

<sup>57</sup> In Pausanias' time, boys were still the subjects of Orthia-like initiation rituals in Lakonia (Pausanias 3.18.10).

<sup>58</sup> Szabo .....

<sup>59</sup> Kbo 6.2.

## Death mistress

A reproduction goddess should also be a death goddess, guarding the passage from the land of the living to the land of the dead. This is an important aspect of both deities in their underworld functions. Wuruntemu and Hekate both guard the entrance to the underworld, called hattesar in Hittite.

The Greek portrayal of Hekate as guardian of roads and gates and reciever of dog sacrifice may be connected to the Hittite custom of sacrificing dogs by the city gates<sup>60</sup>. In any case, the functions of the Sun Goddess of the Underworld and of Hekate seem very similar. The double nature of Artemis/Hekate needs no further explanation if her origin is the Sun Goddess.

## Other traits

I do not have the room for discussing the early iconography here. Artemis was often portrayed with wings, and the wings on some of the so-called psi figurines may indicate the goddess. We know that the Hittites worshipped their sun deities, often in the form of winged sun disks, standing upright with raised arms<sup>61</sup>. Wurusemu was an oath and treaty deity, with a role akin to that of the Erinyes, usually related to Artemis<sup>62</sup>.

There is also the whole subject of the political context. If Artemis was the Greek version of

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<sup>60</sup> Tablet VBot 24.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. the Elflatun monument which shows a king (possibly Tuthalias 4) and a queen with raised arms beneath winged sun disks (Kohlmeier: Felsbilder 34-8). Golden sun-disks were mass-produced in Hatti (37 are mentioned in KUB 42.42; cf. Kosak). If there was a Hittite embargo against the Mycenaean (Erik Cline: A possible Hittite embargo against the Mycenaean, *Historia* XL/1 (1991), 1-9) it might explain the absence of similar disks in Greece. A. B. Cook (*Zeus* 1.291, 300) mentions sun disks, but I have not seen modern research. Euripides (*Ifig.* 1570) tells of the wheels of light (*lampon eilissous*) of Artemis. Possibly, the Hittite winged sun disk was translated to a similarly shaped and placed double axe with snakes. These can be seen on several *potnia theron* with lion seals (LIMC Artemis no. 2, from Mycene tomb 515; also no. 22 and others).

<sup>62</sup> Hattusili 3 calls upon the Sun Goddess as witness to an oath, cf. *Annals* B6. For the discussion of the role of the Erinyes cf. Jane Harrison's *Prolegomena*...p. 215 (personalized curses), modern views:..... There is the possibility that erinu = hattesar, since tradition has Pluto descending to the underworld at Erineus (Paus. 1.38.6).



Wurusemu, a goddess with her roots in western Anatolia and in Hatti, we would expect her appearances in Greek traditions to be aristocratic, powerful, and punishing, which is the case. When this Artemis appeared, she would have a decisive but highly disputed influence on the Mycenaean kings in some short periods - the periods with Hittite/Ahhiawan friendship. Her connections in Ahhiawa would be aristocratic and noble females, and here her influence would be more permanent. She would not appear regularly in linear B tablets, although her name might be mentioned<sup>63</sup>. She would also be a strong opponent of Greek war campaigns against Anatolia. - Conclusion: All this fits the portrait which is in fact given of Artemis. Although each of the links I have mentioned is disputable, the links are so numerous that they cannot be dismissed. The two deities were connected and not just versions of the same basic concepts.

### **The names Artemis and Wurunsemu**

Artemis' names are known in the forms Artemis, Artemidos, in the doric forms Artamis, Artamitos, and in Etruscan variants. None of the Greek etymologies - from artamein sound, whole or artamos slaughter have been generally accepted. Ertemi has been established as a Lykian form of Artamis<sup>64</sup>, and there were probably more variants.

Wurusemu comes from wuru(n)- 'earth' plus an unknown semu. It was also spelled Wuruntemu<sup>65</sup>, Purusimu ('proto-hattisch' according to Haas), Wor<sup>66</sup> Urunte and Uruntimu. The latter two were pronounced Uarunte and Uaruntimu, according to Macqueen<sup>67</sup>. According to

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<sup>63</sup> She is mentioned two times:  
Py Un 219,5: A-ti-mi-te (dativ);  
Py Es 650,5: A-te-mi-to (genitiv). Regular state deities like Poseidon/Poseideija and Zevs/Zevja are mentioned a huge number of times.

<sup>64</sup> Ertemi is "endgultich sicher" say Laroche and Bosquet based on an inscription from Letoon in Lykia; quoted by Neumann in Florilegium....p. 260.

<sup>65</sup> Haas 147 (KUB 36.89).

<sup>66</sup> E. Forrer in Reallex Ass. "Arinna" (p. 150).

<sup>67</sup> Macqueen..... 175.

Gurney, these spoken names were more frequently used than the more official dUTU Arinna<sup>68</sup>. The name also appears as Uruzimui and Uruzimuia.

It seems a fair guess that Ertemi/Artemis is in fact a variant of the western Anatolian forms Uruzimui, Urtemu, Uruntemu and the like. This proposal is strengthened by the fact that the prefix er- or eir- seems to refer to the earth in many Greek words - like Erebus 'underworld', eaze 'on/to the ground' and linear B eremo 'waste land'; perhaps words like eire, eiresione and eirene also shares this meaning. Erethymios was a title of Apollo in Lykia and Rhodos<sup>69</sup>. Conclusion: the name Artemis probably derives from Wurusemu through western Anatolian forms like Urzimu and Ertemi.

## **Differences and contrasts**

The "twinness" of Artemis and Apollo does not correspond with the Hittite concept, and even if the sun deity does have a male form, much more evidence would be needed before an association with Apollo should even be proposed. Rather, I would emphasize the Greek tradition that Artemis was the older of the two twins and the fact that Apollo is peripheral or non-existent in her more important mythology and early iconography.

There are other difficulties also. The Sun Goddess of Arinna was no virgin figure; she had a daughter Mezulla who was sometimes worshipped together along with the mother, and a son, the weather god of Nerik<sup>70</sup> This son may have been a concept for wet or marshy places; if so, he would fit rather well, in view of Artemis' connections to lakes and marshy places.

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<sup>68</sup> Gurney SA 11fn.

<sup>69</sup> The Efesos name Upis may stem from the old name of the city, Apasa, and/or from the Hittite root up- as in upai or upiya 'raise, hold high' - in Greek opis, 'hold in regard'.

<sup>70</sup> Mezulla: Gurney SA 11, Bittel 3f, Haas 64; Nerik: Haas 98ff. Mursilis 2 ranks "child and mother", presumably SG and Mezulla, as the third of three forms of the Sun Goddess (after Arinna's own image of the goddess and the national Hatti image) in the oracle text on tablet Kbo 6.2.

Some myths or festivals of Artemis may gain more meaning in the present framework; these include beacon, fire or torch events in Argos<sup>71</sup>, Tegeia and elsewhere. Artemis as sun goddess would tend to obliterate stars like Orion and Kallisto<sup>72</sup>. Other themes are not illuminated; these include the important bear motive. Many myths of Artemis have no obvious parallels in the existing material on Wurusemu. The priesthood and religious organization does show some similarities, but much is unknown here<sup>73</sup>.

Other proposed connections should also be considered. To my knowledge, no-one has bothered with investigating the Greek associates of our 'Asiatic' woman deity, the Sun Goddess of the Hittites, even if she was in fact the most powerful deity in the immediate neighborhood of the Greeks of the late Bronze Age. Some other connections of Artemis with foreign deities have been proposed, but these have not been worked out, and in my opinion they are not very likely<sup>74</sup>. The real problem may be the multitude of connections rather than their scarcity. The Greek Telephos has plausibly been suggested as a variant of Anatolian Telepinus, the lost god<sup>75</sup>. There is also the possibility that the Greek Thespios or Thestios - probably one figure - is a variant of the very important Hurrian and Hittite weather-god Teshub who was sometimes at the head of

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<sup>71</sup> Many names like Lynkeos are important in the legends of Argos; the present framework makes it more likely that the proposed original meaning from \*luke 'light' (see LSJ) is in fact correct.

<sup>72</sup> Apollodoros 3.8.2 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Prominent male SANGA priests and priestesses are mentioned in texts relating to the Sun Goddess' festivals. The 'old women', hassauwa (SAL.SU.GI) appear primarily in ritual texts. Their name probably means hearth priestesses, from hassa 'hearth' related to hassatar 'kin, family'.

<sup>74</sup> Martin Bernal has announced (in his work "Black Athena") that he will trace Apollo and Artemis to Egyptian sources (Artemis from a postulated \*Hrt Tmt; "the 'twinness' of Apollo and Artemis can be seen to be that of Hpr and Tm, that between the morning and evening sun" (Martin Bernal: Black Athena, New Jersey 1987:69). So far, this does not seem convincing. Artemis has no strong connection with the evening sun especially, and although there may have been Egyptian influence (Thebes), her connections with Efesos and Asia Minor were much stronger. - Gary Beckman (HBR 239-40) has suggested a connection between the mother goddess Hannahanna (DINGIR.MAH) and Artemis/Kybele. This is unlikely, since H. is a grain goddess, and for other reasons.

<sup>75</sup> Macqueen, J. G. : Hattian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy. Anatolian Studies 9, 1959, 171-88. The story of the lost Demeter at Thelpousa should also be considered, since it is virtually identical to the myth of Telepinus (Paus 8.42.2). Achilles is credited with healing one Telephus; the same figure shows the way when the Greeks get lost in their journey to Troy.

the pantheon<sup>76</sup>. Althaia (the mother of Meleager and Deianira) and Leda (mother of Helen and Klytaimnestra) are daughters of Thespios/Thestios in Greek tradition. We may almost say that all the important women of the Homeric tradition appear<sup>77</sup>. This matrix strengthens the Sun Goddess hypothesis, since most or all of the saga-like stories involving Artemis concerns relatives of Thespios. Conclusion: though some themes like the bear is unexplained, there are many subsidiary links which supports our hypothesis.

## **Intermediaries**

Geographical considerations indicate that the Greek Artemis would be influenced by the Sun Goddess in her local western Anatolian version, more than the central Hittite deity. The political map of western Asia Minor, with strong conflicts with the Hittites during most of the period, points in the same direction. The question is complicated by the fact that there seems to have been two or three pantheons in the west, and not much is known of these<sup>78</sup>.

## **Apasa/Efesos**

Modern research confirms the view of Farnell, Ramsay, Frazer and others, that Efesos was always the main center of Artemis<sup>79</sup>. Efesos seems remarkably resilient against historical change. In Roman times, it retained its character as a large temple enterprise; by this time the temple was in possession of huge estates, quarries, pastures and fisheries, and it was also involved in

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<sup>76</sup> Teshub of the market, of the army and of help was a major deity sometimes depicted at the head of the whole pantheon, probably in connection with increased Hurrian influence (cf. the treaties of Suppiluliumas). According to Frazer, Thestios = Thespios (comments to the Loeb ed. of Apollodorus, vol 1. p. 176-7). Thespios is credited with power and richness but not much personality in Greek traditions.

<sup>77</sup> Penelope is the daughter of Thespios' ally Ikarios, the brother of Tyndareos.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Neumann in *Florilegium*.....

<sup>79</sup> For modern views cf. Lilly Kahil in Warren G. Moon, ed.: *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* and in LIMC. Frazer and Ramsay in Frazers comments to Pausanias 3.52; Farnell 2.480ff.

banking, industry and commerce<sup>80</sup>. Pausanias described the Efesos temple as the largest building in the world and one of the seven wonders.

In the Mycenaean age, Efesos was already an important center<sup>81</sup>. In general terms it was situated in what Hittite texts call the Arzawa lands. It may be the same as Apasa, the capital of Arzawa, but this connection is less well established than the identity between Milliwanda and Miletos, a bit further south on the coast<sup>82</sup>.

The Hittite texts paint a picture of constant troubles and uprisings among the Western Anatolian vassal states, with Wilusa - probably Troy, the Homeric Ilion - as a long-standing loyal vassal, and, in this respect, an exception. One of the most dramatic Hittite texts concerns Mursilis 2's campaign in Western Anatolia, probably in the year 1337, in order to reestablish Hittite control.

If Efesos equals Apasa, it seems probable that the deity being worshipped there in Greek traditions is the same as the deity connected to it in Hittite documents. The most likely location of Apasa may be Ilicatepe, about 6 miles south of the later Efesos<sup>83</sup>. We do not directly know if the Sun Goddess was a major deity of the Arzawans, although there are signs in this direction<sup>84</sup>.

It is known that the Arzawans sought refuge on a mountain called Arinnanda, i.e. 'mountain of Arinna' when they were threatened by the large-scale attack by Mursilis 2. This was a situation of dire need and it seems probable that the Arzawans would turn to their main sanctuary, although we cannot be sure she was their main deity<sup>85</sup>. The mountain was near the sea and not

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<sup>80</sup> T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, 1, 645, 679.

<sup>81</sup> Anton Bammer: *Ephesos*, ch. 3: Apasa und Mursili - Ephesos in der Bronzezeit. Graz 1988.

<sup>82</sup> For this debate cf. Trevor C. Bryce: *The Nature of the Mycenaean Involvement in Western Anatolia*, *Historia* 38/39 (1989) 1-21; Suzanne Heimholdt-Kramer?, *Arzawa*, Heidelberg?.... and references there.

<sup>83</sup> Anton Bammer, *Ephesos*, Graz 1988: 133.

<sup>84</sup> In a letter to an Egyptian pharaoh, the (male?) sun as protector of the courier is mentioned in connection with Arzawa; in a much later list of the Lykian pantheon, there appears the gods Arxesimas or Ar(b)azuma who may be remnants of Uruzimui, Wurusemu etc. (cf. note ....). The list is discussed by Neumann in *Florilegium* p....

<sup>85</sup> King Mursilis 2's text says he "fought" Arinnanda itself; possibly pointing to the religious element involved.

too far from Apasa; the Mykale ridge south of Apasa, inland from Samos, seems a likely candidate<sup>86</sup>. Conclusion: Apasa and Efesos were most probably the same state, and the Arzawa people worshipped the Sun Goddess later known as Artemis of Efesos.

Two more general sources of contact should be mentioned. The Hittite kings were always worried about NAM.RAs, 'refugees'. In Mursilis 2's campaign against Arzawa, thousands were killed. The text says "the whole country" fled and speaks of 66.000 NAM.RAs. Each Hittite attack created streams of refugees.

Another possible source is the *rawijaja*, the more or less 'captive' Anatolian women working in the Mycenaean palaces.

These were huge groups from Milliwanda and other western Anatolian cities and towns, and like the NAM.RAs, it is probable that they took their beliefs with them.<sup>87</sup>

There is also the possibility of more direct contact on the aristocratic level. The kings of Hatti had diplomatic contact with the kings of Ahhiawa.

There is a dramatic episode involving king Suppiluliumas sister, who in a year around 1360 was banished from the Tawananna office in favour of the king's new Babylonian wife. It is probable that she is the one mentioned in a text where someone is banished 'to the land of Ahhiawa'<sup>88</sup> One cannot help but associate to the stories of the banished or fleeing Leto whose name means 'noble lady'<sup>89</sup>, who once quarreled with some powerful woman<sup>90</sup> and later gave birth to a powerful

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Susanne Heinholdt-Kramer (Arzawa, Heidelberg 1977) assumes it was a sacral city or shrine as well as a mountain. King Mursilis insistent calling on the Sun Goddess could well be explained by the religious conflict involved. An oracle text (see note ...) proves the uneasy relation between the king and the goddess. In a prayer to her, the king calls Arzawa not only hostile but also 'godless' (Heinholdt-Kramer op. cit. p. 93).

<sup>86</sup> From my own journey in the area, I agree with Bammer 1988:136.

<sup>87</sup> On the Anatolian women in the Aa, Ab and Ad tablets (which lists 2-3000 people) see F. J. Tritsch in Minoica, Festschr. z. J. Sundwall, Berlin 1958, and Billigmeier and Turner in Helen Foley, ed.: Reflections of Women in Antiquity, New York 1981.

<sup>88</sup> KUB 14.2, cf. Guterbock in AJA 87,2:134 and Huxley: Achaneans and Hittites 5ff.

<sup>89</sup> Anatolian lada = Leto. Cf. Barnett: Oriental influence on archaic Greece, in: Studies to Hetty Goldman, New York

deity<sup>91</sup>. The Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo gives a curiously detailed list of 29 places visited by the fleeing Leto; it may have been an alliance list of some sort<sup>92</sup>.

In sum; the influence of Apasa/Efesos, along with thousands of refugees and workers to the Mycenaean palaces provide strong transmission links. A high priestess of the Sun Goddess seems to have been banished to Ahhiawa and may be the one appearing there in the form of the Leto/lada (noble dame), mother of Artemis.

The well documented international influence of the Sun Goddess towards Ugarith and the south should also be considered. Ugarith texts tell of the sun as 'lady sun' and the state paid tributes to the Sun Goddess at Arinna in the period of Suppiluliumas<sup>93</sup>. There are clear connections between the Ugarith deity Anat and figures in the Artemis group, Atalanta especially. In the Baal and Anat cycle, the Sun Goddess is the one who helps Anat find the lost Baal. There are also strong links between the Greek myth of Aktaion and the Ugarith story of Aqht, and a central theme in the story concerns Anat as a deity of the bow and arrows. Semele or Sml appears both in Akusilaos' version of the Greek story and in the Ugarith version. The plot is similar, with the notable difference that the goddess does not punish Aktaion/Aqht because he sees her bathing naked, but because he refuses to give her his bow<sup>94</sup>. I do not think Artemis was a version of Anat, even though there were influences here; western Anatolian versions of the Sun Goddess were closer and more likely. There are also indications of connections to the Etruscans and, later, to Diana, which cannot be considered here. Conclusion: the early international influence of the

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1956: 220, and also Neumann in *Florilegium*...p. 262 where the name means 'mistress' of the local shrine.

<sup>90</sup> Primarily Niobe, queen of Thebes, where Hittite seals have been found.

<sup>91</sup> Leto's mother was Foibe, which is obviously related to Artemis' and Apollo's radiant and beaming quality. Her cult tracks seem most numerous on Crete (Willetts CCF 172).

<sup>92</sup> Hom. hymn to Delian Apollo .....

<sup>93</sup> Gordon, C. H.: *Ugaritic Literature*, Rome 1949:120.

<sup>94</sup> The two myths are discussed in Michal C. Astour: *Hellenosemítica*, Leiden 1965. Possibly, Ferekydes story of Herakles giving over his bow to the Sun (Apollodoros *Bibliothēke*, Loeb ed. vol. 1. p. 213), is a variant of the same. Sistership is emphasised here; wanting his bow, Anat says to Aqht: "you are my brother, I am your sister" (Selms 120).

Sun Goddess is well testified; it would be strange if she did not leave her mark in the Aegean area.

## **Conclusion**

The Asia Minor Sun Goddess and the early Greek Artemis had important common functions and traits. These include the double death/life and framing character of the deity, her hunting and war campaign functions, her close relationship to the queen, and probably also the sun, the bow and arrow, and a number of other traits and functions. If Apasa equals Efesos, it is virtually certain that the Greek Artemis was heavily influenced by Anatolian version of the Arinna Sun Goddess, and the proposed etymology where terms like Artemis and Urizimuia (and similar) are seen as variants of the same concept, is strengthened.

However, all this evidence does not obliterate the Greek character of Artemis. If there was a diffusion, we also see many shifts of meaning, form and content. Perhaps the most plausible hypothesis is a development from a potnia theron figure legitimizing the male leader's power as the great hunter (I have not had the time to take the ambivalent relation between Herakles and Artemis into consideration here, but it is surely relevant). Various versions of the potnia theron seem to have been widespread in Asia Minor and the Aegeans from the early second millenium at least. I think we should consider BOTH separate developments from this starting point, AND strong contacts and influence through Efesos and western Anatolia. Later, in the orientalizing period, Near Eastern connections may have played a greater role.

This interpretation fits with the role of Artemis both in the Mycenaean tablets and in the Greek traditions. She was never an established supreme state deity, even though she may have had that role in Thebes, and for a period in Mycene. A western Anatolian goddess with strong Hittite connections would be a controversial mistress, opposing the war attempts of the Mycene kings towards Asia Minor, and this is also her role in the saga of Troy, where she emerges as the Greek's main religious opponent - stopping the fleet in Aulis, poisoning etc-----more here.



In the words of Aiskylos<sup>95</sup>:

"When (the seer) told them

the name - Artemis!

The two brothers (Agamemnon and Menelaos) were stunned  
and crying threw their sceptre to the ground"

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<sup>95</sup> Aiskylos: Agamemnon.