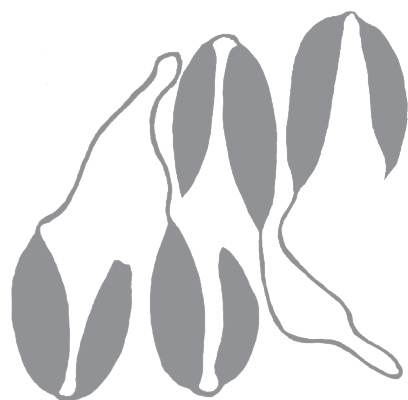


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The cult of goddess Hekate in Miletus and the Milesian colonies*

Mihai Remus Feraru

Abstract: Our aim herein is to discuss the cult of goddess Hekate in Miletus and the Milesian colonies founded on the coast of the Hellespontus, the Sea of Marmara and Pontus Euxinus (the Black Sea). In Miletus, Hekate was an important deity, as recorded by the large number of epicleses under which the goddess was worshiped. Hekate was revered in the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios* of Miletus as the *entemenios* deity of the latter. Hekate's presence in the pantheons of the Miletus's colonies (Abydos, Kardia, Prokonnesos, Cyzicus, Sinope, Apollonia Pontica, Anchialos, Odessos, Tomis, Olbia, Pantikapaion, Gorgippia) may be inferred, with few exceptions, from the epigraphic record of the theophoric anthroponyms deriving from the goddess's name. At Olbia and Milet, the celebration of *Triakades* was held in Hekate's honour, on the thirtieth day of each month. The rituals performed to honour Hekate on the thirtieth day of the month coincided with the honours awarded to the dead.

Keywords: Hekate; cult; celebration; Miletus; the Milesian colonies.

Hekate is a deity of Asian descent adopted by the Greek origin population. According to Hesiod, whose account represents the first literary mention of Hekate, the goddess directly descends from the generation of titans previous to that of the Olympian gods¹. Hekate's description in Hesiod's poem *Theogonia* proves that the goddess's cult had already been in existence, very likely, in Hesiod's time (the 8th century BC). The Homeric hymn to Demeter, at least one century posterior to Hesiod's *Theogony*, is the second poetic attempt to ascribe a place in the family of Olympian deities² to Hekate.

Hekate's origin was in south-west Asia Minor, more precisely Caria, as documented by the many theophoric anthroponyms derived from the goddess's name recorded in this region; this is the case of name *Ἐκατόμνωσ* of certain Carian origin³. Even Hekate's name, whose significance is obscure, comes from a pre-Greek language, likely Carian⁴. The cult of Hekate extends over three distinct areas: the southern part of Asia Minor, Thrace and Attica. Regardless, Caria seems to have been the most ancient centre of the deity's cult. In this region, Hekate is akin to the Phrygian Cybele, Artemis of Ephesus and Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, deities with which she was most often associated with. From Caria, the cult of Hekate diffused to Miletus, where the goddess is closely connected to Apollo. In fact, the first concrete evidence regarding Hekate's cult is represented by an archaic altar dedicated to the goddess – dated to late 6th century BC –, discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios* at Miletus⁵.

Since Hekate was of origin from south-western Asia Minor and especially because she held an important place in the pantheon of Miletus, it is very likely that her cult was inherited by the Milesian colonies from their metropolis. Starting from this premise, we attempt herein to discuss the cult of Hekate at Miletus and its colonies founded on the coast of the Hellespont⁶, Sea of Marmara⁷ and

* English translation: Gabriela Safta.

¹ Hésiode, *Théogonie*, (1993), vv. 402–452.

² Zografou 2010, 23–90.

³ Herda 2006, 287 and n. 2037; see also Kraus 1960, 24–26; Ehrhardt 1988, I, 173–174; Laumonier 1958, 553–554; Nilsson 1906, 395; 397–398.

⁴ Herda 2006, 287 and n. 2037.

⁵ *Milet* I.3, 129, r. 2–7, p. 275.

⁶ Hellespont (today the Dardanelle strait) is the only navigable path linking the Aegean Sea to the Sea of Marmara (Propontida), see Loukopoulou 2004, 900–902.

⁷ *Propontida* (today the Sea of Marmara) divides Thrace from Asia Minor, including both coasts of the Sea of Marmara. To the south-west, the Hellespont strait divides Propontida from the Aegean Sea; to the north-east, Propontida is divided by Pontus-Euxinus by the Bophorus strait. The Greek themselves considered *Propontida* as an entry basin, prior entering the Black Sea; hence, they called it *Προποντις* (“the sea before the sea [Pontus-Euxinus]”), see Avram 2004, 974–976.

Pontus Euxinus (the Black Sea) (Fig. 1, 2). Firstly, the study here aims to examine Hekate's epicleses, the cult places and celebrations held in her honour, as well as their related rituals.



Fig. 1. General map of the Greek cities on shores of the Hellespont and Sea of Marmara (apud Robu 2012, 195).

Our analysis relies on the study of epigraphic, literary, archaeological (bas-reliefs) and numismatic sources. In most cases, evidence regarding the cult of Hekate prior to the Hellenistic period is rather rare or entirely missing in both Miletus and its colonies. Hekate's presence in the pantheons of Miletus and its colonies may be inferred, with few exceptions, based on the epigraphic record of theophoric anthroponyms – derived from the goddess's name – in the Milesian and Miletus's colonies onomastic. Identification of Hekate in bas-reliefs often raises questions, since in the cult iconography, the depiction of Hekate is quite similar to that of Artemis; the overlapping between these two goddesses is in certain cases almost perfect expressed through iconographic similarities (Fig. 3, 4). In fact, the absence of cult monuments dedicated to Hekate in many fortresses is likely due to the inaccurate image of the goddess which is often mistaken with that of Artemis⁸. Instead, at Miletus, Hekate had an ancient cult tradition, pre-Greek, compared to Artemis *Chitone*, whose cult had been established much later by the Ionian colonisers headed by Neleus. The age of Hekate's cult by comparison with that of Artemis *Chitone* might explain why Hekate had not been assimilated with Artemis in Miletus and Didyma, as it occurred in other Greek cities.

Since, except for Hekate's cult record by Hesiod, most ancient evidence regarding the cult of the goddess come from archaic Miletus, its colony of Olbia and Didyma, Theodor Kraus assumes that the inclusion of Carian Hekate in the Greek pantheon would have occurred at Miletus in the period comprised between the Ionian colonisation and the Geometric period, sometime between the 11th – 9th century BC⁹. The record of Hekate's cult at Selinunt, a Megara colony, might imply the fact that the cult of the goddess was already spread on the territory of Greece as early as the more ancient colonisations of the 8th – 6th century BC¹⁰.

1. The cult of Hekate in Miletus

In Miletus, Hekate was an important deity, as proved by the number of epicleses under which the goddess was worshipped. Hekate's presence in the Miletus's pantheon may be inferred based on the epigraphic record of the theophoric anthroponyms – derived from the goddess's name – in the

⁸ Ehrhardt 1983, 174.

⁹ Kraus 1960, 21–22.

¹⁰ Herda 2006, 284 and n. 2010; at Selinunt, Hekate had a small sanctuary by the entrance into the sanctuary of Demeter *Malophoros* dated to 590–580 BC. The *Hekataion* of Selinunt is the most ancient sanctuary of Hekate known to date, see Dewailly 1992, 3–9; 26–28; 35; 146–148.

Milesian onomastic. The Greek theophoric names like *Hekataios* and *Hekatokles*, which derive from Hekate, are recorded in Miletus as early as the archaic period¹¹.

The cult of Hekate was practiced as early as the late 6th century BC as shown by a dedication carved on an altar discovered in *Delphinion*, set up to the goddess by two Milesian prytaneis: “...../ Εόθρασ /..Λεωδάμας / Όνάξο πρυτ[α]/νεύοντες ά/νέθεσαν τή/κάτη”¹². This is the most ancient record regarding the cult of Hekate discovered in Caria, where there are no documents previous to the 2nd century BC concerning the cult of the goddess. Hekate is thus given a cult in the *temenos* of Apollo *Delphinios* at Milet; in other words, the goddess becomes the *enteménios theá* of Apollo *Delphinios*. The dedication made to the goddess by the Milesian prytaneis alludes to Hekate’s civic character. The fact that the magistrates carry out this cult gesture in an Apollonian setting is by no means inexplicable. Similarly to Apollo, himself called *πρύτανις*, she plays an important political role¹³, Hekate being able to find a place in his sanctuary in her capacity of protector of the civic community. Also, an archaic dedication to Hekate was discovered at Monodendri, midway the route followed by the procession which the Milesian *Molpoi* held each year from Miletus to Didyma¹⁴; it is a dedication to Hekate carved on the left side of the throne of a sitting figure: there, the goddess is likely evoked as *δέσποινα* (*δες...να*), while two lines below Apollo¹⁵ is also mentioned.

At Didyma were discovered two archaic statuettes with votive inscriptions – dated to 500 BC – depicting Hekate in a “sitting” position¹⁶. According to the findspot of the statuettes, it may be assumed these do not come from the oracular sanctuary of Apollo Didymeian, but rather from a small local gentilic sanctuary¹⁷. An inscription from Didyma dated to 288/87 BC informs us that a certain Seleukos dedicates Hekate a phial¹⁸.

1.1. Hekate’s epicleses in Miletus

In the Milesian *Molpoi* cult regulations dated by mid 2nd century BC, Hekate’s name is associated with phrase *πρόσθεν πυλέων* (“before the gates”), which is synonymous to epiclesis *Προπυλαία* commonly worn by the goddess¹⁹. Hence, Hekate stood “before the gates” of Miletus, which confirms the goddess’s traditional role as a deity protecting the gates, house, sanctuaries or cities entryways, as well as the roads, junctions or cities’ defensive walls²⁰.

Hekate was worshipped as *Φωσφόρος* (“Light Bearer”), as it results from a dedication – dated to 78/77 BC – set up for the goddess by a certain Pausanias, son to Metrodoros. The latter dedicates an altar to *Phosphoros*, in his capacity as supervisor of the building works of the Miletus walls: “Pausanias, son to Metrodoros who supervised the construction of the walls [set up this altar] to the *Light Bearer (Phosphoros)*”²¹. It is not excluded that the same Pausanias, son to Metrodoros, acting as *stephanephoros* (eponymous magistrate of Miletus) in 78/77 BC²², had been the head of the Milesian fraternity of the *molpi*; as such, he very likely had the opportunity to express his devoutness to

¹¹ Herda 2006, 288 and n. 2043; Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 476, n. 902; Bilabel 1920, 96.

¹² *Milet* I.3, 129, r. 2–7, p. 275. Ehrhardt 1988, II, 476, n. 905; Bilabel 1920, 96.

¹³ Detienne 2009, 123 (who quotes Simonides of Ceos, *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 212); 127–128 and 288, n. 116; we must mention especially the connections of Apollo with the Prytanies of Delos, Naukratis and Athena; see also Miller, 1978, 16, 56.

¹⁴ The cult regulations of the Milesian *molpoi* describe, among other, the long procession which the *molpoi* took each year, crossing the approximately 17 km dividing the Miletus from the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, see Herda 2006, 10–14, together with the Greek text of the *Molpoi* regulations, critics and translation; see also *LSAM*, 50, 129–135, with Greek text, critics and comments.

¹⁵ Zografou 2010, 140 and n. 94.

¹⁶ Herda 2006, 285, n. 2018; see also Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 477, n. 907.

¹⁷ Herda 2006, 285, n. 2018.

¹⁸ *I. Didyma*, 424, r. 36–37.

¹⁹ *Προπυλαία* (“she who stands before the gate”) is an epithet specific to Hekate recorded in Greece and especially at Athens, who reveals the function of the goddess as deity protecting the gates, houses, sanctuaries and cities entries. “Hekate stands before the gates which indicates the passage from outside to the inside, from the lay to the sacred, from public to private”, see Zografou 2010, 93–94.

²⁰ In one inscription from the first half of the 2nd century BC discovered at Eritreea, Hekate wears epiclesis *Επιτειχέα* (“[the one] on the walls”) indicating the goddess’s function of protector of city fortifications, see Herda 2006, 282 and n. 1996.

²¹ *Milet* I.3, 172, p. 392: “Παυσανίας Μητροδώρου / προνοήσας τῆς οἰκοδομίας τῶν τειχῶν Φωσφόρωι”.

²² See *Milet* I.3, 172, p. 392 with G. Kawerau and A. Rehm comments.

Hekate, during his involvement in the yearly religious procession of the molpi from Miletus to Didyma²³.

Phôosphoros is an epiclesis ascribed by the ancient authors to both Hekate²⁴ and Artemis²⁵. At this turn, Pausanias identifies Artemis with Hekate²⁶, from where it may be assumed that the classical authors noted the identity between the two goddesses. The overlapping between Hekate and Artemis goes in some cases up to a perfect identification expressed by iconographic similarities. Hekate's and Artemis's main attribute is the torch²⁷. In fact, epiclesis *Phôosphoros* belongs to cult epicleses directly related to an attribute, namely the torch. Both epiclesis *Phôosphoros* and the attribute it alludes to (torch) are, in most cases, the appanage of female deities. In other words, the name *Phôosphoros* is not reserved to a specific goddess, but serves as epithet to characterise deities whose attribute is the torch, among which also count Hekate and Artemis²⁸.

Hence, the deity called *Phôosphoros*, to which Pausanias son to Metrodoros makes an offering during his involvement in the construction of the defensive walls of Miletus, may be identified with Hekate *Phôosphoros*. In this case, epiclesis *Phôosphoros* is found in a military context, alluding to Hekate's function of protecting deity of the Miletus's fortifications²⁹. Starting with the Hellenistic period, Hekate or Artemis *Phôosphoros* is invoked as deity protecting the cities, who saves her protégées by miraculous intervention. The goddess is invoked as *Phôosphoros* ("Light Bearer") to bring salvation: "the light, materialization or sign of divine epiphany (in the form of lucent clouds, celestial torches or lunar flickering) often becomes her synonym"³⁰. A 3rd century BC inscription discovered at Didyma, in the vicinity of Miletus, mentions a building called *Φωσφόριον*, a cult place (a temple or rather a chapel) which might have been dedicated to *Phôosphoros* in Pausanias's dedication³¹. The numerous examples where Hekate is called *Phôosphoros* proves that goddess *Phôosphoros* from Pausanias of Miletus dedication is likely identified with Hekate from the dedication of the Milesian prytanes dated by late 6th century BC.

Identification of goddess *Phôosphoros* with Hekate in Pausanias's dedication is supported by another epiclesis of the Milesian Hekate – *Υπολάμπτειρα* – mentioned only by Hesychios: "*Υπολάμπτειρα· Ἐκάτη ἐν Μιλήτῳ*"³² ("*Hypolamppteira*: Hekate in Miletus"). Epiclesis *Hypolamppteira* designates Hekate as "she who shines underneath", respectively the one "who begins to shine"³³. Therefore, *Hypolamppteira*

²³ See *infra*; see also Zografou, 2010, 139.

²⁴ Hesychios of Milet, *FGrHist*390, fr. 27; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, 2006, s.v. "Βόσπορος".

²⁵ Dionysios of Byzantium, *Anaplous Bospori*, (1958), 36.

²⁶ According to Pausanias, I, 43, 1, Artemis had saved Iphigenia, changing her into Hekate.

²⁷ Graf 1985, 228–236.

²⁸ Zografou 2005, 532. Louis Robert underlines the risk of calling Hekate "the torch goddess", since the torch is the attribute of several deities like Hekate, Artemis, Demeter, Selene and Mêtêr, see Robert, 1955, 116–117.

²⁹ Zografou 2005, 540–541.

³⁰ Zografou 2005, 535; at Byzantion, a Megarian colony by the Pontus Euxinus, Hekate *Phôosphoros* is connected to a history that reports the beneficial intervention of the goddess during the city's siege by Philip II, king of Macedonia (340–339 BC), see Hesychios of Milet, *FGrHist*390 F, fr. 27; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, (2006), (s.v. Βόσπορος). This Hekate *Phôosphoros* is similar to Artemis, especially Artemis *Σώτειρα* ("the Saviour") of Megara whose cult had been introduced at Byzantion by the Megarian colonists. The Megarian Artemis honoured as *Sôteira* was worshiped at Byzantion under epiclesis *Phôosphoros*. In fact, Dionysios of Byzantium reports the existence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Phôosphoros* on the European coast of the Bosphorus dated to the 6th century BC, Dionysios of Byzantium, *Anaplous Bospori*, (1958), 36: "Ἐφ' ᾧ τέμενος Ἀρτέμιδος Φωσφόρου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Πραεῖας, ἧ κατ' ἔτος θύουσι Βυζάντιοι"; see also Loukopoulou 1989, 106.

³¹ *I. Didyma*, 29, r. 15: "... [καὶ] εἰς τὸ Φωσφόριον ἔτεμογ (...)" ; the term *Phôosphorion* designates a sanctuary or a building dedicated to the cult of *Phôosphoros*. For instance, *Βοσπόριον* or *Φωσφόριον* is the name of the port of the Megarian colony Byzantion, very likely associated with the sanctuary of goddess *Phôosphoros* of Byzantion identified occasionally in sources with Hekate, other times with Artemis, who is depicted with a torch in each hand on the coins of Byzantion, Zografou 2005, 536 and n. 30; see also Loukopoulou 1989, 107–109; Firatli, Robert 1964, 155; Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 477, n. 911 and Tuchelt 1973, 37–38. N. Ehrhardt and K. Tuchelt find plausible the identification of the goddess *Phôosphoros* with Hekate. K. Tuchelt believes that *Phosphorion* could be a sanctuary of Hekate; he argues the hypothesis making reference to another relief fragment dated to the late Hellenistic period – discovered nearby the *Phosphorion* – on which Hekate is depicted with a torch; cf. Fontenrose 1988, 133 who leaves the matter open; see also Laumonier, 1958, 554, n. 1; Haussoullier 1925, 19–20.

³² Hesychios, s.v. "Υπολάμπτειρα"; A. Rehm in: *Milet* I.3, 129, p. 276; Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 477, n. 910; Laumonier 1958, 553–554; Bilabel 1920, 96.

³³ Cf. *LSJ*, 1887, s.v. ὑπολάμπρος: "rather, bright of stars in a constellation"; ὑπολάμπτειρα, ὑπολάμπω I: "shine under"; II: "begintoshine".

is a complementary epiclesis of epithet *Phōsphoros*, namely the Light Bearer. Hekate “Light Bringer” or “she who shines” may be in contrast with the otherwise “dark” image of the goddess³⁴. Based on the goddess’s status of *enteménios theá* of Apollo, it may be argued that Hekate *Phōsphoros* (“Light Bearer”) was worshipped in the Milesian *Delphinion* beside the god of light, Apollo himself³⁵.

To an equal extent, at Miletus, Hekate was worshipped under epiclesis *Κουροτρόφος* (“the nurse of youths”). The first mention of Hekate *Kourotrophos* is found in Hesiod³⁶. Epiclesis *Kourotrophos* alludes to Hekate’s universality role as nurse of the *kouroi*, responsible for each individual’s life beginning; this role of the goddess is linked to Hekate’s omnipresence before each private gate and supervision such an observer can exercise. On the other hand, it is not at all surprising that Hekate, by its place before the gate as household guardian, is concerned with children protection. This function is in fact closely connected to her role during birth. Therefore, the goddess is worshipped as deity of child birth³⁷. Still at Miletus, Hekate *Kourotrophos* is likely associated with Apollo on a marble relief of the 4th century BC: the Apollonian triad, namely Leto, Apollo and Artemis are flanked to the left by *Kourotrophos* and to the right by the figure of a worshipper³⁸. Therefore, in Miletus, Hekate *Kourotrophos* has Apollo *Delphinios* as correspondent, among whose functions also counts that of youth protector³⁹. For the same reason, likely, Hekate had been honoured as *Kourotrophos* in the *Delphinion* of Miletus⁴⁰.

An inscription of imperial date records the existence at Didyma of a sanctuary – unidentified in the field – of a *Ἄγγελος* (“Messenger”). Respective *temenos*, known owing to this inscription, was ascribed to Hekate or Artemis⁴¹. In fact, *Ἄγγελος* might be understood as epiclesis applied to both Artemis and Hekate⁴². This *Ἄγγελος* nearby the oracle of Apollo Didymeian would firstly evoke, the conveyance of oracular replies. In this case, it is very likely that epiclesis *Ἄγγελος* may be associated with Hekate’s name, thus alluding to the goddess’s function of messenger of oracular responses⁴³. Also, epiclesis *Ἄγγελος* expresses the relation of Hekate with roads and travel; in the painting and sculpture of the classical period, the goddess is often figured as a young girl running, which confirms her propensity for travel and closeness to divine messengers, like Hermes. For instance, on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, the figure of the running young girl interpreted as Hekate or Artemis-Hekate, corresponds, according to the representation symmetry, to Hermes, also the god of roads and travellers⁴⁴.

1.2. Cult places dedicated to Hekate

Therefore, it may be noted that at Miletus, as early as late 6th century BC, the cult of Hekate is recorded by epigraphic sources. Hekate was worshipped in the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios*, the main Milesian deity, as recorded by a dedication carved on a round archaic altar discovered at *Delphinion*, which had been dedicated to the goddess by two Milesian prytaneis. In fact, this altar represents the

³⁴ See Nilsson 1906, 396–397, who interpreted Hekate’s torch as a tool to accomplish a lustration to an apotropaic deity. Nilsson underlines that the torch would in fact be an attribute of chthonian and orgiastic deities, Nilsson 1906, 396–397 and n. 4.

³⁵ Herda, 2006, 283; regarding Apollon, as sun god, see Boyancé 1966, 149–170.

³⁶ Hésiode, *Théogonie*, (1993), vv. 450–452: “And the son of Cronos made her the nurse of the youths for all who, after having seen the light of Aurora, who shines in countless eyes. In fact, she was from earliest times a nurse of youths; here are her honours”, (“θήκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον, οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνην / ὄφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοντο φάος πολυδέρκεος Ἡοῦς, / οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς κουροτρόφος, αἱ δέ τε τιμαί”).

³⁷ Zografou 2010, 99–100.

³⁸ Herda 2006, 287 and n. 2034; see also Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 477, n. 908 who mentions also other cases where Hekate *Kourotrophos* is honoured together with Apollo and Artemis.

³⁹ Herda 2006, 287; Detienne 2009, 126–127; Graf 1979, 7–8; 21–22.

⁴⁰ Herda 2006, 287.

⁴¹ *I. Didyma*, 406, r. 9–10: “τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ἀγγέλου”; Herda 2006, 289, n. 2049; see also Tuchelt 1973, 42–43, no. 23 who believes it a sanctuary of Artemis-Hekate; Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 477, n. 912, speaks of *Phōsphoros*, finding justified the similarity with Hekate; Fontenrose 1988, 159 believes it a sanctuary of Artemis or Hekate.

⁴² One Artemis-Hekate could be called *Ἄγγελος* at Syracuse, see Hesychios, s.v. “Ἄγγελον” (Sophro)· Συρακούσιοι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν λέγουσιν, col. 12; see also Schol. Théocrite, *Idyll.*, II, 12b (Wendel), where the deity wearing epiclesis *Ἄγγελος*, heroine of Sophron, is identified with Artemis-Hekate; namely, a daughter of Zeus and Hera, who would have been called *Ἄγγελος*, *apud* Zografou 2010, 141, n. 102; 183–184 and n. 172; Laumonier 1958, 418, n. 4.

⁴³ Zografou 2010, 141–142; see also Laumonier 1958, 391, n. 2; 418, n. 4.

⁴⁴ Zografou 2010, 118–119.

most ancient evidence regarding the cult of Hekate: the goddess thus receives a cult in the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios*, where she emerges as the *έντεμένιος θεά* of Apollo.

It seems that at Didyma, Hekate was honoured in a small local tribal sanctuary, judging after the find of two cult statuettes of the goddess dated around 500 BC⁴⁵. A 3rd century BC inscription discovered at Didyma mentions an edifice called *Φωσφόριον*, a cult place (temple or rather a chapel) which might have been dedicated to Hekate *Phôsphoros*⁴⁶. Lastly, the cult regulations of the Milesian brotherhood of the *Molpoi* indicates an existing cult place dedicated to Hekate by the gates of Miletus, by the start of the sacred path leading to Apollo's sanctuary of Didyma. Hekate *Προπυλαία* ("before the gates") whose sanctuary lay before the gates of Miletus, thus marked the departure of a procession moving from Miletus to Didyma⁴⁷.

1.3. Association of Hekate with Apollo at Miletus

The Greek mythological tradition documents the kinship between Hekate and Apollo, which explains the close relation between the cults of the two gods. Hesiod believes that Hekate and Leto's children, Apollo and Artemis, were first cousins. Hekate's mother, Asteria had the same mother (Phoibe) as Leto⁴⁸.

The fusion between *Hekatos* – the male correspondent of goddess's Hekate's name – and Apollo, as early as the Homeric period, explains the closeness between Hekate and the main deity of Miletus. The name *Έκάτη* was used from origin to designate Hekate, a self-standing goddess whose attribute was the torch. The sense of goddess's name is less clear; regardless, it suggests the idea of "division" and "receding"⁴⁹. The name *Έκατος* is the male correspondent of *Έκάτη*⁵⁰. It seems that originally, *Hekatos* was a self-standing god; in the Homeric poems, *Hekatos* is associated with the name of Apollo, becoming equivalent to the term of "archer", the god's main attribute⁵¹. This led to the fusion of *Hekatos* with Apollo. Thus, *Hekatos* eventually became an epithet of Apollo. Hence, it may be considered precisely the synonym of Apollo⁵².

In fact, the name of *Hekatos* is used to designate the god of oracle of Didyma, where *Hekatos* is one of the old cult epicleses of Didymeian Apollo. In this respect, Apollonios of Rhodos reports that Neleus, the founder of Miletus's descendants, dedicated an anchor stone of the Argonauts's ship (*Argo*) in the sanctuary of Athena *Iesonie* of Cyzicus, upon the order of the oracle of *Hekatos*⁵³, convincingly identified by J. Fontenrose with the oracle of Apollo at Didyma⁵⁴. The legend reported by Apollonios of Rhodos reinforces our conviction that assimilation of *Hekatos* with Apollo had already been completed in the Homeric time. Thus, goddess *Hekate*, who is recorded at Didyma as early as the archaic period, could be the female correspondent of (Apollo) *Hekatos*; therefore, this could be a case of an old Carian cult couple⁵⁵.

The sacred laws and dedications discovered in Miletus prove both the association of Hekate with Apollo as well as the complementariness of the two deities. As early as the end of the 6th century BC, Hekate is present as *entemenios* goddess of Apollo *Delphinios* in his sanctuary of Miletus. In fact, the ritual of the two altar-stones (*Gylloi*) – recorded in the cult regulations of Miletus – establishes a sort of likeness between Apollo and Hekate, reinforced by the presence of an archaic altar of Hekate in the

⁴⁵ Herda 2006, 285 and n. 2018; see also Fontenrose 1988, 133.

⁴⁶ *I. Didyma*, 29, r. 15: "... [κα]ὶ εἰς τὸ Φωσφόριον ἔτεμογ (...)" ; see also Zografou, 2005, 536 and n. 30.

⁴⁷ Herda 2006, 10, r. 28–29: "Καὶ παιωνίζεται πρῶτον παρ' Ἐκάτη τῇ πρόσθεν / πυλέων, παρὰ Δυνάμει ..."; see also LSAM, 50, r. 28–29.

⁴⁸ Hésiode, *Théogonie*, (1993), vv. 404–406; Zografou 2010, 27–29.

⁴⁹ Zografou 2010, 150–151.

⁵⁰ See Chantraine 1970, 328 (s.v. Ἐκάτη), according to whom the name *Έκάτη* is a female form of *Έκατος* which, at its turn, is an old epithet of Apollon, meaning "he who strikes from afar". According to the same Pierre Chantraine, *Έκατος*, whose feminine is *Έκάτη* must be a contrasted form of *Έκατηβόλος* ("he who launches his arrow from afar") like *Έκηβόλος* ("he who launches from afar / who strikes from afar").

⁵¹ Homer, *Iliad*, (1999), VII, 83; XX, 295.

⁵² Homer, *Iliad*, (1999), I, 385; XX, 71; see also Herda 2006, 287–288 and n. 2040.

⁵³ Apollonios of Rhodes, *Les Argonautiques* 1892, vv. 958–960: "(...) ἀτὰρ κείνόν γε θεοπροπίας Ἐκάτιο / Νηλεΐδα μετόπισθεν Ἴαονες ἰδρύσαντο / ἱερὸν, ἧ θέμις ἦεν, Ἰησονίης ἐν Ἀθήνησ".

⁵⁴ Fontenrose 1988, 209.

⁵⁵ Herda 2006, 287–288 and notes 2038, 2039, 2040.

sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios* at Miletus⁵⁶. The placing of the two stones nearby the cult place dedicated to Hekate *Propylaiia*, situated before the gates of Miletus and respectively, before the Apollo sanctuary (or temple) gates of Didyma, seals the relation between Hekate and Apollo⁵⁷. The cult regulations of the Milesian *Molpoi* inform us that the same cake types were object of offerings for both Apollo and Hekate⁵⁸. It is not excluded that, as early as the Archaic period, Hekate had been *entemenios thea* of Apollo also at Didyma, where the goddess is honoured in a temple or chapel (*Φωσφόριον*), which the epistates of the temple of Apollo had to take into account⁵⁹.

The association of Hekate and Apollo may be explained by the likeness of both deities's actions. Similarly to Hekate, Apollo is the protector or guardian of the gates together with his sister Artemis; in one inscription of Erythrai, the two brothers emerge as *θεοί ἐν τῶι πυλῶνι*⁶⁰. Similarly to Hekate *Propylaiia*, Apollo *Propύλαιος* ("he who stands before the gate") has the role of protecting deity of cities, in general, as well as their gates⁶¹.

Also, Hekate is worshipped under epiclesis *Ἐνόδια* ("Protector of the roads") as protecting the three roads (*Τριοδίτις*)⁶²; the goddess has a similar function with that of Apollo *Ἀγυιεύς* ("Protector of the roads") worshipped as protector of roads, travellers, household gates and large public gates⁶³.

Equally relevant is the association of Hekate *Kourotrophos* and Apollo *Delphinios* in Miletus. Hesiod is familiar with Hekate as *Kourotrophos*, namely the "nurse of youths". He even calls her *ἕξ ἀρχῆς κουροτρόφος*, which means that the goddess fulfils this duty from the beginning⁶⁴. The same function of "nurse of youths" is ascribed by Hesiod also to Apollo who, at his turn, bears the epithet *kourotrophos*. In Hesiod's *Theogonia*, Apollo shares this task with the river gods, the Nymphs and also Hekate⁶⁵.

At Miletus, the correspondent of Hekate *Kourotrophos* is Apollo *Delphinios*, who played an important role in the integration process of the young in the civic community: the god presided the "passage rituals" of the youth from teenagers to full right citizens⁶⁶. Inherently, Apollo acting as a divine "young" (*Kouros*) by excellence is the patron god of youths⁶⁷.

2. The cult of Hekate in the Milesian colonies

Unfortunately, evidence regarding the cult of Hekate is rather rare or entirely missing from the Milesian colonies. The existence of Hekate in the pantheon of the Miletus's colonies may be inferred,

⁵⁶ Georgoudi 2001, 164. The sanctuary of Apollo of Miletus dates approximately to 500–494 BC see *Milet* I.3, 129, pp. 275–276; see also *Milet* I.3, 129, r. 2–7, p. 275.

⁵⁷ Herda 2006, 10, r. 25–27.

⁵⁸ Herda 2006, 10, r. 36–37.

⁵⁹ Herda 2006, 285, n. 218.

⁶⁰ Engelmann, Merkelbach 1972, no. 207, r. 4–7; in this respect see Graf, 1985, 173–174.

⁶¹ Apollo *Propylaios* is generally invoked in the posture of a god who holds off, through his arrows, the various disasters and pandemics threatening human lives. Apollo *Propylaios* is very close to Hekate *Propylaiia*, who possibly, similarly to him, can bring salvation to those gathering around her and disaster to their adversaries. According to Athanassia Zografou, "Hekate and Apollo contribute to the defence of cities, reporting their protecting action to their defensive walls. Hekate is the one who must sound the alarm in case of danger, signal intruders and increase gate strength. By comparison with Hekate, Apollo stands before the gates to bear down the evil before it nears to compromise the survival of the protected city and integrity of its territory", Zografou 2010, 132–138.

⁶² Literary sources associate Hekate *Τριοδίτις* or "of the three roads" with Hekate *Ἐνόδια*, "goddess of the roads" or "she who is on the road". Steph. Byz., s.v. "τριοδος" (Meineke); see also Zografou 2010, 109–118.

⁶³ Zografou 2010, 124–127; regarding the common features of Hekate *Enodia* and Apollo *Agyieus*, see Zografou 2010, 127–132.

⁶⁴ Hésiode, *Théogonie*, (1993), vv. 450–452.

⁶⁵ Hésiode, *Théogonie*, (1993), vv. 337–339; 346–348.

⁶⁶ The Erchia deme of Attica cults' calendar dated to the first half of the 4th century BC provisions a sacrifice in honour of Hekate *Kourotrophos* and Apollo *Delphinios*: "... Γαμελιῶνος ἐβ-/δόμηι ἱσταμέ-/νο, Κουροτρόφ-/ωι ἐν Δελφινί-/ωι Ἐρχ: χοῖρ, / Ἀπόλλωνι Δελ-/φινίωι Ἐρχιᾶ, οἷς ...", ("On 7 Gamelion, early by the month, Erchia deme consecrates a piglet to *Kourotrophos* in Delphinion and a sheep to Apollo *Delphinios*") see *LSCG*, 18 A, r. 23–29, p. 37. In this case, goddess Hekate is honoured as *Kourotrophos* beside Apollo *Delphinios* in the local sanctuary of the latter (*Delphinion*). The sacrifice for Hekate *Kourotrophos* is deemed preliminary, prior those offered to Apollo *Delphinios*. The close connection between Hekate *Kourotrophos* and Apollo *Delphinios* is indicative of the important role of Apollo *Delphinios* in the ritual integration of the future citizens in the civic community, see Graf 1979, 13.

⁶⁷ Herda, 2006, 45, 287; see also Burkert 1975, 11, 18; Burkert 1985, 255.

with few exceptions, based on the epigraphic record of the theophoric anthroponyms embedding the goddess's name.

2.1. Record of Hekate in epigraphic documents

The presence of Hekate at Abydos may be presumed based on the record of the theophoric name Hekataios⁶⁸. The name *Hekataios* is recorded at Kardias: Plutarch reminds a certain Hekataios who had been the tyrant of this city under Alexander the Great⁶⁹. A 5th century BC funerary inscription registers a certain *Hekatokles* of Prokonnesos, whose son had been buried at Athens⁷⁰. The theophoric name *Hekataios* is frequently recorded in inscriptions discovered at Iasos, which confirms the existence of the cult of Hekate in this city⁷¹. In Cyzicus, Hekate is exclusively recorded on plastic art depictions⁷². Theodor Kraus mentions a stela figuring Hekate, Zeus and Apollo⁷³. In addition, a relief dedicated to Hekate by a certain Asklepias⁷⁴ may be mentioned (Fig. 1).

At Sinope, the theophoric names *Hekatonimos*, *Hekataios*, *Hekatistarchos* – deriving from Hekate's name – are recorded in literary sources⁷⁵ as well as epigraphic⁷⁶ and numismatic documents⁷⁷ (Fig. 2).

Theophoric names derived from that of Hekate are epigraphically documented nine times at Apollonia Pontica and Anchialos⁷⁸, twice at Odessos⁷⁹, twice at Tomis⁸⁰ and twice at Istros⁸¹, which confirms the existence of the cult of Hekate in the Milesian cities from the Left Pontus. In fact, the anthroponyms formed on Hekate's name were spread especially at Miletus and in the Milesian colonies on the west coast of Pontus Euxinus⁸² (Fig. 2).

At Odessos, a devout worshipper sets up a dedication to Hekate; he is Aristomenes, son to Aiolos who honoured Hekate following a dream: "Aristomenes, son to Aiolos [consecrates the dedication] to Phôsphoros following a dream"⁸³. Still at Odessos, Hekate is worshipped with epiclesis *ἐπήκοος* ("who fulfils prayers"), which emerges in a dedication consecrated to the goddess, engraved on an imperial date relief: "Ἐκάτη ἐπηκόω" ("To Hekate who fulfils prayers")⁸⁴; on the same relief also figures the image of Hekate⁸⁵.

⁶⁸ Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 477, n. 914.

⁶⁹ Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174.

⁷⁰ Ehrhardt 1988, I, 174; II, 477, n. 916.

⁷¹ Bilabel 1920, 118.

⁷² Ehrhardt 1988, I, 175; II, 477, n. 917; Bilabel 1920, 118.

⁷³ Kraus 1960, 13, n. 17; see also Ehrhardt 1988, I, 175; II, 477, n. 917; Bilabel 1920, 118.

⁷⁴ Hasluck, 1903, 86, n. 38; H. IV, 6. (JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/623758. Accessed 9 Apr. 2021).

⁷⁵ See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, 5, 7, who noted that an emissary of Sinope called *Hekatonymos*, negotiates with the soldiers in the land of Kotyora.

⁷⁶ *IOIb* 1, r. 1–3: "Ἰητροκλ-/εἰ τῶι Ἐκα-/ταῖο Σιν-/ωπηῖι ἀτ-/ελέη κα[ι] / ἐγγόν-/ [οἰς --]" (dating: approx. 475–450 BC). A certain Theophile, daughter to *Hekataios* is recorded on a funerary epigram discovered at Pantikapaion dating to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD: "Θεοφίλη Ἐκαταίου, χαῖρε. / Θειοφίλην με θύγατρα μινυθαδίην Ἐκαταίου / ἐμύωντο, γάμωι παρθένον ἠῖθεοι, / ἔφθασε δ' ἀρπάξας Αἴδης, (...)" Also, the name *Hekataios* and *Hekatistarchos* are incised on stamped amphorae originating from Sinope, in this respect see Canarache 1957, 400 (for name *Hekataios*) and respectively, Gramatopol, Poenaru-Bordea 1969, 202, n. 476 (for name *Hekatistarchos*).

⁷⁷ *Apud* Ehrhardt 1988, I, 175; II, 478, n. 921: Ἐκα-.

⁷⁸ The name of *Hekataios* is epigraphically recorded at Apollonia Pontica, see *IGB I*², 390, r. 2 (2nd–1st century BC); *IGB I*², 441, r. 4; 446, r. 1; 447, r. 2; 447 bis, r. 2 (the last four inscriptions date to the 5th – 5th century BC); Louis Robert reminds of a certain *Hekataios* who was *proxenos* in Callatis, *apud* Ehrhardt 1988, II, 478, n. 922. Other three funerary inscriptions from Apollonia Pontica record the name *Hekatodoros* (*IGB I*², 423, r. 1, the 5th – 4th century BC), *Hekatonasa* (*IGB I*², 405 bis, r. 1, the 5th century BC) and *Hekatonymos* (*IGB I*², 447, r. 2, 5th century BC).

⁷⁹ The name of *Hekataios* (*IGB I*², 46, r. 10, dating: 44/43 BC – AD 2/3) and *Hekatodoros* (*IGB I*², 46, r. 42; *IGB I*², 47 bis, col. a. 21, dating: AD 221; *IGB I*², 74, r. 1, dating: likely the 4th century BC) are epigraphically recorded at Odessos.

⁸⁰ Name *Ἐκαταῖος*, emerges in the late writing *Ἐκατῆος* on a marble *stela* coming from Tomis (or Callatis?), see Russu 1966, 226, no. 3; the name of *Hekataios* is epigraphically recorded at Tomis, see *SEG XXIV*, 1077, r. 3; *Syll*³ 731, r. 60. I. Micu mentions a statue of Hekate dated to the 2nd century or the 3rd century AD, see Micu 1937, Appendice 10, n. 27.

⁸¹ Ehrhardt 1988, I, 175; II, 478, n. 926: name *Ἐκαταῖος* and respectively *Ἐκατῆος* are epigraphically recorded at Istros; see also Chiekova 2008, 297–298.

⁸² Lifshitz 1966, 238.

⁸³ *IGB I*², 88 bis (= *IGBV*, 5034): "Ἀριστομένης Αἰόλου / Φωσφόρωι κατ' ἐνύπνιον".

⁸⁴ *IGB I*², 89.

⁸⁵ Chiekova 2008, 170.

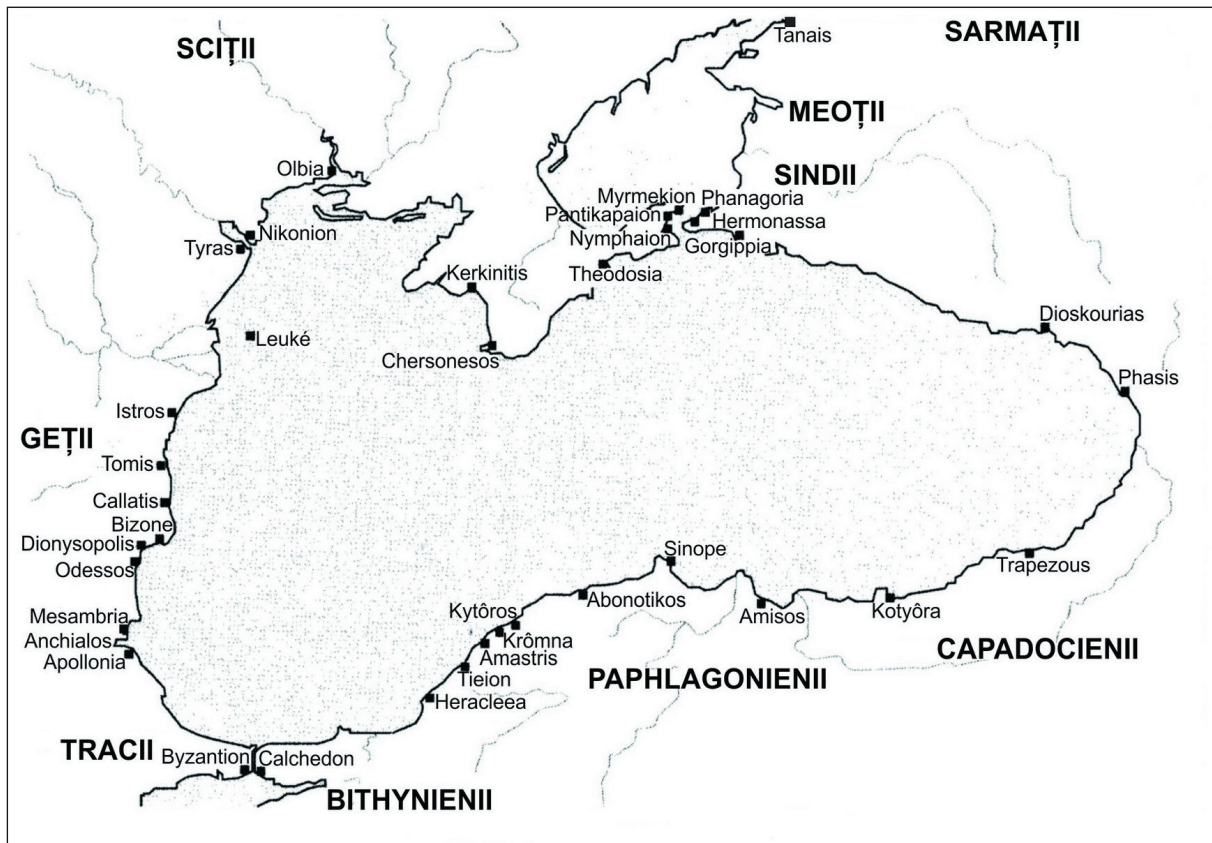


Fig. 2. General map of the Greek cities on the shores of Pontus Euxinus (*apud* Dana 2011 – with our editing).

The cult of Hekate was highly popular in Thrace both during the Hellenistic period and that imperial. It is known that *Phôsphoros* was a main deity at Byzantion⁸⁶. *Βοσπόριον* or *Φωσφόριον* is the name of the Byzantion port likely associated with the sanctuary of *Phôsphoros* of Byzantion, a deity identified in sources sometimes with Hekate other times with Artemis, depicted with a torch in each hand on city coins⁸⁷. An 3rd century BC inscription from Seuthopolis records another *Phôsphorion* at Kabyle, who very likely was the main city sanctuary; regardless, *Phôsphorion* of Kabyle must have been a very important place, since there would be set up a stela which contained a copy of an oath sworn between the members of the Thracian and Macedonian dynast families of Kabyle: “The oath shall be carved on a marble stela and displayed at Kabyle in the *Phôsphorion* and the *agora* nearby the altar of Apollo (...)”⁸⁸. Also, Apollo’s head or that of Herakles is rendered on the obverse of the Kabyle coins, while on the reverse of the same coins always emerges Artemis with a large torch and a phial, accompanied by a dog or holding two torches. This Artemis-Hekate is the *Phôsphoros* goddess worshiped in the *Phôsphorion* of Kabyle mentioned in the inscription above. Besides that, both the above presented inscription and the coinage iconography prove the importance of Apollo’s cult at Kabyle, as well as the association of the god with Artemis – Hekate *Phôsphoros*⁸⁹. Another dedication set up to the couple Artemis – Hekate *Phôsphoros* was discovered in a fortified city of the Getae in the place called Sborjanovo, in north-western today’s Bulgaria: “Menecharmos, son to Poseidônios (dedicated) to Phôsphoros after prayer”⁹⁰.

Literary and epigraphic sources supply brief and disparate information on the cult of Hekate in the Milesian colony of Olbia (Fig. 2). According to the Greek literary tradition, Hekate was the *paredra* of Achilles. Ptolemy implies that the Olbians consecrated the goddess the Hylaia woodlands known

⁸⁶ Herodot, *Istorii*, (1999) IV, 87.

⁸⁷ Vezi Loukopoulou 1989, 107–109; Firatli, Robert 1964, 155; Müller 1981, 223–224.

⁸⁸ *IGB* III/2, 1731, r. 27–31: “τὸν δὲ ὄρκον τοῦτον γραφῆναι / εἰστίλας λιθίνας καὶ ἀνατεθῆναι / ἐμὲ μὲν Καβύλῃ εἰς τὸ *Φωσφόριον* καὶ / εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (...)”.

⁸⁹ Jeanne and Louis Robert, 1959, no. 255, 210.

⁹⁰ Čičikova 1994, 35: “Μενέχαρμος / Ποσειδωνίου Φοσφόρω (sic!) εὐχὴν”.

under the name of the “sacred woodland of Hekate”⁹¹; at his turn, Strabo reports that in the same location – the wooded region called Hylaia – lay the “sacred forest of Achilles”⁹².

The literary tradition is confirmed by a series of epigraphic and archaeological documents confirming that Hekate was worshipped at Olbia. The oldest record of Hekate’s cult in Pontus Euxinus comes from the city located on the bank of the Bug river: the theophoric name *Hekatokles* (Ἑκατοκλῆς) – embedding that of Hekate – validates the existence of the goddess’s cult at Olbia as early as the archaic period; this anthroponym was carved on a lead plaque discovered at Olbia dated by late 6th century BC⁹³. An archaic graffito discovered at Berezan contains a dedication to Hekate⁹⁴. During the Hellenistic period, Hekate was highly popular, as recorded by the anthroponyms *Hekataie*, *Hekateon* and *Hekatonymos* – derived from the goddess’s name – dated to the 4th and 3rd century BC⁹⁵. Also, a statue of the goddess was discovered⁹⁶.

It seems that the Olbians imported the cult of Hekate from the metropolis Miletus⁹⁷. An argument to this effect is represented by the celebration of the *Triakades* festival – likely dedicated to Hekate – both in Olbia and Miletus. This celebration is recorded in the treaty of *isopoliteia* between Olbia and Miletus dated to the second half of the 4th century BC. One of its clauses explicitly stipulates that *Triakades* were celebrated on the thirtieth day of the month at Olbia and its metropolis: “... and they (i.e. the Milesians) have the right of praying at the festival of the *Triakades*, as they pray at Miletus”⁹⁸. During the *Triakades*, Hekate was likely celebrated as sovereign deity of the “afterlife”.

The record of the theophoric name *Hekataios* – derived from Hekate’s name – at Pantikapaion and Gorgippia ensures the existence of Hekate’s cult in the two Milesian colonies from the northern shore of Pontus Euxinus. *Hekataios* is recorded several times at Pantikapaion⁹⁹ and once at Gorgippia¹⁰⁰.

2.2. Iconographic depictions of Hekate on the votive bas-reliefs from Odessos

One of the main specific features of the plastic art depictions of Hekate – recognized in cult type documents (statues and votive reliefs) – is represented by the phenomenon of iconographic borrowing which occasionally implies a true syncretism, other times mere assimilation or various associations with other deities similar to the goddess; this is the case of Hekate and Artemis, whose iconographic depiction presents several similarities; in certain cases, the two goddesses are perfectly identical. The image of Hekate assimilated to Artemis *Phôsphoros* is figured on a series of votive reliefs discovered at Odessos, object of our investigation (Fig. 2).

On votive reliefs, the iconographic type of Hekate with a single body and accompanied by the dog is often very similar to that of Artemis *Σώτειρα*. The features that allow recognition of Hekate rather than Artemis on a votive relief are the following: Hekate is rendered standing from front, in a *static pose*, with a hieratic stance; the goddess is dressed in a long *chiton* and wears on her head a round *polos*, more or less high. The most frequently found attribute of Hekate consists in one or two lit *long*

⁹¹ Ptolémée, *Géographie* III, 5, 2: “ἄλσος Ἐκάτης, ἄκρον”; see also *Périple Anonyme du Pont Euxin* (éd. Diller), 58: “ἱερὸν ἄλσος τῆς Ἐκάτης”, *apud* Ehrhardt 1988, II, 479, n. 929.

⁹² Strabon, *Géographie* (1989), VII, 3, 19.

⁹³ See Lifshitz 1966, 237, who recognized the name Ἑκατοκλῆς on a graffito: Τύχων ὀκατοκλέος. B. Lifshitz interpreted the form ὀκατοκλέος that a crasis resulted from the contraction of vowels *o* and *e*. He read the carved name of a graffito: Τύχων ὀ Ἐκατοκλέος; *cf.* Jeanne and Louis Robert 1967, no. 398, 514.

⁹⁴ Vinogradov, Kryžickij 1995, 118.

⁹⁵ *IOSPE* I², 337: “Ἐκαταίης / μνήμα τῆς / Ἀπολλοδ-ώρο” (400–350 i. Hr.); *IOSPE* I², 160, r. 2: “[ὁ δεῖνα Ἰκ]εσίου / [-- Ἐκα] τέωνος Διὶ Ἐλευθερίωι” (300–250 BC); *IOSPE* I², 201, col. I, r. 37: “Ἐκατέων Παντακλέους”; (the 3rd century BC); *IOSPE* I², 201, col. I, r. 9: “Νικοκλῆς Ἐκατεωνύμου”; *IOSPE* I², 201, col. II, r. 11: “Μένανδρος Ἐκατωνύμου”.

⁹⁶ Ballu 1972, 75.

⁹⁷ Herda 2006, 288.

⁹⁸ *Milet*, VI.3, 136, r. 11–14 = *Syll.*³ 286, r. 11–14: “... καὶ ἐπαρᾶσθαι ταῖς τριακάσιγ, καθάσσα καὶ ἐμ Μιλήτωι ἐπαρῶνται”; see also Ehrhardt 1988, I, 175; II, 478, n. 927 and 928; Bilabel 1920, 138.

⁹⁹ *CIRB* 103, r. 4: Ἐκατᾶ<v> (*Hekatas*) (the 3rd century AD); *CIRB* 117, r. 1: “[γῆ] Σκυθία περιβάσα Ἐκαταῖον τόνδε κέκε[υθε]” (the 4th – 3rd century BC); *CIRB* 121, r. 3: “εὐδων οὖν, Ἐκαταῖε, μεσόχρονος, ἴσθ’ ὅτι θᾶσσον” (the 1st century BC); *CIRB* 130, r. 1–2, 10, 13: “Θεοφίλη Ἐκαταίου χαῖρε. / Θεοφίλην με θύγατρα μινυνθαδίην Ἐκαταίου / (...) Ἐκαταῖος Ἄτιδη καὶ οὐ γάμωι συνάρμοσεν / (...) [ἀ]λλὰ Κόρης σύλλεκτρος· ὁ δὲ σπείρας Ἐκαταῖος” (the 1st century BC – 1st century AD). According to Werner Peek, inscription *CIRB* 130 dates to the 2nd–1st century BC, see Peek 1960, no. 1989.

¹⁰⁰ *CIRB* 1137, B. col. I, r. 8: “[Σ]ῶσις Ἐκαταίου”; B. col. II, r. 25: “[Ε]καταῖος Εὐρύτου”.

torches, which the goddess holds in her hands. Hekate representations are notable by the lack of the arrow quiver; lastly, one or two dogs may be rendered beside the goddess¹⁰¹. The specificities of this iconographic type of Hekate *Phôsphoros* are illustrated by a relief discovered on the island of Thera, dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC, where the goddess is figured standing. Hekate is depicted with long hair; she wears a long folded *chiton*, a *chimation* and a round *polos* on the head. The goddess holds a long lit torch in each hand; a dog is depicted to the right of the goddess, while to her left is noticeable a small oval niche designed for offerings¹⁰² (Fig. 3).

At her turn, Artemis *Σώτειρα* is commonly represented on reliefs as huntress. The goddess is figured moving; she wears an arrow quiver on her back and naturally prefers the torches and shorter *chiton* (*χιτών*)¹⁰³. Nevertheless, the iconographic representations of Artemis do not always comply with this standard as proven by a Megara relief dated to the 4th century BC. There, a goddess on the move is rendered – very likely Artemis *Phôsphoros* – accompanied by a dog, on pursuit of a red deer; she is dressed in a long *chiton* and has the arrow quiver on her back. The goddess holds a long torch in each hand¹⁰⁴ (Fig. 4).



Fig. 3. Hekate *Phôsphoros* (apud LIMC VI/2, 659, fig. 65).



Fig. 4. Artemis *Phôsphoros* (apud Daux 1958, 692, fig. 37).

¹⁰¹ Sarian 1992, 1013–1014; 1015–1016; 1017.

¹⁰² Sarian 1992, 994–995, no. 65.

¹⁰³ Zografou 2010, 255–256.

¹⁰⁴ Daux 1958, 692, fig. 37.

Therefore, by comparison of the images of Hekate and Artemis figured on the two reliefs described above it may be noted that the two goddesses are represented as *Φωσφόροι*: both deities have the torch as attribute. It is significant that the dog accompanies Hekate and Artemis, as a complementary attribute to the torches. Regarding Hekate, it is possible that the dog and torch were, first and foremost, natural attributes of a guardian. Similarities between Hekate *Phôsphoros* and Artemis *Phôsphoros* in terms of their functions, attributes and iconographic representations are occasionally almost perfectly identical, which made certain scholars speak of Hekate-Artemis *Phôsphoros*¹⁰⁵.

The image of Hekate-Artemis *Phosphoros* is figured on a marble relief from Odessos dated to the 2nd–1st century BC. The goddess's image is accompanied by a dedication set up by a devout worshipper, Aristomenes, son to Aiolos, who honoured Hekate after a dream¹⁰⁶. Hekate-Artemis *Phôsphoros* is rendered wearing the arrow quiver on the back, holding a *patera* in her right hand and two torches in the left hand; to the right of the goddess is represented a dedicant and to the left, a dog¹⁰⁷. The torch and dog are specific attributes to both Hekate and Artemis *Phôsphoros*. One may agree that the city of Odessos inherited the cult of Hekate *Phôsphoros* from its metropolis Miletus, where the goddess had been worshipped under the same epiclesis. In fact, a sanctuary of Hekate (*Phôsphorion*) is recorded at Didyma as early as the late 3rd century BC¹⁰⁸. In the first half of the 1st century BC, Milesian Pausanias, son to Metrodoros dedicates an altar to Hekate *Phôsphoros*, acting as supervisor of the building works of Miletus's walls¹⁰⁹.

Still from Odessos comes a votive plaque dated to the 1st century BC depicting Hekate: the goddess is represented standing front; she wears a long *chiton*, wrapped twice with a belt and covered on the head with a *kalathos*. Hekate holds in the right hand a phial above an altar and in the left, a torch; to the right of the goddess is figured a dog (Cerberus)¹¹⁰. The presence of Cerberus, the hound of Hades, beside Hekate, evidences the goddess's connection with the underground world¹¹¹.

On another relief from Odessos dated to the 2nd–3rd century BC, goddess Hekate is represented in an aedicula topped by an arch supported by two columns; the goddess is depicted dressed in a long *chiton*, strapped twice with a belt, her head covered with a *kalathos*. In her right hand, the goddess holds a downward oriented short torch and in her left hand she holds a child. To the right of the goddess is figured a dog and to her left, a roe, of which survived only a few traces¹¹². The image suggests that the dedicant of the relief worshipped the goddess as *Κουροτρόφος* (“nurse of youths”), a function underlined, to an equal extent, by the epiclesis under which Hekate is invoked: “Ἐκάτη ἐπηκόω” (“to Hekate who fulfils prayers”)¹¹³. The cult of Hekate *Kourotrophos* is recorded in the metropolis of Miletus, from where it was likely exported to its colony, Odessos. Epiclesis *Kourotrophos* alludes to the goddess's function of nurse and children protector¹¹⁴.

3. The *Molpoi* procession from Miletus to Didyma and the celebration of Hekate

Epigraphic documents supply a series of information regarding the celebration of Hekate at Miletus and its colony of Olbia. The name of Hekate is mentioned in the cult regulations of the Milesian *Molpoi*, dated to mid 2nd century BC; these regulations indicate the existence of a cult place dedicated to Hekate or its statue on the so-called “sacred pathway”, which links Miletus to the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma. The *Molpoi* regulations describe, among other, the long procession that they hold on a yearly basis, travelling the approximate 17 km dividing Miletus from the sanctuary

¹⁰⁵ Zografou 2010, 255–256; Chiekova 2008, 165; Sarian 1992, 985. Hekate *Phôsphoros* from Byzantion is very similar to Artemis, especially Artemis *Σώτειρα* (“Saviour”) from Megara, whose cult had been introduced at Byzantion by Megarian colonists. Megarian Artemis honoured as *Sôteira* was worshipped at Byzantion under epiclesis *Phôsphoros*. In fact, Dionysios of Byzantium reports on the existence of a sanctuary of Artemis *Phôsphoros* on the European coast of the Bosphorus, dated to the 6th century BC, Dionysios of Byzantium, *Anaplous Bospori*, (1958), 36.

¹⁰⁶ *IGB I*², 88 bis (= *IGB V*, 5034).

¹⁰⁷ Sarian 1992, 1006–1007; Chiekova 2008, 170.

¹⁰⁸ *I. Didyma*, 29, r. 15.

¹⁰⁹ *Milet I.3*, 172, p. 392.

¹¹⁰ Gočeva 1992, 1018, no. 1.

¹¹¹ Sarian 1992, 987.

¹¹² Gočeva 1992, 1018, n° 3. The child's presence is omitted from the relief description by Z. Gočeva.

¹¹³ *IGB I*², 89; Chiekova 2008, 170.

¹¹⁴ Zografou 2010, 99–100; see also Kraus 1960, 163.

of Apollo at Didyma: it is a religion procession marked especially by paeans performed by the *Molpoi* according to the “stops” set up along this “sacred pathway” (*hierahodos*) enlivened by divine or heroic presences. From Miletus to Didyma, the procession stopped very likely for seven times, during which paeans were sung¹¹⁵.

The *Molpoi* regulations ascribe an important role to Hekate “before the gates” – most certainly those of Miletus – during the procession in the honour of Apollo *Delphinios*. The first stop, where the paen was sung, occurred before Hekate, “Hekate before the gates” (*Ἐκάτη ἢ πρόσθεν πυλέων*), who must have had on this location, a statue or sanctuary: “And paiaens are sung, first at Hekate before the Gates (of Miletos), then at (the sanctuary of) *Dynamis*”¹¹⁶. In other words, the text of the regulations lets us assume there was a cult place consecrated to Hekate by the gates of Miletus, by the beginning of the “sacred pathway” leading to Didyma. If the sacred path commenced inside Miletus (by the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios*), the southern gates of the city before which Hekate was placed marked her openness to the exterior and respectively her official start as communication route between Miletus and Didyma; undoubtedly, the goddess preserved such position as gate protector from where she monitored, among other, the procession start¹¹⁷.

In the same cult regulations, the goddess Hekate is associated with the curious ritual of the two stones (*gylloi*) carried by the *Molpoi*, of which the first is placed before the goddess, by the entry into Miletus, while the second is placed by the end of the path, before the gate of the sacred enclosure of Apollo’s sanctuary at Didyma: “Two *Gylloi* (sacred stones) are brought, (one of which) is placed next to (the sanctuary of) Hekate before the Gates (of Miletos); wreathed and poured with unmixed (wine). The other is placed at the doors of Didyma”¹¹⁸. The *gylloi* were sacred conical, square or round-shaped stone-altars, embellished with flower wreaths on which a libation with unmixed wine was performed¹¹⁹. This ritual of the two altar stones (*Gylloi*) establishes a sort of likeness between Apollo and Hekate, reinforced by the presence of an archaic altar of Hekate in the sanctuary of Apollo *Delphinios* in Miletus¹²⁰. Thus, Hekate receives a cult in the *temenos* of Apollo *Delphinios*; the goddess becomes *enteménios theá* of Apollo *Delphinios*.

The cult regulations of the Milesian *Molpoi* inform us that the same cake types – *ἑλατρα πλακόντινα* – were the object of offerings made for Apollo and Hekate, however with the note that those designed for Hekate were to be cooked separately: “The flat *elatra* [sacrificial cakes] for Apollo are to be cooked from half a medimnos [ca 20.5 l] and [the ones] for Hekate separately”¹²¹. According to Franciszek Sokolowski, the separate preparation of the cakes designed for Hekate would be explained by the goddess’s chthonian nature¹²². This relation between Apollo and Hekate is not foreign to the reports that the two deities had in general – according to their own nature and character – with household, sanctuaries or cities’ gateways and doorways, yet also with roads, junctions or city defensive walls. Therefore, the Milesian Hekate honoured by the *Molpoi* had a civic character¹²³, being worshipped as protecting deity of the gates and city entryways and its sanctuaries.

¹¹⁵ Herda 2006, 279–280; Georgoudi 2001, 163.

¹¹⁶ Herda 2006, 10, r. 28–29: “Καὶ παιωνίζεται πρῶτον παρ’ Ἐκάτη τῇ πρόσθεν / πυλέων, παρὰ Δυνάμει ...”; see also Herda 2011, 85, with the translation of the cult regulations in English; *LSAM*, 50, r. 28–29.

¹¹⁷ Herda 2006, 282; Georgoudi 2001, 163–165.

¹¹⁸ Herda 2006, 10, r. 25–27: “Καὶ Γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ τίθεται παρ’ Ἐκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν / πυλέων ἐστεμμένους καὶ ἀκρήτω κατασπένδετε, ὃ δ’ ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ / θύρας τίθεται”; see also Herda 2011, 85, with the translation of the cult regulations into English.

¹¹⁹ These stone-altars (*Γυλλοὶ*) are mentioned also in a cult calendar discovered at Miletus dated prior to 500 BC, see *Milet* VI.1, 31a, r. 1–2 = *Milet* I.3, 31a = *LSAM*, 41; for the discussion regarding the significance of the term *Gylloi*, see Herda 2006, 252–256; Georgoudi 2001, 164; Ehrhardt 1988, II, 476, n. 906.

¹²⁰ *Milet* I.3, no. 129, r. 2–7, 275; see also Georgoudi 2001, 164.

¹²¹ Herda 2006, 10, r. 36–37: “ἐπιπέσσει τὰ ἑλατρα ἐξ ἡμεδύμνο τῶπόλλωνι πλακόντινα, τῇ Ἐκάτῃ δὲ χωρὶς”, translation into English by Herda 2011, 85.

¹²² Franciszek Sokolowski in *LSAM*, 50, p. 135: “Les gâteaux destinés à une divinité chthonienne devaient être préparés séparément”.

¹²³ The dedication carved on an altar discovered in the *Delphinion* of Milet, dedicated to Hekate by two Milesian prytaneis confirm the goddess’s civic character, see *Milet* I.3, 129, r. 2–7, 275.

4. The *Triakades* festival dedicated to Hekate

The treaty of *isopoliteia* between Miletus and Olbia (dated towards 330 BC) supplies the single eloquent evidence regarding the *Triakades* festival held in the honour of Hekate both at Olbia and Miletus, its metropolis. In the occasion, the goddess was worshipped as sovereign deity of “afterlife”. One of the treaty clauses explicitly mentions the prayers to be uttered during the *Triakades*: “(...) and the Milesians have the right of praying (ἐπαρᾶσθαι)¹²⁴, at the festival of the *Triakades*, as they pray at Miletus”¹²⁵.

4.1. The date of the *Triakades* festival

At Olbia and Miletus, the *Triakades* festival was very likely held each month, on the thirtieth day, alike in Athens and outside Attica. A clue to this effect is supplied by the scholiast of Aristophanes, who reports that in Athens, the wealthy sent abundant meals as offering for Hekate, each month (“κατὰ μῆνα”), in the evening, according to the moon rhythm: “by new moon, at night, the rich sent abundant meals as offering to Hekate of the “junctions” (*triadoi*) [...] it was customary that the rich offered each month bread and other offerings to Hekate”¹²⁶. The same scholiae in Aristophanes designate as *τριακάς*, namely “the thirtieth” – and the last – day of the month, the day in which offerings were offered to Hekate: “τῆ Ἐκάτῃ θύουσι τῆ *τριακάδι*” (“Hekate is granted sacrifices on the thirtieth day of the month”)¹²⁷. In his turn, Athenaios, speaking of the red mullet or common rudd offering (*τρίγλη*), consecrated to Hekate, comments: “as she is the goddess of crossroads (*triadoi*) and has three looks and is dedicated feasts on the thirtieth day of the month”¹²⁸. The *Triakades* festival is recorded by a commemorative inscription from Panamara of the 4th century BC, from where we find that a priest and another figure, his mystagogue that: “they generally did not neglect any mysteries along the entire year, missing no sacrifice and no *triakas*”¹²⁹; alike in Athens, the main ritual of the *Triakades* celebrated at Panamara was the feast granted to Hekate’s worshippers by the rich citizens of the city¹³⁰. At Lagina, in Caria, *τριακάδες* were numbered the celebration days of Hekate; on the occasion, banquets in which goddess’s devotees attended were held¹³¹.

4.2. *Triakades* and the commemoration of the dead

Rituals celebrated in honour of Hekate on the thirtieth day of each month coincided with the honouring of the dead. In fact, the ancient commentators report that: “the thirtieth day was ascribed to the dead [...] and was called *triakas*”¹³². For instance, in Athens is recorded the *Triakades* (*τριακάδες*) festival dedicated to the commemoration of the dead¹³³. Also, a funerary rule from Keos dated to the 5th century BC stipulates the suppression of celebrating the commemoration of the dead on the thirtieth day of the month (*τρηικόστια*), which proves its popularity¹³⁴. According to an inscription discovered at Mantinea in the 1st century BC, the ἐν τοῖς τριακοστοῖς ceremony occurred in

¹²⁴ Regarding the meaning of verb ἐπαρᾶσθαι, we agree with Athanassia Zografou, that: “the verb ἐπαρᾶσθαι designates in most cases the act of imprecating; nevertheless, since it lacks the complement, one could consider it a synonym of verb ἐπεύχομαι with ambiguous meaning, namely to pray or to utter imprecations”, see Zografou 2010, 211, n. 53 with comment and bibliographical references; see also LSJ, 619, s.v. ἐπεύχομαι: “pray or make a vow to a deity; imprecate upon”.

¹²⁵ *Milet*, VI.3, 136, r. 11–14 = *Syll.*³ 286, r. 11–14: “(...) καὶ ἐπαρᾶσθαι ταῖς τριακάσι, καθάσσα καὶ ἐμ Μιλήτῳ ἐπαρῶνται”; Zografou 2010, 211 and n. 53; cf. Dana 2011, 105, 363–364; see also Ehrhardt 1988, I, 175; II, 478, n. 927 and 928; Bilabel 1920, 138.

¹²⁶ Schol. Ar., Pl. 594 (Koster) *apud* Zografou 2010, 210 and n. 49: “κατὰ δὲ νομηνίαν οἱ πλούσιοι ἔπεμπον δεῖπνον ἐσπέρας ὡσπερ θυσίαν τῆ Ἐκάτῃ ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις [...] ἔθος ἦν ἄρτους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ κατὰ μῆνα τιθέναι τῆ Ἐκάτῃ τοὺς πλουσίους”.

¹²⁷ Schol. Ar., Pl. 594 (Dübner) *apud* Zografou 2010, 210 and n. 50.

¹²⁸ Athénée, VII, 325a: “τριοδίτις γὰρ καὶ τρίγληνος καὶ ταῖς τριακάσι δ’ αὐτῆ τὰ δεῖπνα φέρουσι”.

¹²⁹ SIG³ 900, rr. 33–37: “τὸ κα/θ’ ὄλου τῶν μυστηρίων μηδὲν / παραλιπόντες ἐν παντὶ τῷ ἐν/αυτῷ, μήτε θυσίαν τριακά/δα ... ἐνδεήσαντες”.

¹³⁰ Laumonier 1958, 324, 397.

¹³¹ Laumonier 1958 393–394.

¹³² Harp. s.v. τριακάς (éd. Dindorf).

¹³³ A. Rehm, in *Milet* I.3, p. 291; see also Rohde 1952, 193, n. 1.

¹³⁴ LSCG, 97, r. 20–21, 189: “ἐπὶ τῷ θανόντι τρηικόστ[ια μῆ] / [π]οιεν”.

the sanctuary of Demeter and Cora, whose cults were associated with the monthly offerings to the dead¹³⁵. During these periodical festivals held by junction of two months, the dead were honoured as a collective able to link the past to the future, as well as citizen families among each other¹³⁶. In fact, rituals performed on the thirtieth month day represented the regular version of the rituals completed on the thirtieth day after the death of an individual and were also designated as *τριακάς* / *τριακάδες* (or *τριακόστια*). These marked the coming out of the mourning and return to normal living, reuniting the family of the deceased around a common feast¹³⁷. The rituals of the thirtieth day of the month were likely calked on practices occurring after the funerals; these were centred on the common feast of the dead family¹³⁸.

The character of the *Triakades* festival held at Olbia and Miletus may be established by analogy with other similar thirtieth day of the month-festivities in both Athens and outside Attica, susceptible to refer to Hekate. According to A. Rehm, this celebration was important for the relations between the metropolis Miletus and its colony, Olbia as it imparted special honouring of the kinship relations between the two cities; according to the hypothesis of the German scholar, the *Triakades* festival was mainly aimed at commemorating the ancestors, which also implied attending a common feast. In this case, Hekate would have been worshiped as deity of the “afterlife”¹³⁹. At his turn, Fr. Bilabel believed that Hekate was a chthonian deity whose cult was associated to that of the dead¹⁴⁰. Nevertheless, ceremonies celebrated on the thirtieth month day could refer in an equal extent to Hekate recorded as early as the archaic period both at Olbia, and its metropolis, Miletus. When speaking of Hekate’s celebration in Arcadia, Theopompus of Chios lists the goddess’s sanctuaries among “those endowed by the forerunners”¹⁴¹; similarly, the Milesians and Olbians would have also honoured even more Hekate, including their own *τριακάδες* among their ancestral traditions.

At Lagina, in Caria, *τριακάδες* counted among the feast days of Hekate; in the occasion were held banquets which the goddess’s worshipers attended. Still at Lagina, the birthday of Hekate was celebrated in the last *triakad* of the year; the celebration of Hekate’s birthday (*Γενεθλία*) was an occasion of considerable generosity of the goddess’s priests (banquets, feasts), being annually celebrated in her sanctuary¹⁴². Therefore, the specific elements of the monthly festivals and the celebration of Hekate’s birthday (*Genethlia*) were the feasts held either within the city or by its periphery (*περιπόλιον*); these were offered not only to the permanent inhabitants of the *peripolion*, but also to those arriving in the city for the celebrations as well as those in the city’s neighbourhood¹⁴³. According to Alfred Laumonier, “the setting up of these feasts is explained not only by the almost generalized custom in the Roman period of banqueting on every opportunity, but also among indigenous traditions, since at Panamara the ritual is key, and in a more natural way by the cult itself of Hekate, celebrated alike the dead, her associates, by regular feasts”¹⁴⁴. Hence, A. Laumonier emphasizes the goddess’s chthonian character¹⁴⁵.

Hekate’s “meeting” and connection with the dead by the end of the month inevitably contributed to the association of the two cults. Also, the offerings placed for Hekate during the *Triakades* ended by joining the *Triakades* dedicated to the commemoration of the dead, likely how it occurred at Olbia and Lagina. Nevertheless, there is only a single eloquent piece of evidence which identifies the offerings for Hekate with the honouring awarded to the dead in order to highlight the chthonian nature of Hekate; it is a fragment from a compilation of Alexandrian proverbs of Plutarch which identify Hekate with Cora Persephone, Artemis and Athena and which seems rather speculative related to Hekate’s connection with Persephone and her mysteries¹⁴⁶. Hence, one should not conclude that “Hekate’s feasts”

¹³⁵ Farnell 1907, 123 and 366, n. 249.

¹³⁶ Zografou, 2010, 209.

¹³⁷ Burkert 1985, 194 and 425, n. 38.

¹³⁸ Zografou 2010, 209–210; see also Georgoudi 1988, 73–89.

¹³⁹ A. Rehm, in *Milet* I.3, p. 291 and n. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Bilabel 1920, 138–139.

¹⁴¹ Porphyre, *De l'abstinence*, II, 16, 4–5 = Théopompe de Chios, *FGrH* 115, F 344 (Jacoby).

¹⁴² Laumonier 1958, 393–394; 394, n. 2: “καὶ ἔδωκαν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τριακάδι διανομὴν τοῖς ἐν τῷ περιπόλιῳ”.

¹⁴³ Laumonier 1958, 395 and n. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Laumonier 1958, 397–398.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Kraus 1960, 50–51, who admits, at his turn, the importance of these feasts dedicated to Hekate both at Lagina and Panamara, however hesitates, for lack of evidence, to compare them with the funerary banquets.

¹⁴⁶ Zografou 2010, 212 and n. 61.

mandatorily addressed an inferno goddess. In order to understand the nature of Hekate's association with the dead on the "thirtieth" day of the month it is enough to specify that rituals honouring the ancestors were not exclusively chthonian. More precisely, the public feasts dedicated to the ancestors were an opportunity for the community to tie up connections prior entering a new month period. Seen from this view, the *Triakades* dedicated to the dead become similar to the monthly rituals celebrated in the honour of Hekate by the fact that both ones and the other serve as connection bridge for the transition to one month to the other¹⁴⁷.

Conclusions

The cult of Hekate is documented at Miletus starting with the late archaic period until at least the late Hellenistic period or that early Roman imperial. Hekate was an important deity of the Milesian pantheon, as confirmed by the large number of epicleses under which the goddess was worshipped. The Milesian epigraphic documents prove both the association of Hekate with Apollo and the complementariness of the two deities. As early as late 6th century BC, Hekate is present as *entemenios* goddess of Apollo *Delphinios* in his sanctuary at Miletus. The goddess could find a place in the *Delphinion* in her capacity of protector of the civic community. The worship of Hekate in the Milesian colonies was part of the tradition which the latter had inherited from their metropolis, Miletus. The epigraphic documents and votive reliefs confirm that the colony of Odessos inherited the cult of Hekate *Phosphoros* and that of Hekate *Kourotrophos* from its metropolis, Miletus. Also, the *Triakades* festival was held in honour of Hekate in both Olbia and Miletus. Since the literary, epigraphic and archaeological documents record no large sanctuaries or temples dedicated to Hekate neither great festivity in honour of the goddess, it is very likely that as early as Hesiod's time, like also later, Hekate had been worshipped especially in sanctuaries of other deities and in small private sanctuaries. The epigraphic documents of Hellenistic date reveal the ambivalent nature of Hekate. On the other hand, the goddess was the protector of cities; she protected the gates and defensive walls of the city, household gates, entries, passages, roads and junctions; also, Hekate was the nurse and guardian of children. On the other hand, Hekate was a chthonian and funerary deity; her cult was associated with the cult of the dead. Towards the end of the Hellenistic period and early Roman age, Hekate becomes a deity of magic.

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¹⁴⁷ Zografou 2010, 212.

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- CIRB* *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani (Korpus Bosporskikh nadpisej)*, (ed. V. V. Struve). Moscova-Leningrad 1965.
- FGrHist* *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, hersg. von Felix Jacoby. Berlin-Leiden 1923–1954.
- I. Didyma* *Didyma II. Die Inschriften*. (ed. T. Wiegand and A. Rehm). Berlin 1958.
- IGB I²* *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. I²: *Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini*, (ed. Georgi Mihailov). Sofia 1970.
- IGB III/2* *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, (ed. G. Mihailov), III/2: *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae*. Sofia 1964.
- IGB V* *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, (ed. Georgi Mihailov), vol. V: *Supplementum, addenda et corrigenda*. Sofia 1997.
- IOIb* *Inscriptiones Olbiae (Nadpisi Ol'vii) (1917–1965)*, (ed. T. N. Knipovič, E. I. Levi). Leningrad 1968.
- IOSPE I²* *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, (ed. Basilus Latyšev), I²: *Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae*. Sankt Petersburg 1916.
- LIMC VI/2* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VI/2, (eds. J. Ch. Balty, E. Berger, J. Boardman, Ph. Bruneau, F. Canciani, L. Kahil, V. Lambrinoudakis, E. Simon). Zürich und München 1992.
- LSAM* *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. (ed. F. Sokolowski). Paris 1955.
- LSCG* *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, (ed. F. Sokolowski). Paris 1969.
- LSJ* Liddell H. G., Scott R., Jones H. S., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, with a revised supplement. Oxford 1996.
- Milet I.3* *Milet I. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahr 1899*, Heft. III: *Das Delphinion von Milet* von G. Kawerau und A. Rehm. Berlin 1914.
- Milet VI.3* *Milet VI. Inschriften von Milet, Teil 3: Inschriften n. 1020–1580*. von P. Hermann, W. Günther, N. Ehrhardt mit Beiträgen von D. Feisel und P. Weiss Berlin-New York 2006.
- SEG* *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, Lugdunum Batavorum, Leiden, 1923–1971; Alphen aan den Rijn 1979–1980; Amsterdam, 1979–2005. Boston 2006.
- Syll³* *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, (3rd edition), (ed. W. Dittenberger), 1915–1924.

Abbreviations

AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Vienna.
AM	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
AMV	Acta Musei Varnaensis, Varna.
Angustia	Angustia. Revista Muzeului Național al Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sf. Gheorghe.
Anuarul MJIAP (S.N.)	Anuarul Muzeului de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova, Serie Nouă, Ploiești.
Antiquity	Antiquity. A review of world archaeology, Durham.
Archaeological Journal	Archaeological Journal. New Series. Chișinău.
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest.
ArchPol	Archaeologia Polona, Warsaw.
ArchRozhledy	Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha.
ASM	Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae, Bratislava.
BAR (Int. S.)	British Archaeological Reports (International Series), Oxford.
Biharea	Biharea. Culegere de studii și materiale de etnografie și artă, Oradea.
BMG	Bibliotheca Musei Giurgiuvensis, Giurgiu.
BMJT	Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman. Seria Arheologie, Alexandria.
BMM	Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis, Târgu Mureș.
Budapest Régiségei	Budapest Régiségei Régészeti és Történeti Évkönyv. Budapest.
CA București	Cercetări arheologice în București, București.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice, București.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
CsSzME	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve. Csíkszereda.
Dacia (N.S.)	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. Nouvelle serie. București.
Dolgozatok	Dolgozatok a Magyar Királyi Ferencz József Tudományegyetem Archaeológiai Intézetéből. Szeged.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
Erdély	Erdély. Turistai, fürdőügyi és néprajzi folyóirat, Cluj-Napoca.
FontArchPrag	Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses, Prague.
Földtközl.	Földtani közlöny, Budapest.
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, Miskolc.
ILD	C. C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , Bucharest 2005.
JAHA	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca.
Jahrb. RGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz, Mainz.
JAMÉ	Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyiregyháza.
Karpatika	Karpatika, Uzhorod.
LMI	List of Historic Monuments, updated 2015.
Marisia	Marisia. Studies and Materials. Archeology. Târgu-Mureș.
MCA (S.N.)	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice Serie Nouă. București
MemAntiq	Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț.
NNA	Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift, Stockholm.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Rahden/Westf.
PAT	Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum, Cluj-Napoca.
Paléo	PALEO – Revue d'archéologie préhistorique, Les Eyzies-de-Tayac-Sireuil.
Pallas	Pallas. Revue d'études antiques, Toulouse.

PNAS	Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, Washington.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
RAN	National Archaeological Repertory.
RM	Revista Muzeelor, București.
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva.
SatuMareSC	Satu Mare Studii și Comunicări, Satu Mare.
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie, București.
SCȘMI	Studii și Comunicări Științifice ale Muzeelor de Istorie, București.
SIB	Studii de Istorie a Banatului, Timișoara.
SlovArch	Slovenská archeológia, Nitra.
SP	Studii de Preistorie, București.
St.Cerc.Antropol.	Studii și Cercetări de Antropologie, București.
StudUBB-G	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Seria Geologia, Cluj-Napoca.
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