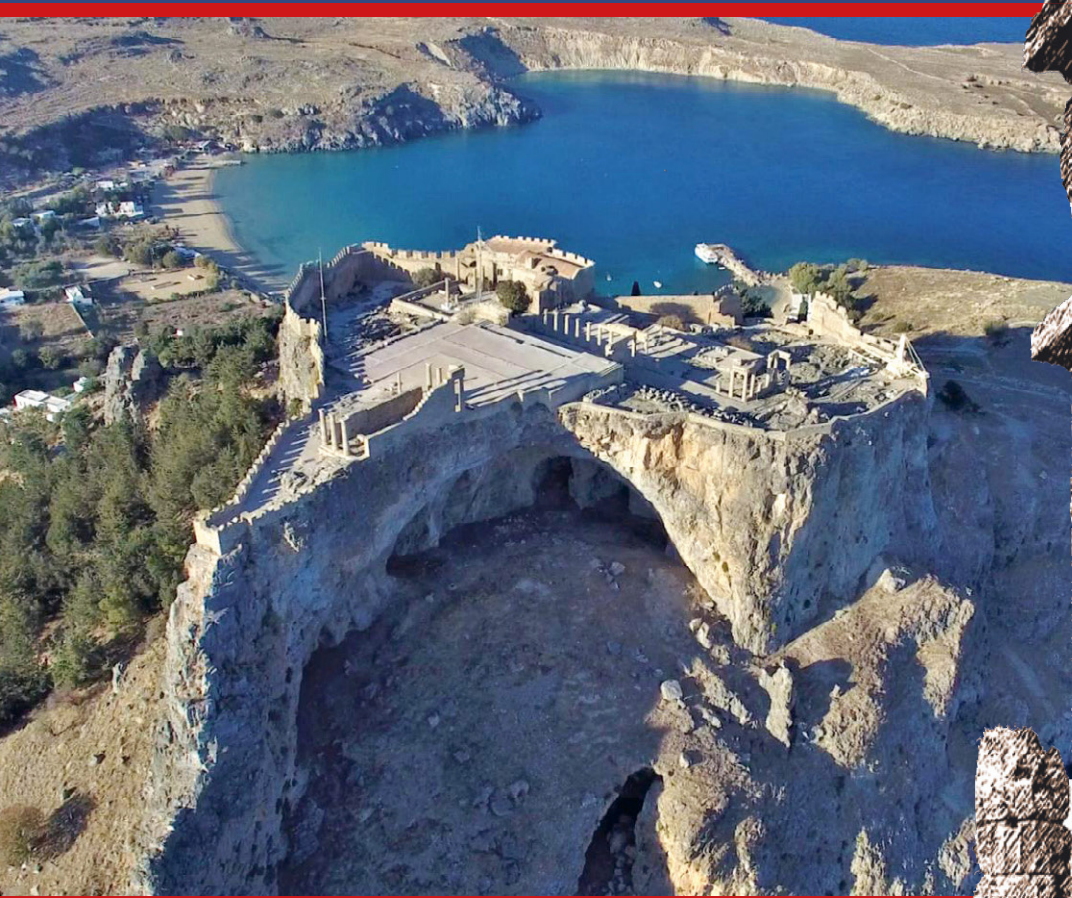


# Religion and Cult in the Dodecanese during the First Millennium BC



Editors

Manolis I. Stefanakis,  
Georgios Mavroudis  
and Fani K. Seroglou

Co-Editor: Maria Achiola



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Cover: Acropolis of Lindos. The temple of Athena, showing the cave of Panagia Spiliotissa below, with four grottoes (photo by A. Louizidis).

The columns of the temple of Apollo, Rhodes, by permission of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese – design: Mihalis Papanousis (*visual arts | web design | desktop publishing*).



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# Forms of private and public devotion in the Dodecanese in the Hellenistic Age: The cases of the Great Gods and Hecate

Romina Carboni and Emiliano Cruccas

## Abstract

The aim of this contribution is to underline some topics concerning the main features of some cults connected to personal and civic protection, like those of Hecate and the Great Gods of Samothrace, in the islands of Dodecanese, between the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. It will further focus on influences in the evolution of cultural phenomena through a global analysis of archaeological, epigraphical and iconographic sources. In fact, there are some examples of *leges sacrae* and private forms of devotion for Hecate that show a strong influence ascribable to a Carian cultural substrate. Another important vector of influence comes from Samothrace and its popular and Panhellenic cult of the Great Gods. Forms of private and public devotion for these gods are indeed testified by some epigraphical texts concerning lists of so-called *Samothrakiastai*. We shall also emphasise syncretic links between external influences and local cultural tradition in the Hellenistic Age.

**Key words:** Hecate, Great Gods of Samothrace, Cabiri, Rhodes, Kos, Caria, Creta

## Foreword

From the age of Alexander, major cultural and political changes characterised the Eastern Mediterranean, within which religious cults were seen in a different light, compared to the late Classical period. If, until that time, the cults seemed to have played a role essentially connected with the different communities of the *poleis*, with the exception of the so-called Panhellenic sanctuaries, the Hellenistic period shows syncretic phenomena between the local *pantheon* in different regions and ‘universal’ and foreign cults.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the Dodecanese, and in particular with regard to the island of Rhodes, these aspects are identified in some cults that show a strong allogeneic nature, such as that of the Gods of Samothrace and Hecate, topics of this work. In this chapter, we will try to build a hermeneutical path that will lead to the formulation of some interpretation proposals and hypotheses concerning the cultural vectors that contributed to the spread of these cults in the Dodecanese area, with particular reference to Rhodes, Kos, and the so-called *Rhodian Peraia*.

It should first be noted that there is no doubt that the two-year period from 408–407 BC, when the Rhodes synoecism (*Diod.* XIII, 75) was established, was a turning point for the analysis of social and cultural structures in this area.<sup>2</sup> The institutionalisation of the cult of *Helios/Halios* as a patron deity is definitely an element

that confirms an important change.<sup>3</sup> It was an event that, through political and cultural dynamics, marked the beginning of a process that led, starting from the age of Alexander, to the introduction of different cults in this geographical area. The importance of this innovation is also linked to the fact that *Helios/Halios* was not an extremely widespread cult and, in any case, even where identified, it was not so important,<sup>4</sup> and this can explain the choice of a deity who was not too close to one of the three cities that were protagonists of synoecism.<sup>5</sup>

## The Great Gods of the sailors

Among the cults which, starting from the Hellenistic period, spread widely in Rhodes and in the Dodecanese area, we should mention the cults of Samothrace.

The cult of the Great Gods, which became popular starting at least from the 7th century BC in the Eastern Mediterranean, is characterised by regional differences concerning mainly relationships with local deities.<sup>6</sup> Confused and identified with the so-called Cabiri, these deities had their main sanctuaries on the islands of Samothrace and Lemnos, and in Thebes, in Boeotia. The

<sup>1</sup> On this topic, see Cruccas 2015 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>2</sup> On this topic, see Gabrielsen 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Morelli 1959: 94–99 and Paul 2015 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>4</sup> Morelli 1959: 94.

<sup>5</sup> Morelli 1959: 95. Morelli (1959: 96) also points out that the worship of Athana Lindia already fulfilled this pan-Rhodian function. In this regard, the introduction of the cult of *Halios* can be seen as a desire to strengthen the image of the aristocracy of Ialysos, to which this deity was clearly linked.

<sup>6</sup> On this cult and his features, see Blakely 2006; Bremmer 2014 (here 21–54); Cole 1984; Cruccas 2014; Hemberg 1950.

etymology of the ancient name *Kabiros/Kabiroi* seems to derive from the Semitic root 'kafir-' (= big), connected to the word *Megaloi Theoi* (Great Gods) of the Greek tradition.<sup>7</sup>

The name *Kabiros* and its plural date back to the most archaic phases of Lemnos and Thebes, while they seem almost entirely absent on Samothrace, where the deities were identified by the name Great Gods, and never by the word *Kabiros/Kabiroi*, except for one epigraphic document dating to the 2nd/1st century BC.<sup>8</sup> A plausible hypothesis is that the most archaic theonym was the one associated with sacred mystery ceremonies, and, therefore, was a sort of secret name that could only be pronounced during the religious ceremonies to which the uninitiated were not admitted.<sup>9</sup> In fact, this cult seems to show clear 'Eastern' elements, but through a complex and varied reality, resulting from cultural stratifications of different origins and chronology. This is confirmed by the sanctuary of Samothrace, which, starting from the age of Alexander, plays a central role in the development of the Greek religion through the diffusion of a cult that begins to have its own characteristics, making it different from the original ones of the cult of the Cabiri, expanding from the island throughout the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and then also in the Romanised world.

In the case of the Dodecanese islands, the presence of citizens sent to Samothrace for the periodic ceremonies in honour of the Great Gods is confirmed by several elements: the devotion by the inhabitants of Rhodes to the gods of Samothrace in the Hellenistic period can be explained by their function as the protectors of sailors, in relation to the main activities carried out by the inhabitants of the island.<sup>10</sup> At least from the beginning of the 4th century BC, in fact, the port of the new capital, Rhodes, was expanded to accommodate more and larger vessels.<sup>11</sup> The strategic position of the island and the regular arrival of merchants and sailors from all over the Mediterranean was undoubtedly an incentive for the development of the cult of the Gods of Samothrace.

The oldest inscription dedicated to these deities comes from Lindos and dates to the 3rd century BC (*IG XII. 1. 788*);<sup>12</sup> the second, probably of the 2nd century BC, is from nearby Karpathos and was discovered near the temple of *Poteridan Porthmios* (*IG XII. 1. 1034*).<sup>13</sup> This inscription refers to the priests of the cult of the Great

Gods.<sup>14</sup> In addition to this document, we have two epigraphic texts concerning the sending of *mystai* to the sanctuary of Samothrace.<sup>15</sup>

Another document, which seems to date between the 2nd/1st century BC, comes from the city of Rhodes and confirms the presence of priests who were simultaneously in charge of the worship of several deities:<sup>16</sup> in addition to the Gods of Samothrace, we find Dionysus, Asclepius, Heracles, and the Dioscuri,<sup>17</sup> figures often associated with the Great Gods.<sup>18</sup> Dating to the same period, there is also another inscription from Kamiros, which refers to the gods of Samothrace and the gods of Lemnos.<sup>19</sup> Other finds from the same chronological period show the words *Σαμοθραικιασθαί*,<sup>20</sup> which refer to members of religious congregations of devotees of the gods of Samothrace.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Hemberg 1950: 234.

<sup>15</sup> The first (*IG XII 8, 184*) is a text with a list of initiates coming from different cities of Asia Minor. The second (*IG XII 8, 186*) is an epigraphic stone inscribed on two faces: on side A there is a document with a list of initiates, dating to the 1st century BC ('ἐπι βασιλέως] | Πυθίωνος τοῦ Ἀριδίου | Ροδίων ἱεροποιοὶ | μύσται καὶ ἐπόπται | εὐσεβεῖς | Σωσικλῆς Εὐκράτης | Πεισικράτης Τιμαράτου | Δαμάτριος Ἀμφοτεροῦ | συνέδαμοι | Καλλικράτης Δαματρίου | Ἀναξικράτης Ἀναξικράτης | Θεόδωρος Ἡραγύ[α] | Ἰσίδωτος — — | Δαμασα — — — — | Ἀγασ — — — —'). The inscription on side B also contains a list of *mystai* sent to Samothrace, dating to 137-134 BC ('ἐπι βασιλέως — — — —] | ὡς δὲ ἐν Ρόδῳ ἐπὶ ἱερέως] | τοῦ Ἀλίου Ἀριστάρχου | Ροδίων | ἱεροποιοὶ μύσται εὐσεβεῖς] | Δαλιάδας Ἀντιπάρου | Αριστογένης Νικομάχου] | ναῦται | Διονύσιος Ἐφέσιος | Θήρων Περίνθιος | Εὐσῆς Ἐφέσιος | [Ἀγ]αθάγγελος | .51ς ἐν Ρόδῳ] | [ἀγορανομ]οῦντος') (Dimitrova 2008: 126-128).

<sup>16</sup> Maiuri 1929: 320-321, no. 3: 'Ἀ[ιονύσου?], | Ἀγεφῶν .[---] | Ἀσκλη[πιου], | [Κ]λεταῖος Ξενο[τίμου?] | Ἡρακλεῦ[ς], | [Ε]ὐφράνωρ Σωσικρά[τευς] | Διοσκ[ούρων], | [Ἀ]ριστομαχίδας Ἀριστομάχου] | Θεῶν Σαμοθράκων, | [Ἰπ]πάρχος Ἐργ[ιάδευς]. On this document, see Cole 1984: 155, no. 33.

<sup>17</sup> Morelli 1959: 31-32, 37-38, 42, 55-56.

<sup>18</sup> Hemberg 1950: 234.

<sup>19</sup> Hemberg 1950: 235-236; Morelli 1959: 57.

<sup>20</sup> *IG XII 1, 43*: 'στρατευσάμενον κατὰ πόλ[εμον] | ἐν τε ταῖς καταφράκτοις ναυσὶ | καὶ ἐντριημιολίαις καὶ τιμαθέντα | ὑπὸ ἀλικιωτῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ θαλλοῦ | στεφάνωι καὶ χρυσέωι ἀρετᾶς | ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς | — — — — καὶ στρατευσάμενον ὑπὸ ἄρχοντα | Ἀντιόχου καὶ τιμαθέντα ὑπὸ | Σαμοθραικιαστῶν μεσονέων τοῦ κοινοῦ χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ἀρετᾶς | ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας | ἂν ἔχον διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ Σαμοθραικι-|αστῶν μεσονέων — — — — καὶ | τοῖ συνστρατευσάμενοι ἐτίμασαν | Σαμοθραικιαστῶν καὶ Λημνιαστῶν | τὸ κοινὸν ἐπαίνωι χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας | ἂν ἔχον διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ Σαμοθραικιαστῶν | καὶ Λημνιαστῶν τῶν | συνστρατευσάμενων | κοινόν — — — — καὶ πρωρατεύσαντα τριηρέων | καὶ ἄρχαντα ἀφράκτων | καὶ ἐπιστάταν γενόμενον τῶν παίδων | καὶ ἱεροθυτήσαντα | καὶ πρωρατεύσαντα θεοῖς, | Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεύς, ὡι ἄ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται, | καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος Ἐπιχάρμου Ῥόδιος ἐποιοῦσαν'; *IG XII 1, 163*: '[τὸ] κοι-|νόν | Σαμοθραικιαστῶν Σωτηριαστῶν | Ἀριστοβουλιαστῶν. | Απολλωνιαστῶν Θεαιαδιθεῖων Θεαιαδιθεῖων | Ἀστυμηδείων'; Hiller von Gaertringen, Saridakis 1900, no. 108: 'χευς, Εὐστράτα Μεθυμναία Μ<η>θυμναία Μ<α>θυμναία καὶ Ἀριάδνη τῶν ἀνεψιῶν, τιμαθεῖσαν μὲν] ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις καθ' ἔτος παναγύρεσι(?) εὐσεβείας] | καὶ ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας [ἂς ἔχουσα διατελεῖ εἰς τὸ] Ἀσκληπιαστῶν Νικασιωναίων Ὀλυμνιαστῶν [κοῖνον, τιμαθεῖσαν δὲ] | καὶ ὑπὸ Σαμοθραικιαστῶν Ἀφροδι-|σια>στῶν [κονοῦ —————] | versus duo desunt] | συνθυτῶν [—————] | versus duo desunt] εὐεργεσίας [τᾶς ἐς <τᾶν> πάτρην τᾶν Ἐρατιδῶν [—————] | [τιμαθεῖσαν δὲ καὶ] χρυσέωι καὶ [εἰκόνη(?) ———]'.  
<sup>21</sup> Hemberg 1950: 235. The devotees can be identified with the sailors of the ships that carried the Rhodian *mystai* to Samothrace (Cole 1984: 85; Morelli 1959: 153-154).

<sup>7</sup> Beekes 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Dimitrova 2008: 83-90.

<sup>9</sup> Cruccas 2014: 21.

<sup>10</sup> Hemberg 1950: 236-237.

<sup>11</sup> Diod. Sic. 14. 79. 4-7; 20. 85. 4; 20. 86. 2. Other sources and bibliography in Schipporeit 2016.

<sup>12</sup> '[---] Θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκικαι'. On this epigraphic source, see Cole 1984: 65, 158-159, no. 40 and Morelli 1959: 153.

<sup>13</sup> '[---] Θεῶν Σαμοθράκων ἱερεῖς [---]'. On this inscription, see Cole 1984: 65 and 159-60, no. 42.

The link with the sanctuary of the Great Gods seems to be confirmed by the dedication of the famous Nike in the island sanctuary, supposedly dedicated by the inhabitants of Rhodes after the naval victories of 190 BC against the Seleucid fleet.<sup>22</sup>

This connection with the island is also confirmed by some inscriptions with lists of *theoroi-proxenoí* of the 2nd century BC.<sup>23</sup> Most of the epigraphs from the island date to the 1st century BC: a document referring to a priest of Serapis, Heracles, Aristomenes, of the Gods of Samothrace<sup>24</sup> and of the Korybantēs<sup>25</sup> also comes from the city of Rhodes. These mythological figures, together with the Curetes<sup>26</sup> and the Telchines, are often associated and confused with the so-called Cabiri. The Telchines, in fact, were decisive in the case of Rhodes: their name is attested on the island as epicleses of other divine figures, including Apollo, the Nymphs, and Hera.<sup>27</sup>

According to Strabo, the Telchines arrived on the island from Crete, and then from Cyprus, and because of them the island was named Telchinia.<sup>28</sup> However, the cultural root that seems to refer to a substrate compatible with these cults is probably the one linked to the Curetes-Korybantēs. The presence of these mythological figures, usually connected and often identified with the Cabiri/Great Gods, can provide a key to clarify the cultural background to the origin of certain myths and cults. These figures are described and represented as young men in armour, engaged in apotropaic dances, according to the mythical tales of the births of Dionysus Zagreus and Zeus. These dances are often associated

with the so-called *pyrriche*, which, according to Plato (Pl. *Lg.* 796), was one of the peculiarities of Athena in the capital of Attica, the Dioscuri in Sparta, and the Curetes on Crete.

With regard to this geographical area, there may be a connection between the Dodecanese islands and the main island sanctuary, the cave of Mt Ida. On this island, in fact, one of the most famous mythical events of Greek religion took place, when the new-born Zeus was hidden to prevent him from being killed by his father, Kronos, an episode also told in the famous hymn of Palaiokastro,<sup>29</sup> dating to the period between the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC.<sup>30</sup> In this episode, which took place in the cave of Mt Ida, the Curetes,<sup>31</sup> called Telchines by Statius,<sup>32</sup> played a central role.<sup>33</sup> This was the site of a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, where materials from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods have been found.<sup>34</sup> The protagonist of the mythological story told by Hesiod (Hes. *Th.* 459–491) is Rhea, who, after giving birth to little Zeus, gave him to Amalthea, so that the nymph could raise him. Lest her infant's cries should reveal his presence to his father Kronos, his mother asked the Curetes to execute noisy movements in their armour while dancing to prevent Kronos from finding and swallowing him.

The most typical iconographic representation of the Curetes-Korybantēs is that of dancers around the little Zeus as they try to protect him from his father, Kronos.<sup>35</sup> This connection seems to be evident also in Caria. According to Diodorus Siculus (*D.S.* 5, 60), a group of five Curetes from Crete colonised Cnidian Chersonesus and forced the Carians who lived there to leave. In the nearby Panamara centre, the cult of the god *Panamaros*, identified with Zeus<sup>36</sup> and with one of the Curetes, seems to be confirmed: in fact, *Panamaros* probably arrived with the brothers *Labraundos* and *Spalaxos*, from the island of Crete in Caria.<sup>37</sup> The connection between these semi-gods coming from the religious world in Crete and Zeus Carius<sup>38</sup> finds an exegetical explanation in the mythical role that the

<sup>22</sup> On this topic, see Moreno 1994: 366–367: the scholar thinks that the dating of the statue coincides with the victory over the Seleucids in 190 BC; *contra* Ridgway 2000: 150–160, who believes that a dating c. 160 BC is more likely. On this topic, see Palagia 2010, who connects the Nike with the capture of Perseus in 167 BC.

<sup>23</sup> *IG XII 8*, 170e, 65–69: '[Ροδί]ων | Εὐάρατος Εὐάρατου | Τιμάπολις Εὐφραγόρου | καθ' ὁθεσίαν δὲ Τιμαπόλιος'; Dimitrova 2008: no. 23: 'Ρόδιος | ----- | ΑΛ[-----] | ΗΡΟ[-----]'.

<sup>24</sup> Hemberg 1950: 235.

<sup>25</sup> Here identified by the name *kyrbanthoi*. On this topic, see Laumonier 1958: 283; Morelli 1959: 158.

<sup>26</sup> For the presence of a cult of Poseidon Κυρήτειος in Kamiros, see Laumonier 1958: 657.

<sup>27</sup> *Diod. Sic.* 5, 55, 2: 'εἰς τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσηγητάς. ἀγάματά τεθεῶν πρῶτοι κατασκευάσαι λέγονται, καὶ τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀφιδρυμάτων ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐπωνομάσθαι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Λινδίου Ἀπόλλωνας Τελχίνιον προσαγορευθῆναι, παρὰ δὲ Ἰαλυσίου Ἦραν καὶ Νύμφας Τελχινίας, παρὰ δὲ Καμειρεῦσιν Ἦραν Τελχινίαν'.

<sup>28</sup> Strabo 14, 2, 7: 'In earlier times Rhodes was called Ophiussa and Stadia, and then Telchinis, after the Telchines, who took up their abode in the island. Some say that the Telchines are "maligners" and "sorcerers", who pour the water of the Styx mixed with sulphur upon animals and plants in order to destroy them. But others, on the contrary, say that since they excelled in workmanship they were "maligned" by rival workmen and thus received their bad reputation; and that they first came from Crete to Cyprus, and then to Rhodes; and that they were the first to work iron and brass, and in fact fabricated the scythe for Cronus. Now I have already described them before, but the number of the myths about them causes me to resume their description, filling up the gaps, if I have omitted anything' (Translation from Perseus). On this Strabo quote, see Biffi 2009: 230.

<sup>29</sup> Jeanmaire 1939: 430–436.

<sup>30</sup> *InscrCret III* 2, 2. On this topic, see Willetts 1962: 211–212.

<sup>31</sup> The fact that the Mt Ida area was a place of worship of these divine figures seem to be also confirmed by the toponym of a small neighbouring village, *Κουρούτες* (Sporn 2002: 222).

<sup>32</sup> *Stat. Silv.* 4, 6, 47: 'tale nec Idaeis quicquam Telchines in antris'.

<sup>33</sup> Sporn 2002: 218–223.

<sup>34</sup> Sporn 2002: 218 with bibliography at n. 1591.

<sup>35</sup> Cruccas 2014: 40–41.

<sup>36</sup> Laumonier 1958: 339.

<sup>37</sup> Laumonier 1958: 340. EM s.v. 'Εὐδωνος: Ποταμὸς τῆς ποτὲ μὲν Δίας τε καὶ Ἐρύμνης καὶ Λαρίσης, νῦν δὲ Τράλλεων καλουμένης τῆς Ἀσίας· ὅτι Λάβρανδος καὶ Πανάμορος, καὶ Πάλαξος, ἢ Σπάλαξος, οἱ Κούρητες, κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ὀρμώντες, νυκτὸς ἐπικαταλαβούσης, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις αὐτοῦ κατεκοιμήθησαν. Παρὰ τὸ εὐδῆσαι οὖν Εὐδωνὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ὠνόμασαν'. Laumonier (1958: 730, n. 7) also assumes that the name of Caria may be connected with the Cabiri and that they may come from this area.

<sup>38</sup> Laumonier 1958: 349.



Figure 1. Lagina.  
East Frieze. Birth of  
Zeus (© Deutsches  
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Institut D-DAI\_  
IST78/252; photograph  
by W. Schiele 1978).



Curetes-Korymbantes played in the episode of the birth of the Father of the Gods and in their protection of the infant from his father Kronos.<sup>39</sup> Now we will see how these aspects related to the Cretan and Carian substrates are also connected with the cult of another deity who seems to play an important role in the *pantheon* of the Dodecanese islands.

E.C.

### Hecate between Caria and the Dodecanese

One of the most famous representations of the birth of Zeus is the one depicted on the frieze of the temple of Hecate in Lagina (Caria). On the eastern side, in fact, the central area is occupied by the birth scene of the Father of the Gods (Figure 1).<sup>40</sup> This choice, which is definitely not accidental, seems to reflect the desire to show the bond that united the goddess receiving the cult of the sanctuary with its main ‘benefactor’,<sup>41</sup> and, at the same time, to bring together the two most venerated deities in Stratonicea. Under Roman domination, in fact, within the city *bouleuterion*, public events of devotion in honour of Hecate and Zeus, the *proestotes* of the city,<sup>42</sup> were held to thank these deities for using their great divine powers to save their city

from serious dangers.<sup>43</sup> In this regard, we should mention the erection of two statues in their honour in the chapel of the *bouleuterion*, the granting of the right to seek asylum by the senate to the sanctuary of Hecate in Lagina and to that of Zeus in Panamara, in addition to the formation of a choir of children singing a hymn in honour of Zeus and Hecate in Stratonicea.<sup>44</sup> If a series of the Stratonicea mint shows, on the obverse and on the reverse, respectively, a *laureate* head of Zeus and Hecate with torches,<sup>45</sup> a confirmation of this link also comes from Chalki, one of the Dodecanese islands, in which the goddess replaces Zeus’ bride on a double-rock throne.<sup>46</sup>

In the Dodecanese islands, particularly Rhodes and Kos, the cult of Hecate is confirmed by finds that seem to date between Hellenistic and Roman times. This widespread diffusion could be traced back to the strong influence of Caria, the geographical area where probably the cult originated. Although, in fact, identifying the exact place of origin of Hecate is not simple, many aspects seem to refer to the Eastern area, and more precisely to the southern area of the Anatolian peninsula; in fact, the oldest evidence of the cult of the goddess seems to come from here. This thesis seems to be confirmed by both philological-literary data<sup>47</sup> and strictly archaeological data. With regard to this aspect, we should mention the archaic evidence from the

<sup>39</sup> On this subject, see also the hypothesis that the theme of the childhood of Cretan Zeus had particular popularity in the Hellenistic period among the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties (Mastrocinque 2002).

<sup>40</sup> Baumeister 2007: 35–36; Carboni 2015: 70–75 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>41</sup> In a passage from Hesiod’s *Theogony* (Hes. *Th.* 411–452), Zeus honours Hecate by granting her powers extended to the earth, sea, and sky.

<sup>42</sup> Le Bas and Waddington 1870: 142, no. 519.

<sup>43</sup> Cfr. *IK* 22, 1, 1101, 5–6. See Boffo 1985: 301–302; Laumonier 1958: 417; Williamson 2013.

<sup>44</sup> Carboni 2014.

<sup>45</sup> Meadows 2002.

<sup>46</sup> *IG* XII 1, 958. Susini 1965: 249, 252 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>47</sup> Adiego 1994.

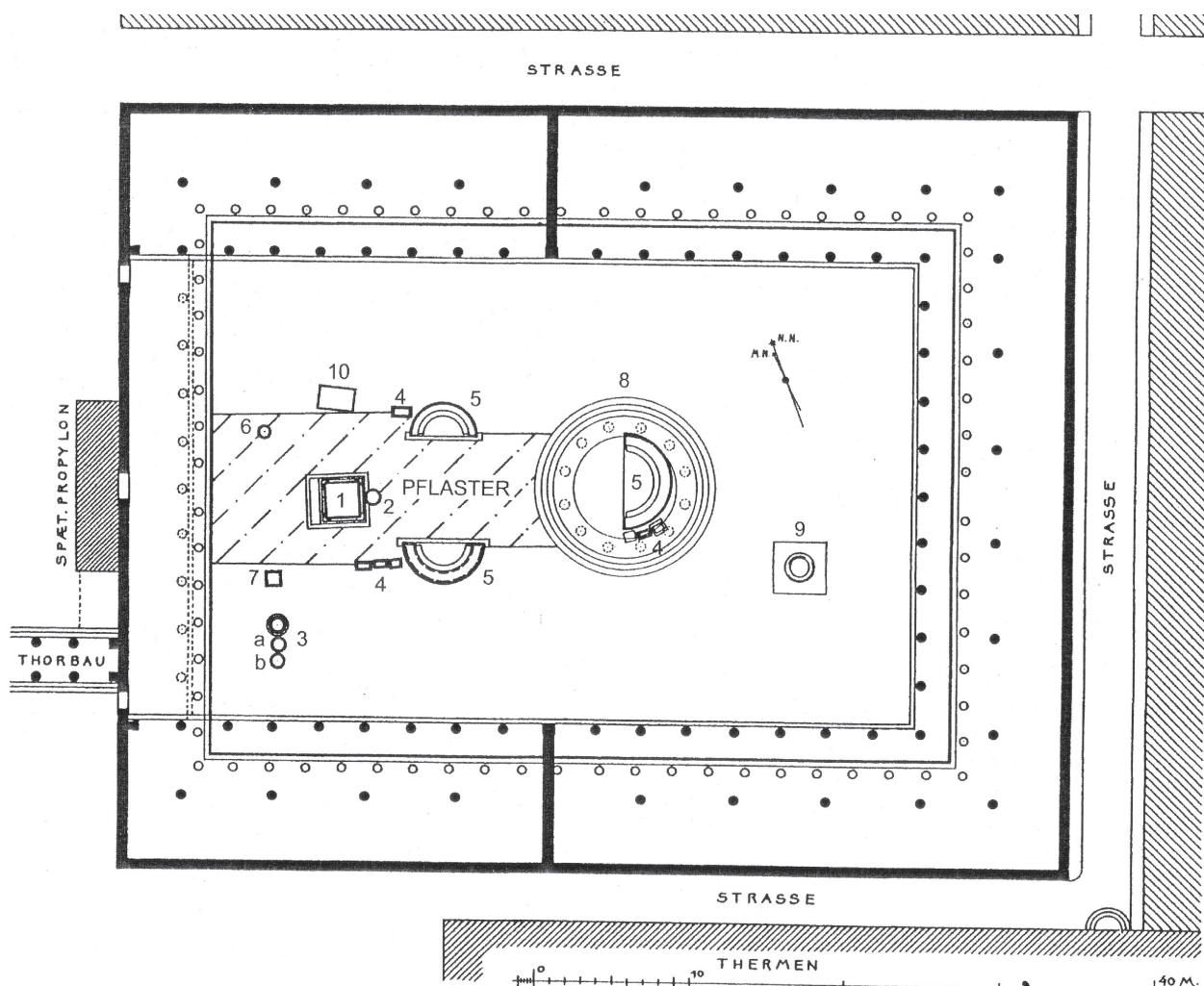


Figure 2. Milet. *Delphinion* plan: 1) altar of Apollo; 2) Altar of Hecate (after Herda 2006a: 262, fig. 17).

Ionian cities of Miletus and Didyma,<sup>48</sup> in relation to the cult of Apollo, and the already mentioned sanctuary in Lagina, the most important place of worship dedicated to the goddess in this region. Although it dates to the Hellenistic-Roman period, the sanctuary refers to a more ancient substratum, and is, therefore, another element confirming the micro-Asian origin of the cult.<sup>49</sup>

Among the oldest evidence of the cult of Hecate, we find an inscription engraved on an altar dedicated to her in Miletus by two Prytaneis, later placed within the *Delphinion* (Figure 2).<sup>50</sup> It was found in a stratum of Hellenistic date, but the typology clearly refers to that of the altars of the Archaic period, as is also confirmed by the characters of the epigraph.<sup>51</sup> An inscription engraved on the side of the throne of a seated female

sculpture, found near Didyma, where Hecate and Apollo are mentioned together, is also of the same period.<sup>52</sup> In addition to the archaic nature of the evidence, an interesting element is also provided by the association of the goddess with Apollo, which confirms a consolidated devotional practice that sees Hecate sharing places of worship with other deities. In Miletus, in fact, the goddess is celebrated as the *ἐντεμνίος θεός*,<sup>53</sup> and it is no coincidence that Hecate is mentioned with Apollo, in the so-called *Molpoi inscription*,<sup>54</sup> a religious regulation coming from the *Delphinion* that lists the cathartic prescriptions intended for different deities, including

<sup>48</sup> Garden of Istanbul Archaeological Museums, inv. 1883: 'ἐπιπέσεν τὰ ἔλατρα ἐξ ἡμεδίμνο τῶπὸλλωνι πλακόντινα, τῆι Ἐκά/τηι δὲ χωρίς' (500 BC ca). See Herda 2006b: 285, n. 2018 (with previous bibliography); Tuchelt 1970: 91, K 61, tav. 59.2; 116–118.

<sup>49</sup> Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 279.

<sup>50</sup> The term *Molpoi* referred to a religious but also political association of musicians linked to the cult of Apollo *Delphinios* who performed during religious ceremonies: the establishment of the congregation dates back at least to the 6th century BC. See Georgoudi 2001: 156ff. (with previous bibliography); Johnston 1999: 206–207 and, more generally, about the history of the association, Sokolowski 1955: 132.

<sup>48</sup> See Carboni 2015: 103–107 (with previous bibliography); Herda 2006a; 2006b.

<sup>49</sup> See Carboni 2015: 59–89 (with previous bibliography).

<sup>50</sup> 'Ἐδοθρασ...../...Λεωδάμας / Ὀνάξο πρυτ[α]/νεύοντες ἀ/νέθεσαντῆ/κάττη' (Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 275–276).

<sup>51</sup> Herda 2006b: 285–286.

Apollo and Hecate, thus confirming the important role assigned to the goddess:<sup>55</sup>

ὅταν στεφανηφόροι ἴωσιν ἐς  
Δίδυμα, ἢ πόλις διδοῖ ἑκατόνβην τρία ἱερῆια τέλεια  
τούτων ἐν θῆλυ, ἐν  
δὲ ἐνορχές. ἐς μολπ<ῶ>ν ἢ πόλις διδοῖ Ταργηλίσιον  
ἱερ<ῆι>ον τέλειον καὶ Μεταγε[ι]-  
τνίοσιον ἱερ<ῆι>ον τέλειον, Ἑβδομαίοσιον δὲ δύο  
τέλεια καὶ χὼν τὸμ παλαιὸν ὄ[ρ]-  
τῆς ἐκάστης τούτοις τοῖς ἱεροῖσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
παρίσταται, λαγχάνει δὲ  
οὐδὲν πλῆον τῶν ἄλλων μολπῶν. καὶ ἄρχονται οἱ  
στεφανηφόροι Ταυρεῶ-  
νος θύειν Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν  
ἀπαρξάμενοι, καὶ ΚΡΗΤΗ  
ΡΙΣΑΣ τέσσερας. καὶ γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ  
τίθεται παρ' Ἐκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν  
πυλέων ἐστεμμένος καὶ ἀκρήτω κατασπένδετε, ὁ δ'  
ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ  
θύρας τίθεται ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔρχονται τὴν  
ὁδὸν τὴν πλατεῖαν μέχρι  
ἄκρο, ἀπ' ἄκρο δὲ διὰ δρυμῶ. καὶ παιωνίζεται πρῶτον  
παρ' Ἐκάτη τῇ πρόσθεν πυ-  
λέων, παρὰ Δυνάμει, εἶτεν ἐπὶ λειμῶνι ἐπ' ἄκρο  
παρὰ Νύμφαις, εἶτεν παρ' Ἑρμῆ Ἐν-  
κελάδο, παρὰ Φυλίῳ, κατὰ Κεραϊίτην, παρὰ Χαρέω  
ἀνδριάσιν. ἔρδεται δὲ τῶι παν-  
θύῳ ἔτει παρὰ Κεραϊίτην

The stele on which the inscription is engraved seems to date between the end of the 3rd<sup>56</sup>/early 2nd century BC,<sup>57</sup> even if the original nucleus of the inscription harks back, once again, to the Archaic period. The regulation, in fact, was approved around the mid 5th century BC, but the central body dates to the second half of the 6th century BC.<sup>58</sup>

According to this regulation, the first paeon of the procession was dedicated to the goddess, to whom a sacrifice was made;<sup>59</sup> reference is also made to two *gylloi*<sup>60</sup> decorated with garlands, one of which was placed 'in front of the Hecate facing the doors', and the second 'over the threshold'.<sup>61</sup> The implicit reference

to a statue of the goddess, or to a place of worship in her honour near the city gates,<sup>62</sup> is unsurprising, given her role as the guardian of crossroads – as often found both in iconography and in literature.<sup>63</sup> This role, in fact, associates the goddess *Propylaia* with Apollo, both known as protectors of roads and gates;<sup>64</sup> furthermore, *Hekatos* is used as an epithet, or even a synonym for Apollo, already by Homer,<sup>65</sup> confirming the close relationship between the two deities and the archaic nature of their association.<sup>66</sup>

Among other evidence for understanding the origins of the cult of Hecate, the previously mentioned sanctuary in Lagina plays a key role (Figure 3). Although, in fact, the monumental structure is Hellenistic/Roman, some discoveries of the Classical period, which allow us to date the first practices of the cult to it, come from the same area.<sup>67</sup>

The feature shared by evidence of the cult of Hecate in Caria is the absence, in pre-Classical times, of temples dedicated to her, whose number, even in later periods, is always small. This can be explained both by the fact that Hecate was worshiped as a complementary figure within temples dedicated to other deities, and to evidence supporting the private nature of the cult.

Despite the difficulties in identifying the origins of Hecate, it seems likely that the cult of the goddess belongs to Asia Minor, probably in Caria or in the neighbouring regions; hence this cult spread then spread, probably, to peninsular and insular Greece, where religious practices in honour of the goddess took new forms, thanks to the addition of elements from the Greek *pantheon*.<sup>68</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, that the influence of Caria is also evident in the islands of the Dodecanese, in particular Rhodes and Kos. On Kos, the goddess is given different epithets emphasising the complexity of her nature in relation to evidence related both to the public/official and to the private spheres. The many finds of the Hellenistic period related to Hecate and coming from the island seem to be a consequence

<sup>55</sup> Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 18–31, 277–284, no. 133.

<sup>56</sup> Herda 2006b: 16.

<sup>57</sup> Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 277.

<sup>58</sup> Herda 2006b: 15–20, 31–34, 404–414, 425–427. On this topic, see too Carbon 2013 and Faraguna 2011: 7–8.

<sup>59</sup> Ἐπιπέσεν τὰ ἔλατρα ἐξ ἡμεδίμου τῶ πολλῶνι πλακόν τινα, τῆ Ἐκά/τη δὲ χωρίς' (Kawerau and Rehm 1914: 277–284, no. 133, 36–37). On this topic, see Herda 2006a: 262; 2006b: 396–399.

<sup>60</sup> In *Hsch.* γυλλός refer to a κύβος, ἢ τετραγώνος λίθος, but γυλλοί refers to ἴστολοι. See Georgoudi 2001: 163–164 and Laumonier 1958: 574, n. 7 (according to whom it makes little sense that they were first placed and then moved every year).

<sup>61</sup> This second expression refers to a point located at the end of the path, near the door of the sacred enclosure of the *Didymeion*. Although it can be hypothesised that reference is also made, in this case, to the threshold of a *sacellum* dedicated to Hecate, there are no elements supporting this hypothesis.

<sup>62</sup> Here three *hekataia* were discovered (Gödecken 1986: 236–237, no. 48).

<sup>63</sup> Carboni 2015.

<sup>64</sup> Consider, in this regard, the evidence found in Asia Minor (Hillarima, Kos, Rhodes, etc.), as well as Delos and Delphi, in Greece. See Carboni 2015: 49.

<sup>65</sup> See, with regard to its use as an epithet: Hom. *Il.* 7, 83; 20, 295. For its use as a synonym, see, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 1, 385; 20, 71.

<sup>66</sup> This supports the hypothesis that the two could have formed since the Archaic period '[...] ein altes, karisches Kultpaar'. Herda 2006b: 285–289.

<sup>67</sup> Sahin 1976: 19, n. 63. In this regard, an inscription in which reference is made to a temple for Hecate in Lagina and to the related priest during the satrapy of Asander, who, in 323 BC, acquired Caria instead of Philoxenus. See, in this regard, Robert 1937: 569–571; Simonetti Agostinetti 1993: 47.

<sup>68</sup> See Carboni 2015 (here 157ff.).



Figure 3. Lagina. Temple (photograph by R. Carboni).



Figure 4. Kos. Hekataion (after Laurenzi 1957: 145, fig. 205).

of the strong influence exerted by Caria on the area. With the exception of a relief representing Hecate with torches (Figure 4),<sup>69</sup> most of the finds are dedications and cult calendars in which the name of Hecate is mentioned along with different epithets, which refer to the different areas of relevance for which the goddess was invoked on the island. The first time Hecate is mentioned in Kos is on a cult calendar of the early 3rd century BC (Ἐκ]άται ἐμ πόλει),<sup>70</sup> while a second calendar, whose interpretation is more

controversial, dates to the end of the same century.<sup>71</sup> Another proof is provided by a *lex sacra*, where several chthonic cults are mentioned, including the cult of Hecate *Megala*, to whom infernal characteristics are attributed;<sup>72</sup> the name *Megala* could refer to the *megiste* form that spread in Caria in the Imperial era.<sup>73</sup>

It is no coincidence that the poet Theocritus from Siracusa, who lived on Kos for a while, associates the goddess Hecate with demons:<sup>74</sup>

ἀλλὰ Σελάνα,  
φαῖνε καλόν: τὴν γὰρ ποταεῖσομαι ἄσυχᾶ, δαῖμον,  
τᾶ χθονία θ' Ἐκάτα, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι  
ἐρχομένην νεκύων ἀνά τ' ἡρία καὶ μέλαν αἶμα.  
χαῖρ' Ἐκάτα δασπλήτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄμμιν ὀπάδει.  
φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἔρδοισα χερεῖονα μήτε τι Κίρκης  
μήτε τι Μηδείας μήτε ξανθᾶς Περιμήδα  
[...]  
τὸ δ' Ἄρτεμι καὶ τὸν ἐν' Αἰδα  
κινήσαις ἀδάμαντα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἄσφαλές ἄλλο.  
Θεστυλί, ταὶ κύνες ἄμμιν ἀνά πτόλιν ὠρύνονται.  
ἄ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι: τὸ χαλκίον ὡς τάχος ἄχει.

The reported quotation seems to be a reflection of the veneration of the deity on Kos as a demonic and evil goddess, the goddess of crossroads, who terrifies even the wild dogs. The goddess is associated first with Selene, and then, as a more benevolent deity, also with Artemis, according to the principle of

<sup>69</sup> Kos, Museum. Hellenistic age. Laurenzi 1957: 143–144, no. 205, fig. 205; Sarian 1992: 995, no. 71.

<sup>70</sup> Paton and Hicks 1891: 85–286, no. 401, 5; Pugliese Carratelli 1965: 158, no.1.

<sup>71</sup> Here the sacrifices to the Nymphs and to other deities, including perhaps Hecate, are mentioned. Segre 1938: 192–193.

<sup>72</sup> Herzog 1929: 15, no. 5 A, 8–9 (mid 4th century BC); Sokolowski 1969: 272, no. 156 (first half of 3rd century BC).

<sup>73</sup> Müller 1913: 335–336.

<sup>74</sup> *Theoc.* 2, 10–16, 33–36. Cf. García Teijeiro 1999: 77.

syncretism that characterises her multifaceted nature.

The goddess is also mentioned on Kos in association with Asclepius,<sup>75</sup> and, above all, with Apollo, as we see in Didyma and Miletus. With the epiclesis *Pontia* she is mentioned along with Apollo on an inscription from the 2nd century BC engraved on a circular altar from Halieis,<sup>76</sup> or even in Halasarna where Ecate, here called *Stratia*, is mentioned, once again, in association with the god in five dedications by the priest of Apollo and the *hieropoioi*.<sup>77</sup> Their dedication to Hecate suggests that the cult of the goddess was deep-rooted, and that it played a significant role in the area. The association between *Stratia* and *Soteira* epicleses, equally widespread on the island, and referring to military dedications,<sup>78</sup> suggests that these dedications can be dated to the period between the Cretan Wars and the war against Philip V.<sup>79</sup>

Hecate is also known as *Soteira* on Rhodes, here in her syncretic relationship with Artemis, as confirmed by Suda.<sup>80</sup> The presence of a cult of the goddess on the island in the Hellenistic period is confirmed, in fact, by several finds from Rhodes, Ialysos, Kamiros, and Lindos. In the Archaic period these cities all belonged to the same sacred federation, known as the Doric Hexapolis, together with Kos, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus. In the 6th/5th century BC the name of the confederation that included these cities located opposite the coast of Caria was changed to the Doric Pentapolis when Halicarnassus was excluded from it.<sup>81</sup>

Among the different epicleses<sup>82</sup> with which the goddess was invoked on Rhodes, we should mention *Propylaia*,

which refers to her function as protector of crossroads and gates. Two epigraphs with the name of Hecate with the epiclesis in question come from the acropolis of Camirus, and not just by chance from the area of the Propylaea:

Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀποτροπαίου / Ἐκάτας Προπυλαίας<sup>83</sup>  
Ἐρμῆι Προπυλαίῳ πέσσε ταῦτα[ι]. / Ἐκάται  
Προπυλαίαι<sup>84</sup>

In both inscriptions, the goddess is mentioned as *Propylaia*, immediately after Apollo *Apotropaïos* in the first case, and Hermes *Propylaïos* in the second.<sup>85</sup> The association with the two gods is not new, but it seems well established in several other cities in Asia Minor and Greece, as we have seen in the above-mentioned example of Apollo on Kos.<sup>86</sup>

Hecate and Hermes are often invoked together near the propylaea of the acropolis, e.g. Athens,<sup>87</sup> in their apotropaic role of protectors and guardians of gates. The expression 'πέσσε ταῦτα[ι]' = *coque hic*, found on the second epigraphic document reported above, refers to the ritual prescription of a votive meal regularly dedicated to Hecate, but also to the goddess and Hermes together, which consisted of *deipna* that also included puppies and fish cooked on the spot.<sup>88</sup> With regard to the similarities with the Acropolis of Athens, we should also mention Rhodes, on whose acropolis an Hellenistic *hekataion* was discovered, characterised by an archaic style, perhaps a replica of an attic one (Figure 5).<sup>89</sup> The *hekataion* was located on a high plinth in the area of the temple of Athena *Poliàs*, and there is clearly a correspondence with the situation of the Athenian fortress, where the triple image of Hecate was probably located near the temple of Athena Nike (*Paus.* 2, 30, 2). The *hekataion* on Rhodes, with a total height of c. 2.50 m, was perhaps one of the most impressive *anathemata* within the acropolis of Rhodes.<sup>90</sup> Hecate and Hermes on Rhodes are also associated in the celebration of the mysteries,<sup>91</sup> and then on an inscription together with

<sup>75</sup> Inscription dating to between the mid/end of 4th century BC. Riethmüller 2005 (I): 214–216; Schazmann 1932: 26.

<sup>76</sup> Herzog 1899: 223, no. 217; Vallarino 2009: 202.

<sup>77</sup> Vallarino 2009: 201–202.

<sup>78</sup> Maiuri 1925: 235, no. 676; Sherwin-White 1978: 321; Vallarino 2009: 203.

<sup>79</sup> Sherwin-White 1978: 321.

<sup>80</sup> Suid. s.v. Ασφόδελος. The passage mentions Artemis *Soteira* in connection with a plant, the asphodel, linked to the cult of the dead and the gods of the underworld. The reference context suggests an interpretation of the deity mentioned as a hypostasis of Hecate. See Amigues 2002: 7–14.

<sup>81</sup> *Hdt.* 1, 144: κατά περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὡς μηδαμοῦς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς, [2] ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκῆους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. [3] ἀνὴρ ὢν Ἀλικαρνησεύς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα, διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσος ἐκ καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησόν. Τούτοισι μὲν νῦν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίαν ἐπέθηκαν.

<sup>82</sup> The goddess is also mentioned on the island as *Daidoukhos* (*IG XII 1*, 141, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) and *Phosphoros Enodia* (*IG XII 1*, 914, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC); this epigraph refers to a dedication on a throne of Hecate found on the island (Hiller von Gaertringen 1895: 4).

<sup>83</sup> *Tit. Cam.* 119, unknown chronology.

<sup>84</sup> *Tit. Cam.* 116, c. 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Morelli 1959: 128).

<sup>85</sup> A herm of Hermes comes from the 'sacred square' of the acropolis of Camiros (Maiuri 1932: 437ff.).

<sup>86</sup> See above.

<sup>87</sup> *Paus.* 1, 22, 8. Carboni 2015 (with previous bibliography); Torelli 2010: 90ff.

<sup>88</sup> Paoletti 2004: 33; Zografou 2004: 230; Zografou 2005: 196–197. Recently, Carboni 2016; Carboni 2017.

<sup>89</sup> Rhodes, Museum no. 5289. Ridgway 2002: 145–146, tav. 53 a–c; Sarian 1992: 998 no. 116; Werth 2006: 301, no. 20 (with previous bibliography). Zografou (2010: 240–241) hypothesises that the sculpture was used as a support for a tripod. According to L. Laurenzi, it was three *korai* inspired by the type of sacred girls at Athena (Laurenzi 1965: 754–755).

<sup>90</sup> Maiuri 1932: 13. For other *hekataia* in Rhodes see Werth 2006: 335–336, no. 88; 367, no. 163; 373–374, no. 182.

<sup>91</sup> *IG XII 1*, 141 (early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC): [γ]ράμματ' ἐδίδαξεν ἔταε πεν[τήκονθ' ὄδε] | δύο τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εὐσεβῶν [χ]ῶρος [σφ'



Figure 5. Rhodes. Hekataion (after Maiuri 1932: 15, figs. 3–5).



Figure 6. Ialysus.  
Hekataion (after Jacopi  
1931: 81, fig. 53).

Athena.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, a *hekataion* from the acropolis of Ialysus features the three typical figures arranged around a central pillar and wearing a *chiton*, a *himation*, and a single *polos*, from which two braids fall over the shoulders (Figure 6).<sup>93</sup> The sculpture is a small specimen (h. 40 cm) probably belonging to the group of *Hekataia Prothyraia* which, according

ἔχει]. | Πλούτων γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Κόρη κα[τ]ώικισ[αν], | Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ δαιδούχος Ἑκάτη προσφ[ιλῆ] | [ἄ]πασιν εἶναι μουσικῶν τε [ἐ] πιστά[την] | ἔταξαν αὐτὸν πίστεως πά[σ]ης χά[ρι]ν]. | vacat | αὐτὸς ἐσελθὼν ξεῖνε σαφῶς μάθε [πόσσα μαθητῶν] | [π]λήθη τοὺς πολιοῦς στέψαν ἐμοῦ[ς] κ[ροτάφους].

<sup>92</sup> Suppl. Epigr. rodio XII: ἔτυχα παρὰ | τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ | καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης | καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς | τὰ αὐτοὶ ἠθέλησαν.

<sup>93</sup> Rhodes, Museum 13651. Chronology: 2nd century BC. Jacopi 1931: 81–82, fig. 53; Kraus 1960: 180, A 50; Sarian 1992: 998, no. 117; Werth 2006: 312, no. 42.

to Aristophanes,<sup>94</sup> all Athenians kept outside the doors of their homes.

An example of Artemis *Soteira* depicted as Hecate, and placed to protect the entrance of a stonemason's *atelier* at Lindos, also belongs to the private sphere.<sup>95</sup> The inscription comes from a cave between the *latomie*, at the entrance to which, on the right, Hecate is represented holding two torches as a dog looks at her.

### Concluding remarks

With regard to the cults analysed above, the aspects examined show a cultural matrix that seems closely connected to a general micro-Asian sphere. However, some elements clearly refer to a *koinè* that can generally be defined as coming from Caria, but which clearly shows some archaic elements connected with another geographical area, i.e. around the island of Crete. It seems evident, in the light of these considerations, that the cults of Hecate and the Great Gods of Samothrace, the latter in their syncretic relationship with the Cabiri, the Telchines, and the Curetes/Korybantēs, show characteristics linked to the local substrate, combined with elements of the Archaic period. The aspects connected with Zeus from Mt Ida (Crete), and the myth of his birth, play a central role in these cult processes. The figures of Hecate and the armed dancers, the protagonists of the mythical episode which is also represented on reliefs, seem to be the *trait d'union* that, through a process of slow crystallisation and reinterpretation of myths and cults, connects the Dodecanese area and the opposite micro-Asian coast to the island of Crete, where these cultural phenomena probably originated.

R.C.

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<sup>94</sup> Ar. V. 802–804: κἀν τοῖς προθύροις ἐνοικοδομήσοι πᾶς ἀνὴρ / αὐτῶ δικαστηρίδιον μικρὸν πάνυ, / ὥσπερ Ἑκάταιον, πανταχοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

<sup>95</sup> IG XII 1, 915: Ἀρτέμιδι / Σωτείραι. On this topic, see the description on the epigraphic document.

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