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## Hekate with Apollo and Artemis on a Gem from the Southern Black Sea Region

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## Hekate with Apollo and Artemis on a Gem from the Southern Black Sea Region

*Keywords:* Hekate, Gems, Iconography, Black Sea, Asia Minor

*Schlüsselwörter:* Hekate, Gemmen, Ikonographie, Schwarzes Meer, Kleinasien

*Anahar sözcükler:* Hekate, Gemler, İkonografi, Karadeniz, Anadolu

### INTRODUCTION: THE ORDU GEM AND ITS DECORATION (FIG. 1)

During the 1940s the collector Sir Denis Arthur Hepworth Wright acquired several intaglios and other seals in Asia Minor. Many of them are perfectly preserved and decorated mainly with iconographic motifs well known from other works of art. Of special interest, however, is a gem decorated with a scene that is rather unusual for the ancient iconography and could admit different interpretations.

The gem in question was acquired by Sir Denis Wright in 1943 in Ordu, which is the site of the ancient city of Cotyora<sup>1</sup>, a colony of Sinope<sup>2</sup>. Its dimensions are 16 × 12.5 × 3.5 mm. S. E. Hoey

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*Sources of illustrations:* fig. 1 = Middleton 2001, 20. – fig. 2 = Middleton 2001, 23.

Abbreviations:

- |                  |                                                                                                                        |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Balestrazzi 1984 | LIMC II 1 (1984) 327–332 s. v. Apollo Agyieus (E. di Filippo Balestrazzi)                                              |
| Farnell 1896     | L. R. Farnell, <i>The Cults of the Greek States II</i> (Oxford 1896)                                                   |
| Farnell 1907     | L. R. Farnell, <i>The Cults of the Greek States IV</i> (Oxford 1907)                                                   |
| Fontenrose 1988  | J. Fontenrose, <i>Didyma. Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions</i> (Berkeley – Los Angeles 1988)                       |
| Furtwängler 1896 | A. Furtwängler, <i>Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium</i> (Berlin 1896) |
| Gocheva 1992     | LIMC VI 1 (1992) 1018–1019 s. v. Hekate in Thracia (Z. Gocheva)                                                        |
| Kraus 1960       | T. Kraus, <i>Hekate</i> (Heidelberg 1960)                                                                              |
| Middleton 2001   | S. E. H. Middleton, <i>Classical Engraved Gems from Turkey and Elsewhere</i> (Oxford 2001)                             |
| Mitropoulou 1978 | E. Mitropoulou, <i>Triple Hekate Mainly on Votive Reliefs, Coins, Gems and Amulets</i> (Athens 1978)                   |
| Nilsson 1906     | M. P. Nilsson, <i>Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung</i> (Leipzig 1906)                                        |
| Nilsson 1940     | M. P. Nilsson, <i>Greek Folk Religion</i> (New York 1940)                                                              |
| Sarian 1992      | LIMC VI 1 (1992) 985–1018 s. v. Hekate (H. Sarian)                                                                     |
| Simon 1980       | E. Simon, <i>Die Götter der Griechen</i> <sup>2</sup> (Munich 1980)                                                    |
| Werth 2006       | N. Werth, <i>Hekate. Untersuchungen zur dreigestaltigen Göttin</i> (Hamburg 2006)                                      |

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. A. Avram – J. Hind – G. Tsetskhladze, *The Black Sea Area*, in: M. H. Hansen – T. H. Nielsen (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004) 959.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. an. 5, 5, 3–10.



Fig. 1 The impression of the Ordu intaglio



Fig. 2 The impression of the Berlin intaglio

Middleton, who was the first to publish and describe the gem, dated it to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., after a convincing comparison to other similar works dated to this century<sup>3</sup>. Due to the very good condition of the gem, the subject of the decoration is perfectly clear.

The scene depicts three figures standing erect between two columns, treading on a ground line (the description is based on the impression of the intaglio). The female figure on the left (from the viewer's perspective) is facing forward, her head turned in profile to the right. She wears a short tunic and boots. Her hair is swept up and tied on the top of her head. In her right hand she holds a long flaming torch and in her left a patera. Her left leg is straight, the right relaxed. Beside her, in the centre of the scene and in a very similar pose, stands a nude male figure, with his hair in a roll around his head and locks falling on his shoulders. A cloak is draped over his right arm, with which he »possibly holds a bow«<sup>4</sup>; in his left hand he holds a patera. Approaching these two figures from the right, there is a female figure that seems, judging from the swinging drapery of her long chiton (with overfold) and the mantle billowing out behind her, to be almost running. Her hair is in a roll round the head and locks fall on her shoulders. In each hand she holds a short flaming torch. The two columns framing the figures rest on bases and display relief decoration.

Middleton, the only scholar who has studied the gem to date, is confident in her identification of the central figure as Apollo and the figure on the left as Artemis. She thinks that all the figures imitate statue types and bases her identification on comparisons of the figures with representations of the two gods in other works of art<sup>5</sup>. Albeit with some initial hesitation, she seems to conclude that the two columns are symbolic representations of Apollo Agyieus<sup>6</sup>. Apollo Agyieus was the guardian of roads and houses (cf. Suda s. v. ἀγυιαί = streets). He was revered both publicly and privately, and columns symbolising him were placed in the street in front of houses as his

<sup>3</sup> Middleton 2001, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Middleton 2001, 20, with a more detailed description of the gem.

<sup>5</sup> Middleton 2001, 20–22.

<sup>6</sup> Middleton 2001, 22–23.

aniconic figures<sup>7</sup>. The only figure for which Middleton proposes four possible identifications is the one on the right, which in her view could equally well represent Artemis/Diana, Demeter/Ceres, Kore/Persephone/Proserpina, or Hekate; and at the end she remains undecided. She does, however, tend slightly towards the possibility that it represents either another manifestation of Artemis or else Demeter: in the first case, she thinks that, just as Apollo is depicted twice (as Apollo and as Apollo Agyieus), Artemis could also be depicted twice, and cites portraits on coins in support of this view; in support of the second case, she invokes the capacities of Apollo, Artemis and Demeter as gods of fertility and vegetation<sup>8</sup>.

In examining the scene on the gem, Middleton compares it with the decoration on a Roman intaglio in the Antikensammlung Berlin<sup>9</sup>, which has three figures fairly closely resembling ours<sup>10</sup> (fig. 2). There, the figure with the two torches has been variously identified as Demeter<sup>11</sup> and as Hekate<sup>12</sup>. The scene on that gem, however, does not have the two columns of Apollo Agyieus.

In this paper we will argue in favour of the view that the figure with the two torches heading towards Apollo and Artemis on the Ordu gem is Hekate.

Let us begin, however, with the other figures. The central one must, indeed, be Apollo. His stance, his nudity, and the objects he is holding strongly support this identification, and Middleton's explanations are wholly convincing. The same is true for the identification of the figure on the left as Artemis, especially following the identification of the first figure. The brother and sister stand side by side, as they so often do in ancient Greek art, and indeed in exactly the same attitude, as they watch the figure with the two torches approaching them from the right.

In regard to the two columns framing the scene, the view that they are symbols of Apollo Agyieus is indeed the most, if not the only, persuasive interpretation. These columns resemble neither architectural features nor the columns depicted on gems with scenes of a cultic character<sup>13</sup>. On the contrary, their square base and clearly distinguishable decoration in horizontal bands are the two principal characteristics of the columns that symbolise Apollo Agyieus<sup>14</sup>. The fact that their tops are not pointed<sup>15</sup> does not preclude this identification, since there are other similar instances of such columns<sup>16</sup>. We thus have here the figure of Apollo plus two

<sup>7</sup> Harpokr. 8, 9; Zon. 20, 18; Phot. 279, 7; Suda 383, 9. Cf. Farnell 1907, 308, with an erroneous reference to J. Six, *Der Agyieus des Mys*, AM 19, 1894, 340–345, instead of AM 24, 1899; Nilsson 1940, 80. 82; F. Graf, *Apollo* (Oxon 2009) 76; J. D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion* <sup>2</sup>(Chichester 2010) 48. 206.

<sup>8</sup> Middleton 2001, 20–21.

<sup>9</sup> Furtwängler 1896, no. 2582; Middleton 2001, 23–24. For this intaglio and the interpretations of its decoration see below.

<sup>10</sup> Furtwängler 1896, no. 2582; Middleton 2001, 23–24.

<sup>11</sup> J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie II* (Leipzig 1873–1878) 507 Gemmentafel IV no. 9; P. Fossing, *The Thorvaldsen Museum. Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos* (Copenhagen 1929) 232 no. 1717. The former gives a curious and not particularly convincing justification of his identification, citing the link between the three gods (Apollo, Artemis, Demeter) as gods of purification (*Lustrationsgötter*) or gods associated with vegetation (as, as we have seen, does Middleton 2001, 20), while the latter bases his interpretation solely on the fact that the figure is holding two torches.

<sup>12</sup> By Furtwängler and Müller, according to Middleton 2001, 24, but I could not find the citations she gives.

<sup>13</sup> e. g. S. H. Middleton, *Engraved Gems from Dalmatia* (Oxford 1991) 105 no. 180.

<sup>14</sup> Balestrazzi 1984, 328–332.

<sup>15</sup> As is usual. Cf. e. g. Sch. Eur. Phoen. 631; Harpokr. 7, 11; Suda 383, 5.

<sup>16</sup> e. g. C. Rhoimios, *Les premières fouilles de Corfou*, BCH 49, 1925, 211–218 and fig. 5, who explains why the column of Apollo Agyieus does not always have to be pointed (see also Balestrazzi 1984, 328 no. 8). Another example in

aniconic figures of the same god at the two edges of the scene, declaring his identity as the guardian of the streets<sup>17</sup>.

#### THE FIGURE WITH THE TWO TORCHES

But who is the figure approaching the Delian twins? A female figure with two torches could indeed be any of the four mentioned by Middleton. Torches are the most usual attribute of Hekate, both in her triple and in her single form<sup>18</sup>, but in the iconography they are also held by Artemis, Demeter and Kore<sup>19</sup>.

#### *Artemis, Demeter and Kore*

The reasons why Artemis might hold a torch are not clear. Among the explanations that have been given<sup>20</sup>, we might cite the one that identifies her as a bringer of light, like her brother Apollo<sup>21</sup>, and the one that explains the existence of the torches by equating her with Hekate<sup>22</sup>. We note here that, as the goddess of the hunt, where torches are required both for light and to scare prey<sup>23</sup>, Artemis belongs to the ›outside world‹, as does Hekate as a divinity of streets and crossroads (e. g. Soph. fr. 535). And in most of the sources linking the two goddesses it is this characteristic that supplies the connection<sup>24</sup>. It must, however, be noted that Artemis/Diana is very rarely depicted carrying a torch, and when she is, she is generally alone<sup>25</sup>. Here, however, the goddess is already present, and there is nothing in literary or iconographic tradition to explain a scene in which Artemis is heading towards herself in another form in these specific circumstances.

The other three goddesses (Demeter, Kore and Hekate) are plainly more closely linked with the motif of a female figure holding torches. Demeter holds a torch when she is searching for her daughter (HH 2, 47–48), evidently to light her way, which is not the situation here<sup>26</sup>. Persephone holds a torch or torches as the wife of Hades and sovereign of the Underworld, in the darkness of which she spends one third of her life (HH 2, 398–403. 446). And in conventional imagery we find her with torches chiefly in scenes from the Underworld<sup>27</sup> or in the mission of Tripto-

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Balestrazzi 1984, 330 no. 27 (with an image in vol. II), this one with relief decoration in horizontal bands. Cf. also Farnell 1907, 307.

<sup>17</sup> Relevant ancient sources in Balestrazzi 1984, 327.

<sup>18</sup> ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1909 s. v. Hekate (W. Roscher); Mitropoulou 1978, 25; Werth 2006, 153–165, with numerical data.

<sup>19</sup> See LIMC VIII 1 (1997) s. v. Persephone (G. Güntner), for the distinction between the two Eleusinian deities.

<sup>20</sup> Which are mentioned in Werth 2006, 158 and n. 539.

<sup>21</sup> K. Hoenn, *Artemis. Gestaltwandel einer Göttin* (Zurich 1946) 97–98.

<sup>22</sup> Simon 1980, 153. Cf. LIMC II 1 (1984) 686–687 and 687–89 (for Artemis Enodia) s. v. Artemis (L. Kahil).

<sup>23</sup> Most depictions of the goddess as a torch-bearer seem to be associated with these particular contexts. See LIMC II 1 (1984) no. 454. 510 s. v. Artemis (L. Kahil).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Werth 2006, 158, with sources in n. 543. The link would appear to be through their capacity as lighters of the streets, and for Hekate especially her association with the moon. Cf. Suda 364, 1; Farnell 1896, 509–512.

<sup>25</sup> See the examples cited by Middleton 2001, 21.

<sup>26</sup> See e. g. LIMC IV 1 (1988) 844–892 s. v. Demeter (L. Beschi). Cf. also Werth 2006, 157.

<sup>27</sup> See e. g. LIMC VIII 1 (1997) 966–967 s. v. Persephone (G. Güntner).

lemus<sup>28</sup>. Both these cases, however, are quite different from our scene, in which the central figure is Apollo, who has no connection whatsoever with darkness and the Underworld.

Furthermore, as is apparent from the examples Middleton herself gives<sup>29</sup>, when Demeter and Kore are holding two torches they are usually depicted seated or standing, and often it is not clear which of the two is represented. By contrast, the motif of a female figure running while holding two torches, with her long robe billowing out behind her, has often, and reliably, been associated with Hekate<sup>30</sup>.

Hekate has the edge on the Eleusinian deities not only on the level of iconography but also on that of her relation with Apollo and Artemis in cultic tradition, since in the literary sources she is far more closely associated with them than are Demeter and Kore. Demeter and Kore are not, of course, totally unconnected with Apollo and Artemis, and are depicted with them in art; but this is very rare, and when it does occur it is in connection with the Eleusinian cycle and in the presence of other gods as well<sup>31</sup>, or in scenes with no specific or known context<sup>32</sup>, that is situations in which there is no particular relation between the two Eleusinian deities (especially as torch-bearers) and the Delian twins. Hekate, on the other hand, is directly associated with Apollo and even more so with Artemis, both on the religious level and on that of imagery.

#### *Hekate and her Relation with Apollo and Artemis*

The first extensive reference to Hekate and her qualities occurs in Hesiod (Hes. Th. 411–452)<sup>33</sup>. The origin of Hekate is one of the questions relating to the religion of the ancient Greeks that has never been finally resolved. One body of opinion holds that she came from Caria<sup>34</sup>. An important role in the dissemination of her cult in Greece is thought to have been played by Thessaly, where, according to Kraus, the local goddess Enodia was associated with Hekate<sup>35</sup>, an identification that was complete by the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C., as we know from Sophocles (Soph. fr. 492) and Euripides (Eur. Hel. 569).

Hekate was associated particularly with the protection and purification of houses and roads, especially junctions where three roads meet. In popular belief, evil spirits appeared and were active at crossroads, and particularly triple ones, which is why Hekate was venerated at such

<sup>28</sup> e. g. LIMC VIII 1 (1997) 961–962 s. v. Persephone (G. Güntner).

<sup>29</sup> Middleton 2001, 22.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Farnell 1896, 516, with bibliography; E. Simon, Hekate in Athen, AM 100, 1985, 282–284 (and fig. 1), with bibliography.

<sup>31</sup> Specifically, Artemis appears chiefly in the abduction of Persephone, usually without Apollo. See e. g. LIMC II 1 (1984) no. 1186–1187. 1286–1290 s. v. Artemis (L. Kahil); LIMC VIII 1 (1997) 966–967 s. v. Persephone (G. Güntner). Apollo appears very rarely with Demeter and Kore, almost solely in the mission of Triptolemus, with other gods, and sometimes without Artemis. See e. g. LIMC II 1 (1984) no. 296. 933–934 s. v. Apollon (O. Palagia); LIMC IV 1 (1988) no. 334. 371 s. v. Demeter (L. Beschi). Apollo and Artemis are also very rarely depicted with other gods at the abduction of Persephone. See e. g. LIMC IV 1 (1988) no. 317 s. v. Demeter (L. Beschi).

<sup>32</sup> See e. g. LIMC IV 1 (1988) no. 442. 443. 461 s. v. Demeter (L. Beschi); LIMC VIII 1 (1997) no. 331 s. v. Persephone (G. Güntner).

<sup>33</sup> The other sources in Sarian 1992, 985–988.

<sup>34</sup> Nilsson 1940, 90; Kraus 1960, 24–56; Werth 2006, 24, who is not convinced by the opinion of W. Berg, Hecate: Greek or Anatolian?, Numen 21, 1974, 128–140, that Hekate comes from Mycenaean Greece, according to a Linear B inscription. For other views relating to the origin of the goddess see Farnell 1896, 501–519; Werth 2006, 33.

<sup>35</sup> Kraus 1960, 82–83; Werth 2006, 25–26. According to Farnell 1896, 475. 504–505, the identification of Artemis with Bendis-Hekate took place in Thessaly.



places. The fact that these beliefs can be traced back to very early periods has led to the view that Hekate was initially a goddess of the roads, who acquired other qualities over time<sup>36</sup>. In relation to crossroads, she was represented as triple Hekate<sup>37</sup>, and the statues of her that were erected at crossroads portrayed her as such. The fields of vision of her three bodies covered a full circle, the so-called »sacred circle« (Hom. Il. 18, 504)<sup>38</sup>. In central Greece this circle was associated with Artemis Eukleia (e. g. Soph. OT 161), who is associated with Hekate.

Let us, then, take a closer look at the relation between Hekate and the children of Leto.

### Hekate and Artemis

In literature, inscriptions and iconography alike, Artemis is closely connected with Hekate and often identified with her<sup>39</sup>. The association is well-established by the time of Hesiod, who gives each the attributes of the other (Hekate kourotrophos: Hes. theog. 411–452, esp. 450; Artemis enodia: Hes. fr. 23a. 26). In the Boeotian poet's account of the family relationships of the gods, Hekate is Leto's niece and Artemis' cousin (Hes. theog. 404–411). Pausanias (Paus. 1, 43, 1), citing the »Catalogue of Women« that is attributed to Hesiod, says that according to the poet Iphigenia became Hekate at the will of Artemis<sup>40</sup>.

Again, according to Farnell<sup>41</sup>, Artemis is also identified with Hekate in the world of the mysteries, and it is in this form that she is mentioned in the Orphic Hymn to Artemis 13–14 (cf. Orph. Arg. 1900). Scanning oriental influences on the cult of Artemis reveals her identification with Bendis, the Thracian goddess of the hunt, who is closely associated or identified with Hekate (Hesych. s. v. Ἀδμήτου κόρη. Cf. also Strab. 10, 3, 10–20)<sup>42</sup>.

By the classical period the traditional association of Artemis with Hekate was very widespread. We find it in Aeschylus (Aischyl. Suppl. 676), in Euripides (Eur. Phoen. 109–110), who has Antigone call upon »potnia« Hekate, daughter of Leto, and in inscriptions, such as one from Thasos (IG XII 8, 359) of c. 450 B. C. which cites the name »Artemis Epaulie Hekate«<sup>43</sup>. There is also, we may point out, a 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. inscription from Lagina in Caria<sup>44</sup>, apparently the original homeland of the cult of Hekate<sup>45</sup>, which mentions a single priestess of Artemis and Hekate.

We must also look at the association of Hekate with Enodia, which is a very ancient tradition (cf. Orph. h. 1, 1; Soph. fr. 492; Eur. Hel. 569; IG XII 1, 914; IG XII 3, 1328), and the reference to Artemis Enodia in inscriptions from Thessaly (SEG 48, 658)<sup>46</sup>, Euboea (IG XII 9, 1193),

<sup>36</sup> RE VII 2 (1912) 2775 s. v. Hekate (J. Heckenbach), who lists the related epithets of Hekate (Enodia, Triodites, Tetraodites, Trivia, Quadrivia) and the Greek and Latin sources where they are found. See also ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1890–1891 s. v. Hekate (H. Steuding).

<sup>37</sup> Farnell 1896, 515; Werth 2006, 132, with bibliography.

<sup>38</sup> Werth 2006, 133–134, with bibliography.

<sup>39</sup> Generally see Mitropoulou 1978, 21 and Sarian 1992, 985–987. Some inscriptions in CIA 1, 208. 2, 208; IG IV<sup>2</sup> 499.

<sup>40</sup> Farnell 1896, 503 sees in this association with Artemis and Iphigenia a possible tradition giving Hekate a link with the northern Black Sea region (Tauris).

<sup>41</sup> Farnell 1896, 472–473 n. b.

<sup>42</sup> Farnell 1896, 473–476. 507; cf. Kraus 1960, 74–75; Werth 2006, 20–21, with ancient sources.

<sup>43</sup> Other sources in RE VII 2 (1912) 2770 s. v. Hekate (J. Heckenbach).

<sup>44</sup> D. McCabe, Lagina Inscriptions. Texts and List, The Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton 1991) no. 176.

<sup>45</sup> As already mentioned.

<sup>46</sup> For the goddess Enodia in Thessaly and her connection with Hekate see Kraus 1960, 77–83.

Epidaurus (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 273. 274. 500), and even Egypt (Portes du désert 47; OGIS 53)<sup>47</sup>. Similar qualities were attributed to Artemis Prothyraia (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 276; IvP III 161A; IvP III 161B/150), while in the ›suppers of Hekate‹ offerings of food were placed at crossroads and were sacred to both Hekate and Artemis<sup>48</sup>. It is, finally, worth noting that during the imperial period the cult of Hekate became very popular on the west side of the Black Sea as well, in Thrace, where the iconographic monuments reveal a close connection with Artemis<sup>49</sup>.

Also in iconography, Hekate is often portrayed together with Artemis<sup>50</sup>. Indeed, by the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. they were so often depicted together and in the same way that there are times when, if there is no inscription and no indication in the context, it is impossible to determine whether the figure of a goddess with torches is Artemis or Hekate<sup>51</sup>.

The identification of Hekate with Artemis had acquired such dimensions in antiquity that, as Farnell says, ›any centre of the cult of Artemis was likely to attract the worship of the kindred goddess‹, as is the case for example at the famous sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus<sup>52</sup>. The examination of the reasons and processes that led to what for the contemporary scholar is the clear identification of Hekate with Artemis is a chapter that does not belong here, and which has moreover been the object of study for more than a century<sup>53</sup>. What is certain is that Hekate was identified with Artemis more than with any other goddess and that through this identification each goddess assumed attributes of the other, one characteristic example being the torch that Artemis sometimes holds, as on our gem, which is thought to be a borrowing from Hekate<sup>54</sup>.

#### Hekate and Apollo and Especially Apollo Agyieus

Hekate's kinship with Apollo can be traced, it is held, as far back as Homer, where Apollo bears the epithet ›Hecatos‹ (Hom. Il. 1, 385; 7, 83; 20, 71; 20, 295)<sup>55</sup>, and in any case is patent from the archaic period on. T. Kraus began his fundamental monograph on Hekate by citing the then oldest known documentary evidence of the cult of Hekate, a votive inscription of 500–494 B. C. on the archaic altar from the temple of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus<sup>56</sup>. Even older, however (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B. C.) is another votive inscription to Hekate<sup>57</sup>, which was found near Didyma and mentions the temple of Apollo, presumably the famous sanctuary there. These inscriptions

<sup>47</sup> For Hekate Enodia and Artemis Enodia see also Armenides fr. 7, 1; Steph. Byz. 636, 7–8; Hesych. 3231, 1 s. v. Ἐνοδία; Etym. m. 344, 43. Cf. Simon 1980, 155.

<sup>48</sup> See also Farnell 1896, 509–511, with the relevant sources on p. 598 n. 13b. Also, the fact that the ›Hecateion‹ placed before the doorway of a house was sometimes called ›Artemision‹ (e. g. ID 1417 col. 2, 47–48), although according to Farnell 1896, 517 this is the result of a confusion, may not be without significance.

<sup>49</sup> Goceva 1992, 1018–1019.

<sup>50</sup> Sarian 1992, 993–998.

<sup>51</sup> Sarian 1992, e. g. 995 no. 66. 69. 73. 1016–1017. Cf. also Kraus 1960, 41; Werth 2006, 422 no. 288; 443 no. 340; 444 no. 343; 450 no. 358; 459 no. 382; 463 no. 395. Also, for the imagery of Artemis-Hekate in Hellenistic sculpture see G. Gualandi, Artemis-Hekate. Un problema di tipologia nella scultura ellenistica, RA 1969, 233–272.

<sup>52</sup> Farnell 1896, 506. Cf. Plin. nat. 36, 32.

<sup>53</sup> See primarily Farnell 1896, 509–510.

<sup>54</sup> E. Petersen, Die dreigestaltige Hekate, AEM 4, 1880, 142. Cf. Simon 1980, 153. 156; Farnell 1896, 516.

<sup>55</sup> H. Usener, Götternamen (Frankfurt am Main 1948) 37–38, thinks that the word ἐκάτοιο, applied to Apollo in the Iliad, designates Apollo Hecatos, who borrowed this epithet from the goddess Hekate. Cf. Kraus 1960, 13; RE VII 2 (1912) 2769 s. v. Hekate (J. Heckenbach).

<sup>56</sup> Kraus 1960, 11. Cf. also Nilsson 1906, 398.

<sup>57</sup> A. Rehm, Didyma II. Die Inschriften (Berlin 1958) 16.

are particularly significant, for they establish a very ancient traditional link between Apollo and Hekate in a locality directly associated with our gem, as we shall see: moreover, a tradition that, as is apparent in a considerable number of other inscriptions from Asia Minor that mention Apollo and Hekate venerated in the same temple<sup>58</sup>, persisted into the Roman period<sup>59</sup>.

There can be no doubt that the direct link between Apollo and Hekate is his function as Agyieus, guardian of roads and houses (see above), the capacity illustrated on our gem. The columns symbolising Agyieus were placed in the street in front of houses, just as were images of Hekate. One particularly important inscription, to Apollo Apotropaios and Hekate Propylaia (Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀποτροπαίου Ἐκάτας Προπυλαίας), occurs on an altar at Camirus (Tit. Cam. 119): here we have not only a joint invocation of Apollo and Hekate, but the latter bears an epithet (cf. also Hesych. *s. v.* Προπυλαία) that is very frequently attached to Apollo, especially in Phrygia<sup>60</sup>. We can, therefore, plainly discern a characteristic shared by the two gods, which is summarised in these two epithets: they both protect entrances and doorways. Let us not forget Hekate's character as a protector who stood before the entrance of a house (ὑπροπυλαίος) to ward off evil (ὑαποτροπαίος). Apollo has this same character, as is declared particularly in his epithet of Agyieus; and the best evidence to this is found in the inscription from the Athens Acropolis naming Apollo as Ὑπροστατήριος Ἀποτροπαίος Αἰγυῖος (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4852; CIG 464)<sup>61</sup>, in Aristophanes' invocation of Apollo Agyieus Propylaios (Aristoph. Vesp. 875<sup>62</sup>), and in Aelius Aristides's reference to Apollo as Agyieus Propylaios (Aristeid. Smyrn. Pol. 233, 2).

In the kinship between Hekate and Apollo the important aspect on her side is her capacity as protector of gates and doors. The religious law of the Molpoi (Milet 1, 3 no. 133), which is an inscription dated to c. 100 B.C. but is thought to refer to an ordinance of the 5<sup>th</sup> century with archaic roots<sup>63</sup>, mentions two ὑλλοί that were carried in procession from Miletus to Didyma, one of which was laid »παρ' Ἐκάτην, τὴν πρόσθεν πυλέων« (»at Hekate who is in front of the gates«), that is, the Hekate Propylaia that we met above, who evidently had an altar, shrine or image there (»before the city gates?«)<sup>64</sup>, and the other »ἐπὶ θύρας« (»at the gates«), probably of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma. Although there is no consensus as to what precisely these ὑλλοί were<sup>65</sup>, Nilsson's view, following the definition of Hesychius<sup>66</sup> and Wilamowitz, that these stones

<sup>58</sup> See some of these inscriptions in Kraus 1960, 11. 166 no. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. also the inscription from Delphi: μέγας Πύθιος Ἀπόλλων, μεγάλη Εἰνοδία Ἐκάτη (FD III 1, 469). Citing this connection between Apollo and Hekate, M. Karamesini-Oikonomidou, *Ανέκδοτο αργυρό τετράδραχμο Μιθριδάτου Ε' Ευεργέτου*, in: Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Ν. Κοντολέοντος (Athens 1980) 149–153 (Cf. LIMC II 1 [1984] 235–236 no. 392 *s. v.* Apollon [W. Lambrinudakis] interprets the image on the silver tetradrachm of Mithradates V Euergetes of Pontus (2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.) as Apollo, or a local god akin to Apollo or Mithradates himself deified as Apollo, holding a statuette of the triple Hekate. For other scenes with Apollo and Hekate see e. g. Werth 2006, 484 no. 444.

<sup>60</sup> e. g. SEG 28, 1121; W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1895) 195–196 and especially 374; M. N. Tod, *Inscriptions from Eumeneia*, BSA 11, 1904/5, 28 Nr. 1; REG 1953, 129; REG 1964, 277. Cf. also Aristeid. Ath. 16, 1–2.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. also CIG 465. The link between Apollo Propylaios and Apollo Agyieus was made by Kraus 1960, 13. 107, who, however, does not mention this inscription. Cf. also Sarian 1992, 987.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. also Aristoph. Vesp. 161. 804.

<sup>63</sup> Kraus 1960, 12, with bibliography. Fontenrose 1988, 14.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. also Fontenrose 1988, 133.

<sup>65</sup> See e. g. in Kraus 1960, 12–13.

<sup>66</sup> Hesych. L992, 1 *s. v.* ὑλλός: stone block or square stone.

refer to Apollo Agyieus and his columns<sup>67</sup> is certainly attractive. It would appear that here again we have an association of Apollo with Hekate through their capacities as protectors of the roads and gates. Moreover, the inscription implies that these ὄγυλλοί, which were laid before the gates, were apotropaic in character.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE FIGURE WITH THE TWO TORCHES  
AND A POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCENE

It seems to me that we have by now mustered enough evidence to support our identification of the figure with the two torches in this specific scene as Hekate. If our gem had three goddesses with torches, then they could well represent Demeter, Kore and Hekate, with the last as an Underworld goddess and in that guise associated with the other two<sup>68</sup>. But since we unquestionably have Apollo and Artemis (the goddess with a torch represented next to Apollo cannot here be Demeter or Kore, but must be his sister), then the most probable candidate for the figure with the torches who is approaching them is Hekate. She is closely connected with both of them: with Artemis, with whom she is identified, particularly with the qualities we have noted, and with Artemis's brother Apollo, and particularly with Apollo Agyieus, who appears on our gem, and with Apollo as the god of light in her character as one who lights the roads and helps mortals find their way<sup>69</sup>. Neither Demeter nor Kore would here have as close a connection with Artemis and Apollo as Hekate does.

We have, thus, three figures, directly connected and linked by some common qualities, which is particularly logical for the unity of the subject matter one would assume to be essential for such a small scene. These qualities have to do with the lighting and protection of streets, gates and houses, that is, with urban environment generally.

The relation of these three gods with light and the illumination and protection of cities and streets is unchallenged, and the best and fullest confirmation of it is furnished by L. Annaeus Cornutus (1<sup>st</sup> c. A. D.), *De natura deorum* 32, 34:

<sup>67</sup> Nilsson 1906, 168–169.

<sup>68</sup> Hekate is associated with Demeter and Persephone through her character as a goddess of the earth and of the Underworld (Farnell 1896, 502, 512; Mitropoulou 1978, 18. Cf. Sarian 1992, 986). According to one tradition, Hekate was the daughter of Zeus and Demeter (Sch. Theokr. 2, 12; Aischyl. Suppl. 676; Eur. Ion 1048). The most important source for the relation between the three goddesses is of course the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Hom. h. 2, 24–25, 51–58, 438–440), which stresses the support and assistance Hekate gave Demeter when her daughter was abducted and her fondness for Persephone. Hekate appears in a similar context in art, in scenes with Persephone in the Underworld or with Triptolemus, particularly often on vases from Lower Italy. See LIMC VIII 1 (1997) no. 104, 111, 122, 191–193, 196, 200, 202–203, 212, 214, 250 *s. v.* Persephone (G. Güntner); LIMC IV 1 (1988) no. 311–316, 318, 323, 325, 458 *s. v.* Demeter (L. Beschi) with a sorrowing Demeter. Cf. also Werth 2006, 290 with examples in the catalogue, e. g. 443 no. 338, 339; Sarian 1992, 990–993, 1013; ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1900–1902 *s. v.* Hekate (W. Roscher); LIMC IV 1 (1988) no. 368–369 *s. v.* Demeter (L. Beschi). Demeter and Hekate have been recognised, although not always entirely certainly, on other works as well. A votive inscription from Eleusis from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C. is thought to depict Demeter with Hekate (Farnell II, 508; Kraus 1960, 84). For the sources recording Hekate's relation with Persephone see RE VII 2 (1912) 2773 *s. v.* Hekate (J. Heckenbach); ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1898 *s. v.* Hekate (H. Steuding).

<sup>69</sup> Werth 2006, 164. Cf. Hom. h. 2, 52.

»Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἥλιός ἐστιν,  
 Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἡ Σελήνη [ . . . ] καλοῦνται δὲ ὁ μὲν [ἥλιος] ἕκα-  
 τος [διὰ τοῦτο], ἡ δὲ ἑκάτη τῶ ἕκαθεν δεῦρο ἀφιέναι καὶ  
 ἀποστέλλειν τὸ φῶς, ὥστε παρακειμένως καὶ ἑκατηβόλους  
 αὐτοὺς προσηγορεύκασιν. [ . . . ]  
 ἄγυιεύς δ' ἔκλήθη δεόντως ἰδρυθεὶς ἐν ταῖς  
 ἄγυιαῖς καταυγάζει γὰρ ταύτας καὶ πληροῖ φωτὸς  
 ἀνατέλλων, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εἴρηται τὸ [ . . . ]  
 δύσετο τ' ἥλιος σκιάωντό τε πᾶσαι ἄγυιαί» (32).  
 »Ἡ δ' Ἄρτεμις φωσφόρος μὲν ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ  
 καὶ αὐτὴ σέλας βάλλειν καὶ φωτίζειν ποσῶς τὸ περιέ-  
 χον, ὁπότεν μάλιστα πανσέληνος ἦ. [ . . . ] οὐχ ἕτερα δ' οὔσα  
 αὐτῆς ἡ Ἑκάτη τρίμορφος εἰσηκται διὰ τὸ τρία σχή-  
 ματα γενικώτατα ἀποτελεῖν τὴν σελήνην. [ . . . ]  
 τοῦ δ' ἡλίου διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας μόνον φαινομέ-  
 νου, αὐτὴν καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ σκότους ὀρωμένην. [ . . . ]  
 ἐνοδία δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι ἢ διὸ καὶ Ἀπόλ-  
 λων ἄγυιεύς.« (34).

»*Apollo is the sun and Artemis is the moon [ . . . ] and they are called the former [the sun] hecatos [for this reason] and the latter hecate, for she throws the light from afar and sends it far away, and so they are both similarly called far-darting deities. [ . . . ] And he was suitably called agyieus (the street guardian) for he was settled on the streets, because he lightens them and makes them shine when he rises, and that is why in the opposite case it is said that [ . . . ] when the sun sets all the streets are shadowed« (32). »And Artemis was called the torch bearing, because she also throws light and lightens the atmosphere, especially when there is full moon. [ . . . ] And with the same existence Hekate was introduced as triple, because she complements the three shapes of the moon. [ . . . ] And while the sun shines only in the morning, she (Hekate) can be seen also in the night and the dark. [ . . . ] And she is enodia (street guardian) for the same reason as Apollo is agyieus.« (34).*

The three gods light – and in so doing safeguard – the streets and those who travel on them by day and by night. Apollo, and specifically Apollo Agyieus, acts by day and Artemis by night. Hekate for her part is the one who lends the twins their specific qualities, through her identification with them. Thus we have Apollo Hekatos and Artemis Hekate (De nat. deor. 32), Hekate who is no other than Artemis and Hekate Enodia who has the same character as Apollo Agyieus (De nat. deor. 34). This text by Cornutus perfectly explains and interprets the scene on the gem.

Similarly, the scholiast on Plato (Plat. leg. 914 b) tells us that Artemis or Selene as *enodia* lights the roads by night, just as the radiant Apollo Agyieus does by day, making him a guardian of the roads. That other guardian of the roads, Hekate, is associated with light and illumination,

both through her relation with Artemis and Selene<sup>70</sup> and through her relation with Apollo and the sun<sup>71</sup>. Indeed, one interesting interpretation holds that the meaning of the name Hekate<sup>72</sup> and its early association with the god of light, Apollo<sup>73</sup>, may indicate that the name refers to the long-distance effect of light<sup>74</sup>. The three gods are certainly also mentioned together in inscriptions<sup>75</sup>, while according to one tradition they are all children of Leto (Eur. Phoen. 109–110).

What do we have, then, in the scene we are considering? Apollo Hekatos, Apollo Agyieus, Artemis Hekate, Artemis Enodia, Hekate<sup>76</sup>. Interlinked gods with common characteristics strongly associated in literary and iconographic documents. The three figures between the two columns on the gem create a perfect unity. In this context neither Demeter nor Persephone has a place.

It remains now for us to consider the provenance of the gem in question. The fact that it was acquired in Ordu, ancient Cotyora, does not of course necessarily mean that it came from there, but there is some likelihood that it came from somewhere not too far away<sup>77</sup>. This puts us on the south shore of the Black Sea, that is, on the one hand in Asia Minor, which is associated with Hekate, possibly even as her place of origin (see above)<sup>78</sup>, and on the other in a region full of Greek colonies, many of which were founded by Miletus<sup>79</sup> or partly by Miletus or Milesian colonies. Cotyora itself was such a colony<sup>80</sup>. This is not without significance in our case: Miletus was the site of a sanctuary of Apollo Delphinus, god of colonists<sup>81</sup>, and all three of the gods in the scene were venerated there and at Didyma<sup>82</sup>. The fact that especially Hekate is associated with Apollo Agyieus at Miletus, who is directly connected with the colonies on the south coast of the Black Sea and with Cotyora itself, makes the identification of the figure on the right as Hekate even more likely.

<sup>70</sup> Hekate's torches and suppers, among other things, are thought to relate to her affinity with Selene (the Moon) and her phases. Cf. RE VII 2 (1912) 2778 s. v. Hekate (J. Heckenbach); ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1888–1890 s. v. Hekate (H. Steuding). Nilsson, 1906, 395 n. 2, on the other hand, sees no connection between the suppers and the nature of Hekate that links her with Selene.

<sup>71</sup> RE VII 2 (1912) 2778 s. v. Hekate (J. Heckenbach). See also ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1888 s. v. Hekate (H. Steuding), who cites the related epithets of the goddess.

<sup>72</sup> For the etymology of the name see for example Farnell 1896, 501; RE VII 2 (1912) 2769 s. v. Hekate (J. Heckenbach); Kraus 1960, 15.

<sup>73</sup> Since the time of Homer.

<sup>74</sup> ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1899 s. v. Hekate (H. Steuding).

<sup>75</sup> e. g. D. McCabe, *Panamara Inscriptions. Texts and List*, The Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton 1991) 233. Cf. also *Portes du désert* 47 and OGIS 53 cited above.

<sup>76</sup> Consequently, the identification of this figure with Hekate, which is proposed here, does not essentially exclude the proposed interpretation by Middleton 2001, 21, as mentioned in the beginning, that we have here a scene in which Apollo and Artemis appear twice.

<sup>77</sup> As Middleton 2001, 20–21 also appears to think.

<sup>78</sup> For the cult of Hekate in Asia Minor see also RE VII 2 (1912) 2779–2781 s. v. Hekate (J. Heckenbach); ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1885–1886 s. v. Hekate (H. Steuding).

<sup>79</sup> Even if not always certainly in the initial phase of their foundation. See e. g. for the example of Sinope, mother-city of Cotyora, M. Manoledakis, *On the Cults of Sinope and the Founders of the City*, in: E. K. Petropoulos – A. A. Maslennikov (eds), *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea* (Thessaloniki 2010) 563–576.

<sup>80</sup> See Xen. an. 5, 5, 3–10.

<sup>81</sup> Let us also add here that Apollo Agyieus is himself thought to have a connection with colonisation, and his columns may mark stages of a colonial progress, symbolised by the ›Sacred Way‹ that the wandering Apollo followed coming from the north (Farnell 1907, 307–308. Cf. Middleton 2001, 23).

<sup>82</sup> Fontenrose 1988, 133.

A particularly important text in this context is a passage from the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (Apoll. Rhod. 4, 245–252), which tells us that on their way home the Argonauts anchored off the coast of Paphlagonia, near the mouth of the Halys river. There Medea, said variously to be a priestess (Apoll. Rhod. 3, *passim*, e. g. 251–252 and 4, 245–252. Cf. Eur. Med. 395–398) or even a daughter of Hekate (Diod. 4, 45–46; Sch. Apoll. Rhod. 227, 4; Etym. m. 515, 11–13), counselled them to sacrifice to Hekate; and, indeed, the Argonauts erected an altar to that goddess on the shore. This passage very probably attests to a cult of Hekate<sup>83</sup>, at least by the Hellenistic period, in an area not very far from the place where our gem was found, a fact that further strengthens our proposed identification<sup>84</sup>.

At this point it is worth noting that, while Apollo Agyieus is almost always represented by one column<sup>85</sup>, here there are two. It may also be observed that one column appears to be farther forward than the other. The column on the right, on the side from which Hekate is approaching, seems to be farther away than the one on the left. It is of course difficult to speak of a conscious attempt to render depth on such a small surface<sup>86</sup>, but the depiction of two columns instead of one, which moreover further limits the already cramped space, cannot be accidental. It would appear that the creator of the scene was endeavouring, by placing two columns at its edges, to give a sense of distance within the confines of a specific space containing the three gods. Columns often denoted the existence of a building, and in our case these could of course have been sacred buildings. We know, however, that this specific type of column stands for Apollo Agyieus. On the other hand, although the presence of Apollo Agyieus on the gem is incontrovertible, it might be thought unnecessary and excessive to depict the same god three times in such a tiny space. Plainly, no certain explanation is possible.

If, however, we return to the geographical provenance of the gem<sup>87</sup> and cast our minds back to the inscription with the law of the Molpoi (Milet 1, 3 no. 133) and the two ἑγυλλοί it mentions, which have been associated with the columns of Apollo Agyieus and which during the procession from Miletus to Didyma were placed at two points along the way, »at Hekate« and at Didyma, then we may perhaps have a solid basis for a fairly likely explanation for the existence of the two columns in our scene: that is that these columns could possibly refer in some way to this procession and mark the space between those two points: the first (»at Hekate«), marked by the column behind her figure, and the second (at Didyma), marked by the one behind Apollo.

This is, of course, a hypothesis. Even if it is not true, all that has been mentioned before at least gives us the right to wonder whether the scene on our gem perhaps refers to some cultic tradition or perhaps even to a cultic act performed in honour of the three gods depicted here, with their specific functions, in the cities (streets) or in front of houses in the southern Black Sea region specifically or more generally in Asia Minor.

<sup>83</sup> Possibly also to the existence of a sanctuary. See ML I 2 (1886–1890) 1886 s. v. Hekate (H. Steuding).

<sup>84</sup> The cult of Hekate was generalised around the Black Sea. Apart from our observations concerning the south coast, see also for the east side the tradition that Medea was a priestess or daughter of Hekate (already mentioned), for the west side the relation between Hekate and Bendis in Thracian tradition and iconography (already mentioned), and for the north side the association of Hekate with Artemis and Iphigenia (already mentioned) and also the cape known as »Hekate's Grove«, which is mentioned by Ptolemy (3, 5, 7) and the Anonymus (peripl. M. Eux. 58).

<sup>85</sup> Balestrazzi 1984, 328–332.

<sup>86</sup> The rendering of the third dimension is rarely apparent on gems. See e. g. Middleton 2001, 62–62 no. 37–38.

<sup>87</sup> And the relation of Cotyora (Ordu) with Miletus, as already mentioned.

If we knew exactly where the gem was found and, better still, in what archaeological context, we could possibly draw more numerous and more certain conclusions, even perhaps in regard to its use. We know that the gems were generally used as seals, ornaments or amulets<sup>88</sup>. In the first case, where we have mainly to do with a personal or family character of the gem, such as, for example, its use as a signature, we would expect a more ›private‹ subject as the decoration of the gem, something that would characterise or differentiate its owner(s) from others and rather not a religious scene, and especially a popular one. On the other hand, a gem used simply as an ornament would in my opinion also have a different decorative subject, maybe a simpler one than this, and not a picture with so many figures, which does not give an ornamental character to the gem, but aims more at narrating a specific scene. On the contrary, this narration suits well the gem's use as an amulet. Gems used as amulets were supposed to have protective, apotropaic or healing qualities. As we have seen, the protective qualities of the deities depicted on our gem are obvious and besides we know that in the Roman period, to which our artefact belongs, gems were widely used as amulets with a religious and especially an apotropaic/protective character. Therefore, I think that we have serious reasons to suspect that this gem was used as an amulet, especially after the interpretation of the scene that we proposed above. Whether the gem was made for a priest or priestess or for people participating in a specific cultic act is of course unknown.

It is obvious that all these explanations remain guesswork. It is my view, however, that at least for the identification of the figure with the two torches as Hekate we should have no reservations.

*Abstract:* This paper discusses the scene on a Roman gem acquired on the south coast of the Black Sea, depicting three figures between two columns. Two of these figures are identified as Apollo and Artemis; for the third, there is no clearly formulated identification, let alone a consensus of opinion. By examining the relation of Hekate with both Artemis and Apollo, the latter particularly in his guise as Agyieus, as is perhaps indicated by the two columns, I endeavour to show that the figure on the right is no other than Hekate. In concluding, I also offer a further interpretation of the scene.

HEKATE MIT APOLLON UND ARTEMIS  
AUF EINER GEMME AUS DER SÜDLICHEN SCHWARZMEER-REGION

*Zusammenfassung:* Dieser Artikel behandelt eine römische Gemme, die an der Südküste des Schwarzen Meeres erworben wurde. Sie stellt drei Figuren dar, angeordnet zwischen zwei Säulen. Zwei dieser Figuren sind als Apollo und Artemis zu identifizieren, während die Identität der dritten unklar bleibt und keine eindeutige und unumstrittene Interpretation gegeben werden kann. Durch Betrachtung der Verbindungen von sowohl Artemis als auch Apollo zu Hekate – letzterer vor allem in seiner Rolle als Agyieus, worauf eventuell durch die beiden Säulen angespielt wird – werde ich versuchen zu zeigen, dass die Figur zur Rechten niemand anderes als Hekate selbst ist. Zusammenfassend werde ich ebenfalls eine weitere Interpretation der Szene anbieten.

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<sup>88</sup> See G. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan and Roman* (New York 1956) xvi–xx. Cf. also J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London 1970) 13–18. 236–237; G. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans II* (London 1971) 1–6.



GÜNEY KARADENİZ BÖLGESİNDEN  
BİR GEM ÜZERİNDE APOLLON VE ARTEMİS İLE HEKATE

*Özet:* Makale, Karadeniz'in güney kıyısından, Roma dönemine tarihlenen bir gem ile ilgilidir. Gem, iki sütun arasında düzenlenmiş üç figür göstermektedir. Bu figürlerden ikisi Apollon ve Artemis olarak tanımlanabilmekte, ancak üçüncünün kim olduğu açıkça belirlenememekte ve şüphe götürmez bir yoruma olanak vermemektedir. Artemis'in ve Apollon'un Hekate ile olan bağlantısını inceleme yoluyla – özellikle Apollon'un iki sütun arasında oynadığı Agyieus rolü – sağdaki figürün Hekate'den başkası olmadığını göstermeyi deneyeceğim. Özet olarak, söz konusu sahnenin yorumunu da sunacağım.

## INHALT

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