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RONAN THE GODDESS HEKATE *Chthonios*

THE
GODDESS HEKATE

STUDIES IN
ANCIENT PAGAN
AND
CHRISTIAN RELIGION
& PHILOSOPHY
VOLUME 1

Edited by
STEPHEN RONAN

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INTRODUCTION

HEKATE^[1] is arguably the most mysterious and formidable of all the Goddesses^[2] of the ancient world. Although she is often thought of today as the archetypal triple lunar deity, a glance at her history reveals a Goddess who is much more complex, and one with a broader and deeper range of symbolism.

There is now a consensus amongst scholars^[3] that Hekate's origins are to be found not in Greece but in Asia Minor, and more particularly in Caria (in modern south-west Turkey), where the town of Lagina was home to her most important cult center. It has also won general acceptance that she was not originally a moon Goddess,^[4] and that her triple nature derived, as Farnell was the first to point out (pp 25-7 below), not from the moon, but from her role as Goddess of the crossroads, which in ancient Greece was a meeting of three ways.

Hekate's three ancient phases

Hekate's ancient cult shows, appropriately enough, three main stages. In the first she shows her origins as an eastern Great Goddess,^[5] with, so it seems, solar rather than lunar attributes,^[6] and with the uncanny features of her second phase less in evidence—but this rather than indicating that they were absent, may be due to them having been suppressed in our extant sources; much as Artemis' darker side often was.^[7] Our chief witness for this first period is Hesiod's *Theogony* where a hymn to the Goddess allots her a position of honour in every domain.

In her second phase, from Hellenistic times onwards, she has the features which have ever since defined her character in popular thought. Here she is preeminently Goddess of ghosts, magic and the moon. The texts which define this image of her most vividly are the hymns to her in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, one of which is translated on pp 75-7 below.^[8]

In her third phase, Hekate shows her most remarkable developments.^[9] Because of the enormous influence of the *Chaldean Oracles* on Pagan circles in late antiquity, their image of Hekate came to be an important feature in late Pagan religion. In this phase her lunar attributes were marginalised and, although she indubitably remained a terrifying deity, the emphasis shifted to her role as Goddess of the Cosmic life-force, and soul-nourishing Virtues. The Chaldean image of Hekate, with its stress on her Great Goddess aspects, recalls her original nature and seems to reflect eastern traditions which preserved these early features.

The materials on Hekate's Chaldean phase hold a particular interest because, on the one hand they belong to a religious current which commanded the highest respect in late Paganism, and on the other they present our only real

chance to peer inside an ancient esoteric mystery-type cult.^[10]

At this point, it is natural to ask about the overall image of Hekate that emerges out of her different stages. Certainly, it is true that in both her Greco-Roman and Chaldean phases she is a divinity of protection and destruction, of "fecundity and death" as A. Billault has well expressed it.^[11] And one would expect that the same applies to her earliest phase.

Explaining Hekate's negative characteristics has not been a problem for many scholars, since they could be easily classified under the convenient but unhelpful headings of 'superstition' and 'irrationalism.' More recently, however, there are signs that some scholars have become chary of such easy solutions,^[12] and a recent study of Hekate^[13] has been at pains to point out she is not essentially a demonic deity but one of liminality, concerned with guiding the worshipper through inherently dangerous and uncertain areas of 'no-man's lands' beyond the certain and the known, like birth and death and, in the physical realm, crossroads and doorways.

The Contents of this Volume

The present volume consists of reprints of the more important and useful materials in English on Hekate, as well as an original investigation of her most important role in late antiquity, that of chief Goddess in the *Chaldean Oracles* and related material. The book is completed by a series of plates displaying her various images. Let us take a look in more detail at the various contributions.

We start with *Magical Hekate* by J.E. Lowe which has been reprinted from his *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford 1929), ch. IV *Deities Invoked by Magicians (i) Hekate*. Lowe's contribution does a good job of summarising Hekate's image amongst magicians, though readers looking for further details may want to follow up the references to Hekate in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, and through the index of A.M. Tupet's *La magie dans la poésie Latine* (Paris 1976).

Lowe's piece is followed by *Hekate's Cult* and *Hekate in Art* which have been drawn from L.R. Farnell's *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896), vol. II: chap. xvi *Hekate*, and chap. xix *Hekate: Representations in Art*. Farnell's study of Greek religion was a milestone in scholarship, and his sections on Hekate are the best of earlier studies of this Goddess in English.

We next have K.F. Smith's *Hekate's Suppers* which is reprinted from Smith's article of the same title in volume II of James Hastings' (ed.) monumental and still valuable *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh 1937). *Hekate's Suppers* deals with the monthly offerings placed at the crossroads to placate Hekate and her host. For a recent discussion of this topic, see now S.I. Johnston's article "Crossroads" in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* volume 88 (Bonn 1991) pp 217-224.

Smith's article on Hekate's Suppers naturally leads us into our next section which I have titled *Hekate's Horde*. Part 1 is on *Hekate and the Hekatic Spectres: Gorgyra, Gorgo, Mormolyke, Mormo, Baubo, Gello, Empousa, etc.* Part 2 covers *The Hosts of Hekate*. Both of these pieces come from the English translation of Erwin Rohde's famous study of the soul in ancient Greek religion: *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*

(London 1925) pp 590-595.

Our next section is a selection of four of the most important ancient hymns to Hekate which I have newly translated for this volume. The first of these hymns was written by Proclus (5th C. AD) who was one of the last important Pagan philosophers and religious leaders. The second comes from the *Orphic Hymns* (first-third C. AD?) which are one of our very few remaining pieces of (non-magical) Pagan liturgical literature. The third of our hymns comes from a fragment of play by the 5th C. BC Greek dramatist Sophocles. The last hymn is from the *Greek Magical Papyri*. It is pre-fourth C. AD, and demonstrates the potent imagery of Hekate in these texts, as well as giving interesting comparative material to the symbolism of her last Chaldean phase.

Of these hymns, I think I am correct in saying that there have been no previously published translations of the hymns by Proclus and Sophocles.^[14] Readers will probably want to compare our selection with another important hymn to Hekate by Hesiod, which is translated in Lowe on pages 13-14 (text: Farnell p. 48).

We now come to the main part of the book, *Chaldean Hekate*, which is devoted to an exploration of the symbolism of Hekate in her third and last ancient phase, as we have already discussed above.

The book is completed with a series of plates, most of which have been drawn from L. Petersen "Die dreigestaltige Hekate," parts 1 & 2 in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, vols IV (1880) & V (1881). Plates 10 & 11 have been especially drawn for this volume by Laura Knobloch.

It remains to say a word about the series *Studies in Ancient Pagan and Christian Religion & Philosophy* of which this is volume 1. I hope to present here a series of important reprints and new material in this field. These will focus particularly on the religious side of later Paganism and its links with early Christianity, as this seems to be an area which is still poorly covered and understood.

It has become customary at this point in one's introduction, preface or whatever to introduce a more human and gentler note, in order to waylay the (probably justified) suspicion produced by the rest of the work that the author is a humourless old pedant. This is a custom that I gladly accept, and accordingly I would like to thank my dear wife Laura for her sustaining love and affection, and without whom the world would be a much sadder and greyer place. Also a minor, but not insignificant, vote of thanks to Basil the cat who warmed my lap with her furry meditations during the long hours of work at the computer.

STEPHEN RONAN

Hastings September 1992

NOTES

- [1] Pronounced approximately *He-ka-tay*. The spelling *Hekate* or *Hecate* depends on whether we follow the original Greek (with the former), or stay with the conventional Latinism.
- [2] A word of apology might be in order here for my departure from the usual convention in capitalising words like 'Goddess,' 'Gods' and 'Pagans.' It has been common practice amongst many writers to capitalise the word 'God' if it refers to a being resembling the Judaeo-Christian Supreme Being, but to talk of 'gods' when dealing with other deities. The convention seems to me to reflect an intrusive and unhelpful attitude about the relative values of different deities which is incompatible with the need which surely exists to be (or at least to make some attempt at being) impartial in historical investigations: either everybody's God deserves a capital, or nobody's does. And as I have preferred to assume that everybody's deity is worthy of a modicum of respect, I have chosen the former course. The rather biased nature of the convention is clear when we reflect that while 'God' may or may not receive a capital 'G,' 'goddess' never will.
- The word 'pagan' reflects a similar situation and is objectionable for the same reasons; for it is hard to think of rationale for giving it small 'p.' The names of religions are regularly capitalised even when they are not derived from the names of their founders, e.g. 'Islam.' There would be more substance in the argument that 'paganism' does not represent a coherent religious position, but is a general term for the disparate religions of the ancient world. There is clearly some validity in this view, at least pre-later Neoplatonism, although W. Burkert has stressed the opposite perspective (*Ancient Mystery Cults* [Cambridge, Mass. 1987] pp 3-4), that "...in the pre-Christian epoch the various forms of worship...are never exclusive; they appear as varying forms, trends, or options within the one disparate yet continuous conglomerate of ancient religion." Whatever perspective we might choose to stress, it remains the fact that 'paganism' is usually treated as a coherent entity which can be contrasted with Christianity, it therefore seems hard to justify continuing to spell it with a small 'p.'
- [3] W. Burkert *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1985) p 171; T. Kraus *Hekate* (Heidelberg 1960) pp 20, 24, *et passim*. S.I Johnston *Hekate Soteria* p 21 n 2.
- [4] Johnston p 31 n 8; Kraus p 87. For abbreviations in the editorial matter in this volume, see pp 138-9 below.
- [5] She shows links with the earlier Hurrian Great Goddess Hepat (or Hepa) according to Kraus p 55. See further below, pp 120, 126.
- [6] See p. 116.
- [7] See p. 120.
- [8] Other notable examples are *PGM* IV. ll 1399-1434; 2241-2358; 2523-2567.
- [9] For details of this stage, see the essay on Chaldean Hekate, pp 79-150 below.
- [10] See below pp 133-4.
- [11] A. Billault "Hécate romanesque" in *Mort et fécondité dans les mythologies* ed. F. Jouan (Paris 1986) pp 109-110; 116. The meaning of this symbolism is discussed in our *Chaldean Hekate*, pp 132-3 below.
- [12] Farnell's remarks on pp 28 & 35 are still typical of many dismissive attitudes today. Terms like 'superstition' and 'irrationalism' are not very helpful, for they introduce intrusive and unnecessary judgments (like the capitalising conventions

discussed above) and tell us little about the phenomena they are describing—besides perhaps the fact that other peoples' religious beliefs and practices always look much sillier than one's own. But things are changing: such publications as J. Neusner *et al.* (eds) *Religion, Science and Magic* (New York 1989), and C.A. Faraone & D. Obbink (eds) *Magika Hiera* (New York 1991), are an indication of the way the wind is blowing among classicists. The contributors to both these volumes are inclined to not only question categories like 'superstition' and 'irrationalism,' but also cosy traditional assumptions about the differences between magic and religion.

- [13] Johnston *Hekate Soteira* pp 23-28 *et passim*. Cf Johnston "Crossroads" *passim*. Johnston's contribution and Hekate's nature are discussed on pp 134-6 below.
- [14] Lowe's translation on p. 12 below is really too garbled to count.

J.E. LOWE

MAGICAL HEKATE

HEKATE is the goddess worshipped above all other deities by all who practise magical arts. She is generally represented in literature as a kind of trinity, being identified with Luna in heaven, with Diana on earth, and with Proserpina in hell, though these three goddesses retain their own individual persons and characteristics. Hecate's parentage varies in different authors. According to Bacchylides she is the child of Night; according to Musæus and Apollodorus her mother was Asteria and her father Jove; Pherecydes says her father was Aristæus, son of Pæon; Lycophron makes her the daughter of Perses; and Hesiod¹ says: "Phœbe bare Asteria, whom Perses led to his house to be called his wife, and she bore Hecate, whom Zeus honoured above all." In the Orphic Hymns, however, we find that Ceres is called the mother of Hecate.

The name Hecate also is variously derived and interpreted. Some would connect it with the Greek ἕκας, "far off" (Latin *procul*),² ἕκατος, "far-darting," being an epithet of Apollo. In this case the name is given to the goddess because of the awful and mysterious attributes

¹ Hesiod., *Theog.*, 411 *sqq.*

² Cf. "procul, O procul cste, profani" (Virg. *Æn.*, vi. 258).

which she possessed. Others derive the name from ἑκατον, a hundred, either because she was wont to be appeased with hecatombs,¹ or because she was supposed to possess the power of compelling the ghosts of those who were left unburied to wander for a hundred years.

From her triune divinity she is called variously Triformis,² Tergemina,³ Triceps,⁴ Trimorphis,⁵ while Apollodorus says that the mullet fish (*trigla*, so called because it breeds three times a year), was sacrificed to Hecate on account of the association of the threefold idea. Another name by which the goddess was known in the underworld was Brimo.⁶ The word means something terrible, tremendous and appalling, and was used of Hecate to suggest the dread inspired by her appearance, with her attendant spectres and ghosts. Sophocles, in a lost play, the *Rhizotomi*, introduces a chorus which says: "O sun, thou lord of light, and thou, sacred fire of Hecate,⁷ invoked beside beaten paths. Her radiant darts fly in multitudes through Olympus, she appears on earth in sacred spaces where three roads meet, her head crowned with oak, and many coils of serpents on her shoulders."

Hesiod tells us that Zeus honoured Hecate above all

¹ Sacrifices of 100 oxen.

² Ovid, *Met.*, vii. 94; Hor., *Od.*, iii. 22, 4.

³ Virg., *Æn.*, iv. 511.

⁴ Ovid, *Met.*, vii. 194.

⁵ Chariclid., *Ἄλυσ.*, i.

⁶ Lyc., 1176: Πέρσεως δὲ παρθένος Βριμῶ Τρίμορφος. Cf. Prop., ii. 2, 12; Stat., *Silv.*, ii. 3, 38.

⁷ Referring to the goddess in her character of Luna, the Moon. Her worship was also associated with that of Bendis, the Thracian Moon Goddess. Cf. Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*:

"And yonder pale-faced Hecate there, the moon
Doth give consent to that is done in darkness."

and gave her a share of the earth and the unharvested sea, while she was honoured also in the starry heavens by the deathless gods. "For to this day," says Hesiod,¹ "whenever anyone of men on earth offers rich sacrifices and prays for favour according to custom, he calls upon Hecate. Great honour comes full easily to him whose prayers the goddess receives favourably, and she bestows wealth upon him; for the power surely is with her. For she has authority over all those who were born of Earth and Ocean and received an office. The son of Cronos did her no wrong, nor took anything away of all that was her portion among the former Titan gods; but she holds, as the division was at the first from the beginning, privilege both in earth and in heaven and in sea. Also because she is an only child, the goddess receives not less honour, but much more still, for Zeus honours her. Whom she will she greatly aids and advances; she sits by worshipful kings in judgment, and in the assembly whom she wills is distinguished among the people. And when men arm themselves for battle, then the goddess is at hand to give victory and great glory to whomso she will. Good is she also when men contend at games, for there, too, the goddess is with them and profits them. And she is good to stand by horsemen, whom she will: and to those whose business is in the grey sea, and who pray to Hecate and the loud-crashing Earth Shaker, easily the glorious goddess gives great catch, and easily takes it away as soon as seen, if so she will. She is good in the byre with Hermes to increase the stock. The droves of kine and wide

¹ Hes., *Theog.*, 416 sqq. (translated by H. G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library).

herds of goats and flocks of fleecy sheep, if she will, she increases from a few, or makes many to be less. So, then, albeit her mother's only child, she is honoured amongst all the deathless gods. And the son of Cronos made her a nurse of the young,¹ who after her saw with their eyes the light of all-seeing Dawn."

Arnobius tells us² that Hecate was the mother of Saturn, Ops and Janus by Cœlus, though in the ordinary genealogies we find this place assigned to Terra, and we find that the same attributes are indifferently associated with Earth, Ceres, Hecate and Proserpine in different writers. All, however, connect her with Darkness, and she is popularly described as a dread and mighty goddess ruling over the souls of the dead.³ She would instruct mortals in the art of magic,⁴ or send forth demons and spirits by night from the underworld, who dwelt in tombs or near the blood of murdered persons, or at the cross-roads (whence her name Trivia⁵), and taught sorcery and witchcraft.⁶ When she appeared on earth,

¹ Θῆκε δὲ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον (Hes., *Theog.*, 450), and cf. *Homeric Epigrams*, XII:

κλυθί μεν εὐχομένου, Κουροτρόφε, δὸς δὲ γυναῖκα
τῆνδε νέων μὲν ἀναίνεσθαι φιλότητα καὶ εὐνήν.
ἢ δ' ἐπιτερπέσθω πολιοκροταφοῖσι γέρονσιν,
ὣν ὥρη μὲν ἀπήμβλινται, θυμὸς δὲ μεινιῶ.

² Arn., ii. 71 and iii. 29.

³ Cf. Virg. *Æn.*, vi. 247 sqq., iv. 609; Theoc., *Id.*, ii. 12, 13.

⁴ κούρη τις μεγάρουσι ἐνιτρέφετ' Ἀλήταο
τὴν Ἐκάτη· περὶ ἅλλα θεὰ δαέ τεχνήσασθαι
φάρμαχ' ὅσ' ἠπειρός τε φύει καὶ νήχυντον ὕδωρ.—

⁵ Apul., *Apol.*, 31. (Apoll. Rhod., iii. 528-530).

⁶ She would also send a kind of hobgoblin or *lamia*, called variously Ἐμπούσα, Ὀνόσκελις, Ὀνοκώλη (the donkey-footed), to terrify travellers. It could assume all kinds of shapes, and loved human flesh. Cf. Aristoph., *Eccles.*, 1056; *Ran.*, 293.

she was accompanied by Stygian hounds, whose whining announced her approach; torches gleamed around her, and her hair was decorated with oaken boughs and serpents.¹ In appearance she is described as either three-headed or three-bodied,² being partly horse, partly dog, and partly lion or boar. At Athens she had a temple on the Acropolis, close to the Temple of Nikê, called Ἐπιπυργίδια.³ Statuettes to her were numerous in the city, being set up outside houses or at the cross-roads, where people consulted them as oracles. At every new moon, dishes of food were prepared by rich citizens and set out for her by night at the cross-roads, the food being eaten by beggars, but reported to be devoured by the goddess herself.⁴ The chief sacrifices offered to her were dogs,⁵ black ewe-lambs, and honey.⁶ Before starting on a journey travellers prayed before her shrine.⁷

¹ Apoll. Rhod., iii. 1217 sqq.; cf. Theoc., *Id.*, ii. 36, and Tibull., i. 2, 52.

² Cf. Ovid, *Fast.*, i. 141.

³ The Stratonicensians held a yearly festival, called the Hecatesia, in honour of Hecate.

⁴ Aristoph., *Plut.*, 596; Plat., *Sympos.*, vii. 6.

⁵ Pausanias (iii. 14, 9) says that the Spartan youths sacrificed a dog to Enyalios, and that no other Greeks used this animal as a sacrificial victim except the Colophonians, who offered it to Hecate.

⁶ Apoll. Rhod., iii. 1032.

⁷ Aristoph., *Lys.*, 64: ἡ γούνη θεαγένουσι / ὡς δὲ ὕρ' ἰούσα θούκᾶτειον ἤρετο.

L.R. FARNELL

HEKATE'S CULT

A GREAT obscurity hangs about the name, the origin, and the character of this goddess. The name at least seems to be Greek, and to be an epithet that may signify the 'far-off one,' or the 'far-darting one,' if we consider it as a shortened form of *ἐκατηβόλος*; but no explanation that has been offered is very certain or significant*.

As to her origin, she is usually accepted as a Hellenic divinity, and the question has scarcely been discussed by modern writers. If this view is correct^b, she was one whose worship must have been obscured in the earliest period among the leading Greek tribes, and have revived later. For there is no mention of her in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, nor in any fragment of the 'Homeric' epic; although, had the epic poets of the eighth or seventh century known of her as she was known to the later Greek, she would probably have been noticed in such a passage, for instance, as Odysseus' descent to Hades. Again, neither early nor late did any real mythology

* The derivation from *ἐκατηβόλος*, an epithet of the archer-god Apollo, is not satisfactory — for Hekate was never imagined to carry bow or spear; there is only one statue of a very late period showing a quiver on her shoulders. Another theory is that, as *ἐκατος* was an adjective sometimes attached to Apollo, so *ἐκάτη* might have been the feminine form of it and applied to Artemis, and subsequently, becoming personal, might have been detached from her and regarded as the name of a separate goddess;

but *ἐκάτη* is never found applied to Artemis as a common adjective.

^b This is the view tacitly taken by Steuding in Roscher's *Lexicon* (s. v. Hekate), by Petersen in his articles in the *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Wien*, 4 and 5, by Schoemann in his *Opuscula Academica — de Hekate Hesiodica*, 2, pp. 215-249, and by Köppen, *Die dreigestaltete Hekate*. Preller and Welcker appear to believe in the foreign origin of the cult.

grow up about her: we find nothing but a few stories of little value or credit, invented sometimes to explain some of her obscure titles, such as Ἄγγελος; and only once does she play some part in a dramatic myth, namely, in the Gigantomachy as described by Apollodorus, as the legends of the later period bring all the deities into the action and Hekate is named among them, though she is not found in the early accounts of the battle. In fact, the importance and reality that she came to have in Greek religion may for the most part have come to her through her association with Demeter and Artemis.

Not only has she little legend, but there is no fixed and accepted genealogy for her: she was regarded by Hesiod and others as the daughter of the Titan Perses and Asterie¹, by Musaeus as the daughter of Asterie and Zeus², by Bacchylides as sprung from Night³, by Euripides as the daughter of Leto³; and in a Thessalian legend she was said to be the daughter of Admetus and a Pheraean woman; also she was believed to be close of kin to Aeëtes and Circe of Colchis. In the Hesiodic fragment she is emphatically called *μουννογενής*, having neither brother nor sister^a; and no clan or tribe claimed descent from her. Neither her temple nor her images were associated with a prehistoric period or legend, and the magic practices performed in the name of Hekate, and the sorcery that made her a form of terror, seem to us more savage or mediaeval than Hellenic. There was, indeed, a certain part of true Greek ritual that was tainted with magic, but no such atmosphere of evil and debased superstition gathered around any figure of the Hellenic religion as around Hekate.

These various facts suggest that this personage was not Greek at all, but borrowed from a neighbouring people; and it may be that her cult invaded Greece, starting from the same land and following the same track as that of Dionysos.

^a *Μουννογενής*, in the two places where it occurs in that passage, would make better sense if understood as sprung from one parent only—*μουννογενής ἐκ μητρὸς ἑοῦσα* (*Theog.* 448); Zeus honours her especially, though *μουννογενής*, which might

mean though no one knows who was her father. This sense of the word is found in the later Orphic literature, being applied to Athene, as sprung from Zeus alone, in *Hymn* 32. 1; but in early Greek the word could hardly bear this meaning.

At first sight such a theory may seem to be contradicted by the evidence that we have of the very wide prevalence of the worship of Hekate throughout the Greek world; we find it in the central northern and southern islands of the Aegean, on the coast and in the interior of Asia Minor, in Italy and Sicily; but this of course proves nothing, as the same is true of the late worships of Mithras and Isis, which, like the worship of Hekate, spread far beyond the limits of the ancient classical world^a. What is more important is that she was less frequently found in the more secluded parts of Greece, scarcely, for instance, at all in Arcadia, where we have only a doubtful allusion to her worship in a passage quoted by Porphyry from Theopompus^{13c}, and that she had nothing to do with the primitive cults of those divinities with whom she afterwards became associated. Thus she does not appear in the Arcadian worship of Despoina^b and Demeter Erinys; nor had she place in Eleusinian legend, nor in the ancient Brauronian cult of Artemis.

The earliest literary record, and the Thessalian and Aeginetan worships, give some support to the theory suggested above, that we must trace back this goddess to some land beyond the boundaries of Greece, lying probably to the north^c. The earliest references to her in literature are—(a) The quotation in Pausanias from the *κατάλογος γυναικῶν* attributed to Hesiod, showing that the poet connected Hekate with Artemis and Iphigenia⁴: we may regard this as an early Boeotian version which tries to adapt a Greek myth to a new cult, and to discover the new goddess, who came from the North and who, perhaps through Medea, had some connexions with the Euxine, in the local Artemis Iphigenia of Aulis and Tauris. (b) The well-known passage in Hesiod's *Theogony*, which can scarcely be the composition of the author of the *κατάλογος γυναικῶν*, and is probably an earlier account, the earliest in Greek literature, of Hekate¹; for it connects

^a Vide Geographical Register of Hekate-Cults, p. 55

baseless.

^b The supposition of Köppen (*Die dreigestaltete Hekate*, Vienna, 1823, p. 6) that Despoina was Hekate is perfectly

^c This view has been already taken by Voss in his *Mythologische Briefe*, 3, 190, 194, 212.

her with no figure of Greek religion at all, except Zeus; she has no ties at present with Artemis or any other divinity. These lines may be regarded as an interpolation in the poem, which makes no other mention of Hekate, and which devotes to no other divinity such an emphatic record of function and rank. But they are a valuable fragment of Boeotian poetry^a: the lines show something of the zeal of the propagandist who wishes to obtain recognition for a new cult, and are of the first importance as evidence of the original character that Hekate possessed. The poet regards her as Titan-born and belonging to the older world, which may be a way of saying that she had no recognized place at that time in the Hellenic Pantheon: Zeus maintains her in her rights and gives her a share in Olympus and the 'earth and the unvintaged sea'; she gives men aid in war, and sits by kings in their judgement-seat; she brings honour to the horse-men and to the athlete in the contest; she gives the hunter or the fisher his prey, and works with Hermes to increase the herds of bullocks, goats, and sheep in the stall: lastly, she is *κουροτρόφος*, the foster-mother of children.

Many of these ideas reappear in later cults, but the poet claims more than the Greek communities that received the worship of Hekate were ever willing to accord to her, and he probably omits certain darker traits of her original character, such as her association with the lower world, with magic, and with the cross-ways. We may notice that he nowhere hints at any connexion between her and the moon.

The poem then seems to suggest that the cult was a new importation into Boeotia; and we should then naturally think of it as coming from the North. Of this there is certain other evidence. It has been noticed above^b that there is a close connexion between the Thessalian Artemis Pheraea and Hekate, and the most striking illustration of this is the Thessalian

^a The Boeotian style is seen in the use of the picturesque epithet for the personal noun. Schoemann, in his treatise *de Hekate Hesiodea*, may be right in rejecting the theory that the fragment has an Orphic or mystic origin, although

its tone is not unlike that of the later Orphic hymn, and its main idea, namely that Hekate is of omnipresent power, is that which is tediously applied to all the divinities of later Orphism.

^b P. 474.

story that Hekate was the daughter of Pheraea, and as a newly-born infant was thrown out into the cross-roads, but rescued and brought up by shepherds⁵. The Artemis of Iolchos, with whom the legend couples the name of Medea, is a goddess of magical incantations and of the arts of poisoning. In the narrative of Diodorus Siculus⁶, Medea tells Pelias that her tutelary goddess has come to him from Colchis 'riding upon serpents'; and she names her Artemis, though this mode of travelling is suitable only for Hekate, of whom Medea is the priestess and perhaps the 'double'^b. And the evil reputation for witchcraft which attached to the whole land of Thessaly can be best explained by supposing that the worship of Hekate, bringing its original taint with it, struck deep roots upon this soil. It is true that the superstitious terrors that were connected with the name of this divinity and with the practices of her votaries seem to have been felt more in the later ages; but supposing they were not there in the beginning, we cannot easily explain how they grew up; for they could not have naturally come from the association of this worship with that of Artemis or Persephone.

A locality which was particularly noted for the honour paid to Hekate was Aegina⁷: her mysteries were in vogue in that island at least as early as the fifth century, and are often mentioned by later writers, the institution of them being attributed to the Thracian Orpheus. This name, and the prehistoric connexion between the heroic family of the land, the Aeacidae, and Phthia, seem to suggest once more that the worship travelled down from the North. Again, we find it in the islands of the Thracian Sea, and in Samothrace amalgamated with the mystic rites of the Cabiri⁷. And if Thrace had been its original home we should expect it to have crossed the Hellespont as naturally as it travelled southwards into Greece; and in fact we find it in the Troad, in Paphlagonia, Galatia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia. Or we may of course say that it passed over to the east side of

⁵ 4. 51.

^b The Thessalian *ἑπέια τῆς Ἑροδίας*, who poisoned the flesh of a mad bull

for a strategic purpose, was keeping up the tradition of Medea; Polyæn. *Strat.* 8. 42.

the Aegean directly from Greece, at some time when the affinity between Artemis and Hekate had become so recognized that any centre of the cult of Artemis was likely to attract the worship of the kindred goddess. We may thus explain its existence at Ephesus⁹, to account for which a curious story was invented telling how Artemis was inhospitably received there by the wife of Ephesus, and how by way of punishment the goddess changed her into a dog, but repenting at last restored her to her human form: the woman then went and hanged herself for shame, but was raised to life again and appeared in the costume of Artemis and received the name of Hekate. We see why the dog comes into the story, and we should understand the matter of the hanging if Hekate were worshipped under the title of *ἀπαρχομένη*, as Artemis was. All that we know is that there was a statue, possibly more than one, of Hekate behind or near the temple of the great Ephesian goddess.

In certain parts of Caria the worship appears to have struck deep root. The original name of the city of Idrias was Hekatesia, and the worship of Hekate *Λαγωῦρις* was maintained there. The name was popularly derived from the hare that fled to the site of the town, but in reality referred to the neighbouring city of Lagina, the chief centre, at least in late times, of Hekate-worship in Asia Minor. The cult of this latter city^a associated the goddess so intimately with the Carian Zeus Panamerios, that we may suppose that she there took the place of the great goddess of Asia Minor and was probably regarded as his spouse. We hear of the annual festival 'of the key,' the *κλειδὸς πομπή*, alluding to the mysteries of the lower world; the divinities were partly served by eunuchs, and choirs of boys were trained under the supervision of the state to sing a traditional hymn of praise. The part played by the eunuch in the ritual reminds us of the Cybele cult, and some ancient mythographers appear to have associated the Corybantes with the service of Hekate^{11,12}, and we have seen that the orgiastic mysteries of Samothrace were devoted to her as well as to the Cabiri⁷.

^a Vide Geographical Register, s. v. Lagina, p. 56.

There seems, then, some ground for the belief expressed in Strabo^a that Hekate belongs to that circle of Phrygian-Thracian cults of which the chief figure is an earth-goddess, and the orgiastic ritual a marked characteristic. And we find that Hekate comes to be related to Cybele, and plainly identified with the Cretan Britomartis, whose name itself was explained in reference to an ancient prophecy concerning the birth of Hekate^b: in Aegina itself the worship and mysteries of Hekate may not have been altogether distinct from that of the Cretan goddess who came to the island at an early period.

The theory that Thrace was her native country becomes the stronger as we find the undoubtedly Thracian goddess Bendis with many points of likeness to Hekate. The epithet *Διλογχος* that belonged to the former is explained by Hesychius as describing the goddess who, like Hekate, had power in more than one sphere of nature; and the torch seems to have been the special symbol of both. The Thracian goddess—whatever was her real name—whom the Greeks called Artemis Basileia or *βούσβαρος*^c was connected with herds and the fruits of the soil, and Hekate also was concerned with these, as we find in the Hesiodic description and in later Greek legend and ritual. A strong reason for believing that Hekate was an intruder in the Hellenic world is that the hound was her familiar and sacrificial animal, and that this sacred character belonged to him scarcely anywhere else in genuinely Greek religion or ritual^d. For Artemis he was

^a P. 473.

^b Artemis¹³¹ k.

^c Ib. ⁸⁴ s, ¹²⁰.

^d Plutarch tells us that generally in Greek religion the hound was regarded as unclean, and yet that he was used in rites of purification in Boeotia; he is probably referring to the rites of Hekate, as Boeotia was an ancient home of her worship¹³. A sacred character attached to this animal also in the worship of Asclepius at Epidaurus; but Asclepius does not belong to the ancient Greek

religion, and himself also came from the north of Greece, and possibly from Thrace. By becoming the son of Apollo he is adopted into Greek religion. The goddess of child-birth to whom, according to Socrates, the Argives offered a dog, *διὰ τὴν βαστάνην τῆς λοχείας*, was called *Ειλίονεια*, but may be regarded as *Ἐκάτη Ειλείθουα*¹². The Spartan ephebi sacrificed a young hound to the war-god; whether this was a foreign element in the cult of Ares or not may be doubted.

a purely secular beast, useful for the hunt; she never assumes his shape and he is never offered to her. But we have evidence that he was regularly sacrificed to Hekate¹², and the goddess herself is clearly supposed to take his form in that Ephesian legend mentioned above; and in the ghostly stories such as those that amused Lucian, he probably often figured as her 'manifestation' or her 'sending.' The dog was also the animal used for purification in the rites of Hekate¹². It is true that we have no direct proof of the sacred character of the dog in the religion of Thrace; but in certain legends the metamorphosed Hecuba, 'the dog with fiery eyes,' was supposed to join the following of Hekate and to roam howling through the Thracian forests^a; and the statue of Hekate Lampadephorus at Byzantium was supposed to commemorate the good service of the dogs who aroused the citizens when Philip of Macedon attacked them by night^b.

Accepting this theory of the origin of the cult, we should say that Hekate was the Greek term corresponding to some Thracian title of this goddess, and that it obtained vogue first in Thessaly, Boeotia, and Aegina at a much earlier period than that at which the name of Bendis was received in Greece. From Aegina or Boeotia it may have passed to Athens, perhaps not earlier than the middle of the sixth century¹⁰. She appears in the Homeric hymn to Demeter which is often attributed to the age of the Peisistratidae^{13a}. According to one account, which however is questionable, it was to Hekate that the Athenians offered sacrifice after Marathon at Agrae^c, and it may be that her worship, like that of Pan, was for the first time publicly instituted in Attica after this great event, although we have proof of its earlier private recognition in a terracotta of the sixth century B.C.^d A fifth-century inscription from Eleusis possibly contains a trace of the name of Hekate in conjunction with Hermes and the Graces, with whom she was associated on the Acropolis of Athens, at least

^a Cf. Artemis¹³⁰.

^b Geograph. Reg. s. v. Byzantium.

^c Artemis^{130f}. The name of Hekate has been substituted by the pseudo-Plutarch for that of Artemis Ἀγγορέα,

who was the goddess worshipped at Agrae and to whom the Athenians vowed sacrifice before Marathon.

^d *Hekate-Monuments*, p. 37

in the later period¹⁵. The statue by Alcamenes that stood by the temple of Nike Apteros at the top of the Propylaea was called Hekate Ἐπιπυργιδία, or Artemis Hekate, or Artemis Ἐπιπυργιδία, and a later Attic inscription combines her with Hermes, and another mentions her torch-bearer in company with the priest of the Graces^{10,15}. We know also that some time before the Peloponnesian war her images were common in Athens, placed before the doors as charms to avert evil^{23b}, and she had become especially a woman's goddess and identified with Artemis¹⁰.

We have now to explain why it was that she was identified with this particular Greek goddess, or at least more closely related to her than to any other. The usual reason given is very simple: namely, that both were merely different names for the moon-goddess. But this view—which is not often challenged—rests on a misconception of the original nature of Artemis, and a very questionable interpretation of the original character of Hekate. For the two goddesses had been connected as early as Hesiod, as the passage quoted by Pausanias from the *κατάλογος γυναικῶν* proves⁴; but at this period, as has been shown, we can find no lunar element in the character of Artemis; on the contrary, there are reasons for thinking that this view of her came later into vogue through her association with Hekate, and therefore should not be regarded as the ground of that association. On the other hand, the belief that Hekate herself was pre-eminently and originally a moon-goddess approves itself only to those who do not pay sufficient attention to the Hesiodic fragment, and who apply the logical deductive method of Roscher to primitive forms of religion^a. The theory for which reasons have been given above, that Hekate is one of many forms of a Thracian-Phrygian divinity, brings with it the belief that she would derive most of her functions from the earth rather than the moon. Her torches and her interest in child-birth are thus quite as well explained, and her care for the crops and the herds, the hunter and the fisher, much better. The hound may

^a Vide Steuding on Hekate in Roscher's *Lexicon*, who takes the same view as Preller, Welcker, and Petersen (*Arch. Epigr. Mitt.* 4).

have become her familiar, not because it was regarded as the animal 'who bays the moon,' but because it was the natural follower of the goddess who haunts the wilds, and because in many legends the dog has an 'uncanny' and infernal character. We may thus best understand her affinity with Artemis, which was recognized in an early period; for the latter goddess drew most of her nature from the earth and from the life of the wilds, and most of the description in the Hesiodic passage would apply to Artemis as well. And apart from any deep essential affinity, her torches and her hounds and her wild nature would be enough to persuade the Greeks that Hekate was a sort of 'double' of the Hellenic goddess.

Nevertheless it is also true that from the fifth century onwards we have clear proof that the imagination of poets and artists, and perhaps also the view of those who offered sacrifice to Hekate, did connect her in some way with the moon¹³; and in this there is something of genuine and popular belief that cannot be ignored, and which is of more value than the philosophic theory that begins as early as the sixth century to resolve deities into elements—Hera, for instance, into the air.

In the Homeric hymn to Demeter, Hekate is said to have been hiding in a cave when she witnessed the rape of Proserpine, and to have come to meet the bereaved mother with torches in her hands. Possibly the poet is thinking of her as a moon-goddess, but it is an illusion to suppose that only a moon-goddess could hide in a cave and could witness things: the infernal divinities might also be thought to be witnesses and to lurk underground. It is in the Attic drama that she first emerges plainly in her lunar character, and at the same time is so closely combined with Artemis that she is called the daughter of Leto. Euripides addresses her as 'Hekate, child of Leto'⁸; and when Aeschylus, in the fragment already quoted, speaks of the ἀστερωπὸν ὄμμα Λητώας Κόρης, which the context shows to be the moon, he is perhaps thinking of Artemis Hekate, to whom he refers by name in the *Suppliants*^{23k}. The sun and the moon are clearly combined as Helios and Hekate in the fragment of Sophocles'

'Πιζοτόμοι'^{13a}; and this view must have become popular, for sometimes the vase-painting of the fourth century plainly characterized Hekate as the moon-goddess^a. There were also certain ritual-practices consecrated to Hekate when the moon was new or full; the 'suppers of Hekate' were offered by rich people, and little round cakes set with candles were placed in the cross-roads, and sacred both to her and to Artemis^{13b}; but we cannot take this as certain evidence, nor conclude at once that a divinity was recognized as lunar because the phases of the moon marked the time when oblation was to be made; just as we must not offhand regard a deity to whom prayers or sacrifice were addressed at sunrise as a personification of the dawn. 'The banquets of Hekate' seem to have been offerings made, not to the lunar goddess, but rather to the mistress of spirits, in order to avert evil phantoms from the house. None of the household would touch the food^{13b, c}. It was offered on the thirtieth day, which was sacred to the dead.

However, we find a genuine lunar element in Hekate recognized in popular belief and in the later public monuments: and some of the later scholiasts and expounders of mythology, who were in no better position to judge than we are, seem to have regarded this element as the essential and original one in her nature. It very probably was original, in the sense that she had it before she became a Greek divinity; for it is difficult to see, on the theory of her foreign origin, how she could have acquired this character in Greece, where the moon-goddess received such slight recognition. But we need not say that it ever constituted the whole of her nature, unless we are bound to follow the method prevalent in the German interpretation of myths and to trace the manifold character and functions of a divinity deductively back to a single concept or idea. On the other theory, which might be called the theory of local 'contagion' or assimilation, an earth-goddess could 'catch,' inherit, or usurp certain qualities or features of a moon-goddess, or vice versa. And the Hesiodic fragment

^a The question as to the meaning of the triple-shaped Hekate of Alcamenes will be discussed later.

and other evidence allow us to believe that Hekate came down into Greece as an earth-goddess with the usual interest that such a divinity always had in vegetation and nutrition, in wild and human life, but possessing also a certain attraction for the moon, and trailing with her a very pernicious cloud of superstition and sorcery. That her lunar aspect became afterwards so prominent may be owing to the religious economy of the Greeks, who had earth-goddesses in plenty, and whose Selene, a retiring and faded divinity, may have seemed to want new support.

But the Greeks themselves were much perplexed about her, and knew that she was other than Selene and Artemis; in fact, the complexity of the Hesiodic portrait corresponds in some measure to the later belief and cult. She became associated, for instance, almost as closely with Demeter and Persephone as with Artemis, and this by right of her original character as a divinity who had power on the surface of the earth and underground¹⁴. The Hekate of Sophocles' 'root-gatherers' seems to have drawn her attributes and nature from the moon, the earth, and the lower world; for the moonlight was her spear, and her brows were bound with oak-leaves and serpents. Euripides, who spoke of her as the daughter of Leto, called her also the *ελνοδία θυγάτηρ Δήμητρος*, the queen of the phantom-world; and on black-figured vases she appears in company with Persephone, Demeter, and Hermes. It accords with the wider character of her presented in the Hesiodic poem, that, like Demeter and Ge, she was *Κουροτρόφος*^{23 k}, and an ancient inscription from Selinus possibly contains the prayer made to her by a mother for her child. The Gauls found her in Galatia, and learned to pray to her for themselves and their crops^a. In a late Greek inscription from Cilicia she is regarded as one with Artemis *Εὔπλοια*, Selene, and Gaia²¹, and in a late oracle quoted by Eusebius¹⁴ Hekate, who demands a statue, declares that her shape is that of Demeter, 'the fair goddess of fruits.' We find her also allied with the lesser powers that had some connexion with the earth,

^a Vide Geographical Register, s. v. Galatia.

vegetation and the life of the woods; we find her with Pan^a and the Corybantes and Cybele, deities who, like Hekate, inspired madness¹⁶; with Priapus at Tralles¹⁷; in Athens with Hermes and the Charites, who must have been regarded in this association as divinities of increase and growth. Also the maritime character of the goddess claimed for her in the *Theogony* was not altogether forgotten²¹; and as we have such early testimony for it, we may regard it as original, and not derived from Artemis *Εὔπλοια*, nor arising necessarily from any view about the earth or the moon, but possibly only from the seafaring habits of her worshippers^b. Her ghostly character also, which becomes very prominent in later times, but was probably always recognized, must have kept her chthonian nature clearly before men's minds; for sorcery and magic belong more naturally to the lower world, at least from the Greek point of view, than to the Moon, who seems to have been considered a fairly harmless divinity in Greece, being occasionally a passive victim of sorcery when a Thessalian witch laid her foaming and sick on the grass, but not being herself a great sorceress. And so the mocking Lucian, when Mithrobarzanes is preparing to go down into hell, makes him dig a pit and invoke the powers from below, the Furies and the Poenae, 'nightly Hekate and praiseworthy Persephone^c.' And the magician in his *Philopseudes* brings up Hekate from below in the form of a woman, half a furlong high, snake-footed and with snakes in her hair and on her shoulders, with a torch in her left hand and a sword in her right; while Selene comes down from the sky in the shapes of a woman, an ox, and a dog; we may suppose the latter form to have been assumed out of compliment to the other goddess.

In fact Hekate appealed to the later imagination more as an infernal power than as a lunar; she borrows her whip and cord from the Furies, and her serpents made her an image of fear like the Gorgon. But though such a character was likely

^a Hekate is classed with Pan among the θεοὶ ἐπίγειοι by Artemidorus; *Oneirocr.* 2. 34.

^b The mullet was sacred to Hekate;

and, according to a legend preserved by the scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. 4. 826, she was the mother of Scylla.

^c *Nekyomant.* 9.

to be impressive in the ages of decay and debased religion, it probably influenced secret practice more than the public cult^a, and it never, as Welcker wrongly supposes^b, altogether obscured the early Hesiodic conception of a Hekate powerful on earth and sea and beneficent to men in certain parts of life.

Many details of this conception have been already shown to have survived to a late period; and Plutarch, Porphyry, and the later Orphic literature express the same thought in formal or philosophic terms: she had for them something of the same cosmic power, though her importance is evidently slight, as she had for the early Boeotian poet²⁴.

But the high moral functions that the latter claims for her were never given her in Greek religion: she never 'sat in the judgement-seat of kings,' and her mysteries are not known to have had any moral or spiritual significance at all. Her association with Zeus Meilichios at Athens, of which we have some slight evidence^c, does not prove that any of the moral ideas which were infused into that worship attached themselves to her; the casual conjunction of the two divinities arose merely from the chthonian character of both. In the inscription that dedicates the late Capitoline statue she is called *Μεισοπόνηρος*²², and this, which is the one moral epithet

^a There are only two titles by which Hekate was probably known in public cult as a goddess of mystery and fear²²—*ἄφρατος* at Tarentum (Hesych. *s. v.*), an epithet of the 'unspeakable one,' and *ἀνταία*, of which the meaning is disputed. The passage in Hesychius (*s. v. ἀνταία*), which is made clear by Lobeck's emendation of *δαίμονια* for *δαίμονα* (*Aglaoph.* p. 121), interprets the word as 'hostile,' being applied to Hekate as sending visions of ill, and so the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* explains the word *ἀντιος* as *ἀτιος* βλάβης; but Hesychius states that Aeschylus in the *Semele* used the word as *λεσίος*, and this agrees with the interpretation given by the scholiast on the *Iliad*, 22. 113, and with its use in Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1141, and in the *Orphic Hymn*, 40. 1, where it is an

epithet of Demeter. But the former interpretation is more probably correct, the word *ἐξάντης* having the opposite sense, 'free of evil'; Plat. *Phaedr.* 244 E. The epithet ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ attached to a goddess on fourth-century coins of Terina and Hipponium has been regarded as a title of Hekate and interpreted as Πανδίνη, the 'all-terrible' (*Rev. Arch.* 1848, p. 159; cf. Millingen, *Considerations sur la Numismatique de l'ancienne Italie*, Florence, 1841, p. 72): but the inscription is perfectly legible and certain, and cannot be a miswriting for Πανδίνη; nor does the figure hold a whip or any other attribute of Hekate. Probably the name is not Greek and denotes a local nymph.

^b *Griech. Götterl.* 1. 567.

^c Vide Zeus^{198 a}.

ever attached to her in cult, does not come to very much: it may allude to her whip and her cord, or it may designate the goddess who controls evil spirits. Her chthonian associations may have suggested some vague belief in her as a goddess who punished certain kinds of guilt, and in the *Antigone* Creon's sin against the body of Polyneikes is supposed to have incurred the wrath of Pluto and the *θεὰ ἐνοδία*; but we cannot further illustrate this belief, except with the slight instance of a late inscription from Phrygia, in which the disturber of a grave is threatened with the wrath of Hekate²⁰.

The household purifications, called *δξυθύμια*²², performed in the name of Hekate do not seem to have had any reference at all to moral stain or evil^a. The house was swept and smoked, and the pollutions were carried away in a potsherd, apparently to the cross-roads, and then thrown away while the bearer's back was turned. If these were connected with the sacrifice of a dog at the cross-roads, of which we hear, we may regard the dog as a *κάθαρμα*, and the purifications as having some reference to child-birth in the house. Also, they may have been supposed to purge the household of ghosts, who were taken thus to the cross-roads, and committed to the keeping of the infernal goddess^b.

As there is very little morality that we can discover in her religion, so the occasions on which appeal might be made to her appear to have been few: it was good to invoke her in haunted places, because she could send up forms of terror or benign apparitions^c; it was important to have her image at the cross-ways, probably because they were considered likely places for ghosts, and before the threshold of the

^a The *δαισιδαίμων* of Theophrastus purifies his house as an *επαγωγή τῆς Ἐκάτης*²².

^b In Plato's State (*Laws* 873 b) the body of the murderer must be thrown out after execution, unburied, at the cross-roads. Why these places were of such evil character is hard to say; their gloomy associations were no doubt enhanced by the images of Hekate, the way-goddess that stood there; but it

is possible that these were originally placed there because of the ill omen that attached to the cross-ways in the popular belief of Greece and other nations.

^c In the *Helena* of Euripides (569) Helen exclaims when she sees Menelaos, *ὦ φωσφόρ' Ἐκάτη, πέμπε φάσματ' εὐμενῆ*, to which Menelaos replies, *οὐ νυκτίφαντον πρόπολον Ἐνοδίας μ' ὄρεῖς*.

house, lest ghosts might enter. But in spite of the Boeotian poet's assurances, the warrior in battle and the athlete and horseman in the race do not appear to have often invoked the aid of Hekate^a.

It is a question how far her association with Artemis affected the traditional character of either of the two goddesses. In certain details we may suppose there was mutual borrowing. The torch in the hands of Artemis is supposed by Petersen to have come from Hekate or Hekate Eileithyia^b; his argument rests on the fact that Artemis is not designated or represented as Πυρφόρος, or the torch-bearer, till a comparatively late period, the latter part of the fifth century, by which time her connexion with Hekate had been generally recognized; and the torch had been no doubt an aboriginal property of the latter goddess.

A certain type of Artemis, the representation of her speeding along with two torches in her hands, is almost certainly borrowed, as we find in North Greece a similar type of Hekate in swift motion with her torches raised and her wild hounds at her side^c.

Again, the connexion of Hekate with the cross-ways was no doubt primitive, although it does not appear in the fragment of the *Theogony*, and probably both at the cross-ways and before the house her image was intended to scare away evil spirits; it seems likely, then, that it was only as a double of Hekate that Artemis was regarded as a προθυραία or ἐνοδία^d. But Artemis was in her own right, like Apollo Ἀγνιεύς, a leader of the path; and there is no reason for supposing that she borrowed from the other goddess such titles as Ἡγεμόνη^e. And on the other hand Hekate, being often represented hurrying along with torches, may have been considered

^a There were games in her honour at Stratonicea; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1881, 236.

^b *Arch. Epigr. Mitt.* 4. p. 142.

^c Vide *Hekate-Monuments*, p. 41.

^d Hekate^{23 b, c}.

^e Στροφαία is an epithet applied to Artemis (Hekate^{23 c}), and is of doubtful

sense: if it refers to the cross-ways it must have come from Hekate; but it is not known to have been a title of the latter goddess: it is attached also to Hermes, not apparently as a deity of the cross-ways, but as the divinity whose image stood within the house and 'turned back' the evil-doer.

as a leader of the ways in the Lycian worship of Hekate Προκαθηγέτις^{23 d}, independently of Artemis.

The place before the gate of the temple, or city, or house was consecrated to Hekate^a; and it is only by confusion that the Ἐκάτειον standing before the door was called an Artemision^{23 b}; for Artemis in herself had no natural association with such places. It was perhaps only a local accident that gave the latter goddess the name of Προθυραία at Eleusis^b where she was worshipped before the great temple of the mysteries, as for a similar reason Athene was called Προναία at Thebes and Delphi^c.

The titles which she may be supposed to have borrowed from Hekate are Ἄγγελος^{23 f}, Κελκαία^{23 g}, and perhaps Εὐρίππα^d. As regards the title Ἄγγελος we have the curious story narrated by Sophron and mentioned in the chapter on Hera^e: the maiden Ἄγγελος, to escape her mother's wrath, takes refuge in places that were polluted by child-birth or the presence of a corpse; she was purified by the Cabiri by the lake of Acheron, and was afterwards given a position in the lower world. This quaint legend receives some light from the gloss in Hesychius, from whom we learn that Ἄγγελος was a title of Artemis in Syracuse; and we gather from Theocritus that she and Hekate were sometimes identified there^f. Thus the story may illustrate the character of the latter as a divinity of the lower world, and her connexion with child-birth; while the purification of Ἄγγελος by the Cabiri may allude to the Samothracian mysteries, in which, as we have seen, Hekate has a part.

But why she should be called 'the messenger' is doubtful: an imaginative Greek might have regarded the moon as a messenger, but there is nothing in the very eccentric

^a It may be that Antigone, in her appeal to Hekate, when she sees 'all the plain glittering with brazen arms,' is thinking of the goddess who guards the gate (*Eur. Phoen.* 110); her titles Κλειδοῦχος, Φυλακή, Πρόπολις^{23 a, b}, refer to the keeper of the gates; in the *Aeneid* she is mentioned as standing by

the gates of hell.

^b Artemis¹⁸.

^c In Aesch. *Suppl.* 449 προστατηρίας Ἀρτέμιδος εἰνοίαισι: the title has no local sense.

^d P. 449.

^e P. 184; Schol. Theocr. 2. 12.

^f *Id.* 2. 12, 33.

behaviour of Angelos which suggests the moon at all, and others prefer to explain the title as denoting the goddess who reported to Demeter the fate of her daughter. This is probable enough, as the Demeter-legend was so rife in Sicily; perhaps also the application of the title was assisted by the common representation of the goddess speeding with a torch in each hand. If this Syracusan legend has been properly interpreted, we have evidence of a peculiar local genealogy invented for Hekate; for she is made the daughter of Zeus and Hera, a parentage which may perhaps have been suggested by her association with Eileithyia.

The inexplicable epithet *Κελκαία*, which was attached to Artemis in Attica, may have come to her from Hekate; for Petersen calls attention to a late statue dedicated by an inscription to Artemis *Κελκαία*, and showing her triple-formed*.

On the whole, then, the proved influence of Hekate on the traditional public cult of Artemis does not appear very important; but it was an innovation which caused the figure of the Greek goddess to lose its clearness of outline and her character to become confused and bizarre. And being now more closely associated with the moon and with unhellenic superstitions, she became more exposed to the contagion of Oriental cult.

As regards the other question, how much Hekate may have borrowed of the character and functions of Artemis, little can be said. Though the later Orphic literature scarcely distinguishes between the two divinities in regard to their titles and powers, the literature, cults, and monuments of the classical period fail to show that Hekate usurped any considerable part of the functions or legends or even appeared at all in the guise of Artemis. She does not seem to have taken to hunting or the bow^b, and she holds aloof from Apollo; nor was her virginity insisted upon, nor was she received, as Artemis was, by the Eleusinian divinities. It is possible that the title *Σωρεύρη*, which she enjoyed in Phrygia^{23h}, and that of *Καλλίστη*²³ⁱ, which appears to have been attached to her at Athens, were

* *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* 5. p. 22; 4. Taf. 5

^b There is one statue of Hekate with

the quiver (in Rome, Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, p. 617).

derived from the worship of her sister-goddess. And it is not impossible that she became interested in child-birth through her association with Artemis or Eileithyia, with whom at Argos she probably had some relations^{23k}; for such interest is not attributed to her in the passage in the *Theogony*, and is only slightly and occasionally manifested. The first mention of it occurs in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus^{23k}, in a line which speaks of her as one with Artemis. Yet reasons might be brought in favour of the belief that Hekate was regarded from the beginning as a divinity of child-birth, either in her own original right as an earth-goddess, or because her torches suggested the torches of Eileithyia and were taken as a sign that she had the same office, or because her hound was really regarded by the Greeks as a symbol of easy delivery. For the Genetyllides, the divine midwives, who, like most alien divinities, won favour with Attic women, and over whose worship Aristophanes and Lucian made merry, were sometimes identified* with Hekate^{23k}: but if it were thought necessary to attach them to some higher power in the same profession, one would have expected that they would have been attached to Artemis, unless Hekate were recognized as of the same character and therefore a fitter 'proxenos' for these questionable goddesses, being herself of foreign extraction. Again, in the *Troades* of Euripides, Cassandra in her fine frenzy invokes the aid of Hekate for her approaching marriage^{23k}; and it is hard to see why she should here have appealed to this divinity, unless as a recognized goddess of marriage. And the divine powers of marriage might easily be considered also powers of birth^b.

But neither as a goddess of marriage or birth or agriculture was Hekate of any real national importance in Greece; her worship was without morality, and displayed energy only in sorcery and imposture. It was one of the evil things that grew up into prominence with the decline of Hellenism.

* They are also confused with Aphrodite; vide Aphrodite^{116g}.

^b Like Artemis, Hekate is especially a women's goddess; in the *Lysistrate*

before coming to the meeting the wife of Theogenes has to consult her *ἐκάτειον*¹⁰.

L.R. FARNELL
HEKATE IN ART

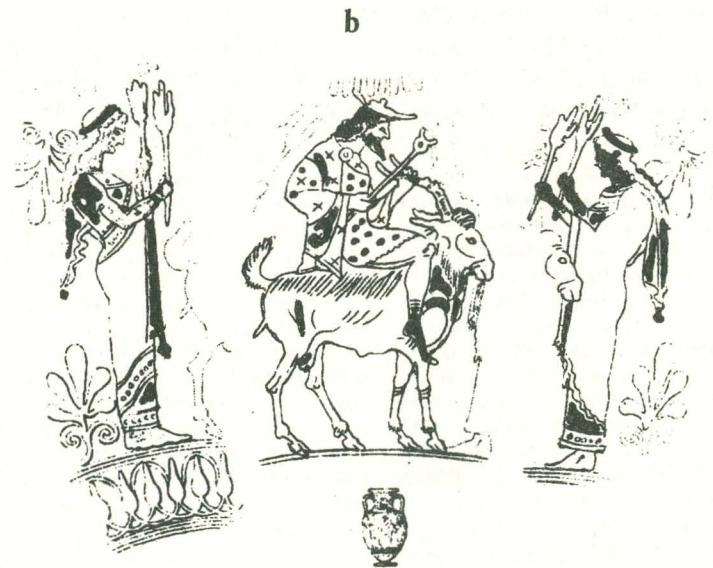
THE evidence of the monuments as to the character and significance of Hekate is almost as full as that of the literature. But it is only in the later period that they come to express her manifold and mystic nature. Before the fifth century there is little doubt that she was usually represented as of single form like any other divinity, and it was thus that the Boeotian poet imagined her, as nothing in his verses contains any allusion to a triple-formed goddess. The earliest known monument is a small terracotta found in Athens, with a dedication to Hekate (Pl. XXXVIII. a), in writing of the style of the sixth century. The goddess is seated on a throne with a chaplet bound round her head; she is altogether without attributes and character, and the only value of this work, which is evidently of quite a general type and gets a special reference and name merely from the inscription^a, is that it proves the single shape to be her earlier form, and her recognition at Athens to be earlier than the Persian invasion.

With this single exception, the black-figured and earlier red-figured vases are the only monuments that show us the figure of Hekate in the archaic and transitional periods^b; and on these, as well as on the vases of the later time, her form is single, and her usual attribute is the double torch. Also, so far as we can define the significance that she has

^a As Fränkel (*Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 265) points out, it is not distinguishable in form from the seated Athena found in Athens.

^b The goddess on the Aeginetan relief in the chariot with Eros cannot

be Hekate, as Welcker supposes, *Annali*, 2, p. 70. No Greek could have put that interpretation upon the figure, which has no attribute of Hekate, nor has Hekate any right to be associated with Eros.



in these early representations, we must say that there is no reference to her lunar character, but clear reference to her as a goddess of the lower world, or of the earth.

Thus on a black-figured vase of Berlin^a we see Hekate with torches, standing over against Cora, and between them the chthonian Hermes riding on a goat^b; and with the same form and attributes she is present on a Nolan vase in a representation of the setting forth of Triptolemos with the gifts of corn^c. The other persons present are Demeter, Proserpine, probably Artemis, and Hades, so that Hekate is here associated with the Eleusinian divinities of vegetation and the lower world.

But on the evidence of this and one or two other similar vase-paintings we have no right, in the absence of any literary evidence, to assume with Steuding^d that the goddess was ever received into the mystic cult at Eleusis: it is a common thing for the vase-painters to amplify their groups with cognate or appropriate figures without any express sanction of cult or legend.

Other vase-representations in which Hekate appears clearly designated as a divinity of the lower world are very rare, and the interpretation which discovers her in these is often very doubtful. Thus in the various paintings of the carrying off of Proserpine, a figure that has often been called Hekate^e may be a torch-bearing Demeter. The only certain instance that

^a Pl. XXXVIII. b (*Arch. Zeit.* 1868, Taf. 9).

^b We find Hekate again with Hermes and in company with Demeter on a vase of the fifth century, published in Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenb.* i. 217.

^c *Mon. dell' Inst.* i. Tav. 4. But we cannot always give the name of Hekate to the goddess with two torches in vase-representations of this myth: the name might suit this figure on the Louvre vase (Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythol. Atlas*, 15. 20), but on the vase of the Duc de Luynes (*ib.* no. 13) a similar figure must be called Persephone or Demeter; in all other cases, except where an inscription gives the name of

Hekate, it may as well be Artemis.

^d Roscher, *Lexicon*, p. 1893.

^e Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, 2. pp. 601-608. On a vase (published *Mon. dell' Inst.* 2. Tav. 49) that represents Heracles capturing Cerberus, there is a figure which is sometimes called Hekate thrusting a torch into his face; but it may be a Fury. And the statement that Hekate was regarded as the ἀγγελος or the Iris of Hell rests on the interpretation of a figure holding a torch and standing by Hades on a vase published in the *Bulletino Nap.* vol. 3. Tav. 3: this again is very probably a Fury.

may be quoted is a representation of this scene on a vase of the fourth century, of South Italian style, in the British Museum. We see a goddess with a circle of rays round her head and torches in her hand preceding the chariot that bears Hades and Proserpine. It is impossible that this figure should be Selene or Demeter or a Fury, or any other than Hekate, who here appears as a lunar and also as a nether divinity, possibly also a divinity of marriage, as in the *Troades* of Euripides.

This is almost all that we can gather about Hekate from the vase-paintings of any period; there is nothing distinctive in her form or drapery, and even the two torches are no sure clue to recognize her by. We have accounts of the form of Hekate in painting which give us certain details that the vases fail to supply: according to the extract quoted by Eusebius from Porphyry^{13g}, she was represented with a white robe and golden sandals on one of her shapes, and bronze sandals on another; but probably this is a type belonging to a late period of art.

Among the works of sculpture of the fifth century, the chief representation of Hekate was Myron's; unfortunately all that we are told of this statue is that it showed the goddess in single form, and that it was wrought for the Aeginetan worship. If Myron in this work indulged his ruling passion for dramatic movement, then we might illustrate his Hekate by the relief which Dr. Conze discovered in Thasos (Pl. XXXIX. a) and published, on which the goddess is seen sweeping along in long chiton holding two torches, with her wild hounds leaping at her side^a.

From Alcámenes onwards the triple form of Hekate is more common than the single, although this latter never entirely dies out. Pausanias in a well-known passage attributes to Alcámenes himself the invention of this new type; but all that we have the right to conclude from his words is that he was the first sculptor of eminence who carved a triple statue of the goddess. It is probable that the triple form had been seen in monuments before Alcámenes' work was

^a Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln d. thrakischen Meeres*, Taf. 10. 4.

produced. But the question what this triplicity meant must be first discussed. Some of the late writers on mythology, such as Cornutus and Cleomedes^{13 i, k}, and some of the modern, such as Preller and the writer in Roscher's *Lexicon* and Petersen, explain the three figures as symbols of the three phases of the moon. But very little can be said in favour of this, and very much against it. In the first place, the statue of Alcamenes represented Hekate *Ἐπιπυριδία*, whom the Athenian of that period regarded as the warder of the gate of his Acropolis¹⁰, and as associated in this particular spot with the Charites¹⁶, deities of the life that blossoms and yields fruit. Neither in this place nor before the door of the citizen's house did she appear as a lunar goddess.

We may also ask, Why should a divinity who was sometimes regarded as the moon, but had many other and even more important connexions, be given three forms to mark the three phases of the moon, and why should Greek sculpture have been in this solitary instance guilty of a frigid astronomical symbolism, while Selene, who was obviously the moon and nothing else, was never treated in this way? With as much taste and propriety Helios might have been given twelve heads.

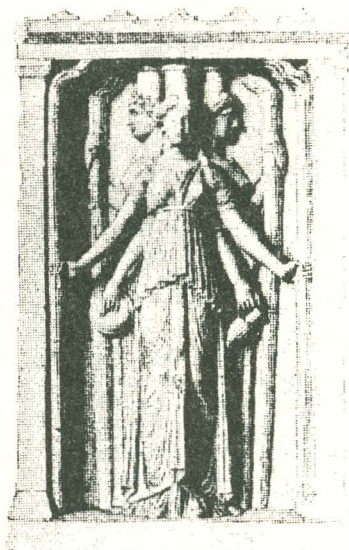
If this had been actually the intention of Alcamenes, it is difficult to know how he could make the Athenian public discover it in his figure; and we too often forget to ask how the ordinary Greek would naturally regard a monument. It is fairly certain that unless Alcamenes put a crescent over the forehead of each of his figures they would not be all clearly recognized as 'moon-phases': he may have done this, or anything else, as we know nothing at all of the details of his work; but, as it is only the latest monuments that show the crescent at all, and these only over one of the heads, it is not probable that Alcamenes placed this badge over each. In the relief found in Aegina (Pl. XXXIX. c) we see that the one figure holds the torches, the second a pitcher, and the third a cup; and Petersen supposes that all these things alluded to the moon, who sheds the gracious dew on the herbs^a. The

^a *Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 4. p. 167.

a PLATE XXXIX b



c



d



torch would occasionally, though not always, suggest to a Greek that the person bearing it was Selene. But what evidence have we that the pitcher and the cup allude to dew, and that these are the ordinary symbols of the moon-goddess? For the figure that bore these could only be certainly recognized as Selene if Selene were *par excellence* a cup-bearer; but she is not. Therefore if Alcámenes' figures merely carried torch, cup, and pitcher, his great idea that the triple shape should symbolize the three phases of the dewy moon would have been scarcely revealed to the public.

In fact, among the many late monuments that represent the triple Hekate, there is none of which two of the figures do not carry some attribute or property that cannot designate Selene^a. We can apply the name with certainty, then, to one only of such figures^b.

A second explanation which rests also on ancient authority is that the triple shape has reference to the Hesiodic idea of a goddess whose divinity is of many elements; that the Hekateion is in fact a trinity of Selene, Persephone, and Artemis, or represents the *κόρη φωσφόρος* in shapes and with attributes that are drawn from the moon, the lower world, and the earth. Such an explanation may be supported by the analogy of such figures as the double-headed Zeus, Zeus *Τριόφθαλμος*, and perhaps the two-headed Boreas on the vase representing the pursuit of Oreithyia^c.

^a In the description given by the scholiast on Theocritus 2. 12, some of the attributes have evidently no reference to the moon, for instance the calathus; cf. 13^k.

^b The most curious argument in favour of the equation of the triple Hekate to the three periods of the moon is advanced by Stending in his article in Roscher, p. 1890. Alcámenes, he maintains, must have been thinking of the three phases of the moon because he has grouped his three figures in so peculiar a manner that wherever you stand you see a middle one *en face* which equals the full moon, and left and right profiles which correspond to the

curves of the waxing and waning moon respectively. Perhaps it is only an accident that the writer has got the curves of the waxing and waning moon wrong, or has put right for left; the flaw in the argument is that the arrangement is not peculiar, as three figures cannot be placed back to back in any other way. Also it is asking a great deal to ask us to believe that the Greek, when gazing at his statues, was in the habit of comparing the human profiles with curves of astral bodies.

^c One of his faces is dark, the other light; it may be that he is thus characterized as a divinity of the upper and lower world.

The objection to this view is rather that it is insufficient than incorrect. Artemis, Demeter, Hermes, Aphrodite have each many natures and different spheres in which they act: but the idea of representing any one of these as a multiplicity or trinity of figures never occurred to any Greek artist. And though Hekate may have been ordinarily recognized as a goddess of three worlds, having associations with Selene, Artemis, and Persephone, a triple shape would scarcely have been given her for this reason only, had not her figure for practical purposes already been made triple at the cross-roads. It is true that we have no certain proof that this had happened before the time of Alcámenes, but it is the only reasonable motive for the shape of his statue at the entrance to the Acropolis. All that we need suppose is that the *Ἐκάτεια* at the cross-roads or before the houses had already been given three heads^a. This would suggest to Alcámenes to enlarge upon this type that had been invented for practical convenience only, and to group together three figures around a column or back to back, as well as to invest each figure with attributes that alluded to the complex nature of the divinity, so that the triplicity was no longer merely a convenience but an expression of essential character.

After Alcámenes there was no great sculptor to whom a triple Hekate is attributed^b. Among the many representations that have come down to us, then, we might expect to find some traces of the influence of his work. It is quite gratuitous to regard such works as the Hekate of the Capito-

^a We know there were *Ἐκάτεια* before the doors in the time of the Peloponnesian war; and both here and at the cross-roads there was a motive for tripling the heads at least, namely that the countenance might guard egress and approach from either direction, or make the path of the traveller lucky whichever way he took. But the monuments fail to prove this, all the three-headed Hermae of Hekate being late.

^b The two statues of Hekate at Argos, wrought by Naukydes and Polycleitus^{23k} (whether the older or the younger is

uncertain), cannot with certainty be regarded as forming a group of three with the temple-statue of Scopas, so as to express the triple idea. We do not know when they were wrought or whether they stood in the same temple as the image by Scopas; for Pausanias' words, *τὰ ἀναντιρρόν*, may refer to statues on the other side of the road, and do not seem naturally to apply to a group, especially as they were of bronze while Scopas' work was of marble.

line^a or the Leyden Museum^b as copies; there is nothing in the style of these that has any far-off association with the age of Alcámenes. But the claim of the relief found in Aegina, and now in Königswart in Bohemia (Pl. XXXIX. c), to represent something of the spirit of the original work is certainly greater^c. The work appears to be of the fourth century B. C., and to possess considerable artistic merit; so far as can be judged from the publications of it, the faces have a dignity and breadth that recall the older style, the hair is drawn away from the cheek, and the expression is austere and solemn. But the archaism in the treatment of the drapery is not what would be expected from a pupil of Pheidias, unless it were retained as a tradition of hieratic sculpture; and Petersen may be right in regarding a lately found fragment of a Hekateion, which he has published in the *Römische Mittheilungen des deutschen Institutes*^d, as standing nearer to the work of Alcámenes (Pl. XXXIX. b). Unfortunately nothing is preserved but the three torsos, set back to back; from the position of the arms we can conjecture that the hands held such attributes as pitcher, cup, or torch. What is most important in the fragment is the treatment of the drapery, which shows the folds and the arrangement common in works of the Pheidian school, the girdle hidden, and the upper fold of the chiton drawn down so as to form a rich border across the waist.

Among the later monuments representing the triple Hekate we find illustration of nearly all the religious ideas that have been already examined.

Her connexion with the Charites at Athens explains those works on which, under the Hermae of the triple goddess, three maidens are represented dancing hand in hand around the shaft^e: the maidens bear the calathus—the emblem of fruitfulness—on their heads, and themselves have something of the form of Hekate.

^a Published in Roscher, p. 1905.

^b *Arch. Zeit.* i. Taf. 8.

^c The grouping of the figures cannot make for or against the theory, for Pausanias' words describing the work of

Alcámenes, ἀγάλματα τρία προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, are not altogether clear.

^d 4. p. 73.

^e Gerhard, *Akad. Abhandl.* Taf. 32, 4.

The same idea, her association with the fruitfulness of the earth, is expressed by the symbol of the apple which one or more figures of the triple group is often holding in her hand, as on the monument from Catajo in Vienna^a; and by the fruits that are sometimes carved on the shaft of the Hekate column. Between the shoulders of the figures on the monument just mentioned we see a small statue of Pan; and some association of her with the Phrygian worship may explain the Phrygian cap which one of her figures wears in the bronze of the Capitoline^b and another bronze of the British Museum.

The character of Hekate Κλειδοῦχος²⁴, the guardian of the gate, is shown by the key which appears in the hands of many of her figures; and possibly this alludes not only to the gate of the house and the city, but to the gate of hell, which she might be supposed to keep: as the key is known to have been also the badge of Hades^c.

The later coins and gems and works of sculpture afford ample illustration of her infernal and terrifying aspect; her hair is sometimes wreathed with serpents, like the Gorgon's; or the snake appears in her hand, a symbol of the same significance as the whip and cord which she borrows from the Furies; the sword or the dagger which she often holds refers to the goddess of retribution.

A monument full of archaeological illustration of the bizarre ideas in this worship is the marble Hekateion of the Bruckenthal collection at Hermanstadt (Pl. XXXIX. d). The body of the front form is divided by parallel lines into different fields^d. On her shoulders are carved in low relief two figures, the one being Tyche holding a horn, the other perhaps Nemesis; on her breast is a rising sun: on the second field women with children, and Hermes with caduceus, and two animals—probably hounds: on the third the scene may probably be interpreted as the initiation of a child; there is the triple image of Hekate on the left, and on the right a woman is

^a Gerhard, *Akad. Abhandl.* Taf. 32, 1, 2.

a key at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20).

^d Vide more detailed account in Harrison and Verrall's *Myths and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 381.

^b Roscher, p. 1906.

^c There was a statue of Plouton with

PLATE XL



holding a knife over an animal that seems to be a small dog^a.

In the latest gems we sometimes find her lunar character very clearly shown, as on a gem published by Müller^b, on which the moon is seen looking out of a cloud above Hekate.

This representation shows a different treatment of the triple form: we see three heads and shoulders and six hands, but the lower part of her body is single, and closely resembles that of the Ephesian Artemis. We have probably here a real reminiscence of this cognate cult, and as we find bulls' heads wrought on the idol of Ephesus, so here on the gem we see bulls at the feet of Hekate.

This type of the single body with the three heads and shoulders may have descended from the earlier Hermae of the street and the cross-ways, and it existed by the side of the full triple form in late times, though it was probably far less commonly used for temple-monuments. But where Hekate was represented in dramatic action, the former type was more likely to be used, as it could be shown in much more natural movement than the trinity of three complete figures. The most memorable instance of the single body with the six arms and three heads is found on the Pergamene frieze (Pl. XL.), where she is armed with spear, sword, shield and torch, and is engaged in conflict with a serpent-footed giant. It is interesting to see that the form of the goddess in this last monument of genuinely Greek sculpture is free from the terrifying traits and the turgid symbolism with which later literature and art had invested her. The deity of the nether world is marked by the protruding forehead, the forward fall of the hair, the earnest and fixed expression, and the solemnity given by the shadows into which the profiles are cast; and here, as in the earlier vase-paintings and in the Aeginetan relief, the forms and the drapery are such as are proper to the maidenly goddess.

^a An initiation to Hekate might be alluded to in a vase-painting published in the *Annali del Instituto*, 1865, Tav. d'Agg. F (p. 95), representing two youths seated before a table, above which

is the inscription ΜΥΣΤΑ; but the interpretation given of it there seems to me very doubtful.

^b *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*, 2. 888.

NOTES TO FARNELL

(Any confusions in Farnell's abbreviated references—as well as others in this volume—should be clarified by consulting the lists in Hammond and Scullard [eds.] *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* [Oxford 1970] pp ix-xxii, which should be supplemented by those in Liddell, Scott, Jones, et al. *A Greek-English Lexicon* [Oxford 1968] pp xvi-xlv. —Ed.)

¹ Hes. *Theog.* 409:

Ἄσπερίην εὐώνυμον ἦν ποτε Πέρσης
 ἠγάγετ' ἐς μέγα δῶμα φίλην κεκλήσθαι ἄκοιτιν.
 ἢ δ' ὑποκουσμένη Ἐκάτην τέκε, τὴν περὶ πάντων
 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τίμησε. πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
 μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.
 ἢ δὲ καὶ ἀστερόεντος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἔμμορε τιμῆς . . .
 ᾧ δ' ἐθέλει μεγάλως παραγίνεται ἢ δ' ὀνίνησιν.
 ἔν τ' ἀγορῇ λαοῖσι μεταπρέπει, ὃν κ' ἐθέλησιν.
 οἳ δ' ὀπότ' ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα θωρήσσονται
 ἀνέρες, ἔνθα θεὰ παραγίνεται, οἷς κ' ἐθέλησι,
 νίκην προφρονέως ὀπάσαι καὶ κῦδος ὀρέξαι.
 ἔν τε δίκη βασιλεῦσι παρ' αἰδοίοισι καθίζει.
 ἐσθλή δ' αὖθ', ὀπότ' ἄνδρες ἀγῶνι ἀεθλεύωσιν . . .
 καὶ τοῖς οἳ γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον ἐργάζονται,
 εὔχονται δ' Ἐκάτην καὶ ἔρικτύφω Ἐννοσιγαίῳ,
 ῥήϊδιος δ' ἄγρην κυδνὴ θεὸς ὥπασε πολλήν . . .
 ἐσθλή δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἑρμῇ ληϊδ' ἀέξειν . . .
 οὕτω τοι καὶ μουνογενῆς ἐκ μητρὸς ἐοῦσα
 πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι τετίμηται γεράεσσι.
 θῆκε δὲ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον.

² Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς Διμήτρος γενεαλογεῖται καὶ τότε δὴ Ἐκάτην Δηὸ τέκεν εὐπατέριαν . . . Μουσαῖος δὲ Ἀσπερίας καὶ Διός. Φερεκύδης δὲ Ἀρισταίου τοῦ Παίωνος Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ Περσέως.

³ Bacchyl. fr. 40 Bergk Ἐκάτα δαδοφόρε Νυκτὸς μελανοκόλπου θύγατερ. Eur. *Phoen.* 108 Παῖ Λατοῦς Ἐκάτα.

⁴ Paus. 1. 43, 1 οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι.

Hekate of Pherae.

⁵ Schol. Lycophr. 1180 Φεραῖαν Ἐκάτην, ἐκ Φεραίας, τῆς Αἰδολοῦ θυγατρὸς, κακ τοῦ Διὸς ἐτέχθη, καὶ ἐν τριόδοις ἐρρίφθη . . . Φεραῖαν δὲ ὡς ἐν ταῖς Φεραῖς τιμωμένην. Cf. Artemis¹¹⁷; Schol. Theocr. 2. 36.

⁶ Polyaeus. *Strat.* 8. 42 ἱέρεια τῆς Ἐνοδίας in Thessaly.

⁷ In Aegina: Paus. 2. 30, 2 θεῶν δὲ Λιγυηταί τιμῶσιν Ἐκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἐκάτης, Ὀρφεία σφίσι τὸν Θρᾶκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ναὸς ἐστι ξόανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σώμα. Cf. Liban. ὑπὲρ Ἀριστ. p. 426 R φίλος Ἐκάτην καὶ Ποσειδῶνι πλέον μὲν ἐς Λιγυῖαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνης ὀργίων. Cf. Lucian, *Navig.* 15. Schol. Arist. *Pax* 276 ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ ἦσαν τελεταὶ τινας ἀς ἐδόκουν τελείσθαι πρὸς ἀλεξιφάρμακά τινα κινδύνων ἐν δὲ τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἦν μυστήρια καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἐκάτης καὶ διαβόητον ἦν τὸ Ζήρινον ἄντρον ἔνθα τὴν Ἐκάτην ὀργιάζειν ἐλέγετο καὶ τελετὰς ἦγον αὐτῇ τῆς καὶ κύνας ἔθουον. καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρον πεποικῶς μέμνηται "Ζήρινον ἄντρον καὶ κυνοσφαγοῦς θεᾶς λιπὼν ἐρυμνὸν κτίσμα Κυρβάντων Σάου."

⁸ At Delos: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1882, p. 48 (list of treasures in the temple of Apollo) ἄλλο ποτήριον . . . ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πολύβου Τιμοκράτης Ἀντιγόνου Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐκάτει. Cf. *ib.* 1882, p. 344 Ἀθηναγόρας Ἀθηναγόρου Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐκάτει.

⁹ At Ephesus: Eustath. Hom. *Od.* p. 1714. 41 Καλλίμαχος οὖν ἐν ὑπομνήμασι τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ἐπιξενωθῆναί φησιν Ἐφέσῳ υἱῷ Καύστρου, ἐκβαλλομένην δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μεταβαλεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς κύνα, εἴτ' αὖθις ἐλεήσασαν ἀποκαταστήσαι εἰς ἄνθρωπον καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν αἰσχυρθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι ἀπάγξασθαι, τὴν δὲ θεὸν περιθείσαν αὐτῇ τὸν οἰκείον κόσμον Ἐκάτην ὀνομάσαι. Strabo, 641 ἡμῖν δὲ ἐδείκνυτο καὶ τῶν Θράσωνος τινα, οὐπερ καὶ τὸ Ἐκατήσιον ἐστι. Plin. *N. H.* 36. 32 Menestrati Ephesi Hekate in templo Dianae post aedem.

¹⁰ At Athens: Arist. *Lys.* 63 ἡ γοῦν Θεογένους ὡς δεῦρ' ἰούσα θουκάτειον ἦρετο. Cf. 700. *C. I. A.* 1. 208 Ἀρτεμις Ἐκάτη (fifth century B.C.). Paus. 2. 30, 2 Ἀλκαμένης δέ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἐκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἦν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργιδίαν ἔστηκε δὲ παρὰ τῆς Ἀπτερίου Νίκης τὸν ναόν.

¹¹ Strabo, 472 οἳ δὲ Ἐκάτης προπόλους νομίζουσι τοὺς Κουρήτας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Κορύβασιν ὄντας.

Animals associated with Hekate.

¹² Porph. *de Abst.* 3. 17 ἢ δὲ Ἐκάτη ταῦρος κύων λέαινα ἀκούουσα μᾶλλον ὑπαικούει. *ib.* 4. 16 τὴν δὲ Ἐκάτην ἵππον, ταῦρον, λέαιναν κύνα (προσηγόρευσαν). Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 52. p. 277 ὡςπερ οὖν οἳ Ἕλληνες τῇ Ἐκάτῃ, καὶ τῇ

Γενετή (Μάνη) κύνα Ῥωμαίοι θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκογενῶν Ἀργείους δὲ Σωκράτης φησὶ τῇ Ἐλιονείᾳ κύνα θύειν διὰ τὴν ῥυστώνην τῆς λοχείας. *Id.* 68 τῷ δὲ κυνὶ πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, Ἕλληνες ἔχρῳντο καὶ χρῳνταὶ γε μέχρι νῦν ἔνιοι σφαγίῳ πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμούς· καὶ τῇ Ἐκάτῃ σκυλάκια . . . ἐκφέρουσι καὶ περιμάττουσι σκυλακίους τοὺς ἀγνισμοῦ δεομένους, περισκυλακισμὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος τοῦ καθαρμοῦ καλοῦντες. Cf. *id.* 111 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ καθαρεύειν φῶντο παντάσῃσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ζῶν· Ὀλυμπίῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὶ θεῶν καθιέρωται, Χθονία δὲ δεῖπνον Ἐκάτῃ πεμπόμενος ἐς τριόδους . . . ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι τῷ φονικωτάτῳ θεῶν Ἐνυαλίῳ, σκύλακας ἐντέμνουσι· Βοιωτοῖς δὲ δημοσίᾳ καθαρμὸς ἐστὶ, κυνὸς διχοτομηθέντος τῶν μερῶν διεξελεθῆναι. Cf. Artemis¹³⁰: Artemis Φεραία associated with the dog-shaped Hecuba. Paus. 3. 14, 9 κυνὸς δὲ σκύλακας οὐθένας ἄλλους οἶδα Ἑλλήνων νομίζοντας θύειν ὅτι μὴ Κολοφωνίου· θύουσι γὰρ καὶ Κολοφῶνιοι μέλαιναν τῇ Ἐνοδίῳ σκύλακα.

Hekate a lunar goddess.

^{13a} Hom. *Hymn to Demeter*, l. 52 ἤντετό οἱ Ἐκάτῃ σέλας ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχουσα. Soph. Ῥιζοτόμοι, fr. 490 Ἥλιε δέσποτα καὶ πῦρ ἱερὸν τῆς εἰνοδίας Ἐκάτης ἔγχος τὸ δὲ Οὐλύμπου πωλοῦσα φέρει καὶ γῆς ναίουσ' ἱερὰς τριόδους στεφανωσαμένη δρυὶ καὶ πλεκταῖς ὤμων σπείραισι δρακόντων.

^b Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 594 κατὰ δὲ νομηνίαν οἱ πλούσιοι ἔπεμπον δεῖπνον ἐσπέρας ὡσπερ θυσίαν τῇ Ἐκάτῃ ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις. *Plut. Quaest. Coniun.* 708 F ὥστε πάσχειν τοὺς δειπνίζοντας, ἀ πάσχουσιν οἱ τῇ Ἐκάτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις ἐκφέροντες τὰ δεῖπνα, μὴ γενομένους αὐτοὺς μηδὲ τοὺς οἴκοι. Athenae. p. 645 A Ἀμφιφῶν πλακοῦς Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνακείμενος, ἔχει δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ καόμενα δάδια· Φιλῆμων ἐν Πτωχῇ ἢ Ῥοδίᾳ . . . μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Ἐκάτῃ . . . Φιλόχορος . . . φησὶ ἐς τὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὰ φέρεσθαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς τριόδους, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπικαταλαμβάνεται ἡ σελήνη ἐπὶ ταῖς δυσμαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀμφιφῶς γίγεται.

^c At Methydrion in Arcadia: Porph. *de Abst.* 2. 16 (quoting from Theopompus) κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ταῖς νομηνίαις στεφανοῦντα καὶ φαιδρύνοντα τὸν Ἐρμῆν καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην.

^d Athenae. 325 A καὶ ταῖς τριακάσι δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ δεῖπνα φέρουσι. *Harpocr. s. v.* τριακάς· τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἤγετο ἢ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ . . . καὶ ἐλέγετο τριακάς.

^e Suidas, s. v. Ἐκάτη. οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἀρτεμιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Σελήνην.

^f Schol. Eur. *Med.* 396 ὅταν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν Σελήνη ὀνομάζεται, ὅταν δὲ ἔξ, Ἀρτεμις, ὅταν δὲ δεκάπεντε, Ἐκάτη. Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 591 τὴν Ἐκάτην ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις ἐτιμῶν διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν Σελήνην καὶ Ἀρτέμιδα καὶ Ἐκάτην καλεῖσθαι. *Plut. de Defect. Orac.* p. 416 E τὴν σελήνην . . . χθονίας ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐρανίας κλήρον Ἐκάτης προσείπον.

^g Porphyr. ap Euseb. *Praef. Evang.* 3. 11, 32 Ἐκάτῃ ἡ σελήνη πύλιν· . . . διὸ τρίμορφος ἡ δύναμις, τῆς μὲν νομηνίας φέρουσα τὴν λευχείμονα καὶ χρυσοσάνδαλον καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας ἡμένας· ὁ δὲ κάλαθος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς μετεώροις φέρει τῆς τῶν καρπῶν κατεργασίας οὐς ἀνατρέπει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς παραύξησιν· τῆς δ' αὖ πανσελήνου ἢ χαλκοσάνδαλος σύμβολον.

^h Serv. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 511 *Tergeminamque Hekaten* quidam Hekaten dictam esse tradunt quod eadem et Diana sit et Proserpina . . . Tria virginis ora Dianae . . . Lunae Dianae Proserpinae: et cum super terras est creditur esse Luna; cum in terris, Diana; cum sub terris, Proserpina. Quibusdam ideo triplicem placet, quia Luna tres figuras habet.

ⁱ Cleomedes, *Μετεωρ.* 2. 5, 111 οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ τρία εἶναι περὶ τὴν σελήνην ἔφασαν, τὸ μνηοειδές, τὸ διχότομον, τὸ πεπληρωμένον. ὅθεν καὶ τριπρόσωπον τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ποιεῖν ἔθος ἐστίν.

^k Cf. Schol. Theocr. 2. 12. Cornutus, p. 208, Osann. οὐχ ἑτέρα οὐσα αὐτῆς (Ἀρτέμιδος) ἢ Ἐκάτῃ τρίμορφος εἰσῆκται διὰ τὸ τρία σχήματα γενικώτατα ἀποτελεῖν τὴν σελήνην.

^l Plut. περὶ τοῦ προσώπου. τῆς σελ. p. 944 C Βάθη ταῦτα τῆς σελήνης ἐστὶ καὶ κοιλώματα· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἐκάτης μυχόν, ὅπου καὶ δίκας διδάσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσι.

^m ?Lunar goddess in Caria, Stratonicea: *C. I. Gr.* 2720 ἱερέα τοῦ παν(αμαρίου Διός) καὶ Ἐκάτης τῆς ἀδοφόρου. Vide Zeus⁸.

Hekate connected with Demeter, Persephone, and the lower world.

¹⁴ Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1048 Εἰνοδία θυγάτηρ Δάματρος. Mullach, *Frag. Phil. Graec.* 1, Orphic. L καὶ τότε δὴ Ἐκάτην Διὸς τέκεν εὐπατέρειαν. Serv. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 511 nonnulli eandem Lucinam Dianam Hekaten appellant ideo, quia uni deae tres assignant potestates nascendi valendi moriendi, et quidem nascendi Lucinam deam esse dicunt valendi Dianam moriendi Hekaten. Schol. Theocr. 2. 12 τῇ Δήμητρι μυχθεῖς ὁ Ζεὺς τεκνοῖ Ἐκάτην διαφέρονσαν ἰσχύι καὶ μεγέθει, ἣν ὑπὸ γῆν πεμφθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς Περσεφόνης ἀναζητήσιν. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 13 P μῆνις . . . τῆς Διοῦς, ἣς δὴ χάριν Βριμῶ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται. Euseb. *Praef. Evang.* 5. 13 ἑοῶν δ' ἄρ' ἐν αὐτῷ μορφῇ μοι πέλεται Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου, εἵμασι παλλεῦκοις περὶ ποσσὶ δὲ χρυσοπέδιλος· Ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖς ζῶνι δολιχοὶ θεῖουσι δράκοντες (oracle quoted from Porphyry περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφ.).

¹⁵ *C. I. A.* 3. 268 ἱερέως Χαρίτων καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐπιτυργιδίας πυρφόρου. *Id.* 1. 5 (Ἐκάτ)η (?) Ἐρμῆ ἑναγωνίῳ Χάρισιν αἶγα. *Id.* 2. 208 Ἐρμού καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτης.

¹⁶ Eur. *Hērō*. 142:

οὐ γὰρ ἔνθεος, ὦ κούρα,
εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἴθ' Ἐκάτας
ἢ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων
φοιτᾶς ἢ ματρὸς ὀρείας (cf. ¹¹).

¹⁷ Inscription from Tralles: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 337 Πριάπιον καὶ Ἐκατέου ἀλλή (second or third century A. D.).

¹⁸ Thera: *C. I. Gr.* 465 b Εἶσατο τήνδ' Ἐκάτην πολυώνυμον Ἀρτεμίδωρος Φωσφόρον, ἦν τιμῶσιν ὅσοι χώραν κατέχουσιν Μνημοσύνην θήρας πόλεως παριούσιν ἔτευξεν Βάθρα τάδ' (? third century B. C.). Cf. Artemis ⁵⁸.

¹⁹ Ἐκάτης νῆσος: Suidas, s. v. πρὸ τῆς Δήλου κείται τι νησίδριον δ' ὑπ' ἐνίων Ψαμίτη καλεῖται· καλεῖσθαι δὲ οὕτως φασὶν αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ τοῖς ψαμίτοις τιμᾶσθαι τὴν θεόν· ψάμιτον δὲ ἐστὶ ψαιστῶν τις ἰδέα. Cf. Athenae. 645 B, quoting Semos, mentioning Iris as the divinity on the island.

²⁰ Diod. Sic. 1. 96 εἶναι δὲ λέγουσι πλησίον τῶν τόπων τούτων καὶ σκοτίας Ἐκάτης ἱερὸν καὶ πύλας Κωκυτοῦ. *C. I. Gr.* 3857 K δε ἂν προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον Ἐκάτης μελαίνης περιπέσοιτο δαίμοσιν: inscription on a tomb, late period, Phrygia. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1199.

²¹ Athenae. 325 B Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν τῇ Ἐκάτῃ φησὶ θύεσθαι τρίγλην διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκειότητα· τρίμορφος γὰρ ἢ θεός· Μελάμβιος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι μυστηρίων καὶ τρίγλην καὶ μαινίδα, ὅτι καὶ θαλάττιος ἢ Ἐκάτη. . . Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ τόπος τις Τρίγλα καλεῖται, καὶ αὐτόθι ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἐκάτῃ τριγλανθίνῃ. διὸ καὶ Χαρικλείδης ἐν Ἀλύσει φησὶ "δέσποινα Ἐκάτα τριοδίτι τρίμορφε τριπρόσωπε τρίγλαις κηλευμένα." Cf. late inscription from Cilicia: *Hell. Journ.* 1890, p. 252 εἶτε Σεληναίην, εἶτ' Ἀρτεμιν, εἶτε σέ, δαίμον Πυρφόρον, ἐν τριόδῳ Γῆν σεβόμεσθ' Ἐκάτην.

²² Hekate Ἀνταία: Hesych. s. v. ἀνταία· ἐναντία, ἰκέσιος, σημαίνει δὲ καὶ δαίμονα (leg. δαιμόνια), καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην δὲ ἀνταίαν λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιπέμπει αὐτά. *Id.* s. v. ἀφραττος· ἢ Ἐκάτη, παρὰ Ταραντίους. Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 295 "Ἐμπουσα . . . Φάντασμα δαιμονιώδες ὑπὸ Ἐκάτης ἐπιπεμπόμενον καὶ φαινόμενον τοῖς δυστυχούσι . . . δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ταῖς μεσημβρίαις φαντάζεσθαι, ὅταν τοῖς κατοικομένοις ἐναγίζωσι. ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Ἐκάτῃ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Ταγηνισταῖς "χθονία θ' Ἐκάτη σπείρας ὄψεων ἐλελιζόμενη." εἶτα ἐπιφέρει "τί καλεῖς τὴν Ἐμπουσαν;" Suidas, s. v. Ἐκάτη· ἐν φάσμασιν ἐκτόποις φαινομένην τοῖς καταρωμένοις, τὰ δὲ φάσματα αὐτῆς δρακοντοκέφαλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὑπερμεγέθεις. Theophr. *Charact.* 16 περὶ δεισιδαιμ. καὶ πυκνὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καθᾶραι δεινός, Ἐκάτης φάσκων ἐπαγωγὴν γεγονέναι. Dio Chrys. 4. p. 168 R ὡς εἰώθασιν ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ καθάρσια μῆνιν Ἐκάτης ἰλασκόμενοι τε καὶ ἐξάντη φάσκοντες ποιήσιν, ἔπειτα οἶμαι φάσματα πολλὰ πρὸ τῶν καθαρμῶν ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ

ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἃ φασὶν ἐπιπέμπειν χολουμένην τὴν θεόν. Harpocr. s. v. ὄξυθύμια Δίδυμος . . . ἐν τῷ ὑπομήματι ἐς τὸν κατὰ Δημάδου τὰ ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις φησὶν Ἐκαταία, ὅπου τὰ καθάρσια ἔφερον ἄτινες δ' ὄξυθύμια καλεῖται. Εὐπολις Δήμοις "ὃν χρῆν ἔν τε ταῖς τριόδοις κὰν τοῖς ὄξυθυμίαις προστρόπαιον τῆς πόλεως κάεσθαι τετριγύα." Suidas, s. v. ὄξυθύμια· τὰ καθάρματα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀποφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰς τριόδους, ὅταν τὰς οἰκίας καθαίρωσιν. Cf. Zeus ^{138 a}. Ἐκάτη μεισοπόνηρος *C. I. Gr.* 5950.

Common or cognate titles of Artemis and Hekate.

^{22a} Schol. Theocr. 2. 12 τῇ Δήμητρι μυχθεῖς δὲ Ζεὺς τεκνοῖ Ἐκάτην . . . καὶ νῦν Ἀρτεμις καλεῖται καὶ Φυλακὴ καὶ Δαδοῦχος καὶ Φωσφόρος καὶ Χθονία.

^b Hekate Προπυλαία: Hesych. s. v. προπύλα (leg. προπυλαία). Cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 804 ὡσπερ Ἐκαταῖον πανταχοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. Aesch. *Frag.* 386 δέσποινα Ἐκάτη βασιλείων πρόδρομος μελάθρων. *C. I. Gr.* 2796, inscription third century B. C., Ἐκάτη πρόπολις, at Aphrodisias in Caria. Hesych. s. v. Φυλάδα· ἢ Ἐκάτη (? Φυλακά or Φυλάκα, Lob. *Aglaoph.* p. 545). Diphilus, *Frag.* 42, Meineke κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες τρεῖς ὡσπερ Ἀρτεμίσιον. Ἀρτεμις προθυραία in Eleusis, Artemis ¹⁶. Cf. inscription of late period from Epidaurus: *Eph. Arch.* 1884, p. 27 Ἀρτάμιτος προθυραίας. *C. I. Gr.* 2661 Ἀρτεμιν εὐόλβῳ τῷδε παρὰ προπύλῳ (from Halicarnassus).

^c Artemis Στροφαία, ? 'the goddess who stands by the hinge of the door,' at Erythrae: Athenae. 259 B ἦν ἑορτὴ καὶ πανηγυρις ἀγομένη Ἀρτέμιδι Στροφέα (leg. Στροφαία). Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 95 Πολέμων γὰρ φησὶ . . . παρ' Ἐρυθραίοις δὲ τὸ ἔδος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος δεδέσθαι. Cf. στροφαίος Hermes.

^d Hekate Προκαθηγέτις: Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien*, 68. No. 43 τῆς προκαθηγέτιδος θεοῦ Ἐκάτης (Roman period). Cf. ⁷⁹ ^{oc}.

^e Artemis Ἐνοδία: Hesych. s. v. Ἐνοδία· ἢ Ἀρτεμις. In Thessaly: *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1883, p. 60. No. 14, inscription from Pherae (private dedication to Ἐνοδία): in Euboea *ib.* 1891, p. 412, private dedication, ? third century B. C. Artemis φωσφόρος ἔνοδία: Robert-Preller, *Griech. Mythol.* p. 870. Sext. Emp. πρὸς φυσικοὺς A, § 185 εἶγε μὴν ἢ Ἀρτεμις θεός ἐστιν καὶ ἡ ἔνοδία τις ἂν εἴη θεός· ἐπ' ἴσης γὰρ ἐκείνη καὶ αὕτη δεδόξασται εἶναι θεά. Hekate ἔνοδία, ^{13a} (Soph. *Frag.* 490). Steph. Byz. s. v. τριόδος· αὕτη (ἢ Ἐκάτη) καὶ ἔνοδία ἐκλήθη ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εὐρέθη ὑπὸ Ἰνάχου.

^f Artemis Ἀγγελος: Hesych. s. v. Ἀγγελον· Συρακούσιοι τὴν Ἀρτεμιν λέγουσι = Hekate Ἀγγελος.

^g Artemis Κελκαία = Hekate: Arr. *Anab.* 7. 19 ἀπενεχθῆναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Κελκαίας τὸ ἔδος. *C. I. Gr.* 1947 Ἀρτέμιδι Κελκαία (private dedication): inscription of late period, probably found at Athens.

^h Hekate Σωτήριη in Phrygia: *C. I. Gr.* 3827 Q 'Αγαθὴ τύχη Σωτήριος 'Εκάτης . . . Δημοσθένη τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱόν, τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ Σωτήριος 'Εκάτης, κατειέρωσαν (Roman period). Cf. 'Εκάτη ἐπηκόφ on late gem. *C. I. Gr.* 7321 b and vide Artemis^{79a}.

ⁱ Hekate Καλλίστη in Athens: Hesych. *s. v.* Καλλίστη . . . καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Κεραμείῳ ἰδρυμένη 'Εκάτη, ἣν ἔνιοι Ἄρτεμιν λέγουσι. Cf. Artemis²⁷, *ad fin.*

^k Aesch. *Supp.* 676 Ἄρτεμιν δ' 'Εκάταν γυναικῶν λόχους ἐφορεύειν. Roehl, *Inscrip. Graec. Anliq.* 517 [ἐπὶ τέκν]φ? τῶ 'Εκάτῃ (from Selinus). Hekate Εὐκολίη: Callim. *Frag.* 82 D (Schneider). *Et. Mag.* p. 392. 27 Εὐκολίη ἢ 'Εκάτη λέγεται παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ κατ' ἀντίφασιν, ἢ μὴ οὐσα εὐκολος. Eur. *Troad.* 323:

δίδου δ', ᾧ 'Εκάτα, φάος,
παρθένων ἐπὶ λέκτροις, ἃ νόμος ἔχει.

Herodas, 7. 85 τῇ γὰρ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Ταυρέωνος ἡ 'Εκάτη γάμον ποιεῖ τῆς Ἄρτακητῆς. Hesych. *s. v.* γενετυλλίς γυναικεία θεὸς πεποιημένου τοῦ ὀνόματος παρὰ τὰς γενέσεις, εὐκύνια τῇ 'Εκάτῃ διὸ καὶ ταύτη κύνας προετίθεισαν· ἐστὶ δὲ ξενική ἢ θεὸς καὶ ἑορτὴ τῶν γυναικῶν. Cf. Aphrodite¹¹⁸ g. ? Connected with Eileithyia at Argos: Paus. 2. 22, 7 τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας πέραν ἐστὶν 'Εκάτης ναός, Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον· τοῦτο μὲν λίθου, τὰ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ χαλκᾷ 'Εκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυκλείτου Ναυκύδης Μόθωνος. ? Κουροτρόφος at Samos: Plut. *Vita Hom.* 30 ἐγγρίμπεται γυναιξὶ Κουροτρόφῳ θυούσαις ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ. At Athens: Schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 800 'Εκάταιον, ἱερὸν 'Εκάτης, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πανταχοῦ ἰδρυμένων αὐτὴν, ὡς ἔφορον πάντων καὶ Κουροτρόφον.

²⁴ *Orph. Argon.* 979-983:

τρισοκάρηνος ἰδεῖν ὄλοδν τέρας οὐτὲ δαικτὸν
ταρταρόπαις 'Εκάτῃ λαιοῦ δέ οἱ ἔσσυτ' ἐπ' ὤμου
ἵππος χαιτήις· κατὰ δεξιὰ δ' ἦεν ἀβρῆσαι
λυσσῶπις σκυλάκαινα· μέση δ' ὄφεις ἀγριόμορφος
χερσὶν δ' ἀμφοτέραις ἔχεν ἄορα κωπήεντα.

Orph. Hymn. Hekate, I.:

Εἰνοδίην 'Εκάτην κλήζω τριοδίτην ἑραννήν,
οὐρανίην χθονίην τε καὶ εἰναλίην κροκόπεπλον,
τυμβιδίην, ψυχαῖς νεκῶν μέτα βακχεύουσαν
. . . . ἀγαλλομένην ἐλάφοισιν,
ταυροπόλον, παντὸς κοσμοῦ κλειδοῦχον ἄνασσαν,
ἡγεμόνην νύμφην κουροτρόφον οὐρεσιφοῖτιν.

Cf. oracle quoted by Porphyry: Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 4. 23.

GEOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF CENTERS OF HEKATE WORSHIP

(The numbers in superscript in this section refer to the numbered notes in the previous section. —Ed.)

Aegina, ⁷; cf. Artemis¹³¹.

Aphrodisias, ²⁸b.

Arcadia, ¹³c.

Argos, ¹².

Athens, ¹⁰, ¹³, ¹⁵, ²¹, ²², ²³b, g, i: Hesych. *s. v.* Ζέα ἢ 'Εκάτη, παρ' Ἀθηναίους.

Byzantium: Hesych. Miles. (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 4. p. 149) 'Εκάτης τέμενος κατὰ τὸν τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου τόπον: *ib.* p. 151 λαμπαδηφόρου 'Εκάτης ἀναστήσαντες ἄγαλμα. Cf. Codinus, *De Origin. Constant.* p. 9.

Caria, ¹⁸, *sub fin.*: vide Lagina, Stratonicea.

Cos, ? ²³k.

Crete, ? Artemis¹³¹ k.

Cyrene: *Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 4, p. 154 (Petersen): Hekateion found in the temple of Aphrodite.

Delos, ⁹. Cf. Athenae. 645 B 'Εκάτης νῆσος (near Delos): Harpocrat. *s. v.*

Eleusis, ¹⁸.

Ephesus, ⁹.

Epidaurus, ^{28b}. Cf. Artemis ^{79a}.

Euboea, ^{28e}.

Galatia: *C. I. Gr.* 4121 'Εγοισοκομήται ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν καρπῶν Μητρὶ (τρι)κράνῳ μεγάλη εὐχὴν (late period).

Heraclea in Latmos: *C. I. Gr.* 2897 'Ηρακλείδης Σωτάδου νεωκόρος 'Εκάτη (? third century, B. C.).

Lagina in Caria: Le Bas-Waddington, *Asie Mineure*, 519, 520 (*C. I. Gr.* 2715), inscription describing the Κλειδὸς πομπή in honour of Hekate; regulations concerning the ritual of Zeus Panamerios and Hekate, τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν γεινόμενον ἱερέα τῆς 'Εκάτης καταλέγειν ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς παίδας . . . καὶ αὐτοὺς ἄσσοντας τὸν συνήθη ὕμνον τῇ θεῷ . . . δίδόντος τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τ[οῦ ῥαβδοῦ]χου εἰνούχου τὰ ὀνόματα τῷ (παιδονόμῳ). Cf. *ib.* 542. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* 'Εκατήσια' οὕτως ἢ 'Ιδριὰς πόλις ἐκαλείτο Καρίας' ναὸν γὰρ τεύξαντες οἱ Κἄρες τὴν θεὸν Λαγινίτιν ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φυγόντος ζῴου ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὰ 'Εκατήσια τελούντες οὕτως ὠνόμασαν.

Lycia, ^{28d}.

Lydia, on coins of Mastaura: Müller, *Denkm. d. a. Kunst*, 2. No. 883.

Miletus: Hesych. *s. v.* ὑπολάμπειρα' 'Εκάτη ἐν Μιλήτῳ. Cf. *C. I. Gr.* 2852. 37.

Pamphylia, on coins of Aspendus: Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 583.

Paphlagonia: Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* 3, p. 15 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 247) Νύμφις ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ περὶ 'Ηρακλείας 'Εκάτης φησὶν ἱερὸν εἶναι ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονίᾳ, Μηδείας ἰδρυσάμενης.

Phrygia, ²⁰, ^{28h}.

Samos, ^{28k}.

Samothrace, ⁷.

Sicily, ? on the river Elorus, Lyc. Cass. 1174: at Syracuse, ^{28f}; Selinus, ^{28k}.

Stratonicea, ¹⁸.

Tarentum, ²².

Thera, ¹⁸.

Thessaly, ⁶; Pherae ⁵, Artemis ¹¹⁷.

Tralles, ¹⁷.

K. F. SMITH

HEKATE'S SUPPERS

'HEKATE'S SUPPERS'^[1] (*deipna Hekatês* or, as they were sometimes called, *Hekataia*,^[2] or *Hekatêsia*^[3]) were the offerings laid at the crossroads every month for Hekate. Their purpose was to placate not only this dread goddess of the underworld,^[4] but also, as we learn from Plutarch (*Moralia*, 709 A), the *apotropaioi*, i.e. the ghosts of those who for some reason cannot rest easy in their graves, and come back to earth in search of vengeance.^[5] An army of these invisible and maleficent beings follows in the wake of its leader and queen as she roams at large through the midnight world.^[6]

In reality, then, these offerings are a specific variation of the primitive cult of the dead. And to a certain extent this specific variation is due to the well-known fact that the Hekate with whom we have to deal is a composite deity. She was a moon-goddess, and possibly even a goddess of the roadways,^[7] as well as a goddess of the underworld; and which of the three was her original function is a matter of dispute. This, however, need not concern us here, inasmuch as the amalgamation had evidently taken place long before the *Plutus* (594 ff) of Aristophanes, in which occurs the first surviving reference to our subject.

Hekate's suppers were naturally deposited at the crossroads. The triple goddess is so clearly identified with the place where three roads meet that she is often known as *Trioditis* 'Trivia.' The crossroads, too, have always been haunted by ghosts of the unquiet dead.^[8]

As regards the day of the month upon which these offerings were made, the testimony appears at first sight to disagree, and the result has been a certain amount of confusion in the statements of modern investigators. We are told, on the one hand, that the date was "at the new moon,"^[9] or, as stated more exactly by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Plutus*, 594), *kata tēn noumēnian...hesperas*, which, in this connection, ought to mean "on the eve of the new moon." The statement is entirely in accordance with the character and functions of the goddess. Beyond a doubt, the date of this sacrifice was determined, at least originally, by the first appearance of the new moon: that is, by the first appearance of Hekate herself as she comes up again from Hades.^[10] Offerings to the dead were also made on this day.^[11] On the other hand, we are told that the sacrifices to Hekate and the *apotropaioi* fall on "the thirtieth,"^[12] i.e. on the last day of the month according to Greek reckoning.

1. (Notes follow at the end of this essay. Most of Smith's references should, I hope, be sufficiently clear to those likely to consult them, but in a few instances I have expanded them in the interests of clarity.—Ed.)

This day was also given up to the service of the dead.^[13] Indeed, at Athens the last three days of the month were sacred to the powers of the underworld, and hence were counted *apophrades*, (Latin *nefasti*). *Deipna* were given to Hekate and the *apotropaioi*; libations were offered to the dead, etc.

The discrepancy of dates, however, is only apparent. So long as the Greeks reckoned time by lunar years, which was the case during the earlier history of these sacrifices, the eve of the new moon always fell on the thirtieth of the month as a matter of course. The reformed calendar took no account of the phases of the moon. Nevertheless, the old habit of calling the first of the month *noumênia*, 'new moon day,' still persisted for an indefinite time, and to an indefinite extent. Hence, when the scholiast quoted above said "on the eve of the *noumênia*" he doubtless had in mind the thirtieth of the month according to the new calendar. It seems certain then, partly no doubt because 'three' and all its multiples are peculiarly sacred to Hekate, that the sacrifice still clung to the thirtieth, despite the fact that, when the calendar was reformed, the original reason for selecting that date ceased to exist. It is possible, of course, that the rite was also performed at the actual appearance of the new moon as well as on the traditional thirtieth, but this cannot be proved on the basis of evidence now available.

A reference in the *Hekate* of Diphilus and a passage from Philochorus—both quoted by Athenaeus, 645—show that on the eve also of the full moon (the 13th of the month Munychion [cf. C.A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, p. 1062]) Hekate was remembered at the crossroads^[14] with a cake surrounded by lighted torches, and known as an *amphiphôn*. This striking prototype of our birthday cake was also a regular article of diet.^[15] It seems likely, however, that this observance at the full moon came over to Hekate from Artemis at a later date.

As is usually the case with offerings to the dead, the regular *Hekatês deipnon* on the thirtieth of the month consisted of food. The specific articles, so far as they are mentioned, were (1) *magides*,^[16] a kind of loaf or cake, the shape and ingredients of which are not clear; (2) the *mainis*,^[17] or sprat; (3) *skoroda*,^[18] or garlic; (4) the *triglê*,^[19] or mullet; (5) *psammêta*,^[20] a sacrificial cake described by Harpocration as "somewhat like the *psaista*;" (6) eggs;^[21] (7) cheese;^[22] (8) possibly the *basunias* a kind of cake, for which Semus, in Athenaeus, xiv. 545 B, gives the recipe.

Certainly some, perhaps all, of the articles in this ceremonial bill of fare were thought to possess some peculiar virtue or association commending them to Hekate and her crew. Ancient and widespread, for example, is the belief that the cock is the herald of the sun, and that all vagrant ghosts must obey his summons and return to their place.^[23] Possibly this is one of the reasons why eggs are so regularly associated with the cult of the dead.^[24] In most cases, however, it is likely that the choice of a given article for a given sacrifice is the cause, not the result, of the properties and associations ascribed to it. The belief, for instance, that garlic was sovereign against vampires^[25] was probably the result of, instead of the original reason for, its use in this service. So, too, the evident fact that the *triglê*, or mullet, was sacred to Hekate is sufficiently explained by religious conservatism. Various authorities quoted by Athenaeus

give reasons for it, but these were evidently second thoughts, and due to later theorising.

However that may be, the food thus offered was meant to be prophylactic—to avert the *enthumion*, the easily roused wrath of Hekate and the ghosts. Hence, if Roscher is correct, the title of 'Eucoline' given her by Callimachus^[26] really embodies the worshipper's fervent prayer on these occasions that 'good digestion wait on appetite.'

With the regular *Hekatês deipnon* just described should be included the so-called *katharmata*, *katharsia*, and *oxuthumia*. All three were connected with the purificatory and expiatory sacrifices to Hekate that were performed at regular intervals for the house and household. They were, therefore, left at the crossroads for Hekate, and, as was usually the case with offerings made to spirits present and easily angered but invisible, the worshipper retired *ametas-trepti*, 'without looking back.'^[27] Finally, all three, as Rohde suggests (*Psyche*, ii. 79, n. 1), were doubtless more or less confused with each other and with the *Hekatês deipnon* at an early date.

In its general sense *katharmata* means garbage, trash, offscourings of any kind. In this connection, to judge from a passage in Ammonius (p. 79, Valckenacr), *katharmata* (*katharmata kai apolumata*, as Didymus says in Harpocration, s. v. *oxuthumia*) means all those portions of the sacrifices for the house which were not actually used in the ceremonial. Such, for instance, would be the *aponimma* (Athenaeus, ix. 49 E), the waste blood and water. Though merely *katharmata* they were sacred to Hekate, and were deposited at the crossroads.

The *katharsia*, on the other hand, appear to have been whatever was left of the sacrifices themselves after the ceremonial in and about the house had been completed. Among the articles probably belonging to this class are eggs, and especially the body of the dog used in the sacrifice.^[28] Dogs, as is well known, were peculiarly sacred to Hekate, and played a very important part in these ceremonial house-cleanings among both the Greeks and the Romans. Before they were sacrificed, for example, they appear to have been touched by every member of the family. This process, the *periskulakismos* seems to indicate that on such occasions this oldest of the domestic animals acted as the *pharmakos*, the scapegoat of the entire household.

Another important detail in this ritual, as in all similar rituals the world over, is evidently alluded to by Plutarch (*Moralia*, 709 A), but it is described only by the scholiast on Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 98 (Kirchhoff). This was the fumigation of the house. After this was done, the censer, which was always of baked clay, was deposited at the crossroads. In other words, in this particular ceremony the *katharsion*, the only thing surviving, was the censer itself, and it was therefore treated accordingly.

We have called this ceremony 'fumigation,' because of the scholiast's own words: *kathairontes tèn oikian ostrakinô thumiatiêrîô*, "purifying the house with a censer of baked clay." No mention is made of what was actually burned in the censer—the operation was too familiar to require it. A somewhat different interpretation of these words, however, has had a considerable influence upon the modern discussion of the *oxuthumia*. It has been assumed

that what was burned in the censer was not the ordinary fumigating materials, but the actual *katharmata* or *katharsia* themselves, as the case may be; that this process was itself the *oxuthumia*; and that, in fact, it was reflected in the derivation of the word (i.e. *thumon*, 'thyme'). If this is true, the best ancient authorities were at fault. The majority of them identify the *oxuthumia* with the *katharmata* or, less often, with the *katharsia*.^[29] So far as we know, none of these were burned. Irrespective of the *aponimma*, which could not be burned, we know that after the dog was sacrificed his body was taken to the crossroads. We are also told not only that the eggs used were raw (schol. on Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* i. 1, p. 251, Rabe), but also, if we may believe that Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* vii. 844) is referring to this sacrifice, that they sometimes proved to be *zôgonoumena*, able to fulfil the function for which nature had originally designed them. Certainly, too, the theory that *oxuthumia* is connected with *thumon* serves to confuse rather than to explain. The idea usually connoted by *oxuthumos* is a high temper, a disposition easily roused to wrath. The present writer prefers, therefore, to adopt the suggestion of Rohde (i. 276 n.) that *oxuthumion* would really be a more emphatic statement of the idea contained in *enthumion*—a word which, as we saw above, is quasi-technical in this particular sphere; *oxuthumia* then, would be 'ceremonies to avert the wrath' of Hekate and the ghosts. As such, it would naturally be a generic term for either *katharmata* or *katharsia*, and we see why the old lexicographers identified it now with the one, now with the other.^[30]

Any interference with offerings to gods is naturally counted as sacrilegious, and renders the culprit liable to the punishment for sacrilege. This was especially dreaded in the case of all offerings to the dead.^[31] For example, as we saw above, the worshipper retired *ametastrepti*. This was because he was afraid that the spirits would be angry if he appeared to be looking at them. Hekate was supposed to "fasten at the crossroads upon the guilty wretch who had gone after her foul supper,"^[32] and to punish him with madness,^[33] or with some similar affliction, of all which she was popularly supposed to be the primary cause. indeed, a curious passage in Petronius, 134, shows that merely stepping accidentally upon the *katharmata* (Lat. *purgamentum*) at the crossroads was considered dangerous. The superstitious man, says Theophrastus (*Char.* xvi.), "if he ever observes any one feasting on the garlic at the crossroads, will go away, pour water over his head, and, summoning the priestesses, bid them carry a squill or a puppy round him for purification."

In spite, however, of the supposed peril involved, as well as of the fact that they were proverbially foul and unpalatable,^[34] Hekate's suppers were frequently eaten by someone else. The most common motive, of course, was poverty. Our first reference to it is found in Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 594, where Penia claims that wealth always has the best of it. Chremylus counters with the statement that "Hekate can tell us whether it isn't better to be poor or hungry. She says that well-to-do or rich people send her a supper every month; whereas poor people snatch it away when it has hardly been put down." A truly Aristophanic argument! But it was taken literally by the scholiast, and hence apparently the quite impossible statement, still to be found occasionally

in modern commentaries and handbooks, that Hekate's suppers were "meals set out at the crossroads every month by the rich for the benefit of the poor." The Cynic philosophers frequently replenished their wallets from Hekate's suppers, or pretended to have done so, and reference to the practice was evidently a literary commonplace especially characteristic of their writings.^[35] We should expect it of a school whose doctrine of a return to nature led them to scoff at all conventionalities—religious or otherwise—and to ape the life and manners of the lowest stratum of society. Sometimes Hekate's suppers were taken merely in a spirit of bravado. Such was the case with the gang of Athenian 'Apaches' whom Demosthenes attacks in his speech against Conon (liv. 19).

Nevertheless, Hekate was deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. Of all the ancient cults, none has exhibited a greater vitality. As late as the 11th cent. the Church was still trying to break the practice of leaving offerings at the crossroads.^[36] Even now, not all have forgotten that the crossroads are uncanny, and that dogs can see things invisible to human eyes. Hekate herself led the famous witch ride of the Middle Ages, while in Germany the Wild Huntsman, and in Touraine the heroic figure of Foulques Nerra, that great ancestor of the Plantagenets who still roams through the darkness with his immaterial host, are a clear indication that Hekate and her goblin crew are only disguised, not outworn.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Modern discussions of this subject are all very brief, and the only ones of real value to the student are W. H. Roscher, *Ausführ. Lex. der gr. und rom. mythologie*, vol. i. pt. ii., Leipzig, 1886-1890, p. 1888 f.; E. Rohde, *Psyche* [3rd ed.] Tübingen, 1903, vol. i. p. 238, n. 2, p. 276 n., and vol. ii. p. 79 n. 1, p. 85, n. 1; Heckenbach, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. (Stuttgart, 1912) 2780 f.; and the notes on Demosthenes, *Against Conon*, 3, in Demosthenes, *Private Orations*, ed. Sandys and Paley [4th ed.], pt. ii., Cambridge, 1910, p. 22. The first modern discussion of any consequence is by Tiberius Hemsterhusius, on Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* i. 1. Hemsterhusius cites the earlier authorities (all of no value). Others, as a rule, content themselves with a passing reference or ignore the subject altogether.
- [2] Demosthenes, liv. 39; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* Berlin, 1814-21, p. 247. 27; *Etymol. Magnum*, Leipzig, 1816, p. 626. 44.
- [3] Pollux, i. 37; Stephan. Byzant. s.v.
- [4] (Johnston "Crossroads" p. 219 n. 12 [for abbreviations in the editorial material see the Bibliography on pp. 138-9 below] has recently argued for another point of view, namely that cult is directed to Hekate at the crossroads as a protector from the dangers inherent in that place more than being one of the dangers herself—Ed.)
- [5] These are the *biaiothanatoi*, *aôroi* and *ataphoi* (cf. Rohde, i. 264 f., and notes, 275-277, ii. 362, and note, 411-413, 424-425), whose *enthumion*, the quasi-technical word designating their longing for vengeance, was much dreaded. See Heckenbach, p. 2776, and references.
- [6] See Abt, *Apol. des Apuleius v. Madaura und die antike Zauberei*, Giessen, 1908, p. 128

- [7] See Heckenbach. p. 2775.
- [8] (Smith here refers the reader to the still-valuable entry CROSS-ROADS in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, the same work in which this article originally appeared: see p 6 above.—Ed.)
- [9] Porphyrius, *de Abstinentia*, ii. 16: *kata mêna hekaston tais noumêniais*.
- [10] (But, as we can see elsewhere in this volume [pp 116-8], evidence is lacking that Hekate was originally a moon-Goddess.—Ed.)
- [11] Rohde, i. 234 n., and references.
- [12] Schol. on Aristophanes *Plutus*, 594; Athenaeus, vii. 325 A; Harpocration, s.v. *triakas*. (Smith's references to 'Harpocration' are to Harpocration of Alexandria [AD 1/2 ?] author of the *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos* [ed. W. Dindorf, Oxford 1853]. It is not clear if there is any relationship between this writer and the Harpocration of Alexandria who is a major source for the Hermetic doctrines on the occult properties of minerals, animals, etc. as dealt with in the *Cyranides*. On the latter, see G. Fowden *The Egyptian Hermes* [Cambridge 1986], p. 87.—Ed.)
- [13] Rohde, i. 234, n. 1, and references.
- [14] Roscher, p. 1889; Heckenbach, p. 2780, and literature mentioned.
- [15] Pherecrates, i. 194 K; Eustathius, on the *Iliad*, 1165. 14; Lobeck *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, p. 1062; *SBAW*, 1904.
- [16] Sophocles, frag. 668 N. and references; cf a schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 594: *artous kai alla tina*.
- [17] Antiphanes, in Athenaeus, 313 B (2. 39 K), and 358 F; Melanthius, in Athenaeus, 325 B.
- [18] Theophrastus, *Char.* xvi. (28, p. 147, 2nd ed. Jebb).
- [19] Plato, *Com.* (i. 647. 19 K), Apollodorus, Melanthius, Hegesander, Chariclides (iii. 394 K), and Nausicrates (*Frag. Com. Grae.* iv. 576, Meineke) in Athenaeus, vii. 325; Antiphanes, in Athenaeus, 358 F; Hippocrates, *de Morbo Sac.* 2.
- [20] Semus, in Harpocration, s.v. *Hekatês nêsos*.
- [21] Lucian, *Tyrannus*, vii., *Dial. Mort.* i. 1, with schol. *ad loc.* p. 251, Rabe; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 844; schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 596. They appear to have been raw (cf. Clem. Alex. and schol. on Lucian, *loc. cit.*)
- [22] Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 596.
- [23] O. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.* ii. (Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, v. 2), Munich, 1906, p. 75, n. 5.
- [24] J. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer* (2nd ed.), Leipzig, 1886, pt. 1, p. 366, n. 4, and references, 380, n. 4, etc.
- [25] Gruppe, p. 889, n. 7, and references; Titinius, in Serenus Sammonicus, 1044.
- [26] Callimachus, ii. 356, Schneider; Roscher, p. 1889; Crusius, in Roscher, vol. i. pt. i p. 1400, s.v. 'Eukoline.'
- [27] Rohde, ii. 79, n. 1; Gruppe, 876, n. 1; P Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer* (2nd ed.), Munich, 1898, p. 111.
- [28] Roscher, 1889; Heckenbach, 2781; Rohde, ii. 79, n. 1.
- [29] Harpocration, Photius, *Lex.*, and Suidas, s.v.; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, 288. 7, and 287. 24; Pollux, ii. 231; *Etymol. Magnum* 626. 44.
- [30] The *orcheis ek tôn choirôn* used in the expiatory sacrifice prior to a public

assembly (Demosthenes, liv. 19) are generally included among the *katharsia* regularly deposited at the crossroads (cf. Sandys' note on Demosth. *ad loc.*)

- [31] Sandys quotes *Psalms* 106, 28; cf. Catullus, liv. 3, Ellis.
- [32] Cinesias, in Plutarch, *Moralia*, 170 B.
- [33] See K. F. Smith's note on Tibullus, i. 5. 56.
- [34] Pollux, v. 163: *tôn en tais triodois katharmatôn ekblêtoteros*.
- [35] Lucian, *Tyrannus*, vii., *Dial. Mort.* i. 1, xxii. 3.
- [36] Rohde, ii. 84, n. 2, and references.

E. ROHDE

HEKATE'S HORDE

Section I

Hekate and the Hekatic Spectres,
Gorgyra, Gorgo, Mormolyke, Mormo,
Baubo, Gello, Empousa, etc.

(Drawn from Appendix VI of Rohde's *Psyche*:
See pages 6-7 above. —Ed.)

Hekate herself is addressed as *Γοργώ και Μορμώ και Μήνη και πολύμορφη*: *Hytt.* ap. Hipp., *RH.* iv, 35, p. 102, 67 D.-S. Sch. A.R.

iii, 861, says of Hek. λέγεται καὶ φάσματα ἐπιπέμπειν (cf. Eur., *Hel.* 569; D. Chr. iv, p. 73 M. [i, p. 70 Arn.]; Hsch. ἀνταία), τὰ καλούμενα Ἐκάταια (φάσματα Ἐκατικά, Marin., *V. Procl.* 28) καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὴ μεταβάλλειν τὸ εἶδος διὸ καὶ Ἐμπουσαν καλεῖσθαι. Hekate-Empousa also in Ar. *Tagen. fr.* 500-1: Sch. Ar., *Ran.* 293; Hesych. Ἐμπουσα. Thus Hekate is the same as Gorgo, Mormo, and Empousa. Baubo also is one of her names: *H. Mag.*, p. 289 Abel. (Baubo probably identical with the Βαβὼ mentioned among other χθόνιοι in an inscr. from Paros: Ἀθήναιον, v, 15; cf. the male personal names Βαβῶ, Βαβείς. Βαυβῶ can hardly be etymologically connected with βαυβῶν unpleasantly familiar in Herond. (though the mistake has been repeated in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* ii, 3025); one does not see how a female daimon could be named after a male ὄλισβος. The nature of Hekate makes its more probable that she got her name from βαύ the noise of the baying hound: cf. βανκύων, *P. Mag. Par.* 1911.) Baubo, too, is elsewhere the name of a gigantic nocturnal spectre: Orph. *fr.* 216 Ab.; Lob., *Agl.* 823.—Elsewhere these ἐπικλήσεις, or forms in which Hekate, Gorgo, Mormo, etc., appear, are found as the names of separate infernal spirits. Γοργύρα Ἀχέρωντος γυνή Apollod. π. θεῶν ap. Stob., *Ecl.* i, 49, p. 419, 15 W.; cf. [Apollod.] 1, 5, 3. Γοργῶ is probably only the shortened form of this daimon (she is alluded to as an inhabitant of Hades as early as *Od.* λ 634; in the κατάβασις of Herakles [Apollod.] 2, 5, 12; χθονία Γοργῶ, Eur., *Ion.* 1053). Acheron, whose consort she is, must have been regarded as the lord of the underworld. We also hear of a mother of the underworld god: in Aesch., *Ag.* 1235, Kassandra calls Klytaimnestra θύουσαν Ἄιδου μητέρα. In this very striking phrase it is impossible to take ἄιδου in its generalized sense (as Lob. does: *Aj.*³, p. 292), and the whole phrase as merely metaphorical = αἰνομήτορα. Why μητέρα in particular? And, above all, what would be the point of θύουσαν? Klytaimnestra, of course, it goes without saying, is only metaphorically called the "raging mother of Hades", i.e. a true she-devil; but the thing with which she is compared, from which the metaphor is taken, must have been a real figure of legend. In exactly the same way, in Byz. Greek, τῶν δαιμόνων μήτηρ is a figurative expression for a wicked woman: see Καλλίμ. καὶ Χρυσορρόη 2579 ed. Lambros; cf. ib., 1306, τῶν Νηρηίδων μάμη. In German too "the devils mother", or grandmother, or the devil's wife or bride, are of frequent occurrence in a metaphorical sense: Grimm, p. 1007; 1607. But in all these cases the comparison invariably implies the existence of real legendary figures to which the comparison refers; and often enough in mediæval and modern Greek folk-lore these creatures actually occur. We may therefore conclude that the θύουσα Ἄιδου μήτηρ was a real figure of Greek legend. "Hades" in this connexion cannot be the god of the underworld, common in Homer and a regular poetic character elsewhere, the brother of Zeus and Poseidon. In that case his mother would be Rhea who certainly cannot be identified with the θύουσα Ἄιδου μήτηρ. In local mythology there were numerous other underworld

gods any of whom might be loosely called Ἄιδης, the word being used as a general name for such deities. But the "raging" mother of the underworld god has the most unmistakable resemblance to Hekate who flies about by night on the wind (see above, chap. ix, p. 297 f.; below, App. vii) ψυχαῖς νεκρῶν μετὰ βακχεύουσα (Reiss, *Rh. Mus.* 49, 181 n., compares her less well with the "hunter of Hades"). It seems almost as if the two were identical: local legend could quite well have made Hekate the mother of the underworld god (just as she was the daughter of Admetos, or of Eubouleus, i.e. of Hades). If she is the same as Μορμῶ (cf. the *Hymn.* ap. Hipp., *RH.* iv, 35) then she was also known to folk-lore as the foster-mother of Acheron. This title is applied to Μορμολύκα τιθήνη of Acheron in Sophron *fr.* 9 Kaibel. But Μορμῶ is simply the abbreviated form of Μορμολύκη as Γοργῶ is of Γοργύρα, and cf. also Μορμῶ Hsch., and with metathesis of ρ, Μομβρῶ id. (Μορμολ. is mentioned together with Λαμία, Γοργῶ, Ἐφιάλτης, as a legendary creature in Str., p. 19, and see Ruhnken, *Tim. Lex.*, p. 179 ff., Μορμολύκειον.) Μορμῶ also in plural: ὡσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια (φοβοῦνται), Xen., *HG.* 4, 4, 17; Hsch. μορμόνας πλάνητας δαίμονας (i.e. "wandering", as in Hesiod, and like the Erinyes in the Pythagorean σύμβολον, and the ἀλάστωρ, the unquiet and wandering soul whose name is derived from ἀλάσθαι—so Lob., *Paralip.* 450). Besides this we have Ἐκάτας too in the plural: Luc., *Philops.* 39 fin. (perhaps only generalizing); τρισσῶν Ἐκατῶν, *P. Mag. Par.* 2825 f.; Ἐμπουσαι (with ἄλλα εἰδωλα), D.P. 725, etc., to say nothing of Γοργόνες. Μορμῶ as a bogey to frighten children: Μορμῶ δάκνει, Theoc. xv, 40 (cf. [ἀνά]κλησις Μορμο[ῦς], a theatrical piece, probably a farce: *IGM. Aeg.* i, 125g). So too is the monster Λάμια that kidnaps children: Duris, *fr.* 35 (2 FHG); D.S. 20, 41; Heraclit., *Incred.* 34, etc. Some details in Friedländer, *Darstell. a. d. Sitteng.*, i, 511 f. (as a nickname Λαμῶ: Sch. Ar., *Eq.* 62). Mormo herself is called Lamia, Μορμοῦς τῆς καὶ Λαμίας, Sch. Greg. Nz. ap. Ruhnken, *Tim. Lex.*, p. 182a. With Mormo and Lamia Γελλῶ is also identified (Sch. Theoc. xv, 40), a ghost that kidnaps children mentioned already by Sappho, *fr.* 44; Zenob. iii, 3, etc. Καρκῶ, too, is the same as Λάμια (Hesych.). Lamia is evidently the general name (see above, chap. iv, n. 115), while Mormo, Gello, Karko, and even Empousa, are particular Lamiai, who also merge into one another. Just as Mormo and Gello coincide, so also do Gello and Empousa: Γελλῶ εἰδωλον Ἐμπούσης, Hsch. (Empousai, Lamiai, and Mormolykai the same: Philostr., *V. Ap.* 4, 25, p. 145, 16 K.). Empousa, who appears in continually changing shapes (Ar., *Ran.* 289 ff.), is seen by human beings at night (νυκτερινὸν φάσμα ἢ Ἐμπουσα, *V. Aeschin.* init.; Philostr. *V. Ap.* 2, 4), but even more commonly at midday (like the Hekate of Lucian): μεσημβρίας ὅταν τοῖς κατοικομένοις ἐναγίζωσιν, Sch. Ar., *Ran.* 293. She is, in fact, the *daemonium meridianum* known to Christian writers as Diana (Lob., *Agl.* 1092; Grimm, 1162). For devils appearing at midday see Rochholz, *Glaube u. Br.*, i, 67 ff.; Mannhardt, *Ant.*

Wald u. Feldc. ii, 135 f.; Haberland, *Ztschr. Völkerpsych.* xiii, 310 ff.; Drexler in *Myth. Lex.* ii, 2832 ff.; Grimm, 1661. Hekate, in so far as she appears as an *εἰδωλον* in the upper world is identical with Emp. and with Borbo, Gorgo, Mormo, as well as Gello, Karko, Lamia. (Acc. to Sch. A.R. iv, 828 Stesichoros, *ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ εἶδος* [*Εἶδος* Bergk on Stes. *fr.* 13 quite unconvincingly] *τινὸς Λαμίας τὴν Σκύλλαν φησὶ θυγατέρα εἶναι*. Here Hek. herself seems to be described as "a kind of Lamia", for she was generally regarded as the mother of Skylla, e.g. by Akousilaos [73 B, 27 *Vors.*], in the Hesiodic *Eoiai*, 172 Rz. [Sch. A.R.], and even in A.R. himself who in iv, 829, explains the Homeric Krataiis [*μ* 124] as merely a name of Hekate.)—The vagueness of feature and confusion of personality is characteristic of these ghostly and delusive apparitions. In reality the individual names (in some cases onomatopœic formations to suggest terror) were originally the titles of local ghosts. In the long run they all come to suggest the same general idea and are therefore confused with each other and are identified with the best known of them, Hekate. The underworld and the realm of ghosts is the proper home of these feminine daimones as a whole and of Hekate too; most of them, with the possible exception of Empousa, give way entirely to Hekate in importance and are relegated to children's fairy-tales. In the case of Gorgyra (Gorgo) and Mormolyke (Mormo) this fact is clearly attested. Lamia and Gello carry off children and also *ἀώρους* from this life, like other daimones of the underworld, Keres, Harpies, Erinyes, and Thanatos himself. The Lamiai rise to the light from their underground lairs—*λαμίας τινὰς ἱστοροῦντες* (the oldest writers of histories) *ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνιεμένας*, D.H., *Thuc.* 6. Empousa appears on earth at midday because that was the time when sacrifice was offered to the dead (Sch. Ar., *Ran.* 293; sacrifice to Heroes at midday: above, chap. iv, n. 9). She approaches the offerings to the creatures of the lower world because she herself is one of their number. (In the same way the chthonic character of the *Seirenes*—they are closely related to the Harpies—is shown by the fact that they too appear like Empousa at midday and oppress sleepers, etc., according to the popular demonology. See Crusius, *Philol.* 50, 97 ff.)

E. ROHDE

HEKATE'S HORDE

Section II

The Hosts of Hekate

(Drawn from Appendix VII of Rohde's *Psyche*:
See pages 6-7 above. —Ed.)

The Hosts of Hekate cause fear and sickness at night: *εἴτ' ἔνυπνον φάντασμα φοβῆ χθονίας θ' Ἐκάτης κῶμον ἐδέξω*, Trag. Incert. *fr.* 375 (Porson suggested Aesch.). They form the *νυκτίφαντοι πρόπολοι Ἐνοδίας*, Eur., *Hel.* 570. (These *πρόπολοι τῆς θεοῦ* are probably also referred to in the *defixio* CIG. 5773; Wunsch, *Tab. Defix.*, p. ixb.) They are nothing else than the restless souls of the dead wandering in the train of Hekate. Nocturnal terrors are produced by *Ἐκάτης ἐπιβολαὶ καὶ ἠρώων ἔφοδοι*, Hr., *Morb. Sacr.* (vi, 362 L.). Hence Orph., *H.* i, 1, calls Hekate *ψυχαῖς νεκύων μέτα βακχεύουσαν*. The souls which thus wander about with Hekate are

in part those of the *ἄωροι*, i.e. of those who have died before the completion of their "destined" period of life, *πρὶν μοῖραν ἐξήκειν βίου*, Soph., *Ant.* 896; cf. Phrynich. in *AB.* 24, 22, and *πρόμοιρος ἀρπαγή*, *Inscr. Cos.* 322. Thanatos has acted unjustly towards them *ἐν ταχὺτῆτι βίου παύων νεοήλικας ἀκμάς*, Orph., *H.* 87, 5-6. The period of conscious existence on earth which they had left incomplete they must now fulfil as disembodied "souls": *αιὴν immatura morte praeventas (animas) eo usque vagari istic, donec reliquatio compleatur aetatum quas tum pervixissent si non intempestive obiissent*, Tert., *An.* 56. (They haunt the place of their burial: *ἦρωες ἀτυχεῖς, οἳ ἐν τῷ δέειν τόπῳ συνέχεσθε*, *P. Mag. Par.* 1408; cf. *CIG.* 5858b.) For this reason it is often mentioned on gravestones (and elsewhere: Eur., *Alc.* 168 f.) as something specially to be lamented that the person there buried had died *ἄωρος*: see *Epigr. Gr.* 12; 16; 193; 220, 1; 221, 2; 313, 2-3: *ἀτεκνος ἄωρος*, 336, 2; and cf. 372, 32; 184, 3; *CIG.* 5574 (see also App. iii and chap. xiv, pt. ii, n. 155, *ἀγαμοί*). Gello who herself *παρθένος ἄωρος ἐτελεύτησε* then becomes a *φάντασμα*, slays children and causes *τοὺς τῶν ἄωρων θανάτους*, Zenob. iii, 3; Hsch. *Γελλώ*. The souls of the *ἄωροι* cannot rest but must continually wander: see Plaut., *Most.* 499. They (*ἀνέμων εἶδωλον ἔχοντες*, *H. Hec.*, l. 15: *Orph.*, p. 290 Ab.) are the creatures which accompany Hekate in her nocturnal wanderings. The *Hymn.* to Hekate, p. 289 Ab. (cf. *P. Mag. Par.* 2727 ff.) addresses Hek. thus (10 ff.): *δεῦρ' Ἐκάτη τριοδίτι, πυρίπνοε, φάσματ' ἔχουσα (ἄγουσα Mein.), ἦ τ' ἔλαχες δεινὰς μὲν ὁδοὺς (δεινὰς τ' ἐφόδους?) χαλεπὰς τ' ἐπιπομπὰς, τὴν Ἐκάτην σε καλῶ σὺν ἀποφθιμένοισιν ἄωροις κεῖ τινες ἠρώων θάνον ἀγναῖοί τε (καὶ Mein., but this position of *τέ* is a regular Hellenistic usage; occurs frequently in *Orac. Sibyll.*) ἄπαιδες κτλ.* Thus the *ἄωροι* became the typical haunting spirits *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Just as in this *Hymn.* they are summoned (with Hek.) for unholy purposes of magic, so an *ἄωρος* is sometimes expressly invoked in the *defixiones* which were placed in graves (esp. in those of *ἄωροι*: see the instructions given in *P. Mag. Par.* 332 ff., 2215, 2220 f.; *P. Anastasy*, l. 336 ff.; 353): *λέγω τῷ ἄωρῳ τῷ κ[ατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, etc.]*: Roman *defixio*, *I. Sic. et It.* 1047; *ἐξορκίζω σε, νεκύδαιμον ἄωρε*, leaden tablet from Carth., *BCH.* 1888, p. 299 (*Tab. Defix.*, p. xvii); cf. also *P. Mag. Par.* 342 f.; 1390 ff.; *παράδοτε* (the victim) *ἄωροις*, leaden tablet from Alexandria, *Rh. Mus.* 9, 37, l. 22; a lead tablet from Phrygia (*BCH.* 1893, p. 251) has: *γράφω πάντας τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἀντὶα ποιοῦντας μετὰ τῶν ἄωρων Ἐπάγαθον Σαβῖναν, etc.* In the curses of *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 149, the *Ἐκάτης μελαίνης δαίμονες* alternate with *ἄωροι συμφοραὶ*; see also Sterrett, *Amer. Sch. Athens*, ii, 168.—Everything that has been said of the *ἄωροι* applies also to the *βαιοθάνατοι* (or *βίαιοι*, a term found in the magical papyri; cf. also *βιοθάνατον πνεῦμα*, *P. Mag. Par.* 1950): they are a special kind of *ἄωροι*: they find no rest, see above, chap. v, n. 147; Tert., *An.* 56-7; Serv., *A.* iv, 386, quoting the *physici*; cf. also Heliod., 2, 5, p. 42, 20 ff. Bk. A *βαιοθάνατος*, who has thus been deprived of his life, has to make special supplication for admission

into Hades: *Epigr. Gr.* 625; cf. Verg., *A.* iv, 696 ff. Such souls become *ἀλάστορες*, wandering spirits: see above, Append. vi, p. 592; wandering of a *βαιοθάνατος*, Plu., *Cim.* 1.—Finally the souls of unburied persons who have no share in the cult of the souls or home in the grave are also condemned to wander (cf. Eur., *Hec.* 31-50): see above, chap. v, p. 163. The *ἄταφος* is detained *ἐνθάδε*: Soph., *Ant.* 1070, and wanders about the earth: *ἀλαίνει*, Eur., *Tro.* 1083; cf. Tert., *An.* 56. Hence the souls of these *ἄταφοί* could be forced to appear and answer the sorcerer: Heliod., p. 177, 15 ff. Bk.; *rite conditis Manibus* the wanderings of the soul cease: Plin., *Ep.* 7, 27, 11; Luc., *Philops.* 31 fin.—The art of the *μάντις* and of the *καθαρῆς* (and of the *ἀπομάκτρια γραῦς*, Plu., *Superst.* 3, p. 166 A) is supposed to keep off such nocturnal terrors; it is "purification" precisely because it drives away such unholy beings. It is also a kind of *καθάριον* that is employed when *ἀπομαγδαλαί* (instead of to the dogs: Ath. 409 D) are thrown out *ἐν τοῖς ἀμφόδοις γινομένοις νυκτερινοῖς φόβοις* (Harmodios of Leprea ap. Ath. 149 C), i.e. to Hekate and her rout which also appears as a pack of hounds.

S. RONAN
HYMNS TO HEKATE

HERE are new translations of four of the finest and most interesting of the ancient hymns to Hekate, showing the variety of religious sentiment she inspired. I have added the text for the hymns by Proclus and Sophocles since these are less readily accessible than those of the *Orphic Hymns* and the *Greek Magical Papyri*. Unfortunately, a commentary on these hymns is beyond the scope of this book, but some points of relevance to Chaldean Hekate are raised in the essay about her on pp 79 ff. In composing my versions of these hymns I have found it useful to compare previous English translations. These include A.N. Athanassakis *The Orphic Hymns* (Atlanta 1977), E.N. O'Neil (for PGM IV 2785-2870) in *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H.D. Betz (Chicago 1986), and T. DuQuesne *Caduceus* (2nd ed. Thame 1989), as well as unpublished translations by the same scholar.

Proclus Diadochus (410-485 AD)
Hymn VI: To Hekate and Janus
(Text: E. Vogt *Procli hymni* Weisbaden 1957)

HAIL, many-named Mother of the Gods, whose children are fair
Hail, mighty Hekate of the Threshold
And hail to you also Forefather Janus, Imperishable Zeus
Hail to you Zeus most high.
Shape the course of my life with luminous Light
And make it laden with good things,
Drive sickness and evil from my limbs.
And when my soul rages about worldly things,
Deliver me purified by your soul-stirring rituals.
Yes, give me your hand I pray
And reveal to me the pathways of divine guidance that I long for,
Then shall I gaze upon that precious Light
Whence I can flee the evil of our dark origin.
Yes, give me your hand I pray,
And when I am weary bring me to the haven of piety with your winds.
Hail, many-named mother of the Gods, whose children are fair
Hail, mighty Hekate of the Threshold
And hail to you also Forefather Janus, Imperishable Zeus,
Hail to you Zeus most high.

Text:

Hymnos koinos Hekatês kai Ianou

Chaire, theôn mêter, poluônume, kalligenethle:
 chair', Hekatê prothuraie, megasthenes. alla kai autos
 chair', lane propator, Zeu aphthite: chair', hupate Zeu.
 teuchete d' aiglêessan emou biotoio poreièn
 brithomenên agathoisi, kakas d' apelaunete nousous
 ek retheôn, psuchên de peri chthoni margainousan
 helket' egersinooisi kathêramenên teletêsi.
 nai, litomai, dote cheira, theophradeas te keleuthous
 deixate moi chateonti. phaos d' eritimon athrêsô,
 kuaneês hothen esti phugein kakotêta genethlês.
 nai, litomai, dote cheira, kai humeteroisin aêtai
 hormon es eusebiês me pelassate kekmêôta.
 chaire, theôn mêter, poluônume, kalligenethle:
 chair', Hekatê prothuraie, megasthenes. alla kai autos
 chair', lane propator, Zeu aphthite: chair', hupate Zeu.

NOTES

The pairing of Hekate with Janus (as Demiurge) is very unusual, and is one piece of evidence which indicates that there was a link between Chaldean traditions and the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum. This is discussed in *Chaldean Hekate* on pp 126-8 below.

The Orphic Hymns (1st-3rd C. AD?)

Hymn 1: To Hekate(text: W. Quant *Orphic Hymni* Berlin 1962)

I INVOKE YOU, beloved Hekate of the Crossroads and the Three Ways
 Saffron-cloaked Goddess of the Heavens, the Underworld and the Sea
 Tomb-frequenter, mystery-raving with the souls of the dead
 Daughter of Perses, Lover of the Wilderness who exults among the deer
 Nightgoing One, Protectress of dogs, Unconquerable Queen
 Beast-roarer, Dishevelled One of compelling countenance
 Tauropolos, Keyholding Mistress of the whole world
 Ruler, Nymph, Mountain-wandering Nurturer of youth.
 Maiden, I beg you to be present at these sacred rites
 Ever with a gladsome heart and ever gracious to the Oxherd.

NOTES

Line 7) *taupolos* An epithet of Artemis, variously interpreted to mean *worshipped at Tauris*, or *drawn by a yoke of bulls*, or *hunting bulls* (LSJ), or *herder of bulls* (Athanasakis tr.)

Line 10) Oxherd (*boukolos*) This seems to have been an officer in an Orphic group (Athanasakis p. 113)

Sophocles (496-406 BC)

Hymn to Helios and Hekate(fragment from the play the *Rhizotomoi*)

(Text: A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 2 vols. [Leipzig 1889]. Fr 492; cf. T. Kraus *Hekate* Heidelberg 1960, p. 87.)

O MASTER HELIOS and Sacred Fire
 O spear of Hekate of the Crossroads
 Which she bears as she travels Olympus
 And dwells in the holy triple-ways of the Earth
 She who is crowned with oak-leaves
 And the coils of wild snakes.

Text:

Hêlie despota kai pur hieron,
 tês Einodias Hekatês egchos,
 to di' Oulumpou pôlousa pherei,
 kai gês naious' hieras triodous
 stephanôsamenê drui kai plektais
 ômôn speiraisi drakontôn.

NOTES

Reading *naiousa* 'dwells' in line 4 with Nauck, rather than the *aniousa* 'returns' of Wilamowitz (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* 2 vols. [Berlin 1931-2] 1. p 173), though it is not perhaps of vital importance which we read. Farnell (pp 26-8) was keen to read this hymn as evidence for a lunar dimension to Hekate at this time, but it seems very hard to understand how the sun (Helios) would be seen as the 'spear' of the Moon-Goddess, and thus it appears to be better to take this as another piece of evidence of an early solar connection to Hekate which we discuss in *Chaldean Hekate* on p. 116 below.

Prayer to Selene for any operation (pre-4th C. AD)

(text: PGM IV 2785-2870)

O THREE-FACED SELENE, come to me beloved mistress
 Graciously hear my sacred spells:
 Image of Night, Youthful One,
 Dawn-born lightbringer to mortals
 Who rides upon fierce-eyed bulls.
 O Queen, you who drive your chariot
 On equal course with Helios,
 You dance with the triple forms of the triple Graces
 As you revel with the stars.
 You are Justice and the thread of the Fates,
 Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos,
 O Three-headed One you are
 Persephone, Megaira and Allecto

O One of many shapes who arm your hands
 With terrible dark-glowing lamps,
 Who shakes locks of fearsome serpents at your brow,
 Whose mouths send forth the roar of bulls,
 Whose womb is thick with reptile-scales,
 At whose shoulders are rows of venomous serpents,
 Bound across your back beneath murderous chains.

O Night-bellower, Lover of solitude, Bull-faced and Bull-headed One
 You have the eyes of bulls and the voice of dogs.

Your forms are hidden in the legs of lions.

Your ankle is wolf-shaped, and savage dogs are friendly to you,
 Wherefore they call you Hekate, Many-named, Mene,
 Cleaving the air like arrow-shooting Artemis.

O Goddess of Four faces, Four names, Four ways,
 Artemis, Persephone, Deer-shooter, Night-shiner,
 Thrice-resounding, Triple-voiced, Three-headed, Thrice-named Selene

O Trident-bearing One of Three-faces, Three-necks, Three ways,
 Who holds undying flaming fire in triple baskets.

You frequent the Three-ways and are Mistress of the Three Decads.
 Be gracious unto me who is invoking you and hearken favourably.

You encompass the vast world at night,

You make the Daemones shudder and the Immortals tremble,

O Many-named Goddess who brings glory to men,

Whose children are fair, O Bull-eyed One, Horned One,

Nature, All-mother, who brings forth both Gods and men,

You roam around Olympus and traverse the wide and fathomless Abyss,

You are the Beginning and the End, and you alone are Mistress of All:

For from you are All things, and in you, Eternal One, do All things end.

You bear at your brow an everlasting diadem,

the unbreakable and irremovable bonds of great Kronos,

And you hold in your hands a golden sceptre

Which is encircled by a formula inscribed by Kronos himself

Who gave it you to bear in order that all things remain steadfast:

'Overpowerer and Overpowered One,

Conqueror of men and Damnodamia.'

You rule Chaos, *Araracharara êphthisikêre,*

Hail Goddess and attend your epithets.

I offer you this incense Child of Zeus

Arrow-shooter, Heavenly One, Goddess of Harbours,

Mountain-roamer, Goddess of Crossroads,

Nocturnal One of the Underworld, Shadowy One of Hades,

Still One who frightens, having a feast among the graves.

You are Night, Darkness and broad Chaos,

For you are Necessity hard to escape

You are Fate, you are Erinys and the Torture,
 You are the Murderess and Justice
 You hold Cerberus in chains,
 You are steely-blue with serpent-scales,
 O serpent-haired and Serpent-girdled One,
 Blood-drinker, Death-bringer who breeds corruption,
 Feaster on hearts, Flesh-eater who devours those who died before their time,
 Grave-resounder, Driver to the Wanderings of Madness,
 Come to my sacrifices and fulfill this task for me.

NOTES

This potent magical hymn represents an image of Greco-Roman Hekate with some features in common with the Chaldean Goddess. These links are discussed in many places of our *Chaldean Hekate*, especially pp 117-8 & n. [29].

S. RONAN
CHALDEAN HEKATE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE PRESENT ESSAY started off about three years ago with the simple aim (as I then fondly imagined) of collecting the fragments concerning Hekate from the standard collections of the *Chaldean Oracles* by des Places and Majercik,¹¹ and combining these with a few notes. It slowly dawned on me that such an approach couldn't possibly suffice as the standard collections only contained about half of the relevant material, and reflected methodological confusions over what was or was not relevant. Nor was this all. For as the material was collected and explored, it gradually became clear that Chaldean² Hekate and her Greco-Roman counterpart were less closely related than had been previously assumed. It therefore became imperative to explore some areas in much greater depth than had been originally envisaged, particularly those bearing on the origins of the Chaldean Goddess.³

The result was that the essay expanded its allotted space many times over, and I ended up in the uncomfortable position of having on my hands rather more than the sketch-with-fragments originally imagined, and rather less than the full-scale investigation needed to do the subject real justice. Of the inadequacies of the present work, then, nobody is more aware than the author; but the situation is somewhat eased by the fact that, unknown to me until my labours were quite advanced, another book on Chaldean Hekate by S.I. Johnston became available. This is dealt with (in so far as it impinges on the present investigation) in a postscript on pp 134-6, as well as in the footnotes. The advantage of Johnston's book, from our present point of view, is that it independently covers the background of Chaldean Hekate, and discusses areas not entered in any depth here.

Because of the methodological confusions surrounding Chaldean traditions, I have had to argue my case in detail for my various departures from previous interpretations of Chaldean Hekate. I don't fool myself that the many passages of closely argued text which follow will be an enjoyable read except for those

1. Due to difficulties with computer software some (generally more substantial) notes have been placed as endnotes on pp 140 ff. These are indicated by numbering so: [1].
2. I have used the term 'Chaldean' in this essay to refer exclusively to the persons and doctrines of the Juliani and their circle (see below).
3. On the capitalisation of 'Goddess,' 'Pagan' and so forth, see the Introduction to this book p. 5 n. 2

few perverse souls who, like the present writer, have a taste for such convolutions. Others may wish to look at the summary of the Chaldean Goddess' features on pp 131-2, referring back to the fragments on pp 93 ff, and dipping into the rest as interest dictates.

I should like to follow any discussion engendered by this essay. Perhaps scholars with comments to make might wish to send a copy to me care of the publishers.

THE CHALDEAN ORACLES

The *Chaldean Oracles* were a collection of Pagan ritual oracles that first began to circulate in the late 2nd C. AD. Dating from an age rich in the production of religious texts of all kinds, perhaps their strongest and strangest feature is an obscure and dark imagery which nevertheless has a compelling and numinous quality. It was this which no doubt, along with their compatible philosophy, endeared them to the Neoplatonists, whose treatment of them we discuss further below. The *Oracles* offered instruction in theological matters and ritual technique and claimed to teach the ancient wisdom of Chaldea and Assyria but, like Philo and the *Hermetica*, native elements have been heavily refracted through the prism of Middle Platonism—and this view probably provides the most useful perspective for understanding the *Oracles* and their related Chaldean traditions. Philosophically, these traditions are closest to Numenius^[2] (mid 2nd C. AD?), who was the direct precursor of Neoplatonism. Theologically they were perhaps closer to Gnosticism than the *Hermetica*, and they were quite radical in their critique of traditional religion: teaching that mankind mistakenly worshipped the Second Father in mistake for the First (fr. 7),^[3] and that ancient and venerable religious practices like divination from entrails and astrology were frauds (fr. 107).

It is surprising that this radical religious position receives little attention in modern discussions of Chaldean doctrines. But this is partly because the Neoplatonists obscured the contradictions between the *Oracles* and some elements of traditional Pagan religion because they used them to underpin their own theological system which was committed to harmonising the teachings of all the Pagan 'Sacred Nations.' As S. L. Karren has pointed out,^[4] the later Neoplatonists were not just philosophical mentors, but important religious figures and leaders of the Pagan community. For them, the *Oracles* were a religious scripture of the highest authority and it is no exaggeration to call them the Neoplatonists' 'Bible.'⁴

They once again enjoyed a high status during the Renaissance where, mistakenly attributed to Zoroaster, they formed part of a select group of works along with the *Hermetica*, the *Orphic Hymns* and others which were attributed to the 'ancient theologians' whose number included Zoroaster, Hermes, Orpheus, Pythagoras and so on, and whose authority was only a little less than

4. The first to make this famous analogy was probably Franz Cumont: *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (English translation: London 1911) p. 279 n 66. Cf Majercik p. 2 n 8.

that of Moses himself.⁵

The tradition inherited by the Neoplatonists attributed the authorship of the *Chaldean Oracles* and related Chaldean writings to two Julians, father and son, and their circle.^[5] Julian the Elder,^[6] who was probably a native of the Roman province of Chaldea or from that general area, seems to have arrived in Rome during the reign of Trajan (98-117 AD) and his son was active under Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) under whose reign the *Chaldean Oracles* were first published or circulated. It appears to be the Juliani who coined the designations 'theurgy' and 'theurgist' to describe themselves and their religious activities which centered around a ritual based mysticism aimed at elevating the soul. The term 'theurgy' (literally 'divine work') looks as if it has been coined to point up a distinction with 'theology' or mere theorising about the Gods,^[7] as well as with 'thaumaturgy' or low-grade wonderworking.^[8]

The picture that emerges when we piece the evidence together suggests that Julian the Elder used his son as a boy medium who responded to theological and ritual questions by speaking for the Gods in trance,⁶ and this is how the *Chaldean Oracles* were born.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Whether or not the Juliani were responsible for the *Chaldean Oracles*, what is beyond doubt is that the Neoplatonists received the *Oracles* as part of a group of related Chaldean materials associated with their circle.⁷ On this we have, for instance, not only the explicit statement of Marinus that Proclus studied "the huge number of works of Porphyry and Iamblichus on the ORACLES and related Chaldean writings,"⁸ but also quotations from these "related Chaldean writings" themselves. Just as we might expect, some of them at least seem to have been basically commentaries on the *Oracles*, as we can see from Proclus' reference to Julian's seventh book of *On the Zones*.⁹ There is good evidence that the outlines of the Chaldean system preserved for us by the Byzantine Neoplatonist Psellus¹⁰ also reflect this Chaldean exegetical work. In accordance with the close relationship which existed between the *Oracles* and their Chaldean transmitters, these oracles are quoted by the Neoplatonists as coming from not only "one of the Gods," but from "the Chaldaeans," "the theurgists" and "one of the theurgists," and so on.¹¹

5. D.P. Walker *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* London 1972 pp 49-50, 68-70, 85-7, et passim.
6. But there doesn't seem to be any compelling reason why we should assume that Julian the Younger was the only medium used.
7. This point has not been disputed, as far as I'm aware.
8. Marinus *Vita Procli* § 26: ...*kai tois Porphuriou kai Iamblichou muriois hosois eis ta logia kai ta sustoicha ton Chaldaion suggrammata...*
9. *In Tim.* III 27, 10.
10. On which see the section on the Chaldean system pp 89 ff below.
11. See Lewy pp 5, 443-447. The latter forms of citation refer to the theurgists speaking on behalf of the Gods in trance.

As far as the Neoplatonists were concerned, the overriding theological and philosophical task was to create a harmony between their various inspired authorities who included Plato, Pythagoras, certain Orphic writings, and of course the *Oracles* themselves. Accordingly, they had to reconcile the simpler Middle-Platonic scheme of the Chaldean traditions with their own highly sophisticated Neoplatonic ontology. In order to do this they were forced to make a clear distinction between the *Chaldean Oracles*, where the Chaldeans had spoken as mouthpieces for the Gods themselves, and the other exegetical Chaldean writings which they did not feel obliged to accept as divinely inspired. This explains the apparent contradiction to be found, for example, in Proclus when he can state his *credo* that Julian the Theurgist is he "whom it is unlawful to disbelieve,"¹² and yet not hesitate to disagree with him when Julian's explanations fail to square with Proclus' own system.¹³

Now the relevance of the foregoing in terms of collecting materials on any aspect of Chaldean lore is that our primary task is to collect *all* the relevant Chaldean material, and not just that preserved in quotations from the *Chaldean Oracles*. It made sense for the Neoplatonists to keep the two groups of material—the *Oracles* and the related Chaldean writings—separate. But we need to see the *Oracles* in their original context, and as much as possible in the form that they reached the Neoplatonists; and this background can only be provided when all the relevant Chaldean materials are assembled. Now these considerations apply whether the Chaldean Juliani were responsible for the actual production of the *Oracles*, or whether they just assembled materials they gathered from elsewhere. For in either case they will have shaped and selected the material to suit their own philosophical perspective. All this leads us to the conclusion that we should not follow the Neoplatonists in giving greater weight to any fragment of Chaldean teaching just because it appeared in the *Chaldean Oracles*. Though, of course, when we want to explore the use made of Chaldean teachings by the Neoplatonists a distinction between the two types of material will be crucial.

With these thoughts in mind we must view the current collections of the *Chaldean Oracles*. Modern scholarship on the *Oracles* began with the groundwork and collection of Wilhelm Kroll.¹⁴ The next major contribution to research was Hans Lewy's *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy*, which initially appeared in 1956.¹⁵ Then followed the first systematic collection of the *Oracles* by Édouard des Places in the Budé series.¹⁶ This has in turn been recently followed by Ruth Majercik, who has given us a collection based on des Places, with a careful English translation as well as some additions and an independent introduction and commentary.¹⁶

12. In *Tim.* III. 63, 24

13. E.g. In *Tim.* I. 317-18

14. *De oraculis chaldaicis* Breslau 1894. Hereafter 'Kroll'.

15. *Oracles chaldaïques: avec un choix de commentaires anciens*. Paris 1971. Cited hereafter as 'dP.'

16. *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, Translation and Commentary*. Leiden 1989. Hereafter cited as 'Majercik,' 'Maj.', or 'M.'

All these works have contributed substantially to our understanding of the Chaldean matters, and without the essential groundwork of Kroll and Lewy no research in this area would be possible. The present essay is intended as a supplement to these works, and I have assumed that anyone following up the material here will have at least Lewy and des Places to hand. Nevertheless, there are serious methodological problems with these works which have not been generally recognised, and these become particularly acute with the collections of des Places and Majercik. Apart from missing out a substantial number of fragments of the *Oracles* already in Kroll and Lewy,¹⁷ neither des Places or Majercik seem to be aware of the methodological problems over the *Oracles* and other Chaldean material which we have discussed above. I find des Places' attitude in particular very confusing. He includes a section of 'vocabulaire Chaldaïque' (fr 187-210), many fragments of which do not come from verbatim quotations of the *Oracles*, and this would seem to indicate that he considered his job to be the collection of all the preserved Chaldean terminology, as we have already argued is the fundamental need. Des Places' appendage of various writings from Psellus *et al.* on Chaldean doctrines¹⁷ might be felt to point in the same direction. But I am unable to discover any method governing the inclusion or exclusion of these terms from these writings in his collection of the *Oracles*. For instance there seems no possible rationale for including 'chain' (fr. 203) from Psellus' *Hypotyposis* § 28 without including the rest of the terminology from this section, all of which is specifically attributed to a Chaldean source. A glance at the section itself will serve to make our point clear. It runs as follows: (*Hypotyposis* § 28) "The summit of each 'chain' is named 'source,' those next in line 'springs,' those which come after 'canals,' and those after that 'streams.'"¹⁸

But problems like this are not the only puzzles. For there are examples where des Places has put expressions in quotation marks in his French translations of the *commentaires anciens*, indicating (presumably) that he considers these terms to be Chaldean terminology, yet they have not been included in his collection of the fragments. A case in point is the term 'Girt in serpent coils' (*speirodukontozônos*) from Michael Italicus' *Letter 17* (dP p. 216, 12-13). This example is another instance of the seemingly arbitrary selection of one term amongst other equally valid Chaldean expressions—for the full passage, see our fr. xviii. These examples could be multiplied many times over in the *commentaires anciens* section of des Places where, in truth, very little of the explicitly Chaldean terminology has been collected.

In fairness it must be said that des Places is not the only commentator on the *Oracles* to have made such bewilderingly arbitrary selections of what to include or exclude. Both Kroll (p. 13, 22) and Lewy (p. 77 n 42), for example, identify the term 'Holy Fire' (*hieros pur*) from the same letter of Michael Italicus as Chaldean,¹⁹ yet they do not include 'Primordial' (*prôtistos* = dP 214, 6)

17. pp 153-224.

18. dP p. 201, 46-48: *hekastês de seiras hê akrotês pégê onomazetai, ta de proseché krênai, ta de meta tauta ochetoi, ta de met' ekeina rheithra.*

19. *Letter 17* (ed. dP 214, 16)

from the same source. Again there does not seem to be any rationale behind including the one and excluding the other, since the text explicitly attributes both terms to the Chaldeans.

These are by no means the only question marks to be raised over our collections of Chaldean materials. Another problem not tackled in any of our collections is the matter of Pico della Mirandola's 'Chaldean' text and commentary on the *Chaldean Oracles*. Quotations from them appear in his *Conclusiones*²⁰ and elsewhere.^[11] About this text Pico wrote to his friend Marsilio Ficino in 1486: "I was forcibly taken off from other things and instigated to the Arabic and Chaldaic learning by certain books in both those languages, which came into my hands, not accidentally, but doubtless by the disposal of God, in favour of my studies. Hear the inscriptions and you will believe it. The Chaldaic books (if they are books and not rather treasures) are the ORACLES of Esra, Zoroaster, and Melchior, Magi; in which those things which are faulty and defective in the Greek, are read perfect and entire. There is also an exposition by the Chaldean Wise-Men upon these ORACLES, short and knotty, but full of mysteries. There is also a book of the doctrines of the Chaldean theology, and upon it a divine and copious discourse of the Persians, Greeks and Chaldeans."²¹ This is a letter which raises a great many questions. First and foremost, is Pico telling the truth? It would appear perhaps so, because after Pico's death Ficino found these works, but they were illegible (presumably that means to him).^[12] Moreover, in the *Fifteen conclusions according to...Zoroaster and his Chaldean expositors*, conclusion No. 5, there is a version of *Chaldean Oracles* fr. 162 which Pico, apparently following the exposition of one Osia the Chaldean, understands to refer to original sin.^[13] This makes it look like Pico's interpretation is independent of that oracles' source (in our extant materials) in Psellus, where the reference is not to original sin, but eschatological punishment.²² Other important questions include the problem of whether there could be a link between these 'Chaldean'²³ texts and the Pagans at Harrân, whose number probably included one of the last Neoplatonists, Simplicius.^[14] It would not seem likely that these *Oracles of Esra, Zoroaster and Melchior, Magi* could have been a straight Aramaic version of the *Chaldean Oracles* because, quite apart from anything else, they seem to have become attributed to the three Magi who visited the baby Jesus, whose names are generally given as Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar. Is this attribution evidence of Christian influence? Or could it be that it shows a Harranian Pagan attempt at 'one-upping' Christian tradition by supplying teachings from the venerated Wise Men of the East whose doctrines would antedate the Gospels? The whole area is clearly one where more research is needed.

20. B. Kieszkowski (ed.) *Conclusiones sive theses DCCCC* Geneva 1973. pp 49-50, 77-78.

21. Pico della Mirandola *Opera* Basel 1572. Vol. I. p. 367. Quoted in Dannenfeldt *op. cit.* p. 15.

22. Psellus *Commentary on the Chaldean Oracles*, 1145b, 11-c, 8 (dP pp 182-3).

23. Aramaic(?) according to Dannenfeldt *ibid.*

There is one other important methodological point we should raise here. This is that, wherever problems of interpretation have arisen, modern scholars have been prone to dismiss as extraneous teachings—or even *Chaldean Oracles*^[15]—explicitly quoted as Chaldean in our sources. It seems to me that this has often been due to a desire to dispose of material which is difficult to accommodate to prevailing preconceptions, as well as to confused methodology.²⁴

Against this tendency we might urge the following considerations. We should start by remembering that our sources had access to a full, or at least a much fuller, collection of Chaldean materials than we do, and the very fragmentary state of our knowledge should make us correspondingly wary about 'correcting' ancient commentators on Chaldean teachings, since it is very possible that they are drawing on sources no longer extant. Secondly, we perhaps need to clarify our ideas about the Neoplatonists' use of their authorities. Are there really any convincing instances where the ancient Neoplatonists can be convicted of imputing terminology to the Chaldeans which was not theirs—as distinct from wrenching Chaldean concepts to fit their own ontology and giving misleading equivalences?^[16] The latter process is of course a necessity of the work of harmonising different authorities—for example Plato, Aristotle, Orpheus and so on—which the Neoplatonists had set themselves; but the former process speaks of a cynicism towards their sources which would be, I believe, hard to substantiate. They are not generally accused of imputing extraneous material to Plato or Aristotle; and if not to these, we might observe, then why to the *Oracles*? I would argue that the accusation has arisen because of a lack of clarity about the distinction between attributing an *interpretation* to a particular source, and attributing *actual material*. Because the Neoplatonists did the former they are often accused (in the context of Chaldean matters) of doing the latter.²⁵ But perhaps the situation can be more fairly put in perspective if we compare the Neoplatonic use of their spiritual and philosophical authorities to the Christian use of the Scriptures. In both cases we can reasonably make the observation that the interpretative process, and the varying theological and philosophical commitments of the commentators, required that material regarded as inspired be given meanings very different from those it bore in its original context. But this license did not generally result in attributing statements to the Scriptures that were not there.

FRAGMENTS OF CHALDEAN LORE ON HEKATE

In accordance with the above remarks on methodology I have here attempted to collect all the major relevant Chaldean material on Hekate, and not just that to be found in des Places and Majercik's collections of the *Chaldean Oracles*.^[17] I have numbered my fragments with Roman numerals to distinguish

24. Lewy is perhaps particularly guilty of this in his failure to take seriously Psellus' reports of the Chaldean system in his zeal for Aion as Chaldean supreme God (see below pp 91-2).

25. Which has led, as we complained in note [15] above, to the dismissal of oracles unambiguously attributed to Chaldean sources.

them from dP/M's collection, whose numbers appear in parentheses²⁶ and in the Concordance on p. 137. I have provided in the footnotes the Greek texts of fragments of Chaldean material absent from the collections of the *Oracles* by dP/M, if they are not otherwise available in Kroll, Lewy or in the *commentaires anciens* section of des Places. I have indexed all the terminology in these fragments which seems to me to be directly drawn from Chaldean sources. This is marked with **bold italics** in the English translation, and the main Greek terms are collected in the Index under their English equivalent. The terminology from the fragments of the *Chaldean Oracles* included in the collections of dP/M has *not* been entered in the Index, since this is easily available through the indexes of those works. I don't feel that this is too much of a hardship, because my assumption has been throughout, as remarked previously, that since this essay is intended as a supplement to, and builds on, the works of Kroll, Lewy, des Places and Majercik, anybody following up the material here will have these works to hand.

26. Where applicable (but somewhat inconsistently).

THE CHALDEAN UNIVERSE

The Empyrean World

Had/First Father

Hekate

The Empyrean Realm

(= Intelligible World)

ruled over by

Had/First Father

Hadad/Second Father

Iynges

Synocheis

Teletarchai

Hypezôkôs

} *Three triads of*
Ameiliktoi

First Aetherial World

Aetherial Iynx

Life-generating Rulers :

Hekate, Royal Soul, Royal Virtue

Three Aetherial Worlds

(= realm of Soul)

ruled over by

Hekate

Second Aetherial World

Aetherial Synoch

Archangelic Realm

Third Aetherial World

Aetherial Teletarch

Azonaic Hekatae :

Trioditis, Kômas, Ekklesia

First Material World

Material Iynx

Zonaic Realm

(containing the fixed stars

& 7 planetary zones)

Three Material Worlds

(= physical realm)

ruled over by

Hadad/Second Father

Second Material World

Material Synoch

The Sublunary Realm

Third Material World

Material Teletarch

The Underworld :

Typhon/Hades, Echidna, Python

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE CHALDEAN HIERARCHY

In attempting to understand Chaldean Hekate and her relation to the other spiritual beings in the Chaldean system, we must begin by understanding her positions (since there are more than one of them) in the structure of that system. The following notes are intended to do this and to clarify our chart of the Chaldean Universe. All we can hope to do here is outline the basic structural details of the system, as the functions and characters of its different members would require a full-scale investigation which is beyond our scope here.²⁷

As is clear from the chart, the Chaldean system is based on a structure of triads and septenaries. There are seven worlds, which are subdivided into the Empyrean World, three Aetherial Worlds and three Material Worlds. Let us deal with them in turn:

The Empyrean World

The Empyrean World corresponds to the Platonic Intelligible world, and to what we would call in more modern terminology the spiritual world. The chief characteristic of this world in Platonism was that it is perceived through the mental and spiritual faculties, in contrast to the physical world which we perceive through the senses. The term 'Empyrean' (*empyrios*) suggests its fiery, radiant nature; for this is a quality which nearly always accompanies spiritual phenomena in the *Oracles*.

The Empyrean World has seven levels. The first three are occupied by the Chaldean triad of Great Gods: Had (the First Father or 'Once Beyond'), Hekate, and Hadad (the Second Father or 'Twice Beyond'). After this triad comes another, the *Ameiliktoi* or 'Implacables', which is further subdivided into three triads, the *Iynges* (literally 'Wrynecks'), the *Synocheis* ('Connectors'), and the *Teletarchai* ('Rulers of Initiation'). On the last level we find the *Hypezôkôs* (the 'Undergirding Membrane').^[18] Thus we can see that the Empyrean World reproduces the structure of the seven Chaldean worlds as a whole: two triads and a single unit.

The Aetherial Worlds

Next in the Chaldean hierarchy come the three Aetherial Worlds. As we explain further on (pp 188-9), in the *Oracles* the Aether is the realm of Soul and *pneuma*. In fact it is a *tertium quid* between spirit (Empyrean) and matter, a sort of intermediate semi-matter. This conception of Aether is strikingly reminiscent of ideas about the astral level current in modern occultism. It is Hekate who rules over the Aetherial worlds, just as it is Had (the First Father) who rules over the Empyrean realm and Hadad (the Second Father) over the Physical Worlds (see frag. i). And just as Hekate functions between the poles of the Fathers (frag. ii), so the Aetherial world covers the intermediary ground between the poles of Spirit and matter.

27. This is a job which could not anyway be adequately done until we have a fuller collection of Chaldean fragments. The fundamental arguments for the attribution to the original Chaldean sources—rather than to the Neoplatonic commentators—of the scheme outlined here, follows our sketch of the system.

The Ameiliktoi who, as we have seen previously, are divided into three triads, each have an Aetheric and Material aspect as well as an Empyrean one. The result is that each of the three Aetheric and Material Worlds has its own Iynx, Synoch or Teletarch. So the first Aetherial World is governed by the Aetherial Iynx and it contains the Life-generating Rulers and the three primary aspects of Hekate: Hekate, Royal (or 'Ruling') Soul, and Royal Virtue (see frag. xx). The second Aetherial World is governed by the Aetherial Synoch and is called the Archangelic Realm. The third of the Aetherial Worlds is governed by the Aetherial Teletarch and is known as the Azonaic Realm. It contains, besides other divine beings, the three Azonaic Hekatae, who are Trioditis, Kômas and Ekklesia.

The Material Worlds

We now come to the three Material Worlds which are ruled over by the Second Father or Demiurge who created the physical universe. The first Material World is governed by the Material Iynx and is known as the Zonaic Realm. It contains the seven planetary zones and the sphere of the fixed stars which were believed in ancient thought to encompass the earth. The second Material World is governed by the Material Synoch and is the sublunary realm; a region which encompasses both the area under the moon and the world in which we live. The third Material World is governed by the Material Teletarch. Its region is the underworld, which for the Chaldeans was a real and terrifying place,²⁸ rather than a metaphor for worldly concerns as it tended to be for the Neoplatonists.²⁹ It contains Typhon/Hades,^[19] Echidna and Python (frr xlv, xlv *bis*).

Our sources for the Chaldean system

Now we have the basic system sketched out, let us take a moment to look at the texts which tell us about it. Our main source for the structure of the Chaldean universe is a series of essays by the Byzantine Neoplatonist Michael Psellus (*circa* 1018-1082 AD),³⁰ who has his information directly or indirectly from lost writings of Proclus. The main outlines of the original Chaldean system can still be discerned in these texts because, despite the adaptations made by Proclus (and his predecessors) to adapt the Chaldean structure to their own system,^[20] these texts still preserve various features that reflect the Middle-Platonic background of the Chaldean material and conflict with Neoplatonic ontology at several points. This is subject which would take us too far afield to deal with fully, and I hope to deal with the Chaldean system in more detail elsewhere, but for the moment we can note the following salient points which serve to broadly confirm our reconstruction.³¹

28. Frr xlv (163), 134, 164, etc.

29. Porphyry *Sententiae* (Leipzig 1975) 29; Psellus (whose source is, as always, Proclus) *Commentary* 1132b, 1-13, p. 169 dP.

30. The main texts are usefully collected by des Places *Oracles Chaldaïques* pp 187-201, 213-19.

31. These points will be clarified by referring back to our chart of the Chaldean Universe.

i) Although these texts describe no less than three material and three Aetheric worlds (a classification which is not made much use of in Neoplatonism),^[21] they only have one Empyrean (= Intelligible) world, with no separate realm for the One. In this last feature they accord with most varieties of Middle Platonism, but not Neoplatonism, which maintains the thoroughgoing transcendence of the One as one of its most basic features. A single world covering the whole Intelligible Realm stands, in fact, in stark contrast to the fully-developed Neoplatonic system of Proclus, where the most careful distinctions and complex metaphysics are to be found at this level.³²

ii) These texts describe a system where the Archangelic realm (= the Second Aetheric World) occurs higher up the scale than the realm of the 'Visible Gods' (i.e. the planets = the Zonaic realm or first Material World). See the chart and for references see pp 87, 88-9. In this they conflict with Neoplatonic ontology which always placed angels *after* the Visible Gods.^[22] In fact, the Neoplatonists never felt very comfortable with the term 'Archangel' which, much more so than 'Angel,' did not have a place in traditional Greco-Roman religious classifications;^[23] they can thus hardly be credited with introducing the term into the Chaldean system.

iii) The most important point to realise in reconstructing the Chaldean system is that the Ameiliktoi or 'Implacables' is a term which in the original system did not denote a separate group of entities, but was a general term which covered the Iynges, Synocheis and Teletarchai (which we will abbreviate to IST's). We have already dealt with how and why Proclus and his tradition separated the Ameiliktoi and the IST's in note [20] above. It remains to present the evidence for their original identity, and we list the main points below:

a) Both the IST's and the Ameiliktoi are described as having manifestations at the Empyrean, Aetheric and material levels.³³

b) As we have already observed, in breaking up the Chaldean system in order to generate equivalents for their own hierarchy of Platonic entities, Proclus and his tradition created confusion and incoherence in the former system, as can be seen by comparing our chart of the Chaldean Universe with Proclus' Chaldean system (Lewy pp 483-5). Fortunately for us, Proclus failed to iron out various inconsistencies which can offer indications of the original relations of various Chaldean entities. In terms of our present subject, the identity of the IST's and the Ameiliktoi, a particularly glaring example occurs in Psellus' *Hypotyposis* § 13 (p. 199 dP). Here, the Teletarchs are said to have their source in the Demiurge (= the Second Father). This flatly contradicts Proclus' own Chaldean scheme where the Demiurge exists in the Intellectual Realm *below* the Teletarchs who are in the Intelligible/Intellectual Realm (see Lewy's chart). That the Teletarchs have their source in the Second Father would however make excellent sense in the original Chaldean system where, as we argue, the Teletarchs are part of the Ameiliktoi.

32. See Lewy's chart of Proclus' ontology pp 483-85, and compare this with the relatively simple structure of the lower realms in his philosophy. Cf nn [20]-[22] above.

33. IST's: Psellus *Hypotyp.* 3, 5 (dP p. 198), Michael Italicus *Letter 17* (dP p. 215, 5-14), etc. Ameiliktoi: Michael Italicus *Letter 17* (dP p. 217, 8-10).

c) The original identity of the IST's and the Ameiliktoi can also be inferred from the identity of functions and the terminology used to describe them. For instance, fr. 79 describes some entities called 'Supports' (*anocheis*). These are associated with the Iynges, who are given a supporting (*anechein*) function by Proclus (*In crat.* 33, 14-15). These Supports are described (fr. 79) as 'unbending' (*akampês*), a term which has its closest parallel in the extant material to 'unyielding' (*agnamptos*) which in fr. 36 describes the 'Implacable Fire' (*ameilikton pur*). Furthermore, the 'guarding' function (*phrourein*, *phrouretikos*) assigned to these Supports in Psellus' commentary on this fragment (1132d 6, p. 170 dP) is variously assigned in other sources to the Synocheis (Damascius *Dub. et sol.* II 125, 19-20 = *incipit* fr. 82 Maj.), the Teletarchs (Michael Italicus *Letter 17*, dP p. 215, 16), and the Ameiliktoi (Psellus *Hypotyp.* 10, p. 199 dP). This identity of function suggests the overall coincidence of these different groupings.

The identity of the Ameiliktoi and the IST's is further implied by terminology identifying the Platonic Ideas both with the Ameiliktoi (Lewy p. 119 n 201: cf Maj. comm. *ad* fr. iv [35] p. 155), as well as the Iynges (Johnston pp 103-4).

d) Fragment iv (35) mentions or alludes to all the members of the Empyrean realm except the Second Father (namely, the First Father, Hekate, the Ameiliktoi and the Hypezôkôs), but makes no mention of the IST's, once again suggesting that these were subsumed under the Ameiliktoi.

The Chaldean system and modern scholarship

The texts which describe the Chaldean system have not received the attention they deserve in recent scholarship on Chaldean matters, and this is due to two causes. Initially, these texts present what looks at first sight to be a hopelessly confused and artificial hierarchy, which, as we have already remarked, was the result of Proclus' (and his tradition's) attempts to Neoplatonise the original Chaldean structure. The resulting mess is not due to any lack of systematising skill on Proclus' part—for Proclus was, above all, a peerless systematiser as the *Elements of Theology* amply demonstrate—but due to the basically impossible nature of the task. For the Chaldean material already had its own system, which was embedded in the *Chaldean Oracles* themselves.³⁴ Reconciling the *Oracles* with Neoplatonic ontology was therefore a much more onerous and complex task than that required for, say, the Orphic writings, which had little in the way of an explicit system. As a consequence, outright contradiction between the *Oracles* and particular features of the Neoplatonic system was easy to overlook and hard to avoid.

The second reason for the lack of scholarly attention may be fairly laid at Lewy's door. His book is still the most extensive and influential investigation of the Chaldean material we possess, and his discussions of these matters are often brilliant and illuminating. Unfortunately, as far as understanding the original Chaldean system goes, Lewy added to rather than relieved the confusion. The reason is that he had his own somewhat eccentric theories about the Chaldean system, and he was led to belittle the importance of the texts we are discussing in consequence. Good examples are Lewy's interpretation of the

34. As the extant fragments show, many of the *Oracles* dealt with the nature and the interrelationships between the different members of the Chaldean system.

Chaldean Aetheric Realm as that of the fixed stars and planetary zones,³⁵ an interpretation he needed to make in order to bolster his claim for oracles which viewed the aether in this way but which have not won acceptance as Chaldean.^[24] Again, he was committed to the view that Aion was the Chaldean supreme God,³⁶ a quest in which these texts offered him no support.

THE FRAGMENTS

PRELIMINARY NOTE: quoted material is placed in italics, with terminology which I feel to reflect a Chaldean origin placed in bold italics. This latter material is listed in the Index on pp 149-50, but only if it comes from fragments *not* in the collections of dP/M, as the material in their fragments is easily recoverable from their indexes. For the convenience of Greekless readers, terms in the Index have been listed in the English form in which they appear, with the Greek (lexicon) form following. One of the hallmarks of the *Oracles* is for attributes and concepts to be constantly burgeoning into fully-fledged entities, and this accounts for the extensive use of capitals in denoting them (cf Majercik p. 4 and Johnston p. 139). Fragments are listed in roman numerals, with the numeration of dP/M (if applicable) following in parentheses. The form of numbering (for example *ii bis*, xvii a, b, c, and so on) often has no particular significance, but may represent material moved or added later. All translations not otherwise credited are my own.

SECTION 1: HEKATE'S POSITION & STATUS

This group of fragments deal with Hekate's position as the central member of the Chaldean supreme triad, between the First and Second Fathers. For more details see the *Chaldean Universe* pp 87-8 above.

i

(Text: Proclus *In Tim.* II. 57, 10 ff³⁷)

...those who, basing themselves upon the Theosophy from beyond, divide the Universe into **Empyrean, Aetherial and Material** realms.... [and Proclus continues: (II. 57, 27 f)]...for of these, one is **Life-giving** [viz. the Aetherial & Hekate], another **Paternal** [viz. the Empyrean & the First Father], and the material is **Demiurgic** [viz. the Second Father]....

35. Lewy pp 61, 144, 152-3 etc. He is proved wrong by our group of texts describing the Chaldean system which clearly separate the Aetherial and Material worlds, as well as by the considerations and fragments quoted further on pp 108-9.
36. Lewy *ibid.* et passim: cf 'Aion' in Tardieu's index. This view has been rightly rejected by subsequent scholarship.
37. *phaiê tis an tôn ek tês huperiori theosophias hôrmêmenôn kai ta panta diairoumenôn eis empuriou aitherion hulaion...ekeinôn gar to men esti zôgonikon, to de patrikon, dêmiourgikon de to hulaion...*

ii

(Text: dP p199; Kroll 74, 20-23 = Psellus *Hypotyp.* 9)

And he [viz. the Second Father] is called **Twice Transcendent**, because he is dyadic...and the other [viz. the First Father] is termed **Once Transcendent** because he is unitary; but Hekate is called **Transcendent alone**.

ii bis

(Text: Damascius *Dub. et Sol.* II. 152, 22 f³⁸)

For it is by means of Rhea that Zeus, and by **Circumlucant Hekate** that the **Twice Transcendent** is joined to the **Once Transcendent** and to Kronos.

iii (50)

The center of Hekate is borne along in the midst of the Fathers.

iii bis (38)

These are the Thoughts of the Father, after which is my coiling fire.

iv (35)

For from Him [the First Father] **leap forth both the Implacable Thunders, and the lightning-receiving Wombs of the resplendent gleam of Father-begotten Hekate, and the undergirding Flower of Fire and the mighty Spirit transcending the Fiery Poles.**

v (4)

For everywhere Power has been assigned the middle place; and among the Intelligibles, it connects the Father and Mind: For Power is with Him, but Mind is from Him. (Maj.)

SECTION 2: HEKATE'S REALM & APPEARANCE

This section deals with the major features of Hekate's imagery: her role as the source of the Soul, Virtues and Nature as well as her cult iconography. For more on Hekate's fearsome appearance and demonic associations, see Section 6.

vi

(Text: dP 215, 32-216, 1 = Michael Italicus *Letter* 17)

It is as some sort of an **Ineffable Power** that they [the Chaldeans] hymn Hekate as **Goddess of all the Leaders of Worlds**, and they fancifully imagine that **she filled all things with Intellective light.**

vii

(Text: dP p199; Kroll 74, 10-11 = Psellus *Hypotyp.* 7)

Hekate is completely filled with Intellective Light and Life.

38. *kai gar ho Zeus dia tês Rheas, kai ho dis epekeina dia tês amphiphaous Hekatês, tô te hapax epekeina kai tô Kronô sunaptetai.*

viii

(Text: dP. 194 [Bassi p123], 13-15 = Psellus *Ekthesis*)
[the Chaldeans] say that Hekate is the **Source of Angels, Demons, souls and natures.**

ix

(Text: dP 218, 4-5 = Psellus *Funerary Oration*)
...the **Snake-girdled, the three-headed, those [fem.] from the realm of Angelos...**³⁹

x

(Text: dP p199 [Kroll 74, 13-17] = Psellus *Hypotyposis* § 8)
Hekate has around Her the **Sources of various natures.** For because **Nature is suspended from the back of Hekate** [fr. 54], so the **Sources around Her girdle ensure the fulfilment of things; of the Sources placed in Her hips, that on the right is the Source of Souls, and that on the left of Virtues** [fr 51, 52].

xi (51)

The ORACLES also speak... concerning the principle of life by which the Source of Souls animates the All. They say : **Around the hollow of Her right hip a great stream of the primordially-generated Soul gushes forth in abundance, totally ensouling light, fire, aether, worlds.** (Maj.)

xii (52)

In the left hip of Hekate exists the Source of Virtue, which remains entirely within and does not give up its virginity. (Maj.)

xii bis

(Text: dP p. 173 = Psellus *Comm.* 1136b 1-10)
The Chaldeans define Hekate as being in the middlemost position and playing the role of **centre in relation to all the Powers.** To her right they place the **Source of Souls, and to her left the Source of Virtues, and they say that the Source of Souls is ready to procreate, but that the Source of Virtues remains within the boundaries of its own substance, and is like a virgin and pure. She takes this steady and unmoved quality from the Implacable powers, and she is adorned with a virginal girdle.**

xiii (54)

From the back of the Goddess is suspended boundless Nature. (Maj.)

39. dP translates *tas aggelidas* as "the dances of Angelos", but it seems more likely that, as this word must be based on a feminine noun *aggelis* [hapax?], then the meaning would be "those from the realm of Angelos", or possibly "those from the Angelic realm". See Goodwin *A Greek Grammar* [1894] § 848. 2. Would these be the Azonaic Hekatae? (see fr. xx) Or the Demons? (see fr. viii).

xiv

(Text: Lewy p. 93 n 111 = Proclus *In Tim.* II 246, 19)
For the Soul **has openings on either side** ⁴⁰ and is **circumfaced.**

xv

(Text: Lewy p. 93 n 111 = Proclus *ibid.* II 130. 23 f)
She [Hekate] is **circumlucient and circumfaced, and She holds the helm of the All.**

xvi (55).

For Her hair is piercingly seen by a bristling light.

xvii a

(Text: dP 216, 31-217, 1 = Michael Italicus *Letter* 17)
...and other of her attributes such as her **headdress.**

xvii b

(Text: Damascius. *Dub. et Sol* I. 242, 14-15)⁴¹
The **Girdle is analogous to the girdling hips of the Goddess, and the Crown to the temples and forehead of her divine head.**

xvii c

(Text: Proclus *In Tim.* II. 260, 25-28.)⁴²
...some being produced from the right-hand parts, and others from the left, whether you call them **temples** [of the head], or **hands, or hips.** For according to all of these, the Theologians have handed down to us her [viz. Hekate's] productive powers.

xviii

(Text: dP 216, 7-14 = Michael Italicus *Letter* 17.)
How would it sound if I were to speak of Hekate's **hair, of her temples** [of her forehead], of her **hips** and of the **Sources** around her head and about her **girdles!**...I speak indeed of the **Fire-filled Source,**⁴³ the **She-Serpent, and the Snake-girdled** : others calling her on account of her appearance **Girt in serpent coils, and in addition to these epithets, Lion-possessing.**

40. Presumably these two openings allude to the two Sources.

41. *ho men ge zôstêr analogei tais ezôsmenais lagosi tês theou, ho de stephanos tois krotaphois kai tô metôpô tês theias kephalês.*

42. *...allo men to apo tôn dexiôn tiktomenon, allo de to apo tôn aristerôn, eite krotaphôn legois eite cheirôn eite lagonôn: kata panta gar tauta tas gonimous autês dunameis hoi theologoi paradedôkasin.*

43. Or 'Fiery fear-filled' with Lewy p. 91 n 96.

xix

(Text: Lewy p. 91 n 96 = Psellus: vocabula Chaldaica varia)⁴⁴
Swordbearing, Three-formed, Three-headed,⁴⁵ Scourgebearing, Torchbearing.

xix bis

(Text: Kroll p. 30 n 1 = Lydus *De mensibus* [ed. Wünsch] Leipzig 1898. pp 41, 20-42, 4)

From whence they [viz. the Chaldean tradition] hand down the mystical doctrine concerning the four elements and **four-headed Hekate**. For the **fire-breathing head of a horse** is clearly raised towards the sphere of **fire**, and the head of a **bull**, which snorts like some bellowing spirit [daimonion], is raised towards the sphere of **air**; and the head of a **hydra** as being of a sharp and unstable nature is raised towards the sphere of **water**, and that of a **dog** as having a punishing and avenging nature is raised towards the sphere of **earth**.

SECTION 3: THE VIRTUES

We have seen how the Virtues originate from the left hip of Hekate. Here are some more specific details about them. It is worth noting how they are here—and in ancient thought generally—divine attributes and cosmic forces rather than human moral achievements.

xx

(Text: dP p190 = Psellus *Chald. Expositi.* 1152b 2-6: See also Gautier *Psell. Theologica* Vol. 1, 23a, 23-25)

Of the **life-generating Rulers**, the highest is called **Hekate**, the middle **Royal Soul** and the last one **Royal Virtue**. They also have **Azonic Hekatae** like the **Chaldean Hekate of the Crossroads,⁴⁶ Hekate of the Revel⁴⁷ and Hekate of the Assembly.⁴⁸**

xx bis

(Text: Damascius. *Dub. et Sol.* I. 241, 24-5).

And therefore it is certain that **Royal Hekate** is said to issue from the **Crown**, as **Royal Soul** and **Royal Virtue** issue from the partial sources of the **Girdle.⁴⁹**

44. Lewy notes various epithets of Chaldean Hekate (additional to those in fr. xviii above) which Psellus drew from Proclus. The textual sources can be most conveniently found in J. Bidez's Proclus "Peri tês hieratikês technês" in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (1936), p. 95.
45. cf Psellus *Funerary Oration* dP 218, 5.
46. *trioiditis* or possibly *triekdotis*. (dP p. 190 *app. crit.*)
47. ? *kômas*
48. We either read *ekklêsia* with Gautier, or possibly *ekklustê* 'lustrator' (?) with dP.
49. *toigaroun kai hê archikê Hekatê apo tou stephanou legetai aporrein, hôs hê archikê psuchê kai hê archikê aretê apo tôn kata ton zôtêra merikôn pêgôn*. Reading *Hekatê* for Ruelle's *hekastê* with Marie-Claire Galpérine Damascius: *Des premiers principes* Lagrasse 1987 p. 524, as is clearly required: cf previous fr.

xxi (46)

[It is necessary]...to propose those virtues which, from creation, purify and lead back [to God]...**Faith, Truth, and Love**, that praiseworthy triad. (Maj.)

xxii (48)

For all things says the Oracle **exist and are governed by these three** [Virtues]. And for this reason the Gods counsel the theurgists to unite themselves with God through this triad.

xxiii (44)

[The Father] **mixed the spark of Soul with two concordant qualities, Mind and divine Will, to which he added a third, pure Love, as the Binder and Sublime Rider of all things.**

xxiv (42)

[The Ideas] are simultaneously separated and combined by the bond of **wondrous Love, who leapt forth first from Mind, clothing his binding fire in the fire** [of Mind], **that he might mingle the Source Kraters, directing towards them his flower of fire**

xxv (39)

But this greatest and most perfect bond which the Father everywhere throws around the world...the ORACLES have called **bond of Love, heavy with fire: For after he thought his works, the self-generated Paternal Mind sowed the bond of Love, heavy with fire, into all things** And the Oracle adds the reason for this: **In order that the All might continue to love for an infinite time and the things woven by the intellective light of the Father might not collapse** Because of this Love, all things are suited to one another: **with this Love, the elements of the world remain on course.** (Maj.)

xxvi (43)

Having filled the soul...**with a deep Love...** according to the oracle. (Maj.)

xxvii (45)

The gods have termed [wanton love]... **a stifling of true Love.**

xxviii

(Text: Kroll p. 26 = Proclus *Commentary on Plato's Republic* II. 347, 6-11 [ed. W. Kroll: Leipzig 1899-1901])

And therefore the ORACLES bid us **expand** ourselves through the **freedom** of our way of life, but not to **constrict** ourselves by **drawing** upon ourselves a **stifling of true love** instead of **extending** to the **whole universe**; for those who are stifled **narrow the entrances** through which we partake of the **cosmic breath.**⁵⁰

50. Trans: W. O'Neill *Proclus : Alcibiades I* [the Hague] 1965 p. 77, with slight modifications.

xxix (47)

Let fire-bearing Hope nourish you...

SECTION 4: HEKATE AS SOUL & LIFE

The Source of Soul is placed in Hekate's right hip (section 2 above). As the following fragments show 'soul' in ancient thought did not so much mean a portion of man which lives on after death, but rather the animating (from Latin *anima* 'soul') life-force which is manifest in all living things.

xxx (53)

...after the Thoughts of the Father I, the Soul, dwell animating the All with My heat.

xxxi (174)

*It is clear, therefore, that she provides movement to herself; consequently, she is self-moved. To others She provides life; to Herself, far more, say the ORACLES. (Maj.)*⁵¹

xxxii

(Text & translation: Lewy pp 47-8 = Porphyry "Philosophy from Oracles," *apud* Eusebius *Prep. for the Gospel* V. 7, 1.

Amongst the Immortal Gods Hekate has never said to the wise spokesmen of the Gods anything vain or unfulfilled; but descending out of the domain of the Father from the Omnipotent Mind, She is always irradiated by Truth, and about Her stays firm Understanding striding with irrefragable words. Now, call me with a binding spell. For thou leadest such a mighty Goddess as was able to ensoul the highest world of all. [Lewy]

xxxiii (96)

The Soul, which exists as a Shining Fire by reason of the Power of the Father, remains immortal. She is the Mistress of Life and holds the Fullnesses of the many Wombs <of the world>.

xxxiv (56)

Rhea, in truth, is both Source and Channel [rhoê] of the Blessed Intellectives; for She, first in Power, receives the birth of all things in Her ineffable Wombs and pours them forth on the All as it runs its course.

xxxv (32)

That she is an Energiser, that she is Bestower of life-bearing fire, [...] and that he Fills up the life-generating womb of Hekate, and that it Pours upon the Connectors the life-giving force of an immensely powerful Fire.^[25]

51. Majercik (p. 207) suggests a possible Orphic origin for this verse, following Tardieu (Lewy p. 680). But Hermias' citation is unambiguous: "*phêsi ta logia*" and the doctrine is Chaldean, as the other fragments in this section demonstrate, so there is no call to suggest an extraneous origin.

xxxv a

(Text: Damascius *Dub. et Sol.* II. 154, 17-19)⁵²*The Great Hekate...emits a Life-generating Whir.*

xxxv b

(Text: Damascius *Dub. et Sol.* II. 156, 15-17)⁵³

[The life-generating Goddess (viz. Hekate)]...possesses the separated and manifest Whirring-forth of the Life-generating Light which constantly irradiates all things...

SECTION 5: HEKATE AS NATURE & FATE

In agreement with the negative view of the physical world prominent in spiritual circles in late antiquity, Nature and Fate—the force which allots individual physical circumstances—often have an oppressive and imprisoning role.

xxxvi (70)

But the ORACLES plainly state that Nature, advancing through all things, is suspended from the great Hekate: For untiring Nature rules both worlds and works, in order that the sky might turn round, pulling down its eternal course, and that the swift sun might come around the center, just as it is accustomed to do. (Maj.)

xxxvi bis

(Text: Lewy p. 96 n 126 = Proc. *In Tim.* III. 274, 6-7 [continuation of fr. xxxvi])
...And that the other cycles of time: of the sun, of the moon, of the seasons, of night and day should be fulfilled.

xxxvii (101)

...Invoke not the actually visible Image of Nature.

xxxviii (102)

Gaze not upon Nature, for Her name is Fate.

xxxix (103)

Do not add to thy Fate.

52. *hê te megalê Hekatê...zôogonon rhoizêma proiêsi.*

53. [*hê zôogonos*]...*diakekrimenên echei kai ekphanê tèn te epi panta phoitôsan ek-roizêsin tou zôogonou phôtos...*

SECTION 6: HEKATE AS MISTRESS OF DEMONS

Hekate's role as mistress of demons is the feature of Chaldean Hekate that comes closest to her common portrayal in popular Greco-Roman religion. See the other pieces in this volume, especially those by Farnell, Smith and Rohde.

xl (91)

Driveress⁵⁴ of the airy, earthy and watery Dogs.

xli

(Text: Lewy p. 95 n 121 = Proclus *Theology of Plato* p. 373, 28 f [ed. Portus 1618])

For the Barbarians [viz. the Chaldeans] also call the Goddess who is leader of this triad⁵⁵ the **Terrible and the Fearful.**

xlii

(Text: dP p. 199 = Psellus *Hypotyp.* 14)

There also is a **Zone of Dreams** which has as its origin the **Source of Soul.**⁵⁶

xliii (223)

Drawing some down from the aether by means of the ineffable Iynges, you made them easily descend to this earth against their will. The others in the middle, the ones who stand on the midmost winds far from the Divine Fire, these you send to mortals as ominous dreams—a shameful task for Demons.

xliv

(Text: Damascius *On the Phaedo* I, 539 [ed. & trans. L.G. Westerink Amsterdam 1977])⁵⁷

Who are the children of Tartarus and Earth?—**Typhon** causes all violent motion, of subterranean air currents and waters, and of the other elements; **Echidna** is an avenging force, chastising rational and irrational souls, hence the upper part of her body is as a maiden's, the lower part is serpentlike; **Python** is the guardian deity of all divinatory springs and fumes.

Rather, we should consider him the cause of disorder and obstruction in this matter; therefore he is slain by Apollo whose adversary he is.

54. 'Driveress' (*elateira*) is an epithet of Artemis. (See L. S. J. s.v. *elateira*.)

55. From the context of Proclus it looks as if the triad referred to is that of (Royal) Hekate, Royal Soul and Royal Virtue in the first of the Aetherial Worlds.

56. The extra *archên* in dP's text is an error.

57. *Tines hoi apo Tartarou kai Gês! ho men Tuphôn tês pantoiâs tôn hupgeiôn pneumatôn kai hudatôn kai tôn allôn stoicheiôn biaiou kinêseôs aitios: hê de Echidna timôros aitia kai kolastikê logikôn te kai alogôn psuchôn, dio ta men anô parthenos, ta de katô estin opheôdês: he de Puthôn phrouros tês mantikês holês anadoseôs.*

Ameion de tês peri tauta ataxias te kai antiphraxeôs aition legein: dio kai Apollôn auton anairei enantioumenon.

xliv bis

(Text: *ibid.* II, 142.)⁵⁸

The children of Tartarus and Earth, the consort of Heaven, are Typhon Echidna and Python, a sort of Chaldean triad in charge of all disordered creation. Typhon is the paternal and essential cause of disorder, not as such, but as a substratum provided by him to be organised by the Universal Creator, Echidna is the potentiality, the feminine and emanative cause of disordered nature. Python may be regarded as an intelligence of the same character; therefore he is said to impede the divinatory exhalations and is defeated by Apollo.

xlv (163)

Stoop not down into the the dark-glowing world beneath which is spread an Abyss, forever misshapen and deformed, circumshadowed, foul, phantom-ridden, uncomprehending, precipitous, twisted, forever winding about its own maimed depth, forever wedded to an unseen shape, idle, without breath.

SECTION 7: HEKATE & THE IYNX

inyx (plural *iynges*) is the Greek name for the bird known as the 'wryneck' in English. In Greek a *strophalos* is usually a spinning top, but the Oracles use the term to denote an object turned by the torque of its twisted cord(s).

xlvi (206)

Work with the strophalos of Hekate.

xlvi bis

(Text: p. 170 dP = Psellus' commentary *ad loc.* 1133a, 5-1133b, 4: cf *Opuscula* 38 ed. D.J. O'Meara: Michael Psellus *Philosophica Minora* Vol. II [Leipzig 1989 p. 133, 17-134, 2])

The *strophalos* of Hekate is a golden sphere with lapis lazuli enclosed in its centre, which is spun by means of a leather thong, and which is covered with symbols: as it was spun they [viz. the Theurgists] made their invocations. These spheres were generally called *iynges* and could be either spherical or triangular or of some other form. And while they were making their invocations they emitted inarticulate or animal cries, laughing and whipping the air. So the Oracle teaches that it is the motion of the *strophalos* which works the ritual, on account of its ineffable power. It is called "of Hekate" as consecrated to Hekate...

58. *Hoti Tartarou kai Gês tês suzugousês Ouranô ho Tuphôn hê Echidna ho Puthôn, oion Chaldaikê tis trias ephoros tês ataktou pasês dêmiourgias. ho men gar Tuphôn to patrikon esti kai ousiôdes aition ou tês ataxias hôs ataxias, all' hôs proupostrônnumenês hup' autou tô panti dêmiourgô pros diakosmêsîn. hê de Echidna hê dunamis kai to thêlu kai proodikon aition tês ataktou puseôs. ho de Puthôn eiê an nous toioutos: dio kai legetai tois mantikois pneumasin enantiousthai kai katagônizetai hupo tou Apollônos.*

SECTION 8: HEKATE'S MANIFESTATIONS

Some of the most powerful and evocative poetry of the *Oracles* concerns the epiphanies of Hekate in the lower worlds.

xlvi (219)

After daybreak, airy, boundless, full of stars, I left the great undefiled House of God and descended to life-nourishing earth at your request, and by the persuasion of ineffable words with which mortal man delights in gladdening the hearts of immortals. (Maj.)

xlvi (147)

If you call upon Me often you will perceive everything in lion-form. For then neither does the curved mass of Heaven appear, nor the stars shine. The light of the moon is hidden, and the earth is not firmly secured. But all things are seen by flashes of lightning.

xlvi bis

(Text: dP pp 171-172 = Psellus' commentary *ad loc.* 1133b 9-c 8: cf *Opuscula* 38 ed. D.J. O'Meara: Michael Psellus *Philosophica Minora* Vol. II [Leipzig] 1989 p. 134, 8-16.)

One of the twelve celestial signs of the zodiac is called the Lion [Leo], which is designated the House of the Sun, of which the Source is called lion-possessing by the Chaldeans—surely the reason being the arrangement of the stars in the form of a lion. If, therefore, in the course of the rites you invoke this Source by its name, then you'll be able to see nothing else in the heavens besides a lionlike phantasm. For neither does the curved or surrounding mass [of heaven] appear to you, nor do the stars shine, and even the moon is hidden, and everything shakes with earthquakes. It is not that the Lion-possessing Source actually removes the essence of the heavens and the stars, but rather that the leading element of their proper existence obscures the contemplation of them.

xlix (146)

...after this invocation you will see a Fire like unto a child, leaping and stretching over agitated air; or you may see a Formless Fire, from which a Voice rushes forth; or a Splendid Light whirring spiralwise around the field. But you may even see a horse flashing more brightly than light; or a child mounted on the back of a swift horse—a child of fire, or a child enwrapped in gold, or again, naked; or even a child shooting a bow and standing on horseback.

l (148)

But when you see the formless and very holy Fire radiantly leaping up throughout the depths of the whole world: hear the Voice of Fire.

SECTION 9: HEKATE IDENTIFIED WITH OTHER GODDESSES

li (72)

And, again, for these reasons, it seems to me that Plato said that which was later revealed by the Gods. And that which the Gods have termed armed from head to toe Plato has praised as "adorned in full armour:" For I, the divine, have arrived, armed from head to toe. (Maj.)

lii (173)

One [of the Gods] says that Aphrodite is ...primordial matter...⁵⁹which the ORACLES call both starry and heavenly. (Maj.)

DISCUSSION OF THE FRAGMENTS

Introductory Note

In the discussion that follows we will be concentrating mainly on elucidating those fragments which do not appear in the published collections of the *Chaldean Oracles*. Hopefully the overall perspectives on Chaldean Hekate presented here, particularly in the summary on pp 131-2, will help tie all the imagery together. For more information on the fragments which do appear in the published collections of the *Oracles* (which are those with both Roman and Arabic numerals, for example xvi [55]), see the relevant places in the works by Majercik and Lewy, remembering that the latter in particular is to be used with care. A few other fragments of relevance to Hekate in the published collections (for example fr 221 and 224) may also conceivably be from the *Chaldean Oracles* but, on balance, I felt their cases were not strong enough to warrant inclusion. Cf also the oracle from Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* quoted in Lewy pp 52-3 (note [54]), for which a stronger case could perhaps be made.

SECTION 1: HEKATE'S POSITION AND STATUS

We have already had a brief view of the Chaldean hierarchy on pp 87-92 above. The most essential feature to be remembered here is that Hekate, like the other inhabitants of the Empyrean realm, exists both as part of that realm and as a governor of the worlds below it. For the Chaldean Goddess, this means that she rules the three Aetherial Worlds which act as a bridge between the purely spiritual Empyrean World and the lower material worlds (fr. i).

Hekate's central position between the First and Second Fathers (fr iii, v) and her prominence in the divine manifestations of the Chaldean cult,^[26] which are reinforced by her dynamic role as divine Power (fr. v, cf vi), suggest that she tended to take center stage in the Chaldean cult, and that the two Fathers stood in some danger of being relegated to the wings. For more details about Hekate's relations with the two Fathers see Psellus' *Hypotyposis* §§ 6-9 (pp

59. Or, more likely, we should read 'Father-begotten matter' *patrogenês hulê*, see p. 115 below.

198-9 dP).

On fr. iii *bis*, Hekate's 'coiling fire,' see the material on her serpentine associations further on, on p. 105.

SECTION 2: HEKATE'S REALM AND APPEARANCE

Hekate is the source of Angels and Demons⁶⁰ (frr viii, ix) presumably because these groups of entities originate in the Aetheric Worlds, over which she rules; and in fact the second Aetherial World is called the Archangelic Realm. 'Angel' (*angelos*) was one of Hekate's cult titles in Greco-Roman religion (see Farnell above on pp 33-4). Since *angelos* means 'messenger' in Greek, this would point us towards Hekate's association with the Iynges who are 'ferry-men' between the Father and matter (see fr xlvi, xlvi *bis*, 78 and Proclus *In Crat.* 33, 14), as well as to her intermediary status between the Fathers and in the Aetherial Worlds. Another 'messenger' role is apparent in Chaldean Hekate's function as Mistress of Dreams, for which see fr xlii and xliii and their discussion on pp 108, 110, 112 & 117.

The descriptions of Hekate's appearance in this section draw a magnificent picture of her pouring forth the streams of Soul and the Virtues from her hips, and suspending Nature from her back. These attributes are dealt with in detail in sections 3, 4 and 5.

Much of the description in these passages relates to Hekate's standard cult iconography in Greco-Roman religion, but a few attributes require some elucidation. She is 'circumlucent' (fr. xv *amphiphaês*) on account of her luminosity (frr vi, vii), and she "holds the helm of the All" (fr. xv) as the guiding force of Cosmic Soul. The image of Hekate guiding the universe like a ship is doubtless due to influence from the cult of Greco-Roman Isis who is often depicted with a rudder and who is prominently associated with ships, sailing and the sea.^[27] Her 'headdress' (fr. xvii a) and 'crown' (frr xvii b, xx *bis*) could both refer to the turret crown of Rhea/Atargatis⁶¹/Hekate as described by Cornutus on p. 123 below, but on the other hand the headdress might refer to the Egyptian-style headpiece as worn by Atargatis in plate 10, or something similar.

This seems as good a point as any to point out that there doesn't seem any very compelling reason to assume with Lewy⁶² that the Chaldeans viewed Hekate as conforming to only one iconographical image. The *Oracles* and ancient religion in general were surely less rigid than this.

For the epithet 'lion-possessing' in fr. xviii, see fr. xlviii *bis* and the discussion on pp 113-4.

60. The Neoplatonists used the word demon (*daimôn*) in its usual sense in contemporary Paganism, that is of a being in between Gods and men who could be either good or evil. Nevertheless, in un-Neoplatonised Chaldean vocabulary, a *daimôn* always seems to be an evil creature: at least I have not come across any instance which could be convincingly interpreted otherwise. This is one of a number of features that the Chaldean material has in common with the background of early Christianity.

61. For the identification of Hekate and Atargatis see pp 119-23 below.

62. p 51 n 162, and elsewhere.

Chaldean Hekate's serpentine symbolism

Probably the most dramatic imagery of this section concerns the serpent-enwrapped epithets of frr ix and xviii. There is a clear connection here with the serpentine 'coiling fire' of fr. iii *bis* and the spiralling fire of fr. xlix (see further *Helicoidal Hekate* on p. 130). This striking iconographical feature seems to be absent in the symbolism of Greco-Roman Hekate.⁶³ Of course, Hekate had been associated with serpent attributes in earlier imagery, on which see Farnell pp 29, 45), but these images tended to see her as holding serpents or having serpentine hair,^[28] or occasionally serpent-legged, rather than being enwrapped by serpents as in our Chaldean sources.^[29] There is in addition a suggestive link in this serpent-enwrapped motif with the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum which we discuss later on pp 126-8. Lewy (p. 353 f) is surely right in pointing out that one tributary to Chaldean Hekate's serpentine imagery is to be found in Plato's *Timaeus* 36e where the world-soul "twists upon itself in circles" (*autê te en hautê strephomenê*).^[30]

Fr. xix bis

This interesting fragment deals with the image of Hekate as having four animal heads, and raises a number of issues which need our attention. To start with we might observe that this fragment is a good example of the problems encountered in trying to isolate Chaldean material. For what in this description is due to Lydus' Chaldean source, and what is due to Lydus' own interpretation? Initially we should note that the phrase "they hand down the mystical doctrine" (*ho mustikos paradidôsi logos*) implies that his source was literary and not, say, an image he had seen. Since Lydus' source may not have directly been the *Oracles* or some other Chaldean text, but a Neoplatonic interpretation, I have been fairly conservative in what I have isolated in this fragment as directly reflecting Chaldean terminology. But it is perfectly possible that much more of the description is drawn from the Chaldean source. It is difficult to know exactly what to do in these circumstances, and perhaps what is really needed is a separate form of emphasis for such uncertain terminology.

That the four-heads of the image are attributed to the four elements, implies that this image was situated lower down the Chaldean hierarchy than Royal Hekate and the Azonaic Hekatae⁶⁴ who are both triadic rather than tetradic. In the *Oracles*, four is the number of matter (fr. 104), as the attribution to the four elements would lead us to expect. Thus the four-headed image must be situated in the material worlds, although we should be careful here of overschematising as it does not follow that every Chaldean entity was fully integrated into the Chaldean system with a precise position in the hierarchy.

Turning our attention now to the individual heads, we notice that they become more frankly demonic as we progress from the lighter to the heavier elements in the sequence fire/horse—air/bull—water/hydra—earth/dog. The dog as earth is always a particularly demonic creature in the *Oracles* (frr 90, 91).

63. Except where it might reasonably be suspected of being due to Chaldean influence. Cf our note [29] below.

64. Situated in the first and third Aetherial worlds respectively: see p. 87.

Hydras or water-serpents are not otherwise mentioned in the extant fragments of the Chaldean teachings, but mythologically the Hydra was the offspring of Typhon and Echidna,⁶⁵ who are two members of the Chaldean underworld triad in fr. xliv (which we discuss on pp 110-11), so the hydra-head must be demonic, though perhaps not as negative as dog-head. As far as I'm aware, bulls are not mentioned elsewhere in Chaldean sources either, although 'bull' epithets frequently occur in relation to Greco-Roman Hekate (for examples, see our *Hymns to Hekate* on pp 73-7). Here the bull is attributed to air, and though the *Oracles* do mention airy dogs (fr. xl), that is demons, it is not clear whether our bull-headed spirit is intended to be demonic or not. I have remarked elsewhere (n. 60) that Chaldean lore seems to use the term *daimôn* exclusively for demonic entities, and since our fragment uses the term *daimonion* in describing the bull-head, which may possibly go back to a Chaldean source, this could be held to imply that the bull-head was considered demonic. But if so, why not use the less ambiguous term *daimôn*? Here, the evidence seems to leave us in a situation where it is difficult if not impossible to decide whether or not the bull-head was intended to be demonic. At any rate, the bull-head would seem to be less overtly evil than the hydra or the dog. In the case of the the fire-breathing horse's head, on the other hand, there appears to be no reason at all to consider it demonic. For fragment xl which mentions demons of the air, water and earth, pointedly leaves the element of fire out of the series; and the fact that the horse appears in a positive epiphany of Chaldean Hekate (fr. xlix), gives us good reason to believe that the horse's head was not considered a demonic force.

We now need to explore the relationship between our Chaldean Hekate with four animal heads, and Hekate as she appeared in Greco-Roman religion. In this context, images of Hekate with four animal heads or faces (*tetrakephalos*, *tetraprosôpos*) seem relatively rare,^[31] and I know of only two examples. The first of these occurs in the *Prayer to Selene*, translated on pp 75-7 (PGM IV. 2817), and in the cognate hymn elsewhere in this papyrus (*ibid.* 2560). There is some doubt as to whether the four-headed Hekate mentioned in these cognate examples has animal or human heads, but since the latter of these hymns addresses the Goddess as 'horse-faced' (line 2549), the balance of probability inclines to the animal. The second example is found in Porphyry's *De abstinentia* (p. 254, 21 [ed. Nauck, Leipzig 1886]). Here the animal heads are horse, bull, lioness and dog. Since Porphyry's interest in Chaldean lore is well-known, we might ask if it is possible that he is noting a Chaldean variant of the symbolism in our fr. xix *bis*, with the head of a lioness substituted for that of a hydra. But the Chaldean context for Hekate's lion associations seems to be a reference to her having lions at her feet (like Atargatis), or as a manifestation lower down her 'chain',⁶⁶ as the term 'lion-possessing' (*leontouchos*) would suggest, rather than having a lion's head as in Porphyry's reference. Furthermore, our Hekate's lion associations are connected with Leo (fr. xlvi) which is astrologically a fire sign, in contrast to the watery hydra. In fact, a look at the text sug-

65. Hyginus *Fabulae* cli.

66. See fr xviii, xlvi *bis*, and the discussion on pp 113-4; cf our *Prayer to Selene* (PGM IV 2812)

gests that Porphyry's reference is Mithraic, and there are other reasons which suggest that both Mithraic Hekate lore and the *Prayer to Selene* are, directly or indirectly, under Chaldean influence.⁶⁷ So to sum things up then, the above discussion leads us to the conclusion that Hekate's image with four animal heads was a Chaldean development which served to relate a lower expression of the Goddess to the four elements.

SECTION 3: THE VIRTUES

The Virtues run from the left hip of Hekate parallel to the Source of Soul from the right, and it is clear that they similarly play a complementary role to that of Soul in the universe. For whereas Soul bestows life and vitality on everything that exists, the Virtues govern (fr xxii, xxiii, xxv), sustain (fr xxii, xxv), purify (fr. xxi) and lead things back to their source in the Divine (fr xxi, xxii). The Virtues are a triad of Faith, Truth and Love⁶⁸ (fr xxi, xxii), although a fourth, Hope, is also mentioned (fr. xxix). However, it seems from the context of this fragment that Hope emanates from the Second Father rather than Hekate.

SECTION 4: HEKATE AS SOUL AND LIFE

Discussion of Oracle xxxii

This section includes an important oracle (fr. xxxii) which has been omitted from the collections of the *Chaldean Oracles*, although a very good case can be made in favour of its inclusion. Let us take a closer look at it now.

This oracle is not quoted as coming from the *Chaldean Oracles* by any of the Neoplatonists, but was drawn by Lewy (pp 47-8) from Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*. Nevertheless this is not a substantial objection, since other oracles quoted in that work also show evidence of coming from the *Chaldean Oracles* (see fr xlvi and xliii). Nor is it any objection that this oracle is not in hexameters, because there are *Chaldean Oracles* to be found in other metres.^[32] Lewy (*ibid.*) gives some evidence for this oracle's Chaldean origin, but presents a rather poor case due to his pursuit of an unlikely astral allegory. The most important point which should be made is that this oracle depicts Hekate as ensouling the worlds (cf fr. xi) and that it is, as far as I know, only in the *Oracles* that she has this function. Additional evidence for Chaldean provenance is found in the phrase "highest world of all" (*panupertaton...kosmon*). Although the idea of seven heavens and other septenary sequences are familiar from, for example, Jewish apocalyptic and Gnostic writings,^[33] a hierarchy of worlds does not immediately recall many parallels besides the Chaldean material. The oracle also associates Hekate with a 'Paternal Mind' which is a familiar and distinctive Chaldean concept, found in fr 22, 36, 37, 39 and so on. Finally, we should point out that Hekate does not here descend from the moon, as we might expect if the oracle reflected Hekate's Greco-Roman

67. For Mithraic Hekate see pp 128-9, and for the *Prayer to Selene* see n. [29].

68. Strikingly reminiscent of the Pauline triad in the *New Testament*, Faith (*pistis*), Hope (*elpis*) and Love (*agapê*): *I Corinthians* 13, 13

associations.⁶⁹ These parallels are hardly likely to be fortuitous, and unless we are willing to posit other (and otherwise unknown) oracle-sources imitating or influencing this distinctively Chaldean material, we shall have to grant this oracle a Chaldean origin.

Fr xxxv a and xxxv b

These two fragments are not in the collections of dP and Majercik,⁷⁰ but their subject matter and characteristically resonant symbolism would make it difficult to imagine anything but a Chaldean source for them. As it happens, we can fix their provenance more precisely, because the passage containing fr. xxxv a, paraphrases fr. iii (50),⁷¹ which makes it likely that fr xxxv a and b reflect the continuation of that fragment.

Fragments xxxv a and b use the term 'whirring' (or 'humming' *rhoizein*) to describe Hekate's life-generating functions, and the use of this terminology relates this view of her life-giving energies to the complex of symbolism surrounding the Iynges and the theurgical *strophalos*^[34] although, as life-giving properties are not otherwise prominent among the Iynges' features, it appears to be something of an over-simplification to directly identify the Iynges and the 'life-generating whir,' as Johnston seems inclined to do on p. 108.

The Realm of Soul

Hekate's role as Cosmic Soul and life, and her rulership of the Aetherial Worlds (cf fr. i) suggest that the Chaldeans equated, to at least some extent, the Soul-matter and the Aether as a sort of semi-physical substance which vitalizes matter. This is borne out by fr. 62 which talks of a rarefied state of matter as the "aethers of the elements," and by a reference to the teachings of the *Oracles* in Simplicius⁷² which states that "the impression of symbols and other divine spectral forms (phasmata) appear in the Aether." This doctrine sounds remarkably close to the concept of an 'Astral Light' in modern occultism. That *pneuma* ('spirit, breath') was included alongside Aether and Soul in this group of associations is suggested by the connection of Soul, *pneuma* and life in fr 122-3 and xxviii, as well as fr. 104, which sees a move to the physical as a threat to the *pneuma*.^[35] Since Hekate was Goddess of dreams (fr xlii, xliii [223]), it looks as if this Soul/Aether/*pneuma* stuff was also the substance of the dream-world. This view would make sense in equating the Aetheric realm with the dream state which would then lie between the lower physical and sensory world of waking consciousness, and the higher abstracted mystical states of awareness represented by the Emyrean realm and perceived with the

69. On Hekate's relation to the moon in Chaldean teaching, see pp 116-8 below.

70. But they are noted by Kroll (p. 29) and Lewy (p. 85 n 69). My attention was drawn to them in Johnston p. 108.

71. Damasc. *Dub. et Sol.* II. 154, 17 f: *hê te megalê Hekatê KENTRON TE ESTI PEPHORËMENON PROS HEKATERON TÏN PATERÏN, kai zôogonon rhoizêma...*

72. *In physica* (ed. Diels: C.A.G. 9-10 [Berlin 1882-1895]) p. 616, 18. This material is not in dP or Majercik.

"flower of awareness."⁷³ Lewy was certainly wrong (p. 61 and elsewhere) to equate the Chaldean Aether with the realm of the fixed stars.⁷⁴ He is refuted by the clear distinction between the Aetheric and physical worlds attested, as we have seen, in our Chaldean sources, as well as by the explicit statement of the oracle quoted in Simplicius *In physica* 614, 2⁷⁵ that "the centers of the physical world are fixed in the Aetherial world above it."

SECTION 5: HEKATE AS NATURE AND FATE

Nature (*phusis*) is the level of cosmic soul engaged in animating and ordering the physical world. Being in a physical body and being constrained by the physical world—this is Fate (*heimarmenê*)—are seen as bad for the soul, so this accounts for the very negative view of physical existence propounded by the *Oracles* and other contemporary spiritual philosophies. In fact, Nature often appears in the *Oracles* in a very negative light.⁷⁶ The equating of Hekate with Fate ultimately seems to have been due to the Stoics.^[36]

SECTION 6: HEKATE AS MISTRESS OF DEMONS

The fragments in this section elaborate on the fearsome attributes of Hekate which we have already come across in section 2.

Fr. xliii

The first thing that claims our attention here is fr. xliii. This oracle is included in des Places/Majercik's collections in the *fragmenta dubia* section because it is not quoted as being a Chaldean oracle, but comes from Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*, like fr. xxxii discussed previously. Lewy (p. 50 n 162) rejected this oracle as having a Chaldean origin, but this seems to have been due to the fact that he misunderstood it as referring to Hekate (rather than the demons) as having been put under compulsion. As it happens, we will see that a close examination of this oracle does in fact suggest a Chaldean origin.

The oracle has a sharp and didactic moralising tone—somebody is being criticised for misusing the *inyx*—which recalls fr 107, 15, 7, and so on. It is, perhaps, rather hard to think of Hekate as popularly conceived as a moralising Goddess, but this trait fits in well with a Chaldean context where Hekate is, amongst other things, the source of Virtues. We also note that these demons are drawn from the aether—Hekate's realm—but are "far from the Divine Fire," and these descriptions would suit Chaldean cosmology, where the Divine Fire would refer to the Emyrean realm. Again, the *inyx* is used to manipulate the demons and send them as dreams, which seems to suit better the Chaldean role of the *inyx* as a messenger (see p. 112) rather than the popular

73. *anthos noou*, for example fr. 1.

74. Cf also our remarks on the Chaldean system on pp 87-92.

75. Missing in dP and Majercik: *ei gar ta logia phêsi ta kentra tou hulaiou en tô huper auton aitheri pepêgena.*

76. Cf fr 88, 89, 101-3, 106 etc.

magical conception of the *inyx* as a tool for drawing a reluctant lover.⁷⁷ And, finally, we should observe that Hekate is here the mistress of dreams,⁷⁸ a role which is not attested for her Greco-Roman counterpart, and is perhaps unique to the Chaldean material. These considerations make it likely that this oracle came from the *Chaldean Oracles*.

Fr. xlv

Another fragment in this section which demands our attention is fr. xlv which deals with Typhon, Echidna and Python. Westerink⁷⁹ has suggested that this triad, which is otherwise unknown as a group, may have been put together from stray materials by Damascius' source, Proclus. But, in the first place, it seems to be straining the meaning of the phrase *...oion Chaldaikê tis trias...* which he translates as "a sort of Chaldean triad" to take it as referring to a Chaldean-type triad put together by somebody else. I shall argue that it has its origin in Chaldean material, although Damascius' way of introducing it might indicate that it was not found in the authoritative *Oracles* themselves, but in some other work of the Chaldeans. Damascius actually supplies two different descriptions of this triad (fr. xlv and *xlv bis*), and the first of these gives a much less Neoplatonic and schematised description of the triad, and one which would make the best sense if we see it as being derived from a Chaldean original. This suspicion is reinforced by the fact that at the end of the first passage, Damascius suggests a reinterpretation of Python's role which he incorporates in his second description in fr. *xlv bis*.

If, for the moment, we take the first description as representing a Chaldean original, then the triad of Typhon, Echidna and Python would represent the lowest reflection of the supreme Chaldean triad of the First Father, Hekate and the Second Father in the lowest of the Chaldean worlds, namely, the third material world or underworld. In the case of Hekate and Echidna links can clearly be seen in the serpentine imagery which they both share and the avenging role attributed to Echidna in fr. xlv and fulfilled in Hekate's case by her demons.⁸⁰ Furthermore we should remember that Typhon and Echidna are mythologically the parents of the Hydra, who is part of Hekate's four-headed image.⁸¹ No such obvious connections exist in the case of the other members of the two triads: the First Father and Typhon, and the Second Father and Python. But this should not cause us any problems because there does not appear to have been any very specific personal imagery (as distinct from doctrine) associated with the two Fathers, in the extant material at any rate, so parallels in symbol-

77. For example Pindar *Pyth.* IV, 381; Luc. *Dom.* 13; Aristoph. *Lys.* 1110 and etc. Cf our essay on Hekate's *inyx* cited at note 87 below.

78. Cf fr. xlii.

79. Westerink *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo: Volume II Damascius* (Amsterdam) 1977, p. 275.

80. Psellus *P. G.* 122, 1140c 2, cf fr. *xix bis*. If, indeed, Echidna is not simply Hekate in avenging guise.

81. See above, pp 105-7.

ism are not to be expected.⁸² However there are, on the other hand, some striking correlations between fr. xlv and other Chaldean descriptions of the underworld. In fr. xlv (163) the underworld is described as "*winding around*⁸³ *its maimed depth*," which readily recalls Hekate's and Echidna's serpentine nature and helicoidal form.⁸⁴ This is related to the 'twisted' (*skolios*) quality which is so characteristic of the Chaldean underworld, and is referred to in fr. 172 as well as our fr. xlv. Again, the "*unseen shape...without breath*," from the same fragment, suggests Python's choking fumes. And the "*subterranean air-currents*" associated with Typhon can be found in the frame material around fr. 170, which deals with winds bursting up out of the underworld. The coincidence of details in these descriptions seems good confirmation that fr. xlv does in fact have a Chaldean background.

Demonic Hekate!

The apparently demonic character of this lower emanation of the Chaldean supreme triad in this material raises the question of whether the Chaldeans featured a divine 'Fall' in their theology, or whether the negative aspects of the divine, in our case Hekate,³⁷¹ can be accounted for by the Chaldean theory of 'chains.'³⁸¹ An explanation on the latter basis would have presumably run as follows: since the Chaldean universe (unlike the Neoplatonic one) included a separate realm for the underworld which lay below the physical world we live in (see above p. 89), then the emanations of deities at this level would be actually inimical to mankind, dragging us down⁸⁵ rather than raising us up.³⁹¹ Thus put most simply, it would mean that what is liberating at a higher level may be oppressive at a lower one. This would not necessarily entail the view that these lower emanations were evil *per se*, but that they were evil for man. A good example can be found in one of Hekate's Virtues, Eros, who integrates all at the highest level, but as sexual love "*stifles true love*" (fr. xxi-xxviii).

A Chaldean doctrine of a 'Fall' seems to be implied in the following fragments of teaching. While the Chaldeans certainly held that "*every God is good*" (fr. 15), they did think that evil demons attempted to lead men astray (fr. 135), and even pretended to be Gods.⁸⁶ They also believed that evil demons had fallen from the heavens and "*rolled around*" (*kalindeomai*) the earth.⁴⁰¹ It is not clear if this fall affected only the demons; or whether it included more divine beings or lower levels on the 'chains' of these beings; and whether the fall accounted for the very existence of the underworld. It is not surprising that there is no trace of such a fall in Neoplatonic reports of Chaldean teaching. For the Neoplatonists would have found such material difficult to accommodate in their static and highly stratified ontology, and they may have suppressed, rejected or reinterpreted it.

82. Cf note [26].

83. The same verb *helittein* is used for Hekate's light spiralling around the field in fr. xlix, and compare this with her 'coiling fire' *eilumenon pur* in fr. iii *bis*.

84. On the latter see our summary, p. 130 below.

85. Cf. fr. 172.

86. *antitheoi*. See Iamblichus *De mysteriis* pp 177-8 (Parthey/dP).

SECTION 7: HEKATE AND THE IYNX

Frr xlvi et xlvi bis

The Chaldean *iynx* is dealt with in detail in a recent article by the present writer⁸⁷ the main points of which I shall summarise here. *iynx* is the Greek name of a bird known as the 'wryneck' in English. In the Chaldean material the *Iynges* are a kind of angelic group of Empyrean beings who govern the first of the Aetherial and Material worlds (see our chart on p. 87), and the *iynx/strophalos* is their corresponding ritual instrument. The *Iynges* are essentially angelic divine messengers, the 'thoughts of God' in fact, who act as 'ferry-men' (fr. 78: *diaporthmioi*) between the Father and matter. They mystically spin, like their physical counterpart the *strophalos*, as they "leap into" (frr 34, 76) and "ride the gleaming worlds" (fr. 76). In terms of theurgical and philosophical concepts the *Iynges* are equivalent to the Platonic Forms, the sacred names (*onomata*), symbols (*symbola*) and sigils (*synthêmata*). As a ritual instrument the *iynx/strophalos* seems to be independent of popular magical tradition where a *iynx* was used in erotic magic to draw a reluctant lover.^[41] In contrast, the Chaldean *iynx/strophalos* invoked and released the Gods and manipulated the dream Demons (cf fr. xliii [223]), it could also be used as a rainmaker—ferrying from heaven to earth in a literal sense—and was the energising turbine which made rituals work, as Psellus tells us in fr. xlvi bis. For being Hekate's instrument the *iynx/strophalos* vivifies and empowers ritual just as Hekate vivifies and empowers the universe; a connection which is emphasised by Hekate's 'life-generating whir' or hum.⁸⁸ Another link with Hekate is to be found in the fact that it was turned by the torque of its twisted cords, an image which relates it to the helicoidal forms so prominent in Hekate's imagery.⁸⁹

SECTION 8: HEKATE'S MANIFESTATIONS

Fr. xlvii

Like fr. xliii discussed above, fr. xlvii is from Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* and may not therefore be of Chaldean origin. Nevertheless, this oracle describes Hekate's descent from the 'house of God' rather than the moon, recalling fr. xxxii discussed previously on pp 107-8, and suggesting a Chaldean origin for the same reasons. One also notes that the mention of the earth as 'life-nourishing' (*zôotrophos*) is suggestive of Hekate's role as Cosmic Soul/Life which is a distinctively Chaldean (rather than Greco-Roman) feature. These considerations imply a Chaldean origin.

Of the rest of the fragments in this passage, all of them have been convincingly associated with the epiphany of Hekate, rather than any other deity, by Lewy.⁹⁰

87. "Hekate's Iynx: An Ancient Theurgical Tool" in *Alexandria I*, Grand Rapids 1991 pp 321-335.

88. Frr xxxv a and b, discussed earlier on p. 108.

89. See below p. 130.

90. Fr. xlviii, (+ xlviii bis), Lewy p. 242 n 57; fr. xlix, Lewy pp 241-2;

Frr xlviii and xlviii bis

We will now discuss frr xlviii and xlviii bis which, besides presenting a powerful account of Hekate's epiphany, associate her with leonine symbolism. We have already (fr. xviii) seen Hekate associated with the epithet 'lion-possessing,' and this epithet was probably related to representations of her flanked by lions, as suggested by Lewy p. 94, although Lewy does not seem to be justified in rejecting the idea that this may have something to do with the cult of Cybele (p. 94 n 114)—although the main influence here is probably the cult of the great Syrian Goddess Atargatis, which we discuss further on (pp 119-28). Lewy *ibid.* also seems to me to be unjustified in rejecting Psellus' association of the epithet 'lion-possessing' with the zodiac sign of Leo. He was probably led to this rejection by his erroneous identification of Chaldean Hekate with the moon (see below pp 116-8), which would have clashed in astrological terms with the solar, fiery nature of Leo (for a lunar deity we would expect Cancer and Taurus). But we have seen throughout the fragments how Hekate is constantly associated with fiery phenomena (and lions), and considering that she "filled all things with intellectual light" (fr. vi), then association with the corresponding physical light-giver, the sun, is perfectly natural for her; especially as there is evidence that Hekate originally had solar attributes.^[42]

Johnston's argument concerning fr. xlviii.

Since the above was written Sarah Johnston has argued⁹¹ for following, with Lewy,⁹² Lobeck's emendation of *panta leonta* "all things in lion-form" to *pant' achluonta* "all things growing dark." I cannot follow her here, and against her arguments I would urge the following considerations, dealing with her points in turn:

i) She argues that the meaning of the original is obscure (and therefore unlikely to have stood in the original text). But obscure or not, the idea of all images becoming dominated by a single one is not unknown in mystical and altered states of consciousness. I recall a story by Jorge Louis Borges called—if I remember correctly—*The Zahir* in which laying eyes on a particular coin or tiger gradually makes everything conform to the same image. It would not be too far-fetched to see this motif as having some relation to the unitive states so prominent in mysticism.

ii) She feels that fr. 107, which criticises various forms of ancient divination, implies a Chaldean aversion to astrology in any form. But while this fragment is evidence of an opposition to astrology as a divination technique, it is clear from a report in Proclus⁹³ that the Chaldeans nevertheless did employ astrological symbolism in their rituals.

iii) She goes on to argue that there is a lack of other attestations for Chaldean Hekate's lion symbolism (she rejects Michael Italicus fr. xviii and Porphyry *De*

fr. 1, Lewy p. 244.

91. *Hekate Soteria* pp 112-114. See my Postscript on pp 134-6 below.

92. p 242, but Lewy inconsistently assumes the original on p. 94 n 114, where the validity of *leontouchos* (accepted by Lewy) is dependent on the original reading.

93. *In rem pub.* II 246, 23 f, cf Lewy p. 39 n 115.

abst. [ed. Nauck] p. 254, 21; cf 206, 13). But this is a weak argument where Chaldean lore is concerned for, as we are dealing with a patchy collection of fragments, the list of features attested only once would, as we might expect, be a very long one! (Cf. our remarks above on p. 85). Even if we were to accept her rejection of Michael Italicus and Porphyry,⁹⁴ we would still have to reckon with PGM IV 2812 which pictures Hekate with lions and, as we have remarked elsewhere, has other close parallels with our Hekate.

iv) Johnston also raises the point (pp 113-4) that Iamblichus' allusion to this fragment (*De myst.* II. 4) does not mention lions, and she feels that this would imply a text of the *Oracles*, earlier than that of Psellus, which made no reference to lions. But let us look at the passage concerned, which runs in Johnston's translation:

"The magnitude of the epiphanies that accompany the gods is manifested in such a way that, as [the gods] descend, the whole sky, the sun and the moon are hidden, and the earth no longer is able to stand steady."

As the passage clearly shows, Iamblichus' remarks here are about the epiphanies of Gods in general, and not the specific characteristics of the manifestation of any one particular deity; hence a reference to things appearing in lion-form is not to be expected.

Several other more general points on this subject may also be worth making. I have remarked earlier on the dangers of dismissing lore attributed to the Chaldeans when our knowledge of the total system is so fragmentary. Moreover, in the present instance it is not clear why Psellus should have introduced a very rare word like *leontouchos* 'lion-possessing' into his exposition if he is merely making up the interpretation he gives. And one other point, which we cannot do more than note here. There is the interesting possibility of a link between Chaldean Hekate's association with the encosmic manifestation of the sign of Leo, and the Gnostic Sophia's association with the encosmic leonine deity Ialdabaoth.⁹⁵ This would be another parallel between the two Goddesses to add to the others we briefly note on p. 131 below.

SECTION 9: HEKATE IDENTIFIED WITH OTHER GODDESSES

We have already seen that Hekate was identified by the Chaldeans with Rhea^[43] (fr. xxxiv) and, if our interpretation of fr. xlv is correct, with Echidna. Fr. li, which recalls Plato's description of Athena,⁹⁶ has been convincingly associated with Hekate by Lewy (p. 95 n 118), thus implying that the Chaldeans identified the two Goddesses. This identification is further evidenced by the use of that famous epithet of Athena, 'Virgin' (*parthenos*) for Hekate in fr. xii. Lewy (p. 94 n 116-17) thinks that this usage is evidence for an identification with Kore/Persephone, but, although the Neoplatonists identified Kore and

94. Porphyry's lion-headed Hekate is probably a Mithraic adaptation of a Chaldean image, as I have argued elsewhere (pp 106-7). But there seems no justification for rejecting Psellus or Italicus.

95. On which see, for example, K. Rudolph *Gnosis* Edinburgh 1983, pp 73 ff, 78 f.

96. *Laws* VII 796c.

Artemis with Hekate,⁹⁷ it is not clear whether this was due to Chaldean inspiration or whether they were simply harmonising the Chaldean Goddess with Hekate's standard associations in Greco-Roman religion. At any rate, there is no direct evidence for these identifications in the extant Chaldean material.

Fr. lii

We must now turn to fr. lii (173) which makes an interesting identification between Aphrodite and primordial matter. The first problem we have to address is whether this fragment is from the *Oracles* at all, as attributed by Lydus,⁹⁸ or whether we follow Olympiodorus⁹⁹ in seeing an Orphic source.¹⁰⁰ Arguments for an Orphic origin might be reinforced by the fact that Aphrodite does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere in the extant Chaldean material, but the case for the *Oracles* is strengthened by Proclus who identifies Aphrodite and the World-Soul (Hekate) in his *Hymn to Aphrodite*. Majercik, to whom I owe this reference (pp 206-7), explains this by saying that the *Hymn* conflates Chaldean and Orphic imagery. But I have found no evidence for the equating of Aphrodite with Hekate in Orphic material and, unless we are willing to believe that Proclus undertook such an identification without the support of his customary spiritual authorities, the *Oracles* seem the most likely source. Lewy's case (p. 267 n 25) for the attribution of this fragment lii (173)—as well as fr. 216—to the *Oracles* finds further confirmation in the following considerations.

Firstly, the point is not clearly made by Lewy that if Lydus has made an error in his attributions, then he will have done so on two separate occasions,¹⁰¹ whereas Olympiodorus only makes the one reference, and consequently only one possible mistake.¹⁰² In addition we should observe that Lydus' references to the *Oracles* are far more frequent than Olympiodorus',^[44] and this fact would imply less familiarity (and interest) in the *Oracles* on the latter's part.

Secondly, returning to fragment lii and Aphrodite's description as 'primordial matter' (*prôtogenês hulê*), it is noteworthy that both matter and Hekate are 'father-begotten' (*patrogenês*),¹⁰³ and that in the manuscripts of Lydus,¹⁰⁴ *patrogenês* seems to be as well or better attested than our passage's *prôtogenês*.^[45] The former reading would cement the Chaldean relationship between Aphrodite and Hekate, as well as tying the passage in with the famous myth of Aphrodite's generation from the severed genitals of Ouranos.

In the third place, we should remember that a link between Aphrodite and Hekate would have been facilitated by the fact that in standard Greek mythol-

97. See the references assembled by Lewy p. 95 n 119.

98. *De Mens.* II, 11; 32, 1 f (Wünsch). cf *ibid.* III, 8; 41, 7 f = fr. 216.

99. *In Alc.* 15, 7 (Westerink).

100. Lewy (p. 267 n 25) supports Lydus, whereas Tardieu (Lewy p. 680) and Kroll (p. 10) follow Olympiodorus. See the discussion in Majercik pp 206-7, 218.

101. See nn 98 & 99 above.

102. *Ibid.*

103. Matter: Psellus *Hypotyp.* 27 (and cf fr. 34), Hekate: fr. iv (35); and see also fr. xi (51), where Soul is 'primordially generated' (*archigenethlos*).

104. Lydus *De mensibus* ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig) 1898, p. 32 *app. crit.*

ogy Eros was the son of Aphrodite, and that in the *Oracles* Eros is one of the Virtues sprung from Hekate (fr x, xii). We do not have to imagine that the *Oracles* actually identified Aphrodite and Hekate, but rather that they thought of Aphrodite as representing, in the form of 'father-begotten matter,' an aspect of Hekate. We have already seen (pp 108-9) that Hekate was governor of the aetheric worlds, and that the Chaldean notions of aether, Soul and *pneuma* overlapped to form a sort of vitalizing, psychic semi-matter. Was this, then, the 'father-begotten matter' identified with Aphrodite?

OTHER ASPECTS OF CHALDEAN HEKATE

Hekate and the moon.

The identification with the moon was a well established and prominent feature in Hekate's cult in Greco-Roman religion by the time the Juliani were active (2nd C. AD), so it might seem surprising that it is precisely this identification which is, as we shall see in a moment, lacking in the Chaldean material. However, this was not such a departure from tradition as it might appear, for there is a body of evidence indicating that Hekate had originally a solar rather than a lunar character. So before we go on to examine Chaldean Hekate's relation to the moon, let us take a moment to look at this question.

We might start by noting that the Hurrian Great Goddess Hepat, who is linked with the origins of Hekate by Kraus (p. 55), was identified with the Hittite Goddess of the sun, Arinna.^[46] That solar attributes clung to Hekate's early Greek cult (cf p. 113) would explain why Hekate appears with a solar blazon on the image depicted in plates 1 & 2, as well as the association of Hekate with Helios in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* lines 24-6, and in the hymn to her in Sophocles' *Rhizotomi*.^[47] In agreement with her early solar attributes is Hekate's fiery nature which was constantly referred to in material concerning her and was most obviously symbolised by her flaming torches. It is notable that Hekate maintained her fiery character even in the hymns to the moon in *PGM* (e.g. IV, lines 2338-9; 2527, 2530, 2559), in spite of the fact that this introduced a clash in elemental attributions as the lunar element was water and not fire.^[48]

But the question that arises at this point is that if Hekate was originally solar rather than lunar, then how and why did she become a lunar Goddess? The answer is probably as follows: Apollo was early on (5th C. BC)^[49] identified with Helios the sun God, which naturally led to his sister Artemis being equated with Selene the moon Goddess. Hekate's lunar attributes followed suit, as she and Artemis were constantly identified.^[50] The equating of Selene with Artemis and Hekate will have been facilitated by the following factors. All three Goddesses^[51] were represented as young women, and linked with the wilds and nature (in Selene's case through her association with Pan). In addition, for Artemis her role as a birth-Goddess will have suggested the lunar menstrual cycle, and for Hekate her nightgoing character and triple nature will have suggested the moon, the latter being interpreted as waxing, full and waning in a lunar context.

Returning to our discussion of Chaldean Hekate's relation to the moon, we first need to be aware, *pace* Lewy (whose arguments we will deal with in a moment), that the fragments about Hekate never equate her with the moon, and those about the moon never mention Hekate, as a careful look at the texts will show. In fact, the only real link attested in the material is that the moon is identified as the "actually visible (autopton agalma) image of Nature," according to Proclus,¹⁰⁵ which the theurgist is forbidden to invoke in fr. 101. Though it is true that Nature "is suspended from the back of the Goddess" (fr. xiii), nevertheless the moon as the image of Nature remains an identification twice removed from the Goddess herself. Hekate's role as Mistress of Dreams (fr xlii and xliii.) might at first sight seem to allude to a moon Goddess, but she actually appears to have got this role from her identification with Rhea (fr. xxxiv and see p. 123 below), who was Goddess of oneiromancy.¹⁰⁶ The non-lunar nature of Chaldean Hekate, although it was a departure from contemporary Greco-Roman traditions, follows naturally from her location in the Empyrean World as a member of the supreme Chaldean triad (fr i-v in section 1), and by her rulership over the Aetherial worlds (fr. i). For both of these realms are, it should be emphasised, above and separate from the moon which is to be found amongst the planets in the Zonaic or first material world.¹⁰⁷ Her basically non-lunar character is also apparent in the fact that she does not descend from the moon in her epiphanies (fr xxxii and xlvi): in fact, in fr. xlviii, the moon and the stars are blotted out by her descent.

As we have noted, the identification of Hekate and the moon is a basic assumption of Lewy's treatment of her in his *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy*, but the reader who closely follows his arguments for the lunar nature of Chaldean Hekate¹⁰⁸ will find that they are confused and circular,^[52] and depend upon a supposed metonymical use of the names of Chaldean Gods for the planets (e.g. pp 49-50, 158) in oracles which have not found general support as being of Chaldean origin.^[53] In fact, even if any of the oracles Lewy uses were to turn out to be *Chaldean Oracles*, it would still be hard to see in them any hint of a lunar Hekate.^[54] The simple truth seems to be that Lewy assumed a lunar nature for Chaldean Hekate on the basis of her character in contemporary Greco-Roman religion. There, her lunar nature is the central element about which cluster her attributes and identifications with other Goddesses. A clear example of this can be found in *PGM IV*, 2785-2871,¹⁰⁹ which is called *Prayer to Selene* (the moon Goddess) and displays the closest links to Chaldean Hekate of any text describing Greco-Roman Hekate. Here she is associated with Nature (2833), lions (2812), as well as being 'serpent-girdled'

105. *In rem. pub.* II, 133, 1-18; *In Tim.* III, 69, 15-16. Cf. also Psellus *Comm.* p. 175 dP (=1137a, 2-10.)

106. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité I-IV* (Paris) 1880, Tome I p. 285, II p. 52.

107. See the chart of the Chaldean Universe on p. 87.

108. Which are best traced through Tardieu's *Index rerum*, s.v. "Hekate: mistress of the moon" in Lewy p. 655.

109. Translated on pp 75-7 above.

(2864 *zônōdrakontos*) which latter provides the most striking parallel with her Chaldean attributes, and there is even a reference to her womb (2803 *nêdus*¹¹⁰). But the similarities between this text and the Chaldean material¹¹¹ serve to point up the utterly different focus (i.e. lunar and non-lunar) between the Goddess here and our Hekate.

THE ORIGINS OF CHALDEAN HEKATE

We can now see that the connections of Chaldean Hekate with the moon are very peripheral. But this now raises the question of her origins because, were Chaldean Hekate primarily a development of the Greco-Roman Goddess, it would be difficult to see how her most central feature, namely her lunar symbolism, could have become so marginalised. Before we investigate other possibilities for the origins of Chaldean Hekate, we should point out Lewy's excellent work in delineating the Platonic background of Hekate's role as the World-Soul.¹¹² But, while this symbology was undoubtedly an important influence on our Hekate's imagery, it does not assist us in finding the origins of the Chaldean Goddess herself.

As a preliminary to this investigation we need, I feel, to be clear that Hekate's Chaldean status as foremost Goddess in a pantheon is not actually paralleled in contemporary Greco-Roman religious material.¹¹³ It is true that Lewy argues just this (pp 362-4); but a close examination of the two hymns from *PGM* which Lewy uses to make his case¹¹⁴ clearly demonstrate that it is Selene (the moon), rather than Hekate, who is the central element around which the syncretic cluster crystallizes and to whom, in fact, both hymns are dedicated.¹¹⁵ Here we find ourselves back once more to the contrast between non-lunar Chaldean Hekate and her lunar Greco-Roman counterpart.

Lewy also quotes, in the course of making his case, the *Orphic Hymns: Hymn 1 To Hekate* as a parallel to the status of Chaldean Hekate,¹¹⁵ but this turns out to be another red herring. For not only are the epithets applied to Hekate here no grander than the epithets used of practically every other deity in the *Hymns*, but they are in truth considerably less grand than those applied to the Mother of the Gods (*Hymn 27*), Earth (*Hymn 26*), Nature (*Hymn 10*), and so on, as a reading of these hymns will show.

110. Unless *nêdus* here means 'belly'

111. Which are likely to be due to the dependency of the magical text on Chaldean material, rather than vice-versa. Cf note [29].

112. p 353 ff. As usual, this piece must be used with care. See now Johnston's extensive exploration of this topic: pp 13-75, 153-163, *et passim*.

113. Although, as we note elsewhere (p. 120), Greco-Roman Hekate did have Great Goddess origins.

114. *PGM* IV. 2523-2567 and 2785-2870: we have already discussed the second of these hymns above.

115. Lewy p. 363 nn 200, 202.

THE ASSYRIAN CONNECTION

I: Hekate & Atargatis

Since Hekate's Greco-Roman background does not seem to furnish us with a satisfactory background for the character and dominant status of Chaldean Hekate, it is clear that we need to look elsewhere. We shall find a hint of where to direct our attention in an interesting passage¹¹⁶ from Proclus' *Commentary on the Parmenides* which deals with the First and Second Fathers of the Chaldean trinity. It runs as follows:

"And this precisely is their theological teaching: through the voice of the true theologians they have handed down to us this hint regarding the First Principle. They call it by a name of their own, 'Had,' which is their word for 'one', so it is translated by people who know their language. And they duplicate it in order to name the Demiurgic Intellect of the world, which they call 'Hadad, worthy of all praise.' They do not say that it comes immediately next to the One, but only that it is comparable to the One by way of proportion: for as that Intellect is to the Intelligible, so the One is to the whole invisible world, and for that reason the latter is called simply 'Had,' but the other which duplicates it is called 'Hadad.'" (trans. Klíbanky & Labowsky pp 59-61).¹¹⁶

This passage furnishes us with important information on the First and Second Fathers and here, incidentally, Proclus himself gives the game away that these two entities actually corresponded to the One and the Demiurge in the original Chaldean system rather than the first and third members of the Intellectual Realm, as he preferred to maintain when he was reconciling Chaldean teachings with his Neoplatonic ontology.¹¹⁷ The "people who know their language" are almost certainly Porphyry and/or Iamblichus, both of whom were of Semitic extraction, for *had* is Aramaic (or Syriac) for 'one'.¹¹⁸ That the Chaldeans saw the Second Father as essentially a doublet of the First goes a long way towards explaining the confusing overlapping epithets for these two deities in the *Chaldean Oracles*, such as 'Father' and 'Mind'.¹¹⁹

Hadad was a Syrian thunderbolt-wielding war, storm and weather God who was identified with Zeus and who was best known in the Greco-Roman world as the consort of the great Syrian Goddess Atargatis.¹²⁰ Even by itself, this observation would tend to suggest that Chaldean Hekate might be related to this Goddess¹¹⁷ and, as we shall see, there is plenty of evidence to indicate that this is indeed the case.

116. Klíbanky and Labowsky (eds.) *Procli Commentarium in Parmenidem: pars ultima adhuc inedita, interprete Guillelmo de Moerbeke* London 1953, p. 60, 1-9.

117. See Lewy pp 483-4 for a chart of (most of) the correspondences. Cf also Klíbanky & Labowsky's note on p. 95.

118. Accordingly I have emended 'Ad' and 'Adad' to 'Had' and 'Hadad.' Cf van Berg, P-L. *Répertoire des sources Grecques et Latines sauf le DE DEA SYRIA (CCDS 1. Les sources littéraires)* Leiden 1972. Text 120 p. 96 n 2. (hereafter: van Berg)

119. See Majercik's index s.v. *patêr* and *nous*.

120. See Oden *Studies in Lucian's DE SYRIA DEA* Missoula 1977, pp 47-55.

That Chaldean Hekate cloaked an oriental Great Mother Goddess was already suspected by Kroll and GRS Mead,^[58] and the latter went so far as to say: "Hekate seems to have been the best equivalent our Greek mystics could find in the Hellenic pantheon for the mysterious and awe-inspiring Primal Mother or Great Mother of Oriental mystagogy."^[59] As it happens, there is good reason to believe that even Greco-Roman Hekate developed out of eastern Great Goddess traditions. Her origins are linked with the Hurrian Great Goddess Hapat by Kraus (p. 55). And the fact that Hekate's chief and perhaps oldest cult center at Lagina was "a temple state of the oriental type where there (were) also sacred eunuchs,"^[60] shows an association right from the beginning between Hekate and the eastern Great Goddesses Cybele and Atargatis, in whose cults eunuchs were prominent.^[61] This association is emphasised by the fact that the Hurrian Hapat (or Hebat) was paired with the weather God Teshup (or Teshub) who were identified in the 13th C. BC with the Hittite Tarhunna 'Weather God of Hatti' and Wurusemu 'Sun Goddess of Arinna,' which pair again represent the earlier Hittite deities Taru (a weather God) and Estan (a sun Goddess).^[62] This pattern of weather God and consort are clearly reflected in the Syrian Hadad and Atargatis who in turn, as we are discussing, lie behind the Chaldean Hadad and Hekate. The Great Goddess connection is also underlined by Greco-Roman Hekate's frequent identification with Artemis who, though she was often represented (like Hekate) in a rather weak and sanitised form in early sources,^[63] nevertheless had an ancient, dark and bloody side, and as the 'Mistress of Wild Beasts' (*potnia thērôn*) can be traced back as far as the Palaeolithic (Burkert pp 149, 151-152). Accordingly, Artemis was readily identified with eastern Great Goddesses (Burkert p. 149). These Great Goddess origins of Hekate can still be seen in the hymn to her in Hesiod's *Theogony* (411-52) which allots her a position of honour in every domain, as well as the evidence showing an early solar dimension to Hekate which relates her to the Hittite Wurusemu and Hittite Estan discussed above.^[64]

However, in thinking that Chaldean Hekate cloaked an eastern Great Goddess, both Kroll and Mead had in mind the Phrygian Great Mother, Cybele or *Magna Mater*, rather than the Syrian Atargatis. Certainly, Cybele has had a part—and perhaps quite a substantial part—to play in the development of Chaldean Hekate; but I suspect that her influence was less dominating and direct than that we will see was exerted by Atargatis and, given the patterns of relationship we are exploring in this essay, it would be reasonable to see Cybele's influence as mediated through the figure of Rhea and through reciprocal influences between Cybele and the Syrian Goddess herself, which were then channeled to Chaldean Hekate through the medium of the latter.^[65]

Let us begin our survey of our Hekate's and Atargatis' relations by turning to Lucian's *De Syria Dea* parag. 32.^[21] There we shall find that he identifies various aspects of Atargatis with the following Goddesses: Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis and the Fates. Of these deities, we have already seen that Athena, Aphrodite, Rhea and Fate are identified or associated with Chaldean Hekate;^[66] Nemesis follows from her scourgebearing (fr. xix) and

121. Attridge & Oden (eds.) *The Syrian Goddess (De Dea Syria) attributed to Lucian* Missoula 1976, p. 42.

avenging^[22] functions, whereas Selene and Artemis are standard attributes of Hekate in Greco-Roman religion (though, as we have discussed previously, in Chaldean lore Hekate's lunar attributes are marginalised). The only identification which does not get a look in in the extant fragments of Chaldean Hekate's symbolism is Lucian's primary one of Hera. But this equation was made on account of, as Oden (*Studies* pp 56-8) points out, the identification of her consort Hadad with Zeus. We should note here that the distinctly secondary position of Hadad to Atargatis in the Syrian Goddess' cult^[67] provides an excellent explanation for Hadad's inferior position to Hekate in the Chaldean hierarchy.^[68]

Returning to *De Syria Dea* parag. 32, we find that like Chaldean Hekate, Atargatis wears a girdle (*kestos*);^[69] likewise she wears a headdress,^[23] and there is a gem set on her head from whence "a great light shines from this by night, and the whole temple is illumined by it as if by lamps."^[24] This would explain the mysterious fr. xvi where Hekate's hair is "piercingly seen by a bristling light." We must go on to note that Atargatis is very frequently depicted with lions, as her consort Hadad is with bulls, and this once again relates her to Chaldean Hekate.^[70]

In contrast to Atargatis' lions, bull imagery is very prominent in Hekate's Greco-Roman cult, as a glance at the hymns in our *Hymns of Hekate* section will confirm (cf p. 106 above). But its only appearance in the symbology of Chaldean Hekate is in her four-headed image in fr. xix bis. The explanation for this is probably twofold: on the one hand, the bull is astrologically lunar (moon exalted in Taurus) and, as we have seen, Chaldean Hekate's lunar associations are peripheral; on the other hand, influence from the Syrian Atargatis cult will mean that the bull will have suggested Hadad (the Second Father) rather than Hekate.

Another link between the Syrian Goddess and our Hekate is to be found in the representations of Atargatis as half woman, half fish,^[25] in a 'mermaid' form which precisely parallels the half woman, half serpent form of Echidna, whom we have seen there is good reason to view as a lower manifestation of Chaldean Hekate.^[26] We should also remark on a parallel of religious practice between Atargatis' cult centre at Hierapolis and Hekate's cult as practised by the theurgic Neoplatonists. At Hierapolis the statues of deities "sweat and move about and give oracles,"^[27] which is reminiscent of a report in Eunapius where a statue of Hekate moves at the behest of Maximus of Ephesus.^[71]

Oden believes that Atargatis arose from the combination of at least two, and perhaps three, major Canaanite Goddesses: 'Ashtart, 'Anat and 'Ashera.^[72] Of course we have to remember that it is a long way from these ancient Goddesses to Chaldean Hekate, so the following comments can be no more than suggestions for possible links. Nevertheless, in this connection it is interesting to

122. See fr. xlv, xix bis, and the discussion on pp 110-11.

123. Cf Fr. xvii a. And see the discussion of van Berg Text 84 below.

124. Ed. Attridge & Oden p. 44 (trans. p. 45).

125. Oden *Syrian Goddess* (MR 9) p. 4.

126. fr. xlv and xlv bis, and the discussion on pp 110-11.

127. *De Syria Dea* 10.

find that 'Ashtart was represented as "a naked girl, with immature breasts, astride a galloping stallion...armed either with bow and arrows or with shield and javelin."¹²⁸ and compare this with our fr. xlix (146): "...or a child mounted on the back of a swift horse...or even a child shooting a bow and standing on horseback." Remaining with the subject of 'Ashtart's representations as an armed war Goddess,¹²⁹ we might recall fr. li (72): "For I, the Divine, have arrived, armed from head to toe" which we have already associated with Athena.¹³⁰ Turning our attention to 'Anat, we find that one of her standard epithets was 'virgin' (Ugaritic *batultu*),¹³¹ and that Atargatis was called 'virgin' (*parthenos*);¹³² and that, like Chaldean Hekate, she combined this quality with being a mother.¹³³ While it is true that none of the extant fragments of Chaldean material actually use the term 'mother' (*mêtêr*) in relation to Hekate,¹³⁴ it is clear that the numerous fragments describing her life-giving wombs and ensoulment functions must indicate the same function.¹³²

Our collection of Hekate fragments has demonstrated how prominent the image of her as 'Source' (*pêgê*) is, and how she is viewed as the origin of Soul, Virtues, Angels and Demons and so forth,¹³³ so it is of great interest that the name of Atargatis' main cult center in Northern Syria was *Bambyce* meaning 'Spring' or 'Source' (known to the Greeks as *Hierapolis* 'Sacred City').¹³⁶ Oden goes on to remark that "The Syrian Goddess was looked to as a source of fertility and therefore was almost always worshipped around sources of water" and that "Atargatis was above all a Goddess of the earth's and sea's fertility."¹³⁴ In van Berg's collection of literary sources on the Syrian Goddess, Text 133 (pp 107-110) a Goddess is actually addressed as Source (*pêgê*), but this is a report with several problems. For on the one hand the Goddess concerned is a syncretistic combination of the Christian Mary and the Mother of the Gods (with features of Atargatis); and on the other, the late date of the material here means we have to reckon with the real possibility of influence deriving from the *Oracles* themselves.

Van Berg Text 84

We must not leave van Berg's collection of sources on Atargatis without examining Text 84 (pp 53-55). This piece is from Cornutus' *Theologiae Graecae compendium* § 6,¹⁷⁷ and is remarkable in that it presents an impressive number of parallels to Chaldean Hekate in the space of a few lines. We shall therefore present the passage in full:

"Rhea is portrayed in iconography in a manner consonant with the flow [rhusis] which she represents; quite reasonably they also attribute the cause of

128. Albright *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, apud Oden *ibid.* p. 75 n 137.

129. See Oden *ibid.* p. 76.

130. P. 114 above. Of course, there is no reason why these associations should be mutually exclusive.

131. Oden *ibid.* pp 81-2

132. E.g. fr. vii, viii, xx, xxx-xxxv, etc.

133. E.g. fr. viii, x-xii *bis*, xviii, xlii, xlvi, etc.

134. Oden *ibid.* pp 2-3.

rain to her. Since for the most part rain occurs with thunder and lightning, they also presented her as taking pleasure in drums, cymbals, horns, and torch processions. Initially they gave her the eponym 'Ida' which is a mountain which stretches into the high air and can be seen [idein] from afar. Further, since showers press down from above and are frequently observed coming on from the mountains, they called her a mountain dweller, and they brought in lions, the most noble of the beasts in the mountains, to draw her chariot for her. Or it may have been because storms have a rather wild look. Further, she wears a turreted crown because originally cities were placed upon mountains either for the sake of security or because she is the founder of the first and archetypal city—the world. They also gave her a poppy-head, symbolising that she was the cause of the production of life. Along these lines they also surround her breast with certain other symbols to show that the variety of everything that exists has arisen through her.

The Syrian Atargatis is apparently also the same. People honour her by abstaining from doves and fish, signifying that the things which particularly demonstrate the fluidity of substance are air and water."¹³⁵

We list below the group of close parallels which this text displays between Rhea/Atargatis (and Cybele) and Chaldean Hekate:

i) The play on 'Rhea' and words connected with the concept of flowing is also present in the *Oracles* fr. xxxiv (*Rhea-rhoê*).

ii) Rhea/Atargatis as cause of rain is matched in a theurgic context by Proclus' use of Hekate's *inyx* to end a drought in Attica.¹³⁶

iii) Rhea/Atargatis is here associated with lightning, like Chaldean Hekate (fr. iv [35], xlviii [147]).

iv) Likewise Rhea/Atargatis is associated with lions, as is Chaldean Hekate (fr. xviii, xlvi [147] and xlvi *bis*. Cf the discussion on pp 113-4.)

v) The turreted crown mentioned here is probably related to Hekate's crown (fr. xvii b, xx *bis*).

vi) Both Cornutus' text and the *Oracles* (fr. xxxv [32]) describe their Goddesses with the epithet 'life-generating' (*zôogonos*).

vii) To these observations we must add that Chaldean Hekate seems to have got her role as mistress of dreams from Rhea, as we noted earlier (p. 117).

In sum, this report demonstrates that an important complex of attributes belonging to Chaldean Hekate were already associated with Rhea/Atargatis/Cybele by Cornutus' time, which is the earlier part of the first C. AD. The passage well illustrates the kind of background symbolism drawn upon in the image of Chaldean Hekate.

135. The translation is that of R. S. Hays *Lucius Annaeus Cornutus' "Epidrome" (Introduction to the traditions of Greek theology): introduction, translation and notes*. PhD thesis 1983. pp 59-60.

136. *Marinus Vita Procli* § 28.

II: The First and Second Fathers

Let us turn our attention away from Hekate and Atargatis for a moment in order to make some more observations on the other two members of the Chaldean Triad, the First Father (or Once Transcendent) and the Second Father (or Twice Transcendent). We have observed previously (p. 119) that the identification of the Second Father with Hadad was explicitly made in the Chaldean material. Now Hadad was usually identified with Zeus chiefly on their sharing the attribute of a thunderbolt,¹⁷⁸ so it is of significance that Hekate has 'Lightning-receiving Wombs' (*prêstêrhodochoi kolpoi*, fr. iv) and several other passages also make mention of these thunderbolts (fr. 34, 81, 82). It is not very clear in these fragments as to whether the thunderbolts issue from the First or Second Father, but perhaps who they came from never was very clear, for the attributes of these two deities overlapped, as we have already remarked.

If Chaldean Hekate cloaks Atargatis, and The Second Father Hadad, then perhaps the First Father will ultimately reflect 'El "the grand patriarchal deity of Canaanite religion whose divine decrees are a necessary prelude to the undertaking of any major action."¹³⁷ This description puts us in mind of fr. 22 of the *Oracles* where the First Father "nods his assent" to the division into three proposed by (presumably) the Second Father.¹⁷⁹ Attridge & Oden¹³⁸ think that 'El might be represented by the bearded Apollo in the cult sanctuary at Hierapolis in § 35 of *De Syria Dea*. But be this as it may, the most obvious candidate for the third member of a triad at Hierapolis would be the enigmatic 'Sign' (*sêmêion*) in § 33 of Lucian's work. Nevertheless, Oden has argued,¹³⁹ against the general view, that the 'Sign' does not represent a third deity forming a triad with Atargatis and Hadad, but that it rather originates in a symbol for Atargatis herself. Since a Hierapolitan triad is of some interest for us as a likely precursor of our Chaldean trinity, it may be worth our while to take a closer look at the passage in question, which runs in Attridge and Oden's translation as follows:

"Between the two statues [i.e. of Atargatis and Hadad] stands another golden image, not at all like the other statues. It does not have its own particular character, but it bears the qualities of the other Gods. It is called 'Sign' by the Assyrians themselves, and they have not given it any particular name, nor do they speak of its origin or form. Some attribute it to Dionysus, others to Deucalion, still others to Semiramis. Indeed, on its head stands a golden dove. For this reason, then, they say that this 'Sign' belongs to Semiramis."

Now, whatever validity there may be to Oden's arguments about its origins, it is clear from this passage in *De Syria Dea* that Lucian considered that the mysterious Sign concealed a third deity related to these two, even if he wasn't sure who it was. And it also seems clear, since he cites three different opinions for its identity, that other devotees of the Syrian Goddess also believed it to represent another deity. It seems certain then that, by Lucian's time at any rate, the enigmatic Sign was taken for a third deity forming a triad with Atar-

137. Attridge & Oden *op. cit.* p. 4

138. *Ibid.* Cf Oden *Studies* p. 125.

139. *Studies* pp 109 ff

gatis and Hadad. In looking at the text we are also struck by something else: the priests of Atargatis do not answer questions about the Sign's name, origin or form, and instead they preserve an esoteric silence which results in speculative solutions by the ordinary laity. Clearly the identity of the Sign was privileged information which was not available to the regular worshipper. This reticence about the Sign is rather reminiscent of contemporary Jewish esotericism regarding the Supreme Being (YHWH), the pronunciation of whose name was also a closely-guarded secret and who likewise had no anthropomorphic iconography. We should also remark that in representations the Sign tends to appear slightly higher than Atargatis and Hadad, thus forming the apex of a triangle of which they are the base.¹⁴⁰ These two observations—the esotericism regarding the Sign, and the fact that it formed the apex of a triangle with the other two—tend to suggest that the Sign stood for a deity who was considered the supreme member of the trinity. This trinity would then have run in the sequence Sign—Atargatis—Hadad (since, as we have already seen above, Hadad was Atargatis' consort and held an inferior position to her in the cult). We now have a precise parallel for the Chaldean trinity of Had—Hekate—Hadad and this implies that the ultimate source for the Chaldean triad is to be found in the religion of the Syrian Goddess.

Two further facts lend our hypothesis additional support: firstly, the Chaldean traditions claimed to teach the wisdom of both the Chaldeans and the Assyrians,¹⁴¹ and thus this Hierapolitan (and explicitly 'Assyrian') source for the Chaldean supreme triad would represent an 'Assyrian' contribution. Secondly, and perhaps even more significantly, the 'Assyrian' sequence of the triad would provide us with an excellent answer to the puzzle of why Hekate, whose Platonic equivalent is Cosmic Soul (see pp 108 and 135-6), occupies a position in the Chaldean triad superior to the Second Father or Hadad, who is the Chaldean Demiurge,¹⁴² thus reversing the normal platonic sequence of Demiurge followed by Cosmic Soul. Otherwise this reversal is extremely difficult to account for in a platonically-inspired theological system.

These arguments are of sufficient substance, I feel, to establish that there was some sort of a link between the triad at Atargatis' cult centre and the Chaldean supreme triad.

There is one other piece of evidence which we should mention as it demonstrates that the etymology of Hadad as 'One, One' circulated independently of Chaldean teachings. This is Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (I. 23, 17-20). There, the 'One, One' etymology is given and attributed to the 'Assyrians,' who are here a reference to the traditions of Zeus-Hadad at Heliopolis, on whose cult Macrobius is discoursing. It is evident from Macrobius' context that this etymology cannot be derived from either Chaldean lore or teachings from Atargatis' cult centre at Hierapolis; for although Atargatis is mentioned in Macrobius' passage she is placed in a firmly secondary position to Hadad. Is it then possible that

140. Oden *Studies* p. 160, figs. 1+2.

141. See Lewy p. 444 (excursus 1 c). The Atargatis background to Chaldean Hekate and the Janiculum link (on which see below) also represent 'Assyrian' portions.

142. For references it is probably simplest to consult Majercik p. 6.

the cult at Heliopolis could have been the ultimate source for our Hadad etymology? But this seems unlikely, because 'One, One' tends to suggest two, and it is not easy to think of such an etymology arising where Zeus-Hadad was supreme God, as he was at Heliopolis. As already noted, the Heliopolitanians cannot have got it from Chaldean lore, and the best suggestion would seem to be that it was formulated where Hadad was a secondary deity, the prime contender being Atargatis' cult centre at Hierapolis.^[80] Both the Heliopolitan cult and the Chaldean traditions would then have got it from this source.

Our investigation of the relations between Atargatis and Chaldean Hekate has turned up a substantial number of links, but it is clearly an area where much more work needs to be done, particularly on the influence exerted by conceptions of Rhea (and Cybele). The role of Rhea in particular seems important because of the complex of links which we discussed earlier between her, Atargatis and Chaldean Hekate. But one question in particular remains: why is it that it was Hekate who became the *interpretatio Graeca* for Atargatis in the Chaldean system? Rhea might have seemed the more obvious choice for, as we remarked previously, she was already identified with Atargatis and had major attributes of the Chaldean Goddess by Cornutus' time.

We will move closer to an understanding, I would suggest, if we realise the extent to which the Chaldean interpretation of Hekate is less a product of syncretism, as suggested by Kroll and Lewy^[81] or just a puzzling departure from Greco-Roman traditions, than a return to Hekate's Great Goddess origins. Our previous discussion has already shown that in making Hekate the supreme Goddess of their pantheon, and in marginalising her lunar attributes and developing her leonine and solar links (see p. 116), the Chaldeans were producing imagery that has more in common with Hekate's early Great Goddess background than with the syncretistic Greco-Roman Goddess. It remains to recall our earlier remarks (p. 120) about Hekate's links with the older Hurrian Hepat who was paired with the Hurrian weather God Teshup, a grouping which we noted was reflected in Atargatis and the storm God Hadad who, as we now know, lie behind Hekate and the Second Father.

Taken together, these considerations suggest that the Chaldeans were drawing on older traditions which preserved Hekate's Near-Eastern Great Goddess features, and it would seem to be a reasonable inference that these traditions may well have already identified Hekate with the contemporary Near-Eastern Great Goddess Atargatis. If we now raise the question as to what sort of a channel might have served to link these traditions with our Chaldeans, we might with profit turn our eyes to the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum whose links with our foregoing discussion we shall now proceed to examine.

HEKATE AND THE SANCTUARY ON THE JANICULUM

We have observed earlier that one of Chaldean Hekate's major iconographical features was being represented as serpent encoiled,^[143] so it is noteworthy that a statue of Atargatis found at the sanctuary of the Syrian Gods on the Janiculum in Rome shows her likewise coiled about with a serpent.^[142] This motif seems

143. Fr. ix, xviii and the discussion on p. 105 above.

particularly characteristic of this sanctuary which was associated with more than one serpent-coiled deity.¹⁴⁴ Since the Juliani (the producers or transmitters of the *Oracles*) seem to have been based in Rome,¹⁴⁵ we might be prepared to entertain the idea of some sort of a connection between the Juliani and this sanctuary. The fact that Proclus' *Hymn to Hekate* (see pp 73-4) is dedicated to Janus as well is also a pointer in this direction, since the Janiculum, as its name implies, was early associated with Janus. Proclus' association of Hekate and Janus (who is equated with Zeus and therefore with the Demiurge and Hadad) is surely based on his Chaldean theological authorities, for it is not—as far as I know—an association found elsewhere.^[83] The third member of the Chaldean supreme triad was viewed as dual in nature according to Chaldean doctrine (fr. ii bis, 8), as we have also seen from the etymology of his name Hadad as 'One, One' above. This dual nature relates him to the two-faced God Janus. It is therefore not surprising to find that at the Janiculum sanctuary there was a "small altar bearing a dedication to the Syrian god Hadad."¹⁴⁶ Also found at the site was a relief of Atargatis assimilated to Cybele and Tyche/Fortuna.¹⁴⁷

This sanctuary was associated with the worship of the Goddess Furrina who was identified with the Eumenides and linked with Hekate by Cicero in his *De natura deorum* III. 46.^[84] The remains of what was probably a *hekateion* was also found in the temple, and around the top of the base were three female figures who may well have been the *Nymphae Furrinae*;¹⁴⁸ who were a triple nymphic form of the Goddess Furrina. In view of the link between Furrina and Hekate attested here, one wonders if there could be a connection between the three *Nymphae Furrinae* and three Chaldean Azonaic Hekatae of fr. xx (q.v.), and perhaps the Nymphs in fr. 216 as well:

"Nymphs of the Springs (numphai pēgai) and all water spirits; hollows of the earth, air, and beneath the solar rays; male and female lunar riders of all matter..."

The mention of springs reminds us of Chaldean Hekate's (and Atargatis') prominent associations with the concept of a source (*pēgē*), and so it is no surprise to find that the Janiculum sanctuary was built on a spring.¹⁴⁹

Adding additional weight to the hypothesis of links between the Chaldeans and the Janiculum sanctuary is the evidence for the worship of a triad of divinities at the sanctuary, which is particularly interesting in view of the existence of a Chaldean supreme triad and the importance of triadic structures generally in Chaldean material. We shall not tackle this matter in detail as it would take us too far afield; but it is instructive to read Goodhue's passage on the Janiculum triad (p. 60 ff) in the light of the material we have been discussing above

144. Cf Toynbee *ibid.* p. 242 (13)

145. Lewy pp 3-4, 313, 428.

146. Goodhue, N. *The Lucus Furrinae and the Syrian Sanctuary on the Janiculum*. Amsterdam 1975 p. 13 & n.24.

147. Goodhue *ibid.* p. 23.

148. Goodhue p. 37 and elsewhere.

149. Goodhue pp 52, 141.

on the Chaldean triad, and we might point out that for his Osiris/Hermes/Dionysus connection (p. 62 ff) we have Psellus *Ekthesis* 1152a, 12 (dP p. 189) and 1152b, 7-8 (dP p. 190) giving suggestive correspondences on the Chaldean side.

We have only been able to touch on the interesting issues raised by the Janiculum connection, and it is clearly another instance where more research is called for.

CHALDEAN HEKATE AND MITHRAS

The fourth century AD Christian polemicist Firmicus Maternus preserves some interesting information on Hekate and Mithras in his *Errors of Pagan Religions*. The passage runs as follows:¹⁵⁰

"The Persians and all the Magi who dwell in the confines of the Persian land give their preference to fire and think it ought to be ranked above all the other elements. So they divide fire into two potencies, relating its nature to the potency of the two sexes, and attributing the substance of fire to the image of a man and the image of a woman. The woman they represent with a triform countenance, and entwine her with snaky monsters. This they do so as not to disagree in any way with their sponsor, the devil; they want to have their goddess be sprouting all over with snakes and thus be adorned with the devil's polluted insignia. [2] The male they worship as a cattle rustler, and his cult they relate to the potency of fire as his prophet handed down the lore to us, saying: Musta booklopiês, sundexie patros agauou. ["Initiate of cattle-rustling, companion by handclasp of an illustrious father']. Him they call Mithra, and his cult they carry on in hidden caves, so that they may be forever plunged in the gloomy squalor of darkness and thus shun the grace of light resplendent and serene. O true consecration of a divinity! O repulsive inventions of a barbaric code! Him whose crimes you acknowledge you think to be a god. So you who declare it proper for the cult of the Magi to be carried on by the Persian rite in these cave temples, why do you praise only this among the Persian customs! If you think it worthy of the Roman name to serve the cults of the Persians, the laws of the Persians... [Two folios of the MS are missing at this point] [3] ...[the goddess] who, armed with a shield and protected by a cuirass, is consecrated on the pinnacle of the Acropolis. Again another third is the one which in the wild and secluded forests obtains dominion over the beasts of the field. The last part of that threefold division is the one which makes known the pathways of the lusts, the base desires, the enticements of perverse concupiscence. Therefore they assign one part as the head's, so that it seems in some sort to embrace man's passion. Another they fix in the heart, so that it seems, like the forests, to embrace the variety of different thoughts which we conceive by manifold concentration. The third part is fixed in the liver, whence spring libido and voluptuousness. For it is in the liver that the fecund genital semen gathers and by its natural stimuli stirs up concupiscence."

150. Ziegler (ed) Firmicus Maternus *De errore profanarum religionum* Liepzig 1907, § 5, 1-4. The translation here is that of C. A. Forbes *Firmicus Maternus: The Error of Pagan Religions* New York 1970, pp 51-53.

This is an interesting passage which raises the issue of Chaldean Hekate's relation to Mithraism. It is not the only literary reference to a link, since Porphyry in his *On abstinence from animal food* makes mention of a four-headed Hekate (horse, bull, lioness and dog) in a context which, as we remarked previously, is probably Mithraic.¹⁵¹ Moreover, images of Hekate have been found in Mithraic sanctuaries, and there is at least one example of someone as a priest of both Mithras and Hekate.¹⁵²

This passage has been used by R. Merkelbach¹⁵² to argue that Hekate represented Cosmic Soul in the Mithraic religion, a view which has been challenged by Robert Turcan,¹⁵⁶ who prefers to see the Goddess in question as the Persian deity Anâhitâ. S. I. Johnston, in her *Hekate Soteira*¹⁵⁷ (to whom I owe both these references) has also expressed reservations about Merkelbach's view, and mentions the possibility that the image Firmicus Maternus mentions may have been Mithraic but the exegesis he quotes may not have been.

In commenting on this, we might start by reminding ourselves that Firmicus Maternus may not be a very reliable source—he is after all writing a particularly nasty piece of religious polemic. It is also all too easily forgotten that we know next to nothing of Mithraic doctrines, which renders dogmatic statements about their contents particularly risky. Furthermore, it only seems likely (rather than certain) that the triadic symbolism of the Soul—which follows a substantial lacuna—is related to the triadic Goddess of the first part. On the other hand there is definite archaeological evidence that Hekate and Mithras were linked up in some way and, more to the point in our present investigation, the grouping together of fire symbolism, being encoiled in serpents, and an association—if it is valid—with Soul, certainly do suggest distinctive features of Chaldean Hekate. Nevertheless, rather than see these features as having been introduced by Firmicus Maternus, as Johnston suggests,¹⁵³ might it not be more likely that these Chaldean elements were introduced by the Mithraists themselves? Surely the Neoplatonists were not the only Pagans to be impressed by the powerful imagery of the *Chaldean Oracles*, and their eastern origin would have been an agreeable feature to the Mithraists who believed in the (what actually seem to be rather imaginary) eastern origins of their own religion. This suggestion finds support in Porphyry's mention of a four-headed Hekate which, as we have noted above, seems to be in a Mithraic context and is likely to be derived from Chaldean sources. The possibility that the influence worked in the other direction, and that the Chaldeans adopted their symbolism from Mithraism, seems rather remote: the investigations into the origins of Chaldean Hekate undertaken in this essay have not pointed in the direction of Mithraism, and there is certainly no trace in Chaldean teachings of the pairing of Hekate and Mithras which we would expect if the Chaldeans had borrowed from the material outlined by Firmicus Maternus.

151. Nauck (ed.) Porphyry *De abstentia* Leipzig 1886, Book IV, p. 254, 21, cf p. 206, 13. This image may be a Mithraic interpretation of a Chaldean symbol: see below and pp 106-7 above.

152. R. Merkelbach *Mithras* Meisenheim am Glan 1984 pp 234-5.

153. *Ibid.* p. 162 n 29

HELICOIDAL HEKATE

One feature which appears repeatedly in Chaldean Hekate's symbolism is her helicoidal imagery. This occurs in her iconography as her serpent-enclosed form (fr xviii, ix), and again in her underworld counterpart Echidna who is described in the twisting imagery of fr. xlv (cf fr. 172). It reappears in her epiphanies (fr. xlix, cf iii *bis*) as her spiralling fire, and once more in the structure of her *strophalos* which is turned by its twisted, spiralling cords (fr. xlvi *bis*). It is clear from these examples that this helicoidal symbolism is fundamental to Chaldean Hekate, but equally it seems to be absent from her Greco-Roman counterpart, except where she might be justly suspected of showing Chaldean influence, as in the Selene hymns in PGM IV.¹⁵⁴

As we have remarked previously, the *Timaëus* image of the World-Soul "twisting upon itself in circles" (*Tim.* 36e: cf. p. 105 and Lewy p. 353 f) has clearly had some influence here, but this seems to be a slender basis on which to account for such a dominant feature. On the other hand we have seen how much of our Hekate's symbolism can be seen to derive from that of the great Syrian Goddess Atargatis, so it is natural to ask if this helicoidal motif is also related to this source. We know that Atargatis was represented as serpent-enclosed (see pl. 10), so there is a clear iconographical connection here. But there is additional evidence to be found in the mysterious 'Sign' which we discussed earlier (pp 124-5). There we pointed out that by Lucian's time (2nd C. AD) this had become thought of as a separate deity, but Oden makes a strong case for the origins of this complex 'Sign' in symbols for the Syrian Goddess herself.¹⁵⁵ What concerns us in the present context is the caduceus-like central image of the symbol which Oden relates to the "caduceus of the Punic Goddess Tanit and the ashera of the Jewish scriptures."¹⁵⁶ He says that: "the origin of the device has been variously discovered in the caduceus (the staff of Hermes, with two intertwined snakes) or in a highly stylized palm tree. Either origin well symbolizes Tanit's role as a promoter of fertility, a role which she shared with the Syrian goddess."¹⁵⁷ What is of particular interest to us here, is that in most of its forms this image has distinctive helicoidal features—even the palm tree form suggests the same with its ascending crisscrossing bands (see plate 9.) Here, we might strongly suspect, is the ultimate origin of Chaldean Hekate's spirals.

Since our Hekate is above all a Goddess of the life-force, and given the importance of helicoidal forms in some of the fundamental structures of life as seen by modern biology, this is a particularly interesting and profound area of symbolism, and one which deserves a much more extensive discussion than we have been able to give it here.

154. Discussed above on pp 117-8 & n [29].

155. Oden *Studies* pp 109-155, cf *MR* 9, slides 15 and 17. The weakness of Oden's case is a failure to distinguish between the Sign's origins and the interpretation it had come to bear by the 2nd C. AD.

156. Oden *ibid.*

157. Oden *MR* 9-17.

SUMMARY

We must now leave our investigation into the nature of Chaldean Hekate and stand back to take a look at the overall picture which emerges when we draw the threads of our research together. As we have mentioned, there are some areas where our investigations have uncovered more questions than they have resolved: we might think in particular of the precise stages of the development of Chaldean Hekate out of Atargatis, and the role played by other Goddesses, Rhea in particular; as well as the exact nature of the links between Chaldean lore and the Syrian sanctuary on the Janiculum. There again, there are important areas we have not entered at all, such as the parallels between Chaldean Hekate and the Gnostic Sophia.¹⁵⁸ But these must wait for another day. Let us look at what we have already found.

Hekate's symbolism

Following basically the sequence of our fragments, we saw that Hekate is a member of the Chaldean supreme triad, and that she exists between the First Father who is the transcendent First Principle and ultimate source of all things; and the Second Father who is the creator of the physical universe (fr i, ii, iv, v). She is in essence the dynamic vital principle who is "borne along in the midst of the Fathers" (fr. iii). As she occupies a median position between the Fathers, so too she rules over the Aetheric worlds which lie between the spiritual Empyrean world and the material worlds (fr. i). These are the worlds of the vitalizing semi-material Cosmic Soul. In terms of states of consciousness, the Aetheric realm is the dream state which lies between external sensory awareness in the physical world of waking consciousness, and the deeply internal mystical states represented by the Empyrean realm.¹⁵⁹

Hekate's appearance is powerful and terrifying: she is viewed as fully armed and girded with serpents, and of triple-form and three headed and radiating fiery light (fr ix, xvi, xviii, xix, xli, li). At a lower level she appears with four animal heads: horse, bull, hydra and dog (fr. xix *bis*). She emits a life-generating whirl (fr xxxv a & b), and from her right hip she pours forth the wellsprings of Soul which bestows life and vital heat throughout the universe (fr vii, x, xi, xii *bis*, xiv, xxx-xxxv). From her left hip issue the virginal Virtues: Faith, Truth and Love (fr xii, xx-xxix). From her back is suspended Nature and baleful Fate (fr xiii, xxxvi-xxxix). She also issues human souls along with the Angels who guide men upwards and the Demons who drag them down (fr viii, xl, xliii). At the lowest level, and associated with her role as mistress of demons, she appears in the half-human/half-snake form of Echidna who, along with Typhon and Python, forms an underworld triad to match the supernal one of Hekate and the Fathers (fr xliv, xliv *bis*).

158. This is a particularly rich field to explore as both Goddesses dominate the realm between the spiritual world (Empyrean/Pleroma) and the physical world we live in. Moreover, both have developed out of Platonic Cosmic Soul (see below, pp 135-6) and both are associated with lower leonine manifestations (see above, p. 114).

159. These mystical states are most explicitly described in fr. 1 dP/M.

Her ritual instrument is the spinning *strophalos* which is linked to the angelic Iynges who are the messengers of the Father (fr. xlvi, xlvi bis). Her epiphanyes are associated with fiery light, in which there occur manifestations of lions and horses and other phenomena which blot out the sky and shake the earth (fr xlvi-l).

Hekate Greco-Roman and Chaldean

In our essay we have noted many features which indicate that Chaldean Hekate did not evolve directly from her Greco-Roman contemporary, but rather out of the Great Syrian Goddess Atargatis. The most evident of these differences between Hekate Greco-Roman and Chaldean are the latter's activity as Cosmic Soul, bestowing life upon the universe, and her companion role as source of the Virtues. Again, our Hekate does not display the lunar imagery which is so important a feature in her Greco-Roman namesake, and which has become the dominant feature in the syncretistic lunar Goddess who is the Hekate of the magical papyri. Rather, Chaldean Hekate is a fiery empyrean Goddess who displays symbolism which is more solar than lunar. A less obvious difference, but nevertheless an important and distinctive one, is the helicoidal imagery whose nature and origins we discussed above.

In sum, it seems that perhaps Chaldean Hekate has less in common with her Greco-Roman contemporary and more that hearkens back to the Great Goddess described by Hesiod in his *Theogony* (409-52: cf pp 120, 126 above), and the images of Hekate indicated by the solar deity of the Hymn in Sophocles' *Rhizotomi* (p. 116) and the solar blazon on the statue in plates 1 & 2. To what extent these older traditions lingered on to influence the development of Chaldean Hekate is an area we have not attempted to enter in this essay.

Hekate saviour and destroyer

But the crucial question which must remain when we look at the symbolism of Chaldean Hekate as a whole is an essentially theological one of why it is that she, who is the giver of life and the soul-nourishing Virtues, appears in terrifying form and emanates the deadly and destructive forces of Fate and the Demons? To put it more succinctly, how does the force of life manifest as the force of death? How can the liberator also be the oppressor? We have already touched on this problem on p. 111 above, but the striking prominence of this stark dichotomy in the symbolism of our Hekate suggests that another theological current, besides that encompassed in the Chaldean theory of 'chains,' or doctrine of a 'Fall,' is at work here.

In attempting to clarify the contradiction, we should first remember that Hekate had well-developed beneficent and destructive aspects even in her Greco-Roman manifestation. A. Billault^[88] has well characterised her—without reference to her Chaldean phase—as a "divinity of fecundity and death" and has usefully summarised her beneficial and destructive aspects.^[89] To an extent, we can easily relate these to her character as a chthonic deity; for it is the earth which brings forth life, and into which the dead return and where they dwell. Here life and death are closely related in a very literal sense. But the problem of contradiction is more acute for Chaldean Hekate, because she

is not just a deity with aspects which support and nourish life, but the very life-force itself—the cause by which anything is alive at all.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that Hekate's Chaldean symbolism seems to imply that the force which animates is the same force which destroys; that which floods us into existence is what sweeps us out of it again. Chaldean Hekate is, after all, the divine *dynamis*, the quintessentially active power which ever urges onward, pausing nowhere. Whether this explanation was ever explicitly given in Chaldean doctrine is something which will remain uncertain, although since the material does reveal a high degree of sensitivity to theological and philosophical issues, it could be argued that such refinements probably were explicitly worked out.

The potency of Chaldean Hekate's image

As we draw our survey of Chaldean Hekate to a close, it is time to pause for a moment and reflect on the power of her image as compared with that of other Goddesses in late antiquity.

An important point to establish here is that our Hekate is the only Goddess from the ancient world for whom we possess the esoteric teaching of her religion. For the *Oracles* and the theurgic cult were, originally at any rate, esoteric matters intended for initiates only.^[90] Although we have only fragments of the *Oracles* and other Chaldean teachings, we do possess enough to sketch out the features of Hekate's symbolism as well as that of the other main concerns of the cult.

The second point we need to make is that, arguably, all those deities of late antiquity who were the objects of the deepest and strongest religious emotions were associated with mystery-cults, whose closely-guarded central doctrines and practices have remained precisely that—a mystery.¹⁶⁰ Even at the more general level, it is a fact which is often forgotten that apart from the materials in the magical papyri,^[91] the *Orphic Hymns*, Aristides' *Sacred Tales* and a few other fragmentary sources, our knowledge of the Gods of the ancient world is external and literary, and this means that the central practices, symbolism and beliefs which defined the essential meaning of their cults for their worshippers remain a closed book for us. But in the case of the *Oracles*, supplemented by the other fragments of Chaldean teachings, we are able to glimpse a religion of antiquity from the inside,¹⁶¹ and furthermore we glimpse here not just a religion, but the one which came to dominate the spiritual and intellectual traditions of late Paganism.

The above observations lead us to reflect how little we know of that most highly regarded of the ancient mysteries—those of Eleusis—and its 'Two Goddesses,' namely, Demeter and Persephone. For although we have many hints, the revelation of their nature which formed the core of the rite will forever elude us. About the other mystery religions we know, by and large, even less.

160. Burkert, W. *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass.) 1987 pp 90, 97-98, and 89-114 *passim*.

161. The *Hermetica* are not really a valid parallel, because it is dubious to what extent Hermeticism constituted a religion as distinct from a purely literary esoteric tradition. On Gnosticism see below.

If we take the example of the religion of Greco-Roman Isis about whose mysteries we are probably the best informed, and the only one where we have a first-person account of an initiation, we find that here again we are treated to allusions when the central and crucial experience is approached.¹⁶²

The case of Gnosticism would seem to present us with an exception to the foregoing remarks. Here is a religion where we indubitably do have complete esoteric documents, thanks to the finds at Nag Hammadi and elsewhere. It is presumably due to similarities of time and background that there are some striking resemblances between Chaldean Hekate and the foremost Gnostic Goddess, Sophia, which we have touched on earlier (p. 131). But, unlike the Chaldean traditions, Gnosticism represented a welter of varying and sometimes conflicting theological commitments and lines of development which never had the chance to gell into a consistent and mature whole, as its growth was forcibly arrested by the rise of the orthodox Church.

If we compare our Chaldean Goddess with the Gnostic Sophia, we might argue that Hekate's symbolism, as we have seen it outlined in the Chaldean material, has a directness, depth and resonance which seems (at least to me) to be lacking in the Gnostic Sophia. This is perhaps mainly due to two factors. On the one hand, because the *Oracles* were given in trance, her image is rooted directly in revelatory experience rather than being a literary creation,^[92] and thus it represents deity as experienced rather than just imagined. For revelatory experience is surely, in one form or another, the wellsprings of any profound religious development. On the other hand, we should remember that, Hekate's image develops within Platonism and out of Platonic materials, as is shown most clearly by the structural framework of the Chaldean universe (see p. 87), and it was this philosophical tradition which had the deepest connections with religion in late antiquity, and which could supply the most satisfying conceptual structure to assist in formulating religious experiences.¹⁶³

POSTSCRIPT

Sarah Johnston's HEKATE SOTEIRA

The bulk of this essay was written 2-3 years ago but, for reasons which are too involved to go into here, I was not able to add the finishing touches and publish the work until 1992. In the earlier part of my work I was unaware of Sarah Johnston's *Hekate Soteira* (1990) and the PhD thesis which preceded it.¹⁶⁴ Except where indicated, then, this essay was written without reference to her work, as of course hers was written without reference to mine. However, some readers of my essay may wish to know a little more about her book and see my response to some of the points she raises, so we shall deal with these below.

162. Apuleius *Metamorphoses* XI. 23, 6 ff. Cf Burkert *op. cit.* pp 97-8.

163. Although both Chaldean lore and Gnosticism were the children of Platonism, the latter was in conflict with that tradition (for instance over the status of the Demiurge) in a way that the former was not.

164. *The development of Hekate's archaic and classical roles in the Chaldean Oracles and related mystic literature* (1987).

In general, my work and Johnston's overlap rather less than perhaps might have been expected. Her book is a well-researched investigation which presents a wealth of materials on Chaldean Hekate and her background, and focusses on issues like Hekate's earlier history and her development out of Platonic Cosmic Soul, matters which have not been much touched upon here. As a result, the two works are complimentary and many readers may feel it worthwhile to consult both. One particularly refreshing feature of Johnston's work on Hekate is her unwillingness to rely on those ever-popular standbys of 'superstition,' 'irrationalism' and 'lower forces' when dealing with this Goddess.

Johnston overall perspective sees Hekate, surely correctly, as not so much a demonic deity, but as an essentially liminal Goddess whose presence ensures passage through areas of transition and uncertainty, such as crossroads and death. She deals in great detail with the development of Chaldean Hekate out of Platonic Cosmic Soul which (as I briefly noted earlier on p. 105) was surely a major influence on her development as it was on the development of the Gnostic Sophia.¹⁶⁵ She also, again correctly, suggests that Chaldean Hekate's dual character as divine saviour and demonic destroyer reflects Middle-Platonic ideas about the dual nature of Cosmic Soul. The higher part, Cosmic Soul proper, accounting for the beneficent features and the lower Irrational Soul providing the demonic (pp 136-143, 151). However, she views this 'lower Hekate' as not really Hekate at all but as a separate Goddess, Nature (*phusis*), a view which I feel raises a number of difficulties. For, though she rightly argues against Lewy (p. 96) that Nature and Hekate are not to be simply identified in fr. xiii (54), nevertheless, by the same token, it hardly seems valid to take this fragment as a warrant for seeing them as two distinct deities. Moreover, fr. xxxvi (70) which describes Nature maintaining the structural integrity of the Cosmos—even if it does reflect the Platonic Irrational Soul—does not seem to display the necessary demonic character which we should expect if all Hekate's negative characteristics had been detached from that Goddess and focussed on Nature (although there are, of course, other fragments do see Nature as demonic: fr. xxxvi, xxxvii). Again, it seems to be Hekate, rather than Nature, who is 'swordbearing' and 'scourgebearing' (fr. xix), and who is 'terrible' and 'fearful' (fr. xli).^[93]

Taking these factors into consideration, it seems better to view 'demonic Hekate' as a multifaceted (albeit lower) portion of Chaldean Hekate, reflected in Echidna (fr. xliiv) as well as Nature and Fate, rather than dichotomizing the Goddess into two separate parts. This view can be supported from fr. xix *bis* where the heads of Hydra and the dog seem fairly demonic, but those of the horse and the bull not so much so, in which case this fragment describes an aspect of Hekate which is both demonic and non-demonic. For these reasons I prefer to explain the contradictory features of our Hekate along the lines I have suggested on pp 132-3 above.

One more observation on Johnston's arguments for splitting Hekate into Hekate proper and Nature. A split of this kind would mean that the moon

165. *Hek. Sot.* pp 13-75, 153-63.

would end up as part of Nature, not Hekate,¹⁶⁶ and this would seem to run counter to her argument elsewhere (for example pp 29-38, 149-50) that the mediating role of the moon in Greco-Roman religion was a major factor in the development of Chaldean Hekate as a mediating deity. Of course, we could perhaps still argue that the mediating function influenced Chaldean Hekate, or perhaps better, was a factor in the *interpretatio Graeca* of that Goddess who was, as we have seen, mainly derived from the Syrian Atargatis. And we need to make one other point about the mediating function of Greco-Roman Hekate. However large it loomed in the background of the development of Chaldean Hekate it cannot, I would argue, account for the Chaldean reversal¹⁶⁷ of the usual Platonic positions of Cosmic Soul (Hekate) followed by the Demiurge (the Second Father). For it would have been quite possible for Hekate to have maintained her mediating functions by representing the worlds of Soul (= the Aetheric Realm) mediating between the spiritual world (= the Empyrean) and matter, whilst nevertheless taking third place in the Empyrean Realm. This would indeed have worked very neatly in satisfying traditional Platonism as well as her traditionally triadic character, and would have given us a triad consisting of, in first place, Had (1 = 'One' = First Father); in second place, Hadad (2 = 'One', 'One' = Second Father); and in third place, Hekate (3 = traditionally triadic). The fact that such an obvious arrangement did not prevail is surely due, as we have suggested previously on pp 124 ff, to the influence of the 'Assyrian' triad at Hierapolis.

There are some other points of differing opinion which it may be worth noting here. Over Hekate and lions, I have already argued my case on pp 113-4 above. On fr. 6, which describes the undergirding membrane (*hypezôkôs*), Johnston follows Lewy, des Places and Majercik in identifying this with Hekate (p. 53 f). I feel this is mistaken because it not only conflicts with our reports of the Chaldean system, where *Hypezôkôs* is the seventh member of the Empyrean world, but also with this fragment's source in Simplicius (*In de caelo* II, 1, p. 375 ff ed. Heiberg) where it is identified as Atlas. Johnston believes that fr 23, 28 (cf 29) and 31 (p. 55 ff), which describe measuring and engendering triads, also refer to Hekate. But again, there seems to be no very compelling reason to follow her here, and it is probably better to take them as referring to either demiurgic processes (fr 23, 31) or the Synoches (fr 28, 29).

Readers will note other differences of interpretation, but they do not substantially affect the main points raised in this essay.

166. Since the moon is attested as the "actually visible image of Nature": see p. 117 above.

167. As we have noted previously, for the Chaldeans Cosmic Soul came before rather than after the Demiurge.

CONCORDANCE TO THE FRAGMENT NUMBERS OF CHALDEAN MATERIAL IN DES PLACES/MAJERICIK

i	—	xxvii	45
ii	—	xxviii	—
ii bis	—	xxix	47
iii	50	xxx	53
iii bis	38	xxxi	174
iv	35	xxxii	—
v	4	xxxiii	96
vi	—	xxxiv	56
vii	—	xxxv	32
viii	—	xxxv a	—
ix	—	xxxv b	—
x	—	xxxvi	70
xi	51	xxxvi bis	—
xii	52	xxxvii	101
xii bis	—	xxxviii	102
xiii	54	xxxix	103
xiv	—	xl	91
xv	—	xli	—
xvi	55	xlvi	—
xvii a	—	xlvi	223
xvii b	—	xlvi	—
xvii c	—	xlvi bis	—
xviii	—	xlvi	163
xix	—	xlvi	206
xix bis	—	xlvi bis	—
xx	—	xlvi	219
xx bis	—	xlvi	147
xxi	46	xlvi bis	—
xxii	48	xlvi	146
xxiii	44	xlvi	148
xxiv	42	li	72
xxv	39	lii	173
xxvi	43		

WORKS REFERRED TO BY ABBREVIATION

(The abbreviations are those used in material by the editor only. Some works where the references are completely standard and unlikely to cause any confusion are not listed here)

Editions of the Chaldean Oracles and related literature

(Kroll) = Kroll, W. *De oraculis chaldaicis* Breslau 1894.

(Lewy) = Lewy, H. *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy: Nouvelle édition par Michel Tardieu* Paris 1978. (Originally published: Cairo 1956)

(dP, des Places) = des Places, É. *Oracles chaldaïques: avec un choix de commentaires anciens*. Paris 1971.

(M., Maj., Majercik) = Majercik, R. *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, Translation and Commentary*. Leiden 1989.

Other works

(Proc In Tim.) = E. Diehl (ed.) *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria* 3 vols. Leipzig 1903-6

(Damascius *Dub. et Sol.*) = C. É Ruelle (ed.) *Damascii successoris dubitationes et solutiones* 2 vols Paris 1889-1899

(Proc. In Crat.) = G. Pasquali (ed.) *In Platonis Cratylum commentaria* Leipzig 1908

(Farnell) = L. R. Farnell *The Cult of Hekate & Hekate in Art* (pp 17-56 of the present volume)

(PGM) = K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs (ed.) *Papyri Graecae magicae* 2 vols. 2nd ed. Stuttgart 1973-4. [ET with additional material = H.D. Betz (ed.) *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* Chicago 1986.

(Damascius *In Phaedo*) = L. G. Westerink (ed.) *The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo* Vol. 2 Amsterdam 1977. (2 versions quoted by version and paragraph numbers)

(Porphyry *Philosophy from Oracles*) = G. Wolff (ed.) *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* Berlin 1856 (usually quoted by the fragment's source)

(van Berg) = van Berg, P-L. *Répertoire des sources Grecques et Latines sauf le De Dea Syria (CCDS 1. Les sources littéraires)* Leiden 1972.

(Oden *Studies*) = R. A. Oden *Studies in Lucian's De Syria Dea* Missoula 1977

(Attridge & Oden) = Attridge & Oden (eds.) *The Syrian Goddess (De Dea Syria) attributed to Lucian* Missoula 1976

(Oden MR 9) = R. A. Oden *The Syrian Goddess: Mystery Religions Lecture Series, 9* (MR 9) Evanston 1980

(Goodhue) = Goodhue, N. *The Lucus Furrinae and the Syrian Sanctuary on the Janiculum*. Amsterdam 1975

(Johnston) = S. I. Johnston *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature* Atlanta 1990

(Johnston "Crossroads") = S.I. Johnston "Crossroads" in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* vol. 88 (Bonn 1991) pp 217-224

(Burkert) = W. Burkert *Greek Religion* Oxford 1985 [= ET of *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977)]

- [1] For these and other abbreviated references, see the section on works referred to by abbreviation on pp 138-9.
- [2] É. des Places discusses Numenius and the *Oracles* in his *Numénius: fragments* (Paris 1973) pp 17-19; and more recently in his review of the philosophical background of the *Oracles* in "Les *Oracles Chaldaïques*" in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Berlin 1984. II. 17. 4 pp 2299-2335. Numenius and the *Oracles* are also discussed by Pierre Hadot "Bilan et perspectives" in Lewy pp 707-709.
- [3] Fragment numbers refer to the collections of the *Oracles* by des Places and Majercik, or—if in Roman numerals—to the Hekate fragments in this essay.
- [4] S. L. Karren *Near Eastern Culture and Hellenistic Paedeia in Damascus' Life of Isidore*. PhD thesis 1978. The point is particularly well illustrated in the appendix "The Transmission of Secret Doctrine in Neoplatonic Schools" pp 156-158, in which there are various examples where religious and philosophical roles came to be invested in the same person.
- [5] The fact of whether the Juliani were in fact responsible for the *Oracles* has been the subject of some reservations by a few, for example Pierre Hadot in his "Bilan et perspectives sur les *Oracles Chaldaïques*" in Lewy pp 703-7. This is an area that we cannot enter here (although I hope to discuss this elsewhere), but it seems to me that the objections of Hadot and others are ill-founded and reflect confusion based on the separation by the Neoplatonists of the *Oracles* and other Chaldean writings, which is discussed below. My own feeling is that the reconstruction of the circumstances of the production of the *Oracles* by Lewy pp 3-6, 223-4, is still sound and I have followed it here. Recent discussions of the Juliani can be found in Johnston pp 2-4 and Majercik pp 1-2.
- [6] The author of the *Suda* entry (s. v. *Ioulianos* No. 434. [ed.] Adler, Leipzig 1928-35) identifies Julian the Elder as the 'Chaldean' and the Younger as the 'Theurgist.' But the Neoplatonists do not distinguish them thus, and so we find that they generally talk of the 'Chaldeans' and the 'theurgists' in the plural. And we might also note that it is 'the Chaldean' (and not the 'theurgist') who speaks in trance in fragment 194, where the reference must be to the younger Julian. Nor does Psellus, who was dependent on Proclus, distinguish them in the *Suda* manner: for example "De aurea catena Homeri" in Sathas, (ed.) *Annuaire...des études Grecques IX* (1675) p. 217, 2 ff. The most probable and simple explanation is that the author of the *Suda* entry has come across the two designations 'Chaldean' and 'theurgist,' and applied one to the Elder and the other to the Younger Julian.
- [7] So E. R. Dodds (following Bidez) "Appendix II: Theurgy" in *The Greeks and the Irrational* Berkeley 1951, p. 283 n 9.
- [8] Iamblichus *De mysteriis* book III, §§ 29-31. Theurgy should not be confused with magic, to which Chaldean tradition contrasted itself in the strongest terms: Iamblichus *op. cit.* III, 31 (where the contrast is explicitly attributed to the Chaldeans); cf III, 25, VII, 5.
- [9] Cairo 1956. Much preferable in Michel Tardieu's much enhanced edition: *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy: Nouvelle édition par Michel Tardieu* Paris 1978. Lewy's work, which was published posthumously, is a detailed exploration of Chaldean lore which continues to serve as a treasure-house for anyone doing research in this area. However, the book clearly needed a systematic revision

- sion which it presumably would have received had Lewy lived. The result is that although Lewy's arguments are often convincingly sound, the book has methodological problems (See E. R. Dodds' review *New Light on the "Chaldean Oracles."* reprinted in Tardieu's edition pp 693-701), as well as sometimes very confused and circular arguments—to the extent that sometimes statements on one page may be flatly contradicted on the next (for example see below n [54]). Consequently, this is a work which has to be used with great care.
- [10] Most of the fragments in Kroll missed by des Places have been listed in Tardieu's *Concordance*: pp 681-91 of his edition of Lewy. It is only fair to point out that Majercik does not claim that her work is a new edition (p. 46). The extent of the omissions can be partly guessed by a glance at the *Concordance* on p. 137 of the present essay: of the 64 fragments yielding Chaldean terminology, only 35—just over half—are in the collections of dP/Majercik.
- [11] On the fate of the *Oracles* generally in the Renaissance, see Karl H. Dannenfeldt "The Pseudo-Zoroastrian Oracles in the Renaissance" pp 7-26 in M. A. Shaaber (ed.) *Studies in the Renaissance Vol. 4* New York 1957. On Pico's 'Chaldean' text see pp 15-17.
- [12] Dannenfeldt *ibid.* p. 15 n 45. We hear nothing further about these interesting works. Is it possible that they are still extant?
- [13] Kieszkowski *op. cit.* p. 77: "Ex dicto illo Zoroastris, Ha ha hos, terra deflet usque as filios, sequendo expositionem Osie Chaldei, expressam habemus veritatem de peccato originali."
- [14] See the note in Richard Sorabji's *Introduction* in David Konstan *Simplicius: On Aristotle Physics 6*. London 1989, p. 4 n 14.
- [15] Examples include fragments unambiguously attributed to the *Oracles* by Proclus *De providentia* 35, 21-24 (ed. D. Isaac Proclus: *Trois études sur la providence*, tome II [Paris 1979]), mostly rejected by Kroll p. 64. Cf fr. 217, rejected by Kroll (*idem*) in his Proclus *In rem pub.* (Leipzig 1899-1901) II. p. 126.
- [16] Which are then spoken of as though the original source was using the same interpretative scheme as the Neoplatonic commentator, thus setting a trap for the unwary. The best example is probably Proclus' *Theology of Plato*, very little of which is actually Plato's.
- [17] To avoid overburdening an already complex essay, I have not generally argued the case for points that seem to me relatively uncontroversial (and uncontroversial), and I have not taken up the case in every instance where a different interpretation has gained ground purely on the basis of a *fiat* from some previous scholar (e.g. Kroll or Lewy) without supporting arguments.
- [18] Cf fr. 6. I do not follow Lewy (p. 92) and dP/Majercik (commentaries *ad loc.*) in interpreting this Undergirding membrane as the World-Soul/Hekate. Cf the remarks on Johnston's position on p. 136 below.
- [19] Typhon, Echidna and Python as the underworld triad are dealt with in our fr. xlv, xlv *bis*. It would be most natural to take the first of Psellus' definitions of Hades (1152d 5-6 = dP p. 191) to refer to the king of the Underworld, which would equate him with Typhon.
- [20] The chart and explanation as I have presented it is essentially an analysis based on the composite picture formed from these texts, to which I refer the reader. Proclus' main adaptation, which so confuses the picture, can be summarised as follows. It was to divide the Chaldean One (= the First Father) between the Neo-

platonian One and the first elements of both the Intelligible and Intellectual Realms. He filled the gaps he created in the Chaldean system mainly by transposing the *Iynges*, *Synocheis* and *Teletarchai* from their proper position in the lower portion of the Empyrean Realm to the vacant positions above. Besides furnishing Chaldean equivalents for the entities of his Platonic scheme, this adaptation had the added advantage of dealing with the problem of the Chaldean First Principle who, typically for a Middle-Platonic system, vacillated between complete transcendence and identification with *nous*. See Majercik pp 5-6. The nature of the changes made is clear from comparing the chart of the Chaldean Universe presented here with the chart of Proclus' ontology in Lewy (pp 483-85).

- [21] Proclus' attempt, consistent with Neoplatonic metaphysics (see note 29), to do away with a separate Chaldean underworld means he is forced to interpret the three Chaldean material worlds as the fixed stars, the planetary zones, and the sublunary realm (*Theology of Plato* IV. 39 - pp 111, 23-112, 2 ed. Saffrey & Westerink: Paris 1981); cf Psellus *Assyrian ekthesis* p. 123, 10-11 Bassi, p. 194 dP). This attempt is clearly contradicted by the Chaldean title of the first material world as the Zoniac realm—for 'zones' (*zōnai*) is the standard term for the planetary circles: cf Proclus *In rem pub.* II. 220, 13 (quoting Chaldean authority). For the material worlds, see the texts in dP on the Chaldean system *passim*.
- [22] See, for example, Iamblichus *De mysteriis* pp 36, 91, 94, 144 (ed. Parthey/des Places); Proclus *In Tim.* III. pp 165, 3-167, 31 (ed. Diehl); Damascius *On the Phaedo* I. § 477-479, II. § 94-98 (ed. Westerink). The contradiction is pointed up in Psellus *Hypotyp.* 18, which describes the Archangelic realm, and is followed two worlds further down (or three in Proclus' system!) by the angels, who make their appearance after the Visible Gods (*Hypotyp.* 21, dP p. 200).
- [23] For Iamblichus and Proclus, see J. M. Dillon *Iamblichi Chalcidensis* (Leiden 1973), *In Tim.* fr. 16 (= Proc. *In Tim.* I. 152, 28 ff); for Damascius see *Dub. et sol.* II. 200, 12-13. In both these instances the term is criticised as being unplatonic. Neoplatonic discomfort about the word reflects awareness that 'archangel' is derived from Jewish sources—as was 'angel' (in the sense of a class of divine beings), although here they may not have recognised the source. On these terms and their history, see G. Kittel & G. Friedrich (eds.) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids 1964-76 - ET of TWNT [Stuttgart 1933-79]) s.v. *aggelos*, *archaggelos*.
- [24] For example oracle 21 of the *Theosophia Tubingensis* (ed. K. Bursch, Leipzig 1889), Lewy pp 21-2.
- [25] dP (*ad loc.*) and Lewy (p. 83 n 62) attempt to reconstruct the metre, but I have preferred to follow the original (Proclus *In Tim.* I. 420, 13-16). I have followed Johnston's suggestion (pp 64-5) that Energiser (*ergatis*) and Bestower (*ekdotis*) must refer to Hekate, in which case since there is a change of subject (from her to him) in line 14, Lewy's and dP's reconstructions would not be possible.
- [26] See sections 7 and 8 of the fragments, and compare Marinus *Vita Procli* § 28. It is notable that we have no description of the manifestation of the Second Father, particularly as he rules over the material cosmos and might therefore be expected to appear in his domain. Yet, as far as I'm aware, none of the extant descriptions of divine manifestations in the *Oracles* have been convincingly associated with any deity besides Hekate. Of course, we should not expect there to have been any manifestations of the First Father: he had "snatched himself away, and did not enclose his own fire in his mental power" (fr. 3).

- [27] R.E. Witt *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (London 1971) pp 83-4; J.G. Griffiths *The Isis-Book* (Leiden 1975) pp 32 ff.
- [28] Lewy (p. 90 n 95) thought, on the basis of the latter reference, that Chaldean Hekate too was snake-haired. But this seems unlikely, because none of the epithets for snake-haired, for example *drakonto-etheira*, *-komos*, *-mallos*, *-tricheō*, or similar are applied to our Hekate in the extant material.
- [29] Although there are the examples of PGM IV 2864 *zōnodrakontos* and *ibid.* IV 1404 *puridrakontozōnos*, where there is clearly a parallel with *drakontozōnos* of fr ix and xviii. But these are exceptions to the general rule. I don't know of any pre-Chaldean (that is pre-2nd C. AD) examples where Greco-Roman Hekate is described as serpent enwrapped, so we have to reckon with the possibility that the instances in PGM IV reflect directly or indirectly Chaldean doctrines. The possibility becomes distinctly likely because other features of Chaldean Hekate also appear in this hymn: line 2812 pictures her with lions; 2833 identifies her with Nature; and in 2803 there is a reference to her womb. This papyrus is 4th C. AD, although of course the texts themselves might be earlier. Even without the earlier dating of the Chaldean material, it would be difficult to argue for influence in the other direction because, as we argue elsewhere in this essay, there are great problems in accounting for Chaldean Hekate's most characteristic features as having evolved out of her character in Greco-Roman religion.
- [30] For the Platonic background of Chaldean Hekate in general, see Lewy pp 353-366, and cf the references to Johnston pp 134-6 below.
- [31] Compared with the relatively common three-faced animal/human image e.g.: PGM IV. 2120-2123 (dog/maiden/cow); 2879-2884 (dog/maiden/goat).
- [32] For example fr. 211, quoted by Proclus as from "one of the Gods," which is one of his standard formulas for the *Chaldean Oracles*. Majercik's argument (p. 217), on the basis of remarks by Dodds and Festugière, that any metre other than hexameter would *a priori* exclude origin from the *Chaldean Oracles*, is incomprehensible to me. After all, no ancient source claimed that the *Chaldean Oracles* were only in hexameters, and that the existence of theological oracles in other metres proves that oracles could be given as such. Moreover, we seem to enter the realm of absurdity if we start to claim that somebody as dedicated to Chaldean lore as Proclus did not know when he was quoting the *Oracles* (cf our comments on p. 85).
- [33] For Gnostic writings, see B. Layton *The Gnostic Scriptures* (London) 1987, Index s.v. 'Heavens, seven,' for Jewish apocalyptic and 'intertestamental' literature, see J. H. Charlesworth *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* Vol. II (London) 1985, Index s.v. 'Heavens' and 'Seven.'
- [34] We discuss this material on p. 112, and for a fuller treatment see my article cited there (particularly pp 328-9), as well as Johnston p. 108 and her Greek index p. 181 s.v. *rhoizeō*.
- [35] For an introduction to Neoplatonic ideas about the soul and its pneumatic and aetheric vehicles, see J. F. Finamore *Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (Chico) 1985.
- [36] J. von Arnim *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* II, 930. Quoted in Lewy p. 364 n 236.
- [37] Who combines beneficent and destructive aspects even in her Greco-Roman manifestation. On this and what follows, see pp 132-3 below.

- [38] Most lucidly explained by Proclus *Peri tês hieratikês technês* (ed. J. Bidez *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques Grecs VI* Brussels 1928 pp 148-151). For an English translation, see Iamblichus *On the Mysteries*, ed. S. Ronan (Hastings 1989) pp 146-9.
- [39] This view appears to find support in Damascius' statement, *In Phaedonem* I 404, that Nemesis (= Hekate/Echidna see above and pp 120-1) created the evil demons in the lowest regions. It seems reasonable to assume a Chaldean source for this view.
- [40] If we can trust, as I think we can, Psellus' report (*Commentary on the 'Chaldean Oracles'* P. G. 122, 1140c 2-3 [dP p. 177]).
- [41] But a very close parallel can be found in the *Iynges* which hung above the king of Babylon's judgment chamber "to remind him of Adrastea, Goddess of Justice, and to engage him not to exalt himself above humanity. These figures the Magi themselves say that they arranged; for they have access to the palace, and they call them the 'tongues of the Gods.'" Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* Book I, § 25 (ed. and trans. Conybeare [Loeb] 1912)
- [42] See p. 116 below. According to Johnston *Hek. Sot.* p. 31, her lunar associations follow those of Artemis and do not appear until the 1st C. AD. But this is contrary to the general view which sees her lunar features as originating in the Hellenistic period. See Kraus p. 87; cf Farnell pp 26 ff.
- [43] I am not convinced by Lewy's pronouncement that "Rhea does not figure in the Chaldean pantheon" (p. 84 n 65). The identification seems quite obvious however this fragment is read, and Lewy offers nothing in the way of substantial objections.
- [44] A glance at des Places' *Index des passages cités* on p. 243 shows that Olympiodorus has only one reference to the *Oracles* in his *Alcibiades* commentary (144 pages), none in his *Gorgias* (268 pages), and the *Phaedo* references are only Olympiodorus' up to p. 83 Norvin: the subsequent commentary belongs to Damascius—see L. G. Westerink *Lectures on the Philebus* (Amsterdam) 1959, pp xv-xx. Compare this with the 16 references to the *Oracles* in Lydus' *De mensibus* (184 pages).
- [45] Since writing this I notice that Pierre Hadot came to the same conclusion about reading *patrogenês* for *prôtogenês* here: "Bilan et perspectives sur les *Oracles Chaldaïques*," in Lewy pp 703-720; p. 708 n 33.
- [46] M. Roaf *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (New York 1990) p. 146. Cf O.R. Gurney "The Hittites" in A. Cotterell (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Civilisations* (Leicester 1980) pp 111-117, p. 115. Gurney says that the Goddess' Hattian name was Wurusemu and was known as 'Sun Goddess of Arinna.'
- [47] Translated on p. 75 above, where we noted that it is unlikely to indicate an association between Hekate and the moon.
- [48] A. Bouché-Leclercq *L' Astrologie grecque* (Paris 1899) pp 91-2.
- [49] Burkert p. 149 n 55.
- [50] This is the pattern suggested by Johnston p. 31, although Johnston's dating of Hekate's lunar attributes to the first C. AD (*ibid.* n 7) seems suspect: see above n. [42]. Hekate was early independently linked with Apollo: Kraus p. 13; Johnston p. 21 n 3.
- [51] For in Greece the moon was a Goddess and the sun a God, the reverse of the

- most common attributions in the Near East.
- [52] See notes [54]-[55] below. Lewy's treatment of this topic also shows other traps for the unwary. For instance his unwarranted interpretation of fr. xiii as evidence for a lunar feature in Chaldean Hekate's iconography (p. 90), is later on expanded to give the impression that the fragment itself "describes the moon placed over the back of the statue of Hekate" (p. 96 n 123).
- [53] Lewy p. 158 n 342 (= *Theosophia Tubingensis* No. 13, cf Lewy pp 18-20); *ibid.* n 344 (= Porphyry *Philosophy from Oracles*, [ed. Wolff] p. 176 ff, cf Lewy pp 52-3). Lewy's detection (*ibid.* n 345, cf Lewy pp 49-50) of planetary allusions in our fr. xxxii is surely imaginary.
- [54] Probably the best case could be made for the oracle referred to in the last note from Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* (*apud* Philoponus *De opificio mundi* [ed. Reichardt (Leipzig) 1897, IV. 20, p. 201]. I give Lewy's translation pp 52-3 (text: p. 53 n 165): "Hekate when invoked during an unfavourable constellation of the stars, answered: 'I do not speak, I shall shut the gates of the long aerial tube. For upon the most unpropitious vaults of heaven the horned Goddess Titania approaches, looking at the malignant Ares.' And when some persons asked whether the Gods themselves were subject to the domination of the stars, as they were heedful of it, Hekate began again: 'Free thyself from the bonds of nature in order that I obey thy bonds! O man, what babblest thou, stricken with impotence! Desirest thou to learn that which thou art not allowed to ask in this manner! Forego this desire, desist from violence, you who are few!'" This oracle certainly has the sharp didactic tone found in fr 15, 107 and xliii, but I did not feel sufficiently confident to place it in the collection of Hekate fragments. By the way, it is a measure of the confusion in Lewy's work that on the previous page (51 n 162) he actually *denies* this oracle a Chaldean origin, arguing that it "alludes to astrological notions which did not belong to the Chaldean doctrine"! In this oracle, it is the "horned goddess Titania" who is the moon (see Wolff p. 176 n 6), not Hekate. For the disastrous effects of negative astrological configurations of the moon and mars, see Firmicus Maternus *Mathesis* IV. 4, IV. 11, VI. 17, 5; and particularly VI. 11, 10 (mars and moon square) which stresses the danger of attack and possession by demons.
- [55] *Ibid.* IV. 2569; 2785. Although both of these hymns are replete with Hekate's epithets, the first one does not even mention her name. In fact, it is not Hekate who has "usurped the characteristics of Selene and Aphrodite" (Lewy p. 362), but *Selene* who has absorbed the attributes of Hekate, Aphrodite, Cybele, Isis, and so forth.
- [56] ...*et theologice autem eadem eorum, qui ut vere theologorum fame hanc nobis de primo tradiderunt intentionem, illud quidem sui ipsorum voce vocantes Had, quod significat unum secundum ipsos, ut qui illorum linguam sciunt interpretantur; intellectum autem conditivum mundi duplantes hoc appellantes, et hunc dicentes esse valde hymnizabilem Hadadon, neque hunc mox post unum esse dicentes, sed proportionaliter uni ponentes. Quod enim est ille ad intelligibilia, hoc est iste ad invisibilia; propter quod et hic quidem ipsi solum Had vocatur, hic autem Hadados duplans le unum.*
- [57] It may be significant that Macrobius (*Saturnalia* I. 23, 17) who refers to this etymology of Hadad as 'One, One' goes on to discuss Hadad and Atargatis (*ibid.* 18-20, but see our remarks on pp 125-6). Macrobius' source is Porphyry's *De sole* according to Pierre Courcelle: see van Berg p. 97.

- [58] Kroll, pp 29-31; GRS Mead "The Chaldean Oracles, Vol. 1" in *The Complete Echoes from the Gnosis*, London 1987 (originally published 1908), pp 187-9.
- [59] *op. cit.* p. 187.
- [60] Burkert *Greek Religion* p. 171 & n 18.
- [61] A.D. Nock "Eunuchs in Ancient Religion" in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* ed. Z. Stewart [ed.] (Oxford 2nd ed. 1986) p. 7 n 2.
- [62] O.R. Gurney "The Hittites" in A. Cotterell (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Civilisations* (Leicester 1980) pp 111-117: p. 115.
- [63] For example *Iliad* 21. 470-514: cf Burkert pp 149-50—both Artemis and Hekate tend to be represented as rather girlish and innocent in earlier iconography: Burkert p. 171; cf N.J. Richardson *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) p. 155.
- [64] See further our discussion of Hekate's early solar links on p. 116.
- [65] The other Greco-Roman Goddess who is a prime contender for shaping the image of Chaldean Hekate is Isis. At first sight it might look like a good case could be made for the argument that Isis was the prime influence on our Hekate's image, for most of our Goddess' symbols could be found scattered among the attributes of that accommodating deity. This connection would seem to be reinforced by the fact that Isis was occasionally actually identified with Hekate. But on a closer look the argument falls flat, because the factors (identified by Griffiths and Zabkar below) which facilitated the equating of Isis with Hekate—lunar symbolism and associations with magic and the underworld—are precisely those which are far more prominent in Greco-Roman Hekate than in her Chaldean sister. For we would expect an emphasis on the areas where Isis and Chaldean Hekate overlapped, had the former significantly influenced the development of the latter. In fact, the only sure sign of influence seems to be fr. xv, as noted on p. 104 above. On the Isis-Hekate connection, see J.G. Griffiths *The Isis-Book* (Leiden 1975) pp 152-3, and cf L.V. Zabkar *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* (Hanover 1988) p. 143 n 82.
- [66] Athena: fr. li; Aphrodite: fr. lii; Rhea: fr. xxxiv. The Fates (*Moirai*) follow from Fate (*Heimarmenê*), fr. xxxviii.
- [67] Oden *The Syrian Goddess: Mystery Religions Lecture Series*, 9 (MR 9) Evanston 1980, pp 2, 6.
- [68] On this, see below p. 136.
- [69] For Hekate's girdle (*zôstêr*) see fr. x, xii, xviii.
- [70] fr. xviii, xlvi, and xlvi *bis*. There do not seem to be many instances where Greco-Roman Hekate is associated with lions and in those that do, for example *PGM IV*. 2812, it seems due to Chaldean influence (see pp 117-8 & note [29]) and syncretistic processes, rather than an integral characteristic of the Greco-Roman Goddess. So these leonine associations do seem to be a feature more central to Chaldean Hekate. For lions and bulls with Atargatis and Hadad, see Oden *Studies* pp 51-3. See also the following discussion of van Berg Text 84.
- [71] W. C. Wright (ed.) *Eunapius Vitae sophistarum* Cambridge, Mass. 1921. p. 434, 11 ff.
- [72] Oden *Studies* pp 58-104.
- [73] See also Atargatis as a virgin—in the guise of Hera (Juno) and Aphrodite (Venus)—in van Berg, Text 115 pp 89-91.

- [74] Oden *ibid.* p. 104. Chaldean Hekate has the Source of Virtue in her left hip "which remains entirely within and does not give up its virginity." (Fr. xii; cf. xii *bis*).
- [75] There is no convincing reason to think of *Theos*. 29, quoted by Lewy p. 24 n 59, which does use the term, as coming from Chaldean sources.
Although the function of genetrix was important in the cult of Atargatis, the symbolism of her as the 'Great Mother' was far less prominent in her cult than in that of Cybele (*Magna Mater*), where it is the most dominant feature. Although it is possible, and even likely, that Chaldean Hekate was referred to as 'mother' in fragments no longer extant, the fact is that the feature cannot have been particularly prominent: otherwise we would be bound to have references to it in the extant material. This indicates that Cybele has played a less direct role than Atargatis in the development of the Chaldean Goddess.
- [76] Oden *MR* 9 p. 1.
- [77] (Ed.) C. Lang Leipzig 1881. pp 5-6: *Tês de Reas kata tên paradedeigmenên rusin eidopoioumenês eikotôs êdê kai tên tôn ombrôn aitian anatithentes autê, hoti hôs epi to polu meta brontôn kai astrapôn sumbainei ginesthai, kai tautên pareisêgagon tumpanois kai kumbalois kai kerauliais kai lampadêphorais chairousan. epei d' anôthen hoi ombroi katarattousi, pollachou de kai apo tôn orôn eperchomenoi phainontai, (prôton men tên Idên epônomasan autê, meteôron oros kai ho makrothen estin idein), oreian autên prosêgoreusan kai ta gennaio-tata tôn en tois oresi ginomenôn zôôn, tous leontas, hêniochoumenous hup' autês pareisêgagon (tacha de kai epei hoi cheimônes agriôpon ti echousi). purgôton de perikeitai stephanon êtoi dia to katarchas epi tôn orôn tithesthai tas poleis ochurotêtos heneken ê epei archêgos esti tês prôtês kai archetupou poleôs, tou kosmou. kôdian d' anatheasin autê paristantes hoti aitia tês zôogonias autê egeneto. kata touto de kai allous tinas tupous peri to stêthos autês perititheasin, hôs tês tôn ontôn poikilias kai pantos chrêmatos di' autês gegonotos. eoike d' autê kai hê para Surios Atargatis einai, hên kai dia tou peristeras kai ichthuou apechesthai timôsi, sêmainontes hoti ta malista dêlounta tên tês ouusias hairetin aêr kai hudôr.*
- [78] Oden *Studies* p. 54. The two identifications are complimentary because the Second Father was the Demiurge (generally = Zeus) in the Chaldean system: fr. 5, 33, 37.
- [79] In Lewy p. 106 n 165, it is the hypostatized Will of the Father which does the assenting, but Lewy is not followed (rightly, I think) by des Places and Majercik.
- [80] We must not entirely dismiss the possibility that it could have had an origin in the cult of Zeus-Hadad at Heliopolis, where the repetition could conceivably have emphasised the Supreme Being's unity. But its aptness as a designation of Hadad's secondary position, as we have observed, makes this unlikely. Another possibility may be worth mentioning: as Macrobius' source in all this may be Porphyry (see note [57] above), could Porphyry (or even Macrobius) have introduced the 'one,' 'one' etymology as a piece of Chaldean lore into Heliopolitan teachings? This seems unlikely since in a Chaldean context, as we have seen, it designates the Second Father's inferior status to the Supreme Being. At any rate the fact that, as we have shown, Chaldean lore has borrowed in other ways (directly or indirectly) from Atargatis' cult centre at Hierapolis implies that the Chaldeans borrowed this piece of doctrine from that source too.
- [81] Kroll p. 68; Lewy pp 362-365. Cf Johnston p. 21 n 1.

- [82] See the representation in plate 10, and Toynbee, A. (ed.) *The Crucible of Christianity* London 1969 p. 243 (16).
- [83] The Christian writer Arnobius, writing at the beginning of the 4th C. AD, mentions a genealogy where Janus is the offspring of Hekate and Sky (*Adversus nationes* III. 29. Cf Johnston p. 27). The source of this is not clear—could there be some link with the Janiculum sanctuary? This genealogy yields a triad of Sky (Ouranos)—Hekate—Janus, which it is very tempting to relate to our previous triads of Sign—Atargatis—Hadad and Had—Hekate—Hadad; however we cannot do more than simply note the parallel here. At any rate, it does not seem likely that Proclus' hymn could be directly related to this triad, for he makes no mention of Ouranos.
- [84] See the discussion in Goodhue pp 72 ff.
- [85] R. E. Witt "Some thoughts on Isis in relation to Mithras" in J. R. Hinnells (ed.) *Mithraic Studies* (2 vols) Manchester 1975, pp 479-493: p. 487.
- [86] Robert Turcan *Mithras Platonius: Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique de Mithras* Leiden 1975 pp90-104
- [87] S. I. Johnston *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Roles in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature* Atlanta 1990 p. 162 n 29.
- [88] A. Billault "Hécate romanesque" in *Mort et fécondité dans les mythologies* ed. F. Jouan (Paris 1986) pp 109-116: pp 109-110; 116
- [89] *Op. cit.* pp 112-113.
- [90] As is clear from fr. 132, Proclus *In Tim.* 271, 24-5; *In rem* I. 128, 29. Cf Lewy p. 177 n 2. It is also worth observing that in works like Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists* and Sallustius' *On the Gods and the Universe*, which were intended as exoteric introductions to the personalities and doctrines of late Paganism, there is no mention of the Oracles; although their influence is, of course, pervasive.
- [91] Although the usefulness of the magical papyri for understanding popular Paganism is now receiving welcome recognition (see Betz's introduction to the English edition of *PGM* pp xli-liiii *passim*), it is worth bearing in mind that attempting to form a picture of Paganism from these sources would be like trying to reconstruct medieval Christianity from the Grimoires.
- [92] As is generally accepted, many of the Gnostic texts bear the marks of literary creativity rather than first-hand mystical experience. And in the case of Isis, her Greco-Roman cult was the result of tradition and gradual development, where there is plenty of scope for purely literary factors to operate. This is not to deny, of course, that Gnostic groups and the Isis religion did not provide their devotees with profound experiences.
- [93] Admittedly this fragment seems to refer to the (Royal) Hekate in the first Aetherial World rather than the Empyrean Goddess, but there is no warrant for seeing it as referring to *Phusis*.

- able *arkein* xxxii. 98
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- air currents *pneumata* xliv. 100
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- Angels *aggeloi* viii. 94
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- Plate 3 Hekateion. (No further details available: cf Petersen, *vol. V pl. iii*)
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- Plate 11 Artist's impression of Chaldean Hekate by Laura Knobloch.

PLATE 1

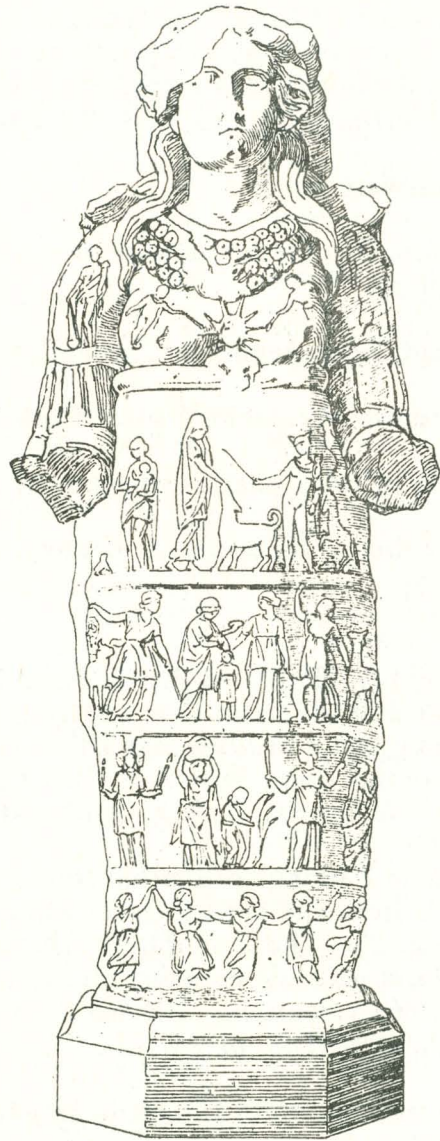


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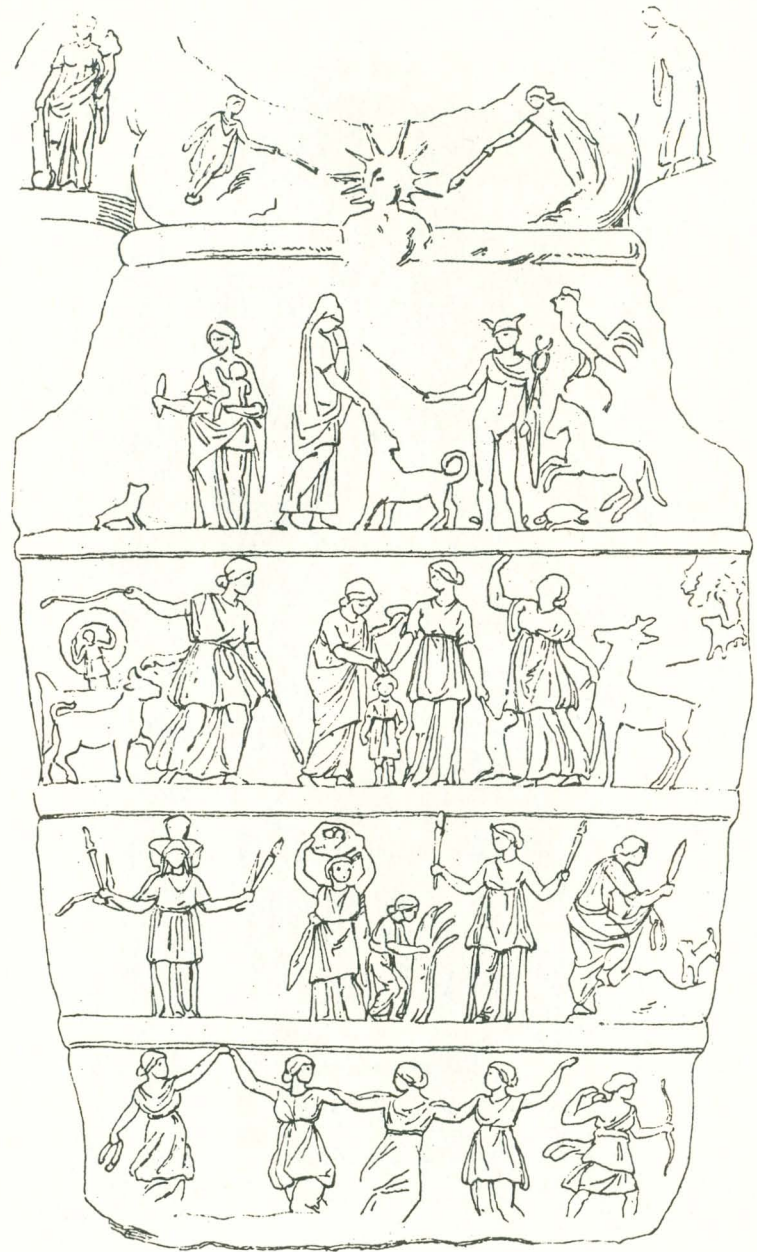


PLATE 3



PLATE 4

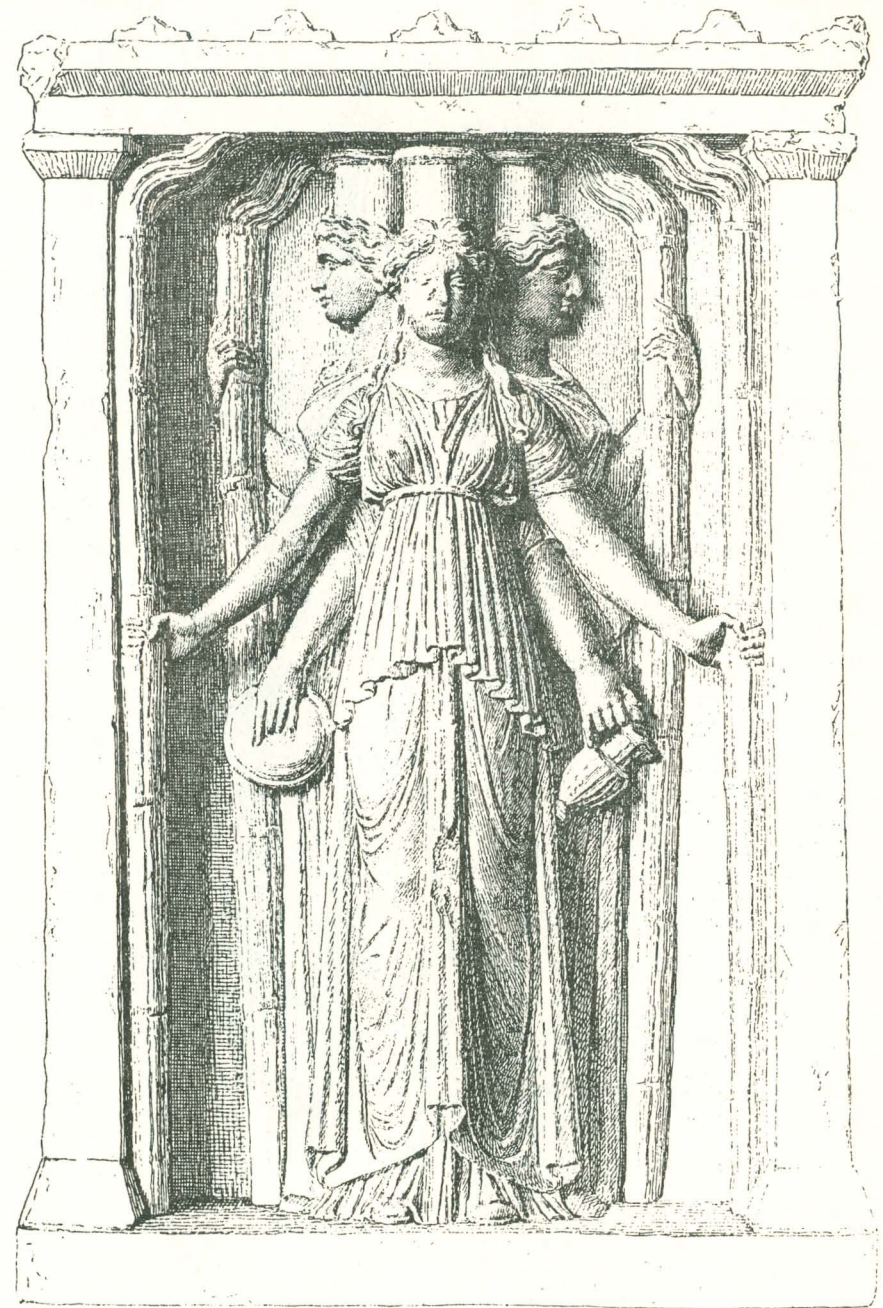


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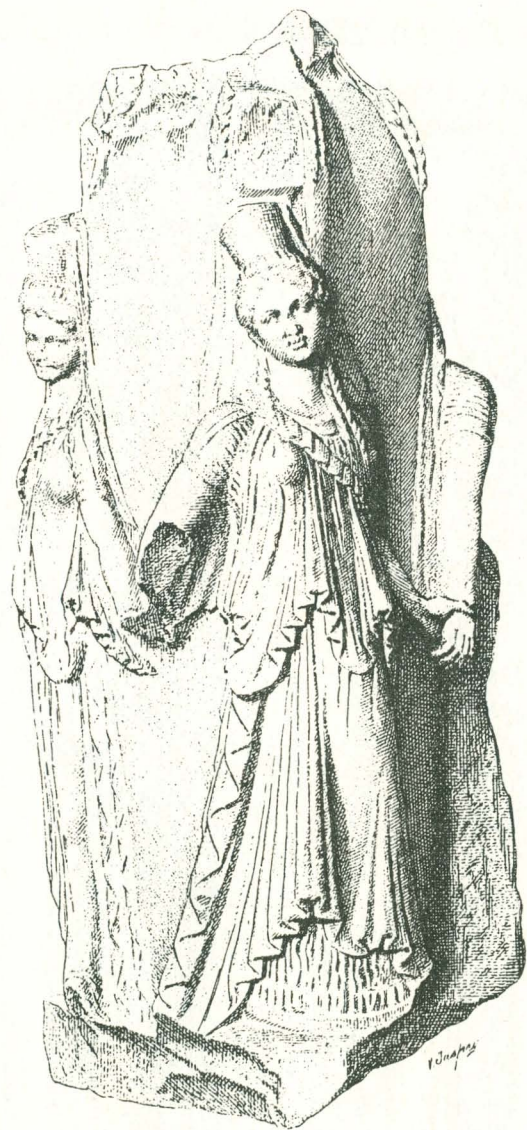


PLATE 6





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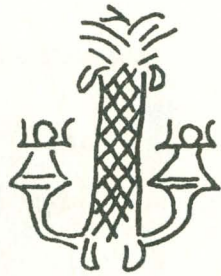


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PLATE 9



a

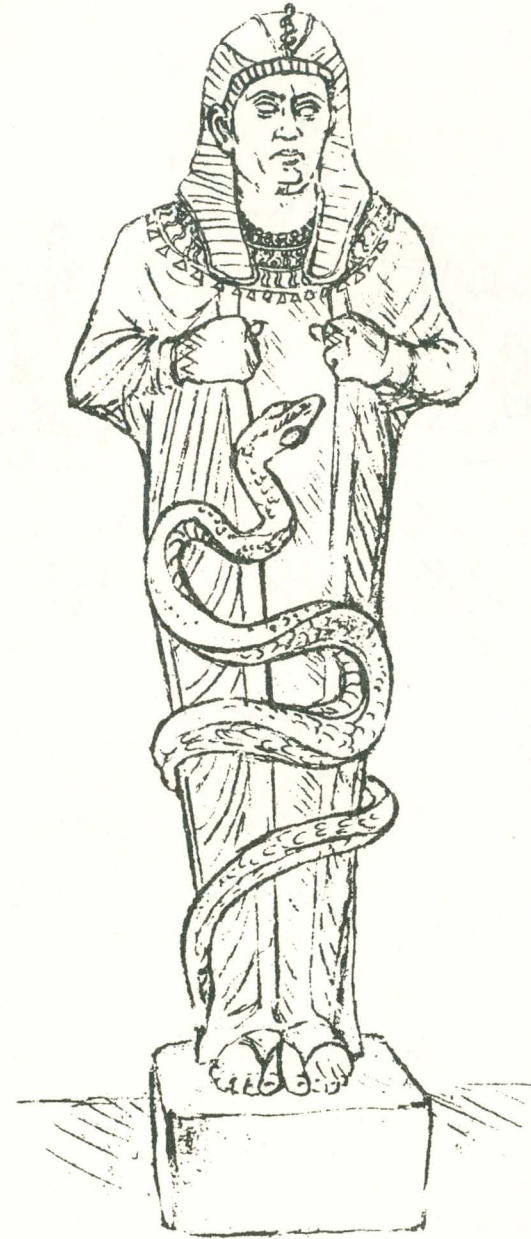


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PLATE 10





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