HEKATE :

HER ROLE AND CHARACTER

IN GREEK LITERATURE

FROM BEFORE THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

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by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

February, 1971

MASTER OF ARTS (1971)
(Classics)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Hekate: Her Role and Character in Greek Literature from before the Fifth Century B.C.

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NUMBER OF PAGES: iv; 96

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: This is a discussion of Hekate as she is represented in the Theogony and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. In it I attempt to demonstrate that the more familiar sinister aspects of the goddess are not present in her early Greek form, as the literary evidence of the period reveals. This involves an inquiry into the problem of Hekate's original homeland and, as far as can be determined, her character there, as well as the examination of her role in each of the above mentioned poems and a discussion of the possibility that the passages dealing with Hekate are interpolated.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my warmest thanks to Dr. T. F. Hoey, my supervisor, for his helpful guidance and encouragement throughout the writing of this thesis and to Professor H. F. Guite for reading the script and offering many valuable suggestions and comments. Also I would like to thank Alan Booth for his assistance in the reading of German texts and Miss E. Athawes for the fine quality of the typing in the final copy.

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INTRODUCTION

Hekate is one of the most enigmatic of Greek deities. The many aspects of her character lie so deep in obscurity that any clear-cut description of her is impossible, especially considering the meagre amounts of information that have survived concerning her.

I was drawn to a discussion of her nature in early Greece by the fact that she was hardly recognizable to me in the "Hymn to Hekate" of the Theogony, in the light of my former impressions of her. This difference was too striking to be neglected, and I determined to look into the matter, in hopes of discovering whether this early picture was representative of the goddess at that time; whether, in archaic times, she really was the antithesis of what she later became in Greece.

Archaeological evidence attests to the popularity she attained as a goddess of the common folk and reveals how widely her worship spread throughout Greece, the Aegean islands and Italy, as well as Asia Minor. However, it leaves us only a few clues as to the nature of her cult, and these are uncertain. In addition, literary evidence is scarce, particularly from before the fifth century, when vast differences from her later image may be observed in the character and bearing of the goddess, so vast indeed that the few instances of such evidence have been suspected of being interpolations.

She had a part in almost no legends until the late classical and Hellenistic eras, when her character had taken on a more defined

shape, that of the mistress of ghosts, night-wanderer, patroness of witches and sorcerers. She was generally worshipped in close association with one of a number of other deities, in particular, Artemis, Apollo, Demeter/Kore and Hermes. These associations complicate, and even render impossible, efforts to isolate Hekate's own character and determine her own original or basic nature.

My discussion of her is limited to the early stages of her worship in Greece, that is, until the fifth century. At what time she first appeared in Greece is still a matter of controversy, and this problem is explored in the first chapter. In the second and third chapters, my discussion will concern the representations of Hekate in the two major literary sources for her from before the fifth century, the Theogony of Hesiod and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, after which I shall add some conclusions as to her nature in early Greece.

CHAPTER ONE

(i) HEKATE'S ORIGIN AND ENTRY INTO GREECE

Hekate's original homeland, like so much else concerning her, is uncertain. It may be that she came originally from Greece, or that she entered the Hellenic world from a neighbouring land. The first theory is now generally regarded as untenable, for reasons outlined below, and is no longer held by scholars. The two most representative theories concerning the second possibility are those of Lewis Farnell and Theodor Kraus, separated in time by about sixty years. These I shall discuss in detail, with incidental references to other authorities when their thoughts and theories elucidate a point in question.

In the nineteenth century, it was thought by some (for instance Schoemann, Petersen, Köppen) that she was a Hellenic deity,[1] owing mostly to the belief that her name was of Greek origin. Farnell considers this theory to have been a slim possibility, even if she had lost her identity at an early time, and only regained her position during the archaic period. His reasons for rejecting this view stem from the general vagueness and uncertainty surrounding her in Greece. She is given a different lineage by different ancient authors; she appears in very few myths, so that her nature cannot be clearly determined; she is

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[1] See L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, vol. II, Oxford, 1896, p. 501, note B.

not the divine ancestor of a tribe. Also, her character is quite unhellenic in its predilection for magic and evil.

As a result, Farnell suggests that Hekate was originally a foreign goddess, even though it may be pointed out that she is known in extensive parts of the Greek lands - in Greece itself and also in Italy, Sicily, Asia Minor and many islands of the Aegean Sea, where Greeks settled. Farnell, however, asserts that this in itself does not prove her Greekness, since other foreign divinities have managed to achieve wide recognition in Greece and its colonies. In contrast, he notices that the worship of Hekate is significantly absent from the interior, more secluded areas of Greece, such as Arcadia, where she has no part in the cult of Demeter Erinys and Despoina, although elsewhere she is closely connected with Demeter.[2]

In order to determine Hekate's route into Greece, Farnell makes reference to various places in which her worship is established, or where she appears in local legend, or has similarities and connections with other deities.

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[2]Farnell also states that she had no part in the Eleusinian legend, but unfortunately does not continue to explain himself. The sections on Hekate in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter suggest that she had a minor role in the legend of the rape of Persephone, and in Cults vol. III, p. 135 he seems to say that her role in the Hymn is genuine, though unnecessary. Also, various artworks portray a goddess in connection with this myth, who carries torches and is generally thought to be Hekate (see Mylonas, Eleusis, Princeton, 1961, p. 192, 212). Nilsson and Kraus consider that her role in this myth is genuine (Nilsson, "Review of T. Kraus' Hekate", AJA, vol. LXV, 1961, pp. 78-9). Also J. Humbert, in Homère, Hymnes, Paris, 1967, p. 56, note 2 remarks that "Ainsi se trouve justifié le rôle important que jouait Hécate dans les mystères; a l'ἄνοδος de printemps, elle précédait Perséphone, et la suivait au moment de la κάθοδος d'automne."

He begins by taking the example of a short quotation in Pausanias[3] from Hesiod's Catalogue of Women,[4] in which Iphigeneia is transformed by Artemis into Hekate. This is the first mention of a connection (other than genealogical) between Hekate and Artemis in Greek literature. The fact that Hekate is here equated with Iphigeneia implies that she may have been the goddess worshipped in the area of the Chersonese as the maiden goddess of the Tauri.[5] The passage on Hekate in Hesiod's Theogony[6] which Farnell sees as an interpolation,[7] is evidence of the newness of the cult in Boeotia[8] since it appears to be propaganda to popularize a newly introduced deity (Hekate), but in a form which is reminiscent of the "great goddess" type of deity, a form in which Hekate was not worshipped by the Greeks. Thus, by

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[3]Pausanias, I.43,1.
οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν Καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμῃ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἑκάτην εἶναι.

[4]Whether the Catalogue of Women was written by Hesiod, and the date of the poem, are not known. Paus. 9,31,4. allows only the Works and Days to be originally Hesiod's, according to the Heliconian Boeotians. Certainly, some parts could not have been composed before the late seventh century, but the form and position of the poem following the Theogony, is acceptable for Hesiod's time and style. See A. Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, London, 1966, p. 103 f.

[5]Herodotus, IV,103; - rather than Artemis, as is usually thought, although the two goddesses are closely identified in this instance.

[6]Hesiod, Theogony, vv. 411-452.

[7]Farnell, Cults, vol. II, p. 504.

[8]See below pp. 14-17 for a different interpretation of these verses as evidence concerning the length of time that Hekate had been in Greece.

means of these early literary testimonies, Farnell locates a cult of Hekate (as Iphigeneia) in the Chersonese, and another in Boeotia at the time of Hesiod, which entered Greece from the north.[9]

In Thessaly, Farnell sees evidence of Hekate worship as well. This is mainly in connection with Artemis as she was worshipped at Pherae[10] and Iolchus. Farnell links Artemis Pheraia with the Thracian goddess Bendis, whose worship included orgiastic rites, magic and superstition, much like that of Cybele. A Thessalian legend makes Hekate the daughter of Pheraia,[11] who was exposed at the crossroads, but was rescued and raised by shepherds. Then at Iolchus, Artemis was worshipped as a sorceress goddess with evil magical power. Medea was connected with this Artemis in Diodorus Siculus[12] where she (Artemis)

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[9]One must distinguish between the worship of Hekate as Farnell interprets it in the quotation from the Catalogue of Women, that is, as a maiden goddess, and her worship as depicted in the Theogony, as a "great goddess." He considers that this latter, from the mere fact that it comes from Boeotia, proves that she entered Greece from the north. He does not, however, consider both passages to have been written by the same author. (See Cults vol. II,p. 503.)

[10]See Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1970, p. 812, s.v. Pherae, "A Temple, built in the sixth century but reconstructed in the fourth, may be that of Artemis Ennodia."

[11]See schol. Lycophron 1180: Φεραίαν· Ἑκάτη ἑτέρα· Φεραίας, τῆς Αἰόλου θυγατρός καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τεχθεῖσα, ἐν τριόδοις ἐρρίφη, βουκόλοι δὲ Φέρητος εὑράμενοι αὐτὴν ἀνέθρεψαν, ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις αὐτῇ τὰς θυσίας ἐποίουν.

[12]Diodorus Siculus, 4.51.

is said to appear ἐπὶ δρακόντων ὀχουμένην. But Medea is usually considered to be the priestess of Hekate, of whom this form of Artemis is very reminiscent and with whom perhaps she is identified. Farnell connects the reputation for evil and witchcraft that Thessaly later acquired with the popularity of Hekate in that area, provided of course that she did possess these elements of evil and magic within her original character.[13] Again, this appearance of Hekate points in Farnell's mind to a northern origin for the goddess and entry into Greece from the north.

In Aegina, Farnell finds a third testimony for the theory that Hekate came from the north. Her cult was known to exist in Aegina from the fifth century B.C. and it was considered that the Thracian Orpheus was the original establisher of the annual τελετή to Hekate practised in the island.[14] Also, the Aeginetan leading family had very early connections with Phthia. One can see the possibilities here for a theory that the cult was originally from the north and was brought south in early times. There is, however, some likelihood that the worship of Hekate was confused and combined

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[13] T. Kraus, in Hekate, Heidelberg, 1960, suggests that Hekate did not originally possess these characteristics in Asia Minor, but acquired them later, upon leaving her homeland, (see below, p. 15).

[14] Pausanias II. 30, 2:
θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἑκάτης, Ὀρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾷκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες.

with that of the Cretan Britomartis,[15] whose cult was also early introduced into Aegina.

Finally, the islands of the Thracian Sea, Samothrace in particular, are known to have been centres of a cult to Zerynthia, a goddess identified with Hekate,[16] in connection with the Kabeiroi[17] or the Korybantes.[18] A rock altar to Hekate[19] which dates from the sixth century B.C. is located in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, where also the upper portion of a marble Hekataion of the fourth century B.C. has been found. The proximity of these islands to

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[15]Et. Mag. 214.16, s.v. Βριτόμαρτις.
Καὶ Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τελετῶν φησὶ χρησμὸν Διὶ δοθῆναι ὅτι ἐκ τῆς μήτρας τῆς Ἑκάτης γεννώμενος, μεταστήσει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτόν. Γεννηθείσης δὲ τῆς Ἑκάτης, τὰς συμπαρούσας κόρας τῇ λεχοῖ ἀναβοῆσαι, Βρίτον, τουτέστιν ἀγαθόν. Παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐπίφθεγμα ὠνομάσθαι τὴν θέον.

[16]Zerynthia was an epithet applied to only two Greek goddesses - Hekate and Aphrodite - but it is not known to whom it was applied first. See Kraus, Hekate p. 66 f. The date when this cult began in Samothrace is unknown.

[17]R. Pettazoni in "Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio." Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei, as cited in A. B. Cook, Zeus II, Cambridge, 1914-1925, p. 314, believes that the cult of the Kabeiroi in the islands of the Thracian Sea can be divided into three stages of development. 1) In prehistory, the Thracian deities Dionysos-Sabazios with his Satyrs and Bendis-Hekate with her Maenads spread to Thasos, Imbros, Samothrace and Lemnos. 2) Phoenician merchants brought their own Kabeiroi or Seven Great Ones, who served the eighth god, Ešmun, who became identified with Dionysos. 3) Hellenic settlers brought the cult of Demeter/Kore and Hades, and all these cults were synthesized into the cult of the Kabeiroi in these islands.

[18]See schol. Aristophanes, Peace, v. 277:
ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἦν μυστήρια καὶ (τὰ) τῆς Ἑκάτης.

[19]Karl Lehmann, ed., Samothrace, vol. IV, pt. 2, "The Altar Court," New York, 1960, p. 124, and notes 53 ff.

Thrace makes the conclusion that the cult of Hekate spread to the islands from the mainland quite plausible.[20]

Farnell does not attempt to envisage a pathway leading from Hekate's Thracian homeland through northern Greece to Athens. He simply mentions some places in which Hekate was worshipped at an early period and notes that their geographical positions suggest that the goddess came to them from the north.

He suggests that Hekate as the maiden goddess of Tauris was an attempt by the early Boeotians "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-Iphigeneia of Aulis and Tauris."[21] Her relation to Artemis is very close here, as in Thessaly, where she is the daughter of Artemis in Pherae, and probably the equivalent of Artemis in Iolchus, judging from Artemis' characteristics there.

Artemis in Thessaly is equated with the Thracian goddess Bendis, who in turn is closely related to Cybele, whose worship includes orgiastic rites and magic.[22] These characteristics of the

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[20]In Samothrace, Hekate was identified with the Thracian goddess who was worshipped in the island before her, but who was not, according to Kraus, Bendis. See Hekate, p. 76; cf. Pettazoni above, note 17.

[21]Farnell, Cults II, p. 503.

[22]Farnell, Cults II, p. 474.

Thessalian Artemis render her very similar to the form of Hekate which is frequently grouped with Bendis and Cybele as a chthonic goddess worshipped in this fashion and connected with magic and superstition.

Hence, sinister characteristics do appear in the northern Hekate, in her possible identification or close connection with the Taurian Artemis and with the Thessalian Artemis and Bendis; in her association with the Kabeiroi and the Korybantes in Samothrace, and with Orpheus in Aegina. All these connections imply that her worship was orgiastic in form and involved the practice of magic.

This is the extent of Farnell's evidence in Greece for Thrace as the original homeland of Hekate.[23] He now tackles the problem of explaining the wide-spread worship of her in Asia Minor. He says:- "if Thrace had been its [the worship of Hekate's] original home we should expect it to have crossed the Hellespont as naturally as it travelled southwards into Greece"[24] and he lists numerous areas in Asia Minor where Hekate is known to have been worshipped.[25]

He suggests, in addition, that the goddess may have travelled by sea across the Aegean from the Greek mainland to the coast of Asia Minor. He chooses the example of Hekate's presence at Ephesus, in

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[23]Kraus, Hekate, p. 74, mentions the early connection between Athens and Abdera, where Hekate appears on silver coins in the fifth century B.C. and was probably adopted as a state goddess about 430/29 for political reasons. This goddess of Abdera was equal to the Athenian Hekate for as long as trade between the two cities persisted.

[24]Farnell, Cults II, p. 505.

[25]Namely "in the Troad, in Paphlagonia, Galatia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphilia." Farnell, Cults II, p. 505.

connection with the worship of Artemis, making mention of a legend in which the wife of Ephesus was metamorphosed into a dog by Artemis as a punishment for receiving her unhospitably, and later, upon being changed back, hanged herself. Artemis then revived her in the form of Hekate.[26] At this period, Artemis and Hekate were so closely associated that Hekate was likely to be found wherever Artemis was worshipped.

To continue, Farnell takes note of the abundance of evidence of Hekate worship in Caria and mentions her position there as a "great goddess" figure, the wife of Zeus Panamerios.[27] He also suggests that the rites of the festival of the key in Lagina had a chthonic nature[28] as comparisons between this festival and the mysteries of Cybele in other parts of Asia Minor seem to show.

Hence, not only does Farnell connect and equate Hekate with Artemis, Britomartis and Bendis, but also with Cybele, and he comes to the conclusion 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."[29]

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[26]Farnell cites Eustathius, Hom. Od., p. 1714.41 in Cults II, p. 597.

[27]C.I.G. 2715, a late inscription from Stratonikeia: τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν Διὸς τοῦ Πανημερίου καὶ Ἑκάτης

[28]Farnell, Cults II, p. 506.

[29]Farnell, Cults II, p. 507.

This theory that Farnell puts forth concerning the origin and spread of the worship of Hekate is of considerable interest and merit, although it is probably no longer tenable. He believes that the cult spread southwestward into Greece and southeastward into Asia Minor from Thrace at some time during the archaic period of Greece. It became established in Greece by the sixth century at least, and has been found to exist in Asia Minor at about the same time, notably at Miletus.[30] However, an important point to keep in mind is that most of the evidence for Hekate's worship in Asia Minor comes from post-classical times. Thus, Farnell's suggestion that the cult could have travelled from Greece across the southern Aegean Sea to Asia Minor is worth noting. Indeed, evidence of Hekate's presence has been found on several southern Aegean islands[31] which form a rough, incomplete path between Attica and Caria. References to Hekate in Asia Minor often mark her functions as similar to some of her duties in Greece. She is a light-bearing deity in Stratonikeia, in Cilicia, in Lampsacus, in Miletus and in Rhodes,[32] and she guards doors and gates in Ephesus and Aphrodisias, in Caria.[33] As previously mentioned,

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[30]See below, page 19.

[31]Aegina, Delos, Thera, Samos, Cos, and Rhodes. No evidence exists to prove her presence on these islands prior to the fifth century B.C. But also, there is no particular reason to suppose that the cult travelled from Greece to Asia Minor, and not the other way around.

[32]Stratonikeia: C.I.G. 2720 and Kraus, Hekate, plate I,ii.
Cilicia: JHS, 1890, p. 252.
Lampsacus: Kraus, Hekate, plate I,i.
Miletus: Milet III, 392 Nr. 172 cited in Kraus, Hekate, p. 11.
Rhodes: I.G., ins. i, no. 914.

[33]Ephesus: Pliny, N.H., 36.32.
Aphrodisias: C.I.G. 2796.

Farnell considers that the festival of the key, held in her honour at Lagina, was chthonic in nature and to do with her role in the underworld.

Nevertheless, despite these testimonies, this theory has definite loopholes. The most obvious one is that, although Farnell makes a point of showing how Hekate brought her tendencies toward evil, magic and witchcraft with her from Thrace and then increased their power in Thessaly, he can find almost no evidence of the darker side of her character in Asia Minor. His one example is the festival of the key in Caria, but even here the actual nature of the rites is not known and can only be conjectured to have been chthonic.[34]

In fact, most of Hekate's known functions in Asia Minor are quite beneficial, being centred around her duty as a gate-keeper for towns and homes. In certain cases,[35] Hekate is actually called Σωτεῖρα, which would seem to indicate that her position as a goddess was anything but sinister in these lands.

Recent scholarship has tended towards the belief that Hekate was indeed a foreign goddess, but that because of the abundance of evidence concerning her, particularly in the form of theophoric names, in Caria, she was a native of this land, rather than of Thrace. Exponents of this theory are M. P. Nilsson, M. West and most comprehensively, T. Kraus.

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[34]See Kraus, Hekate, p. 48 f.

[35]I.G., ins. i, no. 914, is an inscription for a rock throne on Rhodes, cited by A. B. Cook, Zeus, vol. I, p. 142: Εὐξάμενος ἱερᾷ Σωτείρᾳ τόνδε ἀν[έθηκα] τὸμ πίνακα Εὐ[ή]κῳ φωσφόρῳ Ἐννοδ[ίᾳ].

Kraus places the original homeland of Hekate in Caria because of the very large number of instances of theophoric names testifying to the reverence paid to her in this area of Asia Minor, and because her chief sanctuary was at Lagina in this land. He considers that the cult is pre-Greek because Lagina is a foreign name and the city was not an important one in Greek times.[36] However, as to the character of this pre-Greek Hekate, nothing much is known, since no enlightening evidence of the early cult has been found as yet, although as Kraus admits, the sanctuary at Lagina has not been sufficiently excavated. Nevertheless, some priestlists do exist and it appears that at Lagina, Hekate was served by eunuch priests, as were Cybele and the Ephesian Artemis. Kraus points to this as a sign of the foreign, eastern character of Hekate in Asia Minor.[37]

Also in Lagina and in connection with the worship of Hekate, Kraus mentions the office of the κλειδοφόρος or key-bearer.[38] This position was held by a woman, perhaps the priest's daughter, who presumably carried a key, either real or symbolic, in the κλειδὸς πομπή, a festival which took place annually. Various scholars, including Farnell and Petersen, have conjectured that this festival is a witness to Hekate's function as a goddess of the dead and the

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[36]Kraus, Hekate, p. 43.

[37]Kraus, Hekate, p. 47 f. cites inscriptions in LeBas-Waddington V. 519, Hatzfeld, BCH 44, 1920, 79 ff. Nr. 11d. Nr. 16 referring to the fact that they were eunuchs. The functions of the priests and the nature of the rites they supervised are unknown, and comparison with the cults of Cybele and Artemis should be guarded.

[38]Kraus, Hekate, p. 48 f.

underworld, in Asia Minor as in Greece.[39]

Kraus, however, is doubtful of these demonic interpretations, because the evidence for the office in art is late (not before the Hellenistic age) and therefore it is not certain how far back the history of the office went or what its real function was. It is possible to link this office with similar ones which occur in the worship of other Greek deities,[40] and thus to conclude that the Asiatic Hekate received this custom from Greece, making it a fairly late addition to her worship. On the other hand, occurrences of κλειδοφόροι can be found in the Babylonian and Phoenician religions of the second millenium B.C.[41] Thus, the office may be an extremely old one. It need not have been chthonic in character. The key in the Babylonian and Phoenician religions opened the door to heaven, not to the underworld.[42] Presumably, the deity connected with the key in these cases was regarded as a door-keeper, as Hekate was also.

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[39]E. Petersen, "Die dreigestaltige Hekate" II, AEM. 5, 1881, p. 65, since it was not available, was cited from Kraus, Hekate, p. 49. He considers that the key symbol was related to the legend that the Furies kept the key to Hades.

[40]Kraus, Hekate, p. 50, note 238.

[41]Kraus, Hekate, p. 50. In the Assyrian-Babylonian religion Samaš opens the gate to heaven, as do the Phoenician deities Rešef and Ištar.

[42]See also E. Neumann, The Great Mother, New York, 1955, p. 170, where the key, while considered to be the symbol of the goddess of the way to Hades, is also the phallic symbol of male fertility which fecundates the female womb. Thus perhaps the festival was a fertility rite, cf. Hekate as a goddess of fertility and birth in Greece, as early as Hesiod.

Kraus is in favour of a theory that the cult of Hekate could have spread throughout Asia Minor and even travelled as far west as Greece in Mycenaean times. There are several facts which might support this theory. Miletus was colonized by Mycenaean settlers in the second millenium B.C. and was probably exposed to the culture and religion of Caria, just to the south. Hence the worship of Hekate could have been brought to the Milesian settlers, who then transported it back to Greece. Also, there was a Mycenaean settlement at Ugarit in Phoenicia where, as well as coming into contact with the Hittite and Hurrian godheads, the Greeks could have met with the Carian deity, since evidence exists of contact between these two societies (Syria and Caria) at the time.[43]

There is, in addition, a tradition that the Carians spread out from the coast of Asia Minor, settling in the islands of the Aegean Sea[44] and even in Greece itself. If this is true, however, it brings to mind the question of why Hekate had acquired so little solid Hellenic background by the time she began to appear in Greek literature, genealogy and legend.

Kraus cautiously cites the passage in Hesiod's Theogony as the earliest extant literary evidence for Hekate in Greece, but he adds hopefully that there is yet a possibility that her name may appear in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets, as have the names of other Greek deities.[45] He considers that, if genuine, the Theogony passage gives

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[43]Kraus, Hekate, p. 22, note 77.

[44]This perhaps accounts for the occurrence of theophoric names on such islands as Cos.

[45]Kraus, Hekate, p. 21.

us a terminus ante quem for Hekate in Greece since:- "die Rolle, die sie bei Hesiod spielt, ist nur erklärlich, wenn die Göttin schon beträchtliche Zeit im Kulte fest verwurzelt war."[46] He seems to regard as fairly insignificant the fact that Homer does not mention Hekate, even though he does call Apollo "Hekatos." West has an explanation for this:- "she was always a goddess of private rather than public cult, and this is sufficient to account for her absence from the Homeric pantheon."[47] Kraus mentions in addition, that the appearance of Hekate in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter also points to her early entry into Greece.[48]

In both these early literary references to Hekate in Greece the element of evil and magic, so familiar in the later Hekate, is completely absent. She is, in fact, quite benevolent in both instances. Also, in the oldest extant representation of Hekate in art,[49] which reputedly comes from Athens, the goddess is unrecognizable, because she lacks attributes of any kind. She is identified only by the inscription on the statuette: ΑΙΓΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΘΕΚΑΤΕΙ.

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[46]Kraus, Hekate, p. 21.

[47]West, Hesiod: Theogony, Oxford, 1966, p. 277, following F. Pfister, Philol., vol. LXXXIV, 1928, p. 8.

[48]Kraus' evidence for this very early entry of Hekate into Greece is quite slim, resting really on the hope that someday her name will turn up in the Linear B tablets. It cannot yet be proved that Hekate was ever known to the Achaeans in Asia Minor.

[49]A terracotta statuette from the sixth century B.C., now in Berlin. See Farnell, Cults II, p. 549, plate XXXVIIIa.

In her seated position she is reminiscent of Cybele, but she cannot be connected with any particular function or character. Thus, all the early Greek evidence for Hekate (that is, before the fifth century B.C.) lacks reference to her later role as the evil sorceress and goddess of the dead.

In Asia Minor as in Greece, Hekate was always associated with other deities. The fact that she has been so frequently confused and equated with so many others makes it particularly difficult to judge what her original character and function was.

Kraus does not wish to equate Hekate with Cybele. He sees her as perhaps the Carian representation of the "great mother" deity, of whom Cybele was the Phrygian counterpart. But the two goddesses always remained distinct and separate entities. Cybele's cult in Athens, which existed from the seventh century B.C., was the cult of the μήτηρ Φρυγίη, an epithet which served to distinguish Cybele from Demeter, with whom she was sometimes confused, but not equated. Hekate has a similar epithet in Καρείη[50] which points to her original homeland, as does Φρυγίη for Cybele.

In worship, similarities occur in Asia Minor between the Cybele cult and the cult of Hekate. These are, in particular, the custom of eunuch priests, and the occurrence of rock thrones dedicated to the goddess in question.[51] Two examples of such thrones occur in

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[50]Kraus, Hekate, p. 34, note 142, cites reference to Wunch, ARW.12, 1909, 10.

[51]These thrones may be associated with open air worship before a cult image. See Kraus, Hekate, p. 28. The thrones themselves may be Hellenic or pre-Hellenic, but the inscriptions are from the Hellenistic era. See A. B. Cook, Zeus, I, p. 142.

the islands of Chalke and Rhodes,[52] in both cases accompanied by inscriptions[53] which indicate to whom they are dedicated.[54] Kraus sees these as an authentic part of the worship of the Anatolian Hekate in her role as a guardian of the roads, which she seems to share with Zeus in this case, a role which is distinct and free from the influence of Cybele or any other deity.

Kraus also holds that Hekate was closely connected with Apollo, and he points out various testimonies to this association. These, most of which come from Asia Minor, seem to indicate that the association was centred around Hekate's role as a door and gate keeper.

The round rock altar dedicated to Hekate in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios at Miletus is the oldest piece of archaeological evidence we possess attesting to the worship of Hekate.[55] Here Hekate was an important deity, closely associated with Apollo, but it is not known in what capacity. As a possible answer, Kraus looks at

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[52]A. B. Cook, Zeus, vol. I, p. 141-2.

[53]Chalke: I.G., ins. i, no. 958: Διός Ἑκάτη[ς]. (Not later than the 3rd century B.C.).
Rhodes: I.G., ins. i, no. 914: Εὐξάμενος ἱερᾷ Σωτείρᾳ τόνδε ἀν[έθηκα] τὸμ πίνακα Εὐ[ή]κῳ φωσφόρῳ Ἐννοδ[ίᾳ]. (Not later than the 3rd century B.C.).

[54]The above thrones are dedicated to Hekate; those to Cybele are in Phrygia. See A. B. Cook, Zeus, I, p. 136 f. for a description of rock thrones dedicated to Cybele.

[55]The inscription on the altar reads:

.....
Εὐθρας.....
..Λεωδαμας
Ὀνάξο πρυτ[α]
νεύοντες ἀ -
νέθεσαν τὴ
κάτηι

The inscription is from the sixth century B.C., but the altar itself may be from the 7th century B.C. See Kraus, Hekate, p. 11; M. West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 278.

an altar dedicated to Hekate in the same sanctuary in 77/8 B.C., in which the devotee describes himself as προνοήσας τῆς οἰκοδομίας τῶν τείχων.[56] Thus, he concludes that Apollo is in his capacity as "wall-builder" here, and Hekate is associated with him as a "gate keeper." This is, of course, late, and may have nothing to do with the original association between the two deities or with the older altar.

In connection with Hekate as gate keeper are objects called γυλλοί which are generally believed to have been stone cubes,[57] possibly originally identified with the actual deity, as Nilsson suggests with regard to Apollo Aguieus.[58] These were always offerings connected with the threshhold or gate, and occur only in the worship of Hekate and the Didymean Apollo.

Apollo as a door keeper remains until the time of Aristophanes[59] when he is placed as προπύλαιος before the doors of houses together with a hekataion representing Ἑκάτη προπυλαία, but this function dies out for Apollo Aguieus, whereas it remains as one of Hekate's most familiar functions.

There are in addition some later pieces of archaeological evidence which link Apollo and Hekate. A Hellenistic tetradrachma

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[56]Kraus, Hekate, p. 11.

[57]Kraus, Hekate, p. 12 f.

[58]M. P. Nilsson, Griechische Feste, p. 168.

[59]Aristophanes, Vespae, v. 875.
ὦ δέσποτ' ἄναξ, γεῖτον Ἀγυιεῦ, τοῦ ἐμοῦ προθύρου προπύλαιε.

from Lampsacus[60] shows Priapus on one side,[61] and on the other Apollo and a smaller figure of a goddess carrying torches, flanked by lions. The goddess is conjectured to have been Hekate, but this cannot be proved for certain, since there are other torch-bearing goddesses. The fact that Priapus is represented on the other side seems to grant favour to the theory that the figure is of Hekate.

The goddess with whom Hekate is most frequently compared and equated is Artemis. Artemis in Asia Minor is not usually the Olympian goddess, the virgin huntress, that she is in Greece. She is rather a great mother figure, especially at Ephesus[62] where she had a close relationship with Hekate, as discussed above.[63]

Hekate is thought to have had a lunar function at Stratonikeia, due to her representation on late Hellenistic coins from this city as having a half-moon around her head. Another possible reflection of this function appears in the inscription:

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[60]Imhoof-Blumer, Nomisma 8, 1913-14, Nr. 44, Taf. 28.

[61]Artemidorus in the third century connects Hekate with Priapus (I.G. XII, 3,421,422) and an inscription from Tralles reads: Πριάπιον καὶ Ἑκατέου αὐλή. See Farnell, Cults II, p. 600, note 17.

[62]See E. Neumann, The Great Mother, Plate 35.

[63]Pliny, N.H., 36.32, states that Hekate's image was in templo Dianae post aedem at Ephesus.

ἱερέα τοῦ παν[αμαρίου Διὸς]καὶ Ἑκάτης τῆς δαδοφόρου.[64] However, δαδοφόρος means "torch-bearer" and although this may indicate a lunar function, it certainly does not prove it.[65] Both Hekate and Artemis are called torch- or light-bearers frequently in Asia Minor, sometimes in definite connection with the moon,[66] but not always so. When the moon connection is certain, however, the inscription is invariably late enough so that the association between Artemis, the Moon and Hekate could conceivably have been brought from Greece and been adopted by the Asian cult.

Thus far, very little evidence has been uncovered which suggests that Hekate was originally a goddess of the dead and black magic in Asia Minor. Even her associations with other deities seem innocent of these tendencies. It is still unknown whether her rites were orgiastic, like those of Cybele, and certain facts do point to that possibility, but until this is proved, it is not a strong argument, especially in the face of the evidence that she was rather a benevolent goddess,[67] until fairly late in Asia Minor.

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[64] C.I.G. 2720.

[65] The carrying of torches (δαίδες) might indicate a chthonic function (funeral torches) rather than a lunar one. Plutarch 2.789a uses the metaphor: ἐπὶ τὴν δᾷδα προελθεῖν, to come to the end of life. See Liddell & Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. δαΐς.

[66] E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia", JHS, 1890, pp. 236-254. See especially p. 252: εἴτε Σεληναίην, εἴτ' Ἄρτεμιν, εἴτε σέ, δαῖμον Πυρφόρον, ἐν τριόδῳ Γῆν σεβόμεσθ' Ἑκάτην.

[67] In Asia Minor, she had such epithets as: μέγας, μέγιστος, ἐπιφανής, ἐπιφανέστατη, σωτείρα. See Kraus, Hekate, p. 43 f., and note 202.

If, as Farnell suggests, Hekate was 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"[68] when she entered Greece from her northern homeland, then it is strange that she did not trail her cloud of superstition and sorcery into Asia Minor as well. There is plenty of evidence of this aspect of her in Greece, but no definite evidence of it can be found in Asia Minor, before syncretism of native Anatolian gods with Hellenic deities changed their original characters, in the Hellenistic and more so in the Roman eras.

This seems to indicate that Farnell has misjudged in his attempt to discover Hekate's original homeland, by choosing the wrong aspect of her character to base his study on, namely her attraction to witchcraft in classical and post-classical Greece. It seems more likely that Hekate's original character was innocent of these sinister elements, which she developed later due to an emphasis of some of her original characteristics to the detriment of others, according to the need of the land involved.[69]

There is no doubt that her entry into Thrace was early,[70] but that the original Hekate was this Thracian one seems unlikely. What

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[68]Farnell, Cults II, p. 512.

[69]M. P. Nilsson, in Geschichte der griech. Rel., Munich, 1941, I, p. 725, agrees with Farnell, that Hekate's attraction to witchcraft was with her when she came to Greece (but from Caria, rather than from Thrace), as he believes that otherwise there would be no reason to account for the fact that she became a goddess of witchcraft and ghosts in Greece. However, as archaeological and literary sources do not provide evidence to back up his contention, its validity may be questioned.

[70]Kraus, Hekate, pp. 64-77.

little archaeological evidence there is for her in Thrace shows that she was known in Greece as well by that time.[71]

The evidence so far points to the conclusion that Hekate travelled to Greece from Asia Minor where she was a benevolent goddess. In Greece, her early image was still a benevolent one, as shall be seen in the discussions of Hesiod's Theogony and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter below. It was only in the fifth century B.C. and after that time that she changed in nature and adopted new characteristics in Greece, which led finally to a complete metamorphosis of the goddess.[72]

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[71]See above, note 23.

[72]Kraus suggests that Hekate's association with witchcraft stems from her identification with the Thessalian goddess, Enodia. However, although there are facts which suggest this, it is not possible to prove that Enodia was a goddess of witchcraft. See Hekate, pp. 77-83.

CHAPTER I

(ii) THE DERIVATION OF THE NAME "HEKATE"

In connection with Hekate's origin, a short discussion of the various proposed derivations of her name is appropriate, although once again, the results so far have proved to be inconclusive. The name "Hekate" may be either Hellenic or foreign in origin.

If it is Hellenic, there are several possible derivations.[1] These are 1) ἑκατόν = one hundred. This is unlikely as there is no known association of this word with the goddess; 2) ἑκών = willing. This also is unlikely as it is not a particular characteristic of Hekate to be willing[2] and there is no other connection; 3) ἑκάς = far, and other adjectives formed with this word.[3]

This latter is the most likely choice due to the fact that ἑκάτος is an epithet applied to Apollo in Homer, and occasionally given to his sister Artemis later,[4] both of whom are connected with Hekate in genealogy and worship. Since Artemis and Hekate are frequently equated

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[1]See G. Liddell & R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1968, s.v. Ἑκάτη; R. Graves, Greek Myths, London, 1955, s.v. Hekate.

[2]At least, not from the classical period onward. Prior to that Hekate does exhibit willingness, especially in the Hymn to Demeter, but even here this is not Hekate's major characteristic, and it does not seem likely that it was important enough to be chosen as the basis of her name.

[3]These are notably ἑκάτος, ἑκάεργη, ἑκατηβόλος and ἑκατηβελέτης. They can be interpreted as meaning "far-off one", "worker from afar" and "far-darter', but the last two adjectives may indicate the presence of weapons such as the arrow or the spear, and Hekate was not known as a huntress or warrior goddess. See Farnell, Cults II, p. 501; A Fairbanks, A Handbook of Greek Religion, New York, 1910, p. 360. I have not attempted a morphological study of Hekate's name, however I would like to draw attention to the fact that although the letter τ appears in the adjective of ἑκάς (ἑκάτος) this need not mean that ἑκατηβόλος and ἑκατηβελέτης necessarily also come from ἑκάς, although it is probable in this case that they do.

[4]Aeschylus, Suppliant Maidens, v. 676. See Farnell, Cults II, p. 501.

and their functions often overlap, it has been supposed that Hekate was originally a hypostasis of Artemis. A. Fairbanks suggests that "it is probable that the older conception of Artemis divided when the goddess was brought into relation with Apollo, that on the one hand the Olympian Artemis became the ideal of maidenhood in all its purity, that on the other hand weird and half magical rites gathered about an Artemis Hekate who came to be more and more a goddess of the night, of souls wandering at night, of all that was uncanny."[5] Thus, Hekate became the other side of Artemis after she became an Olympian and discarded some of her less acceptable characteristics. Yet this theory does not account for the goddess of Asia Minor, who was not always equated with Artemis.[6]

There is, however, the not unlikely possibility that the word might not be of Greek origin at all. Hekate herself is considered to have been originally a foreign deity. Her name might just as well have been foreign too, perhaps corrupted into the form Ἑκάτη by the Greeks, in much the same way that the Hurrian HEPA[T] became "Hippa" in Greek and was connected with the noun ἵππος, as Kraus observes.[7]

However, concerning Hekate's name, it is virtually impossible to follow the word back to its etymological source, because we do not know from which language it was drawn, and we are not even certain from what land Hekate originated. Thus, the whole question of the derivation of Hekate's name is, for all intents and purposes, still unsolved.

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[5]A Handbook of Greek Religion, p. 361.

[6]She was indeed worshipped in association with Artemis at Ephesus and elsewhere, but in Caria where her worship was centred, she was a major goddess in her own right, not associated with, or subordinated to, Artemis.

[7]Kraus, Hekate, p. 16.

CHAPTER II

THE HESIODIC HEKATE

(i) INTRODUCTION; HESIOD'S KNOWLEDGE OF HEKATE

Literary evidence is notoriously lacking from the time when Hekate was in the process of entering Greece. In fact, she does not ever appear in a major role in literature, perhaps because she participates in so few myths. This is not to say, however, that she was not well known in Greece, for there is archaeological evidence to suggest that she was already worshipped in Athens by the fifth century B.C.[1]

There are three surviving pieces of literary evidence for Hekate from before the fifth century in Greece. The two more important ones have frequently been suspected of being interpolations or propaganda designed to popularize the goddess, and the third is a short quotation in Pausanias, which dates from this period.[2] The earliest passage is also the longest and most detailed in its description of the character and functions of Hekate. This is the passage called the "Hymn to Hekate" which appears in vv. 404-452 of the Theogony of Hesiod, which may date as early as from the late eighth century B.C.[3]

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[1]In Athens was found the oldest representation of Hekate, a sixth century B.C. terracotta statuette portraying a single-formed, seated goddess, devoid of attributes, but possessing an identifying inscription. See Farnell, Cults II, p. 549, plate XXXVIIIa.

[2]This passage, Pausanias 1.43,1, is referred to, but not discussed separately.

[3]M. West, Hesiod: Theogony, pp. 40-48.

Hekate is represented here in a light very different from that in which she is usually seen. She is a beneficent deity who has no close affinities with any gods except Zeus. She is a goddess of the older generation, born of Titan parents. The passage describes the many τιμαί which Zeus lavished upon her after the fall of the Titans. These τιμαί are extremely wide-ranging, granting her a share of power in the sea, on land and in the sky[4]:

ἀλλ' ἔχει ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔπλετο δασμός
καὶ γέρας ἐν γαίῃ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἠδὲ θαλάσσῃ.[5]

Strangely, the one portion of the universe not mentioned by Hesiod is the underworld, where Hekate came to have her greatest influence in later times.

Hesiod's Hekate is a goddess to be appealed to in prayer. Those who pray to her may achieve success easily (ῥεῖα, vv. 438, 443) if she chooses to bestow her goodwill, but she can as easily withhold her graces. She listens to many different sorts of men: kings in judgment (434); men in the assembly (430); soldiers preparing for battle (433); contestants at the games (435); horsemen (439); fishermen (440); farmers (443); and as well she sees to the care of children, having been given the title of κουροτρόφος (450) by Zeus.

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[4]This may be interpreted as giving her, in effect, universal power, lifting her to the position of a "great goddess" figure, as O. Kern sees her, or it may mean that she performs her own duties within the provinces of the other gods, with their consent, as West regards her, and as seems more likely.
See O. Kern, Religion der Griechen, Berlin, 1963, p. 245 f.
M. West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 282.

[5]H. G. Evelyn-White's edition, following Goettling's order, v. 425,427.

Hekate always works in harmony with and in subordination to Zeus. She might be worshipped in combination with Poseidon as a goddess generous to fishermen, or with Hermes as an increaser of the farmers' herds, but these associations are business relations which have no effect on Hekate herself. In fact, the very nature of her τιμαί forces her to encroach upon the provinces of other gods. This she does, however, always with their consent and with the approval of Zeus. She shows no connections with underworld deities at all in this passage, and her association with deities of light appears only vaguely, through her ancestry.[6]

This, then, is the content of the passage. However, this particular section of the Theogony has attracted much attention because not only is the content itself unusual, but the length of the passage for the praise of a goddess generally considered to be somewhat minor in importance, is unexpected and also, the style of this passage has been considered by some to be inferior to that of other parts of the Theogony.

Until lately, the majority of scholars[7] tended to believe that the Hekate passage was an interpolation, for the reasons outlined above. However, more recently, some critics[8] have begun to doubt the validity of these older arguments and have advanced theories by which they have demonstrated that the passage might well have been authentic. Nevertheless, the theory of interpolation is still held and has been expounded

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[6]Her mother, Asteria, was a luminary goddess and the sister of Leto, whose daughter, Artemis, became a moon goddess. At this period, however, Artemis was a chaste huntress in Greece and the protectress of wild animals. Her associations with the moon were not yet developed - see Farnell, Cults II, p. 509. Hesiod describes her only with the epithet, ἰοχέαιραν (v. 918), which connects her with the hunt.

[7]e.g. Heyne, Goettling, Schoemann, Farnell.

[8]e.g. Mazon, Kern, Brown, West, Kraus.

by such eminent modern scholars as Nilsson and Wilamowitz. Also, several scholars of the nineteenth century, such as Gerhard and G. C. W. Warr, held the theory that the passage was partly authentic, but partly interpolated by a second author. This theory is still carried on by G. S. Kirk.

Presumably, those modern critics who believe that the Hekate passage was interpolated have the same reasons for their belief as did the nineteenth century scholars, for they do not state the reasons for their opinions.

Wilamowitz[9] states forcefully that Hesiod did not know of Hekate, yet he leaves this remark unqualified. In another work,[10] he points out that no sound archaeological evidence for Hekate's presence in Boeotia has been discovered, and thus Hekate must not have been worshipped there. But Kern[11] dismisses this "argument from silence" by the observation that discoveries may yet still come. Nilsson[12] simply calls the passage an interpolation and continues on from there, obviously regarding the fact as self-evident.

The older arguments on which one must assume that these scholars base their opinions have been subjected to thorough analysis recently, particularly by Martin West,[13] whose conclusion is that they

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[9]Der Glaube der Hellenen, Berlin, 1931, i. 172.

[10]Pindaros, Berlin, 1966, S. 42, A. 2.

[11]Religion der Griechen, p. 245 f.

[12]Geschichte der griechischen Religion, p. 722.

[13]Hesiod: Theogony, pp. 276-280.

are not sufficiently strong to prove convincingly that the passage was not composed by Hesiod. His opinion is shared by other critics as well, for instance, Mazon, Kern and Brown, for the same and other reasons.

The reasons for which the Hekate passage has been judged to be an interpolation can be listed as follows:

1) the language - some of the words and phrases used in the section have been called unhesiodic.
2) the style and the length - the style appears inferior to other sections of the poem, and the length is unusual for an Hesiodic digression.
3) its expendability - this lengthy digression can be removed from the text without leaving a trace of its existence. Was it not likely to have been inserted then?
4) the "Orphic element" - certain words, as well as the unusual universality of Hekate's character create this suspicion of insertion by a follower of the Orphic cult.
5) the historical possibility - was Hesiod actually likely to have known of a goddess resembling his Hekate?

West analyzes all these arguments in his commentary on the passage in his edition of the Theogony. The arguments concerning the supposed "Orphic element" in the passage are dealt with in a separate section. Concerning the historical possibility of Hesiod knowing of Hekate, West goes to great trouble. His theory can, I think, be complemented by a discussion of Mazon's thoughts on the subject.[14]

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[14]P. Mazon, Hesiode, Paris, 1928, pp. 21-24.

West considers that the passage must have been composed by a devotee of some cult of Hekate which existed at the time in Boeotia, due to the length and nature of the passage. If the goddess was the patron deity of the poet, her functions would become more universal in his eyes.[15] The question is whether the poet/worshipper could have been Hesiod. West sets about to prove that he probably was. His theory is that Hesiod's father brought knowledge of Hekate with him from Asia Minor.

Kraus[16] objects to this on two points. Firstly, Hesiod's father lived far removed from the Anatolian region of Hekate worship. Secondly, he considers that Hekate would have had to be fairly widely known in Boeotia to have been mentioned in the Theogony.

West admits freely that Aeolian Cyme was north of the region where Hekate was worshipped in Asia Minor, but he points out that traders going from Miletus[17] to the new trading area of the Black Sea might spread her worship as they went, and Cyme was on their route. Thus it was possible that Hesiod's father, also a trader,[18] knew of Hekate and brought this knowledge with him when he came to Ascra. This in itself does not necessarily mean that he was the first to bring Hekate to Boeotia. It simply makes it more likely that Hesiod knew of

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[15]West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 277.

[16]Kraus, Hekate, p. 60 f.

[17]At Miletus, there was thought to have been an early cult of Hekate. See above, chapter 1, p. 19.

[18]Works and Days, v. 636 ff.

Hekate, whether from his father, or from some other source.

Mazon's suggestion is that, as long as it can be established that a goddess such as the one described in the passage existed in Boeotia at the time of Hesiod, all the "unhesiodic" qualities of the passage can be overlooked. In his opinion, the Hekate that Hesiod knew is identifiable as the Ποτνία Θηρῶν, the Lady of Wild Beasts, often equated with the Great Mother of Asia Minor and Crete. Archaeological evidence exists to prove that the Lady of Wild Beasts was known in Boeotia at the time of Hesiod. A painting on a Boeotian amphora of the eighth century B.C.[19] depicts a goddess standing with outstretched arms, surrounded by animals, birds and fish, which Mazon interprets as a representation of the threefold realm of power held by Hekate, as Hesiod portrays her. Kern and Charbonneaux also agree that the painting represents Hekate, although Nilsson holds that it is Artemis.[20]

The Lady of Wild Beasts was worshipped in Crete and Asia Minor as well as in other parts of Greece, under many names, including Cybele, Britomartis, and Artemis. That she was called Hekate in Boeotia can be readily supposed, since Hekate was often equated with these goddesses. Thus, again it is possible to suppose that Hesiod knew of a Hekate similar to the goddess he portrayed.

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[19]Farnell, Cults II, p. 522, plate XXIXa, from Eph. Arch. 1892, Πίν 10.1, p. 212.

[20]O. Kern, "Elfenbeinrelief aus Kleinasien" Ath.Mitt. L, 1925, p. 157 ff.

Charbonneaux, "Deux grandes fibules géometriques du Musée du Louvre" Prehistoire I, 1932, p. 191 f.

Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, 2nd ed, Lund, 1950, p. 508, n. 86.

Both West and Mazon, after establishing that Hesiod could have known of Hekate, conclude that Hesiod was probably a worshipper of this Hekate at an unidentified shrine in Boeotia.[21]

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[21]O. Kern, Rel. d. Gr., p. 245, also believes that there was a cult sanctuary to Hekate in Boeotia with which Hesiod was familiar, but to the location of which he gives no clues.

CHAPTER II

(ii) THE OCCASION OF THE THEOGONY; THE HEKATE SECTION'S PART

Some critics think that the Hekate episode shows signs of being part of a cult hymn, reproduced in the body of the Theogony, either by an interpolator or by the author. This view is held by Kern,[1] Kraus,[2] and also by G. C. W. Warr,[3] whose view will be dealt with below. Suffice it to say that his reasons for supposing these particular lines to be an authentic cult hymn to the exclusion of the rest of the passage are not convincing in the light of to-day's research.

Kern, while defending the genuinity of the passage, thinks that the outline of a ritual cult practice can be seen in vv. 416-18 of the passage, suggesting that it was taken from a cult of Hekate which was located at a nearby shrine. He admits, however, that no trace of the location or importance of the cult sanctuary has been uncovered.

Kraus is more detailed in his discussion. He suggests that the section was composed by Hesiod to be recited in an unknown shrine to Hekate, but he doubts that it was a recast cult hymn. He thinks that

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[1] Rel. d. Gr., p. 245 f.

[2] Hekate, p. 63.

[3] "The Hesiodic Hekate" C.R., 1895, pp. 390-93.

perhaps Hermes and Poseidon were also venerated at this shrine. The only shrine at which Hekate was known to have been connected with both these deities was at Eleusis, to the south of Boeotia, and no traces of the Boeotian shrine at which the hymn was to have been sung have been found, thus making it impossible to prove this point.

There certainly seems to be a possibility that such a shrine or cult sanctuary did exist, and that Hesiod, or the author of the Hekate section in the Theogony, knew of it, and probably was a worshipper there, but lack of archaeological proof gives the interpretation of this passage as a cult hymn little weight. Also, the fact that Hesiod was a worshipper of Hekate does not necessarily mean that this section must be a reflection of the actual rites of worship at her sanctuary. It may just indicate that he venerated Hekate above other, better documented deities.

West's explanation for the occasion of the "Hymn to Hekate", indeed for the entire Theogony is different, being secular in nature, rather than religious.[4] He sees the Hekate passage as part of the evidence that the Theogony was the poem which Hesiod recited at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalkis, as mentioned in the Works and Days.[5] This is because the poem coincides in date (as he works it out) with the probable date of the Lelantine War (730-700 B.C.), in which Amphidamas was killed, according to Plutarch.[6]

He believes that the Theogony is an older poem than the Works and Days because of what he considers to be an expansion in the latter

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[4]Hesiod: Theogony, pp. 43-46.

[5]Works and Days, vv. 654-59.

[6]Moralia, 153 f.

of the doctrine of the Ἐρίδες,[7] which could not have been so reduced in importance in the Theogony if the Theogony was later than the Works and Days.[8]

There are several sections in the Theogony which West regards as entered especially because of the occasion of the recitation. He mentions three: vv. 80 ff.; vv. 98 ff.; and the Hekate passage. In the first section, he sees the obvious praise of Βασιλῆες as an indication that Βασιλῆες were to be present among the audience for the recitation, considering his very low opinion of them in the Works and Days. The second passage seems to indicate a reference to the sorrow of a newly-suffered death, which the sons of Amphidamas would be experiencing at the time of the games at Chalkis.

The enumeration of the various types of individuals who could expect the grace of Hekate is what interests West about the Hekate passage. They are, for the most part, the types of men before whom Hesiod would be singing at Chalkis - kings, assemblymen, soldiers, in particular horsemen (the Lelantine War was a cavalry war), athletes, and sea-fishermen. Few of these men would attend a recitation of the Theogony at Ascra.

Thus he concludes that the Theogony was composed for recitation at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalkis and that the Hekate passage was designed to create a favourable impression in the minds

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[7]Theogony, v. 225; Works and Days, vv. 11 ff.

[8]Hesiod: Theogony, p. 44.

of Hesiod's judges.[9]

This theory gives a logical, external reason for the inclusion of the Hekate passage in the poem, as well as an interesting way of explaining the unusually broad range of her favour. West does not believe that the Theogony was a religious incantation or that the Hekate episode was based on a cult hymn.[10] His theory represents the "Hymn to Hekate" as an integral part of the unified whole of the Theogony, in contrast to those theories which would refer to it as part of a cult hymn inserted or paraphrased into the poem. In such explanations, the passage is immediately set apart from the rest, and the possibility of its being an interpolation is left wide open. As well, lack of evidence, either archaeological or literary, for the existence and location of this nearby cult shrine, weakens the theory of a religious occasion for the poem considerably.

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[9]Mazon also imagines Hesiod as reciting the Theogony before judges at a festival rather than at a religious sanctuary, and sees in the Hekate passage a reference to this: "On entend ici la voix même d'Hésiode, sur la place de Thespies, se flattant de conquérir la faveur de l'assemblée et en même temps saluant d'un compliment les juges-rois qui l'écoutent." Hésiode, p. 24.

[10]Hesiod: Theogony, p. 15, 16.

CHAPTER II

(iii) THE HEKATE SECTION RELATED TO THE THEOGONY; A DISCUSSION OF STYLE

Among those who consider Hesiod's account of Hekate to be genuine is Norman O. Brown,[1] whose interpretation of Hesiod's Theogony grants the Hekate passage an important and necessary role in the development of the theme. Brown has searched for a unifying theme in Hesiod's work, and has built an elaborate plan of the structure and the meaning of the Theogony. He regards the form, the genealogical catalogue, as the only method Hesiod would have known to express the development of the universe from the beginning of time to the present, living as he did before the birth of philosophy in Greece.

His central theme, according to Brown, was the nature of the divine cosmos, as seen through the history of the gods from the appearance of Χάος (which he translates as "Void") and Γαῖα (Earth) to the final stage where Zeus rules over men and gods. This theme, however, is not complete in itself. It is closely allied with two secondary themes: the nature of the physical cosmos, and the nature of the human cosmos.

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[1] Hesiod: Theogony, New York, 1953.

Beginning with the two powers, Earth and Void, Hesiod develops his universal power structure by "a process of proliferation stimulated by an immanent creative energy which Hesiod calls Desire."[2] Each generation brings with it new aspects of divine power, the earlier generations showing a predominance of creations of a physical nature (for example, the children of Earth and Sky), and the later ones, especially the generation of Olympians, showing a predominance of creations of divinities whose powers are directed to the human cosmos (as can be seen in the characteristics of the Olympians and their offspring). The human and the physical cosmoi are viewed through the growth and development of the divine cosmos.

It is in the relationship of the divine with the human cosmos that Hekate has her part. She is one of a pair of intermediary powers (Prometheus being her counterpart) which forms the second of three legacies which the mortal world receives from the divine. The first is the legacy of the Children of Night and of Nereus (another similar pair), and the third is the dispensation of Zeus to mankind through his offspring.

Hekate and Prometheus both bring good to mankind from the divine realm, but Prometheus does so without the consent of Zeus, and suffers punishment on account of his deeds. Hekate, on the other hand, always acts in accordance with the will of Zeus and thus becomes, by his dispensation, a goddess of wide-ranging power in his new regime.

The two intermediary powers are polarities, as are so many of

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[2]Brown, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 15.

the paired forces in Brown's scheme. Other examples may be seen in the two primal powers, Earth and Void, whose offspring never unite, but rather develop in two distinct and opposite directions, while the primal powers themselves represent the positive and negative forces in the universe. The genealogies of the Children of Night and of Nereus also illustrate this principle. Similar in structure, these sections describe the evil and the good forces of the divine which operate within the mortal world.

Brown asserts that this polarity appears again in the treatment of the intermediary powers (the second legacy); that the attributes of the good daughters of Nereus can be recognized in Hekate, while Prometheus harbours attributes of the evil forces of the Children of Night within him.

This is basically Brown's interpretation of the structure and meaning of the Theogony as far as it pertains to Hekate. He looks at the question of interpolation and genuinity within the Theogony in terms of what fits or does not fit into his theory of the structural system of the poem. Thus, he rejects the episode of Typhoeus the monster,[3] but since the Hekate passage can be satisfactorily accounted for, he regards it as genuine, although he admits the possibility of lesser interpolations of words and phrases and the like, within the section. This method of determining the genuinity of questionable passages does perhaps, however, leave something to be desired, from an academic point of view.

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[3]Theogony, vv. 820-1022.

Whether, in addition, one can accurately impose such an elaborate and detailed structural system upon a poem of the antiquity and genre of the Theogony is a question worth considering.[4] Certainly, having done so, the problem of the necessity of including the Hekate episode is solved, and the genuinity of the section is rendered plausible. However, the Theogony is regarded by some critics as being very loosely structured, with not much more than a vaguely discernible central theme, about which the episodes of the poem are stacked.

G. S. Kirk in his article, "The Structure and Aim of the Theogony"[5] says of the structure of the Hesiodic poems:

> the structural plan of each poem was loose and rather undisciplined, being often based on the exploitation of casual associations rather than on a principle of strictly logical development.[6]

This is a rather less sympathetic approach to the structural pattern of the poem than that of Brown, and Kirk explains at length the reasons for his opinion.

He regards the poem as an orally composed song which occurred at a time in Boeotia when the oral tradition was dying out and songs were beginning to be sung more frequently by rhapsodes, professional

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[4]This has been done successfully with the Iliad of Homer, by C. H. Whitman, in Homer and the Heroic Tradition, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, chap. XI, but the structure of the Theogony is a question disputed by many scholars.

[5]Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique VII: Hésiode et son Influence, Geneva, 1960.

[6]Kirk, "Structure ...", p. 71.

singers who memorized the traditional songs, but could not compose them.

The content of the Theogony makes it possible to enlarge or cut down the length of the various episodes while still retaining the main line of action. Thus, the poet himself probably varied the poem greatly each time he recited it. But the rhapsodes who memorized it from him, having an imperfect understanding of metrical composition, may have unintentionally changed formulae, or as frequently happened, added their own phrases, which could be counted upon to be of inferior quality.

In other words, the poem, as we have it, is not in the form in which it was originally conceived, but has been altered numerous times during recitation. The main line of action is probably still unchanged, but the quality of the poetry is inferior.

Martin West inclines somewhat closer to Brown, in that he sees a logically devised pattern emerging from the construction of the poem.[7] He believes, in addition, that Hesiod actually wrote down or dictated the Theogony,[8] and that the clumsiness of the style was due to the unaccustomed effort of written composition, rather than to a limited talent in the poetic art, on his part. West considers that, because of the highly personal tone of Hesiod's poem, it is unlikely that later transmission by rhapsodes was responsible for this clumsiness in the style. Rather, he explains this by suggesting that the Theogony was one of the earliest Greek poems to be committed to writing.

With regard to the actual language, Kirk's purely stylistic

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[7]Hesiod: Theogony, pp. 31-40.

[8]Hesiod: Theogony, pp. 47 f.

and linguistic examination of the Theogony leads him to advise the removal of a large number of lines due to the so-called "anti-traditional" character of their composition. He suggests that Hekate was mentioned in vv. 404-414, but that the rest of the passage should be discarded because of the post-Hesiodic distortions and innovations in the language.

The genuinity of the Hekate episode is frequently questioned by exponents of the theory of a loosely constructed Theogony. Kirk refers to the passage as being "as bizarre in expression as it is surprising in content."[9] But West has reduced the "bizarre" stylistic objections which Kirk enumerates in the passage to one, and has even added one strange construction, which Kirk overlooked as well,[10] concluding that two unusual phrases cannot alone condemn a passage as long as the Hekate episode. This indeed seems well said. West's opinion of analyses of the passage like that of Kirk, is that:

> The assumption seems to be that if a poet is famous, he never says anything strange or unparalleled; that even if he is an unskilled amateur, burdened with the unfamiliar technique of written composition and struggling to say things that had never been said before, his expression will never be strained or awkward

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[9]"Structure ...", p. 80.

[10]West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 279.

if his name is Hesiod, only if he is a nameless interpolator.[11]

West, then, wishes to grant Hesiod as much freedom in composition as can possibly be accorded to him, considering his historical position in literature. He believes the Hekate passage to be genuine, not only from a standpoint of language and style, but also from a consideration of the life and background of the poet, and the evidence extant concerning the goddess at the time, and as well, because of the lack of evidence for interpolation.[12]

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[11]West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 278.

[12]Hesiod: Theogony, pp. 277-80. There is only one question, concerning West's interpretation of the Theogony as a written piece of work, which comes to mind. If the style of the poem was clumsy and unpolished originally, due to the unaccustomed effort of writing it down (or dictating it), how likely is it that Hesiod would have won the prize, as he says he did, at the games of Amphidamas? Of course, there is no definite answer to this query - it may still have been the best entry. But it is a thought.

CHAPTER II

(iv) THE HEKATE SECTION RELATED TO THE THEOGONY; HESIOD'S SOURCES

As for the theme of the Theogony and the connection of the lesser myths with the main line of the plot, West and F. M. Cornford[1] offer suggestions as well as Brown. Kirk is interested only in stylistic problems in the text, confining himself to the statement that the poems of Hesiod strike him as "rather amorphous aggregations."[2]

West, Brown and Cornford are all of the opinion that Hesiod's material was not original, but was inherited by him from ancient traditions which originated in the Near East in the third and second millenia B.C. Similarities with Hesiod's Theogony have been observed in the theogonies of the Babylonians, the Hittites (and Hurrians[3]) and the Phoenicians of that era.

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[1] Principium Sapientiae, Cambridge, 1952, chapters XI-XV.

[2] G. S. Kirk, "Structure ...", p. 71.

[3] A race of people living in south-east Asia Minor between northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Their civilization flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries B.C., after which time they were incorporated into the Hittite empire. Their influence on Hittite mythology is noticeable in the Hurrian names and locations of the stories.

Cornford is interested in a comparison of the Theogony with theogonic literature from the Babylonian civilization in particular, as is Brown. Since the time of their writings, however, further publications of newly translated Near Eastern texts have made it possible to compare the Theogony with the Hittite and Phoenician creation myths as well.

Brown describes the material in the Theogony as arising from three different sources. The first is Homeric poetry,[4] from which he believes that Hesiod drew his knowledge of the characteristics of the Olympians and the nature of the heavenly government under Zeus. The second is the local legends and current traditions in Greece, from which Hesiod obtained the information for his versions of such stories as the Prometheus myth, the Hekate episode, and Zeus' sojourn in Crete.[5]

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[4]In using Homer's poetry as a source for Hesiod's Theogony, Brown must assume that Homer came some time before Hesiod, to allow for Hesiod's certain knowledge of the poems (at least a generation). Brown specifically states that "In Homer, Hesiod found the names ..." (p. 36). This assumption is too easily made, for West argues that "until the latter part of the fourth century B.C. Hesiod's priority was widely accepted. We have seen... that in the late fifth and early fourth centuries the earliest Greek poets are regularly named in a fixed order: Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, Homer. The reason is presumably that this was held to be their chronological order."
Hesiod: Theogony, p. 47.

[5]Cornford suggests that the Hesiodic rendering of the birth of Zeus and his concealment in a cave reflect part of the Cretan worship of Zeus, who was to them a fertility god who was reborn each year and whose functions in Greece were performed by Dionysus.
Prin. Sap., pp. 215-217.

The third source is the mythology of the Near East.

Brown emphasizes the strong similarities which exist between various incidents in the Theogony and in oriental cosmogonic myths, in particular, the mythology of the Babylonians, reputed to be the oldest of the Near Eastern sources and the most original.[6] He gives a lengthy resumé of the Enuma Eliš, the recently discovered Babylonian creation myth,[7] which was read annually at the New Year Festival, in the temple of Marduk in Babylon. He then compares and contrasts the contents of the two legends and the modes of thought which can be recognized behind them:

> In Hesiod, as in the Enuma Elish, cosmic history begins with the predominance of powers of nature and ends in the organization of the cosmos as a monarchical state. Both dramatize the violent conflict between old and new in the cosmic process, and explain the cosmic state as growing out of this violent conflict and representing

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[6] See West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 29. "Of the three oriental versions we have discussed, the Babylonian appears to be the oldest. There is evidence that it is also the most original. For, unlike the other versions, it is a reflection of national history." etc.

[7] Cornford, Prin. Sap., p. 236, points out that the Enuma Eliš is, in fact, a hymn to Marduk, rather than a creation epic. It omits certain events in the older Sumerian version, and makes Marduk the most important figure, the hero, of the poem.

> the successful establishment of a monopoly of violence; Zeus, like Marduk, combines authority and force.[8]

He finds the basic difference in the events of the two myths to be caused by the difference between the oriental and the Greek as regards the idea of government.

> Hesiod's contrast between the inadequate patriarchal authority of Sky and Cronus and the superior political order of Zeus leads him to formulate a problem in the nature of state-organization which is beyond the ken of the Mesopotamian outlook. The patriarchal authority of Sky and Cronus is condemned as repressive; Zeus' political order permits the creative potentialities of the universe to actualize themselves. Thus while the Enuma Elish sees only creativity in state-organization, Hesiod sees also its repressive side and demands an order which permits free development.[9]

The difference between the Babylonian and the Greek mode of thought lies in the principle of creativity. The oriental mind sees a conflict only between creativity and inertia, while the Greek sees the conflict between creativity and order, and symbolizes it by the recurring

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[8]Brown, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 41.

[9]Brown, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 43.

attempts of Mother Earth to overthrow the male symbol of order. Where, in the Enuma Elis, the primal powers are removed by force so that a new order may be established, Zeus creates a new order by incorporating the old powers into his new regime, thus refraining from doing violence to the principle of creativity.

Brown finds that the Theogony is a very early reflection of the Greek idea of government - less power in the hands of one individual and more personal freedom - which ultimately led to the adoption of democracy as their form of government and to the traditional distrust of monarchy displayed by the Greeks.

Cornford[10] compares the Enuma Elis with the Theogony, or to be more accurate, the Hymn to Marduk with the Hymn to Zeus, which is how he interprets the main body of each poem. His examination of the poems is more precise than Brown's, for he analyzes them event by event. He concludes from this analysis that most certainly Hesiod's Theogony is the descendant of the Babylonian Enuma Elis[11] and that probably other ancient creation myths may be found, in the future, to be interrelated also.

Since West's work is more recent than that of these two authors, he has had access to more recent material, with respect to Near Eastern cosmogonical literature. He outlines the myths of the Hittites and Hurrians, the Babylonians and the Phoenicians. He finds that the connections which Cornford conjectured to have existed between the

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[10] Prin. Sap., chapter XV.

[11] P. 248 f.:
"In spite of discrepancies, it is perhaps sufficiently clear that Hesiod's cosmogonical myth is derived ultimately from the Babylonian. The discrepancies are less striking than the coincidences, and less than we might expect when we consider that the story reached Hesiod in fragments detached from the ritual which explained it and gave it coherence."

creation myths of various ancient civilizations[12] do exist, and that it is quite probable that the Near Eastern creation myths, which are themselves closely interrelated, were known in Greece before the time of the Trojan War, and that they formed the basis upon which Hesiod founded the Theogony.[13]

The main line of action in the Theogony, the succession myth or the hymn to Zeus,[14] has been established, and Brown has connected the Hekate episode to this main plot. West does not, in general, discuss the minor myths and digressions separately in the introduction. His interest is in the central plot of the succession. One exception to this is the Hekate episode. Nevertheless, this fits into a pattern whereby, looking at the Theogony from an historical point of view, more externally than internally, he finds explanations from history, from the rituals and cults of the time and place, to account for the inclusion of digressions, such as the Hekate and the Prometheus episodes.

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[12] although he, in fact, mentioned the Cretan civilization, rather than those of the Hittites and Phoenicians.

[13] See Appendix B for an outline of this material.

[14] West considers the "succession myth" to be the central plot, Zeus being the most important, but not necessarily the central figure in the myth. He is simply the last and greatest in the line of succession. Cornford believes that the Theogony is a hymn to Zeus, preceded by a short cosmogony. He, therefore, incorporates the succession myth from the marriage of Ouranos and Gaia into a biography of Zeus. Zeus, then, is the protagonist and central figure of the Theogony, which was composed to praise him.

Cornford places the Hekate episode in the fifth of seven chapter divisions which he sees in the biography of Zeus, from his birth to the end of the Theogony. This fifth section deals with the allotment of power after Zeus has secured supreme power. Cornford lists three of these δασμοί, the allotment of the sacred oath to Styx, the provinces given to Hekate and the division of the elements among Zeus, Hades and Poseidon.

And so we discover that, in several different scholars' interpretations of the Theogony as regards occasion, plot and structure, there is a place for the Hekate episode. Their reasons for including her have all been different, and Cornford at least is still doubtful of the genuinity of the passage,[15] but nevertheless, the passage does not appear to have been forcibly inserted into the Theogony, but rather to fit into the action of the poem comfortably in all of these interpretations.

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[15]Prin. Sap., p. 221.

CHAPTER II

(v) THE THEORY OF PARTIAL INTERPOLATION

Another theory concerning the authenticity of the Hekate passage, one which is less popular now due to the difficulty of proving it, is that part was genuine, but that a second author added more material in an inferior style, with the purpose of creating propaganda for Hekate. One exponent of this theory was G. C. W. Warr,[1] whose argument is based on a discussion of the passage by E. Gerhard.[2] Warr's view is that the "Hymn to Hekate" is a combination of two versions of an ancient local hymn, one of which was incorporated into the poem by the compiler (Warr does not refer to him as Hesiod) of the original Theogony,while the other was annexed soon after, by the process of contaminatio.[3]

Warr reconstructs what he considers might have been the ancient hymn from which the "compiler" took his material for the section on Hekate, by deleting lines which he considers were added by the later interpolator. These he recognizes by linguistic and

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[1]"The Hesiodic Hekate", C.R., 1895, pp. 390-3.

[2]E. Gerhard, Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft, Darmstadt, 1852, pp. 97-111.

[3]"Hesiodic Hekate", p. 390.

stylistic inadequacies.[4] He begins the hymn with an introduction (ἀείδω Ἑκάτην Περσηΐδα) suggested by Gerhard as a likely beginning for a hymn of this nature. His version looks like this:

ἀείδω Ἑκάτην Περσηΐδα, τὴν περὶ πάντων
ἡ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη Ἑκάτην τέκε
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τίμησε· πόρεν δε οἱ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
καὶ γέρας ἐν γαίῃ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἠδὲ θαλάσσῃ
καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε πού τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἱλάσκηται
κικλήσκει Ἑκάτην· πολλή τέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμή,
[ὅσσα τ' ἀπάρχονται] τούτων ἔχει αἶσαν ἁπάντων.
θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον.[5]

Warr considers that from these nine lines come all that was the genuine passage on Hekate in the Theogony, except for the introduction and genealogy (vv. 404-410). This is a drastic cut from what survives and, as can be expected, it is not altogether satisfactory. West, whose examination of the language in the Hekate section I consider to be the most accurate, recognizes only two of Warr's linguistic objections.[6] These are μεγάλως παραγίνεται in v. 429 and μετ' ἐκείνην in v. 450. Of these two phrases, his reason for questioning the first is quite different from Warr's. He considers the phrase "unusual" for Hesiod, whereas Warr calls παραγίνεται a

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[4]"Hesiodic Hekate", p. 390-1.

[5]Warr's version is composed of 1) the introduction and the second half of v.411; 2) the first half of v. 411; 3) v. 412; 4) v. 427; 5) v. 416; 6) v. 417; 7) v. 418; 8) an addition, bracketed, and the second half of v. 422; 9) the first half of v. 450.

[6]West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 279.

"stock" phrase, "varied only by a cumbrous μεγάλως (429)."[7] Thus, as West says, "To assume an interpolation of 42 lines in order to account for these two phrases (not that it would account for them) is obviously unjustified."[8]

Kirk[9] is among those who still support a theory of partial addition or interpolation in the Hekate passage, without, however, postulating a religious origin for the section. He calls the passage "bizarre" and "surprising", and stresses the superfluity of this digression. He accepts vv. 404-414 as the authentic portion of the passage, but rejects the rest because it contains "anti-traditional" language. His linguistic objections are, in fact, the specific ones which West challenges.[10]

The theory of partial interpolation must necessarily be based on linguistic arguments, for how else is it possible to choose which parts are authentic? West has effectively broken these arguments down to the point where they are too weak to support this theory, which can therefore be dropped.

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[7]Warr, "Hesiodic Hekate", p. 391.

[8]Hesiod: Theogony, p. 279. Although Warr does not quite assume an interpolation of 42 lines, and although West is referring in this quotation to Kirk, I think that West's opinion of this type of drastic change from the extant version is operative here.

[9]'The Structure and Aim of the Theogony' Hésiode et son Influence. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, tome VII, Geneva, 1960.

[10]Hesiod: Theogony, p. 279.

CHAPTER II

(vi) REFERENCES TO HEKATE'S LATER ASSOCIATIONS

There has been among some critics a desire to see in the Hesiodic Hekate the early traces of her later characteristic associations with the moon and the underworld. Looking at the actual content of the passage, this idea takes a great deal of imagination.

Farnell remarks that the interpolator of the Hekate passage must have deliberately disregarded the sinister aspects of Hekate's character and emphasized her beneficial points, for the sake of propaganda. He does, however, admit that she shows no signs of any association with the moon at this time.[1] Nilsson, too, believes that her connection with the underworld and magic came with Hekate to Greece,[2] although it is not mentioned in the Theogony.

The most enthusiastic exponent of hidden allusions to the moon and the underworld is Warr. He goes to great lengths to prove that the connection between Hekate and the moon can be seen in the Theogony.

Warr devises a complicated relationship through Perses, with the sun, and from there through Perseis, with the moon:

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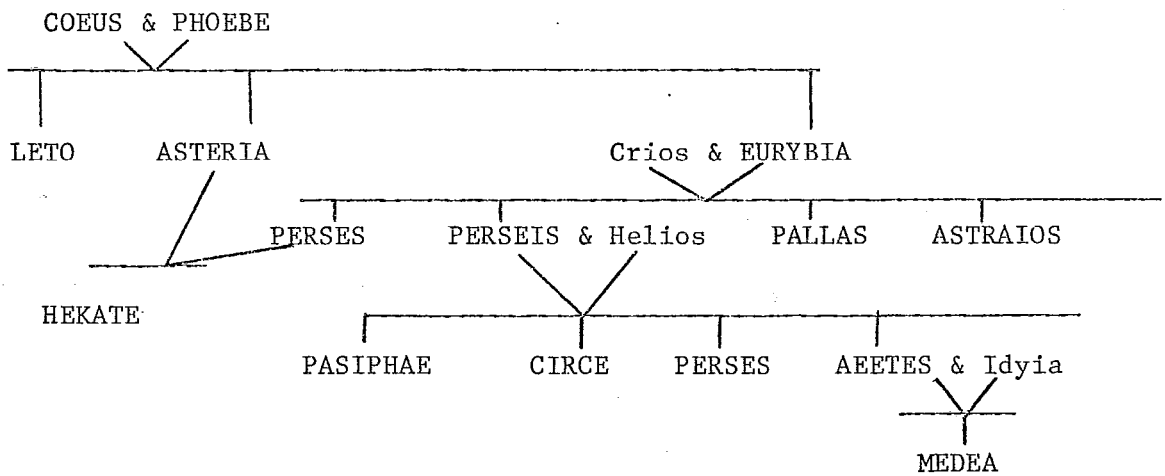
[1]Farnell, Cults II, p. 509.

[2]Nilsson, "Review of Kraus' Hekate", AJA, p. 79.

> Perses or Perseus was the name of a sun-god, who was transformed into a hero when supplanted by the new cult of Helios. Perseis was the corresponding name for the moon regarded as the sun's daughter: Hekate was the epithet of the latter. When the moon was personified, like the sun, by name (Selene), 'Hekate' became the personal designation of a separate deity....[3]

This theory rests on a very shaky foundation. The family tree for Hekate, as Hesiod describes it, looks like this:



Thus there are two bearers of the name Perses in Hesiod's genealogy for Hekate, one being her father, the son of Crios and Eurybia and brother to Perseis, who married Helios, and the other being the son of Perseis and Helios and cousin to Hekate.

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[3]"Hesiodic Hekate", p. 392.

Hesiod says nothing of Perses' (Hekate's father) duties as a god, but only refers to him as Πέρσην θ', ὃς καὶ πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν ἰδμοσύνῃσιν.[4] He is connected with the sun in no way, except as his brother-in-law.

The only connection which exists between Perses and the worship of the sun is drawn from a confusion between Perses the Titan, sometimes called Perseus, and Perseus the hero,[5] a confusion against which Rose[6] warns. Besides the hero Perseus, there are two later Perses, one the son of Perseus the hero and Andromeda, who later became the founder of the Persian race, and the other, the brother of Aeetes.

There are then two Perses in Hekate's genealogy, her father (according to Hesiod) a Titan, and her cousin, the son of Helios and Perseis, and a mortal. Warr refers to two sources, Diodorus Siculus IV, 45, and the scholiast for Apollonius Rhodius, III, 200, which make Perses the son of Helios the father of Hekate, both having obtained their information from Dionysius of Miletus. It seems that the historian in question confused the cousin for the father of the goddess.

Again, I can find no evidence that Perseis was ever a moon goddess. In fact, Warr resorts to transferring Perseis from the wife to the daughter of Helios in order that she fit his theory. Very little is said of Perseis[7] apart from the facts that she married Helios, was a

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[4]Hesiod, Theogony, v. 377.

[5]R. Graves, Greek Myths, 88.6.
W. S. Fox, ed., Mythology of All Races, vol. I, p. 37.

[6]H. J. Rose, Handbook of Greek Religion, p. 37.

[7]Also called Perse by Homer, Od. X, 136.

daughter of Ocean, and the mother of Aeetes, Circe and Pasiphae.[8]

---Warr is speaking about the Hesiodic Hekate - the Hekate of the Theogony, and in the Theogony her genealogical background is clearly laid out. It contains very little evidence, as I see it, of lunar connections. I explored this quite fully to see if what he proposed had some basis but it does not seem to, thus I consider his proposal to be wrong in this case. Hesiod's genealogy in the Theogony is clear and in order to work out his theory he uses later evidence, which seems to me to have confused Hesiod's material. This is not valid for explaining the Hesiodic Hekate; perhaps for explaining a later conception of the goddess, but I think Hesiod gives enough material to work from in the Theogony as far as the genealogical background for his Hekate is concerned. I might have mentioned Artemis and Apollo as her cousins, but Farnell says quite firmly that Artemis did not have lunar associations at this time, and Warr does not argue along these lines.

There seems very little foundation indeed for this emphasis on Hekate's lunar connections at this time. In fact, it is very questionable whether she had a lunar aspect then. She is only clearly seen in connection with the moon in the age of the Attic dramatists of the fifth century.

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[8]Pasiphae is considered to have been a name for the moon in Crete, and she is intimately connected with the ritual moon and sun worship, as a priestess of the moon, in that island. This connection, however, is sufficiently far removed from Hekate to be disregarded here.

Warr is also convinced of the Hesiodic Hekate's association with the chthonic and infernal elements. He believes that Hekate was invoked as an intermediary for the infernal deities when propitiatory sacrifices were offered, thus:

> Yet her special participation in sacrificial offerings to 'the gods' must, surely, be explained in the sense that offerings were made through her to greater deities, whose servant she was. Are not these the infernal deities to whom she is attached in the Hymn [to Demeter]?[9]

I do not think that this is at all necessarily so. There is no evidence in the Hesiodic passage to suggest that Hekate was a servant of infernal deities, especially considering the fact that her provinces were located in the sky, in the sea and on the earth, not under it. Neither is there any suggestion of a limitation to certain deities, but rather a sense of the universality of Hekate's provinces. Also, I find it hard to imagine servitude as the duty of Hekate as Hesiod describes her.[10] She works with other gods but not as a servant.[11]

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[9]"Hesiodic Hekate", p. 392. The square brackets are mine.

[10]Her role changes in this respect in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.

[11]Brown has called her an intermediary between the gods and men, which seems a more likely description of her role.

CHAPTER II

(vii) THE ORPHIC INFLUENCE ON THE HEKATE SECTION

The passage on Hekate in Hesiod's Theogony has, in the past, frequently been thought to show Orphic influence. Hesiod, or more often the supposed interpolator of the passage, was thought to have been a follower of the Orphics,[1] and his Hekate was compared to the goddess of later Orphic writings, as for instance, the Orphic Hymn to Hekate, written in Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial Age.[2]

Before looking at the so-called Orphic elements in the Hekate passage, a short synopsis of the areas of Orphism which are relevant to the topic seems appropriate. The major question to be considered is: was the Orphic system of religious belief developed at the time of the composition of the Theogony, and if so, does the Hekate passage reflect its teachings?

The sources which we possess for the Orphic theogony, which is of interest to us in this context, are mainly from the Neo-Platonists. However, W. K. C. Guthrie[3] is of the opinion that these writings are

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[1]See F. A. Paley, The Epics of Hesiod, London, 1861, p. 218.

[2]See O.C.D., 2nd edition, p. 534, s.v. Hymns and p. 758 f., s.v. Orphic Literature; I. M. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus, Berkeley, 1941, pp. 182-189.

[3]W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, London, 1950, chapter XI.

reminiscent of the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. in their thought, rather than being corrupted by the age in which they were written down.[4] Therefore, they can, he believes, be trusted to present a fairly genuine picture of Orphic thought.

There is, however, some question as to whether an organized body of Orphic religious literature ever existed at the time of Pindar, Plato and Euripides. If there was none, then the possibility that Hesiod made use of a knowledge of Orphism in his description of Hekate is far smaller. However, Guthrie[5] believes that "there was a body of Orphic writings known to Plato, containing of course (and this cannot be too often emphasized) ingredients culled from here and there, but nevertheless an elaborate and in some degree sophisticated attempt to form a coherent picture of the divine ordering of the universe and the position and fate of man."[6] I. M. Linforth in The Arts of Orpheus suggests that some of the priests who administered the mysteries sought to give a rational explanation to the rites they performed. They accordingly wrote poetical accounts of the myths on which the rites were based, and explained their significance on a broader, more speculative theological basis. They then assigned their poems to the authorship of Orpheus in order to give them the respectability of age. Thus, a body

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[4]Guthrie, Greeks and Gods, p. 319: "The most persuasive argument for believing that their quotations from Orphic poems are in the main genuine (that is, the same in content as those which were already known to Plato) is that they seem to reflect the climate of thought of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. rather than that of the writers who quote them, and who frequently have in their comments to twist the meaning in the most unnatural ways to make them fit their own philosophical outlook."

[5]Greeks and Gods, pp. 309-312.

[6]Greeks and Gods, p. 312.

of hieratic poetry dealing broadly with the same subject matter, that is, with myth, ritual and religion, began to accumulate under the same name, while the content of the poems was so varied within these subject titles that it could hardly be included in one religion. Linforth says that "The things associated with the name of Orpheus are so miscellaneous and so disparate that we cannot recognize a comprehensive and unified institution, however loosely organized, with creed, ritual, clergy, and adherents."[7] Nevertheless, there is likely to have been some sort of body of writings attributed to the Orphics, and this possibility cannot be passed over lightly.

Guthrie believes that this Orphic "religion" "belonged to the climate of thought of the sixth century"[8] and could not have existed much prior to this century. Thus, if an Orphic "religion" existed at all in Greece, it is not very likely that it was developed much before the sixth century B.C. This would make it impossible for Hesiod to have been influenced by such a "religion". Orpheus himself first appears for certain in Greek art in the mid-sixth century on a sculptured metope from the Treasury of the Sicyonians at Delphi,[9] and in literature, a fragment of a poem by Ibycus of Rhegium, who lived in the second half of the sixth century, includes the words ὀνομακλυτὸν 'Ορφῆν, quoted by Priscian.[10] The "religion", if one may call it that, arose most

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[7]The Arts of Orpheus, p. 291.

[8]Guthrie, Greeks and Gods, p. 314.

[9]I. M. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus, p. 1.

[10]The Arts of Orpheus, p. 3. The adjective ὀνομακλυτὸς establishes the fact that Orpheus was a familiar figure before this time, but this was probably in his capacity as a musician and an Argonaut, as Linforth observes.

probably either in Athens, the home of Onomacritus, or in southern Italy, but not in Thrace, the supposed native land of Orpheus.[11]

In the Orphic theogony, Phanes or Eros is born from a primal egg fashioned by Time out of aither, beginning the chain of births which symbolizes the forming of the universe. Phanes creates a whole world, a mythological representation of the central Orphic question, the problem of the One and the Many.[12] But Phanes is later swallowed with his entire creation by Zeus, who creates the present world. In this cosmogony, one part differs from Hesiod's Theogony and another resembles it.

The birth of Phanes (Eros) from an egg is foreign to Hesiod. Yet an Eros with a similar creative stimulus appears in Hesiod at the beginning of the Theogony. This force in Hesiod is primitive, however, and passive in nature. It is a kind of catalyst force, rather than an active demiurge like Phanes.

The myth that the beginning of the world was from an egg is not limited to the Orphic conception of the creation. It occurs in India, Egypt and other civilizations. The earliest evidence for this conception of the earth's beginning, in Greece, comes from Aristophanes' Birds

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[11]Guthrie, Greeks and Gods, p. 314.

[12]Greeks and Gods, p. 316: "Sixth century religious and philosophic thought (as distinct from popular religion) was dominated by one central problem, the problem of the One and the Many. This appeared in two forms, one referring to the macrocosm, the other to the microcosm", that is, to the relation of the many organisms in the universe to the one primary element, and the relation of man to the divine.

(693 ff.) written in 414 B.C. Also, a Neoplatonist, Damaskios,[13] says that the world-egg was present also in a theogony written by Epimenides[14] of Crete.

Whether either of these two was influenced by the Orphic conception of the world-egg is the question to be considered. Aristophanes may have adapted Hesiod's Theogony to his own uses quite independently of the Orphic tradition. However Orphic writings were in circulation by the later fifth century, and it was likely that he knew of them. Epimenides was a worshipper of the Cretan Zeus, whose worship included mystical rites and was connected closely with Dionysus.[15] This does not mean that Epimenides was an Orphic, except in the broadest sense mentioned by Linforth,[16] that since Orpheus was considered to be the founder of mystery religions and their rites, all such rites and mysteries were in some sense Orphic. Only if he signed Orpheus' name to his writings would Epimenides be an Orphic, as far as Linforth is

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[13]The references for Damaskios occur in E. Abel, Orphica, Leipzig, 1885, p. 173, which was not available. See Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion, p. 93 for the information used.

[14]Epimenides was a somewhat miraculous fellow. Plato (Leg. 1.642d) says that this worshipper of the Cretan Zeus was in Athens ca. 500 B.C. performing religious rites, while Aristotle and others date Epimenides at other times, as early as 600 B.C. Legend makes him extremely old, either 157 or 299 years. He is also supposed to have slept for 57 years, made excursions outside the body, and to have written a theogony, a Cretica and various mystical works, none of which have survived. See O.C.D. 2nd ed., p. 399, which cites H. Dicks, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, 5th ed., Berlin, 1934, i,27-37 for further reference.

[15]See J. E. Harrison Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1908, p. 479, who maintains that this means that it was an Orphic mystery as early as the fifth century.

[16]Arts of Orpheus, pp. 298-300.

concerned. Whether he was influenced by Orphic writings that were present at the time is unknown, because our Orphic sources are late, but his version of the myth apparently differed from the later Orphic versions which may, but not necessarily does, suggest that it had a different source, perhaps Egypt. However, Epimenides is so surrounded by myth and legend, that any attempt to base theories on him is unlikely to be satisfactory.

Taking Linforth's conception of the term 'Orphic' applied to literature as meaning hieratic poetry on the broad topics of myth, religion and ritual, it seems likely that Orphic writings existed in Greece from the sixth century B.C. and possibly earlier, but there is no evidence of their presence as early as Hesiod. The fact that Hesiod does not employ the world-egg myth in connection with his Eros suggest to me that he was not influenced by the Orphics. It would seem rather, if anything, that the Orphics formed their conception of Phanes from Hesiod's Eros, not that Hesiod was influenced by them.

Also, there are two creations in the Orphic theogony. While this is foreign to the thought of Hesiod, the way in which it is brought about is similar to, and perhaps taken from an episode in Hesiod, namely the swallowing of Metis by Zeus. These then are similarities which exist between the cosmogonies of Hesiod and the Orphics. Both Guthrie[17]

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[17] Greeks and Gods, p. 319: "Much of the theogonical material is borrowed from Hesiod...."
Orpheus and Greek Religion, pp. 83-4.
"The same gods appear, but are given new functions and new duties; actual lines and half-lines of Hesiod and Homer are inserted, but put to entirely new uses...."
"The human interest with which the Orphic poem ends is entirely lacking in Hesiod, and his theogony is divorced from ideas of good and evil."
"...the one could never be made the doctrinal basis of a religious life; the other both could be and in fact was."

and West[18] believe that the Hesiodic theogony is the more ancient of the two.

Nilsson[19] upholds the view that the Hekate episode in Hesiod was influenced by Orphism. He also believes the passage to be an interpolation. He regards the universality of Hekate's provinces (καὶ γέρας ἐν γαίῃ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἠδὲ θαλάσσῃ·)[20] as a sign of the author's knowledge of Orphism. However, West contends that, although Hekate may be conceived to have possessed power in the regions of earth, sea and sky, this does not mean that she held universal power in the Orphic sense. In the Orphic conception of Hekate, she had universal power, as did all the gods in the Orphic scheme. The theory was that "each of the Gods is in all, and all are in each, being ineffably united to each other and the highest God, because each being a superessential unity, their conjunction with each other is a union of unities."[21] This is a highly speculative and philosophical conception of universality.

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[18]Hesiod: Theogony, p. 282. "...it is unlikely that 'Orphism' yet existed. Even if it did, the individuality of its modes of thought must not be overrated. As for the Orphic idea of Hecate, although it includes universal power, in other respects nothing more dissimilar to the Hesiodic goddess can easily be imagined."

[19]Geschichte der griechischen Religion, i,722.

[20]Theogony, v. 427.

[21]T. Taylor, The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus, p. xxvii-xxviii.

Hesiod's Hekate had universal power only in a practical sense. That is, her duties of beneficent intermediary extended over the physical regions of the land, the sea and the sky, in which regions she operated with the consent of the other gods who ruled there, and under the auspices of Zeus.

The Orphic conception of Hekate, she is represented, in particular, as a dread and revered figure of the underworld - ψυχαῖς νεκύων μέτα βακχεύουσαν.[22] The Orphic Argonautika describes her as an ἰδεῖν ὀλοὸν τέρας,[23] a three-headed monster with one horse's head, one snake's head and one bitch's head. She carries swords in both hands and rises directly from Hades. That this three-fold conception of Hekate is later than Hesiod's can be safely assumed because the three-fold form of Hekate does not occur before the fifth century,[24] in extant art or literature. A different Orphic conception of Hekate, which more closely resembled Hesiod's goddess, may have existed prior to the time from which our extant sources date, but works describing such a goddess have not survived. Therefore we have only the late, sinister goddess described in the Orphic sources we possess on whom to base our knowledge.

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[22]Orphic Hymn to Hekate, v. 3.

[23]Orphic Argonautika, v. 976. This and the Orphic Hymns date from the late Roman Imperial period.

[24]Kraus, Hekate, p. 62 f.;
Pausanias 2.30, 2: Ἀλκαμένης δέ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἑκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργιδίαν·

Older arguments for the Orphic influence on Hesiod in the Hekate passage can be seen in Heyne and Goettling,[25] who maintain that the use twice of the unusual word, μουνογενής (vv. 426,448) indicates an Orphic source, because the Orphics laid great emphasis on this attribute of the goddess. Yet this word is used in the Works and Days (v. 376) where its meaning is readily understandable, and need not suggest anything other than that an only daughter might be in danger of losing her rights without protection from a brother, in the Hekate passage.[26] It is more likely that the Orphics saw this word in Hesiod and chose to emphasize this particular aspect of Hekate, than the other way around.

Kraus[27] notices resemblances between Hesiod and the Orphic Hymn to Hekate in certain epithets which occur in both, namely οὐράνιος, χθόνιος, Πέρσαιος and κουροτρόφος. But he asserts that these epithets are more likely to have been taken from Hesiod by the Orphics, than the contrary. He sees Hesiod's goddess as more primitive and unadulterated than the Orphic Hekate.

The Orphic Hekate developed in one particular direction especially, as regards her position and attributes (she was, of course, universal at the same time) and this was towards the chthonic underworld. Along the way, she acquired associations, with the crossroads, with the dead, with dogs, which do not occur in Hesiod, but which are too important to have been suppressed, had they been of such importance when Hesiod was describing his goddess.

Hesiod's goddess shows none of the signs of syncretism which

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[25]Paley, The Epics of Hesiod, p. 218.

[26]West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 284.

[27]Hekate, p. 59.

characterize the Orphic deities, caused by their conception of universality and unity. The Orphic Hekate is called Εἰνοδίην, τριοδῖτιν, ἀγαλλομένην ἐλάφοισιν, ταυροπόλον,[28] thereby establishing her connections with the chthonic deity of the crossroads and with Artemis, with whom she is frequently confused or equated after the fifth century. Hesiod in no way connects her with either of these goddesses.

Thus, while the Hekate of Orphic belief is a goddess of universal aspect, in that she is adulterated by syncretism with many other goddesses and incorporates their traits in her character, she reveals aspects of her character which seem to have developed in Hekate during her rise in popularity in Greece in the fifth century and later. Hesiod's goddess, on the other hand, shows none of this syncretism, but resembles more closely the goddess of Asia Minor before she made her way to Greece.[29] She is a separate unit, complete in herself and more primitive in function, whose universality consists simply in the fact that her power is not limited by the physical boundaries of land, sea and sky.

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[28] Orphic Hymn to Hekate, vv. 1,1,4,6.
Kraus, Hekate, p. 60.

[29] Kraus, Hekate, p. 60 f.

CHAPTER II

(viii) CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTER II

The conclusions reached regarding the passage on Hekate in the Theogony of Hesiod seem to indicate that the passage was more likely to have been genuine than interpolated. Modern scholars, like West and Kraus, have amply demonstrated that the language and style of the section do not condemn it; that it can be reasonably well fitted into the plot of the poem without appearing to have been inserted; that there is little reason to suppose that the passage was influenced by Orphism. The exploration of this piece of literature has also revealed that a cult of Hekate most probably did exist in Boeotia at this time, and that Hesiod was probably a worshipper; that the sources Hesiod chose on which to base his Theogony originated in the ancient Near East; and that the connections that Hekate had in later Greece with the moon and the underworld are not evident in this poem, and probably did not as yet exist.

CHAPTER III

THE HEKATE OF THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER

The other piece of literary evidence for Hekate which originates from before the fifth century B.C. in Greece is the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, a poem of uncertain authorship which was probably written by the beginning of the sixth century.[1] It consists of just under five hundred lines and recounts what is generally considered to have been the official version of the legend of Demeter and Persephone, as followed by the cult of Demeter at Eleusis.

Hekate appears in three places in the poem.[2] From these few lines, short though the description of the goddess' character is, it is obvious that this picture of Hekate bears very little resemblance to Hesiod's goddess. The only similarities are that she has been given the same father, here referred to as Περσαίος,[3] that she appears in a

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[1] H. G. Evelyn-White, ed., Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica, London, 1920, introduction p. xxxvi. This is because Iacchus is not mentioned; the cult of Dionysus became influential at Eleusis after this time. Triptolemos and Eumolpos, too, are still minor figures and the digamma is still in use. A. Lesky, History of Greek Literature, p. 86: "If we assign it to the late seventh century we shall not go far wrong." J. Humbert, Homere: Hymnes, Paris, 1967, says p. 39 that "L'Hymne a Demeter remonterait donc aux dernières années de l'autonomie eleusinienne - peu avant 610."

[2] v. 24 f.; v. 51 f.; v. 438 ff.

[3] v. 24, Περσαίου θυγάτηρ.

beneficent role, and that she has not yet revealed any signs of the harmful potential in her character.

Here, however, the similarity ends. Her role becomes quite clearly a subordinate one. No longer does she give the impression of a powerful goddess, responsible only to Zeus, possessing far reaching powers and a certain air of the "great mother" deity image. She is instead, a secondary figure of more limited function, a deity who walks before the great goddess (Demeter) bearing torches to light her path, like a faithful companion who accompanies her mistress on her long journey. This may in part be due to the fact that this Hymn is celebrating Demeter, and therefore must subdue the greatness of the other goddesses involved. Nevertheless, the Hymn links Hekate in a subordinate role with Demeter and Persephone, goddesses of fertility and the underworld, and these connections remained as part of the image of Hekate from that time on.

Hekate also begins, in the Hymn to Demeter, to acquire some of the attributes and associations for which she is later familiar. She is described as going to meet Demeter carrying torches, and bringing her a report of what she has heard concerning the rape of Kore/Persephone:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη οἱ ἐπήλυθε φαινολὶς ἠώς,
> ἤντετο οἱ Ἑκάτη, σέλας ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχουσα·
> καί ῥά οἱ ἀγγελέουσα ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε·
> Πότνια Δημήτερ, ὡρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε
> τίς θεῶν οὐρανίων ἠέ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
> ἥρπασε Περσεφόνην καὶ σὸν φίλον ἤκαχε θυμόν;
> φωνῆς γὰρ ἤκουσ', ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
> ὅστις ἔην· σοὶ δ' ὦκα λέγω νημερτέα πάντα.[4]

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[4] vv. 51-58.

The torch is perhaps the most frequent attribute of Hekate. In art, when she is represented as a single-formed goddess, she generally carries two torches,[5] although this in itself is no sign that the torchbearer must be Hekate. Artemis, Demeter and Persephone are also represented as torchbearers.

As well, the conception of "meeting" is one which is closely connected with this goddess in later times. She becomes the goddess of the crossroads, the one who dwells at the place where three roads meet[6] and as such she was known as ἐνοδίαν θεὸν.[7] She is referred to by Sophocles as ἀνταίας θεοῦ,[8] the goddess who meets. This adjective, ἀνταίος, stems from the same root as ἤντετο (ἀντάω) which appears in v. 51 of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.

Hekate in this guise develops into the much-feared evil spectre which one might meet on the lonely road at night,[9] a demon who wandered

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[5]See especially Mylonas, Eleusis, fig. 67 and p. 192.

[6]Sophocles, fr. 492N:
Ἥλιε δέσποτα καὶ πῦρ ἱερόν
τῆς εἰνοδίας Ἑκάτης ἔγγος
τὸ δι' Οὐλύμπου πωλοῦσα φέρει
καὶ γῆς ναίουσ' ἱερὰς τριόδους
στεφανωσαμένη δρυὶ καὶ πλεκτοῖς
ὠμῶν σπείραισι δρακόντων.

[7]Sophocles, Antigone, vv. 1199-1200:
Καὶ τὸν μέν, αἰτήσαντες ἐνοδίαν θεὸν
Πλούτωνα τ' ὀργὰς εὐμενεῖς κατασχεθειν

[8]Sophocles, fr. 311:
τὸν δὲ ἀνταῖον περιδινέοντα οὐκ ὁρᾶτε
καὶ δεῖμα προσπαίοντα ἀνταίας θεοῦ

[9]Euripides Ion, v. 1048 ff.:
Εἰνοδία θύγατερ Δάματρος, ἃ τῶν
νυκτιπόλων ἐφόδων ἀνάσσεις
καὶ μεθαμερίων ὄδωσον δυσθανάτων
κρατήρων πληρώματ'....

about, in a dreadful aspect, surrounded by a pack of hounds and capable of inflicting madness and nightmares.

Her role as a goddess who meets is witnessed by the representations of her in art in which she is rushing along with torches in her hands,[10] as though she were hurrying to get somewhere or meet someone, perhaps as in the Hymn to Demeter,with some news or message to impart. She is indeed later identified with Ἄγγελος in Syracusan legend[11] as also is Artemis.

In the Hymn to Demeter Hekate's chthonic tendencies begin to become evident as well as her familiar lunar connections. Her role in this poem is centred around the fact that, while she was abiding in her cave, Hekate witnessed the rape of Persephone by hearing her screams for help. This role has led to the question of whether she was meant to be understood as a lunar deity, or as a chthonic one. There are good points for both arguments.[12]

As a lunar deity, Hekate would naturally be within her home resting during the day and thus would hear but not see the rape of Persephone. The fact that only she and Helios knew anything about the rape renders it likely that her position was somewhat similar to that of Helios.

Whether a cave was generally regarded as the resting place of the moon is an unanswered question, as far as I can determine. The

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[10]Farnell, Cults II, p. 551, fig. xxxix,a, from Conze, Reise auf den Inseln d. thrakischen Meeres, Taf. 10.4.

[11]Farnell, Cults II, p. 517.

[12]Farnell and Kraus see her as chthonic in the Hymn to Demeter, while others such as Allen, Sikes and Halliday in The Homeric Hymns, p. 134, assert that she was meant to be seen as a moon goddess.

theory which the Greeks held concerning the way in which the Sun spent his nights is an interesting one.[13] Concerned as to how the Sun managed to set in the west and rise the next morning in the east, they determined that he rested all night in a large cup, while floating in the stream of Ocean from west to east. Nothing much is offered, however, as an explanation of the Moon's abode or activities during the daytime hours. This is perhaps because there was never much of a moon (or sun, for that matter) cult in Greece[14] and references to the moon as a deity are incidental and few in number.

However, the fact that her abode was a cave suggests that Hekate was acquiring chthonic attachments here. Torches might well indicate a lunar deity, but they are even more likely to be the attributes of a goddess who inhabits the underworld and needs them to light her path. In the Hymn to Demeter, Hekate is linked with Persephone at the end, by becoming her companion and minister:[15]

τῆσιν δ'ἐγγύθεν ἦλθ''Εκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος·
πολλὰ δ'ἄρ' ἀμφαγάπησε κόρην Δημήτερος ἁγνήν·
ἐκ τοῦ οἱ πρόπολος καὶ ὀπάων ἔπλετ' ἄνασσα.[16]

Persephone, in the course of the Hymn to Demeter has become the queen

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[13]Athenaeus, 469 c, ff.

[14]See W. S. Fox, ed., Mythology of all Races, vol. I, Boston, 1916, p. 241, p. 244.

[15]vv. 438-440.

[16]The use of the noun ἄνασσα as an epithet for Hekate in v. 440 may possibly be a reminder of her earlier role as a "great goddess", if the noun is used in its first meaning as the feminine of ἄναξ = "queen". However, it might just as well mean "lady", as Homer used it.

of the underworld, the realm of the dead. Her close companion would most probably be a chthonic deity, linked also in some way with death.

At the same time, it is still possible to see the lunar Hekate in association with Demeter and Persephone in their capacities as goddesses of vegetation, since the moon was considered to have great influence over the growth of crops and fertility in general.

Thus both of these elements, the chthonic and the lunar, have legitimate claims to the character of Hekate in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. It does not appear necessary to choose between either the chthonic or the lunar aspect, although some scholars feel a compulsion to do this,[17] because in the later Hekate these two aspects always rest side by side, combining to form the more complex character of the goddess. Therefore, instead of choosing one of these elements as that through which the author of the Hymn to Demeter wished to portray the goddess, I submit that she is seen here for the first time in extant literature emerging as the chthonic lunar deity whose connections with the underworld and death, as well as with the eery aspects of the moon, later marred her reputation by associating her with magic and nocturnal evil-doings.

These references in the Hymn to Demeter have, like the passage in Hesiod, been subject to the suspicion of being propaganda for the new cult of Hekate in Greece.[18] There are various reasons for this belief.

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[17]See note 12.

[18]Nilsson particularly strongly considers these Hymn to Demeter and Theogony passages as additions to the body of the myths, designed to give a new goddess propaganda and, although he does not accuse the passages in the Hymn to Demeter of actually being interpolated, he does say that they are forced into the story by the author: "Die Rolle Hekates wird hier stark hervorgehoben, ist aber sozusagen an den Haaren herbeigezogen." Geschichte, p. 723.

As in the Theogony, the sections on Hekate can be removed from the text without a detectable sign of their absence. Hekate herself performs no particular activity which adds to the story. She merely accompanies Demeter on the search. Even here she seems to fade out of the story after Helios divulges the name of Persephone's abductor, to reappear only when Persephone joins her mother on the earth's surface. The other goddesses address no words to her, although she speaks to Demeter and embraces Persephone on her return.[19] Also, the fact that Hekate does not seem to give the report that she brings καί ῥά οἱ ἀγγελέουσα ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε·,[20] has been a cause for objections.

T. W. Allen,[21] while admitting that Hekate's role in the Hymn to Demeter is useless, thinks that the sections on her are a genuine part of the poem, but are strained because the poet was forced to include them, due to her official part in the myth, which was consecrated by the Eleusinian Mysteries.[22]

Allen's description of Hekate draws her even farther away from Hesiod's goddess. She loses all her dignity when he pictures her as "an officious, well-meaning nurse-like person, inefficacious, but eager

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[19] v. 51 ff.; v. 438 ff.

[20] v. 53.

[21] T. W. Allen. "The Text of the Homeric Hymns III" JHS, 1897, p. 45 ff.

[22] Farnell, Cults III, p. 135, seems to suggest that the inclusion of Hekate, although unnecessary, is genuine, but due to the poet's knowledge of her in the Theogony. This must imply that, although not an interpolation like the Hesiodic passage in his estimation, it was nevertheless inserted simply as propaganda.

to offer assistance."[23] As such, she gushes forth her report (that she heard Persephone's cry) in an attempt to find out more precise information from Demeter, thus reducing its effect as an important piece of news.

Allen also believes that it would be unlikely that a sombre and dignified goddess such as Demeter would be put in a position where she must rely on such a lesser figure for advice. He supposes that after searching in vain for eight days, Demeter has one hope left - to visit Helios who sees all - and that while she is on her way there she is accosted by the enthusiastic Hekate, who then continues along with her on the remainder of the journey.

This description accounts for the objections raised against the necessity of including Hekate in the Hymn to Demeter. The conception of Hekate as a crone also occurs in the triad of Demeter with Persephone as maiden and Hekate as crone in the cult of Demeter at Lerna, as noted by Graves.[24] This is, however, a conception of Hekate which occurs only rarely, as the Hekate of classical and post-classical times was not considered to have been either old or inefficacious. Whether, in fact, Hekate was meant to resemble a crone here is certainly debatable, since the representations of her in art in connection with this myth do not depict her as such. Nevertheless, if we are to believe Allen, her character in the Hymn to Demeter is definitely crone-like.

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[23]T. W. Allen, "Text III", p. 53.

[24]Robert Graves, Greek Myths, 117.1.

Whether indeed the references to Hekate were or were not added to the original content of the myth in the Hymn to Demeter, the figure of the goddess which emerges from this piece of literature is very different from Hesiod's goddess. She has become recognizable as a chthonic deity possessing lunar attractions and a suggestion of her later position as a goddess of the dead and of those evil elements which hover about the realm of the dead.

Her position as the companion and minister to Persephone and perhaps also as a companion to Demeter, as Allen sees her, indicates that the function of κουροτρόφος which Hesiod allots to her - θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον[25] - is reflected in the Hymn to Demeter.

The interval between the writing of the Hesiodic passage and the sections in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter must have seen significant changes in the character of Hekate as she became more adapted to the needs of her Greek worshippers. The Hesiodic passage must have been composed fairly soon after the goddess entered Greece, at a time when she still resembled closely the Asian Hekate, a "great goddess" with wide-ranging powers and a concern with fertility and the raising of children.[26]

In Greece, her role became less universal and she lost her capacity as a "great goddess" figure, as there already existed such a figure in Demeter. Because Greece possessed an abundance of chthonic and fertility divinities, Hekate's role in this area became specialized. She developed into a goddess of the dead, of ghosts, and she began also

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[25]Hesiod, Theogony, v. 450.

[26]M. P. Nilsson, "Review of T. Kraus' Hekate", AJA, vol. 65, p. 78, does not consider that the evidence is strong enough to support the supposition that Hekate was a "great goddess" figure in Asia Minor.

to acquire connections with the moon.[27] These probably arose during the period when the Hymn to Demeter was written, since there is no allusion to this aspect of Hekate earlier than this piece of writing. As a result, she developed an eery aspect which was augmented by tales of her night-wanderings in the company of her dead subjects, and which led to her ultimate role as the goddess of black magic and its attendant evils.

Kraus[28] warns against overemphasizing the developments which occurred during the period between the Theogony and the Hymn to Demeter, because he considers that there is not enough evidence to back up any theory of a path of progress for Hekate that one might attempt to work out.

I do not think that it is overemphasizing to suggest that a development does occur here, for upon examining the poems one can see a possible line of change that takes place from one poem to the other. For, while the goddess still has the same parent, Perses, in the Hymn to Demeter, and still performs a beneficent role with the hint of the evil tendencies she later acquired, her role changes from that of a "great goddess" (of which a trace may still be seen in the application to her of the epithet ἄνασσα (v. 440)) to a more subordinate position, which links her, at the end of the poem, specifically with Persephone,

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[27]Contrary to the condition of chthonic deities in Greece, the moon had a particularly weak representation in the figure of Selene, which Hekate, in superseding her, strengthened.

[28]T. Kraus, Hekate, p. 64. He approvingly cites H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, 6th ed., London, 1958, p. 121, who says that it is possible to conclude that the earlier and later descriptions of Hekate are in fact those of two separate divinities, the older Asian type "great goddess" figure of Hekate, and a newer goddess adapted to Hellenic needs, a chthonic deity with lunar attachments.

the newly-made queen of the underworld. This indicates a connection for Hekate with the chthonic world and the dead. Also, her lunar associations make their appearance here, in the similarity of her part, in the beginning of the poem, with that of Helios. In addition, the conception of Hekate as a goddess who meets is first encountered here.

Thus, while still retaining a few of the characteristics of her former greater role, she is beginning to find her own place in the Greek pantheon, and she is innocently acquiring new associations which later will change her into the sinister figure she became.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

From the evidence that has been collected it appears that until the fifth century Hekate was a benevolent goddess in Greece as well as in Asia Minor, where she remained so for a longer time. It was after this period that she became associated with the dead and the night, the forces of evil and witchcraft. And yet there does appear to be a development toward this from the Hekate of the Theogony to the goddess of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.

Hekate probably came to Greece from Asia Minor, untainted by sinister characteristics, some time before the Theogony was composed, whether before or after the Trojan War being unknown. Her character in the Theogony, while not quite that of a "great goddess", nevertheless is closer to that role than ever again in Greece, where she is generally subordinated to another deity. This seems to indicate a rather recent arrival from Asia Minor (if not recent, then that she had not developed much yet in Greece).

In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, more than a century later, Hekate is a different individual, far less impressive and far more subordinate. She has begun to reveal attractions toward the moon and the underworld, carrying torches and living in a cave. Her character is more defined. One can visualize her far more clearly, and in so doing, can limit her more easily.

From that time on she is identified by her role as a chthonic moon goddess, inhabiting the dark roads, especially the crossroads, at night, accompanied by her hounds or her ghostly followers.

The change was beginning before the fifth century. The fact that she spread so far from her native land may in some way have contributed to it, for she was worshipped among many different peoples and in many different aspects. Her associations with other deities may also have helped to cause this change in her, as, for instance, her identification with Artemis doubtless contributed to her attraction to the moon. However, I think it may be said with some certainty that before the fifth century in Greece Hekate was a benevolent goddess as far as the evidence reveals her.

APPENDIX A

The inscriptional evidence used in this chapter is collected here with the approximate dates of the inscriptions, where possible. Other inscriptions consulted in preparation for this discussion can be found in Farnell, Cults II, pp. 596-602.

Pausanias 1.43.1: οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν Καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμῃ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἑκάτην εἶναι.
(if composed by Hesiod, from the eighth century B.C.)

Herodotus IV,103: Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τούς τε ναυηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· .... τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι.
(fifth century B.C.)

schol. Lycophron (first century B.C.) 1180:
Φεραίαν· Ἑκάτη ἑτέρα· Φεραίας, τῆς Αἰόλου θυγατρός καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τεχθεῖσα, ἐν τριόδοις ἐρρίφη, βουκόλοι δὲ Φέρητος εὑράμενοι αὐτὴν ἀνέθρεψαν, ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις αὐτῇ τὰς θυσίας ἐποίουν.

Pausanias II.30.2:
θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἑκάτης, Ὀρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾷκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες.
(ca.150 A.D.)

Et. Mag. 214.16, s.v. Βριτόμαρτις.
Καὶ Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τελετῶν φησὶ χρησμὸν Διὶ δοθῆναι ὅτι ἐκ τῆς μήτρας τῆς Ἑκάτης γεννώμενος, μεταστήσει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτόν. Γεννηθείσης δὲ τῆς Ἑκάτης, τὰς συμπαρούσας κόρας τῇ λεχοῖ ἀναβοῆσαι, Βρίτον, τουτέστιν ἀγαθόν. Παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐπίφθεγμα ὠνομάσθαι τὴν θεόν.

schol. Aristophanes, Peace (421 B.C.), v. 277:
ἐν τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἦν μυστήρια καὶ (τὰ) τῆς Ἑκάτης·

Eustathius, Hom. Od., p. 1714.41:
Καλλίμαχος οὖν ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐπιξενωθῆναί φησιν Ἐφέσῳ υἱῷ Καΰστρου, ἐκβαλλομένην δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μεταβαλεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς κύνα, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐλεήσασαν ἀποκαταστῆσαι εἰς ἄνθρωπον· καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν αἰσχυνθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι ἀπάγξασθαι, τὴν δὲ θεὸν περιθεῖσαν αὐτῇ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον Ἑκάτην ὀνομάσαι.
(third century B.C.)

C.I.G. 2715:
τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν Διὸς τοῦ Πανημερίου καὶ Ἑκάτης.
(? first century A.D.)

C.I.G. 2720:
ἱερέα τοῦ παν[αμαρίου Διὸς] καὶ Ἑκάτης τῆς δαδοφόρου.

E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia", J.H.S., 1890, pp. 236-254. See p. 252:
εἴτε Σεληναίην, εἴτ' Ἄρτεμιν, εἴτε σέ, δαῖμον Πυρφόρον, ἐν τριόδῳ
Γῆν σεβόμεσθ' Ἑκάτην.
(second century A.D.)

I.G., ins. 1, no. 914:
Εὐξάμενος ἱερᾷ Σωτείρᾳ τόνδε ἀν[έθηκα] τὸμ πίνακα Εὐ[ή]κῳ φωσφόρῳ Ἐννοδ[ία].
(not later than the third century B.C.)

Pliny, N.H., 36.32:
Menestrati Ephesi Hekate in templo Dianae post aedem.
(first century A.D.)

C.I.G. 2796:
Ἑκάτη πρόπολις.
(third century B.C.)

Berlin Antiquarium T.C. 7729:
ΑΙΓΟΝ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΘΕΚΑΤΕΙ.
(sixth century B.C.)

I.G. ins. 1., no. 958:
Διός Ἑκάτη[ς].
(Hellenistic)

Milet III 153 A66.41:
.....
Εὐθρας.....
..Λεωδαμας
Ὀνάξο· πρυτ[α]
νεύοντες ἀ-
νέθεσαν τὴ
κάτηι
(sixth century B.C.)

Bull. de Corr. Hell. 1880, p. 337:
Πριάπιον καὶ Ἑκατέου αὐλή.
(second or third century A.D.)

APPENDIX B

A summary of the various succession myths referred to, and a discussion of the coinciding incidents, would seem to be advantageous here in order to point to a possible way in which the Hesiodic conception of Hekate could have travelled from Asia Minor to Greece in Mycenaean times, as did the Near Eastern versions of the myth of the creation of the world. Therefore, I shall begin with a table in which I shall describe the bloodlines of the ruling deities of the four mythologies we are considering. Thus:

GREEK	BABYLONIAN	HITTITE	PHOENICIAN
.....	Apsu & Tiamat	Alalu	Eliun (Hypsistos)
.....	Lahma & Lahamu[1]	.....	.....
.....	Anshar & Kishar[1]	.....	.....
Ouranos	Anu	Anu	Epigeios & Ge
Kronos	Ea [Enlil][2]	Kumarbi	El
Zeus	Marduk	Teŝub	Baal [Demarus][2]

Ouranos may be equated with the gods Anu, Anu, and Epigeios; Kronos with Ea, Kumarbi and El.[3] Zeus, Marduk and the Hittite weather

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[1]These two pairs of deities appear between Apsu and Anu but are hardly more than names in the succession myth. Succession passes from Apsu to Ea in this legend.

[2]Square brackets indicate a separate deity who may also be equated with the Greek counterpart.

[3]Anu, Anu and Epigeios (called Ouranos by Philo) are all sky gods. Ea's role parallels Kronos' in several events of the Enuma Eliŝ and in Philo of Byblos (see p. 4) equates El with Kronos. There is also a Hurrian text at Ras Shamra (H. G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths", American Journal of Archaeology, vol. LII, 1948, p. 133) that contains the double name El-Kumarbi, thus connecting all four gods.

god (Tešub) are parallel, but the Phoenician Demarus is questionable. West refers to him as Zeus-Demarus[4] but he is not the king of the gods, nor is he the son of El-Kronos. H. G. Güterbock[5] suggests that Baal succeeds El and corresponds to the Greek Zeus.[6]

The story of the castration of Ouranos by Kronos has a direct parallel in the Hittite and Phoenician myths; and in the Babylonian story an event takes place that serves the same purpose of depriving the ruling divinity of his strength. Ea strips Apsu, the primal father and king of the gods (but not Ea's father), of his royal insignia, kills him, and succeeds to the position of ruler of the gods.

Tiamat and Gaia, the two primal mothers, show not only certain similarities but also some very dissimilar characteristics. Both the Babylonian Tiamat and the Greek Gaia bore children whom they retained within themselves. Their spouses hated and plotted against the children, but were unsuccessful, due to the intervention of the bravest son in each case - Ea, the wise god and Kronos, the cunning god.

However, although Tiamat may be compared to Gaia in this early part of the myth, her role diverges from Gaia's later on. She becomes

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[4]Hesiod: Theogony, pp. 25-6.

[5]See "Hittite Version", pp. 123-34.

[6]"In the Semitic poems of Ras Shamra, El is the old ruler, while Baal is allowed to build a palace of his own and therefore may be considered as El's successor. Baal, then, would correspond to Tesub and Zeus." Güterbock, "Hittite Version", p. 133.

the force, parallel to the Titans in the Theogony, against which Marduk must fight in order to win the sovereignty over the gods. Marduk kills her and subdues her followers, and from her carcass he creates heaven and earth.

Gaia, on the other hand, is represented as a wise and good power who is always on the side of those who rebel against tyranny. However, the only one minor inconsistency in this picture, the fact that she is the mother of the not-so-minor monster Typhoeus, West sees as a result of this ancient link with the Babylonian myth and the part played by Tiamat in the Enuma Eliš.[7]

Güterbock points out the similarity between the Typhoeus episode and the Hittite Song of Ullikummi. In the Hittite myth Kumarbi, the ex-ruler of the gods, attempts to regain power from the weather god, called Tešub in the Hurrian tongue, by sending against him a huge stone monster called Ullikummi.

At the same time, one can compare the fact that the weather god at first could not overcome the monster and was forced to resort to seeking the help of Ea, who lived underground, to the episode in the Titanomachy where Zeus must obtain the aid of the Hekatoncheiroi before he can subdue the Titans. However, Güterbock suggests that a battle similar to the Titanomachy must have taken place when the weather god was depriving Kumarbi of his position as king of the gods, and that such a battle is even hinted at in references which occur in the Song of Ullikummi to the "former gods" who live in a remote place.[8]

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[7] Hesiod: Theogony, p. 24.

[8] Güterbock, "Hittite Version", p. 131 f.

Thus an event from one episode in the myth has probably been transported to another, as frequently happens when a story is preserved for a long period of time by means of an oral tradition.

The oriental sources are themselves interlinked, as can be observed from the presence of various Sumerian and Akkadian deities in Hittite mythology, for example, Alalu, Anu, Ea and Enlil.[9] Enlil is often, but not always, equated with Kumarbi, although he is distinct from Ea. Both Ea and Enlil appear in the Hittite Song of Ullikummi, yet Enlil is not mentioned in the Enuma Eliš, even though he was the Sumerian king of the gods in the third millenium B.C. and only lost his position in the early second millenium with the advent of the first Semitic dynasty, when Marduk, the local Babylonian deity, was elevated to the highest place among the gods.[10] Enlil was one of a trio of gods - Anu, Enlil and Ea - whom Marduk placed in charge of parts of the new world he had created after defeating Tiamat - the sky, the earth and the sea. Thus these gods can be compared to the three Greek gods of the elements - Zeus, Hades and Poseidon. However, there are several differences. Marduk remains outside and above this trio, whereas Zeus is the sky ruler. Hades' realm is the underworld, whereas Enlil's is the earth's surface.

The Phoenician myths which come to us through the writings of Philo of Byblos (A.D. 64-140) are also linked to the other sources.

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[9]Güterbock, "Hittite Version", p. 132, note 52 says: "One has to distinguish between Sumerian and Akkadian names used as ideograms for Hurrian or Hittite gods... and real Babylonian names. The fact that the names mentioned above are spelled out and in Hittite: A-la-lu-us, A-nu-us, El-li-il-lu-us, A-a-as, shows that they are of the second type."

[10]Güterbock, "Hittite Version", p. 132.

Philo's ancient source was reputed to belong to the era of the Trojan War,[11] at which time the Phoenicians not only had a written mythology, but also had access to the legends of the Hurrians, as can be seen from the fact that Hurrian texts of this period were discovered at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), and from strong similarities in the two mythologies:

> There are four generations.... There is no primeval mother to match Tiamat and Gaia. The first king is a nonentity; the memorable deeds which characterize the story are all done by his successors. There is no provocation of the old king by tumultous children. The fourth king is the son of the second, not of the third, who merely acts as a foster-parent.[12]

Thus the Babylonian legend is the oldest and most original creation myth (dating from the third millenium B.C.); the Hittite/Hurrian myth shows links with it, and again there is evidence that the Hurrian literature was known by the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians, being a vast trading nation, had links throughout the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, including Crete and Mycenaean Greece, until the time of the Trojan War. Thus a pathway for the transmission of these mythologies exists between the Near East and Greece prior to the Trojan War.

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[11]Philo's stated source was a man called Sanchuniathon, who, according to Philo, lived before the Trojan War and wrote down the contents of the sacred writings of Taautos.

[12]West, Hesiod: Theogony, p. 27.

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