

HECATE: GREEK OR "ANATOLIAN"?

BY

WILLIAM BERG

Woodside, California, U.S.A.

With the decipherment of Linear B came the surprising discovery that the nomenclature of many important deities of classical Greece could be traced back into the Bronze Age. The appearance of Dionysus' name, for example, on tablets from Pylos helps to confirm Guthrie's suggestion that belief in a late "intrusion" of Dionysiac ritual "was probably inherent in the ritual and comes into the myths primarily from that source and only secondarily, if at all, from the fact of historical opposition to his cult in Greece"¹). New evidence and the progress of research undoubtedly hold new surprises in store²). This paper proposes that another deity of supposed non-Greek origins, the goddess Hecate, may actually have as much right to an Hellenic pedigree as the other Olympians.

The weight of scholarly opinion now favors an "Anatolian" (Carian) origin for the cult of Hecate. The argument is based on two observations:

- 1) Personal names formed from *hekat-*, like that of Hekataios the geographer or that of Hekatomnus, who gave his name to the dynasty of Maussolus, occur primarily in Caria during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.³).
- 2) There is a temple of Hecate at Lagina in Caria where the goddess was worshipped as *sōteira*, *megistē*, and *epiphanestatē*; her exalted rank and function here are unmatched in cults of Hecate else-

¹) Pylos Xa 102 and Xb 1419. W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (Boston 1950) 172.

²) The most recent comprehensive survey of Mycenaean religion in the light of the tablets: M. Gérard-Rousseau, "Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes", *Incunabula graeca* 29 (Rome 1968).

³) E. Sittig, *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (Diss. Halle 20, 1912) 60-67; A. Laumonier, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris 1958) 422; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) 159.

where. Her cult statue, represented on coins of Stratoniceia and on the north frieze of her temple in Lagina, was not trimorphic but exhibited the "original" form of the goddess as a single body⁴).

Since children are not called after spooks, it is safe to assume that Carian theophoric names involving *hekat-* refer to a major deity free from the dark and unsavory ties to the underworld and to witchcraft held by the Hecate of classical Athens. It is argued that her Carian cult was introduced to the Greek mainland from Asia Minor in the archaic period; contamination with witches and demons (e.g. in Thessaly) eroded and infernalized her Olympian stature, transforming her finally into the Hecate we know from later traditions, the recipient of table scraps and canine blood. She is thought to appear, however, in her original "Carian" form in the earliest literary monument to her cult, the long passage in the *Theogony* (411-52) which is presumed to be the work of one of her proselytes from Asia Minor, perhaps of Hesiod himself⁵). Her praises in the *Theogony* exceed those of other Titans whom Zeus favored: she has a portion of land, sea, and sky, and mediates propitiation of gods and blessings conferred upon men⁶).

So runs the argument of Kraus and others who support the notion of a non-Greek, Anatolian origin for Hecate. I hope to show here through a re-examination of the Carian evidence that the argument is not convincing, and will conclude by presenting possible evidence for the existence of her cult in Mycenaean Greece.

Like the Hesiodic Hecate, the goddess of Lagina was benevolent, mighty, and honored above all Titans by Zeus. The west frieze of her temple depicts the Titanomachy, the decisive triumph of Zeus over

⁴) Epigraphical and archaeological evidence collected in Theodor Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg 1960) 41-54. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1931) 1.169-72; Laumonier (above note) 406-25; M. Nilsson, *GGR* 12 722-25.

⁵) Kraus (above note) 57-94. On Hecate's infernal aspects, cf. e.g. Theocritus 2.12 scholia; Aristophanes fr. 204 Kock (*FCG* 1.443), *Plutus* 594 & scholia, *Pax* 276 scholia; Lycophron, *Alexandra* 77.

⁶) For the present state of the controversy on the authenticity of *Theogony* 411-52, with bibliography, cf. M. L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 276-80 and most recently J. Bollack, "Mythische Deutung und Deutung des Mythos" in M. Fuhrmann (ed.), *Terror und Spiel: Probleme der Mythenrezeption* (Munich 1971) 111-18.

darkness and brutality; Hecate stands in a prominent position, a Titan striving together with younger gods for the new order, though her participation here is not as active as it is on the famous altar at Pergamum⁷). The birth of Zeus is shown on the east frieze, where Hecate appears handing over the stone to Kronos. As in *Theogony* 450-52, she is here the *kourotrophos par excellence*, and the *kouros* is Zeus himself⁸). Inscriptions, too, from the temple precinct — almost all of Roman imperial date — attest to the fact that the goddess was indeed great — so great, in fact, that the priesthood of Zeus himself was a prerequisite for the priesthood of Hecate at Lagina⁹). Games were held quinquennially in her honor¹⁰). As on Aegina and Samothrace, mysteries of Hecate were conducted, about which nothing is known¹¹).

It is not only the exalted grandeur of Hecate at Lagina that seems strange for a goddess whose character elsewhere, in the last two prechristian centuries at any rate, was far more Stygian than Olympian. Her *form* at Lagina is equally surprising. Seldom in this period is she represented without the three bodies which had been hers since the sculptor Alcamenes created his Hecate *epipyrgidia* for the Athenian acropolis¹²). Though she had appeared as a single body in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and though a monomorphic Hecate coexisted

7) A. Schober, *Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina* (Istanbuler Forschungen 2, Vienna 1933) 70ff. and pl. 21.

8) Ibid. pl. 2; Kraus (above, note 4) 46f.

9) Laumonier (above, note 3) 367; Kraus (above, note 4) 43.

10) Dittenberger, *OGIS* 441.133f.; Kraus (above, note 4) 43.

11) Ibid. 51.

12) Pausanias 2.30.2. Eusebius, *Praep. evang.* 3.11.32, suggested that the triple form represented Hecate's dominion over earth, sea, and sky; Servius *ad Aen.* 4.511 believed that the bodies were those of Diana, Luna, and Proserpina; Cornutus (p. 208 Osann) claimed that they represented three phases of the moon. Modern scholars seek the answer in her function as guardian of the crossing of three ways; Kraus (above, note 4) 107-12 suggests that the original *Hekataia* were three apotropaic Gorgon-like masks hung from a pillar, and that Alcamenes humanized and idealized this configuration. He points out that Cerberus, Geryoneus, and the triple herm also have underworld ties and a triple aspect. C. Christou, *Potnia Theron* (Thessalonica 1968) 36-41, taking a different approach, suggests that trimorphosis goes back to an early Greek problem in representing all the attributes of a goddess on one body, together with the notion that an idol's power is tripled when the idol is trimorphic. Only in a later period, then, are distinctions made among Moirai, Horai, Charites, Eumenides, or the three goddesses who require the "judgment" of Paris.

with the triple form for a time in the fourth century, very few single-bodied goddesses can convincingly be identified with Hecate thereafter¹³).

Can the unusual appearance of Hecate at Lagina be attributed to the steadfastness of a Carian tradition which preserved the goddess' original form despite the universal popularity of her triple image? The theory breaks down with the word "Carian", for in Caria Hecate seems to have been worshipped in her familiar *triple* form. Stratoniceia, in whose outskirts the sacred precinct of Lagina was situated, is an exception to the rule. From the first century B.C. onward, to be sure, the Stratoniceians struck coins commemorating the monomorphic Laginetan goddess. The cult statue depicted on the coinage, with a torch in the left hand and a *phiale* in the right, is close even in detail of posture and drapery to the figure of Hecate as she appears on the

13) A monomorphic Hecate is identified by inscription on an archaic seated figurine from Attica (*Arch. Zeitung* 40, 1882, 265, = *IG* 1² 836) and on three Attic red-figure vases: Beazley, *ARV* 1191/3 London (sending of Triptolemus), *ARV* 1012/1 New York (return of Persephone), *ARV* 1038/1 Ferrara (marriage procession of Peleus and Thetis). The trimorphic *Hekataia* from the British School in Athens and from the Athenian Agora which Kraus assigns to the late fifth and early fourth centuries (above, note 4, 97-101 and 119-28) are now dated to the Roman imperial period: cf. Evelyn B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (*The Athenian Agora* 11, Princeton 1965) 86-107, who puts the earliest extant *Hekataion*, the triple statue in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, in the third century B.C., though admitting that the *Hekataion* in the British School probably reflects the Alcamenian archetype. There are few if any identifiable representations of Hecate in the fourth century B.C.: cf. Kraus 163f., esp. note 676. As for the later periods, Louis Robert in *Hellenica* 10, pp. 113-17, warns against calling a goddess Hecate simply because a torch or a dog appears among her attributes; the goddess of Pherae, Ennodia, is one of the more prominent victims of this confusion (*Hellenica* 12, pp. 588ff.). To his list of goddesses falsely identified as Hecate, and to those listed in Kraus p. 30 and H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* (Giessen 1924) 90f., I would add the following:

- a) *BMC Mysia* 106 # 106 (Parium): "Diana Lucifera". This coin depicts Kore Soteira, goddess of Cyzicus, and reproduces the statue of Kore (wrongly called "Demeter" in the Catalogue) which appears on the Cyzicene coins *BMC Mysia* 49 # 225 and # 228.
- b) E. Babelon (ed.), *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington* (Paris 1807) # 6292, pl. 17 # 14 (Laodiceia in Phrygia): "Hecate". This must be Artemis *phosphoros*. Note triple Hecate on coin from Laodiceia to right.
- c) *BMC Lydia* 28 # 20, pl. 4 # 3 (Attaleia): "Hecate". This is Artemis; Hecate never wears a short chiton. Louis Robert, *Hellenica* 10 p. 115, notes that there is no archaeological or epigraphical evidence for the cult of Hecate in Lydia.

north frieze of her temple (figs. 1 and 2)¹⁴). But the only coin of a Carian city outside Stratoniceia which can be said with certainty to represent the Laginetan goddess is a Trajanic issue of Euhippe (a town of unknown location) which shows Hecate as she is seen on Stratoniceian coinage (fig. 3)¹⁵). Mastauran coins may also bear her Laginetan form, though it seems odd that the tall headdress (*polos* or *kalathos*), ordinarily a key to the identification of Hecate, is omitted (fig. 4)¹⁶). Furthermore, other coins of Mastaura show the usual trimorphic Hecate; it seems unlikely that she would be worshiped under both single and triple forms in one and the same city (fig. 5)¹⁷). Elsewhere in Caria, the cities of Antiocheia and Tralles struck coins bearing the image of the *triple* Hecate exclusively¹⁸). It is likely, then, that Hecate's "original", "Carian" form was housed only in her temple at Lagina.

Among the extensive ruins and epigraphical material found at Lagina, only one object, the altar of Mēnophilos (see below), can be said with certainty to antedate the first century B.C. What remains is not so much a monument to a great Anatolian goddess as it is a monument to Roman imperial policy in Asia. Whether or not the temple was erected before the Mithridatic wars¹⁹), the theme it proclaims is the eternal friendship and loyalty of an Asian city, Stratoniceia, to

14) Schober (above, note 7) 72. Fig. 2 from American Numismatic Society Collection (Caracalla & Geta).

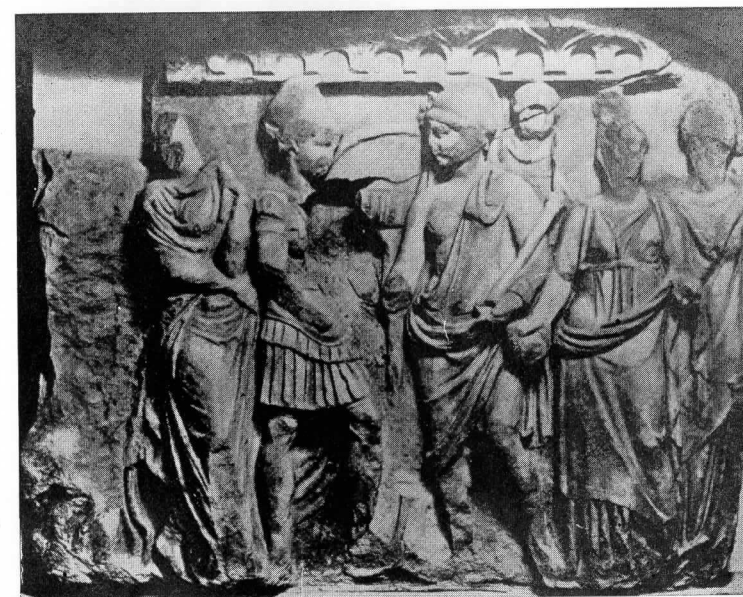
15) F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna 1901-02) 127 # 1, pl. 5 # 21.

16) Ibid., 522 # 1, pl. 20 # 9. I follow L. Robert (*Hellenica* 10 p. 115 n. 4) in placing Mastaura and Tralles in Caria rather than in Lydia. For the importance of the *polos* among several Anatolian deities, cf. V. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* (Diss. Berlin 1915) 62.

17) *BMC* Lydia 159 # 18, pl. 17 # 6.

18) *BMC* Caria 22 # 49, pl. 4 # 6; *BMC* Lydia 355 # 171, pl. 37 # 9.

19) J. Chamondard in *BCH* 19 (1895) 260-62 and L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 427 n. 2, suggest that the temple was erected soon after Sulla's conquest of Mithridates in the first century B.C. to commemorate the loyalty of Stratoniceia to Rome. The erection of the temple is not mentioned, however, on the extant portions of Sulla's letter or the *Senatus consultum* of 81 B.C. inscribed on the temple wall (*OGIS* 441). Laumonier (above, note 3) 351-58 argues, as do Schober and Kraus, for a date late in the second century B.C., after Caria had been united to the kingdom of Pergamum under Roman authority; the temple would exemplify the religious renewal and neoclassicism spreading through the Greek East during this period. Whatever the date of the temple, its Roman orientation is an outstanding characteristic.





"the Roman masters" (*kyrioi Romaioi*), to quote from an inscription on the temple itself ²⁰). The Titanomachy of the west frieze and the triumph of the young Zeus may be subtle allusions to the mission of Rome in the Greek East during the last two prechristian centuries. The north frieze is more direct: there Hecate presides over the gesture of alliance between a warrior and an Amazon, figures symbolizing Rome and Asia respectively ²¹). In view of inscribed references to the many interventions of the goddess on behalf of her people, her precinct, and the "Roman masters" during incidents which are variously thought to include the revolt of Aristonicus, the Mithridatic wars, the invasion of Labienus, and Parthian incursions, it is tempting to suppose that Hecate has her epithet *epiphanestatē* for reasons more political than religious. The Roman Senate, Julius Caesar, and Augustus had more than one occasion to acknowledge and reward, through the granting and confirming of *asylia* and similar benefits, the loyalty of this citizenry and their Leginetan goddess. One inscription testifies, in fact, to her association in cult as *soteira epiphanēs* with the goddess Roma herself ²²). One wonders whether the Leginetan Hecate would have achieved any notoriety at all if it had not been for the political and military events of the first century B.C. If she was a "great" goddess, it was Rome that made her so.

Yet there had been some form of religious activity in Lagina before the first century B.C. Tentative exploration of a nearby necropolis has yielded potsherds dating as far back as the geometric period ²³), and an inscribed altar from the second prechristian century attests to the worship of Hecate during the period of Rhodian dominion ²⁴). The altar was dedicated by one Mēnophilos, a priest of Hecate who had been "restored by the Council to the priesthood of Helios and Rhodos". It would seem, then, that Hecate's later association with the goddess Roma had had a parallel, or perhaps even a paradeigm, in her

²⁰) L. Robert (above note) 517-20.

²¹) Fig. 1 (= Schober pl. 11); cf. Robert (above, note 19), Kraus (above, note 4) 46, Laumonier (above, note 3) 351.

²²) *OGIS* 441.133f. Tacitus, *Annales* 3.62. Robert (above, note 19) 516-23. R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969) 105-11 (with bibliography on *OGIS* 441). Laumonier (above, note 3) 359-61.

²³) Y. Boysal in *Anadolu* 12 (1968) 81-93.

²⁴) Foucart in *BCH* 14 (1890) 365 # 4. Cf. Laumonier (above, note 3) 358f.

association in cult with the deities who personified Rhodes²⁵). Of religion at Lagina before the introduction of Rhodian cults, or before the Macedonian founding of Stratoniceia in the third century B.C.²⁶), nothing is known. It is natural to suppose that a goddess had been worshipped there from time immemorial; some sort of sanctuary must have existed at Lagina long before the first century B.C.; but I dispute the assumption that the goddess' name had always been "Hecate".

Hecate must have been a Greek goddess. In the first place, almost all the archaeological and literary evidence for her cult comes from the Greek mainland, and especially from Attica, from earliest times down to the second century B.C. Hesiod's "Hymn to Hecate", even if it did not form part of the original *Theogony*, is no later than the archaic period²⁷). There are numerous references to Hecate in Attic drama²⁸), and, unless Aristophanes exaggerates, a Hekataion stood before every house in Athens (*Wasps* 804). In Asia Minor, only one monument can be associated with Hecate before the second century B.C., an archaic altar in the precinct of Apollo Delphinus in Miletus²⁹). That city is "Carian", to be sure — but the goddess is not in a sanctuary of her own, and has no connection with the father of the gods, as she has at Lagina.

Her association with Apollo at Miletus brings up the question of the theophoric names in *hekat-*. Their absence on the Greek mainland does not prove that the goddess was less important there than in Caria. In the fifth century, theophoric names in general are rare in Attica, as Dow has pointed out³⁰). I would suggest, moreover, that the names do not involve Hecate at all. Significant in this connection is Strabo's remark that a small group of islands between Lesbos and the Asian mainland are called the *Hekatonnēsoi* after Apollo Hekatos

25) On the divinized personification of free cities in this period as a response to ruler cults, cf. Nilsson, *GGR* II² 144f. When the cult of the Roman emperor is introduced at Lagina (Diehl-Cousin in *BCH* 11, 1887, 155 # 61), the Hecate-Caesar-Roma configuration seems exactly parallel to the earlier Hecate-Helios-Rhodos triad.

26) Cf. Ruge s.v. *Stratonikeia*, *RE* Ser. 2, 4A col. 322-24.

27) Cf. B. A. van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam 1958) 267-75.

28) Collected in Kraus (above, note 4) 84-94.

29) G. Kawerau & A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (Berlin 1914) 153 fig. 41.

30) S. Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens", *HTR* 30 (1937) 216-27.

(13.2.5). Among authors before the Hellenistic age, the epithet *hekatos* is applied to Apollo, and can stand alone to signify the god, in Homer, Alcman, and Simonides³¹). The meaning of *hekatos* is not clear; the Greeks usually understood "far-shooting", and this traditional etymology is sometimes proposed for Hecate's name as well³²). In any event, if *hekatos* was, as it appears, a popular epithet for this god among Ionian Greeks, coastal and insular, in the archaic period, and if Miletus in "Caria" was an important center for his cult, then the naming of Ionian boys, or even of Hellenized Carians, after Apollo Hekatos would seem perfectly natural.

To return to the Laginetan goddess: I submit that her name has nothing especially "Carian" about it; on the contrary, the name "Hecate" is an aspect of the process of her Hellenization, and was probably assigned by Rhodians who saw in the Greek Hecate traits similar to those of the goddess they encountered at Lagina. Like her, most indigenous Anatolian goddesses underwent sooner or later an *interpretatio Graeca*. At Ephesus the local deity had been called "Artemis" from the beginning of the historical period³³). In Pisidia a grave-goddess with torches and serpents who had been called "Edbēbē" came to be known in the Hellenistic era as "Mother Leto"³⁴). Such transformations could occur as late as the third or even the second century. What I believe happened to the Laginetan goddess in this period is analogous to the change undergone by the

31) *Iliad* 1.385, 7.83, 19.71 and 295. Alcman *PMG* 46. Simonides, *PMG* 573 (cp. 950 b). Cf. H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn 1896) 37f. The attempt of Kraus (above, note 4) 13-17 to see in *hekatos* the name of an erstwhile consort of a great Anatolian goddess "Hekate" puts the cart before the horse. The relationship of Hecate to Apollo at Miletus is a local construction and does not, as Nilsson notes in his review of Kraus (*AJA* 65, 1961, 78), corroborate the theory.

32) Cf. Hesychius *hekatoio: makrobolon*. Similarly for both *hekatos* and Hecate, K. Kerényi, *Die Mythologie der Griechen* (Zürich 1951) 40. Prellwitz, *Glotta* 17 (1929) 145ff., connects both with *hekōn*, "willing".

33) W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (Religion & Kultur der alten Mittelmeerwelt in Parallelforschungen 2), Munich/Vienna 1971, pp. 203 & 247, suggests that the Ephesian goddess, like other western Anatolian goddesses who exhibit erotic overtones not ordinarily associated with the sister of Apollo, was named "Artemis" only because she inhabited wild places; Aphrodite/Astarte would have been a more appropriate choice, but it was too early for her cult to be known through the Phoenicians.

34) O. Fiebiger, "Ein Weiherelief aus Pisidien", *Jahreshefte des österr. arch. Institutes* 23 (1926) 308-14.

goddess of Perge in Pamphylia, a change vividly documented on coins. Pergaeon issues of the early second century B.C. show the city goddess, wearing a short chiton and holding a torch, and identified by an inscription in the dialect and epichoric alphabet of Pamphylia: **ΙΑΝΑΨΑC ΓΡΕΙΙΑC** (= *koinē* ANASSAS PERGAIAS) (fig. 6) ³⁵). This type is subsequently replaced by a representation of the same goddess with the inscription ARTEMIDOS PERGAIAS (fig. 7) ³⁶). Evidently the Pergaeans had been content to call their torch-goddess simply *wanassa*, yielding only in a relatively late period to the impulse, almost universal in Anatolia, to identify her with Artemis.

The choice of the name "Hecate" for the goddess of Lagina was probably influenced by the following circumstances:

- 1) By the end of the third century B.C. the name of Hecate and the epithet of Artemis, *hekatē*, had been confused often enough to permit a single-bodied goddess to be called "Hecate". This happened on Delos and on Rhodes itself with the grave-goddess (Artemis-) Hecate ³⁷).
- 2) Attributes of the Laginetan goddess (e.g. torch, *phialē*?) must have resembled those of the Greek Hecate. The dog who sometimes appears beside the goddess on Stratoniceian coins recalls not only the mainland Hecate but also an indigenous Lydian dog-goddess with the improbable name "Nenēnēnē" ³⁸).
- 3) Her "Titanic" character, together with the relationship of the

³⁵) American Numismatic Society Collection (second cent. B.C.). Cf. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* 702.

³⁶) Ibid. (Hadrian).

³⁷) G. Siebert, "Artēmis Soteira à Délos", *BCH* 90 (1966) 455-59; G. Gualandi, "Artemis-Hekate", *Revue archéologique* 1969, pp. 233-72 (esp. 265ff.). Seeds of the subsequent confusion of the two goddesses are already sown in classical Athens, where the epithet *hekatōs* was sometimes applied to the sister of Apollo. When Euripides makes Antigone exclaim ἰὼ πότνια παῖ Λατοῦς ἐκάτα (*Phoen.* 109) upon beholding the Argive army, he must mean Artemis and not the child of Perses and Asteria, *Artemis hekatan* in Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 676, need not involve Hecate at all, nor does *Artemidos hekatēs* in the treasury inventory of 429/8 (*IG* 1² 310.192-4). The epithet *hekatē* ("far-shooting", "hitting the mark", or however the Athenians understood it) was as applicable to Artemis as *hekatōs* was to her brother. Inevitably, the integrity of a goddess with a name identical with Artemis' epithet would suffer.

³⁸) Keil & Premerstein, "Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis", *Denkschr. der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaft* 53 (Vienna 1910) 2.82, # 178.

Laginetan goddess to the Carian Zeus Panamaros (or Chrysaoreus) must have reminded the Rhodians of Hesiod's Hecate. The "Hesiodic" character of the temple friezes can be compared with that of the Titanomachy on the earlier Pergamene Altar.

- 4) The Laginetan goddess may have had a more infernal character than scholars have been willing to assume ³⁹). If her *mystēria* were in any way analogous to what we know of such rites elsewhere, some concern with the underworld is indicated. The *kleidos pompē*, the ritual carrying of a key which is mentioned so often in inscriptions at Lagina, may hint at another link with the infernal. Kraus and others see in the *kleidophoria* a sign of guardianship over terrestrial or celestial gates and doors ⁴⁰); I suggest that the key may have opened up the nether regions. A Greek parallel may be inferred from a statue of Pluto at Olympia: he was shown holding a key, for "they say that what is called Hades has been locked up by Pluto, and that nobody returns therefrom" (Pausanias 5.20.3).
- 5) Like the goddess of Lagina, Hecate was sometimes invoked as *Soteira* on Rhodes and Kos, and in Phrygia to the east ⁴¹).

This paper began with the suggestion that the goddess Hecate may be as old and as Hellenic as other deities whose origins can be traced back to the Mycenaean age. Greek tradition ascribes her praises to Hesiod; if the tradition is right, the *Theogony* offers our oldest document pertaining to the goddess. It may be worth noticing that

³⁹) Schwabl's review of Kraus in *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 16 (1963) 23f. takes Kraus to task for the assumption that there was nothing monstrous about the Laginetan (or Hesiodic) Hecate.

⁴⁰) References in Kraus (above, note 4) 48-50.

⁴¹) Numerous instances on coins and monuments of Phrygia: cf. Kraus (above, note 4) n. 207 and 167f. Kos: A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence 1925) # 676. Rhodes: *IG* 12.1.914 (metrical dedication by priestess of "Soteira" to "Phosphoros Enodia"). Delos and other islands: Siebert (above, note 37) 457f. I hope the arguments advanced in this paper corroborate the opinion expressed briefly in a footnote by J. Hatzfeld, *BCH* 44 (1920) 86 n. 1, that the Laginetan goddess could not have been assimilated to Hecate "avant que cette partie peu accessible de la Carie pût, grâce à la fondation de Stratonicee (vers 265), recevoir directement des influences helléniques". I believe those "influences" to be Rhodian because the city fell under Rhodian control within a decade or two of its foundation, and because the effects of Rhodian religious interpretation are manifest at Lagina. Cf. note 25 above.

Hesiod, while emphasizing above all the honor she receives from Zeus, brings Hecate into a close relationship with two other gods specifically, Poseidon and Hermes (*Theogony* 440-47). Like her, these deities lend valuable assistance to men who live by harvesting the sea or by pasturing herds of cattle, goats, and sheep. Her ties with these venerable Hellenic deities in the *Theogony* may give some clue to her original standing among the Greeks.

One side of a much-discussed Linear B tablet (Tn 316) records ritual offerings at Pylos to a number of personages, most of whom are taken to be divine⁴²). Poseidon heads the list, and two other male deities can be identified: Hermes, Zeus, and a "son of Zeus", Drimios. Since Poseidon, Zeus, and Hermes are precisely the gods with whom Hecate is linked in the *Theogony*, it is tempting to seek her on the tablet under some feminine *epiklēsis*. The goddesses of this side of Tn 316, aside from Hera who receives tribute in company with Zeus, are *Pere82*, *Ipemedēja*, and *Diuija*; judging from their close grouping on the tablet, they seem to have been worshipped as a triad; Zeus, Hera, and Drimios also appear to constitute a separate category on the same document.

Since the value of the syllable *82 is not yet clear, the name of the first goddess cannot be ascertained. Guesses include *Peleia* ("the Dove")⁴³), *Presba* ("the Elder")⁴⁴), and *Brēssa* (a conjecture from *Brēsagenes* and *Brēssaiois*, titles of Dionysus)⁴⁵). Chadwick, who propose the value *swa* for *82, joins those who seek in *Pere82* an early form of Persephone's name: "We might speculate on identifying /*Preswa*/ with *Pers-* in the first part of the name *Persephonē*, which is presumably non-Greek, though perhaps deformed by popular etymology (cf. *Pherrephatta*)"⁴⁶).

42) M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* # 172; Gérard-Rousseau (above, note 2) 22f., and "Les sacrifices à Pylos", *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 13 (1971) 140-42.

43) L. R. Palmer in *Minos* 4 (1956) 132.

44) M. Lejeune, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne* (Paris 1958) 243: *Peresa* = **Presza* > *Presba*. D. de Venuto in *Atti e memorie del primo congresso di micenologia* (Rome 1968) 2.582: *Perekwa* = **Presgwa* > *Presba*.

45) G. Pugliese Carratelli in *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"* 21 (1956) 5.

46) J. Chadwick, "The Group *sw* in Mycenaean", *Minos* 9 (1968) 65; cf. Gérard-Rousseau (above, note 2) 173f. Like Nilsson (*GGR* I² 474-77), G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford 1971) 75-83 considers the Greek pair Demeter-Kore

Ipemedēja seems at first sight to be the Greek name Iphimedeia, but initial *ipe-* rather than *wipi-* makes the identification difficult⁴⁷). If "Iphimedeia" is the later Greek form of this goddess' name, the possibilities become exciting. *Iphimedeia* (or *Iphimedē*) was an early variant of *Iphigeneia*, the name of Agamemnon's daughter. According to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, "Iphimedē", after her rescue by Artemis from the sacrificial altar, was made an immortal attendant of the goddess and is worshipped under her name, Artemis, with the epithet *ein(h)odia*, "in the road". Since this epithet was properly applied to Hecate as guardian of crossroads, Stesichorus and others assumed that Hesiod meant to identify Iphigeneia/Iphimedeia with Hecate; the frequent confusion of Artemis with Hecate undoubtedly helped to confirm this identification for all time⁴⁸). On the other hand, the possibility should not be overlooked that the poet of the *Catalogue* did really mean *einodia* to signify the traditional goddess of crossroads — that he knew, in other words, an old tradition which actually identified Iphimedeia with Hecate.

In spite of her name, *Diuija* is not likely to have direct connections with Zeus, who appears on this tablet in a separate category with his wife Hera. Monique Gérard-Rousseau, who points out that her name (with alternative spelling *Diwija* on An 607) has etymological connections, through the theme **dei-w-/*dy-ew-/*di-w-*, with words in Indoeuropean languages signifying not only "deity", but also "radiance" and "wealth", suggests that her function has something to do with riches⁴⁹). If *Diuija* is a "bright" goddess who possesses, gives, or guards wealth, and if "wealth" be understood in an immediate, Hesiodic sense (actual and potential riches entrusted to and harvested from the earth), she may correspond to the Greek Demeter, whose name does not appear on Mycenaean tablets⁵⁰). The description of Demeter's

originally separate from the chthonic and probably prehellenic Persephone. Cf. R. Stigitz, *Die grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens* (Oesterreichisches archäologisches Institut, Sonderschrift 15, 1967).

47) Gérard-Rousseau (above, note 2) 117.

48) R. Merkelbach & M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967) fr. 23.17-26; Stesichorus, *PMG* 215; Pausanias 1.43.1. I am grateful to T. B. L. Webster for directing my attention to the Hesiodic fragment.

49) Gérard-Rousseau (above, note 2) 69f.

50) Cf. Gérard-Rousseau (above, note 2) 53f. and 240-42. Many scholars (not including Webster or Gérard-Rousseau) believe Mycenaean *wanasoi* refers to the

functions (in company with Persephone and Hecate) at the end of her Homeric *Hymn* may be relevant here (483-89):

Then, when (Demeter) the bright goddess (*ḗia theāōn*) had taught all, they departed for Olympus to the other gods' assembly. There they dwell beside Zeus whose joy is the thunderbolt, solemn and reverend goddesses. Prosperous (*meg' olbios*) is the one among earthly humans whom those goddesses cherish; straightway do they send as a guest to his great house Plutus, who gives wealth to mortals.

In suggesting that the triad of goddesses who receive tribute at Pylos are early forms of Persephone, Hecate, and Demeter, I am painfully aware of the conjectural nature of the evidence adduced. The three goddesses are, however, associated in the *Hymn to Demeter*, where Hecate is made a constant companion of Persephone (440). The triad appears on Attic red-figure vases with Eleusinian themes⁵¹), and has been plausibly identified in an archaic metope from Selinunte (sixth century B.C.) on which each of the three goddesses (one wearing a polos) brandishes a diminutive torch⁵²).

Literary, archaeological, and epigraphical evidence down to the end of the fourth century B.C. indicates that the worship of Hecate was limited to the Ionian and Aeolian *poleis* and their colonies on either side of the Aegean — to the population, in other words, which claimed blood ties with the fallen Mycenaean rulers. The fact that Hecate enjoyed special favor among these groups may indicate that her cult was known in the Bronze Age. Her name remains a puzzle, but its meaning and etymology are no more obscure than those of the other Olympians, with the sole exception of Zeus himself. In the *Theogony* Hecate is a Greek goddess. The fact that she is also a *great* goddess there may reflect her earlier standing in the Mycenaean pantheon, but her greatness in the *Theogony* remains a local interpretation. Equally "local" is her greatness in Caria during a much later era. While Hesiodic influence may have co-operated with Roman imperial policy to make Hecate great at Lagina, the influence never travelled the other way. Arguments for Hecate's "Anatolian" origin are not in accord with the evidence.

"two queens" Demeter and Kore; but if Tn 316 antedates the complete assimilation of Persephone to the Greek Kore, then the earth-mother herself may have had separate standing. See note 46 above.

51) Above, note 13.

52) V. Tusa, *Archeologia classica* 21 (1969) 153-71.