This paper aims to study the conception of Hecate in Plutarch’s time and works by gathering and commenting the presence of the goddess within the passages of the Chaeronean, considering the epithets attributed to her by the author, the divinities related and associated to her and the contexts in which she appears.

Hecate is identified with Selene and compared with Anubis in religious and astral contexts; the goddess is assimilated to Ártemis, Genita Mana and Ilithyia on earth, where public and private cults and rituals took place in her honour, and also Hecate is related with Athena and Persephone in what concerns to magic and Mystery religion. Such relations and associations reveal the goddess’ complex personality which came from the threefold power, in the earth, the sea and the sky, which Hesiod attributed to her (cf. Th., 413-414).

Plutarch’s conception of astral Hecate implies a change of perspective if compared to Hesiod’s account in the Theogony and it contributes to develop the Chaldean image of the goddess following Neoplatonic conceptions. Although Plutarch is one the first literary sources for the association of Hecate and the moon (from a philosophic point of view), the Second Idyll of Theocritus is probably the oldest text (III B.C.) for such association in a magic context: Simaetha invokes Hecate χθόνια as supportive deity under the influence of the moon-Selene (cf. Id. II 12 ff.). Also Medea calls upon Hecate (cf. E., Med. 394 ff.) as we can see on a brief quotation from Plutarch: Οὐχ οὔτε γ’ ἄπλωτος, μαίνται Ἐκάττην (cf. Bruta animalia ratione uti 986a). Later on, Hecate appears with the same magic attributions in the PGM in erotic spells, for ex. PGM IV 2714-2783 in which infernal Hecate is associated with Selene, Artemis

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2 For Hecate as Mistress of Magic and her association with Medea and Circe, cf. Serafini, 2015: 197-258 and 223-227, respectively.
and Persephone, or curses like *PGM* 2242-2347⁵ in which Selene is characterized with typical features of Hecate-Artemis.

Furthermore, two passages from *Moralia* (De facie 944c and De defectu oraculorum 416e) refer to the elements in the heavenly geography and allow us for identifying Hecate and Selene. In the first one (De facie 944c) the greatest crater of the moon is called “Hecate’s Recess”⁶ (τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἐκάτης μυχόν), that is, the space which daimones need to go through before arriving to moon’s surface and make amends for the faults committed while they were alive. In the second text (De defectu oraculorum 416e), the moon is the κλήρον Ἐκάτης (domain of Hecate). It shall be noticed that, in the first case, Hecate’s name refers to a geographical accident of the moon, while in the other example the moon is a part of a space in the cosmos or a portion of a superior divinity which takes the name of Hecate. In both passages the moon is conceived as having a “mixed” (μικτόν) composition as well as the daimones have: that is why it is considered an “earth-like star” (ἄστρων γεώδες), a “star-like earth” (ἀστευμένος γῆς) and “domain of Hecate” who belongs both to the earth and the heavens (χθονίας ὅμοιο καὶ οὐρανίας κλήρον Ἐκάτης). Such a fact may explain the cosmological function of Hecate-Selene as a liminal deity in the way that the souls must follow from the earth to the heavenly region.

Anubis, for his part, is a chthonian and heavenly⁷ deity too (χθονίος ὅν ὅμοιο καὶ Ὁ λόμπιος) so he is also intermediary and guide of the souls. According to Plutarch, Anubis constitutes the contact circle (ὅριζων κύκλος) between the earthly and heavenly regions and he looks like a dog⁸ because he can see the same during the day and night. Due to the similar functions of Anubis and Hecate and to the fact that the dog is one of Hecate’s totemic animals⁹, Plutarch considers that both deities are analogue (cf. *De Iside et Osiride* 368e).

Thus, the dog is an important iconographical element both for Anubis and Hecate¹⁰; under the three-headed appearance Hecate has one head of a dog¹¹, she often appears

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⁷ According to Plutarch, that is because Anubis is the son of Nephthys who rules over the netherworld and the invisible, and also because he was adopted and reared by Isis, who governs over everything which is above the Earth and is visible (cf. *De Iside et Osiride*, 368e).
⁸ As well as in *PGM* XVIIA 4-5: Ἀνουβί, θεῖ ἐπίγεια καὶ καὶ ὑπόγεια καὶ οὐράνιες, κύον, κύον, κύον.
⁹ For the association of Hecate and Anubis with the dog and the analogy of their functions (key-holders, guardians of Hades’s Doors, etc.), see Colomo, 2014.
¹¹ Cf. Orph., A. 979: Hecate, the daughter of Tartarus (Ταρταρῶνας) and three-headed (τρισωσικέφαλος), from her left shoulder raises a long mane horse (Ὑπος χαστὶς) and from her right shoulder a female-dog with furious look (λυσαίμες ακυλάκη). Seeing in dreams three-headed Hecate standing over a pedestal means transfers and travels (cf. Artem., *Onirocriticon* II, 37). See dog-headed Hecate in *PGM* IV 2112-2116 and 2876-2880 and Hecate horse-dog-headed (Ὑποκούων) in *PGM* IV 2610. Hecate’s statues with dog head, cf. Paus.Gr., “α’’” 7, 4; Hsch., “α’’” 252, 2, “ἐπίσιλον” 1265-6 (=Eur., fr. 968; Ar., fr. 594a). About Hecate dog-headed, see Carboni, 2014: 42. The epithet προκόνη in *PGM* VII, 885 is also engraved on an amulet consecrated to triple Hecate which Colomo and Bonner relate with the “guide/protector of dogs”, on the same sense, Hecate-Artemis is ακυλακάγεια (cf. *PGM* IV, 2722-2723).
accompanied by one or more dogs\textsuperscript{12} that address to the moon with their barking (that is, another common element between Hecate-Selene). Plutarch, talking on the animals that the Egyptians consecrate to their gods, attributes the dog to Artemis and identifies her with Hecate by quoting a verse from Euripides in which a statue of Hecate stands beside a dog and holding torches in her hands: …καὶ τὸν κόνα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὡς Ἐὐρυπίδης (fr. 968): “Ἑκάτης ἀγάλμα φωσφόρου κύων ἔση” (De Iside et Osiride 379d). The identification Hecate-Artemis is old and well known\textsuperscript{13}, these goddess represent phases of the moon: Selene being the full moon, Artemis is the waxing moon and Hecate the waning to new moon.

The epithet φωσφόρος\textsuperscript{14}, proper of Hecate\textsuperscript{15}, is used by Plutarch referring to the moon “bearer of light”\textsuperscript{16}, to Persephone “ruler on the “heavenly Beyond”\textsuperscript{17} (“the moon of Persephone” as a region of the moon) and especially to planet Venus\textsuperscript{18}. Hecate and Venus-Aphrodite share the epithet οὐράνια too. Nevertheless, according to Pirenne-Delforge, if Aphrodite οὐράνια\textsuperscript{19} belongs to a former tradition, Hesiod justifies the use of such epithet considering that Aphrodite is Uranus’ daughter, but Uranus as

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Late representation of Diana three-dog headed (cf. Cartari, 1556) has been identified with three-headed Hecate's (cf. Seznec, 1987: 207).
13 When Hecate was introduced in the Greek pantheon, she was first identified with Artemis as they are cousins (Asteria is Leto’s sister). Such a relationship comes back to Aeschylus (Supp. 676) and some authors confuse their names, cf. Pausanias schol. Hes., fr. 23a (Artemis turns Iphigenia into Hecate), Stesich., PMGF frag. 215 Davies or E., Ph. 110. According to Sarian, Hecate’s name substitutes that of Artemis in Stat., Ach. 1, 447 and Stat., Theb. 12, 125-129 (cf. LIMC IV “Hekate”: 986). Also in Latin authors, cf. Val. Flac., 5, 335 and Verg., Aen. 6, 13. Epigraphic testimonies, cf. IG 12. 8. 359 in Tasos ca. 450 a.C.; IG 4\textsuperscript{2}. 499 in Epidaurus, imperial period; IG 1\textsuperscript{1}. 383. 125-7 in Athens from 429/8 B.C. Both goddess share epithets like πότνια θεριῶν and κυριοτρόφος (cf. Orph., h. 1, 8), for ex. SEG 21.541, col. 2, 10-13 (“Sacrificial Calendar from Erchia”, ca. 375-350 B.C.). About the name of Hecate used as an epithet of Artemis, see Freyburger and Pernot, 2005: 157, 223, 225, 485, 534, 540.
14 Cf. h.Cer. 52; B., fr. 1B, 1 Snell/Maehler; Call., fr. 466 Pf.; E., Hel. 569; Ar., Th. 858.
16 Cf. Plu., De facie 921d-e.
18 Cf. Plu., De facie 925a, 927c; De defectu oraculorum 430a; De exilio 601a; Placita philosophorum 889b; De animale procreatione in Tim. 1028b, d y 1029a, b. ὦσφόρος was the name that the Egyptians gave to planet Venus (cf. Firm., Matheis II, 2, 2 p. 42 Kroll-Skutsch) and together with ὦσφόρος constituted the usual names for planet Venus, which was identified with devil Lucifer due to the Christians’ daemonic conception of sex and eroticism.
19 About the cult of the Greek Aphrodite Ourania in the Athenian agora, in Ilissos, in Argos (together with Dioniso) and in Mesenia and Elide, see Pirenne-Delforge, 1994: 15-25, 63-66, 165-167, 233-236, respectively.
divinization of the sky\textsuperscript{20} encloses a different conception if compared to the Platonic heaven where the Muse Urania and Hecate are named with such an epitphet.

The inscription on a Phrygian funerary stele from Temenotiri-Flaviopoli (260-270 A.D.) supposes a late testimony for the confluence of Hecate’s chthonian and heavenly profiles\textsuperscript{21} and Serafini points out the curious case of using such an epitphet for Hecate in chthonian-funerary context.

In magic and ritual context they set up statuettes for Hecate\textsuperscript{22} called ἐκατάεια (sing. ἐκατήσιον/ἐκαταῖον) with apotropaic function\textsuperscript{23}: these may be an intermediary point between the figure of Hecate protector of the house and cities, guardian of the crossroads\textsuperscript{24} and the terrifying goddess transmitted by the literary sources. According to Plutarch, usual locations for a ἐκατήσιον (sic) or ἐκαταῖον\textsuperscript{25} were the crossroads and doors (ἐν τάξι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν) (cf. Regum et imperatorum, 193f). Travellers gave themselves to Hecate looking for protection against the evil spirits of the roads. To this aim, they celebrated the so-called ὀψίνα ("dinners") rituals or puppies’ sacrifices\textsuperscript{26} for Hecate, as well as the ὀξυθόμια or καθάρσια (acts of purification)\textsuperscript{27} which probably consisted in placing the waste materials of a domestic ritual of purification\textsuperscript{28} on the crossroads beside this kind of statues. In his Table Talks Plutarch comments jokingly that smoke and racket are the only things that remain for those who make such offerings to Hecate or to other apotropaic gods (cf. Quaestiones convivales 708f). The Cheronean also refers a cathartic practise called περισκολακισμόν which took place during the Lupercalia and consisted in rubbing those who were “impure” by using the puppies brought for Hecate (Aetia Romana et Graeca, 280c).

\textsuperscript{21} It is a warning: anyone that tries to harm the stele or the deceased hero will suffer Hecate’s anger. Cf. IGR IV, no 621: εἰ τις δὲ παραμαρτήσῃ τῇ στήλῃ ή τῷ ήρῴῳ, ἐξεῖ τὴν οὐρανείαν Ἐκάτην κεχωλομένην (Ilineas 19-22) and see Serafini, 2015: 392, footnote 1.
\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Orac.Chald. 224 Hecate herself gives instructions to make these votive-offerings hekataia consecrated to her.
\textsuperscript{23} The oldest testimony of a hekataion which came to us is a triple Hecate statue designed on a fragment of skypnos (420/410 B.C.), cf. Serafini, 2016: 323-344. Kraus refers a hekataion from 410 B.C., cf. Athens, Brit.Sch. S 21 = LIMC IV “Hekate”: 999, n. 131, probably inspired in the statue described by Alcamenes. Following Pausanias, II, 30, 2, Alcamenes would have been the first one in making a triple representation of Hecate during the second half of V century B.C. This statue was called ἐπιπυργίδια (Εἰπυργίδια, “in the bastion”) since it was the guardian of the city doors from its position. The statue seems to have been represented on tetradrachms from Tryphone and Polycharmo (cf. Delvoye, 1962: 1354).
\textsuperscript{24} Hecate τριώσις was venerated in Dacia and Thrace.
\textsuperscript{25} Ἐκατήσιον in Gregorius N. Bernardakis (eds.), usually in the manuscripts. The variant ἐκάταειον is found in Babbitt’s edition (cf. Babbitt, III: 146, footnote 2).
\textsuperscript{26} Ritual offerings which took place, for example, in Zerinth cave in Samothrace (cf. Lyc., Alexandra 72-79). A superstitious pretended to purify using an onion and a puppy (cf. Thpfr., Char. 16.13.1-3 and Ruiz Garcia, 1988: 88). Pausanias told us about the public sacrifice of a black female that Greeks from Colophon offered to crossroads goddess Enodia (cf. Paus., 3.14.9), in this respect Hecate is called “black female dog” in PGM IV 1434.
\textsuperscript{28} Cf. Serafini, 2015: 136.
The dog was not considered absolutely "pure" since it was a "wild and terrible animal", that is why it did not serve as offering for any Olympic god but only for Hecate χθονία on the crossroads. On their part, Spartans sacrificed puppies to sanguinary god Enyalius and in Boetia they celebrated a public ceremony of purification consisting in splitting in two a dog and passing through both parts (Aetia Romana et Graeca 290d).

Puppies were also offered to favour childbirth and that also concerns Hecate since Hesiod called her κούρσαρόφος (cf. Th. 452), probably because of her close relation with Artemis. Although the Chaeronean does not use the epithet κούρσαρόφος for Hecate, he compares her with the Roman goddess of childbirth Genita Mana and the Argivian Ilithyia (cf. Aetia Romana et Graeca, 277 a-b). The myth of Galanthias on the Metamorphosis by Antoninus Liberalis constitutes a late testimony for Hecate’s role as κούρσαρόφος.

In infernal context, Plutarch set Hecate as leader of a phantasmagorical entourage (φαντάσματα) which superstitious people fear greatly, so that is the irrational fear that Plutarch criticises in De superstitione, 166a.

Lastly, we know about the Mysteries of Hecate in two treatises attributed to Pseudo-Plutarch: De Proverbiis Alexandrinorum and De fluviis. On one hand, The Alexandrian Proverbs informs of the Φερεσφόνεια, rituals consecrated to Hecate and celebrated the 30th day every month (cf. Ps.-Plu., De prov. Alex. 8). Such a date is an evidence of the connection between Hecate and the moon since full moon was seen at the end of the month, and it also points out the identification Hecate-Persephone, the young queen in the Underworld (Φερεσφόνεια τῶν ὑποχθόνιων δεσπότες) which was the place were these Mysteries are supposed to be celebrated. In effect, Hecate and Persephone are close related through the Eleusinian Mysteries and their identification

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29 Cf. Aetia Romana et Graeca 277b, 280c; Rómulo XXI (31e). It is remarkable that Plutarch uses the epithet χθονία for Hecate when referring the bloody sacrifice.

30 It was performed by the army, cf. Agudo Villanueva, 2016: 59-76.

31 Cf. A., Supp. 676: Ἀρτέμιν 8’ ἐκάτταν γυναικῶν λόχους ἐφορεύειν. Serafini considers that this verse does not mean the identification between both goddesses but an association due to their similar prerogatives (cf. Serafini, 2015: 313).

32 Antoninus Liberalis, Metamorphoses 29 "Galinthias". According to the myth, Hecate takes Alcmena’s servant Galinthias as her assistant after she was transformed into a weasel for helping her mistress to give birth Heracles against Hera’s will.


34 Cf. Serafini, 2015: 129, footnote 1. The 30th day every month (interlunium days) was considered impure and it was the date dedicated to the cult of the deceased and to make offerings for Hecate.

35 Cf. Ar., Th. 280 ss., h.Cer. 22-25, 51-61, 335-339, 438-440, Luc., Nec. 9,19. Hecate and Hermes are depicted on an Attic red-figure vase attributed to Persephone Painter (ca. 440 B.C.) and kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MAM, inv. 28.57.23). Hecate is invoked with Hermes and Persephone in an Alexandrian tabula defixionis (III A.D.), cf. Audollent, 1904: nr. 38.
with the moon\textsuperscript{36}. They offered a scavenger fish\textsuperscript{37} called red mullet (\textit{sic.} \textit{τρύγλα}\textsuperscript{38}) that was consecrated to chthonian divinities\textsuperscript{39}. In our text, Hecate is called Τριτωγήνη and so assimilated to Athena \textit{τριτωγένεια}\textsuperscript{40}. This can be interpreted as “born from Triton”\textsuperscript{41} or “the third to be born”. Nevertheless, Plutarch might use it to point out the triple identification Hecate-Athena-Artemis considering them as “only one”: καὶ γὰρ Αθηνᾶ καὶ Ἀρτέμις καὶ Ἐφακή αἱ τρεῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐν ἄναι. The three goddesses have three features in common: their virginity, their capacity to favour childbirth and rearing and their association with the moon\textsuperscript{42}. Diodorus Siculus tells that Artemis and Athena were the companions of Persephone in Sicily and so they witnessed the kidnapping of the maiden by Hades\textsuperscript{43}.

On the other hand, the treatise \textit{De fluviiis} informs about a plant called \textit{λευκόφυττλος} (because of the white colour of its leaves) growing nearby Scythian river Phasis (\textit{cf. De fluviiis} 5, 2, 3). Following the text, the plant appears during the Mysteries of Hecate\textsuperscript{44} in the early morning when spring begins and they sing the paean. That means another common element between Hecate and Persephone, since the young girl brings the beginning of spring-time. Although the propitious time for Hecate is usually at night\textsuperscript{45},

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{36} Persephone’s Moon is the name given to the liminal region of the moon where the second division of the immortal soul takes place (\textit{cf. De facie} 943b).
\item\textsuperscript{37} Note that Hecate has got power over the sea (\textit{cf. Hes.}, Th. 411-13) and influence over fishing activity (\textit{cf. Hes.}, Th. 440-447). Artemidorus considers Hecate a visible sea-goddess (\textit{cf. Artem.}, \textit{Onirocriticon} II, 34). In addition, the moon has got influence over the ocean tides.
\item\textsuperscript{38} About such a kind of sacrifice see Serafini, 2015:132-134 and \textit{OCD}, 2012: 650. It seems that the red mullet was expensive. Pythagorics were not allow to eat it (\textit{cf. Teodorsson}, 1990: 108 y 1996: 240) because it was harmless (\textit{cf. Plu., Quaestiones convivales} 730b) and beneficial for humans. This fish was also said to be the most “gluttonous” (\textit{λίχνος}) of the ocean beings, it turns pale when it is about to die and it has got a gloomy gaze. Neither Poseidon’s priests in Leptis were allow to eat it and it was venerated by the initiated of the Eleusinian Mysteries (\textit{cf. Plu., De sollertia animalium} 938f).
\item\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Cf. A. Perg.}, op. Ath. 325a.
\item\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Cf. Plu., De Is. et Os.} 381 e. This epithet for Athena e.g. in Hes., \textit{Hist.} 7, 141, 17, Th. 895; \textit{h.Min.; Plu.}, 381e 11; Ath., vol. 2, 2, pág. 158, lín. 27; Hom., \textit{Il.} 4, 515; 8, 39; 22, 183; \textit{Od.} 3, 378; Hdt., 7, 141, 17; Ar., \textit{Nu.} 989, Lys., 347; D.S., 1, 12, 8 y 5, 72, 3; Ps.-Luc., \textit{Charidemus} 11, 7, \textit{Jupiter tragoeudis}, 1, 6, etc. Ister, river-god of Scythia (today Danube) takes the same epithet due to its connection with the moon (\textit{cf. Lyc.}, Or. 6, 21, 4, \textit{Suda}, “kappa”, 1262, 3, “tau” 1020, 1, etc.). Τριτωγήνεια is the name given to an ethic treatise by Democritus according to Diogenes Laertius (\textit{cf. D.L.}, 9, 46, 5) where it is said that “everything comes from her [τριτωγήνεια]” (τριτωγήνεια as some kind of divine Earth-mother?).
\item\textsuperscript{41} It contradicts Hesiodic genealogy for Hecate. In the \textit{Theogony} Hecate is said μουνογενής (\textit{cf. Hes.}, Th. 448) and we do not know about any relation of Hecate with god-river Triton in contrast to Athena (\textit{cf. Ps.-Apollod.}, 1.20 and 3.144): according to a Libian tradition, Athena is daughter of Poseidon and Tritonis (\textit{cf. Hdt.}, IV 180). Triton’s daughter Trita (Τριτεία) was priestess of Athena (\textit{cf. Apha}, 7.22.8).
\item\textsuperscript{42} Stoics called the moon “Artemis” or “Athena” (\textit{cf. Plu., De facie} 922a) but, as remarked by Pérez Jiménez, such identification is due to the common functions of the goddesses and the moon and not to a similar composition (\textit{cf. Pérez Jiménez}, 2017: 8).
\item\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Cf. D.S.}, 5, 3, 4. También en \textit{h.Cer.} 415 ss.; \textit{Ps.-Hyginus}, \textit{Fabulae} 146; \textit{Val.Flac.}, A. 5, 344 ss., \textit{Stat.}, \textit{Ach.} 1, 824 ss.
\item\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Cf. Val. Flac.}, 7, 521 ff. Since Hecate is Perses and Asteria’s daughter (\textit{cf. Hes.}, Th. 404 ff.) or Nyx’s daughter (\textit{cf. B.}, fr. 18) and due to her relation with nocturnal ghosts and spirits (\textit{cf. Orph.}, H. 1), so she is the bearer of light at night with her torches (\textit{cf. h.Cer.} 52). When identified with devil Brimo, Hecate...
sometimes she also appears during the day, e.g. “after the breakdown” to fulfil on the Earth the prayers of men. The allusion of the paean could refer Apollo since Hecate is related with him through her association to his sister Artemis.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the passages from Plutarch with mention of Hecate that we have just commented, we can see that the author uses the epithets ζῆς ἠπὶα, ἱἡπαὶ, φὗῳφάρης γι τ ῥήτογενη not only to address the goddess and characterise her but also to associate Hecate with the moon-Selene, Anubis, Artemis, Athena, Persephone, Genita Mana, Ilithyia or Enyalius depending on the context.

In astral context, the epithets ζῆς ἠπὶα and ἱἡπαὶ define the mixed nature of Hecate which is equivalent to the composition of the moon, earthly and heavenly at the same time. That explains the intermediary position of Hecate and the moon in the cosmos as astral liminal deities and justifies the identification of the goddess with it. Some other authors consider the threefold nature of Hecate as a common element with the moon but Plutarch, however, does not use the usual epithets of the goddess (τρισσοκέφαλος, τρικ άρηνος, τριπρόσπος, τρίμορφος…) concerning this fact. The Chaeronean calls Hecate τριτογενη (a hapax epithet for Hecate) to show the association Hecate-Athena-Artemis. Nevertheless, the triple nature of the goddess is pointed out by other elements as the disposition of the ἐκαταία consecrated to her at the crossroads.

In magic and ritual contexts, the epithet ζῆς ἠπὶα is in keeping with the infernal facet of Hecate. That is why Plutarch uses it when talking about the bloody sacrifices of puppies in the δαίμονα or when presenting Hecate as Mistress of an infernal entourage of ghosts and spirits. Thus, the epithet ζῆς ἠπὶα in Plutarch is considered an intersection of Hecate’s heavenly and infernal sides.

receives offerings at midnight (cf. Orph., A. 3.840 ss.) and she is connected with the moon (cf. Nonn., D. 44, 190 ff.) that is why Medea calls up the goddess to bring the moon to the earth (cf. A.R., A. 4, 55 ff.) at midnight (cf. Ou., Met. 7, 192 ff.). Votive statues for Hecate were consecrated under the light of the waning moon (cf. Orac.Chald. 224; Majercik, 1989: 137-138).


47 Cf. Luc., Philops. XXI: at midday dogs start barking and after a thunder and an earthquake, a divine tall feminine figure of terrible gaze appears, her feet are snakes and Gorgonian features, snakes around her; as well as in E., Io. 1048-1055: diosa Εἰναύδη θύγατερ Δάματρος (Hécate-Ártemis), α τῶν νυκτιόπωλων ἐφ ὀδών ἀνάσεις και μεθαμερίων δύσων δυσθανάτων κρατήρων πληρώματ’ ἐφ’οίσιν πέμπει πόντια πόντι ἐμα Ͻ̆ηνίας Γοργοίς. Epiphanies of Hecate-Enpousa at midday hour μεσημβρίαις (cf. Schol. Arist., R. 293). About the epiphanies of Hecate at midday, cf. Serafini, 2015: 171-172, footnote 2: midday means the intersection of two opposite parts, day and night. In that respect, cf. H., II. VIII 66-68; Hdt., IV 181; Schol. Hom. II. VIII 66 Erbse; Eust. Ad II. II 529, 9 van der Valk.

48 In addition, Apollo shares with Hecate the role of προτόλαμος/προθύραος "guardian of the doors and liminal points", as it has been shown in some inscriptions. A paean dedicated to Hecate at oracular temple Delphinios of Apolo in Mileto, cf. LSAM nº 50 (=SIG nº 57), 28-29. Apollo-Helios and Selene came to be the propitious gods for divinatory practises in PGM (cf. PGM II 30-50).

The relevant role of Hecate in heaven is according to Middle and Neoplatonism philosophic strands contemporary to our author. However, despite the very close relation between Hecate and the moon, I consider that Plutarch does not transmit the idea of a total identification (syncretism) between them as it come to be in some charms from the \textit{PGM}, where Hecate and Selene are usually syncretised. As we have seen, in Plutarch the greatest crater of the moon is called after Hecate (Ἑκάτης μοχόν) so that the goddess gives name to a physical portion of the moon, while the moon as “Hecate’s Recess” (κλήρον Ἑκάτης) seems to take part of Hecate if the goddess is conceived as an astral entity which represents the intermediary region of the cosmos. Hecate rules over the space between the sensible and intelligible worlds in a way that she connects both regions and is the connector and information transmission bond. In consequence, Hecate is related with messenger deities like Anubis and Hermes, the Muse Urania or Lachesis. Here we have a conception of the goddess closer to the \textit{Chaldean Oracles} where Hecate is conceived as the “Soul of the World”.
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Kraus, 1960:
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López Salvá, 2017:

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Seznec, 1987:


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Teodorsson, 1990:


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Werth, 2006:

PASSAGES COMMENTED FROM PLUTARCH

Mentioning Hecate directly:

a) Plu., *Bruta animalia ratione uti* 986a
b) Plu., *De facie* 944c, 2

c) Plu., *De defectu oraculorum* 416e

d) Plu., *De Iside et Osiride* 368e, 379d

e) Plu., *Regum et imperatorum* 193f

f) Plu., *Quaestiones convivales* 708f-709a

g) Plu., *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 280c, 290d, 277a-b

h) Plu., *De superstitione* 166a

i) Ps.-Plu., *De proverbiis Alexandrinorum* 8

j) Plu., *De fluviiis* 5, 2, 3

Others:

a) Plu., *De facie* 921d-e, 942d, 922a

b) Plu., *De defectu oraculorum* 430a

c) Plu., *De Iside et Osiride* 381e

PASSAGES COMMENTED FROM OTHER AUTHORS

a) Theocr., *Id.* II 10-16

b) E., *Medea* 395-398

c) *PGM* IV 2711-2718

d) *IGR* IV, nº 621

e) Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 29 “Galinthias”

f) Ath., vol. 2,2, pág. 158, lín. 27

g) D.S., 5, 3, 4, 1-5

h) Eus., *PE* 5,8,3-4
APPENDIX OF TEXTS

Theocr., Id. II 10-16

νῦν δὲ νὶν ἐκ θυεόν καταδήσομαι. ἀλλὰ, Σελάνα, φαῖνε καλὸν· τὸ γὰρ ποταείσομαι ἄσυχα, δαίμον, τὰ χθονία θ' Ἐκάτης, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι ἐρχομέναν νεκών ἀνὰ τ' ἡρία καὶ μέλαν ἄμα. χαῖρ᾽ Ἐκάτα δασπλήτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἁμιν ὅπαδει, φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἔρδοισα χερείονα μήτε τι Κίρκας μήτε τι Μηδείας μήτε ξανθάς Περιμήδας.

Ε., Medea 395-398

瘙 γὰρ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν ἦν ἐγὼ σέβω μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ὀμνεργὸν ἀλόμην, Ἐκάτης, μνχαίς ναιόυσαν ἐστίας ἐμῆς, χαίρων τὶς αὐτῶν τοῦμὸν ἀλγονεὶ κέαρ

Plu., Bruta animalia ratione uti 986a

Ὀγ όοτω γ' ἀπλῶς, μὰ τὴν Ἐκάτην'

PGM IV 2711-2718

δευρ', Ἐκάτης, γιγάσσα, Διώνης ἦ μεδέουσα, Περσία, Βαυβίω, Φροῦνη, Ἰσχέαρα, ἄομητη, Λυδή, ἀδαμάστωρ, εὐπάτορεια, διάδοχε, ἠγεμόνη, κατα<καμ>ψυχαύχε- νε, Κούρη· κλῦθ, διαξεύξασα πύλας ἀλότου ἀδάμαντος. Ἀρτεμι, ἦ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπίσκοπος ἦς<θ>α,

Plu., De facie 944c

ὀοτως βάθη ταῦτα τῆς σελήνης ἐστὶ καὶ
κοιλώματα. καλούσι δ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν μέγιστον Ἑκάτης
μυχόν, ὅπου καὶ δίκας διδόσιν αἰ ψυχαὶ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν
ἂν ἄν ἡδὴ γεγενημέναι δαίμονες ἢ πάθωσιν ἢ δράσωσι...

Plu., De defectu oraculorum 416e
μικτὸν δὲ σῶμα καὶ μίμημα δαμόνιον ὄντως τὴν σελήνην,
<ἠν> τῷ τῇ τούτῳ τοῦ γένους συνάδειν περιφορᾷ φθίσεις
φαινομένας δεχομένην καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ὀρῶντες
οἱ μὲν ἀστρον γεώδεις οἱ δὲ ὀλυμπίαν γῆν οἱ δὲ χθονίας
ὀμοῖ καὶ ὀφρανίας κλήρον Ἑκάτης προσέπον.

Plu., De Iside et Osiride 368e
καὶ καλούμενος ὄριζων κύκλος ἐπίκοινος ὃν ἀμφὸν
"Ἀνουβίς κέκληται καὶ κοινὸ τὸ ἐδόξον ἀπεκάλυπτεν· καὶ
γὰρ ὁ κόσμον χρήτα τῇ ὁψί νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας ὀμοίως.
καὶ τοιαύτῃ ἔχειν δοκεῖ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίος τὴν δύναμιν
ὁ Ἀνουβίς, οἷαν ἡ Ἑκάτη παρ’ Ἔλλην, χθόνιος ὃν ὀμοῖ καὶ Ὀλύμπιος.

Plu., De Iside et Osiride 379d
…καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος,
ὡς Εὐρυπίδης (fr. 968):
"Ἕκάτης ἀγάλμα φωσφόροι κόσμων ἔση·"
Αἰγυπτίον δ’ οἱ πολλοὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὰ τὰ ζῶα καὶ
περιέποντες ὡς θεοῦς…

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- Selene φωσφόρος: Plu., De facie 921d-e
οὐκ ἐθελησει δ’ οἷμα τὴν σελήνην ἐμβριθεῖς υποθέσθαι σῶμα καὶ στερεῦν ὑμὲν ὁ Κλεά
ῥχος, ἀλλ’ ἀστρον αἰθέριον καὶ φωσφόρον, ὡς φατε·
- Persephone φωσφόρος: Plu., De facie 942d
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ καὶ κυρία τῶν περὶ γῆν ἐστιν, ἢ δ’ ἐν σελήνῃ
καὶ τῶν περὶ σελήνην. Κόρη τε καὶ Φερσεφόνη κέκληται,
tο μὲν ὡς φωσφόρος οὔσα, Κόρη δ’ ὁτί καὶ τοῦ ὀμματος,
- Venus Φωσφόρος: Plu., De defectu oraculorum 430a

Plu., De defectu oraculorum 416e
Plu., De Iside et Osiride 368e
Plu., De Iside et Osiride 379d

14
πέντε δ' αἱ τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρων περίοδοι γεγόνασιν, Ἡλίου καὶ Φωσφόρου καὶ Στὶ
λβωνος ὁμοδρομοῦντων.

**IGR IV, n° 621**
εἰ τις δὲ παραμαρτήσῃ τῇ στήλῃ ἢ τῷ ἠρώῳ, ἔξει τὴν οὐρανέαν Ἐκάτην κεχωλομένην
II. 19-22, cf. Serafini, 2015: 392, nota 1

**Plu., Regum et imperatorum, 193f**
Τοῦ δὲ Χαβρίου περὶ Κόρινθων ὀλίγους τινὰς τῶν
Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη φιλομαχοῦντας καταβαλόντος καὶ
στήσαντος τρόπαιον, ὡς Επαμεινόνδας καταγελὼν έφη
'ἐνταθά δεῖ οὐ τρόπαιον ἀλλὰ Ἐκατήσιον ἔστάναι'·
tὴν γὰρ Ἐκάτην ἐπιεικῶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ιδρύουντοι τριώδοις.

**Plu., Quaestiones convivales 708f-709a**
ἄ πάσχοσιν οἱ τῇ Ἐκάτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις ἐκφέροντες
τὰ δεῖπνα, μὴ γευομένους αὐτοὺς μηδὲ τοὺς οἶκοι,
πλὴν καπνοῦ καὶ όριβοῦ μετέχοντας.

**Plu., Aetia Romana et Graeca, 280c**
'Διὰ τί κόνα ὤσυςιν οἱ Λούπερκοι; Λούπερ-
κοι δ' εἶσιν οἱ τοῖς Λούπερκαλίως γυμνοὶ δια-
θέοντες ἐν περιζόμασι καὶ καθικνούμενοι σκότει
tῶν ἀπαντῶντων.'
Πότερον ὅτι καθαρμός ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως τὰ
δρόμενα; καὶ γὰρ τὸν μὴν 'Φεβρουάριον' κα-
λοῦσι καὶ νὰ Δία τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην 'φεβράτην',
καὶ "φεβράρε" τὸ τινὸς σκυτῶν εἴθει καθ-
.arrowικεῖσθαι, τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ καθαρὲς σημαίνοντος·
tῷ δὲ κυνὶ πάντες ὡς ἔτος εἴπειν Ἐλληνες ἐχρόντο
καὶ χρῶνται γε μέχρι νῦν ἔννοι σφαγίῳ πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμοὺς·
kαὶ τῇ Ἐκάτῃ σκυλάκια μετὰ τῶν
ἄλλων καθαρσίων ἐκφέρουσι καὶ περιμάττουσι
σκυλακίοις τούς ἀγνισμοῦ δειμένους, περισκύλακισμόν
tὸ τοιούτον γένος τοῦ καθαρμοῦ καλούντες·

**Plu., Aetia Romana et Graeca, 290d**
oὐ μὴν οὖδὲ καθαρεύειν ἄροντο παντάπασιν οἱ
pαλαιοὶ τὸ ζῆλον· καὶ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίων μὲν οὖδεν
θεῶν καθιέρωται, χθονίας δὲ δεῖπνον Ἐκάτη πεμπόμενος
εἰς τριόδους ἀποτροπαίων καὶ καθαρσίον
ἐπέχει μοῖραν. ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι τῷ φονικωτάτῳ
θεῶν Ἕνουλίῳ σκύλακας ἐντέμνουσι·

Βοιωτίδας δὲ ἐδημοσία καθαρμός ἦστι κυνὸς διχοτομηθέντος
tῶν μερῶν διεξελθέν· αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἥρωμαιοι τοῖς Λυκαίοις,
ὁ Λουπερκάλια καλοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ καθαρσίῳ μηνὶ κόνα θύουσιν.

**Plu., Aetia Romana et Graeca, 277a-b**
‘Διὰ τὶ τῇ καλομένῃ Γενείτη Μάνη κόνα
Θύουσι καὶ κατεύχονται μηδένα χρηστὸν ἀπομὴνα
τῶν οἰκογενῶν;’

‘Ἡ δὲ δαίμων ἐστὶν ἢ Γενείτα περὶ τὰς γενέσεις
καὶ τὰς λοχείας τῶν φθαρτῶν; ρόσιν γὰρ τινα
σημαίνει τούνομα καὶ γένεσιν ἢ βέουσαν γένεσιν.
ὁσπερ οὖν οἱ Ἐλληνες τῇ Ἐκάτη, καὶ τῇ Γενείτη κόνα
Ῥωμαιοῖ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκογενῶν.
Αργείους δὲ Σωκράτης φησὶ τῇ Εἰλιονείᾳ κόνα θύειν
dιὰ τὴν ῥαστώνην τῆς λοχείας. τὸ δὲ τῆς εὕχης
πότερον οὖν ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπον ἐστὶν οἰκογενῶν, μηδένα χρηστὸν γενέσθαι ἄλλα κυνῶν; χὰ
ἀλεποὺς γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ καὶ φοβεροὺς τοὺς κόνας.

**Antoninus Liberalis, Met. 29 “Galinthias”**
καὶ τῆς Γαλινθιάδος ἀφελόντο τὴν κορείαν, ὅτι θνητὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξηπάτησε, καὶ αὐτῇ
ν ἐποίησαν διὸ ἔσκε θυλῆ καὶ διαίτην ἔδωκαν ἐν τῷ μυχῷ καὶ ἀμφοροὺς ἀπεδέξαν τὴν
γονήν. θορίσκεται μὲν γὰρ διὰ τῶν ὀτων, τίκτει δ’ ἀναφέρουσα τὸ κυόμενον ἐκ τοῦ τρ
αχήλου. ταύτην Ἐκάτη πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς δήσεως ὥστε καὶ ἀπεδείξεν ἰερὰν αὐτῶς διάκονον·

Plu., De superstitione, 166a
άλλα σκλάντοις ἀπάτης οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐχούσης ὑπάρχαν ἐξαπατῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δαπανώσι καὶ ταράττουσιν, εἰς ἀγύρτας καὶ γόητας ἐμπεσόντες λέγοντας ἄλλ’ εἶτ’ ἐνυπνὸν φάντασμα φοβῆτον·

Ps.-Plu., De proverbiis Alexandrinorum, 8
τάς ἐν Ἄιδου τριακάδας· τιμᾶται ἡ τριακάς ἐν Ἄιδου διὰ τὴν Ἐκάτην μυστικότερον, ἢ καὶ τρίγλα ἐπιθύνεται, ***, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἐκάτην φασὶ Τριτογένη εἶναι καὶ γάρ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἐκάτηι αἰ τρεῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐν εἶναιτο γοῦν μυστικὸν Ἐκάτην ἡ Φερσεφόνεια καλέσται τῶν ὑποχθονίων δεσπότης. ὅθεν καὶ θυσιά στό τριάδος ἐστί καὶ τὰ νεκρότο τῇ τριακάδι ἅγγεται. λεγονθεί δ’ ἢν ἡ παρομία ἐπὶ τῶν περί ῥηγαν καὶ τὰ ἀποκεκρυμμένα ζητοῦντων γινόμενα·

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Atenea tritogéneia:

- Plu., De Is. et Os. 381e
tὸ μὲν γάρ ἰσόπλευρον τρίγλων ἑκάλου Ἀθηνᾶν κυριφαγένη καὶ τριτογένειαν,
- Ath., vol. 2,2, pág. 158, lín. 27
Παλλᾶς Τριτογένεια, ἀνασε’ Ἀθηνᾶ,

Atenea y Ártemis, nombres de la Luna:

- Plu., De facie 922a
ἔλεγεν ὑποπιάζειν αὐτοῦς τὴν σελήνην, σπίλων καὶ μελασμῶν ἀναπιστικά ὕµοι µὲν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνακαλοῦντας.

Atenea y Ártemis presencian el rapto de Perséfone

- D.S., 5, 3, 4, 1-5
μυθολογοῦσι δὲ μετὰ τῆς Κόρης τάς τῆς ὁμοίας παρθενίας ἥξιωμένας Ἀθηνᾶν τε καὶ Ἶημερεῖν συντρεφομένας συνάγειν μετ’ αὐτῆς τὰ ἄνθη καὶ κατασκευάζειν κοινῇ τῷ πατρὶ Δί τὸν πέπλον.

Ps.-Plu., De fluvius, 5, 2, 3
Γεννάται δ’ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ράβδος ὀνομαζομένη λευκόφυλλος· εὐρίσκεται δὲ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τῆς Ἐκά- της περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον πρὸς παιανισμὸν ἐνθεοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀρχήν του ἕαρος· ἦν οἴ ζηλότυποι τῶν ἀν- δρῶν δρεπόμενοι ῥίπτουσι περὶ τὸν παρθένιον θάλα- μον καὶ ἀνόθευτον πηροῦσι τὸν γάμον. Ἐὰν [γὰρ]
τις προπετέστερον ἀποστραφή * τῶν ἀσεβεστέρων διὰ μέθην καὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐσέλθη, τῶν σωφρονοῦντων ἀφαρπαζότας λογισμῶν καὶ εὐθὺς ὁμολογά τάς, ὡς παρανόμως ἢ ἐπραξέν ἢ μέλλει πράττειν.

Eus., PE 5.8.3-4
ἐξήται δ’ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῆς Ἐκάτης, ὅτι ἦν φησιν ἐπιφαίνειν· ἥριον μετὰ φέγγος ἀπείριτον ἀστεροπληθές ἄρχαντον πολὺ δῶμα θεοῦ λίπον ἢ ἐπιβαίνων γαίης ξυρώφῳ τῆς ὑποθεμοσύνης πειθόν τ’ ἀρρήτων ἐπέων, οἷς δὲ φρένα τέρπειν ἀθανάτων ἐδάθ θεητὸς βροτός…