

Hekate of Lagina: a goddess performing her civic duty

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Abstract

The Hellenistic Sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina represents the only site at which Hekate received state-sponsored cult at a monumental temple and a privileged place in the local pantheon. Elsewhere in Karia and the wider Greek world, Hekate was associated with magic and the underworld and received personal dedications at doorways and crossroads. This portrayal was echoed in art, where her character manifested in her triple-bodied form. Yet, at Lagina, part of the city of Stratonikeia, she was always represented with a single body. She was the focus of civic cult, in particular during the Hekatesia-Romaia festival, which celebrated the political alliance between Stratonikeia and Rome. Through an analysis of inscriptions, representations of the goddess in sculpture and coins, and the ritual use of the complex, this article concludes that Hekate of Lagina was a syncretic and singular figure who did not exist outside of Stratonikeia, and that her function at Lagina was primarily political, as a civic patron. As a goddess who oversaw life's transitions and acted as a saviour of her people, she was uniquely suited to the role. The goddess and her sanctuary were used by the local population to create community identities and to negotiate their relationships with the wider world, particularly their imperial rulers.

Özet

Lagina'daki Hellenistik dönem Hekate Kutsal Alanı, Hekate'nin anıtsal bir tapınakta devlet destekli bir kültürün bulunduğu ve yerel panteonda ayrıcalıklı bir konuma sahip olduğu tek yerleşim yerini temsil eder. Karia'nın başka yerlerinde ve daha geniş olarak Yunan dünyasında Hekate, sihir ve yeraltı dünyası ile ilişkilendirilmiş ve kapı eşikleri ve kavşaklarda kendisine kişisel ithaflarda bulunulmuştur. Bu betimleme, karakterinin üç gövdeli formda tasvir edildiği sanata da yansımıştır. Yine de Stratonikeia şehrinin bir parçası olan Lagina'da her zaman tek bir bedenle temsil edilmiştir. Özellikle Stratonikeia ve Roma arasındaki siyasi ittifakın kutlandığı Hekatesia-Romaia festivali sırasında kente ait kültür odak noktasıydı. Bu makale, yazıtların, tanrıçanın heykel ve sikkelerdeki tasvirlerinin ve kompleksin ritüel kullanımının analizi yoluyla, Lagina Hekatesi'nin Stratonikeia dışında var olmayan, bağdaştırıcı ve tekil bir figür olduğu ve onun Lagina'daki işlevinin kentin koruyucusu olarak öncelikle politik olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır. Hekate, hayatın geçişlerini denetleyen ve halkının kurtarıcısı olarak hareket eden bir tanrıça olarak bu role benzersiz bir şekilde uygundu. Tanrıça ve kutsal alanı, yerel halk tarafından topluluk kimlikleri yaratmak ve daha geniş dünyayla, özellikle de imparatorluk yöneticileriyle ilişkilerini müzakere etmek için kullanılmıştı.

Dedicating a major temple to Hekate was an unusual choice by the builders of the Hellenistic sanctuary at Lagina (fig. 1). By the second century BC, when construction began, Hekate had an established place in Greek religion. While a popular deity in personal religious rites, she was rarely featured in mythology or state cult. Small shrines sanctified to her were placed at spaces she oversaw

including crossroads and doorways, and even at the entrances of sanctuaries dedicated to other divinities. Votives, curse tablets and spells called upon Hekate for assistance as the patron of witchcraft and leader of the restless dead. In art, her triple-bodied form oversaw crossroads and her torches illuminated liminal spaces. Yet, at Lagina, her depiction in art and manner of worship were

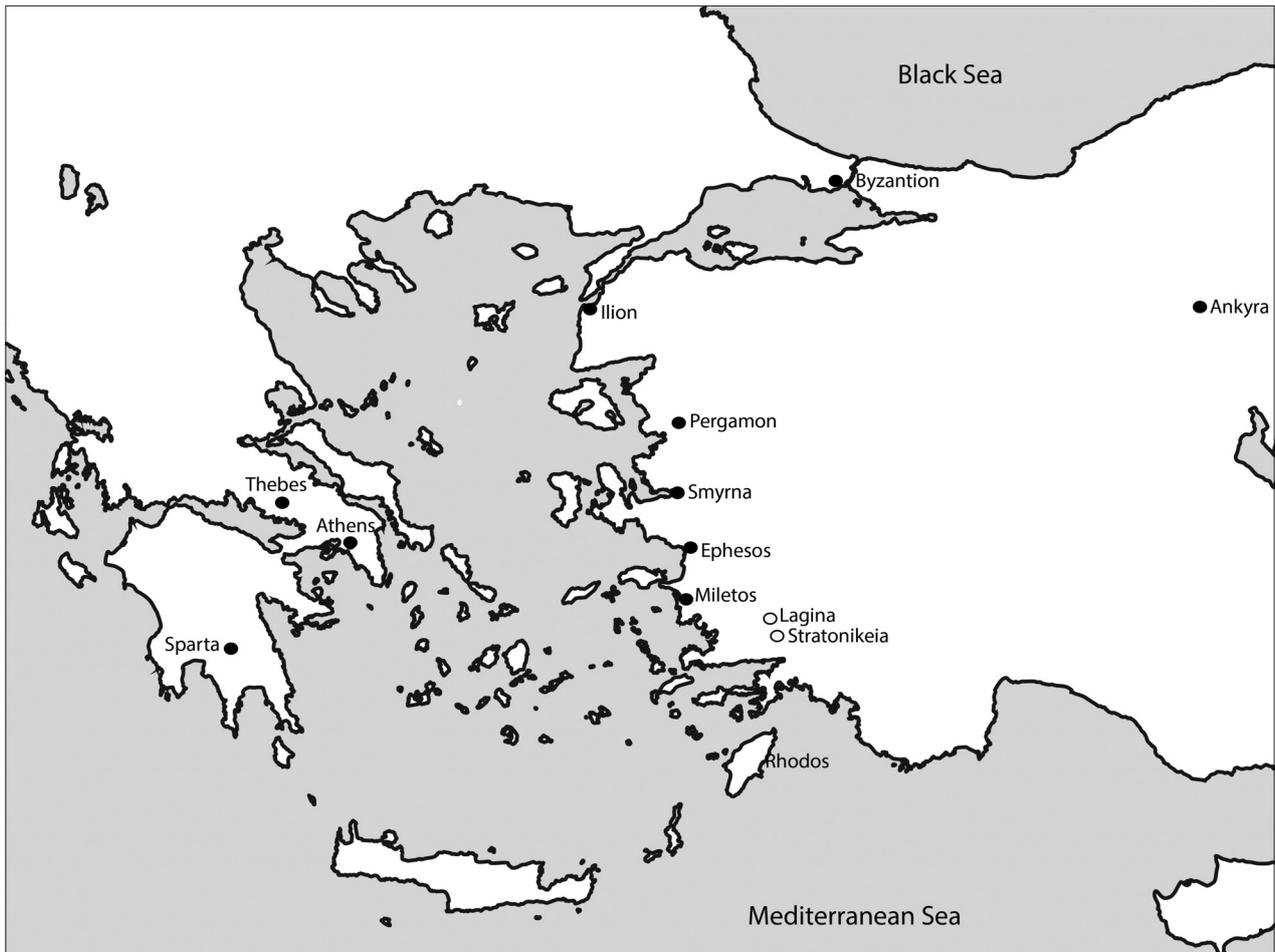


Fig. 1. Map with locations of Lagina and Stratonikeia (map after NordNordWest; lic.: CC BY-SA 3.0).

dramatically different. She was only represented with a single body, witchcraft and the underworld did not play a role in her cult, and she was worshipped on a large scale as a major force in the divine and human universes.

Lagina, part of the city of Stratonikeia in inland Karia in Anatolia, represents the only major temple dedicated to the goddess in the ancient world, and the only site that makes Hekate the focus of large-scale state cult (fig. 2). Worshipped as Hekate Soteira (Hekate the Saviour), she helped the people of Stratonikeia recover land taken during war and protected them against enemies (*I. Stratonikeia* 505–08, 510). Along with Zeus, she served as a patron of the city, overseeing treaties and political alliances. Her name appears in numerous inscriptions, while her image decorated Stratonikeia's coins. Her rituals and festivals played an important role in the lives of the citizens of Stratonikeia, and her priesthood held a place of prestige in the city. Alfred Laumonier has argued that priests were even required first to act as priests of Zeus before serving Hekate (1958: 367). Through an analysis of inscriptions from the site, the ritual use of the complex, and representations of the

goddess in sculpture and coins, this article argues that Hekate of Lagina was a syncretic and singular figure who did not exist outside of Stratonikeia, and that her function at Lagina was primarily political, as a civic patron.

The article draws upon H.S. Versnel's analysis of Greek polytheism and how worshippers reconciled the different characters and rites of gods with the same names. As he states, 'Gods bearing the same name with different epithets *were* and *were not* one and the same, depending on their momentary registrations in the believer's various layers of perception' (Versnel 2011: 82). For the people of Stratonikeia, Hekate was their civic patron and protector. In some ways, she was the same goddess worshipped elsewhere, as indicated not only by her name but by similarities in some of her cultic rites, notably her worship on the 30th of each month and her iconographic attribute of torches. Yet, she was a different goddess, since nowhere else did she receive major cult or fulfil a civic role. Hekate was intimately connected to the city of Stratonikeia and her imagery and rites were fully integrated into the life of the city and its citizens.



Fig. 2. Sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina, view from Propylon, current state (author's photo).

The goddess and her sanctuary were used by the local population to create community identities and to negotiate their relationships with the wider world, particularly their imperial rulers. Legal and religious decrees as well as inscriptions and statues honouring local prominent citizens and their service to the city and its people decorated the sanctuary. The state deities of the empires who ruled over Stratonikeia, first Helios of Rhodes and later Roma, were worshipped together with Hekate at Lagina, and shrines and inscriptions to the Roman emperors occupied prominent space in Hekate's sanctuary. These affiliations and loyalties were brought into the cult, connecting religion and politics.

Hekate, as she was worshipped at Lagina, was uniquely suited to act as a political deity in the late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods. In the friezes and surviving inscriptions, Hekate is depicted as a powerful force, who oversaw life's transitions and protected her worshippers against threats. Based on current archaeological evidence, it seems likely, but not definitely established, that some version of Hekate was worshipped as a local Karian goddess at Lagina beginning in the fourth century BC (Büyüközer 2018). With the construction of her sanctuary in the late second century BC, she was elevated to a prominent role in the local pantheon and new, state-sponsored religious rites were enacted. When

Hekate took on her role as civic patron, she oversaw a hybridised population that had recently adapted to Hellenism and changing political systems due to the shifting fortune of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the rise of Rome. The period was one of political and cultural change and assimilation, and Hekate of Lagina, as a goddess of transition and protection, was well suited to help guide her worshippers. The goddess and her sanctuary provided a place to integrate the population's Greek, Karian and Roman religious and political interests and acted as a locus of community identity.

Cultural and political context of Stratonikeia and Lagina

Lagina was located approximately 10km to the northeast of Stratonikeia, connected to the city by a paved road. Despite its distance outside of the city, the sanctuary at Lagina was one of the most important in Stratonikeia, and both of the city's patrons, Zeus and Hekate, were worshipped at sites outside of the city limits. Zeus had his sanctuary at the currently unexcavated site of Panamara, while Hekate received cult at Lagina (Williamson 2012). This separation between the urban population and its most sacred monuments was a regular feature of civic organisation in the region and can be seen in a number of Karian cities, including Miletos (Şahin 1976; Herda 2011).

The city of Stratonikeia was officially founded in the 260s BC by members of Seleukid dynasty (Robert, Robert 1955: 553–68; Şahin 1976: 32–37; Cohen 1995: 268–69; Ma 1999: 277–78; Debord 2001: 157–72). The new city was deliberately established with self-consciously Greek political organisation and governmental institutions, transforming what had previously been a Karian town into a Greek polis. The *demos* was organised into newly established political units based on former Karian villages, and a new *boule* was established in Stratonikeia. Buildings were constructed to meet the needs of the new government, including a bouleuterion and other staples of Greek life, like a gymnasium and a theatre that could seat 12,000 (Söğüt 2014: 27–37). The city was also an active part of the wider Hellenistic world, with Stratonikeia included on the Delphic *theorodokoi* lists, an index of envoys to the Delphic games, dating to 230–220 BC (Cohen 1995: 269; Hansen, Nielsen 2004: 103–06).

Yet, while Stratonikeia was consciously a Greek polis, its creation included the incorporation of existing Karian towns and people. Before the region was Hellenised, most Karians lived in villages or small towns. These villages were organised into federations, known as *koïna*, established for political or religious reasons. Each village would maintain its own political and civic system, while still being subordinate to the needs of the greater *koinon* (Şahin 1976; van Bremen 2000; Debord 2003). When Stratonikeia was founded, it was in an area with already established villages of Karians, and the creation of the new polis brought them together under the control of a single political structure in a process of *sympoliteia* or *synoikismos*. Karian elements survived in Stratonikeian society, and a mixed population of Greek colonists and Karians lived in the city (Robert, Robert 1955; Şahin 1976: 33; Debord 1994; van Bremen 2000).

While Karia spent most of its history under the control of various empires, it had its own language and culture. Even after the pro-Hellenic policies of the Hekatomnids in the fourth century BC and the conquests of Alexander had popularised Greek culture and language among the Karian population (including that of the Stratonikeia area), inscriptions indicate that the indigenous Karian language and religion survived well into the Hellenistic period (Hornblower 1982; Adiego 2007).

Politically, Stratonikeia, while it maintained its own civic government, was part of a federation of Karian cities, the Chrysaoric League, and it was always under the rule of different empires as the fortunes of the Hellenistic dynasts shifted due to battles and treaties (Şahin 1976: 8–11, 44–45; Gabrielsen 2000: 157–61; LaBuff 2016: 50–53). The Seleukids lost the territory in the late third century. The Rhodians maintained control of the territory between 197 and 167 BC, when Stratonikeia was declared

free under the protection of Rome. The city was then, in the 80s BC, officially incorporated into the Roman province of Asia, which controlled the region for the next few centuries. Stratonikeia was a free city during most of its association with Rome but was still subject to Roman oversight, and its free status was dependent on Roman goodwill (Bean 1971: 90–99; Marchese 1989: 99; Cohen 1995: 99; Ma 1999: 277–78; Reger 1999: 76–97; Gabrielsen 2000: esp. 167–72; van Bremen 2007: 113–32). At the time of its construction, the Sanctuary of Hekate was built by a population under Roman protection, and that population's stated loyalty to Rome is visible throughout the sanctuary in the text of inscriptions, the iconography of the temple's friezes and its cultic rites.

Dating the Temple of Hekate and her cult

While there has been debate over the date of construction of the Temple of Hekate at Lagina, with proposed dates from the mid-second century BC to late first century BC, current scholarly consensus places its initial construction in the late second century BC (Chamonard 1895: 260–62; Mendel 1912: 448–51; Schober 1933: 15–26; Junghölder 1989: 121–40; Hoepfner 1990: 31–33; Baumeister 2007: 11–16; van Bremen 2010: 483–503; Tırpan et al. 2012: 181–202). It was built entirely out of marble, with a pseudo-dipteral plan, Corinthian columns and a sculpted frieze. A large and heavily decorated altar to Hekate stood in front of the building. The entire sanctuary was enclosed by a series of stoas and a monumental, apsidal propylon (fig. 3). While the complex was laid out and the temple constructed ca 125 BC, the sanctuary continued to evolve over the next few centuries, until it ceased functioning as a temple in the fourth century AD. Buildings, statues and monuments were regularly renovated, newly constructed or demolished to meet the changing needs of the worshippers. The sanctuary was badly damaged during the Mithriadic Wars in the 80s BC and again after it was sacked by Labienus in 40 BC, and major repairs were made, at least partially paid for with Roman money (*I.Stratonikeia* 511; Bean 1971: 89; Marchese 1989: 99). Additionally, at various times over the next few centuries, priests of Hekate paid for the construction of new buildings or the refurbishment of old ones to proclaim their piety and wealth (Laumonier 1958: 372–91; van Bremen 2010; Herring 2020).

While the temple was the earliest monumental architecture built at Lagina, there is evidence that the site was occupied and had established religious significance before its construction (Şahin 1976: 17–24; Debord 1994: 117–19; LaBuff 2016: 131–39; Büyüközer 2018). Pottery evidence from the site dates as early as the Geometric period, and based on inscriptions found at Lagina, scholars have argued that Lagina originally formed part of the Karian city of Koranza, which was located at or near the

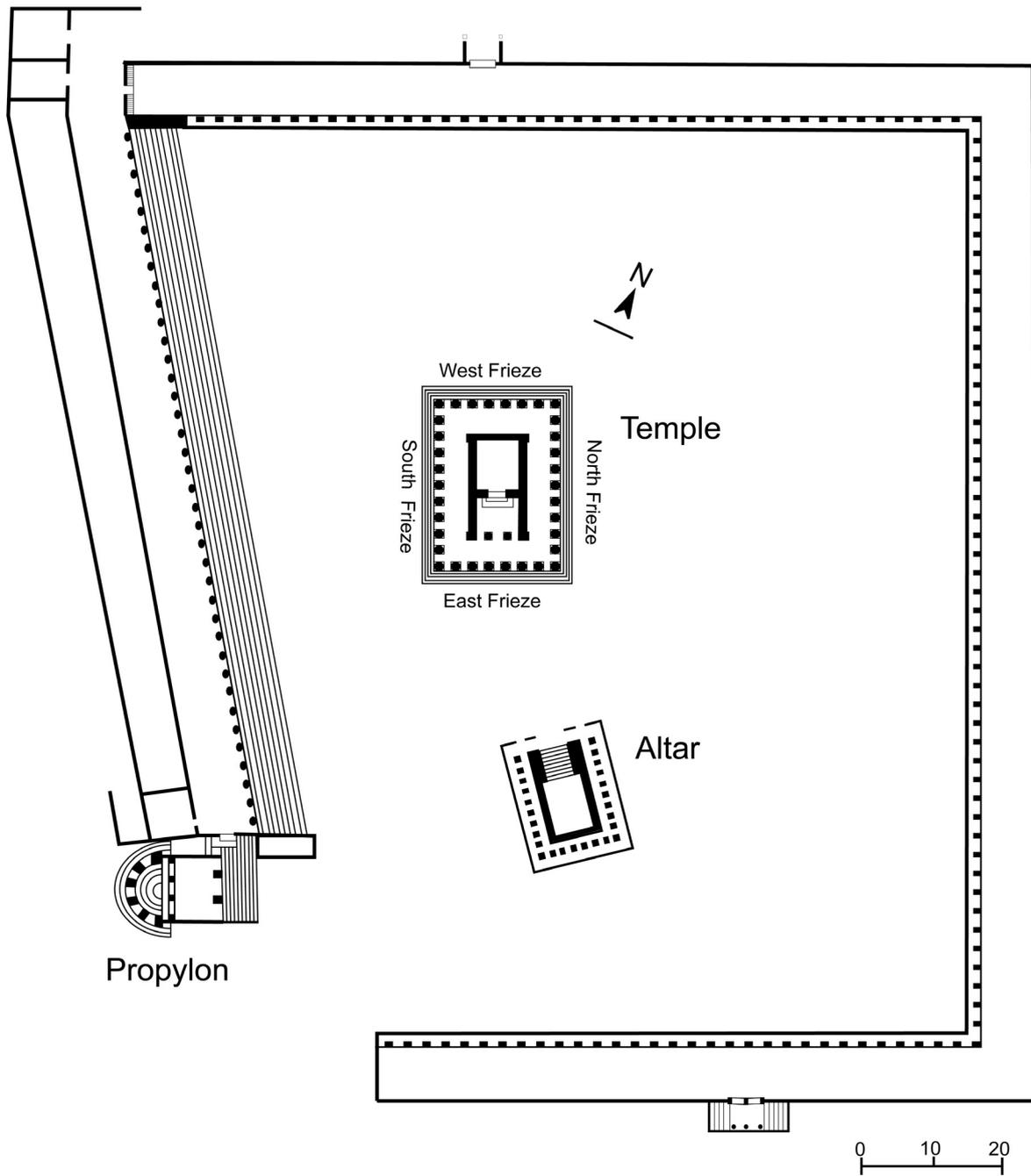


Fig. 3. Plan of the Sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina (author's drawing after Gider 2012: 274).

site of Lagina. Koranza was incorporated into Stratonikeia as part of the process of *sympoliteia* or *synoikismos* during the city's founding in the third century BC. Koranza became one of Stratonikeia's *demes*, and its demotic is one of the most commonly attested in the surviving inscriptions. Lagina, by contrast, is not attested as a demotic in any surviving inscriptions (Şahin 1976: 17–24; Debord 1994; van Bremen 2000).

When the temple was constructed in the second century BC, there were likely people living in settlements nearby who had once been citizens of Koranza but were now

citizens of Stratonikeia. The Sanctuary of Hekate was physically separated from the surrounding territory by its architecture, however, notably its enclosing stoa. In addition, surviving inscriptions describe a group of people living inside the sanctuary, most likely the temple staff and their families, as a distinct group, indicating that the sanctuary was viewed as a separate entity from the surrounding territory (Hatzfeld 1920: nos 6, 8, 18, 19, 20; Laumonier 1958: 346). Most of the population who worshipped at the sanctuary were centred in Stratonikeia, 10km away.

While we know that site of Lagina was occupied before the founding of Stratonikeia, it is unclear how early the cult of Hekate was established there. Archaeological excavations point to religious activities beginning at Lagina in the fourth century BC. Remains of what appears to be a fourth-century *peribolos* wall have been found near the edges of the Hellenistic sanctuary, and exploratory excavations under the temple found piles of ash and burnt pieces of figurines (Tırpan et al. 2012: 196–97).

Combining the evidence of religious activity with fourth-century inscriptions from the site, a number of scholars have argued that a fourth-century temple to Hekate was located at Lagina (Tırpan et al. 2012: 196–97; Büyüközer 2018: 15–30). However, there are a number of lacunae in the fourth-century inscriptions, and the name Hekate is not fully preserved (*I.Stratonikeia* 501, 504; Robert 1937: 570; Şahin 2002: no. 1). In addition, inscriptions commemorating dedications to Apollo and Artemis, as well as architectural remains of a shrine found near the site, indicate that there was a cult to these deities in the area in the fourth century and that they were worshipped as important deities in the city of Koranıza (Şahin 1973: 182–95). It is therefore not conclusively known which deities were worshipped at Lagina in the fourth century, nor to what extent the cult of Laginetan Hekate predated the Hellenistic period.

The earliest conclusive evidence for the worship of Hekate at Lagina predates the construction of the temple by approximately 75 years. It takes the form of an inscription that dates to between 197 and 167 BC, when the region was under Rhodian dominion. The inscription indicates that Hekate was already playing a role as a political goddess. It records that Menophilos, son of Leon, a priest of Hekate, was installed by the *boule* to the priesthood of Helios and Rhodes as well (*I.Stratonikeia* 504; Bean 1971: 95). The state god of the ruling government was incorporated into the cult of the local patron goddess, looking forward to a similar alliance between Hekate and Roma that was established in a first-century BC festival.

Analysis of the origins of the worship of Hekate in the wider ancient world does not help to answer the question of when Hekate was first worshipped at Lagina. There is little consensus among scholars about the original nature of Hekate or her point of origin. The earliest textual and archaeological evidence comes from both mainland Greece and Asia Minor. In literature, Hekate first appears in Hesiod's eighth-century *Theogony*, while the earliest archaeological evidence for her worship consists of both a small statuette inscribed with her name from Athens and an altar dedicated to her from Miletos. Both date to the sixth century BC (*I.Milet* 1.3.129; Kraus 1960: 26–27; Sarian 1992: no. 105; Johnston 1999: 204; Gorman 2001: 99–100).

Based on this evidence, some writers have seen Hekate as a goddess whose cult originated in mainland Greece (Berg 1974). But most scholars believe, due to her peripheral role in Greek mythology and religion, that her origins lay elsewhere, and her place of origin has been located in Thrace, Thessaly and even Mesopotamia (Farnell 1896: 507–10; Kraus 1960: 57–83; West 1995: 250–75). The most commonly accepted theory, however, places the origins of Hekate in Karia, arguing that the temple at Lagina was a revival of a much older goddess. This theory is based primarily on both the prominent role that Hekate has at Lagina and the popularity of names beginning with *hekat-*, presumably after Hekate (Kraus 1960: 24–56; Johnston 1999: 205–11; Debord 2009; 2013).

Based on the altar from Miletos, it is clear that Hekate was worshipped in Karia at an early date, but it is unclear how widespread the cult was or what form it took at this time, as the altar includes only a simple textual dedication. In addition, other, later evidence for the worship of Hekate in Karia outside of Lagina points to a goddess whose character is more in line with the Hekate worshipped in the rest of the Greek world than at Lagina. While Hekate of Lagina is depicted exclusively with a single body, images of triple-bodied Hekate are common in the rest of Karia (*RPC* 3.2154, 7.490, 8.20557). More importantly, surviving inscriptions from a number of Karian sites, including Aphrodisias, Herakleia Latmia, Hyllarimeis, Miletos and Mylasa, describe a deity who was part of the cultic calendar, but who was worshipped primarily with small offerings or in conjunction with other gods or gateways (*I.Milet* 1.3.133, 6.3.1221; *I.Mylasa* 309; *I.Tralleis* 11, 12; *CIG* 2897; Laumonier 1938, no. 41; Johnston 1999: 206–07; Adiego et al. 2005). The number of these inscriptions and the manner in which they present the worship of Hekate are in line with those that have been found elsewhere in the Greek world (examples include Strabo 14.1.23; *SEG* 21.541, 33.136; *IG* 12.4 279, 332, 358; *IG* 1³ 250). Nowhere else in Karia was Hekate given a prominent place in the local pantheon or worshipped as a civic patron.

It seems unlikely that Hekate's cult emerged fully formed at Lagina in the second century, but rather that some form of Hekate was worshipped in the area in the preceding centuries, especially based on the evidence of the fourth-century religious activity at the site. Hellenistic and Roman Hekate of Lagina is likely a monumentalisation of a goddess who was worshipped locally, but not necessarily throughout Karia. However, the worship of a goddess on a monumental scale as a civic patron in state religion is a completely different proposition than worship on a small scale at a local shrine, and the current evidence does not answer the question of when Hekate took on her prominent civic role. Our understanding of her cult is

based entirely on evidence from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the cult of Hekate and her rituals reflects the political, cultural and political concerns of the local population during these periods. Even if a cult of Hekate existed at Lagina before the Hellenistic period, the surviving evidence only allows the examination of the goddess who was worshipped here beginning in the second century BC.

In this article, therefore, I argue that the worship of Hekate of Lagina in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was qualitatively different from the worship of Hekate elsewhere in the Greek world, including in Karia. This Hekate was a civic, political goddess and a product of the region's contemporary cultural and political circumstances. Laginetan Hekate of the Hellenistic and Roman periods represents, to borrow a phrase, 'the complete re-contextualization of existing religious practice' (Kaizer et al. 2013: 1). The monumentalisation of the sanctuary was presumably accompanied by a re-imagining of the cult and its role in the life of Stratonikeians. A temple is a physical symbol of a city's beliefs and self-identity. The monumentality of the sanctuary at Lagina is a strong statement on the identity of Hekate and the importance of her worship as a political deity to the city of Stratonikeia in the late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods.

Defining a political goddess

Modern scholars have struggled to define the characteristics of political gods in Greek religion. One definition states that a political deity was one who was worshipped in state-sponsored rituals at a sanctuary built at state expense. In another, the cults of civic gods were under the purview of the city government, with either politically appointed temple staff or supervision by governmental officials or entities. A third definition proposes that sanctuaries of state gods saw the involvement of the city's elite through the construction of monuments and the dedication of votives accompanied by inscriptions highlighting the dedicator's piety and public spirit. In a fourth definition, state deities were identified visually, appearing on civic monuments, documents and coinage with specific iconography including *polos* headdresses or mural crowns (for summaries of these definitions, see Cole 1995: esp. 292–93; Bonnet, Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 201–05).

These different scholarly definitions of a political deity have been proposed because there was not a universal, narrowly defined role for a civic deity in the Greek world (Cole 1995: 317). How the relationship between a god and their city was expressed varied greatly from city to city and time period to time period. However, what remained constant was that the god was worshipped by the city at large through state-sponsored rites, and that the deity played an integral role in the life and identity of the city.

The most systematic approach to creating a definition for a political god that takes into account chronological and regional variations has been Ursula Brackertz's unpublished but widely cited 1976 dissertation. Brackertz created a list of criteria for gods who acted as patrons and protectors of cities or states. Brackertz showed that in cases where gods acted as state patrons, the connection between the god and the city was an intimate one. The god not only formed a special relationship with the city and protected it and its citizens, but the city's success was dependent on the deity. The god themselves became a representative of the city. Brackertz put together a list of different ways that this relationship could be expressed by the city, including a place for the deity in local history, prominence of the god's priesthoods and festivals in city life, the presence of images of the god on coinage, and an association between the god and the Roman emperors and Roma in the imperial period (Brackertz 1976: 155–57; Cole 1995: 299).

Definitions of civic deities have necessarily touched upon scholarly debates over the polis model of Greek religion. This theory, outlined most prominently in two articles by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, argues that 'the polis provided the fundamental framework in which Greek religion operated' (Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a: 13; 2000b: 38–55). Recent scholarly re-evaluations of the polis model have argued that it is too narrow and devalues religious practices that took place outside of official state religion, such as magic and other personal religious rites (Bodel, Olyan 2008; Kindt 2009: 9–34; Eidinow 2011: 9–38; Rüpke 2011; Harrison 2015: 165–80; Scheid 2016; Instone 2009). While the worship of Hekate in most of the Greek world fits most comfortably under the category of personal religion, her worship at Lagina instead follows the model of polis religion.

When compared to Brackertz's list, as well as the definitions above, Hekate fulfilled many of these political functions for Stratonikeia. In particular, she was associated with the local history of the city, her image decorated the city's coins, her festivals were an important part of the civic calendar, laws and documents were inscribed in her temple, her sanctuary saw dedications by prominent citizens, her temple was designated a place of *asylia* (asylum), and her cult was associated with Roma and the emperors in the Imperial period. Stephanos of Byzantium, writing in the sixth century AD, states that the city was even known as Hekatesia, after the goddess of Lagina, for a period of time. Stephanos states that Idrias, which was the name of the Karian town that preceded Stratonikeia, was known as Hekatesia (262). Bilal Söğüt and Murat Aydaş have argued that the period when the Karian town was known as Hekatesia was between 430 and 268 BC. Herodotus, who died in 430, refers to the city as Idrias (5.118). An inscription dated

to 268 indicates that the region was under Seleukid control by this date, and most scholars believe that the town was officially refounded as a city and renamed Stratonikeia by either Antiochos I or Antiochos II in the 260s. Stratonikeia was named after Queen Stratonike, the wife of Antiochos I, and this new name was chosen to reinforce that the city was now under Seleukid control (*I.Stratonikeia* 1030; Cohen 1995: 268–69; Ma 1999: 277–78). The naming of the city as Hekatesia is therefore thought to have been between the death of Herodotus and the renaming of the city as Stratonikeia (Aydaş 2015: 74–76; Söğüt 2015: 1). If this hypothesis is correct, it indicates an important connection between Hekate and the political life of the city.

The growth of the Sanctuary of Hekate and its central role in the life of the citizens of Stratonikeia is in line with practices across the Hellenistic world. While critics of the polis model have argued that it does not work in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, recent studies, notably that of Nadine Deshours, have demonstrated that the religious life of the city and civic religion flourished in the Hellenistic period (Deshours 2011; Melfi 2016: 1–17; Meadows 2018). Despite the growth of empires, civic cults had important roles in the lives of their citizens and provided important centres for community life and identity. This was the case at Lagina.

Hekate of Lagina in art

The characterisation of Hekate as a civic patron is supported by the depictions of the goddess in Laginetan and Stratonikeian art. These representations, while drawing upon previously established iconography of the goddess in archaic and classical art, create an image of Hekate that is distinctive to Lagina and reflects the local civic cult. Hekate in Laginetan art is a powerful goddess who plays a role in some of the most important events of divine history and uses that power to protect her city and guide her citizens through life's transitions.

The appearance of Hekate can be reconstructed from two main sources: the temple's continuous frieze and coinage minted in Stratonikeia. A number of other images of Hekate must have decorated the sanctuary, notably including the cult statue and the architectural sculpture on the elaborately decorated altar. While these artworks have either not survived or cannot be securely identified, it is likely that they followed the same iconography as the frieze and coinage (Tırpan 1998: 240–42; Tırpan, Söğüt 1999: 155; Damaskos 1999: 196–97). The frieze represented the only figural decoration on the Temple to Hekate building; the pediments were without sculpture and included only a central doorway (fig. 4). While the frieze wrapped continuously around all four sides of the building, each side was designed to be independent from

the others and depicted a different subject. While the temple does not line up to the cardinal points of the compass, the friezes have been labelled as north, east, west and south since their discovery, and this is maintained in most (but not all) publications. I have followed that schema here.

Only one of the friezes, the west side, represents an easily decipherable subject: the battle of gods and giants. The subject matter of the other three friezes remains debated, with most scholars arguing that the east frieze represents the birth of Zeus, the south frieze shows a gathering of gods, and the north frieze portrays an allegorical treaty between Rome and Karia (Mendel 1912: 428–57; Schober 1933: 26–79; Junghölter 1989: esp. 12–71; Webb 1996: 108–20; Baumeister 2007: esp. 67–97). The friezes' subject matter is unique in the known corpus of Greek architectural sculpture and should be attributed to the manner in which Hekate was conceived and worshipped at the site. The friezes were intended to speak directly to the local population, establishing Laginetan Hekate as a different incarnation of the goddess than worshipped elsewhere and as a major force in the divine universe, able to protect and advocate for her city in both the human and divine realms.

Hekate appears in three different positions on the temple's frieze, once on each of the west, east and north sides, and it has been hypothesised that a now-lost depiction of Hekate also appeared on the south frieze (Mendel 1912: 446, 466–69; Schober 1933: 77–79; Junghölter 1989: 36–42; Simon 1993: esp. 283–84; Webb 1996: 110–11; Baumeister 2007: 36–37). The battle of gods and giants on the west frieze features the most securely identified depiction of Hekate. The frieze depicts the popular subject using iconography established in previous artworks, with elements echoing the second-century exterior frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon (Chamonard 1895: 238–62; Mendel 1912: 446, 522–31; Schober 1933: 41–45, 76–77; Junghölter 1989: 43–48; Webb 1996: 108–09; Ridgway 2000: 111–12; Baumeister 2007: 37–38). The gods, identifiable by their clothing and attributes, fight anguiped giants in a series of duels. In the centre of the frieze, Hekate stands, armed with a torch, between Poseidon and a giant kneeling on a boulder (fig. 5). Her torch, a common iconographical attribute of Hekate, allows the viewer to identify her immediately. In addition, the figure's importance is highlighted by her central placement, her billowing cloak and her position facing the viewer. Most of the other figures face sideways as they battle their enemies, but Hekate appears removed from the action, as she calmly engages the viewer, rather than her opponent. By highlighting the role of their patron goddess in one of the most well-known and frequently depicted subjects in Greek art, the Stratonikeians placed

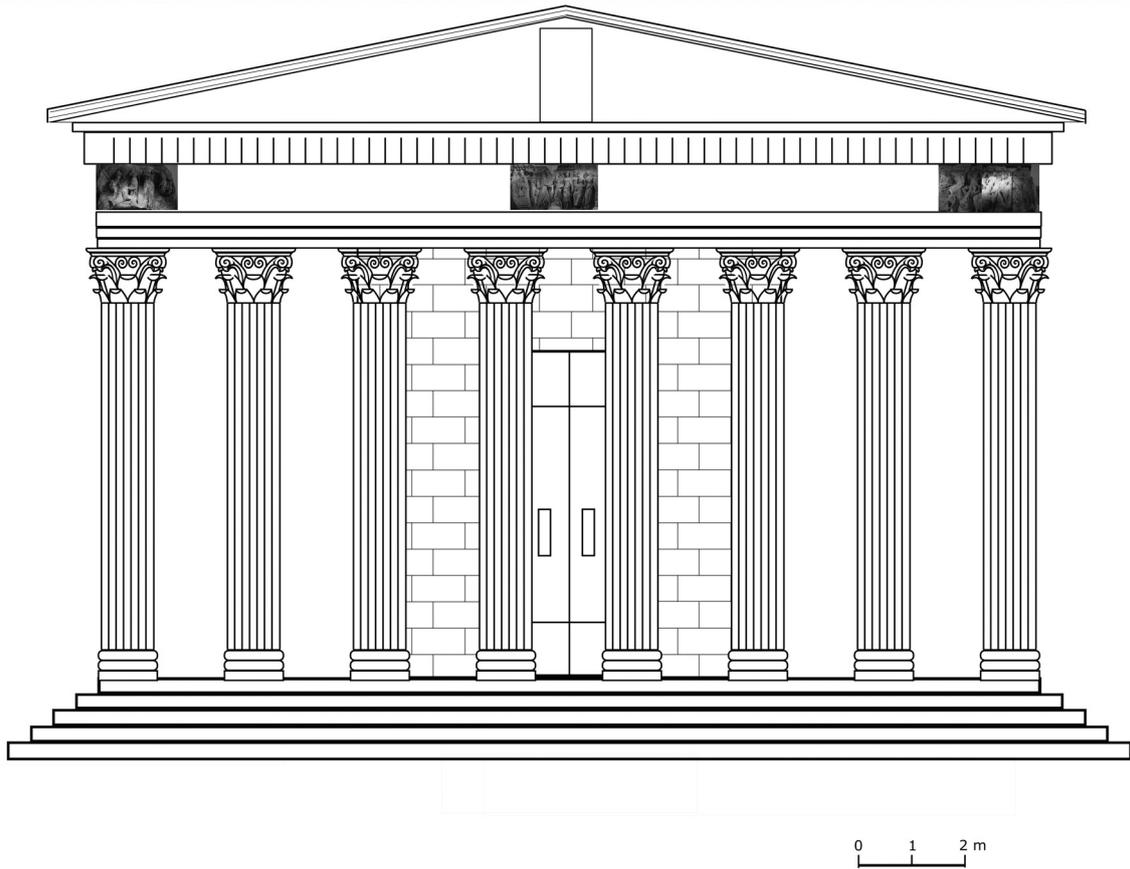


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the façade of the Temple of Hekate at Lagina (author's drawing).



Fig. 5. Hekate, gigantomachy, west frieze, Temple of Hekate at Lagina, Istanbul Archaeological Museums (photo by W. Schiele; negative no. D-DAI-IST-78-263, DAI Istanbul).

their patron deity within the greater pantheon of Greek gods. She, along with her fellow gods, acts as a protector of divine order and civilization. Hekate's torch is presented as on par with Poseidon's trident or the thunderbolt of Zeus.

The subject of the east frieze, the birth of Zeus, was rarely depicted in Greek art, but was a mainstay of Greek mythology after its initial appearance in Hesiod's *Theogony* in the eighth century BC (Hes. *Theog.* 453–91; Chamonard 1895: 237; Mendel 1912: 446, 485–90; Schober 1933: 70–72; Junghölter 1989: 18–23; Webb 1996: 109–15; Baumeister 2007: 35–36). On the right side of the frieze, Kronos, enthroned on Mt. Olympus, awaits the birth of Zeus (fig. 6). On the left side of the frieze, Rhea lies on a couch after giving birth to Zeus. She is surrounded by her followers, the *kouretes*, who bang their drums to drown out the cries of the baby who has been taken off to be raised in secret, while a rock has been sent for Kronos to eat instead of the baby.

Hekate is depicted in the centre of the frieze with a billowing cloak, running towards Kronos with a bundled object, the rock passed off as a baby, in her arms (Schober 1933: 71). She looks anxiously behind her towards Rhea. The figure is singled out, as on the west frieze, by her position and clothing. Here, Hekate acts as a *kourotrophos*, a midwife or nurse. While Hekate does not play this role for Zeus in the *Theogony*, it is an appropriate role for her, due to her close association with Zeus, both in the *Theogony* and in local religious practices, and her general designation as a *kourotrophos* in the *Theogony*, an appellation that also occasionally appears in later texts (Hes. *Theog.* 409–52; Aesch. *Supp.* 676–77; Price 1978: 192). Hekate as a *kourotrophos* aligns with her role as a liminal goddess overseeing life's transitions. Yet here, she participates in the creation of life rather than its extinguishment.

By using the main frieze of the temple to highlight her connection with birth, the Stratonikeians give her a powerful role in one of the ruling forces of the universe, the cycle of life.

The frieze also draws an important and intimate connection between Hekate and Zeus, who served as the other patron of the city of Stratonikeia. It is possible that the sculpture even intended to locate the frieze's subject in the area. Zeus served as the most important and widely worshipped deity in Hellenistic Karia. An inscription roughly contemporary to the Lagina temple found in Halikarnassos, commonly referred to as the 'Pride of Halikarnassos', locates the birth of Zeus in Karia and states that the autochthonous inhabitants of Halikarnassos served as the protectors of infant Zeus (Lloyd-Jones 1999: 1–14; Isager, Pedersen 2004; Gagné 2006: 1–33; Santini 2016). While Hekate does not appear in the inscription, it establishes that the birth of Zeus had particular significance in Karia. By placing the subject on the front of the temple, the temple's designers may have been evoking this local tradition, and by giving Hekate a central role in the birth, they stressed the importance of both of their city's patrons to each other and to the local population, giving the myth a local significance.

In addition, by placing the birth of Zeus and giving Hekate the role of *kourotrophos* on the front façade of the temple, the patrons at Lagina drew attention to the *Theogony*, which contains the most extensive and positive description of the goddess in surviving literature (Simon 1993: 277–84). In the *Theogony*, Hekate is second only to Zeus in regard to the amount of space devoted to her, and Hesiod praises her extensively. She is represented as a Titan, yet Hesiod states that Zeus honoured her above others and gave her a share of honour in the sea, sky and heavens. In addition, she is extensively involved in the



Fig. 6. East frieze from the Temple of Hekate at Lagina, depicting the birth of Zeus, Istanbul Archaeological Museums (photos by W. Schiele; negative nos D-DAI-IST-71-88 and D-DAI-IST-71-90, DAI Istanbul).

affairs of humans. She is represented as a nurse to the young and as a goddess who stands next to kings in judgment and in assembly. Hesiod states that when men offer sacrifices to the gods, they pray first to Hekate, who acts as a mediator between heaven and earth. Yet, Hekate's favour is easily lost, and the goddess must be regularly appeased in order to maintain the honours which she bestows on humans (Hes. *Theog.* 411–52; West 1966; Marquardt 1981: 243–60; Boedeker 1983: 79–93; Clay 1984: 27–38; Zografou 2010: 23–54). By evoking Hesiod's depiction of Hekate in the frieze of the temple, the builders at Lagina were creating a profile of their goddess as a powerful figure whose purview over the affairs of humans and role as an intermediary between divine and mortal made her an ideal civic patron.

The construction of Hekate as a civic goddess is continued on the temple's north frieze. The frieze depicts groups of seated and standing figures, including male soldiers and Amazons, who interact peacefully and prepare

for a religious rite or sacrifice. One block, which represents a male soldier shaking hands with an Amazon in front of a military trophy, has led most scholars to identify the scene as a treaty (fig. 7). Yet, the order of the frieze blocks, the identity of the participants, as well as the occasion, has been fiercely debated in scholarly literature (Webb 1996: 112–13; van Bremen 2010: 502–03). Most authors have argued that the frieze represents a political alliance between Karia or Stratonikeia, or more generally Asia Minor, and Rome. The male soldier represents Rome, while the Amazon stands in for Karia (Mendel 1912: 438–48, 495–521; Schober 1933: 63–69, 72–75; Tuchelt 1979: 40–44; Junghölter 1989: 23–25, 53–57; Rumscheid 1994: 132–39; Baumeister 2007: 38–61).

The use of an Amazon as a representative for either Asia Minor or Karia makes sense, as strong associations existed in Greek mythology between the Amazons and Anatolia. Anatolia was a traditional homeland for the Amazons, and Homer locates them there (*Il.* 3.189, 6.186).



Fig. 7. Treaty between Karia and Rome (?), north frieze, Temple of Hekate at Lagina Istanbul Archaeology Museums (photo by W. Schiele; negative no. D-DAI-IST-78-275, DAI Istanbul).

A number of cities in Aeolis and Ionia, including notably Ephesos, Smyrna and Kyme, claimed Amazons as founders or eponymous heroes. These cities placed images of Amazons on their coinage, displayed Amazons in their sacred buildings' sculpture and integrated Amazons into their local history (Oakley 1982; Klose 1987; Blok 1996; Mac Sweeney 2013: 137–56). The number of cities who claimed Amazons increased in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as cities drew upon mythical events and heroes to establish histories and identities that gave them status and set them apart from their neighbours and their imperial overlords (Blok 1996: 86–90; Howgego 2007; Linant de Bellefonds 2011). Their choice of mythical heroes and gods to highlight established their contemporary identities, and literature, public art and coinage played a large role in how these identities were established and communicated. For many cities in Anatolia, Amazons provided a perfect symbol, giving them a layered identity as both Greek and Anatolian and integrated into the mythic history of both regions.

While Karian cities did not claim Amazon founders, Amazons were incorporated into Karian mythological history through Herakles and his battles against the Amazons. The double-headed axe held by the cult statue at Sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda was believed to have originally belonged to the Amazon queen, Hippolyta. It was taken from her after her death by Herakles and eventually given to the cult statue of Zeus Labraundos. An axe was an unusual attribute for Zeus, and the god's epithet, Labraundos, may have been derived from the axe, known as a *labrys* (Plut. *Mor. Quest. Graec.* 45). Zeus Labraundos' cult was one of the most important in Karia, and the axe became a symbol not only of Zeus Labraundos, but of Karia as a whole, appearing on coins minted by the Hekatomnids, as well as on an altar to the god found in Stratonikeia (Baumeister 2007: 41–53; Unwin 2014; Kouremenos 2016: 54–55). The axe's association with Zeus, and most likely its historical connection to the Amazons, was well known in Stratonikeia, as the female warriors were regularly depicted holding the distinctive weapon in art.

Scholars have proposed various treaties as the subject matter of the frieze, struggling to reconcile the iconography with a specific historical event (Mendel 1912: 446–48; Schober 1933: 72–75; Junghölter 1989: 53–57). Peter Baumeister's suggestion that the frieze is not intended to represent a specific treaty, but rather the peace that Roman political control afforded to the region seems the most likely when one considers questions of the frieze's readability (Baumeister 2007: 53–61). It is likely that the subject matter of the temple's friezes was chosen by its priests, or the civic or religious organisation that paid for the temple (Ridgway 1999: 206–07). This would be a

similar process to the production of civic coinage, in which the images on a city's coins were chosen by magistrates, who normally numbered among the city's wealthy citizens, as did Hekate's priests. While coins regularly featured the names of the magistrate who oversaw the city's coinage at the time of their minting, they were a statement of communal identity, and the iconography was chosen to represent the city as a whole rather than a specific person or family (Howgego 2007: 1–2). As the coins and friezes were seen by all social classes, it was necessary for the artists to consider this wide audience in their designs.

While the majority of visitors to the temple came from local areas and would have been familiar with both the specifically Laginetan rites and the character of the goddess worshipped there, the sanctuary was well known outside the immediate area, making it clear that some of the visitors would have come from farther away than Stratonikeia. Strabo states that the sanctuary was famous, coins from a number of cities in Karia and the islands have been found at Lagina, and an inscription from Kos states that boys from Kos and the Isthmus participated in contests at the Hekateion in Stratonikeia (Strabo 14.2.25; *Iscr. di Cos* EV 203; Ekici 2015; Karatas 2019: 63). Recognising a gathering of gods or an allegory of the temple's allegiance to the political order would have probably been fairly easy for most ancient viewers, while understanding a complicated system of identities and symbols that referenced specific historical events would not. This would have been true not only for foreign visitors, but for locals who worshipped at the site generations after its construction. As the temple and its frieze was intended both to simulate devotion and to proclaim Stratonikeia's and Hekate's religious and political loyalties to visitors, the simpler idea of an allegory of Roman peace is therefore more likely.

Beginning with Arnold Schober, Hekate has been identified as the female figure standing to the right of the pair shaking hands, who pours out a libation, sanctifying the scene (Schober 1933: 72–76). This classification is based on the figure's iconographic similarity to the representations of Hekate on the east and west friezes, including her *polos* headdress, a common attribute of political goddesses that she also wears on the east frieze (Cole 1995: 292–93; Bonnet, Pirenne-Delforge 2013: 201–05). With the actions and position of Hekate, the frieze makes a powerful statement about the close association between Stratonikeia and the goddess. By overseeing a treaty, the goddess is cast in a protective role of guardian and as a representative of the city who can guarantee political alliances.

Hekate's sacred counterpart in the treaty, Dea Roma, has also been identified on the north frieze (fig. 8; Queyrel 2009: 631). She is depicted as a seated figure wearing a cloak and holding a large round shield, which



Fig. 8. Dea Roma (?), Treaty between Karia and Rome (?), north frieze, Temple of Hekate at Lagina, Istanbul Archaeological Museums (photo by W. Schiele; negative no. D-DAI-IST-78-238, DAI Istanbul).

rests on the ground, against her side. This iconography closely aligns the figure with other images of Roma, including notably those on imperial monuments like the apotheosis scene on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius in Rome (for Roma: Joyce 2014/2015). It also sets her apart from the typical iconography of Amazons in artworks produced in Hellenised Anatolia. In these artworks, such as the Amazonomachy frieze from the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Meander, the Amazons are depicted wearing short dresses, without cloaks, and carrying *pelta*, rather than round, shields (Webb 1996: 90–92). On the Lagina frieze, the iconography sets Dea Roma apart from the other Amazons, cementing the view that she holds a special place in the narrative.

Roma's presence on the north frieze supports the identification of the scene as an agreement between Rome and Stratonikeia, or perhaps more generally Karia or Asia Minor, and indicates that the Roman goddess supports and oversees the treaty. Yet, Roma is located on a different block from the handshake scene. This physical separation contrasts with Hekate's placement, privileging the role of the Laginetan goddess in the proceedings.

The privileged placement of Hekate makes it likely that the event is happening in the sanctuary at Lagina. This conclusion is supported by various items present in the frieze, including sacred objects carried by the participants and the blocks that resemble altars (Webb 1996: 111). In particular, the figures located directly to the left of the pair shaking hands support the conclusion that the event takes place in a religious location. With their twisted positions and long draped cloaks wrapping around their bodies, the pair has the distinctive iconography of mantle dancers, veiled and heavily draped women who performed sacred dances (Mendel 1912: 516–17; Schober 1933: 35; Friesländer 2001). It is likely that they are performing a dance as part of the ritual consecrating the treaty, highlighting the sacred nature of the alliance. Laws and treaties were commonly recorded in sanctuaries so that the gods would protect these documents and give them divine authority (Cole 1995: 306). The frieze records not just a political event, but a religious one as well, falling under the special purview of Hekate as a state goddess. The frieze gave Stratonikeians a space to advertise their loyalty to Rome and the key role that their patron goddess played in negotiating that relationship. It was a physical embodiment of an alliance that was celebrated

throughout the sanctuary, including in rituals that formed key parts of its religious life and will be discussed in further detail below. The frieze and its depiction of Hekate underscores one of the most important roles of Laginetan Hekate, as it was her liminal powers and control over life's transitions that helped her guide her worshippers through difficult and uncharted political and religious matters.

This characterisation of Hekate as an important political goddess is further supported by an examination of the coins from Stratonikeia. Stratonikeia struck coins from the second century BC through the late Roman Empire, and images of Hekate can be found on bronze and silver coins minted throughout this period (Head 1892: lxxviii–lxxiii, 147–159; Meadows 2002: 79–134; Ekici 2015: 137–62). On the coins, she typically appears in one

of two guises, and her iconography closely matches that of the Lagina frieze. On the first type of coins, only a bust of Hekate, adorned by a crescent at the top of her head, is depicted (fig. 9). This image of Hekate appeared on the obverse of both silver and bronze coins minted during the second through first centuries BC, and again in the second century AD, indicating the importance of the goddess as a symbol for the city (Meadows 2002: 107–23).

In her second guise, Hekate generally appears on the reverse of coins, accompanying a bust of Zeus or, during the Roman Empire, busts of the imperial family. She is represented full length and bears a striking resemblance to the representation of the goddess on the north frieze of the Temple of Hekate (fig. 10). On these coins, Hekate faces forward, wearing a long dress belted beneath her breasts



Fig. 9. Silver Drachm of Stratonikeia with bust of Hekate on obverse and Nike on reverse, 188–125 BC, silver (American Numismatic Society, New York, 1967.144.4).



Fig. 10. Coin of Stratonikeia with busts of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna on the obverse and Hekate on the reverse, AD 193–211, bronze (Museum of Fine Arts. Theodora Wilbour Fund in memory of Zoë Wilbour).

and a himation. She holds a torch in her left hand and a *phiale* (offering dish) in her right. She frequently wears a narrow *polos* headdress topped by a crescent moon. On most of the editions, a small dog, a frequent companion of Hekate in earlier art and literature, stands at her feet and looks up at her (Lycoph. *Alex.* 1174–80; Theoc. *Id.* 2; Ap. Rhod. *Argon* 3.1217; Lucian, *Philops.* 22–24; Kraus 1960: 24–25; Betz 1992; Strelan 2003: 148–57; Zografou 2010: 249–83). Others feature a burning altar in lieu of the dog (Meadows 2002: 98–101).

The representations of Hekate on both the frieze and the coinage highlight the differences between how the goddess was viewed here at Lagina versus in the rest of the Greek world, including elsewhere in Karia. Outside of Lagina, Hekate was not depicted as frequently in art, and the artworks in which she appeared were of limited subject matter. The earliest known images of Hekate date to the Archaic period, and the majority appear on painted pottery and highlight the limited subject matter in which Hekate was included, contrasting with Lagina. While the earliest known depiction of Hekate, the terracotta statuette from Athens discussed above, depicts the goddess generically as an enthroned woman, most archaic images represent her taking part in the Eleusinian mythic cycle (Kraus 1960: 92–93; Edwards 1986: 307–18; Sarian 1992: 989–97). The Eleusinian myth, which was the subject of the seventh-century *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, represents one of Hekate's only appearances in Greek mythology. In the hymn, Hekate, who exists in a cave apart from the rest of the gods, is the only deity who, after hearing Persephone's cries, aids Demeter in her search and, later, greets Persephone on her return to earth (22–26, 51–61, 438–49). On a fifth-century bell-krater attributed to the Persephone Painter depicting Persephone's homecoming, Hekate stands at the centre of the composition (fig. 11; Richter 1931: 245–48). Demeter stands to Hekate's right side, while on the left, a forward-facing Hermes helps Persephone, who rises from the ground. Hekate, wearing a *peplos* and holding two torches, is depicted as a young woman with her hair pulled back in a low chignon. She and her torches help to guide Persephone through the liminal spaces on her journey from the underworld. Such depictions of Hekate with torches established an iconography for the goddess, which proved to be a pervasive type in Greek art and literature and was even drawn upon centuries later at Lagina (Bacchylides, frag. 1B; Ar. *Thesm.* 858; Ar. frag. 608; Ar. *Frogs* 1361–65). Yet, while the artists at Lagina drew upon the iconography of Hekate established in the Eleusinian images, the myth is not referenced in either the friezes or the coinage.

In the middle of the fifth century BC, an alternative version of Hekate as triple-bodied developed in both literature and artwork. Pausanias states that the first artist to create this version of Hekate was the sculptor Alkamenes,



Fig. 11. *Persephone Painter* (attributed), Bell-Krater with the Return of Persephone, ca 440 BC, terracotta (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1928).

who created a triple Hekate called *Epipyrgidia* for the Athenian Acropolis (Paus. 2.30.2; Kraus 1960: 84–118; Fullerton 1986: 669–75). The statue is now lost, but its general look can be reconstructed, since the triple Hekate proved popular in Greek and Roman artwork. Each of these statues, called *Hekataia*, follow the same, rigid format throughout the Greek and Roman periods and have been found throughout the Mediterranean.

One well-preserved example of a *Hekataion* is now housed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 12). The small marble statue dates to the second century AD, indicating the continuing popularity of the figural type after its invention in the fifth century BC. The sculpture, which adheres to the conventions of the *Hekataion* type, depicts three young women organised around a central pole, each dressed in a belted *peplos* with a tall *polos*-style headdress. The three women, who represent the three-bodied nature of Hekate, stand stiffly with their backs to the pole, and are strangely disconnected from one another. Between the women are torches, an attribute which carries over from Hekate's representations in the Persephone myth.

It is probable that the three-formed version of Hekate developed as a result of the strong connection between the goddess and crossroads. In the Greek world, crossroads, *triados*, were understood as the intersection of three roads. Hekate was worshipped at the crossroads, and *Hekataia* were frequently placed there because each of the statue's three bodies was believed to oversee a different road. Hekate, therefore, in her triple form, had total control over all sections of the crossroads and saw everything that happened there. The crossroads were a fearful location, not only because thieves frequently loitered there, but also



Fig. 12. Statuette of Triple Hekate (Hekataion), second-century AD, marble (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Armida B. Colt, 2011).

because they were associated with dark forces, including witchcraft, magic and ghosts – all of which fell under the purview of Hekate. In addition, the liminal nature of the crossroads, since they did not belong to any single location or road, mirrors that of the space between life and death over which Hekate ruled, and they provided an appropriate locale in the physical world at which to worship the goddess (Soph. frag. 73, 535; Eur. *Hel.* 569–70; Eur. *Ion* 1048–49; Eur. *Med.* 395–97; Theoc. *Id.* 2; Hor. *Sat.* 1.8; Puhvel 1989; Johnston 1991: 217–24; 1999: 203–49; Zografou 2010).

Paralleling the rising popularity of the *Hekataia*, the majority of literary depictions of Hekate, beginning in the fifth century BC, highlighted the uncanny aspects of Hekate as a triple goddess, almost to the exclusion of other characteristics emphasised in the myth of Demeter and Persephone or in the *Theogony*. She appeared in plays, poetry, philosophy, medical texts and curse tablets as a

dread goddess who must be appeased to avoid her dark punishments (Aesch. frag. 338; Soph. frag. 535; Ar. *Wasps* 799–804; Theophr. *Char.* 16; Ov. *Fast.* 1.141–42; Charikleides quoted in Ath. *Deinosophistae* 8.126).

From the fifth century BC through to the Roman period, while single-bodied images of Hekate continued to be produced, triple Hekate became the more popular version of the goddess, and examples of triple-bodied Hekates outnumbered single-bodied images (Kraus 1960; Sarian 1992). On the Great Altar at Pergamon, Hekate is represented, holding her torch, with three heads and multiple arms (Radt 1999; Queyrel 2005). *Hekataia* continued to be popular, and numerous statues and statuettes in the form continued to be produced in the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Anatolia and the rest of the Greek world (Kraus 1960: 153–65). In the Hellenistic epic *Argonautika* by Apollonios of Rhodes, Hekate appears as a terrifying and dark patron of magic and witchcraft (3.477–48, 528–33, 846–50, 858–63, 1207–24; 4.147–48, 247–50). Even in Karia, outside of Lagina, Hekate regularly appeared in the triple-bodied form and rarely appeared in the single form. Coins minted by the Karian cities of Halikarnassos, Antioch ad Meander and Tralleis all feature depictions of triple Hekate (RPC 3.2154, 7.490, 8.20557; Head 1892: 22; Berg 1974: 132). For example, a triple Hekate is depicted on the reverse of a bronze coin minted in Halikarnassos during the reign of Hadrian (fig. 13). The goddess' middle body is shown in a frontal view. The two other bodies, which are only partly visible behind the middle form, face left and right respectively. All three wear *polos* headdresses and hold torches in their outstretched hands. The coin clearly draws upon the iconography established for the goddess in the *Hekataia* statues.

In contrast, Hekate of Lagina is never triple bodied. The representation of Hekate with her traditional symbols of torch and dog make clear that the Laginetan Hekate was a relative of the Hekate worshipped elsewhere. Yet, by choosing to imagine their goddess exclusively in the single form, the people of Stratonikeia made an emphatic statement to the rest of Karia and the wider Greek world



Fig. 13. Coin of Halikarnassos with a bust of Hadrian on the obverse and triple Hekate on the reverse, AD 117–138, bronze (Classical Numismatics Group. www.cngcoins.com).

about the character of their goddess, indicating that this was not the same version of the goddess who was popular throughout the rest of the Mediterranean. I posit that the single form of Hekate was chosen purposefully to distance the Hekate of Lagina from the patron of ghosts and witches so closely associated with the *Hekataia*. Her sinister aspects are downplayed, and while she maintains her connections to liminal spaces, as symbolised by her torch and her participation in the birth of Zeus, her dominion over life's transitions is cast as powerful and beneficial to her people. Her power allows her to stand and fight with her torch in the battle of gods and giants, and to secure Stratonikeia's political future as she consecrates a treaty. Overall, she was a powerful local patron who could guide Stratonikeia's citizens through their own cultural and political journeys.

Rituals of Hekate

An examination of the rituals and festivals at Lagina, as recorded in surviving texts, further underscores Hekate's function as a civic goddess and protector of the local people. Most of our knowledge of the rituals of Hekate come from inscriptions found at Lagina and Stratonikeia. The majority of the surviving inscriptions date to the Imperial period. Many are honorific, celebrating a priest or priestess for their service or gifts to the goddess and the community. Some inscriptions mention specific cultic offices or rituals; it is frequently unclear whether these were originally part of the practices of the second-century BC temple or if they only came into being later. Some events or offices are mentioned frequently in the surviving inscriptions, while others are only attested in inscriptions that date to the late Imperial period. It is likely that, like the architecture of the sanctuary, Hekate's rituals evolved over time to meet the changing needs of the worshippers. In this discussion, therefore, I have focused on those rituals and cultic offices that are mentioned in numerous inscriptions and appear to have been practised for significant periods of time. Most are firmly attested beginning in the first or second centuries AD, and our fullest understanding of the cult and its rituals dates to this period.

Outside of Lagina, Hekate rarely received state-sponsored cult, and when she did, it usually took the form of small shrines or offerings given as part of the rites of another deity (Fontenrose 1988: 133–34; Miles 1998: 38–40; Johnston 1999: 204). Even at other sites in Karia, the evidence points to the worship of Hekate as peripheral, associated with shrines at gateways and roadways, or integrated into the cults of other gods. No other temples to Hekate have been found, nor does any surviving evidence, either artistic or epigraphical, point to Hekate as civic patron with a central role in state religion in other Karian cities. An inscription found in Miletos mentions that the

Molpoi, a group of religious singers, on a procession from the Temple of Apollo Delphinios in Miletos to the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, stopped at a shrine of Hekate of the Gates (*I.Milet* 1.3.133; Gorman 2001: 179–84). At Aphrodisias, there was also a priesthood of Hekate Propylaia (Johnston 1999: 206–07). Hekate appears to have been primarily worshipped in Karia with small rites as a liminal goddess, associated with doors and gates.

By contrast, numerous inscriptions from Lagina and Stratonikeia refer to the large banquets and ceremonies that regularly took place in honour of Hekate. Each of these festivals worshipped Hekate in her role as a civic patron, highlighting different aspects of her connection to the city. Her rituals were established as a key part of the civic life of Stratonikeia, with her festivals acting as some of the most important events in the calendar, requiring the participation of the entire population. For example, one surviving inscription from the second century AD states that two children's choirs were appointed to sing hymns to the goddess on a regular basis. The first group of children was selected annually from among the families of those who 'lived within the boundaries of the sanctuary' by the priest of Hekate. A similar choir, which consisted of 30 youths, was selected from the families of Stratonikeia and sang the praises of both Hekate and Zeus in the bouleuterion in Stratonikeia (*I.Stratonikeia* 1101; Laumonier 1958: 400, 402; Chaniotis 2003: 186–89; Bowie 2006: 90–91). The existence of these groups indicates the great extent to which the worship of Hekate was integrated into the everyday lives of the residents of Stratonikeia, even though most could only travel to the sanctuary during festivals. The goddess was revered not only by adults, but also by their children, and it was necessary to appease her and curry her favour not only on her major festival days, but every day.

However, due to the approximately 10km distance between the city and the sanctuary, few people would have gone to Lagina to worship the goddess on a daily basis. On most days, the only people in the sanctuary would have been the temple staff and their families, or perhaps people who lived in nearby villages. It would have been rare for Stratonikeians to worship Hekate at Lagina with small dedications or individual prayers. Instead, most Stratonikeians would have only come to Lagina on major festival days. The state-sponsored festivals required ritualised community participation and emphasised Hekate as a major force in the universe who protected the city and its people and guided them through chaotic times. Worshippers' interactions with the goddess and her sanctuary would have been set by the festival programme. Worshippers would have walked in processions between the city and sanctuary, and once there, participated in ritualised singing, sacrifices, feasting and, during some

festivals, athletic competitions. The rituals connected the extra-urban sanctuary to the city and the goddess to the citizenry, establishing the worship of Hekate at Lagina as a public event that brought the participants together as a community. Hekate of Lagina's cult was therefore inherently a public cult that was intended to benefit the city and its citizens and to help to create community identity through ritual (for festivals and community identity, see Chaniotis 1995; Zuiderhoek 2016: 94–105).

The architecture of the sanctuary was clearly designed with such festivals in mind (Herring 2020). Large open spaces between the temple and the surrounding stoas allowed for large gatherings of people, and steps that most likely functioned as seating during festival activities were located on the south side of the complex (Tirpan, Söğüt 2006: 591–93). Dedications made by and honouring Stratonikeia's prominent citizens were located throughout the sanctuary and would have been seen by festivalgoers as they moved through the rituals (Tirpan 1997: 173–94; Laumonier 1958: 360–65). An altar dedicated to the goddess, almost as large in its plan as the temple itself, was located in front of the eastern façade of the temple. Burnt sacrifices to the goddess were made on an altar table, which stood in the centre of a marble building decorated with relief sculpture and Corinthian columns (Tirpan, Söğüt 1999: 154–56; 2001: 345–47; 2003: 90; Winter 2006: 19–20). Excavators have uncovered a second site of sacrifice inside the temple. A pit with traces of grape pollen was found under the floor of the cella, indicating that small groups of worshippers poured libations or placed small foodstuffs in the pit as dedications to Hekate (Tirpan et al. 2012: 192–96).

While there is evidence at other sanctuaries for some rituals taking place inside the temple, including libations and perhaps sacrifices, enacting sacrifices inside the temple was unusual, especially in a pit (Miles 2016: 218–19). Most offerings in large sanctuaries took place on exterior altars, like the altar at Lagina, and these sacrifices acted as the culminating act of many rituals. Small sacrifices and libations to gods were commonly made in exterior pits or on low-lying altars, however. Traditionally, scholars have believed that these types of sacrifices were made only to chthonic (of/in the earth) gods, while ouranic (of/in the sky) gods received sacrifices on high altars (Burkert 1985: 54–59). Recent scholarly re-evaluations have argued that the differences between ouranic and chthonic gods and their manner of worship are not as straightforward as previously argued (Schleiser 1991–92: 38–51; Scullion 1994: 75–119; Hägg, Alroth 2005; Ekroth 2007: 387–99). Outside of Lagina, Hekate frequently fits the mould of a chthonic goddess. She is associated with the earth and the underworld, and she was appeased with small foodstuffs and libations in the ground or on small

altars, such as in the personal dedications made during monthly rites known as Hekate's Suppers, which will be discussed in further detail below. At Lagina, Hekate does not fit neatly into the mould, and speaks to the idea that gods can be both chthonic and ouranic and worshipped in various ways (Zografou 2010: 227–48). Her attributes of torches and dogs, along with the pit for libations inside the temple evoke the chthonic elements of her cult as practised elsewhere. Yet, the surviving inscriptions do not connect Hekate to the underworld, crossroads, magic or ghosts, and she is always represented with a single body. Instead, the art and text make it clear that she is worshipped almost entirely in connection with the city of Stratonikeia and its people, cementing divine alliances, protecting the land against invasion and wielding her divine power to help her people.

Inscriptions indicate that community rites to Hekate were staged monthly, with larger festivals celebrated on a yearly basis. The first of the yearly festivals were the *genethlia* or birthday celebrations of Hekate (*I.Stratonikeia* 706; Laumonier 1958: 393–98; Debord 2007: 239–50). During the festival, not only was the goddess worshipped through songs and sacrifices, but the priest of Hekate and the *kleidophoros*, a member of the temple staff who was usually the daughter of the priest, also distributed money to the people of Stratonikeia. Inscriptions from the Imperial period indicate that the priests of Hekate were appointed annually and were chosen from specific families that numbered among the wealthiest and most prominent in Stratonikeia. Many of the expenses essential to the functioning of the sanctuary at Lagina were paid for by the priest out of his own personal income. Priests of Hekate were expected to pay for sacrifices, banquets, the repair of sanctuary buildings and the distribution of gifts to the people (*I.Stratonikeia* 512, 514, 520, 601–09, 611–14, 626–27, 633, 636, 652, 657, 660, 670, 695, 717; Laumonier 1938: 251–84; van Bremen 2010: 483–503; Williamson 2013: 209–45). The Sanctuary of Hekate and its staff served, therefore, as an important source of social welfare for the city and were integrated into the economic and civic lives of Stratonikeians as well as their religious practices.

Birthday celebrations were one of the most common types of religious festivals in the Greek world, with the best known being the Panathenaia of Athena in Athens. The *genethlia* at Lagina follows the model of these celebrations, with their emphasis on communal worship, feasting and music. The timing of Hekate's *genethlia* is not clear from the inscriptions, but Alfred Laumonier connected the monthly rites of Hekate with the *genethlia* festival, arguing that Hekate's birthday was celebrated on the 30th of each month, with the larger *genethlia* celebrated once a year (Laumonier 1958: 393–95). As well

as a mention in an inscription of a rite on the 30th, Laumonier's argument draws upon comparative evidence from the rest of the Greek world, where Hekate was regularly celebrated around the 30th of the month. At the time of the new moon, offerings known as Hekate's Suppers were left at the crossroads for Hekate (Soph. frag. 734; Ar. *Wealth* 594–97; Ar. *Frogs* 1361–65; Ar. frag. 209, 85; Dem. *Against Conon* 39; Plut. *Mor. Quaest. conv.* 708–09; Ath. *Deinosophistae* 3.75, 7.126, 8.57; Greenwalt 1978: 42–45; Johnston 1991: 217–24; Smith 1992: 57–64; Parker 1996: 30–31, 360–62). The offerings, which were intended to appease and pacify Hekate and the displaced dead that followed her and to protect the offerant's home and family from them, could consist of either edible items, such as loaves of bread, cheese, or cakes with candles, or sometimes the discarded items of society, such as trash and pollution. The rite was so widespread that as late as the 11th century AD, the church was still attempting to curtail the practice (Smith 1992: 61).

Yet, despite Laumonier's proposed date for the celebrations of Hekate at Lagina, there are few similarities between the rites at Lagina and Hekate's Suppers. The suppers were not part of the state religion of the Greeks, but rather were personal dedications by individuals. The communal worship and social welfare aspects at Lagina are entirely absent from the suppers, and during the *genethlia* and other rites, Hekate, in her role as civic patron, was asked to protect the city of Stratonikeia and the community as a whole, not only specific families (*I.Stratonikeia* 507, 510, 512). No surviving inscriptions from Lagina mention the restless dead or magic; instead, they connect Hekate to widespread protection of the population. The contrast highlights Hekate's role as a civic protector at Lagina.

In addition to the *genethlia* celebrations, inscriptions describe two additional festivals that formed part of the civic worship of Hekate at Lagina. The first, the Festival of the Key, the *kleidos agoge* (sometimes referred to as the *kleidos pompe* or *kleidogoge*), appears to have been the most important festival at Lagina, based on the large number of inscriptions that mention the festival and/or its main participant, the *kleidophoros*, the key-bearer (*I.Stratonikeia* 538–43, 676, 683, 685, 690, 701, 704, 705, 707–13, 735; Laumonier 1958: 368–69, 398–99; Kraus 1960: 48–50; Johnston 1990: 41–42; Karatas 2019). During the yearly festival, games were played, music was performed, hymns to the goddess were sung and sacrifices were made. The highlight of the rite, however, was the *kleidos pompe*, the Procession of the Key, in which the *kleidophoros* carried the key in a grand procession from its normal resting place at Lagina along the road to Stratonikeia. While it was in Stratonikeia, rites to the goddess were

presumably undertaken before the key was carried ritually back to her temple. The rite of procession between Lagina and Stratonikeia highlights the connection between the main urban centre and the sanctuary. By ritually bringing Hekate's key into Stratonikeia, the city, despite its physical distance from the sacred land, was formally connected to the goddess.

It is unclear from the inscription exactly what the key unlocked or its exact symbolism. The *kleidos agoge* festival was only celebrated at Lagina, but connections between sanctuaries, temple staff and keys existed elsewhere (Karatas 2019). A number of inscriptions found in mainland Greece, notably in Attica, refer to a priestess as *kleidouchos*, which also means key-bearer. In addition, on certain grave monuments from the fourth century BC, priestesses are shown holding the key to the temple at which they served. These priestesses' keys were the actual keys that opened the doors of the temples. By representing themselves with these keys, the women indicated their important role in society as guardians of the cities' holiest places. However, it does not appear that the *kleidouchos* was an office with specifically associated rituals and responsibilities. Rather, guarding the key that opened the temple was one of a number of roles fulfilled by the priestesses who served the sanctuary (Dillon 2001: 80–83; Connelly 2007: 229–34). In contrast, at Lagina, the *kleidophoros* was defined primarily by her participation in the *kleidos pompe* and her guardianship of the key.

The key at Lagina, therefore, clearly had a more significant role than simply as a badge of the office of priestess. Hekate, herself, was called a key-bearer in Greek and Roman texts beginning in the Hellenistic period. The keys that she carried were those that opened the gates to Hades and related to her role as a guardian of the space between life and death (Betz 1992; Johnston 1990: 41–42). Alfred Laumonier suggested that the key of Lagina was Hekate's key to Hades (1958: 398, 416–17). This seems unlikely, however, since Hekate is not depicted with a key in the surviving art from Lagina nor is she described as key-bearer in the inscriptions. It is more likely that the key actually opened a physical door or gateway (Hatzfeld 1920: 83–84; Kraus 1960: 48–50). Since the procession moving the key from Lagina to Stratonikeia formed the centrepiece of the festival, I posit that the key opened a gate or building within the city of Stratonikeia, rather than Lagina, due to the emphasis on its presence in the city. Perhaps the key opened the city gates or an important civic building like the bouleuterion, and during the procession, the *kleidophoros* ritually opened the building, symbolising Hekate's role as civic patron, and her power to guide her population through liminal spaces. The key was then moved back to Lagina and held under Hekate's protection, as she protected the city, for the rest of the year.

Hekate's role as a political goddess is most clearly shown in the third major festival dedicated to her at Lagina, the Hekatesia-Romaia. This festival was overtly political, not only promoting the worship of the gods, but proclaiming Stratonikeia's loyalty to Rome and their primary goddess' support of that fealty. Beginning in the first century BC, the festival was part of the yearly sacred calendar at Lagina, with a larger celebration every five years. The festival, which was anchored by games, worshipped Hekate and Roma in tandem. The establishment of the festival is recorded in the *senatus consultum de Stratonicensibus*, a decree passed by the Roman senate and engraved on the walls of the temple (*I.Stratonikeia* 505–08; Diehl, Cousin 1885: 437–74; Sherk 1969: 105–11; Rigsby 1996: 418–23; Delrieux 2007: 212–17; van Bremen 2010: 493–95). The text, which is dated to 81 BC, praises the Stratonikeians for their loyalty to Rome during the Mithridatic Wars and outlines their rewards. Not only is the city to be monetarily compensated and given certain political rights and privileges as a free city, but Hekate and her temple are singled out for special attention. The decree states that the goddess, who is identified as Hekate the illustrious saviour, protected her city through a miraculous epiphany during the war. In addition, the sanctuary, which suffered great destruction by Mithridates, is declared inviolable and recognised as an official place of asylum. Finally, the new festival is identified as a Panhellenic event certified by 57 named cities (van Nijf, Williamson 2016). Hekate and her temple were identified in the decree as powerful religious and political entities by both Rome and the Greek cities. Hekate was recognised as a goddess equal in status to Roma, and as one, who, like Roma, stood in for her city and represented it on the world stage. Through Hekate, Stratonikeia and its people attest their fealty to Rome, but also promote their own importance as a free city under Roman rule by setting up their goddess as equal to that of the imperial overlords. The political and the religious were firmly intertwined in the festival and could not be separated.

As worshippers participated in the rites and games of the Hekatesia-Romaia, they would have been surrounded by visual reminders of the political relationship between Rome and Karia. The north frieze's presentation of an allegory of the union, with its place of honour in the entablature, would have been the most prominent. Yet, there were also numerous inscriptions in the sanctuary, in addition to the prominently placed *senatus consultum* decree on the temple walls, that proclaimed the Stratonikeians' loyalty to Rome and the favour they received in return. The first inscription that a visitor to the sanctuary would have seen, on the lintel of the doorjamb of the propylon, honoured Augustus and stated that the emperor had personally paid for restoration of the sanctuary after it had been attacked, presumably after the sack of Lagina by Labineus in the 40s BC (*I.Stratonikeia*

511). In addition, small shrines honouring Augustus and Julius Caesar were located near the altar (Söğüt 2006–07: 421–31; Aydaş 2009: 119–20). All of these elements, festivals, inscriptions, sculpture and architecture combined to create a unified message of loyalty and reflected the political situation of the Stratonikeians in the late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods, showing how they incorporated these different elements into their religious lives. Hekate at Lagina fulfilled not only a religious function but a political one as well in the rapidly changing Hellenistic, and then Roman, worlds.

Conclusion

The Sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina continued to function throughout the Roman period until the fourth century AD, maintaining its status as one of the most important sanctuaries in the civic territory of Stratonikeia. Hekate also kept her position as a political patron. Hekate's connections to her city were woven throughout her character, depictions and rites. The goddess and her sanctuary protected the city, provided a locus for community identity established through ritual, and helped the city negotiate its relationships with its imperial rulers. She became a symbol of the city on its coinage, her torch highlighting her oversight of transitions and protection against the unknown. On the temple's frieze, she helped safely usher Zeus into the world, oversaw a treaty made by her people that ensures their safety and political future, and played a key role in the gods' fight against the giants, who represented the forces of chaos. In the inscriptions, she was a saviour, who saves the sanctuary from violent attack and helps ensure peace and prosperity for the people of Stratonikeia. When considered under the definitions of a political deity proposed by Ursula Brackertz and other scholars, Hekate of Lagina fits comfortably. Hekate of Lagina filled an integral role in the life and identity, both political and religious, of Stratonikeia.

The inscriptions highlight the central role that Hekate's rituals and temple staff played in the life of the city. Her festivals were important dates on the city's calendar that required community participation and created communal identity centred on cultic practice. Her worshippers walked in processions that connected city and sanctuary, sang together, watched and participated in athletic games together, and sacrificed together. Her priests acted as forces of social welfare, providing food for banquets and distributing money and gifts to the people.

Hekate and her sanctuary were used to advertise their political loyalties and navigate the establishment of alliances. The loyalty of Stratonikeia to Rome was visible throughout the sanctuary in inscriptions, altars and the north frieze, and was woven into cultic practices, notably the Hekatesia-Romaia festival.

Yet, the identity and alliances of the people of Stratonikeia were more complicated than simply being a vassal to Rome, and these layered identities are clearly visible at Lagina as well. The population of Stratonikeia was not simply Greek, Karian or Roman, but a hybridised version of all three. Hekate was most likely a descendant of a local Karian goddess. The sanctuary's inscriptions, many of which highlighted Stratonikeia's participation in the larger Hellenistic culture, were written in Greek, and the sanctuary's religious rites, which paralleled many seen elsewhere in the Greek world, were practised at a temple built in a Greek architectural style. Hekate, who played a powerful role in the divine cosmos and oversaw life's transitions, was well suited to act as a political goddess for this hybrid population as they adapted to new cultural and governmental systems.

When one considers Hekate only as the patron of witchcraft and crossroads, she seems an unusual choice for a civic patron. Yet, while Hekate of Lagina shared a name and some characteristics with the Hekate worshipped on

the Greek mainland and elsewhere in Karia, she was not the same goddess. Hekate of Lagina, like the other Hekate, wielded a torch and was worshipped on the 30th of the month, highlighting her connections to liminal spaces and transitions. But she was never associated with witchcraft or ghosts, nor did she take on the three-bodied form so popular throughout the Greek world. A distinct, single-bodied version of Hekate was worshipped at Lagina as a civic goddess, protecting her flock as they navigated through their changing world.

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