



# ARMA

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Prof. Dr. Adnan DİLER  
1956-2023

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## TRACES OF NEW CULTS AT STRATONIKEIA

*Stratonikeia'da Yeni Kültlerin İzleri*

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### ABSTRACT

This treatise analyses three epigraphical findings bringing innovation to the Stratonikeia's cults. Traces of new cults in the *Khora* of Stratonikeia result from these three new epigraphical findings unearthed during the excavations in Stratonikeia under Prof. Dr. Bilal Sögüt. One of the inscriptions is a gravestone found in *Gymnasion*. It is brought from Stratonikeia's *necropolis* for re-using as a construction material. The latter is a dedicatory inscription found in the Church at Erikli. The magical gem was found while sifting the soil on East Street.

The inscription no. 1 is a new attestation to the masculine name Orpheus and a new family. The inscription no. 2 uncovers a new cult of Zeus and his new *temenos*. The inscribed magical gem no. 3 documents the god Iao and describes an icon of Abrasax and seems to be connected with the two inscriptions on the north inner wall of *Bouleuterion*.

**Keywords:** Karia, Stratonikeia, Zeus Keraunios, Divine Iao, Abrasax.

### ÖZET

Bu çalışma Stratonikeia kültürlerine yenilik getiren üç epigrafik buluntuyu incelemektedir. Prof. Dr. Bilal Sögüt başkanlığında Stratonikeia'da yapılan kazılarda toprak altından çıkarılan bu üç yeni epigrafik bulundan Stratonikeia *Khora*'sında yeni kültürlerin izleri ortaya çıkmaktadır. Yazıtlardan biri, *Gymnasion*'da bulunan bir mezar taşıdır. İnşaat malzemesi olarak yeniden kullanılmak üzere Stratonikeia *nekropolis*'inden getirilmiştir. Diğer Erikli Kilisesi'nde bulunan bir adak yazıtıdır. Büyü taş ise Doğu Cadde'de toprak elenirken bulunmuştur.

1 numaralı yazıt, *masculinum* Orpheus şahıs ismini ve yeni bir aileyi; 2 numaralı yazıt, yeni bir Zeus kültürünü ve *temenos*'unu, 3 numaralı yazılı büyü taşı, tanrı Iao'yu ve Abrasaks tasvirini açığa çıkarmaktadır. Büyü taşı, *Bouleuterion*'un kuzey iç duvarındaki iki yazıyla bağlantılı görülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Karia, Stratonikeia, Zeus Keraunios, Tanrı Iao, Abrasax.

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First, Stratonikeia was founded as a Macedonian *katoikia*<sup>1</sup> in Karia during the period of the Diadochi. It was a military camp. Next, Hekatesia, the inland city of Karia, was conquered, and named after the military settlement<sup>2</sup>. Before Stratonikeia, the city's former names were Khrysaoris, Idrias, and Hekatesia<sup>3</sup>. Antiokhos II Theos (261-246 B.C.) reorganized Hekatesia politically, founded Stratonikeia in ca. 250 B.C., and reconstructed it and its *Khora*<sup>4</sup>.

The city of Stratonikeia was always a loyal ally of Rome. Therefore, with the privileges<sup>5</sup> granted by Sulla with *Senatus Consultum*, its territory expanded, becoming a city bordering the Aegean Sea. Stratonikeia evolved from the *katoikia* to the noteworthy *polis*<sup>6</sup> and later *metropolis*<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Str. XIV.2.25: Στρατονίκεια δ' ἐστὶ κατοικία Μακεδόνων (*Stratonikeia is a Macedonian katoikia*).

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 586: Στρατονίκεια, πόλις Μακεδόνων πλησίου Καρίας: κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Στρατονίκης τῆς Αντιόχου γυναικός (*Stratonikeia was a Macedonian city in Karia. The polis was named after Stratonike, wife of Antiochos*); Str. XIV.2.25: Στρατονικεῖς οὐκ ὄντες τοῦ Καρικοῦ γένους (*The Stratonicans are not descendants of Kar*).

<sup>3</sup> Paus. V.21.10: τὸ δὲ παλαιότερα ἡ τε χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Χρυσαορίς (*In the earliest times, the city and its khora were called Khrysaoris*); Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 696: Χρυσαορίς, πόλις Καρίας: ἡ ὑστερὸν Ἰδριὰς ὄνομασθεῖσα (*Khrysaoris was a Carian city. This city was later named Idrias*); Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 326: Ἰδριὰς, πόλις τῆς Καρίας: ἡ πρότερον Χρυσαορίς (*Idrias was a Carian city. This city was earlier called Khrysaoris*); Hdt. V.118: ποταμὸν Μαρσύνην, δῆς ρέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρης ἐξ τὸν Μοίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ (*The Marsyas River, flowing through the Khora of Idrias, merges with the Meander*); Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 262: Ἐκατήσια: οὕτως ἡ Ἰδριὰς πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Καρίας. ναὸν γὰρ τεύχαντες οἱ Κάρες τὴν θεὸν Λαγυνίτην ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ φυγόντος ζώου ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ Ἐκατήσια τελοῦντες οὕτως ὠνόμασαν (*Hekatesia: Idrias, the Carian city, was named Hekatesia. The Carians, who built a temple proclaimed the Goddess Hekate Laginian after the animal that escaped into the temple, completed the rituals of Hekate and named the temple thus the Temple of Hekate*); Str. XIV.2.25: ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικέων δύο ιερά, ἐν μὲν Λαγίνοις τὸ τῆς Ἐκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον, πανηγύρεις μεγάλας συνάγον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσαορέως Διός κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν (*In the Khora of Stratonikeia, there are two sanctuaries: One of them is the most famous Temple of Hekate in Lagina, which organizes great panegyrics every year; the other is the Temple of Zeus Khrysaoreus, the joint sanctuary of all Carians, located near the city of Stratonikeia*).

<sup>4</sup> Structural changes in Koranza and Lagina also began ca. 250 B.C. onwards (Aydaş 2023, 41-44). Stratonikeia annexed Koranza, an independent and autonomous *polis* (*I.Stratonikeia* no. 503) in the 4th century B.C., as a *demos* (Şahin 1976, 1; 17-24) to itself. Stratonikeia thus became one of the determining trade actors by taking possession of logistic and strategic Lagina, one of the supply points (Str. XIV.2.29) where goods were unloaded and loaded on the Physkos-Ephesos land trade road. Stratonikeia was enriched, architecturally renovated (Str. XIV.2.25), and strengthened. *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1418 put on the Temple of Hekate, which the Christian Stratonicans broke and threw into *cella* in *naos* among rock fragments and rubble when they ended the cult of Hekate and closed the temple, proves that the Temple of Hekate was built in Lagina in ca. 250 B.C. onwards and was already open (Aydaş 2023, 44) for the worship at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.

<sup>5</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* no. 505; *I.Stratonikeia* (= IK 68/3), 85-86, no. 505, ll. 55-58: [Πήδασόν τε] Θεμησσόν, Κέραμον, χωρία [κώμας λιμένας προσόδους τε τῶν] πόλεων ὁν Λεύκιος Κορρ[ήλιος Σύλλας αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς τούτων] ἀρετῆς καταλογῆς τε ἔνεκεν προσώρισεν συνεχόρησεν, ὅπως τούτοις ἔχειν ἔξ[η] (Because of their courage and honour, Dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla annexed the cities of Pedason, Themessos, and Keramos within the borders of Stratonikeia. He allowed Stratonicans to own the lands, villages, harbours, and revenues of these cities that he gave to Stratonikeia); Ll. 97-101 and 105-108. Cf. Str. XIII.1.59: Πήδασον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων πολίγνιον ἔστιν (*Pedason is a small town within the present boundaries of Stratonikeia's Khora*). Stratonikeia might have changed the settlement's status. Cf. Str. XIII.1.59: ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασέων τὰ Πήδασα (...) ἦν πόλις (*Pedasa was a city in the interior Khora of Halikarnasos*).

<sup>6</sup> Str. XIV.2.23: ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τρεῖς εἰσι πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι Μύλασα Στρατονίκεια Ἀλάβανδα (*Three noteworthy cities lie in the inland of Karia: Mylasa, Stratonikeia, and Alabanda*).

<sup>7</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* no. 15: ['Ἐδοξεν Στρατονικέων] τῆς αὐτόχθονος καὶ μητροπόλεως τῆς Καρίας τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ (*The Conseil and People's Assembly of Stratonikeia, the native and metropolitan city of Karia, approved*).

## 1. Gravestone of Epainetos (Fig. 1)

Found re-used in *Gymnasion*. Marble. Dimensions: Height 43,3 cm, width 25,4 cm, thickness 25,3 cm.

Height of letters 2,4-3 cm.

Date: It dates back to the Late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods (letters).

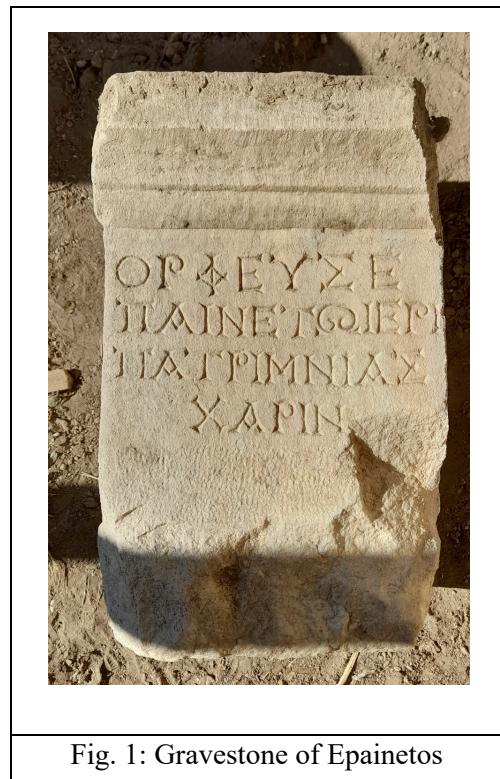


Fig. 1: Gravestone of Epainetos

’Ορφεὺς ’Ε-<sup>vv</sup>  
2 παινέτῳ ἱερῖ  
πατρὶ μνίας  
4 <sup>vvv</sup> χάριν. <sup>vv</sup>

*Orpheus, in memory of his father Epainetos, the priest.*

L.1: The personal name Orpheus appears for the first time in the *Khora* of Stratonikeia and Karia.

Ll.1-2: Epainetos is a common personal name in Stratonikeia<sup>8</sup>. The cult's name under Epainetos, the priest, is not inscribed. For other Epainetoi, the priests in the city see *I.Stratonikeia* nos. 601, 608, 684, 685, 692, 1502. Nevertheless, there is no connection between him and them. The cult served by Epainetos, the father of Orpheus, remains obscure. This family also appears for the first time in the

*Khora* of Stratonikeia. In *I.Stratonikeia* (IK 21, 22/1, 22/2, 68/3), there are not any traces of the myth of Orpheus. The fact that the obscure cult's priest named his son Orpheus, an uncommon and unique personal name in the city, may give a clue to the Orphic rites at Stratonikeia.

L.2: *ἱερῖ* (*iotacismos*) instead of *ἱερεῖ* is inscribed. For another *ἱερῖ* see *I.Stratonikeia* no. 272: *ἱερῖ* Θεοφίλῳ. For *ἱερῖς* instead of *ἱερεῖς*, see also *I.Stratonikeia* nos. 217, 300, 309-314, 317, 319, 324, 695. Cf. *I.Stratonikeia* no. 507: ‘Εκάτη Σωτείραι ’Επιφανεῖ and no. 217: ‘Εκάτη Σωτίρῃ ἐπιφανῆ. For writing -ι instead of -ει, see Gignac 1976, 190; 249.

<sup>8</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* IK 22/2 and 68/3 Index s.v. ’Επαίνετος.

## 2. Zeus Keraunios (Fig. 2)

Found re-used at the main entrance of the church in the location called Erikli<sup>9</sup>. Marble. Dimensions:

Height 24,7 cm, width 16,3 cm, thickness 16,3 cm. Height of letters 2 cm.

Date of the inscription: Roman Imperial period (omega).

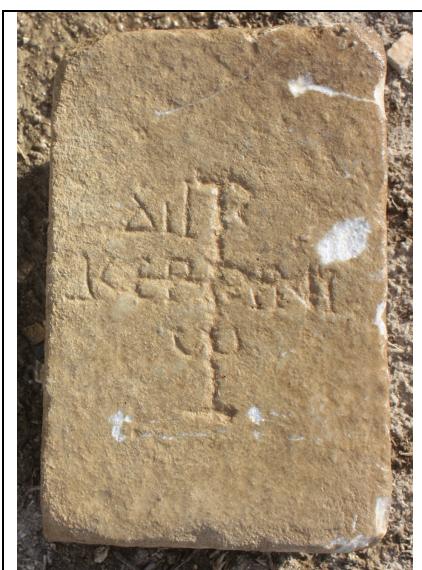


Fig. 2: Zeus Keraunios

vv Διὶ vvv  
2 Κεραυνί-  
vvv ω. vvv

(A vow is made) to Zeus Keraunios.

The church is named after the findspot. The so-called Erikli Church's original name is unknown. The inscription uncovers the cult of Zeus Keraunios in Stratonikeia for the first time. Thus, this cult has also been first attested in Karia. The word Κεραυνός appears only once in *I.Stratonikeia* no. 44. Although this fragmentary epigram includes the phrase ἀργινόεντι κεραυνῷ in l.1, Ζηνὶ and Οὐράνιε Ζεῦ in ll. 6-7, it does not seem to be connected with the newly discovered cult of Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος<sup>10</sup>.

In Anatolia, the worship of Zeus Keraunios is well-known from Kilikia [Anazarbos, Köseli, Kestros, Dekapolis, Mt. Silphios, and Epiphaneia]<sup>11</sup>, and Lydia [Thyateira (no. 61.34-35), Silandos (no. 61.36-37), Kollyda (no. 61.38-39), Satala (no. 61.40), and the mountainous area between Attaleia, Thyateira and Iulia Gordos (no. 61.41)]. In Thyateira, Zeus Terpikeraunos (no. 61.42) is also on record<sup>12</sup>. Zeus Keraunios used to be worshipped in Ephesos<sup>13</sup>, Miletos<sup>14</sup>, Priene<sup>15</sup>, and Pergamon<sup>16</sup>. This cult is cognised

<sup>9</sup> Sögüt 2019, 100-103, Resim 61: "Erikli Kilisesi, Stratonikeia kenti batı surunun yaklaşık 600 m batısındaki Erikli Mevkii olarak bilinen alana inşa edilmiştir".

<sup>10</sup> The other epithets of Zeus in Stratonikeia are Ἀρδυρεύς, Καννώκος, Καπετάλιος, Κάριος, Κρονίων, Κτήσιος, Λαβραῦνδος (also Λαβράνδος), Λώνδαργος, Νάρασος, Οὐράνιος, Πανάμαρος (also Παναμάριος, Πανήμερος, Πανημέριος, Πανήμερος Ἀργύρου), Στράτειος, Σωτήρ, Ὑψιστος, Χρυσαόρειος (also Χρυσαόριος, Χρυσαόρεος, Χρυσαορεύς, Χρυσάωρ). See *IK* 22/2, 92-93; *IK* 68/3, 97 s.v. Ζεύς. Zeus Soter is definitely Zeus Panamaros. See Aydaş 2023, 46; 54.

<sup>11</sup> *SEG* XX (MCMLXIV), 31, no. 99; *SEG* XXXVII (1987), 399, no. 1260; Şahin 2001, 76.

<sup>12</sup> De Hoz 1999, 24; 295-296. For the other cults of Zeus Keraunios, detected in Lydia, see also Malay 2006, 103-104.

<sup>13</sup> Şahin 2001, 75 s.v. *Zeus Keraunios/Keraunos*; inscriptions.packhum.org: Ephesus 893 (= *IEph* 1239).

<sup>14</sup> Laumonier 1958, 552; 715, d 29; Şahin 2001, 76; inscriptions.packhum.org: Milet VI.3 1257.

<sup>15</sup> Cook 1925, 808, fn. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Cook 1925, 808, fn. 8.

in Perge<sup>17</sup>, Pisidia [Kremna]<sup>18</sup>, Phrygia<sup>19</sup>, and Lykaonia<sup>20</sup>. For the existence of the cult outside Anatolia, see Cook 1925, 806-817 s.v. *Zeus Keraunobolos, Keraunios*.

The similar epithets of Zeus are Ἀργικέραυνος, Κεραύνειος, Κεραυνοβρόντης, Τερπικέραυνος<sup>21</sup>, Κεραυνοβόλος<sup>22</sup>, and Κεραυνός<sup>23</sup>. For description of Zeus with thunderbolt see figs. 2a and 2b.

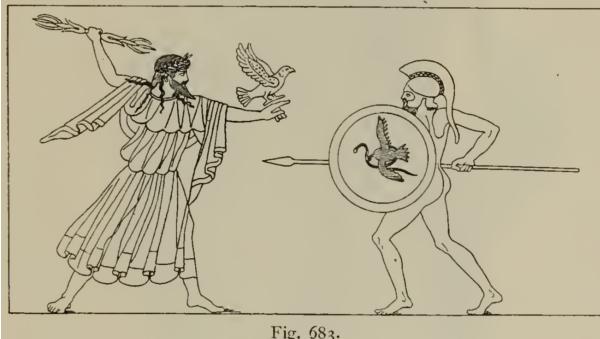


Fig. 683.



Fig. 663.

Fig. 2a: Depiction of Zeus attacking with a thunderbolt<sup>24</sup>.

Fig. 2b: “(...) Zeus attacking Typhon (...) with a mighty thunderbolt gripped by his strong right hand (...)”<sup>25</sup>.

The western frieze of the Temple of Hekate in Lagina depicts Zeus fighting against Typhon<sup>26</sup>. Zeus was probably holding a thunderbolt in his broken, upraised right hand. This depiction in Lagina may be earlier evidence of the cult of Zeus Keraunios. Stratonikeia might also have established this cult after the victory<sup>27</sup> over Labienus.

<sup>17</sup> I.Perge no. 207, XXX.

<sup>18</sup> inscriptions.packhum.org: IK Central Pisidia 5.

<sup>19</sup> Cousin 1884, 503, XV.

<sup>20</sup> inscriptions.packhum.org: MAMA I 7a.

<sup>21</sup> Cook 1925, 806, fn. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Cook 1925, 807, fn. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Cook 1925, 814 and fn. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Cook 1925, 744-745: “A red-figured *amphora* formerly in the Pourtalès collection (...)”, and 744, fn. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Cook 1925, 731: “A Chalcidian *hydria* at Munich (...)”, and fn. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Baumeister 2007, 38; Tafel 40, Platte 227 – West-Fries.

<sup>27</sup> Zeus Panamaros struck the Parthians with his thunderbolts (*I.Stratonikeia* no. 10), and the combined army of Stratonikeia and Mylasa (Aydaş 2023, 41-60) defeated the Parthian military. Before attacking Stratonikeia, Labienus had marched on Mylasa. When Labienus entered Mylasa, he encountered the city abandoned. He conquered the deserted city (Cassius Dio XLVIII 26, 4: ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος (...) τὰ δὲ δὴ Μύλασα ἐκλειφθέντα κατέσκαψε. τῇ γὰρ Στρατονικείᾳ προσήδρευσε μὲν πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδένα δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον ἐλεῖν ἡδυνήθη). Which I think to be connected with *I.Stratonikeia* no. 10, *I.Stratonikeia* no 1318's mention of Zeus Strateios, the cult in Mylasa (Laumonier 1958, 41-101; 139-140; 714; *I.Mylasa* nos. 204, 301, 318, 405), suggests that the army of Mylasa was stationed in the *Khora* of

As the priests of Seleukeia in Syria did<sup>28</sup>, possible *keraunophoroi* of Stratonikeia in Karia might have bore the thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios. It should be noted that the word “*keraunophoros*” has been unattested in *I.Stratonikeia* so far.

On the basis of the inscription, on which is engraved the Cross, a symbol of Christianity, to declare the cult of Zeus Keraunios became defunct in the Byzantine period, the Erikli Church may be said to have been built more likely on *temenos* of Zeus Keraunios than on his disputed temple. It is also possible that his sacred precinct may be situated somewhere near the church.

### 3. Magical gem (Fig. 3, 3a, 3b)

Found on East Street. Dimensions: Diameter 10-10,2 mm, thickness 8 mm. Letter height 2 mm. (Inv. no. 22SDC.C01)

Obverse: Abrasax<sup>29</sup>, standing on thunderbolt.

Reverse: The name of the divinity, Iao, is inscribed.

Date: The late 3rd cent. A.D.<sup>30</sup>



Fig. 3: The magical gem

Stratonikeia and that the two troops fought against Labienus. For the text (XLVIII 26, 4) by Cassius Dio see *I.Stratonikeia* (= IK 22/1), 196 s.v. *Die Zeugnisse der Antiken Schriftsteller über Stratonikeia, II. Geschichte*.

<sup>28</sup> Cook 1925, 809-810: “(...) at Seleukeia in the reign of Seleukos IV Philopator (187-175 B.C.) certain priests were annually appointed to act as *keraunophoroi* or thunderbolt-bearers”.

<sup>29</sup> Mastrocinque 2014, 13: “Dans les papyrus et les gemmes magiques (...) Les dieux des magiciens sont placés souvent au-dessus du cosmos, qu'ils contrôlent et meuvent d'en haut. Ils s'appellent Harpocrate, Sérapis, Isis, ou bien Iaô, Abrasax, Mithra, mais portent souvent aussi des noms occultes et mystérieux.”

<sup>30</sup> G. Staab-J. Hammerstaedt: “The trophy is standing on thunderbolts on coins under Emperor Probus (276-282 AD). This points to a date of the gem in the late 3rd cent. AD”; G. Staab: “The motives on the gems are influenced by coinage. See OCRA especially RIC V Probus 220, 221, 223.”; E. Zwierlein-Diehl-J. Hammerstaedt: “For the tropaion scene on the obverse of the gem see the *Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database*: CBd-Numbers: CBd-3824; CBd-3823; CBd-650; CBd-1081; CBd-1151”. Cf. also Fig. 3b and Fig. 3c.



Fig. 3a: Inscribed reverse of the gem. Clay print.



Fig. 3b: Trophy on the magical gem (obverse). Clay print.

1 οια

2 Ἱαη

3 Ἱήο

Ll. 2-3: Cf. Mastrocinque 2014, 35, no. 59 (R.): Ἱαη Αβρασαξ Ἱάω.

Robert Daniel notes that “Cf. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* nr. 4, line 465-467 ιαη; nr. 19a, line 8 Ἱάω; nr. 7, line 521; R.W. Daniel-F. Maltonini, *Supplementum Magicum* vol. I nr. 41, line 4; nr. 45, line 16 IAH; vol. I nr. 46, line 17; vol. I nr. 41, line 3+5 ΙΗΩ”.

L.3: Ἱήο is a variant of Ἱάω.

For mention of Abrasax and Iaô together, see Mastrocinque 2014, 23, no. 13; 28, no. 33; 75, no. 174; 81, no. 191; 108, no. 277; 116, nos. 302-303; 117, no. 305; 118, nos. 308-309; 119, no. 313; 121, no. 320; 122, no. 324; 145, no. 380; 147, no. 387; 148, no. 394; 214, and no. 602: Αβρασαξ Ἱάω εῖς Ζεὺς Σέραπις.

Nos. 380, 387, 394 carrying depictions of Helios on obverse and no. 602 lead us to *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1104: Ζηνὶ Πανη[μερί]ῳ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Διὶ Σεράπει σωθέντες ἐκ πολέμων μεγάλων καὶ ἀλλοδαποῖο θαλασσῶν εὐχῆς ἴνεκε (...) and *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1103: [χρηστήριον Δ]ιὸς Πανημερίου. [Ἡ πόλις, ώς

ἐκέλευσε] καὶ Σέ[ρα]πις, ἐρωτᾶ διὰ Φιλοκάλου β' οἰκονόμο[υ], [εἰ] ἐπιστήσονται οἱ ἀλιτήριοι βάρβαροι<sup>31</sup> [τῇ πό]λει ἢ τῇ χώρᾳ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει (...)

The Goths assaulted and plundered Ephesus and Artemision in 262/263 A.D.<sup>32</sup>. The Emperor Probus beat them in 276/277 A.D. His triumph was celebrated in Rome in late 281 A.D.<sup>33</sup>. The fact that οἱ ἀλιτήριοι βάρβαροι (s.v. *supra* no. 1103) desecrated Artemis Ephesia<sup>34</sup> distressed the Stratoniceans. The city was vigilant and prepared its troops for a possible war against the Goths. Therefore, *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1103 should be dated to A.D. 262/263 (*τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει*) and *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1104 should be dated to either A.D. 277 or late 281.

	
<p>Fig. 3b: Trophy on the magical gem (obverse). Clay print.</p>	<p>Fig. 3c: An example of Probus' trophy on coin<sup>35</sup>.</p>

<sup>31</sup> For this inscription in the *corpus* M. Çetin Şahin notes that “Die Barbaren sind vielleicht die Goten, um 265 n. Chr.”; See also Laumonier 1958, 290: “(...) l’oracle de Panamara au nom de la ville dans des circonstances périlleuses comme celle de l’invasion des Goths (...”).

<sup>32</sup> Sestier 2017, 200; Akşit 1985, 429.

<sup>33</sup> Drinkwater 2008, 55-56.

<sup>34</sup> Artemis Ephesia was worshipped in Stratonikeia. See *I.Stratonikeia* no. 283.

<sup>35</sup> Jesus Vico S.A., Online Auction 21, Lot number: 251, Auction date: 11 July 2023; CoinArchives.com.

Discerning Ἡλίῳ Διὶ Σεράπει<sup>36</sup> and Αβρασαξ Ἰάῳ εῖς Ζεὺς Σέραπις<sup>37</sup>, I come to the inference that Helios Zeus Serapis in Stratonikeia seems to embody the seasonal transformation of Iao, and *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1104 might also have been inscribed on the north inner wall<sup>38</sup> of Bouleuterion of Stratonikeia in the late spring-early summer of 277 or 281 A.D.

For the temple and altar and statues of the Egyptian deities in Stratonikeia, see *I.Stratonikeia* no. 207: τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ [τὴ]ν Εῖσιν καὶ τὸν νεῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθιέρωσα[v]; *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1101: ἐν τῷ προνάῷ τοῦ Σεραπίου; *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1531: τρίτου πύργου μέσης πύλης ὑπὸ τὸ Σαραπιεῖον.

For the other view to Helios Zeus Serapis see Laumonier 1958, 289-290; 685.

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<sup>36</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1104.

<sup>37</sup> See Mastrocinque 2014, 214, no. 602: “Macrobius I.18.19-20 mentionne un oracle d’Apollon selon lequel «le plus grand des dieux est Iao, qui est Hades en hiver, Zeus quand le printemps arrive, Hélios en été et le puissant Iao en automne».”

<sup>38</sup> *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1101, inscribed on the north inner wall of Bouleuterion, reveals that Bouleuterion had Eksedra and that this wall is the Eksedra’s north wall (ll. 28-30: ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ τὸ γήφισμα ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐν δεξιᾷ). On the insula where the Bouleuterion complex lay, Marcus Sempronius Clemens had a temple built in the area surrounded by columns, which the Stratoniceans called Peristoon. He had the temple duly decorated and statues of Zeus Panamaros, Hekate, Artemis, Asklepios, and Hygeia erected. He placed three statues made of coral, and his statue depicted himself as a priest (*I.Stratonikeia* no. 289, ll. 10-12: ναὸν κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ κοσμήσας ἀξιοπρεπῶς καθιέρωκεν ἀγάλματα θεῶν Παναμάρου, Ἐκά[τ]ης, Ἀρτέμιδος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Ὑγείας, καὶ εἰκόνας τέθεικεν κορωλικάς τρεῖς καὶ ἀνδριάντα εἰκονικὸν ἱερατικὸν [α.]ύτοῦ; no. 293, ll. 27-29: κατεσκευακότα ναὸν ἐν τῷ περιστώῳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ). Since the Roman Bath was built in the west of Bouleuterion (Söögüt 2019, 60-70), and the colonnaded main street lies in the north, Peristoon and the temple within it are either in the east or in the south of Bouleuterion. Considering the statues of the gods, one can suggest that this temple was the joint temple of Zeus Panamaros, Hekate, Artemis, Asklepios, and Hygeia.

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